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JOHN MARSHALL CLAIBORNE
SOLDIER - CONFEDERATE SPY - POLITICIAN - EDITOR

by Jane Leslie Newberry

In the old section of Cedar Hill Cemetery in Rusk, Texas, two weathered concrete tombs are shaded by several gnarled magnolia trees. The tombs, connected to each other, are enclosed by a rusted, dilapidated iron fence. Although the lot is large enough for six or eight graves, the tombs rest alone. Susan Mary Phillips Claiborne and John Marshall Claiborne have claimed this place for almost a century.

John Marshall Claiborne lived and loved the life of a soldier. These words are written on his tombstone:

*The muffled drum's [sic] sad roll
Has beat this soldier's last tattoo
And his proud form in battle gashed
Is free from anguish now.*

Claiborne died on April 28, 1909, finally defeated at seventy years old by a stroke. In his will he firmly stated his philosophy of life: "I die with few regrets ... to my state and country I have conscientiously discharged every duty required of me, but hold in more reverence the deeds done and performed during the four years of the War between the States than all other acts of not an uneventful life." Then Claiborne included a cryptic message that indicates some agonizing moments of his life: "I freely forgive all who have dispitefully[sic] used me. I may have done my fellow man wrong as I hate demagogy in state and the 'humbug' in religion – for any wrongs in this, may the injured and my God forgive me."¹

The old soldier left few legacies except his written word – much of which has been destroyed. The remaining material reveals a unique and imposing individual in conflict with society whose life never seemed to fit into a patterned mold.

The mysteries that surround the life of John Marshall Claiborne have led to this research of his background, experiences as a soldier and spy, his three children, and his two marriages.

Claiborne's tombstone reads, "General," the rank granted to him when he served as major general of the Texas Volunteer Guard long after the Civil War. Had it not been for a lack of communication during the war, Claiborne's name might have been listed with other Confederate generals.²

Claiborne was born in Gibson County, Tennessee, on February 27, 1839. He was the oldest child of Phillip and Mary Billingsly Claiborne. Phillip, usually known as "Phil," was a lawyer born in Virginia. Mary Billingsly, the daughter of Jephtha and Miriam Randolph Billingsly, moved with her family to Tennessee from Cooper County, Missouri, about 1827. In the middle 1840s,

the Billingslys and the Claibornes moved to Bastrop, Texas, a frontier town located near Austin, Texas. In an area still suffering from the pangs of birth as a free country and now a part of the United States, John Marshall Claiborne grew to manhood.³

Conflict between the Texans and wealthy Mexican aristocrats brought the Texas Rangers to the aid of the Anglos during the infamous "Cortina Uprising" in 1859. These Rangers already had played an important role in Texas history during the war with Mexico, 1846-1848. Juan Nepomcina Cortina, called the "Red Robber of the Rio Grande," was defeated after a "Mexican Standoff" when the Texas Rangers and the American forces headed by Lt. Robert E. Lee, forced him across the Mexican border.

During this "uprising" the Texas Rangers created the famous combination Indian war whoop and Mexican *grito* later called the "Rebel Yell."⁴ It was to these activities that John Claiborne was reportedly drawn as a member of the Rangers in 1859. Unfortunately, although Claiborne stated that he was a Ranger, no documentation has been located.

Many members of this fighting group entered the army of the Confederacy where some became part of "Terry's Texas Rangers."⁵ When a call was made for volunteers by the 8th Texas Cavalry in August 1861, Claiborne enlisted as a private on September 7 in Houston, Texas. Already an adventurer, he was twenty-three years old and described as 5' 10¹/₂" tall, with light hair and gray eyes. In just thirty days, 1193 men, armed and equipped, responded to that call. This group became Company D, Terry's Texas Rangers, or the 8th Regular Texas Rangers. The famed 8th Texas Rangers "rebel yelled" their way through Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Atlanta, Nashville, Chickamauga, Shelbyville, Waynesboro, Georgia, Bentonsville, North Carolina, and other skirmishes. According to T. R. Fehrenbach, Terry's Texas Rangers were never excelled for their reckless mobility and heroic dash. Two-third's of the Rangers were killed.⁶

According to Confederate records, Claiborne became ill shortly after he enlisted and was in a private hospital suffering from rubella from October 15, 1861, until November 23, 1861. He received a \$25.00 payment for that hospital stay at Camp Hardee in February 1862.

Even though the records are adequate for Terry's Texas Rangers, John Marshall Claiborne's Confederate service record is incomplete. After his bout with measles, he returned to duty at Camp Hardee. Official CSA records show that Claiborne was on detached duty from January 5, 1862, until June 8, 1862, for which he received \$114.76. He was again on detached duty from August 22, 1862, until September 21, 1862, for which he received \$22.00. These documents were signed by John A. Whorton, commander of the 8th Texas Cavalry. This detached duty may have been Claiborne's first scouting or spying experience.⁷

Claiborne wrote concerning the Texas Rangers in an article that appeared in the *Confederate Veteran*, January 1897. He described Terry's Texas Rangers

as a unique group of men who frequently were spoken of by the Federal troops as "*centaurs, mamelukes, and devils.*" He stated that the Rangers were not brigaded, but were attached to divisions for specific duty, principally to teach other cavalry how to ride and fight. Claiborne quoted a Federal cavalry commander, who, when asked what troops he had engaged in the early morning, replied, "I don't know; either devils or Texas Rangers, from the way they rode and fought."⁸

Although the official records have little mention of them, and even General John Bell Hood made no reference to them in *Advance and Retreat*, one of the most important assignments for some members of the Rangers was that of scout. Scout, in essence, meant, spy.

These hardened and seasoned men were first known as an intelligence gathering organization. Hood named Alexander May Shannon, famous for his exploits behind enemy lines, to reconnoiter General William T. Sherman's army on its march through Georgia and the Carolinas. It seemed to be this type of action that enthralled Claiborne, and he became Hood's spy before the Tennessee campaign.

The most accurate account available concerning Claiborne's career as a spy appeared in the *Confederate Veteran*, Volume IX, page 31, in 1901. Written by John M. Claiborne and entitled, "Secret Service for General Hood," this article explains some of his secret actions.

July 18, 1864, I reported to Gen John B. Hood, in front of Atlanta, GA, as a subaltern for the special duty of secret service, having on my own account served successfully in that time simply in an adventurous way, neither in quest of fame or glory, but simply to gratify a thirst for fun and a desire for adventure.

After the disastrous battle of July 22 in front of Atlanta, I began to gratify myself in this most dangerous duty in the life of a soldier. In it there is more thrill than in any other service. It was to me perfectly fascinating. When Gen. Hood reached the vicinity of Trenton, GA on his way into Tennessee, he called me to him - just after I had returned from a ten days' scout in the enemy's country - and said, "I want you to pick three men whom you can trust, and I will give you the soldiers necessary to reach from your field of operations to the army, stationed ten miles apart." He then informed me of what he was moving at that time toward Tusculumbia, Ala. I picked my men, and the four of us left at midnight for the Tennessee River, across the mountains in the direction of Cottonport, above Florence, Ala where we were to begin observations and operations. After the courier company reported, I began to blaze the way into Middle Tennessee on untraveled lines, leaving men from ten to twelve miles apart, the last being left in the hills near the home of a Mr. Massie, a few miles from Franklin; my three trustees and myself making a rendezvous near the iron bridge on Harpeth. We accepted two days and nights finding whom we could "swear by." I place my trust in Tennessee girls, and never was faith better founded.

The third night I spent in the town of Franklin, while one of the boys picketed in "Hollow Tree Gap [or Dug Hallow], across the river near the

road to Nashville. He also went over to the Cumberland River to outlook, while the other kept the tryst, paying a night visit to the Spring Hill country in the rear. Our batch of information was put in the hands of the courier line, and sent on to Gen. Hood. I called on two young ladies about midnight to get their aid in opening a way into Nashville, and in them I found accomplices that were never excelled. They were indeed "wise as serpents and harmless as doves." They were half-sisters, and the brother and half-brother of each were with Gen. Cheatham. They were willing, anxious, and alert. I had gold, and they knew how to use it successfully.

We were now "burning daylight." Twenty days had gone since leaving Hood, five of them right among the enemy, and yet not even an adventure. But Nashville, Triune, Eagle Grove, Nolensville, Murfreesboro, Edgefield, Gallatin, and Lebanon were to be looked carefully over. The girls got off early the next morning with butter, eggs, and other products of the farm, with an old dilapidated horse cart and a chart to be filled out. They had a list of articles that we needed — disguises being their main purpose. Soon the boys got away on the duty of thirty-six hours. They were to rendezvous near the old Overton place, six miles from Nashville. In this neighborhood the writer had acquaintances, among them "sweet sixteeners" and a lovely and patriotic old maid. Any of them were as ready to give aid and information as I was to get it. To these women of Williamson and Davidson Counties monuments should be erected.

The ladies having executed splendidly every trust, it then devolved[sic] on us to dare the risk of the execution of our mission, that of spying into the camp of the enemy. To me fell the lot of going into Nashville to locate the forts and make plots of approaches, etc. Suffice it to say, I did so and successfully. I danced at a party at Brig. Gen. Miller's, who was the chief quartermaster [or commissary]. Going home with his daughter, I was shown the fortifications by a Federal officer, and met and discussed the war and its conduct with prominent officers.

I made my report to Gen. Hood, at Columbia, Tenn., three days before the battle of Franklin. I left Nashville at night, riding the horse of some general officers, judging from the trappings. At daylight, I passed through Franklin, locating the forts on the river. I selected a suitable point a few miles above Franklin to put the pontoon bridge, never dreaming of a fight being made at Franklin or Nashville, but expected we would invade Kentucky, and have many thousands of men to join us in the invasion. How I managed is of so personal a nature that I will not detail it. I have since learned that I was in great danger, but I did not know it then.

From the 22nd day of July to the 12th day of December, I used every character known to man, from a negro field hand in his dotage to an intelligent preacher. I received for this service the private commendation of the most glorious of men, John B. Hood, also three gilt stars with the half wreath later on. Pierce de Graffenried, George Arthur, and Emmet Lynch were the aids I had with me. They have all passed over the river. Lynch was killed in battle; De Graffenried died in Nashville a few years ago. We did some things that were not creditable to our hearts, but they seemed necessary. We afterwards concluded never to refer to them, as for twenty years after we would have been subject to the rope. In this cautious way it

does not carry the true thrill of adventure, but I write it specially to pay tribute to the Tennessee women of Williamson and Davidson Counties.

We recrossed the Tennessee river at Florence, Ala., on January 1, 1865, and Hood resigned at Tusculumbia the next day, a victim to the duty of a soldier obeying orders [against his judgment] of his superior officer at Richmond."⁹

In 1882, Claiborne identified Archer and Lynch in a Texas Ranger's roster he prepared. George Archer was alive in 1880, living in Mexia, Texas. J. Emmet Lynch died near Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 1865, and was the last Texas Ranger killed in the war. There was no mention of De Graffenried. Claiborne's roster contains valuable information concerning most of the Rangers.¹⁰

Few veterans mentioned their experiences as spies. Some submitted ambiguous articles to the *Confederate Veteran*, but most never broke their silence. Even Shannon, commander of "Shannon's Scouts," who went into business with John Hood after the war, never commented on his exploits.

An article in *Civil War Times* entitled "With Tears in Their Eyes," edited by Paul Scott, contains portions of a diary written by Private Enoch D. John of Galveston, Texas. In the diary, John reported in vivid detail the activities of the scouts whose job was listed officially as "intelligence gathering." These men gained a reputation for their effectiveness in dealing with Federal stragglers and foragers – exploits cloaked in a conspiracy of silence. Called "Shannon's Scouts," they were under the command of Captain Alexander May Shannon of the 8th Texas Cavalry – Terry's Texas Rangers.¹¹

A picture of five of the scouts is included in the article. The men were identified as W.A. Lynch, Felix Grundy Kennedy, and Peter Kenwall or Kendrum. There was a P.L. Kendall listed in Company C., Terry's Texas Rangers.

Emmet Lynch is listed in Claiborne's article. In the Texas Ranger roster, Claiborne reported that J. E. Lynch had been wounded three times while scouting in 1864. He reported in a later article that Emmet Lynch was murdered by his prisoner. Claiborne identified W.A. Lynch as having received two wounds on the same day near Rome, Georgia. F.G. Kennedy was living in Mexia, Texas, in 1880, and Enoch D. Jones died in 1875. It is possible that Emmet Lynch and W.A. Lynch were brothers.

Claiborne's roster also identified Shannon as a first lieutenant, later promoted to captain on October 18, 1862, and then to colonel, commanding special scouts and secret service on February 8, 1865.

Another Texas Ranger and a member of Shannon's scouts, R. L. Dunman of Coleman, Texas, wrote a revealing article in 1923 about his experiences as a scout. Dunman is also listed in Claiborne's roster.¹²

Claiborne was president of the Survivors Association of Terry's Texas Rangers in 1897. The thirtieth reunion of the Rangers was held in Nashville, Tennessee, on June 21, 1897. Claiborne had written several articles for that

convention that were printed in the *Confederate Veteran*.

In a publication written in 1898, Claiborne corrected several articles that had appeared in the *Confederate Veteran* with what he called "erroneous material." He stated, "I was in charge of the secret service during the entire campaign [Nashville] until sent to Florence." After making his corrections, Claiborne urged absolute accuracy in articles sent to the magazine.

According to Claiborne, Hood released him after the Tennessee campaign with letters to Confederate President Davis. He also claimed that Hood recommended him for promotion to brigadier-general. For some unknown reason or miscommunication, he never received the rank. Claiborne then went to North Carolina where General Joe Johnston later surrendered at Bentonville. From there, Claiborne joined President Jefferson Davis and General John C. Breckenridge. At the time Davis was captured near Washington, Georgia, Claiborne was said to be only a few hours ride from him. According to official records, Claiborne was captured near Cedartown, Georgia, on May 15, 1865.

Cedartown, Georgia, was the home of nineteen-year-old Susan Mary Phillips, daughter of Hiram and Vienna Berry Phillips. After his capture and release, Claiborne met Susan, and they were married in Cedartown before December 1865. By December, the Claibornes had returned to Bastrop, Texas, where John served as county clerk from 1865 to 1867.¹³ It also appears that Claiborne read for the law during this period.

A bleak future faced the young couple in Texas. One-fourth of the productive white male population was dead, disabled, or dispersed. U.S. occupation troops were sent by the thousands to Texas, and men who appeared in public in remnants of gray uniforms were arrested. For nine years the outside rule produced hatreds, fears, and distrusts which would last for over a century.

Sometime before 1871, the Claibornes moved to the largest settlement in Texas, Galveston, which boasted 14,000 inhabitants in 1870 and was considered the financial capital of the state. It is difficult to ascertain Claiborne's business ventures during this period. Susan Claiborne wrote to her sister, Emily Jane Allen, October 29, 1871, that she soon would be moving into her new home, that her baby was fine, and that John was out of town frequently. The couple's first child, R. Sydney Claiborne, was born before October 1871.

The Claiborne's second known child, Hattie, was born in Galveston in December 1877, and the third known child, Thomas Jack Claiborne, was born in March 1880. Claiborne was listed as a clerk in a store on the United States Census for 1880. Life was not easy for the returning Confederate soldiers. For Claiborne, settling down into the mundane life of husband, father, and work-a-day life was probably difficult. With the help of the Texas State Library in Austin, it is now possible to reconstruct some of Claiborne's activities during the 1880s. One of the mysteries was produced by his will, in which he stated how he was "...despitefully [sic] used by his fellow man ... as I hate

demogody[sic] in State," has been answered by these papers.

Several pieces of correspondence that were found in the annual reports of the Adjutant General's office from 1880 until 1885 provide insight concerning the Texas Volunteer Guard and Claiborne's subsequent verbal battle with Governor John Ireland in 1885. The official correspondence is, unfortunately, often one-sided because many letters are missing.¹⁴

According to the report of the Adjutant-general of the State of Texas, December 31, 1882, Claiborne was appointed colonel in Galveston on February 4, 1880. It is also known that Claiborne attended a reunion of the Texas Rangers in 1882 and made a roster of the outfit. In the roster, he stated that he was wounded three times, appointed sergeant major in 1852, and made adjutant on December 31, 1864.

The official roster of the Texas Volunteer Guard indicated that Claiborne had been promoted to major general on February 23, 1883.¹⁵ But in 1885 trouble arose when an encampment for all Texas militia units was scheduled to be held in July in Lampasas, Texas.

Claiborne evidently took for granted that he would be in absolute command of the encampment as he has been in contact with city officials of Lampasas. H. B. Rice, an officer of the Houston Savings Bank, informed Claiborne that the citizens of Lampasas had raised sufficient money to support the encampment. He also requested Claiborne's assistance in getting the governor to call for the encampment. Claiborne sent a notice to the governor and subsequently received a reply from W.H. King, Adjutant General, stating that the governor was eager to call for the encampment but that he needed the managers of the enterprise to make the proposition in writing. Evidently, some serious problems developed because Claiborne wrote the governor on June 15, 1885, indicating that he felt that the encampment was an advertising scheme.

It was a personal insult that infuriated Claiborne. He wrote to King that he felt as if he had been insulted because someone else had been appointed to be commandant of the camp. Claiborne concluded, "In this stand upon the matter, and the governor will, I think, sustain me as it is a direct insult to the buttons of my clothes and to the Governor who put me into a Major General's uniform."

One letter followed another from Claiborne to King. Claiborne claimed that he knew that the governor and King would support him in his desire to command the camp, and that he knew who was at the bottom of the insult. Finally, King wrote that the governor would have nothing to do with the encampment other than to permit the military organizations to attend and participate. King continued that no officer of the Volunteer Guard had any authority to interfere and that the control and direction of the affair should be in the hands of local committees. Furthermore, King told Claiborne that it would not be proper nor lawful for him to issue orders of a conflicting character since the governor had declined to issue the order placing him in command of the encampment.

Unfortunately, there is no correspondence that tells what happened, but in Claiborne's report on the encampment at Lampasas, dated July 8, 1885, he stated that he was placed in command of the camp at 3:00 p.m. Monday by the local citizens' committee. Claiborne then wrote a glowing report of the encampment at Camp Ireland in Lampasas. Although Claiborne was in command in the end, the controversy was not over.

The question of Claiborne's position as major general in the Texas Volunteer Guard had been smoldering for some time. It appears that Governor Ireland had suspended Claiborne's commission early in 1885. King informed Claiborne that the militia needed to be reorganized and that the officers should be the choices of the men. "If," King concluded, "you are chosen by the men, I will support that decision."

Whatever happened during the next several months was culminated by an indignant and emotional letter from Claiborne to Governor Ireland, October 15, 1885:

"To Jno. Ireland, Governor of Texas, Austin

Dear Sir: Referring to your letter in which you stated that my commission as Major General had expired nearly a year ago, I will say that before and since that time you addressed me as Major General and appointed on my staff three different parties as staff officers thus recognizing me as the Major General of Volunteer Guard. A.S. Robert's commission expired when you went into office and under your ideas expired with mine and he is not published in the Senior Brig. Genl - of this I care nothing - I am satisfied to let had treatment go to be repaid in the same com[?], but I do not desire nor will I permit to have it rubed[sic] in, without an honest protest - I tendered to you my resignation and you avoided with a subterfuge - unworthy of the kindness I had ever shown you - on the position you occupy - and your previous record. Roberts has been appointed at San Antonio the Division Staff invited and every indignity heaped upon me that could be - and I have no remedy - is it right now to make it all right - simply send me an acceptance of my resignation and there you have a right to do as you please - select the Senior Brig. Gen. anyone else - to take command of the V.G. - but you have no right to trample my feelings under foot by these appointments until you do send me an acceptance.

As far as King is concerned, I care nothing as with your term of office - he will disappear and never be heard of outside of his county limits - and I can't afford to go against a wooden man noway - I do not think you have given the matter that attention necessary to see the position your actions places me -

Very Respectfully, Jno. M. Claiborne

The last correspondence concerning the matter, dated October 19, 1885, was from King:

"General John M. Claiborne, Galveston, Texas

Sir: In response to your highly characteristic letter of the 15th instant, addressed to Governor Ireland, I have the honor to announce that your resignation as Major General of the Texas Volunteer Guard has been accepted to take effect from and after the first day of the present month. I

might comment on the style and tone of your said letter, but deeming it a waste of time, I forbear, with the single statement that the invitation to your former staff officers to attend the Volksfest was conceived in the kindest spirit towards them, without a thought of hurting your feelings in any way.

Truly yours,

W.H. King, Adj. General

From the report of the Adjutant General's office, State of Texas, Austin, September 6, 1886, the following notation was made:

"For reasons satisfactory to himself, Major General John M. Claiborne resigned his position in the Volunteer Guard last year and the vacancy remained until the twentieth day of November of the present year when Brigadier-General A.S. Roberts was appointed to the place ... Major General Claiborne took great interest in the success of the Volunteer Guard, and while at its head as a division commander he worked with great zeal and earnestness for what he believed would be beneficial and helpful to its excellence and efficiency. His efficient staff lost their official position by his resignation, as the present defective law makes no provision for retaining staff officers when their official chief ceased his connection with the Volunteer Guard."

The article concluded stating that it was decided to reorganize the entire volunteer force.¹⁶

John Marshall Claiborne never forgave. He carried his anger to his death, as noted in his will.

Between 1887 and 1890, Claiborne again had the chance to express his opinions when he served as state senator from Galveston. During that time, he presented Senate Bill #299 which provided \$200,000 to furnish the new capitol in Austin. Several editorials appeared in the Austin *Daily Statesman* opposing the bill. Although the Senate passed the bill, it died in the House, thus ended Claiborne's fight for fame in the Texas legislature.¹⁷

Between 1887 and 1890, the Claiborne family moved to Rusk, Texas, where he took part in the New Birmingham investment. New Birmingham was an iron-ore venture town, located on the outskirts of Rusk, Texas. Although the venture promised to bring millions to Texas, it lasted only a few years. In 1890, Claiborne was the managing editor of "The leading Newspaper in East Texas," the *New Birmingham Times*. In 1891, New Birmingham was a prosperous community of about 3500 people, with electric lights and an electric railway. In just a few years the area declined from a lack of fuel, limestone, and a severe depression. The last remaining houses were demolished in the 1930s for a new highway.¹⁸

On January 28, 1900, Susan Mary Phillips Claiborne died at the age of fifty-six and was buried in the first concrete tomb at Cedar Hill. Later that year, John Claiborne and his son, Thomas Jack, served as enumerators for the United States census of 1900 for Cherokee County, Texas.

Claiborne continued to write and make speeches. In September 1900, he delivered a speech that held his listeners "spell-bound" as he recounted the

trials and victories of the times and men of those “dark days of blood and thunder.” Claiborne also joined his fellow Confederates as a member of the Ector Camp #51, United Confederate Veterans, Rusk, Texas.¹⁹

On February 3, 1902, Claiborne married Louella Holbrook, the daughter of John Hiram and Mary Jefferson Holbrook. “Ella” was only thirty-six years old—twenty-seven years younger than her husband – and it appears that the children of his first marriage did not approve.

Shortly after his marriage to Louella, Claiborne wrote his will. He expressed gratitude to his new wife and a request that she receive all his personal property at his death. Claiborne told his wife to give his son, Tom Jack, one of his watches and chain, along with articles that belonged to his mother -if- the “said Tom Jack does not annoy the said Louella.”

Of his other children, R. Sidney and Hattie Evans, Claiborne said that they had no claim on any part of his possessions, each having already received and taken more than they are entitled to or deserved.

John Marshall Claiborne died on April 20, 1909, and was buried in the second concrete tomb at Cedar Hill. He left little legacy to Louella: life insurance amounting to \$2732.00; household and kitchen furniture valued at \$100.00; and a bank deposit of \$547.27. The property he had owned in other areas had been sold for taxes. His obituary appeared in the *Daily Courier-Times*, Tyler, Texas, April 24, 1909. It stated that he had died of paralysis. It also noted was that he had been a candidate for Congress in 1896 and a populist nominee for judge of Rusk County in 1900.

Louella never remarried. She lived in Rusk until 1920 when she moved to Dallas. Louella Holbrook Claiborne died at the Women’s Confederate Home in Austin, Texas, on April 29, 1946, and was buried in Dallas, Texas.²⁰ She outlived her husband by thirty-five years. So much time had passed that Claiborne’s wish for Louella to be buried by him on that lonely knoll in Cedar Hill had been long forgotten.

NOTES

¹⁹Will of John Marshall Claiborne, Probate Court. Book J, p. 274-281 Cherokee County, Texas.

²⁰Johnson, Sidney Smith, *Texans Who Wore Gray*, pp. 258-259, private publication, 1907.

²¹Davis, Harry Alexander. *The Billingsley Family in America*, pp. 168-171, Washington, D.C., 1936.

²²Fahrenbach, T.R.; *Lone Star, A History of Texas and the Texans*, p. 518, Wings Books, New York.

²³*Texans Who Wore Gray*, pp. 258-259.

²⁴*Confederate Veteran*, Volume V, January 1897, pp. 252-254. “Terry’s Texas Rangers,” by John M. Claiborne.

²⁵National Archives. Confederate States of America Service Records of John M. Claiborne.

²⁶*Confederate Veteran*, January 1897.

²⁷*Confederate Veteran*, Volume IX, 1901, p. 31. “Secret Service for Gen. Hood,” by John M. Claiborne.

¹⁰Roster of Terry's Texas Rangers, compiled by John M. Claiborne; Confederate Research Center, Hillsboro, Texas

¹¹*Civil War Times*, January, 1983, "With Tears in Their Eyes," Edited by Paul Scott, pp. 26-29.

¹²*Confederate Veteran*, Volume XXXI, January, 1923, p. 102, "One of Terry's Texas Rangers," by R.I. Dunman, Coleman, Texas.

¹³"Field notes of the corporation of the town of Bastrop," January 2, 1864, signature of John M. Claiborne as clerk, unpublished data; the Bastrop Historical Museum, Bastrop, Texas.

¹⁴Texas State Library, Austin, Texas, unpublished letters to and from John M. Claiborne, Texas Volunteer Guard, 1880-1885, located in the Adjutant General's office incoming and outgoing correspondence.

¹⁵Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Texas, 1883.

¹⁶Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Texas, 1885.

¹⁷Campbell, Bonnie Ann, "Furnishing the Texas State Capital," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Volume XCII, 1988-89, pp. 324-325.

¹⁸Souvenir program, New Birmingham, Texas, p. 54 ; East Texas State Archives, Nacogdoches, Texas.

¹⁹Crawford, Helen, *Saga of Cherokee*, Book I. p. 61.

²⁰Cook Funeral Home , Austin, Texas.