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THE TITUS HUNTERS: COMPANY D**11th TEXAS INFANTRY REGIMENT WALKER'S TEXAS DIVISION**

by John D. Perkins

When the War Between the States began, the years of animosity, distrust, and angry rhetoric were transformed into action as young and old men rushed to enlist in military units. The oft-quoted phrase "rarin' for a fight" accurately described the attitudes of many individuals on both sides. In the South, men from every state joined to defend their homes and beliefs. The men of Titus County in northeast Texas were no exception. While men from this county served in a number of different regiments, one particular group proudly bore the county name.¹

The Titus Hunters was the nickname for Company D, 11th Texas Infantry Regiment. The majority of the unit's soldiers were residents of Titus County; the few who were not lived in adjoining counties. These men were members of a regiment raised by Oran M. Roberts, who later became governor of Texas. Roberts' 11th Texas Infantry was a part of Colonel Horace Randal's brigade in Walker's Texas Division.²

Oran Roberts was born on July 9, 1815 in South Carolina. He graduated from the University of Alabama in 1836. After serving in the Alabama legislature, Roberts moved to Texas in 1840, where he was first a district attorney and later a district judge. In 1857 he became an associate justice on the Texas Supreme Court. He was elected president of the Secession Convention in 1861. When the war began, Roberts organized the 11th Texas Infantry Regiment. After being appointed a colonel in the Confederate Army, he commanded the unit until he retired on October 19, 1864, because of poor health.³

Company D of the 11th Texas Infantry Regiment was mustered into service on February 24, 1862, at Gray Rock in Titus County. The company left Titus County on March 3, 1862, and proceeded under orders to Camp Lubbock near Houston, arriving March 20.⁴

Roberts' records show that he had a total of 1,338 men at Camp Lubbock in May 1862, over 240 of whom were sick; 690 others were absent, on detail, or on furlough, and only 408 were fit for duty and in camp. On May 14, 1862, Roberts wrote that for the last week, "we have been burying two, three, and four men a day" as a result of disease. Sadly, this was only the beginning of the fight against disease.⁵

Originally, Company D was known as Company G, and Captain William H. Christian was its commander. The 11th Texas Regiment left Camp Lubbock on May 30, 1862, and marched to Camp Clough near Tyler, Texas, where it arrived on June 20, 1862. The regiment was reorganized on June 23 under the provisions of the Conscription Act passed in April 1862. William Christian was relieved of his command and assigned to duty as staff adjutant. Captain Thomas H. Rountree was elected commander of Company G, which was

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redesignated as Company D. Company D became known as the "Titus Hunters" under Rountree's command. He remained company commander until the unit was disbanded at the end of the war.⁶

The Titus Hunters marched to Titus County and arrived at Camp Carraway on August 7, 1862. Captain Rountree, First Lieutenant E. W. Giles, Second Lieutenant Daniel Scurlock, and seventy-three enlisted men proceeded on to Little Rock, Arkansas. A detachment of thirty-three enlisted men under the command of Third Lieutenant M. H. Leake remained in Titus County to procure and repair weapons before rejoining the unit.⁷

Although measles broke out in the regiment while the men were in Texas, their time in Arkansas proved to be even more difficult. The 11th Texas was one of the units of Walker's Texas Division that camped at Camp Nelson near Austin, in central Arkansas. Many men became ill and died there. One soldier stationed at Camp Nelson wrote:

While we were encamped here there was a great deal of sickness amongst the troops. Dysentery and fevers of various kinds made many victims. The hospital was filled with sick. The sickness was owing a great deal to the impure water we had to use. Fully 1,500 men died at Camp Nelson.⁸

The 11th Texas Infantry spent the winter of 1862-1863 at several locations near Pine Bluff and Little Rock in central Arkansas. The regiment moved to Louisiana in the spring of 1863 under orders by Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, to strengthen the Confederate forces there. Company D muster rolls show that the outfit was near Delhi, Louisiana, in May and June of 1863 as part of a campaign to relieve Vicksburg.⁹

Major General Richard Taylor sent Walker's Texas Division to attack the Federal positions at Milliken's Bend and Young's Point. Both outposts were located a few miles from Vicksburg on the west side of the Mississippi River. The capture of these two Union camps, it was thought, would accomplish several objectives. First, it would break Major General Ulysses S. Grant's communication and supply lines on the west side of the Mississippi; second, it would provide an avenue of escape for John C. Pemberton's Confederate army if he was forced to abandon Vicksburg; and finally, holding those positions would help the Confederates in their effort to resupply Vicksburg. Unfortunately, Walker's Texas Division arrived too late to be of help to Vicksburg's defenders.¹⁰

The plan of attack called for Brigadier General J. M. Hawes' brigade to destroy the Union camp at Young's Point while Major General Henry McCulloch led his brigade against Milliken's Bend. Horace Randal's brigade, of which the 11th Texas Infantry was a part, remained at the Oak Grove plantation a few miles away as a reserve force that could move to assist either of the brigades.¹¹

The expedition was a failure. McCulloch's 1500-man brigade attacked Milliken's Bend early in the morning on June 6, 1863. Despite initial success,

the Confederates were unable to capture the outpost. The Federals held on with the help of supporting fire from a Union gunboat, and the Confederates were forced to withdraw.¹²

Hawes' expedition was even less successful. His brigade of 1,403 men took seventeen hours to cover eleven miles, due to incompetent guides, according to Hawes. The long march and severe heat took their toll on Hawes' men. When they finally arrived, the Confederates discovered Union troops, supported by gunboats, reinforcing the camp. The combination of exhausted men facing a reinforced position caused General Hawes to call off the attack.¹³

Confederate losses at Milliken's Bend were forty-four killed, 131 wounded, and ten missing. Union troops lost 101 killed, 285 wounded, and 266 captured or missing. Neither Milliken's Bend nor Young's Point had been taken. To make matters worse, the attack would not have made any difference. By the time the assault took place, Grant had opened a new supply line on the east side of the river which rendered the attack on the west useless. Members of the 11th Texas, including the Titus Hunters, would have to wait before they could get into a battle.¹⁴

The campaign against Milliken's Bend and Young's Point is a good example of how the Titus Hunters and other members of Walker's Division spent the war – marching long distances but seeing little action. The march from central Arkansas that eventually brought them to within a few miles of Vicksburg was typical of the Confederate effort in Louisiana, rushing troops from one point to another, attempting to meet every Union threat. These long marches earned the men the nickname "Walker's Greyhounds."¹⁵

The Titus Hunters did not see action until the Fall of 1863 when they joined with other Confederate forces to thwart Federal plans to invade Texas. After a failed attempt at Sabine Pass in September 1863, Union Major General Nathaniel P. Banks ordered a second expedition under the command of Major General William Franklin. This group was to proceed from New Orleans across southern Louisiana and enter Texas at the lower Sabine River. Confederate forces intercepted the Federals on October 9, 1863, and minor skirmishes and raids continued in the Vermillionville-Opelousas area until early November.¹⁶

The Battle of Bayou Bourbeau took place a few miles south of Opelousas on November 3, 1863. Major General Richard Taylor, commander of Confederate forces in western Louisiana, had ordered three infantry regiments to support Brigadier General Tom Green's cavalry in his pursuit of the Union forces. One of these regiments was Roberts' 11th Texas Infantry. Because this part of the state had been occupied previously by both armies, the Union troops were dispersed to help each unit to secure provisions. The dispersed disposition of Federal forces invited an attack.¹⁷

The Confederate forces moved to within a few miles of an infantry brigade commanded by Union Brigadier General Stephen Burbridge that was camped at Bayou Bourbeau. General Green organized a plan of attack and deployed his troops. The left wing of the Confederate line consisted of three

regiments of infantry: the 11th Texas with 355 men was placed on the far left; the 320 men of 18th Texas occupied the center; and the 15th Texas with 275 men took up its position on the right side of the left wing. A cavalry brigade under the command of Colonel A. P. Bagby and two sections of artillery occupied the center of the Confederate line. The right wing of the Confederate line was made up of Colonel J. P. Major's cavalry brigade.¹⁸

The infantry on the left side of the line opened the attack about noon. The artillery then moved up and opened fire, and the Confederate cavalry on the right and center of the line joined in the furious attack. The Union troops broke under the pressure of the combined assault. Although the Confederate attack ended in victory, it was not without cost. The 11th Texas Infantry suffered four killed, fifteen wounded, and thirty-two missing. The Confederate losses were twenty-two killed, 103 wounded, and fifty-five missing. Union forces lost twenty-five killed, 129 wounded, and 562 captured or missing.¹⁹

The next big fight for the Titus Hunters occurred in the Spring of 1864. The battles of Mansfield and Pleasant Hill on April 8 and 9, 1864, were the most important of all of the 11th Texas Infantry's engagements. This bloody two-day encounter was the key to halting General Banks' Red River campaign and preventing the capture of Shreveport and the invasion of Texas. Union plans called for a two-pronged attack on Shreveport, one from the south led by Banks, and the other coming from Arkansas and led by Major General Frederick Steele.²⁰

After weeks of falling back in the face of superior enemy forces, Major General Richard Taylor decided that he would make his stand just outside of Mansfield, approximately thirty miles south of Shreveport. He selected a defensive position "in the edge of a wood, fronting an open field eight hundred yards in width by twelve hundred yards in length, through the center of which the road to Pleasant Hill passed." Taylor spent much of the day of April 8, 1864, deploying his troops and waiting for the Federals to strike. The 11th Texas Infantry was positioned on the left side of the Mansfield-Pleasant Hill road. General Taylor's patience grew thin as the day wore on and the Union forces did not attack. Tired of waiting, Taylor ordered the Confederates to attack at 4:00 p.m.²¹

Brigadier General Alfred Mouton's division, located on the Confederate left, opened the battle with a bloody but successful attack. Horace Randal's brigade, which included the 11th Texas and the Titus Hunters, was located to the right of Mouton's division and went forward in support of Mouton's flank. When the attack by the Confederate left was well under way, Taylor ordered the main body of Walker's Texas Division forward. "All down the line, as the gray chargers emerged from the pine woods into the clearing to strike at both ends of the confused blue line, the high-throated rebel yell rang out."²²

Walker's Texans were part of a successful flanking movement that forced the Union troops to fall back in confusion and many Union soldiers had to retreat or surrender. A second line of resistance was formed by the Federals and it held the attacking Confederates for a short time. Eventually, this line

also broke. "Overborne by numbers, outflanked on right and left, the Federals gave way in panic and utter rout." The Yankee soldiers threw down their weapons and knapsacks and ran and the Southerners exulted in their victory as darkness fell.²³

Total Union losses for the day were 113 killed, 581 wounded, and 1,541 missing. Confederate losses were approximately 1,000 killed and wounded. According to Colonel Horace Randal's battle report, the 11th Texas suffered two killed, six wounded, and two missing.²⁴

The Confederates were not as successful in their maneuvers the next day at Pleasant Hill. Most of the day was spent moving troops into position and then giving the weary soldiers time to rest before the attack. About 4:30 p.m., with orders to outflank the enemy line, Brigadier General Thomas Churchill's force of Arkansas and Missouri troops on the right side of the Confederate line opened the attack. At the sound of firing from Churchill's men, Walker's Division, located in the center of the Southern line, moved forward. Advancing in two lines across an open field, the Texans were struck by a murderous fire from Union troops. The first line of Walker's Texans returned fire but was forced back after sustaining heavy losses. The second line of Texans was more successful and the Federal forces had to fall back.²⁵

Churchill's attempt to outflank the Union army failed, and his men were outflanked and attacked by Federal troops under the command of Brigadier General A.J. Smith. Surprised by the previously unseen foe, Churchill's Confederates were forced back. With their flank suddenly unprotected, Walker's brigades also had to withdraw. Nightfall ended the fighting, and the Confederates pulled back several miles to regroup and care for their wounded. Even so, the Federal victory was tainted by General Banks' decision later that night to withdraw from the region. "Tactically, the battle of Pleasant Hill was distinctly a Northern victory, although the retreat to Grand Encore turned it into a strategic defeat... [A]n invasion was repelled."²⁶

Union casualties at Pleasant Hill were just under 1,400 men; Confederate forces suffered 1,626 killed, wounded, or captured. According to its brigade commander, Colonel Horace Randal, the 11th Texas sustained losses of three killed, eighteen wounded, and none missing. One newspaper listed six casualties for the Titus Hunters in the recent fight. The *Galveston Weekly News* reported that the company from Titus County suffered the following losses: "Wounded - Sergeants P. D. Weatherford, slightly, thigh; McMosely, slightly, chin; Privates Joseph Wall, severely, arm; John Williams, severely, thigh; Wm Talbert, slightly, foot. Missing, Private John Douglas."²⁷

The Titus Hunters and the 11th Texas Infantry had little time to rest and recover. After the battles at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill stopped the southern arm of the two-pronged Union campaign, the Confederates turned their attention to the threat from Arkansas. The men of Walker's Texas Division left their camps near Mansfield on April 14 and marched to Arkansas where they would fight at Jenkins' Ferry on the last day of the month. This costly and poorly-directed battle was a desperate attempt by the Confederates to destroy the retreating

Union forces that had been part of the aborted attack on Shreveport.²⁸

Major General Frederick Steele's Federal troops struggled with supply problems from the beginning of their expedition. The area was destitute because of previous occupation. Successful Confederate raids on Union supply columns in mid-April exacerbated the situation. As a result of these losses, General Steele lacked adequate provisions to sustain his army and was forced to retreat to Little Rock.²⁹

Confederate forces under General Kirby Smith caught up with Steele's retreating army at Jenkins' Ferry, Arkansas, on April 30, 1864. One writer described this muddy area as "a nightmare to both armies." The swampy expanse was made worse by eighteen hours of continuous rain. One soldier remembered the battlefield as "covered with water, from ankle to knee deep."³⁰

The Federal troops were huddled behind log breastworks. On the Union right was a creek with steep banks; on their left was an impenetrable swamp. The terrain limited the Confederates to a narrow alley in which to attack and this narrow approach offered no cover. While the Union forces crouched behind their breastworks, the Confederates' only protection was a blanket of fog, which failed to stop the deadly bullets.³¹

Churchill's division attacked first, about 8 a.m., but was unsuccessful. Brigadier General Mosby Parsons' men were next, but they, too, failed. After they were repulsed, Walker's Texas Division, which had just arrived on the scene, was ordered to attack. Walker's three brigades, numbering over 4,000 men, launched a furious assault. The Federals delivered "a murderous enfilading fire" and the Texans were forced back with heavy losses, including all three brigade commanders, two of them with mortal wounds.³²

Steele's army held off the dogged Confederate attacks and withdrew across the rain swollen river. The Federals then destroyed the bridge to prevent pursuit. Losses at the Battle of Jenkins' Ferry were high for both sides. Union casualties are listed at sixty-three killed, 413 wounded, and forty-five missing. Confederate losses are incomplete because there is no report from General Walker on his casualties. Alwyn Barr suggests total known Confederate casualties at 883. The 11th Texas Infantry had nine killed and thirty-nine wounded.³³

The Titus Hunters did not fight in any other battles. For the remainder of the war, Walker's Texas Division was generally based in the Camden-Monticello area in southern Arkansas and the Shreveport-Minden area of northwestern Louisiana. The last record of Company D is the regimental return of April 1865 when the 11th Texas Infantry arrived at Hempstead, Texas, on April 16, a week after Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Most soldiers in Walker's Division left camp shortly after their arrival at Hempstead and made their way back home. Although Kirby Smith did not officially surrender the Trans-Mississippi Department until June 2, 1865, his command already had disintegrated. The Civil War was over.³⁴

Records indicate that 154 men were members of the Titus Hunters at some time during the war. What were these men like? What were their

backgrounds? What did they do for a living? Were they wealthy or poor? Were they slaveholders? In order to answer these questions, information was gathered from the Compiled Service Records, the manuscript census for 1860, and county tax rolls.³⁵

The data were then evaluated with the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) computer information analysis program. The following material is the result of this study. Unless otherwise noted, all numbers come from the database that was compiled for this article. In addition, percentage figures were rounded to the nearest tenth.

While most of the Titus Hunters were not native-born, their place-of-birth statistics were generally similar to those of the overall state population. In 1860, Texas had a total population of 604,215, of which 421,294 were white. Titus County, located in the northeast corner of the state, boasted a population of 9,648; 7,209 of these inhabitants were white residents. According to the census for 1860, 153,043 white Texas residents were native-born. Of those born outside of the state, most were from Tennessee (42,265), Alabama (34,193), and Georgia (23,637).³⁶

Information on place-of-birth was found for 124, or 80.5 percent, of the 154 men in Company D. Of those soldiers located, the largest group, 23.4 percent, were from Tennessee; 18.5 percent were from Alabama; and 16.1 percent were from Georgia. Only 11.3 percent of these men were born in Texas. The following table provides a further breakdown of the data:

PLACE OF BIRTH

Place of Birth	Number of Men	Valid Percent
Tennessee	29	23.4%
Alabama	23	18.5%
Georgia	20	16.1%
Texas	14	11.3%
North Carolina	8	6.5%
South Carolina	7	5.6%
Arkansas	6	4.8%
Kentucky	6	4.8%
Louisiana	5	4.0%
Missouri	5	0.8%
Mississippi	1	0.8%

The men's enlistment ages were available in 139 of 154 cases. Those who joined the Titus Hunters ranged in age from 16 to 49. The average age was 26.5 years old. The largest number in one age group was the 14 men who were 24 years old. They represented 10.1 percent of the men whose enlistment ages were recorded. Next in line were ten 18-year-olds, ten 20-year-olds, and ten 23-year-olds who each made up 7.2 percent of the known cases. Bell Wiley found that approximately four-fifths of all Southern soldiers were in the 18-29 age grouping. In comparison, 70.5 percent of the Titus Hunters fell in that range. The following table provides more detail:³⁷

ENLISTMENT AGE

Age Group	Number of Men	Valid Percent
16-19	20	14.4%
20-29	82	59.0%
30-39	29	20.9%
40-49	8	5.8%

One other point on the topic of age is important. On April 16, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed a conscription law – the first of its kind in American history. The law stated that all able-bodied white male citizens between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five were liable to service for three years. According to the available material, Company D had fifteen men who were discharged from service for being too old under the conscription law. One was discharged for being underage. These discharges took place in April, June, and July 1862.³⁸

Information on the marital status of Company D's men was available on 124 out of 154 records. Forty-six percent (57 out of 124) were single in 1860. Fifty-four percent (67 out of 124) were married.

The validity of the literacy data on the Titus Hunters is suspect. Only one individual was specifically identified in the census as illiterate. In contrast, James McPherson estimates that 15 to 20 percent of Confederate soldiers were illiterate.³⁹

Data on the enlistment date were available for 143 of the 154 soldiers. Just over 60 percent of the men who joined Company D enlisted on February 24, 1862, at Gray Rock, Texas. The second largest number who enlisted on a single day were the 31 men (21.7 percent) who joined on May 8, 1862:

DATE OF ENLISTMENT

Enlistment Date	Number of Men	Valid Percent
February 24, 1862	86	60.2%
May 8, 1862	31	21.7%
Remainder of 1862	20	14.0%
1863-1864	6	4.1%

The majority of the Titus Hunters were from Titus County; 126 of the 154 men in the unit were listed in the census. Of those 126, 96 percent, or 121 men, were on the Titus County census rolls. Five individuals were from adjoining counties. No county-of-origin information was located on the remaining 28 men.

As befitting their company's nickname, most of the men in Company D also enlisted in Titus County. Records showed that 88 percent (136 of 154) joined the company at one of three locations in Titus County: Gray Rock, Mt. Pleasant, or Camp Carraway. Of the remaining 18 cases, five enlisted in other states, and two transferred into the company. No information was available on the remaining 11 men.

The Titus Hunters also had two men who transferred out of the company. Private John W. Shed transferred to Colonel Richard Waterhouse's regiment.

19th Texas Infantry, on June 1, 1863. Lieutenant Moses H. Leake resigned from the outfit on October 26, 1864, to join the cavalry unit in which his two brothers served.

The Compiled Service Records indicate that four men from Company D were taken prisoners of war. Those men were M. Johnson, Aldevine Musgrove, Daniel Slaving, and T.T. Taylor. Additional information was available for one man, T.T. Taylor, who was captured on March 7, 1864, by the 65th Indiana Cavalry. He "took the oath," was released on March 10, 1864, and then deserted.⁴⁰

Only four men of Company D were designated as "deserters." Besides Private Taylor mentioned above, Ervin Daffern deserted on January 12, 1863. Muster rolls do not indicate where this desertion took place. A.L. Fitzgerald deserted on September 10, 1862, at Camp Carraway in Titus County. James P. Davis was listed as a deserter from Hempstead on April 18, 1865. Considering the date and General Robert E. Lee's surrender nine days earlier, it hardly seems fair to list Davis as a deserter in the same sense as the others. Many men left Hempstead for home and did not wait for their units to disband officially. If complete records were available for all of the soldiers, they would likely show that many other men left the unit early once news of Lee's surrender reached Texas.

While many men came forward in February 1862 to join the Titus Hunters, the picture was different a year later. Company D was a smaller unit due to discharges for medical and age reasons, as well as the deaths caused by various diseases. The company lost 46 men – nearly 30 percent – between February 1862 and February 1863. None of those losses resulted from combat.

Until the twentieth century, disease was a more dangerous foe to a soldier than enemy weapons. Certainly this was true in the Civil War. There are several reasons for this. Many of those who joined the army were from rural areas. They had not built up an immunity to the various communicable diseases. Historian James McPherson observed:

The crowding together of thousands of men from various backgrounds into a new and highly contagious disease environment had predictable results. Men (especially those from rural areas) who had never before been exposed to measles, mumps, or tonsillitis came down with these childhood maladies.⁴¹

Poor sanitary conditions were also a factor. Often latrines were placed too close to the camps, or worse, located upstream from the camps, thus contaminating the drinking water. Soldiers sometimes relieved themselves whenever and wherever the need beckoned. As a result, widespread contamination of camps was not uncommon. The fact that campsites were used repeatedly exacerbated the situation. Camps became fertile breeding grounds for bacteria and viruses.⁴²

FIRST YEAR CASUALTIES

Reasons	Number of Men	Valid Percent
Discharged-Age	16	10.4%
Medical discharge	22	14.3%
Death from disease	7	4.5%
Desertion	1	0.6%
Total	46	29.8%

The Compiled Service Records provided little information about combat casualties. Only two men, John Clift and Joseph Wall, were recorded as being wounded. Wall was wounded at Pleasant Hill. Clift's records for the April 1865 regimental return state that he had been sick (wounded) in Titus County, Texas, on a Surgeon's Certificate since May 1864. He could have received those wounds at Mansfield, Pleasant Hill, or Jenkins' Ferry. Most information about combat losses came from newspapers.

Before the war, the soldiers from Titus County worked in a number of different professions. Occupational details were available on 124 men. Not surprisingly due to the rural nature of the area, the bulk of this group (82 percent) was employed in agriculturally related activities. Statewide, 69 percent of the household heads were engaged in farming in 1860. The following table provides additional vocational data:⁴³

PRE-WAR OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	Number of Men	Valid Percent
Agriculture	102	82.2%
Commerce	3	2.4%
Professional	3	2.4%
Public Official	1	0.8%
Skilled Workers	7	5.6%
Unskilled Workers	2	1.6%
Other	6	4.8%

Regardless of their vocation, most of the soldiers of Company D were not affluent. The average value of real estate owned by the Titus Hunters was \$1,233, although individual holdings ranged from \$0 to \$10,000. The median of \$500, however, provides a more accurate picture of their economic status. The disparity in value of the men's personal estates was even greater. Although the mean personal estate was \$1,785, individual estates ranged from \$0 to \$28,000. The median personal estate was \$500. These figures would suggest that most men in Company D were on the lower end of the middle-class spectrum.⁴⁴

In the same way, the value of the soldiers' farms was diverse. The average cash value for their farms was \$1,941, but the most valuable farm was worth \$10,000. The median figure of \$1200 was well below the average of \$2,061 that Richard Lowe and Randolph Campbell found in their studies of the region. In addition, the Titus Hunters' total taxable property ranged in value from \$0 to \$15,660. While the mean was \$1,838, the median was approx-

imately \$500. Clearly, most of the Titus Hunters were not wealthy.⁴⁵

SLAVEHOLDINGS

Number of Slaves Owned	Number of Men Owning Slaves	Valid Percent
1	6	4.9%
2	2	1.6%
3	3	2.5%
5	1	0.8%
6	2	1.6%
8	1	0.8%
10	2	1.6%
13	1	0.8%
14	1	0.8%
20	1	0.8%
27	1	0.8%
Total 109	Total 21	17%

According to James McPherson, two-thirds of all white Southerners did not own slaves. Randolph Campbell supports that figure, stating that less than one-third of all Texas families were slaveholders. The Titus County tax roll listed 2,040 slaves in the county in 1860. Information about slave ownership for 122 of Company D's 154 soldiers revealed that the vast majority of the men (82.8 percent) did not own slaves. In fact, only 21, or 17.2 percent, of the Titus Hunters (or their parents) owned slaves.⁴⁶

Most of the soldiers who did own slaves did not own many. Only six men or their families held ten or more slaves; eleven owned three or less. Only two had "planter-size" holdings of twenty or more slaves. In sum, the 21 slave owners owned a total of 109 slaves.⁴⁷

Much of what has been revealed in this analysis of the Titus Hunters corresponds to Bell Wiley's study of Johnny Reb. As the average Confederate soldier was not a wealthy slaveholder, so, too, the men of Company D were common people who fought to protect their homeland and beliefs.⁴⁸

Today, nothing is left of the town where men from all over Titus County joined Roberts' regiment in 1862. Only the Gray Rock cemetery remains, a quiet memory of the past. Men from Company D are buried in cemeteries scattered around Titus County.

NOTES

¹Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1978), p. 15. The Titus County of Civil War days was larger than the present-day county. It was later divided, and part of it was used to form Franklin and Morris counties.

²Walker's Texas Division took its name from Confederate Major General John G. Walker who commanded the division from December 1862 until the summer of 1864 when he was ordered to assume command of the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. For an interesting account of the Division's activities written by one of the members, see Joseph P. Blessington, *The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division* (New York, 1875; repr., Austin, 1994).

³Claude Elliott, "Oran Milo Roberts," in Walter Prescott Webb, H. Bailey Carroll, and Eldon

Stephen Branda, eds., *The Handbook of Texas* 3 vols., (Austin, 1952, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 484-85; Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History*, 17 vols., (Atlanta, 1899), vol. XI, pp. 600-602; Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from The State of Texas, Microfilm 323, Rolls 344-50, Eleventh Texas Infantry (Roberts' Regiment), Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, D.C., (hereinafter cited as Compiled Service Records), roll 349, service records of O.M. Roberts.

¹Compiled Service Records, roll 344, company muster roll, February 24-April 30, 1862. The town of Gray Rock no longer exists. The Gray Rock cemetery is located south of Winfield, Texas, on the south side of Interstate 30.

²Compiled Service Records, roll 349, O.M. Roberts service record. The 1,338 men includes soldiers from both the 11th Texas Infantry and from "Hubbard's battalion," which may refer to Colonel R.B. Hubbard of the 22nd Texas Infantry.

³Compiled Service Records, roll 344, regimental return, June 1862; roll 345, William Christian's service records, roll 349, Thomas Rountree's service records. See James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford, 1988), p. 430, for elaboration of the Conscription Act.

⁴Compiled Service Records, roll 344, company muster roll, August 31, 1862. The exact location of Camp Carraway is unknown.

⁵Blessington, *Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division*, p. 44. Austin, Arkansas, is approximately 24 miles northeast of Little Rock.

⁶Terrence J. Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar: John Walker's Texas Division and its Expedition to Relieve Fortress Vicksburg," *Civil War Regiments*, 3 (March 1994), pp. 36-8. Delhi, Louisiana is approximately 40 miles west of Vicksburg.

⁷Norman D. Brown, "A Brief History of Walker's Texas Division," in Blessington, *Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division*, pp. xi-xv; Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar," p. 44.

⁸Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar," pp. 47-9.

⁹Brown, "Brief History of Walker's Texas Division," pp. xiii-xiv.

¹⁰Brown, "Brief History of Walker's Texas Division," pp. 53-4

¹¹United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), XXIV, pt. 2, p. 469 (hereinafter cited as *OR*); Edwin C. Bearss, *The Campaign For Vicksburg*, 3 vols., (Dayton, Ohio: 1986), Vol. 3, *The Campaign For Vicksburg: Unvexed to the Sea*, p. 1153. According to Terrence Winschel, both Milliken's Bend and Young's Point were eventually taken. The ever-changing pathway of the mighty Mississippi River accomplished what the Confederate forces could not. The former Union positions now lie beneath the muddy waters of the Mississippi.

¹²Blessington, *Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division*, pp. 46, 112.

¹³Ludwell H. Johnson, *Red River Campaign: Politics and Cotton in the Civil War* (Kent, Ohio, 1993), pp. 3-48; Alwyn Barr, "The Battle of Bayou Bourbeau, November 3, 1863: Colonel Oran M. Roberts' Report," *Louisiana History*, 6 (Winter 1965), p. 83. Vermillionville is known as Lafayette today.

¹⁴Barr, "Battle of Bayou Bourbeau," pp. 83-4.

¹⁵Barr, "Battle of Bayou Bourbeau," pp. 83-6; Alwyn Barr, *Polignac's Texas Brigade* (Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association, Vol. 8, No. 1, November 1964), p. 30.

¹⁶Barr, "Battle of Bayou Bourbeau," pp. 83-4; Barr, *Polignac's Texas Brigade*, pp. 30-2; *OR*, XXVI, pt. 1, p. 395. The November 23, 1863 issue of *The Galveston News* did not list any casualties for Company D, the Titus Hunters, of the Eleventh Texas Infantry.

¹⁷Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 40-85.

¹⁸Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Civil War* (New York, 1879, repr., 1955), p. 160; Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 129-34.

¹⁹Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, 3 vols., (New York, 1958, 1963, 1974), Vol. 3, *The Civil War: A Narrative, Red River to Appomattox*, p. 44; Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 134-35.

²⁰Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 136-39.

²¹Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 137-41; Jane Harris Johansson and David H.

Johansson, "Two 'Lost' Battle Reports: Horace Randal's and Joseph L. Brent's Reports of the Battles of Mansfield and Pleasant Hill, 8 and 9 April 1864," *Military History of the West*, 23 (Fall 1993), pp. 173-74.

²⁵OR, XXXIV, pt. I, p. 566-68; Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 155-62; John D. Winters, *The Civil War in Louisiana*, pp. 353-55.

²⁶Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 146-62, 165-66; Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative, Red River to Appomattox*, pp. 47-50.

²⁷*Galveston Weekly News*, May 10, 1864; Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 168-69; Johansson and Johansson, "Two 'Lost' Battle Reports," p. 175.

²⁸Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, p. 170.

²⁹Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 184-87, 190-94.

³⁰Ira Don Richards, "The Battle of Jenkins' Ferry," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 20 (Spring 1961), p. 7; Blessington, *Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division*, p. 249; Johnson *Red River Campaign*, pp. 197-200, 203. Jenkins' Ferry is in south-central Arkansas, about 40 miles southwest of Little Rock.

³¹Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative, Red River to Appomattox*, pp. 74-5.

³²Richards, "Battle of Jenkins' Ferry," pp. 11-13; Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative, Red River to Appomattox*, p. 75.

³³Richards, "The Battle of Jenkins' Ferry," pp. 13-14; OR, XXIV, pt. I, p. 691; Alwyn Barr, "Texan Losses in the Red River Campaign, 1864," *Texas Military History*, 3 (Summer 1963), pp. 106-107. According to Barr, an unidentified newspaper reporter stated the official report listed Confederate losses at 1,006.

³⁴Brown, "A Brief History of Walker's Texas Division," p. xxiii, Compiled Service Records, roll 344, regimental return.

³⁵The Compiled Service Records are the result of a massive project undertaken by the U.S. War Department in 1903. These records usually consist of a variety of documents, such as muster rolls, medical records, rosters, and casualty reports.

³⁶Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Population of The United States in 1860; Compiled From The Original Returns of The Eighth Census* (Washington, 1864), pp. 472-91.

³⁷Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, p. 331.

³⁸McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, p. 430.

³⁹James McPherson, *What They Fought For 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1994), p. 14. Bell Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, pp. 335-37, suggests that the majority of Confederate companies had from 1 to 20 soldiers who were illiterate.

⁴⁰Records for one other soldier, Private Caisson, stated he was a prisoner of war who died January 21, 1863 of typhoid/pneumonia at Gratiot Street Prison Hospital, St. Louis, Missouri. Because the 11th Texas Infantry had not been in action by this date, and due to the lack of any other documentation in his records, there is doubt whether he was a member of this unit.

⁴¹McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, p. 487.

⁴²Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, pp. 244-48.

⁴³Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas* (College Station, 1977), p. 30.

⁴⁴Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*, p. 50, categorize the middle-class as those having wealth in the \$250-\$9,999 range. In this article, the terms "mean" and "average" are used interchangeably. The median is the middle point that divides the values into two equal parts. All dollar amounts are rounded off to the nearest dollar.

⁴⁵Richard G. Lowe and Randolph B. Campbell, *Planters and Plain Folk: Agriculture in Antebellum Texas* (Dallas, 1987), p. 65.

⁴⁶McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, p. 8, Randolph B. Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1989), pp. 209, 266.

⁴⁷Campbell and Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas*, p. 44, consider someone who owns twenty or more slaves a "planter."

⁴⁸Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, pp. 322-347.