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DANIEL'S BATTERY: A NARRATIVE
HISTORY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC
STUDY OF THE NINTH TEXAS
FIELD BATTERY

THESIS

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By

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This thesis combines a traditional narrative history of a Confederate artillery battery with a socio-economic study of its members. A database was constructed using the Compiled Service Records, 1860 census, and county tax rolls. The information revealed similarities between the unit's members and their home area.

Captain James M. Daniel organized the battery in Paris, Texas, and it entered Confederate service in January 1862. The battery served in Walker's Texas Division. It was part of a reserve force at the Battle of Milliken's Bend and was involved in the battles of Bayou Bourbeau, Mansfield, and Pleasant Hill. The battery also shelled Union ships on the Mississippi River. Daniel's Battery officially surrendered at Natchitoches, Louisiana, in May 1865.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
LIST OF MAPS.....	vii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. "BULLETS AND SHELLS WHISTLING AROUND OUR EARS CONSIDERABLY".....	9
3. A STATISTICAL VIEW OF DANIEL'S BATTERY.....	54
4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	99
APPENDIX A.....	110
APPENDIX B.....	127
WORKS CONSULTED.....	131

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Places of Birth.....	63
2. Enlistment Ages.....	65
3. Permanent Personnel Losses	69
4. Pre-War Occupations.....	83
5. Value of Real Property.....	86
6. Value of Personal Property.....	87
7. Mean Size and Value of Farms.....	90
8. Slaveholdings	93

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
1. Arkansas, 1861-1865.....	14
2. Louisiana, 1861-1865.....	23
3. Battle of Bayou Bourbeau, November 3, 1863.....	27
4. Battle of Mansfield, April 8, 1864.....	40
5. Battle of Pleasant Hill, April 9, 1864.....	41
6. Theatre of Operations, May 1864-May 1865.....	49

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When the Civil War began, young men from all over the country rushed to join military units. Expecting a short war, they were eager to enlist before the fighting ended. Across the South, men from every state joined in order to defend their homeland and beliefs. As one young Texan later wrote,

Texas, the home of my mother, the pride of my father, the guardian of my sister and the home of my boyhood, God direct in the right, but right or wrong, I fought for Texas and could see no honorable course for Texas men but to stake their lives, their liberty, their all for Texas.¹

The men of Lamar County in northeast Texas were no different. Their county held the distinction of being one of eighteen Texas counties that had voted against secession. In fact, Lamar County was one of thirteen counties clustered in North Texas where at least forty percent of the population had opposed secession in the referendum on February 23, 1861. Once the state majority had spoken, however, the men of Lamar County stepped forward to protect their state and region from invasion. One of the units

¹Sparks, A. W., The War Between the States As I Saw It: Reminiscent, Historical, and Personal (Tyler, Texas: Lee and Burnett, Printers, 1901; reprint, Longview, Texas: D & D Publishing, 1987), 11.

formed in Lamar County was the Ninth Texas Field Battery, more commonly called Daniel's Battery. Originally known as the Lamar Artillery, this unit served in Walker's Texas Division in the Trans-Mississippi theater of the war.²

Perhaps no other conflict in United States history has produced more historical accounts than the War Between the States. Countless books have been authored about famous generals (or infamous, depending upon the point of view). Numerous works have examined key battles in great detail. Many other books provide regimental histories of famous units. In recent times, the regimental-history genre has broadened to include more than just the battles and campaigns. Historians have sought to understand the individual soldier and his personal experiences. What was the common soldier like? Was he wealthy or poor? Was he a slaveowner? What was his occupation before the war? What motivated him to fight? What was his war experience like?

Bell Wiley's book The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy is generally recognized as the classic work on this topic. Wiley also authored a companion work on the northern soldier, The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union. James I. Robertson's more recent work, Soldiers Blue and Gray, complements Wiley's earlier studies. Reid Mitchell's Civil War Soldiers also

²Walter L. Buenger, Secession and the Union in Texas (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1984), 174-75.

offers insights into the feelings and motives of the men who fought during this terrible conflict, as does a recent work by James McPherson, What They Fought For 1861-1865.³

Other writers have combined the traditional regimental history with socio-economic analysis of the individuals who served in the unit. One recent work by Douglas Hale is a prime example of this type of study. Hale's excellent book, The Third Texas Cavalry in the Civil War, offers both a narrative history of the unit and a quantitative examination of the individuals. Jane Harris Johansson produced a similar study of the 28th Texas Cavalry in her recent doctoral dissertation at the University of North Texas.⁴

This type of investigation is of great value in the ongoing debate over whether the Civil War was a "rich man's war but a poor man's fight." As the war progressed, this view became more prevalent in both the North and the South, especially among the lower socio-economic classes. In

³Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); James I. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1988); Reid Mitchell, Civil War Soldiers (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1988); James M. McPherson, What They Fought For 1861-1865 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994).

⁴Douglas Hale, The Third Texas Cavalry in the Civil War (Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); M. Jane Harris Johansson, "Peculiar Honor: A History of the 28th Texas Cavalry (Dismounted), Walker's Texas Division, 1862-1865," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Texas, 1993).

addition, those with adequate financial resources (generally the wealthy planter class) could hire substitutes to serve in their places. The Confederate Congress inadvertently added to the debate by passing the Exemption Act in the fall of 1862, commonly known as the "Twenty-Negro Law," that exempted one white man on every plantation with twenty or more slaves from military service. These actions made it appear that the small minority of wealthy planters (approximately 5 percent of the South's population) did not have to do their share of the fighting and dying.⁵

There were similar sentiments on the Union side. In the North, a wealthy individual could also hire a substitute. In addition, the wealthy northerner had the option of paying a \$300 commutation fee that would exempt him from the current draft (with no assurances about the next draft). It is no wonder that in both the North and the South many grumbled about a "rich man's war but a poor man's fight."⁶

To determine the validity of this statement, the socio-economic status of those who served should be explored. Because there are "no detailed national statistics on the

⁵James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 611-15.

⁶Ibid., 601; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations," in Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays, edited by Maris A. Vinovskis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 17.

characteristics of those who fought and died in the Civil War," Maris Vinovskis rightly suggests that the need for studies at the local level are necessary to determine whether the "human costs of the war" were unfairly and unevenly borne by the poor.⁷

In addition to the "rich man's war, poor man's fight" question, this type of study provides more information about the kinds of persons from Texas who fought for the Confederacy. The greater the number of men studied, the more dependable the picture will be of the common soldier from Texas. These data are also useful for comparison with other Texas troops, as well as Texas men in general. How did the men of Daniel's Battery compare to other Texans who served in various military units across the South? Were the men from Lamar County similar to Confederate soldiers from other states? This study will assist in answering questions like these.

Finally, an examination of an outfit that served in the Trans-Mississippi Department provides knowledge in one area of Civil War history that has not received as much attention from scholars as theaters east of the Mississippi River. Based on the number of books written, it would seem that the war was fought mainly in Virginia. That theater of

⁷Vinovskis, Toward a Social History of the American Civil War, 13.

operations and its leaders have received the bulk of the attention from Civil War authors.

The military units that served in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Georgia have also received more attention than those west of the Mississippi River. This is not to suggest that the numerous battles in Virginia or the campaigns for Vicksburg or Atlanta are less important than those that took place in Arkansas or Louisiana. Rather, a study of a company or battery that served "west of the river" is important in understanding the actions in a previously neglected area. Professor T. Harry Williams, writing the foreword for John D. Winters' excellent, The Civil War In Louisiana, stated it well:

One of these slighted areas is the Trans-Mississippi Department, the Confederate military term for the states of Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana west of the Mississippi River. No single work treats comprehensively the events in this theater. Nor has there been a completely satisfactory and scholarly history of the war in any of these three states. Here, indeed, is one of the neglected facets of America's most tragic experience.⁸

While there have been some positive steps taken to correct this over the past thirty years, there is still much work to be done.

The scope of this thesis will obviously not rectify fully the neglect of the past. The thesis will, however,

⁸John D. Winters, The Civil War In Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), vii.

provide a history of one artillery battery in the operations west of the Mississippi River. This will serve to aid historians in their knowledge of the men and units of the Trans-Mississippi Department.

The purpose of this thesis is twofold. First, a narrative history recounts the service of Daniel's Battery during the Civil War. Second, a quantitative analysis of the unit provides a picture of the men who served in the battery. Chapter two retraces the footsteps (or hoofprints) of the battery as it marched throughout Arkansas and Louisiana. Particular attention is given to the role and conduct of Daniel's Battery in the various battles and skirmishes in which it was involved. Letters written by two of the officers furnish additional insights into the unit's experiences.

Chapter three examines certain characteristics of the officers and enlisted men of Daniel's Battery. Information on their backgrounds, prewar occupations, and wealth are explored in order to understand better what kind of person made up this fighting unit. This information was compared and contrasted with similar material gathered by historians such as Randolph B. Campbell, Richard G. Lowe, and Bell I. Wiley. The conclusions of this study are presented in chapter four. The results of the investigation offer further insights into the socio-economic composition of the

Confederate soldiers from Texas. An appendix provides information about each member of the battery.

CHAPTER 2

"BULLETS AND SHELLS WHISTLING AROUND OUR EARS CONSIDERABLY"

Captain James Mitchell Daniel, born on June 11, 1833, in Falmouth, Virginia, was the founder and namesake of the Ninth Texas Field Battery. Two of his family members became quite well known. His older brother, John Moncure Daniel, was the controversial newspaper editor of The Richmond Examiner during the Civil War. Captain Daniel's uncle, Judge Peter V. Daniel, was a justice on the United States Supreme Court from 1841 to 1860.⁹

James M. Daniel's mother died when he was seven. Three years later, his father, a country doctor, sent him to live with an uncle in Richmond, Virginia, where young Daniel attended school. Later, with the aid of his older brother

⁹Skipper Steely, "Forty Seven Years" (unpublished manuscript that studies early Red River pioneers and their migratory patterns, in author's possession, Paris, Texas), 590; Carl R. Osthaus, Partisans Of The Southern Press: Editorial Spokesmen of the Nineteenth Century (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 95-117; Stewart Sifakis, Who Was Who In The Civil War (New York: Facts On File Publications, 1988), 167. Justice Daniel took the most extreme position of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case; he asserted that since a black could never be a citizen, he had no right to sue in the state or national courts.

John, James Daniel secured work with the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad.¹⁰

In the mid-1850's, Daniel, a civil engineer by trade, moved to Texas and settled in Lamar County. He was employed by brothers George and Travis Wright and other prominent landowners of the area to make a survey for a projected railroad that would travel across Texas from Texarkana to El Paso. George Wright, the first permanent settler in the area, was instrumental in the formation of Lamar County. He donated fifty acres for the county seat, which he named Paris. One visitor described Paris as "a clean, pretty place in the edge of Blossom Prairie, clumps of trees and deep white sand in the streets." It was there that James M. Daniel married George Wright's daughter, Emily Brown Wright, in 1858.¹¹

In 1860, Lamar County, located along the Red River near the northeast corner of the state, had a total population of

¹⁰Steely, "Forty Seven Years," 590-91.

¹¹John Q. Anderson, ed., Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone 1861-1868 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), 231-32; Skipper Steely, "Forty Seven Years," 592, states that Daniel arrived in Galveston, Texas, in 1854 and Paris, Texas, in 1856; A. W. Neville The History of Lamar County (Texas) (Paris, Texas: The North Texas Publishing Company, 1937), 88-91, 152, writes that Daniel reached Paris, Texas, in 1854; Neville also states that the projected railroad Daniel was to survey was the Memphis, El Paso, and Pacific line that would enter Texas around Texarkana, travel across to El Paso and then on to San Diego; Walter Prescott Webb, H. Bailey Carroll, and Eldon Stephen Branda (eds.), The Handbook of Texas (Austin: The Texas State Historical Assn., 1952, 1976), 2:938.

10,136 residents, including 2,833 slaves. Settled predominantly by people from the Upper South, the area was dominated by small subsistence farms. The terrain was a combination of prairie and hardwood timber. The land, though fertile, was not primarily used for commercial agriculture. Access to markets was difficult because roads were poor, rivers unreliable, and railroads non-existent. The county, still in the early stages of development at this time, was more "frontier-like" than its wealthy neighboring counties to the east.¹²

The battery that was to bear Daniel's name was first organized in Paris as the Lamar Artillery. Officially formed on July 8, 1861, the Lamar Artillery became a part of the Confederate States Army on January 18, 1862. It was most commonly known as "Daniel's Battery" throughout the war, although it was designated the Ninth Texas Field Battery on November 19, 1864. On a company muster roll dated February 28, 1862, Captain Daniel wrote,

The company at the date of January 18, 1862, were not mustered into the service, but the Secretary of War accepted them into the service on that date, and placed them under orders with instructions that they draw pay and allowances from the date of acceptance -- they being mustered into the service on my return from Richmond to

¹²Neville, History of Lamar County (Texas), 102; Douglas Hale, The Third Texas Cavalry, 38; Richard G. Lowe and Randolph B. Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk: Agriculture in Antebellum Texas (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1987), 12-13.

Texas, I having been appointed their mustering officer.¹³

Captain Daniel had apparently received permission to form the unit during the summer of 1861 while on an extended visit to his native state of Virginia.

A youngster of about twelve years of age described the excitement of the times as numerous militia units were formed in Lamar County. The young boy, Henry Hadden, recalled,

Captain Milton Webb organized a cavalry company for civic pride. They drilled every Saturday afternoon on the prairie south of Paris. There was a full company with uniforms, black velvet jackets and brass buttons. Then Captain Daniel organized an artillery company. There was an old six-pounder cannon with which they drilled out by the Chisum place. We could hear the explosions in town as they fired at a target. I do not think it was punctured as I never saw a hole in it.¹⁴

This inauspicious beginning did not deter the enthusiasm of the recruits. Eventually, Lamar County would provide men for the Confederate infantry, as well as the artillery and cavalry.

¹³Company Muster Roll dated February 28, 1862, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served In Organizations From The State of Texas, Microfilm 323, Roll 239, Ninth Texas Field Battery (Daniel's Battery), Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (hereafter cited as Compiled Service Records); Skipper Steely, "Forty Seven Years," 590; Stewart Sifakis, Compendium Of The Confederate Armies: Texas (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995), 19; Company Muster Roll dated July 8, 1861, Roll 54, Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas.

¹⁴Neville, History of Lamar County (Texas), 117.

Daniel's Battery completed its organization by the election of officers on March 8, 1862. Besides Daniel, the original officers were Senior First Lieutenant Zenas B. Tyler, Junior First Lieutenant Peter A. Lee, Senior Second Lieutenant Samuel J. Wright, and Junior Second Lieutenant Richard A. Walker. Besides the officers, there were approximately ninety-eight men on the roster at that time.¹⁵

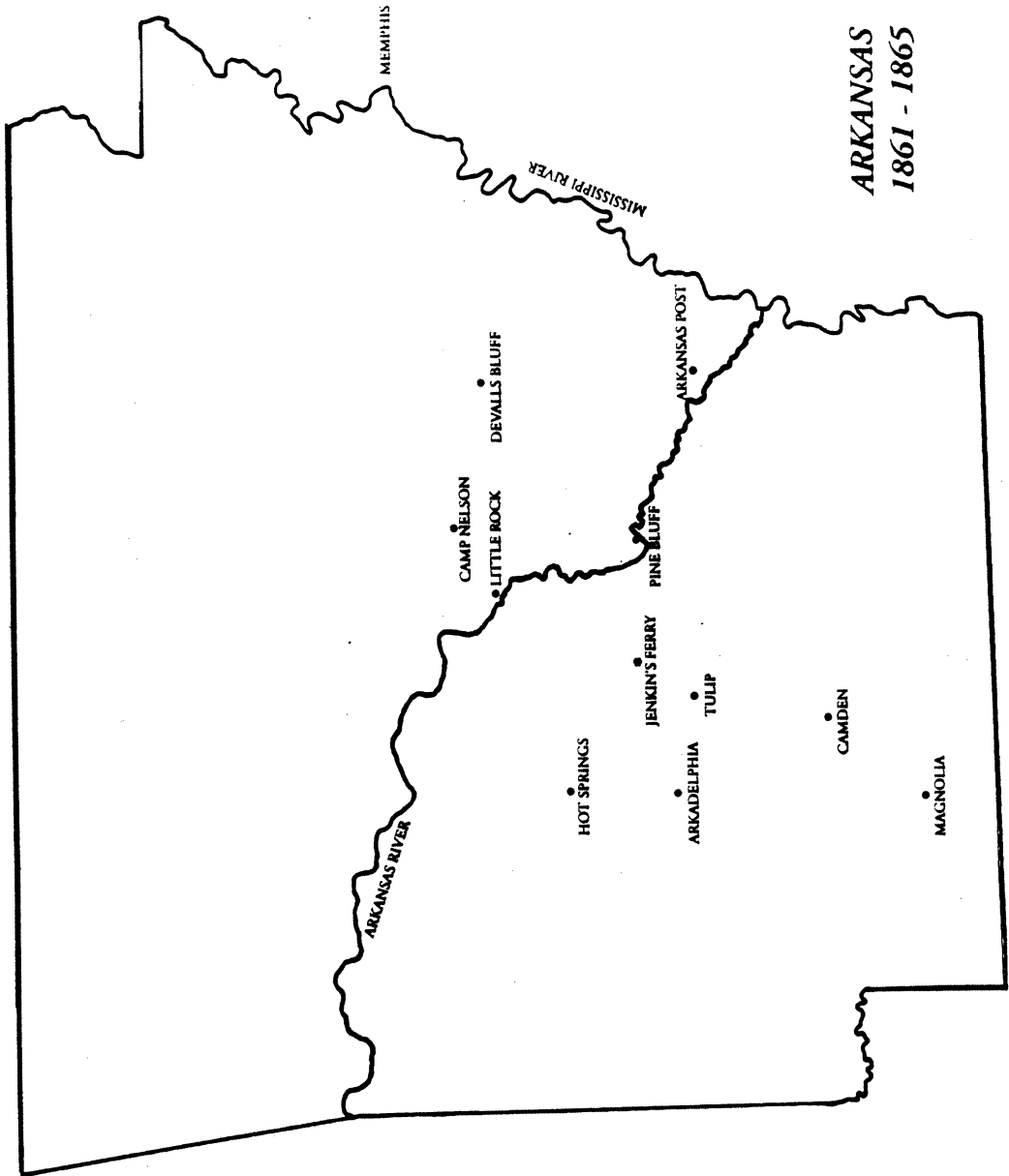
Although the date was not recorded in the company muster roll, the men of the Lamar Artillery left their camp in Paris sometime in March or April 1862 and proceeded to Little Rock. Additional recruits were added at Tulip, Arkansas, during the month of May. Other men joined Daniel's Battery at Devalls Bluff, Arkansas, in June. The unit reached Little Rock in July and remained in that general area until September 1862.¹⁶

During its time in Arkansas, Daniel's Battery left a favorable impression with at least one superior officer.

¹⁵Ibid., 118-20.

¹⁶Compiled Service Records, Roll 239, Ninth Texas Field Battery (Daniel's Battery). See company muster rolls at the beginning of roll. March-April 1862 muster roll indicates the battery was on the march from Paris to Little Rock by order of Major General Sterling Price. Information about those who later enlisted at Tulip and Devalls Bluff, Arkansas, is compiled from individual service records. See Map 1 for locations in Arkansas. There are different spellings for Devalls Bluff. The Compiled Service Records spell it Duvalls Bluff. According to Russell Baker of the Arkansas Historical Commission in Little Rock, the U. S. Post Office established there in 1851 spelled it Devalls Bluff. Baker mentioned other spellings (a current road map spells it De Valls) and said that, in Arkansas, all were correct!

MAP 1



ARKANSAS
1861 - 1865

Major William Woodruff commanded a battalion of Arkansas light artillery, to which several Texas batteries (Pratt's, Daniel's, and Edgar's) were temporarily attached. In later recalling his military associations with the officers of these batteries, Woodruff mentioned Captain Daniel and Lieutenant Samuel Wright by name and described them as "strong men and brave soldiers."¹⁷

A valuable source of information on Daniel's Battery is a series of letters that Lieutenant Samuel J. Wright wrote to his parents throughout the war. Samuel Wright, the only son of Travis Wright, had been a student at the University of Virginia before the war. The twenty-one-year-old officer wrote that Daniel's Battery was stationed at Occopolo Bluffs on the White River (near Arkansas Post) in early July 1862. The battery hoped to shell Union gunboats and transports but was withdrawn a week later without firing a shot.¹⁸

The first enemy that the men of the Lamar Artillery faced was their most deadly foe: disease. According to Civil War historian Bell Wiley, "The most destructive enemies of Confederates were not the Yankees but the

¹⁷William E. Woodruff, With The Light Guns: Reminiscences of Eleven Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas Light Batteries in the Civil War (Little Rock: Central Printing Company, 1903; reprint, Little Rock: Eagle Press of Little Rock, 1987), 95.

¹⁸Steely, "Forty Seven Years," 597; Samuel J. Wright to Dear Mother, July 4, 1862, and Dear Father, July 12, 1862, Civil War Letters, Skipper Steely Collection, Box 13, East Texas State University Archives, Commerce, Texas.

invisible organisms which filled the camps with sickness." One example in Daniel's Battery was Private George Fowler. Fowler's records describe him as a 5'11" farmer with blue eyes and light hair. Born in Tennessee, the twenty-eight-year-old was characterized on the April 8, 1862, descriptive roll as having a "sound body and good health." The May-June 1862 company muster roll lists Private Fowler as being absent from the unit and sick in the hospital in Little Rock. George Fowler "died of disease" on July 26, 1862. Regrettably, his story was repeated over and over throughout the Confederate and Union armies.¹⁹

Daniel's Battery was stationed at Camp Nelson, Arkansas, in September and October of 1862. Located about two miles east of Austin in central Arkansas, Camp Nelson was infamous for the widespread sickness that decimated the troops. Writing about Camp Nelson, one soldier recalled,

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.²⁰

¹⁹Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb, 244; Compiled Service Records, Ninth Texas Field Battery, Records of George W. Fowler, roll 239.

²⁰Joseph P. Blessington, The Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division (New York: Lange, Little & Co., 1875; repr., Austin: State House Press, 1994), 44. See Field Roebuck, "The Camp Nelson Confederate Cemetery," Confederate Veteran (November-December 1992): 22-27, for an article on the preservation of the Camp Nelson cemetery.

The officer corps of Daniel's Battery suffered as much as the enlisted men. In an October 1862 letter to his father, Lieutenant Wright wrote of being sick for the previous ten days. He noted that both Lieutenants Tyler and Walker were also ill. In addition, Captain Daniel was not with the battery at that time either; he was sick at Hot Springs.²¹

A rare glimpse into the personal suffering of the men of the Lamar Artillery is found in another letter that young Wright wrote home. His friend and fellow officer, Lieutenant Zenas B. Tyler, died in early November 1862 of an unspecified illness. Samuel Wright wrote,

Tyler is dead -- calmly and peacefully he breathed his last about two hours since. He died tonight about 8 o'clock. I have been with him during the last week of his illness. He was perfectly resigned to his death, and conscious to the last of his approaching dissolution. . . he was a good officer, and would have proved it had opportunity offered in the field of battle. It must be hard to die so far from home and kindred.²²

Daniel's Battery, like other Civil War units, would lose more good men to disease before the fighting even began.

In some early letters, Lieutenant Wright had requested that his parents send him another slave because the one he had was ill. In a letter written to his father just before

²¹Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, October 20, 1862, Steely Collection.

²²Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, November 3, 1862, *ibid.*

he left Pine Bluff, Wright told of his new slave's impressions of army life.

Lew is well and says, "Little Rock is the most uncivilized country he ever saw" and "that a nigger with any manners or good raising would starve to death there." He was glad to leave and thinks he has about got to the end of the world. He hasn't got the hang of camps yet, and stumbles over a tent rope everywhere he goes. He is very religious and is quite shocked at the "profanity" of camp life.²³

In October 1862, while Daniel's Battery was stationed at Camp Nelson, the infantry there was organized into four brigades with an artillery battery attached to each brigade. The resulting division, under the command of Major General Henry McCulloch, later became known as Walker's Texas Division when Major General John G. Walker assumed command in January 1863. Daniel's Battery was assigned to the Second Brigade, commanded by Colonel Horace Randal.²⁴

The men of Daniel's Battery finally left Camp Nelson and marched to Camp Bayou Metre (approximately eleven miles south of Camp Nelson) on November 21, 1862. The battery then moved about twenty miles to the west to Little Rock on December 12. Apparently, Daniel's Battery was part of a group that was to be sent to assist Major General Thomas C. Hindman's troops at Fort Smith in their efforts against Union forces in northwestern Arkansas. Before

²³Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, April 21, 1863, Ibid.

²⁴Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 45-59, 67.

reinforcements from the Little Rock area could reach him, Hindman was defeated at Prairie Grove, eight miles southwest of Fayetteville, and Daniel's Battery remained in Little Rock. In early January 1863 Walker's Texas Division, including the Lamar Artillery, was sent to Pine Bluff, about fifty miles south of Little Rock. After a few days there, the division was ordered to march fifty-five miles down the Arkansas River to Arkansas Post to help with its defense.²⁵

A Union force of 30,000 soldiers, commanded by Major General John A. McClernand and accompanied by Federal gunboats and ironclads, had moved to capture the Confederate fort at Arkansas Post. McClernand's goal was to abolish any threat to the main Federal supply lines operating down the Mississippi River to Vicksburg. On the way to relieve Arkansas Post, the Confederate reinforcements (which included Daniel's Battery) received word that the post had been captured by McClernand's numerically superior Union force.²⁶

²⁵Compiled Service Records, Roll 239, Company Muster Rolls for November-December 1862 and January-February 1863; Robert L. Kerby, Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865 (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1972), 34-5; Samuel J. Wright to Dear Mother, December 20, 1862 and Dear Father, January 15, 1863, Steely Collection; Thomas W. Cutrer, ed., "'Bully For Flournoy's Regiment, We Are Some Punkins, You'll Bet': The Civil War Letters of Virgil Sullivan Rabb, Captain, Company 'I', Sixteenth Texas Infantry, C. S. A." Military History of the Southwest 19 (Fall 1989): 170-73.

²⁶Shelby Foote, The Civil War: A Narrative 3 vols., (New York: Random House, 1958, 1963, 1974), vol. 2, The Civil War: A Narrative, Fredericksburg to Meridian, 133-36.

Anticipating an attack by the Federals, Walker's Division dug in about eighteen miles upriver from Arkansas Post. They remained there for a week, suffering in the bitter cold winter weather, before withdrawing back to Pine Bluff. One soldier referred to the place as "Camp Freeze Out." Lieutenant Samuel Wright was in command of the battery during this time because of Captain Daniel's absence due to sickness. In a letter to his father, Wright recalled the misery and suffering that he and the other soldiers endured.

The order came to send off all baggage and even tents. So I hauled on five shirts, three pairs of pants, and socks in proportion, and away went everything else . . . I never saw men suffer so before. It felt cold to lie down in snow and ice and try to sleep at night. I had but one blanket, and Jim [Wright, his cousin and fellow officer] one, so we spliced and rolled up together. The last night it rained and we all got wet. Next morning the gunboats left, and we began our retreat in the coldest rain, with mud and water about knee deep all over the whole earth, until we reached this place [Pine Bluff] yesterday.²⁷

For further information on the battle for Arkansas Post, see United States War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 128 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, Volume XVII, Part I, 700-11, 716-19, 780-82 (hereafter cited as OR).

²⁷Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, January 23, 1863, Steely Collection; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 70; Thomas W. Cutrer, ed., "'An Experience in Soldier's Life': The Civil War Letters of Volney Ellis, Adjutant, Twelfth Texas Infantry, Walker's Texas Division, C.S.A.," Military History of the Southwest 22 (Fall 1992): 122-3.

Daniel's Battery remained in Pine Bluff throughout February and March of 1863. Walker's Division left Pine Bluff on April 24, 1863, and proceeded toward Alexandria in central Louisiana, to strengthen Confederate forces in response to possible Union operations. Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, ordered Walker's Division to Louisiana so he could use it against either Union Major General Nathaniel Banks' force located west of New Orleans or Major General Ulysses S. Grant's campaign to take Vicksburg. Prior to the unit's departure, Captain Daniel took sixty days' leave, and Lieutenant Samuel Wright was again placed in charge.²⁸

The men of Daniel's Battery received a warm welcome as they passed through various towns on the trip to central Louisiana. Crowds lined the roads to watch the army march by, and young girls and old ladies alike handed out flowers to the soldiers as they passed. Towns provided entertainment for the soldiers, and the men of Daniel's Battery enjoyed the attention. "Every town where we stop has a large hall to entertain soldiers in. The Artillery,

²⁸Compiled Service Records, roll 239, Company Muster Rolls for January-February 1863 and March-April 1863; Terrence J. Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar: John Walker's Texas Division and its Expedition to Relieve Fortress Vicksburg," Civil War Regiments, 3 (March 1994): 36-38.

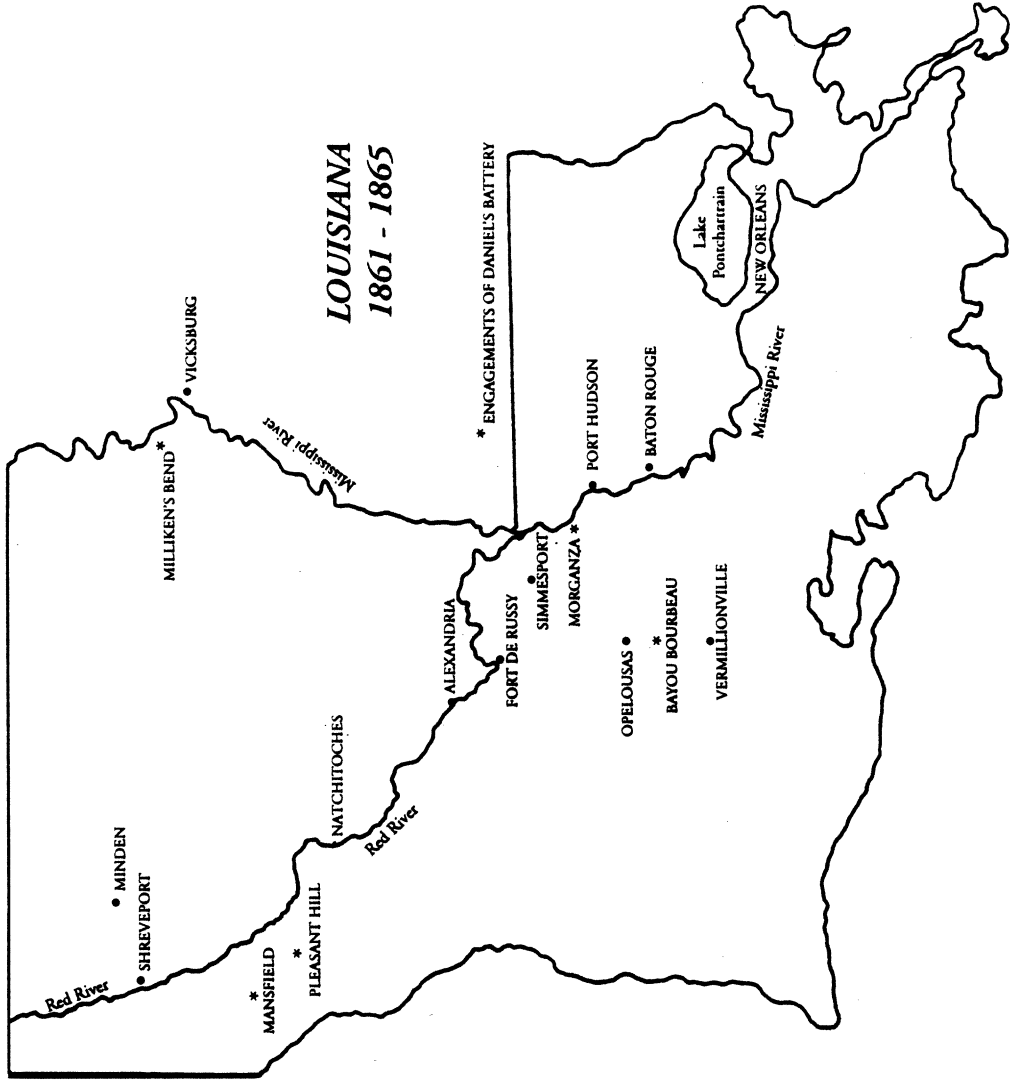
with its red stripes, carries the day everywhere and is very popular."²⁹

Daniel's Battery soon left the cheering throngs behind and focused its attention on fighting the enemy. The battery was composed of four cannons, divided into two-gun sections commanded by lieutenants, with Captain Daniel in overall command. The type of cannons used by Daniel's Battery in early 1863 is not known; in November 1863, the battery consisted of a section of two 3-inch rifles and two 6-pounder guns. When the battery surrendered at the end of the war, the unit included a section of two 3-inch rifles and two 12-pounder howitzers. After the battery arrived in Alexandria, one section, under the command of Lieutenant Wright, was ordered to remain there and take on additional recruits.³⁰

²⁹Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, May 6, 1863, Steely Collection. Cadet gray was the official color prescribed for Confederate uniforms. The uniforms were supposed to be trimmed with colors that varied according to the branch of service: red for artillery; blue for infantry; and yellow for cavalry.

³⁰Ibid., May 22, June 9, June 22, and June 30, 1864, Steely Collection; Company return, May 1863, bound volume 41, Civil War Papers, Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Tulane University Library, New Orleans, LA.; Alwyn Barr, "Texas' Confederate Field Artillery," Texas Military History 1 (August 1961): 7; QR, 48, pt. II, p. 963. See Map 2 for locations in Louisiana. For more information on the various types of artillery used in the Civil War, see James C. Hazlett, Edwin Olmstead, and M. Hume Parks, Field Artillery Weapons of the Civil War, 2d ed. (Newark, New Jersey: University of Delaware Press, 1988).

MAP 2



The other section of Daniel's Battery, however, marched northeast from Alexandria with Walker's Texas Division in its campaign against Milliken's Bend and Young's Point, Louisiana, near Vicksburg. The objective of the campaign was to destroy the Union communication and supply lines on the west side of the Mississippi River in order to help ease the siege of Vicksburg. On May 9, 1863, Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton, commander of the Confederate troops at Vicksburg, wrote Kirby Smith, asking for his help:

My force is insufficient for offensive operations. I must stand on the defensive, at all events until re-enforcements reach me. You can contribute materially to the defense of Vicksburg and the navigation of the Mississippi River by a movement upon the line of communications of the enemy on the western side of the river. He derives his supplies and re-enforcements for the most part by a route which leads from Milliken's Bend to New Carthage, La., a distance of some 35 or 40 miles. To break this would render a most important service.³¹

The Confederate plan of attack called for Brigadier General J. M. Hawes' brigade to strike the Federal forces at Young's Point (downriver from Milliken's Bend) while, simultaneously, General Henry McCulloch's brigade assaulted the Union position at Milliken's Bend. Colonel Horace Randal's brigade remained with Major General John Walker a few miles away at the Oak Grove Plantation as a strategic

³¹OR, XXIV, pt. III, p. 846; Bearss, Edwin C., The Campaign For Vicksburg, 3 vols., (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside House, Inc., 1986), Vol. 3, The Campaign For Vicksburg: Unvexed to the Sea, 1166; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 94, 127-130.

reserve that could move to assist either of the other two brigades. Daniel's Battery was a part of this reserve force.³²

Poor reconnaissance and incompetent guides (according to General Hawes) contributed to the Confederate failure at Young's Point. Hawes' 1,403-man brigade took seventeen hours to cover eleven miles. When it finally reached the enemy camp at 10:30 a.m. (instead of dawn), Hawes' men found four Union regiments, supported by gunboats, awaiting them. The combination of a strong enemy position, lack of cover or surprise, and exhausted troops led General Hawes to call off the assault.³³

Back at Milliken's Bend, the 1,500 soldiers of McCulloch's brigade attacked in the early morning hours on Sunday, June 7, 1863. Confederate forces overpowered the initial line of defense after a very fierce fight. The Union force of just over 1,000 men fell back to a second line of defense, which they held with support from the heavy guns of a Federal gunboat. General McCulloch asked for reinforcements, but the appearance of a second Union gunboat

³²OR, XXIV, pt. II, p. 457-61; Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar," 44, 47-49; Bearss, Campaign for Vicksburg: Unvexed to the Sea, 1177. Milliken's Bend was approximately eighteen miles northwest of Vicksburg; Young's Point was about ten miles due west of the city. According to Winschel, parts of both sites are now beneath the Mississippi River.

³³OR, XXIV, pt. II, p. 471-72; Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar," 53-54; Bearss, Campaign for Vicksburg: Unvexed to the Sea, 1175, 1183-85.

caused him to order his troops to pull back before help arrived. Walker's Texas Division then regrouped and began its retreat. Daniel's Battery would have to wait a little longer to fight.³⁴

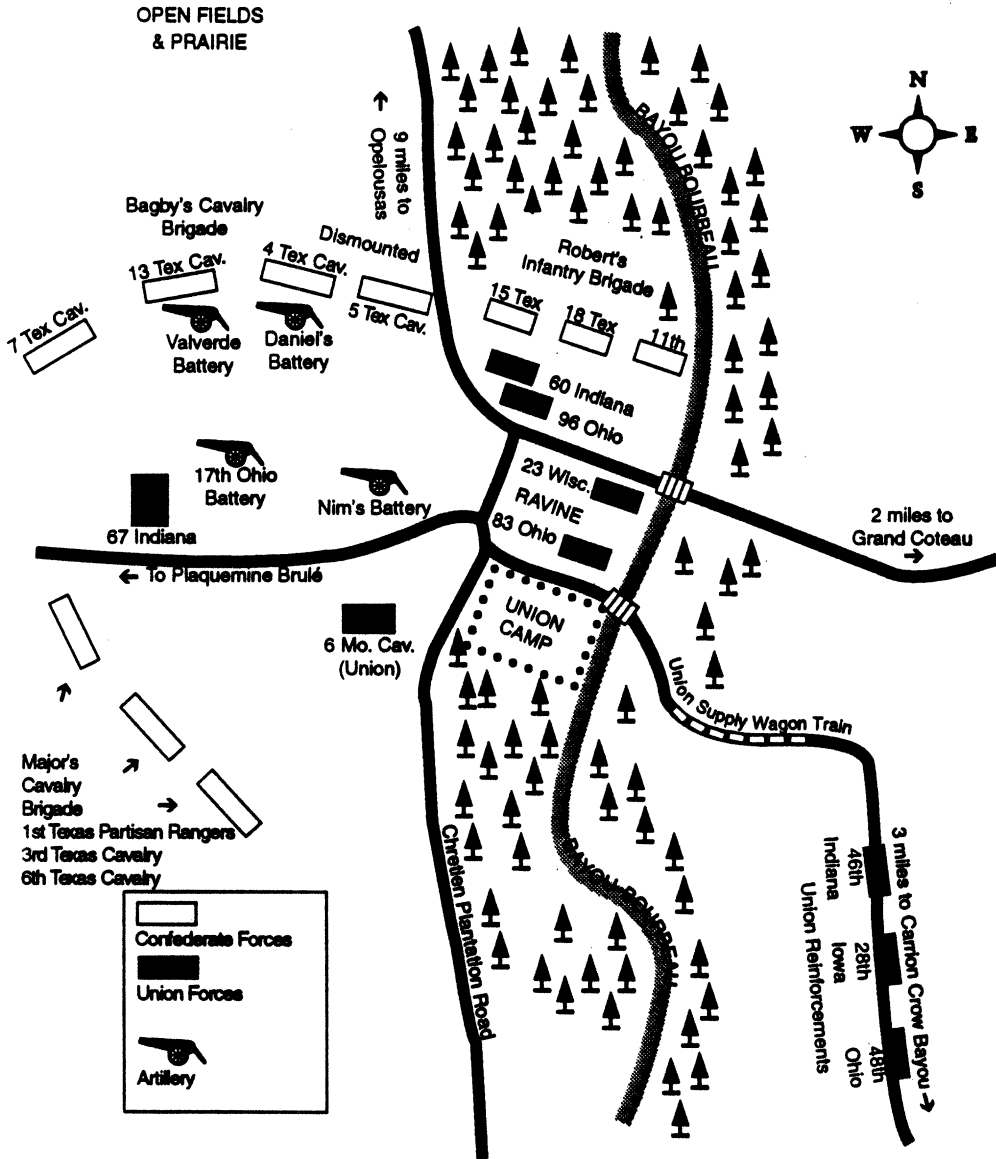
One significant aspect of the Battle of Milliken's Bend is that it marked only the second time since the war began that black regiments had been involved in combat, the first occurring about two weeks earlier at Port Hudson, Louisiana. A high-ranking government official stated that the brave conduct of the black soldiers during this fight "completely revolutionized the sentiment of the army with regard to the employment of negro troops. I have heard prominent officers who formerly in private had sneered at the idea of negroes fighting express themselves after that as heartily in favor of it."³⁵

For the Confederates, the campaign was a total waste. Civil War historian Edwin C. Bearss states, "If undertaken at an earlier date, in late April or early May, a slashing Southern onslaught against one or more of General Grant's Louisiana enclaves or his long, exposed supply line west of

³⁴OR, XXIV, pt. II, p. 467-70; Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar," 49-51; Bearss, Campaign for Vicksburg: Unvexed to the Sea, 1183. According to Bearss, the Confederates lost 44 killed, 131 wounded, and 10 missing at Milliken's Bend; the Union forces suffered 101 killed, 285 wounded, and 266 missing.

³⁵McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 634. Black regiments were used for the first time on May 27, 1863, in an assault on Port Hudson, near Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

MAP 3 BATTLE OF BAYOU BOURBEAU NOVEMBER 3, 1863



the river might have jeopardized the Union campaign." The attack, however, was not made until early June. By that time, Grant had opened a new supply line from the Yazoo bases north of the city (on the east side of the river) to the Union forces besieging Vicksburg. Consequently, the Confederate attack on June 7 was too late to interfere with the Union effort.³⁶

The campaign to take Milliken's Bend and Young's Point is a perfect example of the long distances that Walker's Texas Division marched throughout the war. In this action, the division marched from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, to Alexandria, Louisiana, and then back north to the west bank of the Mississippi River, only a few miles from Vicksburg. This trek is approximately 325 straight-line miles. In comparison, during the Peninsula campaign in the summer of 1862, General Robert E. Lee ordered Major General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson to bring his forces from the Shenandoah Valley to Richmond. The most direct rail route was 130 miles. It is indicative, too, of how the men in Daniel's Battery spent much of their time during the war -- marching a great deal but seeing very little action. The frequent marches and counter-marches earned the division the nickname "Walker's Greyhounds."³⁷

³⁶Bearss, Campaign for Vicksburg: Unvexed to the Sea, 1153; Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar," 43, 45.

³⁷Stephen W. Sears, To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign (New York: Tichnor and Fields, 1992),

The reason for all the marching was that the Confederate army in Louisiana was too small to hold off the growing Union threat. Major General Richard Taylor was the commander of the Confederate army in western Louisiana from the summer of 1862 to the summer of 1864, and Walker's Texas Division was a prime element of this army for much of the war. As one historian stated, "Taylor was forever marching and countermarching his regiments from one threatened area to another, in a desperate and usually futile effort to plug every gap in his line." As a result, Walker's Texas Division and Daniel's Battery were forced to move frequently.³⁸

A few months later, in the fall of 1863, Major General William B. Franklin mounted another Union threat to Louisiana. Franklin's force, which consisted of more than 30,000 troops from the Thirteenth and Nineteenth Army Corps, was ordered to proceed overland from New Orleans, west to Bayou Teche, and then across southern Louisiana to invade Texas at the lower Sabine River. Elements of Taylor's army skirmished with the Union column throughout the month of October in the Vermilionville-Opelousas area of south-central Louisiana. In one instance, on October 23, units of

174; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 46, 112, 131, 247.

³⁸Robert L. Kerby, Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865 (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1972), 21, 239-40, 330.

Confederate infantry, cavalry, and artillery (including Daniel's Battery) took up defensive positions at Moundville, Louisiana, a few miles north of Opelousas, and awaited a Union cavalry assault. The outmanned enemy advance halted and then fell back upon seeing the Confederate pickets. Two regiments of rebel infantry followed and skirmished briefly with the Federal forces but Daniel's gunners once again missed the action.³⁹

A more significant engagement in Franklin's expedition, the Battle of Bayou Bourbeau, occurred on Tuesday, November 3, 1863, a few miles south of Opelousas, Louisiana (see Maps 2 & 3). General Franklin had dispersed his brigades in order to help each unit have a fair chance to secure forage and provisions; this area was destitute due to earlier occupation by both armies. This scattered disposition of troops invited an attack. Brigadier General Thomas Green, commanding a combined Confederate force of 3,000 cavalry and infantry, to which a rifle section of Daniel's Battery was attached, struck an infantry brigade commanded by Union Brigadier General Stephen Burbridge on the edge of an open prairie.⁴⁰

³⁹Alwyn Barr, ed., "The Battle of Bayou Bourbeau, November 3, 1863: Colonel Oran M. Roberts' Report," Louisiana History, 6 (Winter 1965): 83; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 135-36. Vermilionville is known as Lafayette today.

⁴⁰Barr, "Battle of Bayou Bourbeau: Colonel Roberts' Report," 83-85; Kerby, Kirby Smith's Confederacy, 244-45; QR, XXVI, pt. I, p. 394. A section of six-pounder guns of

The left wing of the Confederate line consisted of three regiments of infantry (11th, 15th, and 18th Texas) commanded by Colonel Oran M. Roberts. On the right side of the line was Colonel J. P. Major and his brigade of cavalry. Colonel A. P. Bagby's cavalry brigade occupied the center. A rifle section of Daniel's Battery, under the command of Lieutenant Samuel M. Hamilton, and a section of the Valverde Battery commanded by Lieutenant P. G. Hume, were also placed in the center of the line with Bagby's men.⁴¹

The left side of the Confederate line opened an infantry attack about noon and pushed forward under fire. Daniel's Battery and the Valverde gunners then moved to within four hundred yards of the Union infantry and opened fire. The Texas horsemen on the right and center of the Confederate forces joined in a furious assault on the lone Federal brigade. The combined charge by the Rebel infantry and cavalry caused Federal troops to break and run. The midwesterners of Burbridge's brigade suffered losses of 25 killed, 129 wounded, 562 captured or missing (out of 1,625

Daniel's Battery, under the command of Lt. Sam Wright, had been sent to Shreveport in late September, according to the Wright (George Travis) Family Papers, Samuel J. Wright Civil War Service file, 1863-1865, Box 2H416, Center For American History, University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas; November-December 1863 Company Muster Roll, Compiled Service Records, Roll 239, states that one section of guns was on detached service in Shreveport.

⁴¹OR, XXVI, pt. I, p. 393-94.

soldiers involved), one piece of artillery, and "a large quantity of improved small-arms and accouterments."⁴²

An attempt by a force of Union cavalry to hit the southerners from behind was also foiled. After the successful charge gained the enemy camp, Colonel Roberts' troops turned and attacked the Federal cavalry, which was "immediately repulsed and scattered." The victory at Bayou Bourbeau cost the Confederate forces 22 men killed, 103 wounded, and 55 missing. In their first fight of the war, Daniel's Battery had one man wounded (Sergeant J. M. Hogan was wounded slightly in the hand) and none killed or missing.⁴³

Daniel's Battery would see more action in November 1863. After the fighting at Bayou Bourbeau, the battery spent the remainder of November and much of December marching back and forth to Camp Bayou Boeuf, Simmesport, and Morganza in central Louisiana, traveling a total of 150 miles during this time (see Map 2). They, along with other

⁴²OR, XXVI, pt. I, p. 359, 394; Kerby, Kirby Smith's Confederacy, 246; Winter, Civil War In Louisiana, 299. See David C. Edmonds, Yankee Autumn in Acadiana: A Narrative of the Great Texas Overland Expedition through Southwestern Louisiana October-December 1863 (Lafayette, Louisiana: The Acadiana Press, 1979), 272-95, for more information on the Battle of Bayou Bourbeau.

⁴³Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 142-43; Barr, "Colonel Oran M. Roberts' Report," Louisiana History, 88-89; OR, XXVI, pt. I, p. 395; The Galveston Weekly News, November 23, 1863.

batteries in the division, spent several weeks shelling Federal gunboats and transports on the Mississippi River.⁴⁴

During the night of November 15, 1863, Daniel's, Edgar's, Haldeman's, Semmes', and West's Batteries took up positions on the banks of the Mississippi River near Hog Point, Louisiana, about twenty miles north of Morganza near the mouth of the Red River in central Louisiana. Two three-inch Parrott rifles of Daniel's Battery along with two three-inch rifled guns of Farries' Louisiana Battery were placed in a redoubt that was built into the angle of the levee.⁴⁵

Fighting began at 7 a.m. on November 18, 1863, when the Confederate artillery opened fire on a Union transport. The ship was hit once before disappearing in the fog. The single Union barge battery that returned fire did no damage. About mid-afternoon the Confederate batteries opened fire on a Union gunboat and caused some damage to the craft. This brought return fire from both Federal barge batteries and ironclads.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Compiled Service Records, roll 239, Company Muster Roll dated November-December 1863; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 150-54; Winter, Civil War In Louisiana, 299. See Map 2 for general locations in Louisiana.

⁴⁵Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 150; OR, XXVI, pt. I, pp.453-54.

⁴⁶OR, XXVI, pt. I, p. 454.

During this two-hour fight, Daniel's battery, located in the levee redoubt, was forced to withdraw from its position because of the heavy, enfilading fire from the Union ironclads and barge batteries. In a report of the action, Captain T. A. Fairies wrote,

The [Union ironclad] Choctaw, during the firing, left her position above, and, passing down, delivered a very heavy fire from her bow, side, and stern guns, enfilading for a short time the four rifled guns in the redoubt. Captain [J. M.] Daniel, the senior officer present, two of whose guns occupied the redoubt, thought proper to order the four guns away from the platform in the redoubt. They were run down the ramp to the road below, and the cannoneers ordered to take shelter in the curves behind the levee.⁴⁷

Although most of the enemy shells exploded in the vicinity of the rebel guns in the redoubt, there were no Southern casualties.

The next day Daniel's Battery and the Nineteenth Texas Infantry moved about twenty miles downriver to Morganzia Landing. On November 25, while the battery was stationed on the J. M. Cottier plantation about four miles from the town of Morganza, it came under fire from Union gunboats. Unfortunately for the southerners, their cannons had not been adequately concealed; indeed, they were in full view of the gunboats. The shelling from the gunboats sent terrified

⁴⁷Ibid., 454-55; United States Naval War Records Office, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion 30 vols., (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922), Series I, XX, pp. 849-50.

civilians scrambling for cover, but no casualties were reported.⁴⁸

In early December, Daniel's Battery, supported by the Sixteenth Texas Infantry under the command of Colonel George Flournoy, were sent south of Morganza to shell enemy transports on the Mississippi River. On the afternoon of December 8, Daniel's Battery opened fire on the steamer Von Phul. The deadly accurate cannon fire killed the ship's captain and bartender and wounded several others. One of the passengers recalled the scene on board the Von Phul:

The pilot . . . stood at his post, carefully guiding the boat on her course. The body of the captain was lying at his feet. Another man lay dying, close by the opening in which the wheel revolved. The floor was covered with blood, splinters, glass, and the fragments of a shattered stove. One side of the little room was broken in, and the other side was perforated where the projectiles made their exit. The first gun from the Rebels threw a shell which entered the side of the pilot-house, and struck the captain who was sitting just behind the pilot. Death must have been instantaneous. A moment later, a "spherical-case shot" followed the shell. It exploded as it struck the wood-work, and a portion of the contents entered the side of the bar-keeper of the boat.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 152; Edwin C. Bearss, ed., A Louisiana Confederate: Diary of Felix Pierre Poche (Natchitoches, La.: Louisiana Studies Institute, Northwestern State University of Louisiana, 1972), 56, 268.

⁴⁹Thomas W. Knox, Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field: Southern Adventure In Time Of War (New York: Blelock and Company, 1865), 473; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 153-54; OR, XXV, pt. I, p. 625.

The Von Phul steamed away from Daniel's Battery and sought help from the Union gunboat Neosho. As it was convoyed up the river a couple of hours later, the Von Phul was fired upon by Semmes' Battery and the Louisiana Pelican Battery. Confederate gunners hit the Von Phul twenty more times, but the return fire from the Neosho forced the Confederate batteries to retreat.⁵⁰

In January 1864 Daniel's Battery marched up the Red River to Alexandria, Louisiana, and remained there through February while undergoing repairs. Junior First Lieutenant Samuel Hamilton had assumed command on December 21, 1863, when Captain Daniel left again for Texas on sick furlough. Lieutenant Samuel Wright, who had assumed command during Daniel's previous absences, was also on sick leave. Wright had been at his parents' home in Lamar County since November 1863 because of rheumatism.⁵¹

This break in action was the calm before the storm. Soon, Union General Nathaniel Banks launched the Red River campaign, with its multiple goals of invading Texas, seizing needed cotton, discouraging France's interest in Texas, and

⁵⁰OR, XXV, pt. I, 625-26; Knox, Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field, 474-77; Bearss, Louisiana Confederate, 60, 269.

⁵¹Compiled Service Records, roll 239, Company muster roll for January-February 1864 and service records of James M. Daniel, Samuel M. Hamilton, and Samuel J. Wright; Return of J. M. Daniel's Company of Light Artillery, dated February 29, 1864, bound volume 41, item 10, Civil War Papers, Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Tulane University Library.

gaining political strength for President Abraham Lincoln in the 1864 presidential election. Apparently, it was the reality of French troops in Mexico and the rumors of "a Franco-Confederate rapprochement and of possible French annexation not only of Texas, but of Louisiana and Arizona as well" that caused Lincoln to push Banks to get the expedition started. In mid-March, a combined Federal army and naval force began moving up the Red River. Their goal was to capture Shreveport and then continue on into Texas.⁵²

The Union invasion force ran into a Confederate buzz-saw on Friday, April 8, 1864, just outside the town of Mansfield, Louisiana, approximately thirty miles south of Shreveport. After continually falling back in the face of a superior enemy army, frustrated Confederate General Richard Taylor decided to make a stand and "fight Banks if he has a million men." In fact, Taylor's 8,800 men would face a total Union force of 30,000 men. At the point of attack, however, Northern and Southern troops were roughly equal. Confederate troops positioned themselves three miles south of Mansfield and awaited a Union attack.⁵³

⁵²Ludwell H. Johnson, Red River Campaign: Politics and Cotton in the Civil War (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1993), 35, 3-48; Winters, Civil War in Louisiana, 325-34. According to Johnson, p. 100, Bank's force consisted of 30,000 army troops, 90 cannons, and 60 Federal vessels, including 13 ironclads and 4 tinclads.

⁵³Johnson, Red River Campaign, 132, citing Mary L. B. Bankston, Camp-Fire Stories of the Mississippi Valley Campaign (New Orleans: L. Graham Company, 1914), 148; Winter, Civil War in Louisiana, 334-47; E. B. Long with

The Southerners had taken up positions across the Mansfield-Pleasant Hill road on the edge of a thick pine forest. In front of them was a large clearing, about eight hundred yards deep and 1,200 yards wide, with a low hill in the center. On the other side of the clearing were more dense pine woods and Union troops.⁵⁴

Daniel's Battery and Haldeman's Battery were positioned to the right of the Pleasant Hill road as part of Walker's Division (see Map 4). Taylor grew impatient as the day progressed, waiting for the enemy to attack. Finally at four o'clock in the afternoon, he sent his infantry to attack.⁵⁵

Confederate infantry and cavalry mounted a bloody but successful charge that routed the Union forces. Lieutenant Joshua Wilson of Daniel's Battery described the battle in a letter to his wife:

. . . it was a gallant charge, and though many a noble man fell, they never stopped. . . . Both [Walker's and Mouton's] divisions pitched into the Yankees heavy, and completely panic stricken, they [the Federals] fled in confusion. . . . For ten miles the road was strewn with dead Yankees and horses. During this time we did not get to fire a

Barbara Long, The Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac 1861-1865 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971), 482.

⁵⁴Johnson, Red River Campaign, 127; Foote, vol. 3, The Civil War A Narrative: Red River to Appomattox, 41-42.

⁵⁵OR, XXXIV, pt. I, pp. 563-64; Rebecca W. Smith and Marion Mullins, eds., "Diary of H. C. Medford, Confederate Soldier, 1864," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 34 (January 1931): 216-17.

gun -- the infantry and cavalry did all the work.⁵⁶

The frightened Federals ran for four miles before reinforcements could slow the Confederate onslaught. The victory was capped at nightfall by a successful fight that gained a creek (and critical water supply) for the triumphant Southerners. Unfortunately for the men of Daniel's Battery, they did not participate in the victory and would have to wait until the next day to see any action. As General Richard Taylor recalled:

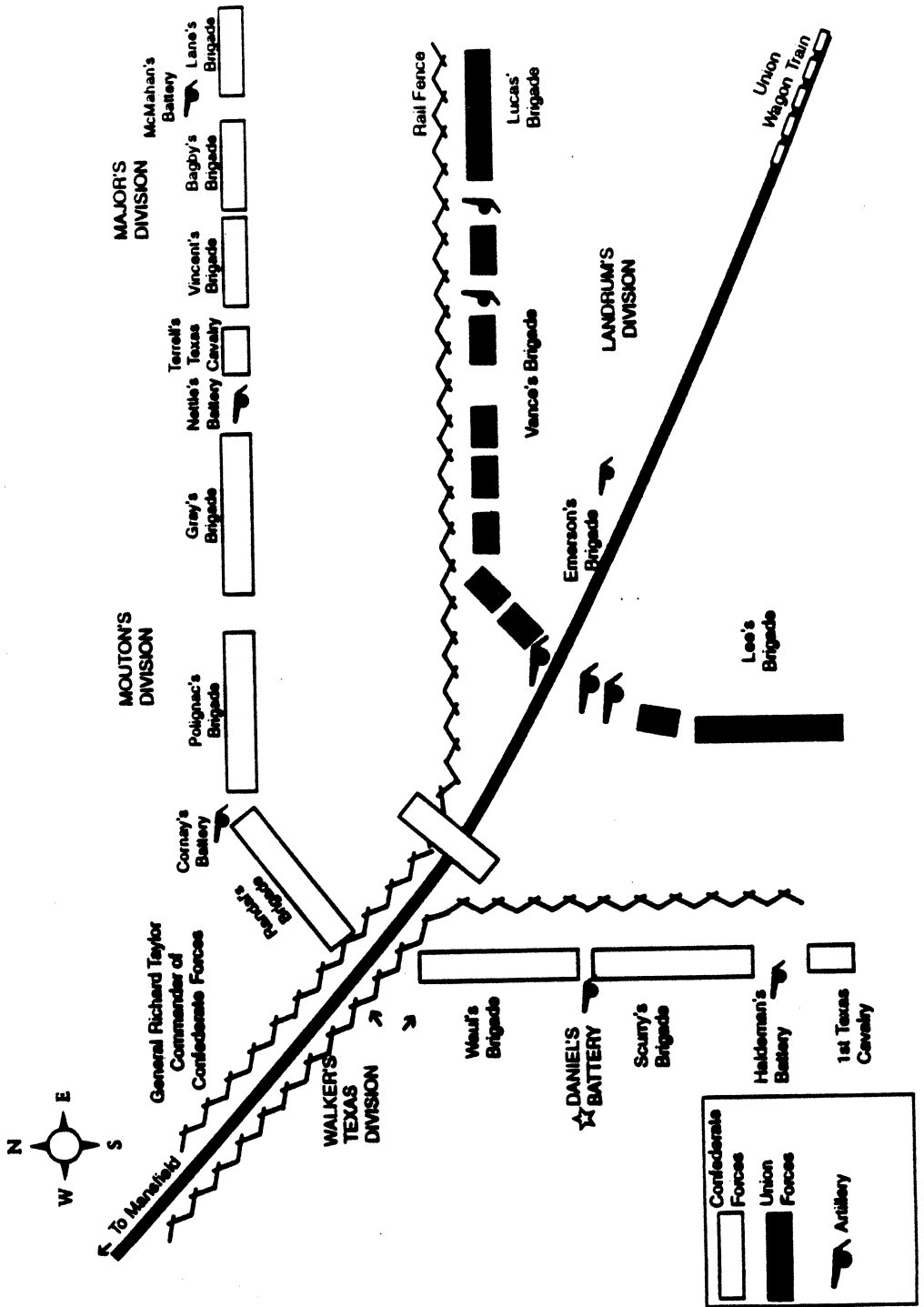
Dense forest prevented the employment of much artillery, and, with the exception of McMahon's battery, which rendered excellent service, none was used in the action.⁵⁷

The fierce fighting in the fields and piney woods near Mansfield resulted in heavy casualties. Banks lost 113 men killed, 581 wounded, and 1,541 missing. In addition, the close proximity of the Federal wagon train contributed to the heavy loss of supplies. Nearly 1,000 horses and mules, 156 supply wagons, 20 pieces of artillery, and thousands of small arms were captured by the Confederates. Exact records

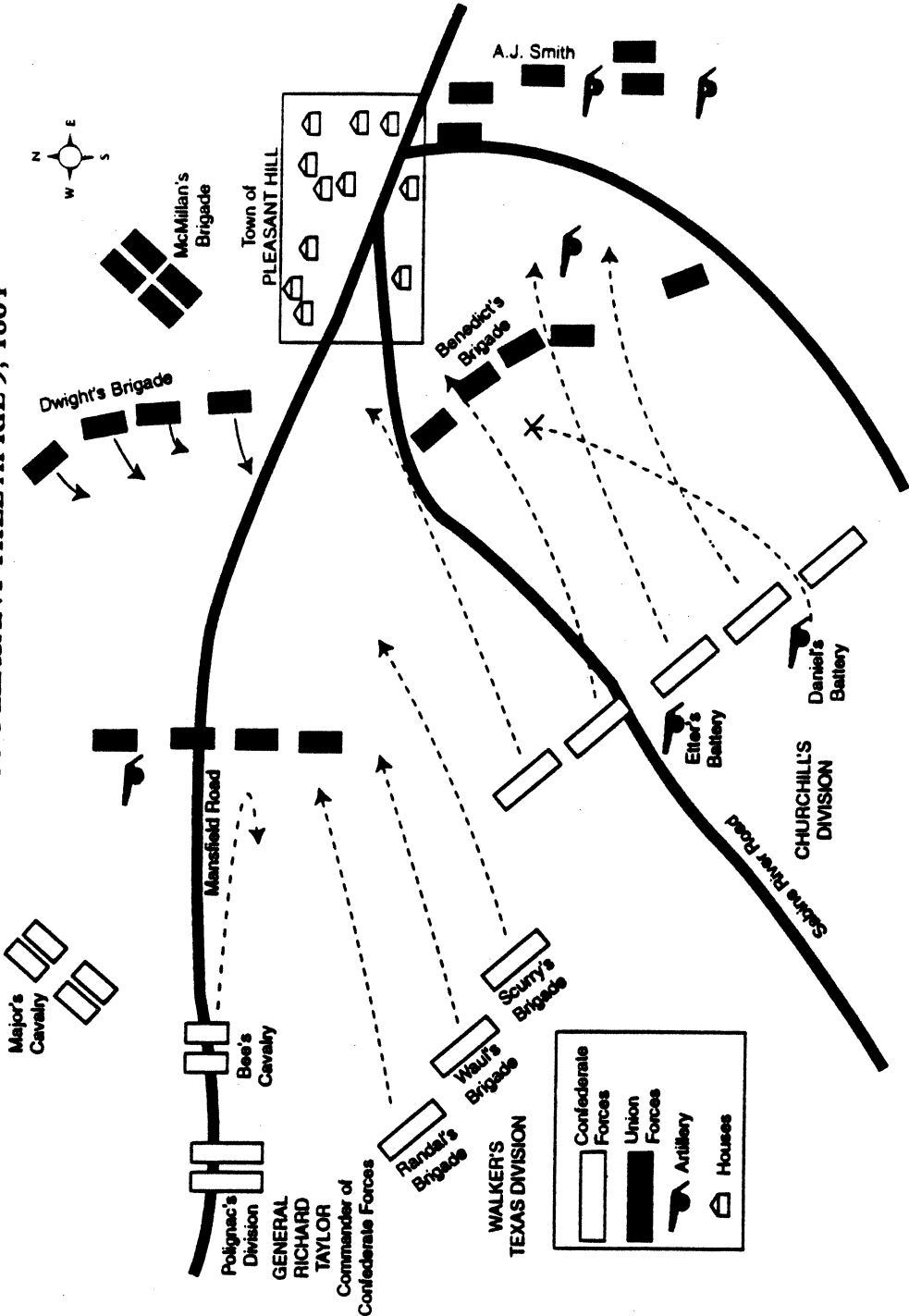
⁵⁶Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag [wife], April 12, 1864, Skipper Steely Collection, Box 13, East Texas State University Archives, Commerce, Texas.

⁵⁷Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879), 162; OR, XXXIV, pt. I, 564-65.

MAP 4 BATTLE OF MANSFIELD (SABINE CROSSROADS) APRIL 8, 1864



MAP 5 BATTLE OF PLEASANT HILL APRIL 9, 1864



have been lost, but Southern casualties were approximately 1,000 men.⁵⁸

Banks' army fell back about twelve miles during the night and regrouped at Pleasant Hill. Federal troops took up positions on the crest of a slight rise that overlooked a cleared expanse. The Confederates spent much of the day moving their forces up in preparation for a follow-up attack. Once in position, General Taylor wisely granted the tired Southerners time to rest before resuming the engagement.⁵⁹

The Battle of Pleasant Hill began about 4:30 in the afternoon on April 9 (see Map 5). Brigadier General Thomas Churchill was in command of recently arrived Arkansas and Missouri divisions that made up the right side of the Confederate line. Daniel's and Etter's batteries were assigned to this force. Taylor sent Churchill's group "to the right to outflank the enemy, reach the Jessup road, and attack from the south and west."⁶⁰

⁵⁸Johnson, Red River Campaign, 140-41; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 164, states that there were 2,500 prisoners. See Alwyn Barr, "Texan Losses in the Red River Campaign, 1864," Texas Military History 3 (Summer 1963): 103-10, for casualties of Texas units. Barr suggests a figure of 2,555 Confederate casualties for Mansfield and Pleasant Hill combined. On page 206 of his memoirs, Taylor gives a figure of 2,626 casualties for the two battles.

⁵⁹Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 193; Johnson, Red River Campaign, 146-54; Winters, Civil War in Louisiana, 347-48; Kerby, Kirby Smith's Confederacy, 307.

⁶⁰OR, XXXIV, pt. I, p. 566-68.

As part of Churchill's force, Daniel's Battery had moved up, "and with much difficulty reached the plateau, where they opened an effective fire." Lieutenant Samuel Hamilton was in overall command of the battery due to Captain Daniel's absence on sick leave. Lieutenant Jim Wright commanded one section of two howitzers, and Lieutenant Joshua Wilson was in charge of the two rifled guns. The battery unlimbered about three hundred yards from the Union forces and immediately came under heavy artillery and small-arms fire from the northern troops.⁶¹

A wheel came off one of the cannons after its first shot because the wheel's linchpin had been pulled out by the bushes that the battery had driven through. The wheel and linchpin were quickly replaced, and the firing continued. Lieutenant Wilson's horse was shot, so he had his saddle removed and placed on another horse. In the brief but heavy fight, Daniel's Battery fired twenty-four rounds at the Union troops.⁶²

Unfortunately for the Confederates, Churchill's line did not extend far enough to the right. Just as the southern charge appeared to be successful, disaster struck. Instead of outflanking the enemy, Churchill's men themselves were hit in the flank by a devastating attack from a

⁶¹Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, 168; Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag, April 12, 1864, Steely Collection.

⁶²Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag, April 12, 1864, Steely Collection.

previously unseen Union force under Brigadier General A. J. Smith. Churchill's wing made a temporary stand but eventually fell back in some confusion.⁶³

As the Confederate infantry fell back under the onslaught of A. J. Smith's command, the soldiers of Daniel's Battery found themselves exposed and without support. As Lieutenant Joshua Wilson recounted:

We continued to fire on the enemy when they were as near as one hundred and fifty yards. I had to leave one of my guns on the field, and Jim Wright had to leave one of his, both on account of the wheels coming off because the lynch pins had been loosened out as we came through the bushes. We were exposed to fire for almost half an hour, with bullets and shells whistling around our ears considerably. . . . Our support retreated and left us completely unprotected so we were extremely lucky to save the two pieces that we did.⁶⁴

The guns separated from the caissons in the confusion but were reunited the next day.

Meanwhile, Walker's Division had launched its attack at the sound of firing from Churchill's men. Walker's Texans, advancing in two lines across an open field, were hit with a destructive fire from Union troops commanded by Colonel William T. Shaw. The Confederates' first line returned fire but eventually fell back after sustaining heavy losses. The second line of Walker's Division pressed the attack, forcing Shaw's men to give ground. These gains were lost when

⁶³OR, XXXIV, pt. I, p. 567-68; Johnson, Red River Campaign, 158-62.

⁶⁴Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag, April 12, 1864, Steely Collection.

Churchill's men on the Confederate right caved in under Smith's furious assault, and Walker's brigades were forced to fall back.⁶⁵

As night fell, the fighting dwindled and the Confederate army pulled back about six miles to lick its wounds. When the Confederates sent pickets forward at daylight the next day, they discovered that the Federals had retreated "in great confusion." The retreat of the Union forces turned a tactical victory for the North into a strategic defeat. Banks' army suffered just under 1,400 casualties out of a total of 12,193 soldiers engaged. Taylor's casualties were just over 1,600 men out of a force of 12,500.⁶⁶

In his report following the battle, Colonel Joseph Brent, the chief of artillery for Richard Taylor's army, wrote concerning Daniel's Battery, "Lieut. Hamilton & his men bore themselves gallantly under a very heavy fire, as his heavy loss will testify." According to Lieutenant

⁶⁵OR, XXXIV, pt. I, p. 566-68; Johnson, Red River Campaign, 155-62; Winters, Civil War in Louisiana, 353-55; Tanya Crump, "The Battle of Pleasant Hill," North Louisiana Historical Association Journal 19 (Fall 1988): 127-30.

⁶⁶Foote, vol. 3, The Civil War: A Narrative, Red River to Appomattox, 50; Diary of William Thomas Mechling, April 10, 1864 entry, in the Dashiell (Jeremiah Yellott) Papers, Box 2D44, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Johnson, Red River Campaign, 165-66, 168-69. For an in-depth account of the battles of Mansfield and Pleasant Hill, see Richard Leslie Kiper, Jr., "Dead-End At The Crossroads: The Battles of Mansfield (Sabine Crossroads) and Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, 8 and 9 April 1864," (M. A. thesis, Rice University, 1976).

Joshua Wilson, the battery lost three killed, two wounded, and five missing in action. The three soldiers killed were Privates B. J. Dubose, S. N. Osborn, and Alexander Smith. Sergeant J. M. Hogan and Private G. L. Allen received flesh wounds, Hogan in the leg and Allen in the hip. The five soldiers missing, Corporals J. B. Dewolf and Frank Davidson, Privates C. H. Johnson, N. L. Stepp, and T. W. Morgan, were feared to be dead or taken prisoner.⁶⁷

The men of Daniel's Battery would not fight in any other battles during the remainder of the war. The rest of their service was much like the early days: a great deal of marching but no action. Captain Daniel and Lieutenant Sam Wright both eventually returned from sick leave. Lieutenant Wright returned in May 1864, but Captain Daniel's time of return is not definitely known, probably sometime from mid-April to early May. The battery was near Dooley's Ferry, in southwest Arkansas, in late May when Captain Daniel and Lieutenant Wilson took a detachment of men to Marshall, Texas, to procure more horses. Most of the battery's horses were worn out and needed to be replaced.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Jane Harris Johansson and David H. Johansson, eds., "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): 180; Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag, April 12, 1864, Steely Collection.

⁶⁸While Walker's Texas Division was involved in the battle of Jenkins' Ferry, Arkansas, on April 30, 1864, no Texas artillery batteries were involved; because the official report by General Walker was lost, it is not known

Shortly thereafter, Lieutenant Sam Wright, now commanding the battery again in Daniel's absence, moved his company to Red River County, in northeast Texas, because of the lack of forage in southern Arkansas. Red River County, just east of the battery's birthplace in Lamar County, offered an abundance of corn and grass for the animals. The close proximity to home afforded several of the men furloughs to Paris. Granting furloughs may have been a calculated move by Wright to regain favor with a few men who seemed to have resented his being left in command. Perhaps Wright's long absence, combined with the soldiers' being accustomed to Lieutenant Hamilton's command, caused some friction when Wright returned and resumed his senior position.⁶⁹

The battery received orders to return to Louisiana in late July 1864. By that time, Captain Daniel had rejoined the unit and resumed command. Lieutenant Sam Wright was detached from the battery early in the trip to hunt down two

if Daniel's Battery was even in the area. For more information, see Ira Don Richards, "The Battle of Jenkins' Ferry," Arkansas Historical Quarterly 20 (Spring 1961): 3-16; Samuel J. Wright to Dear Mother, May 25, 1864, Steely Collection. See Map 6 for locations of Daniel's Battery from May 1864 to May 1865.

⁶⁹Samuel J. Wright to Dear Mother, May 25, 1864 and May 30, 1864, Steely Collection. Sam Wright had been at his parents' home on a leave of absence suffering from chronic rheumatism from October 1863 until his return to his unit in May 1864. See Wright (George Travis) Family Papers, Samuel J. Wright Civil War service file, Box 2H416, University of Texas Center for American Studies, for letters from doctors regarding Wright's health.

men who had deserted from the company. Wright found the deserters at their homes and escorted them back to the battery.⁷⁰

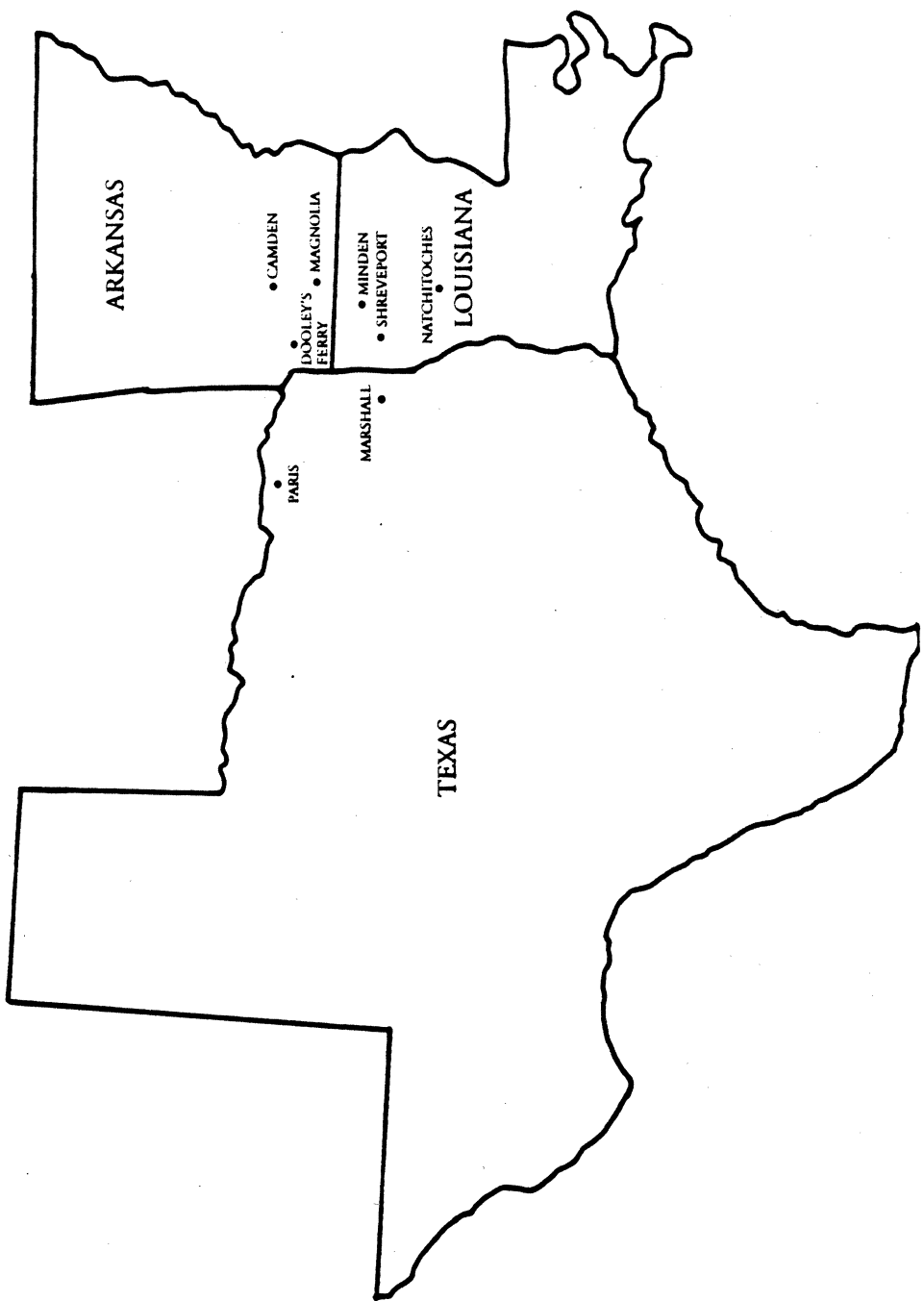
By the summer of 1864, the war was taking its toll on the southern economy. Besides the need to roam far and wide to obtain adequate forage, the battery's trip back to Shreveport provided other concrete examples of financial strain. Lieutenant Samuel Wright complained of the expenses incurred by his small detachment of five men. "At one place they charged five of us \$40.00 for one dinner. Our living now is very hard, nothing except meat and cornbread, and nothing can be bought except watermelons." Shreveport offered a greater variety of available goods, but the prices were exorbitant.⁷¹

Although the division continued to be known as Walker's Texas Division, Major General John H. Forney assumed command of the unit on September 4, 1864, when General Walker was placed in charge of the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. About the same time, the artillery was reorganized into battalions, and Daniel's Battery became part of the

⁷⁰Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, July 27, 1864 and August 2, 1864, Steely Collection.

⁷¹Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, August 9 and September 6, 1864, *ibid.* Wright did not give specific prices but did note that men's and women's clothing was very expensive. He also mentioned a "state store" where Louisiana residents could purchase items at cost. For an example of wartime prices back in Paris, Texas, see Anderson, Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 232.

MAP 6 THEATRE OF OPERATIONS FOR DANIEL'S BATTERY, MAY 1864 - MAY 1865



Fourth Mounted Artillery Battalion. This battalion consisted of the following batteries: Cameron's (Louisiana); Daniel's (Texas); Gibson's (Texas); and Haldeman's (Texas).⁷²

The men of Daniel's Battery remained in Shreveport only a short time before receiving orders to move out. The battery camped in various locations in southern Arkansas (generally the Camden-Magnolia area) throughout the fall of 1864. Because of previous occupation by other armies, provisions and forage in this region were very scarce. Corn for the livestock had to be hauled fifty to one hundred miles. Lieutenant Wright recalled, "Our stock of horses and mules are nearly starving to death. We have 13 batteries in town and the horses have had nothing to eat for a week but a little grass."⁷³

By November 1864 the situation had not improved. Both men and livestock suffered from the lack of supplies. Daniel's Battery, now officially designated the Ninth Texas Field Battery, was camped near Magnolia, Arkansas, with four other batteries. Each day three or four horses died from starvation. The army lacked an adequate number of tents for the men, and there was a great deal of sickness among the troops.

⁷²Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, xxii-xxiii; OR, XLI, pt. III, p. 967.

⁷³Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, October 12, 1864 and October 16, 1864, Steely Collection.

It has rained all the way from Camden, and the few tents we have are leaking. We can't get any tents at Camden or Shreveport, so our army is in bad shape. Not only our company is in this destitute condition as to tents and supplies, but hundreds of others are in the same fix. God grant this may be the last year of this cruel war! One of our men from Paris died in Camden last week -- old man Fisher. Many another will probably go also during this winter.⁷⁴

The men of the Ninth Texas Field Battery also said goodbye to one of their officers in November 1864.

Lieutenant Samuel Hamilton, who had been commended for his leadership at Pleasant Hill, transferred to Haldeman's Battery. His fellow officer, Lieutenant Sam Wright, described Hamilton as "a good officer and a nice gentleman." Wright also provided some insight into Hamilton's motivation for leaving: "He and the Capt. did not hit it off together very well, so both will be happier separated."⁷⁵

Daniel's Battery returned to north Louisiana in December 1864. The artillery was reorganized once more, and the Fourth Battalion was now under the command of Major C. W. Squires. The Fourth Battalion consisted of Edgar's (1st Texas Field Battery), Haldeman's (4th Texas Field Battery), Daniel's (9th Texas Field Battery), and Gibson's (16th Texas Field Battery) batteries and was part of Forney's (formerly Walker's) Division. The unit camped for the winter near

⁷⁴Samuel J. Wright to Dear Mother, November 8, 1864, *ibid.*; OR, XLI, pt. IV, p. 1064.

⁷⁵Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, December 1, 1864, Stealy Collection.

Minden, in far north Louisiana, and during this time three of the officers, Captain Daniel and Lieutenants Jim Wright and Joshua Wilson, received permission to go home on furlough. Lieutenant Sam Wright was left in command. He reported that the men were in good health and had plenty to eat.⁷⁶

In March 1865, Captain Daniel returned to his battery, then stationed on the Red River at Natchitoches, Louisiana. With Daniel back in command, Lieutenant Sam Wright left on a medical furlough and reached his parents' home in Paris, Texas, on April 10, 1865, suffering from rheumatism. He did not return to the battery.⁷⁷

Once news of Robert E. Lee's surrender to U. S. Grant on April 9 spread west of the Mississippi River, the Trans-Mississippi Department began to fall apart. Seeing no hope in continuing the fight, men who had grown weary of the four-year struggle began to slip away from their units and make their way home. Daniel's Battery officially surrendered on May 3, 1865, at Natchitoches, Louisiana. Leaving their cannons (two 3-inch rifles and two 12-pounder field howitzers) behind in Natchitoches, the men of Daniel's

⁷⁶OR, XLI, pt. IV, p. 1146; Samuel J. Wright to Dear Mother, December 23, 1864, Steely Collection.

⁷⁷Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, March 15, 1865, Steely Collection; Letter of D. H. Gibson, M.D., May 18, 1865, Wright (George Travis) Family Papers, Samuel J. Wright Civil War service file, Box 2H416, University of Texas Center for American History.

Battery made their way back to their homes in Texas and Arkansas in May of 1865. By the end of that month, the Trans-Mississippi Department had disintegrated. With no army to command, Confederate General Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, finally signed the surrender terms on June 2, 1865. The war was over.⁷⁸

⁷⁸OR, XLVIII, pt. II, p. 963; Notes -- Diary of J. M. Daniel, Skipper Steely Collection, Box 13, East Texas State University; Kerby, Kirby Smith's Confederacy, 415-26; Long, The Civil War Day by Day, 670; Winters, Civil War in Louisiana, 423-26.

CHAPTER 3

A STATISTICAL VIEW OF DANIEL'S BATTERY

What were the soldiers like who served in Daniel's Battery? Were they wealthy or poor? What were their pre-war occupations? Were they slaveowners? How did they compare to others who fought for the Confederacy? How did the men in Daniel's Battery compare to Texas men in general? These are some of the questions addressed in this chapter, as the focus shifts from a narrative history to the statistical investigation of Daniel's Battery.

The database (from which Appendix A was developed) is the basis for the analysis of the battery. Before the statistical information in it is examined, the process by which the data were gathered should be explained. First, the Compiled Service Records were used to construct a complete roster of the men who served in the battery. The Compiled Service Records were the result of a massive project of the United States War Department, begun in 1903 and completed by the late 1920's. A variety of documents were used to compile the individual soldiers' military records, including muster rolls, payrolls, rosters, casualty lists, inspection reports, and medical records, among others. For the historian, it is unfortunate that many of these records are incomplete (because of the loss or

destruction of documents during the war). However, the Compiled Service Records are still the best single source available that substantiate military service. These records showed that 220 men were members of Daniel's Battery at one time or another during the war.⁷⁹

Information was gathered from the service records concerning when and where the men enlisted, their length of service, and their rank. The amount of data available varied from record to record. Some contained little more than a name and rank and possibly a single muster roll or hospital register. Other records offered multiple muster rolls, descriptive rolls, and medical discharge papers, to give a few examples. There were no company muster rolls available for any of the men beyond the January-February 1864 roll. A handful of soldiers' records contained a hospital register from the fall of 1864.

Unless information was found to the contrary, it was necessarily assumed that those who were listed as a part of the battery on the last muster roll of January-February 1864 were with the unit until the surrender at Natchitoches, Louisiana, in May 1865. Working under that assumption, there may have been over ninety men still with Daniel's

⁷⁹Compiled Service Records, Daniel's Battery, Roll 239; Henry Putney Beers, The Confederacy: A Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America (Washington, D. C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1986), 404-7. Unless otherwise noted, all numbers mentioned are from the database.

Battery when the war ended. Regrettably, due to the incomplete nature of the Compiled Service Records and the lack of other supporting material, the roster size of the unit at the end of the war is only speculation. Because there was no concrete evidence (such as a final company muster roll) for the vast majority of the soldiers, only Captain Daniel and two of his officers are known to have been with the unit until the very end.⁸⁰

Information was also gathered from the Compiled Service Records regarding absences from the unit. Temporary absences were noted as was the location of the battery when the soldier left. Temporary absences included hospital stays, sick furloughs, or detachments from the unit (but not transfers) for special service in the Quartermaster or Ordnance departments.

Battlefield casualties or permanent departures from the company were also listed. Like the temporary absences discussed above, the state in which the unit was located when the soldier left was recorded. Battlefield casualties include the usual categories of killed, wounded, captured, or missing in action. Being listed here as a battlefield

⁸⁰Notes -- Diary of J. M. Daniel, Skipper Steely Collection. This "diary" consists of two pages that were typed by Daniel's daughter, Mary V. Daniel, from a handwritten page. The diary states that after the surrender at Natchitoches, Louisiana, on May 3, 1865, Daniel and his officers left camp together. Because Lt. Sam Wright left on sick furlough in March 1865, Joshua Wilson and Jim Wright were the only other officers left with Captain Daniel when the war ended.

casualty does not mean the soldier did not return to the unit; Sergeant James M. Hogan was wounded slightly at the Battle of Bayou Bourbeau in November 1863. He remained with the battery and was wounded again at the Battle of Pleasant Hill in April 1864. Examples of permanent departures from the battery include medical discharges, deaths from disease, transfers to other units, or desertions.

The next information resource examined was the 1860 United States manuscript census. Schedule I (Free Inhabitants), Schedule II (Slave Inhabitants), and Schedule IV (Productions of Agriculture) of the census were targeted in order to determine the pre-war economic status of soldiers in Daniel's Battery. Of the 220 men who were members of the unit, 134 or 60.9 percent were located in Schedule I of the census.⁸¹

Data were gathered concerning the individuals' ages, occupations, places of birth, and wealth (value of real and personal estates). Marital status and literacy were also

⁸¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants), Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants), and Schedule 4 (Productions of Agriculture), Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D. C., available on microfilm. This percentage is similar to other studies that use the 1860 census. For example, Maris A. Vinovskis, "Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations," located about 55 percent in Vinovskis, ed., Toward a Social History of the Civil War, 1-30; Rorabaugh discovered about 48 percent in W. J. Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War? Concord, Massachusetts, Enlistments," Journal of American History 73 (December 1986): 695-701; Jane Johansson found approximately 51 percent of the soldiers in Johansson, "Peculiar Honor," 231.

indicated. If the young men were twenty years old or younger and living at home, the information on their parents' personal estate, real estate, slaveholdings, size and value of farm, and taxable property was used. This was done in order to avoid skewing the data. Otherwise, these young men would be reported as possessing no wealth when, in fact, they shared the benefits and attitudes of a higher socio-economic class than their individual wealth would indicate.

Schedule II of the 1860 census was examined in order to determine whether the men were slaveowners. The number of slaves owned by each individual was also noted. Schedule IV (Productions of Agriculture) was used to gather further material to determine the individuals' wealth. This schedule supplied the number of improved and unimproved acres and the value of the farm for those soldiers who operated farms.

County tax rolls were the final source of information for this study. The men of Daniel's Battery came from nineteen different counties in Texas and thirteen counties in Arkansas. The tax rolls for each of these counties were inspected, and the total value of taxable property was duly noted. Just over 40 percent of the men were located in the tax rolls.⁸²

⁸²Records of the Comptroller of Public Accounts, Ad Valorem Tax Division, County Real and Personal Property Tax Rolls, 1860, Archives Division, Texas State Library, Austin,

After all the information was gathered, the data were entered into a computer and analyzed with the Statistical Package for Social Science program (hereafter cited as SPSS). With the exception of dates or information concerning wealth, codes were used to designate facts about rank, reason for absence, state and county of residence, occupation, and the like. Means, frequencies, and percentages were sought in order to compare the findings with wealth and agricultural information gathered by Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe in their companion works, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas and Planters and Plain Folk: Agriculture in Antebellum Texas. Military information was compared with conclusions drawn by James McPherson, Bell Wiley, James I. Robertson, and others in their works on the Civil War.⁸³

Approximately half of the 220-man roster joined Daniel's Battery in Lamar County, Texas. Eighty-five of these 105 men enlisted on January 18, 1862, when the unit was officially mustered into the Confederate army. Eighty-

available on microfilm; Arkansas County Records, Tax Rolls, 1859, 1860, Arkansas Historical Commission, Little Rock, available on microfilm (hereafter collectively cited as Tax Rolls). The 1860 tax rolls were used in all cases except two; the 1859 tax rolls were substituted for Dallas County, Arkansas, and Hot Spring County, Arkansas, because the 1860 rolls were not available. In comparison, Johansson found 50.7 percent of the 28th Texas Cavalry in the tax rolls in Johansson, "Peculiar Honor," 232.

⁸³Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1977).

two men (39 percent) joined in Arkansas, and twenty-three more soldiers joined in Louisiana. There was no enlistment information for ten of Daniel's men. Most of those who joined in Arkansas (sixty-eight of eighty-two) enlisted at Tulip in Dallas County, Arkansas, or at Devalls Bluff in Monroe County, Arkansas, in May, June, and July of 1862 (see Map 1). The majority of those who joined the battery in Louisiana were transfers from other Confederate army units. Nineteen of the twenty-three men who joined in Louisiana transferred into the unit at Alexandria, Louisiana, on May 15, 1863.⁸⁴

The bulk of the men who were members of the Ninth Texas Field Battery were Texans. As mentioned earlier, 134 of the 220 men on the roster were found in Schedule I of the 1860 manuscript census. Of those located, eighty-seven (nearly 65 percent) were residents of Texas in 1860. Arkansas was home to forty-seven of the soldiers (35.1 percent).

Fifty-eight (43.3 percent) of those who were located in the census were residents of Lamar County. Neighboring Hopkins County (eight men) and Red River County (three men) ranked second and third in number of enlistees out of the nineteen Texas counties that contributed to the battery. The remaining counties contributed no more than two men each to the unit.

⁸⁴Company return, May 1863, bound volume 41, Civil War Papers, Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Tulane University Library, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Of forty-seven men found in the 1860 Arkansas census, the majority (59 percent) were residents of Dallas County, Arkansas. Next were Hot Spring and Johnson Counties, each of which contributed four men. The other ten counties each provided one or two men.⁸⁵

In 1860 the state of Texas had a total white population of 421,294. According to the census, 153,043 Texas residents were native-born. Of those born outside the state, most were from Tennessee (42,265), Alabama (34,193), and Georgia (23,637). Arkansas, on the other hand, had a white population of 324,191 in 1860, and 124,043 were born in the state. Like Texas, of those born elsewhere, most were from Tennessee (66,609), Alabama (24,433), and Georgia (18,031).⁸⁶

The majority of the men in Daniel's Battery were from the Upper South (see Table 1). Of the ninety soldiers with Upper South roots, almost a third were born in Tennessee. Virginia and Alabama were next, each with approximately 10 percent of the unit. Kentucky was third, and two Lower South states, Georgia and Mississippi, ranked fourth among

⁸⁵Dallas County and Hot Spring County are in south-central Arkansas; Johnson County is in the northwest part of the state.

⁸⁶Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 472-491, 12-21. Total population (white and other) of Texas in 1860 was 604,215; Arkansas had a total population of 435,450.

the home states of the soldiers of Daniel's Battery. Of those battery members residing in Texas in 1860, 48 percent were from the Upper South. Approximately 70 percent of the Arkansas men were born in the Upper South. Only 7 percent of the battery's men were born in the North. Finally, the 3 percent of the men who were foreign-born is lower than the 9 percent figure for Confederate troops in general that James I. Robertson suggests. This lower figure is probably due to the location of Lamar County. A greater number of foreign-born individuals would be expected to live closer to the coast (a likely point of entry) than in a northeast Texas county bordering the Red River.⁸⁷

Birthplaces for the men of Daniel's Battery correspond with those for the population of Lamar County and the surrounding area. Nearly 60 percent of all farmers in the north-central Texas prairie area where Lamar County was located were born in the Upper South. About 28.5 percent of the same group were born in the Lower South. As a whole, almost 55 percent (90 out of 165 men) of the Lamar Artillery had been born in the Upper South; approximately 35 percent had been born in the Lower South. The strong Upper South ties are evident in both the region and the battery. In

⁸⁷Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, 29. Lowe and Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk, 13, define the Upper South as the states of Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri; the Lower South consists of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas.

addition, the battery generally reflects the make-up of the state. The proportion of Daniel's men born in the Upper South corresponds to that for the state's population.⁸⁸

TABLE 1: PLACES OF BIRTH

Place of Birth	Members of Daniel's Battery Residing in Texas in 1860	Members of Daniel's Battery Residing in Arkansas in 1860	Members of Daniel's Battery Whose 1860 Residency is Unknown	Total Number of Members of Daniel's Battery
Lower South	37	12	9	58 (35%)
Upper South	42	33	15	90 (54.5%)
North	8	1	3	12 (7.3%)
Foreign-Born	0	1	4	5 (3%)
Total	87	47	31	165

The fact that the majority of its settlers had their roots in the Upper South might explain why Lamar County did not vote in favor of secession. It was the Lower South that led the way in the secession movement. The Upper South, on the other hand, was more reluctant to leave the Union. Slavery was not as important in the Upper South as it was in the Lower South. As James McPherson points out, "Slaves constituted 47 percent of the population in the Confederate states but only 24 percent in the upper South; 37 percent of the white families in Confederate states owned slaves

⁸⁸Lowe and Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk, 13-14, 51. The Upper South edge was especially true in Lamar County and the surrounding area, as Lowe and Campbell point out on p. 44.

compared with 20 percent of the families in the upper South." ⁸⁹

Although slaves made up nearly 28 percent of the total Lamar County population, the more conservative attitudes of the Upper South seemed to prevail. As mentioned in chapter one, Lamar County was one of eighteen Texas counties that opposed secession. George Wright, the founding father of Lamar County, a delegate to the secession convention, an owner of thirty slaves, and a native of Tennessee, voted against secession. His influence and standing in the community no doubt affected the attitudes and actions of others in Lamar County.⁹⁰

The Compiled Service Records provided the ages of the soldiers who joined Daniel's Battery. The average enlistment age of the men in Daniel's Battery was 27.2 years. The age range was from sixteen to fifty-two. Of the 193 soldiers for whom enlistment ages were available, four were sixteen when they enlisted; only one was fifty-two and another was fifty-one (see Table 2). The largest number of enlistees (108 men) was in the twenty-to-twenty-nine age group, accounting for almost 56 percent of the total. Daniel's Battery had 92.7 percent of its men in the eighteen-to-forty-five age group.

⁸⁹McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 255.

⁹⁰Neville, "Wright, George W." in Webb, The Handbook of Texas, 2:938.

TABLE 2: ENLISTMENT AGES

Age Group	% of Daniel's Battery	% of Eight Star New Market Battery¹	% of Dixie Arty²	% of Giles Arty³	% of Alleghany Artillery⁴
19 and younger	13.5	28.0	33.8	31.1	18.6
20 - 29	56.0	56.0	42.2	45.9	57.1
30 -39	25.9	10.0	23.9	14.8	15.0
40 - 49	3.6	4.5	1.4	7.4	5.7
Over 50	1.0			.8	

¹ Moore, Danville, Eight Star New Market and Dixie Artillery, 81

² Moore, Danville, Eight Star New Market and Dixie Artillery, 105

³ Bohannon, The Giles, Alleghany and Jackson Artillery, 99

⁴ Bohannon, The Giles, Alleghany and Jackson Artillery, 59

In comparison, Bell Wiley states that more than 98 percent of Union soldiers were eighteen to forty-five years old. E. B. Long writes that the average age for northern soldiers at enlistment was just under twenty-six (25.8) years. In his study of Southern troops, Wiley found that more than one-third of all Confederates soldiers were in the eighteen-to-twenty-five-year range (Daniel's Battery had 41.5 percent in this category). According to Wiley, "The overwhelming bulk of the Southern army from beginning to end appears to have been made up of persons ranging in age from

18 to 35." Daniel's Battery certainly fit the age parameters that Wiley mentions.⁹¹

Thus, the average enlistment age for the men in Daniel's Battery was slightly greater than that of northern soldiers (27.2 to 25.8). In addition, the average enlistment age for the battery was older than some Confederate units from Virginia that were raised at the beginning of the war; the average enlistment age for the 13th Virginia Infantry was 25; for the 48th Virginia Infantry, 23.8; for the Giles Artillery, 24.7; for the Eight Star New Market Battery, 23.8; and for the Alleghany Artillery, 24.5. The average enlistment age of Daniel's Battery was very similar, however, to the 28th Texas Cavalry which was also formed in the spring of 1862 (27.2 to 27.1).⁹²

The Conscription Act may have been a factor in the higher average enlistment age for Daniel's Battery. Although the battery was initially formed before the

⁹¹Wiley, Life of Billy Yank, 303; Long, Civil War Day-by-Day, 707; Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, 331.

⁹²Long, Civil War Day by Day, 707; David F. Riggs, 13th Virginia Infantry, The Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988), 70; John D. Chapla, 48th Virginia Infantry, The Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1989), 6; Keith S. Bohannon, The Giles, Alleghany and Jackson Artillery, The Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1990), 59, 99; Robert H. Moore II, The Danville, Eight Star New Market and Dixie Artillery, The Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1989), 81; Johansson, "Peculiar Honor," 13.

Conscription Act was passed in April 1862, members were added to the roster throughout the months from January to July 1862. Perhaps this bill, which subjected able-bodied, white males, ages 18-35, to military service, influenced some older men to "volunteer." One other point to consider is the type of unit: older men may have joined the artillery because they thought that the infantry was more physically demanding (riding versus walking). It may be that the older average enlistment age for the battery was the result of three separate factors: the lower age of men in units formed during the initial fervor and patriotic enthusiasm at the start of the war, the influence of the Conscription Act, and the seemingly less physical nature of artillery service compared to infantry duty.⁹³

The wide age range in the battery was not uncommon, especially during the early stages of the conflict when the excitement and eagerness to join before the war ended was rampant. Bell Wiley comments,

The second conscription act may have increased the relative strength in the army population of the 36-45 age group, but the ratio of men above 45 and of boys below 18 was probably higher in 1861 and early 1862 than any other time. The tidal wave of enthusiasm that swept hundreds of old and young into the ranks at the war's beginning lost its force with the passing of time, and many of extreme ages, beset with debility and with camp-weariness, returned to their homes after a year of service.⁹⁴

⁹³McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 430.

⁹⁴Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, 331.

The men of Daniel's Battery were, no doubt, like men across the country whose romantic visions of warfare, coupled with the patriotic fervor of the times, propelled them -- young and old alike -- to join in the fight.

Peer pressure was also a factor in the enlistment process because no one wanted to be thought of as a coward or as not doing his part for the cause. The influence of family, friends, and girlfriends motivated many young men to enlist. This may help explain why the majority of men in Daniel's Battery (58.2 percent) were single. This finding is consistent with both Bell Wiley's and James I. Robertson's assertions that the "typical" soldier was single. The pressure to join was probably greater on a single man than on a married man who had the responsibility of a family to consider. As the war dragged on, the pressure increased (from both peers and the Conscription Act) for both married and single men to join in the fight. If the exhilaration of bands, flags, and colorful uniforms was not too much to resist, the possibility of social ostracism might be the deciding factor.⁹⁵

One other point should be made about the marital status of the men in the battery. As mentioned above, 58.2 percent were single; in addition, 56 percent were not heads of households, and nearly 77 percent of those located in the

⁹⁵Ibid., 18, 347; Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, 25.

census lived with their parents. Lamar County was still in the frontier stage of development and was not heavily settled. It may be that young men in Lamar County remained with their parents longer as they helped their families get established in the newly-settled area.

TABLE 3: PERMANENT PERSONNEL LOSSES

Causes	1862	1863	1864	1865	Total
Died of Disease	24	3	1	0	28
Medical Discharge	32	7	1	0	40
Desertion	1	8	1	0	10
Killed	0	1a	3	0	4
Missing in Action	0	0	5	0	5
Transferred to Other Units	2	3	1	1	7
Other	1b	2c	0	0	3
Resigned	1	0	0	0	1
Total	61	24	12	1	98

^a Murdered

^b Provided Substitute

^c Discharged - No Reason Given

The roster of Daniel's Battery was everchanging. Although it gained new members throughout the first half of the war by enlistment or transfer, the battery also lost men through death, discharge, desertion, or transfer. The majority of losses occurred in the first year. From January 18, 1862, through January of 1863, Daniel's Battery lost sixty-three men. Of these, twenty-six died of disease, thirty-two were medically discharged, two transferred to

other units, one deserted, one was discharged by supplying a substitute, and one resigned but no reason was given (see Table 3).⁹⁶

Until the twentieth century, disease was always a greater threat to armies than battle. While disease mortality was less of a threat in the American Civil War than in earlier wars such as the Napoleonic or Crimean wars, it was still a debilitating element that could not be ignored. In its first year of service (January 1862 through January 1863), Daniel's Battery lost sixty-three men, but none of these losses were due to combat. More than 90 percent of the losses that first year were due to death from disease (41.3 percent) or medical discharge (50.8 percent). Further, disease showed no respect to rank or wealth. Roughly the same percentage of the wealthier officer corps and the less wealthy enlisted men died of disease. Most of the medical casualties for Daniel's Battery were suffered in Arkansas. It was there that the battery was encamped with larger groups for the first time, such as the experience at Camp Nelson near Austin, Arkansas. James McPherson explains,

Sickness hit soldiers hardest in their first year. The crowding together of thousands of men from various backgrounds into a new and highly contagious disease environment had predictable

⁹⁶Muster rolls for September 1862 through April 1863 indicate that Daniel's Battery had an average of 125 men on the roster (Unit history, Confederate Research Center, Hillsboro, Texas).

results. Men (especially those from rural areas) who had never before been exposed to measles, mumps, or tonsillitis promptly came down with these childhood maladies. Though rarely fatal, these illnesses could cripple units for weeks at a time. More deadly were smallpox and erysipelas, which went through some rural regiments like a scythe.⁹⁷

The exposure to diseases in this large group setting was not the only factor that contributed to the soldiers' medical problems. Poor sanitary conditions added a whole new set of diseases to deal with. For example, the latrines, or sinks as the soldiers called them, were sometimes located upstream from the camps. Often the latrines were placed too close to the tents. Even worse was the troops' reluctance to use them. Too often the soldiers answered "nature's call" whenever and wherever it beckoned. This type of behavior, multiplied by a large group, resulted in widespread contamination.⁹⁸

Campsites were more often selected for military reasons than health reasons. Repeated use of the same sites only exacerbated the unsanitary conditions. As a result, the camps became fertile breeding grounds for bacteria and viruses. Poor nutrition, exposure to the elements, and the stress and hardships of war were other factors in the disease equation. With this in mind, it is not surprising

⁹⁷McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 487. See pages 84-94 of this thesis for a discussion of the wealth of Daniel's Battery.

⁹⁸Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, 248; Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, 152-53.

that the principal killers in the Civil War were not the minie ball or the canister shell, but rather typhoid, diarrhea, dysentery, pneumonia, and malaria.⁹⁹

Because of disease, Daniel's Battery suffered not only permanent losses of personnel but also continual temporary losses. For instance, fifty-four of sixty-eight initial cases of temporary absences were medically-related. Thirty-six men (52.9 percent) were sick in the hospital; eighteen more soldiers (26.5 percent) were on sick furlough. In a letter written from Camp Nelson in the fall of 1862.

Lieutenant Samuel Wright wrote,

It has been very cold, and at present is raining. Much sickness has prevailed in the army . . . , accompanied by innumerable deaths. About one half of the army at present is prostrate with sickness. Our company is improving in health, although we sent ten to the hospital last week.¹⁰⁰

In like manner, the majority of second recorded temporary absences (63.2 percent) were due to hospital stays. About one-fourth of the remaining absences were the result of sick furloughs. Thus, battles with disease for the men of Daniel's Battery were much like those of other

⁹⁹McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 487-88; Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, 150; Judith Lee Hallock, "'Lethal and Debilitating': The Southern Disease Environment as a Factor in Confederate Defeat," Journal of Confederate History, VII (1991): 53.

¹⁰⁰Samuel J. Wright letter to Dear Father, November 17, 1862, Steely Collection. Of the remaining fourteen men who were temporarily absent, nine were detailed to either the Quartermaster or Ordnance departments, one was under arrest, and four were on regular furlough.

Civil War soldiers. For both the Union and Confederate armies, the majority of permanent and temporary losses in the first year were due to disease and medical discharges.

The battlefield casualties reflect the fact that Daniel's Battery was not involved in any fighting in the first year. The battery did not see any action until the fall of 1863. None of its members were killed in action during its involvement at Bayou Bourbeau or in its duels with Union gunboats in late 1863. The only casualty was a slight wound to Sergeant James Hogan during the Battle of Bayou Bourbeau.

The battery's only battlefield losses came in 1864. Three men were killed in action at the Battle of Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, in April 1864. Five others were listed as missing in action and presumed killed or captured. No information regarding their fates is available. Two men were wounded at Pleasant Hill. Daniel's Battery was not involved in any fighting in 1865.

Although there were no battlefield casualties among the officers at Pleasant Hill, this in no way supports the idea of a "rich man's war but a poor man's fight." The wealthier officer corps were in the thick of the fighting, alongside the generally less-wealthy enlisted men. The officers remained mounted throughout the battle, although doing so would make them a more likely target. While directing their sections of the battery, one officer, Lieutenant Joshua

Wilson, had his horse shot out from under him, and a bullet struck the saddle of another mounted officer, Lieutenant James Wright (son of the wealthiest man in Lamar County). The officer in overall command of the battery, Lieutenant Samuel Hamilton, was commended for his gallant service in a superior's report. Although these officers were not wounded, they were under fire and actively involved in the battle.¹⁰¹

The small number of casualties was just one of several factors that restricted prospects for promotion in the battery. Other reasons that limited opportunities for promotion, especially in the officer corps, included the timing of the election of officers, family ties, and community relationships.

The unit's officers were elected on March 8, 1862, before the battery ever left Texas. None of the Arkansas enlistees ever became an officer, probably because these positions were filled before the unit reached Arkansas. In addition, the majority of the men were from Texas (and Lamar County, in particular). The individuals elected as officers were already known in Lamar County and respected by the members of their community. As one author pointed out, these volunteer companies "were direct extensions of the

¹⁰¹Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag, April 12, 1864, Steely Collection; Johansson and Johansson, "Two Lost Battle Reports," 179-80.

community itself" with a "closely woven kinship and neighborhood fabric."¹⁰²

When men were appointed to fill openings later, those from Lamar County had an obvious advantage. The officer corps of Daniel's Battery appears to have been a fairly close-knit group, with family kinship being an ingredient. James Wright left a Lamar County cavalry unit to join Daniel's Battery as a private in the fall of 1862. He was appointed as an officer in January 1863. Although some could argue that Captain Daniel was showing favoritism to his brother-in-law, Lieutenant James Wright was obviously a competent officer and maintained his position by his brave conduct in battle. Another family member of the officer corps was Lieutenant Samuel J. Wright, a first cousin to James Wright and to Captain Daniel's wife, Emily. When Daniel was absent, Lieutenant Sam Wright was usually left in command. When both were absent, Lieutenant Sam Hamilton led the battery.¹⁰³

Regarding the "neighborhood fabric" of the unit, two other individuals should be mentioned. Pitzer Chism was appointed Quartermaster Sergeant by Captain Daniel in June 1862. Years before, when George Wright (Captain Daniel's

¹⁰²Martin Crawford, "Confederate Volunteering and Enlistment in Ashe County, North Carolina, 1861-1862," Civil War History 37 (March 1991): 38.

¹⁰³Compiled Service Records, roll 239, service records of James Holman Wright; Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag, April 12, 1864, Steely Collection.

father-in-law) was building his house, Wright stayed at the home of Claiborn Chism (Pitzer's family). Again, this is not to imply that Pitzer Chism received and kept his promotion only because of long-time personal relationships. He was praised for his "faithful and energetic labor" in performing his duties. In addition, Lieutenant Zenas Tyler was involved, along with Captain Daniel, in the Memphis, El Paso, and Pacific Railroad project before the war. Relationships played an important role in promotions within Daniel's Battery.¹⁰⁴

Casualties, or the lack of them, also affected promotions. No officers were killed or wounded in action. The promotions in the officer corps that were available were due to the death by disease of Lieutenant Zenas Tyler, the medical discharge of Lieutenant Peter Lee, the resignation of Lieutenant Richard Walker, and the desertion of Lieutenant Thomas Nixon. The loss of these men provided promotion opportunities for others.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴Neville, History of Lamar County (Texas), 23, 152; Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, July 12, 1862, Steely Collection.

¹⁰⁵In Bohannon, The Giles, Alleghany and Jackson Artillery, 1-63, losses at the top of the command structure provided opportunities for others to move up. The Alleghany Artillery that served in Virginia had three different permanent commanding officers; the first left because of health problems, the second died of wounds, and the third commanded for the rest of the war, although missing time for wounds. Concerning promotion opportunities in the enlisted ranks of Daniel's Battery, 90 percent entered as privates and 83.4 percent left as privates. The lack of casualties among the corporals and sergeants in the battery and the

For the entire war, the Ninth Texas Field Battery suffered ten desertions (one officer and nine enlisted men) (see Table 3). The ten deserters constituted only 4.5 percent of the battery's total roster. According to Reid Mitchell, desertion figures for both the Confederate and Union army are unreliable. Ella Lonn, however, provided an estimated desertion rate of 11 percent for the Confederate army and 14 percent for the Union army. Two recent local studies do provide a point of comparison with other Texas troops. Jane Johansson's examination of the 28th Texas Cavalry estimated a 4.3 percent desertion rate. Douglas Hale discovered a 7 percent desertion rate among the members of the Third Texas Cavalry.¹⁰⁶

For further comparison, the Virginia Regimental Histories Series offers figures for soldiers in the eastern theater. The Staunton Artillery Battery had a desertion rate of 8.4 percent; McClanahan's Battery, 6.4 percent; and the 13th Virginia Infantry, 16 percent. Additionally, the Brooke Artillery Battery's rate of desertion was 11.5 percent, and the Loudoun Artillery Battery registered a 10.5 percent desertion rate. It would appear, then, that

limited number of positions in those ranks are the main reasons for the limited opportunities for promotion among the privates.

¹⁰⁶Mitchell, Civil War Soldiers, n242; Ella Lonn, Desertion During The Civil War (repr., Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1966), 226; Johansson, "Peculiar Honor," 222; Hale, Third Texas Cavalry, 281.

Daniel's Battery had a low desertion rate in comparison with other units. The difference in desertion rates with the outfits from Virginia may have been the result of varying experience. The Virginia units saw much more action and, as a result, suffered greater mental and emotional stress. Further, because so much of Virginia was occupied by one army or the other, food was less plentiful than in other areas. While experiencing some lean times, overall, the men of Daniel's Battery probably had better rations than their fellow soldiers in Virginia.¹⁰⁷

The bulk of the desertions in Daniel's Battery occurred in 1863. An examination of the service records and census information of the eight men who deserted in 1863 did not offer any answers or common reasons for this. According to James I. Robertson,

Desertion followed a natural and chronological pattern in the Civil War. On both sides the desertion rate was lowest at the outset of the struggle, then increased steadily as the war progressed until it reached highest levels in the last year of hostilities.¹⁰⁸

This was not the case for Daniel's Battery. Five of the eight desertions took place before the fighting that the

¹⁰⁷Robert J. Driver, Jr., The Staunton Artillery -- McClanahan's Battery, The Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988), 50; Riggs, 13th Virginia Infantry, 76-7; Michael J. Andrus, The Brooke, Fauquier, Loudoun and Alexandria Artillery, The Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1990), 117-18.

¹⁰⁸Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, 135.

battery was involved in during the fall of 1863. There was only one recorded desertion for 1864 and none for 1865. There are several possible reasons for the large number of desertions in 1863. Three of the men who deserted that year were on detached duty in the Quartermaster Department in Little Rock. It may be that lack of companionship with their battery mates and dissatisfaction with their present duties caused them to leave.¹⁰⁹

Perhaps the critical Confederate defeats at Vicksburg and Port Hudson locally, and Gettysburg nationally, were also factors in the number of desertions the battery suffered in 1863. These military losses certainly had a negative effect on morale in the Trans-Mississippi Department. There also appears to have been some dissatisfaction with the leadership of the army. While specifics are not mentioned, Lieutenant Samuel Wright spoke of this in a letter to his father:

To make a long matter short, the people at home have long since been whipped, have given it up too soon, and the disaffection has spread to the army. Its effect is becoming disastrous to our cause and may be our ruin. . . . I am despondent, not from our own weakness but because of the disaffection and demoralized condition of our army. We have the strength and numbers to resist invasion, but lack the generals to discipline and efficiently command our armies. . . . The disaffection has been gradually getting bolder and bolder until it

¹⁰⁹The January-February 1864 company muster roll is the last available official record regarding desertions for the battery; however, the letters of Lt. Samuel Wright mention no desertions in 1865. His final letter was written on March 15, 1865.

has now come to a head and is openly talked of around everywhere.¹¹⁰

In general, the main reason that most men deserted during the war was due to concerns for their families. The anxiety over their families was a constant factor for Civil War soldiers. The deserters in Daniel's Battery may have had similar reasons for leaving, although this is speculation due to the lack of evidence. It may very well be that all of the reasons mentioned above -- dissatisfaction with detached duty, low morale due to military losses and poor leadership, and anxiety over their families -- played a role in the desertions in Daniel's Battery. Whatever the cause, the desertion rate for the battery was lower than those for other comparable units.¹¹¹

Another reason for the everchanging roster was the addition and subtraction of men because of transfers. Seven men transferred to other units. Five of these went to other artillery batteries, and one man returned to his original

¹¹⁰Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, September 7, 1863, Stealy Collection. Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 132, speaks of dissatisfaction with district headquarters over refusal to grant furloughs in September 1863. Johansson, "Peculiar Honor," 141, also mentions the negative effect on morale when the promised furloughs were denied.

¹¹¹Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, 135. According to the Compiled Service Records, one soldier, George Toone, deserted and joined another Confederate unit (Bragg's army in Tennessee); another member, Robert Weatherill, deserted to the Federals. None of the service records of the other deserters indicate destination or motivation.

infantry company. The exact assignment is not known for the remaining individual.

The largest single transfer of men into the battery occurred on May 15, 1863, at Alexandria, Louisiana. Nineteen men transferred to Daniel's Battery from various Texas infantry regiments. The following story told by a fellow Texan may provide some insight into the motivation behind the transfer:

It was when we were dismounted and marching that the Artillery would often pass us with men riding on horseback, men riding on the horses that drew the guns, men riding on the horses that followed with the Caisons [sic], two men riding on the limber chests and four men riding on the Caisons [sic], all looked happy and I come to the conclusion that I would rather serve a soldier in a battery as then I would get to ride.¹¹²

This soldier changed his mind about the artillery after serving with a battery in a battle where he suffered a headache, deafness, a bloody nose, and exhaustion.

Whether they were transfers or original members, most of the men of Daniel's Battery were literate. According to the 1860 manuscript census, only eight of the 134 men (6 percent) of Daniel's Battery were listed as illiterate. Civil War historian Bell Wiley states that "the great majority of companies throughout the army had anywhere from one to a score of members who could not write their names."

¹¹²Sparks, The War Between the States As I Saw It, 260-61; Company return, May 1863, Civil War Papers, Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Tulane University Library.

The numbers were a little better for Union troops, usually "one to a half-dozen illiterates" in a company. This was probably due to the South's having fewer schools and a more rural population. It would seem that the men of Daniel's Battery were similar in this regard to other Civil War soldiers.¹¹³

Before the war, the men of the Ninth Texas Field Battery worked in a number of different professions, the majority of them in some type of agriculture. According to Lowe and Campbell, three-quarters of the free population of antebellum Texas were directly involved in some form of farming. This does not necessarily mean that they were listed as farmers in the census, but rather that they operated farms regardless of their reported occupation.¹¹⁴

Seventy-six men of Daniel's Battery (56.7 percent of the 134 located) were engaged in some facet of agriculture (see Table 4). Douglas Hale found that 54 percent of the Third Texas Cavalry were involved in agriculture. The figure for Daniel's Battery is just short of the 61.5 percent that James McPherson used for Confederate soldiers who were planters, farmers, and farm laborers. In examining the records of 9,000 soldiers, Bell Wiley found that over

¹¹³Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, 336-37; Wiley, Life of Billy Yank, 305-6.

¹¹⁴Lowe and Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk, 9.

half called themselves farmers. Thus, Daniel's Battery was similar to other Confederate units.¹¹⁵

TABLE 4: PRE-WAR OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	Number of Men	Valid Percent	Total Percent
<u>Agriculture</u>			
Farmer	29	21.6	56.7
Overseer	1	.7	
Stock Raiser	2	1.5	
Farm Laborer	30	22.4	
Tenant Farmer	14	10.4	
<u>Commerce</u>			
Merchant	1	.7	2.2
Peddler	1	.7	
Tavern Keeper	1	.7	
<u>Professional</u>			
Doctor	1	.7	6.0
Teacher	5	3.7	
Engineer	2	1.5	
<u>Manufacturing</u>			
Wagon Maker	2	1.5	4.5
Furniture Maker	4	3.0	
<u>Skilled Workers</u>			
Blacksmith	3	2.2	11.9
Bricklayer/Carpenter	9	6.7	
Shoemaker	1	.7	
Saddler	1	.7	
Mechanic	2	1.5	
<u>Unskilled Workers</u>			
Teamster	2	1.5	11.9
Laborer	14	10.4	

¹¹⁵Hale, Third Texas Cavalry, 42; McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 614; Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, 330.

<u>Other</u>			
Student	9	6.7	6.7

Although twenty-nine men were listed in the census as farmers, forty-three men (32 percent) operated their own farms. The apparent discrepancy between the forty-three men listed as farm operators in the agricultural census and the twenty-nine men who gave "farmer" as their occupation in the population census can be explained. It was not uncommon for individuals to own a farm but to be involved in another occupation at the same time. The census taker simply recorded the occupation that the individual gave.¹¹⁶

Skilled and unskilled workers made up the next two occupational groups with sixteen men each (11.9 percent). In a sample of soldiers from seven Confederate states, James McPherson found that 14.1 percent were skilled laborers, and 8.5 percent were unskilled. The discrepancy in these findings probably reflect the frontier nature of north central Texas. The region would therefore require fewer skilled laborers than a more established area (from which

¹¹⁶Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, cite similar problems in their footnote on page 58. For this study, in those instances where the individuals claimed to be farmers, yet had no listed value of real estate, or were not found in Schedule IV, it was assumed that they were tenant farmers. Specific questions regarding ownership, tenancy, and sharecropping were not included in the census until 1880. For further discussion on tenancy, see Frederick A. Bode and Donald E. Ginter, Farm Tenancy and the Census in Antebellum Georgia (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1986).

McPherson's numbers were taken). Nine members of the unit (6.7 percent) were listed as students, eight as professional men (five teachers, two engineers, and one doctor), six as manufacturers (four furniture-makers and two wagon-makers), and three as businessmen (a merchant, a peddler, and a tavern keeper).¹¹⁷

The wealth of these men varied greatly. The wide range in all of the wealth-related data created problems in analyzing the true economic status of the battery's members. For example, although the mean amount of taxable property owned by the men of Daniel's Battery was \$3,745, the minimum amount was \$20, the maximum was \$62,240, and the standard deviation was \$9,068. Since these values are not normally distributed, the standard deviation and the mean are not particularly meaningful. A more accurate indicator is the median, \$950. These figures imply that wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few. This inequality in wealthholding was normal, according to Campbell and Lowe's studies.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 614.

¹¹⁸Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, 135-37. Assuming there is a normal distribution of values, the standard deviation is a way of describing how close the figures are to the mean or average. The median is the middle point that divides the values into two equal parts. In this paper, the terms "mean" and "average" are used interchangeably. All dollar amounts are rounded off to the nearest dollar.

Fifty-four men in Daniel's Battery were found on the tax rolls. There are no regional figures available for comparison; however, it is obvious that the majority of the men in the battery were not wealthy. Half had taxable property under \$1,000. Of the remaining twenty-seven, most (eighteen men) had taxable property up to \$5,000. Only four men in Daniel's Battery owned taxable property worth \$10,000 and more.

TABLE 5: VALUE OF REAL PROPERTY

Value of Real Property (in Dollars)	Men of Daniel's Battery	Valid Percent of Daniel's Battery	Percentage of the Population of North Central Texas*
0	64	47.8	36.5
1 - 249	2	1.5	4.5
250 - 499	5	3.7	8.4
500 - 999	23	17.2	13.7
1,000 - 4,999	35	26.1	28.6
5,000 - 9,999	1	.7	4.2
10,000 - 19,999	2	1.5	2.7
20,000 - 49,999	1	.7	1.0
50,000 and Over	1	.7	.4
Total	134	99.9	100.0

* Source: Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, p. 139

The average value of real estate owned by Daniel's men was \$1,666 (range from \$0 to \$75,000). The standard deviation was \$7,142. Although the mean was \$1,666, the median figure for the battery was \$310. The mode was zero

(64 of 134 men owned no real estate). Clearly, most of the soldiers in Daniel's Battery were not wealthy landowners (see Table 5).¹¹⁹

TABLE 6: VALUE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

Value of Personal Property (in Dollars)	Men of Daniel's Battery	Valid Percent of Daniel's Battery	Percentage of the Population of North Central Texas*
0	28	20.9	4.7
1 - 249	26	19.4	12.1
250 - 499	20	14.9	17.3
500 - 999	18	13.4	19.6
1,000 - 4,999	29	21.6	35.0
5,000 - 9,999	7	5.2	7.1
10,000 - 19,999	3	2.2	2.8
20,000 - 49,999	2	1.5	1.3
50,000 and Over	1	.7	.1
Total	134	99.8	100.0

* Source: Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, p. 143

The average value of personal estate for the battery was higher: \$2,206 (range from \$0 to \$50,000). The standard deviation was \$6,183. For this set of figures, the mode was zero and the median was \$363. Approximately three-

¹¹⁹The mode is the most frequent value in a set of data.

fourths of the men had \$1500 or less in personal estate (see Table 6).

The average wealth (real and personal estate combined) of the enlisted men of Daniel's Battery was \$2,360. The average wealth of the officers was more than ten times as great, \$26,918, but this figure is misleading. As Mark Twain wrote, "There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics." Simple averages do not tell the whole story. The officer corps was wealthier than the enlisted men -- but not by the extreme amount that at first appears. The families of Lieutenants James Wright and Samuel Wright were very wealthy, and their numbers skew the wealth figures for the whole officer corps. When the wealth of these two individuals is removed from consideration, the average wealth of the remaining officers was \$3,390, only 43.6 percent higher than the figures for enlisted men.¹²⁰

The disparity of wealth among the men of the Lamar Artillery is generally consistent with Campbell and Lowe's findings for this part of the state. In their book, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, the state was divided into four regions for purposes of analysis. Lamar County, home of the largest percentage of men from Daniel's Battery (43.3 percent), is in the north-central prairie region (Region

¹²⁰Samuel L. Clemens, Mark Twain's Autobiography 2 vols., (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1924), 1:246. Twain actually attributed the quote that he used to Disraeli.

III). While there are differences of degree in certain categories, the statistics from Daniel's Battery are generally consistent with those for the region as a whole.¹²¹

Campbell and Lowe found a much smaller wealthy class and a larger middle class in Region III (north central Texas) than prevailed statewide. For the value of real property, 47.7 percent of the battery and 54.9 percent of the household heads of this region fell into the middle class (those with real or personal property valued at \$250 to \$9,999). For the value of personal property, 55 percent of Daniel's soldiers and 79 percent of the region's household heads fell into the middle class. Thus, proportionally, fewer men in the battery were members of the middle class than in the surrounding region. While the figures were close in most categories, the battery differed significantly from the region, with a higher percentage of the artillerymen in the \$1-\$249 grouping and a lower percentage in the \$1,000-\$4,999 division. This would seem to indicate a lower economic status for the soldiers of Daniel's Battery. As stated earlier, the differences may be the result of the diverse nature of the unit. Another possible explanation could be that the men of the battery

¹²¹Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, 13-17. Region III consists of thirty-two northern and central Texas prairie counties. Lamar County is in the northeast corner of this region. While the largest single group of men were from Lamar county (43.3 percent), approximately 22 percent were from other Texas counties, and about 35 percent of the men were from Arkansas.

were generally younger than the mean age of the region and therefore had accumulated less wealth.¹²²

For those members of Daniel's Battery who operated farms (32 percent of those found in the population schedule were also listed in the agricultural schedule), the mean value of the farms was \$2,395 (see Table 7). The standard deviation was \$5,251 and the range was from \$100 to \$24,000. The median and the mode were \$800. Approximately three-fourths of the farms were valued at \$1600 or less, far below the battery's average.

TABLE 7: MEAN SIZE AND VALUE OF FARMS

Group	Improved Acres	Total Acres	Cash Value of Farm
Men of Daniel's Battery	59.8	282.2	\$2,395.47
North Central Texas ¹	46.6	479.9	\$2,315.40
Texas Farms ²	66.5	543.8	\$2,748.40
Northern Farms ²	70.4	130.6	\$2,823.80

¹ Source: Lowe and Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk, p. 63-5

² Source: Lowe and Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk, p. 184

In comparison, the mean cash value of Texas farms in 1860 was \$353 higher than the mean value of the farms owned by the soldiers of Daniel's Battery. In addition, Texas farms were on average nearly twice as large as those owned

¹²²Ibid., 52. The battery was made up of men from nineteen counties in Texas and thirteen counties in Arkansas, which makes a comparison with a region imperfect at best.

by Daniel's men, and Texas farms averaged over 11 percent more improved acres than the farms of battery members. These differences are comparable to Lowe and Campbell's findings in regard to regional variation in farm size and value. For instance, their Region II, the Gulf coastal area, generally included larger and more valuable farms than the rest of the state. Region III, home of Lamar County and Daniel's Battery, was on the other end of the spectrum. This region had the smallest and least valuable farms in the state.¹²³

In contrast, the average Northern farm was four times smaller than the average Texas farm and less than half the size of the average farm owned by the men in Daniel's Battery. The difference in farm size reflected the abundance of available land in Texas. Considerably less unsettled farmland was available in the North. This Texas abundance was also evidenced in the value of Northern versus Texas farms. The mean cash value for a Northern farm was higher than its much larger Texas counterpart. Indeed, Northern farms were worth an average of \$22 per acre, while the mean value per acre of a Texas farm was \$5. It is interesting to note that the farms owned by the men of Daniel's Battery boasted an average value of \$8 per acre, possibly because these farms were comprised of a

¹²³Lowe and Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk, 62, 68, 184.

significantly larger percentage of improved acreage than the average Texas farm.¹²⁴

With farm values ranging from \$100 to \$24,000, and a median price of \$800, it is clear that most of the men of Daniel's Battery were not wealthy farmers. Only five men owned farms whose value was above the average cash value for all Texas farms. In fact, thirty-seven of the forty-three farm operators owned farms whose value was below the average cash value of the region or the unit. As was true statewide, wealth was in the hands of a few.

The overwhelming majority of the men of Daniel's Battery owned no slaves. Only twenty-eight men or their families (20.9 percent of 134 were located in Schedule 2 [Slave Inhabitants] of the 1860 census) were slaveowners. The remaining 106 (79.1 percent) did not own even a single slave. In contrast, James McPherson states that two-thirds of all white Southerners were nonslaveholders. On a state level, Randolph Campbell's research supports that figure with his finding that less than one-third of all Texas families owned slaves. Campbell and Lowe found that slaveholders made up less than 20 percent in the region that included Lamar County.¹²⁵

¹²⁴Ibid., 184.

¹²⁵McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 8; Randolph B. Campbell, An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 209; Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, 52.

Of those who were slaveowners in Daniel's Battery, the majority did not own many slaves (see Table 8). Sixteen (57.1 percent) of the twenty-eight slaveowners had three slaves or fewer. Overall, the mean number of slaves owned was 5.72. Clearly, the bulk of Daniel's Battery could not be considered "planters" in the sense that this word is commonly used.¹²⁶

TABLE 8: SLAVEHOLDINGS

Number of Slaves Owned	Number of Daniel's Battery Owing Slaves	Valid Percent
1	5	17.9
2	4	14.3
3	7	25.0
4	2	7.1
5	3	10.7
7	2	7.1
8	1	3.6
12	1	3.6
18	1	3.6
27	1	3.6
30	1	3.6
166	28	100.0

Only three individuals owned eighteen or more slaves. Lieutenant James Wright's family owned the greatest number. His father, George Wright (Captain Daniel's father-in-law),

¹²⁶In Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, p. 44, Campbell and Lowe consider someone who owned twenty or more slaves a "planter."

owned thirty, Private Philip McGlasson's family held twenty-seven bondsmen, and young Benjamin Laurie's family owned eighteen. Thus, three individuals are credited with owning seventy-five (about 45 percent) of the total 166 slaves owned by members of the battery.

The fact that a large number of slaves was owned by a few people was true not only in Daniel's Battery but also statewide. In his studies across the state, Randolph Campbell found that "the top 20 percent of slaveholders ranked according to the size of their holdings owned 96 percent of all slaves." Campbell and Lowe discovered that only 3 percent of the population of Texas had "planter-size holdings of twenty or more bondsmen" in 1860. These "planters", however, owned 45.6 percent of all slaves. Like the men in Daniel's Battery, the majority of Texas slaveowners held fewer than five slaves.¹²⁷

This disparity in slave ownership is also illustrated by comparing the slaveholdings of the officers and enlisted men. As a group, the eight officers, who made up less than 4 percent of the whole unit, owned 31.3 percent (fifty-two of the 166 total) of the bondsmen owned by the men of the battery. Yet, when the wealthy Wright cousins (James and Samuel) are removed from the equation, the number owned by

¹²⁷Campbell, An Empire for Slavery, 193; Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, 44.

the officer corps is reduced to fifteen slaves or 9 percent of the total.¹²⁸

While the slaveholding numbers for Daniel's Battery are comparable to Region III, they are low in comparison to the state (20.9 to 27 percent) and even lower in comparison to the South (20.9 to 33 percent). Someone might ask, "If the majority of the men did not own slaves, then why did they fight?"

The war resulted primarily from the long-standing dispute over slavery that had raised the level of discord between the North and the South to the breaking point by 1860. Lincoln's election as president was the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. The states of the Lower South seceded first. After the South fired on Fort Sumter in the Charleston, South Carolina, harbor, Lincoln called for 75,000 militiamen to put down the rebellion. As a result of Lincoln's proclamation, most of the Upper South felt compelled to pull out of the Union and join their southern brethren.¹²⁹

In Texas, although most white men were sympathetic to slavery and would have jumped at the chance to join the wealthy planter class by owning slaves, their immediate

¹²⁸Captain Daniel is not included in the eight officers mentioned because he was away in Virginia and not listed in the 1860 census.

¹²⁹For an excellent discussion of the road to secession, see McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, chapters 1 to 9.

motivation was to defend their homeland. As James McPherson pointed out,

The concepts of southern nationalism, liberty, self-government, resistance to tyranny, and other ideological purposes I quoted earlier all have a rather abstract quality. But for many Confederate soldiers these abstractions took a concrete, visceral form: the defense of home and hearth against an invading enemy.¹³⁰

The threat of northern troops marching into the South to stop the insurrection caused slaveowners and nonslaveowners alike to join together to protect their homes and families from a possible invasion by the "dreaded yankee hordes." Some believed they were fighting for freedom from Yankee oppression and viewed the war as a second war of independence. Intertwined with those thoughts was the idea of states rights. The independent-minded Texans did not want a faraway federal government telling them what to do. This was especially true on the issue of slavery. Very few would have thought of themselves as trying to overthrow the government (as the term "rebel" implies); rather, they wanted to take their state out of the Union because they disagreed with the way the majority (the North) was going. These men desired to establish a new country.¹³¹

¹³⁰McPherson, What They Fought For 1861-1865, 18.

¹³¹The philosophical reasons for fighting are evident in the letters, diaries, and books written by the soldiers. For some examples, see Sparks, The War Between the States As I Saw It, 5-13; Hale, Third Texas Cavalry, 7-8; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 13-18; Smith and Mullins, "Diary of H. C. Medford," 220; Cutrer, "Letters of Volney Ellis," 127; and Richard M. McMurry, ed., Footprints

Apart from the philosophical reasons, for many the war was simply a great adventure. The oft-quoted phrase, "rarin' for a fight," truly describes the attitudes of some Confederates. In his classic work on the southern soldier, Bell Wiley writes,

The dominant urge of many volunteers was the desire for adventure. War, with its offering of travel to far places, of intimate association with large numbers of other men, of glory and excitement of battle, was an alluring prospect to farmers who in peace spent long hours between plow handles, to mechanics who worked day in and day out at cluttered benches, to storekeepers who through endless months measured jeans cloth or weighed sowbelly, to teachers who labored year after year with indifferent success to drill the rudiments of knowledge into unwilling heads, and to sons of planters who dallied with the classics in halls of learning.¹³²

The excitement and enthusiasm that swept through the South led men, resplendent in their new uniforms, and with visions of glory in their heads, off to war. "They marched off to war full of 'merriment and good cheer,' as frolicsome and carefree as if they were headed for two weeks of summer camp instead of four years of gnawing hunger, disease, exhaustion, pain, and the stench of death."¹³³

Although the majority of Daniel's Battery did not own slaves, they were ready and willing to fight for their homes and beliefs. Like the rest of the South, and the nation as

of a Regiment: A Recollection of the 1st Georgia Regulars, 1861-1865 (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1992).

¹³²Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, 15, 17.

¹³³Hale, Third Texas Cavalry, 8.

well, they were caught up in the rhetoric and patriotic fervor. These soldiers, wealthy and poor alike, innocently marched off to the deprivation, disease, and carnage of war.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The basic aim of this thesis has been to study the men of Daniel's Battery in order to understand the individuals who fought in the War Between the States. Chapter 1 explained that this type of investigation provides insight into the debate over whether the Civil War was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." Further, a better understanding of the Texans who served in Confederate units can be gained by studying a Texas outfit. Finally, studying a military unit that performed west of the Mississippi River assists Civil War historians in compiling a more complete record of the largely neglected Trans-Mississippi theater of operations.

To accomplish this, a narrative history of the Confederate artillery battery founded by Captain James M. Daniel was provided in Chapter 2. Special attention was given to the battery's role and conduct in the battles and skirmishes in which it was involved. A statistical analysis of the socio-economic make-up of the battery, based on data gathered from the Compiled Service Records, the 1860 manuscript census, and county tax rolls, was provided in Chapter 3. The information-gathering process and the resulting database were explained. Facts on the soldiers'

backgrounds, pre-war occupations, and wealth were evaluated by use of the SPSS computer program.

Daniel's Battery was mustered into Confederate service at Paris, Texas, on January 18, 1862. The roster indicates the majority of the men who enlisted in the unit -- nearly 65 percent -- were Texas residents. Not surprisingly, the largest group of Texans consisted of residents of Lamar County, where the battery was organized and originally dubbed the "Lamar Artillery."

One outcome of its Texas roots was that all of the officers in Daniel's Battery were Texans. The election of the officers occurred in March 1862, before the unit left Texas. When men were later appointed to fill vacancies that arose in the officer corps due to death, discharge, or desertion, the Texans, again, had the advantage because of close community and family ties.

The average enlistment age of the battery was approximately 27.2 years, slightly older than other Confederate units that were formed earlier. The battery members' ages spanned a broad range, however, from sixteen to fifty-two.

The roster of Daniel's Battery was continually changing as the company lost soldiers to death, discharges, desertions, and transfers. Although 220 men were on the roster at some point during the war, the size of the unit at any one time was much smaller. When the war ended in May

1865, Daniel's Battery may have included only ninety or fewer men still with the unit. The majority of personnel losses occurred in the first year of service. Over 90 percent of these losses resulted from diseases that took lives or forced discharges upon their victims. This experience is representative of Civil War soldiers in general -- disease was a deadlier foe than the minie ball.¹³⁴

Because of its limited combat exposure, the Ninth Texas Field Battery suffered few battlefield casualties. As was true with other units in the Trans-Mississippi theater of operations, Daniel's Battery did a great deal of marching, but very little fighting compared to similar units in other theatres. The battery was involved in the battles of Bayou Bourbeau, Mansfield, and Pleasant Hill. It also saw action shelling Union gunboats on the Mississippi River.¹³⁵

Reflecting the rural nature of the South, Daniel's Battery was similar to other Confederates units in that slightly more than half of the soldiers in the battery were involved in various aspects of agriculture before the war. The range of wealth among these rural Texans in Daniel's Battery varied greatly, whether in the form of taxable

¹³⁴McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 487.

¹³⁵For an interesting discussion on the effects of Civil War casualties and tactics as the result of improved firepower, see Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson, Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1982). Chapter 9 focuses on the use of artillery.

property, farm values, other real estate, or personal property. Most of the men were not wealthy farmers. In fact, only five out of forty-three farm operators owned farms whose values were above the mean cash value of Texas farms.¹³⁶

In like manner, the real and personal estate figures for the Lamar artillerymen indicate that, with the exception of a few very wealthy individuals, the men of the battery could be categorized as generally middle class. Overall, the average personal wealth was somewhat lower than that of the north-central Texas region, which was itself one of the poorer regions in the state. The difference may be the result of the relative youthfulness of the soldiers and the diverse nature of the battery.¹³⁷

The number of slaveholders in Daniel's Battery was lower than the state average -- 20.9 percent versus 27 percent for Texas as a whole. As in the rest of the state,

¹³⁶Lowe and Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk, 65, 184. According to Lowe and Campbell, the mean cash value of the farms of this region (Region III) was lower than the state average (\$2,749); the most valuable farms in Texas were located in the Gulf Coastal region (\$10,027).

¹³⁷Campbell and Lowe categorize medium wealth holders as those having real and personal property valued at \$250 to \$9,999, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, 52. The combined figures for Daniel's Battery give a mean total wealth of \$3,872. This would place Daniel's Battery at the lower end of the middle-class spectrum. The battery consisted of men from thirty-two counties in two states.

the bulk of the slaves were owned by a few wealthy slaveholders.¹³⁸

In light of this summary of facts, what conclusions can be drawn about the soldiers of Daniel's Battery? What does their socio-economic status say about those fighting the war? Where does the Ninth Texas Field Battery fit in the bigger picture of the Confederate army? What insights can be derived about the Trans-Mississippi Department?

Because of the provisions of the conscription laws that allowed the wealthy to escape from military service, there was a growing sentiment that the Civil War was a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight." This examination of the socio-economic status of the Ninth Texas Field Battery indicates that, as a whole, it was representative of the Confederate army. Although many of them were poor or middle-class, others who served were at the top of the socio-economic ladder.

While it may have been true in some respects that it was a rich man's war (for it was the wealthy slaveowners who fanned the flames over the slavery issue), the idea that only the poor did the fighting and dying is not true. James McPherson found that the debate over a rich man's war but a poor man's fight "lacked objective reality." In the North, the debate was used by Democrats to attack conscription and make it a "partisan and class issue." While the suffering

¹³⁸Campbell, An Empire for Slavery, 209.

of the poor and controversial laws like the Twenty-Negro Law kept the debate alive in the South, McPherson's studies found that "both skilled and unskilled laborers were under-represented in the Confederate army while business and professional classes may have been over-represented."¹³⁹

Generally, Civil War units were reflections of their local communities. Individuals who were elected as officers early in the war were usually leaders in their home areas. In many cases, these leaders were the well-to-do and prominent members of the town. It was the officers, often wealthy landowners or merchants, who suffered a higher casualty rate than the enlisted men during the war. James McPherson writes, "In both armies the proportion of officers killed in action was about 15 percent higher than the proportion of enlisted men killed."¹⁴⁰

In like manner, the story of Daniel's Battery does not support the idea of the Civil War being a "rich man's war but a poor man's fight." As was true in other units, the officers of Daniel's Battery were wealthier than the enlisted men. The average wealth of the officer corps was \$26,918 (\$3,390 if the very wealthy Wright cousins are excluded). The mean wealth of the enlisted men was \$2,360. The officers had been either well-known businessmen and leaders in the community, or the sons of very prominent men.

¹³⁹McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, 608, 614.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 330, 475.

Nonetheless, officers and enlisted men alike suffered the same hardships. While none of the officer corps were killed in action, Lieutenants Hamilton, Wilson, and James Wright were in the thick of the fight at Pleasant Hill where the battery suffered its greatest battlefield losses. The officers slept outside in the cold at "Camp Freeze Out" just as the enlisted men did. Officers and enlisted men both endured the effects of disease. Individuals from both groups died or were medically discharged as a result of illness.¹⁴¹

How did the men of the Ninth Texas Field Battery compare to their fellow soldiers who fought for the South? The men of Daniel's Battery were typical of their army and their region. Lamar County, home of the battery, was in a region of Texas that was truly in the "frontier" stage of development at the time of the Civil War. The county was sparsely settled and largely undeveloped. Most of the farms

¹⁴¹Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag, April 12, 1864, Steely Collection; Blessington, Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division, 70; Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, October 20, 1862, November 3, 1862, and January 23, 1863, Steely Collection. In the wealthy 3rd Texas Cavalry, the mean wealth of the officer corps was \$15,470 and \$12,683 for the enlisted men, Hale, Third Texas Cavalry, 40. The officers of the 28th Texas Cavalry had an average wealth of \$16,270; the mean wealth of the enlisted men was \$3,603, according to Johansson, "Peculiar Honor," 20, 63. Regarding medical casualties for Daniel's Battery, 11 percent of the officers and 12.8 percent of the enlisted men died of disease; 18.5 percent of the enlisted men were medically discharged. The records are not as clear for officers but possibly 22 percent received medical discharges.

were small, and the area was home to the greatest concentration of nonslaveholding farmers in the state.¹⁴²

The soldiers who enlisted in Daniel's Battery were representative of the region. Most involved in agriculture were either tenant farmers or owned small farms. While there were wealthy individuals in the battery (James Wright, Samuel Wright, and Philip McGlasson, for example), the majority would be categorized as middle-class (having wealth in the \$250 to \$9,999 range).

Those who joined the battery were different from the majority of Texas volunteers in that they selected the artillery branch of service. Two-thirds of the early Texas recruits joined cavalry units instead of the infantry or artillery. As a result, Texas did not provide the Confederate army enough infantry regiments, and some of the cavalry units were dismounted and made into infantry.¹⁴³

Another way in which Daniel's Battery differed from other Texas companies was in enlistment age. The average enlistment age of the whole battery was 27.2 years; the average enlistment age for the officers of Daniel's Battery was 26.9. Generally, officers were older than enlisted men

¹⁴²Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, 52; Lowe and Campbell, Planters and Plain Folk, 68.

¹⁴³Ralph A. Wooster and Robert Wooster, "'Rarin' for a Fight': Texans in the Confederate Army," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 84 (April 1981): 392. For the Confederate army as a whole, only 5 percent of the soldiers were in the artillery, Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, 19.

and yet, in this battery, there was little difference. In Confederate Brigadier General Henry H. Sibley's Brigade, however, the median age of privates was twenty-two, and the average for sergeants was twenty-six. The officers of Sibley's Brigade had an average enlistment age of twenty-seven. Besides the lack of difference in age between officers and enlisted men, Daniel's Battery differed in another way. Like the Virginia units discussed earlier, Texas units formed at the beginning of the war were younger. The median age for the privates in the 3rd Texas Cavalry was twenty-three and for Lieutenant General John Bell Hood's famed Texas Brigade, it was twenty-four. The median age of the enlisted men of Daniel's Battery, which was formed about a year later, was twenty-six.¹⁴⁴

The study of Daniel's Battery offers the opportunity to make some general observations about military experiences in the Trans-Mississippi Department. Like Confederate soldiers in other areas of operation, as the war wore on, clothes and shoes wore out. Daniel's Battery was no different. In letters to his parents, Lieutenant Samuel Wright mentions both boot and clothing needs. Lieutenant Joshua Wilson wrote to his wife that the Confederate troops stripped the dead Federals after the Battle of Mansfield because the southerners needed clothing.

¹⁴⁴Wooster and Wooster, "Rarin' for a Fight," 394-95; Hale, Third Texas Cavalry, 44.

I went over the battle ground and travelled the road the next day on which the Yankees were slaughtered; for ten miles the dead Yankees were lying on the side of the road; a great many of them were stripped of their coats, pants, and boots, while others had their pockets turned wrong side out. I do not blame our men so much for so doing as they needed clothing so badly.¹⁴⁵

Units serving in the Trans-Mississippi suffered fewer battle casualties than in the eastern theater of operations, where the fighting was much heavier. The reason for the lower casualty rates is simple: there were not as many battles in the Trans-Mississippi region because the area was not considered as strategically important in comparison to areas east of the Mississippi River. The close proximity of the two nations' capitals (Washington and Richmond) guaranteed that there would be fighting in that part of the country. Control of the Mississippi River was viewed as very important to the Union war effort, but the capture of Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and New Orleans, along with possession of a superior naval force, secured control of the Mississippi for the Union. These Union victories effectively cut off Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas from the rest of the Confederacy. The war could be won without capturing other areas west of the river.

¹⁴⁵Joshua J. Wilson to Dear Mag, April 12, 1864, Steely Collection; Samuel J. Wright to Dear Father, July 12, 1862 and July 27, 1864, Steely Collection. Ralph and Robert Wooster, "Rarin' for a Fight," 414-15, also give examples of Texas soldiers in need of clothing.

The long marches and frequent moves by Daniel's Battery are an example of a major problem affecting the Trans-Mississippi theater of operations throughout the war: inadequate numbers of troops. No doubt an infantry company would offer an even stronger statement of this fact, yet Daniel's Battery, like other artillery units, also moved frequently in response to Union threats. "There seemed always to be a 'fight or a footrace' in progress, or a fast march from one nameless crossroads to another 'in a devil of a hurry.'"¹⁴⁶

As a result, Daniel's Battery, like other outfits that served in the Trans-Mississippi region, spent much of the war marching from one place to another. The men's battlefield experiences were limited, and disease was their most deadly foe. They did not fight in famous battles like Gettysburg or Chancellorsville; instead, they saw action in lesser-known conflicts. Their greatest success came in April 1864 when the men of Daniel's Battery helped turn back a Union invasion aimed at Texas. Although most were not wealthy, nor were the majority slaveholders, they served faithfully in defense of their homeland and beliefs.

¹⁴⁶Kerby, Kirby Smith's Confederacy, 244.

APPENDIX A
ROSTER OF DANIEL'S BATTERY

Appendix A contains an alphabetical roster of Daniel's Battery. Because of space limitations, abbreviations are used. The following information will assist the reader in understanding the abbreviations used in the columns.

Enl. date: date that the individual joined the battery either through enlistment or transfer; date is listed month-day-year.

First rank: entry rank

Last rank: rank of individual according to last available records. For both rank columns, the following abbreviations are used: Private=Pvt, Corporal=Cpl, Sergeant=Sgt, Bugler=Bugl, Quartermaster Sergeant=QMSgt, Lieutenant=Lt, Captain=Capt, and Assistant Surgeon=Asst Surg.

Cas.: Casualty column covers any reason why the individual permanently left the unit as well as the traditional military understanding of casualty. The following abbreviations are used in this column:

WIA=Wounded in action
 KIA=Killed in action
 MIA=Missing in action
 Med. Disch.=Medical discharge
 DOD=Died of disease
 Disch. Subst.=Discharged, provided a substitute
 Des.=Deserted
 Disch. NRG=Discharged, no reason given
 Resign NRG=Resigned, no reason given
 Murder=Murdered
 Trans.=Transferred to another unit

Res. 1860: Residence (state & county) of individual in 1860. TEX=Texas; ARK=Arkansas

POB: Place of birth
 Standard Post Office abbreviations are used for states. The following are used for foreign countries: Ire=Ireland, Eng=England, Ger=Germany, and Bav=Bavaria.

Job=Pre-war occupation

For these last three columns, if the individual was 20 years old or younger and living at home, information on his parents' wealth, taxable property, and slaveownership was used.

Slaveowner and #: "No" if individual did not own slaves; "Yes" if he was a slaveowner, followed by the number of slaves owned.

Wealth: Real and Personal Estate combined

Tax. prop.: Value of taxable property

ROSTER OF DANIEL'S BATTERY

Name	Enl. date	Enl. age	First rank	Last rank	Cas.	Res. 1860	POB	Job	Slave owner & #	Wealth	Tax. Prop.
ADAMS, PLEASANT N.	5-3-62	28	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Dallas	GA	Farmer	No	800	210
ALLEN, GABRIEL L.	1-18-62	25	Pvt	Pvt	WIA						
ALLFORD, JAMES B.	6-2-62	36	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.						
ARMONTROUT, GEORGE W.	1-18-62	19	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Lamar	TX	Farmer	No	2720	640
ARMSTRONG, JOHN E. J.	5-15-63	20	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Upshur	AL	Farm laborer	No	1400	650
ARNOLD, JOHN	1-18-62	36	Pvt	Pvt							
BABCOCK, WILLET C.	1-18-62	36	QM Sgt	QM Sgt	Med. disch.	TEX-Lamar	NY	Furniture maker	No	2700	
BAILEY, JAMES I.	4-7-62	17	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Lamar	TX	Farm labor	No	1400	
BAILEY, O. L.	5-5-62	33	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.						
BAITS, T. J.											
BARNES, A. G.	5-13-62	22	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Hot Spring	MS	Wagon maker	No	0	
BARNES, H.			Pvt								
BARNETT, J. J.			Pvt								
BASS, MONROE	5-10-62	19	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	ARK-Dallas	AR	Farm labor	Yes 8	7800	4060

BAUGH, RICHARD	5-13-62	35	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	ARK- Dallas	TN	Laborer	Yes 3	4000	1165
BAUGH, WILLIAM B.	5-13-62	37	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	ARK-Hot Spring	TN	Teacher	No	2000	
BETTIS, JOHN	5-14-62	25	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK- Dallas	TN	Farmer	No	1800	130
BETTIS, THOMAS C.	5-14-62	28	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	ARK- Dallas	TN	Farmer	No	600	
BETTIS, WILLIAM A.	5-14-62	20	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK- Dallas	TN	Farm laborer	No	1700	
BINION, JOSEPH	3-9-62	27	Pvt	Pvt	Cpl							
BRANDON, HAMILTON M.	3-17-62	16	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	OH					
BROWN, J. D.	7-2-62	34	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
BRUCE, J. T.	5-15-63		Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
BRYAN, GEORGE W.	4-24-63	26	Asst Surg	Asst Surg	Asst Surg							
BULLOCH, LUCIOUS E.	5-10-62	19	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	ARK- Dallas	NC	Farm laborer	No	1500	
BURRUS, HENRY C.	1-18-62	34	Sgt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Red River	KY	Teacher	Yes 5	9000	
BURRUS, WILLIAM H.	1-18-62	27	Cpl	Cpl	Cpl		TEX- Lamar	VA	Farmer	No	0	
CARDEN, J. W.	6-16-62	27	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
CARPENTER, THOMAS H.	1-18-62	26	Pvt	Pvt	Bugl							
CHERRY, WILLIAM	7-2-62	34	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
CHILDERS, ALONZO W.	1-18-62	24	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX- Lamar	NC	Farm laborer	No	200	

CHISM, PITZER M.	1-18-62	28	Sgt	QM Sgt		TEX- Lamar	TN	Farm laborer	No	800	
CHRISTIAN, THOMAS	5-3-62	27	Pvt	Pvt		ARK- Dallas	NC	Wheel- wright	No	1000	
CLAMPIT, ELISHA A.	1-18-62	19	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	TEX- Lamar	MS	Farm laborer	Yes 1	6400	3640
CLIFTON, THOMAS	5-14-62	26	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Hot Spring	TN	Tenant farmer	No	0	
COCK, JOHN D.	1-18-62	28	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	TEX- Lamar	MS	Tenant farmer	No	775	950
CONDIT, LOWRY V.	1-18-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	TEX- Lamar	KY	Stock raiser	No	0	
CONOLY, THOMAS	6-23-62	30	Pvt	Pvt		ARK- Crittenden	Ire	Laborer	No	0	
CORLEY, JOHN J.	1-18-62	33	Pvt	Pvt	DOD						
DANIEL, JAMES M.	1-18-62	29	Capt	Capt			VA	Civil engi- neer			2930
DAVIDSON, FRANK	4-30-62	21	Pvt	Cpl	MIA						
DAVIDSON, SAMUEL M.	4-1-63	24	Pvt	Cpl		TEX- Lamar	TN	Farm laborer	No	0	
DAVIS, DAVID C.	7-2-62	32	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Law- rence	TN	Laborer	No	50	615
DAVIS, JOHN M.	5-5-62	23	Pvt	Pvt		ARK- Dallas	TN	Farm laborer	No	0	
DAVIS, STANFORD M.	1-18-62	28	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	TEX- Lamar	KY	Tenant farmer	No	250	
DAWSON, T. M.			Pvt								

NAME	DATE	AGE	RANK	STATUS	COMBAT	REG	STATE	OH	Mech- anic	No	0	
DEWOLF, JAMES B.	3-13-62	28	Pvt				TEX-Red River				0	
DOTY, JOHN	5-3-62	18	Pvt				ARK- Dallas	TN	Laborer	No	17000	322
DUBOSE, B. J.	5-15-63		Pvt		KIA							
DUKES, HENRY	1-18-62	48	Pvt		Med. disch.		TEX- Hopkins	KY	Farmer	No	1206	160
DYER, JOHN W.	3-28-62	27	Pvt		Med. disch.		TEX- Grayson	VA	Farm laborer	No	0	
ECHOLS, GARRETT	1-18-62	34	Pvt		Med. disch.			TN				
ELLEIDGE, HENRY	1-18-62	19	Pvt		DOD		TEX-Hunt	IL	Farm laborer	No	0	
EVANS, DAVID M.	6-21-62	21	Pvt				TEX- Lamar	AR	Farm laborer	No	3300	2830
EVANS, J. J.			Pvt									
EVANS, JOHN G.	6-21-62	26	Pvt				TEX- Lamar	AR	Farm laborer	No	0	100
FANNING, GEORGE W.	4-22-63		Pvt									
FAVORS, JOSEPH	6-25-62		Pvt		Trans.							
FISHER, ALFRED	1-18-62	51	Pvt		DOD			TN				
FISHER, SAMUEL	3-18-62	25	Pvt		Disch. subst.			MS				
FITE, B. R.	5-2-62	24	Pvt		DOD		ARK- Dallas	TN	Farmer	No	800	37
FITZGERALD, WILLIAM	3-16-62	22	Pvt				TEX- Ander- son	TN	Farm laborer	No	0	

FOSTER, LEE	3-18-62	20	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Lamar	TX	Team-ster	No	600	
FOWLER, GEORGE W.	1-18-62	30	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	TEX-Lamar	TN	Farmer	No	370	
FRIED, DANIEL	6-3-62	18	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
GARRETT, GEORGE M.	4-10-62	32	Pvt	Pvt	Cpl		TEX-Marion	GA	Farmer	Yes 7	10,500	6525
GENTRY, W. J.	9-16-63		Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
GIBSON, T. B.	5-15-63	17	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Hopkins	AL	Farm laborer	Yes 2	5210	500
GIVINS, JAMES S.	1-18-62	22	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Lamar	KY	Farm laborer	Yes 3	6500	5990
GREEN, ALEXANDER	3-18-62	34	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Lamar	GA	Teacher	Yes 1	1000	
GREY, JOHN A.	1-18-62	31	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	TEX-Hopkins	TN	Farmer	No	970	
HALTRUM, JOHN W.	5-5-62	22	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Dallas	TN	Carpen-ter	No	0	
HAMILTON, SAMUEL M.	1-18-62	21	Sgt	Pvt	2Lt	Trans.	TEX-Red River	TX	Laborer	Yes 5	6192	
HAMPTON, WILLIAM M.	1-18-62	27	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		AR				
HANCOCK, JOHN F.	1-18-62	45	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Lamar	TN	Saddler	No	850	
HARRELLS, ROBERT J.	1-18-62	25	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		AL				
HARRIS, JAMES B.	4-1-62	33	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt			VA				
HATCH, J. L.	3-16-63		Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
HATCHER, NEWTON	4-10-62	28	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.						

HAWLEY, WILLIAM	3-31-62	36	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	TEX- Lamar	IL	Farmer	No	1140	430
HAYNES, GEORGE E.	1-18-62	25	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX- Lamar	GA	Brick mason	No	100	
HAZEL, FRANK	1-18-62	31	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt			Bav				
HOGAN, JAMES M.	1-18-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Sgt	WIA	TEX- Lamar	TN	Farm laborer	No	0	
HOGAN, S. O.	1-18-62	33	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		TN				
HOOVER, THOMAS H.	3-17-62	36	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	TEX- Lamar	TN	Farmer	No	2350	1800
HOWARD, JOSEPH	1-18-62	26	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	TEX- Lamar	AL	Farm laborer	No	275	210
HUDSON, MORDICA	5-14-62	29	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK- Dallas	TN	Farmer	No	2300	
HULSEY, JAMES C.	5-14-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	ARK- Dallas	AL	Laborer	No	200	
HULSEY, J. J.	5-14-62	22	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	ARK-Drew	TN	Laborer	No	0	
HUMPHRIES, THOMAS	6-2-62	31	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Des.						
HUTCHERSON, WILLIAM	5-5-62	20	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	ARK- Dallas	TN	Student	No	4000	
JACOBS, ISHAM	7-2-62	32	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
JENKINS, JOHN J.	5-10-62	21	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.						
JOHNSON, C. H.	5-15-63	24	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	MIA						
JONES, JOHN	5-19-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Trans.	ARK- Pulaski	VA	Student	No	0	
JORDAN, JOSEPH A.	1-18-62	34	Pvt	Pvt	Cpl		TEX- Lamar	VA	Farmer	Yes 1	5758	

	3-1-63	33	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX- Brazos	TN	Over- seer	No	80	
JOSHLIN, WILEY R.												
KEELER, CHARLES W.	3-18-62	40	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		OH				
KEELY, J. D.	5-15-63		Cpl									
KERR, W. G.	5-2-62	25	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD						
KEYS, HERMAN J.	1-18-62	19	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX- Lamar	KY	Student	No	360	
KILGORE, J. P.	5-15-63		Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Des.						
KIMES, FRANK M.	1-18-62	19	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.						
LANTERN, A. H.	5-5-62	20	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	ARK- Dallas	GA	Farm laborer	Yes 5	7500	
Laurie, Benjamin A.	11-11- 62	19	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Trans.	TEX- Robert- son	AR	Student	Yes 18	19775	1675
LEE, J. W.	6-16-62	24	Pvt	Pvt	Sgt							
LEE, PETER A.	1-18-62	38	1Lt	1Lt	1Lt	Med. disch.	TEX- Lamar	VA	Farmer	No	2150	100
LITTLE, JOSEPH H.	4-30-62	24	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK- Dallas	NC	Laborer	No	0	
LOFTAS, THOMAS	1-18-62	27	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt			Ire				
LONG, HENRY	7-2-62	31	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Des.	ARK- Johnson	TN	Tenant farmer	No	350	80
LONG, JAMES T.	1-18-62	28	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	TEX- Lamar	VA	Tenant farmer	No	0	
LYNN, MEREDITH H.	1-18-62	17	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt			MS				

MORGAN, T. W.	7-2-62	31	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	MIA	ARK-Bradley	MS	Tenant farmer	No	400	
MORRELL, THEODORE	1-18-62	39	Pvt	Black smith	Pvt		TEX-Hopkins	LA	Black-smith	No	450	
MORRISON, JOHN	5-3-62	33	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	ARK-Dallas	TN	Carpen-ter	No	800	
NATIONS, H. E.	9-16-62	17	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
NATIONS, J. B.	6-2-62	32	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Hot Spring	IL	Farmer	No	600	
NATIONS, P. S.	9-16-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		TN				
NEWBERRY, JOHN C.	1-18-62	25	Pvt	Cpl	Pvt	Trans.	TEX-Lamar	CT	Teacher	No	1000	
NEWSOM, WILLIAM D.	1-18-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt			TN				
NICHOLSON, SAMUEL	1-18-62	17	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Lamar	TX	Farm laborer	Yes 3	7000	4820
NIXON, THOMAS G. F.	3-4-62	28	Pvt	Pvt	2Lt	Des.	TEX-Lamar	TN	Farmer	Yes 2	1500	2030
NORTON, M. M.	6-2-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Clark	GA	Farm laborer	No	0	
NORTON, P. H.	6-2-62	27	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
NUNN, THOMAS C.	5-5-62	17	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	ARK-Dallas	NC	Farm laborer	Yes 12	13920	5804
ONEAL, ABSALOM	7-2-62	32	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Johnson	NC	Tenant farmer	No	200	20
OSBORNE, SAMUEL N.	1-18-62	27	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	KIA	TEX-Lamar	KY	Farm laborer	No	0	
PARKER, D. B.	11-1-63		Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							

PARKER, HENRY O.	5-14-62	16	Pvt	Pvt			ARK-Dallas	NC	Farm laborer	No	1400	250
PATTERSON, GEORGE M.	7-2-62	23	Pvt	Pvt			ARK-Johnson	TN	Tenant farmer	No	100	
PAUL, ANDERSON C.	1-18-62	25	Cpl	Sgt			TEX-Lamar	MO	Peddler	No	125	
PERRET, JOHN	5-15-63		Pvt	Pvt								
PHILLIPS, JAMES H.	5-8-62	25	Pvt	Pvt			ARK-Dallas	TN	Teacher	No	200	
PIERSON, THOMAS	7-2-62	27	Pvt	Pvt								
PILES, WILLIAM T.	1-18-62	16	Pvt	Pvt	DOD		TEX-Lamar	TX	Student	No	1300	
PORTERFIELD, JOSEPH	6-9-62	25	Pvt	Pvt								
POSTON, JOHN F.	4-19-62	31	Pvt	Pvt	Des.		TEX-Titus	NC	Furniture maker	No	420	
POWERS, JOHN S.	1-18-62	24	Pvt	Cpl			TEX-Lamar	VA	Tenant farmer	No	425	
PRESTON, BENJAMIN F.	1-18-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Des.			KY				
PRYOR, E. P.	5-3-62	27	Pvt	Pvt			ARK-Dallas	TN	Farmer	No	3000	
PRYOR, WILLIAM P.	5-10-62	33	Pvt	Cpl			ARK-Dallas	TN	Carpenter	No	500	307
RAINER, J. J.	5-15-63		Pvt	Pvt								
REED, JAMES C.	1-18-62	39	Pvt	Pvt			TEX-Lamar	AL	Carpenter	No	175	
REED, JOHN R.	6-25-62	21	Pvt	Pvt								

SNOW, ELI	1-18-62	45	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	TEX-Lamar	SC	Tenant farmer	No	225	250
SNOW, G. W.	11-1-62		Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD						
SPEARS, BEVERLY F.	1-18-62	25	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	TEX-Lamar	VA	Farmer	Yes 3	4000	3050
STARK, VALENTINE	5-14-62	29	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD						
STEED, HENRY	3-26-62	29	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		IN				
STEPP, N. L.	5-15-63		Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	MIA						
STEWART, J. D.			Pvt									
STROUD, JESSE	1-18-62	17	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		KY				
SULLENBERGER, JOHN S.	5-3-62	24	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Dallas	TN	Carpenter	No	300	
SWAN, A. J.	5-15-62	37	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
TAYLOR, BENONI B.	1-18-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Cpl		TEX-Lamar	OH	Engineer	No	0	
TAYLOR, F. J.	5-15-63	33	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Free-stone	TN	Farmer	No	14450	1125
TEFTILLER, THOMAS C.	1-18-62	24	Pvt	Pvt	Sgt	Med. disch.	TEX-Fannin	TN	Blacksmith	No	1500	950
THERMOND, J. C.	1-18-62	44	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		GA				
THOMAS, CARROLL	6-2-62	36	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.		AL				
THOMPSON, A. E.	5-5-62	24	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Hempstead	AL	Tenant farmer	Yes 3	3250	2500

TOONE, GEORGE W.	5-6-62	34	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Des.	ARK-Dallas	NC	Wagon maker	No	4300	1800
TUCKER, E. D.	7-2-62	28	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	ARK-Johnson	NC	Farmer	No	200	
TURNER, CLAIBORN K.	5-14-62	28	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	ARK-Dallas	MS	Laborer	No	150	
TURNER, FRANKLIN	3-18-62	26	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Des.	TEX-Lamar	GA	Farmer	Yes 1	1100	740
TURNER, JOHN T.	6-2-62	27	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		ARK-Monroe	TN	Tenant farmer	No	0	
TYLER, ZENAS B.	1-18-62	32	1Lt	1Lt	1Lt	DOD	TEX-Bowie	NY	Engi- neer	No	0	100
WALKER, BARGSDALE A.	1-18-62	23	Cpl	Cpl	Sgt		TEX-Lamar	TN	Furn- iture maker	No	375	
WALKER, RICHARD C.	1-18-62	29	2Lt	2Lt	1Lt	Resign NRG	TEX-Lamar	VA	Tavern Keeper	Yes 3	2000	
WARDEN, J. P.			Pvt									
WARE, LEVI	6-25-62	37	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt							
WEATHERILL, ROBERT M.	6-11-62	25	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Des.	ARK-Lafayette	MS	Farm laborer	No	50	120
WEBB, JAMES M.	6-21-63	19	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Lamar	TN	Student	Yes 2	7300	9320
WEBB, JOHN W.	1-18-62	21	Cpl	Cpl	Sgt	Trans.	TEX-Lamar	TN	Student	Yes 2	7300	9320
WEBSTER, ALEXANDER D.	1-18-62	26	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	DOD	TEX-Hopkins	TN	Laborer	No	0	
WEBSTER, GREENBERRY	1-18-62	25	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt		TEX-Hopkins	MS	Laborer	No	150	
WEBSTER, OMEIAN E.	1-18-62	23	Pvt	Pvt	Pvt	Med. disch.	TEX-Hopkins	MS	Laborer	No	0	

APPENDIX B



Captain James M. Daniel
Photo courtesy of Skipper Steely



Lieutenant Samuel J. Wright
Photo courtesy of Skipper Steely



Lieutenant James H. Wright
Photo courtesy of Skipper Steely

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