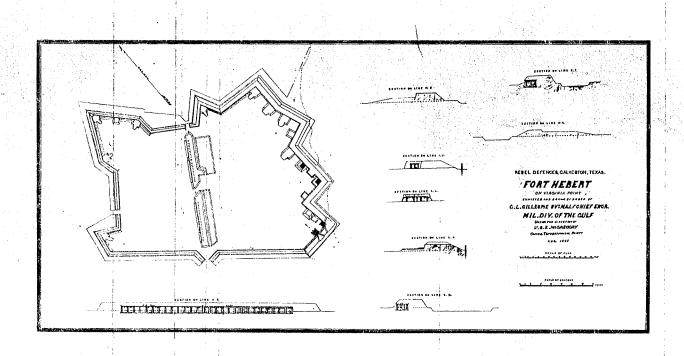
A HISTORY OF CIVIL WAR MILITARY ACTIVITIES AT VELASCO & QUINTANA, BRAZORIA COUNTY, & VIRGINIA POINT, GALVESTON COUNTY, TEXAS

by Martha Doty Freeman





REPORTS OF INVESTIGATIONS, NUMBER 103

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by

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Prewitt and Associates, Inc.
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ABSTRACT

Investigations at Velasco and Quintana in Brazoria County and Virginia Point in Galveston County in the summer and fall of 1994 consisted of limited archival research about the pre-Civil War period and intensive research about the Civil War period. Particular attention was paid to the details of fortification construction at all three localities and to the sporadic bombardments by Federal vessels that occurred at the mouth of the Brazos River where the Velasco, Quintana, and related fortifications were situated. Historic maps were used to estimate the locations of fortifications and areas that might have been the sites of Civil War ordnance. Data from these maps were transferred to USGS 7.5' topographic sheets and maps generated by the Brazoria and Galveston County appraisal districts to determine 1994 property ownership in the vicinity of the fortification and bombardment sites.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study of the Civil War-era fortifications at Velasco and Quintana in Brazoria County and Virginia Point in Galveston County is the third such investigation conducted by Prewitt and Associates, Inc., for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Galveston District. As a result, many of the institutions and individuals who assisted with the earlier studies of Fort San Jacinto on Galveston Island and Sargent Beach at the mouth of Caney Creek in Matagorda County were consulted during the current project. In Austin, these institutions included the Spanish Archives Division of the General Land Office, the Corporations Division of the Secretary of State, the Texas State Library and Archives, the Texas State Historical Association, and the Bureau of Economic Geology, Perry-Castañeda Library, and Center for American History at The University of Texas at Austin. At Prewitt and Associates, Inc., Elton R. Prewitt provided thoughtful suggestions concerning the report. Linda Nance Foster typed, read, edited, and commented on report drafts, while Sandra Hannum, Wayne Klement, and Brent Scott created maps and other figures that contributed significantly to the effort.

A number of individuals in Brazoria and Galveston counties helped the historian gather data that pertained to the histories of the fortifications and their locations. In Angleton, the staff of the Brazoria County Historical Museum provided files and publications about the history of Velasco and Quintana and the canal connecting the Brazos River and West Bay. The staff of the Brazoria County Appraisal District guided the historian through complicated property files, made copies, and explained property ownership at potential fortification sites. Johnney Pollan and James Smith, members of the Brazosport Archaeological Society, met the historian after hours at the Brazosport Museum of Natural Science, shared information about specific topics, and made helpful suggestions about the correlation of potential sites as depicted on historic maps and locations they had observed on the ground. In Galveston, the staff of the Rosenberg Library provided information about Virginia Point and its pre-Civil War development, while the employees of the Galveston County Appraisal District copied maps and ownership data pertinent to the Virginia Point fortifications.

Because the historian relied so heavily on primary documents, the staffs of the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and College Park, Maryland, deserve special thanks. Dr. Michael Meier of the Military Reference Branch located pertinent documents and went beyond the call of duty in persisting in a search for one especially key record of the Galveston area fortifications. Becky Livingston provided a parallel service in Naval Records, facilitating access to ships' logs and ordnance records. At the Cartographic and Architectural Branch in College Park, staff pulled scores of maps and drawings and copied many of them.

Finally, a careful reading of the report by a number of reviewers resulted in the correcting of the draft prior to publication.

Between 1861 and 1865, Confederate engineers, assisted by specialized corps and slave, convict, and military workers, labored to plan, construct, and periodically revise and repair a system of seacoast defenses from Sabine Pass to Brownsville, Texas. The largest number of these fortifications was clustered in the vicinity of Galveston Island; others occurred sporadically from the island to Lavaca Bay.

Between 1990 and 1993, Prewitt and Associates, Inc., undertook investigations of two fortification sites, the first being located at the east end of Galveston Island and dating from ca. 1816 to present, and the second being located at the mouth of Caney Creek and dating from the Civil War era. The current Scope of Work called for archival research that would develop detailed locational information about Civil War fortifications constructed by the Confederate States of America at the mouth of the Brazos River in Brazoria County and at Virginia Point in Galveston County (Figures 1 and 2). A second aspect of the scope required the historian to identify possible locations of unexploded ordnance either from bombardments or from the production or storage of munitions onsite. A third part of the scope called for the data compiled to be mapped on USGS 7.5' topographic sheets with as much precision as possible; a final step required that current property ownership be compiled for sites where the presence of fortifications and/or ordnance was suspected.

The historian was directed to use historic maps, ships' logs, and official correspondence at local, state, and national archives. Limited contextual data were called for, and the focus of the investigation was to be the fortification sites and potential unexploded ordnance and munitions at or in the

vicinity of those sites. The scope specified that there would be no airphoto analysis or on-theground verification of the location of specific sites.

Archival work began at the Perry-Castañeda Library at The University of Texas at Austin where the historian reviewed and copied all pertinent documents printed in the Official Records of the Union and Confederate navies and armies. At the same time, the historian copied coastal survey maps at the Bureau of Economic Geology and searched card files, special collections catalogs, and the index of The Southwestern Historical Quarterly for entries about the fortifications, Civil War events, and pre-Civil War history of Virginia Point. As the importance of the canal from the Brazos River to West Bay and of the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad became increasingly apparent, additional effort was made to collect information about those facilities in Brazoria County and at the Secretary of State's office and Center for American History at The University of Texas at Austin. At the center, particular use was made of the Ashbel Smith Collection, which included correspondence about both Virginia Point and Velasco. Finally, limited use was made of the land grant files in the Spanish Archives at the General Land Office to obtain information about the pre-Civil War history of Virginia Point; cartographic records at the mapping division of the General Land Office were reviewed for Velasco-Quintana and for Virginia Point.

Two weeks were spent in Washington, D.C., at the National Archives (NA) where the historian reviewed as many records as time allowed. It was not possible to read all ships' logs for vessels that were part of the Gulf Blockading Squadron. Instead, the logs of particular vessels known from

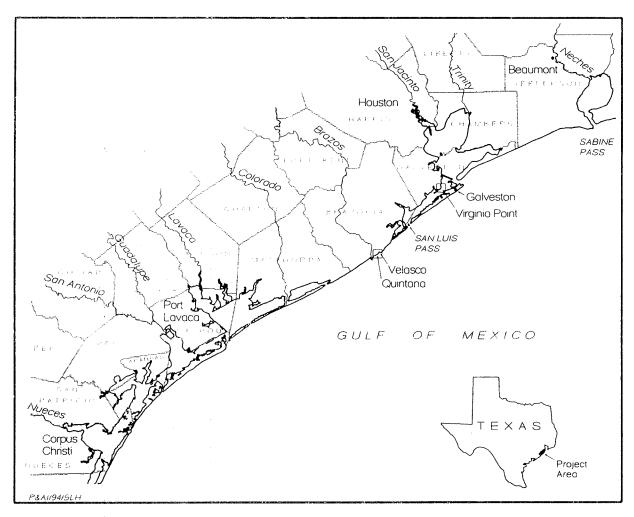


Figure 1. General location map.

the Official Records to have been located off Galveston Island and the mouth of the Brazos were reviewed. Data compiled about bombardments were then used to target other records that provided detailed information about the armament onboard each of the bombarding vessels. Unfortunately, the pertinent Navy Ordnance records for the Sciota, which fired on Velasco and Quintana on three separate occasions between February 1863 and February 1864, have been taken from the National Archives collections, and their present location is not known.

Extensive use was made of Record Group (RG) 109 (the War Department collection of Confederate records), and the documents within it were used to supplement those printed in the *Official Records*. A total of 37 volumes (70, 71, 71½, 72, 73½, 74, 78–81, 102, 106½, 107–114, 116, 122–128, 130,

131, 133, 136, 246–248, 251, and 252) were read, and the contents of 7 boxes (1, 52–54, 61, 76, and 77) used. Unfortunately, there was not sufficient time to review a score of other volumes that a preliminary inventory of RG 109 (Bethel 1957) suggested might contain pertinent information.

Another excellent source of information at the National Archives was Consolidated Service Records for officers who were stationed at the mouth of the Brazos and Virginia Point and for engineers who designed and oversaw construction of the fortifications. These files included not only correspondence that was not duplicated anywhere else and described the fortifications at the three sites, but also detailed maps and fortification drawings that were not duplicated in the Cartographic Archives at College Park, Maryland. As a result, an effort was made to use as many Consolidated

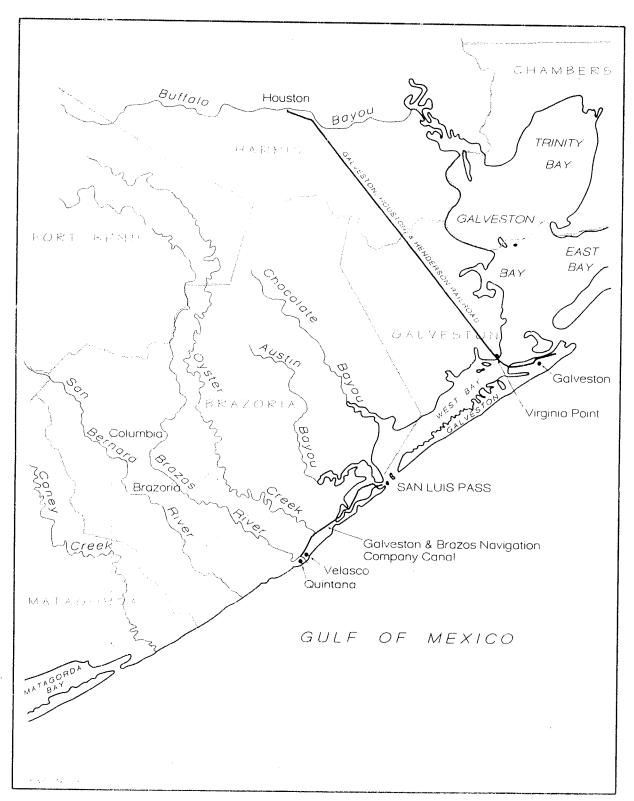


Figure 2. Landmarks in the vicinity of Velasco, Quintana, and Virginia Point.

Service Records as time would allow. However, this particular record group remains a relatively unexploited source.

As research continued, the importance of the role of slave labor became increasingly apparent, and so an effort was made to copy records that pertained to this topic. While a description of the labor forces that erected the fortifications was not called for specifically in the Scope of Work, the historian spent some time gathering relevant data and presenting them in this report because of the implications for future archeological work at Civil War fortifications.

In response to the portion of the scope requesting information about the locations of the fortifications and current property ownership in the vicinity, the historian first requested that the cartographer overlay historic maps on current USGS 7.5' topographic sheets and estimate the fortification locations. These topographic sheets then were compared with maps produced by the Brazoria and Galveston County Appraisal Districts, and property ownership was gathered based on those comparisons. At the same time, individuals in Brazoria County who were familiar with the area of the Brazos River were consulted, and their suggestions were factored into the locational projections.

The report of findings concerning the Civil War-era fortifications at Velasco and Quintana and at Virginia Point consists of this introductory

chapter describing the Scope of Work and the methodology used to respond to that scope. A second chapter, entitled "Prelude to the War," provides contextual information about the economic development of the mid-coastal area and construction of a transportation infrastructure. One purpose of this chapter is to explain the significance of the region to both Confederate and Federal forces, and to define several of the important activities that bound the area together and provided it with a regional identity.

Chapter 3 describes the development of fortifications in the mid-coastal region during the Civil War and then chronicles the construction of forts at Velasco and Quintana and at Virginia Point. The Civil War is subdivided into three periods—1861 to October 1862, October 1862 to March 1864, and March 1864 to the War's end—and specific topics are addressed within each period. These topics include an overview of war events, a description of the engineer and labor forces involved with each site, and a detailed history of construction of each fortification. Descriptions of bombardments are included where pertinent, as well as information about Confederate ordnance that was present. A final chapter summarizes the construction and bombardment histories of each fortification. Appendix A presents property ownership data in cartographic and textual formats, and Appendix B is a glossary of military terms.

2

INTRODUCTION

Between 1861 and 1865, Confederate engineers and soldiers labored with slaves from Texas plantations to plan and construct fortifications along the length of the Texas coast. By the war's end, dozens of major fortifications had been completed at Sabine Pass, Beaumont, Galveston Bay, Mud Island, the mouths of the Brazos and San Bernard Rivers, and the mouth of Caney Creek. Other fortifications were erected at Matagorda and the vicinity of Indianola and Port Lavaca, in Aransas Bay and Corpusi Christi, and at Brownsville. Smaller facilities such as redoubts, tête de ponts, entrenchments, and watchtowers were located at numerous coastal sites and were designed to supplement and back up the primary fortifications, while a secondary line of fortifications was erected in urban centers such as Gonzales, San Antonio, and Austin.

The usefulness of these defenses was questionable during the early years of the Civil War, when the focus of the war was far to the east. However, a need for substantial fortifications became increasingly apparent as the war spread west, Texas became the primary avenue of blockade running and the exportation of cotton to foreign ports, the blockade of the coast and bombardment of coastal fortifications intensified, and the Union army planned and implemented an invasion of Texas itself.

Federal interest in the mouth of the Brazos was directly proportional to that port's use by numerous blockade runners who transported cotton from landings at Brazoria and Columbia. Other blockade runners loaded their vessels at Houston, Harrisburg, and Galveston and then sailed through West Bay

and a pre-Civil War canal, crossed Oyster Creek, re-entered the canal, and descended the Brazos River to the Gulf of Mexico (see Figure 2). As early as January 1862. Union vessels Rachel Seaman and Midnight bombarded the fort at Velasco, and sporadic bombardments at the river's mouth occurred until January 1865. During those 3 years, Federal ships tested Confederate firepower, captured blockade runners leaving or entering the Brazos River, and generally interrupted the cotton trade which intensified as other Southern ports were captured or closed. Activity was particularly intense during the winter of 1863-1864 when Major General Nathaniel Banks captured Matagorda Bay and threatened to move up the coast toward Caney Creek, the San Bernard, and the Brazos, waterways that flowed through what his Confederate protagonist, Major General John Bankhead Magruder, had called "the heart of Texas" (Magruder 1863*i*).

Federal interest in Virginia Point was more complicated and no less intense. The site was located on the mainland of Texas directly across West Bay from Galveston Island. Troops moving onto Galveston Island and those exiting it had to move through Virginia Point. Most importantly, it was the mainland terminus for the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad (see Figure 2) which, with the Houston and Texas Central Railroad, was "the genesis of a system of transportation whose object was to draw to the Gulf the trade of one hundred thousand square miles of the richest portion of Texas" (Reed 1941:75). It was of "vast military importance during the Civil War" (Reed 1941:75) for, as Magruder was to point out to Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith in September 1863, "whoever is master of the Rail Roads of

Galveston & Houston, is virtually Master of Texas" (Magruder 1863i).

Virginia Point was not bombarded at any time during the Civil War, due primarily to a location that made it virtually inaccessible to Federal ships. However, it became one of the most heavily fortified sites along the coast, serving as a strong mainland defense, center of communications with Galveston Island, and base camp for what Union forces called "the disaster," the recapture of the island by Confederate forces on January 1, 1863. With the forts at Velasco and Quintana, Virginia Point served to protect the plantations, transportation systems, and trading and shipping markets that both attracted Federal interest in the coastal region and fueled the Confederacy in its efforts to continue the war.

COASTAL ECONOMIES AND TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURES

The decades prior to the Civil War were years of unprecedented prosperity for coastal Texas. Establishment of cotton and sugar plantations in Matagorda, Fort Bend, Brazoria, and Galveston Counties was paralleled and supported by the first bold plans for harbor facilities and for the road, canal, and rail systems that linked plantation with port. By 1860, the region had evolved into an agricultural, economic, and cultural landscape that exemplified the antebellum South; it was dominated by agricultural units of varying size, coastal and riverine trading communities, and a slave-driven economy.

An outstanding example of that landscape was Brazoria County, a mid-coastal region cut through by two major rivers—the Brazos and San Bernard—and a major creek—Oyster. Part of Stephen F. Austin's Colony, the land was extraordinarily fertile and attracted numerous families who developed large plantations along the primary waterways. They also constructed landings for the gathering and shipping of agricultural products, and they established towns such as Brazoria and Bell's Landing (Myer's 1995).

One of the earliest and most ambitious centers of commerce was Velasco, site of the landing of Austin's schooner, the *Lively*, in December 1821. The town, established 13 years later, became the location of homes, salt-making and tannery opera-

tions, a custom's house, pilot's house, inn, and Mexican fort. It also appeared to be a good location for river and ocean trade (Myers 1995). In 1836, when a vigilance committee purchased ammunition, reconstructed the battery at the fort, and mounted guns (Myers 1995), Velasco was joined by Quintana, another port town located immediately across the Brazos River. By the end of the year, the two communities, with Brazoria, had become commercial centers, and the two towns at the river's mouth seemed perfectly positioned to become large-scale shipping and trading centers as Brazoria County developed into a major sugar- and cotton-producing region.

Several obstacles stood in the way, however. First, a natural barrier was present at the mouth of the Brazos where a shifting sand bar regularly caused wrecks. Second, the growing town of Houston threatened to draw commerce away from the Brazos (Creighton 1975:211). Finally, Houston threatened the hegemony of Galveston, whose remarkable growth had been fueled by a trade territory that embraced the prosperous agricultural region along the Brazos and Colorado Rivers (Reed 1941:3–31). In the interest of preserving their economic viability, therefore, capitalists in Velasco and Galveston began to explore inland alternatives to the more risky open-water Gulf routes.

As early as 1825, Stephen F. Austin had written that only 200 yards of digging would open a route of inland water communication between the Brazos and Galveston harbor (Creighton 1975:211), and in 1837 Thomas J. Green recommended connecting the bays that extended along the entire Texas coastline in order to create an inland waterway from the Sabine to the Rio Grande. William Kennedy described a similar plan in 1841 (Reed 1941:26), the same year the Congress of the Republic chartered the Brazos Canal Company; and by 1843, some work may have been undertaken by an individual named Lemsky (Creighton 1975:211). Brazoria County deed records (D:36-38) noted the existence in 1845 of the Brazos Canal Company, whose purpose was to construct a canal that would connect the Brazos River with Bastrop Bayou and San Luis Bay, one section running from Bastrop Bayou to Oyster Creek and the second section running from Oyster Creek to the Brazos.

By October 1848, yet another group of capitalists was pushing for construction of a canal from Galveston to the Brazos River, and on February 8,

1850, the Galveston and Brazos Navigation Company obtained a charter allowing it to build a canal that would connect West Galveston Bay with the Brazos River, San Bernard River, Peach Creek, and the Colorado River in Matagorda County (Creighton 1975:211; Puryear and Winfield 1976: 20-21). By the summer of 1850, the first cut had been made in the land mass lying on the west side of the bay (Democrat and Planter, January 31, 1854), and in 1854 the canal opened to steamboats. Constructed under the direction of David Bradbury, a contractor from Maine; James E. Haviland, a steamboat captain who designed the dredging equipment; and John L. Hudgins, who assisted with construction and later collected tolls at a bridge that crossed the Brazos between Velasco and Quintana, the canal was not an unqualified success. Problems with tidal currents and inshore breezes led company directors to limit traffic to sailing vessels, barges, and sternwheelers (Follett n.d.:3-4; Puryear and Winfield 1976:21-22). On the other hand, its completion made an alternate route available to shippers, providing them with a flexibility and potential for concealment, the advantages of which became increasingly obvious in the early 1860s.

The canal led from the Brazos River above Velasco and Quintana, entered Oyster Creek, and exited into West Bay (Figure 3), providing a direct link for shippers between the rich plantations of Brazoria County and the growing port of Galveston where the number of vessels cleared increased by almost 240 percent between 1845 and 1854. This phenomenal growth encouraged the formation of the Galveston Wharf and Compress Company, whose incorporators gradually acquired other companies and, through them, wharves (Reed 1941:490).

Growth of shipping and the tremendous prosperity of the five-county region that became known as the "sugar bowl" eventually moved businessmen in Galveston and Houston to cooperate in con-

structing a railroad between the two cities. Believing that "the entire bay region . . . would prosper more from such cooperation than from past competition and the area would become the undisputed shopping center west of New Orleans," Galveston businessmen A. F. James, Hamilton Stuart, Willard Richardson, Lorenzo Sherwood, and M. B. Menard joined with their Houston counterparts E. H. Cushing, W. W. Baker, H. H. Smith, and William Marsh Rice to charter the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad Company and raise money. On March 1, 1854, construction began on the railroad at Virginia Point on the mainland directly across West Bay from Galveston Island. Between 1854 and 1859, workers pushed the tracks on to Harrisburg and Houston (Muir 1960:50-51; Reed 1941: 75-77; Woodward 1972:181) (see Figure 2).

About the same time, the city of Galveston raised \$100,000 to build a causeway from Virginia Point to the island. The bridge, which carried trains between Galveston and the mainland, was completed on February 6, 1860. The entire system, together with other lines such as the Texas and New Orleans and the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railroad, made Houston the center of a railroad system that linked that city with Galveston, eastward with Beaumont, and westward 70 miles to Alleyton (Muir 1960:50-52; Reed 1941:353; Woodward 1972:181). The system also permitted increased commercial traffic to Galveston and allowed that city access to the Central Texas region (Reed 1941:78). At any other time, both the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad and the Galveston to Brazos River canal would have resulted in the florescence of a large part of the Texas Gulf Coast region. Between 1861 and 1865, however, those two transportation facilities suddenly became targets, and their defense assumed increasing significance as Union troops and blockading vessels sought to move inland and interrupt Trans-Mississippi Confederate trade with foreign markets.

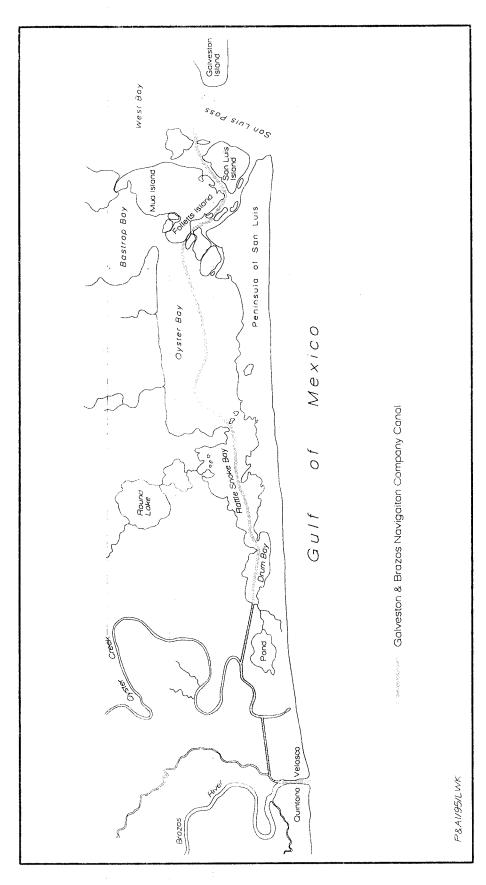


Figure 3. The Galveston and Brazos Navigation Company Canal. A Civil War-era map by Confederate engineer Tipton Walker [1864] depicted the canal that provided shipping access between the Brazos River and West Bay. The canal became a strategic asset to Confederate Texas, which relied on the cotton transported through the canal by blockade runners. The originals of the maps from which this figure is compiled are in the collections of the National Archives.

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DEVELOPMENT OF FORTIFICATIONS IN THE TEXAS MID-COASTAL REGION, 1861–1865

3

A STATE OF TOTAL DEFENSELESSNESS: 1861-OCTOBER 1862

Introduction

On February 23, 1861, the people of Texas voted to sever their connection with the United States, and on March 2, they became residents of an independent and sovereign state (Freeman and Prewitt 1994:8). However, early bold actions were followed quickly by the realization that Texas was largely unarmed and unfortified. As E. C. Wharton wrote from Galveston on April 9, 1861, that city was "totally unprotected" with the exception of some artillery pieces brought from Brazos [Santiago]. There was "no powder, no military organization, no leader, no nothing" (Wharton 1861), a state of affairs that made Texas ports and their valuable trade with New Orleans especially vulnerable.

Wharton believed that there should be a coastal military commander, corps of artillery and engineers, and adequate guns (Wharton 1861), an assessment that was seconded by numerous local, state, and Confederate officials. As a result, the first 20 months after the state adopted the Ordinance of Secession were characterized by identification of the need for defenses at specific locations and a prioritization of those locations, the emergence of an engineer corps and evolution of its relations with the regular officer corps, development of a labor system that was heavily dependent on slaves, planning and construction of fortifications, and placement of guns. Confederate activities were paralleled by the initiation and intensification of a Union blockade, bombardment of strategic fortifications such as Velasco, and the taking of Galveston by Union forces in early

October 1862 after Confederate officers concluded that the island was indefensible.

Identifying Key Fortification Sites

As early as April 1861, official assessment of the vulnerability of the Texas coast was followed by petitions from citizens to fortify and arm locations such as Galveston, Indianola, and Corpus Christi (Cooper 1861b; Neal and Noessell 1861). Three months later, Confederate officials proceeded to analyze the inland transportation routes, noting that Union troops landing at Sabine Pass could march 25 miles over a partially finished railroad, and "they would have the control of the road to Houston, all the way to Galveston. We would then (on the coast) be surrounded by the Federal troops." Galveston could be reached easily from Orange in 10 hours. As a result, Confederate strategists were concerned that the railroad link to the coast had been overlooked, and they concluded that steps should be taken to prevent the enemy from taking control of it (Hunter 1861a; Pratt 1861).

Identification of the importance of coastal harbors, and the inland railroad system linking the Sabine River area with Houston and Galveston, was accompanied by concerns about Galveston's links with the mainland and with the Brazos River. Brigadier General P. O. Hébert, for example, ordered an engineer to make a reconnaissance of the railroad bridge at Virginia Point and formulate plans for its defense (Kellersberg 1862d). Captain W. H. Stevens, Confederate engineer, wrote in June 1861 that "a large quantity of cotton and sugar" was transported between Galveston and the Brazos and he believed that protection of the canal linking

the two was important (Stevens 1861). His opinion was supported by citizens of Brazoria County who formed a Committee of Cooperation, Brazoria Coast Defense, under the leadership of Captain R. R. Brown and lobbied heavily for guns and fortifications along the coast from San Luis Bay near the west end of Galveston Island to the San Bernard River, and inland at Brazoria and Columbia (Forshey 1861c). Stevens's assessment of the value of the inland trade was verified later by Confederate engineer Caleb Forshey, who wrote in February 1862 that Federal blockaders had discovered "the valuable and daily increasing trade passing by our inland navigable route, and are watching a chance to cut if off" (Forshey 1862b).

Professionals and Builders: Engineers, Soldiers, and Slaves I

A second key component in the planning and construction of fortifications early in the Civil War involved the enlistment of engineers and acquisition of a labor force. Planning for fortifications required the services of trained professionals, and construction was an arduous process that involved hundreds of workers. Construction also required cooperation between engineer and regular officers and between the military and owners of slaves, many of whom were unenthusiastic about the conscription of their property.

In April 1861, Adjutant and Inspector General S. Cooper ordered Captain John C. Moore of the artillery to plant batteries for the defense of Galveston using a system of sandbag breastworks and 24- and 32-pounders (Cooper 1861a). This loose directive was followed in June by an assessment of the needs for coastal defense by Captain of Engineers W. H. Stevens, who reported directly to President Jefferson Davis (Stevens 1861). Apparently, appointment of an on-site engineer was delayed until August 14, 1861, when special orders from Richmond, Virginia, directed Commander W. W. Hunter of the Confederate Navy "to proceed to Galveston and report to General Earl Van Dorn for duty as superintendent in charge of the works for the defense of the coast of Texas" (Withers 1861:98).

By September, it had become clear that the Confederacy needed full-time professional engineers on-site to adequately identify specific fortification sites and design their construction. One

individual who had volunteered early in 1861 and was destined to play a major role in coastal fort design until 1864 was Caleb G. Forshey, a native of Pennsylvania who was born in 1812, attended Kenyon College in Ohio and West Point, and taught mathematics and civil engineering at Jefferson College in Washington, Mississippi. He served as city engineer of Natchez, Mississippi, during the 1840s and constructed a hydrological station that measured the flow of the Mississippi River. In 1853, Forshey moved to Texas and was associated with the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad. In 1854, he founded the Texas Military Institute in Galveston and then moved with the school to Rutersville, Fayette County, in 1856 (Olson 1994).

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In March 1861, Forshey applied for an appointment to the Corps of Engineers, Confederate Army (Forshey 1861a, 1861b). He entered the service and was in command at San Luis or at the mouth of the Brazos by September 20, 1861 (McCulloch 1861), when he reported to Brazoria County's Committee of Cooperation about the guns at San Luis, Fort Velasco, the San Bernard River, Brazoria, and Columbia (Forshey 1861c).

On September 23, 1861, Forshey was assigned officially to engineering in coastal defense from San Luis to Indianola with the rank of major (Forshey 1861d). He then moved throughout that area, from Velasco in September to Pass Cavallo in October, when he ordered the construction of fortifications there (McCulloch 1861). By November 1861, he had developed estimates for defensive works from San Luis Pass to Caney Creek (Forshey 1861d) before returning to Velasco and the Brazoria coast where he ran afoul of Colonel Joseph Bates who was commanding the forces at the mouth of the Brazos. Following his disagreement with Bates, Forshey left Velasco to make a reconnaissance of the coast between the Colorado River and Indianola (Forshey [1861]e). In February he was at Camp Esperanza at Pass Cavallo (Forshey 1862c), and by June he was in Galveston where he examined the state of fortifications and armaments (Forshey 1862d).

Forshey's counterpart in Galveston was Julius Kellersberg, a Swiss engineer who was serving as a major in the Engineer Department in September 1861 when he took possession of the engineer's office formerly occupied by Captain W. H. Stevens. He was ordered by Brigadier General

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P. O. Hébert to survey the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad bridge and plan its defense (Hébert 1861a; Kellersberg 1862d). On October 11, Hébert ordered Kellersberg to establish batteries at Virginia Point and the Galveston end of the railroad bridge, and he was charged with constructing the works there (Wilson 1861). He then remained at Virginia Point until January 8, 1862, when he was ordered to begin work on the Galveston fortifications at Fort Point, South Battery, the vicinity of the railroad depot, Eagle Grove, Hutching's Wharf, Pelican Spit, and Bolivar Point, work that was completed between January 13 and February 25, 1862 (Kellersberg 1862d).

On February 23, Kellersberg was promoted to Major of Artillery, and on March 19 he was sent to erect batteries for the protection of Buffalo Bayou, a move that resulted in the abandonment of work on the Virginia Point fortifications. During the summer, he was sent to Sabine Pass to examine the defensive works there, and in August he traveled to Matagorda Bay and Caney Creek where he reported unfavorably on those sites as being appropriate for fortification (Kellersberg 1862d).

These herculean efforts by Forshey and Kellersberg were assisted during 1861 and 1862 by the labor of sappers and miners (members of an engineer corps who worked on entrenchments) and by slaves and hired civilians. The cooperation of officers in charge of troops at the forts and of slave owners was required as well, and the failure of either faction to support construction activities could jeopardize their completion.

The works at Virginia Point were among the most ambitious on the Texas coast, and they required the coordination of hundreds of workers. In September 1861, Kellersberg reported using both hired white and negro slave labor in numbers totaling 200 to 475 men (Kellersberg 1862d). The care of the slaves was of particular importance to him, and he complained in October that they were not always provided for properly. Their overseer threatened to take them home as a result, and Kellersberg, who commented on their hard work, feared that it would be difficult to obtain more slaves for fortification work (Kellersberg 1861). By November, Brigadier General Hébert had to order an aide to travel to the interior of the state and persuade planters and other citizens to loan their negroes for the purpose of erecting fortifications designed to defend the coast. The aide was

directed to reassure them that the negroes would have quarters and rations furnished; however, owners were to furnish overseers, spades and shovels, and necessary clothing and cooking utensils (Hébert 1861c).

Sappers and miners who could provide specialized engineering services also were important to fortification construction, but Kellersberg frequently had difficulty raising a sufficient number. He succeeded in raising part of a corps, whom he drilled, but the general commanding refused his requests to fill the corps. By the fall of 1861, Kellersberg was acting as chief engineer for the Galveston works, dispersing some \$30,000 (of which \$17,000 had been paid for labor). He commanded the corps with the assistance of one second lieutenant and oversaw 45 men who worked as carpenters and blacksmiths and in other necessary trades. The corps also had a two-mule team for hauling supplies, wood, and water. Kellersberg believed, however, that he needed a total of 150 men and a number of competent engineers to work on the fortifications with any degree of efficiency (Kellersberg 1862d).

Even with sufficient help, coastal engineers were unable to plan and construct fortifications without the cooperation of commanding officers and slave owners. While Kellersberg appears to have enjoyed good relations with his general, P. O. Hébert (who was himself an engineer), and succeeded in pushing the works in and near Galveston, Caleb Forshey ran afoul of Colonel Joseph Bates, who was sent to command the post at Velasco. Forshey complained in December 1861 that Bates was "so opposed to all defensive works, as to disapprove of the estimates . . . & to dismount & conceal in the interior the guns already in batteries" (Forshey [1861]e). He complained further in January 1862 that Bates had disapproved all Forshey's plans and cost estimates for defensive works, and Forshey accused Bates of creating "a series of petty annoyances and official and unofficial obstructions." He asked the general commanding to overrule Bates and provide funds for construction (Forshey 1862a). Bates, for his part, wrote Brigadier General Hébert, expressing his opinion that Forshey seemed "more disposed to attend to military matters than engineer service." Furthermore, Bates had been "compelled to alter or change" the defenses constructed under Forshey's direction in order to make them more efficient

(Bates 1862a). By January 1862, the enmity between the two men had led to chaos among the fortifiers, who found themselves under fire soon after.

FORTIFICATION CONSTRUCTION AND BOMBARDMENT I

Velasco and Quintana

Like much of the rest of the central Gulf Coast region, the mouth of the Brazos was only negligibly fortified at the beginning of the Civil War. The Mexican fort established in the early 1830s was in ruinous condition, and examination of defensive needs by Captain W. H. Stevens of the Confederate Engineers resulted in a recommendation that the site could be defended with one company of soldiers and one 24-pounder siege carriage (Stevens 1861).

Official records indicate that no work was done to fortify the mouth of the Brazos during the summer of 1861. However, some effort had been made to acquire guns, and in September, one siege gun (a 21-pound howitzer) was ready to be mounted on a barbette carriage at a site designated "Fort Velasco"; and the troops also had one long, iron, 18-pound gun mounted on wooden truck wheels. The men had 100 balls for the second gun but no powder with which to fire (Forshey 1861c).

A report by Caleb Forshey from Velasco described what was present there on September 20, and it also outlined a plan of defense that he hoped the Committee of Cooperation, Brazoria County, would adopt. For Velasco, Forshey suggested construction of a breastwork of sandbags and timbers adequate for a battery of two guns, a recommendation that was seconded by R. R. Brown who reiterated the need for ammunition, arms, and troops on the coast (Brown 1861; Forshey 1861c).

On November 20, 1861, after a survey of the line from San Luis Pass at the west end of Galveston Island to Caney Creek in Matagorda County, Forshey submitted a more detailed fortification plan. Recognizing the strategic importance of Oyster Creek and the canal from West Bay to the Brazos River, he recommended construction of two earthworks at Oyster Creek, the first to be 470 feet long, 7 feet wide, and 4.5 feet high, and the second to be 575 feet long, 7 feet wide, and 4.5 feet high. In addition, the second earthwork was to be cov-

ered in turf and revetted. Forshey estimated that the total cost of construction would be \$324.75.

At Fort Velasco, Forshey recommended spending \$145.67 to build seven components: (1) a revetted earthwork in a traverse location 30 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 4.5 feet high; (2) a revetted earthwork 80 feet long, 7 feet wide, and 4.5 feet high; (3) a magazine made of lumber measuring 10 feet long by 6 feet wide by 5 [?] feet high; (4) another lumber magazine measuring [10] feet long, 6 feet wide, and 4 feet high; (5) an earthen magazine measuring 40 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 4 feet high; (6) a magazine with an earthwork roof measuring 18 feet long by 14 feet wide by 4 feet high; and (7) a fifth magazine made of turf.

Forshey also suggested work at the canal, at Quintana, and on the Brazos River at a cost of \$170.25. He proposed grading at the sand hills at Quintana for a distance of 300 feet; constructing an earthwork on the Brazos that would measure 150 feet long, 7 feet wide, and 4.5 feet high; and building an earthwork ambuscade at Spencer's measuring 600 feet long, 7 feet wide, and 4.5 feet high (Forshey 1861c).

Disapproval of Forshey's plans by the commander at Velasco, Colonel Joseph Bates, enraged the engineer (Forshey [1861]e). But apparently there was little he could do to counter Bates's activities, which included moving the guns in the batteries and attempting to defend the mouth of the Brazos with companies armed with rifles, shotguns, and a few muskets (Bryan 1861). As a result, Forshey believed that the troops were "in peril" because there was nothing he would describe as a defensive work (Forshey 1862a).

The vulnerability of Velasco was tested first in January 1862 by the U.S. gunboats Rachel Seaman and Midnight. Ordered by Captain Henry Eagle of the U.S. frigate Santee to proceed southward from Galveston to Pass Cavallo and fire on various Confederate batteries to test the number, caliber, and range of their guns, the commanders of the two vessels also had been directed to draw fire from the batteries so that the Confederates would expend their ammunition. The Rachel Seaman was equipped with three 32-pounders and one 12pounder rifled howitzer (Table 1, Figures 4 and 5), while the Midnight, normally equipped with four 32-pounders, one 20-pounder rifled gun, and one 12-pounder rifled howitzer, had taken aboard two additional 32-pounders loaned by the U.S. ship

TABLE 1 FEDERAL ORDNANCE ON VESSELS ENGAGED IN BOMBARDING THE MOUTH OF THE BRAZOS, 1861-OCTOBER 1862

		Marks on Base Ring			Trunnions		
Vessel	Class of Gun	No.	Weight	Foundry Initials	Right Date	Left Inspecting Institution	Remarks
Midnight	32 Pdr. 42 cwt	198 199 200 201	42.0.23 41.3.27 42.0.21 42.0.16	WPFA WPFA WPFA WPFA	1844 1844 1844 1844	G.A.M. G.A.M. G.A.M. G.A.M.	
	32 Pdr. 57 cwt	230 231	57.1.17 57.3.07	C.A.&Co. C.A.&Co.	1848 1848	A.A.H. A.A.H.	from the Santee from the Santee
	20 Pdr. Rifled	80	1680	R.P.P.	1861	R.B.H.	
	12 Pdr. Rif. How.	113	872	W.N.Y.	1862	J.A.D.	
Rachel Seaman	32 Pdr. 57 ewt				1847 1847	J.S.C. J.S.C.	
	32 Pdr.	146.	3302		1846	A.L.M.	
	12 Pdr. R ^d How ^r	3	880		1861	J.A.D.	

Information is from Record Group 74, Records of the Bureau of Ordnance, Reports of Guns and Ordnance Material, 1818–1942, Record of Armament of Naval Vessels, 1841–1903, Volume 2 of 4 [1841–1863] PI-33, E.111.

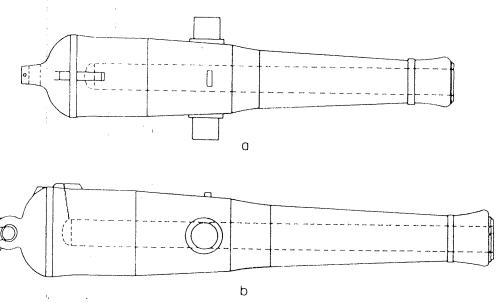


Figure 4. 32-pounders, (a) 42 and (b) 57 cwt. The *Midnight* and *Rachel Seaman* were armed with several 32-pounder guns. The term "cwt" is equivalent to a hundredweight, or 112 pounds (U.S. Navy Department 1968:802n). Figures are taken from U.S. Navy Department (1968:813).

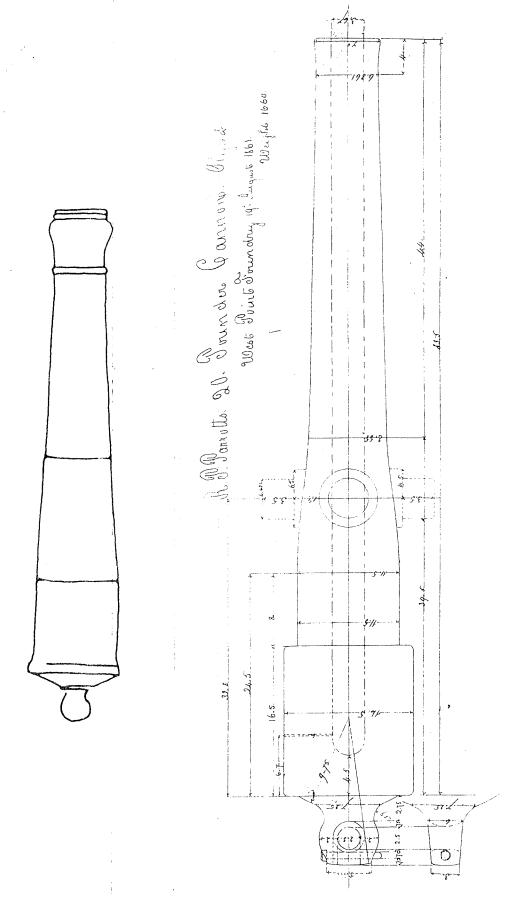


Figure 5. 12-pounder howitzer (a) and 20-pounder Parrott rifled cannon (b). The Midnight, Rachel Seaman, and Sciota carried guns similar to these. The figure of the 20-pounder rifled cannon is copied from Sheet 1, Red Series 546, Record Group 74, National Archives.

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Santee (see Table 1 and Figures 4 and 5) (Eagle 1862; U.S. Bureau of Ordnance [1841-1863]).

On the morning of January 18, 1862, the Midnight and Rachel Seaman were offshore from Velasco in 21/2 fathoms, south-southeast of the entrance to the Brazos River. According to Lieutenant James Trathen, commanding the Midnight, the Velasco batteries opened fire first, their round shot falling short of the two vessels. The Midnight then replied, firing 15 rounds of 10-second fuse.1 According to Commander Q. A. Hooper of the Rachel Seaman, the ships were fired on from a sand battery. His vessel fired a total of 10 shells, 9 of which fell short of the beach, and 1 of which landed and burst "above the Sand Battery" (Hooper 1862) (Table 2). Trathen was able to report to Captain Eagle of the Santee that the two vessels had succeeded in making the Confederates expend their ammunition and that he had been able to ascertain that the enemy at Velasco had heavy guns, one or more of which were rifled. For his own part, he had to report that the only guns onboard the Midnight that could reach the enemy's batteries were the two 57 cwt, 32-pounders from the Santee and the 20-pounder Parrott rifle that had been put aboard off Fort Pickens by order of the flag officer. Fire from the rest of the guns fell "far short at the highest elevation" (Trathen 1862b).

The bombardment of January 18 may have been followed by another one by a vessel on January 20. On that date, Master P. F. Appel, C.S. Navy, aboard the C.S.S. Bayou City near Galveston, reported in his log that "an armed bark under the United States flag exchanged shots with the battery at Velasco. Twenty-two shots were fired without doing any damage" (Appel 1862:173). However, a review of logs of vessels known to be in the area during that period of time failed to corroborate Appel's reports.

By January 1862, the conflict between Caleb Forshey and Colonel Bates in charge of troops at the mouth of the Brazos had become unreconcil-

The last encounter of 1862 between the blockading squadron and the fortifications at the mouth of the Brazos occurred on August 11 (see Table 2). According to Bates, commanding at Velasco, the attack occurred after Federal vessels had persisted in coming ever closer to the shore. He believed that they had been encouraged by the Confederates' defenseless situation and by the fact that a late freshet on the Brazos River had deepened the water on the bar at the river's mouth. They also were attracted by the great number of blockade-running vessels that received permits to go to sea from Velasco and lay in the river above "awaiting a favorable opportunity to run the blockade." Bates reported that on August 11 a twomasted screw-propeller vessel of about 800 tons, perhaps knowing that the Confederates had no heavy ordnance, steamed in slowly from the east and, when opposite the Velasco battery immediately outside the bar, "opened fire, without showing colors or giving any notice of her intentions." Of the four shots she fired, two went over the fort "and struck some distance out in the prairie." A third shell exploded in the Confederate camp, and the fourth, a 13-inch shell that failed to explode, was picked up by Bates's troops. Bates described the event to Acting Assistant Adjutant General Captain C. M. Mason and pointed out that only heavy ordnance placed in battery at Velasco would save Bates's command from further bombardments and defend the foreign trade that left Texas by way of the mouth of the Brazos (Bates 1862b:616).

Virginia Point

If the Confederate defense of the mouth of the Brazos during the first 18 months of the War was sporadic, poorly coordinated, and ineffective, the defense of Virginia Point on the mainland opposite Galveston Island was considerably better organized.

able. Forshey left Velasco to reconnoiter the coast in the vicinity of Matagorda Bay and Saluria; in June he was in Galveston where he filed a report about the condition of the fortifications. As a result, Bates was left without an engineer for much of 1862, and he apparently had difficulty obtaining ordnance as well. Federal vessels, in the meantime, were ordered to observe the coast below Galveston, and Lieutenant Trathen on the U.S. bark *Midnight* looked in on San Luis and Velasco regularly (Farragut 1862a).

¹Trathen's report as published in the *Official Records* (Trathen 1862b) is slightly at variance with the record from his official log (Trathen 1862a). Trathen's published report reads "I opened fire... with shell with 10-second and 15-second fuzes." His log reads "we opened our Batteries firing 20 Second Fuze shell[.] After firing 15 rounds & the wind light with the Ship Drifting in...."

		TABLE 2		
	ORDNANCE FIRE	ED AT THE MOUTH OF 1861–OCTOBER 186		
Date	Ship(s)	Ordnance Fired	Target	Source
January 18, 1862	Midnight	15 rounds of 10- second fuse shell	Velasco batteries: most ordnance fired fell "far short at the highest elevation." Several shells exploded "immediately over the batteries," probably fired from the two 32-pounders of 57 cwt and the 20-pounder rifled Parrott.	Trathen 1862a
	Rachel Seaman	10 shells	Nine of 10 shells fired by Rachel Seaman fell short of the beach; one burst landed and burst above the Rebel sand battery.	Hooper 1862
January 20, 1862	"an armed bark under the United States flag"	22 shots	Velasco batteries	Appel 1862
August 11, 1862	"a screw propeller of about 800 tons burden, two-masted, and marked with a figure 5 on her smoke-stack"	4 shots; one 13-inch shell failed to explode, one exploded in the camp, two "went overhead and struck some distance out in the prairie"	Velasco	Bates 1862 <i>b</i>

Aware by the opening months of the war that Galveston was one of the state's most important ports and that the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad was an essential asset to the region only as long as it remained in Confederate hands, the generals in charge of planning focused considerable energy and money on constructing defensive works at Virginia Point that would defend the point itself, the shipping trade in the West Bay and Galveston Bay areas, and the railroad and bridge. The fact that Virginia Point, a strategic location of considerable significance, was never bombarded testified to its inaccessibility to Federal gunboats and to the size of its fortifications, factors that discouraged assaults by land and water.

Virginia Point was a desirable location for historic settlement by the early 1830s when Austin colonist Samuel Bundick received a grant there

encompassing one league. Title was granted to Bundick on November 12, 1832, after which the grant passed to B. T. Archer, T. J. Green, and J. H. Gholson on December 5, 1836 (Galveston County Deed Record D:147-148). This partnership was followed by other investors (Deed Records A:662, B-1:97, L:588-589), who held the Bundick League until June 2, 1852, when William Jefferson Jones purchased it (Deed Record L:588-589). Jones, who became a notable planter, horticulturalist, principal promoter of the Galveston, Houston, and Henderso n Railroad, town planner, and jurist (Burton 1937:1-4; Geiser 1959:89; The Lewis Publishing Company 1895:722-728), built a two-story brick home (Figure 6) with a detached kitchen and large subterranean cistern. Outbuildings included a dairy house, slave quarters, and a cotton gin (Thompson 1955). The complex was located up Virginia Point from the railroad crossing and the site where Jones

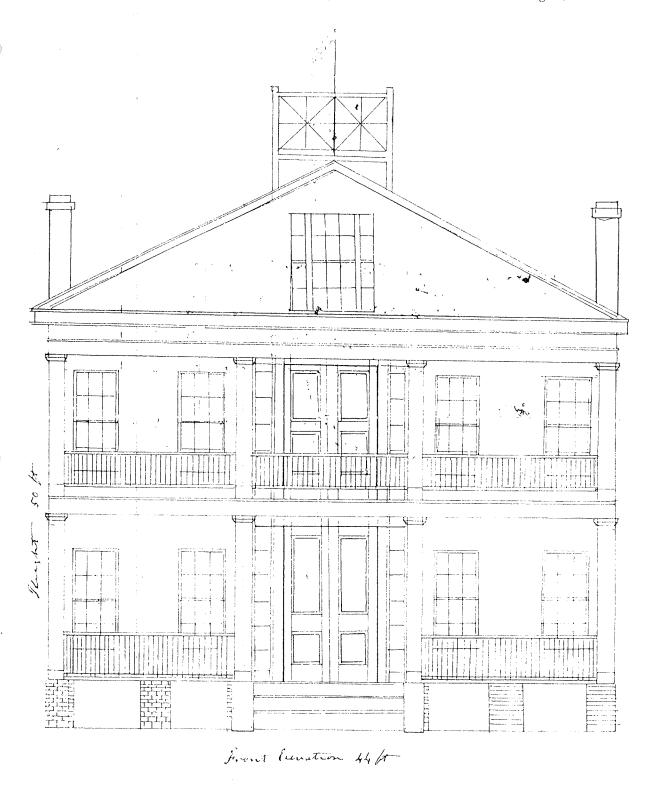


Figure 6. Elevation of the William Jefferson Jones house at Virginia Point. Drawing is reproduced from the William J. Jones Collection, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.

and a partner, William R. Smith, had surveyed and platted a townsite in 1859 (Voellinger et al. 1990: 21).

The defense of Galveston Island itself took precedence over that of other coastal sites, and work began there in April under the direction of Captain John C. Moore. Moore was followed in August by Commander W. W. Hunter, who was replaced in September by the Swiss engineer Julius Kellersberg. Kellersberg was ordered immediately by Brigadier General P. O. Hébert to make a reconnaissance of the railroad bridge between Galveston Island and Virginia Point and to submit plans for its defense (Kellersberg 1862d). Approximately 3 weeks later, on October 11, Hébert ordered that the batteries recommended by Kellersberg be erected at Virginia Point on the mainland and at Eagle Grove where the railroad touched the island. Hébert ordered Kellersberg to be in charge of constructing the works, and Major Joseph J. Cook of the First Texas Heavy Artillery to be in charge of the armaments (Wilson 1861), a number of which had been ordered from Richmond but had not yet arrived in Texas.

Kellersberg worked at Virginia Point with hired and slave labor, first erecting Fort Hébert and a battery for two 24-pounders at Virginia Point, and then a fort at Eagle Grove (Kellersberg 1862d). He was assisted at the end of October by Major S. Maclin, who planked the railroad bridge so that mounted troops could pass over it (Hébert 1861b), but a recommendation that the defense of Galveston could best be accomplished by the stationing of large numbers of troops at Galveston and Virginia Point (Maclin 1861) led Kellersberg back to Fort Hébert where he erected a fortified camp for 5,000 men using approximately 100 [?] white laborers and 100 [?] to 375 negroes furnished by the government (Kellersberg 1862d). He also initiated construction of a magazine which was to be used for all ordnance, stores, and ammunition not needed on Galveston Island (Hébert 1861d).

Hébert continued to fret about the defensibility of the railroad bridge, deciding that he needed a barge or other vessel that could act as a floating battery (Hébert 1861e). At the end of November, he chartered a barge from the Houston Navigation Company which was calked, repaired, and made generally habitable for the soldiers (Davis 1861a; Hunter 1861b). He then ordered the channel between the island and Virginia Point to be

"obstructed beyond gun range of the railroad bridge, if possible" (Davis 1861b).

Suspicions that Federal forces were preparing for an attack on Galveston in December (Headquarters Military District, Galveston 1861) generated a flurry of construction at Virginia Point where the Confederate steamer Mary Hill delivered spades, wheelbarrows, and other implements (Appel 1861: 869). Unfortunately, the work was interrupted in December when measles broke out in Kellersberg's labor camp and he was forced to report that his help had all "stampeded" (Kellersberg 1862d). Nonetheless, the fortifications were sufficiently complete by January to receive the newly arrived large guns from Richmond. According to Commander Hunter, C.S.A., Virginia Point was the fortification most appropriate for the defense of the mainland (Hunter 1862).

A significant addition was made to the Virginia Point facilities in February when Hébert ordered Dr. H. P. Howard to establish a common hospital for troops on Galveston Island and Virginia Point and to assign a surgeon (Hébert 1862a). Unfortunately, funds were becoming increasingly As early as January, Kellersberg had complained that he would have to suspend work if he did not receive money to pay wages (Kellersberg 1862a), and by March or April he had to discontinue further construction at Fort Hébert. He complained that he had barely enough funds to put Fort Nelson, a part of the Virginia Point defenses north of Fort Hébert, in its December 1861 condition (Kellersberg 1862d). On the other hand, despite limited funds and an unreliable labor force, he had accomplished considerable work at Fort Hébert and Fort Nelson on Virginia Point, at the railroad battery, and on Galveston Island at Eagle Grove (Fort Moore). He had constructed a new powderhouse at Fort Moore Road, batteries near Hutchings Wharf, and works at Fort Point, Westpoint Battery, and South Battery. At Fort Hébert, specifically, Kellersberg had spent a total of \$4,663.20 for labor, materials, and wagon hire, and the structure was a little over half finished. In addition, he had mounted one rifled 32-pounder, one 8-inch Columbiad, three 24-pounders, four 8inch howitzers, one 32-pounder brass howitzer, and three mortars. At Fort Nelson, he had expended \$2,654.00 and had mounted two 10-inch Columbiads. He had spent \$851.90 at the railroad battery and had mounted one 8-inch Columbiad. Future

work would include completing Forts Hébert and Nelson, work at Eagle Grove, installing torpedoes and galvanic batteries, and dredging the channel west of the railroad bridge (Kellersberg 1862b).

Despite Kellersberg's considerable efforts between September 1861 and April 1862, the officers at Galveston and Brigadier General P. O. Hébert, commanding the Department of Texas, lacked confidence that they could hold Galveston. One critic noted that, by May, "General Hebert . . . acted as if he regarded the place wholly indefensible against any force" (Gray 1862:868), and Colonel Joseph J. Cook, commanding the subdistrict, ordered that if the enemy appeared off Galveston harbor, it probably would become necessary to withdraw the troops from the batteries (Cook 1862a).

Confederate confidence in their situation must have taken another step back in June 1862 when Calcb Forshey wrote a critical report about the fortifications in Galveston. Admitting that he had only recently become involved with the works on the island, Forshey noted that he considered the nature and extent of the fortifications to be "inferior and wholly inadequate to the defence [sic] of the city." He pointed out that Galveston and the pass were defensible against a formidable attack with the ordnance presently there but that the "nature & extent of [the] fortifications [were] inferior and wholly inadequate. . . . " He was especially critical of the fortifications on the island because they were not casemated. He found the defensive works at the railroad bridge to be "much more extensive" and noted that the heavy ordnance was located primarily "at the works guarding the bridge" [Eagle Grove and Fort Hébert]. These works were "neatly constructed, and ample in linear extent for the purposes." However, Forshey believed that they were too light for seacoast batteries and would be perforated easily by balls from heavy ordnance. He summarized his critique by stating that he believed it to be an axiom of military engineering that "every sea coast gun, mounted in a position to be bombarded or vigorously attacked, should be casemated, & have a secure bombproof for all the forces not employed in securing it" (Forshey 1862*d*).

As the Confederate leadership represented by Brigadier General Hébert increasingly lost confidence during the summer of 1862, Union forces seemed to sense that portions of the Texas coast

could be theirs for the taking. Colonel Bates commented on the boldness of the blockading squadron when they attacked Velasco on August 11, and on October 3, Colonel Joseph J. Cook, commanding at Galveston, wrote that he had looked at the assemblage of Federal vessels off the Galveston bar and decided that they appeared ready to attack (Cook 1862b). Cook's protagonist, Commander W. M. Walker, U.S. Navy, observed about the same time that if his forces attacked Galveston, the greatest resistance would come from Virginia Point, for some 5,000 to 6,000 troops were posted along the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad and in the Houston area. Nonetheless, he urged that the Union attempt to take not only Galveston but also the north bank of the Rio Grande for 50 to 100 miles inland, for there was "much reason to believe that a large proportion of the munitions and supplies of all descriptions which find their way into the Southwestern States are received through Matamoras, whence they are thrown across the Rio Grande and carried by trains of carts and wagons to the nearest railroad" (Walker 1862).

On October 4, 1862, after Hébert had ordered most guns removed from the island to Virginia Point, the Union gunboat Harriet Lane steamed into Galveston Harbor and demanded that Colonel Cook surrender. Commander William B. Renshaw then brought seven more vessels up the channel, and the Fort Point garrison on the east end of the island opened fire on the fleet. The gunboat Owasco returned fire, dismounting the Fort Point 10-inch gun, and Confederate resistance soon ceased (Barr 1961:13). Federal officers agreed to give Colonel Cook four days to remove all personnel and citizens who wanted to leave the island; Cook's interpretation of the agreement led him also to remove as much ordnance as possible. As a result, while Kellersberg was busy at Virginia Point drilling large wells to supply the growing number of troops at Fort Hébert, Cook was moving two 24-pounders, the guns at South Battery, and all machinery of any value across the railroad bridge to the mainland (Cook 1862b:263).

With Galveston lost, Hébert continued to fret about his "untenable" position, stating he had nothing on the coast to resist Renshaw's plans to "scour and ravage." His guns and fortifications could not possibly match the firepower of the Federal vessels which were "all armed with the

latest improvements in guns, all of long range," and he had "no force to resist a formidable invasion" of the interior of Texas (Hébert 1862b). However, other officers were attempting to consolidate the Confederate forces and efforts into an effective system of defense. Colonel X. B. Debray², commander of the Military Sub-District of Houston, took charge and asked William Lubbock in Houston to place obstructions at the mouth of Buffalo Bayou (Debray 1862a). He also made arrangements with the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad Company to keep the line in operation for the transportation of troops and materiel even though the company president had stated that, with cessation of intercourse with Galveston, he had no interest in running a train to Virginia Point (Debray 1862b).

Debray also forwarded work at Virginia Point between October 8 and October 31. He moved one 8-inch Columbiad, one 24-pounder rifled gun, and three smooth-bore 32-pounders into Fort Hébert, and he ordered that a railroad switch and platform be established 1.5 miles from the fort (Debray 1862c:148). He assigned Major Von Harten to superintend construction of gun platforms and anticipated that five pieces would be in place by October 13 (Debray 1862c:150). He forwarded 50 tons of railroad iron from Harrisburg to Virginia Point in order to make magazines and bombproofs for the gunners (Debray 1862d), and by October 17, he found Colonel Cook "erecting a battery [Battery Cook] at the brick-yard in rear of Judge Jones' residence, where he intends to mount the 10inch columbiad removed from Houston, to cross fires with [Fort] Nelson's battery" (Debray 1862e: 836).

In the midst of his feverish efforts to reinforce Virginia Point, Debray confessed that he was perplexed by "the delay of the enemy in attacking us," and he posed the question whether Virginia Point was a strategic position worth keeping after Galveston was evacuated, or "should it be abandoned and our artillery be removed if the enemy gives time, to protect obstructions at the mouth of our rivers?" (Debray 1862e:836). To Renshaw, observing the Confederate activity but powerless to stop it because he lacked the mortars and light steamers necessary to reach Virginia

Point, the railroad bridge, and Eagle Grove, the 3,000 to 5,000 men and 12 to 20 guns he estimated were at the point represented a formidable threat. In sum, his opinion was that he could do nothing after taking possession of Galveston other than "landing a party to hoist our flag on the customhouse, and after allowing it to fly for about half an hour, haul it down and return on board" (Renshaw 1862:259–260).

ORDER OUT OF CHAOS: OCTOBER 1862-MARCH 1864

Introduction

The Union capture of Texas's most important port stunned the Confederates and left them in a state of confusion. Debray hardly knew which strategic tack to pursue, and he complained that he was not fully informed about defenses at locations such as the Brazos where he believed Colonel Bates's batteries might have to be modified (Debray 1862e:836, 1862f:838). In desperation, he sent Kellersberg to the Brazos River to report on the defenses there (Debray 1862f:838) and soon after heard rumors that the enemy was in possession of Matagorda (Debray 1862g).

On November 1, 1862, Confederate Colonel Ashbel Smith wrote to Brigadier General Hébert that "this section of Texas, from the [e]astern border of the Trinity [R]iver to the western border of the Bra[z]os is seriously menaced, with utter devasation and the breaking up of its great planting interests and the abduction of the negroes." He described the region as "most inadequately defended" and stated that Virginia Point, which was dependent on the railroad for its supplies of water, provisions, and fuel, could be taken by a small enemy force. Texas relied on the region above the point for food for citizenry and soldiers. Smith reiterated that "the contingency has happened which months ago the Sec[retary] of War did not anticipate. Texas is invaded," and he warned that if some of the state's troops were not returned home for her protection, she would be "occupied by the enemy." In addition, the state stood to lose many negroes, particularly those on Oyster Creek where so many of the great cotton and sugar plantations were located (Smith 1862).

Smith's grim assessment of the state of military affairs in Confederate Texas was seconded by

²X. B. Debray also appears in secondary literature as X. B. de Bray.

P. W. Gray in Houston, who wrote Jefferson Davis in November. Gray stated that Hébert had offered little or no resistance to the Federal fleet in October and now the batteries, which had been "constructed at large expense, [have] been destroyed, and should we be able to drive the vessels off again the work of defenses would have to be begun almost afresh." Gray then predicted that possession of Galveston by Federal forces, their movements on other parts of the coast, and their awareness of the Confederate situation would encourage the Union to send a large expedition against Texas during the winter of 1862–1863 (Gray 1862).

Gray's prediction might have been fulfilled had Hébert not been replaced by Major General John Bankhead Magruder who was to command the new District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. A native of Virginia, graduate of the United States Military Academy, veteran of the Mexican War. and a participant in one of the first battles of the Civil War at Big Bethel, Virginia, Magruder often displayed a flair for theatrical tactics. His superior generalship peaked early when with the assistance of a Polish engineer, Colonel Valery Sulakowski, he delayed General George McClellan's advance on Richmond, Virginia, by constructing scores of trenchworks and fortifications and creating the illusion of a much larger force by circling a relatively small number of troops (Foote 1986:399; Kajencki 1974:52-53). His personality was cause for concern to some of his superiors. But his volatility, tendency to become overexcited, and energy were balanced by a talent for organization that brought structure and order to a chaotic and rudderless situation in Texas.

On November 29, 1862, Magruder assumed command of the newly created District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, and he immediately began to assess the condition of coastal fortifications through Chief Engineer Caleb Forshey and engineer Julius Kellersberg (Kellersberg 1862d; Forshey 1862e). Simultaneously, he conferred with Colonel Debray about a strategy to retake Galveston. By December, the activity that was evident at Virginia Point and the mouth of the Brazos led Federal naval Commander Renshaw to express doubt that he would be able to hold Galveston for the Union (Farragut 1862b). Colonel Isaac S. Burrell commanding the 42nd Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, arrived in Galveston to provide a significant Union presence on the island on December 24, 1862 (Burrell 1862:204). Nonetheless, on the night of December 31, 1862–January 1, 1863, Magruder directed an attack on Galveston that resulted in a devastating and costly defeat for the Union forces.

In early January 1863, Confederate officers still were unsure of their ability to hold Galveston and they made plans for its evacuation (Magruder 1863a), while Admiral Farragut urged Commodore Bell to use the six gunboats under his command to retake Galveston (Farragut 1863). However, Magruder pushed forward with plans to refortify, declared the coast of Texas free of blockade, and appointed a new chief engineer (Bell 1863a:546; Sulakowski n.d.), while Union Commodore Bell quickly lost confidence in his ability to retake Galveston:

... it has workshops and a foundry in active operation, and is surrounded north, south, east, and west, on the harbor side as well as on the seaside, by numerous batteries and armed vessels in its harbor, lying within 100 yards of its houses. It is, in fact, a fortified and strongly garrisoned city. . [Bell 1863a].

Indeed, given the work being carried out on the Confederate fortifications, the inability of his gunboats to get in close, and other factors, Bell did not believe that there was "the least chance of success for any uncombined naval and land attack that could be made" (Bell 1863b).

Between February and March 1863, Magruder's new chief engineer, Valery Sulakowski, organized the engineer corps and planned a unified system for the defense of the Texas coast with the advice and assistance of Magruder, who toured the fortifications in March (Magruder 1863d; Sulakowski 1863a). The two men decided that the Brazos canal should be cleared (Headquarters Eastern Sub-District of Texas 1863b) so that shipping could continue unimpeded. They moved forward with the rebuilding and repair of the fortifications in and around Galveston and construction of a new railroad bridge (Bell 1863c:662-663), and Magruder planned the establishment of inland navigation between Matagorda Bay and the Brownsville area (Magruder 1863*e*).

Confederate efforts to complete the coastal defenses were plagued by serious problems such as a shortage of slave labor (Scurry 1863a, 1863b)

and destruction of a portion of the Galveston works by a gale in April (Turner 1863b). In addition, Federal Commander Bell planned an attack on the defenses of Galveston in May (Bell 1863d). Nonetheless, the engineers made significant progress at Galveston, Quintana, and Velasco, and the Confederates, bolstered by the memory of their victory at Galveston on January 1, 1863, continued to grow in confidence. Blockade running assumed major proportions, many of the Confederate vessels traveling through West Bay and the canal before exiting at Velasco, and despite the fact that a number of cotton-laden ships were captured, many more were successful in their attempts to reach Havana.

Rumors that the Union was planning an invasion of Texas were common by August 1863, and Banks decided initially that he would attack the Confederates on the Sabine and then move against Houston. This strategy would place in Federal hands "the control of all the railway communications in Texas; give us command of the most populous and productive part of the State; enable us to move at any moment into the interior in any direction, or to fall back upon the Island of Galveston" (Banks 1865). However, Banks's initial attack was a failure, and his activities alerted Magruder who renewed his requests for more negroes and tools and asked Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department, to return the balance of Bates's Regiment to Texas so that they could join their command at the mouth of the Brazos. "[W]ithout these [troops] the R[ail] Roads and the heart of Texas, may be [the Federals'], and our cause perhaps irretrievably ruined in the West" (Magruder 1863h, 18631).

With the embarkation of Major General N. P. Banks and N. J. T. Dana from the mouth of the Mississippi at the end of October, Magruder and his engineers redoubled their efforts. Between October and the end of December, by which time Union troops were in firm command of the coast from Brownsville to Matagorda, Magruder and Sulakowski put Velasco on alert that it might be a major target; formulated plans to fortify inland sites such as Houston, San Antonio, and Austin; refined plans for the fortification of Oyster Creek and the Brazos River; and consolidated troops and weapons in the area encompassed by Brazoria and Matagorda Counties (Sulakowski 18631; Turner

1863c, 1863d). Forays by Union troops up Matagorda Peninsula and the bombardment of fortifications at Caney Creek, the mouth of the San Bernard River, and Velasco during December 1863 and January and February 1864 further strengthened Confederate resolve (Luckett 1863; Perkins 1864a: 744; Sandcliff 1864). By the second week of January 1864, Abram Cross, engineer in charge at Velasco, could report significant progress in the completion of four fortifications at Velasco, Quintana, on the Brazos, and on Oyster Creek (Cross 1864b).

In January and February 1864, Federal vessels bombarded Velasco, and persistent rumors that Federal troops might attack Galveston led Magruder, Sulakowski, and Forshey to proceed with major construction efforts at Virginia Point (Hatfield 1864a:75; Perkins 1864b:74; Sulakowski 1864). However, the greatest part of the Union effort to retake the middle Texas coast appeared to be over. Impressed by the number of troops Magruder had amassed in a concentrated area and by the frenzy of fortification construction between Velasco and the mouth of Caney Creek, Major General Banks failed to follow up on his early successes (Banks 1863). Major General C. C. Washburn also expressed doubts, stating that he was convinced that his forces would have to "fight the whole Texas force when we move" (Washburn 1863:481). Thus, while Magruder remained on the ready to counter a more aggressive Federal advance, Federal officer N. J. T. Dana lamented "chances . . . thrown away" (Dana 1864), and the war on the Texas coast was poised to enter a period of stalemate.

Professionals and Builders II

Fortification construction during the opening years of the Civil War in Texas was characterized by the involvement of a number of competent engineers, such as Caleb Forshey and Julius Kellersberg, who were provided with a minimal amount of direction by their superiors and were given neither the monetary nor the labor support to plan and develop a unified system. In addition, lines of authority were not always clear. As a result, the plans developed by Caleb Forshey were overruled by Colonel Joseph Bates, who was not an engineer, and so the mouth of the Brazos River was in a relatively undefended state as late as the fall of 1862.

The individual who brought structure and direction to the engineer corps during its most challenging period of time was Valery Sulakowski, a civil engineer and Confederate officer who was born in Poland in 1827, participated in the Hungarian rebellion against Austria in 1848, and immigrated to America after the uprising collapsed. He worked as an engineer in Louisiana where he married Rebekah Simpson of New Orleans and may have owned a plantation. With the outbreak of war ın 1861, Sulakowski joined a Polish Brigade organized in New Orleans and took command of the first regiment which bolstered the Army of the Peninsula in Virginia in 1861. While in Virginia, Sulakowski assisted General John B. Magruder in fortifying positions along the Warwick River (Conrad 1988:774; Kajencki 1974:51-52; Louisiana. Commissioner of Military Records 1920:735; Louisiana Sugar Bowl, June 26, 1873:2; The New Orleans Times, June 20, 1873:4: Orleans Parish, Louisiana, Marriage Index, VED 678:409).

Sulakowski resigned his position on February 19, 1862 (Sulakowski n.d.), supposedly due to the failure of the Confederate government to promote him. Magruder interceded and tried in vain to keep Sulakowski, whose engineering services had been invaluable to him (Kajencki 1974:52-54). The Pole returned to New Orleans, however, and remained there until Magruder prevailed upon him to rejoin the service and take command of the engineer department for the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona (Freeman and Prewitt 1994: 11). By January 12, 1863, Magruder's report indicated that Sulakowski was acting as chief engineer (Sulakowski n.d.); he was appointed formally on February 6, at which time he assumed general supervision of all fortifications and was specifically in charge of the Galveston Harbor obstructions (Magruder 1863b).

Sulakowski took command immediately, requesting that engineer officers be paid for the first time³, asking Magruder to order the raising of at least 1,000 negroes to work on the fortifications, and placing Lieutenant Abram Cross in charge of the Brazos River defenses which Sulakowski designed in April 1863 (Sulakowski 1863c, 1863e; Turner 1863a). He required monthly reports from

his engineers in the field, and he oversaw a staff of 21 men by the end of July 1863 (Sulakowski 1863h) (Table 3).

In July, Sulakowski developed a scheme to raise troops in Europe for Confederate service (E. Smith 1863), a plan he continued to work on during the fall and winter of 1863-1864 while he also responded to Cross's requests for tools at Velasco (Sulakowski 1863*j*, 1863*k*) and Magruder's requests for laborers at Houston (Heermann 1863a). He worked to repair the work at Virginia Point in December (Turner 1863e) and directed construction of new fortifications at Caney and Austin in December and January (Sulakowski 18631). In February, when the European scheme took precedence, Sulakowski was relieved of his position as chief engineer; he received orders to proceed to Havana, Cuba, soon after (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1864b).

Sulakowski's engineer in charge of fortifications from San Luis Bay to the mouth of Caney Creek was Abram Cross, formerly a first lieutenant serving in the cavalry (Cross n.d.; Turner 1863/), who was employed in the Eastern Sub-District by February 1863. He apparently worked first at Virginia Point under Kellersberg (Sulakowski 1863c) before being directed by Sulakowski to take charge of the defenses on the Brazos River on April 26 when he also received specific instructions concerning the building and/or reconstruction of structures at the canal, Velasco, Quintana, and West Union Bayou as well as obstructions in the Brazos. Bates was to assist Cross, who in turn was to report to Kellersberg (Sulakowski 1863e).

Cross pressed construction of the Brazos River works even though he had difficulty obtaining and dealing with the negro workers and their overseers and owners (Cross 1863a, 1863b). He continued to direct construction of the works through the fall and early winter of 1863 (Sulakowski 1863j), at which point Sulakowski ordered him to "proceed without delay to Caney, Company Canal and Eastern part of Matagorda Bay" and to "select a good position for a work for field Artillery, calculated to prevent the enemy from advancing up the beach towards Velasco from the Matagorda peninsula" (Sulakowski 1863m). However, he also remained responsible for the Brazos River works. Having laid out the fortification sites down the coast, Cross left the Caney and San Bernard sites to Lieutenant Edward Sandcliff and returned to

³According to Sulakowski (1836*c*), only Kellersberg had received payment for his services.

TABLE 3
LIST OF OFFICERS ON ENGINEER DUTY, DISTRICT OF TEXAS,
NEW MEXICO, AND ARIZONA, ENGINEERS OFFICE, GALVESTON, JULY 28, 1863*

Rank	Names	Date of Appointmen
Colonei	V Sulakowski, Civil Engineer	February 27, 1863
Lieutenant Colonel	C. G. Porshey, Chief Consulting Engineer	
Lieutenant Colonel	A. M. Lea, Chief Engineer Western Sub-District	
Major	J. Kellersberg, Chief Engineer Eastern Sub-District	February 25, 1862
Major	Geo. R. Wilson, Assistant Engineer	December 28, 1862
Major	Felix A. Blucher, Assistant Engineer Western District	
Captain	F. [Giraud], Assistant Engineer Eastern District	October 23, 1862
Captain	Tipton Walker, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	December 6, 1862
Captain	Thos. Kasse, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	December 29, 1862
Captain	Aswala Deity, Assistant Engineer Northern District	January 15, 1863
Captain	G. [Schleicher], Assistant Engineer Eastern District	
Captain	E. I., Heriot, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	December 1, 1862
First Lieutenant	Paul Helfrich, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	December 16, 1862
First Lieutenant	Thos. Kleinpeter, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	December 17, 1862
First Lieutenant	A. Cross, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	December 18, 1862
First Lieutenant	W. S. Ramson, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	January 1, 1863
First Lieutenant	W. E. Wood, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	January 17, 1863
First Lieutenant	Newton Squire, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	May 1, 1862
First Lieutenant	W. W. Russel, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	December 3, 1862
First Lieutenant	Samuel Smith, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	December 30, 1862
First Lieutenant	B. F. Carter, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	July 5, 1862
First Lieutenant	Will Powers, Assistant Engineer Eastern District	July 2, 1863

Velasco. There, in response to changing military conditions, he was directed to abandon the works on the west side of the Brazos River and "proceed to erect those laid out on Oyster Creek and Oyster Creek road . . . " (Turner 1863j). This work, together with the Brazos River works, was largely complete by the middle of January 1864 when Cross reported to Captain Theodore Heermann in the Engineer Department (Cross 1864b).

Cross's counterparts at Virginia Point were Julius Kellersberg and Valery Sulakowski. These two officers apparently shared some duties, Kellersberg receiving instructions for work at Fort Hébert on the point late in 1862 (Kellersberg 1862d) and conferring about the Galveston fortifications at large in January after Magruder had retaken the island (Nichols 1863:830). Following Sulakowski's appointment in early February 1863, Kellersberg continued to oversee works in the Eastern Sub-District of Texas, but Sulakowski was to take general supervision of certain obstructions

in Galveston Harbor while having general supervision of all fortifications in the District of Texas. New Mexico, and Arizona (Magruder 1863b). Thereafter, Kellersberg remained in charge of the fortifications on Galveston Island and Virginia Point (Sulakowski 1863d), except for those occasions when he was placed in charge of fortifying other locations in the Eastern Sub-District. At those times, Sulakowski appears to have taken charge of the fortifications as well as the obstructions necessary to the defense of Galveston (Sulakowski 1864).

As had occurred during 1861 and the first half of 1862, professional engineers in the Confederate service between 1862 and 1864 remained dependent on the cooperation of regular officers at the fortification sites, on the availability of mechanics and labor overseers, and on a sizable, healthy labor force. With the appearance of Sulakowski, an aristocratic and sometimes overbearing officer who had the full support of General Magruder, many of

the conflicts that had occurred earlier between engineers and commanding officers seem to have disappeared, and work progressed in a more coordinated fashion than it had before. However, labor remained a problem. Engineers continued to use enlisted white labor for which they paid \$1.00 per day per man from the engineer fund for work on the fortifications (Magruder 1863f, 1863g). When the enemy was especially threatening, such as the time when Federal vessels bombarded Velasco, the Confederate troops participated in throwing up breastworks for their own defense (Perkins 1863a: 745). Troop labor remained a poor choice, however, for it meant that the men were unable to participate in their regular duties, and they had to be prepared to drop fortification work at any time to take up arms.

Slaves remained the favored labor force, and Magruder, Sulakowski, Cross, Kellersberg, and Cook often prevailed on owners to cooperate. Kellersberg, for example, encouraged the planters of Brazoria County to furnish him with laborers and promised to repay them by erecting a casemated battery for two guns on the Brazos (Kellersberg 1862c). However, shortages continued to be a problem. In March 1863, Sulakowski complained that he had only 300 hands in Galveston and needed at least 1,000, which he asked Magruder to procure for him (Turner 1863a). Brigadier General W. R. Scurry, commanding the Eastern Sub-District of Texas, was placed in charge of the procurement effort and scolded the planters for refusing to cooperate, accusing them of "alarming indifference and intense selfishness." Their lack of action meant that the soldiers whom the planters depended on to protect them now had to work on fortifications as well, a situation Scurry described as "[bayonets] to the rear and spades in front" (Scurry 1863a). By April, officers were being sent from Houston to Fayette County to collect one-quarter of all male slaves between the ages of 17 and 45 for work on the Galveston defenses (Headquarters Eastern Sub-District of Texas 1863d), an action paralleled in Matagorda and Brazoria Counties where slaves were needed by Lieutenant Cross at Velasco (Reid 1863).

In July 1863, a general order pointed out that "all requisitions for negroes to labor on the fortifications . . . shall be made on Captain H. B. Andrews, Chief of the Labor Bureau, who alone is charged with the procurement and disposition of

slaves collected for Government service" (Headquarters Eastern Sub-District of Texas 1863d). Nonetheless, this order did not discourage Magruder from making his own pleas to planters. As the threat of Federal invasion drew nearer at the end of 1863, he requested planters to send one spade, shovel, and hoe with each negro, pointing out that planters east of the Mississippi had cooperated with similar requests (Magruder 1863h). Indeed, in December 1863, after Federal troops had taken Saluria and Matagorda, Magruder called upon the planters of Brazoria, Matagorda, and Fort Bend counties to "place all of their able-bodied male slaves, except one, at the disposal of the Government to work upon fortifications" (Turner 1863h: 839). This communication drew a sharp rebuke from Captain and Assistant Adjutant General C. S. West at Headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Department, who pointed out that one consequence of such action would be "a corresponding decrease in the grain and other productions which are essential to the subsistence of both the army and the citizens" (West 1864). Nonetheless, Magruder continued to requisition slaves, settling on Brazoria as a depot for slave labor where the negroes would be provided rations, food, and fuel before being delivered to specific fortification sites ([Heermann] 1863c). His system appears to have met with some success, for Sulakowski reported on January 5, 1864, that there were 193 negroes working on the fort at Virginia Point (Sulakowski 1864), and Cross reported using 175 negroes at Velasco about the same time (Cross 1864b). However, Magruder remained convinced that the planters had been largely uncooperative. As one of his officers wrote concerning problems with the fortifications at the mouth of Caney Creek, "the works at that point are in a most lamentable state of backwardness, by reason of the dil[a]toriness of planters in furnishing negroes, when called upon to do so by the Maj. Gen'l Comd'g. [S]hould the enemy ever destroy their plantations, they may thank themselves for it" (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1863e).

Perhaps because slaves were so difficult to come by, Confederate officers were sensitive to the planters' concerns for their property and attempted to provide for the well being of the slaves while they worked on the fortifications. In February 1863, for example, Dr. Bosley [?] of Allen's Artillery, Bates's Battalion, was ordered to report

for instructions to Dr. Cupples at Galveston where he was "detailed as Physician to the Negro force engaged on the Works at Virginia Point[,] Eagle Grove &c[.].." (Headquarters Eastern Sub-District of Texas 1863a). Later in the month, Sulakowski requested information about negroes who were without shoes and blankets under the charge of engineers. And, perhaps to prevent what he described as "abuses practiced by slave owners in sending their old & worn out Negroes for Government Service," Sulakowski ordered that the slaves first be "examined by a Surgeon in the service of the Confederate States and by him certified as to their physical ability to perform hard labor" (Sulakowski 1863a, 1863b).

Further evidence of awareness of the responsibilities implicit in their use of slave labor was provided by orders to the medical officer in charge of Galveston to "take possession of the brick portion of the Tremont House and use it as a hospital for negroes" (Headquarters Eastern Sub-District of Texas 1863c); the promise by Magruder that slaves would be provided with rations, fuel, and quarters, that the engineers would "employ a local physician for their treatment in sickness and [would] provide generally in the best possible manner for their care and comfort" (Turner 1863h); and the general orders that specified that "the Negroes which have been impressed for service in different Regiments must not be whipped except by direction or permission of the Regimental commanders, in case of which he will designate the number of lashes &c., reporting the same to these Head Quarters" (Headquarters Eastern Sub-District of Texas 1863f). Nevertheless, Federal invasion threatened and engineers struggled to complete their fortifications. Abram Cross at Velasco was criticized by Valery Sulakowski for having whipped a negro. In response, Cross explained that he had, indeed, whipped slaves, but he had had

so much trouble with good for nothing overseers and owners who come on the works for the express purpose of seeing that their negroes did not work that I cannot now remember what particular case you allude to. If you will have the kindness to send me the man[']s name, I may possibly be able to satisfy him on the subject [Cross 1863a].

FORTIFICATION CONSTRUCTION AND BOMBARDMENT II

Velasco and Quintana

Late 1862 found the area of the mouth of the Brazos River generally undefended by fortifications. However, involvement of engineers Valery Sulakowski and Abram Cross resulted in the design of a defensive system at Velasco and Quintana and along the Brazos River, Oyster Creek, and the canal between April 1863 and January 1864. The greatest part of the work occurred in the fall and winter of 1863–1864, and by the time Federal gunboats bombarded the area between late December 1863 and March 1864, Bates and his forces were able to respond vigorously.

Until the spring of 1863, work at the mouth of the Brazos was left largely to the local garrison and citizenry and to engineer Julius Kellersberg, who was also active at the Neches, Sabine, Trinity, and San Jacinto Rivers (Debray 1862i). Colonel X. B. Debray initially urged Kellersberg to go to the Brazos at the end of October, for he had heard that "the people [were] engaged in obstructing the Brazos." He was not familiar with the means of defense used by Colonel Bates but suspected that "some modifications in the establishment of his batteries might perhaps be beneficial" (Debray 1862f).

On October 27, 1862, Kellersberg was sent to Velasco where he reported on the conditions. He noted that the defenses consisted of an open battery in front of the town of Velasco where two 18pounder guns were mounted on high barbette carriages. The earthwork was in "proper shape," but the guns were too small to defend the entrance of "this important river." He hinted that works higher up the river were either planned or under construction but, regardless, the towns of Velaso and Quintana would continue to be exposed to enemy shells. He described a blockade about 7 miles up the river and a battery within canister shot of the blockade and exposed to the long-range guns of hostile ships, and he ordered construction of a new battery nearby. Finally, he noted that he had to leave for the Trinity but made plans to return to the more important Brazos area "where he would superintend the work personally" (Kellersberg 1862c). Apparently, he was able to carry out his

plans, for in early December he reported that a casemated battery for two 12-pounder siege guns was under construction on one side of the river (Kellersberg 1862*d*).

During the opening months of 1863, newly appointed Chief Engineer Valery Sulakowski was preoccupied with organizing the engineer corps and rebuilding the Galveston area fortifications. The Federal blockading squadron, on the other hand, was interested in the fortifications at the mouth of the Brazos, and on the morning of February 6, 1863, the U.S. gunboats Sciota and Itasca came abreast of Velasco at about 8 a.m. The Sciota fired first at the battery in the town, and the Confederates returned fire with three shots that fell near and beyond the Sciota (Tables 4 and 5, Figure 7). According to Lieutenant Commander Robert R. Lewis of the Itasca, the soldiers at Velasco immediately hoisted the Confederate flag and returned fire; the Itasca replied with three guns but did not stop in its course (Lewis 1863; Lowry 1863).

Perhaps in response to the Federal bombardment in February, Valery Sulakowski issued Special Order No. 32 directing Lieutenant Cross of the engineers to take charge of the defenses on the Brazos and to report to Colonel Bates. Sulakowski's (1863e) instructions were explicit and suggested that he was familiar with the site and surrounding countryside (Figure 8). He stated first that Cross was to

proceed without delay in erecting a Fort at Quintana, in the shape of a parellogram [sic] for four gun[s] to wit; on the extreme right one eight inch Howitzer on seige carriage, then two twelve Pounders from Fort Bates, on the extreme left one Eighteen Pounder now in the upper works, The work to be supplied with substantial bombproofs, Magazines & hot shot furnace, the rear of the work closed by stockade.

Sulakowski next directed Cross to work on the Velasco and Brazos River fortifications, ordering him to reconstruct Fort Velasco "for three guns—To wit.—on the left one Eight inch Howitzer, next a[n] Eighteen Pounder (now there) and the twenty four Pounders also in position, Bombproofs[,] Magazine and hot shot furnace." On the east side of the bridge over the canal, Cross was to "throw up a 'Tete de pont' for four field pieces,

flanked by half bastions in accordance with the enclosed sketch, the bank on the east side of the canal to be levelled so as not to offer any protection, the west bank of the canal to be kept up and raised where necessary so as to serve as a covered way." Sulakowski then ordered Cross to construct a tête de pont, small embankments for two field pieces and 150 infantry without bombproofs or magazines on the east bank of West Union at the bridge, and then to proceed to the first turn of the river above West Union. There he was to throw up a work for four guns "so as to be able to enfilade the channel and to be able to fire at right angle to the sea coast. This work to be flanked by two half bastions to be defended by 200 Infantry stockaded in rear, no bombproofs nor magazine."

Sulakowski also had plans for ferries, a bridge, and obstructions, directing Cross to establish two ferries and two flatboats for the transportation of infantry and siege guns at the mouth of the canal. He was to strengthen the bridge across the canal so that it could support artillery, and he was to obstruct the river between the forts at Velasco and Quintana by creating groups of five piles each, well braced, spaced every 30 feet from center to center, and leaving enough space and draft on one side to allow light draft boats to pass. He closed by instructing Cross to sod the works near the coast and use as little timber as possible for revetments. He was to apply to Colonel Bates for any assistance he needed and report to Major Kellersberg, copying Sulakowski (Sulakowski 1863e).

Between April, when the fortifications and other works were planned and laid out, and the late summer of 1863, work at the Brazos was steady but slow, perhaps in part because Gibson's Light Battery of Bates's Regiment Texas Volunteers was ordered on May 23 to leave Velasco and proceed to Louisiana (Bates 1863a), thus leaving Cross and Bates with fewer men to call on if they needed a supplementary labor force. A few days later, Lieutenant Robert S. Reid, Acting Assistant Adjutant General in Houston, directed cavalry to survey Matagorda and Brazoria counties, impress 200 negroes, and turn them over to Lieutenant Cross at Velasco for work on the fortifications (Reid 1863). However, efforts to gather a work force appear to have been largely unsuccessful, and Sulakowski reported on June 1 that only six negroes were available at Velasco. He wrote that, if Magruder wanted the defenses perfected, he would have to

		TABLE 4	
	ORDNANCE FIRED AT THE MOU	FIRED AT THE MOUTH OF THE BRAZOS RIVER, OCTOBER 1862-MARCH 1864	
Ship and Date	Ordnance Fired	Target	Source
<i>Sciota</i> February 6, 1863	three percussion shell from the rifle one 20-second shell from the XI-inch gun one 5-second shell from the XI-inch gun	Velasco battery; the shots fell "considerably short"	Lowry 1863
Hasca February 6, 1863	shots from three guns	Velasco battery	Lewis 1863
Sciota December 29, 1863	"several shell" eight shots	"the forts [on each side of the river]" Confederate batteries; all shots "fell short"	Lewis 1863 Luckett 1863
Sciota February 9, 1864	"opened fire"	"Forts at Vallasco [sic]"	Perkins 1863 <i>b</i>
Aroostook February 9. 1864	16 XI-inch shell 11 20-pounder rifle shells	"Rebel Battery at Velasco"	Hatfield 1864 <i>a</i> :64
Penobscot March 21, 1864	four 15-second XI-in shells four 20-pound charges of powder	"opened fire on Strange Steamer ashore on the bar" at an unspecified location	Benham 1864
	five charges of compressed powder three percussion shells for 20-pdr. Parrott two 15-second shell for 20-pdr. Parrott	Opened fire on steamship <i>Matagorda</i> . Four shots from Parrott gun passed over the vessel and "exploded some distance to the rear". Later. the <i>Penobscot</i> came within range of shore batteries at Velasco and fired three shots, one of which "exploded so near Doctor Seeds [?] that he was covered with cinders and smoke" Another solid shot "knocked down a horse at the bridge on the bayou."	Herndon 1864:52
March 22, 1864 Penobscot	two 10-second XI-inch shells one 15-second XI-inch shell three 15-second 10-pounder shells three 20-pound charges of powder for the XI-inch pivot three 2-pound charges for 20-pounder Parrott seven primers	"a three masted Schooner high on the beach" [the <i>Emily</i>] "To-day is a beautiful day for the enemy to fire at the steam-ship, and certainly will during the day." The steamer <i>Matagorda</i> was on the sand; the schooner <i>Emily</i> was still on the beach.	Benham 1864 Herndon 1864:52, 53

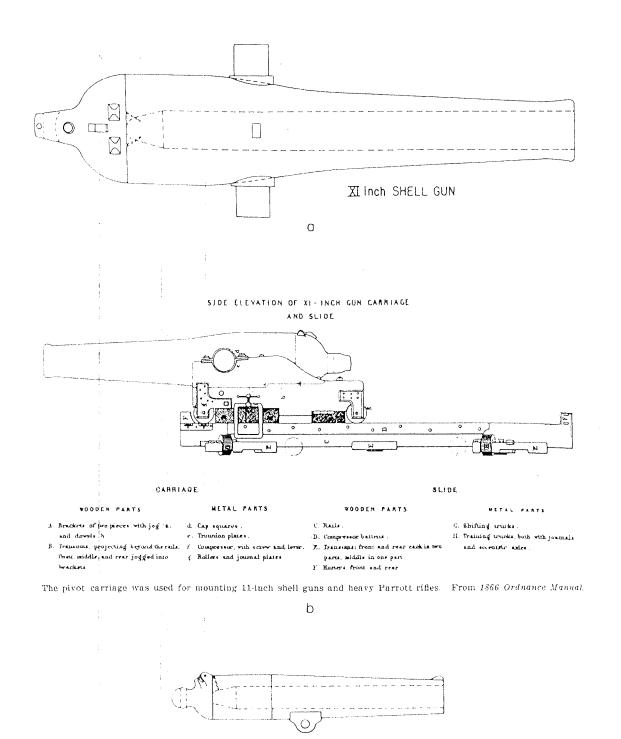


Figure 7. Examples of XI-inch shell gun (a, b) and 24-pounder boat howitzer (c). Figures are taken from U.S. Navy Department (1968:801, 804, 813).

	62-MARCH 1864		Where Received		Philadelphia Philadelphia Philadelphia Philadelphia From U.S.S. Conemaugh			Charleston N. Y'd New York New York New York
	CTOBER 18		Pivot or Broadside	Pivot Pivot Broadside Broadside Broadside Broadside	Pivot Broadside Broadside Fivot Field carriage	Pivot Pivot Broadside Broadside	Broadside do Pivot do	Pivot Pivot Broadside Broadside
	BRAZOS, O	suc	Left	WRT	P/W.R.T. P/A S.M. P/A.S.M. P.	W.R.T. none I.A.D. IAD	J.A.D. do J.M.B. P.	P. P/J.M.B.
	UTH OF THE op 74, National	Trunnions	Right	1862 1862 1861 1861 1862 1862	XI in/1862 32/1846 32/1846 20 Pdr/1862 **	1861 1862 1862 1862	1863 do do 1862	1862/20 Pdr 1863
TABLE 5	SSELS ENGAGED IN BOMBARDING THE MOUTH OF THE BRAZOS. (Records of the Burgau of Ordnance, Record Group 74, National Archives)	se Ring	Foundry	F.P.F. Ames Chicopee Ames Chicopee C.A.&Co.	C.A.&Co. C.A.&Co. C.A.&Co. R.P.P US.N.Y.Wash'	C.A.&Co. K.P.P. C.A.&Co. C.A.&Co.	Ames do F.P. R.P.P.	R.P.P. F.P. Ames Mfg. Co. Chicopee Ames Mfg. Co. Chicopec
	D IN BOMI ureau of Or	Marks on Base Ring	Weight	15745 1795 1292 1289 1304 1304	15755 27.3.1 27.2.24 1788 434	15720 1785 1311 1304	1277 1282 16090 1785	1785 16080 1277 94 Pre 1282 94 Pre
	S ENGAGE rds of the B	Σ	Reg. No.	210 131 101 102 60 63 74	205 205 206 145 82	211 136 58 59	541 543 158 136	136 158 541 543
	FEDERAL ORDNANCE ON VESSELS ENGAGED IN BOMBARDING THE MOUTH OF THE BRAZOS, OCTOBER 1862-MARCH 1864 (Records of the Burgau of Ordnance, Record Group 74, National Archives)		Ciass of Gun	XI in. shell 20 Pdr Parrott Howitzer Howitzer Howitzer Howitzer Howitzer	XI " Dahigren 32 Pdr. 32 Pdr. 20 Pdr. Parrott 12 Pdr. Howtz	XI in Dahlgren 20 pr Parrott 24 pr Dahl. How. 24 pr Dahl. How.	24 Pdr. Howitzer do XI in 20 pdr. Parrott	20 Pdr. Parrott 11 inch St'bd 24 Pdr Howitzer Port 24 Pdr Howitzer
	FEDERAL (Ship and Date*	Aroostook June 11, 1863	<i>Itasca</i> June 15, 1866	Penobscot April 11, 1863	Penobscot October 27, 1863	Penobscot June 30. 1864

Table 5. continued								
		M	Marks on Base Ring	se Ring	Trunnions	ons		
Ship and Date*	Class of Gun	Reg. No.	Weight	Foundry	Right	Left	Pivot or Broadside	Where Received
Sciota	20 Pdr Parrott	58***	1795		R.P.P./W.P.	1861	Pivot	New Orleans, U.S.
June 30, 1864	XI inch	9	15902	West Point	L.	1856	Pivot	Steam Frigate Niagra
	24 Pdr Howitzer	103	1310	Ames	X		Broadside	Philadelphia
	24 Pdr Howitzer	104	1290	Chicopee Ames	inch/1856		Broadside	Philadelphia
	12 Pdr Howitzer	128	750	Chicopee			Broadside	U.S. Steam Sloop
				Washington				Monongahela
*Date refers to t for the <i>Itasca</i>	*Date refers to the month, day, and year the Bureau of Ordnance inventoried the guns onboard each vessel. Pre-1866 records were not found for the Hasca	e Bureau of (Ordnance ir	ventoried the guns	onboard each v	essel. Pre-1	866 records we	re not found
**1862 over J.A.I	**1862 over J.A.D. Dahlgren is centered under both right and left trunnions.	ler both right	and left tr	unnions.				
***On face of muzzle.	zzle.							

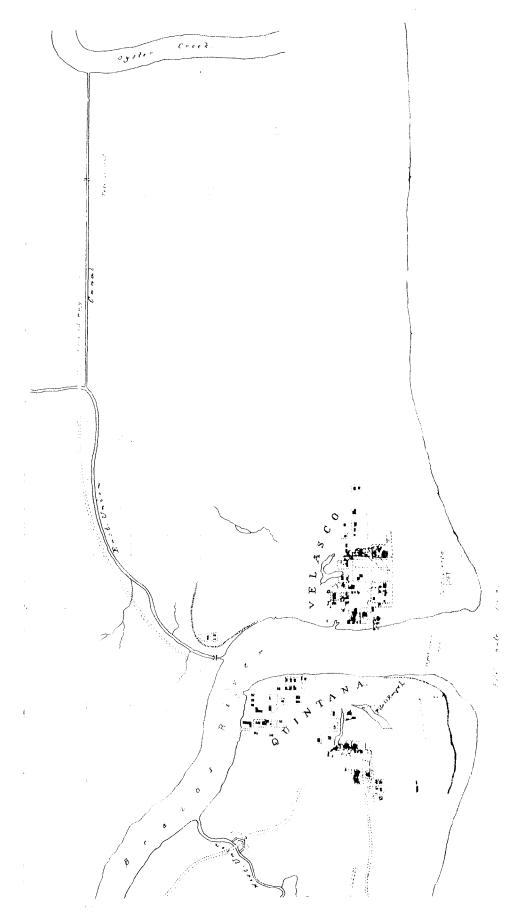


Figure 8. A sketch of the vicinity of the Brazos River appears to show fortifications and obstructions described in an order from Chief Engineer Valery Sulakowski to his field engineer, Abram Cross Interestingly, the base map on which the works are superimposed was the coastal engineering map produced by A. D. Bache in 1852. Illustration is reproduced from Map 251-9. Record Group 77. National Archives.

order. Bates to impress 200 negroes and make a steamboat available to transport construction materials (Sulakowski 1863f, 1863g).

The same day Sulakowski lodged his requests with headquarters in Houston, Union Commodore H. H. Bell described the state of the fortifications as they appeared to him from outside the bar. On the Quintana side he saw a newly built fort with 100 tents adjacent but no guns and only four or five men at the structure. On the Velasco side the battery was less prominent. It was situated near the water and "to the south of the white house with colonnades" (possibly the Archer House). Some 40 or 50 men were assembled at the rear of the fort which, like that at Quintana, apparently had no guns (Bell 1863e:758). This situation was partially remedied when headquarters in Houston ordered an 18-pounder and a 24-pounder howitzer sent to Velasco from San Antonio with the appropriate ammunition and guns (Headquarters Eastern Sub-District of Texas 1863e).4 A third gun was turned over to the ordnance officer in August when Colonel Leon Smith, commanding the Confederate Marine Department in Texas, found a Nichols gun onboard his vessel to be unfit for service (L. Smith 1863). Special Orders issued in October indicate that the fort at Velasco also had at least one 8-inch howitzer with a carriage, ammunition, and implements (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1863c).

Between October 1863 and January 1864, threats by Federal troops and vessels moving up the coast from Matagorda resulted in a step-up of activity between Matagorda and the mouth of the Brazos. Sulakowski made a special request for a schooner to be sent to Velasco so that Cross could drive piles and obstruct the Brazos (Sulakowski 1863i), and an order for additional spades in November suggests that the engineer was still busy

that only the 24-pounder reached Velasco and that the 18-

pounder went to Saluria. The guns were ordered withdrawn

from both locations and forwarded to Millican and Dallas,

and then to Brigadier General Cooper in Indian Territory

(Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona

1863b).

Federal troops might advance up the coast on land, an opinion echoed by Colonel Bates, who pointed out that the enemy could land east or west of Velasco and then flank the Confederate position (Bates 1863b).

In response, Magruder focused on the approaches to Velasco, such as Caney Creek and the mouth of the San Bernard River, and on key points of defense such as Oyster Creek and the canal, which were strategic routes to West Bay and Galveston Island. He initially expressed a concern about Oyster Creek on November 28, 1863 (Turner 1863d), and 2 days later Theodore Heermann on Magruder's staff ordered defensive works erected there "with the greatest rapidity possible." In a parallel move, he ordered an engineer sent to the mouth of Caney to erect a fortification that would "retard the advance of the enemy towards the Brazos" until Magruder could bring his troops from Indianola to reinforce those in Bates's command (Heermann 1863b). In the meantime, Bates was to "hold Velasco to the last extremity" and place his 30-pounder Parrott gun in a position that would allow it to command the west shore ([Turner] 1863i).

On December 5, Sulakowski ordered Cross to Caney, the canal there, and the eastern part of Matagorda Bay to select a site for field artillery designed to "prevent the enemy from advancing up the beach towards Velasco from the Matagorda peninsula" (Sulakowski 1863m). Less than a week later, however, Cross was back at Velasco where his superior directed him to complete the redoubt on Oyster Creek, the redan enfilading the canal, and the field artillery work at the bend of the Brazos; an order 2 days later admonished Cross to abandon the works on the west side of the river (possibly those at Quintana?) and lay out the works on Oyster Creek and the Oyster Creek Road, leaving the San Bernard and Caney Creek fortifications to Engineer Edward Sandcliff (Sulakowski 1863n; Turner 1863i).

At the close of the year, Bates was reinforced by Brigadier General James E. Slaughter who had moved the headquarters of the Eastern Sub-District to Velasco, bringing with him a new shipment of Enfield rifles which he distributed to the Second Texas Regiment, Woods's Regiment, Bates's Regiment, flank companies of Terrell's and Liken's Regiments, and Barnes's command (Slaughter 1863). According to Commander J. H. Strong of

In the meantime, Magruder became increasingly concerned about the possibility that ⁴A Special Order written on August 27, 1863, indicates

with the earthen fortifications as well (Sulakowski

the U.S. steam sloop Monongahela, the results of all this activity at "the only point on this coast from Galveston down where blockade runners can get out or in" were impressive: "At the mouth of the Brazos River the rebels have a fort mounting at least 20 guns . . . [,] 13 guns facing the sea, and some of them heavy guns" (Strong 1863:742).

To test the Confederates and prevent further fortifying, Major General Cadwallader Washburn, U.S.A., directed General Ransom to reconnoiter the coast on the gunboat Sciota one day after Strong viewed the Brazos fortifications. Steaming up the coast from Matagorda Peninsula where they had overseen the landing of Union forces and alarmed the Confederate troops at Caney Creek, Ransom and Perkins arrived off the San Bernard River, which the Sciota bombarded on the morning of December 29. Perkins then arrived opposite the Brazos River at 12:15 p.m. and found that the Confederates "had two Forts, one on each side of the river." He observed "several Guns and a large number of Troops throwing up Breastworks in the rear of the forts," and he saw large encampments of troops extending 2 miles above the forts. He fired several shells at the fortifications (see Table 4) but received no reply before steaming southward (Perkins 1863b).

By January, the Federal advance up the coast had begun to stall, but the Confederates continued to believe that enemy threat to the coastal and interior areas was real. Brigadier General H. P. Bee wrote on January 8, 1864, that because the works at Caney and the San Bernard were not completed, he believed every available spade should be sent to Velasco. He maintained that the east side of the Brazos should be the first line of Confederate defense (Bee 1864:840). He would have been relieved to know that the fortifications at the Brazos were nearly complete. Forwarding drawings of the individual installations (Figure 9), Cross was able to report on January 11 that a work had been thrown up at the mouth of the Brazos on the east bank,

cremaliere front, facing, about South West, flanked by a baskin [bastion?] in North East corner, enclosed in rear by stockade and mounting five guns, in barbette, to wit; one 30 pounder Parrot gun, one 32 pounder Navy gun, one 24 and one 18 pounders, Sea coast guns and

one 12 pounder; containing four Bombproofs, four Magazines, (bombproofs 6x20) and a hot shot furnace, (see No. 1 of enclosed sketches) [Cross 1864b].

A second work was located at the first bend of the Brazos on the southwest side about 1 mile from the mouth. It had a similar plan to the first fortification, except that it had a parapet instead of a stockade, and it was intended to mount five field pieces.

Fortification number 3 was located on the west bank of the river at the mouth and was a completed work, "mounting three pieces of artillery, to wit; one 32 pounder Navy gun, one 18 pounder and an 8 inch howitzer and hot Shot furnace with two Bombproofs and two Magazines." Finally, Cross described a fourth work, "a Redan, thrown up on Oyster Creek, about three miles North East of the Mouth of Brazos, to enfilade the canal, which connects Oyster Creek with Oyster bay. A Pontoon bridge had been placed at the South West end of the Canal, connecting Oyster Creek and Brazos river" (Cross 1864b).

N. J. T. Dana, writing from the headquarters for U.S. forces in Matagorda Bay on January 12, 1864, noted that the Confederate fortifications between the Caney and Brazos were now "far progressed and extensive" and, with Major General Washburn, he lamented the fact that the enemy had been given time to recover from the shock of the Federal invasion and improve his position by the completion of fortifications and concentration of troops. Nonetheless, the Federal forces felt obliged to keep up the pressure by bombarding important sites such as Velasco from offshore. February 9, 1864, the Sciota returned to the Brazos, this time accompanied by the Aroostook, and the two vessels fired on the Velasco forts (Table 6; see Table 4) where Perkins of the Sciota estimated there were about six 32-pounders of 33 hundredweight.

On March 15, 1864, Headquarters of the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona directed Brigadier General Bee to remove the "Big Rifle Gun" from its emplacement at the mouth of Caney and to take it to Velasco by the beach route, to Columbia by steamer up the Brazos, and then to Galveston by railroad (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1864c). This action suggested a Confederate perception that, for

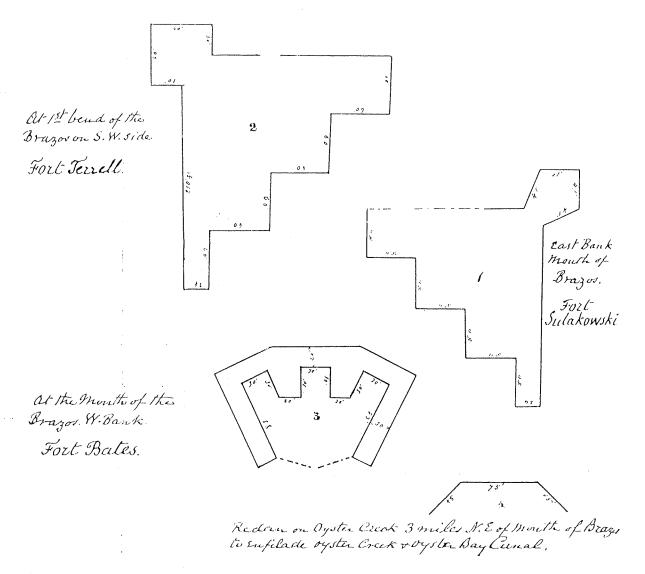


Figure 9. Works at and near the mouth of the Brazos River (Cross 1864a).

the time being, the threat of Federal invasion of the upper Matagorda Peninsula area had lessened. However, the Federal threat to Confederate shipping remained a significant one, and large guns were kept in place at the San Bernard River and the mouth of the Brazos where Union Captain Marchand of the Lackawanna reported a fort on either side of the river, each one of which had about four smoothbore guns (Marchand 1864a).

By March 17, three Federal steamers were blockading Velasco (Cayce 1864); two of them departed the next day (Cayce 1864), but the one remaining, the *Penobscot*, managed to harass both the troops at Velasco and two Confederate vessels that had run the blockade (see Table 4). According

to Captain W. S. Herndon, who was watching the action from onshore at the Velasco headquarters, the blockader *Penobscot* opened fire on the Confederate steamship *Matagorda*, which was aground. Four shots passed over the *Matagorda* and exploded "some distance to the rear." Another pass brought the Federal vessel within range of the shore batteries, which fired on the ship and may have struck it. Federal fire on the second pass consisted of three shots, one of which exploded within a few yards of the *Matagorda*, a second of which exploded on land, and a third of which consisted of solid shot that knocked down a horse at the bridge on the bayou (Herndon 1864:52).

Clear weather on March 22 encouraged the

		Total No. of Fires to Date	4 solid shot 361 9 9 9 75 74 14	19 133* 6 3
SRLY REPORTS) rchives)	No. of Fires during Quarter	100 8 8 8 13 13	19 42 6 3	
	Projectiles	shell, solid shot shell shrapnel shell shell shell	XI inch Shell Parrott Shell Shell Shell	
	ELS (QUARTE) 74, National Arc	Charge of Powder (lbs)	50000000	20 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
TABLE 6 OF ORDNANCE FIRED FROM FEDERAL VESSELS (QUARTERLY REPORTS) Records of the Bureau of Ordnance, Record Group 74, National Archives)	Date of Fabrication	1861 1862 1861 1862 1862 1862	1863 1862 1863 1863	
	Foundry	C.A.&Co. R.P.P Chicopee Chicopee C.A.&Co. C.A.&Co.	F.P. R.P.P.N. Ames MFCo/Chicopee Ames MFCo/Chicopee	
		Register No.	210 131 102 101 63 60 74	158 136 542 ·
RECORDS (F	Class of Gun	XI in shell gun smooth bore 20 p ^d P Rifle 24 pd Howitzer 24 pd Howitzer 24 pd Howitzer 24 pd Howitzer 12 pd Howitzer	XI inch 20 Pd'r Parrott 24 Pdr Boat Howitzer 24 Pdr Boat Howitzer	
		Vessel and Date	<i>Aroostook</i> March 31, 1864	Penobscot Arpil 1, 1864

Federal gunboat to fire on the Confederate schooner *Emily*, which was on the beach at Velasco. However, Lieutenant Commander A. E. K. Benham of the *Penobscot* admitted that his shots failed to take effect, and Confederate Captain Herndon noted that the *Emily*'s cargo had already been removed and safely housed at the post of Velasco (Herndon 1864:53).

Virginia Point

During the opening months of the war, Confederate engineers and other officers gave their attention to the defense of Galveston Island, nearby fortifications at Virginia Point, and essential transportation routes -- the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad and railroad bridge --- that linked the island to the mainland and Virginia Point to Galveston. Attention continued to be focused on the area during the fall and winter of 1862 as the Union succeeded in capturing Galveston in October 1862, only to lose it at the end of the year. A period of fortification reconstruction in the Galveston area by Confederates during the spring, summer, and early fall of 1863 was followed by an abrupt refocus on the coast from Matagorda Bay to the mouth of the Brazos as Federal forces landed at the mouth of the Rio Grande and rapidly asserted control over Corpus Christi and Aransas bays before advancing on Matagorda Bay. By December 1863, Magruder had concentrated most available troops in the area from Caney Creek to the Brazos, and Virginia Point had become a fallback position in case the enemy was able to advance past the Brazos to San Luis Pass and West Bay. More importantly, the point evolved from being primarily a fortification site to also serving as a depot, potential troop center if Galveston Island was lost, and hospital for the treatment of troops that might be wounded as the result of battles in the Caney Creek-to-Brazos River theater.

By the end of October 1862, Federal ships and troops had taken Galveston Island, and the Confederates had withdrawn their troops, guns, and other essential materiel across the railroad bridge to Virginia Point where Colonel Ashbel Smith reported two regiments of less than 1,500 effective men. He also pointed out the disadvantages of the site—its dependence on the railroad and objectionable hygenic conditions due to a location on flat wiregrass prairie in an area that tended to be

marshy. On the other hand, Smith was fully aware of the strategic location of Virginia Point and the degree to which it prevented the Union army from extending its control beyond Galveston Island (Smith 1862). Thus, while the Confederate generals laid contingency plans for Debray's evacuation of Virginia Point (Davis 1862), none of them ever seriously considered abandoning the site, and Debray himself had begun to formulate plans for the retaking of Galveston Island (Debray 1862h). In December, he carefully enumerated the 14 pieces of artillery that defended Virginia Point and the tête de pont at Eagle Grove on Galveston Island. He also listed the troops located in the area, including four companies on the railroad from Harrisburg to Virginia Point and the streams feeding Galveston Bay, and Cook's Regiment of Artillery and Elmore's Regiment of Infantry at the point (Debray 1862i).

During December, Colonel Cook assessed the condition of his troops and their arms at Virginia Point, noting that he had approximately 1,000 welldrilled men in his regiment who had 601 smoothbore percussion muskets, 20 flintlock muskets, and 121 Harper's Ferry rifles, an assembly he believed needed greater uniformity (Cook 1862c). At the same time, Federal officers were making their own independent assessment of military conditions in the region. Major General N. P. Banks, for example, ordered a reconnaissance of the Gulf, Galveston Island, Bolivar Point, Pelican Spit and Island, Galveston and West Bays, the bridge, and Virginia Point, a task that identified fortifications, the bridge, and obstructions (Figure 10). Galveston Island itself, Colonel Isaac S. Burrell commanding the 42nd Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers, landed three companies on the end of Kuhn's Wharf and then "thoroughly reconnoitered the built-upon portions of the city up to within range of [the Confederate] battery at Eagle Grove. ..." Burrell noted the three guns at Eagle Grove, one gun at the draw midway along the length of the railroad bridge, and the strong battery at Virginia Point that was mounted with heavy guns (Burrell 1862:204).

By December 25, 1862, Major General Magruder was at Virginia Point (Debray 1862*j*). Six days later, he struck, transporting 6 siege pieces and 14 field pieces on the railroad and arranging for an attack at midnight on December 31 (Magruder 1863*c*:472). Firing commenced

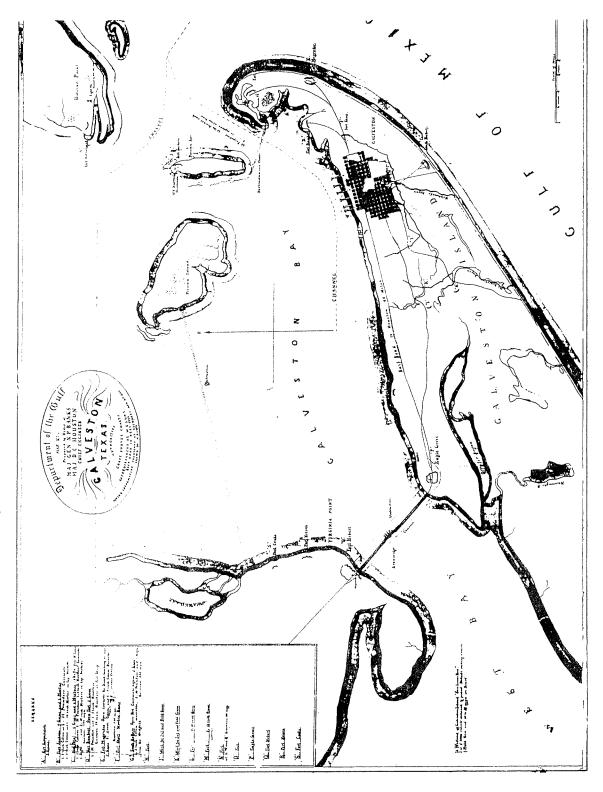


Figure 10. Galveston. Texas. In December 1862. Federal forces took advantage of their relatively free access to the Galveston Bay area and mapped Confederate defenses. Figure is reproduced from Map Q102, Record Group 77, National Archives.

about 5 a.m. and ended on January 1, 1863, in a battle that resulted in nearly 400 Federal troops killed or captured; the taking of the Union's pride, the Harriet Lane; and the destruction of the Westfield, the Union's flagship that had been commanded by William B. Renshaw (Winfrey 1961:252-253, 253n). To the disgust of officers such as U.S. Major William L. Burt, Magruder had retaken Galveston, and Burt lay the blame solidly on the Federal strategists: "The railroad and bridge from the mainland to Galveston, which had never been cut by us, and which was in full control and use of the rebels, furnished them an easy and rapid means of transportation and attack, and was undoubtedly one of the prime causes of the disaster" (Burt 1863:457),

In early January, a council of war comprised of Magruder, Scurry, Debray, Cook, Forshey, Von Harten, Nichols, Eustis, and Kellersberg met to formulate a plan for the defense of Galveston Island. They knew that Galveston was particularly vulnerable and they should prepare for its evacuation if necessary. However, they reasoned that, if they could bring the fortifications to a certain degree of completion, guns could be placed in them again and the island defended (Magruder 1863a). As a result of this plan, District Headquarters in Houston arranged to forward guns and ammunition to Colonel Manly at Virginia Point (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1863a), and by the end of January, the Confederates were once again confident about their ability to hold Galveston against the Union gunboats then threatening it (Nichols 1863:829).

On February 6, 1863, Valery Sulakowski was appointed chief engineer of the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, and Julius Kellersberg was ordered to continue to direct fortification construction in the Eastern Sub-District ([Magruder] 1863b). Work on all the Galvestonarea fortifications progressed under the leadership of these two men, who initiated construction of a new railroad bridge 2 miles southwest from the bridge from Virginia Point to Eagle Grove. At the new site, they installed a battery of two guns and an encampment of approximately 200 men (Bell 1863c). Their efforts were interrupted in April when a gale hit Galveston and destroyed portions of the works in the area (Turner 1863a). By May, however, work had resumed on the construction of the new railroad bridge and the fortifications at

both ends of it, and on piles that the Confederates were driving in the bay across from Pelican Island toward the mainland above Virginia Point (Bell 1863d).

Records indicate that activities at Virginia Point were minimal during the summer of 1863. Between October and December, however, depot and other functions developed in earnest as the Federal invasion of the lower Texas coast became increasingly threatening to the mid-coastal area. Guns in Houston were ordered delivered to Virginia Point and Eagle Grove (Debray 1863), and Magruder inquired whether Sulakowski needed more entrenching tools at Virginia Point where the fortifications were being repaired (Turner 1863e, He also directed Brigadier General Slaughter to throw up a defensive work where Offatts Bayou entered West Bay (see Figure 10) so that the enemy would be delayed if they crossed Oyster Creek and San Luis Pass. Such a delay would enable Slaughter to throw troops into Virginia Point (Turner 1863e, [1863]g).

During the remainder of December and January, Magruder ordered actions at Virginia Point that would allow it to play a supporting role to his defensive efforts between Caney and the Brazos. Hospitals would be necessary to care for the wounded, and Special Order No. 16 directed that "the concrete building at Virginia Point⁵ and the warehouse at the RR Depot" be held in readiness as temporary hospitals where Surgeon Neagle could tend to patients (Rainey 1863). Troops at Virginia Point would get their meat from herds of cattle on Galveston Island that an officer ordered driven to the point across the railroad bridge (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1863d), and S. D. Yancey ordered Colonel A. T. Rainey to place 10,000 rations and adequate water at Virginia Point (Y[ancey] 1863). Finally, houses at the point formerly used as quarters were to be vacated by the officers and soldiers and converted to storage facilities for provisions and corn (Y[ancey] 1864).

By January 1864, Valery Sulakowski was able

⁵In August, Magruder had directed an officer in Galveston "to cause the necessary repairs to be made upon the building at the Depot at Virginia Point, which is intended for a Hospital . . ." (Franklin 1863). Presumably, this was the same building referred to in December.

to report considerable progress at Virginia Point where he had 193 of the engineer department's negroes working on Fort Hébert, and scores more working as teamsters, blacksmiths, haulers, cooks, and nurses. He had pushed for the reconstruction of Virginia Point, building a bombproof and magazines, and strengthening an embankment (Sulakowski 1864). All was in readiness for Jones's and Hughes's batteries that proceeded to the area with their guns and caissons the last week of January (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1864a). Sulakowski could point to a relatively complete set of works when he resigned his position to purchase arms in Europe, turning command of the office over to Brigadier General P. O. Hébert on February 17, 1864 (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1864b).

STALEMATE AND WAR'S END: MARCH 1864-AUGUST 1865

Introduction

Texas in the Confederacy had survived a period of relative defenselessness and the rigors of assessing military conditions, raising an engineer corps, identifying a labor force, and making initial attempts to fortify the coast. Arrival of Major General John Bankhead Magruder in November 1862 and a new chief engineer, Colonel Valery Sulakowski, in January 1863 resulted in more than a year of fortification construction at key coastal sites and the development of an integrated system of defense that enabled the Confederates to respond to a Federal invasion of the coast from Brownsville to Matagorda and bombardments from Caney Creek to San Luis Island. However, with the withdrawal of most Federal troops to Louisiana and reassignment of many Texas troops to the Red River in April and May 1864, the war in Texas entered a period of stalemate. There were insufficient troops for either side to make a conclusive strike, and the departure of Sulakowski for Europe to buy arms and reassignment of Magruder to Arkansas brought a period of confusion that was exacerbated by the increasing intensity of the coastal blockade, indecision about how much effort to expend holding Galveston, and disagreement about which fortification designs were most effective.

On March 25, 1864, 5 weeks after Sulakowski

left for Europe and Hébert assumed responsibility for the engineering office of the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, a storm hit Galveston and damaged the fortifications. Lieutenant Thomas Kleinpeter, who had served as an engineer at Niblett's Bluff, Texas, in August 1863 (Kleinpeter n.d.) with Caleb Forshey, now a lieutenant colonel in the engineers, immediately began to repair the fortifications (Magruder 1864a; Kleinpeter 1864a), replacing sod and using the equipment of the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad to transport necessary supplies.

During April and May 1864, Federal transports clearly were carrying off troops, who were being taken back to Louisiana to reinforce Banks. Logically, the removal of so many Union soldiers should have alleviated Confederate fears of invasion. However, at the same time the Union presence on land was lessening, her presence in the Gulf was increasing. As the Union became more aware of the importance of the Texas cotton trade, she tightened the blockade. As J. B. Marchand reported in April 1864,

This coast is becoming the principal field of operations for blockade runners. Three steamers and many schooners are in Galveston Bay laden and ready to run out; at Sabine Pass the *Sachem* and several schooners are also ready for the same purpose; at San Luis Pass six schooners are similarly waiting, and at Brazos River a steamer and fleet of schooners are prepared to run the blockade [Marchand 1864c].

Frustration with the success of the blockade runners and a determination to stop the trade resulted in bombardments of the mouth of the Brazos several times during 1864 and early 1865. In addition, although the canal between the Brazos River and Galveston allowed Confederate vessels advantages of choice and surprise, Federal blockaders were comparatively successful at capturing Confederate vessels as they ran in and out of the harbors. Between March 1864 and February 1865, at least 10 Confederate vessels were captured at or within a few miles of the mouth of the Brazos, which was considered a sufficiently active port for blockade running to induce Captain Marchand, commanding U.S. forces on the Texas coast, to send a second gunboat to guard the entrance of the

Brazos River in April 1864 (Marchand 1864b:175).

During May and June, Union gunboats bombarded the vicinity of Velasco several times, but by early September Ashbel Smith's nephew, Ashbel S. Kittredge, described life at Velasco where he was stationed as being a "dull existence." Station duties were very light, and no one really felt as if he were "on duty." He noted that only one blockader had appeared offshore during the previous month, thereby allowing cotton-laden schooners to run out for foreign ports. It was "easy soldiering," Kittredge wrote,

but the dilapidation and isolation of the place, the tedious monotony, . . . the impossibility of occasionally improving one's diet by private foraging, on account of the distance from any settlement, and consequently the necessity of sitting down meal after meal to the inevitable cornbread and bacon overbalance all considerations of care and safety and render Velasco a bug-bear to new troops [Kittredge 1864].

Conditions were much the same at Galveston, which had the added misfortune of seeing the relatively dynamic leadership of Magruder replaced in September 1864 by the more reticent approach of Major General J. G. Walker. Walker's list of activities consisted of a critique of the Galvestonarea fortifications in which he told Chief of Staff and Brigadier General W. R. Boggs that he would need a work force of 800 negroes to put the works in proper condition (J. Walker 1864). Walker's amazing request for so many laborers apparently had the effect of making General E. Kirby Smith question the value of Galveston to the Confederacy. He concluded that, while Galveston was militarily important, its defense was impracticable, and he was convinced that it would fall at the first combined attack of army and navy. He encouraged Walker to do what he could to strengthen the defenses, but urged him to secure the means for removing heavy guns and materiel should withdrawal become necessary (Smith 1864b:1060).

In January 1865, Walker addressed Smith's concerns, authorizing Colonel W. B. P. Gaines to gather 125–150 negroes to work on the defenses of Galveston (Walker 1865a). Smith, in the meantime, continued to vacillate, alerting Walker to a concentration of Federal forces in New Orleans at

the end of January, and ordering him to strengthen the defenses at Houston and prepare to evacuate Galveston (Smith 1865a). One week later, he urged Walker not to give the island up "until the last moment" (Smith 1865b).

The sailing of approximately 5,000 Federal troops from New Orleans to Brownsville in February finally tipped the balance against Galveston. Smith informed Walker of the expedition, and the Confederates labored to dismantle the works on the island and send them to Virginia Point (Eaton 1865; Smith 1865c). This action alarmed the citizens of Galveston, who formed a committee composed of George Ball, T. W. House, James T. Brady, John Mills, and W. J. Hutchins. These men proposed to purchase large-caliber guns and field pieces and mount them (Ball et al. 1865).

By March 30, U.S. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles could write that Galveston was "the only port of any consequence to the rebels left to them, and no pains should be spared to close it effectually" (Welles 1865). He then increased the blockading squadron from 15 vessels in February (Anonymous 1865a) to 18 vessels in April (Anonymous 1865b). This additional pressure from the Gulf was followed by the depressing news from Confederate General E. Kirby Smith on April 21, 1865, that "the Army of Northern Virginia and our Commander-in-Chief are prisoners of war." He called upon the Texas troops to stand by the Confederate cause (Smith 1865f), but military conditions and discipline disintegrated rapidly despite the replacement of Walker by the highly favored Magruder on March 31, 1865 (Smith 1865e). At the end of April, Magruder had to report that the forts and railroad bridge were in terrible condition, and there were scarcely a day's rations for the troops. For the first time, Magruder admitted that he had little hope left (Magruder 1865a), a sentiment that appears to have been shared by troops who tore up the railroad bridge flooring to build quarters (Kittredge 1865a), and then began to desert in droves. With the army "dissolving" and guns and stores sent to Virginia Point, a memorandum ordered the island evacuated and troops disbanded (Headquarters District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona 1865; Magruder 1865a; Turner 1865).

On May 24, 1865, Magruder appointed Colonel Ashbel Smith and William Pitt Ballinger commissioners and ordered them to proceed to New

Orleans and negotiate with the commanding general of Federal troops or authorities of the United States "for the cessation of hostilities between the United States and Texas" (Smith and Ballinger 1865). Acting U.S. Rear Admiral H. K. Thatcher received information that "the rebel army of Texas have generally disbanded and gone home" (Thatcher 1865). Federal troops marched into Texas (Sheridan 1866:299), and on June 2, Kirby Smith and John Bankhead Magruder met at Galveston with General E. J. Smith Davis to sign the terms of surrender agreed upon at New Orleans. Three days later, "full and formal possession of Galveston was delivered up to the U.S. forces and the flag of the Union raised" (Stanton 1865).

Professionals and Builders III

With the arrival of Valery Sulakowski in Texas in early 1863, fortification planning and construction became an organized activity driven by the extraordinary energy of Sulakowski and his sizable engineering staff. Sulakowski's replacement with Brigadier General P. O. Hébert in February 1864 and his departure for Europe the next month, however, created a professional vacuum in the highest ranks and signaled the beginning of a phase in fortification construction that can best be described by the term "lackluster." A dearth of communication between Hébert and his field engineers suggests that they were left to their own devices when responding to calls for construction and labor, while changes in the staff at Galveston indicate suggest that there was confusion about who was in charge of the works there. Forshey, for example, who had been largely ignored by Sulakowski, was again working as an engineer for Magruder in April 1864 (Magruder 1864a). Thomas Kleinpeter apparently was promoted to take charge of the Galveston fortifications by April but was an assistant 5 months later (Kleinpeter 1864b, 1864c). Abram Cross was still in charge of the works at the Brazos River, but Kellersberg no longer worked on fortifications, being in charge of the Houston Ordnance Foundry (Smith 1864a).

Little correspondence exists dealing with fortification construction during the closing months of 1864, perhaps because Magruder himself admitted to being overwhelmed by the effort necessary to rebuild the fortifications. Some attention was

paid to keeping the railroad bridge in good repair because it was essential for the evacuation of Galveston Island to Virginia Point and the mainland (Kittredge 1865a). However, only Abram Cross, isolated at Velasco, seemed to carry on with any enthusiasm. Still planning on June 10, 1865, almost a week after Kirby Smith had signed the terms of surrender, Cross epitomized the unregenerate rebel as he complained that Magruder's order to fit up the steamer *Era No. 3* as a gunboat would render her unable to transport the lumber "necessary for the works at Velasco" (Cross 1865).6

Difficulties brought on by a lack of strong leadership and planning were exacerbated by the increasing difficulty the engineers experienced in obtaining a labor force. During April 1864, when work was continuing on the fortifications at Caney Creek and the San Bernard River, Magruder asked Bates at Velasco to transfer some of the negroes from the east side of the Brazos down the coast, after which they would be returned (Magruder 1864b). The following month, engineer Cross had to make do with 57 negroes for the work he was attempting to complete near the Oyster Creek Road (Cross 1864c).

Major General J. G. Walker's request for 800 negroes to labor on the Galveston-area fortifications (J. Walker 1864) had an absurd quality to it when slave labor was so scarce that troops were offered extra pay to cut piles for repairing the railroad bridge (Scott 1864a). A circular issued late in 1864 and entitled "Instructions to Enrolling Officers, Relative to the Conscription of Slaves" suggests that owners were becoming increasingly concerned about the treatment of their property (McKay 1864). Regulations concerning the exempting of slaves by owners were rigorous, indicating that the claiming of exemptions may have been a widely practiced method to keep the black labor force on farms and plantations. Another guideline regarding the appraisal of negroes at the time of conscription suggests that owners may have inflated the value and thus their monetary reimbursal for slaves who were injured or who died while working for the military. Finally, regulations concerning

⁶Interestingly, Cross's letter was addressed to Valery Sulakowski, chief engineer, who supposedly had been allowed safe passage from Havana to New Orleans by Federal officials on May 24, 1865 (Lyon 1865).

the arrest and return of deserting slaves suggest that workers attempted to escape regularly.

By January 1865, it was necessary to enroll or conscript negroes in Brazoria and Matagorda Counties for work on the defenses in and around Galveston (Walker 1865). Three months later, General Smith had to admit that, much as he believed the construction of an interior line of fortifications from the Trinity to the Brazos was essential, he knew that "the difficulty of obtaining negro labor seems almost insuperable," and he directed Magruder to resort to "extraordinary measures," using troops such as Forney's Division for construction of the works (Smith 1865d). As the war drew to a close, slave owners began to press for the return of their negroes. Magruder then used prisoners to work on the fortifications ([T.M.J.] 1865), but signing of the terms of the surrender within a month effectively freed all labor from their work along the coast.

FORTIFICATION CONSTRUCTION AND BOMBARDMENT III

Velasco and Quintana

The spring of 1864 found Lieutenant Abram Cross, engineer in charge at Velasco, still at work with mechanics, overseers, and negroes on the west side of the Oyster Creek Road redoubt (Cross 1864c). Thereafter, his work probably consisted of repairs to the canal and fortifications as the large number of blockade runners who left and entered the Brazos at Velasco and Quintana drew the attention and ire of Federal vessels.

On five separate occasions between May 1864 and January 1865, Federal commanders fired at the Brazos fortifications and canal, or at Confederate vessels on the bar or on the shore in the vicinity of Velasco (Tables 7 and 8). On May 1, the steamer Chocura, commanded by Lieutenant Commander Bancroft Gherardi, was stationed at the Brazos River (Anonymous 1864). At 5:15 a.m., Gherardi reported firing a shell from the ship's 20-pounder Parrott rifle at a schooner "in the Entrance of the River" (Gherardi 1864) (see Table 7). This event was followed by one on May 30 when Lieutenant Commander C. Hatfield of the U.S. gunboat Aroostook fired on a schooner lying in the canal approximately 6 miles from Velasco (Hatfield 1864a:780) (see Table 7).

On June 25, 1864, the schooner Lightfoot from Havana outran the Aroostook and got under the protection of the fort at Velasco before the Aroostook could capture her. Hatfield reported firing at her, but darkness precluded any further action. By June 27, the Lightfoot was still lying on the bar, and the Confederate steamer Mary Hill was ordered to go to her and bring off the cargo. Hatfield took this activity as an opportunity to fire on the Mary Hill, which retreated up the Brazos out of range of the Federal guns. The Velasco battery then opened fire, shooting a rifle projectile that cut away the Aroostook's port main swifter and a boat spar on the starboard side. The Aroostook responded, keeping up a "hot fire" on the forts [sic] and schooner. Hatfield reported that the shells from his XI-inch and 20-pounder burst "in and around the forts in the town and about the schooner" (Bates 1864; Hatfield 1864a).

During the balance of 1864, activity was slow at Velasco and appears to have consisted primarily of dealing with the numerous blockade runners at the port. One final bombardment occurred on January 21, 1865 (see Table 7), when the U.S. steamer *Penguin* commanded by Acting Volunteer J. R. Beers pursued the Confederate steamer *Granite City*. The *Granite City* ran ashore under the battery at Velasco which opened fire on the *Penguin*. At 3:50 p.m., Beers began firing from his vessel's broadside guns at a distance of approximately 1,000 yards (Beers 1865).

In February 1865, Cross reported that there was "no work going on just now at Velasco," and so Thomas Kleinpeter made a request for some of the men and tools at the Brazos to be sent to Galveston for work there (Kleinpeter 1865). Apparently little further work or action occurred after that date, and B. F. Sands commanding the Second Division, West Gulf Squadron, reported on May 29, 1865, that the guns were spiked and forts abandoned at Velasco as at Sabine Pass (Sands 1865).

Virginia Point

The relative lack of construction activity that typified military life at the mouth of the Brazos as the Civil War drew to a conclusion was mirrored at Virginia Point during 1864 when official records are largely silent on the subject of fortifications. However, as Confederate states to the east fell, the

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	ORDNANCE FIRED AT THE MOUT MARCH 1864-AU	TH OF THE BRAZOS RIVE GUST 1865	R,
Ship and Date	Ordnance Fired	Target	Source
Chocura May 1, 1864	"a shell from 20 pdr Parrott Rifle"	"a sch[oone]r in the Entrance of the River"	Gherardi 1864
Aroostook May 30, 1864	6 rifle shells four XI-inch shrapnel three XI-inch shell ten 24-pounder shell two 24-pounder shrapnel	"a schooner lying in the canal, 6 miles from Velasco"	Hatfield 1864 <i>a</i> :780
Aroostook June 25, 1864	one XI-inch shell	a schooner under the protection of the fort at Velasco [on the bar]	Hatfield 1864a:781; Bates 1864
Aroostook June 27, 1864	ten XI-inch shells five XI-inch 15-second shell seventeen 20-pound rifle shell*	the forts at Velasco and schooner in the Brazos River	Hatfield 1864 <i>a</i> :781
Penguin January 21, 1865	nine rounds from 32-pounders ten rounds from 20-pounder Parrott eleven rounds from pivot rifle howitzer	[the Granite City and the Confederate batteries at Velasco]	Beers 1864, 1865

*See Hatfield's comments in Table 8 concerning the 20-pound shells fired during the engagements between March 31 and June 30, 1864.

blockading noose drew tighter, and Federal attention focused increasingly on the Trans-Mississippi West which Sheridan was to describe as the territory having "the only organized rebel army left in the Confederacy" (Sheridan 1866:297).

During the waning months of Major General J. G. Walker's command of the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, he reinforced Virginia Point by moving some guns located on Galveston Island to the point, which he considered safer By February 1865, a refugee (Scott 1864b). reported to Federal authorities that almost all the works on the island had been dismantled and the guns sent to Virginia Point (Eaton 1865), action that so alarmed a committee of Galveston businessmen that they raised money to import large guns for the island's defense (Ball et al. 1865). At the end of March, Confederate deserters reported two companies of artillery stationed at Virginia Point and five guns in the fortifications-two 9-inch guns and three 32-pounders (Wilson 1865:124).

In March, Magruder was reappointed commanding general of the military district, and he immediately made a thorough inspection of the defensive works in and around Galveston. What he found appalled and discouraged him, and he doubted that even the application of great "energy and industry" would solve the multitudes of problems. Specifically, Magruder explained that he had found that the plans of some principal forts "had been changed, and many guns had been taken away. The forts whose plans were changed, formerly combined the princip[le]s of the barbette and casemate batteries." Now they were "all being turned into barbette batteries, which I do not think so safe as the combination [of barbette and casemate]." Magruder also was concerned because the railroad bridge was in "a state of great dilapidation rendering the communication with the main land extremely dangerous." He made repair of the bridge a first priority, but he believed that it would take "at least six months to put the defenses of Galveston in the same condition that I left them." In summary, Magruder had no intention of censuring anyone, but "the capture of Mobile and recent events of a disastrous nature east of the Mississippi

			TABLE 8	E 8				
	RECORDS OF	ORDNANC	RECORDS OF ORDNANCE FIRED FROM FEDERAL VESSELS (QUARTERLY REPORTS) (Records of the Bureau of Ordnance, Record Group 74, National Archives)	DERAL VESS	ELS (QUARTE 74, National An	RLY REPORTS) chives)		
Vessel and Date	Class of Gun	Register No.	Foundry	Date of Fabrication	Charge of Powder (Ibs)	Projectiles	No. of Fires during Quarter	Total No. of Fires to Date
Chocura* April 1864	100 pdr Parrott 100 pdr Parrott 100 pdr Parrott 20 pdr Parrott 24 pdr Howitzer 24 pdr Howitzer	97 97 125 68	R.P.P. R.P.P. R.P.P. C.A.&Co. C.A.&Co.	1863 1863 1863 1862 1862 1862		• .		
Aroostook June 30, 1864	XI inch (Dahlgren) XI inch (Dahlgren) 20 Pdr. Parrott Rifle** 24 Pdr. Howitzer (Dahlgren) 24 Pdr. Howitzer (Dahlgren) 24 Pdr. Howitzer (Dahlgren) 24 Pdr. Howitzer (Dahlgren) 12 Pdr. (S.B.) Howitzer (Dahlgren)	210 210 131 102 101 63 60 74	C.A.&Co. C.A.&Co. R.P.P. Chicopee Chicopee C.A.&Co. C.A.&Co. N.S.N.Y./ Washington D.C.	1861 1861 1862 1861 1861 1862 1862 1861	152 2 2 2 2 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	Shell & Shrapnel Solid Shot Shell Shell & Shrapnel Shell & Shrapnel Shell & Shrapnel Shell & Shrapnel	23 4 4 6 6	432 4 4 388 13 14 81 78

*Information about the projectiles, number of fires, and total number of fires to date for the Chocura have been deleted because they do not reflect the period when the vessel bombarded the mouth of the Brazos.

**Hatfield remarked that "the projectiles for the Parrott Rifle are percussion shells; and those fired during the quarter failed to explode. Note: The firings for the quarter ending 30th June 1864 were at blockade runners and Rebel fortifications. Not one of the projectiles from the Parrott Rifle exploded, although a number of them struck the objects fired al" (Hatfield 1864b).

River, afford me now but little ground for hope . . ." (Magruder 1865a).

At the beginning of May, Magruder requested \$10,000 to fund work on the fortifications, and he sent prisoners for the same purpose to Galveston (Magruder 1865b; [T.M.J.] 1865). At the end of the month, he ordered all guns on wheels to be sent to Virginia Point (with the exception of those needed at Eagle Grove), and he directed that all surplus commissary stores be sent to the point as well (Magruder 1865d). Two final directives

ordered the digging of a well to supply water to the increasing numbers of troops who were leaving Galveston for the mainland (Turner 1865) and the removal of one of Lieutenant Colonel James Wrigley's companies to Virginia Point where the men would take charge of the defenses (Kittredge 1865b).

By June, the island and Virginia Point had been deserted by the military, and Union officers began the task of mapping and inventorying Confederate defenses in the area (Figure 11). The

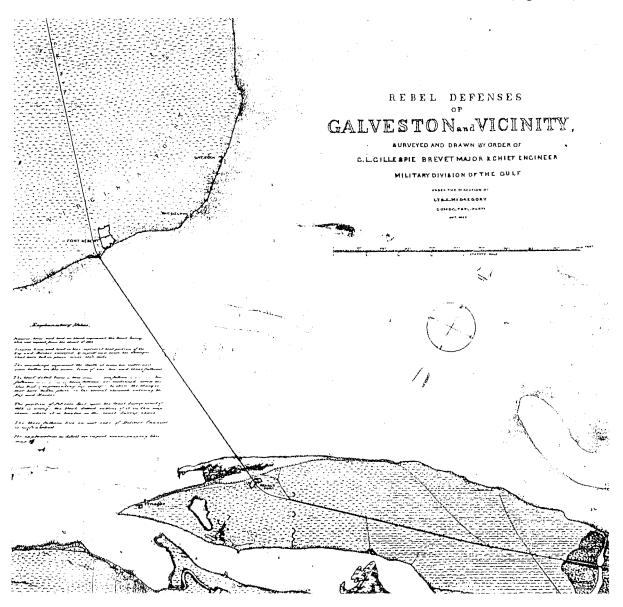


Figure 11. Rebel Defenses of Galveston and Vicinity. Surveyed and drawn by order of G. L. Gillespie, Brevet Major & Chief Engineer, Military Division of the Gulf, [Oct.] 1865. Figure is reproduced from Map Q111-1, Record Group 77, National Archives.

officer in charge of the effort was Captain George L. Gillespie, a 24-year-old native of Tennessee who attended West Point, entered the U.S. Engineer Corps in 1862, served throughout the Civil War, and eventually became Chief of Engineers and President of the Mississippi River Commission (Gillespie n.d.). During the summer of 1865, Gillespie and Lieutenant S. E. McGregory visited nine forts, three redoubts, six batteries, and nine bastions. In the vicinity of Virginia Point, Gillespie enumerated Fort Herbert [sic], two batteries or small forts—Cook and Nelson—, and a two-gun battery at the west end of the railroad bridge.

The largest and most complex fortification at Virginia Point was Fort Hébert (Figure 12), which was located on the north side of the Galveston, Houston, and Henderson Railroad adjacent to the bayshore. The fort was constructed of sand and appears to have had approximately 10 gun platforms; 2 casemates were in the center of the fort, and 1 of these was roofed with railroad iron. One opening in the fortification walls led generally south to the vicinity of the railroad and provided access to the two-gun battery that lay between the main line of the railroad and a spur that angled south (Figure 13). The battery was adjacent to the bayshore and had two gun platforms on the south and southeast elevations. A magazine that was covered by a thick layer of sand was located in the approximate center of the battery and could be reached easily from the railroad and spur.

A second major fort was located approximately 0.8 to 1.0 mile northeast of Fort Hébert. Named Fort Nelson (Figure 14), the sand structure was Vshaped and open to the rear. Gun emplacements, which were located on opposing ends of the V, appear to have been casemated. Fort Nelson was situated so close to the water's edge that, by August 1865 when Lieutenant S. E. McGregory and his topographical party visited the site, most of it was under water and had washed away. The last major fortification, Battery Cook (Figure 15), was located north of the William Jefferson Jones Plantation headquarters. Its main, sand facade ran parallel to the shoreline, and it included two elevated gun platforms that were not casemated. Battery Cook was open to the rear, or west, and it was a sufficient distance from the high water line so that it was relatively intact by August 1865.

The Federal survey during the summer of 1865 was one of the last formal military activities involving the coastal fortifications constructed by the Confederacy between 1861 and 1865. The rapidity with which they disappeared after the war belied the degree of effort that engineers, soldiers, and slaves had expended to erect the forts and batteries and to maintain them against bombardments, weather, and changing philosophies of fortification design. Gillespie noted in September that the action of wind and rain had left parapets "shapeless mass[es] of Earth" (Gillespie 1865). Their quick disappearance was inevitable.

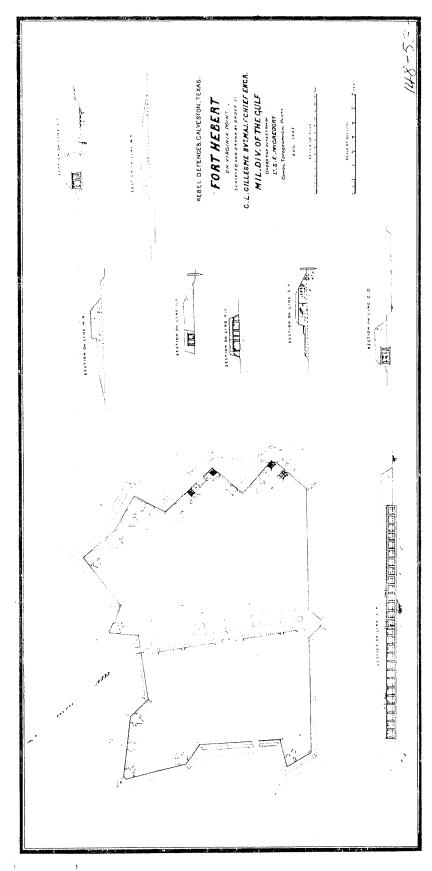


Figure 12. Rebel Defences [sic], Galveston, Texas—Fort Hebert on Virginia Point, Surveyed and Drawn by Order of G. L. Gillespie, BV Maj. & Chief Engr., Mil. Div. of the Gulf, Aug. 1865. Figure is reproduced from Drawer 148, Sheet 53-10. Record Group 77, National Archives.

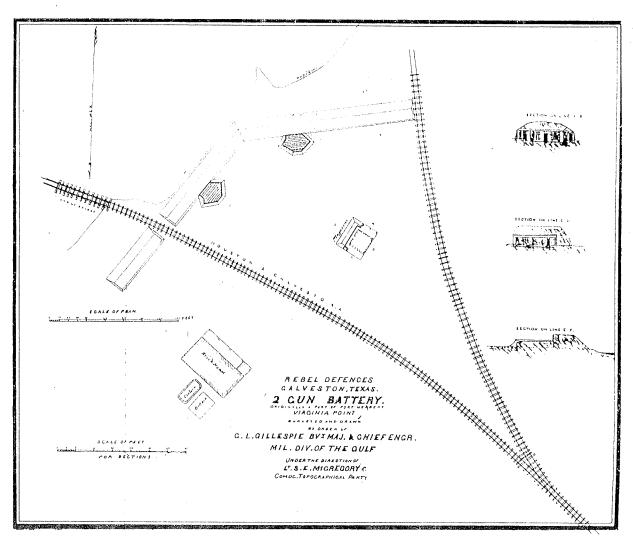


Figure 13. Rebel Defences [sic] Galveston, Texas. 2 Gun Battery. Originally a part of Fort Herbert [sic], Virginia Point. Figure is copied from Map Drawer 148, Sheet 53-15, National Archives.

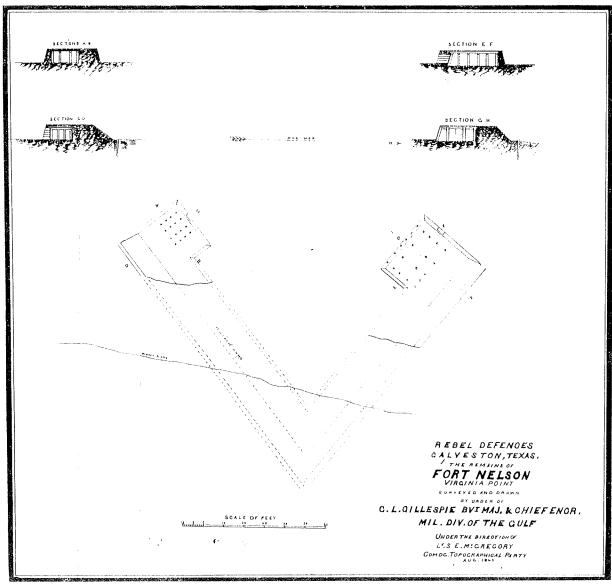


Figure 14. Rebel Defences [sic] Galveston, Texas. The remains of Fort Nelson, Virginia Point. Aug. 1865. Figure is reproduced from Drawer 148, Sheet 53-16, Record Group 77, National Archives.

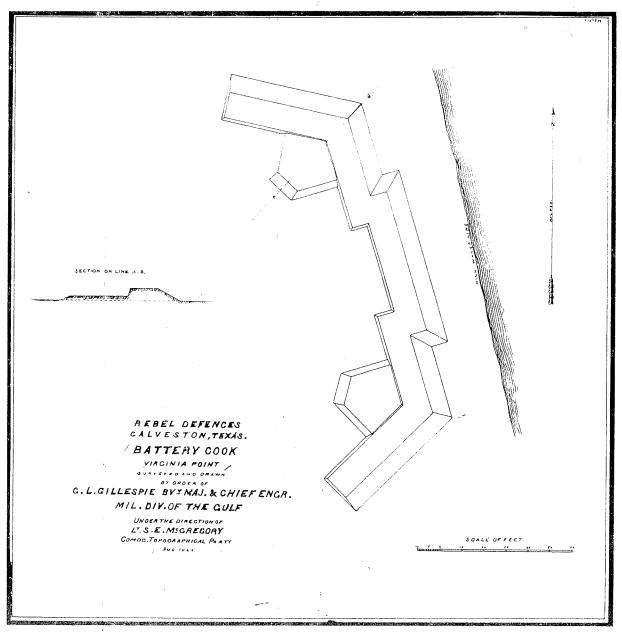


Figure 15. Rebel Defences [sic] Galveston, Texas. Battery Cook[,] Virginia Point. Aug. 1865. Figure is reproduced from Drawer 148, Sheet 53-19, Record Group 77, National Archives

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4

INTRODUCTION

During the 5 years Texas was a participant in the Civil War, significant effort was expended to construct fortifications along the Gulf Coast region from Sabine Pass and Brownsville. Much of the Confederate effort focused on the mid-coastal region between Galveston Island and Aransas Bay where engineers and slave and free laborers worked to plan, build, and rebuild forts. Most of the fortifications were designed to defend key trading and transportation sites, such as ports, railroads, canals, and rivers. Other fortifications were constructed to facilitate the activities of blockade runners which became increasingly important to the Confederate economy. Still other fortifications were built in response to immediate real or perceived threats of Federal invasion. Chapter 4 summarizes data concerning the fortifications erected at the mouth of the Brazos River, Brazoria County, and Virginia Point, Galveston County, and about Confederate ordnance housed at each site and Federal ammunition fired at the mouth of the Brazos. The chapter also makes recommendations for further work at both areas.

THE MOUTH OF THE BRAZOS

Summary

Fortification Construction

Fortification construction began at the mouth of the Brazos River in 1861, continued until the end of the war in 1865, and eventually embraced several primary and secondary forts, emplacements, and obstructions (Table 9, Figure 16; see Figures 8 and 9). Historic sources are not always clear about

the exact locations of the Brazos River fortifications. Several of them suggest that in September 1861 the fort at Velasco was part of a system that may have included an open battery on the east side of the Brazos and a casemated battery on the west side some distance upriver. By November 1862, Confederate engineer Julius Kellersberg (1862c) confirmed the presence of an open battery "in front of the town of Velasco," two batteries up the Brazos, and an obstruction approximately 7 miles from Velasco. Eight months later, Union officers described a newly built fort at Quintana and a less prominent battery at Velasco situated near the water south of the "white house with colonnades" (Bell 1863e:758).

The threat of Federal land invasion in the fall of 1863 triggered expansion of fortifications in the vicinity of the Brazos River. In November, work was ordered at the mouth of Oyster Creek. The following month, engineers reported progress on a redoubt at Oyster Creek, a redan capable of enfilading the canal, and an emplacement on a bend in the Brazos River. They also paid particular attention to bridges over West Union Bayou, the canal, the mouth of the canal, and the Brazos itself, sites where officers believed they might have to move troops back and forth. By the end of December, a Union officer reported seeing one fort on each side of the river and troops actively throwing up breastworks.

A report by Confederate engineer Abram Cross in January 1864 identified several distinct fortification sites that had been all but completed. The first (see Figure 16, locality A) was located in Velasco on the east side of the Brazos, the second (see Figure 16, locality B) was situated in Quintana on the west side of the river, a third (see Figure 16, locality C) was on the first bend of the river on the

1.	TABLE 9
	FORTIFICATION CONSTRUCTION IN THE VICINITY OF THE MOUTH OF THE BRAZOS, 1861–1865
September 20, 1861	A Fort Velasco is located at the mouth of the Brazos
October 27, 1862	Brazos River obstructed; obstruction protected by an open battery on one side [Velasco?] and a casemated battery on the other [Quintana?]
November 1862	Open battery in front of the town of Velasco on the left bank of the river; earthwork recently put in proper shape; obstruction being built ea. 7 miles up the Brazos River; a battery was located within canister shot of the obstruction; a second battery located on the opposite riverbank
June 1, 1863	A newly built fort on the Quintana side with 100 tents adjacent; battery at Velasco less prominent; situated near the water south of the white house with colonnades
November 30, 1863	Works ordered built at mouth of Oyster Creek
December 9, 1863	A bridge in place over West Union Bayou; a bridge in place over the Brazos and Galveston Bay Canal; a pontoon bridge in place across the mouth of the canal
December 11, 1863	Oyster Creek redoubt, redan enfilading the canal, and work at the Brazos River bend under construction
December 1863	Work on Brazos above Velasco to be enclosed; wharves being constructed
December 29, 1863	One fort on each side of the Brazos River; troops throwing up breastworks in the rear of each. Large troop encampment 2 miles above the forts
December 30, 1863	Bridge being built across the Brazos
January 11, 1864	At the mouth of the Brazos on east bank [Velasco]: a work thrown up, cremaliere front, facing, about southwest, flanked by a baskin [bastion?] in the northeast corner, enclosed in rear by stockade, containing four bombproofs, four magazines, (bombproofs 6 x 20), and a hot shot furnace
	On west bank of river, at the mouth [Quintana]: a completed work, mounting three pieces of artillery:
: -	At the first bend of the river on the southwest side, about one mile from the mouth: a work in the course of construction similar to the one at Velasco, with the exception of a parapet instead of stockade, and to mount five field pieces
	On Oyster Creek about three miles northeast of the mouth of the Brazos: a redan to enfilade the canal, which connects Oyster Creek with Oyster Bay; a pontoon bridge had been placed in the southwest end of the canal, connecting Oyster Creek and the Brazos River
May 1864	Redoubt on Oyster Creek road under construction

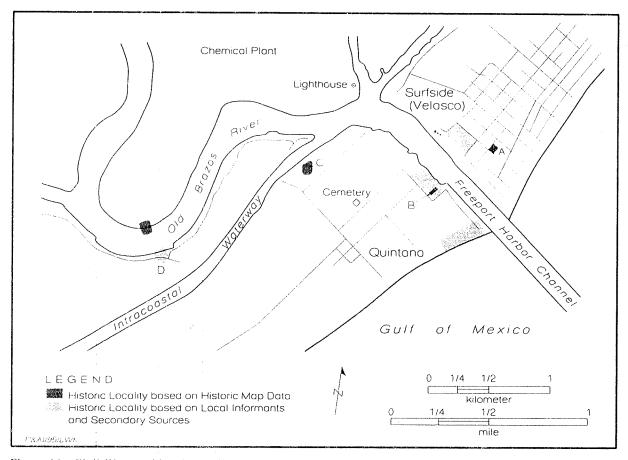


Figure 16. Civil War-era historic localities near the mouth of the Brazos River. Historic maps and other records suggest potential locations for Civil War-era Confederate fortifications (localities A-D).

southwest side, and the fourth was on Oyster Creek approximately 3 miles northeast of the mouth of the Brazos. An historic map of the region (see Figure 8) also depicted a Fort Bend which was located farther up the Brazos (see Figure 16, locality D).

Confederate Ordnance

During 1861, fortifications at the mouth of the Brazos were rudimentary and poorly armed, records indicating the existence of a howitzer and an 18-pounder at Fort Velasco (Table 10). By July 1862, the Quintana fortification had one 18-pounder siege gun and Velasco had a total of five guns. However, records do not indicate that either site was heavily armed until December 1863, when Federal officers reported having observed approximately 20 guns.

In January 1864, when the fortifications were substantially complete, Velasco was the location of

five guns, Quintana was the location of three guns, and the emplacement on the southwest side of the first bend in the Brazos was scheduled to be the location of five field pieces. Thereafter, an average of four to five guns was reported at the mouth of the Brazos by Federal blockaders who found their efforts to seize Confederate blockade runners frequently stymied by firing from the shore.

Federal Ordnance

Between January 18, 1862, and January 21, 1865, 10 Federal vessels fired on the area around the mouth of the Brazos River (Table 11). Initial bombardments were intended to gather information about the nature of the Confederate ordnance and to incite Confederate troops to expend ammunition. Subsequent bombardments sought to interrupt the process of fortification construction and demonstrate that the Union was serious in its intention to move up the coast from Matagorda Bay. In the

·	TABLE 10 FEDERATE ORDNANCE AT THE MOUTH OF THE BRAZOS, 1861-1865
September 20, 1861	Fort Velasco: one 21-pounder howitzer; one long 18-pounder; 100 cannon balls, no powder
December 1861	Guns in batteries removed and concealed by Bates
July 1, 1862	[Quintana?]: one 18-pounder siege gun at Velasco west of the Brazos River
	Velasco (on the bank of the Brazos): one 12-pounder siege gun; one 32-pounder howitzer; one 24-pounder howitzer; two 6-pounder brass field pieces in the charge of Company H
August 16, 1862	Velasco, in battery: one 18-pounder gun
October 27, 1862	[upstream from Velasco?]: two 8-inch howitzers
November 1862	Velasco: two 18-pounder guns
February 13, 1863	Velasco: two guns ordered added to Allen's Artillery
June 1, 1863	Quintana: no guns Velasco: no guns
August 6-9, 1863	Velasco: Nichols gun turned over to ordnance officer at Velasco
August 1863	Velasco: one 18-pounder and one 24-pounder howitzer, implements, and ammunition removed from Velasco
October 12, 1863	Velasco: 8-inch siege howitzer, ammunition, etc., at Velasco sent to Houston
December 4, 1863	Velasco: 30-pounder Parrott gun at Velasco
December 1863	Enfield rifles arrived at Velasco and were distributed
December 2,8, 1863	At least 20 guns reported in a fort at the mouth of the Brazos; 13 faced the Gulf
December 29, 1863	Seven guns mounted at mouth of Brazos
January 11, 1864	East bank, Brazos River [Velasco]: one 30-pounder Parrott; one 32-pounder Navy gun; one 24-pounder seacoast gun; one 18-pounder seacoast gun; one 12-pounder
1	West bank, Brazos River [Quintana]: one 32-pounder Navy gun; one 18-pounder; one 8-inch howitzer
	First bend of Brazos River on southwest side ca 1 mile from mouth: five field pieces (to be mounted)
January 18, 1864	Velasco. 30-pounder rifled gun, ammunition, etc., ordered to Caney Creek; 8-inch howitzer moved to Velasco from Quintana
February 9, 1864	Velasco: 6 guns, ca. 32-pounders, 33 hundredweight, thought to be at Velasco by blockaders
March 16, 1864	Velasco and Quintana: four smoothbore guns reported to blockaders
January 21, 1865	Velasco: five long-range guns reported by blockaders

	TABLE II DRDNANCE FIRED AT THE MOUTH OF T	THE DDA 7OS DIVED 1061 1065
Date	Ordnance Fired	Target
January 18, 1862	15 rounds of 10-second fuse shell	Velasco batteries: most ordnance fired fell "far short at the highest elevation." Several shells exploded "immediately over the batteries." probably fired from the two 32-pounders of 57 cwt and the 20-pounder rifled Parrott.
	10 shells	Nine of 10 shells fired by <i>Rachel Seaman</i> fell short of the beach; one landed and burst above the Rebel sand battery.
January 20, 1862	22 shots	Velasco batteries
August 11, 1862	4 shots; one 13-inch shell failed to explode, one exploded in the camp, two "went overhead and struck some distance out in the prairie"	Velasco
February 6, 1863	three percussion shell from the rifle one 20-second shell from the XI-inch gun one 5-second shell from the XI-inch gun	Velasco battery; the shots fell "considerably short"
February 6, 1863	shots from three guns	Velasco battery
December 29, 1863	"several shell"	"the forts [on each side of the river]"
February 9, 1864	"opened fire"	"Forts at Vallasco [sic]"
February 9, 1864	16 XI-inch shell 11 20-pounder rifle shells	"Rebel Battery at Velasco"
March 21, 1864	four 15-second XI-in shells four 20-pound charges of powder 15 primers five charges of compressed powder three percussion shells for 20-pdr. Parrott two 15-second shell for 20-pdr. Parrott	"opened fire on Strange Steamer ashore on the bar" at an unspecified location Opened fire on steamship Matagorda. Four shots from Parrott gun passed over the vessel and "exploded some distance to the rear." Later, the Penobscot came within range of shore batteries at Velasco and fired three shots, one of which "exploded so near Doctor Seeds [?] that he was covered with cinders and smoke " Another solid shot "knocked down a horse at the bridge on the bayou."
March 22, 1864	two 10-second XI-inch shells one 15-second XI-inch shell three 15-second 10-pounder shells three 20-pound charges of powder for the XI-inch pivot three 2-pound charges for 20-pounder Parrott seven primers	"a three masted Schooner high on the beach" [the <i>Emily</i>] "To-day is a beautiful day for the enemy to fire at the steam-ship, and certainly will during the day." The steamer <i>Matagorda</i> is on the sand; the schooner <i>Emily</i> is still on the beach.

Table 11, continued		
May 1, 1864	"a shell from 20 pdr Parrott Rifle"	"a sch[oone]r in the Entrance of the River"
May 30, 1864	6 rifle shells four XI-inch shrapnel three XI-inch shell ten 24-pounder shell two 24-pounder shrapnel	"a schooner lying in the canal, 6 miles from Velasco"
June 25, 1864	one XI-inch shell	a schooner under the protection of the fort at Velasco [on the bar]
June 27, 1864	ten XI-inch shells five XI-inch 15-second shell seventeen 20-pound rifle shell*	the forts at Velasco and schooner in the Brazos River
January 21, 1865	nine rounds from 32-pounders ten rounds from 20-pounder Parrott eleven rounds from pivot rifle howitzer	[the Granite City and the Confederate batteries at Velasco]

^{*}Hatfield remarked that "the projectiles for the Parrott Rifle are percussion shells; and those fired during the quarter failed to explode. Note: The firings for the quarter ending 30th June 1864 were at blockade runners and Rebel fortifications. Not one of the projectiles from the Parrott Rifle exploded, although a number of them struck the objects fired at" (Hatfield 1864b).

closing year of the war, Federal vessels bombarded with the intention of interrupting the large volume of foreign trade being carried out of the Brazos River by Confederate blockade runners.

Federal officers were serious in their attempts to hit specific targets, which varied from the forts at Velasco and Quintana to steamers attempting to run the blockade and ships in the canal. In addition, there seems to have been an element of sport to some of the firing, such as the target practice of March 21, 1864, when one shot from the *Penobscot* covered a citizen of Velasco with cinders and smoke and another "knocked down a horse at the bridge on the bayou." In other cases, problems with ammunition, aim, and natural elements resulted in missed targets and ordnance that failed to explode.

Recommendations

Historic documents indicate that the vicinity of the mouth of the Brazos River was used intensively by armed Confederate troops between 1861 and 1865 when at least four separate sites were developed. In addition, work was done at sites located along Oyster Creek some distance from Velasco. Each of the fortification sites was the location of guns which varied in type and number throughout the duration of the Civil War.

The mouth of the Brazos also was the focus for at least 15 bombardment episodes by Federal vessels that fired on their targets with greater or lesser accuracy. Records indicate that a certain number of those shells failed to explode upon impact; others missed their targets and landed at unspecified locations. As a result, there is a high probability that unexploded Civil War-era ordnance of both Confederate and Union manufacture may exist in the vicinity of localities A, B, C, and D. Accounts of bombardments indicate a high probability for ordnance surrounding those localities and in the Brazos River channel itself. The fortification at Velasco was by far the most heavily bombarded site, but localities B and C are known to have been targets as well.

Considerable change has occurred to landforms at Velasco and Quintana during the 130 years since the end of the Civil War, and it is doubtful that much remains of the fortification at West Union Bayou (see Figure 16, locality C). However, the projected sites of the fortification at Quintana and that on the Brazos upstream (see Figure 16, localities B and D) have received less impact, and local informants have reported both structural remains

and Confederate-era artifacts there. In addition, data about the location of the Velasco fortification are inconclusive. It is recommended, therefore, that an effort be made to obtain aerial photographs of the area dating to the pre-World War II era and that they be analyzed to locate sites A, B, and D with a greater degree of accuracy. Fieldwork should be targeted at those localities that additional data suggest may contain intact remains.

VIRGINIA POINT

Summary

Fortification Construction

Fortification construction began in the area of Virginia Point in the fall of 1861 when work was initiated on Fort Hébert and a magazine at the west end of the railroad bridge (Table 12, Figure 17). In December, a second fort, Nelson, was constructed north of Fort Hébert and accommodations made available for 5,000 troops in a fortified camp.

In April 1862, work on Fort Hébert was discontinued and Fort Nelson was damaged by a storm. The taking of Galveston Island by Federal troops in October pushed troops, supplies, and ordnance from the island to Virginia Point where bombproofs and magazines were constructed and work began on Battery Cook north of Fort Nelson.

The Confederates recaptured Galveston at the end of December 1862. Records suggest that little work was done at Virginia Point until the fall of 1863 when Federal threats to the Matagorda Bay and Brazos River areas resulted in the adaptation of a building at Virginia Point for a hospital (see Figure 17), repair of the works, and greater use of the area for depot purposes. A storm in March 1864 again damaged fortifications in the area, and Magruder described them as being in a deteriorated condition in April. By August 1865, when Federal engineers recorded the condition of each fortification, the two-gun battery, Fort Hébert, and Battery Cook were relatively intact; much of Fort Nelson had eroded into the bay.

Confederate Ordnance

Throughout most of the Civil War, Virginia Point was a heavily fortified area with most guns being located at Fort Hébert where Kellersberg reported 13 guns, howitzers, and mortars by April 1862. He reported an additional 2 guns at Fort Nelson (Table 13). By October, there were plans to mount a 10-inch Columbiad at Battery Cook, which appears to have been the least heavily armed of the fortifications at the point.

Records indicate that the guns permanently located at Virginia Point varied in number depending on whether the commanding general believed they could be used to better effect elsewhere. In addition, the number of guns and other ordnance located at the point temporarily varied greatly. Withdrawal of troops and ordnance from Galveston Island in October 1862 and the spring of 1865 resulted in placement of guns at Virginia Point which functioned as much as a depot as it did a fortification site. Numbers of armed troops varied as well, with numbers occasionally swelling to 5,000. By the end of the war, Hébert was one of the few fortifications on the coast still having guns in place, and in the summer of 1865, Federal engineer G. L. Gillespie inventoried two long Navy 18-pounders and one 8-inch Dahlgren there.

Federal Ordnance

No documents were located that recorded a Federal bombardment of Virginia Point.

Recommendations

Historic documents demonstrate that Virginia Point was one of the State's most intensively used sites during the Civil War when it was occupied by as many as 5,000 troops at a time and was the location of four separate fortifications. Each of the fortifications was the location of guns which varied in type and number. Fort Hébert was by far the most heavily armed fortification, and the general area around it, as well as the vicinity of the twogun battery at the head of the railroad bridge, is known to have been used as a depot for large amounts of Confederate ordnance. Fort Nelson and Battery Cook were armed with guns as well and occupied by armed troops, but the amount of ordnance known to have been at those sites was less than at Fort Hébert and the two-gun battery. While none of the facilities at Virginia Point is known to have been bombarded during the Civil War, the fact that the area was heavily fortified suggests that there is the potential for unexploded

	TABLE 12
FOR	TIFICATION CONSTRUCTION AT VIRGINIA POINT, 1861–1865
October-December 1861	Fort Hébert construction began
November 23, 1861	A magazine is at Virginia Point
December 1861	Fort Nelson constructed; fortified camp for 5,000 men at Fort Hébert
February 1862	A hospital for troops is ordered established at Virginia Point
April 1862	Fort Hébert more than half completed; work discontinued Fort Nelson in damaged condition [from a storm?]
post-October 4, 1862	Large wells ordered drilled at Fort Hébert
October 1862	60 tons of railroad iron sent to Virginia Point to make magazines and bombproof shelters for gunners
October 1862	Battery Cook under construction at the brickyard to the rear of Judge Jones's residence
February 18, 1863	New bridge under construction ca. 1.5 miles southwest of old railroad bridge to Virginia Point
April 14, 1863	A portion of the Galveston works was destroyed by a gale
August 1863	A building at Virginia Point depot to be repaired and used as a hospital
December 1863	Virginia Point works repaired during December 1863
January 1, 1864	Virginia Point houses used as officers' quarters; converted to storage
January 5, 1864	Virginia Point reconstructed; bombproof and magazines constructed; embankment strengthened
March 25, 1864	Storm damaged Galveston-area fortifications
April 26, 1864	Galveston-area fortifications reported to be in deteriorated condition
August 1865	Fort Hébert, Battery Cook, and 2-gun battery at west end of railroad bridge intact; Fort Nelson severely eroded

ordnance in the vicinity of all of the sites.

Since 1865, storms, the development of transportation facilities, and construction of housing have negatively impacted the two-gun battery, which appears to have disappeared under a maze of highways and railroad tracks. Fort Hébert is the location of a transmission tower, and Fort Nelson was severely eroded in August 1865 and now appears to be completely under water. Battery Cook also appears to have been partially eroded, but it may remain the least impacted of the four sites. With the Confederate hospital and antebellum Judge William Jefferson Jones residence nearby, Battery Cook may hold the greatest potential for archeological and documentary

investigation. It is recommended, therefore, that additional archival research be done concerning changes that have occurred in the vicinity of the two-gun battery and Fort Hébert, and that aerial photographs from the pre-World War II era be analyzed to map the locations of all the fortifications more accurately. It is also recommended that archeological field investigations be conducted at those sites that a combination of airphoto and archival research suggest may have intact deposits. Particular attention should be given to the area of the Jones residence, Confederate hospital, and Battery Cook, which preliminary map research suggests are the most intact cultural resources.

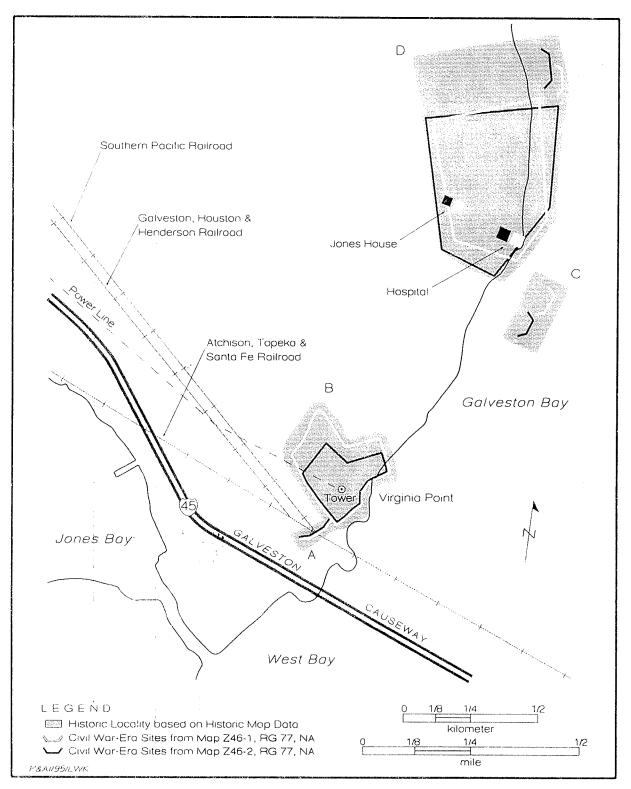


Figure 17. Civil War-era historic localities at Virginia Point. Historic maps suggest potential locations for Civil War-era Confederate fortifications. Locality A is the two-gun battery at the end of the railroad bridge, B is Fort Hébert, C is Fort Nelson, and D is Battery Cook. The large shaded area in the vicinity of Locality D encompasses Battery Cook, a Confederate hospital, and the Judge William Jefferson Jones residence.

,	TABLE 13
	CONFEDERATE ORDNANCE AT VIRGINIA POINT, 1861–1865
April 1862	Fort Hébert: one rifled 32-pounder; one 8-inch Columbiad; three 24-pounders; four 8-inch howitzers; one 32-pounder brass howitzer; three mortars
	Fort Nelson: two 10-inch Columbiads
October 5, 1862	Fort Hébert: two 24-pounders and all guns at South Battery, Galveston Island, moved to Virginia Point; arms and ammunition also moved
ca. October 8, 1862	Fort Hébert: guns added to existing included one 8-inch Columbiad, one 24-pounder rifled gun, and three smoothbore 32 pounders
October 1862	Battery Cook: Colonel Cook intended to mount 10-inch Columbiad from Houston
December 2, 1862	Virginia Point and tête de pont at Eagle Grove: 14 pieces of artillery
December 6, 1862	Fort Hébert: 601 smoothbore percussion muskets; 20 flintlock muskets; 121 Harper's Ferry rifles
January 15, 1863	Virginia Point: guns and ammunition ordered sent to Virginia Point from Galveston
July 17, 1863	Virginia Point: 18-pound cannon balls removed
October 6-7, 1863	Virginia Point: 18- and 24-pounder guns removed; cannon added at Virginia Point
December 12, 1863	Fort Hébert: two 18-pounder guns present
January 1864	Virginia Point: guns and caissons associated with Jones's and Hughes's batteries to be sent to Virginia Point
December 22, 1864	Virginia Point: two 9-inch guns at Fort Magruder to be moved to Virginia Point
February 1865	Virginia Point: guns from Galveston Island reported by deserter as sent to Virginia Point
March 1865	Virginia Point: deserters reported two 9-inch guns and three 32-pounders
May 21, 1865	Virginia Point: to receive all guns on wheels in Galveston, except those needed at Eagle Grove
August 1865	Fort Hébert: two long 18-pounders, Navy; one 8-inch Columbiad displaced from center piece Battery west end of railroad bridge: one 8-inch Dahlgren Fort Nelson: no guns Battery Cook: no guns

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The purpose of the appendix is to present maps

that depict the projected sites of Civil War-era fortifications and information about current ownership of those sites. In most cases, local informants and archival documentation suggested larger or different sites than were suggested by the use of historic map overlays. In such cases, the sites suggested by the historic maps are indicated on the tax appraisal maps by dark shading; the alternative areas are indicated by lighter shading.

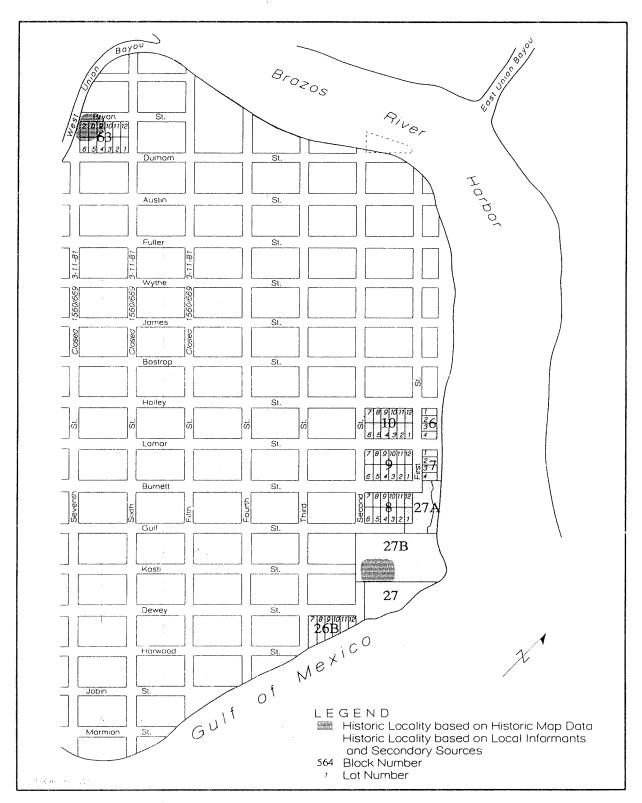


Figure 18. Historic-era Civil War fortification sites, Quintana. Figure 18 depicts the historic localities on a 1994 tax appraisal map for Quintana, Texas.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, QUINTANA

Legal	Descr	ription
mcgui.	170301	puon

Lots 1 through 4, Block 6 and Block 7 in Brazos River

Lots 1, 6, 7, and 12, Block 8

Lots 2 and 3, Block 8

Lot 4, Block 8

5/6 of Lot 5 and Lot 10, Block 8

1/6 of Lot 5, Block 8

Undivided interest Lot 5, Block 8 (D/A)

Undivided interest Lot 5, Block 8 (D/A)

Lot 8, Block 8

Lot 11, Block 8

Lots 1, 2, 3, and 4, Block 9

Lot 5 and 1/6 Lot 11, Block 9

Lots 6, 7, and 8, Block 9

Lots 9, 10, and 12, Block 9

Lot 11, 5/6 interest, Block 9

Undivided interest Lot 11, Block 9 (D/A)

Undivided interest Lot 11, Block 9 (D/A)

Owner

Reference only

Quintana Marine, Inc.

P. O. Box 514, Freeport, TX 77541-0514

Mrs. Frank T. Smith

1 Merion Lane, West Columbia, TX 77486

J. Perry Moore et al.

3709 Ella Lee Lane, Houston, TX 77027-4018

Kenneth A. Gonzales

P. O. Box 1024, Freeport, TX 77541-1024

Brazos River Harbor Navigation District P. O. Box 615, Freeport, TX 77541-0615

Dr. R. J. Kelly, III

Mrs. Tony Ping

Mrs. T. S. Clements

P. O. Box 3987, Victoria, TX 77903-3987

Homer W. Harsdorff

906 W. 8th Street, Freeport, TX 77541-5438

Kenneth A. Gonzales

P. O. Box 1024, Freeport, TX 77541-1024

Brazos River Harbor Navigation District

P. O. Box 615, Freeport, TX 77541-0615

Gerald Reynolds

705 Burnett, Freeport, TX 77541

Mrs. T. S. Clements

P. O. Box 3987, Victoria, TX 77903-3987

Kenneth A. Gonzales

P. O. Box 1024, Freeport, TX 77541-1024

Dr. R. J. Kelly, III

Mrs. Tony Ping

Legal Description	Owner
Undivided interest Lot 11, Block 9 (D/A)	James A. Bryan 3920 Childress Street, Houston, TX 77005-1116
Undivided 1/2 Lot 1, Block 10	W. L. Crews Estate P. O. Box 235, West Columbia, TX 77486-0235
Undivided 1/2 Lot 1, Block 10	Christie Walne Taylor 4212 San Felipe Street, Suite 444 Houston, TX 77027-2902
Lot 2, Block 10	Mrs. Ida B. Spencer 307 E. 2nd Street, Freeport, TX 77541-5903
Lot 3, Block 10	Cora Lee Spencer P. O. Box 2218A, Freeport, TX 77541-2218
Lots 4, 5, and 6, Block 10	Patrick Howard Gibson 320 Market Street, Apt. 4, Galveston, TX 77550-5651
Lots 2 and 8, Block 26B	Brazoria County 111 E. Locust, Suite 100A, Angleton, TX 77515
Lot 3, Block 26B	Kenneth A. Gonzales P. O. Box 1024, Freeport, TX 77541-1024
Lots 7 and 9, Block 26B	Brazos River Harbor Navigation District P. O. Box 615, Freeport, TX 77541-0615
All of Block 27 (23.300 acres)	Kenneth A. Gonzales and A. A. Miller P. O. Box 1024, Freeport, TX 77541-1024
Quintana Jetties, all of Block 27, improvements only	Jeffery Martin Reynolds RR 1, 602 Burnett, Freeport, TX 77541-9801
All of Block 27A and 27B (4.440 acres)	Quintana Marine, Inc. P. O. Box 514, Freeport, TX 77541-0514
Lots I to 12, Block 63, Quintana	Brazos River Harbor Navigation District P. O. Box 615, Freeport, TX

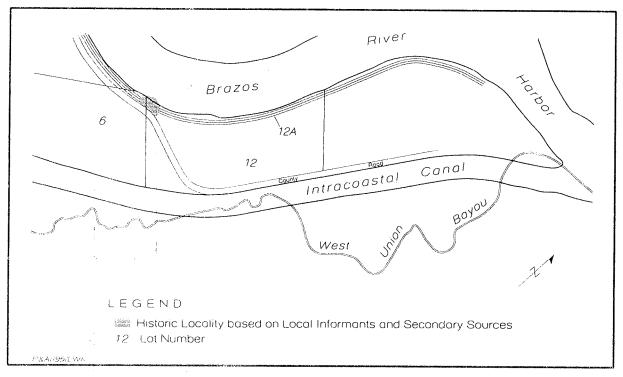


Figure 19. Historic-era Civil War fortification site on the Brazos River. Figure 19 depicts an historic locality that may have been a fortification site on a 1994 tax appraisal map for the vicinity of Quintana, Texas.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, QUINTANA AREA

	1
Legal	Description

Part of Lots 13 and 14; Lots 2, 3, 6, 12, and N 1/2 of 17; Abstract 28, S. F. Austin

Lot 12A, ROW inc in corridor, Abstract 28, S. F. Austin (pending)

Owner

Brazos River Harbor Naviation District P. O. Box 615 Freeport, TX

Houston & Brazos Valley OAD Co

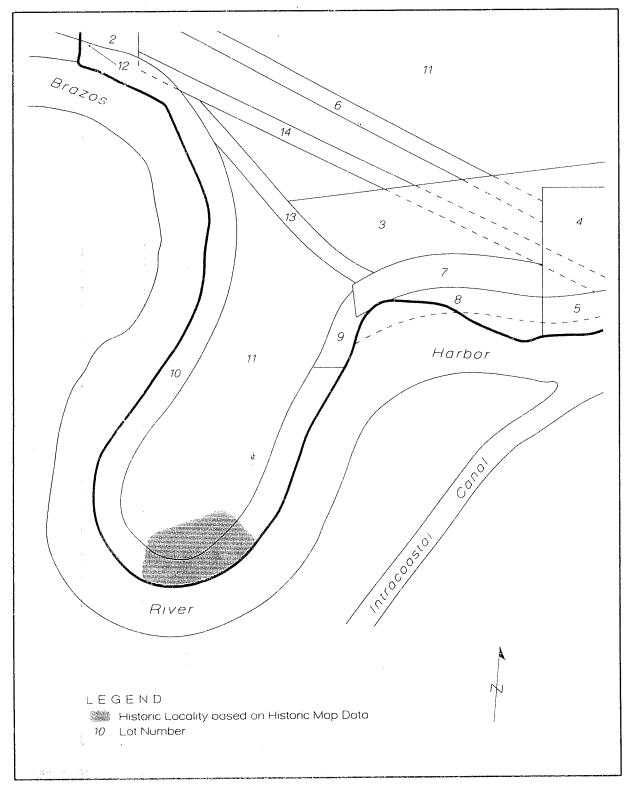


Figure 20. Historic-era Civil War fortification site on the Brazos River. Figure 20 depicts an historic locality that may have been a fortification site on a 1994 tax appraisal map for the vicinity of Freeport, Texas. The site depicted on Figure 19 is believed to be a more accurate estimate for this locality.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, FREEPORT AREA

Legal Description

Tracts 2 to 9 and 11 to 14, Abstract 383, J. A. Wharton

Owner

Dow Chemical Company Tax Department APB Building Freeport, TX

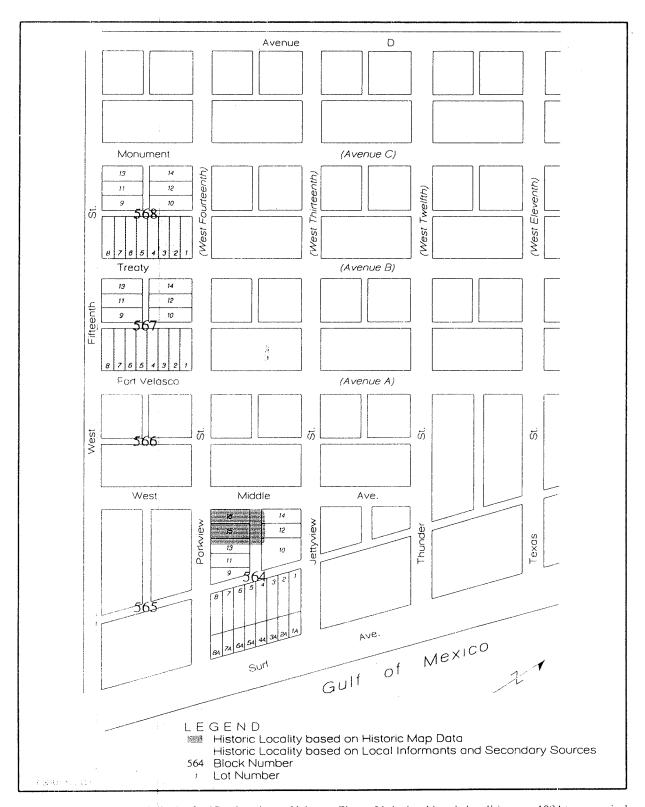


Figure 21. Historic-era Civil War fortification sites at Velasco. Figure 21 depicts historic localities on a 1994 tax appraisal map for the vicinity of Surfside, Texas.

A STATE OF THE STA

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, VELASCO

Lot 13, Block 564, Surfside

Dianna C. Swanson 117 Driftwood Drive Lake Jackson, TX 77566-4435

Lots 15 and 16, Block 564, Surfside

Dianna C. Swanson 117 Driftwood Drive Lake Jackson, TX 77566-4435

Surfside Jetty, all of Blocks 565, 566, and 567, and Lots 6 to 8, 9, 11, and 13, Block 568, Surfside

Brazos River Harbor Navigation District P. O. Box 615 Freeport, TX 77541-0615

Lots 1 to 5, 10, 12, and 14, Block 568, Surfside

Cradle of Texas Conservancy RR 2, Armory Building 1700 CR 171 Angleton, TX 77515-9611

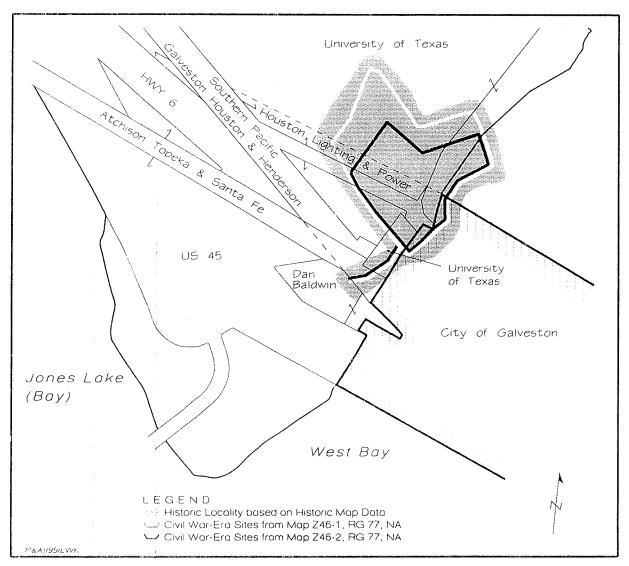


Figure 22. Historic-era Civil War fortification sites at Virginia Point. Figure 22 depicts historic localities that may have been the two-gun battery and Fort Hébert. Fort Nelson, Battery Cook, the hospital, and the Judge William Jefferson Jones residence, as depicted in Figure 17, are located on property owned by The University of Texas System.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP, VIRGINIA POINT AREA

Legal Descriptions

East part of Lot 3; Abstract 7, S. C. Bundick

14.267 acres; Abstract 7, S. C. Bundick 24.814 acres; Abstract 7, S. C. Bundick

1471.748 acres; Abstract 7, S. C. Bundick

Owner

Dan Baldwin Route 2, Box 292 Galveston, TX 77554

Houston Lighting & Power Co. c/o Property Tax Dept. P. O. Box 1700 Houston, TX 77251-1700

State Board of Regents UT c/o UT System Real Estate 210 W. 6th Street Austin, Texas 78701 APPENDIX B: Glossary of Military Terms

GLOSSARY

Barbette: A wooden or earthen platform inside a fortification, on which cannons were mounted to permit firing over the rampart instead of through embrasures.

Barbette (Guns/Carriages): The barbette tier was located on the topmost level of a fortification. Barbette carriages "were introduced into the American service around 1840 and were manufactured in large numbers. . . . Recoil was absorbed by the slope of the chassis and by friction, and [a] large spoked wheel [on the side of the carriage] was used to return the upper carriage and gun to the firing position after reloading" (Lewis 1990: 63).

Bastion: A bastion was an outward projection in the wall of a fort that was comprised of two faces and two flanks that enabled the garrison in the fort to defend the ground outside of and adjacent to the exterior walls (Kea 1991).

Battery: The entire structure erected for the emplacing, protection, and service of one or more cannon; or two or more pieces of artillery within a single command.

Bombproof: A structure designed to provide security against artillery fire.

Canister: A cylindrical tin can shot from cannons and having an iron head. Canisters were filled with cast-iron balls arranged in four tiers and packed in with dry sawdust.

Casemate Carriages: Frequently constructed of wood prior to and during the Civil War, casemate carriages were placed within the protected portion of a fortification. According to Lewis (1990:63), the upper part of the carriage "rolled back with the recoil of firing, allowing room for the reloading of the gun. The incline of the chassis rails along which it rolled helped to absorb the recoil energy."

Casemated; Casemate Battery: Casemated guns were those placed within a casemate, a bomb-proof chamber or room within the exterior walls of a fort. The guns were fired through openings in

the walls. Advantages of placing cannon in casemated positions were the protection afforded both gun and gunner, and the fact that a fort's armament could be put in multiple tiers. Such emplacements became increasingly common in the United States after 1816 (Lewis 1990:31).

Cremaliere or Indented Line: A field work consisting of angular forms called salients and reenterings that offered a limited amount of flank defense.

Emplacement: That part of a battery pertaining to the position, protection, and service of one gun or mortar, or a group of mortars.

Enfilade: A sweeping fire from a line of troops or gun batteries.

Hot Shot Furnace: A structure in which standard solid shot could be heated to turn it into an incendiary projectile. Some furnaces could hold more than 60 rounds of shot on grates over a flame. Implements used during the process included iron pokers for stirring the fire, iron forks for removing the shot, rasps to remove scale from overheated shot, iron rakes to remove cinders, rammers to remove particles of clay wads from gun bores, and tubs and buckets of water to cool the implements.

Howitzer: A short-barreled gun with the ability to fire shells at a high angle of elevation, particularly effective against targets within fortified enclosures or trenches.

Magazine: A storage facility, usually bombproofed, for ammunition, armaments, goods, or provisions.

Mortar: A short-barreled gun having a largecaliber bore and able to propel shells at high angles.

Parapet: An earthen or stone defensive platform on the wall of a fort.

Redan: A V-shaped outwork outside the main moat or ditch.

Redoubt: A defensive outwork, with its angle projected toward the enemy.

Revetment: Facing of stone, etc., to hold up or retain an embankment, usually of earth or sand.

Spike: The act of making a muzzle-loading gun useless by driving a spike into the vent.

Tête de Pont: A bridge head.

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