

## Jefferson Ordnance Magazine

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The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine is a small, 1 1/2- story, single room, square brick building with a shed roof. The building was constructed during the Civil War primarily for the storage of powder and munitions. It is on property the U.S. Government confiscated and the U.S. Treasury Department sold through Special Agent H.B. Hawkins in a bill of sale dated February 10, 1866 (Marion County Deed Records Volume C:432). While the bill of sale does not mention this particular building, it does reference a large eight-room frame ordnance building that would have been used to store non-explosive supplies and larger weapons. The extant brick magazine is the sole remaining building on this entire property and the exact location of the larger frame building remains unknown. The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine's simple functional design underscores its primary use. It was constructed to store safely munitions and bears engineering details designed to create air spaces inside its lower walls. The brick work consists of a variant of American bond with from four to six courses of stretchers between each row of headers in the lower walls and from eight to nine in the upper walls (Noel Hume 1974:120-123). The building is moderately well preserved and retains its integrity of location, setting, materials, design, workmanship, feeling and association. Surrounded by undeveloped lands containing no other improvements or 20th century distractions, the magazine retains most of the natural setting associated with the mid 19th century.

The building is ten feet square by 14.5 feet tall with walls one foot thick up to a height of eight feet. The remaining upper walls are stepped on the interior about five inches toward the outside wall and are about seven inches thick. This narrowing of the walls forms a ledge that probably seated joists for either a partial loft or a complete floor. The walls include air spaces that form a ventilation system to keep the interior brick dry and the inside temperatures more stable; the air spaces also provide a security measure superior to ground floor windows. More than 90 percent of the brick walls are original with the remaining brick work recently restored as part of a stabilization, repair, and restoration effort completed in the fall of 1992. The ground floor also probably was wood of which no evidence remains. The 1992 repairs, however, noted that a brick footing rings the inside of the foundation and was likely used to seat floor joists for wood floor boards.

The building is on a natural, slightly elevated sandy terrace among mature pine trees surrounded by unimproved forest. Originally, it was flanked on both its north and south sides by similar small brick buildings about 250 feet away that were dismantled and robbed of their brick super structures during the early 20th century. Few details exist concerning these flanking buildings, but all three buildings have a long record in local oral legends as Confederate powder houses. The foundation of the southern sister magazine was impacted by a small borrow pit to gather dirt to repair a logging road and is on private property. A brief visit to the site in 1989 revealed that its disturbed foundation consisted of very thick walls similar to the standing magazine, about one foot thick. No evidence is available on the northern magazine. A dirt road passes 40 feet east of the only remaining building as it parallels the bank of Big Cypress Bayou. No other man-made improvements are proximate.

The extant building has frequently been referred to as a powder house or powder magazine. Oral history is supported by physical remains indicating that at least two of the legendary three small buildings originally constructed on this tract during the Civil War can be located (Jefferson Historical Foundation Files). The present building was listed with the site inventory for the State of Texas in 1974 under site number 41MR44 (TARL form; Carolyn Spock personal communication). Historically, it was used for storing munitions and related items. Records indicate that Jefferson had an officially appointed military ordnance officer, Captain F.P. Leavenworth on active duty by July 9, 1864. The earliest note regarding an ordnance shipment through Jefferson is April 18, 1864. A bill of sale by the U.S. Treasury Department eight months after Texas surrendered lists a frame ordnance building, consisting of eight rooms measuring 130 by 50 feet, associated with this tract (no metes or bounds given for the property). The sole remaining building reviewed here was likely constructed in late 1863 and no later than early 1864 based on important events related to the construction of new munitions facilities in Marshall and the relocation of TransMississippi Department main facilities to Shreveport in mid 1863. While it is possible that the Jefferson magazines were constructed earlier in the Civil War (after March 1861 but before July 1862), it is unlikely, given the greater chain of events surrounding the organized munitions network in East Texas that included the Marshall Powder Mill and Tyler Ordnance Works.

The main historical associations for the extant magazine draw heavily upon its mostly unrecognized role (i.e., this particular building is not specifically recognized in contemporaneous accounts) in assisting the movement of munitions in both directions through Jefferson: to Shreveport and other more eastern port facilities; to troops in Arkansas and the Indian Territories to the north; and, when needed, to munitions production facilities to the south and west, such as Tyler, Marshall and smaller facilities elsewhere (Winsor 1978, Goff 1969, Nichols 1964). Through analysis of a sample of correspondence, however, the strategic role played by Jefferson's munitions magazines can be reconstructed during the Trans-Mississippi Department's [TMD] period of operation from mid 1864 to mid 1865. During this period the local transportation system became heavily burdened by various deficiencies as the Civil War took its toll. Consequently, it is during this period that Jefferson's various ordnance facilities would have served regional roles and were an important component of Texas' wartime resources and ordnance facilities. The accompanying Statement of Significance provides a sample of correspondence that identify part of Jefferson's role in TMD-related facilities and operations.

Finally, this period of historical association is not meant to preclude the possibility of earlier dates and associations for this particular magazine. Since its precise date of construction is not known, its role in the early years of the Civil War is not at issue. Whether the building was standing in 1862, or even in 1861, can not be properly evaluated at this time. Given this reality, however, this nomination focuses on the association of this building with the TMD ordnance transport system that General Edmund Kirby Smith created after he moved TMD headquarters to Shreveport, Louisiana, and began expanding TMD bureaus in mid 1863. This important relocation directly affected Jefferson's wartime role and expanded its TMD-related facilities.

The magazine's foundation and load bearing walls are brick and do not reveal any evidence of paint or other surface coverings (see Photograph 1). Occasional cut nails (original), copper wire nails (probably original and probably French in manufacture), and more frequent 20th century

steel wire nails protrude from mortar joints or brick surfaces indicating minor exterior elements or alterations that no longer remain attached. Nearly all wood molding, facing, and coverings on vents and the two window openings and door frame were either removed or decomposed decades ago. The repair and restoration work conducted in 1992 reconstructed these items with sympathetic but conjectural elements that can be removed and replaced should applicable specifications be discovered in military archival documents in the future. Evidence of some much older mortar joint repair is visible on the west face and in several different locations. These repairs are probably more than 40 years old based on weathering and discoloration, and may even date to the very early 20th century.

The magazine has a single door opening at ground level facing the Bayou (see Photographs 1 and 2), a small window in the loft facing south (dimensions are 27 3/4 inches wide by 26 1/4 inches high; see Photograph 3), and a very small, ten-inch square vent-like window also in the loft facing north (see Photograph 1). The alignment of its walls based on a survey plat dated November 17, 1989, are N20°E for both its east and west elevations (west side contains its only door), and N110°E for its north and south elevations. The building's interior has three vents that open at nine to 11 inches above the floor and connect interior hollow spaces within its brick walls to exterior openings. These openings, seven inches wide by six inches tall, occur about six feet above the ground on the outside walls. They are on the north, east, and south elevations but do not appear on the west elevation; the west elevation contains the only door to the building and thus does not have a vent. The hollow walls provide ground level ventilation to keep the building cool and dry as well as added security not obtainable with ground level windows. Each exterior vent opening is offset diagonally from its interior mate further enhancing some aspects of security and circulation, and possibly reducing the lateral effect of an explosion. Consequently the building's structural design is oriented toward security and ventilation using a special wall system. This design, should an explosion occur, would hurl the bulk of the force upwards rather than laterally, thereby reducing casualties. The construction of a structurally light roof is a design feature considered common to magazines and powder mills as noted by Luke (1978:10) who investigated and excavated the Confederate States of America powder mill at Marshall (Site41HS17).

The window on the south elevation (upper level) revealed some evidence that it consisted of an exterior hinged shutter and an interior hinged glass casement (Memorandum 1992). Both elements could be swung open to permit air flow. These features have been reconstructed and are considered to be original to the design of the building. The smaller vent-like window on the north elevation is suspected to be original, but lacked interpretable evidence of its wood elements or other details. The Historic American Buildings Survey [HABS] drawings of a volcanic tuff powder magazine at Fort Davis show a very similar overall design, but the Fort Davis building lacks windows or vents (DeLong 1979:420-421).

The magazine's shed roof, composed of tin-coated iron over sawn wood boards (11 1/2 inches by one inch), was in very poor condition and was further damaged by a fallen tree in 1992. It was necessary after this event to replace the new roof to stop water damage and prevent further exposure of unprotected bricks. The original tin sheeting consisted of raised seams 17 inches apart running parallel to the shed main axis through the doorway. Metal flashing completed the roof structure and attached it to the vertical wall just below a modest eave created by extending

the shed roof beyond the face of the structure by about four inches. The portion of original roof removed in 1992 consisted of tin sheeting nailed to one by 12 inch pine boards that showed the effects of smoke from squatters and other occupants using the building for shelter after 1890. These boards formed a decking that was nailed to two by four inch pine beams set on another flat board that was embedded in the original brick and mortar walls (Memorandum 1992). No drawings were recorded at the time although some information was documented in a Memorandum (Memorandum 1992).

A wood door was reconstructed for the building in 1992 to make it secure and weather tight. No evidence of the original door was identified from documents or oral history and the restored version is conjectural for the period. An iron lintel was placed in the repaired door opening and this is also conjectural but possible given other Jefferson civilian buildings from the same period. Also conjectural in design but wholly reversible is the interior loft covering about two-thirds of the building and reconstructed using wood joists and wood flooring. A wood ladder has been constructed in compatible 19th century style (wood joints and notches) to provide access to this upper level from the ground floor. Iron nails and other iron hardware would have been prohibited in the design of a military powder house to prevent hazards from accidental sparks. Literature of the period mentions the use of copper nails and the avoidance of iron hardware in magazines to fasten items together (Luke 1978; Noel Hume 1974:185-6). The reconstructed wood handle is compatible in materials to what would have been preferred but is wholly conjectural in style. Although the door today is secured with an iron lock and lock plate dating from the third quarter of the 19th century (added in the reconstructed items in 1992), it is commendable that its presence is not visible on the exterior since it is doubtful that this particular type would have been used if military specification were followed. It is not advisable to remove it unless some other solid means of security can be installed.

The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine possesses strong integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling and association for a Civil War era military transport and munitions storage facility. It is in an undeveloped area well away from any 20th century buildings. Big Cypress Bayou flows next to it with no major improvements and conveys strongly its setting along an important mid 19th century intraregional waterway. The absence of 20th century trash and other unrelated surface debris adds to the pristine nature of the entire site. Formal archaeological testing of this site has not been conducted and the land is protected from any new developments or adverse impacts.

## Introduction

The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine is a Civil War era military munitions storage and redistribution building that is unaltered except for some weathering, aging brick and some recent sympathetic repairs. Eligible, at the statewide level of significance, under Criterion A in the area of Military, the building had strong associations with the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate States of America's [TMD-CSA] East Texas ordnance transport system and the pattern of events that surrounded the TMD's redistribution network. It is considered to be one building among many that once formed the storage and ordnance system network referenced in military correspondence between Confederate commanders and officials in Shreveport, Louisiana, and Jefferson, Marshall, and Tyler, Texas, from at least April 1864 (the earliest

known time from which Jefferson had an official TMD ordnance officer), up to surrender of this Department of the Confederacy on May 26, 1865. This property is significant because no other ordnance buildings associated with the TMD are known to exist in East Texas; thus, this is the sole extant building that can convey a sense of the TMD ordnance network and its scope late in the war. It is also eligible under Criterion C in the area Engineering as the most intact example in East Texas of a Civil War era brick ordnance magazine directly associated with the TMD wartime munitions and ordnance supply transport system. Finally, it is eligible under Criterion D in the area of Engineering for the potential information it contains concerning structural design, brick construction methods and building techniques, and the internal vent system used in this type of special purpose munitions storage building.

TMD Confederate correspondence indicates that in mid 1864 Captain F.P. Leavenworth was assigned the title of "Ordnance Officer, Jefferson." Other important officials in a sample of communications related to ordnance logistics in East Texas from this period include Lieutenant Colonel Gabriel Hill (Commanding Officer, Tyler Ordnance Works), Major T.G. Rhett (Chief, Ordnance and Artillery, Shreveport Department, TMD-CSA), Captain C.W. Wailey (Commanding Officer, Shreveport Arsenal), Captain N.A. Birge (Quartermaster Department, Jefferson), and Major G.D. Alexander (Commanding Officer, Marshall Arsenal).

The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine is on its original site immediately next to Big Cypress Bayou (representing high integrity of Location) and is surrounded by undeveloped lands that stir convey intended isolation away from mid 19th century urban Jefferson (representing high integrity of Feeling and Association). No 20th century intrusions exist, visible or otherwise, that affect the historical setting of the building (representing high integrity of Setting). It is the most intact example in East Texas of a Civil War era brick ordnance Magazine directly associated with the TMD wartime munitions and ordnance supply transport system. The magazine is in good condition, retains most of its original brick work, and has been sympathetically stabilized, repaired, and partially restored with compatible brick and other materials (good integrity of Materials; more than 90 percent of this building is original; repaired parts are compatible in appearance or reversible when exact specifications are available). Unlike powder magazines at most military forts and installations used for on-site storage, the Jefferson Ordnance Magazine functioned in a system of moving supplies and goods between key facilities in eastern Texas and western Louisiana. An analysis of records indicates that it served as one link in a chain of facilities connecting Tyler and Marshall, Texas, to Shreveport, Louisiana. At Jefferson, however various overland routes coming from the northwest, south or west were directly connected to transport by water leading east.

Other extant examples of pre-1865 powder magazines and specially vented ordnance buildings in Texas can be counted on one hand (e.g., Fort McKavett, while Fort Davis' is stone, lacks venting and was constructed in about 1883; De Long 1979:420). Another example is the Fort Belknap magazine that is constructed of stone and predates 1861. None of the stone munitions storage buildings at the San Antonio Arsenal complex predate 1865 (Goeldner 1974:203205). The extant San Antonio Arsenal Magazine was not completed until after the Civil War and is representative of a regional storage depository as opposed to a transit station. The 1868 1-story barrel vault structure is 30 by 110 feet and was used to hold munitions and weapons for distribution to forts on the western frontier. If munitions in this building ever ignited all would be lost.

In contrast, the three reported Jefferson ordnance munitions magazines were spaced widely apart to insure that the loss of one would not threaten valuable munitions and supplies in the others. This type of separately partitioned storage plan was used at other munitions production facilities for black powder and similar explosives (Goff 1969). Consequently, the extant Jefferson ordnance magazine is an example of a very uncommon type of TMD-related munitions storage building not directly associated with a military fort or cantonments. So far, no other extant Civil War examples are known to be in Texas. Consequently, besides the above Criteria, this property is also considered eligible under Criterion D in the area of Engineering for the potential information it contains concerning its structural design, brick construction methods and building techniques, and internal vent system used in this type of special purpose munitions storage building.

The search for other comparative examples has revealed that the size of the Jefferson Ordnance Magazine is comparable to the size found serving a large fort such as Fort Davis (Greene 1986:240-244; De Long 1979:420421). The powder magazine at Fort Davis measures 13 feet square and 13 1/2 feet tall with walls uniformly 1 1/2 feet thick and a single door. No windows exist and the building had a short tripped roof adding another estimated four feet to its height. The interior floor space of this single story stone munitions magazine is nearly 100 square feet.

This comparative search also indicated that late 19th century examples, such as the Fort Davis magazine, were not vented. The absence of vents is probably related to a shift from black powder to less hazardous materials prepackaged, so-to-speak. The interested public can learn from looking at and comparing the extant Jefferson Ordnance Magazine to military magazines of different functions and ages. This mode of thinking is one of the stimuli behind attaching Criterion D to this scarce type of civil war era military munitions building.

#### Historical Background and Significance

The magazine, on the John Caldwell Survey near Jefferson, is associated with local legends (Historic Jefferson Foundation files, hereafter HJF) referenced in an 1890s newspaper note as one of several old Confederate powder houses (Gleason n.d.: 7), and is on land designated in legal documents as "captured property" confiscated by the U.S. government (Marion County District Court Civil Minutes Book D:55) and noted as containing "all the said property situated on what was Known as the Confederate Ordnance grounds" (Marion County Deed Records Volume C:433). Oral history indicates that three brick munitions magazines once stood along this section of Big Cypress Bayou just east of Jefferson's commercial district and that the Confederate military used them in the War between the States.

The buried ruins of a small brick foundation were about 400 feet south of the standing magazine in the early 1980s (notes on file with HJF) and were briefly visited by this nomination writer in 1989. In the woods just west of the dirt logging road, brick wall segments were partially exposed by a backhoe in a borrow pit used to remove soil and repair an adjacent section of rutted road. The foundation was very small (less than 15 square feet) and consisted of brick types and very thick walls similar to those of the extant magazine. Although no detailed study was conducted it was recommended that further damage to the location should be avoided, whenever possible.

Deed and title information confirm that the Jefferson Ordnance Magazine and the small buried foundation are on the west side of the John Caldwell Survey and are part of lands sold as property the U.S. Treasury Department confiscated in 1866. They are about 600 feet (ruin) and 1,000 feet (magazine) northeast of the J.H. Sutton Survey's northeast corner.

#### Deed/Title Data. Lawsuits and Other Legal Records

Surveyors laid out the 177-acre John Caldwell Survey (i.e., one labor of land) in the field in 1844 (Marion County Deed Records Vol. C: 106). The patent for this land was conveyed from the State of Texas to John Caldwell on January 29, 1846 (Marion County Deed Records Vol. 6:223). On that date, these lands were in the north part of Harrison County, and Marion County per se did not exist as a political unit. North of Big Cypress Bayou was Cass County that included the new settlement of Jefferson reportedly containing less than a dozen houses in 1849. Marion County split off Cass County in 1860; Cass County was formed from Bowie County in the mid 1840s.

This section of land just south of Big Cypress Bayou remained in Harrison County after Marion County was created in February 1860 (WPA 1940: 1-2). David B. Culberson is sometimes credited with obtaining this wedge of land for Marion County from Harrison County during the period of Reconstruction (Webb 1952b: 145), but sources indicate that this change in jurisdiction occurred in December 1863 (WPA 1940: 1-2; Russell 1973:8-9). Culberson was elected to the state legislature in the winter of 1863-1864 and had just served as Adjutant General in Austin after returning as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Confederate Army's 18th Texas Infantry in the Vicksburg area.

The title history of the Caldwell Survey involved legal encumbrances very soon after its patent. John Caldwell defaulted on paying his taxes and the entire 177 acre tract is sold by Hugh S. Hope, Harrison County tax assessor and collector to David Hill and Nelson Trawick for \$3.03 on July 3, 1848 (Marion County Deed Records Vol. 6:230-231). Hill and Trawick retained title for only 17 months before conveying it to Samuel F. Moseley on December 4, 1850 (Marion County Deed Records Vol. 6:282-283). Moseley owned considerable land in Harrison County, Cass County, and adjacent areas. This survey remained a part of his holdings from 1850 through the Civil War based on the legal title chain on file (B. Wilson personal communication 1994).

Moseley, however, had to re-purchase many improvements on the Caldwell Survey from the U.S. Treasury eight months following the TMD's surrender. He did this indirectly through intermediary C.L. Pitcher. While the reasons are not specified in the bills of sale obvious interpretations are possible. Deed records also have not revealed how Moseley and the Confederate military negotiated any special use of his lands on the Caldwell Survey. Finally, no records to date indicate that Moseley sold any of piece of his Caldwell Survey property to the State of Texas between 1850 and 1865. Moseley did enter into some type of business relationship with John Withee that resulted in a lawsuit filed in July 1867 and lasted nearly five years (Marion County District Court cause 521). This extenuated event provides a glimpse into the former Confederate use and subsequent U.S. Army occupation of some buildings on the Caldwell Survey.

The many pages of legal records associated with the Withee v. Moseley lawsuit provide some information on specific repairs, damages and new improvements on the Caldwell Survey. These legal documents acknowledge that this tract contained "captured property" that, according to Moseley, was at risk of being destroyed if he did not buy it back. One also learns that the Caldwell Survey contained all the property known as the Confederate Ordnance grounds, but one is not given a full understanding of all the agreements and transactions associated with the Civil War usage of the property or any specifics about the magazine or its two sister buildings.

#### Legal Records Concerning the Tract Containing the Magazine

The post Civil War record for the magazine begins in February 1866 when H.B. Hawkins, special agent of the U.S. Treasury Department records a bill of sale to C.L. Pitcher for \$1,332. The property conveyed in this sale is not accurately described since it consisted of some buildings and not actual land and no metes and bounds are given. This is consistent with other historical data from the period of Reconstruction and indicates that the U.S. Government was in a legal paradox refusing to recognize the existence of the Confederate States of America [CSA] (Dobson 1991: 12-14). This issue led to a U.S. Supreme Court case, settled in 1874, noting that public property of the enemy became, for the time being, the property of the conqueror (Dobson 1991: 14).

Some facts surrounding the captured ordnance grounds on the Caldwell Survey remain unknown in spite of the available materials. The civil records (lawsuit cause #521, Marion County District Court Records, Civil Minutes Books A, B, C and D) indicate that a variety of buildings once existed across these 177 acres and the magazine appears to have been part of a group of three magazines well away from the officers quarters and the foundry (based on C.C. Dewey's deposition of August 21, 1871). The officers quarters complex, in particular, is discussed in great detail in some of the lawsuit records because improvements were made, it was rented, and repairs were needed. The magazine complex and the foundry are not discussed. The following covers the more pertinent information from various legal documents concerning the magazine.

The bill of transfer from the U.S. Treasury Department conveyed various captured buildings to Pitcher and excluded others. It reads as follows:

Jefferson Texas Feb. 10th 1866 C.L. Pitcher Bot of the U.S. Treasury Dept.

Foundry Building & outhouses & Rails consisting of the ordnance Building 130ft by 50ft frame do. 8 Rooms Kitchen 2 Rooms and stable and Lumber Attached Except Officers quarters and fence for same for the Sum of \$ 1300.00 1280 Fire Brick @ 2 1/2 ¢ each 32.00 \$1332.00

Recd payment Approved Victor B Bell

H B Hawkins Special Agent Treas. Dept. Asst. Sup. Apt Treas. Dept. (Marion County Deed Records Vol. C:232-33).

Pitcher conveyed this property to Moseley about a month later and the foundry is described as a 150 by 50 foot building and another frame building is noted as containing eight rooms. The conveyance from Pitcher to Moseley is described as:

all the said property situated on what was known as the

Confederate Ordnance grounds and being the same

purchased by me of the U.S. Treasury Dept. Feb., 10th

1866 as by Receipt to me from HB Hawkins Special Agent

treasury Dept. Approved by Victor B Bell .....

(Marion County Deed Records Vol. C:233-34).

Moseley paid \$1,300 for the property, indicating that the brick materials sold to Pitcher were not included in this conveyance. Furthermore, nothing is noted about the officers quarters indicating that these documents are not simple mirror images of the same conveyance, either by design or by error. The location of the officers quarters is south of the magazine area based on information gleaned from the subsequent lawsuit.

As a footnote, the C.L. Pitcher involved here is probably the same Charles L. Pitcher involved as a defendant in the infamous Stockade Trial, a military trial that began in Marion County on May 26, 1869, and lasted 71 days (Russell 1973:50-70). Charles L. Pitcher was one of five men found guilty in these proceedings, while 18 other men were declared not guilty. Pitcher and two others were sentenced to four years imprisonment, but the President of the United States pardoned them soon after the trial ended (Russell 1973:68-69).

Two other names emerged in civil records associated with the Caldwell Survey that were also associated with the Stockade Trial. The first, Lieutenant Dubois, on behalf of the U.S. Army Quartermaster, paid L.S. Lockhart, the acting, court appointed, receiver for Moseley, \$250 on March 12, 1869, for rent of his property on the Caldwell Survey (Marion County District Court Records, Civil Minutes Book B: 196). This entry reveals that the U.S. Army paid Moseley additional rent on May 10 and May 29, totaling \$267.67. According to Russell, Lieutenant W.T. Dubois was the first of 176 witnesses who testified in the Stockade Trial (1973:64-65). Consequently, it appears that the U.S. Army used some of the buildings on the Caldwell survey in 1869 (bought by Moseley in 1866) in preparation for the trial or as a part of their forced occupation. One can only surmise the possible role, if any, that the magazine had in this series of events since it is not mentioned in the many pages reviewed. Whether it could have offered a place for the Army to secure safely munitions and other valuables during those very unstable times, or simply lie vacant is not known.

The other name associated with both the Caldwell Survey and the Stockade Trial is Dr. Lockhart who acknowledged paying Moseley \$623.35 for rent on some of the property (Marion County District Court Records, Civil Minutes Book D:54). Presumably this is the same Dr. Samuel

Lockhart (wife Sarah) noted in testimony various witnesses gave at the trial, according to Russell (1973:70). The doctor's son, James Lockhart, was one of the men wanted by the military, but he escaped to Georgia and officials there refused to get involved when asked to arrest the evader in July 1869 (Russell 1973:70). The L.S. Lockhart named as receiver and noted above has not been properly identified at this time.

John. W. Withee v. Samuel F. Moseley, Lawsuit Cause #521 in Marion County.

Evidence from other legal records filed in mid 1867 indicate that the entire Caldwell Survey was submerged in a lawsuit that dragged on for nearly five years (Withee v. Moseley, Cause #521 in Marion County District Court). An injunction was placed on the property and a receivership set up for rents and other items. One senses today that this lawsuit and its injunction directly aided the preservation of the extant magazine since Moseley was requested to account for all repairs and new improvements. That is, the parties involved exercised great care in accounting for all new construction and repairs implemented between 1867 and 1871 so that costs might be duly credited to the appropriate party when the lawsuit was settled (Marion County District Court Records, Deposition of C.C. Dewey, August 21, 1871).

The amount of detail in the Withee v. Moseley lawsuit is helpful concerning the income derived from the property, expenses paid, and changes to buildings or the general premises. For example, the court found that Moseley acknowledged receiving \$70 rent from a Lieutenant Weaver and neglected to prevent some damage to the timber growing on the Caldwell Survey. The court specifically found that Moseley was responsible for letting other parties, through both "consent and for want of sufficient vigilance", to use some of the timber growing on said tract of land to the value of five hundred dollars" (Marion County District Court Records, Civil Minutes Book D:54 I. On the other hand the court found that Withee acknowledged receiving \$50 rent from a Mr. Moaring. These and other findings of the court were summarized in December 1871 and provide a review of all new improvements introduced on the Caldwell Survey after Moseley bought it in 1866.

The final verdict of the lawsuit resulted in an evenly split joint distribution of the entire Caldwell Survey. It was divided it into 61 blocks and streets platted on paper in March 1872 in anticipation of future development (Marion County Deed Records Volume H:328). This was during the City of Jefferson's greatest period of growth and speculators were beginning to look across the Bayou for new lands to develop. The Brosius 1872 bird's eye view of Jefferson shows that all urban development so far had been north of Big Cypress Bayou. As the decade and the century passed, the Caldwell Survey plat map was never implemented and Jefferson's population slowly declined after the turn of the century.

Not all documents and supporting records for Lawsuit Cause #521 have been located, but those reviewed clearly reveal that some buildings on parts of the Caldwell Survey were recognized as Confederate buildings and referred to directly in the suit as "captured property" belonging to the U.S. government. Some pertinent examples from Lawsuit Cause #521 are quoted below:

...Sam F. Moseley, defendant herein with his own

means, did purchase the improvements and buildings on the land in question, and it further appears to the Court, that it was necessary that said Moseley should purchase the same to prevent the destruction thereof, and the removal of the same from said land, and that the said Moseley, paid therefore the sum of sixteen hundred dollars, and that the said Moseley did purchase and pay for the same from parties securing the same under the Government of the United States as "captured property" and that the said Moseley made such purchases and payments therefore in good faith. (Marion County District Court Records, Civil Minutes Book D:55).

This entry continues by summarizing the courts findings regarding all improvements Moseley placed on the Caldwell Survey since he bought it in 1866.

. . . and that after said purchase by said Moseley he did with his own means and expense put other permanent and valuable improvements on said land . . . and that the same were necessary and proper to save said property and improvements by him purchased, as a for said from destruction and decay . . . and said improvements were worth the further sum of seventeen hundred dollars (Marion County District Court Records, Civil Minutes Book D:55).

The many intertwined events that revolved around the Caldwell Survey, Moseley, and the captured Confederate ordnance grounds between 1861 and 1872 are just emerging. The subsequent title chain for the Caldwell Survey has not revealed anything useful to the history of the magazine (B. Wilson personal communication). The entire probate for Moseley, dated April 3, 1878, is missing from the Marion County Courthouse (B. Wilson personal communication). The magazine ends up on a 20-acre tract in the estate of W.T. Farmstead in 1921 (Marion County Probate Case 1175) and subsequently passes from P.S. Rice and others to E.E. Eidson by deed dated April 7, 1923 (Marion County Deed Records Volume V1:43). The tract containing the magazine passes through two more owners and is reduced in size until it is finally spilt off and donated to the Historic Jefferson Foundation in 1990 (B. Wilson Memorandum of Title manuscript; compiled October 1994).

### East Texas Confederate Ordnance Network

The above provides one possible link between the oral history of the magazine and the Confederacy's munitions network, which used Jefferson as one of its transportation routes serving Shreveport, Tyler, and Marshall.

A study of the Confederate ordnance network in East Texas provides a much broader context for recognizing the role of Jefferson's ordnance buildings in the post 1863 to mid 1865 war effort (Albaugh 1958; Goff 1969; Luke 1978; Nichols 1964; Winsor 1978). By mid 1864, Jefferson had its own ordnance officer moving supplies and raw materials between Shreveport, Marshall, or Tyler. The extant magazine was one of several buildings that participated in serving this segment of the TMD supply route. It stored some of the munitions and ordnance materials sent by river transport along Big Cypress Bayou to Shreveport or onto other navigable drainage to the east. It also met with overland routes, heading north, south, and west from Jefferson, moving ordnance and materials between key arsenals, depots, and ordnance production facilities.

Munitions, powder, rifles, repaired and restocked arms, cartridges, percussion caps and other military accouterments such as waist belts, cap pouches, leather straps and canteens, etc., moved along this route from ordnance works at Marshall and Tyler by ox or mule train to Jefferson. While the extant magazine assisted in serving this network, it was not the only such building; however it is the only remaining munitions magazine in East Texas left to represent this supply network. The construction of this building indicates that it primarily stored munitions and explosives based on its design and similarities to other mid 19th century magazines. One can only surmise the extent of activities that would relate to this property as ordnance materials were unloaded and temporarily stored until reloaded for shipment by boat to ordnance facilities at Shreveport (see Map 1). Weapons in need of repair, raw materials, and other important supplies for redistribution due to shortages moved in the reverse direction and were stored elsewhere, while explosives and other selected items were placed in the three brick magazines. Somewhere on this 20-acre tract and safely away from these magazines was an eight-room frame ordnance building presumably used to store non-explosive equipment and supplies.

The extant magazine (see Photograph 1) was one of the three buildings along about 300 feet of the east bank of Big Cypress Bayou (see USGS Map) used to hold ordnance materials until river boats disembarked from port at Jefferson to start the journey down stream. These magazines also

probably held some incoming materials and valuable raw goods (explosive powders, chemicals, etc.) that were waiting to be shipped by wagon overland to ordnance facilities at Marshall and Tyler. Since neither boats nor wagons were always immediately available, this building and its two sister buildings served as formal munitions and ordnance holding facilities at a vital link in the military chain of supplies. In addition to munitions and armaments, butchered, beef preserved in barrels, leather and clothing materials, iron cooking ware and iron implements, and other military supplies stored elsewhere in Jefferson moved along this route to help sustain the Confederate armies to the east, or to feed ordnance workers when shortages occurred in 1865. These materials and subsistence items did not require special protective buildings away from Jefferson's commercial district and water front and some materials were probably stored in warehouses in the town proper.

### The Confederate Presence in Jefferson

The Confederacy held considerable presence in Jefferson although contemporary accounts usually did not acknowledge this fact for obvious reasons. Its presence in Jefferson included a Quartermaster's Department, a cloth and clothing collection area and storage depot, a civilian and military meat packing plant venture, an iron foundry, a troop mustering and shipment point (at least five companies were organized in Jefferson; extensive troop muster rolls are given in Bullard 1965), a collection area for cotton shipments, and the three brick ordnance magazines. The following has been gathered eclectically as a sample of various agencies operating in Jefferson during the war. This part of Jefferson's past remains unsystematically researched and offers historians much fertile ground.

Acts of the Confederate Congress established the Confederate Quartermaster Department [QMD] between February 1861 and March 1862. Most historians consider the early formation of this Department poorly organized in Texas and its neighbors until Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby Smith arrived in Louisiana to take command of the TMD on March 7, 1863 (Nichols 1964:5, 30). Smith moved the TMD headquarters to Shreveport and set up so many new bureaus that the TMD became known as "Kirby-Smithdom." Because of Smith's efforts, the highest quartermaster authority in the TMD rested in Shreveport while Marshall served as the main center for QMD paper work under Lieutenant Colonel L.W. O'Bannon (Nichols 1964:5-8).

Winsor (1978:4345) lists thirteen major quartermaster depots in Texas and includes Jefferson among them. He further indicates that Jefferson's QMD role included the production of shoes for the Confederacy established in November 1862. This facility was under the direction of Captain A.U. Wright, Assistant Quarter Master General. Earlier in the war, Jefferson had been designated as one of eleven official Confederate clothing depots, typically placed under the supervision of a local mayor. These depots were established in September 1861 and collected cloth and clothing citizens donated for troop use in the field (Nichols 1964:20; Official Records Series I, Vol. I: 102-103). An analysis of general documents and other sources suggests that these cloth and clothing depots were informally managed and had little central control (Nichols 1964:27-29). A brick building like the Jefferson magazine would be ill-suited to store cloth because it was dark and damp.

Toward the end of 1861, available Confederate funds assisted various QMDs in buying goods and supplies. At Jefferson, Captain N.A. Birge was the quartermaster for the 1st Texas Battalion of Cavalry (Crump's Battalion) and made numerous purchases from the W.H. Nichols brothers partnership (Nichols 1964:22). For example, Birge bought engineer tools, wrenches, draw knives, adzes, axes, squares, augurs, braces, ropes, chains, iron rods and bars, and kitchen equipment between December 1861 and mid March 1862 (Nichols 1964:22). These records obviously deserve study to develop a broader context on the CSA in East Texas.

Jefferson was also the origination point of at least five CSA companies formed during the war (Bullard 1965). This added more evidence of the Confederate presence in this small city. Mrs. William Roberts, visiting Jefferson from Alabama, wrote to her niece on November 24, 1861.

There have been several companies started from here.

The last flag presented had the motto on it - Justice  
or Death. Tuesday we went to the presenting of  
one. That Company will go to Missouri.... The first  
company that left here was a new thing to us and a good  
many of our town folks left. We went in the morning to  
see the banner presented and again in the evening to  
see them take the boat (Nichols 1964:21-22).

In mid 1862, the CSA Clothing Bureau was formally established for Texas and adjacent states under Major John B. Burton. Instead of the former system, which had a dozen depots, two primary contacts were designated: Jefferson for northern Texas, north of Huntsville, and San Antonio for New Mexico and southern Texas, south of Huntsville. This negated the previous informal system and orders issued specifically stated that all other depots henceforth had to work with the above designates or be "annulled" (Nichols 1964:28-29; Official Records Series I, Vol. XII: 855; Dallas Herald, December 12, 1862).

In November 1863 Major General Smith ordered that clothing, camp, and garrison supplies be distributed as follows:

4/10ths to QMD depots at Jefferson and Bonham for use

by troops in Arkansas and Indian Territories,

2/10ths to San Antonio and Houston (for General

Magruder's command),

3/10ths to Shreveport for West Louisiana, and

1/10th to Major Haynes' general depot for troops at

large (Nichols 1964:33-34).

The above information paints a partial picture in which Jefferson plays a regional role in the distribution of various military supplies and materials. Its meat packing plant established in the fall of 1863 was contracted to slaughter 150 beef cattle a day. Documents indicate it was contracted to receive 4,000 cattle and 440,000 pounds of salt between November 1863 and January 1864 (Bullard 1964:70-71). All of these different ventures reveal a Confederate presence that is not typically acknowledged. The meat packing plant and all other CSA buildings built during the war are not extant. The magazine remains as the only reminder of a much greater presence in period wrought with turmoil and dissent.

Events Leading to the Formation of the Trans-Mississippi Department. Confederate States of America.

Some additional background information adds to the broader historical setting under which the TMD-CSA was created. In July 1862, a conference of governors and military officials from Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Texas met at Marshall and initiated the TMD, which consisted of these states, to coordinate wartime efforts west of the Mississippi (Albaugh 1958). Actually, attendance was incomplete, but follow up correspondence established consensus of plans should the Confederacy west of the Mississippi need to govern itself. The results of these discussions were forwarded to President Jefferson Davis as recommendations that the TMD be established for coordinating efforts of states and Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River (Webb 1952: 148-149). The TMD would be under a commanding general, have its own branch of the Confederate treasury, and import arms and ammunition when such items could be spared elsewhere.

Some politicians viewed this call for a separate department as a type of defection from the original cause and others stirred the issues with suggestions that the government at Richmond had a hidden agenda to abandon the Confederacy west of the Mississippi. Seeds of mistrust had been nurtured the previous spring (1862) when Arkansas Governor H.M. Rector issued a proclamation calling for unity among Texas, Missouri, Louisiana and his own state if "the arteries of the Confederate heart do not penetrate beyond the east bank of the Mississippi River" (Webb 1952: 148).

These plans were more fully operational the next year by the Confederacy. Major General Edmund Kirby Smith was placed in charge of the Trans-Mississippi Department in February 1863 and criticized by the public for the amount of authority he typically exerted due to growing isolation from the main body of the Confederacy. Isolation from the eastern CSA increased dramatically as the Confederacy lost control of the Mississippi River and Union forces cut direct communication avenues.

Smith was promoted to full General rank in February 1864 (Webb 1952b:622). The TMD contingency of states found itself isolated from the eastern portion of the Confederacy after the fall of Vicksburg in mid 1863 and thus put into action its own coordinated wartime efforts to maintain stability to the cause. Smith called a second conference of governors and officials in Marshall on August 15, 1863, to address the deteriorating situation and the further isolation from direct commands from Richmond. (Webb 1952b:148-149).

All four states attended and Smith presented six items for immediate attention. They included:

- 1) overview of resources and means of mustering men and optimizing materials,
- 2) measures to restore confidence in Confederate cause and stopping defection,
- 3) currency questions and cotton issues,
- 4) limits of civil authority needed,
- 5) appointing commissioners to meet with the French and with Mexican officials in Mexico, and
- 6) arms and ordnance stores (Webb 1952b: 149).

These items provide perspective on the thoughts of the premier TMD military leader and support evidence of the mounting uneasiness as major links to the government in Richmond were cut off. Item 6 underscores the need for organizing ordnance facilities in East Texas and within three to eight months after Smith's address that the Jefferson ordnance magazines were probably constructed, but written documentation of this small event has not surfaced to date.

Texas Governor Francis R. Lubbock conveyed to the legislature on November 5, 1863, his opinion that the latest Marshall conference ". . . proved highly satisfactory to those present, developing evidences of strength and ability to sustain the country west of the Mississippi beyond their most sanguine expectations" (Webb 1952: 149).

The TMD-CSA was now more than ever on its own to procure materials, organize its forces and fight its own battles against Union troops advancing westward. The Jefferson ordnance magazines functioned as one vital link in a multiple-artery ordnance and supply system that joined major arsenals and production facilities in East Texas and Louisiana.

East Texas Ordnance Supply and Transport System

Confederate documents and correspondence convey the importance that procurement and supply networks played in the TMD's wartime efforts (Nichols 1964). This is most apparent when shortages or lack of transport wagons frustrated commanding officers at various ordnance facilities. Some of the TMD-CSA's correspondence refers directly to Jefferson. Although an estimate of the amount of munitions and other valuable goods and supplies that moved through Jefferson between 1863 and 1865 is unavailable, the following correspondence illustrates the role this port served in the movement of crucial military materials. Taken from research Albaugh published, they provide a comprehensive review of most all entries in the Tyler ordnance works day-book that Lieutenant Colonel G.H. Hill kept from early 1864 to mid 1865. The first entry is dated Friday, March 4, 1864 and not every day contains an entry (Albaugh 1958:45-46).

The first reference to Jefferson occurs in the second month. The quotes given below are formatted similar to the style that Albaugh used to present this information in his book.

\_\_\_\_\_ April 18, 1864. Hill to Thomas. G. Rhett,

Chief. Ordnance and Artillery, Shreveport, TMD,

. . . I will send out a train . . . 160,000 rounds

of small arms ammunition, 1, 700 cartridges boxes,

cap boxes and belts, .... Shall I send direct to

Jefferson or to Shreveport. I believe that by now

the river must be down and I think it best to send

to Shreveport direct (Albaugh 1958:59).

This is the first mention of Jefferson by name in Albaugh. While the ammunition noted might have been placed in one of the Jefferson magazines and awaited transport by boat, other supplies would have been stored in covered sheds or frame buildings like those mentioned in the 1866 bill of sale noted earlier when boats were not immediately available. This reference helps establish the transport options available to Tyler, Marshall, and towns to the west for sending supplies and goods to the east. It also suggests Hill might have preferred Jefferson's waterway when it was not low. According to later entries, as the war progressed and wagon transport became a less accessible, using the Jefferson route took on more importance.

\_\_\_\_\_ April 22, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G. Rhett,

Chief Ordnance and Artillery, Shreveport, DTM,

I noticed among the stores at this place for

Shreveport, a large lot of white fool's cap paper.

. . I . . . need . . . for making out my reports .  
. . to write neatly upon .... Please give an order  
on Capt. Leavenworth to turn over a supply to me  
(Albaugh 1958:60).

\_\_\_\_\_ May 15, 1864 Hill to Maj. T.G. Rhett, Ordnance

and Artillery, Shreveport Dep. Trans-Mississippi,

. . I started today a train of 10 wagons loaded  
with the most valuable of the Shreveport ordnance  
stores here under Mr. Bennet's (wagon master) care  
to Jefferson. The train will take nearly 1/2 the  
stores, and I will send the others on return train  
unless otherwise ordered.... If it can be done, I  
think you had better get them to send from  
Jefferson a larger train for the ammunition. The  
train I have ... is nearly broken down....

Everything in the Dept. of Transportation is  
employed in hauling commissary stores for the  
Federal prisoners.... (Albaugh 1958:68).

This entry is important since it specifically mentions stores that are distinguished clearly from munitions, indicating that Jefferson served broader distribution functions than simply ordnance. Again, munitions these trains transported might end up in one of Jefferson's brick magazines whereas battle gear and other equipment would be stored elsewhere when waiting boats were not present. Second, it reveals that the TMD suffered greatly in its transport of other critical supplies due to its successes in capturing several thousand Union soldiers, many taken on April 8 in the battle of Mansfield, Louisiana. Certainly, these efforts to feed Union prisoners at Camp Ford directly affected the operations of the Tyler ordnance works and Lieutenant Colonel Hill.

\_\_\_\_\_ June 6, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G. Rhett,

Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM

. . . I plan to send an 8 ox wagon train to

Jefferson with ammunition in a few days, and want

powder by the return train (Albaugh 1958; 73).

This particular reference might be directly linked to the three Jefferson ordnance magazines. Before the production of gun powder at the newly built Marshall Powder Mill in the summer of 1864, Hill had to secure this resource from elsewhere. The request for powder above suggests that Hill was either using all the Marshall powder being sent to him or that the Marshall Mill was not yet operating. Luke (1978) indicates that the Marshall Powder Mill was in full production by September 1864.

The shipment of gun powder through Jefferson would certainly require special storage buildings such as the magazines there. The movement of gun powder was probably not a major item in the East Texas network until the Tyler facility started producing cartridges and other ammunitions creating local demand. Production at Tyler started in November 1863 and thus it is after this date that the brick magazines in Jefferson may have been constructed. Certainly, if they were already standing, then their usage would have been in greater demand as explosive materials were redistributed to the new ordnance works in East Texas. The use of Jefferson's various ordnance facilities seem frequent in the summer of 1864 as the following quotes indicate.

\_\_\_\_\_ July 9, 1864. Hill to Maj. T. G. Rhett, Chf

Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM,

. . . Your telegram of the 1st., via Jefferson and

through Capt. Leavenworth, Jefferson Ordnance

officer, has just been received . . . (Albaugh

1958:86).

\_\_\_\_\_ August 13, 1864. Hill to Maj. T. G. Rhett,

Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM,

The accouterments will be sent as directed to care

of Capt. Leavenworth at Jefferson, the last of

this week (Albaugh 1958:95).

\_\_\_\_\_ August 22, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G. Rhett,  
Chf. of Ord. DTM, Shreveport, La.,

. . . I shall send off in the morning all the  
accouterments on hand ready for shipment to Capt.

C. W. Wailey, care of Capt. F.P. Leavenworth, Ord.

Officer, Jefferson, Texas (Albaugh 1958:96).

Since Captain Wailey was stationed at Shreveport, this indicates that the waterway was being used for shipping materials to Shreveport. Wailey had taken command of the Shreveport Arsenal after Captain Leavenworth was transferred to Jefferson (Albaugh 1958:71). The next entry also indicates that the Jefferson water route was used to ship ordnance supplies to Shreveport.

\_\_\_\_\_ August 23, 1864. Hill to Capt. C.W. Wailey,

Comdg. Shreveport, Arsenal,

. . . Enclosed, please find invoices and receipt  
for 1000 infantry cartage [cartridge] boxes, 650  
cvly. [cavalry] crtge. boxes, 1550 cap boxes,  
etc., etc., this day shipped to you through Capt.

F.P. Leavenworth, Jefferson Texas, via wagon

train. . . (Albaugh 1958:97).

\_\_\_\_\_ August 23, 1864. Hill to Maj. G.D. Alexander,

Comdg. Arsenal, Marshall, Texas,

A train of wagons will arrive at Marshall from  
Jefferson in a few days . . . Please have sent the  
remaining 500 lb. powder called for in the order .

. . (Albaugh 1958:97).

\_\_\_\_\_ August 23, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G. Rhett,

Chf. of Ord., DTM, Shreveport, La.,

I send this morning to Capt. Leavenworth at  
Jefferson for Capt. Wailey, 1100 inf. cart. boxes,  
650 cay. ditto, 1550 cap pouches, 1750 waist belts  
and 648 tin canteens and straps, all that I had  
boxed and ready for shipment 1958:97 98).

\_\_\_\_\_ August 24, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G. Rhett,

Chf. of Ord. DTM, Shreveport, La.,

Please . . . supply me with as many buckles for  
waist belts as you can spare. My wagons will call  
for them on their return from Jefferson (sent by  
Telegraph from Henderson; Albaugh 1958:99).

There is a considerable gap in the correspondence listed by Albaugh (1958:99-183) for which no references to Jefferson appear. It is not known if he omitted these among other references or if Lieutenant Colonel Hill altered his transport logistics or correspondence practices. The next reference encountered, however, indicates that Captain Leavenworth shipped iron skillets to Hill in September 1864. Several references to shipments and receipts for shipments from iron works in Marion County are present (Nov. 14, Dec. 7, 1864; Feb. 1, 1865) during this period (Albaugh 1958: 127, 134, 157). These reference various military staff at the Government Iron Works in Marion County.

\_\_\_\_\_ April 19, 1865. Hill to Capt. F.P.

Leavenworth, Ord. Off, Jefferson, Texas,

Sometime in last Sept. I rec'd from you 20  
skillets and lids which I have never receipted to  
you for. If you will send me invoices, I will  
return you receipts . (Albaugh 1958:183).

Nine months later, an end came to this supply and ordnance network as Union troops moved across Louisiana and into Shreveport. There is a direct reference to the impending loss of ordnance stores at Jefferson indicating that the ordnance facilities were still in very active use.

\_\_\_\_\_ May 24, 1865. Hill to Col. Joe Shelby,

. . . The stores you have at Marshall and

Jefferson, I do not think you will get. . . .

Capt. Watkins has just arrived from Marshall. He

reports that on last Monday night the Federals

were in Shreveport, that the Army below has broken

up - make haste and send for your ammunition

(Albaugh 1958:208).

\_\_\_\_\_ May 26, 1865. Hill to Col. Blackwell, Comdg.

Post, Tyler, Texas,

. . . I find my men leaving me so rapidly that I

shall be unable to keep any kind of a guard on

duty more than today . . . In the morning, I will

publish an order disbanding the Ordnance Works at

this place (Albaugh 1958:209).

#### Official Surrender of the TMD and Reconstruction Era References to the Magazines

On May 26, 1865, General Edmund Kirby Smith agreed to surrender the TMD to U.S. General E.R.S Canby in New Orleans (Gallaway 1972:254). On June 2, Smith officially signed the terms of surrender at Galveston. As a result, the ordnance network across the TMD was disbanded while some parts were physically destroyed (Luke 1978:9; Albaugh 1958:209). The brick magazines at Jefferson escaped immediate destruction and were still standing along with other buildings on this tract in March 1866 (Marion County Deeds ) but were not acknowledged as important property by the U.S. Government at the end of Reconstruction in Texas. The magazines were further maintained in Jefferson through local ordinances that specified their use for storing gun powder. For example, Article XIII of an Ordinance to establish a penal code for Jefferson fin 1872 (page 189) specifically mentions the word "magazine" and is quoted below:

-----To preserve the keeping of Gun powder in the  
City.-----

\_\_\_\_\_ No person shall be allowed to keep for sale  
in a warehouse or Magazine or other place, except in  
the magazine in this City, not more than twenty five  
pounds of gun powder at any one time, and that in a  
tight canister, and sold only in daylight and any  
person violating this article, shall on conviction be  
fined not less than ten, not more than twentyfive  
dollars.\_\_\_\_\_

Three other references identified among the City of Jefferson minutes between 1869 and 1872 mention a powder magazine or powder house. Minutes dated September 20, 1869, mention a powder magazine in contexts that are not decipherable. City minutes from December 26, 1870, are more interpretable and convey the following:

. . on motion that the powder house not be leased  
anymore, for any further time, and Mr. Beddle be  
notified of this same and on motion that the Mayor  
appoint a Committee to find a suitable place to  
construct a new powder house consisting of Johnson,  
Schliter, Williams, on motion that a ...

(Jefferson City Minutes December 26, 1870).

This reference, as noted for the 1872 ordinance above, mentions "powder house" in the singular. These both suggest that the city was using only one such building and this information may indicate that the two other sister buildings referred to in oral history may have been abandoned or may have served different functions by these dates. Oral histories collected in the 1970s and 1980s mention that one of the brick buildings had an exterior staircase and second floor that was possibly used for sleeping quarters. This could also apply to the extant magazine given its loft and upper level windows and precise data is not given. This combined with the city minutes

might suggest some differences in the three buildings that may relate to storage of different materials and to security and habitation differences. At this time, the extant example is designed very much like some other munitions magazines (see Fort Davis magazine in Greene 1986:517, 546; De Long 1979:420-421). The term magazine was used in the 18th century to refer to a place where all sorts of military stores were kept, not just explosives (Noel Hume 1974: 186). From the correspondence identified, it is this munitions function that seems most applicable to the military use of the extant magazine for the 1864 and 1865 period.

Finally, city minutes dated May 23, 1872, mention a different powder magazine that may be connected to the oral legend of the movement of Jefferson's powder to a location at the grave yard to avoid detection by Union troops. For example, "On motion of Mr. Ligon, adopted it was resolved that the Police Chief have the Powder Magazine at the Grave Yard and all the improvements on the City Park, except the Church and Engine house, Sold, and moved within ten days after the sale of same." This particular reference does not refer to the area discussed here but to the grave yard 4,000 feet northwest. This is the only primary reference discovered so far that mentions a powder magazine at the grave yard.

The Annual Report issued by the Chief of Ordnance to the U.S. Secretary of War for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1873 noted:

The title of the U.S. in the captured lands and tenements at Shreveport, Louisiana, Marshall Texas, and in the Marion and Davis counties, Texas was found not to be of sufficient marketable value to warrant proceedings under law and the interest of the U.S. in the properties has been relinquished to the owners  
(Gleason n.d.)

The sparing from destruction of the brick magazines at Jefferson in 1873, and preservation of one of them, is due partly to their secluded location; the legendary reuse of at least one for storing explosives in the latter 19th century; and the local respect, romanticism, and reverence for their role in the Civil War. While the previous quotes and sources indicate that the Jefferson ordnance facilities served important functions in the transport and shipment of ordnance materials and supplies, a broader historical framework is helpful to understand the logistical problems facing the movement of materials across East Texas. The following provides a look at transportation problems that made Jefferson's port more valuable as the war raged on.

Wartime Shortages and the Ordnance Supply System: Further Discussions and Interpretations

The manufacture, procurement, security and redistribution of weapons, ammunitions, tools, and equipment were duties of the Confederacy's Ordnance Department. The correspondence paints a partial picture of a much broader network of military facilities and officers. Major supply depots and industrial facilities were south, southwest, and northwest of Jefferson (Stephens and Holmes 1989:40a). The closest to Jefferson was Marshall, about 20 miles south with an estimated population of 4,000 in 1860 (Texas Almanac 1969: 173).

Marshall had several major wartime facilities including the Headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Department's Medical Bureau, Conscription, Quartermaster, and Postal Services, as well as two military hospitals, a Commissary Bureau, and an Ordnance Bureau, Depot and Arsenal (Fox 1983:254-259; Luke 1978; Roney 1962:55; Albaugh 1958). Its various ordnance facilities produced gun powder, rifles, pistols, rifle parts, bayonets, and cap boxes, and other facilities produced saddles, harnesses, iron implements, and clothing. The powder mill produced much of the powder shipped to Jefferson for distribution to CSA troops and facilities to the east. Three wartime conferences involving military officials from Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Texas met in Marshall and the 1862 meeting resulted in the establishment of the TMD-CSA to coordinate efforts from these four states. When the State of Missouri fell under Union occupation, its governor and other state officials made Marshall their wartime capitol in exile. At the end of the Civil War, an explosion destroyed some of the Marshall powder mill and wartime industrial complex and no buildings were reported at that site when archaeological investigations were conducted in the early 1970s (Luke 1978; Weir 1973). It is evident from correspondence quoted by Albaugh that the telegraph network of the Texas and Red River Telegraph Company (Chartered January 5, 1854), with an office in Marshall, greatly assisted communications when lines were open. This convenience, for example, allowed TMD offices in Marshall to reach Shreveport, Alexandria, and New Orleans, Louisiana, Natchez, Mississippi, and Henderson, Rusk, Houston, and Galveston, Texas, all of which were connected as early as 1855 (Webb 1952:720).

About 60 miles west southwest of Marshall were other important TMD facilities at Tyler (population about 1,500 in 1860; Texas Almanac 1969:175; Stephens and Holmes 1989:40a). Powder, gun stocks, rifles, cartridges, rifle and musket balls, rifle repairs, cartridge boxes, cap boxes, and waist belts were produced at Tyler (Goff 1969: 134-35). One of only nine CSA medical laboratories was near Tyler, next to Headache Springs, and produced medicines and whiskey (Dooley and Dooley 1986:504). At Neches Saline, about 20 miles southwest of Tyler, up to twelve furnaces were used to extract salt from saline water yielding 100 bushels per day during the war after the Union embargo cut off outside supplies. Some of salt would have been shipped directly to Jefferson to assist in the production of beef packed in barrels. The largest CSA prisoner of war camp west of the Mississippi River was established in the summer of 1863, south of Tyler, replacing a training facility that Colonel John S. "Rip" Ford started about a year earlier. After Confederate victories at Mansfield, Louisiana, and Mark's Mills, Arkansas, as many as 4,700 Union prisoners may have been incarcerated in this camp.

#### Movement of Ordnance Production Facilities Westward

The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine, along with other buildings, served a crucial role in the procurement and redistribution of ordnance materials and finished goods associated with the

TMD when munitions production facilities were built in East Texas after the summer of 1863. The broadest context available is derived from the primary research conducted by Albaugh on the Tyler Ordnance Works and the archaeological and historical studies performed at the Marshall Powder Mill site (Weir 1973; Luke 1978). The following is a summary of the general pattern of events that may have been the impetus for constructing brick magazines at Jefferson between late 1863 and mid 1864 since direct documentation has not been located. One view is that if the Confederacy's arsenals to the east had not been destroyed or displaced, the magazine at Jefferson would have been unnecessary.

The evacuation of major ordnance facilities in Little Rock, Arkansas, in August 1863 was the culmination of nearly a year of searching for more secure locations further west. Little Rock was abandoned to the Union on September 7, 1863. Three months earlier, Major Thomas G. Rhett had rented with purchase rights a tract in Shreveport and begun setting up an arsenal under the command of Captain F.P. Leavenworth. As various facilities were evacuated well ahead of Union movements across Arkansas, new locations were selected and new facilities constructed. Major Rhett, reporting on these efforts in October 1863 to Major J.P. Johnson, noted:

. . . ordnance work were in full operation at Little  
Rock Arkadelphia and Camden and a shop for the repair  
of arms at Fort Smith; but by reason of the movements  
recently ordered, and the approach of the Federal  
forces, all of these workshops and establishments have  
been removed to places of safety: the machinery, tools,  
stores, and men from Arkadelphia to Marshall, Tex. and  
the machine tools, stores, and men from Camden to  
Shreveport, La. I am establishing at Tyler a laboratory  
for fabricating battery, small armsammunition,  
carpenters' and blacksmiths' shop, and shop for repairs  
of arms, I am also in treaty for the purchase of a  
manufactory of small arms located at that point . . .

At Marshall, Texas I am having buildings erected for  
manufacture of small arms, smiths' and carpenters shop

powder mill and magazine, and am concentrating at that point large supplies of heavy material such as saltpeter, sulphur, lead and iron and I intend it to be a depot for supplies arriving from Mexico (O.R. I xxii, 2:1141-42).

Production started under the CSA command at new facilities in Tyler in November 1863 and at Marshall sometime between March and August 1864 (Albaugh 1958:41; Luke 1978:5-6). As both of these ordnance works prepared for production, the movement of raw materials, supplies, and finished ordnance became one of the most critical factors affecting the efficiency of this segment of the TMD's ordnance capabilities. Preferences for waterway routes would become more favorable as wagons and forage grew scarce. The role of Jefferson's ordnance magazines in this broader procurement network is more easily understood from correspondence between various key commanders and ordnance officials. Map 1 provides a view of the towns mentioned in various references and shows the location of other geographical data to illustrate the growing shortages and major transportation problems. Wartime Shortages and the Jefferson Water Route

The Jefferson ordnance facilities, the larger arena in which the sole remaining magazine participated, served important intermediary roles in the transport and redistribution of finished ordnance supplies and raw materials between East Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas. It is evident in correspondence between key commanders and ordnance officials that growing shortages frustrated them. The Jefferson magazines and other ordnance buildings occupied a key geographical position between ordnance depots at Shreveport, Marshall, and Tyler. The following passages from Albaugh stress the urgency to develop and operate an efficient transportation and military redistribution network to serve all the needs of the growing East Texas munitions facilities. Requests by Lieutenant Colonel Hill in Tyler for materials stored at Shreveport would have two major routes for westward shipment; one, by water, to Jefferson followed by overland wagon and the other by wagon through Marshall and on to Tyler. A sample of references attest to the growing difficulty of wagon transport. These statements indicate one role that the Jefferson and Big Cypress Bayou waterway played in 1864 as wagons and draft animals grew scarce and the war went into its third year.

\_\_\_\_\_ Thursday, March 10, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G.

Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., TMD, Shreveport, La.

I shall now be in want of more powder. All my rifle powder is now expended. .. I have quite a large amount of ammunition on hand.... am

expecting wagons daily to receive it (Albaugh 1958:49).

\_\_\_\_\_ Wednesday, April 13, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos.

G. Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, D.T.M.

I am nearly out of band iron for bands for my guns. Can not you send me some? . . . It will be impossible for me to do without it (Albaugh 1958:58).

\_\_\_\_\_ Friday, April 15, 1864. Hill to Maj. Rhett, Chf

Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM

I am nearly out of thread to make cartridges, and I find it impossible to get in the surrounding country. Please send some at once or I shall have to stop work. I am also nearly out of tin . . .

(Albaugh 1958:58).

\_\_\_\_\_ Thursday, April 21, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos.

G. Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, D.T.M.

. . . it will be impossible to get forage on the road. I therefore can not send the train. This post is almost destitute of forage and it will be a great tax if we are compelled to haul all the forage for trains leaving for Marshall or Shreveport (Albaugh 1958:59-60).

\_\_\_\_\_ Monday, May 2, 1864. Hill to Maj. Rhett, Chf  
Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, D.T.M.

Means of transportation is very bad at this post  
because of the large train "commissary) required  
to supply the Federal prisoners. There is not a  
wagon to be gotten in the country . . . (Albaugh  
1958:62-63).

\_\_\_\_\_ Thursday, May 20, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G.  
Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, TDM.

I am out of lead entirely and no train that I can  
learn of is on the road from Cotton Gin with any  
this country has not got the transportation in it  
either to impress or to hire as the ACS and AQM  
have everything in the shape of wagons, mules,  
etc. hauling corn and provisions to supply the  
yankee prisoners (Albaugh 1958:70-71).

\_\_\_\_\_ Monday, June 6, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G.  
Rhett, Chf Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM

By the day after tomorrow I will be entirely out  
of powder and will be compelled to stop work in  
the Laboratory.... I am also almost out of files  
(Albaugh 1958:73).

\_\_\_\_\_ Thursday, June 9, 1864. Hill to Capt. E.M.

Bacon, Post Quarter Master, "Tax in Kind, " Marshall,  
Texas.

I would like the privilege of collecting the tithe-  
in-kind in this district for forage.... my teams  
... are now suffering very much.... I have  
depended upon the Quartermaster Dept. for forage  
and as a result I am nearly starved out. The  
Quartermaster has as much as they can do to get  
their own forage (Albaugh 1958:74).

\_\_\_\_\_ Tuesday, June 14, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G.

Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM.

I am now entirely out of transportation. The mules  
we had for the last few months have been taken by  
their owners. I respectfully request an order  
allowing me to impress mules, for they can not be  
gotten in any other way in this country (Albaugh  
1958:76-77).

\_\_\_\_\_ Wednesday, June 15, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos.

G. Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM.

. . . I have tried all the Iron Works around, and  
can not get a supply of gun scalps, and I have no  
iron on hand fit to make them . . . (Albaugh  
1958:77).

\_\_\_\_\_ Wednesday, June 22, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos.

G. Rhett, Chf Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM.

I have your requisition for Capt. W. H. Lewis, and am sorry to say that it can only be partially filled.... I have no powder nor have I had any this month and have been forced to suspend operations on account of it.... Please send me some soon as possible as my cartridge boys are doing nothing (Albaugh 1958:79-80).

\_\_\_\_\_ Thursday, June 23, 1864. Hill to Lt. B.

Atkinson, Dept. Ord. Officer, Fort Washita, Choctaw Nation.

. . .The powder sent by you is received in bad condition and will have to be completely overhauled to ascertain the condition (Albaugh 1958:80).

This entry certainly suggests that the Tyler Ordnance Works needed powder badly to have it shipped from Fort Washita nearly 150 miles northwest. As noted previously, the Marshall Powder Mill was not yet in full production at this date (Luke 1978).

\_\_\_\_\_ Wednesday, June 29, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G.

Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM

I am nearly out of material for making gun barrels

.... In the meantime ... I will stock double

barreled guns. I will soon be out of spring

steel.... I have been using for this purpose old circular saws, having purchased 2 or 3 old ones last winter. ... I know where there are 6 or 8 more not fit for sawing, but the people will not sell them. I would like permission to impress them. (Albaugh 1958:82).

While this correspondence from Lieutenant Colonel Gabriel H. Hill emphasizes his shortages, both actual and impending if certain supplies were not received from nearby depots in a timely fashion, the Tyler Ordnance Works still produced substantial finished products. For example, production for the quarter (April, May, and June 1864) covers all but the first quote noted several pages back. This quarter included fabrication of 673 gun barrels (232 defective in two firings leaving only 441 fully completed rifles, altering to percussion 16 old flint muskets), 8,000 feet of gun stock timber, production of 754,222 cartridges of all kinds, 3,668 metal magazines, 1,818 metal canteens, 2,225 leather infantry cartridge boxes, 603 other leather boxes (percussion cap boxes, cavalry boxes, etc.), 1,778 leather waist belts, three saddles, and numerous repairs of all types of items. Of course, production could have been much higher if various materials were received without delays or without defective problems (Albaugh 1958:8 3-85).

The manufacture of 750,000 cartridges of ammunition required substantial gun powder. Lieutenant Colonel Hill makes at least five specific references to running out of powder between March 10 and September 12, 1864. It is not unlikely, given the absence of full production of powder at the Marshall Powder Mill during this period, to conclude that some of the powder stored in Jefferson was shipped to Hill in Tyler. This is especially realistic given the poor condition of powder sent from Fort Washita, requiring it to be completely overhauled. In this context, the Jefferson magazines would have helped sustain Hill's production and stored powder while wagon transport was being arranged.

\_\_\_\_\_ Saturday, July 30, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos. G.

Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM.

I am entirely out of files. I am out of powder, and doing no work in the Laboratory (Albaugh 1958:89).

\_\_\_\_\_ Wednesday, August 24, 1864. Hill to Capt.

J.C.Kirby, AQM, Tyler, Texas

I am very much in need of the four six-mule teams  
and wagons ordered . . . as I will have to stop  
my works unless I am supplied . . . (Albaugh  
1958:98).

\_\_\_\_\_ Monday, September 12, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos.

G. Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM.

I am very much in need of powder and caps . . .  
nails, 6 & 8, for I am entirely out . Please send  
some of the linen, and . . griddle for cooking  
cakes (Albaugh 1958:103).

Mid late 1864 seem to yield fewer indications of the same shortages in supplies or materials. Entries note that 28,356 pounds of lead slabs were received (September 16) through the San Antonio DTM Mining Chief, 4,017 pounds of rifle powder and 3,312 buckles from Marshall (September 17), \$20,000 (cash), and 3,000 pounds of leather (sole; Sept. 22). Problems with transportation and material shortages begin again in mid October.

\_\_\_\_\_ Wednesday, October 12, 1864. Hill to Maj.

Thos. G. Rhett, Cht Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM.

It will be impossible for me to do anything in the  
way of building until I can get transportation....  
it is impossible to hire wagons and transportation  
with Confederate money . . . I respectfully  
request that you procure me an order from the  
Comdg Gent'l, allowing me to impress such  
transportation as I require. (Albaugh 1958:117).

\_\_\_\_\_ Friday, October 14, 1864. Hill to Maj. Thos.

G. Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM.

I am entirely out of nails. What am I to do for them in building my new Armory and shops? (Albaugh 1958:119).

\_\_\_\_\_ Thursday, December 8, 1864. Hill to Maj.

Thos. G. Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., Shreveport, DTM.

. . . I have now under my control 5, six-mule wagons and teams- four turned over to Capt. J.K Kirby AQM . . . one hired of Mrs. Carson . . . 2 four-mule wagons and teams, one . . . brought from little Rock and one hired from Mr. Jesse Thomas . . . Four four-yoke ox team hired from Mrs. Jas. Johnson, is in very bad condition, the ox being nearly broken down . . . My mule teams are kept very busy hauling coal . . . 7 miles, my lumber - 18, and forage from 12 to 20 miles . . . I should have at least 8 to 10 more wagons . . . (Albaugh 1958: 135).

\_\_\_\_\_ Saturday, December 15, 1864. Hill to Maj.

Thos. G. Rhett, Chf. Ord. & Arty., TMD, Shreveport.

. . . it would be impossible for me to send the lead as I had no transportation and I could not get it . . . both have had me all over the country

for 100 miles around this place, and they have failed to hire teams. The country around here is almost entirely destitute of wagons and mules . .

. (Albaugh 1958: 139).

A review of shortages noted in day entries in 1865 begin to show the great toll that four years of war had taken on Texans and their resources. The following provides an abbreviated accounting of a variety of scarce items. These complaints were from Lieutenant Colonel Hill in Tyler.

- completely out of nails, nearly out of buckles and copper (January 18; Albaugh 1958: 152).

-out of glass bottles and impossible to get (January 18; Albaugh 1958:152).

-need vessels for dishing up food and spittoons (January 27; Albaugh 1958:155).

-linseed oil needed (February 8; Albaugh 1958: 159).

-need \$35,000 to pay indebtedness carried over from 1864, nearly out of leather (February 10; Albaugh 1958:152).

-laboratory shut down due to lack of cartridge paper and tanners are mostly idle for lack of tin block (February 20; Albaugh 1958:161). -have to haul corn 30 to 35 miles and desperate for transportation and teams (February 20; Albaugh 1958:161162).

-almost out of cap paper, steel pens, letter paper (February 27; Albaugh 1958: 164).

-given boys as new guards for ordnance works (March 8; Albaugh 1958: 168).

-special plea for harness maker tools, tin block, borax and nails (March 13; Albaugh 1958: 168- 169).

-special request for clothing for 60 men from the Army of Arkansas and Missouri that were nearly naked when reporting to Hill (March 13; Albaugh 1958:168-169).

-need beeswax and propose to trade damaged percussion caps not fit for army issue (March 14; Albaugh 1958:170). received damaged and utterly worthless

letter paper and poor pens (March 15; Albaugh 1958:170-

171). -notes that a Tyler merchant asks \$6 to \$7 in

specie or \$150 to \$175 in Confederate money for the

same item (March 15; Albaugh 1958: 171).

### The Surrender of General Lee and the Subsequent Surrender of the TMD

On April 10, 1865, General Robert E. Lee issued general orders for surrendering his Army to the Union. Lee started his communication with an obvious reference to-the material surpluses of the North in comparison to the Confederacy's lack of resources: "After four years of arduous services, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources."(Albaugh 1958: 175). Over the next month other armies and generals surrendered to the North. What is quite recognizable from a variety of documents is that the TMD did not view this sequence of events as requiring it to follow automatically the rest of the Confederacy. Major General John Pope offered General Smith and the TMD, in writing on April 19, 1865, the same terms of surrender Lee had accepted from Grant (Gallaway 1972:253; Webb 1952b: 149). Smith waited more than three weeks before writing back to Major General Pope on May 9 and rejecting the peace offer. On the same day, Smith wrote to the governors of TMD states to update them and to call them to Marshall on May 15 for a conference on the entire matter. In the mean time, a battle between the TMD and Union troops occurred at Palmito Ranch in South Texas on May 12. On May 15 governors of the TMD states met in Marshall and recommended that Smith surrender the TMD. The terms this TMD

committee drew up, however, were too optimistic and U.S. officials rejected them (Webb 1952b: 149).

After the conference, Smith took another 11 days before he agreed, on May 26, 1865, to surrender the TMD to U.S. General Canby in New Orleans. Another week passed before Smith signed the official terms of surrender at Galveston (June 2, 1865). A few days earlier on May 30, Smith had informed Union authorities that his army had disbanded and his Department was open for occupation. Many behind-the-scene communications, if ever reconstructed, would shed more light on this period and what occurred on in each camp (U.S. v. TMD). For example on May 25, or one day before the formally acknowledged event of Smith agreeing to, but not signing the terms of surrender, the 25th U.S. Army Corps was alerted to prepare for occupation duty in Texas (Albaugh 1958; Ashcraft 1962; Gallaway 1972:253-254; Webb 1952b: 149).

Various plans formulated since 1863 indicated that the TMD had no intention of surrendering on the same terms as the besieged and battered eastern Confederacy. This is particularly evident in the day-book of Lieutenant Colonel Hill at Tyler. Most of Texas remained unscathed by war and its boundaries were additionally secured by treaties with Indian Nations to its north, a not unfriendly Mexico to the south (in the middle of its own civil upheaval), and large settled areas on its east with good resources and personnel (Albaugh 1958:200).

Entries continued in the Tyler ordnance day-book and work does not show any significant change probably since the TMD did not officially accept any terms of surrender until May 26, 1865. On this day Lieutenant Colonel Hill made his last entry into his day-book and formally disbanded the Tyler Ordnance Works turning over equipment and supplies to Major Lawrence. It is evident in these writings that some TMD officers were considering options and negotiations other than unconditional surrender. The majority of the recruits in the army and much of the public, however, had endured enough and no longer believed fighting was possible or fruitful (Albaugh 1958).

Hill (Albaugh 1958:207) wrote on May 24 that three days earlier the quartermaster's stores had been forcibly entered and most of the supplies removed. On May 23, Hill notes that town women raided the post commissary and were repulsed, but returned largely reinforced the next day chanting "Blood or Sugar" (Albaugh 1958:207). They were dispersed without violence, but typified the deteriorating state of affairs in Tyler. This entry indicates to General Joe Shelby that the stores in Marshall and Jefferson will probably be lost to similar fate. Local legend conveys that the powder was removed from the three Jefferson magazines along Big Cypress Bayou to prevent seizure by Union troops. The powder was removed to the Jefferson cemetery about 4,200 feet northwest of the magazines. The legend indicates that a magazine was built in the cemetery and documents found by local historians verify this account (Jefferson City Minutes, May 23, 1870 call for the demolition of this magazine in the grave yard as noted earlier).

Other legends indicate that muskets and other firearms were hidden from Union troops in a temporary "magazine" that reused a large city cistern, apparently dry, under one of the streets in town. Obviously, a cistern is not a permanent facility and heavy rains would fill this type of underground feature. Furthermore, these weapons were probably removed from other ordnance buildings in Jefferson, such as the eight-room frame ordnance building the U.S. Treasury

representatives sold in 1866 and noted as part of the complex next to the magazine. The previous references are the only other historical references to magazines in Jefferson found in more than 15 years of research for the Civil War and Reconstruction period in Jefferson and indicate the importance of the powder and munitions stored in the brick building along Big Cypress Bayou (see extensive files with Historic Jefferson Foundation for research conducted since 1975).

### Summary of Areas of Significance and Historic Context

The broader historical setting and pattern of events surrounding the TMD ordnance network in East Texas and Jefferson given in the previous pages are now applied to support the areas of significance using National Register criteria and terminology. The extant magazine was just one of three buildings used to store munitions. Larger ordnance facilities in Jefferson were the focus of much of the noted activity and it is not always possible to distinguish when any of the Jefferson magazines were specifically used. Instead, the historical context given requires matching Hill's multiple references to shortages of powder to the larger network moving this commodity between the Shreveport Arsenal and Tyler before full production from the Marshall Powder Mill complex. Given the strong Confederate presence in both Jefferson and Marion County, it is reasonable to conclude that such key facilities as magazines would not be mentioned in contexts that would jeopardize or compromise their locations. The call for usable powder by Hill in early to mid 1864 and the U.S. Treasury's disposition of Confederate ordnance buildings on the same tract containing this building in early 1866 provide the temporal envelope for this property.

The Jefferson magazine has strong integrity and several associations are sought under the criteria of significance. The structural design of this building, for example, is significant for the information it contains regarding the engineering principles used and the venting system placed in its walls. Very few examples of brick powder magazines and ordnance magazines predating 1866 exist in Texas, and this is the only known example of a kind of "portage-related" military magazine not built within or next to a military fort, arsenal or cantonment, but constructed as an integral part of a military distribution and storage system for transferring goods between two different transportation methods (water and land).

### Criterion A: Military

The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine is directly associated with the TMD-CSA's military procurement and ordnance system linking Shreveport facilities to those in Marshall and Tyler. Documents establish that this transport link, under control of Jefferson ordnance officer Captain F.P. Leavenworth, was in existence by at least March or April 1864, if not earlier. The supplies held in the Jefferson Ordnance Magazine are last mentioned by Lieutenant Colonel Hill, (Commander, Tyler Ordnance Works) on the same day, May 26, 1865, that General Smith agreed to surrender the TMD to U.S. General Canby in New Orleans. Shortages in materials and inadequate overland transportation made the Jefferson link an important water route to the east when wheeled vehicles were not available for hire or for impressing under military rule in 1864 (Albaugh 1958). Shipments through Jefferson included a variety of goods and munitions, underscoring the importance that this specially constructed building played in a regional military redistribution network.

The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine retains its integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association under this criterion and its direct association with the military transport and transfer of key materials through Jefferson. Ordnance and supplies would be unloaded next to this building and either transferred to a waiting wagon or boat, if available, or temporarily stored in one of the three specially constructed brick magazines until shipped under orders from various commanders.

#### Criterion C: Engineering

The magazine is also considered significant under Criterion C for its special type and method of construction used to build ordnance magazines in the mid 19th century. Unlike domestic buildings, some architectural features and design elements are specific to the narrow function of this building. These features include specifications concerning safety, security, and air flow. The very thick lower walls without windows combined with the structurally light roof design would direct explosions upward rather than outward, thereby reducing casualties and other destruction to adjacent areas. The vent system may have been designed as an attempt to sustain an explosion without splitting the walls, as well as provide air circulation (instead of ground level windows). The door would probably have been designed to assist in minimizing the amount of lateral damage from an explosion. A weakly designed door would deflect some force outward toward the river, while a heavily reinforced, multiple layered door would have directed the force upward and toward the roof. Since the building maintains its architectural integrity, these engineering designs can be studied and compared to other extent examples across the South dating from the mid 19th century. The Jefferson Ordnance Magazine retains its integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association under this criterion in the area of engineering.

#### Criterion D: Engineering

The magazine is considered eligible under Criterion D for its special design features, which have not undergone formal study or detailed internal structural analyses, and it is likely that these features could yield information on such property types. For example, the brick bond on the exterior does not permit full understanding of the interior design of the lower walls. Consequently, the size of the vent spaces, the similarity of each vent system employed inside each wall, and the specific type of bond pattern used to fill the inside of these lower walls has not been studied to date. The composition of the original mortar in areas where it has not suffered leaching should be chemically examined to see if it meets any special military specifications for the time involved. Small details observed regarding imbedded copper nails indicate that a very close study of all wall surfaces may provide additional data on the construction and original design regarding minor elements no longer present.

Finally, the lack of notches built directly into the brick walls for securely seating rafters and joists needs to be critically studied and compared to other buildings to analyze if this design was to enhance the upward release of exploding materials and to avoid dangerous lateral ejection of debris. Consequently, this criterion addresses a need to recognize the many details yet to be studied regarding this building and its various elements and design. The Jefferson Ordnance

Magazine retains its integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association under this criterion in the area of engineering.

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