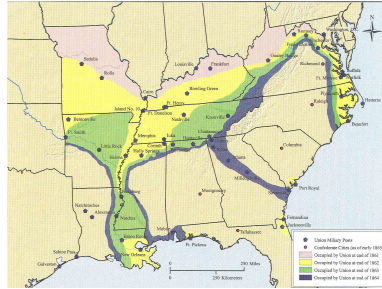


SPEAKING NOTES IN SANS SERIF.

I'm still "collecting" dots, not "connecting" dots.

I'm tracking and studying the experiences of enslaved people who were brought to Texas from neighboring Confederate states during the American Civil War.



Sheehan-Dean, *Concise Historical Atlas of the U.S. Civil War*, 79.

Events precipitating refugeeing around April/May 1862: Battle of Shiloh; Capture of New Orleans; followed by operations around New Orleans and Vicksburg in early 1863.

10th May (Sunday).—I spent a very rough night in consequence of the badness of the road, the jolting of the carriage, and having to occupy a centre seat.

In the morning we received news from every one we met of the fall of Alexandria.

The road to-day was alive with negroes, who are being "run" into Texas out of Banks' way. We must have met hundreds of them, and many families of planters, who were much to be pitied, especially the ladies.



Arthur Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States* (1864)

Approximately 200,000 slaves lived in Texas in 1861.

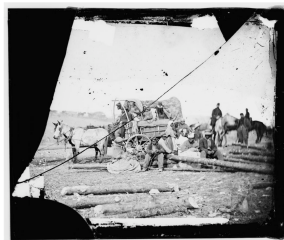
How many refugeeed slaves were brought to Texas during the War?

- 150,000?
- 30,000?
- 51,000 according to Baum 2008

Baum used county tax records to arrive at this new estimate. This method also makes it possible to determine where refugee slaves were most concentrated. **Show the GIS map.**

Significance?

1. Recover stories of enslaved people often forgotten.
 2. Challenge collective memory of war in Texas. Juneteenth/"how Texas won the Civil War."
 3. Test limits of emancipationist narrative of the Civil War. "Slavery died on the road." Yael Sternhell.
-



Not totally overturning this narrative. The effects of Union occupation in Louisiana did erode slavery there, but significant numbers of planters still made it with substantial numbers of slaves to Texas, crossing hundreds of miles to do so.

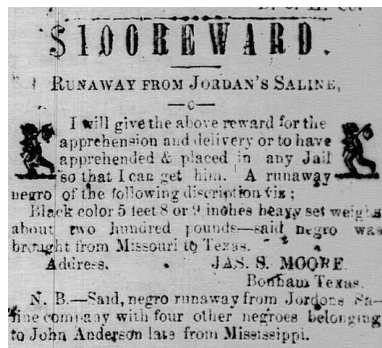
Some Likely Refugee Planters in Cherokee County

Planter	Slaves Taxed (1864)
Brethoupt	53
Flowers	124
R. C. Martin	27
R. L. Pugh	69
Peck	84
John Williams	44

These points make it worthwhile to look more closely. Methods: identify planters and look at their papers, newspapers, official records.



Robert Campbell Martin, Sr.



What I'm finding so far:

1. Refugees not moving in one direction; migration circuits; Trans-Mississippi.
2. Refugee slaves being put into a variety of hired situation.

What sorts of labor did hired-out slaves perform?

- State-run factories (clothing, iron, etc.)
- Small-scale grain farming
- Military transportation contracts
- Skilled labor like barrel-making
- Railroad and road construction
- Building fortifications
- **Salt works**

Show locations of salt domes on map. Salt works important given shortages during the war because of blockade. Also profitable for exempted salt makers. Government tries to get involved. Mounting evidence that refugee slaves were being used in these salt works.

I may have my Negroes to find out who is making salt. . . . Grissamour is working a salt spring some 75 miles off; and I have written to him to learn if I can hire Negroes to him. May do so to a Mr. Brooks of Smith Co. to whom Mr. W. & Richard P. have hired theirs.

R. C. Martin, Sr., September 2, 1863, Alto, Cherokee County

Potential conclusions ...

1. Refugees as economic actors; challenging refugee planters' own memory of their plight. Maggie Littlejohn Martin: "Pa is completely disgusted with 'T,' and the 'T's'—they have more respect for money than truth, and they seem to regard no contract they make as binding."
2. Help explain Reconstruction and postslavery. Baum 2008 estimates 60% of refugee slaves stayed. "Rehearsal for Reconstruction."

For more information, please visit:

<http://wiki.wcaleb.rice.edu>