

“My brave Texans, forward and take those heights!”¹

Jerome Bonaparte Robertson and the Texas Brigade

Terry Latschar

These words echoed through the battle line of the Texas brigade on July 2, 1863 on a ridge south of Gettysburg as Major General John Bell Hood ordered Brigadier General Jerome Robertson, commander of Hood’s famous Texas brigade, to lead his men into action. General Robertson then repeated those words with the authority and confidence needed to move his 1,400 men forward under artillery fire to engage the enemy on the rocky height 1,600 yards to their front. What kind of man could lead such a charge, and what kind of leader could inspire the aggressive Texans?

Jerome Bonaparte Robertson was born March 14, 1815, in Christian County, Kentucky, to Cornelius and Clarissa Robertson. When Jerome was eight years old, his father passed away and left his mother penniless. One of five children, and the oldest son, Jerome quickly left his childhood behind. As was the custom of the time, he was apprenticed to a hatter. Five years later Jerome’s master moved to St. Louis, Missouri. After five more years of industrious and demanding labor, when he was eighteen, Jerome was able to buy the remainder of his contract. During his time in St. Louis, Jerome was befriended by Dr. W. Harris, who educated him in literary subjects. The doctor was so taken with Robertson that he helped Jerome return to Kentucky and attend Transylvania University. There Jerome studied medicine and, in three years, graduated as a doctor in 1835. When he was twenty-one, Dr. Robertson settled in Owensboro, Kentucky, where he opened his medical practice.²

The new doctor had barely begun his practice when he felt the call of the battlefield. By 1836 Texas was committed to its revolution, and the Mexican Department of Texas appealed to American citizens to support the Texans in their fight for independence. Dr. Jerome Robertson caught the “Texas Fever” and joined a local company of recruits in Daviess County. After mustering in, he was elected second lieutenant but was quickly promoted to captain. Captain Robertson and his company arrived in San Jacinto, Mexico, just after the battle for independence had taken place. The company remained, however, in service of the Republic of Texas throughout 1836 and 1837.³

By 1837, Doctor Robertson had resumed his medical practice, but remained in Texas and made it his home. His brother, mother, and a few friends from Kentucky relocated there to join him, and they all settled at Washington-on-the-Brazos.⁴ One of these former Kentuckians was long-time friend Mary Elizabeth Cummins. On March 4, 1838, Jerome and Mary were married. Over the next several years they had three children: Felix Huston⁵, Julia Ann, and Henry Bell, who died in 1860 at age two.

In 1845, the Robertsons moved to Independence, Texas. For the next fifteen years Jerome practiced medicine and led an active political life. He organized and conducted military campaigns against Indians and Mexicans, served in numerous local, county, and state offices, and became mayor, postmaster, and even coroner. Perhaps through these experiences he was being prepared for the unimaginable challenges ahead. In 1861, he was elected as a delegate to the Texas Secession Convention. With a vote of 166 to 8 in favor of secession, on March 4, 1861, Texas became a “free, sovereign, and independent nation of the earth.”⁶ Robertson voted with the majority to take Texas out of the Union. He then sought to defend his decision by answering his beloved state’s call to the battlefield.

Robertson quickly worked to raise a company of volunteers in Washington County. To further show the commitment of the men to their cause, the company adopted the nickname the “Texas Aids.” This became their label until it was later officially designated Company I, 5th Texas. The men of the Texas Aids, by virtue of their nickname, had a reputation to uphold. In September, 1861, Jefferson Davis rallied the men of Company I:

TEXANS! The troops of other states have their reputations to gain; the sons of the defenders of the Alamo have theirs to maintain! I am assured that you will be faithful to the trust.⁷

On August 3, 1861, Robertson was elected captain of the company. Two months later he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 5th Texas Infantry Regiment.⁸ In June 1862, he was promoted to full colonel and assumed command of the 5th Texas from James Archer. By 1862, the Texas brigade, under the command of General Hood, was comprised of four regiments: the 1st, 4th, 5th Texas, and the 18th Georgia, with a strength of more than 2,000 men.

The summer campaign of 1862 was an arduous one for the Army of Northern Virginia. Colonel Robertson was wounded in the shoulder at Gaines Mill in June, in defense of Richmond. In August, during the Second Battle at Manassas, the right of Robertson’s regiment pushed ahead of the rest of the line. Robertson rushed his men forward, leading them on horseback. This brave move cost him another wound, this time in the groin.⁹ In spite of his injury Robertson was determined to lead his men north into Maryland. However, the combination of summer heat and persistent pain from his wounds was too much for him. He was overcome with exhaustion and collapsed near Boonsboro Gap in September 1862 and missed the Battle of Antietam while he was recuperating.

Displaying his characteristic strengths, Robertson quickly recovered and rejoined his beloved Texans. With organizational changes occurring in the Army of Northern Virginia, he was promoted to brigadier general on November 1, 1862, and was given command of Hood’s famed Texas brigade.¹⁰ Newly promoted Major General John Bell Hood took command of the division, now consisting of four brigades, and was one of three divisions under General James Longstreet’s command. Robertson’s new brigade, however, would carry the title of “Hood’s Texans.” The 18th Georgia was reassigned to a Georgia brigade, and the 3rd Arkansas took its place with the Texans, a position it held with dignity. One month later in December, General Robertson positioned his veteran brigade in the center of the Confederate line and prepared for battle in Fredericksburg. However, the center was the only section of Lee’s defenses that Burnside did not attack, so the Texas brigade suffered minimal casualties.

Robertson's brigade had earned a reputation for being so aggressive they were considered "terrors to the enemy." In a short speech on June 27, 1862, after the bloody battle of Gaines Mill, Senator Louis Wigfall rode out among the survivors to offer words of thanks and encouragement. A soldier from the 5th Texas remembered that in his speech the senator said

Last evening I was sitting on my horse near General Jackson when the musketry and cannon along the hills were more terrific than I ever heard. Just at this time a courier came running up and spoke to General Jackson. ... I asked the General, "what troops are in the field now?" He said, "Texans." I then threw my hat in the air and shouted to the utmost of my voice, "General the day is ours."¹¹

In spite of their reputation for ferociousness, the Texans revealed that they had a tender side. After the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862, soldiers from the brigade donated their own money to local citizens to help rebuild the homes destroyed by the Union bombardment. Robertson's brigade collected an incredible total of \$5,945 for the civilian cause.

General Robertson quickly earned the respect of his often-unruly troops, and ultimately earned a personal reputation of caring and concern for the well-being of his men. In a letter to General Hood dated July 17, 1862, this concern was evident:

General, I feel great reluctance in troubling you again about my sick and wounded, but I cannot shrink from my duty to them. I have not been able to hear of them. The Stark house hospital has been broken up and patients removed. To what point I cannot learn. I have made application several times to have them removed to our sick camp. I respectfully beg that I be allowed to send someone to look them up, and report them to me so that I may see and know that they have every attention and care that duty and humanity require at my hands.¹²

This type of worry and apprehension soon earned Robertson the nickname "Aunt Polly."

Robertson and his men spent the late winter of 1862 and early spring of 1863 near Richmond and Petersburg. "Aunt Polly" spent worrisome nights as the Texans and Arkansans occasionally "indulged themselves" in nearby towns. They earned a reputation for being splendid foragers, always scavenging for food and drink. The Texans regarded themselves as "experts in unauthorized procurement." On one occasion several of the boys tied a rope to a beehive and dragged it at a "sweeping trot, with men at one end of the rope and the beehive at the other."¹³ Soon the hive was demolished and the sweet honey ready for the taking.

Following a recruitment drive and foraging expedition carried out by Hood's division in mid-May, the army was in a better position to thrust northward into Pennsylvania. The Army of Northern Virginia was ready and at full strength by June 1863. The loss of Stonewall Jackson was a concern for General Robert E. Lee, but after reorganizing his army, he felt confident enough to take the offensive move into enemy territory. According to General Hood, his division was in "splendid condition." With great confidence, he wrote to Lee:

... as brave and heroic a division, numbering, approximately, eight thousand effectives, as was ever made ready for active service. So high-wrought was the pride and self-reliance of the troops that they believed they could carve their way through almost any number of the enemy's lines, formed in the open field in their front.

And so, in early June, the Texans marched north toward Pennsylvania. On June 13, the Texas brigade abandoned its camp south of Culpeper and moved west, bivouacking on the Cedar Mountain battleground. On June 15, under a burning sun, the Texans headed north toward

Ashby's Gap. It was a hot, sticky, unmerciful march, covering more than twenty miles, and it cost the unit dearly, as more than 200 men collapsed from the heat and exhaustion. The next day the brigade covered twenty more miles. The pace continued as the men passed through the mountains and into the Shenandoah Valley. With the entire Confederate army north of the Potomac by June 27, the northern invasion was well underway. The Union army concentrated its forces at Frederick, Maryland, and moved to stay between Lee's Confederates and Washington, D.C.



Brig. Gen. Jerome N. B. Robertson. CWLM

After crossing the Potomac, the Texans indulged in "Johnny Barleycorn" at any opportunity they could grasp. General Robertson pushed his men on to the area of Greencastle, Pennsylvania, where they ate, drank, and bivouacked for the night. By June 26, Hood's division accomplished a feat never to be repeated by any other division. They had breakfast in Virginia, lunch in Maryland, dined in Pennsylvania, and spent the night in a relatively unsober state. "Four states in one day!"

After a night of foraging, the Texans resumed their march north through the Cumberland Valley toward Chambersburg. The beautiful country with lush, heavy fields of crops and livestock rejuvenated their spirits. They moved through the thriving town of Chambersburg late on June 27. Soldiers later wrote accounts of the women lining the streets and porches, taunting them with ribbons and flags of red, white and blue. However, when the citizens discovered that these soldiers were the legendary Texans, they assumed a more passive role. The Texans' reputation had preceded them, even into the North.¹⁴

Robertson's brigade camped that night just north of Chambersburg and remained there, foraging, until the afternoon of June

30. They must have relished the opportunity to gorge on the ample food around them, replacing their rancid, moldy rations with fresh bacon and fruit. On the afternoon of June 30, the Texans moved east toward Fayetteville, Pennsylvania, arriving there that evening. Here they bivouacked until the morning of July 1, when they marched twelve miles east to Cashtown.

The move was agonizingly slow, as the men plodded along under a hot Pennsylvania sun, finally resting in the warm moonlit night. They covered twelve miles of hills and valleys, a march that was interrupted frequently by orders to halt and wait while commanders coordinated. Then on again they marched, until finally at 2 A.M., July 2, they reached Cashtown. After two hours' rest on the hard, bare ground, the men found themselves on the move toward Gettysburg on the Chambersburg pike, and into the pages of history. By late morning they reached the fields west of Gettysburg, already marked with somber evidence of the horrors of war and the debris of the human struggle with death of the previous day.

Heartened by his success on July 1, Robert E. Lee's intent was to attack again on July 2. Longstreet's corps would be involved in the main attack planned against the Union left. Lee

planned to attack the flank of the enemy and drive it back by a movement up the Emmitsburg road. That plan was based, however, on his early information that the Union line did not extend as far south as the Round Tops.¹⁵ However, part of Longstreet's corps had not arrived by mid-morning, which caused an unexpected delay in troop placement. Then an additional delay resulted as Longstreet countermarched his troops to avoid discovery by the enemy. Eventually, Longstreet's corps passed through Marsh Creek and Biesecker Woods and moved into position on Seminary Ridge, straddling the Emmitsburg road.

General Hood sent out an advance party of scouts to determine the position of the Union left flank, which now extended as far south as the Round Tops. After ascertaining that the area behind the extended Union flank was relatively open, Hood sent a message to Longstreet asking permission to move his troops south behind the Round Tops to outflank the Federals and attack their rear. After three such requests, and three denials, Longstreet reiterated Lee's order to "attack up the Emmitsburg road"¹⁶ And so the first and last protest of an order by General Hood during his entire military career came to an end.

By mid-afternoon on July 2, Longstreet's two divisions were deployed in line of battle, positioned just behind the line of trees on the southern end of Seminary Ridge. Hood's division of four brigades composed the extreme right of the Confederate army; two brigades in the front, two in the rear. The front line was made up of Robertson's brigade on the left, with the 3rd Arkansas marking the extreme left, and the 1st, 4th, and 5th Texas stretching to the right, and Brigadier General Evander Law's Alabama brigade on their right. About 150 yards to the rear, positioned for the second wave of attack, were the Georgia brigades of Brigadier General George "Tige" Anderson in support of Robertson, and Brigadier General Henry "Old Rock" Benning, supporting Law. Captain James Reilly's battery of six guns was placed in advance of Law's line. While Captain Alexander Latham's battery of five guns preceded the Texans, all were focused on the foreboding heights one mile to their front.

The Union line opposing them was insecure and unsettled. Major General Daniel Sickles' Union 3rd Corps, with 10,000 men, was originally positioned on the Union left on Cemetery Ridge, with its left anchored on Little Round Top. However, General Sickles decided a better position was to be had, so he moved his men further west to the high ground along the Emmitsburg road. This new position assumed an L shape with the point of the salient anchored in the Peach Orchard. Brigadier General A. A. Humphreys' division of nearly 5,000 ran north along the Emmitsburg road. Major General David Birney's division, numbering slightly more than 5,000, formed the left line of the 3rd Corps, running from the Peach Orchard and ending on the rocky ledge called Devil's Den, a collection of massive boulders on the southern end of Houck's Ridge.

At approximately 4 P.M. on July 2, Reilly's Confederate battery opened fire against the Union left. The Federals returned fire from their position on Devil's Den, then from the Peach Orchard. The battery almost a mile in front of Robertson's brigade on Devil's Den was the 4th New York Independent Battery. Its commander, Captain James Smith, defended the extreme left of General Sickles' infantry line with four of his six Parrott rifles perched atop Houck's Ridge. He left the other two guns down in the Plum Run Valley at the base of Houck's Ridge to protect the valley floor nestled between Little Round Top and Devil's Den. For a short time Captain Smith and his artillery chief, Brigadier General Henry Hunt, watched the enemy targets. Latham's Confederate battery joined in the barrage, causing a hot duel. Captain Smith wrote:

A battery of six light 12 pounders marched from Emmitsburg Road, and went into battery in the field in front, some 1,400 yards distant. A spirited duel immediately began between this battery and my own, lasting nearly twenty minutes.¹⁷

Childers of the 1st Texas was always preoccupied by his overwhelming hunger. During the approach to Pennsylvania, Dick persuaded a local lady to allow him to fill his haversack with some of her homemade biscuits, “for the cause.” During the cannonade, a solid shot struck the ground nearby and ricocheted toward him. The shell tore his knapsack, and ripped it from his side.

As Dick happened to be in the line of fire, it struck him, rather his haversack, scattering biscuits all over Pennsylvania. Strange part of it is, it did not knock him down, but so paralyzed him that he fell and lay there, unable to move a muscle. The bearers picked him up and laid him on the stretcher like a log. The boys all contended that it was the destruction of Dick’s biscuits, and not the shock from the shell, that paralyzed him.²³

Young Dick Childers regained his strength and fought on with his comrades until he was captured later in the day.

Approximately fifteen minutes after the exchange of battery fire had begun, it decreased. Then a long, gray line advanced, moving past the smoking guns to form up for the assault. As the Confederates awaited the signal guns that would send them toward the enemy, the heights of the Round Tops must have seemed formidable and unobtainable. Finally, the booming sound reverberated across the fields, signaling the advance. With that, General Hood’s words were muffled under the noise, words that Robertson took up and echoed along his line: “My brave Texans, forward and take those heights!”²⁴ And the Texans were turned loose! A solid, gray line of more than 1,700 bold and determined Southern soldiers, “terrors to the enemy,” pushed forward, with bayonets fixed²⁵ and the Rebel Yell resounding along their line. The Federal artillery opened fire again with renewed passion. General Robertson shouted words of encouragement as he led his men across the Emmitsburg road and over fences, rocks, and other obstacles in the fields.

Robertson had been ordered to keep his right “well closed on General Law’s left and his own left on the Emmitsburg Pike.”²⁶ However, Robertson quickly discovered that Law was shifting to the right and his brigade could not cover the distance between Law’s left and the road with his brigade. He had a split-second decision to make. Should he stay with Law or the Emmitsburg road? It took a clear-headed, deliberate, quick-thinking commander to make the critical choice. Robertson decided it was essential to stay with Law, so he abandoned the Emmitsburg road.

As the attack moved forward, Law encountered strong resistance on his front, near Big Round Top. He could not swing left as originally planned. He had no choice but to chase the Federals from his front in order to protect his right flank. This shift, along with the rugged terrain and the presence of the Bushman farm buildings, caused Law’s brigade to split even further to the right from Robertson. To further pressure Robertson’s brigade, its left was receiving fire from the Peach Orchard and from Devil’s Den to its front.

In a letter to John Bachelder in 1876, Robertson wrote:

... I found my brigade separated, my two right regiments in keeping the connection with Law’s left had moved considerably to the right while my two left regiments in attempting to touch on the road above named had inclined to the left. I ordered my left to leave the road and close to the right.²⁷

But where was their beloved General Hood? By this time Hood had collapsed from a shell fragment that tore into his left arm. As he was carried from the field, leaving his men behind, he expressed “deep distress of mind and heart at the thought of the inevitable fate of my brave fellow soldiers, who formed one of the grandest divisions of that world-renown army.”²⁸ General Law,

by seniority, was now in command, but it would be some time before he could be located and informed of Hood's wounding. In the meantime, the brigade commanders were on their own.

With the artillery pressure Colonel Van Manning's 3rd Arkansas was receiving, Robertson sent Colonel Philip Work's 1st Texas to their support. This move shifted the 1st Texas further to the left, causing an even greater split in Robertson's brigade as the 4th and 5th Texas held to their original order to "... keep their right well closed on Law's left." This resulted in the 4th and 5th shifting further away from the watchful eye of their brigade commander and ultimately fighting with the Alabama brigade for the remainder of the attack, with the exception of Company I of the 4th Texas, which had become separated from the regiment. Company I drifted to the left and attached itself to the 1st Texas, and went into battle under the command of Colonel Work.

Colonel Manning reported that the 3rd Arkansas double-quickened through most of the 500 yards of open field under heavy fire, moving east toward the deadly guns on the rocky ridge of Devil's Den. The men came to a line of woods near the George Weikert house, more commonly referred to as the Timber's farm. As the regiments moved around the Timber's house, Robertson was still trying to close right on the rest of his brigade. But his two left regiments, the 3rd Arkansas and the 1st Texas, received musket fire from General Hobart Ward's Union brigade on Houck's Ridge to the east.

Earlier, when the Confederate line of attack had formed on Warfield Ridge, Captain Smith, of the 4th U.S. Artillery posted on Devil's Den, realized the precariousness of his situation. While he fired upon Confederate artillery, he made several requests to the Union 3rd Corps for protection of his flank. Brigadier General Hobart Ward commanded a brigade of five Union regiments that made up General Sickles' left flank of the 3rd Corps. This brigade of almost 1,400 men took position on Houck's Ridge in close proximity to Captain Smith's guns. As the 3rd Arkansas and 1st Texas pushed through the Timber's farm, down the slope and into the rocky valley, Ward's men anxiously awaited the order to fire. General Ward wanted to inflict the most demoralizing, paralyzing shock he could and so he gave the order "... not to fire at a longer distance than 200 yards."²⁹ This resulted in an accurate fire, which slowed the Confederate advance long enough for Ward's men to reload and rake the Confederate line again with a murderous musket fire. Smith's guns joined in the fray as well, directing canister fire at the 1st Texas.

During this advance, two brothers, privates Watters and Newt Berryman of the 1st Texas, were pushing up the rocky hill when a ball hit Newt in the forehead. His brother recalled,

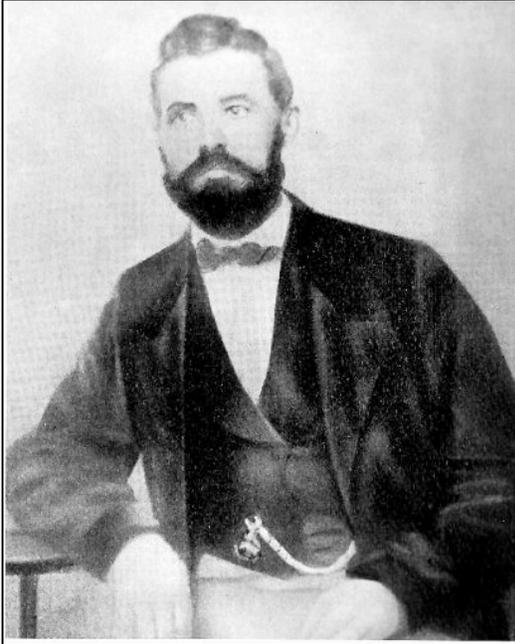
It knocked him down, I thought he was killed, but he jumped up and kept to fighting harder than ever. I tried to persuade him to leave the field, but he would not leave. He told me if every man left for a slight wound we would never gain a battle.³⁰

After the initial assault by the Confederates, three of Ward's regiments were positioned in the woods to their front: the 99th Pennsylvania, 20th Indiana, and 86th New York. The 99th, on Ward's right flank, advanced to a ledge in its front, toward Robertson's Texans. This move put Robertson's men in a perilous position as Ward's men overwhelmed their left and front with deadly fire. The 3rd Arkansas commander, Colonel Manning, wrote,

... I ascertained that I was suffering from a fire to my left and rear. Thereupon I ordered a change of front to the rear on first company, but the noise consequent upon the heavy firing then going on swallowed up my command, and I contented myself with the irregular drawing back of the left wing, giving it an excellent fire...³¹

At the same time Robertson, still attempting to close the gap between his right and left wing, sent his aide, Lieutenant John Scott, to locate the 4th and 5th Texas. Lieutenant Scott reported that

the two right Texas regiments had somehow moved even further right and were now in the center of Law's brigade and were fighting with them. Robertson realized that they were unreachable and, therefore, had to trust his men to General Law's command. This idea was not easy for Aunt Polly to accept. However, Robertson turned his full attention to the regiments he could control, the 3rd and the 1st.



Lt. Col. Philip A. Work, 1st Texas. GNMP

instead turned his attention to the new threat of Benning's brigade. The Georgians were now pushing their way forward over the same ground the Texans had just covered. With this reassurance, the 1st Texas pressed forward. Private James Bradfield, Company E, wrote:

The first man down was our right file man, William Langly, a noble, brave boy, with a minié-ball straight through the brain. I caught him as he fell against me, and laid him down, dead. ... and looking around, I saw Bose Perry double over and catch on his gun. He did not fall, but came on, dragging his wounded leg, and firing as he advanced.³²

Meanwhile, on the left of the 1st Texas, the 3rd Arkansas was struggling in the Rose Woods under a hail of lead from the 86th New York in its front, and the 99th Pennsylvania on its left, positioned behind a stone wall at the edge of the Wheatfield. To help Ward's men keep the Arkansans from gaining momentum, Union Colonel Regis DeTrobriand sent the 17th Maine to support the 99th Pennsylvania. The 17th took position on the 99th's right, which doubled the defense line running almost perpendicular to the 3rd Arkansas, fewer than 100 yards from the 3rd's left flank. Colonel Manning had advanced the 3rd to a ledge of rocks, but with the arrival of the 17th Maine, it became an untenable position for the Arkansans as they were being hit from their left and rear. They were forced to fall back about 75 yards.³³ Not everyone received the message, however. John Wilkerson, Company H, 3rd Arkansas, later wrote:

The smoke was so thick, and the roar of the muskets so loud we did not hear the command. I, with those who had not heard the order, went on forward and got

Three stone walls in the shape of a triangle outlined a steep field of approximately ten acres at the base of a hill on the southwestern side of Devil's Den. The 1st Texas pushed through the wooded basin to the stone wall at the base of the triangular field. As the 1st Texas reached the wall, the men could clearly see Smith's guns at the crest of the hill. But instead of depressing the muzzles and aiming those guns at the Texans, Smith's men directed their guns toward the Confederate line near Warfield Ridge. It was Brigadier General Henry "Old Rock" Benning's Georgia brigade coming in support! Benning had been ordered to follow Law, but the shifting of Robertson and Law, and the concentration of fire from the Peach Orchard, caused him some confusion. He realized later that the brigade line he had been following was not Law's; it was Robertson's left, which was very fortunate and timely for Robertson.

As it was difficult for Smith's guns to depress their muzzles far enough to hit the 1st Texas, which was now at the bottom of the triangular field just 200 yards to their front, the artillery commander

too close. We thought our Regiment was still back of us ... I dropped on my knees and fired at the Yankee line. When I raised up my comrades were gone and it seemed every Yank shot at me.³⁴

After the 3rd Arkansas fell back to its new location, the left of the 1st Texas was dangerously exposed. The situation was becoming extremely unstable. Robertson sent word to General Hood of his situation. He later wrote in his report:

On discovering this heavy force on my left flank, and seeing that no attack was being made by any of our forces on my left, I at once sent a courier to Major-General Hood, stating that I was hard pressed on my left: that General McLaw's forces were not engaging the enemy to my left (which enabled him to move fresh troops from that part of his line down on me), and that I must have reinforcements.³⁵

General Robertson did not yet know of General Hood's incapacitating wound, or that Law was now in command of the division. Colonel Work sent Company G, 1st Texas to aid Colonel Manning's 3rd Arkansas and to protect his own flank. These reinforcements enabled the 3rd to push forward and regain its position at the ledge of rocks. The 3rd was forced to hold here, however, fighting about two to three times its number.

With stubborn determination, the 1st Texas opened fire upon the Union artillerymen, then started a mad rush up the steep, open field, loading and firing "hot and heavy" into the 124th New York, Smith's battery's infantry support, who returned the fire. With the threat of the 1st Texas now moving up the western slope toward the cannons, and Law's 44th Alabama regiment appearing to push up from the southern base, Ward pulled the 99th Pennsylvania around behind his brigade to take position on the crest of the hill, to support a very nervous Captain Smith. Smith begged for help. "For God's sake men, don't let them take my guns away from me!"³⁶ As the 1st Texas and the 44th Alabama pressed up the hill, some veterans later recalled that "an order came to halt. No one seemed to know whence it came, nor from whom. It cost us dearly ..."³⁷

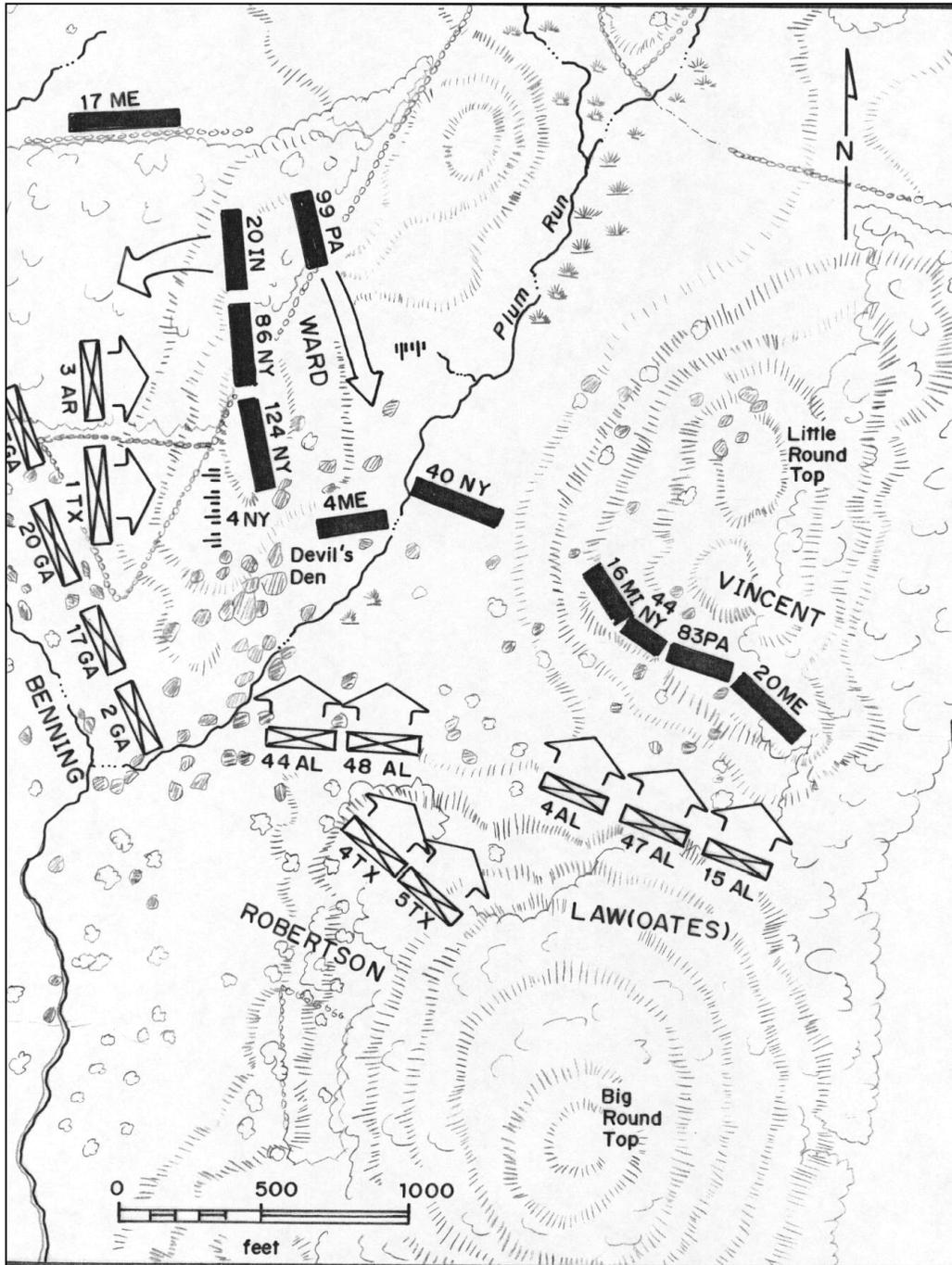
As the men of the 124th New York watched the Confederates hesitate, Colonel Van Horn Ellis gave the order for his regiment to charge down the slope. The field of rocks and meadow grass quickly became a scene of carnage. For some time the fighting on this hill could be described as a wild and fierce struggle, "a scene of butchery" at close range. In his personal narrative, Decimus Ultimus Barziza, first lieutenant of the original "Robertson Five-Shooters," now known as Company C, 4th Texas, wrote:

Here ... commenced a rapid, continuous murderous musketry fight ... from behind trees and huge rocks we poured in our fiery discharges; the din was incessant and defening [sic] ... we were within from twenty-five to fifty yards of the enemy.³⁸

The 3rd Arkansas, to the left of the 1st Texas, had its own struggle in the Rose Woods. The 20th Indiana and 86th New York fought with ferocious intensity to keep the Rebels at bay. They paid a heavy price. In less than an hour the 20th Indiana lost more than 50 percent of its men.

Back in the Triangular Field, the men of the 1st Texas were crashing head-on into the New York "Orange Blossoms." For a time the Texans' line broke, and they fell backward down the slope, scurrying to regroup. During this move, Lieutenant Barziza found himself lying among the feet of the enemy. He was taken from the field and later imprisoned at Johnson's Island.³⁹ New Yorkers followed the Texans' retreat, nearly reaching the base of the Triangular Field. All became disorder. Sergeant Thomas Bradley wrote:

Roaring cannon, crashing rifles, screeching shots, bursting shells, hissing bullets, cheers, shouts, shrieks and groans were the notes of the song of death which greeted the grim reaper, as with might sweeps he leveled down the richest field of scarlet human grain ever garnered on this continent.⁴⁰



4:30 to 5:30 P.M. Robertson's brigade attacks Devil's Den and Little Round Top.

During the conflict, young Major Cromwell of the 124th New York was shot in the heart and killed. Colonel Ellis, shocked by the loss of his beloved officer, stood tall in his stirrups and raised his sword in a brave moment of heroism. But he too took a bullet and fell dead from his horse. The heavy musketry fire, mixed with spattering blood, shrouds of smoke, and shrieks of the wounded made for total confusion on the hill.

The 44th Alabama, on the Texans' right, pushed on up the southeastern slope, toward the top of Devil's Den. General Ward recognized the seriousness of this situation for Smith's guns and ordered the 4th Maine to pull back and reposition in a line running east to west, guarding the southern end of Devil's Den. Under protest, Colonel Walker repositioned his line, the right resting in the rocks near the top of Devil's Den, and the left flank anchored in the gorge below, facing the vast collection of massive boulders later to be called the Slaughter Pen.

After leaving its position on the right of Ward's brigade line, the 99th Pennsylvania quickly moved behind the brigade's rear to take its new position near the 124th New York, in an effort to plug the gap on the eastern side of Devil's Den. However, the 99th Pennsylvania was forced to focus its attention on the southern and southeastern side of the crest, through the rocky gorge. The Confederates invading this area were part of the 48th Alabama and 4th Texas, sweeping through the valley on the move to Little Round Top. The 124th New York concentrated its fire on the 1st Texas, which was falling back down the Triangular Field, shifting to its left, moving closer to the cover of the Rose Woods. The 1st was now under the command of Captain J. R. Woodward, acting major of the 1st Texas. Earlier, Colonel Work had left the 1st Texas to oversee the 3rd Arkansas, following the wounding of Colonel Van Manning.⁴¹

To its rear, General George T. Anderson's brigade had stepped off the ridge shortly after Robertson's advance. However, as the men crossed the field they were under "a terrific fire of the enemy's batteries,"⁴² which slowed their progress to support Robertson's left. Anderson's brigade eventually pushed through the Rose Woods on the left of the 3rd Arkansas, relieving some of the pressure on its flank from the Federals behind the wall at the southern edge of the Wheatfield. In his after-action report, Colonel W. White, commanding the brigade following General Anderson's wound, reported:

Soon after the Texas brigade became engaged, this brigade moved forward on a line with it, when a vigorous charge was made, which dislodged the enemy from a stone fence running diagonally with the line of battle.⁴³

Confusion was abundant within the ranks of Hood's division from early on in the attack. Part of the reason was certainly the dreadful number of casualties among the officers, at least six of which were in Robertson's brigade. The broken command lines added to the chaos, which was multiplied by the fact that General Law, named by Hood as his successor in command, had not yet established communication with the other brigade commanders.

While the fighting continued in the Rose Woods, part of the 44th and 48th Alabama, to the right of the 1st Texas, commenced a hot engagement with the 4th Maine and finally pushed its way to the summit of Devil's Den, struggling to hold onto this new ground. Meanwhile, the 1st Texas continued its desperate attempt to possess the same summit. The 1st Texas and the 124th New York kept up a brisk fire for some time, as Captain Smith struggled to save his guns on the crest. General Ward appealed for reinforcements from the 3rd Corps to help strengthen the crest of Devil's Den. The 6th New Jersey and 40th New York answered the call. However, when they arrived in the Plum Run valley, the situation there was just as desperate, so they were unable to move to the top of the ridge in aid of the 124th New York. The 1st Texas regrouped for another assault, this time with the support of Benning's Georgians. Colonel Work of the 1st Texas wrote:

... The Fifteenth Georgia Regiment falling in and remaining with the First Texas Regiment. After several ineffectual efforts upon the part of both the commanders

of the Fifteenth Georgia and myself to separate the men of the two regiments, we gave the order to move forward when both regiments, thus comingled, moved forward and occupied the crest of the hill.⁴⁴

“The whole line was alive with burning powder,” a survivor remembered.⁴⁵ Yelling and screaming, the Texans and Georgians mustered the strength needed to drive the Federals from the rocks in their front. Relentlessly, and heedless of their casualties, they pressed the attack.

To their left, Anderson’s brigade arrived just in time and finally freed the 3rd Arkansas from its flank fire. The intermingling Confederate regiments could taste victory, and together the Texans and Georgians claimed their prize: Smith’s silent guns! The 3rd Arkansas kept the momentum going as they struggled to clear the Rose Woods of Federals. The 20th Indiana and 86th New York reluctantly gave up some of their precious ground yielding to Confederate pressure.

In the true spirit of competition Color Sergeant George Branard of the 1st Texas planted his flag on the newly claimed soil. Not to be outdone, a color sergeant from the 15th Georgia placed his flag next to the Texan’s. Branard then moved his flag dangerously close to the Union line. Almost immediately a shell exploded, breaking apart the flagstaff and blinding Branard in one eye. An angered and defiant Branard charged into the enemy with his broken staff, until his comrades caught and stopped him.⁴⁶

Uncounted heroic deeds and brave acts took place among those boulders. One such deed worthy of mention happened during the thick of fighting while the air was “alive with missiles of death.”

A spectacular display of reckless courage was made by a young Texan, Willie Barbee, of the 1st Texas ... A courier for General Hood ... he snatched up a gun ... Barbee sprang to the top of a high rock, standing there, erect and fearless, began firing, the wounded men below him passing up loaded guns as fast as he emptied them ... he was knocked off the rock by a ball that struck him in the right leg ... climbing back he again commenced shooting ... He was tumbled off the rock by a ball in the other leg. He crawled back ... but being wounded in the body, he fell ... dropping between the rocks ... cursing because the boys would not help him back on to the rock.⁴⁷

For the Confederates, taking the summit and holding it were two different things, for the Northerners were not whipped yet. The 4th Maine found the courage and strength to force a counterattack, fighting hand to hand. The 99th Pennsylvania dashed to its aid and, for a brief moment, swept the Confederates from the southern edge of the ridge. But not for long. Even though the Union regiments fought with extreme desperation, loading and firing as fast as they could, the Southerners once again charged into the Federals, screaming and firing. Then Union artillery opened up upon the ridge. In Colonel Work’s report he states:

A terrific fire of artillery was concentrated against the hill occupied by this (the First) regiment, and many were killed and wounded, some losing their heads, and others so horribly mutilated and mangled that their identity could scarcely be established; but, notwithstanding this, all the men continued heroically and unflinchingly to maintain their position.⁴⁸

This was probably Hazlett’s battery from Little Round Top and Winslow’s battery in the Wheatfield. Confederate battery commanders on Warfield Ridge attempted to silence the threatening guns. Private Val Giles of the 4th Texas later recorded:

To add to this confusion, our artillery on the hill in our rear was cutting its fuse too short. The shells were bursting behind us, in the treetops, over our heads, and all around us. Nothing demoralizes troops quicker than to be fired into by their friends. I saw it occur twice during the war. The first time we ran, but at Gettysburg we couldn't.⁴⁹

After a brutally desperate struggle lasting about fifteen minutes, Ward's bold and daring fighters could endure no more. They gave way for a final time and fell back down the slope, giving up their precious ground inch by inch. "The Lone Star flag crowned the hill and Texas was there to stay." Private James Bradfield of the 1st Texas said:

Here, in a little cove called the Devil's Den ... occurred one of the wildest, fiercest struggles of the war—a struggle such as it is given to few men to pass through and live.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, the other half of Robertson's brigade, the 4th and 5th Texas, was engulfed in its own battle, along with the Alabamians of Law's brigade, as they charged through the western base of Big Round Top and on toward Little Round Top. Some of the men in the 4th Texas later mentioned that they could see Smith's battery on their left on the crest of Devil's Den. For a brief moment, they could see a bit of the fight for the guns. But they were compelled to push through the rugged terrain toward their objective, over a "mass of rock and boulders amid which a mountain goat would have revelled."⁵¹

Even in victory, confusion and disorder flourished. Private Val Giles later recalled:

Confusion reigned everywhere. Nearly all of our field officers were gone. Hood had been shot from his horse ... Colonel Powell of the Fifth Texas was riddled with bullets. Colonel Van Manning of the Third Arkansas was disabled, and Colonel B. F. Carter of my Regiment lay dying at the foot of the mountain.⁵²

The 3rd Arkansas moved through the Rose Woods to take possession of the crest previously held by the stubborn 20th Indiana and 86th Pennsylvania. The entire length of Houck's Ridge was now in Confederate hands. Hood's division had successfully outflanked Sickles' defense line, but at a perilous cost of blood and human sacrifice.

Victoriously perched among the rocky heights of Devil's Den, General Robertson focused on his brigade's final objective, just 500 yards in front of him. The only words he could find to describe Little Round Top were: "that damned, formidable mountain." His victory was short-lived, however, as a shell tore into his right leg just below the knee. As stated in his official report, "I retired some 200 yards to the rear, leaving the immediate command to Lieutenant-Colonel Work."⁵³

The 4th and 5th Texas could not reap the harvest of victory on Little Round Top as did their comrades in the Devil's Den. After many determined attacks upon barricaded Federal infantry, the struggle for the rocky ridge ended. The Confederate line broke in confusion and fell back to the base of Little Round Top. The Texans quickly went to work "resupplying their exhausted ammunition from the cartridge boxes of their dead and disabled comrades."⁵⁴

By evening, the rocks, the fields, the stream, and the woods were littered with shattered and dying heroes. The fall of darkness brought an end to the slaughter, except for occasional sharpshooting. A private from the 5th Texas recalled seeing a major dangerously perched in the open upon a large boulder delivering a speech to the weary soldiers.⁵⁵ But for the most part Hood's division settled down behind boulders and trees.

Robertson's brigade was reunited during the night. Taking advantage of the darkness, the 3rd Arkansas and 1st Texas were moved down to the Plum Run Valley, below Devil's Den, and reconnected with the 4th and 5th Texas at the base of Big Round Top. Company G of the 1st Texas stayed among the rocks on the crest of Devil's Den throughout the night on picket duty. Union soldiers settled down into the protective ledges and boulders on and around Little Round Top. The opposing lines were so close to each other at times they could hear each other. Even though both sides were beyond exhaustion, there was little sleep. Years later the Texans vividly recalled hearing the moans and cries of the wounded lying among the rocks. Some soldiers quietly scouted the area for prisoners, and worked throughout the night building rock walls and places for cover.

With nightfall, there seemed to be a tension in the air. A soldier in the 4th Texas later wrote:

Officers were cross to the men, and the men were equally cross to the officers. It was the same way with the enemy. We could hear the Yankee officer on the crest of the ridge in front of us cursing the men by platoons, and the men telling them to go to a country not very far from them just at that time.⁵⁶

Under the cover of darkness, the men of the 1st Texas moved three of the guns Lieutenant Smith had been forced to leave behind to the rear. They wrapped the wheels in blankets to execute this plan as quietly as possible. Private William Fletcher, in his memoirs, said he was so exhausted and overcome with fatigue that he put tobacco in his eyes to keep himself from falling asleep at his post.⁵⁷

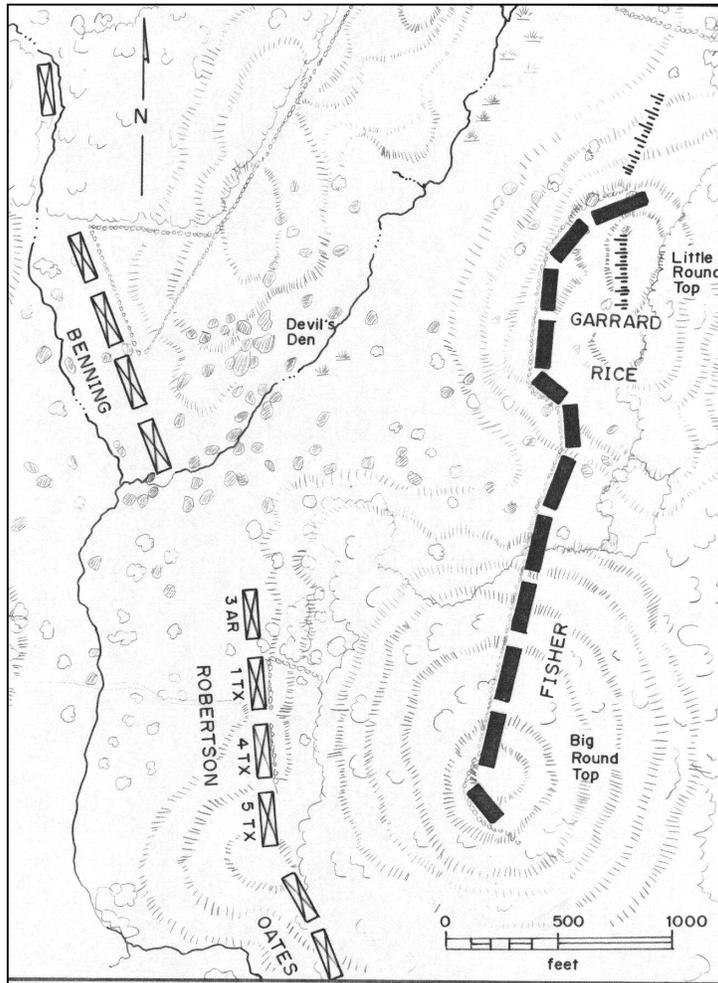
July 3 was relatively calm for Robertson's brigade with the exception of the 1st Texas, which took part in the repulse of General Elon Farnsworth's cavalry attack. By late afternoon, however, all of Hood's division withdrew from the position they fought so proudly for the previous day. They reformed near the Emmitsburg road and prepared for a counter-attack. It never came. By July 4, the Battle of Gettysburg was over.

Both Union and Confederate paid a steep price for possession of a pile of rocks that gained lasting fame. Robertson's brigade suffered heavy losses, as did Ward's brigade. Out of a total strength of more than 1,700 men, Robertson lost slightly more than 600, or 34.8 percent of his men. Ward's brigade, which was more than 2,100 strong, lost just less than 800 men, or 35.7 percent of its fighting force.⁵⁸

By early evening on July 4, the remnants of the Confederate army, along with about 4,000 prisoners, withdrew from the battlefield and began the long trek on the road to Hagerstown, heading toward the Potomac.⁵⁹ Heavy rains, winds, and muddy roads slowed the march south. They finally reached Hagerstown on July 6 and rested there until July 10. The Confederates were exhausted and battleworn. John West, 4th Texas, wrote that he had very little food and had not taken off his gear for three days. William Fletcher, 5th Texas, said he looked like a scarecrow. His pants were split up to the knees, his sleeves were torn off at the elbow, and he had no socks and only one shoe.⁶⁰



Pvt. William Fletcher, Co. E, 5th Texas. Author of Rebel Private: Front and Rear. GNMP



The Texas Brigade's position on July 3.

discussing troop dispositions, Hood was struck in the thigh and fell from his horse into the arms of his beloved Texans. His leg was amputated and he would never again serve in command of his faithful Texans. The men collected money and presented it to Hood for the purchase of an artificial leg.⁶² After months of recuperation, Hood was assigned a corps in the Army of Tennessee, and ultimately command of that army.

By the end of the Chickamauga campaign, Robertson's brigade had suffered even more losses than at Gettysburg, losing 44 percent of its strength, and Robertson became fearful of the fate of his brigade. He knew the caliber and unique individuality of his men. Although depleted in strength, to incorporate them into other regiments would be dreadfully demoralizing. John West wrote home:

The Old Texas Brigade is fearfully cut up. There are not more than 150 in our regiment [4th Texas]. The Fifth numbers about 100 and the First about the same.⁶³

After the removal of General Hood following his wound, South Carolina brigade commander Brigadier General Micah Jenkins, a favorite of Longstreet's, was assigned command of the division. This did not sit well with the troops, who regarded General Law as the logical choice.⁶⁴ The long-simmering jealousy and dislike between Jenkins and Law peaked in December 1863.

On July 14, the Texas brigade was back on Virginia soil, never again to cross the Potomac. The great northern invasion was over. The Army of Northern Virginia would never be the powerful force it was before Gettysburg.

Robertson's brigade moved to the vicinity of Fredericksburg and spent most of the next several months on picket duty along the Rappahannock. Here they received some replacement uniforms and shoes, and much needed rest.

By September 1863, reorganization took place in the Army of Northern Virginia and most of Longstreet's corps, including Hood's division, was sent south to join Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee. Ironically, General Robertson's son, Major Felix Robertson, was in command of Bragg's reserve artillery.⁶¹ During the Chickamauga campaign, General Hood was elevated to corps commander, and Evander Law assumed command of Hood's division. In the midst of the fighting at Chickamauga, as Hood and Robertson were

The selection of Jenkins as division commander fostered bad feelings and misunderstandings within the chain of command. Some officers openly expressed their disagreement and discontent with Jenkins' promotion. Longstreet blamed his officers for the Confederate defeat during the Knoxville campaign in November and December 1863. They in turn held him responsible for causing confusion and a general lack of direction. Shortly after the campaign, Longstreet relieved General Lafayette McLaws from duty, pressed charges against Law for unmilitary conduct, and requested a court-martial for General Robertson. Brigadier General Micah Jenkins charged Robertson with "conduct highly prejudicial to good order and military discipline."⁶⁵ Jenkins claimed that Robertson had made an "unmilitary" remark to his regimental commanders concerning the lack of food and supplies, when he stated "God only knows where more would come from." Robertson's fellow officers empathized with his frustration regarding unkept promises by superiors.

By winter, the Army of Tennessee was short on supplies and necessities of all kinds, including horses. They weathered a cold winter in east Tennessee, conducting foraging parties. John West recalled:

[we] lived on corn issued to us in the ear from the wagons—three or four ears for a man per day; that we shelled, parched and ate and received nothing else. Parched corn, a pipe of good tobacco, and clear water was the menu for several days.⁶⁶

However, the Texans were still full of fight. In January 1864 the men were given the opportunity to re-enlist for the duration of the war and the entire brigade, except for a handful, signed up.⁶⁷

After the re-enlistments of his men, Robertson was officially removed from command of the brigade in January 1864 and ordered to Russellville, Tennessee for his trial. The Texas brigade petitioned the secretary of war of the Confederate States for the return of their commander and friend. They wrote:

We ... have learned with regret that our respected Brigade Commander has been removed ... and another officer placed over us. ... Brigadier General Gregg ... would be in every respect acceptable to us, still we have ever found Brigadier General Robertson our friend, and one fully able to command the Brigade; and at all times willing to sacrifice himself for us and our glorious cause.⁶⁸

His men had grown to appreciate Aunt Polly's care and concern about them, sometimes showing his compassion at the risk of agitating his superiors. Major C. M. Winkler of the 4th Texas wrote:

On one occasion General Robertson protested against marching his barefoot men in the snow, when their bleeding feet the day before had left stains along the road.⁶⁹

Apparently the men's protest was in vain, for following a general court martial in February 1864, Robertson was found guilty of the specification. But it was expressly noticed that his remark was not designed to weaken the confidence of the men and so the word "highly" was stricken from the record. The finding resulted in his being relieved of command of the Texas brigade and transferred to the Trans-Mississippi Department.⁷⁰ He was consumed with grief and worry as he relinquished his authority over his faithful soldiers. General Robertson had commanded the Texas brigade for fourteen months, longer than any other officer since its inception. In his farewell address, he said:

Soldiers ... having shared in the toils, and trials of the Texas Brigade ... it is with deepest feelings of regret that I now separate from you. After an association sealed by so many sacrifices and cemented by their blood ... this separation is like severing the strongest family ties. My highest ambition was to have shared your toils and triumphs as long as there was an arm left to bear your victorious flag ... With a mind saddened by the remembrance of ties broken, and with the prayer that God, in his mercy, will guard, protect and bless you I bid you farewell.⁷¹

The Trans-Mississippi Department encompassed the district of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, with headquarters in Houston. In the spring of 1864, Robertson was ordered to headquarters under the command of Major General John Magruder. There he took command of the reserve forces of the State of Texas, which was made up mostly of invalid soldiers and reluctant conscripts.⁷² After five months of organization and preparation, the troops were sent to reserve headquarters, and Robertson's job with them was complete.

Even though he no longer officially had any connection with his old Texas brigade, Robertson's concern for the men's welfare weighed heavily on his mind. In October 1864, Robertson made a plea to the governor of Texas for special consideration on behalf of his former troops.

I have the honor to respectfully represent to you the condition of ... the Texas Brigade. Those troops left their homes ... at the opening of the war, upon the call of their country ... nearly 4,000 in all ... their number disabled from casualties in battle, and other causes ... leaving less than 300 able for service ... The shattered ranks of these war-torn regiments can be filled ... lest the Texas Brigade will live but in name only ... I ask that the remaining men ... be furloughed the coming winter, and allowed to return home to rest and recruit.⁷³

This request was denied.

By the end of February 1865, Robertson asked to be assigned once again to a field command. In March he was given a brigade of "three regiments of dismounted cavalry and one of infantry."⁷⁴ However, by the time his command was official, most of the Confederate armies had already surrendered. Jerome Bonaparte Robertson would not lead soldiers into battle again. In early June 1865, the Trans-Mississippi and Confederate forces in Texas surrendered. All officers and enlisted men were paroled. General Robertson was officially paroled at Houston, Texas on July 12, 1865.⁷⁵ His Civil War was over.

If Robertson ever read the words of one of his soldiers, Lieutenant Barziza, he surely would have agreed:

Oh War! War! Who but a soldier can realize the horrors. ... No pen can describe, no pencil can portray the battlefield. ... How foolish and senseless it seems for thousands of men to be engaged in deadly conflict with others, entire strangers to themselves, and, as the soldiers say, "nobody mad". Yet however terrible is war, it is a necessary evil ... the price of liberty ... and a proud heritage will descend to the survivors.⁷⁶

After his parole, Robertson returned to Independence, Texas and resumed his medical practice. He had served his state and the Confederacy with distinction and honor.

On April 7, 1868, three years after the war ended, Robertson's beloved wife, Mary Cummins, passed away. Robertson threw himself into his work. Along with his medical practice, he kept

busy working toward peaceful solutions within his state during the Reconstruction. Possibly the leadership experience gained during the Civil War was a great asset to him.

He often opened his home to old veterans in need. "He was truly a man of compassion," an aged soldier said.⁷⁷ "Often sheltering old soldiers sick in body and bankrupt in world goods."

Robertson returned to the Milam Masonic Lodge he had belonged to before the war, and held several offices over the next twelve years. In 1872, he organized and was elected vice-president, and eventually president, of Hood's Texas Brigade Association. The association held reunions for the next sixty years, re-electing Robertson president eleven times. The veterans of the Texas brigade were bound together on the battlefield, and those ties extended to their last days.

During the 1870s Robertson held positions within the Bureau of Immigration, and in 1877 and 1878 he took on the position as immigration agent with the Texas Central Railroad.

The general's civilian life took yet another dramatic turn. In January 1878, Robertson married Hattie Hendley Hook, left his Independence home of more than thirty years, and moved to Waco, Texas. His son, Felix, lived in Waco and had persuaded his father to move closer to his family. Here it is believed Robertson finally retired from medicine. However, he still remained active in city business and growing railroad enterprises.

As a tribute to his character and reputation, in 1889 the United Confederate Veterans Camp in Bryan, Texas officially took on the name the General Jerome Bonaparte Robertson Camp. This was quite an honor for Robertson, as he was still living, though his health was failing. Robertson had been diagnosed with cancer of the face and suffered terribly for nearly two years. Finally, what the battlefield could not accomplish, this dreaded disease did. On January 7, 1890, at 8:30 P.M., with his family by his side, at his home in Waco, Texas, Jerome Bonaparte Robertson joined the bivouac of the dead. Dressed in Confederate gray and adorned with military decorations, Robertson's body lay in state as thousands of mourners paid their last respects. On January 9, pallbearers, veterans of the Texas brigade, carried the glass-covered casket to the Central Railroad depot. Robertson returned one last time to Independence, Texas for his final rest in the family graveyard, next to his first wife and his mother. Members of numerous veterans associations of both the Civil War and the Mexican War flooded the train.

On January 9, the day of the funeral, a resolution was passed by the Pat Cleburne Camp of United Confederate Veterans. This resolution was printed for public notice in both the South and the North. It read:

Resolved, That the Camp realizes with full force the bereavement sustained in the death of General Robertson, not only to the Camp and to all ex-Confederate soldiers, but to the State of Texas ... to the South, which had the glorious service of the prime of his manhood, and to the nation which suffers the loss of a patriot and a worthy citizen whose life affords an example worthy of emulation.

Resolved, That the Camp recognizes in the death of General Robertson an addition to the illustrious roll of departed heroes who will live in history and fame though he has gone to the eternal bivouac.⁷⁸

Today, in a Texas cemetery, in a small family plot near an old oak tree, a stone reads: "Brig. Gen. Jerome B. Robertson, Hood's Texas Brigade, CSA, March 14, 1815 – Jan 7, 1890." He was man who led a full life, with honor and respect, who led by example, and died a hero.

Notes

- ¹F.B. Chilton, *Unveiling and Dedication of Monument to Hood's Texas Brigade* (Houston: F.B. Chilton, 1911). A command ordered by General Hood, followed by subordinate commanders.
- ²Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 8:25; Jerome B. Robertson, Harold Simpson, ed., *Touched With Valor* (Hill Junior College Press, 1964), 4.
- ³Robertson, *Touched With Valor*, 5.
- ⁴William S. Speer and John H. Brown, eds., *Encyclopedia of the New West*. Op. cit. 549.
- ⁵Felix Huston Robertson, born in 1839, was the only native-born Texan to achieve the rank of general in the Confederate army, and was also one of the youngest Southern generals. He died in April 1928 and is buried in Waco, Texas. Ezra Warner, *Generals in Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 260.
- ⁶E.W. Winkler, ed., *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861* (Austin, Texas: State Library, 1912), 88.
- ⁷Harold Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade: Lee's Grenadier Guard* (Texan Press, 1970), 59.
- ⁸Staff Muster Roll, 5th Texas Infantry, Oct. 31, 1861. Washington, D.C.: National Archives.
- ⁹Sidney Johnson, *Texans Who Wore the Gray* (no publisher, 1907), 86-87.
- ¹⁰Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 194.
- ¹¹*Ibid.*, 127.
- ¹²Robertson, *Touched With Valor*, 27.
- ¹³William Fletcher, *Rebel Private: Front and Rear* (Zenger Publishing Co., Reprint, 1985), 55.
- ¹⁴Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 257.
- ¹⁵Paul C. Cooksey, "Up the Emmitsburg Road: Gen Robert E. Lee's Plan for the Attack on July 2 on the Union Left Flank," *The Gettysburg Magazine*, no. 26 (2002): 46.
- ¹⁶John B. Hood, *Advance and Retreat* (Blue and Grey Press, 1985), 58.
- ¹⁷*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1889.) [Hereafter cited as *OR*], Series 1, 27(1):588.
- ¹⁸Fletcher, *Rebel Private*, 59.
- ¹⁹J.B. Polley., *Hood's Texas Brigade* (Morningside Bookshop, Reprint, 1988), 176.
- ²⁰Fairfax Downey, *The Guns at Gettysburg* (Van Rees Press, 1958), 79; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (Castle), 3:305.
- ²¹*OR*, Series 1, 27(1):588.
- ²²Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 270.
- ²³Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 168.
- ²⁴Chilton, *Unveiling and Dedication of Monument*.
- ²⁵Harry Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The Second Day* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 167.
- ²⁶*OR*, Series 1, 27(2):404.
- ²⁷David L. and Audrey J. Ladd, eds., *The Bachelder Papers* (Morningside Press, 1994), 1:477.
- ²⁸Hood, *Advance and Retreat*, 59.
- ²⁹*OR*, Series 1, 27(1):493.
- ³⁰Garry Adelman and Timothy Smith, *Devil's Den: A History and Guide* (Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1997), 29.
- ³¹*OR*, Series 1, 27(2):407.
- ³²Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 169.
- ³³*OR*, Series 1, 27(2):407.
- ³⁴*Diary of John A. Wilkerson*, 1870, courtesy of Wilkerson family, Seven Pines, Arkansas.
- ³⁵*Ibid.*, 404-405.
- ³⁶Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The Second Day*, 191.
- ³⁷Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 169.
- ³⁸Decimus et Ultimus Barziza, R. Henderson Shuffler, ed., *The Adventures of a Prisoner of War, 1863-1864* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 45.
- ³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 45.
- ⁴⁰Charles H. Weygant, *History of the 124th Regiment, N.Y.S.V.*, (Journal Printing House, 1877, Reprint), 176.
- ⁴¹*OR*, Series 1, 27(2):409.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, 396.

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- ⁴³Ibid., 397.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., 409.
- ⁴⁵Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The Second Day*, 194.
- ⁴⁶Chilton, *Unveiling and Dedication of Monument*, 339.
- ⁴⁷Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 171-172; *OR*, Series 1, 27(2):410.
- ⁴⁸*OR*, Series 1, 27(2):409.
- ⁴⁹Mary Lasswell, ed., *Rags and Hope: The Memoirs of Val C. Giles, Four Years With Hood's Brigade, Fourth Texas Infantry, 1861-1865* (Van Rees Press, 1961), 180.
- ⁵⁰Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 169.
- ⁵¹Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 277.
- ⁵²Lasswell, *Rags and Hope*, 179.
- ⁵³*OR*, Series 1, 27(2):406.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., 410.
- ⁵⁵J. Gary Laine and Morris Penny, *Law's Alabama Brigade in the War Between the Union and the Confederacy* (White Mane Publishing, 1996), 109.
- ⁵⁶Lasswell, *Rags and Hope*, 181.
- ⁵⁷Fletcher, *Rebel Private*, 64.
- ⁵⁸John Busey and David Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg* (Gateway Press, 1982), 245, 288.
- ⁵⁹*OR*, Series 1, 27(2):311, 361.
- ⁶⁰Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 288.
- ⁶¹Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 320.
- ⁶²Hood, *Advance and Retreat*, 64-65.
- ⁶³John West, *A Texan in Search of a Fight* (Press of J.S. Hill & Co., 1901, Reprinted 1994), 109.
- ⁶⁴Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 213-214.
- ⁶⁵*OR*, Series 1, 27(1):31; James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox, General James Longstreet, C.S.A.* (Blue and Grey Press), 517, 519.
- ⁶⁶West, *A Texan in Search of a Fight*, 140-141.
- ⁶⁷Polley, *Hood's Texas Brigade*, 226.
- ⁶⁸Robertson, *Touched With Valor*, 57.
- ⁶⁹Ibid., 14.
- ⁷⁰Ibid., 101.
- ⁷¹Ibid., 64.
- ⁷²*OR*, Series 1, 34(4):692.
- ⁷³Robertson, *Touched With Valor*, 65.
- ⁷⁴*OR*, Series 1, 48(1):1447.
- ⁷⁵Robertson, *Touched With Valor*, 16.
- ⁷⁶Barziza, *The Adventures of a Prisoner of War*, 47-51.
- ⁷⁷Robertson, *Touched With Valor*, 18.
- ⁷⁸Ibid., p. 23.