

In 2000, on the occasion of my 50th birthday, I participated in a battlefield tour led by the legendary Civil War tour guide Ed Bearss. Ed, now pushing 100 years of age, was only seventy-seven at the time and still in magnificent physical condition. You had to hustle to keep up with Ed. I learned so much from Ed. Among the intangibles was a sense that history must always be about the story, even to the extent of being an outdoor form of theatrical entertainment.

5th Texas Infantry Regiment at Second Manassas

by Stephen D Chicoine

It was all a musketry fight, in dust and thick smoke. Plunging forms appeared over your sights; you fired, drew the cartridge, bit cartridge, poured the powder down the muzzle, plied your ramrod, capped your piece, fired and did it over again. Men had grotesque black powder rings around their mouths. Men fired standing, to see over the smoke, or squatting to see under it or kneeled and fired straight into it¹.

The Seven Days' Battle in late June saved Richmond from George McClellan's invading federal army. The Battle of Gaines' Mill was the largest of the bloody fights in those seven days and a clear Confederate victory. It was at Gaines' Mill that the Texas Brigade shattered the federal line and first earned its laurels.

Stonewall Jackson's daring move in August to get behind John Pope and destroy the vast Union stores at Second Manassas left Jackson isolated. Pope failed to recognize that holding Thoroughfare Gap would prevent Longstreet from coming to Jackson's assistance. Lee understood this and tasked Longstreet with seizing the gap from the federal brigade holding the line there. In Longstreet's lead was the Texas Brigade.

Campbell Wood, Adjutant of the 5th Texas, wrote that General John Bell Hood ordered a brigade review at Hanover Junction as they headed off to Manassas Junction.

... every regiment, except the Fifth Texas, had its flag unfurled. Hood halted and inquired of me why our flag was furled and under cover. For answer, I ordered George Onderdonk, the flag-bearer, to unfurl the flag. When its beautiful folds were given to the breeze, a cheer broke loose, despite the fact that the officers did all they could to restrain it. Hood approached a little nearer to me and in a very positive manner inquired: "Adjutant, why have you not your battle flag, sir?"²

¹ Thomason, Lt. Col. John W, USMC, *Lone Star Preacher: Being a Chronicle of Acts of Praxiteles Swan, M. E. Church South sometime Captain, 5th Texas Regiment, Confederate States Provisional Army* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941), p. 159

² Polley, J. B., "Historical Times, A Review of Time That Are Past But Live in History," *San Antonio Daily Express*, September 8, 1902, p. 22.

Wood explained to the general that he sent the official regimental battle flag to brigade headquarters, as ordered, so that the names of the battles in which the regiment was engaged could be inscribed on the flag. General John Bell Hood nodded and told Wood that the inscribing was completed and the flag returned to the regiment. Adjutant Wood did his best to assure his general that he had not seen the returned flag

... and having no other I brought along the Lone Star flag of Texas.

In fact, the officers of the 5th Texas commissioned a fringed silk Lone Star flag at their own expense while in Richmond. General Longstreet refused to approve their request that the regiment be granted permission to carry the flag into battle. Captain J. S. Cleveland, commanding Company H, urged Wood to find a way to substitute the Lone Star Flag. Wood wrote:

I told him in what way the flags would be returned and added that should I be absent from the Adjutant's office when the courier returned the battle flag, he would probably lay it on my desk and that, should somebody then without my knowledge carry it away, I would have no recourse but to carry the Lone Star flag. On the day of the return of the battle flag, feeling quite sure that Captain Cleveland would abstract it from the Adjutant's tent, I went into the Texas depot at Richmond and, securing the Lone Star flag, took it out to camp and kept it there under cover³.

That next day, the Texas Brigade set out for Manassas. Adjutant Wood braced for a severe reprimand from General Hood at the brigade review. Hood smiled and said, "I believe you know more of this than you are willing to tell." He saluted and galloped on down the line. The 5th Texas first went into battle with their Lone Star flag on August 22, 1862 at Freeman's Ford.

Captain James Roberdeau of Company B (Colorado County), 5th Texas Regiment, wrote:

Promptly at sunrise the command waded the river and continued the march in an effort to overtake General Jackson, who had preceded us. Our route was by Orleans and foot of Big Cobbler mountain – on to Salem, where we bivouacked for the night of the 27th... No rations were issued, the command drawing on the corn of the previous night...⁴

³ Polley, Ibid.

⁴ Roberdeau, James Daniel, Letter to Benjamin Marshall Baker, Editor, *Colorado Citizen*, August 30, 1899, published in the *Colorado Citizen*, September 14, 1899. Reproduced online by Nesbitt Memorial Library, Columbus, Texas at <http://library.columbustexas.net/history/roberdeau.htm>

Diarist Joe Joskins of Company A (The Bayou City Guards from Houston), 5th Texas Regiment, recalled the determined effort, which Longstreet's men made to reach Jackson at Manassas⁵. He wrote:

... we were on our way to Manassas. Nothing of very great importance happened on the march – except the passage of Thouragh Fare Gap of the Blue Ridge on the evening of Aug 20th 62. Arriving at the gap we found it disputed by Genl Fitz Porter of the USA with 10,000 men and the Yanks had their artillery so situated as to defend the Gap by enveloping it with grape and canister. Genl Whiting ordered us to climb the mountain. We started at it with a will and soon found ourselves above the din and confusion of earth ...⁶

The rebel move did not go unnoticed and the federal forces withdrew from the Gap. Campbell recalled:

On the march to the gap, we had been moving steadily for 36 hours with half rations and but two hours rest during the whole time and after passing through the Gap we lay down about 12 at night and refreshed by sleep our exhausted limbs and excited minds⁷.

Robert Campbell of Company A wrote of the 5th Texas regiment's movement on the 28th of August:

By 8 A.M. we were up – quite refreshed after eating our breakfast, consisting of two crackers and a slice of bacon. We prepared to march⁸.

Robert Brantley of Company D (The Waverly Confederates), 5th Texas Regiment, noted, "My regiment was in front of the corps while passing through Thoroughfare Gap." The gap was a narrow defile, easily defended and costly to take if the defenders were of any number.

Roberdeau continued:

On the morning of the 28th we resumed march to Manassas via Thoroughfare gap, arriving at the gap about two hours before sundown. You

⁵ Joskins' name cannot be found on the roster of Company A. Most historians now agree that Joskins was probably a pen name used by Robert Campbell, who wrote of his experiences while recovering after the Second Manassas battle from his ankle wound.

⁶ Joskins, A Sketch of Hoods Texas Brigade of the Virginia Army, University of Texas at San Antonio, transcribed, p. 93.
<https://fromthepage.com/jmclloone/university-of-texas-at-san-antonio-civil-war-diaries/sketch-of-hoods-texas-brigade-of-the-virginia-army-handwritten-civil-war-diary?page=20>

⁷ Joskins (Campbell) Diary, transcribed, p. 94.

⁸ Skoch, George and Perkins, Mark, Lone Star Confederate: A Gallant and Good Soldier of the Fifth Texas Infantry, Texas A&M University Press, 2003, pp. 64.

remember, upon a high point under a tree stood General Lee and staff, and our [Company B] Webb Shepherd, tired and mad, remarked that hell would soon begin since the officers and cavalry were halting. Someone in the group of officers replied that it was not much of a fray, and that we'd soon dislodge the enemy. This was said to have come from General Lee, and upon Webb hearing it, was very greatly troubled that he had spoken so rudely in his presence.

William Traylor Hill was promoted to captain and given command of Company D (The Waverly Confederates) on August 23, 1862, less than a week before the battle of Second Manassas. Hill was an educated man, an 1858 graduate of Austin College. He wrote:

About the middle of the evening of the 28th heavy firing was heard on our front toward the mountain, and as we approached near the mountain we heard the rifle fire and could see the puffs of smoke as our soldiers were driving the enemy over the mountain. We could see a long line of troops passing obliquely up the mountain north of the Gap. The Texas brigade was ordered to follow, which it did until we had marched one-third of a mile, when the brigade was countermarched at dark to the mouth of the Gap. All commanders of companies were instructed to notify their men that General Jackson was cut off from the rest of General Lee's army and that the Gap must be carried that night.

Capt. Ike Turner's company [K], 5th Texas, was detached from the regiment and placed one hundred yards in front of the regiment as a heavy skirmish line. The brigade marched in columns of fours, with orders to keep perfect silence. When the skirmish line was fired on, all were to march in quick time until the Gap was cleared and make all the noise that human beings could. The regiment, after passing through the Gap, was to turn to the right and left and form in battle line⁹.

Captain Hill of Company D continued:

On we marched through the Gap, with nerves at utmost tension, expecting every moment to be swallowed up by [Union] General Rickett's division of infantry and twenty cannon, all firing into that narrow Gap, eighty yards wide. Still we marched on and on, not dead yet, until we saw skylight in front of us, which increased until we emerged from the Gap into an open field, meeting no enemy. Thanks to General Rickett, he had retreated. The brigade bivouacked at the Gap that night and commenced the march next morning at daylight, reaching General Jackson at noon. We found many of the enemy dead east of the Gap. The

⁹ Hill, William Traylor, "First Troops Through Thoroughfare Gap," *Confederate Veteran*, volume 23, December 1915, p. 544.

Texas brigade at that time was composed of the 1st, 4th, 5th Texas Regiments, 18th Georgia, and Hampton's Legion¹⁰.

Captain James Roberdeau of Company B, 5th Texas Regiment, noted:

Moving forward, we soon met evidence of the conflict going on in the gap by the wounded being brought out. Save deploying skirmishers and a few shots, we were not engaged, the Georgians having driven the enemy through the pass.

We camped for the night in the pass, but in seeking a place, had to cross a stream flowing through the pass so often that it was confusing, it being serpentine. Still no rations, and a resort or fall back on the corn diet of the 26th.¹¹

The small Union force was not entrenched. They fought well and delayed Longstreet's advance, but they were insufficient to hold the gap for long. Longstreet's soldiers forced their way through the gap by sunset and continued their determined march to Jackson's aid at Manassas Junction. The lack of sufficient Union force at the gap is inexplicable other than as an indication of Union General John Pope's ineptitude. It seems that he did not even appreciate the strategic importance of the gap. It was only because of McDowell that Ricketts' command was in the gap to slow Longstreet.

Private Nicholas Pomeroy of Company A recalled that at daybreak on the 29th, "... began the loud thundering noise of big guns and roar of musketry. It was Jackson's little army assailed by a big force of Federals¹²." The Federal effort to destroy Jackson before Longstreet's arrival was underway. Union General John Pope refused to accept that the rest of the Army of Northern Virginia was approaching his right flank. Lee and Longstreet led the column. The men at the rear, as always, trudged through clouds of dust kicked up by those who marched ahead of them.

Robert Campbell later wrote:

... early dawn on the morning of Aug 29th we moved forward and took our positions in the line of battle, ready and willing to take our part in the bloody Second Manassas, thousands of brave warriors stand trembling with eager anxiety, watching for the word to tread where the fallen heroes sleep and wrench from the hand of our enemy another palm for our country's glory¹³.

Robert Campbell of Company A wrote:

¹⁰ Hill, *Ibid.*

¹¹ Roberdeau, *Ibid.*

¹² Pomeroy, Nicholas, "The Memoirs of Nicholas Pomeroy," unpublished manuscript, Historical Research Center, Hill College, Hillsboro, Texas, pp. 30-36.

¹³ Joskins (Campbell) Diary, transcribed, p. 95

After passing through this wood, rather, passing to the other edge, we had a fine view of the old Manassas battle of 1861. On our right and left we found troops already stationed and a cavalry command were occupying the ground which we were to occupy. We relieved them and they moved to the rear. After joining our right and left with the forces on right and left – we found ourselves within 200 yards of the edge of the woods. A company from each regt. was ordered forward to occupy the front of each regt. as pickets – and to move to the edge of the woods and their station themselves. Co “A” from 5th Texas was selected and under our Capt. – D. C. Farmer – we moved forward and occupied the edge of the woods, each man selecting for himself a good tree – as the Yankee skirmishers, some 800 yards distant began to fire upon us. As far as the eye could stretch – the Yankee line of battle could be seen. Pope halted and on the bloody ground of ‘61 intended to make a repetition of crushing the “Rebellion.”¹⁴

Captain James Roberdeau of Company B, 5th Texas Regiment, wrote:

On the morning of the 29th we emerged from the gap and moved on to Manassas through the village of Haymarket, where some skirmishing was done¹⁵.

John Allison of Company C, 5th Texas, wrote:

The next morning we had a street fight in the town of Haymarket, but we succeeded in driving the Yankees back to Manassas. Here we lay on our arms for a day and a half. We could see a good part of the fight going on on our left all day. At night our colonel told us that we must load our guns and fix bayonets and says, “Don’t shoot until you get a man on your bayonet then shoot him off.”¹⁶

By Haymarket, the thundering sound of dueling artillery was distinct. The road from Thoroughfare Gap intersected the Warrenton Turnpike at Gainesville. The long column turned left onto the turnpike. As Longstreet’s long column spilled out into the open country, the soldiers could better appreciate the strength of their numbers. The thrill of pending combat filled their heads. It was a hot day and the men were drenched in perspiration. The clouds of dust kicked up by thousands of trudging feet coated their throats, their exposed faces and their wool uniforms.

The Texas Brigade, being in the lead of Lee’s army, was the first to reach Jackson. The brigade formed a battle line with its left on the turnpike. Captain Roberdeau continued:

¹⁴ Skoch and Perkins, 65.

¹⁵ Roberdeau, Ibid.

¹⁶ Yeary, Mamie, Reminiscences of the Boys in Gray, 1861-1865, 1912, pp. 12-13.

Upon reaching the Warrenton pike we were double-quickened until we reached the battlefield, the point being on the Warrenton pike we deploying to the right, our left, Law's brigade, connecting with Gen. Jackson's right. Here we remained during the day, witnessing some charges upon Gen. Jackson's line¹⁷.

Private John W. Stevens of Company K (The Polk County Flying Artillery) recalled:

By noon [August 29th] we were on the field. Jackson was there – he'd been there for two or three days. We wheeled into line on his right. To describe the alignment of both armies now would require that we examine the histories. We have not the time or the space in these sketches to do so. We are not writing a history – only telling what we saw as we can at this late date remember it, nothing more. My memory may be at fault in some things, but I am doing the best I can and I am very near correct – therefore the reader must be content with just what the writer saw. Our brigade is on Longstreet's extreme left, but on the extreme left is the writer's regiment. Now if you have the idea properly in your mind, this throws us right up at Jackson's extreme right. Our line of battle, when formed, was in the shape of the letter V – only flared out at an angle of about 100 degrees, or possibly more. This, you see, would throw us at the apex of the angle.

There was some fighting in our front, but nothing that could be called a regular engagement. But in Jackson's front at intervals the work was quite lively, both in artillery and small arms. The fact is, Jackson was never happy if there were any Yankees around unless he was pegging away at them – he seemed to think they were made to be shot at. Some skirmishing and some artillery firing in our front¹⁸.

Nicholas Pomeroy of Co. A wrote of the battle line:

... the Texas Brigade, followed by Law's Brigade was posted to the right of Jackson's Corps, and the Texas Brigade to the right of Law's, all forming a line of battle. The rest of Longstreet's troops were now to be seen moving rapidly to the front, and taking up positions in line on our right, and the batteries of the different divisions taking their place according to the formation of the ground. All along the lines these maneuvers were executed in a very short time. General Lee had now all his army on the ground." The firing which had ceased in front of Jackson for some time, commenced again about noon. Being this time assailed by an immense force, Longstreet sent some batteries to his assistance, and

¹⁷ Roberdeau, Ibid.

¹⁸ Stevens, John in Reminiscences of the Civil War, Hillsboro Mirror Print, Hillsboro, TX, 1902.

these were posted on such advantageous ground, and used with such good effect that they caused the Federals to fall back in confusion along his front and so relieved him for the time being¹⁹ .

John Nathaniel Henderson of Company E (The Dixie Blues from Washington County) recalled:

During the greater part of the 29th a fierce conflict raged between the forces of Jackson, on the Confederate left, and the Federal troops opposite him, but nothing appears to have been gained except the loss of many lives²⁰ .

Robert Campbell wrote of the 29th:

This wood in which we lay extended some four miles to our left – and was occupied all through by Confederates. In our front – at a distance of 800 yards, was a body of timber, running parallel for some three miles, with the timber which we occupied. Between the timbers was a large field extending from wood to wood – and on the Enemy's side was enclosed by fence. In the edge of these two separate bodies of timber were stationed the skirmishers of the Yankee and of the Confederate Armies. Half mile to our right, was a large hill – near which if I remember correctly, was situated the Chine House, so famous in the history of this battle. Genl J E B Stuart had occupied this hill, with a portion of his cavalry – and some few pieces of 12 pounders. This body of woods which the Enemy occupied was some 250 or 300 yards back, and their first line of battle occupied the edge of it, most distant from us – this edge nearest us, being occupied by their (Yankee) skirmishers and sharpshooters²¹ .

Roberdeau wrote:

About 2 p. m., while lying in line of battle, bullets from the skirmishers in front often reached us. Billy Pinchback (noble boy) sat near me, when one gave him a close call. I suggested the protection of a small sapling. He replied that it made no difference, since he would be killed during the day, indicating with his finger the spot where he would receive the wound. Knowing that others of our company had made similar predictions which were verified, it made me sad, and all my efforts to dispel the thought proved unavailing, he adhering to his assertion and preparing for the event. I recall vividly my visit to field hospital the next Sunday morning, when I found the gallant soldier and dear friend lying in death, lying by your side, shot as indicated by himself. He was

¹⁹ Pomeroy, *Ibid.*

²⁰ Henderson, John Nathaniel, "At Second Manassas," *Houston Post*, June 28, 1901.

²¹ Skoch and Perkins, 65.

the fourth who had made similar predictions that were verified: Denny and Sherer at Eltham's Landing, Gaines at Gaines' Farm and Pinchback at Manassas²² .

William Wallace Pinchback was seventeen-years-old, having enlisted at age sixteen. Robert Campbell of Company A wrote:

At 10 A.M. the firing, both of artillery and musketry became very heavy on the left – which proclaimed that the “work of carnage” was raging under the supervision of “old Stonewall Jackson.” The firing came within a mile of our (Hood's Brig.) position – and from that point to a mile below us, it was quiet except light skirmishing. Our position was on right centre – “Stonewall” commanded the left wing, and Major Genl. Longstreet the right wing. The battle on the left under Jackson continued until 5 P.M. with success to our arms. The Enemy charged and charged again – but were met by steady and brave men, who gave not an *inch*²³ .

Campbell added:

By 12 p.m., we had our position. The rifles of the Brigade were loaded, capped, and the boys were ready at any moment to *charge* or receive a *charge*²⁴ .

Campbell and the other soldiers of 5th Texas Regiment waited all afternoon.

Near sunset on the 29th of August, General Lee wanted General Longstreet to advance along the Warrenton Turnpike toward Groveton and attack the Union forces. Longstreet insisted that it was too late in the day for such a move. Lee relented and, instead, Longstreet agreed to a reconnaissance-in-force. The information obtained would allow the Confederates to optimize the assault when the sun rose in the morning. In fact, Longstreet put into motion John Bell Hood's division, which Hood's own Texas Brigade.

Robert Campbell wrote:

About 5 p.m. a courier arrived from Genl Longstreet for Hood to push the Div in and engage the enemy in our front. The order was given instantly and the whole line moved down on both sides of the Turnpike into the open fields . . . artillery filled the heavens with shot and shell . . . my Company (A) was on the skirmish line . . . charged the enemy and by dark had driven them two miles²⁵ .

Private William Henry Matthews of Company K reported:

²² Roberdeau, Ibid.

²³ Skoch and Perkins, 66.

²⁴ Skock and Perkins, 66.

²⁵ Joskins (Campbell) Diary, transcribed, p. 97

... between sundown and dark the Texas Brigade was moved forward and charged the enemy²⁶ .

Private John Stevens of Company K similarly noted the events of the evening of August 29:

About dark we (the Texas brigade) made a charge and went clear through the enemy's lines, and when we discovered our position, had the enemy known as we did, we were cut off and would have fallen easy prey – but happily our officers discovered the mistake (that we had gone too far), and in a whisper we were moved out by a flank and thus averted a (otherwise) serious blunder²⁷ .

Private Nicholas Pomeroy wrote:

Unexpectedly about sunset, our division was called to action, and immediately after moved forward, and soon met the enemy advancing toward us in an open field, when we drove them back about a mile into some woods in front. Darkness then suddenly set in and we halted, about 11 o'clock in the night fell back, and took up a position a little in advance of the place we started from. In this reconnaissance we captured one cannon, two flags, and a few prisoners. I do not recall any casualties on our side²⁸ .

The Texas Brigade's advance caught the federal force under General John Reynolds by surprise. Reynolds was attempting to hit Jackson's right. He ordered a quick shift of his front to the left, but it was too late. The federals yielded to the Texas Brigade's advance and started falling back. Private Matthews continued:

It was dark but we drove them about one-quarter of a mile, when, getting bewildered in the darkness some of our men began firing into each other and it was quite a while before they realized their mistake ... During the night attack the Yankees found out where the Texas brigade would be the next day, so these fine Zouaves were placed to face us for the next day's battle²⁹ .

Campbell Wood, Adjutant of the 5th Texas, later recalled:

While we were at Dumfries on the Potomac [winter 1861-1862], the Fifth New York Zouaves were in camp on the opposite side of the river. It was

²⁶ Yeary, Mamie, *Reminiscences of Boys in Gray, 1861-1865*, 1912, p. 471.

²⁷ Stevens, John W., *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, Hillsboro, Texas, 1902, p. 57.

²⁸ Pomeroy, *Ibid.*

²⁹ Yeary, p. 471

easy to talk with them and they often told us that they wanted to meet us in battle. At Second Manassas, having learned our position in the Confederate line, they managed to secure a position directly in our front³⁰.

Robert Brantley of Company D wrote of the night of the 29th:

We made a charge at night and got all tangled up with the Federals. It was so dark we did not know each other. I marched out with a Federal and did not discover my mistake until I reached their campfire, then I turned for home³¹.

Captain Roberdeau of Company B wrote:

Towards night the enemy began to mass their forces in front of Jackson's right, with the view of turning it. To counteract this move, our division, Law's and Texas brigades, about 9 or 10 o'clock at night were advanced to relieve Gen. Jackson's right, which we did by pushing the enemy back fully a mile, after some ludicrous episodes and sharp skirmishes. All fighting is attended with indescribable sensations, but when Lieut. Col. Upton of the Fifth ordered the guns uncapped and to make the charge with bayonets, the climax was reached. Having accomplished the purpose for which the move was made, we lay down in line, remaining until 4 o'clock on the morning of the 30th, when we returned to our position of the day previous . . .³²

Robert Campbell of Company A wrote one of the most complete descriptions of the violent attack of the Texas Brigade on the federal position at Groveton on the night of August 29.

By 5 P. M., the soldiers on the left [Jackson's] were wearied and worn and the enemy still continued to charge them . . . it became apparent to the Confederate commander in chief, that the Yanks, by our inactivity on the right, had determined on a bold and reckless move. They intended to have a small force in the front of our right wing, and drawing off the main body of their troops from our right, (their left) reinforce their right, and throw them "en masse" upon our almost exhausted right under Stonewall Jackson. This determination was thwarted in its incipient stages, by a countermove of Genl. Lee's³³.

³⁰ Skoch and Perkins, Ibid.

³¹ Brantley.

³² Roberdeau.

³³ Skoch and Perkins, 66.

... Co "A" – was some two hundred yards in front of the 5th Texas – as skirmishers and pickets of said regt. Each of us had a tree – firing upon the Yankee pickets in opposite woods, whenever one of them was bold enough to uncover his front, at the same time taking care to preserve our own front and precious carcasses. While going through this routine our ears were somewhat astonished about 6:30 P.M. with loud and tremendous cheers accompanying the sound of arms, from the left – ere we called to attention, and in a few moments the clarion voice of "Hood" rang forth upon the breeze. "Fix bayonets", "F-o-r-w-a-r-d" and with a yell we set out for the Yanks, yelling more like "incarnate fiends" than rational human beings. As the "forward" was given, we closely joined our right and left, with the other companies from the Brigade, who were on the skirmish line. We as Skirmishers – preceded the Brigade nearly two hundred yards, but they closely followed – with their shouts and yells. When within some 150 yards of the woods, where our friends of "Union persuasion" had their pickets, they fired a volley into us – and throwing down their guns broke like quarter nags. After passing from the field into the *Yankee* woods, we (skirmishers) halted until the Brigade came up, and each company took its place in its respective regiment. We moved on through this Yankee woods (some 200 yards) and came forth upon the *plains*. There we saw that this charge was not confined to our "sub Division," but extended from extreme right to extreme left. The forward move of the right wing, had held to our front the Yanks designed to reinforce their (Yanks) right – and as we moved forward – Stonewall gave the order "*charge*" to his battle weary soldiers and the *whole* "Confederate Line," swept forward at one and the same time – as far as the eye could see. As we emerged upon the plains, could be seen moving of "Rebs" and "anti Rebs" – the flash of hundreds of canon, and of thousands and tens of thousands of rifles. Add to this report of battle, the moans and screams dead and dying, the fierce yells and shouts of charging "rebels," the tame "huza" "huza" "huza," of the Vandal Yankee – and tell me what you think of war. Not long did we enjoy the scene – by the rays of the sun – for it was nearly night when we began the charge – and by the time we had routed the Yankee skirmishers – halted and rejoined the brigade, and moved upon the main line of Yankee battle array. Night had drawn the sable mantle on this earthly scene of international contention, but yet – the battle went briskly on – and then, as the last ray of the departing sun disappeared beneath the western horizon – then began a scene – which for grandeur – beauty and terrible beautiful – can be described only by the pen of a Byron or a Pope – to render it easy to the conception of one not acquainted with the "scenes and sights" of a battle field. For miles and miles around, in all directions a light more brilliant than that of day, shed its radiance upon each and every act of this bloody drama. Canons were belching forth their iron mission of

death. The whole heavens were filled with thousands upon thousands of balls – and it was a beautiful indescribable sight to see the “bombs” and “grape shot” and shell – as they flew through the air with their unearthly noises – followed by their fiery tails – resembling fiery comets. We moved on – charging – yelling, and firing driving the Enemy before us at every point³⁴.

Campbell later expanded on the visual aspect of the experience of in his Joskins “Diary”:

Nor did night end the contest for three hours after dark the whole plains of Manassas was one sea of light – bombs screaming warning and bursting in air. Minnies whizzing all about such as I never saw – it was a thing that man can see once in a lifetime, be his years long or few³⁵.

Campbell continued:

By 8 P.M. [Aug 29th] we had reached a small creek known as “Little Bull Run” – and this time “confusion was worse confounded.” Brigades got mixed. Confederates began to fire upon Confederates. Yanks were passed over and fired upon us from the rear. On reaching “Little Bull Run” – a halt was ordered – and a regiment in our front fired upon us – and we were returning the fire, when the cry arose “We are firing on our own boys.” It turned out to be a Virginia Regt. Then we exchanged shots with some command in our front – left oblique – the cry was raised “Hampton Legion” “Hampton Legion” “for God’s sake boys don’t fire” and so it prove to be the said “Legion” – who was the extreme left of our brigade. A regiment moved by our left and were challenged by the 4th Texas. “What command?” “5th Texas” replied the cute Yanks – who had heard our name called – when we got into the fracas with the Legion a few moments before. Of course, the 4th not suspecting anything allowed them to pass, and they rejoined their Army. The Enemy were now retreating. Our whole line, from right to left, had pushed them back. By 10 P.M. all was quiet – and the men seated themselves upon positions held, awaiting further orders³⁶.

Near 11 P.M. – Capt Harvey Sellers - Adj to Hood (and who came out from Houston as 1st Lieut. of my company) came up to our regt and gave Col Robertson the following orders “Col – The Enemy are in full retreat and are doubles five miles from here by now. The whole line will fall back to the original position held before the charge, (some two and a half miles in our present rear) but a detachment of our Brigade will be left

³⁴ Skoch and Perkins, 67.

³⁵ Campbell (Joskins) Diary, transcribed, p. 97.

³⁶ Skoch and Perkins, 69.

on this spot (Little Bull Run) as “out posts” merely as a precautionary step, for the Yanks I dare say are miles away by now. So you Col., will leave one company from your regiment (5th) and a company will be left by the Hampton Legion. There will be sufficient to accomplish our purpose. They will give notice, *in case* the Enemy should advance during the night. To our disgust – Company “A” was selected from the 5th. We had been on picket during the whole previous day, and now we must – far from our Army – watch during the night. The line fell back – and our company under Capt. Farmer – formed a junction with the company from “Hampton Legion,” which was under a Lieut. consequently Capt. Farmer being senior officer – took command of the whole – some two hundred. Before reaching “Little Bull Run” is a very high elevation – extending several hundred yards – from this elevation, a fine view of the country beyond “Little Bull Run” is to be had – directly beyond Bull Run for 100 yards the land is rather low, from that point it begins to enter upon a gradual ascension. Capt. Farmer with his own and the “Legion” company, occupied this elevated place near “Little Bull Run” and stationed his pickets. I came on at 12M and stood until 1 P.M. when I was relieved by John McMurty of the company. My time would arrive at 4 A.M. – to again go on post. After being relieved I took a “good ole smoke,” and devoted a few moments to thinking of the past bloody hours – but I was soon asleep³⁷ .

Campbell added later in his Joskins “Diary”:

At about 10 p.m. after the batteries had ceased to play, the whole line was ordered to fall back to the position occupied on the Warrenton Turnpike, which we had vacated in the evening 5 p.m. when we advanced. Capt Sellers put out a strong picket force³⁸ .

Private John Stevens of Company K wrote of the withdrawal late in the night of August 29:

We fell back to our proper place in the line and rested for the night, well knowing that many of us would be in eternity (which proved true) before the sun should set the next day . . . All night we lay there on our arms, catching a few snatches of sleep as the night flits by. While awake

³⁷ Skoch and Perkins, 69.

³⁸ Campbell (Joskins) Diary, p. 102, from the untranscribed original diary, University of Texas San Antonio, online at <http://digital.utsa.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15125coll10/id/8440/rec/1>

our minds are engaged in contemplating the serious work of the morrow that we know would surely come. Some of our boys seem to be careless and indifferent regarding it, other look and speak in serious tones, and seem to have forebodings that they would be killed. One man, a Lieutenant – G. W. Henry . . . - said he knew he would be killed. Sure enough, he fell, pierced through the heart by a bullet. It was not uncommon for men to have a pre-sentiment that they would be killed in battle, and I don't remember that I know of a case that failed of verification³⁹ .

Lee sent orders for his men to withdraw. The Texas Brigade and others quietly slipped back down the turnpike to a position half a mile west of Groveton. Lee had the information he wanted as to what lay in front of him for the assault of the following morning of August 30. The Confederate “withdrawal” would confuse Union General John Pope when he began the 30th.

Robert Campbell continued his account, upon taking his next round of watch in the early morning hours:

By 4 A.M. I was aroused and again resumed the “lonely tramp of the sentinel.” Some 12 others were on post – at position equidistant about 100 yards . . . As soon as day broke, in fact as soon as an object could be distinguished ten paces from you – the whole company, with the South Carolinians of the Legion, were up and hard at work and what do you suppose doing? They were picking the pockets of the dead, dying and wounded the *silver watches, greenbacks, pocket knives*, and diverse other *notions* with which our boys loaded themselves – taking care of the “inner man” by borrowing from our helpless friends all the “hardtack” bacon & etc. – with which they were possessed.

When day had so far broke that we could see several hundred yards beyond “Little Bull Run” – a large body of troops – seemingly from the space which they covered, to be near 20,000 – but it was not sufficiently light to decide upon their politics. We were inclined to believe that they were “Confederates” since Capt. Seller had told us the previous night that no Yanks were in 5 miles of us and were in full retreat. To be prepared for any emergency – we examined the priming of our guns and made sure for ourselves. A few minutes would prove them friend or foe.

In about 5 minutes they discovered us, but were as equally in the dark – as to our “persuasion” – so they sent a horseman in full tilt towards us. He came within a few hundred yards of us and cried out “What People are you.” Dempsy Walker of our company advanced toward him & in “Scottish style” – answered his question by asking another – though in

³⁹ Stevens, John W. in Polley, J. B., “Historical Reminiscences: A Review of Times That Are Past But Live in History,” *The Daily Express*, April 19, 1908, p. 17, column 1.

less polite style “Who in the hell are you” asked Dempsy. With that our gallant horseman wheeled his stud, and in full gallop Walker gave him the contents of his rifle – but on account of the distance – missed his mark, though he was a fine marksman. As soon as our horseman had reached his command – a great stir began in the *Yankee* camp – for such we *now saw* them to be – for it was becoming very light. Four or five pieces of Artillery were placed in position, and opened on us – skirmishers were thrown out and began to advance. A body of cavalry dashed off and began to circle around to cut us off. “Israel to your tents”. Farmer immediately ordered his company and the “Legion” company likewise. We who were on the picket line were called into the company, and Capt. Farmer formed a strong skirmish line – occupying a distance of several hundred yards – a space of 10 feet intervening between each man. The grape shot began to rattle around our head – the Yankee skirmishers were advancing – and in a few moments the Yankee cavalry (some 45 strong) came dashing upon our right flank – intending if possible to cut us off from our army and capture us. But we had no idea of “visiting the North,” so in military style we gave them a salute – which sent them prancing back⁴⁰.

Some 200 yards back in our rear was an old and deserted field and to this Capt. Farmer ordered us to fall back, remarking “Boys, we *must* hold this position at all hazards.” We fell back – and along came the Yankee skirmishers – 5 to one of us, and backed by heavy lines of battle. The scene was by this time, quite lively. We were exchanging shots and their canon were making merry misses around our ears.

We took as good a defensive position after reaching the field as presented, determined if possible to check the Yanks in their advance. On they came with their “Union cheers” confident of “gambling” us up. We allowed them to come within 75 yards – when Capt. Farmer seeing that he would get all his men captured – ordered us to fall back several hundred yards, to a lane –which was bordered along with trees. The enemy line overlapped us – right and left – for half mile – besides their artillery was continuously busy. As we were moving back quite leisurely – I was hit in the back with a spent grape shot – for my back as I walked off, was directly to the Yanks. It hurt me about as much as if it had been thrown by a child. We reached the lane, each man took a tree, and we again faced our foe. In this lane we saw a beautiful brass 12 pounder, which we had captured in our charge the previous night, but our boys when they fell back did not carry it off. We knew that the Yanks would now recapture it, for we were unable to carry it back with us. The Yanks advanced on us and we poured it – that is the “minnies”

⁴⁰ Skoch and Perkins, 70.

into them – but it was no use – they were flanking us on each side – so our gallant Captain Farmer ordered us to again fall back. This we continued to do – falling back and holding them at bay, until we reached our Confederate line of battle – which we found in the *same* position as on the day before. Our Brigade was lying in the same woods, with its skirmishers occupying the edge. As I mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter – a field intervened between the woods we occupied and that occupied by the Yanks. Within this field – within 500 yards of the Yankee picket line – was a deep ravine – much washed by the rains. As we approached this ravine an order came out to us, from Genl. Hood, to occupy it, and act as sharpshooters – which we did. I neglected to say that when the Yanks reached the “beautiful piece of artillery” in the lane, they gave three tremendous cheers. On stationing us – Capt. Farmer went back to the Brigade and made his report to Genl. Hood. Thus two small companies had lain nearly a whole night with 500 yards of 20,000 Yanks – and two miles from *any* portion of our army.

Campbell wrote:

After occupying our position in this ditch, we began a slow, desultory fire with Yankee pickets, who occupied the edge of the woods opposite us – the same as previous day, Jule Robinson – of our company – a brave young Delawarian, and Dempsy Walker, crawled upon their all fours within 200 yards of the Yankee pickets – and lying down behind little corn hills – began to interfere with “our friends” across the way, to a considerable extent. They could not hold their “corn hills” long, for a few Yanks, more daring than the rest, had climbed trees, and in return, interfered with Messers Robinson and Walker to such an extent, that they were forced to return the company. Myself and one or two others, climbed some trees – but found that we could do but little at it.

Private Henry Griffith of Company F (the Invincibles) later wrote his cousin:

On the morning of August 30th about the crack of gray-light in the eastern skies, Cad and myself were put on picket . . . with orders to hold that particular point opposite the Yankee line of pickets and keep up a fusillade on the picket as fast as they showed up in a small clump of timber not more than 75 yds off from where we were posted. Now if I rightly remember they came and tried to drive us in. As orders were to hold, neither Cad nor I had any better sense than to do what we were told and we done it too, dud hold until we were told to take our places in the skirmish line and advance on the skirmishers of the 5th New York Zouaves . . . Cad and I used about one hundred rounds apiece

while holding that position, for which service we were praised in a general order sometime afterwards⁴¹.

Private John Stevens of Company K (from Liberty & Polk Counties) wrote of the morning of the 30th, "The new day finally dawned upon us. With it began the active preparations of both armies, maneuvering and arranging for this terrible battle."⁴²

Private Henry Griffith of Company F was on picket duty "... on the morning of August 30th about the crack of gray light in the eastern clouds." He wrote:

... with orders to hold that particular point opposite the Yankee line of pickets and keep up a fusillade on the pickets as fast as they showed up on a small clump of woods not more than 75 yds off from where we were posted ... they came and tried to drive us in. As orders were to hold that point, neither Cad nor I had any better sense to do as we were told & we done it too & did hold until we were told to take our places in the skirmish line & advance ... Cad and I used about one hundred rounds apiece while holding that position.

The Texas Brigade was to lead the advance. The five regiments with the brigade's left on the Warrenton Turnpike. Law's Brigade was on the left, across the turnpike. Jackson was to hold his position in the sunken railroad line and protect Longstreet's left flank. Union General John Pope was greatly mistaken to understand the Confederates to be withdrawing.

Campbell Wood, Adjutant of the 5th Texas, wrote:

As Adjutant of the Fifth Texas, just before going into battle at Second Manassas, I ordered a detail of eight men as a color guard who took position on each side of the flag bearer. Our flag was a beautiful one, it was a Texas flag and every man of us was proud of it and constituted himself a color guard to watch over and protect it and keep it aloft. It was my special duty to see that it was kept afloat⁴³.

Robert Campbell wrote of the hours leading up to the major assault on the late afternoon of August 30:

About 2 P. M. Gregory – the acting commissary of the regt. came into the company with a supply of crackers and bacon, and on dividing them out – 3 crackers and ¼ lb. meat fell to each man. I was very hungry – but I concluded that I would "husband my resources" and have a *big* meal that night for supper – but the sequel proved the error of this action ...

⁴¹ Henry Griffith to Mrs. R. L. Dunman, circa 1900, Henry Griffith Papers, Dolph Briscoe Center For American History, University of Texas, Austin.

⁴² Stevens, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, p. 58

⁴³ Stevens, *John, Reminiscences of the Civil War*, p. 58

It was now about 3 P. M. and the firing on our left under Jackson was becoming very heavy. At 4 P. M. Genl. Hood rode up in a gallop in front of the Brigade – and Maj. Sellers, his Adj galloped down the “Texas picket” line. In a few moments the cry was borne upon the breeze by the martial voice of old Hood “*Attention, Texas Brigade*” “Forward” “March” – and the yell was raised and off we dashed. Co “A” joined the skirmishers as they came up⁴⁴ .

Campbell later wrote in his Joskins Diary:

Jackson had been fighting heavy on the left all day and just before Hood called us to attention we heard awful yelling from Stonewall’s men. We imagined what it meant . . . Stonewall had charged thru, broke the line and hurling their right wing back in confusion. Their left was yet firm, fast and defiant and it was for us under Genl Longstreet to hurl them back and plant our banners on their guns and strike terror in their hearts⁴⁵ .

John Henderson of Company E wrote of the moments preceding the charge on the 30th:

The morning of the 30th dawned bright and clear, the atmosphere was heavy, and ever man felt that today the decisive battle would be fought, but somehow the morning passed, and the real struggle had not begun. In the evening the fighting again began on the left of our line. At about 4 o’clock the battle was taken up along our center and right, and at 4:30 the Texas Brigade was ordered to charge.

Private Stevens of Company K continued with a description of the preparation for the attack in late afternoon of the 30th:

Lee, Longstreet, and Jackson were getting ready to throw themselves upon him like an avalanche. More or less fighting all day, but no general attack until about 4 p. m. Lee’s headquarters are in an open spot of ground about 100 yards from this writer’s position. There the old man sat, grandly, majestically and serenely, upon his old gray horse, Traveler.

Everything is now about ready - couriers and aides are riding to and fro. To the right and left the artillery is all ready, and – one long, thundering roll of belching death missiles go screaming all along the line – almost deafening. The guns are worked as fast as possible for a few minutes.

⁴⁴ Skoch and Perkins, 73.

⁴⁵ Campbell (Joskins), original diary, p. 105.

The effect upon the enemy's line is most terrific, carrying death and demoralization from one end to the other of the enemy⁴⁶.

Captain Roberdeau wrote of the charge from his position with Company B:

... until 4 p.m., at which time our final charge was made. The day was intensely hot. Added to this, water was scarce and we were still without rations, nor did we get any until just at the moment of advancing, which we at as we moved. Added to these was witnessing the many charges upon Jackson and chafing under the restraint and other surroundings, had the effect of irritating the soldier, making him restless and mean. He used his time in whetting his anger so soon to be appeased. At 4 p.m. that peerless advance and the direction to be taken, and at the same time took occasion to say: "Boys, be of good cheer; you can whip the world!" Never before or since have I seen such alacrity displayed by soldiers. The result as known. Of the details of the battle (the parts we witnessed) I may have something to say later – and return to Co. B.

Nicholas Pomeroy of Company A wrote of the action on August 30:

... our position was along the edge of a low wooded bridge. During the whole of the forenoon on our left flank in front of Jackson's Corps, there was desultory firing of big guns and small arms going on which quieted down about noon. About 3 P. M. it started again and became very heavy showing that Jackson was again earnestly engaged with the enemy. At this time too, General Lee and his staff officers were riding at a rapid rate back and forth. From these and other signs we expected a general engagement to start at any moment but what matter as we had just partaken of the last few ears of green Indian corn, the only rations left in our haversacks. Sore and blistered feet were forgotten by the men of the Texas Brigade and everyone was ready for the fray. About 4 P. M. we were called to attention, and then got order to load and fix bayonets⁴⁷
...

The Confederate line bristled with activity. Soldiers lightened their loads, tossing aside their bedrolls, overcoats and oilcloths. They prepared their cartridge boxes and loaded their rifles. Officers spoke encouragingly about the great victory, which awaited them. It was to be yet another day of glory. Men quietly said their prayers as they scanned the field before them.

Captain William Traylor Hill of Company D wrote:

⁴⁶ Stevens, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, p. 59.

⁴⁷ Pomeroy.

Until 3 p. m. of the 30th, there was no disturbance of the peace except such as was produced by occasional discharges of small arms and artillery. At three o'clock the enemy advanced in force against Jackson, and for an hour, one of the most terrible battles of the war raged. Jackson was pressed so persistently and heavily, that at 4 p. m. General Longstreet was ordered by General Lee to join in the battle, and if possible, drive the enemy from the field. Longstreet gave the necessary commands to his subordinates, and, in line with the other brigades of the corps, the Texas Brigade moved forward — my company, then on the skirmish line in front of the Fifth Texas, being ordered to form on its right when overtaken by it⁴⁸.

Captain Hill continued his account:

The brigade marched across an open field, and through a skirt of timber, and in the open ground beyond the timber, encountered the enemy, as, in line of battle he stood awaiting attack — the Fifth New York Zouaves standing directly in front of the Fifth Texas, but overlapped by the length of my company, when that fell in on the right of the Fifth Texas⁴⁹.

The *Weekly Telegraph* of October 1, 1862 published the following account from its special correspondent:

... the 5th New York, the crack regiment of Zouaves, all of them tastefully gotten up, regardless of expense, admitted as fine looking a body of men as the eye could desire to gaze on, they reminded one of so many Caesar's athletic Romans ... There they were, a beautiful line of blue jackets, red pants and tasseled caps, a splendid regiment ...

Private William Henry Matthews of Company K wrote of the attack from the perspective of Company K:

Our brigade was ordered forward, we moved slowly through a piece of woods, but the underbrush was so thick that we could not keep in line of battle, so we moved up to within about 75 yards of where the Zouaves were awaiting us. When everything was ready we were ordered to fix bayonets. The Yankees were near enough to hear every order our officers gave. When we got bayonets fixed, the order was given to charge, and we then raised the Rebel yell and went for them. I do not know whether the Yankees fired on us or not, but if they did they hit no one. When we reached the edge of the opening the Yanks were running for life, and it seemed that every fellow was making for the crossing on the branch. The Zouaves with their red trousers and blue jackets made

⁴⁸ Hill.

⁴⁹ Hill.

a good mark. We fired one volley and charged. They all fell before they reached the branch⁵⁰.

Captain William Traylor Hill shared Company D's experience:

Thus it happened that when the Fifth Texas, its men yelling their loudest, came out of the timber into the open ground, it came, practically, face to face with the Zouaves, who, in their red, white and blue uniforms, stood in as perfect alignment as if on dress parade. The Zouaves were first to fire, but most of their shots went far astray from the mark: they killed only two of our men, but wounded several others. Lieutenant-Colonel Upton, sad to say, was one of the killed. Following almost on the instant, but with far better aim, was the volley of the Fifth Texas, and seemingly, one-half of the Zouaves fell, cut down in their tracks. Appalled by such a storm of lead as fell among them, and by the sight of so many fallen comrades, the surviving Zouaves, seized with panic, wheeled and took to flight. With a shout, the Fifth Texas followed, continuing the slaughter down to and until two hundred yards beyond Young's branch. There, remembering that his orders were to move no further forward than Young's branch, Colonel Robertson called a halt.

This halt, however, was not of long duration. Hardly had the last slow-coach of the regiment come up and found his place in line, when somebody — a private, it was thought, to have been, but nobody ever knew who — shouted at the top of his voice, 'Forward!' Then, as General Hood said, 'the Fifth Texas slipped the bridle,' Hearing that 'Forward,' every man of the regiment sprang to his feet, and with yell, dashed forward at his topmost speed, reckless that at this time we were two or three hundred yards in advance of the foremost regiment of the brigade then in sight, and that, as had been the case when they fell upon the Zouaves, not a single Confederate command was in view on our right.

What effort, if any, was made by officers to stay this second charge of the Fifth Texas, I do not remember. But we had not gone far, when a line of Federals sprang up from the ground where they had been lying so flat we could not see them, and poured a volley into our ranks that was terribly destructive — many of our men falling dead or wounded. But undismayed, the Fifth returned the fire, and with effect even more deadly than was theirs. Broken and demoralized by it, they fled, and following them, went the Fifth Texas, yelling, loading and firing as they ran. The pursuit carried the regiment into open ground, and there it came in view and range of two batteries — one on its left, and the other on its right, at the Chinn house⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Yeary, p. 471.

⁵¹ Hill.

As out of breath in the chase of infantry whose fleeter-footedness had taken them out of sight, we came finally to a halt, and looking to the right and left, saw what we were 'up against,' we felt ourselves lost and bewildered orphans. It was not comfortable, by a long shot, to be five hundred yards or more in advance of our army, under the enfilading cross-fires of two well-served batteries, and with enemies innumerable presumably waiting, just over the hill, to capture or destroy us. To stay where we were, was suicidal — to go straight forward was to get further from support — and to retreat, not a man of us dared suggest to another. The officer in command of the regiment — our officers were killed or disabled, that day, too rapidly for one to know which one commanded at this or that place — solved our doubts and fears; although around the Chinn house. Federal infantry was heavily massed, we were far beyond the range of their rifles, and might, in order to secure protection from the artillery, safely lessen the distance between us, and therefore, he ordered the regiment to double-quick, by the right flank, down the slope of the hill toward the Chinn house, into a gully, two hundred yards away. We obeyed the order with alacrity, each man going at his best speed, and the lame and the slow-coaches getting over the ground as fast as any of their comrades. But we had barely passed the gully, found safety in the pine and cedar thicket beyond it, and gotten into a semblance of alignment, when an unknown voice again shouted the command, 'Forward!' and joining on the left of D. R. Jones' division, which just then came in line with us, we made such a vigorous and determined assault on the Federal lines at the Chinn house, as to force the enemy into retreat down a breach and valley leading in the direction of Sudley Ford on Bull Run Creek. It took us until night, though, to get the Federals into the humor for going. They fought gallantly and stubbornly, and inflicted a severe loss on us. Exactly what our losses were in the day's fighting, I cannot say. The Fifth Texas carried into the action about 800 men, but after the fighting was over, only 400 answered to roll-call⁵².

Private Rufus King Felder of Company E, 5th Texas Infantry, wrote his sister of the famous attack against the Zouaves on August 30th:

[The Yankees] concentrated all their forces at Manassas where they made a bold and vigorous stand. There the dreadful tide of battle raged for three days ... the third day [August 30] all our available force was engaged and the deafening roar of artillery and rattle of musketry was extended all along the line. Our brigade was ordered in about three [o'clock]. We double quickened it about a mile before we met with the

⁵² Hill.

enemy. We first met two regiments of Zouaves. We kept advancing and shooting until we got within thirty yards of them. They then broke and fled, but few of their number were left to tell the tale. The ground was perfectly strewn with the bodies of the red breeches fellows. This was but the commencement of the carnage. We then had three successive lines of battle to charge over. This was done and when night came and put an end to the dreadful carnage it found the enemy in full retreat⁵³.

Rufus King Felder wrote his mother back home in Texas in the aftermath of "our brilliant victories at Manassas":

This has been a campaign unequalled by anything of the war and which has added great gain and renown to our arms by another complete rout of the yankees at Manassas ... I passed through it all like a hero, went through the fight ... without a scratch." He went on to tell his mother that he heard that his brother Miers [wounded in the arm and foot] was doing fine⁵⁴.

Campbell of Company B described his experience in the great charge of August 30th:

On we moved – treading over the same ground taken the previous day. Men were never more frenzied in their passions as our boys were. We reached the woods in which the Yankee pickets were stationed, and as we came near upon them they gave us a volley – and then dashing down their guns and all encumbrances, made for their rear at first class speed. We followed closely upon their heels' and after passing through the woods for a few hundred yards, we were halted by the magnificent and fierce array of a Yankee line of battle – composed of the New York Zouaves – from New York. The battle was now raging from right to left. We *halted* but it was but for a moment. Our skirmishers were ordered to their regiments. Hood – Upton and our gallant leaders were at their posts. The Zouaves were at charge bayonet – and when we were in 20 paces of them they fired upon us. The Yankee batteries too, were freely complimenting us. As they fired, our gallant, brave, generous and noble Upton – fell mortally wounded – from a Yankee shell. Sleep thou brave. No high flown compliment from this pen of man can add to your fame, for it lives in the love and admiration of those who so oft had followed you upon the plain of carnage – and so long as one of the "Old Fifth" shall live – Upton will not be forgotten⁵⁵.

⁵³ Felder, Rufus King letters in Chicoine, Stephen D., "... Willing Never To Go In Another Fight: The Civil War Correspondence of Rufus King Felder of Chappell Hill," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, volume 106, no. 4, April 2003, pp. 574-597.

⁵⁴ Felder.

⁵⁵ Polley, J. B., *Historical Reminiscences: A Review of the Times That Are Past But Live In History*, p. 22, columns 1 through 7.

Adjutant Campbell Wood recalled well the circumstances of Upton's death:

... at the moment the Fifth Texas fired its first volley into the Zouaves and Colonel Robertson commanded a halt. Why I never knew, but instead of repeating the command after him, I hastened to Upton and, grasping his shoulder, shouted, "Colonel Robertson has commanded a halt!" "The hell he has," exclaimed Upton and, leaping from his horse, he wrested the Lone Star flag from the hands of its bearer and, with a saber in his right hand, called out, "Come on boys, follow me!" He had not taken half a dozen steps when a grape shot struck him just above his right eye and killed him. The Fifth Texas needed no one to command it then, but with the cry, "Upton! Upton!" ringing from their throats, sprang forward in the charge. From that time on, things happened mighty fast⁵⁶.

Robert Campbell continued:

As soon as the Zouaves fired upon us, Genl. Hood gave the order – "Fix bayonets" – and the rattle of steel rang down the lines. "Fire" "Charge" came in quick succession – the smoke of our guns had hardly rose from the pieces, when at the command "charge," we made for the Zouaves. As we rushed upon the Zouaves – with their blue jackets, red legged pants and yellow caps – they gave way, unable to stand the sharp pointed instruments with which we greeted them.

Now came a scene of which my feeble pen cannot portray – a scene though mid the dangers and carnage of the battlefield – was yet beautiful to the observer. The ground on which the Zouaves stood, as I said before, was at the edge of the woods – from which woods began the great and beautiful plains of "Manassas." The ground from where the Zouaves were drawn up in line of battle began to slope gradually – for the distance of 300 yds. at which distance a clear and pebbly bottomed branch ran at the base of the slope. Passed this stream, the ground began to rise, breaking itself up into the hills and valleys. As soon as the panic struck the Zouaves they threw down their guns – and in groups of 5 & 6 – to 10 – broke for this branch – and I speak candidly when I say, that before they had reached this branch – we had brought to the ground half their number – and in crossing the branch – so much confusion attended their crossing the branch we continued to bring them to the ground until from their own confusion. So 50 out of 1,000 got away unhurt. Nor is this wonderful – for as soon as we had got them started – we followed right upon their heels – and would shoot into a crowd at the distance of ten paces, I remember one incident of

⁵⁶ Polley.

this scene – as I was running along and loading my rifle – a Lieutenant of the “Hampton Legion,” slapped me upon the shoulder in a very excited manner exclaiming – “Yonder Texas – goes a beautiful crowd – shoot – bring one of the dam devils down – shoot quick” – and as I fired, he gave a yell – hardly had the sound of his voice died out before he fell – “shot in the leg,” Give me a string, a rag – a handkerchief quick, for God’s sake quick.” One of the boys handed him the desired article, and hastily seizing it, he hurriedly bound it around his leg above the wound – and jumped up – waving his sword – he moved forward at a limp – yelling at every step.

It must not be thought that our victory over the Zouaves was bloodless to us – for several batteries of artillery were playing their missions to us – besides the fire of a heavy line of Yankee Infantry beyond the branch. Many a brave and noble Texan fell – our work was but begun.

After defeating and almost exterminating the Zouaves, we moved at a “double quick” and “charge bayonet,” across the branch and charged a second line of battle of New England infantry. They poured into us while we were ascending the bank, but when we approached them, with the cold steel, they gave way and fled – and *then* we slaughtered them. After ascending the bank upon which they were stationed – it being a considerable elevation – a view of the whole battlefield presented itself – and as far as the eye could see – front- right and left – the mingling of the “Confederate Cross” and “Stars and Stripes” – mid the yell of charging legions – the noise of arms, the screams and groans of the dying, greeted our sight. As soon as we had obtained this position – 3 Yankee batteries – supported by heavy lines of Infantry opened upon us – right, center and left. “On my boys” was borne in the breeze – and at the word we gave a yell and charged. The 5th and Hampton Legion moving to the right, on the Artillery and Yanks in that direction. The rest of the brigade (1st, 4th Txs & 18th Georgia) moved off upon the left – and from that moment during the rest of the battle, the separation continued.

On we moved – each step was marked by the fall of comrades – dead – dying and wounded – yet we paid no attention to them. A comrade as I passed him – fallen and bleeding – cried “for God’s sake aid me.” My duty to the living and my country drove back the generous impulse of nature to aid him – and passed him by. When we were within some 40 paces of the Yankee canon – our “Lone Star” flag was seen to fall. Hardly had it touched the ground when the gallant sergt. Simpson of Co. “A” grasped it from the hand of the dying Royston – and waving it on high – moved forward – and as he fell – he raised the “single star” on

high – and young Harris of Co. D bore it on – in a few moments to receive his death wound with that unfortunate flag in hand⁵⁷.

Color Sergeant W. C. Royston fought to survive his wound of the 30th, but died on September 15. Corporal John Miller of Company B grabbed the colors and also was wounded. He survived the wound, only to be killed in action at Gettysburg just months later. Private Charles Moncrief of Company C took up the colors and was killed in action, Private Webb Shepherd of Company B grabbed the fallen colors and was wounded in the neck. Sergeant B. C. Simpson of Company A survived his wound of August 30. He later was wounded and taken prisoner at Gettysburg. He survived the war. Private James Harris of Company D took the colors from Sgt. Simpson⁵⁸.

Adjutant Campbell Wood wrote of young Harris and the flag:

At one time, I know, Jimmie Harris, a 14-year-old-boy from Huntsville, Tex., and a member of Company D, had it in his hands. Struck over the heart by a spent ball, and supposing himself mortally wounded, he turned to F. C. Hume, then a private in Company D . . . and shouted, "Hume, I'm shot through, but I'm going to carry this flag till I die." A second later, a ball shattered Jimmie's leg and Hume took the flag and was immediately afterwards wounded so badly that he had to hand it over to another man⁵⁹.

Jimmie's Harris' wound festered and he died on September 20. After Hume was wounded in the left thigh⁶⁰, the eighth man to take up the colors was Private W. Farthing of Company D. He survived the bloody assaults of the day. Farthing was later wounded at Gettysburg and taken prisoner. He lost his leg. The fact that men from three different companies grabbed the flag indicates how the ranks of the various companies were intermingled in the assault.

Campbell continued:

On we moved, and in a few moments the Yankee support and artillery was flying from us – with the Lone Star and Palmetto flags waving over their batteries. Halting but a moment, we rushed forward – for legions of Yanks confronted us – as we charge – line of battle after line of battle – victorious in each charge. Often could we hear the battle cry of the South Carolinians "*Legion rally to your colors,*" and to a man they responded. After charging and fighting from some two hours – our men

⁵⁷ Skoch and Perkins, 77.

⁵⁸ A full list of casualties appeared in columns 3 and 4, page 2, October 1, 1862, *Houston Weekly Telegraph*.

⁵⁹ Polley, J. B., "Historical Reminiscences: A Review of the Times that are Past But Live in History," *The Daily Express* (San Antonio), September 8, 1907, p. 22, columns 1 through 7.

⁶⁰ "Partial Sketch of Major. F. Charles Hume," *Houston Post*, June 28, 1907.

becoming too much disorganized we halted in a grove of woods from which we had just driving the Yanks and were reforming – when to our surprise the Hampton Legion – hardly taking time to reform, rushed forward with a yell – crying out as they passed – “Texans follow us” – and our men –excited by this – rushed forward with a yell – and by the Gods – we not only followed – but we *led* them as again we rushed upon the Yankee mercenaries. All along our lines the Yanks were pushed and we moved forward driving – killing and destroying the “Cerulians.”

After moving out of this grove of timber and attacking and routing several lines of battle – we descended to a valley in which was situated a “farm house” – defended right and left by a heavy line of battle – supported by some six pieces of canon. On we moved – yelling like fiends – and worked to battle rage – for half of our gallant regiment (5th) were weltering in their blood – in the long and successful career we had run that day. On we moved – and down our “Lone Star” flag would fall – but ere it reached the ground – seized from the dying by the living hand. We moved upon the farm house – and handsomely and bravely supported by the Legion- Georgians & Virginians – we soon carried the Artillery and had the “blue bellies” on the run. As we entered the yard of the house – about a dozen of us moved to the corner of the house on the left and open fire upon the retreating Yanks thinking that our regiment was scattered through the yard. In about 5 minutes, hearing the cry “Forward” given – we turned about to join our regiment – but lo and behold it was many hundred yards off to the right – moving upon a fresh line of battle and knowing that it was not a time for fastidious taste as regards *State*, I joined in with a regiment which was moving upon the Yanks – to the left of the house. On we went and when within some 40 steps of the Yanks, they fired a heavy volley into us, and this regiment which was a *Virginian*, turned and fled like dogs and I followed suit – for there “discretion was the better part of valor.” The officers cursed and swore, and endeavored to rally the regt. – but they could not stop them. When they had run some 200 yards, we came upon the 20th Georgia under the gallant Col. Benning, and some few with myself deserted the Virginians and joined the sons of Georgia.

On we moved – upon the same Yanks from whom the Virginians had just fled – and though grape – canister, and minie balls were poured into us with destructive effect. Yet on we moved – and soon had the Yanks fleeing – who seeing they could not carry off their canon, shot their horses. After carrying their position – we advanced into a woods nearby and Benning halted us to reform. From this woods a plain sloped down for some 500 yards & then began to ascend – extending to a farm house [Henry Hill] – some 400 yards from the center of the valley – and 900 from the woods we occupied. This farm house was on an elevation – and had stationed

in the yards a battery of six cannon – a battery on the right swept the valley. Within some 150 paces of the house was a rail fence which was lined with Yankee infantry. Col. Benning reformed us and looked at this position, “ Boys, we must get them dam fellows away from yonder” and the plain but brave old Georgian meant just what he said. It was evident the Yanks were whipped and that they were now making their last effort to prevent total rout. “All right Colonel” said the Georgians, and I united myself with Co. “D.”

The task was desperate – for we would have to charge nearly a *thousand* yards – with batteries playing on front and right flank, not considering the Yankee infantry who were 5 to one – but old Benning with his 400 men determined to *try* them *any how*. “Forward Boys,” said the Colonel – and as we rushed forward with our battle cry – he rode his old charger forward and led us. The batteries and Yankee Infantry opened upon us – and by the time we had reached the center of the valley, (500 yds.) we had lost nearly one hundred out of 400 men – and the worst was yet to come. “Lay down boys – dam hard job” – said the Col. – and we all lay down. Impatient to see our situation. I got up from the ground – and was standing up, when a ball hit my right leg above the ankle, and shattered my bone – and down I fell. “Fall back” cried the old Col. – who saw that he could not save a man, did he remain stationary or advance. Not desiring to be captured – I made an effort to rise – intending if possible to limp off on my well leg – and had made some 3 or 4 hops – when a true aim – again passed through my already wounded leg – some two inches below the first wound – and I fell, unable to move.

The Georgians fell back to the woods. My God what where my feelings – home – loved ones – Yankee prisons and a lingering death flashed upon my mind. Near where I fell was a pile of rails – some 3 feet high – to them I rolled, after cutting off my blanket – cartridge box and accoutrements – and as I lay there – balls were hitting these rails about my head – hitting in the ground in a few inches of me, throwing dirt upon me. After laying there some 15 minutes – I was indeed surprised at the Yanks not pursuing us – but the mystery was soon explained – soon a shout rose upon the air – and too well I knew it – for it was the cry of our Confederates. They moved upon the flank of these Yanks at the farm house – and Benning moving by his flank – soon joined them and the temporary success of the “Popers” was dearly paid for – they ran – and soon victory was ours. The battle was now ended – for when I fell – it was near dark. The Yanks with their gallant commander – John Pope – were on a double quick for Leesburg and the Potomac – leaving cannons – guns – tents – and everything valuable belonging to war. Demoralized and whipped – they fled – followed by the keen and telling

sword of Gen. J. E. B. Stuart with the Cavalry of the Virginia Army. God has given us victory *His* name be praised⁶¹.

Thus ended Robert Campbell's lengthy descriptive account of the great charge of the 5th Texas at Second Manassas on August 30th.

Nicholas Pomeroy from the perspective of the Company A experience on that bloody day wrote:

... The 5th Texas then in a line of battle moved forward with the rest of Longstreet's Corps, and Lee's whole army to meet the enemy. We passed through the woods in our front, and then into an open field, and in passing through the next strip of woods, we met a heavy line of Federal skirmishers advancing on us. These we quickly routed, and we followed up after them, and as we emerged into an open plain, we saw about 200 yards ahead facing us was a heavy line of Federal Infantry. They were fancifully dressed in blue jacks with yellow trimmings, loose baggy red trousers, white leggings, and red caps with long yellow tassels. They were the 5th New York Zouaves, and the men we had just routed were falling back through their ranks. From the Zouaves we received a heavy fire, which was kept up by both sides for a few minutes and some of our men fell, but the steady well-directed aim of our Texas men told heavily on the enemy, and the carnage was terrible. Then amidst the noise and din of battle came the clear and distinct command "forward." - "Double quick time!" - "Charge!", and with loud cheers the men of the 5th Texas rushed forward on the now thinned lines of the Federals who steadily fell back before us, and our men kept up a ruining fire on them as they advanced. About 400 yards ahead of where we first saw the Zouaves was a stream of water, running partly parallel with our line of battle. All this space of ground up to the stream over which the Federals retreated, was strewn with their dead and wounded comrades. News Reporters who went over the ground the next morning stated that in many places it was possible to step from one dead Federal to the other, and in fact this fine regiment was nearly annihilated at that place. In crossing the stream and climbing up its steep bank many of them were shot down by our men. We, too, whilst crossing it lost a few men, among them being our gallant Lieutenant Colonel Upton, who was shot through the head and fell dead into the water. A moment before with sword in hand, he was cheering his men to victory. The loss at the crossing of the stream on our side was caused by the retreating Federals. Though few in number they pluckily turned around and fired a volley into our midst and then disappeared. After crossing the stream some distance the 5th Texas

⁶¹ Skoch and Perkins, 78.

halted to reform its line. After a few minutes orders came from the right to move forward and our line was once again on the move. We had only gone a short distance, when we received a heavy fire from a line of Federal Infantry lying down among some low brush and course grass, and many of our own men fell. Though this came unexpectedly it did not deter the men of the 5th Texas, who instantly fired a volley into their ranks with such deadly effect that they broke and fled in confusion. As we started to advance after them we were shelled by a battery posted on a wooded hill in our front. This battery was in support of the troops we had just routed. When we approached it, the gunners fled and joined their infantry friends who were then passing in their hasty retreat.”⁶²

Private Pomeroy recalled an incident, which remained in his memory for many years:

When our regiment arrived close to the battery there was still to be seen one man in the act of loading one of the guns. Our men being struck with his pluck and gallantry, instantly with one accord raised a shout not to fire on him, so a few ran forward and made him surrender before he had time to fire the gun. In not very good English, he stated he was Captain of the Battery and a Frenchman, and abused the cowardly men who had deserted him, he said they would die before abandoning the guns. Then one of our officers told him, he regretted so brave a man was not on our side, for the side he was fighting on was not worthy of him, and as we started to move forward our men gave the gallant Frenchman a rousing cheer, to which he responded by lifting his cap⁶³.

4th Corporal Charles Settle later shared his memories of the Frenchman:

The bravest man I saw during the war . . . we charged the battery which had been playing on us. When we got near the guns, we saw that nearly every man and horse had been shot down and that those who were not killed or disabled had taken to their heels. One man alone remained. He was a Frenchman, the captain of the battery. One of his arms was shot off and hung by a thread, but he held his sword in his other hand, waved it over his head and tried to get his men back to their post. He did not notice us, but, turning his back on us, he called to his fleeing men and in broken English cursed the ‘Yankees’ for cowards and everything he could think of. Our commanding officer yelled out for no one to hurt the Frenchman; that he was too brave to die . . . I never saw him afterward, but I hope he got well for he was the most gallant soldier I met during the whole four years in Virginia.

⁶² Pomeroy.

⁶³ Pomeroy.

Private Pomeroy continued:

We soon came to open ground, and there right in our front was to be seen down in the distance the Chinn house with a battery of artillery at each side of it, and large bodies of infantry moving up to the support. Here we halted, the conflict was now going on all along the lines; sometimes less intense in one place and then another, only to be renewed again with greater fury, showing that the ground was well contested by both sides. We knew from the location of the line firing along on our right and left the distance it was from where it first started that the Federals were being gradually forced back from one to another. Our position was now rather perplexing. We were far in advance of our brigade and the rest of our army, and consequently without support. We had lost many of our men, and some of our Companies were left without Officers, they having fallen, killed or wounded in the fray. Still not a man in the 5th Texas thought of retreating. Our Colonel knowing and that it would be useless to give the order to fall back, gave the command to double quick to a defile about 300 yards ahead in the direction of the Chinn House, I have mentioned, and then we were assailed by a rain of Shell from the Federal batteries in our front. When we reached the defile or hollow ground we rested for a few minutes, and then made another run for a wooded ridge still farther on where we were sheltered from the fire of the Federal batteries posted on each side of the house about 100 yards in our front. We had just about time to reform our line, when a part of our brigade came up from the rear, and joined us on the left, and at the same time some troops belonging to another part of our division came up and joined our line on the right, and simultaneously with these troops the 5th Texas advanced forward for the third time that evening to meet the Federal lines. When we moved out into the open ground we came under a rain of musketry and artillery fire from large bodies of the enemy stationed along near the Chinn House in our front. Being thus exposed there was no time to waste so we immediately got the orders to charge and then the 5th Texas, with loud cheers, dashed forward to the assault, our ranks getting thinner and thinner as we advanced. When we approached the batteries, the artillerists managed to carry off the guns, but left the caisson after them. While passing to the right of the house, we encountered a heavy line of the enemy who fought with great obstinacy for a while, contesting the ground as they were driven back from our position to another by the impetuous charge of our troops; but finally they gave way, and were now in full retreat all along in front our army. It was now dark night, the din of battle had ceased, and all was quiet along the lines. The great battle of Manassas was over, and then our troops halted and rested.

The enemy left a great number of their dead and wounded on the ground after them, also an immense number of small arms and many cannon etc. The 5th Texas suffered heavily in this battle. Time after time our flag went down, only to be raised again by the nearest man. It was pierced with 27 bullet holes, and was torn and scorched in three places by shells. Seven Standard-Bearers were killed and two wounded under it, so the reader may judge of the losses our regiment sustained that day.

John N. Henderson related the fight on the 30th from the perspective of his own experience with Company E:

... The troops moved at a rapid pace some 300 or 400 yards, before the enemy was encountered, and here a strange scene occurred. The Fifth and Tenth New York Zouaves, clad in their splendid red uniforms, opposed the advance of the Fifth Texas Regiment. They were posted in the edge of a wood, with an open country sloping to a creek some 200 yards in their rear. As the regiment neared the enemy in a rapid charge, they delivered one deadly volley, and then before they could reload, the Texans were upon them, and the Federals turned and fled, and it is no exaggeration to say that hillside was strewn thick with the flower of those two regiments. An observer said that it was possible to walk on corpses from the edge of the wood to the creek, so thickly where they strewn. Our troops did not pause, but swept forward like a cyclone. They passed the creek pursuing the Federals up the hillside beyond, and when they neared the crest, they found themselves confronted by a line of blue, standing in a declivity, and, beyond them and over their heads played upon the Confederates shot and shell from a battery. There was no time to pause, for in such a crisis, he who hesitates is lost and the regiment pressed boldly forward. Time after time the flag of this regiment went down, but as fast as one standard-bearer fell another seized the colors, and the regiment pressed bravely on until this line of battle was broken and fled incontinently from the field, and the battle was ours. And still another line of battle of the enemy was broken, until this regiment, which, as General Hood says, "Slipped the bridle and pierced to the very heart of the enemy," found itself almost surrounded, when it had to make a flank movement in order to shelter itself in the timber. To show how severe and deadly was this conflict, the regiment lost seven standard-bearers killed; the flag-staff was shot in two, and the flag itself was pierced with twenty-seven bullets, and had three bomb scorchers on it⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ Henderson, John Nathaniel, "At Second Manassas," *Houston Post*, June 28, 1901.

F. Charles Hume of Company D was the sixth of the seven flag-bearers of the 5th Texas at Second Manassas. He was shot through the left thigh and went down. Colonel Robertson in his report commended the men, who carried the regimental flag into battle.

My flag was borne into action by Color-Sergt. W. V. Royston of Company I; next by Corpl. J. Miller, Company B; Private C. Moncrief, Company C; Private Shepherd, Company B; Sergeant Simpson, Company A; Private J. Harris, Company D; Sergt. F. C. Hume, Company D, all of whom were shot down while gallantly bearing the flag in the front of the regiment. It was borne through the remainder of the fight by Private Farthing, Company D . . .

Where all behaved so nobly, distinctions cannot with individuals be made. All (both officers and men) sustained well the reputation of the Lone Star flag under which they fought through the battle⁶⁵.

Robertson reported “. . . the death of the brave and chivalrous Lieut. Col. John C. Upton, who fell gallantly leading the right wing of his regiment to victory.”⁶⁶

The Weekly Telegraph in Houston published the following on October 1, 1862, titled, “Letter from Col. Robertson”:

There is not half a dozen men in the regiment whose clothes do not show the mark of balls . . . Our flag has 22 holes throughout it and 2 through the staff.

Captain King Bryan wrote in his report, shortly after his promotion to major on August 30:

. . . Colonel Robertson gives but about half the doings of the Fifth Texas on that memorable field . . . deeming it due the regiment that the whole account should be published, and think it not inappropriate, though now late, that I should complete the report up to the time when the command devolved upon Captain Turner in consequence of my wound. I will begin where Colonel Robertson stopped, as stated.

By the time the line was halted and formed, Colonel Evans' Brigade had come up on our left when the command forward was given and the Fifth Texas and Hampton's Legion moved off in good order to the edge of the field. Being then within 80 yards of the enemy, another of our impetuous charges swept that wing of the enemy's line away like chaff

⁶⁵ Report of Col. J. B. Robertson, Fifth Texas Infantry, of the Battle of Manassas, September 2, 1862, Official Record, series 1, volume 12, pt. 2, Reports, pp. 617-618.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 619.

before the wind . . . Another battery was near the Chinn house on the left . . . The pursuit was rapid; the rush being mainly toward the last-mentioned battery; but this was managed with such precaution as to move in time to effect its escape, we capturing two caissons only. In the charge, some confusion occurred on our right (it was then that I first missed Colonel Robertson), which caused me to hasten to that flank and coming in contact with a brigade of fresh troops I moved rapidly along its line, appealing to it to move faster, not knowing what might be awaiting us beyond the house . . . on the ridge upon which the Chinn house stands rested the left of that perpendicular line, which consisted of two heavy regiments. Being delayed by going to the right, on arriving east of the house I had the satisfaction of seeing our flag at the timber, it having pursued that far and halted, and was waving briskly that the men might see and rally to it. I recognized the tall and manly forms of Captains Cleveland and Turner with it, directing movements. I found a number of our men who had been forced to take shelter in a deep wash in the side of the ridge from a terrible flank fire poured upon them from the perpendicular line described. It was this fire during this pursuit and subsequent advance upon it which caused our very heavy losses on that day. We were not allowed to remain long in our then secure position. A small brigade came up, moving toward the last-mentioned line of the enemy and the only unbroken one on that part of the field.

As the brigade reached our thinned ranks, the command forward was given and all darted off in the new direction with the same spirit which had characterized their previous movements on that day . . . Our flag dashed up the slope to the center of the brigade and then led on in the direction of the enemy. About this time I joined the colors and remained near them . . . Harris had the flag when I joined the party. His enthusiasm was such that it could not be restrained. He would from time to time rush to the front a distance of 60 to 70 yards, face to the advancing line, wave the flag and shout, "Come on!" but we were soon deprived of his gallant and cheering example. He was cut down by a severe wound in the right thigh, falling far in the van of our line. Sergeant Hume took the flag when young Harris fell and bore it high above all others which were then floating over the field, as a beacon to our men who had been separated from it. Sergeant Hume, after bearing the flag about 200 yards, was also shot down. Being near him, I received the colors from him as he fell and carrying them a short distance, I transferred them to Private Farthing, who carried them through the remainder of the day⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ Report of Captain K. Bryan, Fifth Texas Infantry, of the Battle of Manassas, January 1, 1863, Official Record, series 1, volume 12, Part II, Reports, pp. 619-622.

Robert Campbell, as so many others in the 5th Texas, was hit in the charge. He had "hitched trains" with the 20th Georgia amid the chaos:

We went entirely unsupported. We got within 150 yards of them when their combined fire of cannon and small arms being so destructive, we were ordered to lay down. Just as I was in the act of so doing, a ball passed through my leg just above my ankle. Col. Benning ordered us to fall back and, not desiring to be taken prisoner, I rose on my well leg and endeavored to follow the others and limp off. I had limped but 3 or 4 paces where I was struck in the leg not 3 inches from the first wound and, bleeding and weak, I fell to the ground and for half hour before the Yankees were driven off. I lay under an awful fire. The Georgians nearby on one side, the Yanks nearby on the other, not more than 50 yards. Bombs were bursting just above me and around me. Minnie balls were flying in close proximity to my head . . . Oh, my God, I indeed thought my time had come⁶⁸.

Memphis Daily Appeal of September 16, 1862 reprinted the report of the Richmond correspondent of the *Charleston Mercury*:

The fighting of the Texas Brigade is very highly complimented. The 5th Texas lost half its number in killed and wounded. The Texas yell is said to be terrific beyond anything outside of the infernal regions.

All too often, historical accounts do not cover the grim work necessary after the battle. Nicholas Pomeroy of Company A wrote of the 31st, the day after the battle:

Next morning our army was under orders to move at a moment's notice and was only waiting to bury the dead and receive rations. I was detailed with a number of others of our brigade to report to the division field hospital tents for the purpose of guarding and caring for the wounded. Our field hospital tents were pitched a little distance back off the place where our brigade first started into the fight the evening before, nearby was plenty of good spring water which was necessary, and as the weather was fine the operating tables were placed outside in front of the tents. At each table was a surgeon wearing a large apron and having his shirt sleeves pinned up, thus leaving his arms bare, with him were a certain number of attendants. As soon as one poor fellow was operated on he was taken back to his bed of straw in the tent and was replaced by another, and in the afternoon were to be seen piles of limbs out in the field ready for burial. It was painful to witness the sufferings of our poor comrades all that night, and it was a relief to some of them

⁶⁸ Campbell (Joskins Diary), untranscribed, pp. 117-119. It is believed that Campbell wrote the diary while recovering at Warrenton.

to die before morning. Next day our ambulances began taking off the wounded to the next railroad station and from there to be sent off to the hospital at Richmond. The wounded Federals had been attended to as well as circumstances would permit. I was pleased to see that day the Federal ambulances with surgeons and stall admitted through our lines to take charge of their wounded soldiers. A Pathetic incident occurred that day – two of my Company who were operated on died during the night, and a comrade and I were detailed to bury them we found it a hard task to dig the graves, the ground being hard and the tools worn out, and ourselves almost exhausted from hard work, want of enough food and sleep. We then brought our poor dead comrades, first one, then another, on a litter and laid them side by side in the one grave, covered them with their blankets and had just finished putting on the last of the earth, when a young cavalryman rode up, halted, and asked if we could give him an account of the 5th Texas. I told him I belonged to that regiment. He said he was a Virginian, and his name was Massinburg, and that he had a brother who went to Texas a year previous to the breaking out of the war, and the last account he had from him was that he joined a Company of the 5th Texas (He was one of the recruits who had joined our Company at Yorktown). When I pointed to his grave the poor fellow got an awful shock. Citizens came out by train from Richmond and other places that day to see the great battleground, and many of them asked if we could direct them to the place where the 5th Texas made the great charge. All of our wounded were now taken off. We had a good night's sleep; in the morning we got little rations of flour and bacon, which we cooked as best we could⁶⁹.

Among the wounded was Private Myers M. Felder of Company E. Myers and his brother Rufus King Felder hailed from Chappell Hill, Texas. When the 5th Texas Regiment passed over a hill and advanced to the hollow between the hill behind them and the Federal position before them, the regiment halted to re-form lines. Myers failed to notice that in his excitement and continued to charge forward. He found himself well ahead of his comrades, "exposed to the full, point-blank fire of the enemy." He managed to get off a shot or two before he was badly wounded in the foot. He hobbled back a short distance before falling. A second minie ball struck him just above his wrist, breaking one bone and lodging between the two large bones of his forearm."

Private Myers M. Felder lay there on the field of battle amid the dead and dying through the night and into the next day before being carried to a field hospital. The surgeons were unable to get to him. Felder understood all too well that he would lose his arm if the minie ball was not extracted. He called to a young surgical assistant and asked him to perform the procedure. Young Roberts protested, insisting he had no medical instruments and arguing, in any case, that he could not

⁶⁹ Pomeroy.

perform such an operation. Felder asked him if he had a pocketknife. Roberts did. Felder insisted that he commence the operation without delay. Roberts pulled out his knife, sharpened the edge on his shoe leather and cut an incision down the length of Felder's arm on each side of the arm between the bones. Roberts then produced a pair of forceps and removed the ball. Myers Felder ended up in a makeshift hospital in an old tobacco warehouse. A relative arrived and took him to South Carolina, from where some of his family still resided. He was left with a permanently disabled arm and foot. The army discharged him and he headed home to Texas an invalid.

Private Rufus King Felder, Myers' brother, wrote:

Had there been a Joshua to stay the setting sun, we might have made captives of almost the entire enemy, but when dawn came they were too far off to be followed by our worn out and exhausted troops. I walked over the battle field next morning. The sight was indeed horrifying in the extreme, you could see corps [sic] mangled in every conceivable way and hear the moans of the wounded in every direction. The only consolation was that you could see five times as many Yanks as Rebels. Our brigade suffered dreadfully. Our regiment lost 280 killed and wounded out of five hundred. Our company lost 25⁷⁰ out of about 40. We remained on the field to cook, bury the dead . . .

An anonymous soldier wrote of:

. . . as brave and gallant a soldier . . . in the person of Virge (Sidney Virgil) Patrick of Galveston, a member of the Fifth Texas. Virge is mighty quiet and no one ever hears him say a word about what he has gone through or done, but I am here to tell you a braver or better soldier never carried a musket than that same Virge Patrick. I have seen him in some mighty tight places and I never saw him flicker. He was a stayer and nothing on earth could rattle him . . . he seemed to actually enjoy danger and I have seen him in the most terrible charge with that same pleasant smile on his face . . . When we cleaned up the Zouaves at Manassas and went up the hill after the Yankee batteries, Virge was not far from me and I remember distinctly, for it made a lasting impression on me, the bored expression on his face . . . the acme of cool courage - the total absence of anything like fear⁷¹ .

Captain Roberdeau wrote:

⁷⁰ Felder.

⁷¹ Terrell, Thomas E., *The Boys From Brenham: The Original Letters of Virginius E. Pettey, 5th Texas Regiment, Hood's Texas Brigade, Army of Northern Virginia* (Terrell, Kerrville, Texas, 2006), pp. 213-214.

Co. B, Fifth Texas Regiment, Hood's Texas brigade, A. N. V., went into action with captain, second and third lieutenants, 42 non-commissioned officers and privates. Of the former the captain and third lieutenant (yourself) were wounded; of the latter 3 were killed and 21 wounded, several of whom died in the hospital soon after⁷².

The official recapitulation by Acting Adjutant Campbell Wood listed the 5th Texas casualties as 21 killed, 235 wounded and 1 missing for a total of 257 casualties. In time, the regimental loss was 54 killed in action or died of their wounds at Second Manassas. Company D suffered 10 of the 54. Companies A and E lost 8 and 7, respectively. Companies B and G lost 6 each.

Three of the captains commanding companies were killed: Bryan of Company F, Rogers of Company G and Clearland of Company H. Five other captains were wounded in the battle. Three companies were left without a single commissioned officer.

Roberdeau added:

After having my wound dressed, I followed the company (now under command of Lieut. Collier) to Chantilly, where Jackson was engaged.

Orderly Sergeant Virginius E. Pettey of Company E was wounded in the Battle of Second Manassas on August 30th and died on September 2nd. W. H. McCalister, who served with Pettey, wrote the sergeant's brother-in-law:

... He was shot through the bowels. He suffered a great deal before he died. His last injunction was to tell his friends that he died in a good cause and that he was perfectly willing to die for he had served his country faithfully. He was Orderly Sergeant of the Company. Virginius was beloved by every member of the Company and we regret his loss very much. I can truly sympathize with you in the loss of so valuable a friend. He was my messmate and always found him pleasant and agreeable. You will find enclosed a lock of his hair ... At the time of his death, he had no money on his person. The only article of value he had was his watch and it is broken ... Our loss in the Battle of Manassas was 257 killed and wounded out of 500⁷³.

Private Rufus King Felder, who served under Sgt. Pettey in Company E, also mentioned the sergeant's death in a letter he wrote his mother back home in Chappell Hill, Texas. Pettey was a lawyer from nearby Brenham. Felder wrote: "Those killed at Manassas were orderly sergeant Petty, [C. E.] Moncrief, Nute [N.W.] Mullins and Jim Hutchinson."

Isaac Newton Moreland (Ike) Turner led Company K, the volunteers from

⁷² Roberdeau.

⁷³ Need to find for Pettey ***

Polk County. Turner was noteworthy for being the youngest company commander in the Texas Brigade at age 22. He was wounded in battle twice. He led the 5th Texas Regiment at Antietam in September. Ike Turner died of wounds in the Battle of Suffolk on April 3, 1863. He was 24 years old. His brother took the body to the family's former plantation in Georgia and buried it.

Robert Brantley of Company D was wounded in the fight.

“ . . . I was shot through the body, also hit on the thigh by broken shell. I lay on the battlefield till the next morning⁷⁴ .

He did not return to the regiment until the battle of Fredericksburg. Henry Griffith of Company F wrote:

Albert Dugat and Blair Johnson both fell not more than a few feet apart and not more than a minute or two before I fell . . . They gave up their splendid lives on that memorable field of battle, 30th day of August 1862. Our company went into action in the afternoon of that day, 57 strong, and all were killed and wounded except eleven that arrived at roll call on the morning of the 31st, a loss of 45 men, 4/5 of our company⁷⁵ .

J. W. Dallas of Brenham served with Company I, the Texas Aides, at Second Manassas. He wrote, “I had my right elbow busted and was sent to the hospital. I was never able to be of any more service as my arm was never strong until years afterward – about 1870. Returning to Washington County, I was able to do light work until the war closed.”⁷⁶

John Upton’s cousin, Colonel Ed Cunningham, wrote his aunt of her son’s death at 2nd Manassas.

Headquarters of the Fourth Texas Regiment, near Draynesville, Va., Sept. 3, 1862 – I write this to inform you of the death of your son, John C. Upton, who was killed instantly while leading a charge with his regiment against the Fifth New York Zouaves on the evening of Aug. 30. He died most bravely, and his loss is deeply regretted, not only by his intimate friends, but by the whole brigade. He had entire command of our scouts and did most valuable service with them. It is consoling to know that he died in battle, fighting for the independence of his country, and that on a victorious field. The battle in which John was killed was fought on the same ground on which the first battle of Manassas took place, Aug. 21 of last year (1861), and was a more decided victory than the former. Our Texas regiments have distinguished themselves on

⁷⁴ Brantley.

⁷⁵ Griffith.

⁷⁶ “J. W. Dallas Tells Battle of Manassas,” *The Bryan Eagle*, June 24, 1924, p. 9.

every battlefield where they have been engaged and have a reputation of doing the hardest, best fighting of any troops in the service. I would write more and give you particulars of our late battles, but have not the time. Your affection nephew: Ed H. Cunningham.

The Austin Weekly Statesman of August 1, 1889 included an account of one soldier's experience in burying the Zouaves:

It was September 2, 1862, the second battle of Manassas had been fought and won by the South just two days before and the Federals were still burying their dead under the flag of truce. And, oh, such dead after two or three days under a midsummer sun, blackened, distorted, distended almost to bursting and utterly unrecognizable to mother or wife or sweetheart or sister. There they lay, but why was it that they lay prone on their backs, their feet, so to speak, toeing a line almost geometrically straight. Most of the corpses have been stripped of trousers and boots, but an occasional pair of red breeches prove them to have been Zouaves . . . shot down as they stood in line of battle . . . the red breeches of the Zouaves were splendid marks and almost before they had time to pull the trigger they were toppled over by Hood's men and lay as they stood in line.

In the aftermath of the battle, Arthur H. Edey, editor of Houston's *Tri-Weekly Telegraph* posted the following notice in his paper from Richmond.

Agency 5th Texas Volunteers
Richmond, August. 14, 1862.

To the Relatives and Friends of the members of the Texas Brigade.

The undersigned fully appreciating and sympathizing with the anxiety that pervades the State of Texas, on account of the uncertainty of the fate of the several members of the Texas Brigade, hereby announces that he will be happy to ascertain and answer any enquiries respecting the safety and health of this command. His replies may be delayed in some instances, because of removal to distant hospitals, but it shall be his desire to answer as promptly as possible. He would likewise say in this card, that if parties bringing letters for the Texas troops will deposit them at this office, he will insure their speedy distribution. All letters should have the number of the Regiment, and the letter of the Company distinctly written on them. He will esteem it a favor if these parties will call at the office, prior to their departure, that they may take the soldiers' letters to Texas.

Very Respectfully, Arthur H. Edey, Agent 5th Texas Volunteers.

Private Edey later followed up with a notice in the September 8, 1862 edition of the Houston *Tri-Weekly Telegraph*.

Texas Agency In Richmond. – The following, from A. H. Edey, Esq., explains itself. His office is a place of resort for Texians, and his agency has been of the utmost advantage to the troops there. He is always obliging, and we can assure those who desire his kind offices that they will be cheerfully rendered. We make up two or three packages of letters weekly for his office.

The October 1, 1862 edition of the *Tri-Weekly Telegraph* noted:

Among the casualties in the Bayou City Guards [Company A] in the late battles, we are deeply pained to find the names of two of our printers, to wit – Dempsy Walker, mortally wounded, and T. W. Fitzgerald, wounded. Walker was a young man of steady and industrious habits, of good heart and brave. He learned the printing business in our office and had been here for five years. He left when the 5th regiment was made up and has ever since been on duty in his company, gaining no little credit for daring on various occasions. He is much lamented in the circle of his acquaintance.

Fitzgerald recovered and was color sergeant of Company A at Gettysburg. Major J. C. Rogers, commanding the 5th Texas in that bloody battle, wrote in his after-action account of “. . . the heroic conduct of T. W. Fitzgerald of Company A, who was color-bearer. He pressed gallantly forward [up Little Round Top] and was badly wounded far in front.”⁷⁷

In the aftermath of the great Confederate victory at Second Manassas, Robert E. Lee led his Army of Northern Virginia into Maryland. Those of the 5th Texas Regiment still standing took part in another colossal battle at Antietam just over two weeks later on September 17, 1862. In July 1863, the 5th Texas took the field at Gettysburg with just over 400 men. The 5th Texas Regiment took part in the desperate assault on Little Round Top. Fifty-four were killed, equal to the horrific loss at 2nd Manassas. Another forty-five were taken prisoner or missing. The regiment was not really a regiment following further loss in the Battle of Chickamauga in September. Twelve officers and 149 enlisted men were all that remained at the surrender at Appomattox in April 1865.

John Stevens, a private in Company K, offered his summation of the great Confederate victory many years later:

The assault of the Texians on the zouaves at Second Manassas is one of the most remarkable events of all history. It has been referred to before in these columns, but will bear further mention. In the *Sunday Express* of September 8, 1907, we published a brief but partial account of the battle given by Campbell Wood, the adjutant of the Fifth Texas.

At 6 o'clock p. m. of a warm sunshiny day 1350 zouaves stood in line, guns in their hands and at full cock, on the side of a hill and just over its crest

⁷⁷ Rogers, Maj. J. C., Report of Major J. C. Rogers, July 8, 1863. Official Records, series 1, volume 27, Part II, Reports, p. 413.

from a skirt of dense timber, waiting for the coming of an opposing Texas regiment which they had dared to mortal combat. A minute later the Texians appear, but 450 strong. The zouaves fire at sight of them, the Texians instantly return the fire and rush upon the zouaves, and in less than three minutes the bodies of 493 of the zouaves fall cold and lifeless on a plot of ground not exceeding an acre in extent – 292 of them lying on the line where they stood when the Texians first fired at them. The killing was all done as the Texians rushed down the slope of the hill, the only halt made being at the moment when they first took aim. Panic stricken by the effect of the first volley poured into their closely formed ranks, the surviving zouaves flung aside their guns, and in as wild, unreasoning terror as that which sends a herd of beeves into a stampede took flight. Their own one volley had done but slight execution, and the Texians, not waiting to reload, clubbed muskets and followed, dealing death and destruction as they went and strewing the hillside with the slain, the flight and pursuit terminating at the creek, which was not Bull Run, but was Young's Branch⁷⁸.

Stevens concluded:

We doubt if in any war, ancient or modern, there ever was in the same space of time and on so small a piece of ground as many men killed. It is said that for every man killed in battle his weight in lead is expended. That may have been so at Second Manassas as regards the total loss during the two days fighting. But narrow the calculation down to the zouaves, and it appears that of the killed by the first volley of the Texians it took but the weight of two bullets to effect the purpose, and that for the 493 zouaves that went down in death during the less than five minutes the fray lasted less than the weight of one bullet did the work.

If we take the statement of the Colonel of the zouaves as to the number of men of the regiment in line that day – he places them at about 490 strong – the mortality of the zouaves is beyond proportion, every man of them being killed and a few more besides. We can only accept his figures, though, *cum grano salis* – his perversion of other facts discrediting his testimony. His report will be found on page 502, Vol. XII Part 2, of Records of the Rebellion. He commanded the Third Brigade, consisting of the zouaves and the Tenth New York and says he held the zouaves in reserve while he sent the Tenth New York to the front: that the Tenth was driven back on the zouaves and prevented the latter from firing until they had received a volley from the enemy: that the enemy opened fire from the woods on the rear and left flank of the zouaves “with most fearful effect,” and that he gave the order to “face about and march

⁷⁸ Stevens in Polley, “Historical Reminiscences,” *The Daily Express*, p. 17, column 2.

down the hill so as to bring the enemy all on our front." Proceeding, he says that the roar of musketry was so great that his order could not be heard distinctly, but one Captain did hear and repeat it: that it was only partially obeyed, the men being "unwilling to make a backward movement," and that "before the colors and the remnant of the regiment could be extricated 298 men of the Fifth and 133 of the Tenth New York were killed or wounded."

Against this story we place the testimony of Campbell Wood, who was the adjutant of the Fifth Texas, and of Comrade Stevens as hereinbefore told. Wood says that he walked over the field next morning and counted 493 dead zouaves lying on the less than an acre of ground, and that a Lieutenant of the regiment whom he met just after the war told him that of the zouaves engaged in the fight only thirty-eight escaped. Stevens says the zouaves made no stand at all, but dismayed by the terrible slaughter in their ranks, instantly about-faced and rushed down the hill. Other members of the Fifth Texas have so fully corroborated the statements of these two gentlemen that we are bound to give them full credence.

The best proof that Colonel Warren was talking for "buncombe" is the fact that none of the deeds of the Fifth New York zouaves have received mention either in "song or story." It seems to be conceded that as a refinement they were ignominiously annihilated. Otherwise such a loss of life as occurred would have been commented on as extraordinary⁷⁹.

In the aftermath of the war, the nation worked to reconcile and re-unify. John Calhoun (J.C. or "Black Jack") Cox of Tyler was wounded and lost a finger at Second Manassas while serving with Company C, 5th Texas. He posted the following notice in the *Confederate Veteran* of November 1895:

I have a pistol that was captured at the second battle of Manassas, on Aug. 30, 1862. This inscription is engraved on it: "Capt. C. K. Baldwin, Co. D 14th Regt., N. Y. S. M." I think Capt. Baldwin was killed in that battle; if not and he or any of his relatives are alive and will correspond with me in regard to this pistol as a "war relic," I would be pleased to return it to its original owner, or any member of his family. The pistol is in good condition, considering its use⁸⁰.

Cox's foster father, John Dennis Stell, was the president pro tempore of the Texas Secession Convention. After Second Manassas, Cox was wounded at Antietam. As a 1st sergeant and regimental flag-bearer at Chickamauga, Cox was badly wounded in

⁷⁹ Stevens in Polley, "Historical Reminiscences," *The Daily Express*, April 19, 1908, p. 17, col. 2.

⁸⁰ *Confederate Veteran*, November 1895, p. 335.

the last charge on Thomas' impregnable breastworks. He lay for seven days on the field of battle, but survived. In 1894, a surgeon removed a minie ball from his body.

Leonard Gee of Company E posted a notice in *Confederate Veteran* in 1906:

“ . . . to learn what became of a little Yankee boy taken by the 1st Texas regiment at Second Manassas. His father was a member of the 5th New York Zouaves . . . The boy was about seven or eight years old, dressed in the Zouave uniform. The last seen of him he was being carried off on the shoulders of the 1st Texas boys.”

John Nathaniel Henderson of Company E later lost an arm at Antietam. He returned to Texas and taught at Baylor University. When General Jerome Robertson was sent home in late 1863 and given command of the Texas state reserves, Henderson served on his staff. In the post-war era, Henderson became a lawyer. He was elected district attorney, state senator and district judge. Judge Henderson told the 31st reunion of Hood's Texas Brigade in 1901:

. . . if any other regiment accomplished any greater results than the Fifth at the Second Manassas, the annals of the war fail to show it⁸¹.

John Henderson died in December 1907.

For some of the 5th Texas veterans, reconciliation was negotiable. Adherence to the Lost Cause was of far more importance and reconciliation was only possible with those who accepted the doctrine of the Lost Cause. John W. Stevens remained an unreconstructed rebel for the remainder of his life. He became a judge in post-Reconstruction Texas. In 1902, he published a book, which he titled *Reminiscences of the Civil War*. His feelings such as, “The history of this world does not present a nobler or more exalted character than the private soldier in the Confederate army⁸²,” are understandable, even if naïve. Near the end of his most interesting narrative of the war, the judge spent three pages showing his devotion to the Lost Cause. “The old slave and the old slave-holder are fast passing away – they love and respect each other⁸³.” Those pages have as much to say about the war as his narrative of his experiences in battle

Sidney Virgil Patrick of Company E saw the war through to Appomattox. He returned to Texas and went to work in customs at Galveston. He rose to the position of U.S. Customs Inspector. Patrick died at Galveston in 1907⁸⁴.

Myers Felder died in 1899 after serving in two terms in the Texas State Legislature. Some of the men of 5th Texas lived long lives. Captain William Traylor Hill of Company D commanded the 5th Texas Regiment at the surrender at Appomattox. He returned home to Walker County to return to farming. After the end of Reconstruction, Hill served in the 16th Texas State Legislature from January

⁸¹ Henderson.

⁸² Stevens, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, p. 43.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 192

⁸⁴ Patrick, Sidney V., *Confederate Veteran*, issue no. 15, July 1907, p. 322.

1879 through 1880. He died in 1917 at the age of eighty. Myers' brother and comrade-in-arms, Rufus King Felder, died in 1922. H. Carter noted in 1931:

I am the last man of Company B, 5th Texas Infantry. Of 144 men in that company, three were Carters. I was wounded in the Seven Days fight. There were ten men (with Company B) surrendered at Appomattox and I am the last one of those. I will be 90 in June. Company B will soon be just a memory.

Captain William Traylor Hill, commanding Company D, died in Waverly, Texas in 1917. F. Charles Hume of Company D, who was wounded while carrying the regimental colors at Second Manassas, died at Houston in 1920.

Ben Baker of Columbus in Colorado County served in Company B. He worked for his older brother on his newspaper, *Colorado Citizen*, before the war. He sent letters home to his brother during the war. Baker was a 3rd Lieutenant at the Battle of Second Manassas. He was wounded in the hip. In his later years, Ben was proprietor and editor of the *Colorado Citizen*. In 1897, while Baker was in Dallas at the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows, one of his staff wrote of Baker:

If any of the younger generation at the lodge at Dallas want to feel a bullet shot into a Texas soldier at Second Manassas, aske our friend baker to show his left hip – the bullet is just under the skin. Ben would not take the presidency for it⁸⁵.

John T. Allison served with Company C, the Leon Hunters of Leon County. He was wounded at The Wilderness, but remained with the regiment. Allison was present at the surrender at Appomattox and returned home. He died at Marquez in Leon County in 1934.

The Tri-Weekly Telegraph of October 3, 1862 published an anonymous "eyewitness" account of the heroics of John Bell Hood and the Texas Brigade at Second Manassas.

Unfailing as has ever been his courage and genius, it was here that both found a field for exercise and gallantly as the brigade has ever borne itself, it was on the 30th of August that it was by itself eclipsed, and brightly as the Lone Star has ever shown, it was on that memorable day that it rose high and gave forth a more resplendent light than ever before. Let us, then, render due honor to the chivalrous Hood as his brave compatriots.

The Lone Star flag of the 5th Texas Infantry Regiment flew over the most gallant of the deeds of the day. The 5th Texas bled, but won the day.

⁸⁵ Brenham Daily Banner (Brenham, Texas), February 7, 1897, p. 1, col. 2.

CHAPTER END

46 pages and 21,825 words