Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

February 9, 1960

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region Five

From: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

Subject: Research Project HF-98A, Civil War Report, 1861-62

Enclosed please find four (4) copies of the report "The Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, Va., in 1861, and Jackson's Attack, May, 1862, (A Report on the Confederate and Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, Va., April 18, 1861 to May 31, 1862, to accompany 'Map I-Harpers Ferry, Va., April 18, 1861-May 31, 1862,' dated February 5, 1960)," dated February 9, 1960, 114 pages, and prepared by Historian Charles W. Snell.

The final copies of Map I, mentioned above, are now being prepared and will be submitted in a few days.

(SGD) FRANK H. ANDERSON

Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

Enclosures (4)

Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

February 10, 1960

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region Five

From: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

Subject: Research Project HF-98A, Map I, Harpers Ferry, April 18, 1861-May 31, 1862

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A report documenting and intended to accompany Map I was submitted to your Office on February 9. With the submission of this map, Mr. Snell has completed work on Project HF-98, the series of four general studies and maps that trace the physical history of Harpers Ferry from 1861 to 1865.

(SGD) FRANK H. ANDERSON

Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

Enclosures (4)

Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

February 12, 1960

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region Five

From: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

Subject: Correction Snell's 1861-1862

Mr. Charles W. Snell wishes to make the following correction in his report "The Fortifications at Harpers Ferry in 1861, and Jackson's Attack, May, 1862," dated February 9, 1960. On page 35, line eleven from the top of the page should read "...on July 2 General Patterson's Federal army left Hagerstown."

(SGD) FRANK H. ANDERSON

Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

HFR-293

IN REPLY REFER TO:

H2215

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

REGION FIVE — INITIAL AND DATE
FEB 15 1960
REG. DIRECTOR
ASST. REG. DIR.
OPERATIONS
INTERPRETATION
ADM.
REC. RES. PLAN.
RANGER ACT'S

February 12, 1960

History
Nat. His.
Archeo.
Publ.
Museum
Secy.

Memorandum

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Change made.

Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

H2215 Barnes 3/11

Region Five
143 South Third Street
Philadelphia 6, Pa.

March 11, 1960

3/11

3/11

Memorandum

To: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

From: Regional Director

Subject: Research Project HF-98A, Civil War Report, 1861-62

This is another useful compilation of evidence on the Civil War phase of Harpers Ferry history. Along with the accompanying Map I forwarded with your memorandum of February 10, it should prove useful as a "feeder" for the Historical Base and Troop Movement Maps that will be prepared for the 1862-65 period. We are correcting all copies of the report to show the change noted in your memorandum of February 12.

(Sgd.) Ronald F. Lee

Ronald F. Lee
Regional Director

In duplicate

Copy to: Director w/copy of incoming
Copy of report and map to EODC

✓ General
Daily
Area

FBarnes:ftc

Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

February 9, 1960

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region Five

From: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

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Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

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Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

February 10, 1960

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region Five

From: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

Subject: Research Project HF-98A, Map I, Harpers Ferry, April 18, 1861-May 31, 1862

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Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

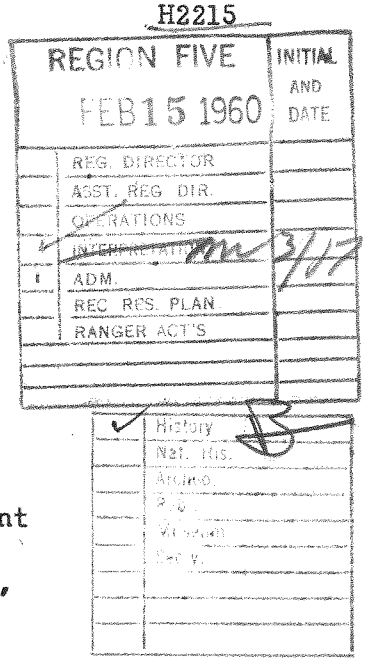
Enclosures (4)

IN REPLY REFER TO:
H2215

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

February 10, 1960



Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region Five

From: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

Subject: Research Project HF-98A, Map I, Harpers Ferry, April 18, 1861-May 31, 1862

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Frank H. Anderson

Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

Enclosures (4)

IN REPLY REFER TO:

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UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

February 9, 1960

REGION FIVE
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INITIAL AND DATE

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Memorandum

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Frank H. Anderson

Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

Enclosures (4)

10-23
(November 1954)

HFSR 293

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

HARPERS FERRY NATIONAL MONUMENT
(Area)

FILE CODE: H2215

THE FORTIFICATIONS AT HARPERS FERRY, VA., IN 1861 AND JACKSON'S ATTACK, MAY 1862

Prepared by:

Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)
Dated February 9, 1960
114 Pages
Research Project No. HF-98A

FROM:

TO:

IMPORTANT

This file constitutes a part of the official records of the National Park Service and should not be separated or papers withdrawn without express authority of the official in charge. All Files should be returned promptly to the File Room. Officials and employees will be held responsible for failure observe these rules, which are necessary to protect the integrity of the official records.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—22371-3

HFR 293

THE FORTIFICATIONS AT HARPERS FERRY, VA., IN 1861 AND JACKSON'S ATTACK, MAY, 1862

(A Report on the Confederate and Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, Va., April 18, 1861 to May 31, 1862 - to accompany "Map I-Harpers Ferry, Va., April 18, 1861 to May 31, 1862," dated February 5, 1960.)

Harpers Ferry National Monument

Prepared by:

Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)
Dated February 9, 1960
114 Pages
Research Project No. HF-98A

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INTRODUCTION

A. GENERAL REMARKS

This report is the first in a series (although last in composition) of four general reports that trace the physical history of Harpers Ferry and its system of fortifications from 1861 to 1865. The military position known as "Harpers Ferry" during the Civil War was actually comprised of five component parts; namely, the Lower Town of Harpers Ferry, Camp Hill, Bolivar Heights, Loudoun Heights and Maryland Heights, that together made up the whole. The failure of the Federal high command, and particularly Col. Dixon S. Miles, to fully comprehend this sub-division of the defensive position at Harpers Ferry led to some rather disasterous results in September, 1862.

As the fortifications built on one portion of the position, had some direct relationship with those erected in another area, it is believed that this series of four general reports is the best method that can be devised to give an overall view of the planning, and development and use of the great series of fortifications that evolved at Harpers Ferry from 1861 to 1865.

This series of four general reports will be followed by three specialized studies that will trace in detail the physical history of three sections of the Monument from 1800 to 1865. One study each will be devoted to Bolivar Heights, Loudoun Heights and Maryland Heights.

In addition to the seven reports presenting the Civil War physical history, Historian Arthur L. Sullivan has projected four interpretative reports that will narrate chronologically the actions, events and role

played by Harpers Ferry in the Civil War, a subject incidentally, that has never before been treated by the Civil War historian. The first of Mr. Sullivan's reports, covering the year 1861, has just been completed and the seven studies relating to the physical history will also be finished by June 30, 1960. The completion of eight out of a total of 11 projected reports should place Harpers Ferry National Monument in an excellent position in regard to both the forthcoming Civil War Centennial and planning the interpretative and physical development of the Civil War sections of the Monument.

The subjects of this report are a study of the fortifications erected by the Confederate and Federal armies at Harpers Ferry in 1861 and "Stonewall" Jackson's attack on the town May 28-31, 1862.

The other three studies that make up the general series are:

(1) Snell, Charles W., "A Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, Va., and of the Confederate and Union Troop Movements During the Siege of Harpers Ferry, September 12-15, 1862. (To Accompany 'Map II-Harpers Ferry, September 12-15, 1862,' dated November 25, 1959-Drawing No. NM-HF 3067)," dated December 1, 1959, 82 pages.

(2) Snell, Charles W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress, September 21, 1862-October 6, 1863, (A Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., June 27, 1863, to accompany 'Map III-Harpers Ferry, W. Va., June 27-October 6, 1863,' dated December 11, 1959)," dated December 16, 1959, 83 pages.

(3) Snell, Charles W., "Harpers Ferry Repels an Attack and Becomes the Major Base of Operations for Sheridan's Army, July 4, 1864 to July 27, 1865, (A Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., January 1, 1864 to July, 1865, to accompany 'Map IV-Harpers Ferry, W. Va., July 4, 1864-April 9, 1865,' dated January 15, 1960)", dated January 21, 1960, 105 pages.

B. PRIMARY MAPS USED TO PREPARE MAP I

"Map I-Harpers Ferry, W. Va., April 18, 1861 - May 31, 1862," dated

February 5, 1960, and prepared by Charles W. Snell, is based on data collected from the following five maps:

(1) "Preliminary Sketch of the Defences on Maryland Heights and of Adjacent Country. Surveyed Aug. 28th to October 6th, 1863 by Capt. N. Michler, Corps of Engineers, U.S.A., and John E. Weyess, Major, Ky. Vol.," Scale eight inches to one mile. Topography, roads, railroads, canals, ground cover in part, locations of buildings and place names based on this map. 1

(2) 1862 (1852) Map: "Map of Jefferson County, Va. Photographed for the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, Oct., 1862." This map was drawn by S. Howell Brown in 1852 and recopied for use in 1862. Location of roads and place names were taken from this map. 2

(3) "Sketch of the Vicinity of Harper's Ferry, Va., by Wm. Luce, Oct., 1862," U.S.A. Scale 1,000 feet to the inch. Used for the location of buildings, place names, roads, railroad, forests, and canals. This is the first map showing the location of Federal fortifications on Camp Hill and Maryland Heights. 3

(4) "Map of the Battle-fields of Harper's Ferry and Sharpsburg with Positions of Troops, Routes of Army &c. Sept. 13 to 17, 1862. Topl. Office of Army of Northern Virginia, by S. Howell Brown, 1st Lieut. Engr. Troops in Charge of Topl. Dept. A.N.V.-Jan. 27, 1864." To accompany report of General Robert E. Lee, C.S. Army (Series 1, Vol. XIX, Part I, page 139.). Used for place names and location of roads. Scale one inch equals one mile. 4

(5) "Topographical Survey of the North Bank and Reconnaissance of the South Shore and Island, made under the Direction of Major C. S. Stewart, U.S. Engineers, Chief Engineer, Middle Military Division, by John W. Donn, C & GS, Scale 1:10,000, with 20 foot contours, 1865." Used for place names on Maryland Heights, Sandy Hook, and Pleasant Valley, Maryland. 5

1. National Archives Cartographic Division, Record Group No. 77, F-106. Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 17, Map Case Drawer No. 13.

2. National Archives, Record Group No. 77-Map part of G-139. Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 12, Map Case Drawer No. 14-this map used by Union Army; See also "Partial Map of Jefferson County," from Hotchkiss Collection, Library of Congress Map Division, Map No. 192-taken from same map and used by Confederate Army, Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 8A and B, Drawer No. 14.

3. National Archives Cartographic Division, Record Group No. 77, F-78, Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 3, Map Case Drawer No. 13.

4. Published as Plate XXIX, Map 1, in The Official Atlas of the Civil War, N.Y. and London, Thomas Yoseloff, 1958.

5. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 25, D.C., Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 116, Map Case Drawer No. 13.

Map I is also based on data found in contemporary letters, diaries and reports that will be presented in the body of this study and by evidence presented in the September 12-15, 1862, Siege Report and Map II.

CHAPTER I

CONFEDERATE OCCUPATION OF HARPERS FERRY, VA., APRIL 18 TO JUNE 15, 1861.

A narrative account of the full story of events leading up to and including the seizure of the U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry on April 18, 1861, and also the subsequent events that occurred during the Confederate occupation of the town, will be found in Historian Arthur L. Sullivan's "History of Harpers Ferry in 1861." The writer, in the present study, will therefore limit his remarks to changes in the physical scene that occurred at Harpers Ferry as the result of various events that took place between April 18 and December 31, 1861.

1. Confederate Seizure of the Harpers Ferry Armory, April 18, 1861

Shortly after 10 p.m., on the night of April 18, 1861, after learning of the approach of strong and hostile Virginia State forces, Lieutenant Roger Jone, U. S. Mounted Rifles, and his command of 44 men, set fire to the U. S. Arsenal buildings and some of the Musket Factory shops at Harpers Ferry, and then crossed the Potomac River and retreated northward into Pennsylvania.[1]

Contemporary prints depicting the burning of the Armory (HF-533 and HF-349) will be found on the two following pages of this report.

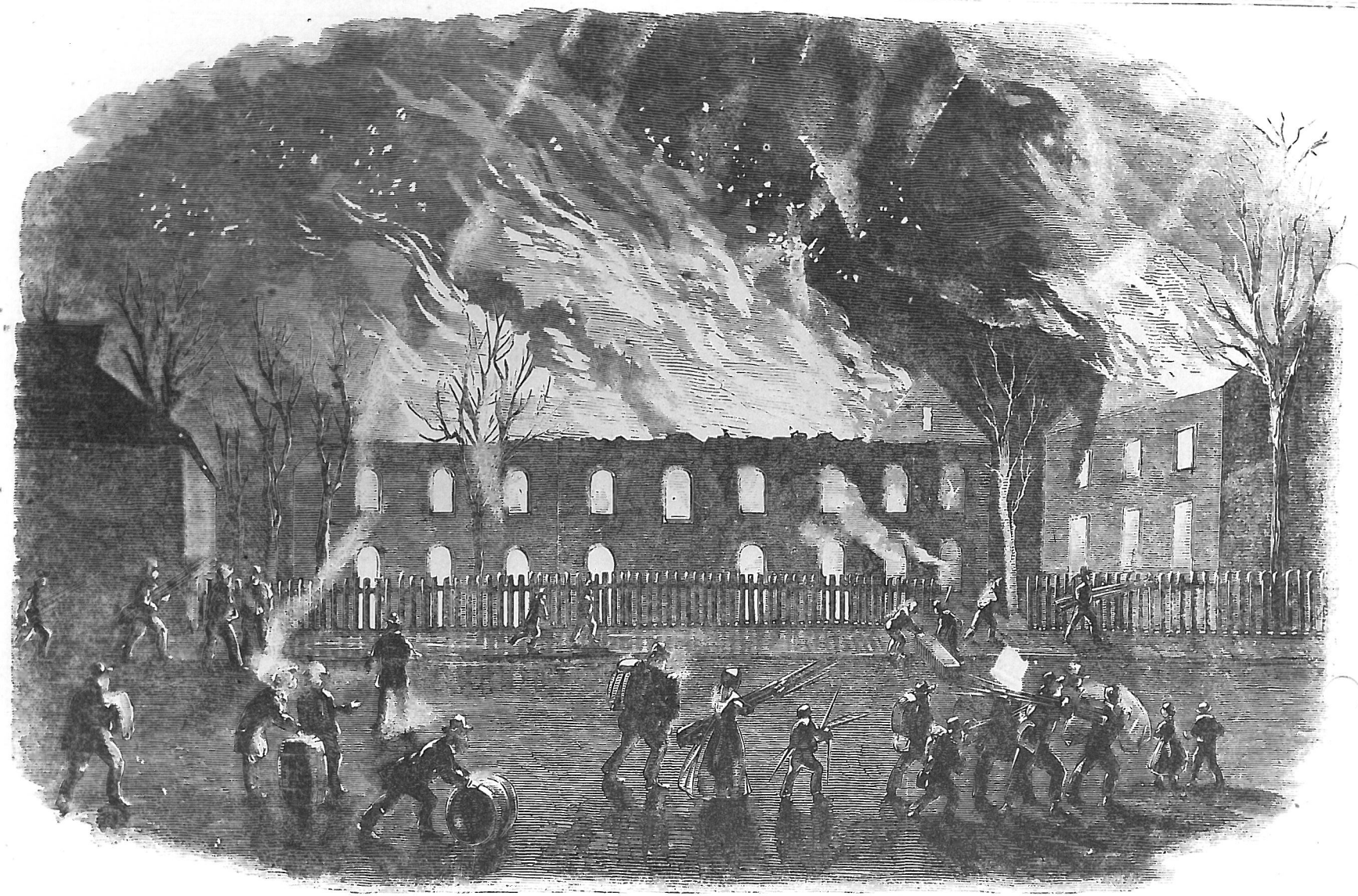
Destroyed in this great conflagration were the following structures (see 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF 3021, Sheet 2, for the exact location of these buildings):

1. Reports of 1st Lieut. R. Jones to the Assistant Adjacent General, Washington, D.C., April 18, 19, 20 and 22, 1861. Official Records, Series I, Volume II, pp.3-5.

"BURNING OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL AT HARPER'S FERRY, 10 p.m., APRIL 18, 1861."

A sketch made by David Hunter Strother on the spot on the night of April 18, 1861, and published in Harper's Weekly, May 11, 1861, p.293.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-533.

Bldgs. from left to right: First, the one story brick building is the Superintendent's Old Office, situated on Lot 1, Block A, Shenandoah Street, in the Old Arsenal Square; next, the large two story structure in the center, is the Large Arsenal. Federal troops in 1862 salvaged the first floor brick walls of the Large Arsenal, re-roofed this structure and utilized the building to the end of the Civil War. The two story brick building to the right of the print was the Small Arsenal. This structure contained most of the 16,000 arms stored at Harpers Ferry that were destroyed by Lieut. Jones on April 18, 1861. The Small Arsenal and its contents was completely destroyed by this fire. (See 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF 3021, Sheet 2, for the location of the Arsenal Buildings.)



THE BURNING OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL AT HARPER'S FERRY, 10 P.M. APRIL 18, 1861.—[SKETCHED BY D. H. STROTHER.]

The movement was regarded as a military necessity, and as such executed. To many of us who looked on, the scenes of that night were inexpressibly sad and solemn. The clouds of fire rolled up magnificently from the depths of the romantic gorge, illuminating the confluent rivers and the overhanging cliffs for miles around, each rock and pinnacle associated with the name of some one of our great historic founders. In the martial column revealed by the blaze there stood arrayed, with deadly ball and bayonet, the first-born pride of a hundred hitherto peaceful and happy families. In the town below, between them and their enemy, were neighbors, friends, and fellow-citizens—the enemies themselves our late patented defenders and countrymen.

Brethren, what has forced this fatal necessity upon us? "As the smoke and vapor of a furnace goeth before the fire, so reviling before blood." D. H. S.

We also publish a view of FORT M'HENRY, at Baltimore. This fort is held by the United States, and in the event of a fight at Baltimore would probably shell the city. It stands at the extremity of a tongue of land near the geographical centre of the city. In the war of 1812 it was bombarded by the British fleet, without success. It was of this bombardment that the famous song "The Star Spangled Banner" was written.

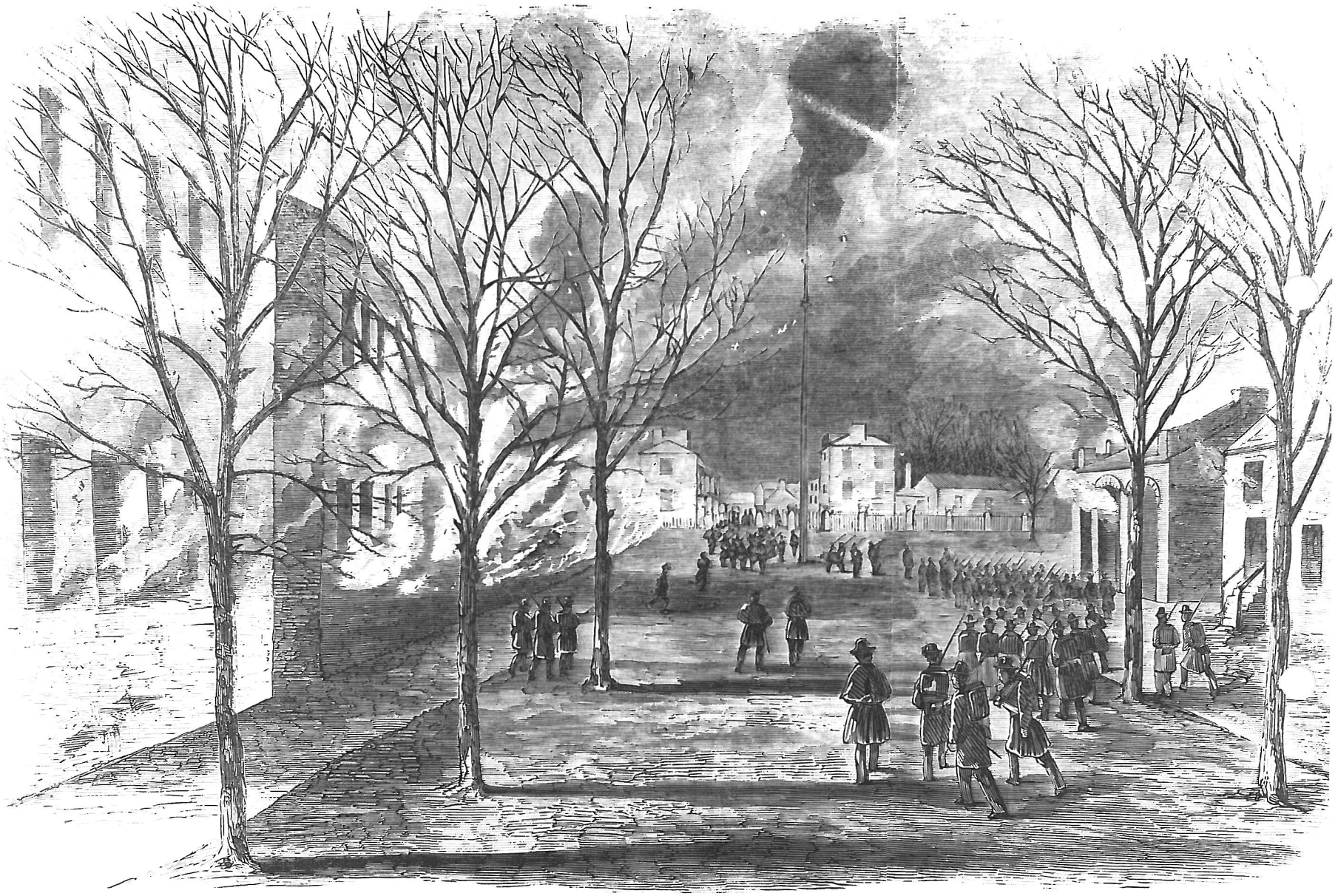
The small cut on the opposite page exhibits the burning of the bridge at Canton by the Baltimore mob. Both of these pictures are from photographs by W. H. Weaver, of Baltimore.

"Evacuation and Burning of the U. S. Arsenal (Musket Factory) and Shops at Harper's Ferry, on the Night of the 18th of April, By Lieutenant Jones, and his Command, By order of the Federal Government on the Approach of the Virginia Forces."

From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1861, p.372.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-349.

At the right of the drawing can be seen a portion of Musket Factory Bldg. No. 2, the Armory Offices; next, moving to the left, Bldg. No. 1, the Fire Engine House (John Brown Fort). The placing of the flag pole in the center of the street at the east end of the Musket Factory Yard is inaccurate. The large three story building, just to the right of the flag-pole is William J. Stephens's Clothing Store, located on Wager Lot No. 5. The small one story building, situated to the right of Stephens' store, is the Superintendent's Old Office on Lot No. 1, Block A, Shenandoah Street, in the Old Arsenal Square. The structure to the right of the Office is the Large Arsenal.

Moving to the left side of the print: First, an inaccurate drawing of Musket Factory Bldg. 13-the Smith and Forging Shop, which was actually a one story building; moving to the right, Bldg. No. 12-the Warehouse. The three story building to the right of Bldg. 12, was Walsh & Brother's Dry Goods Store, located on Wager Lot No. 10. The great flames shooting from the Musket Factory Buildings are a touch added by the artist's imagination. Lt. Jones' set fire to a few of these buildings, but the flames were soon after put out by the townspeople and the structures shown in this print suffered little or no damage from fire on April 18, 1861.



EVACUATION AND BURNING OF THE U. S. ARSENAL AND SHOPS AT HARPER'S FERRY, ON THE NIGHT OF THE 18TH OF APRIL, BY LIEUTENANT JONES, AND HIS COMMAND, BY ORDER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT APPROACH OF THE VIRGINIAN FORCES.—See Page 375.

1. The Large Arsenal, a two-story brick structure erected in 1800, and located in Block A, the Old Arsenal Square. The first floor of this building was being utilized in April, 1861, as barracks for the Federal Troops and the second floor for the storage of miscellaneous supplies. The interior of this structure was destroyed but the walls were left standing.

2. The Small Arsenal, a two story brick building erected in 1807 and also located in Block A, the Old Arsenal Square. This building contained some 15,000 arms in April, 1861, and these and the structure were completely destroyed by the fire. The age and use of wood in the construction of the two arsenals may account for the intensity of the fire.

3. The Carpenter Shop (8C), the Saw Mill (8B) and the Grinding Mill (8A), Musket Factory Bldg. No. 8, was located in the Musket Factory yard along the Potomac, and was fired and reduced to ruined walls. This structure, erected in 1850-51, had a two-story center and two one-story wings.

4. The Stocking Shop, Musket Factory Bldg. No. 6, was also fired by the Federal soldiers on April 18, 1861, but the flames were extinguished by the townspeople with but little damage to the structure. No other Musket Factory Buildings were set on fire by Lieut. Jones on April 18, 1861.[2]

2. Harpers Ferry under Confederate Occupation

All U. S. Armory property at Harpers Ferry, including 78 public buildings and the arms manufacturing machinery, was seized by the Confederates

2. MS Letter of George Mauzy to James H. Burton, Harpers Ferry, 2 a.m., April 19, 1861 - In Harpers Ferry NM Document File, HFD-29. Also MS Journal of David Hunter Strother, April 5, 1860, through June 16, 1861, Harpers Ferry NM Transcription pp.3-4. Strother's published account of event, in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, July, 1866, pp.11-14, on Microfilm Reel 39, Vol. 6, pp.528-531.

and many families who rented Armory Dwelling Houses from the United States were obliged to vacate their homes at great inconvenience to themselves and forced to procure shelter wherever they could.[3] In addition, "Many quiet, inoffensive citizens," noted Joseph Barry, who witnessed these events, "were dragged from their homes and confined in filthy guard houses, a prey to vermin and objects of insult to the [Confederate] rabble that guarded them."[4] Townspeople who were suspected of being Union sympathizers were not only thrown in jail without a hearing or trial, but their property was destroyed or carried off, and their home occupied as barracks for the Southern troops.[5] At least one of the Harpers Ferry churches was also occupied by the Confederates as a barracks for their artillerymen.[6] Photograph HF-334 suggests that the church thus utilized might well have been St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, Monument Bldg. No. 48A.

On April 30, 1861, Colonel Thomas J. Jackson arrived at Harpers Ferry and assumed command of the Virginia forces, thereby relieving Major General Kenton Harper, who had been in charge since April 19.[7] Jackson established his headquarters at the Wager House Hotel, which was located on Wager Lots

3. Barry, Joseph, The Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, Thompson Brothers, Martinsburg, 1903, p.116. Barry was an eye witness to these events. For description of U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry in 1860, see Snell, Charles W., "The Town of Harpers Ferry in 1859, a Physical History," dated May 18, 1959, pp.2-17.

4. Barry, Strange Story, p.117; Also diary of Strother, April-May, 1861.

5. Ibid., pp.119 - cites cases of William McCoy in Bolivar, and Abraham H. Herr, owner of Island of Virginius. In June, 1861, pp.120-121-cases of four Harpers Ferry men.

6. Henderson, G. F. R., Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War, London, N.Y., and Toronto, 1955, p.93, f.n. 7.

7. Jackson to R. E. Lee, May 6, 1861, Vol. II, p.809; Harper to Richardson, April 21, 1861, p.772; Lee to Jackson, April 27, 1861, p.784, 786.

No. 6, 7 and 8, adjacent to the B&O Potomac Bridge.[8] By May 8th, however, Jackson informed his wife: "At present I am living in an elegant mansion, with Major Preston in my room." The only house in Harpers Ferry fulfilling this description as an "elegant mansion" would seem to be the Armory Superintendent's Quarters (Armory Dwelling No. 25), which was located on Camp Hill.[9] Under Jackson's direction, the Confederate forces began to take on some order and undergo rigorous training. On May 22, the noted Civil War artist, David Hunter Strother, visited Harpers Ferry and reported "The adjacent hills were covered with camps, and all the work-shops and public buildings (that is, the Musket Factory and U.S. Rifle Factory buildings and also Armory Dwelling houses were) converted into barracks."[10]

3. Jackson Fortifies Harpers Ferry, April 28-May 22, 1861

On May 6, 1861, Col. Jackson informed General Robert E. Lee: "I have occupied the Virginia (Loudoun) and Maryland Heights, and I am about fortifying the former with block-houses of sufficient strength to resist an attempt to carry them by storm. Whenever the emergency calls for it, I shall construct similar works on the Maryland Heights. Thus far I have been deterred from doing so by a desire to avoid giving offense to the

8. Imboden, John D., "Jackson at Harpers Ferry in 1861," in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, N.Y., 1956, Vol. 1, p.121. See also Jackson to Joseph E. Johnston, February 12, 1862, Vol. V, pp.1068-1069.

9. Memoirs of Stonewall Jackson by his widow Mary Anna Jackson, p.151, on Microfilm Reel No. 38, Vol. 2, p.156. See also subsequent evidence of Strother sited showing that Gen. Johnston used this building as his headquarters.

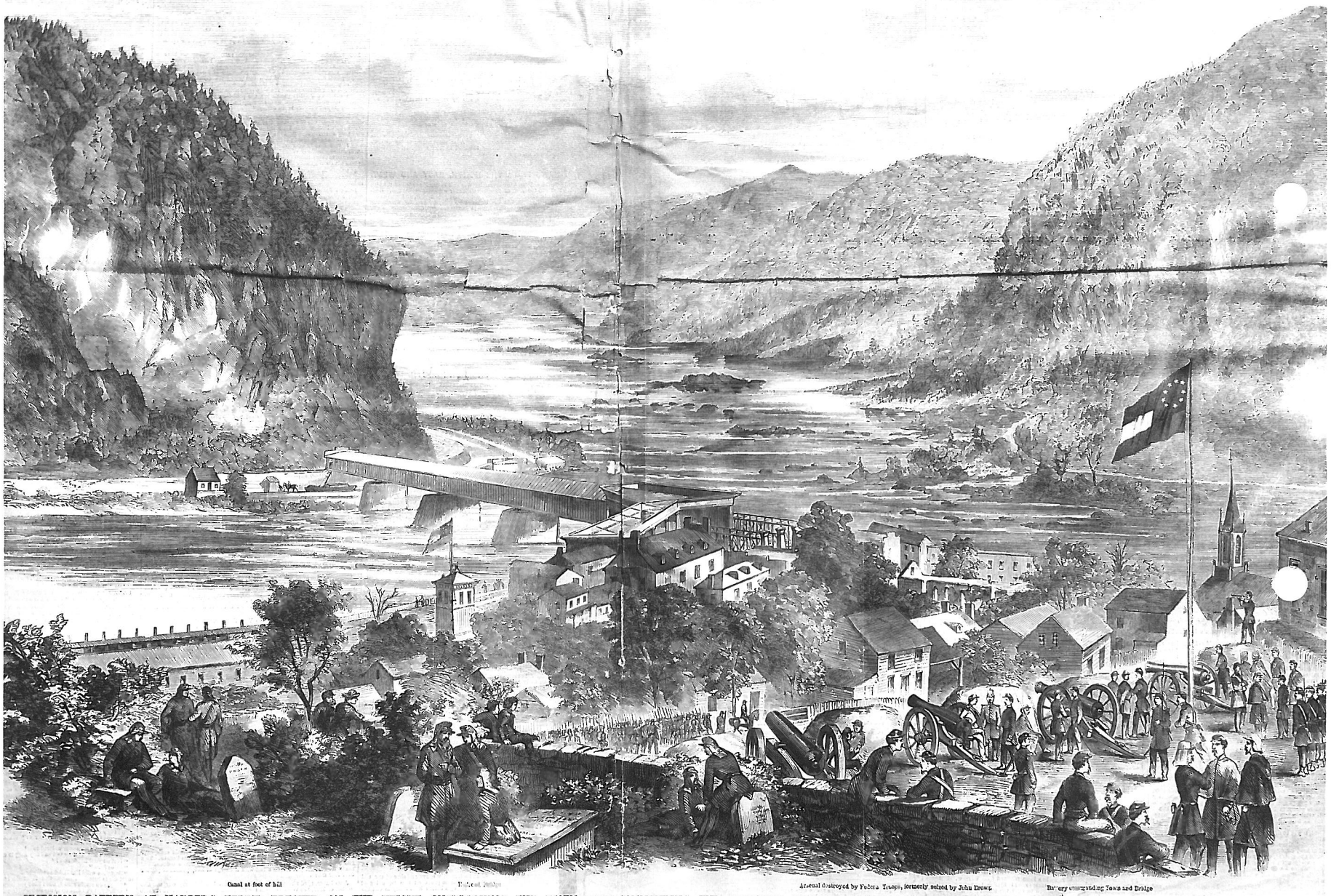
10. D. H. Strother, in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, June, 1866, p.22, on Reel No. 39, Vol. 6, p.539. Also Strother's MS Journal and "Harper's Ferry and First Manassas," extracts from the Diary of Capt. James M. Garnett, Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. XXVII, Richmond, Va., 1900, p.61-on Reel 38, Vol. 2, p.143.

latter State."[11] Batteries were placed in Harpers Graveyard on Camp Hill and Imboden's Battery was also located on Loudoun Heights. Strother, when visiting Harpers Ferry on May 2, reported: "Several field-guns were in position commanding the railroad approaches, while batteries were exhibited on the neighboring cliff in localities which struck me as more picturesque than judicious."[12] The Camp Hill guns may be seen in Photograph HF-334 on the following page of this report and also see HF-342 in Appendix II.

On the following day Jackson reported to Lee: "I have finished reconnoitering the Maryland Heights, and have determined to fortify them at once, and hold them as well as the Virginia (Loudoun) Heights and the town, be the cost what it may... Two pieces of field artillery (12-pounder) should be placed on the Virginia Heights, and a larger number of 6 pounders on the Maryland Heights. Heavier ordnance, in addition to the field pieces referred to in yesterday's letter, could be advantageously employed in defending the town. The heights (Bolivar Heights) west of Bolivar must be strengthened. I would be more than gratified could you spare the time for a short visit here, to give me the benefit of your wisdom and experience in laying out the different works, especially those on the heights. I am of the opinion that this place should be defended with the spirit which actuated the defenders of Thermopylae, and, if left to myself, such is my determination. The fall of this place would, I fear, result in the loss of the northwestern part of the State, and who

11. Jackson to Lee, May 6, 1861, Vol. II, p.809.

12. Harper's New Monthly Magazine, June, 1866, p.18, on Reel 39, Vol. 6, p.535. Also extracts from Diary of Capt. James M. Garnett, Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. XXVII, p.60, on Reel 38, V.2, p.143.



SECESSION BATTERY AT HARPER'S FERRY, ERECTED ON THE HEIGHT OVERLOOKING THE TOWN AND COMMANDING THE RAILROAD BRIDGE, CANAL, &c.—FROM A SKETCH TAKEN WITHIN A FEW DAYS BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.—SEE PAGE 35.

"Secession Battery at Harpers Ferry, erected on the Heights (Camp Hill) overlooking the town and commanding the Railroad Bridge, Canal. April 19, 1861 To June 14, 1861"

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1861, pp.36-37.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-334.

The Confederate batteries in the right foreground are located just ~~inside~~ outside the stone wall of Harpers Graveyard on Camp Hill. The building at the extreme right is St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, Monument Bldg. No. 48A; that to the left, with the tall spire, is St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church. Moving to the left, the ruined walls are those of the Large Arsenal, which was burned on April 18, 1861. To the left of the Arsenal are two buildings located on Wager Lot No. 2. The large 3½ story structure located to the left of the Arsenal and about the center, is William J. Stephens' Clothing Store, situated on Wager Lot No. 5. Note the iron "Winchester" span of the Baltimore & Ohio Potomac Bridge; the remaining spans of the bridge were built of wood.

Moving from right to left, beginning at the Y in the bridge, first, the roof of the B&O Depot can be seen; next, the very large 3½ story house, with a 2 story addition on its left, is the Wager House Hotel, situated on Wager Lots 6, 7 and part of 8. The next structure, two stories and running lengthwise to the hotel, is the B&O's Potomac Restaurant, situated on Wager Lot No. 9. The three story house next in line is Walsh & Brother's Dry Goods Store located on Wager Lot No. 10. The tall brick structure to the left of the store is the B&O water tower, located in the U.S. Musket Factory Yard. All of these buildings in the Wager Ferry Lot were burned by Federal Troops on February 7, 1862.

The Potomac River flows from the left and the Shenandoah from the right, joining together in the center. The south end of Maryland Heights rises on the left and the north end of Loudoun Heights appears at the right of the print. (See 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2.)

"can estimate the moral power thus gained to the enemy and lost to ourselves?."[13]

Lee replied on May 9th, stating in part: "In your preparation for the defense of your position it is considered advisable not to intrude upon the soil of Maryland, unless compelled by the necessities of war. The aid of its citizens might be obtained in that quarter." Four 6-pounder guns and two 12-pounder howitzers, Lee added, were being sent to Harpers Ferry to assist in the defense of that place.[14] In addition to this artillery, Jackson also received a number of heavy naval guns sent up from the captured Naval Yard at Norfolk, Virginia.[15]

In spite of Lee's orders, and probably before receiving them, Col. Jackson occupied Maryland Heights with some 500 troops from Kentucky on May 9. He did not place any cannon on the mountain, however, nor did he yet attempt to fortify that position.[16] After spending two days inspecting Harpers Ferry, ex-U.S. Senator J. M. Mason of Virginia, wrote to General Lee urging the fortification of Maryland Heights and pointing out the legal right under which he believed Virginia could occupy foreign soil. Mason also stated in part: "It has been said in the papers...that Governor Letcher [of Virginia] has some scruple or doubt about occupying the mountain heights in Maryland opposite Harper's Ferry. Of course I did not inquire of Colonel Jackson, nor do I know, what counsels prevail on this point. I learned at the Ferry, in general conversation, that some four or five hundred Virginia [actually Kentucky] troops occupied those heights, and it

13. Jackson to Lee, May 7, 1861, Vol. II, p.814.

14. Lee to Jackson, May 9, 1861, Vol. II, p.822.

15. Jackson to Lee, May 9, 1861, Vol. II, p.824. Also D. G. Duncan to L. P. Walker, May 12, 1861, Vol. II, pp.86-87.

16. Jackson to Lee, May 9, 1861, Vol. II, p.824. Also D. G. Duncan to L. P. Walker, May 15, 1861, p.91. 79 W.R.I.I, Part II.

"was said that preparations was making to fortify or intrench them. That whichever power holds those heights commands the town of Harper's Ferry none can doubt; and there is as little doubt that a small body intrenched and fortified there, well and appropriately armed, could hold it against a far superior force..."[17]

By May 17, however, cannon had been placed on Maryland Heights,[18] and on May 21, Lieutenant Colonel George Deas, Inspector General of the Confederate Army, also reported: "I have not yet visited the Maryland Heights, where redoubts are now going up; but, from frequent conversations which I have had with Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan, the officer in charge of the work, I am convinced that but little more is necessary to render that part of the ground quite secure."[19]

Passing through Harpers Ferry on May 22, Strother noted in his Journal: "I observe, however, that the construction of stockades and block-houses, commenced under Jackson's orders, had been discontinued, and that no further steps have been taken to mount and locate the heavy guns brought up from Norfolk... I also noticed that they were removing the armory machinery and material from Harpers Ferry as rapidly as possible to be set up at Richmond, it was rumored."[20]

A drawing of the Maryland Heights stockade, HF-536, will be found on the following page of this report.

17. Mason to Lee, May 15, 1861, Vol. II, p.849.

18. D. G. Duncan to L. P. Walker, May 17, 1861, Vol. LI, Part II p.93.

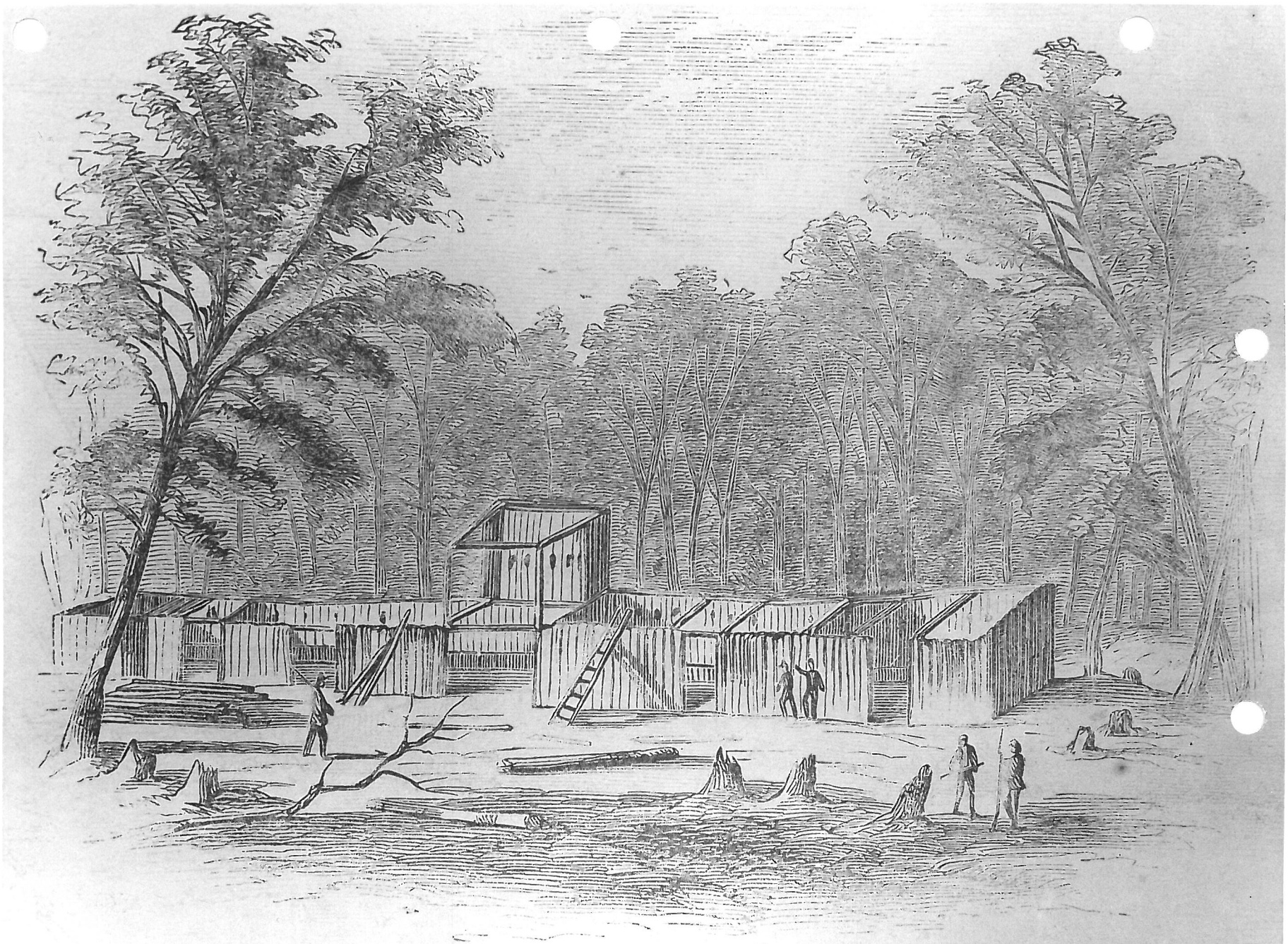
19. George Deas to Col. R. S. Garnett, Adjutant-General, C.S.A., May 21, 1861, Vol. II, p.861.

20. Strother, in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, June, 1866, p.22, on Reel 39, Vol. 6, p.539.

"Stockade and Camp of the Kentucky Regiment (Rebel), On the Maryland Heights, Opposite Harper's Ferry, May to June 14, 1861."

From Harper's Weekly, June 20, 1861, p.455.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-536.



STOCKADE AND CAMP OF THE KENTUCKY REGIMENT (REBEL), ON THE MARYLAND HEIGHTS, OPPOSITE HARPER'S FERRY.

On June 5, 1861, a newspaper reported:

"The Maryland Heights are still in possession of the Kentuckians, Baltimoreans, and the 'Montgomery (Va.) Fecibles,' who intend to maintain and hold the position until ordered away by General Johnston. The 'Montgomery Fencibles' went upon the Heights a little upwards of two weeks ago, without axe or saw, into a wilderness of trees and undergrowth, and they have erected a fort [stockade], 200 feet long for their protection and comfort, and have cleared off a beautiful parade ground... They call their palisade 'Fort Montgomery,' after the county from which they come." [21]

4. Brigadier General Joseph E. Johnston in Command, May 23-June 15, 1861

On May 23, 1861, Brigadier General Joseph E. Johnston assumed command of the Confederate army at Harpers Ferry and established his headquarters at the Armory Superintendent's House (Armory Dwelling No. 25) on Camp Hill.[22] His army, then amounting to about 8,000 men, was comprised of eight regiments and two battalions of infantry, five companies of artillery, with 16 pieces, without caissions, harness, or horses, a naval battery, and about 300 cavalry (8 companies). "They were," Johnston later wrote, "of course, undisciplined, several regiments without accouterments, and with an entirely inadequate supply of ammunition."[23]

On May 23, Lieutenant Colonel George Deas further reported: "...The Virginia regiments are only partially supplied with tents, and the main body of them [five regiments of infantry] are quartered in houses in the

21. The Charles Town Virginia Free Press, June 13, 1861, p.1, c.3, quoting the June 5th Richmond Dispatch. See also O.R.S.I, Vol. II, p.661, F. J. Porter to Col. Townsend, U.S.A., June 4, 1861..."at night the sound of the hammer is heard breaking stone on the Maryland Heights, the ax felling trees. Evidently a blockhouse is going up. No one can get near enough to see."

22. Report of General Johnston, Oct. 14, 1861, Vol. II, p.470. Orders, dated May 15, 1861, pp.844-845, also p.856, 871. Location of headquarters in Strother, MS Diary, 1861, p.9.

23. Report of Johnston, Oct. 14, 1861, Vol. II, p.471. Strength from Inspection report of Lt. Col. Deas, May 23, 1861, p.867-868.

town of Harper's Ferry and Bolivar..." As to the artillery, he noted: "There are but four light pieces with Captain Pendleton's company at Bolivar, at which the men are instructed on the manual of the piece. There are six guns with Captain Imboden's company at Point of Rocks..."[24] "The naval batteries, under Lieutenant Fauntleroy," Deas continued, "are placed on the northern and southern (probably meant the north and south sides of the top of Camp Hill) salients of the village of Harper's Ferry, and envelope with their fire the whole town of Bolivar and the approaches by the immediate banks of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers. There are at this time but two 32-pounders in position in each battery on plain platforms, and the guns on ship's carriages. It is intended to increase the number of guns in each battery to six. These batteries would be very formidable in resisting an attack upon the town of Harper's Ferry."[25]

In conclusion, Deas remarked: "Under the existing state of affairs, that is, with the means at hand, for offensive operations coming from Baltimore or Pennsylvania, Harper's Ferry may be looked upon as perfectly safe. But if the war is to assume much larger proportions, it might be possible for the enemy to shut up our force now assembled there, and, with superior numbers, pass on with a heavy force and occupy the valleys beyond, in Western Virginia. If this should ever be suspected to be the plans of the enemy, of what use would it be to hold on to Harper's Ferry? In such a state of affairs, it would be much better to abandon the Ferry altogether, remove the (arms) machinery, destroy the (armory) buildings, blow up the

24. Report of Deas, May 23, 1861, Vol. II, p.868.

25. Ibid., pp.868-869.

"(B&O Potomac Railroad) bridge, and move out into the valleys, and thus maneuver against the advancing enemy..."[26] Deas, it would seem, had been in conference with General Johnston.

General Johnston reported on May 28 that his troops were deployed in part as follows: "...A detachment of 350 infantry occupies a point on the Maryland Heights, one and a half miles from the near (south) end of the crest of the ridge, and two and a half miles from Harper's Ferry (this statement would seem to locate the site of the Confederate stockade some distance north of the present Stone Fort). The crest of the ridge beyond the Shenandoah (Loudoun Heights) is guarded by two companies of infantry..."[27]

On May 26, only three days after assuming command, Johnston began advocating in repeated letters the evacuation of Harpers Ferry in the event of an approach by a strong Federal Force.[28] Johnston summed up his reasons for this decision in October, 1861, writing:

"I lost no time in making a complete reconnaissance of the place (Harpers Ferry) and its environs, in which the chief engineer, Major... Whiting, ably assisted. The result confirmed my preconceived ideas. The position is untenable by any force not strong enough to take the field against an invading army and to hold both sides of the Potomac. It is a triangle, two sides being formed by the Potomac and the Shenandoah, and the third by Furnace Ridge (Bolivar Heights). The plateau thus inclosed, and

26. Report of Deas, May 23, 1861, Vol. II, pp.869-970.

27. Johnston to Garnett, May 28, 1861, Vol. II, p.889.

28. Johnston to Garnett, May 26, 1861, Vol. II, pp.880-881; Johnston to Garnett, May 28, pp.889-890; Johnston to R. E. Lee, May 31, 1861, pp.895-896; Johnston to Lee, July 6, 1861, pp.907-908; Lee to Johnston, June 7, 1861, p.910.

"the end of Furnace Ridge itself, the only defensible position, which, however, required for its adequate occupation double our numbers, was exposed to enfilade and reverse fires of artillery from heights on the Maryland side of the river. Within that line the ground was more favorable to an attacking than to a defending force. The Potomac can be easily crossed at many points above and below [Harpers Ferry], so that it is easily turned. It is twenty miles from the great route into the Valley of Virginia [Shenandoah] from Pennsylvania and Maryland, by which General Patterson's approach was expected. Its garrison was thus out of position [when situated at Harpers Ferry] to defend that Valley or to prevent General McClellan's junction with Patterson. These were obvious and important objects to be kept in view. Besides being in position for them, it was necessary to be able on emergency to join General Beauregard [who was then at Manassas].

"The occupation of Harper's Ferry by our Army," Johnston continued, "perfectly suited the enemy's views. We were bound to a fixed position; his movements were unrestricted. These views were submitted to the military authorities. The continued occupation of the place was, however, deemed by them [President Jefferson Davis and General Robert E. Lee] indispensable. I determined to hold it until the great objects of the Government required its abandonment. The practicable roads from the West and Northwest, as well as from Manassas, meet the route from Pennsylvania and Maryland at Winchester. That point was, therefore, in my opinion, our best position... To guard against surprise and to impose upon the enemy, Major Whiting was directed to mount a few heavy guns upon Furnace Ridge [Bolivar Heights] and otherwise strengthen the position."[29]

29. Report of Gen. Johnston, Oct. 14, 1861, Vol. II, p.471.

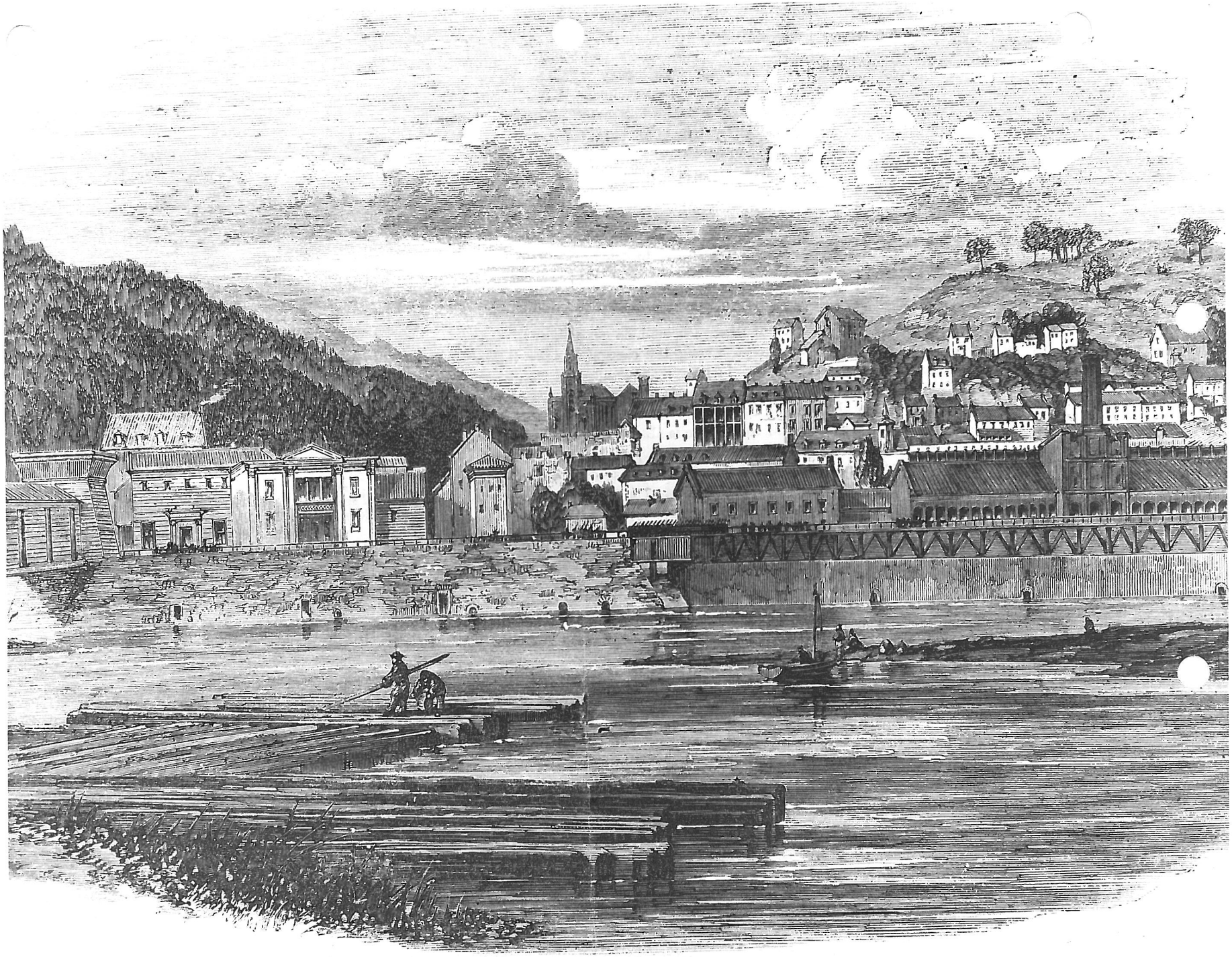
"The Civil War in America: Harper's Ferry, Virginia, May to June 14, 1861."

From the London Illustrated News, June 22, 1861.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-382.

This accurate drawing shows Harpers Ferry during the period of Confederate occupation, April 18-June 14, 1861, and was made from the Maryland Shore. The Potomac River flows in the center foreground. Loudoun Heights rises to the left of the print and Camp Hill to the right, behind the town of Harpers Ferry.

Buildings from left to right: First the wooden end of the B&O Potomac bridge; next the Wager House Hotel, located on Wager Lots No. 6, 7 and part of 8; next the B&O Potomac Restaurant, with porch on its front, situated on Wager Lot No. 9; then a two story stone dwelling, located on Wager lot No. 10. To the right of this, the tall thin structure is the B&O brick water tower, located in the U.S. Musket Factory yard. All of the above named buildings were burned by Federal troops on February 7, 1862.

To the right of the water tower, the large two story building, fronting on the Potomac river wall, is Musket Factory Bldg. No. 12- the Warehouse, and at the extreme right, the large structure is Musket Factory Bldg. No. 13, the Smith and Forging Shop. Note that the last two mentioned buildings were not damaged by the fire set by Lieut. Jones on April 18, 1861.



THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA : HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA.

General Johnston, unlike Jackson, was therefore of the opinion that Harpers Ferry should not be defended and that the position would be a military trap for any Confederate army that attempted to do so.

5. The Confederate Evacuation of Harpers Ferry, June 14-15, 1861

On the morning of June 13, information was received from Winchester that Romney had been occupied by 2,000 Federal troops, who were believed to be the vanguard of McClellan's Army. General Johnston at once ordered the evacuation of Harpers Ferry. During that day and the 14th, the heavy baggage and remaining captured armory property were sent to Winchester via the Winchester and Potomac Railroad, and the rolling stock and engines of the line sent south.[30]

At about 6:30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th, the great B&O Railroad Bridge across the Potomac at Harpers Ferry was burned by the Confederates. The bridge span located on the Virginia shore, adjacent to the Wager House Hotel (which was situated on Wager Lots No. 6, 7 and 8) was blown up to avoid setting fire to the town in that quarter.[31] The remainder of this great covered bridge, consisting of seven wooden spans, was completely destroyed, and only the single iron "Winchester" span, on the Virginia side, escaped destruction.[32]

At the same time, on the 14th, the Musket Factory shops along the

30. Report of Gen. Johnston, Oct. 14, 1861, Vol. II, pp.471-472. Also, Johnston to Cooper, June 15, 1861, Vol. II, pp.929-930 and orders from Cooper to Johnston, dated June 13, 1861, granting Johnston discretion to abandon Harpers Ferry, received by Johnston on June 15, p.924.

31. D. H. Strother's Journal, p.7. Johnston to President Jefferson Davis, June 14, 1861, Vol. LI, Part II, p.139.

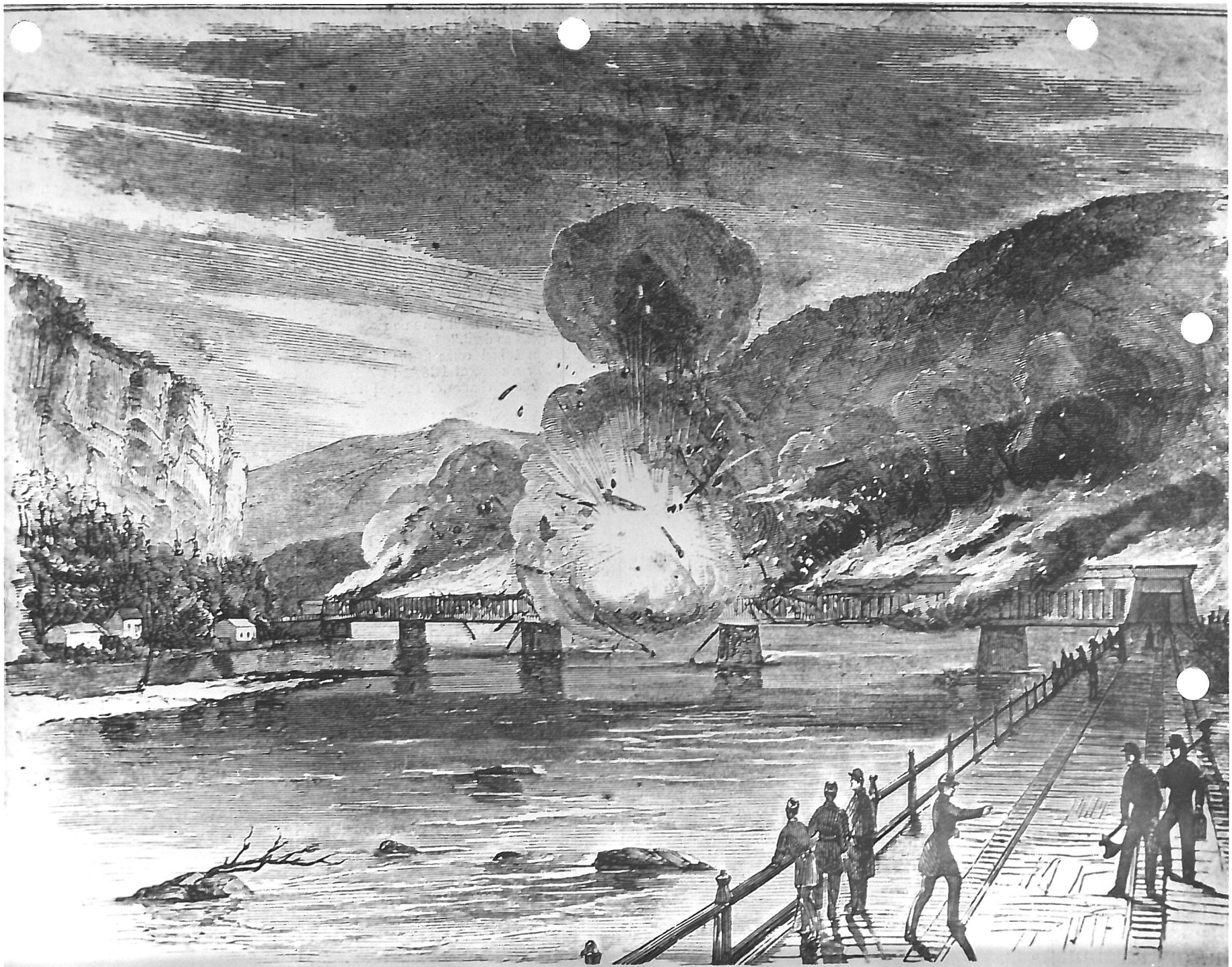
32. Annual Report of B&O Railroad Company for 1861, Reel 15, V.2, p.305.

"Destruction of the Railroad Bridge over the Potomac River, at Harper's Ferry, by the Rebels, June 15, 1861."

From Harper's Weekly, July 6, 1861, p.429.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-102.

The Confederates completely destroyed the wooden spans of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company's Potomac bridge on June 14, 1861, but were unable to damage the stone piers of this bridge or the one iron "Winchester" span of the Y on the Virginia side of the river. On the left rises Maryland Heights and on the right, Loudoun Heights. The river, in the center of the print, is the Potomac.

It was not until March 18, 1862, that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad completed a second bridge across the Potomac at this point, thus replacing the bridge destroyed on June 14, 1861.



DESTRUCTION OF THE RAILROAD BRIDGE OVER THE POTOMAC, AT HARPER'S FERRY, BY THE REBELS, JUNE 15, 1861.—SKETCHED BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.—[SEE PAGE 4

Potomac were also fired by the Confederates, as was the trestle work of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from their water tower, located in the Musket Factory yard, west through the Armory yard to their bridge over the U.S. Armory canal at the west end of Harpers Ferry.[33] The railroad company reported that all wooden flooring, rail-joists, cross-ties, double track and iron railing on 70 iron trestle spans, each 15 feet long, in the Musket Factory yard were destroyed by this fire.[34] Only that portion of railroad trestle running from Wager Lot 10 east to Wager Lot 1 was spared to prevent a fire from setting the privately owned buildings adjoining this trestle aflame.[35]

Destroyed by the Confederates in this great conflagration on June 14th were the following Musket Factory shops: (See 1859 Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2.)

1. Bldg. No. 3 - the Bell or Finishing Shop.
2. Bldg. No. 4 - the Polishing Shop.
3. Bldg. No. 5 - the Boring Mill.
4. Bldg. No. 6 - the Stocking and Machine Shop.
5. Bldg. No. 7 - the Millwright Shop.
6. Bldg. No. 9 - the Tilt Hammer and Barrel Welding Shop.
7. Bldg. No. 10 - the Lumber House and Coal Bin.
8. Bldg. No. 11 - new Stock and Store House (used as an Arsenal).
9. Bldg. No. 14 - the Annealing Shop and Brass Foundry.

33. D. H. Strother, Journal, p.8. Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, pp.120-121.

34. Annual Report of the B&O, 1861, Reel 15, V.2, p.305.

35. Strother, Journal, p.8.

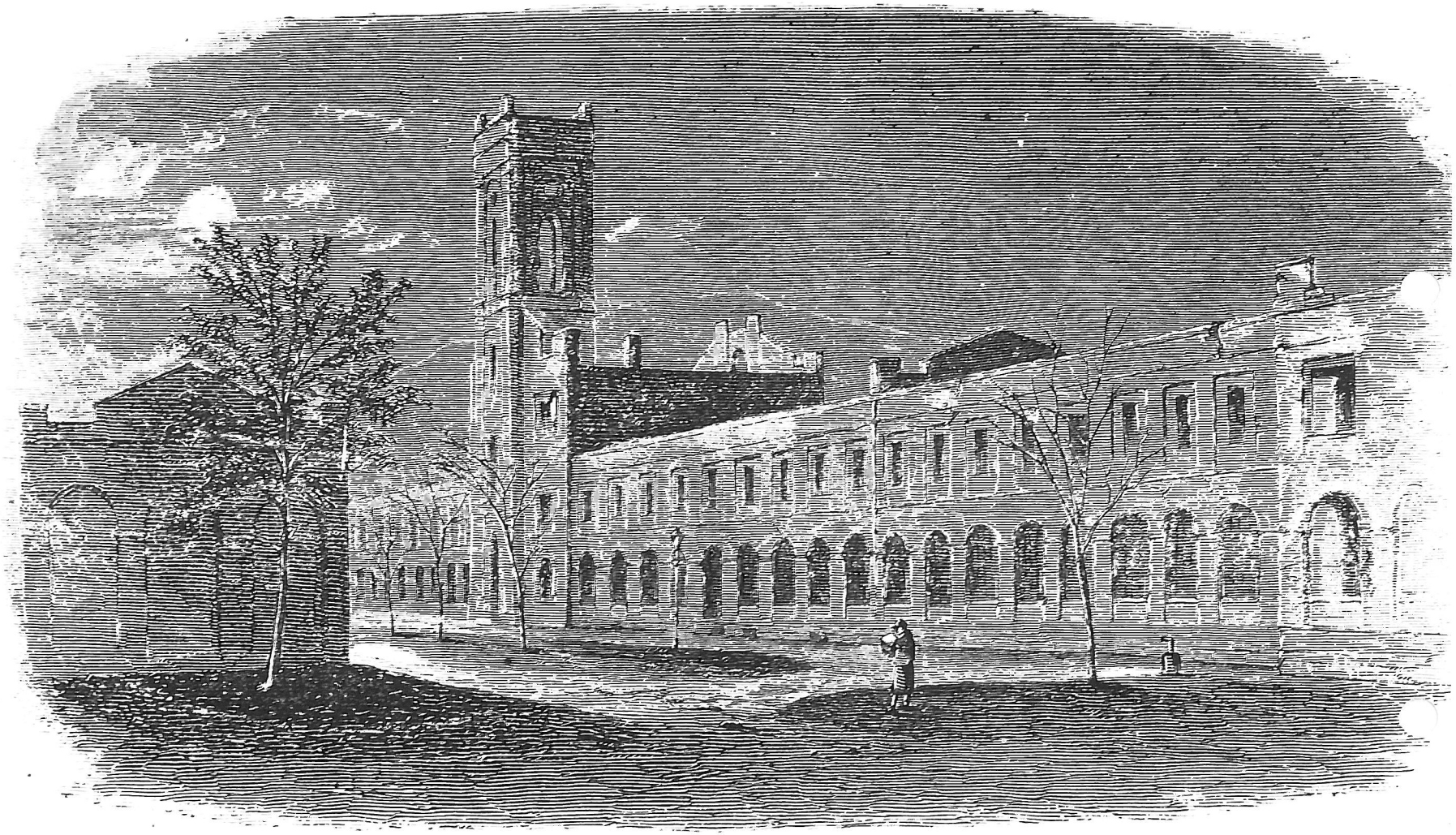
"Harpers Ferry Armory As It Now Appears,
June 16-July, 1861"

From Harper's Weekly, July 20, 1861, p.455.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-223.

The Confederates set fire to the U.S. Musket Factory Buildings on June 14, 1861, and this accurate drawing shows some of the destruction wrought by that conflagration. The tall bell tower was erected in 1859-60; to the left of the tower and joining it, is Musket Factory Bldg. No. 6D, the Machine Shop. To the right of the tower is Musket Factory Bldg. No. 7, the Millwright Shop; next, moving to the right, is the two story section that was erected in 1859-60 and connected Bldgs. No. 7 and 8. At the right edge of the sketch may be seen a small portion of Bldg. No. 8A-The Grinding Mill.

Across the street and to the left of the print, can be seen the end wall of what is probably Musket Factory Bldg. No. 15, The Proof House.

(See 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2, for the location of these buildings.)



HARPER'S FERRY ARMORY AS IT NOW APPEARS.

10. Bldg. No. 15 - the Proof House.

11. Bldg. No. 16 - the Charcoal House.

12. Bldg. No. 17 - the Old Stock Store House.

13. Bldg. No. 18 - the Rolling Mill.

14. Bldg. No. 19 - the Lime House.

Also fired by the Confederates, but not seriously damaged because of their fire-resistant construction, were Bldg. No. 12 - the Ware House and Bldg. No. 13 - the Smith and Forging Shop.[36] Untouched by the Confederates, probably because their small size and the fact that they contained no machinery, were Bldg. No. 1 - the Fire Engine House (the John Brown Fort), and Bldg. No. 2 - the Armory Office Building.

Having completed this destruction, the Confederate Army then left Harpers Ferry on the morning of June 15th, marching for Winchester.[37] Little did the Southern soldiers dream as they left town that during the next four years of the Civil War their army was to hold Harpers Ferry again for a total of only 34 days.[38]

On June 20, 1861, a Confederate patrol returned briefly to unoccupied Harpers Ferry and burned the woodwork of the single iron "Winchester" span of the former Potomac Railroad Bridge. B&O Engine No. 165 was also run

36. D. H. Strother, Journal, personal inspection, June 16, 1861, p.9.

37. Report of Brig. Gen. Johnston, Oct. 14, 1861, Vol. II, p.472, 689.

38. From August 18, 1861, to February 24, 1862, neither side made any effort to hold the town of Harpers Ferry. In 1862 "Stonewall" Jackson held the town from September 15, to 18, four days. In 1863, Federal forces evacuated the town from the evening of aJune 17 to the afternoon of July 14, 27 days. In 1864, Confederate forces held the town from about 9 p.m., July 4 to late evening of July 7, 1864, three days. From February 25, 1862, to July 30, 1865, the town was constantly in Union hands with the noted exception, amounting to 34 days.

through the bridge into the Potomac River.[39]

About June 28 another Confederate force returned to town and burned the wooden Shenandoah toll bridge and the nine buildings comprising the U.S. Rifle Factory, which were located on the Lower Hall Island on the Shenandoah River.[40]

To complete the list of destruction wrought by the Confederates in Harpers Ferry in 1861, on the morning of October 17th, a few Confederates dressed in civilian clothes, slipped secretly into town by way of the Shenandoah road and burned Abraham H. Herr's great three and a half story stone flour mill (Island of Virginius Bldg. No. 2), which was situated on the Island of Virginius.[41]

6. Inspection of Camp Hill, Bolivar and Loudoun Heights, June and July, 1861

On Sunday, June 16, 1861, David Hunter Strother, still a civilian, went into Harpers Ferry "to see the late encampment of the Confederate Army. On the high ridge (Bolivar Heights) overlooking Bolivar we found the heavy guns spiked, the trucks, platforms, and sand bags burnt, cannon balls lying around, and a quantity of powder, which had been emptied into the bushes... The cannon at this place were seven in number, two long 32-pounders and five 24-pounder cannonaides. Behind the hill were the deserted camp, brush sheds & tents, strewn with old papers, old boots, canteens, camp kettles & a quantity of refuse...over which the buzzards were floating."[42]

39. Annual Report of the B&O RR for 1861, Reel 15, V.2, p.305.

40. Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, pp.121-122; Vol. II, pp.733-734.

41. Ibid., pp.133-134; Report of Col. Jno. W. Geary, 28th Pa. Vols., October 18, 1861, Vol. V, pp.242-243.

42. Strother's Journal, June 16, 1861, p.9; also printed in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, June, 1866, p.143, Reel 39, Vol. 6, p.549, in slightly revised form.

When visiting Bolivar Heights on the night of April 18, 1861, in company with the Virginia troops marching to seize the armory, Strother had described the ground cover as follows: "The (Virginia) troops were now marching up the southern slope of the hill..., the crest of which was covered with pine woods and dense thickets of undergrowth, and furnished a favorable position from which to resist their advance."[43]

Returning to June 16, however, Strother continued: "Bolivar and Harpers Ferry on the hill looked quiet but not much the worse for its recent occupation by so large an army. A fact creditable to the discipline & conduct of the troops. Some families who had given up their houses were returning and we saw wagon loads of furniture at the doors unloading. The Superintendent's House (Armory Dwelling No. 25-Johnston's Headquarters, on Camp Hill) which had been occupied as Headquarters seemed to have suffered more than any other and stood open, the locks broken, furniture removed and the floors and grounds strewed with papers, topographical plans, letters, & Paymaster's rolls & etc. People were walking about through the building, apparently seeking what they might pick up. In the lower town the ruins of the public buildings were complete, except for a large blacksmith with a small shop..."[44]

In July, 1861, Strother again visited Harpers Ferry, this time as a member of the Federal Army. On July 22, he reported: "I started with my commanding officer to reconnoitre the crest of Loudoun Heights, where it is reported the enemy had constructed some Block-Houses... Crossing the

43. Strother in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, June, 1866, p.11, Reel 39, Vol. 6, p.528.

44. Strother, MS Journal, June 16, 1861, p.9.

Shenandoah by an unusual and very rough ford, we ascended the mountain by a winding road shaded by tall forest trees and bordered by the delicious wild bloom of the season. On the summit we found a cleared space of about 1200 yards in length by 300 wide, with three block-houses so located as to flank and support each other. On the roof of one of these we took lunch...

"We descended (then into Loudoun Valley to the east) by a narrow path winding through dense thickets and scarcely practicable for horses. From the foot of the ridge we made our way across some meadows, finding a pretty stream, and finally reaching the main turnpike leading from Harper's Ferry, via Hillsborough, to Leesburg."[45]

Of the period June 15 to July 20, 1861, when Harper's Ferry was a no-man's land, Joseph Barry later wrote: "It was sad to see the rapid demoralization of the (towns) people at this time and various phases of corrupt human nature suddenly brought to light by the war. Not only were the government buildings ransacked for plunder, but the abandoned houses of the citizens shared the same fate. Even women and children could be encountered at all hours of the day and night loaded with booty or trundling wheelbarrows freighted with all imaginable kinds of portable goods and household furniture. In many instances their shamelessness was astounding and it appeared as if they considered that a state of war gave unlimited privilege for plunder. Citizens who recognized their property in the hands of those marauders and claimed it, were abused and sometimes

45. Strother, in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, July, 1866, p.158, Reel 39, Vol. 6, p.564; see also Report of Col. John W. Geary, 28th Pa. Inf., dated May 14, 1862, of operations Febry 23-May 6, 1862, pp.511-512. Geary ascended Loudoun Heights on February 25, 1862, and found three rebel fortifications there.

beaten and, sadder yet to be related, women were in many instances, most prominent in those disgraceful scenes."[46]

By the end of the war, Yankee soldiers were credited (no doubt in part because their dollar was still good and also because Union troops had held the town during most of the war) with having wrought most of the destruction in Harpers Ferry, but as we have seen from the evidence presented in this chapter, the native Virginians in 1861 had started the destruction off to a flying start, with little assistance from the Federal soldiers.

46. Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, pp.125-126.

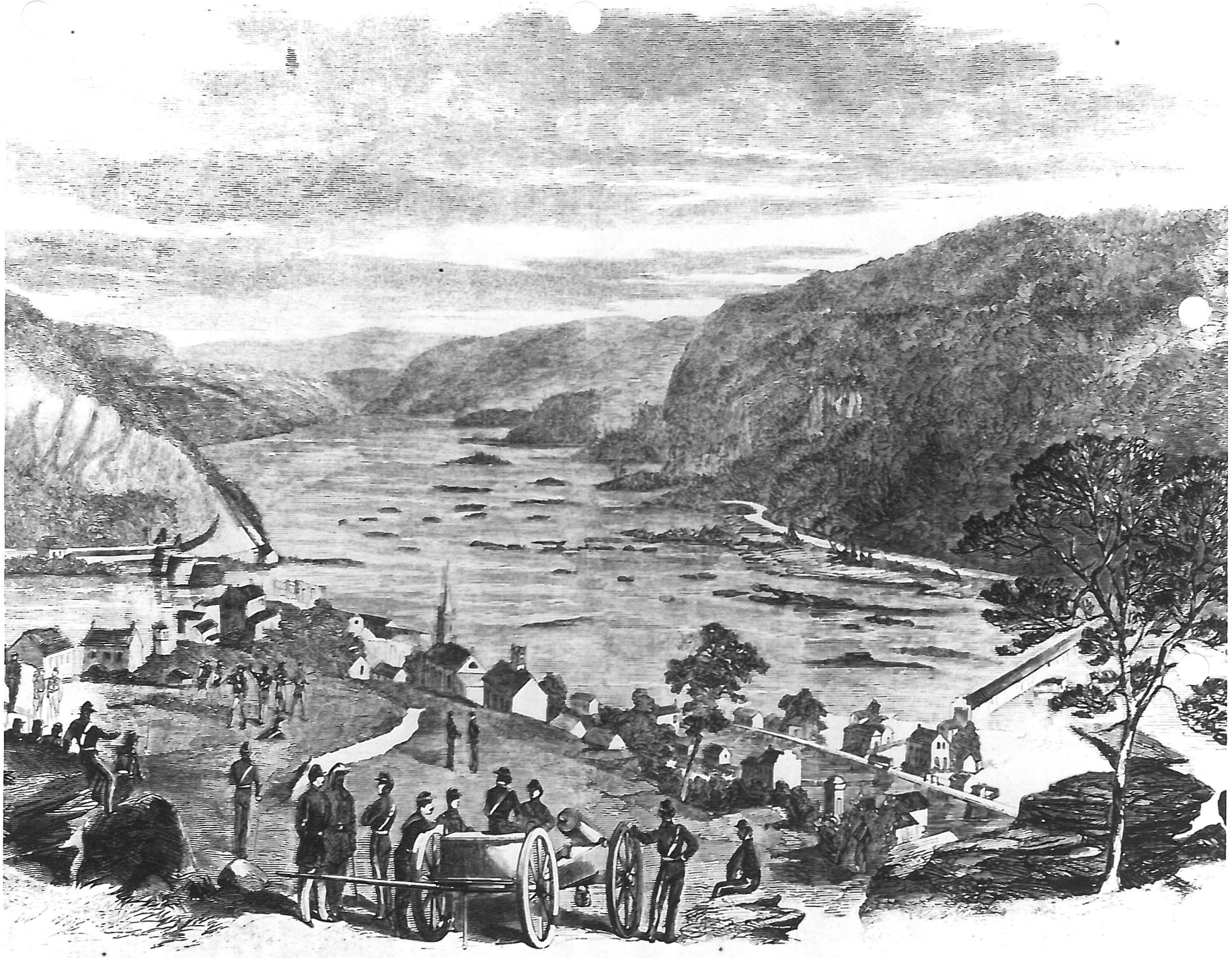
"Harper's Ferry, as Evacuated by the Confederate Troops, June 16-27, 1861."

From Harper's Weekly, July 6, 1861, p.428.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-340.

This view was drawn from the top of Camp Hill and is fairly accurate in its detail. The Potomac flows from the left of the print and the Shenandoah from the right. The south end of Maryland Heights rises beyond the Potomac to the left and Loudoun Heights to the right, with the Hillsborough Turnpike running at its base. Note the piers and one iron "Winchester" span of the B&O Potomac Bridge, which was destroyed by the Confederates on June 15, 1861. To the right, the Shenandoah covered bridge, still intact, crosses that river. The Confederates returned on June 28, 1861, and burned the Shenandoah bridge and the U.S. Rifle Factory buildings on Hall's Island. The building in the center, with the spire, is St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church; the structure with the cupola on its roof, just to the rear and right of the church, is the Roman Catholic School.

At the extreme right of the right stands Jefferson's Rock and moving slightly to the left of the rock, the cupola to be seen just above the cliff at that point was on the Presbyterian Church, which stood on Shenandoah Street.

The ruined walls of the Large Arsenal are to be seen just to the left of the Catholic Church.



HARPER'S FERRY, AS EVACUATED BY THE CONFEDERATE TROOPS.—Sketched by our Special Artist.—[See Page 427.]

CHAPTER II

HARPER'S FERRY, JUNE 15 - AUGUST 17, 1861

1. Maryland Heights, June 15-30, 1861

On June 15, 1861, the Union Army, under the command of Major General Patterson, arrived at Hagerstown, Maryland. On the 18th, Patterson proposed as "a military necessity--the rebuilding of the Harper's Ferry (B&O RR) bridge, protected by a force from this (the Maryland) side, and the re-occupation of Harper's Ferry." He also suggested the fortifications of the heights in the vicinity of the town.[1] Shortly after noon on the following day, he announced: "I will occupy Maryland Heights to-morrow morning (June 20) with guns and infantry to protect bridge builders. With bridge secured, propose to occupy Harper's Ferry, fortify it toward Winchester; throw everything into Harper's Ferry...,"[2] Later the same day, however, the General countermanded this order, reporting: "The (Baltimore and Ohio Railroad) company now will not act (to rebuild the Potomac bridge at Harpers Ferry) unless the whole road to Cumberland be guarded, saying all the line is threatened if they commence rebuilding Harper's Ferry Bridge or any other structure thence to Cumberland. I will not, therefore, occupy Maryland Heights, but direct attention on the Williamsport line..."[3]

As a result of this decision, Union troops did not reach Sandy Hook, Maryland, opposite Harpers Ferry, until July 3.[4]

1. Patterson to Col. E. D. Townsend, Asst. Adj. Gen., U.S.Army, June 18, 1861, Vol. II, pp.701-702.

2. Patterson to Townsend, June 19, 1861--12:15 p.m., Vol. II, p.707.

3. Patterson to Townsend, June 19, 1861, Vol. II, pp.707-708.

4. Col. Charles P. Stone, 14th Infantry, to Townsend, July 3, 1861, Vol. II, p.120.

On June 20th, however, General Winfield Scott directed Major General Patterson to have a reconnaissance made of Maryland Heights, "with a view to a battery sufficient to hold the same, and also without delay to propose to me a plan of operations with a portion of your forces."[5]

In response to this order, Patterson proposed to occupy Maryland Heights with one brigade, 2,100 men, to fortify that position and arm it with Doubleday's artillery, and to provision it with enough supplies to last 20 days, thus rendering the mountain secure against an investment. He also suggested moving his base of supplies and operations from Hagerstown to Frederick, Maryland, and from this latter point to "threaten with a force to open a route through Harper's Ferry, this force to be the sustaining one for the command on Maryland Heights."[6] On June 25, however, General Scott overruled this second plan and directed Patterson to "Remain in front of the enemy while he continues in force between Winchester and the Potomac," adding, "If you are in superior or equal force, you may cross (the Potomac) and offer him battle."[7] Patterson's force therefore remained in the vicinity of Hagerstown until the end of June.[8]

Between June 21-23, however, in compliance with Scott's orders, Captain John Newton, U.S. Engineers and Chief of Patterson's Engineer Staff, completed an examination of the Maryland Heights area.[9]

5. Scott to Patterson, June 20, 1861, Vol. II, p.709.

6. Patterson to Townsend, June 21, 1861, Vol. II, p.711.

7. Scott to Patterson, June 25, 1861, Vol. II, p.725.

8. See Vol. II, p.735.

9. See Patterson to Townsend, June 21, 1861, Vol. II, p.712 and Patterson to Townsend, June 23, 1861, p.717 - the latter with a partial report of the reconnaissance.

Captain Newton reported (see Map I): "I ascended first the western slope by the county road leading to Solomon's Gap; thence I proceeded on the summit four miles to the southern extremity of the ridge (that part overlooking Harpers Ferry). This road (on the summit) requires extensive repairs for heavy hauling for a distance of about four miles.

"The top of the ridge," Newton noted, "is covered with a small growth of timber and brushwood, and is difficult of penetration. An easy defense could be made by cutting down the timber and brush across the summit for about two hundred yards in width, and forming behind this obstruction a light parapet, having the interior slope stockaded, the stockade to be high enough to protect the heads of the men when standing on the banquette, and to be loop-holed. Other stockaded parapets may be erected whenever a more minute examination may render it necessary and at those points where the access up the sides of the mountain may be convenient to an enemy. The portion of the heights to be occupied by us should extend about one and three-fourths miles from the southern extermity of the ridge, with the object of protecting our supplies of water from the base of the mountain at the foot of the eastern slope (in Pleasant Valley) and distant about one and one-quarter miles from the southern extremity of the ridge. Our principal defense should be felling trees, &c, on the sides and slopes of the mountain and on the summit wherever an approach would be practicable. We should also occupy below the base of the slope (Pleasant Valley), where our supplies of water are to be drawn. The mountain affords capabilities for a strong defense, but from the extent of ground to be occupied, the condition of the roads, and the necessity of hauling water and stores up the mountain, much inconvenience may be experienced, and a certain amount of time also will be expended in completing the defenses."

"The ascent of the eastern slope (from Pleasant Valley) is through Solomon's Gap, by a road larger and steeper than by the corresponding road from the western side, and also by a road (probably Road A, B, and C on Map I) constructed by the enemy and leading up from Sandy Hook. The latter road is not too steep, but is very rough, having large stones five or six feet long in many places directly in the road. The same is true in a measure of all other roads upon the mountain. The rocks are said by those who have made roads on the mountain to be generally detached, and not to form a part of a ledge.

"It is impossible to state what amount of force could be detailed from the Army at this period, with the necessity also of watching closely the enemy, to construct the necessary defenses. My estimate is that two thousand men are necessary to occupy the mountain and the eastern slope, and it would require two thousand men to work about ten days in order to put everything in condition to make a vigorous defense.

"The extent and rugged nature of the ground examined and the close growth of timber and brush rendered it impossible to take measures..."[10] The failure to mention the Confederate stockade on Maryland Heights would seem to indicate that Southern troops destroyed this fort when they evacuated Harpers Ferry on June 15, 1861.

General Patterson forwarded the engineer's report to Scott on June 29, commenting in part: "I am convinced the occupation of the heights would be attended with great labor, and unless a strong force be placed in Pleasant Valley to keep open communications with water, it cannot be held at this"

10. Newton to Maj. F. J. Porter, Asst. Adj. Gen., Hagerstown, June 25, 1861, Vol. II, pp.732-733.

\season by any command opposed... I arranged to-day to advance into Virginia on Monday."[11]

2. Harpers Ferry and Maryland Heights, July, 1861

On July 3, Federal troops, under the command of Colonel Charles P. Stone, 14th U.S. Infantry, of the Department of Washington, occupied Sandy Hook and Maryland Heights. On the 4th a few Confederates reappeared in the town and skirmishing took place across the Potomac between the opposing forces.[12] On the 6th, only one regiment was left at Sandy Hook and the remainder of the force was pushed on, via Williamsport, to join Patterson's army.[13]

On July 2 General Patterson's Federal army left Hagerstown, crossed the Potomac and on the 3rd occupied Martinsburg.[14] The campaign that led up to the first battle of Manassas was now underway. On July 14 Patterson reported: "I have arranged for the occupation of Harpers Ferry, opposite which point (at Sandy Hook) I have directed provisions to be sent."[15] On the 16th, the Union Army reached Bunker Hill, Va., and then, on the 17th, Patterson withdrew his force to Charlestown, where they remained until July 20, 1861.[16]

11. Patterson to Scott, June 29, 1861, Vol. II, p.732.

12. Correspondence of Col. Stone with E. D. Townsend, July 3-5, 1861, Vol. II, pp.120-121. An account of this action will be found in Mr. Sullivan's history.

13. Stone to Townsend, July 6, 1861, Vol. II, p.122.

14. Patterson to Townsend, July 3, 1861, Vol. II, p.157.

15. Patterson to Townsend, July 14, 1861, Vol. II, p.166; July 16, p.167, 170.

16. Patterson to Townsend, July 16-20, 1861, pp.166-172, Vol. II.

On July 21, his dwindling army, the time of the three-months' volunteers of which his army was largely composed was expiring, occupied Harpers Ferry.[17] General Patterson established his headquarters at the house of the Superintendent of the Armory (Armory Dwelling No. 25) on Camp Hill, while the Topographical Engineers, of which Strother was a member, pitched their tents near the dwelling of the late Paymaster of the Armory which was also located on Camp Hill (Armory Dwelling No. 32).[18]

On July 23, 1861, General Winfield Scott ordered Patterson to hold Harpers Ferry.[19] Patterson, replying on the 24th, stated: "I consider the occupation of Harper's Ferry with the small force here as hazardous, and as untenable against a formidable force with less than 20,000 men. The number now here is too small to hold Harper's Ferry, and too large to retreat with (no bridges existed across the Potomac) if forced to evacuate."[20] On the 25th Major General Nathaniel P. Banks arrived at Harpers Ferry and relieved General Patterson of his command.[21] During Patterson's occupation of the town, the local Historian Joseph Barry noted that the three-month men "helped themselves to most of what was left by the rebels."[22]

On July 25 or 26, Banks also submitted his opinion of the position at Harpers Ferry, writing: "Twenty thousand men is the least force that"

17. Patterson to Townsend, July 21, 1861, Vol. II, p.172.

18. D. H. Strother, in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, July, 1866, p.158, on Reel 39, V.6, p564.

19. Scott to Patterson, July 23, 1861, Vol. II, p.173.

20. Patterson to Scott, July 24, 1861-3 p.m., Vol. II, p.174.

21. General Orders No. 34, July 25, 1861, Vol. II, p.175; also pp.171-172.

22. Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, pp.126-127.

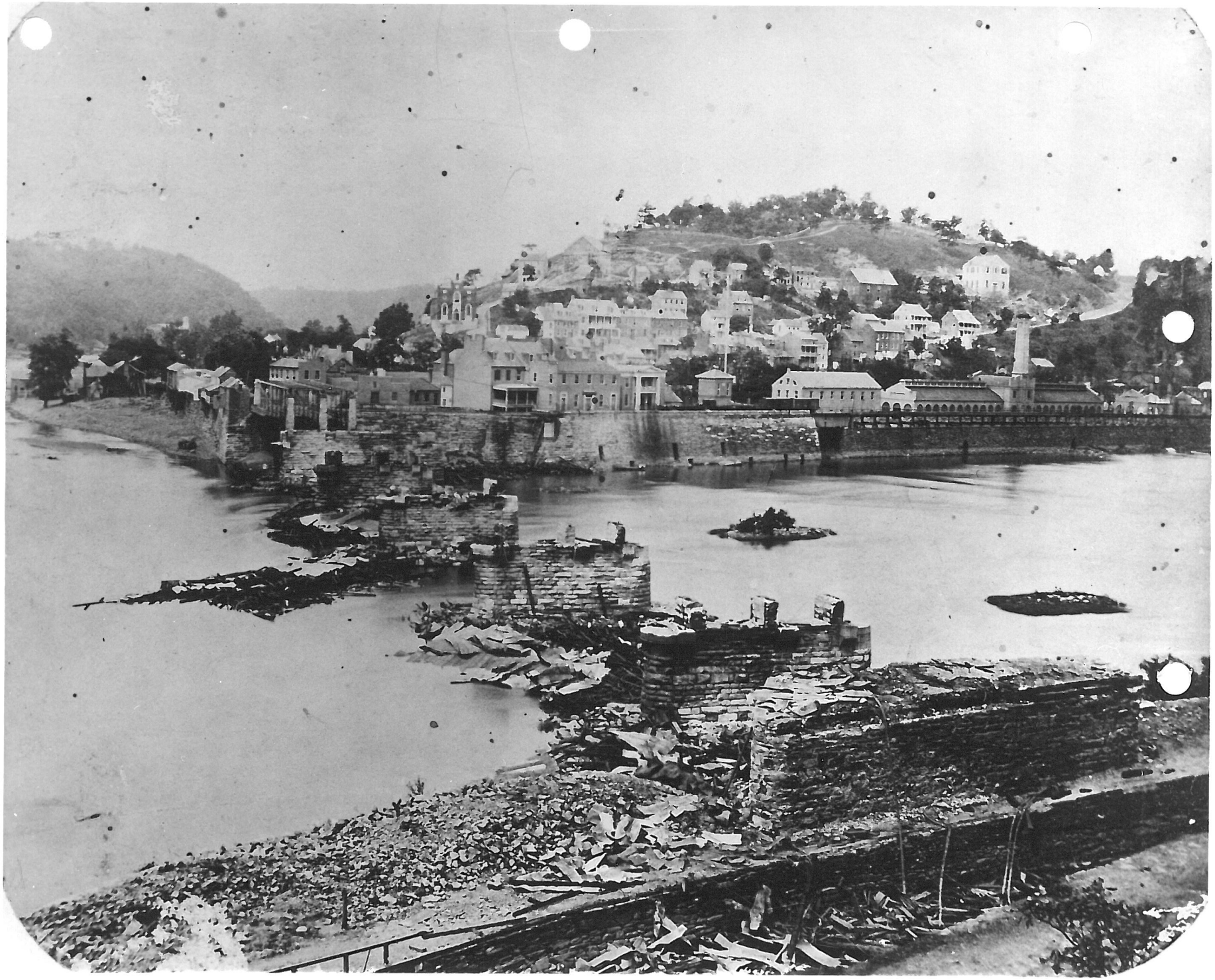
"Harper's Ferry-Photographed Immediately After Its Evacuation by the Rebels, by C. C. Bostwick. June 16-July, 1861"

Made from the Maryland Shore.
From the Library of Congress.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-240.

Buildings from left to right along the Potomac River wall: First, iron "Winchester" span of the B&O Potomac bridge, which the Confederates were unable to destroy on June 14, 1861; next the B&O Railroad Depot located on Wager Lot No. 1; then the Wager House Hotel, the large 3½ story building with a two story addition on its front to the right, located on Wager Lots 6, 7 and 8; next the two story B&O Potomac Restaurant, with a portico on its front, situated on Wager Lot No. 9; then the roof of the stone dwelling situated on Wager Lot 10. To the right of this is the brick B&O Water Tower, located in the U.S. Musket Factory yard. All of the above named structures were burned by Federal troops on February 7, 1862.

To the right of the water tower and on the river front, stand Musket Factory Bldg. No. 12, the Warehouse; next, Bldg. No. 13-the great Smith and Forging Shop. Note that in spite of the efforts of the Confederates to fire these two structures on June 14, that Bldgs. No. 12 and 13 still have their roofs intact and they apparently escaped severe damage. To the right of Bldg. 13 is Bldg. 14, the Annealing and Brass Foundry; then, Bldg. 15-the Proof House; and at the extreme right a portion of Bldg. 16-the Charcoal House. In the rear of Bldgs. 14, 15, and 16 can be seen sections of the great Armory Bell Tower and Bldg. 7 and 8-the Millwright Shop, Grinding Mill and Saw Mill. All of these latter set of structures were successfully fired by the Confederates on June 14, 1861.

Behind the town rises Camp Hill. The stone wall near the summit encloses Harpers Graveyard, in which the Confederates had batteries planted. Washington Street leads up Camp Hill at the right of the photo and a portion of Magazine Hill can be seen at the extreme right of the picture. (See NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2)



can hold this place against a probable attack. There are three points that must be held--Loudoun Heights, Maryland Heights, and the plateau (Bolivar Heights) beyond the village of Bolivar that commands the road to Winchester. If the enemy has possession of either one, it will command the town. If attacked with our present force we shall secure the Maryland Heights, which will make the town absolutely untenable by the enemy and cover our line of communication."[23] General Scott replied on the 27th and gave Banks permission to cross the Potomac and take up a position on Maryland Heights, if Banks deemed this move proper.[24]

On July 29th Banks reported that due to the departure of the three-months' men, his army at Harpers Ferry had been reduce to about six thousand men, and that, because the only means of communication with the Maryland shore was by a ferry which was likely to be made impassable at anytime by rains, he had decided to cross his troops and their more than 300 wagons over to Sandy Hook. Continuing, he further stated: "Yesterday (July 28) we moved the chief part of our troops across, taking a very strong position in Pleasant Valley, a little below Sandy Hook. Our troops still occupy the town (of Harpers Ferry), and we planted batteries on the plateau (on the west slope of Maryland Heights) opposite the town, and another on the summit of the Maryland Heights, to which there are good mountain roads. These will make the town of Harper's Ferry and the Loudoun Heights, on the south of the Shenandoah, absolutely untenable to the enemy, whether in large or small force. We are so placed that we can attack the enemy if he advances, support our batteries if assailed, prevent"

23. Banks to Townsend, received July 26, 1861, Vol. II, p.764.

24. Scott to Banks, July 27, 1861, Vol. II, p.765.

"the occupation of the town by the rebels, and secure against all chances our communication with our lines."[25]

On July 29 the Third Wisconsin Regiment erected an "Observatory" or signal tower on the summit of Maryland Heights, which was utilized by Union forces during the remainder of 1861.[26]

On July 31, 1861, Major General Banks transferred his headquarters from Harpers Ferry to the house of Mr. Jacob Miller (see Map I), on the bluff above Sandy Hook. The camp of Topographical Engineers was located in a peach orchard that adjoined the house.[27]

3. Harpers Ferry and Maryland Heights, August 1-17, 1861

Banks' army lay encamped at Sandy Hook and Maryland Heights from August 1 to August 17, 1861. On the 3rd, Captain R. Welby Carter, 1st Virginia Cavalry, a Confederate scout, informed General Joseph E. Johnston that there was only about one Federal regiment holding Harpers Ferry, and that the enemy had "made an excellent ford at that place, so that they can cross at any time, the water being no more than three feet deep." Continuing, he stated: "At Sandy Hook, just below, there are two encampments... They are all on the Maryland side, except those at Harper's Ferry... Doubleday has a large gun and, I think, part of his battery on the Maryland Heights opposite Harper's Ferry..."[28] On the 6th, Banks reported: "We have now nearly"

25. Banks to Townsend, July 29, 1861, Vol. II, p.767.

26. Cook, Benjamin F., History of the 12th Massachusetts Volunteer (Webster Regiment), Boston, 1882, p.25; on Microfilm Reel 39, V.7, p.607; also Report of Maj. Albert J. Myers, Chief Signal Officer, U.S.A., of operations for period August 14, 1861, to March 23, 1862, O.R.S.I, Vol. V, p.74; Banks to Marcy, December 17, 1861, Vol. LI, Part I, p.512.

27. Strother, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Sept., 1866, pp.411-412; Barry, Strange Story of Harper's Ferry, p.128.

28. Carter to Johnston, Aug. 3, 1861, Vol. LI, Part II, p.211.

"12,000 men, and the regiments are rapidly improving in discipline and drill."[29]

During this period Banks held Harpers Ferry with one regiment, two more regiments were posted on Maryland Heights, and the remainder of his command were camped in Pleasant Valley, to the east of that mountain.[30] On August 13 General Winfield Scott gave Banks permission to withdraw his batteries and troops from Maryland Heights and Harpers Ferry "leaving a guard to observe the enemy, and to take such position with your army as you deem best, between Frederick and the Potomac and on either side of the Monocacy, to observe the enemy across the Potomac and protect the (C&O) canal."[31]

On August 17th Banks marched from Sandy Hook "for a position between the Frederick and the Potomac east of the Monocacy." One regiment, the 2nd Massachusetts, was left behind at Sandy Hook to observe Harpers Ferry and other regiments were also posted at Sharpsburg. Berlin, and Point of Rocks to guard the other crossings over the Potomac.[32]

About the first of August, 1861, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company begain rebuilding a wooden bridge across the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, but the work went slowly and with difficulty because of the high stage of the river. All construction was stopped on August 19 because of the withdrawal of Banks' army from that vicinity. On September 29, 1861, all of the new construction, with the exception of two wooden trestles adjoining the Maryland shore, were swept away by a flood.[33]

29. Banks to Townsend, Aug. 6, 1861, Vol. V, p.554.

30. Statement of Banks, Oct. 20, 1862, before Harpers Ferry Military Commission, Vol. XIX, Part I, p.756.

31. Scott to Banks, Aug. 13, 1861, Vol. V, p.560; see also Scott to Townsend, Aug. 15, 1861, p.562.

32. Banks to Townsend, Aug. 17, 1861, Vol. V, p.565; also D. H. Strother, in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Sept., 1866, p.413.

33. Annual Report of the B&O RR Co. for 1861, Reel 15, V.2, p.306.

CHAPTER III

HARPERS FERRY - A NO-MAN'S LAND, AUGUST 18, 1861, to FEBRUARY 25, 1862

1. The Town of Harpers Ferry, Civilian Life

From the departure of Banks' Army on August 17, 1861, until the re-occupation of the town by Federal Troops on February 25, 1862, Harpers Ferry was literally a no-man's land. Neither side made any effort to hold the town, but both Federal and Confederate patrols, each in their turn, moved back and forth through the village; numerous skirmishes and sniping occurred, which made life miserable for the civilian inhabitants that attempted to live in the town.[1]

On December 7, 1861, General Banks reported: "I returned last evening from a visit to Sandy Hook and Harper's Ferry. The town is a picture of desolation."[2] And Barry noted also: "All that winter--'61-'62--Harper's Ferry presented a scene of the utmost desolation. All the inhabitants had fled, except a few old people, who ventured to remain and protect their homes, or who were unable or unwilling to leave the place and seek new associations."[3]

Major destruction to the lower town occurred on February 7, 1862, when, after having been irked by continued Confederate sniping from this section of the village, Federal forces under the Command of Col. John W. Geary, 28th Pennsylvania Infantry, crossed the Potomac from the

1. See Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, pp.128-129 for Federal sniping from Maryland side into Harpers Ferry; pp.133-134, October fighting; 134-137-November troubles. These various events are described in Mr. Sullivan's "History of Harpers Ferry, 1861."

2. Banks to Brig. Gen. R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff, December 7, 1861, Vol. V, p.676.

3. Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, pp.139-140.

Maryland shore and burned the Wager Ferry Lot section of Harpers Ferry.

Destroyed by this fire were the commercial structures and hotels located on Wager Lots No. 1 to 10 (see 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 1), among which were the Wager House Hotel, the B&O's hotel, depot, ticket office, and water tower, the latter structure being located in the Musket Factory yard. Also burned were 38 panels, 570 feet in length, of the woodwork on the double track iron railroad trestling of the B&O that ran along the river front from the bridge site into the Musket Factory yard.[4]

2. Maryland Heights and Plans to open the Railroad, December, 1861

In December, 1861, Banks' division was encamped for the winter at Frederick, Maryland. By December 7th, the C&O Canal had been opened to navigation from the west to Georgetown and General Banks was also beginning to consider the feasibility of re-opening the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from Harpers Ferry to the west. He thought this could be done, but pointed out that "it will require the whole force of our division to protect the work."[5]

On the 17th Banks again returned to the problem of reconstructing and defending the railroad from Harpers Ferry west, writing:

"There are three positions, all outside the town, the possession of all of which is indispensable to its defense. First Maryland Heights; second, Bolivar Heights; third Loudoun Heights. When in Sandy Hook I constructed a military road [probably Road A, B, and D on Map I] across"

4. Annual Report of the B&O RR Co. for 1862, Reel 15, V.2, p.321. Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, p.138. Also Gen. T. J. Jackson to Gen. J. E. Johnston, C.S.A., Feb. 12, 1862, Vol. V, pp.1068-1069.

5. Banks to R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff, Dec. 7, 1861, Vol. V, pp.676-677.

the face of the mountain (marked by a red line on the sketch (this sketch has been lost)) upon which artillery could be easily moved from the base of the mountain on one side to the foot on the other. On the face in front and on the line of the summit are fine plateaus for artillery. Two or three pieces of heavy artillery will command the town and sweep measurably all the roads leading to it, as the turnpike to Charlestown, the road leading to Leesburg (the Harpers Ferry-Hillsborough turnpike, leading around the northern base of Loudoun Heights), and the mountain road (the Pipertown road up the west side of Loudoun Heights) from Keys' Ferry to Loudoun Heights, and to Harper's Ferry across the Shenandoah. A sufficient number of men to man the guns would be all the force required on these (Maryland) heights. But to hold the Maryland Heights we must also hold the Loudoun Heights, which are of the same elevation (this was not accurate as Maryland Heights is higher than Loudoun Heights) on the opposite side of the river and within cannon range. Six hundred men, I am advised, in possession of these (Loudoun Heights) by proper defense, can hold them--a thousand men certainly would do it. Bolivar Heights, which make the base of the triangle and over which any attack upon Harper's Ferry is likely to be made, held by a regiment and covered by artillery on the Maryland and Loudoun Heights, could hold them against any probably assault. The signal tower on Maryland Heights commands a view of the whole country, and no advance of troops could be made unless in night-time, without notice, with these positions well defended. I do not think there is any serious difficulty in reconstructing and protecting the railway there... The greater difficulty will be found, I apprehend, at or near Martinsburg..." But, Banks continued, "With sufficient artillery, the bridge and the rolling-stock

"of the railroad, and our men well intrenched in front of Martinsburg, I think we could hold and defend the line of the railway with our present force against any assaults of the enemy, permanently posted at Winchester, Leesburg, or vicinity..."[6]

The Corps of Engineers also inspected Harpers Ferry in December to determine the feasibility of throwing pontoon bridges across the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers at that point. Their findings were favorable and in the case of the Potomac, they recommended that the proposed bridge, which would be about 800 feet long, should be located at a point about 100 yards above or west of the remains of the B&O Bridge, and the landing of the bridge, on the Virginia shore, was to enter the Musket Factory yard through the old Boat Landing opening in the high stone river wall.[7]

3. January-February 24, 1862, Plans for an Advance

In January, 1862, Banks continued to hold Sandy Hook, garrisoning that village with two companies of cavalry, six companies of infantry, and two guns.[8] Further studies were also made for constructing a troop bridge over the Potomac and the engineers recommended for this purpose the construction of batteaux, 31 feet in length and four feet in width, built of white pine, to support a plank bridge.[9] Chief Engineer J. G. Barnard also inspected Harpers Ferry and recommended it as "the best place to cross."[10]

6. Banks to Marcy, Dec. 17, 1861, Vol. LI, Part I, pp.511-512.

7. C. E. Babcock, Corps of Engrs., to Marcy, Dec. 26, 1861, Vol. V, pp.692-3.

9. D. D. Perkins, Chief of Staff, and Capt. James W. Albert, Topographical Engineers, to Banks, Jan. 20, 1862, Vol. V, pp.705-706.

8. Banks to Maj. Gen. McClellan, Commander-in-Chief, Jan. 18, 1862, p.705.

10. Barnard to Col. A. V. Colburn, Asst. Adj. Gen., Feb. 1, 1862, Vol. V, p.712.

On February 11, 1862, Banks informed General McClellan that his force at Frederick was ready for the advance into Virginia, adding: "The state of the roads constitutes no insuperable difficulty in our way... We can occupy Harper's Ferry at any moment now, and I do not doubt, with the co-operation of General Lander, that we can occupy Winchester and Leesburg by the 1st of March. The enemy has not been in worse condition, and our troops never in better, than at this time...

"In view of the immediate opening of the [B&O Railroad] road," Banks continued, "of the occupation of the country through which it passes, or the repulse of the left wing of the enemy on the Potomac, I think an immediate occupation of Harper's Ferry and a vigorous concentrated movements of the columns from Harper's Ferry, Williamsport, Hancock, and Cumberland or Romney upon Winchester would be advisable. Success could hardly fail us, possibly without a battle; but if a fight should occur we shall hardly find the enemy in worse or our troops in better spirits..."[11]

On February 23 Banks informed McClellan: "...If the pontoon train arrives to-morrow we shall occupy Harper's Ferry to-morrow night, and be on the road to Charlestown in the morning. It is expected Colonel Geary [Col. John W. Geary, 28th Pennsylvania Infantry] will seize the [Loudoun] heights to-night. If the bridge is thrown across by Captain Duane we shall cross at night with 6,000 men, one regiment of cavalry, and 16 pieces of artillery..."[12] All plans and preparations had been completed and Banks' Army was now ready for the advance.

11. Banks to McClellan, Feb. 11, 1862, Vol. LI, Part I, pp.529-530.

12. Banks to Gen. R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff, Feb. 23, 1862, Vol. V, p.726; also Banks to Marcy, Feb. 22, 1862, pp.725-726.

CHAPTER IV

HARPERS FERRY IN FEDERAL HANDS, FEBRUARY 25 - MAY 25, 1862

1. The Occupation of Harpers Ferry, February 24-27, 1862

On the morning of February 24th, in spite of bad weather, Col. Geary's men succeeded in rigging a rope ferry across the Potomac. Six men were lost in this process, by the upsetting of the first skiffs sent across. The weather then became so violent and the river rose so rapidly that day that Geary was able to cross only 8 men to the Virginia shore and the storm continued to rage through the night. On the morning of the 25th, a calm ensued and Geary succeeded in crossing eight companies of infantry and one section of artillery. These troops were at once established as a picket line beyond Bolivar. He also established communications across the Shenandoah on the 25th and placed five companies on the summit of Loudoun Heights, where these troops drove off Confederate cavalry from that position.[1]

The pontoon train for the Potomac arrived on the night of the 24th, coming up from Baltimore via the B&O Railroad.[2] Major General George B. McClellan also arrived at Sandy Hook on February 26 for the purpose of supervising the crossing of the main body. The general made his headquarters in a large green passenger car of the B&O Railroad, which was located on a siding in Sandy Hook.[3]

Private Warren Lee Goss, who witnessed the event, described the

1. Report of Col. John W. Geary, 28th Pa. Inf., May 14, 1862, Vol. V, pp.511-512.

2. D. H. Strother, MS Journal, Feb. 25, 1862.

3. McClellan to Sec. of War Stanton, Feb. 26, 1862-10:20 P.M., Vol. V, p.727. Headquarters in Strother's Journal, Feb. 27, 1862.

construction of the pontoon bridge on February 26 as follows:

"As early as 9 o'clock about one hundred men came down opposite the ferry, just above the old bridge, and broke into little groups, in military precision. Four or five with spades and other implements improvised a wooden abutment on the shore; another party rowed against the stream, moored a scow, and let it drift down until it was opposite the wooden abutment; then a party of ten advanced, each two men carrying a claw-balk, or timbers fitted with a claw, one of which held the gunwale of the boat, the other the shore abutment. Twenty men now came down on the left with planks, one inch think, six inches wide, and fifteen feet long, narrowed at each end; these they laid across the five joists or balks, and returned on the right. Another party meanwhile moored another boat, which dropped down-stream opposite the one already bridged; five joists, each twenty feet long, were laid upon the gunwale by five men; these were fastened by those in the boat, by means of ropes, to cleats or hooks provided for the purpose on the side of the scows, which were shoved off from shore until the shore end of the balk rested upon the shore boat. These were covered with planks in the same manner as before; side-rails of joists were lashed down with ropes to secure the whole. So one after another of the boats was dropped into position until a bridge several hundred feet long reached from the Maryland to the Virginia shore, for the passage of artillery and every description of munitions for an army. Owing to the force of the current, a large rope-cable was stretched from shore to shore fifty feet above the bridge, and the upper ends of each boat was stayed to the cable by a smaller rope. The rushing bent the bridge into a half-moon curve. The clock-like precision with which these men worked showed them to be the drilled engineers and pontoniers of the regular army." 4

At 10:20 p.m. on the night of February 26, General McClellan informed Secretary of War Stanton: "The bridge was splendidly thrown by Captain Duane, assisted by Lieutenants Babcock, Reese, and Cross. It was one of the most difficult operations of the kind ever performed... We have 8,500 infantry, 18 guns, and two squadrons of cavalry on the Virginia side. I have examined the ground and seem that the troops are in proper positions and are ready to resist any attack. Loudoun and Bolivar Heights, as well as the Maryland Heights, are occupied by us...

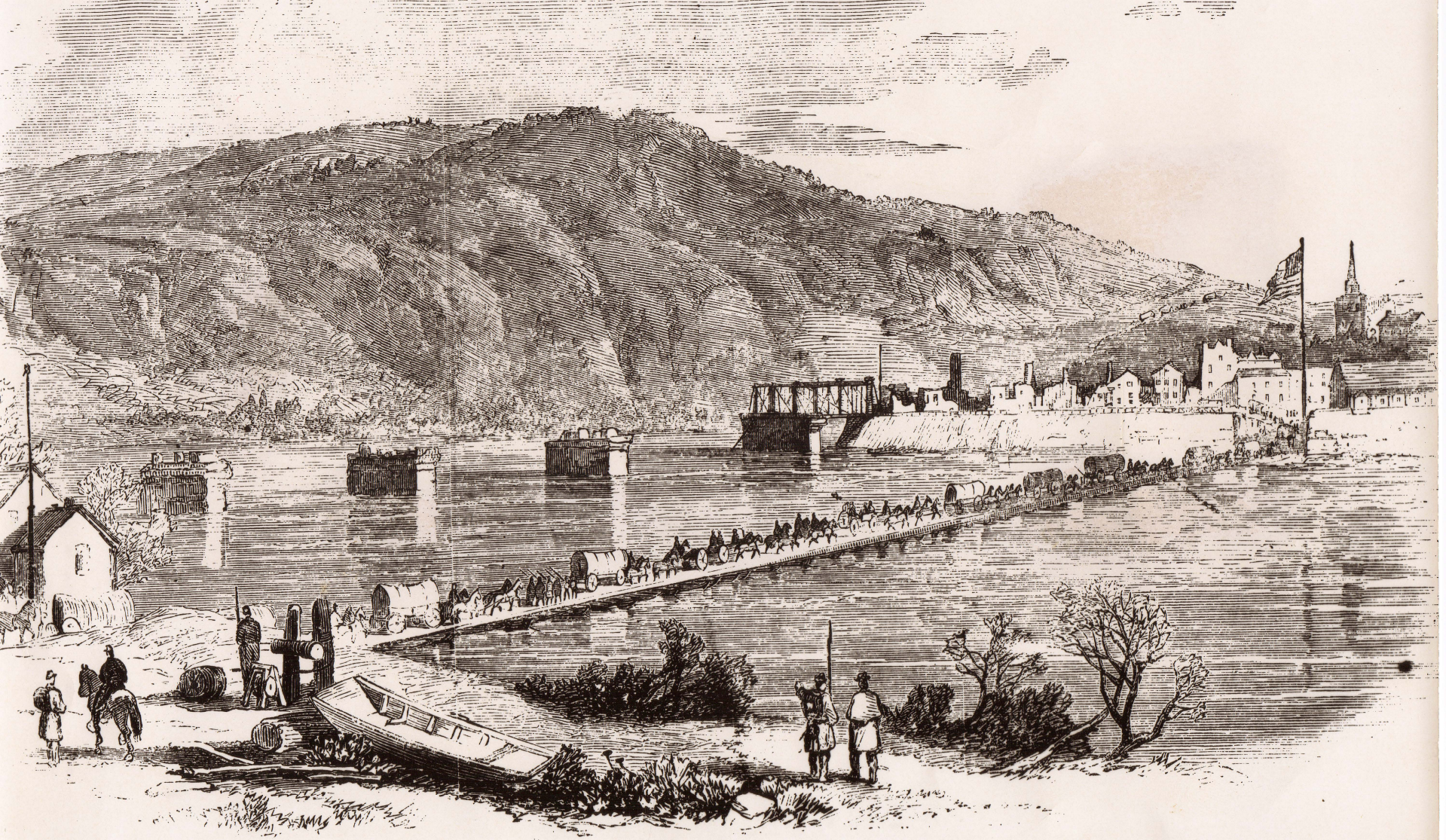
"Colonel Geary deserves praise for the manner in which he occupied Virginia... We will attempt the canal-boat bridge [over the Potomac]

4. Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, New York, 1956, Vol. II, pp.155-157.

"The War in Virginia - General Banks's Division of the Army of the Potomac Crossing the Potomac River, at Harper's Ferry, February 26th (1862).-From a sketch from our Special Artist, Mr. C. S. Hall."

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-457.

The accurate sketch shows the Federal pontoon bridge crossing the Potomac River in the center. To the left of the print rises Loudoun Heights, with Federal wagon trains moving up the Pipertown road on the west slope of this mountain. The ruined piers of the B&O Railroad Potomac bridge stands in the river; this wooden bridge was burned by the Confederates on June 15, 1861. On the far (Virginia) side of the river the single iron "Winchester" span of the old bridge still stands. To the right of this span can be seen the ruins of the Wager Ferry Lot buildings that were burned by Federal troops on February 7, 1862. To the right of the American flag, at the right of the print, can be seen a portion of Musket Factory Bldg. No. 12-the Warehouse.



THE WAR IN VIRGINIA—GENERAL BANKS'S DIVISION OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC CROSSING THE POTOMAC RIVER, AT HARPER'S FERRY, FEBRUARY 26TH.—FROM A SKETCH BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST, MR. C. S. HALL.

"to-morrow. The spirit of the troops is most excellent. They are in the mood to fight anything. It is raining hard, but most of the troops are in houses."[5]

At 3:30 p.m. on February 27, McClellan reported: "The lift-lock [of the C&O Canal at Harpers Ferry] is too small to permit the canal-boats to enter the river, so that it is impossible to construct the permanent bridge, as I intended. I shall probably be obliged to fall back upon the safe and slow plan of merely covering the reconstruction of the railroad. This will be done at once, but will be tedious... The wiser plan is to rebuild the railroad bridge [at Harper Ferry] as rapidly as possible..."[6]

Additional Federal troops continued to cross the Potomac pontoon bridge on the 27th and were quartered in the empty houses in the town.[7] On the 28th Banks' army marched into Charles Town.[8]

Troops left to hold Harpers Ferry were moved out of their quarters in the houses on March 2nd and pitched their tents on Bolivar Heights. On March 3rd troops were also moved across the Shenandoah, via one boat and a rope ferry, to the summit of Loudoun Heights, where the soldiers proceeded at once to erect brush huts for their camps.[9]

5. McClellan to Stanton, Feb. 26, 1862-10:20 p.m., Vol. V, p.727.

6. McClellan to Stanton, Feb. 27, 1862-3:30 p.m., Vol. V, p.728.

7. Ward, Joseph R. C., History of the 106th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, 2nd Brigade, 2d Division, 2d Corps, 1861-1865. Philadelphia, 1906, p.24, on Microfilm Reel 38, Vol. 1, p.12.

8. McClellan to Stanton, Feb. 28, 1861, Vol. V, p.730, also McClellan to Stanton, Feb. 28, 1862-12:30 p.m., pp.730-731.

9. Ward, Joseph, History of the 106th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, p.26. Reel 38, Vol. I, p.13.

Harpers Ferry was again in Union hands and was to remain so until September 15, 1862.

2. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, March 4-May 25, 1862

On March 4, 1862, a force of B&O employees, under the direction of W. C. Quincy, then Acting Master of Road, with Thomas Heskett, Supervisor of Bridges and others, reported to Harpers Ferry and began repairing the line westward from Harpers Ferry. Because of the great depth of the water and the swiftness of the current, it was found impossible to raise the trestles in the Potomac bridge. In spite of these difficulties, large cables were stretched across the river, by means of which the heavy timbers to restore the line of woodwork 1620 feet in length upon the original iron trestling through the Musket Factory yard, and also to trestle the Tilt Hammer bridge at the west end of the yard, with iron rails, track fixtures and cross-ties, were rafted over the river, and hoisted to their positions. On March 5 a second attempt was made to work on the Potomac bridge, but freezing weather and heavy rains defeated their efforts until the 11th. On March 12, work was resumed on the Potomac bridge and pressed with all possible energy until the night of the 18th, when the first locomotive in nine months, went over into Harpers Ferry. On the 19th, the track was completed on the iron trestling through the Musket Factory yard and by March 29, 1862, the entire line of B&O from Harpers Ferry west was reopened.[10]

On April 22 a great flood swept out 4½ spans of wooden railroad bridge at Harpers Ferry and thus destroyed the bridge for the second time since June 14, 1861. Because of the continued high water, the rebuilding of the

10. Annual Report of the B&O RR Co. For 1862, Reel 15, Vol. 2, p.324; also McClellan to Garrett, March 7, 1862, Vol. LI, Part I, p.548; Garrett to Stanton, March 18, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, p.6.

bridge could not be started until April 28, and the structure was completed on May 4, 1862.[11] On May 25, 1862, the railroad bridge at Harpers Ferry consisted of a single-track wooden trestled bridge over the Potomac, with no road or wagonway on the structure for the use of the troops or wagons.[12]

3. Winchester and Potomac Railroad, March 18-May 25, 1862

On March 13, 1862, Banks' army corps occupied Winchester, Virginia, and the general issued orders to repair the Winchester and Potomac Railroad and telegraph from that town to Harpers Ferry.[13] On the 18th, the same day that the first B&O train passed over the Potomac Bridge, the president of the B&O, John W. Garrett informed the Secretary of War: "Our engineer advises that our men have rendered secure three bridges and trestled another on the Winchester road, and that trains will run to Charlestown to-morrow."[14] On March 24, 1862, the United States formally took possession of the W&O RR as a military railroad and also entered into an agreement with the B&O Railroad Company, under which the B&O was to repair and operate the Winchester line.[15] The repaired Winchester railroad was then used to supply Federal troops in the Shenandoah Valley. The line, due to its original light construction and use of a strap flat rail, was not too reliable. On April 12, for example, Banks informed Stanton: "The Winchester Railway has become utterly unserviceable. The road-bed spreads

11. Annual Report of the B&O RR Co. for 1862, Reel 15, Vol. ", pp.325-326; Official Records, Vol. XII, Part II, pp.98-99, 105, 186-187.

12. Journal of D. H. Strother, May 30, 1862, p.118.

13. Banks to Marcy, Chief of Staff, March 13, 1862, Vol. V, p.746.

14. Garrett to Stanton, March 18, 1862-received 9:10 p.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.6.

15. Stanton to McClellan, March 27, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, p.22; also Stanton to B&O, March 24, 1862, Reel 15, Vol. III, p.493.

so that a heavy train cannot pass."[16]

4. Pontoon Bridge and Military Matters, March 21-May 25, 1862

On March 21, 1862, McClellan directed that the pontoon bridge train that had been used on February 26, be returned to Washington.[17] Thus on May 25, 1862, communications between Harpers Ferry and the Maryland shore were limited to one boat on a rope ferry and the wooden single track railroad bridge.[18]

On March 17, Col. Dixon S. Miles, U.S. Second Infantry, commanding the Railway Brigade, was ordered to report to Major General John A. Dix, commanding at Baltimore.[19] On the 28th, McClellan assigned Miles the duty of protecting the line of Baltimore and Ohio Railway from Baltimore to the western limits of the Department of the Potomac and directed Miles to establish his headquarters at Harpers Ferry.[20] On May 20, 1862, Col. Miles reported that a total of 5,360 officers and men, of whom 4,993 were present, comprised his command. Of this number, he held Harpers Ferry with only three officers, including himself.[21]

In relation to civilian life at Harpers Ferry in the period February 25 to May 25, 1862, Joseph Barry noted: "The place, of course, now became very important as a base of supplies for the Union troops, and the great

16. Banks to Stanton, April 12, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, p.70.

17. Marcy, Chief of Staff, to Gen. John Sedgwick, March 21, 1862, Vol. XI, Part III, p.27.

18. D. H. Strother's Journal, May 26, 1862, p.114.

19. Special Orders No. 83-March 17, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, p.5; also pp.25-26, March 28, 1862.

20. Special Orders No. 95, March 29, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, pp.30-31.

21. See May 20, 1862 return for the Railroad Brigade, Appendix I of this report.

"number of soldiers who were stationed there at this time and the many civilian strangers who daily arrived to visit friends in the army, threw new life into the town. Besides, many of the old citizens returned to their homes, now comparatively safe, and accumulated snug little fortunes in providing small luxuries for the wearied soldiers and their friends."[22]

22. Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, p.141.

CHAPTER V

JACKSON ATTACKS HARPERS FERRY, MAY 25-31, 1862

On Thursday, May 22, 1862, a powerful Confederate Army of some 21,000 men and 48 field guns, led by Lieutenant General "Stonewall" Jackson, marched out of Luray, bound for Front Royal, Virginia.[1] His force was composed of his own and Major General Richard S. Ewell's divisions, and also the two brigades formerly under the command of Brigadier General Edward Johnson. Jackson's objective was a Federal army of some 6,076 men and 16 guns, under the command of Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, which was stretched from Front Royal to Strasburg, Virginia.[2] About 2 p.m. on the afternoon of the 23rd, Jackson's army swooped down on the Federal advance, some 1,063 men, which was encamped at Front Royal, and drove this force northward.[3] Jackson followed in hot pursuit, and on the 24th, alternately marching and fighting all day, raced Banks' army for possession of Winchester, to which point the Federal force commenced retreating on the morning of May 24.[4]

Telegraphing from Strasburg on the evening of May 23, Banks ordered Miles to forward immediately to Winchester all available troops at Harpers Ferry.[5] Miles acted the same evening, ordering his widely scattered forces;

1. Report of Lt. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, C.S.A., commanding the Valley District, of operations, May 14-June 17, 1862, April 10, 1863, Vol. XII, Part I, pp.701-702; also pp.717-718, 487; Part III, pp.851, 828-829. For organization and strength of this army see Appendix I of this report, under date May 25-31, 1862.

2. Banks to Stanton, May 21, 1862, Vol. XII, Part I, p.523, 559.

3. Jackson's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.702, also p.559.

4. Jackson's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.702, p.527-Banks to Lincoln, from Winchester-8 p.m.

5. Banks to Miles, May 23, 10 p.m., Vol. LI, Part I, pp.629-630.

namely, six companies of the 60th New York, four companies of the 1st District (Washington, D.C.) Regiment, and six companies of the First Maryland Regiment, Potomac Home Brigade, to be assembled at Harpers Ferry for this purpose.[6] On the morning of May 24, Miles reported that he had thrown up the 10th Maine regiment;[7] this regiment succeeded in joining Banks' army at Winchester at 11 p.m. that night.[8] But shortly before 4 p.m. on the afternoon of May 24, Miles reported that the 60th New York, First District, and First Maryland Regiment, Potomac Home Brigade, had not yet reached Harpers Ferry. Moreover, he reported: "I have but one company, Maryland Home Guard Cavalry, at Charlestown... A battalion of rebels could take this place, with all its ordnance. I cannot leave for Winchester until I have this place [Harpers Ferry] secure."[9]

As the scope of the crisis became clearer, Secretary of War Stanton worked desperately behind the lines to forward re-enforcements to Miles at Harpers Ferry, where these units were to be moved on the Winchester and Potomac Railroad to Banks at Winchester. At about midnight, on the 24th, Stanton telegraphed Banks that the 109th and 111th Pennsylvania regiments, and the First Maryland Cavalry, under the command of Brigadier General James Cooper, were boarding the trains at Baltimore and would leave shortly for Harpers Ferry.[10] Brigadier General Rufus Saxton was also ordered by

6. Miles to Stanton, May 23, Vol. XII, Part III, p.217.

7. Miles to Stanton, May 24, Vol. XII, Part III, p.225.

8. Col. John S. Clark to Stanton, May 25, 9 a.m., received 9:30 a.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.237.

9. Miles to Stanton, May 24, received 4:10 p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, pp.225-226.

10. Stanton to Banks, May 24, Vol. XII, Part I, p.528; Stanton to Dix, May 24-6:50, Vol. XII, Part III, pp.222-223, 227, Part I, p.626.

the Secretary of War to accompany these re-enforcements to Harpers Ferry and to assume command of them.[11]

1. Sunday, May 25, 1862, Battle of Winchester

After marching most of the night of the 24th, Jackson's army reached the heights overlooking Winchester early on the morning of May 25 and at about 4 a.m., launched a violent attack on Banks' force.[12] By 9 a.m., the defeated Federal army began retreating and reached Martinsburg at 2:40 p.m. that afternoon.[13] The Confederate cavalry, consisting of the 2nd and 6th Virginia and a small portion of Col. Ashby's men, under the command of Brigadier General George H. Steuart, pursued the Union troops to the vicinity of Martinsburg.[14]

During the early morning hours of the 25th, the First District Regiment arrived at Harpers Ferry and was dispatched by Miles to Winchester. The train arrived at this town just as Banks was leaving the place. The troops, therefore, immediately reboarded their train, losing two men as prisoners, and returned in the direction of Harpers Ferry.[15] From the time this train left for Winchester until about 9 a.m., Col. Miles held Harpers Ferry with only one company of the Potomac Home Brigade.[16]

11. Stanton to Saxton, May 24, Vol. XII, Part I, p.626.

12. Report of Jackson, Vol. XII, Part I, pp.704-705; Report of Banks, p.550.

13. Report of Jackson, Vol. XII, Part I, pp.705-706; Banks to Stanton, May 25, 2:40 p.m., p.528.

14. Jackson's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, pp.706-707; Cavalry reports, pp.730, 734.

15. Saxton to Pres. Lincoln, May 25, received 10:10 p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, p.630. Col. John S. Clark to Stanton, May 25, 9 a.m., received 9:30 a.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.237.

16. Report of Brig. Gen. Rufus Saxton, U.S. Vol., of Operations, May 25-June 1, 1862, June 2, 1862, Vol. XII, Part I, p.639.

Between 9 and 9:15 a.m., the trains carrying Generals Saxton and Cooper, with the 109th and 111th Pennsylvania regiments, and the 1st Maryland Cavalry, pulled into Sandy Hook.[17]

By 10:45 a.m., General Saxton had the 111th Pennsylvania loaded on a train and sent them on their way to Winchester. (The telegraph between Winchester and Harpers Ferry had been cut off at 7 a.m. and the officers commanding at Harpers Ferry did not yet know of Banks' retreat.) About the same time this regiment left, 600 men of the 60th New York arrived at Sandy Hook.[18]

About nnon, General Saxton informed Secretary of War Stanton: "Heavy firing was heard near Winchester this morning. to obtain reliable information is difficult; there are so many reports in circulation... Cavalry for scouting purposes is very much needed. The five companies here [of the 1st Maryland Cavalry] are in a shocking condition--horses not shod, and no saddles. The latter have arrived and will be issued at once and the scouts started. I fear it will be to-morrow before they will be ready." Saxton also stated that he was holding up the departure of the 109th Pennsylvania Regiment for Winchester until "I am satisfied it will be prudent to leave the railroad bridge unprotected. If the whole movement of the enemy is not a feint in force to cover a movement on Manassas," he noted, " there is a possibility they may move on this place."[19]

17. Clark to Stanton, May 25, 9 a.m., (received 9:30 a.m.), Vol. XII, Part III, p.237; Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 10:45 a.m., Vol. XII, Part I, pp.626-627.

18. Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 10:45 a.m., Vol. XII, Part I, pp.626-627; Clark to Stanton, 10:45 a.m., (received 11 a.m.), Vol. XII, Part III, p.237; also Garrett to Watson May 25 (received 3:40 p.m.), p.235.

19. Saxton to Stanton, May 25, Vol. XII, Part I, p.627; Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 12:20 p.m., p.627.

At 2:15 p.m., the Third Maryland Volunteers arrived at Harpers Ferry and Saxton again informed Stanton: "All the reports I receive go to show that General Banks is hotly pressed and in full retreat toward Martinsburg. There is a panic, and so few troops here I am satisfied that it is not best to send troops to Winchester, as it is now in the possession of the enemy. The troops (six companies of the 8th New York Cavalry, 1½ companies of the 1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade and 1st District regiment) have left Charlestown, and are falling back upon this place. This was done before the (111th Pennsylvania) regiment I sent forward this morning reached there. I do not think, with our present force, it will be wise to reoccupy it. I shall send two regiments to occupy Bolivar Heights, a commanding position near this place, and the force is too small to follow up the force before which General Banks is retreating, and at the same time defend this place, which I shall do to the last."[20]

At 9:46 p.m. Stanton telegraphed Saxton that Brigadier General C. S. Hamilton was on a train bound for Harpers Ferry, with the purpose of joining Banks. "If he remains at Harper's Ferry," Stanton continued, "and can render any service I desire him to do so, but not to supersede you in command. By special assignment of the President you are assigned to the command of the forces and operations at Harper's Ferry, without regard to seniority of rank."[21]

Saxton informed President Lincoln that the entire command at Harpers

20. Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 2:25 p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, p.628; Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 3:20 p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, p.628; also Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 5:30 p.m. and 6 p.m., pp.628-629; Saxton to Lincoln, May 25, received 10:10 p.m., Part I, p.630.

21. Stanton to Saxton, May 25, 9:46 p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, p.630.

Ferry did not amount to more than 2,500 men and that of these, he had been unable to get more than 1,500 ready to march before noon that day. He also pointed out that there was no artillery whatsoever available at Harpers Ferry for the defense of that position. He also reported that information had been received at 9 p.m. that Banks' force was then crossing the Potomac at Williamsport into Maryland.[22]

Shortly after 10 p.m., on the night of May 25, Saxton summed up his situation at Harpers Ferry, stating: "Everything is now quiet. Picket out three miles on the road toward Winchester and Charlestown. Three companies of cavalry near Charlestown. Six companies of infantry on a command heights (Bolivar Heights) in front of the village. The remainder of the forces are guarding the bridge and the passage of the river. I have had all the contrabands (Negro slaves) at work moving the stores across the river, to provide against a possible contingency. I feel sure that I have made the best disposition of the forces here. To-morrow, if sufficient re-enforcements arrive, I shall occupy Bolivar Heights in force. Your assignment to the command of operations was received at 10 o'clock. I will do all in my power to merit your confidence."[23]

While these events were transpiring at Harpers Ferry, the War Department and the B&O Railroad were working desperately on the 25th to forward additional troops and artillery to Saxton. By 7:10 that night, the 3rd

22. Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 12:20 p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, p.627; Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 9:20 p.m., p.630; Saxton to Lincoln, May 25, received 10:10 p.m., p.630.

23. Saxton to Stanton, May 25, received 10:24 p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, p.631.

Delaware Regiment with 750 men, the Purnell Legion with 500 men, and two six gun batteries with five other guns of various sorts, had left Baltimore on a B&O train bound for Harpers Ferry.[24]

2. Monday, May 26, 1862

Having unfortunately been forced to fight a battle on Sunday, Jackson halted his army near Winchester and observed the Sabbath on the 26th.[25] His troops were also no doubt exhausted by the constant marching and fighting that had occurred since May 22. The Confederate cavalry, under General Steuart, however, entered Martinsburg on the 26th, and also destroyed a B&O railroad bridge over Back Creek, at North Mountain Depot.[26]

About 5:30 a.m., on the morning of May 26, General Saxton informed Stanton: "Everything is quiet. The Third Delaware arrived this morning. No artillery yet. I shall keep the main body of troops on the Maryland side until the artillery arrives, with the exception of the three regiments in front of the town... There are great delays on the railroad. I have not been able to get any additional news from General Banks."[27] At 8 a.m. Mr. P. H. Watson, the assistant Secretary of War, arrived in Harpers Ferry and telegraphed: "Find 3,000 men, including Cooper's regiments, in a state of great demoralization, because of the terrible stories told by the runaways from Banks, who came straggling in..."[28]

24. Garrett to Stanton, May 25, received 7:10 p.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.236, pp.235-236, 239-240. Part I, p.629.

25. Jackson's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.707.

26. Report of Col. Thomas T. Munford, 2nd Va. Cavalry, of operations in May and June, 1862. February 26, 1863, Vol. XII, Part I, p.730.

27. Saxton to Stanton, May 26-received 6 o'clock, Vol. XII, Part I, p.633; Stanton to Garrett, May 26-6:40 a.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.250.

28. Watson to Stanton, May 26, received 8 a.m., Vol. XII, Part III, pp.248-249.

About 9 a.m., Saxton informed President Lincoln: "I have had as careful an estimate made of the force here as is possible at present. It amounts to 6,700 men. Many more are on the way. A portion of the artillery has arrived, including one light battery. No signs of the enemy yet."[29] Shortly thereafter, Assistant Secretary Watson again reported to Stanton: "I have set all the carpenters at work to plank the (single track Potomac railroad) bridge, so that teams and men, and, if need be, artillery, can cross, as well as cars. This work will be accomplished in two or three hours, rendering a repetition of Ball's Bluff impossible. The cannon are being placed in position."[30]

About 1:30 p.m., on the 26th, Saxton informed President Lincoln: "I can get no reliable information to-day of the locality of the enemy. Many reports are circulated that we are to be attacked at this place, and that they mean to force their way into Maryland by way of Harper's Ferry. Everything is quiet here now. I have not been able to communicate with General Banks yet. Have heard nothing of Jackson's movements, except a report that he was marching on this place."[31] Shortly thereafter, Mr. Watson also telegraphed Stanton: "Have just returned from a short reconnaissance toward Charlestown. No enemy about, and the people report none have been nearer to this point than 12 miles. The force that pursued Banks stopped their pursuit at Martinsburg, and, it is reported, returned toward Winchester, as they said, to obtain re-enforcement. I do"

29. Saxton to Lincoln, May 26, Vol. XII, Part I, p.632.

30. Watson to Stanton, May 26, received 9:20 a.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.249; Garrett to Stanton, May 26, p.251-received 11:10 a.m.

31. Saxton to Lincoln, May 26, received 2:10 p.m., Vol. 12, Part 1, pp.632-633.

"not anticipate an attack upon this place (Harpers Ferry) at present..."[32]

About noon on May 26th, Col. David H. Strother and Col. Clark left Sharpsburg, Maryland, and rode towards Harpers Ferry: "Night overtaking us at the 5 mile school-house (on the west side of Maryland Heights on the Antietam-Harpers Ferry road) as we passed through the forest." Strother wrote in his Journal, "we met a gang of men, women & children loaded with various bundles..." These it turned out, were refugees from Jefferson County, Virginia. "Where the road reaches the river," he continued, "we found the pickets and from thence to the rail road bridge we passed a whole brigade sleeping on the rocks so thickly strewn and packed that our horses could scarcely find room to pass. At the ferry we found no one and Col. (John S.) Clark undertaking to pass the boat over, I held the horses while he & the orderly pulled the rope. After some delay & risk from unskilfulness, we got over, disembarked & repaired to Headquarters on Shenandoah St. We found here Genl. Hamilton in citizens dress sent up as military adviser, Genl. Saxton and Col. Miles. Having briefly narrated our adventures, we found sleeping quarters. Mine was a sofa in the entry at Hamilton's Quarters also a boarding house..."[33]

Also arriving at Harpers Ferry that evening were 471 regulars of the 8th and 12th U.S. Infantry, under the command of Captain T. L. Pitcher. This unit had started from Philadelphia, bound for this destination, at 10:20 p.m. on the night of May 24th.[34]

32. Watson to Stanton, May 26, received 2:45 p.m., Vol. 12, Part 3, p.249.

33. Strother's MS Journal, May 26, 1862, p.114; published version slightly different in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1867, p.717; italics mine.

34. Stanton to Dix, May 25-12:55 a.m., Vol. 12, Part 3, p.239; Garrett to Stanton, May 26, received 10:10 a.m., p.251.

At 9 that night, Saxton reported: "Four companies of cavalry, which I had out in the vicinity of Charlestown, have just come in. They were followed for some distance this side of Charlestown by the rebels, and had one horse shot. The commanding officer of the party says that Jackson is in Charlestown, and is moving down here to attack us. I have Reynolds' (Captain John A. Reynolds' Battery L, 1st New York Arillery) battery in position, and expect to hold him in check if he should come. While I am satisfied the rebels are in Charlestown in some force, I believe that Jackson is not there."[35]

3. Tuesday, May 27, 1862

"Stonewall" Jackson's army rested a seconday on the 27th; the main body was still encamped in the vicinity of Winchester and his cavalry remained posted at Martinsburg.[36]

Returning from Frederick, Maryland, at 2 a.m., Mr. Watson telegraphed: "find it is the impression here that an attack will be made this morning about daylight, the cavalry scouts having brought the intelligence from Charlestown that Jackson said yesterday he would breakfast in Harper's Ferry this morning. I do not apprehend an attack, but if one is made it will find us unprepared to meet it. The officers are all tired and asleep. Nobody but the sentinels awake, and essential means of defense that ought to be going on to-night postponed until morning. The rule throughout this force is to do nothing that can be avoided, and nothing to-day that can be postponed until to-morrow. No harm is likely at this time to result"

35. Saxton to Stanton, May 26, received 9 p.m., Vol. 12, Part 1, p.633.

36. Jackson's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.707.

"from such state of things, and General Saxton promises in a short time to work out a reform. To-morrow I shall see that all the cavalry is formed into a scouting party..."[37]

At about 7 a.m., Saxton reported; "Everything is quiet. I shall put the greater portion of the forces here on Bolivar Heights, beyond Harper's Ferry, today, and extend my pickets as far as possible. Almost all of the regiments are new and not well instructed. Our movements are consequently slow. If they were old soldiers I would take Winchester in a very short time, and hold it. Cannot a large amount of transportation be sent here? I could use it to very good advantage."[38]

Watson again telegraphed that morning: "...In this neighborhood there is no force of the enemy, but a few squads of the enemy's light horse, whose families live here, have taken advantage of the general panic to revisit their homes. The forces sent here," Watson noted, "seem to be very deficient in officers. The 102d New York, which arrived this morning, had its colonel-Hayward--but neither lieutenant-colonel, major, quartermaster, nor commissary, these officers being on furlough... The forces here have no intrenching tools, neither have they shelter or tents sufficient for their protection from the dews, which are heavy, and exposures to which general miasmatic diseases of a very obstinate and malignant type..." Concluding, he also stated as Saxton had done, that if it was planned to move these troops up the valley to join Banks, then it would be necessary to equip these troops with means of transportation.[39]

37. Watson to Stanton, May 27-2 a.m., Vol. 12, Part 3, pp.261-262.

38. Saxton to Stanton, May 27, received 7:35 a.m., Vol. 12, Part 3, p.633.

39. Watson to Stanton, May 27, a.m., Vol. 12, Part 3, p.262.

Col. Strother, exhausted by his exertions during the three previous days, rested on May 27, "only riding forward once to Smallwood's hill [Bolivar Hills]." He then took up board and lodging with Alexander Kelley at the latter's house on High Street (Wager Lot No. 25).[40]

About 9 p.m., Saxton informed Stanton: "The enemy are in some force in the immediate vicinity of this place. I sent out two companies [of Col. Maulsby's 1st Maryland Regiment, led by Major Steiner] about dark this evening to scour the woods on Albion [Loudoun] Heights, back of the town, where it was reported the enemy had a body of cavalry. After proceeding about two miles they were fired upon [by dismounted rebel cavalry concealed in the bushes on both sides of the road]; one of our men [Sergeant Mehrling of Company I was] killed and one wounded."[41] Following this encounter, the patrol returned to Harpers Ferry.

About 9:30 p.m., Col. Miles informed the Secretary of War: "...by telegraph received this moment from agent of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Point of Rocks, refugees are passing there in great numbers from Virginia, who state that rebel cavalry are at Leesburg, Waterford, and other points in Loudoun, and requesting troops should be station there. Our troops in number foot up 8,158 for duty. None can be spared from here. Musket firing is this moment heard from our advanced pickets between this and Halltown."[42]

40. D. H. Strother's Journal, May 27, 1862, pp.114-115.

41. Saxton to Stanton, May 27, 1862-p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, pp.633-634; supplemented by data from Saxton's report, June 2, 1862, p.639; also Vol. XII, Part III, p.266.

4. Wednesday, May 28, 1862, Jackson Advances on Harpers Ferry

By the morning of the 28th, Lieutenant C. H. Daniels, of the U.S. Navy, had succeeded in putting one big nine-inch Dahlgren rifled gun and some boat howitzers in position at the Naval Battery, or "Battery Stanton" as General Saxton called it. This battery was located on the south end and west slope of Maryland Heights (see Map I). Lieut. Daniels opened early in the day with his big gun, and shelled the slopes of Loudoun Heights in the area where the Federal scouting party had been attacked the night before.[43]

On the morning of the 28th, General Saxton also ordered a reconnaissance in force to be made from Harpers Ferry towards Charles Town. This detachment, numbering about 1,000 men and commanded by Col. M. Schlaudecker, of the 111th Pennsylvania regiment, was composed of his regiment, six companies of the 1st Maryland Cavalry, under Major J. M. Deems, and two guns of Captain John A. Reynolds' Battery L, 1st New York Artillery.[44]

Col. Strother, the only officer present with the detachment "who had heard the crack of a hostile gun or had seen the face of an enemy," accompanied the force and acted as chief adviser to Col. Schlaudecker.[45]

As the Federal force neared Charles Town, they were opposed by Confederate cavalry, led by Col. Turner Ashby, who rode in the van of his troops, mounted upon a white horse. The Federal detachment succeeded in

42. Miles to Stanton, May 27, received 10 p.m., Vol. LI, Part I, p.640.

43. Report of Saxton, Vol. XII, Part I, p.639; Saxton to Stanton, May 28, received 1:05 p.m., Part III, p.266.

44. Report of Saxton, Vol. XII, Part I, p.639; Part III, pp.266, 271.

45. Strother Journal, pp.115-116; also in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1867, pp.717-719.

scattering Ashby's command, with the loss of two Union soldiers wounded, and at about noon occupied Charles Town.[46]

The Union troops then scattered through the village, out of control of the officers, and burned the market house and hall, and also looted stores, engaging in this activity for from two to three hours.[47]

On May 28, at 5 a.m., Brigadier General Charles S. Winder marched with his brigade, composed of the 4th, 5th, 27th and 33rd Virginia regiments, in all about 2,300 infantry, with Carpenter's battery of six guns and Poague's battery of four pieces, from their camp four miles north of Winchester, and took up the line of march for Charles Town, following the road that led through Summit Point.[48] On reaching a point about five miles from Charles Town, Winder received news that Federal troops, reported to number between four and five thousand men, had just occupied that village. This information was dispatched to General Jackson at Winchester. Jackson at once ordered General Ewell to march with re-enforcements to Winder's support. Winder, in the meantime, however, continued to move forward and advanced cautiously on Charles Town.[49]

Between 2 and 3 p.m., Winder arrived at Charles Town and launched

46. Ibid.; also Stanton to McDowell, quoting Saxton, May 28, Vol. XII, Part III, p.271.

47. Strother's Journal, pp.115-116; His family lived in Charles Town at this time and he secured soldiers and townspeople to put out the fire. The market house, however, was too far gone but they did succeed in preventing the fire from spreading to the rest of the village.

48. Report of Brig. Gen. C. S. Winder, commanding 1st Brigade, Valley District, of operations, May 23-June 9, 1862, dated June 15, 1862, Vol. XII, Part I, p.738, he states his brigade numbered 1,500 infantry; Jackson's Report, p.707; The 2nd Virginia Regiment, 758 men, of the 1st brigade, was left behind in Winchester as a Provost Guard.

49. Ibid.

an attack on the disorganized Federal troops that were scattered through the town. After a 20 minute skirmish, the Union troops were driven back through the village in the direction of Harpers Ferry.[50] Federal losses in this action amounted to one captain, eight men, and 10 horses of the 1st Maryland Cavalry captured, and the Confederates had one man of the 33rd Virginia regiment wounded by a shell.[51] On reaching the fairgrounds, which were located to the east of Charles Town, the Federal reconnaissance detachment was re-enforced by the arrival of the 60th New York, a squadron of cavalry, and the remaining two guns of Captain Reynolds' battery. Here the party halted, reorganized itself, and then made its withdrawal to Harpers Ferry in good order.[52]

On reaching Bolivar Heights, the reconnaissance force found the entire Federal army at Harpers Ferry drawn up in a line of battle that extended "along the crest of Bolivar Heights across the penninsula from the Potomac to the Shenandoah..."[53]

Shortly thereafter, a body of Confederate cavalry was seen occasionally emerging from a point of woods about two miles in advance of the Bolivar Heights position, a little to the left of the Charles Town turnpike. Clouds of dust were also visible in various directions, as if the enemy were advancing. Federal artillery thereupon shelled the woods to the front, but the enemy made no response. This ended the action for that

50. Full details of the skirmish are to be found in Strother's Journal and Article and in Winder's Report.

51. Saxton's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.639; Winder's Report, p.739.

52. Saxton's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.639; Strother's Journal, p.116.

53. Ibid.

day and the Union soldiers slept on their arms that night.[54]

General Winder had followed up the retreating Federal reconnaissance detachment as far as Halltown, but on viewing the Union line of battle on Bolivar Heights, he halted his brigade, posted his pickets at Halltown, and withdrew his main body to within one mile of Charles Town, where he camped for the night. At about dusk on May 28, General Ewell, with the re-enforcements from Winchester, also arrived at Charles Town and went into bivouack.[55]

At 5 p.m. on the afternoon of the 28th, Stanton telegraphed Saxton: "I have sent Brigadier-General (John P.) Slough to report to you for orders. You will find him a bold and able assistant. He goes by this afternoon train."[56]

5. Thursday, May 29, 1862, Jackson Tests the Union Position

On the morning of the 29th, the 5th New York Cavalry was sent out to reconnoiter in the direction of Halltown, but after proceeding only a short distance, they were fired upon by Confederate infantry and artillery, and driven back to camp. With this development, the Union forces were again formed in line of battle on Bolivar Heights, with Brigadier General James Cooper's brigade defending that portion of the ridge located to the right of the Charles Town turnpike, and Brigadier General John P. Slough's brigade holding the section situated to the left of the road. (See First Position on Map I.)

54. Saxton's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.639; Strother's Journal, p.116.

55. Winder's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.738; Jackson's Report, p.707.

56. Stanton to Saxton, May 28, 5 p.m., Vol. LI, Part I, p.641.

After two or three hours, the Confederates failing to make an appearance, another squadron of cavalry was sent out towards Halltown, but before reaching that village, they were suddenly fired upon by a battery occupying a position on the edge of the woods to the left of the Charles Town road. A body of Confederate cavalry and some infantry were also discovered stationed under the cover of the woods in a position to support their battery. Having developed the enemy position to this extent, the Federal cavalry retired to Bolivar Heights for a second time.[57]

Then, at about 3 p.m., Col. Strother noted in his Journal: The Confederate "pushed a reconnoissance toward Harper's Ferry, using artillery. As they approached within range of our position we opened with all our batteries. Artillerymen, guns, and all are quite new, and from unskillfulness or defective ammunition the firing was wretchedly bad. The shells burst midway in their flight--some immediately after leaving the muzzle of the gun; others tumbled into the fields without exploding. In case of an attack our light artillery will be of little service, I fear.

"While this practice was going on we observed dust rising between Charlestown and Halltown, indicating the advance of a large force, for the whole line of the road was marked by a continuous cloud. The horizon to the right, stretching from Charles Town to the Potomac River, was also obscured by rising dust; and another dusky line indicated the movement of a column toward the Shenandoah on our left. Meanwhile our troops had all moved out, and were ranged in order of battle behind the crest of the Ridge. In front of each regiment was a chaplain gesticulating and praying at the top of his voice. Without the slightest inclination to scoff I

57. Report of Saxton, Vol. XII, Part I, pp.639-649.

"can not say that I was favorably impressed with the exhibition. Perhaps a double jigger of whisky and a sharp military appeal would have been better calculated to make the men stand up to their work, especially at a time when 'the awfulness of a sudden entry into another world and their unpreparedness to face judgement' is too apt to get possession of their minds unsuggested. They were not put to the test, however, for the sun went down in peace, and the Generals, with their Staffs, returned to quarters."[58]

Assistant Secretary of War P. H. Watson, arriving at Harpers Ferry with additional artillery, at 3 p.m., also witnessed this event and informed Secretary of War Stanton: "The enemy was driving in our pickets when I arrived, and I went to the outposts to see what was going on. The enemy is in considerable force in this vicinity, and commanded by Jackson. Clouds of dust raised by his marching showed him to be coming from Charlestown to within about four miles of this place, when his forces turned off at right angles, both to the right and left; one portion toward the Shenandoah and the other toward the Potomac. He is evidently meditating an attack upon this place, and appears to be acting as if unconscious of the approach of our forces. His advance guard fired a few cannon-shots at our pickets about sundown without doing any harm and then retired. General Hamilton," Watson added, "is not wanted here. General Slough has made a favorable impression on all," he concluded.[59]

58. Strother, in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1867, pp.719-720; MS Journal, pp.117-118.

59. Watson to Stanton, May 29, received 11 p.m., Vol. XII, Part III, pp.285-286; also p.278. Part I, p.534 for time received.

As a result of this telegram, General Hamilton was assigned to other duties and ordered to return to Washington on the night of May 29. The general made his departure on the 30th.[60] Additional artillery and another regiment were also put in motion towards Harpers Ferry from Baltimore on the 29th.[61]

On May 29, the main body of Jackson's army had marched from Winchester to Halltown and by 4 p.m. was massed in front of the Federal positions on Bolivar Heights.[62] The 2nd Virginia regiment, of Winder's brigade, also crossed the Shenandoah River at Keyes' Ferry and took up a position on the summit of Loudoun Height, "with the hope of being able to drive the enemy from Harper's Ferry across the Potomac."[63] The Confederate cavalry and infantry under the command of Brigadier General George H. Steuart also complete a march from Martinsburg to Halltown that day.[64] Thus by nightfall of the 29th, the entire Confederate army under Jackson, some 21,000 men, was concentrated in front of Harpers Ferry.

On the evening of May 29 a Confederate deserater was brought into Harpers Ferry, examined and a council of war held to consider the information thus gained.[65] General Saxton reported of this council and its decision:

60. Stanton to Hamilton, May 29, 11:28 p.m., Vol. LI, Part I, p.643.

61. Stanton to Saxton, May 29, Vol. LI, Part I, p.643-afternoon.

62. Jackson's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.707.

63. Ibid., and Report of Col. Thomas T. Munford, 2nd Va. Cavalry, p.730; Portions of the 2nd Va. Cavalry were used to carry over the Shenandoah River the men of the 2nd Va. Infantry. Other portions of the 2nd Va. Cavalry were also present on the summit of Loudoun Heights on May 29-30.

64. Report of Munford, 2nd Va. Cavalry, Vol. XII, Part I, p.730; Report of Col. Bradley T. Johnson, 1st Maryland Infantry, C.S.A., of operations May 29-June 9, 1862, dated June 11, 1862, p.817.

65. Strother's Journal, p.118; also Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1867, p.720.

"Learning in the course of the evening from various reliable sources that the enemy...contemplated a flank movement--crossing the Potomac with one division above and another occupying Loudoun Heights, so as to command our naval battery and cut off our communications below Harper's Ferry, while the remaining force menaced us in front--it was determined to withdraw our troops from Bolivar Heights and take up a second line of defense on the height known as Camp Hill, immediately above the town of Harper's Ferry. The occupation of this inner line presented a twofold advantage; First, that being much less extended it could be held by a smaller force, the enemy from the nature of the ground being unable to bring into action a larger force than our own; secondly, that it would enable us to bring our naval battery on Maryland Heights to bear upon the enemy as they advanced down the declivity of Bolivar Heights into the valley which separates it from Camp Hill. They would thus be exposed for a considerable time to a heavy fire from this formidable battery, whose great elevation would enable it to throw shells directly over the heads of our own forces on Camp Hill into the faces of the advancing foe. With the force rendered by this contraction of our front available for other purposes it was deemed prudent to occupy the crest of the hill above the naval battery on the Maryland shore, to frustrate any attempt of the enemy to take this hill in the rear and turn our batteries against us.

"This movement having been decided upon, orders were immediately given for its prompt execution. This was about midnight. General Cooper's brigade was at once set in motion, and by daylight had succeeded in crossing the river and occupying the heights on the Maryland side. General Slough's brigade at the same time fell back to the new position on Camp Hill, and when morning dawned our Batteries (Companies K and L, of the First New York"

"Artillery), supported by a heavy force of infantry, were in position to command all the approaches in our front and flanks, the remainder of the infantry being posted as reserves along the brow of the hill, under cover of the town and houses. The weak portion of this [Camp Hill] line were subsequently strengthened by breastworks hastily erected."[66] (See Second Position on Map I.)

6. Friday, May 30, 1862, Jackson Feints

Col. Strother witnessed the crossing of the Potomac during the early morning hours of May 30, and noted: "There was a rope ferry, with a single scow, requiring an hour at least to cross, discharge, and return. In addition, the single track of the railroad bridge was floored with rough plank, forming a passage-way, without hand-rails or parapet, a thousand feet long, forty feet above the river, and about seven or eight feet wide. The infantry marched two abreast; the cavalry, dismounted, led their horses in single file; the artillery was pushed over by hand. Several horses got frighted and leaped over into the water; one, falling upon a railroad engine which lay otherthrown in the stream, was instantly killed. Strange to say, the other, striking deep water, swam ashore and were saved."[67]

There was also a panic among Col. Maulsby's 1st Maryland Regiment of the Potomac Home brigade, early on the morning of the 30th. This regiment had been assigned to duty on the night of the 29th in the town of Harpers Ferry. The regiment had been instructed to guard the arsenal, containing about 300 tons of ammunition, the quartermaster, and commissary stores,

66. Report of Saxton, Vol. XII, Part I, p.640.

67. Strother in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1867, p.720; also in his Journal, p.118.

to picket the streets leading to the country and the margins of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, to prevent the entrance or departure of spies, and also to give notice of any attempt of the enemy to cross the Shenandoah river into the town. "Being in town toward morning (of May 30)," Mr. Watson reported, "I noticed a body of men rushing in confusion toward the bridge, and on inquiring of some of them what was the cause of their hurry, and where they were going, they replied the enemy was attacking our men on the hill in overwhelming force and all were retreating into Maryland." Watson and Col. William P. Maulsby were unable to induce the men to return to their posts, and the regiment was placed on the Maryland side.[68]

After daylight on the morning of the 30th, Colonel Strother visited the Naval Battery on Maryland Heights, "mounting the steep and rocky road which led up to the Heights." Here he saw a battery comprised of one nine-inch Dahlgren gun and a number of ship howitzers, manned by a detachment of about 300 sailors. "The powerful battery," Strother noted, "commands the town of Harpers Ferry and all its approaches. Its fire rakes the summit and side of the Loudoun Mountain, and sweeps the crest of the Bolivar Ridge most effectually." The flank of the naval battery, at that time, was secured towards Sharpsburg by a brigade stationed on the road to that place and also by two regiments stationed onthe mountain supporting the battery.[69] (See Second Position on Map I)

Early in the afternoon, Strother also inspected Camp Hill: "AT the top of the ridge overhanging the town and crowned by the Superintendent's

68. Watson to Stanton, May 30, 11:55 a.m., Vol. XII, Part III, pp.296-297; Watson to Stanton, May 31, pp.303-304; Also Part I, pp.635-636.

69. Strother, Journal, p.118, also Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1867, p.720.

House
"(Armory Dwelling No. 25) I found our troops in force & engaged in throwing up intrenchments. Trees and hedges were cut down and some eight or 10 guns were in position." About 2,500 men, with two batteries, he estimated, were holding the Camp Hill lines.[70]

On the morning of the 30th, Major G. H. Gardner, with the 5th New York Cavalry, was sent to the front to feel the enemy's position and watch his movements. A short while later, he was re-enforced by a piece of artillery and 200 sharpshooters. The Confederates then opened upon his with a scattered fire of muskets along the whole line. The first fire of grape from the Federal guns, however, caused the enemy's skirmishers to fall back in disorder, but the Confederates then brought between four and six pieces of artillery into action and forced the 5th New York Cavalry to retire to Bolivar Heights.[71] At about 10:30 a.m., Mr. Watson reported: "Just returned from outposts, about 1½ miles off. The enemy is approaching with four guns, a large body of cavalry, and a column of infantry. Our pickets have run in. The forces here behave very badly. They are stampeded and are utterly unreliable... General Slough has the post of honor. He commanded on the Virginia side, and will do all that can be done with such troops as he has. General Saxton commands on the Maryland side... In the course of an hour we shall be able to ascertain with more certainty the force of the enemy, and whether he is making a feint or attacking in earnest. The second gun (at the Naval Battery on Maryland Heights) is nearly in position."[72]

70. Ibid.

71. Report of Saxton, Vol. XII, Part I, p.640.

72. Watson to Stanton, May 30, received 10:55 a.m., Vol. XII, Part III, pp.296-297.

About 1:45 p.m., Watson informed President Lincoln: "Enemy's skirmishers in small numbers have approached very close to our outposts, but the main body appears to have retired. No attack will now be made, I think, by the enemy. Our forces are posted, one-half on Bolivar Heights [actually Camp Hill], on the Virginia side, where they are intrenching, and the other half on the Maryland Heights. The second large gun is mounted on the Maryland Heights [These guns consisted of one 50-pounder Rifle and ~~one 100-pounder~~ two 9-inch Dahlgren guns]... The force we have here, although large in numbers, is useless for offensive purposes."[73]

About the middle of the afternoon of the 30th, Strother, standing on the Camp Hill line and looking towards Bolivar Heights, noted: "Small-woods on Old Furnace Ridge seemed deserted except by a [Federal] troop of cavalry and some loose infantry engaged in gathering up our camp equipage & tents left standing from the previous day. This looked ominous & I determined to see more of the matter. Riding forward to the ridge I met a lieutenant who asked me if I was going to draw the enemy's fire. He said further they had driven us from the ridge and were in force on the opposite ridge [to the west of Bolivar Heights] towards Halltown & about 1500 yards distant... I now perceived that the fire had ceased and that all our men were behind the hill under cover. Riding to the top I found some stragglers covered by bushed obscuring the enemy. As soon as I appeared on the crest they [the Confederates] commenced loading their guns & ranging them. I saw their artillery on either side of the turnpike road and several hundred infantry lying along a fence in the edge of the wood which crowned the hill. Presently their guns opened. Half a dozen"

73. Watson to Lincoln, May 30, received 2;15 p.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.297.

"shots were fired before they got my range... They used six guns & their practice was good. Satisfied with this reconnoissance I returned to the Ferry & saw a number of men (Confederates) on the crest of the Loudoun Heights standing on the old block houses."[74]

At 7 p.m., on the 30th, in a shower of rain, the Confederates advanced in an attack on Bolivar Heights, with infantry, cavalry and nine field pieces.[75] This assault was made by Brigadier-General George H. Steuart's brigade. Sharpshooters of the 1st Maryland Regiment (Confederate) and Captain Cutshaw's battery cleared the heights of Federal skirmishers and then occupied Bolivar Heights, capturing in the process the Federal tents left standing there.[76] Twice skirmishers of this force pushed to within 300 yards of the breastworks on Camp Hill, but where driven by volleys from General Slough's men.[77] One Union soldier was killed in this fighting.

General Saxton described the scene, writing: "About dark on Friday evening, in the storm, General Slough opened upon them from Camp Hill with (Capt. L.) Crounse's and part of (Capt. John A.) Reynolds' battery (Batteries K and L of 1st New York Artillery), and Lieutenant Daniels from Battery Stanton, on Maryland Heights. The scene at this time was very impressive. The night was intensely dark; the hills around were alive with the signal-light of the enemy; the rain descended in torrents; vivid flashes of lightning"

74. Strothers Journal, pp.118-119, also Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1867, p.720.

75. Saxton to Stanton, May 31, received 8:45 a.m., Vol. XII, Part I, pp.634-635; Lincoln to McDowell, May 30, 1862-9:30 p.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.292.

76. Report of Col. Johnson, 1st Maryland, Vol. XII, Part I, p.817.

77. Saxton to Stanton, May 31, received 8:45 a.m., Vol.XII, Part I, pp.634-635.

"illumined at intervals the grand and magnificent scenery, while the crash of thunder, echoing among the mountains, drowned into comparative insignificance the roar of our artillery. After an action of about an hour's duration the enemy retired. He made another unsuccessful attack at midnight with regiments of Mississippi and Louisiana Infantry (If this information is accurate, then Trimble's and Taylor's Brigades of Ewell's Division were involved in the attack.), and after a short engagement disappeared. Signal-lights continued to be seen in every direction."[78]

The Second Virginia Regiment, Infantry, and a portion of the 2nd Virginia Cavalry, occupying Loudoun Heights on May 29 and 30, "were shelled nearly all night, and (the cavalry) had had nothing for men or horses to eat for 24 hours."[79]

While these events had been taking place at Harpers Ferry, Union forces under Shields, moving from Fredericksburg, and Fremont from South Branch, were attempting to concentrate their forces in Jackson's rear, and thereby cut off his retreat up the valley. "To avoid such a result," Jackson reported, "orders were issued for all the troops, except Winder's brigade and the cavalry (led by General Steuart), to return to Winchester on the 30th. Directions were given to General Winder to recall the Second Regiment from Loudoun Heights, and as soon as it should return to its brigade (Winder's) to move with its command, including the cavalry, and rejoin the main body of the army."[80]

78. Report of Saxton, Vol. XII, Part I, pp.640-641.

79. Report of Col. Munford, 2nd Va. Cavalry, Vol. XII, Part I, p.730; also Saxton to Stanton, June 1, 8 p.m., Vol. XII, Part I, p.638.

80. Jackson's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.707.

Jackson's main body thus began withdrawing before Harpers Ferry on the evening of May 30, covered by both the darkness and the storm, and the evening attack on the Camp Hill lines was therefore undoubtedly a feint to further assist in concealing the retreat of the army.[81]

7. Saturday, May 31, 1862, Jackson's Withdrawal

On the morning of the 31st, General Saxton sent out a reconnaissance in force to discover the whereabouts of Jackson's troops. Telegraphing at about 12:30 p.m., and having just returned from Halltown, Col. Miles reported that the last company of rebel cavalry had left that village about an "Hour since."[82] "I pushed forward as far as Charlestown," Saxton also reported, "and found the enemy's rear guard had left an hour before. Fifty pieces of his cannon passed through Charlestown that morning, the enemy being in strong force, variously estimated at from 18,000 to 25,000."[83] As his own force numbered "not more than 7,000 effective men," Saxton stated, and were "completely worn-out by fatigue and exposure, I deemed it not prudent to advance, at least until the men rested."[84]

Jackson's main body passed through Winchester on the afternoon of May 31 and encamped near Strasburg that night. The same evening, Winder's brigade also arrived at Jackson's camp, as did the 2nd Virginia regiment, which had marched 36 miles that day.[85]

81. If Jackson had withdrawn before dark on May 30, his movement would have surely been spotted by the Maryland Heights Signal Tower.

82. Miles to Stanton, May 31, received 1:10 p.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.304.

83. Saxton's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.641; also Saxton to Stanton, May 31, received 3:45 p.m. and 4:20 p.m., p.636.

84. Saxton's report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.641.

85. Jackson's Report, Vol. XII, Part I p.708.

On June 1, the Federal troops at Harpers Ferry were assigned to Major General Banks' corps and placed under the command of Major General Franz Sigel.[86] General Sigel arrived at Harpers Ferry on the same day and he assumed command of the force on June 2.[87] At 4 p.m., on June 2, Sigel reported: "...I find the troops here in a very inefficient condition. General Saxton insists on being relieved. The number of troops here are about 8,000. Of these 1,200 are useless, and all the balance are undrilled and undisciplined..."[88]

General Saxton had thus defended Harpers Ferry with a force of 8,000 mostly inexperienced men, successfully standing off a combat force of approximately 21,000 men led by "Stonewall" Jackson. Contrary to General Joseph E. Johnston's dire predictions of May, 1861, Harpers Ferry failed to become a military trap, when the defending force was attacked by a larger army.

A comparison of the May attack with the September, 1862, siege also suggests to this writer some interesting parallels. First, in the opinion of the writer, Col. Miles appears to have been strongly influenced by Saxton's conduct of the defense, and to have modelled his September defensive plans on the very lines laid down by Saxton. Miles appears to have assumed in September that Jackson would attack exactly as he had done in May; that ~~was~~ is, directing his main assault on Bolivar Heights. There was therefore no need to hold Loudoun Heights in September, as that position had been occupied by the Confederates in May with no ill results to the

86. Stanton to Saxton, June 1, 1862, Vol. XII, Part I, p.638.

87. Saxton's Report, Vol. XII, Part I, p.641.

88. Sigel to Stanton, June 2, 1862-4 p.m., Vol. XII, Part III, p.323.

Federal forces.

Moreover, Miles may have argued, if General Saxton could defend the position with so few fortifications in May, what need was there to erect additional defenses in the three month period that intervened before Jackson's second attack. Only at the very last instant, and then too late, as the Confederate army approached Maryland Heights from the north, did Miles undertake the slightest improvement of the fortifications either at that mountain or Bolivar Heights.

CHAPTER VI

HARPERS FERRY IN FEDERAL HANDS

JUNE TO AUGUST 31, 1862

1. Railroads and the Potomac Bridge

As a result of Jackson's attack, both the Baltimore and Ohio and the Winchester and Potomac Railroads were put out of commission on May 25, 1862. On June 2, the railroad company began repairing these two lines but were hindered by heavy rains that began on the 4th.[1] On the 5th, both the Potomac and the Shenandoah Rivers flooded and 4½ spans in the wooden railroad bridge at Harpers Ferry was carried off. Federal store houses, located in re-roofed Musket Factory Buildings along the Potomac, and also their arsenal, situated on the Lower Hall Island on the Shenandoah, were submerged. In addition, bridges on the Winchester railroad were carried off by the high water. On the 7th, the flood continuing, the remainder of the Potomac railroad bridge was entirely swept off, thus resulting in the third destruction of this bridge since June 14, 1861.[2] On June 8, the company succeeded in re-opening the line from Harpers Ferry west to Wheeling, and on the 9th, their men began rebuilding a wooden trestled bridge across the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, and completed it on June 15.[3] During the interval when the bridge was out, communications were maintained between Harpers Ferry and the Maryland shore by means of a steam tug.[4]

1. Annual Report of the B&O, 1862, R.15, V.2, p.326; O.R.S.I, Vol. XII, p.338 and Vol. LI, Part I, pp.657-658.

2. Annual Report of B&O, 1862, R.15, V.2, pp.326-327; Miles to Banks, June 5, 1862, Vol. LI, Part I, p.659, 661; Vol. XII, Part I, pp.540-541, 342,32; Vol. XII, Part II, pp.769-770, 780-783.

3. Annual Report of B&O, 1862, R.15, Vol. 2, p.327; Miles to Copeland, June 8, 1862, Vol. LI, Part I, p.665.

4. Vol. XII, Part I, p.32.

Repair of the Winchester Railroad was begun on June 9 and the line was again re-opened from Harpers Ferry to Winchester on June 20, 1862.[5] (See Footnote 5 - for History of W&P RR, September 18, 1862-July, 1864.)

As a result of the frequent delays that had been caused by the washing out of the wooden trestled spans of the Potomac bridge, the railroad company decided to risk the construction of an iron bridge at Harpers Ferry. Work was begun on July 24, 1862, with construction on Span No. 4. By the end of August, 1862, iron Spans No. 3 and 4 were finished and work was underway on Span No. 5. On September 17, 1862, "Stonewall" Jackson's troops blew up iron Spans No. 3 and 4, the "Winchester" span, and also burned the wooden spans, thus completing the fourth destruction of the

5. Miles to Copeland, June 8, 1862, Vol. LI, Part I, p.665. Garrett to Stanton, June 20, 1862, p.685. The W&P RR was destroyed by Jackson's troops in September, 1862, siege and although General G. B. McClellan recommended the rebuilding of the line from Harpers Ferry to Winchester, the Secretary of War decided the reconstruction would be a waste of public money. (O.R.S.I, Vol. XIX, Part I, pp.13-14; Part II, 408-409, 673. Vol. XXV, Part II, pp.131-132, 133; Vol. XXVII, Part II, pp.97-98; Part III, pp.696-697.) Thus from October, 1862, to July 4, 1864, the W&P RR was only in use from Harpers Ferry to Halltown. (Warner to W. P. Smith, Reel 15, Vol. 4, p.531, May 6, 1863; O.R.S.III, Vol. IV, pp.946, 955.) This was a distance of 3 miles. The history of the line from July 8, 1864, to July, 1865, will be found in C. W. Snell's "Harpers Ferry Repels an Attack, 1864-65," pp.39-40, 48-52. In the June-September 11, 1862, period "The whole track (of the W&P RR) was a simple flat piece of iron nailed on the joists, and the joists were decayed along the whole road. The whole road was a very poor concern, and took from eight to nine hours to go between Harpers Ferry and Winchester," a distance of 28 miles. Because of the poor construction of the bridges on the line, the regular large and heavy camel engines of the B&O RR could not run from Harpers Ferry to Winchester. As a result, it was necessary to utilize "little grasshopper engines" on that line, thus, no doubt, accounting for the slow time of trains operating between the two depots. Statements of Lieut. Henry M. Binney, Vol. XII, Part I, pp.782-783; also see pp.779 and 781.

bridge since June 14, 1861.[6] (See Footnote 6 below for History of Bridge 1861-1865.)

2. A New Pontoon Bridge for the Potomac, August, 1862

No doubt as a result of the harrowing experience of attempting to maintain communications between Harpers Ferry and Sandy Hook by the limited means of a rope ferry, and the single track railroad bridge during the May 25-31 attack, and with the additional example of the complete destruction of the railroad bridge by flood on June 5-7, 1862, it was decided that additional facilities should be available in the event of an emergency. Studies of the problem of a new pontoon bridge for the Potomac at Harpers Ferry were thus underway by June 11 and the material for the bridge arrived at Harpers Ferry on June 29.[7] The new bridge was completed and put in place on August 22, 1862. The second bridge was situated in the same position as the February bridge (see Map I).[8] The pontoon bridge constructed in August was still in use during the siege of Harpers Ferry, September 12-15, 1862, and was destroyed in that action.

6. Annual Report of B&O, 1862, Reel 15, V.2, pp.327-328. This bridge was destroyed nine times in the period April 18, 1861, to May 22, 1865; four times by military action and five times by floods. In the period November 1, 1862, to April 22, 1863, four new iron spans, No. 3, 4, 5 and 6, were erected; the other three spans were wooden. On July 5, 1863, the wooden parts were burned by U.S. troops. April 10, 1864-wooden portions washed out by flood. May 16, 1864, wooden portions washed out by flood. July 4-7, 1864, wooden portions of bridge burned by U.S. and Confederate troops. On May 25, 1865, the wooden spans carried away by flood.

7. National Archives Record Group 92-Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File, Box 377-Major R. S. Rogers to Gen. Meigs, June 11 and June 29, 1862.

8. National Archives R.G. 92-Maj. Robert S. Rogers to Gen. Meigs, Aug. 22, 1862.

3. Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, June-August, 1862

On the 8th of June, the sailors and marines, with their boat howitzers and ammunition, who had been stationed in the Naval Battery on Maryland Heights, were returned to Washington, D.C. Their two big 9 inch Dahlgren guns and one 50-pounder rifle, however, were left in position at the Naval Battery and under the care of the dismounted 8th New York Cavalry.[9] On June 12, Colonel Miles reported that he had fit for duty, 1,176 infantry, and 182 mounted cavalry. In addition to the ~~two~~ Three big naval guns, he also had four smooth-bore 12-pounder howitzers and two 3-inch rifled guns, but no artillery men to work any of the artillery.[10]

His troops were deployed as follows: four companies, numbering 317 men, held Camp Hill and the lower town of Harpers Ferry. Seven companies of the 8th New York Cavalry, acting as infantry, were posted on Maryland Heights; and six companies of the 1st Maryland, Potomac Home Brigade, were stationed at Sandy Hook, Maryland. On June 13, Miles requested the Secretary of War to Send an officer to Harpers Ferry for the purpose of supervising the construction of "two redoubts...to make this place secure." "We have the tools, but no laborers," he added.[11] The two redoubts mentioned above, probably refer to the two bastions that were to be added to the original line of earth breastworks constructed on Camp Hill by Saxton on May 30; one of these redoubts was located just west of the Armory Superintendent's House (Armory Dwelling No. 25), and the other situated to the north of the first, covered Washington Street approach. (See Map I.)

9. Miles to Maj. R. M. Copeland, June 8, 1862, Vol. LI, Part I, p.665.

10. Miles to Stanton, June 12, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, p.378.

11. Miles to Stanton, June 13, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, p.387.

On June 15, 1862, Major General John E. Wool, the newly appointed commander of the Middle Department and 8th Army Corps, made his first inspection of Harpers Ferry and reported to Stanton:

"I have examined Harper's Ferry, and find it in a very indefensible position. Colonel Miles has but a very few troops he could depend on. He has 600 cavalry--New York Volunteers--without arms or horses. These men will do no work, nor, as the colonel says, anything else, not having horses nor arms. The Maryland regiment will not leave the State for any other purpose. I think four regiments ought to be ordered here at once. Men capable of using the large guns should also be sent immediately."[12] In Wool's opinion, Harpers Ferry was "a very important position in reference to Baltimore and Washington and for operating in Western Virginia, and in connection with the (Baltimore & Ohio) railroad the latter is too important to the service to be neglected." He therefore recommended that "a force sufficient to protect the bridge and railroad should be stationed there (at Harpers Ferry), and also to give protection to the troops in advance of it under General Banks, Shields, and Fremont..."[13]

On the 15th Wool directed Col. Miles to "take measures to complete, without delay, the intrenchements commanded by him at Camp Hill, near Harper's Ferry." If the work could not be performed by soldiers under Miles' command, Wool then authorized the colonel to employ negro slaves for the purpose of completing that fortification. Miles was further directed to mount two more guns on the Camp Hill lines.[14]

12. Wool to Stanton, June 15, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, pp.394-395.

13. Wool to Stanton, June 16, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, pp.387-398.

14. Special Order No. 7, June 15, 1862, Vol. XIX, Part I, p.788.

On June 20, 1862, Wool increased the strength of the Harpers Ferry garrison by dispatching two regiments and two artillery companies from Baltimore, the latter men for the purpose of manning the heavy guns. This force, about 2½ regiments, remained the normal garrison of Harpers Ferry until September, 1862.[15] The only other effort made by General Wool to strengthen in any way the fortifications at Harpers Ferry occurred on August 28. On that date, Wool ordered Major R. S. Rodgers, 2nd Regiment, Eastern Shore of Maryland Volunteers, to report to Harpers Ferry for the purpose of constructing a blockhouse on Maryland Heights above the naval battery, to protect that position from a flank movement by the enemy and also to secure possession of the heights.[16]

General Wool later stated: "When I was at Harper's Ferry in August, I gave verbal orders to Colonel Miles in regard to the intrenchments there. He had not completed the intrenchments, and I directed him how it should be done. He had not made embrasures (probably in the two new redoubts on the Camp Hill lines), and I told him to do it immediately, in order that his men might be able to ascertain how to direct their guns. I directed him also to build an intrenchment on Bolivar Heights. Afterward...finding that he had not done so, I directed him peremptorily to intrench Bolivar Heights, and to abatis Camp Hill, which he, however, neglected doing. He also neglected to build a block-house on Maryland Heights, which I directed him to build."[17]

15. Wool to Stanton, June 20, 1862, Vol. XII, Part III, p.416, also p.424, p.807.

16. Special Orders No. 77, August 28, 1862, Vol. XIX, Part I, p.789.

17. Statement of Maj. Gen. John E. Wool, Oct. 30, 1862, made before the Harpers Ferry Military Commission, Vol. XIX, Part I, p.791; Engineer Capt. W. A. Powell was questioned by the commission about the value of blockhouses on Maryland Heights and stated: "they are not of much importance in a position of that kind, except against infantry. Where the enemy is able to bring artillery upon them, they are but a trap." p.769.

This statement confirms two facts: First, that Miles, other than completing the two redoubts on the Camp Hill lines, did not erect any additional fortifications at Harpers Ferry during the three months interval following the May attack. Second, that even if he had constructed every fortification recommended by General Wool, the defensive works would still have been woefully inadequate in comparison to the actual requirements of the situation. It is thus clear that General Wool did not exhibit any real imagination in his inspection of the Harpers Ferry defenses or afford Col. Miles with proper guidance on this question.

On November 3, 1862, the Harpers Ferry Military Commission, after a careful investigation of all availabe evidence, reported in regards to General Wool: "the officer who placed this incapable [Col. Miles] in command should share in the responsibility [of the surrender], and in the opinion of the Commission Major-General Wool is guilty to this extant of a grave disaster, and should be censured for his conduct."[18] General Wool appears to have escaped lightly, for the lack of fortifications at Harpers Ferry also would seem to have been a part of his responsibility. And in the writer's opinion, this lack of fortifications was the major factor, at least equal to Miles' foolish conduct of the defense, that contributed to the rapid capture of Harpers Ferry by "Stonewall" Jackson, after a siege lasting only 81 hours.

18. Report of Commission, Nov. 3, 1862, Vol. XIX, Part I, p.800.

CHAPTER VII

THE FORTIFICATIONS AT HARPERS FERRY, 1861-AUGUST, 1862

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Maryland Heights (See Map I)

A. Roads: Existing roads on the summit of Maryland Heights in 1861 consisted of an east-west road crossing the mountain (Elk's Ridge) at Solomon's Gap. From this road, an old wood road led south towards Harpers Ferry along the crest of Maryland Heights to the southern end of the mountain. In the May-June, 1861, period, Confederate soldiers constructed a new and rough road leading from Sandy Hook (see road marked A, B, C on Map I) up the eastern slope and around the southern end of Maryland Heights to the summit for the purpose of opening communications with the Confederate stockade that was erected on the top of Elk Ridge. In the August-December, 1861 period, Union soldiers, under the command of Major General Banks, further improved this road and also constructed a new road, D, B, C, which led from a point west of the Potomac railroad bridge up the west slope and around the south end of Maryland Heights on to the summit. These roads were improved for the purpose of permitting the easy transfer of Federal artillery from one side of the mountain to the other and also to the summit.

B. Ground Cover: The Maryland Heights area, with the exception of a few small scattered farms with their adjoining fields, was covered with forest and dense undergrowth in the 1861-1862 period. Very little clearing was done by either the Confederate or Federal forces prior to October, 1862.[1]

1. See Snell, C. W., "A Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, Va...Sept. 12-15, 1862," p.7, for much Sept., 1862, testimony on this point. Also Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress, Sept. 21, 1862-Oct. 6, 1863," p.20.

C. Fortifications: In May and June, 1861, Confederate soldiers constructed a stockaded rectangular-shaped fort, about 200 feet long, on the summit of Maryland Heights and also cleared a parade ground around the work. The fort is reported to have been called "Fort Montgomery." The exact site of this work is not known, but it has been situated on Map I on the basis of the only known clue-that the Fort was located about 1½ miles north of the southern end of Maryland Heights. Fort Montgomery was destroyed by the Confederates when they evacuated Harpers Ferry on June 15, 1861, No other fortifications were apparently constructed on Maryland Heights by the Confederates.

On July 29, 1861, soldiers of the 3rd Wisconsin Regiment, a part of Banks' division, erected a signal tower on the summit of Maryland Heights. This structure was utilized from that date through the remainder of the year and was probably still standing during the siege of Harpers Ferry in September, 1862. What is in all probability a drawing of this same log work, HF-209, by A. R. Waud, will be found on page 80 of C. W. Snell's "A Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry...Sept. 12-15, 1862."

On May 27-29, 1862, a gun position known generally as the "Naval Battery" and also, less commonly as "Battery Stanton," was established on the south end and west slope of Maryland Heights by Lieut. Daniels of the U.S. Navy, acting under orders from Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, U.S. Vols. By May 31, 1862, this battery contained two 9-inch Dalhgren guns and one 50-pounder rifle that were left in this position and utilized in the September, 1862, siege of Harpers Ferry.[2] Also stationed at the

2. See Snell, C. W., "A Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry...Sept. 12-15, 1862," p.14.

Naval Battery and utilized during the May 25-31, 1862, attack, were a number of boat howitzers. These latter guns, however, were removed in June, 1862. It should also be noted that no fortifications were erected to protect the Naval Battery in May, 1862, and that, also, no clearing of forest was done around the gun position at that time. These additions and changes were not made until September 11 and 12, 1862.[3]

2. Loudoun Heights

A. Roads: The principal 1861 road on the south side of the Shenandoah, opposite the town of Harpers Ferry, was the Hillsborough-Harpers Ferry turnpike. This road led from the south end of the Shenandoah toll bridge north along the western base of Loudoun Heights, running around the north end of the mountain, and it then proceeded a short distance east and on reaching Loudoun Valley, the road then turned south and ran on to Hillsborough and Leesburg, Va. The turnpike, 30 feet wide, had been constructed in 1851.

The second major road existing in 1861, today known as the Pipertown road, led from the south end of the Shenandoah toll bridge up the west slope of Loudoun Heights to near the summit of the Blue Ridge and then proceeded on in a southerly direction. The newest portions of this road; namely, that section leading from the bridge up the west slope of the mountain, had been constructed in 1857.

The sides and summit of Loudoun Heights were also traversed in 1861 by a number of minor trails or logging roads that had been constructed in the 1820's by the U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry to bring in wood from Loudoun

3. Snell, C. W., "The Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry...Sept. 12-15, 1862," p.8.

Heights. The United States owned exclusive timber rights to 1,395 acres of land located on that mountain.[4]

Strother's account of his visit to the summit of Loudoun Heights in July, 1861, also indicates that at least one small trail, probably the southern most one on Map No. I, led from the summit of the mountain down the east slope into Loudoun Valley and to the Harpers Ferry-Hillsborough turnpike. The road leading from the Pipertown road up the west side to the summit, and also probably the northern road from the summit down the east side, if not built by Confederate soldiers in 1861, were certainly improved by them for the purpose of moving men, supplies and artillery to the top of Loudoun Heights.

B. Ground Cover: From 1813 to 1860, the U.S. Government had utilized Loudoun Heights as a source of a wood supply for operations at the Harpers Ferry Armory. By 1851 most of the original forest had been cut off the north side and crest of Loudoun Heights. In 1851 a forest fire had also swept 200 acres of the west side of the mountain opposite the U.S. Rifle Factory. Thus in 1861, Loudoun Heights was still forested, but largely covered by a young growth of trees not more than from 10 to 25 years old.[5]

In the May-June, 1861, period, Confederate soldiers also cleared the forest from a portion of the crest of the summit of the countain that Strother estimated to be 1,200 yards long by 300 yards wide, around three fortifications erected at that point.

4. Smith, Philip R., Jr., "History of Loudoun Heights, 1813-1880," dated June 9, 1959, pp.20, 22-23.

5. Ibid., p.21.

C. Pre-Civil War Building on Loudoun Heights

Located at the foot of the western base of Loudoun Heights, on the east side of the Harpers Ferry Turnpike, were Armory Dwellings No. 9 and 10, two stone dwellings, the first a two-story and the second a one-story house.[6] Also located on the summit of the mountain on the U.S. woodland, in scattered locations, were the log cabins of five squatters.[7] The exact sites of these dwelling are not known.

D. Fortifications: In May, 1861, Confederate soldiers constructed three blockhouses, probably build of logs, on the summit of Loudoun Heights. The three buildings were roofed and situated in such a position so as to be able to support one another by their fire in the event of an attack. The exact location of these blockhouses is not known. The positions given on Map I are therefore merely hypothetical. These three fortifications were still standing as late as the end of May, 1862.

3. Bolivar Heights

A. Ground Cover: This hill was also known as "Smallwood's Hill or Ridge" and as "Furnace Ridge." In 1861 the crest and west slope of Bolivar Heights, were covered with pine forests and a heavy undergrowth of bushes. The east slope, probably Smallwood's farmland, was cleared and used as camp grounds by both Confederate and Federal forces.

B. Fortifications: In May and June, 1861, the Confederates erected a battery on the north end of Bolivar Heights, in a position overlooking the Potomac, for the purposes of controlling the approaches to Harpers Ferry from the west and north. The exact location of this battery is unknown

6. Snell, C. W., "The Town Of Harpers Ferry in 1859," p.13.

7. Smith, P. R., Jr., "History of Loudoun Heights," pp.21-22.

and the position given on Map I is therefore only hypothetical. No earthworks or other fortifications were erected on Bolivar Heights by either army in the 1861-May 31, 1862, period.

4. Camp Hill

In May and June, 1861, the Confederate army constructed a battery, protected by earthworks, on the northeast slope of Camp Hill. This work was located just below the Harpers Cemetery, and adjacent to the west side of Monument Bldg. No. 48A-St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church. A second battery may have been situated on the summit of Camp Hill to the west and north of the first, overlooking the Potomac and the town of Bolivar. The evidence on the existence and location of the second battery, however, is not clear and a hypothetical position only has been indicated on Map I. No other fortifications were erected by the Confederates on Camp Hill.

On May 30, 1862, while threatened by Jackson's army, Brigadier General Rufus Saxton had a line of earth intrenchments hastily thrown up by Federal soldiers on the western edge of Camp Hill. This fortification extended from the top of the bluffs overlooking the Potomac on the north to the cliffs above the Shenandoah on the south, and were designed to block the approaches from Bolivar to the west.

In the period June 13-August 31, 1862, this line of earthworks was completed by Col. Dixon S. Miles and two redoubts added to the original breastworks. One redoubt was located just west of the Armory Superintendent's House (Armory Dwelling No. 25) and the second on Washington Street.

Armory Dwelling No. 25 served as the Headquarters of Col. Thomas J. Jackson from about May 8 to May 23, 1861; and as that of Brigadier General Joseph E. Johnston, C.S.A., from May 23-June 15, 1861. From July 21 to

July 25, 1861, the house was next occupied as the headquarters of Major General Robert Patterson, U.S.A., and from July 25 to about July 31, 1861, it was used for the same purpose by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks.

5. Lower Town of Harpers Ferry

The Large and Small Arsenal buildings and Musket Factory Bldg. No. 8-the Carpenter's Shop, Saw Mill and Grinding Mill, were fired and destroyed by Federal soldiers at 10 p.m., April 18, 1861. The remaining Musket Factory and Rifle Factory buildings were then seized by Confederate forces. These structures and the Armory Dwelling houses were utilized as barracks for the Confederate soldiers. From April 28 to about May 7, Col. Jackson's headquarters were located at the Wager House Hotel, which was situated on Wager Lots No. 6, 7 and 8. After removing most of the arms producing machinery, the Musket Factory buildings, with the exception of Bldg. 1, the fire engine house; Bldg. No. 2, the Office building; Bldg. No. 12, the Warehouse; and Bldg. No. 13, the Smith and Forging Shop, were fired and destroyed by the Confederates at 6:30 a.m. on June 14, 1861. The B&O Railroad's wooden Potomac bridge at Harpers Ferry was also destroyed at the same time.

Between June 20 and 28, 1861, Confederate forces again returned to town and destroyed by fire the nine buildings making up the U.S. Rifle Factory, located on the Lower Hall Island on the Shenandoah, and also the wooden Shenandoah Toll Bridge. On October 17 or 18, 1861, Confederate soldiers also burned and destroyed Abraham H. Herr's stone flour mill (Bldg. No. 2) on the Island of Virginius.

On February 7, 1862, Federal forces crossed over into Harpers Ferry from Sandy Hook and burned the privately owned buildings that were located

on the old Wager Ferry Lot, Lots No. 1 to 10, in the lower town of Harpers Ferry.

On February 26, 1862, Federal forces occupied Harpers Ferry in force and retained possession of the town until September 15, 1862. On March 18, 1862, the B&O Railroad completed a new railroad bridge across the Potomac and by the 29th of that month, the line was re-openned its entire distance from Baltimore to the west for the first time since June 14, 1861.

During the Federal occupation of Harpers Ferry, February-September, 1862, the burnt Musket Factory buildings and the first floor of the Large Arsenal, the latter located on old Arsenal Square, were re-roofed and utilized as Quartermaster and Commissary Depots for both the troops at Harpers Ferry and the Federal forces in the Shenandoah Valley. By March 24, 1862, the Winchester and Potomac Railroad had also been repaired its entire distance from Harpers Ferry to Winchester, for the purpose of forwarding supplies to the troops in the Shenandoah Valley. The arsenal or ordnance depot at Harpers Ferry in the February-September, 1862, period was located at the U.S. Rifle Factory on the Lower Hall Island.

Colonel Dixon S. Miles' headquarters, commanding at Harpers Ferry from March 29 to September 15, 1862, was located at a house situated on Shenandoah Street, probably Monument Bldg. No. 36. His headquarters were also utilized by Brigadier-General Rufus Saxton for the same purpose from May 25-29, 1862, during Jackson's attack on the town.

6. Relative Military Importance of Various Sections

The relative military importance or value to the United States Government of each of the five sections that together comprised the military position known as "Harpers Ferry," is perhaps best revealed by the period of time that Federal forces held each position, from 1861-65. The following

information has been compiled from the four reports that make up this Civil War series.

A. Maryland Heights: This position was the defensive key to the entire Harpers Ferry position and could perhaps be best characterized by the title of "the bastion of the Union." Maryland Heights was thus in constant possession of Federal forces from July 3, 1861, to June 30, 1865, with exception of only 16 days total in this entire period. The two exceptions were: First, 4 p.m., September 13 to 1 p.m., September 20, 1862, eight days. Second, a.m., June 30 to 11 a.m., July 7, 1863, eight days.

Confederate forces occupied Maryland Heights from:

1. May 6 to June 15, 1861.
2. from 4:30 p.m., September 13 to evening, September 18, 1862, 6 days.
3. some skirmishers were on the Heights in the period July 5, to 1.p.m., July 7, 1863, 2 days.

B. Camp Hill and Lower Town: Held by Union forces from:

1. July 14 to August 17, 1861.
2. From February 25 to 10 a.m., September 15, 1862.
3. From September 23, 1862, to evening of June 17, 1863.
4. From afternoon, July 14, 1863, to 7 p.m., July 4, 1864.
5. A.M., July 8, 1864, to June 30, 1865.

Confederate forces held the position from:

1. 10 p.m., April 18 to June 15, 1861.
2. From 10 a.m., September 15 to evening, September 18, 1862, 4 days.
3. From p.m., June 17, to morning, July 14, 1863, 27 days.
4. From 9 p.m., July 4, to evening, July 7, 1864, 4 days.

C. Bolivar Heights: Held by Union forces:

1. July 14 to August 17, 1861.
2. February 25 to 7 p.m., May 30, 1862.
3. A.M., May 31 to 10 a.m., September 15, 1862.
4. From September 23, 1862, to evening June 17, 1863.
5. From afternoon July 14, 1863, to A.M., July 4, 1864.
6. From morning July 8, 1864, to June 30, 1865.

Bolivar Heights was held by Confederate forces from:

1. 10 p.m., April 19, 1861, to June 15, 1861.
2. 7 p.m., May 30 to A.M., May 31, 1862, about eight hours.
3. 10 a.m., September 15 to evening, September 18, 1862, 4 days.
4. Evening June 17 to morning, July 14, 1863, 27 days.
5. A.M., July 4, 1864, to evening July 7, 1864, 4 days.

D. Loudoun Heights: Held or under control of Union Forces:

1. July 14 to August 17, 1861.
2. February 25 to May 28, 1862.
3. A.M., May 31 to September 12, 1862.
4. September 22, 1862, to evening, June 17, 1863.
5. Afternoon, July 14, 1863, to a.m., July 4, 1864.
6. Morning, July 8, 1864, to June 30, 1865.

Confederate forces held Loudoun Heights from:

1. May 6 to June 15, 1861.
2. A.M., May 29 to A.M., May 31, 1862, 3 days.
3. 10 a.m., September 13 to evening, September 18, 1862, 6 days.
4. Evening, June 17 to morning, July 14, 1863, 27 days.
5. A.M., July 4 to evening, July 7, 1864, four days.

These charts indicate by the efforts made to defend them, that the Federal commanders considered Maryland Heights to be the most important position, followed second by the Camp Hill line, then by Bolivar Heights, and finally and last in importance for defensive purposes, Loudoun Heights.

Charles W. Snell

Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)

APPENDIX I

ORGANIZATION AND REGIMENTS COMPRISING THE FEDERAL GARRISONS OF HARPERS FERRY, VA., JUNE 30, 1861, TO JUNE 8, 1862. ALSO CONFEDERATE REGIMENTS SERVING AT HARPERS FERRY IN JUNE, 1861

O.R.S.I, Vol. II,
pp.867-868, 861-862

The Confederate Army Occupying Harpers Ferry, Va., under the Command of Brigadier-General Joseph E. Johnston, on May 23, 1861.

1. Infantry

1st Virginia Regiment, Major F. G. Skinner.
2nd Virginia Regiment, Col. James W. Allen.
3rd Virginia Regiment, Lieut. Col. William D. Stuart
4th Virginia Regiment, Col. James F. Preston.
5th Virginia Regiment, Col. Kenton Harper.
4th Alabama Regiment,
2nd Mississippi Regiment, Col. W. C. Falkner.
11th Mississippi Regiment, Col. Stephen Moore.
One Maryland battalion, about 630 men, Lieut Col. George H. Steuart.
One Kentucky battalion, four companies, about 500 men, Lieut. Col. Blanton Duncan.

2. Cavalry

8 companies of Virginia Cavalry, 300 men, Lieut. Col. J.E.B. Stuart.

3. Artillery

One naval battery, Lieut. C. M. Fauntleroy, C.S.Navy, four 32-pounder guns.
Captain John D. Imboden's Virginia battery, six guns.
Captain William N. Pendleton's Virginia battery, four guns.
Aburtis Battery, 2 guns.
Grove's battery, 2 guns.
One other company of Virginia artillery, 2 guns.

Total of force, about 8,000 men, of whom some 7,300 were fit for duty and well armed on May 23, 1861.

Regiments Arriving at Harpers Ferry, May 24-June 14, 1861

7th Georgia Regiment, Col. Lucius J. Gartell - arrived June 12, 1861, p.922.
1st Tennessee Regiment, Col. Peter Turney - arrived June 12, 1861, pp.922, 898
10th Virginia, Col. A. P. Hill - left Harpers Ferry, June 14, 1861, p.471
13th Virginia, Col. S. B. Gibbons - left Harpers Ferry, June 14, 1861, p.471.

Abstract from monthly report of Brig. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's division, or Army of the Shenandoah (C.S.A.), for June 30, 1861

Commanding Officer	Troops	Present for duty. Infantry Officers	Infantry Men	Cavalry Off.	Cavalry Men	Artillery Off.	Artillery Men
Colonel Jackson	First Brigade	128	2,043	0	0	4	81
Col. F. S. Bartow	Second Brigade	155	2,391	0	0	3	59
Brig. Gen. Bee	Third Brigade	161	2,629	0	0	4	78
Col. A. Elzey	Fourth Brigade	156	2,106	0	0	4	45
Col. J.E.B. Stuart	First Virginia Cavalry	0	0	21	313	0	0
Col. A. C. Cummings	Virginia Volunteers	14	227	0	0	0	0
	Total	614	9,396	21	313	15	263

Aggregate present for duty.

General Staff	32
Infantry	10,010
Cavalry	334
Artillery	278
	10,654

Abstract from return of the Department of Pennsylvania, commanded by Major-General Robert Patterson, June 28, 1861.

Commanding Officer	Troops	Present for duty.					
		Infantry		Cavalry		Artillery	
		Off.	Men	Off.	Men	Off.	Men
Bvt. Maj. Gen. Geo. Cadwalader	First division	322	6,637	11	307	7	251
Maj. Gen. W. H. Keim	2nd division	322	6,410	3	74	0	0
	Total.....	644	13,047	14	381	7	251

Aggregate present for duty.

Infantry.....	13,691
Cavalry.....	395
Artillery.....	258
	14,344

With the exception of the 4th Connecticut Infantry, 4 companies of United States Cavalry, and three companies of United States artillery, this force was composed entirely of three months' troops.

C.R.S.I, Vol. LI, Part I,
pp.428-429

From General Orders, No. 36
By order of Major-General Banks:
Robt. Williams,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

HDQRS, Dept. Of the Shenandoah.
Sandy Hook, July 29, 1861.

...II The following organization of brigades will go into effect at once...

First Brigade

Col. George H. Thomas, Second Cavalry, commanding brigade.

Second U.S. Cavalry, Col. George H. Thomas
Philadelphis City Troop
Section New York 9th (Col. Stiles)
Rhode Island Battery, Capt. Reynolds.
19th New York Volunteers.
28th New York Volunteers, Col. Donnelly.
28th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Geary, John W.
2nd Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Mann.

Second Brigade.

Col. J. J. Abercrombie, 7th Infantry, commanding brigade.

First Artillery Battery, Major Doubleday
2nd Massachusetts Volunteers, Col. Gordon (Regiment History by Quint, Glonzo)
12th Massachusetts Volunteers, Col. Webster
16th Indiana Volunteers, Col. Hackleman.
12th Indiana Volunteers, Col. Wallace.

Third Brigade.

Col. Charles P. Stone, 14th Infantry, commanding brigade.

Fourth Artillery Battery, Capt. Perkins.
9th New York Volunteers, Col. Stiles.
3rd Wisconsin Volunteers, Col. Hamilton.
5th New York Volunteers.
1st New Hampshire Volunteers, Col. Tappan

Mustered out July 29: 20th Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. William H. Gray.
21st Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. John F. Ballier.
Light Artillery, Rhode Island, Capt. Thompkins.

page 430 Mustered out July 30, 1861- 5th and 12th New York regiments.

page 431 July 31, 1861-6th Connecticut regiment, Col. Thomas, assigned to First Brigade.

page 432 1st New Hampshire Regiment mustered out August 1, 1861.

Report of Chas. S. Tripler, Surgeon and Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac to General S. Williams, Assistant Adjutant General, Army of the Potomac, February 6, 1862 - extract from:

BANK'S DIVISION

Brigade and Regiment	Mean Strength	Total Sick	Percentage.
27th Indiana	1,005	33	3.28
9th New York State Militia	1,016	29	2.85
2nd Massachusetts Volunteers	990	62	6.26
29th Pennsylvania Volunteers	916	23	2.51
28th Pennsylvania Volunteers	1,551	25	1.61
46th Pennsylvania Volunteers	934	51	5.46
19th New York Volunteers	664	31	4.67
13th Massachusetts Volunteers	1,005	11	1.09
1st Maryland Volunteers	912	14	1.53
12th Massachusetts Volunteers	1,008	4	0.40
Fourth Artillery, Company F & First Pennsylvania Artillery, Company A	198	9	4.54
First Michigan Cavalry	1,121	62	5.53
Third Wisconsin Volunteers	935	34	3.64
30th Pennsylvania Volunteers	651	20	3.07
16th Indiana	882	70	7.93
7 Companies 1st Virginia Regiment Volunteers	725	33	4.55
Second Home Brigade, 28th New York Volunteers	706	36	5.10
5th Connecticut Volunteers	935	20	2.25
12th Indiana Volunteers	958	15	1.57
First Regiment Home Brigade	895	90	10.05
Division Hospital at Frederick City, Md		132	
Total	18,007	1,059	5.88

O.R.S.I, Vol. V, p.732

Abstract from return of the Army of the Potomac, commanded by Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, U.S. Army, for the month of February, 1862.

Commands.	Stations	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present and absent	Artillery Heavy	Field
Banks' division	Charlestown, Va.	565	13,671	16,801	0	32
SedgewicK's division	Harper's Ferry	367	9,104	11,470	0	18
Engineer Battalion	Sandy Hook, Md.	2	197	270	0	0

Abstract from return of the railroad brigade, Middle Department, Col. Dixon S. Miles, Second U. S. Infantry, commanding for May 20, 1862.

Command	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent
Harper's Ferry, W. Va. (HOs).....	3	0	3	3
Winchester, Va.....	35	843	921	939
Charlestown, Va.....	30	672	755	833
Sir John's Run, W. Va.....	35	853	908	927
Opposite Williamsport.....	7	194	218	268
Relay House, Md.....	34	852	925	938
Beltsville, Md.....	28	384	454	502
Ellicott's Mills, Md.....	3	97	103	103
Moncacy Bridge, Md.....	32	648	706	847
Total.....	207	4,543	4,993	5,360

Composition of Railroad Brigade, May 20, 1862.

1st District Columbia, Col. J. A. Tait.
10th Maine, Col. G. L. Beal.
1st Maryland (Potomac Home Brigade), Col. W. P. Maulsby.
4th Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, (3 companies), Capt. C. A. Welsh.
1st Maryland Cavalry, Potomac Home Brigade, (1 company), Capt. H. A. Cole.
Patapsco (Md.) Guards, Capt. T. S. McGowan.
60th New York, Col. W. B. Goodrich.
8th New York Cavalry, Lieut. Col. C. R. Babitt.
54th Pennsylvania, Col. J. M. Campbell.

Middle Department, Maj. Gen. John A. Dix,
Commanding, May 20, 1862.

The Federal Force at Harpers Ferry, May 24-May 31, 1862,
Commanded by Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, U.S. Vols.

Col. Dixon S. Miles, 2nd U.S. Inf., Chief of Staff.

First Brigade: Led by Brig. Gen. James Cooper, arrived 9 a.m., May 25.

1st District of Columbia Regt., Col. J. A. Tait, 6 companies, arrived a.m., May 24.
3rd Maryland, Col. D. P. DeWitt, arrived 2:15 p.m., May 25.
102nd New York, Lieut. Col. W. Hayward, arrived a.m., May 27.
109th Pennsylvania, Col. H. J. Stainrock, arrived 9 a.m., May 25.
111th Pennsylvania, Col. M. Schlaudecker.
8th and 12th U.S. (batt'n), Capt. T. L. Pitcher, 471 men, arrived p.m., May 26.
1st New York Artillery, Battery L, Capt. John A. Reynolds, 6 guns, arrived 9 a.m., May 26.
5th New York Cavalry, 4 companies, Maj. G. H. Gardner, arrived from Winchester, p.m., May 25.
Total present in brigade June 8, 1862: 3,599 officers and men.

Second Brigade: Led by Brig. Gen. John P. Slough, arrived evening, May 29.

3rd Delaware, Col. W. O. Redden, 750 men, arrived 5:30 a.m., May 26.
Purnell Legion, Col. W. J. Leonard, 500 men, arrived 9 a.m., May 26.
11th New York Militia, Col. Maidhoff, probably arrived May 27.
60th New York, Col. W. B. Goodrich, 600 men, arrived 10 a.m., May 25.
78th New York, Col. D. Ulman, probably arrived May 27.
1st New York Artillery, Battery K, Capt. L. Crounse, 6 guns, arrived p.m., May 26.
1st Maryland Cavalry, (Battalion), Maj. G. H. Deems, arrived 9 a.m., May 25.
Total present in Brigade June 8, 1862: 2,689 officers and men.

Other troops present

Naval Detachment and battery, Lieut. C. H. Daniels, U.S. Navy, 300 sailors, with naval guns, arrived May 27.
1st Maryland (Potomac Home Brigade), Col. W. P. Maulsby, about 790 men, arrived May 24-25.
8th New York Cavalry, dismounted, Lt. Col. C. R. Babitt, 600 men, probably arrived May 26-27.
About 180 other soldiers, probably from units list on May 20, 1862, return.
Total: about 1,870 officers and men.

Total of forces present

10 p.m., May 25: 2,500 men.

9 a.m., May 26: 6,700 men.

9:30 p.m., May 27: 8,150 men.

O.R.S., Vol.XII, Part I,
p.717; Vol. XII, Part III,
p.879.

The Organization of the Confederate Forces Commanded by Lieutenant-General T. J. Jackson in his Attack on Harpers Ferry, May 28-31, 1862

Jackson's Division

First Brigade

Brig. Gen. Charles S. Winder

2nd Virginia Regt.-758 men, Col. J. W. Allen.
4th Virginia Regt.-840 men, Col. C. A. Ronald.
5th Virginia Regt.-902 men, Col. W. S. H. Baylor.
27th Virginia Regt.-418 men, Col. A. J. Grigsby.
33rd Virginia Regt.-763 men, Col. John F. Neff.
April 18, 1862 3,081 men

Second Brigade

Col. J. A. Campbell (of 48th Va. Regt.)

1st Virginia Battalion, P.A.C.S., 366 men, Capt. B. W. Leigh.
21st Virginia regiment, 600 men, Col. John M. Patton.
42nd Virginia Regiment, 750 men, Maj. Henry Lane.
48th Virginia regiment, 800 men, Lt. Col. Thomas S. Garnett.
April 18, 1862 2,516 men

Third Brigade

Col. Samuel V. Fulkerson (37th Va. Regt.)

10th Virginia Regt., 700 men, Col. E. T. H. Warren.
23rd Virginia Regt., 600 men, Col. A. G. Taliaferro.
37th Virginia Regt., 900 men, Maj. T. V. Williams.
April 18, 1862 2,200 men

Total infantry in Division April 18, 1862: 7,797 men.

Cavalry, under Col. Turner Ashby, 20 companies at 60 men per company, total, 1,200 men.

Artillery

Capt. Joseph Carpenter's Va. battery, four guns.
Capt. William H. Caskie's Va. (Hampden) battery, four guns.
Capt. Carrington's battery, four guns.
Capt. W. E. Cutshaw's battery, four guns.
Capt. William T. Poague's Va. (Rockbridge) Battery, six guns.
Capt. George W. Wooding's Va. (Danville) battery, four guns.
Total, 26 field guns.

O.R.S.A., Vol. XII, Part I,
pp.717-718, June 8, 1862

Jackson's C.S.Army, May 28-31, 1862

Major-General Richard S. Ewell's Third Division

Second Brigade

Brigadier General George H. Steuart.

1st Maryland Regiment, Col. Bradley T. Johnson.
44th Virginia Regiment, Col. W. C. Scott.
*52nd Virginia Regt., Lt. Col. James H. Skinner.
*58th Virginia Regt.,

Seventh Brigade

Brig. Gen. Isaac R. Trimble.

15th Alabama, Col. James Cantey.
21st Georgia, Col. John T. Mercer.
16th Mississippi, Col. Carnot Posey.
21st North Carolina, Col. W. W. Kirkland.

Artillery (Batteries)

Capt. J. B. Brockenbrough's battery-4 pieces
Capt. A. R. Courtney's Battery-6 pieces
Capt. John M. Lusk's battery-4 pieces
*Capt. Charles I. Raine's battery-4 pieces
*Capt. William H. Rice's battery-4 pieces
22 field guns

Fourth Brigade

Brig. Gen. Arnold Elzey.

*12th Georgia, Col. Z. T. Conner.
13th Virginia, Col. J. A. Walker.
*25th Virginia, Lt. Col. Patrick B. Duffy.
*31st Virginia, Col. John S. Hoffman.

Eighth Brigade

Brig. Gen. Richard Taylor.

6th Louisiana, Col. Isaac G. Semour.
7th Louisiana, Col. H. T. Hays.
8th Louisiana, Col. H. B. Kelly.
9th Louisiana, Col. Leroy A. Stafford.
Wheat's Battalion, Major C. R. Wheat.

Cavalry (about 500 men)

2nd Virginia, Col. Thomas T. Muford.
6th Virginia, Col. Thomas S. Flournoy.
Chew's Battery.

*Troops under the command of Brigadier General Edward Johnston on March 18, 1862-see Vol. XII, Part III, pp.828-829, also Part I, p.487. These number 2,784 total present, March 18, 1862.

Ewell's division, April 16, 1862, numbered over 8,000 men, plus about 500 effective cavalry, see Vol. XII, Part I, p.851.

O.R.S.I, Vol. XII, Part III, p.362

Abstract from Return of Sigel's Division, Department of the Shenandoah, for June 8, 1862.

Command	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total Present	Total Present and absent	Artillery Field
1st (Cooper's) Brigade, at Kernstown	169	3,323	3,599	4,505	6
2nd (Slough's) Brigade at Winchester	144	2,482	2,689	3,598	3
Total.....	313	5,805	6,288	8,103	9

Remarks: At Harper's Ferry there are stationed, under command of Colonel Miles, about 2,000 men; the greatest part home guard and militia.

Composition of Sigel's Division, June 8, 1862.

First Brigade

Brig. Gen. James Cooper.

1st District of Columbia, Col. J. A. Tait.
3rd Maryland, Col. D. P. DeWitt.
102nd New York Lieut. Col. W. Hayward.
109th Pennsylvania, Col. H. J. Stainrook.
11th Pennsylvania, Col. M. Schlaudecker.
8th and 12th U.S. (batt'n), Capt. T. L. Pitcher.
1st New York Artillery, Battery L, Capt. John A. Reynolds.
5th New York Cavalry (4 companies), Maj. G. H. Gardner.

Second Brigade

Brig. Gen. John P. Slough.

3rd Delaware, Col. W. C. Redden.
Purnell Legion, Col. W. J. Leonard.
11th New York Militia, Col. J. Maidhoff.
60th New York, Col. W. B. Goodrich.
78th New York, Col. D. Ullman.
1st New York Artillery, Battery K, Capt. L. Crounse.
1st Maryland Cavalry (battalion), Maj. J. M. Deems.

For Banks' Return, June 16, 1862, see Vol. XII, Part III, p.399-400.
Entire Department of the Shenandoah, list of regiments and brigades.
Sigel's Division
Williams' Division
Etc.

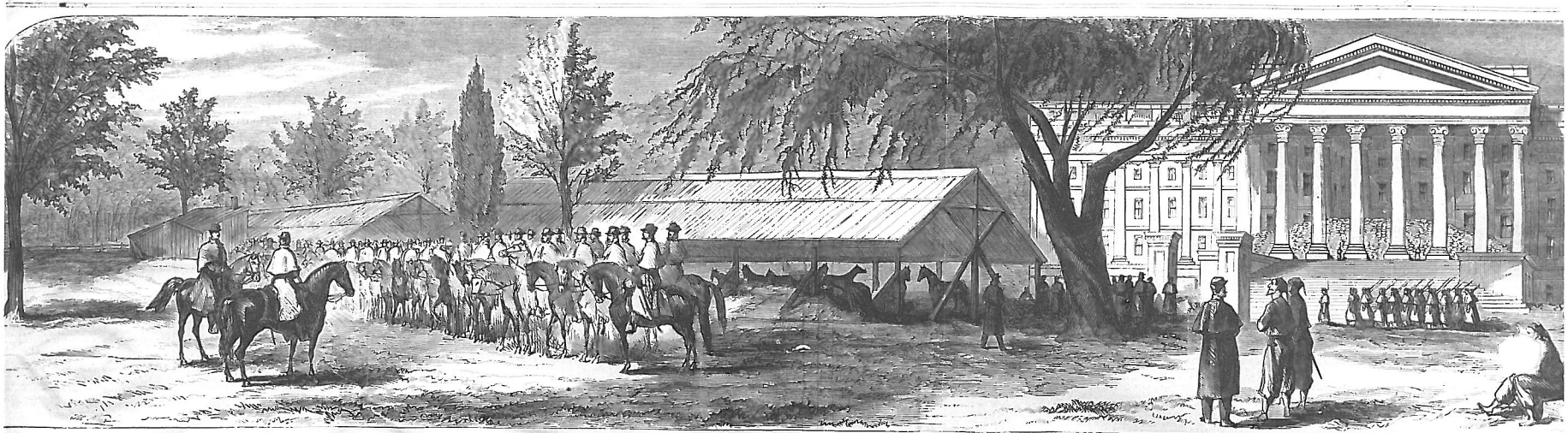
APPENDIX II

HISTORICAL PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING HARPERS FERRY, VA., APRIL 18, 1861 TO FEBRUARY 26, 1862.

"Harper's Ferry, Virginia, Batteries in the Foreground, May, 1861"

From the New York Illustrated News, June 1, 1861.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-342.

(Picture at bottom of photograph.) This accurate drawing was made from the top of Camp Hill. Confederate batteries, located on the summit of Camp Hill, are to be seen in the center and left foreground. In the distance, center and left, are the forested west slope and south end of Maryland Heights, with the Potomac River flowing at its base. Note the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad's covered Potomac bridge crossing the river in the center of the print. This structure was destroyed by the Confederates on June 15, 1861. To the right of the drawing a small portion of the mouth of the Shenandoah River is to be seen, uniting with the Potomac in the distance. The north end of Loudoun Heights rises to the right of the print.



THE QUARTERS OF THE FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT, AND THE SECOND U. S. CAVALRY, IN THE TREASURY BUILDINGS AND SHEDS, WASHINGTON, D. C. SKETCHED BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST. SE

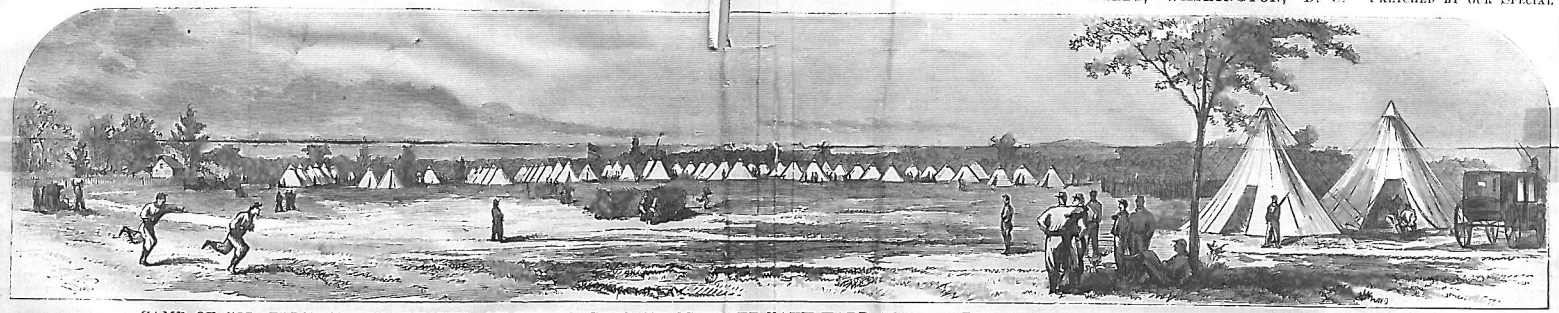
LOVE UNKIND.

I saw the violet sleeping,
With tears upon her cheek,
While stars were gently keeping
Their angel-watches meek.
Of what the flower was dreaming
I asked the wandering wind;
"The violet's tears are streaming
Because her love's unkind."

I saw the lily drooping
In lovely slumber pale;
And near her fairies trooping
On moonbeams o'er the vale.
I asked why droopes the lily,
[illegible]
Was answered, "Love is silly
To weep at thought unkind."

I wandered on the morrow,
The weeping flowers to cheer;
The violet showed no sorrow,
The lily shed no tear:
For Hope came to the flowers,
As sunbeams kissed the wind,
And birds sang from the bowers,
"No more is Love unkind."

AVE GIRL.—A servant girl living near
ain, on her way home, overheard some
planning a robbery on the house of her
Getting home by a short cut, she allowed
s of the house to go to bed, and then pre-
defend the house. At the main entrance
iped a series of heavy articles so that they
ll if the door were forced, and taking a
double barrelled gun, watched for the rob-



CAMP OF COL. ELLSWORTH'S ZOUAVES, ON THE HEIGHTS OPPOSITE THE NAVY YARD, WASHINGTON, D. C. SKETCHED BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST. SEE PAGE 58.

ters. They came, br
received by the awfu
ll a ringing of bells, a
Of course they fled

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TO LET—W

'Tis indeed
Widow S
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House an
Widow Sw
Eyes and
She's somet

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Charming l
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Widow Swe
Soon to cl
Mr. Brown
That he w
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If a husba
Buy a print
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A MAN in earnest

not find, creates the



HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA BATTERIES IN THE FOREGROUND. SKETCHED BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST. SEE PAGE 58.

Map I — Harper's Ferry, Va.
April 18, 1861 — May 31, 1862.
By Charles W. Snell
February 5, 1960

N

Signal Tower

Forests

Farms

Open Fields

Confederate Troops

Union Troops

Fortifications Erected By the Confederates in May-June, 1861.

Scale: Inches to 1 Mile

Jackson's Main Army
Jackson's Division
Ewell's Division
Stewart's Brigade 1st Position
Arrived 4PM, May 29, 1862
Retires after 7PM, May 30, 1862

1st Position
Winder's Brigade 4PM May 28 & May 29, 1862

2nd Position May 30, 1862 - 4PM
Winder
Stewart

3rd Position May 30, 1862 7PM to Daylight

Cooper's Brigade PM May 29 - 30, 1862 2nd Position

Two Regiments PM May 30 - May 31, 1862 2nd Position

2nd Va. Regt. May 29 - May 30, 1862
3 Confederate Black Heads Built May, 1861

Confederate Battery erected May 28 - 29, 1862

Confederate Battery erected May-June, 1861

Harper's Ferry

Hall Town

School House Hill

Charles Town Pike

Valley

Corn Fields

Shenandoah River

Potomac River

Bolivar Heights

Loudoun Heights

Maryland Heights

Elk Ridge

Pleasant Valley

Blue Ridge
Catoctan Mountains

Short Mountains

Elgin

Unseld

Miller

Weldron

Keep Tryst Furnace

Longer Bridge

Tunnel

Old Dam

New Dam

Road to Sharpsburg

Road to Brownsville

Road to Pleasant Valley

Based on Preliminary Sketch - 1863 - Map No. 17
Traced By Charles W. Snell