

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-Harper's
Ferry, W. Va., July 4, 1864-April 9, 1865,"
date January 15, 1950.)

18 Illustrations

Harpers Ferry National Monument

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Dated January 21, 1960
105 pages
Research Project No. HF-96D

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Introduction

A. Primary Maps Used in the Preparation of Map IV

"Map IV-Harper's Ferry, W. Va., July 4, 1864-April 9, 1865," dated January 15, 1960, and prepared by Charles W. Snell, is based on data collected from the following seven maps:

(1) "Preliminary Sketch of the Defenses 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. Weyss, major, Ky. Vol. Scale eight inches to one mile. Topography, roads, railroads, canals, ground cover and locations of buildings based on this map.¹

(2) Harpers Ferry and Vicinity. From Surveys made by Capt. N. Michler, Corps of Engrs., U.S.A., Drawn under the direction of Lieut. J. R. Meigs, Chief Engr., Dept. W. Va." Scale ¼ mile to an inch. 1864. Used for location of fortifications.²

(3) "Map of Engagement at Harper's Ferry, July 4, 1864, to accompany Report of, by Jed. Hotchkiss, Top. Eng., A.V.S., Scale ½ mile to Inch." From "Report on the Camps, Marches and engagements of the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, C. S. A., 1864. Map No. 127 Used for Bolivar Heights Fortifications and troop movements, July 4-8, 1864.³

(4) "Map of Engagement at harper's Ferry, July 4th, 1862, Map 12a." By Jed. Hotchkiss, Top. Engr., A.V.S., Scale ½ mile to an inch." Contains troop movement data not shown on his Map No. 12. (See Appendix II, p. 98).⁴

(5) "Harper's Ferry, Prepared by Bvt. Brig. Genl. M. Michler, Major of Engineers from Surveys under his direction by Order of Brig. Genl. & Bvt. Maj. Genl. A. A. Humphreys, Chief of Engineers and under the Authority of the Hon. Secretary of War. 1867." Scale 3 inches to one mile. Surveyed and drawn by Maj. J. E. Weyss, assisted by P. Theilkuhl, J. Strasser & G. Thompson. Photolith, by the N.Y.

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 Cartographic Division, Record Group No. 77, Z125. Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 13, Map Case, Drawer No. 13

³ Hotchkiss Collection, Library of Congress Map Division. Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 16, Map Case, Drawer No. 13. Also printed in The Official Atlas of the Civil War, Thomas Yoseloff, N.Y., and London, 1958, Plate 82, Map 1.

⁴ Hotchkiss Collection, Library of Congress Map Division. Harpers Ferry NM, Map No. 15, Map Case, Drawer No. 13.

Lithographing, Engraving & Printing Co., Julius Bein Supt.⁵

(6) "Harper's Ferry, Scale 1/10,000." 1865, by Simeon Blood Smith, (See Appendix II, p 99)⁶

(7) "Topographical Survey of the North Bank and Reconnaissance of the South Shore and Islands, 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." Detailed topography, ground cover, buildings, fortifications, and roads on Maryland Heights, Camp Hill and towns of Bolivar and Harpers Ferry.⁷

The maps have also been supplemented by a survey of the fortifications that still exist, made on the ground by the writer.

B. General Remarks

Federal troops occupied Harpers Ferry on February 26, 1862, and held constant possession of the town from that date until September 15, 1862. During this interval, however, the Union army failed to erect more than the most elementary defenses. Harpers Ferry, a position of great military importance and natural strength, if properly fortified and defended, thus became a military trap in 1862. The proof of this blunder, the failure to properly fortify Harpers Ferry, was demonstrated on September 15, 1862, when Colonel Dixon S. Miles surrendered 12,693 Federal soldiers to "Stonewall" Jackson, following a siege lasting only 81 hours.⁸

⁵ National Archives, Record Group No. 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Headquarters, Map File, Map G104, No. 30, Harpers Ferry NM Maps No. 14 and 18 (also NPS Drawing No. NM-HF-3003), Map Case, Drawer 13.

⁶ MS Map donated by F. E. Somers, 5908 Anniston Road, Bethesda 14, Md. Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 99, Map Case, Drawer No. 13. Camp Hill and some Maryland Heights fortifications have been traced on this map from Map 116.

⁷ 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.

⁸ See Snell, Charles W., "A Report on the Federal Fortification at Harpers Ferry, Va., and of the Confederate and Union Troop Movements during the Siege of Harpers Ferry, September 13-15, 1862," dated December 1, 1869, 82 pages and Map II, Drawing No. NM-HF-3067.

The Army of the Potomac re-occupied Maryland Heights on September 20, and the town of Harpers Ferry on September 23, 1862. As a result of this costly experience, the Union high command carefully studied the military possibilities at Harpers Ferry and decided to fortify the position. Between October 1, 1862, and June, 1863, Maryland Heights, and Loudoun Heights were converted into a fortress of great strength. By June 27, 1863, when a crisis arose during the Gettysburg Campaign, the defensive tools were on hand and ready for use at Harpers Ferry. The Union high command, however, lacked the nerve to test them and ordered the evacuation of Maryland Heights, which took place June 30-July 7, 1863, thereby throwing away the great strategic possibilities that would have resulted had Union forces retained possession of the military position and bridges at Harpers Ferry. Fortress Harpers Ferry did, however, serve as a secure place of refuge for the Federal troops that were driven from the valley and Winchester in June, 1863. On July 14, 1863, Federal troops re-occupied the lower town, Camp Hill and Bolivar Heights;⁹ Union forces retained possession of these positions until July 4, 1864.

The last year of the Civil War saw three related developments take place at Harpers Ferry: First, the completion of all fortifications; second, the successful defense of the position against a major attack, July 4-8, 1864; and third, the conversion of Harpers Ferry into a major base of operations for Sheridan's army, August, 1864-February, 1865, which led directly to the destruction of Confederate power in

⁹ See Snell, Charles W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress, September 21, 1862-October 6, 1863," dated December 16, 1959, 83 pages and Map III.

the Shenandoah Valley. These three themes then, in relation to the physical history of Harpers Ferry, 1864-65, from the subjects of this report.

A concise summary and description of the Federal fortifications as they appeared on July 27, 1865, will be found in Chapter IV of this report.

[The fourth report completing this series is Charles W. Snell's "The Fortifications at Harper's Ferry, Va. in 1861 and Jackson's attack, May, 1862," dated February 9, 1960, 114 pp. and Map I-Harpers Ferry Va., April 18, 1861-May31, 1862, By C. W. Snell, dated February 5, 1960, 114 pp.]

CHAPTER I: STATE OF THE HARPERS

FERRY FORTIFICATION, OCTOBER 7,

1863 - JULY 2, 1864.

1. Maryland Heights

By June 27, 1863, the Maryland Heights area, extending from the Stone Fort on the summit of the mountain west to Fort Duncan at the bend in the Potomac, had been converted into a great triangular-shaped fortress (see Map IV), which was designed to serve as the main defensive key to the Harpers Ferry position.¹⁰

Partially laid out on Maryland Heights, but not completed in June, 1863, were the Barnard Lines on the north (see B, C, and D on Map IV), and the proposed battery on the south, which was located on the spur just west of where the Antietam-Harpers Ferry road left the Potomac (Batter E on Map IV). In the year that followed, July, 1863, to June, 1864, the above-mentioned works were finally completed. Battery E, a large triangular-shaped redoubt with dry ditch, was armed and christened "Battery Sullivan," probably named after Brigadier-General Jeremiah C. Sullivan, who commanded the Harpers Ferry post from October 12, 1863, to April 9, 1864.¹¹ While little written evidence has been found relating the progress of completing these works, the Maryland Heights defenses were apparently in apple-pie order on July 3, 1864, as evidenced by the lack of complaints on this subject by the generals commanding this position in July, 1864, which form a sharp contrast to

¹⁰ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress, 1862-63."

¹¹ Redoubt in operation, see O.R.S.I., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, P. 4 - July 4, 1864. Sullivan in command, Vol. XXIX, Part II, p. 302; Vol. XXXIII, p. 633.

reports filed by Union generals in the crises of 1862 and 1863.¹²

2. Loudoun Heights

Three stone redoubts (A, B, and C on Map IV) had been erected on the summit of this mountain in October, 1862, by McClellan's army.¹³ No additional large scale works were erected on Loudoun Heights in the 1864-65 period. The position, however, was garrisoned and served as an outpost of the Harpers Ferry defenses. On January 10, 1864, this post was held by Major Henry A. Coles' battalion of Maryland Cavalry, Potomac Home Brigade, who were bivouacked in a house and huts that were probably located near Redoubt C. At four a.m. on the morning of the 10th, the Federal cavalry were subjected to a surprise attack by Major John S. Mosby and 100 Confederates. The Federal troops, however, succeeded in repulsing Mosby's attack, with considerable loss to the Confederates.¹⁴

3. Camp Hill

The earthwork (see 1865 map, Appendix II, p. 99, for detailed delineation) was located on the western edge of Camp Hill and overlooked the town of Bolivar. The fortification, erected by Brigadier-General Rufus Saxton in May, 1862, consisted of a "face and two bastions, and then a line of earth-works," running from the bluff on the Potomac south to the cliffs above the Shenandoah.¹⁵ In July, 1863-June, 1864,

¹² See Report of Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel, U.S.A., commanding Reserve Div., Department of W. Va., of operations July 2-8, 1864, in Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 174-180; also Report of Brig. Gen. Max Weber, U.S.A. of operations about Harpers Ferry, July 4-8, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 184-186.

¹³ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 59.

¹⁴ See Report of Maj. John S. Mosby, 43rd Virginia Cavalry, Feb. 1, 1864; Brig. Gen. Jeremiah C. Sullivan, U.S.A., and Maj. Henry A. Cole, Jan. 10, 1864, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 15-16.

¹⁵ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 59.

these works were apparently further strengthened by the addition of rifle-pits and a battery on each flank (at A and B on Map IV), as recommended by Brigadier-General John G. Barnard, Chief Engineer of Defenses at Washington, D.C., in his report of May 5, 1863.¹⁶ One large bastion or redoubt was located just west of the Armory Superintendent's House (Armory Dwelling No. 25 on the 1859 Historical Base map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Block MM, Camp Hill, and the second, a large enclosed work, was located at Block I, II, and H, Camp Hill (on Drawing 3021),¹⁷ covering the Washington Street approach. A lithograph (1864), HF-29, of the first redoubt will be found on page 81 of C. W. Snell's "A Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harper's Ferry, Va., September 12-15, 1862," and a drawing of the second, HF-225, at Washington Street, will be found on the following page of this report.

4. Bolivar Heights

The crest of the ridge on the Federal right on Bolivar Heights, overlooking the Potomac River, was defended by a "slight earthwork," Battery 2 on Map IV, designed to protect the men of the artillery stationed at that point. The left of this ridge, overlooking the Charlestown Turnpike, was covered by another "slight earth-work," Battery 1 on map IV, "A work with an embrasure battery of four guns, but open in the rear." The crest of the ridge, between Batteries 1 and 2, was defended in June, 1864, by a line of rifle-pits that had been on September 14, 1862. The extreme left of this line, extending from Battery 1 at the Charlestown road southeast to the Shenandoah River,

¹⁶ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 59; 1865 Map by John W. Donn, Harpers Ferry Map No. 116.

¹⁷ 1865 Map by John W. Donn, Harpers Ferry Map No. 116.

"Cavalry Marching Out of Harper's Ferry, 1864"

From original sketch by A. R. Waud in the
Library of Congress.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-225

This drawing was made by Waud in November or December, 1864, and probably shows the Federal earthworks on the right flank at Washington Street on Camp Hill. These fortifications may have been located on Blocks JJ and I, Lots 1 and 16, on the 1859 Historical Base Map Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2. If this is the case, then the houses to the left of Washington Street would be House No. 114, Lot 4, and the Methodist Episcopal Parsonage, Lot 3, Block H, on Camp Hill (see 1859 map). The mountain to the left would then be Maryland Heights.



avalry Marching out of Harbor Ferry

1864
A.P. Ward

was protected early by an abatis formed of felled trees, erected in September, 1862, that lay on the western slope of this plateau.¹⁸

(Note: The solid earth embankments between Batteries 1 and 2 and the batteries and entrenchments on the extreme left at 3, 4, 5 and 6, as shown on Map IV, did not exist on July 4, 1864). The defensive works on Bolivar Heights in June, 1864, therefore had thus not been developed or added to since June, 1863.¹⁹ The decision not to complete the fortifications on Bolivar Heights had been made by General Barnard on May 5, 1863, and were based on the consideration that the position would require a larger garrison to defend this line properly, then the value of the position at Harpers Ferry merited.²⁰

5. Function of Harpers Ferry, October, 1863-July, 1864

Harpers Ferry, in 1863-65, was located in the Military Department of West Virginia, which extended from the Potomac in the east, to the Ohio and beyond the Kanawha in the west and southwest, and included the whole line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from the Monocacy and Harpers Ferry west to Parkersburg, and also the Northwestern Railroad from Grafton to Wheeling.²¹ In March, 1864, Major General Franz Sigel, the commanding general of the Department, had about 22,387 men available to defend the long line. This force included 14,680

¹⁸ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 58.

¹⁹ For Bolivar Heights Fortifications, July, 1864, see Hotchkiss Maps 12 & 12a; on March 26, 1864, Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel had also inquired of Brig. Gen. J. C. Sullivan: "Whether Bolivar Heights are sufficiently fortified or whether the intrenchments should be enlarged on those heights and made bomb-proof?," ORSI, V. XXXIII, p. 746; No reply of Sullivan has been found, but the question indicates that fortifications were still not complete in March, 1864. Also Sigel to Thomas, March 29, 1864, "...Harpers Ferry, the fortifications of which point are not complete and finished," V. XXXIII, p. 763.

²⁰ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 29.

²¹ Maj. Gen. F. Sigel to Brig. Gen. Thomas, Adj. Gen., March 29, 1864, Vol. XXXIII, p. 762.

infantry, 5,441 cavalry, and 2,276 artillery men, with 118 pieces of artillery. The artillery was comprised of 86 field pieces, 30 siege guns, and 13 unmounted pieces in fixed positions.

His force was divided, on paper, into three infantry and one cavalry "divisions." The First Division, under the command of Brigadier General Jeremiah C. Sullivan, occupied Harpers Ferry, Martinsburg, Frederick, Md., and the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from Monocacy, Md., to Martinsburg and Sleepy Creek, W. Va., General Sullivan had about 5,000 men and 30 cannon available to defend his district.²²

Major General Sigel pointed out that by far the greater part of his troops were in positions from which they could not be evacuated without great danger to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "and with the exception of Harper's Ferry, the fortifications of which point are not complete and finished, there is not one point on the whole line of [the B&O] railroad to Parkersburg, a distance of over 300 miles, which is protected by proper field-works and properly armed, so that it could be regarded as a secure depot and base point from which we could operate into the interior without exposing it to the raids of the enemy..."²³

The Federal troops in the Department of West Virginia were thus deployed primarily to protect the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and were therefore stretched out in a long and thin line. On May 25, 1864, Brigadier General Max Weber, commanding the Military District of Harpers Ferry, with his headquarters located in that town, informed his

²² Maj. Gen. F. Sigel to Brig. Gen Thomas, Adj. Gen., March 29, 1864, Vol. XXXIII, p. 762-763.

²³ Ibid., p. 763.

superiors that his troops holding Harpers Ferry itself consisted of "One regiment of 5th New York Artillery, 2,200 me; one battalion garri-son Maryland Heights and man the guns; three batteries light artil-lery, 16 guns, 300 men; one battery, not effective in consequence of two-thirds of the number being away on veteran furlough; detachment 12th Pennsylvania Cavalry, 200 men; detachment 6th Virginia Cavalry, 110," making a grand total of 2,810 men available to defend that posi-tion. The remainder of his fore, amounting to about 3,000 men, was scattered along the B&O railroad from Monocacy to Sleepy Creek.²⁴

On June 28, 1864, just as a great storm was about to break on the Federal forces located in the Shenandoah Valley, General Weber held Harpers Ferry with only one regiment of Cavalry, the 12th Pennsylvania, 100 men armed, mounted and effective as cavalry, and two battalions of the Fifth New York Heavy Artillery, acting as infantry. The remainder of Major General Sigel's forces, 4,650 men, were then concentrated at Smithfield and Bunker Hill, and Sigel himself had established his headquarters at Martinsburg.²⁵

6. Federal Plans for Defending Harpers Ferry

As designed and constructed by the Union engineers, Maryland Heights in 1864 was supposed to be the main defensive key to the military po-sition at Harpers Ferry. The fortifications of those Heights, as com-pleted, required a garrison of from 8,500 to 10,500 men to render them secure against a major attack. It was believed that the great guns

²⁴ Weber to Maj. T. A. Meysenburg, Assistant Adjutant General, May 25, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 540-541. See Appendix I, p. 85.

²⁵ Maj. Gen. Sigel to Adj. Gen. U.S.A., June 28, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, P. 686. See Appendix I, p. 85.

placed in the works on the Maryland side of the Potomac could render Bolivar Heights, Bolivar, Camp Hill, the town of Harpers Ferry, and Loudoun Heights untenable for any enemy in the event of a major attack. At the same time, it was also believed that the existing fortifications on the West Virginia side of the Potomac in June, 1864, rendered Harpers Ferry secure against any raid.

In summary, then, in the event of a large-scale attack, the Federal defenders were to concentrate their men in the Camp Hill lines and the Maryland Heights position. If enemy pressure became too great on the West Virginia side, then the Union defenders were to move their men and stores to the Maryland side, concentrating all available troops in the Maryland Heights position for a last ditch stand. As long as Federal troops could hold Maryland Heights, they still guarded the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, protected the Potomac bridges, which gave the Union forces a secure debouche into the Shenandoah Valley, and denied Confederate troops the use of the important bridges and fords over the Potomac at Harpers Ferry.²⁶

²⁶ See Snell, C. W., "Harper's Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 28-29 for General Barnard's remarks; also pp. 41-47 for remarks of Col. William F. Reynolds, Engineer, in 1863; see also Col. N. P. Chipman to Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, August 20, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 859.

CHAPTER II: GENERAL EARLY ATTACKS HARPERS FERRY, JULY 3-8, 1864

On June 28, 1864, the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia and Army of Valley District, under the command of Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early, began the advance from Staunton, Va., down the Shenandoah Valley that was eventually to take this army to the gates of Washington. Early's force was composed of Ramseur's (Early's), Rodes', Gordon's, and Breckinridge's Infantry divisions, and also included artillery and cavalry, the army numbering about 20,000 men.²⁷ On July 2, this Army reached the vicinity of Winchester.²⁸

1. Sunday, July 3, 1864

On the 3rd, Gordon and Breckinridge's divisions, under the command of Major-General John C. Breckinridge, marched to Martinsburg and without much opposition captured the town, with many stores and some prisoners. Ramseur's division, accompanied by General Early, marched to Leetown, Va., via Brucetown, and Rodes' division advanced to Smithfield. The Confederate cavalry moved through Brucetown to Leetown.

²⁷ Douglas S. Freeman, in his Lee's Lieutenants, a Study in Command, Vol. III, NY, 1944, p. 558, however, states that Early's force was composed of 10,000 infantry; Cavalry and artillery perhaps added about 4,000, making a grand total of 14,000. This figure seems to be far too low. See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1297-1299, for organization and strength of these forces April 30, 1864, which gives a total of 30,664 officers and men present, of whom 26,041 were fit for duty. Losses of the 2nd Corps in May, 1864, Vol XXXVI, Part I, p. 1075, amounted to 767 killed, 3,686 wounded, total, 4,453. This last figure subtracted from the April 30, figure would give a total of some 26,211 men present June 1, of whom some 21,588 should have been effective. No detailed return has been found of Breckinridge's command for the May-June, 1864, period, but on May 5, 1864, he stated he had effective 4,000 infantry, Vol. XXXVII, Part III, p. 716. For the organization and return of Early's command on August 31, 1864, see Vol. XLII, Part II, pp. 1213, 1216-17, 1221; 12,924 men were present on that date.

²⁸ Extract from Report of Capt. Jeb. Hotchkiss, Topographical Engineer, C.S.A., of operations of the 2nd Corps, Army of Northern Virginia and Army of Valley District, May 3-November 14, 1864, December 31, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 1019, July 2.

Near that village they met the Union cavalry, and after "quite a severe fight," succeeded in driving the Federal force beyond Kearneysville, where the Confederate cavalry halted for the night. McCausland's brigade marched all night of July 3rd via White Hall and Back Creek.²⁹ At 8 p.m., General Early decided to attempt the capture of Harpers Ferry.³⁰

The Confederate attack on the Union forces stationed at Leetown and Darkesville began at 6 a.m. on the morning of the 3rd. Major General Sigel hurriedly sent off his stores from Martinsburg on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and loaded the remainder on wagons, which were sent to Shepherdstown to cross the Potomac into Maryland at that point. General Sigel then withdrew all his troops from Martinsburg and also retreated to Shepherdstown. "If our troops can cross the Potomac tonight," he informed the Adjutant General, "I will march to Harper's Ferry to join General Weber's forces, and to operate from that place." By 10 a.m. on July 3, all Federal communication with Sigel was lost and the situation of his command was unknown at Harpers Ferry and Washington.³¹

While above was transpiring, Brigadier General Max Weber, commanding the defenses at Harpers Ferry prepared his small force for the defense of his position. Three signal stations were established on July 3 by Lieut. Amos M. Thayer, 112th New York Infantry and his company of 59 men. The first was located at General Weber's headquarters, Armory

²⁹ Ibid., p. 1019, July 3, 1864.

³⁰ Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 591, Early to Breckinridge, July 3, 1864, 8 p.m., at Leetown.

³¹ Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 175-176, Sigel to Adj. Gen., July 3, 1864.

Superintendent's house (Armory Dwelling No. 25) on Camp Hill (see 1865 map, Appendix II, p. 99); the second station was situated at the Stone Fort on the summit of Maryland Heights, and the third was placed at Fort Duncan, the headquarters of Major G. F. Merrian, 5th New York Heavy Artillery, Chief of Artillery, and commanding on the Maryland side.³² Merrian was ordered by Weber to hold his command in readiness for action at a moment's notice and also to have 100 men and Captain Furst's battery ready to re-enforce the Harpers Ferry side.³³

After communicating via the B&O telegraph with Weber, John W. Garrett, President of the B&O Railroad, informed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton on July 3, that the General had only 400 men available for service as infantry at Harpers Ferry, that Weber believed he could hold his post against cavalry, but not long against infantry, and that the bulk of the Union troops were then with General Sigel at or near Martinsburg.³⁴ (Note: From about noon July 4 to about 1 p.m. July 5, all direct military telegraph communications between Washington and Harpers Ferry was cut off. The B&O lines, Sandy Hook to Baltimore, however were kept open, and Garrett relayed his information on to Washington.)

³² Report of Lt. Amos M. Thayer, 112th NY Inf., Acting Signal Officer, of operation about Harpers Ferry, July 3-14, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 180-181; also Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 20, Brig. Gen. Weber to Maj. T. A. Meysenburg, July 3, 1864, 9 a.m.

³³ Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 23, Lt. H. W. Pitcher, Aide-de-camp, to Maj. Merrian on Maryland Heights, July 3, 1864.

³⁴ Vol. XXXVII, Part II, P. 20; also p. 19, Weber to Halleck, July 3, 1864, 8:45 p.m., "I need infantry very much. I have three light batteries, but only one complete with horses and equipments. Field pieces without horse would be of no use."

2. Monday, July 4, 1864

At 8 a.m. on the morning of the 4th, the signal officer on Maryland Heights spotted the approach of a large Confederate force, moving through Charles Town towards Harpers Ferry, and warned General Weber of their advance.³⁵ These troops were Ramseur's (Early's) Division, marching via Flowing Spring and Brown's, to Halltown, and Rodes's Division, moving through Charles Town and Halltown to Bolivar heights.³⁶

At 10:40 a.m. General Weber telegraphed Major General H. W. Halleck, Chief of Staff at Washington:

"The enemy are approaching, by way of Charlestown, in heavy force. Two thousand cavalry and a force of infantry are on this side of Charlestown in force. We have been skirmishing [near Halltown and Bolivar Heights, see Map IV] for two hours. If re-enforcements do not come up I must leave the town [Harpers Ferry], but shall hold Maryland Heights at all hazards. Nothing has been heard from General Sigel or his forces. His wagon train, 176 wagons, is in Pleasant Valley [Md., just east of Maryland Heights]."³⁷ The Federal skirmishers, comprised of cavalry, were led by Lieutenant Colonel William Bell of the 12th Pennsylvania Cavalry.³⁸

The Confederate forces pouring towards Harpers Ferry launched their attack, using only skirmishers, on the extreme Federal left at Bolivar Heights (see Map IV), directing their main assault at the same point that Stonewall Jackson had attacked on September 14-15, 1862.

³⁵ Report of Lt. Thayer, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 181.

³⁶ Report of Hotchkiss, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 1020.

³⁷ Weber to Halleck, July 4, 1864, 10:40 a.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 184-185.

³⁸ Bell to Capt. Burleigh, July 4, 1864, 10:30 a.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 41.

Skirmishers of the two Confederate divisions advanced and drove the Federal cavalry from Bolivar Heights back through the town of Bolivar, and finally into the earthworks on Camp Hill, adjacent to General Weber's headquarters. Union guns on Maryland Heights, in Fort Duncan and the Camp Hill lines, then proceeded to shell the Confederate positions.³⁹

At 12:30 p.m. Chief of Staff Halleck telegraphed Weber that five batteries were being shipped from Washington to Harpers Ferry and that they should reach Harpers Ferry that day. Halleck also added: "Everything should be prepared for the defense of your works, and the first man who proposes a surrender or retreat should be hung..."⁴⁰ J. W. Garrett, President of the B&O, also notified Weber shortly thereafter that 470 infantry had left Washington at noon on the 4th, bound for Harpers Ferry.⁴¹

At 5:30 p.m., Col. G. F. Merriam, commanding at Fort Duncan, informed General Weber in Harpers Ferry:

"I have the honor to report a heavy column of dust on the road from Charlestown to Halltown, nearly the whole distance. A dispatch from the Stone Fort [on the summit of Maryland Heights, see Map IV], just received states that General Sigel's advance is two miles above in Pleasant Valley... this is from the signal officer. Plenty of sharpshooters opposite this fort [that is over on Bolivar Heights]. My men have laid out seven of them, and I have had none hit so far. Am I not throwing away ammunition. We have not seen anything worthy a 30-pound shell so far to-day, though I think and know we have killed some. I have ordered three guns of Furst's battery to the left of Battery Sullivan [K on Map IV] to assist in covering the ford above pontoon

³⁹ Report of Hotchkiss, July 4, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 1020; Report of Lt. Thayer, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 181; Report of Col. David G. Cowand, 32nd North Carolina Infantry, commanding Grimes' Brigade, in Rodes' Division, C.S.A., March 4, 1865, Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 602; Gen. Weber to Halleck, July 4, 1864, received 12 midnight, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 185.

⁴⁰ Halleck to Weber, July 4, 1864, 12:30 p.m. Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 38. The message was not received until 11 a.m. on July 5.

⁴¹ Garrett to Weber, July 4, 1864, 1 p.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 39.

bridge. If you evacuate, can you destroy the railroad bridge and take up the pontoon? If not, send me word, and I will open on them from Sullivan and Furst's [Capt. George Furst, 1st W. Va. Artillery, Battery A] batteries. Four of Miner's guns (3-inch) are in epaulement [Breastwork Battery C?, Captain Milton L. Miner, 17th Indiana Battery] half way to foot of mountain, on the line of rifle-pits, and covering the Sharpsburg road. The other two are to the right of Battery Sullivan, firing occasionally above Bolivar. Will it do to throw shell into or over Bolivar? The d---d town is full of rebels."⁴²

About this time General Weber telegraphed Halleck: "We are still hotly engaged. I have but 400 men and no word from General Sigel or our re-enforcements. Our stores are safely across the river [in Sandy Hook and Maryland Heights]. Unless the enemy come in large force I shall hold the town. Word has been received that the rebels in force are crossing at Point of Rocks... I shall not leave the town, except at the last necessity, and I have rations for 30 day on the [Maryland] heights, and shall hold them until re-enforced. The bridges are yet entire and our men are doing well. We have lost but 1 officer and 20 men, and inflicted much damage on the enemy."⁴³

The bridges referred to consisted of a wire suspension bridge, supported by the piers of the former covered bridge, over the Shenandoah, and a pontoon bridge and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bridge across the Potomac. The railroad bridge was made up of four iron spans, Spans No. 3, 4, 5 and 6, and three wooden trestle spans, two of the latter being located adjacent to the West Virginia side of the Potomac and the third over the C&O Canal on the Maryland side.⁴⁴

⁴² Merrian to Capt. H. M. Burleigh, Asst. Adj. Gen., July 4, 1864, 5:30 p.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 40.

⁴³ Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 185; Weber to Halleck, July 4, 1864 (received 1:30 p.m.).

⁴⁴ Annual Report of the B&O for 1863, Microfilm Reel 15, Vol. 29 pp. 345-347, 351; Annual Report, 1864, Reel 15, Vol. 3, pp. 371, 373, 375.

At 7 p.m. on the night of the 4th, General Max Weber began evacuating his troops from Camp Hill lines and the lower town of Harpers Ferry, after having first moved all food and ammunition supplies to Sandy Hook and Maryland Heights.⁴⁵ At 8 p.m. the Federal troops burned the wire suspension bridge over the Shenandoah and also fired the two trestle wooden spans, 273 feet long, of the Potomac Railroad Bridge at the West Virginia end of the bridge. The Potomac pontoon bridge was finally taken up at 9 p.m.⁴⁶

After 7 p.m. on the 4th, Brigadier General Cullen A. Battle's brigade, of Rodes' Division, advanced and took possession of the Federal fortifications on Camp Hill. At about 9 p.m., one of Battle's regiments then proceeded into Harpers Ferry and occupied the lower town.⁴⁷

At 9 p.m. Major General Sigel's force, having retreated from Shepherdstown, arrived at Sandy Hook, thereby increasing the number of Federal soldiers available for the defense of Maryland Heights to about 6,500 men. At 10 p.m., Sigel's troops began filing up the south side of Maryland Heights to take position in the fortifications above and Confederate artillery, located in the Musket Factory Yard and hidden behind the stone river wall, shelled the Union columns as they

⁴⁵ Vol XXXVII, Part I, p. 175, Weber, Report of Lt. Thayer, p. 181; E. R. Warner to W. F. Smith and J. King, Jr., July 5, 1864, received 10 a.m., Reel 15, Vol. 4, p. 576; Maj. Gen. F. Sigel to Adj. Gen., U.S.A., July 5, 1864, 6 a.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 186.

⁴⁶ E. R. Warner to W. P. Smith and J. King, Jr., July 5, 1864, received 10 a.m., R. 15, V. 4, p. 576; "The B&O RR-The Base of Operations for the Federal Army in 1863-65, Reminiscences by Major S. F. Shaw," in Book of the Royal Blue, published by the Passenger Dept. of the B&O RR, Balt., Oct., 1918, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 10; R. 30, V. 1, p. 81; Shaw, an engineer, had built the bridge and was present at the building of the Shenandoah bridge. J. W. Garrett to Stanton, July 5, 1864, received 5:15 p.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Report of Col. David Cowand, 32nd N.C., Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 602; Report of Hotchkiss, p. 1020.

passed along. Sigel's cavalry was posted at Weverton, Maryland (see Map IV).⁴⁸

At 11 p.m. on July 4th, C. Smith, the B&O agent at Harpers Ferry, telegraphed W. P. Smith, Master of Transportation for the railroad, "Great excitement here now. All citizens are leaving. The ball is being fully opened. Harper's Ferry is now being evacuated by the military."⁴⁹

While these events were taking place at Harpers Ferry, Breckinridge's and Gordon's divisions on July 4th, marched from Martinsburg to the vicinity of Duffield's Depot, and early on the morning of the same day, McCausland's brigade attacked North Mountain Depot and took 200 Federal soldiers prisoners at that post.⁵⁰

3. Tuesday, July 5, 1864

At 8 a.m. on the 5th, Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early, writing from Harpers Ferry directed Major General Breckinridge to "move at once to Boteler's Ford below Shepardstown, and cross over to Sharpsburg. Carry with you at present only such wagons as are absolutely necessary, leave the residue on this side of the river, in camp. The enemy has not evacuated Maryland Heights, and has burned the railroad and pontoon bridges so that we cannot cross. Move Gordon's division down [the north side of the Potomac] toward Harper's [Ferry], so as to compel the evacuation of Maryland Heights. The enemy only has a force

⁴⁸ E. R. Warner to W. P. Smith and J. King, Jr., July 5, 1864, received 10 a.m., R. 15, V. 4, p. 576; Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 176, Weber; p. 181, Report of Lt. Thayer; p. 186, Maj. Gen. Sigel to Adj. Gen., July 5, 1864, 8 a.m.

⁴⁹ W. P. Smith papers, B&O Archives, Balti., Md., R. 15, V. 4, p. 570, telegram received July 4, 1864, 11:06 p.m.; also J. W. Garrett to Stanton, July 8, 1864, 11:35 p.m. (received 12m.) Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 35.

⁵⁰ Report of Hotchkiss, July 4, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 1020.

of 800 to 1,000 heavy artillery, Sigel has not come down this way [which was inaccurate, of course], and you will endeavor to find out where he has gone. Promptness and dispatch are absolutely necessary..."⁵¹

The regiment of Battle's brigade then occupying the lower town was relieved on the morning of the 5th by the 43rd North Carolina regiment of Grimes' Brigade, Ramseur's [Early's] Division. "After getting in the village," Col. Cowand noted, "it was quite dangerous relieving the troops then on duty. This [43rd] regiment lost several men while relieving Battle's by the fire of sharpshooters on the Maryland Heights. About night the 32nd North Carolina was ordered in the town to assist in doing garrison duty and to help load the wagons with the quartermaster's and commissary supplies that we captured, the balance of the [Grimes] brigade being near the Bolivar Heights in reserve."⁵²

Ramseur's and Rodes' divisions spent the day at Harpers Ferry. Gordon's division crossed the Potomac at Boteler's Ford and marched to the mouth of the Antietam, where he encamped on the night of the 5th. Breckinridge's division marched to Sharpsburg and McCausland's Brigade reached Shepherdstown on July 3.⁵³

At noon on the 5th, William P. Smith telegraphed Stanton:

"This morning enemy still occupy Ferry, and some slight cannonading before 9 o'clock. Sigel then notified citizens to vacate houses, as he would shell town from Heights. This not yet begun. An engine came from Sandy Hook an hour ago on a reconnaissance, but was fired into

⁵¹ Early to Breckinridge, July 8, 1864, 8 a.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 592.

⁵² Report of Col. David G. Cowand, 32nd N.C. Inf., Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 602.

⁵³ Report of Hotchkiss, July 5, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 1020.

from Virginia side, at Point of Rocks, by Mosby's cannon and rifles. No one hurt... Sigel's wagon trains continue to pass through Frederick easterly in large numbers..."⁵⁴ At 1 p., Chief of Staff Halleck informed Lieutenant General U. S. Grant of what was then known of the situation at Harpers Ferry, writing in part:

"...The [B&O] line from Monocacy to Harper's Ferry has been cut, and the re-enforcements sent from here [Washington] fell back to the Monocacy. General Howe has been sent there with about 2,800 men, to force his way to Harper's Ferry. We have nothing reliable in regard to the enemy's force. Some accounts, probably very exaggerated, state it to be between 20,000 and 30,000. If one-half that number we cannot meet it in the field until Hunter's troops arrive. As you are aware, we have almost nothing in Baltimore or Washington, except militia, and considerable alarm has been created by sending troops from these places to re-enforce Harper's Ferry. You probably have a large dismounted cavalry force, and I would advise that it be sent here immediately..."⁵⁵

Signal Officer Thayer later reported, "our forces [on the 5th] were all massed on the Maryland side, extending from Fort Duncan to Maryland Heights. General Sigel's headquarters were near the center of the line, and in compliance with his request a [signal] station was located there, communicating with either flank. The great difficulty in ascending the height on each side rendered those stations of vast importance." Lieut. Thayer took post in the station at the Stone Fort and "discovered that the enemy were moving troops and trains up the river on the Virginia side, crossing them into Maryland and moving down toward the Ferry. I reported the movement to General Sigel, and

⁵⁴ Smith to Stanton, 12 noon, July 5, 1864, received 1:50 p.m., R. 15, V. 2, p. 580; also in Vol. XXXVII, Part II, pp. 63-64.

⁵⁵ Halleck to Grant, July 5, 1864, 1 p.m., Vol. XL, Part III, p. 5; for the movement of Howe's troops from Washington towards Harpers Ferry, July 5, see Smith Papers, R. 15, V. 5, pp. 572, 575, 579; they were sent in two trains, Engine No. 38 with 22 cars and Engine No. 132 with 20 cars, leaving Washington at 7 and 7:30 a.m.

ventured to predict that on the morning of the 6th we should be attacked from the Maryland side."⁵⁶

At 7:50 p.m., the operator at Sandy Hook telegraphed W. P. Smith: "...The enemy have not as yet assaulted him [General Sigel], but it is reported he is expecting an attack from the direction of Solomon's Gap [to the north of the Stone Fort, see Map IV] this P.M. There is no doubt the general will be able to hold his position against any force brought against him. He has abundance of supplies of all kinds. We can see no force of any account in the Ferry. The sharpshooters from behind the railroad wall have been and are yet exchanging leaden compliments with our men. Very little cannonading going on this P.M. An occasional shell dropped into Bolivar. In consequence of the enemy's sharpshooters being an opposite side of Potomac our trains have to go a considerable distance around to get into the Heights in conveying supplies there from Sandy Hook."⁵⁷

At 11 p.m. July 5, Major General Frans Sigel summed up his situation as follows:

"I am occupying Maryland Heights with two old and three Ohio National Guard regiments, and two battalions of 5th New York Heavy Artillery. The cavalry is in Pleasant Valley, having just returned from the direction of Berlin, where the rebels cut the road and wire yesterday. The enemy shows no large force in Harper's Ferry, although they move backward and forward in squads constantly; their line of

⁵⁶ Report of Lt. Thayer, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 161-162.

⁵⁷ Operator to W. P. Smith, July 5, 1864, 7:50 p.m., R. 15, V. 4, p. 581; see also Garrett to President Lincoln, July 5, 1864, received 1 am, 6th, in Vol. XXXVII, Part II, pp. 65-66.

sharpshooters occupy Harper's Ferry along the river. The enemy's cavalry is this evening reported to be at Boonsborough and south of Antietam Creek, partly dismounted, picking up horses... From what we see the enemy has left his main infantry force near Harper's Ferry and has sent his cavalry to our rear [the north side of Maryland Heights]. The enemy is reported this evening to have brought a battery on Loudoun Heights [this report turned out to be false]. My [wagon] train brought from Martinsburg I had ordered to Frederick. On the approach of the enemy by the Boonsborough road the commanding officer at Frederick had ordered the train toward Hanover."⁵⁸

4. Wednesday, July 6, 1864

On the morning of the 6th, the 32nd and 43rd North Carolina regiments, which were then occupying the lower town of Harpers Ferry, were relieved by Louis' brigade. Ramseur's (Early's) and Rodes' divisions then marched from Harpers Ferry via Shepherdstown to the vicinity of Sharpsburg.⁵⁹ Breckinridge's and Gordon's division moved on the 6th from the vicinity of Sharpsburg to near the north side of the Federal lines on Maryland Heights. McCausland's brigade came to the front of Sharpsburg and the Confederate cavalry occupied Boonsborough, Maryland.⁶⁰

The Federal re-enforcements from Washington, 2,800 men and three batteries under the command of Brigadier General A. P. Howe, reached

⁵⁸ Sigel to Maj. Gen. Hunter, July 5, 1864, 11 p.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 177; see also p. 176, and Part II, pp. 67-68; for battery on Loudoun Heights, see Maj. G. F. Merrian, Fort Duncan, to Capt. H. M. Burleigh, July 5, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 67.

⁵⁹ Report of Col. Cowand, 32nd NC Inf., Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 602; also report of Hotchkiss, p. 1020.

⁶⁰ Report of Hotchkiss, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 1020.

Maryland Heights at 3 a.m. on the morning of the 6th.⁶¹ The morning of the 6th was spent in completing preparations for the expected Confederate attack. Major G. F. Merrian, Chief of Artillery, requested at 9:30 a.m. that 570 men of the 5th New York Heavy Artillery be distributed among the defenses as follows: at Fort Duncan, 200 men; Battery Sullivan (K on Map IV), 80 men, Spur Battery (K on Map IV), 30 men; 30-pounder batter (H on Map IV), 60 men; mortar battery (F on Map IV), 30 men; 100-pounder battery (G on Map IV), 100 men; and the Stone Fort, 300 men.⁶² At noon, J. Donohoo telegraphed W. P. Smith: "From what we could see from Maryland Heights this A.M. we do not think there is a large force in or near the Ferry. It may be a small force in the town there merely to induce a force from Maryland Heights to cross. The enemy may have a sufficient force beyond Bolivar or hear Halltown to come up and attack any small force that cross into Harper's Ferry. There is very little artillery firing going on, owing I presume to the fact that the enemy keep in the town in and around houses occupied. There is considerable musketry firing. From what I can learn there must be a large force somewhere in this vicinity..."⁶³

Heavy skirmishing with the Confederates north of the Barnard lines began on the afternoon of the 6th. Major General Sigel reported: "the enemy advanced closely to our lines on the north, and intended an attack with one brigade of infantry against our left, where our lines

⁶¹ Howe to Maj. Gen. Augur, July 6, 1864, Vo. XXXVII, Part II, p. 61; Halleck to Grant, July 6, 1864, 2 p.m., p. 79.

⁶² Merrian to Capt. Burleigh, Asst. Adj. Gen., July 6, 1864, 9:30 a.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 87; also pp. 86-87, circular by Maj. Gen. Sigel to Officers and Soldiers, July 6, 1864.

⁶³ Donohoo to Smith, Noon, July 6, 1864, Reel 15, V. 4, pp. 633-634.

were the weakest. His attack was frustrated by a counter attack from our right. The enemy showed an extensive line from the Potomac to Elk Ridge Mountain [see Map IV]. Besides his skirmishers no large columns were visible. There were about 3,000 infantry in our front. Five thousand more were reported moving against us from Antietam Creek... 600 of General Stahel cavalry advanced against the enemy from Pleasant Valley, through Solomon's Gap and met the enemy on the west side of Elk Ridge, about five mile from here [on the Sharpsburg road]".⁶⁴

At 9:27 p.m., "Doctor" telegraphed to W. P. Smith: "There has been considerable picket firing at Harper's Ferry during today. Rebels have possession of the place and are pilfering from all houses. When in range of our guns on Heights they crawl through streets on hands and knees and bellies... Sigel saved whole train except 1 wagon which broke down at Falling Waters..."⁶⁵ E. R. Warner next reported: "Eleven o'clock p.m. observing a light at Harper's Ferry, Mr. Donohoo and myself started up to ascertain the cause. Went to the curve in the road near the bridge [on the Maryland side] until the reflection of the light on the rocks exposed us. Saw the enemy running about. The government buildings [Musket Factory and arsenal Square structures] and property are burning and I fear our [B&O] platform, trestle, office and all will go in consequence of their close proximity to the government buildings. Capt. Gardner left some 300,000 pounds of forage

⁶⁴ Maj. Gen. Sigel to Adj. Gen., U.S. Army, July 7, 1864, 6 a.m. (received 12:30 p.m.) Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 178-179; also p. 177, Sigel to Adj. Gen., July 6, 1864 (received 1:15 p.m.), p. 178, Sigel to Hunter, July 6, 1864, 12 p.m.; also report of Lt. Thayer, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 182. who had a signal man wounded in the skirmishing.

⁶⁵ Doctor to W. P. Smith, July 6, 1864, 3:27 p.m., R. 15, V. 5, p. 635; also Garrett to Stanton, July 6, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 86.

there and all of it makes a big fire and is now burning brightly..."⁶⁶

The woodwork of the B&O Potomac Bridge was also further damaged by this fire.⁶⁷

At midnight on July 6th, Major General Sigel again summed up his situation: "The force here consists of two old regiments infantry, four of Ohio National Guard, about 2,500 dismounted cavalry [led by Gen. Howe], two battalions of heavy artillery, and 26 field guns. In Pleasant Valley there are the cavalry under General Stahel, about 1,000 effective, the two companies of artillery, acting as infantry, and one four-gun battery. General Stahel is ordered to make a demonstration on the enemy's rear-that is, in my immediate front-toward Sharpsburg... They have shown a disposition to attack to-night or tomorrow for which I am fully prepared, although the infantry is, with the exception of two regiments and the heavy artillery, not very reliable..."⁶⁸

5. Thursday, July 7, 1864

Lewis' brigade, of Ramseur's Division, remained on Bolivar Heights until late in the evening of the 7th [see Map IV]. The brigade then marched, via Shepherdstown, to Sharpsburg, where it rejoined its division. McCausland's brigade moved from Sharpsburg to Hagerstown, where the unit engaged U. S. Regular Cavalry. The Confederate cavalry marched from Boonsborough to the vicinity of Frederick, Maryland, where skirmishing with Federal troops began. Rodes' division moved

⁶⁶ Warner to W. P. Smith, July 6, 1864, received 11:37 p.m., R. 15, V. 4, p. 589.

⁶⁷ J. Donohoo to W. P. Smith, July 7, 1864, 12:01 p.m., R. 15, V. 4, p. 591.

⁶⁸ Sigel to Adj. Gen, U.S.A., July 6, 1864, 12 p.m. (received 10 a.m., July 7), Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 178.

from Sharpsburg to Rohrsersville, in Pleasant Valley, and began skirmishing with Federal troops from Maryland Heights. Gordon's division, supported by that of Breckinridge, "drove in the enemy's outposts at Fort Duncan and Maryland Heights, and...engaged the enemy to within 600 yards of their very strong works."⁶⁹

At 6 a.m. on the morning of July 7, Major General Sigel wrote: "For to-day I order General Stahel with his whole cavalry, and with the 200 artillery armed as infantry, and four pieces of artillery from Pleasant Valley to move to Rohrsersville. Our lines on the north of our position are engaging the enemy now. An immense train of the rebels was yesterday in sight near Shepherdstown. Prisoners taken were of the 12th Georgia Regiment [a unit in Cook's Brigade, Rodes' Division]."⁷⁰

At 2 p.m. General Sigel informed Washington:

"Early commands the raiding force, composed of four divisions-Gordon's division, Rodes' and Ramseur's. The cavalry is commanded by Maj. Gen. Ransom, composed of McCausland's mounted infantry, Jones' and Jenkins' cavalry. Two division infantry are in my immediate front toward Sharpsburg. Four [sic] divisions are on the opposite side of the Potomac River... There is no doubt about the enemy concentrating against us. A prisoner saw Early, Brackinridge, and Gordon together yesterday. All disposable troops should be sent here, my troops consisting of over two-thirds of 100-days' men."⁷¹

Heavy skirmishing to the north of the Barnard lines continued throughout the day and until after dark.⁷² Heavy Federal cannonading from Maryland Heights continued through the night and from 9 p.m. to

⁶⁹ Report of Hotchkiss, Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 1020; Report of col. Cowand, 32nd NC Inf., p. 602.

⁷⁰ Sigel to Adj. Gen. U.S.A., July 7, 1864, 6 a.m. (received 12:21 p.m.), Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp. 178-179.

⁷¹ Sigel to Adj. Gen., July 7, 1864, 2 p.m. (received 6 p.m.), Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 179.

⁷² Vol. XXXVII, Gen. Weber, p. 188, p. 182, Report of Lt. Thayer, Signal Officer; Sigel's battle order circular, T. A. Meysenburg, Asst., Adj. Gen., July 7, 1864, 11 a.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 105.

midnight of the 7th, a second great fire, set by the Confederates, raged through the forage houses located in the Musket Factory yard; the Shenandoah bridge was also fired for a second time.⁷³

General Sigel described the action on the 7th as follows: "...the enemy made preparation for a general attack on our northern line, and tried to bring his artillery in position. Was unable to do so on account of field batteries and heavy pieces in the forts, which shelled their artillery, infantry, and trains for a distance of four miles..."⁷⁴

6. Friday, July 8, 1864

At 7 a.m. on July 8, J. Donohoo visited the lower town of Harpers Ferry and reported: "enemy was not in the town this morning... I conversed with many of the females who remained in the Ferry, in reference to the conduct of the enemy and their intentions, etc. Had a long conversation with Mrs. Chambers. The enemy were in her house and informed her all their activities in or around Harper's Ferry and Maryland Heights were merely a feint -while a large body of their army was moving in another direction for a much more important purpose. While in the Ferry I carefully examined condition of the [B&O] bridge and trestle work and find it [the wooden portions thereof] as been almost entirely destroyed from Maryland shore to Harper's Ferry side, and on Harper's Ferry side trestling is destroyed for about 100 yards. No private property was burned, but many of the houses are riddled with musketry. Was informed some 6 or 8 females were shot in Bolivar and on Camp Hill--those in Harper's Ferry are very much frightened and

⁷³ J. Donohoo to W. P. Smith, morning of July 8, 1864, R. 15, V. 5, p. 642.

⁷⁴ Sigel to Adj. Gen., U.S.A., July 8, 1864 (received 12:45 p.m.). Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 180.

alarmed. No government troops had crossed over to Harper's Ferry when I left Sandy Hook... We heard no firing this A.M. from the [Maryland] Heights nor could we learn anything as to the conditions of affairs there..."⁷⁵

At about 12 noon, Major General Sigel reported: "The enemy's forces who were in our front at Harper's Ferry have withdrawn during the night. Their rear guard is in sight of one of our [Col. Maulsby's] brigades, which is following them toward Sharpsburg. It seems that the main force of the enemy are taking the road to Boonsborough. Our cavalry from this place is now [at 11:30 a.m.] at Antietam Creek... General Stahel [with his cavalry] has orders to follow the enemy's movements from Pleasant Valley toward Boonsborough. He is now engaged with them. We have taken possession of Harper's Ferry..."⁷⁶ A pontoon bridge was thrown across the Potomac during the morning of the 8th and the Fifth New York Heavy Artillery occupied Camp Hill.⁷⁷ Colonel McBigan's brigade, with a small body of cavalry, was moved towards Point of Rocks via Jefferson.⁷⁸

At 1 p.m. Sigel again reported: "The following just received from General Stahel, in Pleasant Valley: 'The enemy is advancing in strong force, said to be a whole corps, in the Middletown Valley.' A few minutes ago I sent a report from Harper's Ferry stating that our

⁷⁵ Donohoo to W. P. Smith, July 8, 1864, R. 15, V. 5, pp. 342-343.

⁷⁶ Sigel to Adj. Gen., U.S.A., July 8, 1864, (received 12:45 p.m.), Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 180; Capt. E. Frey, Cavalry, at Antietam Bridge, to Sigel, July 8, 1864, 11:30 a.m., p. 178; T. A. Meysenburg, Asst. Adj. Gen. Reserve Division to Brig. Gen. Max Weber, July 8, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, P. 125; Part I, p. 186, report of Gen. Weber.

⁷⁷ Maj. G. F. Merrian to Capt. H. M. Burleigh, Asst. Adj. Gen., July 8, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 125.

⁷⁸ Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 182, Report of Lt. Thayer, Signal Officer.

advance from Maryland Heights is at Antietam Creek. According to all information received it seems certain that the enemy with his whole force is marching for Frederick..."⁷⁹

Late in the afternoon of July 8, Brigadier General Albion P. Howe assumed command of the Military District of Harpers ferry, thereby relieving Major Generals Franz Sigel and Julius Stahel of their command.⁸⁰

On the evening of the 8th, General Howe informed Halleck: "We have possession of Harper's Ferry and Bolivar Heights. The body of the enemy is I Middletown Valley. The most of them have crossed South Mountain today. I am in possession of Crampton's Pass. Prisoners taken to-day and deserters all state that the force of the enemy consists of Early's and Breckinridge's commands. From the reports of the cavalry officers and signal officers the force of the enemy appears to be about 20,000."⁸¹

On July 9, Ramseur's division had marched from Sharpsburg via Boonsborough and Middletown to the summit of Catoctin Mountain, where the Confederate cavalry were already in position. Rodes' division had moved from Rohrersville over the South Mountain through Crampton's Gap, and encamped near Jefferson. Breckinridge's and Gordon's divisions, withdrawing from before Maryland Heights, had marched through

⁷⁹ Sigel to Adj. Ge., U.S.A., July 8, 1864, 1 p.m., (received 3 p.m.), Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 180.

⁸⁰ Report of Lt. Thayer, Signal Officers, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 182; Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 104, Special Orders No. 230, July 7, 1864, by order of President of U.S., p. 124, orders of Sigel and Howe, July 8, 1864; Correspondence of Grant and Halleck leading to the replacement of Sigel see Part II, p. 98, July 7, 1864. See Appendix I, p. 87.

⁸¹ Howe to Halleck, July 8, 1864 (received 10:30 p.m.) Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 124.

Rohrersville, Fox's Gap, and Middletown, to the foot of the Catoctin Mountain. McCausland's brigade had marched all night the 7th from Hagerstown, passing through the Boonsborough Gap at daylight on the 8th, and proceeded to Frederick, where they skirmished during the day. The brigade then camped at Middletown that night.

On the 9th Early's troops moved through Frederick and fought the battle of Monocacy; from July 10 to the evening of July 12, 1864, his army then lay before Washington.⁸²

Thus came to an end the major Confederate attack on Harpers Ferry, July 4-8, 1864. Two thrusts by an army of 20,000 men had been checked by a federal force of 6,500 men, two-thirds of whom were green troops—100-day militia. In 1918, Major Sidney F. Shaw, Chief of Engineers of the Department of West Virginia, November 16, 1864 to 1865, reported in relation to this attack: "in a conversation with General J. B. Gordon, a few years since, I asked him why they did not storm the works. His reply was that he had his division ready on the Maryland Heights, but General Early would not allow him to do so, saying it would cost the lives of more men than it was worth."⁸³

A point not generally noted by the standard Civil War historians, in relation to this campaign, is that by successfully defending their position, the Federal troops at Harpers Ferry thereby delayed Early four days in his march on Washington. In other words, if the Union forces had evacuated the Harpers Ferry position on July 4, as Early apparently expected them to do, the Confederate army would have easily

⁸² Report of Hotchkiss, Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 1020-1021.

⁸³ Back of the Royal Blue, October, 1918, pp. 12-13, R. 38, V. 1, pp. 80-81.

reached Frederick, Maryland, on July 5 and could have been in the vicinity of Washington on July 6, instead, as was actually the case, of reaching that point on the 10th.

It also seems probably that if the 1864 Maryland Heights fortifications had existed in September, 1862, "Stonewall" Jackson would not have captured Harpers Ferry. Finally, the often repeated statement that Harpers Ferry, of necessity, was a military trap, in light of the 1864 campaign, would also appear to be false.

"Harpers Ferry and the Potomac River Bridge
From the Base of Maryland Heights, 1864"

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-61

This photograph was probably taken in late July or August, 1864, just after Early's attack on Harpers Ferry. The Musket Factory buildings (to the right of the iron bridge and situated along the river) have been re-roofed as depot buildings. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bridge across the Potomac has also been repaired by means of wooden trestles at the far side of the river. Just above these two trestles can be seen a large one story brick building in the Old Arsenal Square. This structure is probably the first floor of the Large Arsenal, covered by a temporary roof. Note also that Monument Bldgs. No. 10, 11, and 40 have been heavily damaged by fire. The hill rising in the center is Camp Hill. General Sheridan's headquarters, Armory Dwelling No. 32, is partly concealed by the four or five trees standing on the summit. The hill to the right of the photograph is called Magazine Hill, and the structure about the center of this summit may possibly be the old Armory Magazine. Just below this magazine, close to the right side of Washington Street, can be seen a number of army tents. [See also HF-25, p. 102, HF-38, p. 103, HF-362, p. 107, and HF-40, p. 74]



Sherr, Artist.

HARPER'S FERRY.

CHAPTER III: HARPERS FERRY BECOMES THE BASE OF OPERATIONS

FOR SHERIDAN'S ARMY, AUGUST, 1864 - FEBRUARY, 1865

1. A New Army is Formed

As a result of Early's activities in the Shenandoah Valley, General Grant dispatched the 6th and 19th Army Corps from the Army of the Potomac to re-enforce Major General David Hunter, then commanding the Department of West Virginia. These veteran troops crossed the Potomac on the pontoon bridge at Harpers Ferry on July 29, 1864, and joined Hunter's army at Halltown. On the 30th, Hunter led his entire force back to Harpers Ferry, where they recrossed the Potomac, and proceeded to Jefferson, Maryland. By the 3rd of August, Hunter's army lay at Monocacy, Maryland, where they remained until the 4th, awaiting further orders.⁸⁴

On August 4, Hunter ordered the 19th Army Corps, under Major General William H. Emory, to advance to Harpers Ferry.⁸⁵ The same evening, the 6th Army Corps, under the command of Major General Horatio G. Wright, was also directed to move to Harpers Ferry.⁸⁶ On the 5th, Grant directed that all of Hunter's army, including a re-enforcement of 5,000 veteran cavalry, led by Brigadier General Alfred T. A. Torbert and then on the way to Hunter, be concentrated at Harpers Ferry.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Itinerary of the 6th Army Corps, Maj. Gen. Horatio G. Wright, USA, commanding, July 1-August 3, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 270; pp. 284-285, Itinerary of 6th Army Corps, pp. 114-116, Report of Capt. Franklin E. Town, Chief Signal Officer, of operations March 1-September 2, 1864, Sept. 4, 1864; also Part II, pp. 518-519. [Troops at Harpers Ferry, Appendix I, p. 87]

⁸⁵ Hunter to Halleck, Aug. 4, 1864, 4:30 p.m., Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 684, p. 687.

⁸⁶ Orders of Wright, August 4, 1864, 11:55 p.m., Vol. XLIII, Part I p. 686.

⁸⁷ Grant to Halleck, Aug. 5, 1864, 8 p.m., Vol XLIII, Part I, p. 695; also pp. 694-698.

The 19th Army corps arrived at Harpers Ferry on the morning of August 5 and took up a position on Maryland Heights.⁸⁸ The 6th Army Corps arrived later on the same day, and Torbert's Cavalry began arriving on August 6th.⁸⁹ At 9 a.m. on the 6th, the 19th Army Corps crossed the Potomac and occupied Halltown,⁹⁰ where they remained until the 10th.

General Grant, on August 1, 1864, had decided to place Major General Philip S. Sheridan in command of the newly formed army.⁹¹ The new commander arrived at Harper's Ferry at 7:30 p.m., August 6, and at once assumed command of this force.⁹² On the 7th, Sheridan was officially placed in temporary command of the newly created Middle Military Division, which embraced the former Middle Department and also the Departments of Washington, of the Susquehanna, and of West Virginia.⁹³ General Sheridan established his headquarters at the Armory Paymaster's Quarters on Camp Hill (Armory Dwelling No. 32 on the 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2). A drawing of this house will be found on the following page of this report. (See also 1865 map, Appendix II, p. 99, for the location of this building.

2. Completion of the Harpers Ferry Fortifications

Many problems confronted Sheridan in his new command; among these were the choice and creation of a secure base of operations for the

⁸⁸ Gen. Hunter to Adj. Gen. U.S.A., Aug. 5, 1864, 10 a.m., Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 698; Orders placing 19th Corps, Lt. S. F. Adams, Aid-de-camp, to Col. W. P. Maulsby, Aug. 5, 1864, p. 701, and Maj. Wm. Sinclair to Col. James A. Hardie, Aug. 5, 1864, 3 p.m., p. 690.

⁸⁹ S. F. Adams to Maj. John Huntly, Aug. 5, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 702, Halleck to Grant, Aug. 6, 1864, 1:30 a.m., p. 708.

⁹⁰ Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 710.

⁹¹ Grant to Halleck, Aug. 1, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, pp. 558-559.

⁹² Vol. XLIII, Part I, Sheridan to Grant, Aug. 8, 1864, 7:30 p.m., p. 710; also pp. 695, 709.

⁹³ Vol. XLII, Part I, p. 719, General Orders No. 240, Aug. 7, 1864.

"August, 1864: The War in Upper Virginia-Gen. Sheridan's Headquarters
at Harper's Ferry-From a Sketch by our Special Artist."

From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, September 3, 1864,
page 381.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-341.

A View of Major General Philip S. Sheridan's Headquarters, located
in the Paymaster's Quarters on Camp Hill (Armory Dwelling No. 32, on
1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. 3021, sheet two). The house is
still standing (although a third story has been added) on Storer Col-
lege property, and is known today as the "Lockwood House."



GENERAL SHERIDAN'S HEADQUARTERS AT HADDER'S FERRY — FROM A SKETCH BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST, J. E. TAYLOR.

support and supply of his army. In October, 1862, Major General George B. McClellan, then commander of the Army of the Potomac, had recommended "the permanent and secure occupation of Harper's Ferry" by the construction of fortifications on Bolivar Heights, Camp Hill, Loudoun Heights, and Maryland Heights, for the purpose of developing the position as the major base of operations in the Shenandoah Valley. The Secretary of War and General Halleck had overruled McClellan at that time, on the grounds that Harpers Ferry was not a proper base for operations and had therefore only authorized the fortification of Loudoun and Maryland Heights.⁹⁴ General Sheridan was now, in effect, to carry out McClellan's 1862 recommendations.

Between August 6 and August 23, 1864, Sheridan had the fortifications completed on Bolivar Heights, such as McClellan's engineers had suggested in October, 1862, apparently for the purpose of rendering secure a great park for his wagon trains in the vicinity of the town of Bolivar.⁹⁵

The alterations and additions made to the Bolivar Heights defenses by Sheridan consisted of the following works (see map IV):⁹⁶

1. The line of rifle-pits, extending between Batteries 1 and 2, was converted into a solid earth embankment with a trench on the east or

⁹⁴ See Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 7-11.

⁹⁵ See Vo. XLIII, Part I, pp. 744-745, for Sheridan's orders to Generals Crook and Torbert, August 8, to park their wagon trains "inside the works at Bolivar Heights," also for 6th Army Corps.

⁹⁶ No correspondence relating to this subject has been found in the Official Records. However, a comparison of the works [shown on Hotchkiss' July 4, 1864 map on Bolivar Heights with existing works] actually found on the ground by the writer, indicates that Sheridan must have built them in August, 1864. See, Howe, Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 78, Itinerary of 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, 19th Corps, Aug. 23, 1864.

inner side of the wall.

2. On the extreme left flank, between the Charles Town pike and the Shenandoah river, Batteries 3 and 4 were erected. From 5 to 6, a long and strong earth embankment was thrown up, terminating in a gun position at 6, with dry ditch dug around the front and sides of this battery. These additions rendered the Bolivar Heights position secure and blocked the route by which "Stonewall" Jackson and Jubal Early had attacked Harpers Ferry in 1862 and 1864.

3. Preparations for the Advance

The B&O Railroad's Potomac Bridge, consisting of four iron and three wooden spans, was repaired and placed in running order on July 21, 1864.⁹⁷ To further ensure adequate communications and supplies for Sheridan's army, a wagon roadway was added to the railroad bridge on August 14, 1864. A new pontoon bridge, 16 feet wide, as also secured at this time for use over the Potomac.⁹⁸ The Winchester and Potomac Railroad, which had been destroyed by Confederate troops, was repaired from Harpers Ferry to Halltown, a distance of six miles, between August 14 and 19, 1864.⁹⁹ The Quartermaster Corps, after re-roofing the burned buildings in the Musket Factory yard, established an immense supply depot at Harpers Ferry,¹⁰⁰ as did the Ordnance Department for the storing, issuing and repairing of arms and ammunition.¹⁰¹ (See

⁹⁷ Smith to Stanton, July 21, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part II, pp. 409-410.

⁹⁸ Weber to Forsyth, Aug. 15, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 605, also pp. 747-748, 780, 788, 795 and 763.

⁹⁹ Report of Brig. Gen. D. S. McCallum to Meigs, May 26, 1866, O.R.S. III, Vol. V, p. 978; also O.R.S.I, XLIII, Part I, p. 780, Gen. Weber to Forsyth, Aug. 12, 1864.

¹⁰⁰ Hardie to Sheridan, Aug. 10, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 759 and photos.

¹⁰¹ Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 38, 121, 175, 303, 330, 336, 664, 783.

Photographs HF-207, HF-216, HF-208 and HF-88 on the following pages, 41-44 of this report.) On August 27, 1864, a large medical depot for Sheridan's army was also set up at Harpers Ferry.¹⁰²

On August 15, 1864, Brigadier General John D. Stevenson, U. S. Volunteers, was assigned to the command of the Military District of Harpers Ferry, with his headquarters at Harpers Ferry.¹⁰³ (A view of his headquarters, HF-88, which were located in Monument Bldg. No 36, will be found on page 44.)

On August 20, Colonel N. P. Chipman reported to the Secretary of War: "Aggregate force reporting to General Stevenson, commanding Harper's Ferry, is 12,396. Of these 3,056 are armed and equipped as infantry and good fighting men; 2,056 are 100-days' men, ordered home, time expired; 1,416 stragglers and convalescents badly armed, disorganized and of little use; 1,900 dismounted cavalry partially armed. Add to this heavy artillery 480 men, 30 guns; 983 light artillery, 49 guns. This includes all outposts, Frederick, south of Monocacy, and between there and here [Harpers Ferry] and Halltown. The force is thought to be ample to hold Maryland Heights proper and Fort Duncan on the point of land about 3,000 yards west of Stone [Fort] Battery, and the 100-pounder Parrott [at G, Map IV] on the heights, and perfectly commanded by them. The guns of Fort Duncan and Maryland Heights

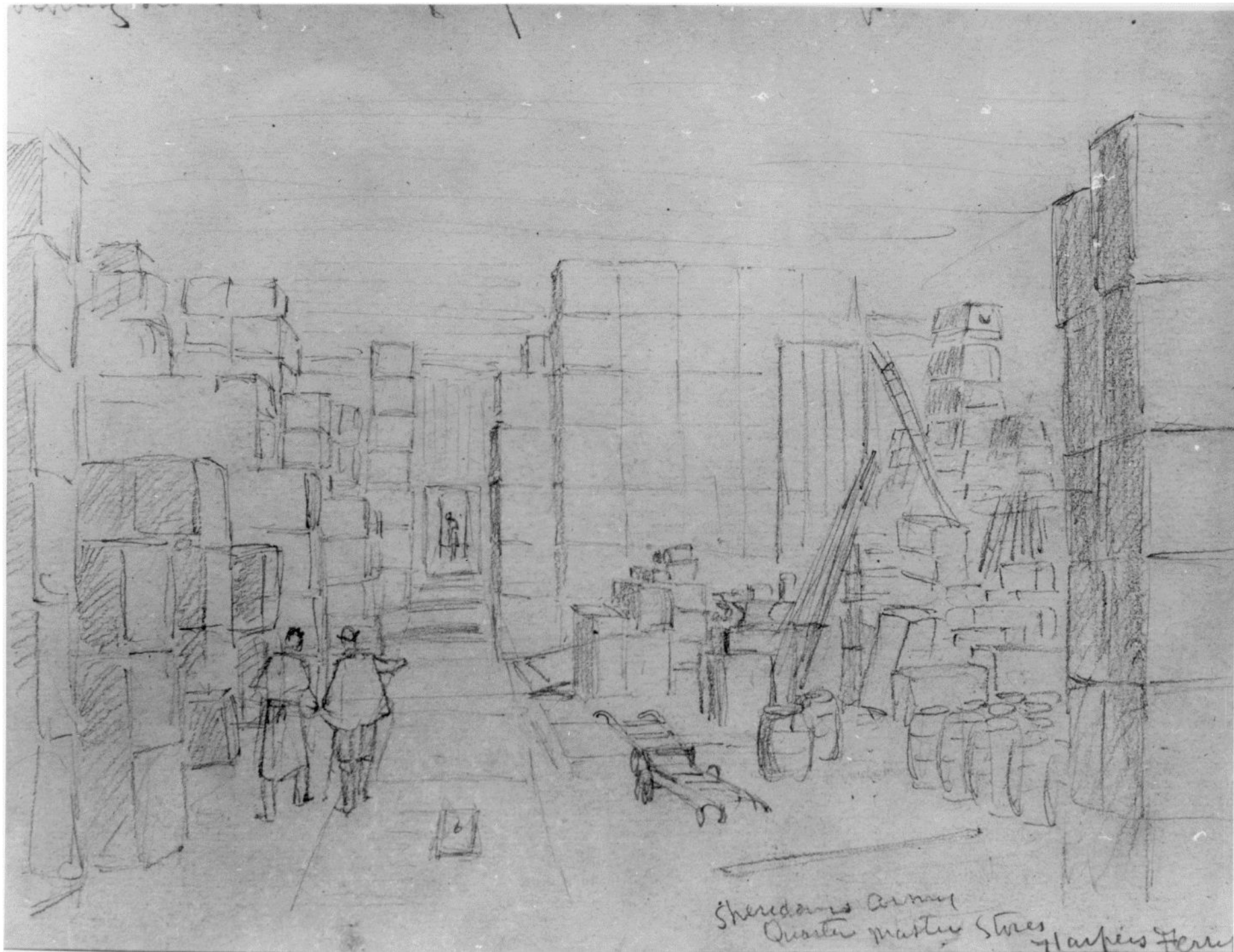
¹⁰² Report of Surgeon James T. Chiselin, U. S. Army Medical Director, Middle Military Division of operations, Aug. 27-Dec. 31, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 139.

¹⁰³ General Order No. 66, August 15, 1864, by Maj. Gen. Crook, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 603.

"Sheridan's Army, Quarter master Stores, Harper's Ferry, 1864"

From the original sketch by A. R. Waud in the Library of Congress.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-207.

This sketch was made by Waud in November or December, 1864, and shows the interior of a re-roofed Musket Factory Building. The drawing illustrates how Harpers Ferry served as the main base of operations for the army of Major General Philip S. Sheridan from August, 1864, to February, 1865.



Sheridan's Army
Quarters Harper's Ferry
Main Street

"Quarter Master Depot, Harper's Ferry, 1864"

From the original sketch by A. R. Waud, in the Library of Congress.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-216.

The sketch was made by Waud in November or December, 1864, and shows the interior of a re-roofed Musket Factory building. The drawing illustrates how Harpers Ferry served as the main base of operations for the army of Major General Philip S. Sheridan from August, 1864, to February, 1865.



Ward

Dick

Carriage
House

Q.M. Depot

"Bakery, Harper's Ferry In the Ruins of the Arsenal. Soft Bread for
Sheridan's Army, 5,000 Loaves per day, 1864."

From the original sketch by A. R. Waud in the Library of Congress.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. Hf-208.

This drawing further illustrates how Harpers Ferry served as the main base of Sheridan's Army from August, 1864, to February, 1865. The sketch was made by Waud in November or December, 1864. The bakery was probably located in the first floor of the Large Arsenal, situated in the old Arsenal Square, Block A, Shenandoah Street. Not the temporary roofing.



1861 Soft Bread for Sheridan's army
From Loaves, Ken & Co. Bakery, Harper's Ferry in ruins of the arsenal
Capt Island, C.S.

Three sketches by A. R. Waud, Published in Harper's Weekly, March 11, 1865, pages 152-153

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-88

1. Upper left hand sketch: "United States Arsenal [Armory, the Musket Factory] at Harper's Ferry, now used for Quarter-Master's Stores for Sheridan's Army."

Note the wagon train used to carry supplies to Sheridan. The large building in the center is Musket Factory Bldg. No. 13-the Smith Shop. That on the right, corner showing, is No. 12-the warehouse; and that to the left of Bldg. 13, is Bldg. No. 14-the Annealing and Brass Foundry. (See 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2.)

2. Upper right hand sketch: "View in Harper's Ferry - General [John D.] Stevenson's Headquarters, Loudoun Heights in the Distance."

General Stevenson's headquarters was located in the house in the center of the drawing, Monument Bldg. No. 36; to the right of this stands Monument Bldg. No. 35 and further to the right, the houses situated on Lots No. 1, 2 and 3, Block C., Shenandoah Street. To the left of Bldg. No. 36 stands the Old Arsenal Square, occupied by temporary war structures. Beyond these rises the west slope of Loudoun Heights. The street running in front of the above-named houses is Shenandoah Street. To the right of the sketch is the corner of Monument Bldg. No. 9 and a portion of the front on Bldg. No. 10. Note the telegraph wires and poles.

3. Lower double page sketch: "Junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, from the cemetery [on Camp Hill] above Harpers Ferry."

The Potomac flows from the left and the Shenandoah from the right, joining in the center of the print. Maryland Heights, the south end and west slope, rises on the left, and the west slope and north end of Loudoun Heights is to be seen on the right of the sketch. At the base of Maryland Heights can be seen the C&O Canal. Note also that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has completed its iron bridge across the Potomac. The people in the foreground are standing in Harpers Graveyard on Camp Hill. The rear of Monument Bldg. 48A-St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, can be seen in the center, just to the right of the railroad bridge and beyond the stone wall of the cemetery.



ENTERED BY THE RIVER AT HARPER'S FERRY, NOV. 1862 FOR Q.



W. H. W. W.



JUNCTION OF THE POTOMAC AND SHENANDOAH RIVERS, FROM THE CEMETERY ABOVE HARPER'S FERRY.—DRAWING BY J. S. WARD.—(See, page 100.)

command the town of Harper's Ferry, Bolivar Heights, and would make between heights untenable. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose Harper's Ferry abandoned by retiring to the heights; it is the only way really to hold it... The force here is not well organized except the artillery, but is rapidly being put in fighting condition.¹⁰⁴

On August 21, Signal stations were opened on Maryland Heights and Camp Hill to communicate with Sheridan's army, which then lay near Charles Town.¹⁰⁵ Sheridan informed Stevenson on the 21st: "There are indications of a fight here [at Charles Town. Early's army was then maneuvering in Sheridan's front]. I have sent all wagons inside Bolivar Heights. There is one brigade of infantry with them. You must hold the line of Bolivar Heights. Use dismounted cavalry if necessary.¹⁰⁶ Stevenson replied: "ALL trains are parked under guns of Camp Hill. I hold Bolivar Heights with strong infantry line as far as Horseshoe [Bend on the Potomac], and then on second ridge as far as Shenandoah River. Have in position on my line 20 pieces of artillery. Think I can hold the line easily against attacking force of 10,000 men..."¹⁰⁷

On the 22nd Sheridan's army fell back to near Halltown, taking up a defensive position at that point (see general line on Map IV and for a detailed map of Sheridan's position, August 22-August 27, 1864, see

¹⁰⁴ Chipman, aide-de-camp, to Stanton, Aug. 20, 1864, 10 p.m., Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 589.

¹⁰⁵ Stevenson to Sheridan, Aug. 21, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 877; also p. 836-837.

¹⁰⁶ Sheridan to Stevenson, Aug. 21, 1864, *Ibid.*, p. 876.

¹⁰⁷ Stevenson to Sheridan, Aug. 21, 1864, *Ibid.*, p. 877; also p. 871, Chipman to Stanton, Aug. 21, 1864, 6 p.m., "Trains and all army baggage are being parked in valley this [Harper's Ferry] side Bolivar Heights."

The Official Atlas of the Civil War, 1956, Plate 69, Maps 1 and 2).¹⁰⁸

Col. Chipman, after visiting that line, described the position as follows: "The left of the infantry rests to the left of Charlestown pike and over a mile beyond Halltown. The right is almost directly west of Harper's Ferry, and about two miles from Bolivar Heights. The line runs along a commanding ridge which overlooks a broad valley beyond, and is a position of great natural strength. The intervals to the left and right, connecting the rivers, say a mile each, are not so strong, but the enemy could hardly succeed in a flank movement..."¹⁰⁹ On the 24th, Chipman further wrote: "The formation of Sheridan's line is as follows: 6th Corps on right, 19th center, General Crook on left. General Crook is strengthened by a division from 6th Corps and some other troops massed in support. It is not possible to assault the line successfully except on the left, and every precaution is taken against it there."¹¹⁰ In February, 1866, Sheridan, described this situation: "I at once [August 16, 1864] looked over the map of the [Shenandoah] Valley for a defensive line-that is, where a smaller number of troops could hold a greater number-and could see but one such. I refer to that at Halltown, in front of Harper's Ferry. Subsequent experience has convinced me that no other really defensive line exists in the Shenandoah Valley. I therefore determined to move back to Halltown."¹¹¹

Sheridan remained in position at Halltown from August 22 to August

¹⁰⁸ Sheridan to Grant, Aug. 22, 1864, 10:30 p.m., Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 880.

¹⁰⁹ Chipman to Stanton, Aug. 22, 1864, 1 p.m., Vol XLIII, Part I, p. 880.

¹¹⁰ Chipman to Stanton, Aug. 24, 1864, Ibid., p. 890, 892-893.

¹¹¹ Report of Sheridan, Feb. 3, 1866, Vol. XLIII, Part I p. 43.

27, 1864; at 9 a.m. on the 28th, his army then began its historic campaign moving down the Shenandoah Valley.¹¹² Sheridan left behind Col. Currie's 3rd brigade of the 1st Division from the 19th Army Corps, which he instructed General Stevenson to place on Bolivar Heights.¹¹³ The force left to hold Harpers Ferry amounted to about 9,000 men.¹¹⁴

4. Problems of Supply for an Advancing Army, September-November, 1864

On August 28, 1864, Lieutenant General Grant directed Sheridan to: "Give the enemy no rest, and if it is possible to follow to the Virginia Central road... Do all the damage to railroads and crops you can. Carry off stock of all descriptions, and negroes, so as to prevent further planting. If the war is to last another year, we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste."¹¹⁵ Sheridan's army proceeded southward on the 28th. During September, his supplies were transported forward from Harpers Ferry by means of great wagon trains, numbering sometimes 1,000 wagons, that were escorted by several thousand soldiers. Returning from his army to Harpers Ferry, these wagons carried growing numbers of Federal and Confederate wounded, and also thousands of prisoners. For protection, when at Harpers Ferry, these great trains were parked inside the defensive works on Bolivar Heights.¹¹⁶ (See HF-459, p. 105, in Appendix III) The further the Union army advanced, however, the greater was the effort and resources

¹¹² Chipman to Stanton, 10 p.m., Aug. 28, 1864, Ibid., p. 940, also pp. 933, 941.

¹¹³ Sheridan to Stevenson, Aug. 28, 1864, Ibid., p. 949, p. 78.

¹¹⁴ Forsyth to Stevenson, Aug. 29, 1864, p. 958. Ibid. see Appendix I, p. 88.

¹¹⁵ Grant to Sheridan, Aug. 26, 1864, 2:30 p.m., Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 917.

¹¹⁶ See Vol XLIII, Part II, pp. 20, 25, 34-35, 59, 62-63, 67, 71, 87-88, 91, 115-116, 123-125, 139, 148, 149, 158-159, 160, 163, 168-169, 173, covering the period Sept. 3-25, 1864.

required to supply Sheridan's troops. In an effort to improve this situation, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was rebuilt, September 9 to 20, 1864, from Harpers Ferry to Martinsburg, from which point a great macadamized wagon road ran south to Staunton, Va. The opening of the railroad to Martinsburg cut about 10 miles off the distance of the wagon trains going to Sheridan's force, as compared to those leaving from Harpers Ferry.¹¹⁷

On September 24, General Stevenson informed Secretary of War Stanton:

"With the increase of distance and additions to the force of Major-General Sheridan's army, there ought to be at once at least 300 wagons sent to this post and Martinsburg, to carry forward necessary supplies ...This would enable us to meet promptly unexpected demands, and is a reserve absolutely requisite for an army the size of General Sheridan's, operating so far from its base. The loss of one train by a careless officer would defeat a campaign..."¹¹⁸

On the 25th Sheridan reported: "I am now 94 miles from Martinsburg and 104 miles from Harper's Ferry," and that his army was still moving further to the south.¹¹⁹ On the same day, General Stevenson suggested to Stanton the rebuilding of the Winchester and Potomac railroad from Halltown, where the line ended, on 21 miles to Winchester, a town which was also situated on the great macadamized Valley wagon road. He pointed out that "this track can be laid very rapidly, with a large force, at the rate of 1½ miles per day... Harper's Ferry, with its ample store-houses, can be made the main depot [thus eliminating Martinsburg with its limited facilities and exposed position]; Stephenson's or

¹¹⁷ Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp. 34, 40, 47-48, 54, 56, 60-61, 74, 126, 159-161; Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 965-966; p. 41 for road. Annual Report for B&O, 1864, R. 15, V. 3, pp. 378-379.

¹¹⁸ Stevenson to Stanton, Sept. 24, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp. 168-169.

¹¹⁹ Sheridan to Grant, Sept. 25, 1864, 11:30 p.m., Ibid., p. 170.

Winchester, the supply depot. Trains can make the run in an hour and a half; in case of emergency in an hour; reduces hauling in wagons 22 miles; save 24 hours in time...," furthermore, the Winchester railroad could also be easily protected.¹²⁰ The plan was taken under study, but throughout October and November, 1864, the great wagon trains continued to wend their way southward from both Harpers Ferry and Martinsburg, and to return loaded with captured booty, wounded, refugees and prisoners. New recruits were also organized, trained and armed at Harpers Ferry, and then sent forward to Sheridan's army.¹²¹

On November 9, after having fought and won the battles of Fisher's Mill, September 19, and Cedar Creek, October 19, and having also devastated the Shenandoah Valley as far south as Staunton, Virginia, Sheridan withdrew his army to Winchester, Virginia, where he planned to spend the winter of 1864-65.¹²² To facilitate the supply of the Federal army at Winchester, 22 miles of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad, extending from Halltown to Stephenson's Depot, a point about five miles from Winchester, was rebuilt November 2-24, 1864. The total length of the railroad, from Harpers Ferry to Stephenson's Depot, was 28 miles.¹²³ The opening of this railroad ended the necessity of

¹²⁰ Stevenson to Stanton, Sept. 25, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp. 174-175, also p. 187.

¹²¹ Vol. XLVII, Part II, pp. 221-222, 253, 263-264, 270-272, 276-278, 293-294, 303-304, 321, 330, 302, 343, 373, 380-382, 418-419, 427-428, 439, 446-447, 453, 471-472, 529, all October. For November see pp. 575, 597, 664, 675, 704.

¹²² Itinerary of Sheridan's army, Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 63-106. For a description of the destruction wrought in the Valley, see Sheridan to Grant, October 7, 1864, 9 p.m., Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp. 307-308.

¹²³ Brig. Gen. D. S. McCalum to Maj. Gen. M. C. Meigs, Quartermaster General, May 26, 1865, Series III, Vol. V, p. 978; also Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp. 465, 468-469, 683, 487-488, 494, 498-499, 592-593, 565, 574-575, 582, 593-597, 604, 639-640, 650, 668-669, 918.

running large wagon trains from Martinsburg to points in the field.¹²⁴ Railroad depot grounds and sidings were built at Stephenson's Depot. The rolling stock of the railroad included of 13 engines and about 75 cars, and some 600 men were employed in the operation of the railroad. The old scrap rail, formerly used by the W&P RR Company, was removed from the track and replaced with T rail. At Harpers Ferry, a engine house and machine shops were built on the lower Hall Rifle Factory Island and a number of extensive platforms were erected at both Harpers Ferry and Stephenson's Depot for the shipping of quartermaster's and commissary stores. From December, 1864, through June 1865, 2,238 trains passed over this line, carrying nearly 200,000 persons, with only one accident of any consequence occurring and that involving the loss of life by one man.¹²⁵

As a result of the opening of the Winchester and Potomac line, the medical purveyor for Sheridan's army moved his depot to Harper's Ferry and the medical director of transportation was also ordered to Harpers Ferry, where four hospital and two passenger cars were kept at all times for their use.¹²⁶ The Rifle Factory Island at Harpers Ferry served both as a depot for supplying Sheridan at Winchester, and also as a staging area for transferring troops to Grant and Sheridan.¹²⁷

From December, 1864, until the end of the Civil War, Harpers Ferry thus continued to serve as the main supply base for Sheridan's

¹²⁴ Lt. Col. Henry Page to Maj. Gen. M. C. Meigs, Aug. 15, 1865, Series III, Vol. V, p. 466.

¹²⁵ Report by Bvt. Brig. Gen. D. C. McCallum, Director and General Manager, Military Railroads, USA., June 30, 1865, Series III, Vol. V, p. 77.

¹²⁶ Report Surgeon Chislin, USA, Medical Director, Vol. XLIII, Part I, P. 144.

¹²⁷ Vol. XLIII, Part II, P. 670, 683, 697, 705-711, 717, 726, 750, 758, 765, 800, 816, 828; Vol. XLVI, Part II, pp. 188-189, 898; Part III, p. 541, 828.

"The Western End of the Island of Virginus From
Jefferson Rock, May, 1865."

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-119

The building in the foreground, below the cliff, is the Armory Stables, located in Lot No. 2, Block F, Shenandoah Street. Beyond this structure may be seen a portion of the Shenandoah Canal and then the western end of the Island of Virginus, with the engines and cars of the U.S. Military Railroad running over it. Beyond the island is the Shenandoah River, with Loudoun Heights rising on the left had side of the photograph.

Bldgs. On the island: Beginning at the left, rear of Bldg. No. 12, a dwelling; moving to the right; Bldg. 13, also a dwelling; next Bldgs. No. 15, 16, and 36, dwellings. To the left of them and largely concealed by smoke from the engine, are dwellings No. 17, 18, 19, 20, 35, 34, and 33. To the right of train are Bldgs. No. 32 and 22, dwellings; also Bldg. No. 31 and the covered bridge leading to the island. The large ruined stone structure beyond these is Bldg. No 2-Abraham H. Herr's Island Mills, the flour mill that was burned by the Confederates on October 19, 1861. To the right of this mill can be seen Bldg. No. 24 and 25 and 27, all dwellings. Beyond these structures and to the right, lies the ruined structures of the U.S. Rifle Factory, located on Hall's Island. The large buildings standing to the left of the Rifle Factory ruins are probably temporary structures erected by the United States Military Railroad, which had its depot located on the Hall Islands. (See Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2, for the location of these buildings.) See also HF-70, p. 80; HF37, p. 82.



troops; new recruits were trained and the wounded and prisoners were also received here from the front.¹²⁸

5. The Shenandoah Pontoon Bridge, December, 1864

On December 13, 1864, Sheridan ordered General Stevenson to secure a pontoon bridge for use over the Shenandoah at Harpers Ferry.¹²⁹ Stevenson received the bridge on December 17 and had the pontoons in place on December 20, 1864.¹³⁰ The bridge was utilized to maintain communications with Loudoun Heights and also, by Sheridan, to send several cavalry expeditions from Harpers Ferry into Loudoun County, Virginia, to where those units swept that countryside clean of supplies and forage.¹³¹ The Shenandoah pontoon was used from December, 1864 until April, 1865, when the Civil War came to an end.¹³²

¹²⁸ Vo. XLIII, Part II, pp. 741-742, 749-754, 771, 816-819; Vol. XLVI, Part II, pp. 58-59, 724-726, 894, 898, 912-913; Part III, pp. 868-869, 872, 914, 1153, 1312.

¹²⁹ Sheridan to Stevenson, Dec. 13, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part II, p. 783, 786.

¹³⁰ Stevenson to Forsyth, Dec. 13, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp. 798-799.

¹³¹ Vol. XLIII, Part II, p. 835; Vol. XLVI, Part II, p. 252, 265-266, 684-685, 724-726, 910; Part III, pp. 26-27, 48-49.

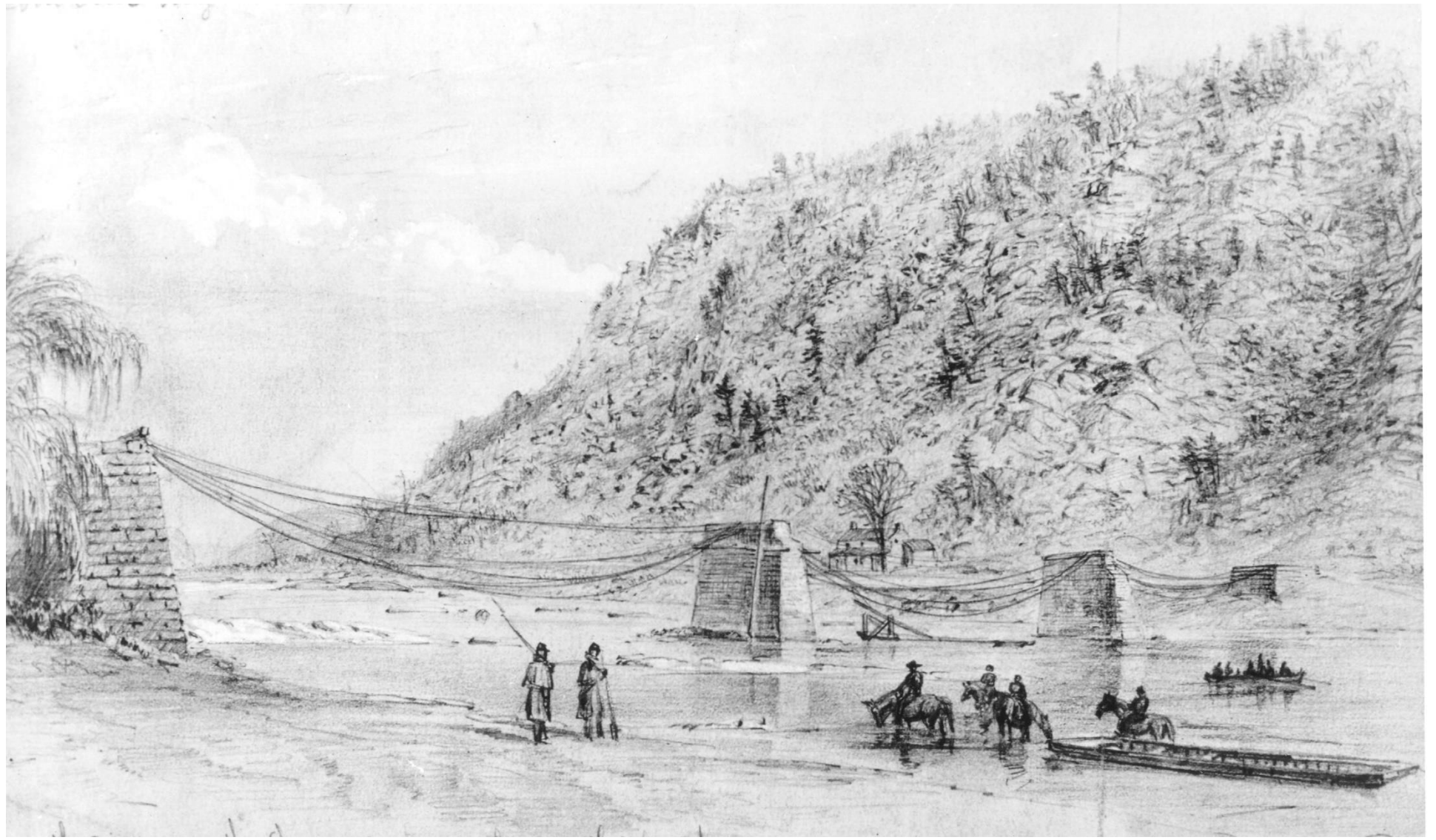
¹³² Vo. XLVI, Part III, p. 277.

Ruins of the Shenandoah Bridge at Harper's Ferry,
Loudoun Heights Beyond, 1864."

From the original sketch by A. R. Waud in the Library of Congress.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-206.

The river in the foreground is the Shenandoah and the stone piers are the remains of the Shenandoah covered bridge at Harpers Ferry, which was burned by the Confederates on June 28, 1861. The heavy wires running across the top of these piers are probably the remains of the wire suspension bridge that was erected by the Union Army in 1862-1863 and destroyed in July of 1864. On the far side of the river rises the west slope and north end of Loudoun Heights; note the ground cover.

This sketch was probably made in November and certainly before December 17, 1864, when a new pontoon bridge was thrown across the Shenandoah at this point. Note armory Dwelling No. 9 on far side of river below 2nd and 3rd piers.



CHAPTER IV: STATE OF THE HARPERS FERRY DEFENSES, JULY 27, 1865.

In July, 1865, Brigadier General and Inspector Edward D. Ramsey made a detailed inspection of Maryland Heights and Harpers Ferry. His inspection report, which was submitted to Brigadier General A. B. Dyer, Chief of Ordnance, on July 27, 1865,¹³³ is used below to describe these defenses in detail, and also the use of many buildings in Harpers Ferry by the U. S. Army.

1. Maryland Heights

Sandy Hook [Maryland].

At a distance of 1½ miles from the rail-road bridge at Harpers Ferry, is No. 6 Magazine, situated in a ravine [in Pleasant Valley, near Sandy Hook]. This magazine is a frame building 16 x 52 x 13 ft. The foundation is of stone, quite substantially built, and which insures a good support for the large amount of closely packed ammunition which it contains. I found on examination that the powder was well preserved. The boxes were piled too high, for convenience; but the necessity which induced the erection of this magazine, viz: to have ammunition available at convenient points outside of Harpers Ferry, caused it to be packed to its utmost capacity. A guard for its protection is quartered near the Magazine.

No.6 Store House.

Is a frame building [situated at Sandy Hook, Maryland] one mile from Harper's Ferry, and close to the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road, convenient for receiving and shipping stores. The dimensions of this

¹³³ Ramsey to Dyer, National Archives R.G. 156, 7 page letter, Harpers Ferry Photostatic Collection, Vol. 4, pp. 50-56.

building are 100 x 40 x 14 feet, and it is used for the storage of serviceable Horse Equipments, Carbines, Sabres, &c. The stores are well preserved and the Store house in fair condition.

No. 4 Magazine.

Is in an old stone building, [private property taken over by the U.S. and located between Harpers Ferry and Sandy Hook], under impending rocky cliffs, in bad condition, and unsuited for the storage of the large amount of ammunition which it now contains, and which I ordered to be otherwise disposed of.

The magazine [for photos see HF-24, p. 104; 25, p. 102; 38, p. 103 Appendix III and HF-88 on page 44] was altogether too crowded- the boxes inconveniently high- and without proper passages for reaching them. At the time it was hurriedly appropriated to its present use, no better selection could be made. The greatest objection to it is, that the railroad passes within a few feet of it, and the building is at any moment liable to be destroyed by fire. [Note: Ordnance Store Houses and magazines No. 1, 2 and 3 will be found described under the heading of "Harpers Ferry"]

"Maryland Heights.

1. Fort Duncan [see map IV] - commanded by Capt. P. Cardwell, 147th Ind. Inf. Vols.- and the Head Quarters of Major J. J. Finnly, 147th Ind. and commander of the defenses of Maryland Heights. This Fort is on the second plateau above the river and commands Bolivar Heights, Harpers Ferry, and the approaches to its rear [that is, from the north]. The armament of the fort consists of:

8-30 pdr. Parrott guns on Siege Carriages,
3-12 pdr. Bronze field guns captures (marked J. R. Anderson, Richmond, Va.)

2-12 pdr. Field guns, (C. A. Alger & Co., 1862.)
1-Mountain Howitzer,
1-24 pdr. Coehorn Mortars - (three vacant platforms).
[Total 16 guns]

Within the fort are three magazines - one of them empty and requiring repairs. The other two magazines are in excellent order, perfectly dry; and I subsequently found all the magazines on these heights in the same satisfactory condition."¹³⁴

This fort, constructed October, 1862, to June 27, 1863, had strong earth walls about 15 feet high and a wide and deep dry ditch surrounded the entire work. Beyond this ditch lay an abatis, composed of felled trees. The fort measured approximately 150 by 500 feet in size and was roughly rectangular in shape.¹³⁵

Battery A (See Map IV)

This battery was erected in October, 1862, and was located about 250 yards south of Fort Duncan. The work was constructed of earth, with two faces, each about 100 feet long and 10 feet high. The guns of this battery were intended to sweep Bolivar Heights. In early June, 1863, the work was armed with six 10-pounder Parrotts.¹³⁶ By the end of June, 1863, however, the guns from Battery A were then moved into Fort Duncan. Battery A was therefore apparently not armed in the July, 1864-1865 period. General Ramsay's next remarks probably refer to Battery A: "There are also two Ordnance magazines at the foot of the natural glacis [located in Battery A?] of the work [referring to Fort

¹³⁴ Ramsay Report, July 27, 1865.

¹³⁵ Size from Donn 1865 map, Map No. 116, and Snell's inspection of work. Construction of, Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 62-63. The fort is still in a good state of preservation.

¹³⁶ Snell, "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 63. Donn 1865 map. Snell's inspection of the work. Battery A is still in good condition.

Duncan]: These I also found in excellent order and the powder well preserved.

"2. Battery Sullivan [see K on Map IV], commanded by Capt. W. H.

Shelley, 147th Indiana, is armed with: 3-24 pd. Siege guns
2-Coehorn Mortars
[Total, 5 guns]

There are two magazines well taken care of and in excellent condition- the powder well preserved."¹³⁷ Battery Sullivan, erected June, 1863-June, 1864, was a three-sided earthwork and open in the rear. Its walls were about 15 feet high and 20 feet thick at the base. The approximate lengths of the walls of this redoubt were 32 by 130 by 110 feet. The three exterior faces of the battery were further protected by a deep and wide dry ditch. The guns situated in Battery Sullivan could command the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bridge across the Potomac, the Potomac pontoon bridge, the whole plain on which the town of Bolivar was located, and the entire south bank of the Potomac from the mouth of the Shenandoah west to the point where the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad left the Potomac.¹³⁸

Naval Battery [at I on Map IV]

"These forts [Duncan and Sullivan]," General Ramsay continued," are on the lower, and are separated by a valley from the greater, heights, the highest point of which is 1123 feet above the Potomac. Ascending these Heights, the Naval Battery comes first in order. This battery has been dismantled. There are two ordnance magazines at this

¹³⁷ Ramsay Report, July 27, 1865.

¹³⁸ Snell, "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 63; Donn 1865 Map, and Snell inspection of the work. Battery Sullivan, with its walls, gun platforms and dry ditches, is still in an excellent state of preservation.

battery, full of ammunition, in excellent condition and under the protection of a guard detailed for the purpose."¹³⁹

The Naval Battery, first established in May, 1862, had its three earthen walls erected in September, 1862. The walls of this U-shaped redoubt are about 10 feet thick at the base and 10 feet high; the slope of the mountain in the rear forms the rear or fourth side of the work. Dimensions of the walls are as follows: west wall, about 52 feet; south wall facing river, about 72 feet; and east wall, about 43 feet. Traces of the two magazines mentioned above, dug into the slope of the mountain to the north and east of the battery, are still quite evident. The armament of the Naval Battery on June 27, 1863, was comprised of a 100-pounder Dahlgren gun, a 50-pounder Dahlgren gun, and two 24-pounder siege guns.¹⁴⁰ Following the completion of Battery Sullivan, it is probable that the guns were removed from the Naval Battery and that this latter work was not armed in July, 1864.¹⁴¹

"No. 4 [30-pounder or Six Gun Battery at H on Map IV] - Some two hundred feet below the crest of the mountain is the '30 pdr. Battery' commanded by Lt. Chas. A. Byers, 147th Indiana Vols. The armament consists of:

- 1-12 pdr. Bronze field gun, captured (Anderson & Co.),
- 1-12 pdr. Mountain Howitzer,
- 2-24 pdr. Coehorn Mortars,
- 2-10 inch Siege Mortars (1862)
- 4-30 pdr. Parrott rifled guns on Siege Carriages,
- [18 guns total]

¹³⁹ Ramsay Report, July 27, 1865.

¹⁴⁰ Snell, "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 63-64. Donn 1865 Map and inspection of ground by Snell.

¹⁴¹ Battery Sullivan was designed to perform in a more perfect fashion all of the functions of the Naval Battery. On July 6, 1864, Major Merriam, Chief of Artillery, failed to dispatch any men to the Naval Battery, see Chapter II, p. 25, thus indicating that the battery was probably not armed at the time.

There are two magazines, powder well preserved."¹⁴²

The 30-pounder battery had been erected in October and November, 1862. The guns of this position swept the summit of Loudoun Heights, the town of Harpers Ferry, Camp Hill and Bolivar Heights. The redoubt was a strong earthwork with four faces that curved around the southern slope of Maryland Heights. A deep trench ran around the inside of this fortification. Approximate dimensions of the four embankments are as follows: 100 feet by 180 by 150 by 100 feet.¹⁴³

100-Pounder Gun [at G on Map IV]

"Still higher up the mountain," General Ramsay continued, "is conspicuously mounted on centre pintle carriage, one 100 pdr. Parrott rifled gun. This gun has an unlimited field of fire, and has proved accurate and effective [July 4-8, 1864] in destroying a stone school house four miles distant, and in killing a number of men who had resorted to it for safety, -by the explosion of one of its shells. I regret I could not obtain the details of transporting this heavy gun to much an altitude over a path so precipitous. The gun and carriage bear no marks whatever of rough usage, and are both in perfect condition."¹⁴⁴

This battery was established in June, 1863, and the movement of the big gun to the summit of the mountain was supervised by Major Frank A. Rolfe of the 14th Massachusetts Heavy Artillery. The gun was located on a narrow point in the crest of the Maryland Heights ridge, about

¹⁴² Ramsay Report, July 27, 1865.

¹⁴³ Snell, C. S., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 64. Dimensions from Donn 1865 Map. The battery is still in an excellent state of preservation.

¹⁴⁴ Ramsay Report, July 27, 1865.

600 yards south of the Stone Fort. The position was protected by means of sandbags. The 100-pounder Dahlgren gun had a 360 degree field of fire and could be used with effect on the north, east, and west slopes of Maryland Heights, on Pleasant Valley, Loudoun Heights, Bolivar Heights, Fort Duncan, and also the Stone Fort. This gun was the key to the Maryland position.¹⁴⁵

The Stone Fort and Exterior Fort (at F on Map IV)

"Just above the 100 pdr. Battery," General Ramsay reports, "and on the summit of the mountain, is Fort McPherson [we believe that this name was applied to the completed fortification, which was comprised of the Stone Fort and the Exterior Fort], commonly known as the "Stone Fort", as it is partially built of stone, and with a citadel or high stone wall, enclosing store houses adequate for a large supply of provisions. This fort is commanded by Capt. J. H. Hyatt, 147th Ind.; it mounts

1-12 pdr. Mountain Howitzer,
4-24 pdr. Field Howitzer,
2-24 pdr. Coehorn Mortars,
pdr. Parrott rifled guns, mounted on siege carriages.
[Total, 10 guns]

There are within the fort [that is, in the Exterior Fort, and laying north and west of the Stone Fort], three excellent magazines, in the main vestibule of one of these magazines is a spring of pure and cold water... I have seen no field works better kept and preserved," Ramsay concluded.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 45, 64.

¹⁴⁶ Ramsay Report, July 27, 1865. Unfortunately Ramsay ended his inspection of the Maryland Heights fortifications at the Stone Fort and did not examine the Spur Battery and Barnard Lines that ran west from the Exterior Fort to Fort Duncan.

The Stone Fort and Exterior Fort were erected in the October, 1862-June, 1863 period. A comparison of the 1863-64 military maps with the 1865 Donn map, the latter map being also substantiated by the existing remains, indicates that the Exterior Fort was considerably enlarged in the 1863-64 period by moving the north wall of the Exterior Fort some distance further to the north of the Stone Fort than is shown on the 1863 maps.

The Stone Fort was located on the highest point of Maryland Heights and was designed to block and attach from Solomon's Gap to the north, along the crest of Elk Ridge. The fort was also intended to serve as a citadel of the position. The work, 100 by 40 feet in size, was rectangular in shape and had two 25 foot square bastions at either end. One bastion was located on the northeast corner and the second at the southwest corner of the fort. The Stone Fort was built of dry masonry and the stone walls varied from 4½ to 7 feet in thickness. The interior of the Stone Fort contained a magazine, storage place for provision, water tanks, and a spring. In July and August, 1864, the Maryland Heights signal station was located at the Stone Fort. The Fort is still in an excellent state of preservation.¹⁴⁷

The Exterior Fort was built in the October, 1862-June, 1863 period, and probably enlarged and completed by June, 1864. This fortification consisted of two parallel lines of earthworks running from east to west across the summit of Maryland Heights and down its west slope for a total distance of about 700 feet. The Stone Fort was built on top

¹⁴⁷ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 32, 60-61. An inspection of the fort by Snell, December, 1959.

of the cliff overlooking the east slope of the mountain. The north wall of the Exterior Fort was erected about 125 feet north of the northeast bastion of the Stone Fort and the right flank of the earth wall also abutted on the edge of the same cliff, overlooking the east slope. The top of the cliff, between the Stone Fort and the north wall of the Exterior Fort, was protected by a strong stone breastwork. The north wall of the Exterior Fort then ran 250 feet across level ground from the edge of the cliff on the east to a point where the land drops off rather sharply to form the west slope of the mountain. This portion of the line was protected by a great earthen wall about 20 feet thick at the bases and about 20 feet high. Five embrasures for cannon are still to be seen in this wall today. The front of this section of this wall was further protected by a wide and deep dry ditch and beyond this ditch lay a heavy abatis, comprised of felled trees. The left flank of this position, at the top of the western slope of the mountain, was protected by an earth breastwork, now about three feet high, that ran approximately 250 feet to the south, where it joined the southern east-west parallel wall of the Exterior Fort.

The north wall then continued down the west slope of the mountain, crossing a plateau in its course, for an additional 450 feet, and came to an end at a point when the plateau drops off sharply to the west into what is almost a cliff. The 450 feet of this portion of the north wall consisted of a strong stone breastwork about 10 feet thick and five feet high. The front of this wall was also protected by a dry ditch and beyond that by an abatis.

The left flank of this position on the lower plateau, at the top of the sharp drop to the west, was covered by an earth breastwork that ran about 250 feet south to the South Parallel wall of the Exterior Fort. This southern parallel wall then ran east about 450 feet, crossing up the plateau towards the summit. This section of the Southern wall was also a stone breastwork about 10 feet thick and five feet high. On reaching the summit of the mountain on the west side, the southern parallel wall of the Exterior Fort then became an earthen embankment. The southern earthen wall, which is now about 10 feet thick at the base and six feet in height, then proceeds east about 250 feet across the summit plateau and ends by abutting on the northwest corner of the Stone Fort's southwest bastion. The southern parallel wall of the Exterior Fort, unlike the northern wall, is not protected by a dry ditch.

On the summit plateau, within the walls of the Exterior Fort, and laying to the north and east of the Stone Fort, are the quite visible remains of the three magazines mentioned by General Ramsay. On the second plateau to the west are also to be found the stone remains of fire places, huts and perhaps gun positions. These two plateaus were probably utilized as the camp grounds of the garrisons of the two forts. The Exterior Fort is also in an excellent state of preservation. Additional remains of camp ground, barracks, and other small fortifications are still to be seen on the level ground to the summit to the south of the south wall of the Exterior Fort.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 61; 1865 Donn Map; Examination of the works by Snell, December, 1959. Two deep pits and a good sized stone breastwork have been found south of the Exterior Fort.

Eastern Flank Defenses, Summit Maryland Heights. (H to Stone Fort)

The eastern face of Maryland Heights was very steep and difficult of ascent. The slope was further protected in June, 1863 by the construction of a line of stone breastworks, about three feet in height along the top of the eastern crest, from the Stone Fort south to the 30-pounder Batter at H. A parallel and similar line of stone breastworks was erected on the west side of the road leading into the Exterior Fort (see Map IV). These breastworks are still in good condition. Seven light field guns were distributed along the line of eastern breastworks in June, 1863, at points where they could rake the eastern slopes of Maryland Heights with their fire. Abatis was also constructed on the eastern slope at points where roads lead to the summit.¹⁴⁹

Northern Line of Defense (Stone Fort to Fort Duncan)

Spur Battery (at E on Map IV): This earthwork was erected in June, 1863, and consisted of a three-sided earth embankment, open at the rear, about 50 by 75 by 50 feet in size. One 30-pounder Dahlgren gun was mounted in this work in June, 1863. The gun, located on the plateau on the western slope of Maryland Heights, could sweep the west side of that mounting; it also enfiladed the ravine that ran westward to the Potomac in front of the Barnard lines, and the piece could be turned and used against Bolivar Heights.¹⁵⁰ General Ramsay did not visit this position in July, 1865, but the battery was armed and in

¹⁴⁹ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 64-65. Inspection by Snell.

¹⁵⁰ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 61; Also inspection by Snell.

use during the July, 1864, attack on Harpers Ferry.¹⁵¹

A strong stone breastwork, erected in June, 1863, and built by filling in a crib-work of logs with stone, ran in a continuous line from the Spur Battery up the west slope of the mountain, thus covering the northern edge of the Spur Battery plateau, to the base of the cliff, on which above rested the left flank defenses of the Exterior Fort at F. The front or north side of the line from E to F was also covered by a strong abatis constructed of felled trees. The log-crib work of the breastworks has, of course, rotted away, but the line of breastworks is still to be seen and is in good condition.¹⁵²

Also located on the Spur Battery plateau, and to the south of that work, along the western edge of the cliff, are three stone walls, probably designed as breastworks or gun positions for the additional defense of that position. Near the southern end of the same plateau, a large pit, probably a magazine, about 25 by 30 feet and 15 feet deep, has also been found.

Barnard Line (Batteries B, C and D on Map IV)

This line of earthworks, running from the western foot of Maryland Heights west to Fort Duncan, was erected in the June, 1863-June, 1864, period.¹⁵³ Battery D, judging by the 1865 Donn Map, was a three-sided earthwork, open in the rear, with walls measuring about 150 by 150 by 200 feet in length. Four field guns probably formed the armament of

¹⁵¹ Ramsay Report, July 27, 1865. For use, see Merriam's letter, July 6, 1864, page 25 of this report.

¹⁵² Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 61, and inspection by Snell, December, 1959.

¹⁵³ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 62, and Chapter I of this report.

this battery. Battery C, located at bot the mid-point of the lines, was also a three-sided redoubt and open at the rear. Its wall measured approximately 150 by 150 by 100 feet in length. The three faces of this work, judging again by the Donn 1865 map, were protected by a dry ditch. Battery C as designed as a six field gun redoubt and four of Captain Milton L. Miner's 3-inch guns (17th Indiana Battery) were apparently stationed in this redoubt on July 4, 1864.¹⁵⁴

Battery B; This earthwork was probably designed for four field guns. The redoubt had three walls and was open in the rear. Its walls measured approximately 100 by 160 by 100 feet in length. Batteries B, C and D, together with those redoubts at the Spur Battery and the Exterior Fort, commanded the gullies leading up from the Potomac to the north of the Barnard Lines and also provided a cross-fire over the entire front of these lines. The Barnard Line Trenches: Batteries B, C and D, were joined by an almost continuous line of earth entrenchments, consisting most likely of an earthen embankment, with a ditch on the inner side for the protection of the infantrymen.¹⁵⁵ The entire front of the batteries and entrenchments comprising the Barnard Lines was protected on the North by a heavy abatis of felled trees that had been erected in June, 1863.¹⁵⁶ The ground on which the Barnard Lines stood is fairly level and has been intensively farmed since the Civil War. Much of the area today, however, is covered with a heavy growth of young trees and dense underbrush. Two expeditions of the writer

¹⁵⁴ See Merrian to Burleigh, July 4, 1864, p. 18 of this report.

¹⁵⁵ This statement is based on Donn's 1865 map, and comparing his symbols for the Barnard Lines with those on Bolivar Heights, the latter lines still exist.

¹⁵⁶ Snell, C. W. "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 62.

over these areas failed to locate any extensive and positive evidence of the remains of these lines, although it is possible, with the heavy growth, that the writer may have missed some evidence. Historic road traces still exist, but it seems probably that most of the surface evidence of Batteries B, C and D has largely been destroyed by farming and building operations. (Further searches, however, will and should be made, using the 1865 Donn map as a guide.)

Battery J (see on Map IV): This redoubt was a light earthwork and was erected in June, 1863. The work was located on the spur, or hill, north of Fort Duncan. In 1863 this battery contained two boat howitzers that enfiladed the C&O Canal and towpath to the north. The work was also intended to prevent the enemy from turning the left flank of Federal defenses in the vicinity of Fort Duncan.¹⁵⁷

Ground Cover of Maryland Heights, 1864-1865

In the period, October, 1862, to June, 1863, Federal troops cleared the Maryland Heights area of forest by felling trees, from a distance of 1,500 yards north of the Fort Duncan-Barnard Lines-Stone Fort Line, all the way south to the Potomac. Thus in the 1864-65 period, Maryland Heights was bare of all forests and large trees, except on the steep cliffs. Troops defending the works were thereby provided with a clear field of fire in every direction. (See Photograph HF-362, p. 104 in Appendix III.)

The Forts on the Maryland side required a garrison of from 8,500 to 10,500 men to defend them properly against a major attack.¹⁵⁸ This

¹⁵⁷ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 62; the writer has not inspected the ground where this redoubt should lay.

¹⁵⁸ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 65.

series of forts formed the main defensive key to the military position of Harpers Ferry.

2. Loudoun Heights Defenses, 1864-1865 (See Photo HF-214, p. 101 in Appendix III):

In October, 1862, the Army of the Potomac had erected three large stone redoubts on the summit of Loudoun Heights. (See Map IV.) Redoubt A, a four-sided enclosed work, measured 44 by 32 feet; redoubt B, a four-sided enclosed fortification, was 32 by 32 feet in size; and Redoubt C, also enclosed on four sides, measured 38 by 32 feet. Between 1862 and April 1865, a total of 32 other small stone works, probably rifle pits and foundations for huts, were erected on Loudoun Heights.

In October and November, 1862, Federal soldiers also cleared the summit of the mountain of the heavy forest, thus providing the defenders of the fortifications with a clear field of fire in every direction.¹⁵⁹ From October, 1862 to April, 1865, the Loudoun Heights fortifications served as an outpost for the defenses of Harpers Ferry, but was not considered a part of the main line defenses; the latter were, of course, located on Maryland Heights.

3. Bolivar Heights Fortifications, 1864-1865 (See Map IV)

The crest of the ridge of Bolivar Heights, from the Charles Town Road north to the Potomac was defended by two batteries, No. 1 and 2, which were erected September, 1862. Both were small earthen redoubts designed to hold from four to six field guns. No. 2 defended the Federal right, near the Potomac, and the No. 1, the left, near the

¹⁵⁹ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 68. The 35 stone works, drawn to scale, are to be seen on "preliminary Historical Base Map-Fortifications Loudoun Heights-Harpers Ferry National Monument, dated July 3, 1958, by J. B. Ferguson & Co."

Charles Town Pike. In August, 1864, the crest of the ridge between the two batteries was further strengthened by the erection of a line of solid earth breastworks with a trench on the inner side, that extended from Battery No. 1 to 2. Today, the remains of Battery 1, and the intrenchments from that point to about half-way to Battery 2 are quite visible. The remainder of the line may still exist in part, but has been generally built over by the erection of a number of new homes.

The extreme Federal left, from the Charles Town Road, southeast to the Shenandoah River, was defended by a series of earthen redoubts and breastworks that were erected in August, 1864. On a ridge, just to the left of the Charles Town Turnpike, earthen Batteries 3 and 4 were erected. Still further to the left and to the east of these last two batteries, a strong earth breastwork (at 5) ran south toward the Shenandoah, terminating in a gun position at 6. Battery 6 was covered on the front and two sides by a dry ditch. The front of these lines was covered by an abatis that had been erected in September, 1862. These defenses on the extreme Federal left covered the weakest part of the Bolivar Heights position and were designed to block the route by which Jackson, in 1862, and Early, in 1864, had entered Harpers Ferry. In October and November, 1862, the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac had cleared off the forests on Bolivar Heights and had also felled the forests for a distance of 1½ miles to the west of these lines, thus affording the defenders a clear field of fire in every direction.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 16, 58; also p. 38 of this report; Donn's 1865 map, unfortunately, delineates only the Bolivar Heights Fortifications at the extreme right of the position, near the

The Bolivar Heights defenses in the October, 1862-July, 1864, period were merely outpost positions. The fortifications, however, were completed in August, 1864, to provide secure protection for Sheridan's great wagon parks that were located in the town of Bolivar. When threatened with an attack on August 21, 1864, General Stevenson placed 20 field guns in position on Bolivar Heights to defend these lines.¹⁶¹

4. Camp Hill Lines (See Map IV and also 1859 Base Map. No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2)

This line of earthworks, approximately 1,250 feet long, was erected in May, 1862, and then further strengthened and enlarged in the 1863-1864 period. The Camp Hill lines ran from cliffs overlooking the Shenandoah on the south, along the western slope of Camp Hill to the bluffs on the north, above the Potomac. The fortification guarded the approaches to Camp Hill and Harpers Ferry from the direction of Bolivar. Batteries were placed at either flank (A and B, on Map IV) and two strong redoubts guarded the center sections of the line. One redoubt was located just west of the Armory Superintendent's Quarters, Armory Dwelling No. 25, and second, an enclosed rectangular work measuring approximately 150 by 100 feet, was situated directly on Washington Street.¹⁶² (See HF-225, p. 8, and HF-214, p. 101, Appendix III.)

Potomac. The remainder described above, however, still exists on the ground. Those have been walked, but not measured, by the writer. It is also possible that additional fortifications may exist to the left of Battery 6, on the bluff to the east of 6. This area has not yet been searched by the writer.

¹⁶¹ See page 45 of this report.

¹⁶² Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p. 16, 59; Measurements from 1865 Donn Map. The area of this line has been built over by Storer College, the Baptist Church, Grade School, and private homes. Surface indications of the line do not exist.

Light field guns were used to arm the Camp Hill lines in July, 1864.¹⁶³

U.S. Army Uses of Buildings on Camp Hill, 1864-1865 (See 1859 Base Map)

Armory Dwelling No. 21, located near Jefferson Rock, was empty and in bad condition in July, 1863.

Armory Dwelling No. 22, Block BB, was in good condition, and occupied free of rent by Mrs. M. Stipes by order of Col. H. K. Craig of the Ordnance Department.

Armory Dwelling No. 23, Block II, was in bad condition and was being used for Army purposes.

Armory Dwelling No. 24, Block II, was in good condition and occupied by the Ordnance Agent, Daniel J. Young, as his private quarters in 1865.

Armory Dwelling No. 25-Superintendent's Quarters, Block MM, had served as the headquarters of Brigadier General Max Weber, commanding the defenses of Harpers Ferry, in 1864. In July, 1865, the building was in bad condition and was then occupied as quarters for officers. General Ramsay remarked: "The costly quarters of the Superintendent of the Armory, of the Paymaster [Armory Dwelling No. 32], and other conspicuous and valuable buildings belonging to the government, have been wantonly abused, and I am sorry to say, as I am credibly informed, mostly by our own troops. Marble mantelpieces have been taken away, and the staircases torn down and used as fuel. To repair these buildings will involve an expense of at least half of their original cost..."¹⁶⁴ (Note-the Confederate troops had seriously damaged No. 25 in April-June,

¹⁶³ See Vol. XXXVII, Part II, pp. 393, 431.

¹⁶⁴ Quote and other data above from Gen. Ramsay's Report, July 27, 1865.

1836.)¹⁶⁵

Armory Dwelling No. 26, 27, 28, 29, Blocks GG, and FF, four 1½ story brick dwelling houses were torn down in the winter of 1864-65 by order of Brigadier General John D. Stevenson to provide material for building winter quarters for troops.

Armory Dwelling No. 30, Paymaster's Clerk's Quarters, were in bad condition and occupied for Army purposes.

Armory Dwelling No. 31, Superintendent's Clerk's Quarters, were in bad condition and occupied by the Sanitary Commission.

Armory Dwelling No. 32, Paymaster's Quarters, had been occupied by Sheridan as his headquarters, in August, 1864. In July, 1865, the house was in bad condition and was occupied by the Medical Purveyor as quarters (see HF-341, p. 37; HF-61, p. 34; HF-40, p. 74)

Armory Dwelling No. 33, Block EE, a one story frame house, had been torn by the soldiers and burned for fuel.

Armory Powder Magazine, block BB, Magazine Hill, was a 12 by 15 foot, one story brick building, in good condition and was not occupied in July, 1865.¹⁶⁶

Brick Schoolhouse, Lot 9, Block I, Camp Hill, had been pulled down by Federal soldiers during the war and the bricks used in their camps.¹⁶⁷ The school may have been in the way of the Camp Hill Lines.

Lutheran Church, Camp Hill, Block J, Lot 3, had been used as a

¹⁶⁵ Snell, C. W., "The Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, Va. In 1861, and Jackson's attack, May, 1862" Feb. 9, 1960, p. 27.

¹⁶⁶ Ramsay Report, July 27, 1865

¹⁶⁷ Daniel Ames, Major, to Secretary of War Belknap, July 5, 1873, in Noffsinger, James P., "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, Contributions towards a Physical History," November, 1958, p. 153.

hospital during the war.¹⁶⁸

Methodist Episcopal Church, Block CC, Camp Hill, had been used as a hospital and the building was completely destroyed during the war.¹⁶⁹ (see HF-61, p. 34; HF-40, p. 74).

Methodist Protestant Church, Block CC, Camp Hill, After inspecting this structure in December, 1866, Captain A. S. Kimbell reported: "The [Federal] troops took possession of the Hall in 1862 but at what particular date it is difficult to determine. The occupation continued until the fall of 1863, a period of about one year. The building does not appear to have been occupied by the order of any occupant authority but merely taken possession of by the troops on duty at Harpers Ferry and was used as quarters for the men.

"During this occupation the buildings was seriously damaged... In fact every item of wood work was torn out and burned for fire wood. There is at this time nothing remaining except the naked stone walls and it is claimed that the entire damage was committed while the Hall was occupied by the troops."¹⁷⁰ (see HF-61, p. 34; HF-40, p. 74).

St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, Monument Bldg. No. 48A, was utilized as a hospital and barracks during the war. The structure was heavily damaged.¹⁷¹ (See HF-61, p. 34; HF-40, p. 74)

Presbyterian Church, Shenandoah Street, the upper floor of this church was used as a guard house and the basement as a stable during the

¹⁶⁸ Barry, Joseph, The Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, Martinsburg, W. Va.,

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁷⁰ Kimball to Maj. Gen. M. C. Meigs, Dec. 10, 1866, in Noffsinger, J. P., "Harpers Ferry, W. Va.," pp. 122-123.

¹⁷¹ Smith, Jr., Philip R., "Historic Building Report, Part II-Historical Data Section for Bldg. No. 48A-St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, 1847-1895," dated May 25, 1959.

"Harper's Ferry, W. Va., from the Maryland Shore."

Photograph by Brady, probably taken in May or June, 1865.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-40

A U.S. Military Railroad train follows the line of the old Winchester & Potomac Railroad up the Shenandoah River to the left of the photo. Over the two wooden trestles at the far side of the river, in the B&O Potomac bridge, can be seen a large one story brick building with a temporary roof. This structure, standing in the Old Arsenal Square, is probably the Large Arsenal, Monument Bldgs. No. 10, 11 and 40 have been damaged by fire. To the right of the iron bridge, with just the roof showing, is the new "Shenandoah Hotel," located on Wager Lot No. 9. Beyond rises Camp Hill. On the summit can be seen the Paymaster's Quarters, Armory Dwelling No. 32, used by General Sheridan as his headquarters in August, 1864. Washington Street proceeds from the lower town up the side of Camp Hill to the right of the photo. Note the tent camp by the road and on the side of Magazine Hill. The large building above the stack and Washington Street is the Methodist Protestant Church. See also HF-25, p. 102; HF-38, p. 103; HF-362, p. 104; HF-61, p. 34.



war.¹⁷²

St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, this church was not used by the soldiers for military purposes and the structure was only damaged by being struck by numerous bullets.¹⁷³ (see HF-61, p. 34; HF-40, p. 74)

5. Lower Town of Harpers Ferry (See Drawing NM-HF-3021, Sheets 1 and 2)

General Ramsay reported in July, 1865: "...The stone walls of the Armory buildings on the Potomac and Shenandoah [that is, in the Musket Factory and U. S. Rifle Factory] remain, and in condition to be built upon. These could be readily converted into manufacturing purposes, or into barracks for troops. Much of the valuable machinery remains in good condition as for example the shafting and pit gearing for the undershot wheels, which the wheels, are in good condition. The greater part of the machinery for the rolling mill [Musket Factory Bldg. No. 18], with the rolls and tilt-hammers, remain, but little injured, and the furnaces are good..."¹⁷⁴

Musket Factory Buildings Used by the Ordnance Department, 1865 (see HF-27A, p. 77)

Bldg. No. 1 - Fire Engine House. "the small engine house," General Ramsay stated, "celebrated as the citadel of John Brown, is used as a magazine. I consider this very dangerous, and the ammunition should be removed to a place of greater security." The condition of the building was listed as good. (This structure was listed as Ordnance Ware House No. 2.)

Bldg. No. 17 - Old Stock Store House, was in fair condition and was

¹⁷² Barry, Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, p. 171.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁷⁴

called Ordnance Ware House No. 1. "The store houses at Harpers Ferry are necessarily crowded," Ramsay reported.

Bldg. No. 2 - Armory Office (Listed as Pay Office-brick-1 story 18 x 28 feet). The Ordnance Department was apparently utilizing one section of this larger building. The condition of the structure was good and it was being used as an arms repair shop. General Ramsay noted "The Depot at Harpers Ferry has been of valuable assistance to the Middle District, and a good deal of work has been done in receiving and issuing ordnance and ordnance stores, and recently repairing small arms."

Ramsay also stated: "The Q.M. and Commissary have been and are occupying some of the [Musket Factory and Arsenal Square] buildings, but have put upon them very inferior repairs." The repairs apparently consisted mainly of new roofs and floors.¹⁷⁵

The Quartermaster and Commissary Departments occupied the following Musket Factory Buildings in the 1864-65 period: (See Photog HF-27A on the following page of this report and HF-38, p. 103 in Appendix III.)

1. Bldg. No. 3 -The Bell or Finishing Shop, and 5 Boring Mill.
2. Bldg. 12 - The Ware House,
3. Bldg. No. 13 - The Smith and Foraging Shop,
4. Bldg. No. 14 - The Annealing Shop and Brass Foundry.
5. The first floor ruins of the Large Arsenal, located in the Old

Arsenal Square, November, 1864-65 were used as a Bakery (see HF-40, p. 74; HF-362, p. 104, and HF- 25, p. 102).

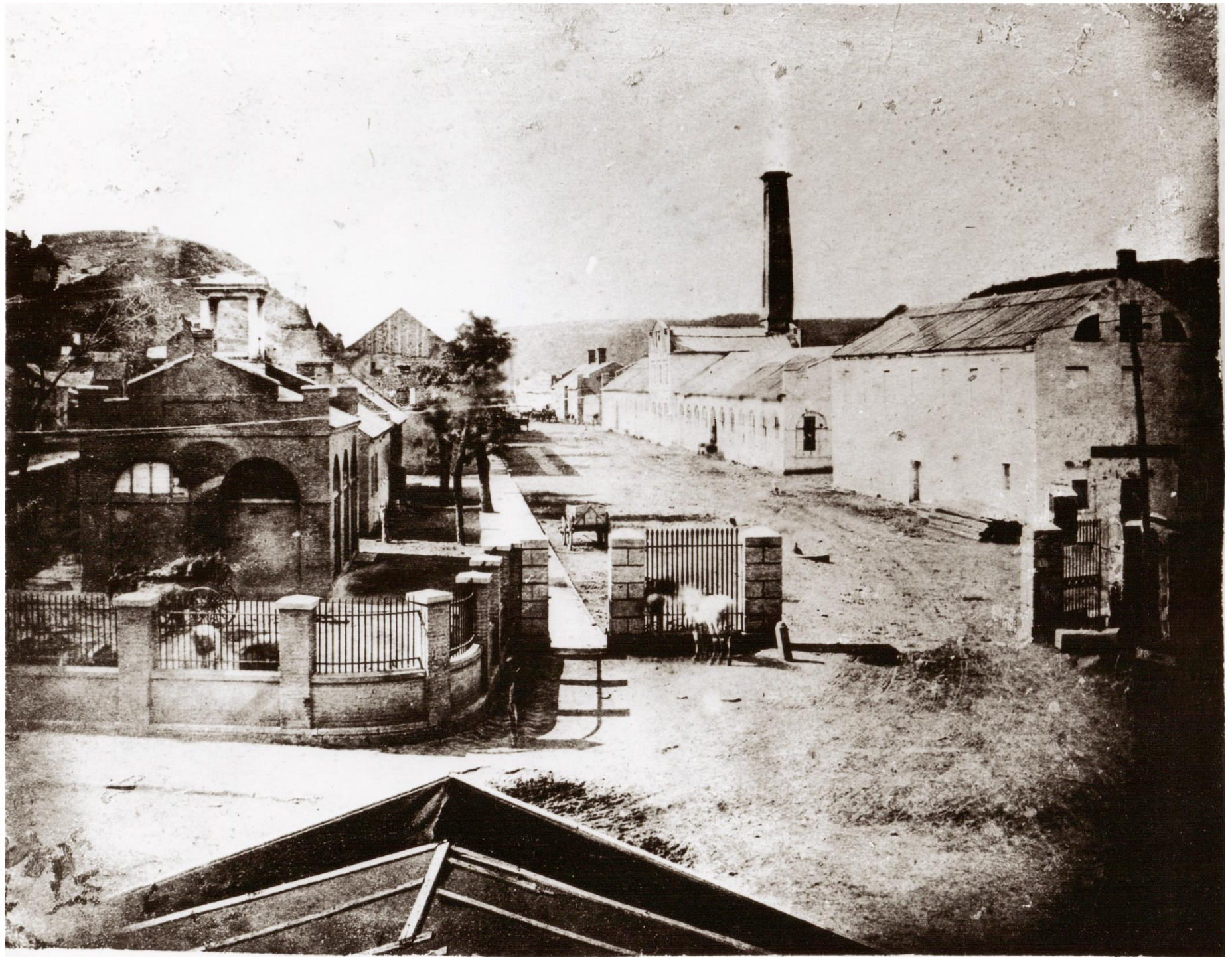
¹⁷⁵ Ramsay to Dyer, July 29, 1865, National Archives R.G. 156; Daniel J. Young, Ord. Agent, to Gen. Dyer, March 12, 1866, Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File, Box 377, R.G. 92.

The Musket Factory of the United States
Armory at Harper's Ferry in 1865."

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-27A

This photog, probably taken in March, 1865, shows the Musket Factory in use as a quarter-master depot for Sheridan's Army. Four times, once each in 1861, 1862, 1863 and 1864, the Confederate Army had burned these buildings only to have Federal forces re-roof the structures and put them back into use. This view was taken from just outside the Musket Factory Gate at the east end of the yard, looking west. Bldgs. to the left: Musket Factory Bldg. 1-Fire engine house (John Brown Fort), then being used as a magazine for the storage of ammunition, Next, Bldg. No. 2-Armory Offices, then being used as an Ordinance Repair Shop; and finally Bldg. No. 3-The Bell or Finishing Shop.

Structures on the right side of the photo: First, Bldg. No. 12-the Warehouse; next, Bldg. No. 13-the great Smith and Forging Shop; next, Bldg. No. 14-The Annealing Shop and Brass Foundry, and in the far distance, Bldg. No. 17-The Old Stock House. (See 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2, for location of these buildings). (See also HF-38, p. 103.)



Old Arsenal Square Buildings (See HF-8, p. 44)

Bldg. No. 1 - Superintendent's Old Office, was being used as the Post Office and its condition was listed as good in July, 1865.¹⁷⁶

The following three temporary frame structures, erected by the U.S. Military Railroad, were located in the Old Arsenal Square in February, 1866:

1. One Mess House, 62 x 21 feet, with wing, 26 x 13, located opposite the Superintendent's Old Office.

2 & 3. One building, 16 by 16 feet in size, and also a second building 18 by 16 feet. Both located near the Superintendent's Old Office.¹⁷⁷

Shenandoah Street Buildings Used by the U.S. Army in 1865

Armory Dwelling No. 1, Block B, Lot 2, was used from August 15, 1864 to April, 1865, as headquarters of Brigadier General John D. Stevenson, commanding the Military District of Harpers Ferry. The House was listed as in fair condition and as being occupied as headquarters by General Egan in July, 1865. (Monument Bldg. No. 36, see HF-88, p. 44)

Armory Dwelling No. 2, Block B, Lot 3 (Monument Bldg. No. 34-35), was in fair condition and occupied as quarters for officer. (See photo HF-88, page 44.)

Armory Dwelling No. 3, U.S. Lot No. 1, Shenandoah Street (Monument Bldg. 45) was in need of repairs and was being used for army purposes. Part of the structure was utilized as a warehouse and it was listed as

¹⁷⁶ Ramsay to Dyer, July 29, 1865, National Archives R.G. 156; Daniel J. Young, Ord. Agent, to Gen. Dyer, March 12, 1866, Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File, Box 377, R.G. 92.

¹⁷⁷ Statement of Govt. Buildings & Lumber at Harpers Ferry, Va. transferred by the U.S. Military R. Rds. To Bvt. Major G. A. Flag, AQM, Feb. 24, 1866, in Noffsinger, J. P., "Harpers Ferry, W. Va.," p. 119.

Ordnance Ware House No. 3 in 1865.

Armory Dwelling No. 4, Block F, Lot 1, was in bad condition and vacant in July, 1865.

Armory Dwelling No. 5, U.S. Lot No. 2, (Monument Bldg. No. 48), was in fair condition and vacant in July, 1865. (See Photo HF-119, page 51.)

Armory Stable, Block F, Lot 2, was in good condition and being used for Army purposes. (See Photo HF-119, page 51.)¹⁷⁸

Brick Schoolhouse, Block E, Lot 2, had been pulled down by Federal soldiers during war and the bricks used in their camps.¹⁷⁹

Houses on South Side of Shenandoah River

Armory Dwelling No. 9, was in fair condition and vacant. (See HF-206, p. 53)

Armory Dwelling No. 10, was in good condition and occupied free of rent by Mrs. Stipes, by order of Col. H. K. Craig, of the Ordnance Department. (See HF-70, P. 80)¹⁸⁰

Potomac Street Houses

Armory Dwelling No. 11, Wager Lot No. 27, was in good condition and vacant.

Armory Dwelling No. 12, was in bad condition, having been used for army purposes.

Armory Dwelling No. 13, Block AA, was in good condition and occupied free of rent by Mr. Henry Russell, by order of Col. H. K. Craig, of the Ordnance Department.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Report of Gen. Ramsay, July 27, 1865.

¹⁷⁹ Mayor Daniel Ames to Sec. of War, July 5, 1872, in Noffsinger, J. P. "Harpers Ferry, W. Va.," p. 153.

¹⁸⁰ Report of Gen. Ramsay, July 27, 1865.

¹⁸¹ Report of Gen. Ramsay, July 27, 1865.

"Eastern end of the Island of Virginius
from Jefferson's Rock, May 22, 1865"

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-70.

In the foreground is to be seen the tracks and one railroad car of the U.S. Military Railroad; also the buildings on the eastern end of the Island of Virginius. Beyond these lie the Shenandoah, and on the far side of the river rises the west slope of Loudoun Heights. Note the Pipertown road and military road running up that mountain and also the ground cover. Bldg. on the Island, beginning at the left: Four story structure, Bldg. No. 6-the Cotton Factory; one story building in front of it, Bldg. No. 3-the Saw Mill. Large house to the right of this, Bldg. No. 13, a Dwelling and further to the right, Bldg. No. 12, also a dwelling. Beyond Bldg. No. 12, standing on the edge of the Shenandoah, is Bldg. No. 4, the Machine Shop, the 3½ story structure. Armory Dwelling 10, across Shenandoah, 1 story stone house.

(For the location of these structures, see 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2.) See also HF-119, p. 51.



Houses on High Street

Armory Dwelling No. 14, Wager Lot No. 18, was in good condition and vacant.

Armory Dwelling No. 15, Wager Lot No. 19, was in good condition and vacant.

Armory Dwelling No. 16, Wager Lot No. 20 was in fair condition and was occupied as the Provost Marshal's Office.

Armory Dwelling No. 17, Wager Lot No. 21, was in good condition and occupied as the Ordnance Office.

Armory Dwelling No. 18, Wager Lot No. 22, was in fair condition and occupied as the Quartermaster's Office.

Armory Dwelling No. 19, Wager Lot No. 26, was in good condition and vacant.

Armory Dwelling No. 20, Block AA, High Street, was in bad condition and occupied as Quarters for the Ordnance Department.¹⁸²

6. Military Structures on Island of Virginius

See Photos HF-119, page 51, and HF-70, on the preceding page.

The Schoolhouse. Island of Virginius Structure No. 38, was used throughout the war by the federal troops as a hospital and the building had been heavily damaged.¹⁸³

The following two frame structures erected by the U. S. Military Railroad, were also located on Virginius (or Herr's) Island:

One Mess House, 60 by 20 feet, and one Store House, 44 by 20 feet in size.¹⁸⁴

7. Military Structures Located on the Lower and Upper Hall Islands

(See Photogs HF-119, page 51, and HF-37, on the following page.)

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Statement of Govt. Buildings & Lumber at Harpers Ferry, Va., transferred by U. S. Mil. R. Rds. To Bvt. Maj. Gen. A. Flagg, AQM, Feb 24, 1866, in Noffsinger, J. P., "Harpers Ferry, W. Va.," p. 119.

A. Lower Hall Island-The U. S. Rifle Factory Island

The following frame structures erected by the U.S. Military Railroad were located on the Lower Hall or U.S. Rifle Factory Island:

1. Locomotive Engine House, 164 by 26 feet in size.
2. One Machine and Blacksmith shop, 82 by 26 feet.
3. One Railroad Loading Platform, 197 by 27 feet.
4. One Railroad Loading Platform, 232 by 22 feet.
5. One Railroad Loading Platform, 112 by 16 feet.
6. One Railroad Loading Platform, 440 by 25 feet.¹⁸⁵

The nine Rifle Factory buildings located on this island were, of course, in ruins, having been burned by the Confederates in June, 1861.

B. U.S. Upper Hall Island

Brick and stone Armory Dwelling Houses No. 6, 7, and 8, located on the Upper Hall Island, were torn down by Federal soldiers in November, 1864, to make way for the construction of the U.S. Military Railroad to Stephenson's Depot, near Winchester.¹⁸⁶

The two following frame structures of the U. S. Military Railroad were situated on the Upper Hall Island in the 1864-65 period:

1. One tool house, 37 by 22 feet in size.
2. One Agent's Office, 21 by 13 feet.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Gen. Ramsay's report, July 27, 1865.

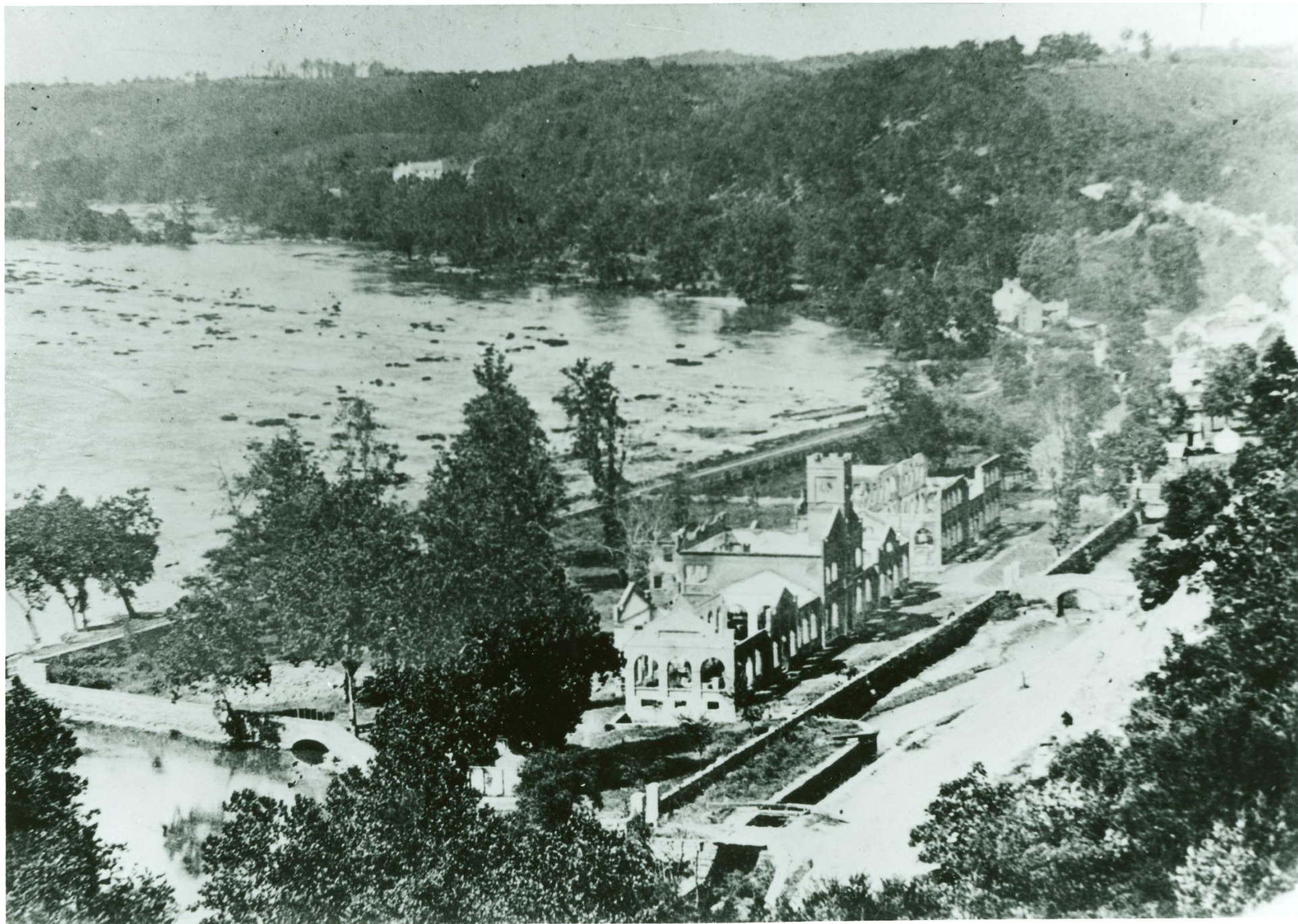
¹⁸⁷ Statement of Govt. Buildings & Lumber at Harpers Ferry, Va., transferred by U. S. Mil. R. Rds. To Bvt. Maj. Gen. A. Flagg, AQM, Feb 24, 1866, in Noffsinger, J. P., "Harpers Ferry, W. Va.," p. 119.

"The U.S. Rifle Factory on Hall's Island, Taken
from Near Jefferson Rock, ca. 1865."

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-37.

Beyond the cliff lies the U.S. Rifle Factory, which was located on the lower Hall Island. In the foreground, between the cliffs and the buildings, is to be seen the Lower Lock and canal of the Shenandoah Canal Company. Skirting the far side of the island are the tracks of the U.S. Military Railroad. Beyond these is the Shenandoah River and to the left of the photo rises a portion of Loudoun Heights. Bldgs. on the Lower Island were burned by the Confederates on June 28, 1861; left to right: First, Rifle Factory Bldg. No. 4-The Tilt Hammer and Forging Shop; next, with a tower, Bldg. No. 9, the Barrel Drilling and Finishing Shop; the Bldg. No. 6-The Machine Shop. At the right of this line, with a road or street passing between it and Bldg. 6, stands Bldg. No. 3-The Finishing and Machine Shop. Note the single arched stone bridge leading out to the island. The structures standing to the right of Bldg. No. 3 were located on the U.S. Upper Hall Island. The houses to be seen to the right of the Upper Island were located in South Bolivar. Note also the ground cover along the north (right) side of the Shenandoah River.

For location of the Rifle Factory Bldgs., see also 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. HM-HF-3021, Sheet 2. See also HF-119, p. 51.



3. Military structures Located in South Bolivar

Two frame Carpenters' Mess Houses, measuring 63 by 21 feet in size, and erected by the U. S. Military Railroad, were located in South Bolivar in the 1864-65 period.¹⁸⁸

Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

APPENDIX I

Organization and Regiments Forming the Federal Garrison of Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, January 1, 1864, to April 30, 1865

Troops in the Department of West Virginia, Maj. Gen.
David Hunter, U.S. Army, commanding, May 31, 1864.

Troops at or near Harpers Ferry.

RESERVE DIVISION

Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel

Monocacy to Sleepy Creek.

Brig. Gen. Max Weber.

1st Potomac Home Brigade, Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook. (along railroad)
135th Ohio, Col. Andrew Legg. (along railroad)
148th Ohio, Col. Thomas W. Moore.
152nd Ohio, Col. David Putnam.
155th Ohio, Col. Cyrus Reasoner.
161st Ohio, Col. Oliver P. Taylor.
1st New York Cavalry (Lincoln) detachment, Lieut. David R. Disbrow.
12th Pennsylvania Cavalry (detachment), Capt. Zaddock Walker. (740 men)
6th West Virginia Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Francis W. Thompson. (280 men)
17th Indiana Battery, Captain Milton L. Miner.
32nd New York Battery, Capt. Charles Kusserow.
5th New York Heavy Artillery (8 companies) Col Samuel Graham (2,200 men)
1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery, Battery D, Capt. Andrew Rosney.
1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery A, Capt. George Furst.
1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery G, Capt. Chatham T. Ewing.
Engineer troops (Independent company of Pennsylvania Volunteers), Capt.
William P. Gaskill.

Page 571:

Command	Present for duty		Total present	Total present and absent.
	Officers	Men		
Reserve Division (Sigel)	837	14,666	16,634	19,673

Heavy artillery pieces-37; Light artillery pieces-45

This return includes regiments under Brig. Gen. Benjamin F. Kelley,
west of Sleepy Creek.

Troops in the Department of West Virginia, Maj. Gen.
David Hunter, U.S. Army, commanding, June 30, 1864.

Reserve Division

Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel

Monocacy to Sleepy Creek. (Headquarters, Harper's
Ferry. Troops at Back Creek, Bolivar Heights,
Cherry Run, Duffield's Depot, Harper's Ferry,
Martinsburg, Maryland Heights, Monocacy, Point of
Rocks, and Sleepy Creek.)

Brig. Gen. Max Weber.

- 1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook.
(1) 135th Ohio, Col. Andrew Legg.
152nd Ohio, Col. David Putnum.
160th Ohio, Col. Cyrus Reasoner.
161st Ohio, Col. Oliver P. Taylor.
*Engineer troops (Independent company of Pennsylvania Volunteers),
Capt. William P. Gaskill.
Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers (2 companies), Capt. Daniel M. Keyes.
17th Indiana Battery (Light artillery battalion, Maj. Gustavus F. Mer-
riam commanding), Capt. Milton L. Minner.
*5th New York Heavy Artillery (8 companies), Col. Samuel Graham.
(1) 32nd New York Battery, Capt. Charles Kusserow.
1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery, Battery D (Light artillery battalion,
Maj. Gustavus F. Merriam commanding), Capt. Andrew Rosney.
1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery D (Light artillery battal-
ion, Maj. Gustavus F. Merriam commanding), Capt. George Furst.
Camp. Distribution, Capt. David S. Caldwell.

Reserve Division (Sigel)	Present for duty	Total	Total present
Including other forces	Officers	Men	present and absent.
Beside those listed above:	365	9,246	11,042 194,135

34 pieces of Heavy artillery and 44 pieces of light artillery (page 701)

*page 503-at Harpers Ferry on May 30, 1864, plus a small detachment of
12th Pennsylvania Cavalry, & 3 batteries of Light Artillery.

- (1) at Martinsburg, May 20, 1864-32nd New York Battery, 200 men; 135th
Ohio, 309 men.

Organization of the Union Forces commanded by Maj. Gen. David Hunter, U.S. Army, July 30, 1864.

Department of West Virginia (forces in the field of this department were commanded by Bvt. Maj. Gen. George Crook).

Harper's Ferry and Defenses

(Embraced within the District of Harper's Ferry, commanded by Brigadier General Albion P. Howe).

Brig. Gen. Max Weber.

Infantry Brigade.

Col. William P. Maulsby.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook.

135th Ohio, Col. Andrew Legg.

160th Ohio, Col. Cyrus Reasoner.

161st Ohio, Col. Oliver P. Taylor.

Not Brigaded.

Loudoun, Va. Rangers (2 companies), Capt. Daniel M. Keyes.

1st New York Cavalry (Veteran) detachment, Lieut. Allen Vanderbogart.

12th Pennsylvania Cavalry (detachment), Capt. Patrick H. McAteer.

17th Indiana Battery, Capt. Milton L. Miner.

1st Kentucky Battery, Capt. Daniel W. Glassie. (Camp Hill)

Maryland Light Artillery, Battery A, (dismounted and acting as infantry), Capt. James H. Rigby.

Baltimore Battery (Md.) (Attached to Kenly's brigade to July 30, when dismounted and assigned to Weber's command). Capt. Frederick W. Alexander.

5th New York Heavy Artillery (8 companies), Col. Samuel Graham.

30th New York Battery, Capt. Alfred von Kleiser.

32nd New York Battery, Capt. Charles Kusserow.

1st Ohio Battery, Lieut. George P. Kirtland.

1st Ohio Light Artillery, Battery L, Capt. Frank C. Gibbs.

Pennsylvania Light Artillery, Battery F, (dismounted and acting as infantry) Capt. Nathaniel Irish.

1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery A, (dismounted and acting as infantry), Capt. George Furst.

1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery F, Capt. George W. Graham.

Independent Company Pennsylvania Engineers, Capt. William P. Gaskill.

Page 547- Command	Present for duty		Total present	Total present
	Officers	Men	present	and absent.
Harper's Ferry and Defenses (Weber)	230	6,475	7,404	8,845

Heavy artillery pieces-35; Light artillery pieces-48

Organization of troops in the Middle Military Division commanded by Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, U.S. Army, August 31, 1864. (for full listing of regiments, see pp. 975-977).

DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA-Bvt. Maj. Gen. George Crook).

District of Harpers Ferry

Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson.

Kenly's Brigade.

2nd Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Lieut. Col. G. Ellis Porter.

3rd Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Col. Charles Gilpin.

49th Pennsylvania (also reported in 3rd brigade, First Division, 6th Army Corps), Lieut. Co. Baynton J. Hickman.

Cavalry.

12th Pennsylvania, Col. Lewis B. Pierce.

Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers, Capt. Daniel M. Keyes.

Remount Camp, Capt. James H. Stevenson.

Artillery.

Kentucky Light, 1st Battery, Capt. Daniel W. Glassie.

Maryland Light, Baltimore Battery, Capt. Fredric W. Alexander.

Maryland Light, Battery A (dismounted and Acting as infantry), Capt. James H. Rigby.

5th New York Heavy (8 companies), Col. Samuel Graham.

New York Light, 30th Battery, Capt. Alfred Von Kleiser.

New York Light, 32nd Battery, Capt. Charles Kusserow.

Ohio Light, 1st Battery, Capt. George P. Kirtland.

1st Ohio Light, Battery L, Capt. Frank C. Gibbs.

1st Pennsylvania Light, Battery G, Capt. Beldin Spence.

Pennsylvania Light, Battery F, (Capt. Nathaniel Irish.

1st West Virginia Light, Battery A, Capt. George Furst.

Unattached.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade (Infantry), Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook.

Independent Company Pennsylvania Engineers, Capt. S. Crawford Smith.

p. 985a also serving in this district - Third Brigade, First Division, 19th Army Corps

Third Brigade.

Col. Leonard D. H. Currie.

30th Maine, Capt. George W. Randall.

133rd New York, Maj. Anthony J. Allaire.

162nd New York, Col. Justus W. Blanchard.

165th New York (6 companies), Lieut. Col. Gouverneur Carr.

173rd New York, Maj. George W. Rogers.

Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, U.S. Army commanding, for the month of August 1864.

	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent.
Department of West Va.				
(Crook)				
Staff and infantry.....	538	11,898	14,032	23,443
Cavalry.....	241	6,231	8,487	14,722
Artillery.....	83	2,877	3,521	4,478
Total	862	21,006	26,010	42,643

Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan, U.S. Army, commanding for the month of September, 1864 (Vol. XLIII, Part II, p. 248):

	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent.
Department of West Va.				
(Crook)				
Staff and infantry.....	380	9,917	11,077	19,475
Cavalry.....	187	4,591	6,537	14,833
Artillery.....	88	3,008	3,661	4,502
Total	635	17,514	21,275	38,610

p. 501-Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan, U.S. Army, commanding for the month of October, 1864.

	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent.
Department of West Va.				
(Crook)				
Staff and infantry.....	481	11,705	13,524	21,669
Cavalry.....	237	6,064	7,573	15,280
Artillery.....	94	3,213	3,837	5,182
Total	802	21,032	24,934	42,131

Organization of troops in the Middle Military Division, commanded by
Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, U.S. Army, August 31, 1864.

DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA-Maj. Gen. George Crook.

District of Harpers Ferry

(Brig. Gen. William H. Seward in command of U.S. forces at Martins-
burg, W. Va.).

Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson.

Infantry.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook.
2nd Maryland Eastern Shore, Maj. Seth W. Merrick.
12th Maryland, Lieut. Col. John L. Bishop.
195th Pennsylvania (3 companies), Capt. Henry D. Markley.

Cavalry.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Cole. Henry A. Cole.
12th Pennsylvania, Col. Lewis B. Pierce.
Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers, Capt. Daniel M. Keyes.

Artillery.

Kentucky Light, 1st Battery, Capt. Daniel W. Glassie.
Maryland Light, Baltimore Battery, Lieut. H. Eugene Alexander.
Maryland Light, Battery A, Capt. James H. Rigby.
5th New York Heavy, Col. Samuel Graham.
New York Light, 30th Battery, Capt. Alfred von Kleiser.
New York Light, 32nd Battery, Capt. Alfred von Kleiser.
Ohio Light, 1st Battery, Capt. George P. Kirtland.
Pennsylvania Light, Battery F, Capt. Nathaniel Irish.
1st Pennsylvania Light, Battery G, Capt. Beldin Spence.
1st West Virginia Light, Battery E, Capt. Alexander C. Moore.

Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, U.S. Army commanding, for the month of November 1864.
(from Vol. XLIII, Part II, p. 716).

	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent.
Department of West Va.				
(Crook)				
Staff and infantry.....	400	10,770	12,382	19,928
Cavalry.....	153	4,519	5,723	13,610
Artillery.....	77	2,647	3,267	4,835
Total	670	18,036	21,372	38,373

Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan, U.S. Army, commanding for the month of September, 1864.

	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent.
Department of West Va.				
(Crook)				
Staff and infantry.....	305	7,381	9,089	12,500
Cavalry.....	150	4,741	5,988	13,844
Artillery.....	74	3,026	3,642	4,837
Total	530	15,148	18,719	31,181

Organization of troops in the Middle Military Division, commanded by
Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, U.S. Army, December 31, 1864.

DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA-Maj. Gen. George Crook.

District of Harpers Ferry

(Brig. Gen. William H. Seward in command of post of Martinsburg and
Maj. Gustavus F. Merriam, 5th New York Heavy Artillery, the post of
Maryland Heights. The other garrisoned posts in the district were
Berlin, Camp Hill, Charlestown, Duffield's Station, Frederick,
Halltown, Hedgesville, Kearneysville, Point of Rocks, and Sandy Hook.)

Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson.

Infantry.

18th Connecticut, Lieut. Col. Henry Peale.
15th Maine (3 companies), Capt. George E. Moulton.
15th Maine, Lieut. Col. Benjamin B. Murray, Jr.
1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade (3 companies). Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook.
2nd Maryland Eastern Shore, Capt. Albert L. Corey.
195th Pennsylvania (3 companies), Capt. Henry D. Markley.

Cavalry.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Col. Henry A. Cole.
12th Pennsylvania, Capt. Nathaniel Payne.
Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers (2 companies, Capt. Daniel M. Keyes.

Artillery.

Maryland Light, Battery A, Capt. James H. Rigby.
Maryland Light, Baltimore Battery, Lieut. H. Eugene Alexander.
New York Light, 30th Battery, Lieut. Conrad Carrolen.
New York Light, 32nd Battery, Capt. Charles Kusserow.
5th New York Heavy, Col. Samuel Graham.
Ohio Light, 1st Battery, Capt. George P. Kirtland.
1st Ohio Light, Battery L (Comprising the Artillery brigade under Capt.
Henry A. DuPont), Capt. Frank C. Gibbs.
1st Pennsylvania Light, Battery C, Lieut. Sharp L. Richards.
1st Pennsylvania Light, Battery D (in Artillery brigade under Capt.
Henry A. DuPont), Lieut. William Munk.
Pennsylvania Light, Battery F, (in Artillery brigade under Capt. Henry
A. DuPont), Capt. Nathaniel Irish.
1st Pennsylvania Light, Battery G, Lieut. William Jennings.
5th United States, Battery B (in Artillery Brigade), Capt. Henry A.
DuPont.
5th United States, Battery M, Capt. James McKnight.

Acting Engineers

Independent Pennsylvania Company, Capt. S. Crawford Smith.

Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, U.S. Army commanding, for the month of January 1865.

	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent.
Department of West Va.				
(Crook)				
Staff and infantry.....	265	6,948	8,099	11,106
Cavalry.....	116	3,521	4,303	5,145
Artillery.....	48	2,763	2,986	4,115
Total	670	13,132	15,388	20,366

32 pieces of heavy artillery and 66 pieces of field artillery.

Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, U.S. Army, commanding for the month of February, 1865. (from Vol. XLVI, Part II, p. 754).

	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent.
Department of West Va.				
(Carroll)				
Staff and infantry.....	274	7,952	9,206	12,001
Cavalry.....	114	3,642	4,469	5,262
Artillery.....	49	2,947	3,178	4,275
Total	437	14,541	16,853	21,538

Organization of troops in the Middle Military Division, commanded by Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, U.S. Army, February 28, 1865. (Hancock temporarily commanding in the absence of Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan)

DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA-Maj. Gen. Samuel S. Carroll (Temporarily commanding in absence of Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock.)

Third Division (Harper's Ferry)

Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson.

First Brigade.

Brig. Gen. William H. Seward.

18th Connecticut, Lieut. Col.
Henry Peale

195th Pennsylvania (6 companies)

Maj. Henry D. Markley

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade
Cavalry, Col. Henry A. Cole.

Ohio Light Artillery, 1st Battery,
Capt. George P. Kirtland

Third Brigade.

Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade
(4 companies), Capt. Charles
J. Brown.

Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers (2
companies), Capt. Daniel M.
Keyes.

Maryland Light Artillery, Battery
A, Capt. James H. Rigby.

Acting Engineers.

Independent Pennsylvania Company,
Capt. S. Crawford Smith.

Artillery Brigade.

Capt. Henry A. DuPont

1st Ohio Light, Battery L, Capt.
Frank C. Gibbs.

1st Pennsylvania Light, Battery D,
Lieut. William Munk.

Pennsylvania Light, Battery F,
Capt. Nathaniel Irish.

5th United States, Battery B,
Capt. Henry A. DuPont.

Second Brigade.

Col. Samuel Graham.

5th New York Heavy Artillery,
Lieut. Col. Edward Murray.

Not Brigaded.

12th Pennsylvania Cavalry, Col.
Marcus A. Reno.

1st Illinois Light Artillery, Bat-
tery L. Lieut. James A. Brown.

1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery,
Battery C, Lieut. Richard M.
Ball.

1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery,
Battery G, Lieut. William Jen-
nings.

First Separate Brigade.

Col. John H. Oley.

1st New York (Veteran) Cavalry,
Lieut. Col. John S. Platner.

7th West Virginia Cavalry, Lieut.
Col. John J. Polsley.

1st West Virginia Light Artillery,
Battery A, Lieut. Frederick
Hoffman.

Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, U.S. Army, temporarily commanding, for the month of March 1865.

	Present for duty Officers	Men	Total present	Total present and absent.
Department of West Va.				
(Hancock)				
Staff and infantry.....	333	9,103	10,593	12,253
Cavalry.....	113	3,192	3,814	4,546
Artillery.....	47	2,710	3,180	4,347
Total.....	493	15,005	17,587	22,446
Heavy Artillery - 33 pieces; Field Guns - 67 pieces.				
p.391 Cavalry forces (Torbert)				
Staff and Cavalry.....	138	3,729	4,633	21,535
Artillery.....	20	593	751	898
Total, Winchester, Va.....	158	15,005	5,584	32,453
Military District of Stephenson's Depot, Va. (Emory)				
Staff and infantry.....	295	5,770	7,355	10,578
Artillery.....	19	624	668	763
Total.....	314	6,394	8,021	11,341
First Provisional Division (Brooks), Near Charlestown W.Va.				
Staff and infantry.....	203	4,336	4,913	5,894
General Headquarters				
p.390 Winchester, Va.				
Staff.....	25	0	25	25
Infantry.....	13	93	307	465
Cavalry.....	27	266	357	987
Detachment of Signal Corps.....	7	96	103	146
Total.....	72	455	792	1,625

Organization of troops in the Middle Military Division, commanded by
Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, U.S. Army, April 30, 1865.

DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA

Bvt. Maj. Gen. William H. Emory.

Second Division (Harper's Ferry)

Brig. Gen. John D. Stevenson.

First Brigade.

Col. Roger E. Cook.

18th Connecticut, Lieut. Col. Henry Peale

13th Maryland, Lieut. Col. Charles J. Brown

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade Cavalry, Maj. J. Townsend Daniel

1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery, Battery C, Capt. Sharp L. Richards

Not Brigaded.

25th New York Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Aaron Seeley.

Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers (2 companies), Capt. James W. Grubb.

1st Illinois Light Artillery, Battery L. Lieut. John McAfee.

1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery, Battery D, Capt. William Munk.

Artillery Brigade.

Bvt. Lieut. Col. Henry A. DuPont

1st Ohio Light, Battery L, Capt. Frank C. Gibbs.

5th United States, Battery B, Bvt. Lieut. Col. Henry A. DuPont.

Second Brigade.

Col. Samuel Graham.

5th New York Heavy Artillery, Col. Samuel Graham.

Acting Engineers.

Independent Pennsylvania Company, Capt. S. Crawford Smith.

First Separate Brigade.

Col. John H. Oley.

1st New York (Veteran) Cavalry, Col. John S. Platner.

7th West Virginia Cavalry, Lieut. Col. John J. Polsley.

1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery A, Capt. Frederick Hoffman.

Miscellaneous.

132nd Company, 2nd Battalion, U.S. Veteran Reserve Corps, Lieut. James Drysdale.

p.1038 Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Handcock, U.S. Army, commanding for the month of April, 1865.

Department of W. Va.,	Present for duty	Total present	Total present and absent.
(Emory)	Officers	Men	
Staff and infantry.....	212	6,534	7,166
Cavalry.....	134	3,893	4,541
Artillery.....	62	2,448	2,824
Total.....	408	12,875	14,531
			18,349

Heavy Artillery-41 pieces; field artillery-32 guns.

APPENDIX II

(1) "Map No. 12a-Map of the Engagement at Harper's Ferry, July 4th, 1864." By Jed. Hotchkiss, Top. Engr. A. V. S, Scale ½ mile to an inch. From Hotchkiss Collection, Library of Congress. Harpers Ferry Map No. 15, Map Case Drawer No. 13.

(2) Late 1864 or 1865 Map: "Harper's Ferry, Scale 1/10,000, by Simeon Blood Smith, the surveyor for the Boston Subways, donated by F. E. Somers, 5908 Anniston Road, Bethesda 14, Maryland.

MAP
of Engagement
at
HARPER'S FERRY

July 4th

1862





Harper's Ferry - 1865

Made From John W. Deane's
Map By Smith

APPENDIX III

HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS SHOWING HARPERS
FERRY, WEST VIRGINIA, IN 1864 AND 1865

"Shenandoah Valley From Maryland Heights in 1864."

From original sketch by A. R. Waud in the Library of Congress.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-214

This drawing was made by Waud in November or December, 1864. To the left of the photograph may be seen the west slope of Loudoun Heights, with the Shenandoah River running at its base. The Pipertown road leads up from the river to the side of Loudoun Heights and the military road zigzags to the left, from the county road up to the summit. Note the ground cover on Loudoun Heights and beyond. In the center, just beyond the edge of Maryland Heights, is the Paymaster's Quarters, Armory Dwelling No. 32-headquarters of General Sheridan in August, 1864, which was located on Camp Hill. Army tent camps appear to lie just to the right of this house. Moving further to the right, just to the left of the pine tree, another large army camp can be seen and beyond stands the large Armory Superintendent's House, Armory Dwelling No. 25, also located on Camp Hill. To the left and right of this house can be seen a portion of the Camp Hill earthworks. To the right of the two trees lies the town of Bolivar and then Bolivar Heights. Note the ground cover to the west (right) of Camp Hill. (note: a detailed lithograph of the Armory Superintendent's House and the camp of the 5th New York Heavy Artillery, made in 1864, will be found on page 81 of Snell, C. W., "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." Dated December 1, 1862.)

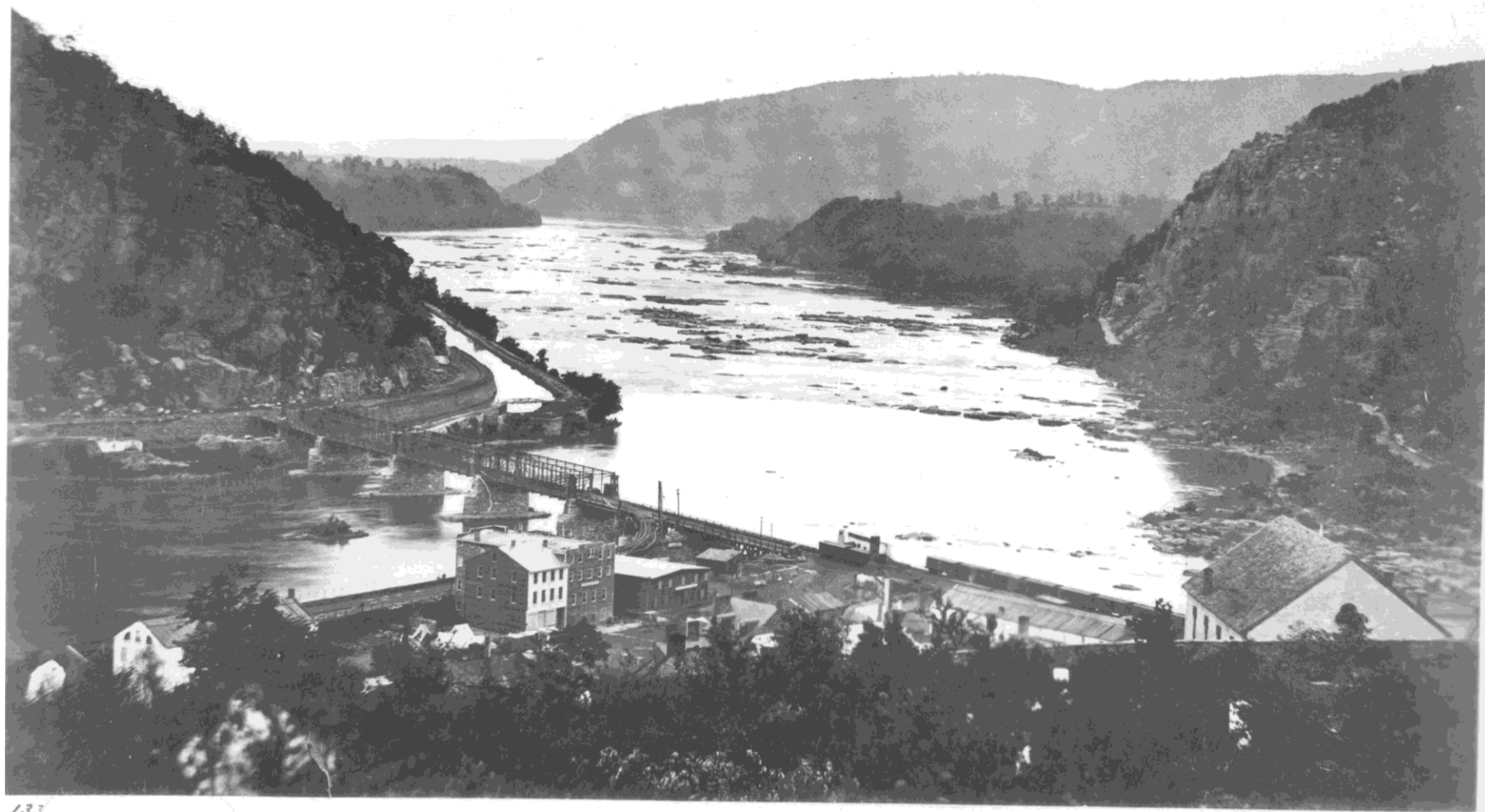


"Potomac River from Harper's Ferry [Camp] Hill."

Photo taken by Brady in May or June, 1865, from the Library of Congress.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-25

The Potomac flows from the left and the Shenandoah from the right, the two rivers uniting the center of the photo. To the left, beyond the Potomac, rises the south end of Maryland Heights, and to the right may be seen the north end of Loudoun Heights, with the Hillsborough Turnpike running along its base. On the near side of the river, to the left, can be seen Musket Factory Bldg. No. 12-the Warehouse and moving to the right, the new "Shenandoah Hotel" and the Adams Express building, which were located in the Wager Ferry Lot no. 9. Across Potomac Street, visible in the center and just beyond the stone wall surrounding the Harper Graveyard on Camp Hill, can be seen the roofs and rear of Monument Bldgs. No. 8 and 9. To the right of them stands the ruined walls and one chimney of the three story brick house (burned on February 7, 1862) that once stood on Wager Lot No. 5. To the right of that is the long one story building running parallel to the Shenandoah. This structure is probably the first floor of the Large Arsenal (burned on April 18, 1861), situated in the Old Arsenal Square. Beyond the Arsenal are some railroad cars of the U.S. Military Railroad, running on the old line of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad. The building to the right of the photo, with roof and rear walls showing, is St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, Monument Bldg. No 48A.



133

Harpers Ferry - West Virginia

"U.S. Musket Factory at Harper's Ferry from Magazine Hill."

This photograph was taken by James Gardner, probably in May, 1865 (Potomac iron bridge had 3 trestles destroyed by flood on May 22, 1865).

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-38.

At the left of the photo flows the Potomac River; the south end and west slope of Maryland Heights rises beyond the river. Note the ground cover on mountain and store at base of the heights. To the right of the picture flows the Shenandoah and beyond it rises the north end and west slope of Loudoun Heights. Note also the damaged Baltimore and Ohio iron bridge over the Potomac. In the foreground are army tents. At the base of the hill, to the left, is the western end of the U.S. Musket Factory, with many of the structures having temporary roofs and being used as a quarter-master depot. Musket Factory Bldgs. from left to right: Bldg. No. 9C and 8B, the Carpenter Shop and Saw Mill, moving again to the right, Bldg. No. 3-the Bell or Finishing Shop. Returning to 8C, and partially hidden by it, Bldg. No. 17-the Old Stock House; moving to the right, Bldg. No. 14-the Annealing Shop and Brass Foundry; then Bldg. No. 13-the Smith and Forging Shop, and finally, Bldg. No. 12-the Warehouse. Just to the right of Bldg. 12 is to be seen the new hotel, the "Shenandoah Hotel," and the Adams Express Company building, standing on Wager Ferry Lot No. 9. Washington Street runs down Camp Hill to the right of the photo and above it may be seen a portion of the Methodist Protestant Church. (See 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2 for the location of these buildings.)



"Maryland Heights From Harper's Ferry [Camp] Hill."

Photograph by Brady, probably made in May or June, 1865. From Library of Congress.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-362

The river in the foreground is the Potomac and beyond it rises the south end and west slope of Maryland Heights. Note the ground cover on the mountain; also the houses, the C&O Canal and road running along the base of the heights. The damaged Baltimore and Ohio Railroad iron bridge is to be seen to the right.

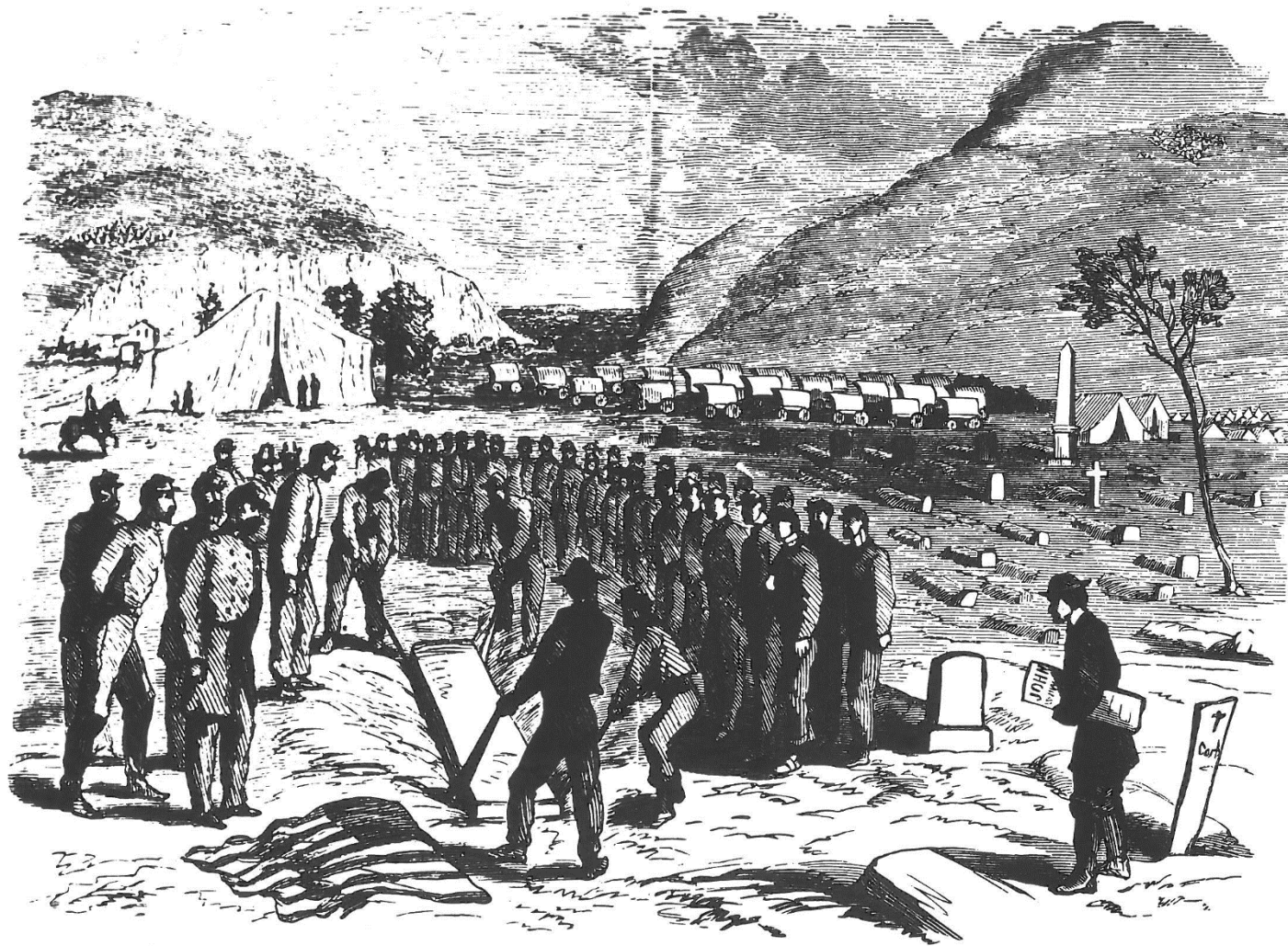
The tall smoke stack to be seen on the near side of the river, in the center of the photo, is that of the Musket Factory Bldg. No. 13-the Smith and Forging Shop. To the right of this structure can be seen Musket Factory Bldg. No. 12-the Warehouse, and to the right of that, the new "Shenandoah Hotel," located on Wager Lot No. 9.



"The Soldier's Graveyard at Bolivar Heights, Loudon (sic) Heights on the right and Maryland Heights on the Left, in the distance."

From an undated sketch,
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-459.

Note the park of wagons in the right center. Great trains of these wagons were used to carry supplies from harpers Ferry to Sheridan's army during the campaign of August, 1864, to February, 1865. The wagon trains were parked inside the fortified lines on Bolivar Heights for the purposes of protection.



THE SOLDIERS' GRAVEYARD AT BOLIVAR HEIGHTS, NEAR HARPER'S FERRY, LOUDON HEIGHTS ON THE RIGHT
MARYLAND HEIGHTS ON THE LEFT, IN THE DISTANCE.