HFR 294

HARPERS FERRY

APRIL 18 - DECEMBER 31, 1861

A CASUALTY OF WAR

Harpers Ferry National Monument

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INTRODUCTION

Research Project No. HF-94, a detailed study of the various Civil War actions relative to Harpers Ferry for use in the Interpretive Program, was assigned the writer January 1, 1959. However, because of a break-down in communications, he did not learn of the assignment until late July of that year. At the time he was engrossed in assisting in the planning and installation of the John Brown exhibits. A public-contact schedule of forty hours per week, and other interpretive duties necessitated the preparation of this report largely on the writer's own time.

Because of the wide scope of material to be covered, it was thought best to break the report down into five parts - one for each year of the war. This report is the first in a series of five.

Sincere thanks are due Historian Charles W. Snell for his critical review of the report and his many helpful suggestions and comments. His organization of the source material greatly facilitated the writing of this report. Many thanks to Historian Al Mongin, whose diligent research uncovered valuable source material freely used in this report and to Historian Herbert Kissling for his comments as to the technical form incorporated in the final typing.

CHAPTER I

DESTRUCTION OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL - APRIL 18, 1861

1. Prelude, December, 1860-April, 1861

Following the election of Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States, November 6, 1860, the preliminaries to the "inevitable conflict" snow-balled with unrelenting haste.

December of 1860 witnessed the resignation of Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Tresury, Lewis Cass of Michigan, Secretary of State, and John B. Floyd of Virginia, Secretary of War. South Carolina seceded December 20 and Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor were seized by State authorities, followed within a few days by the seizure of the United States Arsenal at Charleston.

In January, 1861, Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior, resigned. Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana adopted ordinances of secession, followed by wholesale seizure of United States property. Fort Johnson in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina was seized by State authorities. In Georgia, Fort Pulaski, the United States Arsenal at Augusta, Oglethorpe Barracks and Fort Jackson were confiscated by the State. Alabama authorities took possession of the United States Arsenal at Mt. Vernon and Forts Morgan and Gaines in Mobile Bay. Fort Marion at St. Augustine, the United States Arsenal at Apalachicola, Barrancas Barracks, Forts Barrancas and McRee, and the Navy Yard at Pensacola were seized by State authorities of Florida. In North Carolina, Forts Johnston and Caswell were seized by citizens of the State, while Mississippi authorities seized the Fort on Ship Island, Mississippi. In Louisiana, the United States Arsenal and Barracks at

Baton Rouge, Forts Jackson, St. Philip, Macomb, Pike, and the United States Marine Hospital near New Orleans were likewise taken possession of by State authorities.

February saw more of the same. The United States Mint and Custom House at New Orleans, the United States Arsenal at Little Rock, and the United States Arsenal and Barracks at San Antonio were seized by authorities of the respective States. Texas seceded and all United States military posts in that State were surrendered to State authorities by General David E. Twiggs of the United States Army. On February 9, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia were elected President and Vice-President of the Confederate States of America by the Montgomery Convention, and, in a few days an Act was passed by the Confederate Congress to provide munitions of war.

In March, the United States Revenue cutter DODGE was seized at Galveston, Texas by State authorities and on March 3, Brigadier General G. T. Beauregard, C.S.A., assumed command at Charleston, South Carolina. The following day, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as President of the United States. On March 6, the Confederate Congress passed an act for the establishment of an army, not to exceed 100,000, for twelve months' service, and five days later, the "Constitution of the Confederate States of America," was adopted at Montgomery, Alabama.

On April 12, the bombardment of Fort Sumter was commenced by Confederate forces and the U.S. garrison surrendered the next day. On April 15, President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 volunteers.[1]

1. BATTLES AND LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956, Inc., Vol. I, pp.1-3. Hereafter cited as BATTLES AND LEADERS.

2. U.S. Measures to Protect the Harpers Ferry Armory

While the contagious secession fever spread like wildfire throughout the Southern States, it appeared inevitable that some attempt would be made to seize the United States Arsenal and Armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. As early as January 2, 1861, the Superintendent of the Armory, Alfred M. Barbour warned the Ordnance Bureau in Washington, D.C., that he had good reason to believe an assault would be made on the Government Armory and he urgently requested that regular troops be sent to Harpers Ferry to assist the volunteer companies of armorers and citizens, numbering approximately 140 men, /See Appendix I/ in defending the armory.[2]

The following day, Brevet Major Henry J. Hunt, Second Artillery, Washington, D.C., was ordered to Harpers Ferry to take command of eight non-commissioned officers and sixty privates under the immediate command of First Lieutenant Roger Jones, of the United States Mounted Rifles.[3] The command under Jones had been ordered the same day to proceed without delay from Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, to Harpers Ferry, unarmed, but with all the necessary clothing, as the troopers were expected to remain at Harpers Ferry for some time.[4]

Major Hunt and the small force from Carlisle Barracks arrived at Harpers Ferry January 5,[5] and were quartered on the first floor of the

2. Alfred M. Barbour to Captain William Maynadier, Ordnance Bureau, Washington, D.C., January 2, 1861. O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part I, p.308.

3. S. Cooper, Adjutant-General, Washington, D.C., to Maj. Hunt, January 3, 1861. Ibid., p.309.

4. S. Cooper to Maj. L. P. Graham, Second Dragoons, Supt. Mounted Recruiting Service, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Ibid., pp.308-309.

5. Armistead M. Ball, Master Armorer, Harpers Ferry Armory to Captain Maynadier, Ordnance Bureau, Washington, D.C. Ibid., p.309.

Large Arsenal Building.

Hunt's position at Harpers Ferry was rather delicate. He had been ordered to make no display of force and yet he was to take measures to prevent the success of an attack on the Armory - orders, which seemed to him incompatible. He was reluctant to make any military preparations for defense of the Government Installation which might "excite the already feverish feeling of the neighborhood," perhaps precipitating an assault on the Armory. Thus, no defensive measure were initiated, and Hunt's command, armed with weapons supplied by the local Armory, was merely ordered to remain on the alert.[7]

On April 2nd, Major Hunt was ordered to other service and the command, which by this time had diminished to forty-five troopers, devolved upon Lieutenant Jones.[8]

3. The Plot to Sieze the Armory, April 16-17, 1861

The movement to capture the Harpers Ferry Armory was initiated at Richmond. On the night of April 16, at 7 p.m., a secret meeting, headed by Henry A.Wise, the ex-governor of Virginia, was held in the Exchange Hotel, where a decision was speedily reached to seize the Armory. Other members of this clandestine gathering included, John D. Imboden, Captains Turner Ashby and Richard Ashby, brothers from Fauquier County, Oliver R. Funsten of Clarke County, Captain John A. Harman of Staunton and Alfred M. Barbour,[9] the latter having resigned the Superintendency of the Harpers

6. Snell, Charles W., "Historic Structures (Ruins) Report, Part I, for The Large and Small Arsenal Buildings," Nov. 6, 1959, pp.3-4.

7. Maj. Hunt to Col. S. Cooper, Adjutant-General, January 14, 1861. O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part I, pp.310-311.

8. Imboden, John D., Brig. Gen., C.S.A., "JACKSON AT HARPERS FERRY IN 1861" in BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, p.125.

9. Ibid., p.111.

Ferry Armory on March 22, 1861.[10] It's ironic that Wise should head such a meeting, when just a year and a half earlier, as Governor of Virginia, he denounced John Brown and his followers as "murderers, traitors, robbers, insurrectionists," and "wanton, malicious, unprovoked felons,"[11] for accomplishing the same act which he and his fellow conspirators now planned to imitate.

The members of the surreptitious meeting agreed that the move on the Harpers Ferry Armory should begin the next day, April 17, just as soon as the Virginia Convention, which was then in session, voted to secede.[12] The Virginia Secession Convention, had been by a large majority "Union" in its sentiment until Sumter was fired upon and captured, and Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand volunteers.[13] As expected, the Ordinance of Secession was adopted by the Convention on April 17, subject to popular vote, prompted, perhaps, by the dramatic announcement of ex-Governor Wise at the Convention that, "armed forces are now moving upon Harper's Ferry to capture the arms there in the Arsenal for the public defence, and there will be a fight or a foot-race between volunteers of Virginia and Federal troops before the sun sets this day."[14]

Sometime after mid-night, the night before the secession vote, a committee, chairmanned by Imboden, aroused Governor Letcher from his bed

10. Alfred M. Barbour to Col. H. K. Craig, Ordnance Bureau, Washington, D.C., March 22, 1861. Harpers Ferry National Monument Microfilm Collection, Reel 27, V.12, p.1129.

11. Villard, Oswald Garrison, John Brown 1800-1859, A Biography Fifty Years After, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943, p.465.

12. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, p.112.

13. Ibid., p.111.

14. Villard, p.466.

Henry A. Wise

Harpers Ferry Negative No. 276.

Ex-Governor of Virginia. He headed the plot to seize the United States Armory at Harpers Ferry. As governor of Virginia, Wise condemned John Brown and his raiders for seizing the same armory in 1859.



Stonewall Jackson
of Virginia.

and laid the scheme before him. Letcher approved of the plan, and promised the committee members he would order the movement to seize the Armory, after the ordinance of secession was passed.[15]

With this legal sanction, the warlords made their way through the dark streets of Richmond back to the Exchange Hotel, where they decided to telegraph the captains of militia companies along the Virginia Central, Orange and Alexandria, and Manassas Gap Railroads to be ready next day for orders from the governor. Colonel Edmund Fontaine, President of the former and John S. Barbour, President of the latter railroads, had already agreed to put the necessary trains in readiness to obey any request of Governor Letcher for the movement of troops.[16]

The Ashbys, Funsten, Harman, and Imboden remained up the entire night. The superintendent and commandant of the Virginia Armory at Richmond, filled their requisitions for ammunition and moved it to the railway station before sunrise. He also granted one hundred stand of arms for the Martinsburg Light Infantry, a new company just formed. Imboden receipted for the tools of war and saw them placed on the train. With the munitions aboard, the train headed for Staunton, Virginia.[17]

At Staunton, thousands of people excited by the calling out of the local militia, assembled at the railroad depot, where Imboden's artillery company and the West Augusta Guards were waiting to board the train from Richmond. Major-General Kenton Harper, a native of Pennsylvania, and Brigadier-General William H. Harman were among those waiting for the train,

15. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, p.112.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., pp.112-114.

with a telegram from Governor Letcher ordering them into service. In his dispatch, the Governor informed General Harper that he was to take chief command of all troops being rushed to Harpers Ferry. Harper waited until after dark and then headed for Winchester by horse and team. General Harman was ordered to take command of the trains and of all troops that might report en route.[18]

4. Advance of the Virginia Militia, April 17, 1861

About sunset, the train left Staunton. At Charlottesville, the Monticello Guards, Captain W. B. Mallory, and the Albemarle Rifles, under Captain R. T. W. Duke, came aboard. A rifle company joined the troops at Culpeper, and just about sunrise on April 18, the train pulled into Manassas.[19]

From Manassas, the troop train proceeded to Strasburg, where the militia left the cars, and shortly before 10 a.m., the infantry companies took up the line of march for Winchester. Imboden, in need of horses for his guns, seized a number forceably from local farmers, and followed the infantry down the Valley Turnpike.[20]

Meanwhile, at Harpers Ferry on April 18, excitement, confusion and disorderliness reigned supreme. Ex-Superintendent of the Armory, Barbour, who had been elected to the Virginia Convention to represent the strong union sentiment of Jefferson County, made his appearance at Harpers Ferry in the company of James A. Seddon, who later became the Confederate Secretary of War. Barbour came from one of the oldest and most aristocratic

18. BATTLES AND LEADERS, p.114.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p.115.

families in Virginia and many of his relatives, who were ultra-southern in their views, held seats in the convention. Like many another Virginia Unionist, he had decided to throw his lot with the Confederacy, a decision which he afterwards bitterly regretted.[21]

Just two days earlier, Barbour had conspired to seize the Armory, and now he gathered the armory employees around him and warned them that the place would be captured within twenty-four hours by Virginia troops, and he urged all the workers to protect the property and join the Southern cause. He promised them that in the event of war, Harpers Ferry would be held by the South and that they could continue work at high wages.[22]

"He appeared to be laboring under great excitement caused, perhaps, by his consciousness of having done wrong and unwisely..."[23]

His words had the effect of a bombshell amongst the populace of mixed sympathies. Violent disagreements resulted in exchange of blows, and a partial riot took place. The Armory workshops were closed, and all business in Harpers Ferry, with the exception of the barrooms, was suspended. Fist-fights between the two adverse factions broke out all over town, and the anger of the Unionists increased when John Burk, a young southern soldier appeared in town and stood guard over the telegraph office.[24]

David Hunter Strother, a resident of Martinsburg, and soon to gain fame for his Civil War sketches as "Porte Crayon," came to Harpers Ferry

21. Barry, Joseph, THE STRANGE STORY OF HARPERS FERRY, Martinsburg, West Virginia, 1903, p.111. Hereafter cited as Barry.

22. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, p.117.

23. Barry, p.112.

24. Ibid., p.112.

Alfred M. Barbour

Harpers Ferry Negative No. 509.

Superintendent of the United States Armory at Harpers Ferry from January 1, 1859, to March 22, 1861. He played a key role in the seizure of that armory by Virginia forces on April 18, 1861.



that fateful day and was shocked at what transpired. He was greeted at the railroad depot by Captain Turner Ashby, who had left Richmond before Imboden. "We are here in the name of the State of Virginia to take possession of Harper's Ferry. Three thousand Virginians are marching to support us, and I am expecting their arrival every moment," Ashby proclaimed. He paced up and down by the telegraph office, looking at his watch at every turn, expressing displeasure and impatience at the non-appearance of the expected troops.[25]

One of Ashby's party directed a question to Strother: "How many men can we bring from Martinsburg to sustain them?" Strother, an unyielding Union man, shot back the reply: "None at all; we are all Union men at Martinsburg." The reply startled them, and was followed by an interchange of significant glances. The whistle of the Charles Town cars terminated the conversation, which had taken a dangerous turn, and Strother passed around to the platform of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad to board the train for Charles Town.[26]

While Barbour did everything in his power to induce the armory employees to side with the Southern cause, Lieutenant Jones, working with Captain Charles F. Kingsbury, who had been assigned Superintendent of the Armory the previous day,[27] pulled at opposite ends of the pole and asked for volunteers among the workers to supplement his small command of

25. Strother, David Hunter, PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE WAR BY A VIRGINIAN, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, No. CXCIII, June, 1866, Vol. XXXIII, p.8. Also MS Journal, 1861.

26. Ibid.

27. L. Thomas, Adjutant-General to Captain Charles F. Kingsbury, Ordnance Bureau, Washington, D.C., April 17, 1861. Typed copy contributed by Donald. B. Webster, Rt. 1, Bangor, Me. Copy in Harpers Ferry National Monument General File-U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry, 1795-1861.

forty-five troopers. As the majority of these men were not native Virginians, but were drawn chiefly from industrial centers in the North, and as they depended upon the Federal Government for their means of support, Jones hoped they would remain loyal to the Union and come to his assistance. He found, however, that he could not rely on any considerable number of them for help. Division of opinion, drunkeness, confusion, and more fist-fights were the chief results obtained by his pleas.[28] Some did respond, however, to the distress call, the first being Jeremiah Donovan, a big Irishman, who shouldered a musket and stood guard by the Musket Factory gate, not fifty yards from the southern soldier posted at the telegraph office. /The latter being located on Wager Lot No. 1/ Donovan was the first man in this region to take up arms in defense of the Federal Government.[29] William F. Wilson and George Koonce, both of Harpers Ferry, followed the example of Donovan and offered their services to Lieutenant Jones.[30]

Meanwhile, at Charles Town, eight miles west of Harpers Ferry, Strother found just as much excitement prevailing as he witnessed at Harpers Ferry, although less noisy and unruly. The Jefferson Volunteer Battalion /see Appendix III/ stood on parade in the street, and mothers, sisters, sweethearts, wives, and children of the Volunteers, scurried in every direction, revealing their mixed emotions in many and varied forms. Even the negroes were jubilant, yet Strother thought he "could discern in the eyes of some of the older and wiser woolly-heads a gleam of anxious speculation - a silent and tremulous questioning of the future."[31]

28. Strother, pp.8-9.

29. Barry, p.112.

30. Ibid.

31. Strother, p.9.

There were those among the whites who stood aloof in silence and sadness, and protested against the proceeding by an occasional bitter sigh or significant sneer, but nothing more.[32]

While at Charles Town, David Strother was called upon by Captain Lawson Botts, /Appendix III/ an officer of the Jefferson Battalion, who called him aside, and in a manner which evidenced much nervousness and agitation, asked him what he thought about the present state of affairs.[33]

Strother demanded to know the meaning of the martial array, to which Botts replied that Ashby and Seddon had arrived that morning from Richmond, and, in the name of the Governor of Virginia, had ordered the Jefferson Battalion to assemble and march immediately on Harpers Ferry, to take possession of the United States Armory and Arsenal there, and hold them for the State.[34]

Botts asked Strother for an opinion of the legality of this move, and now he listened respectfully while Strother strongly represented his views. He told Captain Botts that he "considered the whole movement an atrocious swindle, contrived by a set of desperate and unprincipled conspirators at Richmond, who, fearing that their treasonable schemes would be denounced by the people at the polls, had determined to plunge the State irrevocably into a war with the General Government without allowing an opportunity for the expression of popular opinion on the question."[35]

Warming to the subject, Strother continued in the same heated vein:

32. Strother, p.9.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

"...Moreover, what does it signify if all the agencies of the State - Governor, Legislature, and Convention combined - should order you to draw your sword against your country. Can you feel yourself in any manner bound to obey such an order? Does it not rather prove to you that those whom the people have intrusted with the management of their State affairs have themselves turned traitors and are conspiring against our common Government? So far from feeling it my duty to obey under such circumstances, I would, if I had control of these troops, march them to Harper's Ferry and, without hesitation, arrest and imprison every man I found there engaged in this infernal business, and then offer my services to the United States Government for the defense of the place..."[36]

Captain Botts was deeply impressed by Strother's powerful words. He thanked him for his frankness and walked a short distance to where some fellow officers were lingering. Strother watched as the small group engaged in heated and earnest discussion with Botts. Presently, Botts returned and asked Strother if he would repeat to the other field officers of the battalion what he had said to him.[37]

Strother, willing to do everything in his power to prevent what he considered a revolutionary and traitorous act, immediately consented. He accompanied Captain Botts to a private room, where he met Colonel Allen, commanding the Jefferson Battalion, and some others. Strother repeated substantially what he had said to Botts, a little more reserved in language, as he was not so well acquainted with the present audience. They listened with respect and evident emotion. When Strother finished

36. Strother, p.9.

37. Ibid., p.10.

speaking, a printed proclamation, which had been circulated by the Richmond emissaries, was brought into the room and subjected to critical discussion. It was a call upon the volunteer militia and the people generally to rise and protect their honor, their property, and their rights, by seizing the Harpers Ferry Armory and Arsenal. It contained the passage of the Secession Ordinance and was signed by Turner Ashby, who claimed to act by order of the Governor. On examination it was pronounced unsatisfactory, and Colonel Allen declared that unless he had some better authority, his troops would not move. Colonel Allen became exceedingly angry, when one of the gathering suggested that the State agents might have intentionally deceived him. Allen stormed that if they had dared to deceive him, he would hold them to personal account.[38]

Friends of Ashby and Seddon leaped to their defense and insisted that they were honorable men, and that their personal statements had been even more clear and conclusive than the printed circular.[39]

Strother re-entered the verbal melee and asserted that he did not believe either what they had said or what was published, and in times like the present he would not trust any man's word or honor who acted with the revolutionary junto, no matter what their previous character might have been.[40]

The fiery debate continued for some time, when finally Colonel Allen determined that he would move his troops as far as Halltown, the appointed place of rendezvous, mid-way between Charles Town and Harpers

38. Strother, p.10.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

Ferry, but he would go no further unless he obtained more satisfactory authority from the State Government.[41]

5. Rendezvous at Halltown, April 18, 1861

The Volunteers marched off, and after dinner, Strother walked down the turnpike to Halltown, where he found the troops halted, waiting for reinforcements, which were reported on the march from various quarters to join them.[42] /See sketch on next page./

During the afternoon, several of the expected companies arrived. Captain Turner Ashby and Mr. Seddon had come up from Harpers Ferry, while Richard Ashby arrived from Fauquier with a small squad of cavalry. Here the leaders continued the furious dispute for some time; many of their faces were vexed with doubt and indecision, while others were lowered with anger and dissatisfaction. Ashby, who had greeted Strother so frankly that morning, now passed him with averted face. In the evening, as they had supper together at a neighboring farm-house, he avoided exchanging any words or looks with Strother.[43]

While they were at supper, a courier arrived from the direction of Winchester, man and horse bespattered with mud and reeling with fatigue. Ashby quickly ripped open the dispatch; his cloudy brow cleared; he rose hastily from his chair and handed the paper to Colonel Allen. As he read, Colonel Allen sprang to his feet, turned to Strother, and said, cheerily, "Now I can act with a clear conscience. Here is a paper I can recognize, a peremptory order to seize Harper's Ferry, with the official indorsement

41. Strother, p.10.

42. Ibid.

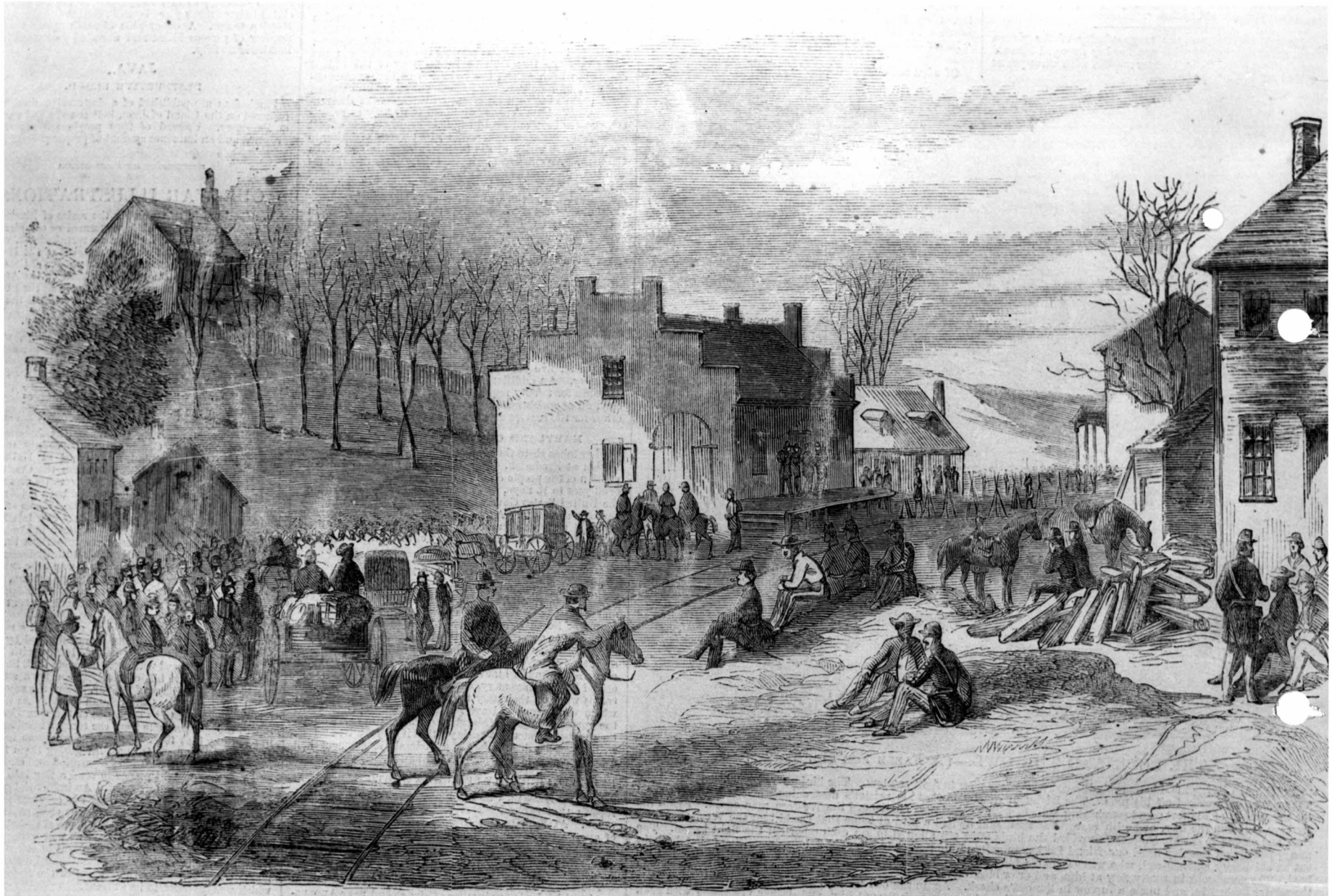
43. Ibid.

"Rendezvous of the Virginians at Halltown, Virginia, 5 p.m., on April 18, 1861, to march on Harper's Ferry."

Sketched by David Hunter Strother on the spot.

From Harper's Weekly, May 11, 1861, p.292.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-535.



THE RENDEZVOUS OF THE VIRGINIANS AT HALLTOWN, VIRGINIA, 5 P.M. ON APRIL 18, 1861, TO MARCH ON HARPER'S FERRY.

[SKETCHED BY D. H. STROTHER.]

of the Adjutant-General of the State."[44]

The arrival of the paper dispelled all doubts and satisfied all scruples. Spurs jungled, sabres rattled, frightened horses fidgeted and neighed, and the voices of officers could be heard in every direction barking orders to the warriors of their commands. Eager to be foremost in the enterprise, the young volunteers sprang to arms, and formed their columns with great celerity.[45]

By now it had grown quite dark, and as Strother went to leave the house, Captain Botts took his arm, and in an agitated manner, asked him what he now thought of the state of affairs.[46]

In stronger language than he had used that morning, Strother repeated his views and arguments.

"Yet I hold my commission from the State, and am bound to obey the orders of the Governor," said the Captain. "What would you have me to do?"[47]

Strother answered with heat: "Can any miserable local functionary have the right to order a free citizen to commit a crime against his country? Can you feel bound to obey an order which involves so flagrant a violation both of State and National law; of all faith and honor both to Government and people? Does your commission bind you to this extent? If so, you should tear it to shreds and throw it to the winds."[48]

44. Strother, p.10.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p.11.

48. Ibid., p.11.

Botts listened without attempting to reply, but sat with his elbows resting on his knees and covered his face with clenched hands.

When Strother finished speaking, Botts slowly rose, and in a voice affected by anguish and torment exclaimed: "Great God! I would willingly give my life to know at this moment what course I ought to pursue, and where my duty lies!" He then hurried to join the column which was already in motion.[49]

The indecision of the Virginia Militia officers and the consequent delay, gave Lieutenant Jones at Harpers Ferry what he desperately needed - time. Time to remove a large quantity of powder from the armory magazine located on Magazine Hill and to have powder trains laid throughout the two arsenal buildings in the Old Arsenal Square on Shenandoah Street, and the two rows of Musket Factory buildings lying between Potomac Street and the Potomac River.

At nine o'clock that night, Jones wired the Assistant Adjutant-General in Washington, D.C., of the impending crisis forced on him by the approach of hostile troops. "...The steps I have taken to destroy the arsenal, which contains nearly 15,000 stand of arms, are so complete that I can conceive of nothing that will prevent their entire destruction."

"If the Government purposes maintaining its authority here, no time should be lost in sending large bodies of troops to my assistance, and as many of them as possible should be regulars..."[50]

It was too late to expect reinforcements; the Virginians were even then marching on the Ferry. Jones posted a picket guard on the outskirts

49. Strother, p.11.

50. Lieutenant Roger Jones to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Washington, D.C., April 18, 1861 - 9 p.m., O.R., S.I., Vol. II, pp.3-4.

of Bolivar with the few armory employees who volunteered their services, and waited.

The approaching troops marched in silence. The night was cold and clear, and the only sounds that broke the stillness were an occasional half-whispered word of command and the steady tramp of marching feet.[51]

Suddenly, the column was brought to a halt by the startling challenge of a sentinel in the road. The order was given to load with ball-cartridge, followed by the ringing of ramrods and the clicking of musket-locks. The leading company fixed bayonets, formed across the turnpike, and swept forward at double quick. The challengers fled, and the column resumed its march. At the toll-gate near Alstadt's home at the foot of Bolivar Heights, they were agin challenged and halted, with the same result.[52]

The troops then marched up the western slope of Bolivar Heights, the crest of which was covered with pine woods and dense thickets of undergrowth, and proceeded to move on to the cemetery at the forks of the road above the village of Bolivar, where they were challenged and halted for a third time by sentries.[53]

Meanwhile, a messenger from Harpers Ferry brought information to the Virginians that the Armory employees and citizen volunteers joined the United States troops, and would assist in defending the place. This piece of news dampened the spirits of the militia force, and Colonel Allen,

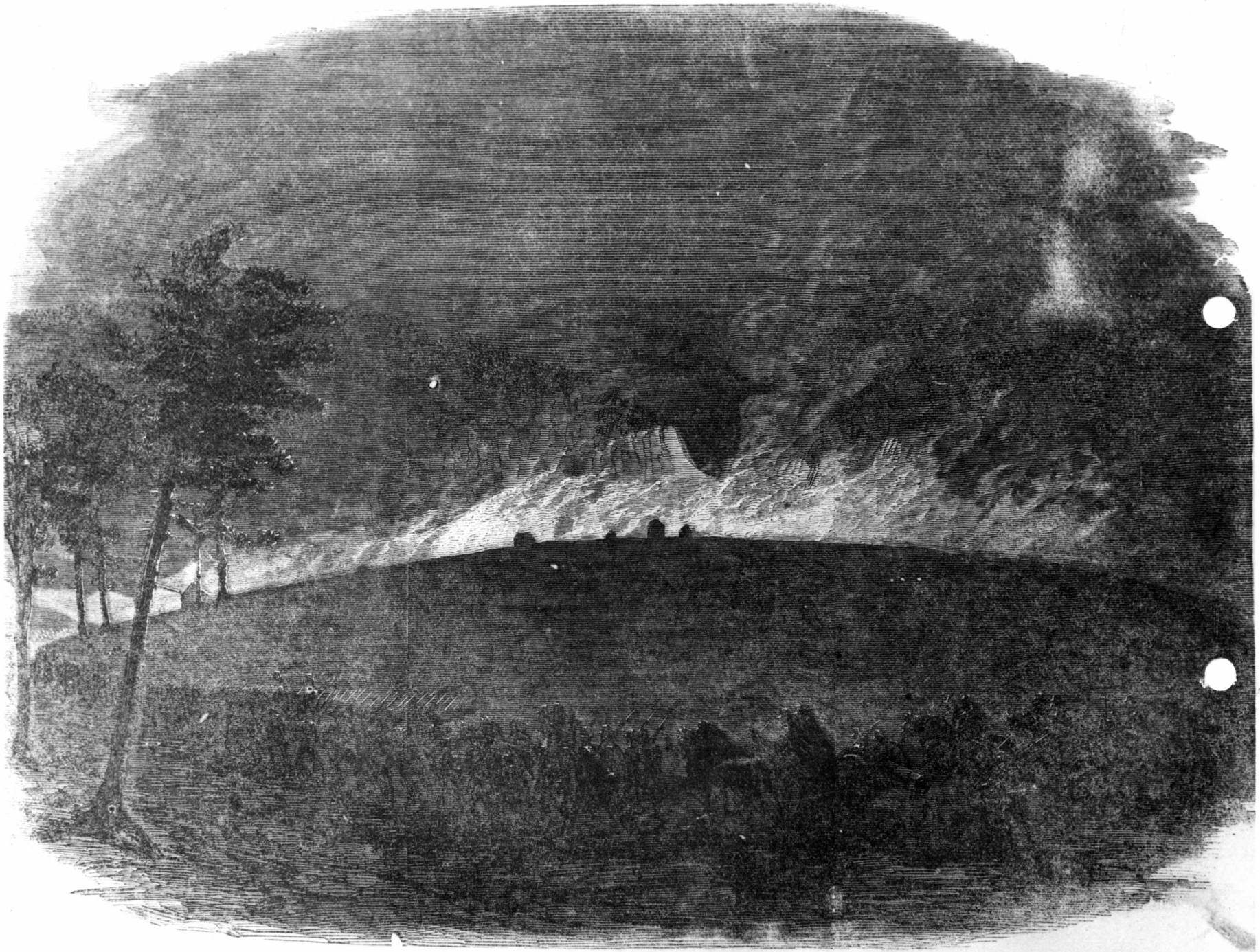
51. Strother, p.11.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

"March of the Virginians on Harper's Ferry, 9:30 p.m., April 18, 1861."

From Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion, p.81.
Also in Harper's Weekly, May 11, 1861, p.293.
Sketched on the spot by David Hunter Strother.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-534.



THE MARCH OF THE VIRGINIANS ON HARPER'S FERRY, 9.30 P.M. APRIL 18, 1861.—[SKETCHED BY D. H. STROTHER.]

in a decisive tone, ordered his troops not to move another step.[54]

Instead of three thousand men, as expected, only three hundred and forty had been assembled at Halltown, which included the cavalry and some artillerists, with an old iron 6-pounder from Charles Town. At Halltown, the scarcity of numbers was overlooked in the eagerness to win glory by capturing the United States Armory and Arsenal. Now, within musket-shot, a little more discretion was exercised. A conference was held among the officers; perhaps it would be better to wait for the reinforcements, they argued-these couldn't be too far away. It wasn't a fight they were looking for, some stated, but the possession of the Government installation with its valuable supplies of arms and machinery. If this objective could be accomplished without bloodshed, the wisest course of action would be to wait until their numbers had swelled - and so the arguments ran.[55]

6. Destruction of the Arsenals by Lt. Jones, 10 p.m., April 18, 1861

While the officers were thus engaged in council, looking towards Harpers Ferry, there appeared a sudden flash that illuminated for miles around the ravine where the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers meet. The brilliant burst of light was followed by a muffled report that reverberated from mountain to mountain until it died away in a sullen roar. The flashes and explosions were repeated several times, and then a steadier flame could be seen rising from two distinct points, silently and rapidly increasing in volume until each rock and tree on Maryland and Loudoun Heights were distinctly visible, and the sky was red with the baleful glare. For a few moments, all was excitement and conjecture.

54. Strother, p.11.

55. Ibid, pp.11-12.

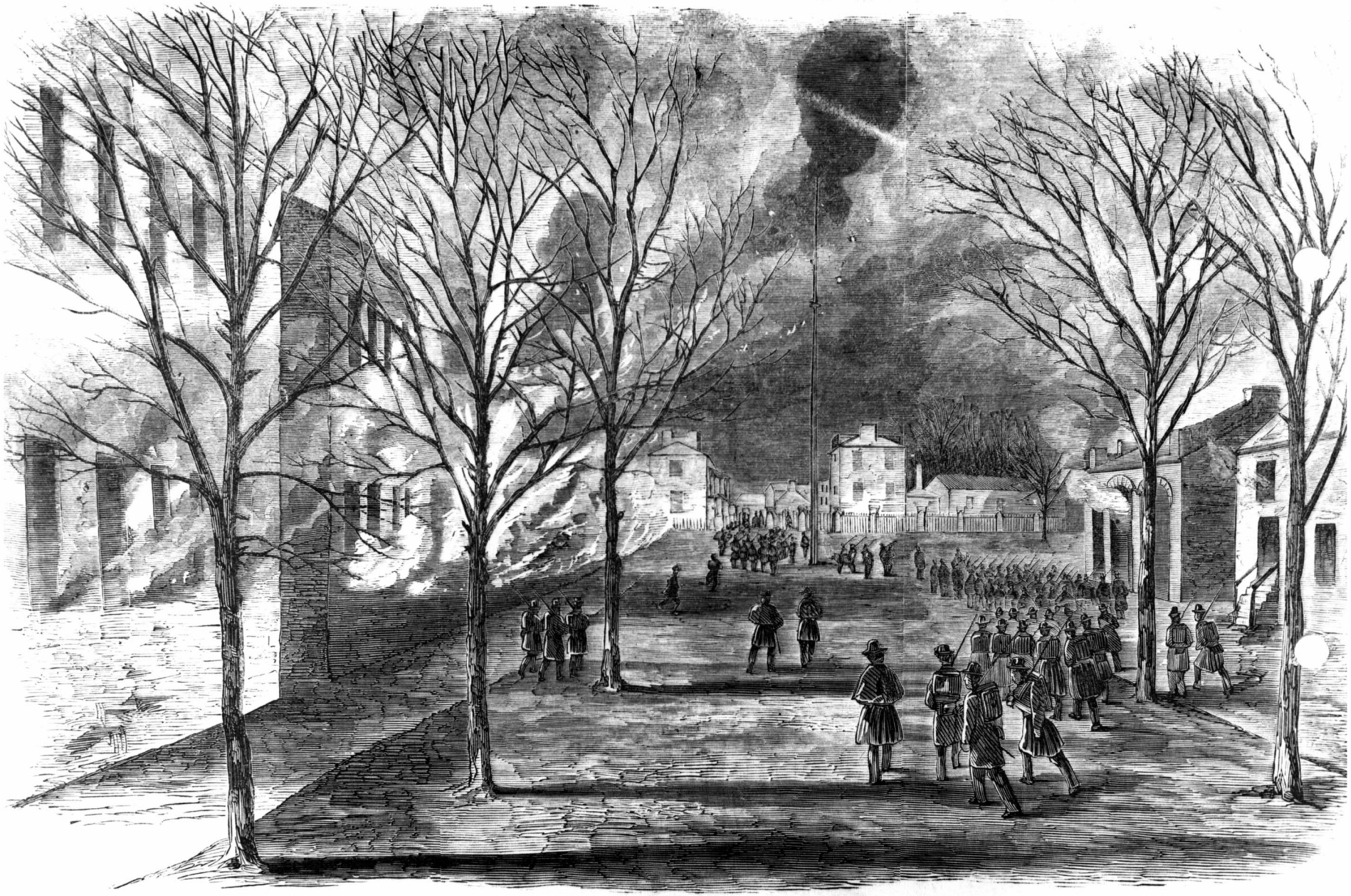
"Evacuation and Burning of the U.S. Arsenal /Musket Factory/ and Shops at Harper's Ferry, on the Night of the 18th of April, By Lieutenant Jones and his Command, By order of the Federal Government on the Approach of the Virginia Forces."

From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1861, p.372.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-349.

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

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



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

Some thought it was artillery, others surmised the Potomac bridge was blown, while others guessed the truth - Lieutenant Jones and his handful of men had set fire to the United State Armory and Arsenal.[56] The time was shortly after 10:00 p.m.[57]

Captain Ashby immediately dashed down the hill at the head of his cavalry to learn the facts, while the remainder of the troops held their position on Bolivar Heights and expressed general relief that there was to be no fight.[58]

Strother, who had originally intended to go no further than Halltown, but was compelled by curiosity to follow the militia to Harpers Ferry, quietly withdrew from the main body, and walked down to town alone, by the Bolivar Road, deeply humiliated that so rich a prize was yielded by the Federal Government without a fight. The Arsenal buildings on Shenandoah Street and several of the shops in the Armory inclosure on Potomac Street were fully ablaze. The hill leading down to the lower town section of Harpers Ferry, was alive with men, women, and children, hurrying to and fro, loaded with plunder from the workshops and soldiers' barracks. There were women who carried armloads of muskets, little girls laden with sheaves of bayonets, boys dragged cartridge-boxes and cross-belts, men stooped with the weight of barrels of pork or flour, kegs of molasses and boxes of hard bread on their shoulders, while others carted away their spoils in wheelbarrows.[59]

56. Strother, p.12.

57. Lieutenant Roger Jones to General Winfield Scott, April 19, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.4.

58. Strother, p.12.

59. Ibid.

The ground around the burning buildings was glittering with splinters of glass which had been blown out by the explosion of gunpowder used to ignite the fires. The streets in the immediate vicinity of the conflagration were silent and vacant. A belief was prevalent that the whole area was mined, which accounted for the loneliness of the neighborhood.[60]

The fear of a general explosion soon subsided, and the reassured inhabitants began to swarm around the fires. Some workmen dragged the engines out of the firehouse, and succeeded in extinguishing the flames at the Musket Factory.[61]

When at length, it was definitely ascertained that there were no mines to be exploded, a noisier and more demonstrative crowd appeared on the scene. These were the chronic loafers who habitually crowded the barrooms, and now armed to the teeth ran about town threatening to spill the blood of all they met.[62] The destruction of the arsenal and the withdrawal of Lieutenant Jones and his troopers, left those citizens who volunteered to assist Jones, in an awkward position, but they succeeded in escaping in the darkness from the host of enemies that confronted them. Jeremiah Donovan, the first to volunteer his services to Jones, however, was seized by some citizens of Harpers Ferry who held seccession views and had a rope placed around his neck. The lynching party then underwent a change of heart and Donovan was permitted to move north.[63]

A discussion ensued as to whether they should pursue Lieutenant Jones

60. Strother, p.12.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Barry, pp.114.

"Burning of the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, 10 p.m., April 18, 1861"

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

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



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

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

Brethren, what has forced this fatal necessity upon us?

"As the smoke and vapor of a furnace goeth before the fire, so reviling before blood." D. H. S.

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

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

or whether they should go down to Washington and "jerk old Abe Lincoln out of the White House." The majority favored going after Jones and they started for the Potomac bridge, yelling and wildly gesticulating. They were halted by the remark of a bystander who suggested that the bridge might be mined, and all thoughts of pursuing Jones immediately disintegrated.[64]

As the night advanced, the streets became more crowded with people from the town and neighborhood, but up to midnight, no troops, with the exception of Ashby's cavalry, made their appearance in Harpers Ferry. By 1:00 a.m., April 19, the fires had sunk in ashes, and shortly after, Colonel Allen brought his force from Bolivar Heights into the lower town.[65]

At 4:00 a.m., two long troop trains pulled into Harpers Ferry from Winchester.[66] These were the troops, who during the day of April 18, marched from Strasburg to Winchester. From Winchester, General Kenton Harper forwarded his infantry by rail to Harpers Ferry, while Imboden and his artillery battery left the cars at Halltown. As the horses, which Imboden impressed, were left at Winchester, it was necessary to run the artillery forward by hand, but these troops were much too late to be of any value.[67]

For those who attempted to sleep that night of April 18-19, the

64. Strother, p.14.

65. Ibid.

66. George Mauzy to James H. Burton, April 19, 1861, MS letter, copy in HFD-29, Harpers Ferry National Monument.

67. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, p.115.

sound of drums and the tramp of passing troops made it nearly impossible.[68]

Meanwhile, as troops and citizenry flooded the streets of Harpers Ferry, Lieutenant Jones and his small force hastily pushed northward. Immediately after the explosions, the United States troops crossed the Baltimore and Ohio Railway bridge into Maryland and made a forced march of thirty miles to Hagerstown, Maryland, where they just missed a train.[69] At Hagerstown, the exhausted troopers boarded omnibusses for Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where they were fed by residents of that community.[70] On the road from Chambersburg to Carlisle, the heroes of the day were greeted with resounding cheers from a grateful populace.[71] The troopers arrived at Carlisle about 2:30 p.m., April 19, and for a job well done, Secretary of War Cameron, in a report to the President wrote of Jones: "...it is a pleasurable duty to refer to the very gallant action of Lieutenant Roger Jones, at Harpers Ferry, and the handsome and successful manner in which he executed the orders of the Government at that important post..."[72]; while the NEW YORK TIMES glowed: "...All honor to the wise foresight and decision of Captain Jones /Jones was promoted to Captain, April 22, 1861/, the first real hero of the war."

Two of Jones' men deserted and four, who were on guard[73], were captured.

68. Strother, p.14.

69. NEW YORK TIMES, April 21, 1861.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, to President Lincoln, July 1, 1861, O.R., S.III, Vol. I, p.302.

73. Lieutenant Roger Jones to Assistant Adjutant-General, Washington, D.C., April 20, 1861, O.R., S.I., Vol. II, pp.4-5.

Three of the four captured United States soldiers, however, escaped from the rebels,[74] two by crossing the Baltimore and Ohio Railway bridge, and the other by swimming the Potomac River and Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.[75] There were no casualties on either side.

In assessing the damage at Harpers Ferry, it was discovered that the destruction of the Arsenal, together with its valuable store of some 15,000 small-arms, was complete. Of the Musket Factory buildings, the carpenter's shop and grinding mill /Musket Factory Bldg. No. 8/ lay in ashes, while the stock turner's shop /Musket Factory Bldg. No. 6/ was slightly damaged. The fires in the remaining armory buildings were extinguished by armory employees, and all the valuable arms-producing machinery was saved.[76]

The disappointment of the Virginians in not capturing the 15,000 arms intact, was lessened somewhat by the uncovering of between four and five thousand finished arms, stored in one of the other Armory buildings /Musket Factory Bldg. No. 11/.[77]

Most important, however, to the Confederate Government, critically short of weapons, was the seizure of the arms-producing machinery and factory buildings, valued at well over one million dollars. /Appendix IV./

74. Lieutenant Roger Jones to Assistant Adjutant-General, Washington, D.C., April 22, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.5.

75. NEW YORK TIMES, April 22, 1861.

76. George Mauzy to James H. Burton, April 19, 1861, MS letter, copy in HFD-29, Harpers Ferry National Monument.

77. O.R., S.I., Vol. LI, Part II, p.24, April 16, 1861, Alex. Stephens to Pres. Jefferson Davis.

Thus, on April 18, 1861, the Virginia Government had seized Harpers Ferry by force, with its invaluable arms manufactories; it now remained to be seen whether or not the Southerners could retain and protect their new acquisition.

CHAPTER II

CONFEDERATE OCCUPATION OF HARPERS FERRY, APRIL 19 - JUNE 15, 1861

1. Major-General Kenton Harper in Command, April 19 - April 29

With the capture of Harpers Ferry by the Confederates, the national standard was lowered from the flag-staff in the Arsenal yard and replaced with the State flag of Virginia.[1] The town began to assume all the trappings of a military camp, but the several hundred Virginia militia who poured into Harpers Ferry on April 19, amidst the smouldering ruins of the Arsenal, soon found that the town was ill-prepared to accommodate them. There was nothing to eat, but the raw, ill-disciplined troops consoled themselves by getting something to drink. Although food was scarce, whiskey was abundant, and the fortified gladiators soon detailed parties to search the houses for arms and other loot which had been carried off by plunderers the night before. This search was strongly resisted by the women, who held the soldiers at bay with tongue and broomstick while their husbands tried to hide the booty they had requisitioned.[2]

The over-zealous Virginians did not confine their search to Harpers Ferry. Many crossed the Potomac into Maryland and forceably searched the homes of Marylanders for arms, over the protests of Sheriff Edward M. Mobley of Washington County, Maryland, who pleaded with General Harper to recall them. Harper promised the sheriff he would, if in turn, the sheriff would give his assurance that Northern troops would be forbidden from the same area. Sheriff Mobley informed Governor Thomas H. Hicks of

1. Strother, p.14.

2. Ibid.

Maryland about the situation, and at a loss to know what to do, appealed to the Governor: "...What steps shall I take?"[3]

The Maryland House of Delegates favored the sending of a commissioner to Virginia, with powers to make arrangements for the protection of the property and citizens of Maryland from "any ill advised acts of the military forces of Virginia." The Senate concurred and Outerbridge Horsey was appointed as commissioner. Governor Hicks also wrote to Governor Leteher, strongly protecting against the "outrages" alleged.[4]

Meanwhile, Virginia troops continued to pour into Harpers Ferry, and by April 22, General Harper reported his force had swelled to about twenty-four hundred.[5] Uninformed as to which troops were ordered into service, he received all that were presented. On April 21, Brigadier General G. S. Meem of the Seventh Brigade reported with a contingent of four hundred and six Virginia militia. That same day, two other Brigadiers of the Virginia State Militia arrived with their brigades and offered their servies to Harper: General James H. Carson's Brigade numbered six hundred and fifty-five, and General W. H. Harman's, nine hundred and fifty-five. Their arrival presented a difficulty to Harper who complained: "I can see no reason for the employment of three brigadier-generals for such a /small/ force..."[6]

3. Edward M. Mobley, Sheriff of Washington County to Governor T. H. Hicks, April 22, 1861, O.R., S.I., Vol. II, p.589.

4. Radcliffe, George L. P., "Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War," John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, November-December, Series XIX, Nos. 11-12, p.54.

5. Maj.-Gen. Kenton Harper to Governor Letcher, April 22, 1861, O.R., S.I., Vol. II, pp.774-775.

6. Maj.-Gen. Kenton Harper to General Wm. H. Richardson, Adjutant-General, April 21, 1861, O.R., S.I., Vol. II, pp.772-773.

To guard against a surprise attack, Harper deployed troops to watch all the approaches to Harpers Ferry, both to the east and to the west of the town, and although Maryland authorities protested against the searching of homes, they granted Harper permission to occupy Maryland Heights, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, whenever necessity required it. They further pledged to report the approach of any hostile forces through Maryland territory.[7]

On April 27, General Harper received information that a number of trains on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad would attempt to pass Harpers Ferry during that night, transporting troops from the West to Washington. Although Harper had given his tacit promise to a representative of the railroad not to stop any trains,[8] he was determined to prevent the passage of any enemy troops over this line of communication. Harper ordered guns posted so as to command the railroad for half a mile or more, ready to be discharged at any moment. Infantry companies were also stationed to fire into the trains, if the artillery failed to stop them. Pickets were posted with orders to fire signal-guns as soon as the first train approached Harpers Ferry. In the early morning hours of April 28, the rumble of an approaching train was heard. The men took their assigned positions and awaited the sound of the signal-guns. A cavalryman thought he saw soldiers in the train and opened fire; a series of successive sentries commenced firing and artillery was made ready to fire when the engine turned a certain point, four hundred yards distant from the battery.

7. Maj.-Gen. Kenton Harper to General Wm. H. Richardson, Adjutant-General, April 21, 1861, O.R., S.I., Vol. II, pp.772-773.

8. Summers, Festus P., THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO IN THE CIVIL WAR, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1939, p.59.

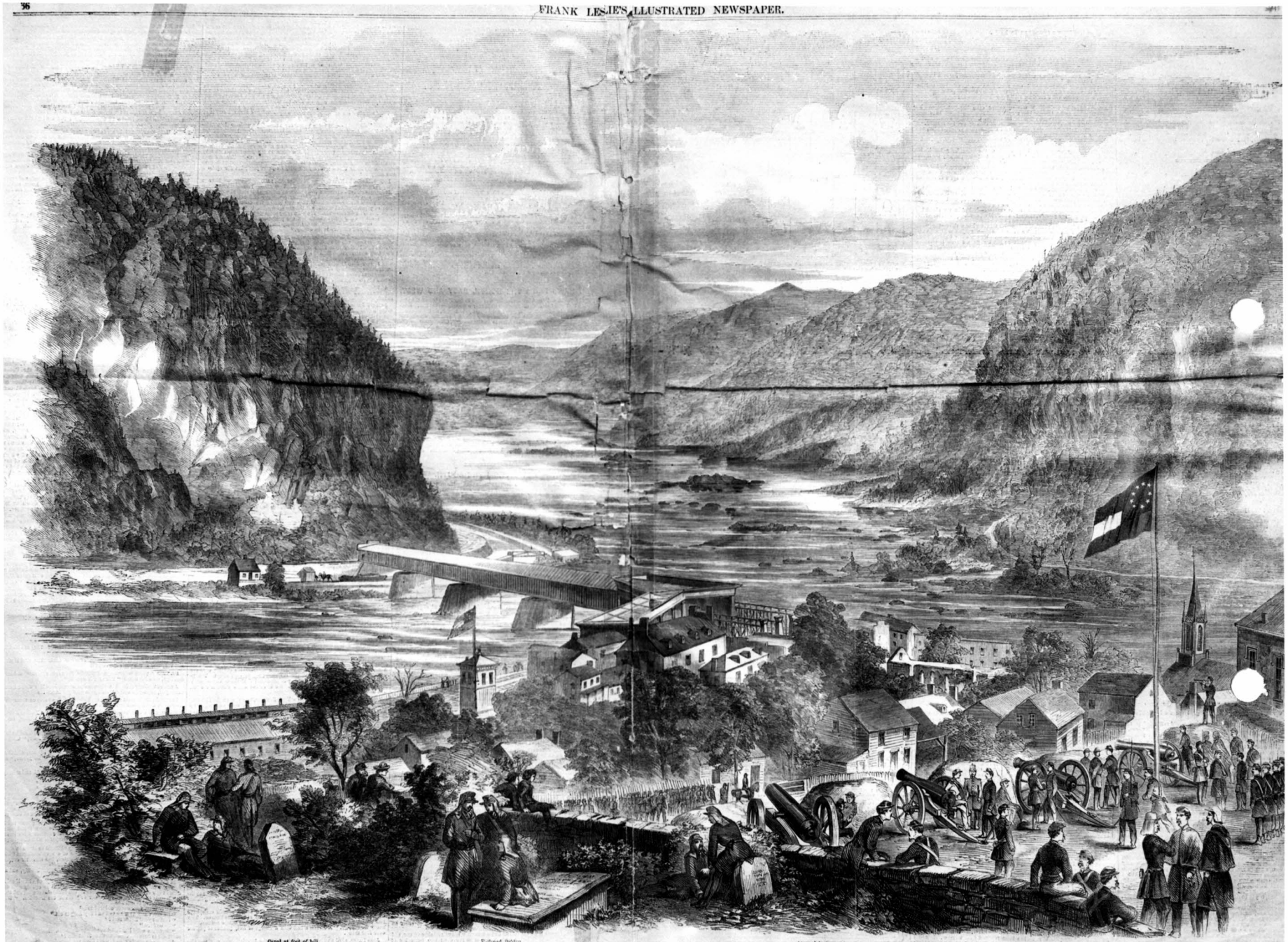
"Secession Battery at Harpers Ferry, erected on the Heights (Camp Hill) overlooking the town and commanding the Railroad Bridge, Canal. April 19, 1861-June 14, 1861."

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

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

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

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



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

Fortunately, Colonel William S. H. Baylor, commanding the 5th Virginia regiment, saw that no troops were on the train and ordered it to stop. The conductor was asked if any troops were aboard and he replied there was "one old fellow in uniform asleep on the mail-bags in the first car." It was Brigadier-General William S. Harney on his way from the West to Washington, to resign his commission and go to Europe rather than take part in the Civil War. Harney surrendered without a struggle, and was taken to General Harper's headquarters, where he spent the night.[9]

The next morning General Harney was paroled to report in Richmond, and was escorted to a train about to leave for Winchester by two or three generals and a swarm of staff-officers. As they walked down the street to the depot, Harney saw the Confederate forces drawn up. Casting his glance over the few hundred men in sight, he turned to General Harper, and asked "with a merry twinkle in his eye," "Where is your army encamped general?" Harper's face turned red with embarrassment as he mumbled the reply, "Excuse me from giving information." Harney did not hide his smile when he said, "Pardon me for asking an improper question, but I had forgotten I was a prisoner."[10]

Harney proceeded to Richmond where he was treated courteously and released the same day, April 28, by Governor Letcher and his Council.[11] As Harney was quite elderly, it was determined that it was improbable that he could do much harm or good to either side.[12]

9. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, pp.118-119.

10. Ibid., pp.119-120.

11. D. G. Duncan to Secretary of War Leroy P. Walker, April 28, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part II, p.50.

12. Barry, p.120.

The glorious reign of General Harper and his "feather bed" and "corn stalk" officers at Harpers Ferry was short-lived.[13] The generals of this command were always surrounded by numerous staff and, "...Every fair afternoon the official display in Harpers Ferry of 'fuss and feathers' would have done no discredit to the Champs Elysees."[14]

Harper's headquarters was constantly filled with gentlemen who called on all kinds of business. Most of them were old political friends, "and as a consequence, they were obliged to take social glasses of whiskey together, until General Harper as well as everybody else had drank /sic/ too much for business and a proper example to the troops..."[15]

In order to permit the appointment of competent officers to command important posts, the Virginia State Legislature deposed all militia officers above the rank of Captain, and authorized Governor Letcher and his Military Council to fill the vacancies. "This was a disastrous blow to 'the pomp and circumstance of glorious war' at Harpers Ferry."[16] "...Many a 'swell' who had strutted about for a few days in gorgeous uniform was shorn of his finery and it was amusing to see the crest-fallen, disappointed appearance of the deposed warriors."[17]

On April 27, Governor Letcher appointed Colonel Thomas J. Jackson to

13. Barry, p.116.

14. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, p.118.

15. McDonald Diaries, p.8. Loaned to the National Park Service through the courtesy of Mrs. May McDonald Browse, 619 South Samuel Street, Charles Town, West Virginia. Collected by Historian Alfred Mongin, November, 1959.

16. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, p.120.

17. Barry, p.116.

command the Harpers Ferry post[18] and on the same day General Lee sent orders to Jackson at Richmond to proceed to Harpers Ferry without delay.[19]

2. Colonel Thomas J. Jackson in Command, April 29-May 24

Colonel Jackson assumed command upon his arrival at Harpers Ferry April 29,[20] in the company of his assistant adjutant-general, Major James W. Massie, both attired in blue uniforms of professors of the Virginia Military Institute.[21]

On May 1, Jackson was ordered by General Robert E. Lee to call out the volunteer companies from Morgan, Berkeley, Jefferson, Hampshire, Hardy, Frederick, and Clarke counties in Virginia. The average number of enlisted men in each company was to be eighty-two and all companies were to be directed to rendezvous at Harpers Ferry. Jackson was to organize these new companies into regiments.[22]

The next few days, Jackson had his hands full organizing his command and mustering into Confederate service all troops sent to Harpers Ferry. The tightening up of the camp commenced. In place of a large staff, Jackson had but two assistants. Discipline was instilled, seven hours drill daily

18. Governor John Letcher to Maj.-Gen. Robert E. Lee, April 27, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.784.

19. Maj.-Gen. Robert E. Lee to Col. Thomas J. Jackson, April 27, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.784-785.

20. Col. T. J. Jackson to Maj.-Gen. Robert E. Lee, May 6, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.809-810.

21. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, p.121.

22. Maj.-Gen. R. E. Lee, to Col. Jackson, April 27, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.793-794.

was instituted,[23] and it soon became evident that a real military leader was at the head of this garrison.

By May 6, Jackson reported that all the troops at Harpers Ferry had been mustered into service.[24] Four hundred and eighty Kentucky volunteers arrived that day and Jackson occupied Maryland Heights with these volunteers and one company of infantry from Augusta County, Virginia, making that force a little more than five hundred troops in all.[25] Loudoun Heights was occupied by Virginians and was fortified with block-houses, but Jackson was reluctant to fortify Maryland Heights for fear of offending the State of Maryland.[26]

The next day, May 7, Jackson reconnoitered Maryland Heights, reversed his stand of the previous day, and determined to fortify them at once, and hold them as well as Loudoun Heights and the town, "be the cost what it may."[27] "...This place should be defended with the spirit which actuated the defenders of Thermopylae, and, if left to myself, such is my determination. Fall of this place would result in loss of the northwestern part of the State."[28]

Jackson's decision to occupy Maryland Heights was considered inadvisable by General Lee who looked upon the matter as an intrusion upon

23. Henderson, G. F. R., STONEWALL JACKSON AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, Toronto, January, 1936, p.88.

24. Jackson to Lee, May 6, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.809-810.

25. Jackson to Lee, May 9, 1861, Ibid., pp.823-824.

26. Jackson to Lee, May 6, 1861, Ibid., pp.809-810.

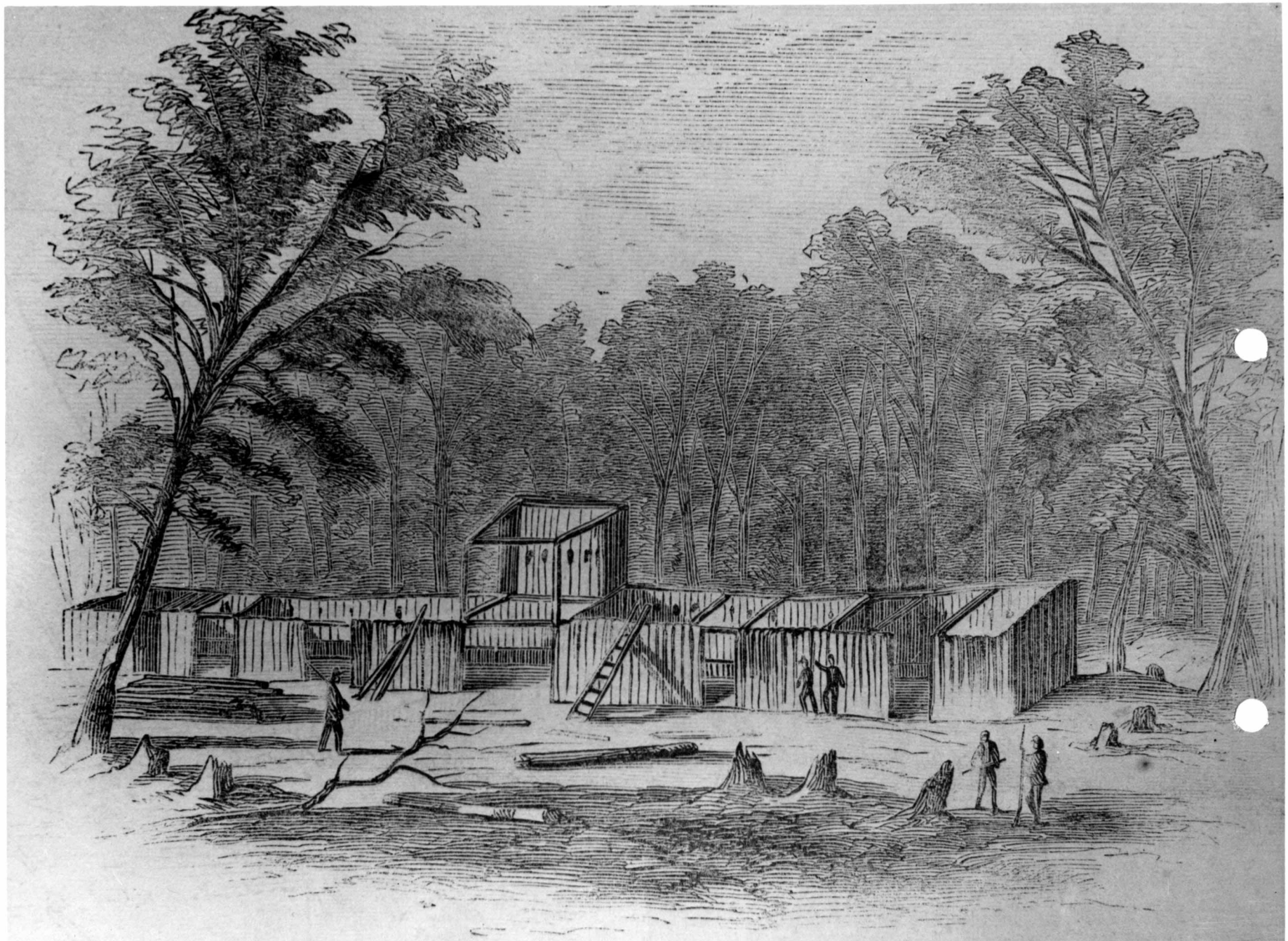
27. Jackson to Lee, May 7, 1861, Ibid., pp.814-815.

28. Ibid.

"Stockade and Camp of the Kentucky Regiment (Rebel), of the Maryland Heights, opposite Harpers Ferry"

From Harpers Weekly, July 20, 1861, p.455.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-536.

Note: The location of fortifications erected by the Confederates in May and June, 1861, will be found on "Map I-Harpers Ferry, Va., April 18, 1866-May 31, 1862," dated February 5, 1960, and prepared by Charles W. Snell.



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

Maryland soil,[29] but Lee's admonition went unheeded.

Later in the month, an inspection of the Harpers Ferry garrison was made by Lieutenant-Colonel George Deas, Inspector General of the Confederate Army who submitted his findings to Adjutant-General Colonel R. S. Garnett May 23.

On May 23 the Confederate force at Harpers Ferry consisted of the First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Virginia Regiments; the Fourth Regiment from Alabama; two regiments from Mississippi; five companies of Virginia Artillery and two naval batteries; eight companies of Virginia Cavalry; four companies of Kentucky infantry, and some small detachments totaling about eight thousand men, of whom about seven thousand three hundred were able to enter combat, well armed.

The Virginia regiments had good arms, but were deficient in cartridge-boxes, belts, and ball-screws. The Alabama regiment had their own tents and camp equipage; were well-clothed and their arms were in good order. The two Mississippi regiments also had their own tents and camp equipage, but were dissatisfied with their arms, which were flint-lock muskets altered to percussion. They all wanted rifles. The Eleventh Mississippi, under the command of Colonel Moore, was considered very superior to the Second Mississippi, under Colonel Faulkner. The latter were badly clothed; the officers were without military knowledge, and the men were slovenly and unsoldierlike, while the former took pride in their appearance.

Jackson's defensive measures were still in progress. The redoubts being built on Maryland Heights were not yet finished on May 23. The naval batteries, under Lieutenant Fauntleroy, were placed on the northern

29. Lee to Jackson, May 9, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.822.

and southern salients of Harpers Ferry, and enveloped with their fire the whole of the town of Bolivar and the approaches by the immediate banks of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers. There were but two, 32-pounders in each battery on plain platforms, and the guns were on ship's carriages. Captain Pendleton's artillery company was at Bolivar with but four pieces. No artillery horses were at Harpers Ferry, consequently there was no such thing on the ground as light artillery.

The infantry regiments carried out Jackson's strict orders of daily drill, but there was no ground for maneuvers. Although the regiments showed considerable improvement since Jackson's arrival, they still lacked the true discipline and organization of an army. The troops were raw and inexperienced; guard duty was loosely done, and the shortage of competent instructors added to the problem. The main body of the Virginia troops were quartered in houses in both Harpers Ferry and Bolivar. There were no regular regimental parades established, upon which to form quickly, in case of alarm, and the troops were so crowded together, Deas feared utter confusion would be the consequence of any sudden enemy movement.

Supplies of subsistence were abundant, with the exception of bacon. Plenty of beef was available as well as several months supply of flour but a shortage of clothing and camp and garrison equipment existed.

The Hospital Department on May 23 was deficient in every respect. There were a few beds in the general hospital, but no provisions for the care of wounded. The general health of the troops was good; there were no epidemics, but exposure to many cold, rainy nights caused severe colds among the deep southerners who swelled the already large sick list.

The cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel J.E.B. Stuart, was in very

good condition, and was quite effective. Their arms consisted of small-sized revolvers and sabers; there were no carbines. The horses were in good condition and the men rode well. They proved to be very useful as scouts, and covered a considerable extent of country to Jackson's front.

As Jackson expected the Union advance to come by way of Hagerstown and Shepherdstown, he took the precaution of securing the bridge at the latter place, while Captain Turner Ashby guarded the crossing at Point-of-Rocks. Ashby had under his command two companies of cavalry and two hundred infantry; his total force amounted to four hundred men, one hundred and thirty-three horses, and the six guns of Captain Imboden's battery. His two positions were immediately at the bridge crossing the Potomac from Point-of-Rocks, and at the Potomac Forge, a half mile from the bridge. His cavalry covered the country for twenty miles to his rear, while his attention was immediately given to the line of railroad from Baltimore, which passed Point-of-Rocks on the Maryland side.

This force under Jackson was considered by Deas to be ample for defense. He believed that the enemy could not make a successful attack either by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad or by Maryland Heights, but, Deas, concluded, "...if the war is to assume much larger proportions, it might be possible for the enemy to shut up our force now assembled there, and, with superior numbers, pass on with a heavy force and occupy the valley beyond, in Western Virginia. If this should ever be suspected to be the plans of the enemy, of what use would it be to hold on to Harpers Ferry? In such a state of affairs, it would be much better to abandon the Ferry altogether, remove the machinery, destroy the buildings, blow up the bridge, and move out into the valleys, and thus maneuver against

the advancing enemy..."[30]

The very day Deas submitted his inspection report, May 23, the day that the ratification of the Ordinance of Secession by the Virginia voters was to take place, Jackson pulled a coup which helped, in a small measure, to solve the shortage of locomotives on Southern railroads.

From the very beginning of the war, the Confederacy was greatly in need of trains, and Jackson, who fully realized the situation, devised a plan to obtain a supply from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The railroad line was double-tracked from Point-of-Rocks to Martinsburg, and, at this time, a heavy coal traffic was being carried over the line from Cumberland, Maryland, to Washington. These coal trains passed through Harpers Ferry at all hours of the day and night.

Jackson complained to President Garrett of the B&O that the night trains, eastward bound, disturbed the rest of his soldiers, and he requested a change of schedule that would pass all east-bound trains between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. Mr. Garrett was hardly in a position to refuse, thus he reluctantly complied. As the empties were being sent up the road at night, Jackson again complained of the nuisance and insisted that the west-bound trains be limited to the same two hour period as the east-bound, and for two hours every day, that part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was the busiest road in the country. As soon as the schedule was running smoothly, Jackson ordered Imboden at Point-of-Rocks to cross the river at 11 a.m. on May 23, and allow all west-bound trains to pass until noon, but permit none to go east, and at noon to obstruct the road so that it would

30. Report of Inspector-General Deas to Adjutant-General Garnett, May 23, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.867-870.

require several days to repair it. The same orders were to be carried out in reverse at Martinsburg by Kenton Harper, who, in the re-organization, had been made Colonel of the 5th Virginia Infantry.[31] Caught in the trap were fifty-six locomotives and more than three hundred cars.[32]

Capture of the rolling-stock was a simple matter but disposal proved to be a difficult chore. Due to extreme transportation difficulties, only fourteen of the locomotives were retained by the Confederates. These were hauled from Martinsburg by thirty-two horse teams, down the Valley Turnpike to Strasburg.[33] The remaining forty-two locomotives and more than three hundred cars were set fire to by Southern troops at Martinsburg on June 20, 1861.[34]

Thousands of cords of wood were piled around the rolling stock and in a short time, thick columns of black smoke could be seen rising from Martinsburg for some distance. As the flames licked the iron bellies of the locomotives, heated air rushed through the steam-whistles, and the piercing, screeching, eeire wails impressed many of the hundreds of spectators "with the idea that they were living victims, who moaned and shrieked with an agony surpassing human comprehension." All night long the red flames glared and flickered while the engines continued "their shuddering anthems of woe."[35]

At dawn, the wilted and discolored bodies of the locomotives were

31. BATTLES AND LEADERS, Vol. I, pp.122-123.

32. Summers, p.67.

33. Ibid., p.100.

34. Ibid., p.96.

35. Strother, p.146.

lying amidst smoke and ashes. Their wailings had stopped, and the general feeling of relief was expressed by a negro, who thanked God they were "out of their misery."[36]

The day after Jackson seized the Baltimore and Ohio rolling stock, May 24, he was superseded by Brigadier-General Joseph E. Johnston,[37] while even then a large force of Union troops, led by Major-General Robert Patterson, was ordered to Frederick, Hagerstown, and Cumberland with instructions to threaten Harpers Ferry.[38]

3. Brigadier-General Joseph E. Johnston in Command, May 24-June 15

Johnston had no sooner taken the reins of command at Harpers Ferry when he began making plans for its evacuation. Convinced that a force of between fifteen and twenty thousand men was necessary to defend the post, Johnston began to procure wagons for the march which he believed imminent.[39]

Although Johnston was not apprehensive of an attack being made on his front, by way of Maryland Heights, he feared his position could easily be turned by the enemy crossing the Potomac River above or below Harpers Ferry. With the force at hand, Johnston considered his position at Harpers Ferry untenable against a strong enemy. "...The only way in which this force can be made useful, I think, is by rendering it movable, and employing it to prevent or retard the enemy's passage of the Potomac, and, should

36. Strother, p.146-147.

37. Brig.-Gen. J. E. Johnston to Col. T. J. Jackson, May 24, 1861, OR, S.I, Vol. II, p.871.

38. General Winfield Scott to Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, May 24, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.652.

39. Brig.-Gen. J. E. Johnston to Col. R. S. Garnett, Adj.-Gen., May 26, 1861, Ibid., pp.880-881.

he effect the crossing, in opposing his advance into the country..."[40]

When these views were brought to the attention of Major-General Robert E. Lee, the disturbed commander wrote Johnston: "Abandonment of Harpers Ferry would be depressing to the cause of the South..."[41] Undismayed, Johnston retorted: "Would not the loss of five or six thousand men be more so?"[42]

Johnston was apprehensive, as General Patterson, by June 7, was at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, with seventeen regiments and preparing to move on Harpers Ferry.[43]

Meanwhile, in order to strengthen Johnston's position, further reinforcements were ordered to Harpers Ferry. Colonel Gartrell's Seventh Regiment of Georgia Volunteers arrived on June 12, as did the First Tennessee Regiment, but, Johnston complained, the additional troops only weakened his position. Before their arrival, his supply of ammunition and means of transportation were inadequate. "The further division makes us no more able to fight, and unable to march." In addition he bitterly regretted the Tennessee Regiment was ever admitted into the service, they being "without accouterments, instruction, or subordination."[44]

The approach of the enemy; shortage of ammunition, horses, and artillery; the inexperience of his troops; belief that he was greatly outnumbered,

40. Memorandum of Brig.-Gen. J. E. Johnston in relation to Harpers Ferry, May 26, 1861, Ibid., p.881.

41. Gen. R. E. Lee to Brig-Gen. J. E. Johnston, June 3, 1861, Ibid., p.901.

42. Brig.-Gen. J. E. Johnston to General R. E. Lee, June 6, 1861, Ibid., pp.907-908.

43. Maj.-Gen. R. Patterson to Lt. Col. E. D. Townsend, Asst. Adj. Gen., June 7, 1861, Ibid., pp.668-669.

44. Brig.-Gen. J. E. Johnston to Gen. R. E. Lee, June 12, 1861, Ibid., p.922.

and lack of adequate transportation facilities; were some of the factors which induced Johnston to abandon his position at Harpers Ferry. He was, however, reluctant to assume the responsibility of ordering the evacuation. The desired authority to retire from Harpers Ferry was sent on June 13 from Adjutant and Inspector General S. Cooper, along with orders to "destroy everything at Harpers Ferry, the bridge across the Potomac, /rail-road/ platforms and trestle work included, which could serve the purpose of the enemy, and retire upon the railroad towards Winchester, carrying with you all the rolling stock and destroying the road behind you."[45]

Cooper was also reluctant to issue such orders, for, he pointed out: "...The position of Harpers Ferry is deemed valuable because of its relation to Maryland and as the entrance to the valley of Virginia, the possession of which by the enemy will separate the eastern and western sections of the State from each other, deprive us of the agricultural resources of that fertile region, and bring in its train political consequences which it is well believed you cannot contemplate without the most painful emotions."[46]

While the Confederate high command was beset with problems, vexations and fears, none of it apparently permeated to the men in the ranks: "The men seem to want nothing but a fight. They are certainly enjoying the bright side of military life so far. Their commissariat is not surpassed, I imagine, at any post in the country. The bill of fare comprises mutton and beef, and juicy and fat as you ever saw; red Virginia bacon -- not pork;

45. Adj. and Inspector General S. Cooper to Brig.-Gen. J. E. Johnston, June 13, 1861, Ibid., pp.923-925. Johnston, however, evacuated Harpers Ferry before he received these orders authorizing him to do so.

46. Ibid.

/evidently a supply had been furnished since Deas made his inspection/ good loaf bread, and May butter from the neighborhood, as yellow as gold... Delicacies in addition are sent by the citizens of the neighboring counties in profusion daily."[47]

This seemingly carefree, military life at Harpers Ferry came to an abrupt halt the following day, June 14, as Johnston, without awaiting to receive authorization, began the evacuation of Harpers Ferry.[48] Johnston acted on his own initiative on receiving a report the previous day, that Romney, now in West Virginia, was occupied by two thousand Federal troops, which he believed to be the vanguard of McClellan's army seeking a junction with General Patterson.[49] Colonel A. P. Hill of the 13th Virginia Regiment, and Colonel Gibbons of the 10th Virginia Regiment, left for Winchester by rail on June 14, and all during that day and the next, the heavy baggage and remaining public property were sent to Winchester via the Winchester and Potomac Railway.[50]

Before evacuating, the Confederates burnt the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company's wooden bridge, which spanned the Potomac, at about 6:30 a.m., July 14.[51] The bridge span next to the Wager House Hotel, which was located on Wager Lots 6, 7 and 8, was blown up to avoid setting fire to that part of the town.[52] "...The whole structure /the bridge/

47. VIRGINIA FREE PRESS, June 13, 1861, p.1, c.6.

48. Gen. J. E. Johnston to Adjutant and Inspector General, C.S.A., Oct. 14, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.470-478.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Manuscript Journal of David Hunter Strother, p.18.

52. Ibid.

seemed to ignite at once and was soon consumed, the incombustible parts, iron rails and metal roofing, falling into the water, the quantity of half-burned timber, and there forming a dam the whole way over that one might cross upon..."[53]

At about the same time, the Armory buildings along Potomac Street were burnt, with the exception of a large, incombustible blacksmith shop /Musket Factory Bldg. No. 13/ and a small storehouse /Musket Factory Bldg. No. 12/.[54] The iron railroad trestle, with wooden platforms, along the Potomac from the B&O water tank, in the Musket Factory yard, to the canal bridge towards Martinsburg was also burnt, while the railroad trestle near the Wager House Hotel was spared so as not to endanger the hotel property.[55]

On the morning of the 15th, the army of more than 10,000 men moved towards Winchester. The day was extremely hot, and the roads were dusty. As the troops passed through Charles Town, halts were so frequent that the army seemed to crawl rather than march, and the passage through Charles Town occupied the entire day. From morning to dusk, residents of that community were busy cooking and feeding the tired, hungry soldiers.[56]

The Confederates took along as prisoners, Edmond H. Chambers, Hezekiah Roderick, Nathaniel O. Allison and Adam Ruhlman, four prominent citizens of Harpers Ferry who were charged with inveterate Unionism and jailed at Winchester.[57]

53. Manuscript Journal of David Hunter Strother, p.18.

54. Ibid., p.24.

55. Ibid., p.18.

56. Ibid., p.20.

57. Barry, p.121.

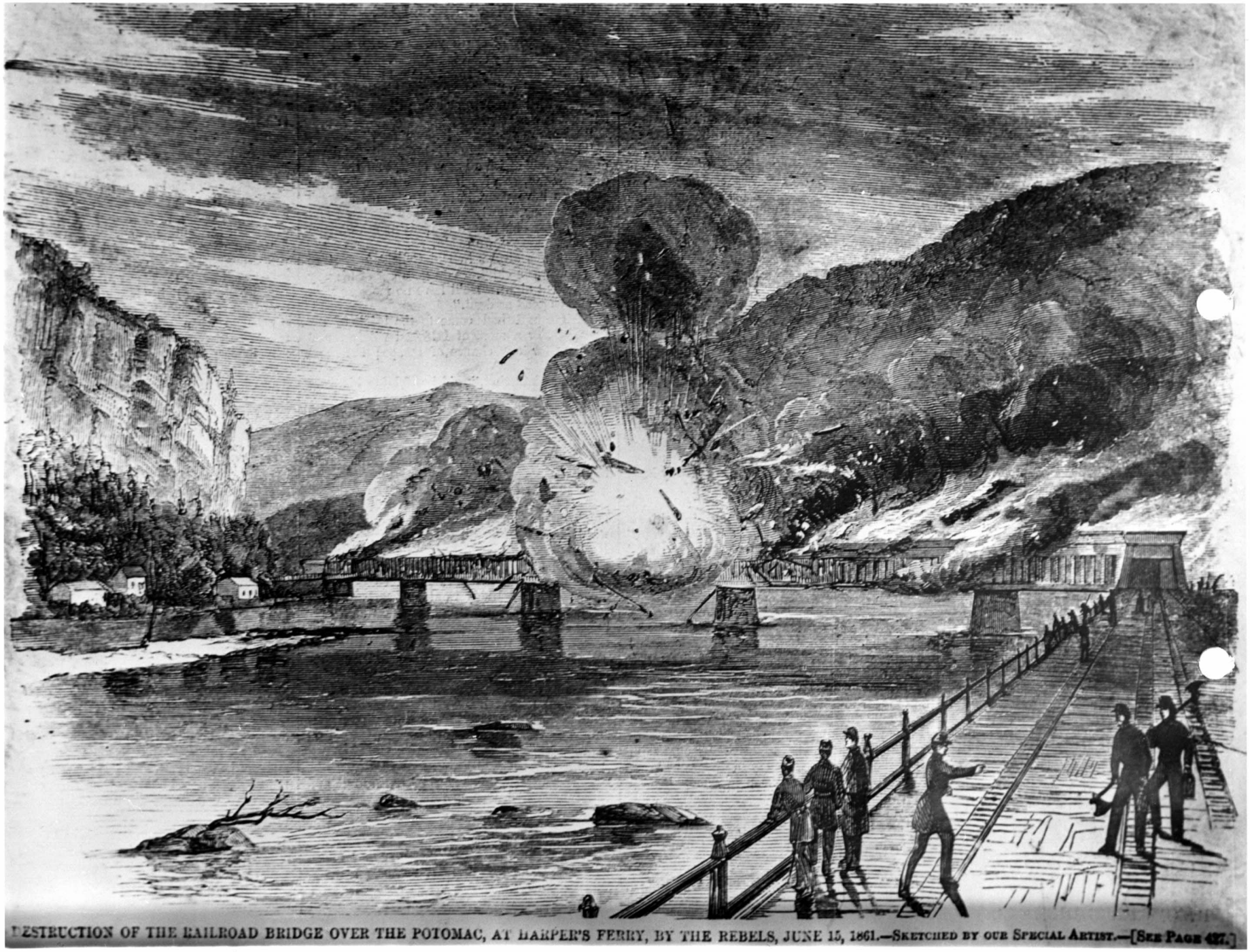
"Destruction of the Railroad Bridge over the Potomac River, at Harper's Ferry, by the Rebels, June 15, 1861"

From Harper's Weekly, July 6, 1861, p.429.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-102.

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

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



DESTRUCTION OF THE RAILROAD BRIDGE OVER THE POTOMAC, AT HARPER'S FERRY, BY THE REBELS, JUNE 15, 1861.—SKETCHED BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.—[SEE PAGE 427.]

In their hasty withdrawal, the Confederates left behind a considerable amount of debris as well as valuable ordnance. Seven heavy cannon, two 32-pounders, and five 24-pounders, were spiked and left on Bolivar Heights. The truck platforms, and sand bags were burnt, and cannon balls were lying around a quantity of powder which had been discarded in the bushes, to be retrieved by local boys with buckets. Behind the hill were the deserted camp, brush sheds and tents, strewn with papers, boots, canteens, camp kettles and a quantity of refuse which attracted the buzzards.[58]

Families who had given up their homes returned and several wagon loads of furniture could be seen at the doors unloading.[59] The Superintendent's house /Armory Dwelling No. 25/, which had been occupied as General Johnston's Headquarters, suffered more than any other and stood open, locks broken, furniture removed and the floors and grounds covered with papers, topographical plans, letters, paymaster's rolls, etc. Two thousand bushels of corn had been emptied into the Potomac, a short distance above the destroyed railroad bridge, and was visible under the water for some distance.[60]

Following the withdrawal of the Confederate army from Harpers Ferry a "dead calm reigned for a few days and the stillness was rendered oppressive by contrast with the former bustle and confusion."[61]

58. Manuscript Journal of David Hunter Strother, p.24.

59. Ibid., p.25.

60. Ibid.

61. Barry, p.121.

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

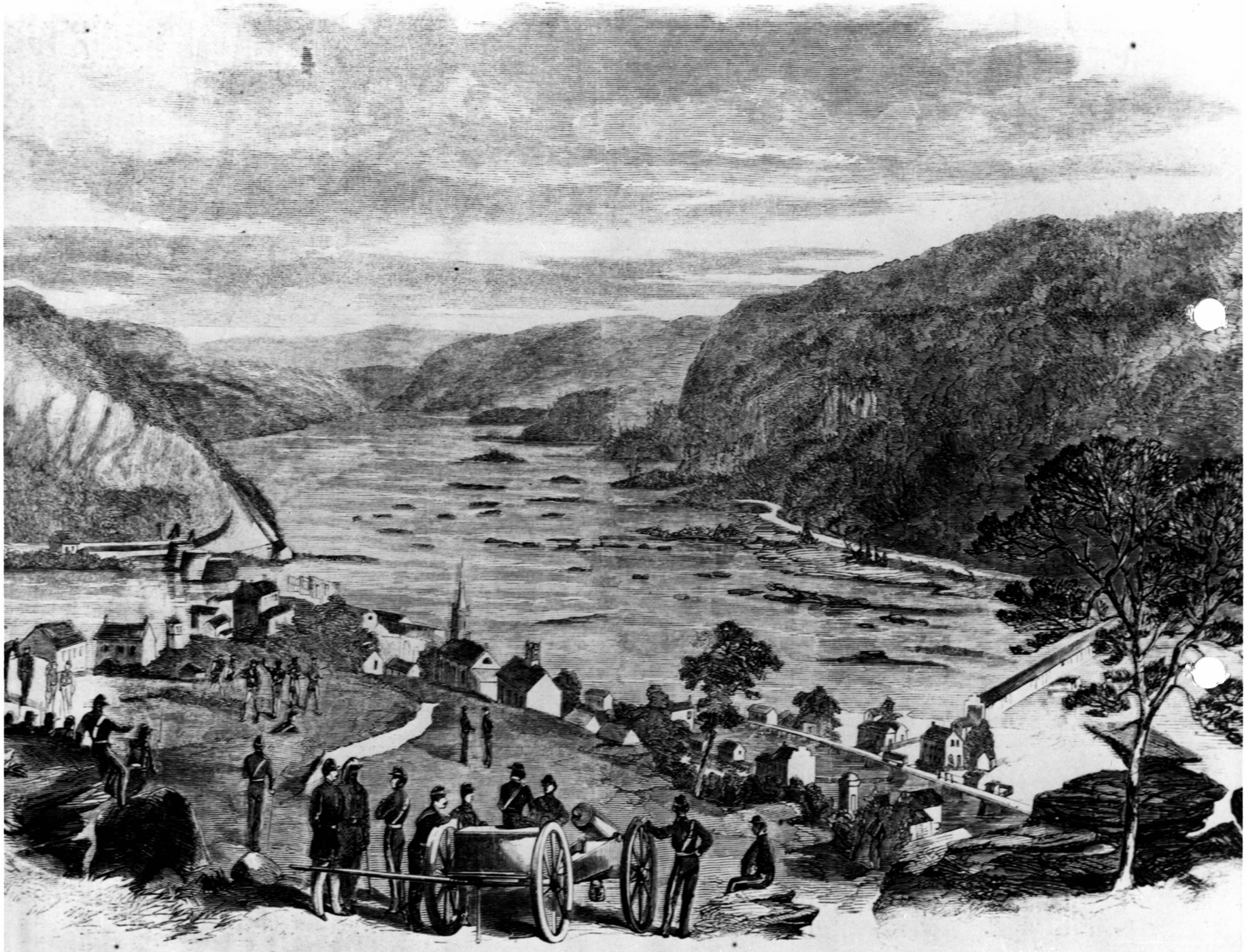
From Harper's Weekly, July 6, 1861, p.428.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-340.

This view was drawn from the top of Camp Hill and is fairly accurate in its detail. The Potomac flows from the left of the print and the Shenandoah from the right. The south end of Maryland Heights rises beyond the Potomac to the left and Loudoun Heights to the right, with the Hillsborough Turnpike running at its base. Note the piers and one iron "Winchester" span of the B&O Potomac bridge, which was destroyed by the Confederates on June 14, 1861. To the right, the Shenandoah covered bridge, still intact, crosses that river. The Confederates returned on June 28, 1861, and burned the Shenandoah bridge and the U.S. Rifle Factory buildings on Hall's Island. The building in the center, with the spire, is St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church; the structure with the cupola on its roof, just to the rear and right of the church, is the Roman Catholic School.

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

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



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

4. Removal of the Machinery From the U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry, April 19-June 15, 1861

Under the direction of Major-General Kenton Harper, the task of completing the unfinished arms in the armory, which had escaped destruction, and the forwarding of the arms-producing machinery at Harpers Ferry to Winchester was commenced, and by April 21, Harper was able to report that this work was progressing rapidly.[62] Enough gun-parts to complete between seven and ten thousand arms were undamaged. General Harper employed armorers who pieced the components together, and began to turn out several hundred muskets daily.[63]

On April 25, the Virginia Convention ordained that the machinery taken from the Harpers Ferry armory was to be placed in the armory at Richmond and Major-General Robert E. Lee was charged with the responsibility of safe-guarding this cargo.[64]

Lee lost little time in speeding up the transfer of the valuable machinery. On May 1, he ordered Col. Thomas J. Jackson, who was then in command of the Harpers Ferry post, to send the Musket Factory and Rifle Factory machinery to Winchester, as fast as possible. Lee also directed Jackson to have the machinery prepared at Winchester for removal to Strasburg.[65]

62. Maj.-Gen. Kenton Harper to Gen. Wm. H. Richardson, Adj.-Gen., April 21, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.772-773.

63. Maj.-Gen. Kenton Harper to Governor Letcher, April 22, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.774-775.

64. Proceedings of the Virginia Convention, April 25, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part II, p.34.

65. Gen. R. E. Lee to Col. T. J. Jackson, May 1, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.793-794.

On May 6, Jackson reported that two-thirds of the Musket Factory machinery had been removed from the armory. Jackson learned from Mr. John Ambler, the quartermaster in Winchester, that merchants in that city were paying double the prevailing freight rate, and consequently were monopolizing transportation facilities. This practice, of course, slowed down the transfer of the arms machinery. Jackson overcame this difficulty simply by ordering Mr. Ambler to impress all the wagons. Ambler also informed Jackson that baggage cars from Strasburg were then carrying flour from the valley to New York. Both to secure the flour for his troops, and to acquire additional transportation facilities for the machinery transfer, Jackson ordered Ambler to seize these cars also.[66]

The following day, May 7, Jackson notified Lee that as soon as all the Musket Factory machinery was removed, he would begin the removal of the machinery from the Rifle Factory on the Hall Island. Jackson intended to keep the latter plant in production as long as possible, as Mr. Burkart, then in charge of the Rifle Factory, estimated he could finish 1,500 rifle-muskets within thirty days.[67]

The Virginia Advisory Council, meeting on May 22, recommended that the machinery taken from the Rifle Factory at Harpers Ferry be loaned to the State of North Carolina to be employed at Fayetteville,[68] and by the end of the month, most of this machinery was reported to be either

66. Col. T. J. Jackson to Gen. R. E. Lee, May 6, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.809-810.

67. Col. T. J. Jackson to Gen. R. E. Lee, May 7, 1861, Ibid., pp.814-815.

68. Proceedings of the Virginia Advisory Council, May 22, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part II, pp.99-100.

CHAPTER III

THE UNION ARMY IN THE VICINITY OF HARPERS FERRY

1. Patterson at Hagerstown, June 15-July 1, 1861

The day the Confederate Army under General Johnston evacuated Harpers Ferry, June 15, the Union Army under the command of Major-General Robert Patterson reached Hagerstown, Maryland, from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.[1] News of the Confederate withdrawal was sceptically received by the Union commanders. "...I believe it designed for a decoy," Patterson wrote;[2] while Brevet Major-General Cadwalader suspiciously declared, "...There may be a deep-laid plot to deceive us..."[3]

Finally assured that Johnston was not spinning a web to ensnare his command, Patterson triumphantly reported, "...The enemy is routed by fear...,"[4] and looked toward the possibility of transferring his base of operations to Harpers Ferry and re-opening the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.[5]

On June 18, Patterson proposed the rebuilding of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bridge at Harpers Ferry as a "military necessity."[6] With the bridge rebuilt, he proposed to "throw everything into Harper's Ferry;"[7] however, when Patterson learned that the Railroad Company would not undertake the project of rebuilding the bridge unless the entire road to Cumberland,

1. Patterson to Col. E. D. Townsend, June 15, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.689.
2. Patterson to Townsend, June 15, 1861, Ibid., p.686.
3. Cadwalader to Maj. F. J. Porter, June 15, 1861, Ibid., pp.688-689.
4. Patterson to Townsend, June 16, 1861, Ibid., pp.691-692.
5. Ibid., 692-694.
6. Ibid., June 18, 1861, pp.701-702.
7. Ibid., June 19, 1861, p.707.

Maryland, was protected, the project was temporarily abandoned.[8]

On June 20, General Winfield Scott directed Patterson to undertake a reconnaissance of Maryland Heights, "with a view to a battery sufficient to hold the same, and also without delay to propose to me a plan of operations with a portion of your forces."[9]

In response to this order, Patterson proposed to occupy Maryland Heights with one brigade, 2,100 men, to fortify that position and arm it with Doubleday's artillery, and to provision it with enough supplies to last twenty days, thus rendering the mountain secure against an investment. He also suggested moving his base of supplies and operations from Hagerstown to Frederick, Maryland, and from this latter point, to "threaten with a force to open a route through Harper's Ferry, this force to be the sustaining one for the command on Maryland Heights."[10]

On June 25, however, General Scott overruled this second plan and directed Patterson to "remain in front of the enemy while he continues in force between Winchester and the Potomac," adding, "If you are in superior or equal force, you may cross /the Potomac/ and offer him battle."[11] On receipt of this message, Patterson began preparations for crossing the Potomac, and was so occupied for the remainder of June.

Meanwhile, at Harpers Ferry, the short interlude of peace following the Confederate evacuation of the town, was disturbed on June 20[12] when

8. Patterson to Townsend, June 19, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.707-708.

9. Scott to Patterson, June 20, 1861, Ibid., p.709.

10. Patterson to Townsend, June 21, 1861, Ibid., p.711.

11. Scott to Patterson, June 25, 1861, Ibid., p.725.

12. THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTORS TO THE STOCKHOLDERS OF THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD COMPANY, FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1861, Baltimore. Printed by William M. Innes, Adams Express Bldg., R.15, Vol. 2, p.305. Barry recorded the date of this occurence as June 28, p.121.

a Confederate force composed of some Baltimoreans and a part of the 2nd Mississippi Regiment, under the command of Colonel Faulkner made its appearance in the early morning hours and burnt the United States Rifle Factory on Hall's Island, and the wooden covered Shenandoah bridge.[13] Engine No. 165 and some cars of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company were pushed off the destroyed railroad bridge into the Potomac.[14] Their mission accomplished, the rebels then withdrew. /See Photos HF-538 and HF-537 on the following pages of this report./

Although the major destruction of parts of Harpers Ferry was done by the military, the townspeople must share some of the blame. In that short period between Confederate and Union occupations, "...it was sad to see the rapid demoralization of the people at this time and the various phases of corrupt human nature suddenly brought to light by the war. Not only were the government buildings ransacked for plunder, but the abandoned houses of the citizens shared the same fate. Even women and children could be encountered at all hours of the day and night loaded with booty or trundling wheelbarrows freighted with all imaginable kinds of portable goods and household furniture. In many instances their shamelessness was astounding and it appeared as if they considered that a state of war gave unlimited privilege for plunder. Citizens who recognized their property in the hands of those marauders and claimed it were abused and sometimes beaten and, sadder yet to be related, women were in many instances, most prominent in those disgraceful scenes..."[15]

13. Barry, p.121.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p.125.

"Locomotive and Tender Thrown from the Rail-way Bridge at Harper's Ferry by the Rebels."

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

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-538.

Both Barry and the B&O Records indicate that the engine number was 165.

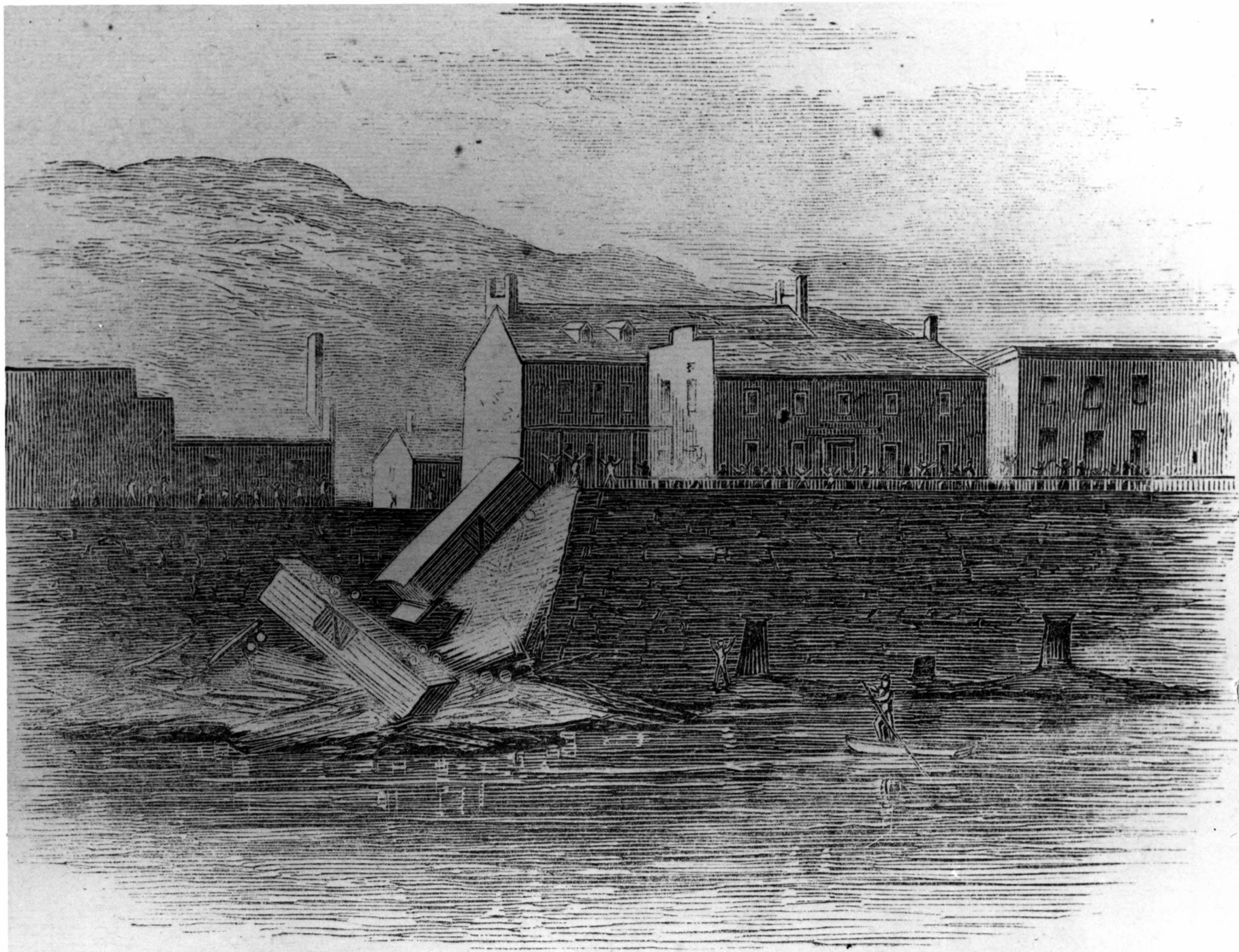


LOCOMOTIVE AND TENDER THROWN FROM THE RAILWAY BRIDGE AT HARPER'S FERRY BY THE REBELS.

"Destruction of Railroad Cars at Harper's Ferry by the Mississippians."

From Harper's Weekly, July 20, 1861.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-537.



DESTRUCTION OF RAILWAY CARS AT HARPER'S FERRY BY THE MISSISSIPPIANS.

2. Patterson Advance - The Manassas Campaign, July 2-25

On July 2, Major-General Robert Patterson's Federal Army crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, Maryland,[16] into Virginia, and was soon to be joined by Colonel Stones' command, consisting of the First New Hampshire, First Pennsylvania, and the Ninth New York Regiments, then at Point-of-Rocks.[17] On their way to effect the junction, Stone's command occupied Sandy Hook, opposite Harpers Ferry on the Maryland bank of the Potomac. On the 4th of July, at about 4 p.m., the picket guard of the Ninth New York, under the command of Lieutenant Galbraith, Co. E, was fired upon by rebels in Harpers Ferry, on the south side of the Potomac, posted behind the iron trestle work, and bridge abutments of the B&O Railroad and in buildings along the river. Fearing that the rebels would attempt a crossing, Lieutenant Galbraith called for re-enforcements. Company A, Captain Morrison commanding; Company C, Captain Prescott, and a detail of sixteen men from Company G, proceeded with Major Atterbury to the bridge. The firing lasted about half an hour when the Federals retired, as their antiquated muskets proved no match for the rifles or rifled-muskets of the Confederates.[18]

John Earle Banks, Company G, was shot through the breast, and died while being removed from the field; Earnest Gedricke, Company A, was shot through the abdomen, and was not expected to live; Henry V. Williamson,

16. Operations in the Shenandoah Valley, Summary of the Principal Events, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.156.

17. E. D. Townsend, Asst. Adj.-Gen. to Maj.-Gen. Patterson, June 30, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.734.

18. Report of Maj. William Atterbury, July 4, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part I, p.8.

Company G, received a severe leg wound; and Fred R. Warner, Company C, was slightly wounded in the leg.[19]

It was during this inital skirmish at Harpers Ferry, that civilian casualties were first experienced. A shoemaker of Harpers Ferry, named Harding, who was on a spree, needlessly exposed himself and received a dangerous wound as a consequence of his foolhardiness.[20] John Chambers, a citizen of Harpers Ferry, claimed credit[21] for shooting Harding. Chambers happened to be in Sandy Hook when the fighting began, and, being a strong Union sympathizer, he picked up a gun and fell into ranks with the New Yorkers.

That evening, when the fight was over, a straggler from a Pennsylvania Regiment, celebrating the Fourth of July at Sandy Hook, fired a random shot across the Potomac, intent upon killing some "damned rebel."[22] The bullet glanced off the end of Fouke's Hotel, /the former Wager House Hotel, located on Wager Lots No. 6, 7 and 8/ and struck Mr. F. A. Roeder, a prominent citizen of Harpers Ferry, who happened to be coming around the corner of the building, at that fateful moment.[23] Roeder reached home /Monument Bldg. No. 16/ unassisted and shortly died from the wound that ripped open his groin.[24] Ironically enough, Mr. Roeder was a warm friend of the Federal Government.[25] /Roeder also owned Monument Bldgs. No. 5 and 7 as well as 16/.

19. Report of Maj. William Atterbury, July 4, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. Li, Part I, p.8.

20. Barry, pp.122-123.

21. Ibid., p.123.

22. Ibid., p.124.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

Skirmish, July 4, 1861

Map showing disposition of opposing forces and location of Roeder's death.



Approximate position of opposing troops - Union XXXX Confederate XXXX

SKIRMISH AT HARPERS FERRY - JULY 4, 1861

HARPER'S FERRY

O - ROEDER SHOT

V - ROEDER DIED

Scale -1/4-

In the meantime, Patterson had reached Martinsburg on July 3, "in hot pursuit of the enemy,"[26] and was re-enforced by Colonel Stone on July 8.[27] On the morning of July 15, the Federal army advanced to Bunker Hill, on the road from Martinsburg to Winchester.[28] The day was clear and warm. A full regiment of infantry, deployed as skirmishers, led the march, and flanked the road for half a mile on either side. A body of four hundred cavalry with Captain Tompkin's Rhode Island battery, led by Colonel Thomas, moved next. After them, the main column of infantry with artillery and supply trains took up the march. A column of six thousand men, led by Colonel Stone, moved by a parallel road to the left, out of sight but within supporting distance. All along the route were traces of the enemy army: deserted bivouacs, extinguished fires, broken fences, overturned wagons, and dead horses.[29]

At Darksville, the skirmishers met the rebel cavalry pickets, and a few scattered shots were exchanged. The firing was repeated occasionally all the way to Bunker Hill.

About a mile beyond Darksville, several squadrons of Confederate cavalry appeared in front. A section of Tompkin's battery was brought forward and half a dozen shells were fired into the woods where the enemy had disappeared. At Bunker Hill, the Federal skirmish line ran into the main body of J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry, posted behind Mill Creek. A brisk

26. Maj.-Gen. Patterson to Lieut. Col. E. D. Townsend, Asst. Adj.-Gen., July 3, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.157.

27. Patterson to Townsend, July 9, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.162-163.

28. Patterson to Townsend, July 16, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.166-167.

29. Strother, p.154.

exchange of shots continued for about twenty minutes, when a section of artillery was again brought up. A few shells forced the enemy cavalry to retire, but a few rebel horsemen still occupied a hill about twelve hundred yards to the Federal front. Captain Tompkins brought one of his rifled guns into a position masked by some trees. The shell was selected, and the piece, carefully loaded, was sighted by Tompkins himself. The point aimed at was a white Havelock which could be seen distinctly in the center of the rebel cavalry. The skirmish line halted, and everybody stood still to watch the effect of the shot. The command was given and the shot whizzed through the air. A few seconds after, there was a scattering among the Confederate cavalry. The whole troop then galloped at full speed toward Winchester, and the Battle of Bunker Hill was over.[30]

In this "battle," one rebel cavalryman was killed and five were taken prisoner.[31] No Union casualties were reported.

At about 2 p.m., the army went into camp on the field. Colonel Stone's column, having had a rougher road to move upon, did not get in until 4 p.m.[32]

The following day, July 16, a Federal reconnaissance party advanced to within five miles of Winchester without encountering any force other than cavalry pickets.[33] The road to Winchester was blockaded with fallen trees and fences, which led Patterson to believe that Johnston had no confidence in his force.[34]

30. Strother, p.154.

31. Patterson to Townsend, July 16, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.166-167.

32. Strother, p.154.

33. Ibid., p.155.

34. Patterson to Townsend, July 16, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.166-167.

That afternoon, Captain Simpson and his assistant, David Hunter Strother, of Patterson's Topographical Corps, got hold of two brothers who had deserted from Winchester. /Strother had enlisted on July 11./ Simpson and Hunter took the brothers to their tent and began to question them on Johnston's strength. One of the brothers appeared to be extremely intelligent, and consequently, was examined very carefully. Based on this information, and what Hunter knew of Johnston's force, Simpson and Hunter reckoned the Confederate army consisted of seventeen thousand effectives and thirty-one pieces of light artillery.[35] /On June 28, Johnston's army numbered 10,654 while Patterson listed his force at 14,344 - see Appendix V./

This information was immediately brought to the attention of headquarters, but to the great astonishment of Simpson and Hunter, it was totally discredited. Headquarters was entirely satisfied that Johnston's force consisted of forty-two thousand men and seventy guns.[36]

At about 2 a.m., the following morning, July 17, the Union army broke camp. By dawn the whole column was in motion on the road to Smithfield, leading eastward and retrograding from Winchester. Colonel Frank Patterson's Pennsylvania regiment, called the Roundheads because of the shape of their hats, led the march. As the column descended the bluff to Mill Creek, near the Opequan Bridge, a body of men was seen on an overlooking hill, and the Roundheads fired twenty or thirty shots in their direction before they discovered it was a Federal post, established the night before to guard the bridge.[37]

35. Strother, p.155.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

At Smithfield, the army had a choice of roads. One led to Winchester fifteen miles distant, another to Berryville, between Winchester and Snicker's Ferry, about twelve miles distant respectively from Winchester and Smithfield. The third route led to Charles Town, eight miles off and twenty-two from Winchester. A brigade, by way of a feint, moved a short distance along the Winchester road, but the main column took the route to Charles Town.

Patterson's army entered Charles Town with drums beating and colors flying. The streets were silent and deserted, most of the houses were closed, and only a few negroes and children appeared to witness the entry. As the column passed, a Confederate flag appeared from the upper window of a storehouse. The doors were immediately crushed in, and the rebel emblem was replaced by the Stars and Stripes. Otherwise, the Union occupation was without incident.[38]

The Federal movement from Martinsburg by way of Bunker Hill to Charles Town was a flank march to cover the transfer of the Union supply train to a new base at Harpers Ferry. A Council of War had decided that Martinsburg was a dangerous military position, and that Charles Town, with a depot at Harpers Ferry, had many advantages.[39]

Patterson felt that the Harpers Ferry depot would be better secured, more convenient, nearer, and his line would be better protected. At Martinsburg, he could not bring from Hagerstown, Maryland, with his present means of transportation, an amply supply of provision for active operations. This he could do from Harpers Ferry.[40]

38. Strother, pp.155-156.

39. Minutes of Countil of War, July 9, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.163-164.

40. Patterson to Townsend, July 12, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.164-165.

Captain Newton of the Engineers was sent to Harpers Ferry July 18, along with a Massachusetts Regiment, to arrange for defense and to re-establish communications with Maryland. Lieutenant Babcock had been at Sandy Hook for several days, trying to get the canal in operation, preparing the entrance to the ford, putting into operation a ferry, and reconstructing the bridge.[41]

Meanwhile, the high command in Washington was worried. On the night Patterson occupied Charles Town, General Winfield Scott admonished him: "...Do not let the enemy amuse and delay you with a small force in front whilst he re-enforces the Junction /Manassas/ with his main body..."[42]

Patterson too was worried. His army consisted almost entirely of three months men, whose term of enlistment was fast running out. Many of the regiments were grumbling and threatening not to serve one hour after their term of enlistment was expired. Also, Patterson was under the false impression that he was greatly outnumbered. Under these conditions, he was highly reluctant to take the initiative and meet the opposing force of Johnston at Winchester. Patterson had repeatedly informed Washington of these circumstances, and at 1:30 a.m., July 18, shifting responsibility, he put the question to General Headquarters: "...Shall I attack..."[43]

To this question, General Scott replied: "I have certainly been expecting you to beat the enemy. If not, to hear that you had felt him

41. Patterson to Townsend, July 18, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.169-170.

42. Scott to Patterson, 9:30 p.m., July 17, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.167-168.

43. Patterson to Townsend, July 18, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.168.

at Winchester or Strasburg.[69] The railroads were so occupied in the transportation of troops and munitions of war, that the shipment of the rifle machinery to Fayetteville was necessarily delayed;[70] however, by June 28, about eighteen tons of the much needed machinery was en route to that city.[71]

Thus, when General Joseph E. Johnston evacuated Harpers Ferry on June 15, all of the machinery, both from the Musket Factory along the Potomac River, and the Rifle Factory on Hall's Island, had been removed.[72] All that remained at Harpers Ferry in the two gun plants were a quantity of gun-stocks, gun-barrels, and tilt-hammers which the Confederates failed to carry with them when they vacated the post.[73]

It is interesting to note, that the Virginia Convention, in secret session, resolved on June 29 that the machinery captured at Harpers Ferry be turned over to the Confederate States for use during the war, while Virginia retained the right of ownership. An inventory was to be kept so that in the event the machinery was lost or destroyed, Virginia would be compensated by the Confederate Government.[74]

69. Gen. R. E. Lee to Governor John W. Ellix of North Carolina, May 31, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part II, p.122.

70. Ibid.

71. James Banks to Governor M. S. Perry of Florida, June 28, 1861, O.R., S.IV, Vol. I, pp.407-408.

72. Gen. J. E. Johnston to Gen. S. Cooper, July 17, 1861, O.R., S.IV, Vol. I, pp.481-482.

73. Gen. S. Cooper to Gen. J. E. Johnston, June 18, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.934-935.

74. Proceedings of the Virginia Convention, June 29, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part II, p.154.

strongly, or, at least, had occupied him by threats and demonstrations. You have been at least his equal, and, I suppose, superior, in numbers, Has he not stolen a march and sent re-enforcements toward Manassas Junction?..."[44]

As Johnston moved out of Winchester by the road to Millwood, on the afternoon of July 18, to unite his army with that of Beauregard's at Manassas Junction, Patterson confidently wired Washington: "...The enemy has stolen no march upon me..."[45]

Although the Federals lost the opportunity to give battle to the Confederates, they very nearly had a lively skirmish among themselves. That afternoon, shell practice was held, and the continuous fire of small-arms throughout the Union camps made as much noise as a small battle. One of these desultory shots wounded a horse belong to Perkins' light battery. The Captain, hopping mad, loaded a canister, turned the gun on the camp from whence the shot came, and declared if another ball was fired into his camp, he would open on the offenders. The infantry got ready to charge the battery, and it required some authority to settle the difficulty.[46]

Early the next morning, July 19, Strother received information from an eye-witness that Johnston had evacuated Winchester. Strother immediately passed the news to his immediate superior, Captain Simpson, who in turn, rushed the information to headquarters. But the report was not accepted

44. Scott to Patterson, July 18, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.168.

45. Patterson to Townsend, July 18, 1861, Ibid.

46. Strother, pp.156-157.

as fact at headquarters, much to the irritation of Simpson and Strother. Totally disregarding this piece of intelligence, Patterson confidently wired Washington that day: "...The enemy, from last information, are still at Winchester, and being re-enforced every night..."[48]

The following day, July 20, however, Patterson reported the evacuation of Winchester by Johnston. "...His whole force was about thirty-five thousand two hundred,"[49] a gross exaggeration.

On Sunday, July 21, the day that the First Battle of Manassas was fought, in which General Johnston played a vital role, Patterson fell back from Charles Town to Harpers Ferry[50] and established his headquarters in the house of the Armory Superintendent /Armory Dwelling No. 25/.[51]

The wholesale mustering out of Patterson's command had already commenced. By July 21, five regiments had left and four more were to leave Harpers Ferry on the 22nd, and so on.[52] By July 29, this army had diminished in numbers to about five or six thousand men.[53] The troops whose terms of service had expired, left Harpers Ferry by fording the Potomac above the island, and every man and officer carried with him some memento of the campaign in the form of a brick, a cannon-ball, or burned musket-barrel from the ruins of the Arsenal.[54]

47. Strother, p.157.

48. Patterson to Townsend, July 19, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.170-171.

49. Ibid., July 20, 1861, p.172.

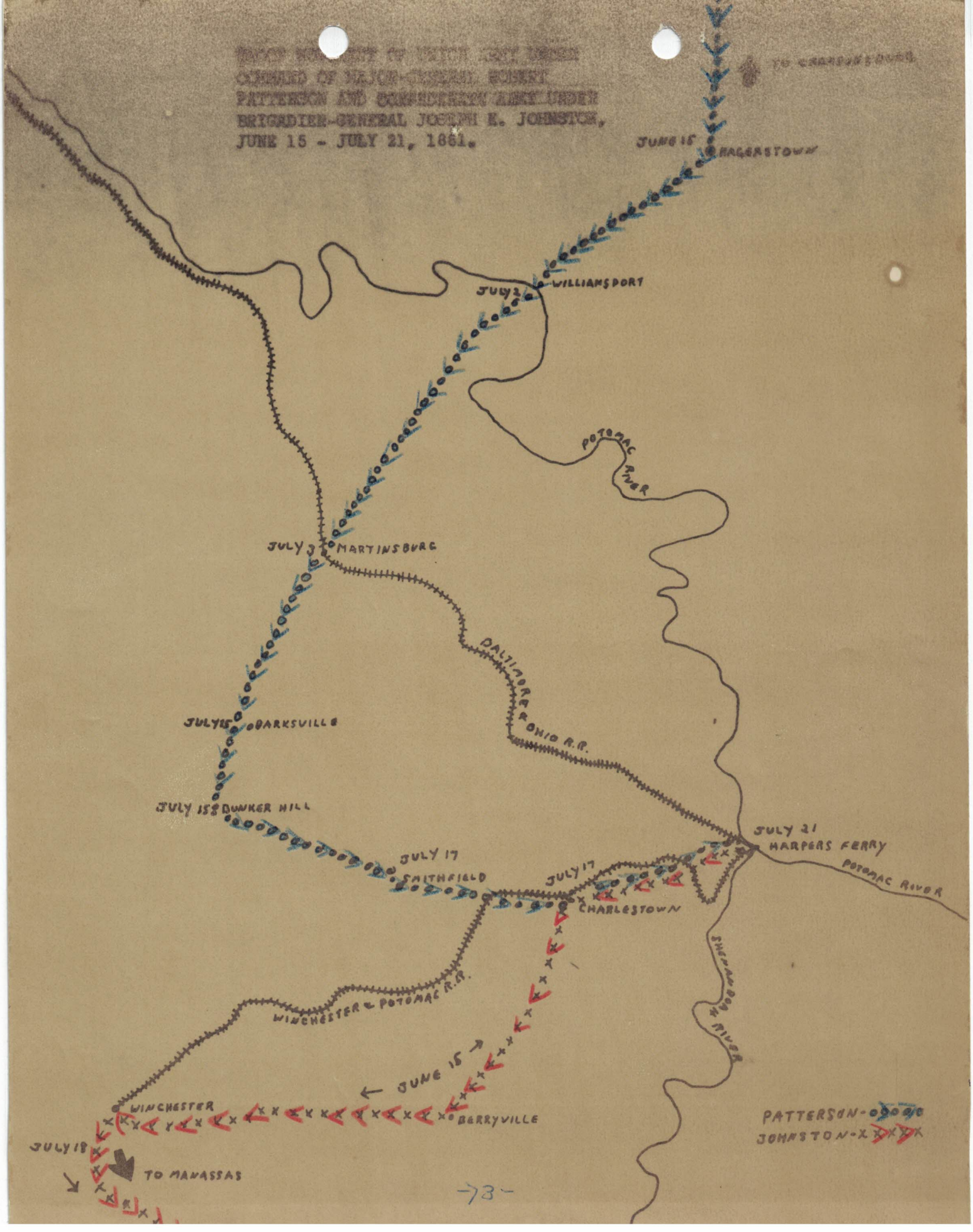
50. Ibid., July 21, 1861.

51. Strother, p.158.

52. Patterson to Townsend, July 21, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.172. Between July 19 and July 29, the 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 17th, 20th, 21st, and 23rd Pennsylvania Regiments, the 11th Indiana Regiment, the 5th and 12th New York Regiments, the 1st New Hampshire, and the Rhode Island Light Artillery, were mustered out of the army. See also Appendix V of this report, June 28, 1861.

53. Banks to Townsend. July 29, 1861, Ibid., pp.767-768.

Map showing route of Patterson's advance and the retreat and departure of Johnston from Winchester to unite with Beauregard at Manassas.


MARCH OF THE UNION ARMY UNDER COMMAND OF MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT PATTERSON AND CONFEDERATE ARMY UNDER BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, JUNE 15 - JULY 21, 1861.
TO CHAMBERSBURG
JUNE 15
HAGERSTOWN
JULY 2
WILLIAMSPORT
POTOMAC RIVER
JULY 3
MARTINSBURG
BALTIMORE & OHIO R.R.
JULY 15
BARKSVILLE
JULY 15
BUNKER HILL
JULY 17
SMITHFIELD
JULY 17
CHARLESTOWN
JULY 21
HARPERS FERRY
POTOMAC RIVER
SHENANDOAH RIVER
WINCHESTER & POTOMAC R.R.
JUNE 15
WINCHESTER
BERRYVILLE
JULY 18
TO MANASSAS
PATTERSON-
JOHNSTON-

In the few days that Patterson's men occupied Harpers Ferry, they "...helped themselves to most of what was left by the rebels... everything moveable disappeared before them. Hen's teeth are articles the scarcity of which is proverbial in all countries, but it can be safely averred that, when this army left Harper's Ferry, the teeth of those useful fowls were as plentiful at that place as any other part of them..."[55]

On July 23, General Winfield Scott informed Patterson he expected him to hold Harpers Ferry,[56] to which Patterson replied the following day, "...I consider the occupation of Harper's Ferry with the small force here as hazardous, and as untenable against a formidable force with less than 20,000 men..."[57]

Major General Robert Patterson, nearly 70 years old, was honorably discharged the next day, July 25,[58] his ninety day appointment having expired, under fire of sharp public rebuke, and was superceeded by Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks, who assumed command of the newly formed Department of Shenandoah at Harpers Ferry on the 25th.[59]

3. Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks in Command, July 25-August 17, 1861

General Banks with the dwindled command of between five and six thousand men did not occupy Harpers Ferry for long. He too was of the opinion that a force of twenty thousand men was necessary to hold the three military

54. Strother, p.158.

55. Barry, p.126. Also Strother.

56. Scott to Patterson, July 23, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.173.

57. Patterson to Townsend, July 24, 1861, Ibid., p.174.

58. General Orders No. 33, July 25, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.174.

59. General Orders No. 34, July 25, 1861, Ibid., p.175.

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

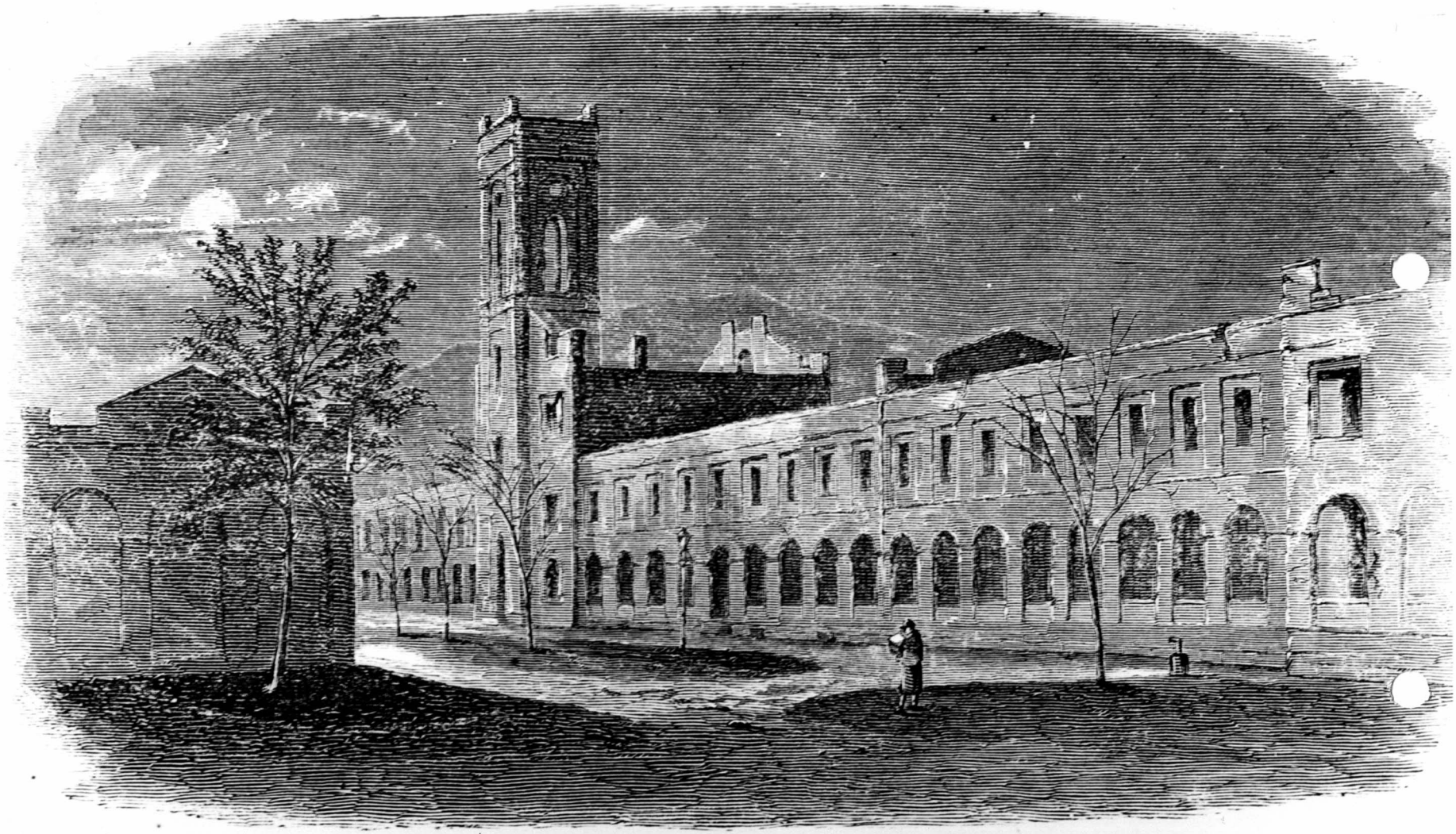
From Harper's Weekly, July 20, 1861, p.455.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-223.

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

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

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



HARPER'S FERRY ARMORY AS IT NOW APPEARS.

positions of Loudoun, Maryland, and Bolivar Heights.[60] In constant expectation of an enemy attack and with a force too small to defend Harpers Ferry, but too large to ferry across the Potomac if retreat were necessary, General Banks moved the greater portion of his force and some three hundred baggage wagons to Sandy Hook, on the north bank of the Potomac, the day of July 28.[61]

General Banks established his headquarters in the home of Mr. Jacob Miller, near Sandy Hook.[62] Long-term enlistees replaced the three months men and Banks began to organize his command into brigades. /See Apendix VI/ By August 6, his force numbered almost 12,000 men,[63] and the regiments, drilled three times daily, improved in discipline and drill.[64] /For organization of Banks' army, July 29, 1861, see Appendix VI./

Banks scattered his forces in Pleasant Valley, Sandy Hook, and the summit of Maryland Heights,[65] but with the increase of stores at Sandy Hook, and the probability of the removal of supplies from Hagerstown, he felt it was necessary to obtain a more secure position for a general depot for the army supplies and for hospital uses.[66] Frederick seemed to him the logical choice for this purpose. Banks argued that city offered more advantages than any other point: it was equally central for

60. Banks to Townsend, July 26, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.764.

61. Banks to Townsend, July 29, 1861, Ibid., pp.767-768.

62. Barry, p.128.

63. Banks to Townsend, August 6, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, p.554.

64. General Orders No. 36, July 29, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. LI, Part I, pp.428-429.

65. Banks to Townsend, July 29, 1861, O.R.S.I, Vol. II, pp.767-768.

66. Ibid., July 31, 1861, p.770.

"Two Members of the New York Ninth (Isaac Blakemore and George M'Mullan) Hauling Down the Secession Flag at Harper's Ferry."

From Harper's Weekly, August 3, 1861, p.490.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-229.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY - APRIL 18 - DECEMBER 31, 1861 - CALENDAR OF EVENTS

April 18, 10 p.m.: Lieutenant Roger Jones and forty-five United States troopers destroyed the Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, containing some 15,000 muskets and rifles. Musket Factory Bldg. No. 8 was also destroyed and Musket Factory Bldg. No. 6 was slightly damaged.

April 19-April 29: Major-General Kenton Harper received all Confederate troops sent to Harpers Ferry, began the removal of the armory machinery and captured Brigadier General William S. Harney, of the United States Army.

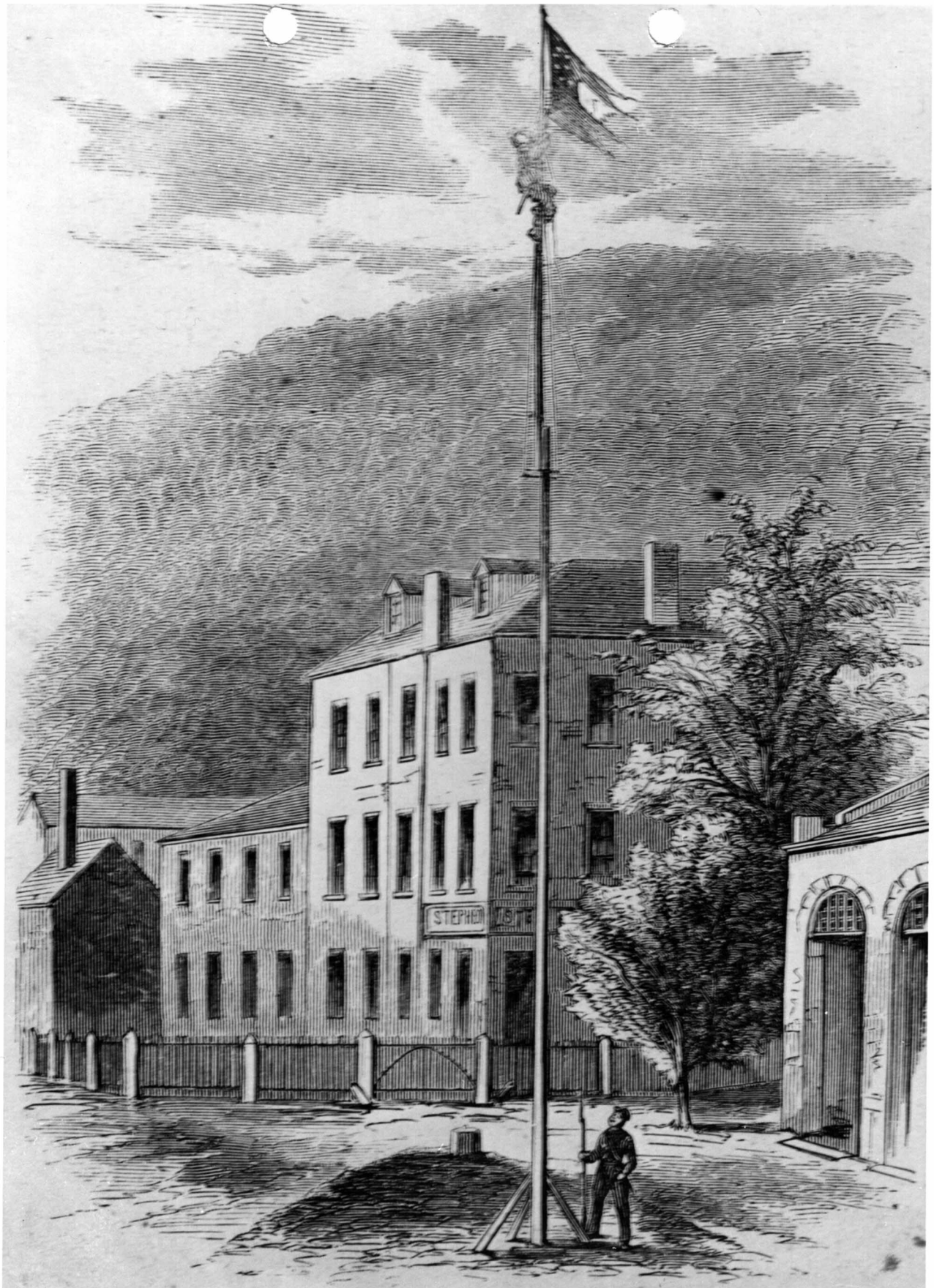
April 29-May 23: Colonel Thomas J. Jackson in command of the Harpers Ferry post. Mustered all troops sent to Harpers Ferry into Confederate service. Continued the removal of the arms-producing machinery. Initiated defense works on the three heights and captured fifty-six locomotives and more than three hundred cars of the B&O Railroad.

May 23-June 15: Brigadier General Joseph E. Johnston in command at Harpers Ferry. Completed removal of armory and rifle works machinery. Arranged for evacuation of Harpers Ferry. Received further re-enforcements.

June 14, 6:30 a.m.: Confederates destroyed B&O Railroad bridge as well as most of the remaining Musket Factory buildings. Only the Fire Engine House, Bldg. 1; Office, Bldg. 2; Warehouse, Bldg. No. 12; and Smith and Foraging Shop, Bldg. 13, left intact.

June 15: General Johnston evacuated Harpers Ferry and occupied Winchester. Harpers Ferry not occupied by Union troops until July 14.

June 20-June 28: Confederates destroyed the nine U.S. Rifle Factory buildings on the Lower Hall Island and the Shenandoah bridge. They also pushed a locomotive and some cars off the destroyed railroad bridge into the Potomac.



TWO MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK NINTH (ISAAC BLAKEMORE AND GEORGE M'MULLAN) HAULING DOWN THE SECESSION FLAG AT HARPER'S FERRY.

all points; was sufficiently removed from the river to be safe from marauding parties; and had the best railroad facilities in every direction.[67]

At Sandy Hook, there were not sufficient buildings to establish a large depot, and the strip of land between the heights and the river did not have the capacity to admit the erection of the proper structures. Furthermore, Sandy Hook was greatly exposed from Loudoun Heights on the Virginia side of the Potomac.[68]

These arguments proved convincing, and Banks was authorized to withdraw his main body from Sandy Hook to a point between Frederick and the Potomac River.[69] Banks pulled out on August 17,[70] headed for his future encampment near Darnestown, with 10,860 infantry, 549 artillerymen, 333 cavalry, and fourteen pieces of light artillery. At nightfall, a soaking rain turned the march into a most confusing and disastrous affair. The troops lost their baggage, servants, and horses. Regiments were separated from their trains; brigades lost their way; officers and men lost their regiments; artillery carriages broke; horses were killed; wagons stalled and teamsters threw out half their loads and in some instances left thousands of dollars worth of property to perish in the heavy downpour.[72]

67. Banks to Townsend, July 31, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. II, p.770.

68. Ibid.

69. Winfield Scott to Banks, August 13, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, p.560.

70. Banks to Townsend, August 17, 1861, Ibid., p.565.

71. Banks to General George B. McClellan, August 20, 1861, Ibid., p.574.

CHAPTER IV

HARPERS FERRY - A NO-MAN'S LAND, AUGUST 18 - DECEMBER 31, 1861

Left behind as a corps of observation, to protect the canal and fords, and to stop contraband traffic between Maryland and Virginia, were the Second Massachusetts Regiment under Colonel Gordon, at Sandy Hook; Thirteenth Massachusetts, Colonel Leonard, at Sharpsburg; Twenty-Eighth New York, Colonel Donnelly, at Berlin /now Brunswick/; and Colonel Geary with the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania at Point-of-Rocks.[1]

A party of eight officers and sixteen men, commanded by Lieutenant W. W. Rowley, Twenty-Eighth New York Volunteers, and acting signal officer, was left to serve with the forces under General Banks during the fall and throughout the winter. This party held stations of observation and communication on Maryland Heights, on the heights at Point-of-Rocks, on Sugar Loaf Mountain, at Poolsville, Maryland, and on the ridge at Seneca.[2]

The regiments of Colonels Donnelly and Gordon were recalled within a few days, and the Thriteenth Massachusetts Regiment was ordered to Sandy Hook, August 21, with instructions to hold Maryland Heights and to prevent the enemy from effecting a crossing at Harpers Ferry.[3]

Stationed on the north side of the Potomac, the men of the Thirteenth Massachusetts constantly harried the remaining residents of Harpers Ferry with their random firing. Crouching under the buttresses of the ruined bridge on the Maryland side of the river, or among the thickets and rocks

1. Banks to Townsend, August 17, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, p.565.

2. Report of Maj. Albert J. Myer, Chief Signal Officer, U.S. Army, October 21, 1862, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, p.74.

3. Robert Williams, Asst. Adj.-Gen. to Colonel Leonard, 13th Mass. Regiment, August 21, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.578.

of Maryland Heights, they shot at everything that moved about the streets of Harpers Ferry. "...The appearance of even a mullein leaf swaying in the wind elicited a volley from these ever vigilant guardians of the nation, and it was lucky for the place that they were indifferent marksman, else it would have been wholly depopulated..."[4] "...They fire at every man, woman, child, or horse that passes the river upon this /the south/ side...,"[5] Lieutenant-Colonel Turner Ashby complained.

1. Skirmish at Pritchard's Mill, September 15, 1861

Very shortly, the Massachusetts men were afforded the opportunity of a genuine fight with Confederate soldiers. On the night of September 13, Colonel John W. Geary,* commanding the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Infantry at Point-of-Rocks, received information that about 2,200 rebels were stationed in an offensive attitude between the Shenandoah River and Shepherdstown, on the Virginia shore of the Potomac. The force, composed of between five hundred and six hundred infantry, was located in the neighborhood of Pritchard's Mill and the Old Furnace /Keep Tryst/, just west of Bolivar Heights, on the Virginia shore, overlooking the Potomac, and about one and a half miles upstream from the ruined Potomac bridge. The rebels had a reserve of 1500 or 1600, including cavalry, and artillery, within a short distance behind the hills and along the B&O Railroad to

4. Barry, p.129.

5. Lt.-Col. Turner Ashby to Adjt.-Gen. Cooper, Sept., 1861, C.S.A., O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.858-859.

* John W. Geary had been the first commander of the city of Mexico under General Scott, the first mayor of San Francisco, and for a time, Governor of Kansas Territory when John Brown was active in that region. Before his death, Geary was also to become military-governor of Savannah, Georgia, and twice elected Governor of Pennsylvania.

the west, in the direction of Martinsburg. Their objective, as it appeared to Geary, was to attack the right of his command, resting about three miles above Harpers Ferry, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, turn that position, gain the rear of his pickets, which would result in the capture of a portion of his command, consisting of two companies of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Regiment.

Geary received this report at 11 p.m., and at midnight he left Point-of-Rocks with three companies of riflemen from his regiment, a section of the New York Ninth Battery, with two rifled cannon, and after a fatiguing march of twelve miles, reached Harpers Ferry about daylight on the morning of September 14. The rebels were then attacking his troops stationed near Sharpsburg, but the Confederates were shortly forced to retire.

On the morning of the 15th, Geary detailed scouting parties to gain further information of the enemy's movements. One of these parties, consisting of Lieutenant Brown, one sergeant, and six privates, all of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, mounted and pushed forward as far west as Antietam Ford. On their return, while opposite Pritchard's Mill, they were fired upon from the Virginia shore, and one of the Union soldiers was instantly killed. Owing to the continuous fire of the rebels, the remaining members of the scouting party were pinned down to their positions; finding it impossible to move without incurring further losses.

At about the same time, a number of Confederates made their appearance on Loudoun Heights, and also the road leading around its base to Harpers Ferry, and began shooting. Rebels then commenced firing from Bolivar Heights, and from all parts of the railroad along the Potomac up or west to Pritchard's Mill. The Confederates were deployed, well covered, behind the embankments

of the railroad and bushes, in houses, barns and lime quarries.

Geary stationed Company L, under command of Captain Barr, from his regiment, upon that portion of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad track, east of the abutment to the burnt bridge, in the diredtion of Sandy Hook, with instructions to clear Loudoun Heights, and the road at the base of these heights. This they did, causing the enemy to retire quickly, leaving five or six killed and wounded on the ground.

Geary next deployed a company and a half of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, under Major Gould, from the bridge, westward, up to Lock No. 36 of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, to defend against attacks from the town and surrounding heights. One piece of artillery was left with Major Gould's detachment in such a position as to sweep the streets of Harpers Ferry.

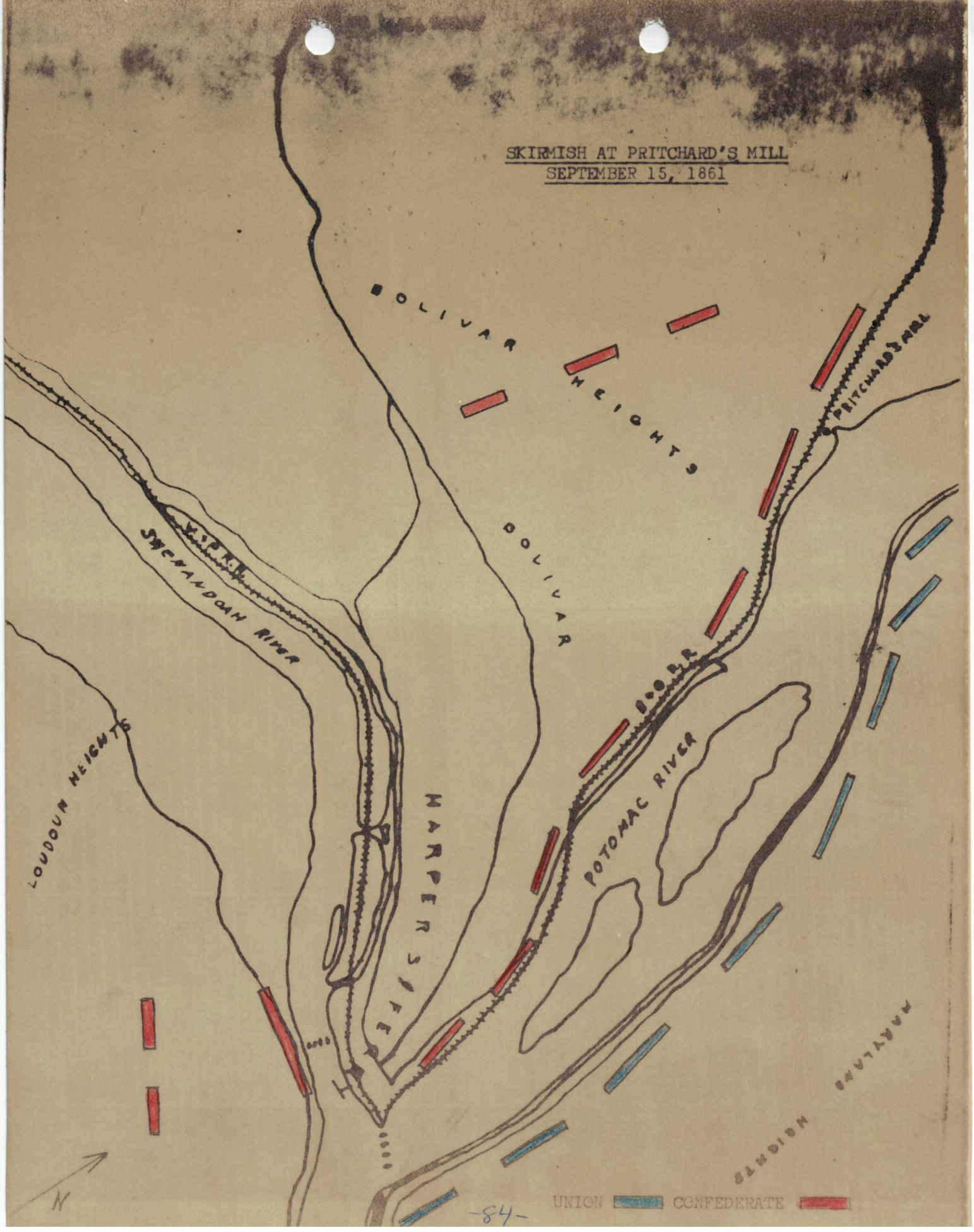
Company B, Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania, under Captain Warden, was placed above Lock No. 36, where the right of Major Gould's command rested, and deployed along the river for about one mile.

Colonel Geary then advanced with one piece of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Martin; half of Company I, Thirteenth Massachusetts, under Captain Shriber; and Company I, Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanded by Captain McDonough. The combined advance, numbering about 130 men, took possession of several dry basins along the canal and a point opposite the Keep Tryst Furnace, known as the Maryland Ore Banks, which afforded excellent shelter for Geary's men.

Thus situated, a very spirited fire was maintained for something over two hours. The fire of the rebels gradually slackened as they were dislodged by Union artillery and sharpshooters. At about 6 p.m., the firing ceased.

Skirmish at Pritchard's Mill, September 15, 1861.

Map showing disposition of opposing forces, etc.


SKIRMISH AT PRITCHARD'S MILL
SEPTEMBER 15, 1861
BOLIVAR HEIGHTS
BOLIVAR
PRITCHARD'S MILL
SHENANDOAH RIVER
LOUDOUN HEIGHTS
HARPER'S FERRY
POTOMAC RIVER
MARYLAND HEIGHTS
N
UNION
CONFEDERATE

The Confederates were driven from every point they occupied and retired beyond the range of the Federal guns, toward the interior. During this skirmish, considerable damage was done by Union cannon to Pritchard's Mill, and the houses and barns which the rebels had occupied.

Geary estimated that eighteen rebels were killed and twenty-five wounded, while he listed his losses as one killed and three slightly wounded. All three of Geary's wounded were struck by fragments detached from the bands around the James shell, discharged by their own artillery.

The success of the Federal troopers in this affair, officially designated as "Skirmish at Pritchard's Mill, Virginia," was attributed to the efficiency and long range of the Enfield rifles. "...I am pleased to state they have verified our fullest expectation. Their superior accuracy and length of range over those of the enemy account in part for the small number of casualties on our side," Geary reported.

The Union troops captured two 12-pounder iron cannon; two fine bay mules; two small brass mortars; and one prisoner, Second Lieutenant William S. Engles, Company K, Second Virginia Volunteers.[6]

2. Battle of Bolivar Heights, October 16, 1861

Conditions along the border, in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry during the Fall of 1861, were extremely unfavorable to Virginians in Jefferson County that favored the Southern cause. Andrew Hunter, the prosecuter of John Brown, protested to the Confederate War Department: "...Ever since General Johnston marched his army from Winchester in July, most absurdly as it seems to me and to hundreds of others here, large bodies of militia

6. This account is taken from the Official Report of Colonel John W. Geary, Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Infantry, September 17, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.197-199.

have been assembled there and kept there, thirty miles from the border, where the enemy are constantly not only committing depredations, but doing everything in their powers to debauch the minds of our people off from their allegiance and loyalty to the South, and recently, at the very time when the enemy are making their boldest inroads upon us, plundering, insulting females, and keeping the whole border for miles into the interior in a state of uneasiness and alarm, the militia from Jefferson county have been marched away to Winchester, and are now held there under the miserable pretext of drilling them..."[7]

James L. Ranson, of Charles Town, complained to President Davis: "...The farmers below this place are being robbed of slaves, horses, and everything the enemy can use...The enemy have long been in possession of Harpers Ferry, desecrating our soil, pillaging our defenseless and loyal people, and outraging the sanctity of helpless and loyal families..."[8]

One of these "outrages" was the "seizure" of 20,000 bushels of wheat from Herr's flour mill /Bldg. No. 2 - 1859 Historial Base Map/ on Virginius Island in the Shenandoah River which resulted in what has been termed the "Battle of Bolivar Heights," on October 16, 1861, the second anniversary of the John Brown Raid.[9]

7. Andrew Hunter to Sec. of War Hon. J. P. Benjamin, October 5, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.889-890.

8. James L. Ranson to President Davis, October 15, 1861, Ibid., pp.898-899.

9. The following account of the battle is taken from the Official Reports of Col. John W. Geary, 28th Pennsylvania Infantry; Major J. P. Gould, 13th Massachusetts Infantry; Captain Henry Bertram, 3rd Wisconsin Infantry; Captain George J. Whitman, 3rd Wisconsin Infantry; Lieutenant Moses O'Brien, 3rd Wisconsin Infantry; and Lieutenant-Colonel Turner Ashby, C.S.A., O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.239-248. See also Barry, pp.131-132.

Mr. Abraham H. Herr,* proprietor of the large stone mill, owner of the Island of Virginius, and a strong Union Man, invited the Federal troops to remove the wheat which he could not grind into flour, as the machinery in the mill had previously been partially destroyed by Union troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews, brother of the Governor of Massachusetts, to prevent the Confederates from using it.[10]

On October 8, Major Gould, of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, Regiment, crossed the Potomac at Harpers Ferry with three companies from his regiment, to remove the wheat to the Maryland shore. Three companies of the Third Wisconsin Volunteers and a section of the Rhode Island battery, under Captain Tompkins, were also ordered to report to Major Gould to assist in the removal of the wheat, and to cover the operation.

On Sunday, October 13, Geary received reports that the rebels were concentrating in the direction of Harpers Ferry and that Major Gould required help. That evening, accompanied by Governor Sprague of Rhode Island, and Colonel Tompkins of the Rhode Island Artillery, Geary went to Sandy Hook with two companies of his regiment and one piece of cannon. On Monday, he entered Virginia, and that day and the following one, October 15, aided in the removal of wheat, which was being ferried across the Potomac by the troopers and several citizens of Harpers Ferry. /Among these latter was Joseph Barry the local historian of Harpers Ferry./

Geary had under his command four companies of the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, three companies of the Thirteenth Massachusetts,

* For his Union sympathies, Herr had been placed under arrest by General Johnston in late May, 1861. He was tried by a Civil Court and placed under bond of $30,000 "to answer generally to anything that might turn up." See Strother, p.24.

10. Barry, p.131.

and three companies of the Third Wisconsin Regiment, numbering in all 600 men. Two pieces of cannon of the Rhode Island Battery and two pieces of the Ninth New York Battery, under Lieutenant Martin, also supported the infantry companies. About 100 men of the Massachusetts Regiment were left on the north side of the Potomac and the two pieces of the Rhode Island Battery were placed on Maryland Heights. One of the New York guns was placed on the railroad opposite Harpers Ferry, and the other to command the approach from Pleasant Valley.

On Monday night, October 15, an unnamed lady swam the Shenandoah to inform the rebels of the Federal re-enforcements and of their activities in Harpers Ferry.

As Major Gould was eating his breakfast in the counting room of Herr's Flour Mill at about 7 a.m. on the morning of October 16, a cannonading was heard in the direction of Halltown - it was the beginning of the expected Confederate attack, and was being directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Turner Ashby.

Ashby approached from the west, with colors flying, in three columns, consisting of 300 infantry, 180 cavalry, one rifled 4-pounder, and one 24-pounder.

The initial rebel assault drove the Federal pickets, stretched in a line from the Potomac to the Shenandoah, two and a half miles west of Harpers Ferry, into the town of Bolivar.

Immediately, Companies A and C, Third Wisconsin, formed by the Government buildings /probably Armory Dwellings No. 25-32/ on Camp Hill, where they were temporarily quartered, and advanced towards the sound of firing. Company A, Captain Henry Bertram commanding, was ordered to

protect the left flank and the road on the Shenandoah. Lieutenant Moses O'Brien, was commanded to deploy Company C to the right and rearward of Company A, also to protect the left flank.

The enemy's right was bearing down towards Captain Bertram, when Lieutenant O'Brien advanced at double-quick to his assistance.

Companies A and G, Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, formed the right flank, supported by Company H, Third Wisconsin Regiment, Captain George J. Whitman commanding.

The Federal left flank was brought forward, sending a galling fire into the Confederate ranks, just as the rebels planted their large cannon, covered by a large brick house in Bolivar from the fire of the Union battery on Maryland Heights. The rebel cannoneers answered the heavy fire of the Federals with solid shot, shell, and grape.

The Confederates withstood the steady firing of the Union infantry for about fifteen minutes, then withdrew, taking their cannon with them. Captain Bertram and his company followed in pursuit, joined by Lieutenant O'Brien and Company C of the Third Wisconsin. The two companies moved together, under a heavy fire from their right and front, and took possession of the brick house, abandoned by the rebels, while Company C, Thirteenth Massachusetts brought up the rear.

Simultaneously with the Confederate advance on Bolivar Heights, a large body of rebels made their appearance on Loudoun Heights, with cannon and sharpshooters, which greatly annoyed the Union use of the ferry on the Potomac. The artillery shells from Loudoun Heights continued to pour over the Flour Mill on Virginius Island and the Rifle Factory on Hall's Island, where Company I, and a part of Company K, Thirteenth Massachusetts, were posted to prevent the enemy from crossing the Shenandoah.

Meanwhile, the Wisconsin Companies, finding their fire from behind the brick house in Bolivar ineffective, deployed to the left, and advanced along the Charles Town turnpike toward the enemy, who had retreated to a ridge covered with timber.

As the Wisconsin boys advanced toward the rebels, they sighted the enemy gun planted dead ahead of them in the road, being watched by Confederate artillerists. With a loud yell, about forty Federals charged the gun. The rebels speedily attempted to haul off the cannon, but in their haste, they broke the axle-tree. One artilleryman spiked the gun, while the others left it and sought cover.

Just as the Wisconsin Companies approached the abandoned gun, a tremendous fire of musketry and rifle from a masked breastwork, forced them to seek the shelter of trees and hillocks where they hit the ground. The Wisconsin Companies returned the fire for about fifteen minutes, when, not supported by the right flank, they were forced to retreat in the face of an enemy cavalry charge. The cavalry dashed upon the retreating Federals, nearly surrounding a portion of the small force, when Lieutenant O'Brien, seeing their danger, ordered the foremost in retreat to rally to repel the cavalry and cover the flight. This they did and poured a volley into the cavalry that drove them from the field, leaving several saddles empty. The Federals withdrew into Bolivar upon the main body, where they held their ground under cannonade from Loudoun Heights.

A second and a third cavalry charge was made, during which they were supported by a long line of infantry stationed on Bolivar Heights, who kept up a continuous fire. Each time they were repulsed.

The Federals held their position until 11 a.m., when Lieutenant Martin was ordered to join the troops in Bolivar with one rifled cannon, which had

Battle of Bolivar Heights, October 16, 1861. Map showing the disposition of opposing forces, cannon, etc.


BATTLE OF BOLIVAR HEIGHTS
OCTOBER 16, 1861
TO HALLTOWN
CHARLESTOWN TURNPIKE
BOLIVAR HEIGHTS
BOLIVAR
BRITCHARD'S MILL
SHENANDOAH RIVER
LOUDOUN HEIGHTS
HARPER'S FERRY
POTOMAC RIVER
MARYLAND HEIGHTS
UNION
CONFEDERATE

been placed to cover the ferry. Martin crossed the Potomac under a heavy fire of riflemen from Loudoun Heights, and reached his objective in Bolivar.

The Union right flank, consisting of Companies A and G, Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, was then pushed forward. They succeeded in turning the enemy's left near the Potomac, and gained a portion of the heights. At the same time, Captain Tompkins Rhode Island Battery on Maryland Heights succeeded in silencing the Confederate gun on Loudoun Heights. The Rhode Island Battery continued to fire until it was discovered their shells were falling short of the enemy and exploding among their own men. This battery was then wisely ordered to cease fire.

Colonel Geary ordered a general forward movement and a complete line of skirmishers from the main street in Bolivar to the Shenandoah River, moved slowly forward, firing as they advanced, while the Confederates slowly fell back. In short order the advance terminated in a charge and the Union troops were soon in possession of the heights from river to river.

Immediately after the capture of Bolivar Heights, Major Tyndale, who had been telegraphed for re-enforcements, arrived from Point-of-Rocks with five companies of the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, two of which were placed at Sandy Hook, the remainder joined Geary on Bolivar Heights. While Tyndale was crossing the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, his force was fired upon by rebel snipers on Loudoun Heights. Two shots of cannister silenced the Confederate riflemen.

With victory assured, the standard of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers was unfurled and planted on an eminence of Bolivar Heights. Under its folds, artillery was fired against the rebels on Loudoun Heights, which soon succeeded in driving away every Confederate that could be seen.

Bolivar Heights was taken at about 1:30 p.m., on October 16. The Federal Companies rested there until midnight when a farewell shot to the Confederates was fired in the direction of Halltown. The command was then marched to the Ferry and in five hours was safely landed in Maryland.

The Federal loss in this skirmish was four killed, seven wounded, and two taken prisoners - Private Edgar Ross, Company C, Third Wisconsin Regiment, and Corporal Beniah Pratt, Company A, Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania. Corporal Pratt was accidentlly taken by a few of the enemy whom he mistook for Massachusetts men, as their uniform corresponded in every respect with that of the latter.

The four men who were killed, were afterwards charged upon by the cavalry, stabbed through the body, and stripped of all their clothing. One of the naked corpses was laid in the form of a crucifix; hands spread out and cut through the palms with a dull knife. "This inhuman treatment incensed my troops exceedingly, and I fear its consequences may be shown in retaliatory acts hereafter," Geary ominously predicted.

Ashby listed his loss as one killed and thirteen wounded. The chaplain of his command, Rev. Nathaniel Green North, was taken prisoner by the Federals. Ashby sent a flag of truce to Colonel Geary the following day and requested the release of Rev. North on the grounds that he was a non-combatant.* Geary believed otherwise, and rejected the request.

After the skirmish, a report was circulated among the Federal soldiers that some citizens of Bolivar harbored the enemy in their houses and gave them the opportunity to pick off the Union infantry from the windows. Mr. Patrick Hagan, a respected gentleman from Bolivar, was arrested on this

* See FN 9.

charge and hurried away to Maryland, where he was confined for several months, although the residents of Bolivar and Harpers Ferry believed he was innocent.[11]

On the morning of October 17 or 18, Colonel Geary reported that a few rebels in citizens' dress, came secretly into Harpers Ferry by way of the Shenandoah Road and burned Herr's Flour Mill as a retaliatory measure.[12] The destruction of the mill was another irreparable loss to the people of Harpers Ferry.

3. Harpers Ferry, October 18-December 31, 1861

From this time on throughout the remainder of the year, the town of Harpers Ferry was visited nightly by scouts from both sides. As the nights grew longer and lights became necessary, the residents of the town became acutely aware of the inconveniences of their situation. The sides of the houses fronting Maryland Heights were kept in total darkness, so as not to attract the fire of the Federals, while the sides fronting the south stood in equal danger from the Confederates. Families were obliged to manage so that no lights would be seen by either of the contending forces.[13]

On October 21, Jackson was ordered from Manassas to Winchester to assume command of the newly formed Valley District of the Department of Northern Virginia, extending from the Blue Ridge to the Alleghany Mountains. Jackson was selected for this command because of his intimate knowledge of the country, its population and resources, and because: "...The people

11. Barry, p.133.

12. Official Report of Col. John W. Geary, October 18, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.242-243.

13. Barry, p.134.

of that district, with one voice, have made constant and urgent appeals to you, in whom they have confidence, should their defense be assigned..."[14]

The next day, General-in-Chief Winfield Scott ordered General Benjamin F. Kelley to proceed with his command from Grafton, West Virginia, to Romney and assume command of the Department of Harpers Ferry and Cumberland until the arrival of Brigadier-General Lander.[15] Within a few days, the Confederates were driven out of Romney and had fallen back upon Winchester. The Federals were left at Romney to shuck corn, thrash grain, and with one hundred teams, to haul off all the grain they could lay their hands on.[16]

Jackson, at Winchester, considered Kelley's troops at Romney a threat to his position and believed that Kelley would soon attack him.[17] Jackson therefore suggested a plan to attack Romney and capture the Federal force stationed there; however, this plan did not materialize, and the Confederates spent the remainder of the year at Winchester without assuming an aggressive attitude.

Meanwhile, things were relatively quiet in Harpers Ferry. The town was still visited by scouts from both sides, and the Virginians made attempts to conscript the remaining male residents into Confederate service. To escape this conscription and avoid insult for their beliefs, a party of six Union men in Harpers Ferry, crossed the Potomac on November 11, and

14. J. P. Benjamin, Acting Sec. of War, to Maj.-Gen. T. J. Jackson, October 21, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, p.909.

15. General Scott to Brig.-Gen. B. F. Kelley, October 22, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, p.625.

16. F. C. Hutter, Captain and Asst. Quartermaster, C.S.A., to General S. Cooper, Adj.-Gen., November 4, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, p.936.

17. Maj.-Gen. T. J. Jackson to Maj. Thomas G. Rhett, Asst. Adj.-Gen., Hdqs. Army of the Potomac, November 7, 1861, Ibid., pp.942-943.

placed themselves under protection of the Federal Government. The party consisted of Alexander Kelly, who narrowly escaped death at the hands of John Brown's raiders, John Kelly, J. Miller Brown, G. S. Collis, Lafayette Davis, and Joseph Barry.

These men procured a skiff, and were ferried across the river by the son of "Old Tom Hunter," ferryman of the two rivers since the destruction of the bridges. The boat reached the Maryland shore, and to their great disappointment, the fugitives were told they could not land as their crossing was in direct violation of the rules established by the officer in command at Sandy Hook. After a long parley, they were finally given permission to land and were then immediately made prisoners by order of Major Hector Tyndale,* of the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment.

Major Tyndale considered them rebel spies and took them separately into a private room where he examined their clothes and other personal effects. After the examination, the six prisoners were confined in Eader's Hotel at Sandy Hook until the following day. That morning, November 12, they were again examined and received various sentences according to their supposed delinquencies or their ability to do mischief. Tyndale banished Joseph Barry to a distance at least ten miles from the lines of the army because "the expression of his eye was unprepossing." "Many and various were the adventures of this as well as of other parties of Harpers Ferry

* This is the same Hector Tyndale who accompanied Mrs. John Brown to Harpers Ferry. While Mrs. Brown visited her condemned husband in Charles Town, Tyndale waited at Harpers Ferry. When he first went to walk the streets of Harpers Ferry, a bullet, probably intended for him, whistled in the air. After the execution, John Brown's body was brought back to Harpers Ferry, where Tyndale insisted the coffin be opened to make sure no other body had been substituted. These memories perhaps explain Tyndale's rather harsh treatment of the Harpers Ferryians.

people who were scattered about by the chances of the times."[18]

General Banks, who had moved his division to Frederick for the winter, reported on December 7, that his division /see Appendix VII/ was well camped with plenty of supplies of all kinds. "I returned last evening from a visit to Sandy Hook and Harpers Ferry. The town is a picture of desolation. In the interior the rebels are active and their scouts on the move constantly. They are now endeavoring to put the railway from Winchester to Harpers Ferry in working condition if possible."[19] Banks went on to report that the C&O Canal was open to navigation and that boats with coal were near Harpers Ferry, December 6, on the way to Georgetown, and that 1,000 tons would be shipped daily for public and private use.[20]

The important work of opening the B&O Railway was considered a feasible project by Banks, but he felt it would require the whole force of his division to protect the work. Meanwhile attention was also being given to the construction of a pontoon bridge across the Potomac.

O. E. Babcock, Corps of Engineers investigated the possibilities. "It is my opinion," he wrote, "that a serviceable flying bridge cannot be put in this point, nor can sufficiently extensive ferries be established upon short notice. I would respectfully recommend a bridge supported upon canal-boats. Such a bridge can be best placed about 100 yards above /west/ the remains of the railroad bridge, to enter the arsenal yard /Musket Factory/ through an opening /the old boat landing/ in the arsenal

18. Barry, pp.134-137.

19. General Banks to Brig.-Gen. R. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff, December 7, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.676-677.

20. Ibid.

wall.

"The bridge at this place will be about 800 feet long, requiring between 25 and 30 boats, depending upon the length of the timbers used... The president of the /B&O/ railroad /John Garrett/ informed me that a sufficient number of ships anchors to anchor the bridge can be procured in Baltimore. Such bridge can be constructed in a short time, be made very stable and serviceable for all purposes." /~~See Remarks, FN 9.~~/

"A good ferry, supported upon flat-boats across the Shenandoah, will be sufficient..."[21]

Thus the year 1861 closed at Harpers Ferry with the Confederates encamped at Winchester and Banks' division at Frederick, where the Federals were busy making plans for re-opening the B&O railway and building a pontoon bridge across the Potomac at Harpers Ferry.

The town itself was, as Banks described it, a picture of desolation. The extensive United States Armory, the Arsenal and Rifle Works, together with Herr's Flour Mill on the Island of Virginius were little more than charred ruins. All industry had ceased and most of the inhabitants had fled, many never to return. During that year, the town had been occupied by large forces of both Confederate and Union troops, whose presence contributed to the deterioration of homes, churches, and other buildings and property. From July 4 to December 31, 1861, intermittent skirmishing, sniper fire, and patrols added to the damage.

21. O. E. Babcock to Brig.-Gen. Marcy, Chief of Staff, December 26, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.692-693.

Late in December, as the first nine months of the Civil War came to an end, General Banks reported: "All quiet on the line of the river at Harpers Ferry..."[22]

22. Maj.-Gen. Banks to Gen. Williams, December 20, 1861, O.R., S.I, Vol. V, p.399.

July 4: First official skirmish at Harpers Ferry. First civilian casualties.

July 21-July 25: Major-General Robert Patterson occupied Harpers Ferry.

July 25-August 17: Banks occupied Harpers Ferry on July 25. General Patterson honorably discharged and superceded by Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks.

August 17: Banks' division marched to camp near Darnestown, leaving a portion of his command at Sandy Hook and Maryland Heights to guard the canal and the crossing at Harpers Ferry.

August 18 to December 31: Harpers Ferry a no-man's land.

September 15: Skirmish at Pritchard's Mill. Union command under Colonel John W. Geary defeated a small Confederate force. Casualties light.

October 16: Battle of Bolivar Heights. Confederate force under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Turner Ashby attempted to prevent Federals from removing supply of grain from Herr's Flour Mill on the Island of Virginius. The Confederates were driven off by Union command under Colonel John W. Geary, after several hours skirmishing.

October 17 or 18: The B&O Railroad from Harpers Ferry west has been entirely cut off since June 14, 1861-6½ months. Confederates destroyed Herr's Flour Mill.

November 11: A party of six Union sympathizers in Harpers Ferry crossed the Potomac to escape Confederate conscription, and placed themselves under protection of the Federal Government. They were made prisoners by command of Major Hector Tyndale and released the following day after being treated rather harshly.

December 7-December 31: Banks' division at Frederick. Outposts of his army still stationed at Sandy Hook and Maryland Heights. Making plans to re-open the Potomac at Harpers Ferry. All quiet on the Potomac.

Arthur L. Sullivan

APPENDIX I

In the wake of the John Brown Raid, a company of volunteer militia, not to exceed eighty men, was organized by Superintendent Alfred M. Barbour, from employees of the United States Armory at Harpers Ferry, under authority of the Secretary of War, on November 11, 1859.[1]

In addition to the above company, an independent militia company was organized by George W. Chambers on November 16, 1859.[2] This latter company, entitled the "Floyd Guards," consisted of armorers and citizens of Harpers Ferry and numbered sixty-four men.[3]

Both companies, organized to protect the Harpers Ferry Armory, were armed with weapons manufactured at that installation. Following is the organization of the Floyd Guards as the company was mustered into service at Harpers Ferry, May 17, 1861.[4] No muster roll of the company organized November 11, 1859, is on file.

Officers

Charles H. Stewart, capt.

Berkeley W. Moore, capt.
George W. Chambers, capt.
John Avis, 1st lieut.
William Eagle, 1st lieut.
Randolph Barton, 2nd lieut.
John B. Davis, 2nd lieut.
William F. Engle, 2nd lieut.

Charles W. Pope, 1st serg.
John W. Sturdy, 2nd serg.
Palatine Decker, 3rd serg.
Marcellus C. Gompf, 1st corp.
John R. Burke, 2nd corp.
John N. Legg, 3rd corp.
Henry H. Forsythe, 4th corp.

1. Superintendent Alfred M. Barbour to Col. Craig, Ordnance Depart., Nov. 11, 1859, Harpers Ferry NM microfilm collection, R. 27, V.5, p.431.

2. Geo. W. Chambers to Sec. of War Floyd, Nov. 16, 1859, R. 27, V.6, p.577.

3. Ibid.

4. Bushong, Millard K., A HISTORY OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA, Charles Town, W. Va., 1941, Appendix A, p.376, from CONFEDERATE ROSTER, Vol. I, pp.108-111.

Privates

Allstadt, J. T.
Argenbright, James M.
Arvin, Thomas E.
Ashby, G.
Ashby, William F.
Baker, James
Barr, Thomas O.
Baugher, Isaac N.
Blanchfield, Owen
Bremmerman, John L.
Bull, J.
Burke, Matthew P.
Buzzard, Albert
Callan, Owen
Carr, William
Coakley, John
Colbert, Richard W.
Collis, Joseph W.
Dailey, William
Davis, J. B.
Dixon, Robert W.
Doll, Joseph
Doyle, Garrett
Emerson, Ridgeley
Ferguson, H.
Fishback, George
Fleming, Jesse A.
Foley, John
Furr, John
Furth, John
Hamilton, Edwin R.
Hays, William
Higgins, Andres
Hudson, Samuel
Jones, William
Kennedy, William
Kibler, William
Lantz, Nicholas
Leavett, Charles P.
McCabe, James
McCardle, Owen
McCormick, Philip J.
Mackin, Patrick
Miller, Noah
Moore, Cleon
Moore, V. G.
Phillips, William
Sale, Le E.
Saunder, John P.
Scott, Michael
Shay, William
Sheetz, George W.
Singleton, J. L.
Skinner, Willis
Slaughtery, John
Smith, Daniel C.
Staples, Walter
Staton, J. N.
Steinecker, Henry Von
Strider, John S.
Terry, Lawrence
Thornton, J. P.
Trail, Charles H.
Trainor, Bernard
Troy, Larry
Vellers, W. F.
Zane, Noah

APPENDIX II

Among the Jefferson Battalion commanded by Colonel Allen was the Jefferson Guards of Charles Town, Virginia, organized May 1, 1858. This is the same company that drove John Brown's raiders from the north side of the Potomac Bridge, thereby cutting off one avenue of his escape. The company was mustered into Confederate service at Harpers Ferry, May 13, 1861. In the first Battle of Manassas, two of the company were killed and six seriously wounded. At Kernstown, Virginia, May 23, 1862, Ephriam B. Crist and James W. Campbell were killed, and ten of the company were captured. At Second Manassas, Tom McIntyre and Albert Pendleton were killed and six others wounded. Dolphin Rawlins was killed at Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863. Willis Magaha lost a leg in the second day's fighting at Gettysburg. At Spottsylvania Court House, twenty-four of the company were captured and two badly wounded. The company was so badly depleted when the surrender took place at Appamattox Court House, that only six or seven were able to witness the closing event.[1]

Following is the organization of the Jefferson Guards as they were mustered into Confederate Service, May 13, 1861.[2]

1. MILITARY OPERATIONS IN JEFFERSON COUNTY VIRGINIA (AND WEST VIRGINIA) 1861-1865, published by authority of Jefferson County Camp, U.C.V., Farmers Advocate Print, 1911, pp.5-7.

2. Bushong, Millard K., A HISTORY OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA, Charles Town, West Virginia, 1941, Appendix A, pp.366-368, from CONFEDERATE ROSTER, Vol. I, pp.65-69.

Officers

John W. Rowan, capt.
Henry B. Davenport, 1st lieut.
David H. Cockrill, 2nd lieut.
George A. S. Davis, 2nd lieut.
Edward R. Harrell, 3rd lieut.
Frank A. Simpson, 4th lieut.
Berkeley W. Moore, serg. major
M. S. B. Robertson, comp. serg.
Dolphin T. Rawlins, 1st serg.
Henry D. Rust, serg.
Thomas B. McIntyre, serg.
Charles W. Trussell, serg.
James W. Myers, serg.
Smith Murphy, serg.
Thomas B. Young, serg.
Randolph K. Ogden, serg.

Charles W. Spates, 1st corp.
James N. Gallaher, 2nd corp.
George W. Noland, 3rd corp.
Albert J. Pendleton, 4th corp.
William H. Moore, 1st sharpshooter.
Henry Cline, 2nd sharpshooter.
John H. Leemaster, 3rd sharpshooter
C. Frank Gallaher, 4th sharpshooter
George W. Henson, drummer
John F. Webster, tenor horn
Hense Butler, capt.'s cook
Robert Fords, Jr., Lieut. Davenport's orderly

Privates

Arrington, William H.
Ashbaugh, Joseph H.
Backhouse, Edward C.
Backhouse, George H. C.
Baker, William H.
Bantz, Frederick
Bantz, W. F., Jr.,
Barr, Thomas S.
Beall, Benjamin F.
Bolling, James B.
Bowers, John B.
Brown, William J.
Byrd, Lewis F.
Campbell, E. H.
Campbell, James W.
Campbell, John A.
Chapman, John W.
Clarke, George W.
Clemens, Francis
Cline, Parron B.
Cockrill, Joseph H.
Coffelt, A.
Coghill, George W. E.
Coleman, John W.
Conrad, Alexander
Copeland, Philip D.
Cowley, Samuel T.
Craig, William

Crist, Ephraim B.
Cromwell, John O.
Cromwell, Richard H.
Daugherty, Charles A.
Daugherty, James
Davis, George A. S.
Davis, Henry C.
Dorsey, Edward W.
Easterday, John S.
Edmunds, Joseph A.
Faughender, Joseph A.
Gallaher, Wm. W. B.
Garber, Jacob
Gardner, Gervis S.
Gatewood, Robert
Gentry, Eli
Hackley, William F.
Hannah, Thomas W.
Harrell, Edward R.
Harrell, E. S.
Harris, Frank T.
Hartman, P.
Hodges, Benjamin
Hunsicker, Jas. W.
Hunter, Henry C.
Hurst, James A.
Hurst, John H.
Hurst, Manny

Hurst, Thomas G.
Isler, William
Jeter, Jesse
Jeter, R. H.
Jones, James K. P.
Jones, John W.
Kane, William W.
Kanode, Blackford W.
Kimes, William
Kline, H. J.
Kline, Richard P.
Lawrence, John W.
Layman, N.
Lewis, Abram
Lowry, C. B.
Luck, E. W.
McDonough, Chas. F.
McDonough, James
McIntyre, Richard W.
McKinney, Francis E.
Magaha, Wilson H.
Milburn, Henry W.
Mitchell, Burrell D.
Moler, Raleigh
Moore, Albert L.
Moore, Fonrose
Mosley, W. H.
Myers, George N.
Myers, Samuel B.
Nichols, Francis M.
Noel, W. L.
Noland, Samuel C.
O'Bannon, Geo. M. D.
O'Bannon, Henry C.
O'Bannon, William A.
Overton, James W.
Philips, Wm.T.
Pope, Washington
Pope, William H.
Rawlins, Joseph E.
Roby, John
Rodeffer, Henry
Rust, Thomas G.
Rutherford, Gerard D.
Sadler, Leonard L.
Sampson, D.
Shepherd, James W.
Showalter, Robinson
Small, James M.
Smith, George W.
Souders, Fayette B.
Spotts, Joseph B.
Stewart, Charles A.
Stubbs, Lewis
Suddith, George E.
Swartz, James
Thomas, R. N.
Thompson, Charles E.
Triplett, James W.
Trussell, Edward C.
Trussell, James T.
Tutwiler, Jacob O.
Vanvacter, Joseph
Watson, Orsen
Watts, Thomas D.
Weller, William M.
Welsh, George W.
Wheat, F. D.
Whittington, John N.
Whittiker, Fred B.
Wilkerson, W. O.
Wingfield, Thomas H.
Wooddy, W. P. C. S.

APPENDIX III

"Botts Greys" was one of the companies of the Jefferson Battalion under the command of Colonel Allen, named after its first Captain, Lawson Botts. This company, like so many others from the Potomac to the Gulf, sprang into existence as a result of the John Brown Raid when it was generally believed throughout the South, that a large element of the population of the North was determined to force their views upon the Southern States. The history of the company can be identified with that of the Army of Northern Virginia. Few of the company were left when the surrender took place at Appomattox Court House. Captain Botts was killed at Second Manassas.[1]

Following is the organization of "Botts Greys" as the company was mustered into Confederate Service at Harpers Ferry, May 11, 1861.[2]

Officers

Lawson W. Botts, captain

Edmund L. Moore, capt.
Richard Henry Lee, 1st lieut.
Robert M. English, 2nd lieut.
W. H. T. Lewis, 3rd lieut.
S. Howell Brown, 1st serg.
William C. Sheerer, 2nd serg.
John A. Chew, 3rd serg.
Henry D. Middlekauff, 4th serg.
John E. Hilbert, 1st corp.
James Fraxier, 2nd corp.
B. C. Washington, 3rd corp.
Thomas D. Burnett, 4th corp.

1. MILITARY OPERATIONS IN JEFFERSON COUNTY VIRGINIA (AND WEST VIRGINIA) 1861-1865, pp.3-5.

2. Bushong, Millard K., A HISTORY OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA, Charles Town, West Virginia, 1941, Appendix A, pp.371-373, from Confed-Roster, Vol. I, pp.93-97.

Privates

Aisquith, A. H.
Aisquith, Charles W.
Aisquith, William T.
Alexander, Thomas
Alexander, William F.
Annan, Roberdeau
Annan, Robert
Backhouse, Harry
Baird, A. S.
Baylor, George
Beall, John Y.
Beall, William
Beard, Alex
Bennick, J. S.
Bennick, W. S.
Berry, Charles J.
Berry, Lawrence
Biller, _____
Briscoe, James H.
Briscoe, Thomas
Briscoe, William D.
Brown, Daniel
Brown, James
Buck, _____
Burks, Hiram C.
Burnett, William
Butler, Frank G.
Campbell, E. H.
Carrier, Samuel
Chapman, John
Chapman, Joseph
Clarke, F. B.
Colbert, George W.
Colbert, John
Cooke, Bushrod W.
Craighill, Edward A.
Craighill, James B.
Crane, Joseph
Donnelly, John
Douglas, J. A.
Douglas, James T.
Eichelberger, Daniel
Eichelberger, George F.
Emswiler, Wesley
Flagg, George H.
Fry, Solomon
Gaddy, Bat.
Gallaher, C. Horace
Gibson, Gregg
Gibson, Moses
Good, John
Green, Thomas C.
Hatcher, George W.
Hatcher, John E.
Heiskell, Henry Lee
Henderson, David E.
Henderson, Richard
Hewett, R. D.
Hewitt, David
Hicks, James H.
Hite, _____
Hogan, Y. Q.
Hooff, Francis R.
Hooff, James L.
Hooff, William A.
Howell, David
Humphreys, David
Hunter, Thomas
Isley, Charles H.
Jenks, J. A.
Johnson, _____
Keerl, John D.
Keerl, Robert
Keerl, William L.
Larue, Gilbert B.
Lewis, John
Lindamood, John
Lindsay, George
Lippitt, Charles E.
Locke, William M.
McDonald, William N.
McWilliams, Joseph
Mason, J. J.
Manning, Charles J.
Manning, Upshur
Manning, William P.
Maury, Magruder
Maury, Thompson
Medler, Napoleon B.
Moler, Daniel
Moler, David
Moore, Cleon

Moore, George B.
Moore, Vincent B.
Mowry, Ephraim
Noland, J. Henry
Oglesby, Josua B.
Padgett, William A.
Page, Lute
Painter, James
Perrow, F. C.
Perry, Dr. Van Lear
Propst, Joel
Puller, William G.
Ranson, Thomas D.
Rawlins, Fayette W.
Rector, Edward H.
Redman, Thomas B.
Reid, John W.
Rider, J. William
Rissler, George L.
Rissler, Samuel L.
Russell, John
Sadler, J. Newton
Sanborn, John
Selden, John
Sheetz, Samuel
Sheetz, William M.
Sheetz, W. W.
Shrout, Shadrack
Slifer, George
Sly, Silas
Smith, John W.
Sprigg, R. Lamar
Straith, Dr. John A.
Tabb, Charles
Terrill, John
Thomas, James
Thompson, W. T.
Thomson, A. S.
Timberlake, Benj.
Timberlake, D. W.
Timberlake, George
Timberlake, James
Timberlake, Joseph
Timberlake, Seth M.
Timberlake, Thomas
Tucker, William M.
Turpin, G. W.
Turpin, R. G.
Washington, George
Washington, Richard B.
Watson, James
Watson, Samuel
Watson, Thomas
Watson, William
Weller, William
White, Benjamin S.
Wilkerson, Ned
Willis, W. Beale
Wiltshire, Charles
Wiltshire, James
Wright, Samuel W.

APPENDIX IV

Report of Lieut. Col. William Maynadier, U. S. Ordnance Department, of the expenditures upon and losses of the armory. 1

ORDNANCE OFFICE
Washington, November 16, 1861

Sir: In answer to the letter (following) of the Hon. John P. Hale, chairman of the committee of the Senate, which you referred to this office, I have the honor to report that the U. S. Armory at Harper's Ferry was established in the year 1796.

The amount expended on the same is -

For land purchased at different times.....	$45,477
For improvements thereon for water-power, canals, embankments, walls, and water privileges, and for hydraulic machinery and buildings of all kinds.....	1,787,430
Total, exclusive of the amount expended in the manufacture and repair of arms.....	1,832,907

The latest annual inventory of the property belonging to the United States at that armory is dated June 30, 1860, in which the value of all the property on hand at that date is appraised as follows, viz:

1,669½ acres of land.....		$37,457
Mill-dams, canals, water-powers, and hydraulic machinery...		233,279
Forges, rolling-mills, machine-shops, storehouses, dwellings, and other buildings.....		341,221
Amount of real estate.....		611,957
Machines used in workshops.....	$270,235	
Tools used in service.....	109,560	
		379,795
Unwrought materials on hand.....	100,043	
Parts of arms in progress.....	93,573	
		193,616
20,507 arms of different models in store.....		285,145
Total appraised value June 30, 1860.....		1,470,513

By the latest returns received at this office from the armory, it appears that the number of arms in store when the armory was destroyed in April, 1861, was reduced to 4,287, the value of which was about $64,000.

1. O.R., S.I, Vol. II, pp.5-6.

We may assume that the quantity and value of all other property than arms in store remained without material change from June, 1860, to April, 1861, The diminished number of arms in store at the latter date reduces that item in the inventory from $285,145 to $164,300, and the total appraised value of all the property from $1,470,513 to $1,207,668.

Respectfully, &c.,
WM. MAYNADIER,
Lieutenant-Colonel, Ordnance.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

U. S. CAPITOL, November 14, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War:

Sir: The committee of the Senate "to inquire into the circumstances attending the destruction of the property of the United States at the armory at Harper's Ferry," &c., desire to be informed by the War Department of the date of the establishment of the Harper's Ferry Armory, the amount expended upon the same by the Government previous to its destruction, the character of the buildings, machinery, &c., and the quantity and description of arms destroyed there, and of the material on hand at that time.

Respectfully, yours,

JOHN P. HALE,
Chairman

Maynadier first stated in his report that the diminished number of arms were valued at $64,000 and in the very next paragraph, contradicted himself by assessing their value to be $164,300. Substituting this latter figure in lieu of $285,145, the appraised value of the 20,507 arms in store, Maynadier re-added his figures and got an overall total of $1,207,668.

A check on these figures reveal that the true total should be $1,349,668 - a discrepancy of $142,000.

On reading the report, the impression is received that sometime between June 30, 1860, and April 18, 1861, 16,220 arms were removed from the

Arsenal at Harpers Ferry and stored elsewhere, leaving only 4,287 arms at that installation when Lieutenant Jones applied the torch.

Colonel Maynadier probably meant that on April 18, 1861, there were 20,507 arms in store at Harpers Ferry and that 16,220 of these were destroyed, leaving 4,287 to fall into Confederate hands.

APPENDIX V

Abstract from monthly report of Brig. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's division, or Army of the Shenandoah (C.S.A.), for June 30, 1861. 1

Commanding Officer	Troops	Present for duty. Infantry Officers	Infantry Men	Cavalry Officers	Cavalry Men	Artillery Officers	Artillery Men
Colonel Jackson	First Brigade	128	2,043	....	...	4	81
Colonel F. S. Bartow	Second Brigade	155	2,391	....	...	3	59
Brig-Gen Bee	Third Brigade	161	2,629	....	...	4	78
Col. A. Elzey	Fourth Brigade	156	2,106	....	...	4	45
Col. J.E.B. Stuart	1st Va. Cavalry.	...	.....	21	313	....	...
Col. A. C. Cummings	Va. Volunteers	14	227	....	...	....	...
	Total	614	9,396	21	313	15	263

Aggregate present for duty.

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

2

"ARMY OF THE SHENANDOAH" (JOHNSTON'S DIVISION), JUNE 31, 1861.

Brig. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston

First Brigade

Col. T. J. Jackson

Second Virginia Infantry
Fourth Virginia Infantry
Fifth Virginia Infantry
Twenty-seventh Virginia Infantry
Pendleton's Battery

Second Brigade

Col. F. S. Bartow

Seventh Georgia Infantry
Eighth Georgia Infantry
Ninth Georgia Infantry
Duncan's Kentucky Battalion
Pope's Kentucky Battalion
Alburtis' Battery

Third Brigade

Brig. Gen. B. E. Bee

Fourth Alabama Infantry
Second Mississippi Infantry
Eleventh Mississippi Infantry
First Tennessee Infantry
Imboden's Battery

Fourth Brigade

Col. A. Elzey

First Maryland (Battalion) Infantry
Third Tennessee Infantry
Tenth Virginia Infantry
Thirteenth Virginia Infantry
Grove's Battery

Not brigaded

First Virginia Cavalry
Thirty-third Virginia Infantry.

Abstract from return of the Department of Pennsylvania, commanded by Major-General Patterson, June 28, 1861. 3

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

Aggregate present for duty.*

Infantry	13,691
Cavalry	395
Artillery	258
	14,344

*With the exception of the Fourth Connecticut Infantry, four companies of United States cavalry, and three companies of United States artillery, this force was composed entirely of three months' troops.

1. O.R., S.I, Vol. II, P.187

2. Ibid., p.470.

3. Ibid., p.187.

APPENDIX VI

GENERAL ORDERS,
No. 36.

Hdqrs. Dept. of the Shenandoah,
Sandy Hook, July 29, 1861.

I. The following officers compose the department staff, and will be at these headquarters if their stations are not specially designated; Capt. Robert Williams, assistant adjutant-general; Col. Fitz John Porter, Fifteenth Infantry, acting inspector-general; Capts. John Newton, John D. Kurtz, and Second Lieut. O. E. Babcock, Engineer Corps; Capts. James H. Simpson, James W. Abert, and Second Lieut. J. L. Kirby Smith, Topographical Engineers; Lieut. Col. George H. Crosman, deputy quartermaster-general; Capt. A. R. Eddy, assistant quartermaster, Hagerstown Depot; Captain Boyd, assistant quartermaster, Sandy Hook; Captain Woods, Ninth Infantry, acting assistant quartermaster; Capt. E. G. Beckwith, Third Artillery, chief commissary; First Lieutenant Bruyeres, First Wisconsin Regiment, acting assistant commissary of subsistence, Sandy Hook Depot, in charge supply trains; Surg. C. S. Tripler, medical director; Surgeon Cooper, medical purveyor, Hagerstown; Asst. Surg. W. A. Hammond, medical department, Hagerstown. All orders given by the chief of each department in the name and by the authority of the commanding general will be promptly obeyed.

II. The following organization of brigades will go into effect at once. Regimental and battery commanders will report in person to their brigade commanders:

First Brigade, Col. George H. Thomas, Second Cavalry, commanding; Second U. S. Cavalry and Philadelphia City Troop and section New York Ninth; Rhode Island battery, Captain Reynolds commanding; Nineteenth New York Volunteers, Colonel _____ commanding; Twenty-eighth New York Volunteers, Colonel Donnelly commanding; Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel Geary commanding; Second Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel Mann commanding.

Second Brigade, Col. J. J. Abercrombie, Seventh Infantry, commanding; First Artillery Battery, Major Doubleday commanding; Second Massachusetts Volunteers, Colonel Gordon commanding; Fourth (Twelfth) Massachusetts Volunteers, Colonel Webster commanding; Sixteenth Indiana Volunteers, Colonel Hackleman commanding; Twelfth Indiana Volunteers, Colonel Wallace commanding.

Third Brigade, Col. Charles P. Stone, Fourteenth Infantry, commanding; Fourth Artillery Battery, Captain Perkins commanding; Ninth New York Volunteers, Colonel Stiles commanding; Third Wisconsin Volunteers, Colonel Hamilton commanding; Fifth New York Volunteers, Colonel _____ commanding, until the expiration of their term of service; First New Hampshire Volunteers, Colonel Tappan commanding.

III. The artillery and cavalry will return to the brigade to which it is assigned on executing the duty for which they may at any time be temporarily detached. The batteries and the Second Massachusetts Regiment

are now specially posted, and unless the emergency be urgent and so sudden that reference cannot be made to the commanding general they will not be moved except by orders from the commanding general.

IV. Regiments will be held ready for review and inspection at any moment by the inspector general.

V. Drills will take place regularly, three times a day, under the supervision and direction of the brigade commander, and be dispensed only by their orders.

VI. Major-General Sandford, New York Militia, on his own request, is relieved from duty with this column, and will report for orders to Lieutenant-General Scott.

By order of Major-General Banks:

ROBT. WILLIAMS
Assistant Adjutant-General

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

APPENDIX VII

COMPOSITION OF GENERAL NATHANIEL P. BANKS' DIVISION, OCTOBER 15, 1861.[1]

Cavalry.——Four companies Third Regiment New York Cavalry (Van Alen's).

Artillery.——Best's battery (F), Fourth U. S. Artillery; detachment Ninth New York Artillery; Matthews' battery (F), First Pennsylvania Artillery; Tompkins' battery (A), First Rhode Island Artillery.

Infantry.——Abercrombie's brigade: Twelfth Massachusetts, Twelfth and Sixteenth Indiana, and Thirteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers. Stiles' brigade: Third Wisconsin, Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania, and Thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, and Ninth New York State Militia (Eighty-third Volunteers). Gordon's brigade: Second Massachusetts, Twenty-eighth and Nineteenth New York, Fifth Connecticut, Forty-sixth and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, and First Maryland Volunteers.

1. Extract, embracing the "First Period," from Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's report of the operations of the Army of the Potomac from July 27, 1861, to November 9, 1862, August 4, 1863. O.R., S.I, Vol. V, pp.15-16.