HARPERS FERRY REPELS AN ATTACK AND
BECOMES THE MAJOR BASE OF OPERATIONS
FOR SHERIDAN'S ARMY, JULY 4, 1864,
TO JULY 27, 1865

(A Report on the Federal Fortifications at
Harpers Ferry, W. Va., January 1, 1864, to
July, 1865, to accompany "Map IV-Harper's
Ferry, W. Va., July 4, 1864-April 9, 1865,"
date January 16, 1950.)
18 Illustrations

Harpers Ferry National Monument

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Dated January 21, 1960
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HARPERS FERRY, W. VA.
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INTRODUCTION

A. Primary Maps Used in the Preparation of Map IV

"Map IV—Harper's Ferry, W. Va., July 4, 1863—April 5, 1865," dated January 15, 1960, and prepared by Charles W. Snell, is based on data collected from the following seven maps:


4. "Map of Engagement at Harper's Ferry, July 6th, 1862, Map 12a." By Jed. Hatchkiss, Top. Engr., A.V.G., Scale 1/2 mile to an inch." Contains troop movement data not shown on his Map No. 12. (See Appendix II)


1. National Archives Cartographic Division, Record Group No. 77, F-105. Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 17, Map Case, Drawer No. 13.

2. National Archives Cartographic Division, Record Group No. 77, 2125. Harpers Ferry NM Map No. 13, Map Case, Drawer No. 13.


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

(7) "Topographical Survey of the North Bank and Reconnaissance of the South Shore and Islands, made under the direction of Major C. S. Stewart, U. S. Engineers, Chief Engineer, Middle Military Division, by John W. Bann. C & CS, Scale 1/10,000, with 20 foot contours, 1865." Detailed topography, ground cover, buildings, fortifications, and roads on Maryland Heights, Camp Hill and towns of Bolivar and Harpers Ferry. 7

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

B. General Remarks

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


6. MS Map donated by F. E. Comers, 5908 Anniston Road, Bethesda 14, Md. Harpers Ferry NH Map No. 92, Map Case, Drawer No. 13. Camp Hill and some Maryland Heights fortifications have been traced on this map from Map 116.


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

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

Harpers Ferry, 1864-65, form the subjects of this report.

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

CHAPTER I

STATE OF THE HARPERS FERRY FORTIFICATIONS.

OCTOBER 7, 1863 - JULY 2, 1864.

1. Maryland Heights

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

Partially laid out on Maryland Heights, but not completed in June, 1863, were the Barnard Lines on the north (see B, C, and D on Map IV), and the proposed battery on the south, which was located on the spur just west of where the Antietam-Harpers Ferry road left the Potomac (Battery K on Map IV). In the year that followed, July, 1863, to June, 1864, the above-mentioned works were finally completed. Battery K, a large triangular-shaped redoubt with dry ditch, was armed and christened "Battery Sullivan," probably named after Brigadier-General Jeremiah C. Sullivan, who commanded the Harpers Ferry post from October 18, 1863, to April 9, 1864. While little written evidence has been found relating the progress of completing these works, the Maryland Heights defenses were apparently in apple-pie order on July 3, 1864, as evidenced by the lack of complaints on this subject by the generals commanding this position in July, 1864, which form a sharp contrast to reports filed by Union

1. Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Become a Fortress, 1862-63."

generals in the crisis of 1862 and 1863.

2. Loudon Heights

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

3. Camp Hill

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


apparently further strengthened by the addition of rifle-pits and a battery on each flank (at A and B on Map IV), as recommended by Brigadier-General John G. Barnard, Chief Engineer of Defenses at Washington, D.C., in his report of May 5, 1863. The large bastion or redoubt was located just west of the Armory Superintendent's House (Armory Dwelling No. 25 on the 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. BM-HF-3081, Block NN, Camp Hill, and the second, a large enclosed work, was located at Block I, II, and H, Camp Hill (on Drawing 3081), covering the Washington Street approach. A lithograph (1864), HF-20, of the first redoubt will be found on page 81 of C. W. Snell's "A Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harper's Ferry, Va..., September 12-15, 1862," and a drawing of the second, HF-225, at Washington Street, will be found on the following page of this report.

4. Bolivar Heights

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


8. 1865 Map by John W. Deen, Harpers Ferry Map No. 116.
"Cavalry Marching Out of Harpers Ferry, 1864"

From original sketch by A. E. Waud in the
Library of Congress.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-329.

This drawing was made by Waud in November or December, 1864, and probably shows the Federal earthworks on the right flank at Washington Street on Camp Hill. These fortifications may have been located on Blocks JJ and I, Lots 1 and 16, on the 1859 Historical Base Map Drawing No. NH-HF-3021, Sheet 2. If this is the case, then the houses to the left of Washington Street would be House No. 114, Lot 4, and the Methodist Episcopal Parsonage, Lot 3, Block H, on Camp Hill (see 1859 map). The mountain to the left would then be Maryland Heights.
trees, erected in September, 1862, that lay on the western slope of this plateau. (Note: The solid earth embankments between Batteries 1 and 2, and the batteries and entrenchments on the extreme left at 3, 4, 5 and 6, as shown on Map IV, did not exist on July 4, 1864). The defensive works on Bolivar Heights in June, 1864, therefore had thus not been developed or added to since June, 1863. The decision not to complete the fortifications on Bolivar Heights had been made by General Barnard on May 5, 1863, and were based on the consideration that the position would require a larger garrison to defend this line properly, than the value of the position at Harpers Ferry merited.

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

Harpers Ferry, in 1863-65, was located in the Military Department of West Virginia, which extended from the Potomac in the east, to the Ohio and beyond the Kanawha in the west and southwest, and included the whole line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from the Monongahela and Harpers Ferry west to Parkersburg, and also the Northwestern Railroad from Grafton to Wheeling. In March, 1864, Major General Frans Sigel, the commander general of the Department, had about 22,397 men available to defend the long line. This force included 14,660 infantry, 5,441 cavalry, and 2,276 men.


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


artillery men, with 118 pieces of artillery. The artillery was comprised of 86 field pieces, 30 siege guns, and 13 unmounted pieces in fixed positions.

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

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

The Federal troops in the Department of West Virginia were thus deployed primarily to protect the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and were therefore stretched out in a long and thin line. On May 25, 1864, Brigadier General Max Weber, commanding the Military District of Harpers Ferry, with his headquarters located in that town, informed his superiors that his troops holding Harpers Ferry itself consisted of "One regiment of 5th New

York Artillery, 3,200 men; one battalion garrison Maryland Heights and
man the guns; three batteries light artillery, 16 guns, 300 men; one
battery, not effective in consequence of two-thirds of the number being
away on veteran furlough; detachment 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry, 200 men;
detachment 6th Virginia Cavalry, 110, making a grand total of 2,810 men
available to defend that position. The remainder of his force, amounting
to about 3,000 men, was scattered along the R & O railroad from Monocacy
to Sleepy Creek.

On June 28, 1864, just as a great storm was about to break on the
Federal forces located in the Shenandoah Valley, General Weber held Harpers
Ferry with only one regiment of Cavalry, the 15th Pennsylvania, 100 men
armed, mounted and effective as cavalry, and the battalions of the Fifth
New York Heavy Artillery, acting as infantry. The remainder of Major
General Sigel's forces, 4,650 men, were then concentrated at Smithfield
and Bunker Hill, and Sigel himself had established his headquarters at
Martinsburg.

6. Federal Plans for Defending Harpers Ferry

As designed and constructed by the Union engineers, Maryland Heights
in 1864 was supposed to be the main defensive key to the military position
at Harpers Ferry. The fortifications of those Heights, as completed, re-
quired a garrison of from 8,500 to 10,500 men to render them secure against
a major attack. It was believed that the great guns placed in the works
on the Maryland side of the Potomac could render Belmar Heights, Bolivar,
Camp Hill, the town of Harpers Ferry, and Loudsun Heights untenable for any enemy in the event of a major attack. At the same time, it was also believed that the existing fortifications on the West Virginia side of the Potomac in June, 1864, rendered Harpers Ferry secure against any raid.

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

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CHAPTER II

GENERAL EARLY ATTACKS HARPER'S FERRY, JULY 3-8, 1864,

On June 26, 1864, the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia and Army of Valley District, under the command of Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early, began the advance from Staunton, Va., down the Shenandoah Valley that was eventually to take this army to the gates of Washington. Early's force was composed of Ramseur's (Early's), Rodes', Gordon's, and Breckinridge's Infantry divisions; and also included artillery and cavalry. The army numbering about 20,000 men. On July 2 this Army reached the vicinity of Winchester.

1. Sunday, July 3

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

1. Douglas S. Freeman, in his Lee's Lieutenants, A Study in Command, Vol. III, NY, 1944, p.559; however, states that Early's force was composed of 10,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and artillery perhaps added about 4,000, making a grand total of 14,000. This figure seems to be far too low. See Vol. XXXIII, pp.1297-1299, for organisation and strength of these forces April 30, 1864, which gives a total of 30,686 officers and men present, of whom 26,041 were fit for duty. Losses of the 2nd Corps in May, 1864, Vol. XXXVI, Part I, p.1073, amounted to 767 killed, 3,658 wounded, total, 4,425. This last figure subtracted from the April 30, figure would give a total of some 26,211 men present June 1, of whom some 21,586 should have been effective. No detailed return has been found of Breckinridge's command for the May-June, 1864, period, but on May 5, 1864, he stated he had effective 4,000 infantry, Vol. XXXVII, Part III, p.716. For the organisation and return of Early's command on August 31, 1864, see Vol. XLII, Part II, pp. 823, 1216-17, 1221; 12,824 men were present on that date.


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

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

While the above was transpiring, Brigadier General Max Weber, commanding the defenses at Harpers Ferry prepared his small force for the defense of his position. Three signal stations were established on July 3 by Lieut. Amos M. Thayer, 118th New York Infantry, and his company


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

of 59 men. The first was located at General Weber's headquarters, Armory Superintendent's house (Armory Dwelling No. 25) on Camp Hill (see 1865
map, Appendix II); the second station was situated at the Stone Fort on the
summit of Maryland Heights, and the third was placed at Fort Duncan, the
headquarters of Major G. F. Merrian, 5th New York Heavy Artillery, Chief
of Artillery, and commanding on the Maryland side. Merrian was ordered
by Weber to hold his command in readiness for action at a moment's notice
and also to have 100 men and Captain Furst's battery ready to re-enforce
the Harpers Ferry side.

After communicating via the B&O telegraph with Weber, John W. Garrett,
President of the B&O Railroad, informed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton
on July 3, that the General had only 460 men available for service as in-
fantry at Harpers Ferry, that Weber believed he could hold his post against
cavalry, but not long against infantry, and that the bulk of the Union
troops were then with General Sigel at or near Martinsburg. (Note: From
about noon July 4 to about 1 p.m. July 5, all direct military telegraph
communications between Washington and Harpers Ferry was cut off. The B&O
lines, Sandy Hook to Baltimore, however were kept open, and Garrett relayed
his information on to Washington.)

6. Report of Lt. Ames M. Thayer, 112th NY Inf., Acting Signal Officer,
of operation about Harpers Ferry, July 3-14, 1864, Vol. XXXVII, Part I,
T. A. Hayzenburg, July 3, 1864, 9 a.m.

Merrian on Maryland Heights, July 3, 1864.

8. Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p.20; also p.19, Weber to Halleck, July 3, 1864,
6.45 p.m., "I need infantry very much. I have three light batteries, but
only one complete with horses and equipments. Field pieces without horse
would be of no use."
Monday, July 4, 1864

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

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

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

The Federal skirmishers, comprised of cavalry, were led by Lieutenant Colonel William Bell of the 12th Pennsylvania Cavalry.

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

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

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

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

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


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

bridge and take up the pontoon? If not, send me word, and I will open on
them from Sullivan and Furst's (Capt. George Furst, 1st W. Va. Artillery,
Battery A) batteries. Four of Miner's guns (3-inch) are in enceinte
(Dreamwork Battery C?, Captain Milton L. Mier, 17th Indiana Battery) half
way to foot of mountain, on the line of rifle-pits, and covering the Sharps-
bury road. The other two are to the right of Battery Sullivan, firing oc-
casionally above Bolivar. Will it do to throw shell into or over Bolivar?
The d---d town is full of rebels." 16

About this time General Weber telegraphed Halleck: "We are still
hotly engaged. I have but 400 men and no word from General Sigel or our
re-enforcements. Our stores are safely across the river (In Sandy Hook
and Maryland Heights). Unless the enemy come in large force I shall hold
the town. Word has been received that the rebels in force are crossing
at Point of Rocks... I shall not leave the town, except at the last neces-
sity, and I have rations for 30 day on the (Maryland) heights, and shall
hold them until re-enforced. The bridges are yet entire and our men are
doing well. We have lost but 1 officer and 20 men, and inflicted much
damage on the enemy." 17

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

5:30 p.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p.40.

17. Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p.165; Weber to Halleck, July 4, 1864 (received
1:30 p.m.).


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

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

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


shelled the Union columns as they passed along. Sigel's cavalry was posted
at Hevertown, Maryland, (see Map IV).

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

While these events were taking place at Harpers Ferry, Breckinridge's
and Gordon's divisions on July 4th, marched from Martinsburg to the vicin-
nity of Duffield's Depot, and early on the morning of the same day, Mc-
Causland's brigade attacked North Mountain Depot and took 300 Federal
soldiers prisoners at that post.

3. **Tuesday, July 5, 1864**

At 6 a.m. on the 5th, Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early, writing from
Harpers Ferry directed Major General Breckinridge to "move at once to
Bolteker's Ford below Shapardstown, and cross over to Sharpsburg. Carry
with you at present only such wagons as are absolutely necessary, leave the
residue on this side of the river, in camp. The enemy has not evacuated
Maryland Heights, and has burned the railroad and pontoon bridges so that
we cannot cross. Move Gordon's division down (the north side of the Potomac)
toward Harper's (Ferry), so as to compel the evacuation of Maryland Heights.

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22. E. E. Warner to W. P. Smith and J. King, Jr., July 5, 1864, received
of Lt. Thayer; p.186, Maj. Gen. Sigel to Adj. Gen., July 5, 1864, 6 a.m.

23. W. P. Smith papers, B&O Archives, Salti., Md., E.15, V.4, p.570, tele-
gram received July 4, 1864, 11:06 p.m.; also J. W. Garrett to Stanton,
July 5, 1864, 11:35 p.m. (received 12:20) Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p.35.

The enemy only has a force of 800 to 1,000 heavy artillery. Sigel has not come down this way (which was inaccurate, of course), and you will endeavor to find out where he has gone. Promptness and dispatch are absolutely necessary..."

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

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

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

"This morning enemy still occupy Ferry, and some slight cannonading before 9 o'clock. Sigel then notified citizens to vacate houses, as he would shell town from Heights. This not yet begun. An engine came from

25. Early to Breckinridge, July 5, 1864, 8 a.m., Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p.593.
Sandy Hook an hour ago on a reconnaissance, but was fired into from Virginia side, at Point of Rocks, by Mosby's cannon and rifles. No one hurt...

Sigel's wagon trains continue to pass through Frederick easterly in large numbers..." At 1 p.m., Chief of Staff Halleck informed Lieutenant General U.S. Grant of what was then known of the situation at Harpers Ferry, writing in part:

"...The (3rd) line from Monocacy to Harper's Ferry has been cut, and the re-enforcements sent from here (Washington) fell back to the Monocacy. General Rose has been there with about 2,000 men, to force his way to Harper's Ferry. We have nothing reliable in regard to the enemy's force. Some accounts, probably very exaggerated, state it to be between 20,000 and 30,000. If one-half that number we cannot meet it in the field until Hunter's troops arrive. As you are aware, we have almost nothing in Baltimore or Washington, except militia, and considerable alarm has been created by sending troops from these places to re-enforce Harper's Ferry. You probably have a large dismounted cavalry force, and I would advise that it be sent here immediately..."

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

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

29. Halleck to Grant, July 5, 1864, 1 p.m., Vol. XI, Part III, p.3; for the movement of Rose's troops from Washington towards Harpers Ferry, July 5, see Smith Papers, R.15, V.5, pp.572, 573, 579; they were sent in two trains, Engine No. 38 with 22 cars and Engine No. 132 with 20 cars, leaving Washington at 7 and 7:30 a.m.
the movement to General Sigel, and ventured to predict that on the morning of the 6th we should be attacked from the Maryland side."

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

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

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

31. Operator to W. P. Smith, July 5, 1864, 7:50 p.m., R.15, V.4, p.581; see also Garrett to President Lincoln, July 5, 1864, received 1 a.m., 6th, in Vol. XXXVII, Part II, pp. 85-86.
along the river. The enemy's cavalry is this evening reported to be at Boonsborough and south of Antietam Creek, partly dismounted, picking up horses... From what we see the enemy has left his main infantry force near Harper's Ferry and has sent his cavalry to our rear (the north side of Maryland Heights). The enemy is reported this evening to have brought a battery on Loudoun Heights (this report turned out to be false). My (Siegol) train brought from Martinsburg I had ordered to Frederick. On the approach of the enemy by the Boonsborough road the commanding officer at Frederick had ordered the train toward Hanover."

4. Wednesday, July 6, 1864

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

The Federal re-enforcements from Washington, 2,600 men and three batteries under the command of Brigadier General A. P. Howe, reached


Maryland Heights at 3 a.m. on the morning of the 6th. The morning of
the 6th was spent in completing preparations for the expected Confederate
attack. Major G. F. Harriean, Chief of Artillery, requested at 9:30 a.m.
that 870 men of the 5th New York Heavy Artillery be distributed among the
defenses as follows: at Fort Duncan, 200 men; Battery Sullivan (Ken Map
IV), 80 men; Spur Battery (F on Map IV), 30 men; 30-pounder battery (H
on Map IV), 60 men; mortar battery (F on Map IV), 50 men; 100-pounder
35
battery (G on Map IV), 100 men; and the Stone Fort, 300 men. At noon,
J. Donohoo telegraphed W. P. Smith: "From what we could see from Maryland
Heights this A.M. we do not think there is a large force in or near the
Ferry. It may be a small force in the town there merely to induce a force
from Maryland Heights to cross. The enemy may have a sufficient force be-
yond Bolivar or near Halltow to come up and attack any small force that
cross into Harper's Ferry. There is very little artillery firing going
on, owing I presume to the fact that the enemy keep in the town in and
around houses occupied. There is considerable musketry firing. From what
I can learn there must be a large force somewhere in this vicinity..."

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

Halleck to Grant, July 6, 1864, 2 p.m., p.79.

Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p.37; also pp.55-57, circular by Maj. Gen. Sigel to
Officers and Soldiers, July 6, 1864.

37. Donohoo to Smith, Noon, July 6, 1864, Reel 15, V.4, pp.633-636.
Weakest. His attack was frustrated by a counter attack from our right. The enemy showed an extensive line from the Potomac to Elk Ridge Mountain (see Map IV). Besides his skirmishers no large columns were visible. There were about 3,000 infantry in our front. Five thousand more were reported moving against us from Antietam Creek... 600 of General Stahl's cavalry advanced against the enemy from Pleasant Valley, through Solomon's Gap and met the enemy on the west side of Elk Ridge, about five miles from here (on the Sharpsburg road).

At 9:27 p.m., "Doctor" telegraphed to W. P. Smith: "There has been considerable picket firing at Harper's Ferry during today. Rebels have possession of the place and are pillaging from all houses. When in range of our guns on Heights they crawl through streets on hands and knees and bellies... Sigel saved whole train except 1 wagon which broke down at Falling Waters..." E. E. Warner next reported: "Eleven o'clock p.m. observing a light at Harper's Ferry. Mr. Donohoe and myself started up to ascertain the cause. Went to the curve in the road near the bridge (on the Maryland side) until the reflection of the light on the rocks exposed us. Saw the enemy running about. The government buildings (Basket Factory and Arsenal Square structures) and property are burning and I fear our (135) platform, trestle, office and all will go in consequence of their close proximity to the government buildings. Capt. Gardner left some

38. Maj. Gen. Sigel to Adj. Gen., U.S. Army, July 7, 1864, 6 a.m. (received 12:45 p.m.) Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp.178-179; also p.177, Sigel to Adj. Gen., July 6, 1864 (received 1:15 p.m.), p.178, Sigel to Hunter, July 6, 1864, 12 p.m.; also report of Lt. Thayer, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p.188, who had a signal man wounded in the skirmishing.

300,000 pounds of forage there and all of it makes a big fire and is now burning brightly... The woodwork of the B&O Potomac Bridge was also further damaged by this fire.

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

5. Thursday, July 7, 1864

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

40. Warner to W. P. Smith, July 6, 1864, received 11:37 p.m., R.15, V.4, p.389.
41. J. Donchese to W. P. Smith, July 7, 1864, 12:01 p.m., R.15, V.4, p.591.
42. Sigel to Adj. Gen., U.S.A., July 6, 1864, 12 p.m. (received 10 a.m., July 7), Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p.176.
Valley, and began skirmishing with Federal troops from Maryland Heights. Gordon's division, supported by that of Breckinridge, "drove in the enemy's outposts at Port Royal and Maryland Heights, and...engaged the enemy to within 600 yards of their very strong works."

At 6 a.m. on the morning of July 7, Major General Sigel wrote:

"For to-day I order General Stabel with his whole cavalry, and with the 300 artillery armed as infantry, and four pieces of artillery from Pleasant Valley to move to Rohrersville. Our lines on the north of our position are engaging the enemy now. An immense train of the rebels was yesterday in sight near Shepherdstown. Prisoners taken were of the 18th Georgia Regiment (a unit in Cook's Brigade, Rodes' Division)."

At 2 p.m. General Sigel informed Washington:

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

Heavy skirmishing to the north of the Barrard lines continued through the day and until after dark. Heavy Federal cannonading from Maryland Heights continued through the night and from 9 p.m. to midnight of the 7th,


44. Sigel to Adj. Gen., U.S.A., July 7, 1864, 6 a.m. (received 12:31 p.m.), Vol. XXXVII, Part I, pp.1781179.

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


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

General Sigel described the action on the 7th as follows: "...the
enemy made preparation for a general attack on our northern line, and
tried to bring his artillery in position. Was unable to do so on account
of field batteries and heavy pieces in the forts, which shelled their
artillery, infantry, and trains for a distance of four miles..."
are very much frightened and alarmed. No government troops had crossed over to Harper's Ferry when I left Sandy Hook... We heard no firing this A.M. from the Maryland Heights nor could we learn anything as to the conditions of affairs there..."

At about 12 noon, Major General Sigel reported: "The enemy's forces who were in our front at Harper's Ferry have withdrawn during the night. Their rear guard is in sight of one of our (Col. Maulsby's) brigades, which is following them toward Sharpsburg. It seems that the main force of the enemy are taking the road to Boonsborough. Our cavalry from this place is now (at 11:30 a.m.) at Antietam Creek... General Stahel (with his cavalry) has orders to follow the enemy's movements from Pleasant Valley toward Boonsborough. He is now engaged with them. We have taken possession of Harper's Ferry..." A pontoon bridge was thrown across the Potomac during the morning of the 6th and the Fifth New York Heavy Artillery occupied Camp Hill. Colonel Mulligan's brigade, with a small body of cavalry, was moved towards Point of Rocks via Jefferson.

At 1 p.m., Sigel again reported: "The following just received from General Stahel, in Pleasant Valley: 'The enemy is advancing in strong force, said to be a whole corps, in the Middletown Valley.' A few minutes

49. Donohoo to W. P. Smith, July 8, 1864, N.15, V.5, pp.542-543.


-30-
ago I sent a report from Harper's Ferry stating that our advance from Maryland Heights is at Antietam Creek. According to all information received it seems certain that the enemy, with his whole force, is marching for Frederick..."

Late in the afternoon of July 3, Brigadier General Albion P. Howe assumed command of the Military District of Harpers Ferry, thereby relieving Major Generals Frans Sigel and Julius Stahel of their command.

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

On July 8, Ramsay's division had marched from Sharpsburg via Boonsborough and Middletown to the summit of Catoctin Mountain, where the Confederate cavalry were already in position. Rodes' division had moved from Rohrersville over the South Mountain through Crampton's Gap, and encamped near Jefferson. Breckinridge's and Gordon's divisions, withdrawing from before Maryland Heights, had marched through Rohrersville, Fox's Gap, and


55. Howe to Halleck, July 8, 1864 (received 10:30 p.m.) Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p.124.
Middletown, to the foot of the Catoctin Mountain. McCausland's brigade had marched all night the 7th from Hagerstown, passing through the Boonsborough Gap at daylight on the 8th, and proceeded to Frederick, where they skirmished during the day. The brigade then camped at Middletown that night.

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

Thus came to an end the major Confederate attack on Harpers Ferry, July 4-6, 1864. Two thrusts by an army of 20,000 men had been checked by a Federal force of 6,500 men, two-thirds of whom were green troops—100-day militia. In 1918, Major Sidney F. Shaw, Chief of Engineers of the Department of West Virginia, November 15, 1864 to 1865, reported in relation to this attack: "In a conversation with General J. E. Gordon, a few years since, I asked him why they did not storm the works. His reply was that he had his division ready on the Maryland Heights, but General Early would not allow him to do so, saying it would cost the lives of more men that it was worth."

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

57. Book of the Royal Blue, October, 1918, pp.15-13, V.38, V.1, pp.80-81.
expected then to do, the Confederate army would have easily reached Frederick, Maryland, on July 5 and could have been in the vicinity of Washington on July 6, instead, as was actually the case, of reaching that point on the 10th.

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

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-61.

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

See also HF-25, p.102
HF-38, p.103
HF-362, p.104
HF-40, p.74.

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CHAPTER III
HARPERS FERRY BECOMES THE BASE OF OPERATIONS FOR SHERIDAN'S ARMY, AUGUST, 1864 - FEBRUARY, 1865.

1. A New Army is Formed

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

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


4. Grant to Halleck, Aug. 5, 1864, 8 p.m., Vol. XLIII, Part I, p.695; also pp.697-698.
The 19th Army corps arrived at Harpers Ferry on the morning of August 5 and took up a position on Maryland Heights. The 6th Army Corps arrived later on the same day, and Torbert's cavalry began arriving on August 6th. At 9 a.m. on the 6th, the 19th Army Corps crossed the Potomac and occupied Halltown, where they remained until the 10th.

General Grant, on August 1, 1864, had decided to place Major General Philip S. Sheridan in command of the newly formed army. The new commander arrived at Harper's Ferry at 7:30 p.m., August 6, and at once assumed command of this force. On the 7th, Sheridan was officially placed in temporary command of the newly created Middle Military Division, which embraced the former Middle Department and also the Departments of Washington, of the Susquehanna, and of West Virginia. General Sheridan established his headquarters at the Armory Paymaster's Quarters on Camp Hill (Armory Dwelling No. 32 on the 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. 305-HF-3021, Sheet 2). A drawing of this house will be found on the following page of this report. (See also 1865 Map, Appendix II, p.99 for the location of this building.)


9. Vol. XLIII, Part I, Sheridan to Grant, Aug. 6, 1864, 7:30 p.m., p.719; also pp.695, 709.

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

From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, September 3, 1864, page 381.
Harper's Ferry Negative No. HR-341.

A view of Major General Philip S. Sheridan's Headquarters, located in the Paymaster's Quarters on Camp Hill (Armory Dwelling No. 32, on 1858 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. 3021, sheet two). The house is still standing (although a third story has been added) on Storer College property, and is known today as the "Lockwood House."
2. **Completion of the Harpers Ferry Fortifications**

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

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

The alterations and additions made to the Bolivar Heights defenses


12. See Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp.345, for Sheridan's orders to Generals Crook and Tebault, August 9, to park their wagon trains "inside the works at Bolivar Heights," also for 6th Army Corps.
by Sheridan consisted of the following works (see Map IV):  

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

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

3. Preparations for the Advance

The B&O Railroad's Potomac Bridge, consisting of four iron and three wooden spans, was repaired and placed in running order on July 21, 1864. To further ensure adequate communications and supplies for Sheridan's army, a wagon roadway was added to the railroad bridge on August 14, 1864. A new pontoon bridge, 16 feet wide, as also secured at this time for use over the Potomac. The Winchester and Potomac Railroad, which had been destroyed by Confederate troops, was repaired from Harpers Ferry to Harpers, a distance

13. No correspondence relating to this subject has been found in the Official Records. However, a comparison of the works actually found on the ground by the writer, indicates that Sheridan must have built them in August, 1864. See, Howe, Vol. LXIII, Part I, p.78, Itinerary of 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, 19th Corps, Aug. 23, 1864.


of six miles, between August 14 and 19, 1864. The Quartermaster Corps, after re-roofing the burned buildings in the Musket Factory yard, established an immense supply depot at Harpers Ferry, as did the Ordnance Department for the storing, issuing and repairing arms and ammunition. (See Photographs HF-207, HF-216, HF-268 and HF-86 on the following pages of this report.) On August 27, 1864, a large medical depot for Sheridan's army was also set up at Harpers Ferry.

On August 15, 1864, Brigadier General John D. Stevenson, U. S. Volunteers, was assigned to the command of the Military District of Harpers Ferry, with his headquarters at Harpers Ferry. (A view of his headquarters, HF-89, which were located in Monument Hill# No. 35, will be found on page 44.)

On August 30, Colonel N. P. Chipman reported to the Secretary of War: "Aggregate force reporting to General Stevenson, commanding Harper's Ferry, is 12,355. Of these 5,039 are armed and equipped as infantry and good fighting men; 2,056 are 100-days' men, ordered home, time expired; 1,415 stragglers and convalescents badly armed, disorganized and of little use; 1,900 dismounted cavalry partially armed. Add to this heavy artillery 480 men, 30 guns; 983 light artillery, 49 guns. This includes all outposts, Frederick, mouth of Monocacy, and between there and here (Harpers Ferry)


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“Sheridan's Army, Quarter Master Stores, Harper's Ferry, 1864”

From the original sketch by A. R. Wand in the Library of Congress.
Harper's Ferry Negative No. HF-207.

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

From the original sketch by A. E. Waud, in the Library of Congress.
Harper's Ferry Negative No. HF-815.

The sketch was made by Waud in November or December, 1864, and shows the interior of a re-roofed Basket Factory building. The drawing illustrates how Harper's Ferry served as a main base of operations for Major General Philip S. Sheridan's Army, August, 1864, to February, 1865.
"Bakery, Harpers Ferry In the Ruins of the Arsenal,
Soft Bread for Sheridan's Army. 5,000 loaves per day,
1864."

From the original sketch by A. E. Waud in the Library
of Congress.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-308.

This drawing further illustrates how Harpers Ferry served as the
main base of Sheridan's Army from August, 1864, to February, 1865. The
sketch was made by Waud in November or December, 1864. The bakery was
probably located in the first floor of the Large Arsenal, situated in
the old Arsenal Square, Block A, Shenandoah Street. Note the temporary
roofing.
Three Sketches by A. R. Wand. Published in Harper's Weekly, March 11, 1863, pages 152-153

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-88.

1. Upper left hand sketch: "United States Arsenal (Armory, the Hatch Factory) at Harper's Ferry, now used for Quartermaster's Stores for Sheridan's Army."

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

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

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

3. Lower double page sketch: "Junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, from the Cemetery (Cave Hill) above Harpers Ferry."

   The Potomac flows from the left and the Shenandoah from the right, joining in the center of the print. Maryland Heights, the south end and west slope, rises on the left, and the west slope and north end of Loudoun Heights is to be seen on the right of the sketch. At the base of Maryland Heights can be seen the C&O Canal. Note also that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has completed its iron bridge across the Potomac. The people in the foreground are standing in Harpers Graveyard on Cave Hill. The rear of Monument Bldg. 48A-St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, can be seen in the center, just to the right of the railroad bridge and beyond the stone wall of the cemetery.
and Halltown. The force is thought to be ample to hold Maryland Heights proper and Fort Duncan on the point of land about 3,000 yards west of Stone Battery, and the 100-pounder Parrott [at G, Map IV] on the heights, and perfectly commanded by them. The guns of Fort Duncan and Maryland Heights command the town of Harper’s Ferry, Bolivar Heights, and would make between heights untenable. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose Harper’s Ferry abandoned by retreating to the heights; it is the only way really to hold it... The force here is not well organized except the artillery, but is rapidly being put in fighting condition."

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


23. Sheridan to Stevenson, Aug. 21, 1864, Ibid., p.676.

24. Stevenson to Sheridan, Aug. 21, 1864, Ibid., p.677; also p.871, Chipman to Stanton, Aug. 31, 1864, 5 p.m., "Trains and all army baggage are being parked in valley this (Harper’s Ferry) side Bolivar Heights."
On the 22nd Sheridan's army fell back to near Halitown, taking up a
defensive position at that point (see general line on May IV and for a
detailed map of Sheridan's position, August 22-August 27, 1864, see The
Official Atlas of the Civil War, 1866, Plate 69, Maps 1 and 2). Col.
Chipman, after visiting that line, described the position as follows:
"The left of the infantry rests to the left of Charlestown pike and over
a mile beyond Halitown. The right is almost directly west of Harper's
Ferry, and about two miles from Bolivar Heights. The line runs along a
commanding ridge which overlooks a broad valley beyond, and is a posi-
tion of great natural strength. The intervals to the left and right, con-
necting the rivers, say a mile each, are not so strong, but the enemy
would hardly succeed in a flank movement..." On the 24th, Chipman fur-
ther wrote: "The formation of Sheridan's line is as follows: 6th Corps
on right, 10th center, General Crook on left. General Crook is streng-
thened by a division from 6th Corps and some other troops massed in sup-
port. It is not possible to assault the line successfully except on the
left, and every precaution is taken against it there." In February,
1866, Sheridan, described this situation: "I at once [August 16, 1864]
looked over the map of the Shenandoah Valley for a defensive line—that
is, where a smaller number of troops could hold a greater number—and
could see but one such. I refer to that at Halitown, in front of Harper's
Ferry. Subsequent experience has convinced me that no other really

25. Sheridan to Grant, Aug. 22, 1864, 10:30 p.m., Vol. XLIII, Part I,
p.280.


defensive line exists in the Shenandoah Valley. I therefore determined to move back to Haltown."

Sheridan remained in position at Haltown from August 22 to August 27, 1864; at 9 a.m. on the 26th his army then began its historic campaign, moving down the Shenandoah Valley. Sheridan left behind Col. Currie's 3rd brigade of the 1st Division from the 19th Army Corps, which he instructed General Stevenson to place on Bolivar Heights. The force left to Hold Harpers Ferry amounted to about 9,000 men.

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

On August 26, 1864, Lieutenant General Grant directed Sheridan to:
"Give the enemy no rest, and if it is possible to follow the Virginia Central road... Do all the damage to railroads and crops you can. Carry off stock of all descriptions, and negroes, so as to prevent further planting. If the war is to last another year, we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste." Sheridan's army proceeded southward on the 26th. During September, his supplies were transported forward from Harpers Ferry by means of great wagon trains, numbering sometimes 1,000 wagons, that were escorted by several thousand soldiers. Returning from his army to Harpers Ferry, these wagons carried growing numbers of Federal and Confederate wounded, and also thousands of prisoners. For protection, when

29. Chipman to Stanton, 10 a.m., Aug. 28, 1864, Ibid, p.940, also pp. 933, 948.
at Harpers Ferry, these great trains were parked inside the defensive works
on Bolivar Heights. (See HF-459 in Appendix III) The further the Union
army advanced, however, the greater was the effort and resources required
to supply Sheridan's troops. In an effort to improve this situation, the
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was rebuilt, September 9 to 20, 1864, from
Harpers Ferry to Martinsburg, from which point a great macadamized wagon
road ran south to Staunton, Va. The opening of the railroad to Martina-
bury cut about 10 miles off the distance of the wagon trains going to
Sheridan's force, as compared to those leaving from Harpers Ferry.

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

"With the increases of distance and additions to the force of Major-
General Sheridan's army, there ought to be at once at least 300 wagons
sent to this post and Martinsburg, to carry forward necessary supplies
...This would enable us to meet promptly unexpected demands, and is a
reserve absolutely requisite for an army the size of General Sheridan's,
operating so far from its base. The loss of one train by a careless
officer would defeat a campaign..." 35

On the 25th Sheridan reported: "I am now 94 miles from Martinsburg
and 104 miles from Harper's Ferry," and that his army was still moving
further to the south. On the same day, General Stevenson suggested to
Stanton the rebuilding of the Winchester and Potomac railroad from Hall-
town, where the line then ended, on 21 miles to Winchester, a town which

33. See Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp.20, 25, 34, 39, 69-72, 67, 71, 77-88,
81, 115-138, 123-125, 139, 140, 146, 150-159, 160, 162, 168-169, 173,
covering the period Sept. 3-25, 1864.

34. Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp.34, 40, 47-48, 54, 56, 60-61, 74, 126, 150-
161; Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp.865-966; p.41 for road. Annual Report for


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

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was also situated on the great macadamized Valley wagon road. He pointed out that "this track can be laid very rapidly, with a large force, at the rate of 1½ miles per day... Harper's Ferry, with its ample store-houses, can be made the main depot (thus eliminating Martinsburg with its limited facilities and exposed position); Stephenson’s or Winchester, the supply depot. Trains can make the run in an hour and a half; in case of emergency in an hour; reduces hauling in wagons 22 miles; saves 24 hours in time..." Furthermore, the Winchester railroad could also be easily protected.

The plan was taken under study, but throughout October and November, 1864, the great wagon trains continued to wend their way southward from both Harpers Ferry and Martinsburg, and to return loaded with captured booty, wounded, refugees and prisoners. New recruits were also organized, trained and armed at Harpers Ferry, and then sent forward to Sheridan’s army.

On November 9, after having fought and won the battles of Fisher’s Hill, September 19, and Cedar Creek, October 19, and having also devastated the Shenandoah Valley as far south as Staunton, Virginia, Sheridan withdrew his army to Winchester, Virginia, were he planned to spend the winter of 1864-65. To facilitate the supply of the Federal army at Winchester, 22 miles of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad, extending


from Harptown to Stephenson's Depot, a point about two miles from Winchester, was rebuilt November 2-24, 1864. The total length of the railroad, from Harpers Ferry to Stephenson's Depot, was 28 miles. The opening of this railroad ended the necessity of running large wagon trains from Martinsburg to points in the field. Railroad depot grounds and sidings were built at Stephenson's Depot. The rolling stock of the railroad included of 13 engines and about 75 cars, and some 600 men were employed in the operation of the railroad. The old strap rail, formerly used by the WSP ER Company, was removed from the track and replaced with T rail.

At Harpers Ferry, a engine house and machine shops were built on the lower Hall Rifle Factory Island and a number of extensive platforms were erected at both Harpers Ferry and Stephenson's Depot for the shipping of quarter-master's and commissary stores. From December, 1864, through June, 1865, 2,236 trains passed over this line, carrying nearly 200,000 persons, with only one accident of any consequence occurring and that involving the loss of life by one man.

As a result of the opening of the Winchester and Potomac line, the medical purveyor for Sheridan's army moved his depot to Harper's Ferry and the medical director of transportation was also ordered to Harpers Ferry, where four hospital and two passenger cars were kept at all time.


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

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-119.

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

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

From December, 1864, until the end of the Civil War, Harpers Ferry
thus continued to serve as the main supply base for Sheridan's troops;
new recruits were trained and the wounded and prisoners were also re-
ceived here from the front.

5. The Shenandoah Pontoon Bridge, December, 1864

On December 13, 1864, Sheridan ordered General Stevenson to secure
a pontoon bridge for use over the Shenandoah at Harpers Ferry. Stevenson
received the bridge on December 17 and had the pontoons in place on
December 30, 1864. The bridge was utilized to maintain communications
with Loudoun Heights and also, by Sheridan, to send several cavalry ex-
peditions from Harpers Ferry into Loudoun County, Virginia, to where these
units swept that countryside clean of supplies and forage. The Shenan-
doah pontoon was used from December, 1864, until April, 1865, when the
Civil War came to an end.


44. Vol. XLIII, Part II, p.670, 683, 697, 705-711, 717, 726, 730, 756, 765, 800,

45. Vol. XLIII, Part II, pp.741-742, 749-754, 771, 810-815; Vol. XLVI, Part II,


724-726, 910; Part III, pp.26-27, 37, 48-49.

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

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

The river in the foreground is the Shenandoah and the stone piers are the remains of the Shenandoah covered bridge at Harpers Ferry, which was burned by the Confederates on June 29, 1861. The heavy wires running across the top of these piers are probably the remains of the wire suspension bridge that was erected by the Union Army in 1862-1863 and destroyed in the fall of 1864. On the far side of the river rises the west slope and north end of Loudoun Heights; note the ground cover.

This sketch was probably made in November and certainly before December 17, 1864, when a new pontoon bridge was thrown across the Shenandoah at this point. ND A large Dwelling no. on For side j River below 3rd and 3rd Piers.
CHAPTER IV

STATE OF THE HARPERS FERRY DEFENSES, JULY 27, 1865.

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

1. Maryland Heights

"Sandy Hook (Maryland),

At a distance of 1½ miles from the rail-road bridge at Harpers Ferry, is No. 6. Magazine, situated in a ravine (in Pleasant Valley, near Sandy Hook). This magazine is a frame building 16 x 33 x 13 ft. The foundation is of stone, quite substantially built, and which insures a good support for the large amount of closely packed ammunition which it contains. I found on examination that the powder was well preserved. The boxes were piled too high, for convenience; but the necessity which induced the erection of this magazine, viz: to have ammunition available at convenient points outside of Harpers Ferry, caused it to be packed to its utmost capacity. A guard for its protection is quartered near the Magazine.

No. 5. Store House.

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

1. Ramsey to Dyer, National Archives RG 158, 7 page letter, Harpers Ferry Photostatic Collection, Vol. 4, pp.50-56.
"are 100 x 40 x 14 feet, and it is used for the storage of serviceable Horse Equipments, Carbines, Sabres, &c. The stores are well preserved and the Store house in fair condition.

No. 4. Magazine.

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

The magazine [for photos see HF-264 25, 36 in Appendix III and HF-88 on page 45] was altogether too crowded— the boxes inconveniently high—and without proper passages for reaching them. At the time it was hurriedly appropriated to its present use, no better selection could be made. The greatest objection to it is, that the railroad passes within a few feet of it, and the building is at any moment liable to be destroyed by fire. [Note: Ordnance Store Houses and Magazines No. 1, 2 and 3 will be found described under the heading of "Harpers Ferry"]

Maryland Heights.

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

3 = 30 pdr. Parrott guns on Siege Carriages,
3 = 12 pdr. bronze field guns, captured (marked J. R. Anderson, Richmond, Va.)
2 = 12 pdr. field guns, (C. A. Alger & Co., 1862.)

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"1. Mountain Howitzers,

2. 34 pr. Coehorn Mortars—(three vacant platforms).

(Total, 16 guns)

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

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

Battery A (See Map XIV)

This battery was erected in October, 1862, and was located about 250 yards south of Fort Duncan. The work was constructed of earth, with two faces, each about 100 feet long and 10 feet high. The guns of this battery were intended to sweep Bolivar Heights. In early June, 1863, the work was armed with six 30-pounder Parrotts. By the end of June, 1863, however, the guns from Battery A were then moved into Fort Duncan. Battery A was therefore apparently not armed in the July, 1864-1865 period. General Ramsay's next remarks probably refer to Battery A: "There are also two


"Ordnance magazines at the foot of the natural glacis (located in Battery A?) of the work (referring to Fort Duncan): These I also found in excellent order and the powder well preserved."

"2. Battery Sullivan (see K on Map XV), commanded by Capt. W. H. Shelley, 147th Indiana, is armed with: 3 = 24 pd. Siege guns

\[ \frac{2}{5} = \text{Coehorn Mortars} \]

(Total, 5 guns)

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

**Naval Battery (at I on Map XV)**

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


6. Snell, "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p.63; Donn 1865 Map, and Snell's inspection of the work. Battery Sullivan, with its walls, gun platforms and dry ditches, is still in an excellent state of preservation.
ammunition, in excellent condition and under the protection of a guard
detailed for the purpose."

The Naval Battery, first established in May, 1863, had its three
corner walls erected in September, 1862. The walls of this U-shaped
redoubt are about 10 feet thick at the base and 10 feet high; the
slope of the mountain in the rear forms the rear or fourth side of the
work. Dimensions of the walls are as follows: west wall, about 52 feet;
south wall facing river, about 72 feet; and east wall, about 43 feet.
Traces of the two magazines mentioned above, dug into the slope of the
mountain to the north and east of the battery, are still quite evident.
The armament of the Naval Battery on June 27, 1863, was comprised of a
100-pounder Dahlgren gun, a 50-pounder Dahlgren gun, and two 24-pounder
6 siege guns. Following the completion of Battery Sullivan, it is pro-
bable that the guns were removed from the Naval Battery and that this
latter work was not armed in July, 1864.

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

1 = 12 pdr. bronze field gun, captured (Anderson & Co.),

1 = 12 pdr. Mountain Howitzer,


8. Snell, "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 53-54. Donn 1863 Map
and inspection of ground by Snell.

9. Battery Sullivan was designed to perform in more perfect fashion
all of the functions of the Naval Battery. On July 6, 1864, Major Mar-
niam, Chief of Artillery, failed to dispatch any men to the Naval Bat-
ttery, see Chapter II, p. 25, thus indicating that the battery was pro-
bably not armed at that time.
2 = 24 pdr. Coehorn Mortars,
2 = 10 inch Siege Mortars (1862)
4 = 30 Pdr. Parrott rifled guns on Siege Carriages.
8 guns, total

There are two magazines, powder well preserved."

The 30-pounder battery had been erected in October and November, 1862. The guns of this position swept the summit of Loudoun Heights, the town of Harpers Ferry, Camp Hill and Shirley Heights. The redoubt was a strong earthwork with four faces that curved around the southern slope of Maryland Heights. A deep trench ran around the inside of this fortification. Approximate dimensions of the four embankments are as follows: 11
100 feet by 150 by 150 by 100 feet.

100-Pounder Gun (at C on Map XIV)

"Still higher up the mountain," General Ramsey continued, "is conspicuously mounted on centre pintle carriage, one 100 pdr. Parrott rifled gun. This gun has an unlimited field of fire, and has proved accurate and effective July 4-5, 1862 in destroying a stone school house four miles distant, and in killing a number of men who had resorted to it for safety, —by the explosion of one of its shells. I regret I could not obtain the details of transporting this heavy gun to such an altitude over a path so precipitous. The gun and carriage bear no marks whatever of rough usage, and are both in perfect condition."


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

This battery was established in June, 1863, and the movement of the big gun to the summit of the mountain was supervised by Major Frank A. Rolfe of the 14th Massachusetts "easy Artillery. The gun was located on a narrow point in the crest of the Maryland Heights ridge, about 600 yards south of the Stone Fort. The position was protected by means of sandbags. The 100-pounder Dahlgren gun had a 360 degree field of fire and could be used with effect on the north, east, and west slopes of Maryland Heights, on Pleasant Valley, Loudoun Heights, Bolivar Heights, Fort Duncan, and also the Stone Fort. This gun was the key to the Maryland position.

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

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

1 = 12 pdr. Mountain Howitzer,
4 = 24 pdr. Field Howitzer,
2 = 24 pdr. Coehorn Mortars,
3 = 30 pdr. Parrott rifled guns, mounted on siege carriages.
(Total, 10 guns)

There are within the fort (that is, in the Exterior Fort, and lying north and west of the Stone Fort), three excellent magazines. In the main

vestibule of one of these magazines is a spring of pure and cold water... I have seen no field works better kept and preserved," Ramsay concluded.

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

The Stone Fort was located on the highest point of Maryland Heights and was designed to block an attack from Solomon's Gap to the north, along the crest of Elk Ridge. The fort was also intended to serve as a citadel of the position. The work, 100 by 40 feet in size, was rectangular in shape and had two 25 foot square bastions at either end. One bastion was located on the northeast corner and the second at the southwest corner of the fort. The Stone Fort was built of dry masonry and the stone walls varied from 4 1/2 to 7 feet in thickness. The interior of the Stone Fort contained a magazine, storage place for provision, water tanks, and a spring. In July and August, 1864, the Maryland Heights signal station was located at the Stone Fort. The Fort is still in an excellent state of preservation.

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

The Exterior Fort was built in the October, 1862-June, 1863 period, and probably enlarged and completed by June, 1864. This fortification consisted of two parallel lines of earthworks running from east to west across the summit of Maryland Heights and down its west slope for a total distance of about 700 feet. The Stone Fort was built on top of the cliff overlooking the east slope of the mountain. The north wall of the Exterior Fort was erected about 125 feet north of the northeast bastion of the Stone Fort and the right flank of the earth wall also abutted on the edge of the same cliff, overlooking the east slope. The top of the cliff, between the Stone Fort and the north wall of the Exterior Fort, was protected by a strong stone breastwork. The north wall of the Exterior Fort then ran 250 feet across level ground from the edge of the cliff on the east to a point where the land drops off rather sharply to form the west slope of the mountain. This portion of the line was protected by a great earthen wall about 20 feet thick at the base and about 20 feet high. Five embrasures for cannon are still to be seen in this wall today. The front of this section of this wall was further protected by a wide and deep dry ditch and beyond this ditch lay a heavy abatis, comprised of felled trees. The left flank of this position, at the top of the western slope of the mountain, was protected by an earth breastwork, now about three feet high, that ran approximately 250 feet to the south, where it joined the southern east-west parallel wall of the Exterior Fort.

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

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

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

16. Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p.61; 1865 Domn Map; Examination of works by Snell, December, 1859. Two deep pits and a good sized stone breastwork have been found south of the Exterior Fort.
Eastern Flank Defenses, Summit Maryland Heights, [II to Stone Fort]

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

Northern Line of Defense (Stone Fort to Fort Duncan)

Spry Battery (at E on Map IV): This earthwork was erected in June, 1863, and consisted of a three-sided earth embankment, open at the rear, about 50 by 75 by 50 feet in size. One 30-pounder Dahlgren gun was mounted in this work in June, 1863. The gun, located on a plateau on the western slope of Maryland Heights, could sweep the west side of that mountain; it also enfiladed the ravine that ran westward to the Potomac in front of the Barnard lines, and the piece could be turned and used against Bolivar Heights.


18. Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," p.61; also inspection by Snell.
General Ramsey did not visit this position in July, 1865, but the battery was armed and in use during the July, 1864, attack on Harpers Ferry.

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

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

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

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


in length. Four field guns probably formed the armament of this battery. Battery C, located at about the mid-point of the lines, was also a three-sided redoubt and open at the rear. Its wall measured approximately 150 by 150 by 100 feet in length. The three faces of this work, judging again by the Donn 1863 map, were protected by a dry ditch. Battery C was designed as a six field gun redoubt and four of Captain Milton L. Minor's 3-inch guns (17th Indiana Battery) were apparently stationed in this redoubt on July 4, 1864.

Battery B: This earthwork was probably designed for four field guns. The redoubt had three walls and was open in the rear. Its walls measured approximately 100 by 150 by 100 feet in length. Batteries B, C and D, together with those redoubts at the Spur Battery and the Exterior Fort, commanded the gullies leading up from the Potomac to the north of the Barnard Lines and also provided a cross-fire over the entire front of these lines.

The Barnard Line Trenches: Batteries B, C and D, were joined by an almost continuous line of earth entrenchments, consisting most likely of an earthen embankment, with a ditch on the inner side for the protection of the infantrymen. The entire front of the batteries and entrenchments comprising the Barnard Lines was protected on the North by a heavy abatis of felled trees that had been erected in June, 1863. The ground on which the Barnard Lines stood is fairly level and has been intensively farmed since the Civil War. Much of the area today, however, is covered with a heavy

22. See Herrian to Burleigh, July 4, 1864, p.18 of this report.

23. This statement is based on Donn's 1863 map, and comparing his symbols for the Barnard Lines with those on Bolivar Heights, the latter lines still exist.

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

Battery I (see on Map IV): This redoubt was a light earthenwork and was erected in June, 1863. The work was located on the spur, or hill, north of Fort Duncan. In 1863 this battery contained two 100-pounder Parrotts that enfiladed the C&O Canal and turnpike to the north. The work was also intended to prevent the enemy from turning the left flank of the Federal defenses in the vicinity of Fort Duncan.

Ground Cover on Maryland Heights, 1864–1865

In the period, October, 1862, to June, 1863, Federal troops cleared the Maryland Heights area of forest by felling trees, from a distance of 1,500 yards north of the Fort Duncan–Barnard Line–Stone Fort Line, all the way south to the Potomac. Thus in the 1864–65 period, Maryland Heights was bare of all forests and large trees, except on the steep cliffs. Troops defending the works were thereby provided with a clear field of fire in every direction. (See Photograph HR-26 in Appendix III.)

The Forts on the Maryland side required a garrison of from 8,500 to 10,000 men to defend them properly against a major attack. This series

25. Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes A Fortress," p.63; the writer has not inspected the ground where this redoubt should lay.

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

2. **Loudoun Heights Defenses, 1864-1865 (See Photo HE-214 in Appendix III):**

   In October, 1862, the Army of the Potomac had erected three large stone redoubts on the summit of Loudoun Heights. (See Map IV.) Redoubt A, a four-sided enclosed work, measured 44 by 32 feet; Redoubt B, a four-sided enclosed fortification, was 32 by 32 feet in size; and Redoubt C, also enclosed on four sides, measured 38 by 32 feet. Between 1862 and April, 1863, a total of 32 other small stone works, probably rifle pits and foundations for huts, were erected on Loudoun Heights.

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

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

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

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27. Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Become a Fortress," p.68. The 35 stone works, drawn to scale, are to be seen on "Preliminary Historical Base Map-Fortifications Loudoun Heights-Harpers Ferry National Monument, dated July 3, 1958, by J. B. Ferguson & Co."
In August, 1864, the crest of the ridge between the two batteries was fur-
ther strengthened by the erection of a line of solid earth breastworks
with a trench on the inner side, that extended from Battery No. 1 to 2.
Today, the remains of Battery 1, and the intrenchments from that point
to about half-way to Battery 2, are quite visible. The remainder of the
line may still exist in part, but has been generally built over by the
erection of a number of new homes.

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

28. Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp.16, 58, also p.36
of this report; Donn's 1865 map, unfortunately, delineates only the Bolivar
Heights Fortifications at the extreme right of the position, near the Potomac.
The remainder described above, however, still exists on the ground.
These have been walked, but not measured, by the writer. It is also possi-
ble that additional fortifications may exist to the left of Battery 6, on
the bluff to the east of 6. This area has not yet been searched by the
writer.
The Bolivar Heights defenses in the October, 1862-July, 1864, period were merely outpost position. The fortifications, however, were completed in August, 1864, to provide secure protection for Sheridan's great wagon parks that were located in the town of Bolivar. When threatened with an attack on August 21, 1864, General Stevenson placed 20 field guns in position on Bolivar Heights to defend these lines.

3. Camp Hill Lines (See Map IV and also 1860 Base Map, No. NM-HR-3021, Sheet 8)

This line of earthworks, approximately 1,250 feet long, was erected in May, 1862, and then further strengthened and enlarged in the 1863-1864 period. The Camp Hill lines ran from cliffs overlooking the Shenandoah on the south, along the western slope of Camp Hill to the bluffs on the north, above the Potomac. The fortification guarded the approaches to Camp Hill and Harpers Ferry from the direction of Bolivar. Batteries were placed at either flank (A and B, on Map IV) and two strong redoubts guarded the center sections of the line. One redoubt was located just west of the Armory Superintendent's Quarters, Armory Dwelling No. 25, and the second, and enclosed rectangular work measuring approximately 150 by 100 feet, was situated directly on Washington Street. (See HR-225, page 6, and HR-214, Appendix III.) Light field guns were used to arm the Camp Hill lines in July, 1864.

30. See page 45 of this report.

30. Snell, C. W., "Harpers Ferry Becomes a Fortress," pp. 16, 50; Measurements from 1865 Denm Map. The area of this line has been built over by Storer College, the Baptist Church, Grade School, and private homes. Surface indications of the line do not exist.

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

Armory Dwelling No. 21, located near Jefferson Rock, was empty and in bad condition in July, 1865.

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

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

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

Armory Dwelling No. 25—Superintendent's Quarters. Block FF, had served as the headquarters of Brigadier General Max Weber, commanding the defenses of Harpers Ferry, in 1864. In July, 1865, the building was in bad condition and was then occupied as quarters for officers. General Ramsay remarked: "The costly quarters of the Superintendent of the Armory, of the Paymaster (Armory Dwelling No. 30), and other conspicuous and valuable buildings belonging to the government, have been wantonly abused, and I am sorry to say, as I am credibly informed, mostly by our own troops. Marble mantelpieces have been taken away, and the staircases torn down and used as fuel. To repair these buildings will involve an expense of at least half of their original cost..." (Note—the Confederate troops had seriously damaged No. 25 in April–June, 1864.)

Armory Dwelling Nos. 26, 27, 28, 29, Blocks CC, and FF, four ½ story brick

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* See Snell's, W. M., "The Fortifications at Harpers Ferry Va. in 1861, and Jackson's attack May, 1862," Feb., 9, 1960, p. 27.
dwelling houses were torn down in the winter of 1864-65 by order of Brigadier General John D. Stevenson to provide material for building winter quarters for the troops.

**Armsy Dwelling No. 30.** Pavemaster's Clerk's Quarters, were in bad condition and occupied for Army purposes.

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

**Armsy Dwelling No. 32.** Pavemaster's Quarters, had been occupied by Sheridan as his headquarters, in August, 1864. In July, 1865, the house was in bad condition and was occupied by the Medical Purveyor as quarters.

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

**Armsy Powder Magazine.** Block BB, Magazine Hill, was a 12 by 15 foot, one story brick building, in good condition and was not occupied in July, 1865.

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

**Lutheran Church.** Camp Hill, Block J, Lot 3, had been used as a hospital during the war.

**Methodist Episcopal Church.** Block CC, Camp Hill, had been used as a hospital and the building was completely destroyed during the war. (See **Armsy Report, July 27, 1865**.)

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Methodist Protestant Church, Block 00, Camp Hill, After inspecting this structure in December, 1866, Captain A. S. Kimball reported: "The (Federal) troops took possession of the Hall in 1862 but at what particular date it is difficult to determine. The occupation continued until the fall of 1863, a period of about one year. The building does not appear to have been occupied by the order of any competent authority but merely taken possession of by the troops on duty at Harpers Ferry and was used as quarters for the men."

"During this occupation the building was seriously damaged... In fact every item of wood work was torn out and burned for fire wood. There is at this time nothing remaining except the naked stone walls and it is claimed that the entire damage was committed while the Hall was occupied by the troops."

St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, Monument Bldg., No. 46A, was utilized as a hospital and barracks during the war. The structure was 37 (see HF-L1, P.34; HF-40, P.74).

Presbyterian Church, Shenandoah Street, the upper floor of this church was used as a guard house and the basement as a stable during the war. 39

St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, this church was not used by the soldiers for military purposes and the structure was only damaged by being struck by numerous bullets. 40 (see HF-L1, P.34; HF-40, P.74).


40. Ibid., p.172.
"Harper’s Ferry, W. Va., from the Maryland Shore."

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

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

See also HF-25, p. 102
HF-38, p. 103
HF-362, p. 104. (nHF-24
HF-61) p. 34.
8. Lower Town of Harpers Ferry (See Drawing Wf-HP-3031, Sheets 1 and 2)

General Ramsey reported in July, 1865: "...The stone walls of the Armory buildings on the Potomac and Shenandoah (that is, in the Muzzle Factory and U. S. Rifle Factory) remain, and in condition to be built upon. These could be readily converted into manufacturing purposes, or into barracks for troops. Much of the valuable machinery remains in good condition—as for example the shafting and pit gearing for the undershot wheels, with the wheels, are in good condition. The greater part of the machinery for the rolling mill (Muzzle Factory Bldgs. No. 10), with the rolls and tilt-hammers, remain, but little injured, and the furnaces are good...."

*Muzzle Factory Buildings Used by the Ordnance Department, 1865* (see HF-276, p. 77)

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

**Bldg. No. 17 — Old Stock Store House,** was in fair condition and was called Ordnance Ware House No. 1. "The store houses at Harpers Ferry are necessarily crowded," Ramsey reported.

**Bldg. No. 8 — Armory Office,** (Listed as Pay Office-brick-1 story 18 x 28 feet). The Ordnance Department was apparently utilizing one section of this larger building. The condition of the structure was good and it was being used as an arms repair shop. General Ramsey noted "The Depot at Harpers Ferry has been of valuable assistance to the Middle District, and a good deal of work has been done in receiving and issuing ordnance and ordnance..."
stores, and recently in repairing small arms."

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

The Quartermaster and Commissary Departments occupied the following
Musket Factory Buildings in the 1864-65 period: (see Photo HF-27A on the
following page of this report and HF-3B in Appendix III.)

1. Bldg. No. 3 - The Bell or Finishing Shop, and S-Boring Mill.
2. Bldg. 12 - The Ware House,
3. Bldg. No. 13 - The Smith and Forging Shop,
5. The first floor ruins of the Old Arsenal, located in the Old
Arsenal Square, November, 1864-65 were used as a Bakery (see HF-40, 24
362
and 25.).

Old Arsenal Square Buildings (see HF-88, p.44.)

Bldg. No. 1 - Superintendent's Old Office, was being used as the Post Office
and its condition was listed as good in July, 1865.

The following three temporary frame structures, erected by the U.S.
Military Railroad, were located in the Old Arsenal Square in February, 1866:
1. Oneware House, 63 x 21 feet, with wing, 26 x 13, located opposite the
Superintendent's Old Office.

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

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

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-27A.

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

Structures on the right side of the photo: First, Bldg. No. 12-the Warehouse; next, Bldg. No. 13-the great Smith and Forging Shop; next, Bldg. No. 14-The Annealing Shop and Brass Foundry, and in the far distance, Bldg. No. 17-The Old Stock House. (See 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. NM-HF-3081, Sheet 2, for location of these buildings).

See also HF-38, P.103.
2 & 3. One building, 16 by 16 feet in size, and also a second building 16 by 16 feet. Both located near the Superintendent's Old Office.

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

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

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

*Armory Dwelling No. 3, U.S. Lot No. 1, Shenandoah Street (Monument Bldg. 45)* was in need of repairs and was being used for army purposes. Part of the structure was utilized as a warehouse and it was listed as Ordnance Ware House No. 3 in 1865.

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

*Armory Dwelling No. 5, U.S. Lot No. 2, (Monument Bldg. No. 49),* was in fair condition and vacant in July, 1865. (See Photo HF-119, page 51.)

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

*Brick Schoolhouse, Block E, Lot 8,* had been pulled down by Federal soldiers

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during war and the bricks used in their camps.

**Houses on South Side of the Shenandoah River**

**Armory Dwelling No. 9,** was in fair condition and vacant. (See HF-986, p.53)

**Armory Dwelling No. 10,** was in good condition and occupied free of rent
by Mrs. Stipes, by order of Col. H. K. Craig, of the Ordnance Department. (See HF-
789, p.53)

**Pitman Street Houses**

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

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

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

**Houses on Rich Street**

**Armory Dwelling No. 14,** Wager Lot No. 38, was in good condition and vacant.

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

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

**Armory Dwelling No. 17,** Wager Lot No. 21, was in good condition and oc-
cupied as the Ordnance Office.

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

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

46. Mayor Daniel Ames to Sec. of War, July 5, 1872, in Hoffminger, J. PV


48. Ibid.
In the foreground is to be seen the tracks and one railroad car of the U.S. Military Railroad; also the buildings on the eastern end of the Island of Virginius. Beyond these lie the Shenandoah, and on the far side of the river rises the west slope of Loudoun Heights. Note the Pipertown road and military road running up that mountain and also the ground cover. Bldgs. on the Island, beginning at the left: Four story structure, Bldg. No. 6—the Cotton Factory; one story building in front of it, Bldg. No. 3—the Sew Mill. Large house to the right of this, Bldg. No. 13, a dwelling and further to the right, Bldg. No. 12, also a dwelling. Beyond Bldg. No. 12, standing on the edge of the Shenandoah, is Bldg. No. 4, the Machine Shop, the 3½ story structure. (For the location of these structures, see 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. IN-HF-3081, Sheet 2.)
Armed Dwellings: No. 50, Block AA, High Street, was in bad condition and occupied as quarters for the Ordnance Department.

6. Military Structures on Island of Virginia

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

The Schoolhouse. Island of Virginia Structure No. 39, was used throughout the war by the Federal troops as a hospital and the building had been heavily damaged.

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

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

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

(See Photos HF-110, page 51, and HF-37, on the following page.)

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

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

1. One Locomotive Engine House, 164 by 26 feet in size.

2. One Machine and Blacksmith shop, 82 by 26 feet.

3. One Railroad Loading Platform, 197 by 27 feet.

4. One Railroad Loading Platform, 232 by 22 feet.

5. One Railroad Loading Platform, 112 by 16 feet.


50. Mayor Daniel Ames to Sec. of War, July 5, 1872, in Hoffsgin, J. P., "Harpers Ferry, W. Va.," page 135.


--81--
Beyond the cliff lies the U.S. Rifle Factory, which was located on the lower Hall Island. In the foreground, between the cliffs and the buildings, is to be seen the Lower Lock and canal of the Shenandoah Canal Company. Skirting the far side of the island are the tracks of the U.S. Military Railroad. Beyond these is the Shenandoah River and to the left of the photo rises a portion of Loudoun Heights. Bldgs. on the Lower Island were burned by the Confederates on June 28, 1861; left to right: First, Rifle Factory Bldg. No. 4—The Tilt Hammer and Forging Shop; next, with a tower, Bldg. No. 9, the Barrel Drilling and Finishing Shop; then Bldg. No. 8—The Machine Shop. At the right of this line, with a road or street passing between it and Bldg. 6, stands Bldg. No. 3—The Finishing and Machine Shop. To the single arched stone bridge leading out to the island. The structures standing to the right of Bldg. No. 3 were located on the U.S. Upper Hall Island. The houses to be seen to the right of the Upper Island were located in South Bolivar. Note also the ground cover along the north (right) side of the Shenandoah River.

For location of the Rifle Factory Bldgs., see also 1859 Historical Base Map, Drawing No. HH-HF-3021, Sheet 2.

See also HF-119, p. 57.
6. One Railroad Loading Platform, 44.8 by 25 feet.

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

B. U. S. Upper Hall Island

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

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

1. One tool house, 37 by 22 feet in size.

2. One Agent's Office, 21 by 13 feet.

6. Military Structures Located in South Bolivar

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

Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)


55. Ibid., p.119.
APPENDIX I

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

Troops at or near Harpers Ferry.

**RESERVE DIVISION**

Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel

Manassas to Sleepy Creek,


1st Potomac Home Brigade, Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook. (along railroad)
135th Ohio, Col. Andrew Legg. (along railroad)
148th Ohio, Col. Thomas W. Moore.
152nd Ohio, Col. David Putnam.
155th Ohio, Col. Harley H. Sage. (along railroad)
160th Ohio, Col. Cyrus Reasoner.
161st Ohio, Col. Oliver P. Taylor.
1st New York Cavalry (Lincoln) detachment, Lieut. David R. Dishrow.
12th Pennsylvania Cavalry (detachment), Capt. Zaddock Walker. (740 men)
6th West Virginia Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Francis W. Thompson. (280 men)
17th Indiana Battery, Captain Milton L. Miner.
32nd New York Battery, Capt. Charles Lussier.
5th New York Heavy Artillery (6 companies) Col. Samuel Graham. (2,200 men)
1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery, Battery D, Capt. Andrew Rosney.
1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery A, Capt. George Furst.
1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery G, Capt. Chatham T. Ewing.
Engineer troops (Independent company of Pennsylvania Volunteers), Capt. William P. Gaskill.

---

**Present for duty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>Total present and absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reserve Division (Sigel)</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>14,668</td>
<td>16,634</td>
<td>19,673</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heavy artillery pieces—37; Light artillery pieces—45.

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

Reserve Division

Maj. Gen. Franz Sigel

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

Brig. Gen. Max Weber

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook.
135th Ohio, Col. Andrew Legu.
132nd Ohio, Col. Andrew Putnam.
100th Ohio, Col. Cyrus Reasoner.
111st Ohio, Col. Oliver P. Taylor.
*Engineer troops (Independent company of Pennsylvania Volunteers), Capt. William F. Gaskill.
Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers (2 companies), Capt. Daniel M. Keyes.
*6th New York Heavy Artillery (6 companies), Col. Samuel Graham.
32nd New York Battery, Capt. Charles Kusserow.
1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery A (Light artillery battalion, Maj. Gustavus F. Herriam commanding), Capt. George Forst.
Camp. Distribution, Capt. David S. Caldwell.

Reserve Division (Sigel) Present for Total Total present
including other forces duty Present & absent.
beside those listed above: Officers Men 14,135
365 9,246 11,612

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

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

(1) at Martinsburg, May 30, 1864—32nd New York Battery, 200 men;
135th Ohio, 309 men.
Organization of the Union Forces commanded by Maj. Gen. David Hunter, U.S. Army, July 30, 1864. Department of West Virginia (forces in the field of this department were commanded by Bvt. Maj. Gen. George Crook).

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


**Infantry Brigade.**

Col. William P. Maulsby.

126th Ohio, Col. Andrew Lepp.
160th Ohio, Col. Cyrus Reasoner.
161st Ohio, Col. Oliver P. Taylor.

**Not Brigaded.**

 Loudoun, Va. Rangers (2 companies), Capt. Daniel M. Keyes.
1st New York Cavalry (Veteran) detachment, Lieut. Allen Vanderbergart.
18th Pennsylvania Cavalry (detachment), Capt. Patrick H. McAntee
17th Indiana Battery, Capt. Milton L. Miner.
1st Kentucky Battery, Capt. Daniel W. Glassie. (Camp Hill)
Maryland Light Artillery, Battery A, (dismounted and acting as infantry),
Capt. James H. Rigby.
Baltimore Battery (Md.) (Attached to Kenly's brigade to July 30, when
5th New York Heavy Artillery (6 companies), Col. Samuel Graham.
30th New York Battery, Capt. Alfred von Kleiser.
1st Ohio Battery, Lieut. George P. Kirkland.
1st Ohio Light Artillery, Battery L, Capt. Frank C. Gibbs.
Pennsylvania Light Artillery, Battery F, (dismounted and acting as infantry),
Capt. Nathaniel Irish.
1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery A, (dismounted and acting as
infantry), Capt. George Furst.
1st West Virginia Light Artillery, Battery F, Capt. George W. Graham.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Present for duty</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total present and absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper's Ferry and Defenses</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>8,475</td>
<td>7,404</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pieces of heavy artillery - 35; pieces of field artillery - 48.
Organization of troops in the Middle Military Division, commanded by
listing of regiments, see pp.975-977).
District of Harper's Ferry


Kenny's Brigade.

3rd Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Col. Charles Gilpin.
49th Pennsylvania (also reported in 3rd brigade, First Division,

Cavalry.

12th Pennsylvania, Col. Lewis B. Pierce.
Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers, Capt. Daniel H. Hayes.

Artillery.

Kentucky Light, 1st Battery, Capt. Daniel W. Glassie.
Maryland Light, Baltimore Battery, Capt. Frederic W. Alexander.
Maryland Light, Battery A (dismounted and Acting as infantry), Capt.
James H. Roll.
5th New York Heavy (6 companies), Col. Samuel Graham.
New York Light, 32nd Battery, Capt. Charles Kissner.
Ohio Light, 1st Battery, Capt. George F. Kirtland.
1st Ohio Light, Battery L, Capt. Frank C. Gibbs.
Pennsylvania Light, Battery F, Capt. Nathaniel Irish.
1st West Virginia Light, Battery A, Capt. George Furst.

Unattached.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade (Infantry), Lieut. Col. Roger E. Cook.
Independent Company Pennsylvania Engineers, Capt. S. Crawford Smith.

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

Third Brigade.


39th Maine, Capt. George W. Randall.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of West Va. (Crook)</th>
<th>Present for duty Officers</th>
<th>Total present Men</th>
<th>Total present and absent,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff and infantry.............</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>11,898</td>
<td>14,032</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>6,231</td>
<td>6,457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery......................</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2,977</td>
<td>3,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong>........................</td>
<td><strong>863</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,006</strong></td>
<td><strong>26,010</strong></td>
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</table>


<table>
<thead>
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<th>Department of West Va. (Crook)</th>
<th>Present for duty Officers</th>
<th>Total Present Men</th>
<th>Total present and absent,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff &amp; Infantry..............</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>9,817</td>
<td>11,077</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cavalry........................</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>4,561</td>
<td>6,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery......................</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3,006</td>
<td>3,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong>........................</td>
<td><strong>635</strong></td>
<td><strong>17,514</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,275</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of W. Va. (Crook)</th>
<th>Present for duty Officers</th>
<th>Total present Men</th>
<th>Total present and absent,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Infantry............</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>11,705</td>
<td>13,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry........................</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>6,064</td>
<td>7,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery......................</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3,213</td>
<td>3,837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong>........................</td>
<td><strong>602</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,032</strong></td>
<td><strong>24,934</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-89-


Infantry.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Lieut. Col. Roger E. Crook.
2nd Maryland Eastern Shore, Maj. Seth W. Herrick.
185th Pennsylvania (3 companies), Capt. Henry D. Markley.

Cavalry.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade, Col. Henry A. Cole.
18th Pennsylvania, Col. Louis E. Pierce.
Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers, Capt. Daniel M. Keyes.

Artillery.

Kentucky Light, 1st Battery, Capt. Daniel W. Glassie.
Maryland Light, Baltimore Battery, Lieut. H. Eugene Alexander.
Maryland Light, Battery A, Capt. James H. Rigby.
5th New York Heavy, Col. Samuel Graham.
New York Light, 30th Battery, Capt. Alfred von Kleiser.
New York Light, 32nd Battery, Capt. Alfred von Kleiser.
Ohio Light, 1st Battery, Capt. George P. Kirkland.
Pennsylvania Light, Battery F, Capt. Nathaniel Irish.
1st West Virginia Light, Battery E, Capt. Alexander C. Moore.
Abstract from return of the Middle Military Division, Maj. Gen.
Philip H. Sheridan, U.S. Army, commanding, for the month of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of West Va., (Crock).</th>
<th>Present for duty</th>
<th>Total Present</th>
<th>Total present and absent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff &amp; Infantry</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>10,770</td>
<td>12,812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>4,619</td>
<td>5,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2,647</td>
<td>3,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>18,036</td>
<td>31,372</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of W. Va., (Crook)</th>
<th>Present for Duty</th>
<th>Total present</th>
<th>Total present and absent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Infantry</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>7,381</td>
<td>9,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>4,741</td>
<td>5,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>3,026</td>
<td>3,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>15,148</td>
<td>18,719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c.r.s.i., vol. xliii, part ii,
pp. 853-854.

organisation of troops in the middle military division, commanded
by maj. gen. philip h. sheridan, u.s. army, december 31, 1864.

department of west virginia — maj. gen. george crook.

district of harper's ferry.

(brig. gen. william h. seward commanded the post of martinsburg and maj.
gustavus f. harriam, 5th new york heavy artillery, the post of maryland
heights. the other garrisoned posts in the district were berlin, camp
hill, charlestown, buffield's station, frederick, halltown, hedgesville,
kearneysville, point of rocks, and sandy hook.)

brig. gen. john d. stevenson.

infantry.

18th connecticut, lieut. col. henry poole.
15th maine (3 companies), capt. george e. moulton.
16th maine, lieut. col. benjamin b. murray, jr.
1st maryland potomac home brigade (3 companies), lieut. col. nover e. cook.
2nd maryland eastern shore, capt. albert l. corey.
195th pennsylvania (3 companies), capt. henry d. markley.

cavalry.

1st maryland potomac home brigade, col. henry a. cole.
12th pennsylvania, capt. nathaniel payne.
loudoun (virginia) rangers (3 companies), capt. daniel m. kyes.

artillery.

maryland light, battery a, capt. james h. righy.
maryland light, baltimore battery, lieut. e. eugene alexander.
new york light, 30th battery, lieut. conrad carrollien.
new york light, 32nd battery, capt. charles messaron.
5th new york heavy, col. samuel graham.
west virginia, 1st battery, capt. george f. kirtland.
1st ohio light, battery l (comprising the artillery brigade under capt.
    henry a. dupont), capt. frank c. gibbs.
1st pennsylvania light, battery c, lieut. sharp l. richards.
1st pennsylvania light, battery d (in artillery brigade under capt.
    henry a. dupont), lieut. william munk.
pennsylvania light, battery f, (in artillery brigade under capt. henry
    a. dupont), capt. nathaniel irish.
1st pennsylvania light, battery g, lieut. william jennings.
1st west virginia light, battery e, capt. alexander c. moore.
5th united states, battery b (in artillery brigade), capt. henry a.
dupont.
5th united states, battery n, capt. james mcknight.

acting engineers.

independent pennsylvania company, capt. s. crawford smith.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of W. Va. (Crockett)</th>
<th>Present for Duty</th>
<th>Total present</th>
<th>Total present and absent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Infantry</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>8,845</td>
<td>11,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>3,521</td>
<td>5,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2,786</td>
<td>4,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>13,152</td>
<td>20,366</td>
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</table>

32 pieces of heavy artillery and 68 pieces of field artillery.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command and Department of W. Va. (Carroll)</th>
<th>Present for duty</th>
<th>Total present</th>
<th>Total present and absent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff &amp; Infantry</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>7,952</td>
<td>12,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>3,642</td>
<td>5,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2,947</td>
<td>4,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>14,541</td>
<td>21,535</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Third Division (Harper's Ferry)

First Brigade.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade Cavalry, Col. Henry A. Cole.
Chic Light Artillery, 1st Battery, Capt. George F. Kirtland.

Second Brigade.
Col. Samuel Graham.


Third Brigade.
Lieut. Col. Roger F. Cook.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade (4 companies), Capt. Charles J. Brown.
Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers (2 companies), Capt. Daniel H. Keyes.
Maryland Light Artillery, Battery A, Capt. James H. Rigby.

Acting Engineer.

Artillery Brigade.
Capt. Henry A. DuPont.

1st Ohio Light, Battery L, Capt. Frank C. Gilbe.
1st Pennsylvania Light, Battery D, Lieut. William Hunk.
Pennsylvania Light, Battery F, Capt. Nathaniel Irish.


Second Brigade.
Col. Samuel Graham.


Third Brigade.
Lieut. Col. Roger F. Cook.

1st Maryland Potomac Home Brigade (4 companies), Capt. Charles J. Brown.
Loudoun (Virginia) Rangers (2 companies), Capt. Daniel H. Keyes.
Maryland Light Artillery, Battery A, Capt. James H. Rigby.

Acting Engineer.

Artillery Brigade.
Capt. Henry A. DuPont.

1st Ohio Light, Battery L, Capt. Frank C. Gilbe.
1st Pennsylvania Light, Battery D, Lieut. William Hunk.
Pennsylvania Light, Battery F, Capt. Nathaniel Irish.


Second Brigade.
Col. Samuel Graham.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Present for duty</th>
<th>Total present</th>
<th>Total present and absent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of W. Va. (Hancock)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Infantry....................</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>9,103</td>
<td>10,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry................................</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>3,182</td>
<td>3,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery..............................</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2,710</td>
<td>3,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total..................................</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>15,005</td>
<td>17,587</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heavy Artillery – 33 pieces; Field guns – 67 pieces.

Cavalry forces (Tobert)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Present for duty</th>
<th>Total present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Cavalry.......</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>3,729</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artillery..............</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, Winchester, Va.</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>4,333</td>
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Military District of
Stephenson's Depot, Va.
(Enory).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Present for duty</th>
<th>Total present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Infantry......</td>
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<td>5,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery...............</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total...................</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>6,304</td>
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First Provisional Division
(Brooke), Near Charleston,
W. Va.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
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<th>Total present</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Infantry......</td>
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<td>4,336</td>
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General Headquarters: Win-
chester, Va.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Present for duty</th>
<th>Total present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff..................</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infantry...............</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry..............</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detachment of Signal Corps</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total..................</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-95-
Organization of troops in the Middle Military Division, commanded by Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock, U.S. Army, April 30, 1865

**DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA**


**Second Division** (Harpers Ferry)


**First Brigade**

Col. Roger E. Cook.

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

**Not brigaded**

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

**Artillery Brigade**


- 1st Ohio Light, Battery L, Capt. Frank C. Gilbe.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of Va., Virginia</th>
<th>Present for duty</th>
<th>Total present</th>
<th>Total present and absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Members)</td>
<td>Officers Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Infantry</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>6,594</td>
<td>7,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>3,695</td>
<td>4,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2,443</td>
<td>2,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>12,675</td>
<td>14,531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heavy artillery-41 pieces; field artillery-52 guns.
APPENDIX II


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

HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS SHOWING

HARPERS FERRY, WEST VIRGINIA, IN 1864 AND 1865
"Shenandoah Valley from Maryland Heights in 1864."

From original sketch by A. E. Waud in the Library of Congress, Harpers Ferry Negative No. HS-214.

This drawing was made by Waud in November or December, 1864. To the left of the photograph may be seen the west slope of Loudoun Heights, with the Shenandoah River running at its base. The Pipertown road leads up from the river to the side of Loudoun Heights and the military road sigue to the left, from the county road up to the summit. Note the ground cover on Loudoun Heights and beyond. In the center, just beyond the edge of Maryland Heights, is the Pryor's Quarters, Armory Dwelling No. 32—headquarters of General Sheridan in August, 1864, which was located on Camp Hill. Army tent camps appear to lie just to the right of this house. Moving further to the right, just to the left of the pine tree, another large army camp can be seen and beyond stands the large Armory Superintendent's House, Armory Dwelling No. 25, also located on Camp Hill. To the left and right of this house can be seen a portion of the Camp Hill earthworks. To the right of the two trees lies the town of Bolivar and then Bolivar Heights. Note the ground cover to the west (right) of Camp Hill. (Note: a detailed lithograph of the Armory Superintendent's House and the camp of the 5th New York Heavy Artillery, made in 1864, will be found on page 81 of Scoll, C. W., "Report on the Federal Fortifications at Harpers Ferry, Va., and of the Confederate and Union Troop Movements During the Siege of Harpers Ferry, September 12-15, 1862," dated December 1, 1862.)
"Potomac River from Harper's Ferry (Camp) Hill."

Photo taken by Brady in May or June, 1865, from the Library of Congress. Harpers Ferry Negative No. HP-25.

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

This photograph was taken by James Gardner, probably in May, 1865 (Potomac iron bridge had 3 trestles destroyed by flood on May 22, 1865).
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-38.

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

Washington Street runs down Camp Hill to the right of the photo and above it may be seen a portion of the Methodist Protestant Church. (See 1859 Historical Base Map. Drawing No. NM-HF-3021, Sheet 2, for the location of these buildings.)
"Maryland Heights From Harper's Ferry (Camp) Hill."

Photograph by Brady, probably made in May or June, 1865. From the Library of Congress.
Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-24-362.

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

The tall smoke stack to be seen on the near side of the river, in the center of the photo, is that of the Musket Factory Bldg. No. 13—the Smith and Forging Shop. To the right of this structure can be seen Musket Factory Bldg. No. 12—the Warehouse, and to the right of that, the new "Shenandoah Hotel," located on Wagner Lot No. 9.
"The Soldier's Graveyard at Bolivar Heights.
Loudon (sic) Heights on the right and Mary-
Heights on the Left, in the distance."

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

Note the park of wagons in the right center. Great trains of these
wagons were used to carry supplies from Harpers Ferry to Sheridan's army
during the campaign of August, 1864, to February, 1865. The wagon trains
were parked inside the fortified lines on Bolivar Heights for purposes of
protection.
E SOLDIERS' GRAVEYARD AT BOLIVAR HEIGHTS, NEAR HARPER'S FERRY, LOUDON HEIGHTS ON THE RIGHT AND MARYLAND HEIGHTS ON THE LEFT, IN THE DISTANCE.