

A detailed topographic map of a mountainous region, likely the Kanawha Valley in West Virginia. The map features dense contour lines indicating steep slopes and valleys. A prominent river, the Kanawha River, flows through the center of the map. In the lower right quadrant, a rectangular area is outlined, representing the site of Fort Scammon. This area contains a grid of streets and numerous small black dots, which likely represent buildings or structures within the fort. The overall terrain is rugged, with several peaks and ridges visible.

FORT SCAMMON
and
A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR
IN CHARLESTON
AND THE KANAWHA VALLEY
WEST VIRGINIA

PAUL D. MARSHALL & ASSOC., INC.

FORT SCAMMON
and
A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR
IN CHARLESTON AND THE KANAWHA VALLEY, WEST VIRGINIA

for

THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA
Under a Grant From
The State Historic Preservation Office
West Virginia Department of Culture and History

by
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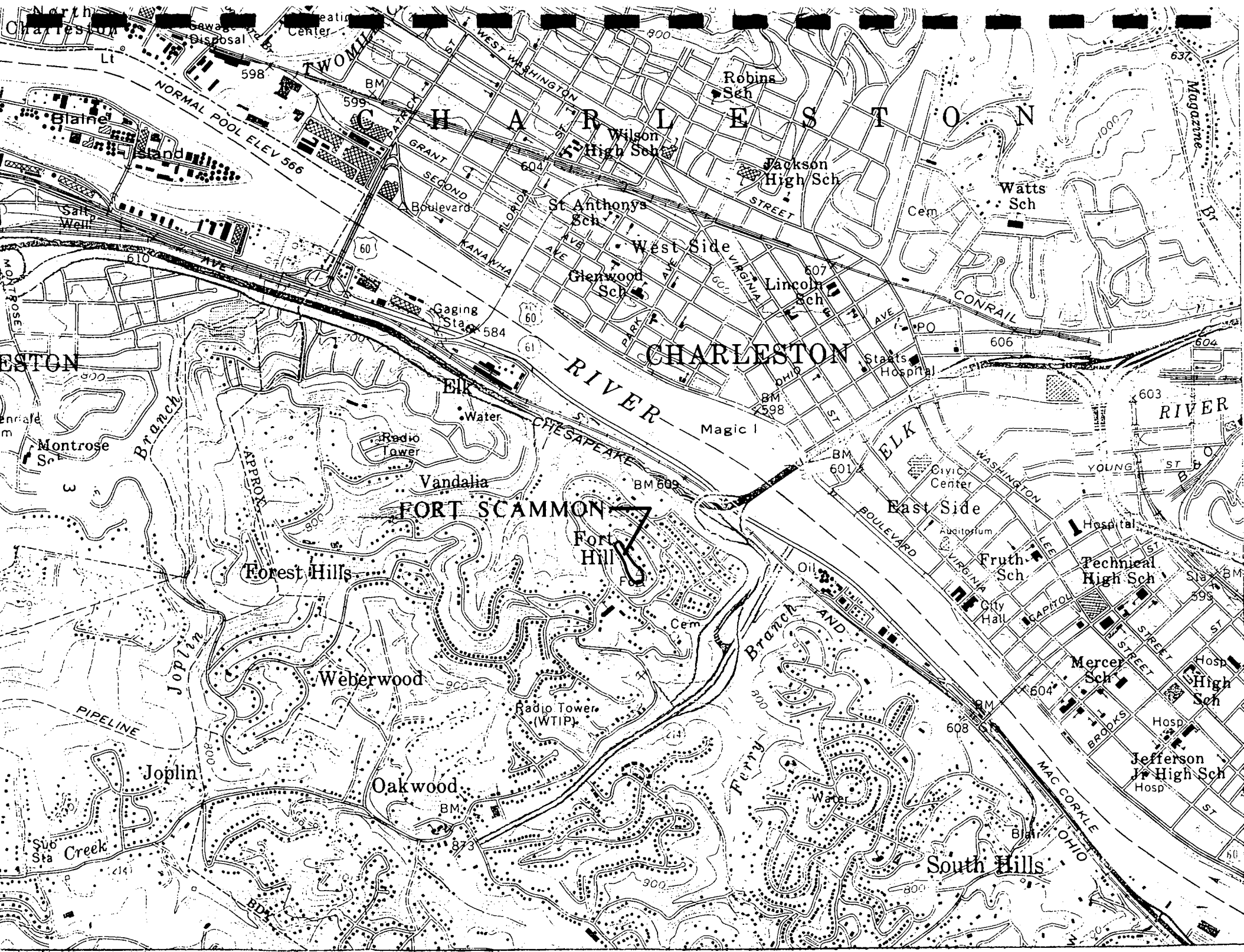
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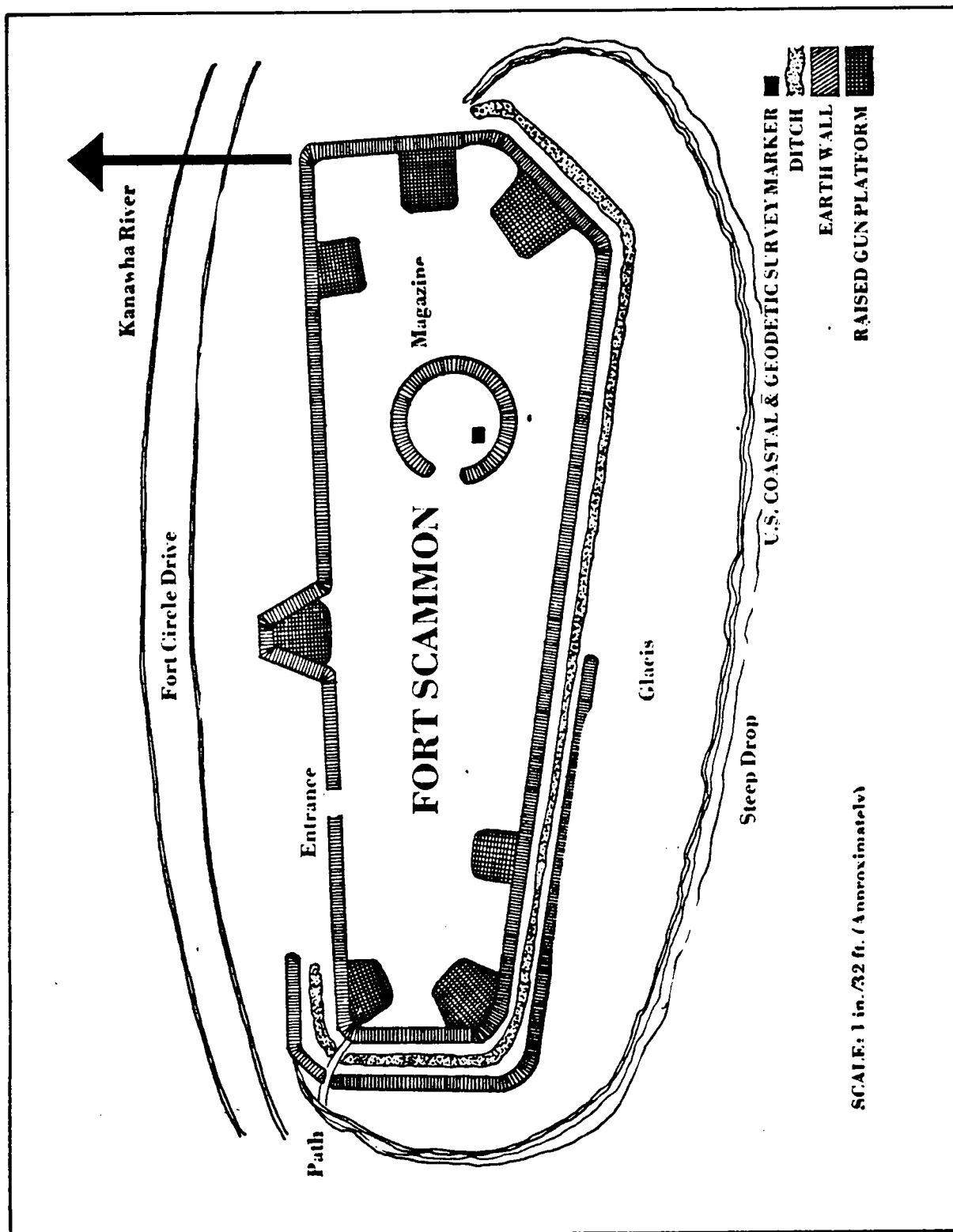
ABSTRACT

From December, 1985 through September, 1986, Paul D. Marshall & Associates, Inc. performed a historical survey of Fort Scammon and its relative position in the history of Charleston and the Kanawha Valley during the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865. The research focused on the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment which was stationed in Charleston through much of the war, and was responsible for construction of Fort Scammon. The Twenty-third was led by Col. Rutherford B. Hayes, with Lt. William McKinley serving as one of his staff. Both went on to lead civilian lives marked by distinguished public service including terms as President of the United States.

The objective of historical research was to learn as much as possible about Fort Scammon; to know more about the men who built the fort - where they were from and how they fit into the war history; how the Civil War impacted the Kanawha Valley; how the soldier lived and trained; and what Charleston was like during the war years.

The purpose of the survey is to provide an interpretive tool for educators and exhibitors and also provide a base from which further research can build. Considerable research work remains to be done and we are confident work will continue. It is certain that, during years to come, Fort Scammon will be visited by many people and scholars will study its history.





Traditional concept of Fort Scammon which appeared in an article by William C. Blizzard in the Sunday Gazette-Mail State Magazine February 14, 1971. The general concept is acceptable but archaeological investigations in the Summer of 1986 have added considerable information and corrected the map.

INTRODUCTION

Camp White, May 2, 1863

"We are fortifying, partly to occupy time, partly to be safe."¹

Camp White, May 7, 1863

"We are building a fort on the hill above our camp - a good position."²

Camp White, May 17, 1863

"We have nearly finished a tolerable fort, and have a gunboat. I have thirteen pieces of artillery."³

Camp White, May 17, 1863

"We are in no danger here. We have built a tolerably good fort which we can hold against superior forces perhaps a week or two or more. We have a gunboat which will be useful as long as the river is navigable. My whole brigade has been here. The most of it is good and the rest is improving."⁴

Camp White, May 25, 1863

"The Rebels don't make much progress towards getting us out. We are tolerably well fortified here and at Fayette. At the latter place they tried it, banging away three or four days and doing nothing."⁵

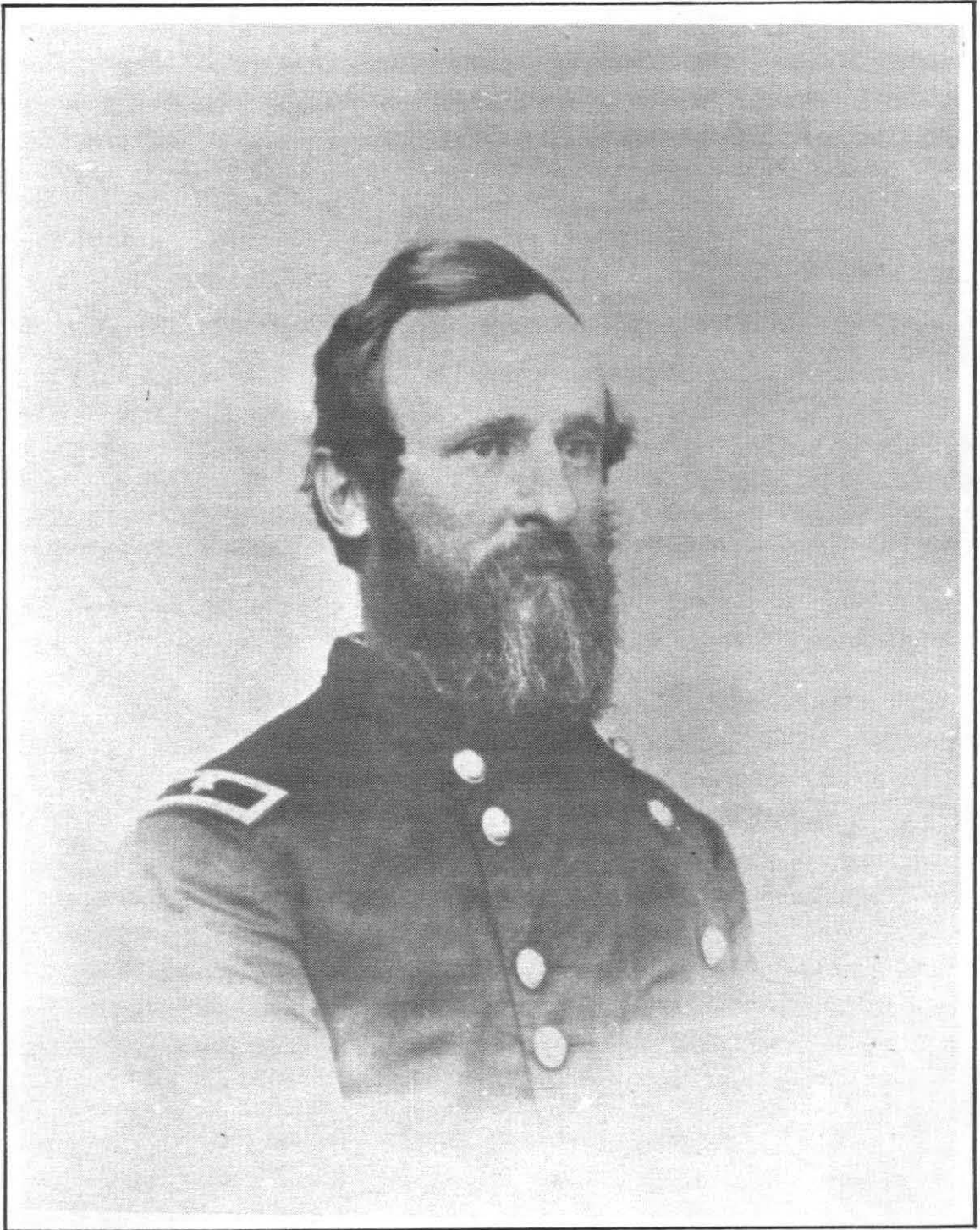
Camp White, May 27, 1863

"We are sufficiently fortified to keep our positions against anything but greatly superior forces."⁶

The quotes above, from the pen of Col. Rutherford B. Hayes, are in reference to the building of Fort Scammon, located at the summit of an area known today in Charleston, West Virginia as Fort Hill.

Col. Rutherford B. Hayes was the commander of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers, the regiment credited with the construction of Fort Scammon. The regiment had moved into Camp White at Ferry Branch on the south bank of the Kanawha River, opposite the mouth of Elk River, on March 15, 1863. In addition to the Twenty-third, Col. Hayes also had in his command "the Fifth and Thirteenth Virginia, three companies of calvary, and a fine battery."⁷ his command stretched from the mouth of Gauley River to the Kentucky line at the mouth of the Big Sandy River. He noted in his Letters that his force was well posted to counter the bushwacking warfare common in western Virginia, but would not be very successful in resisting an invasion force.

The Twenty-third of Ohio, the regiment of Fort Scammon history, was mustered into the service of the United States on June 11, 1861. Enlistments were for three years. The first colonel of the regiment was William S. Rosecrans but, before the regiment left its first headquarters at Camp Chase near Columbus, Ohio,



Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes, Commander of the 23rd. Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment stationed at Charleston from March, 1863 to the end of hostilities in 1865. Col. Hayes became the 19th President of the United States serving in the years 1877-1881. Photo courtesy of the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Freemont, Ohio.

Col. Rosecrans was promoted to brigadier general in the regular army. He was replaced by Colonel Eliakim Parker Scammon, for whom the Charleston fortification was named. Scammon was commander until October 1862. Thereafter, the regiment was led by Rutherford B. Hayes.

Although Col. William Rosecrans would not be the commander of the Twenty-third during its occupation of the Kanawha Valley, he would have been in familiar territory. He had been a captain in the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers but resigned his commission in 1853 to enter the engineering consulting business. He subsequently became the project engineer and part owner of the Coal River Navigation Company, and also owned a coal company. The project design utilized eight locks and dams to provide slack water for 35 miles of the Coal River from Coalsmouth (St. Albans) to Peytona, as well as Lock and Dam A on Little Coal to reach mines in its watershed.

Captain Rosecrans resigned as president of the company when construction began in 1855 and left the area to build a cannell coal oil refinery in Cincinnati, Ohio. The refinery had just become productive when he left Cincinnati to rejoin the army. It is interesting to note that Thomas L. Broun, who succeeded Rosecrans as president of the Coal River Navigation Company, became a Major in the Confederate Army. Mr. Broun was also the law partner of George S. Patton, grandfather of the famous World War II general. Capt. Patton was the commander of the "Kanawha Riflemen," a Confederate militia company attached to the 22nd Virginia Infantry.

By the time of Fort Scammon's construction, all threats of Confederate control of the valley were over but, of course, this fact was not known to Col. Hayes. He remained vigilant due, in part, to rumors of Confederate troop movements nearby, and certainly because of the real but generally ineffective raid by Confederate General Jenkins' party of four hundred to seven hundred men on Point Pleasant and Hurricane in March of 1863. His concern was simply stated in a letter to Mrs. Hayes on April 5: "They will run us out in a month or two, I suspect, unless we are strengthened, or they are weakened. General Scammon is prepared to destroy salt and saltworks if he does have to leave."⁸

Records do not indicate that Col. Hayes was seriously concerned with the movements in North-central West Virginia of the Jones-Imboden military expedition, but his construction of fortifications coincided with Jones-Imboden action in the vicinity of Beverly, Buckhannon and Fairmont which occurred between April 20 and May 3, 1863. The Point Pleasant and Barboursville adventure of General Jenkins was intended to occupy the attention of Kanawha Valley troops and, at the same time, General McCausland was to move to Fayetteville.

WAR IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY - 1861

Battle of Scary Creek

Four days before the Battle at Manassas (First Bull Run), and almost two months before the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers mustered into service, war came to Kanawha Valley at Scary Creek, near Coalsmouth (St. Albans), (West) Virginia.

On July 17, 1861 Confederate militia from Kanawha, Logan, Boone, Fayette, Wayne, Putnam, Jackson, Mason, Cabell, Clay, Wyoming, Nicholas, and Raleigh counties under General Henry A. Wise, Colonel C. Q. Tompkins, and Lt. Colonel John McCausland met an invading Federal force, mostly from Ohio, under the command of General Jacob D. Cox, at the mouth of Scary Creek on the Great Kanawha River.

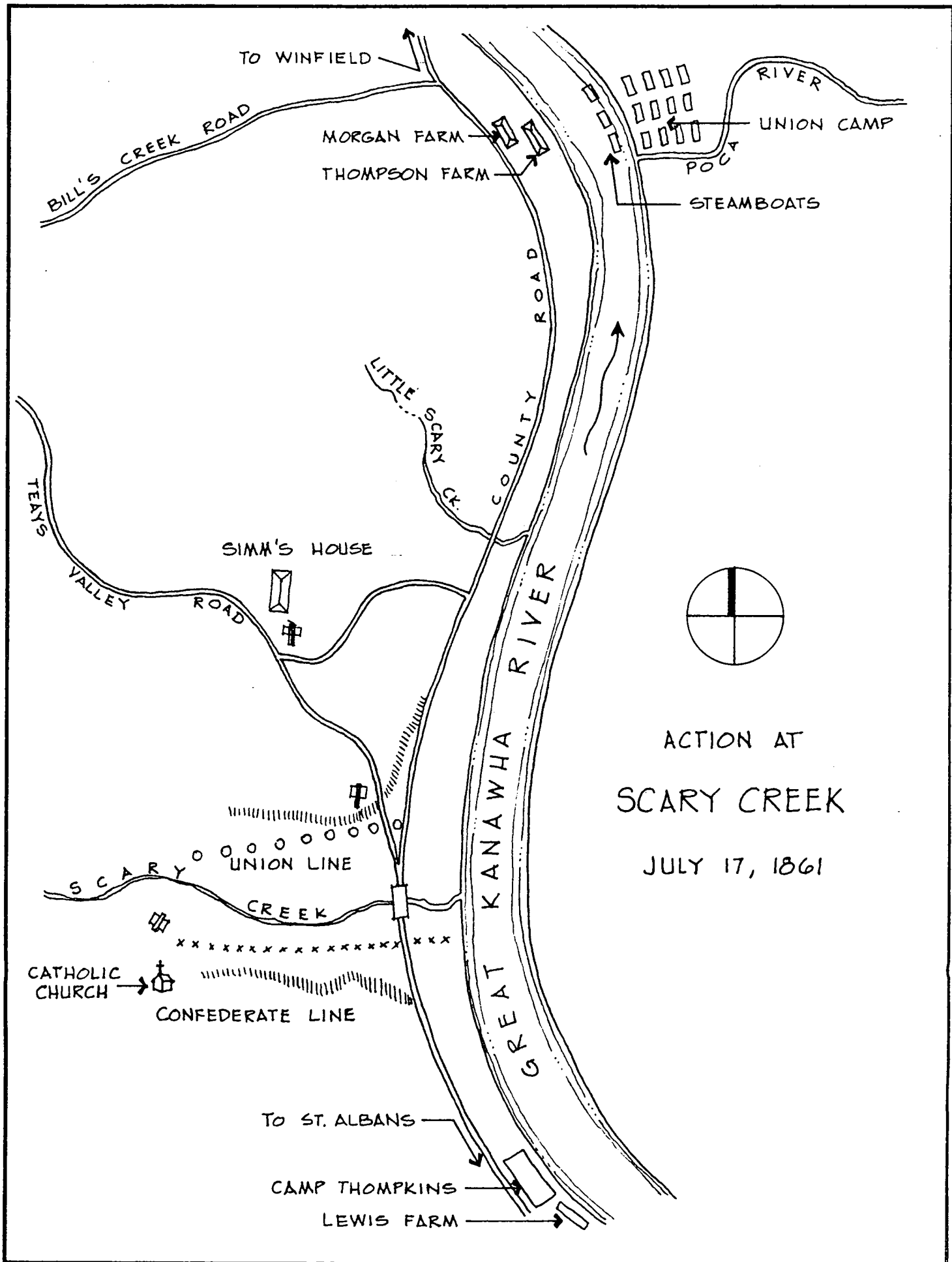
Both opposing forces were composed of green recruits filled with enthusiastic patriotism but ill-trained for their tasks. Except for some of the officers, none of the warriors had been in military service prior to the opening salvo against Fort Sumter on April 12. Many of the officers were appointed on a political basis or elected from the ranks, thus were equally unskilled in military strategy.

The Virginia volunteers were poorly supplied, many of them furnishing their own weapons, generally "flintlock" muskets, squirrel rifles, shotguns, handguns, etc. Those without guns came armed with pikes, knives and clubs. Cavalry personnel furnished their own horses and there were a few iron and brass cannon. Some companies made their own uniforms, but most Confederate volunteers had none.¹

The Stage was set for the battle of Scary Creek when Federal troops were observed gathering at Gallipolis, Ohio. This action was countered by the Confederates by sending Ex-Governor Henry Wise and a staff of twelve to Charleston. By July 8, General Wise had assembled 2,599 men. His main camp was established on the grounds of the Littlepage estate at Kanawha Two Mile Creek. The stone Littlepage mansion still stands at the corner of Washington Street, West and Rebecca Street on Charleston's West Side. General Wise stationed 1600 men at the Littlepage camp and sent the rest to "Camp Tompkins" located at the junction of the Winfield road below St. Albans.²

General Cox, meanwhile, had moved a regiment into the area by way of Barboursville, and another by Ripley. Then he brought his main command up the Kanawha River and established his camp at the mouth of Poca River. Shortly after noon on July 17 the Federals crossed the Kanawha and moved toward Scary Creek.³

From about 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. on that unusually hot July 17, 1861, the opposing forces struggled on the banks of Scary and the adjacent ridges. The Virginians had taken up defensive positions on high ground on the west side of the stream and the Ohio volunteers used offensive tactics in an effort to dislodge



ACTION AT
SCARY CREEK
JULY 17, 1861

them. The day ended with a Confederate victory. Generally accepted casualty figures are: Confederates - four killed, two mortally wounded, four slightly wounded; Federal - fifteen killed, nine wounded and seven captured.⁴

The celebration was brief, however, because General Wise, learning of General McClellan's victories in the north at Rich Mountain and Laurel Mountain, began a retreat from the valley on July 19th. He knew that his position could not be defended if the Union forces converged on the valley. During the retreat the Confederates caused considerable damage to the suspension bridge over the Elk river in Charleston, and burned several buildings. On July 26th the army of General Wise left Gauley Bridge, burning the wooden covered bridge behind them. The retreat ended at Bunger's Mill, near Lewisburg.⁵

The damaged Elk River bridge detained the Federal army only briefly. Cox moved his army into Charleston by crossing the river on barges. He and his staff were met by Mayor J. H. Goshorn and other noted citizens who surrendered the town.⁶

Thomas E. Jeffries, an early citizen of Charleston, who witnessed events of the Civil War in Charleston as a young lad, recalled some of his memories for The Charleston Daily Mail:

"A few days after General Wise retreated from Charleston the Federal army under General Cox quietly took possession of the town. Headquarters was located at the corner of Capitol and Lee streets where the Bank of Commerce now stands [today's Sidneys]. Capitol Street, because of the many army teams, became a sea of mud. I saw a mule and a cow sunk in the mud so deep that they had to be pried out with a timber. The unsanitary conditions of the camp produced much sickness, particularly typhoid fever. At first a soldier was buried with military honors, but the deaths occurred so frequently that they were put under ground any old way."⁷

General Cox had his army in Gauley Bridge on July 29, but could go no farther because of the destroyed bridge and high water in the Gauley River. Warfare in the Kanawha Valley, except for some isolated skirmishes, was over for the rest of 1861.

During the time when war operations were centered around Gauley Bridge, Colonel Guthrie, with the First Kentucky Infantry was in charge of the Charleston post. His regiment was reinforced by Major John Casement and four hundred men of the Seventh Ohio Infantry who moved into Charleston after the September 10 battle of Carnifex Ferry. On October 19 Colonel E. B. Tyler arrived in the city to assume command, and established Camp Warren. Among his general orders of conduct was one that forbade soldiers to be on the streets of Charleston without a pass. In December the command was pulled out of Charleston and sent to other campaign areas where the need was greater.⁸

WAR IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY - 1862

The Battle of Charleston

In early 1862 the defense of the entire Kanawha Valley, from Gauley Bridge to Point Pleasant, was entrusted to only six regiments of infantry and one cavalry unit. This was because 5,000 troops had been transferred to General Pope's army in eastern Virginia. The thinned defense system was confirmed by a raiding party of 550 Confederate cavalry led by General Albert Gallatin Jenkins. The party left Salt Sulphur Springs in Monroe County on August 24. They passed through Greenbrier and Pocahontas Counties, captured Buckhannon, Weston, Glenville, Spencer, and Ripley, then crossed into Ohio, moved back into West Virginia below Point Pleasant and marched on Guyandotte and Raleigh Courthouse. The ease with which he moved about the area convinced the Confederate leadership that the Kanawha Valley could be retaken.¹

Colonel Joseph A. J. Lightburn, who had been named commander of Union forces in the Kanawha Valley, when General Cox and half his command was ordered to join General Pope, moved his headquarters from Gauley Bridge to Charleston about the time Jenkins raiders reached Ravenswood. His move was designed to maintain a potential escape route to Ohio should his smaller force be attacked by superior numbers.

Brigadier General William W. Loring was ordered by General Robert E. Lee to invade the Kanawha Valley and capture Charleston in an effort to recover the area of Virginia west of the mountains and also to replenish the South's desperately low supply of salt. He left Pearisburg, Virginia on September 1 with 4,000 troops and marched toward Fayetteville. Union forces were routed from Fayetteville in a battle there on September 11. A general retreat by the Federals even pulled troops from outposts at Ansted and Summersville, thus opening the entire valley to invasion.²

The Federal troops moved down the Kanawha Valley on each side of the river. Colonel Edward Siber, leading the 37th Ohio, arrived at Brownstown (Marmet) on the morning of September 12, and crossed the river to join Colonel Lightburn's force at Camp Piatt (Belle). Colonel Samuel Gilbert, of the 44th Ohio, arrived at Camp Piatt about 4 p.m., having moved down on the North side of the Kanawha. An outpost of cavalry and four companies of the 4th Infantry were positioned at Witcher's Creek to detain the advance guard of the Confederates.

On September 13 General Loring's Confederates arrived in the vicinity of Charleston on the south side of the Kanawha river close to the present location of the University of Charleston. The Confederate artillery immediately started a bombardment of the town, but later moved the guns to the heights of present Fort Hill and increased the intensity of the shelling. The guns were positioned in about the same area where Colonel Hayes'

Twenty-third Ohio was to build Fort Scammon a few months later. Only one six-pound artillery piece responded from the Union side of the river.³

The late George W. Scott, a noted Charleston druggist, was eight years old when the Battle of Charleston was fought and, in a September 13, 1940 interview with Charleston Daily Mail newspaper reporter, R. W. Jackson, talked about details of the fight. Mr. Scott said his family was eating breakfast when the battle started but "it didn't take us long to flee to the hills." He said almost all of the town's population climbed Cox's Hill (the hillside north of the city which looks south along Capitol Street) to escape the fighting.⁴

However, troops took up positions on the same hill and fired over the heads of the defenseless civilians. Mr. Scott said that Confederate guns, located on the heights south of town (Fort Hill), "played havoc with the town side." One of the balls from a six-pound gun struck a tree on Cox's Hill and all the youngsters, including Mr. Scott, made a dive for the cannon ball, trying to collect a souvenir.⁵

Mr. Thomas E. Jeffries, also an eyewitness at a young age, wrote about his experiences during the battle of Charleston:

"The first I saw of the Confederate army was a small gun pulled by a large mule. While we were watching the small gun, a squad of Confederate skirmishers suddenly appeared, coming up the hill. There were two or three of us boys wearing blue flannel suits and caps, and were mistaken for Federal troopers. The soldiers fired on us but missed us, but we started up the hill in high and never stopped until we were behind some women."⁶

About one o'clock in the afternoon Lightburn crossed the Elk River after having set fire to the branch Bank of Virginia, the Kanawha House, the Brooks and Whitteker stores, Mercer Academy and the Southern M. E. Church. The Bank of Virginia was located on the northwest corner of today's Capitol Street and Kanawha Boulevard, the Mercer Academy occupied the site where the Morrison Building stands on Quarrier Street, and the Southern M. E. Church stood on the southeast corner of Capitol and Virginia Streets.⁷

About 3 p.m. the scene of battle shifted to the west side of Elk. Col. Lightburn set up his defense by positioning the 9th (West) Virginia Infantry along the west bank of the river, just above the mouth, behind hurriedly-erected log breastworks; the 34th Ohio Volunteer Infantry was placed along what is now the lower Kanawha Boulevard, facing the Kanawha; the 4th (West) Virginia Infantry and the 37th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, respectively, took up positions on either side of the "pike" (now Washington Street West) on the west side of the suspension bridge; and Colonel Siber's battery of four mounted howitzers were placed on Watts Hill. The two sides engaged in a hot fight

on both sides of the Elk, but the accuracy and superior position (Fort Hill) of Confederate artillery gradually dislodged the Federal defensive positions and caused a general but orderly withdrawal.⁸

After Col. August Parry with the 47th Ohio and Col. Siber had crossed the Elk, bringing up the rear, Lightburn ordered the cables cut on the suspension bridge which crossed the river at the present location of the Washington Street bridge. The fighting continued until about 5 p.m. That evening Col. Lightburn loaded his supplies on a train of more than 700 wagons and retreated toward Ripley. Lightburn's orderly retreat saved over a million dollars worth of supplies. The divided army was finally reassembled at Point Pleasant.⁹

In the one-day battle the Federals had 25 killed and 95 wounded; the Confederates had 18 killed and 89 wounded. The defeat of Lightburn was the worst inflicted on any Union force in western Virginia.¹⁰

General Loring did not follow the defeated Federals, but set his men to work at occupation duty, and in obtaining salt at the Kanawha Salines (Malden). Several of the Confederate personnel involved in the brief occupation of Charleston following the September 13 battle were coming home after a long separation. Col. George S. Patton who organized the "Kanawha Riflemen" spent some time with his family; Col. John McCausland, of the 36th Virginia was, for the first time since the Battle of Scary Creek, near his home near Buffalo; artilleryman Milton Humphries, who later would achieve fame as the first artilleryman to use indirect firing of artillery (in the battle of Fayetteville), was educated at Mercer Academy; Captain R. Q. Laidley of the 22nd Virginia was a native of Charleston, as was Captain McFarland, brother of Charleston's leading banker, J. C. McFarland, president of the Bank of Virginia branch, that had been burned by the retreating Federals.

During the occupation the Confederate command seized the local newspaper (Kanawha Valley Star) plant and began to publish a rebel newspaper, "The Guerilla" which carried the motto: "Devoted to Southern Rights and Institutions." The printing plant also published general orders and several proclamations of the occupation command.

On September 25, General Lee ordered Loring to move his force into the Monongahela Valley by way of Clarksburg, Fairmont and Morgantown for the purpose of destroying bridges on the B & O Railroad. Instead, General Loring sent his 1500 man cavalry under the leadership of General A. G. Jenkins to the Monongahela Valley, and moved his infantry back to the east by way of Lewisburg and Monterey.¹¹

Meanwhile, General Lee learned that Union forces were being significantly reinforced in Point Pleasant, and sent an order for Loring to remain in Charleston. When he found out that

THE GUERRILLA.

DEVOTED TO SOUTHERN RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS.

Vol. 1.

CHARLESTON, VA., OCTOBER 3, 1862.

No. 6

THE GUERRILLA.

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Rules of Advertising.

One square, (10 lines,) first insertion 50 cents.
Each subsequent insertion, ———— 25 “

Advertisers will please mark the number of insertions wanted on the MS., or they will be continued until ordered out, and charged accordingly.

FOR THE GUERRILLA.

TO ****.

I THINK OF THEE.

I.

I think of thee when twilight shade
Hath spread its mantle o'er the day,
To hide the sunbeams from our view,
And clothe the earth in silver grey.
I think of all thy virtues rare—
Thy beauty, grace and winning ways,
And humbly breathe a fervent prayer
That God may bless thee all thy days.

II.

I think of thee, when Luna sheds
Her mystic light down from above;
And basking 'neath her mellow beams,
I realize the heart's first love.
And then when thoughts recall the past—
The joyous scenes of other years—
I sigh because I knew thee not,
Thill sighing fills my eyes with tears.

III.

I think of thee at midnight hour,
When all on earth is hushed to rest,
And try to drive away the care.
That dwells within my troubled breast.
And when in sleep I seek repose,
And strive to ease my aching heart,
Some idle dream will bring thee close,
And make my restless spirit start!

IV.

I think of thee when morning's light
Bids the darkness disappear,
And an dreamy visions bright
Beside thy gentle spirit near.
I think of no one else but thee,
For no one else is half so dear;
Thence in battle I should fall,
Should for me a single tear.

“WILTON.”

Copy sent Charleston, Oct. 1st, 1862.

A TALE OF TERROR

At the “Crow Inn,” at Antwerp, some years ago, a white spectre was seen bearing a lamp in one hand, and a bunch of keys in the other—this unpleasant visitor was seen by a variety of travelers, passing along a corridor.

Nothing would satisfy the neighbors that an unfortunate traveler had not been, at some period or other, despatched in that fatal room by one of the previous landlords of the house; and the hotel gradually obtained the name of the “Haunted Inn,” and ceased to be frequented by its old patrons.

The landlord finding himself on the brink of ruin, determined to sleep in the haunted room, with a view of proving the groundlessness of the story. To make the matter more sure, as he said, he caused a hostler to bear him company, on pretence, requiring a witness to the absurdity of the report; but, in reality, from cowardice. At dead of night, however, just as the two men were composing themselves to sleep in the bed—leaving another which was in the room untenanted—the door flew open, and in glided the white spectre!

Without pausing to ascertain what it might attempt on approaching the other bed, towards which it directed its course, the two men rushed naked out of the room, and by the alarm they created, confirmed more fully than ever the evil repute of the house.

Unable longer to sustain the cost of so unproductive an establishment, the poor landlord advertised for sale the house in which he and his father before him were born and had passed their lives. But bidders were as scarce as customers; the inn remained on sale for nearly a year, during which, from time to time, the spectre reappeared.

At length an officer of the garrison, who had formerly frequented the house, and recollected the excellent quality of its wine, moved to compassion in favor of the poor host, undertook to clear up the mystery by sleeping in the aforesaid haunted chamber; nothing doubting that the whole was a trick of some envious neighbor, desirous of deteriorating the value of the freehold in order to become a purchaser.

His offer having been gratefully accepted, the captain took up his quarters in the fatal room, with a bottle of wine, and a brace of loaded pistols on the table before him; determined to fire at whatever object might enter the doors.

At the usual hour of midnight, accordingly, when the door flew open and the white spectre, bearing a lamp and a bunch of keys, made its appearance, he seized both his pistols, when, fortunately, as his finger was on the point of touching the trigger, he perceived that the apparition was no other than the daughter of his host, a young and pretty

girl, evidently walking in her sleep. Preserving the strictest silence, he watched her set down the lamp, place her keys carefully on the chimney place, and retire to the opposite bed, which, as it afterwards proved, she had often occupied during the lifetime of her late mother, who slept in the room.

No sooner had she thoroughly disposed of herself, than the officer, after locking the door of the room, went in search of her father and several competent witnesses, including the water bailiff of the district, who had been the loudest in circulating rumors concerning the Haunted Inn. The poor girl was found quietly asleep in bed, and her terror on awaking in the dreaded chamber afforded sufficient evidence to all present of the state of somnambulism in which she had been entranced.

From that period the spectre was seen no more; partly because the landlord's daughter shortly after removed to a home of her own; and the tales of horror so freely circulated to the bewilderment of the poor neighbors, ended in the simple story of a young girl walking in her sleep.

ALWAYS BE PREPARED FOR DEATH.—This was the admonition of a Missouri elder, as he placed in his son's belt two bowie-knives and a pair of revolvers.

TO KILL MOSQUITOS.—Chain their hind legs to a tree, then go round in front and make faces at them.

A SPLENDID CHANCE.

A FLYING BATTERY is about to be formed for *Gen. Jenkins' Cavalry Brigade*, to be officered by experienced artillerymen, and to be equipped in the most superb style. The Battery is to consist of two three-inch rifled guns, two twelve pound howitzers, (light, such as the Richmond Howitzer Battalion has,) and two mountain rifled guns, to be packed, when necessary, on horses. Fleet, active horses for the purpose are now being purchased by the Quartermaster of Jenkins' Brigade, and all necessary steps for the procurement of a complete outfit are being taken. Applicants for membership will be required to undergo a medical examination, and must be young, active and intelligent. The cannoners will be mounted, and must furnish their own horses, which will be valued and paid for.

While it is expected to recruit the men from among the mounted companies now forming in this section, transfers can doubtless be procured for a few enterprising men from the regiments and battalions.

The service is a brilliant one, full of exciting incident. *No half-sleep men need apply!* A Recruiting Sergeant may be found for the present at the **ORDNANCE OFFICE** in Charleston.

Loring had already left, he relieved him of his command. On October 16 Lee turned Loring's army over to Brigadier General John Echols who immediately reoccupied Charleston.¹²

Very soon after Echols' return to Charleston, Union General Jacob Cox ordered the strengthened Federal divisions under Lightburn and George Morgan to move up the Kanawha, and for Brigadier General George Crook to move from Weston to Gauley Bridge. Facing almost certain defeat by superior forces, General Echols withdrew his infantry and supplies from Charleston, leaving Jenkins' cavalry to delay the enemy advance. Following a skirmish with advance units of the Union forces at Tyler Mountain on October 29, Jenkins also retreated east through Charleston. Union forces then occupied Charleston for the duration of the war. The Confederates retreated through Fayetteville by way of Cotton Hill and finally took up defensive positions at Princeton and the New River Narrows. Charleston and the Kanawha Valley were never threatened again by Confederate control.¹³

WAR IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY - 1863

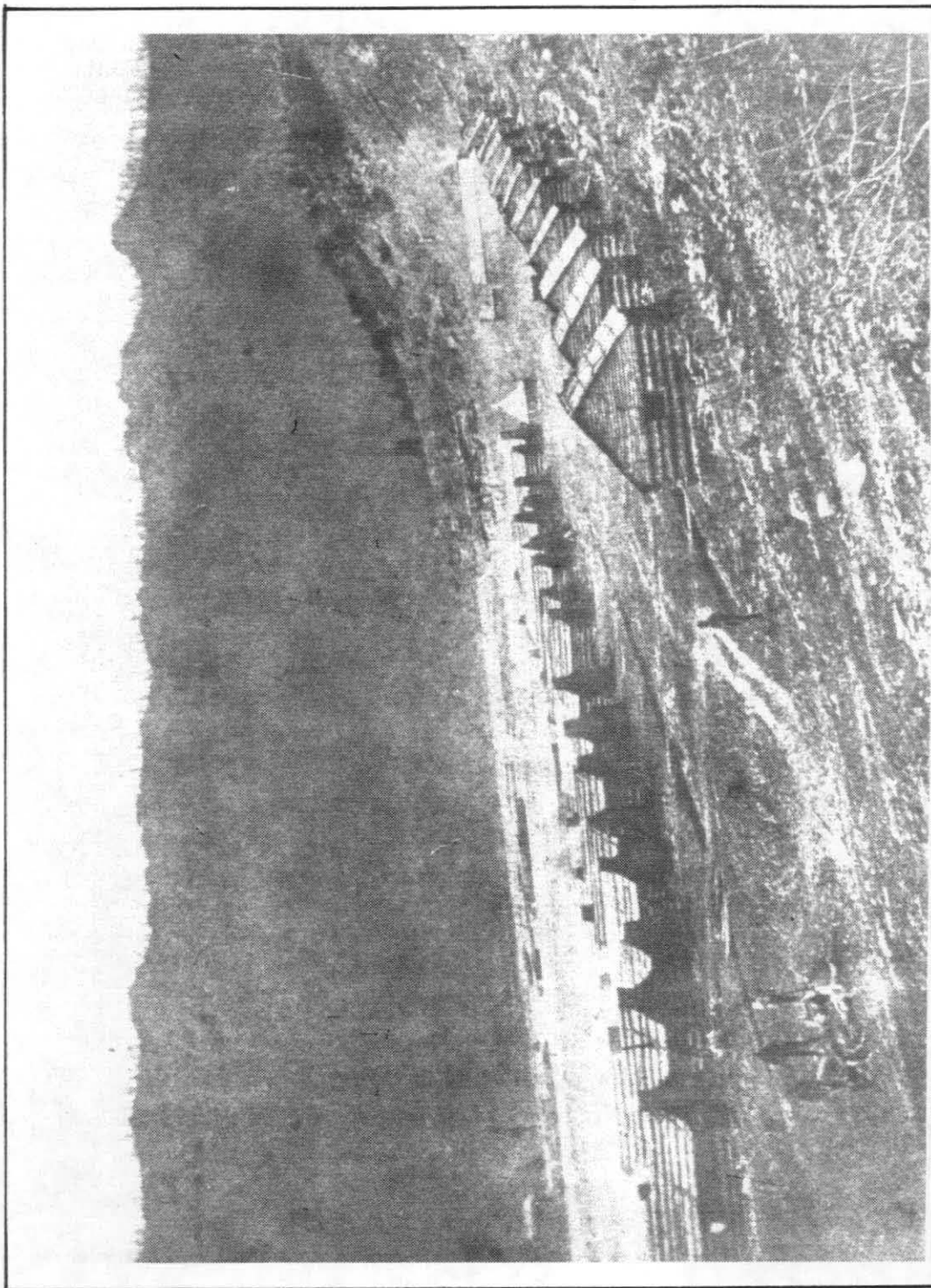
Mr. J. C. McFarland, president of the Branch Bank of Virginia and a very prominent citizen and businessman in Charleston, wrote to Indiana Hornbook of Wheeling on January 5, 1863 concerning wartime conditions in Charleston. He noted that the retreating Federals had "set fire to their warehouses and the Bank and the Kanawha House [both of which he owned or controlled] and others [buildings] in the center of town. By the coming of the Confederates, two things were accomplished, viz the getting of several thousand barrels of salt and the marriage of two young girls in town." Another letter of March 17, 1863, two days after Col. Hayes and the 23rd Ohio arrived at Camp White, still noted the troubled times in the City. Mr. McFarland said that not a fence was standing, there were 100 teams in the streets and sidewalks were ruined. The Branch Bank of Virginia and Kanawha House had occupied an entire block but the fire-damaged walls had been blown down by gusty winds leaving a huge mass of rubble. The only building still intact, he wrote, was the Presbyterian Church but its lecture room had been converted into a kitchen for teamsters and "our village presents a most forlorn and desolate appearance." It was to this scene that Col. Hayes led his occupation force.

By the time Col. Rutherford B. Hayes and his Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers reached Charleston in March, 1863, they were seasoned veterans of several engagements. They had been part of General Rosecrans' army at the battle of Carnifex Ferry, September 10, 1861. William McKinley said of Carnifex Ferry:

"This was our first real fight and the effect of the victory was of far more consequence to us than the battle itself. It gave us confidence in ourselves and faith in our commander. We learned that we could fight and whip the rebels on their own ground."¹

The regiment was involved in a fight at Princeton in April of 1862 and was driven to Flat Top Mountain, enduring severe hardships and near starvation. They joined McClellan's army in Washington later in the summer and were important combatants in the Federal victories at Frederick, Maryland and South Mountain. They were also participants in the great Battle of Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, Maryland on September 17, 1862.²

Col. Hayes was severely wounded in the left arm at South Mountain and was sent back to Ohio to recover. During Hayes' absence from the field, Sergeant William McKinley distinguished himself at Antietam to the extent that he was elevated to the rank of second lieutenant. Col. Hayes noted in his diary on December 13, 1862: "Our new second lieutenant, McKinley, returned today - an exceedingly bright, intelligent, and gentlemanly young officer. He promises to be one of the best."³ McKinley was returning to camp from a recruiting trip to Ohio.



Winter quarters of the 23rd Ohio Volunteers at Camp Reynolds near Gauley Bridge, winter of 1862-1863. Photo courtesy of the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio.

Col. Hayes had rejoined his regiment at Camp Maskell on November 30, 1862, his wound well healed, but his arm not yet fully restored to normal strength. Camp Maskell was located on the south side of the Kanawha river, two miles from Gauley Bridge, in sight of the falls. Early in 1863 the name of the Camp was changed to Camp Reynolds, in honor of Major Eugene E. Reynolds who was killed at South Mountain.

The first two months of 1863 were spent in building log cabins at camp Reynolds near Gauley Bridge. Col. Hayes said he had a double cabin with two rooms 18 x 20 each and a 16 x 18 breezeway between the rooms, all under a single roof. He had stone fireplaces and chimneys. Work details had built cabins for the men, dug drainage ditches, made walks, roads and bridges.

Mrs. Hayes and two sons visited Camp Reynolds from January 24 to Saturday, March 21, after the regiment moved to Charleston. Col. Hayes wrote in his diary that the family "rowed skiffs, fished, built dams, sailed little ships, played cards, and enjoyed camp life generally."⁴

On March 22, 1863 Hayes wrote that it seemed they were intended for a permanent garrison at Camp White (named for Colonel Carr White of the Twelfth Ohio) across from the mouth of Elk.

"We shall probably be visited by the Rebels while here. Our force is small but will perhaps do. My command is Twenty-third Ohio, Fifth and Thirteenth Virginia, three companies of cavalry, and a fine battery. I have some of the best, and I suspect some of about the poorest troops in service. They are scattered from Gauley to the mouth of [Big] Sandy on the Kentucky line. They are well posted to keep down bushwhacking and the like, but would be of small account against an invading force."⁵

Colonel Hayes consistently talked about the possibility of an attack on Charleston, and actually welcomed action! "Had a dispatch from Captain Simmonds at Gauley; he reports rumors of an early advance on all our posts. 'Sensational!' General Scammon in a 'stew' about it."⁶

There were rumors of enemy movements in Boone and Logan Counties, also on the Big Sandy, and Col. Hayes thought the reported action was directed toward taking the Kanawha Valley and the saltworks. His diary records the battle of Hurricane Bridge on March 28 and Jenkins' attack on Point Pleasant on March 29. Lt. Col. Comly and five companies of the Twenty-third were dispatched by steamboat to Coalsmouth (St. Albans) to set up a defense.

The Jenkins raid failed to penetrate farther than Hurricane and, except for causing some excitement, Col. Hayes considered the raid to be a failure for the Confederate cause. "Yes, Jenkins made a dash into Point Pleasant, but he dashed out before doing much mischief with a loss of seventy-five killed and prisoners.

He attacked one other post garrisoned by men under my command but was repulsed. His raid was a failure. He lost about one hundred and fifty men while in this region and accomplished nothing."⁷

War was not all that the soldiers occupied themselves with. The pleasures of camp life along the Kanawha during the spring of 1863 were described by Col. Hayes:

"...Drilling, boating, ball playing make the time pass pleasantly."

"...You can stay on the opposite side of the river [Charleston] for seven dollars a week or in a comfortable tent on this side with better grub for nothing."⁸

On July 7, after the building of Fort Scammon, Col. Hayes entered in his diary: "Heard the news of Vicksburg captured. Fired one hundred guns and had a good time."⁸ It is presumed this was the second firing of the battery at Fort Scammon. On the sixth of July he had written to Mrs. Hayes:

"We had a good Fourth. Salutes from Simmonds and Austin [artillery commanders]. A good deal of drinking but no harm. We let all out of the guard house."¹⁰

Colonel Hayes' command left Charleston for two weeks in July for a campaign in Raleigh County on Piney Creek. The Confederate force retreated and Col. Hayes' men destroyed the Rebel fortifications. They were then dispatched to engage Confederate cavalry raider John H. Morgan at Pomeroy, Ohio on the Ohio River. The Twenty-third was part of a force which included gunboats, local militia, and cavalry. Morgan was defeated, losing 800 men.

General B. F. Kelley came to Charleston in October to review the local troops, an event that probably caused considerable excitement and occupied the soldiers and their officers for several days in preparations for his visit. In November the Confederates made their last stand in West Virginia at the battle of Droop Mountain. A call for help came to the Charleston command and Hayes' regiment moved east. However they arrived in Lewisburg too late to intercept the retreating Confederates, who had already passed through the town.

The Kanawha Valley was quiet through the remainder of 1863. Indeed, Charleston had seen nothing of the war at all during the year except for the firing of Fort Scammon's guns to celebrate both the Fourth of July and the victory of Grant at Vicksburg.

WAR IN THE KANAWHA VALLEY - 1864

Col. Hayes wrote from Camp White in January 1864 that his regiment had reenlisted in the army as a veteran regiment. It was usual, during the wintertime, for enlistment campaigns to be conducted back in the hometowns by members of the regiment. The men took their winter furloughs in company strength. He wrote also about the weather in Charleston - "very very cold indeed;" snow "good sleighing;" the river was frozen over, and they were cut off from navigation. He said: "Provisions were pretty plenty, however, and we felt independent of the weather."¹

Col. Hayes commented about the future of his command in a description of proposed action written in his diary. The entry was apparently written at the end of January, 1864:

"Plan of spring campaign from Kanawha Valley. - Ten or fifteen thousand men can move from the head of navigation on the Kanawha River (Loup Creek) via Fayette, Raleigh, Flat Top, and Princeton to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, between New River and Wytheville, a distance of one hundred and thirty-nine miles, in a week or ten days; spend a week on the railroad destroying New River Bridge and the track for twenty-five miles; return to Loup Creek in one week more and be carried in steamers into the Ohio, and thence East or South for other operations. One week is time enough to convey such a force to Loup Creek from the Potomac or the West. The roads and weather will ordinarily allow such a column to move April 20. Supplies and transportation should be provided at Fayetteville during February and March. The utmost secrecy should be observed so that the first information the Rebels would have would be the approach of the force. Such a destruction of the railroad would effectively cut the communications of Longstreet and Jones in east Tennessee and compel him (the enemy) to abandon that country. The Rebels could not reconstruct the railroad during the next campaign. It would perhaps compel the evacuation of Richmond."²

Kanawha Valley action in 1864 began in February in Putnam County, where Confederate Colonel Milton J. Ferguson, a guerilla leader, tried to disrupt the organization of the county government. (Putnam County, like many other counties, was just beginning to function as an entity of the newly-formed state of West Virginia.) The Charleston Federal command quickly responded to the crisis with a small force under General E. P. Scammon. The Union contingent moved all the way to Point Pleasant.

During the return trip (Scammon had insisted on a night journey, against the boat captain's warnings) from Point Pleasant on the steamboat "The Levi," the boat was boarded, as it stopped to negotiate the treacherous Red House Shoals, by a rebel party of ten Confederate guerillas under the leadership of Lt. G. S. Vertegan. General Scammon, four other officers, 25 privates and

Civil War Records Reveal

Capture of Steamboat "Levi"

And Burning Here In 1864

We are indebted to former Putnam Countian and present Member W. Va. Legislature R. Lee Matthews for two articles covering a Civil War incident occurring in the vicinity of Winfield in 1864. The incident was one wherein the government steamboat "Levi" was captured and burned by Confederate troops and the capture of General E. P. Scammon. The two articles are from official records of the Civil War, and follow:

REPORT OF THE CAPTAIN OF THE CAPTURED STEAMBOAT LEVI

I was ordered from Gallipolis to Point Pleasant, Virginia, on February 2, 1864, where I took on board General E. P. Scammon, who insisted that we leave that night for Charleston. I told him it was too dark and stormy to run farther than Red House Shoals, there being a dug chute that we could not run without it being light enough to see the wall. I told him we could leave at one or two o'clock in the morning, but he thought it best to go, so we left about seven o'clock, ran to Red House and tied up at one o'clock. The pilot was called at two-thirty o'clock, but said it was too dark and he could not see. While waiting for it to clear the boat was captured. A lieutenant and thirteen men came on board with a rush and secured all arms that were in the boat. There were some soldiers aboard, to the best of my knowledge about sixteen or seventeen. There was no sentinel on shore. At the time of capture of the boat I had steam up, pilot at wheel, all ready to start.

After some little time, with a guard over the pilot and engineer the boat was run over to the Winfield side, and remained there until about ten o'clock and more of the enemy came on board making them number twenty-eight. We were taken some minutes after five a. m.

About ten o'clock the boat was ordered to run down to the mouth of Hurricane Creek. Soon after 12 o'clock the general and officers were taken ashore, and notice given to the crew and all to get ashore, as they were going to burn the boat. It was burned at 12:30 p. m. At that time is the last I saw of the general.

C. Regnier,
Captain, Steamer Levi

From Official Records of
The Civil War.

CAPTURE OF GENERAL SCAMMON, AT RED HOUSE, VIRGINIA FEBRUARY 3, 1864

Reports Major James H. Nownan
Logan Court House Virginia
February 7, 1964

General:
I left Colonel Ferguson in Wayne County on the 26th ultimo without

definite orders and moved in the direction of the Kanawha River along which I maneuvered in the counties of Putnam and Mason until the third instant when I entered Putnam court house at three o'clock A. M. with forty men and found a number of government officials and a government steamer, the LEVI, with a strong guard and pieces of artillery lying upon the opposite side of the river. With great difficulty I secured a small craft capable of carrying four men only, with which I crossed a party of 12 men under Lieut. E. G. Vertigans, who obeyed my instruction as speedily as possible by cutting the telegraph line and assaulting the boat, which surrendered without firing a gun, although moored several yards from the shore.

I found a valuable cargo on the boat, consisting chiefly of medical stores; a lot of arms, etc., and Brigadier General E. P. Scammon, Capt. Wm. G. Pinkard, and Lieut. Frank Millwood of his staff, and Lieut. Wm. C. Lyons, 23rd Ohio Volunteers and 25 non-commissioned officers and privates, who were made prisoners. I secured about 20 horses and some of the most valuable medicines, demolished the telegraph office and moved to the mouth of Big Hurricane, where I burned the boat and cargo worth \$100,000, destroyed the piece of artillery and a quantity of ammunition, paroled the non-commissioned officers and privates except one, and determined to make my way through with the most valuable prisoners with as much speed as possible. The enemy pressed me heavily in an effort to recover the prisoners and compelled me to come to this point.

I herewith send you, Gen. Scammon, Capt. Pinkard and Lieuts. Millwood and Lyons and Sgt. Thomas McCormick who refused to take a parole. I take great pleasure in bringing to your notice the coolness, discretion and courage displayed by Lt. Vetregans as well as good behavior and daring courage and fortitude of my entire force. I shall report to Colonel Ferguson of Wayne County as speedily as possible, and send the prisoners through from this point with a mounted guard.

I remain, General, with great respect your obedient servant,

James H. Nownan, Commanding detachment 16th Va. Calvary (CSA)

To:
Major General Samuel Jones
Department Western Virginia
Dublin.

Mr. Matthews has provided our readers with a number of most interesting and enlightening articles, many dealing with historical events, some prior to creation of the State of West Virginia. We appreciate these articles, and know many of our readers are clipping them for their scrap book.

This article concerning the capture of the steamboat "Levi" and General Scammon appeared in the Putnam Democrat Friday, April 20, 1949.

about \$100,000 worth of supplies, were captured. The boat and supplies were burned and the prisoners sent to Charleston, South Carolina. General Scammon and two aides were sent to Richmond, Virginia but the general was later paroled and sent to Washington in a prisoner exchange. The Red House Shoals action took place on February 3, 1864.³

Rutherford Hayes wrote about Gen. Scammon's capture in a letter to his uncle, S. Birchard, on February 7, 1864: "The capture of General Scammon and two of his staff will postpone my coming a few days, only a few days, I hope. I must be cautious what I say, but to you I can write that his capture is the greatest joke of the war. It was sheer carelessness, bad luck, and accident. It took a good many chances, all lost, to bring it about. Everybody laughs when he is alone, and very intimate friends laugh in concert when together. General Scammon's great point was his caution. He bored us all terribly with his extreme vigilance. The greatest military crime in his eyes was a surprise. Here he is caught in the greenest and most inexcusable way."⁴

After a visit home to Ohio in February, Col. Hayes returned to Camp White with his wife and children on March 11. When in Charleston Hayes' family stayed in a cottage, near Camp White, rented by the Colonel from the prominent Quarrier family. On April 3 he wrote his uncle that he had visited his five posts between Camp White and the mouth of [Big] Sandy and noted that several squads of rebel guerillas had been captured. On April 20 he wrote that he was certain of taking an active part in the summer campaign. On the 24th he wrote to his mother: "We are very busy, and of course happy getting ready for campaigning."⁵

Mrs. Hayes and the boys left Camp White for Ohio at the same time (April 29) Col. Hayes' command left Charleston in the service of General George Crook, whose mission it was to destroy the salt works at Saltville, Virginia, and to cut and destroy as much as he could of the very important Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. The route followed was exactly as described in Hayes' diary. The march was very difficult and was vividly described by William McKinley:

"It was a rough and trying march, over mountains and through deep ravines and dense woods, with snows and rains that would have checked the advance of any but the most determined. Daily we were brought in contact with the enemy. We penetrated country where guerillas were abundant and where it was not an unusual thing for our own men to be shot from the underbrush - murdered in cold blood."⁶

The long, difficult march ended in the battle of Cloyd Mountain, near Dublin, Virginia, on May 9, 1864. The Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers were conspicuous for their bravery when they engaged the entrenched Confederates by means of a furious frontal assault which carried the works. The battle ended in a resounding Federal victory. The Confederate losses included a mortal wound

to their cavalry commander, General Albert Gallatin Jenkins of Wayne County, West Virginia. The campaign managed to destroy part of the railroad but not the salt works.

The Twenty-third went on from Cloyd Mountain to battles at Staunton, Brownburg, Lexington and Lynchburg, Virginia. The army was forced to retreat from Lynchburg before the heavy pressure of reinforcements from Richmond. Lt. McKinley wrote that the retreat was extremely difficult:

"Many of them fell asleep in the road and could be kept on their feet with the greatest difficulty. Closely pursued by the enemy, they painfully fought their way back, until on the 27th, after a march of one hundred and eighty miles in nine days, fighting nearly all the time, and with very little sleep and scarcely any food, at last they met a supply train on Big Sewell Mountain."⁷

They reached Charleston and Camp White on July 1. They rested for ten days and then General Crook's command, including Hayes' Twenty-third, was ordered to the Shenandoah Valley against the army of General Jubal Early. There were sharp contests at Kernstown, Virginia near Winchester; at Berryville; Opequan; Fisher's Hill (Massanutten Mountain); and the battle of Cedar Creek which ended in a great victory for the Union army of General Phillip Sheridan.

The victory at Cedar Creek which ended Confederate occupation of the Shenandoah Valley wrote the final chapter of a long and bitter war history in the valley. General Grant had decided that part of his grand strategy of 1864 was to lay waste to the "Breadbasket of the Confederacy" on which Lee was so dependent for food for his army. The Shenandoah Valley summer wheat harvest was vital to the South, as their rations were running very low.

Several initial attempts to oust the rebels met with failure due, for the most part, to inept Union generals. In fact, the battle of New Market on May 15 saw General John C. Breckenridge defeat General Franz Sigel with a patched up force which even included young cadets from the Virginia Military Institute. General David Hunter replaced Sigel and was able to penetrate as far as Staunton. But, after a skirmish in June against Jubal Early, Hunter retreated into West Virginia. His retreat saved the wheat harvest for Lee.⁸

After the battle of New Market, and throughout the subsequent journey through Lynchburg, Staunton, and Lexington, Virginia, and also in his trek through the Kanawha Valley, General Hunter committed many nonmilitary outrages against the people. Included in the campaign of destruction was the burning of the Virginia Military Institute; the burning of several homes; and he would have burned the famous health spa hotel at White Sulphur Springs had it not been for pleas by Captain Henry A. duPont of the famous duPont family.

It is ironic that, when young Captain duPont paused at Camp Piatt near present day Belle, he was standing almost on the spot where, in the future, his family would build the great Belle Works of the duPont Chemical Corporation.⁹ General Hunter passed through Charleston in July, 1864 on his way to Parkersburg where he entrained his command for the Shenandoah Valley and another campaign against Early. Gen. Hunter was not very well received in the Charleston area by supporters of either side. In fact Col. Rutherford Hayes wrote about his feelings against Hunter in a letter to his wife from Charleston on July 24, 1864:

"Back again to this point last night. Camped opposite the lower end of Camp White on the broad level bottom in the angle between Elk and Kanawha. My headquarters on one of the pretty wooded hills near Judge Summers. [This description would place him near the site of "Glenwood" mansion located on the corner of Orchard Street and Park Avenue on Charleston's West Side]

You wrote one thoughtless sentence complaining of Lincoln for failing to protect our unfortunate prisoners by retaliation. All a mistake, darling. All such things should be avoided as much as possible. We have done too much rather than too little. Gen. Hunter turned Mrs. Governor Letcher and daughter out of their home in Lexington and on 10 minutes notice burned the beautiful place in retaliation for some bushwhackers' burning out Governor Pierpont (of loyal Va.). And I am glad to say that Gen. Crook's division officers and men were all disgusted with it...

You use the phrase "brutal Rebels." Don't be cheated in that way. There are enough "brutal Rebels" no doubt, but we have brutal officers on this raid. And there are plenty of humane Rebels. I have seen a good deal of it on this trip. War is cruel business and there is brutality in it on all sides, but it is very idle to get up anxiety on account of any supposed peculiar cruelty on the part of Rebels. Keepers of prisons in Cincinnati, as well as in Danville, are hard-hearted and cruel..."¹⁰

Charleston saw no action in 1864 except for the movement of troops through the valley. There was action downstream along the Kanawha in Putnam County. A detachment of Federal troops commanded by Captain John Reynolds was sent to Winfield in October to occupy the town and provide protection to river transportation. Boats and travelers along the river had been harassed by rebel bushwhackers.

The troops constructed trenches in the town itself and on the hill around the site of the present courthouse. A force of 400 Confederates, under the command of Colonel John Witcher, learned of the Union occupation of Winfield, and determined to attack the town. The attack, carried out at night on October 26,

managed to penetrate the center of the defense system but was driven back. During the battle Col. Witcher was mortally wounded. The Confederates retreated to their base on the Mud River, south of Winfield.¹¹

The attack on Winfield was not a surprise, except perhaps for the fact it was made at night. Colonel Witcher's activities had been monitored carefully by Union observers from at least October 20, and Captain Reynolds had been notified of his movements. Several dispatches were sent by Colonel John H. Oley, Commander at Charleston, to subordinates, on October 22, 1864.

Charleston, W. Va. October 22, 1864

Capt. J. M. REYNOLDS
Winfield, W. Va.:

Lieutenant Colonel Polsley reports that Witcher, with 500 men, passed Raleigh, in the direction of Coal River, the evening of the 20th. Keep your men well in hand ready to act in conjunction with Captain Smith or Captain Blundon, and defend your post at all hazards. Expect further information this morning and will telegraph again.

JOHN H. OLEY*
Colonel, Commanding

*Note: The official records spell his name Oley - all other sources spell the name Ohley. This text uses the spelling indicated in the source used.

.....
Charleston, W. Va. October 22, 1864

Col. R. F. TAYLOR, Camp Piatt:
I think Witcher means to work down Coal River. Have 200 men ready to go up Lens Creek to Peytona if necessary. Witcher's battalion will not fight much I believe. He aims to get below here on the river. Keep me posted.

JOHN H. OLEY
Colonel, Commanding

.....
Charleston, W. Va. October 22, 1864

Col. R. F. TAYLOR, Camp Piatt:
Captain Polsley reports the rebel Witcher, with 500 men, going down the Coal River. Have you heard anything of him? He may pass within 10 miles of you. Keep a lookout on Lens Creek road. Answer at once.

JOHN H. OLEY
Colonel, Commanding

.....
Charleston, W. Va. October 22, 1864

Capt. E. B. BLUNDON

Guyandotte, W. Va.

The rebel Colonel Witcher, with 500 men, was at Marshy Fork of the Coal River yesterday. I think he will try to get down in the Guyandotte country. Fortify and be vigilant. I will watch him and help you all I can if necessary. If he comes fight him at all hazards and act in connection with Winfield and Coalsmouth.

JOHN H. OLEY

Colonel, Commanding Brigade.12

After the Winfield skirmish, troop movements in the Kanawha Valley ended, except for occasional encounters with bushwhackers, which had become part of ordinary duty. As noted above, Colonel John H. Oley, commander of the famous Seventh West Virginia Cavalry, had been placed in command of the Charleston district. He was in charge when news came in April, 1865, that General Lee had surrendered.

AFTER THE WAR

Grant's official dispatch read - "General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon [April 9, 1865 - Palm Sunday] on terms proposed by myself." Unlike the scene at Appomattox Court House, the dispatch triggered celebrations all over the nation. At Appomattox, as Lee's army laid down its arms between ranks of Federal troops, a Union officer remembered: "not a sound of trumpet...or roll of drum; not a cheer...but an awed stillness rather..."¹³

A formal celebration was held in Charleston under the direction of Captain Elias Powell. There was a parade, led by Colonel Ohley, which featured an old hearse with the word "Secession" painted on its sides, and a wagon with Jefferson Davis hanged in effigy from a "sour apple tree." The parade moved to the top of Cox's Hill at the north end of present Capitol Street, where guns from Battery A, First West Virginia Artillery, fired several volleys to celebrate the fall of the Confederate forces. A prayer was read by Captain E. W. Gregg of the Seventh West Virginia Cavalry, followed by an address by Colonel James H. Ferguson.¹⁴

Colonel Ohley disbanded his Seventh West Virginia Cavalry and other Federal units, and his office handled the parole of almost 5000 Confederate soldiers.

The Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry was a remarkable military unit not only with respect to the quality of leadership during its history as a fighting regiment, but also after the war ended. Its first commander, William S. Rosecrans, was not only a successful engineer and businessman before the war, but served as a minister to Mexico, congressman from California, and Register of the Treasury after the war. Eliakim P. Scammon later represented the United States as consul at Prince Edward Island. James Comly, who followed Hayes as commander, became the American minister to Hawaii. Stanley Mathews served a term in the U. S. Senate and became a justice of the Supreme Court in 1881. William McKinley entered the service as a private in 1861 and rose to the rank of brevet major. Rutherford B. Hayes, in his early service said he liked the title "Colonel" best of all, but his valor on the field of battle earned for him the rank of brigadier general and he finally came out of the war experience as Major General R. B. Hayes. At the end of his life he responded to the title "General" far more warmly than he did to "Mr. President."

THE GUERILLA WAR

General George McClellan, after his victories over outnumbered Confederates at Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill in July, 1861, boasted that: "The effect of our operations against the larger forces, has been to cause the small guerilla bands to disappear, and I think, we shall have no great difficulty in securing the entire pacification of this region." McClellan was very wrong. As he was making that statement a strong resistance movement was being formed that kept Union forces from controlling most of West Virginia's interior counties, and threatened the movement toward separation of Western Virginia from the mother state.

The guerillas, or bushwhackers, as they were more popularly known, were everywhere. They operated in a land of rugged mountain ridges, deep gorges and hollows, and countless thickets and glades. Just as important, their Confederate-sympathizing neighbors protected them, sustained them, and provided them with information concerning Union troop and supply movements. Thus, the bushwhackers were able to strike quickly and melt into the countryside, operating in relative security.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Times, writing from Parkersburg in September, 1861, said:

"....But though no rebel army may again appear this side of the mountains - and one is not likely to - the war in Western Virginia is far from being at an end. There is not a county in all this part of the Old Dominion that does not contain a greater or less number of Secessionists, who have degenerated into assassins. They are committing murders daily, lying in ambush for that purpose. Not only the Union volunteers, but their own neighbors...no neighborhood is safe from their depredations, unless protected by Federal bayonets... They pillage, burn, destroy, and kill...."¹

Guerilla warfare was officially adopted as a military policy by Governor John Letcher, of Virginia, in a proclamation to the people of Virginia on March 10, 1862. In the proclamation he asked:

"The loyal citizens of the West and North West, in counties not herein named, are earnestly invoked to form guerilla companies, and strike when least expected, once more for the state that gave them birth."

The proclamation was sanctioned by both the Virginia legislature and the Confederate Congress. Soon there were many bands of "partisans" organized to carry out Gov. Letcher's policy. The guerilla bands in Western Virginia included the "Moccasin Rangers" (also called the Virginia State Rangers); the troops of Col. John Imboden; A. G. Jenkins Cavalry; Gen. John Morgan's Rangers; McNeill's Rangers; and others.

The Confederate high command, however, tried to discourage partisan warfare, because the bands gave refuge to deserters and were as likely to attack Confederate sympathizers as Union supporters. Thomas Rosser, a Confederate cavalryman, said: "they roam broadcast over the country, a band of thieves, stealing, pillaging, plundering...an injury to the cause." General Lee denounced them by stating: "I regard the whole system as an unmixed evil."² Nevertheless the rebel guerilla movement expanded as the Civil War dragged on.

The lush spring foliage of 1862 furnished cover for a new season of guerilla activity more intense than any before, perhaps because of the governor's endorsement. However, not all partisan bands were "authorized" and many of them roamed the countryside working lawless violence and terror against both friend and foe. Local sheriffs and other law enforcement officers were fearfully intimidated by the bushwhackers, and it was impossible for the entire state to be adequately patrolled by the Union army. The army was able to guard the major roads and mountain passes, and did a fair job of keeping the railroads open, but could not protect loyalist citizens.

The guerilla war was tough, dirty work for the Twenty-third Ohio, units of the 2nd, 3rd, 10th and 11th Virginia (Union) Infantry regiments, and the 6th Virginia Cavalry under General Robert H. Milroy. Matters became worse in August of 1862 when troops of General Jacob Cox were pulled out of the Kanawha Valley to aid General John Pope east of the mountains. (The Kanawha forces were responsible for patrolling 25 counties). At about the same time President Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 more troops. This created two problems. Fear of being drafted into the Union army caused some reluctant rebels to join guerilla bands, and the draft threatened to drain the ravaged West Virginia counties of able-bodied men needed to resist the bushwhackers at home.³

The increase of guerilla activity and lawlessness through 1863 and 1864, including areas close to full-time Union occupation such as the Kanawha and Guyandotte Valleys, caused considerable loss of confidence in the new Wheeling government. Loyal citizens had expected the new government to act positively to protect them and their property but the bushwhackers disrupted county and local governments, anarchy prevailed in many counties, and disaffection, neutralism, and secessionist sentiment were on the rise. During this period, then, the greatest impact of the guerilla forces was not military, but political.

Governor I. E. Boreman, on December 28, 1864, issued an address from Wheeling calling on West Virginia citizens to form vigilante groups and take justice into their own hands. His words reflected the bitterness and hate that had enveloped the new state, and he was also admitting that his government had failed to cope with the guerilla situation:

"For months past, bands of armed men have infested the State, stealing, robbing and murdering, and within a short time their numbers and the frequency of their outrages have alarmingly increased. Some of them claim to be rebel soldiers; but whatever they profess, they neither observe the rules of civilized warfare, nor regard the civilities of common thieves and robbers or the decencies of ordinary murderers...It is evident that the presence of these predatory bands is known to the disloyal of the section infested by them, when unknown to others; and that those persons do not disclose their presence to those who would be able to thwart their devilish purposes; but, on the contrary give these outlaws food and concealment, with full knowledge of their purposes and practices. On account of the great numbers of these bandits, and the fact that they are always armed, it is impossible for the civil officers to arrest or the civil courts to punish them...In view of this anomalous and alarming state of things, I earnestly recommend the loyal people of the State to organize themselves into Companies of such numbers as may be practicable and expedient for the hunting down and capturing or killing these outlaws wherever they may be found - executing summary justice where found in the act or where they cannot otherwise be captured - and thus aid the authorities of the State in restoring and preserving peace, order and security."4

A study of this intense bitterness and "bushwhacker war" in the State was made during research for this history due to some interesting but confusing orders issued to Colonel Hayes by General E. P. Scammon in May of 1863, just after completion of Fort Scammon:

HEADQUARTERS
Charleston, May 12, 1863

Col. R. B. HAYES

Commanding Brigade Opposite Charleston:

Your note is just received and all is right. [No record has been found as to content of Hayes' note]. There is, of course, great commotion in town. All will think it horrible, but they have been playing the game of treachery and must take the result. I have ordered 100 men to be brought over as a firing party. [Was this to be a detail for torching the town?] Hope the rebels will not come in, but if they do Charleston must be destroyed. I have been reading the treacherous correspondence of the people for the last three months, and I think that our wives and children deserve as much consideration as those of Charleston.

Very respectfully, etc.,

E. P. SCAMMON
Brigadier-General, Commanding

.....

Charleston, May 12, 1863

Colonel HAYES:

I have already given you the "scare." Think there is truth in it. Will probably be over before morning. Meantime, I direct you to have guns in readiness to fire on Charleston. If rebels come in here Charleston shall be destroyed, for it is the work of disloyal citizens.

E. P. SCAMMON
Brigadier-General

.....

HDQRS. FIRST BRIG., THIRD DIV.,
EIGHTH ARMY CORPS,
Camp White, Va., May 12, 1863

Maj. J. P. McILRATH,
Comdg. Twenty-third Ohio Vol. Infantry, Camp White, Va.,
[AND OTHER SUBORDINATE COMMANDERS]:
SIR: I am directed by General Scammon to have all in readiness for an attack. I do not think it necessary to awaken the men at present, but you will see that sentinels are on the alert, and such preparations are made as will enable you to have your men ready for an attack on the shortest notice. Captain Simmonds and Lieutenant Austin [artillery commanders at Fort Scammon], in case of alarm, will put their guns in position to bear on Charleston.
Respectfully, etc.

R. B. HAYES
Colonel, Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer
Infantry, Commanding

The orders show that General Scammon had information linking Charleston citizens with a rumored raid by Confederate forces of some kind - he does not indicate whether he would be facing regular CSA troops or some guerilla band. It is likely that he was preparing for bushwhackers, because the threat of invading Confederate troops had all but disappeared by 1863. Also, it was known that roving bands of guerilla cavalry were operating in the Kanawha, Gauley and Birch River valleys. General Scammon seemed to be alluding to a coordination of bushwhacking operations by people in Charleston, and he intended to destroy the town in retaliation. Fortunately, no attack came, and the city was spared.

The bushwhacker war was so intense and feelings so bitter that vindictiveness carried over into the Reconstruction period in West Virginia. Even in the spring of 1865, when it was obvious the war was about over, loyalists throughout West Virginia were holding mass meetings and writing resolutions warning every Rebel, Southern sympathizer, and especially every hated bushwhacker "to return to some other home than that which knew him before, in the days of his innocence."⁶

THE SOLDIERS

War looked like a great adventure to the thousands of young Northerners and Southerners who jammed recruiting stations in the spring of 1861. But in that time of waving flags, brass bands and patriotic orators almost no one in either section had any idea of what war was like. The Revolutionary War was a remote legend, the War of 1812 had been brief and little worth remembering to those who could even remember it, and the Mexican War had never been part of the national experience.

In a speech on "The American Volunteer Soldier," delivered before the Grand Army of the Republic on May 30, 1889, William McKinley said about the Civil War soldiers:

"They enlisted in the army with no expectation of promotion; not for the paltry pittance of pay; not for fame or popular applause, for their services, however efficient, were not to be heralded abroad. They entered the army moved by the highest and purest motives of patriotism, that no harm might befall the republic...We counted no cost when the war commenced. We knew little of the great sacrifices which were to come or the scope and extent of that great war...The citizens voluntarily came together to join an army bound together in a common cause for common purpose - the preservation of the Union. It was an awful experience for the American boy, who knew nothing of war, in many instances, save as he had read of it in the glamour of history, and who in many cases had never so much as seen a company of armed men. Unused to hardships, unaccustomed to toil, undrilled in the tactics of war, with a mother's blessing and a father's affectionate farewell, he went forth with firm resolve to give up all, even the last drop of his life's blood, that this nation should be saved."¹

The war was entered into by men without military knowledge or experience who were subsequently poorly trained and poorly cared for. Soldiers of both sides were individualistic to the end, even under the force of discipline, but, when the fainthearted and weaker members of units had been weeded out, those that remained were the stoutest fighting men the world has ever seen.²

In the first few months, camp life was free and easy, and discipline was difficult to achieve. This was a democracy and it was considered degrading, by many, to give immediate and unquestioning obedience to orders. Soldiers wanted to debate things, or at least have things explained, before they obeyed or acted in any way. Fist fights between officers and men were not uncommon in Northern camps, and, in the South, it was possible that a quick-tempered soldier might challenge an officer to a duel, if he felt there was no other course for settling their differences. Recruits of 1861 found that tight, impersonal discipline was totally foreign to them, and some never did come around. As time went by, however, the quality of discipline

improved considerably although in camp and on the march it was always imperfect. In battle, though, it was quite often very good. One only has to study the grinding agony of an Antietam or a Gettysburg to understand how far discipline had come from the early free and easy days.

Privates in both Northern and Southern armies demanded leadership and courage under fire from their officers. Although the soldiers were unmilitary they were very warlike and tough; they had to learn the business of war by doing because there were hardly any officers who could teach them anything. Unfortunately the soldier had to pay heavily for the education of his generals, and some generals were simply unable to learn. But, if a line officer exhibited leadership and courage, the soldier would follow him anywhere.

Discipline was not helped by the method of selecting officers. Most company and regimental officers were either elected by the men or appointed by state governors for political reasons. Thus the officers either were, or wanted to be liked by the soldiers; in fact, if an officer had postwar political ambitions, he tended to treat each soldier as a potential voting constituent. Most officers, like the common soldier, had to learn their job as they went, so they purchased military books and sat up nights to study. Fortunate indeed was the brigade which happened to have a West Point graduate for a colonel. This officer would spend considerable time teaching his subordinate officers.³

Civil War soldier training included basic fundamentals - how to stand at attention, how to pick up and shoulder a musket, how to do a right and left face, how to salute, etc. He learned how to load and fire a musket (this procedure required nine prescribed motions) until the complicated process became second nature. A veteran soldier could get off two to three shots per minute from a standing position. All these skills were taught in squad drill, or the "school of the soldier."

In "squad drill" and then in progressive stages through "company drill" and "regiment drill," the soldier learned the intricate movements by which a Civil War army moved to battle and moved in battle. The recruits learned to move from a column of fours, the marching formation, to a line of battle consisting of men in two ranks, one behind the other, and to change from the line back to the column. The movements were very difficult and the soldiers were ceaselessly drilled at company and regimental levels.

The difficulties in regimental drill lay in trying to solve the immense practical problems of troop movements. For example a division consisted of three brigades of twelve regiments. Such a force, marching along a narrow road four abreast, might stretch out for a mile and be only eight feet wide. As it approached the battlefield it had to deploy into a completely different formation which involved forming a battle line by a series of movements over all kinds of terrain. Then, after

engaging in battle, or to move to a new battle position in force and in orderly fashion, had to shift from the line into a column of fours again. The purpose, of course, was to place men where they could fight, to place them there in such a way that their commander could move them as he desired, and have them perform as he directed.

Civil War tactics followed manuals developed after the European school of warfare, using close order formations which were designed to provide better control by field commanders. In close order the men stood side by side with an interval of about twenty-four inches between them; the distance between the men in the front and rear ranks was thirty-two inches. If its ten companies were at full strength, a regiment, with an interval of three yards between companies, would take up a space of 300 yards. A brigade would cover 1,300 yards, and a division attacking in a column of brigades, which was the most common assault formation, would have a front three quarters of a mile wide. The basic reason for close order, in the European scheme of assault tactics, was to provide for control of troops by the various levels of command. The system was not practical during the Civil War for three major reasons: 1) European battle tactics were designed for large open fields where officers had visual control. In America the rolling and/or mountainous terrain caused commanders to direct their men into woods, gullies and ravines, and that would be the last he saw of his regiment as a unit; 2) There had been a dramatic change in weapons and firepower since the European drillbook had been developed. The age-old assault system which included the succession of rigid parallel lines of attack broke down under heavy fire. The lines ran together and became a bunched mass which was easy to repulse or contain; and 3) There was no communication system adequate enough for a commander to control even as small a unit as a regiment.⁴

When Civil War colonels wrote official orders, private letters, or diaries, there was one word that appeared quite often. The word is "drill" and, it seemed, there was never enough of it. The recruits were drilled hard, and the drilling continued for everyone throughout the war. Colonel Grenville M. Dodge of the Fourth Iowa Volunteer Infantry recalled to a reunion of his troops after the war: "You will remember, whenever I had the opportunity, I drilled the regiment thoroughly. I took it out, exercising it in firing, in movements, and even taking it through the brush and timber so as to give them practice in conditions they might meet." He recalled the men had not liked it, but it had paid off when they got into battle.⁵

The drilling routine was rigorous. Under Scammon, in 1861, the Twenty-third had reveille at five or five-thirty in the morning, the troops engaged in squad drill for an hour, had breakfast, then engaged in company drill the rest of the morning. In the afternoon there was drill with arms and then regimental drill. The schedule of the Twenty-third was typical for many regiments during 1861. A colonel from another Ohio unit, Colonel Jacob

Ammen, wrote in his diary on July 24, 1861 the details of a typical day in his command. He supervised company drill in the morning. At two in the afternoon his subordinate officers recited tactics to him and then led their men in squad drill. "Daily drills - daily recitation in tactics - take the starch out of some, and others are learning fast. And now I superintend, - select an officer to drill the others in the morning, one squad drill, company drill, and Battalion (regimental) drill in the afternoon...I drill the sergeants daily, in length of step, time and preserving distance."6

Civil War soldiers, trained and drilled by the European "book", used a new type of musket that looked like the smoothbore musket of European tactics, but was rifled, which made a significant difference. Whereas the old smoothbore was effective at short range, the rifled musket was more accurate and was effective at a distance of half a mile. The massed frontal charge thus became futile against occupied field entrenchments. It took the generals a long time to realize that a new approach to assault tactics was needed.

The rifled gun was also coming into service in the artillery, but it was primarily used against enemy artillery and against fortified positions due to its hard hitting and penetrating qualities. The long range of the rifled gun was not used in the Civil War because no system had been worked out for indirect fire; the gunner had to see the target with his own eyes. The first reported use of indirect fire was by Confederate artilleryman Sergeant Milton Humphreys on March 19, 1863 at the battle of Fayetteville (West) Virginia. Sgt. Humphreys subsequently published articles on artillery methods which were accepted as authoritative around the world.⁷

The most effective guns of the war were the old smoothbores, more often than not, of four-and-one-half-inch caliber, firing a twelve-pound spherical shot. The infantry soldier had to face canister - a tin can full of lead slugs, with a propellant at one end and a wooden disk at the other. The can disintegrated when the gun was fired, spraying the slugs across the field of battle. Canister fire was terribly effective at ranges of 250 yards or less.

The Union had a decided advantage in artillery partly because of the North's industrial advantage, and partly because, having larger armies, there simply were more artillery batteries. In most battles there were far more artillery pieces on the Union side than the Confederate side, making it possible for the Federals to commit many of their guns to eliminating Confederate batteries.

Confederate cavalry was far superior to Union cavalry for at least the first two years of the war. There was really no comparison. Southern recruits, for the most part, came from rural areas and were used to horses. In fact the Confederate cavalryman rode into battle on his own horse, a blooded animal superior to the horses provided Union cavalry troops. Although

many Northern recruits came from farm country, the horses they were familiar with were work horses, not riding stock. Most recruits were city boys who, before being taught anything about tactics, had to learn how to stay in the saddle.

How many soldiers served in the Civil War? An accurate figure is very difficult to determine due to short-term enlistments and duplication of records, but probably the best estimates are 1,500,000 three-year enlistments in the Union army and about 1,000,000 on the Confederate side. Casualty figures included about 359,000 Federal and about 258,000 Confederate soldiers who lost their lives. The deaths include not only battle deaths but deaths from disease.⁸

No matter which army is considered, the view is the same. On each side the soldier felt that he personally was getting the worst of everything and, when he had time, he felt sorry for himself, but usually he did not have time, and mostly he was ready for whatever came. One Union soldier described camp life: "It is monotonous, it is not monotonous, it is laborious, it is lazy, it is a bore, it is a lark, it is half war, half peace, and totally attractive, and not to be dispensed with from one's experience in the nineteenth century." In the spring of 1864 a Mississippi soldier wrote: "Oh how tiresome this camp life to me, one everlasting monotone, yesterday, today, and tomorrow." Late in the war a Confederate wrote: "Instead of growling and deserting, they laughed at their own bare feet, ragged clothes and pinched faces; and weak, hungry, cold, wet, worried with vermin and itch, dirty with no hope of reward or rest, marched cheerfully to meet the...enemy."⁹

Foraging for food, another term for living off the civilian population, was the way soldiers from both armies relieved the monotony of hardtack, salt pork, and coffee. During the Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania, one infantryman recorded: "fowls and pigs and eatables don't stand much chance." A Union lieutenant in Sherman's army described one forager as loaded with, "First a bundle of fodder for his mule; second, three hams, a sack of meal, a peck of potatoes; third, a fresh bed quilt, the old mother's coffee pot, a jug of vinegar...." Sherman himself wrote of his march from Atlanta to the sea: "The skill and success of the men in collecting forage was one of the features of this march." It was a classic understatement.¹⁰

The poor food could sometimes be overcome with fortunate or "skillful" foraging, but medical care was woeful. When the soldier fought, he was likely to get hurt badly (since he was the victim of modern firepower and antique tactics); when he stayed in camp, the conditions were likely to make him sick. But the Civil War came at a time when the science of medicine was incredibly poor. Both governments did the best to provide medical care, but the best was poor. It wasn't anyone's fault - good medical care just was not available. In the words of historian, Bruce Catton, "the treatment of wounds and disease

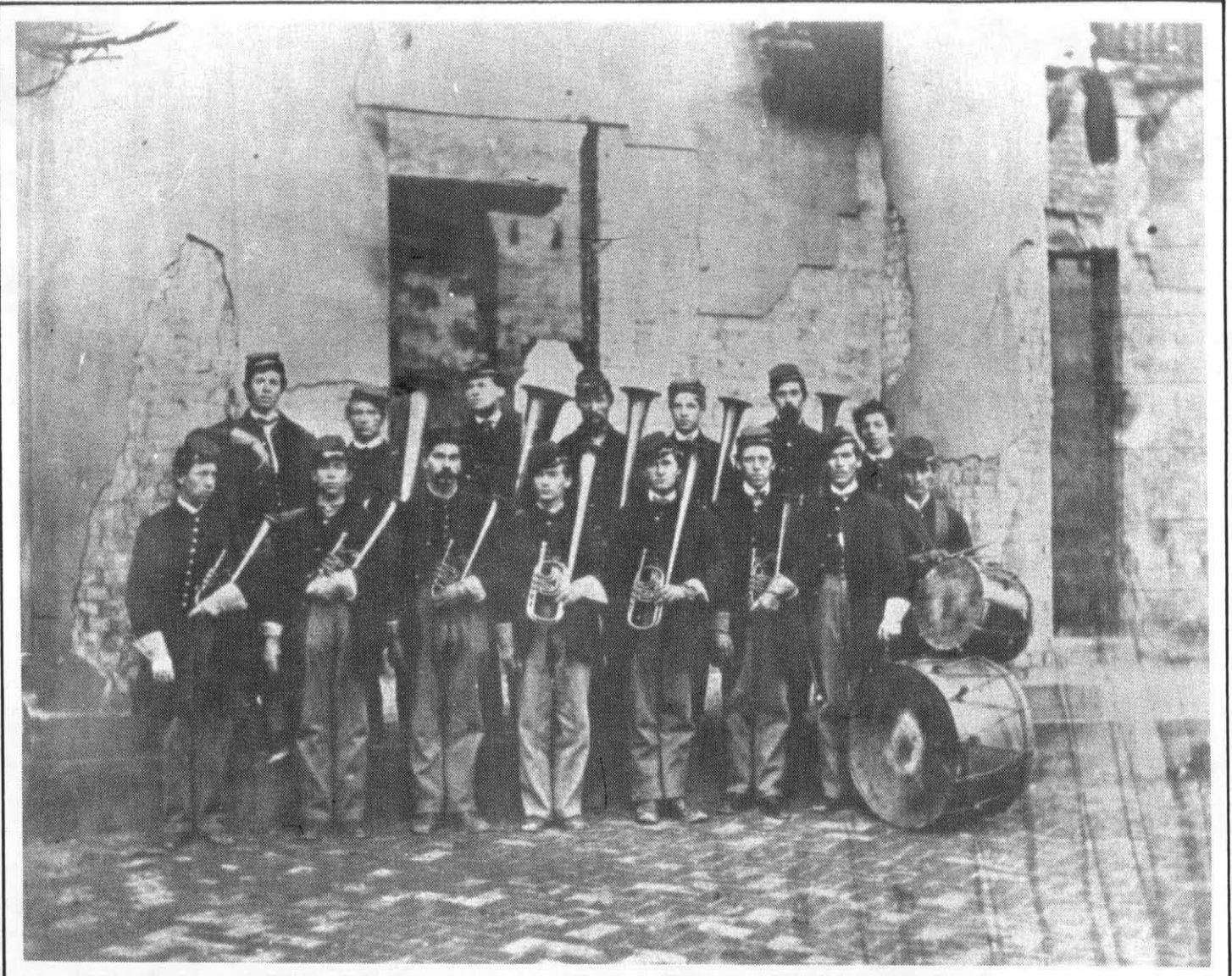
ranged from the inadequate through the useless to the downright harmful." Doctors expected wounds to show "laudable pus", and supposed its appearance was a good sign. The idea of sterilization of a dressing was never considered, and no one knew what caused diseases like typhoid, dysentery, and pneumonia, let alone how to treat them. Sanitation was just in its infancy as a science and, if the water was not visually fouled or odorous, it was believed to be safe.¹¹

The Confederate uniform, for the most part, was improvised, usually supplied in packages from home. There were official uniforms, described in General Orders, No. 9 issued by the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office on June 6, 1861. The uniform coat for enlisted men was required to be a double-breasted tunic of gray cloth, known as cadet gray (due to improvised dye, the color usually was a yellow-brown or butternut), with the skirt extending halfway between the hip and knee. It was to have two rows of buttons, seven in each row and a stand-up collar. Uniform trousers were to be light blue in color, made loose, and "to spread well over the foot." There were detailed descriptions of insignia for rank and service, boots, caps, sashes, etc. The order even described how to wear the hair and beard: "The hair to be short: the beard to be worn at the pleasure of the individual; but, when worn, to be kept short and neatly trimmed."¹²

Union soldiers were equipped with uniforms, wool, usually with a single row of buttons in front of the coat. Both sides used the forage cap, based on the French kepi. Union officers wore double-breasted frock coats. The Union, of course, wore dark blue, in general, but Zouaves, based on Turkish dress, had uniforms that were flashy and "very elegant." The war was hard on all uniforms, however, and one Union volunteer in 1864 said: "And these poor infantry, the more they serve, the less they look like soldiers and the more they resemble day-laborers who have bought secondhand military clothes." General Lee once told a visiting British observer: "Never mind the raggedness," indicating the tattered trousers of a unit on parade, "the enemy never sees the backs of my Texans."

The soldiers of the Civil War marched off to war to quickstep music. But, once the going-away parade ended, they entered the dull routine of camp life, suffered the endless drilling, and experienced the horrors of the battlefield. They marched off to high adventure only to find that life was atrocious food, shoddy clothing, sleeping in the rain, risking health and life itself in disease-ridden camps and going at last into deadly, frightening and unromantic combat. Yet, through all of this there was a lot of native toughness, and a sardonic humor that came to his rescue when he was down. There was also the intense devotion to the cause he was serving.

The soldier of neither side did much talking about the cause; he mocked high-flown patriotic language and cared little for the war songs that caused his first enthusiastic rush to the



The band of the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry. The picture dates from 1863 and the building in the background is believed to be the Bank of Virginia burned during the Battle of Charleston, September 12, 1862. Photo courtesy of the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont, Ohio.

recruiter. But, in his off-hours at camp, or in bivouac, it was very typical for these lonely young men, Northern and Southern, to sit around the campfire and sing. Mostly the songs they sang were sad songs, like "Lorena" or "Tenting Tonight", "All Quiet Along the Potomac", or "Somebody's Darling". The soldiers were two-fisted fighting men but men of both sides often displayed remarkable fellow-feeling for their enemies. Bruce Catton noted:

"Indeed, one of the most notable things about the entire war - the thing, perhaps, that finally made it possible for the two sections to become one harmonious country again, after a war whose bitterness might seem to have made it wholly impossible - was the simple fact that by and large the rival soldiers did not actually hate each other."¹³

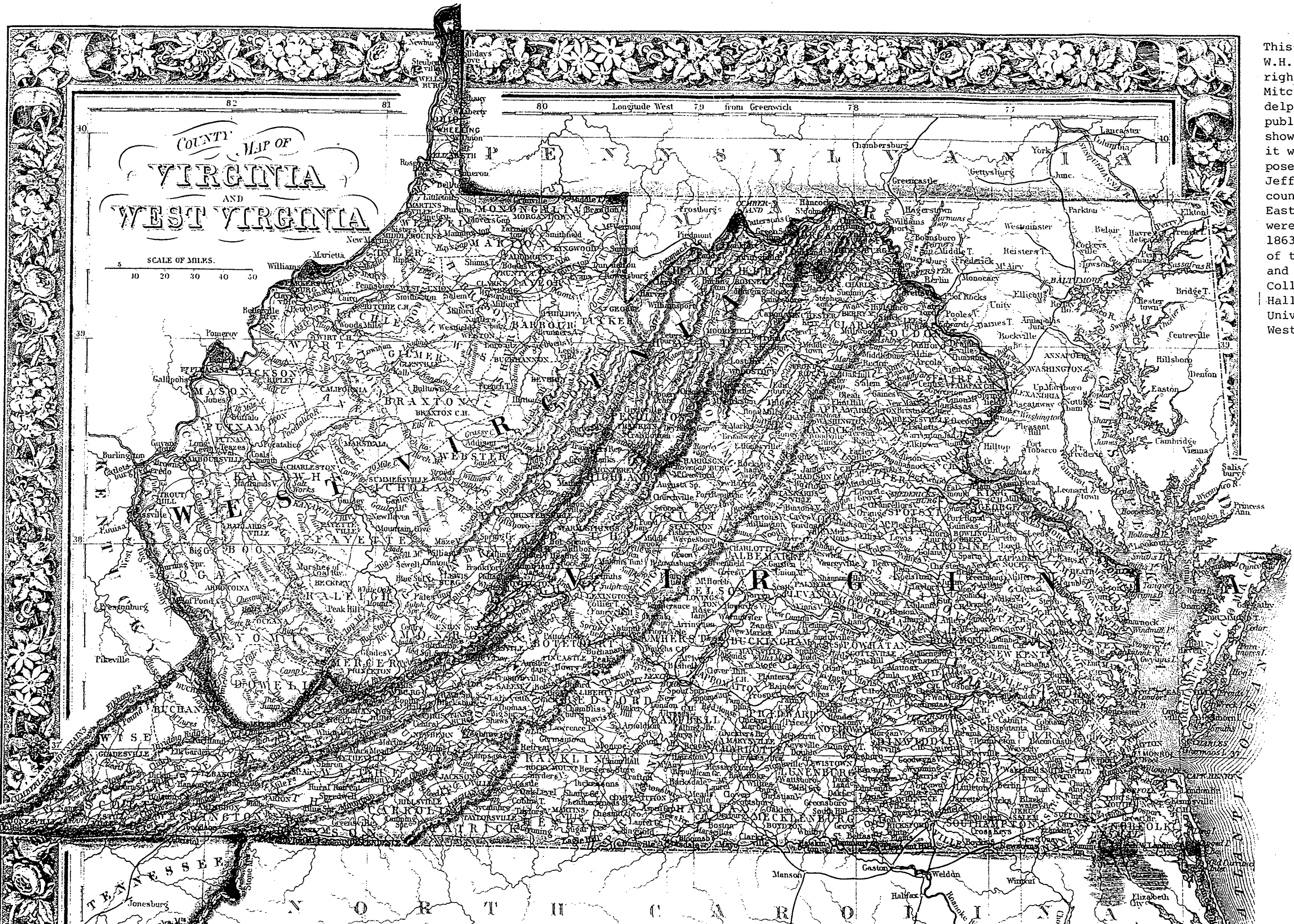
The armies did commune with each other, between battles, and when they did so they did it best with music. A poignant true story, told by Bruce Catton, describes such an event, and emphasizes that soldiers of both sides understood one another, and knew what each man was going through:

"During the winter of 1862-63 the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia was camped on the south shore of the Rappahannock river at Fredericksburg and the Federal Army of the Potomac was camped on the north bank, a matter of a hundred yards away. One winter evening, with the sky turning steel-grey edging off to black, certain Federal bands came down to the water's edge, massed themselves into one huge band, and began to play. All around them, on the steep hillsides overlooking the river, sat the Union soldiers; just across the water, grouped on the broad plain, were the Confederates.

The Northern bands played Northern war songs, of course - 'John Brown's Body,' and 'Rally 'Round the Flag,' and the favorite tear-jerker of the sentimental Yankee soldier, 'Tenting Tonight.' And when they had finished their repertoire, the Confederates called across to them: 'Now play some of ours.' So those Northern bands began to play Southern tunes - 'Dixie,' and 'My Maryland,' and 'The Bonnie Blue Flag,' and all the rest, while 150,000 fighting men in two armies sat in the dusk and listened, firelight glinting off the black water that flowed between them. At last, with full night coming down and the buglers getting ready to blow "Taps," the massed bands, by inspiration, broke into 'Home Sweet Home.'

Federals and Confederates tried to sing the song, which spoke of everything that they had left behind - of everything that so many of them would never see again - while the smoke of the campfires scented the winter dark and all the guns were cold. They tried to sing but they could not do it, because they all choked up and sat there with tears going down their tanned cheeks while the trumpets

reminded them of what lay on the other side of war. And at last the song died away, and the soldiers all went off to bed...and a couple of months later they were tearing each others' hearts out in the dreaded battle that was fought in the blazing thickets of Chancellorsville."¹⁴



This map was drawn by W.H. Gamble and copyrighted by S. Augustus Mitchell, Jr. of Philadelphia. It was published in 1863 and shows West Virginia as it was created, composed of 48 counties. Jefferson and Berkeley counties in the Eastern Panhandle were added in late 1863. Map courtesy of the West Virginia and Regional History Collection, Colson Hall, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia.

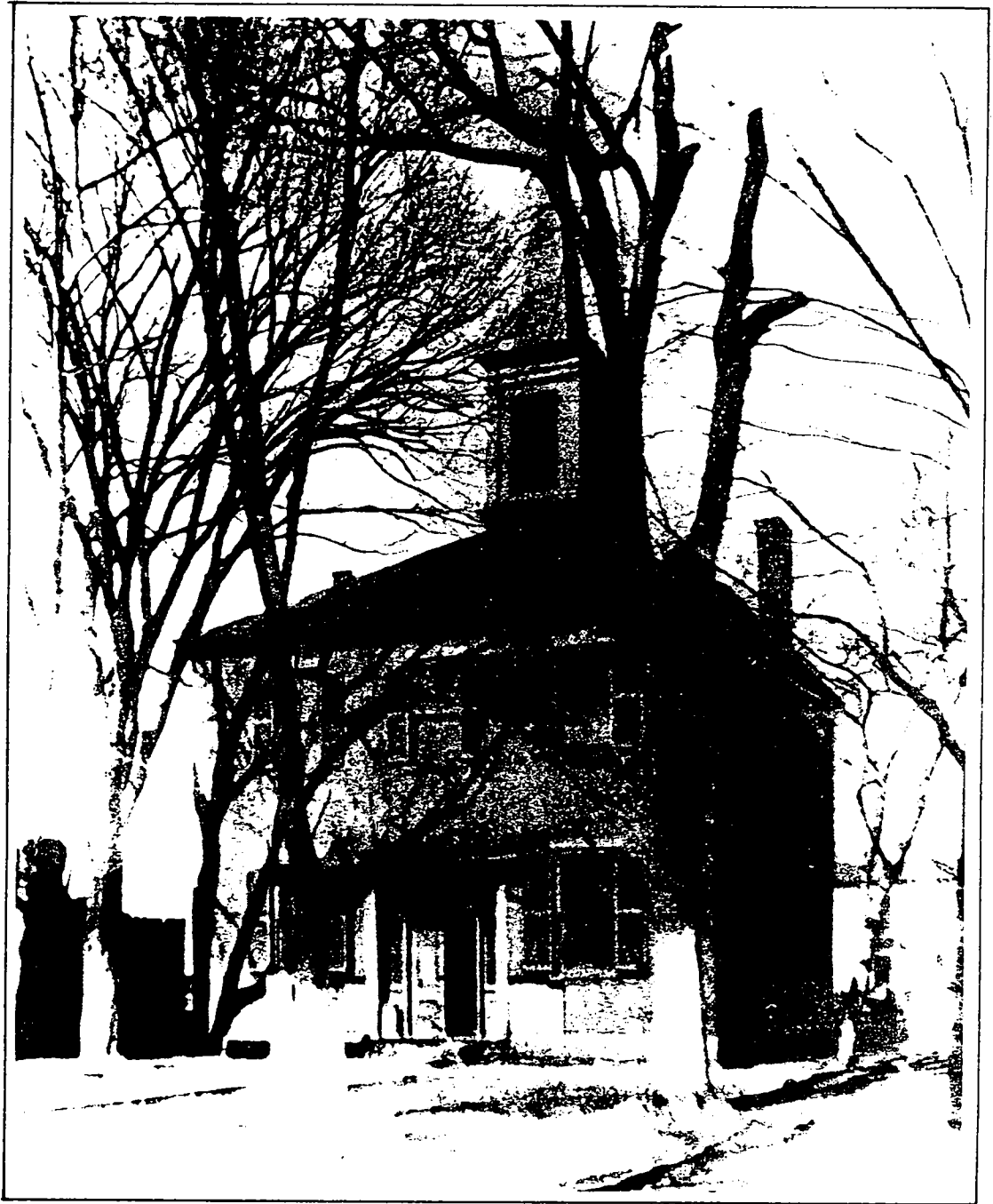
CHARLESTON IN THE 1860'S

Charleston was founded in 1788 by George Clendenin and named for his father, Charles. The town was formally established by legislative action of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1794 and, in 1804, another act named John Reynolds, William C. Williams, Joseph and David Ruffner, and Andrew Donnally as trustees of the town with authority to regulate building and to settle boundary disputes. The town was incorporated by the Virginia Assembly in January, 1818. A mayor/city council form of city government was adopted in 1861.

Kanawha County was included in a new judicial circuit court in 1819. The circuit also included Lewis, Harrison, Wood, Mason and Cabell counties. Kanawha court sessions were held in a brick courthouse, built in 1817 on the same lot where the present courthouse stands, and that same courthouse was in use during Civil War times. The one acre public lot had been the courthouse square since about 1796, when the property was acquired from George Alderson as settlement of his debts to the county. During the 1860's the county jail was on the northeast corner of today's Virginia and Court Streets and the county clerk occupied another building at the southeastern side of the public lot. There were homes on the cross streets flanking the square, each having its outbuildings and small gardens. On Goshorn Street, one of the flanking streets (west), James Nevins operated a blacksmith shop.

An act of the Assembly in 1821 included river bank lots along the Kanawha within the corporate limits of Charleston. Until then the river bank had been considered public land. The years between 1821 and the Civil War era saw some growth in Charleston, although early development was very slow. Joseph and Betsy Washington Lovell bought land along the river bank west of 6th Street (Capitol) in 1821, and also bought a large tract northwest of the original town (known as Elk Bottom).¹ They laid out streets and divided the tract into town lots. The "Lovell Addition" extended from Brown Street (present Quarrier) on its southern boundary to Donnally Street on the north; and from an extension of Truslow Street on the eastern border to Elk River on the west. In 1846 the Charleston corporate limits were extended to include the development. A cable suspension bridge across Elk connecting Lovell Street with the Parkersburg Pike was built by a stock company in 1852.

Donnally Street, in 1860, began near Elk River and ran its present course past Capitol Street and dead-ended at Dickinson Street. Dickinson, at that time, ended at that same intersection with Donnally. Other familiar street names existing during the war years were Reynolds, Clendenin, Lovell (some maps call this street Lovett), Goshorn, Court, Alderson (now Laidley), Summers, Quarrier, Broad, Brooks, and Morris Streets. Morris Street (also known as Eastern Street) was the eastern city boundary in the 1860's. Most of the bottom land east of Morris was wetland. In fact, most of the land between Brooks and Morris Streets was swampy.²



Brick Kanawha County Courthouse built in 1817. This courthouse was used until 1892, when it was razed to make room for the existing courthouse building. Photo courtesy of WV Archives and History, Capitol Building, Charleston, West Virginia.

Deed books in Charleston's early years recorded many transactions involving speculation by leading citizens of the time. Joseph Ruffner, John Reynolds, James Lewis, the Lovells, James Wilson, James McFarland, Levi Welch, William Cox, John Cotton, William Quarrier, Isaac Noyes, and Fred Brooks are some of the names associated with ownership of considerable tracts within the present limits of Charleston. Some of the names above, particularly Reynolds, Ruffner, Lovell, and Noyes, were also important in the great salt industry of Malden and a lot of the incentive for land speculation, except for a display of wealth, was to furnish home sites for other salt merchants and workers. Many of the salt "barons" moved to Charleston to escape the pollution and other unpleasant conditions in the salt drilling community.

From the 1820's on Charleston slowly developed into a commercial and business center as well as a bedroom community for the salt works. The two earliest merchants in Charleston were Aaron Whitteker and James C. McFarland. They located on Front Street (later called Kanawha Street, today Kanawha Boulevard) which was to reign as "the" business section of Charleston until the burning of the state capitol in 1921. Not only were Whitteker and McFarland important merchants, they also contributed significantly to Charleston's growth by building many fine houses in the city.

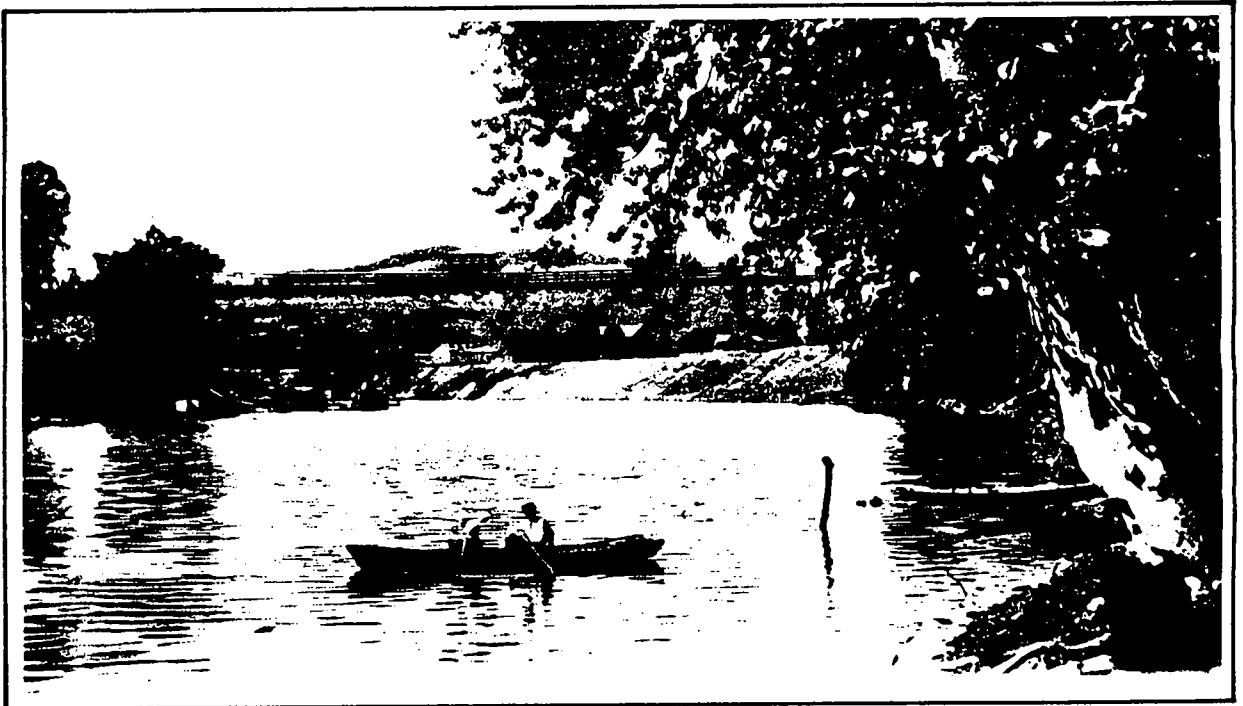
Aaron Whitteker was born in Worcester County, Massachusetts in 1790. He moved to Hudson, New York in 1810, where he met Bradford Noyes, of Kanawha, Virginia, who was there to sell furs. Aaron was somewhat familiar with the valley because his brother had moved there in 1804 and was in business. Aaron decided to travel with Noyes on his return trip. They sailed to Baltimore from New York, and then walked the 400 miles from there to Charleston. His younger brother, Levi, joined them later and all three began making salt. Their well was on the south side of the Kanawha River. During the War of 1812 they sold all the salt they could produce at \$1.00 per bushel.³

In 1816 Aaron contracted with Bradford Noyes to furnish all the wood necessary for Noyes' salt furnaces. In payment for his services he received half the salt produced. He decided to enter the mercantile business in 1819 and purchased a lot on the river bank across Front Street from the eastern half of the present Charleston National Bank property. Whitteker sold dry-goods, groceries, boots, shoes, hardware, and nearly everything else in the mercantile business. He was still in business, in the same brick riverfront store, during the Civil War.⁴

James C. McFarland was also born in Massachusetts, in 1792, and moved to Marietta, Ohio when he was eleven. He came to Charleston in 1813, worked hard, saved his earnings and invested in merchandise. His mercantile business prospered and he invested money in property on both sides of Front Street. His store was on the north side of Kanawha Street just below the public square. Mr. McFarland also owned an inn and tavern known



A woodcut of Charleston's Front Street in the 1830's. The building with the columned portico is the Bank of Virginia. The Kanawha House is beyond. The Wilson Tavern, far left, and Lewis Store flank the road down to the steam ferry. From Howe, "Historical Collections of Virginia, 1845."



A view looking south from up the Elk River. The 1852 suspension bridge at today's Washington Street is in the background. Photo from the late 19th century. From the collection of Birdy Botkin.

as the Kanawha House. He became president of the Kanawha branch of the Bank of Virginia established in Charleston in 1832. The bank building was located on the northwest corner of 6th Street (Capitol) and Kanawha Street (Kanawha Boulevard).⁵

By the time of the Civil War both sides of Kanawha Street were being developed commercially. Below 6th Street on the north side was the Bank of Virginia, next the Shrewsbury residence, and next the Kanawha House Inn and Tavern. On the west side of Summers Street (5th) were an office, house, stables, gardens, tenements and other out-buildings owned by Levi Welch. The office was occupied by Hurwitt, Ruffner & Co. The Welch property had been owned and occupied by George W. Summers from 1829 to 1843. This became the site of the West Virginia Journal offices about 1868. The Journal office was 66 feet on Kanawha Street and 165 feet along the west side of Summers.

Near the west end of the same block, close to Alderson Street, was the Rogers Drug Store built by J. H. Rogers, son of Dr. Henry Rogers, who had started the original drug business across the street in a building on the river bank in 1814. The business remained in the family until 1909 when it was sold to T. B. Stalnaker.

The extension of 6th Street down the riverbank to the steam ferry became the dividing line for descriptions of property and for giving directions to town visitors. Perhaps 6th Street was used because it was the earliest eastern boundary of Charleston, or because it was the boundary of property deals between Joseph Ruffner, Jr., who inherited the land from his father, and John Reynolds. This land west of 6th Street was known as "Elk Bottom". Whatever the reason, Capitol (or 6th) Street and the ferry were identifying landmarks.

Along the riverfront west of the ferry were the James A. Lewis store, the post office (run by Lewis), and Lewis' home. Next, there was a vacant lot and then Aaron Whitteker's store. As stated before, the Lewis and Whitteker tracts were across the street from the upper half of today's Charleston National Bank property. Across from the lower half of the Charleston National Bank property were the Rimmer and Cunningham Drug Store, a barber shop, the Ward Grocery, and the Arnold and Ruffner store. So, by 1823 the riverbank area from Summers to Capitol streets was partitioned and used as commercial property. The original uses were still intact at the beginning of the war.⁶

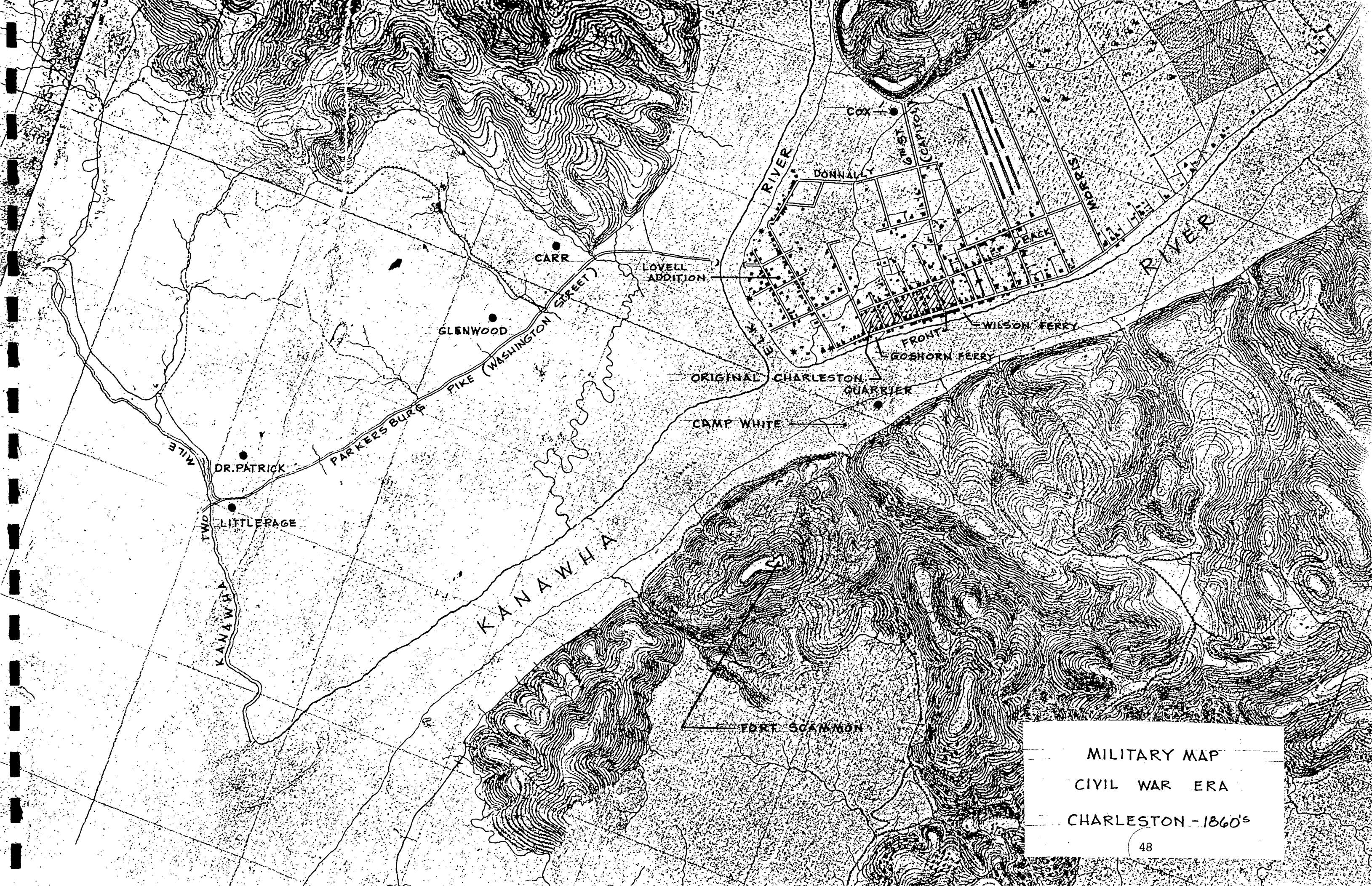
The lot on the east side of 6th Street (Capitol) was divided by Dr. John T. Cotton in the 1850's. Cotton sold the north end of his lot (90 feet along 6th Street and 70 feet along Back Street) to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South on February 10, 1858, for \$700. The Church's trustees were J. D. Chewning, R. M. Malcolm, S. A. Chambers, John Rindle, James Atkinson, C. W. Hill and Elizah Rooke. The relatively new church building was used by Union troops as a storehouse and was burned in 1862 in the face of advancing Confederate troops during the battle of

Charleston. After the war, in the April 1867 term of the Circuit Court, Cotton sued the church, and the property was deeded back to him on July 16, 1867 (D. B. "Z"/480). The 6th Street/Kanawha Street corner of the lot (southwest) was sold to Nathaniel S. Brooks in 1854 and Mr. Brooks built a store on the lot. Next to Mr. Brooks' store, on Kanawha Street, was Dr. Cotton's house. Most of the rest of the lots up river from Dr. Cotton's house were used for residential purposes.

Across Front Street from Dr. Cotton's property, however, the land was owned by James Wilson and later, by his son Lewis. Lewis owned the steam ferry business which operated at the river behind his father's Tavern House. In 1838-1839 Lewis began to buy up land beside the Tavern House along the river bank and, after acquiring all the riverfront land almost to Hale Street, he built a group of one-story buildings called "Virgin Row". The buildings housed professional offices for lawyers and doctors during the 1860's.⁸

A map of Charleston, drawn during the Civil War years, shows the town having few streets and scattered buildings. As expected, the map indicates a concentration of buildings along Front Street and Back (Virginia) Street and a number of buildings, presumably houses, in the Lovell Addition. Capitol Street, the focus of Charleston's existing downtown, is shown running from Front Street north all the way to the hill where it veered around the base of the hill toward the northeast along Elk. The Cox mansion can be clearly seen just west of the road near the base of the hill. During the 1860's, Capitol Street was known as "Cox's Lane", or the Cross Street leading to the road "up Elk", or the road "from Lewis D. Wilson's Steam Ferry". The latter name was used to identify the street until 1870, when the first Capitol was built. The main reasons for earlier Capitol Street development were: it was part of the main transportation up the Elk River; and it was the terminus where a ferry operated across the Kanawha River, connecting the paths and roads on the South side with the paths and roads on the North side.

The map shows that very little development had occurred east of Broad Street and north of Donnally Street. That was because almost all of the land in those areas was either marshy or tied up in large farms, like the Cox plantation or the Ruffner farms. By the 1860's most of the original 1820's Cox holdings had been sold to John Clarkson, but some of the land remained in the Cox family until about 1871, when the heirs sold it to the Charleston Extension Company and it was broken up into urban lots. Along Capitol Street between present day Quarrier Street and Donnally Street were the homesteads of the Quarriers, Dickinsons, Jeffries, Whittekers, Burdettes and others. The land west of Capitol Street was owned by Thomas Fife, William Whitteker, Aaron Whitteker and Frank Noyes. These properties, from the 1880's until 1929, were occupied by the Governor's Mansion, State Board of Control offices and later, the Daniel Boone Hotel, now 405 Capitol Street.⁹



MILITARY MAP
CIVIL WAR ERA
CHARLESTON - 1860's
48

Most of the Lovell Addition was residential but the Civil War map does not differentiate between residential, business, and industrial. It is known that saw mills and a barrel manufacturing facility were located in the Lovell Addition vicinity after the war, but this survey did not confirm whether the businesses were there in the 1860's.

The block where City Hall stands today was in mixed use during the Civil War. John A. Truslow owned a store on Front Street, measuring 42 feet along its front. His building was a two-story brick structure. The next twenty-one and one-half feet was occupied by a storehouse for T. Waggener & Company (no reference to the type of business). Orestes Wilson owned the rest of the lot, 48 feet, and had a three-story brick building which housed his tavern and inn. The Virginia Street side of the block had two residences and a livery.¹⁰

On the north side of Virginia Street between Alderson (Laidley) and Summers streets, the Methodists built a church in 1822 which came to be known as Asbury Chapel. The church was in the same location during the Civil War. The first Episcopal Church was located on the north side of Virginia Street at McFarland Street and the first Presbyterian Church was on the north side of Virginia at Hale, with the Mercer Academy behind it, facing where the Morrison Building now stands on Quarrier Street.¹¹ Quarrier Street did not extend west of Hale Street at the time of the war. It is curious that Virginia Street was not known as Church Street in those days as Capitol was later called Bank Street because of two banks on opposite corners of Capitol and Kanawha Street, and also at Virginia and Capitol Streets.

There were many residences scattered through Charleston in the Civil War era. Most of them were small, vernacular buildings of little architectural merit, but there were a few fine architecturally stylistic buildings belonging to the more well-to-do citizens. Several of the outstanding ante-bellum houses are still standing today.

The Ruffner farms anchored the eastern end of today's Charleston beginning with the beautiful "Holly Grove" mansion erected by Daniel Ruffner in 1815, before the James River and Kanawha Turnpike (about where the Kanawha Boulevard is) passed by. When built, the house was two stories tall, and rectangular in shape. The present shape of the house, with the large semicircular portico, is attributed to James H. Nash, who made the renovations in the early Twentieth Century. Holly Grove was owned by Silas R. Ruffner during the Civil War. Not very far west of Holly Grove was the home of Joel Ruffner, called "Rosedale". Rosedale was originally a log structure which was converted by Joel Ruffner into a residence for him and his bride, Diana Mayre. The house was damaged during the Civil War, but survived, only to be dismantled not too many years ago to make room for a modern building. The logs were stored for many years until, as a part of the American Bicentennial celebration, they were assembled into a log house facsimile in Daniel Boone

Park, near the restored Craik/Patton house. "Cedar Grove", the house built by Augustus Ruffner in 1834, still stands today at 1506 Kanawha Boulevard. It is a handsome brick farmhouse, well cared for and in very good condition. Augustus Ruffner was the son of Daniel Ruffner, builder of Holly Grove.¹²

Another pre-Civil War house still surviving in the east end of Charleston is the McFarland house, at 1310 Kanawha Boulevard, built by Norris Whitteker, brother of Aaron, and sold to Henry Devol McFarland, son of merchant and banker James McFarland. During the Civil War years the house was owned by John C. Ruby, II, who was a member of the Kanawha Riflemen (Confederate) serving under General McCausland. The house was used by the Federals as a hospital during the war. Just west of the Ruby house, during the war years, was the Rand house, also built by Norris Whitteker. The Rand house was razed in the 1940's.¹³

Aaron Whitteker built the "Miller House" in about 1830 on Kanawha Street, just east of Broad Street. The house was originally owned by Thomas Friend, a salt-maker, who also was recorded in history as the owner of Friends' Vineyard and built the recently restored Dutch Hollow Wine Cellars in Dunbar. Friend sold the house to Samuel A. Miller in 1855. Mr. Miller was a major in the Confederate army during the war, and in 1862, was elected to the Confederate Congress from the Kanawha District. His family left Charleston during the war. Following the war Samuel returned to Charleston to continue his profession as a lawyer (before the war he was a partner of Judge George Summers). In the early days of World War II, the house was the headquarters for "Bundles for Britain". The building was razed in 1947.¹⁴

Across Broad Street from the Miller house was the Andrew Donnally, Jr. house. The house was built at about the same time as Holly Grove (1815) and was among the earliest brick buildings in Charleston. The George Goshorn family lived in the house during the Civil War. Mr. Goshorn had come to Charleston in 1822 and first lived on the Kanawha River bank at the end of Goshorn Street, which was named for him. He operated the ferry at that point and also a hotel nearby. The house was demolished in 1942 to make room for a high-rise office building known as the United Carbon Building.¹⁵

"Elm Grove", built by Rev. James Craik in about 1834-35, stood on ground where the old Kanawha Valley Hospital was recently razed. Actually, the house itself was located about where Dunbar Street runs between Virginia and Quarrier Streets. The lot was 154 feet wide along Virginia Street and incorporated an acre and one-half. James Craik was the grandson of Dr. James Craik, a friend and personal physician of George Washington. Rev. Craik was the rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in Charleston from 1839 to 1844, when he moved on to another pastorate in Louisville, Kentucky. Another owner of the house was Captain George S. Patton, grandfather of the World War II general of the same name. Captain Patton bought the house in

1858. When he came to Charleston from Richmond in 1856, Patton formed the Kanawha Riflemen, an infantry company patterned after the "Richmond Light Infantry Blues" which he greatly admired. The organization became part of the 22nd Virginia Infantry (Confederate) during the Civil War. They participated in the first Kanawha Valley battle at Scary Creek, near St. Albans, on July 17, 1861. They also returned to Charleston in 1862 at the battle of Charleston. Patton was killed in action at Winchester, Virginia in 1864. Mrs. Patton sold the house to Andrew B. Hogue in September 1865. When Dunbar Street was cut through to Quarrier in 1906 the house was moved to 1316 Lee Street. In 1973 the house was moved to Daniel Boone Park and faithfully restored.¹⁶

Possibly the finest of the Downtown Charleston houses was "The Elms" built by French architect John F. Faure in 1822. The house was known to Charlestonians as the "Brown House" because it was in the family of Judge James H. Brown from 1837 until it was demolished in 1959 to make room for a new Federal Building and the extension of Quarrier Street.¹⁷

One of the finest and best preserved ante-bellum houses in Charleston is "Glenwood", on the West Side. Built by Colonel James Madison Laidley in 1852, the house belonged to George W. Summers, II during the Civil War. The house today belongs to the West Virginia College of Graduate Studies Foundation (WVCOGS), which administers the mansion and its grounds. The house was given to WVCOGS Foundation by Miss Lucy Quarrier, the last family member to own and live on the property.

Glenwood was one of five farms fronting on the Parkersburg Pike before and during the Civil War. "Edgewood", built in 1848 by J. L. Carr, was located on a bluff just east of the drive which today bears the estate's name. William Gillison owned the next farm, west of Glenwood. Farther west at a point that would be on today's Beech Avenue above the north end of Patrick Street, Dr. Spicer Patrick built a frame house he called "Forest Hill". Dr. Patrick built the house in 1855; thus it, like Glenwood, was relatively new when war came to the valley. The westernmost farm was "Littlepage" with its stone mansion built on bottom land near Kanawha Two Mile Creek. The house was built in 1845 and, during the Civil War, its grounds served as camping ground for both Federal and Confederate troops at various times, beginning with Wise's Legion in 1861.¹⁸

Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes made an entry in his diary on June 25, 1863, at Camp White (opposite Charleston), West Virginia:

"Last Monday, the 15th, Lucy (his wife), Mother Webb (his mother-in-law), and all the boys came here from Cincinnati on the 'Market Boy'. A few happy days, when little Joseph (his 18 mo. old son) sickened and died yesterday at noon (12:40). Poor little darling! A sweet, bright boy, 'looked like his father', but with large, handsome blue eyes much like Webb's. Teething, dysentery, and brain affected, the

diseases. He died without suffering; lay on the table in our room in the Quarrier cottage surrounded by white roses and buds all afternoon, and was sent to Cincinnati in the care of Corporal Schirmes, Company K (D), this morning.

In another letter Col. Hayes refers to the Quarrier house as a "little frame cottage on the bank of the Kanawha opposite the lower end of Charleston. Camp White was on the same premises."¹⁹

The house Col. Hayes refers to was the home of Alexander Quarrier I, the American Quarrier family patriarch, who was born in 1746 in England and came to this country in 1768. He settled in Philadelphia and established a coach-making business. Alexander organized a volunteer company for the Revolutionary War and, by the end of the war, had risen to the rank of colonel. A fire destroyed his business in 1785 and he decided to move to Richmond. Col. Quarrier was acquainted with Washington, Madison, Monroe, George Wythe, and John Marshall.

He was also acquainted with Col. Andrew Donnally and Maj. John Reynolds, of Kanawha, who were serving in the Virginia Assembly. In 1811, at the urging of his Kanawha friends, Col. Quarrier moved to the valley and lived for a while at John Reynold's farm near Burning Springs Branch east of Charleston. In 1816 he moved to land at Ferry Branch opposite Goshorn Street and built "Willow Bank", the frame house of Col. Hayes' letters. While living there, he operated the ferry across the Kanawha from his land.

The house was demolished in 1870 by Otis Thayer who built a new brick residence on the site, along with the business buildings of the Thayer Foundry.²⁰

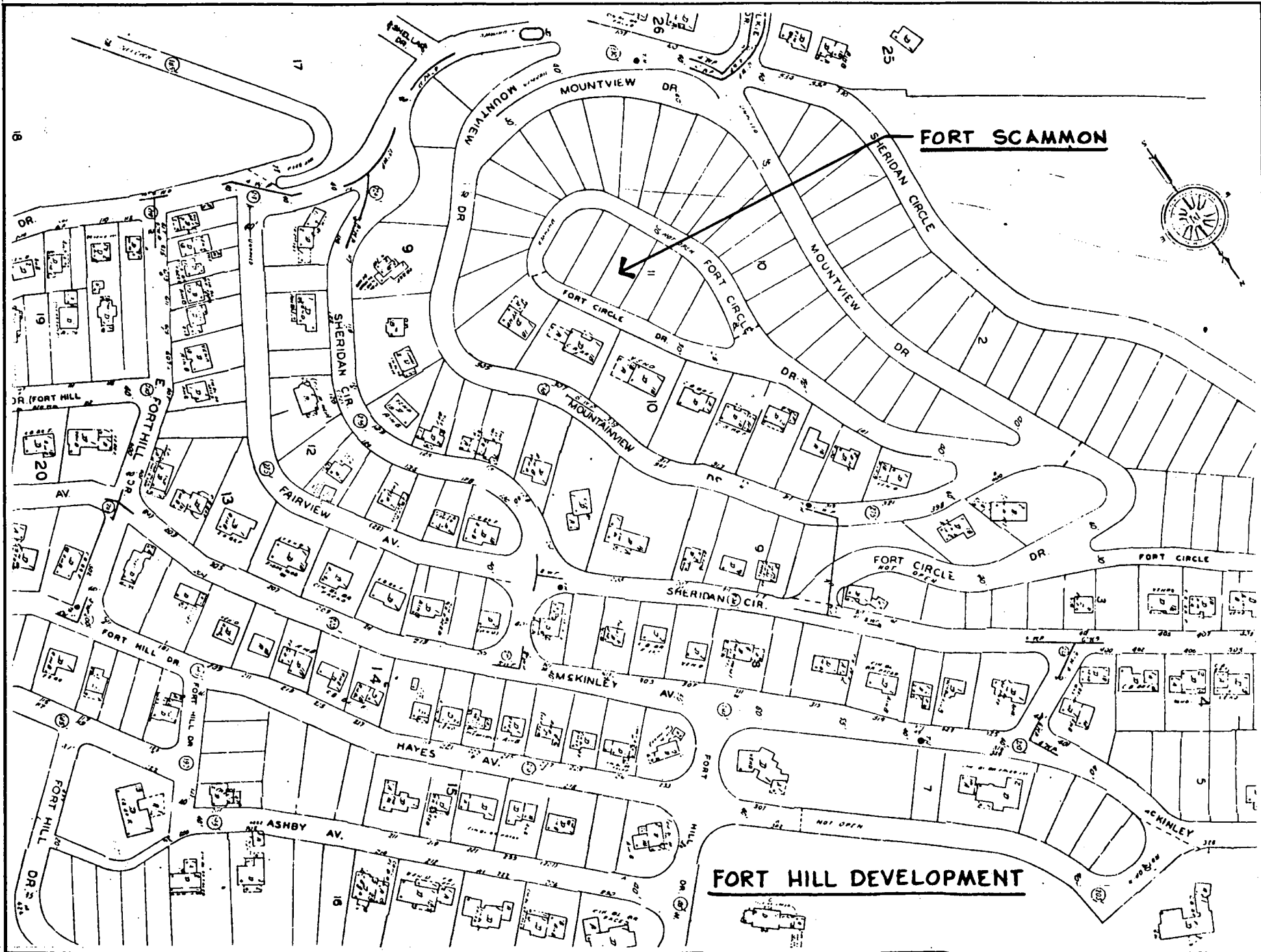
The proceeding word picture of Charleston during the Civil War years is far from complete, but it is the intention of this report to describe, in general terms, the town into which Col. Rutherford B. Hayes led his 23rd Ohio Volunteer Regiment in March 1863. Colonel Hayes seems to have been impressed with Charleston. He said:

"This is a beautiful valley from Piatt [Belle] down to its mouth. Make west Virginia a free State and Charleston ought to be a sort of Pittsburgh" (Monday, March 23, 1863); and "Charleston was a fine town before the war, and had a very cultivated society. The war broke it up, but now the town is gaining again and will ultimately recover its former prosperity" (October 10, 1863).²¹

Col. Hayes was quite right in his observations. The slowly growing town of 1800 people (1860 census) had been shocked and sorely tried during the war, not unlike many other towns and villages in the Virginias. War was bitter in this border-state situation, in which even families, at times, had different

allegiances. Furthermore, the economy of Charleston was severely disrupted by the destruction of the salt works in Malden. The Union Army destroyed furnaces and pumps and filled the wells to keep the industry from benefitting the salt-starved Confederacy. Many of the plants did not reopen after the war.²²

A few years after the war Charleston began to fulfill Col. Hayes' prophecy. West Virginia had become a free state during the war; the railroad came through in the 1870's; the state government moved here in the 1880's; river navigation was greatly improved in the 1890's and Charleston was on its way - an old city with a fine heritage, rich in natural resources, a manufacturing and financial leader in the state, and the center of state government.



FORT SCAMMON IN MODERN HISTORY

After the close of the Civil War, Fort Scammon was occupied by a company of Union infantry and a squad of cavalry until early 1866. During this occupation civilian militia received training and drill. Thus is the information from Mr. John Cooper of Illinois, who was a native and resident of Charleston, and whose family roots in Charleston extend back to 1807. When talking about Fort Scammon and Civil War history Mr. Cooper quotes from family tradition and his great-great-grandfather Henry Lacy, who served in the Confederate 8th Virginia Cavalry unit formed in this area.

There was a break in Fort Scammon history for almost one hundred years, except for an occasional memory-jogging story in the newspapers, and documentation by local historians. For instance, there was a story in the Charleston Gazette on Sunday, May 9, 1926 about Fort Hill development in which the fort history and Civil War incidents in the Kanawha Valley were featured. An earlier article, in the Charleston Daily Mail on Sunday, November 22, 1925 featured the involvement of future presidents Hayes and McKinley with Fort Scammon.

Charleston architect Robert E. Martens and Charleston attorney Paul J. Kaufman started a campaign as early as June 1961 to save the fort from impending development and, at the very least, have the fort recognized as a historic site worthy of preservation. They were suggesting that the site be designated as a small city park. Mr. Martens wrote a letter to the Smithsonian Institution on June 9, 1961, seeking historical data "particularly as to the plan, etc., of the Fort built during the Civil War on what is now called Fort Hill in Charleston, West Virginia. ...It is my hope that by obtaining this information, particularly during our Centennial (State of West Virginia, 1863), that I might raise enough interest of the local citizens of this area to retain what portion of the old Fort is left as a landmark, and used as a small park...."

On June 14, Mr. Martens wrote to Charles P. Harper, Chairman of the West Virginia Historical Commission in the interest of Fort Scammon, to which Dr. Harper responded that he felt the site "should be ideal for a city park, and should be preserved, restored and marked." A letter from Dr. Harper in September of 1961 discussed possibilities of a visit to Fort Scammon by Governor Barron, potential for it becoming a small state historical park, and procedures for placing a highway marker on the road below the fort.

Charleston Daily Mail staff writer Charles Conner wrote a story on June 7, 1961 reporting the efforts of Martens and Kaufman to tie Fort Scammon into a drive to fund the preservation and adaptive use of "Sunrise," the South Hills mansion of former Governor William MacCorkle. Their efforts, particularly those of Robert Martens went on tirelessly through the next few years. Mr. Martens wrote letters to the newspapers, to state



This photograph was printed in the June 1, 1962 edition of the Charleston Daily Mail with a story headlined: "School Children Join Move To Preserve Civil War Site." The children are, from left, Tod Kaufman, Freddy Grover, Diana Martens, Barbara Barker and David Alderson. Photo courtesy of the Charleston Newspapers.

legislators, Congressmen and Senators, to local government and anyone else he thought might listen and help.

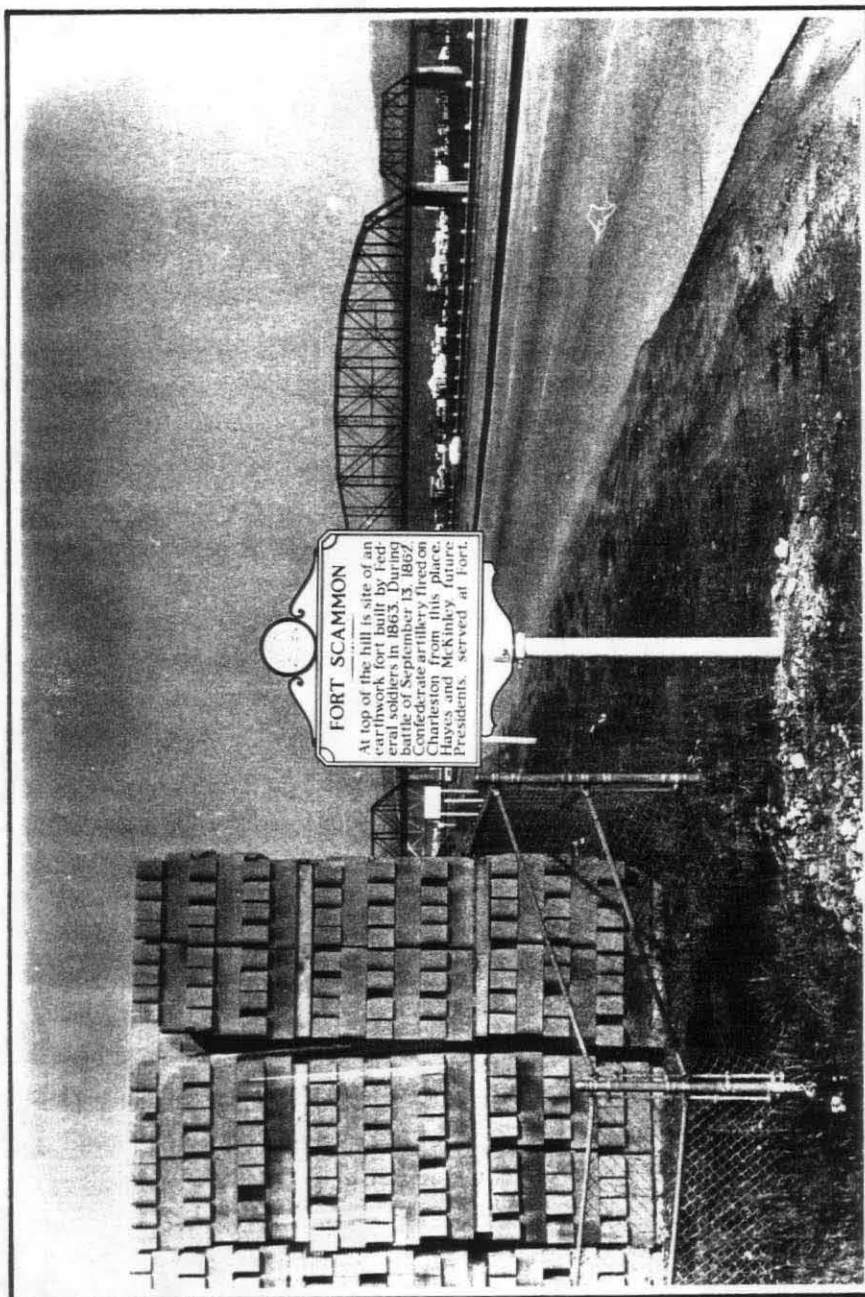
Another newspaper article by Charles Conner on June 1, 1962, about one year after Robert Martens' first letters, indicated the cause was not lost, although the "Save Sunrise" drive, which had the city's full attention the year before, had "outflanked" the Fort Hill issue. He reported that children at nearby elementary schools were learning about the fort and were pushing their parents to "see if something can't be done." It seems that the children's pleas had resulted in a sign being erected to mark the spot. Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Martens, at about this time, decided they could not get the job done themselves; a sponsoring organization was needed to get the area recognized as a historical location.

A group of young people organized the Fort Scammon Historical Association in 1964, with the goal of preserving the fort as a "unit under study for National Park status in the National Park System, United States Department of the Interior." It was decided, however, that the fort would be of more interest to the State of West Virginia, so the Association concentrated on having the site recognized in the state park system, according to Michael E. Long, Superintendent of the Association. Other members of the Fort Scammon Historical Association, listed in the Fort Scammon Historical Marker dedication program, were G. Wayne Moore, Historian; David E. Casto, Librarian; and Advisor George H. Stewart. Several letters survive the organization from a period in the fall of 1964 when the organization worked, along with Robert Martens and other interested citizens, to obtain a roadside marker for Fort Scammon.

The young men accumulated a remarkable list of important people who supported the Fort Scammon State Historic Site Project, headed by Governor Barron and Congressman John H. Slack. The marker project was successful and, in a letter to Rev. Clifford M. Lewis, S. J., of Wheeling College on February 27, 1965, Michael Long wrote, "If you have seen the latest edition of The West Virginia History Magazine, you probably saw the list of markers to be erected by the State Historic Markers Commission, Fort Scammon being one of these." Rev. Lewis responded by noting that an Antiquities Bill had been introduced in the current legislature which would set up a committee to screen requests for the development of historical parks and monuments. He encouraged Michael to submit the fort site for consideration.

On Monday, July 5, 1965 the Fort Scammon Historical Association was in charge of the dedication of the Fort Scammon Marker at Valley Street and the Southside Expressway near the site of Civil War Camp White where Rutherford Hayes and William McKinley had pitched their tents.

Fort Scammon came back into the newspapers again on December 3, 1969, when a story was written about City Clerk Dorothy Heinzer's appearance before the Charleston Beautification



Historic Highway Marker for Fort Scammon erected on the Southside Expressway in Charleston. The marker was dedicated July 5, 1965. Photo courtesy of the Charleston Newspapers.

Commission to plead for help to preserve the fort. She spoke to the commission's annual Christmas meeting and said the preservation of Fort Scammon would be "in keeping with the approaching year-long celebration of the city's 175th anniversary (1971)."

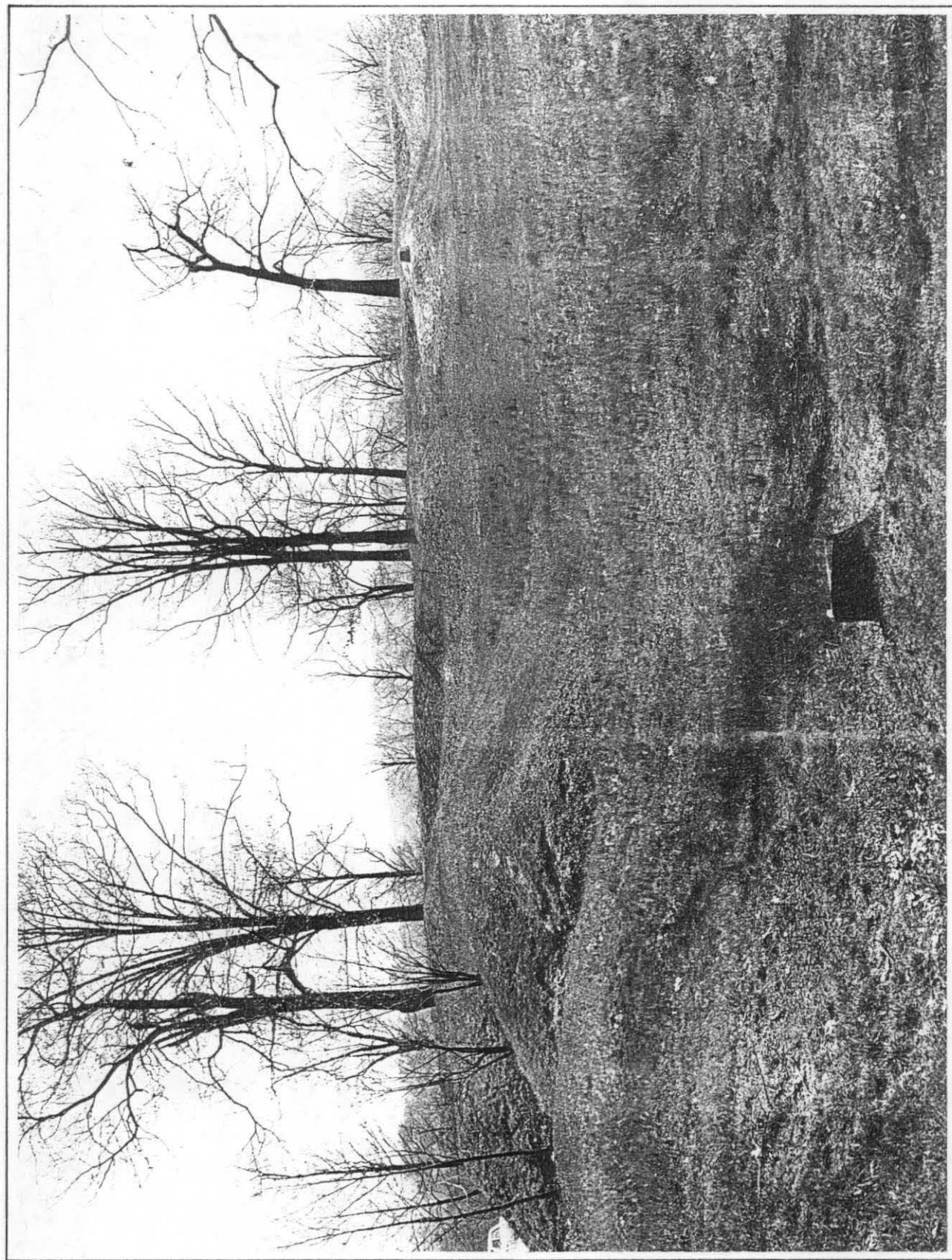
Robert Martens, who had led the fight nine years earlier, again came forward, submitted his files, and led the city administration in a campaign to place the fort on the National Register. Letters were written to the West Virginia Antiquities Commission by Mayor Elmer Dodson; K. F. Brockell, President of the Municipal Planning Commission; Philip Waring, Planning Director for the Kanawha County Planning and Zoning Commission; Mrs. Betty Fast, Chairman of the Charleston Municipal Beautification Commission; and other interested citizens. The campaign was successful. The site was approved for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places in May of 1970. Final notification of listing on the Register came on July, 6 1970.

Meanwhile, Interstate 64 had been planned without consideration for the fort, and another battle ensued when fears arose for the preservation of the site. In reality, the lower gun positions were impacted by Interstate 64 construction, but the fort itself was not affected.

Mrs. Jean Cole, a near neighbor of Fort Scammon, backed by four South Hills Garden Clubs, appealed to city council in September, 1975 to save the fort. The organization of citizens requested that the city purchase the property, using funds from the 1976 Community Development Program. The action was in response to the threatened development of the site for residential use. Mrs. Cole said, "It is almost embarrassing to think that during the Bicentennial year we are going to destroy this historical site. An injustice will be done if the fort is not saved."

Congressman John M. Slack, Jr. worked with the city in the effort to obtain approval from the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for use of Community Development funds in the purchase of the property. Dr. Wilson Ward, city councilman from the Fort Hill area, who was elected partially because of his promise to save the fort, worked hard to acquire the city's purchase commitment. He was appointed chairman of a select committee, by the Charleston Finance Committee, to study the purchase of the Fort Scammon property. The select committee included councilmen Harry Brawley, Fred Cummings, Jean Holt, and Richard Kennedy.

Considerable discussion followed a recommendation by the Finance Committee that the site be purchased. After the debate and vote to buy the fort site, Councilman Harry Brawley, local historian and teacher, said, "a lot of us had to choose between our head and our heart... We may have to forego two tennis courts somewhere, but we can build them next year. We can't put Fort Scammon back once it's gone."



Fort Scammon earthworks shown shortly after the purchase of the site by the City of Charleston. The site had been cleared and grubbed by city workmen. Note the U.S. Geological Survey marker in the right background. Photo courtesy of the Charleston Newspapers, 1978.

Finally, in December, 1978 city council voted to purchase the historic site and paid \$75,000 to owner Kellum D. Pauley. City work crews cleaned the breastworks and fort interior of heavy growth and neatly trimmed the grass. Since early 1979, the area has been maintained on a regular schedule.

In 1982 the city administration, under the sponsorship of its Municipal Beautification Commission, and Director Tom Vasali, and in cooperation with the Kanawha Valley Historical and Preservation Society and Kanawha County Landmarks Commission, sought to gain information about the fort in preparation for an interpretive restoration of the site. Proposals were sought for both a historical and archeological investigation and report, but funding at the time was inadequate and the project was delayed.

During mid-1985, however, funding was acquired and the present historical survey began, and in the summer of 1986 an archeological investigation yielded important information about the fort. A report of the archeological findings follows this historical work. The objectives of both studies were to learn as much as possible about the fort itself; its relationship to the war in West Virginia; to know more about the men who built the fort - where they were from and how they fit into the war history; how the Civil War soldier lived and trained; what life was like in camp; and something about Charleston at the time of the Civil War.

The historical and archeological studies will be used to help interpret the site for students, and provide a base from which future research can build. They can also be a guide for further archeological investigation in the event a full restoration of the site may some day be desired. It is certain that more extensive work will be necessary, as funding permits, to develop a clearer picture of the construction details of Fort Scammon. Meanwhile the fort, with many secrets still locked in its breastwork and trenches, is protected and awaits its lasting status as a city historical park. In the future, Fort Scammon will be visited by many people, and scholars will study its history.

The fact of Fort Scammon's protection, and of its very existence, is evidence of heroic efforts and dedication of many people. Chief among the fort's champions were Robert Martens; Paul Kaufman; Micheal Long, and other members of the Fort Scammon Historical Association; Dorothy Heinzer; Jean Cole; Congressman John Slack, Jr.; Dr. Wilson Ward; and Harry Brawley. There were many others too numerous to know or record - city administrators and councilmen, local historians, business and community leaders, newspaper reporters and editors, and dozens of other Charleston and Kanawha Valley citizens who helped in the "Save Fort Hill" efforts.

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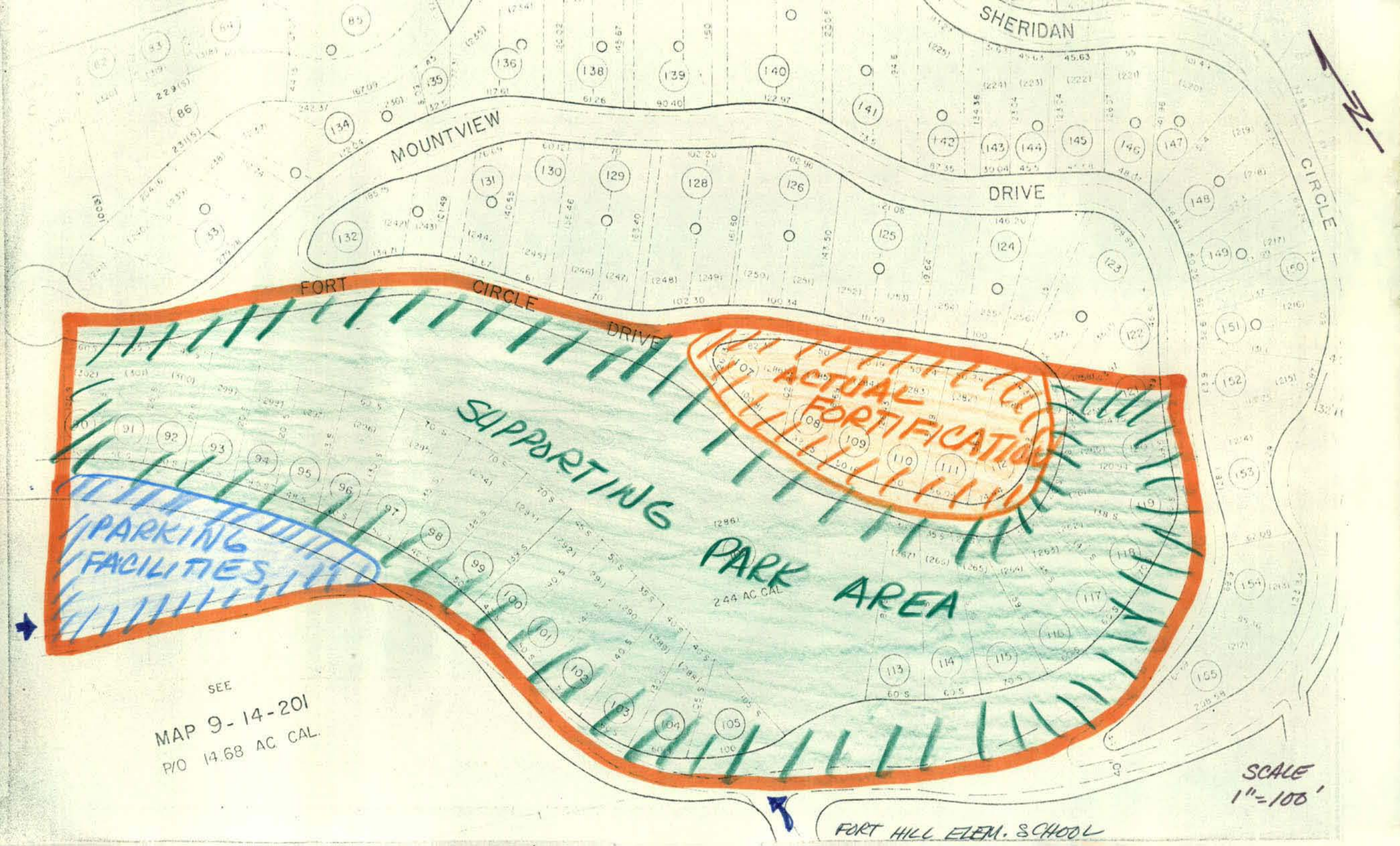
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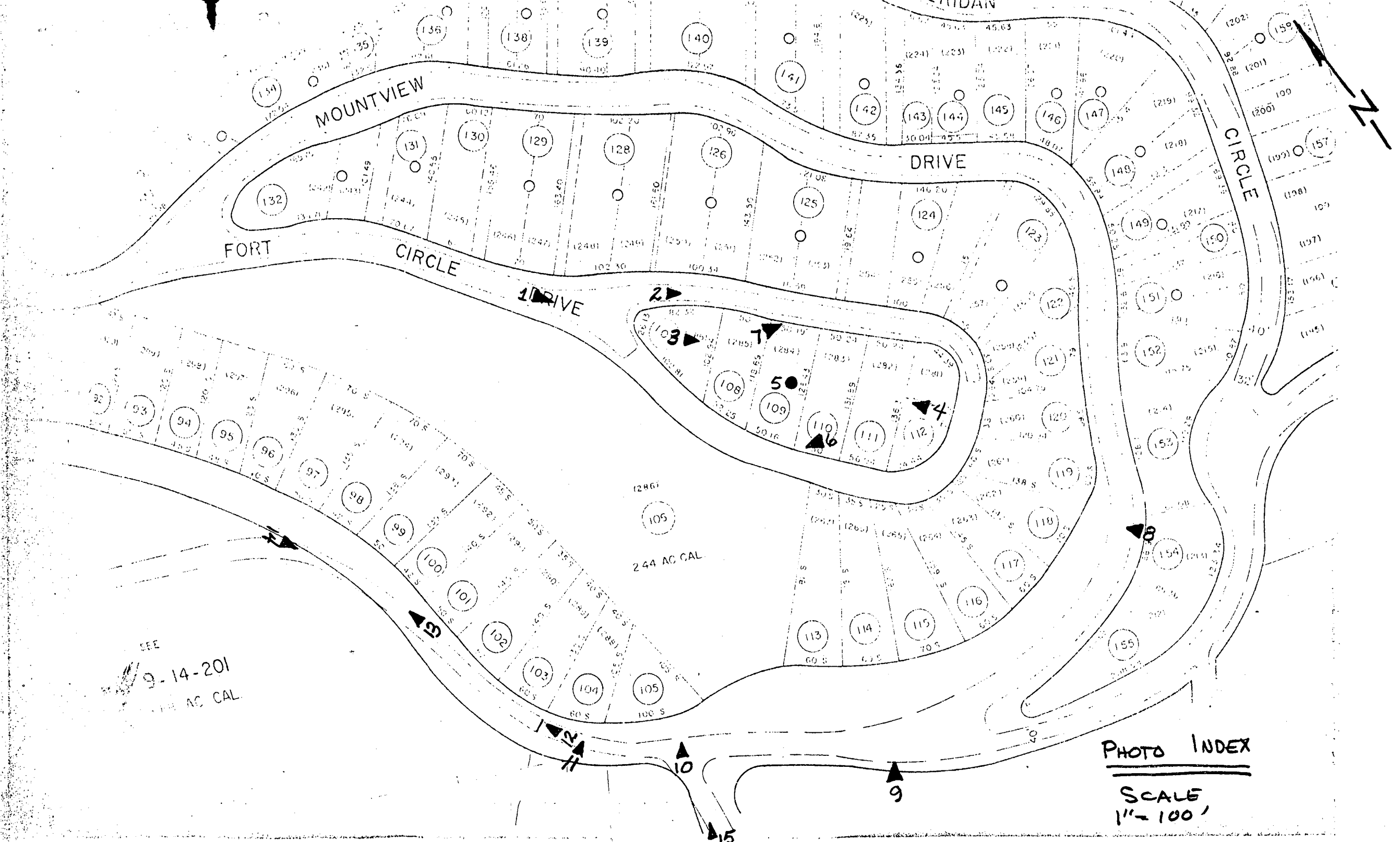
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SEE
MAP 9-14-201
P/O 14.68 AC CAL

FORT HILL ELEM. SCHOOL

SCALE
1"=100'



MOUNTVIEW

DRIVE

FORT

CIRCLE

DRIVE

CIRCLE

SEE

9-14-201

AC CAL

PHOTO INDEX

SCALE
1" = 100'