

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM

Listed On
VLR: 12/06/1995
NRHP: 06/06/1997

21-976

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

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1. Name of Property

=====

historic name Cool Spring Battlefield

other names/site number N/A

=====

2. Location

=====

street & number Northeast Clarke County not for publication N/A
city or town Berryville vicinity x
state Virginia code VA county Clarke code 043
zip code _____

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3. State/Federal Agency Certification

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As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this x nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property x meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant x nationally statewide locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

[Signature] 4/21/97
Signature of certifying official Date

Virginia Department of Historic Resources
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting or other official Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

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4. National Park Service Certification

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I, hereby certify that this property is:

 entered in the National Register _____
 See continuation sheet. _____
 determined eligible for the _____
 National Register _____
 See continuation sheet. _____
 determined not eligible for the _____
 National Register _____
 removed from the National Register _____

 other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date
of Action

=====
5. Classification
=====

Ownership of Property (Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property (Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing
<u>17</u>	<u>104</u> buildings
<u>26</u>	<u>25</u> sites
<u>11</u>	<u>12</u> structures
<u>00</u>	<u>00</u> objects
<u>54</u>	<u>141</u> Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 2

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) N/A

=====
6. Function or Use
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Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: <u>Defense</u>	Sub: <u>battle site</u>
<u>Defense</u>	<u>military facility</u>
<u>Domestic</u>	<u>single dwelling</u>
<u>Agricultural/Subsistence</u>	<u>agricultural field</u>
<u>Agricultural/Subsistence</u>	<u>agricultural outbuilding</u>
<u>Transportation</u>	<u>road related</u>
<u>Industry/Processing/Ext</u>	<u>manufacturing facility</u>
<u>Commerce</u>	<u>business</u>

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: <u>Transportation</u>	Sub: <u>road related</u>
<u>Domestic</u>	<u>single dwelling</u>
<u>Domestic</u>	<u>multiple dwelling</u>
<u>Agricultural/Subsistence</u>	<u>agricultural fields</u>
<u>Agricultural/Subsistence</u>	<u>agricultural outbuilding</u>
<u>Religion</u>	<u>church-related residence</u>
<u>Recreation and Culture</u>	<u>sports facility</u>
<u>Government</u>	<u>fire station</u>

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7. Description
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Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)

Colonial: Georgian
Early Republic: Federal
Mid-19th Century: Greek Revival
Other

Materials (Enter categories from instructions)

foundation STONE: limestone
roof METAL: tin
walls STONE: limestone
BRICK:
other _____

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

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8. Statement of Significance
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Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- | | | Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.) | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | A | Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history. | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | A | owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | B | Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past. | <input type="checkbox"/> | B | removed from its original location. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | C | Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction. | <input type="checkbox"/> | C | a birthplace or a grave. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | D | Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history. | <input type="checkbox"/> | D | a cemetery. |
| | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | E | a reconstructed building, object, or structure. |
| | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | F | a commemorative property. |
| | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | G | less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years. |

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)

MILITARY

Period of Significance 1864

Significant Dates 1864

Significant Person (Complete if Criterion B is marked above)
N/A

Cultural Affiliation N/A

Architect/Builder N/A

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

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9. Major Bibliographical References

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(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)
___ preliminary determination of individual listing
(36 CFR 67) has been requested.
___ previously listed in the National Register
___ previously determined eligible by the National
Register
___ designated a National Historic Landmark
___ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
___ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary Location of Additional Data
___ State Historic Preservation Office
___ Other State agency
___ Federal agency
___ Local government
 University
___ Other
Name of repository: Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA

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10. Geographical Data

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Acreeage of Property 4,064 acres

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	17	250160	4339800	3	17	249770 4333380
2	17	248840	4333760	4	17	250290 4334120
	<u>x</u>	See continuation sheet.				

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

=====

11. Form Prepared By

=====

name/title Clarence R. Geier; Joseph Whitehorne; Ann McCleary

organization James Madison University date 8-16-95

street & number Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology telephone 703-568-6973

city or town Harrisonburg state VA zip code 22801

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Additional Documentation

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Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps
A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage

or numerous resources.

Photographs
Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

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Property Owner
=====

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name _____

street & number _____ telephone _____

city or town _____ state _____ zip code _____

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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).
Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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Cool Spring Battlefield
Clarke County, Virginia

SUMMARY DESCRIPTION

The Cool Spring Battlefield lies in the Shenandoah River Valley in the northeast corner of Clarke County, Virginia (Figure 1). The district includes the preserved natural and cultural setting affected by the events of July 16-20, 1864, related to the Civil War battle of Cool Spring (USDI 1992: Map 30). Consistent with the concept of a battlefield, the district includes the terrain and hydrography over which the battle was fought and which served to shape the tactical progress of the engagement in time and space. In addition, it includes the archaeological and architectural remnants of plantations, farmsteads, transportation, mining, and industrial centers that were a part of the economically prosperous community over which the conflict was fought. While the ecological and cultural landscape of the area has changed since 1864, the physical landscape, identified archaeological sites, and certain of the more prestigious architectural elements of the mid-19th-century social landscape, remain. When combined with the existing historic record, these resources allow the events of the battle and related support activities to be documented, reconstructed and visually interpreted.

Environment and Topographic Features

General The Cool Spring Battlefield includes a 3 mile length of the northeast flow of the Shenandoah River in northeastern Clarke County, in the Ridge and Valley Province of Virginia (Figure 1). The shape of the district determined by the flow of events associated with the Civil War Battle of Cool Spring (USDI 1992: Map 31; Figure 1). Within the district, three topographic settings characterize the local landforms. These include a wide, heavily dissected valley uplands which bound the relatively narrow bottomlands of the trench of the Shenandoah River on the west. Immediately east of the river, and serving to define its easternmost valley wall, are the sharply angled slopes which rise towards the spine of the Blue Ridge Mountains and which serve to define the eastern boundary of the valley of the Shenandoah River in this area.

Diverse bedrock geologies have contributed to shaping the local terrain conditions. "Terrace deposits" underlain by dolomitic limestones serve to shape the array of upland valley ridges and knolls that bound the course of the Shenandoah on the west. Alluvium dominates the floor of the valley, though exposed limestone bedrock floors the bottom of the river in most areas. The mountain walls east of the Shenandoah reveal a geological sequence which includes the formations of phyllite, sandstones and quartzites at the mountain base, and slates, phyllite, medabasalts, and epidosite along the ridge line (Hubbard 1990). A break in the mountain ridge, Snickers Gap, is a primary feature of the historical district.

Drainage and hydrography have shaped local landforms in ways critical to interpreting mid-19th-century land use and the military events of July 16-20, 1864. On the east, sharp-walled, V-shaped, deeply-entrenched, markedly-sloped, commonly west-flowing drainages have dramatically dissected and shaped the terrain. From north to south, Rocky Branch, Raven Rocks Run, and a converging array of ravines, including Pigeon Hollow, sculpt the interior of the

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Cool Spring Battlefield
Clarke County, Virginia

mountain wall producing, narrow, moderately to sharply angled, descending ridges which typically terminate in a series of elevated knobs above the points where their flows enter the trench of the Shenandoah River (Figure 1).

One exception to this pattern is produced by Joe Bell Run. This drainage is on the east side of the district, is the most substantial of the mountain drainages, and unlike its counterparts, tends to drain southwest from the vicinity of Snickers Gap. The development of this system has shaped the formation of a high, weathered ridge, Big River Mountain, which separates and shields a weathered, dissected interior mountain valley, currently housing the community of Pine Grove (Figure 1) from the Shenandoah River Valley proper. This interior valley was a frequently used Civil War encampment area and played a key role in support activities involved with the Battle of Cool Spring.

To the west of the Shenandoah River, the upland valley floor consists of weathered, flat to moderately sloping, relatively wide ridges which have been dissected and shaped by an array of, commonly spring-fed streams. Primary streams draining this area include Wheat Spring Branch and Long Marsh Run (West Va). These streams tend to be relatively slow running and have moderately sloping floors within narrow U-shaped valleys. Associated bottomland features vary, but floodplain is the typical terrain element. Lesser, often spring-fed tributaries also shape the upland topography (Figure 1).

The cutting effect of the Shenandoah River has caused it to lie within a narrow, typically less than 1/2 mile wide, trench. On the east side, steep to bluff-like landforms, broken and weathered by entering tributary streams, rise abruptly from low terraces or, more typically, floodplain. On the west, the upland valley features exhibit greater weathering, though bluff, to markedly sloping walls are not uncommon. Low first, and, occasionally, second terraces occur, though floodplain is the more common landform. High weathered upland knobs or ridge endlobes frequently overlook the valley floor, two of the highest and more distinctive being situated to the north and south of the ravine through which the Berryville Pike (Route 7) passes (Figure 1).

At present the Shenandoah River lies within a vertically-sided trench, typically 10 to 20 ft. or more below the bounding floodplain. Information on the average depth of the river itself is not available; however, the number of fords identified locally, coupled with observations made in the winter of 1994/1995, indicate lengthy periods in which the flow is shallow, allowing ready crossing. Limestone bedrock, which crosses the width of the river bed in many areas, is often exposed or lies within a couple of feet of the water surface during periods of low water. One area of note is Parkers Hole, a steep-walled dropoff situated east of Parkers Island and north of the entrance of Raven Rocks Run (Figure 4). Given the occurrence of several major floods in the area since the Civil War it is important to note that, while floodplain and lower terraces do flood during periods of primary water flow, in no area within the area investigated is there significant evidence of cutting or erosion of the faces of the local terrain features. In fact, on the floodplain

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north and south of the Berryville Pike and west of the river, as much as 1.5 ft. of recently deposited alluvium was observed.

Recent studies, focusing primarily on Frederick County (Mitchell, Conner and Hofstra 1993), suggest that while localized glades or prairies may have been present, diverse woodlands would probably have been the dominant vegetal circumstance on the mountains, valley uplands and across most of the Shenandoah bottomlands at the time of historic contact. When cleared, however, the floodplain and terraces of the Shenandoah along with uplands ridge areas provided for an agricultural base capable of maintaining a major wheat industry (Edmonds and Stiegler 1981: General Soil Map), which, prior to the Civil War, served as the focus of a plantation based agricultural community and a dispersed rural industry centering on the milling of grain. Mountain soils tend to be generally poorer and less productive, and yet, allowed clearing of land for pasture and at least the localized planting of crops including corn.

While no exact measures of the character and extent of deforestation exist, it can be argued from the historical record that the cleared land, particularly in the mountain areas, was far greater than today. Comments made by soldiers present in the summer of 1864, historic records considered during the project, and a limited number of photographs from the early 20th-century, suggest that many of what are now wooded mountain slopes were open and deforested. The extent of the clearing and the absence of pioneer stand vegetation, suggests that much of the land, if not cleared for planting, would have served as upland pasture. Field studies of woodlands on the uplands above the east side of the Shenandoah reveal relatively modern and recent forests, the character of which suggests less than 50 years of growth.

The Cool Spring Battlefield The conflict at Cool Spring took place on lands included within two prestigious plantations (Figure 4): Cool Spring, owned by Frances McCormick, on the west bank of the Shenandoah River; and the lands of Judge Richard Parker, whose plantation called Retreat occupied the east bank. A pair of low islands, jointly referenced as Parkers Island, lay midway within the flow of the river, Parkers Hole lying east of the north end of the northernmost island.

The principal battlefield locale (Figure 4) is a rectangular area, 4,000 ft. northeast-southwest by 5,000 ft. northwest-southeast, including bottomland features east and west of the Shenandoah River and their immediately adjoining uplands. West of the river, Cool Spring Run serves as a southern defining feature for the infantry engagement of July 18, while an unnamed stream, identified as Rodes' Run for this discussion, bounds the area on the north. On the west, activity extended to the second line of upland ridges ca. 2,500 ft. west of the banks of the Shenandoah, attaining the Castleman's Ferry-Wyckliffe Church Road, which passes Cool Spring Mansion. To the east, staging activities involving the Union Army advance took place on the floodplain and terrace features west, and in front of Parker's Retreat; troops accessing the bottomland by way of a narrow, weathered, and descending ridge passing down Pigeon Hollow Run to the rear of that mansion. Union artillery support for the Federal advance and subsequent

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withdrawal was in place on certain of the bottomland terraces near Retreat and on upland prominences north and south of that point. The flow of the Shenandoah, and the upper and lower Parker Island within its stream, contributed to shaping the events of the battle.

The bottomland features between Rodes' and Cool Spring Run are anything but planar. In fact, the floodplain adjoining the Shenandoah is probably narrower in this area than at any other point within the proposed district. Except in the areas where the two primary tributary streams and a less-developed drainage join the river, the planar floodplain area is rarely more than 80 to 150 ft. wide (Figure 4; Photo 3). To the west, a weathered and dissected first terrace creates a series of four high knolls and knobs that attain heights of from 20 to nearly 40 ft. above the floodplain. These knobs are separated from each other by moderate to deeply defined ravines, the central of which heads up beyond the first line of upland ridges in a sinkhole east of Cool Spring Mansion (Figure 4, Photo 19). The northernmost ravine (Figure 4), which may be a product of ancient flooding of Rodes' Run, has effectively shaped a large, nearly conical, domed knob above the junction of Rodes' Run with the Shenandoah River, this feature controlling the northeast corner of the battlefield.

Considered in terms of transit, people moving across this weathered interior terrace from north to south would move up markedly angled slopes from the area of Rodes' Run, would cross a domed ridge and then descend nearly 20 ft. into a ravine, ascend a markedly angled slope onto a slightly longer terrace ridge, and then cross a series of marked undulations until descending into the floodplain of Cool Spring Run. For forces moving west from the Shenandoah River, the deeply cut ravines leading to the uplands to the rear may have contributed to channeling movement. To attain the immediate high ground, however, after crossing a narrow, flat to then slightly sloping floodplain, markedly angled (20%+) slopes would have to be ascended. Once upon the terrace knobs, the land between them and the uplands landforms drops away significantly on the north end, before beginning to ascend again.

The series of upland ridges between Rodes' and Cool Spring Runs, which include the western sector of the battlefield, are heavily eroded, with rock outcrops on the ridge faces and slopes being common and, in some areas, forming substantial terrain features (Photo 18). Locally, drainage patterns converging from the north and south have defined a narrow, linear series of upland ridges which parallel the line of weathered terrace knobs and the flow of the Shenandoah River. These ridges rise 80 to 100 ft. above the floodplain, attain their greatest height on the south end and slope downward towards Rodes' Run. The heights of these ridges vary from being 40 ft. above the terrace knobs at the south end of the battlefield, to approximately the same height as those knobs south of Rodes' Run (Figure 4). The length of this ridge is broken at one point near midway along its length by a ravine passing east from the uplands interior.

The landforms between the terrace and upland ridges is broken from north to south by the previously discussed drainage system. Moving to the interior, or west, the circumstances of any military advance would vary. South of the middle ravine, slopes rise at a moderate angle towards

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the upland ridge but then confront a nearly vertical "bluff" of limestone (Figure 18) which extends from the slopes of Cool Spring Run for nearly 600 ft. northeast. While providing a defensive advantage to forces in position on the upper ridge, for advancing troops it created a real obstacle. On the other hand, for forces retreating from the upper ridge, it created the effect of a defensive line that in itself could be defended.

The middle ridge area, north of the uplands derived ravine, is fronted by a moderately sloping rise that ultimately attains its apex. The northern third of the ridge, however, is weathered by Rodes' Run. To its front is a deeply developed ravine that extends southwest and then east to enter the Shenandoah River. This erosional feature creates a low, 10 ft. +/- high, but relatively sharp drop from the ridge face into the ravine (Figure 4).

The battlefield area west of the first upland ridge line has been shaped by the interior drainage net of Rodes' and Cool Spring Run and by the intermediary system that heads up in a sink hole formed east of Cool Spring Mansion (Figure 4). As a composite, these drainages produce a second upland ridge which joins that of the first series on the south above Cool Spring Run and then extends north in a gentle arc ending above and south of Rodes' Run. The Cool Spring Mansion is situated at the midpoint of this weathered ridge line.

Cool Spring Run, which defines the battlefield on the south side, rises in a large spring complex to the south of the McCormick mansion. From its origin it flows through a very narrow, deeply entrenched (30 ft. +/-), V-shaped valley, widening and becoming somewhat less sloped as it enters the Valley of the Shenandoah. In this area, resistant limestones have created a sharp angle or hook where the first and second upland ridges join, the outer edge of which takes the form of a sharply walled limestone outcrop on the west and low, vertically walled bluff on the southeast (Figure 4). For Confederate soldiers advancing against the Union position, the ravine would have served as area in which massed troops could be out of the line of sight of Union troops in the fields below, and could be protected from Union artillery fire from the east side of the Shenandoah. For Federal skirmishers retreating from their advance position, the limestone bluff would have served as a defensive line that could be used to hold back any Confederate advance across the ridge to the west.

On the north side of the battlefield, the more developed flow of Rodes' Run is important. This stream is somewhat more U-shaped in character with a narrow but distinctly shaped bottomland. Valley walls on the north side are more moderately angled than those to the south. An erosional scar that originates east of the mansion and flows northeast creates a relatively wide, gently to moderately walled valley between the north ends of the first and second upland ridge series. This locale is important, because it provided a setting in which Rodes' Confederate Division formed in relative security prior to their first advance against the Union right flank. A large number of troops could have massed in this area and would not have been seen by the Union forces in place to the east. In addition, forces massed in this area would have been visually screened from Union artillery positions on bluffs east of the Shenandoah River.

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The lesser middle drainage that forms east of the mansion further compounds the terrain situation between the first and second upland ridges. In its center its depth approaches an interior basin being deeper than the ravines which exit it. On the north, associated drainages form a saddle with the flow of Rodes' Run. On the south, the weathering has created a narrow-U-shaped enclosure that creates an excellent defensive military position. In fact, it is so ideal, that it almost appears manmade (Figure 4). Certainly, for either Union or Confederate soldiers holding this position, unless threatened with being flanked, the setting created an ideal position of strength.

While the area to the east of the Shenandoah River does not lie within the immediate zone of conflict, its setting was critical to shaping the Union advance and subsequent retreat, and for influencing the character of the support that could be provided the forces in the field. Unlike the west bank, the bottomland features on the east side include extensive floodplain, with weathered, low, and narrow first terraces extending along the valley wall in some areas. These low relief features were as much as 20+ ft. lower in altitude than the line of terrace remnants to the west of the river. Except in those areas where narrow mountain streams entered, the bounding valley wall was bluff-like in character, slopes rising in a nearly vertical angle for as much as 60+ ft. on the north end near Rocky Run to as much as 200-300 ft. on the south below Big River Mountain (Figure 4).

Given the above, troops massing along the narrow bottomlands west of the river could, reasonably, have been observed by Confederate pickets to the east. More importantly, however, the bluff-like character of the valley walls is of note in that it created a vertical wall severely restricting any movements into or out of the bottomland. Field studies made of the major ravines entering the bottomlands from the west, including those to the rear of Judge Parker's plantation house of Retreat, showed clearly that while humans can pass through them, these deeply entrenched, V to bluff walled, valleys are totally incompatible to any reasonable movements of a sizable military force in a state of advance or retreat (Figure 4). The only reasonable access into the valley that could have been crossed by forces such as those involved, was a narrow, moderately sloping weathered ridge immediately east of Retreat and down which the roadway between Retreat and Snickers Gap passed. At best, for a force interested in rapid movement, this access route was only minimally acceptable, literally all that was available. For an army in retreat, it created an unacceptable bottleneck (Figure 4).

With reference to observation and logistical support, it is important to note the series of knobs or peaks formed between the mountain drainages and above the Shenandoah. At two points on Big River Mountain (Figure 4), and on a series of endlobes northeast of Retreat, a series of high altitude (100 - 200 ft. high), flat-topped ridges were in place. These knobs would have served as ideal settings for artillery batteries, and for observation posts used in recording the events of the battle and general Confederate movements. On the other hand, except for the possible use of the higher altitude ridge upon which Retreat is situated, the terrace formations along the margin of the valley wall would have been too low in altitude, to provide any significant controlled fire against the Confederate positions on higher altitude landforms to the west.

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The last feature of note is the Shenandoah River itself. Within the setting of the battlefield, the river changes from a single stream ca. 250 ft. wide, to two streams separated by intervening islands. The average depth of the river is uncertain, though in the winter of 1995 it appeared to be typically less than 5 ft. deep. The primary exception to this is Parkers Hole, an exceptionally deep pit in the flow of the stream east of the lower Parkers Island and north of entrance of Raven Rock Run. On the west side of the river, the bank rises as a near vertical bluff to heights of 15 to 20 ft. above the flow of the stream. On east, the bank appears to be slightly less high and is somewhat more weathered and eroded. The interior islands rise to a height of just above water level and exhibit evidence of flood weathering, to as great as 10+ feet above the stream, the upper, narrower island being the more developed. For troop movements these circumstances are important because, except in those areas where streams entered the Shenandoah or where man made fords accessed the floodplain, the vertical banks of the river would have, hampered mobility.

Information on the environmental setting of the battlefield in June of 1864 is limited. Meaney (1980), indicates that the lower fields along the west side of the Shenandoah River were in wheat and that only scattered woodlands could be seen on the uplands. One of these "woodlands" included the northernmost of the first upland ridges, a factor which was to play a significant role in shaping the Confederate success during their first attack.

The situation on the east bank is less certain. The facts that the Union had observers on the southernmost knob of Big River Mountain, and that artillery batteries were moved rapidly into position on both knobs on that mountain and on those between Retreat and Rocky Branch, suggest that the uplands in these areas had been significantly deforested, possibly being held as upland pasture. The bottomlands along the east bank, given the agricultural base of the plantation, and Union descriptions of them, appear to have been cleared for planting. Meaney notes, however, that the upper and lower Parkers islands and the edges of both the east and west banks of the river were wooded. This is a significant point, because such tree lines would have significantly blocked the vision of Union forces on the east bank who sought to provide rifle or artillery support for the forces confronting the Confederate infantry on the west side of the river. Similarly, Union troop movements would have been blocked, to some degree, from the eyes of Confederate pickets on the west bank.

INVENTORY OF CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

The greater number of the following cultural resources and groupings of cultural resources are referenced using the file designation assigned to them by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) (44CK.. prefix for archaeological sites; 21-.. prefix for architectural sites). Resources given an F- or field designation were viewed in the course of the project. Their existence has been confirmed, but appropriate site or architectural surveys were not conducted of the resource. Contributing resources are presented with respect to their general geographic

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position moving from north to south and west to east as illustrated on Figure 2 and Maps I-IV. Sites which are functionally and temporally related are described both individually and as a part of a larger site complex to which they belong (1,2, etc). Referenced architectural and archaeological site forms are on file at the VDHR in Richmond, Virginia, and at the Clarke County Historical Society in Berryville, Virginia.

(1)Infantry Contact Area (Figures 2, 4, 25-28; Photos 1-7; Maps I, II)

Functions Defense, Domestic, Agriculture-Subsistence, Transportation, Landscape

Contributing Status This locale includes terrain features associated with infantry conflict between the 1st Division of the Army of West Virginia commanded by Colonel Joseph Thoburn and the divisions of General Jubal Early's Confederate Army commanded by Major General Robert E. Rodes and Brigadier General Gabriel G. Wharton on June 18, 1864.

Contributing Resources 1 building, 6 structures, 2 sites, 0 objects.

(1a) 44CK66/21-191; Cool Spring Plantation (Figure 4, 25-28; Photo 8; Map I)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence

Contributing Resources 1 building (mansion), 1 site, 1 structure (Castleman's Ferry-Wickliffe Church Road)

Contributing Status The site constitutes the residential and agricultural center of Cool Spring Plantation. In summer of 1864 the site was occupied by Frances McCormick, who was farming the land at the time the battle took place.

Description The house is a two-story, three bay coursed rubble house with two interior end chimneys and single-pile central passage plan set to look south into the valley of the Shenandoah River. The house features a Colonial revival porch. Interior architectural analysis was not carried out.

Status of Preservation Uncertain. Currently used as the residential quarters for Holy Cross Monastery. Modern wings have been added to the east and to the west ends of the original mansion. Modern support structures have been constructed north and west of the mansion. Historical sources refer to the presence of a two-story stone kitchen, ash house, smokehouse, springhouse and cellar as part of the original plantation complex. Archaeological remains of the foundation of a bank barn, a possible kitchen \ domestic structure, and spring house were observed.

(1b) 44CK49; The McCormick Farmstead (Figure 4, 9, 25-28; Photo 2; Map II)

Function Domestic, Agriculture-Subsistence

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status This archaeological site was an occupied farmstead at the time of the conflict on July 18, 1864. While given only indirect reference in battlefield accounts, it includes the only structures known to have been on the actual field of battle. Major General Rodes' Infantry staged in the low protected valley of Rodes' Run that bounds the site to the north and west. In their attack against the Federal right flank, this force would have moved around and through the complex of structures which define the site.

Status of Preservation Analysis of archaeological structural remains including house, barn, and outbuilding features, artifacts recovered, and comments from the current land owners indicate that this site was occupied into the recent 20th century. It is reported to have burned in the 1950s. The potential for preserved contributing cultural components is good based on surface observations. National Register status for this archaeological site is a possibility.

(1c) The River Road (Figure 4, 25-28; Photos 3,4,6; Map I, II)

Function Transportation

Contributing Resources 1 structure

Contributing Status The River Road contributed significantly to the ability of the Federal forces to withstand Confederate pressure from their high ground positions. As viewed on maps, this road appears to lie on the margin of the floodplain of the Shenandoah, with a low stone wall bounding it on the west. In fact, this road is actually constructed into the bank of the Shenandoah, ranging from as little as 3 ft. below the face of the floodplain, to more typically 10 to 15 ft. below it (Photos 4, 13, 14, 16). Tactically, the combination of the

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stone fence and the descending slope to the wide road platform created an ideal defensive position behind which the Union forces could mass in some security.

Status of Preservation Sections of the roadbed have been flood worn and weathered, other sections being remarkably well preserved. Large and old trees line the edges of the roadway.

(1d) Stone Field Walls (Figure 4, 25-28; Maps I, II)

Function Landscape Contributing Resources 4 structures Contributing Status Four low stone walls divide the bottomland features of the locale (Figure 4). These include the previously identified feature that extends along the western edge of the River Road and was observed to extend from the vicinity of Castleman's Ferry to northeast to the West Virginia line. In addition, two field fences are oriented perpendicular to the river line and extend the full width of the bottomland crossing the irregular terrain. The last fence takes the form of a ninety degree angle and extends only half the distance across the bottomland having its westernmost end joining a low but vertical limestone bluff above Cool Spring Run (Photo 18). With reference to Rodes' Run on the north and Cool Spring on the south, these fences have the general effect of dividing the agricultural fields between these references into three large fields. In character the fences are in fact low and probably never attained more than 1 or 2 ft. in height.

Status of Preservation The stone fence along the River and that at the south end above Cool Spring remain essentially intact, though sections of the fence along the River have been buried by flood deposited alluvium. The northern and centermost of the fence lines have been removed where they crossed the bottomland. Traces of the fence can be seen, and their points of intersection with the river fence are observable.

Status of Preservation With few exceptions the site complex, its terrain features, and associated cultural components are in an excellent state of preservation. The topography is virtually unchanged from that of 1864, and the manner in which the farm is currently used makes it similar in the distribution of open field and woodlands to that time.

(2) Federal Staging and Support Area (Figures 2, 4, 25-28; Photos 1, 2, 9,10; Map II)

Function Defense, Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence, Transportation, Landscape

Contributing Status This locale encloses all of the terrain used by the Federal forces in their preparation to cross the Shenandoah River on July 18, 1864. In addition it includes the routes of transit used in that crossing, topographic features used to provide artillery support, and the lands encompassed during the subsequent union withdrawal. The land was totally included in the plantation of Judge Richard Parker. Three fords (44CK68, 72, 73) used in the Federal advance lie within the area. A series of high, weathered knobs formed above the valley of the Shenandoah were used by the Federals to place and move artillery in support of Thoburn's Infantry (Photo 24).

Contributing Resources 2 buildings, 2 structures, 1 site, 0 objects.

(2a) 21-195/CS-195; Retreat (Figure 2, 4, 6, 9, 25-28; Photos 1, 2, 10; Map II)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence, Transportation Contributing Resources 2 buildings (dwelling, stable), 1 site, 1 structure (Pigeon Hollow Road).

Contributing Status This site served as the seat of the Judge Richard Parker Plantation, Retreat, which was occupied and operating at the time of the battle. Union forces staging for their advance across the river and those withdrawing from that event would have passed to either side of the complex. The use of the structures for a Civil War hospital is probable but unconfirmed. For a brief period, artillery from the 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery, Battery G, was in place on the high terraced landscape to the front of the house. Richard E. Parker, who occupied the site at the time of the battle, served as a local judge and presided over the trial of John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry Raid.

Description The site is on a high weathered colluvial fan formed at the mouth of Pigeon Hollow (Figure 2, 4; Photos 2, 23). The landform had been dramatically landscaped into a series of descending terraces which extend west from the house site and to the front on the east. The prestigious mansion of Retreat is oriented west facing the Shenandoah River and the farmland that would have been between it and that river. The house is an excellent example of high-style Federal architecture in this area. It began as a two-story, brick hall-parlor plan, constructed of Flemish bond, ca. 1799. This section is highlighted by a giant two-story Doric portico. A two-story, one-room plan brick addition was built to the South in the early 19th century. A two-story detached brick and stucco kitchen to the south, possibly the original kitchen, was later connected to the main house by a frame hypne. The house retains much of the original interior and exterior decoration, with elaborate and sophisticated Federal detailing. Located northeast of the house and across the Parkers Ford Road that bounds it on the north,

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lie the archaeological remains of a limestone cellar. To the south of the mansion stands a barn/stable complex that would have been in place at the time of the battle.

Status of Preservation The mansion has been modernized but retains much of its original character. The stable has been dramatically renovated and modernized. The archaeological component of the site is uncertain but appears to be in a good state of preservation.

(2b) Pigeon Hollow and Parkers Mill Roads (Figures 2, 4, 22-24; Map II)

Function Transportation

Contributing Resources 2 structures

Contributing Status At the time of the battle a road from the Berryville Turnpike passed along the narrow bottomlands crossing in front of Retreat and extending to, and beyond, Parker's Mill (44CK69) just below what is now the West Virginia State line. A second road (Parker's Ford/Pigeon Hollow) accessed the River Road on the east side of the Shenandoah by way of Parker's Ford (44CK73) immediately west of Retreat. This road passed to the north side of the mansion and along the high ground above Pigeon Hollow east and south to join the Berryville Pike below Snickers Gap (Figure 2). This road served as the primary route used by Thoburn's Federal Division for access into, and exit from, the valley during the period of the engagement.

Status of Preservation Varied. Roads are traceable but have been severely altered by construction associated with Golflinks Golf Course and the Shenandoah Retreat residential area.

Status of Preservation This section of the battlefield has undergone significant disturbance although the remaining setting provides a sense of what the area would have been like at the time of the battle. The bottomland features and road system has been dramatically landscaped to accommodate a golf course that extends the length of the locale. The upland areas have been altered by extensive residential and access road construction. Virtually all of the areas housing Federal artillery positions either are, or are scheduled for, residential construction. At present only the northernmost ridge south of Rocky Branch is undeveloped, and it has been recently timbered. Despite the construction and the loss of sites, the visual impact is limited. Viewed from the east side of the Shenandoah, the heavily wooded setting in which the development has occurred neutralizes the visual impact of the residential construction. The condition of the fords used in the Federal advance varies (Figure 2, 4). Parkers Ford (44CK73) west of Retreat and the northernmost Parkers Island Ford (44CK68) show evidence of local and ongoing use, probably more as boat landings than anything else. The middle ford that provides access to the north end of the upper island (44CK72) has been badly eroded by past flooding and is no longer useable.

21-89; Wickliffe Church and Cemetery (Figure 2; Map I)

Function Religion/Funerary

Contributing Resources 1 building (church) and 1 site (cemetery)

Contributing Status Major General Rodes' Infantry Division encamped on lands enclosing the church complex (Figure 21, 24)

Description This two-story brick rectangular-plan church with a gable-end entrance and parapeted brick ends is one of the best preserved rural churches in the county before the Civil War. It is constructed of five-course American bond, with flat brick arches over the windows, which are 6/6 on the front and 12/12 on the side walls. The facade features a Greek Revival porch with two-in antis Roman Doric columns. The interior has been little-altered. A small graveyard behind the church features twelve graves, eight enclosed by an iron fence.

Status of Preservation National Register of Historic Places.

F-1; Richard Smith Farmstead (Figure 2; Photo 15; Map I)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence

Contributing Resources Within Site 1 building (stone smokehouse), 1 site including remains of recently burned farmhouse

Contributing Status One of a series of farmsteads in vicinity of Wickliffe Church in June of 1864.

Description A one-story, two-room stone building, reportedly used as a smokehouse, survives on this farmstead. An older stuccoed I-house burned within the past twenty years. Neighbors report that there were numerous other outbuildings, including a fruit cellar, that have recently been torn down. Many of these were made of stone. (Cross, 1995)

Status of Preservation Uncertain.

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F-2; Moffett Farmstead (Figure 2; Photos 16,17; Map D)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence

Contributing Structures Within Site 1 building (smokehouse) and 1 site

Contributing Status One of a series of farmsteads in vicinity of Wickliffe Church in June of 1864.

Description Site includes a standing log smokehouse typical of mid-19th century. Present owner has removed a two-story stone house which had burned. Status of Preservation Uncertain. Visual reconnaissance only. Two very modern ranch style structures (Photos 35, 36) have been constructed to the north of the springhouse and house foundation.

21-348; Ike Young Farmstead (Figure 2; Photos 18,19; Map D)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence

Contributing Resources 2 buildings: house and smokehouse Contributing Status Farmstead in an African-American community located around Wickliffe Church in June of 1864.

Description Two-story, log dwelling with original, or very early, log lean-to kitchen, both with stone chimneys on the end wall. The log smokehouse reflects a design typical of Tidewater Virginia with a square shape and pyramidal roof. Status of Preservation Uncertain as only visual reconnaissance could be made. Standing smokehouse is dilapidated but standing. Dwelling has been modernized and is currently occupied. Status of associated archaeological remains uncertain.

44CK52; McCormick Cemetery (Figure 2, 4; Map D)

Function Funerary

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Family cemetery associated with McCormick occupation of Cool Spring Plantation in summer of 1864.

Status of Preservation Graves removed and reburied elsewhere.

44CK53; Orebank Iron Mine (Figure 2; Map D)

Function Industry/Processing/Extraction

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Uncertain. Local history indicates mining activities took place in early to mid-19th century. Possible that iron from this mine was shipped north to Harpers Ferry for processing. Whether mine was in operation or simply an open abandoned pit in 1864 is uncertain.

Status of Preservation Pit features are distinct and clearly defined. While uplands area to the north were converted for use as an orchard, there is no visible evidence of disturbance to the mine complex proper.

21-418; Waterloo Farmstead (Figure 2; Photo 11; Map D)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence

Contributing Resources Within the Site 1 building (farmhouse) and 1 site

Contributing Status Waterloo is the seat of the farm neighboring Cool Spring Plantation to the north at the time of the 1864 battle. While no actual military action is reported, Brigadier General John B. Gordon's Infantry would have been in position on the high ground behind the house as part of the Confederate defensive perimeter extending from Rodes' Run on the north to the uplands south of Castleman's Ferry (Figure 24).

Description Waterloo is a typical two-story, five-bay I-house of frame construction, with an integral two-story, two-room plan ell. The main part of the house features interior end chimneys, while the rear incorporates a central brick chimney between the dining room and kitchen. The exterior decoration includes decorative window frames, German siding, and side-lights and transoms around the central door. The interior features Greek Revival mantels and trim. The landform about the house has been landscaped to create a relatively flat yard. South from the west end of the ell addition lie a pair of archaeological features of uncertain function.

Status of Preservation Uncertain given the limited scope of archaeological and architectural assessment. The main house has been modernized and was lived in until recently. A set of modern support structures including a springhouse with a cement foundation confirm recent 20th-century activity. Two large barns stand to the southwest of the dwelling; both constructed possibly post 1950.

(3) Snickers' Ferry / Ware's Mill (Figure 2, 9, 10, 12, 15; Map D)

Function Domestic, Transportation, Industrial, Agricultural-Subsistence

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Contributing Status During the summer of 1864 this complex of sites and structures would have served as a center of residential and rural industrial activity. This array of features comprised part of the larger community established around the first site of Snickers' Ferry. No military activity associated with the engagement on the Cool Spring plantation is recorded for this area though Major General John B. Gordon's Infantry Division was deployed through this area to prevent the Federal use of the ford at the east end of the complex. Following Gordon's withdrawal from the area, the Union XIX Corps crossed at the ford north of Wheat Spring Branch.

Contributing Resources 3 buildings, 1 structure, 8 sites, 0 objects.

(3a) 44CK58/21-90 Whitehaven (Figure 2, 12; Photo 12; Map D)

Function Domestic/Industrial; possible miller's house

Contributing Resources 1 building (dwelling) and 1 site including the foundation of a large barn or industrial structure.

Contributing Status Structure owned by Champ and Joseph Shephard during mid-1860s and part of the cultural setting at the time of the Battle of Cool Spring. No direct military activity is confirmed for this area though Federal movements through, and control of, this area may have curtailed milling activity.

Description The main house, constructed in 1830, is a two-story, three-bay brick dwelling with a single-pile, central passage plan. It is constructed of five course American bond with brick jack arches, exterior end chimneys, and a raised stone foundation. An ell addition stood west of the house. A pair of distinctly landscaped, long linear terraces extend north and west of the house, the lower one providing a platform upon which the house is constructed. A pair of stone retaining walls extend east and west from the center and rear of the house length. West of the house and intermediary between the two platforms is the foundation of a large L-shaped structure, possibly a barn or warehouse associated with the milling enterprise. To the rear of the structure and extending along the length of the base of the valley wall, the uppermost terrace takes the form of an excavated roadway. From the south end of this platform a road ascends north into the uplands to a cemetery for an earlier family of millers, the Flores (44CK59).

Status of Preservation Uncertain, potentially good. The structure has been renovated and modernized, and the ell addition has been removed. Landscape and archaeological features believed to date to the 19th century are evident and clearly defined.

(3b) 44CK59; Flore Cemetery (Figure 2; Map D)

Function Funerary

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Present at time of battle and thus part of cultural environment. No military implications though it is probable, given the commanding view, that Major General Gordon would have deployed infantry or pickets on this landform.

Status of Preservation Grave stones badly vandalized.

(3c) 44CK60; Industrial Structure ? (Figure 2; Map D)

Function Industrial (?)

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Uncertain. The archaeological feature that comprises the site may be a part of the 19th-century industrial complex along Wheat Spring Branch

Description The site consists of a rectangular structure excavated into the lower slopes of the wall of Wheat Spring Branch immediately north of the flow of that stream. A road passes south down a ravine west of the structure to the stream and then bends to access the site locale.

Status of Preservation Uncertain. The archeological feature and its context shows no evidence of disturbance.

(3d) 44CK63; Castleman's Mill #1 (Figure 2, 12; Map D)

Function Industrial

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Uncertain. Not known if mill in operation at the time of the Civil War. Even if not in operation in 1864, the mill foundation would have been a part of the cultural landscape. If active, the mill activities may have been militarily relevant to local Confederate and Federal forces.

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Description The site is situated on a weathered and landscaped first terrace where Wheat Spring Branch enters the Shenandoah. Structure size was not determined. From the east side of the feature, and passing west along the interior of the floodplain a mill race extends for at least 1,800 ft. to the southwest before disappearing in an area where recent flood deposition has been extensive. A road passes along the length of the race switching from one side to the other as appropriate or necessary.

Status of Preservation Uncertain. Mill race has been weathered and backfilled naturally. The tail race has been removed by modern road construction. Stone from the mill foundation was salvaged and used in local, recent construction.

(3E) 44CK64 and 65; Castleman's/Shephard's Mill #2 and Dam (Figure 2, 9, 12; Map I)

Function Industrial

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Uncertain. Part of cultural landscape in summer of 1864 and probably in operation at that time. No known military activities on property though the productivity of the industry would have been of interest to both Federal and Confederate forces. Property owned by Champ and Joseph Shephard and known as Shephards Mill at the time of the Civil War.

Description The site consists of two contiguous, platformed depressions cut deeply into the south bank of Wheat Spring Branch. A head race extends north from the site for 1,000 ft. to its point of exit from Wheat Spring Branch. An earthen dam (44CK65) used to channel or impound the stream stands northwest of the race head. This dam is designed so that the old road from Snickers'/Ware's Ferry crosses its surface. A short tail race extends from the east end of the mill seat to rejoin Wheat Spring Branch.

Status of Preservation Uncertain, but archaeological features are well defined.

(3F) 44CK62; Tannery Site (Figures 2, 9, 12, 15; Map I)

Function Industrial

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Uncertain. Historic records suggest the tannery to have been in operation during Civil War and hence part of the 1864 cultural setting.

Description The site includes elements of the Wheat Spring Run floodplain and northern lower valley wall. The original Ware's Mill road passes immediately north of the front of the house. The site includes a length of the head race for Castleman's Mill #2 as well as a large scatter of rubble on the floodplain which is interpreted as tannery structure remains. Modifications of the Castleman's Mill head race suggests the presence of a sluice which may have provided power to the tannery.

Status of Preservation Uncertain. Condition of archaeological site remains to be assessed though tannery structure stands in area that floods frequently.

(3G) 21-377/44CK62; Tannery House (Figure 2, 9, 12, 15; Photo 13; Map I)

Function Domestic

Contributing Resources 1 building

Contributing Status House dates to the early 19th century (1800-1820) and would have been part of the residential and industrial complex along Wheat Spring Branch. Possibly associated with the Clendening family reported to have run a tanyard during the Civil War (Bell Family papers)

Description The house is a one-story, three-bay brick dwelling sitting on a full banked stone basement. The brick section is constructed of five-course American bond. The house features a gable roof and exterior end chimneys.

State of Preservation Dwelling extant and occupied. Appears in good state of repair though extent of renovation and improvement is unknown.

(3H) 44CK67; First Snickers' Ferry/Ford (Figure 2; Map I)

Function Transportation

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Site is believed to identify the location of Snickers' first ferry crossing of the Shenandoah, dating to the mid-18 century. Federal forces used the ford as one point of crossing of the Shenandoah River on

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the 20th of July, 1864 and thereafter. It is anticipated that this well known ford would have been picketed by Major General J. B. Gordon's Confederate forces prior to that time.

Description The site consists of a ramp/road that parallels and joins the River Road along the Shenandoah River north of the entrance of Wheat Spring Branch.

Status of Preservation Abandoned, but appears to be in a good state of repair.

(3I) 21-65; Riverside Plantation (Figures 2, 9, 12, 15; Photo 14; Map D)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence

Contributing Resources 1 building (mansion) and 1 site

Contributing Status Working plantation occupied by the Ware-McGuire family at time of the Civil War. Owners of the site historically involved with the establishment of mills in Wheat Spring Branch though their involvement at time of the Civil War is unclear. High ground controlled by the plantation would have been defended by the Confederate infantry of Major General John B. Gordon at time of Battle of Cool Spring.

Description The plantation seat covers the apex of a high south trending, upland ridge immediately above the Shenandoah River and its Wheat Spring Branch junction. The main house, dating ca. 1790s, is a one-and-one-half story, five-bay, random-stone rubble dwelling with a modern, one-story Colonial Revival porch. The house features two interior end chimneys and a well-preserved interior. Additions include a side three-bay, one-and-one-half story wing. An exterior kitchen (now part of main house) and smokehouse stood off of its south end. Large formal gardens were terraced off the front or east side of the house. Archaeological support structures and features associated with original barn and farming structures are observed within the modern barn complex which adjoins the domestic structures on the north.

Status of Preservation This is a working farm that has been remodeled over time. Preservation of the archaeological component uncertain.

(3J) Ware's Mill Road and River Road (Figure 2, Map D)

Function Transportation

Contributing Resources 1 structure (other road previously mentioned)

Contributing Status and Description Interconnecting roads

joined the small industrial community of Snickers Ferry or Ware's Mill to the Berryville Turnpike and from thence to Frederick County on the west and Leesburg and the Washington DC area to the east. The presence of the River Road (previously enumerated) passing along the bank of the Shenandoah River and defining the east side of the complex could have provided significant marketing access to the industrial center at Harpers Ferry. The Ware's Mill Road originally passed from its intersection with the River Road on the south bank of Wheat Spring Branch, west along the southern slopes of the stream south of the mill complex (Figure 9). These roads would have been available for both Union and Confederate use at the time of the Cool Spring Battle.

Status of Preservation With the exception of impact caused by the realignment of Route 603 through the complex, the combination of architectural and archaeological features associated with the Snickers Ferry/Ware's Mill complex is remarkably well preserved. While in an area of flooding from both the Shenandoah River and Wheat Spring Branch, no significant flood disturbance is evident. As a set of cultural resources its qualifications for National Register recognition on both local and regional grounds is possible. This complex is the seat of an early historic industrial center and has a historic significance that transcends its temporal role in the Battle of Cool Spring.

(4) Castleman's Ferry Locale (Figure 2, 6, 9, 10, 12, 15; Maps I, III)

Function Transportation, Domestic, Agriculture-Subsistence, Industrial, Defense

Contributing Status This site locale is an early seat of residential, agricultural and transit activity in northeastern Clarke County during the Civil War. The large North Hill Plantation (21-56) dominates the bottomlands and high ground south and west of the Castleman's Ferry locale. On July 17, 1864 advance cavalry units commanded by General Alfred N. Duffie challenged Major General John B. Gordon's Confederate pickets and infantry in place on the west bank and high ground of the Shenandoah River and failed in three efforts to force a crossing. This set the stage for the Cool Spring infantry engagement occurring on July 18. From the 18th through the 19th of July, Confederate artillery in place on the high ground north and south of the Ferry fired on Union positions in place on the Big River Mountain to the east. It is also probable that on July 17, and again on the 19th that certain of Gordons' Infantry would have been encamped in the broad, shielded valley/ravine to the west of the high knoll north of the Valley Pike. Both the Berryville Turnpike and the

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old Snickers' Ford road (the old Winchester-Alexandria pass through the west complex providing transit from western Clarke and Frederick Counties east into northern Virginia.

Contributing Resources 3 buildings, 2 structures, 5 sites, 0 objects.

(4a) 21-76; Galloway House (Figures 9, 15, 18; Map D)

Function Domestic

Resources Within Site 1 site

Contributing Status This substantial, early stone house is one of a group of buildings associated with the community of Castleman's Ferry, possibly as early as 1832 (Figure 9). It was an important element of the cultural environment at the time of the Civil War and would have been a part of the focus of General Duffie's cavalry attack on June 17, 1864 (Figure 23).

Description this was a two-story three-bay stone house enlarged by a two-story, two-bay lateral addition.

Status of Preservation Archaeological remains not observed. Appears to have been removed by construction of modern Rte 603 exit ramp from recently widened Berryville Turnpike.

(4b) 21-420; Castleman Ferry House (Figures 2, 9, 15; Map III)

Function Domestic, Commercial, Transportation

Contributing Resources 1 building (dwelling) and 1 site

Contributing Status Archaeological features and site locale believed to include Castleman's Ferry remains which date to as early as 1832 (Figure 9, 15). The construction date of the extant structure is uncertain, but may, according to the 1988 survey, date to the mid-19th century, with substantial later additions and alterations, ca. 1930-50 and 1970. The site would have been a part of the cultural environment during the Civil War and may have been within the focus of General Alfred Duffie's cavalry attacks on July 17, 1864. Description The site lies within the floodplain of the Shenandoah River. The existing structure is a long, rectangular one-story, wood-frame weatherboarded building, with a raised foundation and enclosed porches along both sides. To the front of the structure stand the remains of an earlier limestone foundation of uncertain function and age. Along the Shenandoah River, east of the structure, the terraced remains of the old River Road are still evident. Several structures are shown at this location on an existing 1832 map (Figure 9), including three structures along the banks of the river. Similarly the 1864 Civil War map of the community (Figure 23) shows at least two and possible three buildings near the river bank.

Status of Preservation The extant structure is in fair condition on the exterior, but interior inspection was not possible at this time. The construction of the modern Castleman's Ferry Bridge has removed any cultural evidence to the south of the structure. Improvements of Rte. 603 associated with that same construction have covered or removed related cultural remains west of the structure and to its rear.

(4c); 21-56, North Hill Plantation (Figures 2, 6, 9, 12, 15; Map III)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence

Contributing Resources 2 buildings, 2 structures (roadways)

Contributing Status North Hill is the seat of a plantation active in the area since at least the late 18th century and owned by James Castleman during the Civil War. During the period of the Battle of Cool Spring the infantry of Major General John B. Gordon held the high ground on which the plantation seat is situated. Confederate artillery is reported to have fired on advancing Federal troops from the heights at North Hill, though, in fact, the position may have been on the high ground south of the dwelling. The mansion, its support structures, and the fields which it controlled agriculturally would have been part of the cultural environment at the time of the conflict. Description The dwelling and remaining contributing support structure lie on a high weathered southeast trending upland lobe overlooking the Shenandoah Valley. The site is bounded on the north and south by deeply entrenched ravines both of which contain important local roadways; the Berryville Turnpike on the north, the Snickers' Ford Road (original Winchester-Alexandria Road) on the south. According to previous surveys, the house began as a one-and-one-half story log dwelling (now the wing) with exterior brick chimney, built in ca. 1774. It was enlarged in the early 19th century, possibly the 1830s or 1840s, with a two-story six-bay brick addition, with two chimneys and flat window arches. The last major set of additions and alterations, ca. 1935, incorporate Tiffany glass windows. At present only two contributing structures remain standing; the mansion and an associated, below ground root cellar. These structures lie within

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a landscaped yard enclosed by stone retaining walls. In the northeast corner of the defined yard is what appears to be a root cellar. Iron doors cover an entrance into a 12 ft. deep, 6 ft. wide pit with an arched stone roof. Status of Preservation Uncertain. Service and support structures logically anticipated for a site of this type and age are absent, but could be in place archaeologically as below ground structural features. In addition, the mansion shows considerable evidence of 20th-century renovation. Agricultural structures contemporary to the Civil War are absent and have been replaced by modern, 20th-century buildings.

(4d) 44CK76; Carter Cemetery (Figure 2, 15; Map III)

Function Funerary

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Interments are believed to predate the Civil War and as such would have been part of the cultural environment at the time of the Cool Spring Battle. Description The grave site is situated on the apex of the high weathered upland lobe east of North Hill and overlooking the flow of the Shenandoah. The site includes two graves set side by side and oriented E/W. The tombstones are badly weathered and difficult to read.

Status of Preservation Maintained. Grave stones are badly weathered.

(4e) 21-371 ; Caryswood or Smalley Estate (Figure 2; Photo 31; Map I)

Function Defense

Contributing Resources Within Site 1 site

Contributing Status Available information suggests that Confederate artillery and infantry commanded by Major General John B. Gordon would have held this ground during the Battle of Cool Spring. Artillery in battery on this high ground would have contributed to the defeat of General Duffie's Cavalry on July 17, 1864 and would have provided counter battery fire against Federal artillery in place on Big River Mountain east of the river.

Description This area includes an area that is defined by the relatively flat to moderately sloping apex of a high weathered upland ridge situated to the northeast of the Berryville Turnpike and above Castleman's Ferry.

Status of Preservation The southern sector of this high ground has been dramatically altered by the construction of 21-371, the Smalley estate. Mrs. Smalley has pistol shot and Union Minnie Balls recovered from the land around the house. Conversations with local historians identify this high ground as being used by Confederate artillery.

(4f) Field 3, Confederate Artillery Site (Figure 2; Map III)

Function Defense

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status During the Battle of Cool Spring, Confederate artillery pieces supporting Major General John B. Gordon are reported to have been in place on the high ground at North Hill. While this reference could indicate land to the front of that dwelling, given the field of fire that covers both the Berryville Pike and the Snickers Gap Road (Photos 9-11), it is as possible that the artillery was in battery on the high ridge immediately to the south of North Hill.

Description Except for a small, modern barn, this area is in pasture. It is probable that the area would have been open and in agricultural use at the time of the battle.

Status of Preservation Agricultural field.

Status of Preservation This site complex has been significantly disturbed by the modern widening of the Berryville Turnpike and the construction of a modern bridge crossing of the river. Many of the features associated with Castleman's Ferry have been destroyed or covered over. Archaeological assessment of bottomland remains was hindered by the recent deposition of between 1 to 1.5 ft of alluvium on the fields in the area. North Hill Plantation has been renovated and modernized, and modern farm structures have replaced those of earlier vintage. On the high ground northeast of North Hill an early 20th-century mansion and support building complex (21-371) has been constructed.

(5) Second Snickers' Ferry Locale (Figures 2,9; Map III)

Functions Transportation, Domestic, Commercial

Contributing Resources Unknown at this time

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Contributing Status Given the character of the community that is reported to have developed within this locale (Figure 9), it is possible that some structures that survived from the late 18th or early 19th century would have been extant during the time of the Cool Spring engagement. It is possible that the old Snickers Ford that had been within this area may have been used by General Duffie's Cavalry in their attempts to cross the Shenandoah on June 17, 1864.

Description The set of structures associated with this early transportation complex lay on the floodplain and first terrace of west of the Shenandoah River. Of these, only the Snickers' Ford Road trace was observed where it passed up the ravine south of North Hill. The old Winchester-Alexandria Road forded the Shenandoah and passed up Joe Bell Hollow from this location to Snickers Gap (Figure 6, 15, 16, 17).

Status of Preservation Uncertain. This site complex is anticipated based on the historic record. Much of the site array lay on land for which no survey access was obtained. Further, the landform involved was found to be covered by from 1 to 1.5 ft. of recently deposited alluvium. A race track has been constructed across the northern sector of the property.

(6) Bell Farm and the Union Encampment (Figure 2, 15, 16, 17; Photos 21,22; Map I, II, III, IV)

Function Agricultural-Subsistence, Domestic, Defense

Contributing Status This locale includes a major section of the terrain over which the Federal VI and XIX Corps, commanded by Major General Horatio Wright, encamped during the period from July 17 through July 20, 1864. On July 16, Jubal Early's Confederate Army (Figure 21, 22), in the process of withdrawing from the Washington DC area back to the Shenandoah Valley, had encampments in this same general area. Through this locale ascends the Berryville Turnpike with the Parkers Ford Road joining it from the northwest and the Snickers' Ford Road (old Winchester-Alexandria Road) joining it from the southwest. At the time of the Battle of Cool Spring much of the landscape is believed to have been deforested and was used as pasture or for local crop plantings. A small mountain community of uncertain magnitude, had developed along the passage of the turnpike which included a number of Bell Family residences and associated structures.

Contributing Resources 2 buildings, 0 structures, 2 sites

(6a) 21-379; Bell House (Figure 2,16,17; Photos 21,21; Map IV)

Function Domestic, Agricultural-Subsistence

Contributing Resources 2 buildings and 1 site

Contributing Status Present and occupied by George Bell Jr. at time of Battle of Cool Spring. Bell family papers reveal that this house was a stopping point for both Union and Confederate armies passing through the gap. George Bell, who was apparently sympathetic to the Union cause, mentions numerous times that troops "picketed" on his property and makes references to helping troops find certain roads or places. Bell also rented out rooms in the house, continued to engage in whiskey making and operated a tavern. He also engaged in timbering.

Description The site is at the south end and west side of a large horseshoe shaped curve in the Berryville Turnpike below Snickers Gap. A spur road which accesses the Pike, passes through the property and extends north into West Virginia. The main house began as a two-story, three-bay log building with a hall-parlor plan and an exterior gable end stone chimney, ca. 1820-50. This was later enlarged by the addition of a one-room, two-story lateral wing and a shed lean-to kitchen with an exterior stone chimney to the rear of the structure, ca. 1830-60. The extant front porch is likely original to this addition (Photos 40, 41) and retains its original porch columns, although the railing and the stone foundation have been added. The interior of the house has been heavily modernized, and the rear shed lean-to has been enlarged by the present owners. North of the dwelling is a small, dilapidated period springhouse. Thirty feet south of the springhouse is an exposed foundation to a structure of uncertain type.

Status of Preservation Uncertain and varied. As no intensive archaeological assessment was made of this very old house, the status of the remaining archaeological component is uncertain. Architecturally, the house has been considerably remodeled on the interior, but appears to be in sound condition.

(6b) Field 7; the Bell Family Cemetery (Figure 2; Map IV)

Function Funerary

Contributing Resources 1 site

Contributing Status Present at time of the battle and part of contemporary cultural environment. Moderately sloping lands in area would have been encamped on by Federal troops during the engagement.

Description Uncertain size and plan. Site only visually confirmed and placed.

Status of Preservation Maintained and still used.

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INVENTORY OF NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES (Figure 3; Maps I-IV)

I. Architectural Structures

- F1: Richard Smith farmstead, ca. mid-19th century to present (Photo 15); non-contributing structures include:
F1-a tenant house, late-19th early 20th-century: two-story, three-bay frame house.
F1-b tenant house, late 19th- early 20th-century: two-story, three bay frame house with additions
F1-c Mediterranean styled contemporary dwelling, ca. 1987: two-story, stuccoed.
F1-d wagon shed, ca. 1880-1930: two-level, frame.
F1-e barn, ca. 1900-30: flat frame barn on stone foundation
F1-f office, contemporary: one-story, frame
- F2: 4 Bar J Ranch complex, ca. mid-19th century to present (Photos 17,18); non-contributing structures include:
F2-a dwelling, possible early 20th-century core with substantial additions: one-story, frame with basement
F2-b dwelling, possible early 20th-century core with substantial additions and remodeling: one-story, shingled siding
F2-c wagon shed, early 20th-century: frame, drive through wagon shed
- F9: Colonial Revival dwelling, ca. 1920-40; two-story, three-bay frame house with sun porch and end chimney.
- F10: Office, ca. 1985; log ranch-style dwelling with substantial frame contemporary-styled additions.
- F11: Ranch house, ca. 1990; frame, one-story.
- F12: House complex, late 19th- early 20th-century;
F12-a Dwelling, ca. 1880-1920: two-story, three-bay frame dwelling, end brick stove flues and cement foundation
F12-b Shed, mid-20th-century: small, one-story frame shed with metal roof
- 21-348: Log House near Wickliffe Church (McCormick House; Photos 18,19); non-contributing structures include:
21-348-a Flat barn, 20th-century: long, one-story frame.
- 21-366: Cassidy House and Farmstead, ca. 1880 to present ; non-contributing structures:
21-366-a Dwelling, ca. 1880-1920: two-story, three-bay frame I-house with one-room ell plan, brick end flues, metal roof, decorated with front gable and Victorian three-bay porch
21-366-b Barn, 20th-century: one-story, flat wood frame
21-366-c Barn, late 19th early 20th-century: frame bank barn, painted red
21-366-d Wagon shed, early 20th-century: one-story frame shed with vertical siding
- 21-367: Farm off 608 (non-accessible), ca. 1880-1910; non-contributing structures include:
21-371-a House, cal 1880-1910: two-story, wood frame house covered with weatherboard, gable roof, one-story vernacular porch
21-371-b Barn, frame.

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- F13: Dwelling, ca. 1980s; contemporary one-and-one-half story wood dwelling, with stone end chimneys and single-story addition
- F14: House complex:
F14-a Dwelling, ca. 1980s: contemporary one-and-one-half story Cape Cod, five-bay facade, basement, porch addition
F14-b Shed, late 20th-century: frame, long, one-story
- F15: Agricultural complex:
F15-a Silo, 20th-century, concrete
F15-b Barn, early to mid-20th-century, open frame barn
- F16: Agricultural complex:
F16-a Barn, early to mid-20th-century, open frame barn
F16-b Barn, early to mid-20th-century, open frame barn
- F17: Bakery and Agriculture complex, Holy Cross Monastery
F17-a Bakery, late 20th-century, wood frame building with metal siding
F17-b Tractor shed, late 20th-century, wood frame building with metal siding
- F18: Westwood farm complex (late 19th through present day, but mostly early 20th-century); non-contributing structures include
F18-a Westwood cottage-styled dwelling, ca. 1930s: one-and-one-half story, stuccoed dwelling with gable front with porch and columns, with bungalow-style influence
F18-b Small guest house behind main house, ca. early 20th century
F18-c Barn with concrete foundation
F18-d Carriage house, early 20th-century
F18-e Garage, storage building
F18-f Open metal shed/barn
F18-g silos
F18-h Wooden barn
F18-i Open metal livestock barn
F18-j Storage building/garage
F18-k small metal silo and barn attached
F18-l Small wooden barn
F18-m Agricultural building, early 20th century core: one-story, wood-frame core dating ca. 1880-1920, with later cinderblock additions
- 21-191: Cool Spring Plantation, late 18th-century to present; non-contributing resources include:
21-191 Additions to Cool Spring plantation house, post-1950s by Holy Cross Monastery
21-191-b 2 Modern wood frame garden sheds with standing seam metal roofs
21-191-c Garage, early to mid-20th-century: one story, wood frame with shed. Standing seam metal roof
21-191-d Modern, wood frame, farm dwelling

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- F19: Holy Cross Monastery Conference Center, ca. 1986: two-story contemporary brick building
- F20: Holy Cross Monastery Visitors Center, ca. 1986: one-story contemporary brick building
- F21: Barn, early 20th-century: flat wood frame barn, open-sided, with cement silo
- F22: Holy Cross Monastery Bishop's House, ca. 1980s: contemporary wood frame dwelling
- 21-418: Waterloo, mid-19th through mid-20th-centuries; non-contributing structures include:
- 21-418-b Springhouse, early 20th-century: one-story, wood frame with sunken concrete floor
 - 21-418-c Chicken house, 20th-century: one-story, wood frame
 - 21-418-d Corncrib/wagon shed, early 20th-century: one-story, wood frame, drive-through wagon shed with corncrib to side
 - 21-418-e Barn, early to mid-20th-century: two level, wood frame barn with two-story wood frame shed addition
- 21-90: Whitehaven, early 19th-century to present; non-contributing structures include:
- 21-90-b Storage shed, modern prefabricated design
 - 21-90-c Shed, modern frame shed under construction
- 21-65: Riverside, late 18th-century to present; non-contributing structures include:
- 21-65-a Tenant house, early 20th-century wood frame dwelling, remodeled during mid-20th-century
 - 21-65-b Tenant house, early 20th-century wood frame dwelling, remodeled since 1980
 - 21-65-c Tenant house, early 20th-century, remodeled since 1980
 - 21-65-d Barn and stable complex, 1970s: stone foundation survives, but barn has been rebuilt. Wood frame with standing seam metal roof
- F23: Silo, early 20th-century; cement
- F24: Dwelling complex, ca. 1970-90: non-contributing structures include:
- F24-a Dwelling, ca. 1970-90: two-story frame dwelling with elevated deck and porch to the east
 - F24-b Garage, ca. 1980s: metal
 - F24-c Guest House, ca. 1980s: one-story wooden dwelling with porch additions
- F25: Dwelling, ca. 1970-90: one-story frame ranch house with basement and porch addition to east
- F26: Dwelling complex, mid-to late 20th-century:
- F26-a Dwelling, 1990s: one-and-one-half story, three-bay contemporary-styled dwelling with three bays, wood siding, and full-length porch
 - F26-b Shed, mid-20th-century: frame, one-story
- 21-778: House, ca. 1948: two-story, three-bay double-pile plan frame house with enclosed rear porch, three-bay front porch and shingle siding.
- 21-368: House/farm complex, late 19th- and 20th-century; non-contributing structures include:

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- 21-368-a House, late 19th-century: two-story stucco, two bay, double-pile dwelling with end chimney
- 21-368-b Garage, ca. 1980s: pre-fabricated wood frame garage/barn
- 21-368-c Shed, ca. 1980s: metal frame shed
- F27: House, ca. 1980s-90s: contemporary brick one-story ranch house
- F28: House, ca. 1980s-90: contemporary Colonial-styled two-story frame dwelling with one-story wings
- F30: Springhouse, mid-20th-century: one-story, field stone rectangular structure
- 21-371: Caryswood, 1921 and later; non-contributing structures include:
- 21-341-a Dwelling, ca. 1921: large, two-story stone Colonial Revival "country house"
- 21-341-b Tenant house/guest house, mid-20th-century: one-story stuccoed dwelling with basement
- 21-341-c Stable, mid-20th-century: one-level, frame stable with Victorian styling
- 21-56: Northhill Plantation; non-contributing structures include:
- 21-56-a Pool, ca 1950s
- 21-56-b Garage, 20th-century: currently one-story, two-car garage; previously had three-story building on top of it used as a weekend retreat
- 21-56-c Barn, 1950s construction; 20'x45', wood frame with metal roof
- 21-56-d Old mare barn; 20th-century, concrete block with metal siding. Metal roof
- 21-56-e Barn, 1950s construction, wood frame with metal roof
- 21-56-f Stable, 1950s construction, wood frame with metal roof
- F29: Barn below Northhill, 20th-century, wood frame, plank sided, with metal roof
- F51: Modern horse race track, post-1935, at Northhill
- F52: Modern bridge at Castleman's Ferry, ca. 1988, replacing early 20th-century steel truss bridge
- 21-191: Retreat Plantation; non-contributing structures include:
- 21-191-a Tennis court, mid-20th-century
- 21-191-b Swimming pool, mid-20th-century, decayed
- F53: Modern golf course, "Golflinks" post 1952
- 21-930: Farm complex at Snickers Gap; non-contributing structures include:
- 21-930-a House, ca. 1880-1920 (possibly earlier): two-story, frame house with two-story frame addition across front and porches
- 21-930-b Stable, 20th-century: one-story, frame.
- 21-930-c Woodshed, 20th-century: one-story frame
- 21-930-d Metal shed, late 20th-century
- 21-930-e House, 1950-1970, one-story, ranch style
- F31: Contemporary house complex; non-contributing structures include:
- F31-a (needs identification)

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- F31-b (needs identification)
- 21-380: Selsenhorst, ca. 1880-1910; stone, two-and-one-half story stone summer vacation home, asymmetrical-arranged I-house form with Queen Anne influence. Example of summer house of wealthy Washington family built in this area.
- F32: Bell house site, ca. 1930s, house burned within last ten years.
- F33: Snicker's Gap Antiques, ca. 1980s; non-contributing structures include:
F33-a Antique shop, ca. 1985: one-story, contemporary-styled frame rectangular building, used as antique shop
F33-b Storage building, ca 1980s: one-story prefabricated metal storage shed
- F34: Restaurant (Photo 52), ca. 1930s; two-story wood-frame restaurant, with substantial remodelings and modern siding
- F35: George Bell House (1), ca 1930s (Photo 34); one-and-one-half story rectangular round-notched log dwelling with stone end chimney with two-room plan and gable-end entry.
- F36: George Bell House (2) complex (Photo 35), ca 1930s to present:
F36-a Dwelling, ca. 1930s: one-story, rectangular log dwelling, with stone end chimneys and additions on three sides
F36-b Shed, mid-20th-century: one-story, wood frame.
- F37: Dwelling, ca. 1930s-40s: one-story wood frame ranch house
- 21-379: Bell house and farmstead, early 19th-century to present; non-contributing structures include:
21-379 Shed, 20th-century: one-story, frame
21-379 Barn, 20th-century: one-story, frame
- F38: Dwelling, 1980s: one-story brick ranch house
- F39: Dwelling, 1980s: one-story stone ranch house with frame addition
- F40: Dwelling, 1990s: one-story brick ranch house
- F41: Gordon House Complex (Shenandoah), ca. 1930s (Photo 32)
F41-a Tenant house, 20th-century, two story, wood frame
F41-b Swimming Pool
F41-c Tennis court
F41-d Professional shooting range
F41-e Barn and equipment shed, 20th-century, wood frame with metal roof
- F42-F51 Complex at entrance to Shenandoah Retreat, houses built after 1952:

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- F42 Square, wood-frame, split-level dwelling with central chimney, central doorway. Small wooden frame cabin to rear.
- F43 Wood-frame, Split-level dwelling with cement basement foundation and cinderblock chimney on east end. Small trailer in parking lot.
- F44 Small, wood-frame ranch style house with brick ell. One metal and one wooden frame shed at east end of yard. Small enclosed metal frame shed at west end.
- F45 Two-room frame structure with wood frame ell to the east end and cement foundation
- F46 Small, stone-faced dwelling with two entrances at east and west ends and central chimney. Wood frame and tar paper shed to west end of the yard
- F47 Two wooden frame sheds to rear of F48
- F48 Brick split-level house with large wooden deck to rear.
- F49 Brick, split-level, ranch style house with attached one-bay garage, post 1950s.
- F50 One-story, wood-frame two-room house on cement foundation. Two-bay detached cinderblock garage with brick and cement padding
- F8: Blue Ridge Volunteer Fire and Rescue Company Building, modern cinderblock structure

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II. Historical Archaeological Sites

CK73/

CS36 Structural remains associated with an industrial mill situated between two streams entering the Shenandoah River from Pigeon Hollow (Figure 3; Map II). Both streams have been dammed and rechanneled near the River and platforms indicative of a mill seat lie on the north side of the southernmost stream 100 ft E of the River. The features appear to be in a good state of preservation. The site is believed to be 19th-century in age but may be post Civil War.

CK75 Site includes remains of small, 20th-century mill structure located on the base and slopes of a deeply entrenched, unnamed ravine southwest of North Hill plantation. The old Snickers' Ford Road passes the structure on the opposite side of the ravine (Figure 3; Map III).

CS45 Site remains are on the floodplain east of the Shenandoah and immediately north of the modern Castleman's Ferry Bridge. USGS maps identify a structure at this site in 1980. At the time of the survey only a scatter of cut limestone blocks was observed. The function and age of this site are both unknown.

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III. Native American/Prehistoric Archaeological Sites (Figure 3)

- CK36 The site is located on a weathered terrace above the floodplain of the Shenandoah River north of CK44. Recovered artifact assemblage includes ground stone tools and Albemarle pottery sherds. Potential age ca. 900-1300 AD.
- CK44 Sommers Site #2, located on the apex of a weathered second terrace northwest of junction of Rodes' Run with the Shenandoah River. Age and cultural affiliation uncertain.
- CK45 Located on south end and edge of weathered first terrace formed at junction of Rodes' Run and Shenandoah River. Age uncertain.
- CK46 Located on north end and eastern edge of weathered first terrace north of junction of Rodes' Run and the Shenandoah River. Site extends onto interior floodplain. Age uncertain.
- CK47 Located on low weathered knoll in floodplain to the south of Rodes Run. Age uncertain.
- CK48 Located on apex and slopes of high, conical, first terrace remnant situated southwest of the intersection of Rodes' Run and the Shenandoah River. One middle Woodland Yadkin/Levanna style point identified though local informant indicates that projectile points dating to as early as the Late Paleo-Indian era have been recovered.
- CK196 Located on weathered first terrace rides northeast of Cool Spring Run. The site has yielded several hundred Civil War artifacts from the Battle of Cool Spring. Prehistoric remains date from the Late Paleo-Indian era to the Late Woodland.
- CK10 Site of uncertain size located W of Cool Spring Run on descending slopes of that stream. The access road to Cool Spring Plantation passes across the run to the north of the site. Age uncertain.
- CK37 Located on weathered terrace west of Shenandoah south of Cool Spring Run. Ceramics found at the site include Accokeek and Albemarle types suggesting repeated occupations including the Early and Late Woodland Periods. Late Woodland triangular projectile points also occur.
- CK51 Situated on weathered terrace edge formed above and southwest of the confluence of Cool Spring Run and the Shenandoah River. One Middle Woodland Yadkin/Levanna type projectile point located on the site in 1995.
- CK50 Situated on moderate west trending slopes of sinkhole east of Cool Spring Plantation. Age uncertain.
- CK54 Located on flat to moderately sloping, southeast trending weathered upland ridge above the Shenandoah River and north of an unnamed, southeast flowing tributary stream. Age uncertain.
- CK55 Located on the edge of first terrace above the Shenandoah south of it confluence with an unnamed tributary stream at Waterloo. The site extends southeast onto the interior edge of the floodplain. Age uncertain.

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- CK56 Situated on face of floodplain on west side of the Shenandoah. One Late Woodland triangular projectile point identified.
- CK57 Concentration located on weathered first terrace remnant above and northwest of the confluence of Wheat Spring Branch with the Shenandoah River. One side notched projectile point of probable Archaic age identified.
- CK61 Located on edge of southwest trending upland ridge to the northeast of Wheat Spring Branch. A major local southwest trending ravine bounds the site on the southeast. Age uncertain.
- CK70 Placed on flat to moderately sloping upland ridge formed northeast of the mouth of Pigeon Hollow northeast of Judge Richard Parker's plantation of Retreat. Civil War artifacts associated with the 1st West Virginia Light Artillery, VI Corps are reported to have been found on the north end of the site and thus their is some tie to the Battle of Cool Spring. Stemmed projectile points recovered by local landowner suggest Late Archaic age.
- CK74 Site of uncertain size on western floodplain of the Shenandoah River north of the point where an unnamed tributary stream enters the River. The plantation seat of North Hill is on the upland ridge to the west of the site. Historic and prehistoric artifacts are found on the landform. Historic artifacts include pieces of coal and slag along with pieces of cut limestone. Civil War related artifacts are reported to have been recovered from site locale. Native American artifacts are of uncertain age.
- CK26 Ritzenberger Site; Site of uncertain size located on high upland ridge east of North Hill mansion, south of the ravine through which the Berryville Pike passes and north of the ravine through which the Snickers' Ford Road passes. Situated on edge of ridge above flow of Shenandoah River. Site artifacts gathered from garden at east end of North Hill in area where swimming pool now exists. Artifacts span the eras from Paleo-Indian to late Woodland, finds including 2 Clovis points. Diversity of artifacts similar to that found on sites east of the Holy Cross Monastery to the north.

SUMMARY TOTALS, NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

104 buildings, 25 sites, 12 structures, 0 objects

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**Cool Spring Battlefield
Clarke County, Virginia**

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The 4,064 acre area included within the Cool Spring Battlefield, Clarke County, Virginia, is nominated for listing in the National Register of Historic Places because of the ability of its housed cultural resources to interpret, illustrate, and recognize an event of historic significance at both a local and national level. The Civil War Battle of Cool Spring, fought on July 18, 1864, and the events between July 16 and 20 of that year, are part of a larger event known locally as the Snickers Gap War. The events of July 18, which resulted in 822 casualties (Meaney 1980:54) is the ninth bloodiest battle to be fought in the Shenandoah Valley (NPS 1992:45) and is the most significant Civil War engagement to take place within Clarke County. On a broader note, this battle marks both a beginning and an end to historically significant events associated with the Civil War in 1864. On one hand, the Battle of Cool Spring is the end point in Jubal Early's daring and politically devastating (for the Union) raid against Washington D.C., in July 1864. From this point to its demise in March 1865, Early's Army of the Valley would be principally active within the confines of the Shenandoah Valley. In addition, the battle marks the beginning of a significant transition in the perception of General Grant as related to the role of the Shenandoah Valley in shaping the events of the War. Early's raid on Washington proved politically embarrassing, obligating a realignment of the Union Army in the east, and a rethinking of Grant's strategy. Some of the confusion in command illustrated by the hesitancy and interplay of field commanders at Cool Spring reflect a level of disarray that is resolved by the establishment of the Middle Military Division commanded by General Philip Sheridan. Under Sheridan's leadership the Union Army will inflict a pivotal defeat on Early's Army on September 19, at the Battle of Third Winchester, and will inflict a terminal defeat on Early one month later on October 19, at the Battle of Cedar Creek.

The contributing resources lying within the proposed district provide a compliment to the existing military and historic record and allow the battle, its cultural environment, and its support network to be more fully and accurately interpreted and understood. Save for localized residential development, the core area of the battle (Figure 2) retains a character that is comparable to that at the time the battle was fought. Additional development of areas that had been used for military support and encampment are such that they still allow students of the battle to visually interpret the setting in a reliable manner. This fact is significant in that in the absence of detailed military maps and records, interpretations of the diverse microenvironments of the battlefield are key to understanding the tyranny of the terrain to the flow of the battle, the decisions of the leaders, the tactics of the engagement, and the deployment of support personnel and facilities.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Native American: Prehistoric Previous archaeological research on the Native American settlement of Clarke County is limited to a series of speculations based on Phase I archaeological surveys with analogies to excavations from surrounding areas. The small number of projects

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undertaken prior to 1995 have been summarized, along with statements of their implications, in a recent assessment of Clarke County archaeological resources prepared by Garrow & Associates, Inc., in 1994. This overview is not repeated here.

In addition to the work of Garrow and Associates, Inc. (1994), three recent, intensive, Phase I archaeological studies have taken place in eastern Frederick County, which are relevant to the interpretation of Clarke County prehistory. These include surveys of the Upper Opequon drainage (Geier and Hofstra 1991); the middle Opequon drainage and the Abrams Creek, Redbud Run, Hiatts Run tributaries (Hofstra and Geier 1992); and the survey of potential route alternatives for the Rte. 37 bypass of Winchester (Geier and Hofstra 1993). While not in Clarke County, these surveys deal with the Native American settlement of the Opequon Creek, the western boundary of the county, and are, therefore, of direct interpretive relevance.

All of the aforementioned studies confirm the use of a prehistoric historic continuum which includes the Paleo-Indian (12,000 to 8,000 BC), Archaic (8,000 to 1,200 BC), and Woodland (1,200 BC to AD 1,700?) Periods (Garrow and Associates 1994:iv). This continuum describes an initial settlement of people who followed an essentially hunting and gathering, migratory lifestyle; and, which evolved ultimately into the presence of small scattered agricultural villages by the latter eras of the Late Woodland. Current information indicates that Native Americans were not occupying the lower Shenandoah Valley at the time of historic settlement.

In all of Clarke County only 77 historic and prehistoric archaeological sites are reported in the files of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Of these, 43 were reported prior to the 1995 study. Within the proposed district boundaries 19 prehistoric Native American sites have been located. These are described in a summary manner in the inventory of non-contributing archaeological sites. Information from these sites is limited to survey data, yet, as a group they do exhibit temporal indicators which reflect the antiquity of human settlement of the Shenandoah drainage in Clarke County. Paleo-Indian Clovis points have been found at Castleman's Ferry (44CK26); Late Paleo-Indian remains being identified (44CK19) on the grounds of the Holy Cross Monastery and on the battlefield at Cool Spring. All time periods are identified from the Paleo-Indian through Late Woodland, with Woodland era sites being somewhat more common. Only two sites (44CK36, 37) have Woodland era ceramics included in their assemblages, suggesting that while Woodland use of the area was significant, settled hamlets or agricultural villages may not have been commonplace.

The number of sites found do suggest some settlement pattern trends, though the fact that survey activities in 1995 concentrated along the bottomland and adjoining upland features of the Shenandoah does tend to shape and influence these results. Only one site lies on the east side of the river within the district; that, a Late Archaic Site, lying on an upland mountain ridge northeast of Retreat Plantation. This fact is more survey bias than reality in that the bottomlands along the east side of the Shenandoah River have been significantly landscaped and altered by construction of a golf course.

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On the west side of the Shenandoah River, in an area where bottomland features are more well developed and preserved, Native American sites of all ages show a clear selection preference for the bottomland terraces and floodplains along the course of the Shenandoah proper. Only two interior valley upland sites were identified, both of these associated with the river drainage. One additional site, of uncertain age, was located along Wheat Spring Branch. Two sites were on endlobes of upland valley ridges having ready access to the Shenandoah.

Euro-American Settlement Euro-American settlement of the battlefield area began largely in the mid-18th century when Clarke was still part of Frederick County (Hofstra 1986:9). The dispersed community that by 1864 came to be known as Castleman's Ferry was one of the earliest settlements in present-day Clarke County, being located below the northernmost of two mountain gaps that allowed access from eastern Virginia into then-Frederick County. This was Williams' Gap, reportedly named after a squatter who lived in the area. As early as 1748, a well-established road, the Williams Gap-Winchester Road, passed through the gap, serving as one of the major east-west transportation arteries into Frederick County. Also in 1748, the Virginia General Assembly authorized Williams Ferry to be established where the road crossed the Shenandoah River (Jones 1971-1975: 6-12).

Within a few years the river crossing came to be named Snickers' Ferry, after Edward Snickers who had established a ferry and operated a tavern by 1760. The first location of this ferry and tavern was where Wheat Spring Branch flowed into the Shenandoah River (Figure 10). In 1751, Snickers was asked to oversee construction of two roads on opposite sides of the river to be connected by a ferry (Jones 1971-1975: 6). That people were living in this area by this time is clear from the road orders (Jones 1971-1975:12). Given these developments, after 1772, Williams Gap was increasingly referred to as Snickers Gap. By 1803, this original Snickers' Ferry community included at least one grist mill, a saw mill, blacksmith shop, and Snickers' old tavern.

The land along this stretch of the river came from several tracts (Figure 5) many included in a patent to Robert "King" Carter. Carter granted over 11,0716 acres, called the Shenandoah Tract, to Mann Page, the parcel lying north of the present-day Route 7. When Page had become "land-poor," in 1748, he sold 8,000 acres of the tract at auction in Williamsburg. According to local tradition, George Washington encouraged his friend, Ralph Wormley, of Middlesex County, to purchase this land. Although Wormley kept his primary residence east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, road orders suggest that he had a residence on this property by 1751 (Jones 1971-1975: 23-26).

The land to the south of Route 7 on the west side of the river was sold by King Carter's grandson, Benjamin Harrison, to George Mercer around 1760. Mercer began to develop his land for agricultural production, setting up small wheat-farming plantations using slave labor. By 1774, Mercer was forced to subdivide and sell this property, which at that time supported six plantations, 100 slaves, and large stocks of horses, cattle, sheep and crops of corn and wheat (Jones 1971-1975: 23-26).

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As early as 1786, Snickers moved his ferry roughly 1 mile upstream from Wheat Spring Branch to the Mercer lands and to the crossing of the main road from Winchester to Alexandria (Figure 6). At that time this major east-west road was situated .25 mile south of the present Route 7 and Castleman's Ferry Bridge (Figure 10). Snickers operated a tavern at this location, and there are some references to a mill and other structures at this crossing (Figure 15; Jones 1971-1975: 22-26, 60-62).

Both the initial and then subsequent Snickers' Ferry sites served as important landmarks in northeastern Frederick and then Clarke Counties. George Washington includes numerous references to staying at Snickers' tavern (Wheat Spring Branch) on his trips across the mountain between 1769 and 1774. It is reported that he developed a long-lasting friendship with Edward Snickers and had occasional business dealings with him. Snickers successfully amassed a large fortune, consisting not only of land but of slaves. By 1790, when he died, he had moved into the growing town of Berryville. His will left large tracts of land to all of his children. It also refers to numerous slaves, including two ferryman, a wagoner, and a blacksmith "and his tools" whom he left to his son William (Jones 12971-1975; 22-26, 60-2).

Few architectural remains survive from the mid- to late 18th century. The exception to this is the original log structure that serves as the core of the present North Hill dated ca. 1774. It was not until the end of the 18th century that large plantation houses were built and farming operations were established along this stretch of the river. Snickers' son, William, sold a 401-acre tract near the original Snickers' Ferry along Wheat Spring Branch, to his niece and her husband, who built a substantial stone house called Riverside in the late 1790s. Farther north, Ralph Wormley's son, John, a loyalist sympathizer during the war, built a larger two-story stone Georgian house which he called Cool Spring, named after the spring on the farm. An archaeological site north and east of Cool Spring referred to as the McCormick House on the Heron Map of 1832 (Figure 2, 9), suggests another substantial dwelling which may be found to significantly pre-date Cool Spring. Across the Shenandoah River, Thomas Parker, a veteran of the American Revolution, bought 1,120 acres from the Wormleys in 1794 and built the most elaborate of these turn-of-the-19th-century houses in 1799 giving it the name Retreat. A fourth house, now gone, was the one owned by a Mr. Galloway, and located on the north side of present-day Route 7 (Figures 6, 15, 18). The area around this house was occasionally referred to as Galloway's shop (Almanac).

These farms and the community around Snickers' Ferry prospered at the turn of the 19th-century (Kalbian 1989:33). Wheat production, distilling, and tanning served as the leading industrial enterprises in the lower Shenandoah Valley by the end of the 18th-century (Mitchell 1977: 208) and were features of the local economy. Local farms produced wheat as a cash crop and processed it at the many gristmills situated along the river. Charles Varle mapped 12 grist mills in present-day Clarke County in 1809, several of these lying within the district boundaries (Figure 6; Kalbian, 1992:15). At least two were present along Wheat Spring Branch by 1832:

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one known as Castleman's mill (or sometimes Taylor's Mill or later Shephard's Mill) while the other is listed occasionally as Ware's Mill or Casselman's mill (Herron 1832).

Flour from local mills was shipped on flat-bottom boats to Harpers Ferry, Washington, and Baltimore. Still, river transportation was not very dependable, particularly during the fall when farmers most needed to ship their flour to market. In the early 19th-century, there were several efforts made, though not very successful ones, to make the Shenandoah River to Harpers Ferry more navigable during the drier seasons (Hofstra 1986: 69-70). There is some question as to the extent of this effort locally. It is clear that as local milling and agricultural activity flourished near this important road crossing of the Shenandoah River that a developed road network system was required to provide access to local mill seats and from them to appropriate markets. By 1832, (Figure 9) that growth is evidenced by the presence of River Road, which follows the immediate west bank of the river from the area south of and through Castleman's Ferry, northeast into what is now West Virginia, probably to Harpers Ferry. Other than the local economic importance of this roadway, field surveys in 1995 showed much of its length north of the present Castleman's Ferry crossing to be unusual in design. Rather than being constructed on the face of the river bank, it is landscaped into the edge of the bank (Photos 3-6) much as one might expect of a tow-path. This possibility is enhanced by reference to a late 19th-century study made of the feasibility of the navigability of the Shenandoah River which states: "No attempt appears to have been made to establish an upstream navigation, unless possibly on the lower reaches, where remains of a towpath still exist. . ." (Senate Executive Document #66 1890: 5-6).

Several local residents became quite successful at the farming and milling trade. Two area farmers, David Castleman and Charles McCormick, created a business partnership in November 1826, called Castleman and McCormick, and amassed some of the largest land-holdings in the county at that time. They purchased Cool Spring plantation (800 acres) in 1833, and North Hill (approximately 750 acres) in 1818. McCormick resided at Cool Spring Plantation and Castleman at North Hill (Norris 1972 [1890]: 705-6).

This stretch along the Shenandoah River also prospered as an agriculture-related industrial center in the first half of the 19th century. A tannery was built above the mills on Wheat Spring Branch sometime between 1803 and 1815 and an iron ore mine situated on the Cool Spring property was probably in operation (Figure 2). Newspaper references refer to a substantial trade in iron ore along the Shenandoah River to Harpers Ferry in the antebellum period (Figure 2). Other historical references to the Snickers' Ferry community mention blacksmith shops as well as sawmills. By the 1830s, George Bell was operating a saw mill on the east side of the river, possibly along the old turnpike or Winchester-Alexandria Road (in this report identified as Snickers' Ford Road) that passed south of North Hill.

Along with this agricultural and industrial prosperity came demands for improved transportation networks. Like other Virginians, residents of Clarke County had begun to press for improved roads and the construction of turnpikes by the early 19th century. In the 1810s, the

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turnpike from Snickers' Ferry to Aldie was constructed. By 1832 the main road and Snickers' Ferry had moved to the present location along Route 7 (Figures 9, 10, and 15). Particularly instrumental in promoting transportation improvements were members of the Castleman family. David Castleman, a prominent area businessman, resident of North Hill, and partner in Castleman and McCormick, served as president of the Snickers Gap Turnpike Company and recommended increased state and private funding to improve the road (Hofstra 1986: 49).

David Castleman's nephew, James Castleman, who inherited some of his uncle's estate, became one of the leading advocates for improved river and railroad transportation in this area during the 1840s and 1850s. Castleman pushed for improvement to the eight miles of the canal from Harpers Ferry to Little Falls. By 1850, he is listed as the president of Shenandoah Steamboat County when he began to initiate some new ideas from his business at Castleman's Ferry. He announced a new tow boat that he owned for towing on the Shenandoah River. That same year, he had purchased a steamboat, called "Shenandoah," and hoped to "contract a boat way in Shenandoh River from Little Falls to Forks of the River, a distance of 45 or 50 miles" (Spirit of Jefferson, newspaper).

The new community developing at the present crossing of Route 7 and the Shenandoah River was still called Snickers' Ferry in 1837, when a post office was first established here. However, over the next several decades, it became referred to as Castleman's Ferry. In 1865, the post office changed the address officially to Castleman's Ferry, to avoid confusion with Snickersville, but the name Snickers' Ferry was occasionally used during the next few years (Almanac, 202). With the move of the road to its' third location, a new group of structures was constructed where the new turnpike crossed the river, both on the west side of the river and along the turnpike west to Berryville. A plat of North Hill, drawing on 1804 and 1820 surveys, indicates that this community acquired a store, and tavern (Figures 9, 13, 14, 15).

As the community grew, needs for a new church increased as well. In 1819, James and Elizabeth Williams donated land to build an episcopal chapel here for the convenience of people living in the northeastern part of Frederick County, who had previously worshipped at Old Chapel, near Berryville. The church became independent in 1894 and was known as Wickliffe Parish. By 1846, the congregation had prospered so that a new very stylish brick chapel was built. Recently listed on the National Register of Historic Places, this is an excellent and well-preserved example of a rural church in the Shenandoah Valley.

Just as the community was growing and prospering, so too did the housing during the mid-19th century. Many of the large plantation dwellings were enlarged. Within the proposed district, James Castleman constructed a six-bay brick addition to North Hill around 1845, creating a much more impressive home up on the hill above the ferry crossing. Similarly, the Parkers enlarged Retreat, which, with its two-story portico, sat impressively on a hill on the east side of the river (Photo 10).

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A collection of smaller, often log, houses also survive from the mid-19th century. Other than those already noted, two settlement areas had emerged by this time; one around Wickliffe Church, and one on the road from Castleman's Ferry to Snickers Gap. Two older farm houses were located near Wickliffe Church; both have burned but at least one of the domestic outbuildings survive at each site (Figure 2; Photos 15-17). The Ike Young house south of the church (Figure 2; Photos 18-19) is one of the oldest surviving dwellings in a small African-American community located near the church before the Civil War.

The second area of growth and development was along the turnpike across Snickers Gap (Photos 26,27). A historical photograph shows an early 19th-century building (Photo 27) believed to be a store located somewhere along this road. An undated plat of the Bell family property on top of the mountain shows two routes up the mountain, both of which had been paved, apparently by the early 19th century (Figures 16 and 17). One plat shows the early layout of a string of lots in the community that was known as Tattletown, but more commonly Pine Grove (Figure 16; Almanac).

By the mid-19th century, the Bell family owned a large tract of land on the road leading to Snickers Gap and had many types of business interests along this route. Their extant home (Figure 2 [21-379]; Photos 21,22), was built ca. 1820-40. As early as 1812, however, and through at least 1864, the Bells operated a tavern along this route and by the 1860s references in the tavern book indicate that they were renting out rooms at their home. The Bells also operated a distillery, or "stillhouse," and George Bell was operating a sawmill down the turnpike (old road to Snickers' Ferry) towards the ferry (Bell family papers).

JULY 1864, THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

By 1864 the cultural landscape within the proposed battlefield district would have included a prosperous and diverse social, agricultural and industrial community. The Castleman's Ferry community was an important transportation center in the northeastern part of Clarke County. The turnpike from Berryville to Washington was one of the most popular routes over the Blue Ridge Mountains, and Castleman's ferry business was flourishing. Crossing roads accessed valley market centers at Harpers Ferry and Charlestown. The ferry operations formed the heart of the community, and included a cluster of buildings, including a tavern and store, along with a post-office. The Galloway house and North Hill, both impressive masonry dwellings, also formed part of this community along the turnpike. By 1864, most of the commercial activity along this stretch of the Shenandoah River had gravitated towards the turnpike, though Castleman was experimenting with the a form of steamboat transit.

A diverse rural industry was in place and was prospering particularly along Wheat Spring Run, near the site of the first Snickers' Ferry. At least one, and possibly more, grist mills, and probably a tannery were in operation, both with associated residences. In his papers, George Bell notes that he hauled "98 feet 7 inch of black oke tanbark gott off Marlow farm" to

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"Clendening at the tanyard" in 1864, suggesting that the tannery was operating at the time of the Cool Spring engagement. Whitehaven, a residence believed built in the 1830s, was part of Mill Dale Mills, and was owned by Joseph and Champ Shepherd, their mill being called Shepherd's mill (see Figure 15). A second residence is a one-story, three-bay brick dwelling located near the tannery. While its ownership remains unclear, it may have been associated with the tannery operation. There is no indication that the tavern, saw mill, or blacksmith shop associated with the earlier Snickers Ferry operation were still standing.

At least one other mill may have been in operation on the east side of the Shenandoah River as part of Judge Richard Parker's enterprise. A road passing along the east side of the river accesses the Parker Mills currently in place south of the West Virginia State line (Figure 2). Exactly when this mill was in operation is uncertain, though its attribution to the Parkers suggests that it was probably a part of the local, mid-19th-century industry (Figure 12).

Agriculturally, Clarke County, like the rest of the Valley in 1864, still relied heavily on wheat as its cash crop. The Valley was known as the "Breadbasket of the Confederacy," and Clarke County's farms were some of the most productive in the region. According to soldiers in the area at the time, the land had been substantially cleared, creating vistas of open land planted largely in wheat. In 1860, in the Valley, Clarke County had the largest percentage of land in farms, 97 percent, with 75 percent of that improved. Compared to other counties, Clarke County's farms were larger in size, and the county was second only to the much larger Rockingham County in wheat production in 1860. County farms also raised corn, oats, rye, and buckwheat during this period. Along with these extensive wheat operations would be a large number of slaves and presumably slave quarters, none of which are now extant (Kalbian 1989:35). Of direct relevance to the district nomination, the area over which the infantry engagement of July 18 was fought is described as being a wheat field (Meaney 1980:16-18). References provided by Union soldiers identify watching Confederate soldiers harvesting grain.

The Bell family papers from the early 1860s confirm the importance of wheat production in the area. In the early 1860s George Bell raised grain on what was called his "river farm" which is believed to have been located on the east side of the Shenandoah River at the foot of the mountain, south of the Berryville Turnpike. Bell also grew corn for his distillery operation which continued to flourish during the Civil War years, and during 1864 at the time of the Cool Spring engagement. The placement and extent of this crop is uncertain, though at least one available reference reports that the Union cattle herds consumed the corn in a small field in Snickers Gap during the period of the Cool Spring Battle in July of 1864. Family papers note that Bell sold liquor to soldiers and troops passing along the turnpike during the War. In 1863, Bell answered a series of questions about distilling liquor, in which he described planting corn stalks "from the spring up to the bottom" and "also the one below the spring" to use in his distilling business. This account also notes that both Herod Jenkins or William Littleton also planted corn in the "bottoms" that year. Bell later noted that he was plowing approximately four acres for corn

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around the still house, presumably in the open area behind his house. This land appears to have been cleared and in active use in 1864.

At the center of the local farm economy, large plantations dominated the landscape along the river, many occupied by certain of the more politically and socially prominent of the local Clarke County residents. Descendants of the families from the Castleman and McCormick business still resided at Cool Spring and North Hill; Francis McCormick at Cool Spring, and James Castleman, of the Castleman Ferry Company, in the newly-renovated plantation house at North Hill. James Ware's granddaughter Elizabeth remained at Riverside when she married Dr. J. M. G. McGuire in 1864. Judge Richard E. Parker, who presided over the trial of John Brown's raid of Harpers Ferry, was living at Retreat. In 1864, these were substantial houses for their time, clearly reflecting the prosperity and prominence of their owners.

While many of the larger homes and industrial enterprises were located near the Shenandoah River and along the turnpike at Castleman's Ferry, other hamlets or community centers had also begun to appear by 1864. Wickliffe Church, a thriving Episcopal church in this region, became the center of a group of more modest farms and houses. This included two farms on the road extending west from Wickliffe Church, although both of the main houses in this complex are now gone. Oral histories also suggest the presence of a small African-American community located near the church. Similarly, the community of Tattletown, or Pine Grove, had begun to take form along the Snickers Gap/Berryville turnpike by 1864. Several extant houses were possibly constructed by this time, arranged in a linear pattern as delineated in an old plat of the Bell farm (Kalbian 1992: 31; Figure 16). The oldest surviving house in this area is the Bell House (21-379), which had been enlarged to its present form by 1864. Like the Bell house, other houses located along this road in were probably of log construction (Kalbian 1992:31). One of these, the Frost home, is mentioned in the Cool Spring military accounts.

During the Civil War, George Bell continued to operate a tavern in his house and sell liquor produced in his distillery at his house on the turnpike, on the east end of Pine Grove and just south of the horseshoe curve. His flourishing business reflected the popular use of this road over the mountain. The road through his property had been paved in the early 19th century (see Figure 17) although photographs from the late 19th century (Photos 25,26), and descriptions provided by the soldiers that crossed it, suggest that road conditions were still less than desirable. Bell also rented out rooms, sometimes for weeks or months. His papers record both his interaction with soldiers, generals, and troops who traveled extensively back and forth along this route during the Civil War.

Bell's writings suggest Union loyalties and his avoidance of Confederate conscription, reflecting the beliefs of others in this region. In 1862, he notes hauling wheat to "Berlin in meriland," where he took the oath of allegiance to the United States Government. The following year, he wrote that he was "conscripted and ordered to report at Bunker hill for service, But I haven't gone yet." But, with his strategic location on a major road and an important mountain

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crossing into the Shenandoah Valley, he found that he often entertained officers or troops of both sides at his house. He noted that he helped to "hall Capt. Means company equipment from Lovetts-ville to Waterfort Between two days." In 1861, he writes "before the federal army made its move into Virginia, I entertained a spy at my house -- being related to me he made known his business and was further on his journey with all the information we could give" (Bell papers; Nancy Duke Collection).

During June of 1864, George Bell once again became involved in supporting the Union forces by leading General Wright and General Crook, "in pursuit of General Earley" to the "private fords...in the Shenandoah River on Judge Parkers place." Bell noted also that Generals Wright and Crook "was here after General Early, in July and was here from Sunday 10 o'clock to Thursday morning." Given the history of troops picketing on his place, it is likely that his reference to "here" meant that the troops stayed on the land behind his house (Bell Papers; Nancy Duke Collection).

THE BATTLE OF COOL SPRING AND THE 1864 SHENANDOAH VALLEY CAMPAIGN

Overview On March 9, 1864, when Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant accepted command of the armies of the United States, the Union forces were divided into 21 corps and in 19 military districts, plus the separate Army of the Potomac. Troops also were scattered in at least 13 coastal enclaves in support of the naval blockade. Other forces were operating in the Mississippi and Red River Valleys while still more were gathered at various points of East Tennessee and North Alabama. And, of course, there were the forces in Virginia; Meade's Army of the Potomac, Sigel's Department of West Virginia and Butler's Army of the James at Norfolk. Thanks to the absence of centralized guidance, none of these forces were coordinating or cooperating with any other. There was no unity of purpose or strong political direction. It was Grant's challenge to give coherence to this mix of forces by bringing their mass to bear in a single strategic concept expressed in a well-managed plan (Green 1936:115).]

Grant concluded by 1864 that the only way victory could be achieved was through the total destruction of the Confederate ability to wage war. This was a modern concept, shared by few of his contemporaries, and showed his grasp of the political and psychological aspects of the conflict. His primary objective was to seize the initiative from Robert E. Lee and Confederate leaders everywhere by conducting a sustained offensive against them with Union armies on the attack throughout the Confederacy. His scheme for 1864 called for a five-pronged assault extending across the 1,000 mile arc of the Union line from Virginia to Alabama. The Army of the Potomac was to serve as the offensive holding force, pinning down Lee's army. It would also serve as the strategic pivot upon which Major General William T. Sherman's maneuvering force would swing as it penetrated the Confederate heartland in Georgia. Forces under Major General Nathaniel Banks and Major General Benjamin Butler would act as distracting forces against Mobile and Richmond respectively. Another army under Major General Franz Sigel would protect

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Meade's western flank by operating in the Shenandoah Valley (Fuller 1929:217; Grant 1967-1988:10:251).

1864 Campaign In the Valley General Sigel's Valley army experienced complete failure at the Battle of New Market on May 15, 1864. When Sigel withdrew after this fight, he was replaced in command by Major General David Hunter. In response to this victory, General Lee called Major General John C. Breckinridge and his men from the Valley to Cold Harbor to help him fend off Grant's and Meade's grinding attacks. This gave General Hunter the opportunity to make another thrust up the Valley. Hunter defeated a Confederate force at Piedmont on June 5; pressed on to Lexington where he burned VMI, and then moved against Lynchburg. Given these successes, Lee was forced to hurry Breckinridge and his force back to the Valley. Once in Lynchburg, Breckinridge realized he could not fend off Hunter's larger force without help. His report persuaded Lee to dispatch Major General Jubal Early with General "Stonewall" Jackson's old corps to Lynchburg. Early's arrival in the nick of time caused General Hunter to break contact and withdraw across West Virginia to the Kanawha Valley. His force eventually would reappear at Harper's Ferry after a roundabout trek by way of Parkersburg and Martinsburg. Its prolonged absence, however, gave Early the opportunity to carry out General Lee's desire that he do something to distract Federal forces away from the hard-pressed Confederates in the Richmond-Petersburg area.

Once certain that Hunter was out of the way, Early moved his force down the Valley. He made short work of a Federal force in Winchester commanded by Major General Robert Milroy and was in Frederick, Maryland by July 9. That day, Major General Lew Wallace fought a doomed delaying action against the Southern invaders at Monocacy, but Early pressed on to arrive at Silver Spring on the outskirts of Washington on July 11. His approach to the Federal capital generated all of the panic that could be expected. President Lincoln pressed General Grant to send reinforcements to augment the militia and convalescents who were being rushed into the city's defenses. Grant saw Early's move as intended to divert strength from his main effort and was reluctant at first to do so.

The Snickers Gap War At the last possible moment, General Grant recognized the psychological and political ramifications of Confederate entry into the national capital and diverted the forces necessary to prevent it. Brigadier General James B. Ricketts' Third Division, VI Corps, had been sent earlier and fought at Monocacy as part of General Lew Wallace's delaying action. Major General Horatio G. Wright's Second Division, VI Corps, arrived at Washington by boat from Petersburg on July 11, a few hours after Early's warriors appeared before the nervous Federal defenders on the northwest side of Washington. Amidst great confusion, Wright's men reached Ft. Stevens late in the evening where they soon were joined by Ricketts' Division. Early realized he was confronting a formidable force and began to withdraw that night even as skirmishing continued throughout July 12.

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Wright was reinforced by Major General William H. Emory's First Division, XIX Corps. This was one of two divisions sent east from the four division corps. The corps headquarters remained with the two divisions left in Louisiana while Emory's and Brigadier General William Dwight's Divisions sailed to reinforce Grant's forces fighting around Richmond-Petersburg. Instead, on reaching Hampton Roads, most of the XIX Corps elements were diverted to Washington. Regiments from Emory's Division began landing at Washington at noon on July 13. Subject to the orders of excited Military Department of Washington staff officers, they were sent on unnecessarily long marches around the District. Eventually, most of Emory's men, confused, exhausted and with no logistical support, staggered into camps around Tenallytown. The corps elements were unorganized, senior officers were still enroute, and there was considerable confusion getting the regiments coordinated and aligned with trains and artillery. Colonel Edwin P. Davis, 29th Maine, found himself the senior officer present. After great exertion he found all or parts of ten regiments with about 192 officers and 2,987 men. The two units most intact were the 153rd New York and the 29th Maine. He followed the orders of General Quincy Gilmore, a senior officer in the Department of Washington, and headed the force for Offut's Crossroads on July 14. Emory arrived during the day and successfully negotiated the attachment of L Battery, 1st Ohio Artillery from the Department of Washington to his command. Brigadier General John R. Kenly's Maryland Brigade, from the Middle Department, was also attached for the campaign. Still getting organized, the XIX Corps elements followed the VI Corps towards the Potomac and the withdrawing Confederates (Gould 1871:464-5; Irwin 1985:358).

General Wright initially understood his mission to be to shove Early away from Washington and back across the Potomac. He and Grant assumed the Confederate force would then rejoin Lee around Richmond-Petersburg. This in part accounts for the apparent lack of Federal aggressiveness. A greater reason for Wright's slowness was the quality and condition of his improvised trains. They were composed of a mix of inexperienced drivers and teams gathered during the crisis of Early's threat to Washington. Neither the men nor the animals were trained for the situation they confronted (Bowen 1884:357).

Jubal Early's forces, meanwhile, had crossed the Potomac by July 14. A cavalry rear guard skirmished with Federal counterparts at White's Ferry that day, but the infantry and impedimenta peacefully camped around Leesburg. They rested there throughout July 15 while Wright's force slowly pressed through Seneca Falls and Poolesville to the banks of the Potomac. Contact might have been broken at that point if another Federal force had not appeared in the area (Nichols 1898:174; Wellman 1956:174).

General David Hunter's command was coming slowly into the battle area at Harper's Ferry after its anabasis from Lynchburg by way of Charleston and Parkersburg. Hunter reached Harper's Ferry on July 14 and received a wire from Grant ordering him to exercise all the pressure on Early that he could with the troops he had on hand (Osborne 1992:298). While Hunter was getting organized, he got a message from Wright at Poolesville with instructions to effect a rendezvous at Leesburg to assist in the pursuit of Early. Hunter sent Brigadier General Jeremiah

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Sullivan's 7,000 infantry and Brigadier General Alfred Duffié's 2,000 cavalry in response. But, he ordered them to march in the direction of Hillsborough and Purcellville rather than Leesburg so as to have a better chance to intercept Early (Cooling 1989:193).

Sullivan's force left Harper's Ferry on July 14. The column marched along the towpath on the Maryland side to Berlin (Brunswick now). It crossed the Potomac there, went through Lovettsville and camped at Hillsborough the night of July 15 (Pond 1883:80). Wright's column was at Poolesville that night but the two generals were not in contact. However, Early was aware of the movements and began to withdraw his force on the night of July 15 west toward the Blue Ridge gaps. The Federal generals missed a golden opportunity to do serious harm to Early's withdrawing columns because of their lack of coordination. Conversely, Sullivan's holding at Hillsborough probably saved his small force from being overwhelmed. Sullivan's vulnerability persuaded Wright to bring his command across at White's Ferry and to continue to press Early at least to Snickers Gap. While this was going on, Brigadier General George Crook relieved Sullivan at noon on July 16 and energized his command (Schmitt 1946:121; Pond 1883:81; Cooling 1989:193).

The Confederate forces were heading rapidly for the Shenandoah Valley. On the afternoon of July 15, Early sent a large part of the trains, prisoners of war, and much of the captured livestock into the Valley through Ashby's Gap, a break in the spine of the Blue Ridge 9.5 miles south of Snickers Gap. That column went by way of Union and Purcellville and reached Millwood the morning of July 16 (McDonald 1973:216; Worsham 1987:157). The main Confederate force left Clark's Gap near Leesburg on the morning of the 16th. Gordon's and Wharton's Divisions preceded the remaining trains which marched ahead of the divisions of Rodes and Ramseur.

When General Crook assumed command, he immediately ordered Duffié's Cavalry out to make contact with these moving columns. Colonel William B. Tibbits's Brigade of Duffié's force attacked the Confederate trains near Purcellville on the afternoon of the 16th. Considerable damage was inflicted before the Federals were driven off by elements of the two rear Confederate divisions. Another of Duffié's columns later skirmished with Confederate Brigadier General William L. Jackson's horsemen near Wood Grove northwest of Purcellville (Cooling 1989:195; Pond 1883:81-82). Crook got his infantry in motion upon news of the contact. One infantry brigade marched by way of Waterford in response to rumors that a Confederate train was in the village. The rest of the infantry headed directly to Purcellville (Wildes 1884:128; Lincoln 1879:332). While this was going on, Wright's force completed its movement across the Potomac and camped at points between Leesburg and Clarks Gap about three miles west of the village (Bowen 1884:361). The Federal infantry rested throughout July 17, having a "quiet sabbath" while their rear elements continued to dribble in (Haines 1883:229; Bowen 1884:362).

The cavalry of Crook's command enjoyed no respite, however. General Wright ordered Crook to maintain contact with the withdrawing Confederates when the two officers made

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contact on the 16th. The next day, Crook dispatched Duffié's cavalry and Brigadier General James A. Mulligan's Infantry Brigade (23d Illinois, 10th West Virginia) to Snickers Gap even as the remainder of his force was still gathering at Purcellville (Wildes 1884:128; Schmitt 1946:121; Pond 1883:81).

The Confederates had entered Snickers Gap on the evening of July 16 after repulsing Colonel Tibbits's probe at Purcellville. That night Breckinridge's command of Gordon's and Wharton's Divisions deployed on the western side of the Shenandoah River in the vicinity of Castleman's Ferry and the North Hill Plantation (Figure 21). Rodes' Division camped on the east side of the river, up the western slope of the Blue Ridge, east of Big River Mountain. Ramseur's Division established itself on the crest of the Blue Ridge in Snickers Gap and down the east slope of the mountain towards Snickersville. Brigadier General John McCausland's cavalry brigade guarded Ashby's Gap to the south. The morning of the 17th (Figure 22) the entire Confederate command shifted west of the river with Early's headquarters setting up near Berryville on the Charlestown Road. Breckinridge's force stayed near Castleman's Ferry. Gordon was along the river north and south of the Ferry crossing and Wharton was at Webbtown 2 miles west on the Berryville Pike. Rodes' Division was north of Wharton's position and occupied a line from Wickliffe Church to Parker's (Rock's) Ford on the Shenandoah. Ramseur was placed on the Charlestown Road in the vicinity of Gaylord. McCausland's cavalry continued to screen Ashby's Gap while Brigadier Generals William L. Jackson's and Bradley T. Johnson's cavalry brigades screened toward Charlestown and Martinsburg respectively. Brigadier General John Imboden's horsemen covered to the west from a base in Millwood (McDonald 1973:216; Cooling 1989:195; Wert 1978:37; Evans 1987:485). It was Early's intention to cover all approaches through the Blue Ridge and from Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg while he held in Berryville and determined Federal intentions (Early 1867:396).

General Duffié's force reached Snickers Gap a few hours after the Confederates evacuated it. The lead Federal elements halted briefly shortly after noon, just on the west side of the Gap, and admired the view of the Valley as it shimmered in the summer heat. The Union cavalrymen then moved down the rough road (Photos 44, 45), around the horseshoe curve of the pike and eventually reached the ford across the Shenandoah at Castleman's Ferry (Figure 22). Elements of this force may have moved further south following the old Snickers' Ford Road, attempting a crossing at the ford .25 miles below the ferry crossing (Meaney 1980: 13, 14). The force immediately came under fire from 62nd Virginia. Infantry skirmishers firing from behind a stone wall on the west side of the river. Two Confederate guns placed on high ground farther west in the vicinity of North Hill Plantation soon added to the resistance (Wert 1978:38; OR 37,I:320).

General Duffié ordered an immediate assault on the Confederate defenders. Dismounted cavalry and their infantry support tried to rush across the drought lowered river and establish a bridgehead. The Confederate artillery went into a frenzy, its reports being heard as far away as Front Royal. The attackers were repulsed with losses of two killed and fifteen wounded. While

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this was going on 10 of Mosby's men attacked a Federal vedette at Snickersville, inflicting 11 casualties (Williamson 1909:192). General Crook arrived with his advanced party at about 2 P.M. just as the fighting settled into vigorous skirmishing. At about 6 P.M. Crook ordered another try which ended quickly because of heavy Confederate fire. Lighter probes continued until midnight. While that was going on, all the cavalry except the 21st New York, on vedette, withdrew to camp at Snickersville. Early on the morning of the 18th the 21st N.Y. Cavalry supported with infantry tried a third attack on the Confederate position at Castleman's. The small force of 75 attackers formed into three separate groups and assaulted at as many different points. Again, they were forced back, losing some flags in the process when the color bearers were killed. The New Yorkers were then replaced by infantry along the river line (OR37,I:320; Matheny 1963:94).

This Confederate resistance caused Crook to look for alternatives to the ferry crossing site from his vantage point on a flat ridge on Big River Mountain. He relieved Duffié of his responsibility for Snickers Gap at 12:30 P.M. and ordered him to march from his Snickersville camp through Upperville to Ashby's Gap to see if a crossing could be made at Berry's Ferry there (OR37,I:321). He also began to scout about for alternate crossing sites for his infantry to try in the Snickers Gap area.

Most of the Federal infantry did not begin to march toward Snickers Gap until early on the morning of July 18. Crook's men, now known as "Army of West Virginia" or "VIII Corps" took the lead from their western-most camps at Purcellville. Starting as early as 3 A.M., they began to reach the vicinity of Snickersville by about 9 A.M. There, they rested for a while before continuing. The lead units filed through the Gap at about noon, clearly visible to the Confederates east of the Shenandoah. From the summit the Federals got a stunning view of the Valley and also could see enemy activity (Lincoln 1879:333; Pond 1883:82).

While the Federals descended what they called a "rocky track" (Figures 22, 25) to the river, General Wright joined Crook at the latter's vantage point on Big River Mountain to discuss the situation. The two generals were unable to determine the extent of enemy strength. Both officers assumed the crossing was being held by a rear guard. They enjoyed an excellent view as they observed from their position on Big River Mountain 200 ft. above Castleman's Ferry. Confederate pickets could be seen at North Hill on the high ground south of the ferry crossing and at Riverside Plantation .5 mile to the north, south of Wheat Spring Branch. Crook described the terrain they could view as "bottom and rolling country divided into fields with an occasional clump of timber" (Schmitt 1946:122). Lieutenant Gulian V. Weir's L Battery, 5th U.S. Artillery, established itself on the high ground adjacent to the generals.

Finally, at 2 P.M., at Wright's command Crook ordered Colonel Joseph Thoburn to take his 1st Division reinforced with Colonel Daniel Frost's 3d Brigade, 2d Division to Parker's (Rock's) Ford about two miles north of Castleman's Ferry, cross there and flank the Confederate defenders north from Castleman's. Both generals presumed the enemy's rear guard would have to decamp when challenged by a strong force on its side of the river. Thoburn's column snaked its

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way along a rough track on the high ground north of Pigeon Hollow towards Parker's Ford. It was guided by a deserter from the Clarke Rifles (2d Virginia Cavalry) named John P. Corrigan. The Federals reached Judge Richard Parker's house, Retreat, massed on the terrace in front of the house and moved west and north along the floodplain (Figure 25). Trees and brush along the river helped conceal the men. Many of Thoburn's men had been on the march steadily since early morning. One Ohio soldier recalled the whole sequence as a blur. He had marched all day, formed into line of battle immediately on reaching the floodplain, and soon thereafter crossed the river into battle. The Federals were surprised to find the first possible crossing, Island Ford, to be well defended. The 34th Massachusetts Infantry of Colonel George Wells' Brigade found another ford further down over which they and the men of 5th New York Heavy Artillery dashed. The rest of Thoburn's men soon followed, covered by fire from Weir's guns on Big River Mountain. Prisoners captured by the 34th Massachusetts revealed that Early's whole command was still in the vicinity. This put the whole maneuver in a new perspective and Thoburn formed a defended bridgehead (Figure 26). He sent the information back to General Crook with a request for further instructions and reinforcements (Pond 1883:83; Matheny 1963:94; Cooling 1989:200; 170th Ohio).

Colonel Thoburn formed two lines across the fields of the Cool Spring Plantation. His main line was established along a low stone wall set immediately west of, and paralleling, the River Road that had been cut into the river bank below the edge of the floodplain. Another line was approximately 100 yards further inland. This line was formed across the top of a series of weathered and dissected terrace ridges that had been planted in wheat and was subdivided by a series of low stone walls set perpendicular to that along the River Road (Figure 26). Federal skirmishers pressed westward, attaining the first line of upland ridges and moving towards the road to the Cool Spring Mansion which passed "between Castleman's Ferry and Wickliffe Church" (Gold 1914:115). They took shelter behind the limestone outcroppings prevalent in the area, and in particular those that formed to the front of the south end of the first series of upland ridges (Figure 26; Photo 18). The Federal line formed a shallow crescent anchored roughly on two small streams feeding into the river; Cool Spring Run on the south and Rodes' Run on the north. Colonel William Wells' 1st Brigade held the Federal left (Figure 26). Next to it was Colonel Daniel Frost's 3d Brigade, 2d Division. Thoburn's own 2d Brigade extended the line northward further to Colonel Samuel B. M. Young's Dismounted Provisional Cavalry Brigade on the extreme right (Pond 1883:83).

The Confederate reaction to Thoburn's threat was swift (Figures 24, 27). General Breckinridge was called out of a church service at Grace Episcopal in Berryville by a courier from Gordon. He ordered Gordon's rear elements and Wharton's Division around Webbtown to advance immediately and attack the Federals head-on to buy time for Rodes to approach on the Federal right. Wharton's men moved east across the Frankford Farm and soon connected with Gordon's left flank. The latter had extended his line from North Hill to the south edge of the Cool Spring Farm. In reserve and to his rear was Brigadier General John C. Vaughn's Cavalry Brigade. Wharton's Division extended along a series of weathered upland ridges (Figure 24) to just past the Cool Spring mansion, looking down on the Federal skirmishers (Meaney 1979:25).

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In less than an hour, the two forces were hotly engaged. Each side was supported by a growing numbers of guns. Lieutenant Jacob H. Lamb's C Battery, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery set up on the upland ridge, north of Retreat mansion and "directly behind and above the ford" used by the Federals (Meaney 1979:25) in their crossing of the Shenandoah (Figure 26). Confederate Major William McLoughlin's Artillery Battalion of three batteries came east down the Berryville Pike and turned north into Wharton's lines in search of good firing positions in an effort to help check the Federal advance. Concurrently, Confederate infantry burst out of the shelter of a woods-line and hit Wells' and Frost's men furiously. They were twice repulsed with difficulty. However, they had done their job, distracting Federal attention from the northern flank.

There, Rodes' Division advanced along a shallow valley formed by Rodes' Run from the vicinity of Wickcliffe Church. The terrain and brush concealed it from observation until the crucial moment. Rodes' men had been enjoying a pleasant, picnic-like atmosphere around the church until alerted and rushed into contact in what one Alabama officer thought was an incredibly short time (Park-1876-1877:268). Their attack would smash the weakest Federal unit on the field, Young's dismounted cavalymen. These unfortunate Union soldiers represented 17 different regiments. They were casuals and convalescents who had been waiting at Giesboro Depot, D.C., to draw new mounts and return to their units. The crisis of Early's raid caused them to be grouped into a provisional brigade on July 6. They were issued with unfamiliar weapons and moved to various defensive positions along the Potomac and at Harper's Ferry. After ten days of this, they were marched, in their cavalry boots, to Snickers Gap and ordered into the advance with Thoburn's force (Bevan).

After crossing the river unopposed, Young's cavalymen nervously went about setting up a skirmish line on the floodplain south of the Rodes' Run entrance into the Shenandoah; the sound of fighting increasing to the south. Unknown to them, Rodes' Division was staging only 600 yards to their west. Taking advantage of the low interior valley formed by a tributary of Rodes' Run between the north ends of the first and second upland ridges (Figure 27), which was screened by the wooded first ridge and the McCormick Farmstead placed on it, Rodes was able to organize his force for what would be a critical surprise attack.

Rodes' 45th North Carolina Infantry Regiment slipped down to the Shenandoah River, taking position near the point where Rodes' Run entered the river north of the Federal right flank in order to interdict forces crossing the ford across the lower Parker Island. The rest of Rodes' Division, having completed its alignment, advanced along Rodes' Run. The greater part of the force moved across the grove of oak trees around the McCormick Farmstead on the upland ridge to their east. As they moved into the open field to the front of the dismounted Federal cavalry, the Federal artillery in place on the upland ridges east of the Shenandoah (Figure 27) reacted with increased fire. Captain George W. Adams' G Battery, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery shifted south on the high ground east of the river opposite the fords and opened rapid fire. Two more batteries from the 1st West Virginia Artillery also came into action. On the Confederate side, Captains Thomas A. Bryan's and William M. Lowry's Batteries responded from positions on high

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ground northeast of the Cool Spring House. Captain George B. Chapman's Battery tried to emplace itself even closer to the infantry line (Meaney 1979:32).

The cavalymen and Rodes' troops spotted each other simultaneously. The men on both sides recognized that success or failure depended on securing a low stone wall that extended perpendicular to the river across the very irregular, weathered floodplain and terrace landscape of the north end of the battlefield (Figure 27). The first phase of their fight, thus, was a mutual dash for the wall which the Confederates won. Chaos quickly ensued amongst the confused Union cavalymen. Their skirmish line collapsed within 15 minutes and all the troopers rushed back to the protection of the stone wall and entrenched road along the river. Many of the men in their panic continued their retreat to the east bank of the Shenandoah (Bevan).

The collapse of the Union right flank prompted Colonel Thoburn to shift the 116th Ohio Infantry from the less endangered southern flank to plug the gap (Figures 27, 28). The Buckeyes rushed over to encounter Confederates advancing across the weathered terrace landscape "between the stone wall and the river" and against the desperately defending men of the 4th West Virginia Infantry. Charging into the fray, the 116th Ohio stopped the southern advance and built a barrier of stones and logs to block a repeat incident. A small force was sent to fire down the length of the low wall running perpendicular to the position which the Confederates held. Rodes' men were firing from behind it and endangering the whole Federal line. Having flanked Rodes' left, the wall was cleared after severe fighting.

A second Confederate try to dislodge the 4th West Virginia and 116th Ohio was repulsed and Rodes pulled his men back to their start line behind the upland ridge at the north end of the battlefield. This withdrawal coincided with increased artillery and small arms fire coming from the newly arrived Third Division, VI Corps, on the east bank of the Shenandoah River (Figure 28). The desperate defenders could see "long lines of the VI Corps drawn up on the mountain side and in the fields at its foot" (Wildes 1884:131).

These new troops were massed as a result of Wright's reaction to Thoburn's original report about the size of the Confederate force he had encountered. Crook wanted to pull Thoburn's Division back as soon as the information was received. But General Wright disagreed. Instead, he said he would commit Ricketts' Third Division, VI Corps, which had just arrived, to cross the river to join the fight. Ricketts had joined the two officers at their observation post on Big River Mountain. He and Crook rode down to the crossing point at Parkers (Island) Ford, soon to be followed by Wright and his staff. The fighting had gotten so intense by the time they reached the river bank that Ricketts felt intervention would be impossible. He refused to take his men across, saying Thoburn should do his best to get out of the situation. Crook protested, but Wright supported Ricketts and Thoburn was on his own (Schmitt 1946:122).

By this time, a second Confederate advance had resulted in their assuming control of the weathered terrace ridge line west of the Shenandoah (Figure 28). Thoburn's entire, embattled

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Federal force had been pressed back to the stone wall and entrenched road extending along the eastern face of the river bank. Some of the regiments on the Federal left had tried to change their front to use another perpendicular wall so as to better confront the threat from Rodes. But, this had exposed them to severe fire from Wharton's men who held the high ridge land to their west or left and they were ultimately forced back to the river in disarray. Surprisingly, while having lost all of the advantage of the high ground to their front, the Federals held a good defensive position (Figure 28; Photos 3, 4, 6). The stone wall and road cut made it very difficult for Confederate artillery to harm them. As constructed, the low stone wall was placed on the immediate edge of the floodplain. The River Road, in turn, had been cut into the river bank, in many areas creating a 20 ft. wide bench situated 10 ft.+ above the flow of the river and 6 to 15 ft. below the stone wall and the edge of the floodplain. In effect, the combination of the road and wall combined to provide an excellent defensive position behind which a large number of men could be stationed. Despite occupying the higher ground, the Confederates could not bring effective rifle fire on the barricaded Union line. Further, a charge against that line would have cost a huge loss of life and, because of Union artillery fire, may have failed anyway. Confederate artillery on the upland ridges west of the engagement could only interdict the fords. The Federal artillery on the upland ridges east of the river, on the other hand, could sweep the open areas across which the Confederates would have to attack. The Federal protective fire came so close to Thoburn's positions that it endangered his troops. It was sufficiently effective that after a third vigorous probe with heavy losses, Early called off any more offensives (Wildes 1884:131).

The Federals held their position behind the stone wall along the Shenandoah until twilight when they attempted to recross the river to safety. Chapman's Virginia Battery moved onto the upland ridge 200 yards east of the Cool Spring and opened fire on the retreating men. Federal artillery reaction to this was so violent and effective that Chapman had to redeploy to a safer spot (Walker 1885:287). Many Federal soldiers were lost in the crossing. Once over, they had to traverse "a large open field" swept by rifle and artillery fire before they were safe and could be dispersed to camps on the mountain slopes and interior valley behind the ridge line above the valley of the Shenandoah (Lynch 1915:101). As darkness arrived, the fighting settled down into small arms exchanges as large numbers of VI Corps men took position on the wooded edge of the east bank of the river and blazed away (Tyler 1912:246).

The 37th Massachusetts Infantry was one of a substantial number of Federal regiments which had been marching to the sound of the guns all afternoon and evening. It was part of Major General David A. Russell's First Division, VI Corps, which was the second corps unit to arrive in the Snickers Gap locale. It had left Leesburg early in the morning and marched steadily throughout the day. The division passed through Snickers Gap, descended the narrow road through Pigeon hollow towards Parkers' Ford and deployed along the eastern edge of the Shenandoah at about 6 P.M. The battle across the river was climaxing as the division troops began firing in support of Crook's men. A soldier from the 10th Vermont, 1st Brigade later recalled seeing several of Thoburn's men drowning as they tried to get across the river under cover of Union infantry and artillery fire. Ricketts' men were relieved by Russell's Division shortly

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after darkness. Ricketts' command moved back to open fields on the mountain slopes and interior valley behind the line of ridges manned by the Union artillery. Despite the relative security of the interior, mountain landscape, the division still suffered several hits from Confederate "overs" (Haynes 1870:98).

The rest of the 1st Division, VI Corps, entered Snickers Gap just as the firing along the river reached a crescendo. The 3d Brigade, in the lead, pressed down "a rough and unkempt" (Parker's Ford Road) road in the direction of the firing (Stevens 1870:384). Some thought was given to going over to help Thoburn, but it was obvious his force was pulling back and the brigade joined in providing covering fire for their withdrawing comrades. As the men came onto the floodplain east of Parker's Retreat, they were subjected to Confederate artillery fire. This was quickly suppressed by counter-battery fire from Batteries C and G, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery (Rhodes 1985:172), deployed on the line of ridges above the valley south of Retreat.

Once Thoburn's men had withdrawn, Lieutenant Colonel George L. Montague of the 37th Massachusetts took companies E and G from his regiment and units from the 2d Rhode Island to form a picket line along the river. The 37th Massachusetts had been issued Spencer repeating rifles before leaving Washington which they shared with the Rhode Islanders. The men estimated the Confederates were less than 40 yards away and their conversations could be overheard. The volume of Federal sniping increased greatly after their Confederate counterparts shot at some swimming fugitives. It continued throughout the next day as well, prompting one southerner to ask "what kind of shooting iron" the bluecoats were using (Bowen 1884:363; Rhodes 1985:172).

Elements of the VI and XIX Corps continued arriving throughout the evening and night of the 18th. As the soldiers of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, VI Corps, came through Snickers Gap they, too, could hear the sounds of the battle further west. The brigade remained uninvolved but instead was directed to a camp site in full view of the Confederate batteries on North Hill. A Federal battery was on a knoll between them. As soon as the command halted and began to stack arms it came under enemy fire which caused several casualties. The brigade shifted farther north where it was better protected by the height of Big River Mountain. Their Confederate tormentors were soon silenced by the adjacent Federal battery. Nevertheless, the brigade shifted a bit more eastward again before settling for the night (Haines 1883:229).

Major General Frank Wheaton's 2d Division, VI Corps, arrived even later. The command moved halfway down the west side of the Blue Ridge and encamped in the moonlight. Some friendly artillery still was firing from the high ground above Castleman's Ferry. The campsite was described by a Vermont officer as "a plateau half-way down the west side" (Walker 1869:41). When the men awoke on the 19th the daylight revealed a spectacular view of the Shenandoah Valley. Winchester was clearly visible. The intervening valley land was dotted with farms, fields of grain and small groves of trees. Parties of Confederates were seen moving about or harvesting the

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grain. The division would occupy its beautiful campsite until the evening of the 20th (Fiske 1983:243; Niebaum 1931:109; Stevens 1870:385).

XIX Corps elements reached the area even later. Still plagued by organizational problems, the force did not begin to reach Snickers Gap until 9 P.M., on the 18th, after 17 hours on the road. Although artillery fire could be heard in the distance, the men were so exhausted that they gratefully halted for the night on a "level plateau" adjacent to the "rocky and steep" road (Berryville Pike) descending the west side of the Blue Ridge. They noted a nearby house with some of the wounded from the recent battle (Gould 1871:466; Beecher 1866:383).

The Ohio militia guarding the improvised 19th Corps trains arrived even later. They established a camp just west of Snickers Gap and could see and hear gunfire in the valley below them. The army cattle were led into a corn field close to the bivouac and within an hour had devoured the entire crop. The next morning the men were treated to a view of the valley which seemed to them to be nothing but an expanse of grain fields. They guarded the trains at this location for two days with little idea of what was going on. Finally, at 9 P.M. on the 20th they were pulled in from their guard posts, issued more ammunition, and told to get the trains moving eastward on the double quick. Many of the men speculated that Wright's force had undergone some sort of defeat. Such is the fog of war. In reality, events over the two days following Thoburn's encounter persuaded General Wright to change his plans and redeploy to Washington with most of his force (Perkins 1911:25-26).

Wright continued to seek alternate crossing sites when confronted with the unanticipated resistance at Castleman's Ferry and Parker's Ford. Thoburn's grim experience at Cool Spring marked the failure of an infantry end-run. Even as that was transpiring, Duffié and his cavalry had completed its relief at Snickers Gap by about 1 P.M. on the 18th and headed south through Bloomfield to a bivouac at Upperville. The column reached Ashby's Gap by about 10 A.M. on July 19. Confederate vedettes were disposed of quickly and the 1st New York and 20th Pennsylvania Cavalry tried to charge across the river. They were repulsed by artillery and small arms fire after reaching the west bank and a stalemate ensued for most of the day. While this confrontation was going on, Captain William H. Chapman's Company C, 43d Virginia Battalion (Mosby's command) captured a large Federal vedette stationed at the crest of the gap. Despite this setback, the undaunted Duffié directed a second crossing attempt (Figure 20). At about 5 P.M. the 21st New York Cavalry made a gallant charge across the river and got amongst the defenders before it was repulsed after bitter fighting. Duffié estimated he was by then confronting "several infantry regiments and six guns." Accordingly, he called off any further tries, left a vedette from the 15th New York Cavalry along the river and pulled the rest of his command into a camp near Paris, east of the gap. The Federal cavalry hovered in the area throughout the 20th, then returned to Snickers Gap. It crossed the river there on July 21, and camped on its east side before proceeding to Winchester (Hale 1986:383; Williamson 1909:192,193; OR Vol.37,I:321).

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Federal probes at Ashby's Gap were not the only matters to concern General Early after the climax of the Cool Spring contact. The battlefield itself had to be policed. Well after dusk small groups of Thoburn's Federal command continued to infiltrate to the east bank of the Shenandoah River. The final large group consisted of men from the 170th Ohio which had failed to get the word to retreat. It was not until well after dark that the Confederates became aware of the complete union withdrawal. By 10 P.M. most of the Southern troops returned to their original camps but slept in line of battle. Those remaining collected the wounded for evacuation to a hospital three miles west. Burial of the dead began. Other men wandered the area hoping to learn of friends' fate or find something useful. The mortally wounded Colonel Frost of the 11th West Virginia was carried to a small log house one mile to the east on the Berryville Pike (Meaney 1979:40,41,42). Gold identifies this place as Middle Farm, an old Frost family home (Gold 1914:116). General Early and his staff surveyed the battlefield, after which he returned to his headquarters and directed it to shift to a point on the Winchester Pike 1.5 miles from Berryville (McDonald 1973:216; Park 1906:269).

While Imboden and McCausland were dealing with the situation at Ashby's Ferry, Early continued to be concerned about the activities of Hunter's and Wright's men to his east and north. He sent Jackson's cavalry westward to screen toward Martinsburg and ordered Ramseur to take his division to a point north of Winchester to secure that flank (Runge 1991:89). Rodes' Division remained in place between Cool Spring and Wickcliffe Church. Throughout the 19th some of his men helped with the wounded while others foraged (Hale 1986:82). The bulk of the division, however, remained in line of battle but had to shift its focus northward.

General David Hunter, at Harper's Ferry, recognized an opportunity in Early's Berryville deployment. Hunter knew that Crook and Wright were advancing toward Snickers Gap. Consequently, on July 18 he ordered Brigadier General William W. Averill to advance southward from Martinsburg and Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes to march from near Halltown to Keyes Gap. Hayes was to add to his brigade Colonel Isaac H. Duval's two regiments stationed there and then move up the Shenandoah River to Snickers' Ferry to assist Wright and Crook (Pond 1883:84). General Hunter did not explain to Hayes what he might expect nor how urgent his mission was. Consequently, when Hayes encountered stiff opposition and heard the fight at Cool Spring he became very cautious. He held his command at Kabletown and sent back to Hunter for instructions (Osborne 1992:301).

General Hunter responded with a full explanation and ordered Hayes forward post haste. Hayes then tried to advance southward early on the 19th (Figure 20, 29). However, the Federals at Snickers Gap were doing little. Consequently, Rodes' men were able to devote full attention to Hayes' small force. Heavy skirmishing endured for several hours. Hayes determined he was dealing with at least a Confederate division. Since no help seemed forthcoming, he delayed back to Kabletown and held there until the morning of July 20. That day, he shifted to Keyes Gap, then on July 21 to Charlestown where Hunter hoped he could assist Averill who was approaching

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Winchester (Williams 1965:213-215). This activity caused Early to prepare for a further withdrawal.

The Federal main body remained where it had come to rest on the west side of Snickers Gap. The view after the July 18 battle from many of the bivouacs continued to be breathtaking to the Federal soldiers. That night the river could be heard murmuring below while all around and in the distance campfires, friendly and enemy, twinkled in the moonlight (Pellet 1866:247). Occasional artillery exchanges added interest to the scene. Daylight on the 19th allowed the opposing forces to see each other, but action remained largely limited to artillery exchanges. These made life in the camps dangerous as "overs" occasionally fell on the resting infantry: In one instance an enemy round fell on the N.J. Brigade (1st Division, VI Corps) causing several fatalities although the bivouac was behind a hill and supposedly out of range (Lynch 1915:101).

Federal artillery observers could see the Confederates going over the battlefield at Cool Spring, burying the dead and fortifying the river bank. Other groups were hauling and threshing wheat. In the distance ambulance trains were noted and columns of dust in the direction of Winchester intimated that Early's force was executing some kind of redeployment. Fighting in the direction of Ashby's Gap and Kabletown, the latter especially heavy, was heard periodically (Lincoln 1879:334; Fiske 1983:243; Powell). Skirmishing along the river bank continued all day at variable levels (Storey 1907:112). By 10 A.M. enemy movement towards Kabletown could be detected by the dust columns, but Wright's command remained in place and enjoyed the rest and the blackberries.

A few units were involved in greater action. The 37th Massachusetts and 2d Rhode Island were responsible for the skirmishing along the river heard by their less involved colleagues. Both units used their new Spencers. At first they were inclined to live and let live. However, at daylight on the 19th, four wounded Federals tried to make a dash for safety from the west bank. As they crossed the river the Confederate pickets fired at them. This so upset the men of the 2d Rhode Island, who had fired little throughout the night, that their major, Elisha Rhodes, ordered the whole Union line to fire. The Confederates were surprised by the volume of fire and sustained several casualties. Throughout the day it was open season on any Confederate who showed himself. Later in the day, Major Rhodes had tea with a pro-Union family living nearby (Parker's Retreat?). The lady of the house brought water to his men despite the skirmishing. Her house was hit by fire several times, but was not seriously damaged (Rhodes 1985:172; Bowen 1884:363).

The 15th New Jersey, of the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, VI Corps, remained on the ready to support the skirmishers, but did not leave its camp. Finally at 4 P.M., the regiment was detailed by Brigadier General David A. Russell, their division commander, to accompany him on a reconnaissance to Shepherd's Ford (called Rock's Ferry by him). The regiment marched over a narrow track in the woods on the east bank of the Shenandoah. Confederate cavalry shadowed the force on the opposite bank. Once there at Shepherd's Ford, a few Jerseymen tried the ford while others kept the Confederate defenders at bay with rifle fire. The ford was not promising and

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the defenders were too numerous, so General Russell called off the probe and his tired column dragged back into camp at about 10 P.M. (Haines 1883:231).

Federal activity on his flanks at Kabletown and Ashby's Gap alerted General Early to the vulnerability of his position if the Federal efforts could be synchronized. Consequently, he directed a shift deeper into the Valley. Ramseur's Division completed its move northwest to protect against Federal probes from Martinsburg. On the afternoon of the 19th the Confederate trains began to wind their way to positions around Middletown and Newtown (Stephens City). This accounts for the increased movements detected by the Union troops watching from the Snickers Gap area. The wagons went by way of Millwood and White Post (Hale 1986:384; McDonald 1973:217).

Most of Early's combat forces remained in place throughout daylight of the 19th while the men continued to forage or police the battlefield. Rodes' Division left its position in the evening and marched through Berryville to the Old Stone Church. There, at about 2 A.M., the command halted to rest and cook rations before proceeding to Newtown, by way of White Post (Park 1876-1877:381). At about the same time, Early's headquarters shifted by way of Salem Church Road to Saratoga. After a rest there the column also proceeded through White Post to camp at Newtown (McDonald 1973:217). McCausland's cavalry served as guides for Gordon's and Wharton's Divisions, leading them out of their positions through Millwood to Cedarville. Forsberg's Brigade of Wharton's Division was the last to pull out. The brigade was guarding the Castleman's Ferry site and failed to get the order to withdraw until early on the morning of the 20th when Federal pickets were actually probing across the river. Darkness and a flurry of artillery fire allowed Forsberg to disengage safely (Forsberg Papers). By the 21st, the entire Confederate force had shifted to Cedar Creek and would be on Fishers Hill the next day (Evans 1987:485).

Early on the morning of the 20th the entire Federal force was alerted to prepare for a river crossing to ascertain the meaning of the Confederate activities noted or heard the 19th. The VI Corps was ordered to lead the advance, using the pickets already in place. Lieutenant Colonel Montague of the 37th Massachusetts selected a spot where the river was divided by an island (upper Parkers Island) whose west side was "heavily fringed with bushes." The crossing was being observed by General Wright and many of his senior officers, so the men were giving it their best. When the order was given to go at about 10 A.M. the men of the 37th Massachusetts and 2d Rhode Island dashed across. Some of them were surprised to be on an island rather than the opposite bank. Part of the 37th Massachusetts was posted on the island to support the remainder of the force which splashed to the true west side. There, the men were relieved to encounter no opposition as they rushed up a little bluff and formed a skirmish line. They advanced unopposed across the old Cool Spring battlefield. They found some Federal wounded in a nearby farm house (McCormick's) and a quantity of livestock, including some horses. The 2d Rhode Island liberated some chickens for lunch (Bowen 1884:363; Rhodes 1985:173; Tyler 1912:246). Other elements of the VI Corps crossed at Castleman's Ferry and joined their advanced element for a slow approach march punctuated frequently by thunderstorms in the direction of Berryville. After going

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about three miles, they halted in battle order for the rest of the day (Haynes 1870:99; Haines 1883:232; Bowen 1884:364).

General Crook's VIII Corps followed the VI Corps over, using the site at Castleman's Ferry. The corps then marched down the west bank of the Shenandoah to the old Cool Spring battle area. The various units found what shelter they could in the groves and woodlots, set up camp and spent the rest of the day reburying the dead. The Confederates had done a cursory job at best and the outraged Federals were determined to do a better job. The men noted large numbers of Confederate graves, including 22 from a single North Carolina unit. The wounded found in the house were taken under the care of VIII Corps surgeons and evacuated. Distant firing could be heard in the direction of Winchester marking Averill's success over Ramseur at Rutherford's Farm. The VIII Corps remained in the area throughout the 20th and most of the 21st. Its last unit would leave the area for Winchester at 6 A.M. on the 22d (Lincoln 1879:335; Powell; 170th Ohio; Walker 1885:288; Lynch 1915:102; Keyes 1874:81; Storey 1907:112).

A part of the XIX Corps crossed at Ware's Mill at Wheat Spring Branch north of Castleman's Ferry (Figure 2), below Riverside Plantation, while its trains remained in camp in Snickers Gap. The men waded the river and paused briefly to get organized near "some old stone mills" (Ware's mills). They then marched to Webbtown where they sheltered in the woods there and used some lean-tos left by the Confederates to protect themselves from the heavy rain and lightning. The deluge turned the already rough Berryville Pike into a quagmire (Hewitt 1892:160; Gould 1871:468; Beecher 1866:384).

Wright briefly contemplated pursuing Early in coordination with Hunter's forces pressing from the north. But, he reasoned, he had carried out his mission and should return his men as quickly as possible to Grant's command around Richmond-Petersburg. He presumed Early was headed there as well. Consequently, he judged Crook's battle-weary force to be sufficient to secure the lower valley. As darkness set in, he ordered the VI and VIII Corps to reverse direction and begin a speed-march back to Washington (Pond 1883:84). The march began about 8 P.M. and by midnight most of the forces were on the road east. The move was so precipitous that many of the men feared something had gone wrong. The march back up Snickers Gap was especially painful. In the darkness the infantry often was squeezed off the road by the wagons and artillery. "The road was a series of loose, rough rocks for weeks at a time in the rainy season the bed of a mountain torrent." Many of the animals, shoeless, also suffered (Walker 1869:42; Stevens 1870:385). The exhausted men finally were allowed to rest on reaching Goose Creek in Loudoun County on the evening of the 21st. The command had all closed into the District of Columbia by July 23; the day before General Early defeated General Crook at the Second Battle of Kernstown and a new phase of the Valley's military history began.

Aftermath Crook's defeat and the subsequent sacking of Chambersburg and Martinsburg were the final straw for Grant. He returned the VI and XIX Corps to the valley. Then on

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August 5, he created the Middle Military Division, a new entity, combining all the Federal forces in the area. He placed it under the command of one of his most trusted subordinates, Major General Philip H. Sheridan. Grant told Sheridan to lock onto Early and to destroy him with no further embarrassments. Sheridan also was to terminate Confederate exploitation of the Valley's resources, destroying what assets he could not carry away. The opposing forces maneuvered warily across Jefferson, Clarke, Warren and Frederick Counties for nearly a month. Then, Early made a mistake, spreading his elements too far apart, and Sheridan battered him at 3d Winchester on September 19, then again at Fisher's Hill on September 22. Sheridan's men finally went into camp along Cedar Creek between Middletown and Strasburg on 11, October. To their great surprise, on October 19 the irrepressible Early attacked. The skillful Confederate attack nearly overwhelmed Sheridan's Federals. However, "Little Phil" rallied his men, counterattacked, and turned the day into a disaster for Early. The shattered Southerners retreated to New Market. Following a series of skirmishes during the winter of 1864, on March 2, 1865, on a cold wintry afternoon, at Waynesboro, the cavalry division of General George Armstrong Custer demolished the last sizeable Confederate force in the Valley. Subsequently, Sheridan went on with his force to participate in the Appomattox Campaign.

RECENT HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

Following the Civil War the social and economic setting of the project area underwent significant change. The mountain and valley agricultural patterns changed, with the large valley plantations being reduced in size and changing patterns of ownership by the end of the 19th century. Wheat agriculture was replaced with a more diversified agriculture, corn becoming increasingly more important. Livestock raising remained important and in some areas upland fields were converted to orchards in the early 20th century. Mountain fields were in many case were turned over to pioneer stand vegetation and then forest, certain of what had been open fields recently undergoing their second timber cutting. While remaining an important transit point, the commercial/residential/and industrial communities at Castleman's Ferry and along Wheat Spring Run were no longer active by the onset of the 20th century.

By the late 19th century people became increasingly more attracted to the area for recreational purposes. At the turn of the 20th century, on the ridge west of Snickers Gap, Elsea Spring was developed as a hotel for Washingtonians who came to Bluemont by train. In addition numerous houses were built along the Berryville Pike greatly expanding the community of what is currently Pine Grove.

Building on recreational interests and, more recently, to meet housing needs of people working in Northern Virginia, the upland ridges east of the Shenandoah have been developed as the residential complex known as Shenandoah Retreat. Efforts to develop a community golf course, Golfinks, have been undertaken along the bottomlands that had once been controlled by Judge Parkers plantation, Retreat. While residential development is particularly active east of the

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Shenandoah River, family residences are beginning to appear in significant numbers along the Berryville Turnpike west of the proposed battlefield district (Figure 1) as well.

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Clarke County, Virginia**

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

UTM References (continued)

- 5) 17 253910 4333210
- 6) 17 254100 4334180
- 7) 17 252810 4334620
- 8) 17 253500 4336590

Verbal Boundary Description

Beginning at a Point A on Route 608 located .25 miles south of the intersection of Route 608 and the West Virginia line, the boundary follows a line .4 mile eastward to Point B on the West Virginia line. From Point B the boundary follows a line 2.4 miles southeast along the West Virginia line to Point C. The boundary then follows a line due south about .4 mile to the watercourse in Raven Rocks Hollow at Point D. From Point D the eastern boundary follows the sharp walled, deeply entrenched bluffs above the easternbank of the Shenandoah River for several miles along a converging array of ravines to Point E, which is located on Route 643 at the intersection of an unnamed development road located approximately .15 mile southwest of BM 630. From Point E the boundary runs along the north bank of an unnamed watercourse in an eastwardly direction about 1.1 miles to a ravine at Point F. From Point F, the boundary follows a slight meandering path south of Route 601 and thence to Point G on the Clarke/Loudoun County line, a total distance of .5 mile. From Point G, the boundary meanders in a generally westward direction for a distance of about 1.7 miles above the north side of Route 7, thus excluding modern intrusions to the south of this line, to Point H, which is located on a ridge just north of Route 679. From Point H, the boundary follows a meadering line to the west for .5 mile to Point I on the north side of Route 7. From Point I the boundary follows the north side of Route 7 west for .7 mile to Point J at the intersection of Route 7 and Route 606. From Point J the boundary follows a line heading southwest .5 mile to Point K on the side of a bluff. From Point K the boundary follows a line northwest .7 mile to point L. From Point L, the boundary follows a straight line approximately .4 mile northeast to Point M at a ravine. From Point M, the boundary follows the contour of the ravine north about .3 mile to Point N, on the north side of Route 7. From Point N the boundary meanders northward along an unimproved road about 1.1 miles to Point O, located on a sharp westward turn of said road. From Point O the boundary follows a line north approximately .65 mile to Point P, which is located on Route 603 at a fence line. From Point P, the boundary follows the fence line and private road approximately 1 mile north to the intersection of the private road and Route 608 at Point Q. From Point Q, the boundary follows Route 608 as it meanders north about .35 miles to the beginning at Point A.

Boundary Justification

The district includes that terrain directly tied to the attempt of the Federal cavalry to cross the Shenandoah River on July 17, and the infantry engagement on July 18, 1864 (Figure 1). As proposed, the Cool Spring Battlefield will include roughly 80% of this core area. In addition, significant segments of the contributing or support landscape which included zones of Union and Confederate encampment east and west of the Shenandoah River and north of Snickers' Ford are included.

East of the Shenandoah River, north and south of the modern Berryville Turnpike, certain support and core areas of the defined battlefield are excluded from the nomination. The removal of these sectors is attributed to extensive post-war, residential development. Excluded areas include the greater portion of the community of Pine Grove. While houses and archaeological sites dating to the Cool Spring Battle are believed to lie within this area, the intensity of post-war development has compromised the integrity of these features and justify their exclusion from the district. More modern, post-1950s development has taken place south of the Berryville Pike on the ridges above Joe Bell Hollow and

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CONTINUATION SHEET

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**Cool Spring Battlefield
Clarke County, Virginia**

along the Snickers' Ford Road. These areas played an important role in the movement of Union troops towards Snickers' Ford, and included shielded settings used by the Federals during their encampment on July 18, 19, and 20 of 1864. The most serious deletion, justified by recent residential development, is that of the mountain ridges north of Pigeon Hollow, east of Retreat Plantation and above the Valley of the Shenandoah. These areas played a key role in the deployment of Union artillery on July 18 in support of Colonel Joseph Thoburn's advance across the Shenandoah. The exclusion of these lands from the district does not compromise the core of the battlefield, 80% of which is included in the nominated area.

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Cool Spring Battlefield
Clarke County, Virginia

List of Photographs

Cool Spring Battlefield
Berryville vicinity, Clarke County, Virginia

Note: Unless otherwise indicated all photos were taken by 1995 field project staff and are on file in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia, 22807. Unless otherwise noted all photos were taken between January and March of 1995. 35mm negatives for black and white prints of architectural and landscape resources are on file (#14165) at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

1 of 35. Black and White aerial photograph of battlefield setting. View is to the east and includes flow of the Shenandoah River. The valley wall below Snickers Gap extends above the River. The July 18, 1864 infantry engagement took place within the rectangular area below the river. Photo taken by Bonnie Jacobs of Berryville, Va. in Spring, 1995.

2 of 35. Black and White aerial photograph of the setting of the July 18, 1864 infantry engagement, Battle of Cool Spring. View is to the southeast. The mansion of Retreat Plantation lies at the apex of the converging ravines in the upper right of the photo above the river. Colonel Joseph Thoburn's Federals staged in the area along the narrow bottomlands in that area. The infantry engagement took place in the long rectangular field below the river and to its right. The McCormick Farmstead (44CK49) lies in the grove of trees at the lower right side of the field. Non-contributing sites include the modern retreat center of the Holy Cross Monastery (F-19) center right, and Westwood Farm (F-18) located center bottom. Date uncertain. Collection of Brother James Sommers, Holy Cross Monastery, Berryville, Virginia.

3 of 35. Black and White photograph of a view to the north along the bank of the Shenandoah River in the vicinity of the infantry engagement of July 18, 1864. Woodline conforms to placement of the low stone fence to west of the River Road. Observe how the combination of the fence line and past flooding have combined to create a levee. View also illustrates the narrow character of the floodplain west of the fence line.

4 of 35. Black and white photograph with a view to the north. Photograph is of an exposed section of the surface of the low stone fence line at the edge of the floodplain west of the Shenandoah River and west of the River Road. The slopes to the River Road lie left of the stone wall with a view of the Shenandoah River being in the upper left.

5 of 35. Black and white photograph with a view to the north from the west bank of the Shenandoah at a point just north of its junction with Cool Spring. Photo is of the landforms in the southeast section of the infantry engagement area of the Battle of Cool Spring. The non-contributing, modern, retreat center (F-19) for Holy Cross Monastery is center in the picture.

6 of 35. Black and white photograph with a view to the north along the west bank of the Shenandoah west of the lower Parker's Island. View is of a preserved section of the River Road showing wooded slopes which ascend to the low stone fence that bounds it.

7 of 35. Black and white photograph with a view to the east and the Shenandoah River. View taken from the edge of the floodplain and shows the lower or Parkers Ford exit point on the west bank of the river.

8 of 35. Black and white photograph of south face or entrance to Cool Spring Mansion (21-191; 44CK66). View is to the north.

9 of 35. Black and white photograph of Parker's Ford to the west of Retreat.

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CONTINUATION SHEET

Section Photo Page 67

Cool Spring Battlefield
Clarke County, Virginia

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- 10 of 35. View of Judge Richard Parker's "Retreat" Plantation (21-195) constructed ca. 1799.
- 11 of 35. Black and white photo of a view to the west towards the entrance facade or east face of Waterloo (21-418).
- 12 of 35. Black and white photo of a view to the north showing the east front and south end of White Haven (21-90; 44CK58).
- 13 of 35. Black and white photo of the brick house (21-377; 44CK62) near the tannery on slopes south of Wheat Spring Branch. View is to the north towards the front of the building along the old Ware's Mill Road.
- 14 of 35. Black and white photo of a view to the southwest towards the east face of Riverside Plantation (21-65).
- 15 of 35. Black and white photograph of a view to the north of the Richard Smith Farmstead (F-1). Note contributing standing stone farm building in the foreground and modern, non-contributing dwelling to the rear.
- 16 of 35. Black and white photograph of non-contributing, modern dwellings at 4 Bar J Ranch (F-2) constructed across the site of an earlier, probably contributing, 19th-century farmstead. View is to the north.
- 17 of 35. Black and white photograph of 19th-century log outbuilding at F-2. Modern dwelling to rear and a neighbor to the north (see photo 35) are constructed across the remains of the early farmstead.
- 18 of 35. Black and white photograph of view north to the front of south side of 21-348, a modernized and renovated mid 19th-century contributing farmstead. The structure is a log cabin covered with modern siding.
- 19 of 35. Black and white photograph of view west to small, mid 19th-century smokehouse or outbuilding associated with contributing farmstead 21-348.
- 20 of 35. Historical, black and white photograph of Castleman's Ferry. Photo late 19th-, early 20th- century. View is to the east. Note dwelling on opposite side of river in right center of photograph. The building is no longer standing. Photo courtesy of U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, PA.
- 21 of 35. Historical, black and white photograph of Bell house (21-379). Courtesy Mrs. Nancy Duke.
- 22 of 35. Black and white photograph of renovated and modernized Bell House (21-379).
- 23 of 35. Black and white photograph of Elsea Spring (21-930) west of Snickers Gap and north of Berryville Turnpike. Character of structure and associated outbuildings suggest that the site may have been contemporary to the Cool Spring Battle. View is to the northeast.
- 24 of 35. Black and white photograph of a view to the east of a framed over log dwelling that is part of Elsea Spring west of Snickers Gap and north of the Berryville Turnpike (21-930). Structure and associated farmstead may have been contemporary to the Battle of Cool Spring.
- 25 of 35. Historical photograph of the Berryville Turnpike at Snickers Gap in the late 19th-century or early 20th-century. Photo courtesy of the U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, PA.
- 26 of 35. Historical photograph of the Snickers Gap locale during the late 19th- or early 20th- centuries. Photo courtesy of the U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, PA.
- 27 of 35. Historical photograph of inn or store in Snickers Gap area during the late 19th- or early 20th- centuries. Architectural assessment indicates that the structure would have been contemporary to the Battle of Cool Spring. The

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Cool Spring Battlefield
Clarke County, Virginia

location of the site is uncertain except that it stood along the Berryville Pike. Local informants indicate that the probable foundation for the structure, which stood north of Pine Grove near the Gap, was destroyed when the modern 4-lane Turnpike was constructed.

Photo courtesy of the U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, PA.

28 of 35. Black and white photograph of a view west to the front of Westwood Farm and retreat house (F-18) at the Holy Cross Monastery. The site is a non-contributing resource.

29 of 35. Black and white photograph of extant building called the Castelman's Ferry House (21-420). Currently in place north of the modern, Route 7 bridge crossing of the Shenandoah River.

30 of 35. Black and white photograph of a view to the north of the Cassidy farmstead (21-366), a late 19th-century non-contributing resource.

31 of 35. Black and white photograph of a view to the east of the front of the Smalley home, Caryswood, (21-371) constructed post-1920. The site is a non-contributing resource.

32 of 35. Black and white photograph of a view to the north of the front of the Dorothy Gordon home (F-41). The site is a non-contributing resource constructed in the 1930s.

33 of 35. Black and white photograph of a view to the south of the front of the Horseshoe Curve Restaurant (F-34) north of Pine Grove on the old Berryville Turnpike. The site is a non-contributing resource.

34 of 35. Black and white photograph of first and easternmost log cabin constructed by George Bell in the horseshoe curve of the old turnpike in the 1930s. View is to the east. The structure is a non-contributing resource.

35 of 35. Black and white photograph of a second and westernmost log cabin constructed by George Bell in the 1930s. View is to the south. The structure is a non-contributing resource.

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Cool Spring Battlefield
..... Name of Property
Clarke County, VA
..... County and State
N/A
..... Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number Additional Documentation Page 1

Prepared by:

Approved: 10/20/2014

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 date: August 28, 2014

Additional Documentation, August 2014

The Cool Spring Battlefield was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on June 6, 1997. Recent research and field investigations have provided evidence that one property, the Castleman Ferry House located at 170 Castleman Road, erroneously was counted as a contributing resource within the historic district. This additional documentation has been prepared to update the historic district nomination’s Section 5 (Number of Resources), Section 7 (Inventory), and Section 9 (Bibliography).

Section 5

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

(Modify)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>16</u>	<u>105</u>	buildings
<u>25</u>	<u>26</u>	sites
<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	structures
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	objects
<u>52</u>	<u>143</u>	Total

Section 7

In section 7, page 15, of the historic district nomination, the Castleman Ferry House is listed under the heading (4b) 21-420; Castleman Ferry House (Figures 2, 9, 15; Map III). It was recorded as having one contributing building and one contributing site. The dwelling’s description states, “The construction date of the extant structure is uncertain, but may, according to the 1988 survey, date to the mid-19th century, with substantial later additions and alterations, ca. 1930-50 and 1970.” The referenced 1988 survey appears to have been misinterpreted by the nomination’s authors. In 2009, a cultural resources survey was undertaken that included the Castleman Ferry House. In the report, the dwelling was classified as having been constructed ca. 1880. A physical inspection of the house took place in late January 2012 (Dalton 2014). The consultant who completed the inspection described the building as follows:

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Continuation Sheet

Cool Spring Battlefield
----- Name of Property
Clarke County, VA
----- County and State
N/A
----- Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number Additional Documentation Page 2

The one-story, four-bay, vernacular frame building has a gable-end orientation to the Shenandoah River on its east side. Currently abandoned, the building is in fair to poor condition. The exterior walls are covered in painted German-lap siding, some of which is so deteriorated that it no longer covers part of the wall. The stone and brick foundation has been parged on the exterior with concrete. The gable-end, standing-seam metal roof contains two interior-end brick flues with corbelled caps and exposed flue pipes. Overhanging eaves sheltered exposed rafter ends. The wood windows have been covered with plyboard, but six-over-six double-hung sash, many of which are missing or in deteriorated condition, are evident on the interior. Shed-roofed lean-tos run the full length of the building on both its north and south sides and are covered in German-lap siding with standing-seam metal shed roofs. The lean-tos originally had openings but they have been enclosed with plyboard. Louvered attic vents are found on the east and west ends with interior brick flues located behind them. The entrance into the building is on the east end facing the Shenandoah River and is fronted by a modern wooden deck that is supported by modern pressure-treated wooden posts and has two-broad horizontal wood railing. Beneath the desk is the entrance into the full basement, which is flanked by low stone retainins walls. Another more elaborate stone terrace is found along the south side of the building suggesting there was once an opening out of the lean-to on this side... The form of the frame building, including its long rectangular shape, overhanging eaves with exposed rafter ends, and two small interior-end brick flues are all characteristics of late-19th or early-20th century buildings. The materials of hard brick in the flues, the German-lap wood siding, and the standing-seam metal, are also consisted with turn-of-the-twentieth-century construction... The property was once part of the Osborne-Mooreland-Wiley House that, according to Clarke County Historical Association records, burned ca. 1970. A 1906 postcard of the Castleman’s Ferry bridge crossing shows the former house and a two-story frame building with a side-gabled roof parallel to the river. It does not show the present building... A 1930s postcard shows the present building (Kalbian 2014).

Likewise, the archaeological site associated with this property was misinterpreted by the nomination authors. In Section 17, page 15 of the nomination, the site is described as the remains of an earlier limestone foundation of uncertain function and age. Along the Shenandoah River, east of the structure, the terraced remains of the old River Road are still evident. Several structures are shown at this location on an existing 1832 map (Figure 9), including three structures along the banks of the river. Similarly the 1864 Civil War map of the community (Figure 23) shows at least two and possibly three buildings near the river bank. The 2009 cultural resources survey found that the potential archaeological resources had been disturbed by realignment of a nearby road and construction of the Shenandoah River Bridge, and that the cultural deposits that were identified did not demonstrate an association with the battlefield (Dalton 2014).

The dwelling, therefore, postdates the historic district’s period of significance and is non-contributing to the district. The archaeological site lacks integrity and, furthermore, its deposits do not indicate an association with the Civil War battle for which the historic district is significant; thus the site also is non-contributing.

Section 9

Dalton, Keith R., Berryville Town Manager, to Lena S. McDonald, 7 August 2014, correspondence on file at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia.

Kalbjan, Maral, to Keith Dalton, 31 July 2014, correspondence on file at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia.