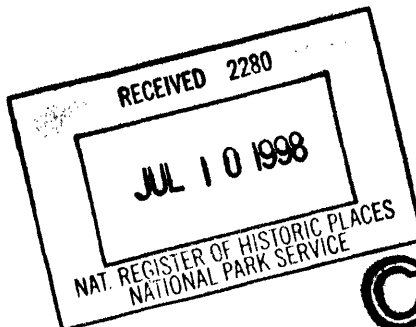


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National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form



OMB No. 10024-0018

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This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

☒ New Submission ☐ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Caught In The Middle: The Civil War on the Lower Ohio River

B. Associated Historical Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Illinois State and Local Politics During the Civil War, 1861-65

Kentucky State and Local Politics During the Civil War, 1861-65

Illinois Goes To War; Recruiting, Organizing and Mobilizing, 1861-65

Kentucky Goes To War; Recruiting, Organizing and Mobilizing, 1861-65

Federal and Confederate Military Operations On and Along the Lower Ohio River,
The War on the River, 1861-65

Federal and Confederate Military Operations On and Along the Lower Ohio River,
The War on the Land, 1861-65

Commercial Trade and River Transportation On and Along the Lower Ohio River,
1861-65

C. Form Prepared By

Name/Title James E. Jacobsen

Organization History Pays!

Street & Number 4215 Northwest Drive

City or Town Des Moines State Iowa

Date April 4, 1998

Telephone (515) 274-3625

Zip Code 50310

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation (See continuation sheet for additional comments).

Signature and title of certifying official

Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Edson H. Beall
Signature of the Keeper

8-6-98
Date of Action

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

William C. Chel / SHA

Signature and title of certifying official

6.25.98

Date

Illinois Historic Preservation Agency

State or Federal agency and bureau

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Caught In The Middle: The Civil War On The Lower Ohio River

General Contextual Introduction. The American Civil War, 1861-1865.

The 32 states which comprised the United States as of 1860 went to war against each other in response to a range of simmering regional political and economic issues. Eleven contiguous Southern states seceded from the United States between late 1860 and June 1862. Central to the inter-regional disagreement was the Southern determination that its southern agricultural economy and its slave labor system were threatened by territorial restriction and a waning Southern political dominance in the national government. The resulting war, waged on what is now termed a "total war" scale, was and remains unprecedented in the American historical experience. The Civil War was the country's bloodiest war in terms of lives and property loss. The war was a transforming experience for the country in that it redefined and greatly delimited the rights of individual states, strengthened the powers and prerogatives of the national government, and vanquished or at least redefined the Southern culture and way of life. The South was economically devastated for generations due to the total destruction of its regional infrastructure, the loss of state credit, and the disruption of the Southern agricultural economy. The black American was enfranchised at least in theory, initiating a struggle for political and economic opportunity that remains unresolved to this day.

The war empowered the emerging Midwestern and Western states even as it disempowered the vanquished Southern ones. The old established power centers of New England and the mid-Atlantic were forced to recognize that the newly formed states to the west had now fully come of age, with differing political and economic perspectives on trade, the national economy and regional interests. The Republican Political Party also came of age as a result of the war electing its first president. As a result of the central role played by the party and its martyred leader Abraham Lincoln, the party dominated national politics into the next Century. Soldier politicians, veterans of Federal war service, led the party and the nation.

The Civil War, as a total war experience, marshaled the industrial assets of both sides. Technological, industrial and transportation assets played a central and decisive role throughout the struggle on both sides. On the Federal side the national industrial mobilization was fueled by a skyrocketing national debt and the issuance of unlimited "greenback" paper dollars. The national industrial war production set the stage for the country's next historical period, the American Industrial Age. A true national economy was forged in the years following the war.

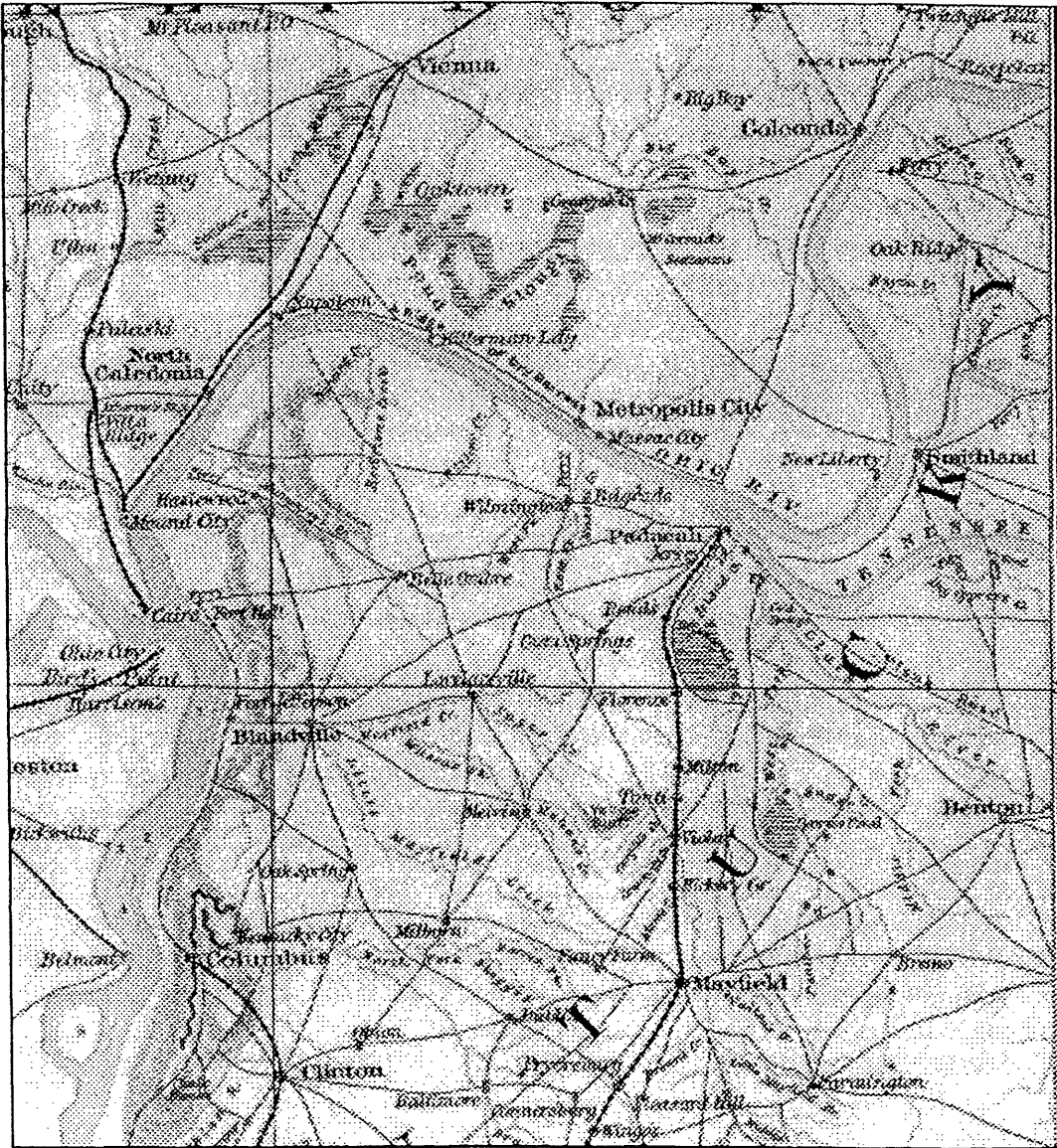
The Civil War was a transforming experience on the individual level because it left no community or individual American unaffected. Active military campaigning directly impacted vast regions of the Southern and Border States and a few isolated areas in the North. The war left 620,000 dead, affecting nearly every American family. To these human losses must be added the financial losses and expenditures of families, communities, and states. On a still deeper level, a fratricidal civil war, which this one was, caused profound damage to national unity and the national psyche.

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Western Half of the Project Survey Area, Cairo to Rosiclaire
(The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War, Plate CLIII)

Regional and local political and social factors determined how individuals and communities responded to the war. Americans were far too complex and varied in their religious, political, institutional and regional affiliations to be divided nicely into two well-defined opposing camps. Many sought a middle ground that was not allowed for by either side. Many, who took an initial stand, found that the issues of the war were constantly being redefined so that

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once solid stances weakened. A great many wished to take no stand at all. The war refused to let civilians be. An irregular warfare developed throughout Western Kentucky as regular military operations moved southward into Tennessee. Historian James Martin offers three irregular sub-groups, the partisan, the war-rebel and the outlaw.

The first two groups considered themselves to be regular or legitimate soldiers. Partisans wore uniforms and functioned in larger organized groups. War-rebels were mostly former regular soldiers who operated in small squads in their home areas. Outlaws followed no rules and made little pretension of being real soldiers. They were opportunistic and their loyalties shifted as need be. While the majority of partisans and war-rebels were pro-Confederate and provided indirect support to that cause, there were also pro-Federal organizations and all parties were bedeviled by these groups. The generic term "guerrilla" was attributed to all of the pro-Southern irregulars by the Federal commanders and they were not treated as regular soldiers in most cases. The irregular war became more complex when regular Confederate cavalry entered an area and operated in concert with these other groups. This mode of warfare rarely sought or achieved any strategic accomplishments aside from recruiting or conscripting for the Confederate army, gathering horses, forage and provisions. The less-regular bands focused mostly upon harassment, plunder, and civil disruption. This irregular warfare spread across vast reaches of the country. It directly involved many more Americans on a daily basis than did the regular military operations. In its most minimal form, irregular warfare degenerated to opportunistic banditry. A postwar legacy of continuing civil unrest marked those areas where irregular warfare had its strongest presence (Martin, pp. 352-75).

Federal strategists fundamentally underestimated the depth and degree to which pro-Southern Kentuckians opposed military occupation and reconciliation in any form once their communities were occupied by Federal forces. It was assumed that the popular will to resist would collapse with the seizure of the Ohio River tributaries, the Tennessee and the Cumberland, and the occupation of key strongpoints and regions. The war simply transformed itself into a continual low level irregular war and the citizenry tended to support the irregulars. Federal garrison commanders were increasingly frustrated when Western Kentucky residents evidenced less than complete patriotic zeal for the Federal war effort. Increasingly Federal trade and military policies sought to reward those citizens who proved their loyalty through action, and punished and penalized those who would not comply. Military interference in local governments, elections, and business increased as covert and overt civilian resistance grew. Many citizens unsuccessfully sought a neutral middle ground politically but both the Federal and Confederate forces did their best to deny such a sanctity. Young men were challenged to join one side or the other but there was no option to make neither choice. Foragers (soldiers seizing food, horses essentially by force without payment) from one side targeted those who either supported the opposing side or those who claimed neutrality. In fact, resistance in the form of irregular warfare actually increased and initial Federal efforts to be conciliatory were replaced by policies of repression. The ensuing cycle was inevitable, civilian resistance brought military repression and reprisal. Increased reprisals alienated friends and neutrals alike. Increased disaffection fed more aggressive irregular military operations. Beginning in early 1864 public indignation over Federal conscription and black recruitment coincided with the arrival of regular Confederate cavalry in Western Kentucky and the irregular war reached its zenith. In the

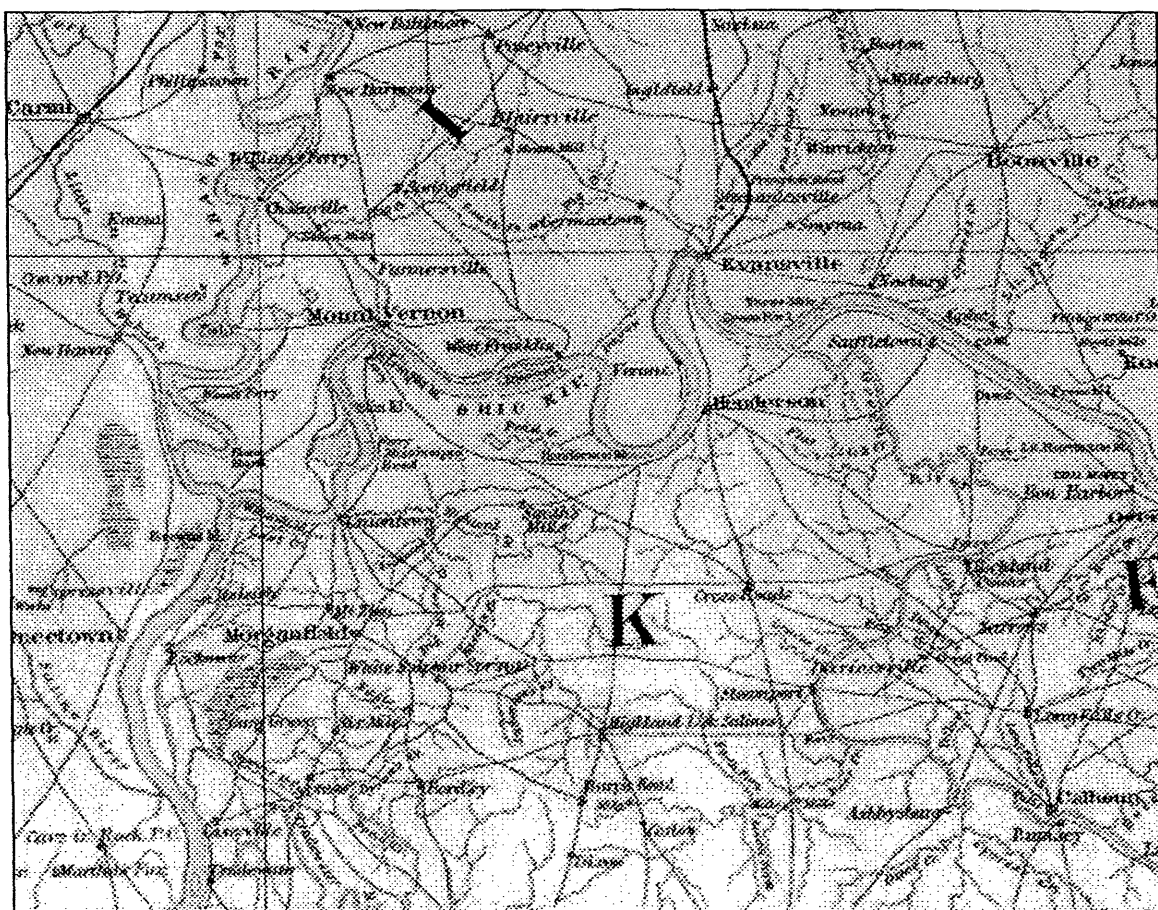
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North feelings of war weariness and growing opposition to conscription fed similar growing popular disaffection. Reports of mass conspiracies to disrupt the Federal war effort worried Federal commanders and political leaders.



Eastern Half of the Project Survey Area, Cave-in-Rock to the Mouth of the Green River
(The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War, Plate CLIX)

The war pitted 22 Northern States with a 22 million population, which retained the United States governmental standard, against 11 seceded states with 9 million population (including 3.5 million black slaves), styled the Confederate States of America. The war effort was quickly organized along four key military fronts, in Virginia, east of the Mississippi River, west of the same river, and along the Gulf and Atlantic Coasts. Each of these fronts was an area where the contending sides massed their military might and sought to capture particular key objectives. Initially the Confederate stance on each of these fronts was strategically defensive. The Federal stance was aggressive given the Government's stated objective of forcing the seceded states back into the Federal Union. East of the Appalachian Mountains, the land war focused on symbolically seizing the Confederate capital city,

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Richmond, Virginia. Between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River Valley, the winning federal strategy was that of reopening the Mississippi River, thus splitting the westernmost of the seceding states from their government. Reopening the river restored a vital commercial export route for the Midwestern states. The region west of the Mississippi was the lesser extension of this Western Front and the Mississippi River also dominated the plans and operations of the opposing forces there. The final Federal front was a coastal one, with Atlantic- and Gulf-based efforts to blockade Southern imports and exports and to begin penetrating the Mississippi River from below New Orleans.

The Civil War on the Lower Ohio River; An Overview.

Geography controlled the Western military operations from the start. Two principal rivers, the Mississippi River and its greatest tributary, the Ohio River, merged at Cairo, Illinois. A river highway through the south, it carried the majority of Western trade south to New Orleans for export. Two Ohio River tributaries, the Tennessee River and the Cumberland River, flowed, respectively, in great clockwise arcs through the Upper South before turning north and emptying into the Ohio. These rivers carried regional products up and downriver for export. These rivers were also highways of Federal invasion into the Upper South. The control of the three points of confluence, at Smithland (the Cumberland and the Ohio), Paducah (the Tennessee and the Ohio) and Cairo was a strategic military advantage. The side that controlled Cairo had a death's grip on the trade of all of these rivers. Control of the river brought access to a critical river supply asset, vital to moving and supplying large armies.

Federal military strategists decided from the start to reopen the Mississippi River and thereby split the Confederate States. Cairo and the Lower Ohio River was the natural beginning point in that campaign. Kentucky formed the southern bank of the Ohio River and both sides anxiously waited for that state to make her move, either to secede or to proclaim her loyalty to the old government. Kentucky attempted to remain neutral, being in the Union but a non-participant in the Federal war effort. Her neutrality effort only collapsed in early September 1861 when Confederate forces occupied Columbus and entered eastern Kentucky, and Kentuckians were committed to war. Kentucky's situation meant that there would be no active military operations within her borders for the first six months of the war, so a sort of "phony war" ensued as Confederate forces in Tennessee and Federal forces north of the Ohio mobilized.

Federal forces occupied Smithland and Paducah and other key points along the Ohio River as soon as Confederate forces made their move into the state. In the end, it was the Tennessee River, which provided the initial "highway" of Federal invasion into the Upper South. The capture of Forts Donelson and Henry in February 1862, which guarded the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, forced the collapse of the Confederate positions in Southern, Eastern and Western Kentucky and resulted in the abandonment of most of the Upper South, including industrialized Nashville. The Upper South, Kentucky and Tennessee, with its large population, industrial capacity

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and mineral deposits, grain and animal production, was quickly secured. The loss of these vital resources finally contributed to Confederate defeat four years later.

The Federal armies in the Western Theater quickly seized Middle and West Tennessee. The abandonment by the Confederates of their Mississippi River strongpoint at Columbus, Kentucky, removed large-scale active military operations from the Lower Ohio River. By August 1862 the Mississippi River was captured save for Vicksburg and Port Hudson, Louisiana. These were obtained by July 1863 and limited trade was restored to the river. Overland Federal progress was achieved only with great losses.

The upper Tennessee-Cumberland River Valley, in West Tennessee and to a lesser extent, Western Kentucky, were the focal points of early Federal efforts to pacify the newly occupied areas. Kentucky had not seceded but her Jackson Purchase (the counties west of the Tennessee River which were added to the state by special purchase in 1818) residents in particular were known to be disaffected towards Federal war policies. Historian Benjamin Cooling in particular has investigated these initial and quite unsuccessful Federal efforts to reopen trade and to reconstitute local government. Cooling sees these efforts and the closely related rise of the irregular war as important extensions of a continuing Confederate resistance, an opposition that long outlived the disappearance of Confederate armies. Periodically those forces did return as they did during the Confederate invasion of Central and Eastern Kentucky in August and September 1862. Kentucky was deeply penetrated and a Confederate state governor was actually, if only briefly sworn into office at Frankfort, the state capital.

The next Confederate move to retake Tennessee was thwarted at the battle of Murfreesboro in January, 1863. By June a relentless Federal advance began: Middle Tennessee was again occupied, and Chattanooga, another industrial city, was taken. Despite a major setback at Chickamauga, the scene of the only major Western Theater Confederate victory, the Federal advance into Georgia began in May 1864. Atlanta was taken and the South's last intact grain-producing region was lost, along with her internal rail system. Federal forces then moved to the Atlantic Coast, seizing Savannah. The last Southern port cities fell. Mobile was taken in August 1864. Wilmington fell in January 1865. Charleston was taken the next month. The final strangulation of the Southern war effort culminated in the destruction of the Confederate Army of Tennessee at Nashville, in December 1864 and in the Federal movement up the Atlantic Coast through the Carolinas. Devastating Federal cavalry raids destroyed remaining Confederate military industrial assets in Alabama in May 1865.

All of these Western military operations consumed massive quantities of supplies, forage, animals and material. The large Civil War armies had to be largely supplied by rail or water. They quickly depleted any available resources within their reach. The steamboat kept the Western war going, being greatly assisted by the developing railroads. The Western war effort was predominantly "funneled" inland via the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and to a lesser extent overland by rail from Louisville to Nashville and points south. This funnel, via Cairo, Illinois and Paducah and Smithland in Kentucky was the scene of the initial Federal advances as noted. It subsequently served as the supply line of men and material as river convoys largely supplied the sequential

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Federal advances inland. Throughout the war large forces of troops were rapidly shifted between the Eastern and Western fronts and all of these passed into or out of the Western Theater along this same vital route.

The instruments for these successful military movements and subsequent supply efforts were the steamboat and the steam-powered gunboat. Cairo and Mound City in Illinois emerged as the Western naval facility and every substantial military river-assisted movement was sent down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio and its major tributaries, the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers.

It was in Ohio River counties in Illinois and Kentucky that these many themes played themselves out. Successively the residents of these counties experienced a political crisis as states and people made choices of loyalty. Active and decisive military operations took place along the river. Confederate-generated irregular warfare developed in Kentucky and threatened or spilled over into Illinois as Federal military forces sought to secure the region. Finally frustration with continuing civil opposition led to military political repressions on both sides of the river, but more overtly in Kentucky. The war fought to preserve the Union increasingly was redefined as a war to eradicate the institution of slavery. Slavery remained legal in non-seceded border states like Kentucky and diametrically opposing Federal policies towards slavery developed. In Tennessee, the military aggressively acted to destroy the institution. In Kentucky fugitive slaves were returned to their owners by that same military. Black military recruitment was a nationally controversial issue by 1862 but Kentucky was the last state to allow its employment, beginning in mid-1864. The junction point of Western Kentucky and Southern Illinois symbolically defined America's middle ground in terms of regional economics, slavery, national allegiances, and strategic military importance. There was no middle ground and everybody was truly caught in the middle of a tragic, transforming yet ennobling national event, the American Civil War.

Illinois State and Local Politics During the Civil War, 1861-1865.

This historical context sets the statewide wartime political context for Illinois and then applies that context to the six Ohio River counties of this study. Four significant subthemes constitute the context and can be evaluated within this county-level region. These are (1) the local political conflict between pro-war "War Democrats" or "Fusion Democrats," Peace Democrats and the Republican Party, (2) the rise of the Republican Party, (3) the political opposition to the Federal war effort in general and the political-military suppression of that opposition, and (4) the movement of refugees, black and white, into these counties.

The Local Political Conflict Between Pro-war "War Democrats" or "Fusion Democrats," Pro-Peace Democrats and the Republican Party.

Illinois was politically transformed by her Civil War experience. In general terms, Illinois was divided politically, with a Republican northern half and a traditionally Democratic southern half. Settlement explained much of this schism. The southern part of the state was settled early on from the Upper southern states. The northern

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settlers were more recent arrivals and included many foreign-born in a population settled from the East and Northeast.

The state led its region in mobilizing politically to sustain the Federal war effort, and the state contributed the nation's president Abraham Lincoln to the war effort. Men from Illinois comprised Lincoln's inner circle in Washington and General Grant's confidants in the field. Illinois enjoyed the patronage of general officer appointments for many of her military and political sons. These included Ulysses Grant, former U.S. Senator John A. Logan, Stephen Hurlbut, Benjamin Prentiss, John McClernand, and John Palmer. Other lesser figures from Southern Illinois also rose to military prominence during the war, and among these were Green Berry Arum, of Golconda, Pope County, and James Grierson and James Harrison Wilson, of Shawneetown (Cole, pp. 1-9, 33, 264-67, Warner, pp. 390-91, 566-567).

The six counties which front on the Ohio River (Alexander, Pulaski, Massac, Pope, Hardin and Gallatin, from west to east going up the Ohio) were all predominantly Democratic prior to the Civil War and constituted the 13th Congressional District. This district voted six to one for Stephen Douglas over Lincoln. In the six river counties Lincoln polled just 902 votes. These counties offered both traditional Democratic political opposition and a rapidly developing pro-war political support to the political mix of the state. The pro-war coalition was called the "Fusion" party and included original Republicans "War Democrats" (Democrats who solidly backed the effort to reunify the country through the use of force). Many of the latter became Republicans by 1864. In "Little Egypt" (the southernmost 11 Illinois counties, a term coined when this region provided the state with grain when crops failed elsewhere) the Democratic-sponsored new state constitution which ultimately failed statewide, was strongly supported even though 6,000 voters chose to abstain from voting, being intimidated by the wartime political situation. Only the Pope County voters rejected it within the six river counties. The 1862 statewide elections also went decidedly pro-Democratic in the southern counties and were a measure of growing war opposition and William J. Allen, a Democrat, went to the U.S. Congress (Cole, p. 299, Hofer, p. 117).

Illinois Republican Governor Richard Yates was able to commit his state to the war effort despite the enduring political opposition of a Democratic-dominated General Assembly. The governor actually closed down the legislature in 1863 to prevent his opponents from undermining his war mobilization effort. Nationally, an Illinois U.S. senator actively opposed the Federal conscription bill in 1863. Last-minute Federal military victories at Atlanta and Mobile turned what would have been a state and national political defeat for Lincoln and his war policy into a Republican win in November 1864. In "Little Egypt", former Democrat A. J. Kuykendall, now a Republican, went to Congress. The river counties joined the Republican bandwagon at least this one time (Cole, pp. 200, Carrier, pp. 87-88, 297-98, 312-19).

The Political Rise of the Republican Party In Southernmost Illinois.

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The state's fledgling Republican party, led by Governor Richard Yates, matured as a national political party as a result of the war experience and dominated the state from 1864 on, despite strong pro-Democratic Southern Illinois. Yates and his state party leaders were the radical wing of the Republican Party. They directly influenced the formulation of the Federal war policy and favored the punitive treatment of the rebellious states. The Radical Republicans supported extremely repressive measures such as martial law and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus to coerce support for the war effort and to stifle any dissent (Boatner, p. 951, Wilson, pp. 7-11).

Because of their river trade exposure, the southernmost Ohio River counties of "Little Egypt" were slightly more urban and sophisticated than were the counterpart inland counties. The river communities were slightly more pluralistic and their participation in the Ohio River trading community put them in touch with the interests of the Ohio River Valley. Still, they were all strongly Democratic, as noted, in their early years. Republican party growth was spurred in every county and in two counties, Pulaski and Massac, Republican political dominance survived the war, a clear measure of political transformation. This is all the more remarkable given that all of the river counties but Pope supported the Democratic new state constitution in 1862, with Massac County delivering one of the two highest pluralities for it. The development was directly related to local efforts to mobilize a pro-war effort and to suppress any opposition. Staunch Republican newspapers appeared in these counties during or after the war. One factor that separated the river counties from the inland counties was a direct exposure to cross-border raids. These counties also shared self-interest in restoring free trade access to the Mississippi River. That access had been denied by the war. Slavery was a countervailing influence that pulled the allegiance of many in these counties southward. The river counties were on the very front line with regard to either assisting or returning escaped slaves. The war raised wages in Illinois by removing so many workers into the army and the Democratic opposition warned that blacks would drive down wages if they were allowed to work within the state. "Little Egypt" and indeed the state as a whole ratified a prohibition against allowing blacks to enter the state (Cole, pp. 269-72).

Following the war the higher-level converted War Democrats and politicized war generals dominated the Republican Party. Lower-ranking "soldiers' candidates" were frequently excluded from gaining nominations for local offices and General Assembly slots. The state party continued its radical Republican agenda by repudiating President Andrew Johnson's reconstruction policies in the 1866 state elections. Johnson toured the state to support his candidates but gained nothing for his labors. In 1868, the party endorsed yet another Illinois favorite son, Ulysses Grant, for the presidency. Most of the six river counties retreated from the Republican column by 1868. Only Massac and Pope went Republican (Cross, pp. 5-9, Thompson, pp. 321-26).

The Political Opposition to the Federal War Effort and the Political-Military Suppression of that Opposition.

Those who opposed or in any way questioned the war effort were accused by the pro-war factions of treason. All opposition was charged with participation in what was called the "Copperhead Conspiracy." The Copperhead movement (also called the Knights of the Golden Circle) is a

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general term that refers to a number of conspiratorial secret societies, all of which had the goal of stopping or weakening the Northern commitment to the war.

There is substantial evidence that various secret orders existed and obtained arms in some instances. They laid plans to foment political separation of the Northwestern states from the Federal war effort. They attempted to coordinate their plans with Confederate forces in Kentucky and Missouri. It is likely that Confederates such as Col. Adam Johnson, who was ordered to Western Kentucky in July 1864, and Maj. Gen. Sterling Price, who invaded Missouri in September 1864, were instructed to coordinate with these groups. Confederate operatives went north to help the conspirators organize. In the final measure these conspirators were careless, inept and profoundly unreliable (Faust, pp. 564-5, Cole, pp. 308-9, Official Records...Armies, Series I, Vol. 32/3, p. 216).

The Ohio River counties of Illinois were only fringe participants in the broader Copperhead movement. They provided no leaders and no major incidents occurred within their borders. They had their share of Confederate operatives who crossed the Ohio River and were reported to be organizing military units. Pope County had an alleged pro-Confederate home guard company that sought to obtain state arms. These six counties are notable for their lack of overt resistance in any form. The Democratic Peace Party was strongly entrenched in these counties and maintained a loyal opposition to the war and what they deemed abuses of the constitution by the Federal government. Hardin County, Illinois, degenerated into a fairly lawless state during the war, as many of her residents found the war offered the chance for private gain.

Federal political and military suppression in Illinois was persistent and widespread in an effort to defeat any political opposition to the war effort. The most overt act of suppression came when the governor closed the General Assembly session in the spring of 1863 following Democratic opposition victories in the fall elections of 1862. While the opposition political activity was not directly suppressed in Illinois many Democratic leaders were arrested routinely. Several arrests were made in Southern Illinois and several leaders including State Senator William Green and U.S. congressman William Allen were arrested and held without cause. Anti-war newspapers were shut down. Major newspapers were quickly released from these punitive local orders but more minor papers were closed down. Federal army veteran James Blewitt started a paper in Shawneetown in August 1864 and was promptly arrested (Walton, p. 10, Cross, p. 6, Sterling, pp. 248-49, *Illinois State Journal*, August 26, 1864).

The Movement of Refugees, Black and White Into Southernmost Illinois.

The refugee flow started well before hostilities began. Multitudes of Northern-born residents in the Southern states decamped quietly or were chased northward. Cave-in-Rock in eastern Hardin County was an emergency shelter for a number of pro-Federal Kentuckians who were forced to flee across the Ohio from Crittenden County in December 1861. The cave interprets the story of these civilian lives which were disarranged by the politics of war. Pro-Federal Kentuckians joined in the flow once that state's neutrality collapsed and local pressures or Confederate raiders induced them to seek a safer and more tolerant climate. Many of these people

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stopped once they crossed the Ohio River and all of the river counties appeared to experience population increases. Pope County especially, saw an increase in its population and was noted as being a particularly receptive county for the displaced persons. Black refugees, many of whom were "Contrabands" (freed slaves brought north by the military as war spoils of a sort) and Cairo was the point of entry for them. Illinois was not historically receptive to free blacks or former slaves. The state as a whole even voted in 1862 to exclude blacks from the state, restating what was already the law under the 1853 Black code.. The black refugees at Cairo were exempted from this prohibition and many were given jobs throughout the state. By early 1864 Cairo had a formal "Freedmen's" camp, workshops, and a hospital as part of the military garrison. These concentrations of black men of military age drew recruiting agents from throughout the north and Kentucky. The state actively attempted to prevent the enlistment of these men to meet the quotas of the other states (Cole, pp. 323-37).

Kentucky State and Local Politics During the Civil War, 1861-65.

This historical context sets the statewide wartime political context for Kentucky and then applies that context to the six Ohio River counties of this study. Four significant subthemes constitute the context and can be evaluated within this county-level region. These are (1) Kentuckians are forced to choose sides or seek middle ground (2) the political rise of the Democratic Party in the state and the river counties, (3) the Federal military subordination of state and local governments, civil rights and the immediate postwar military occupation of the state, and (4) the economic cost of the war on Kentucky and the river counties.

Kentuckians Are Forced to Choose Sides or Seek Middle Ground.

It is said in jest that Kentucky refused to secede during the war and then joined the Confederacy once the war was lost for the South. The "joining" was in the form of breaking with her Federal masters rather than actually switching sides. The majority of Kentuckians sought to preserve the status quo, that is slavery, and to avoid becoming the nation's battleground by remaining in the Federal Union. For six months she tried vainly to stay out of the war itself by adopting a policy of neutrality, while she remained in the United States. In the end, Kentucky alienated both the North and the South, lost her slaves, and was a major battleground for the war. The Federal government and the other states distrusted her lukewarm war effort and attitude. The Confederate government created her own orphaned rump state government and added Kentucky to her roster of seceded states. Over time, Kentucky was viewed as a source of manpower and supplies but the Confederate government, although voiced by an illegitimate governor, roundly ignored her needs. Kentucky was militarily occupied like a conquered state and this occupation continued well after hostilities ceased. The issue of black military recruitment finally alienated many pro-Federal Kentuckians and the state led the nation in endorsing George McClellan to succeed Abraham Lincoln as president in 1864 (Coulter, pp. 1-5, 16).

From the start Kentuckians had to choose between supporting either the Federal or Confederate cause. The next decision was the degree to which they would sacrifice for that choice. Many unsuccessfully sought a safe and

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non-committal middle ground, an individual neutrality that mirrored the effort that the state made to stay free from the conflict. Neither side tolerated this middle ground and the test of loyalty would finally include military service, forfeiture of property and the loss of civil rights.

Kentucky's effort at neutrality was unacceptable to each of the opposing sides. The Tilghman-Woolfolk House in Paducah represents the dilemma which confronted Kentucky residents and tested their state and national loyalties. Kentuckian Lloyd Tilghman felt himself forced to decide between his State Guard responsibilities and loyalty and his Confederate sympathies. He resigned his State Guard commission in June 1861 and joined the Confederate army. Robert Woolfolk, who lived there after Tilghman represented the strident and persistent pro-Southern strong minority of those Kentuckians who neither joined the Confederate army or left the state. Woolfolk flew a Confederate flag from his house directly across the street from the headquarters of the Federal garrison commander. The flag was soon removed but he made his point. Henderson provided numerous state political leaders and their homes are preserved and listed on the National Register of Historic Places. United States Senator Lazarus Powell sought to reconcile his pro-Union and pro-slavery beliefs and suffered through an attempt by his fellow Kentucky U.S. senator to purge him from the Senate because of his political deviations away from the national pro-war policy. Archibald Dixon was a former governor and U.S. Senator and played a key local and state role in supporting the Federal government.

The Political Rise of the Democratic Party in the State and the River Counties.

Kentucky was fundamentally transformed by the war. The state completed her political transformation from a Whig to a Democratic stronghold. The Republicans could claim only her easternmost counties. The six Ohio River counties treated in this study are Ballard, McCracken, Livingston, Crittenden, Union and Henderson. All of these, save for Henderson, were grouped in the First Congressional District. Like their Illinois counterparts, the governmental seats of these Ohio River counties tended to have relatively high percentages of German and Irish-descended residents. Only Henderson lacked any substantial ethnic presence. These river counties tended to be more traditionally Whig in politics, being more in line with the rest of the state. The two studied Jackson Purchase counties were more politically strong than were inland counties. Kentucky never delivered a pro-war plurality to the Lincoln Administration. Lincoln polled less than one percent of the vote in 1860. Lincoln was again repudiated at the polls in 1864 when a heavily controlled election resulted in a 40 percent voter turnout which gave Democratic challenger George McClellan his highest plurality in any Northern state while Lincoln drew one third of the votes. Of the study area counties, Lincoln did carry Crittenden, McCracken and Livingston counties, but all of these reverted to the Democratic camp in 1868 when they and the state rejected Ulysses Grant's presidential bid by a 74.5 percent statewide for his opponent, Horatio Seymour (Coulter, p. 15, Harrison, p. 2, Shannon, pp. 28-44).

Kentucky's final wartime Republican governor, Thomas Bramlette finally split with the Federal Government and engineered a Democratic statewide victory in 1864. The Democrat-controlled General Assembly rejected the

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13th Amendment to the Constitution in 1865 and quickly repudiated wartime penalties against those Kentuckians who had served the Confederate cause (Kentucky's Governors, pp. 77-81).

The Federal Military Subordination of State and Local Governments and Civil Rights and the Postwar Military Occupation of the State.

Kentucky's initial reluctance to choose one side in the war and her effort to designate herself a neutral, in the Union but not quite of the Union, left the state a slightly suspect ally and was largely treated as an occupied state despite her professed loyalty. A Federal Military Board actually ran the military and political affairs of the state during later years of the war, largely ignoring her several wartime governors. Federal political and military suppression in both Kentucky and Illinois was persistent and widespread. The personalities and politics of local military commanders more than any other factor determined the extent to which political opponents were arrested, forced from office, or even banished. The greatest abuses of civil and property rights unfolded in and around Paducah during Gen. E. A. Paine's "Reign of Terror" during the summer of 1864. Paine banished the disloyal, seized their property, summarily executed several citizens, drafted civilian labor, and imposed punitive duties on virtually every activity (Warner, pp. 40-59, Collins, pp. 102, 105, 162, 164).

Political repression in Kentucky was more overt and comprehensive than it was in nearby Illinois. The state's governors were joined in their willingness to punish the "disloyal" by a succession of extremely repressive military commanders. Three successive Federal District of Kentucky commanders, Generals Jeremiah Boyle, Stephen Burbridge and John Palmer vied against three counterpart Kentucky governors, Beriah Magoffin, James Robinson and Thomas Bramlette to run the state's affairs. It didn't help the state government that the generals were in Louisville and the governors in Frankfort. Political arrests and banishments were commonplace, and less-than-purely-loyal newspapers were systematically suppressed or closed down. Successive elections were manipulated. Courts were closed and entire town councils were forced to resign. As the state sank into lawlessness, reprisal executions were conducted everywhere. Confederate repressions took the form of mass military conscription with no pretense of process or fairness and provisions and horses were seized in exchange for worthless promissory notes or currency (Kentucky's Governors, pp. 77-81, Collins, pp. 133-59).

Federal commanders demanded that citizens meet an increasingly higher test of proving support for the government. Silence was not to be equated as support. Basic survival functions: freedom to travel, political participation, filling a public office, property rights, trading, were reserved only for those who took the loyalty oaths and provided information on those who were less than loyal. The disloyal had no rights and were forced increasingly to pay for any damages caused by Confederates or irregular forces. The military added restrictions on political rights and manipulated elections by restricting candidates who could run for office and the electorate who could vote. Finally, the military imposed conscription and black recruitment. Many who initially supported the Federal cause felt betrayed by these perceived repressions and abrogations of proper authority. Kentuckians were

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treated as if their state had left the union, and dismantling slavery was viewed as a violation of the compromise which the state made to support the Federal cause (Collins, pp. 102-28).

Kentucky was occupied by military garrisons and many of these were not closed down until long after the war ended. In the area of study, the garrisons at Paducah remained until 1867, those at Smithland up to the end of 1865. While not a reconstruction state, Kentucky was included under the Freedman's Bureau program when anti-black abuses followed the end of the war. Paducah was a state administrative center for that office. The entire state was under martial law from 1864 until the fall of 1865. When martial law was rescinded by President Andrew Johnson, he did not restore the right of habeas corpus. This lingering military presence was necessary because Kentucky was, until the end of 1865, a slave state and her former slaves needed assistance in assuming their new lives, and also the state was so destabilized by the irregular warfare and banditry which constituted so much of her wartime experience. The state was plagued by outlaw elements for several generations following the war as a result.

The Economic Cost of the War on Kentucky and the Ohio River Counties.

Kentucky was left behind economically by the war. She lost her well-established position as a leader of the western states. The state's several distinguished pre-war Senators played a vital role on the national political stage. Kentucky also lost her historic favorable trading position. She lost her established markets to the south. As a result of the war Kentucky's rivers lost out to the increasingly dominant Northern trunk railroad network of the North. Her fledgling public education system was destroyed by the war. Irregular warfare produced two generations of statewide lawlessness as a legacy of the wartime experience. The state's agriculture was similarly mired for years in a non-mechanized and near-subsistence state. Regionally, the Jackson Purchase and far Eastern counties were left more physically and politically isolated from the state capital than ever before. The Jackson Purchase, physically isolated by the same river obstacles that had provided avenues of Federal invasion, suffered as economic backwaters until the next century when Federal initiatives brought dams, bridges and industry to the region (Cooling, p. xvi, Coulter, pp. 1-16, Harrison, p. 2).

Illinois Goes To War; Recruiting, Organizing, and Mobilization, 1861-1865.

This historical context sets the statewide wartime military context for Illinois and then applies that context to the six Ohio River counties of this study. Three significant subthemes constitute the context and can be evaluated within this county-level region. These are (1) Illinois' wartime mobilization and service record, (2). "Little Egypt's" military contribution to the war, and (3) state and local opposition to the draft.

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Illinois' Wartime Mobilization and Service Record.

Illinois contributed strongly to the Federal war effort, providing 259,092 soldiers, or 15.2 percent of her total population. This exceeded Indiana's total by 63,000 men and represented a higher percentage of overall population than could be claimed by substantially more populous Ohio (13 percent). Most amazing was the small number of Illinois soldiers who were drafted. Just 3,196 men were forced into the service by conscription. This success was due to the record numbers of voluntary enlistments. Many Illinois men paid commutation fees to buy themselves out of the draft and \$17,000,000 in state and local enlistment bounties produced the flood of volunteers (Official Records...Armies, Series III, Vol. 4, pp. 746-7).

Illinois furnished 53 brigadier generals, 9 of whom were promoted to major general, and one to lieutenant general. The state completed 152 infantry regiments, 7 cavalry regiments, two artillery regiments and 9 artillery batteries. War service deaths totaled 34,834 and included 5,857 battlefield deaths, representing a 16.5 percent fatality rate. The state's units performed with gallantry in every theater of the war. At the same time desertions plagued these units and two regiments, the 109th and 128th were broken up when they were destroyed by desertion and mutiny. Desertion was not limited to these worst-case units and battle-tested soldiers simply decided to desert their units. Many veteran regiments suffered especially high rates of desertion in the final months of the war.

High rates of volunteerism and military conscription co-existed in Illinois. The draft served its true military purpose in Illinois by inducing enlistments rather than draftees. Volunteerism lost its mass public appeal by mid-1862 and Governor Yates struggled to producing three-year-term units. Generous enlistment bounties and a fear of the draft helped induce enlistments. By 1864 short-term one-year units predominated as older and more settled men could only be induced to enlist for this shorter term, service made more attractive because it would be spent closer to home in garrison duty. The draft was finally imposed in Illinois on a very small scale, beginning in July, 1864, long after it was applied in other Northern states (Walton, p. 9, Dayton, p. 431, Faust, p. 378)..

The divided nature of Illinois' citizenry led some residents to actually enlist in the Confederate army. If Kentuckians who left their state for the same reason were "orphans" (the title given one of Kentucky's Confederate infantry brigades who were so far from home throughout the war) then what were Illinois Confederate soldiers? The numbers of these Illinois recruits is small. A half-company and any number of individual enlistments were of inconsequential military importance (Official Records...Armies, Series III, Vol. 4, pp. 1269-70, Faust, p. 378, Sterling, p. 258).

"Little Egypt's" Military Contribution to the War.

Southern Illinois led the state in providing volunteers. Little Egypt furnished so many men that her counties nearly avoided the draft. The average enlistment percentage (of all military-age men) in her counties was 40 percent while the statewide average was just 28 percent. The inland counties of Little Egypt which most overtly opposed

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draft registration had the highest percentages of servicemen, between 46 and 48 percent, entered in the registration rolls (Cross, p. 168).

Within the six Ohio River Illinois counties of this study, local politics had everything to do with how these communities responded to the war mobilization effort. A number of regional leaders, mostly pre-war Democrats, notably John A. Logan, Green Raum, and John McClernand, were responsible for turning out strong support for the war effort. These leaders encouraged the strong outpouring of recruits from "Little Egypt." The river counties forwarded the highest quality of units, none of which were disbanded for disaffection, and the counties had virtually no drafted men during the war, a credit to their volunteerism. The only surviving company from the disbanded 109th came from Massac County and it was transferred intact to another regiment.

The Old State Bank at Shawneetown witnessed the presentation of colors to the first company, which left that town in June 1861. It is a property type that interprets the sub-theme of local military recruitment. The river communities vied to have military recruitment camps and Shawneetown and Metropolis received them. Fort Massac at Metropolis organized the 131st Illinois Regiment. The exact location of that camp has not been determined. The Henry Eddy House, west of Shawneetown, witnessed the organization and mustering of the 56th and 87th Illinois Infantry Regiments, both of which camped on the farmstead between 1861 and 1863. Both of these properties interpret both recruitment and military organization.

State and Local Opposition to the Draft

Opposition to conscription was the best measure of a lack of public support for the war in Illinois. Resistance to conscription in Illinois would have been more truly tested had the state not largely met her troop quotas through enlistment. There was overt and passive resistance. Men fled to Canada, provided false information, failed to report as ordered, and evaded being served with notices to report. They enjoyed considerable public support in their resistance efforts. Armed protection was required in a number of Illinois counties to complete draft registration, to conduct draft board examinations, and to serve notices to report. Williamson, Jackson and Union counties in "Little Egypt" actively resisted the draft. More passive modes of resistance typified conscription administration in the state's Ohio River counties.

Kentucky Goes To War; Recruiting, Organizing, and Mobilization, 1861-1865.

This historical context sets the statewide wartime military context for Kentucky and then applies that context to the six Ohio River counties of this study. Four significant subthemes constitute the context and can be evaluated within this county-level region. These are (1) Kentucky's wartime mobilization and service record, (2) Federal black recruitment, (3) the river counties' military contribution to the war, and (4) state and local opposition to the draft.

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Kentucky's Wartime Mobilization and Service Record.

Kentucky, reflective of her indecisive stance, sent men to both sides. Kentucky residents had a traditional American distrust of things military and there was no well-established military capability at the start of the war. Given the divided loyalties and the unsettled nature of her wartime experience, it is remarkable that she could produce the numbers of soldiers that she did. The state is credited 75,760 Federal soldiers, 23,703 of whom were blacks, and an estimated 25,000 Confederate soldiers. These counts are exclusive of state and irregular forces, and the Confederate figure is a conservative one. Those who went south to wear the gray were orphans in every sense of the term. Those who served the Federal government met with second-class treatment from the soldiers of the other states. Kentucky troops in both armies proved their valor in every theater of the war. Kentuckians were increasingly loathe to join the Federal army in the face of increasingly repressive Federal dominance within the state. Short-term units were formed quite early and the draft was applied from the start in Kentucky, beginning with the first 1863 call for men. The state suffered 30,000 deaths, one third of these being battlefield deaths (Munden, p. 263).

Federal Black Recruitment

Black military recruitment was a salient issue in Kentucky and it was absolutely opposed throughout the state, by both sides of the political spectrum. Despite the opposition of white Kentuckians, blacks comprised 31 percent of all Federal enlistments from the state. The state even opposed the enrollment of free blacks in 1863. The fundamental issue was racial, in addition to the economic argument of preserving slavery in the state. Black units finally provided a degree of military security to the state, strengthening at least the major garrison points. Kentuckians chose not to appreciate this factor and the garrisons, particularly the smaller recruiting stations, drew Confederate attention as inviting targets. The Confederate attack on Paducah in March 1864 is viewed by some as a Confederate effort to discredit the fighting abilities of black soldiers.

The continued legality of slavery in Kentucky (slavery was legal there until Kentucky ratified the 13th Amendment after the war) placed the Federal military in an awkward position. The military was responsible for supporting and defending slavery in Kentucky while in the seceded states slavery was fair game for destruction. For some pro-abolition Federal officers the recruitment of black slaves in Kentucky provided the means to undermine slavery in that state and to strike back at pro-Southern Kentucky slaveowners (although there were many pro-Federal Kentucky slaveowners as well). Overzealous Federal recruiters raided Ohio River towns and seized slaves as military recruits. These abuses further inflamed public indignation. The adding of blacks to the draft registration process greatly magnified anti-draft resistance in Western Kentucky. The military posts at Smithland and Paducah played key early roles in the recruiting and organizing of black Federal heavy artillery units and the very first authorized black recruiting took place at Paducah (Collins, pp. 162, 164).

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The River Counties' Military Contribution to the War

It is generally assumed that the Jackson Purchase counties provided ten Confederate recruits to every Federal one. Federal total enlistment figures are greatly underestimated and most tallies neglect to add in black enlistments. Confederate numbers are speculative at best given the loss of records. Two Jackson Purchase counties were included in this study and both (Ballard and McCracken) provided more Federal recruits alone than is credited to all of the Purchase counties. Most of the men from these counties were drafted and most were black. Ballard alone is credited with 555 men by the end of 1864, while McCracken was credited with 831. In the First Congressional District which included the Jackson Purchase counties and others east of the Cumberland River, one out of six Federal soldiers was an enlistee, the rest being draftees (Magee, p. 25, Record Group 110, Box 7, National Archives).

State and Local Opposition to the Draft.

One strategic measure of the irregular war was its overall success in disrupting the normal governmental functions of the Federal-dominated local governments. This disruption could effect political elections, tax collection and trade, or military conscription. Irregular and regular Confederate forces generally occupied most of Western Kentucky and the Federal draft administration was substantially disrupted as a result. The high level of public opposition made the task all the easier. Military interference was combined with the range of passive resistance options which were employed in Illinois. Men could flee or hide, false information could be provided the draft enrollment officer, and men could much more readily join the Confederate service. The draft process could be easily delayed or stopped altogether. When Confederates attacked Paducah in March, 1864, they took special care to destroy the draft records there. Complete lists of draft-eligible men could not be compiled because the enrollment officers had to be constantly under military protection. For the same reason actual draft notices could not be delivered and the draftee was relieved of any obligation if the notification was not delivered within a set number of days. Once again, men who sought to join neither army found that those who helped disrupt the Federal draft were charged with enforcing the Confederate one.

Federal and Confederate Military Operations on and Along the Lower Ohio River Valley; The War On The River, 1861-1865.

This historical context treats the naval operations on all of the rivers which are within the area of study (the Lower Ohio, the mouths of the Tennessee, Cumberland and Green rivers, and a small portion of the Mississippi River at the confluence with the Ohio River). Four significant subthemes constitute the context and can be evaluated within this county-level region. These are (1) initial naval mobilization and support, (2) major local naval operations and subsequent long-distance operations downriver, and (3) fighting the irregular local war, and (4) guarding military convoys.

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Introduction to the Geographical Setting.

The Federal naval presence on the inland rivers (the Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee and Cumberland rivers) mobilized in the forms of gunboats and chartered steamboats, dominated military operations in a region where rivers alone offered rapid means of communication and transportation. Virtually every strategic point, every significant military action and every sustained military presence in the area of study was located along a navigable river. Every army movement demanded naval support, and firepower. The rivers bore the brunt of all supply shipments to support the Federal war machine as it moved south and inland. River steam transport, protected by navy gunboats, moved these supplies and men to keep the armies moving.

The Lower Ohio River was the initial front line of the war from the Federal viewpoint. The focal point was the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers. The seceded states to the south controlled most of the Mississippi River and its mouth to the Gulf. They needed to control the Lower Ohio up to Paducah (the mouth of the Tennessee River) and Smithland (the mouth of the Cumberland River) if they were to use the advantages offered by the two Ohio tributaries. They also needed to hold those rivers if the Upper South with its vast resources was to be held. Kentucky neutrality in the early months of the war and Federal seizure of the Ohio ensured that the Confederates were left only with the latter option, that of assuming a defensive stance on the Mississippi and the Ohio tributaries at the Tennessee state line.

Evolving Federal Gunboat Design.

From the start even a steamboat with a cannon and some infantry on board intimidated the Confederate commanders, and once more sophisticated improvised inland gunboats were made available in mid-August September 1861, Federal commanders assumed an offensive strategy could be implemented. Gunboats provided invaluable reconnaissance services and their amazing mobility and superior firepower quickly neutralized any Confederate plans to make any advance deeper into Kentucky or to offer a countering gunboat force.

The Navy successively produced improved gunboats to meet an ever-changing mission. The first converted boats largely showed the flag and intimidated lesser vessels, but they couldn't stand up to any large number of guns on the shore. The seven "Pook's Turtles" or "City class" gunboats were built from scratch and were fully armored on their sides. They were lighter in draft yet heavier in armament. They were designed to attack river forts. Light-draft monitors were built in large numbers for the same purpose but they were delivered for service after the last fort had been seized. It was the light-draft tinclad "Mosquito Fleet" class of boats which did all of the Ohio and Tennessee-Cumberland river service. They were very light-draft and were effective against attacks by field artillery or irregulars. When cornered and outgunned, they were readily destroyed however. This constantly evolving vessel plan with its related engineering and military technologies enabled the Navy to fulfill its changing mission. This evolution represents the critical role of changing technology on warfare and transportation. In river transportation

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even the lowly barge underwent substantial evolution and the stage was set for the widespread adoption post-war of the tow as opposed to pushing barges..

The Tactics of Combined Army and Navy Operations.

The Federal victory in the Western Theater of operations was accomplished through combined land and navy operations. Within the study area the early gunboats scouted Confederate positions and intimidated any Confederate forward movement beyond Columbus, Kentucky or the Tennessee border. Gunboats quickly carried raiding parties to any desired point and covering fire paved the way for overland movements. It was gunboat fire that enabled the threatened Federal forces to withdraw intact from the Belmont, Missouri, battlefield in early November 1861.

Combined operations (the coordinated inter-cooperation between land and water forces) emerged first on the Lower Ohio River largely because the Army had unified command over both land and river forces for the first year and a half of the war. The navy was under army orders so cooperation was readily accomplished. At the same time, this cooperation was actively welcomed by the earliest commanders of the Western Gunboat Flotilla (the army name), later retitled the "Mississippi Squadron" when the navy took command. The two services were administratively separated in October 1862 and naval performance and capabilities were considerably improved as a result of the reorganization. Strong friendships between army and navy commanders made combined operations work to an even greater degree than before. The friendship, shared philosophies, and goals of Generals Grant, and Sherman and Rear Admiral David Porter resulted in reopening the Mississippi River, the accomplishment upon which final victory rested.

Gen. Sherman and Rear Admiral Porter continued to work together as the Federal focus changed to penetrating Mississippi and holding western Tennessee and Kentucky. The legacy of combined operations now resided largely in the critical supply role which the navy played, protecting convoys of transports up the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers to support the Federal presence in Tennessee. This role continued through the war's end, but effectively climaxed with the Federal victory at Nashville in mid-December 1864.

Initial Naval Mobilization and Support.

The Cairo/Mound City Naval Station was the nerve center for the Western Gunboat Flotilla/Mississippi Squadron (renamed the Mississippi Squadron in October 1862) throughout the Civil War. The facility was selected because it provided an ice-free, low-current and deep water anchorage along with excellent railhead connections to the north. St. Louis, which frequently iced up and was isolated from the railroad trunk system, was another contender but Cairo emerged as the preferred point of naval concentration from the earliest days. Cairo also had strategic importance because she controlled the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and was located deeply south towards the seat of war. Cairo was also the point of army concentration and as a result, the demand

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for space was considerable, especially when floodwaters reduced the amount of usable wharf frontage. By May 1864 the Navy had had enough of the competition and removed all of its facilities to nearby Mound City, just 7 miles upstream

Even as additional naval facilities were captured at Memphis and Helena, Arkansas, the Cairo facility continued to supply the gunboats on all of the area's rivers with manpower, supplies, guns and ammunition, mail, pilots, fuel, and so on. Each winter as active operations subsided a majority of the squadron including the flagship wintered at Cairo and Mound City.

The Mound City Marine Ways were leased by the Federal Government throughout the war and the Ways provided the lion's share of gunboat repair and support services throughout the war. Three of the "Pook" gunboats were constructed there as well. Everything in manpower, ordnance and supplies, used by the Mississippi Squadron, flowed by rail to Cairo and Mound City and was there placed into service. The war left at least a temporary legacy in the form of the Mound City Naval Station which continued in operation until 1877, representing a naval presence during the years of Reconstruction which ended that same year. The several hundred vessels of the Mississippi Squadron were auctioned off or scrapped in the fall of 1865 at Mound City and only a half-dozen shallow draft Monitor class ironclads traversed the inland rivers from the station.

The site of the Mound City U.S. Naval Station and the Marine Ways interprets the key role of naval support which these installations provided during the war. The Marine Ways was the site of the construction of three "Pook's Turtles" and those gunboats led the campaign to drive Confederate forces from Kentucky. The work at the Ways kept the navy squadron in action by quickly repairing countless damaged gunboats and support vessels.

Major Local Naval Operations and Subsequent Long-distance Operations Downriver.

The first crude converted gunboats enabled the Federal army to assume a more aggressive posture relative to the Confederate positions on the Mississippi and the Ohio river tributaries. Dozens of reconnaissances, combining gunboats and infantry transports were made down the Mississippi River into northern Tennessee beginning in August 1861. Any northward Confederate movement, on land or river, real or imagined was responded to in force and no fortified positions were established beyond the original Confederate Kentucky-Tennessee defensive line. Just two Federal gunboats secured the Federal occupation of Paducah and Smithland on September 5-6, 1861. The gunboats rescued Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's troops at Belmont, Missouri, on November 7, 1861. This movement was the first substantial one made against the Confederate position at Columbus. Gunboats guarded the Federal army landings preparatory to scouting the advances to Columbus in November, 1861 (Official Records...Navies, Series I, Vol. 22, p. 525, Naval Chronology, pp. II-3, 4, 7).

The only significant Confederate river advances were made during January 1862 by which time a small flotilla of light-draft converted gunboats were in operation from Columbus, Kentucky. The naval skirmish at Lucas

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Bend, just below Cairo, on January 11, 1862 marked the final Confederate gunboat approach against Federal Forts Holt and Defiance. A 20-minute duel between the two Federal forts, Federal gunboats, and the Confederate gunboats sent the latter retiring downriver in what turned out to be their final upriver probe. By January 1862 the flotilla had the additional City Class gunboats and their armament made possible decisive movements south (Official Records...Navies, Series I, Vol. 22, p. 529).

The Federal occupation of Smithland and Paducah opened up the lower-most reaches of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers respectively. Gunboats soon cleared both rivers of any commercial steamers and scouted the Confederate defenses on both rivers, these being the two main strongpoints, Forts Henry and Heiman on the Cumberland and Fort Donelson on the Tennessee. A fear of losing navigable water on those rivers urged on the early February movement against flooded Fort Henry. When the land forces bogged down in the mud, Commander Andrew Foote took the fort alone with two boats badly damaged and some serious casualties. Foote repeated the bold naval attack against Fort Donelson, where the Confederate guns were more numerous and on higher ground. This time the flotilla was largely disabled with two boats rendered inoperable and two others severely damaged. The army finished the job (Official Records...Navies, Series I, Vol. 22, pp. 525, 577-78, 585, 596).

The capture of these forts and the opening of the rivers unlocked the highways of invasion. The surviving gunboats raced up the Tennessee River penetrating as far as northern Alabama. They spread panic, severed key rail communications and caused the destruction of war material, industrial assets and riverboats. The residents of the entire Upper South were thunderstruck as the unthinkable happened as gunboats raced hundreds of miles in advance of any supportive land force. These movements and the loss of the forts caused the collapse of the Confederate defensive line and the Confederate evacuation of all Kentucky and Middle Tennessee positions including Nashville, the capital of Tennessee. Columbus was occupied until early March when it too was abandoned. The next target was the Confederate defenses on the Tennessee state line at, Island No. 10, New Madrid, Missouri, and Fort Pillow above Memphis.. These fell in April 1862 to an army-navy force which mobilized from Cairo. That move was delayed by the need to repair the damaged gunboats. All of these strategic successes were the result of naval operations which had their origin from bases of operation on the Lower Ohio River (Official Records...Navies, Series I, Vol. 22, pp. 636-37, 686-87, 699, 773, Vol. 24, pp. 310-11).

As the targets became more distant the same bases of operation formulated the movements south. The military advance up the Tennessee which resulted in the battle of Shiloh in April, 1862, halted any immediate Federal advance down the Mississippi River. General Grant's army was surprised and badly bloodied and it would be months before any further southward movement was made. The troops which captured Island Number 10 in early April were quickly sent to reinforce Grant. It wasn't until June that the army "ram fleet" demolished the Confederate gunboat flotilla and captured Memphis. The next operations, in December 1862, involved the first operations against the Vicksburg defenses and capture of the Confederate fort at Arkansas Post on the Arkansas River. Vicksburg fell to operations, which began in May 1863 and concluded in July. The Mississippi River was reopened to limited trade the next month.

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There was no major Mississippi River naval movement for almost a full year. The next campaign up the Red River Campaign in Louisiana took place in April and May 1864. The naval force was very nearly lost due to the defeat of the supportive land forces and low water. The squadron mission on the Mississippi otherwise increasingly focused on suppressing illegal trade, battling irregulars and preventing the passage of Confederate troops and supplies across the river.

Fighting the Irregular Local War.

The inland navy was suddenly out of heavily fortified Confederate river forts to attack. Challenging these was the task of the heavily armored and armed gunboats. Beginning in early 1862 the new enemy was the sniper, and the light field battery firing from ambush. The new enemy would attack supply steamboats. The new battlefield was the tributaries of the Ohio River where military supplies had to be safely convoyed up shallow, narrow and twisting rivers. The irregular warrior was the perfect weapon to shut down the river supply line, just as Confederate cavalry readily shut down rail communications between Louisville and Nashville. Steamboat plunder could subsist Confederate irregular forces for long periods of time and it wasn't long before the rivers were infested with these bands.

Federal Western Flotilla Commander Charles H. Davis commanded the flotilla from June to October 1862 and he ordered the construction of the first light-draft gunboats for use on the Ohio tributaries to fight the irregulars. He first used a number of converted captured Confederate gunboats while he awaited the boats which he had designed. These new boats were lightly armed and had only wooden bulwark protection of the vital machinery from musket and light artillery fire. They were very light draft and they were extremely mobile (Official Records...Navies, Series I, Vol. 24, pp. 289-90, 292, 309-10, 330, 379).

By mobilizing dozens of these light-drafts in an aggressive manner, the navy had it its way for much of 1862 and 1863. The navy readily prevailed along the rivers and guerrillas and regular Confederate forces pulled their operations back from the reach of the gunboats or their landing parties. Occasionally a Confederate presence in Union and Henderson counties up the Ohio River demanded a naval presence. The Lower Ohio River was the scene of a number of naval initiatives. The first long-term presence upriver lasted from November 1862 through December 1862. The gunboats returned up the Ohio in late May, 1863 and were advantageously positioned to assist in the capture of Confederate Brig. Gen. John Hunt Morgan's mounted raiders who crossed the Ohio in July. The gunboats were still upriver when low water stranded them until late November, 1863 (*Ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 238-42, 315-15, 318-21, 333).

The irregular war came back with a vengeance in early 1864 when regular and partisan Confederate forces advanced into West Tennessee and Kentucky and merged their strengths with the irregulars already in that region. The largest naval conflict on the Lower Ohio took place on March 25, 1864, when two gunboats helped drive off Confederate Maj. Gen. N. B. Forrest's cavalry attack on Federal Fort Anderson at Paducah. After Paducah the

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gunboats were called upon to patrol the lowest reaches Ohio between Cairo and Paducah for the first time since 1861.

Confederates began to put pressure on the Ohio River opposite Union and Henderson counties by June 1864. Gunboats once again moved up the Ohio and low water once again stranded the gunboats. Confederate attacks on steamboats escalated and between August 13 and 15, 1864, Confederate Col. Adam Johnson actually closed down shipping on that river (*Illinois State Journal*, August 17, 1864).

The light-drafts received their worst mauulings at the hands of Forrest's field artillery along the Tennessee River in October 1864 when five gunboats were sunk. The navy had to rethink its operations when field artillery began to claim casualties among the light-draft gunboats. The gunboats were suddenly no longer dominant along the rivers. The captains called for organized landing parties and heavier guns and the gunboats were more careful in exposing themselves (*Official Records...Navies*, Series I, Vol. 26, pp. 585, 598, 601, 604, 610-11).

Guarding Military Convoys.

The formally regulated gunboat convoy consisted of several dozen steamboats, many pushing barges, and three or four protective gunboats. The steamboats were lashed together in pairs. The least valuable cargoes led and followed the procession. The gunboats were also always paired and sometimes tripled to assure that no gunboat was isolated and overwhelmed. Each convoy departed Smithland or Paducah, the controlling ports at the mouths of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers respectively. The boats carried contracted military cargoes for the most part and were absolutely under naval control as they worked up river.

Military convoys began with the war but the first critical supply lifeline by steamboat convoy developed in December 1862 when the rail supply line between Louisville and Nashville was severely damaged. The gunboats safely delivered 400 boats and 150 barges up the Cumberland River to Nashville during the next six months. Only low water reduced the frenzy of the shipments by March (*Official Records...Navies*, Series I, Vol. 23, p. 312, Vol. 24, pp. 42-43).

The convoy once again became critical between September and late November 1863 when the Federal forces around Chattanooga were defeated at the battle of Chickamauga in Georgia, driven back to Chattanooga, and then besieged into near starvation, the Federal army being beyond ready rail or river supply. Supplies and men flowed up the Tennessee River and were brought overland to help lift the siege in late November. Supplies also flowed up the Cumberland beyond Nashville to supply the Federal army in far-off East Tennessee at Knoxville. There was no other supply alternative to help sustain the first Federal military presence in East Tennessee until rail links were repaired to Chattanooga (*Ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 524-25, 534-35, 547-48, 612-13).

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Another critical convoy function was delivering entire army corps from theater to theater, covering as many as 1,500 miles by rail and river in just a matter of days. These troop movements were strategically critical throughout the war. The most dramatic of these many movements was that of two army corps from Virginia to Northern Alabama. Within three weeks 23,000 men with vehicles and horses moved 1,233 miles in the fall of 1863 (Official Records Armies, Series I, Vol. 52/1, pp. 181-84).

Federal and Confederate Military Operations Along the Lower Ohio River; The War on the Land, 1861-65.

This historical context treats the army or land operations within the area of study. Five significant subthemes constitute the context and can be evaluated within this county-level region. These are (1) Kentucky neutrality, (2) The initial mobilization and positioning, (3) early local major military movements, (4) the irregular war, and (5) the military garrisons.

Kentucky Neutrality.

The unsuccessful effort made by Kentucky to remain neutral in the war is primarily a political story, but the effort affected military operations so is discussed in this section. Between May and early September 1861 the state struggled to stay out of the war and both sides, seeking that state's support, refrained from forcing the issue. Neutrality delayed the opening of a "hot war" along the Lower Ohio River for six months. The policy also forced Tennessee Confederates to fortify inferior defensive points to hold the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. It was the undoing of these forts which brought down the entire Confederate defensive line in February 1862. The Federal army made several landings in Kentucky from Cairo during the summer of 1861, and Kentucky responded by mobilizing State Guards in Western Kentucky to prevent a Confederate occupation of Columbus, Kentucky. By the autumn of 1861 pro-Federal majorities were elected to dominate the General Assembly and secession was a moot point. Neutrality collapsed when Confederates occupied Columbus in early September 1861. Federal forces promptly seized Paducah and Smithland and fortified Fort Holt opposite Cairo. The Tilghman-Woolfolk House in Paducah, McCracken County, Kentucky, was the residence of Col. Lloyd Tilghman, Kentucky State Guards. Tilghman was charged with defending his state's neutrality stance and the house interprets his role in that event (Official Records...Armies, Series I, Vol. 7, p. 711, Harrison, pp. 10-13, Stickles, pp. 72, 76, Speed, p. 133, Military History of Kentucky, pp. 160-61).

The Initial Mobilization and Positioning.

The Confederate capture of Fort Sumter in Charleston in April, 1861, resulted in the Federal concentration at Cairo later that same month. The Federal force sought to control the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. Fort Sumter's fall and the Federal call for troops pushed still wavering Southern states like Tennessee towards secession. Pro-Southern factions in western Kentucky advocated the formation of a new Confederate state

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from those parts of Tennessee and Kentucky west of the Tennessee River. Tennessee left the Union in early May and all eyes focused on Missouri and Kentucky. The Lower Ohio River was the front line in the developing war (*City Cairo Weekly Gazette*, May 30, June 13, September 19, 1861, Official Records....Armies, Series I, Vol. 4, p. 181).

Early Local Major Military Movements.

From the start the army relied primarily upon river transportation to fulfill its mission. Overland movements were limited by the lack of good roads or useful railroads. The lack of water in the southeastern portion of the Jackson Purchase, a severe drought in the late summer of 1864, the close ground cover and rough land surface, and the general lack of good forage, all combined to make the army dependent on river travel. Only on a handful of occasions, did sizable Federal land forces even attempt to move overland within the Lower Ohio River Valley. In fact the first actual aggressive overland forward movement, made by the Federal forces in early February 1862 from Paducah and Smithland against Fort Henry, got mired in the mud and never reached the fort at all. In fairness, armies tended to not attempt such a move on muddy roads in February. The army was in a real sense forced to cooperate with the navy. The combined land and water operations were largely perfected as a result of this dependency and in reality that success demanded the cooperation.

The first sizable overland movements reconnoitered the Confederate position at Columbus in November 1861 and January 1862. The land forces used their months of early service in the region to develop their military skills. As new units piled into Cairo, Fort Holt, Fort Jefferson, Paducah and Smithland, larger-scale land reconnaissance efforts were directed against the Confederate strongpoint at Columbus during November, as roads and campsites turned into mud. Apparently nobody told Gen. Grant that military campaigns were summertime affairs and he fought his first battle at Belmont, Missouri in early November. Operations never really stopped during the winter as the Columbus moves were made, followed in January by coordinated advances from Ballard County and from Paducah. The January movements used a large campsite that was established near Blandville in Ballard County. That camp at the Dr. David Polk Juett Farmstead. The troops were necessarily toughened by these harsh field tours made in the dead of winter. The weaker men were weeded out, and perhaps more important the inept commanders were weeded out as well. Few of the emerging Federal commanders had led such large bodies of troops and they learned valuable lessons in these movements. The better generals and naval officers forged friendships and working teams which endured through the war. The political generals, to a large extent, quickly began to lose the esteem of the working generals.

The first strategic movement south was made overland from Smithland and Paducah against the Confederate river forts. The army missed taking Fort Henry but played a central role in taking Fort Donelson, suffering severely. Things were otherwise pretty easy for them. Columbus and the Confederate position in Central Kentucky were evacuated and it looked as if the rebellion would collapse of its own weight. Another combined operations force captured New Madrid and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi River in early April, 1862, after Columbus was

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evacuated. All land forces were recalled for a unified push up the Tennessee River. The land forces advanced up the Tennessee River and were loosely grouped around at Pittsburg Landing in scattered unfortified camps. The surprise Confederate attack on those camps in the bloody battle of Shiloh (early April 1862) showed that the Rebellion was far from over (Official Records...Armies, Series I, Vol. 7, p. 618, Cooling, p. xiii).

Land forces would continue to be concentrated and forwarded to the changing fronts to the south as the war continued. Their movements in transport convoys have been discussed above. Specific combined operations task forces would depart from Cairo in December 1862 to attack Vicksburg and Arkansas Bluff. The final and successful movement against Vicksburg similarly departed southward from that same point in early 1863. The navy successfully bypassed Vicksburg under fire and crossed Grant's army from Louisiana to Grand Gulf, Mississippi to begin the successful seizure of Vicksburg.

The Irregular War.

The land war in the occupied areas along the Lower Ohio River became more and more irregular in its nature. Federal garrison troops could do little when mounted Confederate forces appeared within view of their picket lines. The Confederates gathered horses and conscripted and recruited close to the Federal strongpoints, knew that there was no Federal cavalry to bother them. The army found itself immersed in chasing but rarely catching ghostly raiders.

Federal commanders were more successful at eradicating the periodic Confederate presence in Union and Henderson counties, further up the Ohio River. In August 1862 Confederate Col. Adam Johnson irritated Federal commanders and Indiana home guards with a small-scale raid across the Ohio River at Newburg, Indiana. Johnson even achieved a tactical victory in early September 1862 when he forced the surrender of a Federal Indiana militia garrison at Uniontown in Union County. The Federal response was sustained and effective cavalry raids into the region. By year's end however, the Confederate presence in Henderson and Union Counties had been fairly eradicated. Battery Rock in eastern Hardin County, Illinois, was the scene of a showdown between opposing military forces in September 1862. Infantry landed at the foot of the stone bluff by that name and formed a line of battle, facing Confederates in line across the river at Caseyville, in Union County, Kentucky (*Evansville Daily Journal*, July 28, 30, August 1, 8, 11, 15, September 1, 3, October 23, 1864).

The year 1863 was a relatively quiet one with just seven skirmishes or actions taking place in the six Kentucky counties studied, and all were in Union and Henderson counties. The year 1864 more than made up for that, with 27 skirmishes and actions occurring, with a more equal distribution across the same counties. The irregular war assumed more substantial form as regular Confederate forces periodically moved into Kentucky and cooperated with irregular forces there. They were able to do so as public support for the war waned in the face of escalating military repression, war weariness, opposition to conscription, and, most important for Kentucky, the Federal recruitment of black soldiers. Kentucky was the last point where this took place, given the absolute

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opposition offered by even the pro-Federal state government. Begun clandestinely at Paducah in early 1864, it was combined with conscription enrollment beginning in March. Black soldiers provided the means to strengthen the local garrisons. It undermined slavery and, therefore, pro-Southern elements of the civilian population.

The result enhanced Confederate ability to challenge Federal strongpoints and Maj. Gen. N. B. Forrest's surprise late-March 1864 assault on Paducah left reverberations of insecurity which haunted local district commanders until the war's end. None of the fortified Federal garrisons had been seriously threatened until now. Suddenly there was this surprise attack. Further east, Confederate Adam Johnson briefly halted river transportation on the Ohio and even crossed a force into Illinois in August, 1864. In the face of these onslaughts and the presence of Confederate and irregular forces throughout Western Kentucky, the Federal occupation turned increasingly harsh and reprisals and systematic repression followed as civilian trade was once again halted.

Up the Ohio things heated up beginning in June. Steamboats were attacked regularly. The steamer *Mercury* was fired upon at Weston, Kentucky, on June 21, 1864. The attackers were surprised to receive a return fire in volley-form from the entire 7th Ohio Infantry which was on board the steamer. The Weston attack came from a prominent bluff line just upstream from that town. The scene of the conflict interprets that incident and illustrates how river shipping could be readily interrupted from tree-covered river bluffs. Approaching vessels could be seen both up and down the Ohio River (*Evansville Daily Journal*, June 21, 1864).

The Confederate presence grew in Union County through mid-August and Col. Adam Johnson returned to his old district. The largest skirmishes took place in Crittenden and Livingston counties during these months. On August 13, Col. Adam Johnson, back in the region once again, shut down Ohio River traffic for two days, capturing and ransoming five grounded steamboats off of Saline Island (Union County, Kentucky). That island survives today and interprets this most successful Confederate interruption of commercial traffic on the river. One of Johnson's objectives appears to have been shutting down coal production in Union County, an apparent attempt to halt fuel shipments to the Federal navy. No coal was produced in the county beginning in 1863, for the rest of the war (Johnson, pp. 163-73).

Johnson's steamboat attack prompted the largest Federal overland campaign in the study area. Two Federal columns converged on Uniontown and despoiled Union, Henderson, Crittenden, and Livingston Counties in response to Johnson's action. Two thousand men from Paducah were shipped upstream to Uniontown and marched overland across those counties stripping the land of stock, provisions, and slaves. A second Indiana Legion force plundered Henderson County (*Official Records...Armies*, Series I, Vol. 39/1, pp. 465-67, *Evansville Daily Journal*, August 20, 1864, *Daily Illinois State Journal*, August 22, 23, 1864).

The Confederates were once again driven southward. They reappeared along the lower Cumberland in late 1864 under Brig. Gen. H. B. Lyon. He too was driven from the state in late December, burning courthouses along the way (*Official Records...Armies*, Series I, Vol. 45/1, pp. 803-05).

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readily viewed from the Paducah levee (*Harpers's Weekly*, October 12, 1861, *The Military Engineer*, March-April 1957, pp. 120-21).

Gentler treatment finally prevailed and the war continued. The Confederate military point of focus shifted to the Upper Cumberland River Valley in late 1864. The larger Confederate land forces were broken up and driven south. The curious legacy of the army garrisons on the Lower Ohio River was their persistence well after the war. Paducah was garrisoned as late as 1867, Smithland until 1866. The army garrisons actually increased and provided necessary support for the Freedmen's Bureau operations and for the maintenance of civil order.

Commercial Trade and Transportation On and Along the Lower Ohio River Valley, 1861-1865.

This historical context treats wartime trade on and across the Ohio River within the area of study. Three significant subthemes constitute the context and can be evaluated within this county-level region. These are (1) legal commercial river trade, (2) illegal river trade, (3) the railroad's role in transportation.

Legal Commercial River Trade.

Before the war the Ohio was a major national trade route. River shipping had only begun to recover from the damage inflicted by the financial panic of 1858-59 when the war broke out. Still there were over 250 steamboats working on the Ohio River when the war started. When free trade was shut down in mid-1861 many of these boats obtained lucrative permanent government contracts to ship military supplies. The government remained the dominant shipper on the Ohio throughout the war, but the permanent contract was abandoned and a piece work approach was adopted. It wasn't long before half as many boats were hauling twice the loads for the government at the same cost.

Shutting off commercial trade by the closing of the Mississippi River sharpened the allegiance of many Illinois residents. They fought to restore what they considered to be a natural right to the export of their goods. Trade concerns directly influenced politics and finally the war. The Confederate government vainly pledged to keep the trade route open to all. Their intentions were defeated by a series of local mob attacks on northern steamboats at New Orleans, Memphis and in Arkansas. Southerners were enforcing their own political purges and "foreign" (Yankee) boat owners weren't welcome. As a result boat owners quickly returned to home ports to await events. Only the local packet boats, running their familiar routes, continued to operate into mid-1861 (Ambler, pp. 244-45).

River trade and shipping was the predominant means of transportation and communication and the regional economy depended upon it. The lack of an alternative means of transportation, allowed the Federal government to effectively suppress illegal and legal trading, at least in terms of bulk. The very real threat of cargo and vessel

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In Western Kentucky, guerrilla operations crippled Federal efforts to enforce military conscription and greatly impeded the 1864 presidential elections. The election was held in the six counties only with military assistance and the Republican-Unionist victory was made possible by the widespread broadscale intimidation of Democratic voters by the military.

The Military Garrison.

The military District of Cairo embraced the Federal mobilization point there as well as at Smithland and Paducah, points which were occupied in September 1861. Cairo was replaced by Columbus as the district headquarters in November 1862. The District of Cairo was reorganized in January 1864 but again reverted to the District of Columbus in May. Paducah became the district headquarters in July 1864 and remained so through the end of the war. Cairo, Paducah, and Smithland, and Columbus were the principal Federal garrison points within the study area. Recruiting camps and garrisons were established at Metropolis (Massac County, Illinois) and Shawneetown (Gallatin County, Illinois). The present-day Fort Massac State Park at Metropolis was the site of the recruiting and rendezvous camp of the 131st Illinois Infantry. The Henry Eddy House in Shawneetown served as the regimental hospital at a similar camp used by the 56th and 87th Illinois Infantry Regiments. These points were occupied between the fall of 1861 and March 1862, and the last quarter of 1863.

The Federal garrison points evolved into more substantial facilities beginning in the spring of 1863. Large standard-issue quartermaster buildings, constructed at Cairo, Paducah and Smithland largely replaced the rudimentary shacks and leased buildings. The protective forts were rebuilt and their garrisons scaled down where appropriate. The Federal garrisons too were reduced to skeleton strength, but sufficient to protect property and communications inland. The garrisons performed the vital support duties of processing prisoners, enforcing trade policy, and maintaining peace in the areas behind the main lines. Paducah and Smithland were telegraph links with military forces up the two tributary rivers. Cairo was the principal telegraphic link with all operations down the Mississippi throughout the war. Smithland became a supply point by mid-1862 but had a small garrison for much of the war. Both Smithland and Paducah were recruiting points and then black recruiting points in 1864.

Star Fort at Smithland is a well-preserved example of a fairly elaborate star-shaped fort plan. It represents the dilemma of the Federal garrisons along the Ohio and its tributaries in Kentucky. Kentucky was a loyal state yet she was occupied and those occupiers had to fortify themselves against attack. The fort was designed to fire in any direction, reflecting that attack could come from anywhere. The Masonic Building at Smithland was used as the post Commissary building throughout the war.

A major engineering accomplishment was the construction of a pontoon bridge of record length below Paducah in September 1861. The 3,300 foot-long bridge has never been exceeded. The site of the bridge can be

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seizure for violating trading rules kept operators on their best behavior for the most part. Small vessels, even ferryboats, were routinely seized and confiscated, further constricting trading options.

The initial collapse of trade devastated the regional economy and particularly affected the river shipping centers. Trade, especially local packet trade, first resumed on the Ohio River, bolstered initially by cotton shipments north. These packets participated in the war against irregular forces, engaging them regularly with their own deck-mounted howitzers. Mississippi River traffic was reopened on a limited basis in late August 1863. New boat construction continued throughout the war, reflecting the enormous profits to be gained in river trade. So many new boats were immediately purchased for gunboat conversion that the civilian trade and military shipping was hard pressed to secure enough boats.

River packet trade on the Ohio River was resilient. Packets served defined short routes and relied upon passenger traffic and mail contracts to make a profit. The Packets were the last boats to stop trading at the war's start and the first to resume it in early 1862. Confederate Col. Adam Johnson twice halted river mail shipments in the fall of 1862 and again in August 1864.

The war gave river traffic an advantage over the railroads, but after the war the supply of boats greatly exceeded peacetime needs and river traffic lost ground to railroad competition as the rail network crossed the Ohio and an integrated and more competitive rail system was completed. The dominance of river shipping throughout the war convinced all that it would continue after the war. Cairo, thought to be finally on its way to permanent success as a shipping point, received a new Customs House in 1867 and Marine Hospitals were added or replaced along the Ohio. The river itself was to be charted and improved by the Army Corps of Engineers, in anticipation of shipping's role.

Illegal River Trade.

Even legal trade prohibited a great many staple items vital to daily living. These prohibited or "contraband" items could not be traded because they could be used by Confederate military forces. As the war progressed the contraband list grew and grew. Naturally the illegal trader was offered great profits if those items could be provided. The list included such obvious items as munitions, medicine, uniforms, but also covered liquors, and salt. If the item wasn't restricted then the quantity that could be traded was limited. Again, small quantities of items could be profitably traded if they could be crossed over the Ohio River or otherwise gotten to where there was a market.

Participation in illegal trading was a local industry in many areas along the river and many made a living from it. There is no way to know how much of illegal trading had even indirect links with supporting Confederate military operations. One source of that support was getting specie into Confederate hands. The purchase of cotton with specie was prohibited for that reason.

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Certain stretches of the Lower Ohio were singled out for their attractiveness to smugglers and contraband traders. Union County, Kentucky, Hardin County, Illinois, and the area between Mound City and Metropolis, were similarly favored areas for smuggling and patrolling Federal gunboats were frequently positioned in those stretches of the river.

The Railroad's Role in Transportation.

Railroads are indirectly important in the Lower Ohio River operations. The Illinois Central provided the critical all-season supply line that was a critical support that enabled Cairo and Mound City to provide the support services they did for the army and navy. The railroad removed cotton north, hauled hundreds of thousands of soldiers both directions, and delivered supplies, naval ordinance, and the like to Cairo and Mound City. The rail lines which paralleled the Ohio River played a role in cooperation with the steamboats in moving the largest military groups during the war. When ice or Confederate interference closed down the Ohio River, the railroad took up the slack and moved the mail or whatever had to be hauled.

The railroads provided critical support to the war effort. Cairo and Mound City depended upon the Illinois Central to ship virtually everything needed for the navy to the river but their effectiveness was lessened whenever floodwaters cut off that rail traffic. The railroads worked in tandem with the transports to move huge military forces across the country quickly. When Confederate forces cut the river mail deliveries, the railroads carried the mail. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad, crippled repeatedly by Confederate raiders, struggled to supply the Federal forces at Nashville, then Chattanooga and Atlanta. River shipping did its part when water levels allowed, and carried everything when the rails were shut down. A major accomplishment was the construction in 1864 of a Tennessee River spur line from Johnsonville to Nashville, which lessened dependence on the problematic Cumberland River, which was more subject to Confederate interference with trade. The Paducah railroad played a key role in supporting Federal military control of the hinterland south and southwest from Paducah. Never militarized, the line also played a key local trading role, despite trade restrictions.

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F. Property Types:

General Comments:

The American Civil War contexts are broadly defined in this multiple property submission to include political, commercial, trade and transportation themes as they related to the war. These non-military contexts must possess a direct association with the military context to justify the inclusion of a related property as a part of this submission.

Associative property types are used in this multiple property nomination because surviving related properties which are non-military in origin greatly outnumber surviving properties having a direct military origin. An "associative property type" is one which bases its significance on its direct association with a historical context, and not upon that property's physical characteristics. The "Non-military Properties With Civil War Associations," the "Scene of Military Conflict" and the "Military Occupation Site" property types all employ these associative characteristics almost exclusively, the exceptions being archeological claims for significance.

The "Military Earthworks" property type alone derives its National Register significance from the physical characteristics of the subject property. Any property under this type was constructed by the military for military purposes and the property directly embodies or reflects the associative aspects of the historical event itself.

Any archeological significance claim, made under any of the property types, considers physical property characteristics as well in measuring eligibility.

All property types are locally significant unless otherwise stated. All of these property types are significant within the area of military history, and this includes non-military themes having a direct link to military operations.

The following four property types are established for use in this multiple property nomination:

- Scene of Military Conflict
- Military Earthworks
- The Military Occupation Site
- Non-military Properties With Civil War Associations

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Name of Property Type: Scene of Military Conflict

The National Park Service National Register Bulletin Number 40, titled "Guidelines For Identifying, Evaluating, And Registering America's Historic Battlefields" should be consulted when a nomination is developed for this property type. While that bulletin is oriented toward larger-scale military conflicts, it is also very useful when a conflict of lesser scale is involved.

Description:

Scenes of Military Conflict are those areas which were the sites of skirmishes or actions between Federal and Confederate forces, or either of those forces and irregular troops. The smallest range of conflicts, the skirmish or the action, accounts for all of the identified military events associated with the historic context. No formal criteria distinguish skirmishes from actions. Actions are the greater of the two categories of military conflicts. The action exceeds the skirmish, involving more participants, lasted longer, was more violent, and was more likely to involve a stated objective by the more aggressive participating party.

The survey discovered no events greater than the action level (Paducah and Uniontown). This property type focuses upon the more extensive levels of actions and skirmishes given the assumption that historical significance is generally proportional to the scale of the conflict. Any small scale military action that can be shown to have resulted in significant military results can be considered for nomination.

This study identified four actions and 69 skirmishes which took place in the six Kentucky counties and four skirmishes which took place in Illinois. Most of the latter were exchanges made across the Ohio River at the Kentucky side of the river. The five largest military encounters were as follows, listed in descending order of size and importance:

- Action at Paducah, McCracken County, Kentucky, March 25, 1864: Confederate cavalry commanded by Gen. N. B. Forrest unsuccessfully attempted to capture the Federal garrison. The fight lasted 6-8 hours, involved 2,000 men and 2 Federal gunboats. Estimated total losses were 150 men killed and wounded. The action signified a bolstered Confederate presence in Western Kentucky. Black Federal soldiers proved themselves in battle for the first time in the river corridor and Confederate frustration with their failure to take the post possibly induced their killing of surrendered black soldiers at the capture of Fort Pillow, Tennessee, in April 1864.

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- Action at Uniontown, Union County, Kentucky, September 1, 1862: Confederate Col. Adam Johnson achieved his only strategic capture of a Federal garrison by seizing this river town. The fight lasted one hour, involved 1,000 or more men, and resulted in 231 casualties, mostly Federal prisoners of war. There were no Confederate “fruits of victory” because a Federal counterattack effectively drove Johnson and his men out of the area.
- Skirmish at Salem, Livingston County, Kentucky, August 7, 1864: Confederate cavalry attacked a Federal scouting party from nearby Smithland but were driven off after the Federal soldiers occupied the downtown buildings. The fight lasted two to three hours, involved 250 men, and resulted in 14-20 total casualties. The Confederate force retired bloodied and this singular effort to operate in northern Livingston County was not repeated during the war.
- Skirmish at Geiger’s Lake, Union County, Kentucky, June 15 1864: Advancing Federal forces fought a “desperate” skirmish here. The fight lasted an hour or longer, involved 500-600 men, and resulted in 31 casualties. While a draw, the fight announced the positioning of substantial Confederate forces in the county by this time.
- Action, Lucas Bend, Ballard County, January 11, 1862: This was the only substantial purely Federal and Confederate naval duel to take place within the study area. The nearby Federal forts at Cairo and Fort Holt participated as well. The skirmish lasted just 20 minutes to an hour, involved 5 Federal and Confederate gunboats, and resulted in unknown if any casualties. As a result of this encounter, Confederate gunboats never again ventured so far north up the Mississippi River.

The property type consists of the immediate setting of the military action, and includes the locations of all important elements of the action. National Register Bulletin Number 40 (p. 13) states that “a basic principle [in setting nomination boundaries] is to include within the boundary all of the locations where opposing forces, either before, during, or after the battle, took actions based on their assumptions of being in the presence of the enemy.” The general approach is to exclude those elements of the event which took place without some regard to the opposing force. A route of approach with no opposition or a route of retreat with no pursuit, would be excluded. If a component of the property caused the conflict to take place, then that key component should be included, assuming it played a role in the fight itself. Features natural or man-made which shaped the event should be still extant and included.

This property type envisions that the entire scene of military conflict will be included in the nomination package. This approach requires that the property type retains a range of associated key features and properties. Urban scenes of military conflict will have changed and many if not most of these associated components are likely lost. In these cases it might be impossible to

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justify using this broader property type to interpret the entire conflict. When just one key component survives, using the “non-military properties with Civil War Associations” is an optional approach. The Petter Building at Paducah is a good example of this situation. The building sidewall contains naval shells from the March 25, 1864 military action at Paducah. It is the only surviving building with direct links to that significant action and the only remaining commercial riverfront building from the time of the conflict. This property can be used to interpret a very significant conflict and in this case it is the only means to do so through the National Register process. The building cannot be used to represent or reconstruct the broader scene and sequence of that conflict however absent other associated components. A rural conflict scene relies more upon land patterns and can constitute a site even when key buildings are gone.

Only the military collisions of two opposing forces can be considered to qualify as skirmishes or actions under this submission. The opposing forces can be a military-civilian encounter. Both sides need not be formal military contenders. Two opposing irregular bodies can have a qualifying conflict. A number of gunboat shellings of suspected enemy positions, or reprisal shellings of towns do not qualify as scenes of military conflict. They are considered to be “affairs.” The Katterjohn-Reed House in Henderson is said to have been shelled during one of the reprisal shellings of that town. It is treated under this submission not as a scene of military action but rather as a non-military property with Civil War associations.

Saline Island which is actually in Union County, Kentucky, yet adjoins Gallatin County, Illinois, on the Ohio River was similarly associated with a number of important Confederate Ohio River crossings into Illinois. During the last of these, in mid-August 1864, local Federal home guards ineffectively fired across the river at Confederates who had boarded and ransomed five steamboats before releasing them.

Significance:

A military conflict property can be nominated under Criterion A, B, C, or D for its significance in the area of military history. Under Criterion A, the conflict must have an association with the larger scale military movements which took place within the Lower Ohio River corridor. The particular conflict must have a documented effect on the overall conduct of the Civil War, either in its regional application, or on the war's overall progress. Under Criterion B, the conflict property must have direct association with a military person whose specific actions during the conflict affected its outcome. Any Criterion B significance claims must take into account the entire Civil War military career of the individual. Under Criterion C, man-made or natural properties which played a central role in the conflict may be significant if particular physical characteristics of the property can be shown to have affected the conflict's outcome.

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This is appropriate if the conflict property is being nominated as a district with multiple components. Under Criterion D, a conflict property is significant for its information potential in better understanding the course and outcome of the specific action, or the Civil War in general. While smaller conflicts tend to be too brief to leave a significant record, known site searches by amateur archeologists have recovered large numbers of battle related artifacts. One example of archeological potential is the action at Paducah where from 20 to 60 residences were burned to clear the field of fire. The likelihood of studying these burned sites argues that even smaller-scale conflicts could leave their physical mark on the landscape and that there is a potential to yield information through archeology in those instances. Properties can only be proposed for nomination under Criterion D after important research questions are discussed in text that is amended to Section E of the Multiple Property Description Form, or added in the future to the Statement of Significance of the property's nomination form.

A military action or skirmish achieves significance when it can claim endurance in time and intensity, involves sufficient numbers of participants from two opposing sides, results in a substantial number of casualties, so as to result in a significant effect on the progress of the Civil War. Significant effect means that the conflict has to have resulted in some militarily important result, short or long term. Some examples of these significant effects were listed under the descriptive section of this property type. Other effects are the seizure of territory or a key point, stopping or redirecting an enemy movement, the abandonment of a garrison following its capture, or enhancing the reputation of a military leader as a result of a victory. A military defeat frequently results in a reprisal that took the form of tightened trade restrictions, a punitive military raid or political repression. Any of these associations can form the basis for a claim of significance. While most very minor skirmishes would not warrant even a local level of significance, a few are individually significant on a local or statewide level, the latter comprising those that had the greater and broader influence on the conduct of the war. State level significance is more likely associated with larger scale military conflict which in this study is the "action." The final determination rests upon the measured effect of the conflict rather than the dynamics of the encounter itself.

A conflict can be more significant if it can be linked directly to broader patterns of events outside of the study area. The successful defense of Paducah by black soldiers was a motivational factor in the subsequent Confederate massacre of black troops at Fort Pillow, the latter event being a nationally important war incident.

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Registration Requirements:

- The scene of military conflict must be directly associated with the American Civil War, 1861-65.
- The scene of military conflict must have taken place within the counties which adjoin the Lower Ohio River (defined for the purposes of this study as the stretch of that river from Cairo, Illinois to the eastern boundary of Henderson County, Kentucky) in Kentucky or Illinois.
- The scene of military conflict must have a direct and significant association with the Civil War-era Lower Ohio River military operations, active or passive, which in turn had a direct bearing on the evolution and course of the Civil War.
- A scene of military conflict can be termed a "property" when it can be associated with a specific setting and location. Historical documentation must verify the date, location, and describe the conflict. In that way, historical documentation can support the property's significance. A conflict site consists of landscape and built environment reference points, and elements which influenced the course of the event itself. The documentation of the conflict identifies these related reference points. These key elements must survive and must retain their historical integrity so as to evoke a sense of time and place as it existed at the time of the conflict. A property can lack buildings or major physical features, but in all cases, such minor components as water courses, roadways, ground cover and cropping patterns, will closely approximate the appearance which existed when the military action occurred. Historic viewsheds can be included as uncounted components in this property type and serve as an overlay which superimposed on the scene of the action.
- A documented scene of military conflict which can only be given a general site attribution or one which has inadequate documentation, falls short of meeting the minimal associative standards for this property type. These properties lack specific boundaries, or key reference points. Documentation must link the conflict with key features of the property. Such documentation, at the skirmish or action level, usually requires accounts of the actual participants, contemporary newspaper accounts, or military reports, to make those linkages and to allow the nomination preparer to identify and analyze the property and to measure its integrity.
- The scene of military conflict property qualifies for consideration for nomination if it retains sufficient integrity. If the documentation identifies one or more key features and at least one of those features still survives in recognizable form, then the candidate property possesses a direct visual link with the historical event. If the setting of the military conflict has not been fundamentally altered, for example, a surviving rural

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setting, then the most general tests for integrity have been met. The property must possess the ability to represent the historical "stage" upon which the conflict took place.

- When the scene of military conflict is eligible under Criterion A the overall site of the military conflict must retain integrity of location and setting, and must possess qualities of feeling and association. The conflict must be linked to a sufficient number of intact reference points, both man-made and natural. Those points or properties must have the ability to accurately interpret and better understand the written account of the event, using intact landscape and built environment features. Surviving related buildings, structures and landscape components must possess integrity of location, setting, and design. They retain integrity of workmanship and materials, but these built environment aspects are the most likely to have changed over time.
- Under Criterion B, the same integrity aspects must be met as are required for Criterion A eligibility, but the property must possess those aspects as these relate to the claimed direct association of a notable soldier or civilian with the event.
- Under Criterion C, the same integrity aspects must be met as are required for Criterion A eligibility, but the property must include or consist of a building, structure or object which figured prominently in the associated event.
- A Criterion D claim for significance requires a potential for the property to yield significant historical information that is otherwise not available in the historical record.

Name of Property Type: Military Earthworks

Within the study area a small number of earthworks were built. Forts were built at Cairo and Villa Ridge (both in Illinois) and Fort Holt, Paducah and Smithland (two), all in Kentucky, and only one of the Smithland forts survives. Redoubts or redans were built at Smithland (three) and Paducah (four) but none of these is extant. Isolated redans were constructed at Cairo, Paducah (guarding pontoon bridge approaches) and Mound City, and simple defensive works were raised at Henderson and possibly at Fort Massac. None of these survive. Additional minor works could be found, principally along the Ohio River, or in some of the minor garrison towns.

Earthworks, especially formally designed and substantial works, were rarely built within the survey area during the war, and their presence and use implies an extraordinary importance to the site which they protected. If preserved, earthworks offer optimal opportunities to interpret the historical experience. Formal earthworks by default represent substantial commitments of military resources, both human and material, in order to hold a strategic strongpoint or to impose

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authority within a sub-region. All earthworks imply a stronger and more direct linkage between a site and a point-in-time event or pattern of events.

Description:

All known Civil War-era military earthworks located within the survey corridor were constructed as defensive works by Federal garrison forces between 1861 and 1865. The majority of known works are examples of simple defensive lines, usually termed "fieldworks," and this apparent simplicity, based on surviving earthworks and the lack of descriptive documentation of their construction unfortunately precludes their categorization using a more formal earthworks typology. Those works which are more sophisticated than simple earthworks must be categorized and evaluated using this standard typology in order that a more useful comparative analysis of form and purpose can be made. These more formally designed earthworks tend to be better documented and they can then be compared with other regional and national examples of the same sub-type.

Earthworks are impermanent man-made earthen structures in contrast to permanent formal fixed fortifications. Permanent or fixed works are built with more permanent materials and served permanent military posts, and are not moved once built. Formal works are those which are designed by (or represent the designs of) military engineers. These represent classical basic forms often in combination. They can be sorted into the following four basic classes which are listed in diminishing order of engineering sophistication and significance; (1) the fully enclosed earthwork (termed the "fort" and fortified blockhouse), (2) the earthwork which is largely enclosed and is vulnerable only from the rear (termed the "redoubt" or "redan"), (3) the connective line with regularly spaced strongpoints, and (4) the simple isolated earthwork. Isolated rifle pits or picket post pits fall under this latter grouping. The physical scale of the earthwork declines along the same scale and the simple earthwork tends to have the lowest overall profile and likely never had any frontal ditching or other elaborations.

Earthworks, save in their simplest application, rarely existed in isolation. The property type was originally associated with such components as advanced and flanking picket or rifle pit lines, magazines, associated buildings, wells, cisterns, or approaches. In most cases, these components can only be evaluated through archeology. Detached earthworks in garrison settings were planned in a mutually supportive integrated system and all parts of those systems must be investigated when a nomination is undertaken. A reconstructed earthwork is not eligible if it lacks supportive archeological fieldwork or historical documentation to verify its rebuilding.

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Significance:

The historical significance of a Civil War-era earthwork is based upon its direct association with Civil War-era military events. The earthwork itself is defacto evidence that a property possessed military importance and was worth the investment of human and capital resources to construct earthworks. Military earthworks were but rarely constructed within the Lower Ohio River region. Earthworks always defended key strategic points. At the same time garrison points such as Henderson, Kentucky or Shawneetown, Illinois, merited no earthworks. The presence of an earthwork indicates that the point to be defended was more important, that a greater military threat to that point required earthworks, or that both of these factors existed. Either of these causal justifications reflects historical significance of the property type. If there is an earthwork present, it follows that significant military history was associated with that property. Earthworks are locally significant under Criterion A unless a compelling argument can be made that its significant associations transcend the level of basic garrison defense. Examples include association with a major regional military campaign or being garrisoned by black military units.

Earthworks may be nominated under Criterion A for their significance in association with military history and engineering. A Criterion A association is the strongest claim to significance when an earthwork can be associated with an important and documented military event or series of events.

Earthworks may be nominated under Criterion B for their significance in association with military history and engineering. Criterion B claim of significance has to associate a particular significant individual military engineer with the design of the earthwork, placing that design within a regional Civil War comparative framework.

Earthworks may be nominated under Criterion C for their significance in association with military history and engineering. Criterion C claims for significance focus upon the design of the structure itself, basing the significance on its scale, materials, and its state of preservation. Such a claim demands that the earthwork retain some substantial proportion of its original profile and component parts. An earthwork can be significant under Criterion C because it directly represents a rare example of a Civil War era-structure. This rarity is increased by the removal over time of most of the few earthworks which were constructed along the Lower Ohio River. The earthwork is at the same time the most likely survivor of all man-made wartime properties and as such it is an invaluable tool for interpreting a very important period of American history. Beyond rarity the Civil War earthwork is significant if it has the ability to represent fine qualities of design, construction in military engineering. State level significance is warranted when an earthwork represents a well-preserved formally-designed defensive work. As such, Star Fort at Smithland

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qualifies. The proper comparative population of formal earthworks in the study area would be that of the military division or department, that is to say West Tennessee and West Kentucky, rather than of the State of Kentucky as a whole. This class would consist of river-related defensive points which were planned and constructed by the same engineer and commanding officers during the war.

A property meeting Criterion D will possess valuable information which answers research questions identified as key issues either in the historic context (Section E of the Multiple Property Documentation Form) or on the individual nomination form. Significance based on Criterion D requires documented direct association of the earthwork with military activity or earthwork designed, based on the proven capacity of the property to yield important historical information through archeological exploration.

Registration Requirements:

- The military earthwork must be directly associated with the American Civil War, 1861-65.
- An earthwork must be attributable to Civil War-era military construction and its basic form and dimension must be recognizable. It is not required that any original profile (vertical or sectional angles and dimensions) of the earthwork or its component parts survive. It is unrealistic to expect that an earthen form will not have weathered substantially over time. The earthwork should rise above the baseline ground level and its direction, footprint, and its topographical association must be present.
- The military earthwork must have been built within the counties which adjoin the Lower Ohio River (defined for the purposes of this study as the stretch of that river from Cairo, Illinois to the eastern boundary of Henderson County, Kentucky) in Kentucky or Illinois.
- The military earthwork must have a direct and significant association with the Civil War-era Lower Ohio River military operations, active or passive, which in turn had a direct bearing on the evolution and course of the Civil War.
- Under Criteria A and B an earthwork has to retain integrity of location, setting, design, and materials, and these collectively convey integrity of feeling and association.
- An earthwork retaining integrity of workmanship can claim to possess a higher degree of preservation.
- Under Criterion C the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and design are to be more critically applied and given more weight.

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- Under a Criterion D, the claim for significance requires a potential for the property to yield significant historical information that is otherwise not available in the historical record, and must consider any other associated buildings or structures. That information could address the historical importance of the particular military garrison, the significance of the occupying military force, or the importance of the earthworks design itself. Archeology can yield important information about how an entire garrison or a specific defensive position functioned within the context of the war. It can yield significant day-to-day lifeways data about the soldiers who occupied the earthwork. Finally it can provide descriptive information about the original layout and profile of the earthwork which might otherwise not be available from the written record. The basic significance of an earthwork and its level of significance depends upon the ability to document the origin, timeframe of use, and historical associations with important military events. Archeology can sometimes answer these key questions. The individual nomination form must not just identify which of these key questions the site can shed light upon, but must also explain what light is shed.

Name of Property Type: Military Occupation Site

Description:

The common denominator of this fairly broadly defined property type is the documented presence of a large-scale military presence within a specified physical location. This is a property type is defined by associative characteristics more so than upon the physical characteristics of property itself. This property type includes five sub-types, described as follows, which are ranked in ascending order of scale and complexity:

- (1) The intermittent field encampment was a smaller scale field camp, frequently involving the regular reuse of the same campsite. It had only natural components, shelter, water, cleared space and maybe an associated farmstead.
- (2) The substantial field encampment was a large scale (larger than a brigade in strength) yet temporary campsite which was associated with a major military movement and a large number of troops. It required a large open area, had associated farmsteads, and short-term complexity of functions (blacksmithing, cooking), and site use was functionally segregated. There were no sinks (latrines) or even temporary quarters. The Dr. David Polk Juett House in Ballard County is an example of this property sub-type.
- (3) The camp of operations was a longer-term field headquarters which was primarily used by Confederate or irregular bodies. The camp of operations built no buildings but

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housed a variety of functions in a closer setting but at smaller scale. The camp was usually physically isolated. While this sub-type is of particular historical interest, given the lack of historical information about Confederate and irregular operations, none of the reported camps of operations could be located and documented during this study. They did exist but require additional investigation. The military force linked to these properties was normally smaller than a regiment in size, but it could occasionally approach 1,500 to 2,000 men.

(4) The military encampment and recruit rendezvous station involved the use of a site by a regiment to complete its organization. The military encampment/recruit rendezvous station lasted about 4 months and had winter quarters, hospital and warehouse functions, sinks, wells, corrals and stables. It had a variety of spatially segregated functions with task-specific facilities for each. Known examples at Shawneetown (the Elm Grove Farm, where two infantry regiments organized and recruited) and Metropolis, Illinois (Fort Massac, Massac County, although the exact campsite for the 131st Illinois Infantry has yet to be determined), date to the years 1862-63. Battery Rock in Hardin County, Illinois was a Federal recruiting station. No earthworks were associated with these posts.

(5) The military garrison is a long-term sustained occupation of a single community. Like the above example, the garrison possesses the same attributes but differs in terms of duration, complexity and scale. Its buildings are more permanent, may be privately leased or seized buildings or military-built buildings. The garrison is the most complex military community, encompassing defensive works, military camps, function-specific workshops, warehouses and offices, barracks, river and railroad transportation facilities, prisons, hospitals, contraband and Freedmen's quarters and hospitals. Town squares were used as regimental camps. A garrison property type was a military "town" overlaid upon a pre-existing civilian town. Its sub-communities serve the needs of soldiers, sailors, refugees, and the many military departments. A garrison gained standardized military buildings mid-war as logistical roles outweighed military ones. Its prisons housed the "disloyal" with separate facilities for soldiers, prisoners of war, and civilians. Protective earthworks ranged from the simple palisaded picket line to the fort, with separate redoubts or redans in between.

Longer-term properties are more likely to have dump sites, sinks, wells, military roads, winter quarters, chimneys and raised foundations for tents, and the like. These features have a potential to yield information. This potential increases as the intensity of the military land use increases. Generally speaking, Confederate military occupation sites having these features are of comparably greater importance because less is known about them and their occupants from the historical record.

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Significance:

The military occupation site may be nominated under Criteria A or D for their significance in the area of military history. These key occupation sites or strongpoints controlled, dominated and influenced all substantial military movements and actions. The operations of, and the interactions between these several locations explains how and why the Civil War experience developed within the study corridor and how the regional war in turn related to the broader war.

Within the study area, soldiers of both sides spent most of their service time in one of the forms of military occupation sites. Military land operations of any scale were rare in the area of study so the more-intensive camp sites are few in number. They are significant if they are associated with large scale overland operations. Smaller patrol-sized campsites are more numerous but difficult to identify or to determine to be significant. Significance is warranted if the same campsite saw regular use by different military forces over time. These properties are associated with a pattern of events rather than a single important event. These camps are likely to be significant because relatively little is known about the details or even the scale of Confederate regular and irregular operations in the study area. Federal soldiers in the study area spent virtually all of their time in the garrison setting. Cave-in-Rock is a natural limestone cave located in Hardin County, Illinois. Its setting, immediately upon the Ohio River, made it suitable as an occasional Federal military campsite. The garrison sub-type of the military occupation site deserves greater consideration because of this fact.

Garrisons were located at key towns and cities. The military garrison point was determined by the same locational and developmental factors or advantages which explained the existence of the urban center itself. The significant military strongpoint controlled regional transportation, provided a staging or marshaling ground for key strategic military movements, or imposed military authority and political control over occupied territories. From a military administrative perspective the garrison provided secure administrative, support and communications facilities, and contained the necessary warehouses and offices.

At first these garrison points served as the points of departure for significant Federal campaigns made up the Mississippi, the Tennessee, Cumberland or the Ohio Rivers. After the region was militarily secured, they served as fortified strongpoints from which military control could be imposed regionally imposed. Within each sub-region Confederate and irregular military activity was subdued and the resident population controlled or pacified. Federal and state military and administrative measures were carried out. These included the enforcement of the draft, military recruiting, tax collection and the conducting of elections.

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Registration Requirements:

- The military occupation site must be directly associated with the American Civil War, 1861-65.
- The military occupation site must have taken place within the counties which adjoin the Lower Ohio River (defined for the purposes of this study as the stretch of that river from Cairo, Illinois to the eastern boundary of Henderson County, Kentucky) in Kentucky or Illinois.
- The military occupation site must have a direct and significant association with the Civil War-era Lower Ohio River military operations, active or passive, which in turn had a direct bearing on the evolution and course of the Civil War.
- Under Criterion A the military occupation site must retain integrity of setting, location, feeling and association of its immediate site and surrounding historic landscape features. Military occupation sites must possess the same landscape patterns and any natural features such as water sources, cave shelters or observation points. Modern intrusions must be minimal. The individual registration form must explain how the property retains each integrity factor.
- Under Criterion D the military occupation site must retain the same integrity aspects as noted above but must in addition have potential subsurface archeological deposits worthy of study to yield important information about the operation of the property type. Criterion D is best applied to longer-term military occupation sites. The individual registration form must explain how the site's physical material addresses important research questions, identifying first, what those questions are.

Name of Property Type: Non-military Properties With Civil War Associations

Description:

This property type groups together a broad range of natural or man-made properties which may have existed prior to the Civil War years. These sub-types include districts, buildings, structures, objects, and sites. The common linkage for all of these sub-types is a significant Civil War-era historical association. The property type differs from the others in this multiple property document in that the other property types were built by the military for military use. This property type is therefore associative because there is no physical military characteristic involved.

Physical property characteristics played a role in the selection of non-military properties for military use, and any such characteristics must be considered. Non-military properties were

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mostly of substantial size and construction, offered immediate shelter, were centrally located to suit military purposes, or provided attractive settings for military operations. These physical or locational qualities are still non-military characteristics, ones which matched military needs.

This largely associative property type encompasses all non-military man-made or natural properties that have direct associations with Civil War-related events or patterns of events. An example is a church that was transformed into a hospital. The building's open interior, its yard, and a downtown location might explain why the building was selected for that use. Possible common associations include the locations of military functions such as hospitals, soldier's quarters, offices, prisons, storage facilities, work sites, the homes of significant persons, both military and civilian, or the sites of important events.

This property type requires that there be an intact above-ground property which played a direct associated role in the claimed event. Associated outbuildings or landscape features might remain but are of secondary consideration. The property must be visually recognizable by virtue of its architectural style, its structural composition, its construction materials or its physical characteristics if a natural feature. The historic building core, and particularly its main historic facade, must be recognizable. Preserved interior spaces, features and finishes are not likely to have survived, but if present, and linked to the associated event(s), strengthen the property's ability to interpret the association. Substantially altered, enlarged, or relocated buildings, structures or objects are so altered that the formerly significant associations no longer are tenable.

Archeological features are worth consideration for most of the sub-types of this property type and Civil War associations can be documented or better understood. Completely demolished properties are not eligible under this property type unless there exists a strong and sustained Civil War association. The Marine Ways at Mound City, site of wartime gunboat construction and repair, likely possess a potential to yield information about those operations. Such large-scale archeological properties as a sunken wreck can be treated under this broadly-defined property type if the sinking took place during the war and was a war-related event. The registration form must identify the key research questions to be addressed, as well as explain what light would be shed upon those questions by the information that the property possesses.

Significance:

Non-military properties having significant Civil War historical associations can be nominated under Criterion A, B, C or D for their significance in the area of military history. Collectively this broadly-defined property type allows for the eligibility of a host of varied properties which had those associations. Because it is these associative characteristics which

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unify the property type, this section will define the necessary level of that significance required to nominate a property.

Associated historical events can be divided into two groupings, those of individual events and patterns of events. Properties having a single event association will depend upon the significance level of that point-in-time event if they are to be eligible for nomination. Under Criterion A or B, a significant single event must change the course of history in some manner. The scene of a public patriotic rally, held in key downtown buildings or in public parks, qualifies under this property type if the event can be shown to have rallied community action or produced military recruits. The Old State Bank building in Old Shawneetown, Illinois, was the scene of the presentation of colors to the first departing military company. Cave-in-Rock, in eastern Hardin County, Illinois, housed pro-Union refugees from Kentucky in late 1861. These were removed by the military to better quarters at Paducah and Cairo. Other examples include emergency hospital use, the short-term use as an officer's headquarters, the firing of a cannon ball through the windows of a house (said to have occurred at the Katterjohn-Reed House, 503 N. Main in Henderson, Kentucky). The statement of significance on the individual registration form for such property nominations must justify the claim for significance.

Properties having significant historical associations in the form of patterns of events include those which were used by the military for a period of time. Examples of Criterion A associations for those properties which experienced a variety of war-related events or associations over time include Cave-In-Rock, Illinois, which housed war refugees, stored evacuated county records and served as a navigational landmark during the war. The Masonic Hall/Second Baptist Church at Smithland, Kentucky, was a commercial building used as a Federal garrison's commissary throughout the war. Battery Rock in Hardin County, Illinois, was the scene of a number of military affairs throughout the war but served as a short-term Federal campsite and recruiting station. Confederate campsites tend to be of smaller scale and of less intense use given the more limited Confederate military presence within the area of study.

Rarity, while not alone a National Register measure of eligibility, is a major factor when evaluating this property type because very few Civil War era man-made properties physically survive and fewer survive unaltered in the study area. Of those that do survive, the necessary documentation which recount their wartime services, if any do not survive. The Second Baptist Church example, mentioned above, is all the more remarkable because the building, while not of military construction, is a rare example of a wartime commissary building. Almost all of the church buildings used as hospitals have been replaced by newer buildings. Commercial buildings, used as offices, warehouses, prisons, and other military uses only very rarely survive and the survey failed to identify any survivors. Commercial and residential buildings which were

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specifically constructed during the war to house military functions meet Criterion A requirements. Similarly commercial and residential buildings which were built because of builder-owner war-related prosperity would be eligible for nomination. These last two classes are eligible for their associative characteristics.

Those properties which have Criterion B associations require a substantial and direct association with individual(s), civilian or military, who were significantly involved with Civil War-era events. The Tilghman Woolfolk House has a significant Criterion B association with Lloyd Tilghman because it was his residence at the start of the war and was directly linked to his earliest wartime activities and his personal decision to serve the Confederacy. Two future Confederate generals, Lloyd Tilghman and Simon Buckner, are said to have pledged their loyalty to the Confederate Government in Tilghman's Paducah home. While a small-scale private incident, it can be regionally compared to General Robert E. Lee's decision to resign from the Federal army at the start of the war. The personal dilemmas of these individuals is representative of those of many thousands of other Kentuckians.

These same examples of wartime era construction would be eligible for nomination under Criterion C because of their physical characteristics which relate directly to that intended military usage. These characteristics include the qualities of location, scale, appearance which made them attractive for military usage. A headquarters building might have been selected for military use because of its style, setting and location and was featured in photographs or written accounts because of those same largely visual or landmark attributes.

Under Criterion D any property having a sustained Civil War association is likely to possess the potential to yield significant historical information about those associations through archeology. Wartime steamboat wrecks can also be included within this property type, the Civil War association being both the wartime service of the vessel and the cause of its sinking. Any property nominated for meeting Criterion D must discuss any important research questions on its registration form's statement of significance along with a discussion of how the information which the property possesses will answer those questions.

Registration Requirements:

- Non-Military Properties With Civil War Associations must be directly associated with the American Civil War, 1861-65.
- Non-Military Properties With Civil War Associations must have taken place within the counties which adjoin the Lower Ohio River (defined for the purposes of this study as

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the stretch of that river from Cairo, Illinois to the eastern boundary of Henderson County, Kentucky) in Kentucky or Illinois.

- Non-Military Properties With Civil War Associations must have a direct and significant association with the Civil War-era Lower Ohio River military operations, active or passive, which in turn had a direct bearing on the evolution and course of the Civil War.
- Non-Military Properties With Civil War Associations are eligible under Criterion A, must retain the integrity aspects of location, design and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association. The property has to be in its original location, and its original design must be visually apparent, unobstructed by additions or alterations. The integrity aspects of setting, materials and workmanship are expected to have changed the most, and their substantial loss does not disqualify eligibility.
- Under Criterion B, a Non-Military Properties With Civil War Associations is eligible if it retains the same integrity aspects required for Criterion A. The aspects of workmanship and materials are minimally reflected in the visible facade, if a building.
- Non-Military Properties With Civil War Associations are eligible under Criterion C, because of the absolute rarity example properties. Non-military buildings which were constructed for military uses rarely survive. Any example argues for considerable latitude even when the property has been substantially modified. However greatly altered properties are best treated under Criterion D if they have the potential to yield important information about wartime construction. The property must be recognizable by its builder were that person able to return to the site. The integrity aspects of location, materials, design, setting, feeling and association must be retained.
- Non-Military Properties With Civil War Associations are eligible under Criterion D if they possess the potential to yield important historical information through archeological treatment. If the property is a sunken vessel, then it is expected that the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association are sufficiently retained so that the property is recognizable and qualifies to yield information. The individual nomination form must identify key research questions to be answered and must explain how the information yielded from the property will shed light on those questions.

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Geographical Area:

The geographical area of this multiple property documentation form includes those counties in Illinois and Kentucky which border the Lower Ohio River between Cairo, Illinois and the mouth of the Green River in Kentucky. The Indiana side of Ohio River, between the mouth of the Wabash River and Newburg, is excluded. That portion of Ballard County which fronts on the Mississippi River between Wickliffe, Kentucky and Cairo, Illinois, is also included.

In Illinois, these counties include (in up-river order) Alexander, Pulaski, Massac, Pope, Hardin and Gallatin. In Kentucky they include Ballard, McCracken, Livingston, Crittenden, Union and Henderson Counties.

The geographical focus of the documentation is that of the immediate Ohio River drainage and the identified sites for the most part are located within proximity to the river. Contextually, it was necessary to deal with the entire county and frequently the regional history so as to adequately understand the events along the Ohio River.

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Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods:

The vision for this project originated in the mind of Mr. Stephen Thompson, staff person in the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, as he explored Battery Rock, in eastern Hardin County, Illinois. Thompson was struck by the visually compelling sense of time and place that the setting offered. Before him stretched the historical "stage" where Confederate Colonel Adam "Stovepipe" Johnson briefly closed down Ohio River commerce in the Civil War's only Lower Ohio River river blockade. If similar historic sites are identified, then the river corridor offers a splendid opportunity to educate traveling Americans about Civil War history. Thompson proposed the establishment of parallel Ohio River Civil War Heritage Trails along the Ohio River between Cairo, Illinois and Henderson, Kentucky. The official project title was the "Illinois-Kentucky Ohio River Civil War Heritage Trail." The project involved a coordinated effort by the two state historic preservation programs. The Illinois Historic Preservation Agency took on the role of as the administering agency in the effort. The Illinois Association of Museums, the Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs, and the Kentucky Department of Travel and the National Park Service were additional partner-participants. Funding for the project came from state and federal sources.

The historical survey and National Register nomination effort looked for the story of the Civil War along a 170-mile corridor. Numerous potential historical themes were pursued, some of these, such as state and local politics and river trade and commerce, are not usually included in a military historical study. Two products were envisioned from the start, these being an inventory of properties to be interpreted and a list of ten properties to be immediately nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. The same property could be on both lists

Local participation on the part of community leaders, local historians, and town-based economic development and tourism staff persons was vital to the quality of the project products and to its long-term success. These volunteers were the key link in matching significant events with particular properties in their communities. This was critical because most of the identified historic properties were associated with locally significant day-to-day Civil War themes. These people knew that local history. The exact locations of many local military conflicts sites could not be located without the assistance of local Civil War scholars and relic hunters.

The long-term success of the heritage trail concept depends upon this same local support and the development of a mutually cooperative corridor-wide network of local historians, tourism and community development persons. These partners can further develop, enhance, and promote the trail. These key individuals had to be directly involved in the project from its earliest stages if they were to believe in the viability of the heritage trail concept. The project sought to locate quality interpretable properties in each of the counties and to argue convincingly that the Civil War was a salient local historical event in every community.

The designated study corridor had a natural "fit" for some of the contexts. The river after all is the common denominator of the entire region. Because it was for so long the dominant transportation mode, the expected

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parallel road and rail systems were not needed. The river links a series of distinct cultural and geographical sub-regions and each of these smaller areas experienced a locally-influenced Civil War context. The commonality of the corridor was also reflected in its unified historical settlement patterns. In consequence residents on either side of the Lower Ohio River had much more in common culturally than they had differences.

The corridor is geographically divided by the presence of the two Ohio tributaries, the Tennessee and the Cumberland Rivers and these broke the region up into several military sub-regions. These, in combination with the several different geographical sub-regions influenced the form and nature of local Civil War events. Each general corridor theme had its particular impact in each sub-region and these local applications are termed "local history." Civil War historiography is increasingly turning to this local class of events so as to better understand the broader themes of the war. These local studies serve as case studies for those broader themes and illuminate the local human or community wartime experience. This study accomplishes this goal within a larger geographical context of 12 Kentucky and Illinois counties.

This local wartime experience continues to reverberate in the local history, particularly in the oral history. Herein resides much of the pain and suffering of the war. The surviving stories speak of death, raids, insecurity, the loss of food and valuables, and military and political repression. These same themes define the war in general within the study corridor. The challenge to the historian is to evaluate the historical significance of these local events.

The greatest obstacle to documenting the local war along the Ohio River was the near-total loss of the most useful records from the Civil War period. In the studied counties there are no complete runs of Civil War-era newspapers. In many counties the wartime public records were also lost. This loss of information again underscored the importance of local historians. Local historians were accustomed to using less-traditional sources and had found important diaries, several of which were kept by farmers during the war. Some early county/community histories had access to these now-missing newspapers when they were written. There was also the near-complete absence of Civil War period county maps. State maps survive but detailed local maps were needed to link events and properties and to help measure landscape changes since the war. The respective state historical archives and particularly the governors' correspondence proved to be very useful because they included many letters written by or to residents in the river counties.

On the military side of research the traditional sources such as the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies and the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies were fully searched. The navy volumes were of great importance given the dominant role of the Ohio and its tributaries. The newly available Supplement to the Official Records was invaluable because it offers all unit record of events which in many cases minutely track where and when each unit went and what was done at each point. The target group of military units were those which spent some considerable time within the study corridor and in the field or in garrison. These records furnished a wealth of descriptive accounts and identified a multitude of local events which, when summarized, told a larger and significant story.

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The army and navy Official Records, however, proved to be inadequate as even a general source of area coverage throughout the war because the corridor was no longer referenced once the area no longer served as "center stage" for the war. Cairo, Illinois, for example, virtually disappears for the final two years of the war, except in the navy volumes. Consequently a National Archives research visit was completed to fill in the critical "data gaps" which remained. This research visit sought information about the National Register properties (to the extent that these were known).

A partial first draft overview was available for local distribution during the first two-week-long field visit in August, 1997. These draft copies were distributed to begin to bring the local contact persons on board the project. A working bibliography strongly focused upon local sources and many of these were only locally available. The local contacts were able to identify useful sources absent from the bibliography. The first field visit was both introductory in nature and geared to gathering county-based historical and field information. A field computer was invaluable for processing each day's bibliographic and site-related findings. This developing master sites list could be reviewed by each state historic preservation office contact as the list of interpretive and nomination properties was continually refined.

September and October 1997 were committed to completing the overview. Communication was maintained with the local contacts and draft report copies were furnished using computer diskettes. The second two-week field visit was accomplished in late November, just prior to the Thanksgiving-Christmas holiday season. This visit allowed for a deeper and more targeted exploration of sources. Data gaps were fairly well identified by this time. By this time a substantial first draft overview was available for distribution. Each recipient, usually the key contact in each county, was then urged to further distribute the draft for comment, either by floppy or hard paper copy. Email was also extensively used to obtain information and to advise contacts of the consultant's ever-changing field schedule.

The emerging report format focused upon the development of (1) a descriptive tour of the Ohio River up to the actual outbreak of the war, (2) the contexts, (3) a chronology of events which listed all important corridor events as well as those peripheral events, military and political, which had an impact within the corridor, and (4) an annotated working sites list. An added component was a county-by-county summary of local events. The general thematic chapters described the most significant of these but a great many still important events could not be summarized economically in the general thematic chapters. These county pieces also served well to excite local interest in the project.

The original project envisioned studying only the river communities within the 12 counties, treating events within a cannon shot range of the river. The historical research soon showed that minimally the counties had to serve as the comparative context for the project. The larger war-related themes imposed a regional and even a national perspective in evaluating and weighing the significance of local events and the corridor themes of study.

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This county focus resulted in the preparation of a dozen county contexts which took time and lengthened the overview considerably. There was no alternative if historic properties were to be identified.

The development of draft National Register nominations began in February 1998 and the final nomination list was revised right up to the end of the project. An arsonist burned down the Stage Coach House in eastern Gallatin County as its final nomination was being prepared. This work, and the finalization of the project report continued through May, 1998. The importance of local volunteers was again apparent as these individuals provided needed additional information and even photographs for numerous National Register nominations. Every nomination was improved through this continuing local cooperation. Many property owners provided invaluable descriptive and historical information.

Historical Properties:

The following master list of identified historical properties includes evaluations for each property's National Register eligibility and its heritage trail interpretive potential. Many properties require additional investigation before any recommendations can be made.

Illinois Historical Properties:			
Name/Location	National Register	Interpretive Trail	Context(s), Property Type
Alexander County, Illinois:			
Confluence of Ohio and Mississippi, Cairo	No site	Interpret	Naval War on the Ohio Rivers
John T. O'Shea House, 414 8th Street, Cairo	Investigate	Interpret	Federal hospital linked to garrison, Land War Context, associated civilian building
Site of Freedmen's Quarters, north of Cedar between 10th and 13th Streets, Cairo	Investigate archeological potential	Interpret	Land War Context, site of military buildings
Fort Defiance/Fort Cairo Site, associated barracks, parade ground, waterworks, Cairo	Investigate archeological potential	Interpret	Land War Context, site of military earthwork
Mayor E. W. Halliday's house, 422 9th Street, Cairo	Not confirmed, investigate	Same	1865 house of wartime mayor, Civil War era architecture

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Pulaski County, Illinois			
Marine Ways, Mound City	Investigate	Interpret	Naval War on the Ohio River
Fort Harding, Civil War fort Mound City Twp., Villa Ridge	Investigate and confirm location	Interpret	Land War on the Ohio River, fort guarded Illinois Central Railroad above Cairo, earthwork associated with a military garrison.
Samuel T. Hambleton House, Poplar Street, Mound City	Investigate, not confirmed	Same	home of wartime Marine Ways owner, sidewalk said to include several sheets of composition rubber and cotton underlining salvaged from the scrapped U.S.S. Essex, later owned by son-in- law Ira Huckleberry. Civilian residence linked to significant wartime events, the operation the Marine Ways (Naval War on the Ohio River)
National Cemetery, Mound City	National Register Listed	Interpret	Contains burials from Cairo, Paducah, Mound City, all points west of mouth of Tennessee River, and points along Illinois shore
Massac County, Illinois:			
Fort Massac, Metropolis	Federal camp not located exactly, investigate specific site	Interpret	Federal rendezvous camp, Land War on the Ohio.
Fort/Camp Massac cemetery, 5th-6th and Yasoda, Metropolis	Not confirmed, investigate	Same	purported Federal military cemetery associated with Fort Massac rendezvous camp
Pontoon Bridge Site, near Brookport	Investigate	Same	Land War on the Ohio, site of significant pontoon bridge to Paducah

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Pope County, Illinois:			
Bayfield, McCormick Store, north of Bay City.	Investigate archeological potential	Interpret	Site of August 19, 1864 store robbery by Confederate raiders, Land War on the Ohio.
Viewshed, Smithland and Cumberland-Ohio Rivers Confluence, also site of Old Maid's Crossing (above dam), Smithland Dam	no site	Interpret, viewshed	Navy War on the Ohio River, crossing likely used by Confederate raiders to reach McCormick's store, Land War on the Ohio.
Odd Fellows Cemetery, Golconda, pro-recruiting speech by Gen. Raum, 1864	no integrity, is now a cemetery	Interpret	Local War, military recruitment
Spout Springs, near Glendale, pro-recruiting speech by Gen. John A. Logan, 1864	Investigate	Interpret	same
Hardin County, Illinois:			
Cave-in-Rock	Nominate to National Register as part of this project, investigate archeological potential	Interpret	associated with a pattern of events, Land and Navy Wars on the Ohio.
Ford's Ferry, east of Cave-in-Rock	Investigate, ferry site gone	Interpret	Smuggling, associated with pattern of events, Local War.
Battery Rock, U.S. Forest Service lands, opposite Caseyville	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Associated with a pattern of events, Land and Navy Wars on the Ohio, Local War (military recruitment).
Gallatin County, Illinois:			
Old State Bank Building, Old Shawneetown	National Register listed, amend form with Civil War association.	Interpret	Local War (military recruitment), scene of flag presentation to first departing military company
Stephen Rowan House, Old Shawneetown	Further investigate	Interpret	Slavery and Underground Railroad, last local effort to return a fugitive slave family to Kentucky

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Camp Katie Yates, south of Old Shawneetown	Investigate for archeological potential	Interpret	Land War on the Ohio River, military recruitment camp.
Camp Mather-Camp Logan, Elm Grove Farm (Henry Eddy House), Shawneetown Highway 13	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Regimental hospital, part of Camp Logan, Land War on the Ohio River, military recruitment camp
Stage Coach House (Green House), north of Shawneetown on Shawneetown-New Haven Road, burned by arsonist April 12, 1998.			Local War, irregular operations.
Kentucky Historical Properties:			
Henderson County, Kentucky:			
William Soaper Farm, "Bienvenue," Zion Road, Henderson	Investigate	Interpret	Local War, Land War on the Ohio River
Transylvania Park, downtown Henderson	Investigate	Interpret	Drill grounds, stables for Federal garrison, Land War on the Ohio River
Scene of Adam Johnson's first attack, July 1862, 5th and Main, Henderson	Not eligible	Interpret	Local War, Land War on the Ohio River
Attack on Newburg, Ind., viewshed from Ky. shore	Investigate	Interpret from Kentucky shore	Local War, Land War on the Ohio River
Katterjohn-Reid House, 503 N. Main, Henderson.	National Register listed	Interpret	A cannon ball is said to have passed through the windows of this house, Local War, Land and Naval Wars on the Ohio River
Rankin-Royer House, 616 N. Main, Henderson	as above	Interpret	Rankin, a merchant, was murdered by irregulars, was an uncle of Confederate Col. Adam Johnson, Land War on the Ohio River

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Perkins-Wilder House, 116 S. Elm Street, Henderson	as above	Interpret	indirect link, wartime gunboat captain returned to live here, married locally in 1863, house dates from 1884, Naval War on the Ohio
Dallam-Norment House, 205 S. Elm Street, Henderson	as above	Interpret	Civil War-era Architecture, built 1865, alleged to have been used by pro-Federals to signal Federal gunboats., built by banker L. C. Dallam
Powell-McCormick House, 216 South Elm Street, Henderson	as above	Interpret	Kentucky Wartime Politics, home of U.S. Senator Lazarus Powell, pro-slavery and pro-Federal Kentuckian who's ouster was sought from Senate by his fellow state senator.
Lockett-Wilson House, 502 South Elm, Henderson	as above	Interpret	Capt. Shankin's Indiana Militia left bayonet scars on front door, Land War on the Ohio River
Turner-Griggs House, 1004 S. Green St., Henderson	as above	Interpret	Scene of capture of John N. Wathen, who was killed by Federal troops, Land War on the Ohio River
Archibald Dixon House, 724 S. Alves, Henderson	as above	Interpret	Former state Governor, U.S. Senator, key confidant to wartime Gov. Bramlette, Kentucky Politics.
Fortifications site, near railroad bridge, Henderson	No	Interpret	Earthworks (non-extant) raised by Black Federal troops, Land War on the Ohio River
Atkinson Park/former Waterworks (hospital site today), Henderson	No, site now occupied by hospital	Interpret	Four victims of military execution shot and buried there, Land War on the Ohio River,

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The Point, Hwy. 60 west of Canoe Creek, Henderson	Investigate archeological potential	Interpret	Federal campsite, August 1864 (Hovey's forces), Land War on the Ohio River
Fairgrounds site, Hwy. 60, east of Canoe Creek, Henderson	As above	Interpret	Federal garrison camp site, 1862-1865, Land War on the Ohio River
Alves' Grove, not located, Henderson	Investigate to locate, then evaluate archeological potential	same	65th Indiana Infantry camp, apparently not the same as Alve's subdivision south of Hwy. 60, said to be near river, Land War on the Ohio River
Camp Comfort, not located, Henderson	As above	same	Federal camp, 1862-63, might be same as fairgrounds or Alve's Grove campsite, Land War on the Ohio River.
Holloway, Graham Hill, Henderson County	Investigate	same	Henderson banker John G. Holloway buried gold coins here in kegs when it was rumored that his bank was to be raided, Land War on the Ohio River
Union County, Kentucky:			
Saline Bar/Landing, adjoins Gallatin County, Ill, but Bar is in Kentucky	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Associated with Land and Navy War on Ohio River (Confederate blockade of Ohio River, mid-August 1864 and landing in Illinois)
Uniontown Capture, September 1, 1862	Investigate	Interpret	Third largest military action in study area, Land War on the Ohio River-- William's House was final scene of battle, not yet located, consider for National Register if associated property found

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Judge Houston House, 205 N. Brady Street, Morganfield	Investigate	Interpret	Key local figure and Federal campsite, inadequate documentation, Land War on the Ohio River
Morganfield skirmish site, Timmons House, used as temporary hospital	Investigate	Interpret	Land War on the Ohio River
Confederate Memorial	National Register listed	Interpret as unusual monument	Postwar Commemorative
Cave, near Morganfield	Not located, investigate	same	Said to be Confederate camp and hospital site, Land War on the Ohio River
Dodge Hill, Caseyville Road SW from Morganfield, two miles from present Gum Springs,	Investigate	interpret as unusual monument	scene of minor skirmish, August 1864, Land War on the Ohio River
St. Vincent's Academy, near Morganfield	Investigate	Interpret	Burial place of Sister Mary Lucy Dosh (1839-61), nurse who died at Paducah, skirmish site, and scene of taking of stock by Federal soldiers, Land War on the Ohio River
Judge Geiger House, 212 W. Spalding St., Morganfield	Investigate, amend survey site sheet (Un-M-6),	Interpret	Geiger indicted in 1871 for making treasonable speeches, newspaper editor, Kentucky Politics.
Sulphur Springs	Locate and investigate	same	Confederate campsite (Johnson, Sybert), Land War on the Ohio River
Blue Pond, near Gum Grove	As above	same	Scene of skirmish, Land War on the Ohio River
Geiger Lake	Investigate	Interpret	Scene of skirmish, Land War on the Ohio River, artifacts found towards river northwest of present lake

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Berry Road, just northwest of Waverly, east of Morganfield	No, modern rural subdivision	Interpret	as above
Caseyville, Union County	No surviving Civil War-era buildings	Interpret	Scene of many wartime events, Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Curlew Coal Mines, north of Caseyville	Investigate (private land, no access)	Interpret	Key role in Confederate blockade of Ohio River, August 1864, Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Anvil Rock, off abandoned railroad line, north of Caseyville	Investigate	Interpret	Confederate campsite, Land War on the Ohio River
Crittenden County, Kentucky:			
Weston, townsite	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Scene of wartime attacks on passing steamboats, Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Courthouse, Marion	No integrity, replacement courthouse	Interpreted	scene of courthouse burning January 1865 and Federal interference in district court proceedings, Land War on the Ohio River
Bell's Mines, near Tradewater River	Investigate to pinpoint location, military fortifications said to be at mouth of Tradewater, scene of considerable wartime activity (land owned by ALCOA)	Interpret	Major skirmish site, July 13, 1864, Land War on the Ohio River
Livingston County, Kentucky:			
Star Fort, Smithland	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Land War on the Ohio River, earthwork
Second Baptist Church, Smithland	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Commissary building for Federal garrison, Land War on the Ohio River

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Davis-Rudd House, Court Street, Smithland	Consider for future National Register nomination	Interpret	Housed district court while courthouse was used by Federal garrison 1865, Land War on the Ohio River
The Methodist Church, Smithland	Consider for future National Register nomination	Interpret	burned 1880, so lost Criterion A links to war. Commemorative glass by former Federal garrison commander, Capt. J. W. Bush, Land War on the Ohio River.
Dallam-Fowler-James Dallam-Blount Hodge-John Bush House, Charlotte Street, Smithland	Consider for future National Register nomination	Interpret	series of linkages to Federal garrison, Land War on the Ohio River
The Livingston County Courthouse, Smithland	Consider for future National Register nomination	Interpret	scene of wartime slave auctions, used by Federal Garrison in 1865, only wartime courthouse in study area, Land War on the Ohio River
Massey House, Charlotte St., Smithland	Consider for future National Register nomination	Interpret	Oldest in town and has Underground Railroad tunnel stories, no other links to war.
Haynes-Conant House, Smithland	Consider for future National Register nomination	Interpret	Integrity problems due to two postwar fires, pro-Federal family lived here, Land War on the Ohio River
Viewshed of Cumberland and Ohio River confluence, Smithland	Natural feature, no historical attributes	Interpret	Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Haddock's Ferry, Cumberland River	Investigate	Investigate, interpret	skirmish site, Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Carrsville viewshed from "Lover's Leap"	No specific event, no Civil War era buildings	Interpret	view of Illinois towns, shore.
Salem	No Civil War-era buildings	Interpret	scene of skirmish fought August 7, 1864, Land War on the Ohio River

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McCracken County, Kentucky:

Tilghman-Woolfolk House, 7th and Kentucky, Paducah	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Land War on the Ohio River, Kentucky Neutrality
Confluence of Tennessee and Ohio Rivers, Wharf Viewshed, Paducah	Natural feature, no historical attributes	Interpret	Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Marine Ways, Paducah	Investigate for Civil War links	Interpreted	Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Site of Fort Anderson, Paducah	No integrity, site destroyed	Interpreted	Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Pontoon Bridge Site, Paducah	Investigate	Interpret	Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Earthwork Batteries, Paducah, railroad yards, other points	Investigate	same	Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Petter Building, riverfront, Paducah	Investigate	Interpret	Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Forrest's Campsite, Mayfield Road, Paducah	No Civil War-era building	Interpreted	Headquarters-camp after March 25, 1864 action, Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Tilghman Monument, Paducah	National Register listed	Interpret	Postwar Commemorative

Ballard County, Kentucky:

Towhead Chute, Mound City (river site is in Kentucky)	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Naval War on the Ohio River, natural structure linked with Naval Station at Mound City (used for gunpowder barge storage)
Fort Jefferson, south of Wickliffe	Civil War camp not located, requires continued investigation	Interpreted	Land and Naval War on the Ohio River
Fort Holt Site, north of Wickliffe	Not located, requires continued investigation	Same	same
Camp Paine, vicinity Fort Holt	Not located, requires continued investigation	Same	same

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Oscar Turner Plantation, near Oscar	Investigate for archeological potential	Interpret	Key regional pro-Southern leader, scene of Federal foraging raids, Kentucky wartime Politics, Land War on the Ohio River
Beach Grove Road, links Wickliffe and Lovelaceville, Blandville	Investigate	Interpret	Route of Federal advances into area, Land War on the Ohio River
County courthouse site, Blandville	Investigate archeological potential	Interpret	same
Dr. David Polk Juett Farmstead, Blandville- Hinkleville Road	Nominate to National Register as part of this project	Interpret	Federal campsite, January 1862, Land War on the Ohio River
Lovelaceville Skirmish Site	Investigate	Interpret	skirmish April 12, 1864, two mile pursuit of Federal force, dead buried along the way, Land War on the Ohio River
Andrew Lovelace Jr. House, Blandville Road	National Register listed	Interpret	dated variously 1860-65, Civil War-era architecture
Miller Woodson House, west of Kevil	Investigate	Interpret	finished 1862, Civil War-era architecture
Brookings House, U.S. 60, west of Kevil,	Investigate, interpret	Interpret	begun the day Lincoln was elected president, Civil War- era architecture
Grave of Col. W. W. Faulkner, 12th Ky. Cav.(CS)	No, graves normally not eligible	Interpret	Land War on the Ohio River

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