HARPERS FERRY
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

West Virginia

HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

HISTORY SECTION

Buildings 32,33,33A,34/35,34A and 36

December 1994



HAFE Package 116

Historic Structures Report

HISTORY SECTION

Block B, Lots 2 and 3
Shenandoah Street
Park Buildings 32, 33, 33A, 34/35, 34A and 36
Harpers Ferry National Historical Park
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

Prepared by: Patricia Chickering, with
Michael A. Jenkins
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based on the preliminary report of:
Perry G. Fisher
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National Park Service/University of Maryland
Cooperative Agreement

HISTORICAL RESEARCH PROJECT

Table of Contents

Note on references iii

Preface v

Management Summary ix

Acknowledgements xiii

The Site of the Package 116 Buildings 1

Construction of Building 34/35 through the Civil War 5
Chronology of Building 34/35 8

Block B, Lot 3, After the Civil War 15
James McGraw, Harpers Ferry Merchant 15
The Condition of Block B Lot 3 in 1869 19
McGraw Ownership and Improvements during the 1870s 20
McGraw's 1870s Business 23
Building 33 Construction 25
Building 33A Construction 28
Building 34/35 in the 1880s 29
1891-1892: Building 34/35 Achieves its Present Form 30
Lot 3 to the McGraw Bankruptcy 33
Bankruptcy of James C. McGraw and Sale of Property 34
The Dorans of Harpers Ferry 39
Buildings 34/35 and 33 in the early 20th Century 40

Block B, Lot 2 47
Site Placement and Funding of Building 36 47
The Old Paymaster's Office and Arsenal Square 49
Construction of the Master Armorer's House 51
1859-1869: The John Brown Raid through the 1869 Property Sale 52
1870-1884: Private and Municipal Uses 53
James Garland and Elizabeth Hurst 61
The Hurst Bankruptcy and Occupation of Building 36 to 1920 63
1920-1929: From Tearney to Doran 65
1929-1952: The Doran/DeLauder Residence 66

FIGURES

Figure 1 - 1852 Subdivision, Block B 2
Figure 2 - 1869 Subdivision, Block B 3
Figure 3 - 1835 Winchester & Potomac RR map 7
Figure 4 - 1838 Baltimore & Ohio RR map 50
Figure 5 - Building 36 Floor Plan with 1880 occupants 58

APPENDICES

I: Evolution of Building 34/35 69
II: James McGraw's Accounting to the Solicitor of the Treasury 73
III: Affidavit of Jesse W. Graham 77
IV: Illustrations 79
V: Notice of Sale of McGraw Real and Personal Property 89
VI: Notice of Auction of McGraw Household and Personal Property 91
VII: Notice of Auction of McGraw Hardware Business Inventory 93
VIII: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps 95
IX: Letter from John Koonce to the Solicitor of the Treasury 103
X: Jefferson County Tax Records 105
XI: Portion of "Twin Town Topics" 107
XII: Letter from James A. Cassell to William Doran 109
XIII: James McGraw Family History 111
XIV: Doran Family History 119
XV: Hurst & Tearney Chronology 129
XVI: Charles W. Snell Building 34/35 report 135
XVII: Charles W. Snell Building 36 report 183

BIBLIOGRAPHY 225

Note on references . . .

The following terms apply throughout the report:

_____ Census	refers to Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census records for 1810, 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920, as well as certain special Censuses (such as Slave and Manufacturing); almost all referenced material is available on microfilm at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park; some data is only accessible in hardcopy or through the History Database
HFD-__	Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Document No. . . documents, manuscripts, etc. in HAFE Library
HAFE	Harpers Ferry National Historical Park
HF-___	Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Photograph Collection numbers
JCC	precedes references to records at the Jefferson County Courthouse, Charles Town, West Virginia
NARG	National Archives & Records Administration, Washington, D.C., Record Group . . .
Reel _	refers to park microfilm reels
Reel _, Vol._	refers to binders in HAFE library containing material photocopied from park microfilm

Preface

This History Section of the Historic Structures Report on HAFE Development Package 116 at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park was researched and written by historians working under a Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland Department of History. Beginning in February 1989 historical research has focused upon the post-Civil War documentation of the history of the buildings and lots in Lower Town Harpers Ferry, based in large part on the computerized history database historians established for the Harpers Ferry community.

The history database contains computerized indexes of local newspapers, local censuses and other demographic data, and pertinent property records. The database assists, defines, and supports restoration and educational programs of the National Park Service at Harpers Ferry. It helps determine appropriate adaptive uses and restoration configurations of buildings in Park Service care.

Work under the Cooperative Agreement, in terms of this report, has focused primarily on the history of Harpers Ferry in the post-Civil War era through 1955. Nevertheless, pre-Civil War property records have been researched, census data compiled, and ante-bellum newspapers have been indexed for the database. The new information developed is incorporated in this report. In 1993 hitherto unknown records contributing to documentation of Harpers Ferry property were located in the National Archives, and other relevant National Archives records became available on microfilm. These sources supplemented the substantial body of information on the early decades of the community, and National Park Service histories of government property at Harpers Ferry, assembled in the Park's early years.

Archeological and architectural investigations of specific sites within Harpers Ferry National Historical Park were concurrent with the historians' documentary research. These investigations included Lots 2 and 3 in Block B which comprise Package 116.

Most historical research prior to 1989 concentrated on the years 1800-1865, reflecting management decisions to present Harpers Ferry in the period of the John Brown Raid and Civil War. More recent Park interpretive philosophy, evident in the Development Concept Plan (1978) and Interpretive Prospectus (1980), expands the Park's programmatic time-frame and

places greater emphasis on the social history of the Harpers Ferry community.

Especially pertinent to the Package 116 project is the determination to preserve remaining post-Civil War structures, including several in Package 116 previously considered little more than "flood buffer buildings."[1] This change requires the compilation of the broadest possible historical documentation for the later-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. To accomplish this, the computerized history database has been established.

Local newspapers form the largest component of the database. To date the Spirit of Jefferson newspaper of Charles Town, West Virginia, has been indexed from its beginning in 1844 through 1955, as available. Indexing is complete for available issues of the pre- and post-Civil War Virginia Free Press, also of Charles Town. That paper covers a longer ante-bellum but shorter post-Civil War period than the Spirit of Jefferson. The task of indexing the Farmers Advocate (another Charles Town newspaper of the late 19th through 20th centuries) is under way.

Many items about the town reported in the Spirit of Jefferson, Farmers Advocate, and Virginia Free Press were copied from contemporary newspapers published in Harpers Ferry, such as the Harpers Ferry Sentinel and the Harpers Ferry Times. A few issues of those newspapers and other pertinent local papers have been located and their data indexed. The search continues for missing issues of all local papers.

The United States census for Jefferson County through 1920 is available, and data for Harpers Ferry and vicinity have been entered into the database. An unfortunate gap in statistical, social, and demographic information exists because the 1890 census was destroyed by fire, but an index to an 1890 Special Census (Veterans) was found in the National Archives in the summer of 1991, partially filling that gap. Additionally, the 1892 Voter Registration Roll for Harpers Ferry was discovered in January 1992 in the T. T. Perry papers at the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

The deeds, wills, and property records of Jefferson County in the County Courthouse at Charles Town are the third primary data source for the Harpers Ferry community. As with the

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[1] Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Report. Part II. Historical Data Section. Bldgs. No. 34-35, 32, 33, and 34A. The Samuel Annin House. Lot No. 3, Block B, Shenandoah Street," unpublished manuscript, Harpers Ferry National Monument, March 4, 1959, Page 32. Reproduced as Appendix XVI.

Census, pertinent Harpers Ferry data have been abstracted and entered into the computer database.

Because local people were usually familiar with sites, businesses, buildings, etc., primary sources frequently lack descriptive detail. The absence of a street numbering system and inconsistent data recording make residence locations in censuses very speculative. In past, juxtaposition of names was often used to locate families at particular sites, but recent experience has revealed serious limitations to that approach. For example, the census enumerator visiting a business on Shenandoah Street apparently recorded the owner's family in that sequence, although the family actually lived on Camp Hill. Therefore, in this report, census location data have been interpreted advisedly.

Relevant to the history of all former U. S. Armory property at Harpers Ferry, events in the early 1950s led to a regrettable loss of documentation. In 1952 the United States General Accounting Office offered to transfer a 65,600 cubic foot block of fiscal and accounting records dating from 1776 to 1900 to the National Archives. This material included records of Offices of the Second and Third Auditors of the Treasury and encompassed Harpers Ferry Armory account documents. Between November 1952 and April 1953 the National Archives appraised the records and decided to accession only 30% of the collection. Among records the National Archives declined were certain Second and Third Auditor of the Treasury files. Although Archives accessioned records of both Auditors dating from 1817 to 1850, it declined all but some isolated records for subsequent years. Thus the Harpers Ferry Second and Third Auditors' records at the National Archives are relatively complete up to 1850, but nearly non-existent between then and the Civil War.[2]

In summary, the following report on Package 116 draws on the research historians have been conducting under the National Park Service's Cooperative Agreement with the University of Maryland. In addition to creating the History Database, historians searched various National Archives Record Groups, the Library of Congress, and collections of regional public and private libraries, museums and historical associations. They conducted 'living' history interviews and located photographs, letters, and other memorabilia in private collections. The resulting

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[2] "National Archives Accessions, No. 52, February 1956, Supplement to the National Archives Guide," National Archives and Records Administration, Pages 1, 6, HFD-689.

material contributed significantly not only to this report but to the library at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, which has been a valuable reference source.

Management Summary

Introduction

Of all structures or groups of structures in Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Package 116 is the most emblematic of nineteenth century Harpers Ferry. The physical structures spanned the century, during which occupants included national and local government officials, the military, local and regional entrepreneurs, politicians, the socially prominent, middle and working-class residents, and transient laborers. The buildings housed stores of various descriptions, light industry in the form of a bottling works and a bakery, a restaurant, a pool hall, perhaps a drinking establishment, and even the United States Post Office. Like other local buildings, the structures hold remnants of long-gone buildings (the stone sills in Building 33 came from Hall's Rifle Works, for example). Their appearance, with only minor alterations since park acquisition, provides a valid view of the town at the end of the nineteenth century.

Research

Historians working under a Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland began documenting HAFE Package 116 in January 1989. First they developed a research program to bring state-of-the-art computer technology to a vast body of primary source information. The result is the park's computerized History Database, a landmark innovation in the National Park System; thus, this report rests on the most complete body of Harpers Ferry information assembled to date.

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Buildings 32, 33, 33A, 34, 34A, 35, 36 and 36A constitute development Package 116. In 1989, during Package 116's pre-design stage, historical research focussed on complementing investigation of the site conducted in the late 1950s, thus bringing building histories from the Civil War era (where previous research ended) to the time of park acquisition of the property. Sufficient information developed in 1989 to prepare a first draft history section for the Historic Structures Report. Drawing on the growing History Database, the report remained in draft form over the ensuing years, absorbing and reflecting information as the Database developed.

Since the 1989 draft report was written, one component of the History Database, the

newspaper index, has increased ten-fold. Census and property indexes have been completed. The immense body of information thus available has contributed detail and perspective to the current report, which presents new data and in several instances reaches different conclusions from earlier reports. A summary of the report's principal findings follows.

Old Master Armorer's House - pre-1835 construction date

The principal new conclusion in this report concerns the construction evolution of the Building 34 section of park Building 34/35, the "Old" Master Armorer's House. This report places Building 34 construction in the pre-1835 years.

In 1812 Samuel Annin (the Armory Paymaster) received permission for his son Joseph to erect a building on Government land for operation of an apothecary shop. Joseph Annin erected a substantial two-story brick building (park Building 35), fronting approximately 34 feet on Shenandoah Street (exclusive of a west side porch), which became residence for the Master Armorer after the Annins left Harpers Ferry in about 1818. By the mid-1830s the structure (now Building 34/35) had increased in size to about 52 feet frontage on Shenandoah Street and acquired dormers in the attic and a brick kitchen wing. It remained in that configuration until 1891, when a third floor and dormered fourth floor were added to Building 34/35 and the structure extended farther back on the lot, creating 28 additional rooms. Earlier reports stated the Building 34 section was erected in the 1870s or 1880s. This report determined the Building 34 section predated 1835.

The building ceased serving the Master Armorer when adjacent Building 36 was erected in 1858-1859. Building 34/35 saw military occupation shortly after the John Brown raid and was a recruiting station in 1860. It served as a boarding house during the Civil War.

New owner James McGraw lived in Building 34/35 and kept his store there beginning in about 1870. Research revealed he made major additions and changes to the structure in 1891 prior to offering it for boarding house and store rental.

Beginning in 1900 the Doran family store occupied the building's ground floor and their residence was above. When the Doran residence moved to adjacent Building 33 in the mid-1920s, they rented out the upper floors of Building 34/35 as apartments. They also rented out the ground floor, and in the late 1920s a bakery operated there. The rentals continued until the property was acquired for Harpers Ferry National Monument in 1953.

Civil War Occupation of Building 34/35 - additional data found

While information on Civil War occupation of the site remains scant, two resources which shed light on Building 34/35 became available between 1989 and 1994. The sketchbook and diary of Civil War artist James Taylor, and some reports of the Office of the Quartermaster General, reveal that a Mrs. Stipes kept a boarding house in the building, apparently with the approbation of the military authorities. It now appears that Building 34/35 did not experience periods of prolonged vacancy.

James McGraw - successful Harpers Ferry merchant and builder of Buildings 33 and 33A

James McGraw continued in business during the Civil War, and he was stable enough financially to invest in property in 1865 and 1869. A major finding of this report was that James McGraw erected Park Building 33 in 1882 and Building 33A in 1888 (on property he had bought in 1869). Newspaper documentation provided significant detail on the buildings and their owner. James McGraw's tenure at Block B, Lot 3, had a physical impact upon it greater than any from the time Building 34/35 was first erected.

Personal details on James McGraw, including references to his early days at Harpers Ferry, the fact that he was illiterate (a stunning revelation in the face of his formidable business acumen), and anecdotes such as his keeping John Brown's horse, have embellished and enhanced this report. An appendix to the report contains a detailed history of James McGraw and his family, based primarily on the history database.

The 1897 bankruptcy of McGraw's heirs, Catherine and James C., signalled the end of McGraw ownership of Buildings 34/35 and 33. Resultant legal documentation has provided details of building inventories, uses and tenants, and thus brought the McGraw story into better focus.

Post Office Occupation of Building 34/35

The Harpers Ferry post office occupied Package 116 sites beginning in the mid 1880s, at first in park Building 36. This report shows it moved to Building 34/35 in 1887. An earlier interpretation of ambiguous newspaper reports resulted in the conclusion the post office moved to Building 33 in 1891. Instead, it moved from one side of Building 34/35 to the other side in 1891.

The Boarding House - an uncertain conclusion

Until archeological investigations in 1989 yielded parasitological, faunal and ceramic deposits pointing to some boarding house use for Building 34/35, 1891 newspaper advertising provided the only hint of a boarding house in the building from the 1890s through the early twentieth century. That advertising, however, was limited to James McGraw's offering of his newly renovated and expanded building for "boarding house use." Ample documentation for a Civil War-era boarding house in Building 34/35 exists but that lasted only a few years in the 1860s. Harpers Ferry town records for the *fin de siecle* and early 20th century decades, make only one mention of a boarding house license anywhere on Package 116--and that one, issued for a two-month period beginning July 1907, identifies only "the McGraw building." At that time Building 34/35 had been in possession of the Doran family for over seven years, so the license may refer to Building 33 (the Dorans acquired Building 33 later in 1907). The archeological findings support the hypothesis of some boardinghouse occupation of the site, but exact dates, and where and who operated the establishment(s), remain unknown.

The Doran Family - major players in Package 116

A significant aspect of this report is data on the Doran family, whose fifty-year tenure on Package 116 outlasted all others, and eventually encompassed the entire development package (a detailed Doran family history is appended to this report). Nevertheless, it appears that McGraw's thirty-year occupation, although shorter, had the greater physical impact on Block B, Lot 3.

Researchers benefitted from Doran documents and photographs shared in 1991 by a descendant. The picture was further enhanced by oral history interviews with several local residents who shared memories of the Dorans. An image emerged of a family who lived "over the store," continuing a local business tradition begun in the 1830s. In the 20th century a son and daughter, born in America, operated the business their father and uncle, Irish immigrants, established. The Doran Store became a local institution, and carried on until all lower town was acquired for Harpers Ferry National Monument.

Acknowledgements

Perry Fisher, historical architect, was Lead Historian during the first phase of work under the Cooperative Agreement and wrote the preliminary draft History Section in July 1989. Sufficient new information emerged subsequent to his draft study to warrant this complete revision. Nevertheless, Fisher's report provided a foundation for the current study, and, especially in the realm of architectural expertise, Mr. Fisher's valued observations and opinions remain.

Dennis Frye, Park Chief Historian, has overseen the project from the beginning, guiding research, critiquing writing, giving logistical support, and providing liaison with Harpers Ferry National Historical Park offices and National Park Service offices and facilities. Rebecca Stevens, Regional Historical Architect, contributed her creative vision at the project's inception, and has provided logistical and moral support throughout its tenure.

The Historical Research team has benefitted greatly from enthusiastic and constructive cooperation and comment of current and former Park Archaeology staff, including Susan Winter Trail, Paul Shackel, Diane Fenicle, Deborah Hull-Walski, Cari YoungRavenhorst and John Ravenhorst. Former Park Architect Krista Copeland, as well as Maureen Joseph and Perry Carpenter Wheelock of the Historic Landscape Project (initially headed by Cathy Gilbert), were generous in sharing information and expertise. Park Curator Frank Schultz-DePalo and Michael Antonioni (the latter on temporary assignment to the park library) gave liberal assistance in locating elusive sources. The writers are grateful for the mutually-beneficial dialogue developed with various Denver Service Center Historical Architects including Randy Copeland, Tony Donald, Jim Ferguson, Laura Willenbrock Simpkins and Audrey Tepper. Carol Petravage, of the Furnishings Division, Harpers Ferry Center, who developed the furnishings plan for Building 34/35 concurrent with the historians' research, was generous in communicating information she and her staff developed. Beginning in 1992 Peter Dessauer, Park Architect (successor to Krista Copeland), scrupulously shared historical architectural data as it developed when Package 116 entered the pre-construction phase. During the final draft phase of this report Research Historian Mary Johnson's excellent research and writing on several general topics helped place the history of the buildings in the broad historical context of the times.

The Site of the Package 116 Buildings

In 1796 the United States Government purchased property for an Armory and Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, but it acquired more land than needed for arms production and storage. In mid-eighteenth century the government decided to sell surplus lands and buildings. To prepare for that sale, S. Howell Brown in 1852 surveyed and platted United States property at Harpers Ferry. The Package 116 buildings are located within Lots 2, 3, and 4 of Block B as defined by Brown (see Figure 1, 1852 plat). Block B was part of the site known as the "Arsenal Tract."

Bounded on the north by Shenandoah Street, on the south by the Shenandoh River, on the east by High Street extended and on the west by Market Street, and bisected by the Winchester and Potomac Railroad, Block B in 1852 included four lots north of the railroad trestle. Lots 1, 2 and 3 were 30 feet wide, and Lot 4, with Park Building 34/35, was 97 feet wide. The Government did not offer Block B for sale in 1852, and in 1858 erected Building 36 immediately east of Building 34/35.[3]

The Armory and Arsenal were destroyed during the Civil War. When the government prepared to sell its Harpers Ferry property in 1869, lot lines were redrawn to reflect the position of the buildings (see Figure 2, 1869 plat). Because Building 36 straddled the lines of Lots 2-3 and Lot 3-4, for the 1869 sale Lots 2 and 3 were combined, and the Lot 3-4 line was moved 9 feet west, giving Building 36 its own 69 foot lot. Thus, former Lots 2 and 3 became Lot 2, and Lot 4 became Lot 3. References in this report will be to the 1869 plat.

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[3] Compass directions for Harpers Ferry can be confusing as the Shenandoah River flows northeast past Harpers Ferry to meet the Potomac River. Its shore opposite Harpers Ferry thus is often called the "East Bank." For consistency in this report, Shenandoah Street and the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Tracks are considered to run east and west, and Market and High streets to run north and south.

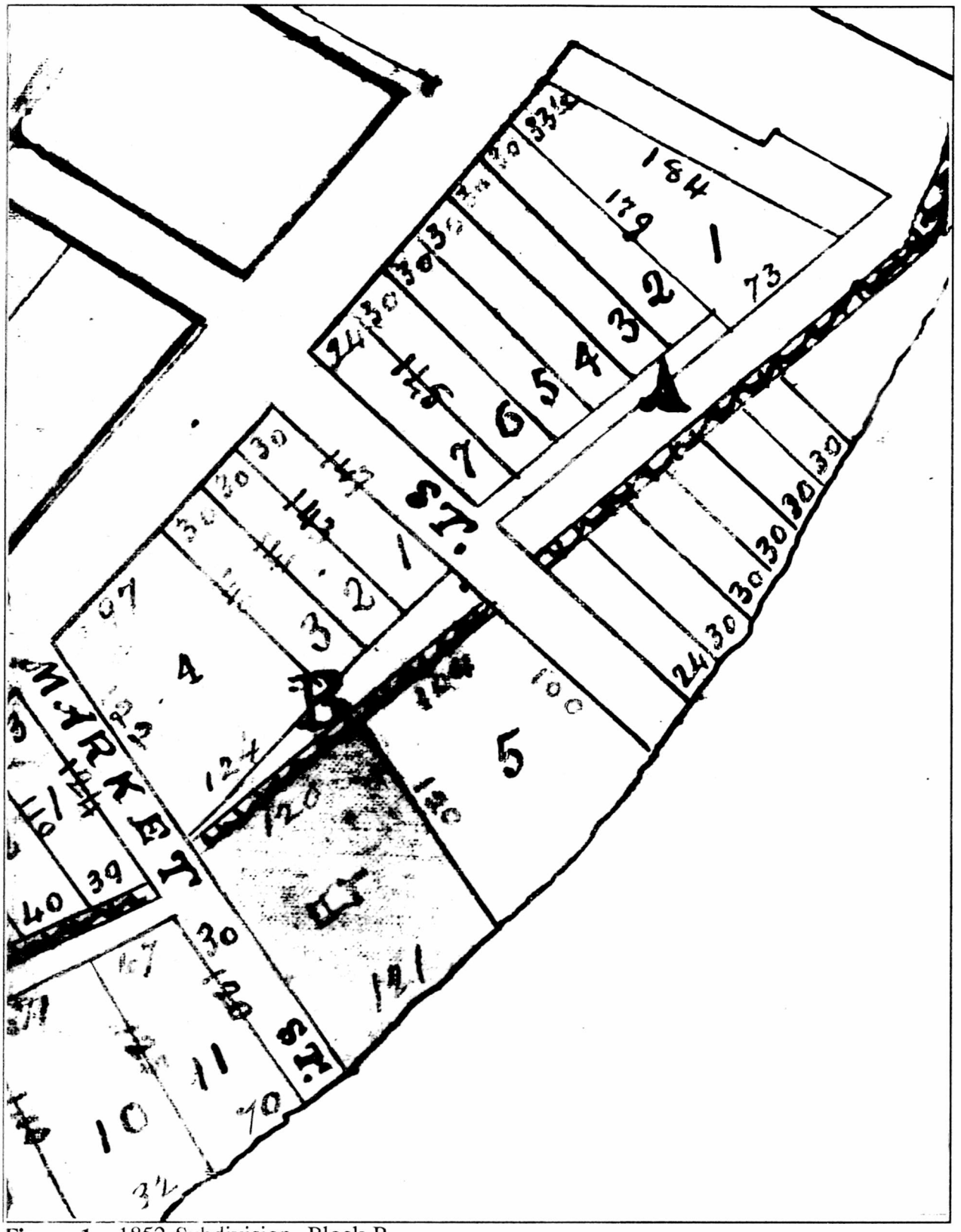


Figure 1 · 1852 Subdivision, Block B

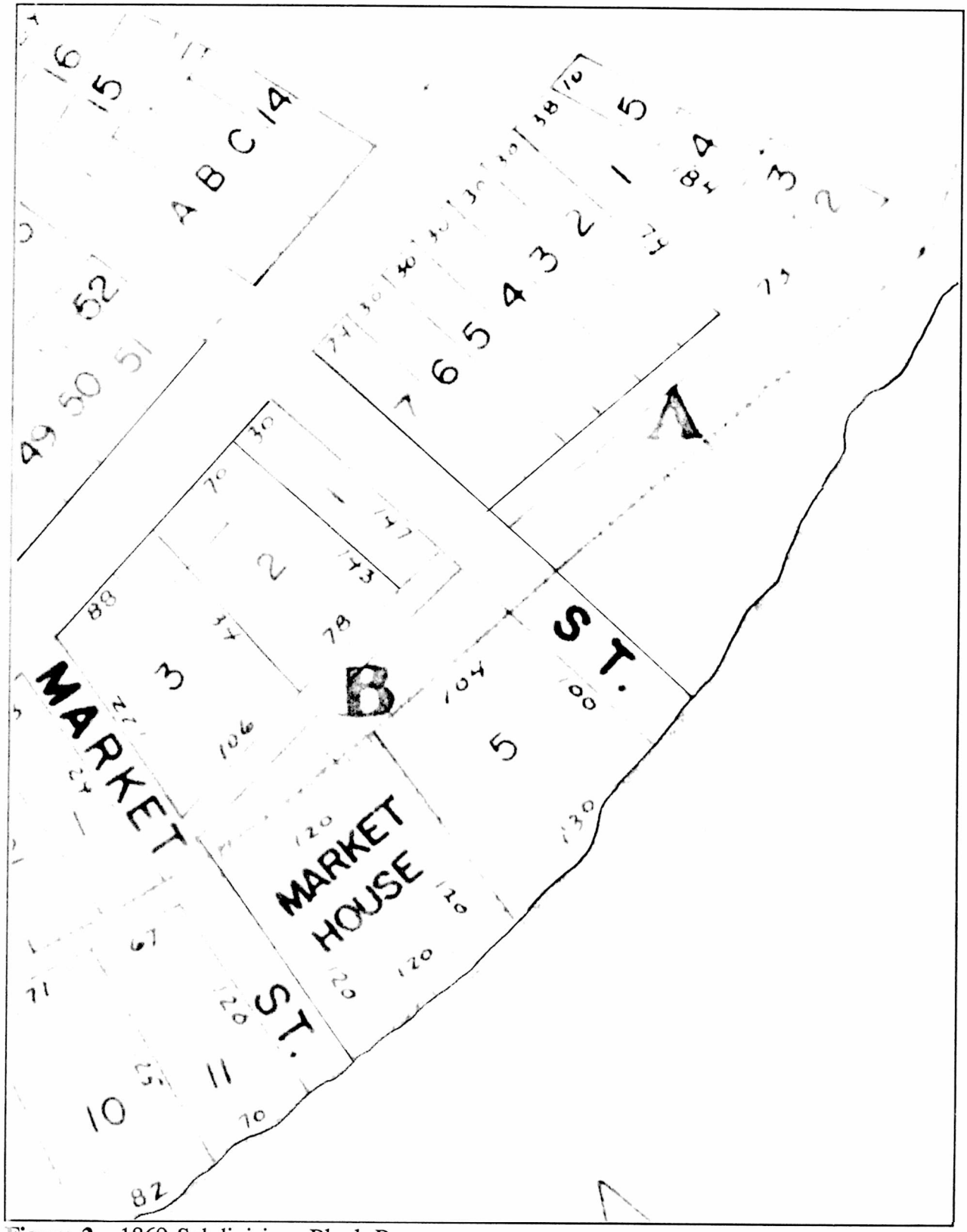


Figure 2 - 1869 Subdivision, Block B

Construction of Building 34/35 through the Civil War

Under authority granted by an 1794 Act of Congress, President George Washington directed the War Department to purchase land at the place called Harpers Ferry at the juncture of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers as a site for one of the young nation's armories and arsenals. The government bought 428 acres of land from the heirs of Robert Harper. In August 1798 Joseph Perkin (first Armory Superintendent) and engineer James Brindley examined the land and determined the west bank of the Potomac River was the best site for the Armory. Two months later, in October 1798, ten armorers arrived to begin work in a few rapidly-erected frame buildings. For the next sixty years the Federal Government's presence dominated Harpers Ferry.[4]

There were few buildings in the river crossing community before October 1798, and most of those stood on land the Wager family (Robert Harper's heirs) retained when they sold the Government their holdings. Housing for Armory workers, therefore, was scarce from the outset. For many years the supply of worker-housing lagged far behind demand, although Armory officials repeatedly requested funds to erect dwellings on public land not needed for Armory and Arsenal operation. Between 1796 and 1820 the government funded construction of only 36 dwellings, but by 1820 nearly 90 houses stood on government land. This discrepancy in houses resulted from the Armory Superintendent's practice of allowing armorers to erect homes for themselves on public property. In the 1830s the government stopped permitting dwelling construction on its land, and by the late 1840s acquired title to all such privately-erected buildings.[5]

From the Armory and Arsenal's earliest days, however, Armory officials--Superintendent, Master Armorer, Paymaster--received preferential treatment regarding housing.

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[4] Charles W. Snell, "A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ARMORY DWELLING HOUSES OF THE U.S. ARMORY AT HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA, 1798-1884. IN THREE VOLUMES. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia, A History of the Construction, Repair, Improvement, and Acquisition of Armory Dwelling Houses, 1798-1841," Volume I, Denver Service Center, National Capital Team, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, Denver, Colorado, November 1981, Page 2, 6, 7. For Armory history see also: Merritt Roe Smith, Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology, The Challenge of Change, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977).

[5] Charles W. Snell, "A Comprehensive History of the Construction, Maintenance and Numbers of Armory Dwelling Houses, 1796-1869," Harpers Ferry National Monument, January 13, 1959. Pages 19-32. Historian Snell provides an excellent discussion of the construction of housing on government property.

Thus an early Armory Paymaster, Samuel Annin, living in an Armory house near the Shenandoah River and not far from the Arsenal (Block B, Lot 5), received permission in 1812 for his son Joseph to erect an apothecary shop on nearby government land. Joseph Annin's apothecary shop eventually became the Master Armorer's house. It stands today, having survived floods, war, and bureaucratic controversy over its fate, as the historic core of park Building 34/35.[6]

Charles W. Snell's "Historic Building Report" for Buildings 34/35, 32, 33, and 34A (reproduced as Appendix XVI) studies construction on Block B, Lot 3, up to the Civil War, and particularly addresses the construction, changes and additions to the old Master Armorer's House, Building 34/35, during that period. The building is variously described as two and a half stories, two stories with basement, and two stories with a half story added. Some changes to the building are documented, and in 1993 architect Michael Trostel dated several elements of the Building 34 section to before 1820, but no date has been positively established for the extant structure.[7]

Associated with the Master Armorer's quarters were three outbuildings (all shown on the 1835 Winchester & Potomac Railroad map, Figure 3): a one-story brick smoke house, possibly the site of present-day Building 34A, to the rear of a kitchen built in 1827; a small structure (probably a privy) to the rear of the smokehouse; and a stable facing Market Street at the southwest corner of the lot near the railroad embankment. The government gave this property regular custodial attention for about 30 years.

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[6] Snell, Buildings 34/35 report, Page 3.

[7] Michael F. Trostel, F.A.I.A., Architect, "Harpers Ferry Buildings 34 and 35, Observations concerning Historic Interior Fabric," February 1993, HFD-676.

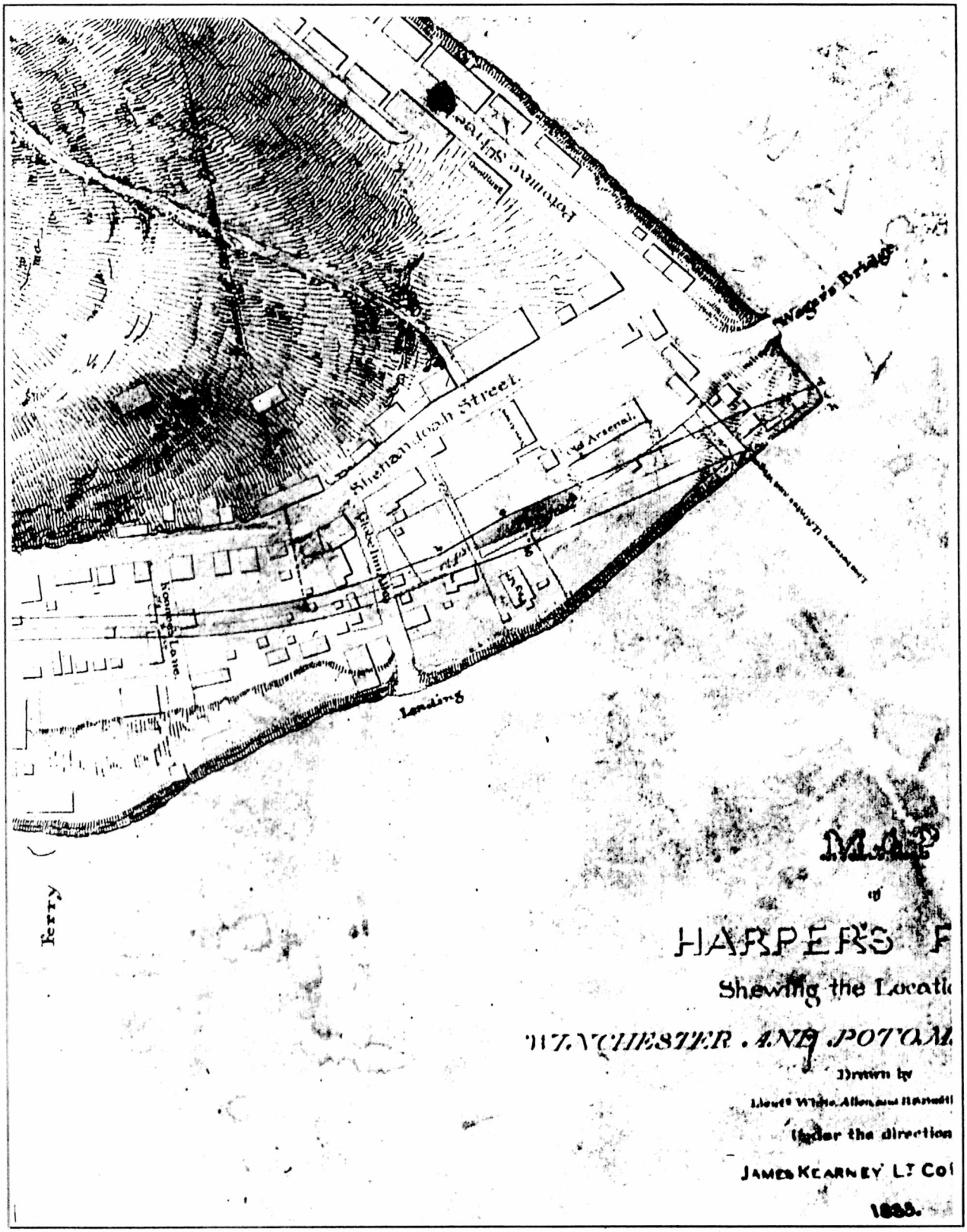


Figure 3 - 1835 Winchester & Potomac RR map

Chronology of Building 34/35

A summary of Charles Snell's primary conclusions, supplemented by newly developed data, follows:

1812 May — The Secretary of War granted Joseph Annin, son of Armory Paymaster Samuel Annin, permission to erect a small brick building for an apothecary shop in Block B.[8]

This brick building with basement kitchen originally measured approximately 34 feet along Shenandoah Street and extended some 23 feet back into the lot. Access to the basement kitchen was apparently by means of an exterior stair on the west side of the house, protected by a small porch.[9]

18??-1815 — Samuel Annin, while Armory Paymaster, lived in Armory Dwelling 43 (Block B, Lot 5), and cultivated a garden somewhere on Block B.[10]

1815 — Samuel Annin retired as Paymaster and moved from the Paymaster's House into the Joseph Annin house.[11]

1816 — In February Samuel Annin wrote to the War Department complaining that Basil Williamson had been granted "an acre of ground" by the Secretary [of War] for a tavern house and that the structure Williamson planned would abut his dwelling (Building 34/35). That same month Williamson was asked to suspend erection of the tavern. There is no further correspondence available on this matter.[12]

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[8] Reel 18, Vol. 2, Page 157.

[9] Snell, Buildings 34/35 report, Pages 3, 4 and 8;
Charles W. Snell, "A Comprehensive History of Armory Dwelling Houses of the U. S. Armory and Harper's Ferry, Virginia, 1798-1884. In Three Volumes. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia. A History of the Construction, Repair, Improvement, and Acquisition of Armory Dwelling Houses, 1798-1841," Volume I. Denver Service Center, National Capital Team, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, November 1981, in the library of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Page 170.

[10] Reel 13, Vol. 11, Pages 128-130.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Reel 13, Vol. 11, Pages 148-150.

(For significance of this correspondence see Appendix I, "Evolution of Building 34". Lot 4 originally fronted 97 feet on Shenandoah Street, and Building 34/35 stood about 9 feet inside the eastern boundary (this figure is determined by the reduction of size in the lot preparatory to construction of the "new" Master Armorer's House in 1858). If the west end of the original Annin building had been extended by 1816 and the house thus fronted about 50 feet on Shenandoah Street, only 38 front feet of the lot would have remained west of the house in 1816, and Williamson's proposed building would have abutted the Annin house.)

1818 The Annins sold Building 34/35 to the Government for use as rent-free housing for the Master Armorer; building remained Master Armorer's house until 1859.[13]

1821 "Statement of the number and dimensions of the buildings at the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, together with the materials of which they are built, and their estimated value" lists a 36' by 26' two-story plus cellar, brick building, valued at $2,500, believed to be Building 34/35.[14]

1827 In 1827 the government erected a one-story brick kitchen, approximately 20 by 22 feet, at the southwest corner of the house, set back from Shenandoah Street.[15] If the house fronted 50 feet on Shenandoah Street at the time, the kitchen addition would have brought the building's total width on the lot to about 72 feet. The lot was then 97 feet wide, but the east wall of Building 34/35 was about 8 feet inside the eastern boundary. Hence, about 16 feet of the 1827 kitchen footprint would have been underneath the later park Building 33 (built in 1882), which is 35 feet wide.

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[13] Reel 21, Vol. 5, Page 447. Samuel Annin in 1821 demanded payment of Armistead Beckham, Master Armorer, for "his" house, stating "there was an understanding that it should be put to his credit at $2,500" and he had not received credit for it.

[14] Reel 17, Vol. 3, Pages 204, 205. Dimensions are interpreted advisedly.

[15] Snell, Buildings 34/35 report, Page 8.

1828 Mason Edward Harding was paid for laying pavement in front of dwelling of Master Armorer.[16]

1829 Carpenter James Foley was paid for 13 days work on Master Armorer's quarters.[17]

1833 Roof of Master Armorer's house was "probably" slated.[18]

1837

(June) Carpenter John Hyatt was paid for "making back steps, one door and one window sill" to Master Armorer's house. John Lambaugh was paid for "laying 4,250 brick, 8 square yards of pavement, making furnace at Moor's house [Benjamin Moor, Master Armorer]" and for 7.25 perches of stone & 60 feet of cornice.[19]

(September) The half-story was created in 1837 when six dormer windows were installed in the gable roof.[20]

(December) John Lambaugh was paid for "cutting door out, putting in cornice, pulling down and filling in gable ends of Major Moor's quarters." Plasterer William Faucett was paid for "taking down chimney in Master Armorer's House."[21]

1838

(summer) Painter William Bordin [or Bowen] was paid for "completing the painting, glazing and plastering old part [emphasis ours] of Master Armorer's quarters."[22]

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Snell, Comprehensive History of Armory Dwelling Houses, Page 170.

[19] Ibid. Page 171.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid. Page 174.

(fall) 3 Franklin stoves set up in Master Armorer's house[23]

1841

(June) John Starrett was paid for plastering, laying hearths, filling in under door frames & windows, patching plastering, cutting hole for stove pipe, repairing chimney, filling up under cellar door, plastering partition, whitewashing & scraping one room, whitewashing 20 rooms--all at "Master Armorers & Chief Clerk's quarters."[24]

1850

(June) Robert Simms was paid for 8 days work repairing, plastering, and whitewashing Master Armorer's house.[25]

(June) Carpenter Jesse Schofield was compensated for:

> renewing upper, lower floors and roof of gallery, repairing floor and washboard of kitchen, making new window frames and shutters in front, making and fitting three clothes presses and putting stops and repairing all doors and windows . . . For making 47 ft. paling fence base & cap . . . making and hanging one gate.[26]

1851

(June) Superintendent of the Armory in his annual report stated two coats of patent paint, in oil, had been applied to the exterior walls of the Master Armorer's quarters, and lightning rods had been added to the building.[27]

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid. Pages 174-176.

[25] Charles W. Snell, "Extracts from National Archives Record Group 217, Records of the Second Auditor, Second and Third Series, U. S. Treasury Department, relating to Expenditures for Repairs and Improvements at the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, During the Years 1842 to 1851, National Archives, Washington, D. C., To Which Has Been Added Extracts from the Superintendent's Annual Report Relating to Repairs and Improvements Made at the Harpers Ferry Armory From July 1, 1844 to June 30, 1860," Volume III, 1842 to 1851, National Capital Team, Denver Service Center, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, October 1980, (NARG 217, Records of the Second Auditor, 3rd Series, File No. 11000, Voucher 46) Page 41.

[26] Ibid, Page 41 (File No. 11542, Voucher #2).

[27] Snell, Buildings 34-35 report, Pages 9 & 10.

1854

(April) Correspondence noted repairs needed to be made to (former Master Armorer) Burton's house to get it ready for the new Master Armorer.[28]

(October) Armory Superintendent reported the Master Armorer's quarters had been "generally repaired, painted, and plastered."[29]

1857 Decision was made to erect new Master Armorer's quarters immediately to the east of Bldg. 34/35; with this Bldg. 34/35 may have been allowed to deteriorate.

1858/9 Former Armory Superintendent Major Byington stated when he lived in house he was fearful "it would fall in whenever he went in the upper part of it."[30]

1859

(July) Occupant of Bldg. 34/35, Paymaster's Clerk, moved to the New Master Armorer's House.[31]

1859/60 Building 35 was apparently occupied by officers commanding detachments of troops stationed at Harpers Ferry after the John Brown raid.[32]

1861

The Civil War's effect on Harpers Ferry was immediate and intense. From the first Southern occupation in April 1861 to the end of hostilities in 1865, the town changed hands eight times.

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[28] Reel 19, Vol. 7, Page 623.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Reel 238, Frames 1027, 1028, (Jesse W. Graham affidavit in McGraw abatement papers). Transcript in Appendix III). Document is also HFD-683 because last page was not microfilmed.

[31] Charles W. Snell, Historian (Park Supervisory), "Historic Building Report, Part II, Historical Data Section, Bldgs. No. 36 and 36A, The John E. Daingerfield House, Lot No. 2, Block B, Shenandoah Street, Harpers Ferry National Monument," March 10, 1958, Project No. HF-51, Pages 18, 25 (reproduced in Appendix XVII). For an explanation of why the Paymaster's Clerk and not the Master Armorer occupied Buildings 34/35 and 36 successively, see Page 51 of this report.

[32] Snell, Buildings 34-35 report, Page 24.

Less than 24 hours after Virginia seceded from the Union, the state's forces advanced on Harpers Ferry. To prevent weapons from reaching their hands, Federal troops on April 18, 1861, blew up the Arsenal buildings and their contents, and attempted to destroy the Armory. While the Arsenal destruction was total, local citizens extinguished fires at the Armory, saving most buildings and machinery. The machines were shipped south to equip armories for the Confederacy. With the machines went many of the men who had operated them, and their families. A few armorers loyal to the Union travelled north to the Springfield, Massachusetts, Armory. Harpers Ferry's Armory and Arsenal, and much of its population, were gone, never to return. Many residents abandoned the town in the face of the crossfire from the opposing mountains which brought peril to all aspects of daily life. A few hardy citizens did remain throughout the war, but for over four years the military presence dominated the town.[33]

1862
(October) Ordnance Agent Captain Daniel J. Young wrote from Harpers Ferry to Col. H. K. Craig in Washington attaching lists of occupied government houses at Harpers Ferry and their tenants. One list, titled "A list of dwelling houses belonging to the Ordnance Department at Harpers Ferry, Va. Sept 5th 1862," reveals information on Block B, Lot 3:

> No. 2 Large two story brick building with a one story brick wing--has a stone smoke-house, stable and shed. This house has a cistern in the yard, and is occupied by a Mrs. Stipes as a boardinghouse, and is situated on Shenandoah Street.[34]

This refers to Building 34/35.

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[33] Joseph Barry, The Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, 1st printing by Thompson Brothers, Martinsburg W.Va., 1903, 7th Printing Published by the Woman's Club of Harpers Ferry District, printed by The Shepherdstown Register, Inc., Shepherdstown, W.Va. 1974, Pages 96-144. Little is known of Joseph Barry, an Irish native, before he came to Harpers Ferry in 1855 at the age of 28. He was an educated man, a writer (often contributing to local newspapers under cryptic pseudonyms, such as "Josephus"), school teacher, and even Jefferson County's Superintendent of Schools in the 1860s. Barry remained in Harpers Ferry throughout the Civil War, enabling him to record this eye-witness account of events. In 1869 he published The Annals of Harpers Ferry under his pseudonym of Josephus, and thirty-four years later expanded his Annals into The Strange Story.

[34] NARG 156, Entry 21, Letters Rec'd, OCO, File W.D. 387 (1863), Report of U.S. Agent Daniel J. Young to Col. H. K. Craig, HFD-677.

1862-64/5 Bldg. 34/35 served as a boarding house operated by "Mrs. Stipes." The James E. Taylor Sketchbook, which reproduces sketches by "Special Artist" James E. Taylor and notations from his 1864 diary, contains the following statement:

> Under the "boy's" pilotage, I land at "Hotel de Stipes," two squares south on Shenandoah Street and a brief interview with Madam ends in my arranging for an indefinite stay.
>
> Mrs. Stipes catered to sojourners at the Ferry to the extent of table board and lodging, not from choice but necessity caused by her husband's business reverses owing to the War, and his inability to catch on again, when it fell to the lot of Madam to entertain transients to keep the wolf from the door.
>
> I am at once conducted to my quarters, a sky parlor under the slanting roof, the only available room unoccupied, but make no "kick," thankful at being supplied at all, considering the demand at this time by correspondents, army contractors, and sutlers for lodgings.[35]

[see Taylor sketch of Shenandoah Street reproduced in Appendix IV]

1866/70 The single clue to who may have used Building 34/35 between 1866 and 1870 appears in the signed petition of Margaret, Catherine, and James C. McGraw for abatement of part of their 1869 purchase price due on Lot 3. It states: "Mrs. Kirby occupied the property until the Spring of 1870, and since that time we have occupied it with the exception of five or six months." Annie E. Kirby was an English-born milliner, 45 years old in 1870. She had two children, Annie V., then 18, and a son, Eugene, who was 6.[36]

1869
(November) Lot 3 and its buildings were purchased by the three children of James McGraw at the auction of Armory property.

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[35] James E. Taylor, The James E. Taylor Sketchbook, "With Sheridan Up The Shenandoah Valley, Leaves from a Special Artist's Sketch Book and Diary," Morningside House, Inc. Dayton, Ohio 1989, Pages 30, 580.

[36] Reel 238, Frame 1015, NARG 121, Records of the Public Buildings Service, Entry 78, Harpers Ferry Abatement Cases, "Application of Maggie T. McGraw, Katie A. McGraw & James C. McGraw for Abatement on purchase of Lot 3 in Block B at Harpers Ferry," August 6, 1878;
Reel 137, Ninth census (1870), Page 460 of Bolivar Township.

Block B, Lot 3, After the Civil War

The demolition of the Arsenal at the beginning of the Civil War, and the reduction of the Armory to a collection of half-ruined empty shells of buildings, prompted a resolution of the U.S. Senate in 1866 requesting information from the Secretary of War on the condition of all the Federal property at Harpers Ferry, including dwellings. Chief of Ordnance Bvt. Maj.-Gen. A. B. Dyer informed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton on May 14, 1866, that 18 of the 25 government dwelling houses were in fair condition and the rest badly dilapidated. Dyer concluded, however, that Harpers Ferry could never again be used to advantage for the manufacture of arms, and recommended "all the public land, buildings, and other property be sold and the proceeds of the sale be applied to the construction of the armory in the West, as now authorized and directed by law to be established."[37]

By Act of Congress approved December 15, 1868, the Secretary of War was directed to sell, at public auction, the lands, buildings, and water rights belonging to the United States at Harpers Ferry. At the public auction which began November 30, 1869, Margaret T., Catherine A., and James C. McGraw of Harpers Ferry placed the winning bid of $5,100 on Block B, Lot 3, fronting 88 feet on Shenandoah Street and 122 feet on Market Street.[38]

James McGraw, Harpers Ferry Merchant

Margaret T., Catherine A., and James C. McGraw were, in 1869, minor children of Harpers Ferry businessman James McGraw and his late wife Julia Ann (for a history of the James McGraw family, see Appendix XIII). James and Julia Ann McGraw arrived in Harpers Ferry from Ireland in 1854 as part of a wave of immigration which brought five million Europeans to the United States between 1815 and the Civil War. In northern Europe modern industrial techniques and the shift to large-scale farming had brought displacement and privation to those on the lower end of the economic scale--small farmers, tenant farmers, domestic

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[37] "A Collection of Annual Reports and Other Important Papers Relating to the Ordnance Department," Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890, Vol. IV, Pages 1049-1050, HFD-681. Available at National Archives in 4 volumes. Volume II prepared under the direction of Brig. Gen. Stephen V. Benet.

[38] JCC, Deed Book 18, Page 346.

manufacturers ("home" craftsmen), laborers and peasants. Among these, Irish Catholics were the largest subgroup, accounting for two million immigrants over the 45 year period. The most intense emigration from Ireland occurred during the Potato Famine of 1845-48, which killed half a million in Ireland in 1847 alone. During the Famine 1.5 million Irish left their country seeking opportunity in America. Internal improvement projects such as the building of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad also attracted Irish laborers to the Harpers Ferry region. The 1850 census, which was the first to note place of origin, showed just under ten percent of Harpers Ferry's population was foreign-born.[39]

By 1856 James McGraw had established himself in business, and in 1857 offered groceries and liquors in a Shenandoah Street location, likely a store he rented from Dr. Nicholas Marmion in park Building 43, on Wager Lot 47 (north side of Shenandoah Street). Soon thereafter he began advertising coal and salt.[40] McGraw's business was typical of 1850s Harpers Ferry, where goods offered by local merchants reflected the freight measured in thousands of tons which passed on railroad and canal. During the 1852 flood the Winchester and Potomac Railroad reportedly lost 100 tons of merchandise and groceries in cars flooded at Harpers Ferry. Newspapers carried frequent accounts of tonnage shipped on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, including one in December 1852 which noted over 220 boats were employed on the canal between Washington, D. C., and Cumberland, Maryland, carrying coal, wheat and flour. In the first six months of 1853, 105,657 tons of coal travelled east from Cumberland by railroad and canal.[41]

During the 1850s John G. Wilson, Abraham Vanhorn, Simeon C. Vanhorn, David

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[39] Leonard Pitt, We Americans, Vol. 1, Colonial Times to 1877 (Glenview, IL; Scott, Foresman and Company, 1976), p.279;
Census information reflects data for Harpers Ferry from 1850 to 1880. Prior to 1850 the census did not note place or origin, thus the size of the immigrant presence before 1850 cannot be determined.

[40] Vera Craig, "Harper House, Furnishing Plan," H-30, April 1963, "Appendix II, Itemized Grocery Bill of Dr. Nicholas Marmion, Purchases fron the stor [sic] of Mr. James McGraw," and "Appendix IV, Itemized Medical Bill of James McGraw from Dr. Nicholas Marmion," attributed to Arthur S. Sullivan, August 13, 1962. This document establishes that Dr. Marmion's store trade with James McGraw dated to at least 1856.
Spirit of Jefferson. July 21, 1857. Page 3, Col. 4. This advertisement reveals McGraw moved from High Street to the location on Shenandoah Street formerly occupied by Israel Russell;
Virginia Free Press. October 14, 1858. Page 2, Col. 5.

[41] Spirit of Jefferson. June 22, 1852. Page 2, Col. 2;
Virginia Free Press. December 9, 1852. Page 2, Col. 3;
Ibid. June 9, 1853 Page 2, Col. 4. Other advertising indicates the canal also carried plaster, salt, limestone, fish, hardware, groceries, guano and lumber.

Siegel, James A. Beckham, and R. S. Blackburn all advertised coal. Merchants offering groceries, liquor and salt (or combinations thereof) included Adam Young, Hammond & Walsh, William Anderson, Hunter & Dowling, John G. Ridenour, Michael Doran, J. G. Wilson, Israel Russell, Joseph Russell, A. Fleming, R. S. Blackburn, G. A. Moler, Philip Coons, Thomas Peacher, Beckham & Co., Charles Johnson, George W. Legg, F. J. Conrad, Lawrence Kirwan, George W. Chambers, and Russell & Co. Few newspaper advertisements gave locations for businesses, but in the 1850s the commercial heart of the town occupied much of the "Wager Reservation," six and three-quarter acres of lower town property the Wager family retained in the 1796 sale to the Government. Businesses were located on north side of Shenandoah Street, from present park Building 45 to the B&O railroad; on one or two blocks of High Street north of Shenandoah Street; on a portion of Potomac Street north of Shenandoah Street; and on all of Potomac Street south of Shenandoah Street to the river juncture. McGraw's location, thought to be park Building 43, was near the western edge of this business district. (For details of merchants and goods consult History Database, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.)

McGraw remained in the town during the Civil War, living in a High Street house and operating a store there. He may have been a supplier to officers and troops during the war, as afterwards he filed with the U.S. Quartermaster's office a claim for "rent of a stable at Harper's Ferry, West Va., and for damages, stated at $2,187.00." This claim was rejected four times: in August 1867, August 1868, August 1869 and October 1870. In 1892 a further claim was submitted under the relief act passed in 1883. The latter claim, for "Quartermaster and Commissary Store's," was for $3,675.99. Disposition of the 1892 claim has not been determined.[42]

The claims, involving both stable and stores, further substantiate that McGraw remained in business, and in residence, in Harpers Ferry during the war. Harpers Ferry chronicler Joseph Barry notes that in one wartime skirmish a shell from "some other battery [on Maryland Heights]" penetrated a government house on High Street occupied by James McGraw, passing

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[42] NARG 156, Entry 21, Letters Rec'd, OCO, File W.D. 387 (1863), Report of U. S. Agent Daniel J. Young to Col. H. K. Craig, HFD-677;

NARG 123, CD 9183, Index of Claims, Quartermaster General Office, Material at Archives Annex, Suitland, Maryland, HFD-690. Documentation for the 1892 claim indicates that papers concerning the earlier claim were returned to attorneys in Washington "at their request" in May 1871, with the information that the claim had been four times rejected, and that in 1892 "it does not appear that any papers are on file in the Miscellaneous Division [of the Treasury Department] touching the question of the loyalty of the said McGrau [sic]."

through it without injuring anyone.[43]

Despite his claim for damages, McGraw may have prospered. In August 1865 he bought Wager Lot 48 on Shenandoah Street from Noah and Sarah Swayne, putting the lot in trust to Isaac Fouke and Noah Swayne. McGraw announced in the Virginia Free Press of November 9, 1865, that he had just completed a "commodious new stable" and offered livery for hire.[44]

Concurrently with completion of his "commodious new stable," McGraw resumed advertising goods including liquors, fish and salt for sale. Soon he began to advertise regularly in the Spirit of Jefferson, offering the "Best Cured Potomac Herring" and shad, salt, alum, hogsheads of molasses, tin and wooden ware, and every sort of stove. The editors of the paper, referring to the display of stoves at "Mr. James McGraw's Shenandoah Street establishment," reported that "beautiful and useful have never been more happily combined."[45]

Business in staple goods apparently resumed in the town within months of the Civil War's end. In November 1865, S. J. Andrews & Co., and Leisenring & Son, were competing with James McGraw for town trade, although McGraw alone advertised fish for sale. By the end of the decade J. M. Decaulne offered to buy and sell groceries and had coal on hand, Taylor and Wernwag were selling groceries and provisions on Shenandoah Street (between Market Street and Bridge Street), R. Rion Lucas offered "everything usually found in a grocery store," and W. H. Wentzell purchased the business Mr. J. Cavalier had operated on High Street--stocking everything from sugar and bacon to mill feed and hard and soft coal.[46]

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[43] Barry, The Strange Story, Page 130.

[44] JCC DB1, Page 41, August 1, 1865, Bargain and Sale;
JCC DB1, Page 43, August 1, 1865, Trust;
Virginia Free Press. November 9, 1865. Page 3, Col. 1.

[45] Ibid. November 9, 1865. Page 3, Col. 1;
Spirit of Jefferson. October 15, 1867. Page 3, Col. 1. It appears McGraw continued to operate his business on Shenandoah Street, perhaps on Wager Lot 48, which he purchased from Noah Swayne in 1865 (JCC Deed Book 1, Page 41). Interestingly, thirty years later, in the bankruptcy of James C. and Katie McGraw, the deeds conveying WL 48 to James M. Mason, Jr., as Trustee, included interest in "Fairbank Scales. . . constructed on Shenandoah St . . . formerly owned by McGraw, James," (JCC Deed Book 83, Page 493, Page 499).

[46] Virginia Free Press. November 9, 1865. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. February 8, 1866. Page 2, Col. 6;
Ibid. June 6, 1867. Page 3, col. 1;
Spirit of Jefferson. September 29, 1868. Page 3, Col. 7;
Ibid. July 6, 1869. Page 3, Col. 6;
Virginia Free Press. July 16, 1870. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. September 3, 1870. Page 2, Col. 5.

The Condition of Block B Lot 3 in 1869

When the 1869 sale of government lots occurred at Harpers Ferry, Margaret McGraw was 12 years old, Catherine 10, and James C. (incorrectly listed in the 1870 census as "jr.") was 9. Their father acted as surety in the purchase of Lot 3 in Block B.[47]

Many contract purchasers in the Government 1869 sale did not make payment for the properties acquired, and in the early 1870s they began to seek relief from the Federal Government. The purchasers argued that the high prices they agreed to in 1869 no longer were justified by actual conditions at Harpers Ferry.

Two major factors discouraged hopes of local residents for reviving Harpers Ferry's industrial base after the Civil War:

(1) disastrous floods in 1870 and 1877, which obliterated many improvements made to federal property in Lower Town purchased by private parties in 1869; and

(2) prolonged legal controversies centered on water rights and on the B&O Railroad right of way.

By Act of Congress of June 14, 1878, purchasers of Government property at Harpers Ferry were permitted to apply for abatement of part of the purchase price or for release from their contracts entirely. As the Solicitor of the Treasury was the principal legal officer of the Treasury Department and thus responsible for the collection of debts owed to the United States by individuals, the abatement cases became a function of that office. The Solicitor's authority extended to local district attorneys, clerks of court, and marshals.

Letters, accounts, petitions and depositions filed by abatement applicants significantly document the condition of much Harpers Ferry property in the immediate post-Civil War years through the late 1870s. In 1878 the McGraws petitioned for abatement of the better part of the original purchase price of $5,100 for Lot B3. Correspondence appended to their petition appears to establish that the old Master Armorer's house, Building 34/35, was seriously deteriorated at the time it was offered for sale in 1869. One letter McGraw presented was from Ordnance Agent Captain Daniel Young, who was by then serving at the Watervliet, New York, Arsenal.

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[47] Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), Page 460 of Bolivar Township;
Reel 238, Frame 1019, NARG 121, Records of the Public Buildings Service, Harper's Ferry Abatement Cases, James McGraw to the Hon. K. Raynor, September 23, 1878.

Captain Young wrote on September 16, 1878:

> The property was in a very dilapidated condition for several years prior to the sale and it had been contemplated to tear down the building, authority for same having been received, but it was allowed to stand. When you purchased the property it was worth, in my opinion, probably one fourth the price bid by you, which, I think, was some $5,000.00. Your case is similar to that of others who purchased lots at the time, and who were induced to offer extravagantly high prices through mistaken impressions in regard to the future prospects of Harper's Ferry, in respect to manufactories being located.[48]

James McGraw also submitted a detailed list of his post-1870 expenditures on the Shenandoah Street property for which he had vouchers, accompanied by a sworn statement, indicating there were numerous other improvements for which he had no receipts. McGraw's accounting is found in Appendix II of this report.

The McGraw abatement petition summarized $1,601.32 worth of improvements made to the property as "Roofing, Flooring, Fencing, Pavements, Cistern, Brick Supports in Cellar for house, Stable, Ice house, sewer in Yard, and Painting" (see Appendix II). From the itemized accounting of the expenditures, it appears James McGraw began work on Building 34/35 almost immediately after the 1869 sale. In the 1870s most of McGraw's documented disbursements for the lot and buildings were for repairs or modifications to existing structures or for repair of flood damage. Some expenditures, however, reflect McGraw's adaptation of the property to suit his business. The application noted a "Mrs. Kirby" occupied the building until the Spring of 1870.[49]

McGraw Ownership and Improvements during the 1870s

James McGraw listed expenditures in 1870 for bricks used in the sewer and rainwater cistern filter and for installing a pump in the cistern. The sewer and cistern rehabilitated by McGraw in June 1870 were likely among those built by William Collins for the Armory in 1846-1847. The Armory rainwater cisterns averaged "10 feet by 12 feet by 12 feet, sides 1 1/2 brick

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[48] Reel 238, Frames 1025, 1026, NARG 121, Entry 78, Harpers Ferry Abatement Cases, D. J. Young to Mr. James McGraw, September 16, 1878.

[49] Reel 238, Frame 1015.

thick with cross filler wall - The whole laid in cement & the interior plastered with cement."[50]

Substantial repairs to the roof, gutters, and downspouts of the house, replacement of missing window panes, and apparent exterior repainting and interior replastering all were undertaken early in McGraw's ownership. Some of the carpentry work itemized in Appendix II might have prepared the building's first floor for McGraw's retail grocery and hardware store, and a sizeable expenditure for the "Door, Counter & Lumber" may have been for store fittings. The large quantity of "planking" cited likely repaired damaged floors.

Among the supporting documents submitted with the McGraws' abatement petition was a lengthy sworn statement from Jesse W. Graham disclosing his personal knowledge of the McGraw Lot B3 property. This affidavit, dated December 1, 1879, makes McGraw's account of improvements more comprehensible (see Appendix III). Graham attested he remembered specifically the lack of pavement and shade trees in front of the old Master Armorer's house, as well as its broken roof, sunken floors, and badly cracked side wall in 1869. Graham also stated "there was no outbuildings [sic] except a small and badly damaged one-story kitchen, without floor or windows."[51]

The "kitchen" could be the 1827 kitchen addition to the Master Armorer's house, as Snell believes. It is possible, however, that a wing 20 by 22 feet may not have been characterized as a small outbuilding. Instead, Graham may have described Building 34A (which is 13 feet square), the smoke house south of the kitchen, appearing on maps since the 1830s. This old structure still stood in 1870, for McGraw itemized 469 bricks used in the smoke house that year, as well as meathooks, and shutters and iron bars for its windows.

Similarly, McGraw listed "paving the stable" and "moving the stable off the road" as 1870 expenditures. This stable is likely the old Master Armorer's stable that faced Market Street, near the Winchester and Potomac railroad embankment. The building measured approximately 16 by 20 feet.[52]

If McGraw's date of November 1877 for spending $600 on "Ice, Carriage & Coal

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[50] Snell, Extracts from NARG 217 (File 4837, Voucher 42), Page 80.

[51] Reel 238, Frames 1027-1028; also in HFD-683 because last page was not microfilmed.

[52] Snell, Buildings 34-35 report, Page 12.

House" is correct, this may indicate construction of Park building 32. There appears little doubt McGraw erected the present stone form of Building 32 on earlier foundations. The extant stone building exhibits dimensions that approximate the stable of the old Master Armorer's house. Various openings have been altered and filled, and floods and changes in use may have necessitated reconstruction and modification. It remains unclear whether the three functions of ice, carriage, and coal storage were housed in a single stone structure (perhaps with frame appendages) built in November 1877.[53]

In his December 1879 affidavit Jesse Graham asserted McGraw had erected "two thousand dollars worth of new outbuildings and fencing." Graham may have overestimated the value of "new outbuildings," but the $2000 figure might indicate construction of or improvements to Building 34, if it had not been erected previously. He added that "Mr. McGraw has had a large portion of the house replastered this summer, and built a new Corn House and large ware room for coal, goods . . . in the yard besides." Storage sheds across the rear of the property, and originally attached to Building 32 are mentioned in later deeds.[54]

To rectify other conditions Graham noted, McGraw laid several thousand paving bricks, planted shade trees, built brick pillars in the cellar of the house to support the floors, and erected fencing. Following the flood of 1870, he paved with stone an area of almost 400 square feet--perhaps the Shenandoah Street sidewalk or a portion of the rear yard used in servicing his business (see Appendix II).

The foregoing evidence suggests the form of the old Master Armorer's house in 1878-79 had not changed since the 1869 sale. Nothing stated by either the McGraws or Graham indicates additions or substantial changes to the house other than repairs or re-fitting for business purposes. It can be postulated that no major change occured until 1891 when newspaper

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[53] Paul A. Shackel, "Historic Structures Report. Archaeological Component. Package 116. Block B, Lot 3. Buildings 32, 33A, 33, 34, 34A, 35. Shenandoah St., Harpers Ferry NHP," November 1989, manuscript, in library at Harpers Ferry National Park, Page 10;
Sanborn fire insurance maps of Harpers Ferry as late as 1912 (reproduced as Appendix VIII) show Building 32 being used as an ice house.

[54] Reel 238, Frames 1027, 1028; also in HFD-683 because last page was not microfilmed;
JCC Deed Book 83, Pages 493-503.

accounts reveal major alterations to the building.[55]

Under the 1878 Act, the McGraw children petitioned for abatement of $4,100 of the original contract price of $5,100 for Lot 3 in Block B. Solicitor of the Treasury Kenneth Rayner gathered independent appraisals from George W. Graham, his local agent in Harpers Ferry, and a committee of Harpers Ferry businessmen consisting of Charles Trail, R. S. Alexander, and A. M. Sponseller. Graham suggested the McGraws were "equitably entitled to an abatement of Four Thousand and Fifty dollars on the purchase price." The members of the committee reported that "in the McGraw case we think without his improvements, one thousand dollars is ample for him to pay the Government . . . As without his improvements to the building, it would only be worth the material in the walls."[56]

The Solicitor determined the McGraw children should pay $1,200 for Lot B3, a 76% reduction from their 1869 bid of $5,100. The deed transferring title from the United States to M. T., C. A., and James C. McGraw was given February 5, 1880. On December 4, 1882, Margaret, Catherine, and James C. McGraw conveyed the property to their father, James McGraw. The deed noted $1,200 was to be paid to the United States Government. Neither deed specified the nature of improvements to the lot.[57]

McGraw's 1870s Business

The Spirit of Jefferson noted on May 3, 1870, that James McGraw had been granted a license to sell liquor "in his own house." McGraw had been advertising liquor--presumably for off-premises consumption as part of his store business--since the 1850s. After the Civil War

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[55] A third (and relatively unlikely) hypothesis is that an entire new structure, Building 34, could have been erected concurrently with McGraw's repairs to Building 35, incorporating the Kitchen site. This scenario presupposes that Building 34/35 remained a single structure--Building 35--from 1812 until after the McGraw purchase. As McGraw was applying for a major abatement of the 1869 price based on the massive repairs Building 34/35 needed, it is understandable he may have omitted mentioning improving the lot with substantial new construction. As noted, the $2,000 worth of new buildings Jesse Graham recounts could include a "new" Building 34, although expert opinion discounts that possibility and another hypothesis, that McGraw built Building 34 in 1882 as Building 33 was nearing completion (see Page 26 of this report).

[56] Reel 238, Frame 1016-1018, NARG 121, Entry 78, George W. Graham, Local Agent for the Solicitor of the Treasury to the Hon. Kenneth Rayner, August 22, 1878;
Ibid. Frames 974-5. C. H. Trail, R. A. Alexander, and A. M. Sponseller to the Hon. Kenneth Rayner, November 11, 1879.

[57] JCC Deed Book P, Page 51;
JCC Deed Book M, Page 205.

ended S.J. Andrews & Co. advertised their wholesale and retail liquor store on Shenandoah Street, opposite the Arsenal Yard, but no Andrews advertisements appeared after 1865. Although the first notice of liquor licenses granted by the county Board of Supervisors appeared in 1866 (McGraw was one of three receiving licenses at Harpers Ferry), during the remainder of the 1860s no Harpers Ferry advertisements mentioned liquor. McGraw received a license in 1867, as did Patrick O'Beirne. By 1870 demand apparently increased and five licenses were granted in Harpers Ferry and one in Bolivar. Similar numbers of licenses continued to be issued throughout the 1870s, despite an 1873 state liquor law strictly regulating sale for on-premises consumption and requiring a $3,000 bond.[58]

The license McGraw received in 1870 may indicate he had commenced business on Lot 3 by then. His Christmas advertisement in 1872 was reminiscent of his pre-Civil War business, offering groceries, provisions, fish, and liquors. In November 1875 he began a type of advertisement that would become frequent:

> Salt, Coal, and Nails
> I have on hand for sale 590 Sacks of Liverpool G.A.Salt 200 Sacks of Fine and 500 small Sacks of Dairy Salt. 100 Tons of George's Creek Valley Lump Coal, and 50 Tons of Anthracite Coal, and 100 Kegs of Nails, which I will exchange for Corn.
> Harper's Ferry, W.Va., Nov. 20, 1875--3t. JAMES MCGRAW.[59]

McGraw may have had a corner on the coal and salt business in Harpers Ferry for many years. From 1870 to 1895 only two other merchants, J. M. Decaulne in 1872 and Cavalier and

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[58] Virginia Free Press. August 24, 1865. Page 3, Col. 5;
Ibid. September 27, 1866. Page 2, Col. 4;
Spirit of Jefferson. October 23, 1866. Page 2, Col. 5;
Ibid. July 23, 1867. Page 2, Col. 6;
Virginia Free Press. October 1, 1868. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. August 26, 1869. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. October 28, 1869. Page 3, Col. 3;
Spirit of Jefferson. May 3, 1870. Page 3, Col. 2. The following were granted licenses at Harpers Ferry: J. McGraw, J. Fitzpatrick, J. Conway, Robert Lucas, Thomas Kirwin; in Bolivar: Mrs. C. Shuster. Over the ensuing decade the following also held licenses in Harpers Ferry at various times: Matthew Quinn, Edward Murphy, G. W. Chambers, James R. Roeder, Michael Doran, Maltby & Moore, Thos. H. Trail. Newspapers reported James McGraw among liquor license recipients in most years beginning with 1866 and continuing even after his death (when the license was assumed by his son, James C. McGraw). Details can be obtained from History Database at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.
Virginia Free Press. April 19, 1873. Page 1, Cols. 5 & 6. Among other provisions, the new liquor law also prohibited sale behind "screens, frosted windows, or any other device, designed or intended to protect the seller or buyer from public observation."

[59] Ibid. December 17, 1872. Page 3, Col. 3;
Virginia Free Press. May 3, 1873. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. November 20, 1875. Page 2, Col. 7.

Echols in 1887, advertised coal, and only one other, D. Ames in 1874/75, advertised salt.[60]

McGraw's advertisements reveal the scope of his business in the 1870s. For example, on September 3, 1878, McGraw informed the public that the canal boat "McFannon, Loaded with 120 tons of 'GEORGE'S CREEK VALLEY' COAL, consigned to James McGraw" was discharging her cargo "in his yard," where it would be sold at $3 a ton. On November 12, 1878, he announced 200 tons of George's Creek coal, 100 kegs of Wheeling nails, and 50 kegs of horse and mule shoes for sale. In January 1879 he offered ten new one- and two-horse sleighs, and baskets, runners, bells, and shafts. As with coal and salt, McGraw apparently had a corner on the market for ice, which he first advertised on September 9, 1879, as follows:

> ICE! ICE!!.....I have 500 Tons of Good, Pure, RIVER ICE in my Ice-House at this place, which I will sell in lots of one ton or more, at $6.00 per ton.
> Harper's Ferry, Sept. 9, 1879. JAMES MCGRAW.[61]

No other newspaper advertisement offering ice at Harpers Ferry has been found.

Building 33 Construction

In April 1882 James McGraw wrote to Solicitor of the Treasury Rayner:

> I am building a house here and want some cut sills for the windows and doors. I understand that there are some stone [sic] on Hall's Rifle Works ground, that will answer my purposes, and I will be pleased to have you inform me if you will sell me any of them I may need. If so, please
> quote price at which you will sell them, and oblige.[62]

The "house" McGraw was planning when he wrote the Solicitor of the Treasury was

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[60] Virginia Free Press. September 21, 1872. Page 2, Col. 5;
Ibid. December 19, 1874. Page 2, Col. 5;
Spirit of Jefferson. January 5, 1875. Page 2, Col. 5.
Virginia Free Press. January 20, 1887. Advertising Supplement. This supplement strangely does not contain any mention of McGraw's business, even though it has a category for "coal & wood," and one for "general merchandise," the latter listing 7 local merchants.

[61] Spirit of Jefferson. September 3, 1878. Page 2, Col. 4. The advertisement did not give a location for McGraw's coal yard. No McGraw coal yard contiguous to river or canal has been identified, so McGraw perhaps meant that the cargo was being off-loaded and transported to his yard;
Ibid. November 12, 1878. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. January 14, 1879. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. September 9, 1879. Page 2, Col. 2. McGraw's abatement petition documented $600 for building an ice house in November 1877 (see Appendix II).

[62] NARG 121, James McGraw per Counsel to the Hon. Kenneth Rayner, April 5, 1882, HFD-679.

likely park Building 33, which became the new store-rooms and dwelling of the McGraw family. The superb stone sills of the windows and doors in Park Building 33 suggest that Kenneth Rayner sold McGraw the stone he had requested.

The local press noted building construction and improvements at Harpers Ferry in the early 1880s. In 1881 Edward Tearney's stone building on Shenandoah Street (park Building 38) underwent renovation. The Spirit of Jefferson wrote on May 2, 1882, that "James McGraw and Murtha Walsh each have large buildings underway and Mr. McGraw, we understand, will shortly erect another." The last construction mentioned may indicate improvements to Building 34, or the reference might be to construction on Lot 48, McGraw's property on the north side of Shenandoah Street. The following November the Spirit of Jefferson noted the new brick store and dwelling of Thos. W. Beale and that work was progressing on the Episcopal Church.[63]

Building activity at Harpers Ferry in 1881 and 1882 likely reflected optimism, both local and national. Locally, the United States had finally resolved legal entanglements related to the 1869 government property sale. The government had resold many of the lots for which 1869 purchasers executed quit-claim deeds, or had settled with buyers (like McGraw) who sought abatement in the purchase price, thereby making a number of building lots available for development at a time when the more stable business climate fostered confidence. Nationally, the rapid extension of railroads, exploitation of natural resources, and increased use of machinery in agriculture and manufacturing fueled economic growth. Although the post-Civil War decades were characterized by economic instability, with expansion and depression rapidly following each other, in 1882 the country was experiencing a period of industrial expansion.[64]

The Spirit of Jefferson reported McGraw's new building (Building 33) was under roof in November 1882:

> It is a massive stone structure, about 36 x 57 feet in size, three stories and an attic in height, covered with slate, and with an attractive brown sandstone finish. On the first

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[63] Spirit of Jefferson. September 6, 1881. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. May 2, 1882. Page 3, Col. 1. (Language in news reports is often ambiguous and should be interpreted advisedly.)
Ibid. November 14, 1882. Page 2, Col. 1.

[64] Pitt, Vol. 2, 1865 to the Present, Pages 344, 363.

floor is a spacious store-room and large hallway, on the second and third six rooms each for dwelling purposes, and on the attic floor four rooms.[65]

Jefferson County tax records reflect a major increase (by over 400%) in assessment of McGraw's property on Lot 3 in 1883 (see Appendix X). Caution must be exercised in interpreting tax assessments, but the increase likely reflects major construction on the lot. Building 33 had been completed as a dwelling and store by 1883.[66]

A receipt dated January 17, 1883, indicates "W. Castle" bought a ton of coal from "JAMES MCGRAW, cor. Shenandoah and Market Sts." (location of Bldg. 33). On June 26, 1883, James McGraw published notice of his removal to his "New Store Room, a few doors above the one formerly occupied by him." He tendered his thanks for "the patronage so liberally extended to him in former years" and called attention to "the partial list of goods appended below, and which are a portion of the large stock always kept on hand and for sale at bottom prices." These included all manner of agricultural implements, grass seeds, and grain cradles; "stones" and rifles; wines, brandies, liquors, and lager beer &c, "for medicinal and other purposes"; hardware, saddlery, wooden and willow ware; coal for steam, blacksmithing and heating; tobacco and cigars; and teas, spices, coffees, sugar, syrups, rice, canned goods, crackers, cakes, and salt.[67]

Establishing the grocery and hardware business in the new stone building was apparently the first priority. The McGraw family may have moved its dwelling to Building 33 late in 1883 or early in 1884, because the Spirit of Jefferson observed on August 7, 1883:

> Mr. James McGraw has completed the plastering of his fine new business and dwelling house, on Shenandoah Street, in Harpers Ferry. It is a massive and commodious structure, and contains (above the first floor, which he has already completed and in use for his mercantile business) sixteen good sized rooms. The door-sills are heavy marble, the foundation walls four feet, and the upper wall two feet thick--so that Mr. McG

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[65] Spirit of Jefferson. November 14, 1882. Page 2, Col. 1. A construction project of that magnitude raises questions concerning McGraw's financial position--particularly his net worth as compared with that of other local business leaders. Unfortunately, no primary source data has been found to establish that context, nor is any likely to be located. McGraw, who was illiterate, was apparently simply a good businessman. (See James McGraw Family History, Appendix XIII.)

[66] Although unlikely, the possibility the tax increase reflected construction of Building 34 as a two and one-half story brick building complementing Building 35 must be mentioned.

[67] Folder 1883, Box 1882-3, Jennie Chambers Papers, Perkins Library, Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, N.C., HFD-688;
Spirit of Jefferson. June 26, 1883. Page 2, Col. 4

evidently don't mean to be washed away by the first little rise in the river at Harper's Ferry. Among the items of material used in the construction of the building were 1500 bushels of lime, 100 barrels of cement, and six tons of iron--the latter embracing girders, rods, bolts, & c., to give strength to the structure.[68]

The firm of Davis and Connor were painting McGraw's new building in January 1884, likely the interior considering it was winter. This indicates Building 33 probably was completed in all its original details by spring of 1884. Established in fine new quarters, McGraw's business apparently continued to prosper. Shipments of coal and ice alone were arriving at McGraw's yard in quantities of 1,000 tons at a time.[69]

Building 33A Construction

In the summer of 1888 James McGraw erected a bottling plant, with stone foundation and first floor and a frame second story, just behind Building 33, separated from that building only by what was then a one-story porch at the rear of the new McGraw store-rooms and residence. The bottling plant approximates the original form of Park Building 33A, although second-story siding may have been entirely vertical, and the cupola-like structure is a later feature.[70]

Three years earlier McGraw had begun advertising Milwaukee Lager Beer shipped to Harpers Ferry in refrigerator cars and bottled "expressly for the fine trade and family use by James McGraw, at Harper's Ferry, W.Va." The advertisement commended to "Families" the "world-famed 'Bohemian' Beer . . . [which] acts as a healthful stimulant." As McGraw did not erect the "bottling plant" (Building 33A) until 1888, he did his bottling elsewhere in 1885. The 1885 bottling site has not been determined. No other contemporary bottling establishment has been identified in the vicinity at the time, and it is notable that McGraw's 1885 advertisement listed six retailers of his bottled beer in Charles Town alone.[71]

Nationally the bottling industry, of both soft drinks and beer, was experiencing a growth

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[68] Ibid. August 7, 1883. Page 3, Col. 3.

[69] Ibid., January 22, 1884. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. May 20, 1884. Page 2, Col. 3. Also, the May 6, 1884, issue noted that Davis & Connor were completing the painting of McGraw's "massive new building."

[70] Ibid. August 7, 1888. Page 2, Col. 4.

[71] Ibid. April 28, 1885. Page 2, Col. 5.

surge in the 1880s and 1890s, with a large proportion of beer bottling plants also selling carbonated soft drinks. Soft drink plants alone increased from 500 in 1880 to 1400 in 1890. Archeological investigations of the Package 116 site recovered bottles from McGraw's works and the later McGraw brewery and its successors, as well as bottles from Washington, D. C.; Hagerstown, Frederick and Baltimore, Maryland; Charles Town and Martinsburg, West Virginia; and Hanover and Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Only one bottle was attributed to the 1885-1893 McGraw bottling works period.[72]

As noted, reports of McGraw receiving liquor licenses date to 1866, and in May 1885 he was again granted a license. Business in beer therefore was large enough to justify McGraw's building a separate plant for bottling, although the building may have served other storage functions. The very deep basement likely served as ice or other cold storage.[73]

McGraw constructed a freight elevator in Building 33A (or installed one shortly after completion of the structure), for in July 1890, an employee "fell through the elevator opening, from the first floor to the cellar, breaking a leg and otherwise injuring himself seriously." 1894 and 1902 Sanborn fire insurance maps (see Appendix VIII) show Park Building 33A used for bottling purposes.[74]

Building 34/35 in the 1880s

The Harpers Ferry Post Office moved in 1887 from the "new" Master Armorer's House (Building 36), to a first-floor room in Building 34/35. Through the turn of the century and beyond, Building 34/35 commonly was referred to as the "McGraw Post-Office Building," although the Post Office moved again in 1897, this time to the Ames Building across Shenandoah Street from the Hotel Connor.[75]

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[72] For details on bottling see: Deborah A. Hull-Walski and Frank L. Walski, "Brewing and Bottling In Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," Chapter 17 in Paul A. Shackel, Editor, & Susan E. Winter, Principal Investigator, Interdisciplinary Investigations of Domestic Life in Government Block B: Perspectives of Harpers Ferry's Armory and Commercial District, Occasional Report No. 6, Regional Archaeology Program, National Capital Region, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. 1993.

[73] Spirit of Jefferson. May 12, 1885. Page 3, Col. 3.

[74] Ibid. July 15, 1890. Page 3, Col. 4.

[75] Ibid. August 30, 1887. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. October 12, 1897. Page 2, Col. 1. The Hotel Connor stood on Block A, the old Arsenal lot.

The Spirit of Jefferson stated in April 1888: "Mr. James McGraw is fitting up his former residence in Shenandoah Street for a store room, which will be occupied after the 15th of this month by M. Cohen & Co., clothiers." It is assumed "former residence" refers to Building 34/35. How long Cohen's business remained is undetermined.[76]

A year later, in 1889, the Spirit of Jefferson quoted from the Harpers Ferry Sentinel: "Mr. James McGraw is building on his Shenandoah Street lot below the Catholic Church." The item perhaps referred to construction on Lot 48, on the north side of Shenandoah Street, which McGraw had owned since 1865. No further discussion of a McGraw building project occurred until 1891. Beginning about then Building 34/35 apparently underwent major change, which will be discussed in the next section.[77]

1891-1892: Building 34/35 Achieves its Present Form

Construction date of the west portion of Building 34/35 remains uncertain, but the structure likely predated the Civil War. The building served as the residence of James McGraw and his children until completion of the family dwelling in Building 33 in 1884.

Major renovation which apparently brought Building 34/35 to its present form was reported in the Spirit of Jefferson of July 28, 1891:

> Mr. James McGraw, who by the way is one of the best known and most enterprising citizens of Harper's Ferry, has just erected another large house, or addition to his former residence. It is a massive building, fronting on Shenandoah Street, and besides having one of the largest storerooms in the town, will contain thirty large rooms, for hotel or boarding house purposes. The post office is in this building, but will be moved into the room west of it, which has been nicely fitted up for the purpose.[78]

Some months later James McGraw advertised for rent "On Shenandoah street, Harpers's Ferry . . . a large, new Stone and Brick Dwelling, 26 rooms, fine location. A splendid opening for a first-class Boarding House. Possession from April 1, 1892." By mid-May, William Davis had finished painting what the Spirit of Jefferson described as a building of "28 rooms besides

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[76] Ibid. April 17, 1888. Page 2, Col. 4.

[77] Ibid. July 16, 1889. Page 3, Col. 4.

[78] Ibid. July 28, 1891. Page 3, Col. 2. Syntax in the last sentence quoted creates confusion. What is meant is that the Post Office moved into a room west of its former location, but within the same building.

the Post Office and store . . . fifty-seven doors elegantly grained in walnut and other items to correspond." To account for a building of approximately 30 rooms based on the present configuration of Building 34/35, the third floor and stuccoed rear sections would have been part of the 1891 construction.[79]

It is unclear why McGraw made such elaborate alterations to Building 34/35 to prepare it for use as a "first class Boarding House." Perhaps he anticipated the housing needs of the work force soon to be employed on a massive B&O Railroad tunnel and track relocation project begun in 1892. Although by the 1890s Harpers Ferry had become a popular summer holiday site, summer visitors generally gravitated towards the higher elevations--Bolivar Heights and Camp Hill--and the boarding houses mentioned in contemporary newspapers were located there. The only local industry which could have created demand for the kind of boarding establishment McGraw appeared to offer would have been the pulp mills on the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers.[80]

The 1894 Sanborn map shows the old smokehouse, Building 34A, converted to oil storage. It is unknown whether the oil storage was a function of retail or boarding house in Building 34/35 or the hardware business in Building 33. The 1894 Sanborn map does not show the second-story balconies that once stretched across the entire back of Building 34/35. In the circa 1895 photograph of Harpers Ferry from Loudoun Heights (see Appendix IV), the rear second-story balconies appear in plain view. Thus, if the balconies were not part of the 1891 construction, they were in place within several years.

The occupancy of Building 34/35 during its last configuration is uncertain, although the advertisement James McGraw placed in 1892 showed his desire to rent the building's upper floors to a boarding house operator. Many doors on the second and third floors exhibit numerals which appear to have been pasted on and varnished over. It is not known when the numbers were added to the doors. No primary history source reveals actual operation of an 1890s

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[79] Ibid. March 22, 1892. Page 2, Col. 5;
Ibid. May 17, 1892. Page 3, Col. 1.

[80] Pioneer Press. July, 1887. Page 3, Cols. 3 & 4. This article reveals the magnitude of summer visitation by the late 1880s;
Virginia Free Press. July 6, 1882. Page 2, Col. 3;
Spirit of Jefferson. September 5, 1893. Page 2, Col. 1.

boarding house, but archeological investigation in 1989 revealed evidence suggesting such use.[81]

Following its removal from Building 36 (in the late 1880s), the Harpers Ferry Post Office was in Building 34/35 at least until the mid-1890s, first in Building 35, and then in a newly-fitted room (likely in Building 34) beginning in 1891. A rent receipt book in the S. V. Yantis papers at Duke University confirms that S. V. Yantis, Postmaster, paid rent to James McGraw from 1889 to 1893. The date the post office vacated Building 34/35 is unknown, but it apparently moved late in 1897 or early 1898. The 1902 Sanborn fire insurance map shows the post office on the north side of Shenandoah Street opposite the Hotel Conner, and a variety store in Building 34/35.[82]

The "Baltimore Clothing Co.," H. & K. Co. proprietors, advertised spring clothing for sale on Shenandoah Street in the McGraw Building next door to the Post Office (then in Building 34) in April 1895. In 1896 I. V. Pentz, Charles Town merchant, opened a branch of his general store in the "McGraw Building." It is not known how long either H. & K. Co. or I. V. Pentz operated there. Both these proprietors probably rented space in Building 34/35, as the McGraw hardware business continued in Building 33.[83]

There may have been some vacant periods in the 1890s for the store portions of Building 34/35, as news items in August 1895 and July 1898 refer to fairs held by the ladies of St. Peters Catholic Church in the "McGraw Building." The 1895 reference, like the H. & K. Co. reference above, locates the site near the Post Office.[84]

It is reasonable to conclude that the McGraws did not operate a store in Building 34/35

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[81] Eric Larsen, "That Trying Climate: Health and Medicine in nineteenth-Century Harpers Ferry," Page 11.40, also Michael T. Lucas, "Late Nineteenth-Century Material Goods from Lower Town Harpers Ferry: Ceramic and Glass Evidence from Features 99, 132, and 21," Page 14.13, in Shackel & Winter, Domestic Life in Government Block B.

[82] Spirit of Jefferson. July 28, 1891. Page 3, Col. 2;
Solomon Vance Yantis Papers, William R. Perkins Library, Special Collections Department, Duke University. Durham, N.C;
Spirit of Jefferson. October 12, 1897. Page 2, Col. 1.

[83] Ibid. April 27, 1895. Page 2, Col. 6;
Ibid. November 10, 1896. Page 3, Col. 2;
Harpers Ferry Sentinel. April 27, 1895. Page 1, Col. 1;
Ibid. July 4, 1896. Page 4, Col. 4.

[84] Virginia Free Press. August 14, 1895. Page 3, Col. 4;
Harpers Ferry Sentinel. July 16, 1898. Page 3, Col. 1.

after its remodelling in 1892. Apparently James McGraw improved the structure to increase its rental return.[85]

Lot 3 to the McGraw Bankruptcy

None of James McGraw's three children married, and apparently all lived with him. McGraw's mother, Catherine, died in January 1886 at the age of 83 (although obituaries say 80). Daughter Maggie kept house and the young James clerked in the store. No occupation has been determined for daughter Katie.[86]

About the time James McGraw began operations at his bottling plant (1888), he redecorated the family quarters above the store-rooms of Building 33. McGraw again employed William A. Davis to paint and paper the house. In January 1890 the Spirit of Jefferson noted the painting and papering job just completed:

> There are in the building fourteen large rooms and double hallway, to paper which required six hundred and fifty pieces of paper, at a cost for that material alone of $250. It makes a fine appearance, however, and Mr. McGraw who is one of the most substantial citizens of Harper's Ferry has the pleasure of luxuriating in a house whose inside adornment is probably not excelled by any in the Shenandoah Valley.[87]

No information has been found indicating the original interior arrangement or uses of the rooms of the dwelling portion of Building 33. Auction notices published in the Spirit of Jefferson and Farmers Advocate in 1897 and 1898, do, however, reveal the contents of the McGraws' hardware business and personal and household property. Those notices are reproduced as Appendices V and VI.

The 1895 photograph (HF-99) in Appendix IV shows the two-story storage sheds that extended from the ice house (Building 32) at Market Street across the entire rear of Lot 3,

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[85] Harper's Ferry Sentinel. April 27, 1895. Page 2, Col. 6. It is noteworthy that the term "McGraw Building" in local parlance usually meant the building McGraw built in 1882, Park Building 33. However, in this instance the reference could be to Park Building 34/35 (frequently called the "McGraw Postoffice Building"). On the 1894 Sanborn map Building 33 is listed as hardware and Building 35 as dry goods. Further evidence that the McGraws continued in the hardware business is found in Appendix VI, a transcription of the Notice of Auction of McGraw Hardware Business Inventory. The auction was part of bankruptcy proceedings begun in October, 1897.

[86] Spirit of Jefferson. January 19, 1886. Page 2, Col. 4. Catherine McGraw's age at death of 83 is taken from her tombstone in the cemetery of St. Peter's Catholic Church, Harpers Ferry.
Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), Page 2 of Harpers Ferry.

[87] Spirit of Jefferson. January 28, 1890. Page 3, Col. 2.

backing up against the railroad embankment. Not visible is the "boiler" in the yard, near the east wall of the bottling plant, that appears on the insurance map of 1894. Because of its proximity to the bottling plant, the boiler may have been associated with the McGraws' steam-bottling and steam-washing processes.[88]

Bankruptcy of James C. McGraw and Sale of Property

James McGraw's son, James C., apparently was more interested in the family beverage business than in his father's retail grocery and hardware operations. In 1890 J. C. McGraw announced he had succeeded his father in the beer bottling and ginger ale business, adding he was the exclusive local agent for Sachs Pudens Famous Ginger Ale.[89]

The last newspaper mention of James McGraw was a November 1892 account of a democratic celebration at Harpers Ferry. It noted the house of James McGraw among those "handsomely decorated," adding that McGraw's display was "particularly fine." James McGraw died October 31, 1893, "suddenly Monday morning at 6:45 o'clock." He was characterized in the Spirit of Jefferson as "one of the best citizens of Harper's Ferry, thrifty, progressive and public spirited--in his business relations honest and upright in all his dealing. Socially he was a genial and pleasant gentleman, with whom it was a pleasure to converse." The Virginia Free Press obituary noted McGraw had been "well acquainted and had considerable business transactions with John Brown just prior to the [October 1859] Brown raid. Brown left his horse with him at the time of his capture to settle some indebtedness."[90]

McGraw did not leave a will. In its November 21, 1893, issue the Spirit of Jefferson noted that James C. McGraw would serve as administrator of his father's estate, and that Katie and Margaret were their brother's sureties on a bond of $230,000. The estate, valued at

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[88] Ibid. June 4, 1895. Page 2, Col. 2.

[89] Ibid. May 13, 1890. Page 3, Col. 2.

[90] Ibid. November 29, 1892. Page 2, Col. 1;
Ibid. November 7, 1893. Page 3, Col. 4;
Virginia Free Press. November 1, 1893. Page 3, Col. 2. When John Brown visited Harpers Ferry prior to the raid he used the assumed name "Isaac Smith." John Brown's horse is also mentioned in the deed of Bargain and Sale McGraw executed to his nephew Patrick in January 1861 (JCC Deed Book 39, Page 396).

$155,000, would remain undivided. Margaret died suddenly in January 1896.[91]

In the first years after James McGraw died, his son James C. assumed operation of the family's business, and continued its civic interests by serving on the Harpers Ferry Council. He enhanced the bottling operation on Lot 3 by installing an ice engine. In October 1894 he was elected president of the newly incorporated Bank of Harpers Ferry. Advertising of the McGraw hardware business continued.[92]

James C. McGraw announced plans in March 1895 for a large brewery on Block C, Lot 11 (between the railroad trestle and the Shenandoah River), which his father had acquired nearly ten years earlier. The three McGraw heirs had inherited the site in equal shares, and that same month James C. purchased his sisters' interests in the property.[93]

Beer had been a part of American society from colonial times, and its popularity grew in the late nineteenth century. After the Civil War lager beer, lighter in body and in alcohol than the ale and porter favored earlier in the century, and with a sparkling quality, became the brew of choice. By the 1890s beer production was an important industry. Of the 1,732 breweries in the United States in 1895, when James C. McGraw established his brewery at Harpers Ferry only eight were in West Virginia. Nearby Maryland had 35 breweries, and Virginia had four. Not far to the north, Pennsylvania, with 221 breweries, accounted for 13 percent of the national total.[94]

McGraw incorporated the enterprise as the Harper's Ferry Brewing Company with the first output expected by September 1895. It was an ambitious undertaking for a small community. He employed 50 to 60 men to erect the building as quickly as possible, and hired a Chicago brewmaster, Fritz Jenson, to oversee operations. By June 1895, the Spirit of

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[91] Spirit of Jefferson. November 21, 1893. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. January 21, 1896. Page 3, Col. 2.

[92] Ibid. June 12, 1894. Page 3, Col. 4;
Virginia Free Press. October 24, 1894. Page 3, Col. 2;
Harper's Ferry Sentinel. April 27, 1895. Page 1, Col. 1;
Spirit of Jefferson. January 12, 1897. Page 2, Col. 1.

[93] Ibid. March 12, 1895. Page 2, Col. 4;
JCC Deed Book 80, Page 93.

[94] Hull-Walski and Walski, "Brewing and Bottling in Harpers Ferry," Pages 17.1-17.3.

Jefferson indicated the brewery was ready to begin production.[95]

The plant cost approximately $30,000 and was equipped with the latest brewing equipment and fire-fighting apparatus. Initial capacity was 10,000 barrels per year. A spring near Green's Hotel on Loudoun Heights across the Shenandoah River supplied pure water, which reached the Brewery through pipes under the river.[96]

James C. McGraw's business expansion may have been too rapid and too extensive. On October 1, 1897, he and his sister Kate (Maggie had died the previous year) were forced to assign all their property to attorney James M. Mason, Jr., in order to satisfy creditors. Then the McGraws suddenly departed Harpers Ferry "to avoid the mortification of witnessing the excitement caused by their unexpected assignment." There was fear of a run on one of McGraw's major creditors, the Bank of Harpers Ferry (of which McGraw was president), but the run never materialized and "not a dollar of deposits was withdrawn."[97]

McGraw's bankruptcy reflected economic distress on a national level during the 1890s. After nearly a decade of expansion, the Panic of 1893 brought an economic downturn that lasted two years, and "the nation foundered in the worst depression it had ever experienced." In 1894 people were exchanging greenbacks for hard money, and in 1895 J. P. Morgan underwrote a government bond issue to save the country from bankruptcy. An upswing in 1895 was followed by downturn in 1896 and 1897. The country did not experience significant economic recovery until the end of the decade, then panic hit again in 1903. Banks failed during the downturns, wiping out the savings of millions of Americans, and many small businesses went bankrupt.[98]

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[95] Spirit of Jefferson. October 18, 1894, Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. March 12, 1895. Page 3, Col. 4;
Ibid. April 16, 1895. Page 1, Col. 6;
Ibid. June 4, 1895. Page 2, Col. 2. This issue contains a detailed description of the brewery. See also, JCC Deed Book 83, Pages 493-503.

[96] For details on the brewery see: Deborah A. Hull-Walski and Frank L. Walski, "Brewing and Bottling In Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," Chapter 17 in Shackel & Winter, Domestic Life in Government Block B.

[97] Spirit of Jefferson. January 21, 1896. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. October 5, 1897. Page 2, Col. 1.

[98] John A. Garraty and Robert A. McCaughey, The American Nation, vol. 2, A History of the United States Since 1865, 6th ed., N.Y.: Harper & Row, Pub. 1987, Pages 617, 618. Interestingly, although the economic instability of the 1890s was characterized by bankruptcies and bank failures on the national level, the young Bank of Harpers Ferry remained in good health, and only two bankruptcies occurred locally--McGraw's and that of E. Miller Miskimmon, a local druggist.
Pitt, Vol. 2, Pages 363-364.

The assignment made by Kate and James C. McGraw included, among other extensive holdings, their undivided one-half interests in Block B, Lot 3, fronting 88 feet on the south side of Shenandoah Street:

> Said lot is improved by two large stone and brick buildings, the one of which is used by said James C. and Katie A. McGraw as their residence as well as the store rooms of said J. C. McGraw, the other of which contains two large store rooms on the lower floor, each building being three and a half stories in height, and other buildings.[99]

James M. Mason, Jr., Trustee, advertised a public sale of "valuable Real and Personal Property" involving to the McGraw bankruptcy for December 7, 1897 (Appendix V). Among properties offered were the Brewery, including bottling and soft-drink manufacturing "outfit"; Buildings 33, 33A, and 32, and the ground they occupied; the "4-Story brick and Stone Building" and its lot; Wager Lot 48; and two lots on High Street. The description of the "four Story Stone Residence" (Building 33) noted the building contained 22 rooms, a large Store Room, a Bar Room, and was fitted with "steam heating plumbing." A similar advertisement, but omitting the Brewery property, appeared in July 1898, for a sale to be held on August 13, 1898.[100]

The household effects of James C. and Kate McGraw were advertised to be auctioned December 23, 1897, and the contents of their hardware business were to be sold on February 10, 1898 (see Appendices VI and VII). In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is assumed those sales occurred on the dates advertised.

Partly because Maggie T. McGraw had died intestate in 1896, the McGraw bankruptcy spawned a complex set of suits in chancery before the ultimate conveyance of the Block B, Lot 3 properties. In November 1898 the Commissioner appointed to settle the business of James C. McGraw completed and filed his report. The Farmers Advocate stated: "The report is the largest ever made in a chancery suit in our court, and covers about 120 typewritten pages." The Spirit of Jefferson noted "We have also seen this report. It has undoubtedly involved much labor, and that this has been well and carefully done is patent to the most casual observer. It has been highly complimented by members of the bar, and we have no doubt merits all that has

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[99] JCC Deed Book 83, Pages 493-503.

[100] Virginia Free Press. July 20, 1898. Page 2, Col. 7.

been said of it." The "120 typewritten pages" as an entity have not been discovered, despite persistent searching.[101]

The Spirit of Jefferson had reported on August 23, 1898, that Commissioners Mason and Conway sold the McGraw Post Office Building (Building 34/35) to J. G. Hurst for $3,650. An October 1898 account stated the same building had been sold to the Kaplon brothers (Harpers Ferry merchants) for $3,870. William and Mary E. Doran, however, had earlier placed a higher sealed bid, and in January 1899 the Court awarded them the property, at the reported price of $4,775.[102]

A final decree in four consolidated chancery suits was entered February 24, 1899. It confirmed the sale by Trustees James Mason and James Conway of the portion of Lot 3 on which Park Buildings 33, 33A, and 32 stand to J. Perry Haddox, and Joseph H. and Ralph Savage of Winchester, Virginia (who also purchased the brewery for their Belvidere Brewing Company). The "McGraw residence" and store property, Building 33, sold for $4,000. In addition to the buildings, a deed dated February 25, 1899, granted to the purchasers:

> . . . the furnace and all appliances belonging thereto, including the smoke-stack, now in the cellar of the said McGraw Post Office Building [Building 34/35] attached to said building in the rear thereof, the said parties to remove the same within the next 30 days with as little damage to said Post Office Building as possible.
>
> . . . all the right, title and interest of J. C. and Katie A. McGraw in and to that portion of the alley in rear of and abutting on said above granted lot; and in the portion of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad abutting on and in rear of said portion of the said alley, including the coal bins under said railroad track on, or supposed to be on, the lot herein conveyed . . .

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[101] Farmers Advocate. November 19, 1898. Page 3, Col. 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. November 22, 1898. Page 2, Col. 2;
Historians determined the court report is not in the Jefferson County Courthouse. Many Jefferson County Court records were, however, transferred to the West Virginia University library. In January 1992 historians found a massive envelope of McGraw Chancery material, both typed and handwritten, filed in 1906 (West Virginia University, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, A&M 382, Jefferson County Court Records, Case of James C. McGraw, Envelope #135, in two parts, 1906). While the "120 page report" was not there, included were several documents which reveal details of Pkg. 116 property, among them the December 1897, sale notice for McGraw real and personal property, transcribed as Appendix VII.

[102] Spirit of Jefferson. August 23, 1898. Page 3, Col. 5;
Ibid. October 4, 1898. Page 2, Col. 6;
Ibid. January 24, 1899. Page 3, Col. 1;
JCC Deed Book 90, Page 188, January 12, 1901 (Bargain and Sale);
McGraw Chancery Documents, HFD-691.

> . . . right to remove or cut away the portion of the shedding outbuilding lying west to the alley in rear of the above conveyed property so far as said building or shedding lies on the lot above granted . . . provided said shedding or frame outbuilding is removed with as little damage as ordinary care and diligence may cause.

The deed also incorporated a small plat of the area of the McGraw property that includes the alley, or areaway, between Park Buildings 33 and 34/35, and it specifically mentioned the wooden gate to the alley from Shenandoah Street. A permanent easement maintaining the alley and gate was made part of the deed.[103]

Detail is lacking on use of Buildings 33, 33A and 32 following the 1897 McGraw bankruptcy. Sanborn maps provide some evidence of occupation, showing the former McGraw hardware store in Building 33 had been replaced by a general store by 1902 and a pool room by 1907, with a restaurant on the second floor in 1907. The maps indicate that sometime between 1894 and 1902 the one-story porch on the rear of Building 33 was enlarged to two stories and a long shed was built against the east wall of Building 33A. Buildings 33A and 32 are marked "beer bottling" in 1902 and "vacant" in 1907.

When Ralph Savage, one of the purchasers of the Building 33 property, went into bankruptcy in 1906, his undivided one-third interest was purchased by the co-owners. In January 1907 Joseph H. and M. Natalie Savage and J. Perry and M. Virginia Haddox granted the entire western portion of Block B, Lot 3, containing Buildings 32, 33A, and 33, to Mary Ellen Doran. With this the Doran family gained sole possession of Block B, Lot 3.[104]

The Dorans of Harpers Ferry

For over a hundred years, beginning in about 1833 (except for a period from the mid-1850s to after the Civil War), there was a Doran store in Lower Town Harpers Ferry (see Doran Family History, Appendix XIV). The early proprietors were, successively, Richard and Michael Doran, brothers who emigrated from Ireland early in the nineteenth century. Richard died in 1851 and Michael in 1882. Michael's children William and Mary Ellen, purchasers of the

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[103] JCC Deed Book 86, Page 260-266.

[104] Harpers Ferry Times. September 21, 1906. Page 4, Col. 3;
JCC Deed Book 98, Page 358, December 26, 1906 (Bargain and Sale);
JCC Deed Book 98, Page 384, January 7, 1907.

McGraw property, were first generation Americans, born in Maryland.[105]

An account in the Spirit of Jefferson of flood damage in 1889 states "Wm. Doran" was among the heaviest losers of "store goods and property" in the "very great flood" at Harpers Ferry. No exact location for William Doran's business in 1889 has been determined, but it likely was on Block C, Lot 1. After William and Mary E. Doran bought the McGraw "Post Office" property (Building 34/35) in January 1899 they moved the store to the new location.[106]

The 1900 census reveals that William, Ella and Sarah (Michael Doran's widow) were on Shenandoah Street, but exact location undetermined. It lists William and Ella as unmarried and gives their professions and ages as "Merchant" and "Saleslady," aged 37 and 39, respectively.[107]

Buildings 34/35 and 33 in the early 20th Century

Information on the Doran occupation of Building 34/35 is scarce, but they doubtless moved the family store there. The 1902 Sanborn map indicates "general store" and "variety store" use. Photograph HF-417, dated 1910, shows Willie Doran in front of the building, with all manner of store goods evident. The Dorans possibly rented the upper floors for boarding, rooming house, or apartment use, and perhaps occupied an apartment themselves. By 1905 it appears William Doran was improving the property. A very detailed proposal from James F. Cassell of Harpers Ferry for plumbing and heating work (transcribed as Appendix XII), dated October 1905, was found in the Doran/Delauder papers. The proposed work was likely for Building 34/35, as references suggest tying to heating lines from the Brewery and connecting to the Brewery sewer line. The proposal specifies materials for a bathroom and a kitchen. As William Doran had married earlier in the year, he may have been improving the upper floors

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[105] Virginia Free Press. July 17, 1851. Page 2, Col. 7;
The Jefferson Republican. August 20, 1953. Page 21. See Appendix XI;
Ninth Census, 1870, Page 17 of Harpers Ferry.

[106] Spirit of Jefferson. January 24, 1899. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. June 4, 1889. Page 2, Col. 2. See also Appendix XI;
JCC Deed Book 90, Page 188, January 12, 1901, James Conway (Special Commissioner) and James M. Mason Jr. (Trustee and Special Commissioner) grantors to William Doran and Mary E. Doran as grantees of GLB3. The deed discusses buildings, alleys, smokestack on property (see quoted text this report Pages 38). The fact that the deed is dated January 12, 1901 can be ascribed to complications in settling the McGraw bankruptcy.

[107] Reel 139, Twelfth Census (1900), Page 79A of Harpers Ferry. This is the only census that lists street names.

of Building 34/35 as a residence for the extended family.[108]

Further evidence of possible Doran family use is a building on the 1907 Sanborn map, behind Building 34/35 along the Winchester and Potomac railroad embankment on the southeastern corner of Lot 3 (site of an earlier shed), identified as "auto." This may have been a private garage, as two reports in the Spirit of Jefferson identify William Doran as a "pioneer" automobile owner. The same Sanborn Map identifies Building 34/35 as "general store." (see Appendix VIII).[109]

Harpers Ferry town records provide a potential clue to use of Building 33 after Mary Ellen Doran bought it in January 1907: "It is moved Seconded & adopted that Geo. W. Green Jr. be granted a license for ten months to run a boarding house in the McGraw building for $2.00." As the Dorans had by then owned and occupied Building 34/35 for seven years, the term 'McGraw building' likely referred to Building 33.[110]

The Farmers Advocate reported in December 1908 that the Penwood Coal Company of New York established an office in Harpers Ferry at the home of its president, H. L. Kirby. The article stated that the company rented the "McGraw residence" (Building 33), converting the lower floor into a "elegantly equipped" large office connected with cities by two phones, and that Mr. Kirby and Mr. George E. Davis, General Manager, occupied the remainder of the house as their residences. A news item in April 1909 confirmed the Penwood presence, but by October that year the office had closed "temporarily."[111]

It appears doubtful the Penwood office ever reopened in Building 33. A Farmers Advocate article of July 1910 stated directors of the Penwood Coal Company met in the office "here," in the home of Vice-President H. L. Kirby, but by 1910 Kirby's home may not have

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[108] Doran/DeLauder Papers. Letter dated October 26, 1905, on stationery of James F. Cassell, "Plumbing, Steam and Hot-Water Heating," Harper's Ferry, W.Va., to Mr. Wm. Doran. HFD-692.

[109] Spirit of Jefferson. August 27, 1907. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. February 9, 1909. Page 3, Col. 4.

[110] Harpers Ferry Town Records, Volume beginning 1891, meeting of July 1, 1907, Page 525.

[111] Farmers Advocate. December 5, 1908. Page 2, Col. 3. Use of the term "McGraw residence" validates the conclusion that by 1907 or 1908 the Dorans were well identified with Building 34/35, and therefore Building 33 would be the only one still associated with the McGraw name;
Ibid. April 17, 1909. Page 2, Col. 7;
Ibid. October 16, 1909. Page 2, Col. 4.

been in Building 33. The 1910 Census, enumerated in April, listed H. L. Kirby with his wife Leah and young son in the household of Leah's mother Mrs. Julia Walsh. Mrs. Walsh was the widow of Murtha Walsh, a leading Harpers Ferry merchant in the 1880s, and she resided in a property she owned on Block A on Shenandoah Street. Therefore, in July 1910 the directors may have met at the Walsh establishment and not their former business location, Building 33. That scenario is supported by a September 1910 Farmers Advocate report that the coal company was in charge of a court-appointed receiver. The account states Penwood Coal Co. had offices at Harpers Ferry "a year or two ago," indicating the October 1909 closing of the Building 33 office may have been permanent.[112]

In January 1910 the Spirit of Jefferson reported a system of gasoline lights for day service had been installed in the store of "S. & W. Doran" in Harpers Ferry. Unfortunately this limited reference is not site-specific, but could refer to the store in Building 34/35.[113]

Following Sarah Doran's death in 1910, the family business came to be known as "W. & M. E. Doran." Although the Dorans rarely advertised, frequent newspaper references suggest their businesses on Block B, Lot 3, included rental accommodations, and furniture, general merchandise, and millinery enterprises at various times.[114]

The Farmers Advocate reported in September 1911:

> S. and W. Doran have built a large elevator in the rear of their McGraw property which they have converted into an apartment house, being admirably constructed for alteration into flats for comfortable homes. There is ample grounds around the property and various approaches back and front for the occupants. The lower floor he reserves as his furniture and store department.[115]

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[112] Ibid. July 9, 1910. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. September 17, 1910. Page 3, Col. 4;
Reel 252, Thirteenth Census (1910), Page 190 (Jefferson County). Hugh Kirby, a Harpers Ferry area native, was an active business promoter, and moved his family often. Late in 1910 Kirby went into the real estate business in Hagerstown with a former member of the Penwood Coal Co., and early in 1911 he was organizing the "Trackless Trolley Co. of Md. and W.Va." at Harpers Ferry. By November 1911 Kirby was involved in locating a silk manufacturing company at Richmond, Virginia, and in 1915 travelled to Europe as an agent selling coal. In 1923 he set up a pesticide manufacturing business at his mother's Bolivar property. Further data on Hugh Kirby can be obtained from the History Database, HFNHP.

[113] Spirit of Jefferson. January 25, 1910. Page 3, Col. 2. Photograph HF-417, of Willie Doran in front of the Building 34/35 store, is dated 1910.

[114] Farmers Advocate. December 3, 1910. Page 2, Col. 2.

[115] Ibid. September 16, 1911. Page 2, Col. 4.

This description seems to fit Building 33, especially the reference to various approaches to the building and the furniture store. Building 33 could be accessed on all four sides. The "large elevator" may refer to improvement of the elevator system which McGraw had installed in Building 33A twenty years earlier. The Building 33 conclusion is further supported by the 1912 Sanborn map, which labels the building "furniture."

An undated photograph, HF-1856, found in the Doran/Delauder papers gives an excellent early 20th century view of Building 33. Pictured on the sidewalk in front are William Doran and another male, as well as three females. Unfortunately, only William is identifiable (and he is identified because of Park photograph HF-417 cited earlier). Seen at the second floor bay window are three others. The (west) side door to the building lacks a step, so perhaps that entrance was not in use at the time of the picture. No sign appears in the storefront to indicate its use.

The Dorans were renting out apartments by the second decade of the 20th century. In April 1917 the Farmers Advocate reported that Charles Demory had begun housekeeping "in an upper flat above W. and M. E. Doran's Department Store." The same source in May 1922 stated Mr. & Mrs. Fred Lanovel had rented an apartment in the "Doran Block." Additionally, Mr. James Manuel, a descendant of Harpers Ferry blacksmith Joseph Manuel, says family tradition indicates he was born in a second-floor front apartment of Building 33. Examination of a faded snapshot (HF-1855) of infant James Manuel, affirms the picture was taken on the Building 33 balcony. Since Mr. Manuel was born in March 1924, and he states the family moved when he was a very young baby, the photo probably dates to summer 1924.[116]

Pinpointing Doran residences and businesses is difficult. Not only did the Dorans own several properties on the south side of Shenandoah Street, but in 1913 they purchased the Cavalier property (Park Building 45) on the north side of the street. Frequently news stories concerning the Dorans cite only "Shenandoah Street."[117]

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[116] Ibid. April 14, 1917. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. May 13, 1922. Page 1, Col. 6;
Personal communication with James Manuel conducted by Patricia Chickering on several occasions beginning in 1992.

[117] JCC Deed Book 109, Page 411. For further information on Doran locations, necessarily open to interpretation, the reader is referred to turn of the century through 1925 references in Appendix XIV.

In July 1919 the Farmers Advocate reported that "W. & S. L." [sic] Doran had sold their entire stock & fixtures to a Pennsylvania company which took over the business complete with its "complement of clerks." About a year later the same source revealed that "W. & M. E. Doran's" large stock of general merchandise had been bought out and sold in 3 months during 1919. "Since then Mr. Doran and his sister restocked . . . and reversed their departments . . . finer goods are now sold in the lower room of the McGraw property."[118]

Valuable insights into the Doran store were obtained in 1992 from Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan, a Harpers Ferry native born in 1911. She emphasized that the Doran store in Building 33 was a fine place with carpets and polished glass cases. At Christmas toys were sold *sub rosa* to parents from a second floor room. Mrs. Flanagan recalled that "the family" always lived over the store.[119]

A March 1924 item in the Farmers Advocate illustrated the confusion over Doran property locations. It stated: "Mr. Kaplon moved unsold merchandise to a room in the Doran Building where he will close out as soon as possible" after he had vacated his department store in the Kaplon Building (on Wager Lot 48, Shenandoah Street). The Spirit of Jefferson reported in April that A. Kaplon "moved the balance of his stock . . . to the store building of W. & M. E. Doran between [C. M.] Larue's Store and Johnson's Tailor Shop." Although these Doran references did not give precise locations, they concerned park Building 45 on the north side of Shenandoah Street.[120]

Heavy rains in mid-May 1924 resulted in a destructive flood at Harpers Ferry with water rising from 2 to 6 feet in Shenandoah Street businesses. Included in the Farmers Advocate's list of businesses sustaining losses is the name William Doran.[121]

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[118] Farmers Advocate. July 26, 1919. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. June 12, 1920. Page 1, Col. 5.

[119] Oral History interview with Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan conducted August 20, 1992, by Patricia Chickering and Michael A. Jenkins, and subsequent informal visits and conversations. Interview transcription in park library.

[120] Farmers Advocate. 1924.0315. Page 1, Col. 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. April 9, 1924. Page 7, Col. 1; In June 1993 Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan said that both the Larue and Johnson enterprises were on the north side of Shenandoah Street. An informal interview with Mrs. Rosalie Larue Lloyd (daughter of C. M. Larue) in December 1993 confirmed that statement.

[121] Farmers Advocate. May 17, 1924. Page 1, Col. 3.

William Doran died in late 1925, leaving no will. A few months later the W. & M. E. Doran business was sold to Viener Brothers, who disposed of the stock. Mary Ellen Doran subsequently re-opened the store in Building 33, according to Mrs. Flanagan (who noted that Mary Ellen was always called "Miss Ellie"). Frequent references in newspapers to Mary Ellen's buying trips for seasonal goods confirmed the continuance of the business. With the Doran business centered in Building 33 in 1926, Building 34/35 soon saw another tenant.[122]

According to the February 13, 1926, Farmers Advocate, "The Doran store property will be occupied by a new bakery." A month later the Spirit of Jefferson reported that Jefferson Baking Company would begin business occupying the "entire brick Doran Building." As usual, these references were not site-specific, but a photograph in a Spirit of Jefferson supplement in July 1926 suggested the bakery was on the south side of Shenandoah Street, probably in Building 34/35, the only "brick" Doran building. Neither Building 33 nor Building 45 would have been referred to as a "brick" building. The bakery began operation in April, 1926.[123]

By early 1928 the Jefferson Baking Company was in financial difficulty. In May that year the Company was advertised for sale "in front of the Doran property it occupies on Shenandoah Street." The ad solicited applications to Mr. Gilbert Perry, Manager.[124]

Mr. Charles T. Smith, former owner of the Harpers Ferry Bottling Works, bought the bakery plant and equipment at public auction in June 1928 and gained possession in July. He sponsored a local contest to name the bakery and its bread and he offered prizes. The new "Marvel Bakery" operated in the Doran site until it moved in October 1929 to the old

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[122] Spirit of Jefferson. February 10, 1926. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. March 17, 1926. Page 4, Col. 1;
Personal communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan.

[123] Farmers Advocate. February 13, 1926. Page 1, Col. 1;
Spirit of Jefferson. March 24, 1926. Page 1, Col.6;
Ibid. July 21, 1926. Supplement: "Historical & Industrial Edition of Spirit of Jefferson." No page numbers;
In informal conversation following a taped interview in October, 1991, John Newcomer confirmed the bakery in the Building 34-35 location, although he was uncertain about what portion of the building it occupied;
Farmers Advocate. April 17, 1926. Page 1, Col. 1.

[124] Ibid. April 12, 1928. Page 7, Col. 4;
Ibid. May 31, 1928. Page 6, Col. 3. F. A. Brown was Trustee for Eugene Bready, with W. D. Shelhos as baker and G. E. Perry as (bakery) Manager;
Additional information on sale of bakery equipment is found in: JCC Deed Book 131, Page 360, December 24, 1928, Report of Sale, Forrest A. Brown (Trustee) to Charles T. Smith.

Presbyterian Church on Shenandoah Street.[125]

Little further documentation for the Lot 3 properties has been discovered. It is believed Mary Ellen Doran, and later Mary Cecilia, daughter of William and Mary Elizabeth Coulehan Doran, continued the family store in Building 33. It has not been possible to determine when business ceased, but a letter dated May 1953 (just after the property was acquired for the Park) from T. T. Perry, Jr., of Charles Town, to Miss Mary Doran expressed willingness to advise her in disposing of stored items--including old time handbills, catalogs and magazines.[126]

The family residence moved to Building 33, probably in the 1920s. A photograph in the Doran/DeLauder papers shows "Willie" Doran (son of Wm. Doran and Mary Elizabeth Coulehan Doran) on the second floor rear porch of Building 33. Judging by Willie's age, the photo probably dates from the late 1920s or early to mid 1930s. The back porch location supports Mrs. Flanagan's belief the family lived in the former apartments over the store in Building 33.

The Lot B3 property remained in Doran family hands until acquired by the State of West Virginia for inclusion in Harpers Ferry National Monument. Mrs. Flanagan believes "Miss Ellie" died in Building 33, and that some of the family (probably Mary Elizabeth and her daughter Mary Cecilia) still lived there at the time the Park acquired the property. Mrs. June Newcomer's recollection supports that, and Mrs. Newcomer adds that the Doran store remained open through the 1940s, re-opening yet again after the 1942 flood. In fact, it was one of the last three businesses on Shenandoah Street--the others were Cassell's heating and plumbing business and Miss Mollie Murphy's store.[127]

The Doran family connection to Block B was not limited to Lot B3. In 1929 Mary Ellen Doran acquired Lot B2 and the Master Armorer's house. That lot and building are the subject of the following section of this report.

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[125] Ibid. June 19, 1928. Page 1, Col. 1;
Ibid. October 10, 1929. Page 8, Col. 1.

[126] Doran/DeLauder papers, HFD-680.

[127] JCC Deed Book 190, Page 315, November 29, 1952, Mary Cecilia Doran grants State of West Virginia portion of lot GLB3 containing Park Buildings 32 and 33. Cassell was on GLB1, and Miss Mollie Murphy was in park Building 10;
JCC Deed Book 191, Page 41, December 16, 1952, William Doran and Mary Elizabeth Doran grant State of West Virginia portion of lot GLB3 containing Park Buildings 34, 34A and 35.

Block B, Lot 2
Building 36 - The New Master Armorer's House[128]

Site Placement and Funding of Building 36

The U. S. Government in 1858 erected Building 36 on Block B immediately east of Building 34/35 as a dwelling for the Master Armorer. The proximity of the two structures fostered long speculation about the Government's plans for Building 34/35 after Building 36 was completed. During the proceedings of the Harpers Ferry abatement cases in 1878-1880, general belief was expressed that the Government had condemned the old Master Armorer's house and had intended to demolish it after Building 36 was completed. In July 1859 Armory Superintendent Alfred Barbour wrote to Chief of Ordnance Colonel Henry K. Craig recommending the old Master Armorer's house be pulled down since the house was seriously deteriorated, stood too close to the new quarters, and the Armory had need of the salvageable materials for construction on Camp Hill. A dispute within the Ordnance Department then ensued over who allowed the new quarters to be erected so close to the old, as no authority had been given for removing the older building. The Superintendent persisted in efforts to obtain approval to demolish the former Master Armorer's house, and Colonel Craig referred the matter to the Secretary of War, who never granted demolition permission.[129]

The design of the new Master Armorer's House would indicate more open space was envisioned to the west (although the ground floor public rooms faced east). Four windows on the west side of Building 36 (two on each floor) were obstructed by the continued presence of the former Master Armorer's quarters (Building 34/35 was only two-and-one-half stories in 1859, and little more than half its current depth). The service wing of the new Master Armorer's quarters was on its west side, with parlors and verandas overlooking grounds on the south and east. In 1879 Harpers Ferry businessman Solomon V. Yantis expressed belief that the government had condemned the old house, and that the obstruction of its "lights" by the new

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[128] Herbert H. Kissling, Park Historian, and Charles W. Snell, Park Supervisory Historian, wrote reports on the "New Master Armorer's Quarters" or "The John E. Daingerfield House" in 1957 and 1959, respectively. The reader is referred to these works for detailed histories of the property before the Civil War. Mr. Snell's report is transcribed as Appendix XVII.

[129] Snell, Buildings 36 & 36A, Pages 19 & 20 (Appendix XVII).

house meant the "Govt. offices clearly intended to remove" the former quarters of the Master Armorer.[130]

No outbuildings were erected for Building 36, and its occupants used those belonging to Building 34/35, thus strengthening the argument that the government planned demolition of Building 34/35. In July 1859 Armory Superintendent Alfred M. Barbour wrote Col. Henry K. Craig, Chief of Ordnance:

> . . . The outhouses attached to the old house [Building 34/35] are wanted for the use of the new one; if the old house is retained, new outhouses will have to be built for the new house, and for these, there is not sufficient space upon the lot, without materially marring the appearance and enjoyment of the grounds . . .[131]

Building 34/35 outbuildings included a brick smokehouse behind the Building 34 section, a frame structure fronting on Market Street, and a brick privy.[132] Securing adequate funds for property improvements was apparently a struggle for all the superintendents of the U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry. The new Master Armorer's house was one of three dwellings paid for specifically by an 1856 appropriation of $18,000 from the total of $33,725.27 raised by the 1852 sale of government property. The other houses built with these funds were the substantial quarters for the Paymaster's Clerk and Superintendent's Clerk (park Buildings 57 and 58). In 1860, requesting additional funds for outbuildings, the Superintendent reported:

> The funds for the construction of these quarters, derived altogether from the sale of lots at the armory, having been exhausted in the erection of the buildings themselves, no outside conveniences, such as a stable, meat-house, or other necessary buildings, could be erected.[133]

This statement is another indication the old stable on Block B, Lot 3 (site of Building 32) as well as the smoke house (Building 34A) and a privy of the former Master Armorer's quarters, of necessity continued in use after 1859.

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[130] Reel 238, Frames 1031, 1032, and 1030, NARG 121, S. V. Yantis to Hon. Kenneth Rayner, December 2, 1879.

[131] Snell, Buildings 36 & 36A, Page 19.

[132] Ibid, Pages 18-22. These pages contain a concise exposition of the site placement of Building 36 and of the outbuildings question.

[133] Reel 19, Vol. 9, Page 871;
Snell, Extracts from NARG 217, Page 40.

The Old Paymaster's Office and Arsenal Square

Construction of the new Master Armorer's house required demolition of an earlier Armory structure--the old Paymaster's Office, built in 1822. The Paymaster's Office stood just inside the Arsenal yard fence along Shenandoah Street, approximately 25 feet from the east wall of Building 35. The structure was in the line of the present sidewalk and part of Shenandoah Street in front of Building 36. Its rear wall roughly continued the line of the front facade of the old Master Armorer's house.[134]

A stone wall ran from the west side of the Paymaster's Office to the Winchester and Potomac Railroad embankment at the rear of the Arsenal grounds, dividing those grounds from the yard of the (old) Master Armorer's house. The footprint of the 1822 structure slightly overlapped the bounds of modern Lot 2, but more significantly, had the office remained it would have obstructed the entrance and front windows of the new Master Armorer's quarters (see Figure 4).

The Paymaster's Office was a one-story, slate-roofed, brick building, approximately 18 feet by 24 feet, that had been erected in 1822. A brick vault, 5 feet x 7 feet, was added to the rear in 1840. The small building was apparently kept whitewashed.[135]

Removal of the old Paymaster's Office coincided with the general effort to improve the old Arsenal yard in the 1850s. There was no sidewalk on the south side of Shenandoah Street along the Arsenal grounds. Since 1810 the yard had been enclosed by a fence, by then deteriorated, made of derelict musket barrels and bayonets. The Superintendent asked for $5,761 in 1856-1857 for enclosing Arsenal Square with a new fence, explaining the "present enclosure of the old Arsenal Square requires to be entirely renewed."[136]

In his Annual Report of June 30, 1858, Superintendent Henry Clowe noted that during the year then ending the old paymaster's office had been taken down to make room for the Master Armorer's quarters. He further reported:

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[134] Snell, Buildings 36 & 36A, Page 3. See also Figure 3, 1835 map.

[135] Snell, Extracts from NARG 217 (File No. 1165, Voucher No. 55) Page 1.

[136] Ibid (Serial Doc. 865, Pages 244-245), Page 2.

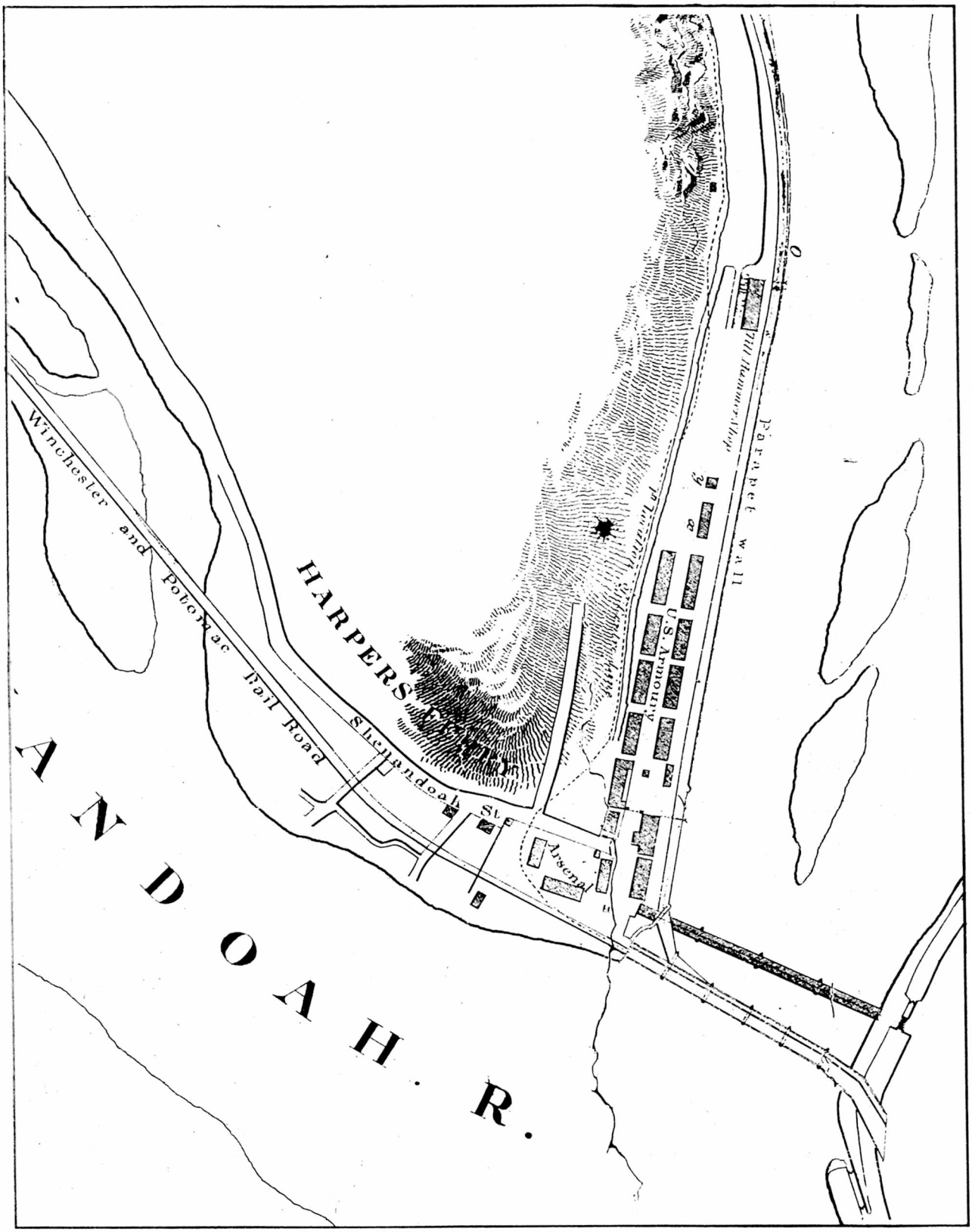


Figure 4 - 1838 Baltimore & Ohio RR map

. . . The building on the south end of the Arsenal square, designed as quarters for the master armorer, is advanced, ready for roofing. The building is of the same style of structure as those on the hill, built of brick on stone foundations, the main building being 42 by 38 feet, with wing 25 1/2 feet by 20 feet, 2 stories high, and roofed with slate.[137]

Construction of the Master Armorer's House

One year later, the new Superintendent Alfred Barbour was able to report the Master Armorer's house was completed, provided with a "rain water cistern," and was occupied. The materials, detailing, and general proportions of the new Master Armorer's house were akin to those of the chief clerks' houses on Camp Hill (later Brackett and Morrell houses) dating from the same period and paid for out of the same appropriation. The major differences were of plan: the kitchen wing of Building 36 was to the rear, rather than to the side of the main block, and a true center hall organized the interior room arrangement. Overall it was a more elegant and distinguished building.[138]

The occupant of this handsome new house was not Master Armorer Benjamin Mills, but the Paymaster's Clerk, John E. Daingerfield. In November 1858 Superintendent Clowe granted permission for Mills and Daingerfield to exchange the quarters designated for their respective positions. Mills, who began his work at the Armory November 1, 1858, moved to Camp Hill, and Daingerfield occupied the old Master Armorer's house until the new quarters (Building 36) was ready.[139]

Evidence suggests Building 36 was occupied before June 30, 1859, and the old Master Armorer's house then became vacant. Benjamin Mills resigned as Master Armorer in November 1859 and was replaced by Armstead Ball who, in April 1860, requested tenancy of the New Master Armorer's house. As this necessitated the removal of Daingerfield, it required some time, but by September 1860 Ball was occupying Building 36.[140]

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[137] Ibid (Serial No. 976, Pages 1318, 1319), Page 2.

[138] Ibid (Serial No. 1025, Page 1114) Page 39;
Snell, Buildings 36 & 36A, Pages 10-13.

[139] Ibid, Page 14.

[140] Ibid. Pages 18 & 22.

Despite the John Brown Raid of October 1859, improvements at Harpers Ferry and the Arsenal Square continued. Superintendent Barbour reported in June 1860, "the quarters of the Master Armorer, Paymaster and Clerks have received many additions to them, to render them comfortable, and the grounds, which were very rough, have been graded and improved."[141]

1859-1869: The John Brown Raid through the 1869 Property Sale

During the John Brown raid, while John Daingerfield still lived there, Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee occupied the Master Armorer's House. It served as a military headquarters during the Civil War, and is identified as the headquarters of Brig. General John D. Stevenson in 1864. Lt. Gen. U. S. Grant stayed at Stevenson's headquarters on the night of September 16, 1864, following a meeting with General Sheridan at Charles Town.[142]

The inspection report of July 1865, after the close of hostilities, noted that the building was in "fair condition," although other "conspicuous and valuable buildings belonging to the Government" had been "wantonly abused." Building 36 was occupied by "Genl. [Thomas W.] Egan."[143]

> For the 1869 sale of Government property the house was identified as:
>
> No. 2. 70 feet front on Shenandoah Street, running back with No. 1, 148 feet; with railroad embankment 78 feet to No. 3, and with it 134 feet to Shenandoah street. Fine brick house; residence of Dr. O'Donnel, and office of ordnance storekeeper. Purchaser, William Young. Price $6,100.[144]

The aforementioned "Dr. O'Donnel" is likely Dr. J. S. O'Donnell, who remained for many years a prominent name in and around Harpers Ferry, and who also purchased a High Street house at the Government sale. Following the sale, the Master Armorer's House was "retained

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[141] Snell, Extracts from NARG 217 (Serial No. 1079, Page 974), Page 39.

[142] Spirit of Jefferson. November 8, 1887. Page 2, Col. 3;
NARG 156, Entry 21, Letters Rec'd, OCO, File W.D. 387 (1863), Report of U. S. Agent Daniel J. Young to Col. H. K. Craig, HFD-677. Daniel Young stated the building served in 1862 as "headquarters;"
Taylor, Sketchbook, Page 580, Page 353;
HF-141 [sketch by A. R. Waud].

[143] Snell, Buildings 36 & 36A, Page 26.

[144] Spirit of Jefferson. December 7, 1869. Page 3, Cols. 1 & 2.

by the government" and for the next years it continued to be leased out.[145]

1870-1884: Private and Municipal Uses

In 1872, the Ordnance Department's agent at Harpers Ferry, Zadok Butt, reported that John Koonce (a brother of state Senator George Koonce) was fifteen months in arrears on rent for his portion of the house. This implies Koonce was a tenant prior to early 1871, when he first fell behind in his rent of $4 per month. Butt indicated Koonce used five rooms and the cellar of the house.[146]

The juxtaposition of Koonce to known Shenandoah Street residents on the 1870 census seems to confirm Koonce and his wife Sarah were in the house by June 1870. The Koonces were listed in the household of milliner Annie E. Kirby, along with her two children and an 11-year old boy named Walter Barnett. This may be the same "Mrs. Kirby" who, according to the McGraws, moved out of the Old Master Armorer's house (Building 34/35) in the spring of 1870.[147]

About September 1870, Zadok Butt rented one room in Building 36 to Dr. A. M. Kessler. When Dr. Kessler married early in 1872, Mrs. Emily Marquett, a widow with two

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[145] Spirit of Jefferson. December 7, 1869. Page 2, Col. 1 & 2;
Virginia Free Press. December 6, 1869. Page 2, Col. 1;
Ibid. August 16, 1873. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. March 11, 1876. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. July 27, 1878. Page 2, Col. 1;
Ibid. September 13, 1879. Page 2, Col. 3.

[146] James P. Noffsinger, Harpers Ferry West Virginia - Contributions Towards a Physical History, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, November 1958, Page 158, 159. (Zadoc Butt to Maj. S. V. Benet, December 23, 1872. 43rd Congress, 1st Session, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 6, Zadok Butt to Maj. S. V. Benet, July 17, 1872, in "Letter from the Chief Clerk of the War Department . . . communicating information in relation to the sale of Government Property at Harper's Ferry." Senate, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., Ex. Doc. 6. Pages 25-26).
Spirit of Jefferson. November 17, 1891. Page 3, Col. 3 (John Koonce's obituary lists George Koonce as a brother). John Koonce was prominent in local civic and political affairs for many years. During the 1850s he was noted as an estate administrator (Virginia Free Press, October 4, 1855, Page 3, Col. 1), and a magistrate (Ibid, May 29, 1856, Page 2, Col. 3). In 1866 he served as auctioneer in the sale of Government equipment (Ibid. February 15, 1866, Page 2, Col. 6; Ibid, December 27, 1866, Page 2, Col. 6), and was appointed to reassess Jefferson County real estate (Ibid, March 22, 1866, page 2, Col. 4). News references suggest he served as a Justice in 1867 (Ibid, July 4, 1867, Page 2, Col. 2) and that he maintained an office at Harpers Ferry (Ibid, November 26, 1867, Page 3, Col. 1). In 1881 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace (Ibid, August 20, 1881, Page 2, Col. 2), and in 1883 was Trustee of Pine Grove Cemetery (Spirit of Jefferson, May 29, 1883, Page 3, Col. 2). He gave bond and qualified as a Notary Public in 1885 (Virginia Free Press, March 26, 1885, Page 1, Col. 5), and two years later offered his Notary services, adding that he was an agent for houses and a "collector" (Harpers Ferry Sentinel, December 31, 1887, Page 5, Col. 4), with his office over the Post Office (which by then had moved from Building 36 to Building 34/35).

[147] Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), Page 460 of Bolivar Township;
Reel 238, Frame 1015.

sons who were employed in the telegraph office, offered Kessler additional rooms among those her family was occupying in the house. Dr. Kessler's bride, Alice R. Koonce, was John Koonce's niece, a daughter of George Koonce. Thus it appears that by mid-1872 John and Sara Koonce, Dr. and Mrs. Kessler, and Mrs. Marquett and her two sons shared the house.[148]

Butt informed the Ordnance Department that he kept an office for himself in the first-floor rear parlor, on the garden side of the building. He shared this room with lawyer Archibald Kitzmiller, a former Armory official. Butt waived any rent charge in exchange for Kitzmiller's assistance with matters involving the government property.[149]

In the early 1870s the Harpers Ferry town government, reacting to the combined impact of the Civil War, stagnating business, depreciating land values, and the terrible flood of 1870, pleaded to the Secretary of War to have the Master Armorer's house turned over to the corporation of Harpers Ferry for public benefit. Mayor Daniel Ames wrote to Secretary W. W. Belknap on July 5, 1872:

> We, the corporate authorities of Harper's Ferry, W.Va., do most respectfully and earnestly pray you to place, at the disposal of the town lot 2, Block B, together with the brick house located thereon, to be used by said town for a town-house, schoolhouse, jail, station-house, or otherwise, as may best serve their purposes. . .
>
> Two of our school houses were pulled down during the war by the United States soldiers . . .
>
> We have neither town-house nor jail, the jail also having been destroyed during the war.
>
> No compensation whatever has ever been obtained by the town for the use, damage, or destruction of its public buildings, while, thus far, three of its churches have been aided in making repairs of their houses . . .
>
> A house and lot had been assigned to the use of the town prior to the sale in 1869, but at that time it was taken and sold with other property, while four of the best buildings, with ample lots, were donated by the United States to the Stover [sic] College, for the benefit of colored people.[150]

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[148] Noffsinger, Pages 158, 159, (Zadoc Butt to Maj. S. V. Benet, December 23, 1872, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 6, Pages 29, 30). Various spellings of the name of the "widow with two sons who were employed in the telegraph office" are: Margnett, Markwood, Markward, Marquette and Marquett. Marquett(e) appears to be the actual name; Farmers Advocate. March 3, 1912. Page 1, Col. 4.

[149] Noffsinger, Page 154.

[150] Noffsinger, Page 153 (Daniel Ames, et. al., to the Hon W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, July 5, 1872. 43rd Congress, 1st Session, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 6, Page 24).

Belknap asked Chief of Ordnance Major Stephen V. Benet for guidance, feeling no authority existed for leasing the building. Benet responded that certain buildings at Harpers Ferry had, for half a century, been rented as a matter of practice and necessity. He recommended Koonce be told to vacate, and his room and other unoccupied rooms in the house be loaned to the corporate authorities of Harpers Ferry in exchange for the corporation's signing an agreement to maintain the property. The Department and Mayor signed such an agreement on August 17, 1872.[151]

Zadok Butt's office, in the rear of the double parlors, was the "only room on the first floor" that was not rented, and according to Daniel Ames, was the one most suitable for the offices of the mayor and council. Since the Ordnance Agent was reluctant to give it up, and maintained it was necessary for visits of department officials from Washington, the local government offered to share the space.[152]

Exactly how Butt and the Corporation of Harpers Ferry resolved the matter remains unclear. Rent-paying tenants not in arrears were allowed to remain and began paying their rent to the town. Indeed, the better part of the house continued to be leased to private parties. The Solicitor of the Treasury assumed jurisdiction of the Master Armorer's House as a result of provisions of Section 3 of the Congressional Act of June 14, 1878--the same Act that allowed buyers of property in the 1869 sale to apply for abatement of purchase obligations. Thus, in September 1878 S. C. Lyford, Acting Chief of Ordnance, advised George McCrary, Secretary of War, to relinquish custody of all property at Harpers Ferry still under the control of the War Department so that it might be disposed of under the terms of the Act. By then the only such properties were Wager Lot 18 on High Street and Block B, Lot 2 with Building 36.

Solicitor of the Treasury Kenneth Rayner initially felt the legislation gave the Treasury authority to lease the Ordnance Department property at Harpers Ferry, but control legally remained with the War Department. Nevertheless, Rayner eventually believed assumption of jurisdiction by the Treasury was legal, and he wrote to the Secretary of War on November 4, 1878, saying: "I am willing to accept such relinquishment as is proposed, and to proceed to rent

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[151] Ibid. Pages 153-157.

[152] Ibid. Page 154.

or lease such portions of the property upon the best terms that may be secured for the Government." Secretary of War McCrary responded on November 25, 1878, officially turning the property over to Rayner.[153]

John Koonce was appointed watchman of the Solicitor's office in Harpers Ferry on November 30, 1880, but he was hopeful for a better position. In acknowledging the "watchmanship" he added he hoped the Solicitor "may have something better to offer in the near future."[154]

Because a bill before Congress would have permitted sale of the remaining government property, the Solicitor asked Koonce to account for the current uses of the Master Armorer's house and determine the willingness of tenants to continue renting. Koonce responded on December 16, 1880, informing the Solicitor the School Board occupied two rooms free of rent, the Postmaster one room, Mrs. S. W. (Eveline) Trail eight rooms and basement kitchen, and Rev. (W. C.) Campbell, one room as a study. The Corporation of Harpers Ferry occupied one room as Council chambers and Mayor's office, and the front part of the basement as a "lock-up or jail."[155]

Later in the same month Koonce apparently was asked for more detail. He furnished room dimensions, locations, and occupants' names (transcribed as Appendix IX of this report). This document evinces that in 1880 a person entering the house would find the Post Office, run by Alexander Fossett, on the right side of the hall at the front; to the left, the double parlors separated by folding doors served as a school; on the second floor, above the school, was the Mayor's office and council room to the front, and the study of Rev. Campbell to the rear; aside from these rooms, and the jail in the front of the basement, Mrs. Eveline Trail had use of the balance of the house (see Figure 5). Further information provided by Koonce indicated the overall condition of the building was fair except for poor roof drainage in front and a new floor needed on the back porch. He further advised the basement kitchen was damp and used for

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[153] Benet, Collection, Pages 1054-1057, HFD-681.

[154] John Koonce to [Solicitor of the Treasury] December 3, 1880, HFD-682. This is presumably the same 'John Koonce' who was in arrears in rent in 1871. See Footnote 146.

[155] Ibid, December 16, 1880.

storage of coal.[156]

The principal occupant of the house, Eveline Trail, was a 69 year-old widow. Her late husband, Samuel W. Trail, was listed in censuses up to 1870 variously as a carpenter and a butcher. Living with Mrs. Trail at the time of the 1880 census, taken in June, was her unmarried daughter Annie (44). Philip Trail (43), his wife Mary (24) and their two children apparently were also in the building. Philip, a butcher, was probably a son of Samuel Trail.[157]

In December 1880 Mrs. Trail wrote to the Solicitor requesting permission to remain in Building 36 at $5 per month. She stated her seven rooms were occupied only by her and her daughter, but that they kept boarders "to try to make a living."[158]

The provision of a study for the Presbyterian minister seems to have been a continuing arrangement. Rev. W. C. Campbell wrote expressing his desire to retain his study for $12 annually, and asked about the rent that might be expected for the entire building. The Mayor of Harpers Ferry, E. (Edmond or Edmund) H. Chambers, stated the town was willing to pay $15 annually for the council and Mayor's office and basement jail. T. A. Kirwan, president of the Board of Education, agreed to an annual rental of $12 for the school rooms. The Post Office remained in the house at $50 per annum.[159]

Koonce's rent collections show the basic pattern of use of Building 36 remained unchanged for the next several years, although details varied. Rev. Wm. White of the Presbyterian Church replaced Rev. W. C. Campbell and continued to use the study through 1884. Mrs. Trail vacated her rooms on November 26, 1883, owing $6, and Koonce asked to be permitted to take over her rooms, yet not be obligated for payment of rent until the following April.[160]

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[156] Noffsinger, Physical History, Page 199. This is a transcription of: John Koonce to Solicitor of the Treasury, December 28, 1880, in NA RG 121, Public Buildings Service, Harpers Ferry Case No. 155 (ms). Mrs. Trail's first name, and Rev. Campbell's initials, are derived from census and newspaper sources.

[157] Reel, 138, Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, West Virginia, Page 2.

[158] *Mrs. S. W. Trail per C. H. Trail to the Hon. K. Rayner, December 20, 1880, HFD-682.*

[159] W. C. Campbell to the Solicitor of the Treasury, December 20, 1880; E. H. Chambers to the Hon. K. Rayner, December 29, 1880; T. A. Kirwan to the Hon. K. Rayner, January 15, 1881; Alexander Fossett, to the Hon. K. Rayner, December 24, 1880, HFD-682.

[160] John Koonce to the Hon. K. Rayner, February 1, 1884, "Statement of Rents Received for the Quarter Ending Dec. 31/83; and letter of October 9, 1883, HFD-682.

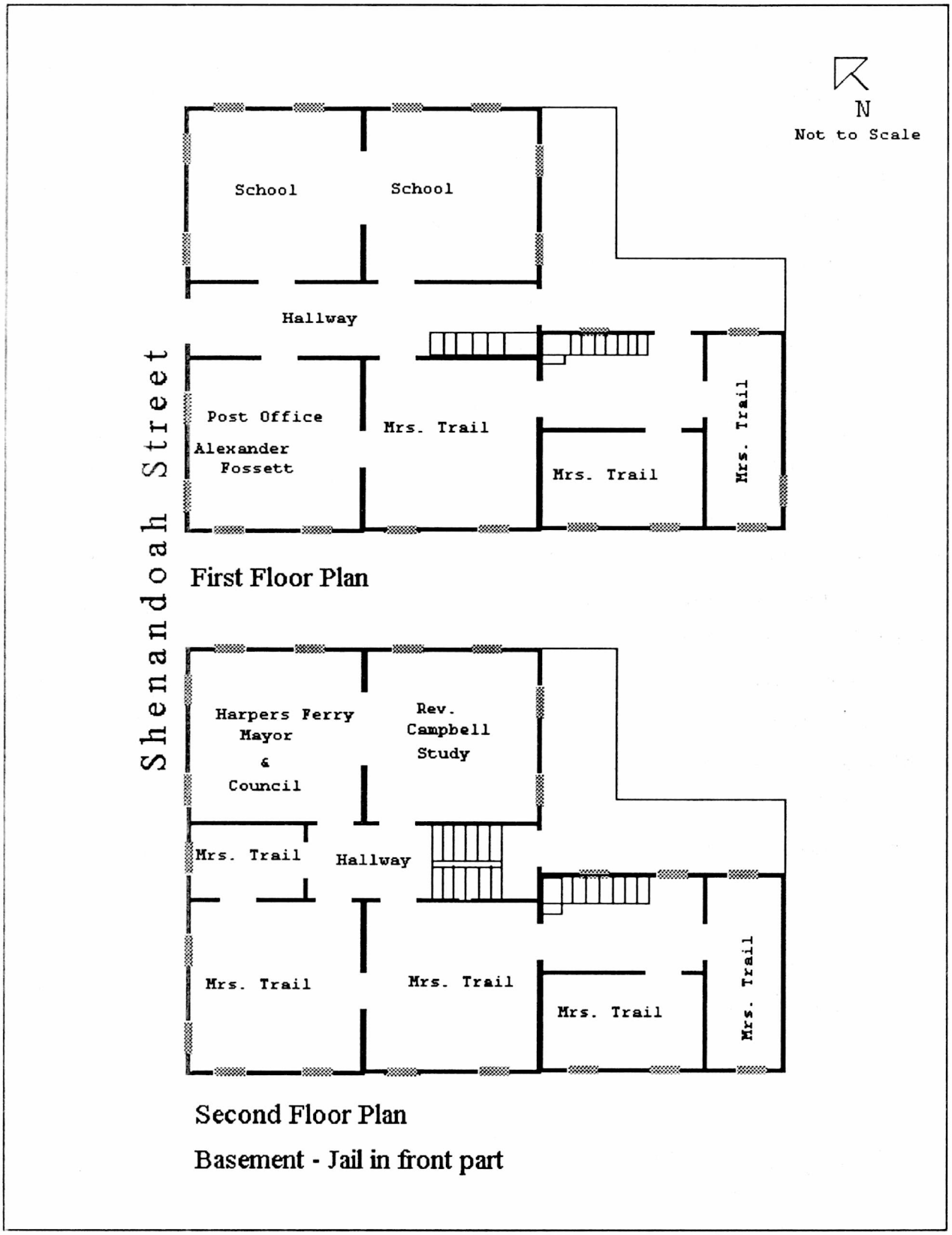


Figure 5 - Building 36 Floor Plan with 1880 occupants

Little evidence of repairs or alterations between 1880 and 1884 has survived, if indeed much maintenance was performed. In April 1881, after Koonce reported damaged gutters, Thomas Beale was authorized to: "spout the Post Office Building with seventy on[e] feet of spouting that is gutter and downpipe made of the best material painted and thirteen iron spout hooks for the sum of $15 dollars." A bill from A. R. Miles for cleaning the "water closets" of the house was paid in July 1883. In the October 1883 letter requesting use of Mrs. Trail's rooms, Koonce remarked on the deplorable state of the roof and the resulting damage to interior plaster. Under Koonce's custodianship, the final work on the property of any consequence for which a record has been found was the moving of the privy and repair of the wooden fence enclosing the grounds in April and May 1884.[161]

1884-1900: The Hurst Residence

In July 1884 Congress authorized sale of the water power and other government property at Harpers Ferry. Anticipating Congressional action, John Koonce had applied to the Solicitor of the Treasury for the position of auctioneer, alluding to his "considerable experience in the business, having acted in that capacity for the Ordnance Department at the close of the War." At the auction Koonce held on October 22, 1884, James Garland Hurst, Sheriff of Jefferson County, purchased Building 36. The U. S. Government to Hurst deed was recorded on October 22, 1886.[162]

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[161] Proposal of Thos. W. Beale, April 14, 1881, endorsed by John Koonce and forwarded to the Hon. Sol. of Treas., HFD-682;
John Koonce to the Hon. K. Rayner, July 9, 1883. "Statement of Rents Collection for Quarter Ending June 30/83," HFD-682;
"Repairs and Material Furnished by John Koonce, Agent, of U. S. Property at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., April & May 1884," HFD-682. The account merely stated "moving privy," giving no location, but as Koonce was agent for U. S. property the privy likely moved from one site on Lot 2 to another. Although hardly essential to the history of Park Building 36 in this era, one intriguing bit of information that may be of interest for interpretive purposes is John Koonce's submission of a voucher for the cost of 30.5 yards of black chambric used to drape the Master Armorer's house in September 1881 following the assassination of President Garfield (see HFD-682).

[162] John Koonce to the Solicitor of the Treasury, June 28, 1884, HFD-682;
"Account of Sales of United States property at Harpers Ferry Oct. 22, 1884," John Koonce Auctioneer, Reel 239, Frame 0357;
Virginia Free Press. October 30, 1884. Page 3, Col. 3;
JCC Deed Book R, Page 78, October 22, 1886.

Exactly when Hurst began occupying the former Master Armorer's house is not clear; it may not have been until well after the sale. In February 1885 the Virginia Free Press reported that a fire at the "large Shenandoah Street brick building" of J. Garland Hurst had done little damage and that the building was occupied by Dr. C. E. Beller (a druggist), and also contained a schoolroom, councilroom and Post Office.[163]

The first news of improvements made to the house by James and Elizabeth Hurst appeared three years after the auction. In the issue of August 30, 1887 (ten months after the deed was recorded), the Spirit of Jefferson reported: "Sheriff Hurst is having his large brick dwelling at Harper's Ferry (until recently occupied as a Post Office and for other public purposes) handsomely painted and papered and renovated throughout, for his own occupancy." The wording suggests public use and rental of the building had continued until the summer of 1887.[164]

Several other notices later in 1887 seem to confirm the Hursts first lived in the house that year. On October 31, the "Harpers Ferry Letter" column in the Spirit of Jefferson described Hallowe'en events in the community and recounted items from local Civil War history, mentioning that Sheriff Hurst now lived in the Daingerfield house, which had once briefly been occupied by Robert E. Lee, then "Col. Lee." The Spirit of Jefferson of November 15, 1887, reported Sheriff Hurst was repairing the sidewalk in front of his residence "in accordance with the grade fixed by the Common Council."[165]

John H. Bishop erected a "handsome iron fence" in front of the Hurst residence on Shenandoah Street in April 1888. The house and grounds suffered badly in the 1889 flood, as on June 4, 1889, the Spirit of Jefferson observed:

> Col. J. Garland Hurst, our late Sheriff, had probably the best and most elaborately finished and furnished house in Harper's Ferry, and almost everything on his main floor was ruined.[166]

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[163] Virginia Free Press. February 19, 1885. Page 2, Col. 3.

[164] Spirit of Jefferson. August 30, 1887. Page 3, Col. 1.

[165] Ibid. November 8, 1887, Page 2, Col. 3;
Ibid. November 15, 1887. Page 3, Col. 3.

[166] Ibid. May 1, 1888. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. June 4, 1889. Page 2, Col. 2.

The house was apparently completely rehabilitated, and remained a local showplace. Years later, in 1897, James Garland Hurst was complimented on having the most beautiful lawns of any house in the "two towns."[167]

James Garland and Elizabeth Hurst

In March 1883 the County Court of Jefferson County appointed Deputy J. Garland Hurst to the Office of Sheriff to fill the unexpired term of the late John S. Moore. The Spirit of Jefferson praised the choice, adding, "Mr. Hurst is well known to our people, and it is sufficient to say that a more popular or satisfactory appointment could not have been made." Hurst was 36 years old and a Jefferson County native who had lived in Harpers Ferry since 1877. His wife, the former Elizabeth Tearney, was a daughter of Edward Tearney, a prominent Harpers Ferry resident. James Garland and Elizabeth Hurst apparently had no children; the only other person listed in their household in 1880 was a mulatto servant, 23-year-old John Baltimore.[168]

James Garland Hurst was usually known as J. Garland Hurst or 'Colonel' Hurst. He acquired the rank of 'Colonel' in April 1885 when appointed "Aid-de-Camp" to West Virginia Governor E. Willis Wilson. Colonel Hurst was an ardent Jefferson County Democrat, a local booster, and a trustee of the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church. His closest business associate was Charles Trail (probably a son of Samuel and Eveline Trail--the same Eveline Trail who lived as a widow for several years in Building 36).[169]

Hurst and Trail ran on a winning Democratic ticket for Sheriff and Assessor in 1884.

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[167] Ibid. December 7, 1897. Page 3, Col. 2.

[168] Spirit of Jefferson, March 27, 1883. Page 3, Col. 1;
Farmers Advocate. February 22, 1902. Page 3, Col. 3;
Hurst's father-in-law, Edward Tearney, who came to Jefferson County in about 1832 from Ireland, listed himself variously as "stonemason," "government contractor," "farmer," and "capitalist," on censuses from 1850 to 1900 (Reel 248, Seventh Census, 1850, Page 416 B of Harpers Ferry; Reel 250, Eighth Census, 1860, Page 240 of Bolivar; Reel 137, Ninth Census, 1870, Page 460, Page 61 of Harpers Ferry; Reel 138, Tenth Census, 1880, Page 17, Page 8 of Bolivar Town; Reel 139, Twelfth Census, 1900, Page 87A of Bolivar Town). He had been a Jefferson County Sheriff, was a Harpers Ferry businessman, and later was president of the First National Bank of Charles Town;
Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), Page 326B of Jefferson County;
Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), Page 8 of Harpers Ferry.

[169] Virginia Free Press. April 16, 1885. Page 3, Col. 1;
Farmers Advocate. December 11, 1920. Page 1, Col. 6;
Reel 250, Eighth Census (1860), Page 200 of Harpers Ferry;
Spirit of Jefferson. January 7, 1890. Page 3, Col. 3.

They joined in numerous business ventures and amassed a sizeable portfolio of property holdings in and around Harpers Ferry, including Lots 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7 in Block R; Lot 9 in Block BB; Lot 8 in Block FF; numerous other Camp Hill lots including all of Block Y; and Lot 1 in Block E on Shenandoah Street.

The business activities of James G. Hurst and Charles H. Trail are well covered in contemporary local newspapers. The reader interested in exploring their activities or other aspects of late-nineteenth century Harpers Ferry is best directed to the History Database at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Even the vast body of information in the database, however, has failed to reveal the financial foundation of the Hurst/Trail ventures. James Garland Hurst came from a propertied Jefferson County family (his father, Minor Hurst, listed $12,000 worth of real estate on the 1850 census, and James may have been the only son), but Charles Trail's father was a butcher, his mother took in boarders "to make a living," and Charles lost an arm while laboring at the Child/McCreight flour mill on Virginius Island in 1871. Nevertheless, with Hurst's father-in-law, Edward Tearney, in 1884 they incorporated the Harpers Ferry General Improvement Company to promote general manufacturing.[170]

Throughout the 1890s Hurst was especially active in Democratic Party politics. He served regularly as a delegate to state conventions and was elected to the West Virginia State Legislature in 1896. He later ran unsuccessfully for the State Senate and for State Treasurer.[171]

Trail, Hurst, and Edward Tearney continued their business association through the 1890s. They incorporated the Harpers Ferry and Loudoun Bridge Company in July 1890, and the

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[170] Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society. Volume LVI. December 1990. Page 85;
Virginia Free Press. December 23, 1871. Page 3, Col. 3;
Mrs. S. W. Trail to Hon K. Raynor, Solicitor of the Treasury, December 20, 1880, HFD-682;
Spirit of Jefferson. November 18, 1884. Page 2, Col. 5. A search of the Jefferson County Courthouse yielded no incorporation papers for the venture. The Harpers Ferry General Improvement Company should not be confused with the earlier "Harpers Ferry Rural Improvement Association," which according to the Spirit of Jefferson (June 5, 1883, Page 3, Col. 2) was formed to "cultivate public spirit, quicken the intellectual life of the people, promote good fellowship, secure better hygienic conditions in our homes and surroundings, and in general to build up and beautify the town, and thus enhance the value of its real estate and render Harper's Ferry a still more inviting place of residence and of summer resort." Col. Hurst was Vice President of this Association, and it counted among its officers and executive committee a panoply of eminent Harpers Ferry citizens, women and men, drawn from all segments of the community, not just local business;
Ibid. January 6, 1885. Page 2, Col 5;
Ibid. April 7, 1885. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. November 17, 1885. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. June 12, 1883. Page 3, Col. 2.

[171] Ibid. November 17, 1896. Page 2, Col. 1.

Harpers Ferry branch of the Southern Building and Loan Association in September of that year. Just a few months later, with members of the Rau family of Bolivar and H. V. Daniels of Harpers Ferry, Hurst and Trail organized the Rau Mining and Manufacturing Company for the production of limestone, marble, iron ore, and minerals for paints and pigments. By 1895, Hurst and Trail had established the St. Elmo Mills near Harpers Ferry, equipped with the most advanced rolling and other flour-processing machinery. In 1897 Hurst invested in the lease of 4,000 acres between Martinsburg and Harpers Ferry for initial operations of oil exploration. The following year both Hurst and Trail were active members of the Board of Directors of Harpers Ferry Light and Power Company and helped arrange the contract whereby the Harpers Ferry Paper Company supplied power for the town's first electric street lighting, begun during the 1898 Christmas season. Charles Trail died in October 1899.[172]

The Hurst Bankruptcy and Occupation of Building 36 to 1920

The range of J. Garland Hurst's business activities was extraordinarily ambitious, eventually leading to serious over-extension in credit ventures. By 1896, with the nation in yet another economic downturn, he was in financial difficulty, and that December he conveyed his Shenandoah Street house, Building 36, to his father-in-law, Edward Tearney. Tearney paid consideration of $6,000, a substantial appreciation in the value of the property since 1884. Hurst also sold Tearney his farm near Duffields for $8,000. The property transfers to Tearney went unrecorded and did not come to light until the probate of Tearney's estate in 1902. It appears in the interim Hurst continued enjoying liberal credit extension secured by his perceived ownership of the Shenandoah Street and Duffields properties. When the conveyances to Tearney surfaced, bankruptcy followed. Hurst's liabilities amounted to $75,000, with assets estimated at $6,000 to $8,000.[173]

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[172] See History Database for numerous references to Hurst/Trail/Tearney ventures. The Jefferson County Corporation Book, vol. 1, Pages 151, 219, shows John Heflebower, J. W. Rider and Forrest W. Brown also as incorporators of the Harpers Ferry and Loudoun Bridge Company, incorporated on May 9, 1891, with capital stock of $8,000; on July 22, 1892, the capital stock was increased to $25,000. No names accompanied the recording of the Southern Building and Loan charter, filed October 12, 1889 (Ibid. Page 153). The Rau family members were Rudolph, Will. O., and C. R. Rau (Ibid. Page 162). By 1905 Trail and Tearney had died, Hurst and Rau were in bankruptcy.

Farmers Advocate. October 14, 1899. Page 2, Col. 2.

[173] Ibid. September 20, 1902. Page 3, Col. 5. This is a concise account of the Hurst bankruptcy.

Although Building 36 had been transferred to Edward Tearney, the Hursts continued to live in the Shenandoah Street house. After Edward Tearney died in 1902, his estate was challenged by several complex suits in chancery, largely growing out of the Hurst insolvency. Legal proceedings continued for several years following Hurst's bankruptcy. A deed to Block B, Lot 2 was finally granted to Elizabeth Tearney Hurst by her brother, Joseph F. Tearney, et.al., as Special Commissioners, February 26, 1908.[174]

After Edward Tearney's 1902 death, Mrs. Hurst's only living sister, Miss M. J. 'Jennie' Tearney, lived with the Hursts in Building 36, initially during the winter after closing her Bolivar home "Rose Cottage." For a few years "Miss Jennie" continued to open "Rose Cottage" in summer but in November 1905 she rented out the property and it appears she lived permanently in Building 36 thereafter.[175]

The 1910 census showed the Hurst household including Mary J. ('Miss Jennie') Tearney, and Thomas Page (listed as white, and female), a servant. Beginning in 1911 the family closed Building 36 for the winter and moved to an apartment in Washington, D. C., where Colonel Hurst had a position in the House Office Building. That arrangement continued for two years, until May 1913 when they apparently resumed year-round residence in Harpers Ferry. Colonel Hurst remained active in democratic politics, and in 1917 was elected to the Harpers Ferry Council. Beginning in about 1915 illness troubled both Colonel and Mrs. Hurst, and they died within a week of each other in December 1920.[176]

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[174] For details see Appendix XV, a Hurst Chronology;
JCC Deed Book 102 (February 26, 1908), Page 211.

[175] Virginia Free Press. June 9, 1877. Page 3, Col. 2. The item describes "Rose Cottage" as the "suburban home" of Edward Tearney, Esq., and locates it on the outskirts of Bolivar, overlooking the Shenandoah River;
Spirit of Jefferson. September 9, 1902. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. June 30, 1903. Page 2, Col. 5;
Ibid. November 14, 1905. Page 2, Col. 4.

[176] Reel 252, Twelfth Census (1910), Page 191 of Harpers Ferry. The Hurst Household in 1920 consisted of Colonel and Mrs. Hurst, and Miss Jennie Tearney (Reel 253, Thirteenth Census, 1920, Page 190A of Harpers Ferry);
Spirit of Jefferson. May 9, 1911. Page 2, Col. 3;
Ibid. November 2, 1911. Page 5, Col. 5;
Ibid. May 6, 1913. Page 2, Col. 2;
Farmers Advocate. June 20, 1914. Page 3, Col. 4;
Ibid. May 1, 1915. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. December 25, 1915. Page 2, Col. 4.
Ibid. December 4, 1920. Page 1, Col. 5;
Spirit of Jefferson. December 7, 1920. Page 5, Col. 4.

1920-1929: From Tearney to Doran

Elizabeth Hurst bequeathed all her real and personal property to her brother, Rev. Edward M. Tearney (a Roman Catholic priest), and sister M. J. ('Jennie') Tearney, subject to a life estate established for her husband. Because Colonel Hurst survived his wife by only a few days, all Elizabeth's property descended directly in equal shares to Rev. Edward M. and Ms. Jennie Tearney. Rev. Edward M. Tearney was associated with parishes in Virginia, and apparently never lived in Harpers Ferry following his ordination in the 1880s, although he visited frequently. In 1920 he was the only surviving sibling of Mrs. Hurst and Ms. Jennie.[177]

Newspaper references indicate that for several years following Elizabeth Hurst's death, Ms. Jennie Tearney continued to reside in Building 36 for at least part of each year. She may have lived in Philadelphia during the winter, possibly with her nephew Edward Tearney, son of her late brother Joseph. The Farmers Advocate reported the two summered in the "Hurst" house in Harpers Ferry.[178]

M. J. 'Jennie' Tearney died in May 1924. After some small bequests she willed everything, specifying her share in the estate of the late Elizabeth Hurst, to her nephew Edward J. Tearney. The Farmers Advocate noted about two months after her death that "Mr. Ed. Tearney of Philadelphia" reopened the family home on Shenandoah Steet and was expected to remain for part of the summer.[179]

Edward J. Tearney did not live long to enjoy his aunt's estate. He died on January 3, 1925, at home in Philadelphia. A May 1925 appraisement of his estate, which involved considerable property, included a half interest in the Hurst Home on Shenandoah Street.[180]

In June of 1925 Frances Tearney brought suit in Jefferson County Circuit Court against Wm. V. Marmion Jr. as Administrator of the late Edward J. Tearney and against several of

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[177] JCC Will Book D, Page 491; Appraisement Account: Fiduciary Book P, Page 114.

[178] Farmers Advocate. May 13, 1922. Page 1, Col. 6;
Ibid. June 2, 1922. Page 1, Col. 2.

[179] JCC Will Book E, Page 185, Appraisement Accounts of Fiduciary Book P, Page 357;
Farmers Advocate. May 24, 1924;
Ibid. July 5, 1924. Page 1, Col. 1.

[180] Ibid. January 17, 1925. Page 1, Col. 1;
JCC Accounts Fiduciaries "P", Page 436.

Tearney's heirs, including his mother, Belle J. Tearney. A disputed will named Frances Tearney as Edward Tearney's heir and identified her as his common-law wife. While litigation continued, Belle J. Tearney died. Listed in her estate was a quarter interest in the estate of her son Edward, effectively one-fourth of his half interest in the Hurst home on Shenandoah Street, Harpers Ferry.[181]

By December 1928 the dispute over Edward J. Tearney's estate was resolved and his interest (one-half) in the Hurst Shenandoah Street property, including household goods, was sold at auction to Ms. "Ellen" [sic] Doran. The Spirit of Jefferson noted that the home, once one of Harpers Ferry's finest and most beautiful, had been unoccupied recently and was badly in need of repair.[182]

About the same time, Rev. Edward M. Tearney granted Mary Ellen Doran his half-interest in the property for $1,800, thereby consolidating Building 36 and the rest of the Package 116 property in her name.[183]

1929-1952: The Doran/DeLauder Residence

Although little information surfaced from traditional sources on Mary Ellen Doran's history with Building 36, telephone interviews with Mollie DeLauder Staubs, Mary Ellen's great-niece, revealed a family tradition that Mary Ellen gave Building 36 to her niece, Josephine Doran Delauder and John Delauder (Mrs. Staubs' parents) as a wedding gift. Among papers Mrs. Staubs shared with researchers were family photographs probably dated to the late 1940s or very early 1950s showing the DeLauder family in front of Building 36. Other photographs show variously Mary Ellen Doran, Mary Elizabeth Coulehan Doran (widow of William A. Doran), William Doran (the younger), and Josephine and Mary Cecilia Doran at several sites

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[181] Spirit of Jefferson. June 10, 1925. Page 1, Col. 3. A news account (Farmers Advocate, June 13, 1925, Page 1, Col. 5) stated the "alleged widow" claimed she lived with Mr. Tearney for over ten years, nursed and cared for him, and he had promised to marry her. That account cited papers filed with the suit stating that Mr. Tearney was married to a Baltimore woman "about fifteen years ago" (1910), that they separated after about a week, and that it was not known whether the Baltimore woman was still living or whether she and Mr. Tearney had ever been divorced. An interesting sidelight is that Belle J. Tearney, Edward J. Tearney's mother, was a daughter of former Master Armorer James H. Burton (Spirit of Jefferson, October 4, 1887, Page 2, Col. 4); JCC Account Book Q, October 20, 1927, Page 217.

[182] Spirit of Jefferson. December 20, 1928. Page 1, Col. 1.

[183] JCC Deed Book 132, Pages 391 and 392.

in the Package 116 property and around Harpers Ferry. As stated earlier, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan believed the Dorans occupied the rooms above the store in Building 33. Mollie Staubs affirmed that, stating her aunt, Mary Cecilia Doran, lived that building's second floor apartment until the family sold the building, at which time Mary Cecilia moved to an apartment on Josephine and John Delauder's property in Bolivar. Mrs. Staubs stated the Delauders had lived in Building 36 until 1953. Mrs. Kern felt the DeLauders had been the only occupants of Building 36 from the time Mary Ellen Doran purchased it until Park acquisition, a fact Mrs. Staubs could neither affirm nor refute as she was not born until 1948 and there are no living relatives to consult about the earlier years.[184]

In 1947, after the death of Mary Ellen Doran, the Building 36 property was consolidated in the names of Josephine and John DeLauder. They deeded it to the State of West Virginia in 1952.[185]

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[184] Telephone conversation between Mollie Delauder Staubs and Patricia Chickering, October, 1992; Doran/DeLauder papers, HFD-692; Isabel Kern Flanagan interview.

[185] JCC. Deed Book 168, Page 331. Deed Book 168, Page 332. Deed Book 190, Page 316.

APPENDIX I

EVOLUTION OF BUILDING 34/35

1811/12 — Structure (probably Bldg. 35) erected on Block B, Lot 4, (1852 designation) by Dr. Joseph Annin, son of Samuel Annin, Paymaster, who was living in Paymaster's house near river, Block B, Lot 5

1815 — Samuel Annin retired; moved in with Dr. Joseph Annin; Samuel Annin had been cultivating garden somewhere on Block B

1816 (Feb.8) — Samuel Annin wrote War Department complaining that Basil Williamson had been granted "an acre of ground" by the Secretary [of War] for a tavern house & that the structure was planned to abut his dwelling (Bldg. 34/35)

(Feb.11) — Lloyd Beall wrote Hon. William H. Crawford [Sec. of War] stating he requested Williamson to suspend erection of the Tavern

Williamson (married to a Wager heir) was, in 1816, looking to relocate his "House of Public Entertainment" business, having apparently been evicted by his former Landlord (also a Wager heir) from premises somewhere on the Wager reservation (likely the "tavern lot," corner High and Shenandoah streets); Williamson brought several letters of recommendation to his cause and appears to have had Lloyd Beall on his side; it would be logical for him to covet a property on the main street of the town, centrally located, and being west of the Arsenal grounds unneeded by the Armory-Arsenal; since we know where the Annin house (Bldg. 35) was, and we know that Williamson wanted to locate on the same block, we can surmise with a fair degree of confidence that Williamson was looking at the west part of Block B fronting on Shenandoah Street.

Unfortunately, no more has been found on this business.

INTERPRETATION:

If the only structure on present Block B fronting on Shenandoah Street was Bldg. 35 at this time, then there would have been considerable front footage west of Bldg. 35 along Shenandoah Street before "Market Street" for a substantial building; on the 1907 Sanborn map the dimensions were:

Bldg. 35 (inc. hallway)	38′
plus 9′ setback from 1852 east Lot 4 boundary	9′
	47′

leaving approximately 50′ west to Market Street.*

However, if the Bldg. 34 addition was in place at that time, then available front footage on Shenandoah Street west to Market Street would have been considerably less:

Setback from east boundary of Lot 4	9′
Bldg. 35	35′
Hallway	3′
Bldg. 34	15′
	62′

leaving approximately 35 feet west to Market Street.

1818 The Annins vacated Bldg. 34/5 after agreeing to sell it to the Government for $2,500, which sale was completed in 1821; Bldg. 34/5 remained "Master Armorer's House" until 1859

1821 Several buildings on the 1821 "Statement of the number and dimensions of the buildings at the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry . . . " approximate the description and value of Bldg. 34/5, (2 story brick w. cellar), but dimensions don't match the larger building scenario; however, the list could have been using outdated dimensions

1827 the 1827 construction program lists building "a kitchen for the Master Armorer 20 by 22 feet, 1 story brick"

1828 Mason Edward Harding was paid for laying pavement in front of dwelling of Master Armorer

1829 Carpenter James Foley was paid for 13 days work on Master Armorer's quarters

1833 Roof "probably" slated (Snell, "Descriptive Catalog . . . Volume II" page 19 - "remarks").

1837 Several items involve improvements to Bldg. 34/5:

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* It is not possible to state precisely the frontage of the "block" in 1816 terms; however, when Block B was delineated for the 1852 sale, the lot on which Bldg. 34/35 stood had 97 feet of frontage on Shenandoah Street; that was reduced to 88 feet when the lots were redrawn in 1869. It is assumed the later eastern boundary of the lot is defined by the east wall of Bldg. 35.

Building dimensions here are approximate but satisfactory for argument; they are derived by constructing a ratio between the 1835 W&P Railroad map's scaled depiction of Bldg. 34/35 and known dimensions of the Large and Small Arsenals. The ratio is about 3 to 1.3; at that ratio the Shenandoah Street frontage of Bldg. 34/35 would be about 54 feet in 1835.

(June 10) John Hyatt (carpenter) was paid for "making back steps, one door and one windows sill" to Master Armorer's House;

(June 24) John Lambaugh was paid for "laying 4,250 brick, 8 square yards of pavement, making furnace at Moor's house [Benjamin Moor, Master Armorer]" and for 7.25 perches of stone & 60 feet of cornice;

(Sept.) $194.07 was spent enlarging building from 2 to 2.5 story structure, involving installing 6 dormer windows in gable room;

(Dec.) John Lambaugh was paid for "cutting door out, putting in cornice, pulling down and filling in gable ends of Major Moor's quarters." Plasterer William Faucett was paid for "taking down chimney in Master Armorer's House.

"The brick wing was also apparently enlarged in 1837." (Snell, "Descriptive Catalog . . . Volume II" page 19 - "remarks".)

1838 Summer Painter William Bordin [Bowen ?] was paid for "completing the painting, glazing and plastering old part [emphasis ours] of Master Armorer's quarters . . . "

Accounts detail painting 380 square yards with 3 coats, glazing 196 lights of "new sash" and 8 lights of "old sash" and painting 75 square yards with 2 coats.

Fall 3 Franklin Stoves set up in Master Armorer's house

1841 (June) John Starrett was paid for plastering, laying hearths, filling in under door frames & windows, patching plastering, cutting hole for stove pipe, repairing chimney, filling up under cellar door, plastering partition, whitewashing & scraping one room, whitewashing 28 rooms--all at "Master Armorers & Chief Clerk's quarters."

1854 Engraving (HF-1768) depicts Building 34/5 as 5-6 bays wide; no dormers shown on Shenandoah River side

The above is the sum of available documented data on the physical aspects of Building 34/35. It is impossible to say exactly when the western portion of the building was constructed--it could have been prior to 1815 or as late as 1891.

Historical Architect Michael Trostel's 1993 observations lend considerable weight to the former date; the only real conflict with that hypothesis is the smaller frontage dimension carried on government records for over 30 years. This could be merely a paperwork oversight, however.

APPENDIX II

[transcription of James McGraw's Accounting to the Solicitor of the Treasury*]

The Amount of improvements on
House and Lot No 3 Block B purchased
By M. T. K. A. & J. C. McGraw

1870				
Feb	19	Paid	M. Gault & Son, For slate	4.70
			Freight and Drayage on slate	1.00
May	3d	"	George W. Tacey & Son, for 5 days work repairing slate roof of House @ $4.50 per day	22.50
		"	George W. Tacey for furnishing snow irons and erecting Snow Boards	7.50
May	6th	"	Francis Gannon, for 100 feet of plank for Snow Board @ 40 per foot	4.00
	11	"	Z.L. Butt, for 2 1/2 days work (as carpenter) @ $2.00	5.00
	18	"	J.M. DeCaulne, for Paint, Oil, Glass &c	10.15
	28	"	John C. Storm, for 6 days Carpenter work @ $2.00	12.00
June	3d	"	Hardt & Keefer for Door, Counter & Lumber	65.86
	4	"	Albert Harris, for cleaning out cistern	6.00
	"	"	John H. Baylis, for Laying Brick 2 1/2 days @ $3.00	7.50
	9th	"	Francis Gannon, for Lime, Hair, Laths &c	27.81
	11th	"	Benj Hobbs, for 3 1/4 days Carpenter work @ $1.50	4.87
	"	"	Jos Manuel, for 10 spout and 6 meat hooks	1.25
	15	"	Thos Gallagher, for Hauling 6 loads of sand and lime	3.50
	17	"	G.C. Johns for 14 days Carpenter work @ $3.00	42.00
	29	"	L. N. Andrews & Son for Plastering	
	"	"	Self 12 3/4 days @ $2.75 Son 4 days @ $2.00	43.00
	"	"	Charles Smith for 12 3/4 days work tending plasterers @ $1.50	19.12
	24	"	H. Kimes & Son for Painting & Glazing	12.25
Aug	8	"	Thos Beale for 167 ft of Spouting & 1 Head	24.52
June	4	"	for 743 Bricks used in Sewer & Filter of cistern	7.43
		"	" 10 Door Locks and Fixtures	10.00
		"	" 1 Pump for cistern	8.00
		"	" 5 maple Trees (planted) @ $2.00 ea	10.00
Oct		"	" 318 1/2 feet of string pieces 2 1/4	7.16
		"	" 1287 " " plank @ 2 1/4	28.95
		"	" 27 Posts @ 20 cnts	5.40
		"	" 50 lbs of nails @ 5 cnts	2.50
		"	" James Gardner (Carpenter) for 10 days wk @ $2	20.00

* The original documents exhibit discrepancies in chronology.

Nov	Paid For 469 Bricks used in Smoke House	4.69
	" " Laying the Bricks " "	2.00
	" " 2 Shutters on " "	2.00
	" " 4 iron bars " windows of "	1.00
	" " Laying 42 3/4 square yards of stone pavement @ $1.00 per sq yd	42.75
	" " Laying 2940 Bricks (on pavement in 1870)	7.35
	" " 2940 Bricks used on do in 1870	29.40
	" " 2 step stones	9.00
	" " 100 feet of curbing @ 20 cnts	20.00
	" " 2 bbls of cement @ $2.50	5.00
	" " 500 Bricks used on pavement in 1877	5.00
	" " Laying 500 Bricks & repairing pavements	3.00
	" " 31 scantling 387 1/2 feet @ 2	7.75
	" " 5 Joists 104 1/2 feet @ 2	2.09
	" " 6 Posts @ 20 ea	1.20
	" " 1240 feet of plank @ 2	24.80
	" " 5 Sills 494 feet @ 2 1/4	11.11
	" " Paving stable, Hauling sand & stone	20.00
	" " 10 perch of stone work on foundation @ 3.00	30.00
	" " moving stable off the Road	5.00
	" " 4 prs of Hinges and screws@ 50	2.00
	" " 2 Hasps and staples @ 25	.50
	" " 2 Latches and screws @ 15	.30
	" " 2 Pad Locks @ 50	1.00
	" " 50 lbs of nails @ 5	2.50
	Paid Adam Ault for 19 1/2 days Carpenter work @ $2.00	39.00
	" Thos Roach " 3 " work @ $1.00	3.00
	" Michael Roach for 19 " work " 1.00	19.00
	" Charles Dikes " 10 " work " 1.00	10.00
Oct	" for Cleaning mud out of House & removing Drift after the flood of 1870	100.00
	" for 770 Bricks in cistern and Pillar under House	7.70
	" Robert Anderson, for Stone work in Kitchens	3.00
Feb 25 1871	" F. Gannon, for 1 shutter and fitting it in	3.25
May 4th	" F. Gannon, for repairing House washboard	2.50
Oct 9 1872	" Alex Fossett, for Glass and Glazing	2.20
Apr 15 1873	" GC. Johns for carpenter work	3.62
Oct 8 1874	" Wm Exner " repairing pump & spout	3.58
	" RH Cavalier " Glass and putty	1.92
1877	" for 64 feet of string pieces @ 1 1/4	1.44
	" " 684 " " Plank @ 1	6.84
	" " 14 Posts @ 20	2.80
	" " 20 lbs of nails @ 5	1.00
	" Jas Gardner (Carpenter) for 10 days work repairing doors, fences &c @ $1.00	10.00

Nov	Paid for	4 windows @ $1.00	4.00
	" "	3 window shutters @ $1.00	3.00
	" "	1 Hen House	10.00
	" "	1 Ice, Carriage & Coal House	600.00
	" "	Cleaning mud out of House and	
	" "	hauling drift away after the Flood of 1877	100.00
			$1,601.32

State of West Virginia)
County of Jefferson) SS

On this 23rd day of September 1878 personally came before me a Notary Public in and for said Said County and State James McGraw and being duly sworn according to law deposes as says that the above bill is a correct account of charges so far as his receipts for work and materials show, purchased and used and of the improvements made on Lot No.3 Block "B" purchased Nov 30th 1869 by MT, CA & JC. McGraw (his minor children) (and for whom he was surety) of the US Government at Harper's Ferry W.Va. That he expended other monies in improvements on this property, that he has no account of or receipts for, That this lot and Building being on the corner of Shenandoah and Market Streets, at the flood of 1870 he lost largely in his store by reason of the location and exposed condition, And again in 1877, he lost over 300 tons of coal, besides a large amount of goods from his store and amounting in the agregate to about Four Thousand Dollars ($4000.00) in the two floods of (1870 and 1877) that the house of said lot appears to have been condemned by the US Government in 1859 or 1860, The walls are now badly cracked notwithstanding the improvements made by him, and had he not put a brick support under a portion of said Building he believes that a portion of the house would have fell in and made a perfect ruin of the building purchased as aforesaid of the U.S. That he has had re-laid in Cement places in the walls of said building at different times since 1869 and had cracks cemented up, to protect and preserve the building.

That it now requires a considerable expenditure to put the said building in a safe and Comfortable condition.

James McGraw

Sworn to and subscribed before me the day and date first above written, and I certify that I have carefully examined said Building, and I believe the statement above made to be correct and true.

Geo.W.Graham
Notary Public

Source: Reel 238, Frames 1020-1023, James McGraw to the Hon. K. Raynor [sic], September 23, 1878, Exhibit "A", NARG 121, Records of the Public Buildings Service, Harpers Ferry Abatement Cases.

APPENDIX III

[transcription]

Affidavit of Jesse W. Graham
1 December 1879

State of West Virginia
County of Jefferson

On this 1st day of December 1879 personally came JW. Graham before me Wm H. Moore a Justice of the Peace in and for said County and State, and being by me duly sworn according to law deposes and says that he has lived at Harpers Ferry Since 1850 excepting a part of the time of the War of 1861, that he was employed in the U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry before the War, and is a pracical mechanic. That he has carefully examined the House and Lot bid off at the sale of the U.S. Armory property by M.T. C.A. and James C McGraw and he finds the condition of the house would be as follows <u>without</u> the improvements of their Father James McGraw: viz, no pavement in front of the Building or shade Trees, both ends, and one side wall badly cracked, a badly broken Slate Roof, that would make the House untenable. Floors sunken, and without the brick pillars put in by Mr. McGraw to support the floors, it would have fallen in long ago. There was no outbuildings except a small and badly damaged one story kitchen, without floor or windows, and in fact, to my own knowledge Mr McGraw children bought a House that was condemned by United States armory officers ten years before. Major Byington (Supt of the Armory) Stated to me while he lived in the House about 1858/1859, that he was fearful that it would fall in whenever he went in the upper part of it. And had Mr McGraw not put in about $1600 worth of repairs, the House would have probably fallen in long ago, without Mr. McGraw's improvements the property would be high at seven hundred dollars.

The Lot is worth,--as is shone by recent cash sales on the same Street, and within four doors of it, also on the same side of the Street--$1.76/100 per front foot, and in my judgement <u>no more</u>. in 1869 it was <u>not more</u> valuable, but the hope of improvements Through the water power excited our people until they bid fabulous prices for the property, under what was realy far from the true condition of affairs. The repairs Mr McGraw put on the House alone, as above Stated, and two thousand dollars worth of <u>new</u> out buildings and fencing, makes the property look quite valuable, but in its exposed condition from the

floods, and from its liability to be bodily sweeped away, as the fencing & out buildings, & coal and other goods were either damaged or entirely swepted away from this property in 1870 and 1877, few people would care to pay more for the property than the amount I have named and take the risk of loosing so heavily. Mr McGraw has had a large portion of the House replastered this summer, and built a new corn House and large ware room for coal, goods and c in the yard besides, so steadily improving the purchase, but without his improvements the Building bought by his children was not worth over four hundred and fifty dollars, and that is a high estimate for the material in it, as the true value of the Building at the time of the purchase, was the value of the meterial in it, it being condemned by the United States as unfit for use.

[Signed]

Jesse W. Graham

Sworn to and Subscribed to before me
this 1st day of December 1879

[Signed]

W.H. Moore, J.P.

Source: Reel 238, Frames 1027 & 1028, NARG 121, Records of the Public Buildings Service, Harper's Ferry Abatement Cases. Note: the last page of Graham's letter was not microfilmed, but a photocopy of the whole document is HFD-683.

APPENDIX IV

Illustrations

1: **HF-141**

2: James Taylor Sketchbook

3: **HF-82**

4: **HF-99**

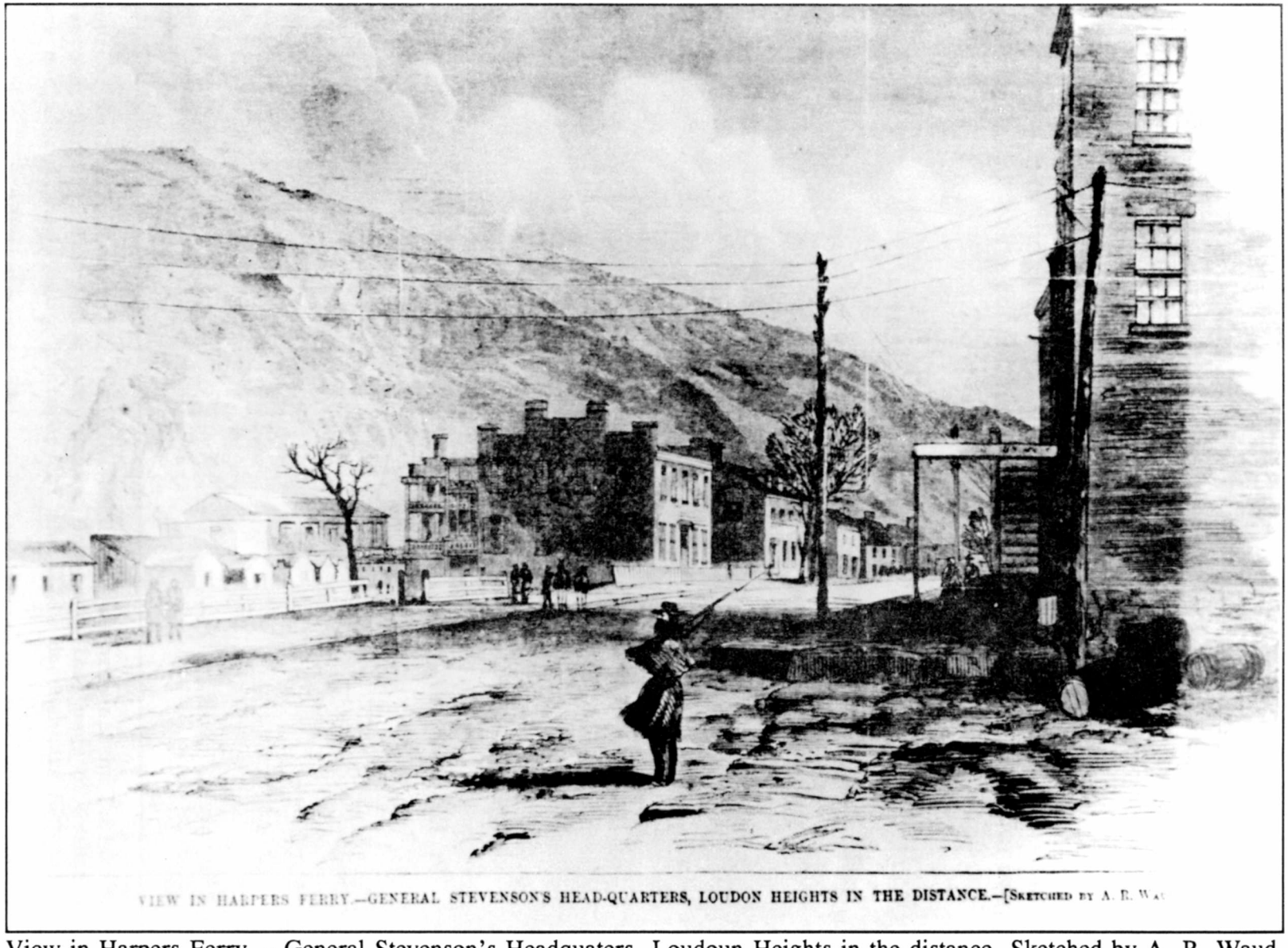
5: **HF-1856**

6: **HF-417**

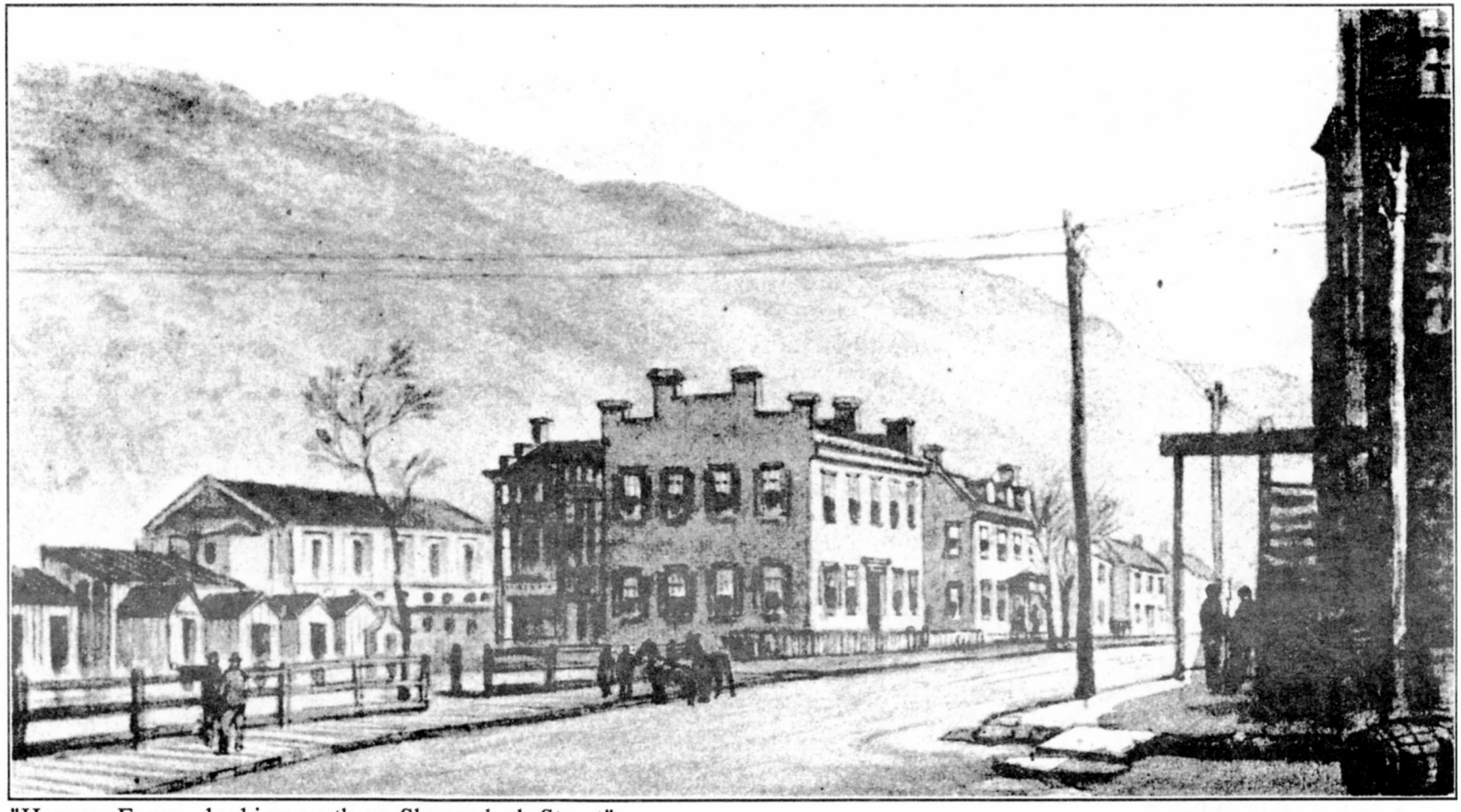
7: **HF-1855**

8: **HF-1853**

9: **HF-1854**



View in Harpers Ferry. - General Stevenson's Headquaters, Loudoun Heights in the distance, Sketched by A. R. Waud. **HF-141**.

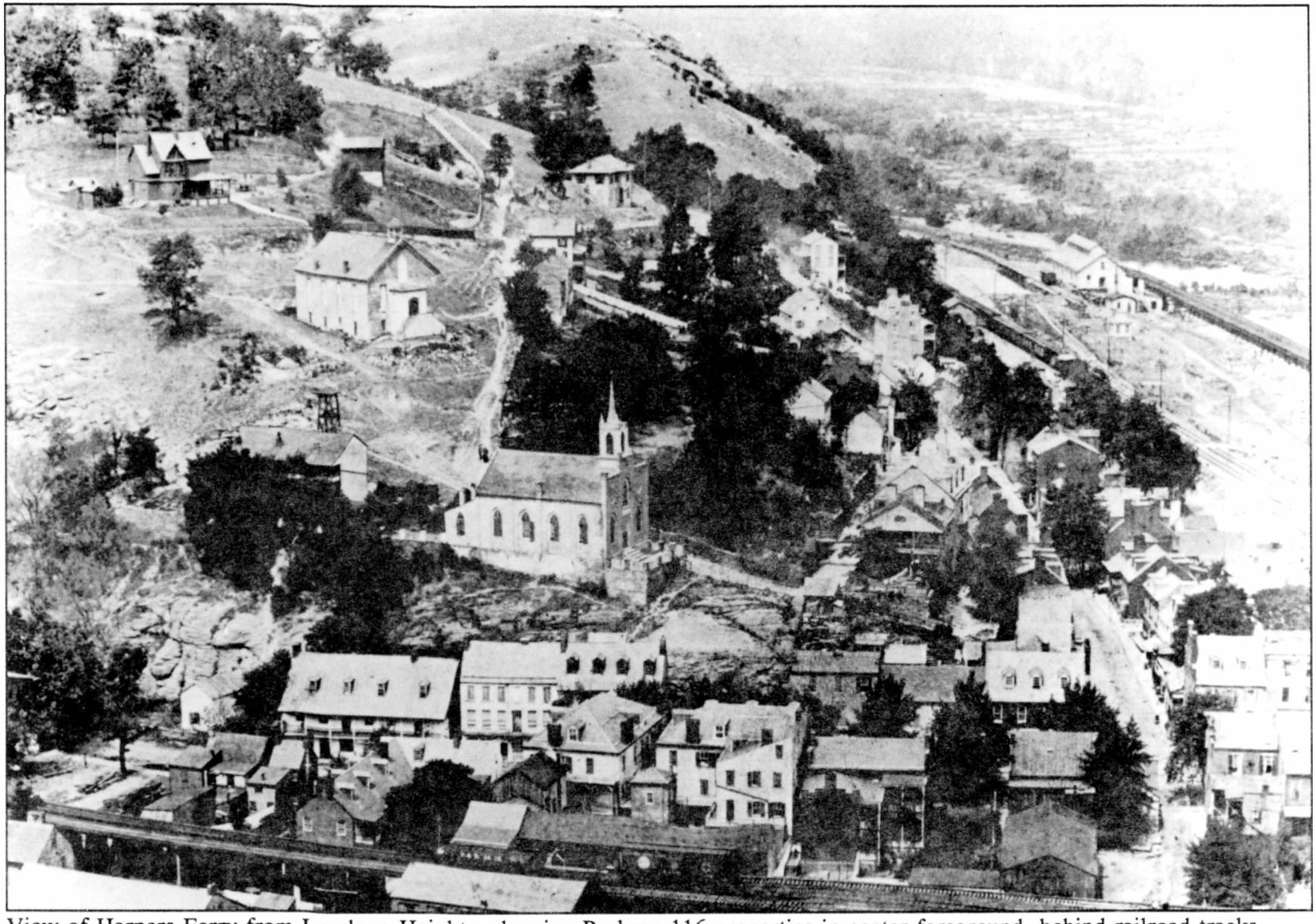


"Harpers Ferry - looking south on Shenandoah Street"

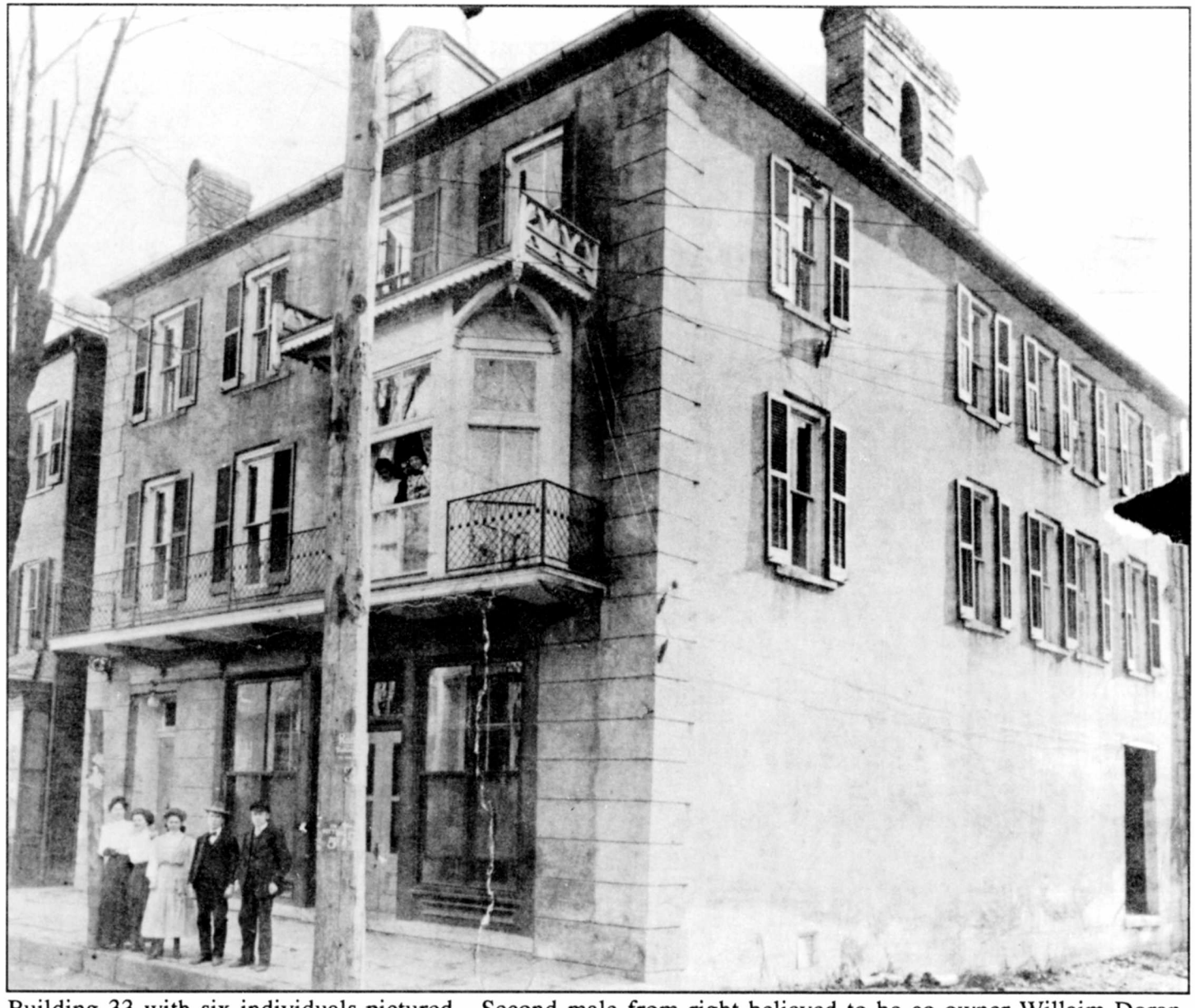
Source: James E. Taylor. The James E. Taylor Sketchbook. "With Sheridan Up The Shenandoah Valley. Leaves from a Special Artist's Sketch Book and Diary." Morningside House, Inc. Dayton, Ohio 1989. Pages 30, 580.



The aftermath of the 1889 flood; Shenandoah Street looking west. Building 33 (with McGraw sign) on far left. **HF-82.**



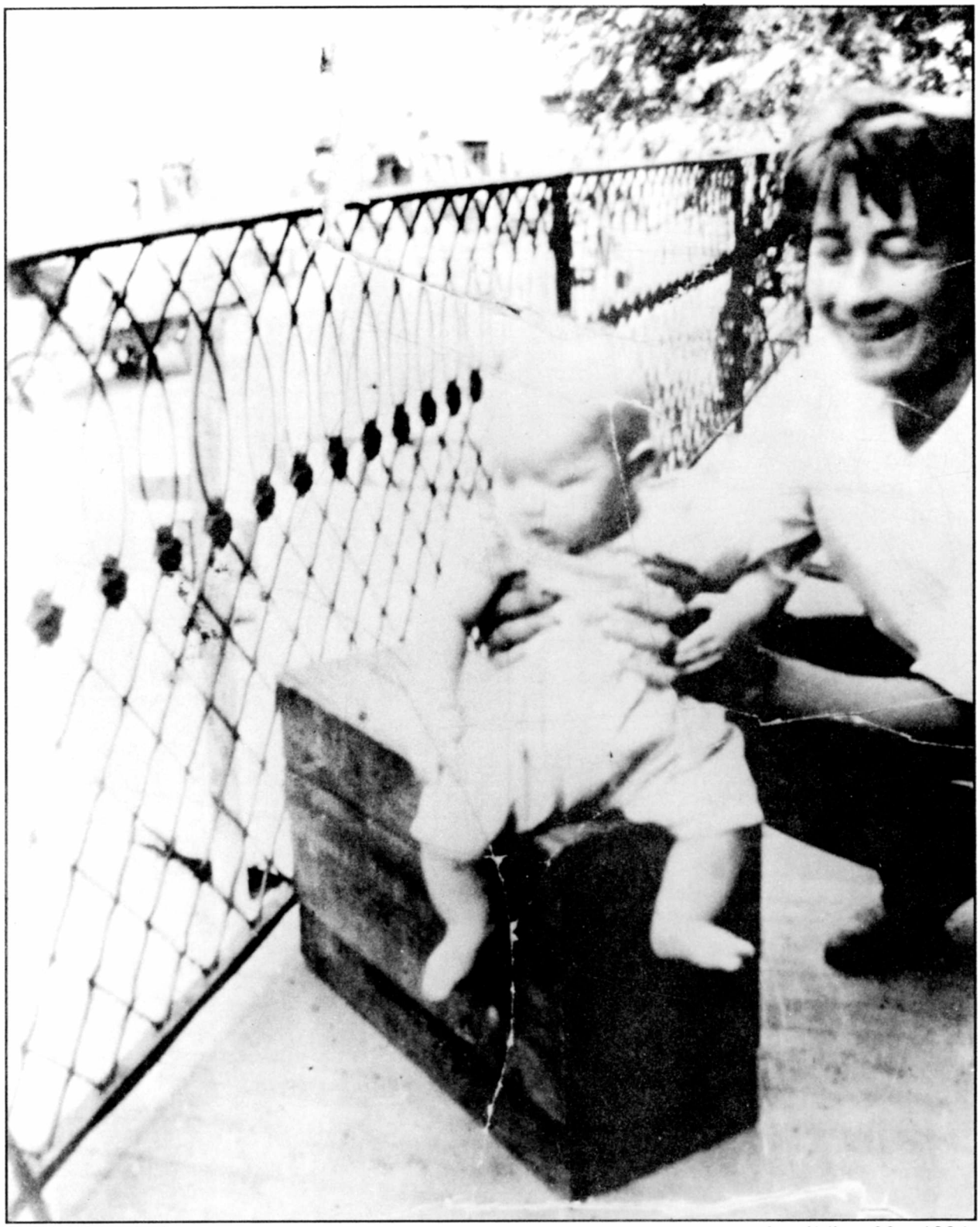
View of Harpers Ferry from Loudoun Heights, showing Package 116 properties in center foreground, behind railroad tracks. Circa 1895. **HF-99**.



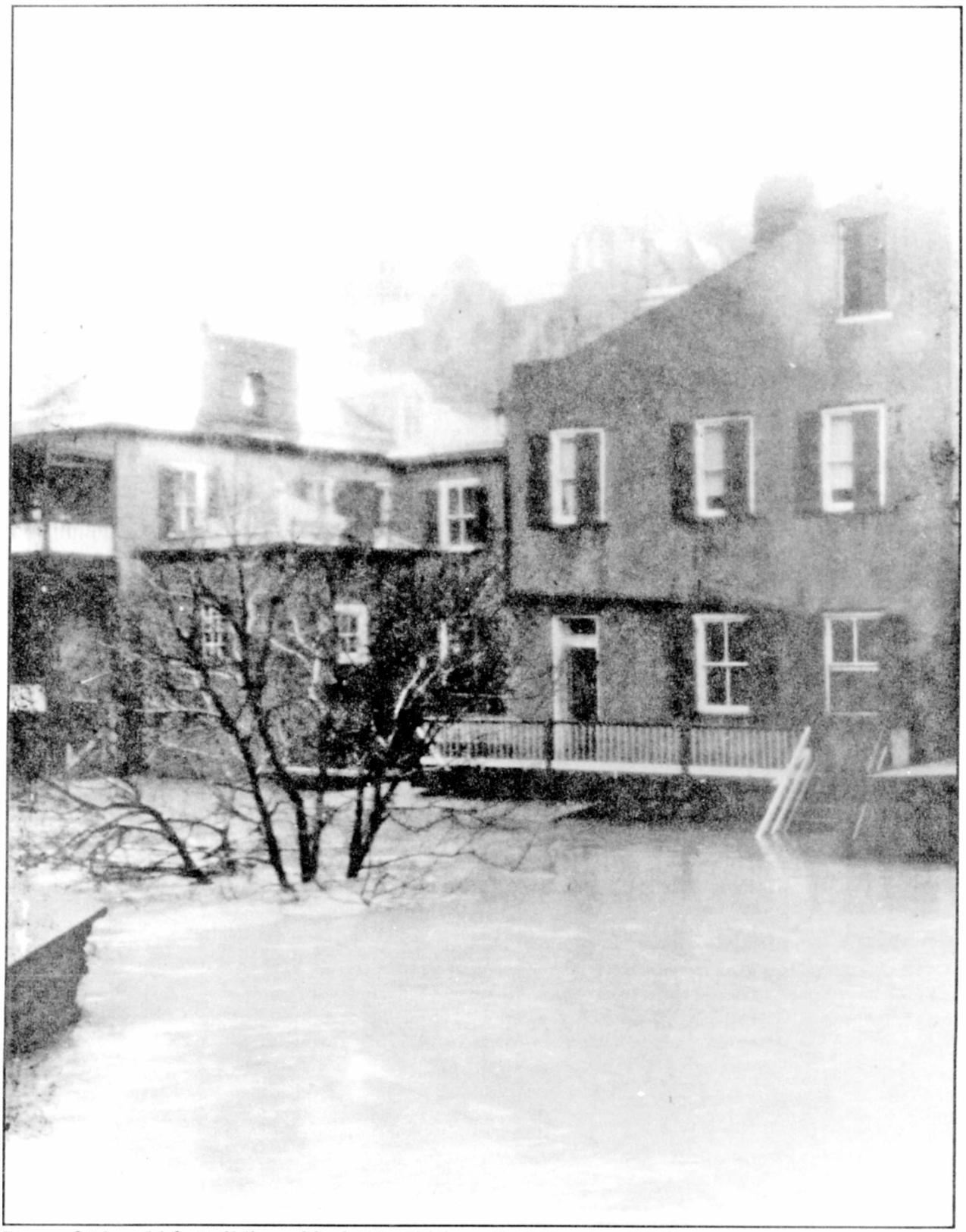
Building 33 with six individuals pictured. Second male from right believed to be co-owner Willaim Doran. Post-1907. **HF-1856**.



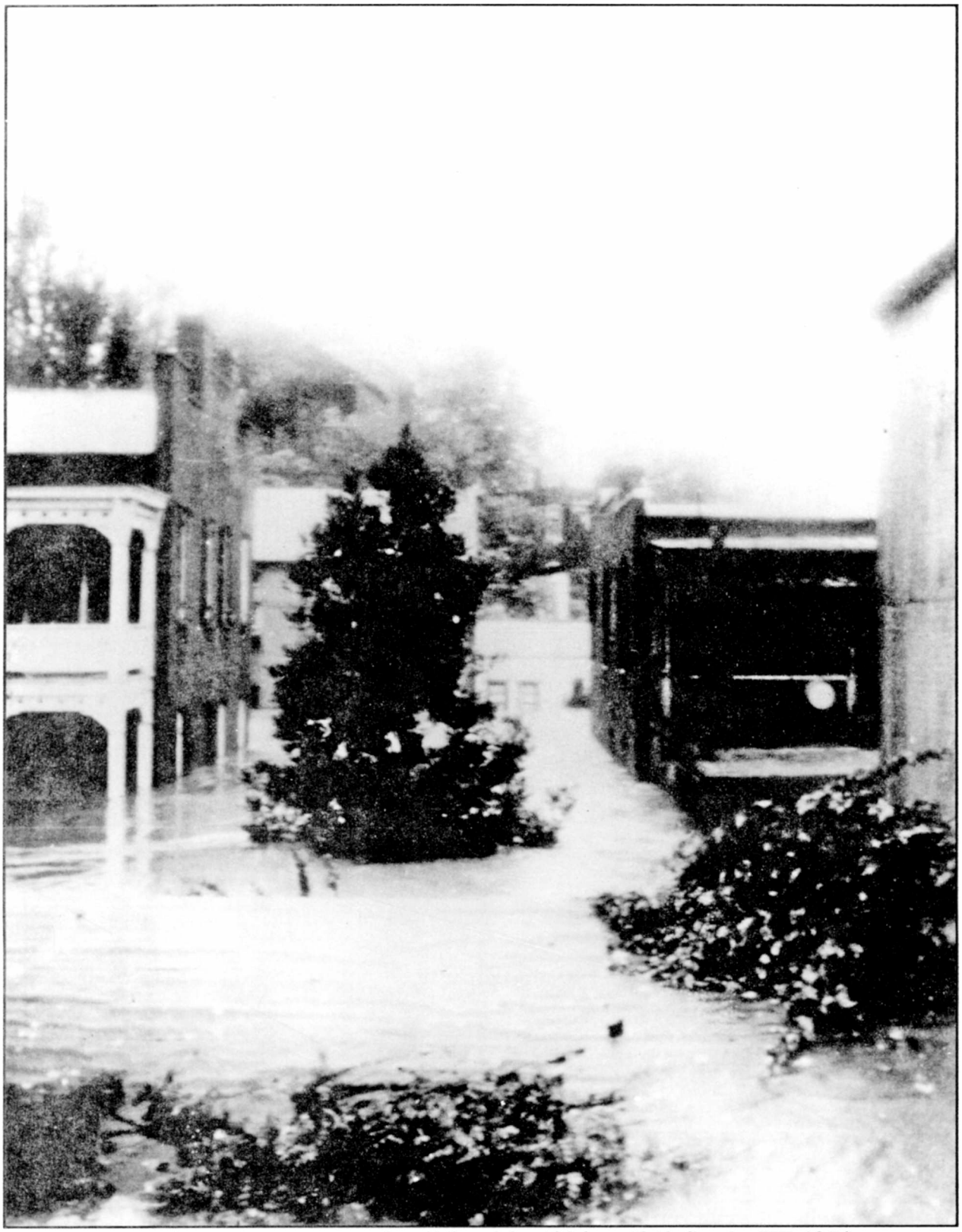
William Doran and his store--Building 34/35. Circa 1910. **HF-417**.



Infant James Manuel and his father, James T. Manuel, on front balcony of Building 33. 1924. **HF-1855**.



Rear of Pkg. 116, Buildings 33, 34/5, 1936 or 1942 flood. **HF-1853**.



Rear of Pkg. 116, southeast corner of Building 36. 1936 or 1942 flood. **HF-1854**.

APPENDIX V

[transcription]

Notice of Sale of McGraw Real and Personal Property*

PUBLIC SALE

of valuable

Real and Personal Property

At Harper's Ferry, West Va.

By virtue of authority of two deeds of trust executed by James C. McGraw and Katie A. McGraw, on the first day of October, 1897, and recorded in the office of the Clerk of the County Court of Jefferson county, West Virginia, in Deed Book 83, pages 493 and 499, respectively, the undersigned trustee will offer for sale at public outcry in Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, in front of the "McGraw Residence Building," on

Tuesday, December 7, 1897,

commencing at 10 a.m., the following property in Harper's Ferry, West Va.:

1. One Lot in Block C, improved by the Stone and Brick

BREWERY!

including two Ice-Plants, Beer on hand Machinery, Barrels, Kegs, etc., and also including J. C. McGraw's right to mountain spring lot and pier conducting the spring water into the Brewery. An inventory of the Machinery, &c., will be exhibited at sale.

2. Also the Beer-Bottling and Soft-Drink Manufacturing Outfit, including Stock on hand, Bottles, Materials, &c.

3. A Lot on corner of Shenandoah street and Market street, improved by the elegant

Four Story Stone Residence

of J. C. and Katie McGraw. This building contains Twenty-two Rooms, including a large Store Room, a Bar Room, shipping and soft drink manufacturing room, beer-bottling rooms, and storage rooms fitted up with elevators. The house is fitted with steam heating plumbing. The lot to be sold with this building has railroad sidings, and also coal bins, &c. A plat of said lot will be exhibited at sale.

4. The Lot adjoining last described property, improved by the large

4-Story Brick and Stone Building,

known as the Postoffice Building. This Building contains Twenty-nine Rooms, and

Three Cellars, including two Store-rooms. The Lot to be sold with this splendid building is also improved by Out-buildings, Shedding, &c., and has Railroad Siding in rear. A plat of Lot will be exhibited at sale.

5. The vacant lot on Shenandoah street opposite the last described properties. Said Lot fronts on both Shenundoah [sic] street and Church street known as "Query Lot." Foundation for Building already laid.

6. The Lot extending from High street to Potomac Street, improved by a Stone Residence containing Six or Seven Rooms and Out-buildings. Said property is now occupied by Mrs. Coffman.

7. The Lot also extending from High street to Potomac street, also improved by a Stone House, containing Four or Five Rooms and other improvements. Said Lot being now occupied by M. Kerns.

TERMS OF SALE:

1. AS TO BREWERY--$12,000 to be paid in sash [sic] on day of sale, and the residue in five equal annual payments, to be evidenced by bonds of purchaser, bearing interest from day of sale, and secured by deed of trust on property sold.

AS TO ALL OTHER PROPERTY.--One-third cash, balance in one and two equal payments, to be evidenced by bonds of purchaser, bearing interest from day of sale, and secured by deed of trust on the property sold.

JAMES M. MASON, Jr.,
Trustee

For further particulars apply to Trustee, Charles Town, Jefferson county, West Virginia.

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*unattributed, undated newspaper advertisement. In Case of James C. McGraw; Envelope #135, 1906; West Virginia & Regional History Collection. A&M 382 (Jefferson County Court Records). West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

APPENDIX VI

[transcription]

Notice of Auction of McGraw Household and Personal Property

Public Sale
of
Household and Kitchen Furniture

By virtue of two Deeds of Trust made by James C. and Katie A. McGraw to me as Trustee, dated October 1, 1897, and recorded in the Clerks office of Jefferson County, W. Va., in Deed Book 83, pages 493-499, I will offer for sale at public auction, at the home of said McGraws in Harper's Ferry, W. Va., on

Thursday, December 23, 1897,

at 10 o'clock, a.m.,

The handsome and valuable Household and Kitchen Furniture of Mr. and Miss McGraw,

and their other personal property, including among other things, the following articles:

1 Good Work Horse,

2 spring wagons, 1 2-horse wagon, 2 wagon tongues, 1 set single harness, 3 new Syracuse plows, 2 double heater coal stoves, 1 double oil tank,

500 lbs. Fencing Wire,

1 oak rolling top desk, 1 stand, 1 tall desk, 1 iron safe, 1 washing machine, 1 anvil and vise combined, lot of knives, spoons and silver-plated forks,

Brussell's Carpets, Mattings, Rugs,

4 chandeliers, 1 hall hat rack, 3 sofas, 27 chairs, 3 lamps, 4 small stands, (marble top), lot of pictures, nicely framed, and picture racks, 6 plush chairs, 4 cane rockers, 2 vases, 32 window curtains and blinds, 1 lounge, 1 Domestic sewing machine, whatnot and books, 1 extension table, 2 falling leaf tables, 1 sideboard,

12 Pieces Silver Plated Ware,

including water pitcher, sugar dish, &c., lot of china and glass ware, 7 bureaus, 7 washstands, 7 chamber suits, 7 beds, spring mattresses, 1 clock, 1 cook stove and fixtures complete, 1 oil stove and baker, 1 oil heating stove, 1 bath tub, and lot of other things too numerous to mention.

TERMS OF SALE.

All sums under Ten Dollars, cash; over that amount, negotiable note, good security, payable in 60 days with interest from date, and payable at the Bank of Harper's Ferry. No property to be removed until terms of sale are complied with.

JAMES M. MASON, JR.
Trustee.

Dec 11, '97

Source: Spirit of Jefferson, December 14, 1897. Page 2, Col. 4.

APPENDIX VII

[transcription]

Notice of Auction of McGraw Hardware Business Inventory

Public Sale
of
Hardware Merchandise Stock

The undersigned trustee by virtue of a deed of trust executed to him by J.C. McGraw, dated October 4, 1897, and recorded in the office of the Clerk of the County Court of Jefferson County, W. Va., in Deed Book 83, page 493, will sell at public auction in the McGraw residence store-room, in Harper's Ferry, W. Va., on

Thursday, February 10, 1898,

commencing at 11 a.m.,

The Entire Stock of Hardware
Merchandise and Fixtures,

including among other things,

1 Nickel Plate Glass Show Case,

1 oak roll-top desk with gilt wire screen, 2 hanging brass Rochester burner store lamps, 1 cash register, slightly out of repair, 2 step ladders, 1 "Wonder" stove, 250 cans assorted paints and varnish, 5 gallons hard oil, 1,000 or 1,5000 lbs. of cut nails, 527 lbs. of fence wire, 200 feet of one-inch rope, lot of forks, handles and rakes, window and door screens, grass seed sowers, corn cutters, scythes, grubbing irons, tri-squares, a stock of chisels, augers, bits, files, gimlets, &c., bolts, screws, &c.,

40 Sets of Sash Balances.

Attention is particularly called to these Window Sash Balances. They are a novelty--can be placed on the window of any house without the boxing necessary for rope and weights. Locks, keys, about 1,000 fish hooks, oil stones, a box of assorted spool wire, 3 bags of lamp wick, trowels, castors, husking pins, hinges,

Counter Scales,

pocket spirit levels, 2 dozen saw handles, thumb guages, bridle bits, paint brushes, coffee mill, hectograph and other hardware merchandise. Also 20 shares

of the Capital Stock of the Bank of Harper's Ferry.

Also Bar Fixtures,

2 beer pumps, water cooler, gas pump apparatus, 2 refrigerators. Also 1 roll of matting, 1 rocking chair and 1 bureau.

Terms.--All sums of $10 and under, cash; all sums over that amount the purchaser to give negotiable note, with security, payable 90 days after date with interest. No property to be removed until terms are complied with.

JAMES M. MASON, JR.
Trustee.

feb 5, '98

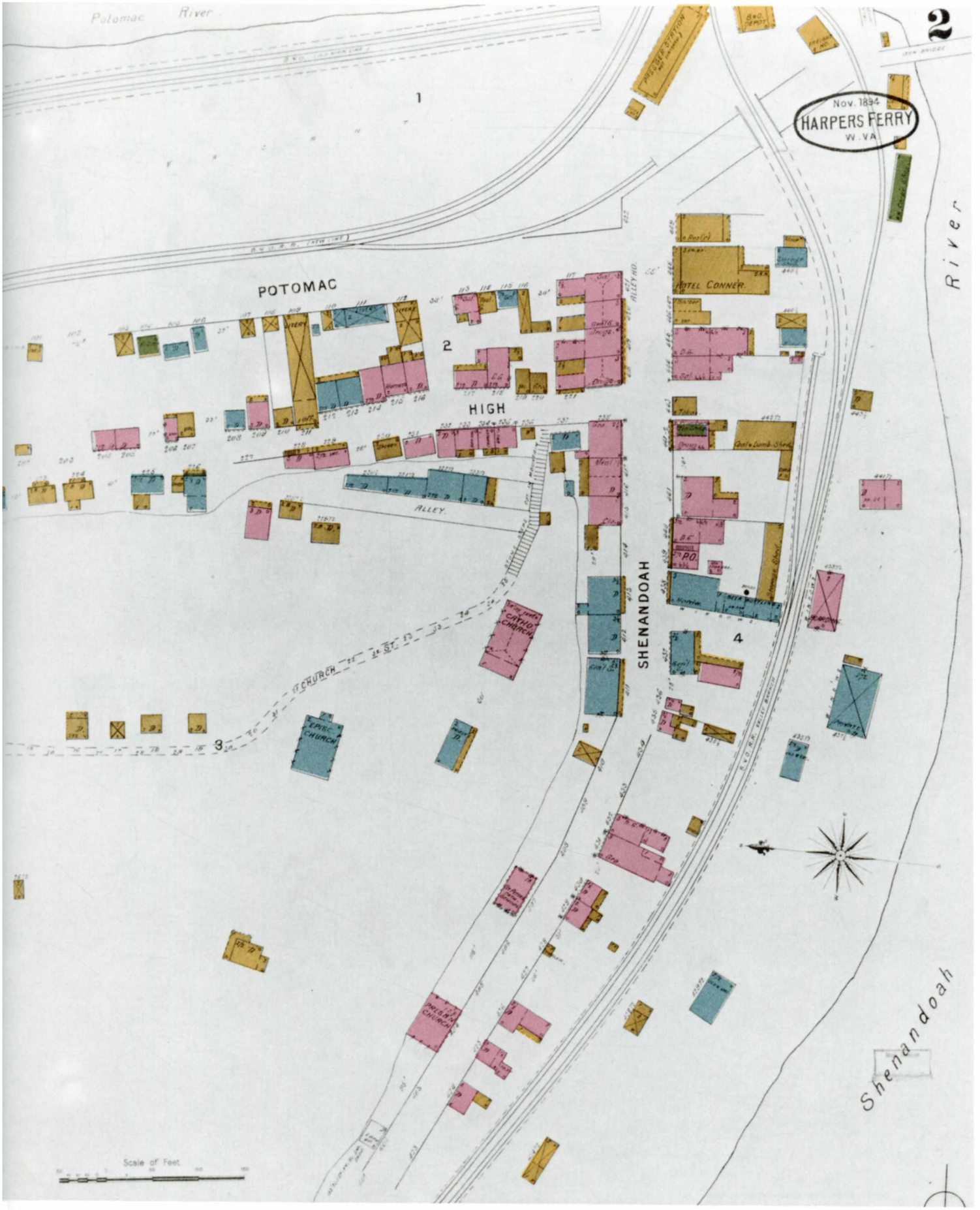
Source: Spirit of Jefferson, February 5, 1898. Page 2, Col. 3.

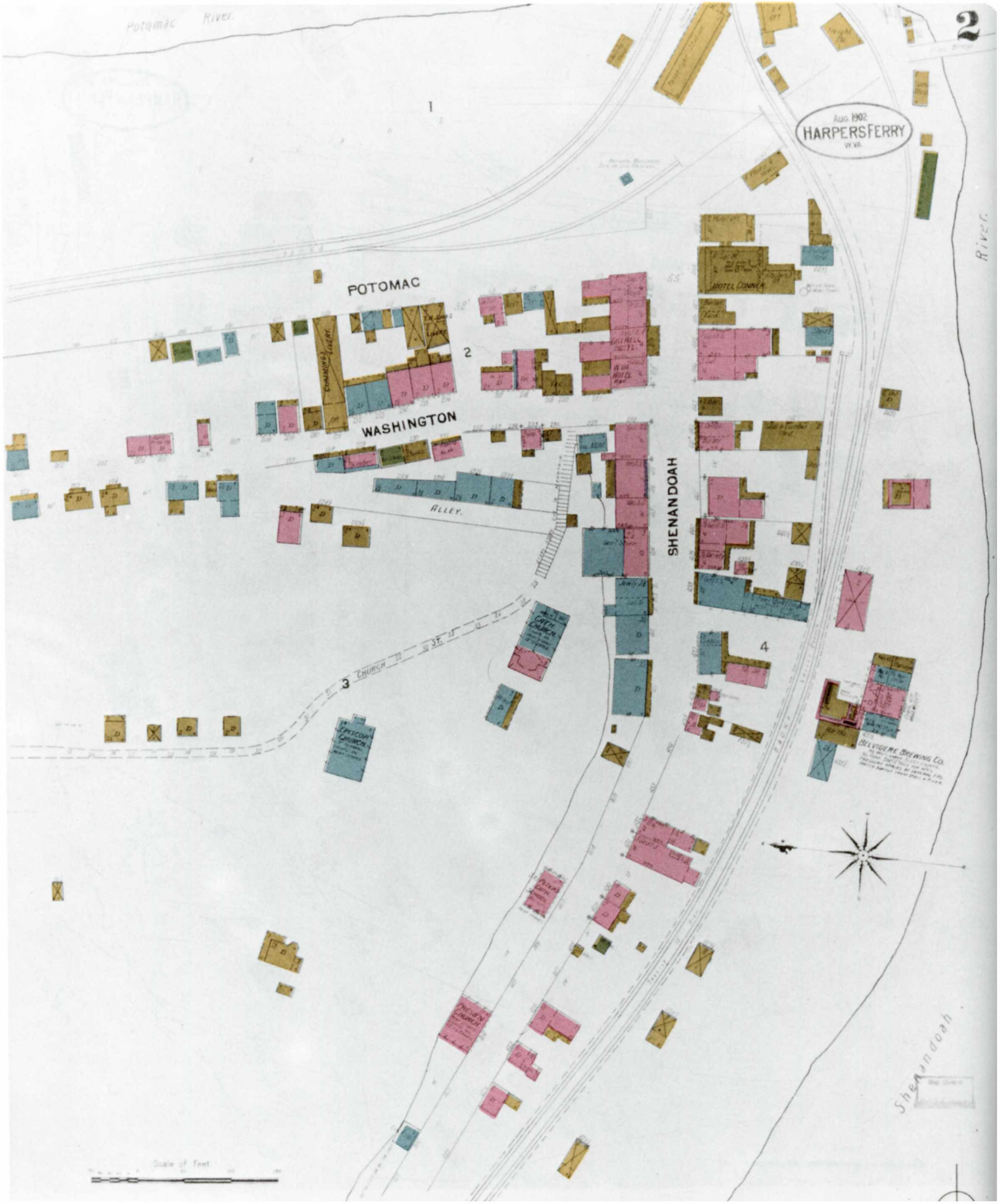
APPENDIX VIII

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps

Showing Section of Lower Town,
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia
and Package 116 Properties

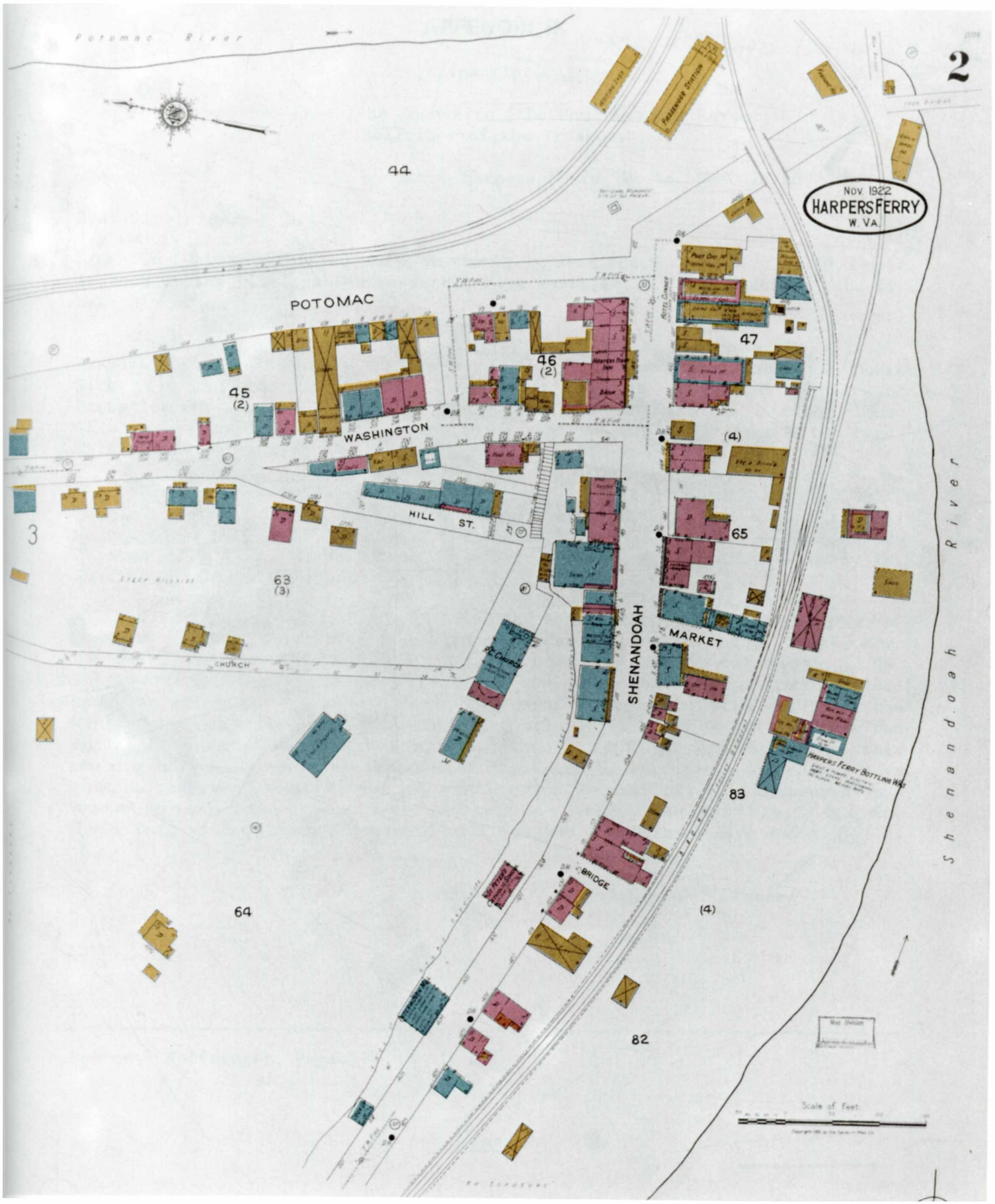
1894, 1902, 1907, 1912, 1922, and 1933 Editions


Potomac River
2
Nov. 1894
HARPERS FERRY
W. VA.
POTOMAC
HIGH
SHENANDOAH
HOTEL CONNER
P.O.
ALLEY
ALLEY NO.
1
2
3
4
Shenandoah River
Scale of Feet


Potomac River.
2
1
AUG 1902
HARPERS FERRY
W. VA.
POTOMAC
WASHINGTON
ALLEY.
SHENANDOAH
CHURCH ST.
3
4
HOTEL CONNER
CATH. CHURCH
EPISCOPAL CHURCH
BELVIDERE BREWING CO.
Shenandoah River.
Scale of Feet


Potomac River
2
SEPT. 1907
HARPERS FERRY
W. VA.
POTOMAC
WASHINGTON
ALLEY
CATHELL HOTEL
W. VA. HOTEL
SHENANDOAH
MARKET
CHURCH ST.
METH. CHURCH
EPIS. CHURCH
JEFFERSON BREWING CO.
BRIDGE
SHENANDOAH
RIVER
Scale of Feet


Potomac River
2
Nov. 1912
HARPERS FERRY
W. Va
POTOMAC
WASHINGTON
CHURCH
SHENANDOAH
MARKET
BRIDGE
Shenandoah River
Scale of Feet


Potomac River
2
Nov. 1922
HARPERS FERRY
W. VA.
PASSENGER STATION
44
POTOMAC
45
(2)
WASHINGTON
46
(2)
47
(4)
HILL ST.
3
63
(3)
65
MARKET
SHENANDOAH
CHURCH ST.
R.C. Church
83
HARPERS FERRY BOTTLING WKS
BRIDGE
64
(4)
82
Shenandoah River
Scale of Feet


HARPERS FERRY, W. VA.
MAY 1933
2
Potomac River
Maryland
West Virginia
B.&O.R.R. STATION
POTOMAC
POST OFFICE
45
46
47
WASHINGTON
PUBLIC WALK (HILL)
63
65
MARKET
CHURCH
SHENANDOAH
HARPERS FERRY BOTTLING WORKS
83
64
CLIFF
BRIDGE
81
HAMILTON
82
PELL
3

APPENDIX IX

[transcription]

Letter from John Koonce to [the Hon. Kenneth Rayner]
Solicitor of the Treasury

Harpers Ferry, W. Va. Dec. 28/80

Dear Sir:

In reply to yours of the 27th the Front Room south side 17 1/2 x 15.3 used as Post Office by Alexander Fossett. Pays quart[er]ly. Comm[encing] Feb. 1st has paid up to October 31st 80.

Room back of Post Office south side: 17.4 x 15.3 used by Mrs. Trail. Passage 7 feet 2 inches Wide stairs running up to second floor. Two Rooms. North Side 18 x 15 front room 17 x 15 Back Room, folding doors used by Board of Education for school. Pay no rent. President of the Board T.A. Kirwan. These 4 Rooms are on first floor main building sealing [sic.] 11 feet 9 in. high. This is inside measure.

Wing or back Building Kitchen 20.3 x 17.6 sealing [sic.] 10 feet. Small room or Pantry 9 x 5. Basement Kitchen 20.3 x 17.3 is damp used for coal. Second floor of Wing 2 rooms 15 x 9.4 and 14.10 x 10. Second floor south side 2 rooms 17.4 x 15.8. Hall room 13 x 7.3 Used by Mrs. Trail. Pays by the Quarter. Paid up to October 31/80.

Front Room se[cond] floor 18 x 15 used for Council room & Mayors office by the Corporation. North side Back room of se[cond] floor--17 x 15. Used by Rev. Campbell. Pays when convenient but rented by the month. Owes two months, $2.00. The Building is in fair condition with the Exception of the frount [sic.] spouting which was broken down this last snow & the back poarch [sic.] of the Wing wants a new floor. Hoping the discription [sic.] may be satisfactory the Building is cared for by the Mayor & Council. J.H. Hartgrove told me this morning he would take his horse out of the Watch House today. G.C. Johns says that he received a letter from you stating that he must pay some compensation & wanted me to set the price. I refused told him I had no authority to do so. Mr. Z. D. Butt will be down tomorrow & will see you about it so says Johns.

Yours, etc.

[Signed] John Koonce

Source: Noffsinger, Page 199.

APPENDIX X

Jefferson County Tax Records

MCGRAW PROPERTY

Year	Value of Building	Value of Building + Land
"Shenandoah Street Store" (Block B, Lots 2 & 3)		
1875	800	1,000
1878	1,000	1,200
1879	1,000	1,200
1882	1,000	1,200
1883	(600) 4,100	(1,000) 4,300
1885	4,100	4,300
[remains same through 1896]		
"Post Office" (Bldgs. 34/35)		
1898	2,100	2,200
1899	2,100	2,200
1900	1,800	1,900
1901	1,800	1,900
"Stone House" (Bldg. 33)		
1898	2,000	2,100
1899	2,000	2,100
1900	2,500	2,565
1901	2,500	2,565

Source: Jefferson County Courthouse Land Records Books

APPENDIX XI

[Transcription]

Portion of "Twin Town Topics"
column from The Jefferson Republican
of August 20, 1953, Page 21

Source: Doran/Delauder Papers, HFD-692.

DID YOU KNOW?

"Doran's Store", so familiar to all, has been in business in Harpers Ferry for 120 years, In 1829 there came from Ireland two brothers, Michael and Richard Doran. They settled in lower Maryland, Cecil county, and opened a store. Hearing the great industries and the thriving business at Harpers Ferry, they came to the town in the fall of 1833 and started a store on Shenandoah Street, near where the Railroad station now stands.

With the advent of the railroad, the buildings at the triangle of the junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers had to be torn down, the owners being allowed to have the bricks, lumber and materials. Michael Doran then built and lived in the house which is now owned and occupied by Mrs. Vergie Kain. Three children were born to Michael and his wife Sarah: William Augustine, Mary Ellen and a daughter, Marie, who died at the age of nine.

At the time of the 1870 flood, Doran's Store was in a building on the "pump lot". The building and all the merchandise washed away in the flood waters and was lost, but for one barrel of molasses which had lodged against the Conway home, two blocks down. This is now known as the Higgins building. The next place of business was across the street from their present location, later known as the Chubby Harroll place.

For 28 years, up to 1899, the Dorans rented and lived in the property of Colonel Edward Lucas, where store was kept. Michael Doran died in 1882 and the business was under the name of S., W. and M. E. Doran. Floods came again in 1889--no merchandise was saved. Once again new stock was acquired and the store was reopened.
Once again new stock was acquired and the store was reopened.

In 1899, John McGraw, who had built the two brick buildings now known as the Doran buildings, met with financial difficulties, and the middle buildings was bought by the Dorans when it was placed in the hands of receivers. Upon the death of Sarah Doran in 1910, business was transacted under the names of the brother and sister, W. and M. E. Doran. William Doran died in 1925, after which sale was held and estate divided. In 1927 Miss Ella Continued in business as M. E. Doran until her death in 1946. Since then, her niece, who had always remained in the store after her school days, ran the store under her name, M.C. Doran. In 1912, the Dorans obtained the second building from the McGraw heirs and at one time sold rugs, furniture, dry goods, cement and in fact, everything that the chain drug stores now sell.

Recently, this property was purchased from the Dorans by the State and turned over to the Park Service Commission, to be used as a National Monument; the buildings will be razed. Thus one more change is made real to the people--the passing of the Dorans Store.

In reminescing of the past, Mary Cecelia, the present owner, says the high lights were the floods; 1870, 1876, 1889, 1924, 1936, 1937, and 1942. She spoke of the courage, the faith and the will to succeed of her grandparents, her father and aunt. How, after each flood, they would clean up the muck and the mud and start all over again. She also recalled the era of the salesmen with their loaded trunks of samples, traveling from city to city by train. July always brought the red flannel and winter underwear samples. Her grandfather Michael and his brother, Richard, besides being merchants, built many houses, among them the house now occupied by Mrs. Emma McClure, the Charlotte Lovett house on Filmore Avenue and the home of Frank Burns. The latter house was built for their sister, Catherine Fitzpatrick, who was the grandmother of Frank Burns. Another sister, Sarah Doran Walsh, had a son named Murtha Walsh, father of the Walsh sisters now living in Harpers Ferry.

Members of the Doran family now residing in the town are Mrs. Wm. Doran, wife of the late Mr. Doran, and their three children, Mrs. Josephine Doran Delauder, Mary Cecelia and William.

APPENDIX XII

[transcription]

Letter from James A. Cassell to William Doran

Hotel Brooke, Hancock Md. 10/26th 1905

Office of

JAMES F. CASSELL,

Plumbing, Steam and Hot-water Heating "#1 S&WD"[186]

Harper's Ferry, W.Va., 10/26 1905

Mr. Wm. Doran:=Dear Sir
Your letter to hand this am and in Reply to quality of Pipe to Be used also Size would Say that the main circuit In cellar will be 3" Black Iron Pipe of the best the market affords as poor pipe is no Economy to the Steam fitter as you can not thread it and again In threading it is liable to be cracked and when steam is Turned on would cause lots of Labor & Expense to Replace the Same All Pipe through Out the Building for Steam heating will be best Black Iron Pipe & must be of proper Size so as to carry all of present Radiation & the Excess that you May use In Other Rooms we spoke of you might Put Radiation in later On & which I will furnish the proper openings for so all that need be will be to take the plugs Out & Extent pipe to upper floors to Radiators 9.75 ft of Radiation I Propose to furnish will be ample heat for Each & Every Room that has Radiators In & also the halls will be well heated I used plenty of Radiation and you need not fear that the Rooms & Halls will not be heated Sufficiently--I will do you A first class Job In Every Respect will furnish all N.P.Raidiator [sic] valves Jenkins Discs on All Radiators Also N.P. Automatic Air valves and where pipes passes through Ceilings & floors will furnish proper N.P.Ceiling & floor Plates for arround [sic] Same Same as you can see used at Hotel Conner or any other place where Job is Done properly it would not need a 3" Main In Celler to heat from Brewery but If at any time you wanted to put In Boiler you would have to tear the Small Pipe Out & Put In 3" So I Do it at first & then it is done & their would be no trouble If you wanted to Put your own Boiler In and all Exposed Pipe & Radiators too In Rooms & Halls will be Bronzed with Either Gold or Allum. . .[illegible]. . .as you deserve. . .[illegible]. Steam Pipe from Brewery to Be put In as we spoke of & the same as Hotel Conners & Kaplons from Brewery and that is the Only way they will Allow it to be Done As I laid all of them. All Water Pipe for Plumbing use from Brewery & In house to be Galv Iron 1" from Brewery to house 3/4 & 1/2" through house as the fixtures Calls for. Cast Iron Sewer Pipe from Bath Room to Out-Side of wall of Building 4" with Leaded Joints Bath tub to be 5 1/2 foot Long 3" Roll Rim Enameled tub with all nickel plated fixtures

[186] Entire letter is written on James F. Cassell letterhead; each page (1 through 8) carries a similar numeration.

to floor. Water closet Oak Seat & Lid & tank with N.P. Supply pipe the Basin to have N.P. & Waste Pipe & N.P. Spigots & supported by Brackets the tub & closet to be Same quality & Kind as used at father Collins Residence & as I showed you on Catalogue the Range Boiler will be a 30 Gallon One, Galvanized on a stand By the Sink will be @ 20" X 30" Galvanized supported By Proper Brackets So as to be strictly Sanitary & Supplied with Both hot & cold water as the Bath tub & Basin. All fixtures to be properly Trapped So as not to admit any Sewer Gas Into house from Sewer. I will continue the 1" Pipe up to Kitchen & put a Hose Spigot on Same at Sink & will also put one On Pipe In store where it Goes up to Kitchen so you can connect hose to Same at any time for fire use will also Run a Black Iron 3/4" Pipe In through cellar to front Cellar window under main hall for street sprinkling use & will have a tee at proper place In cellar So at any time you put In your own Boiler you can get water there for it I will Do You a first class Job Through Out In Both steam heating & plumbing, holes cut In stone walls In cellar I will have Repaired at my Own Expense, the Sewer Pipe from Out Side of House to River will be 6" terra Cotta with Cement Joints & Laid with Proper fall Sewer will be Laid to Rear End of Brewery or Down the Alley as far as Kaplons Sewer. The heating plant will be furnished with proper valves So if you Do not want the heat On you can turn It off In Cellar. Off Course In Each Room their will be One on Each Radiator So you Can Control them will Also furnish steam trap Safety valve & Steam guage I think I have told you about All now If this is satisfactory why write me & Ill Come & See you Saturday night. If figures are OK write me at Hancock at once & Ill Have them forward my mail to me In Balto But Do not know where Ill Board yet so send Here In c/o Hotel Brooke I will Leave here Late friday night or Eary [sic] Saturday am. Am going to heat a Building on Howard st Balto & Can Do it while Our stuff is getting to the ferry & will ask for off for 3 weeks or a month to Do your & Murpheys work.
I was to of Left here last Pm But my tools will not get to Balto Before to morrow Evening & I Had no helper either If their is nay thing else you Do not understand write me & Ill try & make It plain to you
You will not Regret the money you Spend In these Jobs As you will find lots of Comfort In having a nice warm store & house at all times Day & night By Just the Turn of a valve.

Respy Yours

Jas F Cassell
Hotel Brooke
Hancock Md

If you have the
work done
Save this letter

Source: Doran/Delauder Papers, Historical research office, HFNHP.

APPENDIX XIII

MCGRAW FAMILY HISTORY

James McGraw came to Harpers Ferry from Ireland in 1854 when he was about 18 years old, part of a group emigration that included his parents, his wife, and his in-laws, the Kirwins. A voter registration roll dated 1869 lists James McGraw, age 36, born in Ireland, and notes he "came to this County [or 'Country'] under 18 years of age." An 1892 Voter Registration Roll lists McGraw's age as 58, and indicates he was naturalized in Vermont. The 1860 and 1880 censuses record that McGraw was unable to read or write, and in fact he executed legal documents with his 'mark.'[187]

In an 1868 letter Dr. Nicholas Marmion placed McGraw in Harpers Ferry by 1856:

> . . . I find from a settlement with A. J. Wessington that he left the house to which McGraw afterwards moved in the latter part of September 1856 being released by me from the rent till April 1857 as McGraw was willing to take his place, the latter having vacated the house at the head of the stone steps in which he had been living to make way for Dan Keefe . . .[188]

Assuming Marmion referred to James McGraw, and the "house at the head of the stone steps" was Harper House (owned in 1856 by Noah & Sarah Swayne), McGraw moved from Harper House to one owned by Marmion, possibly one of the Marmion Row tenant houses, in September 1856. How long McGraw had been in Harper House is unknown. There was, however, a long association between Dr. Marmion and James McGraw. Dr. Marmion ran a bill at McGraw's store from 1856 to 1861, totalling $807.29 over the period, and an account of professional services Marmion rendered the McGraw family for the period 1860 to 1866 shows $642.98 in fees.[189]

McGraw first appeared in the available public record at Harpers Ferry with a newspaper advertisement in the summer of 1857 for his grocery and liquor business. He stated he had moved "from High Street" to a location on Shenandoah Street formerly occupied by Israel Russell. The latter reference was probably to the north side of Shenandoah Street, park Building 43, half of which Dr. Marmion owned, as Dr. Marmion's account showed McGraw owing for rent of store

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[187] JCC (attic storage), Deposition of George T. Staubs (Exhibit #17) in case of Becker Bros. vs. James C. McGraw, 1901. Staubs, testifying about when he met Richard Kirwin, stated Kirwin had travelled from Vermont and said "I met them the whole family, Richard and wife, James McGraw, and his wife, the old Gentleman Jimmies Father, Preston and his wife, Lawrence Kirwin, Richard Kirwin, T. A. Kirwin, and Kattie Kirwin, who were all Richard's Kirwin's children, and James McGraw, had his irish cap on that he wore from Ireland." Although Staubs was imprecise about the date, it was a few years after 1851.

NARG 92 (Quartermaster Consol. Corresp. File), Entry 225, Box 174, Voter Registration Roll, 1869, Reel 243, Frame 6;

Harpers Ferry Dist., Precinct No. 4, 1892 (Voter Registration Roll), T. T. Perry Manuscript Collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA., Copy in Historical Research Office, HFNHP, Line 539;

Reel 251, Eighth Census (1860), Page 197 of Harpers Ferry;

Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), Page 460 of Harpers Ferry.

[188] Marmion Papers, T. T. Perry Collection, Page 56.

[189] Craig, "Harper House, Furnishing Plan," Appendixes II and 4.

from April 1858 to July 1861, 3 years 3 months at $100 a year, totalling $325. McGraw may have taken over the lease held by Israel Russell, thus accounting for the discrepancy between McGraw's locating on Shenandoah Street in July 1857 and his lease with Marmion dating from April 1858. During the same time McGraw rented dwellings from Dr. Marmion, and by September 1861 owed $351.66 2/3 rent.[190]

George Koonce's tax ledger of 1857 listed a Harpers Ferry Corporation tax of $1.75 levied against James MCGraw and that McGraw owed $1.87 for 1855 and 1856; he paid the full amount on July 28, 1858. The 1859 Jefferson County Personal Property Tax roll showed he owned two young male slaves, four horses valued at $450, 3 carriages appraised at $150, and $100 worth of household and kitchen furniture.[191]

A steady stream of McGraw newspaper advertisements, interrupted only by the Civil War years (when newspapers stopped printiing), show that James McGraw believed in publicizing his business. In October 1857 he advertised salt, coal, groceries and liquors; two years later he was still offering coal, but also building supplies, herring and shad. Following the John Brown raid at Harpers Ferry James McGraw furnished "transportation" to the troops. Advertisements resumed within months of the end of the Civil War.[192]

James McGraw's wife was Julia, a daughter of Richard Kirwan. No information on when or where they married has been found, but it was possibly before emigrating from Ireland in the early 50s.[193]

The 1860 census listed James McGraw, born in Ireland, as a 25 year old grocery merchant with $3000 worth of personal property but no real estate. That year his household also included his wife Julia (21), born in Ireland; daughters Margaret (4) and Catherine (2), born in Virginia; nephew Patrick (18), born in Ireland, who was a clerk; and a laborer named Michael Conner (18), also born in Ireland.[194]

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[190] Virginia Free Press. July 2, 1857. Page 3, Column 1;
Reel 29, Vol. 7, Page 645.

[191] Reel 254, George Koonce, Ledger as Collector of Harpers Ferry Corporation Tax, 1857, Perkins Library, Duke University, L-6533, Page 35.
Reel 50 (Jefferson County Personal Property Tax, 1859).

[192] Virginia Free Press. October 8, 1857. Page 2, Col. 7;
Ibid. June 7, 1860. Page 3, Col. 1;
Reel 20, Vol. 4, Page 332, H. Craig to J. Floyd, October 5, 1860, endorsement of accounts for services rendered during John Brown raid. McGraw had dealings with John Brown--who used the name "Smith" when visiting Harpers Ferry before the raid--and at the time of capture Brown left his horse with McGraw to settle indebtedness (Virginia Free Press, November 1, 1893, Page 3, Col. 2).

[193] Spirit of Jefferson. June 6, 1871. Page 2, Col. 4. Obituary of Richard Kirwan, Sr., identifies him as father-in-law of James McGraw;
Ibid. April 5, 1898. Page 3, Col. 4. Obituary of Mrs. Margaret Kirwan, 94, identifies her as grandmother of James C. McGraw. In the 1880 census Mrs. Kirwan's age appears as 63 (Tenth Census, 1880, Page 25 of Harpers Ferry District).

[194] Eighth Census (1860), Page 197 of Harpers Ferry.

In January 1861 James McGraw sold to his nephew, Patrick, for the sum of $2,306.22, the business inventory of his Shenandoah Street grocery and liquor store, stable and ice house, as well as canal boats on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. A few days later James McGraw conveyed by deed of trust the account book of his store, with evidence of indebtedness therein to be adjusted for purposes of the deed, and his household effects. Although no monetary value was specified for the household effects, or for indebtedness due in the store accounts, the deed of trust was executed to secure payment of McGraw's debts amounting to $1,398. Research has revealed no explanation for the conveyances. McGraw was, however, defendant in litigation brought by Gray, Miller & Co. from before the Civil War until the suit was decided in McGraw's favor in 1871. It is worth noting, also, McGraw's winning bid on Block B, Lot 3, at the 1869 government property sale was placed in the names of his minor children.[195]

The McGraw family experienced significant changes in the early 1860s. A son, James C., was born in 1860, after the Census count. Julia McGraw died on January 5, 1864. It appears James McGraw never remarried, and his mother, Catherine, came to live with the family, perhaps following Julia's death.[196]

McGraw apparently was a supplier to officers and troops during the Civil War. After the War he filed a claim for "rent of a stable at Harper's Ferry, West Va., and for damages, stated at $2,187.00" with the U.S. Quartermaster's office. This claim was rejected four times: in August 1867, August 1868, August 1869 and October 1870. However, in 1892 a further claim was submitted under the relief act passed in 1883. The latter claim, for "Quartermaster and Commissary Store's," was for $3,675.99. Disposition of the second claim has not been determined.[197]

The claims, involving both stable and stores, combine with other evidence to corroborate that McGraw remained in business, and probably in residence, in Harpers Ferry throughout the war. Harpers Ferry chronicler James Barry noted that in one wartime skirmish a shell from "some other battery [than the fortifications on Maryland Heights]" penetrated a government house on High Street occupied by James McGraw, passing through it without injuring anyone. Daniel Young's September 1862 "List of dwelling houses belonging to the Ordnance Department at Harpers Ferry, Va." includes:

> No. 19 A three story stone house situated on High St. and occupied by James McGraw as a store and dwelling [rent] $6.25.

The same report referred to present park Building 45 as the "McGraw House."

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[195] JCC Deed Book 39, Pages 396-397, January 14 and January 17, 1861.

[196] No obituary for Julia McGraw, who came from County Tipperary, Ireland, was found. Data is from her tombstone in St. Peter's Catholic Church Cemetery, Harpers Ferry, WV;
Spirit of Jefferson. January 19, 1886. Page 2, Col. 4.

[197] NARG 123, CD 9183, Index of Claims, Quartermaster General Office, Material at Archives Annex, Suitland, Maryland, HFD-690. Documentation for the 1892 claim states papers concerning the earlier claim were returned to attorneys in Washington "at their request" in May, 1871, with the information that the claim had been four times rejected, and that in 1892 "it does not appear that any papers are on file in the Miscellaneous Division [of the Treasury Department] touching the question of the loyalty of the said McGrau [sic]."

Although the reference raises the possibility James McGraw occupied that structure, it is also possible there was a connection between Building 45 and other "McGraws." Unfortunately, rent records for government-owned Building 45 end with 1852. Perhaps Ann McGraw, widow of Harpers Ferry merchant William McGraw, occupied the house, or maybe James' father Preston McGraw or nephew Patrick McGraw (who eventually operated a saloon somewhere in Harpers Ferry).[198]

Despite his claim for damages, James McGraw's business survived the War. In August 1865 he bought WL 48 from Noah and Sarah Ann Swayne. Five weeks later Isaac Fouke offered his services as attorney at law on Friday and Saturday each week at James McGraw's storeroom on Shenandoah Street. That November McGraw announced that he had just completed a "commodious new stable" and offered livery for hire. The stable may have stood on WL 48. As that lot adjoins Building 43 where McGraw likely kept his store, McGraw may have rented the lot--utilizing it for stable and warehouse space--from the Swaynes before he bought it. In November 1865 he advertised goods similar to his pre-Civil War offerings--liquors, fish, salt, groceries, stoves, woodenware & tinware.[199]

News accounts involving McGraw's nephew Patrick resumed soon after the Civil War ended. Patrick, "P.", or "P.M." McGraw participated in two "Tournaments" and a baseball "Match Game" held at Bolivar, Halltown, and Charles Town in November 1865, May 1866, and November 1866 respectively. In December 1865, together with T. A. Kirwan, P. McGraw advertised a lot of Government wagons, wagonwheels and woodstoves for sale. Nine months later, in October 1866, Patrick McGraw sold to his uncle James "my stock of liquors, cigars, decanters, tumblers, & bottles now in my saloon in the town of Harper's Ferry . . . also two horses one black and one grey."[200]

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[198] Joseph Barry, The Strange Story of Harpers Ferry, 1st printing by Thompson Brothers, Martinsburg W.Va., 1903, 7th Printing Published by the Woman's Club of Harpers Ferry District, printed by The Shepherdstown Register, Inc., Shepherdstown, W.Va. 1974, Page 130;
NARG 156, Entry 21, Letters Rec'd, OCO, File W. D. 387 (1863), HFD-677. House No. 19 stood on High Street, on WL 26; McGraw bought that house at the 1869 sale;
Virginia Free Press. November 24, 1847. Page 3, Col. 3.

[199] JCC Deed Book 1, Page 182. No information on what structure(s), if any, WL 48 held has surfaced. The lot did not appear on Treasury Department lists of abandoned property;
JCC Deed Book 1, Page 41. McGraw placed WL 48 in trust with Isaac Fouke; the trust was released just over a year later;
JCC Release Book 1, Page 88;
Virginia Free Press. September 7, 1865. Page 3, Col. 4;
Ibid. November 9, 1865. Page 3, Col. 1.

[200] Ibid. November 9, 1865. Page 1, Col. 3;
Ibid. December 7, 1865. Page 2, Col. 5. The wagons, wagonwheels and woodstoves could well be part of Quartermasters Stores auctioned at Harpers Ferry November 30, 1865 (Ibid, November 23, 1865, Page 3, Col. 1);
Spirit of Jefferson. May 29, 1866. Page 2, Col. 3;
Virginia Free Press. November 22, 1866. Page 2, Col. 5. P. M. McGraw was apparently a baseball pitcher to be reckoned with--a June 1867 account of the "Valley Club" of Harpers Ferry's defeating the "Jeffersons" of Charles Town noted McGraw had had "heavy" strikes (Ibid, June 13, 1867, Page 3, Col. 1);
JCC Deed Book 1, Page 436, October 16, 1866. Patrick McGraw died in New York City in August 1867, at the age of 25. The Spirit of Jefferson stated (August 13, 1866, Page 2, Col. 6) uncertainty over the cause of his death: murder or cholera. A week later (August 20, 1866, Page 2, Col. 7) the newspaper gave the cause of death as cholera and said that uncle James McGraw traveled to New York to arrange interment.

Mention of James McGraw, and his regular advertising, continued in both major local newspapers for over 25 years. Typical was a note by the editor of the Spirit of Jefferson, referring in 1867 to the display of stoves at "Mr. James McGraw's Shenandoah Street establishment," that "beautiful and useful have never been more happily combined."[201]

When the government sold its property at Harpers Ferry in 1869, Margaret McGraw was 12 years old, Catherine 10, and James C. (incorrectly listed in the 1870 census as "jr.") was 9. Their father acted as surety in their purchase of Lot 3 in Block B.[202]

McGraw's detailed accounting of expenditures on the Block B, Lot 3, property, contained in his 1879 abatement application (Appendix II), can be interpreted as indicating he rehabilitated Building 34/35 to accommodate his store. Whether the upper floor became the McGraw dwelling is, however, debatable. At the 1869 sale James McGraw bought WL 26, site of the brick house he had lived in for some years, and which may therefore have remained the family residence.[203]

Despite uncertainty during the 1870s about the future of waterpower development in Harpers Ferry, a cadre of businessmen, including James McGraw, backed their optimism with financial commitment and rebuilt the commercial heart of the town. A construction "boomlet" along Shenandoah Street followed the settlement of abatement claims by the early 1880s. Newspapers waxed eloquent about the massive, flood-proof stone building McGraw erected as his store and dwelling on the corner of Shenandoah and Market Street--park Building 33.[204]

One facet of business James McGraw may have conducted in the "spacious storeroom" of his new business was the sale of liquor. McGraw had a long history in the liquor business. Pre-Civil War advertisements promoted his "grocery and liquor store," and specifically offered whiskey. The first advertisement seen after the Civil War was for a "large assortment of liquors" in addition to fish and salt.[205]

The newspapers indicate James McGraw held a license to retail alcoholic

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[201] Spirit of Jefferson. October 15, 1867. Page 3, Col. 1. McGraw apparently continued operating his business on Shenandoah Street, perhaps on park Building 43 or on Wager Lot 48. Thirty years later, during the bankruptcy of James C. and Katie McGraw, the deeds conveying WL 48 to James M. Mason, Jr., as Trustee included interest in "Fairbank Scales . . . constructed on Shenandoah St . . . formerly owned by McGraw, James" (JCC Deed Book 83, Page 493, Page 499).

[202] Ninth Census (1870), Page 460 of Bolivar Township;
NARG 121, Records of the Public Buildings Service, Harper's Ferry Abatement Cases, James McGraw to the Hon. K. Raynor, September 23, 1878, Reel 238, Frame 1019.

[203] Reel 238, Frames 1019-1024.

[204] Spirit of Jefferson. November 14, 1882. Page 2, Col. 1.

[205] Virginia Free Press. June 25, 1857. Page 2, Col. 7;
Ibid. October 8, 1857. Page 2, Col. 7;
Ibid. June 7, 1860. Page 3, Col. 1;
Ibid. November 9, 1865. Page 3, Col. 1.

beverages in most years starting with 1866 up through 1891. It is not known if McGraw operated a saloon, or whether the licenses were for bottle sales from his store. His liquor dealings expanded into wholesale beer distribution in the 1880s, when he offered beer shipped into Harpers Ferry in refrigerator cars and bottled at his own plant. In 1888 one newspaper account of local building noted McGraw was erecting a stone warehouse or bottling establishment on Shenandoah Street. A report that Albert Buzzard, a worker at McGraw's beer bottling establishment, was injured in 1890 when he fell through the elevator opening suggests the references likely are to park Building 33A, which housed an elevator.[206]

McGraw's prudence in erecting a solid, stone structure for his store and dwelling apparently paid off, as one news story indicates he lost heavily of shelf goods in the disastrous 1889 flood, but did not mention structural damage. The Virginia Free Press listed his loss at $5,000.[207]

In the summer of 1889 the Spirit of Jefferson reported James McGraw was building on his Shenandoah Street lot "below the Catholic Church." The reference could be to WL 48, but McGraw may not have completed the project, as advertising for the August 1898 sale of McGraw property included the "Quarry" lot (another name for WL 48) and noted a building foundation was "already laid."[208]

The McGraws were active in community and social affairs as well as on the commercial scene. Miss Katie was a bridesmaid at an 1875 wedding at St. Peter's Catholic Church, and in 1877 Katie, Maggie and James (unfortunately the reference does not specify whether father or son) participated in a church-sponsored "entertainment" at Armory Hall. The following year Katie participated in a Catholic Ladies "Fair and Festival." James McGraw served as a County Court juror in 1880. He was elected a Harpers Ferry town councilman on the Democratic ticket in 1882, 1884, 1885 and 1889. Social mention includes note of a party Katie McGraw held in Feburary 1885 at her Shenandoah Street home. In September 1890 Maggie McGraw was named "Best Dressed Lady" at the Morgans' Grove Exhibition. Miss Grace Bartgis of Baltimore visited the young ladies in December 1891.[209]

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[206] Spirit of Jefferson. April 28, 1885. Page 2, Col. 5;
Virginia Free Press. August 2, 1888. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. July 16, 1890. Page 3, Col. 2.

[207] Spirit of Jefferson. June 4, 1889. Page 2, Col. 2;
Virginia Free Press. June 13, 1889. Page 3, Col. 4.

[208] Spirit of Jefferson. July 16, 1889. Page 3, Col. 4;
Virginia Free Press. July 20, 1898. Page 2, Col. 7.

[209] Virginia Free Press. September 11, 1875. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. April 14, 1877. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. August 31, 1878. Page 3, Col. 2.
Ibid. March 6, 1880. Page 2, Col. 2;
Ibid. January 21, 1882. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. January 10, 1884. Page 2, Col. 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. January 13, 1885. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. January 8, 1889. Page 2, Col. 1.
Virginia Free Press. February 19, 1885. Page 2, Col. 3;
Ibid. September 10, 1890. Page 3, Col. 3;
Spirit of Jefferson. December 1, 1891. Page 3, Col. 2.

In 1891 James McGraw erected "an addition to his former residence." The work transformed park Building 34/35 into a massive brick and stone edifice fronting on Shenandoah Street, with stores on the ground floor and 28 rooms above. In March 1892 he advertised the building as a site for a first-class boarding house. The Harpers Ferry post office occupied one of the ground-floor store rooms, and McGraw rented out the other shop space to various tenants.[210]

James McGraw died suddenly on October 30, 1893. The Spirit of Jefferson obituary characterized him as thrifty, progressive, public spirited, in business honest and upright, a faithful and consistent member of the Roman Catholic Church, "well preserved" at his "advanced" age, and always active. He left an estate estimated at $155,000 which his son James A. was appointed to administer.[211]

Little is known of the younger James McGraw's early years. The 1870 census recorded he had attended school within the year; he was 19 at the time of the 1880 census, and listed his occupation as "clerk in store." In 1890 he took over the beer bottling and ginger ale business from his father, and for the next few years advertised his wares frequently. He was elected a Harpers Ferry town councilman in 1892, and that year served as president of the Harpers Ferry Democratic Club. He was re-elected to the town council in 1893.[212]

In 1894, while again serving on the town council, James C. McGraw was elected president at a meeting held to incorporate the new Bank of Harpers Ferry. Five months later the Spirit of Jefferson reported he was planning to erect a large brewery at Harpers Ferry, and indeed work was begun in April on a brewery estimated to cost $25,000 and employ 50 to 60 men. Although the brewery was completed in June 1895, the first advertisement for "good pure beer" made by the Harpers Ferry Brewing Company did not appear until May 1896.[213]

All was not well, however, with McGraw's finances, and in October 1897 he and his surviving sister, Katie, quietly departed Harpers Ferry, having assigned their property to attorney James M. Mason, Jr., for benefit of their creditors. Their sudden failure stunned the community, although a feared run on the Bank of

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[210] Spirit of Jefferson. July 28, 1891. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. March 22, 1892. Page 2, Col. 5.

[211] Spirit of Jefferson. October 31, 1893. Page 3, Col. 4;
Virginia Free Press. November 15, 1893. Page 3, Col. 1;
Farmers Advocate. December 1, 1893. Page 2, Col. 6.

[212] Spirit of Jefferson. May 13, 1890. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. July 7, 1891. Page 2, Col. 5;
Ibid. January 12, 1892. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. May 24, 1892. Page 2, Col. 3;
Virginia Free Press. January 11, 1893. Page 3, Col. 3;
Spirit of Jefferson. January 16, 1894. Page 2, Col. 1.

[213] Virginia Free Press. October 24, 1894. Page 3, Col. 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. March 12, 1895. Page 2, Col. 4;
Virginia Free Press. April 10, 1895. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. June 12, 1895. Page 3, Col. 2. The item states McGraw invested $30,000 in the building and equipment, and that capacity would be 10,000 barrels a year;
Spirit of Jefferson. May 26, 1896. Page 2, Col. 5.

Harpers Ferry never materialized and the Bank remained sound.[214]

Maggie McGraw had died suddenly in January 1896 at the age of 40. Legal disputes involving her interest in her late father's estate complicated the settlement of James C. and Katie McGraw's financial affairs--the matter dragged on, in fact, until well into the twentieth century. Just where James C. and Katie McGraw lived during those years is not certain, but Katie died in April 1908 in Chicago. Brother James C. accompanied her remains on the final journey to Harpers Ferry for interment in St. Peters cemetery.[215]

James C. McGraw returned to Harpers Ferry several times over the next years. In May 1908 the Farmers Advocate reported he moved back from Chicago and was working as an inspector of wood at the pulp mill. That job didn't last, however, and a year later the Farmers Advocate and the Spirit of Jefferson noted, respectively, he had returned "ill," and "in very bad health," from Chicago. Apparently he recovered, as in December 1909 the Farmers Advocate announced he had been appointed clerk to George H. Child the District Census Enumerator. In April 1910 the Spirit of Jefferson acknowledged McGraw as "secretary" to Census Supervisor George H. Child.[216]

James C. McGraw died in Washington, D. C. in January 1913. Accounts vary--one stated he died at his home there, but another, more detailed, said he died in Casualty Hospital after being found unconscious on the street, that no identification had been found in his clothing but that two former Harpers Ferry residents living in Washington had identified him. The remains were returned to Harpers Ferry and interred in St. Peter's cemetery.[217]

James C. McGraw was about 52 when he died, and a bachelor. His sisters had never married. There were therefore no descendants of James and Julia McGraw, and the American dream which James McGraw realized died with his children.

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[214] Spirit of Jefferson. October 5, 1897. Page 2, Col. 1;

[215] Spirit of Jefferson. January 21, 1896. Page 3, Col. 2;
Farmers Advocate. April 4, 1908. Page 2, Col. 2.

[216] Farmers Advocate. May 2, 1908. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. April 24, 1909. Page 2, Col. 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. April 27, 1909. Page 2, Col. 3;
Farmers Advocate. December 25, 1909. Page 2, Col. 3;
Spirit of Jefferson. April 5, 1910. Page 2, Col. 1.

[217] Spirit of Jefferson. January 28, 1913. Page 3, Col. 2;
Farmers Advocate. February 1, 1913. Page 3, Col. 6.

APPENDIX XIV

DORAN FAMILY HISTORY

The Doran name first appeared at Harpers Ferry in the 1830s. The Jefferson Republican, a Charles Town weekly newspaper published during the 1940s and 1950s, in August 1953 carried an interesting article on the Dorans, reprinted here as Appendix XI. The article is based in part on recollections of Mary Cecilia Doran, last proprietress of a Doran store at Harpers Ferry.[218]

Richard Doran, a native of Killimore, Ireland, was a Harpers Ferry merchant beginning in the early 1830s. A May 1833 newspaper notice on dissolution of his partnership with J. C. Dunn is his first appearance in the public record. The partnership assigned all store goods to William McGraw to secure $400 owed to Patrick McCue of Baltimore. Richard Doran continued in business, though, and in 1840 formed another partnership, this time with his brother William.[219]

The 1840 census lists Richard Doran heading a household containing one male over five years old but less than ten, one male over ten but less than 15, one male over 20 but less than 30, and one male over 40 but less than 50, one female over 20 but less than 30, and one female over 30 but less than 40. Although at least twice married, when Richard Doran died in July 1851 no children were listed in the distribution of his estate.[220]

Richard Doran leased property in Harpers Ferry, and frequently advertised rooms (for dwelling or businesses) to rent. During the 1830s and early 1840s the Wager family owned most of the non-government land in Harpers Ferry, therefore Doran apparently leased Wager land and/or buildings, and sublet space he didn't need for business or personal use. By 1851 Doran's estate included a brick house valued at $3,500.[221]

Richard and William Doran dissolved their 1840 partnership after 18 months, and no William Doran is seen again in Harpers Ferry until the 1870s. A letter written by William to his brother Richard dated "Ogdensburg" March 21, 1849, appears to have come from that town in New Jersey (there is another Ogdensburg in far north New York), as the accompanying envelope is postmarked Morristown,

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[218] Jefferson Republican. August 20, 1953. Reprinted in Appendix XI. This article is in remarkable agreement with the historical record, differing only in a few details, such as the fate of the buildings at the river junction, and in some facts on the McGraw buildings.

[219] Virginia Free Press. May 2, 1833. Page 3, Col. 3;
JCC Deed Book 18, Page 346. It is significant that in 1848 a Mr. McCue of Baltimore is identified as Richard Doran's brother-in-law (Virginia Free Press, July 20, 1848, Page 2, Col. 4);
Virginia Free Press. October 29, 1840.

[220] Reel 247, Sixth Census (1840), Page 238 of Harpers Ferry;
JCC Will Book 13, Page 106, August 18, 1851.

[221] Virginia Free Press. March 27, 1834. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. July 9, 1835. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. August 3, 1837. Page 3, Col. 3;
JCC Will Book 13, Pages 221-225. Richard Doran's estate included a substantial brick house "at the Arsenal Gate" and other local holdings. See Snell reports.

March 28.[222]

Richard continued active in town business and civic affairs in the early 1840s; he was named on a Democratic committee to issue an invitation to James Buchanan, and as a delegate to a Democratic convention in Winchester. In 1843 he was listed among those meeting to form an association for repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland.[223]

Mary Doran, Richard's wife, died in April 1845. In July that year an item in the Virginia Free Press revealed that Richard had disappeared in August 1844 during a trip to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York to buy Fall goods. Gerard B. Wager in July 1846 held a public auction of store goods as administrator of the estate of the "late R. D. Doran."[224]

Richard Doran was not deceased, however, although his whereabouts remained a mystery for nearly 4 years. During that time the name of his brother Michael Doran appeared in relation to the affairs of Richard Doran and in business in his own right. In June 1848 the Court granted Michael Doran letters of administration to settle Richard's estate.[225]

In July of 1848 Richard Doran re-emerged. He wrote from Glasgow, Scotland, to his wife, apparently unaware she had died more than three years earlier. The letter was received by his brother-in-law Mr. McCue in Baltimore. Doran requested money to return home and to settle some debts. Judging by news accounts and the letter from Wm. Doran referenced earlier, Richard Doran had returned to Harpers Ferry, with a new wife, by February 1849. That same year he became the owner of a brick house on High Street, built on a lot he acquired in 1843.[226]

In the 1850 census Richard (50), a merchant, is listed as head of household that included Michael (40), a merchant, and Bridget (25), identified later in

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[222] Virginia Free Press. March 10, 1842. Page 3, Col. 2. The "William Doran" who emerged in the 1870s is the son of Michael and Sarah Doran, and therefore Richard Doran's nephew, born ten years after Richard's death;
Letter from "Ogdensburg" March 21, 1849, addressed to "My Dearly Beloved Brother R. D. Doran" and signed Wm. Doran. Envelope postmarked "Morristown" March 28. In Doran/DeLauder Papers, Historical Research Office, HFNHP. Ogdensburg and Morristown are in north central New Jersey, about 30 miles apart.

[223] Virginia Free Press. May 26, 1842;
Ibid. June 22, 1843. Page 3, Col. 3;
Ibid. August 31, 1843. Page 2, Col. 5.

[224] Ibid. April 17, 1845. Page 3, Col. 2;
Ibid. July 31, 1845. Page 2, Col. 1;
Ibid. July 16, 1846. Page 3, Col. 3.

[225] Ibid. August 20, 1846. Page 2, Col. 7;
Ibid. July 20, 1848. Page 2, Col. 4.

[226] Wm. Doran letter; William alluded to Richard's "new" wife whose name he did not know;
Ibid. July 20, 1848. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. February 15, 1849. Page 2, Col. 5; Page 3, Col. 3.
Ibid. August 11, 1849. Page 3, Col. 1;
JCC Deed Book 26, Page 412, July 25, 1843. Richard Doran bought WL 54B.

Richard's will as his wife.[227]

Richard therefore apparently remarried, possibly by 1850. However, his second stay in Harpers Ferry was short as he died in 1851. His obituary lists him as about 55. [put in here stuff about fiduciary][228]

It is not known exactly when Michael Doran came to Harpers Ferry. His name is not in the 1840 census, but he may be one of the males listed in Richard's household. Michael Doran began advertising sales of clothing, hardware, groceries and other merchandise under his own name during Richard's long absence in the 1840s.[229]

At the 1852 sale of government property Michael Doran purchased Lot 5, Block A, Camp Hill, on which he erected a three-story stone house, and Shenandoah Street Lot E3, known locally as the "Pump Lot." In 1853 he married Sarah Crawford, who had emigrated from Dundalk, Ireland, in the late 1840s to settle at Paw Paw, Virginia. Michael continued active in Harpers Ferry, apparently until 1854, when he announced his retirement from "mercantile business" and offered his Camp Hill home for rent. At that time he sold properties he had purchased in 1850 and 1851 across the Potomac River at the base of Maryland Heights, but he retained the Lot E3 property.[230]

Little is known about the Michael Doran family during the next ten years. The 1946 obituary of his daughter Mary Ellen, however, states she was born in Allegany County, Maryland, in 1859, so the family was likely there then. There were known Doran connections to the Walsh and Coulehan families in Cumberland, Maryland, which is in Allegany County (Michael and Sarah's son William eventually married Mary Elizabeth Coulehan). Mary Ellen's obituary also says she moved to Harpers Ferry at the age of 6, which would mean Michael Doran and family returned

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[227] Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850). Page 416 of Harpers Ferry;
JCC Will Book 13, Page 106.

[228] Virginia Free Press. July 17, 1851. Page 2, Col. 7;
JCC Will Book 13, Page 106, R. D. Doran (written June 28, 1851, probated August 18, 1851).

[229] Virginia Free Press. August 20, 1846. Page 2, Col. 7;
Ibid. October 6, 1847. Page 1, Col. 4;
Ibid. October 5, 1848. Page 3, Col. 2.

[230] Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Site Survey Report, History of Lots No. 1 to 5, Block E, Shenandoah Street, 1796-1865," Harpers Ferry National Monument, Shenandoah Street Studies Series No. 3, HF-27C, February 3, 1959, Pages 20, 21.
Virginia Free Press. January 27, 1853. Page 3, Col. 1;
Correspondence to "Miss Crawford" at Paw Paw, Virginia, from [name undecipherable], Dundalk [Ireland], July 26, 1849. In Doran/DeLauder Papers, Historical Research Office, HFNHP. Paw Paw (now West) Virginia is on the east bank of the Potomac River, just across from Allegany County, Maryland, site of Little Orleans, where the Dorans were recorded in the 1860 census;
Virginia Free Press. April 6, 1854. Page 2, Col. 7 & Page 3, Col. 7;
Ibid. April 6, 1854. Page 2, Col. 7. Michael Doran stated Walsh & Bro. succeeded him "at the old stand." That was likely the large brick structure on the "Ferry Lot" by the Armory gate;
Susan W. Frye and Dennis E. Frye, Maryland Heights Archeological & Historical Resources Study, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 1989, Pages 305 & 307.

to Harpers Ferry in 1865.[231]

A search in the 1860 Maryland Census revealed Michael Doran (55), Sarah Doran (28), Maria Doran (4), and Mary E. Doran (2) living at "Orleans P. O.," Allegany County. Michael Doran listed Real Estate worth $1,800 and Personal Estate of $500. All occupations listed on the page, including Michael's, are "farmer."[232]

Michael was certainly back in Harpers Ferry by 1866 when he was elected to the town council. The Jefferson Republican article states that at the time of the 1870 flood the Doran store was in a building on the "Pump Lot"--his Shenandoah Street Lot E3. He appears in the 1870 Harpers Ferry census (age 55) as "retail dry goods merchant," with Sarah (43), Mary E. (11) and William (9), the latter two born in Maryland. In the 1880 census he is listed as "retail grocer" and the children William A. as "clerk in store" and "Ella" with no occupation listed.[233]

During the 1870s Michael Doran acquired more property in Harpers Ferry, including Lots 2 and 9 on Block C, the former with a brick dwelling. He conveyed the C2 lot to his wife Sarah. No Doran store advertisements were found in Charles Town newspapers from the time the family returned until after Michael's death, although Michael Doran appears in the West Virginia Gazetteer and Business Directory in 1877-78, and 1882-83 listed only as "grocer." Michael Doran was licensed to sell "spirituous liquors" beginning in 1871, a practice which landed him in trouble three years later when the County Court indicted him for furnishing intoxicating liquor to a person under age.[234]

The aforementioned 1953 Jefferson Republican article states the Doran business was, after the 1870 flood, across the street from their "present" location (Building 33), in the property of Colonel Edward Lucas. Colonel Edward Lucas bought Block C, Lot 1, in the 1852 sale of Armory property; that lot held the stone building on the corner of Market and Shenandoah Streets long known as a store. Further attesting to Doran occupancy of Block C, Lot 1, is a photograph (HF-111) of the 1889 flood showing that structure, and a gentleman remarkably

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[231] Spirit of Jefferson. July 3, 1946. Page 3, Col. 5;
Personal interview conducted in Spring 1991 with Terry & Lynne Kirby of Baltimore, Maryland, descendants of a sister of Michael and Richard Doran.

[232] Eighth Census (1860), Page 350 of Orleans P.O., Allegany County, (District 8) Maryland (microfilm in Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland).

[233] Spirit of Jefferson. September 4, 1866. Page 3, Col. 2;
Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), Page 458 of Bolivar Township;
Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), Page 2 of Harpers Ferry.

[234] Virginia Free Press. June 3, 1871. Page 3, Col. 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. March 24, 1874. Page 3, Col. 2.
JCC Deed Book F, Page 73 (November 11, 1877).

similar to the "Mr. Doran" in photo HF-417.[235]

Following Michael Doran's death in 1882 his son William began appearing in news references. According to the Virginia Free Press in 1884 William deeded Camp Hill Lot 12, Block MM, to John B. Spriggs. In November that year the same newspaper noted his name among buildings or houses illuminated in celebration of the election of President Cleveland.[236]

The family business continued into the twentieth century, by then known as "S. & W. Doran." Only two newspaper advertisements have been found, however--a large 1892 display advertisement, the type typically sponsored by the manufacturer, for the "W. L. Douglas $3 Shoe . . . for sale by S. & W. Doran, Harper's Ferry," and a 1912 "announcement" for a millinery opening.[237]

An account in the Spirit of Jefferson of flood damage in 1889 states "Wm. Doran" was among the heaviest losers of "store goods and property" in the "very great flood" at Harpers Ferry. The account did not identify the store's location, but it was likely on Block C, Lot 1.[238]

In terms of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, the most significant 19th century Doran event occurred in January 1899, when the 'Post Office' property of the McGraw estate was sold to William and Mary E. Doran by Special Commissioners (in the bankruptcy of James C. and Katie McGraw) for $4,775. The fact that the deed is dated January 12, 1901, can be ascribed to complications

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[235] West Virginia Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1877-78, Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University. HFD-693.
Please see Appendix XI for the Jefferson Republican article;
Patricia Chickering, (Draft) "'The Green' - Physical History of Block C. Lots 1 through 6 A&B. 1796-1952," National Park Service/University of Maryland, Cooperative Agreement, Historical Research Project, August 16, 1993, in park library, Page 9.

[236] Jefferson Republican article (Appendix XI). The article provides the year of Michael Doran's death. After Michael's death the estate of his late brother Richard was finally distributed among the heirs (details in JCC Fiduciary Accounts).
Virginia Free Press. June 3, 1884. Page 2, Col. 3;
JCC Deed Book N, Page 12;
Virginia Free Press. November 20, 1884. (copy damaged, page unknown).

[237] JCC Register of Deaths 1881-1889, Page 52, Line 11. No obituary for Michael Doran was found. The year of his death is recorded on his tombstone in St. Peter's Catholic Cemetery, Harpers Ferry;
The Saturday Sentinel. September 3, 1892. Page 1, Cols. 5 to 7. It is perhaps significant that this advertisement appeared in a Harpers Ferry newspaper and not one of the more widely circulated Charles Town papers. Unfortunately only a few issues of the Sentinel and its successor the Harpers Ferry Times have been located. The later Dorans did not advertise the way Richard and Michael Doran had in the 1830s, 1840s and early 1850s. In fact the Farmers Advocate citation below is the only other advertisement seen until the business closing sale in 1926 (Spirit of Jefferson, February 17, 1926, pages 9-12, and also the March 3 and 17 issues) following William's death. The Dorans were listed, however, in every available issue of the West Virginia Gazetteer. The late John Newcomer recalled seeing a Doran advertisement on the screen at the local movies while the film reel was being changed;
Farmers Advocate. March 16, 1912. Page 3, Col. 5.

[238] Spirit of Jefferson. June 4, 1889. Page 2, Col. 2.
Please see Jefferson Republican article in Appendix XI.

in settling the McGraw bankruptcy.[239]

The 1900 census reveals that William, Ella (Mary Ellen) and the widowed Sarah were living somewhere on Shenandoah Street. It lists William and Ella as unmarried and gives their professions and ages as "Merchant" and "Saleslady," aged 37 and 39, respectively.[240]

William and Mary Ellen operated two distinct stores in the former McGraw building--park Building 34-35--Mary Ellen offering millinery and William conducting a general dry goods operation, selling everything from molasses to furniture. The family lived "over the store." Beginning soon after the move to Building 34/35, newspapers frequently noted trips Mary Ellen Doran made to New York to buy seasonal goods.[241]

In June 1905 William Doran married Mary Elizabeth Coulehan of Cumberland, Maryland, a cousin. Soon thereafter he received a proposal from James F. Cassell, operator of a plumbing, steam and hot-water heating business at Harpers Ferry, for extensive work to be done in Building 34-35.[242]

Accounts over the next years reveal William Doran was an early automobile enthusiast. The 1907 Sanborn Fire Insurance map shows a small building in the rear of lot B3 as "auto," perhaps where William stored his car. In a 1990 interview Frank Cavalier, venerable local resident, recalled that William Doran had a car which he kept, polished, in a building next to the trestle.[243]

In 1907 Mary Ellen bought the large stone building just west of Building 34/35--the former McGraw store and dwelling, park Building 33. At first the Penwood Coal Company rented the structure, with offices and apartments for officials--and <u>two</u> telephones connecting with "cities." That use ceased in October 1909. Later the Dorans moved one of their stores to the building, and eventually the upper floors became their home. It has been impossible to

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[239] Ibid. January 24, 1899. Page 3, Col. 1;
JCC Deed Book 90, Page 188, January 12, 1901, James Conway (Special Commissioner) and James M. Mason Jr. (Trustee and Special Commissioner) grantors to William Doran and Mary E. Doran as grantees of GLB3. The deed discusses buildings, alleys, smokestack on property (see quoted text this report beginning on Page 36).

[240] Reel 139, Twelfth Census (1900), Page 79A of Harpers Ferry. This is the only census that lists street names. Mary Ellen Doran's name is frequently transformed--variously as "Ella," "Ellen M." and as she was most often called, "Miss Ellie." For consistency herein she will be referred to as Mary Ellen. Further confusion results from the name of William Doran's wife, Mary Elizabeth--she is often called "Mary E." or "Mary L." Doran.

[241] Personal Communications; interviews with John and June Newcomer, October 1991; Isabel Kern Flanagan, August 1992 and subsequent. Transcripts and tapes in library, HFNHP;
<u>Farmers Advocate</u>. March 28, 1903. Page 2, Col. 5.

[242] <u>Farmers Advocate</u>. June 17, 1905. Page 3, Col. 4; Mrs. Doran's 1957 obituary (clipping in Doran/Delauder papers) stated her mother was Josephine Mong Doran;
Please see Appendix XII for a transcription of James Cassell's proposal.

[243] <u>Harpers Ferry Times</u>. August 24, 1806. Page 5, Col. 1;
<u>Spirit of Jefferson</u>. February 9, 1909. Page 3, Col. 4;
Personal Communication, Patricia Craig with Mary Cavalier Dalgarn and Frank Cavalier, 1990, notes in Historical Research Office.

pinpoint exactly when these moves occurred.[244]

By the 1910 census two daughters had increased William Doran's family. That year the household included Sarah (80), a general merchandise merchant, Ella M. (40), a saleslady/clerk, William A. (45) a store salesman, Mary L. (35), Josephine C. (3), and Mary C. (1).[245]

Sarah Doran died at her Shenandoah Street residence in November 1910, aged 81. Her obituary stated she headed the family firm after her husband's death, with her children as junior partners, but that she seldom left her home except to attend church. It noted relatives William E. Walsh and William Coulehan of Cumberland attended the funeral. Interment was in St. Peter's Catholic Cemetery.[246]

William and Mary Ellen improved their property during the following year. The Farmers Advocate reported they built a large elevator in the rear of their McGraw property which they had converted into an apartment house, and that William was utilizing the lower floor as his furniture and store department. The reference, as usual regrettably vague, is likely to park Building 33.

Over the next years newspapers frequently noted Doran activities. In 1912 a son arrived to complete William and Mary Elizabeth Doran's family. Later in the year William bought a new "Regal" car. In June 1913 William purchased a stone building across Shenandoah Street and farther west, park Building 45, from the Joshua Cavalier estate. Six months later William Doran was putting the structure in "thorough repair," part of an effort which was improving that part of the town. Local tradition, supported by several oral histories, holds that the Dorans continued the family stores in the former McGraw properties, therefore they likely rented out Building 45. Indeed, J. R. (Bernard) Miles moved his pool hall there from the Hotel Connor in April 1915, and James Barrett's pool & billiard hall succeeded Miles's there two years later.[247]

Because the Dorans eventually owned several properties on Shenandoah Street (including park Buildings 33, 34/5, 36 and 45, and Lots C2 and E3), caution must be exercised when interpreting "Doran" building/house references. Adding to the confusion, most of the buildings were multi-use structures, typically having

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[244] JCC Deed Book 98, Page 384, January 7, 1907;
Farmers Advocate. December 5, 1908. Page 2, Col. 3. Interestingly, the local office of Penwood Coal Company was managed by Hugh Kirby, a relative of the Dorans through their connection to the Walsh family of both Harpers Ferry and Cumberland. Kirby was married to Leah Walsh, daughter of Murtha and Julia Walsh, and therefore a Doran cousin. In the 1910 census the Kirby's are listed in the Walsh household.
Ibid. October 16, 1909. Page 2, Col. 4.

[245] Reel 252, Twelfth Census (1910), Page 190 of Harpers Ferry.

[246] Farmers Advocate. December 3, 1910. Page 2, Col. 2.

[247] Farmers Advocate. April 27, 1912. Page 2, Col. 3;
Ibid. July 6, 1912. Page 2, Col. 3;
Ibid. June 21, 1913. Page 3, Col. 4;
Ibid. January 24, 1914. Page 2, Col. 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. April 6, 1915. Page 2, Col. 2;
Ibid,. April 3, 1917. Page 3, Col. 2.

stores on lower and dwellings on upper floors. All the properties remained in the Doran family until sale to the State of West Virginia in 1952.[248]

For a reason as yet undetermined, in July 1919 the Dorans began liquidating the entire stock and fixtures of their stores, estimated value $50,000. By September about $35,000 worth had been sold. The sale ran for about three months, and then the Dorans restocked and reopened, reversing their departments so "finer goods" were sold in the lower room of the McGraw property (Building 33). The Farmers Advocate noted the stock contained "everything one might ask for."[249]

During the early twentieth century Harpers Ferry had a wide range of merchants offering a broad selection of goods. The most prominent general goods emporia were Kaplon's Department Store on Wager Lot 48, directly across Shenandoah Street from the Doran property, and of course the Doran Store. Kaplon's was a multi-story building erected at the turn of the century, with an inside elevator to the furniture and carpet departments on the upper floors. Across the street the Dorans offered general store goods--everything from molasses to bicycles--in Building 34/35, and millinery in Building 33.[250]

Appearances counted with the Dorans. In 1921 the Farmers Advocate reported on the Doran department store's large and varied stock, noting the "extreme gentility" displayed to customers. The newspaper, and Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan, attest to the "spic and span" appearance of the store in Building 33--Mrs. Flanagan particularly remembering the highly polished show cases. Mrs. Flanagan also recalled that at Christmas time parents would be escorted to an upstairs room where toys could be chosen away from the curious eyes of children! In 1921 the Farmers Advocate reported that W. and M. E. Doran, the "largest owners of real estate in the community" recently had their properties inspected, painted and repaired as needed.[251]

Over the years floods dealt Harpers Ferry citizens and merchants vicious blows. The Dorans suffered every time, but always recovered and reopened. The 1870 flood "ruined" Michael Doran's grocery, and William Doran suffered damage to store goods and property in 1889. The principal merchants on Shenandoah Street, Dorans included, suffered heavy damage when both rivers rose and flooded the town in May 1924. Mrs. Flanagan recalls that was a "very dirty flood," and the newspaper account noted much debris left on Shenandoah Street. Nevertheless,

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[248] JCC Deed Book 191, Page 41.

[249] Farmers Advocate. July 26, 1919. Page 2, Col. 4;
Ibid. August 9, 1919. Page 3 (full page);
Ibid. September 27, 1919. Page 2, Col. 3;
Ibid. June 12, 1920. Page 1, Col. 5.

[250] Spirit of Jefferson. May 1, 1900. Page 2, Col. 2;
Personal Communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan.

[251] Farmers Advocate. June 25, 1921. Page 1, Col. 5;
Ibid. September 10, 1921. Page 1, Cols. 1 & 2;
Personal Communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan.

the Dorans once again cleaned up and reopened shop.[252]

The following year brought sickness and death. In August 1925 Mrs. William Doran was reported ill in Allegany Hospital, Cumberland, but she recovered to live until 1957. William Doran died in late November 1925 at age 63 of pneumonia. At the same time his sister Mary Ellen was also fighting pneumonia, but she won her battle. William's estate was appraised at $17,841.23. Following William's death the Farmers Advocate reported the Dorans went out of business, that the store stock was bought out for resale, and that the store property would be occupied by a new bakery. Photographic evidence reveals the "Doran" store involved in the sale and bakery transactions was park Building 34/35.[253]

Mary Ellen Doran served as guardian to her nieces and nephew--the girls in college at Emmitsburg, Maryland and William Jr. at St. Josephs School in Catonsville, Maryland. By 1927 Mary Ellen was back in business, in Building 33. She and her niece Mary Cecilia visited New York that October and in June 1928 on buying trips.[254]

In December 1928 Mary Ellen Doran purchased the Hurst house (park Building 36), including household goods, adjoining the Doran property on the south side of Shenandoah Street. That magnificent house, built in 1858 for the Master Armorer at the U. S. Armory, had enjoyed renewed glory late in the nineteenth century as residence of Mr. and Mrs. J. Garland Hurst. Following their deaths in 1920, and the deaths of two of their heirs by 1925, the unoccupied property had fallen into sad disrepair. It has not been possible to learn if Mary Ellen, her widowed sister-in-law Mary Elizabeth, or the nieces or nephew lived in the house during the next years. Mary Ellen, however, apparently gave the grounds attention, as she planted trees and shrubbery in 1929, and in 1931 her garden at that site won a prize in the Womans' Club 3rd Annual Garden Contest.[255]

Over the succeeding years Mary Ellen continued keeping the family business. Devastated yet again by the 1936 flood, yet again she reopened the store. But the town never really recovered from that flood, and another in 1942, and the golden age of the Doran stores was over. Mary Ellen died in 1946, in her late eighties. Her estate passed to her nephew and nieces. In 1947 the heirs

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[252] Virginia Free Press. October 8, 1870. Page 2, Col. 3;
Spirit of Jefferson. June 4, 1889. Page 2, Col. 2;
Farmers Advocate. May 17, 1924. Page 1, Col. 3;
Personal communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan.

[253] Farmers Advocate. August 15, 1925. Page 1, Col. 1;
Ibid. December 5, 1925. Page 1, Col. 2;
Ibid. December 12, 1925. Page 1, Col. 1, 2;
Ibid. February 13, 1926. Page 1, Col. 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. July 21, 1926. Unpaginated supplement;
Doran/Delauder papers, clipping dated September 4, 1957, obituary of Mrs. W. A. Doran.

[254] Farmers Advocate. December 4, 1926. Page 1, Cols. 1 & 2;
Ibid. February 26, 1927. Page 1, Col. 4;
Ibid. June 2, 1928. Page 1, Col. 1.

[255] Farmers Advocate. April 27, 1929. Page 1, Cols. 1 & 2;
Spirit of Jefferson. September 23, 1931. Page 1, Col. 1.

consolidated ownership of her real estate by conveyances among themselves. Niece Mary Cecilia kept the store in Building 33 a while longer, and then sold out the stock when the property transferred to the State of West Virginia.[256]

Doran family tradition, supported by photographic evidence, holds that Mary Ellen Doran "gave" Building 36 to her niece Josephine, as a wedding present on her marriage to John DeLauder. Josephine and John Delauder acquired title to Building 36 after the property was consolidated by the heirs, and deeded the house to the State of West Virginia in 1952.[257]

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[256] Personal Communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan;
Personal Communication, Patricia Craig with Mary Cavalier Dalgarn;
Spirit of Jefferson. July 3, 1946. Page 3, Cols. 5 & 6;
Letter to Miss Mary Doran from T. T. Perry Jr., May 18, 1953, offering advice on disposing of old store books, catalogs, etc. Also letter believed from Josephine Delauder to Mary Cecilia Doran, probable date 1953, concerning moving from downtown location, both in Doran/Delauder Papers, HFD-692.

[257] Personal Communication, Patricia Chickering with Molly Delauder Staubs, Fall 1992; also family photographs in Doran/Delauder Papers, HFD-692.
JCC Deed Book 168, Page 332, May 30, 1947;
JCC Deed Book 190, Page 316, November 29, 1952.

APPENDIX XV

HURST & TEARNEY CHRONOLOGY

1850 "James G. Hurst" in Jefferson County Census is believed to be J. Garland Hurst; is 3 year old son of Minor Hurst (census also lists a daughter Mary whose age in 1850 corresponds with age in obituary for J. Garland Hurst's sister Mary in 1895)

1874 Edward Tearney of HF elected President First National Bank of Jefferson; Miss Elizabeth A. Tearney was married to J. Garland Hurst in Charles Town by Rev. Father Kain

1880 Census: J. Garland Hurst (33), birthplace West Virginia, occupation County Sheriff; Lizzie T. Hurst (27), birthplace West Virginia, occupation Keeping House; John Baltimore (20) (mulatto), birthplace West Virginia; occupation Ostler, servant of J. Garland Hurst

1880,1 Shepherdstown Register reported people of HF supported "clever and efficient Deputy" Mr. Garland Hurst [as Deputy Sheriff]; at residence of Garland Hurst "the colored woman" Aunt Hannah set lamp near table, tablecloth caught fire, her dress caught fire, Hurst came to rescue & saved her life (location of Hurst's 1880 residence is unknown; it was not park Building 36); Garland Hurst listed as member of Hook & Ladder Co. [Fire Dept.] of HF

1882 J. G. Hurst listed as delegate to (Democratic) Congressional Convention, appointed to County Executive Committee

1883 J. Garland Hurst Deputy Sheriff was appointed Sheriff by the District Court to fill the unexpired term of John H. Moore, Deceased; represented HF District at Jefferson County Agriculture & Mechanical Association meeting & was suggested as Treasurer; was organizing member of HF Cavalry Co.

1884 With others as delegation visited Washington to promote sale of HF property repurchased by Government & to secure congressional appropriations for river improvement; listed as Lt. in HF Cavalry Co.; Mrs. J. Garland Hurst listed as President of Fair to benefit HF "Mounted Rifles;" J. G. Hurst listed among incorporators of HF General Improvement Co.; Democratic ticket: J. Garland Hurst for Sheriff; Charles H. Trail for Assessor; Hurst listed on Democratic County Executive Committee

1885,6 Fire caused little damage at Shenandoah Street brick building of J. Garland Hurst occupied by Dr. C. E. Beller and used as schoolroom, councilroom, and Post Office (Building 36); Jane E. Tearney (wife of Edward Tearney & mother-in-law of Sheriff J. Garland Hurst) died at "Rose Cottage," Bolivar, residence; many deed transactions involving J. Garland Hurst, some with Charles H. Trail and others, some as trustee; notices for tax collections by Sheriff J. Garland Hurst

1887,8 Deed transactions continue; Building Association organized at HF by incorporators: Col. J. G. Hurst, Rev. N. C. Brackett, John McArthur, Charles Rau, George Child; Sheriff Hurst moved into "new house" at HF; HF Board of Trade organized, Vice-President: J G. Hurst; "handsome" iron fence erected in front of J. Garland Hurst residence at HF; HF & Bolivar Democratic Club headed by President J. Garland Hurst paraded at HF; HF native WV Governor Wilson & staff member Col. J. Garland Hurst appeared in NY Centennial parade

1889,90 Flood damage at HF included property along Shenandoah Street of J. Garland Hurst ($2,500); WV Governor Wilson recommissioned J. Garland Hurst as Colonel; Hurst elected trustee of HF Presbyterian Church; Hurst continues to be named in various deed transactions, usually as grantee; Hurst and Trail mentioned in numerous ventures

1891,2 Hurst & Trail have mill working on Peacher property; Hurst to be candidate for Sheriff; Hurst visiting Kansas on business; Hurst delegate to Charles Town Democratic Convention

1893,4 Hurst qualified & gave bond as sheriff; various mentions of Hurst & Trail business ventures

1895,6 Hurst resigned in 3rd term as sheriff; Hurst's sister Mrs. Mary D. Moore died at Charles Town residence; Hurst attended Democratic convention with Trail; Hurst elected to State Legislature; Mrs. Hurst accompanied him to State Capital; Mr. & Mrs. Hurst grant GLB2 (Building 36) to Edward Tearney by unrecorded deed

1897,8 Hurst represented HF on WV Commission for Tennessee Centennial; Hurst appointed to Penitentiary, Internal Navigation, and Printing & Contingent committees of Legislature; Hurst & Trail (with others) involved in company formed to bore for oil between HF & Martinsburg; Hurst noted for having "handsomest lawn" of HF & Bolivar, like "green velvet;" Hurst bought "Post Office" Building (Building 34-5) (sale later set aside); Hurst reelected to Legislature; Hurst appointed to Taxation & Finance, Immigration & Agriculture, and Judiciary Committees of Legislature; Mrs Hurst joined him in Charleston

1899 Hurst ran for State Auditor on Democratic Ticket; Hurst & Trail involved in runaway horse incident; editorial suggested Hurst as Democratic nominee for State Senate; Charles H. Trail died in October; news sources announce then refute that Hurst filed for position Trail held as Deputy Sheriff although Hurst did fill some of Trail's duties temporarily

1900 Census: J. Garland Hurst (53), birthplace West Virginia, occupation Farmer; Elizabeth Hurst (46), birthplace West Virginia; Thomas Thornton (15) (black) birthplace West Virginia, occupation Errand Boy, servant of J. Garland Hurst

1900 Mrs. Hurst managed entertainment for Martha Washington Tea Party at Catholic Schoolhouse; Hurst announced as candidate for State Senate, stated opposition to racially mixed schools; Hurst won Democratic nomination in district but lost overall primary; Hurst suggested for State Treasurer; as candidate for State Treasurer toured state with William Jennings Bryan; won election in County but lost state-wide

1901 Hurst painted house; Mrs. Hurst recovered from serious illness

1902 Edward Tearney died; survived by sons: Father Edward (catholic priest in Falls Church, Va.), Joseph (physician for B. & O. R.R.), George; daughters Elizabeth (Mrs. J. Garland Hurst) and Miss Mary Jane (Jennie); later in year George Tearney died in Bolivar; near end of year family of Dr. Joseph Tearney moved to Baltimore; Miss Jennie Tearney closed "Rose Cottage" (parental home) and moved in with sister Mrs. Hurst; financial collapse of J. Garland Hurst resulted from revelation in will of Edward Tearney that Hurst had transferred the bulk of his property to Tearney in 1896 yet continued using property to secure notes; liabilities expected to amount to $75,000 with assets totalling $6,000 to $8,000; public sale of Hurst's personal property held

Note: for next 10 years items concerning ramifications of bankruptcy appeared regularly; Hursts remained in Building 36 throughout litigation, with house being deeded to Mrs. Hurst in 1908

1903 Mrs. Hurst made over 100 aprons for sale to aid St. Peters Catholic Church; Miss Jennie Tearney who spent winter with Mrs. Hurst opened her home "Rose Cottage" for the summer; Master Eddie Tearney of Mt. St. Mary's College and "Little Joe" and John of Baltimore visited; Mrs. Hurst entertained at "her summer home" on Bolivar Heights; Bankrupt Court entered 2% distributing dividend in Hurst bankruptcy; Miss Jennie Tearney closed "Rose Cottage" to winter with Mrs. Hurst

1905 Burglar stole $17 from home of Col. J. Garland Hurst

1906 "Mr. J. Garland Hurst" of Washington visited HF home; Hurst listed as delegate to Congressional Convention for Democratic Primary;

1907,8 Master Edward Tearney (son of Dr. Joseph) was given holiday party at home of uncle & aunt Mr. & Mrs. J. Garland Hurst; newspaper carried charitable account of Hurst financial difficulties; Mrs. Hurst & sister Miss Jennie Tearney visited Berkeley Springs; public sale of Hurst farm at Duffields; Edward Tearney who was studying art at Baltimore studio of Paul Walth visited Hursts; Hurst elected to Executive Committee in Democratic primary election; Mrs. Hurst was patroness in play in rehearsal at St. Peters Catholic Church; GLB2 (Building 36) deeded to Mrs. Elizabeth Hurst

1909,10 Ed Tearney among group camping at Bloomery; Hurst listed as Democrat Committeeman

1910 Census: Garland J. Hurst (63), birthplace West Virginia, occupation "Own Income"; Elizabeth T. Hurst (56), birthplace West Virginia; Mary J. Tearney (65), birthplace West Virginia, sister-in-law of Garland J. Hurst; Thomas Page (25) (female) [note: possible error], birthplace West Virginia, occupation Servant of Garland J. Hurst

1911 Edward Tearney of Baltimore visits uncle J. Garland Hurst; Edward Tearney visits Baltimore; Congressman W. G. Brown obtained post as "elevator operator" in House Office Building in Washington for J. Garland Hurst (later accounts state "Superintendent of Elevators"); Hurst and family closed house in HF to spend winter in Washington where he was employed & where they had apartments; Mrs. Hurst with sister Miss Jennie Tearney & colored butler Thomas went to Washington for winter

1912 Hurst came up from Washington for HF municipal election; visited HF in February on business & reported wife & Miss Jennie would return in April; Hurst on County Democratic Executive Committee; family (including nephew Eddie Tearney) moved back to HF in April but Hurst remained in Washington until Congress adjourned; in November Mrs. Hurst & sister again removed to Washington; Col. Hurst was quite ill in December

1913 Col. Hurst was nominated for HF Postmaster by Congressman Brown; nomination went to Senate but was never confirmed & was withdrawn; family returned to HF from Washington in May

1914 Mrs. Hurst had home "garlanded" with Christmas decorations (reported in January); Mr. Hurst was Assistant to Mr. Maurice Wentzell Postmaster at HF Post Office

1915 Mr. & Mrs. Hurst went to Berkeley Springs, news account stated "we hope Mr. Hurst will be benefitted by his stay there;" Mrs. J. Garland Hurst is President of HF & Bolivar Fire Company Fund Collection group

1916 Hurst mentioned as delegate to Congressional Convention, listed as candidate for County Executive Commission (all Democratic);

1917 Hurst elected to HF Council; Dr. Joseph Tearney of Baltimore had sons Edward and John in army; Dr. Joseph Tearney died in June

1920 Col. Hurst was taken to Charles Town Hospital, had been semi-invalid, unable to walk, under care of wife who became ill; Elizabeth Tearney Hurst died; Will of Elizabeth Hurst put everything in Trust to her brother Edward for benefit of husband J. G. Hurst during his lifetime and subject to that bequeathed & devised all property to Edward M. and M. J. Tearney (Jefferson County, WV, Will Book D, Page 491); Col. J. Garland Hurst died at Charles Town Hospital; Col. Hurst buried in Zion Episcopal Church Cemetery, Charles Town

1921,2 Miss Jennie Tearney expected to close her house (believed to be Building 36) to go to Philadelphia with nephew Eddie Tearney; Miss Jennie Tearney & nephew Eddie returned from winter in Philadelphia

1923 Miss Jennie Tearney & nephew Edward Tearney were "here" (in HF) for summer after both spending winter in Philadelphia

NOTE: various sources indicate Miss Jennie and Mr. Edward Tearney opened the house (Building 36) most summers and wintered in Philadelphia where Edward was possibly a magazine writer

1924 Miss Jennie (Mary Jane) Tearney died in Philadelphia; estate of Jennie Tearney included 1/2 interest in Hurst Home (Building 36) on Shenandoah Street; Mary Jane Tearney willed everything she owned, specifying her share in estate of late Elizabeth Hurst, to nephew Edward J. Tearney (Jefferson County, WV, Will Book E, Page 185; Appraisement Accounts of Fiduciary Book P, Page 357; notes 1/2 interest in Hurst home); Mr. Ed. Tearney of Philadelphia reopened family home on Shenandoah Street & expected to remain part of summer

1925 (January 3) Edward Tearney died in Philadelphia.
Appraisement of estate of Edward J. Tearney, deceased, includes 1/2 interest in Hurst Home, Shenandoah Street, $1,200; suit over estate of Edward Tearney; claims by Frances Tearney of Philadelphia as common-law wife against Wm. Marmion administrator and heirs including "his mother"

(June 13) Farmers Advocate reported Frances Tearney, Edward Tearney's common law wife, claimed she lived with him for over 10 years and had his promise to marry; item states Edward Tearney had been married to a Baltimore woman about 15 years earlier and they separated after about a week; not known whether that woman was living or whether couple ever divorced

1927 Appraisement of estate of Belle J. Tearney (widow of Joseph Tearney) included 1/4 of estate of son Edward J. Tearney which included 1/2 interest in Hurst home on Shenandoah Street

1928 Hurst property including household goods on Shenandoah Street was sold at auction to Miss (Mary Ellen) Ella Doran for $3,600; "once one of Harpers Ferry's finest and most beautiful homes", unoccupied recently, badly in need of repair

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Source: Primarily derived from History Database in Historical research office, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.
Some Census data from: Magazine of the Jefferson County Historical Society. Volume LVI. December 1990. Page 85.

APPENDIX XVI

Transcription: Charles W. Snell Building 34/35 report*

* note: Mr. Snell's "Appendix IV, 1878 List of Repairs and Statement by James Mc Graw in Regard to Bldg. 34-35" has not been transcribed herein as it constitutes Appendix II to this report

[NPS LETTERHEAD]

Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

March 12, 1959

Memorandum:

To: Regional Director, Region Five

From: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

Subject: Research Project No. HF-56: Historic Bldg. Report, Part II-Historical Data Section, for Bldg. No. 34-35

We submit one copy of the "Historic Building Report, Part II, Historical Data Section, for Bldgs. No. 34-3532, 33 and 34A, the Samuel Annin House," dated March 4, 1959, 45 pages, by Historian Charles W. Snell, for technical review by Regional Historian Frank Barnes.

(SGD) FRANK H. ANDERSON

Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In duplicate

[NPS LETTERHEAD] H-30

Region Five
421 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 6, Pa.

May 28, 1959

Memorandum

To: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

From: Regional Historian

Subject: Research Project No. HF-56: Historic Bldg. Report, Part II - Historical Data Section, for Bldg. No. 34-35

When the time comes for the inclusion of this Historical Data Section in a Part II Historic Structure Report on Building 34-35, we suggest some thought be given to reducing or summarizing at least the long quotes on page 4 and pages 10-11. The material in the first is largely irrelevant, it seems to me; the "heart of the matter" seems contained in the second narrative paragraph on page 5.

Additionally, we feel some further narrative analysis would be useful re the finding on page 12 that present Buildings 32, 33 and 34A must all have been erected after 1870. It would seem important to extract the statement from the McGraw affidavit in Appendix 4 to the effect that his lot and building were on the corner of Shenandoah and Market Streets.

Likewise, it would be helpful to have some further clarification of the evidence on Building 34, of which the 1827 kitchen is described as part. The narrative on page 8 speaks of this as an addition (how do we know it became part of Building 34?); the 1879 evidence on page 10 speaks of the kitchen as an "outbuilding." Part of the trouble may be the maps. We are unable to deduce therefrom the dimensions cited at the top of page 9. And Appendix IA, II and III identifications seem to be at variance with those on page 14.

The final report, incidentally, should at least indicate where the photos cited may be readily found by reviewers, and any apparent discrepancies in dimensions should be explained (as was attempted, for example, at the top of page 9 -- here, however, the "approximate" dimension of 48′ should be compared with the 32′ in the middle of page 5 and with the 36′ in the middle of page 8).

[signed]
Frank Barnes
Regional Historian

In duplicate
Copy to: Director w/report

[NPS LETTERHEAD] H-30

Harpers Ferry National Monument
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

June 4, 1959

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region Five

From: Superintendent, Harpers Ferry National Monument

Subject: Research Project No. HF-56, Historic Building Report, Part II-Historical Data Section, for Bldg. No. 34-35

Historian Charles W. Snell offers the following comments in regard to the question raised in Regional Historian Frank Barnes' memorandum of May 28 on the Part II-Historical Data Section for Bldgs. No. 34-35.

1. Length of quotes, page 4, 10, 11. It should be noted that on March 11, 1959, Regional Chief of Interpretation Nelligan and Mr. Barnes issued for the first time to the members of this research team definite (and verbal) instructions that all research reports must be kept as short as possible. The report under consideration was completed on March 4, 1959. As this research report has completely revolutionized our previous conception of the historical appearance of Bldgs. No. 34-35, it is my opinion that the quotes on pages 10 and 11 are of the greatest importance and should be left in the report as they stand.

2. Page 12. Further narrative analysis would be useful, re the finding that present Bldgs. 32, 33 and 34A must all have been erected after 1870. in the long quote objected to by Mr. Barnes on page 10 of the report, it is plainly stated that "There were no outbuildings except a small and badly damaged one story kitchen..." Photograph HF-361, cited in the report, page 27, also clearly indicates that Bldg. No. 33 was not standing prior to 1870. For these reasons I see no reasons to belabor a point, that has been well established on page 10, thereby lengthening the report. The exact location of Bldg. No. 35 and the lot are shown on the 1869 map, page 2, of the report.

3. Page 8. The statement that the kitchen was added to the Master Armorer's House and later became Bldg. No. 34 (or part thereof) is based on footnote 18 on that page, and on the four maps listed on page 9, and included in the Appendixes of the report. Every one of those maps shows Bldg. No. 35 with a small annex at the rear, located on the present site of Bldg. No. 34.

4. Pages 5, 8, 9 and 14, "discrepancies" in the various dimensions given for Bldg. No. 35. The measurements for Bldg. No. 35 of 32 feet long are quoted from a document dated 1816, page 5. The measurement for Bldg. 35, 36 feet long, is quoted from an 1821 document, page 8. The measurement of 48 feet long for Bldg. 35 is based on actual measurement taken by the writer from the 1834-35 maps, page 9. The length of 33 feet is based on the modern measured drawing of the building, Drawing No. NMHF-3077. All of the various dimensions have been listed for the benefit of the Architects who will use this report in their study of the structure. I cannot pretend to resolve the differences in distance given for the same building, other than to state that the error undoubtedly lay with the various people who measured Bldg. No. 35 in the 1816-35 period.

5. Citing where photographs used may be readily found: A complete check list of every historical photograph showing Bldg. No. 34-35, and also where they may readily be found, is already included in the report on page 27 under the heading "HISTORICAL PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS."

6. General. Mr. Snell also wishes to state for the record that in his opinion, this report represents a particularly brilliant piece of research work in that the study has completely revolutionized the previously held concept of the appearance of these structures in 1859. Indeed the Architects strongly argued that the theories advanced in this report could not be so. However, after preliminary architectural investigation, following the leads provided by this report, the Architects uncovered a considerable amount of structural evidence that substantiates the theories that had been advanced on the basis of documentary evidence. It now appears, on the basis of the structural investigation, that the one story brick kitchen was demolished by McGraw about 1870 and that its foundations and much of its material, such as trim, window and door casings, and even windows and doors, were incorporated into Bldg. No. 34, which is locate din part on the site of the old kitchen. This Part II, in Mr. Snell's opinion, therefore, represents major contribution to the historical and architectural studies of the buildings in the Monument.

(SGD) FRANK H. ANDERSON

Frank H. Anderson
Superintendent

In quadruplet

HISTORIC BUILDING REPORT

PART II,

HISTORICAL DATA SECTION

BDLGS. NO. 34-35, 32, 33 and 34A

THE SAMUEL ANNIN HOUSE

Lot No. 3, Block B

Shenandoah Street

Harpers Ferry National Monument

Prepared by:

Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)
March 4, 1959
45 Pages
HF-56

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page No.
Chapter I	Ownership of the Land, 1796-1869.....	1
Chapter II	Construction of Bldg. No. 34-35 and Architectural Data.....	3
Chapter III	Use of Bldg. No. 34-35, 1812-1833.....	15
Chapter IV	Summary of Historical Evidence.....	27
Chapter V	Recommendations.....	32
Appendix I	1834 W&P RR Map of Harpers Ferry, Maps A and B.....	33
Appendix II	1835 W&P RR Map of Harpers Ferry.....	36
Appendix III	Map of Harpers Ferry, 1834 or 1835.....	38
Appendix IV	1878 List of Repairs and Statement by James McGraw in Regard to Bldg. 34-35.....	40

CHAPTER I

OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND, 1796 - 1869

Lot No. 3, Block B, Shenandoah Street, the site of Bldg. No. 34-35 and the subject of this report, is bounded on the east buy Lot No. 2, Block B, site of Bldg. No. 36; on the north by Shenandoah Street; on the west by Market Street; and on the south by the Winchester and Potomac Railroad. Lot No. 3 was a portion of the property purchased on June 15, 1796, by the United States Government from John Wager, Sr., for the purpose of establishing a Federal Armory at Harpers Ferry.[1] The lot remained the property of the United States and formed a part of the Harpers Ferry Armory from 1796 until 1869. Lot No. 3 was described in 1869 as follows:

"BLOCK B, ON SHENANDOAH.....

Lot No. 3, 88 feet front on Shenandoah street, 122 feet front on Market street, running back to embankment of Winchester and Potomac railroad, with it 106 feet to Lot No. 2, and with it 134 feet to Shenandoah street. Fine brick house and other buildings. The last three lots have an alley 10 feet wide along embankment of the railroad, from Washington [or High Street] to Market Street..."[2]

(See 1869 map of Harpers Ferry on the next page of this report for the location of Lot No. 3.)

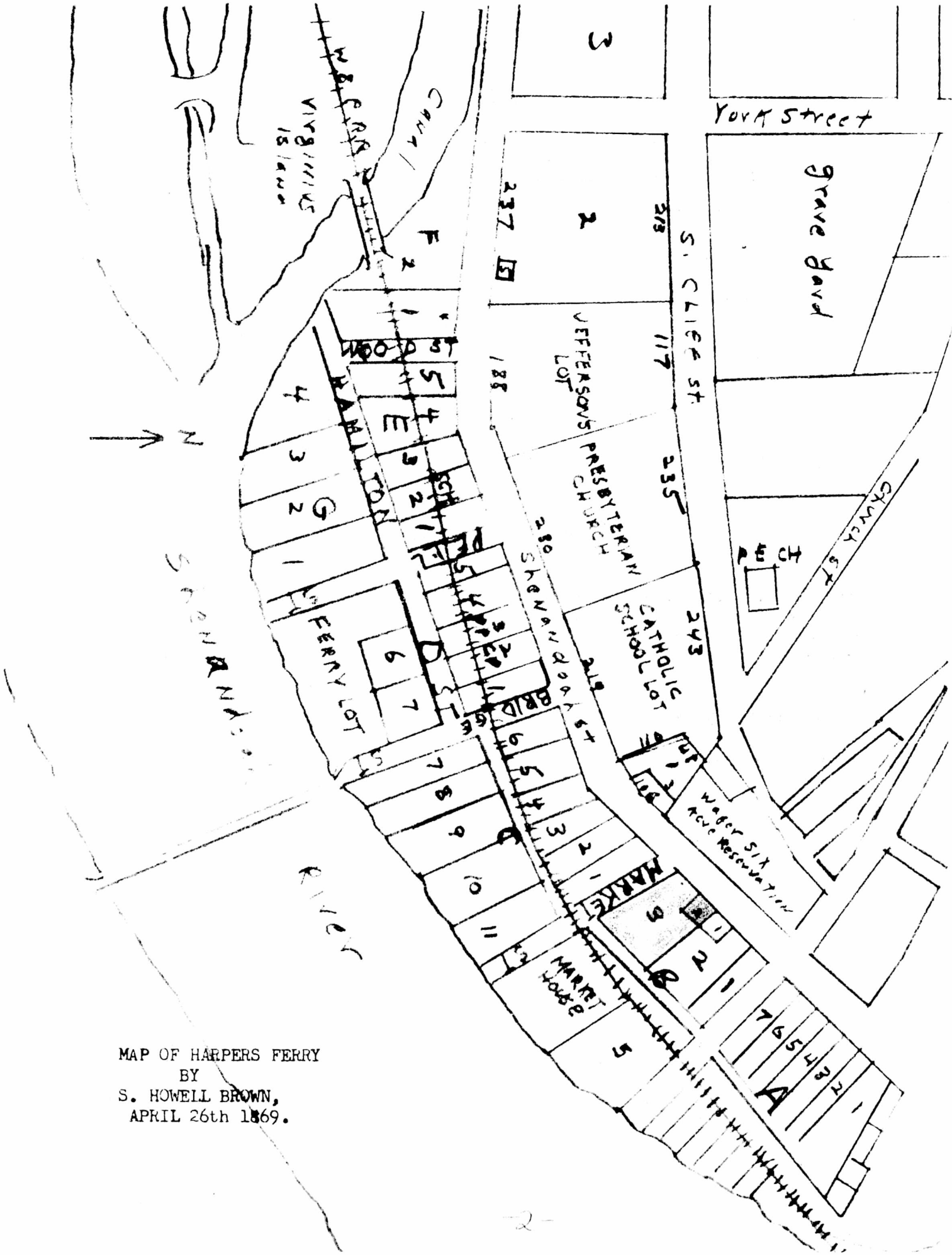
Lot No. 3 was purchased on December 6, 1869, by M. T. C. A. and James C. McGraw for $5,100.[3]

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1. Deed, June 15, 1796, Wager to U. S., National Archives, Reel 21, V.7, pp.704-708.

2. Catalogue of the Harper's Ferry Armory Property to be sold by the United States on the 30th November, 1869, at the Town of Harper's Ferry, Va., p.2.

3. Noffsinger, James P. "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, Contributions Towards a Physical History," November, 1958, p.136.



MAP OF HARPERS FERRY
BY
S. HOWELL BROWN,
APRIL 26th 1869.

CHAPTER II

CONSTRUCTION OF BLDG. NO. 34-35 AND ARCHITECTURAL DATA

On April 4, 1812, Samuel Annin, Paymaster and Military Storekeeper of the Harpers Ferry Armory, informed William Eustis, the Secretary of War:

"The bearer hereof Joseph S. Annin is desirous of opening a Druggists shop at this place. Will you be pleased, Sir, to grant him permission to erect a small brick building for the purpose in some convenient spot where it will not interfere with any of the public works. It appears necessary to have a store of this kind in a place like this, it would very frequently save the trouble & expense of sending a distance for a Physician. General Dearborn when Secretary of War granted me permission to procure for my son Doctor Annin (who then kept a Druggists shop) medicine for all the Armorers, chargeable to the United States. He has since removed to Battletown, 20 miles distant, and for a considerable time no medicine has been furnished them at the public expence. My son Joseph lived some years with his Brother and attended to the shop & therefore is acquainted with the business. It would be a very great accommodation to the Mechanics again to be furnished with medicine, and very useful to the neighbourhood generally. Be please, Sir, to take it into consideration, and I doubt not you will grant the request."[1]

On May 12, 1812, Secretary of War Eustis approved the request, writing: "You may authorize Mr. Joseph Annin to erect a small brick building for an Apothecaries' shop, provided it will not in any way interfere with the public works..."[2] From this, and evidence to be presented hereafter, it would appear that front portion of Bldg. No. 35, brick, 2½ stories high, and measuring about 23 feet by 34 feet, was erected by Joseph S. Annin in 1812 as a dwelling and apothecary shop.

Samuel Annin, who had served as the Paymaster of the Armory since 1800, retired on May 15, 1815, because "I find it impossible to discharge my duty as Paymaster & Store Keeper at this Post..."[3]

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1. Annin to Eustis, April 4, 1812, Reel 18, V.7, p.628.

2. Eustis to Annin, Reel 18, V.2, p.157; Reel 13, V.2, p.131.

3. Annin to Secretary of War, May 15, 1815, Reel 13, V.2, p.112.

From 1800 to May, 1815, while serving as Paymaster, Mr. Annin had resided in the Paymaster's House (see the 1834-35 maps) which was located on what was later known as Lot. No. 5, Block B, Shenandoah Street, in House No. 43. On resigning, Mr. Annin turned the Paymaster's House over to Superintendent James Stubblefield[4] and went to live with his son in Bldg. No. 35.

In February, 1815, Samuel Annin wrote in great heat to Major John Graham of the War Department, revealing considerable data about Bldg. No. 35:

"Not wishing to intrude on the honorable Secretary of War, I have taken the liberty of addressing you on a subject that immediately concerns myself and family--- A few days ago a Mr. Basil Williamson [who had leased and operated the Harpers Ferry Hotel, located Wager Lot No. 15, from the Wager family from 1803 to 1815] informed me that the Secretary of War had granted him <u>one acre of ground</u>--- By the records of the War Office it will appears that Dr. Eustis, when Secretary of War, did grant permission to Joseph S. Annin to erect a brick building on any lot that should not be wanted for public use, in consequence thereof he built a house on a lot which I now occupy, I have converted the lot into a garden. Mr. Williamson has made choice of <u>this lot</u> to build his Tavern house upon, and with the assistance of Major Beall [the new Paymaster of the Armory] and Mr. R. Humphreys, has actually laid off the ground, leaving only ___ feet south of the house, the porch at the west end (in order to have a covering over the steps that descended to the cellar kitchen) <u>they say must be taken down</u>, that WmSons house may be joined to this- the case has certainly been misrepresented to the Secretary, otherwise he surely would not given such a grant to a man that never has done <u>one single act</u> whereby the United States at this place has been benefitted, shy should he be accommodated with one whole acre and the Man that has devoted his whole time for 15 years, and to whose care, attention, and industry the prosperity & security of the establishment [The Armory] in a great measure has depended should not be accommodated with a small lot (not wanted for any public use) for a garden? I believe the Secretary to be a gentleman of too generous a mind to suffer (let alone sanction) such proceedings- lest silence on the occasion might be construed into an acquisience I have stated a few facts, and shall now rest satisfied in full assurance that the honble Secretary will permit me peaceably to enjoy the fruits of my Sons labor, as I no longer can enjoy the fruits of my own, Major Beall being in full possession of (what cost me immense labor, expence for many years to cultivate an extensive garden, and lot adorned with a variety of trees, fruits, &c., [that is, the Paymaster's House and Yard] which I relinquished without one cent being paid

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4. Ordnance Department to Stubblefield, June 26, 1815, Reel 14, V.1, p.63. Samuel Annin to Captain John Morton, Ordnance Office, July 7, 1815, Reel 21, V.1, p.76.

me by him, or any other person..."[5]

Four days later, Mr. Annin wrote again: "I recollect to have omitted filling the blank left for the number of feet left for a door yard, the blank should have been filled with 14 by 32...[6]

From the above letter it appears that the original kitchen in Bldg. No. 35 was located in the cellar and that the kitchen was entered by means of exterior stairs located at the west end of the house; the cellar steps were sheltered by means of a small porch. From Mr. Annin's remarks about being left with only a small yard measuring 14 feet by 32 feet in size on the south side of the house, it would appear that his brick house fronted about 32 feet on Shenandoah Street.

Due at least in part, no doubt, to Annin's protest, and also to objections of the powerful Wager family, who had no desire to see their former inn keeper set up a tavern on a Government Lot in competition with their Harpers Ferry Hotel, the proposed least of land to Williamson was cancelled by order of the Secretary of War on April 21, 1816;[7] thus Mr. Annin not only saved his garden but was spared a close neighbor. As events transpired, however, Williamson purchased another Government lease that had been granted to a Major Jamison and erected his tavern on a lot near the Armory on the Potomac River side.[8]

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5. Annin to Graham, February 8, 1816, Reel 13, V.2, p.127.

6. Annin to Graham, February 12, 1816, Reel 13, p.126.

7. Secretary of War Wm. H. Crawford to Major Lloyd Beall, April 22, 1816, Reel 16, V.1, p.95; Crawford to Beall, February 6, 1816, Reel 16, V.1, p.93. Beall to Crawford, February 13, 1816, Reel 13, V.2, pp.148-150.

8. Beall to Crawford, April 26, 1816, Reel 13, V.2, p.152; Stubblefield to Col. D. Wadsworth, September 19, 1818, Reel 14, V.2, p.163; Col. Bomford to Acting Superintendent R. Lee, April 30, 1827, Reel 14, V.6, p.514.

In March 1818, Superintendent Stubblefield informed Col. George Bomford:

"Mr. Annin is about to leave this place, will you be pleased to say, whether or no it would be advisable to purchase his son's House at a fair price. I am of opinion it would be better for the govt. to have it than for it to be owned and occupied by an individual..."[9]

The Ordnance Office, in response, asked "we wish to know under what circumstances it was built, if it does not form a part of his Security &c. & what has been the Cost thereof and its present value?"[10]

In answering these questions Mr. Stubblefield stated:

"I have understood from him [Mr. Annin] that Doctor Eustis, when Secretary of War gave his son the privilege of building of a house for the keeping a apothecaries shop which was thought would be an accommodation to the people of this place. Mr. Joseph Annin has been offered $2500 for it, but he wishes the Government to receive it, and credit his father's Acct. with the Amt., if that will not suit the Government, to receive the house these terms, he wishes to have the privilege of disposing of it to the best advantage for cash, which will be paid over to the Government, to his father's Credit, but Sir I would think it most adviseable for you to receive it, and not suffer it to pass into the hands of any other person, I am of the opinion that the house could not be built for much less than what he asks for it...."[11]

Mr. Samuel Annin apparently left Harpers Ferry in 1818 and there the matter lay as far as the Ordnance Department was concerned until 1819. In February of that year Mr. Annin again wrote to the Secretary of War on the matter of his "brick house" and another round of questions were issued to Superintendent Stubblefield on the subject.[12]

On March 20, 1819, Col. Wadsworth reported to the Secretary of War:

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9. Stubblefield to Bomford, Ordnance Department, March 16, 1818, Reel 21, V.3, p.231.

10. John Morton, Ordnance Department to Stubblefield, March 16, 1818, Reel 14, V.2, p.142.

11. Stubblefield to Bomford, March 23, 1818, Reel 21, V.3, p.234.

12. Col. Wadsworth, Ordnance Department, to Stubblefield, February 15, 1819, Reel 14, V.2, p.186.

"...Mr. Annin claims a Credit of $2500 being the estimated Value of a brick house built by his son on the public lands at Harpers Ferry by permission of the Sec. of War. There can be no objection I conceive to admit this Sum to his credit."[13]

This favorable recommendation would seem to close the matter, but such was not the case. Two years later, in October, 1821, Superintendent Stubblefield again notified the Ordnance Office:

"I enclose you a letter from Mr. Annin, late paymaster at this place to the Master Armorer respecting House which he now occupies. The House was built by Mr. Annin or his son, and on the settlement of his account with the Govt, as I suppose, there was an understanding that it ought be post to his credit at $2500, but he now comes forward and demands of Mr. Beckham [the Master Armorer] the possession of the House, stating that he has not received credit for it &c.

Will you be pleased to take the matter into consideration and inform me what shall be done."[14]

Lt. Col. Bomford answered on October 11, 1821, stating:

"...a letter has been addressed under this date, from this Department to Mr. Annin, acquainting that if, on an examination at the Treasury, it shall appear from his Accounts that he is justly entitled to be credited for the amount of the Cost of said House &c. and that the same has not yet been so admitted at the Treasury, it would be recommended from this Office that he be credited for that Amount in his general account with the United States. He has also been informed however, that even this admission to his credit will leave a Balance against him on the Books of the Treasury.

Under these circumstances and other considerations, I have it in direction, from the Secretary of War to direct that you keep possession of the House in question and maintain the same on the part of the United States."[15]

Mr. Annin was apparently credited with $2,500 as payment for the value of his house in 1821, as we find no further correspondence on the subject, and also because his name is not included in the "Statement of buildings erected

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13. Wadsworth to Secretary of War John Calhoun, March 20, 1819, Reel 19, V.12, pp.1182-1183.

14. Stubblefield to Co. Bomford, October 9, 1821, Reel 21, V.5, p.447. Italics mine.

15. Bomford to Stubblefield, october 11, 1821, Reel 14, V.3, p.288.

by private individuals on the government lands at Harper's Ferry, Virginia," dated February 23, 1829, which listed the names of all people having claims outstanding or acquired from 1822 to 1828.[16]

Thus probably in 1818 and certainly by 1821, Mr. Samuel Annin's house had been taken over by the United States Government and was being used as quarters for the Master Armorer.

We find this house described in the 1821 "Statement of the number and dimensions of the buildings at the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, together with the materials of which they are built, and their estimated value," as follows:

"One Dwelling House, 36 by 26 feet, two stories and a cellar. Built of Brick. Estimated Value: $2,500."[17]

In 1827 this building was enlarged by the following addition: "Building Kitchen for the Master Armorer's 20 by 22 feet, 1 story brick... $500."[18] This addition was a part of what is now Bldg. No. 34.

In 1833 the roofs of the Offices of the Paymaster, located on Lot No. 2, Block B, and of the Superintendent, located on Lot No. 1, Block A, in the vicinity of the two Arsenals were slated to lessen the danger of fire. It is therefore probable that the roof of Bldg. No. 35 was also slated about this time.[19]

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16. Reel 17, V.3, pp.234-237.

17. Reel 17, V.3, p.204.

18. Entry 935, National Armory Accounts, 1795-1831. War Department Ordnance, National Archives R.G.156, 1827.

19. See Smith, Philip R., Jr., "A History of the Arsenal Tract, 1796-1869," dated December 19, 1958, pp.18, 20.

Four maps showing the Mater Armorer's House (Bldg. No. 34-35) and yard in the 1834-35 period will be found in Appendixes I to III of this report. These maps give Bldg. No. 35 dimensions of 48 feet by 28 feet, and the kitchen (Bldg. No. 34) is shown as being 22 by 18 feet in size. In both cases the figures must be regarded as only approximate. In the rear of the Master Armorer's House is to be seen a small outbuilding 16 by 14 feet in size, which was possibly a smoke house and may be Bldg. No. 34A. The other building just beyond it was probably a privy and may be Bldg. 36A. At the rear of the yard, adjacent to the Winchester and Potomac Railroad right of way and fronting on Globe Inn Alley, is Bldg. No. 3, which was described by the engineers on August 12, 1834, as "No. 3 carriage-house and stable of Master Armorer, value $150; can be removed [to permit construction of the railroad]," thus indicating that this was probably a frame building.[20]

Bldg. No. 34-35 is described on the 1848-51 list of Government Dwelling Houses as "Dwelling House No. 2, Brick, two story, slate roof, located on Shenandoah Street," and valued both in 1848 and 1851 at $2,700 and placed in Class No. 1.[21]

In the annual report for the year July 1, 1850-June 30, 1851, Superintendent Symington reported: "Two coats of patent paint, in oil, have been applied to the exterior walls of...also to the Commanding Officer's, Pay Master's and Master Armorer's Quarters. Lightening Rods have also been attached

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20. Reel 17, V.4, p.272.

21. "List of dwelling houses belonging to the United States at Harpers Ferry, 30th June 1848," Reel 18, V.12, p.1185; "List of Dwelling Houses belonging to the United States at Harpers Ferry, December 31, 1850," Photostatic Collection Map Case, Drawer No. 4; "List of Dwelling Houses at Harpers Ferry, Per Inventory 30 June 1851," Reel 18, V.12, p.1177.

to all these buildings.[22]

Col. Henry K. Craig, Chief of Ordnance, directed Major W. H. Bell, Superintendent of the Armory, to make "such repairs on the house recently occupied by Mr. Burton [James H. Burton, the new Master Armorer], as are necessary to fit it for the new Master Armorer..."[23]

Thus in the Annual report of operations for the year July 1, 1853, to June 30, 1854, Major Bell reported:

"Master Armorer's Quarters, also the five buildings occupied by the Clerks, have been generally repaired, painted and plastered."[24]

As has already been mentioned, M. T. C. A. and James C. McGraw purchased Bldg. No. 34-35 in 1869. On December 1, 1879, Jesse W. Graham submitted the following description of the building as it had appeared in 1869, when McGraw purchased it:[25]

"On this 1st day of December 1879 personally came Jesse W. Graham before me Wm. H. Moore, a Justice of the Peace in and for said County and State, and being by me duly sworn according to law deposes and says, that he had lived at Harpers Ferry since 1850 excepting a part of the time of the War of 1861, that he was employed in the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry before the war, and is a practical mechanic. That he has carefully examined the House and lot bid off at the sale of the U. S. Armory property by M.T. C. A. and James McGraw and he finds the condition of the House would be as follows <u>without</u> the improvements of their Father, James McGraw: viz, no pavement in front of the building or shade trees, both ends and one side wall badly cracked, a badly broken slate roof, that would make the house untenable. Floors sunken, and without the Brick Pillars put in by Mr. McGraw to support the floors, it would have fallen in long ago. There was no outbuildings except a small and badly damaged one story kitchen [Bldg. No. 34], without floor or windows, and in fact to my own knowledge Mr. McGraw's children bought a House that was

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22. Report of Operations, October 28, 1851, Reel 20, V.1, p.92.

23. Craig to Bell, April 10, 1854, Reel 19, V.7, p.623.

24. Report of Operations, dated October 24, 1854, Reel 20, V.2, p.185.

25. National Archives Record Group 121, Public Buildings Service, Harpers Ferry Abatment Cases under the Act of June 14, 1878, Box No. 388.

condemned by United States ten years before. Major Byington (Supt. of the Armory) [actually Master Armorer and an Acting Superintendent] stated to me while he lived in the House about 1858 or 1859, that he was fearful that it would fall in whenever he went in the upper part of it. And had Mr. McGraw not put in about $1800 worth of repairs, the house would have probably fallen in long ago, with Mr. McGraws improvements the property would be high at seven hundred dollars.

The lot is worth-as shown by recent cash sales on the same street, and within four doors of it, also on the same side of the street- $1.76 per front foot, and in my judgment no more, in 1869 it was not more valuable, but the hope of improvements through the water power excited out people until they bid fabulous prices for the property, underwent was really far from the true condition of affairs. The repairs Mr. McGraw put on the House alone, as above stated, and 2,000 dollars worth of new outbuildings and fencing, makes the property look quite valuable, but in its exposed condition from the floors, and from its liability to be bodily swepted away, as the fencing & outbuildings & coal and other goods were either damaged or entirely swepted away from the property in 1870 and 1877, few people would care to pay more for the property than the amount I have named and take the risk of loosing so heavily. Mr. McGraw has had a large portion of the House replastered this summer, and built a new corn Houses, and large Ware Room for coal, goods, etc, in the yard besides, so steadily improving the purchases, but without his improvements the building bought by his children was not worth over $450, and that is a high estimate for the material in it, as the true Value of the Building at the Time of the purchase was the value of the material in it, it being condemned by the U. S. as unfit for use.

Jessie W. Graham."[26]

On August 6, 1878, Maggie T. McGraw, Katie A. McGraw and James C. McGraw submitted a sworn statement to the Solicitor of the Treasury listing the following repairs and improvements to the property:

"Roofing, Flooring, Fencing, Pavements, cistern, Brick support in cellar for house, stable, ice House, Sewer in yard, and painting,"

Total improvements amounting to $1601.32. They also stated that a "Mrs. Kirby occupied the property until the spring of 1870, and since that time we have occupied it with the exception of 5 or 6 months."[27]

In Appendix IV will be found a long itemized list of repairs made by the

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26. National Archives Record 121, Public Buildings Service. Harpers Ferry Abatment Cases under Act of June 14, 1878, Box No. 388.

27. Ibid.

McGraws to Bldgs. No. 34-35, 1870-1878, and a statement made by James McGraw regarding the property.[28]

From the above evidence it is clear that all original outbuildings, fencing, pavements and trees located on Lot No. 3, Block B, Shenandoah Street, were swept away by the 1870 and 1877 floods. It therefore follows that present Bldg. No. 32, 33 and 34-A must all be non-historic structures that were erected by James McGraw after 1870. The same holds true for the present pavement in front of Bldgs. No. 33, 34-35 and the present stone wall that extends along the lot line between Lots No. 2 and 3, running from rear of Bldg. No. 35 to the Winchester and Potomac Railroad tracks. Photograph HF-141 indicates that there were two shade trees located in front of Bldg. No. 35 in 1865 and that the sidewalk was also paved at that date. Original fencing on the lot apparently consisted of a wooden picket fence that was carried off by the floods The original outbuildings on the lot probably consisted of Bldg. No. 36A, one story brick privy, a small brick smoke house, and one and a half story frame stable, the latter building probably fronted on Market Street. The original stable was probably the building shown on the 1834-35 maps, measuring approximately 16 feet by 20 feet in size, moved slightly further north from its original location in the right of way of the railroad.

Evidence to be presented in the following chapters of this report also indicates that all of the original outbuildings for Bldg. No. 34-35 were being used in the 1859-61 period by the occupants of Bldg. No. 36. This being the case, there were, therefore, probably no fences in the 1859-61 period dividing

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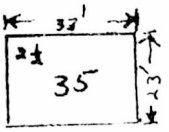
28. National Archives Record 121, Public Buildings Service. Harpers Ferry Abatment Cases under Act of June 14, 1878, Box No. 388.

Lot No. 2 from Lot No. 3.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from the 1878 evidence, however, would appear to be that Bldg. No. 34, before 1865, was only a one story brick building, the 20 by 22 foot kitchen erected in 1827. The roof and a rear chimney of Bldg. No. 34 is to be seen in the 1865 Photograph HF-361. The larger portion of Bldg. No. 34 as it stands today, an 18 by 39 foot 3½ story brick and stone structure, is therefore non-historic, having been erected after 1869.

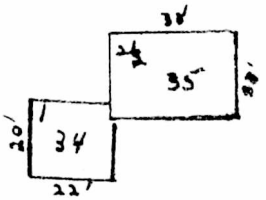
On the following page we present a drawing that indicates, in our opinion, the various stages in construction of Bldgs. No. 34-35.

1/. BLDG. NO.35, 1812-1827



2½ story brick house, as erected by Joseph S. Annin. 33 by 23 feet.

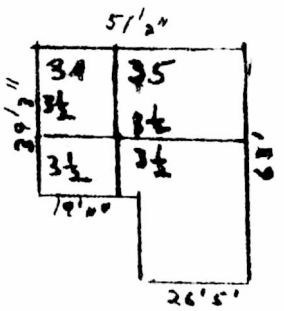
2. BLDG. NO. 34-35, 1827 to 1869



Bldg. No.35 a 2½ story brick house, 33 by 23 feet. Slate roof.

Bldg. No.34, a one story brick kitchen, 20 by 22 feet, slate roof. Added to Bldg. No.35 in 1827.

3. BLDG. NO. 34-35, 1870's to 1959



3½ stories brick and stone structures.

Bldg. No.34 much enlarged.

Before 1861

After 1869

CHAPTER III

USE OF BLDG. NO. 34-35, 1812 - 1933

1. 1812-1818, Dwelling and Drug Store

Bldg. No. 35 was erected by Joseph Annin, the son of Paymaster Samuel Annin, as an apothecary shop and dwelling house in 1812 and as such it was used from 1812 to 1818. On retiring from his position as Paymaster of the Armory on May 15, 1815, Samuel Annin also resided from that date until some time in 1818 in Bldg. No. 34-35. The Annins left Harpers Ferry in 1818 and at that time their house was taken over by the Armory for use as a Government Dwelling House. Probably in 1818 and certainly in 1821 Bldg. No. 35 had become the quarters of the Master Armorer of the Armory. Prior to occupying Bldg. No. 34-35, the Master Armorers had been living in a one story frame house, 25 feet by 14 feet in size, that had been located on Camp Hill.[1]

2. 1818-1858, Master Armorer's House

Bldg. No. 34-35 was thus occupied by the following Master Armorers and their families from 1818 to 1858:

1. 1818 to May 14, 1830, Master Armorer Armstead Beckham, (Mr. Beckham served as Master Armorer at Harpers Ferry from December 13, 1815, to May 14, 1830.)[2]

(Note: The early Master Armorers, 1798-1815, were as follows: 1798-1801,

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1. Public buildings at Harper's Ferry Virginia, 1st January 1810. Bldg. No. 22, Harpers Ferry Photostatic Collection. Map Case, Drawer No. 9; also Stubblefield to Secretary of War Wm. Eustis, April 7, 1810, Reel 18, V.5, p.419.

2. Beckham to Secretary of War, December 13, 1815, accepting appointment, Reel 21, V.1, p.89. Lt. Col. George Bomford to Beckham, May 14, 1830, Reel 14, V.8, p.734.

Thomas Annely;[3] 1801-1808, Charles Williams;[4] 1808-1811, Marine T. Wickham;[5] April,1811-September, 1815, George Mallory.[6]) *1815-1830 Armistead Beckham.*

2. May 14, 1830 to November 10, 1849, Benjamin Moor.[7] Mr. Moor was allowed to retain his quarters in Bldg. No. 34-35 until the spring of 1850.[8]

3. November, 1849, to March 16, 1854. James H. Burton.[9] By June, 1850, Mr. Burton had occupied Bldg. No. 34-35 as his free quarters.[10] The house was painted on the exterior at this time. On leaving the Armory in 1854, Mr. Burton then became Superintendent of the Enfield Arsenal in Great Britain.

4. March 16, 1854, to October 29, 1858. Mr. Samuel Byington.[11] From August 16, 1854, to January 17, 1855, Master Armorer Byington also served as the Acting Superintendent of the Harpers Ferry Armory.[12] Bldg. No. 34-35 was repaired,

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3. Secretary of War to Superintendent Joseph Perkins, May 20, 1801, Reel 18, V.1, p.14.

4. Ibid., Secretary of War to Stubblefield, June 6, 1808, Reel 18, V.1, p.40

5. Secretary of War to Stubblefield, November 9, 1808, Reel 18, V.1, p.88.

6. Col. Bomford to Secretary of War L. Cass, July 2, 1836, Reel 19, V.14, p.1329.

7. Lt. Col. Bomford to Beckham, May 14, 1830, Reel 14, V.8, p.734; Brig. Genl. George Talcott, Chief of Ordnance to Superintendent Symington, November 10, 1849, Reel 19, V.5, p.411; see also House No. 2-List of Dwelling Houses, June 30, 1848, Reel 16, V.12, p.1185.

8. Talcott to Symington, February 1, 1850, Reel 19, V.5, p.411; also Symington to Talcott, February 4, 1850, Reel 24, V.1, p.99.

9. Talcott to Secretary of War, November 9, 1849, Reel 20, V.1, p.56; Col. H. K. Craig to Superintendent W. H. Bell, March 16, 1854, Reel 19, V.7, p.617.

10. House No. 2, List of Dwelling Houses, December 31, 1850; also List of Dwelling Houses, 30 June 1851, Reel 18, V.12, p.1177.

11. Col. Craig to Superintendent Bell, March 16, 1854; Reel 19, V.7, p.617; Col. Craig to Superintendent Henry W. Clowe, October 29, 1858, Reel 19, V.10 p.995.

painted and plastered in 1854 for the use of Mr. Byington. In May, 1855, Mr. Byington applied for and received permission to have a garden located on Camp Hill near the Commanding Officer's or Paymaster's Quarters.[13] Mr. Samuel Byington, as we shall see, was the last of the Master Armorers to reside in Bldg. No. 34-35.

(Note: The other Master Armorers for the 1858 to 1861 period were as follows: October 29, 1858, to October 8, 1859, Benjamin Mills.[14] November 3, 1859, to outbreak of Civil War, April, 1861, A. M. Ball.[15])

3. Plans for a New House for the Master Armorer, 1852-1858

The Master Armorer's yard, as it was situated in relation to other buildings located on the Arsenal Tract, may be seen by glancing at the 1848 map of Harpers Ferry, which appears on the next page of this report.

A board of officers met at Harpers Ferry in September, 1851, to consider and recommend plans to the Secretary of War for the sale of Surplus Government lots and houses of the Armory. In relation to Bldg. No. 34-35, the board recommended:

"The Master Armorer and Clerks now occupy houses on ground which should be sold; these houses should be reserved from the sale until suitable ones are erected for their use. All other dwellings should be removed from the land reserved..."

This recommendation was approved by the Secretary of War on June 10, 1852.[16] As a result of this decision, the Arsenal Tract was laid out into

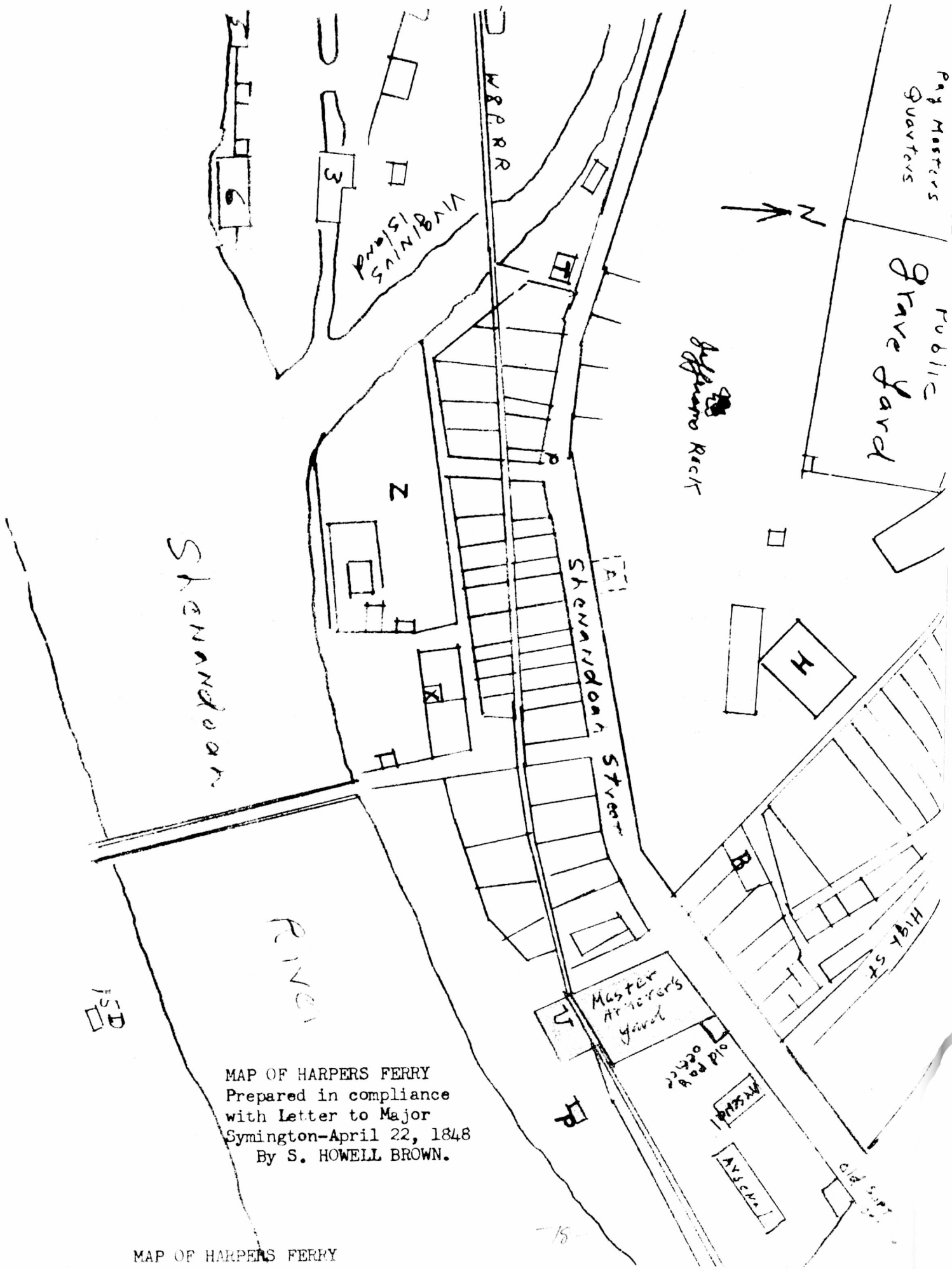
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12. Byington to Col. Craig, August 16, 1854, Reel 25, V.2, p.128; Superintendent Clowe to Col. Craig, January 17, 1855, Reel 25, V.4, p.372.

13. Col. H. K. Craig to Supt. Clowe, May 1, 1855, Reel 19, V.8, p.746; Clowe to Craig, May 3, 1855, Reel 25, V.5, p.486.

14. Craig to Clowe, October 29, 1858, Reel 19, V.10, p.995; Mills to Secretary of War Floyd, October 8, 1859, Reel 27, V.6, p.542.

15. Superintendent Alfred M. Barbour to Col. Craig, November 3, 1859, Reel 27, V.5, p.411; Col. Craig to Secretary of War J. Holt, February 14, 1861, Reel 20, V.4, p.347.



MAP OF HARPERS FERRY
Prepared in compliance
with Letter to Major
Symington-April 22, 1848
By S. HOWELL BROWN.

MAP OF HARPERS FERRY

two blocks, but not offered for sale in 1852. Bldg. No. 34-35 and the Master Armorer's lot was described in 1852 as follows:

"BLOCK B, ON SHENANDOAH....

Lot No. 4- 97 feet front on Shenandoah St., 140 feet deep to Alley [along line with Lot No. 3] - 124 feet on Alley, and from Alley 122 feet on Market St. to Shenandoah St. Dwelling No. 2-Master Armorer."[17]

(See Brown's 1852 Map of Harpers Ferry on next page of this report.)

Following the sale of Government land, which was held on August 31 and September 1 and 2, 1852, Superintendent Benjamin Huger recommended to Col. H. K. Craig, Chief of Ordnance, on October 15, 1852:

"I now recommend that the amount received from the sale of part of the public property here, may be taken up, under the appropriation of repairs and applied to improving the part retained by the U. S.

I would propose to apply these funds 1st to building quarters on the blocks reserved for the purpose, for the Officers of the Armory, (Master Armorer & Clerks).

The buildings now occupied by these are on lots to be sold. As they are entitled to quarters, these cannot be sold until others are built.

New quarters should be erected & the sale of the lots and houses now occupied by these Officers would replace the amount so used..."[18]

This suggestion to use funds from the 1852 sale in this manner was disapproved by the Secretary of War on the grounds that Congress had not appropriated funds to be spent for these purposes.[19] These plans for new quarters

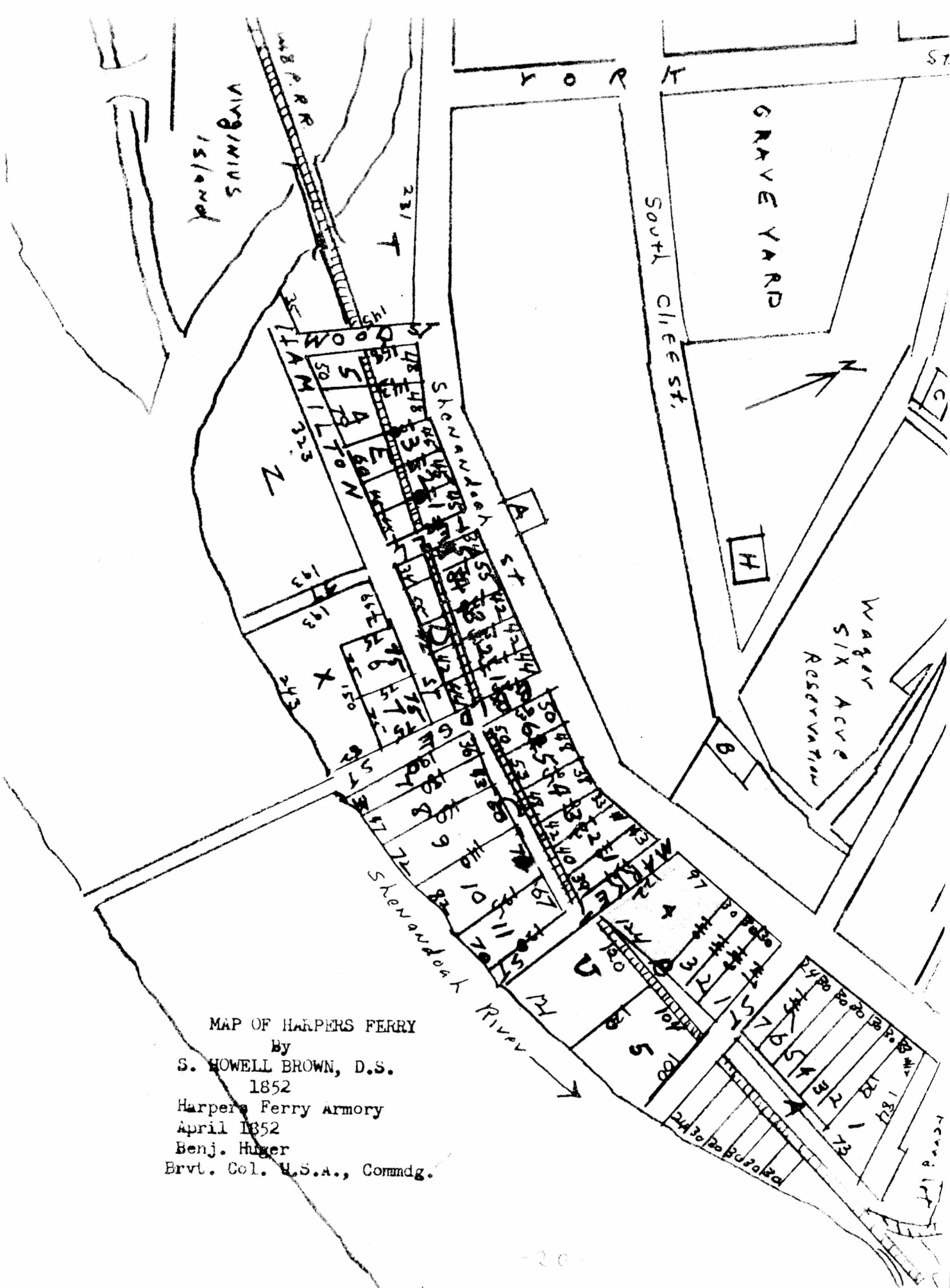
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16. Report of a Board of Officers, dated September 24, 1851, approved by Secretary of War C. M. Conrad, June 10, 1852, Reel 24, V.8, pp.802-806.

17. Legend Exhibiting the Corresponding Numbers of the Houses, as per the Inventory of the 30th June, 1852, with the Lots of Land as per Brown's Map of the same, Where Correspondence Exists, and in other cases, an Approximation. Photostatic Collection, Map Case, Drawer No. 3, Map No. 82.

18. Huger to Craig, October 15, 1852, Reel 24, V.8, pp.777-778.

19. Craig to Huger, November 13, 1852, Reel 19, V.6, pp.545-546.


B&O R.R.
WINCHESTER
231
T
O
R
GRAVE YARD
South Cliff St.
WOOD
HAMILTON
Shenandoah St.
Water
Six Acre
Reservation
Shenandoah River
MAP OF HARPERS FERRY
By
S. HOWELL BROWN, D.S.
1852
Harpers Ferry Armory
April 1852
Benj. Huger
Brvt. Col. U.S.A., Commdg.

were therefore shelved for four years because of the lack of funds to execute them.

On April 23, 1856, a joint resolution was passed by Congress authorizing the Secretary of War to apply the proceeds of the 1852 sale of lots at Harpers Ferry to the improvement of the public property at that place.[20] On June 28, 1856, Col. Craig therefore informed Superintendent Henry W. Clowe that a total of $36,606.70 had been made available from the proceeds of the 1852 sale to be spent on permanent improvements at the Harpers Ferry Armory. From this total, $16,000 was allotted for the "erection of three quarters."[21]

Thus in 1858-1859, present Bldg. No. 36 was erected as the new quarters for the Master Armorer and located on a lot adjoining Bldg. No. 34-35.[22] The erection of Bldg. No. 36 resulted in a reduction in size of the lot for Bldg. No. 34-35 as described in 1852, in order to create a yard for Bldg. No. 36. Thus in 1869 the lot for Bldg. No. 34-35 was reduced from a 97 foot frontage on Shenandoah Street to an 88 foot frontage on the same street. (See 1869 Cat., page 1 of this report.)

On October 29, 1858, Mr. Samuel Byington, Master Armorer since 1854, resigned and was replaced by Benjamin Mills. Mr. Byington vacated Bldg. No. 34-35 at this time and the house was then occupied by John E. Daingerfield,

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20. Secretary of War to Secretary of Treasury, May 7, 1856, Reel 26, V.5, p.466. Secretary of Treasury to Secretary of War, May 10, 1856, Reel 26, V.5, p.464.

21. Craig to Clowe, June 28, 1856, Reel 19, V.9, p.871. For full story of 1852 sale, etc., see Snell, Charles W., "A Comprehensive History of the Construction, Maintenance and Numbers of Armory Dwelling Houses, 1796-1869," revised January 13, 1959, Chapter VIII.

22. Kissling, Herbert H., "Historic Building Report, Part I, for Bldg. No. 36, Master Armorer's New Quarters," revised January 22, 1958, pp.7-8.

the Paymaster's Clerk, in November, 1858. Superintendent Henry W. Clowe reported on this situation as follows:

"...I also acquiesced in the arrangements made by Mr. Mills and Mr. Daingerfield, to exchange their quarters. The arrangement was very decidedly and exceedingly agreeable to both parties, and has been accomplished by the removal of Mr. Daingerfield to the old Quarters [Bldg. No. 34-35] of the Master Armorer, until the new house [Bldg. No. 36] is finished, and the occupation by Mr. Mills, of those on the Hill..."[23]

Mr. Daingerfield, under this agreement, was to live in Bldg. No. 34-35 until the new quarters, Bldg. No. 36, were completed; he was then to move into the new house.

On July 16, 1859, Superintendent Alfred M. Barbour therefore informed the Chief of Ordnance, Col. Craig:

"The new quarters [Bldg. No. 36], built for the Master Armorer, on the Arsenal Lot, on Shenandoah St., and now by the decision of the Hon. Sec.'y of War, occupied by W. Dangerfield, Paymaster Clerk, rather than the present M. Armorer, who occupied the Quarters on the [Camp Hill], are finished and thus occupied.

The old house [Bldg. No. 34-35] is on the same lot, and very near to one of its [Bldg. No. 36's] gables, and is quite in a dilapidated condition. The outhouses attached to the old house, are wanted for the use of the new one; if the old house is retained, new outhouses will have to be built for the new house, and for these, there is not sufficient space upon the lot, without materially marring the appearance and enjoyment of the grounds. Besides the materials in the old house can be very profitably employed in the construction of outhouses for the new Quarters on the Hill, where they are much wanted, and will soon be needed for that purpose.

I therefore recommend the pulling down of this house [Bldg. No. 34-35], and the saving of the materials, as above named."[24]

Bldg. 34-35 was therefore vacant in July of 1959 and Capt. William Maynadier, of the Ordnance Department, replied to Superintendent Barbour's request, remarking:

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23. Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.87, Clowe to Col. Craig, November 26, 1858.

24. Barbour to Craig, July 16, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.90A.

"...it would have been well to have brought it [the poor condition of Bldg. No. 34-35] to the notice of Col. Ripley at his late inspection of your Armory. But before taking any action on the subject in this Office I wish you to state why it was not submitted to the Inspector, and, as far as you may know, to state the reasons for placing the new Quarters [Bldg. No. 36] so contiguous to the old, as to render the pulling down of the old advisable- A 'Brick house of 2 Stories slate roof' and ever since 1845 reported in the first class of Armory dwelling houses'?"[25]

Mr. Barbour answered these questions on July 20, 1859, stating in part:

"...The building [No. 36] was so commenced long before I had charge of the Armory, and I am hence wholly unable, as you request, to state the reasons why it was placed so contiguous to the old quarters, and utterly unconscious that the matter was an open one, for so long a time I did not for a moment deem it necessary to invite Col. Ripley's attention to it.

By reference to the report of the Board of Office, dated 24th Sept., 1851, it was recommended that all buildings on reserved ground should be pulled down; this was one of them.

I have examined this matter closely, and am satisfied that it is entirely proper to remove the old building for many reasons- although it seems to have been borne on the Inventory as a first class house, its value as a dwelling was egregiously exaggerated on the Books, as is self-evident."[26]

Superintendent's Barbour's letter was apparently ignored by the Ordnance Department, for he returned to the attack on September 5, 1859, writing:

"Permit me to invite yr. attention to my letter of the 20th July last, on the subject of removing the brick building formerly occupied by the Master Armorer, and contiguous to the new Quarters, on the same lot.

An early decision on the subject is very desirable."[27]

Mr. Barbour's wish was granted, in part-a prompt reply-and on September 7, 1859, Col. Craig, Chief of Ordnance, informed him:

"...upon a full examination, it appears-there is no authority for pulling down or removing said house [the Master Armorers old quarters]. It will, therefore have to remain, as it is, until the attention of the Secretary of War shall have been called to the subject and has decision been given; which

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25. Maynadier to Barbour, July 18, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.91.

26. Barbour to Col. Craig, July 20, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.3, pp.92-93.

27. Barbour to Col. Craig, September 5, 1859, Reel 27, V.4, p.331.

will be communicated to you without delay."[28]

Thus at the time of the John Brown Raid in October, 1859, Bldg. No. 34-35 stood vacant. Permission to tear down the house was never granted by the Secretary of War and the building therefore still stands.

As a result of the John Brown Raid, Superintendent Barbour requested on October 24, that force of regulars of the United States Army be stationed at Harpers Ferry to protect the Armory.[29] This request was approved by the Secretary of War; and the troops arrived in November, 1859. On November 8, 1859, George Mauzy informed James H. Burton, former Master Armorer and then Superintendent of the Enfield Arsenal, "Your old quarters [Bldg. No. 34-35] are now used as a recruiting station by Capt. Burton, there is a Co. of Soldiers, who were sent here from Govs. Island to protect Government property..."[30]

Bldg. No. 34-35 was therefore probably used for this purpose until April 5, 1860, when Captain Barton's company was withdrawn from Harper's Ferry.[31] There is no record of use for the building from April, 1860, to February, 1861, and it is probable that the house was vacant. In February, 1861, regular army troops were again stationed at the Armory and it is possible that Bldg. No. 34-35 was again used to quarter the officers and also to serve as an office or recruiting station, although no direct evidence has been found relating

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28. Craig to Barbour, September 7, 1859, Reel 19, V.11, p.1058.

29. Barbour to Craig, October 24, 1859, Reel 27, V.4, p.396; Craig to Secretary of War J. B. Floyd, October 25, 1859, p.556.

30. Mauzy to Burton, November 8, 1859, Copied by C. W. Snell, from MS letters in possession of Mrs. Kenneth Gimsberg, Md. Italics Mine.

31. Barbour to Craig, April 4, 1860, Reel 27, V.7, p.691; also Mauzy to Burton, April 5, 1860; Virginia Free Press, April 19, 1860, p.2, c.1.

to Bldg. No. 34-35.[32] The troops remained at Harpers Ferry until April 19, 1861, when on the approach of Confederate forces, the small garrison fired the arsenals and withdrew across the Potomac.

On July 27, 1865, Brigadier General Edward D. Ramsay made a detailed inspection and report of the buildings and stores at Harpers Ferry. He described Bldg. No. 34-35 as follows:

"Dwelling House No. 2- two story, brick, located on Shenandoah Street. In fair condition and occupied as quarters for Officers."[33]

Use of Bldgs. No. 34-35, 1866-1933

Following the Civil War, Bldgs. No. 34-35 and Lot No. 3 were offered for sale by the United States in 1869 and purchased by M. T. C. A. and James McGraw. The building was apparently rented during the 1866-1869 period by a Mrs. Kirby as a dwelling house.[34] From the spring of 1870 to 1878, the structures were next occupied by the owners and much improved and enlarged, being converted to use as a store.[35]

By November, 1894, Bldgs. No. 34-35 had assumed their present sizes and both were 3½ story buildings. Bldg. No. 34 was being used in 1894 as a post office and Bldg. No. 35 as a dry goods store. Bldg. No. 33 is shown as a 3 story stone building and was being utilized as a hardware store. Bldg. No. 32 is delineated as a two story stone structure and was being used as a beer

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32. Master Armorer Ball to ordnance Department, February, 1861, Reel 27, V.11, p.1057.

33. Ramsay to Brig. Genl. A. B. Dyer, Chief of Ordnance, July 27, 1865. National Archives R.G. 156, Harpers Ferry Photostatic Collection, Map Case, Drawer No. 10.

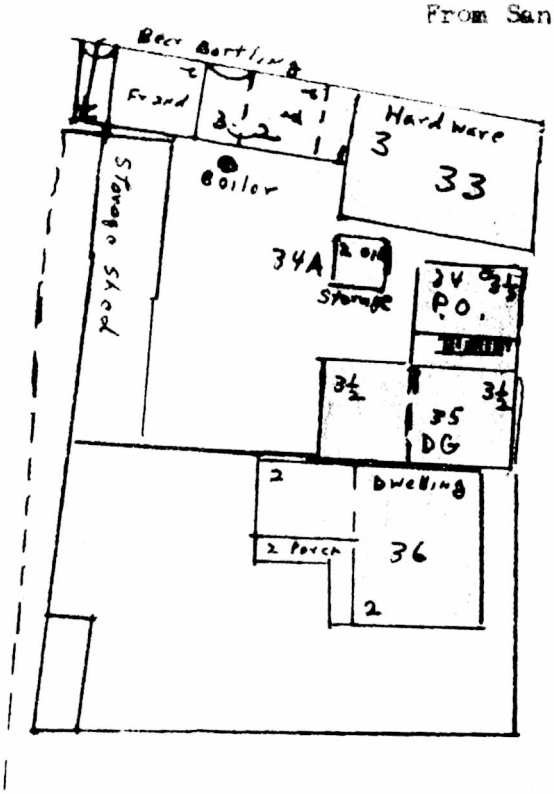
34. National Archives R.G.121, Box No. 388, August 6, 1878, McGraws to Solicitor of Treasury.

35. See Appendix IV.

bottling plant. Bldg. No. 34-A is shown as a two story brick structure and is listed as being used for oil storage.[36]

In September, 1907, Bldgs. No. 34-35 contained a general store. Bldg. No. 34-A is listed as a "stge. Ho." Bldg. No. 33 contained a Pool Room and residence and Bldg. No. 32 was vacant.[37]

By 1913 the property was owned by Wm. and M.E. Doran and Bldgs. No. 32, 33, and 34-35 are listed as containing stores.[38] In 1933 Bldg. No. 33 is listed as containing a store and Bldg. No. 34-35, two stores.[39]



From Sanborn-Perris Map of Harper's Ferry, W. Va., November 1894

Scale: 1 inch equals 50 feet.

---

36. Sanborn-Perris Map of Harpers Ferry, November, 1894.

37. Sanborn Map of Harpers Ferry, September, 1907.

38. 1913 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map of Harpers Ferry.

39. Sanborn 1933 Survey of Harpers Ferry, Drawing No. NM-HF-2004, sheet 1 of 1.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

1. HISTORICAL PLANS OF BLDGS.

A careful search of thousands of pages of documents in the National Archives has failed to turn up any plans relating to Bldg. No. 34-35 and it is therefore highly unlikely that any such plans will ever be located. Modern measured Drawings of Bldg. No. 34-35 will be found in Drawing No. NMHF-3007.

2. HISTORICAL PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Historical prints and photographs showing Bldgs. No. 34-35 will be found in the following reports that have already been submitted:

1. 1865 print, Photograph HF-141, by A. R. Waud, in Kissling, Herbert H., "Historic Building Report, Part I, for Bldgs. No. 34-35, 32 and 34A," dated January 22, 1958, page 20. (Bldg. No. 35)

2. 1865 original sketch of HF-141, Photograph HF-224, by A. R. Waud, in Snell, Charles W., "Historic Building Report, Part I, for Bldg. No. 10 and 10-A, the John C. Unseld Buildings," dated May 28, 1958, page 37, (Bldg. No. 35).

3. 1865-1869 photograph, HF-361, in Snell, C. W., "Historic Building Site Survey Report, History of Lots No. 1 to 11, Block C, Shenandoah Street, 1796 to 1865," dated January 23, 1959, p.112. This is the only photograph that shows Bldg. No. 34 before it was enlarged. Also visible is a one story smoke house or privy in the rear of Bldg. No. 34 and the roof and west chimney of Bldg. No. 35.

4. 1892-1894 photograph, HF-99, in Snell, C. W., "History of Block C, Shenandoah Street," page 116. Excellent view of rear of Bldgs. No. 32, 33, 34-35, and 34A after the structures had been altered.

3. SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL DATA

A. Ownership of the Land

Lot No. 3, Block B, Shenandoah Street was owned by the United States Government from 1796 to 1869. In May, 1812, the lot was leased to Joseph S. Annin, the son of Paymaster Samuel Annin, for the purpose of erecting an apothecary shop. Joseph Annin thus held a lease to this lot from 1812 to 1818. In october, 1821, the United States Government settled all of Mr. Annin's claims to the house he had erected on the leased lot for $2500 and thus regained full control of the property.

B. Construction of Bldgs. No. 34-35

Bldg. No. 35 was erected in 1812 by Joseph S. Annin as a dwelling house and apothecary shop. The house, a 2½ story brick building, fronted 33 feet on Shenandoah Street and was about 23 feet deep. The original roof was probably composed of wooden shingles. The original kitchen was located in the cellar of the house and was entered by means of an exterior stairway located at the west end of the building. These steps were sheltered by means of a small porch on the west end. Bldg. No. 35 was valued at $2,500 in 1821.

Bldg. 34 was erected by the Armory in 1827 at a cost of $500 as a one story brick kitchen for Bldg. No. 35. The kitchen measured 20 by 22 feet in size. Either at this date or perhaps in 1833, and certainly by 1845, Bldgs. No. 34-35 were covered with a slate roof.

Bldg. No. 35 was used form probably 1818 and certainly 1821 to 1858 as a dwelling house for the Master Armorer of the Armory. Bldgs. No. 34-35 were painted on the exterior in 1851 and in 1854 the interiors were repaired, plastered and painted. No wallpaper was used in the quarters prior to 1859.

C. Outbuildings and Fences

Original outbuildings situated on Lot No. 3 were apparently comprised of the following structures: 1. A one story brick smoke house about 16 by 14 feet. 2. A small one story brick privy, and 3. A one or one and one-half story frame stable, measuring about 16 by 20 feet. These structures are all shown on the 1834-35 map. The stable was valued at that date at $150 and it was stated that the building could be removed from the proposed right of way requested by the Winchester & Potomac Railroad. It is therefore most probable that the stable was relocated on few yards north of its original site, still fronting on Market Street. It is also probable that the yard for Lot No. 3 was surrounded by a wooden fence, as shown on the 1834-35 maps and the 1848 map. All of these pre-Civil War structures, and including fencing, sidewalk and trees, with the exception of the privy, Bldg. No. 36-A, were swept away by the 1870 and 1877 floods.

Thus the present outbuildings, No. 32 and 34A, and Bldg. No. 33 are all non-historic buildings. The present stone fence between Lots No. 2 and 3 is also non-historic, being erected after 1869.

D. Uses of Bldg. No. 34-35, 1812-1865

1. 1812-1818. Residence and apothecary shop of Joseph S. Annin. From May, 1815, to 1818, also residence of Samuel Annin, retired Paymaster of the Armory.
2. 1818-1830. Master Armorer's Quarters. House taken over by United States in 1818. Residence of Master Armorer Armstead Beckham.
3. 1830-1850. Residence of Master Armorer Benjamin Moor.
4. 1850-1854. Residence of Master Armorer James H. Burton.
5. 1854-October 29, 1858. Residence of Master Armorer Samuel Byington.

6. November, 1858-July, 1859. Residence of John E. Daingerfield, Paymaster's Clerk.

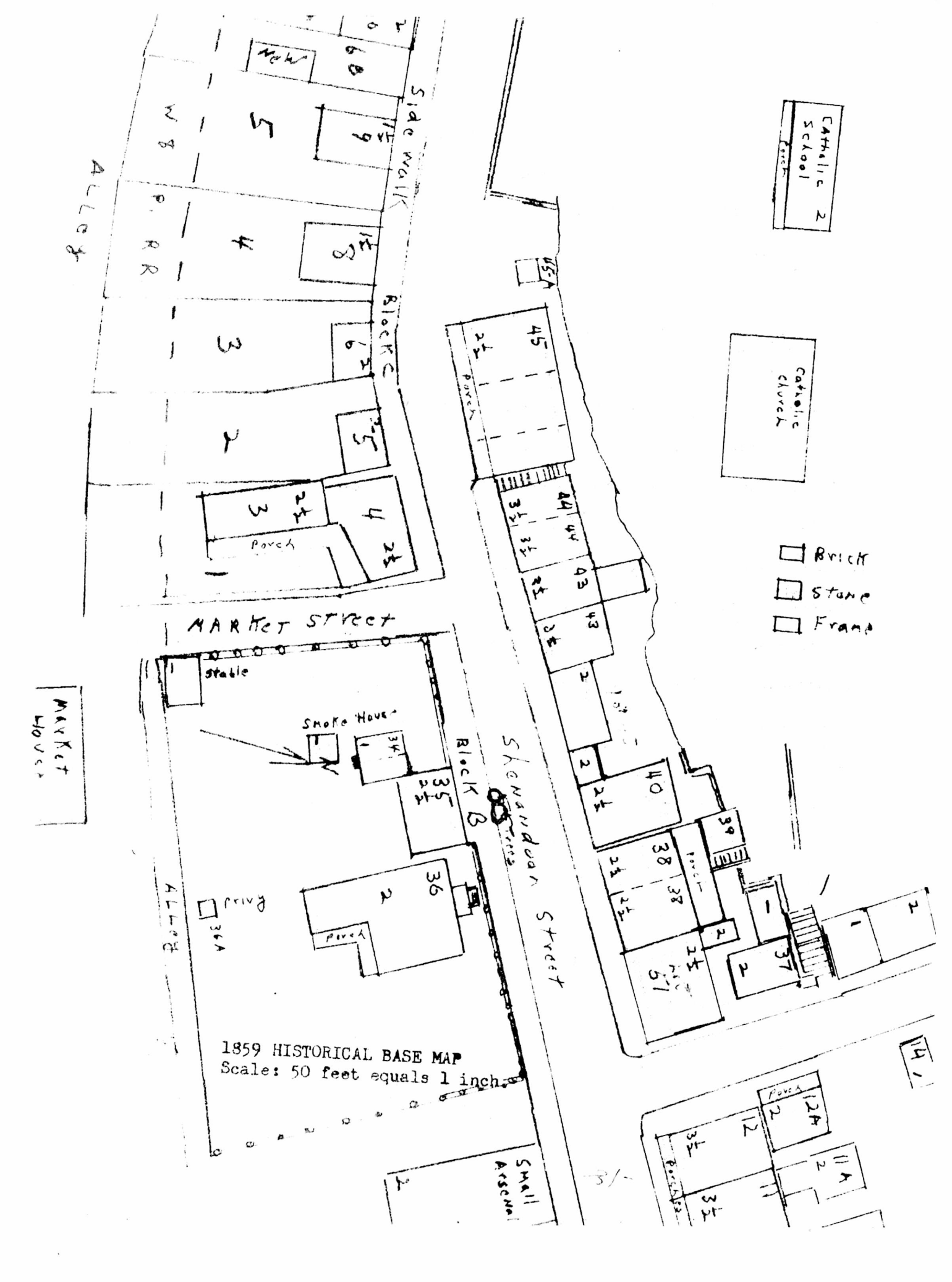
7. July, 1859-November, 1859. Vacant at time of John Brown Raid, October, 1859.

8. November, 1859-April, 1860. Recruiting Office and probably quarters of Captain Barton, who commanded a company of regulars stationed at Harpers Ferry to protect the Armory.

9. April, 1860-February, 1861. probably vacant.

10. February, 1861-April 19, 1861, outbreak of Civil War. Probably recruiting office and quarters of regular Army officers stationed at Harpers Ferry to guard the Armory.

11. 1861-1865. Civil War. Used as quarters for Officers of both sides.


Catholic School
Catholic Church
Brick
Stone
Frame
MARKET STREET
Stable
Smoke House
Block B
Block C
SHENANDOAH STREET
ALLEY
Side Walk
M & R R R
Porch
MARKET HOUSE
SMALL ARSENAL
1859 HISTORICAL BASE MAP
Scale: 50 feet equals 1 inch.

CHAPTER V

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended that Bldg. No. 35 be reduced to 2½ stories in height as it was prior to 1865. Non-historic additions on the rear should also be removed.

2. It is recommended that Bldg. No. 34 be reduced to a one-story building, approximately 20 by 22 feet in size, as it was before the Civil War.

3. Bldg. No. 34A is a non-historic structure and can be either completely demolished or reduced to a one story brick building, restored as a smoke house. It is located on the approximate site of the original smoke house.

4. Bldg. No. 32 is also a non-historic structure, but will undoubtedly be retained as a flood buffer. It is suggested, however, that Bldg. No. 32 be reduced to one story in height.

5. Bldg. No. 33 is also a non-historic structure and it is planned to retain this house as a flood buffer. It is suggested that Bldg. No. 33 be reduced to a two story building so that it will not completely dominate the restored 1859 historic scene.

6. The stone wall running back from Bldg. No. 35 to the railroad tracks is also non-historic. It may be well, however, to retain this fence so that personnel residing in Bldg. No. 33 will have some area for a private back yard.

7. It is recommended that Bldg. No. 34-35 be called the Samuel Annin house, after the first Paymaster of the Harpers Ferry Armory.

8. It is suggested that Bldg. No. 34-35 be exhibited as an 1859 Army Recruiting Office.

(Sgd) *CHARLES W. SNELL*

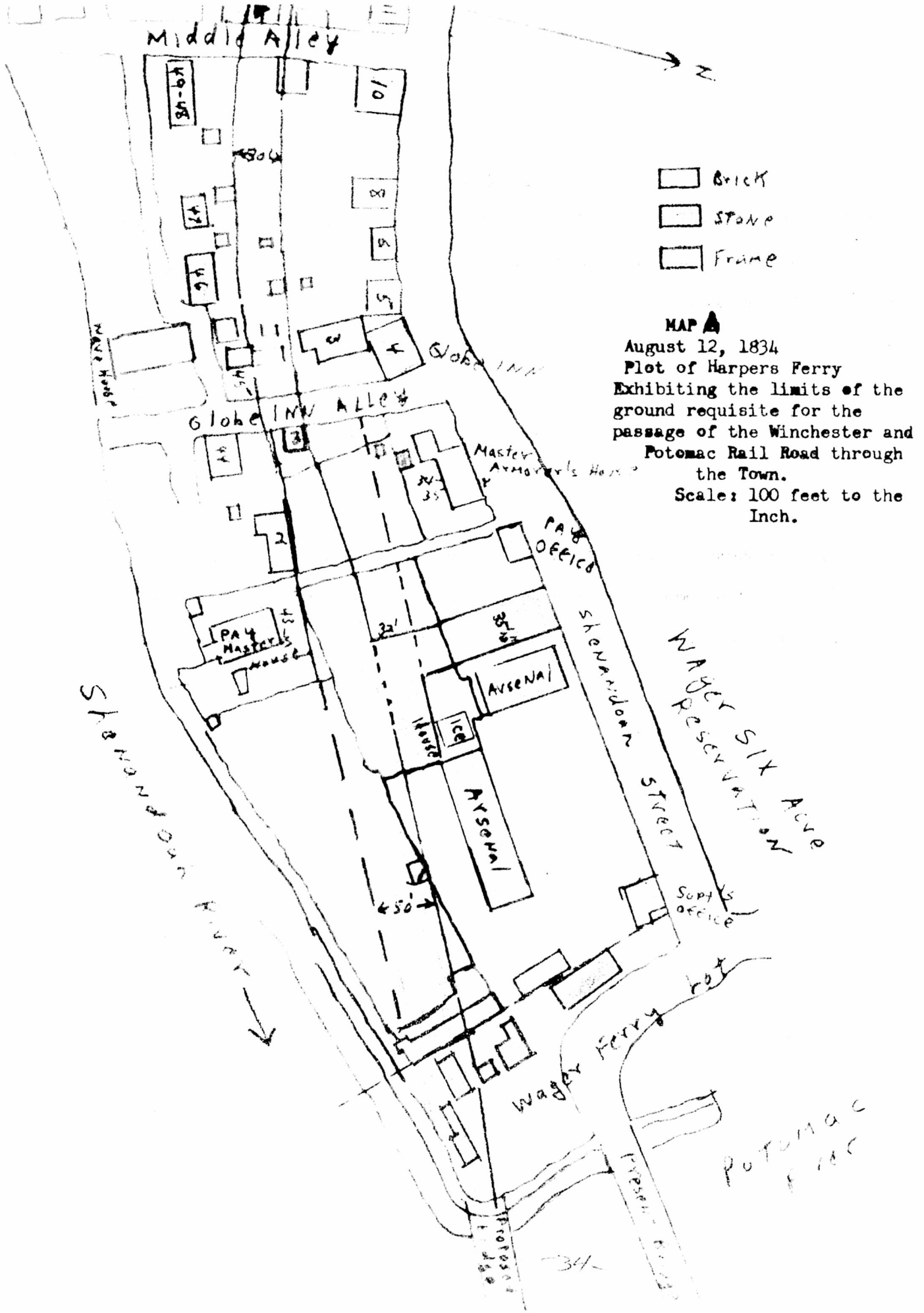
Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)
March 4, 1959

APPENDIX I

"MAPS A AND B. PLOT OF HARPERS FERRY Exhibiting the limits of the ground requisite for the passage of the Winchester & Potomac Rail Road through the town." Undated map, but prepared August 12, 1834.

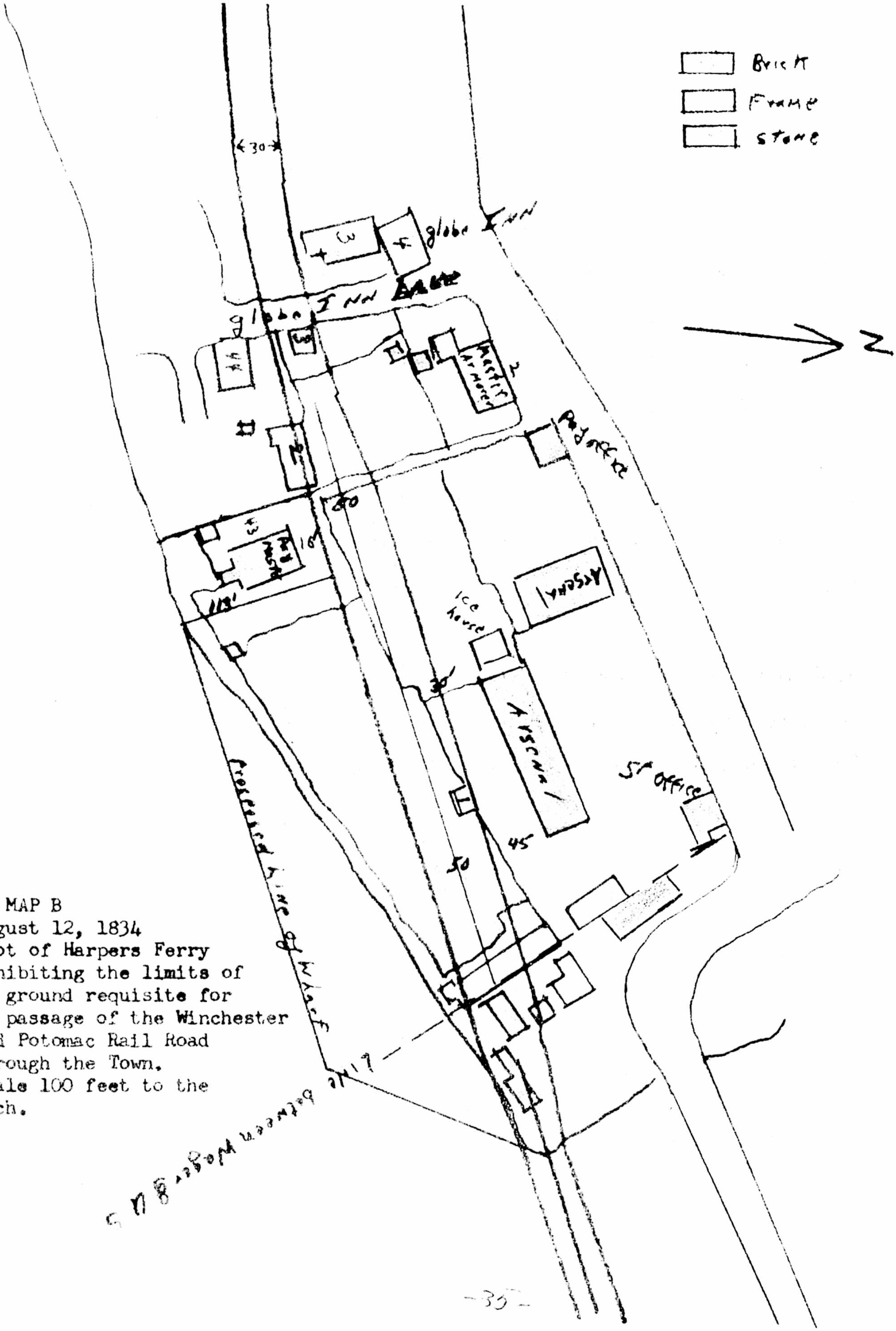
From National Archives R.G. 77. Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers. Fortification Map File, map: Dr. 150, sheets 78-1 and 78-2. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

Dwelling Houses on the map have been numbered in ink according to the 1848-1852 lists of Government Dwelling Houses and the records pertaining to the 1852 sale of Government Houses and Lots in the Shenandoah Street area.



MAP A

August 12, 1834
Plot of Harpers Ferry
Exhibiting the limits of the ground requisite for the passage of the Winchester and Potomac Rail Road through the Town.
Scale: 100 feet to the Inch.



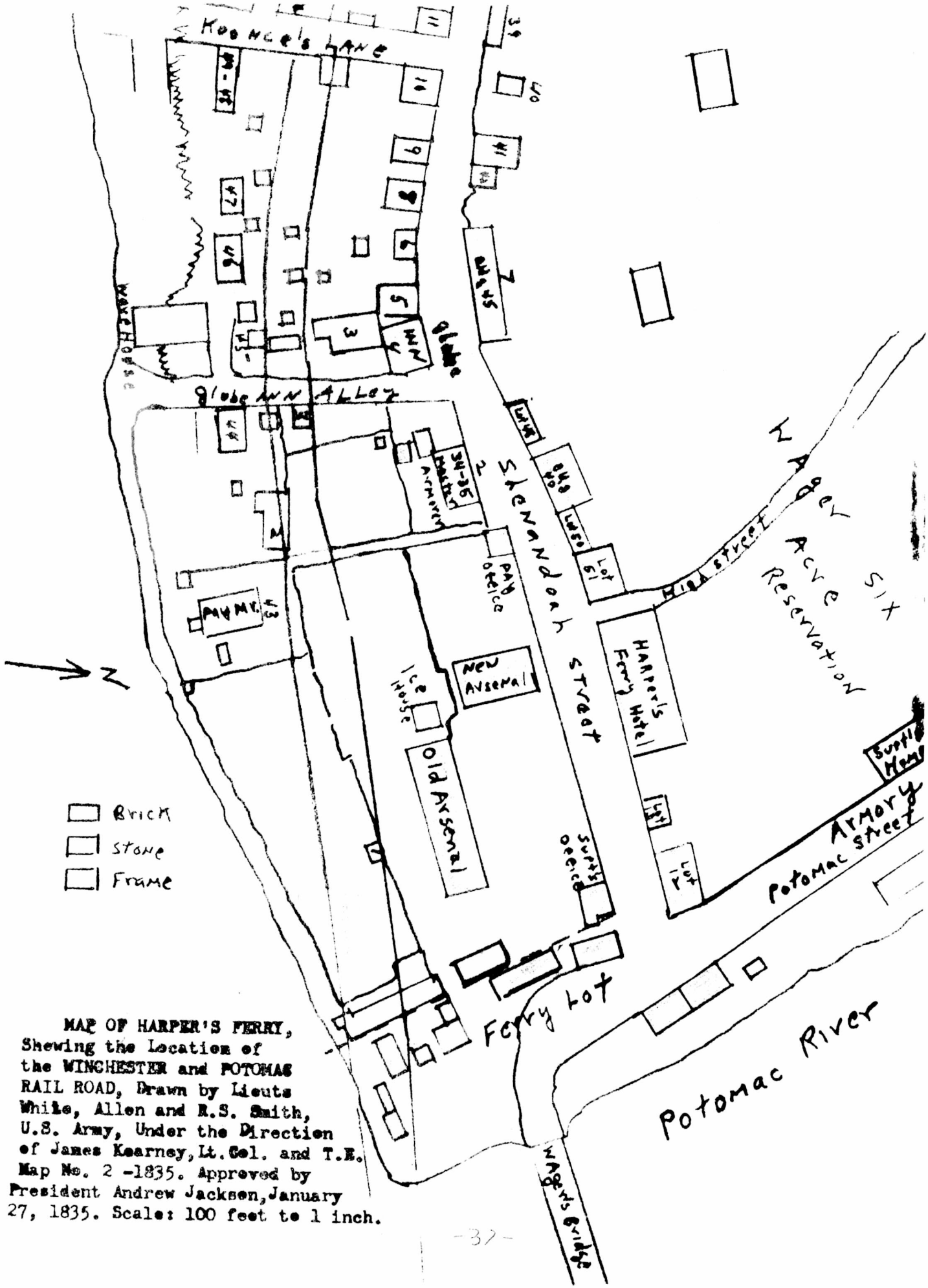
MAP B
August 12, 1834
Plot of Harpers Ferry Exhibiting the limits of the ground requisite for the passage of the Winchester and Potomac Rail Road through the Town.
Scale 100 feet to the Inch.

APPENDIX II

"MAP OF HARPER'S FERRY, Showing the Location of the WINCHESTER and POTOMAC RAIL ROAD, Drawn by Lieuts. White, Allen and R. S. Smith, U. S. Army, Under the direction of James Kearney, Lt. Col. and T.E., 1835-No.2. Approved by President Andrew Jackson, January 27, 1835."

National Archives R.G.177. Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers. Fortification Map File, part of map. Dr. 150-Sheet 82-2. Scale: 100 feet to 1 inch.

Dwelling Houses on the map have been numbered in ink according to the 1848-52 lists of Government Dwelling Houses and the records pertaining to the 1852 sale of Government Houses and Lots in the Shenandoah Street area.



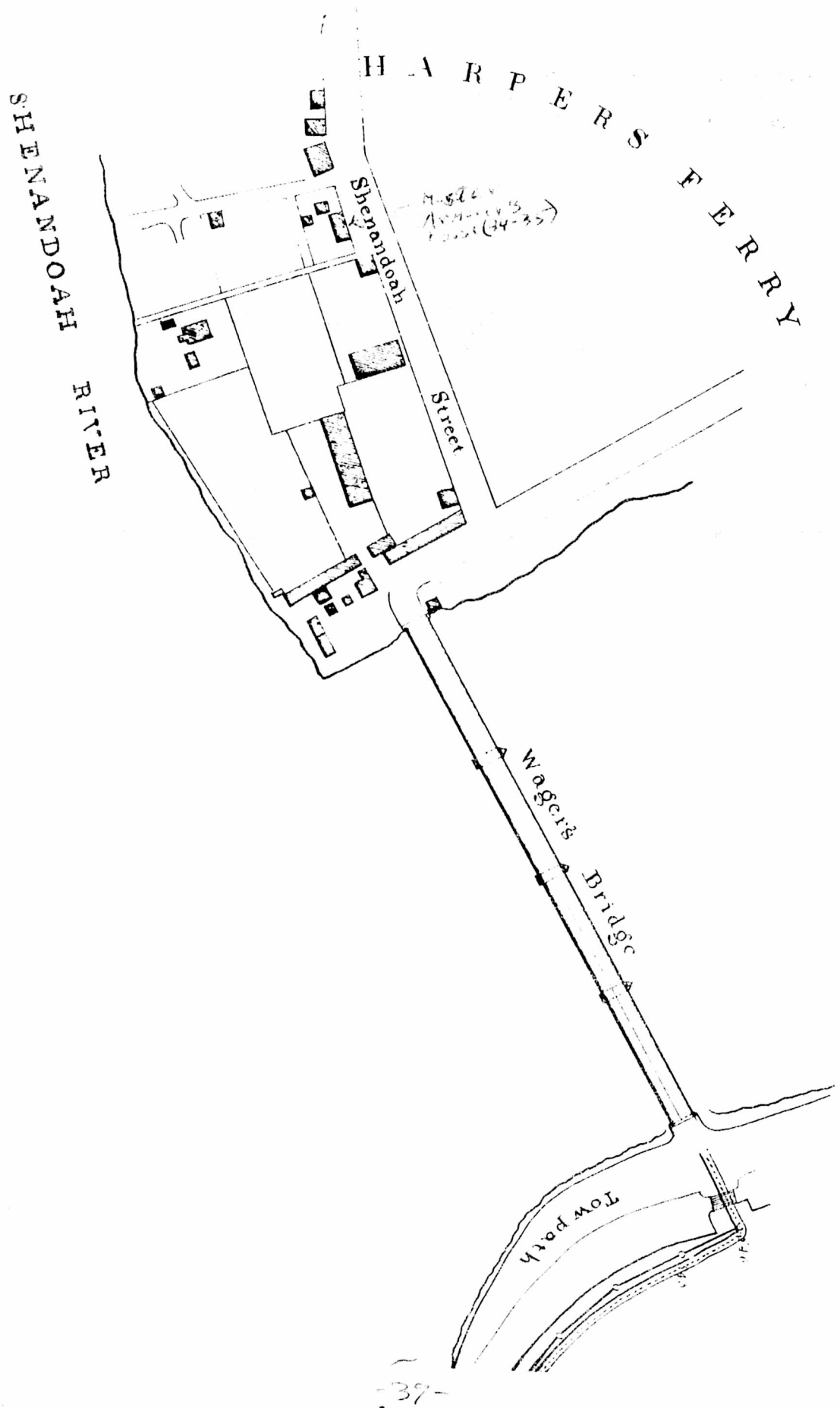
MAP OF HARPER'S FERRY, Shewing the Location of the WINCHESTER and POTOMAS RAIL ROAD, Drawn by Lieuts White, Allen and R.S. Smith, U.S. Army, Under the Direction of James Kearney, Lt. Col. and T.E. Map No. 2 -1835. Approved by President Andrew Jackson, January 27, 1835. Scale: 100 feet to 1 inch.

APPENDIX III

MAP OF HARPERS FERRY

Made in 1834 or 1835.

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad
Company Archives


HARPERS FERRY
SHENANDOAH RIVER
Shenandoah Street
Wager's Bridge
Tow Path

[The appendix appearing in this position in Mr. Snell's report was not transcribed herein as it forms Appendix II of the September 1994 HSR which this transcription appends]

APPENDIX IV

1878 list of repairs and statement by James McGraw in regard to Bldg. 34-35

From National Archives Record Group 121, Public Buildings Service. Harpers Ferry Abatement Cases under Act of June 14, 1878, Box. No. 388.

APPENDIX XVII

Transcription: Charles W. Snell Building 36 report

HISTORIC BUILDING REPORT,

PART II,

HISTORICAL DATA SECTION,

BLDGS. NO. 36 AND 36A

THE JOHN E.P. DAINGERFIELD HOUSE.

Lot No. 2, Block B,

Shenandoah Street.

Harpers Ferry National Monument

Prepared by;

Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)
March 10, 1959
38 Pages
Project No. HF-51

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page No.
Chapter I	Ownership of the Land, 1796-1884	1
Chapter II	Plans For A New Residence For The Master Armorer, 1851-1856	5
Chapter III	Construction of Bldg. No. 36, 1858-1859	9
Chapter IV	Use of Bldg. No. 36, 1859-1865	14
Chapter V	Summary of Historical Data	33

CHAPTER I

OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND, 1798 - 1884

Lot No. 2, Block B, Shenandoah Street, the site of Bldg. No. 36, was a portion of the property purchased from John Wager, Sr., on June 15, 1796 by the United States Government for the purpose of establishing a Federal Armory at Harpers Ferry.[1] The lot remained the property of the United States and formed a part of the Harpers Ferry Armory from 1796 to 1869. Lot No. 2 and Bldgs. No. 36 and 36A were offered for sale in 1869 and described at that time as follows:

"BLOCK B, ON SHENANDOAH.....

Lot No. 2, 70 feet front on Shenandoah street, running back with [Lot] No. 1, 143 feet; with railroad embankment 78 feet to [Lot] No. 3, and with it 134 feet to Shenandoah Street. Fine brick house; residence of Dr. O'Donnel, and office of ordnance storekeeper..."[2]

(See 1869 map on next page for the location of Lot No. 2)

The house and lot, however, were withdrawn from the 1869 sale by the United States[3] and remained the property of the Government until 1884. On October 22, 1884, Lot No. 2 was offered for sale and sold at that date.[4] Lot No. 2, Block B, Shenandoah Street was thus owned by the United States from 1796 to 1884.

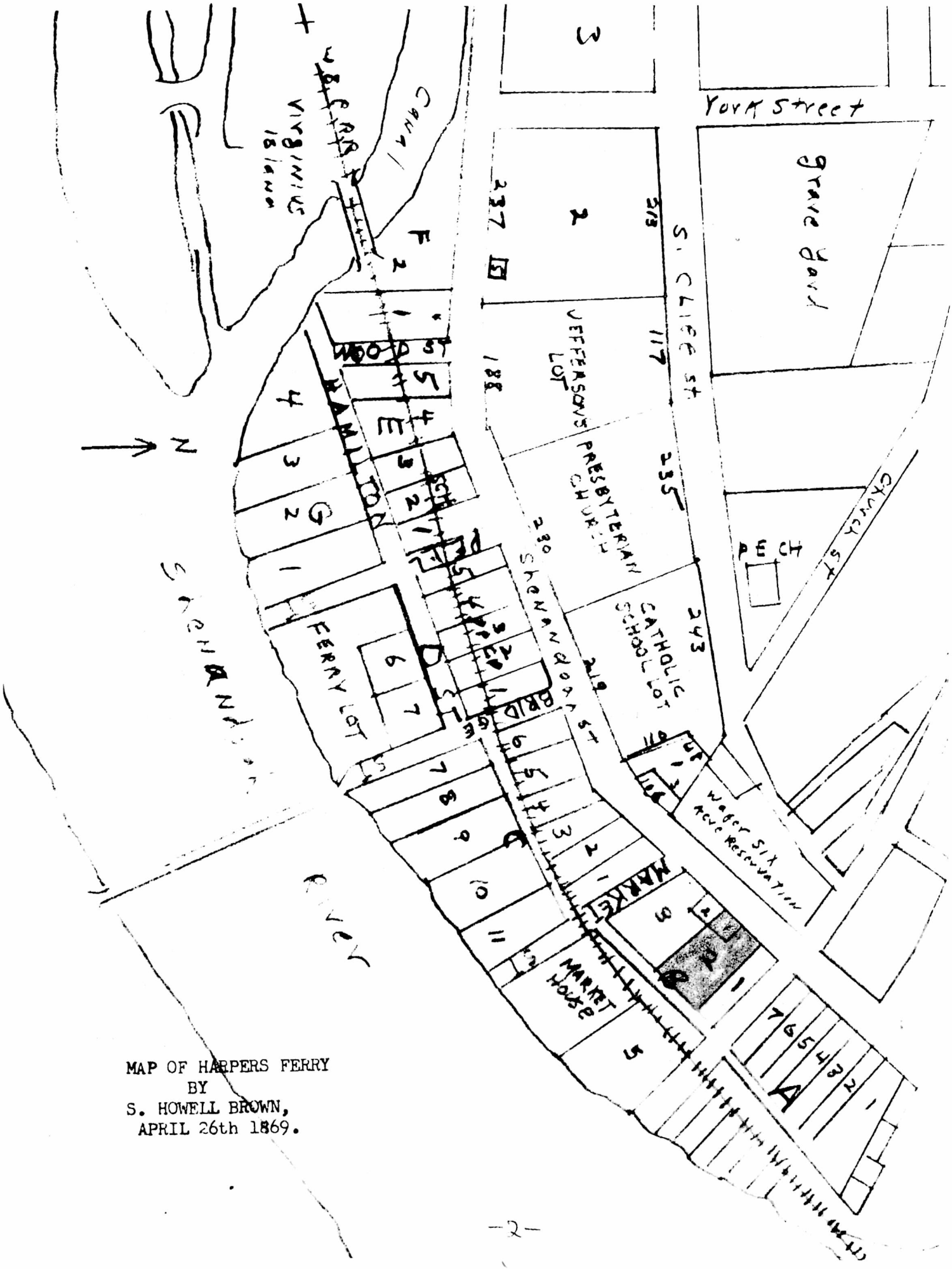
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1. Deed, June 15, 1796, Wager to United States, National Archives, Reel 21, V.7, pp.704-708.

2. Catalogue of the Harpers' Ferry Armory Property to be sold by the United States on 30th November, 1869, at the Town of Harper's Ferry, Va., p.2.

3. Noffsinger, James P., "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, Contributions Towards a Physical History," November, 1958, p.136.

4. Ibid., p.244.



MAP OF HARPERS FERRY
BY
S. HOWELL BROWN,
APRIL 26th 1869.

Early Use of the Land, 1822-1858

From 1822 to about 1858, the land on which Bldg. No. 36 was eventually to be erected was occupied in part by a one story brick house, 24 by 18 feet in size, with a slate roof that was known as the "Pay Office." This structure, erected in 1822 at a cost of $500, was used from 1822 to 1847 as the Office for the Paymaster of the Armory. From 1848 to 1849 it was then rented by the Government to T. W. J. Sullivan, who used it as his clothing store and tailor shop. From 1850 to 1851 the Old Pay Office was next rented by Mr. Isaac Fouke as a law office. From 1851 to 1858 the building was next leased by the town government of Harpers Ferry as an office building for the town officials and as a jail. The Old Pay Office was removed in 1858 by the Armory in order to clear the site for the construction of Bldg. No. 36.[5] An 1848 map showing the location of the Old Pay Office will be found on the next page.

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5. Smith, Philip R., Jr., "History of the Arsenal Tract, 1796-1869," dated December 19, 1959, p.171.

MAP OF HARPERS FERRY

CHAPTER II

PLANS FOR A NEW RESIDENCE FOR THE MASTER ARMORER, 1851 - 1856

From 1818 to 1858 the Master Armorers of the Armory at Harpers Ferry resided in Bldg. No. 34-35, which was located on Lot No. 3, Block B, Shenandoah Street, on the 1869 map.[1] As early as 1851, however, it was recommended that new quarters be erected for the use of the Master Armorer. In September, 1851, a board of officers met at Harpers Ferry to consider and present plans to the Secretary of War for a proposed sale of surplus Government lots and houses of the Armory. In relation to bldg. No. 34-35 and new quarters for the Master Armorer, the board recommended:

"The Master Armorer and Clerks now occupy houses on ground which should be sold; these houses should be reserved from the sale until suitable ones are erected for their use. All other dwelling should be removed from the land reserved..."

This recommendation was approved by the Secretary of War on June 10, 1852.[2] As a result of this decision, the Arsenal Tract was therefore laid out into two blocks and subdivided into lots; the land, however, was not offered for sale in 1852. The future site of Bldg. No., 36 was described in 1852 as follows (see 1852 map on next page of this report):

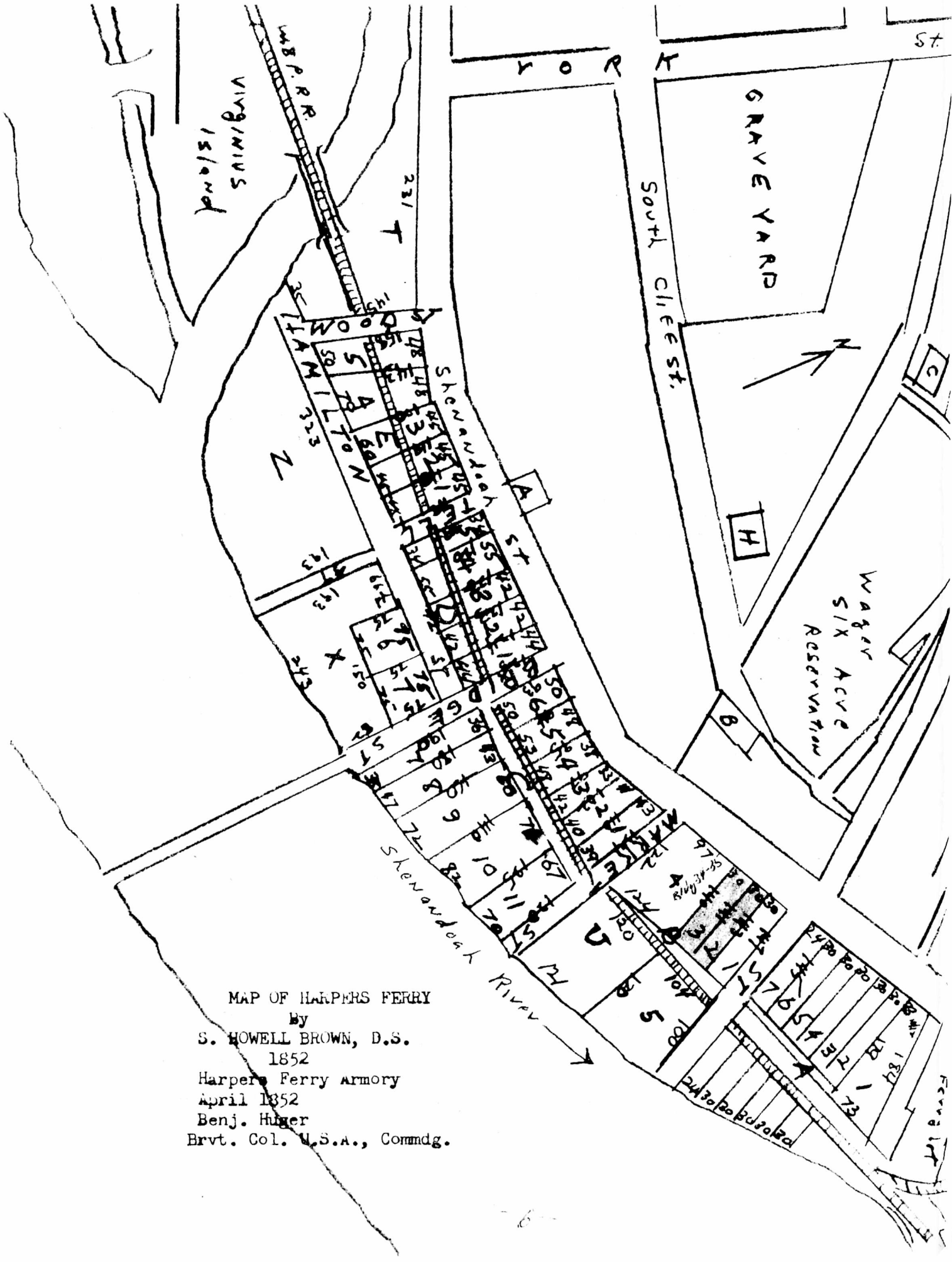
"BLOCK B, ON SHENANDOAH

Lot No. 1 On south side of Washington Street [or High Street], continued; 30 feet front on Shenandoah St., 147 feet deep to Alley near Winchester & Potomac Railroad, 30 feet on said Alley, and 143 feet back to Shenandoah St.-

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1. Snell, Charles W., "Historic Building Report, Part II-Historical Data Section, for Bldg. No. 34-35, The Samuel Annin House," dated March 4, 1959, pp.29-30.

2. Report of a Board of Officers, dated September 24, 1851, approved by Secretary of War Conrad, June 10, 1852, Reel 24, V.8, pp.802-806.


B&O R.R.
GRAVE YARD
South Cliff St.
Shenandoah St
Shenandoah River
Wager's Six Acre Reservation
MAP OF HARPERS FERRY
By
S. HOWELL BROWN, D.S.
1852
Harpers Ferry Armory
April 1852
Benj. Huger
Brvt. Col. U.S.A., Commdg.

Vacant [This lot is the same as Lot No. 1 on the 1869 map]
Lot No. 2- Parallel to No. 1-30 feet front on Shenandoah Street, 143 and 141 feet deep to Alley. Old Paymaster's Office. [This lot was included in Lot No. 2 on the 1869 map and was a part of the land on which Bldg. No. 36 was to be situated]
Lot No. 3- Parallel to No. 2-30 feet front on Shenandoah St., 141 to 140 feet deep to Alley-vacant. [It was on this land that Bldg. No. 36 was to be constructed and it is included as a part of Lot No. 2 on the 1869 map]
Lot No. 4- 97 feet front on Shenandoah St., 140 feet deep to Alley-124 feet on the Alley, and from Alley 122 feet on Market Street to Shenandoah Street. Dwelling No. 2-Master Armorer. [Site of Bldgs. No. 34-35. This lot is listed as Lot No. 3 on the 1869 map and an area on the est side of the lot fronting 9 feet on Shenandoah was taken from the Bldg. 34-35 1852 lot and added on to the 1869 lot 2 for Bldg. No. 36]...."[6]

Following the sale of Government land on August 31 and September 1 and 2, 1852, Superintendent Benjamin Huger wrote to Col. Henry K. Craig, Chief of Ordnance on October 15, 1852:

"I now recommend that the amount received from the sale of part of the public property here, may be taken up under the appropriation of repairs and applied to improving the part retained by the U.S.

I would propose to apply these funds lst to building quarters on the blocks reserved for the purpose, for the Officers of the Armory, (Master Armorer & Clerks).

The buildings now occupied by them are on lots to be sold. As they are entitled to quarters, these cannot be sold until others are built.

New quarters should be erected & the sale of the lots and houses now occupied by these Officers would replace the amount so used..."[7]

This suggestion to use fund from the 1852 sale in this manner was disapproved by the Secretary of War on the grounds that Congress had not appropriated funds to be spent for these purposes.[8] Thus the project for new quarters was shelved for four years because of the lack of funds to construct

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6. Legend Exhibiting the Corresponding Numbers of the Houses, as per the Inventory of the 30th June, 1852, with the Lots of Land as per Brown's Map of the same, Where Correspondence Exists, and in other Cases, and Approximation. Photostatic Collection, Map Case, Drawer No. 3, Map No. 82.

7. Huger to Craig, October 15, 1852, Reel 24, V.8, pp.777-778.

8. Craig to Huger, November 13, 1852, Reel 19, V.6, pp.545-546.

the buildings.

On April 23, 1856, a joint resolution was passed by Congress authorizing the Secretary of War to apply the proceeds of the 1852 sale of lots at Harpers Ferry to the improvement of the public property at that place.[9] On June 28, 1856, Col. Craig therefore informed Superintendent Henry W. Clowe that a total of $36,606.70 had been made available from the proceeds of the 1852 sale to be spent on permanent improvements at the Harpers Ferry Armory. From this total, $18,000 was allotted for the "erection of three quarters."[10] Thus in June, 1856, money was finally available for the construction of a new house for the Master Armorer.

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9. Secretary of War to Secretary of Treasury, May 7, 1856, Reel 26, V.5, p.466. Secretary of Treasury to Secretary of War, May 10, 1856, Reel 26, V.5, p.464.

10. Craig to Clowe, June 28, 1856, Reel 19, V.9, p.871. For the full story of the 1852 sales, etc., see Snell, Charles W., "A Comprehensive History of the Construction, Maintenance and Numbers of Armory Dwelling Houses, 1796-1869," revised January 13, 1959, Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER III

CONSTRUCTION OF BLDG. NO. 36, 1858 - 1859

As originally drawn up by the Board of Officers on September 24, 1851, and approved by the Secretary of War on June 10, 1852, the specifications for the new quarters called for the following construction:

"First...Building Quarters for Armory Officers on Fillmore St:

1..For One Master Armorer & Five Clerks-6 Buildings $5000Ea		$30,000.00
Enclosure Sewers & Cisterns for ditto & outhouses $750ea		4,500.00
	Total:	$34,500.00

Reasons

This item is recommended...this being in consequence of the dilapidated & unhealthy condition of the buildings now occupied by these Armory Officers: and also in consequence of the lots of these houses next the Musket Factory [those located on Wager Lots No. 18 to 22, 26 and 27] having been cut off and the length of the lots thereby diminished with a view to the protection of the Musket Factory Buildings. These shortened lots by the decision of the Board are to be sold, when the above quarters are provided..."[1]

As already noted, this original plan was modified in June, 1856, by the allotment of $18,000 for the construction of only three new quarters, thus increasing the amount available for each building to $6,000 per house.

Superintendent Henry W. Clowe in July and August of 1856 drafted a set of plans for the three new houses that were to be erected for the Master Armorer, the Superintendent's Clerk and Paymaster's Clerk. These plans he personally carried to Washington in August, 1856, for review by the Chief of Ordnance and then for approval by the Secretary of War.

On September 5, 1856, Col. Henry K. Craig, the Chief of Ordnance,

---

1. "Estimate of work required to be done at Harpers Ferry Armory for its General improvement, according to the Report of a Board of Officers herewith approved by Secretary of War, June 10, 1852." With remarks by Major William H. Bell, 1854, Reel 25, V.1, p.82.

notified Mr. Clowe:

"The plan of Quarters for Master Armorer and Clerks, left by you at this office, is returned herewith. On examining it, there appears to be a defect in the making the width of the steps at the front entrance too small, and bringing the two middle columns too close together. In putting up the buildings, two of which for clerks may be commenced on the hill, it will be well to correct these defects. The third building of those authorized by my letter to you of the 28th June last, for the Master Armorer, had better be located on or near the site of his present quarters [that is, near present Bldg. No. 34-35]. If such location should require any modification of the plan, or should increase the cost of the building please inform me."[2]

On September 12 and 13, 1856, Col. Craig, personally inspected the Armory at Harpers Ferry and settled matters with Superintendent Clowe relating to the three new quarters. On September 14, Col. Craig reported to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, in regards to the houses:

"Two of the dwelling houses for Clerks that were authorized to be erected and paid for out of the proceeds of sale of lots, will be soon commenced on the Hill [on Fillmore Street on Camp Hill] near the Armory. The House for the Master Armorer will be erected nearer the Armory, as it is thought advisable that one of the officers should at all times be near the shops and stores [both the Superintendent and Paymaster resided in houses located on Fillmore Street on Camp Hill]..."[3]

It was thus decided that the Master Armorer's new house was to be erected on Shenandoah Street, rather than on Fillmore street as had been originally proposed. Construction of the two houses for the Clerks was started in 1857 and completed in 1858; no actual construction, however, had been commenced on the Master Armorer's house as of April 3, 1858. On that date Superintendent Clowe informed Col. Craig:

"I learn from Mr. Byington [the Master Armorer] that you had suggested that the Quarters of the M.Armorer, to be built on the south end of the Arsenal Square, should be built somewhat larger, or on a different place, hence,

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2. Craig to Clowe, September 5, 1856, Reel 19, V.9, p.887.

3. Craig to Davis, September 14, 1856, Photostatic Collection, V.3, pp.60, 62.

I have prepared a ground plan of a house, varying from that already adopted.

A House built on the place now proposed can be built for about seven thousand dollars.

Be pleased to instruct me, whether I may vary, in the erection of this House, from the plan already adopted for those on Camp hill. Those on Camp Hill have exceeded the amount appropriated for them about $820 dollars each, owing to the location, and consequent expense of the transportation of materials, &c.

The original plan can be constructed at the site on the Arsenal Square for about six thousand dollars or less."[4]

By April 22, 1858, Clowe had still received no reply to this letter, but had begun work on clearing a site for the location of the house. Thus on April 22, Mr. Clowe requested a decision on which plan should be used for construction of the Master Armorer's new house, writing:

"I beg to call yr. attention to the plan of the Quarters for the Master Armorer, enclosed in my letter to you, of the 3rd April inst; varying in its mode of construction from those built on Camp Hill for the Clerks.

I have now cleared the site, of the obstructions at the place, close to the present quarters of the M. Armorer [Bldg. No. 34-35], and the workmen will be kept waiting, unless I am informed without delay, if any change in the plan is to be authorized.

Excavating for the foundation walls, depends upon this knowledge."[5]

Still no answer from Col. Craig, and on May 4, 1858, Mr. Clowe again pointed out: "I was unable to continue the necesary [sic] excavations for the foundation walls. I have as yet received no reply to these letters [April 3 and 22], and I will be glad to have the determination of the Department made known, at the earliest period, on account of the workmen engaged to do the work, being for want of it, kept back from their labor."[6]

The long delay was apparently due to the fact that the new plan for the house was being given final review by the Secretary of War, for on May 19,

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4. Clowe to Craig, April 3, 1858, Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.83.

5. Clowe to Craig, April 22, 1858, Reel 27, V.1, p.48.

6. Clowe to Craig, May 4, 1858, Reel 26, V.7, p.687.

1858, Col. Craig notified Superintendent Clowe: "I have to inform you that the Secretary of War has now approved the plan for Master Armorer's Quarters transmitted with your letter 3rd April last; and that the building may be commended without further delay."[7]

On June 3, 1858, Clowe wrote to Craig: "Herewith, enclosed, please find the Draft of Master Armorers Quarters, which I brought to the Armory, from your Office, a few days ago."[8]

A careful search of thousands of pages of documents in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., turned up only two plans relating to the buildings at Harpers Ferry Armory. It is therefore evident that some clerk, probably in the War Department, carefully went through all correspondence from 1801 to 1865, at some time after 1869 when the Harpers Ferry Armory had been sold, and extracted all such plans and tossed them in the waste paper basket to save space. In this process they missed only the two plans above mentioned. The Archivists employed in the National Archives, also, have never been able to locate any building plans relating to the Harpers Ferry Armory.

On September 27, 1858, Mr. Clowe informed Col. Craig: "The work on the Paymasters Quarters [Bldg. No. 32-Storer College, on 1869 map] is rapidly progressing to completion, so also that on the M. Armorer's..."[9]

On October 4, 1858, Mr. Clowe reported that of the estimated $7,000 cost for the new building, only $2,634.50 was still required to be spent to

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7. Craig to Clowe, May 19, 1858, Reel 19, V.10, p.973.

8. Clowe to Craig, June 3, 1858, Reel 26, V.8, p.703.

9. Clowe to Craig, September 27, 1858.

CHAPTER IV

USE OF BLDG. NO. 36, 1859 - 1865

1. 1859, JOHN BROWN RAID

From 1818 to 1858 the Master Armorers of the Armory at Harpers Ferry had resided in present Bldgs. No. 34-35, which was located on Lot No. 3, Block B, Shenandoah Street on the 1869 map.[1] On October 29, 1858, Master Armorer Samuel Byington, who had been residing in Bldg. No. 34-35, resigned, and Mr. Benjamin Mills was appointed as the new Master Armorer on the same day.[2]

On November 26, 1858, Superintendent Henry W. Clowe informed Col. Henry K. Craig, Chief of Ordnance:

"On my return from Washington, I informed Mr. Mills, the Master Armorer, that you opposed his residing on Camp Hill [in one of the new quarters that had just been completed and had been intended for use as the quarters for the Paymaster's Clerk,-House No. 30, Storer College, on the 1869 map]; I am requested in a written communication from Mr. Mills to invite your recollection of the promise made to him, in your hearing, by the Hon. Secty. of War. that it should be left to the Superintendent to determine the question, and that you did then acquiesce, although reluctantly. And further he desires to remind the Hon. Secty. that the understanding that he should reside on the Hill, was clear between the Secretary and himself.

Under these circumstances, and considering the advantages which would or might result from the Superintendent and M. Armorer residing in such close proximity, midway between the Musket and Rifle Factories, I also acquiesced in the arrangement made by Mr. Mills and Mr. Daingerfield [the Paymaster's Clerk], to exchange their quarters. The arrangement was very decidedly and exceedingly agreeable to both parties, and has been accomplished by the removal of Mr. Daingerfield to the old Quarters of the Master Armorer [Bldg. No. 34-35], until the new house is finished [Bldg. No. 36], and the occupation by Mr. Mills, of those on the hill [House No. 30 on the 1869 map].

Mr. Mills says that he cannot think of moving to the Ferry [Bldg. No. 36], as he does not consider it a healthy place for a family to reside, and

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1. Snell, Charles W., "Historic Building Report, Part II, Historical Data Section, Bldgs. No. 34-35, 32, 33 and 34A, the Samuel Annin House," dated March 4, 1959, pp.29-30.

2. Ibid., p.29.

very much wishes to have a final answer and decision on the matter at once. He states that he has advertised his house in Kentucky for sale, and if he is to leave Camp Hill, he will be compelled to withdraw his property from sale, and decline the appointment of M. Armorer, and return to Kentucky.

As Mr. Mills regards this matter so seriously, in connection with the preliminary arrangements he has made for the disposition of his property in Kentucky, I hope that an early decision may be communicated, for his benefit. I take great pleasure in testifying that Mr. Mills evinces great interest in the Armory, and is in every way calculated to make a good and efficient M. Armorer, and the Government will find in him a faithful and competent officer, and I will regret to see him leave the Armory for so inconsiderable a cause as to which house he shall occupy; I therefore recommend that he be permitted to remain in that he now occupies."[3]

Col. Craig replied on December 3, 1858, stating:

"...The recollection of Mr. Mills with regard to my acquiescence in his proposition to take up his residence on Camp Hill, or rather that I would not actively oppose that course, provided the Superintendent of the Armory consented to such an arrangement which I considered inimical to the interests of the service, is correct. But it is proper that Mr. Mills should remember that in thus deferring to the opinion and decision of the Superintendent, I fully expected that he would see the interests of the Armory in the same light as I did, and that I have not surrendered my conviction of the propriety of either Superintendent or Master Armorer residing near and convenient to the Shops, &c.

I make this explanation for the reason that Mr. Mills seems to attach a condition to his acceptance of office which might prove embarrassing to your successors as well as to mine.

Having granted to Mr. Mills the privilege of residence on the Hill the propriety is now suggested to you of designating some persons attached to the Armory and empowering them to assume authority and give directions in case of fires or disturbances on the Armory grounds, during the intervals from labor and until the arrival of some of the principal Armory Officers. As Mr. Daingerfield will be near the shops I would recommend him as first in order of these "Wardens," the others can be selected from your foremen or other active reliable mechanics who reside near the shops. Some of them should occasionally visit the watch houses at night."[4]

Thus by December, 1858, it had been decided that Bldg. No. 36, although originally intended for use by the Master Armorer, and made larger than the two new houses for clerks, as benefited the rank of the Master

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3. Clowe to Craig, November 26, 1858, Photostatic Collection, V.3, pp.87-88.

4. Craig to Clowe, December 3, 1858, Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.89.

Armorer as one of the three chief officers of the Armory, would be occupied by Mr. Daingerfield, the Paymaster's Clerk. The new Master Armorer was to live on Camp Hill, because he regarded this latter site as a more healthy place in which to reside.

On December 24, 1858, Mr. Alfred M. Barbour was appointed as the new Superintendent of the Armory, effective January 1, 1859.[5] This change in Superintendents again raised the question of in which house should the Master Armorer reside. On April 8, 1859, Mr. Barbour thus wrote to Col. Craig:

"The newly erected Quarters for the M. Armorer [Bldg. 36] of this Armory, will be ready for use in a few weeks. By permission of the late Superintendent, under your sanction, the Clerk of the Paymaster has occupied the old Quarters of the Master Armorer [Bldg. No. 34-35] and the Master Armorer has occupied the house intended for the said Clerk [House No. 30, Camp Hill]. I desire to be informed whether it is your order or wish that the same arrangement shall be continued with the new Quarters. In all deference to any order or wish on your part, I consider it my duty to suggest that in my opinion the interest of the Armory would be promoted by adhering to the arrangement originally decided upon in this respect. This opinion is expressed solely from a view to the interest of the service, and without any regard or cognizance of the private___or interest of men employed in the service..."[6]

Col. Craig replied on April 11, 1859, referring Superintendent Barbour to his letter of December 3, 1858, on the subject and added:

"As regards any arrangement that may be made in relation to the residence of the Master Armorer, it is a matter pertaining to the internal management of the Armory, and one of those details connected therewith, which it is the province of the Superintendent to regulate."[7]

On April 16, 1859, Lt. Col. Ripley, Inspector of Armories and Arsenals, visited Harpers Ferry and stated in his report:

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5. Craig to Clowe, December 24, 1858, Reel 19, V.10, p.1001.

6. Barbour to Craig, April 8, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.90.

7. Craig to Barbour, April 11, 1859, Reel 19,. V.11, p.1024.

"I found the Master Armorer residing on the hill in the house of the Paymaster's clerk...

This ought not to be permitted, and he should be required to remove at once to the quarters originally assigned to that office [Bldg. No. 36]; where he can be near the scene of his duties in case of fire or of any disturbance, and where his immediate presence would be demanded..."[8]

From this evidence it appears that Lt. Col. Ripley was attempting to force Master Armorer Mills to move into Bldg. No. 36. On May 2, 1859, Mr. Barbour therefore again raised the issue:

"I have the honor to transmit herewith, a letter addressed to me, by Mr. Mills, the Master Armorer, on the subject of his Quarters.

Recognized in it fullest extent the discretion, imposed upon me, in this matter by your letter of the 11th April last: yet, from the tenor of Mr. Mill's letter and its obvious determination, I deem it my duty to submit it, with the consequences of the decision thereon to the War Department, through your Office, to which he claims an appeal tho: not in terms, yet sufficiently distinctively so, as not to be misunderstood.

Be please to have this vexed question, finally determined, by the proper authority, so as not to interfere, either with the public interests, or the private convenience of the parties immediately concerned in the decision."[9]

Col. Craig referred the entire matter to Secretary of War John B. Floyd on May 4, 1859, commenting as follows:

"...in reference to which matter, I would respectfully call your attention to the remarks of the Inspector of Arsenals and Armories on the 6th page of the enclosed Report [of April 14, 1859]. I would say, farther, that in my first interview with Mr. Mills in Dec. 1858, the proper place of residence of the Master Armorer was discussed. I stated to him that I considered one near the shops, then nearly finished, and which had been erected for that Office, as the most proper; but finally said that it was a matter for the consideration of the Superintendent and that I would not oppose his decision in the matter. Subsequently I wrote to Mr. Clowe, the Superintendent that in arranging that subject with the Master Armorer he must not do so in a way to embarrass his, the Superintendents successor in the control of it."[10]

On May 12, 1859, Col Craig informed Superintendent Barbour that the Secretary of War had decided: "Under all the circumstances and the previous understanding in this case I decide to let the Master Armorer continue in

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8. Ripley to Craig, April 14, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.4, p.5.

9. Barbour to Craig, May 2, 1859, Reel 27, V.6, p.511.

10. Craig to Floyd, May 4, 1859, Reel 20, V.3, p.293.

his present residence."[11] Thus Master Armorer Benjamin Mills had won the battle and was permitted to stay in House No. 30 on Camp Hill, the Paymaster's Clerk's Quarters.

On July 16, 1859, Mr. Barbour informed Col. Craig:

"The new quarters [Bldg. No. 36], built for the Master Armorer, on the Arsenal Lot, on Shenandoah St. and now by the decision of the Hon. Sec'y of War, occupied by Mr. Dangerfield, Paymaster Clerk, rather than the present M. Armorer, who occupied the Quarters on the Hill, are finished and thus occupied..."[12]

Thus in July, 1859, Bldg. No. 36 was occupied by John E. Daingerfield, the Paymaster's Clerk, and his family. Mr. Daingerfield was residing in this house at the time of the John Brown Raid in October, 1859, and was taken prisoner by Brown at that time.[13]

The Census of 1860 contains the following information on this family: (They were residing in another house in September, 1860.)

"John E. Daingerfield, 42 year old, male, Paymaster's Clerk. Value of Personal Estate $7600. Born in Va.
Matilda W. Daingerfield, 39, female. Born in Pa.
Archibald " 12, male. Born in Va.
Mary B. " 9, female. " " "
Richard " 4, male. " " "
John C. B. " 1, male. " " "[14]

2. OUTBUILDINGS FOR BLDG. NO. 36, 1859-1861

On July 16, 1859, Superintendent Barbour raised the question of the construction of outbuildings for Bldg. No. 36 and also what should be done with the old quarters of the Master Armorer, Bldg. No. 34-35, writing to Craig on

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11. Craig to Barbour, May 12, 1859, Reel 19, V.11, p.1034.

12. Barbour to Craig, July 16th 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.90A.

13. Villard, Oswald Garrison, John Brown, 1800-1859, A Biography Fifty Years After. N.Y., 1943, pp.439, 443.

14. Census of 1860, Reel 10, V.2, p.170.

these subjects:

"The old house [Bldg. No. 34-35] is on the same lot [with Bldg. No. 36], and very near to one of its gables, and is quite in a diplapidated condition. The outhouses attached to the old house, are wanted for the use of the new one; if the old house is retained, new outhouses will have to be built for the new house, and for these, there is not sufficient space upon the lot, without materially marring the appearance and enjoyment of the grounds. Besides the materials in the old house can be very profitably employed in the construction of outhouses for the new Quarters on the Hill, where they are much wanted, and will soon be needed for that purpose.

I therefore recommend the pulling down of this house [Bldg. No. 34-35], and the saving of the materials, as above named."[15]

In response to this letter, Captain William Maynadier, of the Ordnance Department, demanded of Superintendent Barbour "as far as you may know, to state the reasons for placing the new Quarters [Bldg. No. 36] so contiguous to the old, as to render the pulling down of the old advisable." He also wanted to know why, if Bldg. No. 34-35 was in such poor condition, it had been carried on the list of Government Dwelling Houses ever since 1845 as a first class building.[16]

Mr. Barbour answered these questions on July 20, 1859, stating:

"...I have only to refer you, in explanation of the interrogatories you propose for my answer, to the correspondence had by my immediate predecessor, with your office, on this subject.

In a letter from your office dated Sept. 9, 1856, it is stated that the 'third building, as authorized by my letter of the 28th June last, for the Master Armorer, had better be located on or near the site of his present Quarters [Bldg. No. 34-35] if such location should require any modification of the plan, or should increase the cost of the building, please inform me.'

"The next letter in order of date was from Mr. Clowe, then Supt., dated 3rd April, 1858, enclosing a modified plan of the M. Armorer's Quarters, to be built next to the old Quarters, and a subsequent one dated 22nd of April, in which yr. office was notified that 'he had cleared the site of the obstructions at the place, close to the present Quarters, &c.'

On the 4th May following, yr. attention was again called to this subject, and a reference made by Mr. Clowe, to his two preceeding letters, and

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15. Barbour to Craig, July 16, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.90A.

16. Maynadier to Barbour, July 18, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.3, p.91.

urging a decision so as to enable him to prosecute the work, and on the 19th May he received a reply, stating that the 'Secretary of War has now approved the plan for the Master Armorer's Quarters, transmitted to this Office with your letter of the 3rd April last, and that the building may be commenced without further delay.' The building was so commenced, long before I had charge of the Armory, and I am hence wholly unable, as you request, to state the reasons why it was placed so contiguous to the old quarters, and utterly unconscious that the matter was an open one, for so long a time I did not for a moment deem it necessary to invite Col. Riley's [the Inspector] attention to it.

By reference to the report of the Board of Officers, dated 24th Sept., 1851, it was recommended that all building on reserved ground [government property retained for Armory use in 1852] should be pulled down; this was one of them.

I have examined this matter closely, and am satisfied that it is entirely proper to remove the old building for many reasons - although it seems to have been borne on the Inventory as a first class house, its value as a dwelling was egregiously exaggerated on the Books, as is self-evident."[17]

Mr. Barbour's letter was left unanswered, for he returned to the attack on September 5, 1859, writing:

"Permit me to invite yr. attention to my letter of the 20th July last, on the subject of removing the brick building [Bldg. No. 34-35] formerly occupied by the Master Armorer, and contiguous to the new Quarters, on the same lot.

An early decision on the subject is very desirable."[18]

Col. Craig informed Superintendent Barbour on September 7, 1859:

"...upon a full examination, it appears - there is no authority for pulling down or removing said house [Bldg. No. 34-35]. It will, therefore, have to remain, as it is, until the attention of the Secretary of War shall have been called to the subject and his decision been given; which will be communicated to you without delay."[19]

Bldg. No. 34-35 was therefore not demolished, but left vacant, except for brief periods extending from November, 1859, to April, 1860, and from February, 1861, to April, 1861, when it was occupied by officers in command

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17. Barbour to Craig, July 20, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.3, pp.92-93.

18. Barbour to Craig, September 5, 1859, Reel 27, V.4, p.331.

19. Craig to Barbour, September 7, 1859, Reel 19, V.11, p.1058.

of detachments of regular Army troops stationed at Harpers Ferry to protect the Armory as a consequence of the John Brown Raid.[20]

The outbuildings erected originally for use in connection with Bldg. No. 34-35 were consequently utilized by the occupants of Bldgs. No. 36 during the 1859-1861 period. These included a small one story brick smoke house situated in the rear of Bldg. No. 34, and a one and a half story frame structure about 16 by 20 feet in size that fronted on Market Street. Both of these structures were located on Lot No. 3, Block B, Shenandoah Street, and were finally swept away by the 1870 and 1877 floods. Bldg. No. 36A, a one story brick privy, 6 by 9 feet in size, was also probably originally erected for use of the inhabitants of Bldg. No. 34-35, but in the 1859-1861 period it served the occupants of Bldg. No. 36. Bldg. No. 36A is to be seen in the Photograph HF-361, which was taken about 1865.[21]

Further confirmation of the fact that no new outbuildings were erected for Bldg. No. 36 before the Civil War, is to be found in the estimates for the July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1862, fiscal year. In this document the sum of $2,000 is requested "For outhouses for Officers Quarters." The justification for this sum stated:

"The funds for the construction of these quarters derived altogether from the [1852] sale of lots at the Armory, having been exhausted in the erection of the building themselves, no outside conveniences, such as a stable, meat-house, or other necessary buildings could be erected. This item of the estimate includes the building of a stable for the Paymaster, and the removal, from the present site, of the old stable on his premises, erected thirty years ago, and for like purposes at the other quarters. The erection of these outhouses is rendered the more essential through the fact that these

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20. Snell, C. W., "Historic Building Report, Part II, Historical Data Section, for Bldg. No. 34-35," pp.30.

21. Ibid., p.29.

quarters are far removed, except for that of the Master Armorer, from the business part of the town, and the tenants suffer great inconveniences from the want of needful supplies which cannot be secured in advance in consequence of having no suitable places in which to store them."[22]

The destruction of the arsenals on April 19, 1861, and the outbreak of the Civil War, of course, prohibited the expenditure of any money to effect the purposes that were outlined in the 1861-62 estimates. The old outbuildings must thus still have been in use in the 1859-1865 period.

3. USE OF BLDG. NO. 36, 1860-1861

As already noted, Mr. John E. Daingerfield, the Paymaster's Clerk moved into Bldg. No. 36 in July, 1859, and there he remained until 1860. On November 3, 1859, Superintendent Barbour informed Col. Craig:

"Instructed by the Hon. Sec'y of War, I have given to Mr. Am. M. Ball, Master Machinist, an acting appointment, as Master Armorer from the 1st Nov. inst....The Quarters of the M. Armorer [House No. 30], on Camp Hill, are now vacant."[23]

Master Armorer Benjamin Mills had resigned and the Armory thus had a new Master Armorer. Mr. Ball, the new appointee, had been living in a house he owned that was located on Lot No. 1, Block D, Shenandoah Street.[24] Armstead M. Ball, however, was not interested in moving into House No. 30 on Camp Hill, but wished to live in the Master Armorers House, Bldg. No. 36, on Shenandoah Street. Matters came to a head in April, 1860, and Superintendent Barbour informed Col. Craig, Chief of Ordnance:

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22. Estimates, 1861-1882, Photostatic Collection, V.4, pp.43-45.

23. Barbour to Craig, November 3, 1859, Reel 27, V.5, p.411.

24. Snell, Charles W., Historic Building Site Survey Report: "History of Lots No. 1 to 7, Block D, Shenandoah Street, 1796-1865," dated January 30, 1959, pp.7-9.

"Enclosed herewith you will receive the application of Master Armorer Ball for Quarters as allowed by law-- You will also find a letter from Mr. Dangerfield (Clerk of Paymaster & Military Storekeeper) offering some considerations why he should not be ousted from the Quarters [Bldg. No. 36] now occupied by him..."

Mr. Barbour then gave a lengthy review of all the 1858-59 correspondence relating to the question of whom should occupy Bldg. No. 36; continuing, he stated:

"...Mr. Daingerfield then was compelled to remove to the new Quarters on Shenandoah Street-- He incurred considerable expense in furnishing the new house. He now considers that as the Department compelled him against the positive protest of the Superintendent of the Armory to move in and occupy these Quarters, he has some right to expect that he will not be removed-- As far as the public interest is concerned, I see no reason to change the opinion express by me in my letter of 8th April last--But as the advantage to the Government in the vicinity (?) of the Master Armorer to the Armory, may be to a great extent attained by the mode suggested in your letter of the 3rd December 1858 to Mr. Clowe, the then Superintendent, I determined not to subject Mr. Daingerfield to any more extraordinary expenses and inconvenience-- Yet I cannot assume the decision of this case now or finally-- It is absolutely necessary that a <u>decision</u> should be made. The decision now will be considered final. The Department has managed it so far and I must request that it make the final solution.

The Quarters [House No. 30] on the Hill are at present occupied by Mr. T. L. Patterson, Engineer of the Dam [the U. S. was then building a new dam across the Potomac River]-- He rents from the Government & is to remove at any time, he is required so to do. Master Armorer Ball lives in his own house [Lot No. 1, Block D] on Shenandoah Street. I concur fully with Mr. Daingerfield in urging a final and definitive adjustment of the matter."[25]

Col. Craig rendered a decision on April 10, 1860, stating therein:

"...in reply I have to say that Mr. Ball designates the house [Bldg. No. 36] improperly, It was not "provided by Law for the Master Armorer" but with two others were erected for the use of the Master Armorer and two Clerks, and although from the beginning the house in question was looked on as the proper residence of the former by me, the Secretary of War decided otherwise, and assigned to Master Armorer Mills the dwelling house [House No. 30] on the Hill. Under that decision that house is the proper place of residence of Mr. Ball and he should be put in possession if he desires it..."[26]

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25. Barbour to Craig. April 9, 1860, Reel 27, V.7, p.701.

26. Craig to Barbour, April 10,1860, Reel 19, V.11, p.1099.

The squabble did not end here however, for the matter was referred to Secretary of War John B. Floyd, who informed Mr. Barbour on April 30, 1860:

"The directions, heretofore given, for assigning a dwelling house on the hill to Mr. Mills, when Master Armorer, were only intended for a temporary arrangement, and are now repealed. The quarters originally intended for the Master Armorer [namely, Bldg. No. 36] will be assigned to Mr. Ball and the other two houses, intended for two clerks, will be so assigned as a permanent arrangement."[27]

This decision seemed clear enough, but other obstacles now arose to prevent the rapid execution of this order. On August 2, 1860, Master Armorer Ball therefore notified Superintendent Barbour:

"Having made my arrangement to build an addition to my house [on Lot No. 1, Block D, Shenandoah Street] I am forced to the necessity (as the season is already far advanced) to request that you would inform me at what time I can be put in possession of the quarters [Bldg. No.36] designated by the Hon. Secty of War, as those designed for the Master Armorer.

I would not thus annoy you by such an application, if I did not feel, that in addition to the inconveniences I am subject to, I am day by day losing time that is precious."[28]

This letter was forwarded by Barbour to Col. Craig and Mr. Barbour commented:

"...You will remember that on 30th April last written orders were given me by the Honble Secretary of War to put Master Armorer Ball in the Quarters on Shenandoah Street then and now occupied by Mr. Daingerfield, Clerk to Paymaster. Mr. Daingerfield could not give possession [of Bldg. No. 36] until he could be put in possession of the Quarters on the hill intended for him- But these Quarters on the hill were occupied by Mr. T. L. Patterson Engineer in Charge of Potomac Dam. As soon as practicable after the receipt of the letter of Honble. Secretary of 30th April I certified Mr. Patterson verbally of the ____ thereof & requested possession of the same as indicated. Subsequently I notified him in <u>writing</u>. He still has possession and I have no means of removing him except by regular legal process to which I presume the Government rarely resorts against a party <u>holding office</u> under it.-- Mr. Patterson says he will move shortly. Mr. Ball thinks that he has been unnecessarily, designedly and improperly withheld from possession.-- I deem it due to all parties to make this statement and at the same to say for myself I have nothing to do or to say with regard to the motive or personal troubles of these parties. But I deem it my duty to report that case to you and request

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27. Floyd to Barbour, April 30,1860, Reel 27, V.8, p.733. Also Barbour to Craig, May 7, 1860, Reel 27, V.8, p.731.

28. Ball to Barbour, August 2, 1860, Reel 27, V.10, p.983.

it be referred to the Honble Secretary for his further orders.

It is due however to Mr. Daingerfield to say that he has all the time expressed his readiness to give up the Quarters he occupies, whenever the other Quarters were ready for him."[29]

Col. Craig passed these two letters on to the Secretary of War on August 2, 1860, only remarking: "...It is understood at this Office (verbally) that Mr. Patterson became the occupant of the House, in which he now resides [House No. 30 on Camp Hill], and which was at that time the assigned Quarters of the Master Armorer, with the concurrance of A. M. Ball."[30]

On August 4, 1860, Col. Craig informed Superintendent of the final decision:

"I have now received the Acting Secretary's reply in the following words--

'No further order than that of the 30th April last from this department seems to be necessary. The Engineer in charge of the Dam at Harper's Ferry in not entitled to be furnished quarters by the Department, and, if he is now in possession of quarters belonging to any Officer of the Armory, it must be through courtesy alone. If such quarters are needed by the Officer entitled thereto, they should be turned over to him by the proper authority under the order already existing.

War Dept. (Signed) W. R. Dunkard, Actg. Secy of War. Augt. 2nd 1860'

I communicate the foregoing to you for your guidance."[31]

As these has been found no further correspondence on this subject after the above date, it appears that the question must have been resolved to the satisfaction at least of Master Armorer Ball and Paymaster's Clerk John E. Daingerfield. By September, 1860, Armstead M. Ball was apparently living in Bldg. No. 36,[32] and Daingerfield was apparently residing in Armory Dwelling

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29. Barbour to Craig, August 2, 1860, Reel 27, V.10, pp.981-982.

30. Craig to Secretary of War, August 2, 1860, Reel 20, V.4, p.323.

31. Craig to Barbour, August 4, 1860, Reel 19, V.12, p.1140.

32. Census of 1860, Reel 10, V.2, p.185. For information on A. M. Ball, see Snell, C. W., "History of Lots No. 1 to 7, Block D, Shenandoah Street," p.8.

House No. 14, which was located on Wager Lot No. 18.[33] Mr. Patterson apparently still held on to House No. 30 on Camp Hill.

4. Civil War, 1861-1865

Confederate forces seized Harpers Ferry on April 19, 1861 and "All government [United States] property was seized and many families who were renting houses from the government were obliged to vacate their homes at great inconvenience and procure shelter wherever they could."[34]

Thus at this time or soon thereafter, Bldg. 36 was henceforth utilized as headquarters for commanding officers of both sides. In 1865 it served as the headquarters of General Stevenson of the United States Army.[35]

On July 27, 1865, Brigadier General Edward D. Ramsay made a detailed inspection and report of the buildings and stores at Harpers Ferry. He described Bldg. No. 36 as follows:

"Dwelling House No. 1-two story, Brick, located on Shenandoah Street. In fair condition, and occupied as Headquarters by Genl. Egan."[36]

In remarking on the general usage of the Armory Dwelling Houses by the soldiers during the war, he noted:

"Since then [1861], many of the government houses have been torn down by the troops, and the materials appropriated to building for themselves temporary huts. The costly quarters of the Superintendent of the Armory, of the Paymaster, and other conspicious and valuable buildings belonging to the Government, have been wantonly abused, and I am sorry to say, as I am credibly

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33. Census of 1860, Reel 10, V.2, p.170; Also see Sullivan, Arthur L., "Historic Building Site Survey Report-History of Wager Lots No. 17 to 34, 1782-1869," dated February 18, 1959, pp.62-63.

34. Joseph Barry, The Strange Story of Harper's Ferry, Martinsburg, W. Va., 1903, p.116.

35. See Photograph HF-141, 1865 drawing by A. R. Waud.

36. Ramsay to Brig. Gen. A. B. Dyer, Chief of Ordnance, July 27, 1865, Photostatic Collection, Map Case, Drawer No. 10.

informed, mostly by our own troops. Marble mantle pieces have been taken away; and the stair cases torn down and used as fuel. To repair these buildings will involve an expense of at least one half of their original cost."[37]

5. 1866-1884

From 1866 to 1869 Bldg. No. 36 was apparently rented out by the Government. The house was first included in the list of property to be sold in 1869 but was then withdrawn from the lots actually offered for sale at that time.

On July 5, 1872, the town officials applied to Secretary of War W. W. Belknap for permission to use Bldg. No. 36 for town purposes, writing:

"We, the corporate authorities of Harper's Ferry, W. Va., do most respectfully and earnestly pray you to place at the disposal of the town lot 2, Block B, together with the brick house located thereon, to be used by said town for a town-house, school-house, jail, station-house, or otherwise, as may best serve their purposes.

In support of this request we urge the following considerations, to wit: We have now not a single school-house standing within the limits of the corporation for the use of white children.

Two of our school-houses [one was located on Lot No. 2, Block E, Shenandoah Street, and the other on Lot No. 9, Block I, Camp Hill] were pulled down during the war by the United States soldiers, and the bricks after being used in the camps were sold by the United States ordnance officer here...while the third and only remaining one, after having been used almost constantly for a hospital and greatly damaged, was repaired at the expense of the town only to be entirely demolished by the great flood of October 1, 1870 [This school house was located on the Island of Virginius].

We have neither town-house nor jail, the jail also having been destroyed during the war.

No compensation whatever has ever been obtained by the town for the use, damage, or destruction of its public buildings, while, thus far, three of the churches have been aided in making repairs of their houses.

A house and lot had been assigned to the use of the town prior to the sale in 1869, but at that time it was taken and sold with others, while four of the best buildings, with ample lots, were donated to the Storer College for the benefit of colored people.

The buildings and grounds for the use of which your petitioners ask have not yet passed out of the possession of the United States, they having been bid off, but not taken, at the sale in 1869; and, under all the circumstances,

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37. Ramsay to Brig. Gen. A. B. Dyer, Chief of Ordnance, July 27, 1865, Photostatic Collection, Map Case, Drawer No. 10.

are of but little if any value to the United States, the rent being absorbed by repairs and in the care of the building..."[38]

Mr. Belknap noted on the above letter: "The Secretary of War has no authority to lease this property. Refer this to the Chief of Ordnance for his opinion as to this property, as the town authorities will probably appeal to Congress, July 12, 1872."[39]

Major S. V. Benet of the Ordnance Department replied on July 13, 1872, writing:

"...There is no authority of law known to this Bureau for renting such property; but under the last Army Regulations, approved by Congress, (and the practice of this Department for fully a half a century, based upon the necessities of the case,) buildings at the Harper's Ferry Armory have been rented.

There are now but two buildings at that place in the possession of this Bureau, and they are both rented. The one within applied for is occupied by three parties, one of which-Koonce-owes for fourteen months' rent, amounting to $56.

This bureau recommends that the portion of the building occupied by Koonce and the unoccupied rooms be loaned to the corporate authorities of Harper's Ferry on condition that they keep them in repair and turn them over to this Department at once on application."[40]

This recommendation was approved by the Secretary of War on July 15, 1872.[41] Major Benet accordingly issued orders to Mr. Zadok Butt, the Ordnance Agent at Harpers Ferry, on July 16, 1872, to lease Bldg. No. 36 to the town authorities.[42]

On July 17, 1872, Mr. Butts informed Mr. Benet:

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38. Daniel Ames, Mayor and others, to Secretary of War Belknap, July 5, 1872, Noffsinger, James P., "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," p.153.

39. Ibid., p.153.

40. Ibid., pp.153-154.

41. Ibid., p.154.

42. Ibid., p.154.

"I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th inst. by Mr. Ames, instructing me as to the rooms in house No. 1, occupied by Mr. John Koonce, and authorizing me to loan them to the corporate authorities of Harper's Ferry, under certain conditions, as well also, the unoccupied rooms, if any.

I had given Mr. Koonce written notice to surrender possession of his part of the house on the 1st of August prox., and to pay the rent in arrear-15 months from 1st May, 1871, to the date @ $4 p. mo., $60.00.

Since receiving your letter of the 16th inst. I have had an interview with him, and read to him my instructions therein. He says he will vacate the rooms as required.

There are no other unoccupied rooms in the building. I declined to rent the back corner room on the first floor, preferring to reserve it for a place of business where I could do the writing of my agency and receive any officers of the Government who might come to the place on business with me for the Government. This room is now occupied by myself and papers, and A. M. Kitzmiller, a lawyer once connected with the Armory here [he was the former Superintendent's Clerk], whose assistance to me in ordinary matters and his daily watchful care of the property I hold equivalent to and in full satisfaction for his personal occupation of the room. I will not like to give up this room for any other public purpose.

I am not very well informed whether or not it is designed by the corporate authorities to use this or any other portion of the building, which consists of five (5) rooms and cellar, now occupied by Koonce for a corporation prison as well as for council chambers..."[43]

Butts was directed on July 18, 1872, to turn his room over to the town.[44] On August 17, 1872, the United States and town authorities signed a formal lease by which the town was granted the free use of "that portion of the building occupied by John Koonce, and the unoccupied rooms, if any, in the same building," provided they agreed "to keep the property in repair and to turn it over to the Department (Ordnance) at once, on application."[45]

On December 19, 1872, Mayor Ames informed the Chief of Ordnance:

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43. Butt to Benet, July 17, 1872, Ibid., pp.154-155. Also Mayor Ames to Benet, July 17, 1872, Ibid., 154. Ames stated that Butt's and Kitzmiller's back room on the first floor was the only one not rented and they desired it for use as a council room.

44. Ibid., p.155. Major Benet to Butt, July 18, 1872.

45. Ibid., p.157, Lease, U. S. to Mayor Ames and others, August 17, 1872.

"...the rooms occupied by Mrs. Markwood in the Government house located on lot 2, block B, Shenandoah Street, Harper's Ferry, W. Va., embracing all of the balance of the house not occupied by the corporate authorities of said town, except one room heretofore rented by Dr. Kessler, have been vacated by Mrs. Markwood. You are therefore respectfully requested, in accordance with a previous order issued by you, to direct Mr. Z. Butt, your agent in said town, to turn over the said rooms to the corporate authorities of Harper's Ferry, W. Va."[46]

Major Benet issued the requested directive to Mr. Butts on December 19, 1872.[47] Thus by January, 1873, all of Bldg. No. 36, with the exception of one room, was being utilized by the Harpers Ferry town government.

On December 28, 1880, John Koonce submitted a letter to the Solicitor of the Treasury which contains an excellent description of the interior of Bldg. No. 36 at that date and also of its use. Mr. Koonce reported:

"In reply to yours of the 27th the Front Room south side 17½ x 15.3 [feet] Used as Post Office by Alexander Fossett. Pays Quartly. Comm. Feb. 1st, has paid up to October 31st 80. [Room No. 6 on Drawing No. NM-HF 3067]

Room back of Post Office south side [Room No. 7] 17.4 x 15.3, used by Mrs. Trail. Passage [Hallway] 7 feet 2 in wide stair running up to second floor.

Two Rooms North side, 18 x 15 front room [Room No. 4] 17 x 15 Back room [Room No. 5], folding Doors. Used by Board of Education for School. Pay no rent. President of the Board T. A. Kirwan. These 4 rooms are on first floor-main Building. Sealing [sic] 11 feet 9 in High, this is inside measure.

Wing or back building, Kitchen 20.3 x 17.6. Sealing 10 feet. Small room or Panty 9 x 5 [Room No. 8]. Basement Kitchen 20.3 x 17.3 [Room No. 3] is damp-used for coal.

Second floor of Wing 2 rooms, 15 x 9.4.[Room No. 15] and 14.10 x 10 [Room No. 14], Second floor south side 2 rooms 17.4 x 15.8 [Room No. 14] and 17.6 x 15.8 [Room No. 13]. Hall Room 13 x 7.3 [Room No. 11]. Used by Mrs. Trail. Pays by the Quarters. Paid up to October 31/80.

Front Room se[cond] floor 18 x 15 [Room No. 9] used for Council room and Mayors office by the Corporation. North side Back Room se[cond] floor--17 x 15

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46. Ames to Chief of Ordnance, December 19, 1872, Ibid., p.158.

47. Benet to Butt, December 19, 1872, Ibid., p.158. Also Butt to Benet, December 23, 1872, Ibid., pp.158-159. Benet to Butt, January 3, 1873, Ibid., p.159.

[Room No. 10]. used by Rev. Campbell. pays when convenient but rented by the month. Owes two months, $2.00. The Building is in fair condition with the Exception of the frount [sic] spouting which was broken down this last snow & back poarch [sic] of the Wing wants a new floor. Hoping the discription [sic] may be satisfactory - the Building is cared for by the Mayor & Council..."[48]

This description indicates that the rooms in Bldg. No. 36 today are still of the same size as they were in 1880, and therefore probably as they were in 1859.

In another letter to the Solicitor of the Treasury, dated December 27, 1880, it is stated that "In addition to above a new fence and back house has been put up since last report and amt. not known. The recent heavy snow has broken the spouting in front of the building which probably cost 15 or 20 dollars which will be fixed as soon as practible."[49]

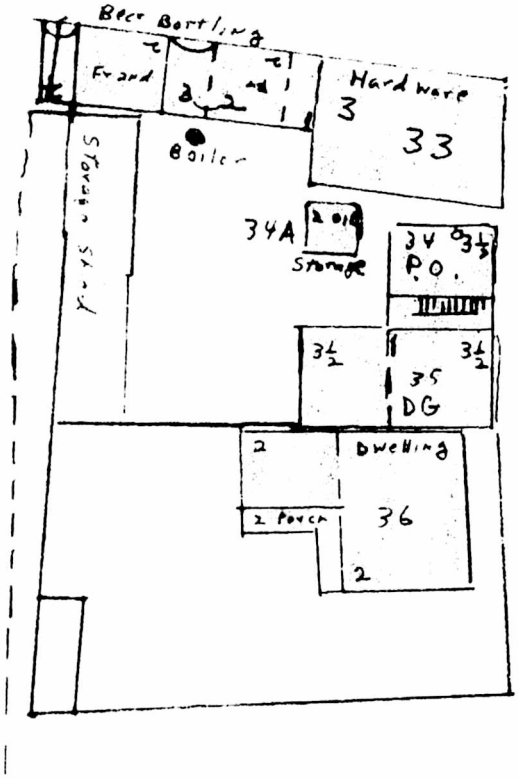
The United States reclaimed Bldg. No. 36 and Lot No. 2, Block B, Shenandoah Street, in 1884 and it was sold in that year at public auction. The property passed into private hands and was used as a residence from 1884 until acquired for inclusion in Harpers Ferry National Monument.[50] A map showing the lot and Bldg. No. 36 in November, 1894, will be found on the next page of this report.

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48. Noffsinger, James P., "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," p.199.

49. National Archives Record Group 121. Public Buildings Service, Harpers Ferry Case No. 155.

50. House listed as dwelling on November, 1894, Perris-Sanborn Map of Harpers Ferry; September, 1907, Sanborn of Harpers Ferry. 1913 B. & O. Map of Harpers Ferry; 1933 Sanborn Survey of Harpers Ferry, Drawing No. NM-HF-2004.



From Sanborn-Perris Map of Harper's Ferry, W. Va., November 1894

Scale: 1 inch equals 50 feet.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL DATA

1. HISTORICAL PLANS OF THE BLDGS.

A careful search of thousands of pages of documents in the National Archives failed to turn up any of the plans that were drawn for the construction of Bldg. No. 36. It is therefore highly unlikely that any original plans will ever be located. For modern measured drawings of Bldg. No. 36 and 36A, see Drawing No. NM-HF-3067, 16 sheets.

2. HISTORICAL PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Historical prints and photographs showing Bldgs. No. 36 and 36A will be found in the following reports that have already been submitted:

1. 1862-1865 photograph, HF-40, in Snell, Charles W., "Historic Building Report, Part I, for Bldg. No. 38 & 39, the Tearney Buildings," dated June 24, 1958, page 28. Excellent view of two story brick addition and wooden porch on the rear of Bldg. No. 36.
2. 1865 print, Photograph HF-141, by A. R. Waud, in Kissling, Herbert H., "Historic Building Report, Part I, for Bldg. No. 36," Revised January 22, 1958, page 20. Excellent view of front and east side of Bldg. No. 36; also two story porch and addition at rear, fences and trees. "General Stevenson's Headquarters."
3. 1865 original sketch of HF-141, Photograph HF-224, by A. R. Waud, in Snell, Charles W., "Historic Building Report, Part I, for Bldgs. No. 10 and 10A, the John C. Unseld Buildings," dated May 28, 1958, page 37.
4. 1865 photograph, HF-18, in Kissling, H. H., "Historic Building Report, Part I, for Bldg. No. 36," page 21. "Contraband Camp." Excellent view of front and east sides of Bldg. No. 36.

5. 1865 photograph, HF-361, in Snell, Charles W., "Historic Building Site Survey Report: History of Lots No. 1 to 11, Block C, Shenandoah Street, 1796-1865," dated January 23, 1959, p.112. The only early view showing the west side of Bldg. No. 36 and Bldg. No. 36A.

6. 1892-96 photograph, HF-99, in Snell, C. W., "History of Block C, Shenandoah Street," page 116. Excellent view of the roof and rear of Bldg. 36.

7. 1884-1890 photograph, HF-447. On the next page of this report will be found an excellent view of the front of Bldg. No. 36, taken after 1884 and before 1900, showing the structure in use as a residence.

3. SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL DATA

A. Ownership of the Land and Early Use

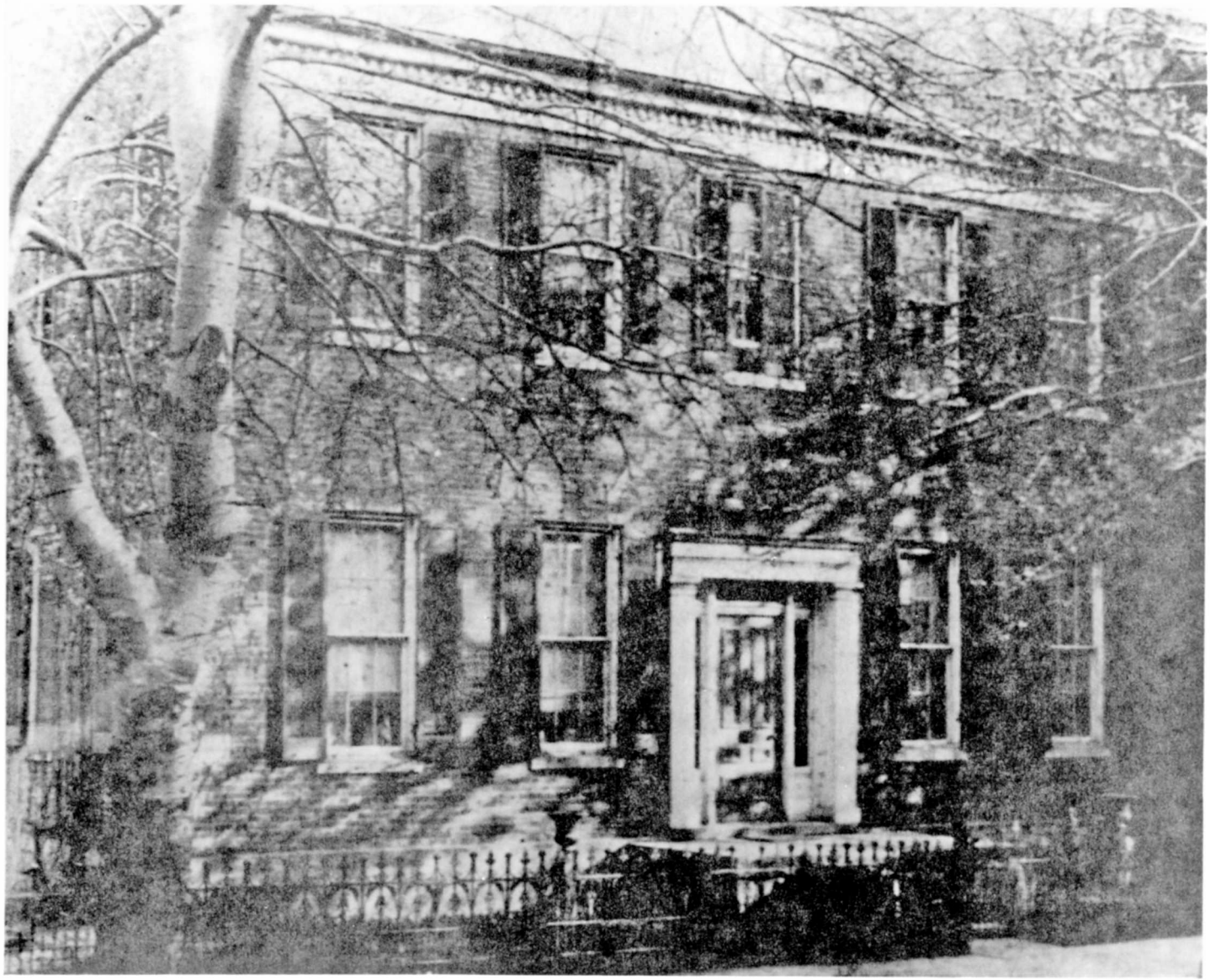
Lot No. 2, Block B, Shenandoah Street, was owned by the United States Government from 1796 to 1884. From 1822 to 1858 the lot was occupied in part by a one story brick building, 24 by 18 feet in size, with slate roof, that was known as the "Pay Office." This structure was removed in 1858 to make way for construction of Bldg. No. 36.

B. Construction of Bldg. No. 36

Bldg. No. 36 was erected May, 1858-July, 1859, at a cost of approximately $7,000 as new quarters for the Master Armorer of the Harpers Ferry Armory. The structure was designed by Superintendent Henry W. Clowe and constructed under his supervision by Armory workmen.[1]

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1. Employed as part of the regular force of the Armory in April, 1859, were two painters, one bricklayer, 14 carpenters, and two plasterers and masons. Inspection report of Lt. Col. James L. Riply to Col. H. K. Craig, April,14, 1859, Photostatic Collection, V.4, p.8. Master Builder Jeremiah Fuss, who would have normally supervised this construction was being loaned to another arsenal during this period, 1858-1859. Craig to Clowe, August 14, 1858, Reel 19, V.10, p.987.



BLDG. NO. 36 - FRONT ELEVATION

Photograph made 1884-1900.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-447,
Photograph donated by Mrs. Shewbridge,
of Harpers Ferry, July 8, 1958.

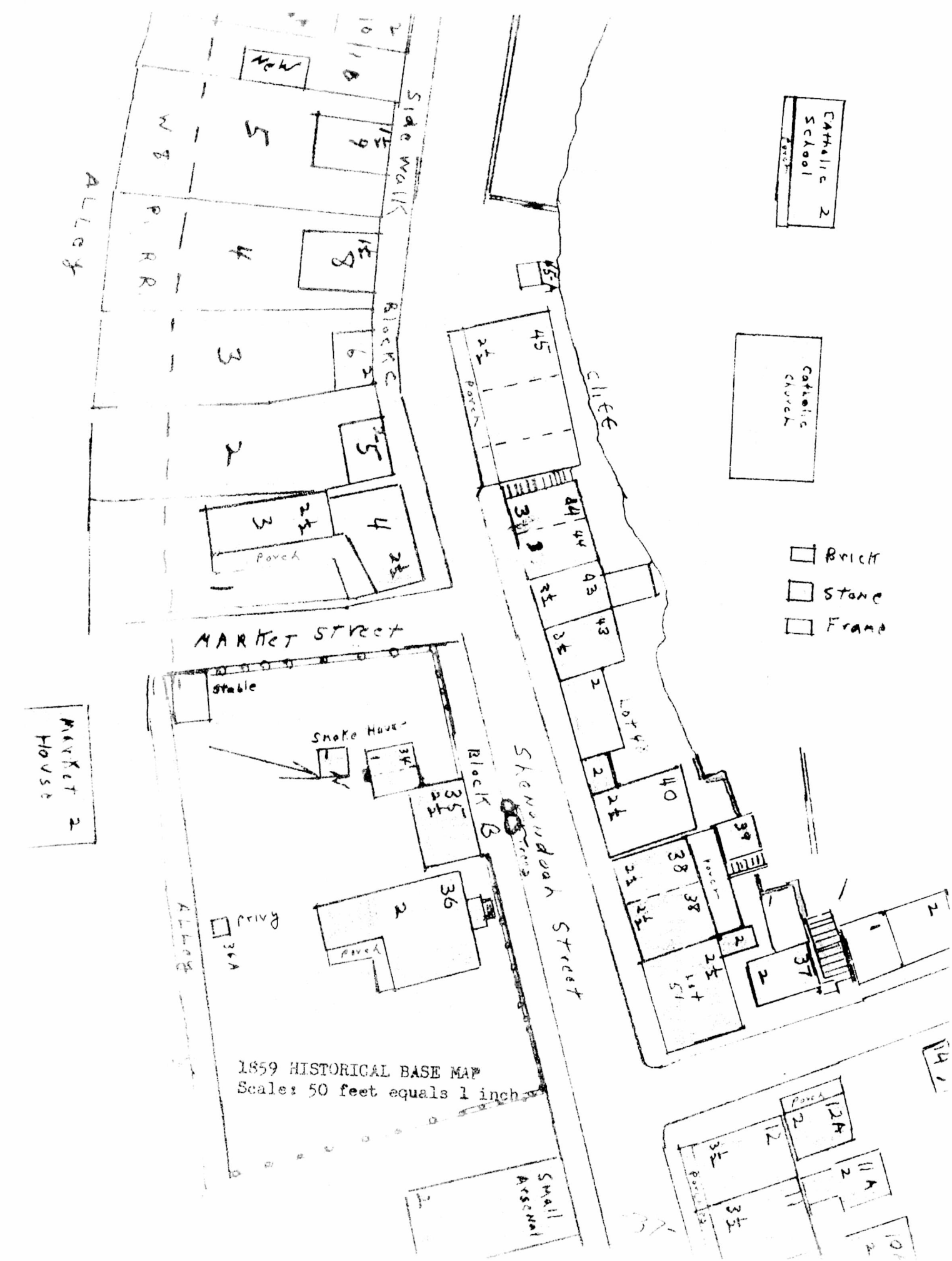
Photograph showing Bldg. No. 36 in use as a residence in the 1884-1900 period. Note the shade trees in front.

The house, a two story brick structure with slate roof, fronted 42 feet 7½ inches on Shenandoah Street and was 38 feet six inches deep.

At the southwest rear corner of the main structure there was a two story brick wing with slate roof that measured 20 feet 6 inches by 25 feet seven inches. A two story wooden porch ran along the east side of this wing and across the rear of the main house.

A kitchen was located in the basement of the wing and a second kitchen and small pantry on the first floor of the wing. The second floor of this wing contained two small rooms. The main portion of the house contained four large rooms on each floor. These rooms were divided by a central hallway with two rooms being located on each side of the hall. The hall on the second floor also contained a small room at the north end of the passageway, thus making a total of nine rooms in the main structure on the first and second floors. This new house was occupied in July, 1859.

Because of the shortage of funds no new outbuildings were constructed for the use of the occupants of Bldg. No. 36 before the Civil War. Thus the old outbuildings that had been erected for Bldg. No. 34-35, the Master Armorer's old quarters, were utilized during the 1859-61 period by the people residing in Bldg. No. 36. These outbuildings consisted of Bldg. No. 36A, a one story brick privy, 9 by 6 feet in size; a small one story brick smoke house located in the rear of Bldg. No. 34, and a 1½ story frame stable, about 16 by 20 feet in size that fronted on Market Street. The location of these buildings, fencing and trees may be seen by glancing at the 1859 historical base map which appears on the next page of this report. Bldg. No. 36 today is apparently practically unaltered structurally from its layout in 1859.


Catholic School
Catholic Church
Brick
Stone
Frame
MARKET STREET
Stable
Smoke House
Privy
Block B
Block C
Alley
Slate Walk
Porch
Lot 40
Lot 51
Small Arsenal
1859 HISTORICAL BASE MAP
Scale: 50 feet equals 1 inch

C. Use of Bldg. No. 36

1. Residence of John E. Daingerfield, Paymaster's Clerk, July, 1859, to August, 1860.

2. Residence of Armstead M. Ball, Master Armorer, September, 1860, to April, 1861.

3. April, 1861-1865, Civil War, Used as Headquarters of various forces holding Harpers Ferry.

4. 1866 to 1872, Rented by the United States Government to various individuals for multiple use as offices and residences.

5. 1872-1884, Leased by United States to Town of Harpers Ferry for use as school, town council rooms, Mayor's office, and Post Office.

6. 1884-1950's, Sold by the United States in 1884. Bldg. No. 36 used as a residence form 1884 to 1950's.

D. Recommendation

It is recommended that Bldg. No. 36 be called the John E. Daingerfield House, after the name of the Paymaster's Clerk who was residing in the house at the time of the John Brown Raid in 1859 and who was taken prisoner by Brown.

[sgd] *CHARLES W. SNELL*

Charles W. Snell
Historian (Park Supervisory)
March 10, 1959

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U.S. Department of the Interior
Mission Statement

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally-owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.





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