

SPECIAL HISTORY STUDY

PARK BUILDING 48

An Armorer's Dwelling

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

Final version by:

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HISTORICAL RESEARCH PROJECT

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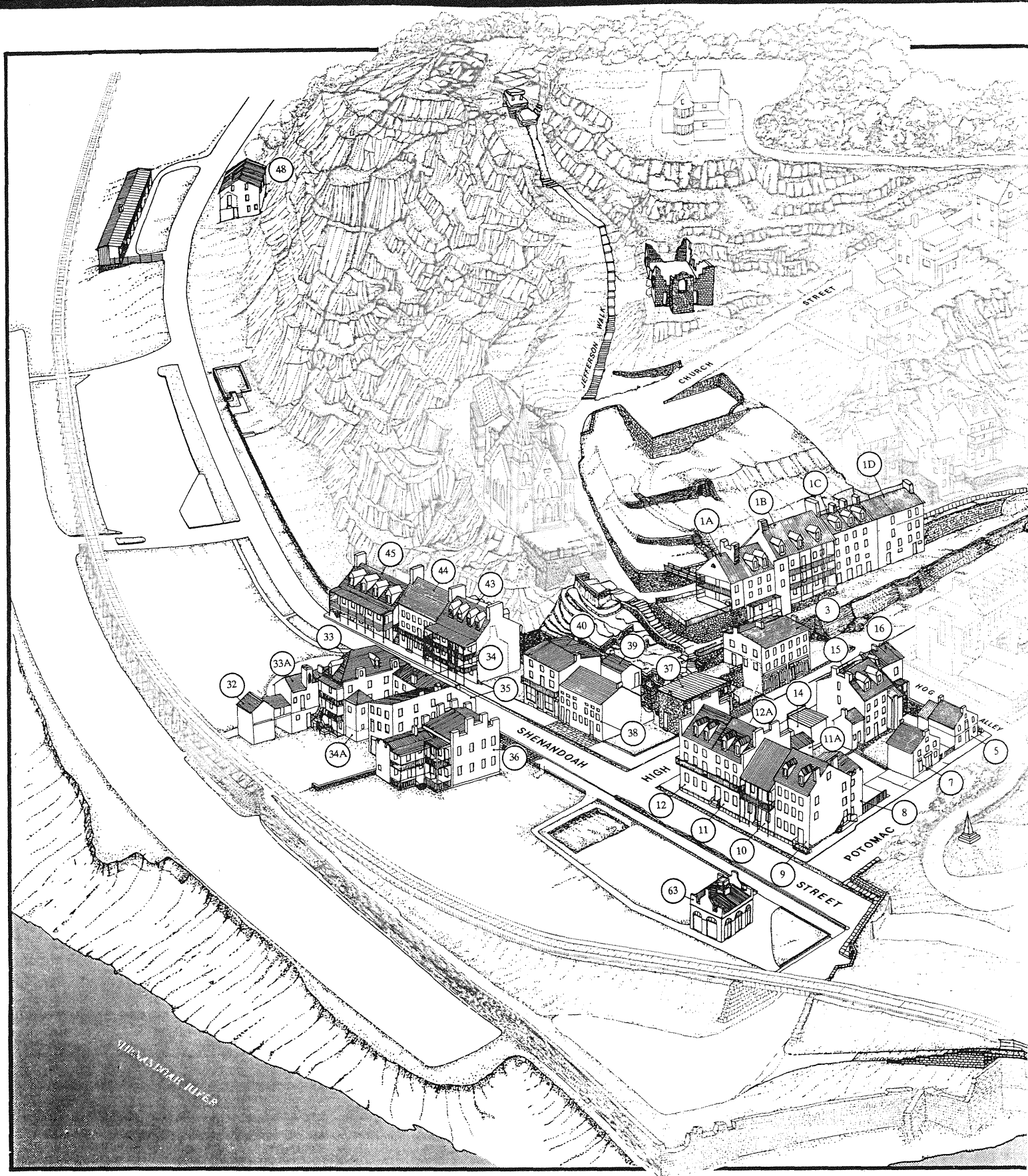
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The following terms apply throughout the report:

_____ 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); most are 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, maps, 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
NA RG	National Archives & Records Administration, Washington, D.C., Record Group . . .
Reel ____	references microfilm reels in HAFE library
Reel __, Vol.____	refers to binders in HAFE library of National Archives material photocopied from microfilm
Building Numbers	<u>Park Building</u> ...indicates current HAFE designation <u>Armory Dwelling</u> ... numbers assigned in 1841

Lower Town Locator Map



Preface

Historian Stan Bumgardner prepared the first draft of this report in order to support archeological investigations of the site conducted from August through November 1990. His final draft, prepared in May 1991, reflected review comments, but lacked the appendices he intended for inclusion. Additionally, records Bumgardner planned to examine were not available at National Archives at the May 1991 date.

This final version combines an edited version of Bumgardner's text with addenda developed in the interim 4½ years and includes maps and photos in the appendices. To preserve the integrity of Baumgardner's original work, a copy of his May 1991 text is retained in the Park library.

I. INTRODUCTION

This report examines Park Building 48, located on the eastern portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street. Primarily a physical history, the report also considers the building's residents to the extent limited data permit.¹

Historian Charles W. Snell made two studies, twenty-two years apart, of Park Building 48. His 1958 report was a comprehensive examination of the structure and treated the building in accordance with Park philosophy of interpreting structures in the context of the John Brown Raid and Civil War. In 1980 Snell expanded and updated the 1958 work, incorporating architectural evidence and new information located in the National Archives, and including post-Civil War history not considered in the original report.²

By 1990 the building had been included as part of HAFE Development Package 118, mandating a new report. A first draft of the report was distributed in May 1990 in time to support archeological investigations scheduled to begin in August and continue through November 1990. Over the ensuing year, Bumgardner expanded and edited the report to reflect new data and review comments, completing his final version in May 1991.

¹Deed records most commonly describe the property as Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street. Other public records label it as Lot 2 Shenandoah Street or Lot 2 South Cliff Street.

²Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Report, Part I and II, Bldg. No. 48, An Armorer's Dwelling House, Lot No. 2, Shenandoah Street," Harpers Ferry National Monument, October 31, 1958, Revised December 30, 1958;

Charles W. Snell, "Historic Structure Report, An Armorer's Dwelling House, Bldg. No. 48, on U.S. Lot No. 2 North of Shenandoah Street," Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia, Historical Data Section, Denver Service Center, May 1980.

Both the 1991 and 1995 versions of this report benefit from the Park's History Data Base, which encompasses a broader range of resources than Historian Snell had available to him in 1958 and 1980. Since January 1989, a Harpers Ferry historical research team working under a Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland has been developing a History Data Base in the form of a computer index. The Data Base includes indexed census, newspaper and property records relevant to Harpers Ferry. These primary sources have provided new information on Park Building 48, among others.

Dennis E. Frye, formerly the Park's Chief of Interpretation and Cultural Resource Management, supervised both the History Data Base project and resultant History Sections of Historic Structures Reports and Special History Studies from the project's inception. For the Park Building 48 report, Stan Bumgardner and Patricia Chickering received invaluable assistance from former Park Architect Krista Pace-Copeland, present Architect Peter Dessauer, the Park's Archeology staff, particularly Paul Shackel and Eric Larsen, and Historic Research Project Assistant Lead Historian Michael A. Jenkins.

The scope of this updated report has been somewhat curtailed due to limited accessibility of some vital data. Records in National Archives Record Group 217, which includes U. S. Armory payrolls and rent rolls for the first half of the nineteenth century, were not fully available to researchers. In 1990, in response to a requisition from Harpers Ferry National Historical

Park, National Archives staff removed the records from the shelves and began conserving and microfilming them. By November 1995, however, only about two-thirds of the microfilm had been delivered to the Park. When the material is fully available to researchers, it may be possible to reconsider Park Building 48's relationship to other armory dwellings and to analyze more fully the lives of its occupants in the context of the greater Harpers Ferry area population.³

II. BUILDING 48

During the 1950s, in the early stages of development planning for Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Park Building 48 was designated an "Armorer's Dwelling" because it was believed to be the only extant structure within Park boundaries constructed for, and used as a residence by, United States Armory workers (as distinguished from Armory Officials, who occupied several structures still existing within the Park) at Harpers Ferry. However, although Park Building 48 was erected on Armory property, research has so far failed to yield the name any armorer who lived there. Thus "Armory Dwelling" may prove a more appropriate label.

At present a six room, two-story plus attic stone structure fronting 19 feet on the north side of Shenandoah Street, running 33 feet deep to abut the cliffs, Park Building 48 originally measured

³National Archives Record Group 217 encompasses Records of the General Accounting Office, Records of the Second Auditor of the Treasury, 1st, 2nd and 3rd Series and includes invoices, payment vouchers, payrolls and receipt rolls from the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry, and some rent rolls.

19 feet by 15 feet, 6 inches. At some time a 17 foot, 6 inch, by 19 foot addition was erected on the north, or cliff, side. Physical foundations identified by park archeologists in 1990 indicated a 20 foot, 3 inch, by 17 foot, 1½ inch, two-story wing once existed to the east.⁴

Park Building 48, like other Armory buildings, had different numbers over time. Armory Superintendent James Stubblefield used one set of Armory building numbers in the 1820s, but no means has been determined to connect those numbers with specific structures. In 1841, Armory Superintendent Major Henry K. Craig ordered Armory painter John P. Kennedy to paint numbers on each Armory dwelling house; rent rolls bore those numbers through 1859, when the few dwellings remaining in Armory ownership (after completion of the 1852 disposal sales of surplus Armory property) received new numbers. The latter numbers were in place in September 5, 1862, when Daniel Young reported on dwelling houses belonging to the Ordnance Department. Due to changes in building numbers, no numbered armory building can be positively identified as Park Building 48, although Park Building 48 matches the description of Building No. 5 on the 1862 Daniel Young report:

A two story stone house, with a 1½ story wing attached. Occupied by Joseph Manuel for a Store and dwelling, and is

⁴The dimension of 19 by 15 feet, 6 inches, was determined by former Park Architect Krista Pace Copeland in September, 1990;

The 20 foot, 3 inch, by 17 foot, 1½ inch, dimension of the east wing established by archaeologists in 1990 validated the 20 by 17 foot size Snell listed on p.2 of his 1980 report. However, on p.38 of that report Snell attributed to former Park Architect Archie Franzen the opinion that structural evidence indicated the no-longer-extant east wing was part of the building's original construction. That thesis would result in yet another scenario for construction configuration of the building.

situated on Shenandoah St. \$6.25."⁵

III. OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND

Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, site of Building 48, was part of property Robert Harper acquired in the mid-eighteenth century from Lord Fairfax, and which his niece, Sarah Harper Wager, inherited upon Harper's death. Sarah Wager died in 1786, and ten years later, on June 15, 1796, her husband and other heirs sold the land (retaining for their use six and three-quarters acres) to the United States government for establishment of a national armory at Harpers Ferry.⁶

In 1852 the government sold at public auction to Armory workmen and Harpers Ferry citizens 216½ acres of surplus public land, subdivided into 258 house lots, on some of which stood 53 Armory dwellings. Lot 2 with Park Building 48 was not included in the 1852 Armory property sale, and, as seen from the Young report, the property was rented out during the Civil War. Thus, at the close of the Civil War Park Building 48 was one of 25 armory dwellings still owned by the government.⁷

⁵Charles W. Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog and Directory of 187 Armory Dwelling Houses, 1841-1852, of the U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, Including Rents Collected, 1823 to 1851: Volume II, A History of Armory Houses," Denver Service Center, September 1981, p.10;

NA RG 217, 2nd Auditor, 2nd Series, File No. 6195, Washington, D.C. "Rent Roll - Statement of Dwelling Houses belonging to the United States at Harpers Ferry Armory, and of the Rents due thereon on 31st March 1841";

NA RG 156, Entry 21, Office of the Chief of Ordnance, File W. D. 387 (1863), Letters Received.

⁶See Snell's 1958 and 1980 reports for complete documentation of U. S. Government acquisition of Building 48's site.

⁷NA RG 156, Brigadier General Edward D. Ramsay, inspection report to Brigadier General A. B. Dyer, Chief of Ordnance, July 27, 1865; photocopy in HAFE Library.

After the Civil War the government decided against reconstructing the Harpers Ferry Armory and Arsenal (damaged and destroyed, respectively, during the War). It offered its remaining holdings--land, buildings, and the waterpower of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers--at Harpers Ferry for sale at public auction on November 30 and December 1, 1869. Bidding was high at the sale, prompted by over-optimistic expectations for the redevelopment of waterpowered industry at Harpers Ferry.

Sale conditions, however, allowed purchasers to defer payment, and eventually several factors prompted those who bought property at the sale to seek relief from their obligations. Disastrous floods in 1870 and 1877, uncertain national economic conditions during the mid-1870s, and protracted litigation between the B&O railroad and the capitalist speculators who purchased the Armory sites and the waterpower, all contributed to the failure of post-Civil War industrial redevelopment at Harpers Ferry, and to depression in the business community. On June 14, 1878, Congress enacted legislation to permit purchasers of Harpers Ferry property in the 1869 sale to apply for release from the terms of their contracts. The Act provided that, upon application, successful bidders from 1869 would be given the choice of either cancelling the original contract or keeping the property and having the bid price abated. This policy was described in a deed confirming resale of property at a later public auction at Harpers Ferry:

With the consent of the Secretary of War shall cancel contract with and release the purchasers of lots on land from their purchasers made on the 30th day of November 1869, at and near Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, wherever such purchasers shall

quit-claim and release said lots or parcels of land to the United States.⁸

At the 1869 sale Isabella Leisenring had placed the winning bid of \$1,475 for Lot 2. Under the 1878 Act, she was allowed to quit-claim the lot to the United States.⁹

When the property was resold on May 25, 1880, Gabriel L. Myers bid \$405 for Lot 2. He held the property for only eighteen months before selling to it Mrs. Margaret Dempsey for \$450. In 1885, Mrs. Dempsey divided the lot, keeping the eastern portion (which holds Park Building 48) and selling the western portion to Magnus Cockrell. The latter (western) portion of Lot 2 was sold in 1928 by Kate Cockrell and Georgia Cockrell to Raymond W. Murphy, who held the property until the state of West Virginia purchased it in 1953.¹⁰

In 1907, Mrs. Dempsey sold her (eastern) portion of the lot either to Eugenia Shugart, the one-month old daughter of Harpers Ferry Deputy Sheriff (and former Mayor) Eugene Shugart, or to

⁸JCC Deed Book I, p.109.

⁹James P. Noffsinger, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Contributions Towards a Physical History, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, November 1958, pp.135-136.

¹⁰JCC Deed Book I, p.109, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Solicitor of Treasury Kenneth Rayner to G.L. Myers, June 1, 1880;

NA RG 121, Entry 78, "Warranty Deeds to Lands Conveyed by the Ordnance Department, 1830-1927" (4 vols.), Vol. III, p.590;

JCC Deed Book K, p.239, Deed of Bargain and Sale, G. L. Myers to Margaret Dempsey, December 26, 1881; Deed Book 77, p.117, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Margaret Dempsey to Magnus Cockrell, April 9, 1885; Deed Book 130, p.515, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Kate Cockrell and Georgia Cockrell to Raymond W. Murphy, June 4, 1928;

Spirit of Jefferson, July 5, 1928, plc4;

JCC Deed Book 192, p.251, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Raymond W. Murphy and Jessie P. Murphy to the State of West Virginia, January 7, 1953;

Spirit of Jefferson, September 11, 1952, pA6c1-2; notes Raymond Murphy's death before the formal transfer of property to the state.

Eugene Shugart himself for \$290. The deed for that transaction was not recorded until after Eugene Shugart died in 1919, thus evoking questions concerning title to the property. The grantee of the original deed was Eugene Shugart, although when recorded the final typewritten "e" in Eugene was covered with an "ia" written in ink. "Eugenia" was Eugene Shugart's daughter, born one month before the 1907 transaction. The notary public attested the name as being Eugenia.¹¹

Land tax records, however, showed Margaret Dempsey as owner of Lot 2 through 1919. Beginning in 1920 Eugene Shugart appeared as owner. Records for the 1920s and early 1930s continued to list either Eugene Shugart or the Eugene Shugart estate as the property owner. In 1934, the eastern portion of Lot 2 finally appeared in the name of Eugene's daughter Eliza P. Shugart, who purchased it from her surviving brothers and sisters and their spouses the previous year.¹²

To complicate the matter, Lot 2 did not appear in either Eugene Shugart's will or the 1919 appraisal of his estate. The will directed all enumerated property to be transferred to his wife Margaret D. Shugart. Upon her death one-half of the property would pass to daughter Eliza and the other one-half to the remaining

¹¹JCC Deed Book 117, p.518, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Margaret Dempsey to Eugenia Shugart, November 15, 1907;

Farmer's Advocate, October 19, 1907, p2c2, notes Eugenia's birth.

¹²JCC Lands Record Books, 1920, 1923, 1926, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1933, and 1934;

JCC Deed Book 138, p.489, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Frank E. Shugart, Ann W. Dearing, Margaret Shugart, James A. Dearing, Gardner G. Shugart, Marguerite M. Shugart, Oliver M. Reitan to Eliza P. Shugart, May 26, 1933 (Eugenia Shugart Reitan had died in 1932).

surviving children. Unfortunately, the records of fiduciary appear to lack formal closing of accounts.¹³

After Margaret D. Shugart died on May 21, 1931, Lot 2 was omitted from the appraisal of her property as well. Furthermore, if the property was then legally owned by Eugenia Shugart (married name Eugenia Reitan), corresponding fiduciary records would logically have emerged after she died intestate on November 19, 1932. Eliza P. Shugart and the surviving brothers and sisters would presumably not have been able to acquire Lot 2 from either Eugene Shugart, Margaret D. Shugart, or Eugenia Shugart Reitan without record in the Jefferson County Courthouse, but no such record has been found. The 1933 deed transferring the eastern portion of Lot 2 to Eliza Shugart simply stated the surviving heirs had acquired the property from Eugenia Reitan, deceased.¹⁴

In 1943, Eliza Shugart Barnes and her husband Floyd Barnes conveyed the eastern portion of Lot 2 to Richard Kidwell, Jr., for \$100. The marked decrease from the 1907 price of \$290 perhaps reflected damage in the 1936 flood; tax records indicated a significant devaluation of the structures on both portions of Lot 2 between 1935 and 1936. Richard Kidwell held the property until the state of West Virginia purchased it in 1953 for inclusion in

¹³JCC Will Book D, p.425; Accounts of Fiduciaries Book O, pp.472 & 485.

¹⁴Record of Fiduciaries Book No. 1, recorded June 1, 1931; lists heirs as follows: Gardner Shugart, son, of Upper Marlboro, MD; Frank E. Shugart, son, of Westernport, MD; Eliza P. Shugart, daughter of Harpers Ferry; Margaret G.S. Reed, daughter, of Harpers Ferry; and Jean S. Reitan, daughter, of Charlotte, NC. Mrs. Reitan was the former Eugenia Shugart.

Tombstone inscription of Eugenia Shugart Reitan in Harper Cemetery, Harpers Ferry.

JCC Deed Book 138, p.489 (see Footnote 12, p.8).

Harpers Ferry National Monument.¹⁵

IV. CONSTRUCTION OF PARK BUILDING 48

In 1811 Armory Superintendent James Stubblefield began (without formal authority) permitting workers to erect, improve and maintain dwellings on government land at Harpers Ferry, as a means of compensating for the government's inability to directly satisfy the demand for armory worker housing. At that time no stone dwellings and only one stone and frame structure stood on Armory land at Harpers Ferry. By 1821, only three armorer dwellings, none matching the dimensions of Park Building 48, were of stone construction. Between 1822 and 1837, the Armory itself built 46 new residences, none of which fitted the description of Park Building 48. After 1837, the government only erected dwellings for the Armory superintendent, paymaster, master armorer, and their clerks, all built of brick.¹⁶

¹⁵JCC Deed Book 159, p.180, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Eliza P. Barnes and Floyd Barnes to Richard Kidwell, Jr., May 21, 1943; Record Books for 1935 and 1936; the assessment of the Shugart building decreased from \$140 to \$40; the assessment of Raymond Murphy's structure on the western portion of the lot decreased from \$380 to \$260; Deed Book 192, p.252, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Richard Kidwell, Jr. and Nellie Mae Kidwell to the State of West Virginia, January 7, 1953.

¹⁶Snell, "Bldg. No. 48," 1980, p.15;

Charles W. Snell, "A Comprehensive History of the Construction, Maintenance, and Numbers of Armory Dwelling Houses, 1796-1869," National Park Service Typescript, Harpers Ferry National Monument, January 13, 1959, pp.6,7;

Snell, "Bldg. No. 48," 1958, p.12;

"Statement of the Number and Dimensions of the Buildings at the United States' Armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume II, p.482.

Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, p. 25;

NA RG 156, Entry 935, War Department, Ordnance, National Armory Accounts for Harper's Ferry, 1795-1829, photostats in HFNHP Library;

Reel 20, Vol. 5, p. 436; (NA RG 156, Entry 936, National Armory Accounts and Annual Report for 1830 and 1831);

Reel 22, Vol. 13, p. 1255, Superintendent George Rust, Jr. to Chief of Ordnance George Bomford, August 7, 1832;

Since Park Building 48 did not exist on the 1821 inventory, it likely was constructed between 1821 and January 1832 by which time the government had stopped allowing employees to erect buildings on public land. Meanwhile, the government began compensating workers for housing they had built or improved. By 1839, the Armory acquired full title to most buildings on Armory property at Harpers Ferry.¹⁷

Of the buildings for which the government paid compensation during the 1830s, several stone structures could be Park Building 48. Unfortunately, no details were given of eleven stone buildings Armory Superintendent Stubblefield listed in a report he prepared in 1829 enumerating buildings for which the government owed claims. Armory Superintendent Rust reported in 1831 that the government owed compensation for six stone structures built by five individuals: Daniel T. Crawford, William Smallwood, John Lackey, Francis Attlespeiger, and Henry Ward. William Smallwood erected two of the structures, one measuring 16 by 19 feet, and the other 19 feet by 29 feet. Upon examination of the foundations of Park Building 48 in September 1990, Park Architect Krista Pace-Copeland and Park archeologists determined its probable original size as approximately 19 feet by 15 feet, six inches, closely matching the dimensions of the smaller Smallwood structure. The 19 by 16 foot

Reel 14, Vol. 4, p.896, Bomford to Rust, August 13, 1832;
Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, pp.17-18;
Snell, "A Comprehensive History," p.136.

¹⁷Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, pp.16-17;
Snell, "A Comprehensive History," pp.133-137.

building in 1831 had the following outstructures: log house, bake oven, smoke house, privy, stable, and fence.¹⁸

Since all additions to Park Building 48's original 19 by 16 foot core must have appeared after Rust's 1831 report, the government itself probably erected the north (rear) addition, which appeared in 1865 photo HF-119, and still exists. Because the builders' claims were assessed in 1832 (soon after Rust's report), it is unlikely the original builders invested in improvements (for which they would not be compensated) between then and when most claims were paid, 1837-39. Furthermore, the government did little or no construction work on armorer dwellings it retained after the sale of surplus property in 1852. Therefore, it is likely the rear addition was erected between 1837 and 1852.

The east wing addition identified by Park Archaeologists in 1990 did not appear in HF-119 (1865) due to the angle of the photo. The first visual evidence of the east wing appeared in two 1898 photographs, HF-1799 and HF-1804. Of the Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, only the 1933 edition included Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, and it showed the building with its east wing and approximately the same configuration it had on a 1913 B&O Railroad map. The east wing may have been constructed by the government before the Civil War--and before 1852, possibly at the same time as

¹⁸Personal communication: Stan Bumgardner with Krista Pace-Copeland and Park archeologists;

Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, pp.27,28,29;

Reel 24, Vol. 9, pp.844-849.

"Valuation of claims of individuals for improvements made on the Public Land at Harper's Ferry Armory," October 31, 1831, American State Papers, Military Affairs, IV, pp. 143-144.

the rear addition. Park Archeologists believe both the rear addition and the wing were erected during the 1840s.¹⁹

To avoid losing skilled laborers who could not afford to lease private land for housing, the government in 1852 sold 216½ acres, subdivided into 258 house lots, with 53 dwellings. Park Building 48 was among the property withheld by the government from the sale. After 1852 the Armory still owned 90 houses, 143 fewer than in 1850. During the 1850s the government destroyed those dwellings in poor condition, leaving only 33 residences extant in 1860, 25 of which survived the war.²⁰

William Smallwood, Builder

It remains unclear whether William Smallwood ever lived in Park Building 48, which he constructed at some point between 1821 and 1832. Smallwood built two dwellings during that period, both of which Snell believed stood on Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street. The larger, measuring 19 by 29 feet and designated by Superintendent Stubblefield as Building 37, was erected in 1825. Unfortunately, no date for the erection of the smaller 16 by 19 feet dwelling (believed to be Park Building 48) has been found.²¹

¹⁹Paul A. Shackel, Ed., Domestic Responses to Nineteenth-Century Industrialization: an Archeology of Park Building 48, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 1994, p.2.4;

See Appendix III for maps.

²⁰NA RG 156. Brigadier General Edward D. Ramsay, inspection report to Brigadier General A. B. Dyer, Chief of Ordnance, July 27, 1865.

²¹Snell, "Descriptive Catalog," pp.47 & 49;
Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, p.27;
American State Papers-Military Affairs, Vol. IV, pp.143-144. Report of

The first record of Smallwood in the Harpers Ferry area came from the 1820 Census, which listed him as an (armory) breech filer. From 1823 to 1828, Smallwood rented an armory dwelling from the government. The rent fluctuated from year to year raising questions as to whether he changed residences. An increase in rent from \$6 to \$12 between 1825 and 1826 may correspond with his construction of the 19 by 29 foot dwelling. Smallwood also appeared in the 1830 Census, but occupation was omitted from that census, and it is uncertain whether he still worked for the armory.²²

In 1832, most likely after he had built the two armorer dwellings, Smallwood purchased a large tract encompassing most of what is now known as Bolivar Heights from the Wager family for \$2,400. This tract continued to be recognized in legal records as the Smallwood Farm for many years.²³

It is not known how Smallwood acquired the means to purchase the farm as his only known occupation was as an armory worker. In addition, by 1832 he had received only one payment (in 1826) of just \$400 of the \$895 owed to him for labor and materials in

Superintendent Stubblefield, February 23, 1829, Armory Dwelling 37 in 1829 did not correspond to Armory Dwelling 37 identified in Rent Rolls between 1841 and 1852.

²²Reel 245, Fourth Census (1820), p.535 of Harpers Ferry; Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog," p.265;

American State Papers-Military Affairs, Vol. IV, pp. 146-148, "Statement of rents collected on dwelling-houses belonging to the United States armory, Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and occupied by workmen employed in the said armory, from the year 1823 until the close of 1828; and the names of persons from whom collected," submitted by James Stubblefield, Superintendent of the Harper's Ferry Armory, February 1, 1829;

Reel 246, Fifth Census (1830), p.170 of Harpers Ferry.

²³JCC Deed Book 20, p.96, Deed of Bargain and Sale, James B. Wager, Mary Ann Wager, Gerard B. Wager, and L.A. Wager to William Smallwood, July 7, 1832.

erecting the two armory dwellings. Funds to pay the balance were approved in 1832 but not actually appropriated until 1837. By then, the available funds had decreased, so Smallwood received only \$125.41 for one structure and \$229.32 for the other.²⁴

After 1832 no evidence has been found of William Smallwood's further association with the Harpers Ferry Armory. His extensive land holdings made Smallwood a prominent citizen, and he regularly appeared as a superintendent of elections at Harpers Ferry. He became one of the first two aldermen for the new corporation of Bolivar shortly after he purchased the large tract on Bolivar Heights. He later was active in local democratic politics.²⁵

Smallwood sold his farm, which had been greatly damaged during the Civil War, to Nathan C. Brackett in 1867. By 1870, he had moved his family to Loudoun County, Virginia. His family was listed on the 1870 Census there as: William Smallwood (78) farmer, real estate valued at \$4,000 and personal property valued at \$3,000; Charlotte Smallwood (76), keeping house; Franklin Smallwood (35), farmer; Mary F. Masee (33), at home; Adaline Masee (16), at home; Elizabeth Masee (14), at home; Ella Masee (12), at home;

²⁴Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, p.29;

Reel 24, Vol. 9, pp.844-849, "Valuation of claims of individuals for improvements made on the Public Land at Harper's Ferry Armory";

Superintendent Stubblefield noted the 1826 reimbursement in a list located in the American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume IV, pp.143-144.

Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, p.30;

Reel 24, Volume 9, pp. 837-840, "Record of Payment of Claims" mistakenly designates one of the structures as a "frame house." Previous lists indicated both of the dwellings Smallwood built were stone.

²⁵Virginia Free Press, March 24, 1836, p3c3; April 13, 1837, p3c2; April 25, 1839, p3c4; March 25, 1841, p3c3 (there were numerous listings for Smallwood as a superintendent of elections); July 5, 1832, p3c1; November 30, 1843, p2c7; December 21, 1843, p3c1.

Willie (8); Logan Townsend (15), laborer, Mulatto. William Smallwood died at his home "near Neersville," in Loudoun County, Virginia, on November 6, 1876, at the age of 86.²⁶

V. OCCUPANTS AND/OR OWNERS OF PARK BUILDING 48

It is impossible to identify residents of Park Building 48 before 1865 with certainty. Rent Rolls after 1841 listed the occupants of Armory dwellings and identified houses by numbers, but the numbers did not correspond with those assigned in the late 1850s and continued through the Civil War.²⁷

From the 1841-1852 Rent Rolls, the identity of Park Building 48 can be narrowed to three possibilities. In 1848, seven government-owned, stone, two-story structures existed on Shenandoah Street: Armory Dwellings 7, 10, 17, 22 26, 30, and 32. Due to mistakes in the rent rolls describing Dwellings 17 and 26 in 1848 and the sale of Buildings 10 and 22 the list narrows to three by 1852: Government Buildings 7, 30, and 32. Snell identified Government Building 7 as Park Building 45 (The John G. Wilson Building, located on Lot 1 North of Shenandoah Street).²⁸

²⁶JCC Deed Book 2, p.225, Deed of Bargain and Sale, William Smallwood and Charlotte Smallwood to Nathan C. Brackett, June 15, 1867; William Smallwood disappeared from local newspaper items after this, while his wife, Charlotte, continued to be mentioned for several years;

Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), p.127 of Loudoun County, Virginia;
Virginia Free Press, December 2, 1876, p3c3;
Spirit of Jefferson, December 5, 1876, p2c4;
Loudoun Mirror, November 23, 1876, p2c3.

²⁷Reel 18, Volume 12, pp.1185-1186,1177-1191, NA RG 153, detailed in Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog."

²⁸Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog...", p. 24.

No information positively correlated either of the two remaining structures to Park Building 48. Rent rolls from 1841 to 1852 showed Armory Building 30 as a single-family dwelling. Armory Building 32 also was a single-family dwelling in 1841, but had become a duplex by 1844, housing two families. Although the enlargement of Park Building 48 provided room for two families, it may have also remained a residence for one. This report considers both possibilities.

As the lack of specificity in armory records concerning dwellings and rents precludes even an educated guess about residents in Park Building 48 before 1841, it is likewise impossible to determine the occupants after 1852. The only evidence of armory policy concerning dwellings it owned is a January 1838 advertisement in the Virginia Free Press, in which the government offered "several dwelling houses, calculated to accomodate boarders" and "a number of rooms," for rent. This suggests the government was willing to rent some of its houses to persons not associated with the armory.²⁹

Assuming Park Building 48 is either Armory Dwelling 30 or Armory Dwelling 32, available rent rolls reveal that from 1841 to 1852 John Nichols' family occupied Armory Dwelling 30. A series of residents lived in Armory Dwelling 32. Armory Dwelling 30 was the more modest of the two structures, a fact apparent from the substantially lower rents it commanded. Residents of the latter dwelling will be discussed later.

²⁹Virginia Free Press, January 25, 1838, p3c4.

Armory Dwelling 30: 1841-1852

John Nichols

John Nichols may have lived in Park Building 48 from any time after its construction until his death in 1851. Few other dwellings were occupied by only one family during this same period. Very little is known about Nichols and it is unclear whether he worked for the United States Armory or whether he ever had any occupation. On the 1850 Census, his occupation was listed as "none."³⁰

On March 17, 1835, John Nichols placed real and personal property in trust to Notley Dearing to secure a debt to Robert Dearing. The items included a set of chinaware, which may be the source of china uncovered by Park archeologists in 1990. There was notable dichotomy between the high quality of the artifacts and the presumed modest setting of the dwelling. The deed of trust also included a 300-acre tract of land in Preston County, Virginia, left to John Nichols by his deceased father, another possible indicator of some wealth. Although the deed failed to mention locations of the grantors or grantees, newspapers revealed that grantee Notley Dearing was a Harpers Ferry resident.³¹

In the 1840 Census for Harpers Ferry, the closest name which

³⁰Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.418 of Harpers Ferry.

³¹JCC Deed Book 20, pp.265-266, Deed of Trust, John Nichols to Notley Dearing to secure \$300 debt for Robert Dearing; the deed was made March 17, 1835, although it not recorded until December 14, 1842; he placed the following items in trust: land "in Preston County willed from his late father" two bedsteads, two feather beds, one walnut bureau, one mahogany dining table, two cherry tables, one clock, one candlestand, one set of green Windsor chairs, one set of yellow Windsor chairs, one set of china ware, "including in the same a small set," one iron wash pot, one iron dinner pot, one small iron pot, two skillets, and one large pan.

matched John Nichols was John Nickolls (or Nickolds), with his household listed as 1 male under 5 years of age, 1 male age 30 to 40, 1 female under 5 years of age, 1 female age 5 to 10, 1 female age 10 to 15, and 1 female age 15 to 20. This may or may not be the John Nichols of Armory Dwelling 30 as other 1840 census information about Nickolls' family was inconsistent with data in the 1850 Census. John Nickolls' age in 1840 was between 30 and 40, while, in 1850, John Nichols was 55. Furthermore, the oldest female in 1840 nearly matched the age of Nichols' oldest daughter in 1850 (adding ten years, of course), but that would preclude the presence of Nichols wife in 1840, and there is no record of him remarrying. It must be noted, however, that ages in census records were often inconsistent from one enumeration to the next.³²

The first known record placing "John Nichols" in Harpers Ferry was the Armory rent roll for March 31, 1841, when the rent on Armory Dwelling No. 30 was \$6.25 a quarter. Nichols was listed as the occupant through the December 31, 1850, roll. Beginning with the June 30, 1851 rent roll, Mrs. Nichols was listed as the occupant (Nichols had died in February 1851). The last available rent roll, June 30, 1852, continued to place Mrs. Nichols in the dwelling. At the time of John Nichols' last listing (1850), the rent due had accumulated to \$22.50, three times the quarterly rent of \$7.50.³³

³²Reel 247, Sixth Census (1840), p.242 of Harpers Ferry.

³³Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog," p.47;
Virginia Free Press, February 28, 1851, p3c1; Nichols' obituary stated he died on February 12, 1851, of a "lingering disease" at the age of 58.

On October 4, 1842, Nichols' oldest daughter, Susan Catherine, married Robert Dearing, to whom the 1835 deed of trust had been intended. One year later, on September 23, 1843, the items placed in trust were to be sold at the residence of John Nichols in Harpers Ferry. Unfortunately, no further record of the sale has been found, either in newspapers or court records.³⁴

The following year, George Dearing, 83, described as a former resident of Culpeper County, VA, died at the home of John Nichols at Harpers Ferry. From his age, he may have been the father of Notley Dearing and the grandfather of Robert Dearing.³⁵

The 1850 Census detailed the following information on the Nichols family: John Nichols (55) born in Virginia, no occupation listed, head of household; Sarah V. Nichols (40), born in Virginia; Susan C. Nichols (30), born in Virginia; Ann W. Chulp (21), born in Virginia. It is significant Susan Nichols was listed in the home of John Nichols, no longer under her married name, Dearing. The 1850 Census listed only one Robert Dearing in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar--and in 1850 he was 14, too young to have married Susan Nichols in 1842. This implies the older Robert Dearing died after the 1842 marriage, or the couple divorced, and in either event Susan Dearing resumed her maiden name, or the census taker erred.³⁶

When Frances Elizabeth Nichols died in 1849 at age 15, the

³⁴Ibid, October 13, 1842, p3c2; August 31, 1843, p3c3.

³⁵Ibid, July 25, 1844, p2c7.

³⁶Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.418 of Harpers Ferry. No record of a divorce between Robert Dearing and Susan Nichols Dearing could be found in the Jefferson County Circuit Court Records between the years 1842 and 1850.

Virginia Free Press described her as the "eldest daughter of John & Sarah Nichols," thus suggesting that Susan Nichols Dearing, who was Nichols' oldest daughter, may not have returned to her father's home yet. Another interesting resident listed in Nichols' home was Ann Chulp, who may have been a servant. Due to John Nichols' lack of occupation, and rent arrears, it is more logical to assume Ann Chulp was a married daughter whose husband had died or moved elsewhere. The "lingering disease" which claimed John Nichols' life in February 1851 may explain the fact that he listed no occupation on the 1850 census. This lack of a job may also explain why the rent had not been paid over the last three quarters of 1850 and why he appeared on Jefferson County Overseers of the Poor lists in 1849 and 1850.³⁷

Armory Dwelling 32: 1841-1852

Unlike Armory Dwelling 30, Armory Dwelling 32 was occupied by several different families during the 1840s. At the time of the first existing rent roll on March 31, 1841, Augustus Shope resided in the building. Beginning with the rent roll of December 31, 1844, Armory Dwelling 32 had become a duplex, rented by John Berlin and James O'Laughlin. By December 31, 1846, William H. Wentzle had taken O'Laughlin's place, sharing the duplex with Berlin through at least the payment of June 30, 1849. Armistead M. Ball and J.W. Roderick occupied the dwelling from 1850 through the last available

³⁷Virginia Free Press, March 22, 1849, p2c7; August 2, 1849, p3c3; September 13, 1850, p3c3; February 28, 1851, p3c1.

rent roll of June 30, 1852. A brief analysis of each of these residents follows.³⁸

Augustus Shope

The 1830 Census enumerated Augustus Shope, listed as Augustus Shoop, in the Harpers Ferry area. In 1840 the census contained another variation of his name, Augusta Shupe. Although the nature of his relationship to the U. S. Armory is unclear, two events connected him with Armory Superintendent Col. Edward Lucas. In 1837 Shope participated in a dinner to honor Lucas and former Superintendent Gen. George Rust, and two years later he served as a member of an eleven man committee appointed to investigate charges that Superintendent Lucas discharged seventy armorers because of their affiliations with the Whig party. The committee ruled in favor of Lucas, but the controversy continued into the 1840s.³⁹

The rent rolls placed Shope in Armory Dwelling 32 by March 31, 1841, at a quarterly rent of \$16.25, a significantly high rent for any dwelling on Shenandoah Street occupied by one family. He was still there on the fourth quarter 1843 rent roll, although the building was described as stone and brick--suggesting the eastern wing may have been added by then. There was a discrepancy, however, in the rent rolls for 1844 in Snell's "Descriptive Catalog

³⁸Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog," p.49.

³⁹Reel 246, Fifth Census (1830), p.170 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 247, Sixth Census (1840), p.243 of Harpers Ferry;
Virginia Free Press, April 13, 1837, p2c3-4; May 23, 1839, plc5.

of Armorer Dwellings." Snell's index placed Shope in Armory Dwelling 46, although on the page listing known occupants of Armory Dwelling 46, the name of Samuel Kilham appeared for the quarter ending December 1844. The primary records are, unfortunately, not available at National Archives as this report is being finalized, so the matter must rest there.⁴⁰

In any event, Shope did not occupy Armory Dwelling 32 after the first quarter of 1844, as he died at the age of "about" 44 on February 7, 1844. His will indicated he owed \$15 rent to Richard Parker, the Armory Paymaster. The sale of Shope's possessions netted only "\$81.24½." A month after her husband's death, Mrs. Catharine Shope advertised she had removed to the residence "lately occupied" by Michael Melhorn where her boarding house could accommodate ten or twelve men and where she would also provide hospitality to travellers. Snell placed Michael Melhorn in Armory Dwelling 32 between April and September 1844 (although Melhorn died in late July 1844). In April 1844 Melhorn's daughter, Elizabeth, and Miss Emma Turner advertised a millinery and mantua-making business at the residence of Michael Melhorn on Shenandoah Street. It is possible Mrs. Shope and Melhorn exchanged residences, although where Melhorn's previous residence (to which Mrs. Shope moved) was located is unknown. In addition, Mrs. Shope may have operated a boarding house in part of Armory Dwelling 32 (assuming

⁴⁰Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog;" pp.49,288,63.;

NA RG 217, NA Reel 51 (temporary number), Frame 0017; rent roll fourth quarter 1843; shows Armory Dwelling 32 as "stone & brick" and renting to Augustus Shope at \$15 a quarter; no arrears.

the building had acquired its eastern addition before that, a fact supported by the December 1843 rent roll and which would explain why the Armory rented it as a duplex in the last quarter of 1844), and may have exchanged residences with Melhorn in order better to accommodate their respective business ventures.⁴¹

John Berlin

The rent roll of December 31, 1844, placed John Berlin and James O'Laughlin in Armory Dwelling 32. Of the two, the more complete record exists for John Berlin, who was listed on Armory Dwelling 32 rent rolls through June 30, 1849. Many details about him are derived from "The Berlins of Harpers Ferry," written by David W. Ross, and found in the Park Library.⁴²

John Berlin was born at Harpers Ferry in 1820, and worked for the Armory from June 1836 until it ceased functioning in 1861. The censuses of 1820 and 1830 noted a male child of Abraham Berlin, matching the age bracket of John Berlin. At the Armory, Berlin served in the position of "jobber" through at least April 1840. By March 1844, at which time he was perhaps living in part of Armory Dwelling 32, the payrolls listed his position as "assistant jobbing smith." John Berlin married twice, first to either Mary Hinkle or

⁴¹Virginia Free Press, February 15, 1844, p3c1;
JCC Will Book 10, p.426-7, October 26, 1844; Michael Doran, administrator;
Shope's personal estate is appraised in detail in JCC Will Book 10, p. 381, by N. Marmion, George Mauzy, and (ironically) William Smallwood;
Virginia Free Press, March 14, 1844, p3c2; April 25, 1844, p3c2;
Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, p.41.

⁴²David W. Ross, "The Berlins of Harpers Ferry," August 25, 1989, copy in HAFE library, genealogy files.

Mary Ennis in 1843. The 1850 Census listed John Berlin's household as: John Berlin (30) Armorer, Head of Household; Mary Berlin (20); James M. Berlin (6); and Sarah L. Berlin (2). Mary Berlin died in July 1851, and John Berlin married Elizabeth Ann "Betsy" Deck five months later. The rent rolls indicate Berlin did not live in public housing after the 1849 rent roll. In August 1851, one month after the death of his first wife, John Berlin arranged an assignment of goods with Philip Coons, in which Coons extended Berlin further credit even though Berlin had an outstanding debt. This deed revealed Berlin was living in Washington County, Maryland, and was still an employee of the Armory. He left the Harpers Ferry area around the time of the Civil War and apparently never returned as a resident. Following the war, John Berlin pursued a career as a railroad machinist and died in Martinsburg, West Virginia, on August 25, 1894.⁴³

James Y. O'Laughlin

On the rent roll of December 31, 1844, John Berlin shared Armory Dwelling 32 with James O'Laughlin. Very little is known of

⁴³Ross, "The Berlins," p.1; Ross took this information from the June 1836 Armory payroll;

Reel 250, Eighth Census (1860), p.244 of Bolivar; notes Berlin's occupation as armorer;

Reel 245, Fourth Census (1820), p.537 of Harpers Ferry;

Reel 246, Fifth Census (1830), p.164 of Harpers Ferry; on the 1820 and 1830 censuses family members were enumerated by sex and range of age, not by name;

Ross, "The Berlins" p.2; p.3 notes her maiden name as Mary Ennis;

Virginia Free Press, October 26, 1843, p3c1; notes her maiden name as Mary Hinkle of Burkettsville, MD;

Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.421B of Harpers Ferry;

Ross, "The Berlins," p.3;

JCC Deed Book 31, pp.479-480, Deed of Trust, John Berlin to Philip Coons, August 7, 1851;

Ross, "The Berlins," p.4.

James O'Laughlin. In 1843, when he married Pleasant Parmer, both were residents of Harpers Ferry. The absence of O'Laughlin from the 1846 rent rolls left a gap in his record. By the time of the rent roll of June 30, 1849, he was living in Armory Dwelling 17, located on Shenandoah Street on Block D, Lot 5, at a rent of \$11.50 a quarter, nearly three dollars more than paid in the duplex in 1844. O'Laughlin continued residing in Dwelling 17 through the final available rent roll of June 30, 1852. His family appeared in the 1850 Census as follows: James O'Lockland (sic) (30), armorer, head of household; Pleasant O'Lockland (sic) (26). In 1851, he took out two deeds of trust, the latter similar to that involving John Berlin. In fact, the second of O'Laughlin's deeds was signed with Thomas W. Shriver six days before Berlin's deed with Coons, indicating a possible payment problem at the Armory. Although no record of O'Laughlin's death has been found, his will was filed in February 1855 by Mrs. Pleasant O'Laughlin. O'Laughlin was still working at the Armory when he died as the will indicated the Armory Paymaster's Office owed him \$30. O'Laughlin's widow apparently married Benjamin Whitson, based on the following entry from the 1860 Census: Benjamin Whitson (34), carpenter, head of household; Pleasant Whitson (32); Narcissa O'Laughlin (9); Sarah F. O'Laughlin (6); Julia H. Whitson (1).⁴⁴

⁴⁴Virginia Free Press, November 30, 1843, p3c1;
Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog," p.34;
Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.418B of Harpers Ferry;
JCC Deed Book 31, p.402, Deed of Trust, James J. O'Laughlin to Thomas Vickers,
March 25, 1851; Ibid, p.478, Deed of Trust, James J. O'Laughlin to Thomas W.
Shriver, August 1, 1851; Will Book 14, p.222;
Reel 250, Eighth Census (1860), p.230 of Bolivar.

William H. Wentzle

Rent rolls of December 31, 1846, and June 30, 1849, indicated John Berlin shared the duplex with William H. Wentzle, whose name was also commonly spelled Wentzel or Wentzell. The censuses of 1850 and 1860 listed Wentzle as an armorer. Although the Harpers Ferry Armory ceased operations in 1861, Wentzle apparently continued his trade, as he was listed on the 1870 Census as a gunsmith. From ages recorded on the 1850 census, two of his children, William W. Wentzle and Mary V. Wentzle, may have been born while the family lived in Armory Dwelling 32. The son became a prominent cigar manufacturer in Harpers Ferry after the Civil War. Although William H. Wentzle lived in Armory Dwelling 32, he owned land in North Bolivar. While living in Armory Dwelling 32, Wentzle was an active participant in the temperance movement, serving as an officer of the local Sons of Temperance division. Available rent rolls do not show Wentzle living in other government housing either before or after he occupied Armory Dwelling 32, and the 1850 Census indicated he had moved to Bolivar by then. In December 1850 he purchased three Bolivar lots from Singleton Chambers. William H. Wentzle died in Bolivar in 1886 at age 69.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.393 of Bolivar;
Reel 250, Eighth Census (1860), p.239 of Bolivar;
Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), p.52 of Bolivar;
Virginia Free Press, July 20, 1848, p3c3; advertisement of a sale involving a deed of trust notes "Wentzel" owned property adjoining a lot owned by W. F. Wilson;
Ibid, September 21, 1848, p3c1;
Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.393 of Bolivar;
JCC Deed Book 31, p.409, Deed of Bargain and Sale, Singleton Chambers to William H. Wentzle, December 15, 1851;
Virginia Free Press, October 14, 1886, p3c3.

J. W. Roderick

Little is known of J. W. Roderick. Rent rolls of December 31, 1850, June 30, 1851, and June 30, 1852, listed A. M. Ball & J. W. Roderick as the residents of Armory Dwelling 32. A "John Roderick" appeared in the Harpers Ferry censuses of 1820, 1840, and 1850, and the 1830 census listed a "John Rodrick." John W. Roderick was listed in only the 1850 census, as part of the three-person John Roderick household which included John Roderick (57), Artridge Roderick (52), and John W. Roderick (24). Both John and John W. Roderick were listed in 1850 as armorers. In January 1850 Mary Jane Roderick married Richard Heafer of Charlestown; because the obituary for John Roderick stated he died at the age of 63 at the home of his son-in-law, Richard Heafer, it is clear Mary Jane Heafer was John Roderick's daughter. In July 1857 John Roderick was listed as having been provided for by the Jefferson County Overseers of the Poor. "J. Roderick" was listed as among the hostages during the 1859 John Brown Raid at Harpers Ferry. In January 1888 a letter addressed to John W. Roderick awaited collection at the Harpers Ferry Post Office. The Farmers Advocate noted in July 1909 that "Mr. John Roderick" formerly of Harpers Ferry but now of Ohio was visiting his sister, Mrs. Holly Young.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Reel 245, Fourth Census (1820), p.537 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 246, Fifth Census (1830), p.170 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 247, Sixth Census (1840), p.242 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.418 of Harpers Ferry;
Virginia Free Press, January 31, 1856, p2c6;
JCC Death Record Book 1, p.11;
Virginia Free Press, July 19, 1857, p3c1,2,3; October 20, 1859, p2c2&3; J. Roderick could have been either J. W. Roderick, or Jacob Roderick who appeared on the 1860 census (Reel 250, p.197 of Harpers Ferry) as age 18;
Spirit of Jefferson, January 10, 1888, p2c4;

Armistead M. Ball

An abundance of information exists on Armistead Ball, who worked through Armory ranks to become Master Machinist in 1849 and Master Armorer in 1859. Ball first came to Harpers Ferry in 1830, and, according to Merritt Roe Smith, author of Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change, he was "one of the best machinists in the United States," and "uncommonly clever" at designing self-acting machinery. Ball was an active member of the Harpers Ferry community, participating in social, political and civic organizations. In 1850 Ball was 35 years old and shared his half of the duplex in Armory Dwelling 32 with three family members: Hannah Ball (30), George Ball (10), and Randolph Ball (2). A five-year old daughter, Virginia, had died in June 1849. Before residing in Armory Dwelling 32, Armistead Ball lived in Armory Dwelling 25, a brick structure which stood virtually across the street from Park Building 48. He purchased Armory Dwelling 11 on Block D, Lot 1 from the United States in 1852 and likely moved there shortly afterward. The Virginia Free Press printed an extract from an article in the Scientific American in 1856 commenting on Ball's "inventive genius," and in 1858 the same newspaper reported he had recently tested an experimental rifle musket. A. M. Ball was one of John Brown's hostages during the October 1859 raid on the Harpers Ferry Armory and Arsenal. A few weeks later he was appointed Master Armorer in place of Major

Farmers Advocate, July 24, 1909, p2c1&2.

Benjamin Mills who had resigned. In March 1860 the Virginia Free Press reported A. M. Ball, Esq., had been appointed Master Armorer of the Virginia State Armory, but the same newspaper reported six weeks later he had resigned that position. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Ball moved to the Confederate Armory at Fayetteville, North Carolina, where he died in June 1861.⁴⁷

Armory Dwelling 32: 1853-1869

Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to determine who lived in Park Building 48 from 1853 to 1869, due to the absence of records in the National Archives. Based on the 1860 Census and a knowledge of the dwellings of other town citizens, Charles Snell hypothesized the family of William Cox may have resided in Park Building 48 in 1860, but that cannot be substantiated.⁴⁸

One piece of evidence cited earlier, however, placed a tenant in the building during the early part of the Civil War. Ordnance

⁴⁷Merritt Roe Smith, Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), p.248.

Virginia Free Press, December 28, 1837, p3c6; February 25, 1847, p1c7; May 29, 1839, p3c4;
Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.418 of Harpers Ferry;
Snell, "A Descriptive Catalog," p.42;
Virginia Free Press, December 28, 1837, p3c6;
Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, May 29, 1839, p3c4;
Virginia Free Press, November 30, 1843, p2c7; February 1, 1844, p2c5; June 14, 1849, p3c2; September 18, 1851, p2c7;
Spirit of Jefferson, May 25, 1852; October 26, 1852, p2c4; February 14, 1854, p3c2; March 13, 1855, p3c1,2;
Virginia Free Press, December 18, 1856, p2c3; September 23, 1858, p2c4;
JCC West Virginia, Deed Book 37, p.34, Deed of Bargain and Sale, The United States to Armistead M. Ball, February 20, 1857, although he purchased the lot at the government sale of August 31, 1852, the deed was not recorded until 1857;
Virginia Free Press, October 20, 1859, p2c2,3; November 3, 1859, p2c6; March 8, 1860, p2c1; May 17, 1860, p2c6;
Smith, Harpers Ferry Armory, pp.307,248.

⁴⁸Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1980, p.42.

Agent Daniel Young reported Joseph Manuel occupied a "two story stone house, with a 1½ story wing attached" on Shenandoah Street in September 1862 and paid rent of \$6.25.⁴⁹

Armory Dwelling 32: 1869 to Present

Isabella and B.F. Leisenring

At the 1869 sale of government property at Harpers Ferry, Mrs. Isabella Leisenring bid \$1,475 for Lot No. 2 North of Shenandoah Street. She signed two notes to be paid over the next two years. Her husband, Benjamin F. Leisenring, was named as surety on the notes. Mrs. Leisenring never made a payment on the property.⁵⁰

The Leisenring name first emerged at Harpers Ferry in 1865 when a Shenandoah Street building, Park Building 44, then owned by William Richards, appeared on an account of abandoned property rented out by the Government. From March 1865 until at least January 1866, in Richards' absence, the government leased part of that structure to "Leisenring & Son."⁵¹

Following the Civil War, George W. Leisenring of Baltimore opened dry goods and grocery stores in Harpers Ferry, Charles Town, and Rippon, with his son, Gideon Leisenring. On February 26, 1867, George W. and Gideon Leisenring conveyed their business and stock to trustees William Travers and Benjamin F. Leisenring, including

⁴⁹NA RG 156, Entry 21; citation in Footnote 5, p.5. this report.

⁵⁰Reel 238, Frames 511-15, NA RG 121, Entry 78, Harpers Ferry Deeds & Abatement Records.

⁵¹Reels 242, 244, NA RG 56, General Records of the Treasury Department, Division of Cotton and Captured and Abandoned Property.

the "store or warehouse occupied by Leisenring and Son," located in the Masonic Building on Shenandoah Street in Harpers Ferry (Park Building 44). Because Park Building 44 contained living quarters on its second and third floors, it is very possible Benjamin and Isabella Leisenring made their home there. It is, therefore, uncertain who lived in Park Building 48 before 1879. On February 20, 1869, before the government sale, the Leisenring's five-month-old son Albert S. Leisenring died in Harpers Ferry, affirming that they lived in Harpers Ferry before purchasing Park Building 48.⁵²

The Census of 1870 listed the family as: Benjamin F. Leisenring (32), retail merchant, real estate valued at \$1,000, personal property valued at \$3,000; Isabella Leisenring (30), keeping house; Robert S. Leisenring (10); George H. Leisenring (8); Gideon S. Leisenring (11); Bertha Marlin (25), domestic servant; Samuel Resser (21), clerk in dry goods store.⁵³

On September 30, 1870, the Shenandoah River flooded, resulting in the highest flood death toll in the history of Harpers Ferry. Among the many properties damaged was a Leisenring building, as the Baltimore Sun notes damage to "Mr. Bernard McCabe's large brick dwelling, and also that of Mr. B. F. Leisenring." McCabe's brick structure was on Block C, Lot 1, directly across Shenandoah Street from Park Building 44. It is uncertain whether the Leisenring

⁵²Spirit of Jefferson, November 7, 1865, pp.2 & 3; (detailed list of goods); JCC Deed Book 2, p.37, Deed of Trust, George W. Leisenring to Wm. Travers and Benj. F. Leisenring, February 26, 1867; there is an interesting variation of store names among the three Leisenring businesses: George W. Leisenring and Co. at Rippon; Leisenring, Son, and Co. at Charles Town; and Leisenring and Son at Harpers Ferry; JCC Death Record Book, p.48.

⁵³Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), p.460, p.22 of Harpers Ferry.

building in the newspaper account was Park Building 48 or Park Building 44, although the latter is more likely.⁵⁴

B. F. Leisenring was involved in social, religious, and political activities in Harpers Ferry, notably as a Mason, Methodist-Protestant Church trustee, and Radical Republican. In the last capacity, he served with prominent Harpers Ferry residents such as Nathan C. Brackett, George Koonce, and Zadoc Butt. Leisenring evidently suffered business reverses, as he placed his entire stock of goods and fixtures into trust to John Koonce on May 23, 1872. This occurred one month after William Richards sold Park Building 44, site of Leisenring's store, to Murtha Walsh. Bankruptcy proceedings began later that year.⁵⁵

After bankruptcy, Benjamin F. Leisenring continued to appear in the personal property tax books for Harpers Ferry through 1876. In 1879 a list of purchasers of government property at the 1869 sale found in the Abatement Records showed Isabella Leisenring was living in Charles Town. Neither B. F. or Isabella were listed in the personal property books for Harpers Ferry or Charles Town in 1877 and 1878. Likewise, no real estate assessments appeared for

⁵⁴Virginia Free Press, October 8, 1870, p2c3 (reprints report from the Baltimore Sun).

⁵⁵Virginia Free Press, July 29, 1869, p3c2; April 29, 1869, p3c4; May 25, 1872, p2c2; JCC Deed Book 7, pp.115-116,118-120, Deed of Trust, B. F. Leisenring to John Koonce, May 23, 1872; the deed itemizes the goods in Leisenring's store as well as a list of those owing him money; Deed Book 7, p.198, Deed of Bargain and Sale; William Richards to Murtha Walsh, April 27, 1872; Virginia Free Press, September 7, 1872, p2c5, gives details of the bankruptcy notice; October 15, 1872, p2c5, notes appointment of Charles Davies as the assignee in bankruptcy.

them since the Park Building 48 property was never paid for and no deed was ever recorded. In 1879, however, B. F. Leisenring did apply for relief of an erroneous assessment on a lot at Harpers Ferry, valued at \$400 in 1878, an apparent contradiction to the omission of his name from any of the land tax assessments for Harpers Ferry.⁵⁶

In 1878/1879, the United States cleared the title to Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street by allowing Isabella Leisenring to quit-claim her 1869 purchase. The government scheduled a new sale for 1880; at that sale Gabriel L. Myers purchased Park Building 48.⁵⁷

Frank Stipes and Ralph Cleveland

Thanks to depositions in an early 1879 court case which provided rare evidence of tenants, it is known that Park Building 48 was occupied by the Stipes and Cleveland families between the 1878 Leisenring quit-claim and the 1880 Myers purchase. On February 22, 1879, Frank Stipes testified that he and his brother-in-law, Ralph Cleveland, had asked Geo. W. Graham, the Agent for the Solicitor of the U. S. Treasury at Harpers Ferry (and in that capacity caretaker of the former Armory grounds), for lumber to repair and make more comfortable the house occupied by them on

⁵⁶JCC Personal Property Tax Books for 1873, 1875, and 1876; B. F. Leisenring's personal property was assessed at \$240 for 1873 and at \$245 for 1876 and 1877; Reel 238, Frames 709, 710, NA RG 121, Entry 78; JCC Personal Property Tax Books for 1876 and 1877; Spirit of Jefferson, December 9, 1879, p2c1&2.

⁵⁷Reel 238, Frames 643 & 689, NA RG 121, Entry 78, Harpers Ferry Deeds & Abatement Records (August 1878 quit claim on Lot No. 2 North of Shenandoah Street, recorded in July 1879).

Shenandoah Street, known as " Lot No. 2 of the Lots North of Shenandoah Street [on the] map of 1869." Stipes stated Graham agreed to give them lumber from the roof of the old Armory Blacksmith Shop (which was a portion of a very temporary plank roof put on the building during 1861) if they would do the repairing on Park Building 48. Cleveland deposed & swore that Stipes's testimony was true.⁵⁸

Thus the Stipes and Cleveland families were occupying Park Building 48 in January/February 1879--which was after the structure had reverted to U. S. Government control following Isabella Leisenring's quit claim of her purchase. On the 1880 census Ralph Cleveland's family appeared immediately below that of Frank Stipes; Cleveland was listed as a cooper and Stipes as a laborer. They were brothers-in-law, Stipes having married Cleveland's older sister, Caroline. When the families began living in Park Building 48, and how long they remained, are questions likely to remain unanswered.⁵⁹

Gabriel L. Myers

When Gabriel Myers bought Park Building 48 from the U. S.

⁵⁸Reel 235, Frames 2001 to 2005; testimony taken February 22, 1879. While all details of the legal action involved are not known, the depositions were taken to support George W. Graham's assertion that he had had no personal interest in cock fighting which was staged on January 29 & 30, 1879, on Armory grounds, and for which the lumber in question allegedly served as temporary seating. Thomas Kirwan testified in the same deposition set that he was one of the four parties who "got up the Cocking Main," and that Graham had refused permission to use the Armory grounds until the Harpers Ferry corporate authorities granted permission.

⁵⁹Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), p.1, p.1 of Harpers Ferry. Interestingly, the Stipes and Cleveland listings appeared immediately above that of Gabriel L. Myers--the 1880 purchaser of Park Building 48--and his family.

Government in June 1880, he became the first private citizen to own it. At that time he had been established in the clothing business at Harpers Ferry for at least ten years, with a shop in Park Building 38 during the 1870s. The 1870 Census listed Myers as a retail clothier who shared a household (perhaps in living quarters above the store in Park Building 38) with Daniel Ames: Gabriel L. Myers (20), born in Prussia, retail clothing store [occupation], head of household; Daniel Ames (48), born in Massachusetts [no occupation]. In addition to his apparent success in the clothing business during the 1870s, Myers was active in the town, serving as a Harpers Ferry councilman and as a director of the Harpers Ferry Bridge Company.⁶⁰

The 1880 Census provided the following information on Myers' household: Gabriel L. Myers (30), merchant, head of household; Emma F. Myers (26), keeping house, wife; Charles C. Myers (4), son; Lena Myers (7), daughter; Eta Myers (2), daughter; Flora Myers, less than one year old, daughter; Joseph H. Myers (19), brother; Fannie Titus (19), servant.⁶¹

By November 1882 Myers had moved his clothing store into Park Building 40, a pre-Civil War structure Edward Tearney had recently rebuilt which was next door to another of Tearney's properties,

⁶⁰JCC Deed Book I, p.109, June 1, 1880, Deed of Bargain and Sale, U. S./Kenneth Rayner (Solicitor of the Treasury) to G. L. Myers;
Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), p.460, p.21;
JCC Land Tax Assessment Books for 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878;
Spirit of Jefferson, January 9, 1877, p3c2;
Virginia Free Press, January 17, 1880, p3c1.

⁶¹Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), p.1 of Harpers Ferry; the 1880 census was the first to specify family relationships.

Park Building 38. Myers and his family may have lived "over the store" in Park Building 40, as when Tearney reconstructed it he created two large floors of living space. Sometime during the 1880s the Myers family left Harpers Ferry. G. L. (also known as "Lewis") Myers' brother J. H. succeeded him in running the clothing store beginning in about 1885. Two 1888 news items strongly suggested that G. L. and his family had moved away--either to New York or to Baltimore. They later lived in Chicago, where Mrs. Emma Gannon Myers died in July 1926 at the home of her daughter. In September that year, two daughters of "G. L. Myers of Chicago" visited Harpers Ferry--suggesting Mr. Myers was still living there then.⁶²

Myers sold Margaret Dempsey the Park Building 48 property in December 1881.⁶³

Margaret Dempsey

In December 1881 Margaret Dempsey purchased Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, from G. L. Myers, two months after her husband Michael Dempsey (a B&O railroad employee) died of pneumonia. Both

⁶²Spirit of Jefferson, November 14, 1882, p2c1;
Virginia Free Press, June 24, 1886, p2c5; noted conveyances of a house and lot in Bolivar from Ann E. Gannon and others to Trustee James D. Butt for G. L. Myers (Anne E. Gannon was Myers' mother-in-law);
JCC Deed Book H, p.201, Deed of Trust, Harpers Ferry Bridge Company, with President G. W. Green and Secretary G. L. Myers to N. C. Brackett, March 22, 1888.
Spirit of Jefferson, January 13, 1885, p2c4; March 27, 1888, p3c2 (stated Miss Belle Myers of New York had visited Mrs. J. H. Myers of Harpers Ferry); August 28, 1888, p3c2 (stated Mrs. Lewis [G. L.] Myers of Baltimore was visiting her mother, Mrs. A. E. Gannon);
Farmers Advocate, July 31, 1926, p1c2; September 4, 1926, p1c1&2.

⁶³JCC Deed Book K, p.239, Deed of Bargain and Sale, November 16, 1881, G. L. and Emma F. Myers to Margaret Dempsey.

Margaret Dempsey, whose maiden name was Boren, and her husband were from Ireland. Records indicate they were married in 1870, in Jefferson County, where they resided, but no newspaper account of the marriage has been located. Furthermore, neither appeared in the 1870 Census for all of Jefferson County. The Dempseys can definitely be placed in Harpers Ferry as early as May 2, 1872, however, when their first child was born. Personal property tax assessment records also showed the Dempseys in Harpers Ferry by 1873, but they did not own land. In 1965 information provided to the Park revealed Mrs. John Ella Hughes, nee Dempsey, was born in Park Building 48 in 1881. Since Mrs. Dempsey did not acquire the property until December 26, 1881, this could indicate they lived in the dwelling before purchasing it. Between 1877 and 1878, tax assessments showed the Dempseys lost a large portion of their household furniture, possibly due to the flood of November 1877. A newspaper item noted structures on Shenandoah Street were particularly hard hit. Tax records suggest the Dempseys gradually acquired more furniture over the next four years.⁶⁴

The 1880 Census listed the family as follows: Michael Dempsy (sic) (36), laborer, head of household; Margaret Dempsy (36) keeping house; Mary Dempsy (8); Maggie Dempsy (7); Kate Dempsy

⁶⁴Spirit of Jefferson, November 8, 1881, p3c1;
JCC Record of Marriages, Book 3, p.27; Birth Record Book 1, p.53;
Snell, "Bldg. 48," 1958, p.22; (information given to M. D. Button of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park by Mrs. D. A. Baiardo, 2125 Huntington Street, Arlington, VA); at that time, Mrs Hughes lived on 27th Street S.E. (LU-4-8940), Washington, D.C.;

JCC Personal Property Assessment Books for 1877 and 1878; the assessment between these two years drops from \$110 to \$25, \$80 of which resulted from the loss of furniture in the 1877 flood;

Spirit of Jefferson, November 27, 1877, p3c2.

(5); Annie Dempsey (3).⁶⁵

It appears Mrs. Dempsey and her children moved from Park Building 48 by 1886, the year "Michael Dempsey's heirs" were first missing from personal property assessments. In 1885, Margaret Dempsey sold the western portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, to Magnus Cockrell. Significantly, 1885 was the last year Dempsey's heirs were noted in the assessments and 1886 was the first year Magnus Cockrell was listed. Previously, Cockrell had been leasing property identified as the "Old Rifle Factory." By 1891, Cockrell had constructed a building on his portion of the lot, and it is possible he leased Park Building 48 from Mrs. Dempsey beginning in 1885 until he completed his own dwelling.⁶⁶

Following Mrs. Dempsey's departure from Park Building 48, she was not found on the 1900 and 1910 Censuses. The 1907 deed by which she transferred her portion of Lot 2 to Eugene or Eugenia Shugart was notarized in Baltimore, indicating she possibly resided there.

In 1891, the tax assessment for the portion of Lot 2 Mrs. Dempsey retained doubled from the previous assessment which had included all of the lot. It is likely the property had not been assessed since at least 1885, thus the assessment was not split under the names of Dempsey and Magnus Cockrell. In the six years between assessments, the value of the entire lot apparently increased significantly, explaining how the assessment doubled

⁶⁵Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), p.5 of Harpers Ferry.

⁶⁶JCC Land Record Assessment Book for 1886; Ibid, 1891.

while the property was divided. Since Park Building 48 alone was assessed at \$500, someone probably occupied it.

The Murphy Family

The 1900 Census has provided the only clue to identifying Park Building 48's occupants during a long period beginning in the mid 1880s. According to the order of the census, the families of Sidney B. Murphy and Frank Stipes were renting dwellings adjacent to Magnus Cockrell, with one of these families probably residing across the street. Sidney Murphy's son, Raymond Murphy, bought the western portion of Lot 2 from Magnus Cockrell's children in 1928. It is possible the Murphys lived in Park Building 48 and Raymond Murphy simply acquired Cockrell's portion of Lot 2 when it became available. The 1900 Census listed the Murphy family as follows: Sidney B. Murphy, (64) pulp mill laborer, head of household; Mary B. Murphy (39), wife of Sidney B. Murphy; Alonzo Murphy (24), pulp mill laborer; Raymond Murphy (29), pulp mill laborer; Mattie L. Murphy (11), at school; Carrol W. Murphy (6); Mollie Murphy (1). The same census listed the Stipes family as follows: Frank Stipes (54), carpenter, head of household; Carrie Stipes (43); Carrie Stipes (22); James Cleveland (42), stone cutter, brother-in-law of Frank Stipes.⁶⁷

⁶⁷Reel 139, Twelfth Census (1900), p.76A of Harpers Ferry; for further information on the Stipes and Cleveland families, and their connection to Park Building 48, see pp.33,34 this report; completing the circle, one of Mrs. Frank (Carrie) Stipes' sisters was married to Magnus Cockrell.

Eugene Shugart

As noted, in 1907 Margaret Dempsey conveyed the eastern portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street to either Eugene Shugart or his one-month old daughter, Eugenia. Shugart had previously placed other property in the name of his minor son Frank, and, though the rationale of such actions is unclear, it may have involved tax purposes. It is probable Shugart and his family never resided in Park Building 48, but continued renting it to tenants.⁶⁸

Eugene Shugart moved his family from Charles Town to Harpers Ferry in 1891, where he had built a large home on land he owned on Washington Street near the crest of Camp Hill. Shugart's occupation at that time is unknown. In 1897, he was elected secretary/treasurer of the Harpers Ferry and Bolivar Building Association Number Four. The following year, Shugart was appointed acting treasurer for the town of Harpers Ferry and at some time served as town sergeant. He was listed in the 1900 Census as a policeman, with the following information on the Shugart family: Eugene Shugart (32) policeman, head of household; Maggie Shugart (33) wife; Frank Shugart (11) at school, son; Margaret Shugart (7) at school, daughter; Eliza Shugart (4) daughter.⁶⁹

In 1902 Eugene Shugart became mayor of Harpers Ferry, a position he would hold until 1908. Later in 1902 he was appointed

⁶⁸JCC Deed Book 117, p.518, Deed of Bargain and Sale, November 15, 1907, Margaret Dempsey to Eugenia Shugart.

⁶⁹Spirit of Jefferson, March 31, 1891, p3,c1; April 7, 1891, p2c1; May 12, 1891, p1c6; March 16, 1897, p3c4; March 15, 1898, p2c1; March 6, 1900, p2c1; Reel 139, Twelfth Census (1900), p.73A of Harpers Ferry.

the Harpers Ferry constable by the County Court. In March 1907, Eugene Shugart purchased two lots in Block E, virtually across the street from Park Building 48, which he bought in November of the same year. All three lots are situated in the general vicinity of the town jail, which was located east of Park Building 48, on Jefferson's Rock Lot. As mayor and constable, Shugart may have used one or all of the structures on these lots as offices near the jail. The 1910 Census indicated his occupation as Justice and place of business as nothing more than "office." It is not known if the jail had its own office space.⁷⁰

Eugene Shugart continually bought and sold property in the Harpers Ferry vicinity, thereby creating much of the confusion discussed in the "Ownership of Land" section of this report. After his death in 1919, the eastern portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, remained the only property still in his name on the tax assessments, probably because it was disregarded in the will and fiduciary reports as daughter Eugenia Shugart's name was on the deed.

After Eugene Shugart's wife Margaret died in 1931, and his daughter Eugenia died in 1932, the remaining heirs consolidated ownership in the hands of another child, Eliza Shugart, in 1933. The Shugarts continued to own a large home on Ridge Street, and tax assessments, beginning with 1933, indicated Eliza Shugart did not

⁷⁰Farmers' Advocate, January 11, 1902, p3c1;
Spirit of Jefferson, November 18, 1902, p2c3;
JCC Deed Book 117, p.427, Deed of Bargain and Sale, J. E. B. Payton and Ruth E. Payton to Eugene E. Shugart, March 19, 1907;
Reel 252, Thirteenth Census (1910), p.185B of Harpers Ferry.

live in Park Building 48.⁷¹

Tax assessments reveal Park Building 48 was badly damaged by the 1936 flood, at which time the east wing addition was probably destroyed. Following the flood, the value of the structure dropped from \$140 to \$40. The 1942 flood probably caused additional damage, but was not noticed by an assessor due to the building's previous poor condition. The latter flood completely destroyed the structure of Raymond Murphy which had been built by Magnus Cockrell on the western portion of the lot. In 1943, Eliza Shugart Barnes sold the property to Richard Kidwell, Jr.⁷²

Richard Kidwell, Jr.

According to tax assessments, Kidwell never lived in Park Building 48, although he told Park Archeologists in 1990 that he kept a garden on the site. He apparently did not pay taxes on the property from the time he owned it, and thus the state, in December 1951, advertised the lot for sale under a notice of delinquent taxes. In 1952 Kidwell redeemed the property before the state purchased it in 1953 for inclusion in Harpers Ferry National Monument.⁷³

⁷¹JCC Land Record Book for 1933.

⁷²JCC Land Record Books for 1936, 1942; Deed Book 159, p.180, Deed of Bargain and Sale, May 21, 1943, Eliza P. and Floyd Barnes to Richard Kidwell, Jr.

⁷³Spirit of Jefferson, December 6, 1951, pB3c3;
"Report of State Commissioner of Forfeited and Delinquent Lands," Volume 2.

VI. CONCLUSION

Several factors hamper development of a definitive history of a structure such as Park Building 48. Unlike sites of famous events or businesses, information about the dwelling of a common citizen does not usually survive for posterity. Much of the data recorded by the United States government during its possession of the property is no longer available. The value of available primary resources is diminished by lack of specificity in description and the absence of a consistent building numbering system. Thus, attempting a history of Park Building 48 results in hypothesis at best.

The residents of Park Building 48 are as much, or more, a mystery as its structural history. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park labelled the structure an "Armorer's Dwelling," although documented proof an armorer ever lived there was and is lacking. For that reason, "Armory Dwelling" would be a more appropriate label. Furthermore, only three families, the Stipeses, Clevelands, and Dempseys--all post-Civil War tenants, living there after the Armory had ceased functioning--can be proven positively to have resided in the building over its long history. It is probable no owner lived there following Margaret Dempsey's departure from Harpers Ferry in 1885.

Further research--especially in-depth examination of Second and Third Auditor of the Treasury records when the complete set of microfilm is delivered to the Park--may produce answers to some of the questions. Previously unknown or untapped private sources may

provide data to enhance the report's post-Civil War section.

Chronology of Events Pertinent to Park Building 48

June 15, 1796	John Wager, Sr., sold property to the United States, including Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street.
1821-1832	Park Building 48 was erected, probably by William Smallwood.
1837	The United States paid off final claims to William Smallwood.
1837-1852	North (rear) and east wing additions were built.
1841	New dwelling numbering system was adopted; Park Building 48 was either Armory Dwelling 30 or 32.
1841-1852	John Nichols' family lived in Armory Dwelling 30.
February 12, 1851	John Nichols died.
1841-1844	Augustus Shope's family lived in Armory Dwelling 32.
February 7, 1844	Augustus Shope died.
1844-1846	John Berlin and James O'Laughlin shared Armory Dwelling 32.
1846-1849	John Berlin and William H. Wentzle shared Armory Dwelling 32.
1849-1852	Armistead M. Ball and John W. Roderick shared shared Armory Dwelling 32.
August 31, 1852	The United States sold a portion of its surplus property at Harpers Ferry, but reserved Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, from the sale.
1861-1865	Park Building 48 suffered some damage during the Civil War, but survived in at least "fair condition."
September 1862	Joseph Manuel likely occupied Park Building 48.

November 30, 1869	The United States sold Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, to Isabella Leisenring.
1870	Michael Dempsey and Margaret Boren married in Jefferson County.
September 30, 1870	Shenandoah River flooded, likely damaging Park Building 48.
September 1872	Isabella Leisenring's husband, Benjamin, declared bankruptcy in the dry goods business he conducted in Park Building 44.
1876-1877	Benjamin and Isabella Leisenring moved from Harpers Ferry, likely residing in Charles Town.
November 1877	Flood at Harpers Ferry probably damaged Park Building 48.
1878	Isabella Leisenring quit-claimed Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street to the United States.
February 1879	Families of Frank Stipes and Ralph Cleveland occupied Park Building 48.
June 1, 1880	The United States sold Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, to Harpers Ferry merchant Gabriel L. Myers.
October 1881	Michael Dempsey died.
December 26, 1881	Gabriel L. Myers sold Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, to Margaret Dempsey.
April 9, 1885	Margaret Dempsey sold the western portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, to Magnus Cockrell, at which time Mrs. Dempsey probably left Harpers Ferry and Cockrell's family took possession of the property, possibly occupying Park Building 48. In all likelihood, no owner of the structure lived there after this date.
June 1, 1889	Flood at Harpers Ferry.
October 1, 1896	Flood at Harpers Ferry.
1900	Census indicates the families of either Sidney B. Murphy or Frank Stipes may have lived in Park Building 48.
November 15, 1907	Margaret Dempsey sold the eastern portion of

Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street (on which Park Building 48 stands), to either Eugene or Eugenia Shugart.

1919 The deed transferring the property from Dempsey to Shugart was recorded following Eugene Shugart's death.

May 13, 1924 Flood at Harpers Ferry apparently did little damage to Park Building 48.

June 4, 1928 Kate and Georgia Cockrell sold the western portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, to Raymond W. Murphy, son of Sidney B. Murphy.

November 19, 1932 Eugenia Shugart Reitan died intestate and the eastern portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, transferred to her surviving brothers and sisters.

May 26, 1933 Frank E. Shugart, Ann W. Dearing, Margaret Shugart, James A. Dearing, Gardner G. Shugart, Marguerite M. Shugart, and Oliver M. Reitan deeded the eastern portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, to Eliza P. Shugart.

March 19, 1936 Flood at Harpers Ferry likely destroyed the east wing addition of Park Building 48.

October 16, 1942 Flood at Harpers Ferry destroyed Raymond Murphy's home on the western portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, and probably damaged Park Building 48.

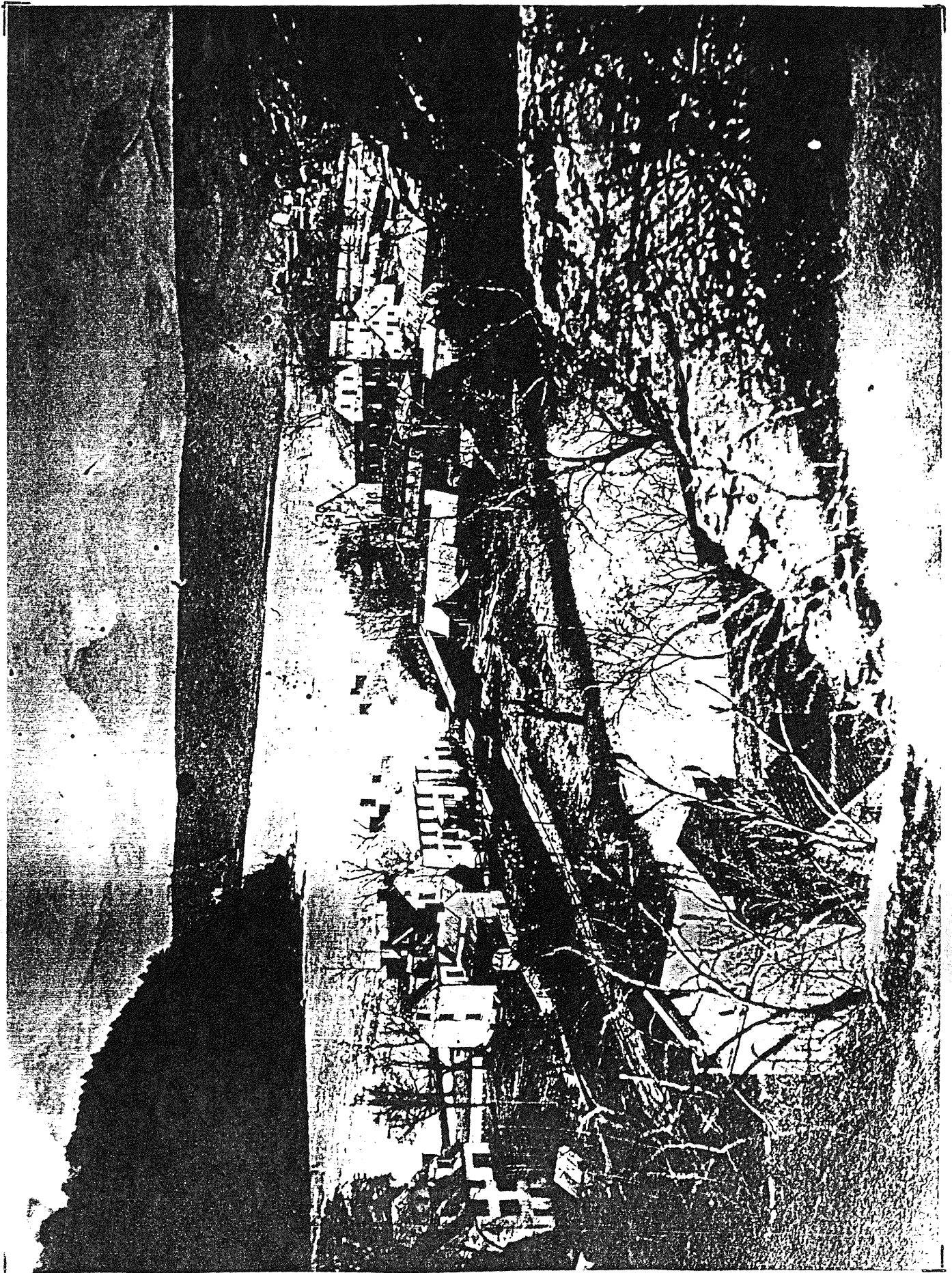
May 21, 1943 Eliza P. Shugart Barnes and Floyd Barnes sold the eastern portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, to Richard Kidwell, Jr.

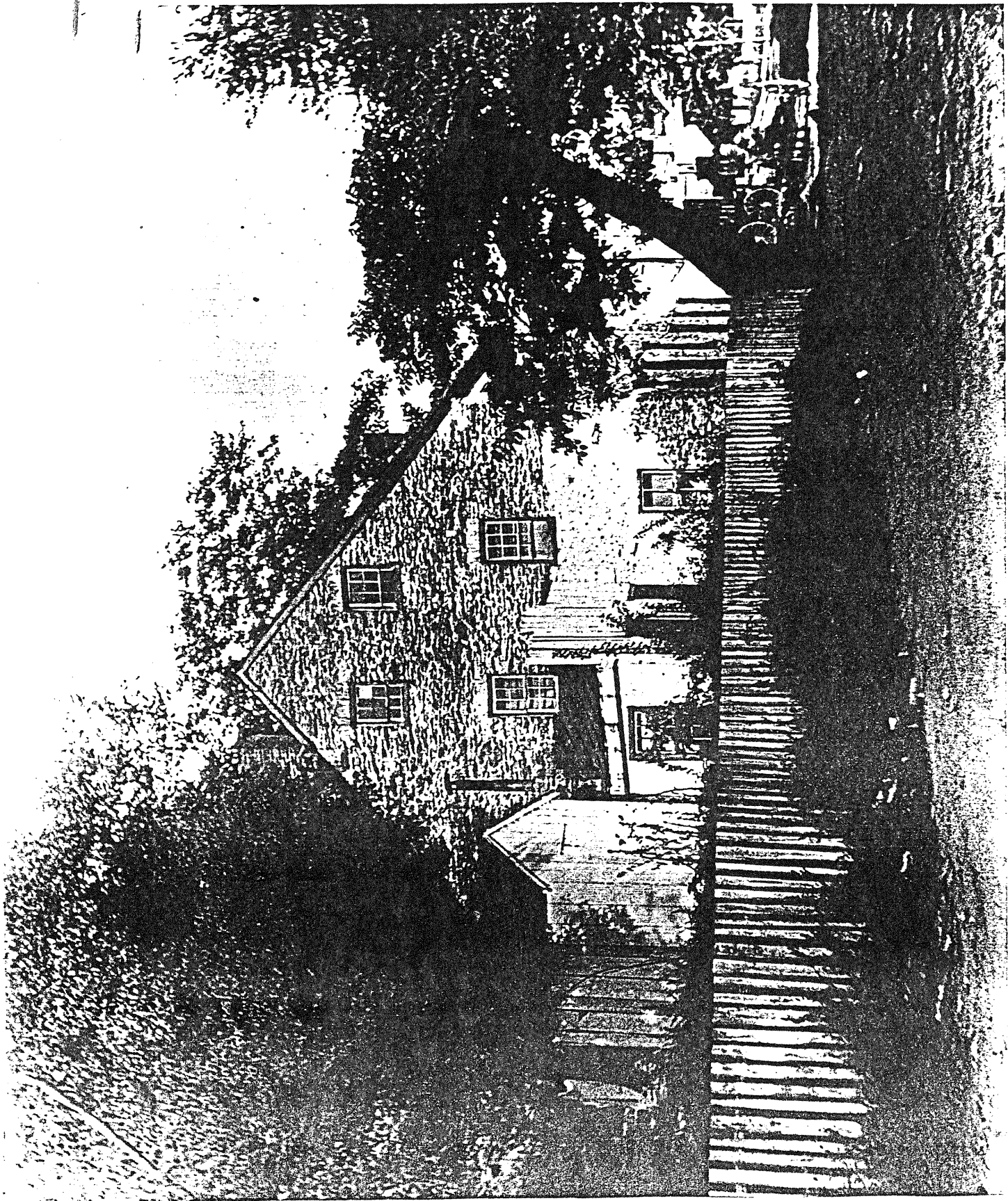
1944-1952 Richard Kidwell, Jr., did not pay taxes on the property.

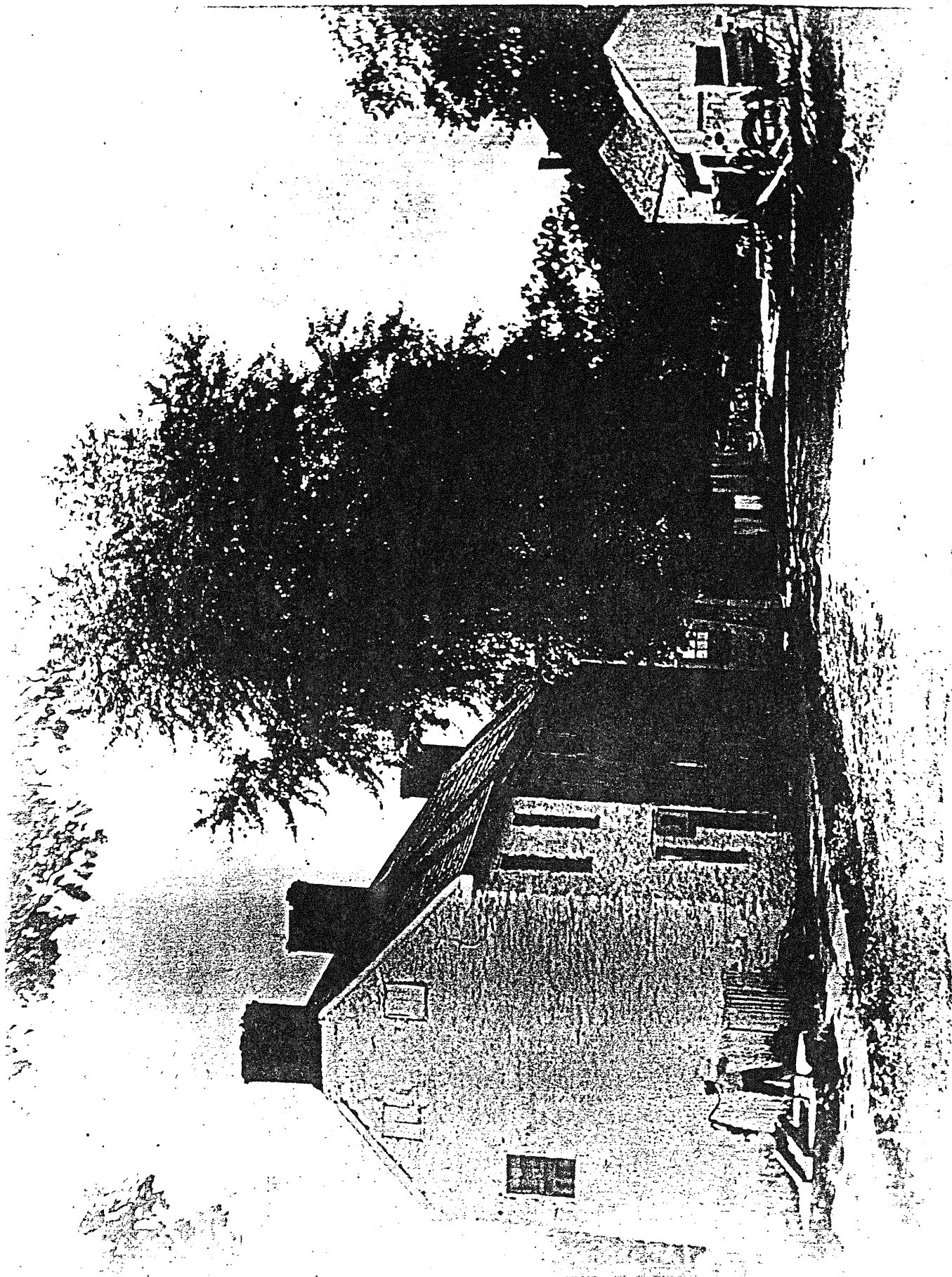
1952 Kidwell redeemed the property from the state.

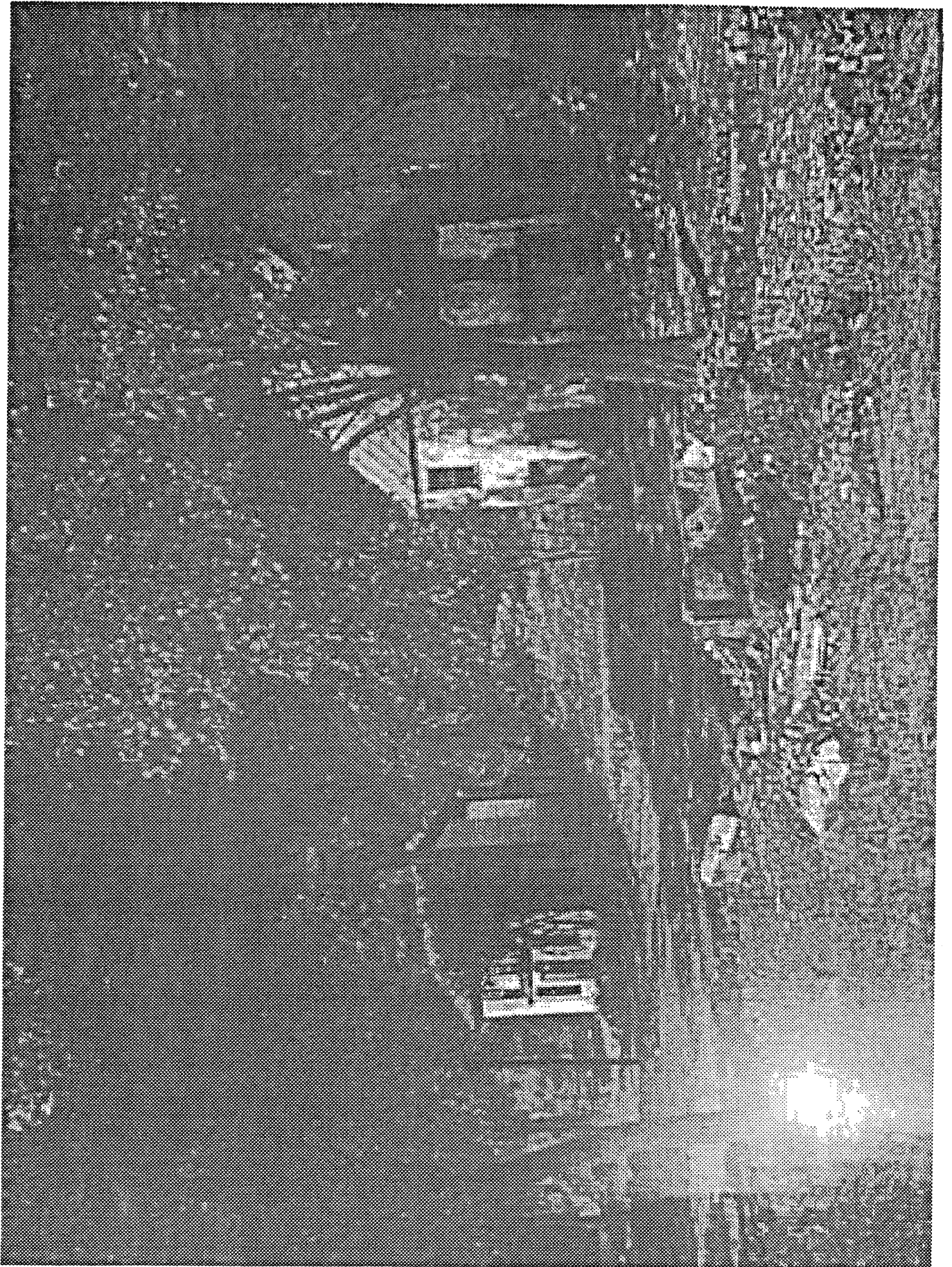
January 7, 1953 Richard Kidwell, Jr., and Nellie Mae Kidwell sold the eastern portion of Lot 2 North of Shenandoah Street, and Raymond W. Murphy and Jessie P. Murphy sold the western portion of the same lot to the state of West Virginia for inclusion in Harpers Ferry National Monument.

PHOTOGRAPHS







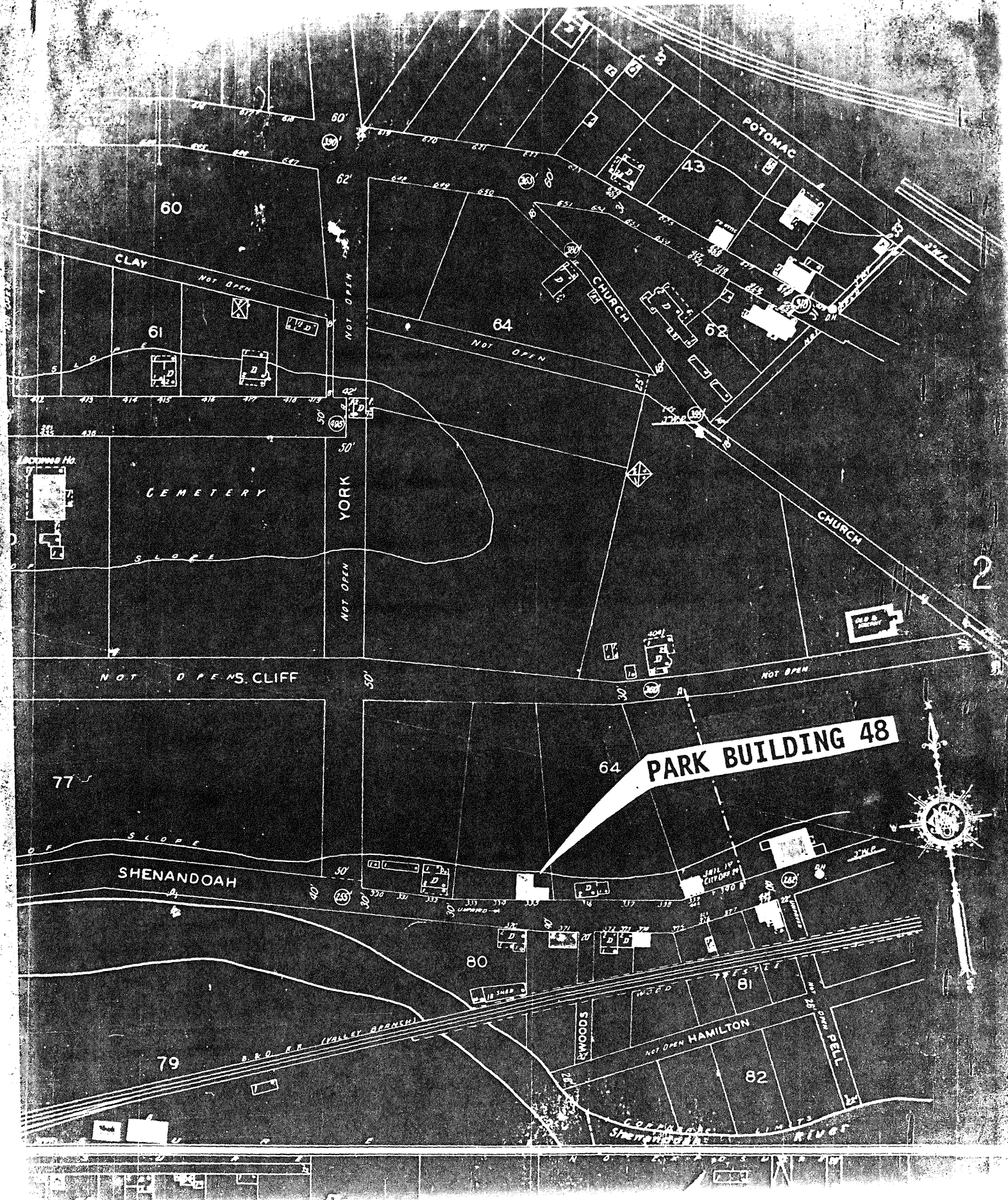


MAPS



1913 B&O RR MAP

1933 SANBORN-PERRIS FIRE INSURANCE MAP



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