

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF
THE CONSTRUCTION, MAINTENANCE AND NUMBERS
OF ARMORY DWELLING HOUSES, 1796 - 1869.

(Armory Studies Series)

Harpers Ferry National Monument

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INTRODUCTION

This research report is a comprehensive and detailed study of the problems related to the providings of Government Dwelling Houses for workmen at the Harpers Ferry Armory from 1796 to 1869. The general policy of the United States Government on the question of providing such Government housing is presented, together with a wealth of architectural data relating to the methods of constructing, making additions, repairing and maintaining these structures. Questions of Government rental of these buildings and the rents received are also considered. Data on the physical appearance, numbers of dwelling houses, houses standing, and the final disposition of these buildings from 1796 to 1869 is presented. The report thus describes and locates a total of 89 houses that will appear on the final Historical Base Map showing Harpers Ferry in 1859.

In addition, the story of the 1852 sale of Government houses and lots, with the town planning and improvement that accompanied this event, is narrated in detail. The study traces the final disposition of funds collected from the sale of Government lots and houses and how they were used to improve the town.

This report is thus designed to serve as basic reference work for use by the Architects and Historians working at this Monument, presenting as it does, all available evidence on the subject. The report, furthermore, will serve as the starting point for the subsequent research

reports that are to be prepared for the many ruins of Government Dwelling Houses still standing along Shenandoah Street and for the survey of such houses that were standing in 1859 on Camp Hill.

This report is based on a careful study of the 14,744 pages of microfilmed and photostated material obtained from the National Archives.

PART I

CHAPTER I 1796-1852

General Policy of U.S. Government towards providing housing for the employees at the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry.

On June 15, 1796, John Wager, Senior, for the consideration of \$7,016.66, sold to the United States Government the land at Harpers Ferry that was required to establish a Federal Armory at that place.¹ Unfortunately most of the documents relating to the development of the Armory at Harpers Ferry during the period 1796 to 1801 were destroyed by a great fire in the War Department early in the 19th Century, hence information on this early history of the Armory is very limited. A glance, however, at the "Plan of the proposed junction of the CANAL, at the lower Falls of Shenandoah, with the Public Canal at HARPERS FERRY, and the necessary Locks for descending into the Potomac River, Surveyed & level'd by N. King & L. Harbaugh, Feby. 1803,"² (map reproduced in Harpers Ferry Master Plan as Drawing No. NM HF-3004), reveals that excluding Armory Buildings then standing, there were only approximately 17 buildings standing in Harpers Ferry in 1803. Thus in 1796, when the Government first purchased the land, Harpers Ferry could not have been far removed from a "howling wilderness". As a matter of prattical necessity,

1. National Archives Material, on Harpers Ferry Microfilm Reel #21, Volume 7, pp. 704-708.
2. National Archives Record Group No. 77, Office of the Chief of Engineers. Fortifications Map File, part of map. Dr. 150, 2 sheets.

therefore, the United States Government must have been compelled from the first to erect buildings to shelter the men who were to manufacture the arms at Harpers Ferry.

Furthermore, certain unique conditions prevailed at Harpers Ferry from 1796 until August 31, 1852, that further compelled the Government to provide quarters for the workmen long after Harpers Ferry had become a "civilized" town. The basic factor that left the Government little choice in this matter, was the fact that the United States owned too much land in Harpers Ferry. In the acquisition of land in 1796 the Government had acquired all of Harpers Ferry with the exception of 6 3/4 acres of land which was located in the Wager Six Acre Reservation and Wager Ferry Lot. The proprietors of this privately owned inholding, the Wager family, held a tight monopoly of this land from 1796 to 1835, refusing to sell off any lots, and only agreeing to lease their lots and buildings at a very high rate of rent. From 1838 until 1865, the Wager family (Gerard B. Wager and Noah H. Swayne) still retained title to about two-thirds of all the property and the remaining third was only sold off at very high prices. Thus from 1796 until 1852 land in Harpers Ferry was at a very high premium, and in many cases, impossible to buy, particularly by Armory employees whose wages only amounted to two or three hundred dollars a year.

It can, therefore be said that from 1796 until 1852, there was no land in Harpers Ferry available for Armory workmen to purchase

and build their own homes on as the Government was unable to sell land for this purpose and the Wager family refused to sell. It was not until 1846 that one of Superintendents of the Armory, Major John Symington, had the genius to preceive the basic cause of the situation that had plagued the Armory for 50 years and to suggest a practicable solution that was finally carried into effect in 1852, thus greatly alleviating the problem of providing housing for Armory employees.³

Having thus outlined the general factors that were to influence the policy of the United States Government towards providing housing for Armory employees, we now proceed to consider this policy in detail.

3. See Letter of Symington to Lt. Col. George Talcott, Ordnance Dept., January 14, 1846. National Archives, R. 23, v. 7 pp. 627-629.

CHAPTER II

Government Construction of Dwelling Houses 1796 - 1820

In June 1808 Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn informed Superintendent James Stubblefield, of the Harpers Ferry Armory that:

"It has been determined to enlarge the Armory Establishment both at Springfield & Harpers Ferry, & I have given Mr. Annin (the Pay Master at Harpers Ferry) directions to commence the erection of the necessary buildings, water works, machinery & Apparatus without delay & to have the whole performed on such dimensions & in such manner, as he and you shall agree on generally. For the machinery & c. you will from time to time furnish him with sketches, drawings or directions which he will follow.

It is desirable that the buildings & machinery should be such as may be sufficient for as many workmen, as would be necessary for the manufacture of 15 to 20,000 muskets annually & a due proportion of Rifles, Pistols & Swords.

It is proposed to enlarge the establishment at Springfield & calculate on the manufacture of 20,000 muskets a year, with a due proportion of other arms, and should you think we might extend the works at Harpers Ferry so as to manufacture that number it would be desirable to have it done. - I presume there will be no other obstacles in the way but that of the difficulty or impracticability of procuring a sufficient number of workmen."⁴

Earlier the same year, in discussing the possibility of expanding the output of the Harpers Ferry Armory, Superintendent Stubblefield had told General Dearborn:

"Agreeable to your order I have increased the number of Armorers, by which we are very much crowded, and have agreed with several more very good workmen, but for the want of accommodation (sic) they cannot come on to business; at my

4. National Archives, R. 18, v. 1, p. 77, letter dated June 3, 1808; see also letter of Dearborn to Samuel Annin, dated June 3, 1808, R. 18, v. 5, p. 419.

"last interview you expressed a desire to have the next Houses built on the Hill near the Magazine; if you continue in the same opinion, will you please to direct Mr. Annin to commence the building of them."⁵

On April 12, 1808 the Secretary of War had accordingly directed Pay Master and Military Store Keeper Samuel Annin:

"...to erect on the hill nigh the magazines, a building 60 feet in length, 32 feet in width & 1½ stories in height, the walls to be brick, for the accomodation of the workmen at the Armory at Harpers Ferry."⁶

The earliest dwelling houses for the workmen, erected by the U. S. Government, were thus apparently largely concentrated on the slope of Camp Hill that overlooked the musket factory or Armory tract. The number of workmen employed at the armory, amount^{ed}~~ed~~ to 71 men in 1807, was increased to 87 men in 1808 to 153 men in 1809, and to 197 men in 1810.⁷

The U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry in 1810 was composed of a total of 28 buildings. These included two brick arsenal buildings that were used for the storage of arms; ten brick work shops in which the arms were manufactured, and 16 dwelling houses used for the quarters of the officers and workmen of the Armory.⁸ Overcrowded

5. National Archives, R. 18, v. 3, p. 290, letter dated April 4, 1808.

6. National Archives, R. 18, v. 7, p. 73.

7. American State Papers, Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the Twenty-Fourth Congress, Inclusive, Commencing March 15, 1832, and Ending January 5, 1836. Washington, 1860 Volume V, Military affairs, p. 915. Reel 17, v. 4, p. 283.

8. "Public Buildings at Harpers Ferry in Virginia 1st January 1810; National Archives R.G. 107, War Dept. Sec. of War Letters Received. A-29(5) enc. Samuel Annin, March 17, 1810. For similiar list dated October 1, 1811, see A-72(5) enc. Samuel Annin, submitted Oct. 24, 1810.

conditions made it necessary to use the second floors of three of the workshops as lodging rooms and as a meeting (church) room.⁹

The 16 dwelling houses standing in 1810 were as follows:

"Bldg. No. 11-brick, 36 feet by 29', two stories, with cellar and kitchen, for accommodation of the Superintendent of the Armory.

Bldg. No. 12-brick, 28 by 19 ft. two stories & cellar, with Kitchen, for the accommodation of the Pay-Master.

Bldg. No. 13-Brick, 22 by 22' one & one half stories, Foundry & Lodging Rooms.

Bldg. No. 14, brick, 30 by 20', one story, occupied by a mechanic.

Bldg. No. 15, brick 20 by 18 ' one story & cellar, kitchen occupied by a mechanic.

Bldg. No. 16, brick, 20 by 18 feet, one story & cellar, kitchen, occupied by a mechanic.

Bldg. No. 17, Brick, 64 feet by 21', two stories, Accommodation of 8 families.

Bldg. No. 18, Stone & frame, 94 feet by 21, two stories, Accommodation of 10 families.

Bldg. No. 19, Frame, 70 feet by 18, one story with cellars, accommodation of 3 families, Millwrights and carpenters.

Bldg. No. 20, Brick & frame, 40 feet by 20, two stories, occupied by Theodore Beall (the building removed from Armory Street).

Bldg. No. 21, Brick & frame, 42 feet by 20, two stories with cellar, occupied by 2 families.

Bldg. No. 22, Frame, 25 feet by 14, one story, Accommodation of the Master Armorer.

Bldg. No. 23, Frame, 26 feet by 16, one story, occupied by a mechanic.

Bldg. No. 24, Frame, 16 feet by 14, one story, occupied by the Caster.

Bldg. No. 26, Frame, one story, 44 feet by 19, accommodation of 2 families.

9. Ibid.

Bldg. 28, log (boarded), 26 feet by 18, two stories & a shed on the hill occupied by 3 families."

"In addition to the above," Pay Master Annin noted, "there are several families accommodated with log houses, or huts, which were built by the Armory in 1799. Other huts have been removed & rebuilt in more convenient situations, which now are generally indifferent."¹⁰

The census of Harpers Ferry for 1810 reveals that the total population of the town amounted to 751 people, composed of 661 white people and 90 negro slaves. Of the white population, 386 were male and 275 female, with 100 heads of families being listed.¹¹ Of the 386 white males, 197 men were employed at the Armory in 1810.

In April 1810, Superintendent Stubblefield again renewed the request for additional housing, writing Secretary of War William Eustis on this subject:

"Mr. Wickham (Master Armorer) will hand you this, who waits on you for permission to have a house built convenient to the Armory. His accommodations at present is very indifferent (see House No. 22 on 1810 list) and inconvenient to the works - more especially in the winter season - the roads in general is excessive bad, and its necessary for him to continue in the Armory until 8 o'clock at night. There is at present a number of married workmen in my employ waiting for accommodations. - You will therefore highly oblige me by informing whether or not they may expect to be furnished with houses. Would be advisable to exact a moderate rent, in proportion to the accommodations - and expand it in accommodating others. There is at present a considerable degree of jealousy

10. Ibid., see footnote No. 8.

11. Records of the Bureau of the Census (R. G. 29-National Archives) Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States 1810, Reel ~~18~~, v. ~~8~~, p. ~~419~~.

"among the hands, as some accommodations is unavoidably better than others." 12

Practical steps were instituted in September 1810 to provide new housing when Mr. Stubblefield informed Chief Clerk John Smith of the War Department:

"Agreeable to what passed at our last interview relative to four dwelling houses for the workmen, I herewith, enclose an Estimate, which shows the cost of each building, exclusive of the Brick which we have on hand. The amount is trifling in comparison to the accommodation they will afford. I hope Sir, you will endeavour to procure an order from the Secretary as soon as convenient so that I may be enabled to have them completed this fall." 13

Mr. Stubblefield's estimate of the cost of constructing four dwelling houses in 1810 was as follows:

"Estimate of dwelling house construction:

House 20 feet square, 8 feet brick, and 9 inch wall.

For Stone work	\$20.00	
" Hauling brick laying them and attendance	55.00	
" Carpenter's Work	75.00	
	<u>\$150.00</u>	14

12. April 7, 1810, Reel 18, V.5, p.419.

13. September 8, 1810, Reel 18, V.5, p.431. Major Beall, a private individual, had been given permission on June 8, 1807, to rent part of a barracks, then unused, for use as a store, on condition that the building be returned to the Armory when it was needed for Armory use. Reel 18, V.1, p.58; also Reel 18, V.1, p.87. This is one of the first instances of which many were to occur later, of private individuals obtaining control of Government structures and then refusing to yield them up to the Armory when so ordered.

14. September 8, 1810, Reel 18, V.5, p.432.

^{clerk}
Chief John Smith answered Mr. Stubblefield on September 24,

1810, replying:

"Your letter of the 8th inst., with the Estimate which accompanied it, has been submitted to the Secretary of War. As it is considered neither reasonable nor justifiable that the Public should be at the expence of Building, when they have Quarters belonging to them occupied by Persons not attached to the Armory, he directs that, if additional quarters are required for the Workmen at Harper's Ferry, that Major Beall should give up for them the House he now occupied. You will please therefore to give him notice to quit without delay; and in case he does not comply you are authorized to employ such compulsory process as the Law prescribes."¹⁵

On November 15, 1810 Mr. Stubblefield apparently informed the War Department that the additional new buildings he had requested were still required for quartering for the workmen (his letter no longer exists), for on November 22, the War Department informed him:

"....It has been presumed that the buildings already erected would accommodate as great a number of Armorers as could be employed in the works to advantage. If it be not the case you will please to inform the Department and to forward an Estimate of such additional buildings as may be absolutely necessary."¹⁶

On January 26, 1811, Superintendent Stubblefield submitted his second estimate, this time requesting six new houses, writing:

"Enclosed you will receive an Estimate for Six dwelling houses for Armorers, which is very much wanted (the number of workmen was increased from 197 in 1810 to 209 in 1811)

"I must acknowledge I am apprehensive of being too late in laying the estimate before you - but the delay is owing to a desire to get the buildings put up on as reasonable terms as possible. Yesterday a Mason and Carpenter offered to contract to build the

15. R. 18, v. 2, pp. 120-121.

16. R. 18, v. 2, p. 126.

Six Houses as per estimate - and bid at every expence - I thought it reasonable and therefore hasten to lay it before you- for your consideration-

"An estimate of the Cost of six Dwelling Houses for Armorers- \$2,000 (the actual estimate no longer exists).¹⁷

The War Department replied on January 29, 1811, stating:

"Your letter of the 26th inst., covering an Estimate of the cost of six dwelling houses for Armorers has been received. You are authorized to make contracts for erecting them on the best terms you can obtain, but not exceeding two thousand dollars for the whole of the buildings. The Estimate is forwarded to Mr. Annin (the Pay Master and Military Store Keeper) with instructions to make payments under the Contracts which you will be please to Deliver over to him."¹⁸

The six dwelling houses were completed in 1811, as we find the following six new buildings added to the 1810 list of armory structures.

"Public buildings at Harper's Ferry in Virginis 1st October 1811:"

"Bldg. No. 29, brick, 18 feet by 22, one story & cellar, kitchen, occupied by a Mechanic.

Bldg. No. 30, brick, 18 feet by 22, one story, cellar, kitchen, occupid by a mechanic.

Bldg. No. 31, brick, 18 feet by 22, one story, & cellar, kitchen, occupied by a Mechanic.

Bldg. No. 32, brick, 16 feet by 24 feet, one story & cellar, occupied by a mechanic

Bldg. No. 33, brick, 16 feet by 24, one story & cellar, occupied by a mechanic.

Bldg. No. 34, brick, 16 feet by 26, two stories, occupied by a mechanic."¹⁹

17. Reel 18, v. 5, p. 446.

18. Reel 18, v. 2, p. 128; also instruction to Annin, dated Jan. 29, 1811.

19. National Archives R.G. 107, War Dept., Sec. of War, Letters Received, A-46(6) enc. Submitted by Samuel Annin, January 12, 1812.

On January 24, 1812 the Secretary of War ordered Pay Master

Annin to:

"... require and collect such rents as you may think reasonable for the houses occupied by the Armorers at Harpers-Ferry, charging rents from the 1st January 1812, and appropriate the proceeds of such rents to necessary repairs of the public buildings--rendering an account of the Same."²⁰

In March 1812 the War Department further directed Mr. Annin to:

"...engage additional workmen in the Armory at Harpers Ferry and gradually increase the number until the manufacture of arms is extended to one fourth more than the number now monthly manufactured when you will make a report and state the extent to which works may be carried without enlarging the present buildings."²¹

In spite of this order, however, the number of workmen remained fairly constant from 1811 to 1815, numbering 209 men in 1811; 210 in 1812; 208 in 1813; 210 in 1814; and 202 men in 1815.²²

The erection of the six new dwelling houses in 1811, however, apparently did not solve the housing problems at the Harpers Ferry Armory for long. On March 17, 1813, Pay Master Samuel Annin notified Secretary of War Armstrong:

"At present, a part of the workshops are occupied as lodging rooms by single men (mechanics) this is found dangerous, and also inconvenient, as the rooms are wanted for the purposes they were designed, this induced me last fall to make some preparation towards a building intended to be 16 by 160 feet, one story high to be divided into 10 apartments and to accommodate 50 to 80 men.

"It is also needful to provide for some that have families, for by experience we find that they are the men most to be relied on, some good Mechanics have left us, meeting with better accommodations

20. National Archives, R. 18, v. 2, p. 149.

21. Reel 18, v. 2, p. 150.

22. American State Papers, Vol. 5, p. 915; Reel 17, v. 4, p. 283.

elsewhere, especially at Pittsburg. This is the time to provide materials for buildings, and repairs of Mill, Dams, &c. it being the only season in the year timber, plank, &c. can be brought down the river. Be pleased, Sir, to take it into consideration and give such instruction as you may think proper."²³

No corrective measures or new construction was apparently taken, for in November 1813 Pay Master Annin again informed Secretary of War John Armstrong:

"Permit me, Sir, to say that there is a necessity for erecting more buildings for the accommodation of the Mechanics, and especially of lodging rooms for single men, at present many of them are under the necessity of lodging in the workshops which is very uncomfortable, and attended with great inconvenience as well as danger from having the shops exposed, it frequently is the case that good mechanics leave us & others discouraged from offering their services, on account of the accommodations, these things operate very much against the establishment, & especially during the winter season..."²⁴

In July 1814, Mr. Annin repeated his request to General Armstrong, writing:

"Permit me again to represent the necessity of more accommodations for the Armorers at Harper's Ferry, especially for the single men, many of them are under the necessity of lodging in the workshops, which is both inconvenient & dangerous upon(?) the account of fire as the exposed situation of the shops at all hours of the night, persons so disposed (and there are such persons attached to the Armory) have opportunities of pilfering for themselves or their friends many small articles such as files, tools, choice pieces of steel, &c. & it is out of the power of the Superintendent to prevent such abuses as long as the shops are made lodging rooms of. We have not yet suffered any by fire but if there are not lodging rooms provided before winter, we may be destroyed by that element, we narrowly escaped last winter and we have more cause to fear the coming one by accident if not by design. A building intended for 10 lodging rooms of 16 feet square was commenced nearly 2 years ago, which if completed would be a great accommodation, be pleased, Sir, to take the subject into consideration and give such instructions as you may think proper."²⁵

23. Reel 13, v. 1, p. 8.

24. November 2, 1813, reel 13, v. 1, p. 31-32.

25. July 26, 1814, Reel 13, v. 1, p. 86.

In 1815 new plans were under consideration in regards to the possibility of expanding the output of the Harpers Ferry Armory. Stubblefield informed Secretary of War James Monroe in regards to such expansion:

"If you determine to increase the number of hands at this Establishment, so as to Manufacture twenty or Thirty thousand stand of arms annually, it will be absolutely necessary to build a number of houses for their accommodations, they generally having families, and one or two more must be erected(?) for young men..."²⁶

The number of workmen was increased this time from 202 men in 1815 to 222 men in 1816, to 231 in 1817, to 237 in 1818, to 242 in 1819, and to 253 men in 1820.²⁷

Construction of new dwelling houses took place, undoubtedly as an essential part of increase in production, as is revealed by the correspondence that follows; Mr. Stubblefield informed Lt. Col. George Bomford, of the Ordnance Office, on May 6, 1816:

"From the conversation that passed between you, Colonel Lee and myself, respecting the building houses for the accommodation of the Armory at this place, you observed that I should lay out \$4,000 in building the same. I have engaged the workmen and they have commenced, on very reasonable terms, I have therefore to request that you will order the Pay Master at this place, to pay to my Order such sums, as may be necessary to complete the above object."²⁸

In June 1816, Stubblefield again wrote to Lt. Col. Bomford on the subject:

"It being necessary to have some brick made and burnt,

26. January 30, 1815, Reel 21, v. 1, p. 93.

27. American States Papers, Vol. V, p. 915, Reel 17, v. 4, p. 283.

28. R. 21, v. 2, p. 128.

for the purpose of repairing sundry Case hardening and Nealing furnances, I deemedit advisable to have a good Kilm made & burnt, as it was also necessaryto have some new houses erected for the accommodation of the Armorers, which I cannot possibly do without...

"I have contracted with the Brick Maker, and set him to work. I trust, Sir, this will met you approbation, and that you will be pleased to cause such funds to be placed in the hands of the Pay Master at this place, to defray the expense. Annexed you will see an Estimate of the expense of erecting the above buildings.

"The stone and brick work of a House twenty four feet by Eighteen, and Eight feet pitch.....\$160
Timber Plank & carpenters Work
for the above complete..... 200
\$360

"...On Consulting with Colonel Lloyd Beall (the Pay Master of the Armory) he joins me in the Opinion that twelve houses of the above description ought to be built this present season."²⁹

In July 1816 Superintendent James Stubblefield informed Lt. Col. Bomford of the progress of the new construction, writing:

"...I have the foundations of Six buildings 18 by 24 feet laid with stone-100 thousand brick in readiness to commence the walls & the carpenter work for the same in forewardiness..."³⁰

In August 1816, both Superintendent Stubblefield and Pay Master Beall joined in requesting that a total of 12 such houses should be erected, stating:

"We are of an Opinion, respecting of the Buildings and Improvements mentioned in a former communication by J. Stubblefield, that ten or twelve, small buildings, for the use of the Armorers Accommodation, are absolutely necessary. At Present a number of workmen is compeled to lodge in the work shops for want of other buildings to lodge in, which expose everything in the Armory, we are of an opinion that the price for which they are to be built, reasonable..."³¹

29. June 10, 1816, R. 21, v. 2, pp. 129-130.

30. July 8, 1816, R. 21, v. 2, p. 119.

31. August 1, 1816, R. 21, v. 2, p. 136.

As revealed by the 1821 inventory of houses (see below), apparently 11 brick houses, 18 by 24 feet in size, were actually erected in 1816.

From 1816 to 1820, however, apparently only three more dwelling houses were erected by the United States Government; these new buildings were erected for use of Captain John H. Hall's men, in conjunction with the new rifle factory that was being developed on the Shenandoah River. On August 2, 1819 Mr. Stubblefield wrote to Colonel Wadsworth of the Ordnance Department in regards to Hall's plans for his new factory:

"Agreeably to your request I herewith enclose you an estimate of the probable cost of the buildings, which Mr. Hall wishes to be built for work shops, dwelling Houses, &c.,.....

"HARPERS FERRY, 2d August 1819. Estimate of the probable amount of the cost of the following buildings for the manufactory of Mr. John H. Hall's Patent Rifles.

1st. Fitting up the old saw mill & a water whell to the same....	\$600.00
2nd. Building a stone black smith shop.....	600.00
3rd. For the erection of 3 dwelling houses for the accommodation of his hands.....	1350.00
4th. For the building of a new Saw Mill on the Potomac.....	350.00
	<u>\$2900.00</u> ³²

Col. Denis Wadsworth informed James Stubblefield on August 14, 1819:

"...You are hereby authorized to execute what is proposed, taking care not to let the Expenditure exceed \$3,000.00.³³ These buildings were completed by January 1820.³⁴

32. Reel 13, v. 3, pp. 230-231.

33. Reel 14, v. 3, p. 220.

34. Stubblefield to Wadsworth, January 8, 1820, Reel 21, v. 4, p. 327.

In summary then, 1796-1820, 15 buildings were listed in 1810 as being utilized solely as dwelling houses. Lack of facilities in 1810 also made it necessary to quarter Armory workmen in four of the Armory workshops. In 1811 six more brick dwelling houses were erected. No further dwelling houses were constructed from 1812 to 1815, with the possible exception of a one story frame structure, 16 by 160 feet, which is mentioned as being started in 1812. In 1816 11 more new brick dwelling houses were erected as quarters for the Armorers. Three more new dwelling houses were erected in 1819 for the use of John H. Hall's workmen. Thus by 1820, according to Armory records, the list of buildings utilized solely for housing Armory employees should have numbered 36 structures.

CHAPTER III

Private Construction of Dwelling Houses on Government Land 1799-1829

In 1820 the population of Harpers Ferry totaled 1,377 people, as compared to 751 persons in 1810. Of this number 681 were white males,¹ in 1820 and 253 of them were employed at the Armory and 18 more at the Hall Rifle factory.²

The actual number of Dwelling houses located on Armory land in 1821 is revealed by following data which has been extracted from "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."³

Number of Buildings	For what purpose built, or how occupied	Dimensions in feet	No. of Stories	of what Built.	Estimated Value
			2 & a		
1	Dwelling House	36 by 30	cellar	Brick,	\$3,000
1	Dwelling House	36 by 26	2 & a cellar	Brick	2,500
1	Dwelling House	40 by 24	2 & a cellar	Brick	2,500
1	Dwelling House	30 by 20	2 & a cellar	Brick	1,200
1	Dwelling House	28 by 20	2	Brick,	1,000
1	Dwelling House	64 by 21	2	Brick	3,000
1	Dwelling House	28 by 18	2	Brick	700
2	Dwelling Houses	28 by 18	1	Brick	1,000
1	Dwelling House	48 by 18	1	Brick	800
1	Dwelling house	32 by 20	1	Brick	600
11	Dwelling Houses	24 by 18	1	Brick	4,400
1	Dwelling Houses	36 by 24	2	Stone	800
1	Dwelling House	48 by 22	1	Stone	800
1	Dwelling House	28 by 22	1	Stone	600
1	Dwelling House	94 by 21	2	Wood	2,000
1	Dwelling House	70 by 18	2	Wood	2,000
2	Dwelling Houses	40 by 20	2	Wood	2,500

1. National Archives R. G. 29, Reel # 10, vol. 1, pp. 7-9.
2. American State Papers V., p. 915, Reel 17, v. 4, p. 283.
3. Ibid. II, (1834), p. 482-483, Reel 17, v. 3, pp. 204-205.

Number of Buildings	For what purpose built, or how occupied	Dimensions in feet	No. of Stories	Of what Built	Estimated Value
1	Dwelling House	42 by 20	2	Wood	1,000
2	Dwelling Houses	50 by 18	1	Wood	1,200
1	Dwelling House	36 by 18	2	Wood	700
2	1 dwelling house and 1 school house	40 by 20	1	Wood	1,100
5	Dwelling Houses	36 by 18	1	Wood	2,100
3	Dwelling Houses	24 by 18	1	Wood	900
3	Dwelling houses	28 by 16	1	Wood	1,000
1	Dwelling House	50 by 16	1	Wood	400
2	Dwelling houses	26 by 16	1	Wood	600
4	Dwelling Houses	30 by 18	1	Wood	1,450
1	Dwelling House	48 by 20	1	Wood	400
1	Dwelling House	40 by 18	1	Wood	400
1	Dwelling House	32 by 20	1	Wood	400
1	Dwelling House	34 by 16	1	Wood	300
1	Dwelling House	26 by 18	1	Wood	300
1	Dwelling House	36 by 16	1	Wood	300
2	Dwelling Houses	20 by 18	1	Wood	550
1	Dwelling House	32 by 14	1	Wood	250
4	Dwelling Houses	30 by 16	1	Wood	950
5	4 dwelling houses and 1 school house	24 by 16	1	Wood	1,100
1	Dwelling House	28 by 18	1	Wood	250
7	Dwelling Houses	18 by 16	1	Wood	1,250
2	Dwelling Houses	18 by 18	1	Wood	300
1	Dwelling House	18 by 20	1	Wood	150
1	Dwelling House	16 by 14	1	Wood	100
5	Dwelling Houses	16 by 16	1	Wood	500
89 dwelling houses and out buildings - - - - -					-\$47,600.

As shown in the previous chapter, the number of dwelling houses erected by the United States from 1796 to 1820 totaled 36 buildings, but as indicated in the above inventory there were actually 89 such structures located on the Armory lands at Harpers Ferry in 1821. The question, therefore, arises where did the additional 53 dwelling houses come from?. And by whom were they erected?

The answer, as will appear from what follows, is that these structures were erected on Government land by Armory employees for their own use as their residences. This second method of erecting "Government" dwelling houses had been in progress since the early 1800's and occurred because, first, the United States Government had failed to erect enough dwelling houses to keep pace with the increasing number of men employed at the Armory; and second, no privately owned land being available to be purchased by the Armory Workmen, the Armorers, exhibiting a great deal of individual enterprise on their part, went ahead and built their homes on the Government land. Furthermore, in addition to constructing new buildings, the Armorers also improved, repaired and maintained Dwelling Houses that had been originally erected by the Government at their own expense. This latter type of work was done by the workmen because the Government was unable, quite often, to provide promptly the funds necessary to effect such additions and repairs.

In this Chapter and the following one, we will, therefore, consider in detail the question of construction, additions and repairs made by workmen to buildings located on Government land. A wealth of architectural detail will be presented that shows the exact nature and extent of such repairs and additions, as well as the type of new construction, that was carried out by the Armorers. Also included are the names of these many "builders" and the story of the ending of these practices.

Superintendent James Stubblefield wrote to Colonel George Bomford of the Ordnance office, on September 6, 1823 on this subject, stating:

"In compliance with your instructions of the 17th May last I herewith enclose a statement of the number of buildings and parts of buildings that have been erected on the public ground by individuals, with the probable values of the improvements on each building. In making this estimate, the Houses on the Lot leased to the Potomack Company & the store House on the lot leased to Major Jamison were not included (In addition to workers building their homes on government land, individuals not connected with the Armory were also leasing government land and erecting mercantile buildings on their lots. This latter type of construction and leasing will be treated in detail in a separate report on Bldg. No. 45). This report has been delayed for a considerable time on account of the time required to make the valuations on the different Houses. I have paid for several of the claims & think it would be advisable for the Government to purchase all the Dwelling Houses on the Public Grounds whenever the funds can be spared from the amount appropriated for the Armory. If the whole amount could not be spared from the present appropriation I would recommend that a certain sum be expended to that purpose in this year & the residue in the next, until all the claims of individuals on the public property shall be liquidated."⁴

Mr. Stubblefield's report, which reveals the extent of this construction, and improvements, follows:

"Statement of the numbers and description of buildings on the public ground at Harper's Ferry, on which there are claims for improvements made by individuals with a valuation of the improvements on each House."⁵

Bldg.		No of Stories	Remarks	Valuation
No.	Of what Built			
1	Brick	1 & cellar	Claim for cellar & extra plastering	\$ 47.94
2	Brick	2 & cellar	Claim for cellar & upper story	339.37½
3	Brick	1 & cellar	Claim for cellar & extra work	158.26

4. Reel 21, v. 1, pp. 43-44.
5. Reel 21, v. 7, pp. 696-698.

Bldg. No	Of What Built	No. of Stories	Remarks	Valuation
4	Brick	1 & cellar	Claim for cellar & Porch	65.60
5	Brick	1 & cellar	Claim for Digging Cellar	15.00
6	Brick	1 & cellar	Claim for cellar, porch & a small room	114.97
7	Brick	2 & cellar	Claim for Digging cellar & Cellar doors	20.70
8	Brick	1 & cellar	Claim for cellar & a small room	99.09
9	Wood	1 & cellar	Claim for cellar & plastering, &c.	51.14
10	Wood	1 & cellar	Claim for cellar, plastering & partitions, &c.	89.50
11	Stone	2	Claim for Materials & building	507.36
12	Wood	2	Claim for partitions, Doors, Plastering	99.13
13	Brick	1 & cellar	Claim for cellar, partition, Locks, &c.	61.57
14	Wood	1 & cellar	Claim for filling in Doors & cellar	46 .67
15	Wood	1	Claim for plastering, porch chimney brick	33.40
16	Brick	2	Claim for materials & building upper story	197.17
17	Brick	2	Claim for extra brick work, porch, &c.	83.50
18	Wood	2	Claim for building an additional room	60.67
19	Brick	2	Claim for materials & building 1 story	185.14 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	Wood	1	Claim for materials & building	193.57
21	Brick	1 & cellar	Claim for extra brick & joiner work	304.82
22	Wood	1	Claim for materials & building	96.50
23	Wood	1	Claim for extra joiners Work	80.00
24	Wood	1	Claim for partition & repairs	22.02

Bldg. No.	Of what Built	No. of Stories	Remarks	Valuation
25	Wood	1	Claim for materials & building	66.90
26	Stone	1 & cellar	" " cellar & staircase	46.46
27	Wood	1	" " repairs	8.00
28	Wood	1	" " New roof, partition &c.	36.31
29	Wood	1	" " new roof	13.81
30	Wood	1	" " repairs	5.17
31	Wood	1	" " building an additional room	56.56
32	Wood	1	" " building an additional room	35.52
33	Wood	1	" " extra joiner work	33.93
34	Wood	1	" " materials & building	160.34
35	Wood	1	" " plastering & extra joiners work	37.96
36	Wood	1	" " new roof, &c.	22.07
37	Wood	1	" " new roof	14.76
38	Wood	1	" " building	34.94
39	Wood	2	" " Repairing, &c.	50.00
40	Wood	1	" " materials & building	216.29
41	Wood	1	" " materials & building	170.60
42	Brick	1 & cellar	" " cellar & extra brick work	119.89
43	Stone	1½ & cellar	" " plastering & extra joiner work	78.54
44	Wood	1 & cellar	" " cellar, plastering & joiner work	228.59
45	Wood	2	" " plastering, partition, &c.	99.26
46	Wood	1	" " building an addition & other repairs	119.61
47	Wood	1 & cellar	" " Digging cellar	6.00
48	Wood	1	" " Joiners work &c.	71.82
49	Wood	1	" " Digging cellar	8.00
50	Wood	1	" " building an addition	37.07
51	Brick	1 & cellar	" " Staircase & plastering cellar	35.70
52	Stone	2	" " Extra stone & joiners work	137.03
53	Wood	1	" " materials & building an addition	75.98½
54	Wood	1	" " extra joiners work	40.51
55	Wood	1	" " repairs	4.68
56	Brick	2	" " extra joiners work & materials	171.51
57	Wood	1	" " repairs	4.97
58	Wood	1	" " joiners work	57.84
59	Wood	1 & cellar	" " building	180.01
60	Wood	1	" " porch & other repairs	24.36½
61	Wood	1	" " materials & building an addition	100.00
62	Wood	1	" " materials & building an "	78.87
63	Wood	1	" " materials & building	101.41
64	Wood	1	" " materials & building	89.37
65	Wood	1	" " materials & building	206.75

Bldg. No.	Of What Built	No of Stories	Remarks	Valuation
66	Wood	1	Claim for materials & building	168.27
67	Wood	1 & cellar	" " cellar & materials for house	73.20
68	Wood	1	" " materials & building	220.77
69	Wood	1	" " materials	58.53
70	Wood	1	" " materials & building an addition	102.92
71	Wood	1	" " Plastering & other repairs	25.80
72	Wood	1 & cellar	" " Staircase, digging cellar &c.	27.53
73	Wood	2	" " materials & building	261.66
74	Wood	1	" " repairs	7.75
75	Wood	1	" " materials & building	229.11
76	Wood	1	" " materials & building	73.58
77	Wood	1	" " materials & building	91.75
78	Wood	1	" " materials & building	300.00
79	Wood	1	" " chimney & joiner work	74.00
80	Wood	1	" " materials & building	109.50
81	Wood	1	" " repairs	14.66
82	Wood & stone	2	" " materials & building	806.73
83	Wood	1	" " materials & building an addition	83.42
84	Wood	1	" " materials & building	150.00
84 Buildings				\$8,868.55

"Note. A number of the Buildings in the above list, are occupied by two or more Families, making an aggregate of 115 families in the 84 houses.

United States Armory,
Harpers Ferry, Va., 6th Sept. 1823.
James Stubblefield."

In line with Superintendent Stubblefield's recommendation of September 6, 1823, the Government, from 1822 to 1829, proceeded to purchase the claims of workmen for improvements, they had made on public dwelling houses and also the dwelling houses they had erected on public land. Thus in 1822 and 1823 the following 42 claims were liquidated:

"Statement of buildings erected by private individuals on
government lands at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (February 23, 1829)"⁶
Buildings erected by private individuals.

Description	By Whom Erected	By what authority erected	Buildings purchased by government			
			Amt. paid for each	Date of purchase or payment	By what auth. purchased	No. Bldg.
1. Wooden dwelling	John A. Smith	Supt.	\$100.00	1822	Superintend't	44
2. Wooden dwelling	Joshua Cox	"	65.00	1822	"	45
3. Wooden dwelling	Joel Norman	"	24.07	1823	"	46
4. Wooden dwelling	George Rowles	"	22.00	1822	"	47
5. Wooden dwelling	Wm. Adams	"	100.00	1823	"	48
6. Wooden dwelling	Phil. Funk	"	122.86	1823	"	49
7. Wooden dwelling	Charles Staley	"	16.17	1823	"	50
8. Wooden dwelling	R. Breeden's adm'r	"	50.00	1823	"	51
9. Stone building	Amasa Mars	"	12.11	1823	"	52
10. Brick building	Wm. Green	"	119.89	1823	"	53
11. Wooden building	Joseph Barnes	"	33.93	1823	"	54
12. Wooden building	Reuben Stipes	"	24.36	1823	"	55
13. Wooden building	Jacob Ott	"	37.26	1823	"	56
14. Wooden building	Elisha Larkin	"	91.75	1823	"	57
15. Wooden building	George Zorger	"	35.20	1823	"	58
16. Wooden building	Carey Thompson	"	37.07	1823	"	59
17. Do.	Martin Hariman	"	78.87	1823	"	60
18. Do.	Richard King	"	163.08	1823	"	61
19. Do.	Frederick Riley	"	25.38	1823	"	62
20. Do.	Henry Stipes	"	215.85	1823	"	63
21. Do.	Charles H. Mills	"	43.03	1823	"	64
22. Do.	David Adams	"	109.50	1823	"	65
23. Do.	Levi Hall	"	46.67	1823	"	66
24. Do.	Thomas Stedman	"	56.56	1823	"	67
25. Do.	Samuel J. Lindsay	"	83.42	1823	"	68
26. Do.	Thomas Stipes	"	214.14	1823	"	69
27. Do.	Mary Seliz	"	806.73	1823	"	70
28. Do.	John Baylis	"	22.07	1823	"	71
29. Do.	Isaac Wood	"	109.75	1823	"	72
30. Do.	Joshua Riley	"	225.75	1823	"	73
31. Stone bldg.	James Coates	"	161.39	1823	"	74
32. Wooden building	Wm. Grisfield	"	34.94	1823	"	75
33. Do.	Abram Berlin	"	57.84	1823	"	76
34. Do.	Wm. Adams	"	39.66	1823	"	77
35. Stone Bldg.	Jacob Coons	"	209.04	1823	"	78
36. Wooden building	Andrew Board	"	37.00	1823	"	79
37. Brick Building	Daniel Johnson	"	158.37	1823	"	80

6. American States Papers Vol. IV, pp. 143-145. Reel 17, v. 3, pp. 234-237.

Description	By Whom Erected	By What Authority erected	Buildings purchased by government			No. Bldg.
			Amt. paid for each	Date of purchase or payment	by what auth. purchased	
38. Wooden Building	John Holt	Supt.	58.53	1823	Superintend't	81
39. Do.	Ezwekiel Stipes	"	66.54	1823	"	82
40. Do	John Riley	"	27.53	1823	"	83
41. Brick Building	Philip Hoffman	"	339.37	1823	"	84
42. Wooden building	Meshac Kirby	"	286.66	1823	"	85
\$4,569.34 (_By adding machine_)						42 claims

By the "National Armory Accounts" for 1823, it is stated that the "Amount paid to workmen for Houses erected by them on the public Ground for their accommodation" totaled \$5,758.30 for that year.⁸

In 1824 the following 13 claims were liquidated:

Description of Bldg.	By Whom Erected	By what Authority Erected	Amount paid for each	Date of Purchase	By what Authority Purchased	Bldg. No.
1. Wooden Bldg.	Michael Melhorn	Supt.	229.11	1824	Superintendent	86
2. Do.	Nathan Benton	"	39.40	1824	"	87
3. Do.	Adahel Davis	"	74.00	1824	"	88
4. Brick Bldg.	Chs. Wintersmith	"	114.97	1824	"	89
5. Wooden Bldg.	Wm. Smallwood	"	80.00	1824	"	90
6. Do.	Stetson Bisbee	"	91.43	1824	"	91
7. Do.	Charles Fouke	"	114.06	1824	"	92
8. Do.	Edm. Burke	"	32.45	1824	"	93
9. Stone Bldg.	John Rockenbaugh	"	560.42	1824	"	94
10. Do.	Nathan French	"	38.10	1824	"	95
11. Do.	Roger Jones	"	13.03	1824	"	96
12. Brick Bldg.	James Pryor	"	127.17	1824	"	97
13. Wooden Bldg.	Wm. McCoy	"	89.37	1824	"	98 ⁹
\$1,603.51 (_by adding machine_)						13 claim

7. Ibid., Reel 17, v. 3, p. 236.

8. National Archives R. G. 156, Entry 935.

9. Reel 17, v. 3, p. 236.

By the "National Armory Accounts" for 1824, it is stated
 "this Amount paid to the Workmen for Houses erected on the Public
 ground---\$1,671.96."¹⁰

In 1825 the five following claims were purchased:

1. "Wooden Bldg.	Thomas Stedman	Supt.	92.90	1825	Supt.	99
2. Stone building	Nahum Patch	"	25.53	1825	"	100
3. Do.	Tim Herrington	"	301.18	1825	"	101
4. Do.	John Donaldson	"	19.00	1825	"	102
5. Brick Bldg.	Francis O'Neale	"	171.59	1825	"	103 ¹¹
						\$610.20 (by adding machine) 5 claims

By the "National Armory Accounts" for 1825 it is stated: "This amount
 paid the workmen for Houses built by them on the public ground --\$1,031.50."¹²

In 1826 the following claims were liquidated:

Description of Bldg.	By Whom Erected	By What Authority Erected	Amount paid for each	Date of Purchase	By What Auth purchased	Bldg. No.
1. Stone dwelling	Wm. Smallwoos	Supt.	\$400.00	1826	Superintendent	37
2. Wooden dwelling	John Wegginton	"	19.00	1826	"	104
3. Stone "	John McFarland	"	171.59	1826	"	105
4. Brick Bldg.	Francis O'Neale	"	423.00	1826	"	106 ¹³
						\$1,013.59 (by adding machine) 4 claims

By National Armory Accounts for 1826 no money was spent for this purposed
 during the year.¹⁴ This probably indicates that funds were held over from
 1823 and 1824 and that the final settlement was not effected until 1826.

10. National Archives R. G. 156, Entry 935.
11. Reel 17, v. 3, p. 236.
12. National Archives R. G. 156, Entry 935
13. Reel 17, v. 3, pp. 235-236.
14. National Archives R. G. 156, Entry 935.

In 1827 and 1828 the following six claims were purchased:

1.	Wooden dwelling	John Tully Supt.	12.00	1827	Supt.	107
2.	Do.	John Roderick "	25.00	1827	"	108
3.	Do.	Wm. McClure "	7.23	1827	"	109
4.	Do.	Wm. Phelan "	25.00	1827	"	110
5.	Do.	Elizabeth Keep "	200.00	1827	"	111
6.	Do.	Nathan Yeamans "	296.03	1828	"	112 ¹⁵
			\$565.26	(By adding machine)		6 claims

By National Armory Accounts for 1827, there was spent for "The purchase of a windows claim upon a Dwelling House---"200."¹⁶ By the same accounts, no sums for spent for this purpose in 1828 and 1829. In summarizing expenditures for the period 1822-1829, as presented in "National Armory Accounts" it is stated "By amount expended in permanent improvements, viz: For House^s purchased of workmen and others", a total of "\$8,661.76" had been expended.¹⁷ Based on the figures presented in February 1829 report and checked by the adding machine, a total of \$8,361.90 had been spent from 1822 through 1829 in liquidating 70 claims to Government Dwelling Houses.

All of these expenditures, however, did not end the problem, for the original 84 claims for 1823 improvements made to Government houses had grown to a total of 113 such claims in 1829. Thus 43 claims still remained to be settled in February 1829. The unpaid claims were as follows:

"Buildings yet in the possession of the builders and their assigns.

15. Reel 17, v.3, p. 236.

16. National Archives R. G. 156., Entry 935.

17. Ibid.

Description of Bldgs.	In What Year Erected	By whom erected	By what au- thority erected	Bldg. No.	Amount claimed on each	
1. Cellar	-	Wm. Reed	Superintendent	1	\$152.00	
2. Do.	-	Jacob Haines	Do.	2	153.00	
3. Stone dwelling -		Nathan Turk	do.	3	79.00	
4. do.	-	Thomas Welders	do.	4	124.00	
5. Wooden dwelling 1826		George Little	do.	5	186.57	
6. do.	-	C. C. Cameron	do.	6	160.00	
7. do.	1825	Jacob. Ott	do.	7	50.00	
8. Cellar to dwelling -		S. McDowell	do.	8	65.00	
9. do.	-	M. Britenbaugh	do.	9.	118.64	
10. Wooden bldg. -		James Thrapp	do.	10	52.00	
11. do.	1810	J. A. Shafer	do.	11	170.60	
12. do.	1824	Jacob Beard	do.	12	94.00	
13. do.	-	Wm. Gannon	do.	13	93.00	
14. do.	-	John Marlatt	do.	14	71.82	
15. do.	1812	Abso Vanvacter	do.	15	209.81	
16. do.	1824	Mrs. McBee	do.	16	47.00	
17. do.	1824	Joseph Davis	do.	17	116.33	
18. do.	1825	W.T.A. Pollock	do.	18	352.72	
19. Stone dwelling 1825		D. Crawford	do.	19	268.07	
20. Wooden "	1824	Charles Staley	Do.	20	101.00	
21. do.	-	Joshua Cox	do.	21	100.00	
22. do.	1825	R. Cruzen	do.	22	299.98	
23. do.	1825	John Duke	do.	23	349.46	
24. do.	-	Hugh McCoy	do.	24	101.41	
25. do.	1825	Mathias Spangle	do.	25	162.00	
26. do.	1819	John Griffiths	do.	26	168.37	
27. do.	-	David Adams	do.	27	89.00	
28. do.	-	Ashel Davis	do.	28	238.45	
29. do.	1825	T. McNulty	do.	29	222.00	
30. do.	1825	R. A. Waters	do.	30	154.00	
31. do.	1825	Eman Engles	do.	31	88.03	
32. Stone Bldg. -		John C. Renseld	do.	32	600.00	
33. Brick dwelling 1824		W. McCoy	do.	33.	549.48	
34. Wooden "	1825	John Crutchly	do.	34.	150.00	
35. do.	-	Joha Anderson	do.	35	220.84	
36. do.	-	Charles Button	do.	36	150.00	
37. do.	-	Susan Downey	do.	38	96.49	
38. do.	1812	M. Zimmerman	do.	39	350.00	
39. do.	1820	John Butler	do.	40	150.00	
40. do.	-	John Johnson	do.	41	75.00	
41. do.	-	James Merrick	do.	42	75.00	
42. Stone dwelling 1826		Jona. Irving	do.	43	350.00	
43. Stone dwelling, 1826 intended as a ferry-house		George Harding	do.	113	650.00	18

43 claims

\$8.054.07 (By addi
machine

18. Reel 17, vol. 3, pp. 235-236.

(7)
As the dates of erection on the chart reveal, 18 more claims and probably 18 new buildings were erected on Government land in the period after 1822 and thus before 1829 by Armory workmen.

In addition to the 43 claims on dwelling houses, pending in February 1829, there were also 7 other claims, totaling \$14,075.00, for mercantile buildings that had been erected on government lots that had been leased by private individuals not connected with the Armory.¹⁹

In a cover letter submitting this 1829 report on claims to Col. George Bomford, Superintendent James Stubblefield remarked:

"....There are three or four buildings erected on the (Camp) hill between the two rivers not included in this report; one of them occupied by a Mrs. Boston as a female school establishment; three other small huts, occupied by free blacks, names as follows, viz: William Prim; Adam Jones, and Jack Wood, who perform the duties of sextons and grave-diggers; also two churches (the Free Church and Methodist Episcopal Church); all of which are located on a lot of four acres, reserved in the will of Robert Harper, deceased the original proprietor, and under whom John Wager, who sold to the United States their land at this place, derived his title, for the purpose of erecting a graveyard, church, &c.; an extract from which I enclose herewith, from which it will be seen that even had not the four-acre lot been appropriated to the purposes contemplated in Harper's will the government could not legally have any control over it. There are also several dwelling situated on the lands of which the government own the right of perpetual wood cutting, the owners of which purchased the fee simple. These houses are numbered in the statement furnished by Colonel Lee from No. 199 to 207.

"In regard to the authority for purchasing buildings, improvements, &c., I have to observe that it has always been considered the duty of the superintendent to provide suitable accommodations for the workmen employed in the armory. This could only be done by building new buildings, or purchasing improvements already made. The latter of these alternatives was, in many instances, the more expedient, from death, removal, change of circumstances of persons who made the improvements, or other similar causes. It frequently

19. Reel 17, v. 3, p. 237.

occurs, when good workmen, having married, or from other causes need dwellings, or additions to those previously occupied, that the armory funds will not, at the time, admit of expenditures being made for such purposes. They are, therefore, permitted, who able to do so, to make the improvements at their own charge, with the understanding that afterwards, when convenient to the armory, they shall be paid for the same, according to fair valuation.

"The passing of such accounts from time to time, for many years past, by the accounting officers, has also been considered as approving the course pursued in this respect...."²⁰

Summary: Expenditures, 1822 to 1829,

Year	For purchasing workmen's claims for improvements & construction	Armory No. of men employed ²¹	Rifle Factories ²¹ <i>No. of Men</i>	
1822	3 claims purchased	237	16	
1823	39 claims settled-\$5,758.30	253	24	
1824	13 claims settled-\$1,671.96	280	35	
1825	5 claims settled-\$1,031.50	272	40	
1826	4 claims settled-	221	40	
1827	6 claims settled-\$200.00	239	55	
1828	1 claim settled	217	67	21.
1829	no claims settled	205	61	
		70 claims settled for \$8,661.76		

As of February 1829, 43 claims for Improvements made by workmen to Government Dwelling Houses, amounting to \$8,054.07, remained to be settled.

20. Reel 17, v. 3, p. 234.
21. Reel, 17, v. 4, p. 283.

CHAPTER IV

SETTLEMENT OF PRIVATE CLAIMS ON GOVERNMENT DWELLING HOUSES 1830-1838

On July 15, 1830, Colonel George Bamford informed Superintendent George Rust, Jr., who had just recently assumed command of the Harpers Ferry Armory:

"At the last session of Congress special appropriations for permanent improvements, were made for Harpers Ferry Armory....

"It is desirable also, that all just claims for repairs and additions to dwelling houses which have been made by, and at the expense of the workmen, should be extinguished. As to the value of any of these repairs or additions, you are to consider yourself as the sole judge, and in forming your opinion on them will have reference to the benefit which the United States will certainly derive from them. The amount which may have been expended in making additions and repairs, for which compensation may be claimed, is not to be regarded. For no expenditures of this kind were authorized to be made by individuals; but on the contrary were forbidden, by this dept. in 1822. All repairs made since that date by individuals have been in violation of established regulations; and of course give no legal claim to remuneration.

The dept. does not however desire to obtain possession, free of cost, of any really substantial and useful improvements, which may have been made by individuals; but is desirous that all such should be paid for at a fair and just price, according to the benefit actually received.

"There remarks are to be understood as applying to repairs and additions made to dwelling houses, which, belonged to the public; by the workmen or other occupants; & not to those cases, where entire new buildings have been erected with or without authority..."^{1A}

Thus in 1830 the following eight claims for improvement to Government dwelling houses were liquidated by Superintendent Rust:

1A. Reel 14, v. 8, p. 745-746.

"G. Harpers Ferry Armory-Dec. 31, 1830

Statement of Sums expended for dwelling Houses for Workmen
at Harpers Ferry during the Year 1830-

1.	To this Sum paid Charles H. Mills claim for improvements on dwelling Houses.....	\$70.81 $\frac{1}{4}$
2.	" " " Pelitiah Thompson.....	110.00
3.	" " " Israel Parsons.....	35.00
4.	" " " George Crompton.....	199.00
5.	" " " Jacob Hill.....	100.00
6.	" " " Richard Crugen.....	275.00
7.	" " " Charles C. Cameron.....	125.00
8.	" " " Lewis Wernwag & Son for dwelling house	200.00
Eight Claims		\$1,114.81 $\frac{1}{4}$

In the year 1831 the following 21 claims were settled by

Mr. Rust:

"D. Harpers Ferry Armory-December 31st 1831.

Statement of Amount expended in erecting Dwelling Houses for
workmen during the year 1831".²

1.	Amount paid John S. Gallagher for house.....	\$835.00 (Trans No 41 & 42)
2.	" " Michael Foley for house.....	700.00-30 by 20 feet-(3)
3.	" " Wm. Keads Admr. claim on house.....	167.40
4.	" " Sarah Thropp " "	40.00-Room, smoke house ice house (3)
5.	" " Wm. Chambers " "	50.00-Kitchen, altering passage, plast.
6.	" " Mathias Spangler " "	130.00-Kitchen, porch, plastering (3)
7.	" " James B. Wilkins.....	60.00-Smoke House, stak
8.	" " Thomas Copeland " "	30.70-smoke house, spri house, necessary.(3) former claim of Riley.(

1. National Archives-R.G. 156, Entry 935-Annual Reports, 1830-31, p. 23, Reel 20, V. 5, p. 421. For other correspondence relating to these claims see, Supt. George Rust to Col. Bomford, July 28, 1830, r. 22, v. 10 p. 929-930; Supt. Rust, Jr. to Bomford, September 24, 1830 R. 22, V. 10 p. 933-934; Col. Bomford to Supt. Rust, Sept. 25, 1830 R. 14, v. 8 p.784-785. Supt Rust to Bomford, Nov. 8, 1830; R. 22, v. 10, p. 943-944; Rust to Bomford, Nov. 12, 1830, R. 22, v. 10, p. 948-949. Bomford to Rust, Dec. 30, 1830, R. 14. v. 9, p. 801-803.
2. National Archives R. G. 156 Entry 936. Annual Reports 1830-31, p. 195, Reel 20, v. 5, p. 437.

9.		Amount paid Robert Duke Admr. Claim on house	107.00	-cellar, walling same, paving yard
10.	" "	Amasa M. Mars " " "	95.00	-stable house (3)
11.	" "	Charles Button " " "	148.00	-Frame House 1½ stories high
12.	" "	Michael Melhorn " " "	300.00	-frame buildings, with 5 rooms (3)
13.	" "	Philip Hoffman " " "	50.00	
14.	" "	F.W. Springer, widow " " "	60.00	-(original claim of Joseph Cury (4)
15.	" "	James Merick " " "	33.00	
16.	" "	Frederic M. Stephenson " " "	53.00	
17.	" "	Joseph Barnes " " "	50.00	
18.	" "	Elisha Webb " " "	160.00	
19.	" "	William Crusen " " "	173.00	
20.	" "	Thomas S. Melvin " " "	118.00	
21.	" "	Meshac Kirby " " "	75.00	
	" "	John Markell in part for 5 houses per contract	\$2400.00	
	" "	L. Wernwag & Sons plastering houses, &c.	60.00	

\$5,896.10"

Of this total, \$3,436.10 was actually spent for settling 21 claims of the workmen while the remainder was for new construction.

On October 29, 1831 Superintendent George Rust, Jr. submitted to the Ordnance Office the following list of 67 unpaid claims remarking: ^{3,4,5}

"Class No. 1-includes these buildings to which additions have been made in some cases by permission of the former Sup'dant, but generally without any authority whatsoever.

Valuation of claims of individuals for improvements made on the Public Land at Harpers Ferry Armory.

3. Abstract of Claims of individuals for improvements made by them on the Public Buildings at Harpers Ferry, March 29, 1831, Reel 22 vol. 12, p. 1124.
4. Supt. Rust Jr. to Col. Bomford, July 19, 1831, Reel 22, vol. 12, p. 1137-1138.
5. Supt. Rust, Jr. to Bomford, March 29, 1831 R. 22, v. 12, p. 1122. Other correspondence relating to these claims is as follows: Bomford to Rust April 19, 1831, R. 14, v. 9, p. 813; Rust to Bomford; June 23, 1831, R. 22, v.12, pp. 1134-35; Bomford to Rust July 13, 1831, R. 14, v. 9, p. 821; Bomford to Rust, July 22, 1831, R. 14, v. 9, p. 822; Oct. 29, 1831, R. 24, v. 9, p. 824.

Names of Claimants	Nature of Improvements	Value
1. James Clark	Digging foundation and plastering house, Porch shed room-smoke house, window-bake oven, cupboard, Mantlepiece, putting door-5 locks, painting house	\$ 50.00
2. Samuel Hobbs	Digging foundation of chimney, flooring, kitchen two windows, partition, stone wall back of house	15.00
3. Elizabeth Fouke	Spring house and chamber	47.50
4. Daniel Drew	Smoke house-stable-privy-digging out cellar, garden & yard fence-on 2 houses & lots	20.00
5. William Garman	Shed building-Stone wall-fence-smoke house	84.00
6. Ch. G. Wintersmith	Kitchen, stable, fence, privy, mantlepiece	52.00
7. Thomas Steadman	2 windows to house, cellar wall, partition, cellar door-hinges and steps-fence-privy-door frame	13.50
8. Alexr. Fossett	Lining basement story with plank-cupboard-staircase washboard-window glass-fence	12.00
9. Daniel T. Crawford	Stone house & improvements attached	375.00
10. Wm. McBee	2 partitions-2 door locks and hinges, stone wall-kitchen-stable-privy-fence-bake oven	60.00
11. Christian Kreps	Floor in house, porch-window frame-sash and glass, fences-digging cellar-finishing kitchen, smoke house-privy	40.00
12. John Keller	Stable-smoke house-privy-fence-4 locks staircase	30.00
13. George H. Butler	Frame house and kitchen entire (except weather boarding) fence-stable, privy, smoke house	140.00
		Ammt. carrd. over \$938.00
14. Samul. Kilham	Smoke house-privy-stable-fence, flooring house, windows & window casing	33.00
15. Edmd. Chambers	Stair case-stone wall-stable-privy-fence	20.00
16. John Chapman	Addition to house (4 rooms) kitchen, chimney, bake oven-stable-stone wall-fence-privy-porch	106.00
17. Richard Martin	Stone wall-fence	15.00
18. John Marquett	Plastering house, planking kitchen-fence	14.00
19. James S. Riley	Filing in house-topping chimney-putting in door-laying hearth-cellar wall and door-bake oven-fence	31.00
20. Wm. D. Phelan	Stable-dairy-privy-fence, frame house	117.00
21. M. Bretenbaugh	Cellar wall-laying two floors-2 partitions-2 staircases-mantlepiece-painting & plastering house-stone wall-fence-privy, bake oven and platform	100.00
22. Michael Crowl	Smoke house-fence	10.00
23. Thomas Russell	Kitchen, smoke house-privy-fences-stone wall	82.00

24. Wm. Nunamaker	Digging cellar-laying hearth-porch-bake oven-privy-stone wall-smoke house-& room ceiling garrett-dormer windows-3 batten doors	75.00
		<u>Ammt. carrd. over \$1541.00</u>
25. David Adams	Back room-window frames and sash, smoke house stable-privy-fence	40.00
26. Benjamin Stipes	Stable-privy-fence	30.00
27. Wm. McCoy	Brick house finished complete-stable-privy-fence	515.00
28. Abraham Fleming	Frame house-finished complete, kitchen, fence	115.00
29. John Brua	Steps-stone wall	2.50
30. Peter Hoffman	Putting in door frame &c-back of chimney-window frame and sash-smoke house-stable-fence	14.00
31. Joshua Riley	Porches front & rear-door & window frame-painting house-fences	16.00
32. Mary Griffith	Frame house finished, stable, privy-fence	125.00
33. William Smallwood	Stone house 16 by 19 feet complete, log house-bake oven-smoke house-privy, stable fence	175.00
		175.00
		Stone House 19 by 29 feet two stories high and finished complete-Porch-smoke house, stone wall, kitchen privy-fence
		<u>720.00</u>
		895.00
Deduct amt. paid by former Superintendent 400.00		<u>495.00</u>
		Ammt. carrd. forward.... \$2894.50
34. Ruesan Cross	Window sash-frame and glass-___-smoke house-kitchen-stone wall	75.00
35. Wm. Best	Porch-digging cellar-steps-kitchen-chimney-smoke house-stable-privy-fence-	35.00
36. Thomas Daken	Plastering house-finishing rooms-steps-window frames-painting house@digging cellar-stable-kitchen	71.00
37. John Holt	Mantlepiece-partition-doors-kitchen cellar-smoke house-stable-privy-fence	62.00
38. John Duke	Log house 19 x 24 feet complete-privy-stable-fence stone wall	390.00
39. Abraham Roderick	Kitchen-fence-dormer window-door	10.00
40. Daniel Johnson	Kitchen and room-flooring out building-smoke house-roof to spring house-stable-fence	25.00
41. Anthony Balstisting (?)	Smoke house-fence-digging & walling cellar-kitchen	22.00
42. John A. Schaeffer	Mantlepiece, 1 lock-3 latches-finishing upper story-carpenters work & plastering houses-paving cellar with brick-kitchen-smoke house-porch-wood house, stone wall-fence privy- \$110.00	
		Log dwelling-smoke house cellar-privy wall-fence
		<u>95.00</u>
		205.00

Names of Claimants	Nature of Improvements	Value
43. Johan Rockenbaugh	Spring house-stable-privy-roof to porch-fence window frames, sash & glass-2 stables	100.00
	Amt. Carrd. over.	\$3,889.50
44. Wm. Adams	Plastering porch-repairing chimney-laying hearth-smoke house-bake oven-stone wall	17.00
45. James Near	Building house (materials provd. by the U. States) 20 x 24 feet-stable-privy-fence	90.00
46. John. Anderson	House & kitchen-smoke house-privy-bake oven- fence-digging cellar - wall	130.00
47. Meshac Kirby	House-fence-shed-kitchen-privy	50.00
48. Jeremiah Stevens	Kitchen-privy-fence	8.00
49. Estate of John Lackey	Stone dwelling 18 x 40 feet-wall in front of house	650.00
50. Jacob Ott	shed room-porch-kitchen-smoke house, bake oven- spring house-fence-privy-mantlepiece-stairs-stable- plastering house	100.00
51. Timothy Herrington	Back porch and room	60.00
52. Herod Long	Frame house 14 by 16 ft. complete	38.00
53. Jacob Engles	Kitchen-stable-fence-cane(?)-privy-chimney and weatherboarding	40.00
54. Amos Segler	Stable-fence-porch	15.00
55. Jacob Foreman	kitchen-smoke house-stone wall	30.00
56. Wm. Hall	Staircase, doors & door frames-fence	13.00
57. Thos. McNulty	Dwelling House(brick & frame) stone smoke house, & frame stable-fences-privy.	300.00
	Amt. carried over	\$5,430.50
58. Notty Deamer(?)	Smoke house-privy-fence	25.00
59. Danl. McFaden	Stone wall-fence-privy	20.00
60. Ashfield Vories	wood house-dairy-kitchen-shed room-porch-cane staircase-2 doors-window frame	35.00
61. Samul. Griffith	Kitchen-door and frames 2 window frames-fence-privy	16.00
62. Francis Attlespeiger	Stone house-17 by 20 feet-kitchen-stable-fence smoke house-bake oven-wood house	315.00
63. Thomas Kugin	Staircase, digging cellar, 1 lock, painting house- kitchen-smoke house-fence-stable-privy-	35.00
64. Robert Blanchard	Digging cellar-plastering & painting house, laying 2 hearths-mantle piece-stone wall-porch-partition- doors & casing-rough casting stone wall-stable- privy fence-	66.00
65. Michael cook-	Putting roof on house-digging cellars-walls of stone house-laying floors-plastering house-smoke house-stable	59.00
66. Henry Ward	Stone dwelling 18 by 19 feet 1½ stories	230.00
	Frame dwelling 13 by 18 feet, stone wall	75.00
67. John Claspy	Shed	40.00
		\$6,346.50 ⁶
6. Reel #24, vol. 9, pp. 844-849.		

These detailed lists show the exact nature of work effected on the Dwelling Houses and also give us the names of the "Builders".

On November 7, 1831, as a part of the "Special Estimate for additional appropriations for the service of the Ordnance Department for the year 1832", \$6,346.50 was requested "For the payment of private claims for dwelling built by individuals on the public land at this Armory."⁷ The justification for this sum read: "A number of individuals have claims for improvements made by them on dwelling houses erected on the public lands at this armory, and it is desirable that they should be liquidated. For the gradual extinguishment of those claims, the sum here proposed is intended."⁸

On January 7, 1832 Colonel George Bomford, of the Ordnance Office, informed Superintendent George Rust, Jr. of Harpers Ferry Armory:

"The Mil. Comm. of the House of Reps. have declined action upon so much of your Estimate as regards private claims for dwellings on the public lands at H. Ferry—suggesting the propriety of the submission of these claims by the individuals concerned, to Congress, that they may be referred to their appropriate Committee, viz. the Com. on Claims.

"This information you will communicate to the persons concerned. P.S. In consequence of the above decision you will make no further payments on account of these claims and you will also suspend the further erection of all private buildings on the public grounds of the Armory."⁹

Thus after ten years of effort to settle this problem, Congress finally intervened, and orders were issued to halt all construction of buildings by private individuals on Government land at Harpers Ferry.

7. Reel 20, v. 6, p. 564.

8. Reel 20, v. 6, p. 566.

9. Reel 14, v. 9, p. 845.

The ordnance department henceforth carefully adhered to the policy of refusing to settle any claims for improvements to government dwelling houses from 1832 until 1836, when Congress finally took action on the matter.¹⁰

In the mean time, however, the Ordnance department made every effort to secure from Congress the money that was needed to settle these claims. Thus in the "Special estimate for additional appropriations for the service of the Ord. Dept. for the Year 1833," submitted to Congress on November 19, 1832, they requested \$6,346.50 as the "Amount for repairs upon the public dwelling houses, at the Armory, made by the workmen at the armory to whom they have been assigned as dwellings."¹¹ In justifying their request for this amount, the Ordnance Department wrote:

"As mentioned under the preceeding head (I) many of the public dwellings at this Armory are old and ruinous, and have from time to time received repairs, at periods when public funds for this purpose could not be obtained. Acting under the necessity of their circumstances, repairs of public buildings occupied by the workmen have been frequently made by them, but without authority from the present Chief of this department. From various causes of incapacity in workmen, it frequently becomes necessary to discharge unsuitable persons, who in many instances retain possession of the public buildings after their discharge, either from obstinacy, on the mere plea of possession, or on the grounds ~~either~~ that the improvements they have made to the buildings have not been reimbursed them by the U. States; and it is found that the authority of the Superintendent

10. See Col. Bomford to Supt. Rust, October 2, 1833, Reel 14, V. 10, p. 914. Rust to Bomford, October 8, 1833, Reel 22, v. 14 p. 1329; Bomford to Rust, June 18, 1834, R. 14, v. 10, 945; Bomford to Rust, July 16, 1835, R. 14, v. 11. p. 1036

11. Reel 20, v. 6, p. 570

*the
narrative
must
be read
with
great
care
and
judgment*

of the Armory is insufficient to remove them, except by a tedious legal process; jurisdiction over the public land at that place, not being ceded to the United States.

The retaining possession of the public land in this manner, by persons who have been discharged, occasions many inconveniences at the Armory and among these the principal, is that of the exclusion from the public buildings, of many of the workmen employed in the place of those whomay have been discharged. To avoid these inconveniences the sum here referred to, is embraced in the estimate.- It is the result of a fair valuation of the repairs, as made by disinterested persons."¹²

The ordnance department, not succeeding in securing the requested sum in 1833, renewed their request for \$6,346.50 in 1834, in 1835, and again in 1836.¹³

In the special estimate for 1836, the Ordnance Department, apparently not consulting with the Superintendent of the Harpers Ferry Armory or through some error, requested only \$4,548 "For the payment for repairs and additions upon the public dwelling houses made by workmen of the Armory to whom they have been assigned as dwellings."¹³ thus reducing the amount previously requested from 1831 to 1835 by \$1,798.50. Congress, in 1836 finally appropriated the \$4548.00 requested to settle this type of claim.¹⁴

On December 8, 1836, Superintendent Rust wrote to the Colonel George Bomford, of the Ordnance Office, pointing out the dilemma the 1836 reduction in the amount appropriated for the settlement of claims had left him in. Mr. Rust stated:

12. Reel 20, v. 6, pp. 573-574.

13. 1834-Reel 20, v. 6, p. 583; Reel 20, p. 591; 1835, Reel 20, v. 6, pp. 592-594; 1836-Reel 20, v. 6, p. 598.

14. Reel 20, v. 6, p. 605.

13 & Reel 20, v. 6, p. 598, Jan 11, 1836.

"The valuation of the repairs and additions upon the public dwellings at this, made by workmen of the Armory, to whom they were assigned as dwellings, amounted to \$6,346.50 as per valuation, a copy of which you have in your office.

The Appropriation for the Payment of those claims amounts only to \$4,548, less than the valuation, and the sum asked for in my estimate by \$1,798.50.

You perceive then my difficulty. How are I to approtation (sic) among the claimants the amount appropriated? For what reasons, and by what rule was the Estimate narrowed down? aknowledge of these facts may guide me in the distribution of the Appropriations.

The only mode, as I conceive by which the matter may be settled is to show me in what cases the claims was diminished, and authorize me to pay in accordance with the discrimination made at the Dept. by which the estimate was curtailed."¹⁵

On December 16, 1836 Colonel Bomford issued the following form and ~~constructions~~ to be ~~used~~ in settling the claims: The claimants being first required to sign the following statement:

"We the Subscribers hereby relinquish and release to the U. States for the use of the National Armory at Harpers Ferry all the improvements, additions and repairs of whatsoever kind or nature made by ourselves, or those under whom we claim as transferres, representatives or otherwise, upon the public Buildings at said Armory, assigned to ourselves or them as Dwellings for and in consideration of the equivalent appropriated by an Act of Congress, passed at the session of 1835 & 6- the receipt whereof as set opposite our respective names is hereby acknowledged. Witness our hand."

Under "Remarks", it is stated, " In the item for the payment for Repairs &c. on Houses made by workmen of the Armory to whom they have been assigned as Dwellings there appears to be a mistake there being a discrepancy between the valuation and the Appropriations, However, let that be as it may the amount appropriated \$4,548, must be for the present proportionally distributed among the claiments agreeably to the valuation of \$6,346.50." Extract from Col. Bomford's letter of Instruction on the subject dated December 15, 1836."

Except where otherwise noted below, the claimants were paid at the rate of 71 cents to the Dollar.

15. Reel 12, v. 3, pp. 222-223.

Names	Amount of Valuation	Amount received	Time Received	Remarks
1. John Duke	\$390.00	\$279.49	April 26, 1837	
2. Jno. Rockenbaugh	100.00	71.00	April 27, 1837	
3. Samuel Hobbs	15.00	10.00	April 28, 1837	leas for depreciation
4. Soloman Fleming	71.00	20.00	April 28, 1837	" " "
5. Bateman	90.00	64.46	May 2, 1837	Transferee of Neal.
6. William Schaeffer	375.00	268.74	May 2, 1837	Transferre of Crawford
7. John A. Achaeffer	110.00	78.83	May 2, 1837	
8. William Best	35.00	24.85	May 2, 1837	Holt got this money
9. Thos. Russell	82.00	58.22	May 2, 1837	
10. William McBee	60.00	42.60	May 2, 1837	Gilbert got this money
11. John Chapman	106.00	75.26	May 4, 1837	
12. I. Fouke, Admr. of				
E. Fouke	47.50	33.72	May 5, 1837	
13. Michael Crowl	10.00	7.10	May 5, 1837	
14. David Adams	40.00	21.40	May 10, 1837	depreciation
15. Wm. Smallwood	175.00	125.41	May 17, 1837	
16. W. Smallwood	320.00	229.32	May 17, 1837	
17. Wm. McCoy	575.00	365.65	May 18, 1837	
18. Alexr. Fossett as				
Admr. of W. Phelan	117.00	83.07	May 21, 1837	
19. John Marquett	14.00	9.94	May 21, 1837	
20. Coab Holt, Adms of				
John Holt	62.00	62.00	June 13, 1837	
21. Reason Cross	75.00	46.63	June 30, 1837	Depreciation of 6.62
22. Christian Krepps	40.00	28.40	July 17, 1837	
23. Jacob Foreman	30.00	11.30	Aug. 23, 1837	Depreciation of 10.30
24. Henry Ward	230.00	100.00	Sept. 8, 1837	" of 63.30.
25. Thomas McNutly	300.00	300.00	Sept. 29, 1837	
26. Wm. Nunnamaker	75.00	53.25	Sept. 29, 1837	
27. Martin Breitenbaugh	100.00	100.00	Sept. 29, 1837	
28. Anthony Belsterling(?)	22.00	15.62	Sept. 30, 1837	
29. John A. Schaeffer	95.00	67.45	Sept. 30, 1837	
30. Charles Staley Admr.				
of John Keller	30.00	21.30	Nov. 10, 1837	
31. Edwd. Harding. Admr.				
of John Lackey	650.00	650.00	November 10, 1837	
32. William Adams	17.00	8.50	Nov. 14, 1837.	
33. I. Seaman	315.00	223.65	14th Dec. 1837	
34. Rich. R. Cruzen				
for Ames Seglar	15.00	15.00	15th Dec. 1837	all paid
35. Rachel Garman	84.00	59.64	16th Dec. 1837	
36. C. G. Wintersmith	52.00	36.92	28th Feb. 1838	
37. Daniel McFaden	20.00	14.20	14th May 1838	
38. Mary Griffith	125.00	54.00	June 18, 1838	depreciation of 25.00
39. Edmund Chambers	20.00	10.00	June 23, 1838	" of 4.20
40. Thomas Keigin	35.00	24.85	July 17, 1838	\$14
40 claims	\$5,259.50	\$3,771.77		
14. Reel 24, v. 9, pp. 837-840				

It is assumed that the remaining portion of the appropriation, amounting to \$770.23, was used to liquidate the remaining outstanding 27 claims on the "Class I" list dated October 29, 1831, which totaled \$1,087.00. A careful check of estimates for 1837 to 1861, together with actual appropriations made by Congress, reveals that no further sums of money were either asked or received for the purpose of purchasing claims for improvements to dwelling houses on Government land at Harpers Ferry. The last of these claims must, therefore have been settled in 1838.

It is also clear that the policy established by the Ordnance Department on January 7, 1832 E.G.--"you will also suspend the further erection of all private buildings on the public grounds of the Armory," was strictly maintained from 1832 until 1861. Thus on July 16, 1835, Colonel Bomford of the Ordnance Department remained Superintendent Rust: "It was decided by the Secretary of War sometime since that no more buildings should be erected by private individuals on the public land at Harpers Ferry Armory. This decision was made, partly in consequence of the difficulty in obtaining possession of the ground on which such buildings have been erected, when wanted by the U. States."¹⁵

Again, in April 13, 1840, Lt. Col. George Talcott of the Ordnance Office, informed Superintendent Edward Lucas of the Harpers Ferry Armory:

15. Reel 24, v. 11, p. 1036.

"....I have to state that great care should be taken to avoid the difficulties that have been heretofore met with, by allowing the location of private dwellings on the public lands at your post..."¹⁶

In summary, then, from 1822 to 1838 a total of 165 claims for improvements made by Armory Workmen to Government dwelling houses located on the Government land at Harpers Ferry were settled at a cost of approximately \$17,860.67. This method of construction of new dwelling houses, of making additions to and of repairing old ones thus came to a halt on January 7, 1832, as a result of orders of the Secretary of War. Six more years passed, however, before the last of these claims were finally settled. This mode of construction was undoubtedly expedient during periods when the Government could not provide money for the erection of Dwelling houses and for making additions and repairs to the same, but it was probably much more costly in the long run and certainly resulted in wide variety of workmanship, ranging from excellent to ^{Very} ~~highly~~ inferior, with a large part of building undoubtedly falling in the last category, as compared to buildings erected entirely by the Government under contract. Furthermore, the problem of claims and legal problems arising from this type of construction were certainly an extra burden on the Superintendents of the Armory from 1822 until 1838.

16. Reel 16, v. 1, p. 132.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT CONSTRUCTION OF DWELLING HOUSES, 1822 to 1829

Coincident with the erection of dwelling houses on Government land by private individuals and the settlement of these claims, the Government carried on its own program of constructing new dwelling houses and of making additions and repairs to older buildings. The scope of this program and the type of house being constructed by the Government from 1822 to 1829 is revealed by the following extracts from the National Armory Accounts:

Expended in 1822 for:

"Building one dwelling house 18 by 40 feet, 1 story wood.....	\$400.
Building one dwelling house 16 by 14 feet, 1 story stone.....	200 ¹
Total;	600

In 1823:

"Building three Houses 20 by 28 feet, 1 story with Cellar Kitchen (Stone).....	1,200
Building one dwelling house 16 by 24 feet with Cellar Kitchen (Stone).....	300
Building an addition to a dwelling house for the accommodation of the Armory Store Keeper.....	500
Building small additions to six dwelling houses.....	800 ²
	\$2,800

In 1824:

Building 4 Dwelling Houses 24 by 16 feet 1 story (Stone).....	1,200
Building 1 Dwelling House 26 by 18, 1 story (brick).....	400
Building additions to 10 dwelling houses for the accommodation of the workmen.....	2,100 ³
	\$3,700

1. Entry 935, War Department, Ordnance Office, National Armory Accounts, 1795-1831, 1822- National Archives Record Group #156.
2. National Archives R. G. 156., Entry 935, National Armory Accounts, 1823
3. Ibid., 1824.

In 1825:

"Building 2 Dwelling Houses 24 by 20 ft. 1½ stories logs.....	700
Building an addition 15 feet by 18 feet, 1 story brick.....	300
Building an addition 12 feet by 18 feet, 1 story wood.....	200
Repairing a building for a Boarding House and Lodging	
Rooms for the workmen.....	1,150
Repairing the House occupied by the Paymaster.....	300
Repairing the House occupied by the Paymaster's clerk.....	200 ⁴
	<u>\$2,850</u>

In 1826:

"For Building 2 new dwelling houses & an addition to one	994.00
For building small well houses & an addition to dwelling	
House for Paymaster.....	55.75
For Fitting up rooms for dwellings, alterations, &c.....	70.00
Laying 66 perches of stone for dwelling house.....	33.00
Constructing new wells, shafts, etc.....	369.93
Building new Chimney to dwelling house.....	20.00
Digging two wells.....	121.50 ⁵
	<u>\$1,664.18</u>

In 1827:

" For Building a kitchen for the Master Armorer 20 by 22 feet,	
1 story, brick.....	500.00
Building a porch for the Paymaster's Clerk.....	100.00
Building a porch for P. Hoffman, Inspector.....	80.00
Building porches for four dwelling houses in the old barracks	200.00
Building additions to four dwelling houses.....	900.00
Building Guard Walls for dwellings on Shenandoah Street.....	200.00 ⁶
Total in 1827:	<u>\$1,980.00</u>

In 1828:

" Building a brick addition to the dwelling house	
occupied by the Superintendent.....	1,000.00
Materials furnished for erecting three small wooden	
dwellings to be occupied by the workmen of the Armory.....	450.00 ⁷
	<u>\$1,450.00</u>

(The above 450.00 was probably for the Free Church)

4. Ibid., 1825
5. Ibid., 1826
6. Ibid., 1827
7. Ibid., 1828

In 1829:

"Expended on Superintendent's quarters.....	\$1,429.75
Erection of a House, 28 by 20 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ stories high.....	300.00
Erection of a House, 16 by 14 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ stories.....	120.45
Erecting an addition to a house occupied by one of the Armory men.....	101.28
Erecting an addition to a house occupied by one of the Armory men.....	74.38
Erecting a small dwelling house for one of the Armory workmen	277.31
Erecting a chimney to a house for one of the Armory workmen...	20.00
Repairing a House for a workman.....	82.33
Repairing a House for a workman.....	75.00 ⁸
	<u>\$2,480.50</u>

"By account for arms &c. made from 1st January 1822 to the 31st December 1829:

By amount expended permanent improvements, viz:

For building dwelling houses.....	\$7,241.76
For building additions to dwelling houses	8,684.16 ⁹
	<u>\$ 15,925.92</u>

By checking the figures on the adding machine, the following sums are yeilded:

For building 21 dwelling houses ,.....	\$6,541.76
For building additions to dwelling houses.....	8,684.16
For repairing dwelling houses.....	1,807.33
For Wells, etc.....	491.43
Total:	<u>\$17,524.68</u>

8. Ibid., 1829.

9. Ibid., 1829.

Summary: Armory Expenditures, 1822 to 1829, for new construction, additions and repairs to Government Dwelling Houses.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Houses Erected.</u>	<u>Total Expenditures</u>
1822	2 new houses	\$ 600.00
1823	4 new houses	2,800.00
1824	5 new houses	3,700.00
1825	2 new houses	2,850.00
1826	2 new houses	1,664.18
1827	3 new houses	1,980.00
1828	?	1,450.00
1829	3 new houses	2,480.50
Totals:	21 new houses	\$17,524.68

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT CONSTRUCTION OF DWELLING HOUSES, 1830 to 1837

On July 15, 1830 Colonel George Bomford of the Ordnance Department, informed Superintendent George Rust Jr., who had recently assumed command of the Harpers Ferry Armory:

"... At the last season of Congress special appropriations for permanent improvements, were made for Harper's Ferry Armory.- They are as follows, viz,

"...For the erection of ten additional dwelling houses-\$10,000..!

You are accordingly authorized to proceed to effect the objects above stated....

The new dwellings may be commenced as soon as you may think advisable. A portion of them may be deferred until next year, if you shall think it more advantageous to do so-

It is proper that all such of the old dwelling houses belonging to the United States, as are fit for use and worthy of being preserved, should be put in good repair. And you are authorized to proceed to repair them provided the expense of such repairs shall not exceed the amount of rents received. Upon this subject I must refer you to the regulations on file at the Armory dated Feb. 22, 1822..."¹

Erection of the 10 new dwelling houses, however, was deferred until 1831, as is shown by the actual expenditures made for dwellings houses in 1830. The 1830 expenditures were limited to the following items:

"Additions to one of the public houses	\$133.18 $\frac{1}{2}$
For sinking well	16.30
For inclosing lot of Superintendent	100.00" ²
	\$249.48 $\frac{1}{2}$

On April 19, 1831, Mr. Rust wrote to Colonel Bomford:

"Inclosed, I herewith transmit to you the Contract entered into with John Markell for the erection of five dwelling houses for the workmen at this Armory..."³

1. Reel 14, v. 8, p. 745-746; For estimates and appropriations for the year 1830-see also Reel 20, v. 6, pp. 550, 555.
2. Annual Reports, 1830-31, Entry 936, Reel 20, V. 5, p. 419.
3. Reel 22, v. 12, p. 1126.

This contract reads in part:

" - JOHN MARKELL

FOR THE ERECTION OF FIVE DWELLING HOUSES AT HARPERS FERRY, VIRGINIA

Memorandum of Agreement made and entered into this 24th day of December 1830. Between George Rust Junior Superintendent U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry of the one part and John Markellof the other part as follows. Viz. The said Markell binds himself to erect at Harpers Ferry (in such sites as the said Rust shall select) previous to the first of August 1832 Five dwelling houses of the following description viz each dwelling house to be thirty seven feet front and running back twenty feet to consist of two and a half stories, the first of which (the basement story) to be eight feet in the clear divided into a cellar, Kitchen, and pantry the walls to be of stone, and twenty two inches in thickness. The kitchen to be furnished with a fireplace and outer door with one window of twelve lights, and a stairway leading to the second story, the cellar to be furnished with a window of the same size ~~and size~~ and door communicating with the Kitchen. The second story to be built of brick nine feet in the clear, divided into two rooms and a passage the front and back walls fourteen inches thick and the end walls nine inches thick each room to be furnished with two windows (one in front and rear, of twenty four lights each, one fire place and a door communicating with the passage a door at each end of the passage with four lights over each and a winding staircase extending from the passage of the upper or half story. The upper or half story to be of brick five feet in the clear, divided into three rooms the walls nine inches thick two of these rooms to be furnished with two windows of twelve lights each and the other room with one window of the same size. The door and window sills to be made of locust or yellow poplar, the outer doors to be supplied with iron rimmed locks the inner or partition doors with common latches the houses to be plastered and painted throughout and covered with good cyress shingles. The whole of the materials to be of good quality and the work to be executed in a substantial manner, and the said George Rust Junior Superintendent as aforesaid on behalf of the United States agrees to pay to the said Markell at the rate of nine Hundred and forty dollars for each dwelling house of the description before mentioned which shall be finished and completed by the said Markell under this contract. The said Rust Superintendent as aforesaid further agrees that upon the application of the said Markell at any time during the progress of the erection of the said dwelling houses to pay the said Markell a sum equal totwo thirds of the value of the materials then furnished and the the work then performed by the said Markell.

"It is further understood by and between the parties that if in making the excavation of the cellar of the before mentioned dwelling houses it should be necessary to remove any rock, the difference between the cost of plain & rock excavation..."⁴

Progress in the construction of the five new brick dwelling houses, additions and repairs to other such houses in 1831 are revealed by Annual reports of expenditures for that Year:

"Amount paid John Markell in part for 5 houses per contract	\$2400.00
" " L. Wernwag & Sons plastering houses &c.....	60.00 ⁵
	<u>\$2460.00</u>

For the Amory, in addition in 1831, the following sums were expended:

"Amount expended for erecting 4 stone additions to dwelling houses	\$1,241.25
" " " plastering 3 houses.....	68.10
" " " new Lather	57.85 ⁶

At the rifle factory, in 1831, there was spent for:

"Building a kitchen to House 13.....	\$215.60 3/4
"Building a kitchen to House 14	218.10 3/4
Repairs to House No. 15	2.00
Labor & materials to House No. 16	59.45
Repairs to House No. 17	15.00 ⁷
	<u>\$510.16 1/2</u>

Thus making a total of \$4,338.16 1/2 expended on construction, additions, and repairs of Government Dwelling Houses in 1831.

4. National Archives R. G. 156 O.C.O., Contract Book No. 13, pp. 79-80. H. F. Photostatic Collection V.1, pp. 6-7.
5. Reel 20, v.5, p. 437.
6. R. 20, v. 5, p. 436. See also Rust to Bomford, June 23, 1831, R. 22 v. 12, p. 1134.
7. R.20, v. 5, p. 465. For correspondence relating to repairs at Rifle factory, see: Hall to Bomford, Oct. 3, 1831, R. 22, v.11, p. 1070; and Bomford to Hall, Oct. 6, 1831, R. 14, v. 9, p. 834, on additions of kitchens. The wooden kitchens on Houses No. 13 and 14 were replaced by new brick kitchens, 18 feet by 14 feet and one story in height.

Markell completed the construction of the five new dwelling houses in 1832, as is revealed by Superintendent Rust's letter of January 3, 1833 to Colonel Bomford of the Ordnance Office:

"The contract entered into by John Markell for the erection of Five Dwelling Houses at this Armory, which was transmitted to you on the 19th April 1831 having been fulfilled he is desirous of having it cancelled..."⁸

In the 1831 fiscal year, neither Superintendent Rust nor the Ordnance Department requested any funds for construction, additions and repairs to dwelling houses. Congress, of course, therefore, did not appropriate any money for these purposes.⁹

It also appears that only five dwelling houses, not ten were erected under the appropriation of 1830 for 10 additional dwelling houses, the difference amounting to approximately \$4,540.91 $\frac{1}{4}$ being used to settle 29 claims in 1830 and 1831 for improvements made to government dwelling houses by private individuals. (see chapter IV)

The "Special Estimate for additional appropriations for the service of the Ordnance Department for the year 1832." however, did contain the following request: "Harpers Ferry...G. For erecting 12 additional dwelling houses for the workmen, \$8,600..." The justification for this request read:

"G. Much inconvenience and embarrassment have been felt at this Armory, from the want of dwelling houses for accommodation of the workmen. Many of the buildings now used as dwellings are

8. Reel 22, v. 14, p. 1375; see also Capt. Wm. H. Bell to Rust, Jan. 7, 1833, R. 14, v. 9, p. 883.

9. Estimates & Appropriations for 1831, R. 20, v. 6, pp. 556-561.

in such a state of decay as to warrant the opinion, that they cannot be much longer occupied."¹⁰

On April 21, 1832 Superintendent Rust urged speed in getting the requested 12 additional houses under construction, writing Col. Bomford:

"As some time must elapse before the decision of Congress will be known, as to the application for a special appropriation for building dwelling houses for the workmen at this Armory, and the erection of the houses during the ensuing summer being indispenably necessary for their accommodation, I would be pleased to receive permission to contract for the erection of Six dwelling houses to be paid for out of the appropriation for Armories in the event of the Special Appropriation designed for that object not being granted.

"At this time there are more than twenty workmen at this armory who require dwellings for their families, some of whom are compelled to pay an extravagant rent to private individuals for the houses they occupy, and in their present situation exceedingly uncomfortable and unhealthy. - For the reasons assigned in my letter of the 14th instant, it is of some importance that the erection of these buildings should be commenced as early as possible."¹¹

others are living in buildings so dilapidated as not to be worth repairs and

Col. Bomford replied on April 23, 1832, writing:

Your several letters dated the 21 inst. have been received. In answer to your inquiry, whether you could be permitted to erect the dwelling houses for the workmen this year, in the event of the Special Appropriation for them not being made by Congress; I have to state, that the law does not authorize such a transfer of funds and it is contrary to it, to divert the object of any appropriation specially provided for...

P.S. There is good reason to believe that the Special Appropriation will pass in due time."¹²

10. November 7, 1831, R. 20, v. 6, p. 564, p. 566.

11. R. 22, v. 13, p. 1239. John H. Hall also wrote to Col. Bomford, March 19, 1832, requesting the additions of kitchens to Houses No. 11 & 12 at a cost of about \$250 each, and the addition of a brick Wash room to Hall's own dwelling house at a cost of \$250. R. 22, v. 12, p. 1173.

12. R. 14, v. 9, p. 853. See also Rust to Bomford, May 8, 1832, R. 22, v. 14, p. 1388-39, again urging speed.

Congress, however, adjourned on July 16, 1832, without acting on the Special Appropriation and thus no funds were granted for erecting new dwelling houses in 1832.¹³

On August 7, 1832 Mr. Rust informed Col. Bomford:

"...The building heretofore occupied as the office of the Superintendent & his Clerk, is untenable, and I have been compelled to use one of the rooms in the Arsenal as an office. One of the dwelling houses (originally constructed in I presume for an office) situated at the Corner of the Arsenal Yard would, with some little alterations furnish a more convenient office, particularly in regard to its location, than any other at the Ferry. In order to accommodate the workman now occupying this house I wish to erect for him a dwelling 28 by 20 feet with a kitchen, (the cost of which will be between 800 & \$900) and to convert the house now occupied as a dwelling into an office. The cost of erecting the dwelling will exceed but little, if any, that of an office & I would be pleased you would authorize the erection of the Stock House & dwelling house, chargeable to Permanent Improvement."¹⁴

Col. Bomford granted permission to erect these buildings on August 15, 1832, specifying:

"Your letter of the 7th inst. has been received. For the reasons and purposes which you state, you are authorised to erect and repair the buildings specified, and to pay for the same out of the appropriation for permanent improvements at the Armory-taking care that you estimate for those objects is exceeded as little as possible, viz.

For the erection of a new Stock House, about 65 by 30 feet	\$800.00
For repairing a dwelling house, to be used as an office,	
and the erection of another 28 by 20 feet	900.00
Total,	\$1,700.00" ¹⁵

The "Statement of money expended through the ordnance department in the year 1832: at Armory, Harper's Ferry, Virginia,"

included the following item: "for erection of dwelling Houses:\$3,714.38."¹⁶

13. Col. Bomford's note on Special Estimate for 1832, R. 20,V.6,p.567.

14. R. 22, v. 13, p.1255

15. R. 14, v.9, pp. 867-868.

16. R.17, v.4, p. 265.

This sum undoubtedly included \$2,300, the balance of the sum owed to Markell for his construction of five dwelling houses in 1832, as well as the \$900 allowed for the erection of a new dwelling house 28 by 20 feet in 1832.

In November 1832 Lt. Col. George Talcott, Inspector of National Armories, made an inspection of the Harpers Ferry Armory, and reported to Colonel Bomford in part:

"The erection of houses for the dwellings of workmen is but reasonable, since the government possessing all the vacant ground in the vicinity of the Armory, they have no places whereon they can build for themselves. Fifteen or twenty new houses are required, many that are now occupied (from necessity) are not tenantable, indeed a large number of them should be replaced by others of different construction..."¹⁷

In commenting on the Hall Rifle Factory, the inspector also remarked: "A few dwelling houses for the workmen at this branch are also much required."¹⁸

Thus the special estimate for additional appropriations for the service of the Ordnance Department for the year 1833, submitted November 19, 1832, requested "For 15 dwelling houses for workmen at \$800 each: \$12,000." The justification for this request stated:

"I. 1st. It appears from a careful examination of the records of this office that it has been the settled practice of the Government, since the establishment of this Armory, to furnish quarters to the Officers and workmen there employed.

17. National Archives R. G. 156, Ordnance Office Special File Box No. 28, report dated December 15, 1832. Photostatic collection, Vol. 1, p. 12.

18. Ibid., Photo. Collection, Vol. 1, p. 15.

2nd. By the report of an officer of this Department, who has recently inspected this establishment, it appears that the numbers of dwelling houses at this Armory, if they were all good and servicable, are yet insufficient for the accommodation of the 358 workmen, and their families there employed.

3rd. It appears also, from the inspection, that a great proportion of such of the old dwellings as can be occupied, are in a state so dilapiated and ruinous as to be incapable of repairs, many of them being of wood, and having been built more than thirty years ago.

4th. As most of these old building, are situated in the North side of a high and steep hill (Camp Hill) on the side of the Potomac, which is overflowed by every heavy rain, their lower apartments (principally under ground) are in consequence kept damp and unhealthy during the whole year, and this is conceived to be a principal reason, of the sickness at that establishment, which is found to prevail to an extent so much greater than at the National Armory at Springfield.

5th. As it is the general opinion that much of the sickness at Harpers Ferry arises from the dilapidated state, and exposed location of the old buildings occupied by the workmen, and as this prelalent sickness is the main and principal reason, why it is necessary that greater wages should be given to the workmen employed at that Armory than are given to those employed at the Springfield Armory - for these reasons, it is presumed that an appropriation as above asked for, for 15 new dwellings would, besides affording present indispenable accommodations, ultimately have the beneficial tendency, of diminishing the expenses at the Harpers Ferry Armory...¹⁹

On March 17, 1833, Col. George Bomford notified Superintendent George Rust, Jr.:

"...The following appropriations have been made for the Harpers Ferry Armory for the presant year, viz:

...For the erection of twelve additional dwelling houses-\$8,600...²⁰

On April 13, 1833 Superintendent Rust pointed out to Col. Bomford:

19. Reel 20 v. 6, p. 570; 573-574.

20. R. 14, v. 9, p. 889. also R. 20, v. 6, p. 579.

"The appropriation made at the last session of Congress for the erection of twelve Dwelling houses at this Armory, will not be morethan sufficient to pay for the erection of Eight dwelling of convenient size and durable materials; and I have entered into a contract for the brick and stone work of eight houses, if your permission shall be obtained for the expenditure of the whole appropriation in their construction. As it is desirable that they should be commenced immediately I should be please to hear from you on the subject ~~/~~ an early day..."²¹

21. R. 22, v. 14, p. 1386.

Col. Bomford answered on April 16, 1833, stating:

"Your letter of the 13th instant is received. It is out of the powers of this Department, to sanction your proposition to erect eight dwelling Houses at Harpers Ferry Armory, instead of twelve as authorized by law.- The act making the appropriation for these object, to which I refer you, states 'For the erection of twelve additional dwelling houses &c. \$8,600.' And any deviation from it will be considered as a violation of that law.-

"It is suggested that you had better commence the building of the twelve houses this season, and the amount to be expended on them not to exceed the sum appropriated. - Some of the buildings it is supposed could be partly finished, by leaving the cellars and attic room, in such a state, that they might be completed next year; and the amount for their completion can be inserted in the estimate for the year 1834; this plan it is conceived will obviate all difficulties.

Your will transmit to this Office, draughts of the buildings to be erected, showing the dimensions as well as on what part of the public grounds they are to be located..."²²

On April 23, 1833, Superintendent Rust replied, writing:

"Inclosed herewith I transmit to you a draught of the buildings which it is contemplated to erect at this Armory, and another shewing the sites where they will be located (see next pages for tracings of same).

The sum appropriated at the last session of Congress for the erection of Twelve buildings will be sufficient only to pay for the walls, roofs, windows, glass, and doors of the whole number leaving the interior to be finished in 1834, for which an addition appropriation will be required.

To erect dwellings for the workmen of less size than those described in the plan herewith submitted would, I think, be an injudicious application of the funds of the Govt. and if the whole appropriation cannot be expended in the erection & completion of eight houses of this size I would recommend that the whole number should be put under roof and so far finished as to protect them from the weather until a sufficient sum can be obtained of Congress to complete them."²³

22. R. 14, v. 9, p. 892.

23. Reel 22, v. 14 p. 1391

Col. Bomford of the Ordnance Department granted permission for starting this construction on April 27, 1833, writing Mr. Rust:

"Your letter of the 23d instant, enclosing a draught of one of the buildings proposed to be erected at Harpers Ferry Armory, had been received.-

If, as you state, the sum appropriated is inadequate to complete the whole number of houses, mentioned in the act of March 2d 1833, you will proceed to complete in all respects as many of them as the appropriation will enable to finish. The brick buildings erected last year cost about \$900 each, and I cannot discover why the present buildings should cost any more. At all events you will be governed in this expenditure by the strictest economy and a due regards to the interest of the Government."²⁴

In July of 1833 Superintendent Rust, therefore, entered into two contracts covering the construction of a total of eight dwelling Houses. The first of these contracts read in part:

"JAMES FOLEY

For Carpenter Work &c. on 4 Buildings at Harpers Ferry

Memorandum of agreement made and entered into this 15th day of July 1833. Between James Foley of the one part and George Rust Junr. Supt. Harpers Ferry Armory of the other part as follows:

"The said Foley binds himself to furnish all the materials and perform the Carpenter work, painting and plastering of four buildings of the Harpers Ferry Armory of the following description, viz:

Main Building 28 feet front 22 in rear one and a half stories high. The first story to have six doors, plain pannel, the front door to have plain transom- Six windows, two 20 light 8 x 10 glass each, the other four 15 lights same size. Windows and doors to be trimmed with plain architrave. To be divided into three rooms, with one fireplace. Plain winding stairs running to the second story. One clothes press or cupboard in front room, and closet under stairs. Plain mantel piece. Joist to be 10 in. wide 2½ thick double bridged and two feet from center to centre. The flooring to be one and a fourth inches thick and not more than seven inches

Front view of a Brick Building 28 by 22 feet
One and a half Stories High.
(Traced from Superintendent George Rust, Jr.' plan
submitted April 23, 1833-) Scale 2/10 In. to the Foot.

22 feet

Jr.'s plan
in. to the

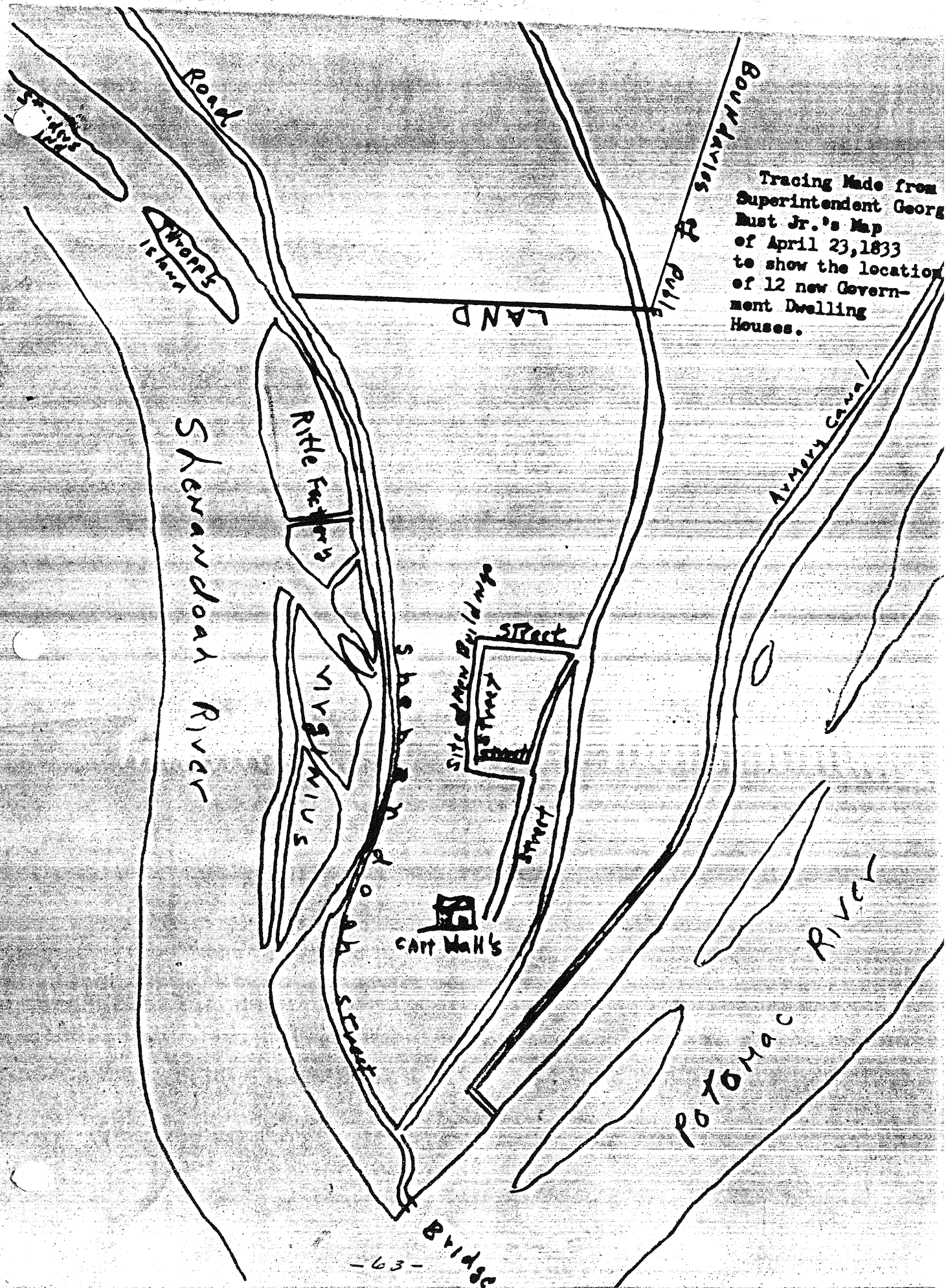
with cellar below



First
Story

22 Feet

Tracing Made from
Superintendent George
Bust Jr.'s Map
of April 23, 1833
to show the location
of 12 new Govern-
ment Dwelling
Houses.



wide. Plain washboard. Story eight feet in the clear. Walls of brick 14 inches thick.

The second story to have two doors-Seven windows, three of 12 lights each 8 x 10 glass, the other four 9 lights each same size. To be divided into three rooms, with one fireplace. Doors and windows to be trimmed with plain single architrave. Mantelpiece and washboard plain. Joist 10 inc. wide 2 1/2 in thick two feet from centre to centre and double bridged flooring one and a fourth inches thick and not more than seven inches wide. Walls--- inches thick.

Back building 16 feet front and 12 rear, one story high, 9 inch walls. One plain panel door, 2 windows 12 lights each 8 x 10 glass. One fireplace, plain mantel. Doors & windows to be trimmed with plain single architrave. Plain washboards. Joist 7 inches wide 2 1/2 thick, two feet from centre to centre. Cellar to have two windows and one door &c. The whole of the said carpenter work excepting the roof to have two coats of paint. The doors to be hinged & locked. The building both front & rear to be plastered in the interior, with 2 coats and skimmed, & to be covered with cypress shingles. The whole of the work to be done in a substantial workmanlike manner, and of good materials, well seasoned, and completed on or before the first day of May next.

And the said George Rust Jr. Supt as aforesaid agrees on the part of the United States that the said Foley shall be paid for each of the buildings completed by him agreeably to the proceeding specification the sum of four hundred and forty dollars, to be paid on the completion of any one of the said buildings...²⁵

The second contract identical to the first except as to price, was entered into in July 1833, ^{and} reads in part:

"DANIEL T. MATTHIAS

For Carpenters work etc. on 4 Buildings at Harpers Ferry.

Memorandum of agreement made and entered into this 15th day of July 1833; Between Daniel T. Matthias of the one part and George Rust Jr. Supt Harpers Ferry Armory of the other part as follows:

25. National Archives R. G. 156, OCO, Contract Book No. 13, pp.196-197 Photostatic Collection, Vol. 1, pp. 24-26.

The said Mathias binds himself to furnish all the materials and perform the carpenters' work painting and plastering of Four Buildings 28 feet front, 22 in rear, one and a half stories high: the first story to have six doors plain pannel doors, the front one to have plain transom- Six windows, two of 20 lights 8 x 10 glass each, the other four 15 lights same size.--Windows and doors to be trimmed with plain archative: To be divided into three rooms with one Fire place. Plain winding stairs running to the second story one close press or cupboard in front room and closet under stairs -- plain mantle piece--joice to be 10 inches wide $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick double bridged and two feet from centre to centre. The ~~flooring~~ ^{flooring} to be one and a fourth inches thick and not more than seven inches wide plain washboards. Story eight feet in the clear. walls of brick 14 in. thick. The second story to have 2 doors seven windows three of 12 lights each 8 x 10 glass. The other four 9 lights each same size, to be divided into three rooms with one fire place. Doors & windows to be trimmed with plain architive (single) mantel piece and washboard plain. Joice 10 in. wide $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick, two feet from centre to centre and double bridged. Flooring one and a fourth in. thick and not more than seven inches wide. Walls _____ inches thick.

Back building 16 feet front 12 rear, one story high 9 in. walls, one plain pannel door two windows 12 lights each 8 x 10 glass, one fire place, plain mantel, doors and windows to be trimmed with plain single architive. Joice 7 in wide $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick, two feet from centre to centre. Cellar to have two windows one door & c.

The whole of the Carpenters work, excepting the roof to have ^{Two} ~~door~~ coats of paint- the door to be hinged & locked. The building both front & rear to be plastered in the interior with 2 coats & shimmed. and to be covered with good Cypress Shingles. The whole of the work to be done in a substantial workmanlike manner, and of good materials well seasoned and completed on or before the 1st day of May 1834

And the said George Rust Jr. Supt. as aforesaid agrees on the part of the U. States that the said Mathias shall be paid for each building completed by him agreeable to the preceding specification the sum of five hundred and forty dollars, to be paid on the completion of any one of the said buildings..."²⁶

Thus Foley was to receive \$1,760 and Mathias \$2,160 for the carpenter work on the eight houses, making a grand total of

26. National Archives R. G. O.C.O. Contract Book No. 13, pp. 190-191. H.F. Photostatic Collection, Vol. 1, pp. 17-18

\$3,920.00 expended for this purpose. Brick, stone and masonry work for the eight houses undoubtedly accounted for the remainder of the approximated \$8,600.

These houses were completed agreeable to the contract, as Superintendent Rust's letter of July 9, 1834 to Col. George Bomford reveals:

"You will herewith recd. enclosed three contracts made for the faithful performance of Work for the U. S. at Harpers Ferry Armory Viz. One by John Garrett for the Enlargement of the Canal-one made by James Foley for Furnishing materials & performing the carpenters work &c. of four dwelling Houses-Also one entered into by Daniel T. Mathias for materials & Carpenters Work &c for Four dwelling Houses. The dwelling Houses are completed..."²⁷

The "Statement of Money expended through the Ordnance Department in the Year 1833," states that \$10,011.78 was spent that year at Harpers Ferry Armory "For the erection of dwelling Houses..."²⁸

This amount, in addition to construction of new houses, probably also included sums spent for repairs and additions made to dwelling houses.

The "Special Estimate for additional appropriations for the service of the Ord. Dept. for the year 1834," requested a total of \$10,000 for "The erection of 10 dwelling houses for the workmen at \$1000" a piece.²⁹ Congress, however, failed to appropriate money for this purpose.³⁰

27. Reel 23, v. 1, p. 3.

28. Reel 17, v. 4, p. 274.

29. Reel 20, v. 6, p. 583, also pp. 585-587-justification same as in special estimate for 1832.

30. R. 20, v. 6, p. 591.

"Statement of the money expended through the ordnance department in the year 1834," states that a total of \$4,030.33 was spent that year "For erecting dwelling-Houses." ³¹ Of this sum apparently \$3,037.74 was expended "For erecting 12 additional dwelling Houses" in 1834. ³² The remainder was probably spent on repairs and additions to these houses.

Appropriations made by Congress for the Service of the Ordnance Department for the year 1835, approved March 8, 1835, did not include funds for the erection of Dwelling Houses for the workmen at the Harpers Ferry Armory. ³³

In July 1835, Inspector of Armories and Arsenals, Lt. Col. Talcott again inspected the works at Harpers Ferry and reported of his visit:

"The general aspect of the concerns of this Armory is much improved since my inspection in 1832. A great advance is perceptible, in the introduction of new machinery, nevertheless much remains to be done to bring it up to the point at which the Springfield Armory stood at that time...

The police of the place is decidedly bad. The United States possess so large a portion of the inhabited grounds at Harpers Ferry that a general neglect of the ordinary precautions for the preservation of health, in matters under the exclusive control of the Superintendent, will be severely felt by the whole population. The construction of the (Winchester and Potomac) Railroad through the public land at this time is a prominent cause of the accumulation of filth and rubbish & more than ordinary care should be bestowed on matters of internal police. A great number of the dwelling houses along the (U.S. Potomac Canal) raceway are mere piles of rotten wood and should be replaced with clean brick structures....

32. Rust to Bomford, February 20, 1835, Reel 12, v. 2, p. 103.

31. R. 17, v. 4, p. 281.

33. R. 20, v. 6, p. 592-593.

An estimate is being prepared for the service of the year 1836 and I fully concur with the Acting Supt. on the necessity for the several items which follow, viz:

10 new Dwelling houses - in place of ten old ones---"34
The special estimate for 1836 submitted to Congress accordingly included the following item: "E. For the erection of 10 new

dwelling house for the accommodation of the workman @\$1,200---\$12,000."35

The justification for this request reads:

"E. The erection of 10 Additional dwelling Houses for the accommodation of the workmen and their families at this Armory is considered indispensable, a number of those now occupied by them, being from their ruinous and dilapidated condition very uncomfortable and unhealthy, and not worthy of repairs, many of these having been built of wood more than thirty years ago. The greatest part of these old buildings are situated on the Bank of the Potomac, and the site is over flown by every heavy rain. Their lower parts partly underground are in consequence kept damp and unhealthy during the whole year, and this is considered to be one of the principal causes of the sickness of that establishment."36

In the meantime, however, on September 16, 1835, Master Armorer Benjamin Moore, then Acting Superintendent, informed Col. George Bomford of the Ordnance Department:

"When I had last the pleasure of seeing you in Washington City, the condition of the public dwelling houses at this Armory was the subject of a conversation between us. The condition of many of them is such, that their immediate repair is almost indispensable. There are several, which to render them even tenantable require new roofs, and other repairs. The expense of which will probably be about three hundred and Fifty dollars, which sum I suggest, that permission be given, to expend for the objects above stated."37

- 34. National Archives R. G. 156, Ordnance Office Special File Box no. 28
Reported dated July 25, 1835, H.F. Photostatic Collection, W.1, p. 50-51
- 35. R. 20, v. 6 p. 598.
- 36. R. 20, v. 6, p. 600.
- 37. R. 12, v. 1, p. 67.

On September 28, 1835, Col. Bomford wrote to Secretary of War Lewis Cass on this subject, stating:

"Application has been made, Benj. Moore Esq. Acting Superintendent at Harpers Ferry Armory for authority to expend about three hundred and fifty dollars in repairing the public dwelling houses at that place. The condition of many of them, he says is such that their immediate repair is almost indispensable. As there is no particular appropriation or fund for these repairs, I would take the liberty to suggest the propriety of paying the expense out of the money arising from therents of those houses for the present quarter, which will be due on the first of next month, and will amount to about eight hundred dollars, which is respectfully submitted for your consideration and decision."³⁸

Permission for this expenditure was apparently granted as the "Statment of money expended through the Ordnance Department in the year 1835" at Harpers Ferry Armory includes \$982.59 spent "For erecting dwelling houses."³⁹

The Special Estimate for 1836, with the request for 10 additional dwelling houses at a total cost of \$12,000, was approved by Congress on July 2, 1836.⁴⁰ Because of the late date of the Appropriation and the large number of other improvements also to be made, ^{the construction} of the new houses was not started in 1836. Thus the "Statement of operations of the Armory at Harper's Ferry during the year 1836", does not list any expenditures under the heading of amounts spent for the erection of dwelling houses.⁴¹

38. R. 19, v. 13, p. 1313.

39. R. 17, v. 4, p. 299.

40. R. 20, v. 6, p. 605. Also Col. Bomford to Supt. Rust, July 6, 1836, pp. 1057-1058.

41. R. 17, v. 4, p. 302.

In June 1836, Lt. Col. Talcott again inspected the Harpers Ferry Armory, and commented: "The general aspect of the Armory, (its police and internal affairs) is much the same as last year, affording room for great improvement."⁴² In July 1836 Lt. Col. Talcott made a second inspection of the Armory and reported to Col. Bomford of the Ordnance Department on July 9, 1836:

"I have the honor to report a partial Inspection of the operations at Harpers Ferry Armory. The principal object in view was to make provision for the construction of various buildings required at that place and for which the necessary funds have been appropriated by Congress. The lateness of the season renders it very difficult to provide materials in time to complete the small buildings this year and the larger ones cannot be commenced till the spring of 1837. Taking into view the course pursue for years past and the results, at that place, I would urge in the strongest manner, the employment of some person as a kind of Master Builder, to supervise the erection of all buildings authorised to be constructed. He should be a good mechanic and able to direct the operations of others. Three dollars per day would be a fair price for such services and I have no doubt a suitable man can be found for such wages..."⁴³

On November 3, 1836, after a third inspection of the Armory, Lt. Col. Talcott advised Superintendent Rust:

"...I would therefore urge you to make all the purchases in your power at once, and put up the Coal House, Forge, the Mill shop at the Rifle Works, repair the Canal and sink the well, also make contracts for the dwelling houses if practicable and the Storehouse for scraps and condemned parts..."⁴⁴

In June 1837, Lt. Col. Talcott again inspected the Armory, Commenting:

"The change in the Superintendence of this Armory (caused by the resignation of Gen'l Rust and the appointment of Col. Lucas) (these Superintendents, in spite of their "military titles", were all actually civilian employes of the Government) together

42. Photostatic Collection, V. 1, p. 56-report dated June 25, 1836.

43. Ibid., V. 1, p. 58.

44. Ibid., V. 1, p. 65.

with the very large amount of money applicable to the improvement of the establishment, being in fact the appropriations for the years 1836 & 1837 and amounting to more than one hundred thirty thousand dollars; induced me to visit this place as early in the season as my other duties would permit. Although it is but seven months since the Armory was last inspected, yet from the very indifferent state in which its affairs were then situated an Inspection appeared highly desirable.... and most of the period was devoted to the outdoor affairs of locating buildings and aiding the Superintendent in all the various plans for additional buildings and improvements. These have been nearly all definitively adjusted, and will progress rapidly. Those at the Rifle works will shortly be completed and the untiring industry of the Superintendent affords ground for the belief that all the interests committed to his charge will receive that attention which their importance demands...."⁴⁵

A careful search of all Ordnance Department records for the period 1836 through 1838 has failed to turn up any other plans, contracts or correspondence relating to the construction of the 10 new dwelling houses. Based on the evidence presented above, the reasons for this lack of evidence in regards to the dwelling houses appear to be as follows:

1. Construction of the dwelling houses was certainly not started in 1836.
2. Lt. Col. Talcott in July 1837, went over the ground at the Armory picking out the sites for each building and approving the proposed plans for each building at Harpers Ferry, thus accounting for the lack of correspondence and plans that would have otherwise have been on file in the Ordnance Department.
3. The failure to locate any contracts for the construction of the dwelling houses, such as entered into in July 1833, suggests that perhaps a "Master Builder, as recommended by Lt. Col. Talcott in November 1836, was actually employed in 1837. No documentary evidence has been found to either prove or disprove the theory

45. Photostatic Collection Volume 1, p. 72, Report dated June 25, 1837.

that a Master Builder was engaged in 1837; but it is certain that such a man, James Bateman-"Master Carpenter &C," and fourteen other Carpenters are listed on the Armory payroll of December 31, 1841.^{45a} These positions could have well been established in 1837.

Based on these considerations, I believe that the 10 dwelling houses for which the money was appropriated in 1836, were constructed in 1837-1838. They were probably erected by the Armory Master Builder and his force of workmen. Nothing further, however, is known of the location of these buildings, or of their size and of what they were constructed, as to the last, however, they were probably built of brick.

Construction of dwelling houses by the Government from 1830 to 1847 together with expenditures for construction, additions and repairs, may be summarized as follows:

Year	Amount	No. of Houses	How erected	Actual listed
Appropriated	Appropriated	Erected		Expenditures for repairs, additions
1830	\$10,000 for 10 houses	0	0	\$ 249.48 $\frac{1}{2}$
1831	0	5	By contract	4,338.16 $\frac{1}{2}$
1832	0	1	By Armory	3,714.38
1833	8,600 for 12 houses	8	By contract	10,011.78
1834	0	4(?)	By contract	4,020.33
1835	0	0		982.59
1836	12,000 for 10 houses	0		0
1837	0	10	By Armory	12,000.00(?)
\$30,600 for 32 houses 28				\$35,316.73

The appropriation of 1830 was apparently diverted in part, to the amount of \$1,114.81 $\frac{1}{2}$ in 1830 and of \$3,436.10 in 1831, or a total of \$4,550.91 $\frac{1}{2}$, to purchase 29 claims of workmen for improvements made

45^a Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 16, employee numbers 265 to 279.

on government dwelling houses, instead of constructing 5 new dwelling houses, ~~instead of constructing 5 new dwelling houses~~ (see pages 34 and 35 of this report). Included in the 29 claims were apparently five houses erected by private individuals, thus meeting the requirement for a total of 10 new houses.

The general method of erecting dwelling houses for the Armory workmen by the Government from 1830 to 1836, was for the Superintendent of the Armory to prepare the plans and specifications for the buildings desired, and after submitting them for the approval of the Ordnance Department and Secretary of War, then to contract out the actual construction. In 1837, however, it is probable that the Armory employed for the first time a "Master Builder" to erect these buildings.

CHAPTER VII

CONSTRUCTION, REPAIRS, AND ADDITIONS TO GOVERNMENT DWELLING

HOUSES, 1837 to 1861

From 1837 to 1841 the Ordnance Department neither requested nor received from Congress any appropriations for the construction of new dwelling houses for the Armory workmen.¹

On September 17, 1839 Superintendent Edward Lucas, of the Harpers Ferry Armory, informed Col. George Talcott of the Ordnance Department:

"The ord. Regulations litterally (sic) construed would seem

to require that no repairs or additions whatever be made without plans or estimates being previously submitted to & approved by the Honble Secy of War. This I presume, however, was not intended to embrace all the numerous & unavoidable cases at this Armory, where we have over three hundred houses to keep in repair-many of which are scarcely worth it & yet cannot be done without....

I take it for granted therefore that this Regl. has been virtually complied with by me - yet I deem it proper at this time to ask the Dept to authorize & sanction the general & necessary repairs which are almost indispensably necessary, without requiring a specific estimate & plan for each case.

There are several of the One & half story brick houses upon Shenandoah Street which require roofing & as the foundations are good & the expense of adding some three or four feet would not add much to the expense, while the room that would be gained would be considerable.

"There are several houses without chimnies (sic) which ought to be built, before cold weather sets in...

1. Estimates & Appropriations for 1837, Reel 20, v. 6, pp. 606-613, 614. For 1838: Reel 20, v. 6 pp. 615-620, p. 621; for 1839 R. 20. v.6, p. 622-626. For 1840, R. 20 v. 6, p. 627-630. For 1841, R. 20, v. 6, p. 631-635.

"The rents have been raised within the last two years with a view of enabling me to add to the comforts & conveniences of the workmen, which has been done by making necessary repairs, alterations & additions to their houses. The correctness of these statements come within the knowledge of the Dept. and I must look to it to bear me out, if it be necessary."²

Lt. Col. George Talcott replied on September 21, 1839, writing:

"... In reply to your letter of the 17th, I can only state that small matters of daily occurrence, in the way of repairs, to the public buildings & machinery are not considered as embraced by the Ord. Regulations.

New Structures, extensive or expensive alterations of old buildings and any unusual or large expenditure, not previously sanctioned, should be submitted to the Secretary of War.

The appropriation of money for a particular object, that has been embraced in the annual, or other estimate is usually considered sufficient authority for the expenditure of the money upon that object, - but when large sums are asked for in estimates, and only a portion of the amount is appropriated, certain specific items are stricken out & the money in that case should be applied only to the purposes mentioned in the items retained.

A little reflection will always enable you to decide how to act in the different cases as they come up."³

On February 6, 1841, Superintendent Lucas again raised the question of improvements for the workmen's benefit, writing Col. Bomford on the subject:

"Armorers applications have been recently made to me to build Smoke Houses for the accommodation of the workmen - and as the time for hanging up meat to smoke has nearly arrived, it will be necessary to put them up immediately or they cannot be used this Spring.

There is a great scarcity of them here, and many of the citizens are under the necessity of smoking their meat in their garrets, which injures the houses, as well as endangers the public property, which might be burnt down.

2. Reel 12, v. 6, pp. 592-593.
3. Reel 16, v. 1, p. 122.

"It sometimes happens that meat has not been well cured or spoiled for want of smoke houses. I have ascertained that a good weatherboarded inch plank & cyprus roof, nine feet square, which might, if necessary accommodate two families, can be built for 17\$ to 20\$ - a bill for which is herewith sent.

I would therefore respectfully recommend that authority be given me by the Ord. dept. to put up ten or fifteen of these Smoke Houses immediately.

"Bill for building Smoke House, made out by John Hyatt & Jesse Bateman (Latter, "Master Carpenter)

315 feet inch weatherboarding at 75 cts.....	2.36 $\frac{1}{2}$
315 framing at 75 cts.....	2.36 $\frac{1}{2}$
126 feet rafters @50cts.....	.56 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Squares Cyprus Shingling 225 C	2.81
1 Balton Door	1.00
Iron & collar beams &c. for	.88
	9.98

Will do the work for nine dollars & the stuff will not amount to more than eight or ten."⁴

Col. Bomford replied on February 9, 1841, stating:

"Your letter of the 6th inst... is received. With every disposition to accommodate all necessary wants of the workmen, the present state of the finances will oblige the Department to suspend any action on that subject at present, and the matter will therefore have to lay over for consideration when funds are available for such purposes."⁵

Superintendent Lucas, however, soon renewed his request to erect smoke houses, and make other repairs, writing:

"...These accommodation are very much needed by the workmen, & repairs are required to preserve the property, & fencing necessary to the enjoyment & the use of the grounds. We should not, of course, expect to go far beyond the rents accruing upon the houses & lots..."⁶

Col. Bomford replied on March 31, 1841 ordering Mr. Lucas:

"In reply to your letter of the 29th inst, you are instructed to make no repairs or additions to dwelling house at the armory, except such as are absolutely necessary for their preservation, until the Inspector of Armories shall have visited the establishment

4. Reel 12, v. 9, p. 882-883.

5. R. 19, v. 1, p. 33.

6. R. 12, v. 10, p. 909, March 29, 1841.

and reported as to the objects to which the fund for repairs should be applied."⁷

Superintendent Lucas resigned in 1841 and was replaced by Major H. K. Craig, the first of the military superintendents of the Harpers Ferry Armory. Col. Bomford informed Major Craig on November 23, 1841:

"On the subject of the arrangements for securing the rents and use of the dwelling houses at the Armory, you will be pleased to consult with Lt. Col. Talcott, who will visit the Armory in the course of a short time, for the purpose of examining into many details of the management of the establishment and arranging plans for improvement."⁸

In February 1842 a Board of Officers conducted a special inspection and investigation of the Harpers Ferry Armory; in respect to question of housing for Armory employees, they commented:

"(DWELLING HOUSES)

"Most of the Officers and Armorers (some 398 men by the payroll) lives in houses owned by the Government - The officers of the Armory having their houses rent free, or when they are not furnished with Public Houses, receiving a commutation of \$60. per annum; the workmen who occupy Public Houses, pay rents averaging from \$60 to 5 per annum, according to the condition of house.

"Many of these houses are scarcely habitable, many are not of repair, and few of them possess those conveniences of arrangement so essential to the comfort and even health of the occupants.

"The Board would therefore recommend that a portion of the rents received be applied to the erection of one or two dwelling Houses annually, the cost of these with the repairs of the others not to exceed the amount of rent received that year. These new buildings to be of a uniform plan, approved by the Secretary of War.

For domestic purposes, as well as for the prevention of damage by fire, there is a great want of water. In a very scattered

7. R. 19, v.1, p. 43.

8. R. 19, v. 1, p. 78.

population of nearly 2000 inhabitants, there are not more than 7 or 8 source, whence water for domestic purposes is to be obtained. It is therefore recommended that strong efforts be made to enlarge the supply, and distribute it more equally, than is now done..."⁹

In the estimates and appropriations for the years 1842 and from January 1, 1843 to 30 June 1844 (when the change to the new and presently used fiscal year occurred), however, the Ordnance Department neither requested nor received money for the construction of dwelling houses.¹⁰ In the 1843-1844 period, however, \$3,000 was requested and received "for the repairs of buildings"... "such... as cannot be properly charged to the general fund."¹¹

In the fiscal year July 1, 1844 to June 30, 1845, \$3,500 was requested and probably received for the repairs of the public buildings.¹²

As individual research reports will probably be prepared for for the few dwelling houses to be erected by the Government at the Harpers Ferry Armory from 1845 to 1861, we shall, therefore, only briefly outline this construction in this report. In general, it can be said that no more dwelling houses were erected for the average Armory employee after the 1837-38 construction. New construction from 1845 to 1861 was thus strictly limited to the

9. National Archive R. G. 156, Ordnance Office, Special File Box No. 28, Report dated February 25, 1842; H.F. Photostatic Collection, V.2, p.79-80.

10. R. 20, V.6, p. 636-639; 640-645.

11. R. 20, v. 6, p. 643-644-645.

12. Reel 20, v.7, p. 648, p. 649. A total of \$17,000 was requested for permanent improvements at Harpers Ferry and a total of \$12,000 granted by Congress, the appropriation not being broken down for specific purposes in the records of the Ordnance Department.

erection of a small number of fine houses for the top officers and clerks of the Armory. Thus ⁱⁿ the 1845-1846/ fiscal year the money was appropriated to erect the Quarters of the Commanding Officer or Superintendent of the Armory, which was built on Camp Hill on what is now the site of Anthony Hall, Storer College (See Preliminary Historical Base Map - Bldg. No. 25, Storer College on Camp Hill).¹³

In the 1846-1847 fiscal year further funds were appropriated to complete the construction of the Commanding Officer's Quarters and additional money was granted to erect the Pay Master & Military Store Keeper's Quarters on Camp Hill, this latter building is now known as the "Lockwood House (See Preliminary Historical Base Map- Bldg. No. 32- Storer College, Camp Hill. Bldg. No. 32 was erected on the former site of Captain John H. Hall's residence).¹⁴

The final construction of new Government Dwelling Houses occurred in 1857-58 as a result of funds received from the 1852 sales of Government Lots at Harpers Ferry being applied to this purpose. Eighteen thousand dollars from this source was spent in erecting the Master Armorer's new quarters, present Bldg. No. 36 on Shenandoah Street, and two residences for Chief Clerks on Camp Hill (See Preliminary Historical Base Map, Bldgs. No. 30 and 31 on Storer College, Camp Hill, - both structures are still standing).¹⁵

13. Reel 20, v. 7, p. 652,653.

14. R. 20, v. 7, p. 657,658,659.

15. R. 20, v. 7, p. 721.

Seven other dwelling houses, all erected by private individuals on privately owned land, were obtained in 1847 and 1848 by the Government purchase of Wager Lots 18 to 33 inclusive, and these buildings were henceforth used as housing for Armory employees.¹⁶

All Construction on worker's dwellings houses from 1837 to 1861 was thus limited to additions and repairs. In the Annual Report of Operations of the Harpers Ferry Armory for the year July 1, 1845 to 30th June 1846, Major John Symington, Superintendent of the Armory therefore, reported:

"13th- Extensive repairs [were made] to the Dwelling Houses and Lots occupied by the mechanics employed in the Armory, including the erection of one brick 2 story kitchen, 18 by 18 feet covered with slate, and three others of wood on stone foundations; also 1500 panels of board fencing."¹⁷

On August 11, 1848 Major Symington revealed the normal process of effecting such repairs, writing to the Ordnance Department, as follows:

"...The repairs to the Government dwellings are made from time to time as they are needed and generally after an inspection has been made by the Master Carpenter to judge of the urgency of the case. The office books show an expenditure on this account since I have been in command of _____ \$7200. For the last few months the repairs have been for urgent cases only, ~~the~~ in the expectation that soon the Government might determine to sell out such portion of the public lands at this place as was not necessary for the purposes of the Armory. Where additions are made to dwellings so as to change their class, or having repairs or cisterns have been constructed, a small addition has been made to the rent. This is the only augmentation, with perhaps a few cases where changes were made from a fraction to a round sum, that I know of

16. National Archives, R. G. 153-Judge Advocate General, Abandoned Military Reservation File No. 34, List of Houses 1850. Photostatic Collection Map Case, Drawer No. 4. Also Estimates & Appropriation, 1846-47, R. 20, v. 7, p. 657, 658, 659.
17. R. 20, v.1, p. 14.

in the rent. In many cases the cost of the repairs made have been three to four times the sum of the annual rents.

The rents charged to the operatives are here among disinterested persons acknowledged to be low, largely below the rents charged generally for private dwellings in the neighborhood, as may be inferred from the fact that the operatives who occupy private dwellings (which were located on the Wager Six Acre Reservation and Ferry Lot) are closely on the watch for a chance to get a Government one..."¹⁸

A careful check of the estimates and appropriations for the period 1848 to 1861 reveals that the following sums were requested and generally received for the maintenance of Government dwelling houses:

In 1850-1851 fiscal year: "11-Repairs of public buildings and all other objects heretofore paid from money received for rents of dwelling houses, including arrearages on this account for the fiscal year 1849-50....10,880."¹⁹

The justification for this request stated:

"By the Act of 3d March 1849 (Phamphlet Laws, p. 105) all moneys received for rent of the public buildings have to be paid directly into the Treasury, from the 1st July 1849. Consequently, for the necessary repairs &c. to be made, during the present and next fiscal years no funds will be available. This item is only for a re-appropriation of the rents turned into the Treasury instead of being credited, as heretofore, to the appropriation for repairs at the Armory."²⁰

The requested sum was granted by Congress.²¹

In the 1851-52 fiscal year \$3,500 was requested and received for repairs and preservation of public buildings.²² In the 1852-1853 fiscal year \$2,300 was requested and received for this purpose.²³

18. R. 23, v. 10, p. 983-984.
19. R. 20, v. 7, p. 685.
20. R. 20, v. 7, p. 687.
21. R. 20, v. 7, p. 690.
22. R. 20, v. 7, p. 697, 694,
23. R. 20, v. 7, p. 698, 700, 702.

In the 1853-54 fiscal year \$4,000²⁴ and in the 1854-55 fiscal year \$1,700 were received for these objects.²⁵

This decline in the amount of funds requested for this purposes, which occurred after 1852, was undoubtedly due to the sale of 54 Government Dwelling Houses to Armory workers that took place in September of 1852; said sale thus reducing the number of Government Dwelling Houses that remained to be maintained. From 1845 to 1854 a large number of substantial Government Dwelling houses were demolished, again reducing the cost of maintenance. These questions will be further considered and documented in the next chapter.

In summary, then, it appears that no further new dwelling houses were erected by the Government in the period 1837 to 1861 for the use of Armory workmen. The five new Government houses that were erected in the period of 1837 to 1861, were designed solely for the use of the Chief Officers of the Armory. Additions and repairs, however, were made by the Government to employees' houses located on the Government land from 1837 to 1861. The sale of 1852, by which Armory employees, for the first time since 1796, were given an opportunity of purchasing Government Lots and houses at a reasonable price, greatly reduced the need for Government housing at Harpers Ferry and also reduced the number of such houses that had to be maintained at Government expense from 1852 to 1861.

24. R. 20, v. 7, p. 705, 706.

25. R. 20, v. 7, p. 709, 710.

CHAPTER VIII

SOLUTION OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM AT HARPERS FERRY, TOWN PLANNING, AND GOVERNMENT SALE OF HOUSE AND LOTS 1846 - 1856

Credit for the solution of the housing problem at Harpers Ferry can be attributed to Major John Symington, the second of the military Superintendents of the Armory. On January 14, 1846, Major Symington wrote to Lt. Col. George Talcott of the Ordnance Department:

"I learn with much regret that the item of \$12,000 in my Estimate for the Armory for the construction of dwelling houses for the mechanics employed, has not been included in the "Army Bill" reported this session by the Chairman of the Com. on Way & Means.

"The want of suitable accommodations for our workmen and the consequences so seriously felt upon the operations of this Establishment, from that cause, have been brought to your notice at different times. There are now upwards of thirty applications for houses, and we have lost many good workmen, who were invited from a distance, from the inability to supply them with quarters, others again are deterred from coming on that account. As this measure however does not seem to obtain favor, I will suggest another means for helping us out of this difficulty, and which I am inclined to think will eventually operate to the advantage of this establishment, and greatly so to the operative employed in and about the Armory.

I would propose the sale of a part of the public grounds, say that portion on Shenandoah River and street from the Master Armorers quarters (present Bldg. No. 34-35) up as far as it connects with the private property on the island (of Virginius) reserving from sale the square or lot now enclosed for wood & lumber yard and stabling. In the hands of private individuals this ground would soon be built up with dwellings and suitable stores and shops &c. for mechanics of various crafts who cannot now possibly get a spot on which to exercise their calling; and in a year or two it would be reasonable to say, that a flourishing town; under wholesome municipal regulations would spring up where now

"is wanting everything to make a residence desirable.

"The ownership of all the ground in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry (except a small patch at the end of the Potomac Bridge) (i.e. the Wager Ferry Lot and Six Acre Reservation, together totaling six and three-fourth's acres) being in the U. States, is an insuperable bar to the growth and improvement of the place as a town and yet from the locality, there are fine points in this section that offer the same advantages for trade and business generally.

"To the U. States the growth and prosperity of the place would be advantageous, as affording a means at hand of procuring mechanical labor or certain supplies which have to be bought for at a distance. But a still greater advantage would result to the workmen employed in the Armory and their families. Many would no doubt become owners of property who are now only tenants at will on the public ground and consequently have no fixed house or interest in the place, and all could look to other sources for employment for their sons than this Armory, now the only chance. And in case of a suspension of labor in the shops or a partial discharge of hands they could have the means of employment to a certain extent in various ways, and not be left idle to consume what little they may have laid by. Much more may be said in favor of some arrangement of this sort, but I submit the foregoing for consideration. It may be well however to remark that the portion of the public grounds here alluded to will not at any future time be needed for the purposes of the Armory - sufficient will be reserved near the site of the present Arsenal or store house to erect other store houses when required." 1

Here, in brief, the^N is the first presentation of the idea of permitting Armory Employees to purchase their own lots from selected Government land.

1. Reel 23, V.7, p:627-629.

There the subject lay for a year and a half, when Major Symington returned to the attack. On July 15, 1847, he presented the idea to Lt. Col. Talcott, writing:

"I transmit herewith, an Estimate of Funds for the fiscal year ending 30 June 1849, required for the erection and repair of workshops, Machinery &c. and for other permanent improvements at this Armory.

In submitting this Estimate, and in connexion with the affairs of the Armory requiring appropriations to be made, I must bring to your notice the condition of the dwelling houses at this place owned by the Government and occupied by the Officers and mechanics and others connected with the Armory. These houses, now comprising about nine tenths of the buildings (exclusive of the Government workshops & storehouses) included in the Town of Harper's Ferry, were for the most part build upwards of 25 years ago, and generally of such indifferent materials, that notwithstanding the constant repairs made to them, many of them are now utterly irreparable.

This with the impossibility of procuring other quarters, (The private property (The Wager Six Acre Reservation and Ferry Lot) being closely built up and occupied) is so serious a drawback to the operations of the Armory, that measures must be taken without delay, to apply a remedy.

If it is the policy of the Government to provide houses on the public land, for the accommodation of the workmen in the Armory, an appropriation for that object should be made as early as practicable, and the necessary amount included in the present Estimate; but if that cannot be effected, or there is any doubt about it, as I may infer from the fact of an item for this object being thrown out of my Estimate two years back, some other means must be devised, and I therefore suggest this, - to abandon the system of Government tenantry, which has thus far been a losing business, besides being productive of strife and trouble, and expensive suits at law, and all such ills, and to sell out such portions of the public lands at this place, that cannot possibly be needed for Government uses.

Such sales would include the greater part, nearly all in fact of the dwelling houses, and a large number of unoccupied good building lots, that would be gladly taken by many who desire a permanent home in the place of their birth, among their kindred, and for their children.

I cannot doubt, indeed I feel assured, that such an arrangement if carried out, would very soon give a greatly increased and thrifty population to the Town, which could then have wholesome municipal & other regulations enacted and enforced, now sadly needed. We should have too, a means of selecting, if it might be necessary

"good workmen, without having, as is now the case to resort to distant points to obtain them.

Reservations of suitable buildings should be made for the accommodation of the permanent officers of the Armory, and provision made to accommodate them better than they generally have been heretofore.

Sales may be made from time to time, after due public notice here and abroad, care being taken to appoint such times for the sale, and to offer such number of lots each time, as may be deemed best for the Government interest, and the proceeds applied exclusively or as much as may be necessary to the erection &c repair of workshops and other improvements duly approved, that may be needed to put the Armory generally and keep it in good condition."

2

Superintendent Symington received no reply to this suggestion.

He therefore raised the issue for a third time on April 10, 1848, when he wrote Col. Talcott:

"...I make this request now from the fact that some determination must speedily be come to as a great part of the dwelling houses occupied by the Armory workmen are in such ruinous condition that I have ceased to waste money upon them by attempting repairs.

More than two years back it may be recollected that I included in the Armory annual estimate an item for the construction of additional dwelling houses, which item was stricken out in your Office. Since that time, however, I have been brought to conclude that it will not be for the interest of the Government in any aspect to continue this renting system to the Armory workmen. Though necessary in the early stages of the Armory operations it is no longer so, the population of the town and neighborhood is increasing very rapidly and the resources of this and the surrounding country have been so developed that the only drawback to the commencement of rapid improvement, is the ownership by the U. States of nearly the whole of the grounds at this point.

Whilst Hble. Senator Mason was here at various times within the last few months, this matter was frequently the subject of conversation, and He I think is fully persuaded that a sale of the Government lands here would be advantageous not only to the Government by enabling to free itself of this Renting system (a source of trouble and usurpation to say nothing of loss to the U. States,) but to the neighboring counties and the State of Virginia. He will I have no doubt have communication with you regarding this."

2. Reel 23, V.10, pp.924-926.

"In the event of the sale being recommended to Congress it will be proper to provide for a Board of Competant Officers to examine and determine what portion should be reserved for the permanent use of the Government for Armory purposes, and that part to be sold should be carefully surveyed and laid off in streets and lots.

The proceeds of sale from time to time should in my view of the case be applied to improvements duly authorised by proper authority at the Armory." 3

This time, perhaps impressed by the mention of a Senator's name, Chief of Ordnance Talcott replied, writing:

"...The subject demands great consideration and being such an entire departure from the system so long pursued, the Secretary of War must have leisure to take it up in a more deliberate manner than can be done at this time.

With full concurrence as regards the evils you experience, I am not ready to agree with you as to the remedy proposed. I do not say that it is not a suitable remedy-but enquire-whether it is the best that can be adopted.... The subject will not be lost sight of and when the very pressing demands upon the time of the Secretary, will admit of his taking it in hand- I shall place it before him." 4

On December 19, 1848, Major Symington presented a summary of his views on the need for the sale of Government houses and lots to the workmen to the Ordnance Department. At the end of the same month the newspaper reported that a resolution had been introduced in Congress proposing an inquiry "into the expediency of selling so much of the public land at Harpers Ferry as may not be needed for use of the Armory." 5 6

3. Symington to Talcott, April 10, 1848, Reel 23, V.10, pp.920-922.

4. Col. Talcott to Symington, April 12, 1848, Reel 19, V.4, pp.331-332.

5. Major Symington to Ordnance Department, December 19, 1848, Reel 23, V.11, pp.1088-1089.

6. Virginia Free Press, December 28, 1848, p.2, c.4.

In the spring of 1849, Lt. Col. Henry K. Craig inspected the Harper's Ferry Armory and was converted to Major Symington's proposed solution of the housing problem. On May 8, 1849, Captain William Maynadier, of the Ordnance Department, thus informed Superintendent Symington that Col. Craig's report included the following recommendation:

"...The proposition, heretofore made by you, to dispose of a large portion of the public land at Harper's Ferry with the buildings thereon, is discussed in the report, and the measure is recommended as one that would conduce greatly to the interest of the Armory. The authority of an Act of Congress will be requisite to carry this proposition into effect; and it will be well for you to renew it at the proper time...." 7

Major Symington, following this advice, renewed his arguments on August 2, 1849; in his remarks accompanying the estimate of funds for the year ending 30 June, 1851, he stated:

"In connexion with this, I present a subject requiring immediate considerations, and one that I have at different times remarked upon, especially in the Report to your Office under Date of July 15, 1847.

It is the sale of such of the Government property, including the dwelling houses, as will not, or cannot in all time be required for the uses of the Armory.

The dwelling houses are now many of them in a greatly dilapidated condition, some almost uninhabitable, and on account of the materials used in their construction they are not capable of repair; but I have made no Estimate for a renewal of them, because the system of Government tenantry, although necessary at the time of the Armory was established, is now in my opinion from the change of circumstances, injudicious and faulty.

The interest of the money expended in erecting them, or their purchase, has never been paid, and the collection of Rent is frequently attended with strife, ill will, and often expensive law suits.

The interest of the Town itself, also calls for this measure; since the development of its great natural resources, has been begun by private enterprise, the necessity for building sites for"

"dwellings, has led to the sale and settlement of lands contiguous to the town; but remote from the place of business and inconvenient to it (South and North Bolivar), and I feel assured, the sale of these lots, by inviting persons of consideration and standing to expend their capital here, would soon lead to the establishment of a large loving & abiding community, by which the interests of the Government will also be advanced.

At the present time there is a population of several thousands who are without any municipal government whatever, and whilst the United States hold the property, an Act of Incorporation (to form a Town Government) cannot well be passed, as the question of Jurisdiction, which of right is in the United States (see Con. U.S. Art. 1, Sec. 8, Clause 16, and Art. VI, Clause 2-also Act of Congress Approved 2 Ap. 1794, and Act of Gen. Assembly of Virginia, passed Nov. 28, 1794, authorizing the purchase by the U. States of 640 acres of land, for the purpose of erecting a Magazine & Arsenal thereon") but which has never been exercised, would then have to come up and be adjusted.

Nor is this at all undesirable, for at present, the position of officers is an anomalous one, which it would be vastly preferable to have clearly and definitely arranged.

In view of these circumstances, I would urge that this measure recommended be entertained, as I am convinced, the more it is examined, the greater will appear its advantages." 8

No action was taken however and here the matter again lay until January, 1851, when Superintendent Symington twice that month repeated the need for the adoption of his plan. On February 21, 1851, Major John

Symington informed Brigadier General George Talcott, Chief of Ordnance:

"I have the honor in pursuance of the suggestion of the Honble Secty. of War, to submit the following report on the present condition of the Government land at this place, and the reasons why a change in its management is necessary.

The Government owns over three hundred acres, covering the whole space between the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, except a small portion of about Six Acres lying immediately at the point of confluence (the Wager Six Acre Reservation and Ferry Lot). A large portion of this land is so situated, as to be entirely useless for the purposes of the Armory, although well adapted for dwellings &c. The necessity, in the early days of this establishment, of providing houses for persons employed in the Armory, led to a system of granting permits to individuals to build for"

8. Symington to Ordnance Department, August 2, 1849, Reel 24, V.5, pp.417-418.

9. Symington to Talcott, Chief of Ordnance, January 21, 1851, Reel 24, V.5, p.418; Symington to Talcott, January 30, 1851, Reel 26, V.2, pp.128-130.

"themselves, and the impossibility of purchasing sites, caused leases to be granted for churches, school houses, &c., in all cases selections were made of sites, without regard to plan or order. The result is an irregular town with crooked and narrow lanes, rather than streets, and buildings mostly of a wretched character, badly planned and badly built.

The system of granting permits for dwelling sites, has long since been abandoned and the improvements purchased by Government, consequently persons desiring homes of their own, are compelled to build at a distance from the works, subjecting them to additional labor in reaching these.

It is therefore extremely desirable that such portions of the public land at this place, as are not wanted for Government purposes, should be opened for sale to individuals, particularly as the present dwellings, from their wretched construction, are rapidly becoming too bad to repair, thereby compelling a still greater number to seek houses at a distance.

I would therefore respectfully ask for authority to have a town plat laid out, which, accepting the present position of streets, &c, as far as will be consistent with the convenience and healthfulness of the future town, shall straighten and widen the streets as much as the natural conformation of the hills will permit, and giving to the building lots or blocks such dimensions as will be found most suitable. Any future lease for church or school purposes may be required to conform to this plan." 10

The project first suggested by Symington in 1846 was thus finally being seriously considered and progress was being made on several fronts.

In September, 1850, a petition was introduced in the General Assembly of Virginia for an act to incorporate Harpers Ferry as a town, thus permit-

11
ting the establishment of a town government. The Act incorporating

12
Harpers Ferry was passed in March, 1851. The first election for a

Mayor, Recorder and Councilmen of the new Town Government was held in

13
May, 1851, and Mr. Jeremiah Fuss, a Master Builder, was elected as the

14
first Mayor of Harpers Ferry. The first By-Laws and Ordinances of the

10. Reel 24, V.4, pp.321-323.

11. Virginia Free Press, October 11, 1850, p.3, c.3.

12. Ibid., March 21, 1851, p.2, c.5.

13. Ibid., April 25, 1851, p.3, c.3.

14. Ibid., May 9, 1851, p.2, c.2; other officials elected are also listed in the same article.

15

Corporation of Harpers Ferry were enacted in August, 1851, (extracts from the Ordnances relating to the construction and repair of streets and sidewalks will be found in Appendix I of this report).

On July 9, 1851, Bvt. Col. Benjamin Huger was appointed as the new Superintendent of the Harpers Ferry Armory, but did not report for duty at Harpers Ferry until September of that year.

15a

While a town government was being formed, Major Symington continued his efforts and in August, 1851, convinced Mr. C. M. Conrad, the Secretary of War, of the feasibility of his plans. On August 9, 1851, Superintendent Symington notified Col Henry K. Craig of the Ordnance Department of this development:

"On the visit of inspection a few days since of the Honble Secty of War, he was pleased to concur in the propriety of the measure that I have so long recommended, that is the sale of such portions of the Government land at this place, as will not be needed for the purposes of the Armory, preparatory to which a survey be made and town plat laid off, with streets, buildings, blocks, and reservations.

To this end he directed me to present the case to him in a report which I now respectfully do.

The accompanying paper exhibits copies and extracts of my several letters to the department touching this subject, which as they fully express my views, I present in connection with this, as my report..."

Included in the report were extracts from Symington's letters of July 15, 1847, August 2, 1849, January 21, 1851, January 30, 1851, and February 21, 1851, all of which have been quoted or cited previously in this report.

16

On August 19, 1851, Chief of Ordnance George Talcott submitted Symington's Report to the Secretary of War, commenting on the study as

15. Virginia Free Press, August 7, 1851, p.3, c.1, 2, 3.

15a. General Order No. 9, July 9, 1851-of Adjacent General, Reel 24, V.6, p.517.

16. Reel 24, V.5, pp.414-419.

follows:

"...I concur in the opinion with Major Symington as to the propriety of selling so much of the site for the Armory as has become useless for military purposes. It may be done, I conceive, under the authority contained in the act of March 3, 1818. As regards the mode of making the sale, I would suggest that the Superintendent of the Armory be directed to cause a plat to be prepared and submitted, through this Office, to the War Department, shewing the exact boundaries between the land to be sold and that to be retained; and dividing the former into suitable lots; with Streets laid out in the best regard to convenience, that the conformation of the ground and the present arrangement of the town will admit. Perhaps it will be better to confide the division of the land and the laying out of lots and streets to a Board, to be composed of the Superintendents of the two Armories and a third Ordnance Officer, with directions to consult, on the subject of the streets & lots with authorities of the town of Harper's Ferry.

When this matter has been arranged, the part to be sold may be offered at public auction in single lots, or such other subdivisions, as may be considered most advisable, reserving the right to bid in, where a reasonable price is not offered, and to dispose of such parcels afterwards, at private sales, for not less than the highest price, which has been bid.

Should special legislation be considered necessary to authorize the sale of a part of the site, then I would suggest a recommendation to Congress to pass an act granting that authority, and directing the sale to be made under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe." 17

Talcott's recommendations and Symington's report were approved by Secretary of War Conrad on August 26, 1851. On August 28, Col. H. K. Craig, of the Ordnance Office, informed Symington of this approval and ordered the Superintendent:

"You will accordingly proceed at once with the preparation of the plat mentioned in the report, consulting on the subject of the streets and lots with the authorities of the town of Harper's Ferry, as far as may be necessary. On Col. Huger's (the new Superintendent of the Harpers Ferry Armory) arrival at the Armory, the whole subject will undergo your joint revision & your concurrent conclusions will be reported to this Office; with such remarks and suggestions, if any, as you may deem proper, either for explanation, or in regard to farther action in the premises." 18

17. Reel 20, V.1, p.80.

18. Reel 19, V.5, p.468.

On September 2, 1851, Col. Craig notified Major Symington:

"...That Bvt. Lt. Col. Ripley (Superintendent of the Springfield Armory), yourself and Bvt. Col. Huger are detailed as a Board for the transaction of the business stated in the letter before referred to (Craig's letter of August 28)....the time of the meeting of the Board has been fixed for the 22nd instant, unless an earlier day be, in the mean time, designated.

You will, however, go on with the preparation of the plat, and such other measures as can be attended to before the meeting of the Board, and that may tend to facilitate the transactions of its business." 19

The board reported to the Ordnance Office on September 24, 1851, as follows (see Drawing No. NM-HF-9005-S. H. Brown's 1852 Map of Harpers Ferry; Block designations as inserted in the report by the writer refer to S. H. Brown's 1869 Map of Harpers Ferry-Drawing No. NM-HF-3001):

"The Board of Officers directed to convene at Harper's Ferry Armory agreeably to the instructions contained in letter from the Colonel of Ordnance, dated September 2nd 1851, met at this place on the 22 of Sept.

Present

Lt. Col. Ripley

Major Symington

B. Col. Huger

The Board after carefully examining the grounds &c report, that, Major Symington after consulting with the authorities of the town, had employed a surveyor who was engaged in making a plat of the place, shewing the streets, the ground to be preserved for public use, and the lots it would be proper to sell.

As this survey would be a work requiring several weeks to complete, the Board found it impossible to wait until the Plat now being made was finished, they are therefore unable to accompany this report with the plan.

They now present their views of the proper course to be pursued and the drawing must be completed at leisure by the Commanding Officer of the Post.

The Board recommend to be reserved for the use of the Armory:

1st.-All the ground on which the Musket Factory is situated, and all between this and the Six Acre Reservation- All the land along this reservation and the road (Washington Street) [Blocks AA and BB on the 1869 map] to the head of the ravine (running down towards the new barrel welding shop), till opposite the present dwelling No. 97 [which was located on Camp Hill, Block E, Lot No. 1 on 1852 and 1869 maps]-thence on the other side of the ravine to the edge of the cliffs on the bank of the Potomac, following the upper edge of these cliffs to the Extreme western boundary of the public lands."

19. Reel 19, V.5, p.469.

"2nd- On the Shenandoah side.

The present lumber yard [Z on the 1848 map or Shenandoah Street Block G on 1869 map] and public stable (T on the 1848 map or Shenandoah Street, Block F, Lot No. 2 on 1869 map) with a lot uniting them (Shenandoah Street, Block F, Lot No. 1 on 1869 map), and allowing room enough to extend the stable yards.

3rd-The Rifle factory, and the upper part of the island on which it is situated, which is now occupied by dwelling houses (see Government Dwelling Houses No. 155 to 169 inclusive in lists in Chapter IX of this report). These dwellings should be removed, and this part of the island reserved for future use, and to protect the bank of the Canal by which it is bounded.

4th-The Commanding Officers quarters (Bldg. No. 25, Camp Hill, Storer College Lot on 1869 map) and grounds attached; the Paymaster's Quarters (Bldg. No. 32, Camp Hill, Storer College Lot on 1869 map) & grounds, also a sufficient quantity of ground between them and Washington Street, to erect quarters for the Officers of the Armory, &c.

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 (the Master Armorer lived in House No. 2 on Shenandoah Street, Block B, Lot No. 4 on 1852 map or Shenandoah Street, Block B, Lot No. 3 on 1869 map in 1851). All other dwellings should be removed from the land reserved.

For the benefit of the town, besides the opening of and better location of streets, and open spaces at certain points as will be shown on the plat (Public Square and Union Square on 1852 and 1869 maps); It is recommended, that, the present market house (U on the 1848 map or Market House on the 1852 and 1869 maps) with proper space about it extending down to the Shenandoah river for a public landing, be reserved for the use of the town.

Also, for its use, a cemetery (Pine Grove Cemetery on 1852 and 1869 maps), permission to locate which has already been granted, will be surveyed and marked on the plan.

The Board further recommend that sales should be made from time to time of such parts of the public land not reserved, as are in demand for building lots, all possible care being taken to prevent its falling into the hands of speculators; and as recommended by the Colonel of Ordnance in his report to the Secty. of War dated August 19, 1851, reserving the right to bid in any lots offered for sale and to dispose of them afterwards at private sale for not less than the highest price which has been bid." 20

On December 2, 1851, Col. Craig of the Ordnance Office transmitted the above report, together with a letter of Superintendent Huger of November 29,

20. Reel 24, V.8, pp.802-806.

and accompanying plats to the Secretary of War, with the following comments:

"...I concur fully with the Board as to the ground to be sold, and that to be retained, but am of the opinion that before any offer is made of the land for sale, the Blocks bounded by the present and proposed streets should be divided into Lots, and numbered; and a Plat containing the names of all the streets, and the numbers of the Lots, be recorded in the Clerk's office of the County; that the Lots may be described in the Deeds by their respective numbers, as is usual in the sale of town lots. It will be almost impossible to describe the Lots in any other way than by numbers, and even if the Block were to be sold entire, a recorded Plat would still be necessary in order to describe them by the streets which bound them.

As the Deeds must necessarily be executed by the Secretary of War, your approval of the manner in which the land shall be described is respectfully asked, before any further action is taken in laying off the lots." 21

Secretary of War C. M. Conrad approved Col. Craig's recommendation on December 26, 1851, and the Chief of Ordnance therefore ordered Superintendent Huger on December 29, 1851:

"...In conformity with this decision, you will have a Plat of the whole U. S. land prepared and that which is to be sole, including the old Arsenal site (Shenandoah Street Block A and B on 1852 and 1869 maps), laid off thereon in lots and numbered. The Plat must contain also the names of all the streets, those running N & S, as well as those E & W, and in giving names, it may perhaps be well to advise with the Town Council.

Whether a Block, as laid off on the Plat transmitted with your letter the 29th Ultio. had best be divided into five lots or twenty; whether they shall run through from street to Street, or how far they shall run back; whether you will lay Lot No. 1 in Block 20 or Block A, or make an unbroken series of Lot numbers, without naming the blocks; and whether all the lots in any one Block had not best have the same extent of front, is left to your judgement. Lots which want much cutting down or filling up, may not at first meet with purchasers; but will hereafter. When they are small, a purchaser will take two or more adjoining.

One copy of the Plat when finished must be sent to this Office. What course is to be taken to make it a matter of County Record, I do not know. If that can not be done, take advice and inform me what other course had best be pursued...

The Surveyors plat which accompanies your letter of 29th Ultimor is herewith returned. Would it now be better to have the Plat which is to be made a matter of Record, drawn to a somewhat smaller scale?" 22

21. Reel 20, V.1, pp.93-94.

22. Reel 19, V.5, pp.482-483.

S. Howell Brown, the Surveyor, completed the desired plat of the town
23
in April, 1852. On April 18, 1852, a great flood struck Harpers Ferry which
did much damage to Government dwelling houses located on Shenandoah Street.
This, together with an apparent delay in arranging the final details of the
proposed sale, led Superintendent Benjamin Huger to remark to Col. Craig of
the Ordnance Office on June 3, 1852:

"As the recommendations of the board of Officers made last September
advising the sale of certain portions of the public land at this post, has
been approved by the Secretary of War, individuals now occupying dwellings
on the land proposed to be sold, are desirous of knowing, if it is to be
so disposed of. You are aware the late flood either destroyed or injured
many buildings; and all fences and out-buildings on the low grounds are washed
away. Who is to repair them? The occupants will not do so, if they are to
be sold, and I cannot, under the circumstances put the U. States to the ex-
pense of their repair. So no repairs are made, and many families are exposed
to much annoyance and great inconvenience, and as the season advances, to
liability to sickness, for want of a final decision of the subject.

May I urge on you the necessity for getting such a decision." 24

On June 10, 1852, Secretary of War C. M. Conrad finally approved the
report of the Board of Officers, dated September 24, 1851, and S. H. Brown's
Map of Harpers Ferry. The Secretary further ordered that:

"...The Superintendent of the Armory is hereby directed to cause to be
sold at public auction to the highest bidder, such of the lots as the Board
of Officers..., did by this report of 24 September last, recommend to be
sold.

These lots as designated and described, on a plat lately prepared by
order of said Board, by S. Howell Brown Deputy Surveyor of Jefferson County,
Virginia, to which I have this day affixed my signature, by Streets and
Figures.

From this sale will be excepted such lots or portions of ground as are
recommended in said report of 24 September, to be reserved. Also such other
lots or portions of ground as are designated on the plat above described as
the sites of Churches, parsonages, or public institutions of any kind, leav-
ing to the persons or Corporations interested in said reservations to apply
to Congress for a title to the Same, which I have no power to grant."

23. See date and signature on the map.

24. Reel 26, V.3, p.284.

"TERMS OF SALE.

One fourth Cash payable on the day of the Sale and the remainder in two equal instalments of one and two years from the date of the Sale. If the whole amount of each instalment shall be punctually paid when the same shall fall due, one interest shall be charged thereon, otherwise interest at the rate of Six per cent per annum shall be charged on such instalments from the date of Sale until the final payment thereof.

Workmen employed at the United States Armory, will be allowed to purchase not exceeding two lots on the following terms, viz.

One fourth cash, and the remainder at one, two, three and four years without interest, provided the purchasers agree that an amount equal to the 1/12 part of each annual instalment shall be deducted from their monthly wages. If any workmen should cease to be in the employment of the Government, he shall thence forward as regards instalment remaining due on property purchased by him, be subject to the same conditions as other purchasers.

No deed of conveyance for any of the lots will be made until the price thereof shall have been paid in full." 25

On the 11th of June Col. Craig forwarded to Col. Huger the form of advertisement for the sale of lots, to be placed in the newspapers. This notice appeared in the local newspaper on June 17, 1852. 26

The remainder of June and most of July were taken up with arranging final details as to the Maps, discounts, forms of Bonds to be signed by purchasers, and the form of agreement to be signed by workmen to authorize the Armory to deduct monthly installments from their wages as payments towards property they might purchase from the United States. 27

On July 1, 1852, S. Howell Brown was paid \$340.00 "For 42½ days surveying"

25. Reel 24, V.8, pp.805-806.

26. Craig to Huger, June 11, 1852, Reel 19, V.5, p.502; also Secretary of War to Craig, June 11, 1852, with form, Reel 24, V.8, pp.799-800. Virginia Free Press, June 17, 1852, p.3, c.2.

27. See Huger to Craig, July 17, 1852, Maps, Reel 26, V.3, 290. Huger to Craig, Received July 19, 1852, discounts, bonds, etc., Reel 26, V.3, pp.292-296. Craig to Secretary of War, June 21, 1852, Photostats, V.3, p.25. Craig to Huger, June 23, 1852, Reel 19, V.6, p.504. Huger to Craig, July 14, 1852, Reel 26, V.4, pp.317-323. Bonds & agreements.

"& Dividing the United States land at Harper's Ferry into Lot & constructing
3 maps of same, including the services of chain carriers, Paper for Maps,
and stakes for corner of lots @ \$8 per day." 28

On July 23 Col. Craig informed Col. Huger of a special order of the
Secretary of War:

"The Secretary of War has this day given his sanction to the following
rule.

'It being for the interest of the Armory, that the workmen should not
be unnecessarily distributed in their residence in consequence of the sale
of lots at Harpers Ferry on the 1st of September, the Commanding Officer of
the Armory is authorized to appraise such of the lots to be sold, with the
buildings and improvements thereon, as are occupied by Armory workmen; whose
services it is desirable to retain, and to dispose of them, at private sale,
to such occupants, at the appraised value. No workman will be permitted to
purchase at private sale, more than the lot on which he resides, together
with the improvements thereon; and any lot offered as above, and declined
to be purchased at the appraised value, will be disposed of at public sale'

You will have these directions accordingly carried into effect." 29

On July 26, Superintendent Huger requested permission from Col. Craig,
Chief of Ordnance, "to employ two persons, not connected with the Armory, as
appraisers to decide on the value of these lots and buildings and that on
this report I should decide on the value of each lot applied for. As there
will be a large number and it must be a work of some time such service could
not be asked for gratuitously, I therefore propose these appraisers be paid
out of the proceeds of the sale, and suggest \$4 a day as suitable pay to
secure the services of suitable & competent men.

I also request I may be authorised to employ an Agent instead of an
auctioneer to superintend all the business of the sale at Public Auction on
the 1st of September next, and that he should be paid a commission not"

28. U. S. to Brown, July 1, 1852, Reel 18, V.12, p.1212.

29. Craig to Huger, July 23, 1852, Reel 19, V.6, p.510.

"exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the amount of sale made.

I propose employing for this business Mr. S. Howell Brown the surveyor who laid off the lots, I consider him a responsible & suitable person, and if another is employed I will have to engage him also to resurvey & mark out each lot. I would prefer he should do it all for one price."

The requested permission to employ two appraisers and Mr. Brown as an agent was granted on July 28. On August 6, Col. Huger informed Col. Craig that "Mr. John Moler, a farmer of the neighborhood, and a landed proprietor & Mr. J. [Jeremiah] Fuss, a carpenter & practical builder have been invited & consented to act as Appraisers." Mr. Moler and Mr. Fuss completed their task of appraising each Government Dwelling House and of submitting an individual report on each building on August 20, 1852. They were paid a total of \$56.00 for this work.

On August 31, 1852, 52 Government Dwelling Houses were sold at private sale for their appraised value to Armory workmen at a gross total of \$31,525.00. Of this total, \$8,153.00 was received in cash and bonds issued for the remaining amount due.

30. Huger to Craig, July 26, 1852, Reel 26, V.4, pp.335-336.

31. Craig to Huger, July 28, 1852, Reel 19, V.6, pp.512-513.

32. Huger to Craig, August 6, 1852, Reel 24, V.8, p.751; also Huger's orders and directions to Moler and Fuss, August 7, 1852, Reel 24, V.7, p.613.

33. Reports of John Moler and J. Fuss, Approved by Col. Huger, August 20, 1852, Reel 24, V.7, pp.618-670.

34. Huger to Craig, October 4, 1852, Reel 24, V.6, p.604.

35. "Account Sales at Harper's Ferry Armory, made by Benjamin Huger, Bvt. Col. of Ordnance, Comm'dg., of Lots and Dwelling Houses there occupied by workmen in the Armory, and sold to them by order of the Secretary of War, at a value, ascertained by the Appraisement, hereto annexed, of John Mohler and Jeremiah Fuss, in August, 1852, Harper's Ferry Armory, August 31, 1852," Reel 24, V.7, p.614-617; Also Huger to Craig, October 4, 1852, Reel 24, V.6, p.604.

On September 1 and 2, 1852, the four remaining Government Dwelling houses that had not been sold at their appraised value on August 31, and 220 vacant lots were sold at public auction to the highest bidders for a gross total of \$27,121.83. Of this total \$7,084.92 was received in cash and bonds were issued for the remaining amount due. ³⁶ On October 4, 1852, S. Howell Brown was paid \$678.04 as his commission, 2½ per cent, for the Houses and Lots sold ³⁷ at public auction.

On October 15, 1852, Superintendent Huger then raised the question of what to do with the money resulting of the two sales, writing to Col. Craig:

"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 improvements, 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 building now occupied by these are on lots to be sold [The Master Armorer's house was located on Block B, Shenandoah Street, Lot No. 4 on the 1852 map or Lot No. 3 on the 1869 map]. 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.

2nd. To grade and drain the grounds- great injury has been done, & more expense incurred from year to year in repairing damages done by wash into the canals then would be required so to grade & drain the grounds as to prevent the wash.

Although many improvements have been made by my predecessors, these were necessarily confined to building workshops &c. They were unable to do any thing towards getting the grounds in order.

3rdly. To open good & convenient roads between the different public establishments.

I suppose there can be no doubt as to the benefits of these improvements,"

36. "Account Sales of Houses and Vacant Lots of land at the Harper's Ferry Armory, made on the 1st and 2nd days of September 1852, under an Order of the Secretary of War, by S. Howell Brown, Agent. Harpers Ferry, September 2nd 1852," Reel 24, V.7, p.682-691. Also Huger to Craig, September 4, 1852, Reel 24, V.7, p.674, and Huger to Craig, October 6, 1852, Reel 24, V.7, p.672.

37. U. S. to S. Howell Brown, bill, October 4, 1852, Reel 18, V.12, p.1214.

"the legality of this disposition of the funds I must leave to higher authority to decide..." 38

On October 19, Col. Craig, Chief of Ordnance, submitted Huger's suggestion to the Secretary of War, recommending it for approval. 39 The plan however was not approved by the Secretary of War on the grounds that: "I do not think it would be regular for this Department to determine what use should be made of the money arising from the sale of the lots- The money has never been appropriated by Congress, and they alone have the right to dispose of it. It must therefore be deposited in the Treasury, but not to the credit of any existing appropriation-leaving to Congress to appropriate whatever sums may be required for repairs & improvements at the Armory." 40 There the matter rested until 1856.

In January, 1853, it was decided to hold a second public sale of the 43 remaining vacant lots that had been offered for sale on September 1 and 2, 1852, but not sold at this time. 41 These lots were all located on Camp Hill in Blocks 2, J, O, R, S, T, U and V (see 1869 map for red colored lots in those blocks). Superintendent Huger informed the Ordnance Office he would proceed to advertise the sale, but pointed out:

"You are no doubt aware that only a few lots on the cliffs, in Blocks R.S.T.U- and the larger Lots in Block 2 at the Northwest extremity of public land, can now be sold. The valuable property in Blks. A & B Shenandoah Sts,"

38. Huger to Craig, October 15, 1852, Reel 24, V.8, pp.777-778.

39. Craig to Secretary of War C. M. Conrad, October 19, 1852, Reel 20, V.2, p.110.

40. Decision of Secretary of War Conrad, dated November 12, 1852, as cited in Craig's letter of November 13, 1852, to Huger, Reel 19, V.6, pp.545-546.

41. Col. Craig's orders to Col Huger, January 31, 1853, Reel 19, V.6, pp.555-556.

"& the lots & houses belonging to the U. S. in the 6 acre reservation, cannot be sold until the Arsenal &c., and the dwellings occupied by Master Armorer & Clerks are replaced by others." 42

Col. Craig replied that it was not intended to sell Shenandoah Street Blocks A and B and the 6 acre reservation lots at that time, but inquired⁴³ if there were not other unsold lots available for sale. Col. Huger answered, stating that there were no other such lots available and added "the Lots unsold in J, Q, & N, are on the sides of a very steep Ravine of no value as building lots, and can only be used as a roadway from the lots above to the⁴⁴ road on the bank of the canal."

The second public sale of government land was held on February 17, 1853, but no land was sold, for as Superintendent Huger informed Col. Craig, "The highest bid was, Five dollars, at which price I would not allow any lot to be sold, and the sale was stopped by my direction, in conformity with the⁴⁵ instructions given by the Secy of War on the subject." Thus after the public sale of September 1 and 2, 1853, no further government land at Harpers Ferry was again sold to private individuals until 1869.

In reviewing the history of the sale of land at Harpers Ferry for the benefit of the new Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, who was unfamiliar with the reasons for this transaction, Col. Craig remarked:

"There were 110 purchasers by auction, and 50 by appraisement. All these purchasers have paid more or less of the purchase money. Only 18 of the pur--"

42. Huger to Craig, February 2, 1853, Reel 24, V.9, p.856.

43. Craig to Huger, February 3, 1853, Reel 19, V.6, pp.557-558.

44. Huger to Craig, February 5, 1853, Reel 24, V.9, p.860.

45. Huger to Craig, February 17, 1853, Reel 24, V.9, p.862.

"chasers by auction, and 4 of those by appraisement have paid in full prior to the present, and to all these Deeds have been given.... There are consequently 138 Deeds yet to be given..." 46

By 1869 all but 42 of the vacant lots sold at public auction on September 1 and 2, 1852, has been paid for in full and every one of the Government Dwelling Houses sold for their appraised value on August 31, 1852, had been paid for in full. 47

Major Symington's plan was thus put into effect and was generally successful in achieving its desired effects. All of the 43 lots still not paid for in 1869, with the exception of one lot, were located on Camp Hill at the far northwestern extremity of Harpers Ferry, and none had ever been improved in the period 1852 to 1869.

Final disposition of the proceeds of the 1852 sale

In January, 1856, some of the purchasers of Government Lots at the 1852 sale organized themselves into a group to request a change in the terms of sale under which they had acquired their property. A petition was drawn up and submitted to their Representative in Congress, Charles J. Faulkner, to be presented through him to the Secretary of War. 48

Their petition read:

"We the undersigned purchasers of Lots at the Government sale at Harpers Ferry, Va. on the 1st and 2nd Days of September, 1852, would respectfully"

46. Craig to Davis, April 7, 1855, Reel 20, V.2, p.198.

47. 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. (West Va.), pp.2, 9, 10, 11, and 12; also see blue areas on 1869 map.

48. Daniel J. Young to Faulkner, January 7, 1856, Reel 26, V.6, pp.502-504. Faulkner to Col. Craig, to be forwarded to Secretary of War, January 9, 1856, Reel 26, V.5, p.500.

"beg leave to make the following statement in reference thereto.

Prior to the sale, strong inducements were held out on the part of the Government for the Armorers to purchase Lots, with an express understanding that one fourth of the purchase money was to be paid on the day of sale, and the residue in four years; one forty-eighth part to be deducted from the monthly wages of the purchaser. Thus leaving the impression with an implied assurance that the purchasers would have constant employment, during the time specified to pay for the same. It was further promised on the part of the Commandant, then in charge of the Armory, that the purchaser's money arising from the afforesaid sale, would be applied to the opening, grading and otherwise improving the streets & property, thus conveyed from the United States to the Armorers.

Your memorialists conceive it proper here to state that ever since the sale in question, the operations of the Armory have been conducted upon a very limited scale, and as a consequence a large majority of the purchasers were thrown out of employment, to a greater or less degree, which disqualified them from paying their monthly installments.

We further represent, that instead of the proceeds of the sale being applied as promised prior to the sale, that it has never been complied with and instead of the property being enhanced in value by the sale, it has depreciated at least fifty per cent.

We therefore in conclusion, respectfully ask in view of the foregoing facts, that you will make our cause your cause, and endeavor to be instrumental in bringing about such arrangements, as will tend to a fair and equitable settlement of the matter in question..." 49

Col. Craig, Chief of Ordnance, commented to the Secretary of War on January 22, on this petition as follows:

"...As to the first statement of the memorial in respect to the terms of payment, I will quote from the advertisement of the sale as follows--'Workmen employed at the United States Armory will be allowed to purchase not exceeding two lots on the following terms, viz. one fourth cash, and the remainder at one, two, three and four years, without interest, provided they agree that an amount equal to one twelfth part of each annual instalment shall be deducted from their monthly wages.' This was not intended to convey the idea, nor do I think it was then the impression, that the instalments were not to be paid in case the purchaser ceased to be employed at the Armory, for the employment might cease by his own act.

As to the second statement of the Memorial, that the money arising from these sales was to be applied to opening, grading & improving streets &c, I must state that no such promise was authorized by the Secretary of War, or by this office. Colonel Huger, then Commanding Officer of the Armory, did however on the 15th of October 1852 (about six weeks after the sale) ask authority to apply the proceeds of these sales to the building of quarters,"

"opening and grading of road, &c, but upon its being submitted to the Secretary he disapproved of it.

As to what the memorialist stated in respect to the limited quantity of work done at the Armory since these sales were made, and in consequence of which a majority of the purchasers have been thrown out of employment; I would remark that every signer of this memorial who was a workman of the Armory at the time when these sales were made, is found on the last Pay Rolls received (3rd Quarter 1855) as still in employment, with one exception...

As to the statement that the property has depreciated in value since the date of the sale; I would remark that if this were admitted to the fullest extent, it is one of the incidents that may occur as to every purchase, whether of real estate or other matter.

The whole number of purchasers of these lots were 159, armory workmen and other persons (some of the latter taking from two to six lots each). Of this number 125 were workmen whose names appear on the Armory Pay Rolls of that time, and only 55 of these are, properly signers of this memorial...

Deeds have been executed and delivered for 50 of these Lots, and if any abatement or alteration of the terms should be made in favor of those who have not paid in full, we may expect that all the others will ask like concession."

To further back up their petition, the Harpers Ferry group secured a signed statement from Mr. John Moler and Mr. J. Fuss, the appraisers in 1852, which was submitted through channels on January 21, 1856. The former appraisers wrote in part:

"...In reply we beg leave to state, that in our estimation, the property sold by the United States, in this place, at the time referred to [1852], has fallen very much in value below the amount for which it was sold. It would be safe we presume, to venture the assertion, that the depreciation has been, by average computation, as much as fifty per cent.

We deem it proper to say that the depreciation in the value of the improved property [that is, lots with former Government Dwelling Houses on them], is apparently, rather inconsiderable; but the vacant lots have undoubtedly declined to a very great extent-in many instances we believe, to the amount of one hundred per cent, or more."

This letter was also duly forwarded to the Secretary of War by Col.

Craig, who remarked:

50. Craig to Davis, January 22, 1856, Reel 20, V.3, pp.223-224.

51. Daniel J. Young to Faulkner, January 21, 1856, Reel 26, V.5, p.497.

52. Moler & Fuss to D. J. Young & others, January 19, 1856, Reel 26, V.5, p.498.

"...Messrs. Fuss & Moler now say that the depreciation in the value of the improved lots is inconsiderable, while that of the vacant lots is great. Messrs. Fuss & Moler were appointed as appraisers of the improved Lots. The unimproved ones were sold by auction." 53

The campaign of the memorialists thus came to an unsuccessful end as far as the War Department was concerned, because of the impossibility of changing contracts already entered into four years previously. In Congress, however, no doubt spurred on by Charles J. Faulkner, the petitioners had better luck. 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 purchase of other lots of land and the improvement of the public property at that place. 54 A total of \$33,725.27 had been collected from 1852

to October, 1854, from this source and was available to be expended on improvements at Harpers Ferry. 55

On June 28, 1856, Col. Craig, Chief of Ordnance, therefore, informed Superintendent Henry W. Clowe that the Secretary of War had approved the expenditure of the proceeds of the 1852 sale for the following objects:

- "1. Purchase of (Wager) Lot No. 17 [to be made into a street]-----\$1,466.00
2. Erection of three quarters (Master Armorer's new house-----\$18,000.00
Present Bldg. No. 36; Paymaster's Clerk's Quarters, Bldg. No. 30-Storer College,
on Camp Hill; Superintendent's Clerk's Quarters, Bldg. No. 31-Storer College
on Camp Hill-see 1869 map)
3. Grading and opening streets----- 5,613.20
4. Repairs of finishing shop, Rifle Factory----- 2,860.00
5. Enclosing grounds of new magazine and stock house----- 1,000.00"

53. Craig to Secretary Davis, February 11, 1856, Reel 20, V.3, p.226.

54. Secretary of War to Secretary of the 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.

55. Col. Craig to Secretary of War Davis, May 3, 1856, Reel 20, V.3, pp.231-232. Also, Craig to Superintendent Henry W. Clowe, May 10, 1856, Reel 19, V.9, pp.862-863.

"6. Cleaning well on Fillmore Street and Pump-----	200.00
7. Completing 'protection & improvement Rifle Factory-----	3,993.00
8. Filling, grading & paving East end at N. Cliff Street-----	357.50
(at Wager Lot No. 13, which had been recently purchased by the U.S. and the large building removed to widen the street at that poin[?]).	
9. Extending Arsenal Square-----	2,917.00
10. Removing building from [Wager] Lot 17 (to open a new street[?])	200.00
	\$36,606.70"

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Thus, undoubtedly as a result of the petition of lot purchasers in January, 1856, the proceeds of the 1852 sale of houses and lots at Harpers Ferry were spent in 1856 and 1857 substantially as suggested by Superintendent Benjamin Huger on October 15, 1852. By June 30, 1856, a total of \$48,545.29 had been collected from the sale of lots, and of this sum \$10,734.86 had been expended by that date for other purposes. The amount of money due for houses and lots, but not yet paid, amounted to \$10,101.54 on June 30, 1856.

57

56. Craig to Clowe, June 28, 1856, Reel 19, V.9, p.871.

57. Receipts, Expenditures, and Deposits for Lots at Harpers Ferry, Reel 18, V.12, pp.1205-1207.

CHAPTER IX

DATA ON INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT DWELLING HOUSES AND THEIR LOCATIONS, 1845 to 1869

In this chapter we will present the data available that describes the individual government dwelling houses and their use in the 1845 to 1852 period, and also an account of the general cleanup of substandard Government dwellings at Harpers Ferry which took place between 1845 and 1854. We shall conclude the chapter with a description of the dwelling houses retained by the Government for Armory use from 1859 to 1869 and locate each house on the 1869 map.

We begin by presenting a "corrected" survey of government dwelling houses for the years 1845 to 1852, giving the number of the house, a description of the house, its appraised value, its location on S. H. Brown's Map of 1852, and the final disposition of the structure, E.G, whether sold in 1852, demolished by the Government as useless, or retained by the Government as a dwelling house for Armory employees. It is necessary to "correct" these lists from a number of sources because the Armory clerks who prepared these documents often became themselves "confused" and sometimes located buildings on the wrong lots. The sources for this final list of dwelling houses are as follows:

- (1). "List of United States Dwelling Houses at Harpers Ferry 30 June 1848".³
- (2). "List of Dwelling Houses belonging to the United States at Harpers Ferry, December 31, 1850."⁴
- (3). "List of Dwelling Houses at Harpers Ferry Per Inventory June 30, 1851 Corrected to December 31, 1852."⁵
- (4). "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."⁶
- (5). "Appraised Value of Lots & Houses Occupied by Armory Workmen, Harpers Ferry Armory, August 21, 1852" and "Account Sales at Valuation. Lots and Dwelling Houses - Harpers Ferry Armory, 31 August 1852."⁷

No. of Building	Description	Class	Valuation	Where Situated Brown's Map	Final Disposition of
1	Brick 2 story, slate roof	1	\$2,700	Musket Factory Yard	Converted into Armory Offices by 1850
2	Brick 2 story, slate roof (Bldg. No. 34-35)	1	2,700	Shenandoah St., Block B. Lot 2.	Master Armorer's Quarters to 1858
3	Brick 2 story, slate roof	1	2,700	Sh. St. Bk.C-Lot 1,	Sold at auction
4	Part of bldg. No.3	-	-	" " " "	Sept. 1 & 2, 1852 for \$2,505.00
5	Brick, 2 story, shingle roof	11	650	Sh. St.Bk.C-Lot2	Sold for 650, 8/31/52 to Armory workmen
6	Brick 2 story shingle roof	10	600	Sh. St. Bk. C- Lot 3	Sold for \$600, 8/31/52 to Armory workman
7	Stone, 2 story, shingle roof (Bldg. No. 45)	3	2,000	Sh.St. Lot 1	Reserved for U.S.Use.
8	Brick, 2 story, shingle roof	13	400	Sh.St.Bk.C-lot4	Sold for \$400,8/31/52 to Armory workman.

4. National Archive R.G. 153, Judge Advocate General, Abandoned Military Reservation File No. 34. Harpers Ferry Photostatic Collection, Map Case Drawer No. 4.
5. Reel 18, v. 12, p. 1177-1183.
6. National Archives R. G. 156. War Dept Ordnance, Lr. H.-330-August 28, 1852. H. F. Photostatic Collection Map Case, Drawer 3-Map No. 82.
7. Reel 24, v.7, p. 609-611; 616-617.
2. Reel 15, v.12, p. 612-617.

No. of Building	Description	Class	Valuation	Where Situated Brown's Map	Final Disposition of
9	Brick, 1 story, shingle roof	11	\$ 600	Sh. St.Bk.C-Lot5	Sold 8/31/52, \$600 to Armory workman
10	Stone, 2 story, shingle roof	10	800	Sh.St.Bk.C-Lot6	Sold 8/31/52, 800 to Armory workman
11	Brick, 1 story, shingle roof	11	375	Sh. St.Bk.D-Lot1	Sold 8/31/52, \$375 to Armory workman.
12	Wooden, 1 story, shingle roof	15	100	Sh.St.Bk.D-Lot 2	Demolished 5/31/51
13	Wooden, 2 story, shingle roof	12	250	Sh.St.Bk.D-Lot 2	Demolished 5/31/51
14	Wooden, 2 story, shingle roof	12	250	Sh.St.Bk.D-Lot 3	Demolished 5/31/51
15	Wooden, 1 story, shingle roof	13	200	Sh.St.Bk.D-Lot 3	Demolished 5/31/51
16	Brick, 2 story, slate roof	4	1,100	Sh.St.Bk.D-Lot 4	Sold 8/31/52, \$1100 to Armory workman
17	Brick, 1 story, shingle roof	10	500	Sh.St.Bk.D-Lot 5	Sold 8/31/52, \$500, to Armory workman
18	Wood, 1 story, shingle roof	13		Sh.St. Bk.D-Lot 5	Sold with House 17
19	Brick, 2 story, shingle roof	8	600	Sh.St.Bk.E-Lot 1	Sold 8/31/52, \$600 to Armory workman
20	Wood, 1 story, shingle roof	13	200	Sh.St.Bk.E-Lot 2	Demolished 5/31/51
21	Wood, 1 story, shingle roof	13	200	Sh.St.Bk.E-Lot 3	Demolished 5/31/51
22	Stone, 2 story, shingle roof	10	400	Sh.St.Bk.E-Lot 4	sold, 8/31/52, \$400 to Armory workman
23	Wood, 2 story, shingle roof	10	550	Sh.St.Bk.E.Lot 5	Sold, 8/31/52 \$550 to Armory workman
24	Wood, 1 story, shingle roof	9	-	Sh.St.Bk.E. Lot 6	sold with House 23
25	Brick 2 story, shingle roof	7	600	Sh.St.	reserved for U.S.Use.
26	Brick 1 story, shingle roof	10	400	Sh.St.	reserved for U.S.Use.
27	Wood, 1 story, shingle roof			Shenandoah St.	Demolished in 1846
28	Wood, 1 story, shingle roof			Shenandoah St.	Demolished in 1846

No. of Buildings	Description	Class	Valuation	Where Situated Brown's Map	Final Disposition of
29	Wood, 1 story, shingle roof			Shenadnah St.	Demolished in 1845
30	Stone, 2 story <i>[Bldg No. 48?]</i>	8	\$ 500	N. Sh. St. side	Reserved for U.S. Use
31	Wood, 1 story	12	250	N. Sh. St. side	Demolished in 1849
32	Stone, 2 story <i>[Bldg No. 46?]</i>	7	600	N. n side Sh. St.	Reserved for U.S. us
33	Stone, 2 story	13	200	N. side Sh. St.	Demolished 8/14/52
34	Wood, 1 story			N. side Sh. St.	Demolished 1845
35	Wood, 1 story	11	300	N. Side Sh. St.	Reserved for U.S. us
36	Wood, 1 story	12	250	N. side Sh. St.	Demolished 2/12/53
37	Wood, 1 story	11	300	N. side Sh. st.	Reserved for U.S. us
38	Wood, 1 story	11	300	N. side Sh. St.	Reserved for U.S. us
39	Stone, 1 story	8	500	N. side Sh. St.	Reserved for U. S.
40	Brick, 2 story	9	450	N. side Sh. St	Reserved for U. S.
41	Wood, 2 story	8	500	N. Side sh. St.	Reserved for U. S. u
42	Frame addition to No. 41		-	N. side Sh. St.	Demolished 1853
43	Brick, 2, story	7	900	Sh. St. Bk. B-Lot 5	Sold 8/31/52, \$900 to Armory workman
44	Wood, 1 story	12	250	Between Sh. St. & River	Demolished in 1847
45	Wood, 1 story	14	150	" " " "	Demolished in 1852
46	Stone, 2 story	8	500	Sh. St. Bk. C-Lot 10	Sold at auction 9/1/52 for \$805.00
47	Stone, 2 story	8	600	Sh. St. Bk. C-, Lot 9	Sold, \$600, 8/31/52 to Armory workman
48	Brick, 2 story	12	400	Sh. St. Bk. C, Lot 8	Sold, \$400 8/31/52 to Armory workman
49	Brick, 1 story	12	275	Sh. St. Bk. C. Lot 7	Sold, \$275 8/31/52 to Armory workman
50	Wood, 1 story			Between Sh. St. & River	Demolished 1845
51	Wood, 1 story			" " " " " "	" " " "
52	Stone, 2 story	4	1,200	Sh. St. Bk. D, Lot 7	Sold at public aucti 9/1/52 for \$912.00
53	Wood, 1 story	16	50	Washington St. N. side	Reserved for Govt. Use
54	Stone, 2 story	8	500	N. Side Wash, St	Reserved for Govt. Use
55	Stone, 2 story	4	1,100	S. Side High St.	Sold, 8/31/52 for adjacent 6 acre Res \$1100 to Armory workman
56	Wood, 1 story			Washington St.	Demolished in 1845
57	Brick, 1 story	9	450	Washington St.	Reserved for U.S. use
58	Stone, 2 story	13	200	Washington St.	Demolished 5/31/51
59	Brick, 1 story	12	250	Washington St.	Reserved for. U.S. Use
60	Wood, 1 story			Washington St.	Broken up in 1847
61	Wood, 1 story	11	300	Washington St.	Reserved for U.S. Use
62	Wood, 1 story	13	200	Camp Hill near Grave yard	Reserved for U.S. Use
63	Wood, 1 story	16	50	" " " "	Demolished in 1847
64	Stone, 1 story	16	50	" " " "	Reserved for U.S. use
65	Brick, 2 story	7	600	Camp Hill by Bldg. No. 48-A	Reserved for U.S. use

No. of Building	Description	Class	Valuation	Where Situated on Brown's Map	Final disposition of Building
66	Wood, 1 story	16	50	Between Wash. St. & musket Factory	Demolished 12/24/51
67	Brick 2 story	5	900	Bwn. Wash.St.& musket Factory	Reserved for U.S.Use
68	Wood, 1 story	11	300	Bwn. Wash, St. & musket Factory	Reserved for U.S.Use
69	Wood, 2 story	9	450	Btn. Wash, St. & musket Factory	Reserved for U.S.Use
70	Wood, 1 story	10	400	" " " " "	Demolished in 1849
71	Wood, 1 story	10	400	" " " " "	Demolished in 1849
72	Wood, 1 story	10	400	" " " " "	" " "
73	Wood, 1 story	10	400	" " " " "	" " "
74	Wood, 1 story	11	300	" " " " "	" " "
75	Wood, 1 story	12	250	" " " " "	" " "
76	Wood, 1 story	12	250	" " " " "	" " "
77	Stone, 1 story	11	300	" " " " "	" " "
78	Stone, 1 story	11	300	" " " " "	" " 1850
79	Brick, 1 story	13	200	" " " " "	" " 6/30/51
80	Wood, 1 story	14	150	" " " " "	" " 1850
81	Wood, 1 story	13	200	" " " " "	" " 1849
82	Wood, 1 story			" " " " "	" " 1845
83	Wood, 1 story	16	50	" " " " "	" " 5/31/51
84	Wood, 1 story	11	300	" " " " "	" " 5/31/51
85	Wood, 1 story	16	50	" " " " "	" " 5/31/51
86	Stone, 1 story	10	400	" " " " "	" " 1850
87	Stone, 1 story	12	250	" " " " "	" " 5/31/51
88	Wood, 1 story	12	250	" " " " "	" " 5/31/51
89	Stone, 1 story	11	300	" " " " "	" " 1850
90	Brick, 1 story	12	250	Washington Street	" " 5/31/51
91	Brick, 1 story	12	250	" " "	" " 5/31/51
92	Brick, 1 story	12	250	" " "	" " 5/31/51
93	Brick, 1 story	12	250	" " "	" " 5/31/51
94	Stone, 1 story	11	300	" " "	Reserved For U.S.Use
95	Wood, 1 story	11	300	" " "	reserved for U.S. u
96	Wood, 1 story	16	50	" " School Room	Demolished in 185
97	Brick, 2 story	6	900	Camp Hill, B.E. Lot 1	Sold 8/31/52, \$900 to Armory workman
98	Brick, 2 story	6	950	Camp Hill, Bk.E.Lot 2	Sold 8/31/52, \$950 to Armory workman
100	Wood, 1 story	10	800	Camp Hill, Bk.E. Lot 5	Sold to Armory workman \$800, 8/31/52
99	Brick, 2 story	6	900	Camp Hill Bk. E. Lot 3	Sold 8/31/52, \$900 to Armory workman
101	Wood, 1 story	10		part of 100 Camp Hill. Bk. E Lot 5	Sold to Armory work- man \$800, 8/31/52
102	Wood, 1 story	14	150	Camp Hill, Wash. St. School Room.	Reserved for U.S.

No. of Building	Description	Class	Valuation	Where situated on Brown's Map	Final disposition of Building
103	Brick, 2 story	5	# 900	Camp Hill, Bk.F, Lot 1	Sold 8/31/52, \$900 to Armory Workman
104	Brick, 1 story	10	475	Camp Hill, Bk. F. Lot 2	Sold to Armory workman 8/31/52, for \$475
105	Stone, 1 story	9	600	Camp Hill Bk. F. Lot 4	Sold 8/31/52 for \$600 to Armory workman
106	Wood, 1 story	10	175	Camp Hill Bk.F. Lot 3	Sold 8/31/52 for \$175 Armory workman
107	Brick 2 story	5	1,000	Camp Hill, Bk.G, Lot 1	Sold 8/31/52 for \$1,000 to Armory workman
108	Wood, 1 story	8	500	Camp Hill, Bk, G, Lot 2	Sold to Armory workman 8/31/52 for \$500
109	Wood, 1 story	9	600	Camp Hill, Bk. G, Lot 3	Sold to Armory workman on 8/31/52 for \$600
110	Brick, 2 story	6	1,000	Camp Hill, Bk. G, Lot 4	Sold to Armory workman on 8/31/52 for \$1,000
111	Brick, 2 story	7	825	Camp Hill, Bk. H, Lot 1	Sold to Armory workman on 8/31/52 for \$825
112	Brick, 2 story	5	1,110	Camp Hill, Bk.H, Lot 2	Sold 8/31/52, \$1110 to Armory workman
113	Wood, 1 story	15	100	Camp Hill, Bk.H, Lot 3	Broken up in 1852
114	Wood, 1 story	10	400	Camp Hill, Bk, H, Lot 4	Sold 8/31/52 for 400 to Armory workman
115	Wood, 1 story	16	50	Camp Hill, Bk. I, Lot 1	Demolished in 1852
116	Brick, 2story	5	900	Camp Hill, Bk.II, Storer	Reserved for U.S.use College
117	Wood, 1 story	9	450	Camp Hill, Bk.II, Lot 2	Reserved for U.S. use
118	Brick, 2 story	5	900	Camp Hill Bk.II, Lot 1	Reserved for U.S. use
119	Brick, 2 story	6	1,000	Camp Hill, Bk, D, Lot 4	Sold to Armory workman for 1,000 on 8/31/52
120	Brick, 2 story	6	1,000	Camp Hill, Bk. D, Lot 3	Sold to Armory workman on 8/31/52 for \$1,000
121	Wood, 1 story	8	600	Camp Hill, Bk.D, Lot 1	Sold to Armory workman on 8/31/52 for \$600
122	Wood, 1 story	10	475	Camp Hill, Bk,C, Lot 3 & 4	Sold 8/31/52 for \$475 to armory workman
123	Wood, 1 story			Camp Hill	Broken up in 1845
124	Brick, 2 story	6	650	Camp Hill, Bk. D, Lot 6	Sold on 8/31/52 for \$65 to Armory workman
125	Brick, 2 story	6	800	Camp Hill, Bk. _____ Lot _____ Back of Wash.St. Near C.O. Qrs,	Reserved for U.S.use
126	Brick, 2 story	6	800	" " " " " " " "	Reserved for U.S. use
127	Brick, 2 story	6	650	Camp Hill, Bk.D, Lot 8	Sold 8/31/52 for \$650 to Armory workman
128	Brick, 2 story	6	675	Camp Hill, Bk.C Lot 5	Sold 8/31/52 for \$675 to Armory workman

No. of Building	Description	Class	Valuation	Where situated on Brown's Map	Final disposition of Bldg.
129	Brick, 2 story	6	\$800	Camp Hill, Bk. __, Lot __ Back of Wash. St. near C.O.Qrs.	Reserved for U.S. use
130	Brick, 2 story	6	800	" " " " " "	Reserved for U.S. use
131	Brick, 2 story	6	675	Camp Hill, Bk.C, Lot 7	Sold 8/31/52 for \$675. to Armory workman
132	Wood, 2 story	11	425	Camp Hill, Bk.C, Lot 2	Sold 8/31/52 for \$425 to Armory workman
133	Wood, 1 story	16	50	Camp Hill on Public	and sold & removed 1852
134	Wood, 1 story	13	350	Camp Hill, Bk.B, Lot 7	Sold 8/31/52 for \$350 to Armory workman
135	Brick, 2 story	5	950	Camp Hill, Bk.B, Lot 6	Sold to Armory workman for \$950 on 8/31/52
136	Brick, 1 story	14	300	Camp Hill, Bk.B, Lot 8	Sold to Armory workman for \$300 on 8/31/52
137	Wood, 1 story	13	275	Camp Hill, Bk.B, Lot 9	Sold to Armory workman 8/31/52 for \$275
138	Wood, 1 story	11	400	Camp Hill, Bk.B, Lot 4	Sold to Armory workman on 8/31/52 for \$400
139	Wood, 1 story	15	275	Camp Hill, Bk.B, Lot 10	Sold to Armory workman on 8/31/52 for \$275
140	Brick, 1 story	8	400	Camp Hill, Bk.B, Lot 12	Sold to Armory workman 8/31/52 for \$400
141	Wood, 1 story	8	500	Camp Hill Bk.A, Lot 8	Demolished in 1854
142	Wood, 1 story	16	50	Camp Hill back of Wash. St.	Demolished in 1847
143	Wood, 2 story	8	500	Camp Hill, Bk.A. Lot 1	Reserved for U.S. use
144	Wood, 1 story	12	250	Camp Hill, Bk.A, Lot 2	Sold on 8/31/52 for \$250 to Armory workman
145	Stone, 2 story	9	500	Camp Hill, Bk.A, Lot 4	Sold on 8/31/52 for \$500 to Armory workman
146	Wood, 2 story	7	700	Camp Hill, Bk.B, Lot 1	Sold on 8/31/52 for \$700 to Armory workman
147	Wood, 1 story	11	300	Up bank of Potomac	Reserved for U. S. Use
148	Stone, 2 story	11	300	Up bank of Potomac	Reserved for U.S. use
149	Wood, 1 story	11	300	In line between C.O.'s Qr's & Magazine	Reserved for U.S. use
150	Broken up in 1845	Wood, 1 story			
151	Wood, 1 story	16	50	In line between C.O.Q. & Mag.	Reserved for U.S.
152	Wood, 1 story	12	250	" " " " " "	Demolished in 1852
153	Stone, 2 story	7	600	Across Shenandoah	Reserved for U.S. use
154	Stone, 1 story	11	300	Across Shenandoah	Reserved for U.S. use
155	Wood, 1 story	13	200	Above rifle factory	Broken up on 1847
156	Brick, 2 story	6	300	Island above R. Factory	Reserved for U.S. use
157	Wood, 2 story	9	450	" " " " " "	Reserved for U.S. use
158	Brick, 2 story	5	900	" " " " " "	" " " "
159	Stone, 2 story	13	200	" 2 " 2 " "	" " " "
160	Stone, 1 story	12	250	" " " " " "	" " " "

No. of Building	Description	Class	Valuation	Where situated on Brown's Map	Final disposition of Building
161	Stone, 1 story	13	200	Island above R. Factory	Reserved for U.S. use
162	Wood, 1 story	8	500	" " "	Removed in 1850
163	Wood 1 story	11	300	" " "	Reserved for U.S. use
164	Brick, 2 story	2	2,500	" " "	Broken up in 1848
165	Stone, 1 story	11	300	" " "	Reserved for U.S. use
166	Stone, 1 story	11	300	" " "	Reserved for U.S. use
167	Stone, 1 story	9	450	" " "	Demolished in 1850
168	Stone, 2 story	6	800	" " "	Reserved for U.S. use
169	Wood, 1 story	9	450	" " "	Reserved for U.S. use
170	Site for Wm. McGraw's Slaughter Shenandoah St.				Demolished by 1851
171	Site for Philip Coons' Slaughter-House Shenandoah St.				Demolished by 1851
172	Site for stable of John C. Unseld, Sh. St.				Demolished by 1851
173	There was no No. 173				
174	Stone	5		Washington St.	Demolished in 1848
175		5		Washington St.	Demolished in 1848
176	Brick 2 story	3	2,000	Wager Lot No. 18	Reserved for U.S. use
177	Brick, 2 story	3	2,000	Wager Lot No. 19	Reserved for U.S. use
178	Stone, 2 story	7	600	Wager Lot No. 20	Reserved for U.S. use
179	Brick, 2 story slate roof	3	2,000	Wager Lot No. 21	Reserved for U.S. use
180	Stone, 2 story slate roof	3	2,000	Wager Lot No. 22	Reserved for U.S. use
181	Stone, 2 story	3	2,000	Wager Lot No. 26	Reserved for U.S. use
182	Stone, 2 story slate	3	2,000	Block 44 Lot 11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27	Reserved for U.S. use
<u>181 BUILDINGS &</u>					
182,	Old Pay office, arsenal yard				Demolished in 1857

The list of United States Dwelling houses at Harpers Ferry, 30 June 1848,⁸ contains the following notes which appear to relate to Brown's "Map of Harpers Ferry prepared in compliance to a letter to Major Symington Dated April 22, 1848:"

<u>"No. of Building</u>	<u>Where situated per map.</u>
A	Presbyterian Church
B	Catholic Church
C	Methodist Episcopal Church
D	Methodist Protestant Church
E	Engine House
P	Pumps
S	Springs
T	Public Stable
U	Market House
Z	Old stables, Wood Yard, &c.
X	Old Office"

"The List of Dwelling Houses belonging to the United States
at Harpers Ferry, December 31, 1850, "contains a "Recapitulation"
from which the following data has been extracted:

Classes of Houses	Description							Occupants on Rent						December 31, 1850
	Brick 1 Story	Brick 2 story	Stone 1 story	Stone 2 story	wood 2 story	wood, 1story	TOTAL	Armory Offices	Foremen	Clerks	Workmen	Other than Workmen	Unoccupied	
1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1			3			
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	0							
3	3	-	4	-	-	-	7				4		1	
4	1	-	2	-	-	-	3				4			
5	8	-	-	-	-	-	8		2		3	1		
6	15	-	1	-	-	-	16		2		13			
7	4	-	3	-	1	-	8				11			
8	1	1	4	1	2	3	12		2		7			
9	1	1	1	1	2	5	11				10			
10	-	4	1	-	1	5	11				13			
11	1	2	1	4	1	10	19				19			
12	1	6	-	1	2	5	15				8	2	4	
13	1	1	2	2	-	7	13				9	1	3	
14	-	-	-	-	-	3	3				2			
15	-	-	-	-	-	3	3				2			
16	-	-	-	1	-	8	9				2	2	2	
Total: 39 15 10 9 49 141 1 6 110 6 10														

Occupants Rent Free with the numbers of the buildings they occupy:

Title	Number of Bldgs.	Class	Total No. of Bldgs
Acting Master Armorer	2	Class 1	1
Master Millwright	103	Class 5	1
Master Builder	140	Class 8	1
Three Clerks	177, 179, 180	All Class 3	3
Four Foremen	16, 107, 112, 119	Class 4; 2 of 5; 1 of 6	4
One parsonage	144	Class 12	1
three schools	102, 64, 96	1 of Class 14, 2 of Cl. 16	3
			<u>14 bldgs. rent free</u>

The following notes appear on the same page:

"Total number of Houses remaining (December 31, 1850)	141
Of which there are occupied for Offices.....	1
" " " " " " by Clerks & other Rent free	0
" " " " " Parsonages & schools rent free.....	4
" " " " " by Workmen on Rent.....	110
" " " " " by Other than Workmen.....	6
" " " " " unoccupied.....	10
	<u>141</u>

Note 119 Workmen occupy the 110 house."

Of the 182 houses on the "corrected" list previously presented:

63 buildings were demolished from 1845 to 1852 by the U. S. Government.
 54 Buildings were sold at appraised value by the U. S. Government on August 31, 1852 to Armory workmen for a total of \$31,525.00 (9)
 4 buildings were sold to the highest bidders at public auction by the Government on September 1 and 2, 1852 for a total of \$4,222¹⁰
 6 Government dwelling houses were returned by the U.S. after the sales of 1852.
182 houses

Money from the sale of materials from demolished Government Dwelling Houses was placed in the Armory funds entitled "Repairs & Improvements" and was used for maintenance of Government dwelling houses.¹¹

On February 16, 1853, Col. Craig of the Ordnance Department directed

Superintendent Colonel Benjamin Huger of the Armory:

9. Reel 24, v. 7, p. 617.

10. Reel 24, v. 7, p. 683.

11. Ordnance Office to Supt. Symington, June 30, 1847, R. 19, v. 4, p. 307-308
 Col. Talcott to Symington, June 7, 1851, R. 19, v. 5, p. 459

"...In your next Quarterly Rent Roll, please have a new set of numbers given to the dwelling houses remaining unsold, or otherwise disposed of - the first Column - "New Numbers" -next Column - "Old Numbers" and have it made to embrace your own and Paymasters Quarters -...After 31st March next, only the ^{NEW} numbers need be given."¹²

Unfortunately we have not been able to locate in the National Archives the 1853 rent roll that would contain the two sets of dwelling house numbers, so the demolition of definite dwelling houses that occurred after 1853 can not always be determined.

In February 1853, however, Bldg. No. 36 (old number) was demolished.¹³

In April 1853 "two of the old buildings, at this Armory, located on Reserved ground, were demolished."¹⁴

In May 1853 more buildings were torn down.¹⁵ In June 1853 Bldg. No. 41 (old number) was demolished.¹⁶

In May 1854 Old number Bldg. 141 was demolished and the following 16 buildings, with new numbers, were removed: Bldgs. 37, 48, 35, 54, 22, 15, 36, 40, 39, 43, 20, 21, 25, 51, 23, and 33.¹⁷ Buildings Old Numbers 156, 168, and 156 were specifically saved from demolition at the request of the Superintendent in April 1854.¹⁸ The old Pay Master's Office on the Arsenal Tract was also ~~demolished~~ ^{Removed} in 1856 or 1857 to make way for the construction of present Bldg. No. 36.

12. R. 19, v. 6, p. 559-560.

13. R. 24, v. 9, p. 864.

14. R. 24, v. 9, p. 870

15. R. 24, v. 9. p. 888. No numbers of buildings are given.

16. R. 24, v. 9, p. 897.

17. R. 18, v. 12, p. 1197

18. R. 19, v. 7, p. 620.

Thus, of the 61 Government dwelling houses listed as retained in 1852, at least 22 of them were demolished in 1853 and 1854, leaving as the maximum possible number 39 houses. To this list must be added the five houses erected between 1847 and 1858; namely, the Commanding Officers Quarters, the Pay Masters Quarters, the Master Armorer's Quarters and two houses for Chief Clerks, raising the total number to 43 buildings as the largest number possible standing in 1859 as Government Dwelling houses.

On July 27, 1865, Brigadier General Edward D. Ramsay made a detailed inspection and report of the buildings and stores at Harpers Ferry. From this list it is apparent that during the 1859-1865 period there were actually 33¹⁹ houses owned by the Government and used as Armory dwelling houses. It is therefore evident that ~~ten~~ additional houses were demolished as substandard buildings by the Government between 1854 and 1861. We conclude this chapter with the inventory of Government Dwelling Houses as described in July 1865; to this we add the location of the house on the 1869 map of Harpers Ferry as given in the 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. (sic). and the original number of the dwelling house on the 1848-1852 lists of Government Dwelling Houses.

1865 Inspection Inventory of Harpers Ferry Armory.

1. "Dwelling House No. 1-two story, brick- Shenandoah Street- In fair condition, and occupied as Head Quarters by Gen. Egan." (Located on 1869 Map on Shenandoah Street, Block B, Lot No. 2, 1869 Cat., p.2, Master Armorer's new house erected 1857-58, Present Bldg. No. 36).

19. Brigadier General Edward D. 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.

(Located on Camp Hill, Block AA, Lot No. 10, see 1869 map, also 1869 Cat., p.4. House No. ? on 1848-1852 lists).

14. "Dwelling House No. 14, two and one half story, brick- High Street, in Good condition." (Located on Wager Lot No. 18 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.4. House No. 176 on 1848-52 lists).

15. "Dwelling House No. 15, two and one half story, brick- High Street, in Good Condition." (Located on Wager Lot No. 19 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.4. House No. 177 on 1848-52 lists).

16. "Dwelling House No. 16, three story, brick, High Street, In fair condition, occupied as Provost Marshal's Office." (Located on Wager Lot No. 20 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.4. House No. 179 on 1848-52 lists).

17. "Dwelling House No. 17, three story , stone- High Street, In good condition, occupied as Ordnance Office." (Located on Wager Lot No. 21 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.4. House No. 180 on 1848-52 lists).

18. "Dwelling House No. 18, three story, stone- High Street- In Fair condition- occupied as Quartermaster's Office." (Located on Wager Lot No. 22 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.4. House No. 180 on 1848-52 lists).

19. "Dwelling House No. 19, three story, stone- In good condition. (Located on Wager Lot No. 26 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.4. House No. 181 on 1848-52 lists).

20. "Dwelling House No. 20, three story, stone- In bad condition, occupied as quarters by Ordnance Detachment." (~~Located on Wager Lot No. 27 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.4. House No. 182 on 1848-52 lists).~~
late Markon's old House lot 1AA

21. "Dwelling House No. 21, Near Jefferson Rock, In Bad condition." (Located just south of Present Bldg. No. 48A or St. John's P. E. Church on 1869 Map. House No. 65 on 1848-52 lists).

22. "Dwelling House No. 22, One and half story, frame, Camp Hill- In good condition, occupied free of rent by Mrs. M. Stipes by Order of Col. H. K. Craig. (Located Camp Hill, Block BE, Lot No. 6 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.5, House No. 69 on 1848-52 list).

23. "Dwelling House No. 23, Two story, brick, Camp Hill. In bad condition, being used for Army purposes." (Located Camp Hill, Probably on Block II, Storer College Lot, see 1869 map. Probably House No. 116 on 1848-52 list).

24. "Dwelling House No. 24, Two story, Brick, Washington Street, In good condition, occupied by Ordnance agent as private quarters." (Located on Camp Hill, Block II, Lot No. 1 on 1869 map, see 1869 Cat., p.7. House No. 118 on 1848-1852 lists).

25. "Dwelling House No. 25, Superintendent's Quarters- In Bad condition-occupied as quarters for Officers." (Located on Camp Hill, Storer College Lot, marked Bldg. No. 25 on 1869 map).

26. "Dwelling House No. 26, One & a half story, Brick- Fillmore Street- Torn down by order of Brig. Genl. J. D. Stevenson to have the material for building winter quarters for troops." (Probably located Camp Hill Block GG Lots 4 & 3 on 1869 map. House No. 125 on 1848-52 list).

27. "Dwelling House No. 27, one & a half story, Brick- Fillmore Street. Torn down by order of Brig. Genl. J. D. Stevenson to have the material for building winter quarters for troops." (Probably located on Camp Hill, Block GG, Lots 1 & 2 on 1869 map. House No. 126 on 1848-52 lists).

28. "Dwelling House No. 28, one & a half story, Brick- Fillmore Street. Torn down by order of Brig. Genl. J. D. Stevenson to have material for building winter quarters for troops." (Probably located on Camp Hill Block FF, Lots 4 and 3 on 1869 map. House No. 129 on 1848-52 list).

29. "Dwelling House No. 29, one & a half story, Brick- Fillmore Street. Torn down by order of Brig. Genl. J. D. Stevenson to have material for building winter quarters for troops." (Probably located on Camp Hill Block FF, Lots 1 and 2 on 1869 map. House No. 130 on 1848-52 lists).

30. "Dwelling House No. 30, Two story, brick- Pay Master's Clerk's Quarters- In bad condition, occupied for army purposes." (Located on Camp Hill, Storer College Lot, Bldg. No. 30 on 1869 map. House erected 1857-58).

31. "Dwelling House No. 31, Two Story, Brick, -Superintendent's Clerk's Quarters. In bad condition-occupied by Sanitary Commission." (Located on Camp Hill, Storer College Lot, Bldg. No. 31 on 1869 map. House erected 1857-58).

32. "Dwelling House No. 32, Two story, Brick- Pay Master's Quarters - In bad condition, occupied by Medical Purveyor as quarters." (Located on Camp Hill, Storer College Lot, Bldg. No. 32 on 1869 map).

33. "Dwelling House No. 33, one story, Frame - on Bluff near Grave Yard- Torn down by soldiers." (Probably located in south east corner of Harper's Grave yard, abutting on Block EE, Lot 1, Camp Hill on 1869 map. House shown on 1848 map in that location. Probably House No. 62 on 1848-52 lists).

CHAPTER IX

RENTAL OF GOVERNMENT DWELLING HOUSES, 1796-1861

The first evidence bearing on the question of rents charged for Government Dwelling Houses appears in the Secretary of War's letter of January 24, 1812 to Pay Master Samuel Annin.

In that letter the Secretary ordered Mr. Annin:

"You will require and collect such rents as you may think reasonable for the houses occupied by the Armorers at Harpers-Ferry, charging rents from the 1 January 1812, and appropriate the proceeds of such rents to necessary repairs of the public buildings-rendering an account of the Same."¹

The Ordnance Department Regulations that long governed the question of rentals of Government Houses, however, were not established until 1822. On February 22, 1822, Colonel George Bomford, of the Ordnance, notified both Superintendent Lee of the Springfield Armory, and Superintendent James Stubblefield, of the Harpers Ferry Armory:

"The subject respecting the application of the funds derived from the rents of the public buildings at the National Armories, has been duly considered. And the Secretary of War is of opinion that the War Department is not authorized to apply the rents to any other, than public purposes, and that it will require the authority of an Act of Congress to apply them to the support of Schools, or of the Ministers of the Gospel. He therefore directs that rents shall be regularly charged to the persons who occupy the buildings, and the amount deducted from the sum due them on the Rolls, at the expiration of each quarter.

"The principal Officers at the Armory, Viz - the Superintendent, Paymaster, and Master Armorer, are not included in the above rule, they will each be entitled to dwelling as heretofore - rent free.

"The Superintendents will fix the rate at which each dwelling shall be rented, having due regard to the value and convenience of each. The rents should be moderate. As the dwelling houses were erected for the benefit of the public, and the convenience of the persons engaged in it, no other persons than those actually

1. Reel 18, v. 2, p. 149.

employed in the public service at the Armory, should be permitted to occupy them.

"It will be the duty of the Superintendent to keep all the public buildings in a proper state of preservation; but the amount expended in repairing a dwelling house should in no instance exceed the proceeds of its rent. No other repairs should be permitted, but than expressly directed by the Superintendent.

"The Superintendent is authorized to set a part a suitable apartment for divine worship; and another or two, if necessary, for the use of schools."²

The method of collecting rent is revealed by the following instructions of Lt. Col. Bomford, issued to Paymaster McGuire, of the Harpers Ferry Armory, on December 17, 1822:

"...The mode of collecting the rents at Springfield is to charge each man, on the rolls, with the amount due from him for rent, and to deduct the same amount credited to him for work done. This mode is considered preferable, to that which you have pursued in the last quarters accounts, and you will please to conform to it hereafter. It will, notwithstanding, be necessary to forward the rent roll..."³

The rent rolls , for the period 1823 to 1828 will be found in the "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," prepared by Superintendent James Stubblefield, and dated February 1, 1829.⁴

This list indicates that the following totals were collected from 1823 to 1829:

2. Reel 22, v. 3, p. 218-220.
3. Reel 14, v. 4, p. 340-341
4. Reel 17, v. 3, p. 238-240.

1823: \$ 568.50
1824: 1,331.50
1825: 1,316.75
1826: 1,409.75
1828: 1,395.83 ⁵

Individual rents ranged from \$3.00 to \$24.00 a year. The small amount of the total rent collected on 84 or more dwelling houses each year also helps to explain why the repair and maintenance of these dwelling houses was so inadequate and why workmen did this type of work at their own expense, hoping to collect this amount from the Government at some later date.

In 1830 Mr. George Rust, Jr. took command of the Harpers Ferry Armory and Col. Bomford issued the following instructions for Superintendent Rust's guidance:

"...It is proper that all such of the old dwelling houses belonging to the United States, as are fit for use and worthy of being preserved, should be put in good repair. And you are authorized to proceed to repair them provided the expense of such repairs shall not exceed the amount of rents received. Upon this subject I must refer you to the regulations on file at the Armory dated February 22, 1822...."⁶

On July 22, 1830 Col. Bomford further advised Mr. Rust:

".....It is believed that the amount hitherto charged as rent has been too low. By a report of the number and value of the buildings at the Armory, made in April 1827, it appears that the value of the dwelling houses belonging to the U. States, and occupied by workmen was estimated at about fifty thousand dollars. - The rent collected during the last five years, averages something less than \$1400. per annum; being less than 3 per cent on the value. It is not desired that the rents of these houses

5. Reel 17, v. 3, p. 240
6. Reel 14, v. 8, p. 745-746.

should be sources of profits on the capital invested in them. But such rents should be exacted, as will be sufficient to keep the buildings in a good state of repair, and to renew them, when decayed; so that the capital invested in them may remain unimpaired.

"I suppose that 5 per cent on the value of any house, should be the least amount to be required as rent. Probably a higher rate would be more correct. Upon this point however, you will be governed by your own judgement; fixing the rate at what may be considered liberal, and somewhat less than could be afforded by an individual. - The rule for fixing rents should be established before concluding the new agreements above mentioned (for renting a government dwelling house); in order that the amount, in each case, may be inserted in the agreement..."

In the same letter Col. Bomford also included a copy of the "Form for an agreement granting permission to workmen to occupy public Houses", which Rust was to review and then have every workman living in a Government House sign. The form read:

"This agreement made this ___ day of ___ one thousand eight hundred & thirty ___ between A. B. Superintendent of the Harpers Ferr armory, in the service of the U. States of the one part, and C. D. of Harpers Ferry, of the other part Witnesseth:

"First: That the said Superintendent has, by this agreement, granted permission to said C. D. to occupy the (brick, stone or frame) dwelling house belonging to the U. States, situated in ___ Street and designated on the list of public buildings at said Armory, as number ___ it being understood, the said house is to be occupied by said C. D. and his family for the ordinary purposes of a dwelling house; and for no other. And that it shall be taken care of, and be used in the manner enjoined, by the established regulations of the Armory.

"Second: It is further agreed that the said Superintendent, or his successors in office, may at any time discontinue or annul this agreement; and upon due notice being given thereof, the said C. D. agrees to relinquish possession of said house & premises, and to remove therefrom with his family & effects, within ten days thereafter; in default of which, he binds himself to pay to the Armory Paymaster for the use of the United States (two) dollars per day, for each and every day that the said house may remain in the occupancy of himself, his family, or his effects, after the expiration of the aforesaid period of ten days, And it is to be understood, that at the expiration of the said

period of ten days, the Supt. or any person by him appointed, shall have full authority to re-enter, and take entire possession of said house and premises; and to remove all persons and effects therefrom, without hinderance or molestation, and without any liability therefor, for damages or for suit of any kind, either in law or equity.

"Third: It is further agreed: that during the continuance of this agreement, the said C. D. shall pay for the use of said house, to the Armory paymaster a rent at the rate of ___ dollars per annum, payable in due proportion, quarter yearly at the expiration of each quarter. And it is also agreed that he shall pay such further sum, as may at any time be necessary to repair or make good any injuries or damages which said house or premises may have sustained while in his occupancy from causes not beyond human control.

In testimony whereof the parties have hereunto affixed their respective signatures.

A. B. Supt.
Harpers Ferry Armory
C. D." 8

Witness
E. F.

Col. Bomford also proposed to make the following amendment in the February 1827 Regulations for the Harpers Ferry Armory:

"21st. A reasonable rent will be charged, the amount of which will be specified in the permit.

"No addition will be made to any dwelling by its occupant nor will any alteration or repairs be made, without permission of the Superintendent; any if any be made with his sanction, they shall give no claim to recompense from the U. States, nor from any individual. The occupants of all houses belonging to the U. States, are required to keep them clean and in good order and carefully to preserve them from injury or damage, as they will be held answerable for any such as may happen during their occupancy." 8A

On September 25, 1830 Col. Bomford informed Superintendent Rust, in regards to rents:

8A. Reel 14, v. 8, p. 762-763.
E. Reel 14, v. 8, pp 761-762.

"...It has been stated that public dwelling houses have been rented out, by those who are entitled to occupy them free of rent.-This has no doubt been done, under a belief in its entire propriety - Such practices, however, are considered inexpedient; and should not be permitted. Dwellings are furnished by the U. States because of their necessity or convenience, to persons employed in the public service, and they are not to be regarded as perquisites. - Dwellings should be assigned to such persons as are authorized by regulations to occupy them; at the discretion of the Supt. - And if they do not choose to occupy them as dwellings for their own & their families residence; the dwellings should be appropriated to others in the public service, by the Supt.

Fuel also, is to be regarded in the same light. It should be issued in Kind, and in no other form; to those who are entitled to receive it; and to such an extent as may be required for actual use, not exceeding the limits prescribed in the regulations-. No commutation in money or otherwise, can be made for either quarters or fuel."⁹

In November 1832 the Inspector of National Armories and Arsenal, Lt. Col. Talcott, inspected Harpers Ferry Armory and recommended:

"A moderate rent should be charged to the occupants (of Government Dwelling Houses) and the proceeds faithfully applied to keep the tenements in good repair. Many additions and repairs to the public dwelling houses have been made by the workmen who occupy them. All such expenses, so far as authorized by the Superintendent, should have been repaid out of the annual rents, but these are extremely low, the Gov't receiving only \$2230 per annum for 127 tenements, averaging less than 20 dollars each, it appears probable that most of these expenditures were made without any expectation of repayment..."¹⁰

Some idea of the amount of rents received in 1835 and how the rent money was spent, can be formed from Master Armorer Benjamin Moore's letter of September 23, 1835, written as Acting Superintendent, to Col. Bomford:

"Your letter of the 19th instant in relation to the amount of rents collected, &c. has been this day received. In reply thereto, I have to state, that the amount of rents received by the Paymaster in the 1st quarter of this year was \$833.17; in the 2nd quarter of this year, the amount was \$804.13, and the

9. Reel 14, v. 8, p. 785.

10. Harpers Ferry Photostatic Collection, Vol. 1, p. 12.

amount of the Rent Roll, for the 3rd quarter will be about the same amount. The amount of rents received by the Paymaster, has been passed into his account according to the instructions contained in the 27 par. of the Ord. Regulations.

"The rents have not been heretofore regarded as a specific fund for the purposes of repairing the public dwelling houses, but have been, when received by the Paymaster (the Collector), amalgated with the General Armory fund.

"No part of the rents, as a specific fund have been expended in the repair of the public dwelling houses.

"At the close of the present quarter, the Paymaster will probably receive rents to the amount of about eight hundred dollars.

"In conclusion I will remark, that the amount expended in the repairs of the public dwelling houses has been very inconsiderable and the sum expended in repairs, has been applied to a multitude of very minute objects."¹¹

In making their inspection of the Armory in 1842, the Board of Officers noted:

"Most of the Officer and Armorers live in houses owned by the Government-the Officers of the Armory having their houses free, or when they are not furnished them with Public Houses, receiving a commutation of \$60 per annum; the workmen who occupy Public Houses, pay rents averaging from \$60 to \$5 per annum, according to the size and condition of the house...

"...The Board would therefore recommend that a portion of the rents received be applied to the erection of one or two Dwelling Houses annually, the cost of these with the repairs of the others not to exceed the amount of the rent received that year..."¹²

The system of attempting to pay for repairs to made Government Dwelling Houses from rent money came to an end in 1849. The annual estimate for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851 stated:

"By Act of 3d March 1849 (Pamphlet Laws, p. 105) all moneys received for rent of the public buildings have to be paid directly

11. Reel 12, v. 1, p. 73-74.

12. Harpers Ferry Photostatic Collection, v. 2, p. 79-80.

into the Treasury, from the 1st July 1849. Consequently for the present and next fiscal years no funds will be available...."¹³

Henceforth money used for repair of Government Dwelling Houses was directly appropriated for that purpose by Congress.

In the great floods of April 1843 and the fall of 1847, the rent money for one quarter, on each occasion, was remitted to the Armory workmen who lived in houses that suffered damages from the flood, after receiving the approval of the Secretary of War.¹⁴

The rent money for the fourth quarter of 1849 collected from approximately 141 Government dwelling houses, amounted to \$1,528.26,¹⁵ thus indicating that about \$6,100 was collected from this source in the full year of 1849.

After the 1852 sale of Government Houses and demolition of substandard dwellings, the number of Government Dwelling houses was reduced from some 141 structures to between 32 and 43 houses. Thus the total amount of rent collected each year from 1852 to 1861 must have been considerably less than the amount collected prior to 1852.

No rent rolls for the 1852-1861 period have been located, but scattered correspondence on the subject of rents suggests that the rates of rent on Government Dwelling Houses were

13. Reel 20, v. 7, p. 685.

14. Major Craig to Lt. Col. Talcott, April 20, 1843, Reel 23, v. 2 p. 131; Talcott to Sec. of War Porter, April 21, 1843, r. 19, v. 14, p. 1406; Talcott to Craig, May 5, 1843, R. 19, v. 2, p. 142; Major Symington to Talcott, December 28, 1847, R. 20, v. 1, p. 20-21; Talcott to Symington, December 31, 1847, R. 19, v. 4, p. 320-321.

15. Paymaster Edward Lucas, Jr. to Genl. Talcott, February 19, 1850, R. 24, v. 1, p. 93.

increased during this period. The rent on House New Number 30 was \$100 in 1859 while the rent on the adjoining house, New Number 5, was \$80 as compared to the maximum rent of \$60 charged on the best dwelling houses in 1842.¹⁶

16. Acting Superintendent A.M. Kitzmiller to Col. H.K. Craig, Chief of Ordnance, October 15, 1859, R. 27, v. 4, p. 385-386
Craig to Supt. AM. Barbour, November 19, 1859, R. 19, v. 11 p. 1077. Barbour to Craig, January 31, 1860, R. 27, p. 637.

CHAPTER II

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

1. Methods of Construction:

Government Dwelling Houses at the Harpers Ferry Armory were erected by one of two systems. The first and "legal" method was for the Government to erect the dwelling house. Under this mode the Superintendent of the Armory prepared the plans, specifications and estimates of the cost of the new houses and submitted them for review and approval to the Ordnance Office. On approval by this Office, they were in turn submitted for final approval by the Secretary of War. This obtained, the plans were then returned to the Superintendent and permission granted to him to proceed with the actual construction. In general, from 1800 to 1836, the Superintendent contracted out the stone and brick work and the carpentry work on the dwelling houses, furnishing the contractors with the plans and specifications of the houses to be erected. There occurred a few cases, however, where the Superintendent apparently erected complete dwelling houses by utilizing Armory employees and did not contract for the construction.

In 1837, and for the few remaining dwelling houses erected from 1838 to 1861, the Armory apparently used a "Master Builder" and its own force of carpenters and masons to construct the houses.

The second and "illegal" method of erecting dwelling houses, used from 1800 to 1832, was for the Armory workmen ~~to~~ construct their own dwelling houses on Government land at their own expense. Under this system the Superintendent of the Armory, in many cases, apparently granted "permission" for this construction and in some

cases the work went ahead without his "permission". In all cases of this type of construction, however, no permission was granted by either the Ordnance Department or Secretary of War. It is possible that the Superintendent may have reviewed and approved plans for some of the dwelling houses erected by the workmen themselves but it appears more likely that he merely granted them permission to build on a certain lot and that the workmen erected their houses from plans of their own devising without any further clearance from the Superintendent. This system of construction undoubtedly resulted in a wide range of quality in buildings, varying from excellent construction to highly makeshift workmanship. From remarks of the inspectors, it would appear that many of the houses erected under this system were of a very poor quality. All construction of dwelling houses by Armory workmen was definitely halted, on direct orders of the Secretary of War, in January 1832.

The justification for permitting this "illegal" construction that took place from 1800 to 1832, was twofold. First, no privately owned land was available at Harpers Ferry which the Armory workmen could purchase and erect thereon their own homes; hence they built on the only land available, the Armory property. Second, the Armory was unable to secure enough money from Congress to construct dwelling houses at a rapid enough rate to keep pace with the expansion of the Armory work forces, hence the workmen provided themselves with houses at their own initial expense until 1832.

2. Additions and Repairs to Government Dwelling Houses:

Once a dwelling house was erected on Government property at Harpers Ferry, the building could have additions made to it and be

repaired by one of two systems. First both Government-erected and privately-constructed houses could have additions made to them or be repaired at Armory expense. Under this method, the work was carried out by builders employed especially for that purpose by the Armory. Second both Government-erected and privately-constructed houses could have additions made on them and repairs effected on them by private individuals at their own expense. This second method was strictly speaking "illegal", but occurred with and without the permission of the Superintendent of the Armory because the Ordnance Department was quite often unable to obtain adequate sums of money from Congress, and in good season, to provide for needed additions and repairs. Another factor contributing to reliance on the "illegal" method was the fact that the amount of rents received from Government Dwelling Houses, which were supposed to be utilized to make the necessary additions and repairs on these houses, were never in fact large enough to keep pace with the rate of deterioration on the buildings.

The practice of allowing private individuals to make additions and repairs to the Government Dwelling Houses was also prohibited in January 1832, at the express orders of the Secretary of War. Thereafter, from 1832 to 1861, all such repairs and additions were made at Government expense and by builders employed for that purpose by the Armory.

From the above remarks, it is apparent that any Government Dwelling House erected in the period 1800 to 1832 by means of either public or private construction, ^{could Exh. b. +} a wide range of variety in the quality of the construction and workmanship made in the subsequent

additions and repairs that occurred to the original structure.

3. Numbers of Government Dwelling Houses, 1810-1861.

1810: 15 dwelling houses and part of four workshops used as quarters, also many log cabins. Work force: 197 men.

1821: 89 dwelling houses and outbuildings. Work force: 271 ma.

1832: 127 dwelling houses. Work force: 349 men.

1844: 175 dwelling houses.¹ Work force in 1841: 398 men.

1850: 143 dwelling houses.² Work force in 1852: 354.³

1860 Between 32 and 43 dwelling houses. Work force in January 1859 cut from 400 to 250 men.⁴

4. Rate of Construction of Government Dwelling Houses:

<u>No. Erected by Government</u>	<u>No. By Private Individuals</u>	<u>Total listed</u>
1796-1810: 15 houses	?	15, plus log cabins
1811-1821: 21 houses	about 53	89 in 1821
1822-1832: 27 houses	about 11, (see below)	127 in 1832
1833-1844: 22 houses (last of which erected in 1837)	about 26, all of which must have been built before 1832 but claims on them were not purchased by the Government until 1837-38	175 in 1844-45
1844-1861: 5 houses	7 houses purchased with private property, 1847-48.	

1. This figure is obtained deducting Bldgs. No. 176 to 182 which were acquired in 1847-48, from the list in Chapter VIII, and adding to it "old Pay Office".

2. This figure is obtained by adding to the December 31, 1850 "Recapitulation" of 141 buildings, the Commanding Officer's and Paymaster's Quarters, which were standing at that date but not included on the list.

3. Inspection Report, July 20, 1852, R. 20, v. 2, p. 120.

4. Inspection Report, April 14, 1859, Photostatic Collection, Vol. 4, p. 1.

Totals:	About 80 houses erected by the Government, from 1796-1861.	About 95 houses erected by private individuals from 1810-1832.	Total of about 175 houses 1844, loca- ted on Government land.
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5. Disposal of Government Dwelling Houses, 1845-1861

1. Total of 175 Government dwelling houses were standing in 1844 on Armory property.
2. 1845 to 1850: 23 buildings were demolished and materials sold.
3. 1851 to 1852: 40 buildings demolished and materials sold.
4. 1853 to 1854: at least 22 buildings were demolished.
5. August 31, 1852, 52 Government Dwelling Houses were sold at private sale to Armory workmen at appraised value.
6. September 1 and 2, 1852, four Government Dwelling Houses were sold at public auction to the highest bidders.
7. Leaving as the maximum number of Government Dwelling Houses still owned by the Government in 1859-61, 43 buildings. Further demolition of substandard houses reduced the number to 33 structures standing in 1859-61 period.

APPENDIX I
EXTRACTS FROM THE 1851 BY-LAWS & ORDINANCES
OF THE
CORPORATION OF HARPERS-FERRY
from the
Virginia Free Press, August 7, 1851,
p.3, c.1, 2, and 3

"ORDINANCE 4.

Sec. 1. Whenever it is determined by ordinance to pave or grade any street, land or alley, build any bridge or make any common sewer, the Mayor shall lay down the proper grade or pitch for the same, make contracts for all the necessary materials and work therefor, and superintend the execution of the work. He shall likewise when any street, lane or alley is directed to be paved, as soon as practicable, make an estimate to be subsequently corrected if necessary of the probable cost per square yard including the curb stones for doing the same, to be used by the Council in laying the necessary tax on the property fronting on said street, lane or alley, and as soon as said tax is imposed the Secretary shall make out for the use of the Sergeant the amount with which each lot or tenement is properly chargeable at the cost ascertained as above, measuring to the middle of said street, lane or alley, from each side. The tax shall be forthwith collected by the Sergeant and paid to the Treasurer, and be subject to the order of the Mayor for the purpose for which it was levied.

SEC. 2. The Mayor shall cause the streets, lanes or alleys, gutters, bridges and common sewers, to be repaired when he may deem it necessary, and draw upon the Treasurer for the cost of the same.

Sec. 3. When Footways are by ordinance directed to be made, the curb stones always to be included, the Mayor shall lay down and establish the proper grade according to which, the several owners of property on the street, lane or alley, where said footways are ordered, shall have the same made in front of their respective lots or tenements within a certain reasonable time, to be named by the Mayor, and of which written notice shall be given to the owners or occupiers of said property, and if any owner or owners of property shall fail to have his, her or their footway so made within the time specified, which expense from the time it is incurred shall become a debt in favor of the corporation against the owner or owners thus failing and before whose property the footway has been made.

ORDINANCE 5.

Sec. 1. It is hereby declared to be a nuisance and unlawful for any person to make any open gutter for conveying water across any footway, more than four inches deep or more than twelve inches wide; any person herein offending, shall forfeit any pay a fine not less than \$1 nor more than \$5.

Sec. 2. When footways situated on any street, lane or alley, which has been paved or graded, require filling up, cutting down or in any manner bringing to the proper grade, the Mayor shall have notice given in writing to the owners of the property (or their agents) thereon to do what may be required with a certain reasonable time to be mentioned in the notice; and if any of said owners, shall not, in conformity with such notice, do what is required as to his, her or their footway, the Mayor shall have the same done at the cost

"of the corporation, and said cost is hereby declared to be a debt and claim in favor of the corporation against said owner.

Sec. 3. When any footway or line of curb stones requires repairs, the Mayor shall notify the owner or occupier of the lot or tenement, before which such repairs are necessary, to have the same made within a certain reasonable time, to be named by the mayor, and if they are not made within the said time, then he shall have the same made at the expense of the corporation, which expense shall become a claim in favor of the corporation against said owner.

Sec. 4. It is hereby declared to be a nuisance and unlawful, for any owner or owners of property, fronting on any of the streets, lanes or alleys of Harper-Ferry, to have cause to be paved any footway in front of said property, until he, she, or they, shall have first applied to the mayor; and he shall have marked out and laid down the proper grade, by which the same shall be made, any person herein offending shall be subject to a fine of five dollars.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the mayor to cause the pavement of any footway, laid or lying differently from the general grade of the street, lane or alley wherein such footway is situated, forthwith to be taken up and laid down according to the true and proper grade; the expense of the same shall be a claim in favor of the corporation against the owner or owners.

Sec. 6. All curb stones shall be at least three inches in thickness, and eighteen inches in depth, the ends thereof straight and the upper edges straight and level to the pitch of the footway, and it is hereby declared a nuisance for any person to set a curb stone, contrary to the provisions of this ordinance for which he or she shall pay a fine of five Dollars, recoverable as other fines.

ORDINANCE 6.

Sec. 1. It is hereby declared to be a nuisance for any house, wall or fence or for the foundation thereof, or any part thereof to encroach upon the true limits of the street, lane or alley, upon which the same is situated; and for such nuisance, the owner or owners thereof shall pay a fine of five dollars for every day the same shall continue; and said fine shall be no bar to proceedings on the part of the corporation, for the statement of said nuisance.

Sec. 2. If any three inhabitants of Harpers-Ferry shall at any time report in writing to the town council, that a nuisance exists in Harpers-Ferry, which will endanger the health thereof, they shall immediately cause the same to be examined and to be removed..."

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Report

HF-21B

Maintenance, and Numbers of Armory Dwelling House, 1796-1869," October 3, 1958, revised January 13, 1959, 140 pages, 2 maps, by Charles W. Snell.

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