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Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, Jefferson's Lot, and Part of Lot 2 Shenandoah Street, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

(1796 to 1953)

Special History Study

FINAL REPORT

Prepared by:

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National Park Service/University of Maryland
Cooperative Agreement

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PREFACE

The Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, Jefferson's Lot, and Lot 2 all are located on the north side of Shenandoah Street. Lot 1, containing Park Building 45, forms the eastern boundary of the school lot, while the Presbyterian Church Lot forms the western boundary. To the west of the church lot is Jefferson's Lot, which is bounded on its westerly side by Lot 2, containing Park Building 48. South Cliff Street (a paper street on top the cliff) provides the northern boundary for three of these lots, and St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church property provides the northern boundary of the school lot. With the exception of Park Building 45B at the far eastern corner of the Catholic School Lot, no buildings are located on three of the lots, or the portion of Lot 2 addressed in this report. Ruins of the Presbyterian Church, the stone wall running parallel to Shenandoah Street from the church to Lot 1, and the westernmost house on Lot 2 are extant.

Except for Lot 2, the early history of these lots is documented primarily in two 1959 Charles Snell reports: "Historic Building Site Survey Report, History of Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, and Jefferson's Lot, Shenandoah Street, 1796-1868" and "Historic Structure Report for the Presbyterian Church, 1843-1868." A report by Charlotte Fairbairn deals with Jefferson's Rock, situtated on the cliff section of Jefferson's Lot.[1] Park Building 48 on Lot 2 has been documented in several reports: history reports prepared by Charles Snell in 1958 and 1980, a history report prepared by Stan Bumgardner in 1991, and an archeology report printed

[1]Charlotte J. Fairbairn, "Jefferson's Rock" (National Park Service, November 1961).

in 1994.[2]

Neither Jefferson's Rock nor Park Building 48 will be addressed in the present report. This report covers the history of the Lower Town portions of the Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, Jefferson's Lot, and the remaining Lower Town portion of Lot 2 from 1796 to acquisition of the property by the Park in the 1950s. For the brief period when houses erected by or for armory workers stood on these lots, the term "House No. __" is used to identify the buildings, when possible. Charles Snell developed this designation based on armory rent rolls from the late 1840s and early 1850s, and he used these numbers in his report on these lots. Only two buildings (the former Catholic schoolhouse and a shed) stood into the Park era and, therefore, received Park Building numbers (Park Buildings 47 and 46 respectively). Because the Park quickly tore these buildings down, making use of the term "Park Building __" unnecessary, these buildings are only referenced by their Park building numbers for the discussion of the 1950s.

As with earlier reports, this document is primarily a physical history, presenting known information on property ownership, the construction or removal of buildings, and use of the property. An historical overview is included. However, while the overview explores a few topics in detail, this section is meant to be a framework for understanding the history of these lots, not a complete exploration of the historical contexts.

Central to the preparation of this report has been the Park computer database. Begun in February 1989 under a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the

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[2]Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Report, Part I and II, Bldg. No. 48, An Armorer's Dwelling House, Lot No. 2, Shenandoah Street," (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 31 October 1958); idem., "Historic Structure Report, An Armorer's Dwelling House, Bldg. No. 48, on U.S. Lot No. 2 North of Shenandoah Street, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia," (Denver Service Center, National Park Service, May 1980); Stan Bumgardner, " Historic Structures Report, Historical Data Section Update, Building 48," (Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 30 May 1991); Paul A. Shackel, ed. Domestic Responses to Nineteenth-Century Industrialization: An Archeology of Park Building 48, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Capital Region, Regional Archeology Program, Occasional Report No. 12, 1994).

University of Maryland Department of History, this database contains a computerized index of information on the Harpers Ferry area found in various sources, primarily local newspapers, censuses, and property records. Other sources consulted include armory records, maps, photographs, and other material at the Park; minutes of the Harpers Ferry Town Council; records of the Presbyterian Church; and various records in the Jefferson County Courthouse.

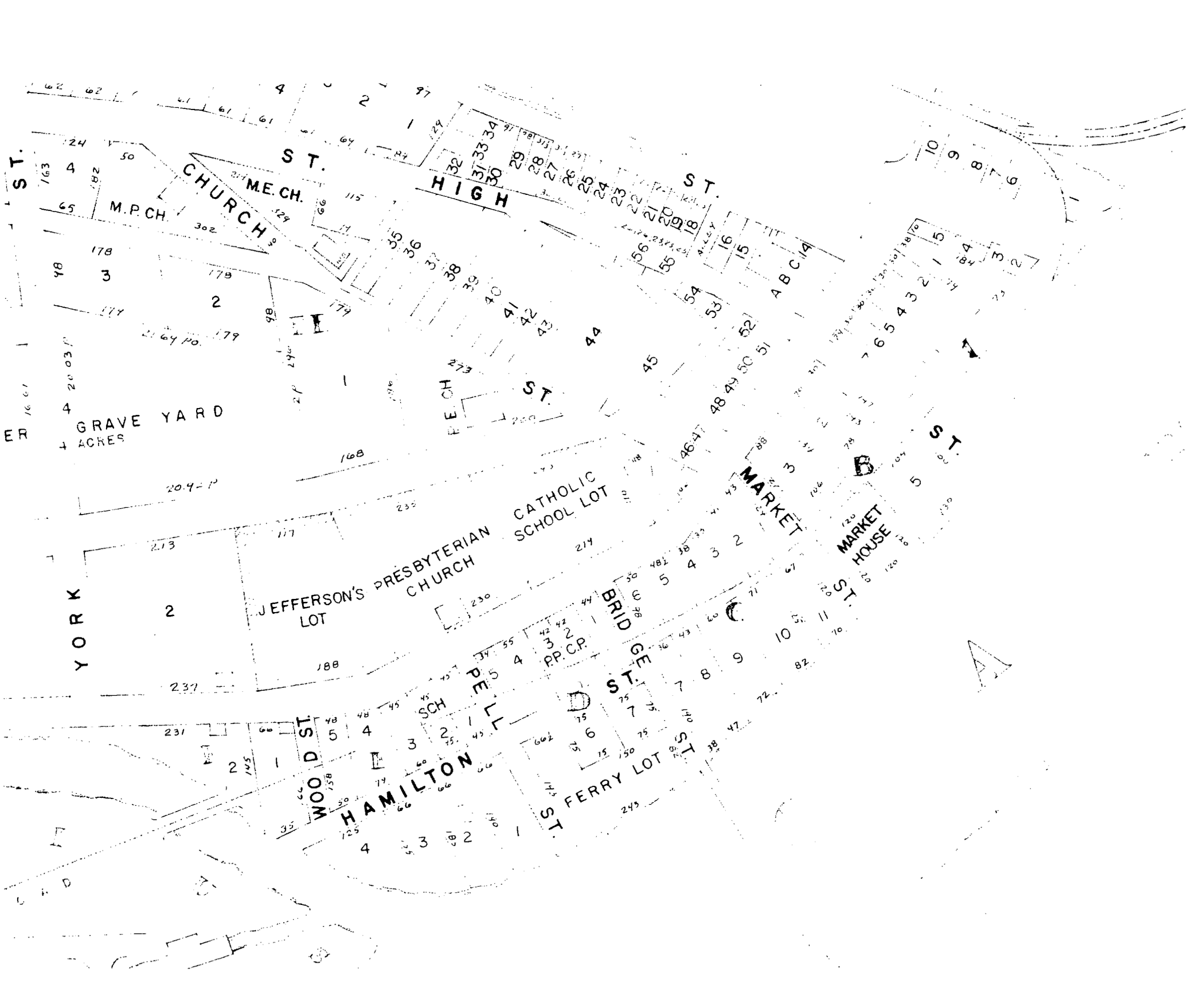

HIGH ST.
CHURCH
M.E. CH.
M.P. CH.
GRAVE YARD
4 ACRES
BEECH ST.
JEFFERSON'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH LOT
CATHOLIC SCHOOL LOT
YORK
MARKET
MARKET HOUSE
BRIDGE ST.
SCHOOL
P.P. C.P.
WOOD ST.
HAMILTON
FERRY LOT ST.
A
B
C
D

Figure 1. Map of Harpers Ferry, 1869, by S. Howell Brown.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Antebellum Period: Housing Armory Workers

The initial development of the Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, Jefferson's Lot, and Lot 2 was an outgrowth of the establishment of a national armory at Harpers Ferry at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1796 and 1797, the United States purchased much of the land at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers from the heirs of Robert Harper, an early settler who had acquired his holdings from Lord Fairfax in several patents between 1751 and 1763. At the time of the government purchases, Harpers Ferry had grown only modestly from the settlement Harper first had seen in 1747. Then little more than a convenient river-crossing point for travellers journeying through the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Shenandoah Valley and beyond, the community held only a handful of buildings, in addition to a gristmill, sawmill, and ferry operation, when Harper died in 1782.[3]

In 1794, Congress passed legislation providing for the establishment of up to four armories in the United States. Among its provisions was one giving the president authority to choose the location of these armories. George Washington, then president, quickly approved the recommendation of his Secretary of War Henry Knox that one armory be located at Springfield, Massachusetts. But Washington, long an advocate of the development of the Potomac Valley and a stockholder in the Potowmack Canal Company, also wanted an armory at Harpers Ferry. Despite opposition from the War Department, the government purchased land there. Construction

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[3]Joseph Barry, The Strange Story of Harper's Ferry with Legends of the Surrounding Country (Martinsburg, WV: Thompson Bros., 1903; reprint Shepherdstown, WV: Shepherdstown Register, Inc. for the Woman's Club of Harpers Ferry District, 1979), pp. 12-14; Charles W. Snell, "The Acquisition and Disposal of Public Lands of the U. S. Armory at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, 1796-1885," Vol I, "A Narrative History," (National Park Service, December 1979), pp. 1-3. Hereafter cited as "A Narrative History."

of necessary buildings and water works along the Potomac River began in 1799 and repair or production of arms began shortly thereafter.[4]

Development of the Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, Jefferson's Lot, and Lot 2 soon followed. An 1803 map of a proposed canal shows a log dwelling and stable then stood near the western end of this four-lot area, while another building was located toward the eastern end.[5] Over the next three or four decades, additional construction occurred, no doubt to address the housing shortage caused by the rapid expansion of the armory work force in the tiny community of Harpers Ferry. While no more than a handful of persons probably lived in Harpers Ferry before construction of the armory, by 1820, the population had grown to about 1,400. It continued to grow in subsequent decades. The supply of housing failed, however, to keep pace with the growing need. Throughout the early nineteenth century, armory superintendents repeatedly requested government funds to construct housing for armory workers. Some money was budgeted, but it was insufficient to meet the need. Consequently, through the 1820s, private construction on public lands was allowed. Between public and private construction, 169 dwellings stood on government land by 1840.[6]

That year, as many as a dozen dwellings may have stood along the narrow strip of land on the north side of Shenandoah Street, between the road and the cliffs. A few of these structures were more substantial dwellings constructed of brick or stone, but most were small, frame

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[4]Merritt Roe Smith, Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 28-32, 41.

[5]"Plan of the proposed junction of the CANAL at the lower Falls of Shenandoah, with the Public Canal at HARPER'S FERRY, and the necessary Locks for descending into the Potomak River," by N.King and L.Harbaugh, February 1803.

[6]Snell, "A Narrative History," p. 11; Charles W. Snell, "A Comprehensive History of Armory Dwelling Houses of the U. S. Armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, 1798-1884," hereafter cited as "A Comprehensive History, 1798-1884," Vol. I, p. 191. Also see Charles W. Snell, "A Comprehensive History of the Construction, Maintenance and Numbers of Armory Dwelling Houses, 1796-1869" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 13 January 1959), hereafter cited as "A Comprehensive History," for a detailed discussion of the construction of housing on government property. For private housing see pp. 19-32.

buildings crowded against the hillside. As armory superintendent Edward Lucas, Jr., pointed out in 1840, there was "no room or ground" on the north side of Shenandoah Street, making the area undesirable for residential use.[7] While people living just across the road could keep adequate gardens, an important supplement to the food purchased with workers' wages, those on the north side had little room for such activity.

Moreover, a request for money in the mid-1850s for the erection of a stone wall along the eastern portion of this four-lot area suggests another reason occupancy of houses on the north side may have been undesirable. With construction of a wall, "the constant wash from the hill-side will be arrested . . . ; whereas now the United States are at constant expense in removing from the street along this line the accumulated rubbish from the hill after every few rains."[8] In the 1840s and 1850s, nearly all the houses on these four lots (with the exception of Park Building 48) were demolished, so the problem in part may have arisen because there was nothing left to hold the disturbed ground. Yet, the justification for this wall states it was "wash from the hill-side," a statement that suggests the houses regularly were subjected to runoff from the cliffs.[9]

The Presbyterian Church: Ladies' Fairs and Sunday School

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, no church buildings stood in Harpers Ferry.

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[7]James R. Hayman to the Superintendent of the U.S. Armory, 16 June 1840, Reel 12, Vol. 7, p. 682; Edw. Lucas, Jr. to Col George Talcott, 17 July 1840, Reel 12, Vol. 7, p. 681.

[8]Quoted in Charles W. Snell, "Expenditures for Repairs and Improvements at the U.S. Armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, during the Years 1842-1851, from National Archives, Washington, D.C.," (October 1980), Vol. III, p. 71.

[9]Snell, "A Comprehensive History, 1798-1884," Vol. II, "A Descriptive Catalog and Directory of 187 Armory dwelling Houses, 1841-1852, of the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, including Rents Collected, 1823 to 1851" (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, September 1981), pp. 47-59.

In 1810, armory paymaster Samuel Annin wrote the Secretary of War,

> As a society, we labor under great inconvenience in not having a place for public worship, for several years past we have had no other than a part of one of the workshops, which occasions considerable trouble in arranging and removing temporary seats.

Annin requested use of a portion of an armory workshop until such time as the space was needed.[10] The Secretary of War gave permission for such use. Religious services likely were held in armory buildings until the late 1820s, when the Free Church and Methodist Episcopal Church were constructed on land leased from the government.[11] Between 1830 and 1852, the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist Protestant, Episcopal, and Presbyterian denominations also built churches. All but the Catholic Church were erected on government property.[12]

It is not known when Presbyterianism first was practiced in Harpers Ferry, but members of this denomination lived in the community by the early 1830s. At that time, Harpers Ferry Presbyterians officially were members of the Presbyterian Church at Charles Town. However, local members probably did not travel frequently to Charles Town for worship. Rather, they probably attended services in the Harpers Ferry Free Church.[13] The Reverend Septimus Tuston,

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[10]Quoted in Philip R. Smith, Jr., "Research Report, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1818-1868, and the Free Church, 1818-1845" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 14 May 1959), p. 1.

[11]Smith, "Methodist Episcopal Church," pp. 1, 7, 11.

[12]See Philip R. Smith, Jr. "Research Report, History of the St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, 1830-1868" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 11 March 1959); "Historic Building Report, Part I, for Bldg. No. 48A, St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 6 May 1959); "Research Report, History of The Methodist Protestant Church and Odd Fellow Hall, Harpers Ferry, 1843-1868" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 12 March 1959); and "Research Report, History of The Evangelican [sic] Lutheran Christ Church, Camp Hill, 1850-1868" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 31 March 1959).

[13]Robert Bell Woodworth, A History of the Presbytery of Winchester (Synod of Virginia), (Staunton, VA: McClure Printing Co., 1947), p. 243; Notes on the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church in Records of the Winchester Presbytery, Snyod of Virginia, Presbyterian Church in the United States, Official Records and Relevant Historical Material of the Presbytery and her Constituent Churches under Auspices of History Committee, Synod of Virginia, Howard McKnight Wilson editor, Microfilm VW 20, Union Theological Seminary Library, Richmond, Virginia. The earliest reference in newspapers to a member of this denomination was an 1832 obituary for Sarah Russell (Virginia Free Press, 19 January 1832, p. 3, col. 3).

a Presbyterian minister, served this church in the early 1830s and perhaps earlier.[14] Later, Thomas Hoover preached occasionally in the Free Church as well.[15] This arrangement proved unsatisfactory to local Presbyterians. In 1835, and again in 1841, they petitioned the Winchester Presbytery to become an independent congregation. On September 3, 1843, the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church was officially organized. By then, the church building was complete.[16]

From a congregation of 27 in 1843, the church membership grew to 71 a decade later, but declined to 39 by 1860.[17] The church closed during the Civil War, and the building was used for military purposes, then briefly served as a mission school for freed blacks. After the war, services resumed, however, and the congregation grew to 68 by 1886. Between 15 and 31 non-members were baptized each year during the 1880s.[18] Surviving records indicate many church members in the post-war years were women; they likely comprised a large portion of the congregation before the war as well.[19]

Nationally, a majority of Protestant church members in the nineteenth century were women. The household econony, in which husband, wife, and children all contributed to the family economy, was on the decline, particularly for the middle class. Increasingly, male income-producing work was removed from the home setting, while the energies of middle-class women

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[14]Tuston's name appeared every month or so between 1830 and 1836 in connection with services at Harpers Ferry. See for example Virginia Free Press, 2 June 1830, p. 3, col. 3; 5 May 1831, p. 3, col. 2; 31 May 1832, p. 3, col. 2; 30 May 1833, p. 2, col. 6; 26 December 1833, p. 3, col. 2; 21 August 1834, p. 3, col. 2; 2 June 1836, p. 3, col. 3.

[15]Virginia Free Press, 22 July 1841, p. 3, col. 2; 11 November 1841, p. 3, col. 1; 18 May 1843, p. 3, col. 2.

[16]Notes on the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, Records of the Winchester Presbytery; Virginia Free Press, 10 August 1843, p. 3, col. 2.

[17]Charles W. Snell, "History of Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, and Jefferson's Lot, Shenandoah Street, 1796-1868" hereafter cited as "Catholic School Lot" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 11 February 1959), p. 17.

[18]Compiled from Minutes of Sessions of Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, 1882 to 1889, pp. 25-75, Records of Winchester Presbytery, Reel VW 20.

[19]Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, Records of Winchester Presbytery, Reel VW 20

were restricted to issues concerning home and family. Furthermore, the theory of childrearing was changing from one rooted in patriarchal authority to one based on maternal affection, and women were called upon to play a more active role in the social and moral training of children. Once moral issues were defined as within women's sphere, the church and religion became a natural extension of women's family work. Church work also gave women an opportunity to express their individual identities and develop a female network outside the family.[20]

Women generally did not try to assume positions of leadership in churches. Men and church doctrine considered it inappropriate for women to preach or exercise authority within the church. Yet, women found avenues for influence either as teachers or through women's groups established to bring religion to the unchurched or otherwise promote the welfare of the church and congregation. A principal activity of many women's church groups was fundraising, and congregations increasingly relied on these fundraisers to build and maintain church buildings. The most common fundraiser was the ladies' fair. Typically, these fairs lasted only a few days, but women spent months making items for sale. Food of some kind generally was available, and sometimes a dinner was served. Entertainment also commonly was provided.[21]

Churches in Harpers Ferry fit this pattern. Newspapers regularly announced fairs being held by women of one or another of the congregations in town. From the 1840s to the 1880s, notices of fairs under the auspices of women of the Presbyterian Church appeared in newspapers. At these events, such items as "useful and fancy articles," potted flowers, ice cream, cake, candy,

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[20]Nancy Woloch, Women and the American Experience (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), pp. 120-22; Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989), pp. 70-75; Suzanne Lebsock, The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 215; Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 24-7, 85, 89-91, 99-101, 146-47, 158-61.

[21]Ryan, pp. 71-4, 83-92; Lebsock, pp. 215-16, 218.

and fruit were offered for sale.[22] More entertainment-oriented events were held in the 1880s and included musical performances, recitations, charades, and tableaux.[23] The Virginia Free Press provided the following commentary on one fair in 1869:

> A description of one of these Fairs is a description of all. The Fair of the ladies of the Presbyterian Church held during each night of last week was a complete and gratifying success, and was marked by a feature worthy of imitation everywhere. There was no gambling--no raffling--no chances were sold.--Great industry and care had been devoted for some months in preparation for the occasion, and, accordingly, the display of articles both useful and ornamental was very fine.... [T]he Fair succeeded because the weather was warm and the ice-cream was cool and the strawberries fresh; because the young ladies who flocked to it each evening were pretty and amiable, and the beaux appreciative and gallant; and because Harper's Ferry--impoverished though it is, and fallen from its early and pleasant estate--is always ready and willing to pay for its rational enjoyments, and to liberally patronize undertakings for christian purposes, when those undertakings are conducted, as this was, on christian principles.[24]

Who were the women who held these fairs? Few names are available, but it is likely many church women participated in some way, if not in organizing the events, then by making items for sale. For the pre-war years, only Ann C. Stephenson can be connected to a Presbyterian Church fair; an 1843 notice for an upcoming fair instructed readers of the Virginia Free Press to contact Mrs. Stephenson. Ann Stephenson was the widow of Major James Stephenson, one-time representative in Congress. Following his death in 1833, she went into the hotel business with her son-in-law Fontaine Beckham. Later, she purchased property at the northeast corner of Shenandoah and High streets and leased the first-floor storerooms to various businesses.[25] Other

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[22]Virginia Free Press, 8 June 1843, p. 3, col. 2; 27 May 1858, p. 2, col. 2; 6 June 1869, p. 3, col. 1; 13 June 1874, p. 3, col. 1; 28 August 1884, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 2 July 1847, p. 3, col. 4; 6 July 1886, p. 3, col. 2.

[23]Spirit of Jefferson, 18 August 1885, p. 3, col. 3; 6 July 1886, p. 3, col. 2.

[24]Virginia Free Press, 24 June 1869, p. 3, col. 1.

[25]Virginia Free Press, 24 July 1834, p. 3, col. 4; 7 September 1865, p. 3, col. 2; Charles W. Snell, "The Business Enterprises and Commercial Development of Harpers Ferry's Lower Town Area, 1803 to 1861," (9 April 1973), p. 85.

women known to have been members of the church before the Civil War were Ann Stephenson's daughter Ann Beckham; Mary Moore, wife of master armorer Benjamin Moore; Mrs. Catharine Brown; Leonora Brown, wife of armorer and later military storekeeper Adam Brown; Ann Wilson, wife of Harpers Ferry merchant John G. Wilson; and Mary Mauzy, wife of George Mauzy, prominent in business and civic affairs.[26]

Post-war, some 70 women joined the Presbyterian Church from the 1870s to 1890s while only 27 men became members. While many of these women may have participated in church functions, the names of only a few of them appear in accounts. In describing the 1869 fair, the Virginia Free Press noted the work of several women, among them Mrs. McCreight, Mrs. Crookston, and Mrs. Cutshaw. Five years later, Mrs. Cutshaw, Miss Rockenbaugh, and Mrs. Reason Cross were listed in the newspaper for their involvement in another fair. Florence Kirwan regularly participated in entertainments given in the 1880s for benefit of the Presbyterian Church. Lizzie McCreight was organist at the church for several years. Mrs. Daniel Ames was Sunday School superintendent during part of the 1890s. She was succeeded by Mrs. Emma Brent Crookston, who served in the late 1890s and early 1900s.[27]

Several of these women were related to men who were active in the church, as well as prominent in local business and civic affairs. Mrs. Elizabeth Cross and Mrs. Emma Crookston were the wife and daughter of Reason Cross, armorer and town constable before the war,

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[26]Virginia Free Press, 9 April 1835, p. 2, col. 6; 31 August 1843, p. 3, col. 2; 15 February 1844, p. 3, col. 1; 8 March 1849, p. 2, col. 7; Spirit of Jefferson, 7 May 1847, p. 3, col. 3; 25 April 1854, p. 2, col. 7; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, pp. 416, 419; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 213; Merritt Roe Smith, pp. 278-79; Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 17. For information on George Mauzy, see Mary Edith Johnson and John Barker, "Virginius Island: The Transformation of a Small Industrial Community, 1900-1936" (National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, 24 March 1993), pp. 273-75.

[27]Virginia Free Press, 24 June 1869, p. 3, col. 1; 13 June 1874, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 18 January 1881, p. 2, col. 2; 18 August 1885, p. 3, col. 3; 27 July 1886, p. 3, col. 2; Abstracts of Source Material by R.B. Woodworth, Records of the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, Records of the Winchester Presbytery, Reel VW 20.

merchant after the war, member of the town council, and church trustee.[28] Florence Kirwan, daughter of Ambrose and Margaret Cross, was Reason Cross' niece.[29] John McCreight, Celia McCreight's husband and Lizzie McCreight's father, was part owner of the flour mill on Virginius Island, town councilman, and church trustee, elder, and Sunday School superintendent for over a decade.[30] Evidently, many of the women who were most visibly active in the Presbyterian Church were related to men with positions of authority within the church. Such a situation is in keeping with circumstances in most churches, where a single family or clique dominated church affairs, only gradually and frequently reluctantly allowing other members to share in decision-making.[31]

In addition to helping the Presbyterian Church raise money, women likely also worked with the Sunday School. At the national level, women constituted the majority of teachers. According to Anne Boylan, the reasons were several: a majority of church members were women and Protestant doctrine increasingly reflected their numerical strength; the emergence of separate spheres for middle-class men and women encouraged close ties between women and children and depicted women as inherently suited to both rearing their own children and teaching or caring for the children of others; and women showed a willingness to devote considerable effort to teaching, which provided an opportunity for social contact outside the family, and were less troubled than

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[28]Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 398; Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 217; Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 468,; Virginia Free Press, 6 September 1866, p. 2, col. 2; 29 April 1869, p. 3, col. 3; 18 January 1879, p. 3, col. 1.

[29]Virginia Free Press, 4 July 1874, p. 3, col. 3; 24 September 1914, p. 3, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 3 April 1888, p. 2, col. 5. Reason and Ambrose Cross apparently were brothers, as their death records indicate both had a father Reason Cross. Additionally, Florence's mother was the sister of Reason's wife (Death Register 3, pp. 194, 226; Virginia Free Press, 30 May 1833, p. 2, col. 6; 10 July 1834, p. 3, col. 5).

[30]Johnson and Barker, pp. 275-78.

[31]In addition to the family connections mentioned above, there is evidence of other family ties within the Presbyterian Church. Members included Lydia Rockenbaugh, daughter of Mary and Benjamin Moore, and her daughter Kate and Lydia's sister Elizabeth and her husband Philip Stephenson, son of Ann Stephenson. Elder William H. Moore was a son of Benjamin Moore. Addie and Mary Cross were sisters of Florence Kirwan, while Jane Amanda was the daughter-in-law of Reason Cross. Nine members were Elgins, including elder and trustee James Elgin of Maryland. For a list of members see Records of the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, Reel VW 20.

men by the emotional exhibitions associated with preparing pupils for salvation. These women teachers did not generally exercise power within Sunday Schools, as the officers and superintendent were male unless the school had been founded by women for the education of girls only.[32]

Sunday Schools first appeared in the United States in the 1790s to impart basic reading and writing skills to poor working children. These schools soon were replaced by schools having an emphasis on evangelical Protestant instruction and including the children of both church and non-church families. Both types of schools, however, saw Sunday Schools as a means of providing not only religious training, but also instruction in punctuality, obedience, citizenship, manners, and self-control. Such schools brought children from varied social classes together, although church schools typically served the children of the middle class and "respectable working class," while mission schools served the children of lower-class families. To get children to attend Sunday School and behave properly, teachers frequently used the reward system, giving prizes or certificates and having picnics, excursions, and shows.[33]

The earliest indication of a Sunday School in Harpers Ferry is an 1819 account of a Sunday School assembly. Harpers Ferry Presbyterians had a school by 1838, five years before they had a church building.[34] No information on the antebellum Presbyterian Sunday School is available, but during the 1880s the Sabbath School served between 40 and 121 children a year, and during the 1890s it served between 15 and 43 children. By 1900, the Sunday School evidently had

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[32]Anne M. Boylan, Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 116-17, 119-20.

[33]Boylan, pp. 6-7, 10, 16, 38, 156-57.

[34]Farmers Repository, 10 November 1819, p. 3, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 8 November 1838, p. 3, col. 4.

become more a mission school, with many of the pupils reportedly being "the poor and neglected children of unbeliever[s]." Available records indicate between two and twelve teachers instructed these children. The teachers' names are not recorded, but John McCreight was Sunday School superintendent in the 1870s and 1880s, while Mrs. Daniel Ames and Mrs. Emma Brent Crookston filled that position in the late 1890s.[35] Like Sunday Schools nationally, the Presbyterian school attracted children by sponsoring picnics to Island Park and holding Christmas celebrations.[36]

In 1904, Presbyterian Church services were discontinued, the membership having dropped to nine, and the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church was formally dissolved April 26, 1912.[37] Mission work along Shenandoah Street was continued by others, however. For example, Mrs. George Child operated a mission school in her home, then on Lot 6, Block C, about 1909. A decade later, St. Andrews Parish and Zion Protestant Episcopal Church conducted a Sunday School on nearby Virginius Island before moving to Jefferson's Lot. More extensive study of mission work, and charitable activities in general, could shed light on conditions in Harpers Ferry and the dynamic of class relationships. For now, that must remain a largely obscure aspect of the town's history.[38]

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[35]Compiled from Minutes of Sessions of Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, 1882 to 1889, pp. 25-75, Records of Winchester Presbytery, Reel VW 20. A note on the Sunday School in 1901, then under the superintendence of Mrs. E. Brent Crookston, states, "The Church conducts a Mission Sunday School the whole year for the poor and neglected children of unbeliever." (Quoted in Abstract of Source Material by R. B. Woodworth, Reel VW 20)

[36]Virginia Free Press, 8 January 1876, p. 2, col. 5; 20 January 1877, p. 3, col. 2; 17 July 1880, p. 2, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 23 December 1873, p. 3, col. 2; 11 July 1876, p. 3, col. 1; 11 January 1881, p. 3, col. 2; 17 July 1883, p. 3, col. 1.

[37]Woodworth, pp. 243-44.

[38]Farmers Advocate, 7 August 1909, p. 1, col. 1; Interview with Edna Brashear Farmer by John T. Eddins and Anna-Marie York, 19 May 1994. Also see p. 82 of this report. The location of these various missions along Shenandoah Street suggests some of the poorer elements of Harpers Ferry may have resided in this area, as it is unlikely they would have traveled any distance. This conclusion certainly is in keeping with some of the findings of the research on Virginius Island (see Johnson and Barker, Chapter 3). Historical research on Lower Town has been directed toward specific buildings; consequently, only those persons who have been located in a specific building have been discussed in the reports. Since few people have been so located, the majority of residents of this area have remained anonymous. To fully understand the nature of community in Lower Town, a broader focus, not limited by identification with buildings, would have to be undertaken. Based on known residents of Blocks D and E, located across the street, it can be hypothesized these blocks were inhabited by working-class families.

Land Sale in 1869, New Construction, and Mixed Use

Although some of the United States' property in Harpers Ferry was sold in 1852, none of the lots discussed in this report were made available for that sale. Rather, this land remained government property until after the Civil War. Following the destruction of the armory during the war and the government's decision not to rebuild these facilities, retention of the property reserved from the 1852 sale was no longer necessary. As a result, the government decided to dispose of this property by deeding property previously set aside for church, school, or other public use to the appropriate institutions and offering the remainder for public auction on November 30, December 1, and December 2, 1869.[39]

Lot 2, with Park Building 48, was sold at the auction. The Presbyterian Church was granted title to the lot in which the church sat, and the Catholic Church received a deed for the land on which its school sat down to Shenandoah Street below. (The school, built in the 1850s, sat on the cliff, outside current Park boundaries, and is not discussed in this report.) Jefferson's Lot, with the rock Thomas Jefferson made famous for its scenic view, apparently through an oversight, was not transferred to anyone.

The 1869 sale proved a disaster. Unlike the 1852 sale, the legislation authorizing the 1869 land sale did not require purchasers to pay any money upfront, allowing them to execute bonds for future payment. Moreover, in expectation of a post-war boom from manufacturing facilities rumored soon to be erected in Harpers Ferry, individuals bought government property at inflated prices, only to discover later that their expectations had been based on the false claims of speculators. Further devaluing many lots was the 1870 flood, a deluge which devastated Harpers

[39]Snell, "A Narrative History," pp. 32-4.

Ferry. Many people petitioned for relief from their purchase prices. In 1878, Congress passed legislation authorizing the Secretary of War to release purchasers from their commitments in return for quit claim deeds and releases or to abate part of the price to those who had improved their property. In the following year and a half, the United States government received quit claim deeds on over 120 lots, which were offered for resale in May 1880. Lot 2, the only one of the four lots sold rather than granted, finally was disposed of in 1880.[40]

At that time, the Presbyterian Church and Park Building 48 still were the only buildings standing on the four lots. A Catholic school, a jail, a blacksmith shop, and another dwelling soon were constructed, so that by the 1890s, residential, commercial, civic, educational, and religious uses all were represented along this narrow strip of land north of Shenandoah Street. Just to the east was the town's main commercial district, while a residential area of dwellings interspersed with small businesses lay across Shenandoah Street.

The degree of diversity in use was short-lived. Membership in the Presbyterian Church began to decline in the late 1880s, spurred on by another major flood in 1889, and church services were discontinued in 1904.[41] The Catholic school had closed five years earlier, reportedly due to the departure of many families with children to more "industrial centers."[42]

Although the school remained Catholic Church property, and was used for other church purposes, it and the Presbyterian Church were converted for secular endeavors in the second decade of the twentieth century. The schoolhouse became a movie theater. Meanwhile, the

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[40]James P. Noffsinger, "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Contributions toward a Physical History" (National Park Service, November 1958), pp. 50-3; Snell, "A Narrative History," pp. 42-3, 51, 61-4.

[41]Minutes of Sessions of Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, 1882 to 1889, pp. 25-75, Records of Winchester Presbytery, Reel VW 20.

[42]Rev F. Joseph Magri and Walter E. Dittmeyer, History of Saint Peter's Church Harper's Ferry, West Virginia and Missions (n.p., 1930), no page numbers.

Presbyterian Church was converted for use first as a trunk and bag factory. Later, the building variously saw use as a garage, knitting mill, and bakery.

Women at Work in Harpers Ferry: Interwoven Mills, 1920-1926

Textile production long was an important commercial enterprise in the Shenandoah Valley. In the mid-1700s, linen manufacture was the principal product. According to the 1810 census of manufactures, Berkeley and Jefferson counties led the state of Virginia in the production of mixed cottons and produced a significant quantity of woolen goods, but ranked nearly last in the manufacture of linen goods. Together, these two counties also ranked fourth in the production of stockings, reportedly manufacturing over 14,000 pairs.[43]

While technological advances at the turn of the century made cotton manufacturing a large-scale industry in the nineteenth century, first in New England and the mid-Atlantic states and later in the South, woolen manufacture was more important in the Shenandoah Valley. Several woolen mills were located in or near Jefferson County at mid-century. For example, the 1850 Products of Industry records five woolen or mixed woolen and cotton mills in Jefferson County.[44] That year, the only two mills devoted exclusively to cotton manufacture stood on Virginius Island at Harpers Ferry. Both were smaller than the average cotton mill in the country, but the larger mill (the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company) employed more hands than any of

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[43]Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), pp. 146, 202-203.

[44]Seventh Census (1850), Products of Industry, Jefferson County, Virginia. For information on woolen mills in the Valley, particularly in Frederick County, Virginia, see Wilbur S. Johnston, Weaving a Common Thread: A History of the Woolen Industry in the Top of the Shenandoah Valley (Winchester, VA: Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, 1990).

the woolen or mixed woolen and cotton mills in the county. Unfortunately, both island mills were short-lived.[45]

At mid-century, the manufacture of cotton and wool cloth increasingly occurred in a factory setting, but knit goods still were made primarily at home. While there were nearly 1,100 cotton mills in 1860 employing over 122,000 people, only 197 establishments employing 9,100 people manufactured knit goods (hosiery and underwear) of cotton and/or wool yarn. That year, nearly two million dozen pairs of hose and half-hose were manufactured in these knitting mills. Five decades later, when there were 1,374 knitting mills employing over 129,000 people, over 62 million dozen pairs were produced.[46]

This increased production largely was the result of improvements in machinery. The two types of knitting machinery were flat and circular machines. The flat frame dated to the sixteenth century. The first improvement of real importance did not come until 1851, when the cotton knitting frame was patented. This machine produced "full-fashioned" goods which then had to be sewed or seamed. The first circular frame of any practical use dated to the 1830s, with improvements coming in subsequent decades. In 1889 and 1890, several versions of the automatic seamless knitting machine were introduced. These machines were better suited to plain and coarse work than fancy and fine work. While the quality of the knitted goods may have been less than for those produced on flat cotton frames, the circular seamless machines brought greater output per operative at less cost. Census statistics show circular machines were predominant in 1905,

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[45]Johnson and Barker, pp. 41-4. Only the Shepherdstown based Webb woolen and cotton factory, with sixty employees, came close to employing as many hands as the Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah Manufacturing Company, with seventy workers. While half of the latter's employees were women, only a third of the workers at the former were women. However, the wages paid and value of goods produced were significantly higher at the Webb mill, suggesting a greater reliance on skilled workers and possibly the manufacture of finer cloths. (Seventh Census (1850), Products of Industry, Jefferson County, Virginia, p. 6).

[46]Melvin Thomas Copeland, The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923), pp. 3-8, 17, 23-25.

accounting for roughly 80 percent of knitting machines in the United States. However, with the appearance of shorter skirts for women after World War I, the demand for full-fashioned hose grew. As a result, there was greater need for skilled workers.[47]

In 1905, 35 states had knitting mills. About 60 percent were located in the mid-Atlantic states, most in New York and Pennsylvania. The demand for full-fashioned hosiery led to the establishment of new mills in the following two decades. North Carolina became a center for this new production, and by 1929, one-fifth of all hosiery mills in the United States were located in that state alone.[48]

With regard to the Shenandoah Valley, Martinsburg, the fourth largest city in West Virginia in 1890, and a rail junction for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Cumberland Valley branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad, became one center of textile manufacturing at the end of the nineteenth century.[49] One of the companies established in Martinsburg was Interwoven Mills, Inc., a knitting mill manufacturing men's hosiery. Begun in 1890 as the Middlesex Knitting Company, the mill became the Kilbourn Knitting Company after Ernest Kilbourn, a knitting machine inventor and owner of a company in New Brunswick, New Jersey, acquired the Martinsburg plant. In 1905, the name was changed to Interwoven. By 1919, over 1,500 employees worked in the Martinsburg plant, and an even greater number were employed in New Brunswick. The company also had several branch mills, in 1922 including mills at Berkeley Springs, West Virginia; Hagerstown, Maryland; and Chambersburg, Shippensburg, and

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[47]Copeland, pp. 101-107; Philip Scranton, Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800-1885 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 169; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, et al, Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), pp. 235-36, 256.

[48]Copeland, p. 31; Hall, pp. 235-36, 255.

[49]Johnston, pp. 6-7. For woolen mills in the Winchester/Martinsburg area, see pp. 46-144.

Greencastle, Pennsylvania.[50]

As early as 1891, citizens of Harpers Ferry were interested in having a knitting mill at Harpers Ferry, and in 1895 a company was formed with that intention.[51] No mill was established, but efforts continued and by 1913 focused on getting Interwoven Mills to establish a branch factory in Harpers Ferry. A meeting was held in January 1913 to discuss how the community could facilitate the opening of such a branch. The first condition was the availability of at least eighty female workers. A hundred girls signed up for employment, and it was expected manufacturing would shortly begin in George Child's old store building (Lot 6, Block C).[52] Nothing came of this effort, but in May 1918, the president of the company came to Harpers Ferry to investigate the possibility of opening a branch in the former Child store.[53]

It was another year and a half, however, before Interwoven Mills finally decided to open a branch in Harpers Ferry in the old Presbyterian Church rather than the Child building. Although failing to recall the earlier short-lived cotton factories on Virginius Island, the Farmers Advocate captured the significance of the knitting mill's opening when it stated, "The new industry will be of great benefit to Harpers Ferry, nothing of the kind ever having been in operation there before. It will supplement the pulp mills which give employment only to men."[54] Interestingly, the newspaper reported pulp mill superintendent Eugene Bready had been actively involved in negotiations to bring Interwoven to Harpers Ferry. Perhaps Bready believed there was a need for

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[50]William Thomas Doherty, Berkeley County, U.S.A.: A Bicentennial History of a Virginia and West Virginia County, 1772-1972 (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing Co., 1972), pp. 298, 366-67; Farmers Advocate, 29 November 1919, p. 1, col. 6.

[51]Spirit of Jefferson, 22 December 1891, p. 3, col. 3; 8 October 1895, p. 2, col. 3.

[52]Farmers Advocate, 1 February 1913, p. 2, col. 4; 15 February 1913, p. 2, col. 1; Virginia Free Press, 6 February 1913, p. 3, col. 4.

[53]Farmers Advocate, 4 May 1918, p. 2, col. 4.

[54]Farmers Advocate, 29 November 1919, p. 1, col. 6.

jobs for the female relatives of the men who labored in the pulp mills.[55]

The Harpers Ferry branch of the Interwoven Mills began operations March 22, 1920. That day, the first group of females began work, the intention of the company being to start another group as soon as the first learned to operate the machines properly. Each girl was to earn $1.50 a day while learning the job. Eventually, each employee was to be put on piecework. Forty-five knitting machines were then in place in the building. Each employee was to operate three machines capable of making as many as twelve dozen pairs of stockings. (Accounts do not specify the time period involved, but apparently this output was per day.) When it opened, F. W. Vanhorn was general manager of the Harpers Ferry mill. He also was to manage a mill under construction in Berkeley Springs. The only man known to have been hired at Harpers Ferry was Maurice Wentzell.[56]

While company records have not been located, therefore limiting available information on the mill, its operations, and its employees, some insights into the nature of the work in the knitting mill is revealed in the following glowing commentary in the July 17, 1920, issue of the Farmers Advocate:

> . . . the character of the labor required makes slight differences between it and the duties performed in an orderly and well kept home--and the women folks seem to know it for some of our most particular and efficient ones are taking employment and getting some of the fat checks at the end of the week.[57]

While no doubt written to encourage more women to seek employment at the mill by comparing it to work in the home, this commentary also suggests the lack of skill required by the mill

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[55]Farmers Advocate, 29 November 1919, p. 1, col. 1. For a discussion of the family in the work place, see Hall, Like a Family, and Tamara K. Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[56]Farmers Advocate, 14 February 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 27 March 1920, p. 1, col. 3; 22 May 1920, p. 1, col. 1.

[57]Farmers Advocate, 17 July 1920, p. 1, col. 1.

workers. The mill may have used the circular seamless machines that typically were operated by girls or women and required neither the skill nor the experience needed to run other types of knitting machinery.[58] Early in 1922, Interwoven made plans to enlarge the Harpers Ferry mill and have hosiery finished there rather than sent elsewhere for completion. In July, new machinery for making fancier and more costly items was installed, possibly indicating a rise in the job skills required.[59] Nevertheless, the level of skill required may have remained low. Nationally, while women did fill skilled textile jobs, such jobs more commonly were held by men.[60]

In August 1920, the Harpers Ferry branch of Interwoven employed about fifty workers. The maximum number of workers employed during the six years the mill operated in Harpers Ferry was between ninety and a hundred in 1922. Shortly thereafter, the work force apparently dropped, as the Farmers Advocate reported in 1926 the mill had employed sixty to seventy-five girls and women in the last three or four years.[61] While some of these employees came from Harpers Ferry and Bolivar, many came from outlying areas such as Silver Grove and Millville, West Virginia, and Weverton and Brunswick, Maryland.[62]

An advertisement for Interwoven Mills in 1922 indicates the company was interested in

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[58]Copeland, p. 106.

[59]Farmers Advocate, 25 March 1922, p. 1, col. 5; 15 July 1922, p. 1, col. 1.

[60]In "Gender Segregation in the Transition to the Factory: The English Hosiery Industry, 1850-1910," Sonya O. Rose shows that English women were restricted to "low-paid jobs that 'fit' their gender role as supplementary wage earners" (p. 180). During the putting-out era, they worked in the home under the supervision of husbands or fathers. During the factory era, many women continued to work by hand or on sewing machines, while men operated most of the mill machinery and supervised the women. The circular knitting machine capable of making seamless socks was introduced in the late 1800s for use primarily by women, who still were largely excluded from jobs on more intricate machinery. (Feminist Studies 13, no. 1, Spring 1987, pp. 163-80) In the United States, statistics from 1938 indicate 64 percent of hosiery jobs were skilled, 23 percent semi-skilled, and only 13 percent unskilled. Women likely occupied a significant percentage of the skilled positions. However, these statistics likely reflect the dramatic growth in full-fashioned knitting mills after World War I occasioned by the demand for seamed stockings for wear with shorter women's skirts. The mill in Harpers Ferry made men's hosiery, not women's hosiery. As Jacquelyn Dowd Hall's book suggests, although women worked in the full-fashioned mills of North Carolina in large numbers, many of the mill workers, particularly the workers occupying the most skilled positions, were men (Hall, pp. 256-57).

[61]Farmers Advocate, 21 August 1920, p. 1, col. 3; 3 April 1926, p. 1, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 13 June 1922, p. 3, col. 5.

[62]Farmers Advocate, 22 May 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 2 October 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 8 January 1921, p. 1, col. 2; 24 September 1921, p. 1, col. 1; 15 July 1922, p. 1, col. 1.

hiring girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five to be trained on the knitting machinery. The age range of girls sought is in keeping with national employment patterns at the time; in 1920, over 25 percent of women ages sixteen to nineteen worked, and the peak ages for participation in the job market were twenty to twenty-four. Furthermore, for girls who came from working-class families, for whom the contributions of children were crucial to the family economy, getting a job by their mid-teens was the norm. Despite the emphasis on youth, the Harpers Ferry mill also may have employed some women "of advanced age" to do work that allowed rest from standing. In at least one case, the mill provided income for a woman who did sewing from her home.[63]

Forty-one female employees at the local mill have been identified.[64] For eight of them, only their names and association to the mill is known. For four others, the only additional information on them is the fact they journeyed from Sandy Hook, Weverton or Brunswick, Maryland, every day. More information is available for the remaining twenty-nine females. At least twelve were only about age sixteen or younger when they began working for Interwoven, while only three were over the age of twenty-four.[65] In keeping with national employment patterns, which show nearly half of unmarried women worked in 1920, but less than 10 percent

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[63]Farmers Advocate, 22 May 1920, p. 1, col. 1; Martinsburg Journal, 5 July 1922; Woloch, p. 545; Joy Parr, "Rethinking Work and Kinship in a Canadian Hosiery Town, 1910-1950" Feminist Studies 13, no. 1 (Spring 1987), p. 141. In testimony for her divorce suit against Charles Demory, Ella Demory indicated she had worked at the Interwoven mill a few months after she and her husband separated. One of her supporting witnesses noted Ella also had taken in sewing from the mill while she was still living with Charles. (Depositions of Ella Payne Demory and Mrs. H.E. Rockenbaugh, in Ella Payne Demory vs Charles W. Demory and cross suit, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse)

[64]The employees identified are Martha Barger, Alice Beall (possibly Bell), Addie Bell, Florence Boyer, Maude Boyer, Edna Boyer, Nannie Brashear, Frances Brashear, Agnes Burleigh, Marie Clipp, Annie Cogle, Addie Cooper, Cassie Cooper, Maude Cooper, Rosa Cooper, Gladys Coulter, Nellie Coulter, Edna Deaner, Ella Payne Demory, Bertha Edwards, Jessie Edwards, Annie Edwards, Selena Everhart, Margaret Kain, Grace LaRue, Pearl LaRue, Maude LaRue, Mary Longerbeam, Lizzie Mackley, Mrs. Nellie McConnell, Genevieve Neuse, Ella Nonce, Mary Phillips, Lillian Racey, Gertrude Reynolds, Maude Reynolds, Louise Rockenbaugh, Vivian Sponcellar, Bessie Staubs, Jennie Staubs, and Nellie Wolfe (Farmers Advocate, 27 March 1920, p. 1, col. 3; 17 April 1920, p. 1, col. 5; 22 May 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 8 October 1921, p. 1, col. 3; 15 July 1922, p. 1, col. 1; 25 July 1925, p. 1, col. 2; Interview with Mrs. Edna Brashear Farmer by John T. Eddins and Anna-Marie York, 19 May 1994; divorce cases of Louise M. Rockenbaugh vs Aldridge Thomas Rockenbaugh and Ella Payne Demory vs Charles W. Demory).

[65]Ages were derived from the 1920 census. Most of the women whose names are available worked at the mill that year. Because the census was taken in January, over two months before the first employees began working at the mill in late March, some of those listed as age sixteen on the census might have turned seventeen before beginning work at the mill. Several other women began working at the mill at an indeterminant time, so their age upon beginning work is not known.

of married women did so, nearly all the twenty-nine females were single (presumably never-married) when they began working at the mill. The exceptions were one widow (Nellie Burleigh McConnell) and three women then separated or soon to be separated from their husbands (Nellie Roeder Coulter, Louise Roeder Rockenbaugh, and Ella Payne Demory).[66] Twenty have been identified as having a possible or definite familial relationship to at least one other worker at the knitting mill. In most cases, the related women were sisters.[67]

A few of the knitting mill employees were the daughters of local businessmen or politicians; however, in general the mill workers were from working-class families. Census records indicate the fathers of most of these women were or had been laborers (at least one laborer father was dead in 1920), nearly all of whom worked at one of Harpers Ferry's pulp mills or one of the stone quarries near Harpers Ferry. Four women were daughters of men who were carpenters in 1920; another father, then a bridge inspector for the railroad, was listed on an earlier census as a carpenter. Admittedly, Agnes Burleigh and Nellie McConnell were the daughters of Harpers Ferry mayor Thomas Burleigh, and Grace, Pearl, and Maude LaRue were the daughters of merchant C. M. LaRue. Yet, even Burleigh and Larue had working-class backgrounds. Burleigh's father had been a laborer in Harpers Ferry, and although his mother made money by running a tavern and boarding house, young Thomas began his career as a laborer as well. The son of a shoemaker, LaRue also began as a laborer before starting his own shoemaking shop and later venturing into the grocery business.[68]

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[66]Woloch, p. 544.

[67]The following women have been positively identified as related by blood or marriage: sisters Nannie and Frances Brashear; sisters Agnes Burleigh and Nellie McConnell; sisters Addie, Cassie, Maude, and Rosa Cooper; various relationships between Nellie Coulter and Louise Rockenbaugh (sisters), Edna Boyer (sister-in-law of their brother Albert Roeder), Florence Boyer (exact relationship not known, but clearly related to Edna Boyer), and Lillian Racey (niece of Louise Rockenbaugh's mother-in-law); sisters Bertha and Jessie Edwards; and sisters Grace, Pearl, and Maude LaRue.

[68]This information has been gleaned primarily from census records for the Harpers Ferry area.

For many of these women, particularly those with minimal training, employment options may have been limited. Nationally, educated women might become professionals, nurses, or teachers. Those with less training could work in an office or department store, but for those women with few skills, factory work, waitressing, and domestic service, "in that order," were the available options. In the 1920s, one-fifth of working women worked as servants, cooks, or laundresses in someone's home, and over one-third were engaged in personal service of some kind. Another one-third worked in factories.[69] For employed women in Harpers Ferry, Bolivar, and the surrounding district, the 1920 census, taken several months before Interwoven opened its Harpers Ferry branch, indicates one-third, many of them black, were servants (including servants, maids, and women engaged in housework), cooks, or laundresses. Combined with the laborers, housekeepers, seamstresses, dressmakers, and waitresses, these women accounted for half of female work force. Another one-fifth were teachers, several at Storer College. The remainder included clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, telephone operators, salesladies, merchants, restaurant proprietors, and milliners.

Some of the women who went to work for Interwoven had known prior work experience. In 1920, Edna Boyer was working as a telephone operator. Nannie Brashear, Annie Cogle, and Addie Cooper were engaged in domestic service. Pearl LaRue worked in her father's grocery. Agnes Burleigh had worked as a store clerk in 1918. Nellie McConnell was working as a waitress in a restaurant in 1920, and she previously had been connected to a millinery shop. Bertha Edwards apparently already had worked in a knitting mill, as had several of the Cooper girls. Others may have been employed prior to getting a job at the mill, but for some, no doubt, work

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[69]Alice Kessler-Harris, Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 128, 135, 236-37.

at the knitting mill was their first job experience.[70]

How long these women worked at the mill is not known, but some likely did not work there for the entire six years the mill was open. It was common at other textile mills for workers to remain on the job for a short time. In textile mill communities, some school age mill hands worked only during the summer months. Other short-term employees left because they could not take the work, did not fit into the mill environment, had sought employment only to earn a specific amount of money, or wished to work at another mill where pay and/or work conditions were better. In addition, many women worked only until they married, while others typically moved in and out of the labor market while they reared children.[71]

Of the twenty-nine women, about one-third are known to have married between 1920 and the mill's closure in 1926. Given the fact less than 10 percent of married women nationally worked, many of these women may have stopped working at the mill when they married. At least one of them was not working there at the time of her marriage. In June 1920, the Farmers Advocate reported Edna Boyer had been hired as a day clerk in the office at the Hotel Conner--only two months after she began work at the mill. One knitting mill employee, Rosa Cooper, was killed in an automobile accident in 1921.[72] On the other hand, Jennie Staubs, who was among those starting in 1920, was still working for Interwoven in July 1925 and probably was there when the mill closed less than a year later.[73]

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[70]Fourteenth Census (1920), pp. 191A, 191B, 192A, 192B, 193A, 195A, Farmers Advocate, 18 March 1911, p. 2, col. 2; 18 May 1918, p. 2, col. 2; 27 March 1920, p. 1, col. 3. The Farmers Advocate reported in 1917 that the John Cooper family, who had left in the summer to work in a knitting factory at Ellicott City, Maryland, had returned to Harpers Ferry (20 October 1917, p. 2, col. 3).

[71]Hareven, pp. 73-4, 229, 241-44. See also Hall, Like a Family for a discussion of similar employment patterns in the South.

[72]Farmers Advocate, 12 June 1920, p. 1, col. 5; 8 October 1921, p. 1, col. 3.

[73]Farmers Advocate, 25 July 1925, p. 1, col. 2.

When Interwoven opened its branch knitting mill at Harpers Ferry in March 1920, signs of economic trouble were apparent. Nationally, World War I had brought steady employment and production under government mandate but also had contributed to an inflation rate that more than doubled the cost of living between 1913 and 1920. After the war, labor/management conflicts erupted, as workers pushed for wage hikes and business owners sought to roll back concessions made during the war. Additionally, unemployment soared between 1920 and 1922.[74]

Locally, the first sign of trouble came early in 1919, when Southern Limestone Company workers went on strike in protest of a reduction in work hours. By mid-1920, workers at Northern Virginia Power Company and several local quarries were confronted with possible work suspensions due to coal shortages caused by a railroad strike. Late in the year, several local quarries suspended operations earlier in the season than normal, throwing dozens of men out of work. The pulp mills also made cutbacks, as did the railroad.[75]

In December 1920, just nine months after the knitting mill opened, Interwoven announced the closure of its mills until early in January, when a new wage scale was to take effect. The stated reason for this action was the inability of the company to sell its product at a profit. The company cited prevailing wage rates and the high cost of raw material as reasons for company losses and attempted to downplay the effects of the wage cuts by noting the decline in the cost of living. Nationally, the textile industry was going through difficult times. Fluctuations in cotton prices, overproduction, and bankruptcies plagued the industry in the 1920s, and hosiery manufacturers evidently were affected. When the Harpers Ferry mill reopened in January, the

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[74]John A. Garraty and Robert A. McCaughey, The American Nation, vol. 2, A History of the United States Since 1865, 6th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1987), p. 719.

[75]Farmers Advocate, 1 February 1919, p. 3, col. 4; 3 July 1920, p. 1, col. 6; 11 December 1920, p. 1, col. 3; 12 March 1921, p. 1, col. 2; 30 April 1921, p. 1, col. 2; 24 September 1921, p. 1, col. 1.

average wage had been cut 20 percent.[76] However, the company did not reduce work hours or its work force, and the local mill continued to seek additional female employees while industries employing men were laying off workers.[77]

The knitting mill closed again for several weeks in 1924, reportedly due to a sluggish market, and another pay cut was made. Finally, in 1926, the Harpers Ferry mill closed permanently. The newspaper report of the mill's closure does not explain why the mill was closing, but the Harpers Ferry correspondent of the Farmers Advocate concluded the "most plausible" reason was the inability to run at a profit.[78] Why the Harpers Ferry mill was less profitable than other Interwoven mills that were not shut down is a question awaiting an answer.

Going to the Movies in Harpers Ferry

Nineteenth-century Harpers Ferrians had a variety of ways in which to spend their leisure hours. Local newspapers are full of references to dramatic and musical shows, tableaux, circuses, lectures, picnics, and meetings for the masons, odd fellows, and literary organizations among others. Many events were held as fundraisers or with some moral or educational improvement in mind, while others were strictly social occasions.[79] Saloons provided an alternate use of free time for some Americans, and toward the end of the 1800s, inventions such as the phonograph

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[76]Farmers Advocate, 18 December 1920, p. 1, col. 4; 25 December 1920, p. 1, col. 6; Hall, pp. 195-96.

[77]Farmers Advocate, 12 March 1921, p. 1, col 2; 11 June 1921, p. 1, col. 2.

[78]Farmers Advocate, 5 July 1924, p. 1, col. 1; 19 July 1924, p. 1, col. 2; 3 April 1926, p. 1, col. 1.

[79]See the computerized database index to newspapers for specific references.

expanded entertainment options in the United States.[80]

One such invention was the motion picture. Technological advances through the latter half of the nineteenth century provided the foundation for the development of cinema, but it was not until the 1890s that these advances culminated in the invention of moving pictures.[81] The first kinetoscope parlor in the United States opened in 1894. There, typically male customers viewed short films at individual machines. The projection system soon followed, thus allowing a seated audience. Moving pictures were added to the entertainment at vaudeville houses. Storefront theaters, travelling exhibitions, and arcades provided other venues in which movies were shown.[82] The first known motion picture to be shown in Harpers Ferry was in 1908. That April, a picture was shown in Jonadab Hall on Camp Hill for a nickel.[83]

This event shared only its price in common with the famed nickelodeons, in 1908 at the peak of their popularity. These storefront theaters typically were open all day, continuously showing movies. In larger towns, nickelodeon patrons generally were working-class people; a 1910 study in New York showed nearly 75 percent of people attending movies were from blue-collar families. Nickelodeons were widespread in such towns, and the brevity of films (10 to 30 minutes) meant workers might see a picture after work. Children also accounted for a high percentage of nickelodeon patrons. While upper and middle class people may have visited nickelodeons, they more likely saw movies at vaudeville theaters or as part of a lecture or

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[80]Thomas J. Schlereth, Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915 (New York: Harper Collins, Publishers, 1991), pp. 191-93, 225-29.

[81]For pre-cinema advances see Charles Harpole, ed., History of the American Cinema, vol. 1, The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907 by Charles Musser (New York: Scribner, 1990; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 15-78.

[82]Musser, pp. 78, 81, 92, 273, 299, 365-66, 370.

[83]Farmers Advocate, 18 April 1908, p. 2, col. 3.

religious program. Movies shown in those settings more frequently were educational in content. Those shown in nickelodeons were less so; in fact, the content of these movies sometimes offended middle-class mores and fostered efforts to censor movies. Eventually, as the nickelodeon era passed, and larger, more handsome movie houses were constructed, distinctions between patrons faded and movies became more reflective of middle-class values.[84]

In small towns, where movie promoters could not survive by catering to only one class, all people saw the same movies from the beginning. They were not necessarily seated together, however. In some cases, scaled admissions segregated people by wealth, while in many places racial segregation was the norm. During the early years of moving pictures, movies typically were available in small towns only via travelling shows that would stay for a few days or a couple of weeks and present a movie in the local town hall, church, opera house, or perhaps even in a tent. It also was fairly common for pictures to be shown as part of some live entertainment.[85] In April 1910, the Farmers Advocate reported a Charles Town man was showing a moving picture in a tent on the old circus grounds at Harpers Ferry. Later that year, and sporadically over the next few years, pictures were shown in the local opera house on Camp Hill. In 1914, a "dog and pony show" was in town for a week. Following the evening performances, the audience could see a moving picture for an additional five cents.[86]

By then, all but the smallest towns had some sort of regular movie show, either in a permanent theater or via an exhibitor who worked a weekly circuit of several towns. While early

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[84]Musser, pp. 184-87, 432, 444; Charles Harpole, ed., History of the American Cinema, vol. 2, The Transformation of Cinema, 1907-1915 by Eileen Bowser (New York: Scribner, 1990; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 1-2, 6, 8; Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 194, 205-206, 210.

[85]Musser, pp. 169-70, 183-84, 444-47; Bowser, pp. 1-2, 8-9.

[86]Farmers Advocate, 16 April, p. 2, col. 2; 15 October 1910, p. 2, col. 3; 23 May 1914, p. 2, col. 3; 5 September 1914, p. 2, col. 5; Virginia Free Press, 29 August 1912, p. 5, col. 4; 24 October 1912, p. 5, col. 4; Bowser, p. 2.

critics had been alarmed by the content of movies, some middle-class reformers now promoted them. Some concluded movies were displacing saloons as the focus of working-class culture and a few recognized that the movies could be a "great educational and instructive institution" if run by the proper sort of people.[87] In 1911, the National Board of Censorship declared,

> Moving pictures are now the most important form of cheap amusement in the country. They reach the young, immigrants, family groups, the formative and impressionable section of our cities, as no other form of amusement.[88]

Perhaps recognizing a potential for good in motion pictures, St. Peter's new priest Father John Curran began a regular moving picture show in November 1914 in the Catholic schoolhouse in Harpers Ferry. The following month, the Farmers Advocate reported:

> The "movies" had hard work securing a foot-hold in our town as a permanent business fixture. They would come and go at long intervals after but a few days exhibition, proving to be a financial loss to the promoter. We suppose they were an inferior class, for none were pulled off to please our taste. However the present show is a home institution and home people have learned after much weariness and many disappointments to run it. We get an exhibition three times a week, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, of first class films and the people of all ages and of both sexes turn out to see them.

Wednesday nights, children aged 6 to 8 were admitted free on condition of going "to Sunday school and going in at curfew ringing," an indication of at least one of Father Curran's reasons for starting the movie theater. Assisting him were ticket salesman T. J. Burleigh, electrical engineers and operators Fred Marquett and Dr. Hoover, and doorkeeper Pat Kennedy.[89] The popularity of the theater was such that one Wednesday evening in January 1915, when people had congregated in the vestibule of the building and on the porch, and had overflowed into the yard

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[87]Rosenzweig, pp. 191, 205-206.

[88]Quoted in Bowser, p. 123.

[89]Farmers Advocate, 26 December 1914, p. 2, col. 4.

while waiting to see an episode of the long-running serial "The Hazards of Helen," the manager of the picture show announced a third showing of that picture would be given.[90]

Although the December 1914 commentary on the establishment of a theater in Harpers Ferry reports satisfaction with the local theater, a 1925 report on "village theaters" provides a less happy picture of small-town establishments.

> These 'theaters' eke out a precarious existence for the most part by renting the very cheapest possible junk service, paying small attention to decoration, the comfort of their patrons, or to ventilation. Some man or boy with little knowledge or experience is hired to 'operate' old, worn out projectors, using the minimum possible screen illumination . . . . The music is supplied by a girl who drums on a decrepit old piano . . . . The films are rainy, battered old junk.[91]

The Harpers Ferry theater no doubt was better than those described in that report, but, even when theaters had good facilites, more knowledgeable workers, and higher-quality music, the film prints available to small theaters invariably had been scratched, spliced, run at improper speed, and otherwise damaged during showings at other theaters.[92] Further, because the local theater was run by St. Peter's Catholic Church, it suffered from an atypical disadvantage--it closed during Lent every year.

Despite this unusual church connection, the Harpers Ferry theater probably was much like those in other small towns. In 1922, over half of movie theaters had no competition. Although theaters were located in nearby communities like Charles Town, the movie house on Shenandoah Street was the only one in Harpers Ferry. Contrary to the image of the large, ornate movie palaces with which the era is associated, over 60 percent of movie theaters seated 500 or fewer

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[90]Farmers Advocate, 23 January 1915, p. 2, col. 4; Bowser, p. 209.

[91]Quoted in Charles Harpole, ed., History of the American Cinema, vol. 3, An Evening's Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture, 1915-1928 by Richard Koszarski (New York: Scribner, 1990; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 13-15.

[92]Koszarski, p. 61.

persons. Seating capacity for the local theater in 1922 is not known, but the building was small and held only 200 seats in the mid-1940s. Like the one in Harpers Ferry, 30 percent of theaters nationally were open only three days a week or less. Although today the serial movie is frequently associated with the silent era, such films were not produced for major theaters, and only 35 percent of theaters showed them in 1922. In general, these theaters were small, unaffiliated movie houses like the Harpers Ferry theater, where serials were a regular offering.[93]

Harpers Ferrians were treated to a variety of films. According to a 1922 advertisement, Wednesday nights were devoted to Pathe serials, news, and drama, while Paramount Artcraft productions were shown on Mondays and Fridays.[94] The seriocomic adventures of Charlie Chaplin's the "Little Tramp" were shown to local audiences, as were war pictures such as "The Heart of Humanity" and "Under Four Flags" and religious dramas such as Cecil B. DeMille's original "The Ten Commandments" and "King of Kings." Westerns were the most popular films of the silent era, particularly among children, and they comprised a large portion of the shows at the local theater as well. In addition to Chaplin, patrons saw actors like Harry Carey, Mae Marsh, William Fox, Fatty Arbuckle, Buddy Rogers, Richard Dix, Tom Mix, and Lillian Gish.[95]

The 1930s was a crucial decade for the Harpers Ferry movie theater, presenting a number of challenges to its continued operation from both national and local sources. In national terms, the introduction of "talkies" in the late 1920s was perhaps the single most important change in the

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[93]Koszarski, pp. 13, 164-66; Spirit of Jefferson, 27 November 1946, p. 5, cols. 5 & 6. For serials see Farmers Advocate, 7 July 1917, p. 2, col. 4 and 4 April 1921, p. 1, col. 1. John Newcomer (born in 1914) recalled going to serials on Wednesday nights (Transcription of Interview with John and June Newcomer, 28 October 1991, by Patricia Chickering, p. 19).

[94]Advertisement in First Annual Year Book of Harpers Ferry District High School, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia (1922).

[95]Farmers Advocate, 2 October 1915, p. 2, col. 5; 29 July 1916, p. 2, col. 3; 28 June 1919, p. 2, col. 3; 22 November 1919, p. 1, col. 1; 17 July 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 14 August 1920, p. 1, col. 4; [Isabel Kern Flanagan], Reminiscences of Harpers Ferry before and after the 1924 flood, undated; Koszarski, pp. 182, 290.

movie industry since the invention of movies in the nineteenth century. Talking movies required more sophisticated equipment and wiring in theaters, an expense the church (or Father Curran) may have been unable or unwilling to incur. Theaters across the country were not immediately converted to sound, of course, but within a few years only talking pictures were being made for distribution. A second change was the growth of automobile ownership, which made transportation to other towns considerably easier. Locally, a change of importance to the Harpers Ferry movie theater was the 1930 departure of Father Curran, who had been responsible for starting the theater in 1914. John Newcomer, Isabel Kern Flanagan, and Rosalie Lloyd, all three of whom grew up in Harpers Ferry during these years, recalled the theater in connection with Father Curran, and Rosalie Lloyd implied Curran partially financed the operation with money of his own.[96] Finally, being in downtown Harpers Ferry, the local theater was vulnerable to floods; Rosalie Lloyd thought one of the floods, probably that of 1936, had closed the theater.[97] In 1938, notice of an upcoming church card party described the building as "the old movie hall," implying it then was not so used.[98] A 1940 editorial on the quality of pictures at a theater in Charles Town indicates Harpers Ferrians patronized that theater or one "in the opposite direction," further evidence no theater operated in Harpers Ferry.[99]

After limited use for church-related activities, the old Catholic schoolhouse became a movie theater again in 1946. Advertisements from that year indicate patrons could see Westerns on Saturdays and movies such as "Call of the Wild," "Irish Eyes are Smiling," "The Lost Weekend,"

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[96]Magri and Dittmeyer; Isabel Kern Flannagan, Reminiscences of Harpers Ferry before and after the 1924 flood, undated; Notes on interview with Rosalie Larue Lloyd by Patricia Chickering, 8 December 1993; Transcription of Interview with John and June Newcomer, 28 October 1991, p. 19.

[97]Notes on interview with Rosalie Larue Lloyd by Patricia Chickering, 8 December 1993.

[98]Farmers Advocate, 11 March 1938, p. 1, col. 5.

[99]Farmers Advocate, 25 October 1940, p. 2, col. 4.

and "Love Letters" at other showings.[100] Although never intended to be more than a temporary arrangement until a building could be constructed on Camp Hill, where the heart of Harpers Ferry life had moved in recent years, particularly after the 1936 flood, this business apparently lasted about four years, probably succumbing only when a drive-in finally was opened at the bottom of Allstadt's Hill in 1950.[101]

Decline

With the exception of the operation of the movie theater in the late 1940s, the lots on the north side of Shenandoah Street reflected the decline of downtown Harpers Ferry. In March 1936, a devastating flood swept through Harpers Ferry, severely damaging several buildings along Shenandoah Street. In the aftermath, the town jail fell into disuse, the property subsequently becoming overgrown. Baumgardner's Bakery, occupant of the old Presbyterian Church, moved to Charles Town, leaving the church vacant until it burned less than a year later. Occupancy of Lot 2 continued until 1942, when another serious flood swept through Harpers Ferry.[102]

Two years later, legislation was passed by the United States Congress and signed by President Roosevelt providing for the establishment of a national monument at Harpers Ferry. A decade later, the State of West Virginia acquired title to these four lots for the park. The town removed the jail in 1950. The Catholic schoolhouse/movie theater, a building constructed after

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[100]Spirit of Jefferson, 24 April 1946, p. 3, col. 6; 1 May 1946, p. 3, col. 8; 8 May 1946, p. 2, col. 1; 15 May 1946, p. 2, col. 5; 22 May 1946, p. 6, col. 4; 3 July 1946, p. 2, col. 6; 10 July 1946, p. 3, col. 1; 31 July 1946, p. 2, col. 6; 14 August 1946, p. 2, col. 4.

[101]Farmers Advocate, 19 April 1946, p. 2, col. 2; 18 May 1950, p. 4A, col. 6.

[102]Farmers Advocate, 3 April 1926, p. 1, col. 1; 20 March 1936, p. 8, col. 3; 29 January 1937, p. 1, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 10 October 1929, p. 8, col. 1; Jefferson Republican, 9 February 1950, p. 6, col. 3.

the Civil War and, therefore, outside the Park's primary thematic focus of John Brown and the Civil War, was torn down in 1957. Only Park Building 48 still stood west of Park Building 45.

Figure 2. Winchester & Potomac Railroad Map, 1834.

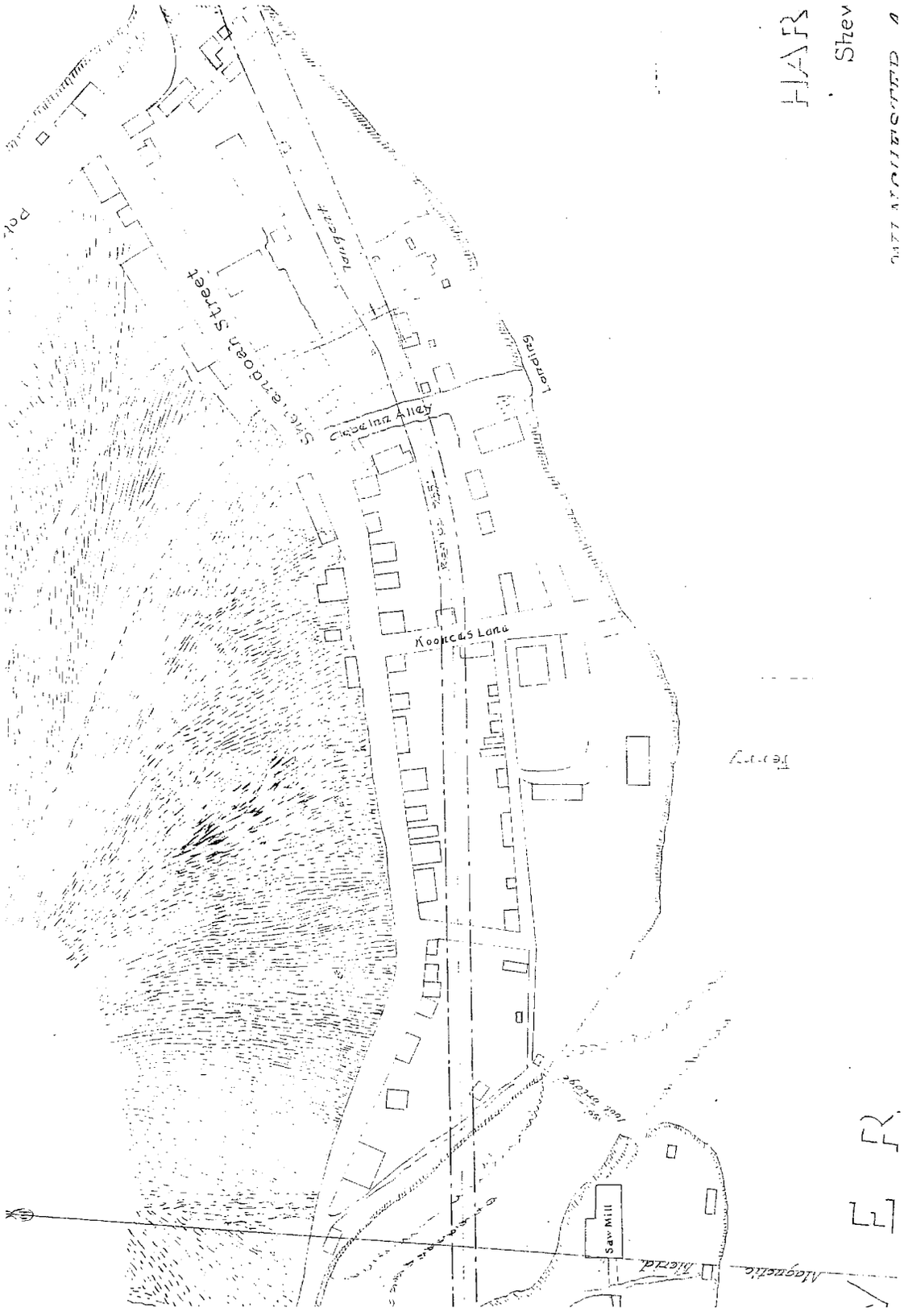


Figure 3. Winchester & Potomac Railroad Map, 1835.

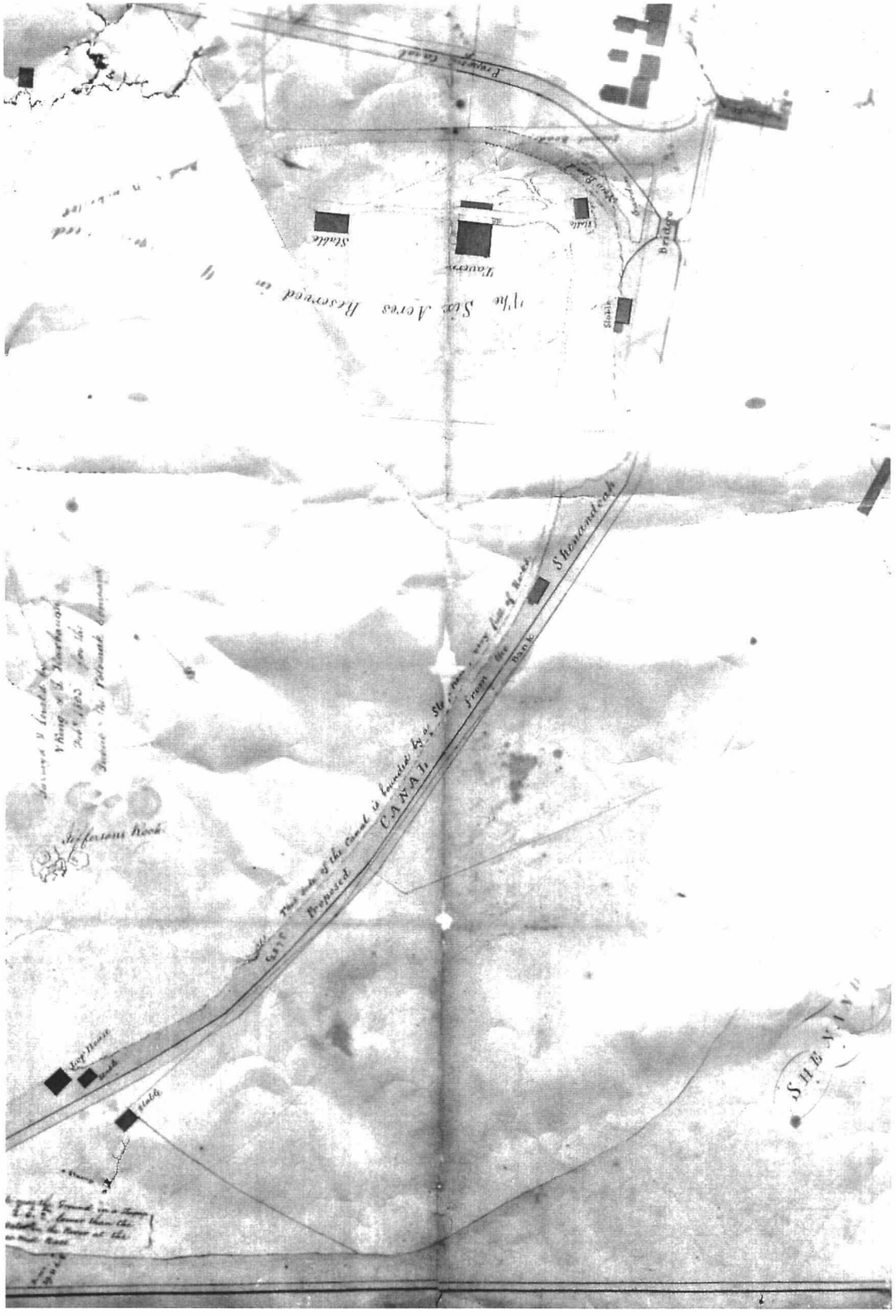


Figure 4. King and Harbaugh Map, February 1803.

PHYSICAL HISTORY (INDIVIDUAL LOTS)

Catholic School Lot

From 1796 to 1870, this property was owned by the United States. An 1803 map of a proposed canal route along Shenandoah Street shows a building on the cliff side of the road. A building having a similar shape and possibly the same location (nearly opposite Koonce's Lane) also appears on Winchester and Potomac Railroad maps prepared in 1834 and 1835. These later maps also show three other buildings, two of them adjoining each other, to the east on the Catholic School Lot.[103]

In 1829, armory superintendent James Stubblefield reported John S. Gallaher had a frame building with exterior plaster erected on government property on Shenandoah Street in 1826 with the superintendent's permission. This building served as a dwelling house for the Gallaher family and printing office for the Virginia Free Press, of which Gallaher was editor. In addition to publication of the newspaper, this printing office apparently benefitted the armory, as Stubblefield stated the facility was "highly important, jobs of printing being frequently required for armory purposes." Stubblefield valued this building at $600.[104]

The Gallaher family may have moved from this building after John Gallaher's acquisition of the Farmer's Repository early in 1827 and the brief publication of the combined newspapers

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[103]"Plan of the proposed junction of the CANAL at the lower Falls of Shenandoah, with the Public Canal at HARPER'S FERRY, and the necessary Locks for descending into the Potomak River," by N.King and L.Harbaugh, February 1803; "Harpers Ferry Shewing the Location of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad,"drawn under the direction of James Kearney, Lt. Col. and T.E., 1835; "Plot of Harpers Ferry Exhibiting the limits of the ground requisite for the passage of the Winchester & Potomac Rail Road through the Town," 1834.

[104]Statement of the buildings erected by private individuals on the government lands at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, by James Stubblefield, Superintendent, 22 February 1829, Reel 17, Vol 3, p. 237. While Stubblefield indicates the building was not erected until 1826, Gallaher began publication of the Harpers-Ferry Free Press, predecessor of the Virginia Free Press, in 1821 (Virginia Free Press, 10 February 1877, p. 2, col. 1).

in both Charles Town and Harpers Ferry. The Gallahers clearly no longer lived in this dwelling by November 1828, when Gallaher advertised to sell the house in Harpers Ferry situated on Shenandoah Street next to the store of Maslin and Company (Park Building 45). The Gallaher building, "formerly occupied by my Printing Office and family," was then occupied by attorney Patrick C. McCabe. The building evidently was undergoing improvements, as Gallaher indicated it would, "when completed," contain "10 rooms, with a kitchen and smoke house, and a good cellar."[105]

Gallaher was unable to sell this building in 1828 and continued to rent it out. In February 1830, Nathaniel Buckmaster opened a hat, shoe, and fancy goods store in the eastern portion of the building "one door west of Maslin and McKim's," while McCabe continued to occupy the adjoining dwelling on the west.[106] Buckmaster apparently occupied the eastern portion briefly, as in July John Gallaher advertised for rent a small storeroom.[107]

Concurrent with Gallaher's advertisement, Col. George Bomford of the Ordnance Department wrote to armory superintendent George Rust regarding the construction of buildings on public land by private individuals and urging measures be taken to assert government control of public property. Bomford made particular reference to seven lots upon which persons not connected to the armory had erected buildings, urging Rust to determine the validity of any grants purportedly made by the government. One of the seven was John Gallaher's frame dwelling. In November 1830, Rust reported he had made a conditional contract with Gallaher for the purchase of the dwelling, kitchen, and storehouse. The building was rented until the following April to two

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[105]Virginia Free Press, 3 December 1828, p. 4, col. 1; 7 March 1827, p. 3, col. 1; 27 Septemer 1838,p. 3, col. 2.

[106]Virginia Free Press, 10 February 1830, p. 3, col. 6.

[107]Virginia Free Press, 21 July 1830, p. 3, col. 2.

individuals: one paying $100 a year for the dwelling, and the other paying $4 a month for the storeroom. Rust urged acceptance of this contract, noting the convenience and comfort of the dwelling and kitchen and observing the storehouse could rent for $75 to $100 a year if it were finished. In 1831, the United States purchased Gallaher's claim for $835.[108]

Patrick McCabe still occupied this building in February 1830, and he could have lived there as late as October 1832. That month, McCabe advertised the public sale of his household and kitchen furniture, together with the hiring of his two slaves for the remainder of the year. At the same time, the house then occupied by McCabe would be rented for a term ending the following April 1. The location of this dwelling, unfortunately, is not specified in the sale notice.[109]

In June 1840, James R. Hayman, editor of The Constitutionalist since its establishment in April 1839, expressed a desire to rent the former Gallaher property on Shenandoah Street for use as a printing office. The following month, armory superintendent Edward Lucas, Jr., forwarded Hayman's application to Col. George Talcott of the Ordnance Department, along with his recommendation for approval. According to Lucas, "The house designated has not been occupied as a dwelling, except for a very short time, & was given up, because it is not suited for that purpose, on account [of] its being built on the side of the Street where there is no room or ground."[110] Talcott immediately gave his approval.[111] The printing office of The

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[108]G. Bomford to Geo. Rust, Jr., 22 July 1830, Reel 14, Vol. 8, pp. 748-65; George Rust, Jr. to Col Geo. Bomford, 24 November 1830, Reel 22, Vol. 10, pp. 951-52; Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 5.

[109]Virginia Free Press, 11 October 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

[110]James R. Hayman to the Superintendent of the U.S. Armory, 16 June 1840, Reel 12, Vol. 7, p. 682; Edw. Lucas, Jr. to Col George Talcott, 17 July 1840, Reel 12, Vol. 7, p. 681.

[111]Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 7.

Constitutionalist presumably then located in the storeroom. In April 1841, the Imperial Smith Press and other printing equipment were sold and Hayman's connection to this building ended.[112]

In his examination of the rent rolls, Charles Snell concluded the frame dwelling and storeroom were armory House Nos. 41 and 42. This conclusion is logical since those two dwellings are described on one rent roll as a two-story wood building (No. 41) and its frame addition (No. 42), the latter dismantled in 1848. Furthermore, with the exception of House No. 41, the houses on Shenandoah Street reserved from the government sale in 1852 were either brick, stone, or one-story frame buildings.[113] Given that in 1828 Gallaher's former residence was described as having ten rooms, it is unlikely it could have been any of the one-story buildings.

James Fisher rented House No. 41 in 1841, while Samuel Shewbridge rented it from at least December 1844 to December 1846. Thomas Whaley, Jr. rented it in 1849, and William Kirby lived there from 1850 to at least 1852.[114] Fisher, a native of England and lock finisher at the armory in 1820, lived with his wife Mary; two adult males, probably sons James and Charles; and a teenage girl, probably daughter Mary, in 1840.[115] The 1850 census indicates the Shewbridge family consisted of armorer Samuel; his wife Mary; Francis Shewbridge, possibly a daughter; and Ann Holland, probably the mother of Mary Shewbridge.[116] That same census indicates armorer Thomas, Elizabeth, and Mary Whaley, along with Mary Perry, comprised a household in 1850. The William Kirby household contained William, an armorer, his wife Ann,

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[112]Virginia Free Press, 25 March 1841, p. 3, col. 5. The April 7, 1839 deed of trust under which the press and other listed property was sold can be found in Deed Book 23, p. 407.

[113]List of Dwelling Houses at Harpers Ferry Per Inventory 30 June 1851, Reel 18, Vol. 12, p. 1178.

[114]Snell, "A Comprehensive History, 1798-1884," Vol II, p. 58.

[115]Fourth Census (1820), Harpers Ferry, p. 537; Sixth Census (1840), Harpers Ferry, p. 239; Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 391.

[116]Seventh Census (1850), Bolivar, p. 393; Virginia Free Press, 4 January 1838, p. 3, col. 2.

children Ann and William, mulatto Arabella Smith, and laborer George Learmont.[117]

During the Shewbridge occupation in the mid-1840s and the Whaley residency in 1849, commercial activities may have been conducted in House No. 41. In April 1841, Mrs. Shewbridge advertised the opening of a millinery and mantua making business at her residence, then likely across the street on Block C. Conceivably, she continued this enterprise after the family moved to House No. 41. Mary Perry advertised her millinery shop at the Shenandoah Street residence of Thomas Whaley in October 1849, when the Whaley family probably still lived in House No. 41.[118]

House No. 41 was torn down in 1853, House No. 42 having been dismantled in 1848. As already noted, two other buildings sat on the Catholic School Lot in the 1830s. The construction material of these two structures is not known. While use has not been documented, a number of armory dwellings were erected in the general area and these buildings may have served a similar function. Snell concluded these buildings were House Nos. 39 and 40, respectively a one-story stone dwelling and a two-story brick house, both appearing on an 1854 list of armory dwellings slated for removal.[119] However, the roof of the westernmost building, earlier identified as possibly located on the same site as a similarly-shaped building documented on an 1803 map, appears in Ferdinand Richardt's painting of Harpers Ferry, indicating it probably stood as late as

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[117]Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 417B.

[118]Virginia Free Press, 22 April 1841, p. 3, col. 3; 11 October 1849, p. 3, col. 1.

[119]Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 8; "Valuation of building materials of old Houses at Harper's ferry Armory," 11 May 1854, Reel 18, Vol. 12, pp. 1196-97. Occupants of House No. 39 between 1841 and 1852 were John G. Wilson, Jerome B. Young, A.J. Wright, and Benjamin Ott; John M. Barnes, Daniel Young, George L. Augur, and J.T. Adams lived in House No. 40 during the same period (Snell, "A Comprehensive History, 1798-1884," Vol II, pp. 56-7).

1857.[120]

In December 1853, superintendent Benjamin Huger informed Col. Henry Craig of the Ordnance Department that St. Peter's Catholic Church wished to build a schoolhouse near the church on the cliffs above Shenandoah Street and that the school trustees were seeking a grant of government land west of the church. On December 29, Craig wrote Huger that the land could be leased to the church for twenty years. The size of the land covered by this lease is not known, although Charles Snell believed it probably covered only the cliff area and not the ground along Shenandoah Street below. A two-story stone schoolhouse was built on top of the cliff in the mid-1850s.[121]

For fiscal year 1856/1857, money was requested for erection of a 274 foot stone wall along Shenandoah Street between the Presbyterian Church (just west of the Catholic School Lot) and Park Building 45 (just to the east). This wall, five feet high and two feet thick, was needed

> to break up the unsightly appearance of the reserved ground at the base of the hill along Shenandoah street, whereby, also, the constant wash from the hill-side will be arrested, and finally fill up the broken ground at this point; whereas now the United States are at constant expense in removing from the street along this line the accumulated rubbish from the hill after every few rains.

At the same time, 531 yards of filling was used to level the hillside above the wall.[122]

The Catholic Church did not obtain formal title to this property until January 1870, when the United States deeded the lot, along with Lot 2, Block D, to John McGill, Bishop of Richmond.

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[120]The westernmost building is not visible in HF-68 or HF-809, labeled the 1858 Richardt painting, but is visible in the painting on display in 1993 at Gibson's art gallery at The Greenbrier in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. Examination of Joachin Ferdinand Richardt's "View of Harper's Ferry" at Gibson's shows that, while on first impression it appears to be the same as the painting in the park photographs, there are differences proving them to be two distinct paintings. Additionally, according to accompanying documentation in the photo file, the photograph in the Park's collection is of a 15 x 20 painting, while the other painting is described as 28 x 48. The 1857 date comes from the construction of a stone wall along that property that year. The painting could not depict an earlier year because of the absence of a house on Lot 6A, Block C, burned in December 1856.

[121]Snell, "Catholic School Lot," pp. 8-9.

[122]Quoted in Snell, "Expenditures for Repairs," Vol. III, p. 71. See also pp. 69-72.

The property on the north side of Shenandoah Street ran from the street back to South Cliff Street, thence 243 feet along the street to the Six Acre Wager Reservation line, then along that line 48 feet to the corner of the Catholic Church wall, with the wall another 48 feet, then 110 feet to Shenandoah Street, and finally 219 feet to the beginning.[123] The two-story stone Catholic school (not within Park boundaries) situated on top the cliff and just west of the church sat on this property.

In 1884, Father Thomas Wilson assumed charge of St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church. Through his efforts funds for the erection of a new schoolhouse were collected, and a new building was constructed along Shenandoah Street in 1886. In June, the Charles Town business of William Phillips & Sons furnished lumber for the building. By September, this one-story brick building with basement, measuring approximately 46 feet long, was nearly complete.[124] A letter in the Spirit of Jefferson commented, "It is a very roomy building and quite accessible to the pupils. Rev. Father Wilson deserves great credit for his zealous efforts in providing such a comfortable building for school purposes."[125]

Probably constructed in the same time period as the schoolhouse was a stable at the easternmost end of the lot, in the vicinity of Park Building 45B and adjoining the property on which Park Building 45 stands. When the 1889 flood swept through Harpers Ferry, Father Wilson's stable was "overturned in the middle of the street, and was piled up with trees, driftwood, &c."[126] This stable is probably the wreckage appearing in the middle of Shenandoah

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[123]United States to John McGill, 13 January 1870, Deed Book 5, p. 450.

[124]Spirit of Jefferson, 4 March 1884, p. 3, col. 1; 15 June 1886, p. 3, col. 3; 7 September 1886, p. 2, col. 4; Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, NM-HF 3055.

[125]Spirit of Jefferson, 7 September 1886, p. 2, col. 4.

[126]Spirit of Jefferson, 4 June 1889, p. 2, col. 2.

Street, just in front of Park Building 45, in a photograph of the aftermath of that deluge (Figure 6). A stable or barn was rebuilt shortly thereafter. Subsequent versions of a barn or garage stood here until after the Park acquired the property.[127]

In 1892, Rosa McGlone, formerly head of the primary department in the public school in Bolivar, took charge of St. Peter's school, but she left this position sometime before 1897, when she was living in Baltimore. The previous year, on November 14, 1896, the school building suffered an unknown amount of damage from a fire. It was insured by Washington & Alexander.[128] This building did not long serve as a schoolhouse, as an insufficient number of pupils brought closure of the Catholic school in 1899.[129]

The building remained in use, however. Frequent references in the newspapers from the 1890s to the 1930s indicate the schoolhouse was used by members of St. Peter's Catholic Church for bazaars, suppers, and teas. Most of these events were fundraisers for the church.[130] The schoolhouse also was used by the church for educational purposes; the January 24, 1914 issue of the Farmers Advocate reported Sisters Desales and Aloysias travelled from Brunswick, Maryland, to Harpers Ferry to teach Catholic children the catechism in the Shenandoah Street schoolhouse on Saturdays.[131]

In addition to use for the church, beginning in November 1914, a moving picture show

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[127]See Figure 10, Figure 28, and Sanborn maps 1894 to 1933. Documented as a two-story frame stable on early Sanborn maps, the building first is documented as a garage on the 1922 Sanborn map. Between that Sanborn and the 1933 map, a small, one-story frame addition was made to the east.

[128]Spirit of Jefferson, 30 August 1892, p. 3, col. 2; 24 November 1896, p. 3, col. 3; 24 August 1897, p. 3, col. 2.

[129]Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 9.

[130]See, for example, Virginia Free Press, 22 June 1892, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 6 February 1900, p. 3, col. 3; 15 March 1933, p. 8, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 17 February 1912, p. 2, col. 3; 14 February 1914, p. 2, col. 1; 7 August 1915, p. 3, col. 3; 19 February 1916, p. 2, col. 2; 19 May 1917, p. 2, col. 3; 20 August 1921, p. 1, col. 5; 15 September 1923, p. 1, col. 2.

[131]Farmers Advocate, 24 January 1914, p. 2, col. 2.

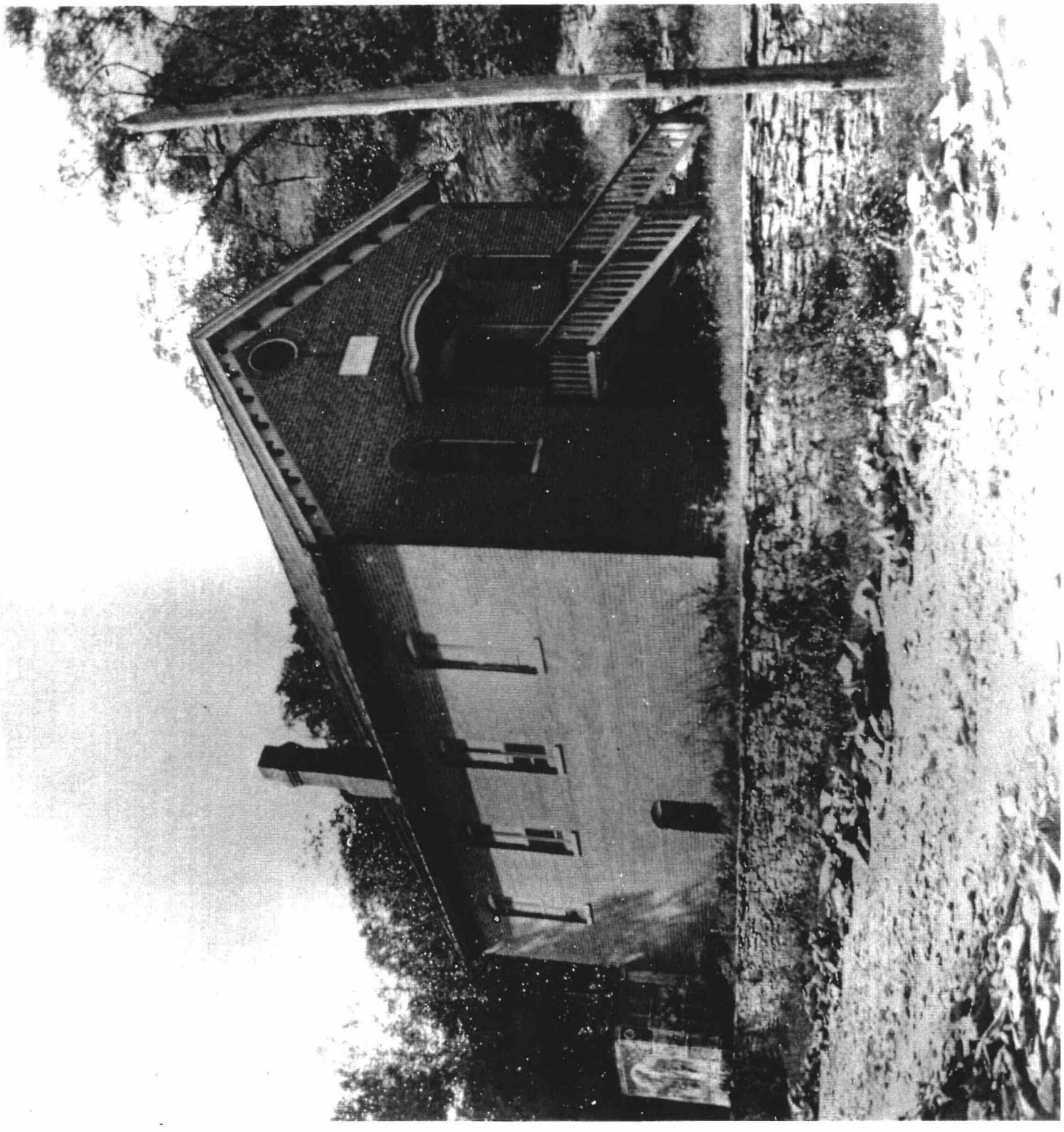


Figure 5. HF-1803. The Catholic schoolhouse on Shenandoah Street in 1898.



Figure 6. HF-82. Looking west on Shenandoah Street after the 1889 flood. The building in the middle of the street is Father Wilson's stable.

started in the Catholic schoolhouse. This enterprise was the project of Father John Curran, the new priest at St. Peters. Helping Curran were T. J. Burleigh, ticket salesman, Fred Marquett and Lee Hoover, electrical engineers and operators, and Pat Kennedy, doorkeeper. Movies were shown Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.[132]

The silent moving picture show was immediately successful, raising talk of starting another one across the street in the former store of George Child. Nothing came of that proposition. Meanwhile, improvements were made to the Catholic schoolhouse in 1915. New chairs were installed by the end of February, and during the Lenten season, when the pictures were closed, the building was "given a thorough going over by skilled mechanics inside and out."[133] Late in 1915, steam heating equipment was installed. The following spring, a concrete walk and steps at the front approach were added.[134]

In 1915, Hallie LaRue agreed to play piano for the movies, while William Everhart was to play cornet. Later, Mrs. Pope, Elizabeth Hankey, and Annie Marmion provided music for the silent movies until 1922, when a player piano was installed.[135] According to Isabel Kern Flanagan, John Gardner operated that instrument.[136]

The acquisition of a player piano was one of "many great and needed improvements" made to the movie hall in 1922. The most important change to the schoolhouse/movie hall building was the addition of a stage and dressing rooms. In March, stone and brick was delivered for this

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[132]Farmers Advocate, 21 November 1914, p. 2, col. 4; 26 December 1914, p. 2, col. 4.

[133]Farmers Advocate, 13 March 1915, p. 2, col. 4. See also 27 February 1915, p. 2, col. 3 and 3 April 1915, p. 2, col. 3.

[134]Farmers Advocate, 11 December 1915, p. 2, col. 3; 6 May 1916, p. 2, col. 3.

[135]Farmers Advocate, 11 December 1915, p. 2, col. 3; 15 September 1917, p. 2, col. 3; 15 November 1919, p. 1, col. 2; 27 May 1922, p. 1, col. 6.

[136][Isabel Kern Flanagan], Reminiscences of Harpers Ferry before and after the 1924 flood, undated.

approximately 15 x 35 foot addition at the rear (western end) of the building. The stage was added with the intention of bringing variety to the entertainment available at the movie theater in the form of vaudeville acts. This work was completed by late May, when the hall reopened.[137] Probably added at the same time was the partial enclosure of the porch and the totally enclosed second story above it at the front (eastern) end.[138]

Live performances did take place subsequently, among them minstrel shows from Washington in 1923 and 1924 and a stage play, "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," presented by the Reno Stock Company of New York in April 1926.[139] The mainstay of the entertainment were silent pictures. Among the movies Harpers Ferrians could see in the 1910s and 1920s were "King of Kings," "The Weaker Vessel," and "The Ten Commandments."[140] Seating for these entertainments was segregated, with blacks seated on the left side according to Isabel Flanagan.[141]

How long the church-run movie theater remained in operation is not clear, although it may have closed following Father Curran's departure in 1930. Information on building use for the next decade and a half is almost completely lacking, with the sole available reference to it being a report in the March 11, 1938 issue of the Farmers Advocate to an upcoming church card party in "the old movie hall."[142] A 1940 editorial on the quality of pictures at a theater in Charles

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[137]Farmers Advocate, 25 March 1922, p. 1, col. 5; 27 May 1922, p. 1, col. 6; Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, NM-HF 3055.

[138]Neither this addition, nor the rear addition, appear on the 1922 Sanborn map, but both are documented on the 1933 Sanborn map. The change at the front is visible in NHF-619, taken December 17, 1956.

[139]Spirit of Jefferson, 20 June 1923, p. 6, col. 3; Farmers Advocate, 31 May 1924, p. 1, col. 5; 17 April 1926, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2.

[140]Farmers Advocate, 15 May 1920, p. 1, col. 5; 29 August 1925, p. 4, cols. 3 and 4; 5 January 1929, p. 8, cols. 5 and 6.

[141]Interview with Isabel Kern Flanagan by Pat Chickering, 20 August 1992, transcript, p. 16.

[142]Farmers Advocate, 11 March 1938, p. 1, col. 5.

Town indicates Harpers Ferrians patronized that theater or one "in the opposite direction," implying no theater operated in Harpers Ferry.[143]

A movie theater opened again in the Catholic schoolhouse/movie theater in April 1946. This business, called the "Veterans Theatre," initially was run by two World War II veterans from Brookneale, Virginia, named Marshall and Smith, who planned to operate in the old movie hall until they could erect a new building on Camp Hill. According to advertisements appearing throughout the summer of 1946, movies were shown twice a night Monday to Saturday, with the Saturday afternoon matinee apparently dropped after the first few weeks.[144]

Marshall's and Smith's connection with the theater ended in 1946. In November, Melvin Fields advertised the sale of his movie business, including a projection machine, screen, and two hundred seats. The newspaper reported in February 1947 that John Whitehair managed the Veterans Theatre. A month later, however, it was reported Edward (or Elwood) Lane of Martinsburg and a fellow veteran had bought Field's equipment and were making repairs to the Veterans Theatre, including painting, hanging new drapes, and repairing the machines.[145]

By late 1947, Lane and his partner Donald Mannings changed the name of their theater "downtown," to Tri-State Theatre. In 1948, the Spirit of Jefferson reported Lane and Mannings had operated in the "old Movie Hall" for two years, showing good movies to "very good" attendance. Like their predecessors, these men planned to build a new theater.[146] It was another two years before that goal was accomplished. In the meantime, early in 1950, repairs were made

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[143]Farmers Advocate, 25 October 1940, p. 2, col. 4.

[144]Farmers Advocate, 15 March 1946, p. 2, col. 3; 19 April 1946, p. 2, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 17 April 1946 to 14 August 1946.

[145]Spirit of Jefferson, 27 November 1946, p. 5, cols. 5 & 6; Farmers Advocate, 7 February 1947, p. 5, col. 4; 21 March 1947, p. 2, col. 2.

[146]Spirit of Jefferson, 12 November 1947, p. 3, col. 2; 22 July 1948, p. 4A, col. 3.

to the Tri-State Theatre following a fire. A new silver screen, RCA sound system, and projectors were installed and the theater resumed operations in February. That resumption was short-lived, as three months later the newspaper reported Lane was closing the Tri-State Theatre and opening a drive-in theater at the foot of Allstadt's Hill. The Harpers Ferry theater was reopened in June by the new owner Clarence Rogers of Winchester, Virginia. How long this business continued is not known. The theater in the old Catholic schoolhouse likely did not survive long, as it is doubtful Harpers Ferry could support both the drive-in and a theater in town.[147]

In 1953, the State of West Virginia and the Most Reverend Peter L. Ireton, Bishop of Richmond, signed an agreement whereby the State was to pay $2,000 and give the church title to a portion of Wager Lots 44 and 45. In return, Ireton, as the representative of the Roman Catholic Church, conveyed a portion of the Catholic School Lot to the State of West Virginia, as follows:

> BEGINNING at a point on the northerly side of Shenandoah Street, 234 feet eastwardly from Jefferson's lot; thence N. 4 deg. 10' W. 87 feet to a point; thence N. 86 deg. 00' E. 89 feet to a point; thence N. 78 deg. 10' E. 121 feet to a point; thence S. 9 deg. 55' E. 94 feet to a point on Shenandoah Street; thence S. 81 deg. 15' W. 131 feet to a point; thence S. 86 deg. 20' W. 87 feet to the beginning.

Irenton reserved the right of salvage to the brick schoolhouse then standing on the property conveyed to the State, the State having the right to request removal of the structure by the church on ninety days notice or thereafter remove the building itself.[148] The building, designated Park Building 47, was in "relatively good" condition at that time. It was not torn down immediately but stood until March 1957, when it was demolished. Park Building 46, the frame and stone garage or shed east of the schoolhouse was demolished about the same time, with Park Building

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[147]Spirit of Jefferson, 23 February 1950, p. 2, col. 3; 18 May 1950, p. 4A, col. 6; 29 June 1950, p. 2A, col. 5.

[148]Agreement, State of West Virginia and Peter Ireton, 7 January 1953, Deed Book 191, p. 259.



Figure 7. HF-1508. Looking west on Shenandoah Street after the 1936 flood. The first building on the right is the movie theater.

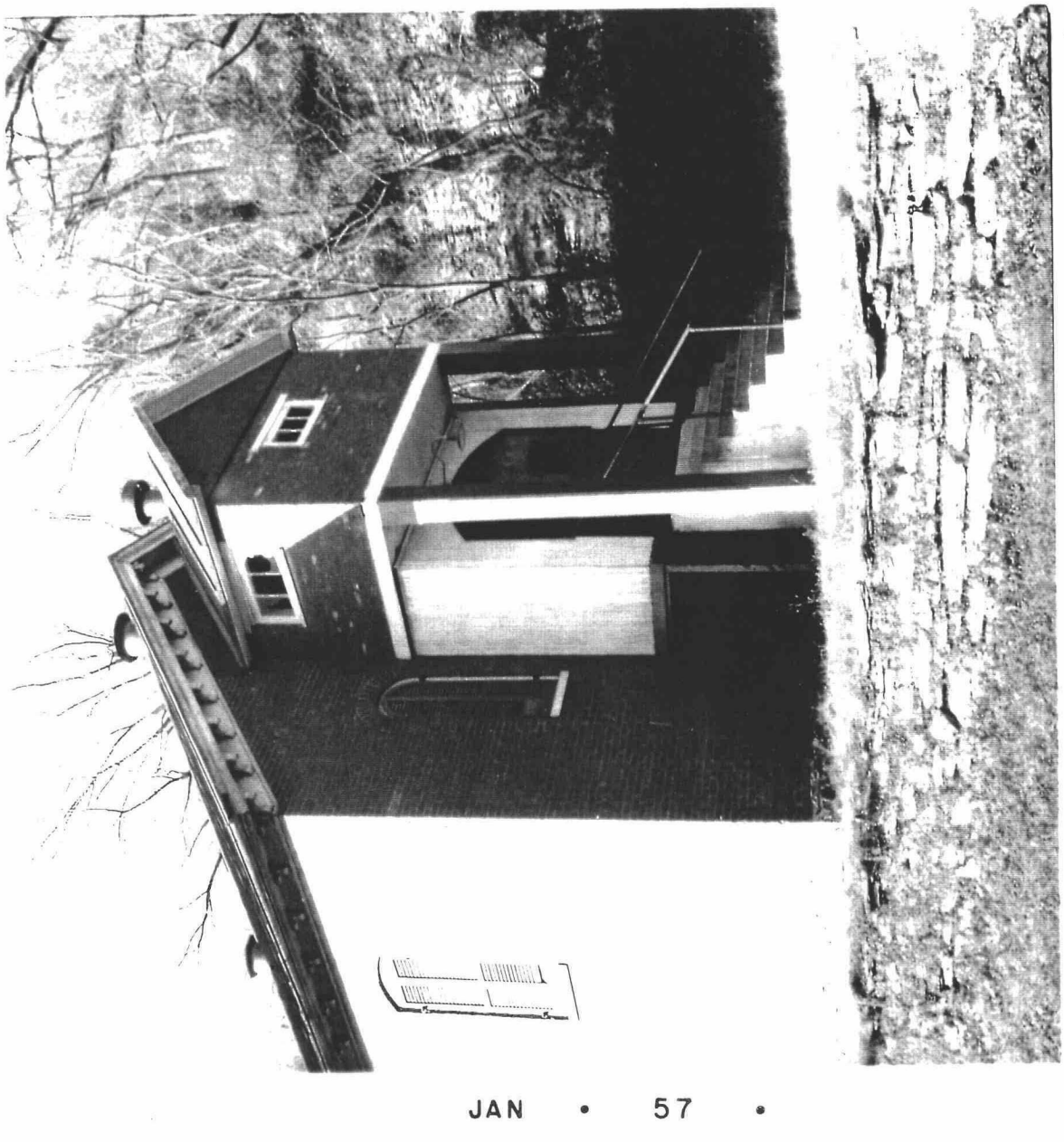


Figure 8. NHF-619. December 17, 1956 view of the front (eastern) end of the Catholic schoolhouse.



Figure 9. NHF-838. Western end of the Catholic schoolhouse during demolition of the building in March 1957.

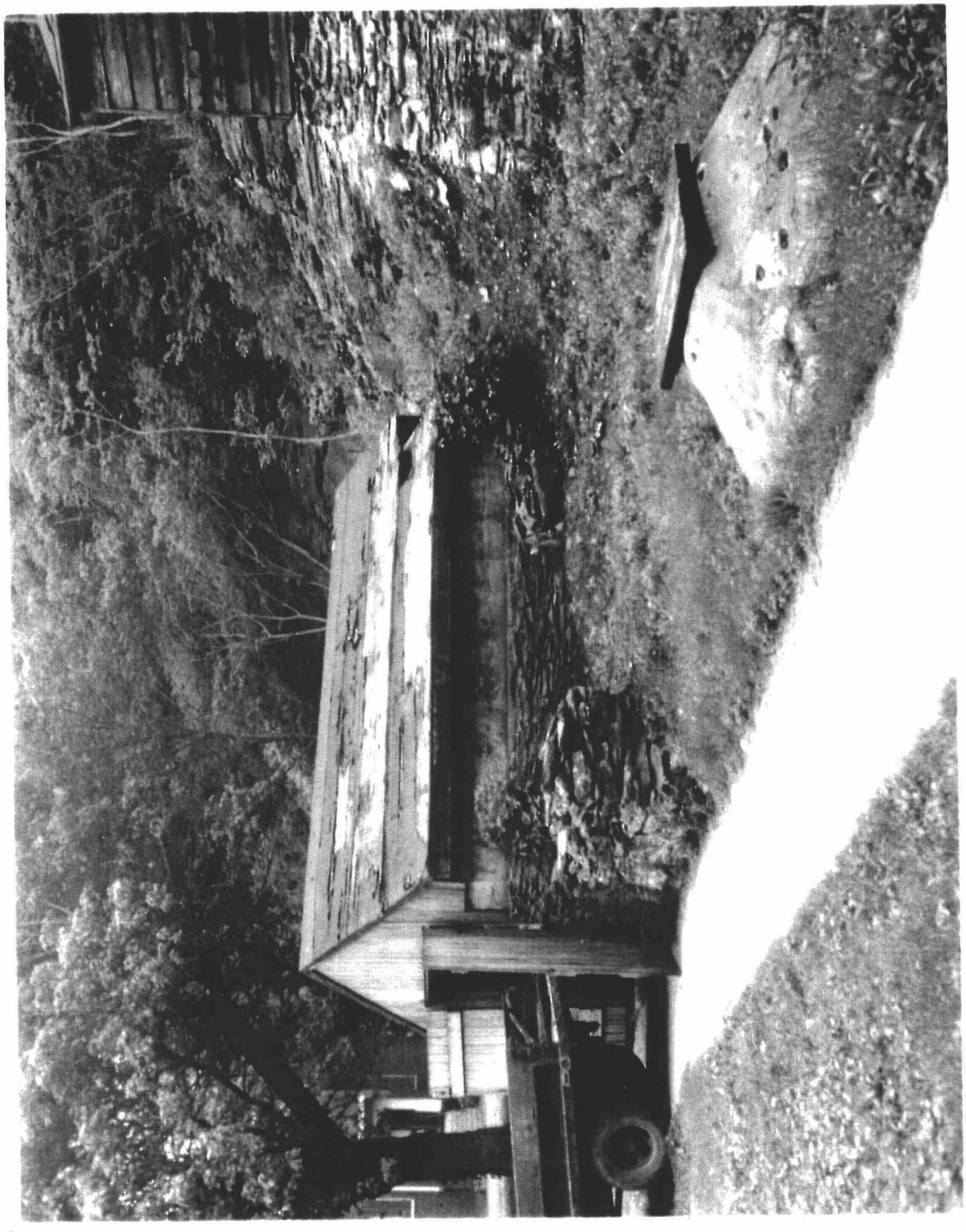


Figure 10. NHF-631. The garage in 1956 prior to its demolition.

45B later constructed on its foundation.[149]

Presbyterian Church Lot

The United States owned this property from 1796 to 1870. Historian Charles Snell believed three or four small, frame armory houses (House Nos. 36, 37, 38, and possibly 35) were built on this lot before 1834. The assertion in the memorandum attached to Snell's report that rent rolls from 1848 to 1851 indicate these four houses stood on the north side of Shenandoah Street is not substantiated by the rent rolls, which merely locate these buildings on Shenandoah Street.[150] However, these houses were on property reserved from the 1852 sale of government land, raising the probability they were on the north side.[151] Given the housing problem in the first half of the nineteenth century, it is probable this area did not remain vacant, but no documentary evidence has been uncovered to show how many buildings stood on this particular lot prior to the 1840s. Therefore, no discussion of possible armory buildings will be attempted and the reader is referred to Snell's report for a discussion of his hypothesis.[152]

In October 1841, armory superintendent Henry Craig informed George Bomford, Chief of the Ordnance Department, that a number of residents in the Harpers Ferry area, many of them

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[149]Notes accompanying Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, NM-HF 3055; Building History Database (NPS Ownership), Park Building 45B and 46. The demolition date of the schoolhouse is noted on photographs of the event in the modern photo collection.

[150]Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 14. In this report, Snell includes No. 35 on the Presbyterian Church Lot. In his "A Comprehensive History, 1789-1884," however, he lists that house on Jefferson's Lot, immediately to the west (Vol. II, p. 52). Also see memorandum from Superintendent Frank H. Anderson to Regional Director, 28 April 1959, attached to Snell's Catholic School Lot report.

[151]"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," Map Collection, HFNHP.

[152]If any of armory dwellings stood on this lot, they were demolished by the mid-1850s (Snell, "A Comprehensive History, 1798-1884, Vol II, pp. 52-5).

associated with the armory, were forming a congregation of the Presbyterian denomination and had applied for use of a piece of government property on which to build a church. Craig supported this application, stating "the formation of a religious society . . ., with a suitable place of worship, would tend greatly to the promotion of morals at this place, and consequently to the public interest." The site he suggested was on the north side of Shenandoah Street, "near the upper end of the village." Craig also reported to Bomford that the congregation had solicited a $500 donation toward construction of a brick building he understood was to be about forty feet by sixty feet, but he did not suggest the government make a donation.[153] The Secretary of War approved the construction of the church but not a donation.[154]

Church fairs were one way in which the congregation raised money for the church building, as a notice in the Virginia Free Press in June 1843 attests. The building, a two-story structure with a basement story of stone and a main story of brick, was completed in 1843 through the efforts of the Reverend Thomas Hoover. Dedication of the new building was planned for August 20, 1843, at which time a collection was to be taken to liquidate part of the debt incurred in the erection of the church. This debt still existed in 1858, when church women held another fair to raise money to pay off that obligation as well as fund needed repairs to the building.[155]

Concurrent with the completion of the church building, Thomas Hoover opened a seminary for both male and female students in the basement of the building. The school had two departments, the first providing instruction in composition, various branches of mathematics, theology, philosophy, history, and the sciences, and the second teaching reading, writing,

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[153]H.K. Craig to Col. G. Bomford, 17 October 1842, Reel 23, Vol. 1, pp. 97-8.

[154]Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 16.

[155]Virginia Free Press, 8 June 1843, p. 3, col. 2; 10 August 1843, p. 3, col. 1; 27 May 1858, p. 2, col. 2; Woodworth, p. 243.

penmanship, grammar, geography, arithmetic, and natural philosophy. Tuition for the former department was $12.50 for a five month term, while the cost for the latter was $10. The school could serve a maximum of 25 students. This school remained in operation in the Fall term of 1844, but no subsequent documentation of its existence has been found.[156]

From a congregation of 27 in 1843, the church membership grew to 71 a decade later, but declined to 39 by 1860. During these years, the congregation was served by Thomas Hoover (until 1845), William H. Love (1846 to 1849), Austin C. Heaton (1850 to 1854), and Charles White (1855 to 1861).[157]

During or following John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859, the Presbyterian Church apparently suffered some damage. The following year, a Board of Commissioners created to pay expenses incurred as a result of the invasion reported on claims made. Among the sums determined payable was $78.90 to the Presbyterian Church for damages. The nature of these damages is not known.[158] At that time, local resident and church member Mary Mauzy reported the building had been "nicely cleaned and painted and new inside blinds of oilcloth and crimson curtains [installed] at the chair in front." Heat was provided by a furnace.[159]

The Presbyterian Church was again abused during the Civil War. According to Joseph Barry, long-time resident of Harpers Ferry, the upper story of the church was used by federal troops as a guard house, while the basement was used as a stable for horses.[160] Use of the

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[156]Virginia Free Press, 20 July 1843, p. 3, col. 1; 2 February 1844, p. 3, col. 4; 5 September 1844, p. 3, col. 2.

[157]Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 17.

[158]Virginia Free Press, 5 April 1860, p. 2, col. 4.

[159]Quoted in Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 17.

[160]Barry, p. 147.

building as a guard house during the war is supported by excerpts from an account written by Capt. George Baylor, a Confederate soldier who was taken prisoner in the winter of 1863 and imprisoned at Harpers Ferry in the guard house in the basement of the Presbyterian Church. Other prisoners or deserters, some of them reportedly unsavory characters, also were kept there. Baylor recalled:

> The lieutenant had advised me to place any money or valuables I had in the hands of the officer of the guard, as my fellow prisoners were a bad lot and might rob me. I took his advice and handed over my gold watch and $20, with a vague suspician that I would never see them again. In this miserable den I found Comrades Manning and Coleman. Our couches were mud and dirt, and our associates the vilest of the mile. Morning was welcomed our names were called, and as we passed out my watch and money were handed to me, much to my surprise.[161]

In 1864, W. W. and Ellen Wheeler came to Harpers Ferry to establish a mission school for newly freed slaves. Writing in April 1864 to the Reverend S. S. Jocelyn of the American Missionary Association, Ellen Wheeler indicated the school would be occupying the Presbyterian Church if lumber for seats could be obtained, as no government facilities were available. A letter from her husband to George Whipple, secretary of the AMA, indicates he and his wife were hindered in their efforts by local townspeople, who were destroying the building. Finally, the Wheelers were able to obtain the church, which they secured as best they could. They also recovered some of the seats and floor which had been taken and obtained lumber from the Quartermaster to make repairs to the building.[162] It is not known how long the Wheelers used the Presbyterian Church for the school.

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[161]Quoted in Virginia Free Press, 6 November 1913, p. 1, col. 4.

[162]Ellen P.T. Wheeler to Rev. S.S. Jocelyn, 22 April 1864 and W.W. Wheeler to Bro. Whipple, 26 April 1864. Copies of letters partially transcribed by Meredith Heinz, Marshall University graduate student, from American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, Louisiana. (AMA papers are available on microfilm.)

At a cost in excess of $2,211.06, $1,711.06 of which came from the United States government, the building was repaired following the war.[163] Scheduled to resume worship services July 19, 1868 under the Reverend Warren B. Dutton, the church definitely was open by mid-August. By then, the repairs had been completed, and most of the pews rented.[164] The following year, Reason Cross, John McCreight, John H. Martin, William Rider, and Daniel J. Young were appointed church trustees.[165]

Although the Presbyterian Church had stood on the north side of Shenandoah Street since 1843, the land on which the building stood was owned by the United States. Following the Civil War, the government decided not to rebuild the musket and rifle factories destroyed during the war, and late in 1869, the government's real estate holdings at Harpers Ferry were offerred for sale. As part of the legislation authorizing this sale, a provision was made for the transfer of title for property previously set aside for religious, charitable, or town purposes to the proper parties. On January 13, 1870, the United States deeded the lot, fronting 235 feet on Shenandoah Street and holding the Presbyterian Church, to the church trustees.[166]

Little more than eight months later, a devastating flood swept through Harpers Ferry. The church building nearly was destroyed by this deluge; the damage was such that the church was not opened again until Spring, 1871. Its reopening did not signal an end to the church's difficulties, however. Warren Dutton had been seriously injured during the flood and, although he

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[163]Woodworth, p. 243. A claim was filed with the Office of the Quartermaster General, but, upon examination, the file containing documentation of the Presbyterian Church claim was found to be empty (Record Group 92, Office of the Quartermaster General, Claims Branch 1861-1889, Miscellaneous Claims, National Archives).

[164]Spirit of Jefferson, 14 July 1868, p. 2, col. 7; 18 August 1868, p. 3, col. 1.

[165]Virginia Free Press, 29 April 1869, p. 3, col. 3.

[166]United States to Rezin Cross, John A. McCreight, John H. Martin, William Rider, and Daniel Young, trustees of the Presbyterian Church, 13 January 1870, Deed Book T, p. 483.

occasionally preached at Harpers Ferry afterwards, he never fully resumed his pastoral responsibilities. Over the next few years, the church had no regular minister, relying on interim or visiting ministers to serve to congregation.[167] Affairs at the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church were such that when a former member was received into the Charles Town congregation in 1872, it was noted that the Harpers Ferry Church was "in a state of disorganization and its records destroyed by the flood."[168]

Finally, a period of stability, and even growth, occurred from the mid-1870s through the 1880s. Carson Hollis served the congregation in 1874 and 1875, while A. C. Hopkins occasionally did so from 1875 to 1879. In the latter year, William Creighton Campbell took charge of the church. He was followed by W. D. White (1881-1886) and H. C. V. Campbell (1888-1893).[169] Under this pastoral care, the congregation grew to 68 by 1886, and between 15 and 31 non-members were baptized each year during the 1880s.[170]

Several years--for instance, 1878, 1885, and 1886--fund raisers for the Presbyterian Church, providing musical and literary entertainments as well as food, were held in Harpers Ferry.[171] The money raised through these events went toward improvements to the building, no doubt. According to the news items in the Virginia Free Press in October and December 1878,

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[167]Among the ministers who preached at the church between 1871 and 1874 were Warren Dutton, William W. Downey, A.C. Hopkins, John Scott, Harvey McKnight, and George Leyburn. See Virginia Free Press, 8 April 1871, p. 3, col. 1; 13 May 1871, p. 3, col. 1; 27 May 1871, p. 3, col. 2; 16 June 1871, p. 3, col. 1; 4 July 1874, p. 3, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 4 October 1870, p. 3, col. 1; 19 December 1871, p. 3, col. 2; 23 December 1873, p. 3, col. 2; 8 September 1874, p. 3, col. 1.

[168]Note from Vol. 2, Charles Town Church, p. 159, 13 January 1872, quoted in Abstract of Source Material on the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church by R.B. Woodworth, Records of Winchester Presbytery, Reel VW 20.

[169]Woodworth, pp. 244.

[170]Compiled from Minutes of Sessions of Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, 1882 to 1889, pp. 25-75, Records of Winchester Presbytery, Reel VW 20.

[171]Virginia Free Press, 2 March 1878, p. 2, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 18 August 1885, p. 3, col. 3; 27 July 1886, p. 3, col. 2.

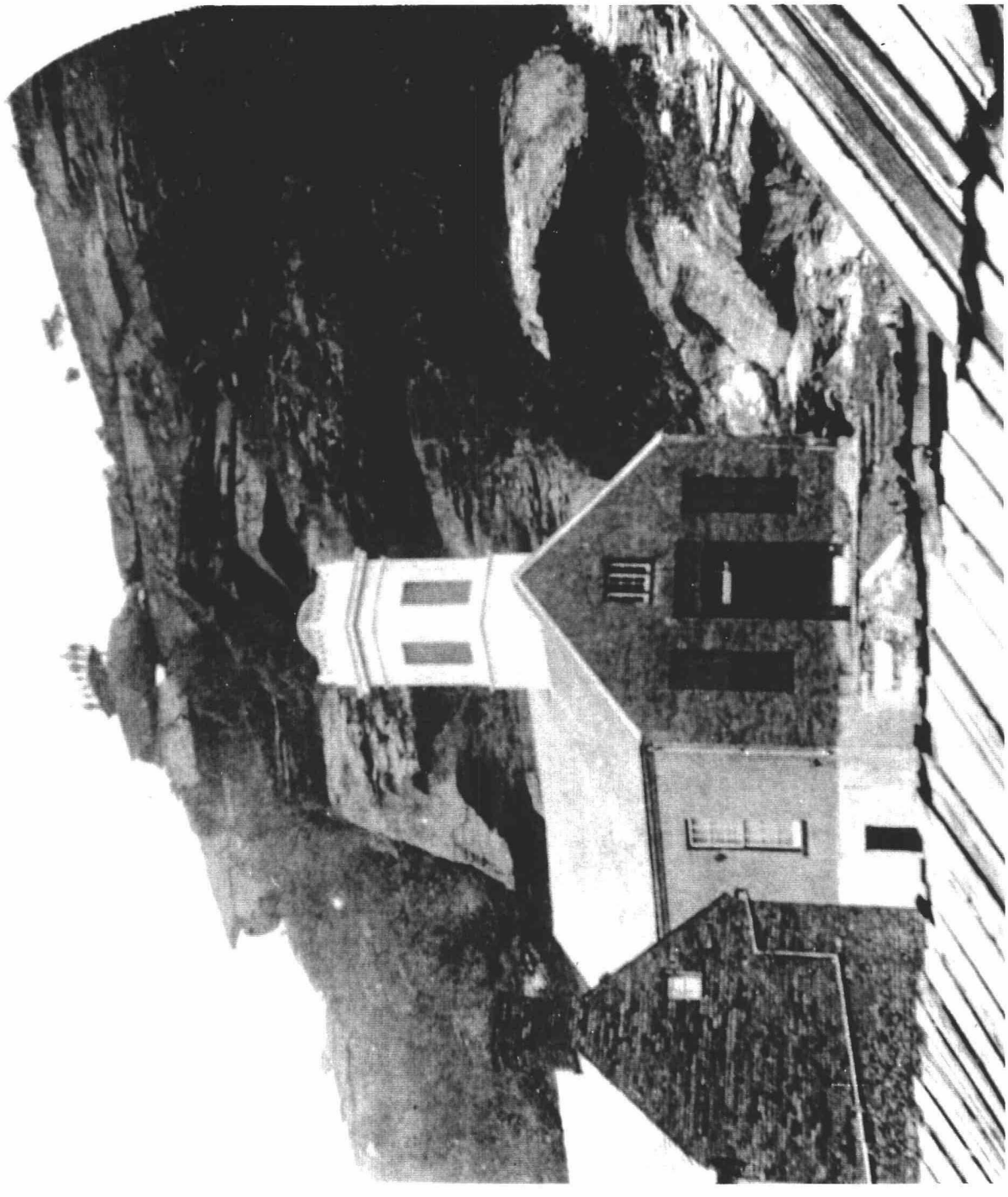


Figure 11. HF-357. The Presbyterian Church in 1865.

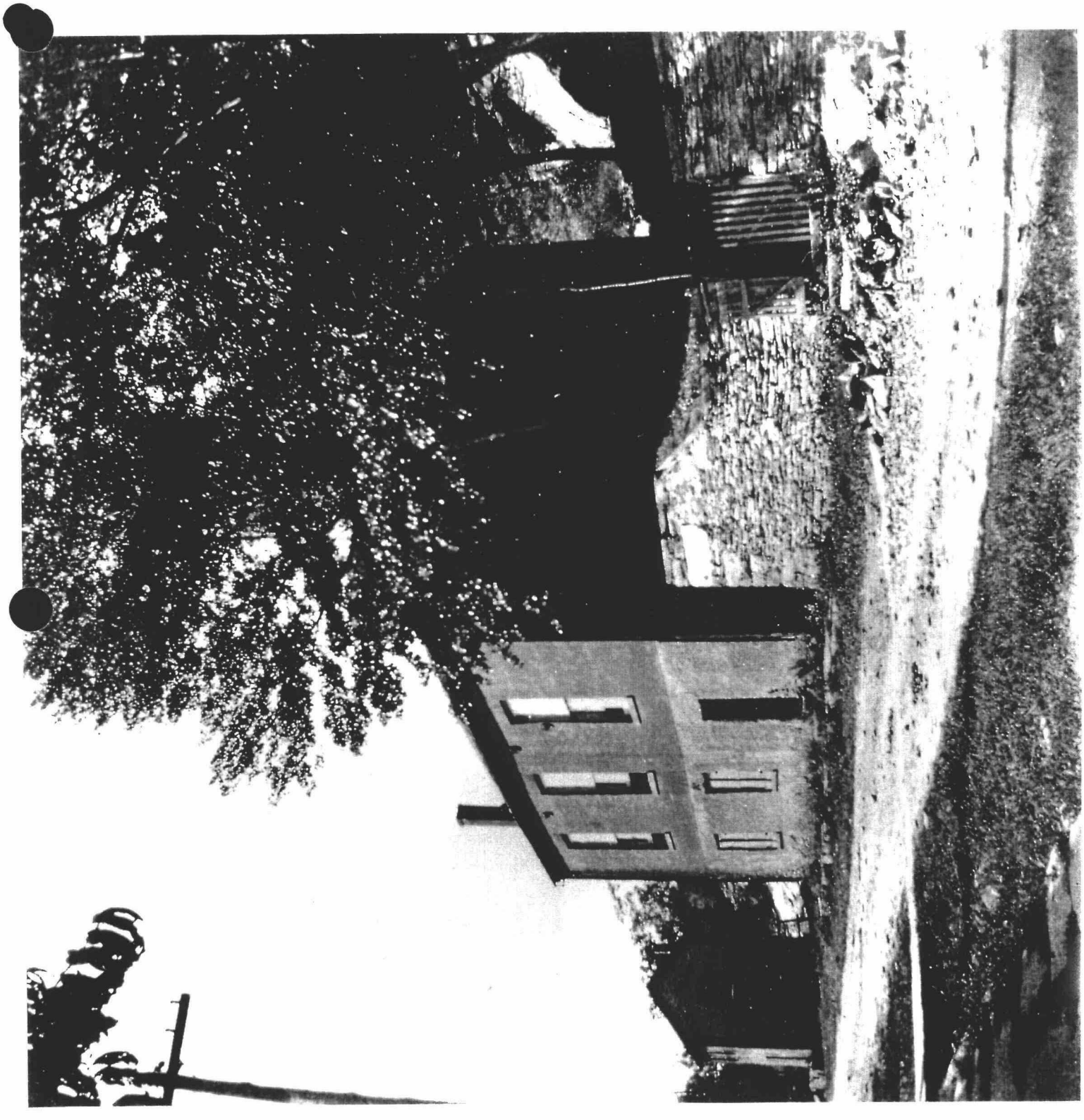


Figure 12. HF-1793. This 1898 view (looking west) of the Presbyterian Church and a portion of the stone wall to its east. To the far left is the town jail.

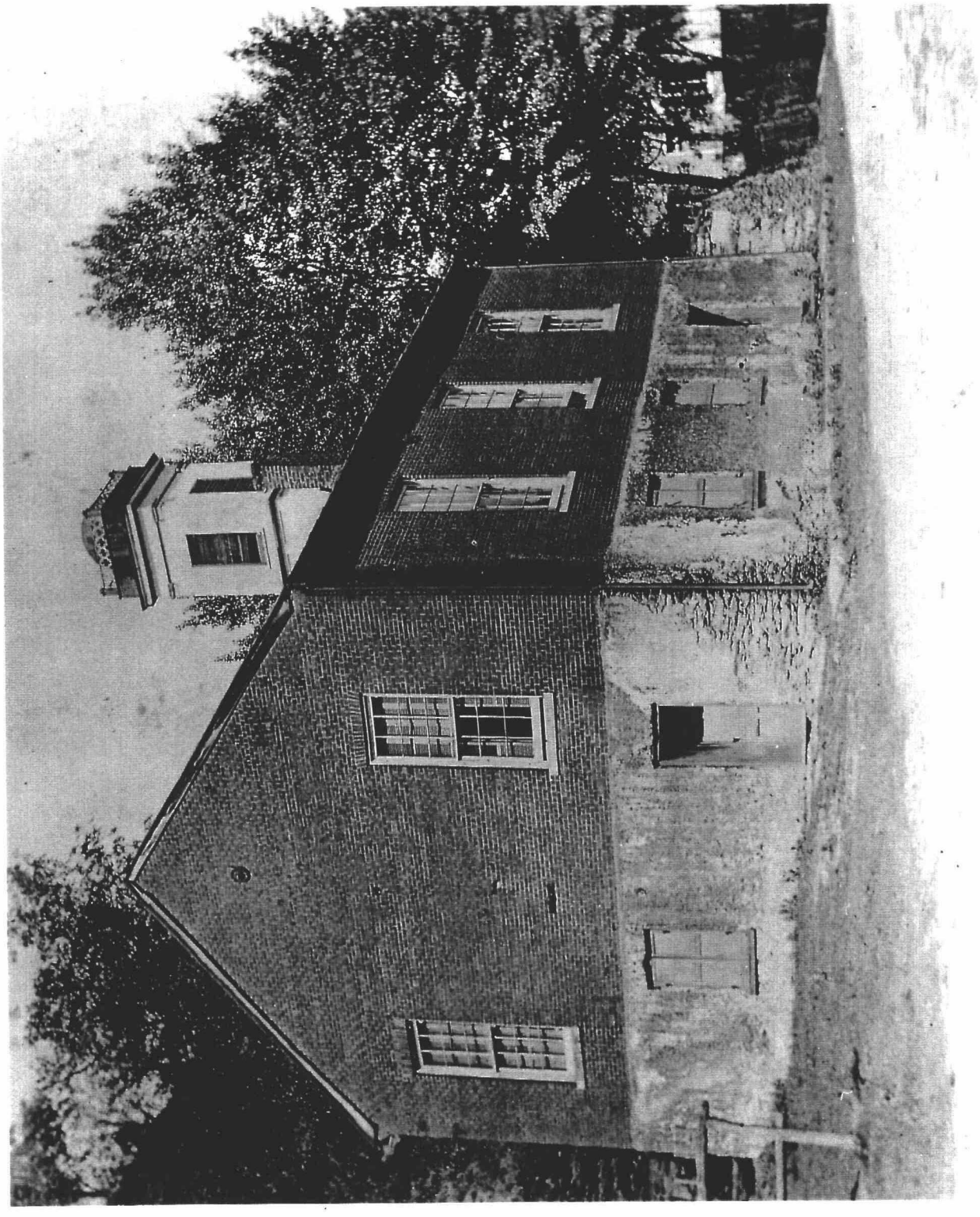


Figure 13. HF-1794. Looking east, this 1898 Taft photograph is the best available view of the Presbyterian Church.

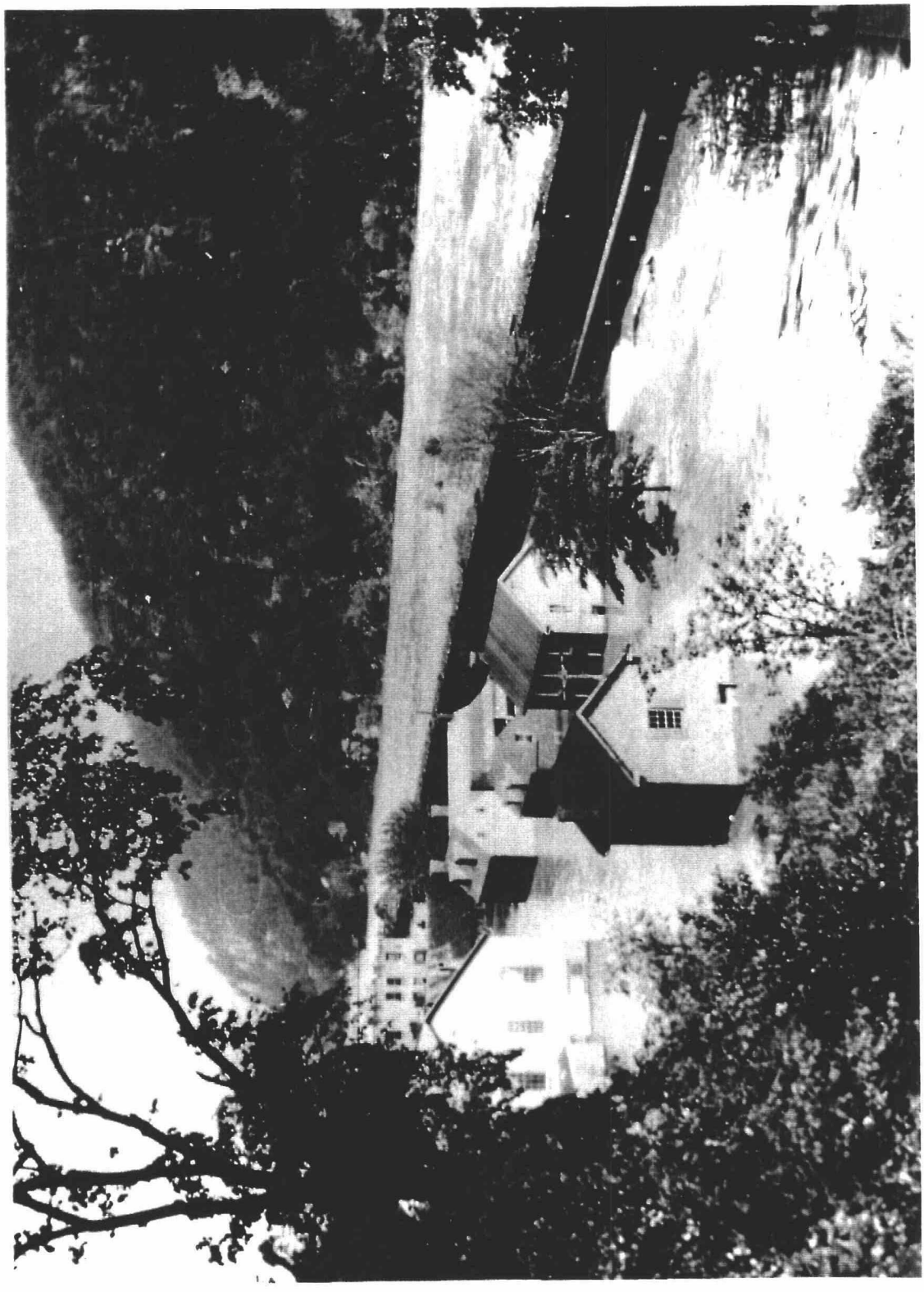


Figure 14. HF-1011. Shenandoah Street during the 1924 flood. The Presbyterian Church is on the far left, while the jail is in the foreground.

unspecified repairs were made to the building in the Fall of that year. A year later, two new chandeliers were installed in the ceiling. Early in 1886, a new carpet was laid and the woodwork was painted. A furnace provided heat for the building.[172]

This effort was soon undone, as another flood in May 1889 again damaged the building. According to a letter by former pastor W. C. Campbell appealing for assistance to the Harpers Ferry church,

> It was the only church in the place injured. Their furnaces were under water, their organ is injured, their basement ruined, and the water stood three feet in the audience room covering pews and carpets with a layer of mud.[173]

Logs damaged the school room, located in the church basement; the partition in that room was nearly torn out. The flood broke shutters on windows and pipes in the building. Even the building roof had sunk and developed leaks as a result.[174]

The permanent decline of the Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church began about this time. In the annual report to the Winchester Presbytery on the year ending April 1, 1890, the church reported, "The officers are faithful. The attendance not so good as we could desire. . . . The Church has a pastor who preaches twice regularly every other Sabbath."[175] In 1893, H. C. V. Campbell resigned as pastor of the church, and John E. Triplett was appointed to serve the congregation part time. He continued in this capacity until 1904, when services were discontinued, the membership having dropped to nine. In 1908, the Presbytery decided to sell the

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[172]Virginia Free Press, 12 October 1878, p. 3, col. 3; 21 December 1878, p. 2, col. 3; 6 December 1879, p. 3, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 2 February 1886, p. 3, col. 1.

[173]Spirit of Jefferson, 2 July 1889, p. 1, col. 8.

[174]Spirit of Jefferson, 18 June 1889, p. 3, col. 3.

[175]Narrative of Session, April 1, 1889 to April 1, 1890, Minutes of Sessions of Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church, p. 78, Records of Winchester Presbytery, Reel VW 20.

church building. The Harpers Ferry Presbyterian Church was formally dissolved April 26, 1912.[176]

By that time, the building had already been converted to commercial use. While the 1912 Sanborn Map, dated to November but clearly based on earlier circumstances, documents the upper story of the building as the Presbyterian Church, it indicates the first story was used by a blacksmith. Either this label was erroneous or a blacksmith utilized the lower story sometime prior to 1910, as other documents place a trunk factory in the building beginning that year. In June 1910, Maurice Wentzell moved his trunk factory from Norfolk, Virginia, to Harpers Ferry and entered a partnership with Magnus Cockrell. This factory evidently was opened in the Presbyterian Church building, as a newspaper item from December 1910 indicated the Harpers Ferry Trunk and Bag Company had been located in the church "for several months past."[177]

On February 23, 1911, in pursuance of a Circuit Court order arising from a petition of Presbyterian Church trustees for the sale of the church property, special commissioners J. William Rider, A. C. Hopkins, and J. Garland Hurst sold the property to C. B. Wentzell, the former mayor of Harpers Ferry, deputy sheriff of Jefferson County, and Maurice Wentzell's father, for $660. The same day, Wentzell mortgaged the property to S. W. Washington.[178]

That same month, the Farmers Advocate reported the trunk and bag factory had been "organized into a company," and stock was to be issued.[179] Despite this report, the business

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[176]Woodworth, pp. 243-44.

[177]Sanborn Map, November 1912; Farmers Advocate, 18 June 1910, p. 2, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 13 December 1910, p. 3, col. 3.

[178]J. William Rider, A.C. Hopkins, and J. Garland Hurst, special commissioners, to C.B. Wentzell, 23 February 1911, Deed Book 105, p. 362; Deed of Trust, C.B. Wentzell and wife Carrie to S.W. Washington, trustee, Charles Town Building Association, 23 February 1911, Deed Book 105, p. 363; Farmers Advocate, 31 March 1928, p. 1, col. 1.

[179]Farmers Advocate, 4 February 1911, p. 2, co. 2.

remained privately owned by Maurice Wentzell and Magnus Cockrell. Cockrell offered to sell his share to partner Maurice Wentzell in May 1911.[180] The trunk factory closed in 1916, reportedly "due largely to a lack of capital to expand the industry." A year later, with electric power now available during work hours, local businessmen Charles T. Smith, Leo O'Beirne, Abram Kaplon, Maurice E. Wentzell, Howard L. Shewbridge, Robert L. Rockenbaugh, Harry W. Shoemaker, Everett W. Hines, and Charles E. Marlatt, along with John T. Shirley of Shenandoah Junction, sought incorporation of the Harpers Ferry Trunk and Bag Company. The company was formed "to manufacture and repair trunks, suit cases, traveling bags, hand bags, purses, pocket-books and other like articles out of leather and other material." Smith became president, O'Beirne vice-president, Wentzell manager, and Marlatt secretary and treasurer. With this new organization, new machinery was to be installed in the factory. Trunks were to be made of veneer lumber and vulcanized fiber, as the high cost of leather reportedly made its use unprofitable.[181]

The new corporation apparently was not a success, as I. S. Glass was leasing the basement of the old Presbyterian Church for a garage in September 1919.[182] By the middle of November 1919, a representative of the Interwoven Mills, a Martinsburg company manufacturing men's hosiery, was negotiating to buy or lease the church building but was hindered by Glass' unexpired lease. Glass agreed to move from the church basement if another location could be found, and the knitting company obtained a one-year lease on the building before the end of the month. An

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[180]Farmers Advocate, 13 May 1911, p. 2, col. 4.

[181]Farmers Advocate, 18 August 1917, p. 2, col. 2; Certificate of Incorporation of the Harpers Ferry Trunk and Bag Co., 16 August 1917, Corporation Book 2, p. 324.

[182]Spirit of Jefferson, 2 September 1919, p. 2, col. 5.

option in the lease allowed the company to renew the lease for an additional five years at the end of the one-year period. A month later, when Glass refused to vacate the premises because the old Dittmeyer property (rear half of Lot 1, Block B) to which he was to move was not ready, C. B. Wentzell had Glass' garage equipment removed to Sam Jacob's shop (on Jefferson's Lot) so that Interwoven could taken possession of the entire church building.[183]

As soon as a lease was signed in November 1919, Interwoven Mills engaged Frank and John Appell of Charles Town to do some of the remodeling in the church. Part of the work included removal of the gallery, evidently built or rebuilt following the Civil War.[184] Shortly after the first of the year, equipment for heating the building was installed in the basement. Outside, poles for the electric transformer were on the ground. In February, the power company ran wires to the building, ending the previous reliance on oil lights. A month later, Martinsburg resident W. S. Frankinberry and his carpenter crew finished their work, apparently including the construction of a stairway to connect the basement and main floors.[185] Conceivably built at this time was a small, one-story addition at the rear (western) side of the building on the cliff end. Although this addition does not appear on Sanborn maps until 1933, it is clearly visible in HF-1011, a photograph of the 1924 flood.

The Harpers Ferry branch of the Interwoven Mills began operations March 22, 1920, but improvements to the property continued over the next few months. In May, work was underway to replace temporary improvements with more permanent ones. Additionally, the management was

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[183]Farmers Advocate, 15 November 1919, p. 1, col. 2; 29 November 1919, p. 1, col. 6; 20 December 1919, p. 1, col. 3.

[184]Farmers Advocate, 29 November 1919, p. 1, col. 6; Spirit of Jefferson, 9 December 1919, p. 5, col. 2. When removing the gallery, the Appells found a board inscribed "Noah Chamblin, Co. I. Post 3" probably written during the war when the church was used as a guard house.

[185]Farmers Advocate, 17 January 1920, p. 8, col. 1; 14 February 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 13 March 1920, p. 1, col. 1. Sanborn maps from August 1902 to November 1912 indicate the building was heated by stoves and had oil lighting. The next map (November 1922) lists electric lights and steam heat.

contemplating placing heavier machinery on the lower floor of the building and expanding the type of interwoven work done at Harpers Ferry. Consideration also was being given to acquiring additional property adjoining the Presbyterian Church Lot on the west so that an addition to the plant could be made.[186] In July, the Farmers Advocate reported, "The factory has just received its finishing stroke within and without, which puts it once at par with the cleanest, neatest, most sanitary industries extant."[187] Reportedly, Interwoven Mills had expended $2,500 by August for improvements.

In April 1920, the mill had connected to the main bringing water to Harpers Ferry from Silver Grove. As winter approached, with the accompanying drop in temperature, it was discovered this source of water was not dependable. As a result, in November, a crew under C. S. Feltner of Rippon began boring an artesian well on the plant property. By the end of the month, a 150-foot hole had been drilled, but no water had been located. A few weeks later, water was found after the well was extended to 200 feet.[188]

The company evidently was not satisfied with the amount of water tapped by this well. In February 1921, despite the opposition of Feltner, twenty or more boxes of pulverized dynamite were "let down a stick and set off with an electric battery." Water reportedly gushed out of the well to the height of Jefferson's Rock. The explosion caused a hole in the well through which water escaped, and the company was forced to abandon the well and close the hole. This fiasco cost the company about $900. Once again, the plant was connected to the mountain water

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[186]Farmers Advocate, 27 March 1920, p. 1, col. 3; 22 May 1920, p. 1, col. 1.

[187]Farmers Advocate, 17 July 1920, p. 1, col. 1.

[188]Farmers Advocate, 24 April 1920, p. 1, col. 6; 27 November 1920, p. 1, col. 2; 4 December 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 25 December 1920, p. 1, col. 2.

supply.[189] Finally, in December 1921, a crew of fifteen men under the supervision of W. W. Clark, foreman in Martinsburg for the company, laid about 1,500 feet of pipes from a well connected to the brewery along the Shenandoah River to the Interwoven knitting mill. The water was to be brought to the mill by an hydraulic pump and stored in an 800 gallon tank buried on the premises.[190]

Nearly twelve months earlier, property owner C. B. Wentzell had declared bankruptcy in United States District Court at Martinsburg. As a result, P. O. Faulkner was appointed trustee of Wentzell's property and placed the property, then leased by Interwoven Mills on a month to month basis for $20 a month, up for sale June 10, 1922. Interwoven Mills purchased the property for $3,000 at that sale, although the sale was not confirmed and a deed executed until September.[191]

Within a month of the sale, the Farmers Advocate reported Interwoven was having machinists install additional facilities so that fancier and more expensive goods could be manufactured at the Harpers Ferry branch. This work probably was part of a previously announced plan to have the knitting work finished at the mill rather than sending it away as was the current practice. Evidently, output in Harpers Ferry had reached 9,000 pairs a month, as that was the stated requirement for the change in production.[192]

Two years later, for the first time since December 1920, when Interwoven briefly suspended operations in its various mills and announced a new wage scale, the Harpers Ferry

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[189]Farmers Advocate, 12 February 1921, p. 1, col. 2.

[190]Farmers Advocate, 24 December 1921, p. 1, col. 2.

[191]Order in Bankruptcy for C.B. Wentzell, 3 January 1921, Deed Book 122, p. 4; P.O. Faulkner, trustee of C.B. Wentzell; C.B. Wentzell and wife Carrie V. to Interwoven Mills, Inc., 1 September 1922, Deed Book 122, p. 121; Farmers Advocate, 13 May 1922, p. 8, col. 4.

[192]Farmers Advocate, 25 March 1922, p. 1, col. 5; 15 July 1922, p. 1, col. 1.

branch closed for two weeks, reportedly due to poor market conditions. When production resumed in mid-July, operators were paid an average ten percent less than before the shutdown. The Harpers Ferry branch of Interwoven Mills closed permanently in the spring of 1926, and the sixty to seventy-five women employed there were transferred to the Martinsburg plant.[193]

Following the closure of the knitting mills at Harpers Ferry in 1926, the factory building may have remained vacant for three years until the Marvel Bakery was moved there in October 1929. Owner Charles T. Smith, a prominent local businessman who previously had owned the bottling works along the Shenandoah River and been president of the failed trunk factory, had purchased the baking plant and equipment of Jefferson Baking Company a year earlier. After a contest to determine the name of the business, Smith's bakery was called the Marvel Bakery. The bakery offered items such as cakes, macaroons, lady fingers, coconut kisses, tea rolls, buns, creams puffs, and Smith's Honest Loaf Bread, baked by Ernest Dovenmuhle. Before moving to the old Presbyterian Church, the Marvel Bakery operated in the old Doran building (probably Park Building 34/35).[194]

On August 1, 1930, Smith purchased the Presbyterian Church property from Interwoven Mills for $1,500, securing $500 of the purchase price in a deed of trust to trustee L. I. Rice.[195] A small, two-story addition was made at the front (eastern) end, street side, of the bakery by 1932. This structure probably held the office.[196]

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[193]Farmers Advocate, 25 December 1920, p. 1, col. 6; 5 July 1924, p. 1, col. 1; 19 July 1924, p. 1, col. 2; 3 April 1926, p. 1, col. 1.

[194]Farmers Advocate, 30 June 1928, p. 1, col. 1 & p. 5, col. 4; 14 July 1928, p. 1, col. 1; 8 December 1928, p. 4, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 10 October 1929, p. 8, col. 1; Patricia Chickering et al, "Lots 2 and 3, Block B Shenandoah Street, Park Buildings 32, 33, 33A, 34/35, 34A and 36, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia" (draft report, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, November 1993), pp. 56-7.

[195]Interwoven Mill, Inc. to Charles T. Smith, 1 August 1930, Deed Book 134, p. 274; Deed of Trust, Charles T. Smith and wife Myrtle M. to L.I. Rice, trustee, 1 August 1930, Deed Book 134, p. 276.

[196]See Figure 15.

On September 1, 1933, Charles Smith and his wife Myrtle sold the bakery property to John and Mary Neus for $6,500, $3,000 of which was to be paid in cash. Included in the sale were three trucks, and the following equipment in the Marvel Bakery:

> 1 Battle Creek Automatic Wrapping Machine, Model F1; 1 Gelman Giant Slicer, number 882; 1 Colborne Pie Machine; 1 Six Drawer Bread Proofer; 13 Bread Racks; 1 Bennett Heavy Duty Oven, number 115; 1 Doughnut Stove; 1 Dutchess Roll Divider; 1 Reed High Speed Mixer; 1 Reed Cake Mixer; 1 Thomson Moulder; 1 Steam Kettle; 2 Upright Boilers; 1 mixing bowl on stand; 5 mixing bowls and paddles; cake pans; bread pans, and bun pans, and all other personal property incident to the operation of the Marvel Bakery, . . . all other machinery, either fixed or movable, and appliances of like kind and description contained in the building on said lot or located on said lot, or whereever located, at the time of this conveyance; with the exception, however of the office furnishings and fixtures in the office adjoining the main building, which they hereby expressly reserve.[197]

To secure payment of the remaining $3,500 payable to the Smiths at the Farmers Bank and Trust Company of Charles Town in six months, John and Mary Neus mortgaged the property the same day. Because Neus had paid only $2,250 in cash rather than the stated $3,000, he signed a thirty-day note for the $750 difference, also secured by a mortgage on the property bought from Smith.[198]

By March 1934, when John and Mary Neus had promised to complete payment of the purchase price of the bakery property and equipment, they had reduced the debt only to $4,031.97 and another deed of trust was executed. Subsequently, Neus declared bankruptcy, and on October 26, the United States district court for the northern district of West Virginia order the sale of the Marvel Bakery property. The following day, trustee T. C. Green sold the property to James C. Baumgardner for $4,125--$1,675 for the real estate and $2,450 for the personal property--$3,855.19 of which was paid to Charles Smith. Not part of the sale were the Battle Creek Slicing

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[197]Charles T. Smith and wife Myrtle M. to John Neus and Mary Neus, 1 September 1933, Deed Book 139, p. 54.

[198]John Neus and wife Mary to T.C. Green, trustee, 1 September 1933, Deed Book 139, pp. 55, 57.

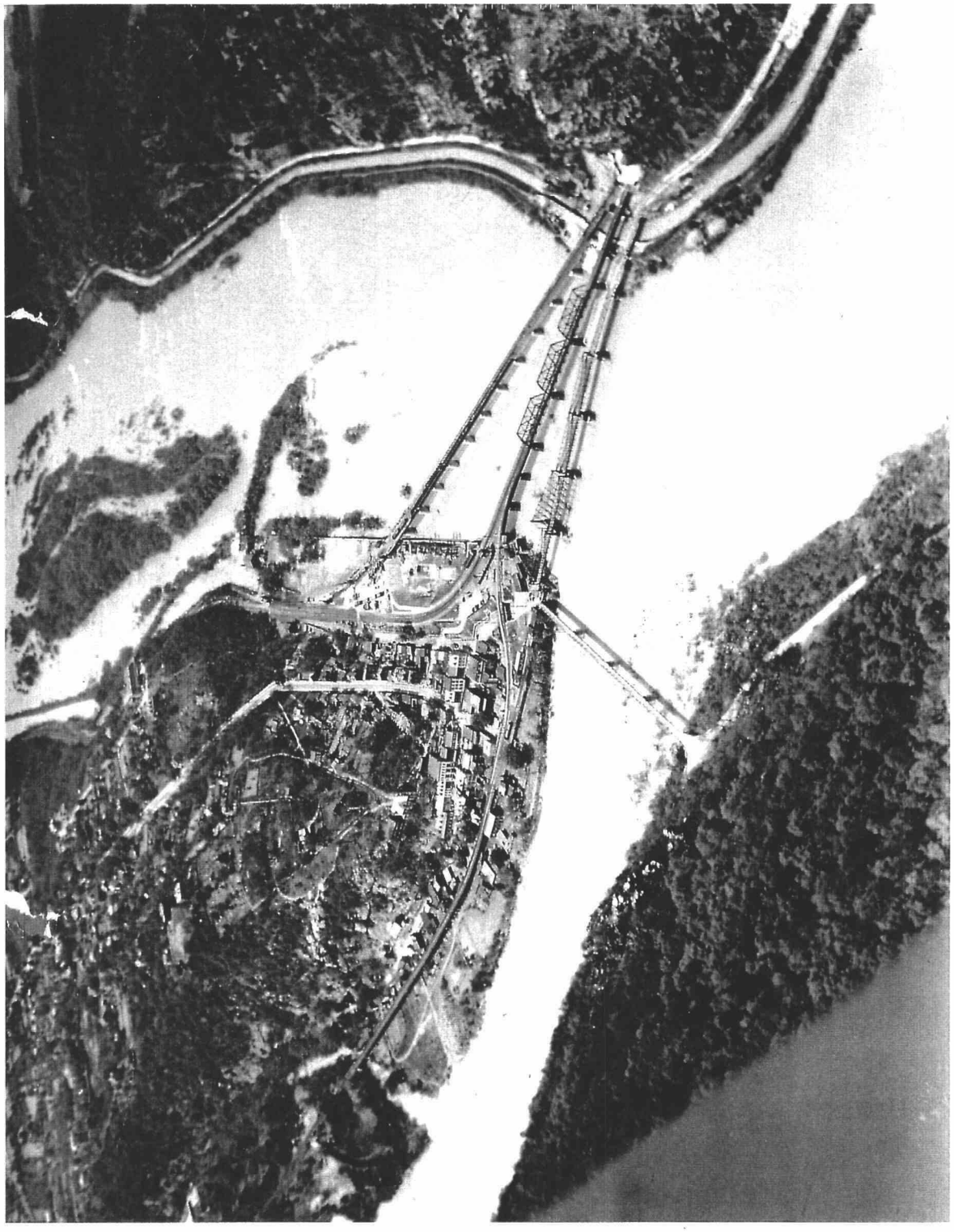


Figure 15. 1932 aerial of Harpers Ferry.



Figure 16. HF-1615. The ruins of the Presbyterian Church are visible on the far right in this photograph taken after the 1942 flood. The jail is just beyond the ruins.

Machine, Dough Brake, 51 sets of pans, a sack of flour, a desk and chair, a green table, and three straight-back chairs in the bakery office, along with an adding machine in the possession of the constable.[199]

After the Marvel Bakery was sold, the name of the business was changed to Baumgardner's Bakery. By 1936, the owners, brothers James and Harry Baumgardner, were marketing their bakery products, such as butter biscuits, cinnamon and fruit buns, jelly and pan rolls, cakes, doughnuts, and most important Baumgardner's Bread and Bread King family size loaf, throughout Jefferson County, as well as in the nearby communities of Frederick, Martinsburg, Winchester, and Front Royal.[200]

On March 18, 1936, a devastating flood swept through Harpers Ferry, and Baumgardner's Bakery was among the businesses suffering damage to their stock and building. James and Harry Baumgardner decided to move their bakery to Charles Town, where they leased a building on West Liberty Street in May. Although a new oven and some new equipment was purchased, the remainder was moved from the old plant in Harpers Ferry in time for the Charles Town opening in July. After this move, the building on Shenandoah Street in Harpers Ferry was unoccupied. On January 23. 1937, the building caught fire and was destroyed before the fire company arrived and succeeded in preventing the fire from spreading to other buildings.[201] Left were ruins of the first floor walls of the building.

After the destruction of the old Presbyterian Church/bakery building, James Baumgardner

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[199]Deed of Trust, John Neus and wife Mary to T.C. Green, trustee, 31 March 1934, Deed Book 139, p. 514; Report of Sale of T.C. Green, trustee of John Neus, 3 November 1934, Deed Book 140, p. 513; T.C. Green to James C. Bumgardner, 27 October 1934, Deed Book 140, p. 500.

[200]Farmers Advocate, 3 January 1936, p. 2; 17 July 1936, p. 1, col. 2; 21 August 1936, p. 8.

[201]Farmers Advocate, 20 March 1936, p. 8, col. 3; 29 May 1936, p. 1, col. 4; 29 January 1937, p. 1, col. 1.

failed to pay taxes on the property. On May 19, 1952, F. J. Beckwith, deputy commissioner of forfeited and delinquent lands in Jefferson County, deeded the Presbyterian Church Lot to the State of West Virginia. Interestingly, in 1953, when the Town of Harpers Ferry transfered title to property it owned in Lower Town Harpers Ferry to the State of West Virginia, the Presbyterian Church Lot was included with Jefferson's Lot. As the deed including the Presbyterian Church property was a deed of correction, prepared because an earlier deed had provided an incorrect description of the real estate being conveyed, inclusion of the Presbyterian Church Lot evidently was intentional.[202]

Jefferson's Lot

The United States owned this property from 1796 to at least 1870. Historian Charles Snell believed three or four small, frame or stone armory houses were built on this lot before 1834.[203] The houses Snell located on this lot were on property reserved from the 1852 sale of government land, raising the possibility they were on the north side.[204] Given the housing problems in the first half of the nineteenth century, it is probable this area did not remain vacant, but no evidence has been uncovered of how many buildings stood on this particular lot before the government relinquished ownership. Therefore, no discussion of possible armory buildings will be attempted

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[202]F.J. Beckwith to Conservation Commission of West Virginia, 19 May 1952, Deed Book 189, p. 56; Common Council of Harpers Ferry to State of West Virginia, 2 February 1953, Deed Book 192, p. 175; Deed of Correction, Common Council of Harpers Ferry to State of West Virginia, 25 April 1953, Deed Book 192, p. 555.

[203]Snell, "Catholic School Lot," p. 22. In this report, Snell lists Nos. 31, 32, 33, and 34 on Jefferson's Lot. In his "A Comprehensive History, 1789-1884," however, he lists House Nos. 33, 34, and 35 on Jefferson's Lot and had concluded No. 32 was Park Building 48 situated west of Jefferson's Lot (Vol II, pp. 49-52).

[204]"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," Map Collection, HFNHP.

and the reader is referred to Snell's report for a discussion of his hypothesis.[205]

In 1869, when the United States sold its property at Harpers Ferry, the government presumably intended to dispose of Jefferson's Lot as well. Unfortunately, no documentation has been found to prove the property was bid upon at the public sale in December or that the government granted the property to any of the religious, school, or civic organizations in Harpers Ferry. In particular, title was not transferred to the Town of Harpers Ferry in the deed conveying title to the Market House lot, the Public Square on Camp Hill, Union Square in Bolivar, and Pine Grove Cemetery.[206]

In 1872, the corporate authorities of Harpers Ferry petitioned the government for use of the house on Lot 2, Block B, for a "town-house, school-house, jail, station-house, or otherwise." The town's schoolhouses had been destroyed during the war or in the 1870 flood; the jail also was destroyed during the war. Major S. V. Benet of the Ordnance Department immediately gave permission for this use of the Master Armorer's House (Park Building 36), but difficulty in removing the tenants delayed town occupation of the house.[207] Eventually, the town did occupy part of the building for the mayor's office, council room, and jail, and may have remained for an indeterminate, but probably brief, time after J. Garland Hurst bought the property in 1884.[208]

By mid-1886, the town was preparing alternative facilities. The June 15, 1886 issue of the Spirit of Jefferson reported William Phillips & Sons, lumber dealers in Charles Town, had

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[205]With the exception of House No. 32, all these houses were demolished in the 1840s or 1850s (Snell, "A Comprehensive History, 1798-1884," Vol II, pp. 48-52).

[206]United States to Town of Harpers Ferry, 13 January 1870, Reel 238, Frame 175.

[207]Daniel Ames and others to Hon. W.W. Belknap, 5 July 1872, and S.V. Benet to Zadok Butt, 16 July 1872 and 3 January 1873, Sale of Government Property at Harpers Ferry, Ex. Doc. 6, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., Senate, in James P. Noffsinger, "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Contributions toward a Physical History" (National Park Service, November 1958), p. 153, 154, and 159.

[208]Chickering, pp. 71-4, 76.

contracted to provide lumber for two buildings "which will be erected" at Harpers Ferry. One building was the Catholic schoolhouse (built on the Catholic school lot), and the other was the jail, located on Jefferson's Lot near the property line with the Presbyterian Church Lot.[209] The lumber evidently was for interior work such as flooring, as the jail building was a two-story stone structure, two bays wide and one bay deep. Typical double hung windows with 6/6 lights were placed in the second story, but only two, very small windows located on either side of the front door were on the first floor. A stone wall stood immediately in front of the building. (See Figure 17 and Figure 12).

In 1898, Henry Taft and his wife Grace Jennings Taft visited Harpers Ferry. Grace kept an account of their trip, noting the various buildings or places they saw, a number of which Henry or Grace photographed. Among them was the town jail. Of their journey along Shenandoah Street, Grace wrote,

> then [came] the Presbyterian Church; next was a small stone building, the windows of the first story small and grated; large padlocks were upon the doors; while blossoming plants stood in the windows of the upper story. We supposed this to be the village jail, but saw no one about of whom we could inquire. Beyond this place is the village smithy, and just across the street a pump.[210]

The blacksmith shop Grace Taft mentioned also stood on Jefferson's Lot, between the jail and Park Building 48 on Lot 2. This building was standing when the Sanborn Map was prepared in 1894. While the building is not drawn on this map, a notation next to the jail indicates a one-story, frame blacksmith shop stood 125 feet west of the jail. This blacksmith shop appears on the far right, surrounded by buggies, in one of the Taft photographs (Figure 18), which shows the building's vertical siding.

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[209]Spirit of Jefferson, 15 June 1886, p. 3, col. 3.

[210]Grace Jennings Taft, "A Trip to Harper's Ferry," August 1898.

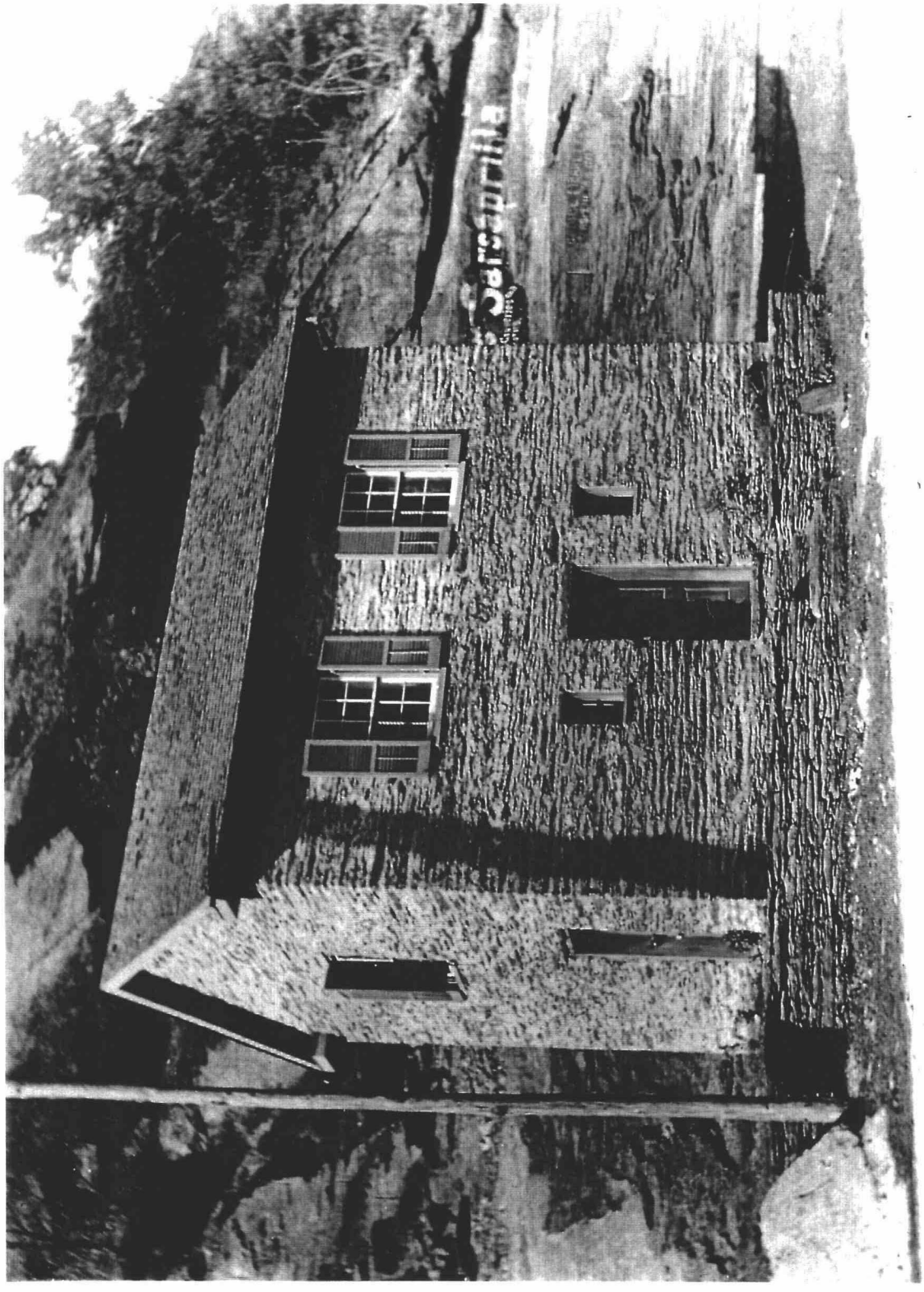


Figure 17. HF-1800. Henry Taft photograph of the town jail in 1898.

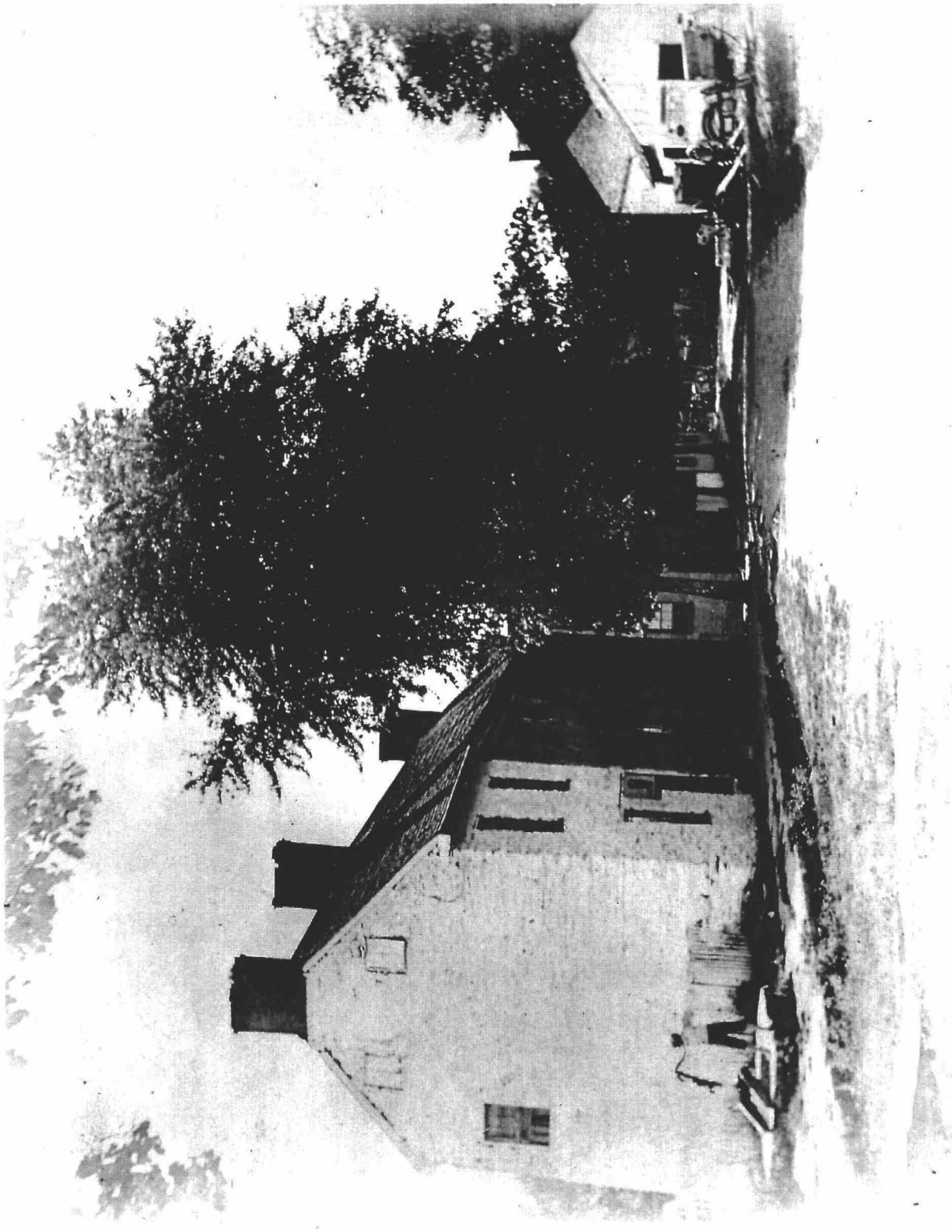


Figure 18. HF-1799. This 1898 Taft photograph of west Shenandoah Street shows the Jefferson's Lot blacksmith shop on the far right. Park Building 48 is just beyond the shop.

In 1896, Sam Jacobs paid the town of Harpers Ferry ground rent for the property on which the blacksmith shop stood. Jacobs was a Loudoun County resident and, therefore, appears on no Jefferson County census records, but he conceivably had been the blacksmith shop owner from the beginning. Jacobs still leased the property in early 1900, but in March, the town council adopted a motion calling for the rental of the ground where Jacobs' blacksmith shop stood.[211]

By 1912, the blacksmith shop on Jefferson's Lot apparently had been enlarged. The 1912 Sanborn Map notes the blacksmith shop west of the jail was a two-story frame building, a description consistent with that provided by the February 1913 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map. The latter map also lists Samuel R. Jacobs as the owner. In July, the Farmers Advocate reported Jacobs had opened a garage on Shenandoah Street. It is not clear whether he now had two facilties, had vacated the blacksmith shop on Jefferson's Lot, or perhaps returned to this location after an absence. Two years later, in March 1915, the newspaper indicated George Kerns then worked for Jacobs but was being succeeded by Garland DeLauder. Jacobs sold his blacksmith shop on Shenandoah Street to Peter Snyder in 1919, with Snyder immediately selling it to C. W. Demory for a garage.[212] Demory advertised the sale of his "garage and blacksmith shop combined, on South Shenandoah St" in July 1921.[213] He evidently was unable to sell the building, as a 1923 lease for an adjoining section of Jefferson's Lot references the blacksmith shop then used as a garage by Charles Demory.[214]

In addition to the jail and blacksmith shop, a third building briefly stood on Jefferson's

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[211]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1891-1909, pp. 175, 315, 328.

[212]B&O Railroad Map, 1913; Farmers Advocate, 26 July 1913, p. 2, col. 3; 20 March 1915, p. 2, col. 1; 12 April 1919, p. 2, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 30 March 1915, p. 2, col. 3.

[213]Farmers Advocate, 9 July 1921, p. 8, cols. 3 & 4.

[214]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1910-1934, pp. 363-64.

Lot. The 1912 Sanborn Map (Figure 24) shows a small frame building stood between the other two buildings. The Sanborn lists this building as "W. Ho.," presumably meaning a warehouse. The 1913 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map (Figure 28) indicates this one-story building was the dwelling of James Manuel. Manuel is listed as a laborer on the 1880 census and 1892 voter registration roll, but neither the 1900, 1910, nor 1920 census list any occupation for Manuel, who lived alone. While he was living in Bolivar in 1900, Manuel moved to Harpers Ferry by 1910, probably to the dwelling on Jefferson's Lot.[215] James Manuel may still have lived there until August 1920, when he was taken to a Martinsburg hospital for cancer treatment. A year later, he was sent to a home for incurables in New York, where he died in May 1921.[216] Manuel's house on Jefferson's Lot does not appear on the 1922 Sanborn Map, suggesting it may have been removed about the time Manuel left Harpers Ferry.

On January 30, 1923, the Town of Harpers Ferry leased a portion of Jefferson's Lot to the trustees of St. Andrews Parish and Zion Protestant Episcopal Church. The church recently had been conducting Sunday School on nearby Virginius Island and had been seeking a permanent home in Harpers Ferry since 1922. The land leased by the church from the town ran from six feet west of the west wall of the jail to six feet east of the east wall of the blacksmith shop. It was to be used for religious worship and education, and the lease called for the trustees to construct a building for such purposes within the space of a year or the town could terminate the lease. If all terms were complied with, the lease could last ninety-nine years.[217]

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[215]Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p.1; 1892 Voter Registration Roll; Twelfth Census (1900), Bolivar, p. 89B; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 190; Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 191B.

[216]Farmers Advocate, 28 August 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 19 March 1921, p. 1, col. 5; 14 May 1921, p. 1, col. 2.

[217]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1909-1934, pp. 363-64; Spirit of Jefferson, 3 January 1922, p. 2, col. 3; Farmers Advocate, 22 April 1922, p. 1, col. 2.

In December, the lease was extended another year, although the church had not yet erected a building. Edna Farmer, a resident of Virginius Island prior to the 1924 flood, recalled that for "a while" there was a Sunday School "on Shenandoah Street, up over, um, well it wasn't a garage, it was some kind of a big building."[218] In April 1926, a change in the property covered by the lease was made, thus allowing the Zion Episcopal mission to use a portion of Jefferson's Lot extending to the line with Eugene Shugart's land (eastern portion of Lot 2). This revision thereby included the old blacksmith shop/garage within the mission's property.[219] The 1933 Sanborn Map (Figure 27), the only Sanborn on which this building appears, indicates a two-story frame dwelling with a one-story wing on the side nearest the jail stood on the blacksmith shop site. This building probably was destroyed by the 1936 or 1942 flood.

Following the 1942 flood, the jail building evidently was the only remaining structure on Jefferson's Lot. For years, the building had been used to house lawbreakers. In addition, the second floor held town offices, where the town council met. The jail building also had served as a voting precinct in recent decades.[220] These various uses probably ended with the 1936 flood, and the property became overgrown and the building apparently neglected. In 1950, the Jefferson Republican reported "latterday floods put it out of commission entirely."[221]

At its November 3, 1949 meeting, the town council voted to place an advertisement in the

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[218]Interview with Edna Brashear Farmer by John T. Eddins and Anna-Marie York, 19 May 1994.

[219]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1910-1934, pp. 404, 455-57.

[220]Town minutes note repairs or improvements to the jail at various times from the 1890s on. Among the more interesting references was a motion passed in September 1895 that the cells be cleaned and fumigated and that the woodwork be painted and the spouting overhauled. The cleaning was carried out by Jessie Roeder, who was paid $1.50 in 1896 for cleaning the jail and making ticks. Little more than a decade later, in 1908, the town council authorized the mayor to put the cells in order by installing two bunks and "necessary bedding" to make the place "habitable." At the same time, a platform and railing was to be constructed in the council room. In 1915, new locust flooring was installed. Conditions in the jail remained marginal, or became so once again by 1927, when the council passed a motion that the jail be put in good shape so prisoners could be housed there. (Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1891-1909, pp. 162, 180, 541; Vol. 1910-1934, pp. 116, 474).

[221]In July 1937, the town council voted to repair the jail, but there is no indication repairs were made (Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1935-1955, p. 66). Council minutes indicate meetings were held elsewhere, while the town contemplated construction of a town hall.

Spirit of Jefferson soliciting bids for the stone and lumber of the jail building. This ad noted the stone and lumber would be sold "complete or separately."[222] Council minutes from February 2, 1950 indicate the lumber had been sold for $15 to an unspecified party, while the stone would be given back to the town if needed for a community building. The jail building was torn down in February 1950.[223]

Although the "acknowledged owner," the town apparently never received title to Jefferson's Lot. In 1936, when preliminary work was being conducted for the establishment of the Park at Harpers Ferry, no deed conveying this property to the town could be found, and a Park Service historian concluded no transfer had taken place and that the United States still owned the lot.[224] To guarantee clear title, however, on February 2, 1953, the town council of Harpers Ferry deeded Jefferson's Lot, together with part of the Presbyterian Church Lot, to the State of West Virginia. Two months later, a deed of correction including both lots in their entirety was prepared. According to this document, the conveyed property was described as follows:

> BEGINNING at a point S. 69 deg. 00' E. 178.08 feet and thence S. 75 deg. 55' E. 62.32 feet from the intersection of east side of York Street and north side of Shenandoah Streets; thence S. 83 deg. 45' E. 130 feet to a point; thence N. 86 deg. 20' E. 287 feet to a point; thence N. 4 deg. 10' W. 212 feet to a point on the south side of Cliff Street; thence N. 84 deg. 00' W. 47 feet to a point; thence N. 80 deg. 11' W. 169.59 feet to a point; thence N. 77 deg. 48' W. 134.67 feet to a point; thence S. 10 deg. 21' W. 285 feet to the place of beginning.[225]

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[222]Spirit of Jefferson, 10 November 1949, p. 7A, col. 1. Also Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1935-1955, p. 375.

[223]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1935-1955, p. 379; Jefferson Republican, 9 February 1950, p. 6, col. 3.

[224]Memorandum from Charles S. Marshall, Junior Historian, Morristown National Historical Park, to Mr. Spalding, 12 November 1936, quoted in Fairbairn, p. 30. In 1892, the town council noted Jefferson Lot had been left out of the deed transferring several other properties, but indicated a deed was being prepared. Unfortunately, no such deed has been found (Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol 1891-1909, p. 22).

[225]Deed of Correction, Common Council of Harpers Ferry to State of West Virginia, 25 April 1953, Deed Book 192, p. 555.

Lot 2 (Part)

The United States owned this property from 1796 to 1870. A map prepared by N. King and L. Harbaugh in 1803 shows a log house and a stable in the vicinity of Lot 2.[226] Historian Charles Snell decided two stone and one frame armory houses (House Nos. 30, 31, and 32) stood on this lot later. One of them, Park Building 48 (either House No. 30 or 32), a stone building, was built after 1821 on Lot 2.[227] House Nos. 30 and 32 were situated on Shenandoah Street on property reserved from the 1852 sale of government land, meaning they likely were on the north side of the street.[228] Aside from Park Building 48, no houses were standing on Lot 2 at the beginning of the Civil War.[229]

When the United States offered Lot 2 for sale in 1869, Mrs. Isabella Leisenring bid $1,475 for the property. She did not pay for the property and executed a quit claim deed to the United States in 1879 relinquishing any claim to Lot 2. The following year, the United States sold Lot 2 to Gabriel L. Myers for $405. Margaret Dempsey bought the property from Myers and his wife Emma in December 1881.[230]

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[226]"Plan of the proposed junction of the CANAL at the lower Falls of Shenandoah, with the Public Canal at HARPER'S FERRY, and the necessary Locks for descending into the Potomak River," by N. King and L. Harbaugh, February 1803. In her interpretation of the location of these two buildings, Landscape Architect Maureen Joseph placed the dwelling just west of Park Building 48 and the stable partly on the same ground as Building 48. See "Historic Base Map: 1750-1815," November 1991, Drawing No. 385/80,067, in Cathy Gilbert, Maureen De Lay Joseph, and Perry Carpenter Wheelock, Cultural Landscape Report: Lower Town, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Capital Region, 1993).

[227]Snell, "A Comprehensive History, 1789-1884," Vol. II, pp. 47-9. At the time he prepared the "Catholic School Lot" report in 1959, Snell believed Nos. 31 and 32 were on Jefferson's Lot (p. 22), but later, when he concluded Park Building 48 probably was No. 32, he included these two dwellings on Lot 2 with No. 30.

[228]"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," Map Collection, HFNHP.

[229]The reader is referred to the reports by Snell and Stan Bumgardner for more information on Building 48. As it is not certain this building was No. 32, Bumgardner presents information on the occupants of both No. 32 and 30, the other stone house. House No. 31, a one-story frame dwelling was occupied by Samuel McKinsey in the early 1840s, followed by Absolem Riley until the house was torn down in 1849 (Snell, "A Comprehensive History, 1798-1884," Vol. II, p. 48).

[230]Bumgardner, pp. 33, 37, 39. See his report for information on Leisenring, Myers, and Dempsey.

In 1885, Margaret Dempsey sold a portion of Lot 2 running 72 feet along Shenandoah Street west from the stone wall on the lot to Magnus Cockrell for $50.[231] By 1891, Cockrell's portion held a house assessed at $300. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map of 1913 (Figure 28) shows this dwelling was a two-story frame structure. A one-story section crossed the rear of the house, while a porch ran across the front. A small shed stood west of the rear of the house. By 1933, this shed was replaced by a long building. A second, small building stood just to its west in the latter year.[232] (See Figure 27)

Magnus Cockrell, son of Jefferson County farmer John G. Cockrell and his wife Elizabeth, was living in Harpers Ferry by 1880, when he married Kate Cleveland, daughter of Ralph and Maria Cleveland.[233] By the 1890s, Magnus Cockrell was a prominent resident of Harpers Ferry. He was one of the incorporators of the Harpers Ferry and Bolivar Building Association in 1895 and entered into partnership with Maurice Wentzell in 1910 to run a trunk and bag factory in the old Presbyterian Church.[234] Cockrell regularly served on the town council of Harpers Ferry from 1896 to 1907.[235]

Based on names listed near the Cockrell family on the 1900, 1910, and 1920 censuses, it seems likely the Cockrells lived on Shenandoah Street, most likely in the house constructed about 1890 on the western portion of Lot 2. In 1900, the family consisted of Magnus (50), a foreman

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[231]Margaret Dempsey to Magnus Cockrell, 9 April 1885, Deed Book 77, p. 117.

[232]Jefferson County Land Book 1891.

[233]Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 460; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 1B and Bolivar District, p. 27; Spirit of Jefferson, 20 January 1880, p. 2, col. 3; 12 October 1920, p. 5, col. 2.

[234]Virginia Free Press, 23 January 1895, p. 2, col. 6; Farmers Advocate, 18 June 1910, p. 2, col. 3.

[235]Spirit of Jefferson, 14 January 1896, p. 3, col. 3; 12 January 1897, p. 2, col. 1; 11 January 1898, p. 2, col. 1; 8 January 1901, p. 2, col. 1; 7 January 1902, p. 2, col. 4; 6 January 1903, p. 3, col. 5; 19 January 1904, p. 2, col. 3; 10 January 1905, p. 2, col. 2; 9 January 1906, p. 2, col. 2; 8 January 1907, p. 2, col. 4.

at the pulp mill, his wife Kate (40), and sons George (19) and Roy (10). George died at the Cockrell residence in 1907 from spinal meningitus, leaving a wife and daughter. Magnus, Kate, and son Roy, then employed by the railroad, remained.[236]

During these years, the Cockrells had at least one break in residence. In 1912, the Cockrells moved to Hagerstown and later Baltimore. During their absence, Charles Jones, a local liveryman, presumably together with his wife Bertha and three sons, lived in the house from April to December 1912. The Cockrell family returned to Harpers Ferry early in the Spring of 1913. In January 1914, the Farmers Advocate reported Charles Rockenbaugh had been taking care of the property while the Cockrell family had been in Pittsburgh, but Magnus Cockrell had returned and taken possession of his home.[237]

Magnus Cockrell died in October 1920. Over the next eight years, Kate Cockrell and her son Roy may have occupied the house on Lot 2 periodically. For example, the Farmers Advocate reported in June 1922 that Kate and Roy Cockrell, who had been in Pittsburgh since the previous Fall, had returned to their home in Harpers Ferry. They were living in Pittsburgh at the time of Roy's death in March 1928.[238] Three months later, Kate Cockrell, a resident of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, and her late son George's daughter Georgia, a resident of Baltimore, sold the western portion of Lot 2 to Raymond W. Murphy for $450.[239]

Raymond Murphy lived with his wife Jessie (the former Jessie Evans), son Charles, and

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[236]Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 76A; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 191; Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 191B; Farmers Advocate, 13 July 1907, p. 3, col. 3.

[237]Farmers Advocate, 2 March 1912, p. 2, col. 2; 29 March 1913, p. 2, col. 1; 5 April 1913, p. 2, col. 2; 24 January 1914, p. 2, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 11 April 1912, p. 6, col. 4; 12 December 1912, p. 6, col. 4; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 186.

[238]Farmers Advocate, 9 October 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 24 June 1922, p. 1, col. 5; 10 March 1928, p. 1, col. 1.

[239]Kate Cockrell and Georgia Cockrell to Raymond W. Murphy, 4 June 1928, Deed Book 130, p. 515.

daughter Mary Jane. According to the 1920 census, Raymond Murphy was a railroad car repairman. Later, he was a toll collector on the bridge and watchman of the railroad and highway bridge.[240] If Murphy and his family were not already living in the house on the western part of Lot 2, they moved in following his purchase of the property in 1928 and apparently remained in residence until the 1942 flood. The Farmers Advocate reported in June 1943 that the Murphy home on Shenandoah Street had been uninhabitable since the flood and that Raymond Murphy had moved to Camp Hill. That year, the Land Book listed no value for a building on Murphy's property.[241]

Raymond Murphy died September 5, 1952.[242] Four months later, on January 7, 1953, a deed purportedly executed by both Raymond and Jessie Murphy transferred title to the western portion of Lot 2 to the State of West Virginia. The deeded property was described as follows:

> BEGINNING at a point at the northeasterly intersection of Shenandoah Street and York Street; thence S. 69 deg. 00' E. 103.52 feet to a point on the northerly side of Shenandoah Street; thence N. 17 deg. 00' E. 273.20 feet to a point on the southerly side of Cliff Street; thence N. 76 deg. 49' W. 111 feet to the easterly side of York Street; thence S. 15 deg. 20' W. 258 feet to the point of beginning.[243]

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[240]Farmers Advocate, 17 February 1917, p. 2, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 11 September 1952, p. A6, cols. 1 & 2; Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 191B. Charles was only a year old at the time of that census, and Mary Jane was not born until later.

[241]Farmers Advocate, 25 June 1943, p. 2, col. 5. Jefferson County Land books from the 1930s to early 1940s list the property as owner occupied.

[242]Spirit of Jefferson, 11 September 1952, p. A6, cols. 1 & 2.

[243]Raymond W. Murphy and wife Jessie P. to State of West Virginia, 7 January 1953, Deed Book 192, p. 251.



Figure 19. HF-1548. Closeup of the Murphy home. Jessie Murphy is one of the women standing on the porch. Taken by Lewis Nichols in 1942.

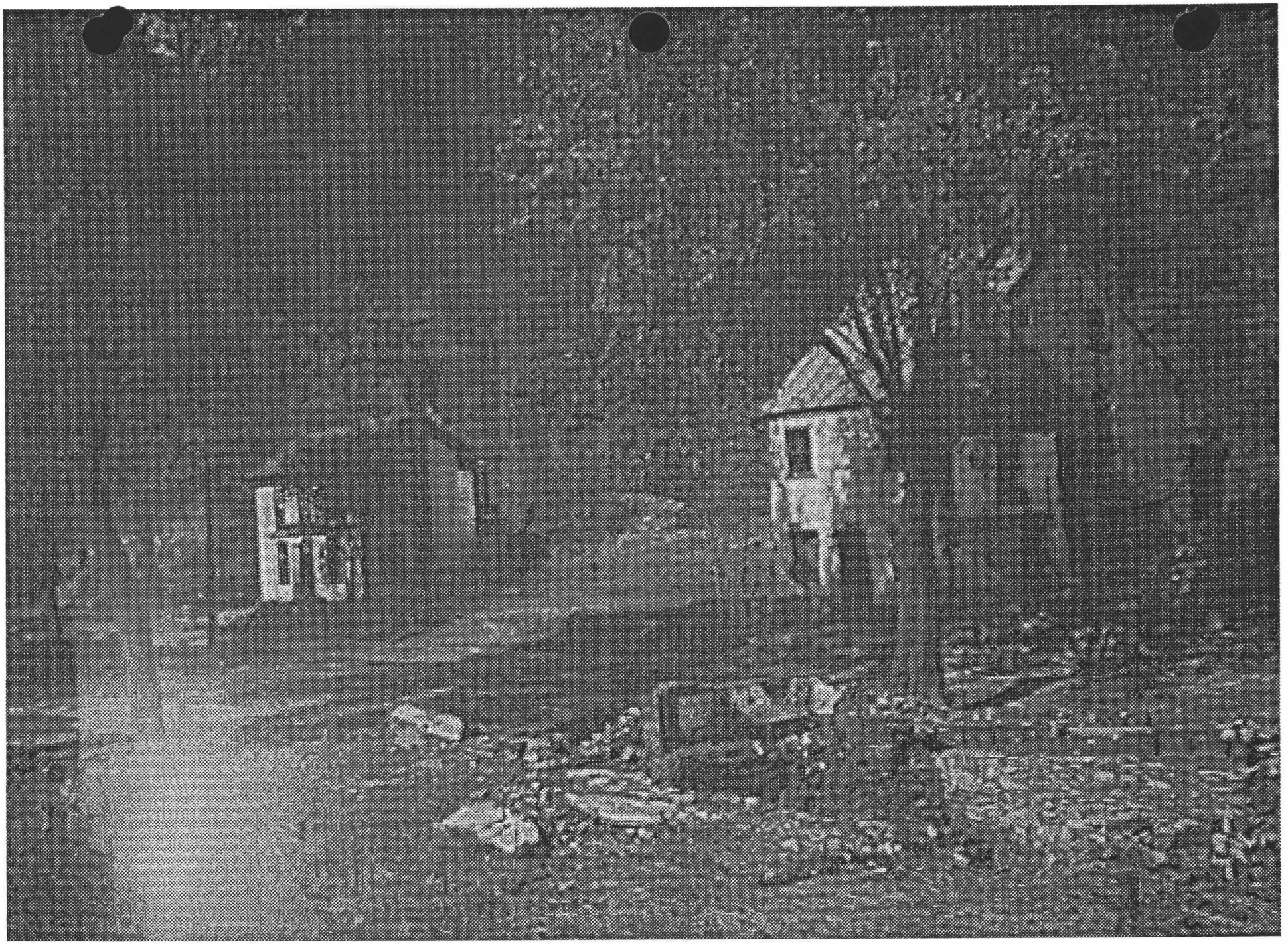


Figure 20. HF-1618. This photograph taken after the 1942 flood shows Park Building 48 and the Murphy home.

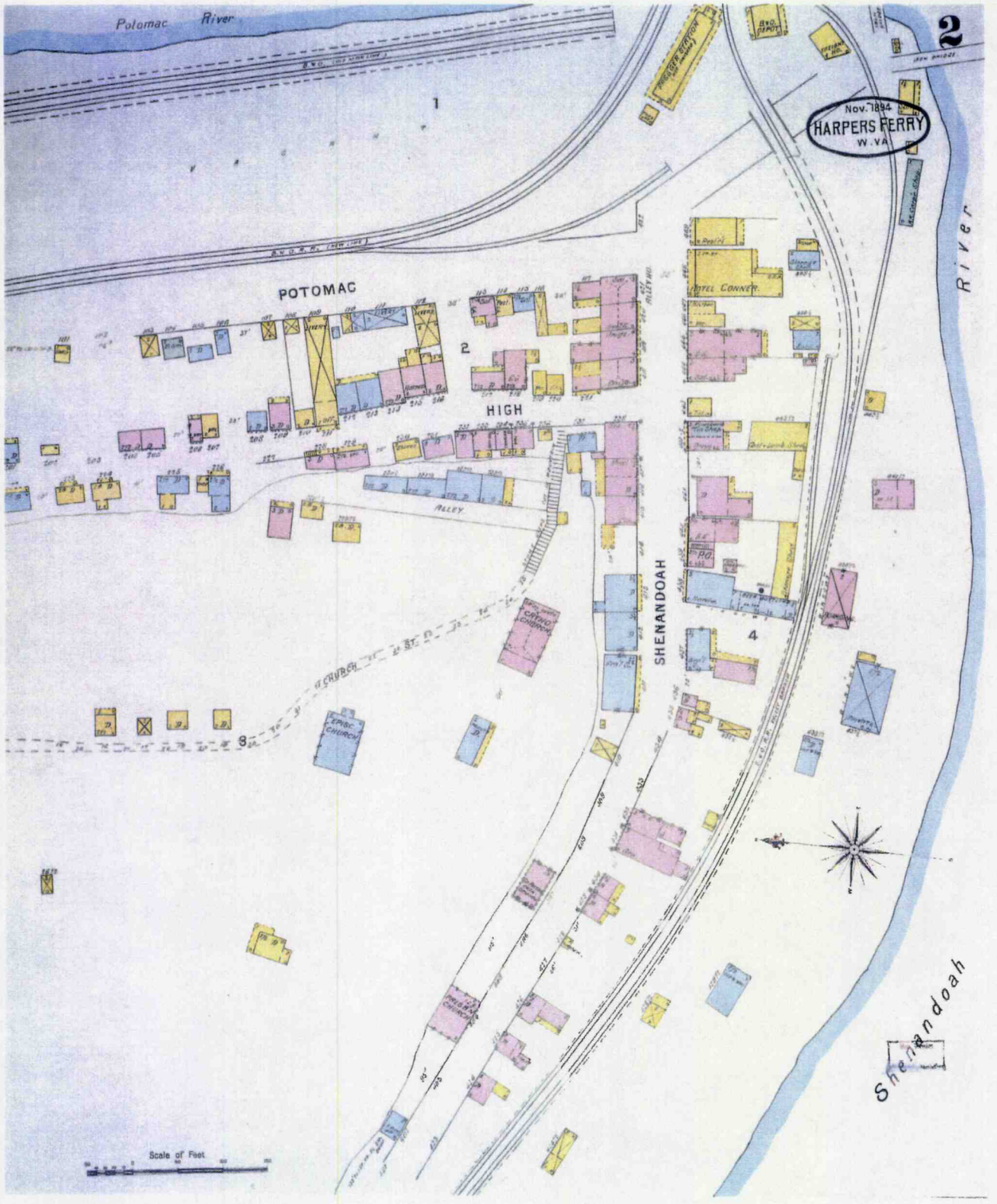


Figure 21. Sanborn Map, November 1894.

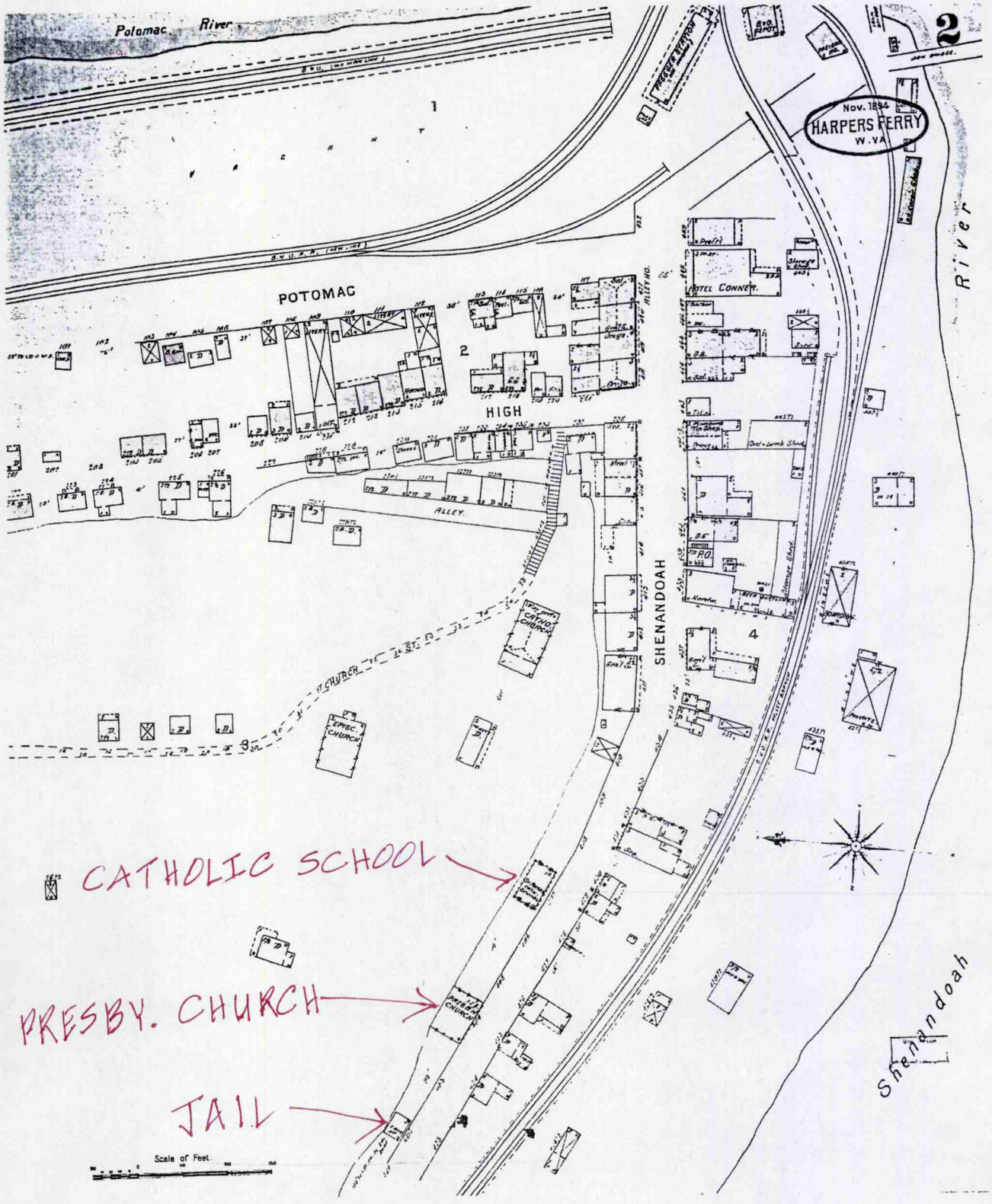


Figure 21. Sanborn Map, November 1894. MARKED COPY

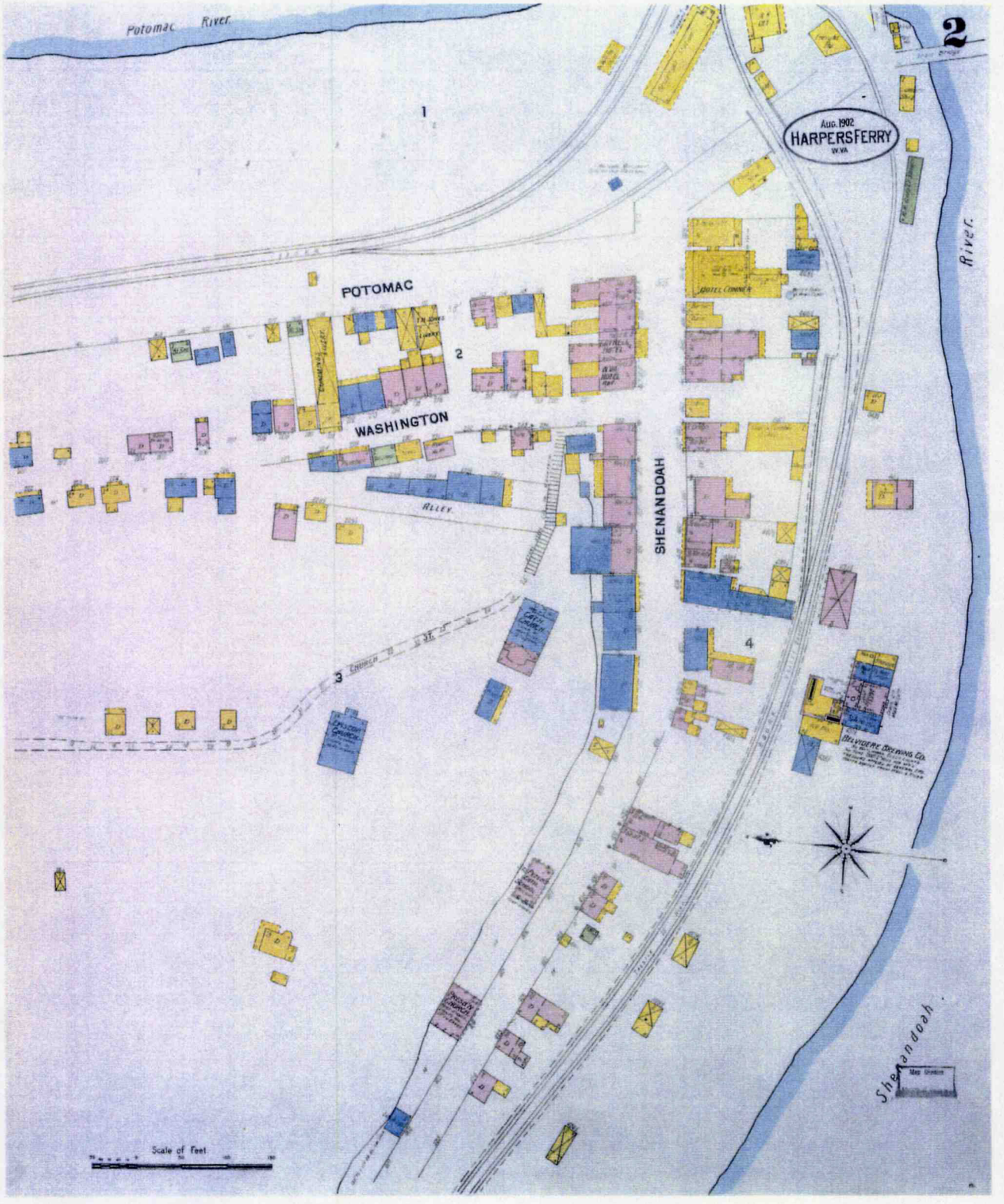


Figure 22. Sanborn Map, August 1902.

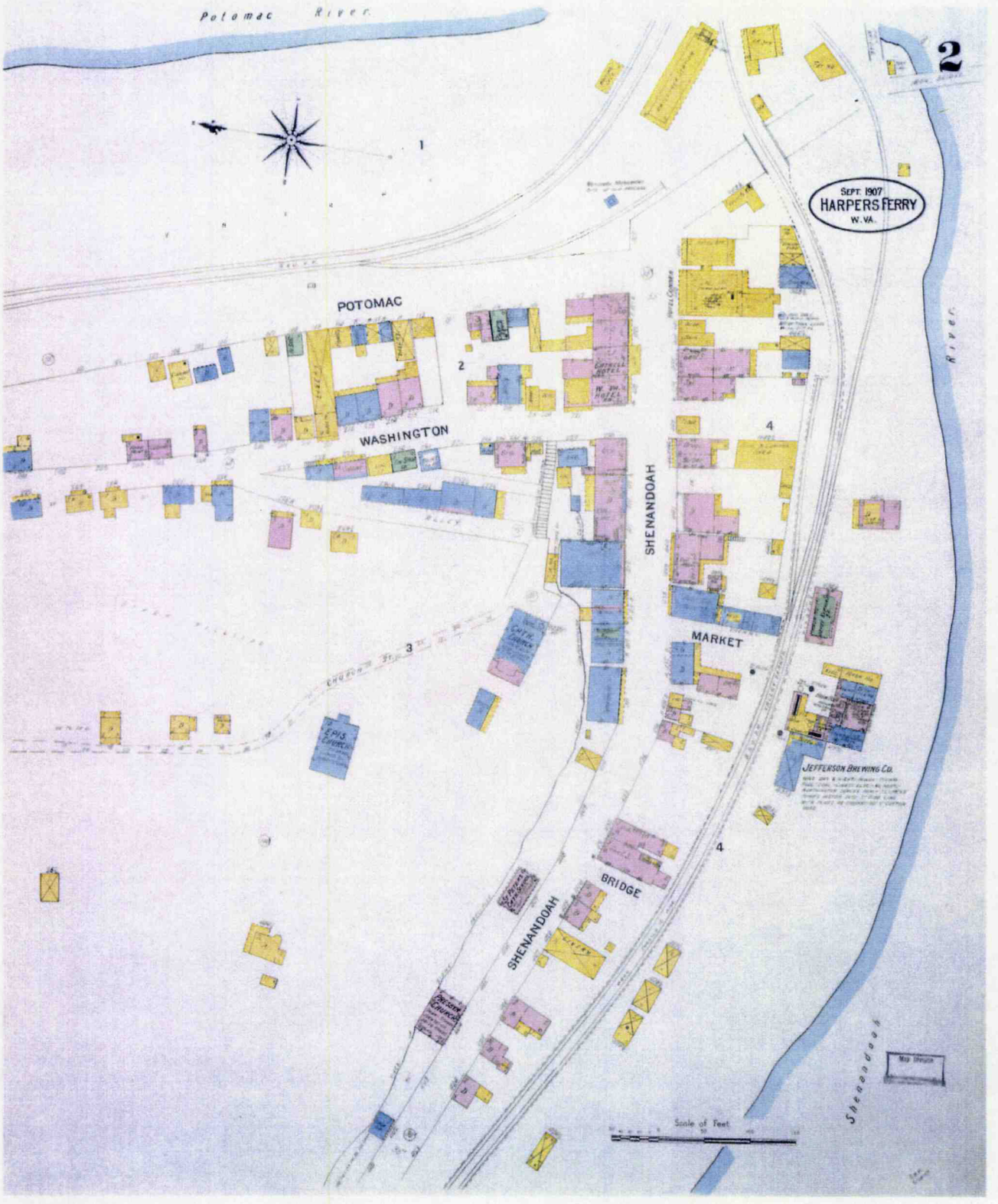


Figure 23. Sanborn Map, September 1907.

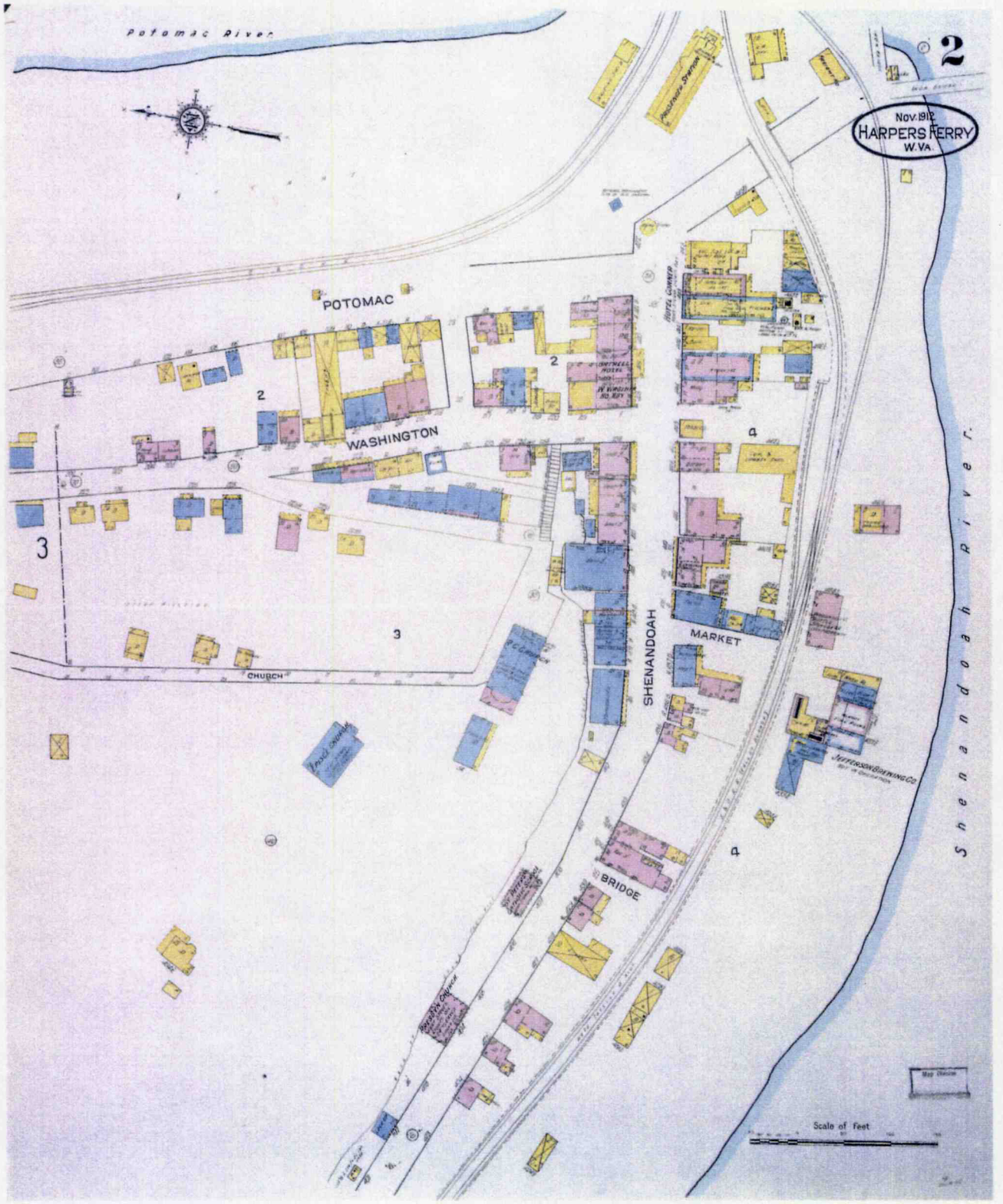


Figure 24. Sanborn Map, November 1912.

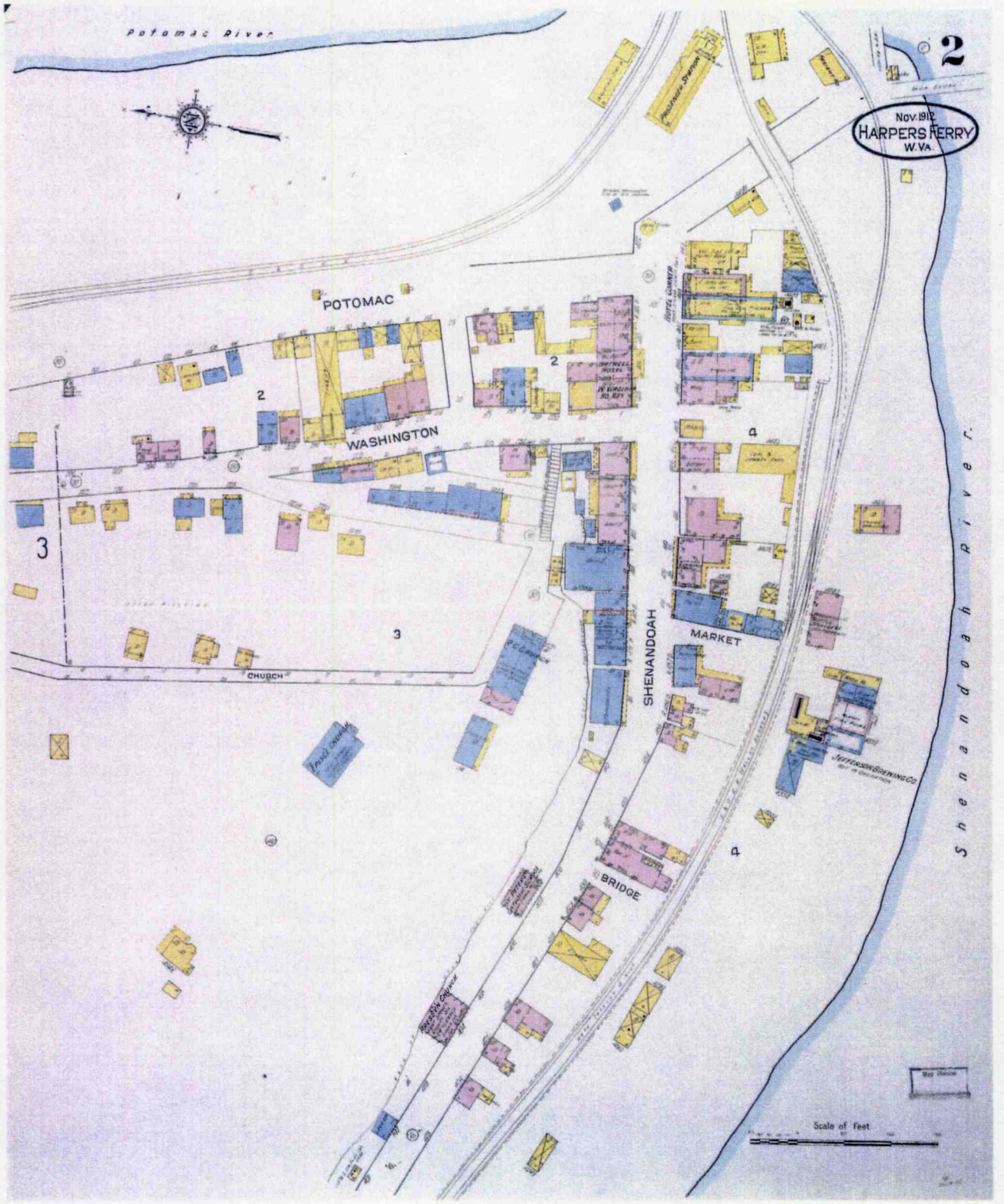


Figure 24. Sanborn Map, November 1912.

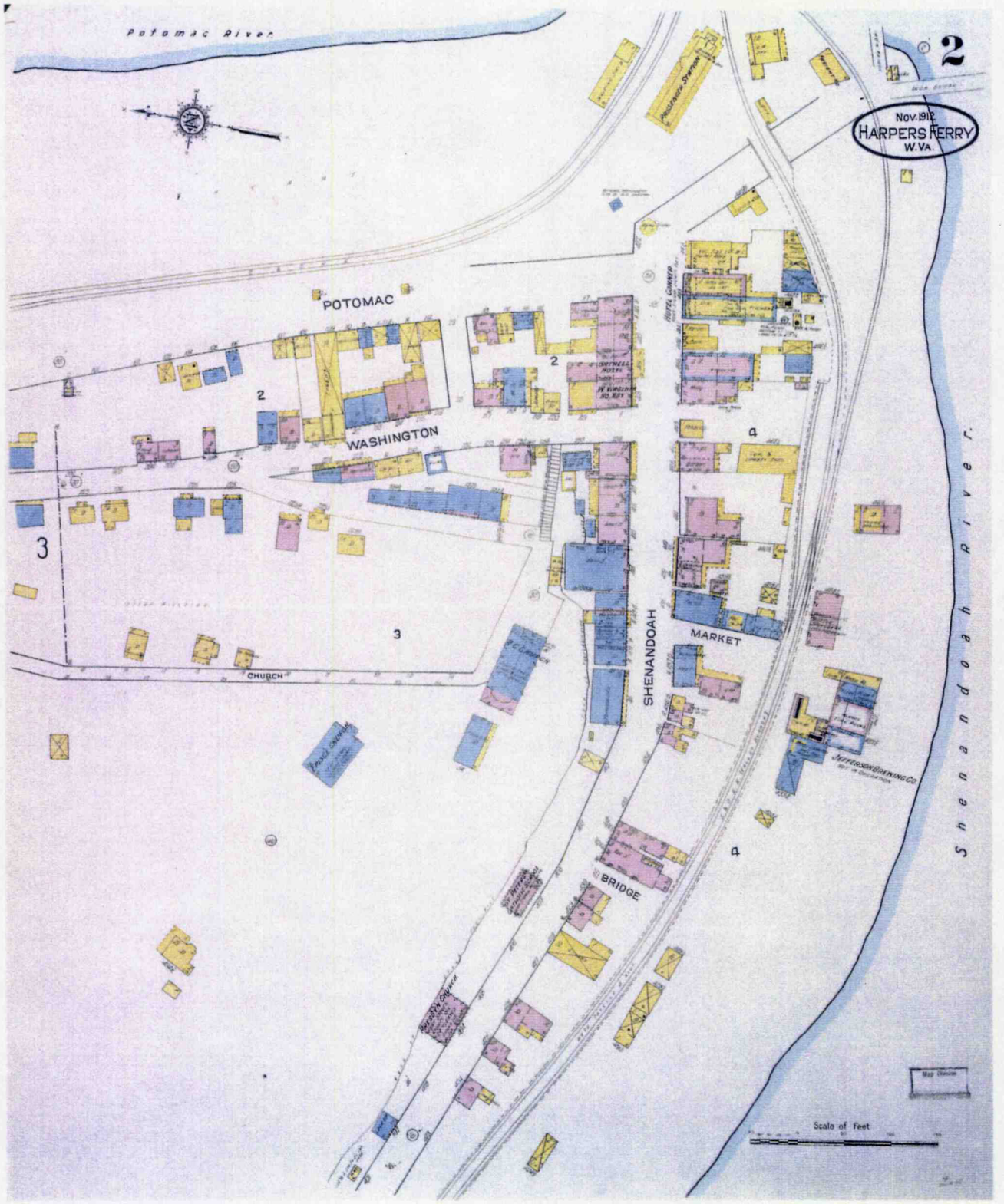


Figure 24. Sanborn Map, November 1912.

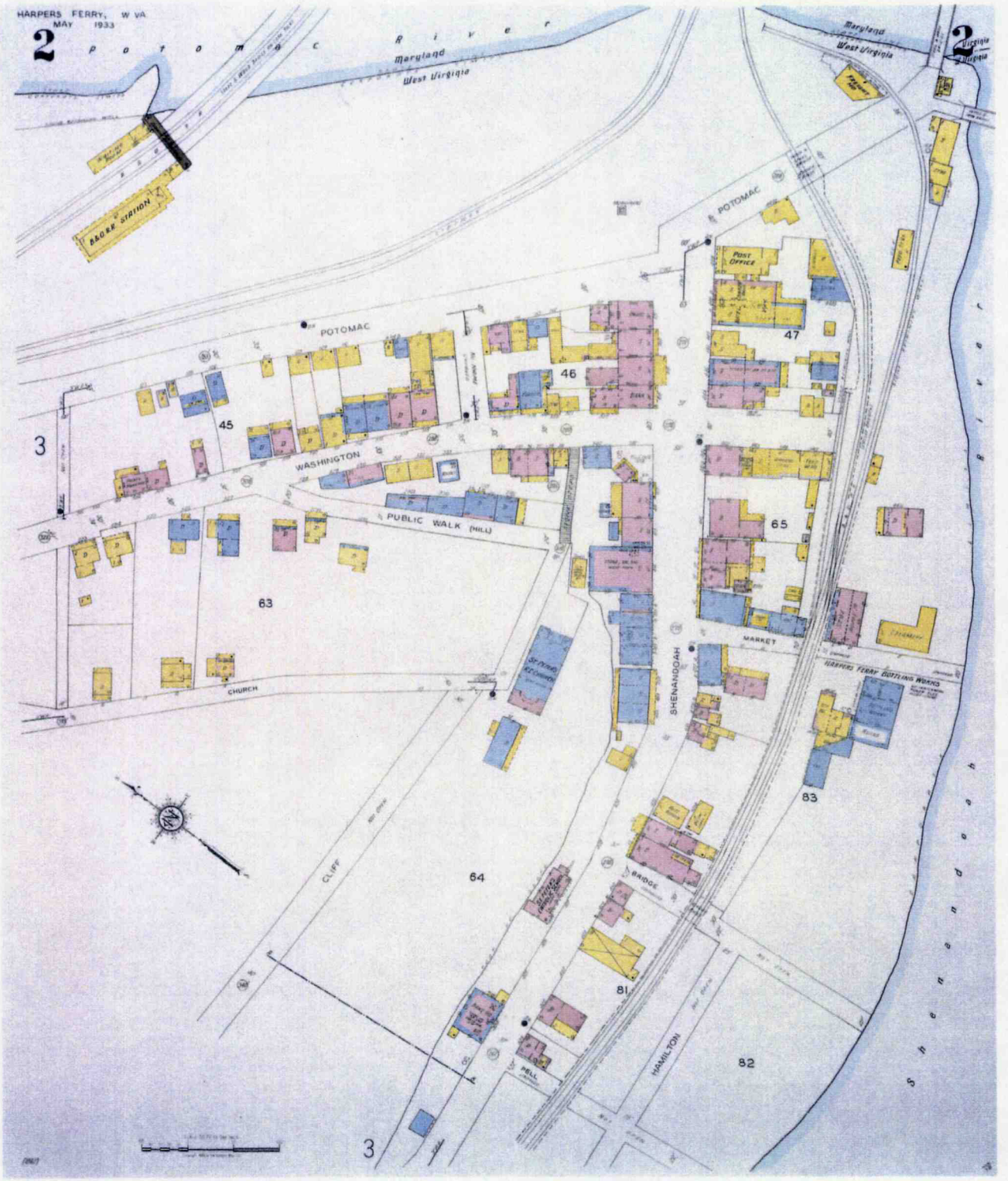


Figure 26. Page 2 of the May 1933 Sanborn Map for Harpers Ferry.

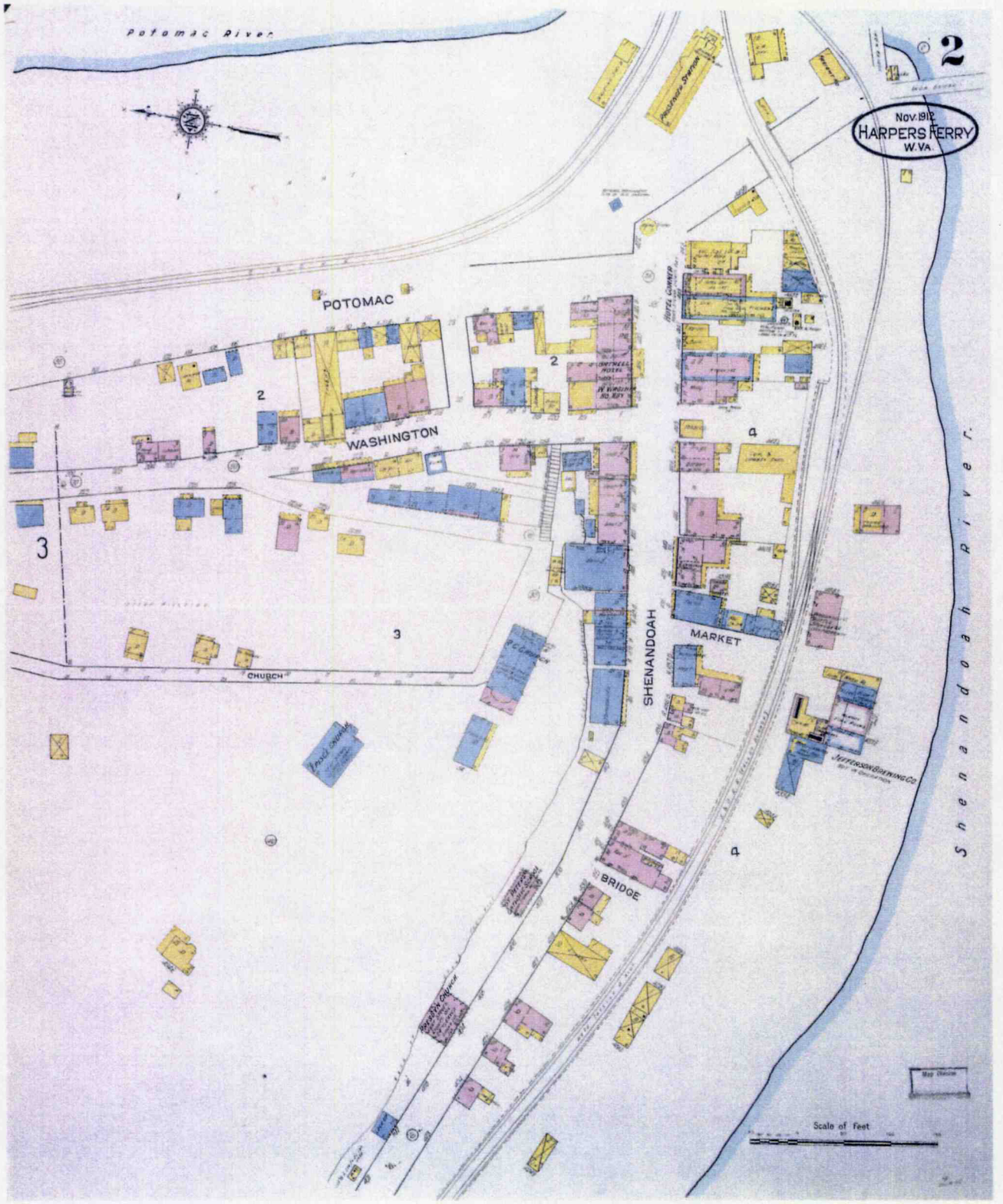


Figure 24. Sanborn Map, November 1912.

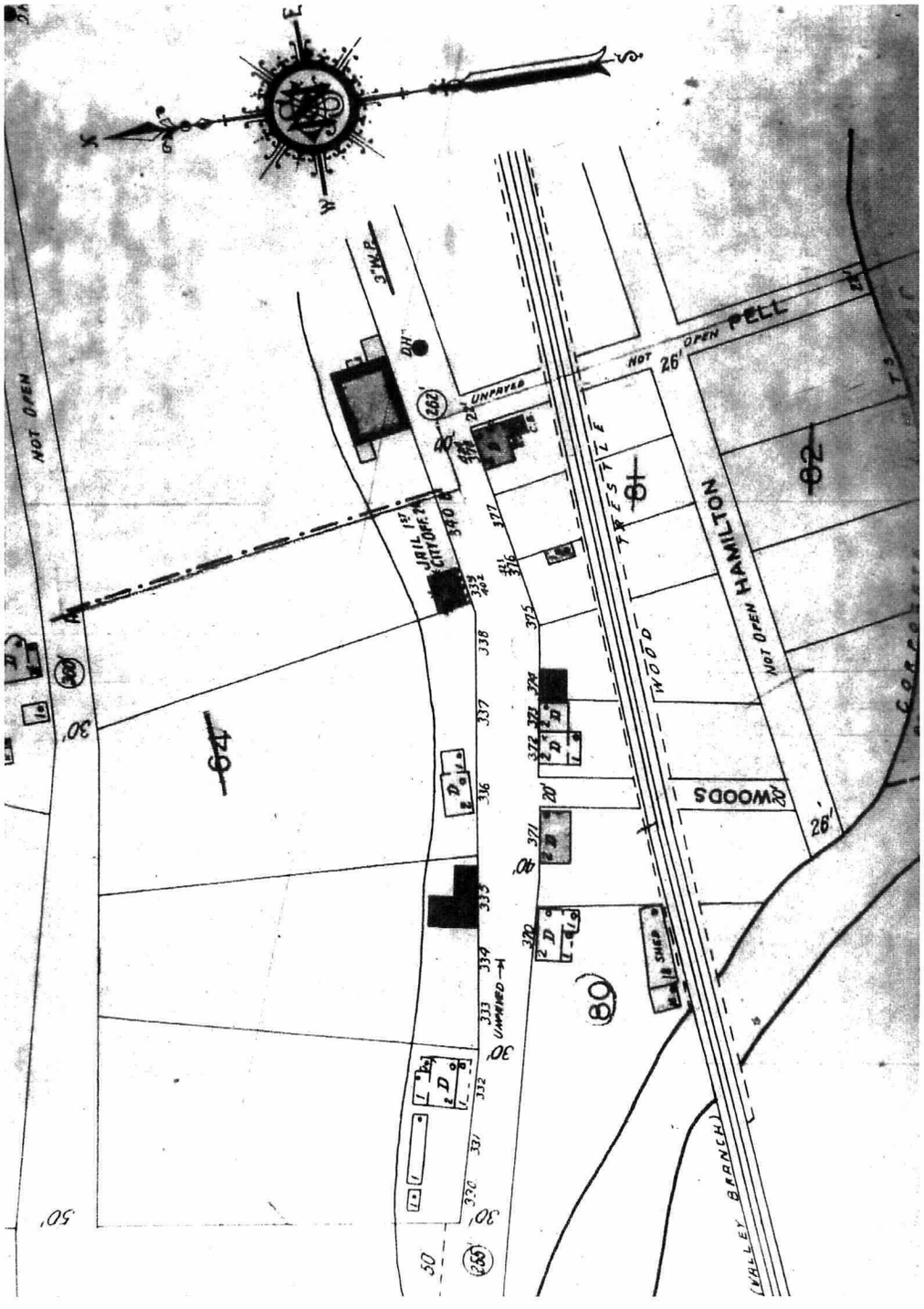


Figure 27. Page 3 of the May 1933 Sanborn Map for Harpers Ferry.



Figure 28. B&O Railroad Map, 1913.

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