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HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT
HISTORY STUDY: PARK BUILDINGS 45 & 45A
1825-1952

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HISTORICAL RESEARCH PROJECT

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Note on references . . .

The following terms apply throughout the report:

Building Numbers Park Building ____ indicates current HAFE identification

H & AD are prefixes from the Park's 1859 base map;

H signifies "Dwelling House"

AD signifies "Armory Dwelling"

_____ Census refers to Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census records for 1810, 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920, as well as certain special Censuses (such as Slave and Manufacturing); almost all referenced material is available on microfilm at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park; some data are only accessible in hardcopy or through the History Database

HAFE Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

HFD__ Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Document No. . . documents, manuscripts, maps, etc. in HAFE Library

HF-_____ Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Photograph Collection numbers

JCC precedes references to records at the Jefferson County Courthouse, Charles Town, West Virginia

NA RG National Archives & Records Administration, Washington, D.C., Record Group

Reel ____ refers to Park microfilm reels

Reel __, Vol.__ refers to binders of material photocopied from microfilm of National Archives material (also on Park reels)

WL ____ refers to numbers assigned to lots when the Wager Six Acre reservation at Harpers Ferry was platted and divided in 1835/1836 during the bankruptcy of James B. Wager

PREFACE

Between 1957 and 1962 historians Herbert H. Kissling, Charles W. Snell, and Arthur L. Sullivan each wrote reports on Park Building 45. The *corpus* of their work served as foundation for this report. More recent research, especially that contributing to the Park's history database (initiated in 1989), provided significant new data, enabling the present report to elaborate on earlier facts, challenge an earlier conclusion, and develop some alternative hypotheses.¹

The principal conclusion of the Kissling, Snell, and Sullivan histories which the present report disputes is the "Stage Coach Inn" name for Park Building 45. Charles Snell concluded that Fontaine Beckham and Mrs. (James) Stephenson conducted their "Harpers Ferry Hotel and Mail Stage Office" in Park Building 45 beginning in 1834. He based that hypothesis on evidence that Mrs. Stephenson's late husband, Major James Stephenson, had conducted a hotel in Building 45 from 1830 to 1833, and he devoted a chapter of his 1959 report to "Stage Coach Days at Harpers Ferry, 1829-1836." Nevertheless, he recommended naming Park Building 45 the "John G. Wilson Building" to commemorate the structure's builder. Arthur Sullivan, in the introduction to his 1962 report, stated no new evidence on the building had emerged subsequent to Charles Snell's

¹Herbert H. Kissling, "Historic Building Report Part I for Buildings No. 45 and 45A. Harpers Ferry National Monument," (October 16, 1957);

Charles W. Snell, Historian (Park Supervisory), "Historic Building Report Part II. Historical Data Section. Bldgs. No. 45 and 45A. The John G. Wilson Bldg. Lot No. 1. Shenandoah Street. Harpers Ferry National Monument," (February 27, 1959);

Arthur L. Sullivan, Park Historian, "Historic Structures Report. Part II. Historical Data Section. Bldgs. No. 45 and 45 A. Harpers Ferry National Monument," (February 14, 1962).

study of three years earlier, but he suggested changing the building's name to "Stage Coach Inn." He argued that the "name has interpretive value in that it should arouse the curiosity of the Park Visitor to the point where he may inquire further of the Harpers Ferry transportation story."²

The present report concludes the Fontain Beckham/Ann Stephenson 1834 hotel (which, incidentally, was not known as the "Stage Coach Inn") was not in Park Building 45, but on the corner of High and Shenandoah streets, "the well-known Tavern stand" (to quote the newspaper advertisement), later Wager Lot 15. Another name would therefore be more appropriate. Park Building 45 is one of only two extant commercial structures within the Park which the U. S. Government allowed built on Armory land (the other is Park Building 35, built about fifteen years before Park Building 45 to house an apothecary). As Park Building 45 probably has had the longest commercial life of any Park structure (and today continues the commercial tradition as the Park bookstore), a name acknowledging its commercial past would be fitting. Snell's original suggestion, "John G. Wilson Building," would serve that end.

Because of the excellent groundwork laid by the earlier histories, tracking the construction and ownership of Building 45 was a relatively straightforward task. Attempts to link occupants to the structure, however, involved unravelling a tangle of

²Snell, Building 45, p.41;

Sullivan, Building 45, first page (unnumbered, follows title page).

complicated and often contradictory evidence. At the risk of restating conditions familiar to local researchers, some of the factors which inhibit the latter effort include:

- lack of numbers in street addresses;
- inconsistency in street references ("Market Street" is also known as "Globe Inn Alley," "Water Street," and "Loudoun Street;" Shenandoah Street appears as "Canal Street" and "Potomac Street," among others);
- duplicate meanings for geographic references--such as "Market Square" which, depending on the decade, may describe sites on the west or east end of Lower Town, or may refer to the entire Shenandoah Street business area;
- interpretation of 19th century terms ("the house presently occupied by Mrs. Stephenson" does not necessarily mean the structure was a domicile and that she lived there); the terms "opposite" and "nearly opposite," often used in advertising, are perplexingly inexact;
- frequent changes in store or business sites or names;
- duplication of business names;
- colloquial appellations which require intimate contemporary knowledge of the community to decipher; and
- ambiguous, obscure language in 19th century news accounts and advertising.

This report therefore reaches few conclusions about Building 45's occupants, particularly for the periods 1832-1837 and century from 1852 to 1952. Because the Government owned the building from

1837 until the 1869 property sale, rent records might be expected to identify occupants, and that is largely true--up to 1852. Events in the early 1950s, however, led to a regrettable loss of documentation beyond that year. In 1952 the United States General Accounting Office offered to transfer a block of fiscal and accounting records dating from 1776 to 1900 to the National Archives. Included were records of Offices of the Second and Third Auditors of the Treasury containing (among many others) Harpers Ferry Armory accounts. Between November 1952 and April 1953 the National Archives appraisers evaluated the records and decided to accession only 30% of the collection. Although Archives accessioned records of both Auditors dating from 1817 to 1850, among records it declined to accept were Second and Third Auditor of the Treasury files for subsequent years. Thus the Second and Third Auditors' records for Harpers Ferry at the National Archives are relatively complete up to 1850, and some rent records exist to 1852, but few records cover the period from then through the Civil War. Itemized vouchers for work on government lands and buildings, and data on leases and rental accounts for the period 1852-69 are, therefore, lost.³

After 1869 the building had three owners--Joseph D. Holmes, Joshua Cavalier's estate and the Doran family. All the latter owners rented it to various tenants, but little data on those tenants has emerged.

³"National Archives Accessions, No. 52, February 1956, Supplement to the National Archives Guide," National Archives and Records Administration, Pages 1, 6, HFD-689.

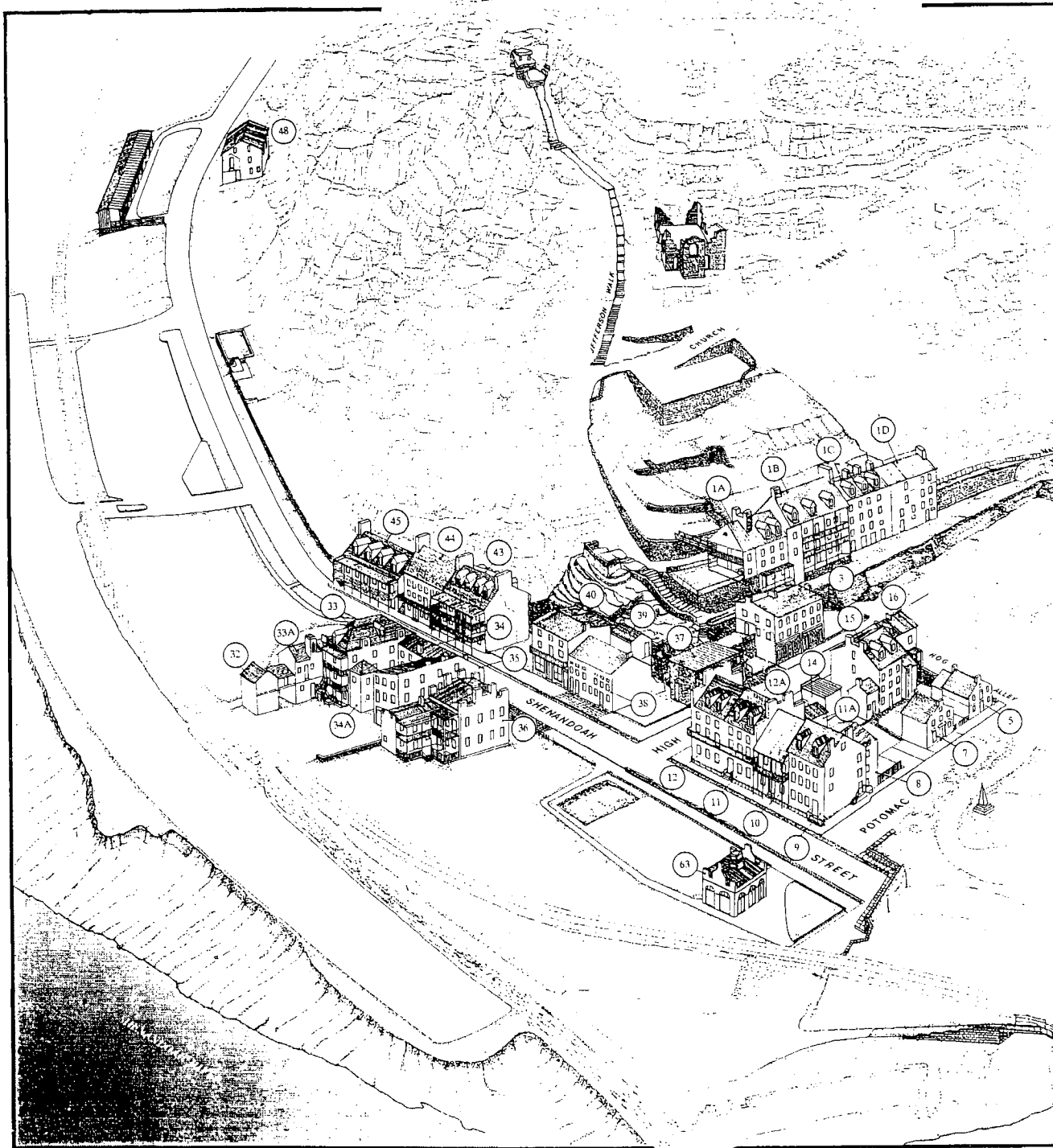
This report includes in Appendix A biographical sketches of John G. Wilson, who built Building 45, and Major James Stephenson, whose family controlled it until 1837. Appendix A also includes data on Righter Levering, who had close business and personal ties to the Stephensons; Joseph D. Holmes, who bought Building 45 at the 1869 government sale and may have erected Building 45A, but who quit-claimed the property ten years later during abatement; Joshua Cavalier, the property's 1880 buyer; and the Doran family, who bought the building from the Cavalier estate in 1913.

As noted, the history database at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park served as principal resource for this report. Begun in 1989, the database has evolved over nearly six years into an incomparable research tool, bringing the latest in computer technology and technique to the research skills and data entry expertise of a team of proficient historians working at the Park under a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland. Accessible in various Park offices and the Park library, the database serves a broad spectrum of users--including but not limited to Park interpreters, exhibit designers, archeologists, landscape architects, scholars, citizens seeking ancestral data, and, of course, historians writing reports.

From the beginning the history database received generous support from National Park Service professionals. Park Superintendent Donald Campbell throughout its tenure gave the project fiscal and moral support. Regional Historical Architect Rebecca Stevens participated in the database's inception and

continually provided administrative support. Former Park Chief of Interpretation and Cultural Resources Management Dennis E. Frye, whose vision inspired the project, provided oversight, guidance and encouragement. Thanks to their dedication, the database continued to develop as new information sources emerged and present resources expanded.

FIGURE I: LOWER TOWN BUILDINGS



Prepared by
 Daniel Baerle Center Eastern Team
 from historic and present photographs
 Second Edition January 1991

Drawn by L.L. Burgher

I. TIMELINE: Park Building 45 *

- 1825** John Wilson began erecting a structure on a government lot north of Shenandoah Street (Park Building 45); Wilson may have been acting as agent for Baltimore firm "McKim, Maslin," who (by 1827 at latest) operated store in Park Building 45.
- 1827** Maslin & Co. advertisements appeared; wording of March 7 advertisement indicated the firm had been in business at Harpers Ferry for some time.
- 1828** **January:** Maslin & Co. advertisement.
- December:** John S. Gallaher, in advertising a house on Shenandoah Street at Harpers Ferry for sale, described its location as next to store of Messrs. Maslin & Co.
- 1829** **February:** James Stubblefield, reporting buildings erected on Armory land by private individuals, described John G. Wilson's structure ("Lot No. 4" below) as "stone, rough cast, used as dwelling and store house" value \$2,500, and further stated: "Lot No. 4 . . . is situated on Shenandoah Street. The house built upon it is a large stone building; the site was formerly occupied by a large rock, in the side of the hill, which required a large expenditure of money to remove it."**
- June:** Wm. Haslett advertised goods at store of M'Kim & Co. Late Maslin & Co
- July:** John G. Wilson advertised house in Bolivar for sale as he had made "arrangements to leave Harpers Ferry"
- (same month) Wilson published second notice demanding payments to firm of Maslin & Co; all accounts were to be

* Timeline summarizes data found in report; please consult text for references.

** The same document identified the building next door to "Lot No. 4" as a frame house plastered outside, built for a dwelling house and printing office in 1826 by John S. Gallagher (who published the Free Press) by permission of the Superintendent, valued at \$600, and further stated:

Lot No. 5, under same head, is situated on Shenandoah Street. The Building erected upon it was built for the purpose and, until lately, occupied as a printing office, and, as such, considered highly important, jobs of printing being frequently required for armory purposes.

handed over to William Haslett "who now has charge of the establishment."

[note: this was the last time John G. Wilson - or a similar listing - appeared in the news record until 1834, except in notices of letters at the post office, and in a 1833 advertisement placed by Gerard W. Wager of the "house & lot in Bolivar lately owned by John G. Wilson." It is therefore reasonable to assume that from 1830-34 Wilson moved his business and domicile elsewhere; he is not in the 1830 census.]

September: William Haslett relinquished agency for McKim & Co "late Maslin & Co." to John R. Flanagan who was to conduct business in the "old establishment."

1830 **February:** N. Buckmaster opened a store at Harpers Ferry one door west of Maslin & McKim's adjoining dwelling of P. C. McCabe (probably "Lot No. 5" of Stubblefield's 1829 report--the Gallagher house).

April: Maj. Stephenson announced opening "House of Entertainment" a short distance from but within sight of his old stand (the Harpers Ferry Hotel, on corner of High & Shenandoah streets); advertisements in early 1832 located the Fitzsimmons Hotel/Globe Inn (Block C, Lot 1) "nearly opposite Major Stephenson," thus confirming that Maj. Stephenson was in Park Building 45 as no other location would fit both conditions.

June: Armory Superintendent Rust wrote to George Bomford asking Bomford to hand over papers "respecting a lease to John G. Wilson" to Mr. Maslin of Maslin & Co., Baltimore.

1831 Hoffman, Foley & Schaeffer appraised Building 45 at \$3,000.

1832 **January:** P. C. McCabe Attorney for M'Kim & Maslin offered for rent large & commodious store house Shenandoah Street formerly occupied by Maslin & Co & recently by Ford & Chapman.

August: Louis Servey advertised store house formerly occupied by McKim & Maslin & more recently by Samuel K. White to rent; longer lease could be obtained from proprietors McKim & Maslin; advised application to Caleb Wall Harpers Ferry or Servey in Baltimore.

1833 **August:** Major Stephenson died at Harpers Ferry after a "lingering illness" age 73.

1834 **June:** G. Bomford, Colonel, wrote to Hon Edward Lucas, House of Reps., concerning petition of Mrs. Ann C.

Stephenson of Harpers Ferry for permission to erect an apothecary shop on the public land there for use of her son. Bomford regretted the "Department" was unable to comply with her wishes and noted similar recent applications had been rejected.

Mrs. Stephenson may have gone ahead with the building without authorization, as her 1837 deed transferring the Park Building 45 property to the government, as well as an 1853 additional claim, both note \$500 worth of "permanent improvements" put upon the property subsequent to the 1831 appraisal (which was the basis for the government's \$3,000 payment to Mrs. Stephenson in 1837). [see Appendix A for Stephenson biography which identifies the various members of the Stephenson family. The apothecary likely was sought for George, who later went into business somewhere in present Pkg. 110 with his brother-in-law, Fontaine Beckham.]

July: Under heading "HARPERS FERRY HOTEL. and Mail Stage Office," F. Beckham advertised he had "in company with Mrs. Stephenson, commenced business in the well-known Tavern Stand, on the corner at Harpers Ferry" and that several new rooms had been added; advertisement stated mail & accommodation stages ran daily from the house. That advertisement provided the basis for the earlier "Stage Coach Inn" hypothesis for Building 45, which this report refutes.

December: William Goss HF advertised continuing his refectory & porter house situated on Shenandoah St. nearly opposite Fitzsimmons' Hotel (probably Fitzsimmons Hotel/Globe Inn on Block C, Lot 1); selling oysters, beefsteaks, coffee, ale (advertisement last appeared January 1, 1835).

1835

January: J. P. Mylius bought out stock of Mr. Calame & opened business in Harpers Ferry in room previously occupied as silversmith shop one door west of apothecary shop of Stephenson & Co.

One week later J. P. Mylius & Frederick Houck advertised opening a silversmith & jewelry business at Harpers Ferry in room heretofore occupied as silversmith shop 1 door west of apothecary shop of Stephenson & Co. J. P. Mylius Watch & Clockmaker would attend to all orders for making or repairing clocks & watches at the same place.

September: Righter Levering removed his store to house formerly occupied by Capt. William Goss (likely Building 45--see December 1834 above); selling dry goods, groceries, hardware, queensware, boots, shoes, hats;

offered to take country produce in exchange (advertisement continued until October 22, 1835); if Goss was in Park Building 45, then Levering followed him there in 1835; this makes sense in view of the December item below.

December: Jno. J. Brown, Attny at law of Charlestown removed to Harpers Ferry with office in house occupied by Mrs. Ann Stephenson formerly kept as tavern by Maj. Jas. Stephenson, deceased, next door east of Mr. R. Levering's store (notice last appeared March 31, 1836).

Ergo: by 1835 the ground floor of Park Building 45 may have been occupied by two very different operations--a store belonging to Righter Levering and a law office of a Charles Town attorney; the upper floor may have been the Stephenson domicile.

December: Notice that the partnership between Mylius & Houck dissolved; concurrently J. P. Mylius advertosed selling watches, jewelry etc. (advertisement last appeared March 3, 1836).

1836

March: Frederick Houck advertised he purchased jewelry establishment lately in possession of Mr. J. P. Mylius; selling watches; associated with workman Mr. Letmate. (advertisement last appeared May 26, 1836).

April: Adam Whip removed saddle & harness shop on main street over Dr. Stephenson & Levering's apothecary shop Harpers Ferry

June: Mrs. Staley opened millinery & fancy store in room lately occupied by Mr. Mylius as Jeweler's shop.

September: same basic advertisment for Mrs. Staley with addendum: Mrs. Staley removed store to store room recently occupied by Bushrod S. Pine (probably on Wager Lot 48).

Benjamin M. Snooke advertised he "has taken" shop formerly occupied by Mylius & Houke as silversmith shop; coopersmith tin plate sheet iron manufacturer; prepared to execute orders in eave spouting & roofing, repairing stills, tinware (last appearance of advertisement September 22, 1836).

Snell in 1959 report stated sheet metal shop of tinsmith Benjamin M. Snook was in Park Building 45 until May 1843; however rent rolls refute the assertion, showing Snook in House No. 58 on Washington Street in March 1841 and Park Building 45 occupied by other tenants

- 1837 **March:** Ann C. Stephenson, grantee of "McKim & Maslin" gave deed to the government for "house or houses and appurtenances, rents, issues & profits thereof, built by John G. Wilson on Shenandoah Street known as the stone house and store now in my occupancy" for \$3,000; deed reserved right to compensation for \$500 improvements, subject of petition to Congress.
[note: the latter \$500 was apparently not appropriated or paid; Mrs. Stephenson's claim was re-submitted in 1853; disposition of the 1853 claim is unknown]
- May:** Jacob Wright opened boot & shoes store in room nearly opposite store of John G. Wilson (who was likely still in AD 4, Block C, Lot 1).
- 1840 **January:** Deed of Trust concerning (in part) Wager Lot 46 located that property "adjoining the U. States Line on the south, near the house now occupied by Henry Ward." This was a reference to Park Building 45.
- 1841 **March:** Occupants: Henry Ward (clerk to Supt.)--upper floors, rent free; William J. Stevens (merchant)--first floor, store, \$31.25/quarter; John G. Wilson--Post Office, \$10/quarter.
- 1844 **December:** Occupants: Henry Ward, (clerk)--upper floors, free; David Koonce (merchant)--store, first floor, \$31.25/quarter [Koonce owed \$57.21].
Evidently the David Koonce store had been in Park Building 45 until December 1844 (note: David Koonce store ledger, 1844-46, held in the manuscript collection at Duke University, is on Park Reel 254). Koonce then moved to Park Building 40.
- 1846 **December:** Occupants: George H. Ward, (clerk)--upper floors, free; vacant, store first floor, (Jacob Brown owed \$18 and David Koonce still owed \$57.21).
- 1849 **June:** Occupants: (possibly) David Koonce, David McFarden; rent per quarter: \$50.75; Koonce owed \$57.21 (perhaps the same amount he had owed from 1844), McFarden owed \$30.00; Jacob Brown owed \$18.00.
- 1850 **December:** Occupants: Charles W. Button--store, rent per quarter \$18.75, rent due \$18.75; Post Office; Saddle & Harness Maker; J. T. Whaley, armorer, rent per quarter, \$20.00, rent due \$20.00.
- 1851 **June:** Occupants: Charles W. Button (saddle maker); John Price (dry goods and grocery store); Jessie Grimes, armorer [no rent information given].

- 1852 **June:** Occupants: Charles Button, John Price, Jessie Grimes.
- September:** building not included in sale of surplus Armory property.
[rent roll data ends here]
- 1862 **September:** Daniel Young reported "dwelling No. 3" large 2 story stone house known as the "McGraw House" situated on Shenandoah Street & at present used for "company quarters, Comisary (sic) Stores &c--also as a store & dwelling."
- 1869 **November:** Joseph D. Holmes bid \$3125 for property at government sale & gave 2 bonds for purchase price.
- 1878 papers in abatement/release case indicated Holmes spent \$350 for "repairing roof & porch, new out building windows, & c." Holmes stated he realized rents of \$1000 during the period from November 1869 to August 1878 "Rented to various parties since it was purchased by me."
- Holmes filed both for abatement (asking purchase price be reduced to \$600) and release; subsequently asked abatement request be cancelled.
- 1879 Joseph D. Holmes released from purchase; gave quit-claim to government.
- 1880 Government resold property to Joshua Cavalier for \$870.
- 1894 "general store" shown on Sanborn.
- 1902 "D" (dwelling) shown on Sanborn.
- 1907 "tenement" shown on Sanborn.
- 1912 "tenements" shown on Sanborn.
- 1913 **June:** William A. and Mary Ellen Doran bought property from the Cavalier heirs.
- 1914 **January:** Farmers Advocate noted that the Dorans were putting in "thorough repair a double house purchased of the Cavalier estate."
- 1915 **March:** Bernard J. Miles moved his pool room from the Hotel Connor to Building 45.
- 1917 **March:** James Barrett began operating the pool room. At some time during this period Charlie Johnson operated a cleaning and tailor shop in the easternmost portion of

the building's ground floor.

Also during this period the upper floors rented as apartments; family of Robert Evans occupied one apartment.

- 1922 Sanborn shows building divided into 1/3 & 2/3 portions, both labeled "S" (store).

Grace Keyser may have operated a lunch room in building during 1920s.
- 1933 Sanborn shows building divided into 3 1/3 portions, all labelled "S" (store).
- 1952 **December:** Doran family granted Lot 1 North of Shenandoah Street property to the State of West Virginia.

II. PARK BUILDING 45: PHYSICAL HISTORY

A. Ownership

Park Building 45 stands on the north side of Shenandoah Street, just west of the "Wager Reservation," adjoining Wager Lot (hereinafter WL) 46. The site, designated Lot 1 North of Shenandoah Street for the 1869 sale of Government land (it was withheld from an 1852 sale), was part of the original tract Robert Harper's heirs sold to the Federal Government for establishment of a national Armory in 1796. It remained a government possession until Joseph D. Holmes purchased it at the 1869 general sale of U. S. Armory property at Harpers Ferry. The property reverted briefly to the government in 1879 following settlement of claims for abatement or release by purchasers from the 1869 sale. The government resold the building to Joshua Cavalier in 1880. William A. and Mary Ellen Doran bought it from the Cavalier heirs in 1913. The property passed from their heirs to the State of West Virginia for inclusion in Harpers Ferry National Monument in 1952.⁴

B. Construction

John G. Wilson, a private citizen and local merchant who had been a supplier to the Harpers Ferry Armory, erected a building on Shenandoah Street land belonging to the Armory in 1825/26. He applied to Armory Superintendent James Stubblefield for permission to build on public land, and his request had received the

⁴Snell, Building 45, p.1;
Kissling, Building 45, p.5;
JCC, Deed Book 109, p.411; Deed Book 108, p.487; Deed Book 191, p.41.

endorsement of former Congressman James Stephenson. At the time the only land in Harpers Ferry not government-owned belonged to the Wager family.⁵

The permission Wilson sought was not unique. In a 1979 report on Armory lands at Harpers Ferry from 1796 to 1885, Charles W. Snell noted that Armory Superintendent Stubblefield had permitted nine individuals to erect mercantile structures on the public lands and said Stubblefield believed such stores would encourage competition thus reducing prices charged Armory workmen. Snell stated, however, "The stores were built and opened, but the prices did not fall, as the Wager-land and public-land merchants cooperated to bilk the Armory workmen."⁶

Wilson never received official permission to erect a building, nor did the government formalize a lease in the 1820s (no lease has ever been found although an unsigned draft for one was alluded to in 1830 correspondence, and a lease was also mentioned in an 1831 letter). Nevertheless, in a letter dated December 23, 1825, from James Stubblefield to Col. George Bomford (of the Ordnance Department in Washington), Stubblefield sought to have Wilson exempted from paying ground rent for the lot "on which he is about to build a store House." In replying Bomford stated he was unaware

⁵For information on John G. Wilson, see Appendix A;
Reel 17, American State Papers, Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States . . . Commencing December 1, 1823, and ending May 26, 1828 . . . Volume III, Military Affairs, Washington: Gales & Seaton, (1860).
Reel 14, Vol. 5, p.408; Reel 21, Vol. 8, p.838.

⁶Charles W. Snell, "The Acquisition and Disposal of Public Lands of the U. S. Armory at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. 1796-1885," Denver Service Center, National Capital Team, National Park Service (December 1979). p.14. Mr. Snell did not substantiate his allegation that Wager-land and public-land merchants cooperated to bilk the workmen.

"that Mr. Wilson had been permitted to put up any building upon the public ground." Bomford stopped short of demanding construction cease, and he acknowledged that although Stubblefield had forwarded a memorandum of the proposed agreement with Wilson, Bomford had taken no action.⁷

No document precisely locates Wilson's 1825/26 building on Lot 1 North of Shenandoah Street. Supporting that site, however, is Major James Stephenson's letter of November 23, 1825, endorsing Wilson's building plan. Major Stephenson stated the building's foundation was "to be taken out of a solid rock at least thirty feet high two thirds of which is complete." A phrase in Stubblefield's (previously referenced) December 1825 letter to Col. Bomford contended the site was "such a complete mass of rock, that it would probably never have been built upon by the Government." Testimony during an 1827 investigation of Stubblefield shed further light on Wilson's blasting the foundation for his building out of the rock face. "Mr. Coons" testified "I was employed by Mr. Wilson to blast out the **foundation** for his **house** [emphasis ours] & was engaged in it from July 1825 to 1826."⁸

Historian Michael A. Jenkins' informal examination in October 1993 of the rear of Lot 1 affirmed rock had been blasted out, and that Park Building 45 closely abuts the altered rock face. No other Armory site would have required such a drastic measure, and, furthermore, the practice of removing stone from the cliff north of

⁷Reel 14, Vol. 5, p.408; Reel 22, Vol. 11, pp.1009,1010; Reel 21, Vol. 8, p.844; Reel 14, Vol. 4, p.449.

⁸Reel 21, Vol. 8, p.844; Reel 22, Vol. 2, p.137,138,155,156,157.

Shenandoah Streeten to enlarge or create building sites continued over ensuing years, notably on adjacent WLs 46, 47, and 48.⁹

Exact dimensions and descriptions of Building 45 as first erected have not been found. In 1829 Armory Superintendent Stubblefield described Wilson's building only as "stone, rough-cast, used as dwelling and storehouse." He valued it at \$2,500. Based on 1959 architectural drawings, the structure as built measured approximately 50' by 32', and at present it measures approximately 66' by 32'. At some time a 16' addition, which Charles Snell speculated was originally a stable or warehouse but which Mrs. Ann Stephenson may have built as an apothecary shop, appeared on the east end. The building is usually said to be two-story, but the dormered third floor may have been part of the original structure.¹⁰

In summary, the preponderance of evidence supports the conclusion that John G. Wilson erected Building 45 in 1825/26, after enlarging the site by blasting the solid rock which occupied much of Lot 1 North of Shenandoah Street. Original dimensions are unknown, and the only early description is Stubblefield's, quoted in the previous paragraph.

⁹Archie W. Franzen, "Historic Structures Report, Part I on The Philip Coons Building Sometimes Called the Masonic Hall Building (Building #44)," Harpers Ferry National Monument, Architectural Data Section, National Park Service, Eastern Office, Design and Construction (October 1962), p.1.

¹⁰Reel 17, Vol. 3, p.234-237, "Statement--Persons not Connected with the Armory. Buildings erected by private individuals," James Stubblefield, Superintendent, February 22, 1829.

Snell, Bldg. 45, pp.6,21;

Reel 14, Vol. 10, p.944.

III. PARK BUILDING 45A: CONSTRUCTION

Park Building 45A, a wood privy on an elevated stone foundation, stands west of Building 45. Nothing is known of its construction. However, as Building 45 would have required a privy, and as the solid rock base of the lot would have precluded digging one, the Building 45A site may have housed privvies from the time of Building 45's construction, 1825/26. Archeological investigation would likely reveal the structure's history.

IV. PARK BUILDING 45: OCCUPANCY & USE TO 1833

Determining occupancy and use of Park Building 45 during its early years involves interpreting a complex body of references. Charles Snell deduced that John Wilson either used his own money to build the dwelling and storehouse and then sold it to the Baltimore merchant firm of Maslin & Co. (also known as McKim & Co., generally referenced hereafter as Maslin/McKim), or that Wilson and Maslin/McKim jointly financed the construction. Research has revealed a connection between Wilson and Maslin/McKim as early as March 1827, and two advertisements in 1827 place Maslin/McKim in business at Harpers Ferry.¹¹

The first evidence locating Maslin/McKim in Building 45 is an advertisement in December 1828 wherein John S. Gallaher offered for sale his house formerly occupied by his printing office "now in occupancy of P. C. McCabe, Esq." on Shenandoah Street "next to the store of Messrs. Maslin & Co." Gallaher, publisher of the Free

¹¹Snell, Building 45, pp.8,14.

Press, was moving to Charles Town. In 1826, on Shenandoah Street Armory land, he had erected a "frame house plastered outside, built for a dwelling house and printing office" (Superintendent Stubblefield's 1829 description), estimated value \$600, by permission of the Armory Superintendent. The only location which fits both Gallaher's and Stubblefield's descriptions would be adjacent to Building 45, to the west.¹²

A letter James B. Wager wrote provides more evidence of Maslin/McKim's occupation of a substantial structure on Government land. In January 1829 Wager complained to Secretary of War P. B. Porter that "within a few years past the government . . . have leased several lots at Harpers Ferry to individuals for the purpose of erecting store houses upon them." Among examples he cited is:

The 4th lot Maslin & Co. the buildings cost upwards of \$3000 and would rent for \$400 per annum. The 5th leased to John S. Galleher buildings cost about \$1200 and rents for \$130 per ann'm.¹³

Interestingly, Wager's citation corresponds almost exactly with the report (quoted above) Superintendent Stubblefield submitted one month later.

Advertisements in 1829 further support the connection of Wilson and Maslin/McKim relative to Building 45. In June that year Wm. Haslett offered "new and cheap goods" at the store of M'Kim & Co., late Maslin & Co. A month later John G. Wilson demanded

¹²Virginia Free Press, March 7, 1827, p3c5; p4c3; November 7, 1827, p4c3; January 16, 1828, p4c4; December 3, 1828, p4c1;

Reel 17, Vol. 3, pp.234-237. Stubblefield stated the Gallagher building was occupied as a printing office until lately and had been considered highly important because jobs of printing were frequently required for armory purposes.

¹³Reel 22, Vol. 7, pp.690-694.

payments to the firm of Maslin & Co, stating all accounts were to be handed over to William Haslett "who now has charge" of the establishment. Haslett didn't last long, however, as in September 1829, due to ill health, he relinquished his agency for the firm of McKim & Co. "late Maslin & Co." to John R. Flanagan who was to conduct business in the "old establishment." John R. Flanagan placed an advertisement for McKim & Co. in December 1829, and two months later when N. Buckmaster opened a store at Harpers Ferry he advertised it was one door west of "Maslin & McKim's" and adjoining the dwelling of P. C. McCabe (the occupant of John S. Gallaher's house when Gallaher offered it for sale in 1828).¹⁴

Apparently, therefore, Maslin/McKim conducted a store in Park Building 45 until at least 1830, presumably on the ground floor. Charles W. Snell postulated that John G. Wilson occupied its upper floors from 1826 until 1829 as a dwelling, citing a September 1829 advertisement placed by Maslin/McKims' agent, John R. Flanagan: "FOR RENT, That large and spacious DWELLING recently in the occupancy of Mr. John G. Wilson, well adapted for a boarding house." The subject property could be Park Building 45, or it could be any of several other local structures.¹⁵

Major James Stephenson advertised in April 1830 the opening of a "House of Entertainment" at Harpers Ferry a short distance from "but within sight of the Old Stand." Stephenson's "Old Stand" was

¹⁴Virginia Free Press, June 24, 1829, p3c3; July 15, 1829, p4c5; September 23, 1829, p4c3; December 2, 1829, p4c2; February 10, 1830, p3c6. As the Gallagher structure (Lot 5 on Stubblefield's 1829 list) had been a dwelling and print shop, probably McCabe lived in one side of the building and Buckmaster conducted his store in the other.

¹⁵Ibid, September 23, 1829, p4c3.

the Harpers Ferry Hotel, on the northeast corner of High and Shenandoah streets, which he leased from Catherine Wager. The phrase a "a short distance from, but within sight of the Old Stand" fits the relationship of Park Building 45 to the corner of High and Shenandoah streets which is about 250 feet to the east. Further locating Major Stephenson in Park Building 45 is an 1832 announcement headed "Sign of the Globe," in which John Fitzsimmons advertised that he had opened, in the building formerly occupied by William Graham, a public house at Harpers Ferry nearly opposite Major Stephenson's Hotel. William Graham erected buildings under leasehold on Block C, Lot 1 across Shenandoah Street and slightly east of Park Building 45. The 1834 and 1835 W&P maps identify that location as Globe Inn, and the alley adjacent as "Globe Inn Alley."¹⁶

Distinguished visitors patronized Major Stephenson's new hotel in Park Building 45 in its first year. In May 1830 Massachusetts Congressman Benjamin Gorman stayed there, and that August Commodore Hull and his "Lady" visited at the hotel.¹⁷

Evidence of store-keeping continued concurrent with Major

¹⁶Ibid, April 7, 1830, p3c5. Although some Wager rental data is in JCC records, no lease to Major Stephenson was found. It was no more common practice, however, to record leases in the early nineteenth century than it is in the late twentieth century. Stephenson's business presence in Harpers Ferry, which began as early as 1826 (JCC Deed Book 15, p.76, reference to hotel "now" occupied by Maj. James Stephenson in lease Catharine & James B. Wager to Frederick W. Springer, June 2, 1826), coincided with the end of his third term in Congress and preceded his service as a Superintendent's Clerk at the Armory (NARG 217, Entry 523, Archives Reel 24, Frame 476). Although one source stated Stephenson was a resident of Charles Town during his congressional tenure, and still a Charles Town resident at the time of his death in 1833, he appeared in the 1830 Harpers Ferry census, and his 1833 obituary stated he died at Harpers Ferry "after a lingering illness." See Appendix A for further Stephenson information.

Patricia Chickering, "The Green - Physical History of Block C. Lots 1 through 6 A & B. 1796-1952," National Park Service/University of Maryland, Cooperative Agreement, Historical Research Project, unpublished manuscript (August 16, 1993), p.8.

¹⁷Ibid, May 19, 1830, p3c1; August 25, 1830, p3c2.

Stephenson's hotel proprietorship in Park Building 45, supporting the theory the hotel occupied the upper floors. As noted, a February 1830 advertisement placed by N. Buckmaster located his store at Harpers Ferry one door west of Maslin & McKim's and adjoining the dwelling of P. C. McCabe (presumably the John S. Gallaher building). Ford & Chapman followed Maslin/McKim in Park Building 45 sometime thereafter, for in January 1832 P. C. McCabe, as attorney, advertised the "large and commodious" store house Maslin/McKim had formerly occupied, and which had recently been occupied by Ford & Chapman, for rent. Seven months later Louis Servey tendered the premises, offering a "longer lease," and stating merchant Samuel K. White was the recent occupant.¹⁸

How and when the Stephensons acquired the lease to Park Building 45 has not been determined, but it was apparently after 1832. Although Major James Stephenson, 73, died in August 1833 at Harpers Ferry after a "lingering illness," (obituaries did not mention his Harpers Ferry business association) the Stephenson family still held the building's lease in 1837 when Mrs. Ann C. Stephenson sold it to the government. For background on the Stephensons, please Appendix A.

V. GOVERNMENT ACTION TO GAIN TITLE

In January 1832, acting on request of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives, Chief of Ordnance Col. George

¹⁸Snell, Building 45, Page 15; Snell concluded the structure was designed to accommodate a store on the ground floor and dwelling on the upper floor;

Virginia Free Press, February 10, 1830, p3c6; January 12, 1832, p3c4; August 23, 1832, p3c3.

Bomford ordered Armory Superintendent George Rust to "suspend the further erecting of all private buildings on the public grounds of the Armory." A few months earlier Superintendent Rust had identified nine commercial buildings so erected at Harpers Ferry, with an aggregate appraised value of \$16,290. One of the nine was Park Building 45, appraised in October 1831 as "Claim No 5--John G. Wilson--Stone House & Dwelling, smoke house & stable: \$3,000"¹⁹

While the appraisal clearly identifies John G. Wilson with the building, the identity of the "lease" holder at that time is less clear. In June 1830 Superintendent Rust had written George Bomford asking that Bomford hand over to Mr. Maslin of Maslin & Co, Baltimore, papers:

" . . . which I left in your office in March last respecting a lease to John G. Wilson. Mr. Maslin is entitled to these papers as they were placed in my hand by him . . ."²⁰

Therefore, over a year before the building appraisal identified John G. Wilson with "Claim No. 5," the Armory Superintendent had stated Maslin was entitled to the lease papers. The apparent close business association of Wilson with Maslin/McKim may explain the discrepancy.

As stated, no record of how or when the Stephensons acquired the building's lease has been found. Wording of Louis Servey's August 1832 advertisement--published at a time when Major Stephenson was conducting a hotel, probably on the upper floor, in

¹⁹Reel 24, Vol. 9, p.850;

Snell, Building 45, pp.8,9. Snell provides a concise explanation of circumstances surrounding the development of the policy to halt private construction and initiate acquisition of privately-built structures on the government land.

²⁰Reel 14, Vol. 8, p.36.

Park Building 45--indicates Maslin/McKim desired to rent out the ground floor. Perhaps at that time the Stephensons acted to obtain the lease to the entire building. Nevertheless, the government recognized Mrs. Stephenson's claim when it purchased Park Building 45 from her for \$3,000 in 1837.²¹

VI. PARK BUILDING 45: OWNERSHIP AND USE, 1833 TO 1837

For several years after Major Stephenson died the Stephenson name remained associated with Park Building 45. The family apparently continued to reside in Harpers Ferry, but whether they lived in Park Building 45 is not known, nor has any occupant of the living quarters on the building's upper floors been identified during the mid-1830s.²²

In June 1834 Congressman Edward Lucas sent Col. George Bomford of the Ordnance Office in Washington a petition from Mrs. Ann C. Stephenson of Harpers Ferry (Major James Stephenson's widow) requesting permission to erect an apothecary's shop on the public land there for the use of her son. Col. Bomford responded "with extreme regret" that the department was unable to comply with her wishes. He cited existing regulations forbidding "erection of any building on the public land, except for National purposes" and noted that the Department had recently rejected similar applications.²³

²¹Virginia Free Press, August 23, 1932, p3c3;
Reel 24, Vol. 8, pp.807-813.

²²See Appendix A for details on the Stephenson family.

²³Reel 14, Vol. 10, p.964.

Although George Bomford denied the request, Mrs. Stephenson may have built the shop anyway, as an addition to Park Building 45's east end. That would have accounted for the \$500 worth of "permanent improvements" she claimed to have placed on the property subsequent to the 1831 appraisal. Like the rest of the structure, the addition is built of natural rock and rests on the bedrock floor--in fact the back of the ground floor incorporates a natural rock ledge. There is a chimney foundation of rubble masonry on the interior and natural rock on the exterior. Access to the second floor of the addition was by a now-disappeared staircase, visible in photographs HF-82 and HF-446, which penetrated the front porch on the east end of the building. The addition, with its own exterior staircase, could thereby have served first and second floor tenants without disturbing occupants elsewhere in the building.²⁴

Store use continued on the ground floor of Park Building 45, which Charles Snell hypothesized held two shops. The addition to the east end could have created a third shop. Alternatively, the original building may have remained as one large shop and the addition would then have constituted a second shop. Only sketchy data have emerged concerning possible tenants, however. In April 1834 Dr. James Garry announced he could be found at the Globe Inn (Block C, Lot 1) or "at his office nearly opposite." Park Building 45 would answer the latter designation--but so would structures on

²⁴Reel 24, Vol. 8, pp.807-813; Reel 19, Vol. 6, p.558. In her 1837 deed conveying Park Building 45 to the government Mrs. Stephenson reserved the right to claim \$500 additional compensation for improvements; in 1853 the claim was resubmitted on her behalf. Final disposition is unknown.

Franzen, Bldg. 45, Appendix, Photo No. 13.

WLs 48 or 49.²⁵

In July 1834 under the heading "HARPERS FERRY HOTEL. and Mail Stage Office" F. Beckham advertised that he had "in company with Mrs. Stephenson commenced business in the well-known Tavern Stand, on the corner at Harpers Ferry" and that several new rooms had been added. The advertisement stated mail and accommodation stages ran daily from the house. "F." Beckham was no doubt Fontaine Beckham, Mrs. Stephenson's son-in-law, a local entrepreneur and at the time a hotel operator in Charles Town. The use of Mrs. Stephenson's name in the advertisement led earlier historians to associate the Beckham/Stephenson hotel with Park Building 45--hypothesizing continuation of the late Major Stephenson's hotel business. However, Park Building 45 cannot be described as occupying a "corner," and for the preceding more than 20 years the "corner" holding a "tavern stand" at Harpers Ferry was the northeast corner of High and Shenandoah streets, site of the Harpers Ferry Hotel, and well east of Park Building 45.²⁶

Furthermore, Snell interpreted the "several new rooms" mentioned in the advertisement as the eastern addition to Park Building 45, perhaps with a ground-floor stable. But, as Mrs. Stephenson sought permission to build in June and the hotel advertisement appeared in July 1834, it is unlikely a three floor addition could have been completed in only a month. Additionally,

²⁵Snell, Building 45, p.18;
Virginia Free Press, April 3, 1834, p3c1.

²⁶Ibid, July 24, 1834, p3c4.

the structure for which Mrs. Stephenson sought permission was an apothecary shop. The "several new rooms" mentioned in the advertisement could as easily have been improvements to the long-established Harpers Ferry Hotel at the corner of Shenandoah and High streets. The present report concludes, therefore, that Beckham and Mrs. Stephenson operated their business in the traditional Harpers Ferry Hotel and not in Park Building 45.²⁷

Only scattered clues to Park Building 45's tenants during the mid 1830s have emerged. Mr. Calame, a silversmith, occupied one of the shops prior to January 1835, as the following advertisement reveals:

NEW ESTABLISHMENT

The subscriber, WATCH AND CLOCK MAKER, SILVERSMITH, AND JEWELLER, begs leave to inform the public that he has commenced business at Harpers-Ferry, in the room heretofore occupied as a Silversmith shop, one door west [emphasis ours] of the Apothecary shop of Stephenson & Co. Having bought out the stock of Mr. Calame, and procured a SUPPLY from below, the subscriber is prepared to furnish those who may wish to purchase articles in his line. The public are respectfully invited to give him a call.

J. P. MYLIUS.²⁸

To verify Mr. Calame and Mr. Mylius as successive occupants of Park Building 45, it would be useful to determine the January 1835 site of the "Stephenson & Co." apothecary shop, but that location remains uncertain. Snell stated the Stephenson apothecary was on WL 48 (intervening WLs 46 and 47 were vacant at that time), but, as noted, in June 1834 Mrs. Stephenson had sought permission to erect

²⁷Snell, Building 45, pp.17,18;
Reel 14, Vol. 10, p.944.

²⁸Virginia Free Press, January 15, 1835, p3c3.

an apothecary shop on the public land for use of her son, there was space available on the public land immediately east of Park Building 45, and an addition was built on that site. As alternative hypotheses, the Stephenson apothecary may have occupied one of the original Park Building 45 shops or even have been somewhere else entirely.²⁹

Notice of a "Stephenson" drug store at Harpers Ferry had first appeared in March 1833, when a large advertisement headed "Valuable Medicine" stated Anderson's cough drops and pectoral powders were for sale by G. B. Stephenson & Co. (G. B. Stephenson was a son of Major James Stephenson). An advertisement six months later informed that a partnership under the firm of Dr. James Andrews & Co. had been dissolved by mutual consent, and requested persons with claims against or indebtedness to the firm to settle with Dr. G. B. Stephenson & Co. The same column announced the co-partnership of Dr. Geo. B. Stephenson and Mr. James Andrews, under the firm of Dr. G. B. Stephenson Co.³⁰

The name of "Dr." J. Andrews & Co., with no mention of G. B. Stephenson, had first surfaced at Harpers Ferry in a September 1831 medicine advertisement. Snell concluded Dr. Andrews succeeded the deceased Dr. Godfrey Weise in running a drug store on WL 48. When Andrews associated with G. B. Stephenson, however, he could have

²⁹Reel 14, Vol. 10, p.944; Reel 24, Vol. 8, p.807-813;

Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Site Survey. Report for Buildings No. 41 and 42, 'The James McGraw Lot' or Wager Lot No. 48," Harpers Ferry National Monument (July 28, 1958), pp.9-12. The chain of occupancy Snell developed rested on newspaper advertising; nothing has been found to firmly establish any of the occupants he identified on Wager Lot 48 prior to 1846. A seven-year gap in the WL 48 occupancy chain (1839 to 1846) Snell presented further hinders interpretation of data.

³⁰Virginia Free Press, March 14, 1833, p3c3; September 19, 1833, p3c5.

moved to Park Building 45.³¹

The September 1833 change in the Andrews/Stephenson partnership followed by two weeks the death of G. B. Stephenson's father, Major James Stephenson. It was in the next year that Mrs. Ann C. Stephenson petitioned for permission to build an apothecary for her unnamed son on the public land. As the true location of the Stephenson apothecary will probably never be known, all hypotheses must be considered.

In February 1835 George B. Stephenson and James Andrews again dissolved their partnership, and on February 12, 1835, the drug store changed to Stephenson and Levering. In September that year Righter Levering advertised he had moved his store to the "house formerly occupied by Capt. William Goss" and offered an assortment of dry goods, groceries, clothing, household goods, hardware, etc. (apparently a business separate from the Stephenson & Levering drug store). Capt. William Goss had advertised in December 1834 his "refectory and porter house" on Shenandoah Street "nearly opposite" Fitzsimmons' hotel. That hotel, also known as the Globe Inn, was on Block C, Lot 1, so Goss's establishment, succeeded by Levering's store, was in Park Building 45, with perhaps the Stephenson & Levering drug store occupying one of the other store rooms.³²

Therefore, Mylius' January 1835 advertisement (herein quoted on page 21) locating his shop "one door west" of the Stephenson

³¹Snell, Buildings No. 41 and 42, pp.9-12.

³²Virginia Free Press, December 11, 1834, p3c4; February 12, 1835, p3c4. Interestingly, that same day Dr. Geo. B. Stephenson of Harpers Ferry married Miss Augusta Virginia, daughter of the late Nathan Levering of Baltimore (Ibid, February 19, 1835, p3c2); September 3, 1835, p3c4.

apothecary almost certainly refers to Park Building 45, although which of the building's shops (and by then there may have been three) is uncertain. J. P. Mylius continued advertising his jewelry business, in partnership with Frederick Houck, throughout 1835. They dissolved the partnership that December, with Mylius carrying on the business. However, by March 1836 Frederick Houck advertised he had purchased Mylius' establishment. It is not known whether the business remained in Park Building 45 throughout these transfers.³³

If the jewelry business continued in Park Building 45, however, there were two other tenants in the structure--Jno. J. Brown and R. Levering. Jno. J. Brown, a Charles Town Lawyer, announced in December 1835 he had opened an office in the house "at present occupied by Mrs. Ann Stephenson" and formerly kept as a tavern by Major James Stephenson--one door east of R. Levering's store. If all these establishments were in Park Building 45, then, during 1835, tenants from west to east would have been Levering, Brown, Mylius/Houck.³⁴

Another change occurred in June 1836 when Mrs. Staley advertised opening a millinery and fancy store in the room recently occupied by Mr. Mylius. She did not remain there long, however, as that September she moved her store to the store room recently

³³Ibid, January 22, 1835, p3c5; November 19, 1835, p3c5; December 31, 1835, p3c5; March 3, 1836, p3c6.

³⁴Ibid, December 31, 1835, p1c1.

occupied by Bushrod S. Pine.³⁵

On September 8, 1836, a week after Mrs. Staley announced her removal to the former Bushrod Pine location, Benjamin Snooke, coppersmith, tin, plate and sheet iron manufacturer, advertised he had taken the shop formerly occupied by Mylius & Houke. That site was probably the easternmost portion of Park Building 45. No tenant has been identified with the remainder of the building.³⁶

The office of Dr. Philip P. W. Stephenson (son of Major James and Mrs. Ann Stephenson) was probably in Park Building 45 from April 1836 to March 1837. As the Mylius/Houck firm was still in there in April 1836, Dr. Stephenson likely replaced either Jno. J. Brown or Righter Levering.³⁷

On March 25, 1837, Ann C. Stephenson deeded her rights to Park Building 45 to the U. S. Government, receiving payment of \$3,000.³⁸

VII. PARK BUILDING 45: OCCUPATION 1837 TO THE CIVIL WAR

Charles Snell's belief that Benjamin Snook remained in Park Building 45 until May 1843, was based on an advertisement of that

³⁵Ibid, June 30, 1836, p3c4; September 1, 1836, p3c5. Charles Staley, on the same date, announced he had purchased the stock of Bushrod S. Pine and opened a new store. Charles Snell placed the Bushrod Pine/Staley store in Park Building 40 on WL 49 (Charles W. Snell, "HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT, THE William Richards Building, Bldg. No. 40, on Wager Lot No. 49, Historical Data, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia," Denver Service Center, National Capital Team, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, October, 1979, p.5. Transcribed in Patricia Chickering, "Building 40 - The William Richards Building, Special History Study," Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, December 1994. Charles Staley and Martha A. Staley were still advertising stores in January and April 1837 (Virginia Free Press, January 1, 1837, p4c3; Ibid., April 6, 1837, p3c1).

³⁶Virginia Free Press, September 8, 1836, p3c5.

³⁷Snell, Building 45, p.37. Dr. Philip Stephenson announced he opened an office in "Mrs. Stephenson's" house at HF in the April 21, 1836, Virginia Free Press. At that time Building 45 was the only known Stephenson property at Harpers Ferry.

³⁸Reel 24, Vol. 9, pp.826,827.

date stating Snook had moved next to R. D. Doran's store (in the Wager Reservation), but Snook likely left Park Building 45 long before that. Beginning in 1837, of course, the U. S. Government held full title to Park Building 45 and rent rolls (not accessed by Mr. Snell in 1959 although he later compiled them) shed some light on tenants. The first rent roll, dated 1841, did not list Benjamin Snook.³⁹

In May 1837 Jacob Wright advertised a boot & shoe store in the room "nearly opposite" the store of John G. Wilson (who was then likely occupying AD 4, on Block C, Lot 1). If Wright was in Park Building 45, how long he remained is not known. The 1841 rent roll did not carry his name.⁴⁰

Further occupancy evidence for Park Building 45 emerged from Snell's research for adjacent Park Building 44 on WL 46. Snell concluded two merchants, Alfred Hite and William J. Stephens occupied Park Building 44 in 1838 and 1839, stating Stephens was there until 1842. He deduced this from advertising by both merchants, who described their location as opposite the Post Office (in 1838 the Post Office was on Lot C1, across the street from Park Buildings 45 and 44). However, that description could as easily apply to Park Building 45, and a Government rent roll reveals Stephens in March 1841 owed one quarter's rent of \$31.25 for Park

³⁹Snell, Building 45, p.37;

Charles W. Snell, "A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOG AND DIRECTORY OF 187 ARMORY DWELLING HOUSES, 1841 - 1852, OF THE U.S. ARMORY AT HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA, Including Rents Collected, 1823 to 1851," Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia. "A History of Armory Dwelling Houses, Volume II," Denver Service Center, National Capital Team, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, Denver, Colorado (September 1981), p.24.

⁴⁰Virginia Free Press, May 25, 1837, p3c4;
Snell, A Descriptive Catalog, p.24.

Building 45. A June 1839 advertisement located his store opposite the post office and adjoining Hite's feed store. Additionally, later research proved Park Building 44 was not erected until 1845, although a less substantial structure may have preceded it on WL 46. Thus Stephens and Hite occupied adjoining premises in one structure--much more likely substantial Park Building 45, which by then had three commercial spaces on its ground floor, than a building on WL 46 which was destroyed to make way for Park Building 44 in 1845. Further supporting the thesis Stephens was in Park Building 45 all along is an advertisement of Stephens' in January 1840 wherein he gave his location as "next door to the Post Office, Shenandoah." By then the post office had moved to Park Building 45. No other tenant has been identified with Park Building 45 in the period Hite and Stephens may have occupied it, further supporting the hypothesis they were in Park Building 45, not Park Building 44.⁴¹

The March 31, 1841, rent roll listed Henry Ward, Clerk to the Armory Superintendent, occupying quarters on the building's upper floors free of rent. Ward remained in the building until at least December 1846. Merchant William J. Stevens in March 1841 owed one quarter's rent of \$31.25, and John G. Wilson, occupying part of the building as the Post Office, owed a quarter's rent of \$10.00.⁴²

David Koonce, a merchant, had rented the first floor until

⁴¹Charles W. Snell, "HISTORIC BUILDING REPORT, PART II, HISTORICAL DATA SECTION FOR BLDG. NO. 44. THE PHILIP COONS BUILDING, Harpers Ferry National Monument," March 20, 1959, Project No. HF-59, pp.5-7.

Virginia Free Press, March 7, 1839, p3c3;

Harpers Ferry Constitutionalist, June 5, 1839, p3c6&7; January 8, 1840, p3c1.

⁴²Snell, A Descriptive Catalog, p.24.

December 1844 at the same rate as Stevens; in December 1846 he still owed \$57.21 rent (from 1844 to 1846 David Koonce's store was in Park Building 40). Jacob Brown was also listed as owing rent in December 1846--although the first floor store was then vacant. David Koonce was still listed as owing \$57.21 on the June 1849 rent roll, with Jacob Brown and David McFarden also in arrears.⁴³

In April 1847, however, two new tenants began occupying the ground floor. Armory Superintendent Major John Symington rented the premises to Charles W. Button, a saddle and harness maker, and Samuel Lover, a shoemaker--lease holders of WL 18 and 19 on the northeast side of High Street, respectively. As the United States wished to purchase all the Wager lots between the Armory and High Street, Symington granted the men space in Park Building 45 where they could carry on their trades. Samuel Lover died at age 67 in 1849.⁴⁴

Charles W. Button still occupied a store in Park Building 45 in December 1850 and conducted the Post Office there, and armorer J. T. Whaley resided in the building. Both owed one quarter's rent. Button remained through the last available rent roll, 1852; but by June 1851 John Price was also there, operating a grocery and dry goods store, and Jesse Grimes (also known as Jesse Graham) resided in the structure. Significantly, the building slipped from Class 2 to Class 3, and dropped in value from \$2,500 to \$2,000,

⁴³Ibid.

Chickering, Building 40 - The William Richards Building, p.13.

⁴⁴Snell, Building 45, p.28;

Virginia Free Press, April 26, 1849, p3c1.

between June 1849 and December 1850.⁴⁵

As noted, no information on occupants from 1852 to the Civil War is available.

VIII. PARK BUILDING 45 AND THE CIVIL WAR

In September 1862 Daniel J. Young, the U. S. Agent at Harpers Ferry, reported on dwelling houses belonging to the Ordnance Department at Harpers Ferry. Park Building 45 appears as No. 3 on the list:

No 3 Large two Story Stone house, known as the "McGraw house," Situated on Shenandoah St, and at present used for company quarters comisary Stores &c--also as a store & dwelling⁴⁶

It is not known why Young used the term "McGraw house." There were at least two McGraw families in Harpers Ferry at the time--that of Ann McGraw, widow of earlier merchant William McGraw, who died in 1847, and that of later-prominent merchant James McGraw. As Ann McGraw was listed in the 1860 census heading a nine-person household, and her occupation was "boarding house," she may have operated that business in Park Building 45. In the late 1850s James McGraw rented space in Dr. Nicholas Marmion's Shenandoah Street building (Park Building 43), and Daniel Young's report informs that in 1862 he kept his store in Armory Dwelling 19. No

⁴⁵Snell, A Descriptive Catalog, p.24. Jesse Grimes (Graham) may have continued residing in Building 45 until 1857 when he purchased Block C Lot 6B. Although criteria for classification are unknown, they were expressed by an inverse numerical scale.

⁴⁶NA RG 156, Entry 21, Letters Rec'd, OCO, File W.D. 387 (1863), HFD-677.

relationship between the two McGraw families has been found.⁴⁷

No further evidence of the Park Building 45's use or condition during the Civil War has been found.

IX. PARK BUILDING 45: OCCUPANCY AND OWNERSHIP AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Very few post-Civil War occupants of Park Building 45 have been identified. When the government sold its Harpers Ferry Armory property in 1869, Joseph D. Holmes of Harpers Ferry successfully bid \$3,125 for Park Building 45. The price cannot, however, be interpreted as a positive reflection of the building's condition because hopes of economic resurgence at Harpers Ferry drove unnaturally high bidding at the sale. In actuality, prolonged legal entanglements involving the principal capitalist at the sale and the B&O railroad combined with disastrous floods in 1870 and 1877 to render the 1869 sale (to borrow Snell's words) an "unmitigated disaster that plunged both the U. S. Government and the people of Harpers Ferry into a legal and economic [sic] morass from which it would take 16 years of Congressional and court action to extract themselves."⁴⁸

To remedy the "disaster," in 1878 Congress enacted legislation allowing the U. S. Attorney General to adjust claims of the U. S. Government upon the 1869 purchasers of property at Harpers Ferry-- in effect giving the buyers a choice between accepting abated

⁴⁷Reel 250, Eighth Census (1860), p.193 of Harpers Ferry;
Patricia Chickering, Draft "Park Building 43: McCabe-Marmion Building, Special History Report," National Park Service/University of Maryland, Cooperative Agreement, December 1994, p.19.

⁴⁸For details of the 1869 sale, see Snell, Acquisition & Disposal of Public Lands, pp.32-42.

purchase prices or quitting their claims. Joseph D. Holmes, successful bidder on Park Building 45, at first requested abatement, but later chose to quit his claim, whereupon the property reverted to the Government.⁴⁹

During the nine-year interim, however, Holmes apparently found tenants for the building, as his abatement claim revealed he derived \$1,000 income over the period by renting the building "to various parties since it was purchased by me." Unfortunately, no information has been found on who rented the premises from Holmes. The claim also stated Holmes had made \$350 worth of improvements involving repairing roof and porch, erecting a new out-building, installing windows, etc. The out-building mentioned could have been Park Building 45A, or a non-extant structure known to have stood just west of Park Building 45A.⁵⁰

In May 1880 the Government offered for sale properties to which it had regained title following the 1878 abatement/quit claim process. At that time Joshua Cavalier purchased Lot 1 North of Shenandoah Street, with Park Building 45, for \$870.⁵¹

Sanborn Perris Fire Insurance maps indicate Park Building 45 served as a general store in 1894, a dwelling in 1902, and "tenement" and "tenements" in 1907 and 1912 respectively (see Appendix B for copies of Sanborn maps). No other information has surfaced concerning occupation during the over thirty-year Cavalier

⁴⁹Ibid, pp.42-55. Data on Joseph D. Holmes on p.53.

⁵⁰Reel 239, Frames 137-140.

⁵¹Snell, Building 45, pp.31,32;
JCC, Deed Book 108, p.487.

ownership. In June 1913 William A. Doran and Mary Ellen Doran bought the property for \$705 from the Cavalier heirs.⁵²

Some clues to possible occupancy emerge for the period of Doran ownership. First, though, the Farmers Advocate noted in January 1914 that:

The large dwelling property on Shenandoah street owned by the Marmion heirs [Park Building 43] is undergoing a thorough renovation and when finished will be desirable for a residence or business. In the same row William Doran is putting in thorough repair a double house [Park Building 45] purchased of the Cavalier estate which very much improves this part of the town.⁵³

The "double house" undoubtedly refers to Park Building 45. Subsequent newspaper references to "Doran House" or "Doran Park Building" are less certainly construed as Park Building 45, because the Dorans, then in their second generation at Harpers Ferry, had owned and occupied various locations over time, and by 1913 owned present Park Buildings 33, 34 and 35, Lots in Blocks C and E as well as a dwelling on Fillmore Street and a building on High Street. Newspaper references to Doran properties were rarely site-specific, and the terms "Doran house" or "Doran building" were used interchangeably.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, drawing in part on Doran data developed during research for other reports, some occupancies have been established.

⁵²JCC, Deed Book 109, p.411;
Farmers Advocate, June 21, 1913, p3c4.

⁵³Farmers Advocate, January 24, 1914, p2c2.

⁵⁴Ibid, November 4, 1911, p2c4; March 30, 1912, p2c4;
Virginia Free Press, March 6, 1913, p3c3;
Farmers Advocate, January 29, 1921, plc1. The 1913 and 1921 news items exemplify the difficulty with identification. The March 1913 report states that Joe Kane bought the Doran property on High Street (the site is outside park boundaries); the January 1921 story refers to the same property--still calling it "Doran" property although the Dorans sold it eight years earlier.

Bernard J. Miles began operating a pool hall in Park Building 45 in March 1915, having moved from the lobby and bar room of the Hotel Connor. James Barrett rented the pool room in March 1917 after selling out a similar interest in Charles Town to J. E. Moore.⁵⁵

In December 1993 Mrs. Rosalie Larue Lloyd, whose family occupied the first two floors of adjacent Park Building 44 for about ten years beginning in 1916/17, said that Charlie Johnson, a tailor, occupied the ground floor of Park Building 45, and that there were apartments on the upper floors. Mrs. Lloyd also recalled the pool room, and she stated Mrs. Grace Keyser operated a lunch room in the building in the 1920s. Mr. and Mrs. Robert Evans--Mrs. Lloyd's paternal Aunt Emma (Larue) and her husband--occupied a second-floor apartment on the east end of the building beginning in 1915. As noted, stairs at both east and west ends of Park Building 45 gave access to the apartments. Earlier the stairway through the east end of the porch had disappeared and access to the second floor apartment was through a door cut in the east wall, the door opening onto a landing on the stairway at the west end of Park Building 44. Mrs. Lloyd did not remember other tenants.⁵⁶

The 1922 Sanborn Perris map shows Park Building 45 divided into 1/3 and 2/3 portions, both labelled "S" for store. This

⁵⁵JCC, Deed Book 110, p.485; Deed Book 112, p.258;

⁵⁶Spirit of Jefferson, April 6, 1915, p2c2; April 3, 1917, p3c2. The report stated Barrett took out a license on April 2, 1917, to begin business in the Doran Building. Although less specific than that concerning Bernard J. Miles, logic dictates that both items referred to Building 45.

⁵⁷Interview December 8, 1993, personal Communication December 13, 1993, Patricia Chickering with Mrs. Rosalie Larue Lloyd, Martinsburg, WV. Mrs. Lloyd did not supply exact dates. The Farmers Advocate of March 20, 1915, p2c1, informed that Robt. Evans was moving from Kaplon's house (on Block E) to "Doran's opposite" (Bldg. 45), as was his son-in-law Mr. Reesen[r].

encompasses the period when Charlie Johnson had his tailor shop there. The other ground-floor shop (probably the east end addition) was where A. Kaplon moved his stock when he quit the retail business in 1924. His advertisement stated the balance of his department store goods were in "the store building of W. & M. E. Doran, between Larue's store and Johnson's Tailor Shop." If Kaplon's wording was exact, Johnson's tailor shop was in the west portion of Park Building 45.⁵⁷

The 1933 Sanborn map indicates three divisions, all labelled store. No other occupancy information has emerged. In 1952 the Doran heirs sold the structure to the State of West Virginia.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Spirit of Jefferson, April 9, 1924, p7c1&2.

⁵⁸JCC, Deed Book 191, p.41.

APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

(in order of appearance in the text)

JOHN G. WILSON

MAJOR JAMES STEPHENSON AND FAMILY

RIGHTER LEVERING

JOSEPH D. HOLMES

JOSHUA CAVALIER

DORAN FAMILY

by Patricia Chickering

JOHN G. WILSON

John G. Wilson was a person of note at Harpers Ferry for over thirty years in the early 19th century, yet research has revealed little business or personal information on him. In Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology Merritt Roe Smith included John Wilson among businessmen who were "just as eager as the Junto" to see Harpers Ferry remained a "closed" town. Smith cited the permission Wilson received to build a "private warehouse rent free on public grounds" (Park Building 45) as an example of the largess Armory Superintendent James Stubblefield bestowed upon a select group of men who effectively enjoyed monopolistic privileges.⁵⁹

The first "John Wilson" reference (with no middle initial) in the historical record appears in an October 1819 trustee notice in the Farmers Repository, for a sale to be held "before the door of John Wilson" of household property Wilson had conveyed to Jacob Wark, Trustee, to secure a debt due Jesse Moore. The notice does not, however, necessarily refer to Harpers Ferry's John G. Wilson. John (G.) Wilson does not appear on the Harpers Ferry 1820 census, although the name appears twice in the overall Jefferson County listing. Treasury records reveal that in the 1820s John G. Wilson supplied materials and services--including "rough" gun stocks, a pair of "large Scales for weighing heavy articles," and transportation of public stores from Baltimore to Harpers Ferry--to the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry.⁶⁰

In 1825, through the intercession of Armory Superintendent Stubblefield and with the endorsement of former congressman Major James Stephenson, Wilson sought permission to erect a building on government land. Correspondence reveals the government never acted on the request, and suggests the government did not give Wilson a lease at that time. Wilson nonetheless began to erect Park Building 45 in 1825, on Armory land, blasting part of the cliff face. He built it either speculatively or on behalf of the Baltimore firm, Maslin/McKim (Charles Snell theorized Wilson may have been the Harpers Ferry agent for that firm during the period from 1826 to 1829).⁶¹

Several witnesses referred to Wilson in testimony during the 1827

⁵⁹Smith, Merritt Roe, Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology, Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London, 1977, pp.148,149,163,170. Others Smith named were Lewis Wernwag, Samuel K. White, John McFarland, Philip Coontz, the Strider brothers, William Graham, James Stephenson.

⁶⁰Farmers Repository, October 13, 1819, p3c3;

NA RG 217, Entry 523, Settled Accounts and Claims, 1817-1852, NA Microfilm Roll 16, Frame 287, Invoice No. 125B, 20 Sept. 1825; microfilm available at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

⁶¹Reel 14, Vol. 5, p.408; Reel 14, Vol. 5, p.437; Reel 21, Vol. 8, p.838;

Snell, "Buildings 45 & 45A," p.8. Wilson no doubt began work on the assumption Stubblefield's request to Bomford for building permission would be approved; construction was apparently well along by the time officials realized no such permission was ever given.

investigation of Armory Superintendent Stubblefield, but whether Wilson himself testified, either then or in the second investigation in 1829, has not been determined. In 1827 witness Thomas Copeland attested that Wilson used public tools for blasting. However, "Mr." Coons (who said Wilson hired him to blast out the foundation for his house) differed, stating Wilson used no government tools. Master Armorer Armistead Beckham admitted allowing Wilson to use 25 pounds of government powder for blasting but said "it was returned within a month."⁶²

To place Beckham's testimony in proper context, it is useful to reiterate that Merritt Roe Smith included Wilson in the group of local businessmen with interests akin to those of the "Junto" (suggesting a cozy relationship) and to note Smith's comment (on the findings of the 1829 Stubblefield investigation) that Armistead Beckham was "the real culprit at Harpers Ferry." Smith went further:

The master armorer's [Armistead Beckham] name seemed to be synonymous with corruption, turmoil, and intrigue at the Ferry. He had taken bribes, falsified records, intimidated workers, played favorites, condoned the use of violence against those who threatened to expose his activities, and even attempted to have Copeland jailed on fictitious charges to prevent him from testifying before the Wool committee.⁶³

Thus it was clearly in both Beckham's and Stubblefield's interest to cast doubt on Copeland's testimony--which therefore impugns both Beckham's and Coons's statements.

Armory Superintendent Stubblefield resigned in June 1829 and left Harpers Ferry two months later. Armistead Beckham refused to resign, but in June 1830 was ordered to exchange places with Master Armorer Benjamin Moor of the Allegheny arsenal in Pittsburgh. Merritt Roe Smith contended the local Junto thus suffered "a blow from which it never fully recovered."⁶⁴

The dramatic changes at the Armory coincided with--and may have precipitated--John G. Wilson's determination to leave Harpers Ferry in 1829. If the shift in Armory power meant Wilson no longer had influential "friends in court," he may have sought greener pastures. Wilson, certainly present in the Harpers Ferry area during the 1820s, did not appear in the 1830 census. His absence from that census followed an advertisement he placed in July 1829:

⁶²Reel 22, Vol. 2, pp.156,157 (testimony during 1827 Stubblefield investigation).

⁶³Smith, Harpers Ferry Armory, p.179.

⁶⁴Ibid, p.181,182.

**VALUABLE PROPERTY
FOR SALE**

The subscriber will sell a valuable House and Lot in the town of Bolivar, near Harpers-Ferry. The house is very comfortable and has a good kitchen attached to it; and being in the vicinity of Capt. Hall's rifle factory, will be found to possess many advantages. The lot is of excellent quality, and contains nearly an acre of ground. Having made arrangements to leave Harpers-Ferry, that is the only motive for offering to dispose of it; it will consequently be sold at a price far below what the property is really worth. Terms made known by application to the subscriber.

July 1.

JOHN G. WILSON⁶⁵

The exact location of the Bolivar house and lot has not been determined, and a search of court records did not reveal John Wilson's ownership of such a property. Wilson may have been offering property he held under unrecorded lease. Two months later John R. Flanagan (who was then agent of McKim/Maslin) offered a large dwelling "well adapted for boarding house" use recently occupied by John G. Wilson, to rent. Charles W. Snell interpreted Flanagan's advertisement as referring to Park Building 45. It is not clear whether either property--if in fact two properties were involved--was actually Wilson's domicile. What is known is that Wilson apparently did leave Harpers Ferry, perhaps for as long as 4 years, about that time.⁶⁶

The only news references to John Wilson from 1829 to 1833 are notices of letters at the post office and an advertisement Gerard Wager placed in 1833 for a house and lot in Bolivar "lately owned" by John G. Wilson (perhaps the same property as that in the 1829 advertisements). In 1834, however, Wilson's name reappeared locally, advertising partnership in a commission and freighting business on the C&O Canal, and the following year he offered spring and fancy goods at the house recently occupied by John Fitzsimmons as a tavern on Shenandoah Street (likely AD 3 or AD 4 on Block C, Lot 1).⁶⁷

For more than twenty years thereafter John Wilson was among the town's most prominent entrepreneurs. He was appointed Harpers Ferry Postmaster in June 1837. A month later he acquired the lease to WL 13, and in 1838 he erected on that lot a new brick building

⁶⁵Virginia Free Press, July 15, 1829, p4c5. An April 1829 Deed of Trust (JCC Deed Book 15, p.329) from Timothy and Lucina Herrington to Robert Blanchard as Trustee for John G. Wilson and Maslin & Co involved property presently designated P.E. #8, #9, and/or P.E. #10. It specified "the lower or northeast half of a lot which contains a large two-story stone rough cast house being the larger of the two houses which are now standing on the whole of the lot." The deed description resembles the wording of Wilson's July 1829 ad. It is noteworthy that the deed provides another link between Wilson and Maslin/McKim.

⁶⁶Virginia Free Press, September 23, 1829, p4c3.

⁶⁷Ibid, November 21, 1833, p3c4; March 27, 1834, p3c3; April 30, 1835, p3c4.

"opposite the Arsenal," in which he operated a store, and Isabella Fitzsimmons opened a "house of entertainment."⁶⁸

In May 1839 Wilson offered for sale or rent the hotel premises opposite the Arsenal recently occupied by Mrs. Fitzsimmons, and two advertisements in August 1839 indicate Wilson had vacated the WL 13 store on Shenandoah Street. Five months later he offered his "new and commodious" house, the Harpers Ferry Hotel on Shenandoah Street opposite the Arsenal, for rent, noting the site adjoined the B&O railroad and was a possible tavern stand--another reference to the building on WL 13. At the same time, January 1840, Wilson suffered a loss when his hundred-foot-long, forty-foot-wide stable "fell in" with a "tremendous crush" from the weight of snow on its roof. The stable likely stood on WL 17.⁶⁹

Wilson remained active on the Harpers Ferry commercial scene throughout the 1840s. Newspapers frequently carried mention of his legal and business dealings, usually concerning the brick building he erected opposite the U. S. Arsenal in 1838 (WL 13). In March 1841 he occupied part of Park Building 45 as Postmaster, but he relinquished the Postmastership to James A. Fitzsimmons later that year. Wilson, in turn, replaced Fitzsimmons as Postmaster in January 1845. The following August Thomas E. Brandon advertised he had rented the "dwelling part" of John G. Wilson's large three-story brick house (the WL 13 structure) and desired to take 10 or 15 "genteel boarders."⁷⁰

In 1844 Wilson levelled a charge of failure to pay debts against Archibald M. Kitzmiller, Chief Superintendent's Clerk at the Armory. Kitzmiller, who had declared bankruptcy in 1842, countered that Wilson was incompetent and of drunken habits, and had attempted to "practice a fraud" on Armory Superintendent Major John Symington. The final resolution of the episode is unknown, but

⁶⁸Virginia Free Press, June 15, 1837, p2c3; January 4, 1838, p3c3; July 12, 1838, p3c5. Nicholas Fitzsimmons likely had operated a hotel/tavern on WL 14 perhaps as early as 1833 when Caleb Wall advertised a store "directly opposite" N. Fitzsimmons' tavern (Ibid. March 14, 1833, Page 3, Col. 6). Because WL 13 was apparently vacant, and Wall has been identified with property on WL 10, Wall's description would fit the WL 14 location. Nicholas Fitzsimmons died in April 1837 (Ibid. April 20, 1837, p3c2) and his widow Isabella continued the hotel business, in time moving to Wilson's WL 13 building. An 1840 deed identified N. Fitzsimmons as the previous possessor of WL 14 (JCC Deed Book 24, p.157);

⁶⁹Constitutionalist, May 29, 1839, p3c3. The building in question is likely the one on WL 13, which Wilson sold to the government, and the government then demolished, when it widened and extended Potomac Street.

⁷⁰Constitutionalist, May 29, 1839, p3c4;

Virginia Free Press, August 1, 1839, p3c4.

Constitutionalist, August 28, 1839, p3c7; January 8, 1840, p3c1, p4c7. By that time the old Harpers Ferry Hotel, at the corner of Shenandoah and High streets, had been razed and a commercial building erected on its site.

⁷¹Virginia Free Press, March 11, 1841, p3c4; June 10, 1841, p2c2; October 13, 1842, p3c4; April 27, 1843, p3c2; September 5, 1844, p3c4; January 23, 1845, p2c6; August 29, 1845, p3c6;

JCC, Deed Book 22, p.202 (lease, July 1, 1837); Deed Book 24, p.458 (trust, February 10, 1841); Deed Book 25, p.9 (trust, April 14, 1841); Deed Book 27, p.246 (trust, November 16, 1844); Deed Book 28, p.93 (trust, April 21, 1846).

Kitzmiller remained in his post for many years thereafter.⁷¹

Notwithstanding aspersions Kitzmiller cast on Wilson's character, Wilson was a trustee (in company with local luminaries such as Major Symington, Dr. N. Marmion, Samuel Strider, Major Benjamin Moor) of the Harpers Ferry Female Institute which opened in September 1848. He served on a "Committee of Vigilance" for Harpers Ferry in November that year.⁷²

When the Taylor administration came to power in 1849 Wilson lost his postmastership. In August 1849 he advertised opening of a provision store on "Canal Street" (probably in his WL13 building--Canal was another name for Potomac street), opposite the Pay Office at Harpers Ferry (the pay office stood on Shenandoah Street, present Block B, Lot 2). Three years later he offered to sell his goods at cost, stating he had sold his property, including his store house, to the Government. The sale was incomplete, however, as he was still in business in November 1853, "just returned from the East" with a large assortment of goods to offer. The sale to the government was finalized in 1856; Wilson sold his WL 13 and 17 buildings for a total of \$5,300.⁷³

John G. Wilson married at least twice. No record of children has been found, although his 1840 household included two free white females. The 1850 census listed John Wilson (born in Virginia) and Ann Wilson (born in Maryland), both 56, in a household with an 18-year old white male, Samuel Strider; Wilson also had two female slaves, aged 43 and 9. Information in Wilson's 1857 obituary suggests he was born in 1787.⁷⁴

Wilson's wife, Ann, died of pneumonia in April 1854 at the age of 68. In October 1855 Wilson married Mrs. Elizabeth S. Bartholomew of Baltimore, in Baltimore. She was the beneficiary of his estate after he died in February 1857. His will stated a negro woman

⁷¹Reel 23, Vol. 5, p.490; Vol. 6, pp.508-523;
Virginia Free Press, March 31, 1842, p3c3. Notably, the same item named Israel Russell, Joseph Russell, David Koonce, and Henry Ward as bankrupts; the Russells testified on Kitzmiller's behalf during the 1845 inquiry into Wilson's charges.

⁷²Spirit of Jefferson, September 12, 1848, p3c6; November 7, 1848, p4c3.

⁷³Spirit of Jefferson, August 7, 1849, p3c6;
Virginia Free Press, August 19, 1851, p3c1; August 19, 1852, p3c1;
Spirit of Jefferson, November 8, 1853, p3c5;
JCC Deed Book 35, p.295, January 31, 1856 (WL 13 with buildings, \$5,000); Deed Book 36, p.133, August 26, 1856 (WL 17, 1 building, \$300). The Government acquired WL 13 and WL 17 as part of Major Symington's improvement program. WL 13 became part of a wider and longer Potomac Street; while WL 17 eventually became the alley connecting High and Potomac streets.

⁷⁴Reel 247, Sixth Census (1840) p.244 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850) p.416 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 249, Slave Census (1850) p.314 of Harpers Ferry;
Virginia Free Press, March 5, 1857, p2c1&6. The obituary stated he was "upwards of 70," which is at odds with the age of 56 listed on the 1850 census.

would serve twelve months after Wilson's death and then be free.⁷⁵

It is not known why the estate appraisal, filed on August 21, 1857, (the day after the will was probated) by W. J. Stephens, Charles Johnson and Jeremiah Fuss, contained only one item: "1 negro woman slave for life \$75." The limited appraisal thus does not reveal the extent of Wilson's estate, and so fails to shed light on his business activities.⁷⁶

⁷⁵Ibid, April 27, 1854, p2c5; October 11, 1855, p2c6;
JCC Will Book 15, p.196.

⁷⁶JCC Will Book 15, p.334.

MAJOR JAMES STEPHENSON AND FAMILY

There was more than one *James Stephenson* in Berkeley County (from which Jefferson County was created in 1801), Virginia, in the 18th and early 19th centuries. The first mention found of a *James Stephenson*, an entry on the Berkeley County rent roll for 1774-1781, likely is not the *James Stephenson* later associated with Harpers Ferry. Instead that may be the *James Stephenson* who died in 1818, leaving a wife, Mary, and children John, James, William, Joseph, Jane, Isabella and Martha. The situation confounded biographers and news writers in later years, resulting in some erroneous assumptions, among them that Harpers Ferry's Major Stephenson was a resident of Charles Town. Although later census enumerations of Mrs. Major James Stephenson and their children revealed two distinct families, the fact that both *James Stephensons* had sons named James compounded the confusion. The Harpers Ferry James Stephenson, usually referred to as *Major*, was likely the *Major James Stephenson* mentioned in two 1818 news items concerning a Branch Bank at Charlestown.⁷⁷

Major James Stephenson was a Pennsylvania native, born on an Adams County (location of Gettysburg) farm in 1764. He commanded a company at Gen. St. Clair's defeat during the Indian Wars of 1791, and served with forces ordered to quell the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania. After settling in Berkeley County, Virginia, he served as a brigade inspector and magistrate, delegate to the state Assembly (1800 to 1802), and in several sessions of the U. S. Congress (1803-1805, 1809-1811, and 1822-1825) before retiring in 1825. In May 1829 Major Stephenson began serving as Clerk to the Superintendent of the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry.⁷⁸

Historian Millard Bushong stated Major Stephenson continued to live at Charles Town until his death in 1833, but as noted above, recent research established that the two Stephenson families were often later confused. Available data indicate the Stephenson family lived in Harpers Ferry when the Major died. A search of property records failed to reveal a deed associating Major Stephenson with a Charles Town site, although the 1883 news report noted above stated Major Stephenson had lived in a house owned and occupied in

⁷⁷JCC Will Book 3, p.107;

Danske Dandridge, Historic Shepherdstown, Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company Printers, 1910, p.71;

Farmers Repository, January 28, 1818, p3c3; February 17, 1818, p3c1.

⁷⁸Virginia Free Press, September 5, 1833, p3c4; September 19, 1833, p3c2;

NA RG 217, Entry 523, Settled Accounts and Claims, 1817-1852, NA Microfilm Roll 23, Frame 549, Receipt Roll for May 1829; microfilm available at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

Spirit of Jefferson, March 13, 1883, p3c2.

1883 by D. H. Conrad.⁷⁹

Major Stephenson's first recorded association with Harpers Ferry was an 1825 letter he wrote on behalf of John G. Wilson, who was planning to erect a building on government property (later Park Building 45). His signature (and that of Geo. B. Stephenson--likely his son) appeared on an 1826 petition to incorporate the Town of Virginus. The first commercial connection to Harpers Ferry was a reference in a lease executed in June 1826 by Catharine and James B. Wager to Frederick W. Springer describing property adjacent to "the hotel now occupied by Maj. James Stephenson." In an 1827 announcement, Dr. N. Marmion, late of Charlestown, offered professional services at Harpers Ferry and vicinity, stating Dr. Marmion was "at present found at Major Stephenson's Hotel." The same newspaper carried a notice by Lt. Cmdr. J. S. Gallaher that Harpers Ferry Rifle Corps were to parade in front of Major Stephenson's Hotel on March 10, 1827. Both items likely referred to the Harpers Ferry Hotel, located on property later designated WL 15, on the northeast corner of Shenandoah and High streets. As noted, in May 1829 Major Stephenson began serving as a Superintendent's Clerk, and a December 1829 voucher to William Bowen represented payment for painting and glazing in the "House occupied by James Stephenson, one of the Superintendent's Clerks." The voucher therefore revealed that the Stephensons lived in a government house, and not at the site of Major Stephenson's business--the Harpers Ferry Hotel.⁸⁰

In 1830 Major Stephenson advertised opening a "house of entertainment" at Harpers Ferry, a short distance from his "old stand," the Harpers Ferry Hotel. Catherine Wager had offered the "Harpers Ferry Hotel" to lease as early as 1824, noting the building contained 22 rooms. Other newspaper items confirm the existence of the "Harpers Ferry Hotel." Beginning in 1830 (when Major Stephenson moved, presumably to Park Building 45) the Harpers Ferry Hotel references carried the name "M. Thompson" or "Capt. M.

⁷⁹Millard Bushong, Historic Jefferson County, (Boyce, Virginia: Carr Publishing Company, Inc. 1972), p.438. Major Stephenson apparently moved to Harpers Ferry from the vicinity of Martinsburg, Virginia, before the 1830 census, perhaps in 1829 when he began serving as Clerk to the Armory Superintendent. His obituary in 1833 stated he died at Harpers Ferry "of a lingering illness" and he would therefore likely have died at home; the announcement of his daughter's marriage in January 1834 referred to the late Major as "of Harpers Ferry;" Spirit of Jefferson, March 13, 1883, p3c2.

⁸⁰Reel 21, Vol. 8, Page 838;

Jefferson County Legislative Petitions: B 276, December 11, 1826, Petition for Incorporation of Town of Virginus; B 286, December 8, 1830, Petition for new & separate election district at Harpers Ferry; Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia;

JCC Deed Book 15, p.76;

Virginia Free Press, March 7, 1827, p3c4, and p4c5;

NA RG 217, Entry 523, Roll 24, Frame 476, available at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Major Stephenson's signature on the payrolls appears (to the untrained eye) the same as that on the 1825 letter endorsing John G. Wilson's plan to erect present Park Building 45 (Reel 21, Vol. 8, p.838), and on 1826 and 1830 legislative petitions.

Thompson."⁸¹

Major James Stephenson appeared only once in the Harpers Ferry Census. In 1830 he headed a household consisting of nine free white males, three free white females, 2 male slaves and 2 female slaves. The *James Stephenson* with a similar household listed in the 1820 census in Charles Town may be the son of the "other" James Stephenson. An 1830 Jefferson County Legislative Petition seeking a new and separate election district at Harpers Ferry bears Major Stephenson's signature. Strangely, when Major Stephenson died in 1833 obituary notices did not mention his association with Harpers Ferry.⁸²

Indications point to Harpers Ferry, however, as the family seat beginning in the 1820s. As stated, the family appeared in the local census in 1830. The males in the household likely included sons George B. and Philip P. W.--both eventually physicians and apothecaries. Another son, James, graduated "with great distinction" from the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1822, attained the rank of Captain in December 1834, and died in November 1841 at Pilatlea, Florida. When a Stephenson daughter, Ann A., married Fontaine Beckham in 1825, the marriage contract indicated she lived in Harpers Ferry.⁸³

Exactly where the Stephensons lived at Harpers Ferry has not been determined, but by 1829 they apparently occupied an armory dwelling. The Major's sizeable household, and the standing in the community he undoubtedly enjoyed through his military, political and commercial prominence, suggest a substantial home--and for a time at least a rent-free Armory house--not the dwelling space "over the store" in Park Building 45, which served as a hotel beginning in 1830, and certainly not there after Mrs. Stephenson sold Park Building 45 to the government in 1837. Although Millard Bushong stated Major Stephenson continued to live in Charles Town after retiring from Congress in 1825 until his 1833 death, census listings for the Stephensons in Harpers Ferry in 1830, 1840, 1850 and 1860 suggest otherwise, and we now know Bushong unwittingly confused two James Stephensons. Additionally, in February 1837

⁸¹Harpers Ferry Free Press, March 31, 1824, p4c3;
Virginia Free Press, November 7, 1827, p4c3; September 23, 1829, p4c2; June 16, 1830, p3c5; July 14, 1831, p2c2; December 20, 1832, p3c2; April 4, 1833, p3c3.

⁸²Reel 246, Fifth Census (1830), p.171 of Harpers Ferry. In the 1820 census a James Stephenson is listed in Charles Town as a merchant with a large household.

Jefferson County Legislative Petitions, B 286, December 8, 1830, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Virginia;

Virginia Free Press, September 5, 1833, p3c4; September 19, 1833, p3c2.

⁸³Spirit of Jefferson, March 13, 1883, p3c2;

Farmers Repository, March 5, 1823, p3c3;

JCC, Deed Book 14, p.61, Release. This "release of a marriage contract" is dated October 19, 1825. When Ann A. Beckham died in 1843, aged 35, her obituary (Virginia Free Press, August 31, 1843, p3c2) stated she was the only remaining daughter of the late Major James Stephenson and Mrs. A. C. Stephenson.

Statira Hall, wife of John H. Hall of Hall's Rifle Factory, wrote that their neighbor, Mrs. Stephenson, was very ill. As the Halls lived near the present site of Lockwood House, Camp Hill, the "Mrs. Stephenson" (by then there were at least two Mrs. Stephensons--Major Stephenson's widow and her daughter-in-law, Augusta Levering Stephenson, who died in July 1837) also lived on Camp Hill.⁸⁴

It appears certain, therefore, that after Major Stephenson died in 1833 the family continued living at Harpers Ferry. When a Harpers Ferry clergyman, Rev. Septimus Tutson, performed the marriage of Major Stephenson's daughter Mary E. to Baltimore merchant Righter Levering in 1834, the Virginia Free Press reported receiving a liberal slice of the Bride's Cake. Just over a year later George B. Stephenson married Miss Augusta Virginia Levering of Baltimore--allowing speculation of an interesting family circle.⁸⁵

The 1840 census listed Ann C. Stephenson (Major Stephenson's widow) with a household of seven free white males, four free white females, three male slaves and four female slaves. In 1850 Ann C. Stephenson (72) headed a household including George B. Stephenson (40), a physician, his wife Mary Stephenson (25), Fontaine Beckham (50) a B&O Railroad Agent (the Stephensons' son-in-law, widower of the late Ann Stephenson Beckham) and Philip Beckham (12). In 1850 Ann C. Stephenson owned five slaves, one a child less than a year old. Aged 82 in 1860, Mrs. Stephenson still headed a household, although it consisted of only herself (with "lady" listed as occupation) and a domestic servant, Mary Farden (64). Mrs. Ann C. Stephenson died on January 1, 1865, in Harpers Ferry at the age 87. Her obituary noted she "was extensively known and esteemed by many friends."⁸⁶

Following her husband's death Mrs. Stephenson remained involved in Harpers Ferry affairs. In June of 1834 she sought permission from the Ordnance Office to erect "an Apothecary's shop on the public land . . . for the use of her son." She made her request in face of Armory efforts at the time to acquire funds to purchase structures privately built on public land. To that end appraisers had, in 1831, evaluated the Park Building 45 property which housed Major Stephenson's "house of entertainment" at \$3,000. Although Mrs. Stephenson's request was refused, it appears she erected the structure anyway. When she conveyed Park Building 45 to the

⁸⁴Bushong, Historic Jefferson County, p.438;
T. T. Perry Collection, Box 4, Hall-Marmion Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond Virginia.

⁸⁵Virginia Free Press, January 16, 1834, p3c2; February 19, 1835, p3c2.

⁸⁶Reel 246, Fifth Census (1830), p.171 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 247, Sixth Census (1840), p.243 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.411 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 249, Slave Census (1850), p.314 of Harpers Ferry;
Reel 250, Eighth Census (1860), p.192 of Harpers Ferry;
Virginia Free Press, September 7, 1865, p3c2.

Government for \$3,000 in 1837, the deed reserved the right to claim an additional \$500 worth of improvements made subsequent to the 1831 appraisal. The apothecary shop was likely intended for George or Phillip Stephenson, both of whom eventually became physicians. "Dr." Philip Stephenson advertised opening an office in "Mrs. Stephenson's house" at Harpers Ferry in April, 1836.⁸⁷

Mrs. Stephenson and her son-in-law, Fontain Beckham, began operating the Harpers Ferry Hotel and mail stage office in July 1834 "at the well-known Tavern Stand, on the corner at Harpers-Ferry" and advertised that several new rooms had been lately added. Because the Stephensons held the lease to Park Building 45, earlier historians concluded it was the site of the hotel and mail stage office. The reference to added rooms could as easily have applied to the traditional Harpers Ferry Hotel location at the corner of Shenandoah and High streets as to Park Building 45, however, and the reference to the "corner" could not have applied to the site of Park Building 45. Mrs. Stephenson likely continued to "occupy" Park Building 45 (at the least in the sense she controlled the building's occupation), however. In December 1835 Attorney Jno. J. Brown announced he had removed to Harpers Ferry with an office in the house formerly kept as a tavern by Maj. Jas. Stephenson and presently occupied by Mrs. Ann Stephenson, next door east of Mr. R. Levering's store (but the reference could also have been to WL 15, where Mrs. Stephenson with F. Beckham began operating the Harpers Ferry Hotel in July 1834, and where Major Stephenson had kept his tavern before 1830).⁸⁸

When WL 15 failed to sell in the initial offering of James B. Wager's property, it was subdivided into four smaller lots. Mrs. Stephenson acquired WL 15SB1 in 1837 or 1838, after selling Park Building 45 to the government. On it and neighboring WL 15SB2 were erected Park Buildings 11 and 12, with Park Building 12A following a few years later. The structures housed various commercial ventures over the ensuing years--among them a store operated by Breitenbaugh & Kirby in 1839, a barbering and hair dressing business in 1841, and another store run by Robinson and Holland in the early 1850s.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Reel 14, Vol. 10, p.944;
Reel 24, Vol. 9, p.826;
Virginia Free Press, April 21, 1836, p3c1.

⁸⁸Ibid, December 31, 1835, p1c1.

⁸⁹Reel 24, Vol. 9, p.826. No deed record for Mrs. Stephenson's purchase of WL 15SB1 has been found, but in 1857 she sold a portion of the lot to Alfred Burton (JCC Deed Book 37, Page 308), and her will granted the property to Philip P. W. and George B. Stephenson (JCC Recorders Will Book, Page 4). Neither has any firm record emerged on construction of Park Buildings 12 and 12A. However it is virtually certain those structures were erected for Mrs. Stephenson in about 1838 (see Charles W. Snell, The Town of Harpers Ferry in 1859, A Physical History, Documentation for the 1859 Historical Base Map, The Town of Harpers Ferry, May 18, 1959, p.24).

Constitutionalist, April 20, 1839, p.3c6; January 28, 1841, p3c3;
Virginia Free Press, March 31, 1853, p3c1.

Numerous newspaper items attest to other Stephenson family business enterprises in the 1830s and 1840s. Drs. George B. and Philip P. W. Stephenson each operated drug stores, in various partnerships and in several locations.⁹⁰

George B. Stephenson formed a venture with William and S. B. Anderson in 1837 to erect two large brick buildings and outbuildings in the Wager Reservation (these likely were the structures built on WL 15SB1 and 15SB2 on the corner of High and Shenandoah streets, site of the earlier Harpers Ferry Hotel). George Stephenson served on an 1838 delegation to attend a meeting in Front Royal, Virginia, on improving navigation on the Shenandoah River; he attended Whig conventions in Charles Town and Staunton, Virginia; he was active in the local Temperance Union; he was a judge empowered to try warrants at Harpers Ferry; with William Anderson he advertised variously rent or sale of property belonging to James B. Wager; in 1844 he served as a Jefferson County school commissioner; he was a superintendent of election on various occasions beginning in 1846; he served as physician (with Dr. James Garry) for the Overseers of the Poor in 1847, 1849, and 1850; and in 1852 he announced as a candidate for Jefferson County sheriff. George Stephenson's wife Augusta [Levering] died in July 1837. He married Mary E. Moler in 1849, and she died in June 1854. In 1858 he married Maggie Welch of Harpers Ferry. At an unknown time he moved away; the last local census listing him was 1860, when he headed a household including Margaret C. Stephenson (23) born in Virginia, John J. (8) and Mary E. (6) Stephenson, and a female slave (black, 24) and male slave (mulatto, 1). George Stephenson died in 1877 in Washington, D.C.⁹¹

The local newspapers recorded fewer items relating to Dr. Philip P. W. Stephenson than to his brother George, but Philip remained in Harpers Ferry longer. An 1839 letter to the Virginia Free Press paid tribute to Dr. Philip Stephenson of Harpers Ferry, noting that, as he was the youngest physician there, he had not received as much patronage as others; the letter stated that before graduating Dr. Stephenson had been an Army surgeon. In 1845 and 1846 Dr. P. P. W. Stephenson served with Dr. Nicholas Marmion as a physician for the poor from District 4. Mrs. P. P. W. Stephenson was listed on a Harpers Ferry committee to collect money for the suffering citizens of Ireland in 1847. There is a listing for his household in each census from 1850 to 1880. He died in 1882 at

⁹⁰Details of the activities of George B. Stephenson and Philip P. W. Stephenson can be obtained by accessing the History Database at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

⁹¹Virginia Free Press, November 16, 1837, p3c4; November 1, 1838, plc3; October 3, 1839, p2c4; June 30, 1842, p3c4; August 18, 1842, p2c4; March 9, 1843, p3c4; October 24, 1844, p3c2; February 6, 1846, p3c6; July 1, 1847, p3c6&7; May 25, 1852, p2c3; July 13, 1837, p3c1; May 10, 1849, p3c1; June 19, 1854, p3c1;

Reel 250, Eighth Census (1860), p.206 of Harpers Ferry; Reel 251, Slave Census (1860), p.172 of Harpers Ferry.

Spirit of Jefferson, January 9, 1877, p2c3.

Harpers Ferry.⁹²

As noted, no information actually locating the Stephenson dwelling has been found. However, the Virginia Free Press November 1848 report on the Harpers Ferry celebration for the presidential victory of Zachary Taylor stated the "dwelling occupied by Mr. R. Levering and Mrs. Stephenson, was tastily lighted up" (for further information on Righter Levering, please see biographical sketch in this Appendix).⁹³

⁹²Virginia Free Press, August 15, 1839, p2c4; June 13, 1844, p3c4;
Spirit of Jefferson, July 3, 1846, p3c3-4;
Virginia Free Press, March 18, 1847, p2c7; May 27, 1882, p3c3.

⁹³Ibid, November 23, 1848, p2c1.

RIGHTER LEVERING

Righter Levering was a Baltimore merchant who married Mary E. Stephenson in 1834. Based on his age in the 1850 census (the only local census listing him) Levering would have been 24 then. An infant daughter, Ann Levering, died in January 1835.⁹⁴

The first appearance in the local record of a name approximating his was a November 1833 advertisement by G. W. Glassgow for a "fashionable hat manufactory" one door east of "Leaving & Rusts' store" at Harpers Ferry. During the period 1834 to 1836 or 1837 Righter Levering conducted a drug store/dry goods store at Harpers Ferry--beginning in 1836 jointly with G. B. Stephenson. An additional Levering/Stephenson family tie likely occurred when Dr. George B. Stephenson married Augusta Virginia, daughter of the late Nathan Levering of Baltimore--possibly making Righter Levering and George B. Stephenson dual brothers-in-law.⁹⁵

References to the Stephenson/Levering store ceased after 1837, but Righter Levering appeared on Post Office letter lists in 1837 and 1839. Righter and Mary Stephenson Levering apparently left Harpers Ferry during that period; a tribute to Mrs. Mary [Stephenson] Levering on her death in 1840 stated she died in Williamsport, Maryland, while journeying back to Harpers Ferry from Missouri "where she moved 2 or 3 years ago." Mary Levering was buried at Harpers Ferry.⁹⁶

It seems Righter Levering remained in Harpers Ferry after his wife Mary died. In early 1842 his name appeared as a delegate from Harpers Ferry to a Whig convention in Charles Town. He filed for bankruptcy that summer. He was the agent authorized to settle accounts of the late Lewis Wernwag in September 1843.⁹⁷

In May 1844 R. Levering advertised the opening of a new store at Harpers Ferry selling goods ranging from fabrics to hardware and groceries, but only one other advertisement for the Levering store appeared--in October 1844. He apparently married again, for the account of an 1847 meeting to adopt measures for relief of the people of Ireland includes "Mrs. R. Levering," perhaps the

*Virginia Free Press, January 16, 1834, p3c2; January 8, 1835, p3c4.

*Ibid, November 28, 1833, p3c3; November 6, 1834, p3c4; September 3, 1835, p3c4;
Virginia Republican, July 36, 1837, p3c4.

*Ibid, August 24, 1837, p3c3. By 1838 G. B. Stephenson was in partnership with his brother Philip (Virginia Free Press, September 20, 1838, p3c3), and after that partnership dissolved, G. B. Stephenson and Fountain Beckham became partners (Ibid, November 15, 1838, p3c5);
Constitutionalist, October 23, 1839, p4c2;
Virginia Free Press, June 18, 1840, p3c2.

*Ibid, March 31, 1842, p3c1; July 14, 1842, p3c4; September 7, 1843, p3c2; November 23, 1848, p2c1.

"Eugen[ia] H." enumerated with Righter Levering in the 1850 census. Mr. and Mrs. Levering perhaps lived in the household of his first mother-in-law, Ann Stephenson, as an 1848 report of the Taylor election celebration placed them in the same dwelling. Levering remained active in politics, attending a September 1848 meeting at Wager's U.S. Hotel in Harpers Ferry to support Henry Clay as candidate for the presidency. In February 1849 he served on the Committee of Arrangements for the reception at Harpers Ferry of President-Elect Taylor.⁹⁸

By the 1850 census Righter Levering (38, a clerk born in Maryland) headed a household including Eugen[ia] H. (25, born in Maryland), Elizabeth Keller (19, born in Maryland), Charles Johnson (25, born in Virginia), Finton Jacobs (20, born in Maryland), Lee Stewart (18, born in Maryland), James Duncanson (65, born in Virginia), Anna Lear (20, born in Virginia), John R. Holliday (39, a manufacturer born in Maryland), and Mary Rhodes (20, born in Ireland). The Stephenson and Levering listings were far apart in the 1850 census.⁹⁹

A November 1854 advertisement for Barleywood Academy for Boys in nearby Maryland listed "Reiter" Levering as a reference. He was among the administrators in a court suit involving the heirs of the late A. J. Wright in January 1856. His name last appeared in the available historical record as a "manager" for a St. Valentines Ball to be given at the U.S. Hotel, Harpers Ferry, on February 14, 1856.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸Ibid, May 16, 1844, p3c4; October 10, 1844, p3c3; February 25, 1847, p1c7.

⁹⁹Reel 248, Seventh Census, 1850, p.416 of Harpers Ferry.

¹⁰⁰Virginia Free Press, September 14, 1848, p2c7; February 17, 1849, p2c3; November 16, 1854, p2c7; February 15, 1856, p3c1.

JOSEPH D. HOLMES

Joseph D. Holmes first appears in the available historical record on an 1853 list of letters at the Harpers Ferry Post Office. The next year he and his wife Scotia were among defendants in a chancery suit containing an allegation Holmes received rents and profits of land in his possession after the death of the doweress Catharine Nisewanner. The final disposition of the lawsuit is unknown.¹⁰¹

The 1860 census listed Joseph Holmes as a 38-year old carpenter, born in Virginia. Also in the household were Scottia Holmes, 18; Martha E. Holmes, 8; Emily F. Holmes, 3; and William Nunberger, 12. In 1870 the household included Joseph D. Holmes, 50, carpenter; Scotia W. Holmes, 40, keeping house; Martha E. Holmes, 17; Mary A. Holmes, 7; Julia M. Holmes, 2; Thomas Busey, 15, and Emily Palmer, 70. The 1880 census enumerated Joseph D. Holmes, 55, carpenter; Scotia W. Holmes, 43, keeping house; Alice M. Holmes, 16, Julia M. Holmes, 12; Isaac W. Bobst, 33, a minister; Harrison W. Butt, 35 a machinist and son-in-law of Joseph D. Holmes; and Mattie D. Butt, 26, Joseph Holmes' daughter. On the 1892 Voter Registration Roll Joseph D. Holmes appeared as 62, a carpenter born in Virginia and forty-year resident of Jefferson County. Joseph D. Holmes died on January 28, 1897, at the age of 76 in Bolivar.¹⁰²

When Joseph D. Holmes purchased the Lot 1 North of Shenandoah Street property in 1869 he was an established member of the community, serving on the County Grand Jury in 1868 and 1869, and living in Bolivar. Whether he had remained in the area during the Civil War is unknown. A post-Civil War voter registration roll (with various dates, including 1868 and 1870), however, indicates he may have left the area during hostilities, as Holmes declares only a four-year residency in Jefferson County, while stating he was born in the County. In 1871 he was a conservative candidate for Supervisor of Bolivar Township. His name appeared as both trustee and special commissioner in local property actions in 1878 and 1879.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹Spirit of Jefferson, November 8, 1853, p3c1;
Virginia Free Press, August 17, 1854, p3c1.

¹⁰²Reel 250, Eighth Census (1860), p.242 of Bolivar;
Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), p.479, 480 of Harpers Ferry P.O.;
Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), p.14 of Bolivar Town;
Oak Grove, Harpers Ferry Dist. Precinct No. 4, 1892 (Voter Registration Roll), T. T. Perry Collection,
Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia (copy on file Harpers Ferry National Historical Park);
Spirit of Jefferson, February 2, 1897, p3c3.

¹⁰³Virginia Free Press, June 4, 1868, p3c2; September 23, 1869, p3c3;
Reel 243, NA RG 92, Entry 22, Voter Registration Roll, 1869;
Spirit of Jefferson, October 24, 1871, p3c1;
JCC Deed Book F, p.207; Deed Book G, p.587.

It is reasonable to assume Joseph D. Holmes purchased Park Building 45 for its income-producing potential--an hypothesis borne out by his declaration on the 1878 abatement petition that the property had generated \$1,000 in rents during the time he held it. He had expended only \$350 on the property by 1878. No reason for his decision to quit-claim the property has been determined.

Throughout the 1880s Joseph Holmes' family appeared in newspaper items--Mrs. Holmes died in 1886 at the age of 54 and Holmes' youngest daughter Julia married Wm. Burnett of Baltimore in 1889.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴Spirit of Jefferson, July 13, 1886, p2c4; February 12, 1889, p2c3.

JOSHUA CAVALIER

Joshua Cavalier first appeared in the available historical record when he married Mary Ann Ridenour, daughter of Mr. Robert Ridenour of Jefferson County, in Harpers Ferry on January 25, 1842. A little over a year earlier, however, Miss Mary A. Cavalier of Harpers Ferry married Mr. Hiram Herrington of Harpers Ferry--and later news items identify Hiram Herrington as Joshua Cavalier's brother-in-law. Miss Mary A. Cavalier, therefore, was Joshua Cavalier's sister, and Joshua Cavalier may have been in Harpers Ferry at the time his sister married. The 1840 census listed no Cavalier.¹⁰⁵

Joshua Cavalier appeared on Armory rent rolls for 1844, 1846, and 1849, renting House No. 86. The house, a one-story stone structure likely built in 1822-23, was demolished in July 1850.¹⁰⁶

Census records for 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880 reveal a large and growing Joshua Cavalier family. It is not known where the family lived after House No. 86 was demolished or where the family was during the Civil War, but all census listings are Bolivar, Bolivar Township or Bolivar Town. In 1850 Joshua Cavalier, 26, born in Virginia, an armorer, headed a household (all persons born in Virginia) including Mary A. Cavalier, 24; Sarah E. Cavalier, 7; Robert H. Cavalier, 4; and Mary Cavalier, 2. The 1860 census listings were similar for Joshua, Mary, Sarah, Robert, and Mary, but added to the family were (again, all born in Virginia) Eugene[ia] G., 9; Ida S., 6, and Anna C., less than a year old.¹⁰⁷

Whether the Cavaliers remained in Harpers Ferry during the Civil War has not been determined. The 1868/70 Bolivar voter roll lists him as "not sworn" and "registered by board." No age or length of residence was noted. In the 1870 Census Robert H. was no longer part of the Cavalier household, but three siblings--Cora, age 8; Charles J. age 5 and Daisy, age 5--born in Virginia or West Virginia had been added. Also living in the 1870 Cavalier household was Elizabeth Ridenour, 80, born in Pennsylvania, Mary A. Cavalier's mother. By the 1880 Census daughter Mary was the wife of Joseph P. Schilling, and Mrs. Ridenour had died, but the remainder of the household was as it appeared in 1870.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵Virginia Free Press, November 26, 1840, p3c4; February 3, 1842, p3c2.

¹⁰⁶Snell, "Catalog," pp.107,282.

¹⁰⁷Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.402B of Bolivar;
Reel 249, Eighth Census (1860), p.239 of Bolivar.

¹⁰⁸Reel 243, Entry 225 (Voter Roll);
Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), p.42 of Harpers Ferry P.O./Bolivar Township;
Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), p.1 of Bolivar Town;
Virginia Free Press, July 2, 1870, p3c2;
Spirit of Jefferson, January 22, 1878, p2c2.

Joshua Cavalier bought a Harpers Ferry house and lot (present Park Building 15) from the heirs of Susan Downey in March 1868 for \$2,605. A newspaper report that he sold a three-story building--likely Park Building 15--to Alex. Murphy 21 months later may have been an error, as in May 1873 Joshua and Mary Cavalier, with Truman and Margaret Potterfield, granted Park Building 15 to Charlotte R. Hopwood.¹⁰⁹

During the period newspapers noted contributions of fish from Joshua Cavalier, stating Cavalier dealt in fresh fish and sometimes sold in Charles Town. In September 1870 W. H. Wentzell advertised a grocery store on High Street, formerly of J. Cavalier. About that time Cavalier bought Ann C. Stephenson's "brick dwelling and storehouse" for \$5,500 (present Park Buildings 12 and 12A, corner of Shenandoah and High streets).¹¹⁰

Mention of Joshua Cavalier as a fish dealer continued through the 1870s, but the location of his store has not been determined. Robert Cavalier opened a drugstore in his father's store room in mid-1876, likely the aforementioned former Stephenson property at the corner of Shenandoah and High streets. Joshua Cavalier had also, in 1874, purchased a brick dwelling in Bolivar, and subsequent references to him usually state "of Bolivar." In October 1878 the Virginia Free Press noted that Joshua Cavalier of Bolivar had received a shipment of apples.¹¹¹

Regardless of where he conducted his store, Joshua Cavalier continued a significant property-owner and prominent citizen in Harpers Ferry. He was a member of the Harpers Ferry Bridge Company, and figured during the 1870s in Shenandoah River navigation improvement efforts and in the endeavor to have property from the 1869 sale repurchased by the Government. The Virginia Free Press reported in February 1880 that he had purchased the Shenandoah Ferry interest and Ferry Lot from Gen. N. Goff Jr.

¹⁰⁹JCC, Deed Book 3, p.337; Deed Book 4, p.205;
Virginia Free Press, March 19, 1868, p3c1;
Spirit of Jefferson, December 7, 1869, p3c2;
JCC, Deed Book A, p.158.

¹¹⁰Spirit of Jefferson, May 5, 1868, p3c1;
Virginia Free Press, May 14, 1868, p3c1; September 3, 1870, p2c5; September 17, 1870, p3c1;
JCC, Deed Book 5, p.269; Deed Book 5, p.271.

¹¹¹Spirit of Jefferson, April 18, 1871, p3c1. The item noted that orders for fish were taken at the C. E. Beller drug store at Harpers Ferry;
Ibid, May 7, 1872, p3c1; April 7, 1874, p3c2; April 21, 1874, p3c1;
Virginia Free Press, June 24, 1876, p1c6. Robert Cavalier's tenure at the High and Shenandoah Street location was unusually long by local standards. He was still there in 1887 (Ibid, January 20, 1887, Supplement), and apparently remained until 1896 when he moved both his family and drugstore to Bolivar adjacent to his mother's residence (Spirit of Jefferson, March 10, 1896, p2c4).
Ibid, May 29, 1877, p3c1;
Virginia Free Press, October 26, 1878, p3c1.

Cavalier retained ownership of Park Buildings 12 and 12A, and in June 1880 the United States government sold him Park Building 45. His heirs held both properties until 1913.¹¹²

Joshua Cavalier did not live long after buying Park Building 45. When he died in August 1883, the Spirit of Jefferson obituary noted he was a "highly esteemed" man of "public and private enterprise." Because it appears Cavalier was well-established in Bolivar before 1880, he may have bought Park Building 45 for its income-producing potential and therefore probably did not conduct a store there. No rental records of the property for the period of Cavalier ownership have been found, nor are such likely to be found.¹¹³

¹¹²Spirit of Jefferson. February 25, 1879. Page 2, Col. 3;
Virginia Free Press. February 7, 1880. Page 2, Col. 2; February 21, 1880. Page 3, Col. 3;
JCC. Deed Book 108, Page 487; Deed Book 109. Page 220.

¹¹³Spirit of Jefferson, August 14, 1883, p2c5; p3c1.

DORAN FAMILY

The Doran name first appeared at Harpers Ferry in the 1830s. The Jefferson Republican, a Charles Town weekly newspaper published during the 1940s and 1950s, in August 1953 carried an interesting article on the Dorans, based in part on recollections of Mary Cecilia Doran, last proprietress of a Doran store at Harpers Ferry. The article is in remarkable agreement with other elements of the historical record, differing only in a few details concerning the buildings at the river junction and the "McGraw" buildings. Thus it is learned that Richard and Michael Doran, brothers, came to America in 1829 and settled first in Cecil County, Maryland, where they opened a store. A few years later they moved to Harpers Ferry and started a store "on Shenandoah Street, near where the Railroad station now stands."¹¹⁴

Other sources affirm that Richard Doran, a native of Killimore, Ireland, was a Harpers Ferry merchant beginning in the early 1830s, although the name of Michael Doran did not appear in local newspapers until later. A May 1833 notice of dissolution of his partnership with J. C. Dunn is Richard Doran's first appearance in the public record. The partnership assigned all store goods to William McGraw to secure \$400 owed to Patrick McCue of Baltimore. Richard Doran continued in business, though, and in 1840 formed another partnership, this time with his brother William.¹¹⁵

The 1840 census lists Richard Doran heading a household containing one male over five years old but less than ten, one male over ten but less than 15, one male over 20 but less than 30, and one male over 40 but less than 50, one female over 20 but less than 30, and one female over 30 but less than 40. Although at least twice married, when he died in July 1851 no children were listed in the distribution of his estate.¹¹⁶

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

¹¹⁴Jefferson Republican, August 20, 1953.

¹¹⁵Virginia Free Press, May 2, 1833, p3c3;

JCC, Deed Book 18, p.346. It is significant that in 1848 a Mr. McCue of Baltimore is identified as Richard Doran's brother-in-law (Virginia Free Press, July 20, 1848, p2c4);

Virginia Free Press, October 29, 1840, p3c5.

¹¹⁶Reel 247, Sixth Census (1840), p.238 of Harpers Ferry;

JCC, Will Book 13, p.106, August 18, 1851.

house valued at \$3,500.¹¹⁷

Richard and William Doran dissolved their 1840 partnership after 18 months, and no William Doran is seen again in Harpers Ferry until the 1870s. A letter written by William to his brother Richard dated "Ogdensburg" March 21, 1849, appears to have come from that town in New Jersey (there is another Ogdensburg in far north New York), as the accompanying envelope is postmarked Morristown, March 28.¹¹⁸

Richard continued active in town business and civic affairs in the early 1840s; he was named on a Democratic committee to issue an invitation to James Buchanan, and as a delegate to a Democratic convention in Winchester. In 1843 he was listed among those meeting to form an association for repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland.¹¹⁹

A nephew, William Walsh, arrived in Harpers Ferry in 1842 at age 14 to work in Richard Doran's store; two years later William's mother Sarah Doran Walsh came to Harpers Ferry on the death of her husband. William Walsh attended Mt. St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg, Maryland for four years, and then attended law school. He returned to Jefferson County and was admitted to the Bar in 1850. The 1850 census listed Sarah (Doran) Walsh (48) heading a household including Martha Walsh (25), a clerk, William Walsh (22) no occupation listed, Sandy Walsh (18), Catherine Walsh (17), Sarah Walsh (15), and John Walsh (13); all were born in Ireland. William Walsh moved to Cumberland, Maryland, in 1852, and went on to serve two terms in the U. S. House of Representatives after the Civil War. At his death in 1892 he was described as "one of the most honored citizens of Maryland."¹²⁰

Mary Doran, Richard's wife, died in April 1845. In July that year an item in the Virginia Free Press stated that Richard had disappeared in August 1844 during a trip to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York to buy Fall goods. Gerard B. Wager in

¹¹⁷Virginia Free Press, March 27, 1834, p3c2; July 9, 1835, p3c3; August 3, 1837, p3c3; JCC, Will Book 13, pp.221-225. Richard Doran's estate included a substantial brick house "at the Arsenal Gate" and other local holdings.

¹¹⁸Virginia Free Press, March 10, 1842, p3c2. The "William Doran" who emerged in the 1870s was the son of Michael and Sarah Doran, and therefore Richard Doran's nephew, born ten years after Richard's death;

Letter from "Ogdensburg" March 21, 1849, addressed to "My Dearly Beloved Brother R. D. Doran" and signed Wm. Doran. Envelope postmarked "Morristown" March 28. In Doran/DeLauder Papers, HFNHP. Ogdensburg and Morristown are in north central New Jersey, about 30 miles apart.

¹¹⁹Virginia Free Press, May 26, 1842, p3c5; June 22, 1843, p3c3; August 31, 1843, p2c5.

¹²⁰Personal Communication with Terry and Lynne Kirby, Walsh/Doran descendants, including portion of document they provided: History of Allegany County, pp. 312-313.

Reel 248, Seventh Census, 1850, p. 414 of Harpers Ferry. The "Martha" listed in the 1850 census as a female clerk is undoubtedly "Murtha" Walsh, a male, who went on to be a prominent and successful Harpers Ferry merchant in the second half of the nineteenth century.

July 1846 held a public auction of store goods as administrator of the estate of the "late R. D. Doran."¹²¹

Richard Doran's whereabouts remained a mystery for nearly 4 years, during which time the name of his brother Michael Doran appeared in relation to Richard's business affairs and in business in his own right. In June 1848 the Court granted Michael Doran letters of administration to settle Richard's estate.¹²²

But Richard Doran was not dead, and in July of 1848 he re-emerged. He wrote from Glasgow, Scotland, to his wife--apparently unaware she had died more than three years earlier. The letter was received by his brother-in-law Mr. McCue in Baltimore, and in it Doran requested money to return home and to settle some debts. Judging by news accounts and the letter from Wm. Doran referenced earlier, Richard Doran had returned to Harpers Ferry, with a new wife, by February 1849. That same year he became the owner of a brick house on High Street, built on a lot he acquired in 1843.¹²³

In the 1850 census Richard (50), a merchant, is listed as head of household that included Michael (40), a merchant, and Bridget (25), identified later in Richard's will as his wife.¹²⁴

Richard Doran's second stay in Harpers Ferry was short as he died in 1851. His obituary listed him as about 55. He bequeathed his property in life estates, 1/3 to his wife Bridget and 2/3 to his brother Michael.¹²⁵

Although Michael Doran came to Harpers Ferry in the 1830s, his name is not in the 1840 census. He may be one of the males listed in Richard's 1840 household, however. Michael Doran began advertising sales of clothing, hardware, groceries and other merchandise under his own name during Richard's long absence in the 1840s.¹²⁶

At the 1852 sale of government property Michael Doran

¹²¹Virginia Free Press, April 17, 1845, p3c2; July 31, 1845, p2c1; July 16, 1846, p3c3.

¹²²Ibid, August 20, 1846, p2c7; July 20, 1848, p2c4.

¹²³Wm. Doran letter; William alluded to Richard's "new" wife whose name he did not know; Virginia Free Press, July 20, 1848, p2c4; February 15, 1849, p2c5; p3c3; August 11, 1849, p3c1; JCC Deed Book 26, p.412, July 25, 1843. Richard Doran bought WL 54B.

¹²⁴Reel 248, Seventh Census (1850), p.416 of Harpers Ferry; JCC, Will Book 13, p.106.

¹²⁵Virginia Free Press, July 17, 1851, p2c7; JCC Will Book 13, p.106, R. D. Doran (written June 28, 1851, probated August 18, 1851).

¹²⁶Virginia Free Press, August 20, 1846, p2c7; October 6, 1847, p1c4; October 5, 1848, p3c2.

purchased Lot 5, Block A, Camp Hill, on which he erected a three-story stone house, and Shenandoah Street Lot E3, known locally as the "Pump Lot." In 1853 he married Sarah Crawford, who had emigrated from Dundalk, Ireland, in the late 1840s to settle at Paw Paw, Virginia. Michael continued active in Harpers Ferry, apparently until 1854, when he announced his retirement from "mercantile business" and offered his Camp Hill home for rent. At that time he sold properties he had purchased in 1850 and 1851 across the Potomac River at the base of Maryland Heights, but he retained the Lot E3 property.¹²⁷

Little is known about the Michael Doran family during the next ten years. The 1946 obituary of his daughter Mary Ellen, however, states she was born in Allegany County, Maryland, in 1859, so the family was likely there then. The known Doran connections to the Walsh and Coulehan families in Cumberland, Maryland, which is in Allegany County (Michael and Sarah's son William eventually married Mary Elizabeth Coulehan), make a move to that location logical--although it is not known what precipitated the change. Mary Ellen's obituary also says she moved to Harpers Ferry at the age of 6, which would mean Michael Doran and family returned to Harpers Ferry in 1865.¹²⁸

A search in the 1860 Maryland Census revealed Michael Doran (55), Sarah Doran (28), Maria Doran (4), and Mary E. Doran (2) living at "Orleans P. O.," Allegany County. Michael Doran listed Real Estate worth \$1,800 and Personal Estate of \$500. All occupations listed on the page, including Michael's, are "farmer."¹²⁹

Michael was certainly back in Harpers Ferry by 1866 when he was elected to the town council. The Jefferson Republican article stated that at the time of the 1870 flood the Doran store was in a building on the "Pump Lot"--his Shenandoah Street Lot E3. He appeared in the 1870 Harpers Ferry census (age 55) as "retail dry

¹²⁷Charles W. Snell, "Historic Building Site Survey Report, History of Lots No. 1 to 5, Block E, Shenandoah Street, 1796-1865," Harpers Ferry National Monument, Shenandoah Street Studies Series No. 3, HF-27C, February 3, 1959, pp.20,21.

Virginia Free Press, January 27, 1853, p3c1;

Correspondence to "Miss Crawford" at Paw Paw, Virginia, from [name undecipherable], Dundalk [Ireland], July 26, 1849. In Doran/DeLauder Papers, HFNHP. Paw Paw (now West) Virginia is on the east bank of the Potomac River, just across from Allegany County, Maryland, site of Little Orleans, where the Michael Doran family was recorded in the 1860 census.

Virginia Free Press, April 6, 1854, p2c7, p3c7; April 6, 1854, p2c7. Michael Doran stated Walsh & Bro. succeeded him "at the old stand." That was likely the large brick structure on the "Ferry Lot" by the Armory gate. The Walsh brothers were Michael Doran's nephews.

Susan W. Frye and Dennis E. Frye, Maryland Heights, Archeological & Historical Resources Study, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 1989, pp.305&307.

¹²⁸Spirit of Jefferson, July 3, 1946, p3c5;

Personal communication with Terry & Lynne Kirby.

¹²⁹Eighth Census (1860), p.350 of Orleans P.O., Allegany County, District 8 of Maryland (microfilm in Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland).

goods merchant," with Sarah (43), Mary E. (11) and William (9), the latter two born in Maryland. In the 1880 census he was listed as "retail grocer" and the children William A. as "clerk in store" and "Ella" with no occupation listed.¹³⁰

During the 1870s Michael Doran acquired more property in Harpers Ferry, including Lots 2 and 9 on Block C, the former with a brick dwelling. He conveyed the C2 lot to his wife Sarah. No Doran store advertisements were found in Charles Town newspapers from the time the family returned until after Michael's death, although Michael Doran appears in the West Virginia Gazetteer and Business Directory in 1877-78, and 1882-83 listed as "grocer." Michael Doran was licensed to sell "spirituous liquors" beginning in 1871, a practice which landed him in trouble three years later when the County Court indicted him for furnishing intoxicating liquor to a person under age.¹³¹

The 1953 Jefferson Republican article stated the Doran business was, after the 1870 flood, across the street from their "present" location (Park Building 33), in the property of Colonel Edward Lucas. Colonel Edward Lucas bought Block C, Lot 1 at the 1852 sale of Armory property; that lot held the stone building on the corner of Market and Shenandoah Streets long known as a store. Further attesting to Doran occupancy of the Block C, Lot 1, building is a photograph (HF-111) of the 1889 flood showing that structure and a gentleman remarkably similar to the "Mr. Doran" (William Doran, son of Michael and Sarah) in photo HF-417.¹³²

Following Michael Doran's death in 1882 his son William began appearing in news references. According to the Virginia Free Press in 1884 William deeded Camp Hill Lot 12, Block MM, to John B. Spriggs. In November that year the same newspaper noted his name among buildings or houses illuminated in celebration of the election of President Cleveland.¹³³

¹³⁰Spirit of Jefferson, September 4, 1866, p3c2;
Reel 137, Ninth Census (1870), p.458 of Bolivar Township;
Reel 138, Tenth Census (1880), p.2 of Harpers Ferry.

¹³¹Virginia Free Press, June 3, 1871, p3c2;
Spirit of Jefferson, March 24, 1874, p3c2.
JCC, Deed Book F, p.73 (November 11, 1877).

¹³²West Virginia Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1877-78, Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, copied as HFD-693, in park Library;
Jefferson Republican article;
Patricia Chickering, (Draft) "'The Green' - Physical History of Block C, Lots 1 through 6 A&B, 1796-1952," National Park Service/University of Maryland, Cooperative Agreement, Historical Research Project, August 16, 1993, unpublished manuscript, p.9.

¹³³Jefferson Republican. The article provides the year of Michael Doran's death--the same as recorded on his tombstone in St. Peter's Catholic Cemetery, Harpers Ferry;
Virginia Free Press, June 3, 1884, p2c3;
JCC, Deed Book N, p.12;
Virginia Free Press, November 20, 1884, (copy damaged, page unknown).

The family business, by then known as "S. & W. Doran," continued into the twentieth century. Only two newspaper advertisements have been found, however--a large 1892 display advertisement, the type typically sponsored by the manufacturer, for the "W. L. Douglas \$3 Shoe . . . for sale by S. & W. Doran, Harper's Ferry," and a 1912 "announcement" for a millinery opening.¹³⁴

An account in the Spirit of Jefferson of flood damage in 1889 states "Wm. Doran" was among the heaviest losers of "store goods and property" in the "very great flood" at Harpers Ferry. The account did not identify the store's location, but it was likely on Block C, Lot 1.¹³⁵

In terms of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, the most significant 19th century Doran event occurred in January 1899, when the "Post Office" property of the McGraw estate was sold to William and Mary E. Doran by Special Commissioners (in the bankruptcy of James C. and Katie McGraw) for \$4,775. The fact that the deed is dated January 12, 1901, can be ascribed to complications in settling the McGraw bankruptcy.¹³⁶

The 1900 census reveals that William, Ella (Mary Ellen) and the widowed Sarah were living somewhere on Shenandoah Street. It lists William and Ella as unmarried and gives their professions and ages as "Merchant" and "Saleslady," aged 37 and 39, respectively.¹³⁷

William and Mary Ellen operated two distinct stores in the former McGraw building--Park Building 34-35--Mary Ellen offering millinery and William conducting a general dry goods operation, selling everything from molasses to furniture. The family lived

¹³⁴The Saturday Sentinel, September 3, 1892, p1c5 to 7. It is perhaps significant that this advertisement appeared in a Harpers Ferry newspaper and not one of the more widely circulated Charles Town papers. Unfortunately only a few issues of the Sentinel and its successor the Harpers Ferry Times have been located. The later Dorans did not advertise the way Richard and Michael Doran had in the 1830s, 1840s and early 1850s. In fact the Farmers Advocate citation below is the only other advertisement seen until the business closing sale in 1926 (Spirit of Jefferson, February 17, 1926, pp.9-12, and also the March 3 and 17 issues) following William's death. The Dorans were listed, however, in every available issue of the West Virginia Gazetteer. The late John Newcomer recalled seeing a Doran advertisement on the screen at the local movies while the film reel was being changed (personal communication with John Newcomer, Bolivar, WV, October 1991).

Farmers Advocate, March 16, 1912, p3c5.

¹³⁵Spirit of Jefferson, June 4, 1889, p2c2.
Jefferson Republican.

¹³⁶Spirit of Jefferson, January 24, 1899, p3c1;

JCC, Deed Book 90, p.188, January 12, 1901, James Conway (Special Commissioner) and James M. Mason Jr. (Trustee and Special Commissioner) grantors to William Doran and Mary E. Doran as grantees of GLB3. The deed discusses buildings, alleys, smokestack on property.

¹³⁷Reel 139, Twelfth Census (1900), p.79A of Harpers Ferry. This is the only census that lists street names. Mary Ellen Doran's name is frequently transformed--variously as "Ella," "Ellen M." and as she was most often called, "Miss Ellie." For consistency herein she will be referred to as Mary Ellen. Further confusion results from the name of William Doran's wife, Mary Elizabeth--she is often called "Mary E." or "Mary L." Doran.

"over the store." Beginning soon after the move to Park Building 34-35, newspapers frequently noted trips Mary Ellen Doran made to New York to buy seasonal goods.¹³⁸

In June 1905 William Doran married Mary Elizabeth Coulehan of Cumberland, Maryland, a cousin. Soon thereafter he received a proposal from James F. Cassell, operator of a plumbing, steam and hot-water heating business at Harpers Ferry, for extensive plumbing and heating work to be done in Park Building 34-35. William Doran may have been improving the structure to accommodate his extended family which by then included his mother, sister, and bride.¹³⁹

Accounts over the next years reveal William Doran was an early automobile enthusiast. In 1906 his car was towed to "town" after he became stranded on "Telegraph Hill." The 1907 Sanborn Fire Insurance map shows a small building in the rear of lot B2 as "auto," perhaps where William stored his car. In 1909 the Spirit of Jefferson noted that William Doran had visited Charles Town by auto--an adventure that was still a novelty at the time. Frank Cavalier, a venerable local resident, recalled in a 1990 interview that William Doran had a car which he kept, polished, in a building next to the trestle.¹⁴⁰

In 1907 Mary Ellen bought the large stone building just west of Park Building 34-35--the former McGraw store and dwelling, Park Building 33. At first the Penwood Coal Company rented the structure, with offices and apartments for officials--and two telephones connecting with "cities." That use ceased in October 1909. Later the Dorans moved part of their store operation to the building, and eventually the upper floors became their home. It has been impossible to pinpoint exactly when these moves occurred.¹⁴¹

By the 1910 census two daughters had increased William Doran's family. That year the household included Sarah (80), a general merchandise merchant, Ella M. (40), a saleslady/clerk, William A.

¹³⁸Personal Communications; interviews with John and June Newcomer, October 1991; Isabel Kern Flanagan, August 1992 and subsequent. Transcripts and tapes in library, HFNHP;
Farmers Advocate, March 28, 1903, p2c5.

¹³⁹Farmers Advocate, June 17, 1905, p3c4; Mrs. Doran's 1957 obituary (clipping in Doran/Delauder papers) stated her mother was Josephine Mong Doran.

¹⁴⁰Harpers Ferry Times, August 24, 1906, p5c1;
Spirit of Jefferson, February 9, 1909, p3c4;
Personal Communication, Patricia Craig with Mary Cavalier Dalgarn and Frank Cavalier, 1990.

¹⁴¹JCC, Deed Book 98, p.384, January 7, 1907;
Farmers Advocate, December 5, 1908, p2c3. Interestingly, the local office of Penwood Coal Company was managed by Hugh Kirby, a relative of the Dorans through their connection to the Walshes of both Harpers Ferry and Cumberland. Kirby was married to Leah Walsh, daughter of Murtha and Julia Walsh, and therefore a Doran cousin. In the 1910 census the Kirby's are listed in the Walsh household.
Ibid, October 16, 1909, p2c4.

(45) a store salesman, Mary L. (35), Josephine C. (3), and Mary C. (1).¹⁴²

Sarah Doran died at her Shenandoah Street residence in November 1910, aged 81. Her obituary stated she headed the family firm after her husband's death, with her children as junior partners, but that she seldom left her home except to attend church. It noted relatives William E. Walsh and William Coulehan of Cumberland attended the funeral. Interment was in St. Peter's Catholic Cemetery.¹⁴³

William and Mary Ellen improved their property during the following year. The Farmers Advocate reported they built a large elevator in the rear of their McGraw property which they had converted into an apartment house, and that William was utilizing the lower floor as his furniture and store department. The reference, as usual regrettably vague, is likely to Park Building 33.¹⁴⁴

Over the next years newspapers frequently noted Doran activities. In 1912 a son arrived to complete William and Mary Elizabeth Doran's family. Later in the year William bought a new "Regal" car. In June 1913 William purchased a stone building across Shenandoah Street and farther west, Park Building 45, from the Joshua Cavalier estate. Six months later William Doran was putting the structure in "thorough repair," part of an effort which was improving that part of the town. Local tradition, supported by several oral histories, holds that the Dorans continued the family store operation in the former McGraw properties, therefore they likely rented out Park Building 45. Indeed, J. R. (Bernard) Miles moved his pool hall there from the Hotel Connor in April 1915, and James Barrett's pool & billiard hall operation succeeded Miles there two years later.¹⁴⁵

Because the Dorans eventually owned several properties on Shenandoah Street (including Park Buildings 33, 34/5, 36 and 45, and Lots C2 and E3), caution must be exercised when interpreting "Doran" building/house references. Adding to the confusion, most of the buildings were multi-use structures, typically having stores on lower and dwellings on upper floors. All the properties remained in the Doran family until sale to the State of West

¹⁴²Reel 252, Twelfth Census (1910), p.190 of Harpers Ferry.

¹⁴³Farmers Advocate, December 3, 1910, p2c2.

¹⁴⁴Ibid, September 16, 1911, p2c4.

¹⁴⁵Ibid, April 27, 1912, p2c3; July 6, 1912, p2c3; June 21, 1913, p3c4; January 24, 1914, p2c2; Spirit of Jefferson, April 6, 1915, p2c2; April 3, 1917, p3c2.

Virginia in 1952.¹⁴⁶

For an undetermined reason, in July 1919 the Dorans began liquidating the entire stock and fixtures of their stores, estimated value \$50,000. By September about \$35,000 worth had been sold. The sale ran for about three months, and then the Dorans restocked and reopened, reversing their departments so "finer goods" were sold in the lower room of the McGraw property (Park Building 33). The Farmers Advocate noted the stock contained "everything one might ask for."¹⁴⁷

During the early twentieth century Harpers Ferry had a wide range of merchants offering a broad selection of goods. The most prominent general goods emporia were Kaplon's Department Store on Wager Lot 48, directly across Shenandoah Street from the Doran property, and the Doran Store. Kaplon's was a multi-story building erected at the turn of the century, with an inside elevator to the furniture and carpet departments on the upper floors. Across the street, Doran's offered general store goods--everything from molasses to bicycles--in Park Building 34-35, and millinery in Park Building 33.¹⁴⁸

Appearances counted with the Dorans. In 1921 the Farmers Advocate reported on the Doran department store's large and varied stock, noting the "extreme gentility" displayed to customers. The newspaper, and Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan, attest to the "spic and span" appearance of the store in Park Building 33--Mrs. Flanagan particularly remembering the highly-polished show cases. Mrs. Flanagan also recalled that at Christmas time parents would be escorted to an upstairs room where toys could be chosen away from the curious eyes of children! In 1921 the Farmers Advocate reported that W. and M. E. Doran, the "largest owners of real estate in the community" recently had their properties inspected, painted and repaired as needed.¹⁴⁹

Over the years floods dealt Harpers Ferry citizens and merchants vicious blows. The Dorans suffered every time, but always recovered and reopened. The 1870 flood "ruined" Michael Doran's grocery, and William Doran suffered damage to store goods and property in 1889. The principal merchants on Shenandoah Street, Dorans included, suffered heavy damage when both rivers

¹⁴⁶JCC, Deed Book 191, p.41.

¹⁴⁷Farmers Advocate, July 26, 1919, p2c4; August 9, 1919, p.3 (full page); September 27, 1919, p2c3; June 12, 1920, p1c5.

¹⁴⁸Spirit of Jefferson, May 1, 1900, p2c2;
Personal Communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan.

¹⁴⁹Farmers Advocate, June 25, 1921, p1c5; September 10, 1921, p1c1&2;
Personal Communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan.

rose and flooded the town in May 1924. Mrs. Flanagan recalled that was a "very dirty flood," and the newspaper account noted much debris left on Shenandoah Street. Nevertheless, the Dorans once again cleaned up and reopened shop.¹⁵⁰

The following year brought sickness and death. In August 1925 Mrs. William Doran was reported ill in Allegany Hospital, Cumberland, but she recovered to live until 1957. William Doran died in late November 1925 at age 63 of pneumonia. At the same time his sister Mary Ellen was also fighting pneumonia, but she won her battle. William's estate was appraised at \$17,841.23. Following William's death the Farmers Advocate reported the Dorans went out of business, that the store stock was bought out for resale, and that the store property would be occupied by a new bakery. Photographic evidence reveals the "Doran" store involved in the sale and bakery transactions was Park Building 34-35.¹⁵¹

Mary Ellen Doran served as guardian to her nieces and nephew--the girls in college at Emmitsburg, Maryland, and William Jr. at St. Josephs School in Catonsville, Maryland. By 1927 Mary Ellen was back in business, in Park Building 33. She and her niece Mary Cecilia visited New York that October and in June 1928 on buying trips.¹⁵²

In December 1928 Mary Ellen Doran purchased the Hurst house (Park Building 36), including household goods, adjoining the Doran property on the south side of Shenandoah Street. That magnificent house, built in 1858 for the Master Armorer at the U. S. Armory, had enjoyed renewed glory late in the nineteenth century as residence of Mr. and Mrs. J. Garland Hurst. Following their deaths in 1920, and the deaths of two of their heirs by 1925, the unoccupied property had fallen into disrepair. It has not been possible to learn if Mary Ellen, her widowed sister-in-law Mary Elizabeth, or the nieces or nephew lived in the house during the next years. Mary Ellen, however, apparently gave the grounds attention, as she planted trees and shrubbery in 1929, and in 1931 her garden at that site won a prize in the Womans' Club 3rd Annual Garden Contest.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰Virginia Free Press, October 8, 1870, p2c3;
Spirit of Jefferson, June 4, 1889, p2c2;
Farmers Advocate, May 17, 1924, plc3;
Personal communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan.

¹⁵¹Farmers Advocate, August 15, 1925, plc1; December 5, 1925, plc2; December 12, 1925, plc1,2; February 13, 1926, plc2;
Spirit of Jefferson, July 21, 1926, Unpaginated supplement;
Doran/Delauder papers, clipping dated September 4, 1957, obituary of Mrs. W. A. Doran.

¹⁵²Farmers Advocate, December 4, 1926, plc1&2; February 26, 1927, plc4; June 2, 1928, plc1.

¹⁵³Ibid, April 27, 1929, plc1&2;
Spirit of Jefferson, September 23, 1931, plc1.

Over the succeeding years Mary Ellen continued keeping the family business. Devastated yet again by the 1936 flood, yet again she reopened the store. But the town never really recovered from that flood, and another in 1942, and the golden age of the Doran stores was over. Mary Ellen died in 1946, in her late eighties. Her estate passed to her nephew and nieces. In 1947 the heirs consolidated ownership of her real estate by conveyances among themselves. Niece Mary Cecilia kept the store in Park Building 33 a while longer, and then sold out the stock when the property transferred to the State of West Virginia.¹⁵⁴

Doran family tradition, supported by photographic evidence, holds that Mary Ellen Doran "gave" Park Building 36 to her niece Josephine, as a wedding present on her marriage to John DeLauder. Josephine and John Delauder acquired title to Park Building 36 after the property was consolidated by the heirs, and deeded the house to the State of West Virginia in 1952.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴Personal Communication, Mrs. Isabel Kern Flanagan;

Personal Communication, Patricia Craig with Mary Cavalier Dalgarn;

Spirit of Jefferson, July 3, 1946, p3c5&6;

Letter to Miss Mary Doran from T. T. Perry Jr., May 18, 1953, offering advice on disposing of old store books, catalogs, etc. Also letter believed from Josephine Delauder to Mary Cecilia Doran, probable date 1953, concerning moving from downtown location, both in Doran/Delauder Papers, HFNHP.

¹⁵⁵Personal Communication, Patricia Chickering with Molly Delauder Staubs, Fall 1992; also family photographs in Doran/Delauder Papers, HFNHP.

JCC, Deed Book 168, p.332, May 30, 1947; Deed Book 190, p.316, November 29, 1952.

APPENDIX B

SANBORN PERRIS FIRE INSURANCE MAPS

1894

1902

1907

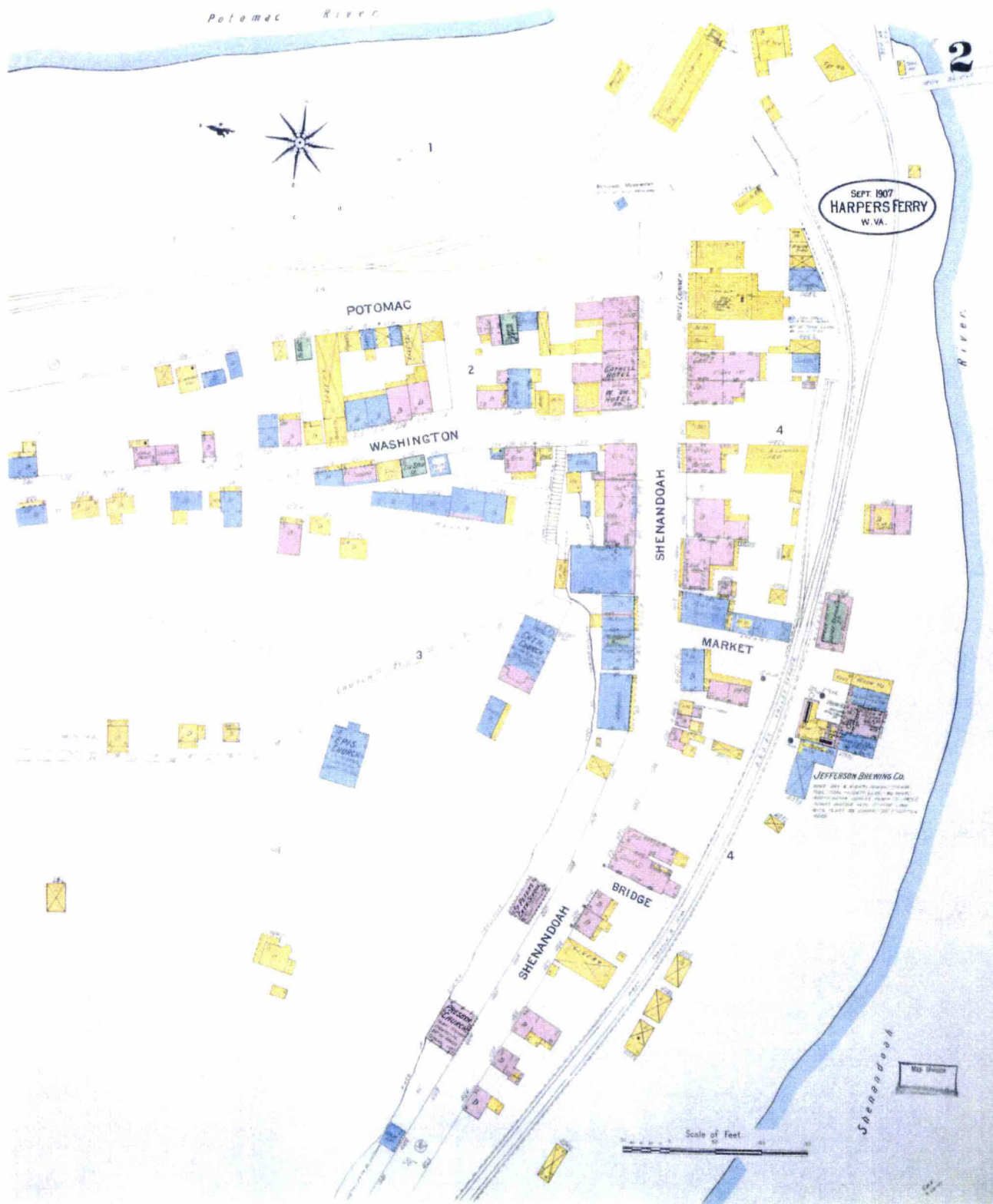
1912

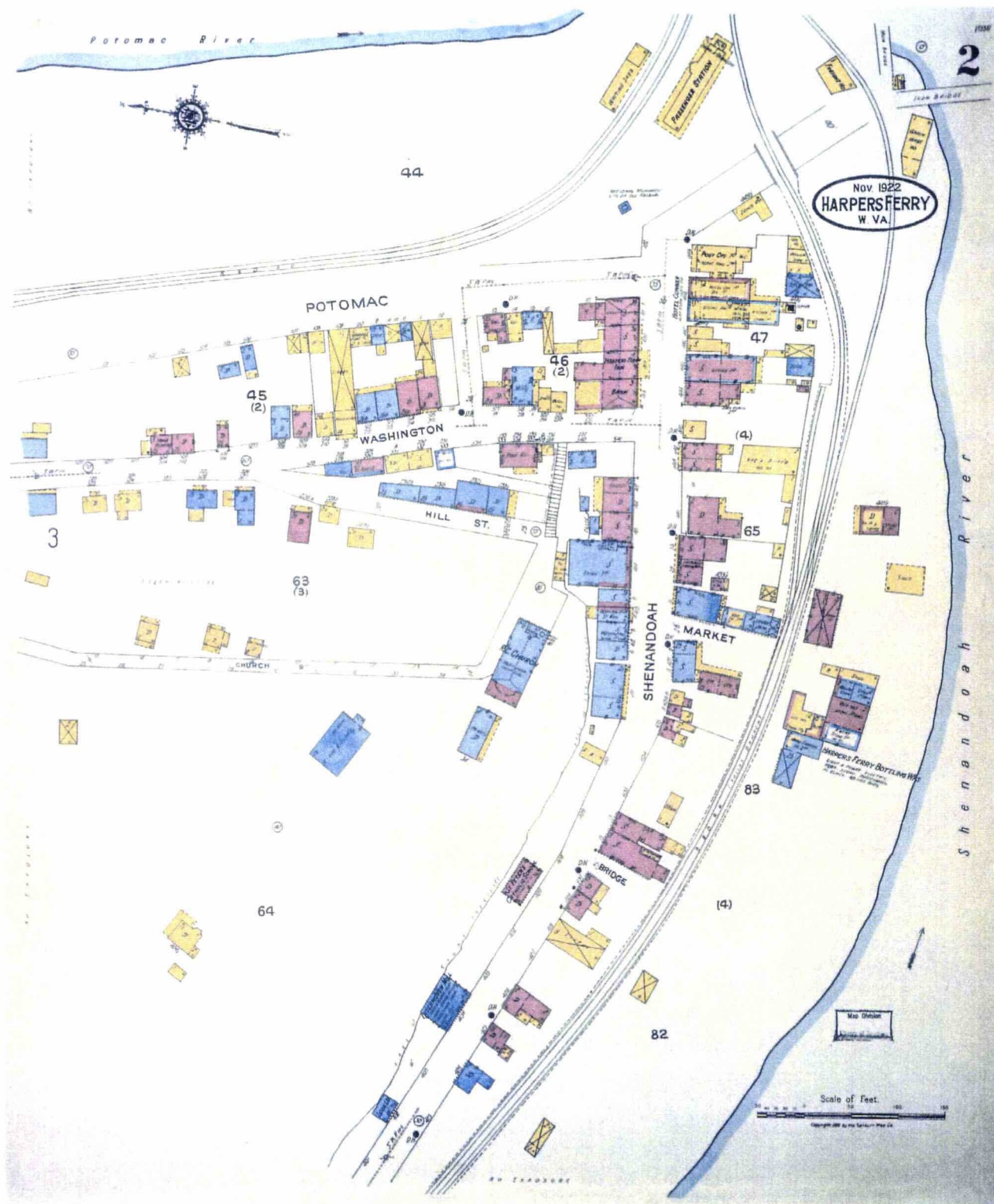
1922

1933

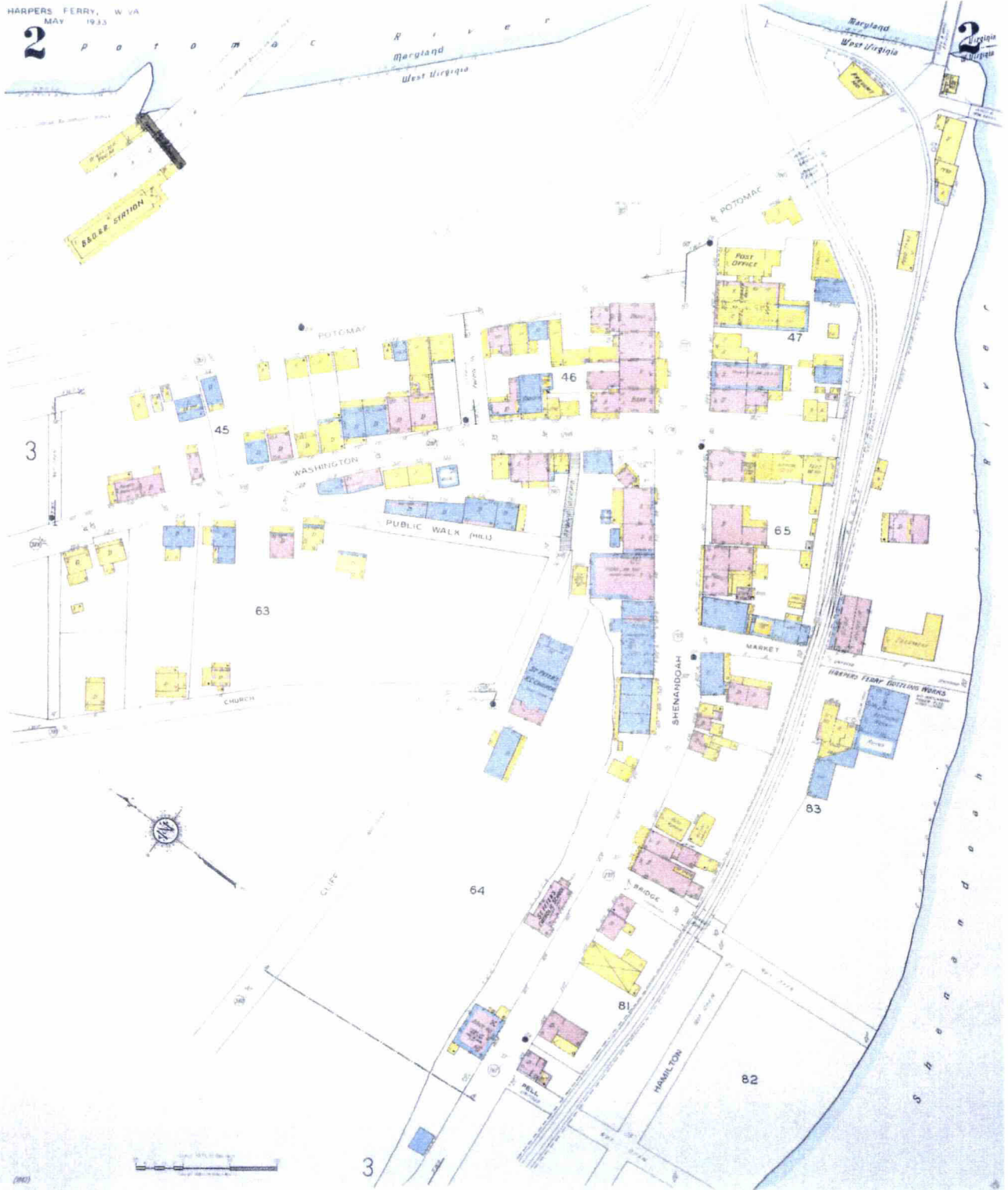








HARPERS FERRY, W VA
MAY 1933



HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHS

HF-1768--1854

HF-82--1889

HF-446--1890s

HF-99

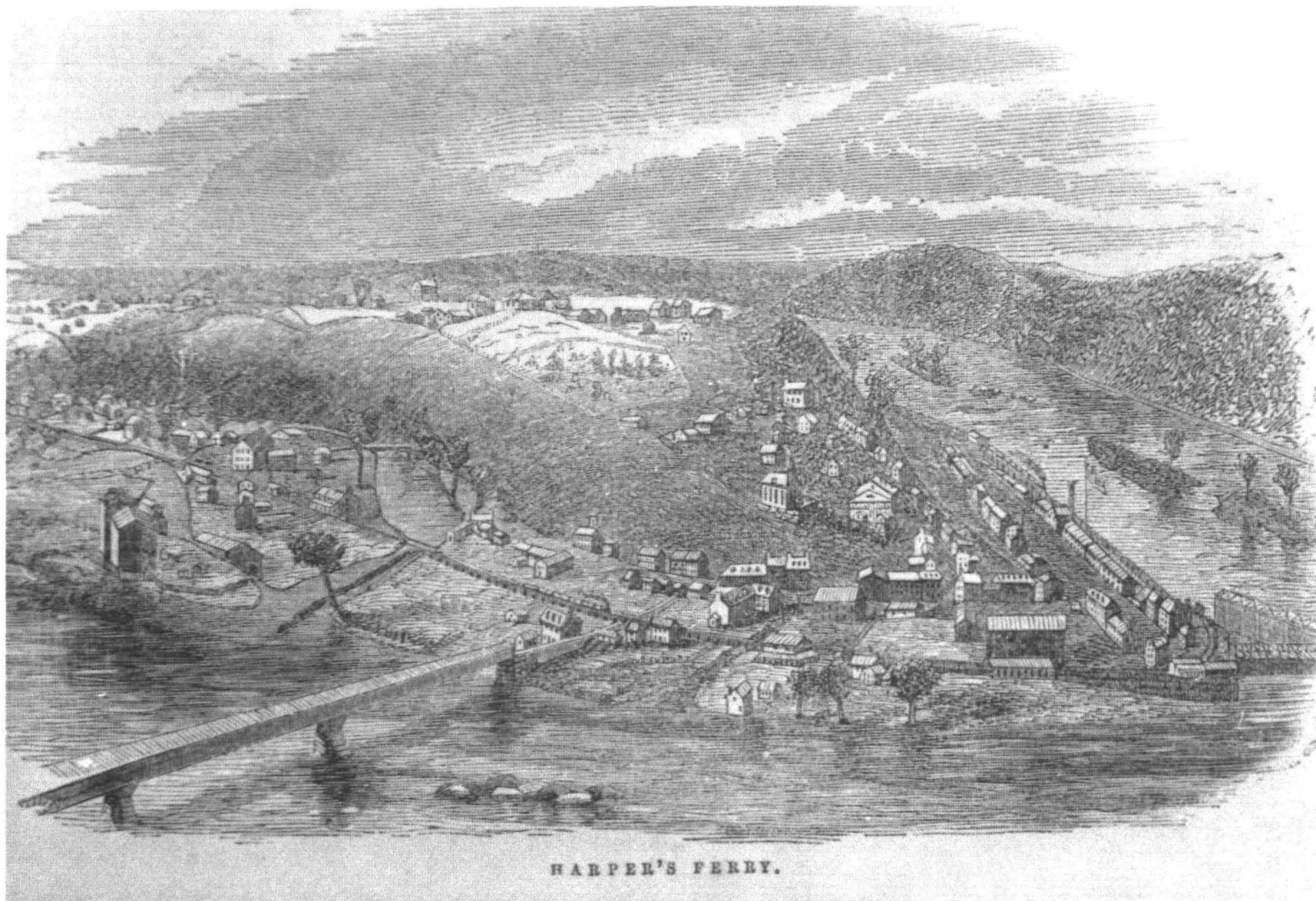
HF-1086

HF-311

1960s--from Park Architect's File

ca. 1854; engraving reprinted from Eli Bowen, *Rambles in the Path of the Steam Horse*, (Philadelphia: Bromwell & Smith, 1855), p. 191

Park Building 45 is the left structure in the group of three buildings directly below the church.



HARPER'S FERRY.

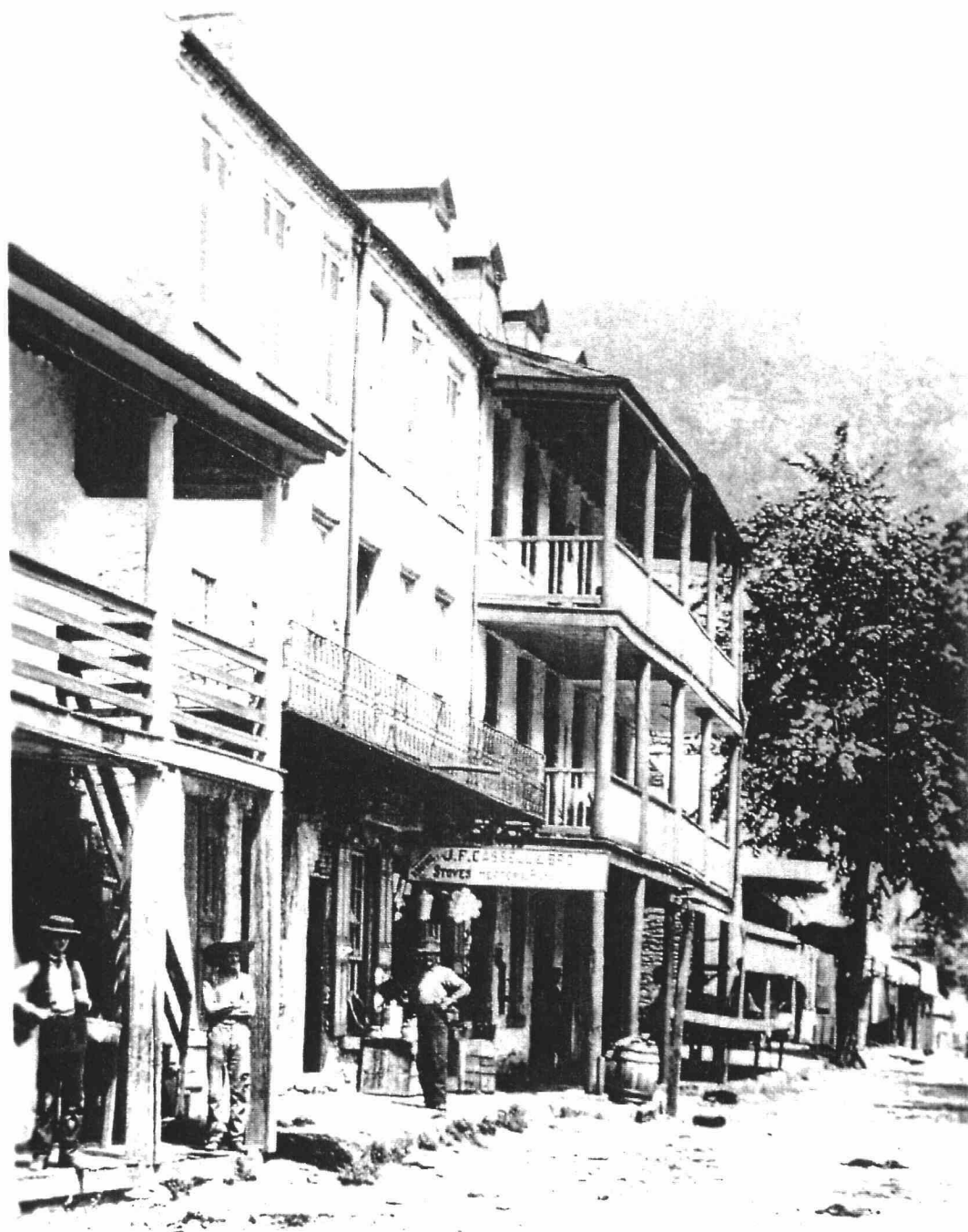
Aftermath of the 1889 flood.

Park Building 45 is immediately to the right of the large structure flood waters carried down Shenandoah Street.



ca. 1890s

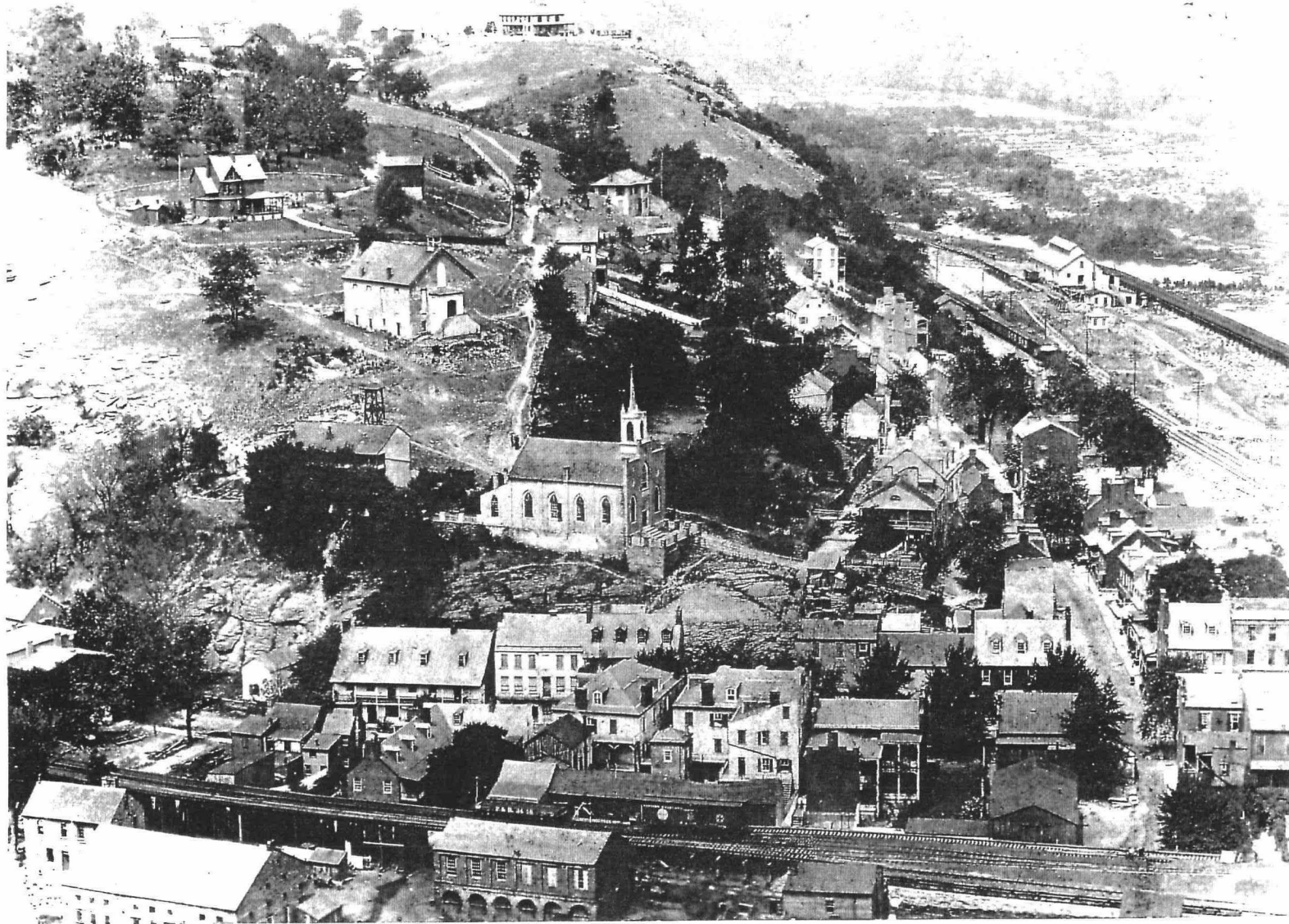
Park Building 45 is on the far left.



HF-99

ca. 1892-1896

view of Lower Town from Loudoun Heights; Park Building 45 is below and to the left of the church, the structure with four dormers in the roof



ca. early 1920s

Park Building 45 is the farthest structure on right side
of Shenandoah Street



Oldest Part of Shenandoah Street. Harper's Ferry, W. Va.

ca. 1950s

Park Building 45 is the farthest structure on the right side of Shenandoah Street



(undated, but likely late 1950s-early 1960s)

Two photographs from Architect's File, HFNHP





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