HFR-364

Lots 1 to 7, Block A, to Lot 1, Block B, Shenandoah Street (Part of the Old Arsenal Yard) Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

(1869 to 1953)

Special History Study

FINAL REPORT

Prepared by

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National Park Service/University of Maryland
Cooperative Agreement

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS iii

PREFACE vii

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW 1
- Arsenal Yard to 1869 1
- Land Sale in 1869 4
- The Irish in Harpers Ferry 8
- The Saloon Era: Temperance and Intemperance in Postbellum Harpers Ferry 23
- The Twentieth Century: Downtown Harpers Ferry in Transition 40

PHYSICAL HISTORY (INDIVIDUAL LOTS) 53
- Timeline for Arsenal Yard: 1751-1869 53
- Lot 1, Block A: 1869-1953 61
- Lot 2, Block A: 1869-1953 75
- Lots 3 and 4, Block A: 1869-1953 87
- Lot 5, Block A: 1869-1953 110
- Lot 6, Block A: 1869-1952 122
- Lot 7, Block A: 1869-1953 133
- High Street Extended 140
- Lot 1, Block B (Front Half): 1869-1953 147
- Lot 1, Block B (Rear Half): 1869-1953 168

APPENDIX 175

BIBLIOGRAPHY 189

NAME INDEX 197

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. King and Harbaugh Map, February 1803. xi

Figure 2. Winchester & Potomac Railroad Map, 1834. xii

Figure 3. Winchester & Potomac Railroad Map, 1835. xiii

Figure 4. Map of Harpers Ferry, 1869, by S. Howell Brown. xiv

Figure 5. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1894. 47

Figure 6. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1902. 48

Figure 7. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1907. 49

Figure 8. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1912. 50

Figure 9. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1922. 51

Figure 10. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1933. 52

Figure 11. HF-21. The large arsenal appears in this 1803-1806 engraving of the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers. 57

Figure 12. HF-90. The small arsenal (left) in 1858. 58

Figure 13. HF-66. Part of the large arsenal is visible in this 1858 photograph. 59

Figure 14. HF-18. The old arsenal yard is in the background in this 1862 photograph. 60

Figure 15. HF-71. Looking west on Shenandoah Street during the 1889 flood. 69

Figure 16. HF-614. The rear of buildings on Blocks A & B can be seen in this circa 1890 photograph. 70

Figure 17. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map, 1913. 71

Figure 18. HF-1308. Shenandoah Street from the depot during the 1924 flood. O'Beirne's lunch room is on the left. 72

Figure 19. HF-1724. Aerial of the 1936 flood taken by 29th Division Aviation, Maryland National Guard. 73

Figure 20. HF-298. Circa 1932 view of Route 340 at the railroad underpass. The small building just beyond the underpass is O'Beirne's old lunch room. 74

Figure 21. HF-1819. Circa 1900 view of Shenandoah Street. The Potomac House on Lot 2 is on the left. 83

Figure 22. HF-96. View of Harpers Ferry from Maryland Heights, circa 1896. 84

Figure 23. HF-1523. The hotel annex is the first building on the left in this circa 1939 view of the demolition of the Hotel Conner. 85

Figure 24. HF-322. Note the siding on the hotel annex in this 1955 photograph. 86

Figure 25. HF-1731. Green's Hotel as originally constructed is best seen in this pre-1889 photograph. The hip roof of the old superintendent's office on Lot 1 is also visible. 103

Figure 26. HF-1722. The best photograph (circa 1908) of the Hotel Conner and annex after its remodelling. 104

Figure 27. HF-1723. The interior of the Hotel Conner bar. 105

Figure 28. HF-1329. The Hotel Conner during the 1924 flood. 106

Figure 29. HF-1524. Rear view of the Hotel Conner and annex during demolition of the hotel, circa 1939. 107

Figure 30. NHF-342. Park Buildings 18 and 19 at the rear of Lots 2 and 3, Block A. 108

Figure 31. HF-92. Circa 1896 view of the rear of the buildings on Blocks A and B. 115

Figure 32. HF-1142. Circa 1900 view of the Hotel Conner. Note the frame building to the right of the hotel has a barber's post in front of it. 116

Figure 33. HF-305. The sign for Jefferson's Lunch Room on Lot 5 is seen in this 1924 flood photograph. 117

Figure 34. HF-304. The Lot 5 building held the Blue Ridge Lunch Room when this photograph was taken about 1930. 118

Figure 35. HF-971. The Blue Ridge Lunch Room sign notes the availability of beer in the 1936 flood photograph. 119

Figure 36. HF-1521. The business on Lot 5 sold Coca Cola when the Hotel Conner was being demolished about 1939. 120

Figure 37. HF-1218. The buildings on Lots 6 and 7, Block A, and Lot 1, Block B, appear in this circa 1939 photograph. 129

Figure 38. HF-1420. The east end of Walsh's building is seen in this 1942 flood photograph. . . . 130

Figure 39. NHF-358. The front of the Walsh building appears in this 1957 photograph. 131

Figure 40. NHF-353. Park Building 20 at the rear of Lots 5 and 6 during the winter of 1955/1956. 132

Figure 41. HF-1749. This 1870s view of the old arsenal yard shows the Conway building on Lot 7. 141

Figure 42. HF-712. Wentzell's tobacco store and the Beale building, 1915-1920. 142

Figure 43. HF-1454. Note the drug store sign in front of the Beale building in this 1913 photograph. 161

Figure 44. HF-1215. The rear of the Conway building, Wentzell's tobacco store, and the Beale building, taken before 1924. 162

Figure 45. HF-1483. Clean-up of the 1936 flood. Note the A&P store sign on the building on Lot 1, Block B. 163

Figure 46. HF-367. The Triangle Food Store on Lot 1, Block B, is seen in this 1942 flood photograph. 164

Figure 47. HF-1541. The rear of Lot 7, Block A, and Lot 1, Block B, probably after the 1942 flood. 173

Figure 48. NHF-395. The High Street side of the buildings on Lot 1, Block B, in the 1950s. . . . 174

PREFACE

The old arsenal yard is located on the south side of Shenandoah Street. At the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, the arsenal yard apparently encompassed an area from Market Street east to the old Wager ferry lots and back to the Shenandoah River. Its size soon was reduced, as construction at the western end removed a portion of what would later be called Block B from the arsenal yard. Historian Charles Snell concluded that for much of the antebellum years the arsenal yard ran from the boundary line with the old Wager ferry lots west to Lot 2, Block B, as defined by S. Howell Brown's 1852 map of Harpers Ferry. The latter lot effectively was removed from the arsenal yard when the master armorer's house (Park Building 36) was constructed in 1858. To the extent the arsenal yard extended to the river, construction of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad in 1835/1836 effectively removed the land on the river side of the tracks from the arsenal yard. However, the riverside portion of Block A is included in this report (Lot 1, Block B did not extend beyond the railroad).[1]

No buildings historically associated with Lot 1, Block A, to Lot 1, Block B, are extant, all of the post-war buildings standing when the Park acquired the land having been removed in the 1950s and 1960s. The John Brown Fort (Park Building 63), currently standing on the eastern part, was moved there by the Park in 1968, but had no prior connection to the site. Archeology has pinpointed the location of the large and small arsenals, which are identified for park visitors.

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[1]Current definitions of the arsenal yard vary. For interpretive purposes, the arsenal yard usually is considered only Block A back to the railroad embankment. In his 1981 study, Charles Snell dealt with Lot 2, Block B, but did not include it in his definition of the arsenal square. He did include Lot 1, Block B, and extended the yard back to the river (Charles W. Snell, "A Comprehensive Physical History of Old Arsenal Square, U.S. Armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, 1751 to 1880, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia" (Denver Service Center, National Capital Team, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, May 1981), hereafter cited as "Old Arsenal Square," preface and pp. 15-17). More recently, the landscape study characterized Park Building 36, but not the riverside of the railroad, as part of the arsenal yard. See Cathy Gilbert, Maureen DeLay Joseph, and Perry Carpenter Wheelock, Cultural Landscape Report: Lower Town Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Capital Region, 1993), p. 5-3.

A Park-era path, partially following the post-war extension of High Street, turning eastward between the large and small arsenals, and continuing behind the John Brown Fort, directs visitors through the area. The Baltimore and Ohio (Winchester and Potomac) railroad crosses Blocks A and B on an east/westerly line.

The history of the arsenal yard through the end of the Civil War was examined extensively between the late 1950s and 1980s. The principal history studies from the late 1950s are Philip Smith's reports on the large and small arsenals, the superintendent's old office on Lot 1, Block A, and the paymaster's old pay office on Lot 2, Block B; and Snell's historic structures report on the ruins of the two arsenal buildings.[2] These reports were superseded in 1981 by two new reports prepared by Charles Snell, both of which examined additional documents and took into account archeological work done in the late 1950s and 1960s.[3]

None of these studies have examined the history of the area from Lot 1, Block A, to Lot 1, Block B, after the United States finally disposed of the lots to private individuals in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The post-war era is the mission of this report. So that the reader is not thrust into the post-war history without some information on the earlier history of these lots, however, some discussion of the antebellum period is provided in the historical overview and a timeline of important physical history development (drawn from Snell's 1981 report) is included at the beginning of the physical history section. No attempt has been made to revisit the pre-war

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[2]Philip R. Smith, "History of the Large and Small Arsenals, 1796-1869, Block A, Lots 2 to 7, Shenandoah Street" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 29 April 1959); idem, "History of the Superintendent's Old Office, 1833-1869" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 29 April 1959); idem, "History of the Armory Paymaster's Old Pay Office, Block B, Lot 2, Shenandoah Street, 1822-1858, Harpers Ferry National Monument, West Virginia" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 5 May 1959); Charles W. Snell, "Historic Structures (ruins) Report, Part I, for the Large and Small Arsenal Buildings, Harpers Ferry National Monument, West Virginia" (Harpers Ferry National Monument, 5 November 1959).

[3]In addition to "Old Arsenal Square," there is Charles W. Snell, "Historic Structures and Grounds Report for U.S. Arsenal Square, Block A, Shenandoah Street, U.S. Armory at Harper's Ferry, 1859-61, Historical Data Section, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, West Virginia" (Denver Service Center, National Capital Team, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, May 1981). See Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 115 for archeological reports from the 1960s.

era, however. As indicated before, that period was extensively documented in several existing studies, and no new information is available to warrant its reexamination. Furthermore, there is virtually no continuity in ownership, buildings, or usage patterns between the pre- and post-war eras. The sole building standing in both eras was the old superintendent's office on Lot 1, Block A. Before the Civil War, this area was owned and used by the government for armory purposes. After the war, it was privately owned and extensively developed for commercial use. For detailed information on the arsenal era, the reader is referred to Snell's 1981 work in particular.

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

Central to the preparation of this report has been the Park computer database. Begun in February 1989 under a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland Department of History, this database contains a computerized index of information on the Harpers Ferry area found in various sources, primarily local newspapers, censuses, and property records. Other sources include Storer College records, maps, photographs, and other material at the Park; minutes of the Harpers Ferry town council; and various records at the Jefferson County Courthouse.

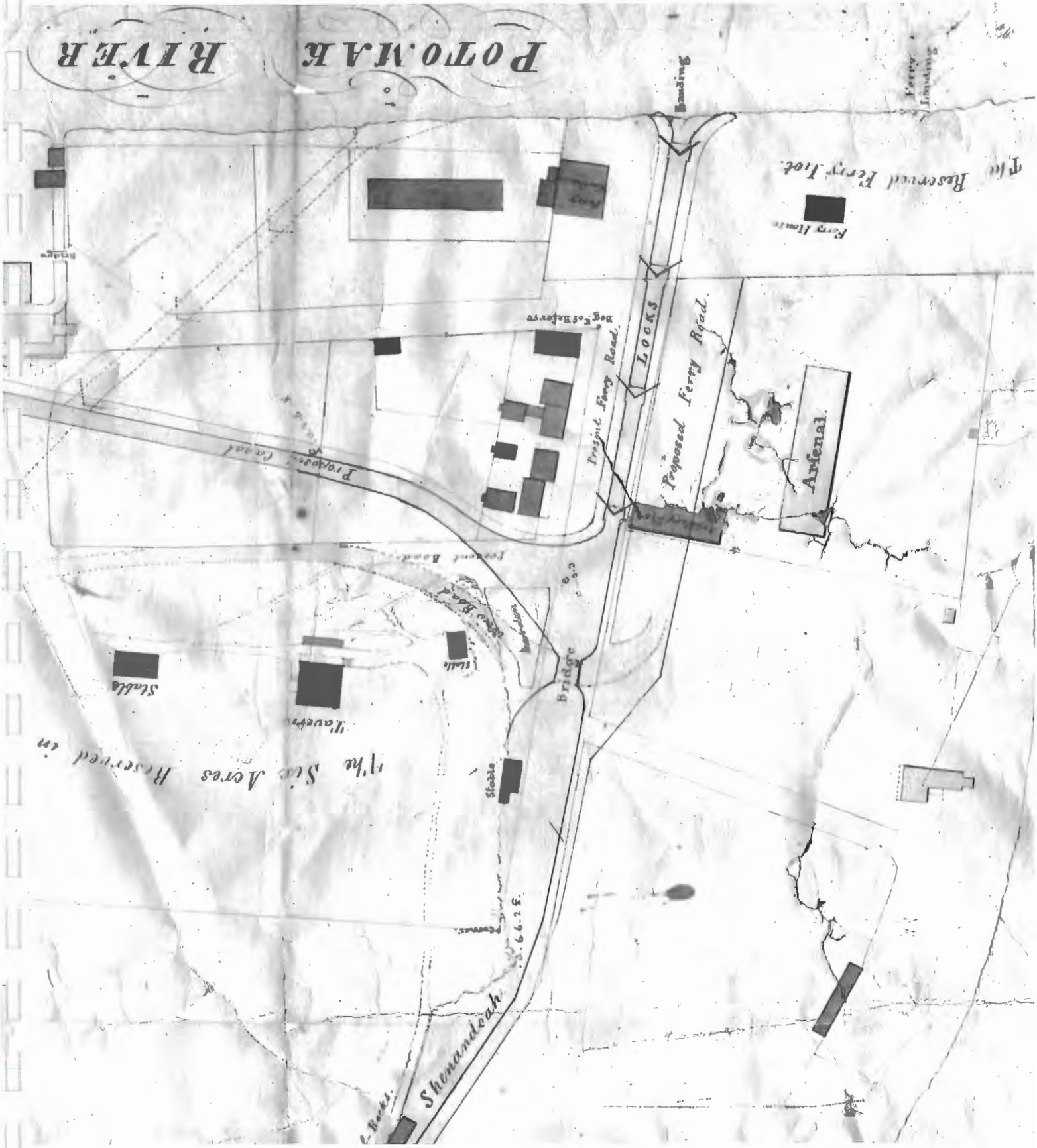

Figure 1. King and Harbaugh Map, February 1803.

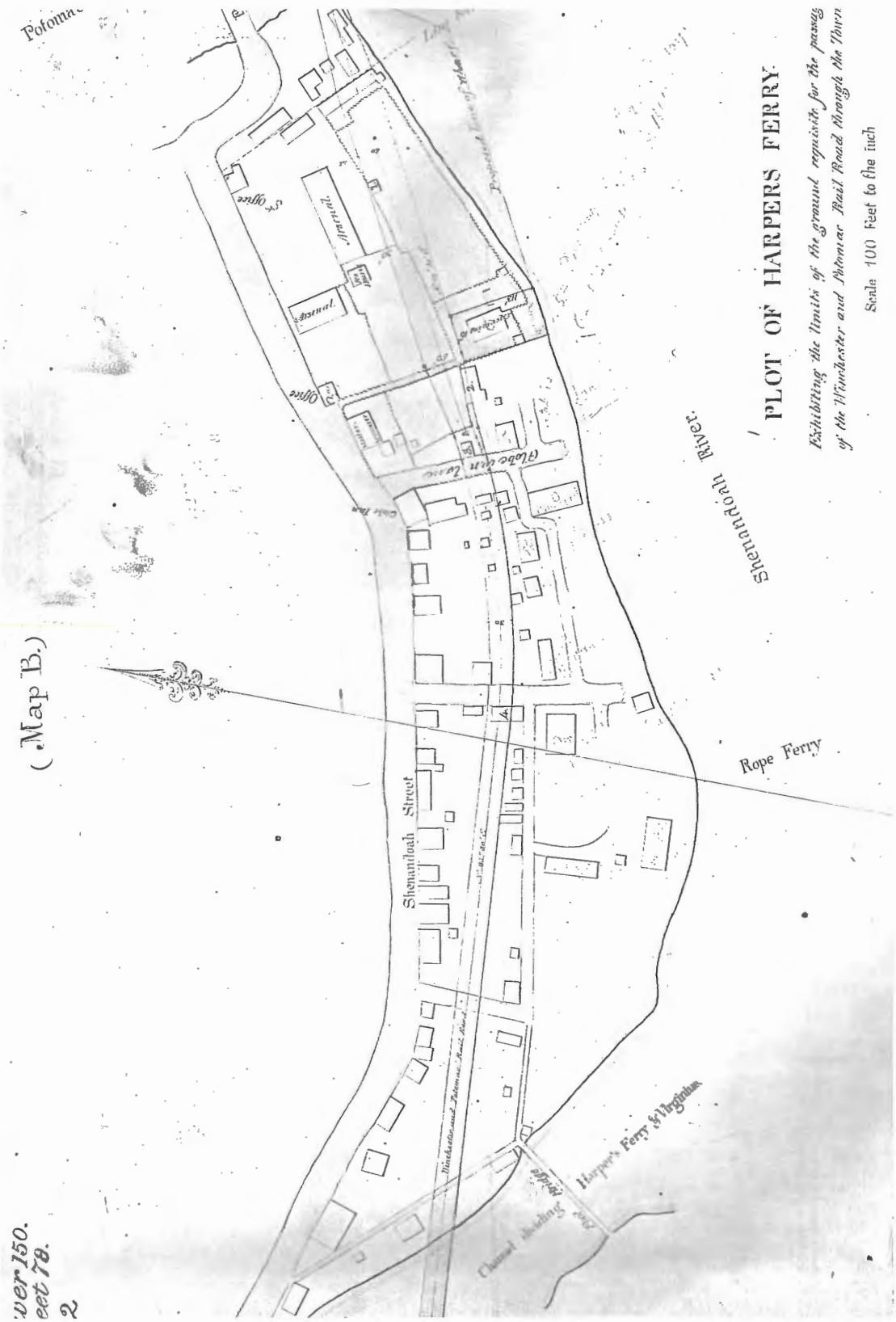

Figure 2. Winchester & Potomac Railroad Map, 1834.

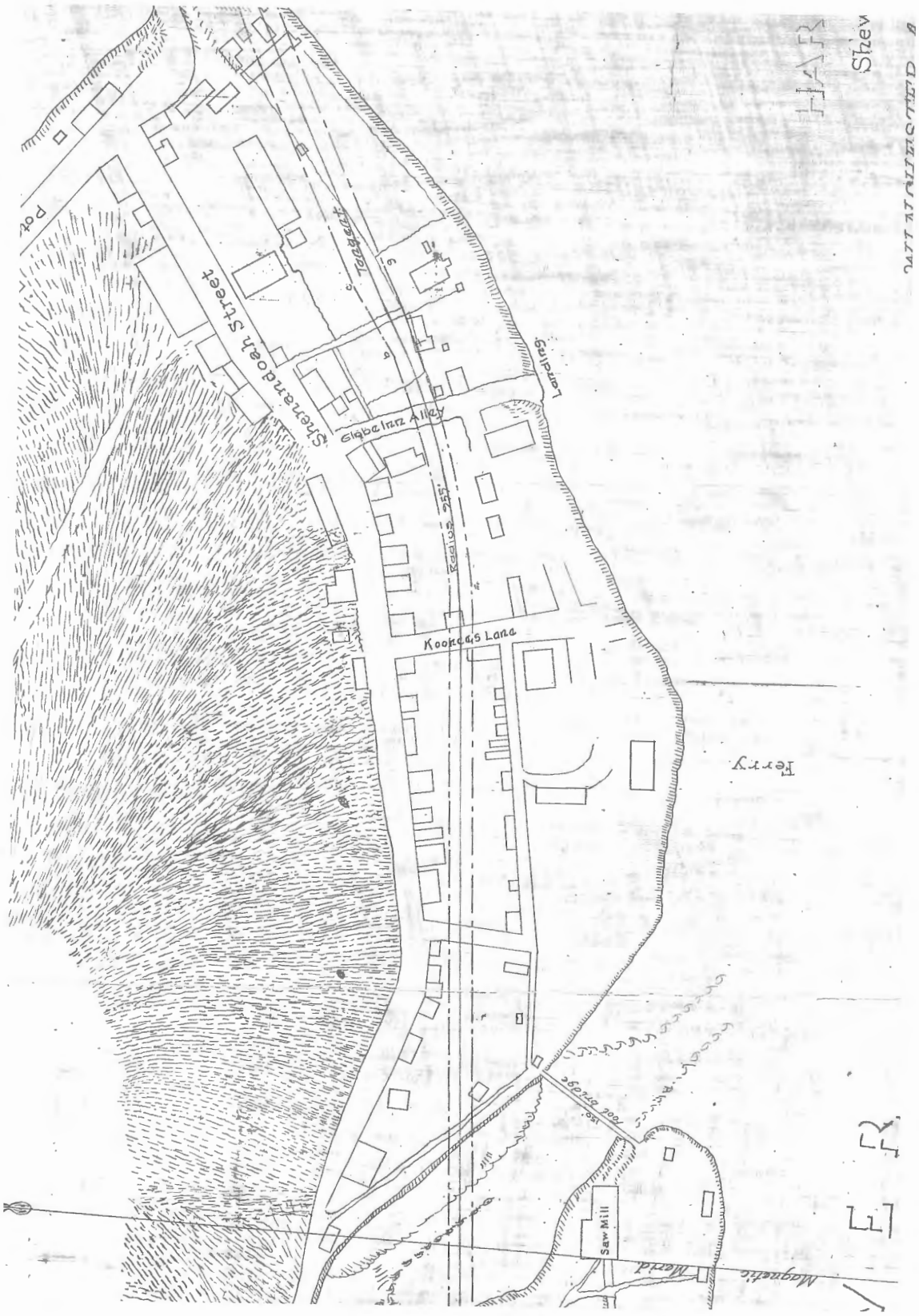

Figure 3. Winchester & Potomac Railroad Map, 1835.

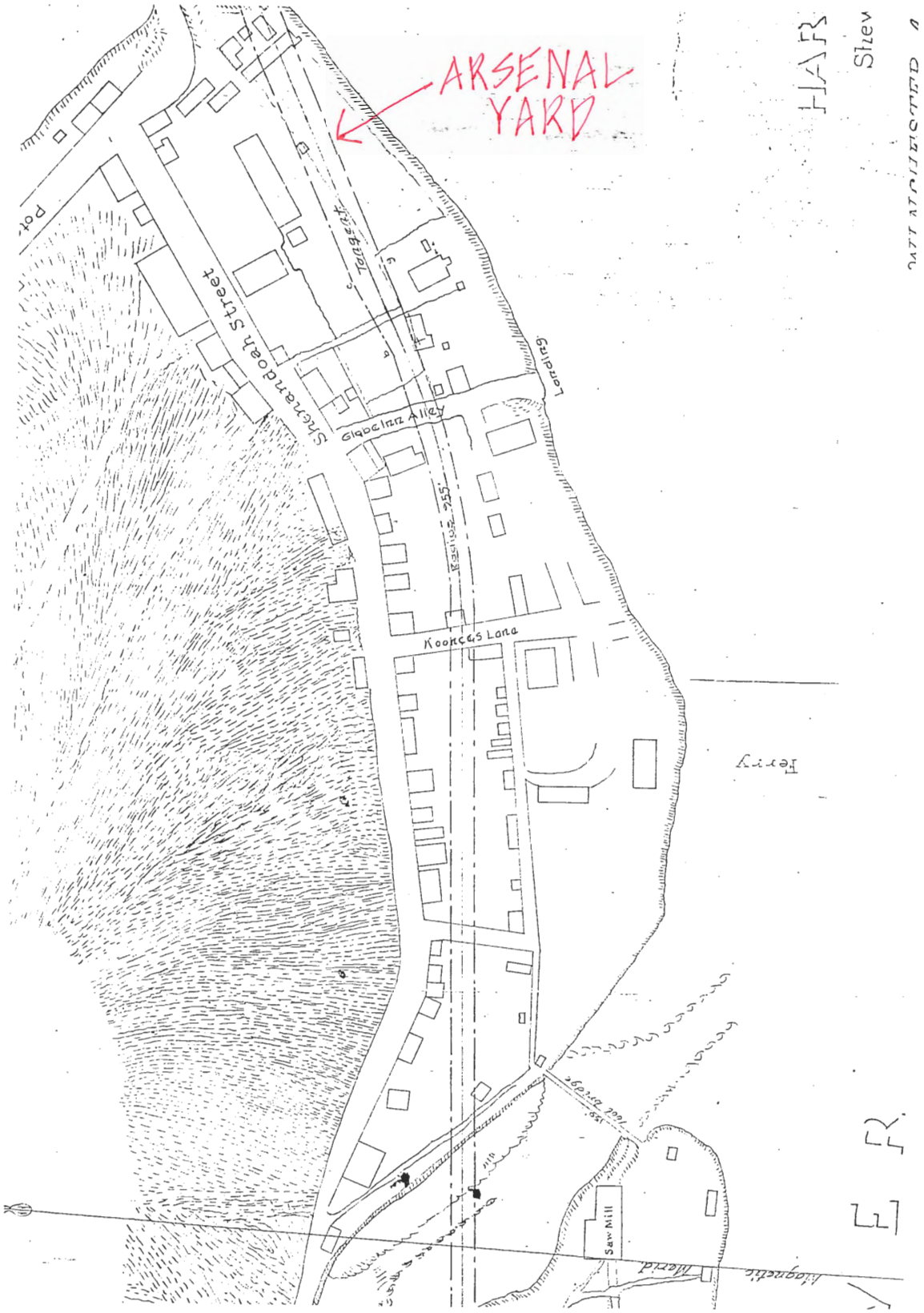

Figure 3. Winchester & Potomac Railroad Map, 1835. MARKED COPY

HIGH ST.
CHURCH ST.
M.E. CH.
M.P. CH.
ALLEY
GRAVE YARD
4 ACRES
P.E. CH
CATHOLIC SCHOOL LOT
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
JEFFERSON'S LOT
YORK
MARKET ST.
MARKET HOUSE
BRIDGE ST.
PELL ST.
SCH
P.P.
C.P.
WOOD ST.
HAMILTON
FERRY LOT
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
U
S

Figure 4. Map of Harpers Ferry, 1869, by S. Howell Brown.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Arsenal Yard to 1869

The initial development of the arsenal yard was an outgrowth of the establishment of a national armory at Harpers Ferry at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1796 and 1797, the United States purchased much of the land at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers from the heirs of Robert Harper, an early settler who had acquired his holdings from Thomas Lord Fairfax in several patents between 1751 and 1763. At the time of the government purchases, Harpers Ferry had grown only modestly from the settlement Harper first had seen in 1747. Then little more than a convenient river-crossing point for travellers journeying through the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Shenandoah Valley and beyond, the community held only a handful of buildings, in addition to a gristmill, sawmill, and ferry operation, when Harper died in 1782.[4]

In 1794, Congress passed legislation providing for the establishment of up to four armories in the United States. Among its provisions was one giving the president authority to choose the location of these armories. George Washington, then president, quickly approved the recommendation of his Secretary of War Henry Knox that one armory be located at Springfield, Massachusetts. But Washington, long an advocate of the development of the Potomac Valley and a stockholder in the Potowmack Canal Company, also wanted an armory at Harpers Ferry. Despite opposition from the War Department, the government purchased land there. Construction of necessary buildings and water works along the Potomac River began in 1799 and repair or

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

production of arms began shortly thereafter.[5]

Among the first areas developed for the armory was the arsenal yard. The large arsenal, a long, rectangular, two-story brick building was built parallel to the Shenandoah River in 1799/1800. A smaller arsenal building was erected a few years later. Additional buildings connected to the armory (pay office, stock house, superintendent's office, etc) were constructed in subsequent years. The arsenals were used to store arms produced at the armory. Between 1801 and the end of 1807, over ten thousand arms (flintlock muskets and rifles and pistols) were produced at the armory. By the late 1820s, so many arms were stored in the arsenals that complaints were made about the overcrowded conditions.[6]

Complicating conditions was the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company's construction of a rail line from Winchester to Harpers Ferry in 1835. Despite opposition from the Ordnance Department the railroad company was given a right-of-way across public land at Harpers Ferry, including the arsenal yard. The construction of the railroad was, according to Lt. Col. George Talcott, "a prominent cause of the accummulation [*sic*] of filth and rubbish." Talcott recommended some muskets be shipped to other arsenals because of both overcrowded conditions and the threat of fire from the railroad.[7] Concern for the latter was reiterated in an 1842 report on the armory, which noted passing woodburning railroad engines had caused two fires on the same day while a committee examining the armory was in Harpers Ferry.[8]

In 1852, Harpers Ferry was hit by one of the periodic floods which ravaged the town. The

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

[6]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 7, 12, 14, 26, 37.

[7]Quoted in Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 41.

[8]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 50.

arsenal yard was flooded and over 20,000 arms damaged. In the aftermath, a proposal for construction of a new arsenal on the hillside was made. While plans were underway for construction of the new arsenal, other plans were being made to divide and sell much of the government land at Harpers Ferry as building lots. The arsenal yard was included in these plans and subdivided on the map prepared in 1852 by S. Howell Brown. Thus, the dimensions for Lots 1 to 7, Block A, and Lot 1, Block B, were established at that time. As a new arsenal had not been constructed when the government held the sale, these lots were not sold.[9]

Within a decade, the arsenal was in ruins. In October 1859, John Brown targeted the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, hoping to obtain weapons with which to launch an overthrow of slavery. Although Brown failed, United States troops were quartered in the large arsenal for several months following the raid and again early in 1861. Following Virginia's secession from the Union in April 1861, and the advance of confederate troops on Harpers Ferry, federal troops evacuated town. Before leaving, however, they took steps to keep government property from falling into southern hands. Powder trains were laid through the arsenal and musket factory buildings and on April 18, 1861, several buildings, including the two arsenals, were burned. During the next four years, Harpers Ferry was occupied by military forces, and the arsenal yard was used for military purposes. At war's end, the arsenal yard held three frame buildings erected by the United States Military Railroad Corps. These buildings were taken down in 1866, leaving the old superintendent's office at the northeastern corner of the arsenal yard as the sole remaining building in 1869.[10]

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[9]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 62-9.

[10]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 73-4, 77-8, 83-4.

Land Sale in 1869 and Commercial Development

With the armory in ruins and government interests turning to the West, the United States decided to sell its land at Harpers Ferry. As a result, in December 1869 a sale was held of government property including several building lots and the former grounds of the musket and rifle works. The sale proved a disaster. Unlike the 1852 sale, the legislation authorizing the 1869 land sale did not require purchasers to pay any money up front, instead allowing them to execute bonds for future payment. Moreover, in expectation of a post-war boom from manufacturing facilities rumored soon to be erected in Harpers Ferry, individuals bought lots at inflated prices, only to discover later that their expectations had been based on the false claims of speculators. Further devaluing these lots were several floods, most notably the 1870 flood, a deluge which devastated Harpers Ferry, particularly those properties on the river side of Shenandoah Street.

Many people petitioned for relief from the exorbitant prices they had agreed to pay for government land. As a result, Congress passed legislation in 1878 authorizing the Secretary of War to release purchasers from their commitments in return for quit claim deeds and releases and to abate part of the purchase price to those who had improved their property. In the following year and a half, the United States government received quit claim deeds on over 120 lots, which were offered for resale in May 1880. Roughly two-thirds of the lots were disposed of in that sale. Another sale ensued in 1884. Between that sale and individual purchases, the United States sold nearly all of its Harpers Ferry holdings by December 1886, thus virtually eliminating the single most important presence in the history of the town.[11]

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[11]James P. Noffsinger, "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Contributions toward a Physical History" (National Park Service, November 1958), pp. 50-3; Snell, "A Narrative History," pp. 42-3, 51, 61-4, 70, revised p. 75.

The eight lots covered by this report were among those affected by these events. In 1869, $15,490 was bid on these lots, but, with the abatement process and resale of some lots, the government eventually sold them for only $3,040. Lots 2 and 5, Block A, were among the government properties bid on by the speculators headed by Francis Adams, who also placed the highest bids on the former musket and rifle factory sites and the accompanying riparian rights. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company tracks crossed the properties bought by Adams and his associates, and the latter attempted to oust the former by challenging the railroad right-of-way in court. The B&O's right-of-way was upheld, however, and the speculators then refused to pay for the property. Eventually, clear title to the Adams' purchases, including Lots 2 and 5, Block A, was returned to the United States. The purchase price for the other five lots in Block A and Lot 1, Block B, were abated and deeds were executed between 1879 and 1886 transferring all eight lots to private parties.[12]

Between 1865 and 1880, the principal buildings standing on the arsenal yard were the old superintendent's office constructed in the 1820s and the three-story brick store and residence built by James Conway shortly after his wife Mary purchased Lot 7 in 1869. A few small frame structures sat on other lots, but, in general, this area sat covered with weeds. With formal transfer of title to these lots from the government not yet accomplished due to the appeals for abatement and failure to complete payment, little incentive existed for development of this property.

In national terms, the decades following the Civil war were characterized by economic instability, with expansion and depression rapidly following one another. The general direction,

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[12]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 92-8.

however, was one of economic growth. Railroads were constructed rapidly; natural resources were extensively exploited; and machinery increasingly became a part of agriculture and other businesses.[13] In contrast, the economy in Harpers Ferry was depressed. Following the optimism that pushed bids on property at the 1869 sale to exorbitant levels, Harpers Ferry entered a period of stagnation for over a decade, as floods and the long, drawn-out process through which the government finally disposed of its holdings stifled development. A Loudoun Mirror description of the town in 1873 sums up the situation:

> Harper's Ferry looks sad and desolate. -- Here, too, the gifts of nature, in the shape of scenery grand beyond description, and waterpower, capable of driving the heaviest machinery, are lost amid the ruins of desolation.[14]

Finally, with settlement of the land problem in the early 1880s, combined with the re-establishment of industry, improvement of transportation networks, and the promotion of tourism in town, Harpers Ferry joined the country in economic growth. Two pulp mills were constructed on the former musket and rifle factory sites in that decade. In the early 1880s, a bridge was erected across the Shenandoah River to replace the one destroyed during the Civil War, thus making for more effective movement of people and goods to and from the south side of the river. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company developed Island Park, an amusement park, on a nearby island in the Potomac River and promoted tourism through publications and excursion trains. Harpers Ferry became a scene of much activity from late Spring to early Fall, when excursionists, summer boarders, and owners or renters of summer cottages descended upon the town. With the town's revival, the population of Harpers Ferry increased by nearly a fourth

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[13]John A. Garraty and Robert A. McCaughey, The American Nation, vol. 2, A History of the United States Since 1865, 6th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1987), pp. 499, 515, 532-33.

[14]Quoted in Virginia Free Press, 24 May 1873, p. 3, col. 3.

during the 1880s.[15]

The commercial district of town was revitalized. The south side of Shenandoah Street underwent a dramatic transformation with the construction of new commercial buildings, while at least one standing building on the opposite side was significantly improved. The change is revealed in the following commentary by the Spirit of Jefferson editor in 1882:

> We were pleased, on visiting Harper's Ferry last week, to observe several recent substantial improvements, ... The new building of Mr. James McGraw, corner of Shenandoah and Market streets, is now under roof. . . . A little farther down Shenandoah street is the fine new brick store and dwelling of Mr. Thos. W. Beale--a substantial and handsome improvement. Still farther on is the large new building of Mr. Murtha Walsh, a fine structure, now under roof. On the upper side of Shenandoah street, the new building of Edward Tearney, Esq., is completed and in the occupancy of Mr. G. L. Myers.[16]

With regard to the arsenal yard, in addition to Beale's building on Lot 1, Block B, and Walsh's on Lot 6, Block A, between 1881 and 1891, John Stuart erected a two-story frame building on Lot 2, George Green built a three-story frame hotel on Lots 3 and 4, and Lawrence Montague had a frame, one-story double commercial building constructed on Lot 5. With the addition of a mansard roof in the 1890s and elevation of the entire building shortly after the turn of the century, Green's hotel, now known as the Hotel Conner, visually dominated the block and beckoned railroad passengers disembarking at the new depot just east of Block A.

In the mid-1890s, the buildings in the old arsenal yard housed Stuart's restaurant, the Hotel Conner, James Brunswick's barber shop, the Bank of Harpers Ferry, Walsh's dry goods store, Conway's saloon, Charles Wentzell's tobacco shop, Beale's plumbing and tin shop, and a drug

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[15]Gilbert, Joseph, and Wheelock, pp. 3:77-79, 85, 90-91. The 1880 manuscript census indicates Harpers Ferry and Bolivar had a population just under 1,600. A decade later, the Virginia Free Press (25 March 1891, p. 3, col. 1) reported a combined population of 1,756. All the increase had occurred in Harpers Ferry.

[16]Spirit of Jefferson, 14 November 1882, p. 2, col. 1.

store operated by a procession of individuals. Shortly after the beginning of the new century, Stuart's building was absorbed into the hotel complex and thereafter served as the hotel annex and saloon. Beale already had moved his plumbing and tin shop, and a second barber shop, operated by Absalom Herrod, was located in the Beale building. Completing the main business section of town, across or farther down Shenandoah Street or at the near ends of Potomac and High streets were several saloons, groceries, and restaurants; a post office and a shoemaker's shop; two "hotels," at least one of which more likely was a boarding house; and general, clothing, dry goods, drug, jewelry, and hardware stores.[17]

The Irish in Harpers Ferry

In looking at the post-war commercial development of the old arsenal yard, there is one striking fact about the men and women connected with this property: A surprising number were natives of Ireland or first-generation Irish Americans. To be sure, the Irish were not the sole presence. For example, John Stuart of Holland, George and John Dittmeyer, sons of German-born parents, and Thomas Beale, a native West Virginian born to American-born parents, were among others associated with this multi-lot area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the Irish were involved for varying lengths of time with every lot with the apparent exception of the store on the southern extension of High Street and Lot 1, Block B. Burleigh and O'Beirne on Lot 1, Block A, Kirwan on Lot 2, Conner on Lots 2, 3, and 4, Montague on Lot 5, Walsh on Lots 5 and 6, and Conway and Higgins on Lot 7, were all either natives of Ireland or

[17]Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1894 and 1902.

had at least one parent who was born in Ireland.

Emigrants from Ireland had comprised a sizeable share of the European colonization in colonial America. Then, many of the migrating Irish were the Ulster Irish of Scottish descent. In the nineteenth century, this largely Protestant migration was replaced by a mostly Catholic influx. The descendants of the earlier migration were present in Harpers Ferry no doubt, as one of the major migration routes in America led the so-called Scotch-Irish through the Harpers Ferry area on the way from Pennsylvania to the Valley of Virginia. However, it was the Irish migration of the nineteenth century that was so visible in Harpers Ferry and post-war Block A.[18]

Political conflict and economic displacement led large numbers of northern Europeans to seek opportunity elsewhere, but nineteenth-century Ireland was a particularly troubled country. Conflict between the Irish and English in earlier centuries had led to the dispossession of many Catholics of their land, title to which passed to Protestant settlers and absentee landowners, and the passage of laws restricting the ability of Catholics to acquire land and excluding them from careers in public service or law. Educated Catholics entered commerce. Of the rest, the non-landowning Catholics (the majority) were tenant farmers, cotters, or laborers. By the early 1800s, Ireland was characterized by a subdivision of tenant farms into increasingly smaller units incapable of producing diverse agricultural products, a decline in agricultural prices, and a heavy reliance on a single crop (the potato), which may have provided enough nourishment to help produce a rise in population but set the stage for future disaster. Ireland experienced a series of famines in the first half-century, with the most serious involving the complete failure of the potato crop in the late 1840s. From a population of 8.5 million in 1845, Ireland declined to only 6.25 million people

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[18]Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People, 2d ed (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), pp. 26-30; Carl Wittke, The Irish in America (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956), pp. vi-vii; John Higham, Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 18, 21.

in 1850. A number of them had died; many more had fled the country for more promising places like the United States.[19]

Through the 1830s, while many departing Irish males were laborers, this outward migration also drew many artisans, shopkeepers, and farmers with more financial resources. As Carl Wittke has noted, "People of the lowest economic level usually were too poor to emigrate and did not leave until they were faced with the inexorable choice between flight and death." For the Irish, the 1840s presented that choice, and immigration after the 1830s included more of the most impoverished elements of Irish society. Even then, the out-migration was weakest in the poorest parts of Ireland, and, until later in the century, those with the fewest resources were more likely to move to England than undertake the more expensive trip to the United States.[20]

The number of Irish immigrants living in Harpers Ferry in the first half of the nineteenth century cannot be determined, but the Irish were a visible presence in the community. Irish men were recruited for canal and road construction, which distributed Irish laborers and stone masons from the port cities westward. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company utilized Irish workers, and local newspapers in the 1830s occasionally note the presence of Irish canal builders in the Harpers Ferry area. Irish laborers also were an important component of the work force building the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.[21] But Harpers Ferry also drew Irish other than laborers and stone masons, such as attorney Patrick McCabe, businessman Richard Doran, and physician Nicholas Marmion. While not all of the Irish who came to Harpers Ferry were Catholic, St.

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[19]Peter and Fiona Somerset Fry, A History of Ireland (New York: Routledge, 1988), pp. 156-57, 166-67, 179-80, 229-33.

[20]Wittke, pp. 6, 7, 23.

[21]Wittke, pp. 27, 33, 35; Virginia Free Press, 28 March 1833, p. 1, cols. 2-4; 17 July 1834, p. 2, col. 1; James D. Dilts, The Great Road: The Building of the Baltimore and Ohio, The Nation's First Railroad, 1828-1853 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 132.

Peter's Roman Catholic Church, standing on the cliff overlooking Lower Town since the early 1830s, is the most visible evidence of a significant Catholic (in large part Irish and German) presence in the community.

In 1850, slightly more than 9 percent of the nearly 2,700 free inhabitants of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar had been born outside the United States. That figure is only a little less than the percentage of immigrants in the country as a whole.[22] In approximately equal numbers, nearly all were natives of three places: England, Ireland, and the German states. While the Germans largely lived in Bolivar, most of the Irish and, to a lesser extent, the English lived in Harpers Ferry. Thus, while the Irish accounted for only one-third of the foreign-born population of the two towns combined, they represented nearly one-half of that of Harpers Ferry alone. Nationally, 42.8 percent of the foreign born living in the United States in 1850 were Irish. Over 40 percent of the 1850 Irish-born male population of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar were laborers, but only 15 percent of all free male workers in the two towns were laborers. For comparative purposes, that year, half of Boston's Irish workers and one-fifth of its total workers were so employed.[23] Only one-fifth of Harpers Ferry's Irish worked as armorers, compared to over 40 percent of all the town's male workers identified by the census. Other Irish worked as physician, shoemaker, watchman, blacksmith, teacher, clerk, hotel keeper, stone mason, or merchant.[24] Women's occupations are not listed on that census, although the typical single Irish woman in the United States was a domestic servant, while the Irish widow commonly was engaged in a factory, sewing

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[22]Higham, p. 15. The figures for Harpers Ferry and Bolivar are based on census records. It should be understood that the census is not without error. Although how much in error the local census might be cannot be determined, immigrants more likely were undercounted rather than overcounted.

[23]Wittke, p. 24; Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 250-51.

[24]These statistics are for Harpers Ferry and Bolivar towns combined.

or millinery work, running a boarding house, or perhaps a grocery or liquor store. Married Irish women whose husbands were present were less likely to work outside the home than many other immigrant and American women.[25]

Three decades later, when the percentage of Irish among the foreign born was in decline nationally (to 27.8 percent), and the total number of Irish living in Harpers Ferry was little more than half what it had been in 1850, the Irish accounted for two-thirds of Harpers Ferry's immigrant population. Together, Irish natives and the first generation of Irish-Americans were nearly 17 percent of the town's 764 residents, but they comprised less than 5 percent of Bolivar's 822 inhabitants.[26] Then, the single largest occupational group among the Irish-born men living in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar was laborer (26 percent), followed by stone mason (18.5 percent), numbers similar to those for these towns' male working population as a whole (25 and 15.8 percent respectively). Teacher, grocer, merchant, liquor dealer, travelling salesman, watchman, physician, attorney, dyer, carpenter, farmer, and dealer in old rags and iron were the listed occupations of other Irish men. Only three Irish women had a listed occupation; all three were domestic servants. For the nineteen first generation Irish-American males with listed occupations, 21 percent were laborers and 31 percent were clerks. The remainder were a physician, a carpenter, a railroad fireman, a preacher, a brakeman, a farmer, two stone masons, and a tinsmith. Seven first generation Irish-American women were gainfully employed, one each as a bonnet and hat maker, boardinghouse keeper, teacher, and seamstress, and three as domestic

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[25]Hasia R. Diner, Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), pp. 74-80, 96. In Boston, domestic servants outpaced all other occupations among the Irish, both men and women, with the exception of laborers (Handlin, Boston's Immigrants, pp. 250-51).

[26]Department of the Interior, Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 464. Not until 1880 did the census document the birthplace of a listed person's parents, so the numerical presence of first-generation Irish-Americans cannot be determined for earlier years.

servants. Only one was then married.

What about the Irish connected to Block A? Bridget Burleigh, Lot 1 owner until 1889, emigrated from Ireland by the early 1840s. Whether she came with her husband Thomas Burleigh, a native of County Roscommon, or married him in the United States is not known, but her eldest known child Mary was born about 1844 in Virginia. Thomas was a laborer, while Bridget kept a tavern and boarding house on High Street "out of which from her excellent care & labor considerable money was made." Evidently because of his wife's efforts, Thomas Burleigh was able to buy several pieces of property, most of which he placed in trust for her in 1854 as a life estate. Thomas Burleigh was one of the townsmen killed during John Brown's raid in 1859, leaving Bridget to raise three children.[27] The 1880 census lists no occupation for Bridget Burleigh, but she then lived with her youngest child Thomas, a laborer. In the mid-1880s he established a saloon on Block A which remained at that location until 1889. Later, his saloon operated on Potomac Street.[28]

For about twenty years during the first three decades of the twentieth century, Leo O'Beirne operated a lunch room on Lot 1. O'Beirne had been born in Harpers Ferry in 1883, the youngest son of Patrick O'Beirne, a stone mason, and Ellen Fitzpatrick O'Beirne. Both his parents were natives of Ireland. His mother's family settled in Harpers Ferry about 1850, likely because Leo's grandmother Catherine Fitzpatrick, a widow, was the sister of Richard and Michael Doran. The Dorans reportedly immigrated to Cecil County, Maryland, in 1829, then came to Harpers Ferry about 1833 and opened a store. Sarah Walsh, a widowed sister, and her family

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[27]Deed of Trust, Thomas Boerley and wife Bridget to Michael Doran, Deed Book 34, p. 134. Also, Barry, p. 84; Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 414B.

[28]Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 5; see page 64 of this report.

likely preceded Catherine Fitzpatrick's family by several years.[29]

Florence Kirwan, purchaser of Lot 2 in 1876, was neither Irish nor Catholic, and she had long roots in the Harpers Ferry area, with both parents' families (Cross and Belsterling) having an early connection to the armory. However, Florence's husband Thomas A. Kirwan was a native of Ireland. Born about 1844, Kirwan reportedly came to the United States as a child of about six. He apparently came to the Harpers Ferry area from Vermont with his parents Richard and Margaret Kirwan and other family members. An uncle Thomas Kirwan already was living across the Shenandoah River.

> Well it was not very long I suppose that the lenggh [*sic*] of the time was for Richard to get from Vermont here to the house, I met them the whole family, Richard and wife [Margaret], James McGraw, and his wife [Kirwan's sister Julia], the old Gentleman Jimies Father, Preston and his wife, Lawrence Kirwin, Richard Kirwan, T. A. Kirwin, and Kattie Kirwin, who were all Richard's [*sic*] Kirwin's children, ...[30]

By 1870, young Thomas Kirwan was keeping the Shenandoah Hotel in Harpers Ferry. A decade later, he ran a saloon.[31]

Theodore Conner was born in 1853 in Winchester, Virginia, to Irish-born Patrick Conner, a house painter, and his American-born wife Emily. Theodore came to Harpers Ferry in the early 1880s and opened a saloon.[32] In 1889, the same year he purchased the hotel on Lots 3 and 4 from George Green, Conner married widow Mary Beale Cochrane, sister of Lot 1, Block B,

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[29]Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 5; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 81B; Jefferson Republican, 20 August 1953, p. 21. The Walshes appear on the 1850 census, but the Fitzpatricks do not.

[30]Deposition of George T. Staubs, Exhibit #17, Becker Brothers vs James C. McGraw, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

[31]Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 455; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 7.

[32]Eighth Census (1860), Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 396; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 79B, Spirit of Jefferson, 22 May 1883, p. 3, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1887, supplement. Of the 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses, only the 1860 indicates Patrick Conner was born in Ireland, with the other two variously listing Pennsylvania and Maryland as the place of birth. However, on later censuses, when the birthplace of the enumerated person's parents were included, Theodore Conner consistently indicated his father was born in Ireland.

owner Thomas Beale. Conner did not run his hotel for over a decade, rather leasing it to other individuals until after the turn of the century while he continued his saloon across the street.[33] Divorced from Mary about 1904, Theodore Conner married Laura Yantis in 1910.[34]

Like Conner, Lot 5 owner Lawrence Montague was American born, in this case probably in Berkeley County about 1845. Both of Montague's parents, Christopher, a stone mason, and Catherine, were emigrants from Ireland. In 1870, Montague was a clerk in a dry goods store, probably that of his brother-in-law Murtha Walsh, with whom he then lived.[35] The 1880 census also records Montague's occupation as clerk, but in 1885, he was appointed a gauger for the Internal Revenue Service and assigned to the Hannis Distillery in Martinsburg. Although Montague left Harpers Ferry, he remained owner of Lot 5 until his death in 1918, shortly after which the property was sold to a Walsh cousin.[36]

Montague's sister Julia Walsh owned the Lot 6 property where her husband Murtha had a store and residence built in the early 1880s. Born about 1825, Murtha Walsh had come from Ireland in the 1840s with his mother Sarah and at least five brothers and sisters. No doubt, the Walshes came to Harpers Ferry because Sarah's brothers Richard and Michael Doran already were living there.[37] In 1854, the firm of Walsh & Brother opened a dry goods and grocery store at the Dorans' old stand on the Ferry lot near the armory gate. The Walsh business apparently

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[33]Virginia Free Press, 19 November 1889, p. 2, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 15 April 1902, p. 2, col. 1.

[34]T.M. Conner vs. Mary D. Conner, 5 November 1904, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse; Farmers Advocate, 13 August 1910, p. 3, col. 4.

[35]Seventh Census (1850), Martinsburg, Berkeley County, Virginia, p. 345; Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 463; Virginia Free Press, 4 September 1895, p. 5, col. 3.

[36]Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 3; Virginia Free Press, 10 September 1885, p. 3, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 27 August 1927, p. 4, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 1 January 1919, p. 2, col. 3.

[37]Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 414; Will of Richard Doran, Will Book 13, p. 106; Accounts of Fiduciaries Book F, p. 37; Jefferson Republican, 20 August 1953, p. 21, col. 3.

remained at that location until Murtha had a store and residence erected on Block A in the 1880s. The Walsh store was located on Block A until the death of son William Walsh in 1952.[38]

Lot 7, the last lot in Block A, was purchased by Mary Conway in 1869. Mary Martin Conway was the wife of James Conway, whom she married in 1866 in Jefferson County. James was born about 1838 in Limerick; Mary, also born about 1838, came from Ireland as well.[39] James Conway constructed a building for a store and residence on Lot 7 in 1870. There, he operated a saloon for several decades until about three years before his death in 1911.[40] Almost immediately following Conway's death, Emma and Anna Higgins (born in Bolivar about 1876 and 1880 respectively) opened a millinery store in the Conway building. They were the daughters of railroad employee Edward Higgins and his wife Kate, both born in Ireland.[41]

In terms of occupation, the Irish on Block A do not appear to represent the total Irish population in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar. With the exception of young Thomas Burleigh, none of the individuals directly connected to Block A have been identified as a laborer or stone mason, the occupations at which a sizeable portion of the males worked. Patrick O'Beirne, Leo's father, was a stone mason, as was Lawrence Montague and Julia Walsh's father Christopher Montague. Edward Higgins, Anna and Emma's father, worked in different positions for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, including laborer. However, in keeping with the commercial character of the post-war arsenal yard, the Block A Irish were part of Harpers Ferry's mercantile class. They were

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[38]Virginia Free Press, 20 April 1854, p. 3, col. 1; 14 October 1858, p. 2, col. 7; Spirit of Jefferson, 6 March 1952, p. A4, cols. 4 & 5.

[39]Virginia Free Press, 25 January 1866, p. 2, col. 5; Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 459; Farmers Advocate, 16 February 1911, p. 2, col. 1.

[40]Farmers Advocate, 16 May 1908, p. 2, col. 3; 18 February 1911, p. 2, col. 1.

[41]Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar District, p. 22B; Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 188; Farmers Advocate 5 December 1925, p. 1, col. 2.

saloon keepers, hotel proprietors, and merchants, not laborers.

Together with fellow Irish businessmen like James McGraw, Edward Tearney, and the Doran family, the Block A Irish were a presence in the business community significantly larger than their actual representation in the town's population. That statement should not be taken to mean the Irish were a dominant presence in the town as a whole. Some owned property on Camp Hill or in Bolivar; however, in general, the presence of Irish-born and first-generation Irish-Americans was most pronounced in the areas along Shenandoah, Potomac, and High streets (essentially Lower Town) and was limited in other parts of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar. Clearly, the Irish were a commercial force in town, and they were a political force as well, playing an influential role in town government for decades. At the same time, however, relations between these individuals and residents of Camp Hill and Bolivar Heights for instance, where a number of Harpers Ferry professionals lived, as did the contingent of summer home owners, may not always have been cordial. While much more information is needed to draw any firm conclusions about the nature of these relations, the struggle between those individuals opposed to saloons and those in favor of them placed some residents of Bolivar and Camp Hill in opposition to the interests of more than one Irish businessman.

The Irish dominated the commercial core. As was indicated earlier, they were connected to every lot in Block A at some time following the Civil War. They also owned properties on High and Potomac streets. Elsewhere on Shenandoah Street, Lots 2 and 3 of Block B, a commercial building on Lot 6 of Block C, several residential or vacant lots farther west, and every lot west of the intersection with High Street to Park Building 45 were owned for varying lengths of time from the late 1860s--occasionally earlier--to the 1950s by Irish families named Doran,

McGraw, McCabe, Quinn, Kirwan, Higgins, Burleigh, Tearney, Marmion, Walsh, or Conway.[42] Not only did they own a number of properties on these streets, but many of them had businesses in that part of town. In addition to businesses on Block A run by Burleigh, O'Beirne, Conner, Walsh, Conway, and the Higgins sisters, James McGraw and later the Dorans had stores to the west on Block B. James McGraw's son James C. established a bottling works and brewery nearby.[43] Theodore Conner ran a saloon across the street from his hotel from the 1880s to the early 1900s (Park Building 9).[44] After his mother sold the Lot 1, Block A, property in 1889, Thomas Burleigh operated his saloon along Potomac Street (Park Buildings 5 and 7). Concurrent with the operation of his lunch room, Leo O'Beirne had a grocery in Park Building 37 on High Street.[45] Use of census and other records suggest most of Harpers Ferry's Irish resided along these streets too.[46]

Beyond land ownership and occupancy of a relatively small portion of town, the presence

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[42]See Patricia Chickering, et al, "'The Green' - Physical History of Block C Lots 1 through 6 A & B, 1796-1952," (draft, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, 16 August 1993); Chickering, Perry G. Fisher, and Michael Jenkins, "HAFE Package 116, Historic Structures Report, History Section, Block B, Lots 2 and 3 Shenandoah Street Park Buildings 32, 33, 33A, 34/35 and 36, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," (National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, September 1994); Mary Johnson, "Lots 1 to 7, Block D, Shenandoah Street, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Special History Study" (Final Report, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, 17 July 1995); idem, "Blocks F and G and the U.S. Ferry Lot, Shenandoah Street, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Special History Study" (Final Report, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, 17 July 1995), as well as the computer database of park properties for details on some of these properties.

[43]See Chickering, Fisher, and Jenkins for details on the McGraw and Doran businesses.

[44]Spirit of Jefferson, 22 May 1883, p. 3, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1887; Farmers Advocate, 19 April 1902, p. 3, col. 5.

[45]Kira Ramakrishna and Patricia Chickering, "Historic Structures Report, Historical Data Section, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Building 37, The John T. Rieley Building, 1865-1952" (November 1993), pp. 17-18; Jill Y. Halchin, "History of the Upper Wager Block," in Archeological Views of the Upper Wager Block, A Domestic and Commercial Neighborhood in Harpers Ferry, Jill Y. Halchin, ed. (Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, 1994), p. 31.

[46]Only the 1900 census attempts to record streets, but the proximity of Irish on the 1880 census, for example, to persons known to have lived on Shenandoah or High Street suggests the general location of Irish. (While caution must be used in locating people via census records, the clustering of Irish families on the Harpers Ferry census is an interesting phenomenon.) Before the Civil War, as so few apparently worked for the armory, few natives of Ireland likely lived in armory houses. Then, many of the Irish living in Harpers Ferry likely were living on High Street, the north side of Shenandoah Street, or the Ferry Lot properties. Those areas had been retained by the Wagers when they sold much of their holdings to the United States. Subsequently, some of these lots were sold. The Marmion, Doran, Grace, and Burleigh families (all Irish), among others, thus were able to obtain land in town. Other lots were leased, allowing such individuals as Irish-born Samuel Gibson, Margaret Carrell (as widow of Eli), and James McGraw access to the commercial core of town. See Charles W. Snell, "The Business Enterprises and Commercial Development of Harpers Ferry's Lower Town Area, 1803 to 1861" (9 April 1973).

of the Irish was felt in other ways. Among Block A Irish, Burleigh, Montague, Conner, Kirwan, O'Beirne, Murtha and William Walsh, and the Higgins sisters' father Edward served on the town council for one or more years.[47] Several were active in Democratic politics in Jefferson County generally.[48] Murtha Walsh and Thomas Kirwan were two of the incorporators of the Harpers Ferry Bridge Company in 1879. (Thomas Beale and George Green, also associated with the old arsenal yard, were incorporators as well.) James Conway helped incorporate the Bank of Harpers Ferry in 1894 and following the bankruptcy of its president James C. McGraw assumed the presidency in 1898. He held that position until his death in 1911. Thomas Burleigh later served as president. Theodore Conner and William Walsh, Murtha's son, were among the bank directors over the years.[49] Murtha Walsh was an incorporator of the Harpers Ferry Mill Company in 1882; Theodore Conner was an incorporator of one of several building and loan associations and a vice-president and director of the Harpers Ferry Electric Light and Power Company in the 1890s; and James Conway was president of the short-lived Jefferson Brewing Company in the early 1900s.[50]

Over time, the Irish presence in Harpers Ferry became less noticeable as the Irish-born or first-generation Irish-American population aged and new Irish immigrants failed to come. On the 1920 census, only four of Harpers Ferry's 713 inhabitants, and none of Bolivar's 585 residents,

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[47]See for example, Spirit of Jefferson, 25 February 1879, p. 2, col. 3; 13 January 1885, p. 3, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 23 January 1875, p. 3, col. 1; 11 January 1893, p. 3, col. 3; 15 January 1896, p. 2, col. 1; 8 January 1902, p. 2, col. 5; Farmers Advocate, 14 January 1905, p. 3, col. 3; 1 January 1916, p. 2, col. 4; 10 January 1920, p. 1, col. 2.

[48]Virginia Free Press, 1 June 1872, p. 2, col. 5; 27 May 1876, p. 3, col. 2; 31 August 1878, p. 1, cols. 6 & 7; 25 May 1892, p. 2, col. 2; 5 September 1900, p. 3, col. 8; 29 February 1912, p. 4, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 29 March 1887, p. 2, col. 2; 28 May 1912, p. 2, col. 2.

[49]Virginia Free Press, 1 March 1879, p. 3, col. 3; 3 October 1894, p. 2, col. 6; 26 January 1898, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 25 March 1919, p. 2, col. 3; 14 December 1932, p. 1, col. 4; Farmers Advocate, 12 January 1918, p. 2, col. 3.

[50]Virginia Free Press, 20 May 1882, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 16 March 1897, p. 3, col. 4; 6 December 1898, p. 2, col. 1. Conway is referenced as president in several deeds from 1906 (See property database).

were listed as natives of Ireland. The youngest of the four was sixty-nine. Thirty-four more in Harpers Ferry and seven in Bolivar were first-generation Irish-Americans. From nearly 17 percent in 1880, Harpers Ferry's Irish-born and first-generation Irish-American population had declined to only 5.3 percent of the population. Some of their children were present of course, but they cannot by quantified via census records.

Although many Irish families were large, a fact that would suggest a rising population of Irish extraction, the total number of Irish was affected by a trend underway both in late-nineteenth-century Ireland and among Irish Americans toward marrying late or not at all. Before the potato famine of the late 1840s, that marriage pattern already was in evidence for some classes in Ireland, but following the famine, it became increasingly common for all groups. Possession of land, either as owner or tenant, had generally been a prerequisite for marriage in Ireland, but the famine awakened people to the economic risk of dividing the land into ever smaller lots so that all children would receive a share. If land henceforth was to pass intact, only one son could establish the wherewithal to marry. There might be a dowry sufficient for one daughter to marry, but other children had more limited futures in Ireland.

Studies of the Irish in America have shown a similar marriage pattern among first- and second-generation Irish Americans as well, making Irish-Americans more likely than other Americans to marry late or not at all. Hasia Diner argues a primary motive for continuation of this trend among Irish-American women was economic. Married Irish women were less likely to be employed than other groups. Other factors for women may have been the high rate of domestic violence and family tension, desertion, and widowhood among the Irish in a country where Irish women assumed more power within the household and had more job potential than

they possessed in Ireland.[51]

With regard to Harpers Ferry, for those born in Ireland or in the United States before the Civil War, no distinctive marriage pattern emerges. Thomas Kirwan was about 30 when he married Florence Cross in 1874. Edward Higgins was 31 at his marriage to widow Kate Lyon Geary in 1869, while James Conway was 27 when he married Mary Martin in 1866. At the time of his marriage to Virginia McQuaide in 1874, Lawrence Montague was 28. His brother-in-law Murtha Walsh was about 33 when he married Julia Montague in 1858. Their brides all were under 30. Theodore Conner was 38 when he married widow Mary Cochrane (about 40) in 1889.[52]

It is among those born later that more evidence emerges in support of the trend Diner discusses. On the one hand, the Conway daughter Mary was only in her early twenties when she married Will Rau in 1891. On the other hand, Emma Higgins was in her late forties when she married in 1925, and sister Anna never married at all. Of three other Higgins sisters and a brother, two sisters married in their twenties, another in her thirties, and the brother never married.[53] None of Lawrence Montague's three daughters married, two of the three choosing to become nuns and the third reportedly engaging in social welfare work, editing a labor paper, and pursuing political causes.[54] Neither Leo O'Beirne nor his brother Frank married, and their

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[51]Diner, pp. 4-14, 46-51, 54-55.

[52]Marriage Book (1801-1890), pp. 108, 109, 244; Virginia Free Press, 18 August 1858, p. 2, col. 6; 5 December 1874, p. 3, col. 2; 4 July 1874, p. 3, col. 3. Most ages are based on census data.

[53]Virginia Free Press, 1 August 1900, p. 3, col. 5; Farmers Advocate, 15 August 1903, p. 2, col. 5; 5 September 1925, p. 1, col. 2; 2 July 1927, p. 1, cols. 1 & 2.

[54]Farmers Advocate, 6 November 1926, p. 1, col. 1; 27 August 1927, p. 4, col. 1. The status of Montague's daughters Julia (Sister Immaculata), Frances (Sister M. Loretta), and Louise is indicated in deeds regarding Lot 5 (Deed Book 118, pp. 101, 190). Diner notes that entering the sisterhood was not common for Irish women before the famine but measurably increased afterwards. Sisters of Mercy, the Presentation Sisters, and Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary were orders founded in Ireland, and they were among orders assisting Irish women for whom other organized assistance often was lacking (pp. 28, 130).

two sisters were in their thirties when they married.[55]

Of Murtha and Julia Walsh's ten children, only two married. Daughter Leah was about 25 when she married Hugh Kirby in 1904, but Julia was in her fifties when she married widower Richard McMahon in 1927. Of the remaining eight, only one (Sarah) died young. The 1941 obituary for James Christopher, who left Harpers Ferry for Baltimore in the 1890s, suggests he never married. After working in the store for a while, Aimee entered the order of Sisters of Mercy in 1905. Mary, Louise, Genevieve, John, and William remained single. They spent their lives in Harpers Ferry, working in the store and living together upstairs.[56] A cursory look at other prominent Irish families in Harpers Ferry--Marmion and Tearney for example--suggests this marriage pattern extended beyond the families connected to Block A.

Whether this pattern differed from that of other Harpers Ferrians is not known. Nor is the extent of this pattern's impact on Harpers Ferry clear, especially when the town's economic decline and the departure of grown children for other locales is considered. By 1950, the Irish connection to Block A was restricted to Lots 5, 6, and 7, the latter owned but no longer occupied by the Higgins family and the other two lots owned by the Walshes. The Walsh store on Lot 6, the last real vestige of the Irish presence on the old arsenal yard, closed in 1952 with the death of William Walsh.[57]

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[55]Virginia Free Press, 4 September 1901, p. 3, col. 4; 28 September 1907, p. 2, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 11 August 1928, p. 1, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 26 August 1954, p. A3, col. 3.

[56]Spirit of Jefferson, 3 January 1905, p. 2, col. 4; Farmers Advocate, 4 November 1905, p. 3, col. 5; 2 July 1927, p. 1, col. 4; 26 December 1941, p. 2, col. 4.

[57]Spirit of Jefferson, 6 March 1952, p. A4, cols. 4 & 5.

The Saloon Era: Temperance and Intemperance in Postbellum Harpers Ferry

Of the various commercial enterprises in Harpers Ferry after the Civil War, none proved more controversial than the drinking establishment, and the old arsenal yard was inexorably tied to this controversy. James Conway had a saloon on Lot 7, Block A, from 1870 to about 1908. Thomas Burleigh's saloon was on Lot 1 during the 1880s. With the exception of an eighteen-month period in 1911 and 1912, Green's Hotel, known after 1889 as the Hotel Conner, had a barroom from its opening in 1882 until state prohibition barred the manufacture or sale of intoxicating beverages in West Virginia in 1914. In downtown Harpers Ferry as a whole, at least four or five bars and saloons operated at the turn of the century.[58]

In 1897 there were over 200,000 licensed liquor dealers and an estimated 50,000 unlicensed vendors in the United States. These numbers reflect a dramatic increase since the Civil War. Some places where alcoholic drinks were served catered primarily or exclusively to businessmen and professionals. Such may have been the case with the Hotel Conner bar, at least for the first two decades when it was located inside the hotel proper. After the bar was moved to the adjoining annex about 1908, although a passageway from the office did connect the hotel and annex, easiest access to the bar may have been from the street, and the bar likely catered to a clientele similar to that served at nearby saloons. Many saloons served working-class people. Unlike the middle and upper classes, who more commonly drank at home, in private clubs, or hotels, the working class was more likely to drink in more public places. For male workers, congregating at saloons was perhaps the most popular social activity from the end of the Civil War

[58]Sanborn Maps, Harpers Ferry, 1894, 1902, and 1907; also individual lot histories in this report.

until the enactment of prohibition.[59]

Drinking, of course, long had been part of American culture. In colonial America, nearly everyone drank. Although a large share of alcohol was consumed by men, women and children also routinely drank. Alcohol largely was manufactured in the household, and much of it was drunk either in a family setting or as part of community social occasions. Furthermore, leisure and labor were so interwoven that drink was a regular component of work. Sometimes, alcohol comprised part of a worker's wage, and the consumption of alcohol generally was part of a worker's day. Yet, in this largely agrarian, pre-industrial society, when work was conducted at a more relaxed pace than would later be the case, even many of those given to excessive drinking were able to function reasonably well.[60]

By the early decades of the nineteenth century, alcohol consumption was on the rise in the United States, reaching perhaps its highest level about 1830. In 1842, the Harpers Ferry Total Abstinence Society reported some 39,000 gallons of rum, whiskey, wine, "J. Spirits," brandy, and gin were sold in the community in the course of a single year. This represented almost sixteen gallons for each of the town's reported 2,500 inhabitants. Also sold were 10,000 gallons of beer and ale and 561 gallons of cider.[61]

At the same time consumption of alcohol was rising, the context in which it occurred began to change. Jack Blocker suggests the transition away from the household economy and the concurrent development of an ideology promoting separate spheres for men and women may have

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[59]Thomas J. Schlereth, Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991), pp. 225-26; Norman H. Clark, Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976), p. 50; Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 51.

[60]Jack S. Blocker, Jr. American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989), pp. 3-4; Clark, pp. 14-18; Rosenzweig, p. 36; David Brody, "Time and Work during Early American Industrialism," Labor History 30 (Winter 1989), pp. 20-22.

[61]Blocker, American Temperance Movements, p. 10; Virginia Free Press, 4 November 1841, p. 1, col. 7.

brought a decline in the number of women (particularly native-born women) who drank. Additionally, the transition of work, whereby more strict rules, among them bans on workplace drinking, were implemented, reduced alcohol consumption in that setting. Changes in the work place of the new industrial order also brought a reduction in work hours, as the earlier intermixing of work and leisure gave way to a clear demarcation between work time and play time. The pace at which these changes occurred varied from place to place, coming fairly early in the nineteenth century in some communities and for some jobs but not occurring in other settings until the latter part of the century.[62] For the Harpers Ferry armory, the change came in the 1840s. While drinking and lax work habits generally were overlooked by previous superintendents, Major Henry Craig prohibited drinking and regulated work hours after assuming the superintendency in 1841.[63]

With more leisure time, coupled with a rise in discretionary income due to a real increase in wages in the last half of the nineteenth century, male workers could spend time at a number of activities, among them drinking. While the middle class more likely drank in the household setting, the working class more likely did so in a commercial setting. To be sure, although drinking occurred primarily in the family setting or as part of social occasions in earlier times, it also regularly took place in the public, commercial setting of the tavern or grog shop. However, Roy Rosenzweig states, "[I]t was in response to a complex set of social forces--tightened work discipline, shorter workdays, intensified regulation of public recreation, increased working-class incomes--that the saloon emerged as a center of working-class social life." But, as Rosenzweig further states, the saloon emerged as a center for the male working-class social life.

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[62]Blocker, American Temperance Movements, pp. 10-11; Rosenzweig, pp. 37-39; Brody, pp. 24-45.

[63]Merritt Roe Smith, pp. 150, 271-74. The impact of the enforcement of work rules at Harpers Ferry is addressed in several chapters in the forthcoming publication, Paul A. Shackel, ed., Domestic Responses to Nineteenth-Century Industrialization: An Archeology of Park Building 48, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

Some women patronized saloons, but overall they were less likely to be present in a saloon than the drinking establishments of earlier decades. Earlier, in addition to being customers, women frequently ran taverns and kitchen groggeries. Later, while some women could be found in drinking places, and others may have purchased beer at the back door of a saloon, most women who drank probably did so at home. Saloons generally were run by men for men.[64]

Keeping a saloon was one of the most available means immigrant groups had for upward mobility. In nineteenth and early twentieth-century Harpers Ferry, Irish or Irish-Americans ran several drinking establishments. As mentioned earlier in the section on the Irish in Harpers Ferry, Bridget Burleigh augmented the income of her laborer husband Thomas through operation of a profitable tavern and boarding house on High Street before the Civil War. No doubt, it was with money Bridget made that she later bought Lot 1, Block A. After apparently beginning his working career as a laborer, son Thomas opened a saloon in the 1880s, operating first on Lot 1 and later on Potomac Street. James Conway began his career in Harpers Ferry after the Civil War as a clerk for liquor dealer Major Quinn before opening his own saloon on Lot 7 in 1870. Elsewhere in post-war Harpers Ferry, as many as six other men annually received liquor licenses from the county court. Several of them were Irish or of Irish descent, a few also clearly of working-class origins.[65]

While managing a saloon could be a means of upward mobility, to some extent saloons were antithetical to the acquisitive, individualistic, yet family-centered, mainstream values of late

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[64]Rosenzweig, p. 36. Also see pp. 40-42, 45-46, 63; Schlereth, p. 227; Blocker, American Temperance Movements, p. 70.

[65]Rosenzweig, pp. 49-52, 62; Farmers Advocate, 18 February 1911, p. 2, col. 1; also the previous section on the Irish in Harpers Ferry. For a list of liquor licenses/taverns/saloons in the post-war era see Kira Ramakrishna and Patricia Chickering, "Historic Structures Report, History Section, Package 118, Buildings 5, 7, 16, and 16A, White Hall Tavern, the Roeder Store and the Roeder House and Annex, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia" (2 June 1994). Among the Irish were Thomas Kirwan, Matthew Quinn, Patrick O'Beirne, and John Fitzpatrick. O'Beirne and Fitzpatrick, neither of whom lasted in the liquor business, also worked as stone masons.

nineteenth-century American society. After all, drinking led to worker inefficiency and took wages that otherwise might go into savings or real estate, while the drinker who frequented a saloon was not at home with the family. Moreover, according to Rosenzweig, the working-class saloon possessed "an *internal* democracy where all who could safely enter received equal treatment and respect." He concludes that, although the saloon was not as democratic as contemporary commentators suggested, since people could be excluded on the basis of sex, race, or ethnicity, for example, within the saloon there was an "ethic of mutuality and reciprocity that differed from the market exchange mentality of the dominant society."[66]

While people went to saloons for various reasons, including food, warmth, and meeting space, companionship was an important draw of the pre-Prohibition working-class saloon. There, the sense of reciprocity took visible form in the ritual of treating acquaintances to drinks. Aided by the flow of alcohol, the sounds of music, joking, and storytelling filled the premises and drifted out to the street. On the darker side, saloons were connected to drunken violence and prostitution.[67] With regard to Harpers Ferry, town mayor Gilbert Perry's 1950s description of the community decades earlier is telling:

> 'Downtown on Saturday nights,' the mayor said, 'you couldn't find a post to hitch your horse anywhere on Shenandoah Street. It wasn't a savory street then. Saloons flourished; swinging doors, gambling, tin-pan music, and cancan dancers--we had 'em in the Gay Nineties.'[68]

According to one report, during a three-month period in 1913, thirty-four people were arrested in Harpers Ferry, nine for drunkenness. (The report infers other arrests were connected to

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[66]Rosenzweig, p. 58.

[67]Rosenzweig, pp. 53-55, 59-61; Clark, pp. 58-63.

[68]HFB-79, Volkmar Wentzel, "History Awakens at Harpers Ferry: Where West Virginia Meets the Blue Ridge, a Town That Remembers John Brown's Raid Becomes a New National Monument," National Geographic Magazine, Vol. CXI, no. 3 (March 1957), p. 402.

drinking also.) With several bars on the old arsenal yard, and several more such establishments across Shenandoah Street and along Potomac Street, the downtown area of Harpers Ferry no doubt regularly assumed a raucous character sufficiently offensive to the middle-class mores of some community residents that those residents would support efforts to curtail alcohol consumption.[69]

Efforts to alter drinking patterns in the United States long had been underway. One of the first broadly-based organizations was the American Temperance Society, founded in 1826. Locally, the Harpers Ferry Temperance Society was organized in 1831. The constitution for the local society bound members to work against the use of distilled liquor, particularly its habitual use and sale in small quantities for consumption on the spot, and to oppose excessive use of fermented beverages. (At the time, many people thought fermented beverages were not intoxicating.) A decade later, Harpers Ferry reportedly had over 1,000 members of three temperance groups. Yet another group, the Sons of Temperance, was organized in Harpers Ferry in 1845. This fraternal organization shielded members from public scrutiny with a policy of secrecy and elaborate ritual and provided material assistance to needy members and their families.[70]

Then, much of the temperance movement used moral suasion to effect moderation with regard to alcohol consumption. And, while the entrepreneurial class, who hoped to foster better work habits among employees, was an integral part of temperance groups nationally, workers, who saw the personal benefits arising from abstemious drinking behavior, comprised a visible element of these organizations as well. By the 1840s, alcohol consumption had dropped sharply.

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[69]Sanborn Maps, Harpers Ferry, 1894, 1902, and 1907; Virginia Free Press, 5 November 1914, p. 2, col. 3.

[70]Blocker, American Temperance Movements, pp. 11-12, 23, 48; Virginia Free Press, 1 September 1831, p. 3, cols. 3 & 4; 7 April 1842, p. 2, col. 6; Spirit of Jefferson, 29 August 1845, p. 2, col. 3.

This success had a negative side, though. Earlier, drinkers largely had represented the population as a whole. With the success of early temperance groups, however, the drinking population--at least its visible part--could be defined more easily by sex (male), class (working-class), age (young), and ethnicity (German and Irish immigrants for example). Those who had reformed their own habits increasingly felt threatened by those who continued to drink. The suasionist tactics increasingly were abandoned in favor of coercive measures to compel others to conform to the standards the reformers had adopted. The prohibitionists had some success in the antebellum period, most notably in the passage of legislation in Maine in 1851, but at the end of the Civil War, only five states had Maine Laws.[71]

Although this early temperance activity was important in Harpers Ferry, it was the postbellum efforts to ban alcohol that affected the old arsenal yard. Nationally, the two most important groups between the end of the Civil War and the enactment of national prohibition in 1919 were the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Anti-Saloon League. Both were present at the local level. A third group, the Prohibition Party, was founded in 1869. While the party attracted noticeable support in the 1880s and 1890s on the national level, it seems to have made few inroads in Jefferson County during its long existence.[72] In Harpers Ferry and Bolivar, the Sons of Jonadab, a small, regional temperance group founded in Washington, D.C., in the late 1860s, was a visible proponent of temperance. The Independent Order of Good Templars, a prohibitionist order which formed nationally in 1851 and admitted women as equal members, also

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[71]Blocker, American Temperance Movements, pp. 28-29, 37, 50-59; Clark, p. 69.

[72]Blocker, American Temperance Movements, pp. 73-74, 85-88. References in newspapers indicate the party garnered only a handful of votes in 1892, one each in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar for three candidates for non-local offices. In 1900, the party ticket ran no candidates below the statewide level. Two years later, when several local Prohibition Party candidates were on the ballot (among them C.B. Wentzell of Harpers Ferry), the party received less than 2 percent of the vote in the county and no votes in Harpers Ferry or Bolivar. (The unofficial returns included several votes, but the official returns did not.) The party received only six votes in Jefferson County in 1920, four of them though in Bolivar (Spirit of Jefferson, 15 November 1892, p. 2, col. 3; 9 November 1920, p. 4, col. 4; Virginia Free Press, 24 October 1900, p. 3, col. 6; 13 November 1902, p. 2, col. 3).

had a local organization in the late nineteenth century.[73]

At the national level, the WCTU was the preeminent temperance organization in the late nineteenth century. Organized in 1874, the WCTU gave women the opportunity to assume a more influential role in the fight against alcohol than in earlier years. Women had participated in antebellum temperance activities, but the WCTU more successfully transcended the contemporary view of a woman's place that had limited women participants of many earlier temperance crusade to supportive roles by defining liquor as such a threat to the home that women had a right to take public action against that evil. At the same time, the WCTU, particularly under the leadership of Frances Willard from 1879 to 1898, moved away from the single-issue agenda that characterized most other temperance organizations. In addition to moving the WCTU from its somewhat suasionist stance with regard to reducing alcohol consumption to an outright prohibitionist position, Willard led the national organization into support for women's suffrage, prison reform, assistance for poor children and working women, and prevention of prostitution, for example. Much of the WCTU's expanded agenda was based on the philosophy that intemperance was interconnected with an array of social ills and could only be dealt with successfully as part of a broader reform effort. Despite this broader outlook, local chapters had considerable autonomy and could choose which programs, beyond the mandatory support for total abstinence, to pursue. Following Willard's death in 1898, the WCTU quickly abandoned its support for most other reforms and began to focus more narrowly on prohibition, a shift reflective of the WCTU's later cooperation with the single-issue Anti-Saloon League.[74]

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[73]Spirit of Jefferson, 9 October 1906, p. 1, col. 7; 3 July 1888, p. 3, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 16 September 1886, p. 3, col. 1; 10 March 1887, p. 3, col. 3; Blocker, pp. 50-51. Information on the Jonadabs, particularly their preferred tactics (suasionist or coercive, temperance or prohibitionist) was not available when this report was prepared.

[74]Ruth Bordin, Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. xxiv, 3-5, 48, 63, 96-97, 133, 151-52, Chapters 6 and 7.

Created in the 1890s, the Anti-Saloon League dominated the final push for prohibition in the early twentieth century. Unlike the Prohibition Party and the WCTU, the League eschewed pursuit of broader reform, instead focusing exclusively on prohibition. The League also sought to work through local churches while shunning third-party politics. Following a gradualist approach, the League worked first at the local level, seeking to pass no-license or local-option referenda and create a legislative base for future action by supporting political candidates who favored prohibition, before pursuing statewide and national prohibition campaigns. Equally as important, although League members ultimately sought to proscribe alcohol consumption altogether, the local campaigns did not necessarily target drinking per se. Rather, they targeted the saloon. The drinking establishment had been a visible target for prohibitionist efforts since the antebellum period, but, in highly emotional but not entirely inaccurate language, the League portrayed the saloon as a malevolent enterprise leading men and women into lives of drunkenness, crime, and debauchery. Moreover, reformers pointed to the political influence held by saloon men in some communities as a source of corruption. Thus, prohibition gained support from some members of the middle and upper classes who consumed alcohol in a private setting but felt threatened by the violence, promiscuity, corruption, and disorder the saloon symbolized.[75] Jack Blocker argues that, with the emergence of the League, "the reformer was no longer the social critic of the nineteenth century . . . ; now the reformer was a strenuous fighter for his own interests and those of his class."[76]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the typical prohibitionist was a middle-

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[75]Blocker, American Temperance Movements, pp. 96, 102-105, 108-109; Clark, pp. 52-67, 95-99; Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 199, 208-11.

[76]Jack S. Blocker, Jr. Retreat from Reform: The Prohibition Movement in the United States, 1890-1913 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 207.

or lower middle-class, Protestant, white, native-born or fully assimilated foreign-born resident of rural or small-town America. At the same time, of course, support for prohibition could be found among the working class, blacks and immigrants, Catholics, and urban dwellers. However, those towns, districts, and counties that went dry first and with the strongest support usually were places in which the majority of voters fit the general characterization. Areas that resisted prohibition, on the other hand, more typically had sizeable numbers of working-class, immigrant (or first-generation American-born) voters.[77]

Information on the composition of the prohibition forces in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar is incomplete, and even less is known about the anti-prohibition forces. Nevertheless, the strongest opposition to the saloon apparently was based in Bolivar and Camp Hill. In keeping with the composition of temperance groups nationally, identified local members of the Jonadabs, Good Templars, and WCTU (no details on the local Anti-Saloon League or its members are available) appear to have been nearly all American-born (except for three Englishmen and one German) and Protestant (typically Methodist or Baptist). In other ways, however, local groups may have been more diverse than the description of the typical prohibitionist suggests. The local groups had teachers, businessmen, and ministers, but they also had a sizeable number of railroad employees and some clearly working-class members. (Perhaps railroad workers were drawn to the temperance cause through the B&O YMCA and work of railroad evangelist and WCTU worker Jennie Smith, for whom the annual railroad picnics on Island Park were named.) Moreover, the local temperance cause drew support from blacks. While prohibition garnered some support in Harpers Ferry, the balance of power lay with the pro-saloon forces. Downtown Harpers Ferry,

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[77]Boyer, pp. 213, 215; Clark, p. 135; Bordin, pp. 156, 159-60. Rosenzweig suggests working-class people who supported the temperance cause either were seeking to move into the middle class or maintain a stable church-centered lifestyle (p. 103).

where several saloons operated, was dominated by the town's Irish population, who were a potent force in town politics and no doubt helped keep the town "wet" until county action and state prohibition barred the liquor trade.[78]

Temperance speeches and plays periodically were given in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar throughout the post-war period, but, after the demise of the Sons of Temperance sometime around 1870, other temperance groups evidently did not organize locally until the late 1880s.[79] Newspapers document the existence of the Good Templars by 1886, with the last reference being in 1888. Likely growing out of the strong temperance impulse at Storer College, the interracial Mount Hope WCTU was organized in June 1887 with 25 members (19 active and 6 honorary). Literary and social purity departments were established at the beginning, with departments on Sabbath observance and juvenile work among those planned for the future.[80] Two years later, seventeen men created the Potomac Council lodge of the Sons of Jonadab. A ladies auxiliary was formed later. The order built Jonadab Hall (the first one in the early 1890s, the second in 1906) for use by themselves and other groups.[81] With regard to use of the building by other temperance groups, in April 1898, the Spirit of Jefferson carried a notice of an upcoming meeting of the WCTU at Jonadab Hall. In 1901 and 1902, newspapers noted Anti-Saloon League meetings

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[78]Names of members were gleaned from newspaper accounts on the Jonadabs, Good Templars, and WCTU, and further information on individuals was derived from newspaper and census records. The B&O Jennie Smith picnics at Island Park began in the 1880s and continued for several decades (Virginia Free Press, 17 June 1886, p. 3, col. 2; 28 July 1887, p. 3, col. 1; 15 March 1888, p. 3, col. 4; Farmers Advocate, 7 August 1909, p. 2, col. 1; 19 July 1913, p. 2, col. 1).

[79]See for example Virginia Free Press, 27 February 1868, p. 3, col. 1; 19 June 1875, p. 3, col. 2; 17 March 1877, p. 1, col. 7; Spirit of Jefferson, 9 September 1879, p. 3, col. 1; 14 September 1886, p. 3, col. 1; 16 April 1895, p. 3, col. 2. The last reference to the Sons of Temperance is in the Virginia Free Press, 16 May 1870, p. 3, col. 2.

[80]Virginia Free Press, 16 September 1886, p. 3, col. 1; 10 March 1887, p. 3, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 3 July 1888, p. 3, col. 3; Pioneer Press, July 1887, p. 3, col. 2. The attitude of the college is exemplified by a book of the Storer College Total Abstinence Pledge Signers (Park Reel 124, Flash 11).

[81]Spirit of Jefferson, 7 May 1889, p. 3, col. 1; 12 July 1892, p. 2, col. 4; 9 October 1906, p. 1, col. 7. The Appalachian Trail Conference occupies the original Jonadab Hall on Camp Hill, while the second hall is now part of Eackles-Spencer Funeral Home.

were being held there.[82]

While saloons continued to operate in Harpers Ferry, the battle for prohibition made for contentious elections in the first decade of the twentieth century. For example, proponents and opponents of licensing saloons carried out a "spirited contest" leading up to the January 1902 municipal elections. As usual, the pro-license forces won in Harpers Ferry, while the anti-license side controlled Bolivar, which had gone "dry" in 1897.[83] Following the election, the local Anti-Saloon League decided to hold bi-monthly instead of monthly meetings. The notice in the Harpers Ferry Sentinel encouraged members to attend these meetings:

> Now if the League is to be a success, every member must not simply attend the meetings, but consider himself or herself a part of an organization which is for the destruction of the saloon. . . . We will probably lose friends and be called cranks, but all this is nothing when we consider the awful work of the saloon. During the last few days there has been such open violation of law as to cause the blush of shame to come to our cheeks. It is a disgrace to us that we permit in our town such open handed lawlessness in saloon keepers . . . . Surely five saloons cannot run the town.[84]

The license question remained an important factor in town elections, affecting voter choices for mayor and town council for the next decade.[85] The anti-saloon proponents briefly had a victory in 1908, when the Harpers Ferry town council passed an ordinance attempting to make saloon activities visible from the street by banning closed shutters and frosting or curtains on saloon windows. The following year, the council reversed its position, ordering blinds be installed

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[82]Spirit of Jefferson, 19 April 1898, p. 2, col. 5; 17 December 1901, p. 2, col. 3; Harpers Ferry Sentinel, 21 February 1902, p. 3, col. 1.

[83]Virginia Free Press, 17 February 1897, p. 3, col. 1; 8 January 1902, p. 2, col. 5.

[84]Harpers Ferry Sentinel, 21 February 1902, p. 3, col. 1.

[85]Farmers Advocate, 8 January 1910, p. 2, col. 1.In the 1890s and 1900s, John Doll, James C. McGraw, Theodore Conner, and Thomas Burleigh served one or more terms as mayor or town councilmen at the same time they held licenses for the sale or manufacture of alcoholic beverages. Doll was mayor in 1891 and 1893. Conner was a councilman in 1893, while James McGraw served almost continuously from 1889 to 1897. Thomas Burleigh had the longest presence, serving twelve terms before prohibition as either mayor or councilman between 1896 and 1914. They were no doubt aided in their opposition to the anti-saloon forces by councilmen such as Will Rau, James Conway's son-in-law, and Leo O'Beirne, who died in 1928 from drinking by falling in the canal while drunk and drowning.

on bar windows. This vote followed the resignation of three councilmen at a previous meeting called to consider the liquor license question.[86] The license issue also affected attempts to consolidate the towns of Bolivar and Harpers Ferry. Although consolidation was thought to mean a reduction in municipal expenditures, most Harpers Ferry residents were opposed, fearing consolidation would tip the liquor license question in favor of the anti-license forces.[87]

By 1911, Charles Town and Harpers Ferry apparently were the only communities in Jefferson County that still had saloons. That Spring, an effort to put the saloon question before the voters in Charles Town was defeated by that town's council. This action provoked a county-wide petition drive to persuade the county court not to issue any liquor licenses. In June, no-license supporters presented the court petitions signed by 2,000 voters and 1,800 women. The county court unanimously voted not to issue any licenses, thus closing nine or ten saloons in Charles Town and three saloons and a "beer depot" in Harpers Ferry. As of July 1, Jefferson County was dry.[88]

For the next year and a half, the county remained dry, but the liquor question was still being fought. In June 1912, Thomas Burleigh, Theodore Conner, Shep Gattrell, and wholesale dealer Charles Smith of Harpers Ferry applied to the county court for liquor licenses. Petitions and speeches by temperance proponents convinced the court not to grant these applications.[89] In August 1912, the Frances Willard chapter of the WCTU was organized in Harpers Ferry and

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[86]Spirit of Jefferson, 16 June 1908, p. 2, col. 2; Farmers Advocate, 15 May 1909, p. 2, col. 3; 8 May 1909, p. 2, col. 4; 15 May 1909, p. 2, col. 3.

[87]Farmers Advocate, 12 January 1907, p. 3, col. 6; 20 February 1909, p. 2, col. 1.

[88]Farmers Advocate, 10 June 1911, p. 2, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 13 April 1911, p. 1, cols. 3 & 4; 8 June 1911, p. 4, col. 2. Throughout the Spring, the Virginia Free Press carried commentary on the subject.

[89]Spirit of Jefferson, 25 June 1912, p. 2, col. 4.

Bolivar to push for support of a proposed state constitutional amendment barring the sale of liquor in West Virginia.[90]

When voters went to the polls in November 1912, statewide prohibition, set to take effect July 1, 1914, was approved by a majority of voters in nearly every county in West Virginia. Jefferson County approved the measure by a three to two margin. Bolivar citizens overwhelmingly supported it (with nearly 70 percent in favor), but less than half of Harpers Ferry's residents did. The Harpers Ferry/Bolivar correspondent to the Farmers Advocate noted "the success of the 'white ribbon' cause in the state . . . . The women and children gave two large pre-election parades through the towns, Saturday and upon election day, besides many meetings and addresses."[91]

With this success, temperance supporters were taken aback the following month when the town councils of Charles Town and Harpers Ferry supported licensing saloons. Advocates argued the prohibition amendment, by allowing liquor dealers to stay in business until 1914, voided any existing liquor legislation. The following month, despite a petition signed by 3,000 residents opposing such action, the county court granted liquor licenses to four men in Charles Town and Theodore Conner, Thomas Burleigh, and Shep Gattrell in Harpers Ferry.[92] The Shepherdstown Register reported Bernard J. Miles, Harpers Ferry resident and one of the county commissioners, "was tied hand and foot by the whiskey people, and though he had publicly announced that he would abide by the wishes of the majority, and had declared in print that he was not a liquor

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[90]Farmers Advocate, 10 August 1912, p. 2, col. 4. Based on the names of known women members, some of them were the wives or other relatives of officers in the Sons of Jonadab, and several of the women were in the auxiliary of the organization.

[91]Farmers Advocate, 9 November 1912, p. 2, col. 5. Also see p. 3, cols. 5 & 6; 23 November 1912, p. 1, col. 4.

[92]Virginia Free Press, 12 December 1912, p. 5, col. 2; 2 January 1913, p. 2, col. 2; 16 January 1913, p. 2, col. 2.

candidate, the saloon-keepers of Harper's Ferry had a death grip upon him."[93]

Following this decision, the local WCTU passed resolutions urging temperance voters to attend party primaries in the future determined to choose temperance candidates. Furthermore, should opponents of temperance be nominated, the chapter urged voters to put aside party politics and select men "who can with certainty be counted upon not to betray the people into the hands of their worst enemy--the saloon."[94] Although implementation of prohibition in 1914 was assured, the WCTU kept up its commentary. Through a column regularly appearing in both the Virginia Free Press and the Spirit of Jefferson, the chapter reported on the progress of prohibition efforts in various states and commented on the evils of drink and saloons. The local WCTU linked gambling and brothels to the continued operation of saloons and stressed the downfall of the drunkard and the heartache of his family in items such as the poem, "The Bar and the Door." Continuing the education aspect of the WCTU's mission, the local chapter distributed temperance and anti-cigarette blotters to district schools and sponsored several school contests.[95] As state prohibition neared, the WCTU turned its attention to national prohibition by circulating copies of a resolution advocating national prohibition. Support was given by several local churches and organizations.[96]

On July 1, 1914, under the Yost Law (state prohibition law) "the manufacture, sale and

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[93]Quoted in Virginia Free Press, 16 January 1913, p. 2, col. 2.

[94]Virginia Free Press, 23 January 1913, p. 3, col. 3.

[95]See for example, Farmers Advocate, 28 September 1912, p. 2, col. 5; Virginia Free Press, 2 October 1913, p. 3, col. 3; 30 October 1913, p. 3, col. 3; 27 November 1913, p. 3, col. 2; 1 January 1914, p. 3, col. 5; 12 February 1914, p. 1, col. 6; 5 March 1914, p. 3, col. 4; 12 March 1914, p. 3, col. 5; 9 April 1914, p. 1, col. 6; 30 April 1914, p. 3, col. 3.

[96]Virginia Free Press, 16 April 1914, p. 3, col. 6. The Methodist Protestant Church (with 100 members), the Methodist Episcopal Church (69 members), the black Free Baptist Church (200 members), the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (76 members), the Sons of Jonadab (43 members), the Modern Woodsmen of America (35 members), the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America (22 members), Storer College (210 members), and the Frances Willard WCTU (32) adopted these resolutions.

keeping for sale of malt, vinuous [*sic*] or spirituous liquors, wine, ale, porter, beer, or any intoxicating drink, mixture or preparations of like nature" became illegal in West Virginia except as allowed for medicinal, sacramental, and scientific purposes.[97] The prohibition forces in Harpers Ferry celebrated their victory with a union service of churches and the WCTU, while some saloon patrons who arrived too late to purchase alcoholic beverages in Harpers Ferry journeyed across the Potomac River to Weverton, Maryland, where liquor still was sold. Henceforth, intoxicating drink could not be bought out-of-state for resale in West Virginia, but individuals could purchase alcohol and transport it across the state line for personal consumption at home. They also could make wine and cider for themselves. Thus, drinking was not eliminated, only made more difficult, by state prohibition. Residents of Harpers Ferry initially had easy access to liquor in Virginia, where prohibition did not take effect until 1916, and Maryland, where local-option initiatives did not close saloons in Washington and Frederick counties until 1918.[98] Although the supply of liquor was drastically reduced following enactment of national prohibition in 1919, newspaper accounts of raids on moonshine camps in Washington County, Maryland, and arrests of area residents for possession or transportation of liquor clearly show Harpers Ferrians had access to alcohol even then.[99]

For the old arsenal yard, however, the saloon era was over. The bar in the Hotel Conner, together with two other saloons in town, closed with the advent of state prohibition in 1914.

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[97]Acts of the Legislature of West Virginia, Thirtieth Regular Session, 1911, pp. 43-46.

[98]Farmers Advocate, 4 July 1914, p. 2, col. 4; 18 July 1914, p. 4, col. 3; 4 May 1918, p. 2, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 29 September 1914, p. 2, col. 3.

[99]The Volstead Act did not actually totally outlaw alcohol. Any stock purchased before 1920 was legal, as was fruit concentrate, which could be used to make wine or cider. The law did prohibit malts and yeast for making beer, the beverage of choice for the working class. Thus, the law seemed to allow upper and middle classes to continue drinking while attempting to eliminate access for working people. It has been suggested that after an initial decline, consumption for the first two groups nearly returned to their pre-Prohibition levels by the late 1920s (Clark, pp. 130-33; Blocker, p. 120).

Patrons had to look elsewhere for the fellowship they had found in saloons. However, the day when the saloon was the social center for working-class men may have been passing anyway. According to Roy Rosenzweig, it was older men who continued to view the saloon as a social club. For younger men, the pool room or dance hall was a more attractive leisure place. Low admission prices and short programs also made movies competition for saloons. The barber shop long had been another center for male socializing in many towns, and temperance supporters suggested the drug store soda fountain as a substitute gathering place.[100]

Locally, Harpers Ferry had no dance hall in 1914, but a movie theater opened in town in November of that year in the old Catholic schoolhouse on Shenandoah Street. Although the timing of its opening in relationship to the closure of saloons likely was coincidence, the new movie theater did provide an entertaining way to spend leisure hours and drew large crowds. Downtown Harpers Ferry had a couple of barber shops, one located on Lot 1, Block B, possibly from the 1890s until about 1920, and the other on Lot 5 next to the Hotel Conner from the 1890s until as late as 1936. There also were one or two drug stores at any given time, including one on Lot 1, Block B, as late as 1915 and another in the Hotel Conner from 1923 to 1936. However, the drug store presented a different environment from the saloon, one ill-suited to the uninhibited camaraderie of the saloon.[101]

To some extent, Charles Wentzell's tobacco shop (High Street extended) may have met that need. Although Wentzell had been one of the town's temperance supporters, his shop was "the emporium from which nearly everyone in the community received their supply of tobacco and a

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[100]Rosenzweig, pp. 188, 191; Schlereth, p. 229.

[101]Mary Johnson, "Catholic School Lot, Presbyterian Church Lot, Jefferson's Lot, and Part of Lot 2, Shenandoah Street, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Special History Study" (Final Report, National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, 24 July 1995), p. 28; pp. 98-101, 111-121, 150-156, and 159 of this report.

club room where the citizens of town met to discuss the topics of the day and strangers visiting the town scarcely failed to call," at least until Wentzell's death in 1917.[102] Harpers Ferry also had at least one pool room through the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in 1914 and early 1915 being operated by Bernard J. Miles in the lobby of the Hotel Conner. As Rosenzweig found among younger men in Worchester, Massachusetts, it was there that Harpers Ferrians may have turned to recreate the largely male, working-class world the saloon had once provided.[103]

The Twentieth Century: Downtown Harpers Ferry in Transition

The coming of prohibition was just one of several forces shaping the history of the old arsenal yard in the twentieth century. One national force was a change in the nature of business. Industrialization, transportation improvements, and the move toward consolidation of production and distribution under single management gave rise to big business in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Small business remained important, particularly in the retail and service sector. For instance, as late as 1929, with nearly six million employees, the one and a half million retail stores in the country averaged only slightly over three persons per store. Nevertheless, small establishments increasingly found it hard to compete with the variety of goods and lower prices available in larger department, chain, and mail-order stores.[104]

One chain store making a short appearance in Harpers Ferry was the Great Atlantic and

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[102]Farmers Advocate, 9 June 1917, p. 2, col. 3.

[103]See p. 96 of this report.

[104]Mansel G. Blackford, A History of Small Business in America (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992), pp. 28-9, 53, 57.

Pacific Tea Company. The A&P had about 200 stores by 1900 and over 15,000 in 1929. The number of A&P stores declined during the 1930s, as the growth of supermarkets, typically on the outskirts of towns, provided competition, and the A&P responded by closing smaller stores and opening supermarkets. By 1941, there were only about 6,200 stores, less than half the number operating twelve years earlier. An A&P store opened in Harpers Ferry on Lot 1, Block B, in 1928 during the rapid increase in A&P stores, but it closed in 1937. While its closure reportedly was caused by the lack of business following the destruction of the bridge across the Shenandoah River in the 1936 flood, the trend toward supermarket A&Ps well may have played a role.[105]

With tourism such an important part of life in Harpers Ferry, some businesses carved out special niches aimed primarily at tourists. Several eating places were located in downtown Harpers Ferry within sight of the railroad depot. For example, from the first decade of the century until his death in 1928, Leo O'Beirne had a lunch room on Lot 1, Block A, directly at the bottom of the steps leading to the depot, and a succession of proprietors ran a lunch room on Lot 5 from 1919 to at least 1939. Local drug stores (among them those run by Walter Dittmeyer on Lot 1, Block B, from 1904 to 1914 and later at the corner of Shenandoah and Potomac streets, and Shirley Nichols under the Hotel Conner from 1923 to 1930) sold postcards, souvenirs, and camera film.[106]

Challenging the success businessmen located near the railroad depot may have had in attracting customers was the replacement of traditional modes of transportation with the automobile. The automobile had a significant impact on small towns. Some towns prospered as

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[105]Blackford, pp. 53, 89-90; Spirit of Jefferson, 8 March 1928, p. 1, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 12 November 1937, p. 8, col. 1.

[106]See pp. 66, 98-100, 114-121, and 154 of this report; Gilbert, Joseph, and Wheelock, pp. 3: 103-104. No advertisements for Dittmeyer's store on Block B are available; however, several of his postcards (currently in the Park collection) date to this era.

it was easier for people living in the surrounding countryside to make a quick trip to town. Other towns, however, became stagnant as the new mobility created by the automobile made residents less dependent on their own towns for shopping. Furthermore, whereas railroad travellers typically first had seen the main streets of towns, where business historically had clustered, motorists entered many towns at the outskirts. Small-town businesses were in decline by the 1930s.[107]

In May 1906, the Harpers Ferry Times commented on Eugene Bready's automobile, "the only one in the county." By 1915, Harpers Ferry and Bolivar had about thirty autos; a decade later, Harpers Ferry reportedly had 72 autos, Bolivar 59, and the surrounding district 225. In the 1910s and 1920s, newspapers regularly mention residents taking motor trips for visiting or sightseeing; they likely made shopping trips as well. The B&O Railroad ran fewer excursion trains to Island Park. Although railroad travel continued, visitors increasingly journeyed to Harpers Ferry by automobile rather than train. This trend diverted much tourist interest away from the downtown area, especially since motorists could more easily incorporate outlying areas in their itineraries than rail travellers could.[108]

Before the 1930s, the impact of the automobile on downtown Harpers Ferry business was not all negative, however, as the principal roads in town carried motorists through the downtown area, people living outside town found it more convenient to make frequent trips to town, and new businesses opened specifically to serve automobile owners. An auto supply depot and garage was located on Lot 1, Block B, from 1915 to 1919. Later, a service station operated across

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[107]John A. Jakle, The American Small Town: Twentieth-Century Place Images (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982), pp. 119, 121-22, 153, 155.

[108]Harpers Ferry Times, 18 May 1906, p. 4, col. 3; Farmers Advocate, 4 September 1915, p. 2, col. 4; 5 December 1925, p. 1, col. 5; Gilbert, Joseph, and Wheelock, pp. 3: 111, 113-14.

Shenandoah Street. Automobiles had to pass the old arsenal yard, as from the early 1920s the state road (Route 340) brought motorists across the Potomac River to the southern end of Potomac Street, then along Shenandoah Street in front of Block A to the intersection with High Street, where the route turned up the hill. The Shenandoah River bridge also brought traffic from Virginia into town at the junction of the two rivers.[109]

Harpers Ferry was devastated in the 1930s by national and local crises. Nationally, the undercurrents of economic instability present in the 1920s, such as declining farm incomes, were followed by depression in the 1930s. Unemployment skyrocketed, by early 1933 reaching over 20 percent for the entire work force and 40 percent for non-farm workers. Banks closed, wiping out savings. Prices fell.[110]

Locally, economic difficulties had been present since the 1920s. Nearby stone quarries periodically shut down or ran on reduced work hours; the Shenandoah pulp mill also shut down for extended periods before closing permanently in 1935; the Potomac power plant and pulp mill burned down in 1925; and the knitting mill, opened in 1920 in the old Presbyterian Church on Shenandoah Street, closed in 1926, eliminating an important source of employment for women. B&O Railroad employees, who experienced several furloughs through the 1920s, had a brief respite when the company began building a new bridge across the Potomac River and making other improvements in Harpers Ferry in 1930. That work was completed in 1931. Lack of employment in Jefferson County led to the organization of a relief committee late in 1930. Such efforts to assist people continued through the 1930s. In such a climate, Harpers Ferry

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[109]Gilbert, Joseph, and Wheelock, p. 3: 112; West Virginia State Road Commission, "Plan and Profile of Proposed Construction of Class 'A' Road, State Project 3034," 1922; pp. 157-158 of this report; Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1933.

[110]Garraty and McCaughey, pp. 746, 762-63, 773, 916.

businessmen likely found a number of customers requesting fewer goods and services and struggling to pay for what they did need.[111]

Businessmen, already affected by the depression, were confronted with local catastrophe in March 1936, when the highest recorded flood hit town. The Hotel Conner, by then closed for several years, already stood in disrepair, but damage to other buildings and, more important, loss of highway bridges across the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers to flood waters, compounded economic woes. Planking of one railroad bridge across the Potomac in the Fall re-established auto access with Maryland, and ferry service resumed across the Shenandoah, but these makeshift arrangements made for awkward travel at best. Within less than two years, the A&P store on Lot 1, Block B, closed, citing lack of business, in part due to the absence of a bridge to Virginia, as a reason.[112] The condition of downtown Harpers Ferry was such that a guest correspondent to the Farmers Advocate denounced the appearance of this area in 1941, calling upon the town council to

> show better results in cleaning up these unsightly vacant lots, and the dingy fronts of unoccupied buildings on our main streets . . . . With the demolition of the unsightly old frame hotel [Hotel Conner, demolished about 1939], and the remodeling of the annex into apartments the worst has been remedied. But much remains to be done . . . .[113]

Many downtown businesses had closed after the flood or moved to Camp Hill or Bolivar. A few merchants stayed downtown. With regard to the old arsenal yard, James Cassell, by then owner of the hotel and annex property on Block A, had remodeled the annex. He also had opened

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[111]Farmers Advocate, 30 April 1921, p. 1, col. 2; 17 January 1925, p. 1, col. 5; 9 May 1925, p. 1, col. 6; 3 April 1926, p. 1, col. 1; 12 November 1927, p. 1, col. 1; 1 September 1928, p. 1, col. 1; 10 November 1928, p. 1, col. 1; 18 October 1930, p. 1, col. 2; 13 December 1930, p. 1, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 13 May 1931, p. 1, col. 3; Johnson, "Catholic School Lot," pp. 19-20, 25.

[112]Gilbert, Joseph, and Wheelock, p. 3: 117; Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1933; Farmers Advocate, 16 October 1936, p. 1, col. 1; 12 November 1937, p. 8, col. 1; 23 May 1941, p. 3, col. 2.

[113]Farmers Advocate, 23 May 1941, p. 3, col. 2.

a grocery store in his Lot 1, Block B, building after the A&P vacated the premises late in 1937 and presumably continued his hardware business at the rear of the property. William Walsh also kept his store open on Lot 6, Block A.[114]

For several years after the 1936 flood, residents looked forward to the rebuilding of the bridges across the two rivers, but the inability of Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia to reach agreement on the project and the coming of World War II placed any such plans on hold. Finally, new bridges were constructed in the late 1940s. However, despite the opposition of residents, instead of being rebuilt at their old locations leading directly into downtown Harpers Ferry, the new bridges bypassed the town by carrying traffic from Maryland across the Potomac River to Virginia, then along the south side of the Shenandoah before crossing the river near Bolivar. Now, Maryland residents had no direct access to Harpers Ferry to purchase goods, and they took their business to Brunswick. Some other customers reportedly headed for Charles Town.[115]

After several years of effort, legislation establishing Harpers Ferry National Monument was passed by the United States Congress and signed by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1944. A decade later, the State of West Virginia donated much of the downtown area of Harpers Ferry (and additional acreage on Loudoun and Bolivar Heights), acquired by purchase or condemnation, to the federal government for the National Monument. Floods in 1936 and 1942 had destroyed several buildings (the residential area west of Block B for example) and left others damaged. Compounded by subsequent neglect, some buildings were in poor condition, missing roofs or windows, or exhibiting structural problems. The buildings on the old arsenal yard were in fairly good condition, however, despite some flood damage to the lower floors. Nevertheless, these

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[114]Baltimore Sun, Metrogravure Magazine, 5 February 1950; pp. 166, 171, and 128 of this report.

[115]Farmers Advocate, 30 January 1942, p. 2, col. 4; Baltimore Sun, Metrogravure Magazine, 5 February 1950.

buildings, all built after the Civil War, did not relate to the primary thematic focus of the Park--John Brown and the Civil War--or to the related topic of pre-war industry in Harpers Ferry. Consequently, in the late 1950s and 1960s, the entire block of extant buildings from the hotel annex on Lot 2, Block A (nothing stood on Lot 1), to the Cassell grocery and hardware businesses on Lot 1, Block B, were demolished. The foundations of the post-war buildings were buried while those of pre-war armory buildings were partially exposed, thus obscuring the history of an area integral to the story of post-war Harpers Ferry.[116]

[116]Gilbert, Joseph, and Wheelock, pp. 3: 126-31; Notes accompanying 1955 Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, NM-HF 3055.

Figure 5. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1894.

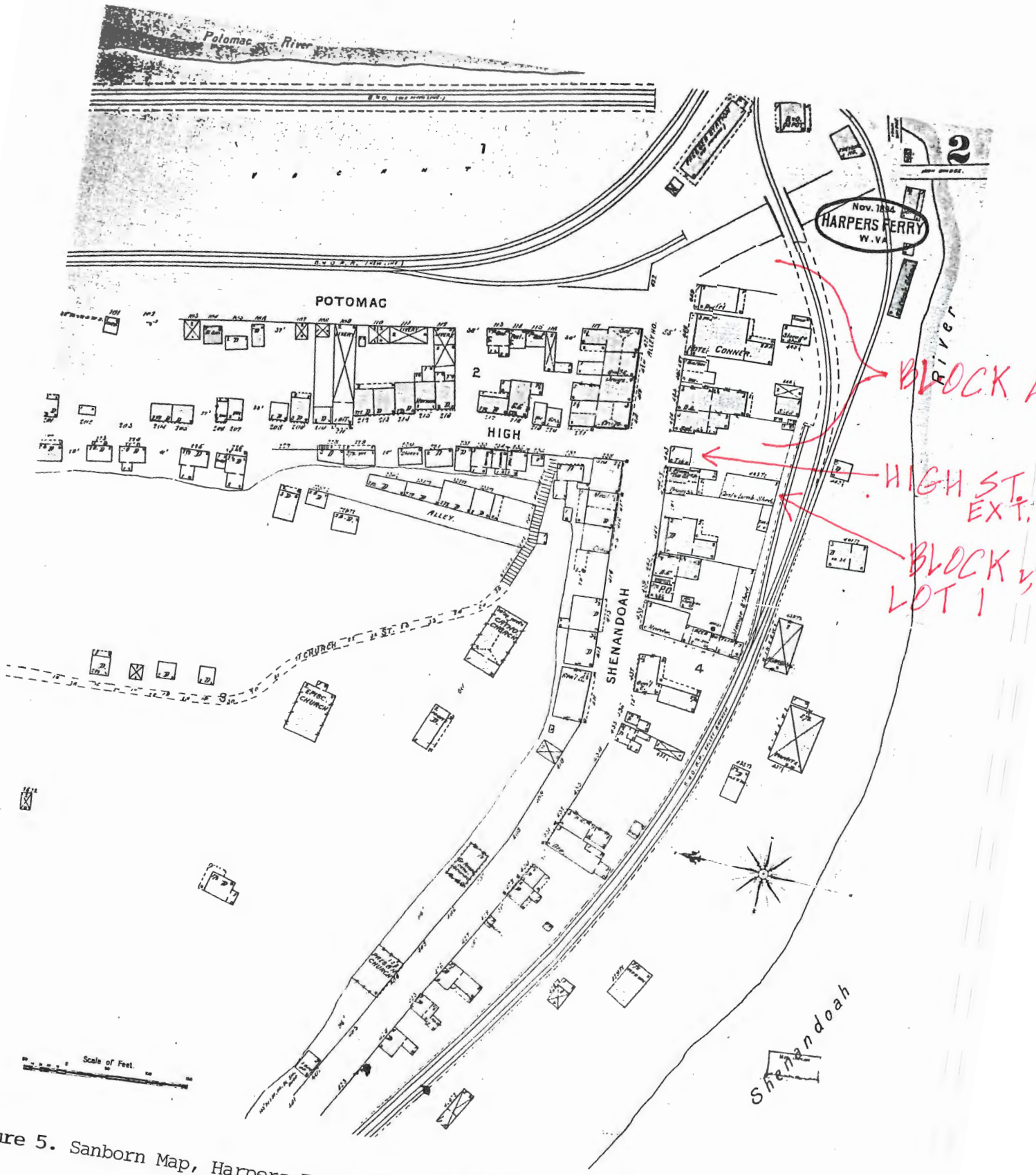

Figure 5. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1894. MARKED COPY

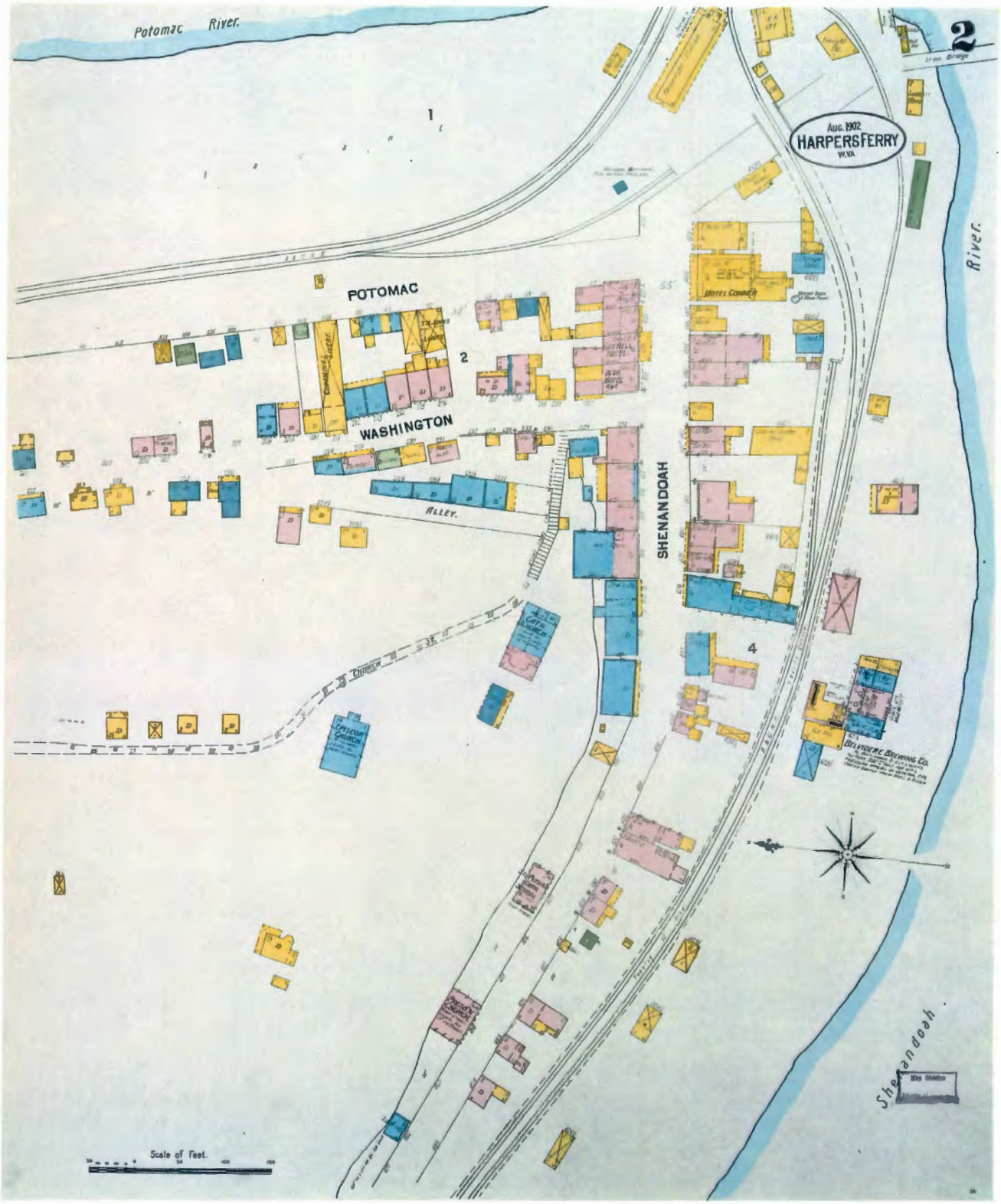

Figure 6. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1902.

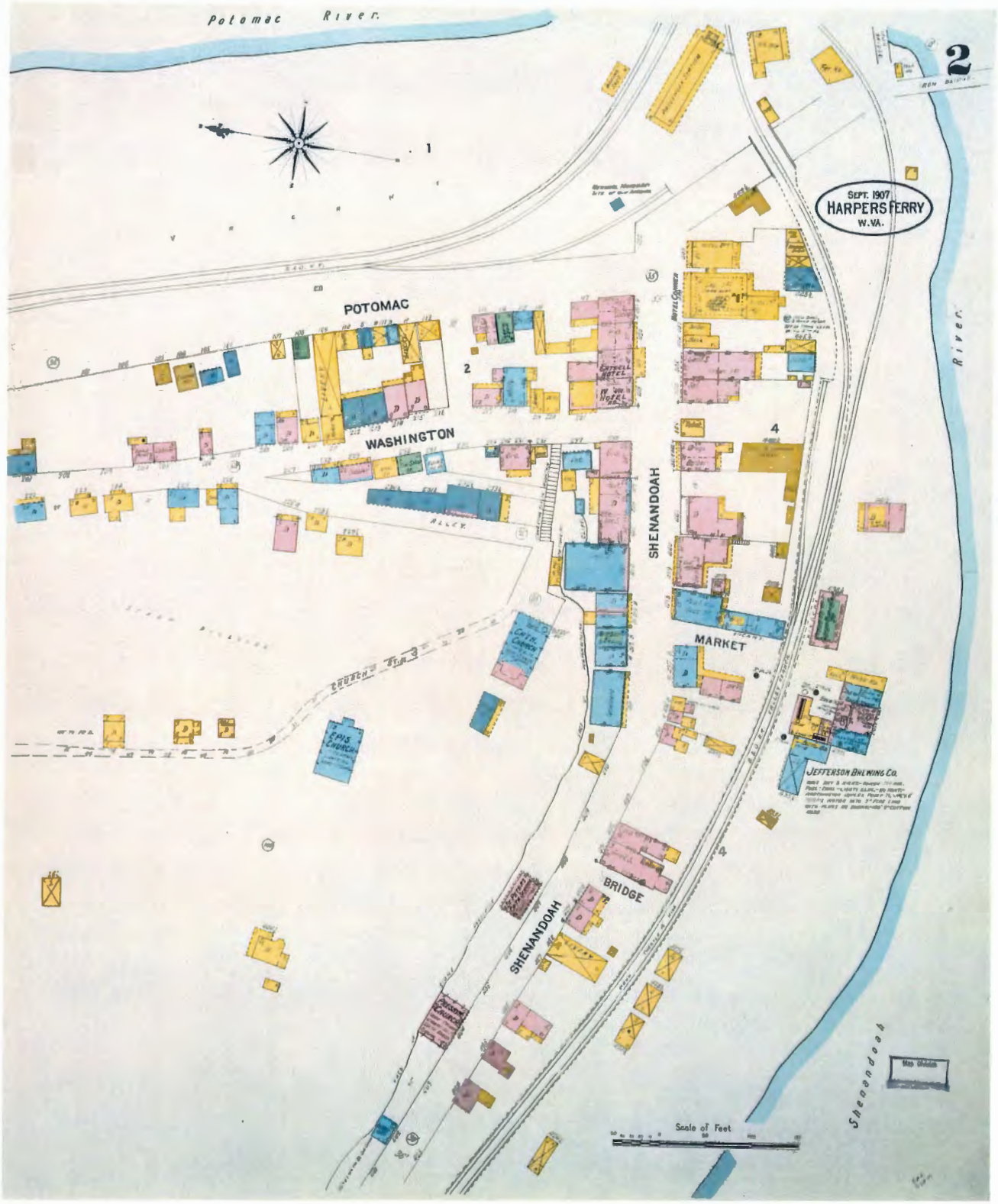

Figure 7. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1907.

Figure 8. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1912.

Figure 9. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1922.

Figure 10. Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1933.

PHYSICAL HISTORY (INDIVIDUAL LOTS)

Timeline for Arsenal Yard: 1751-1869

1751	Robert Harper received patent for 125 acres from Lord Fairfax. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 1)
1796	Harper property sold to United States by heirs. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 2)
1799-1800	Large brick arsenal building (120' x 27' within; 125' x 34' altogether) constructed under supervision of paymaster John Mackey, who designed building, and his successor Samuel Annin. The building had stone foundations 5 feet deep and included a center stone wall running the entire length of building. The building had no cellar or chimneys. It stretched across what would later become Lots 2 to 6, Block A. Archeological work in 1959 located the building immediately north of the railroad. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 7, 11; Larrabee, Drawing No. 3)
	One-story frame artillery shed constructed probably about the same time. Located on Lot 6, Block A, at north end on Shenandoah Street. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 11)
1806-1807	Small 2-story brick arsenal building (planned at 64' x 32'; built at 68' x 36'), with cellar but no chimneys, constructed by specifications provided by Secretary of War Henry Dearborn. The building had a stone foundation 2½ feet below ground, with the lower floor to be at least 3 feet above ground resting on stone columns. Located partially on what would become Lot 7, Block A, at north end on Shenandoah Street, partially on site formerly occupied by artillery shed. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 12-14)
1821	1-story, wood timber house or shed (50' x 24') probably standing on Lot 1, Block A, along east arsenal yard boundary & on south side of gate. Snell concluded it likely was built between 1811 and 1817. The armory lumber yard was on the south side of the arsenal yard near the bank of the Shenandoah River. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 21)
1822	1-story, wood and stone stock house erected at cost of $1,000. It probably stood on Lot 1, Block A, on east boundary on arsenal yard & north of gate in east wall. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 22)

1825-1826	Lumber yard enclosed by a stone wall, and another stone wall was built along the river to keep the river was overrunning the lumber yard. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 27)
1826	Wall built around arsenal yard. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 23)
	1-story brick building (28' x 21') with stone foundation, cellar, and a hip roof stood at northeast corner of arsenal yard on Lot 1, Block A. It probably was used as a dwelling by James Clark. Cellar access on south side. Later addition (possibly in 1850s) with brick floor, 4' wide on Shenandoah Street side, 8' wide on south side. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 25; "Historic Structures and Ground Report, p. 73)
1827	Flag pole erected in the arsenal yard. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 23)
1829	Pipes laid for bringing water to the arsenals. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 25)
1832	Brick dwelling converted for use as office of superintendent. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 31-32)
1834	Ice house standing on Lot 6, Block A, south of small arsenal & just west of large arsenal. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 34)
	Superintendent's carriage house standing south of large arsenal, probably on Lot 3 or 4, Block A. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 34)
1835-1836	Winchester & Potomac Railroad constructed, traversing arsenal yard in vicinity of carriage house & lumber house.
1844	Ice house, lumber shed and yard, and stock house gone. Probably removed in connection with construction of railroad in 1835. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 53)
	Arsenal gate removed from east side to north side along Shenandoah Street. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 53)
1847	W&P Railroad brick depot erected south of railroad tracks across Lots 1 to 3, Block A. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 56)
1848	Superintendent's office building leased by group of armory workmen for use as library. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 58)
1840s-1850s	Well constructed along Shenandoah Street at Lot 1, Block B. (Farmers Advocate, 22 July 1911, p. 2, col. 3)

1848-1856	Superintendent's office building leased to Harper's Ferry Female Seminary for school room. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 58)
1856-1861	Superintendent's office building used as town hall. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 74)
1858-1859	Arsenal yard filled raising the level of the ground which had been from 1½ to 4 feet below Shenandoah Street. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 72)
1861 (April 18)	Large and small arsenals burned by troops guarding U.S. armory who had been warned of approach of Virginia militia. Small arsenal was completely destroyed, but ruins of large arsenal remained. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 78)
1865 (July 27)	Brigadier General Edward Ramsey inspected armory buildings & reported superintendent's office was still standing, in good condition, and used as post office. The arsenals were gone. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 84)
1866 (February)	Three 1-story frame buildings belonging to U.S. Military Railroad Corps were standing on arsenal yard. Mess house (62' x 21') with 26' x 13' wing stood along Shenandoah Street across Lot 5 & 6. The other two buildings (16' x 16' and 18' x 16') were near the superintendent's office. Transferred to Quartermaster General February 24. (Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 84)
1866 (March 27)	Public sale of government property includes two 62' x 21' mess houses, a mess house with 16' x 12' wing, and a 16' x 16' building. Probably included the mess house & one other building on arsenal yard (Virginia Free Press, 15 March 1866, p. 2, col 6).

Figure 11. HF-21. The large arsenal appears in this 1803-1806 engraving of the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers.

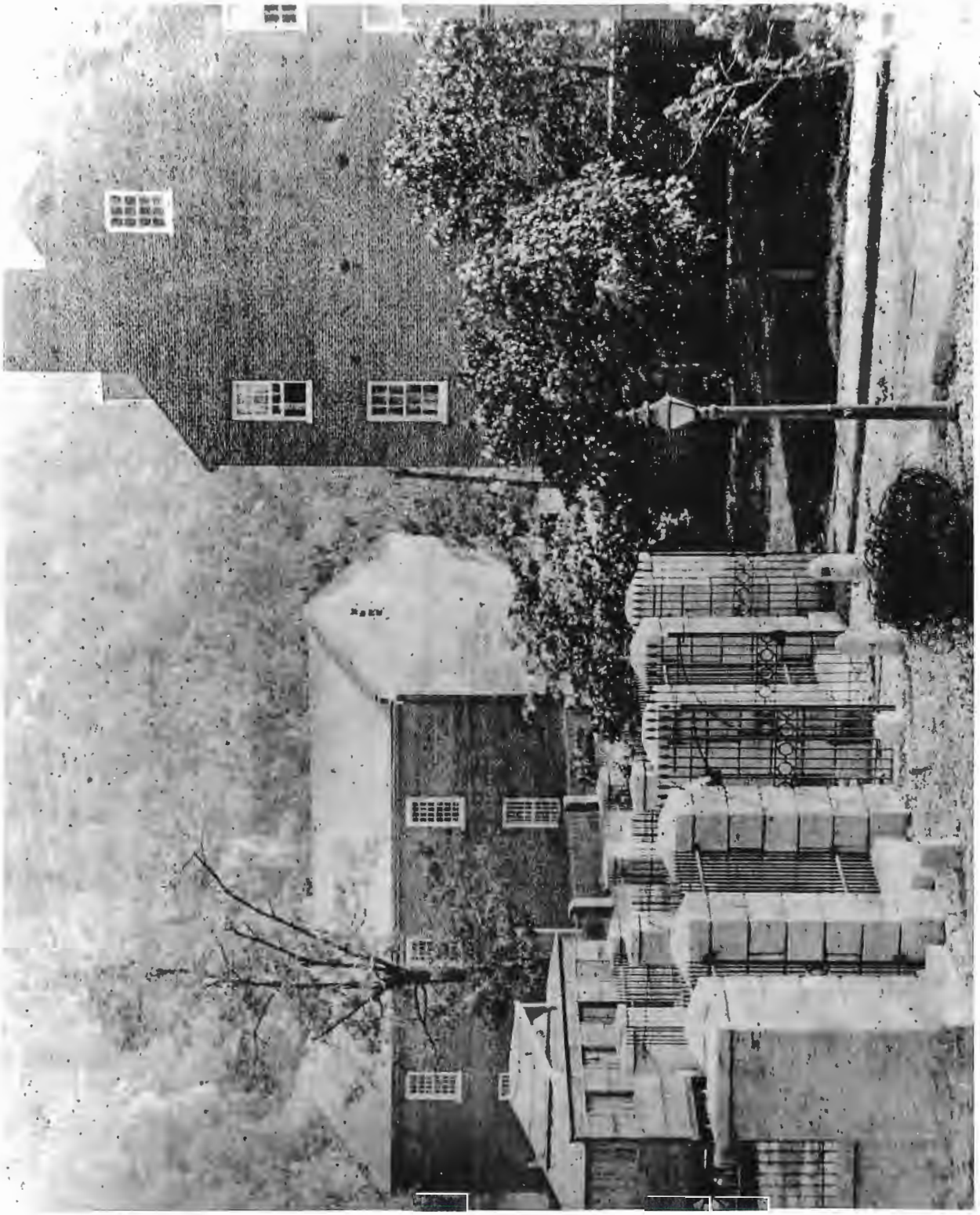

Figure 12. HF-90. The small arsenal (left) in 1858.

Figure 13. HF-66. Part of the large arsenal is visible in this 1858 photograph.

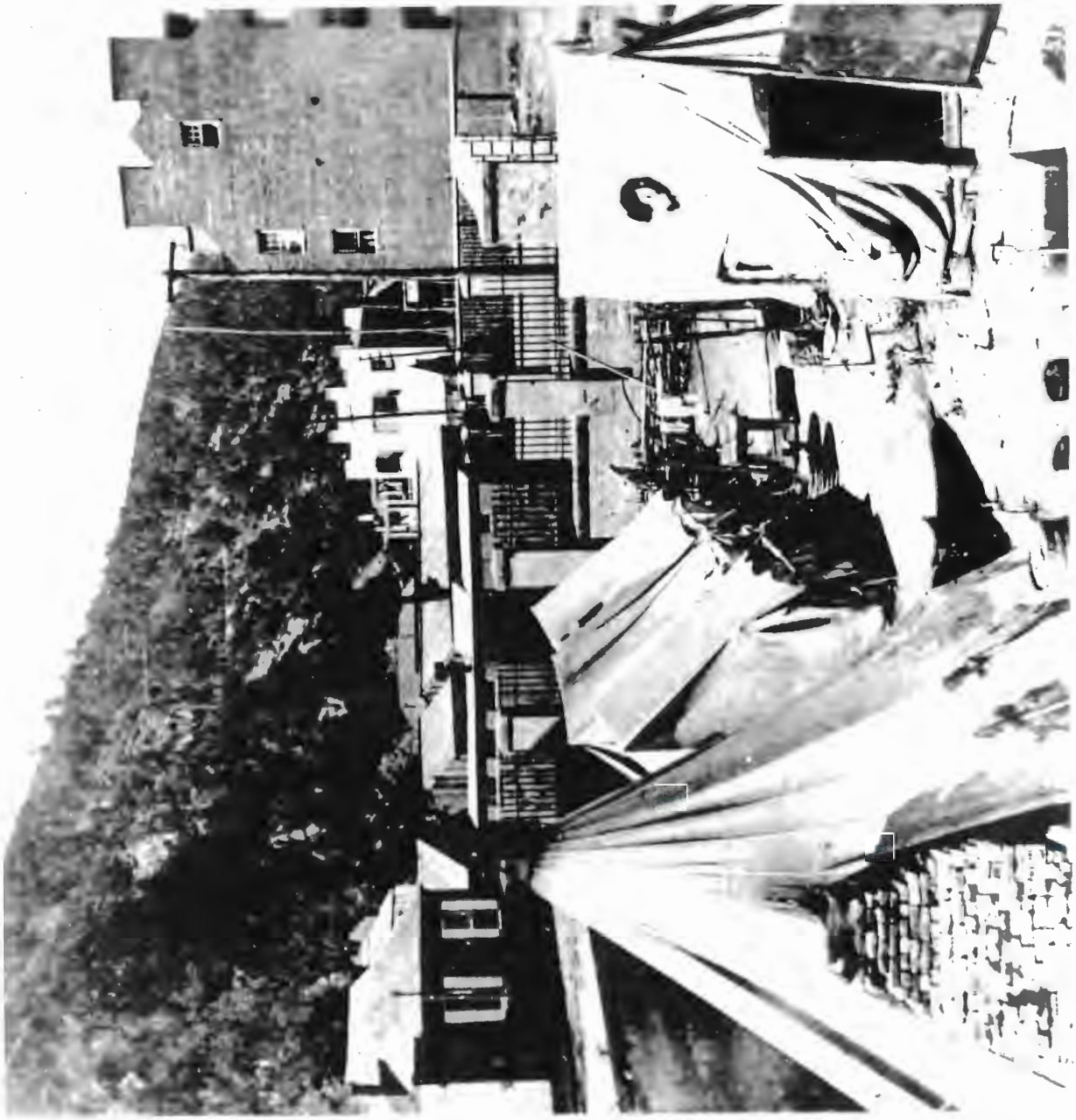

Figure 14. HF-18. The old arsenal yard is in the background in this 1862 photograph.

Lot 1, Block A: 1869-1953

At the end of the Civil War, the United States owned Lot 1, Block A. Shortly thereafter, the decision was made to close the armory and sell the government property at Harpers Ferry. In 1868, Congress passed legislation authorizing this sale, which took place in December 1869. According to the description included in the catalog of property being sold in 1869, Lot 1 fronted 33 feet, 10 inches on the south side of Shenandoah Street, extended 184 feet with the Wager property line and 179 feet with the Lot 2 property line to the Shenandoah River, and extended across the W&P Railroad, "binding 73 feet thereon." The old superintendent's office, a one-story brick building, 28' x 21', constructed about 1822 and the only building on Block A in 1869, stood on this lot.[117]

At the December 1869 sale, Thomas J. Burleigh and his mother Bridget placed the highest bid ($2,025) on Lot 1, Block A. According to Thomas Burleigh, over the next nine years, $664 was expended for tin roofing and spouting, repairing steps and doors, plastering, and building a new wall in the cellar of the building on Lot 1. A stable also was erected. During that time, the property was rented to various, unspecified persons, bringing in total rents of $1,055. In August 1878, when Thomas Burleigh applied for abatement of $1,725 of the purchase price, he stated the property, less the improvements made, was worth only $300.[118] According to Bridget Burleigh, the $1,055 reported as rent received over the years included $150 due by note from John Shilling and $100 from George Blew, a "colored" man. She indicated neither sum was collectable. She

[117]Quoted in Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," p. 91. See also pp. 86-8.

[118]Application of Thomas J. Burleigh for Abatement on purchase of Lot of Land No. 1 Block A at Harper's Ferry, Frame 808, Reel 238, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park; Report of Names and addresses of Purchasers of U.S. Armory Property at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, who desire an abatement on purchase price, Frame 995, Reel 238, R.G. 121, Entry 78.

further reported floods had "so wrecked" the house on Lot 1 as to make it "nearly worthless." The improvements made to the building had been destroyed, and the house was left in worse condition than before the improvements had been made. After the "last flood" (probably meaning the 1877 flood), the house was vacant two years. Late in 1879 she made repairs and got "a colored man" to occupy it.[119] In an appraisal of the property, C. H. Trail, R. A. Alexander, and A. M. Sponseller concluded the stone house and lot were worth $600, including a $250 market value and improvements since November 1869 valued at $350.[120]

The United States government agreed to abate part of the purchase price and, on November 6, 1879, deeded Lot 1, Block A, to Thomas J. Burleigh for $450. This money was paid through Bridget Burleigh. That same day, Thomas and his wife Mattie conveyed the property to Bridget. The second deed clearly indicates the property ran back to the river, but the first deed only states the property line ran "back as shown on the map or plat of the Harpers Ferry property." As the 184 feet noted on the map undoubtedly included only land north of the railroad right-of-way, ownership of the land south of the railroad was left in doubt.[121]

Both deeds also incorrectly describe Lot 1 as fronting 38 feet, 10 inches, on Shenandoah Street. This erroneous figure clouded title to Lot 2. As a result, Bridget Burleigh executed a deed in March 1886, clarifying the proper frontage as 33 feet, 10 inches, so that Florence Kirwan, owner of Lot 2, would have clear title to her property.[122]

If all the land back to the river, including the railroad right-of-way, is included, Lot 1 held

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[119]Statement of Bridget Boerley, 4 November 1879, Frame 142, Reel 239.

[120]Appraisal of C.H. Trail, R.A. Alexander, and A.M. Sponseller, 20 October 1879, Frame 977, Reel 238.

[121]United States to Thomas J. Burley, 6 November 1879, Deed Book H, p. 431; Thomas J. Burley and wife Mattie E. to Bridget Burley, 6 November 1879, Deed Book H, p. 397.

[122]Bridget Burley to Florence W. Kirwan, 12 March 1886, Deed Book P, p. 4.

several buildings in the 1880s. Not only did the old superintendent's office stand at the front of the property, but buildings stood further back on the lot. A long one-story shed stood near the eastern property line and extended northward from the railroad tracks. South of the tracks, within the railroad right-of-way, was another long one-story building. According to the 1894 Sanborn Map (Figure 5), this building was the railroad carpenter shop. Between the carpenter shop and the eastern property line was a small structure. The use of this building at this time is not known, although it could have been a tool house, a usage later documented by the 1913 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map (Figure 17).[123]

A photograph from the early 1870s (HF-1749, Figure 41) shows the words "Clothing Hall" written on the side of the old superintendent's office. Although those words do not automatically denote usage of the building, it is possible a clothing store was, in fact, located there. In her statement seeking abatement of part of the purchase price of Lot 1, Bridget Burleigh indicated a John Shilling had occupied the building at some time. In the late 1860s and early 1870s, a John Schilling ran a clothing store in Harpers Ferry across the street from the Shenandoah Hotel (located on the Wager Lots across South Potomac Street from Lot 1). Conceivably, this location was the old superintendent's office. Schilling left Harpers Ferry between 1872 and 1875.[124]

By the late 1880s, the building was being occupied by Thomas Burleigh as a saloon. Newspapers in 1885 and from 1887 to 1891 note the county court regularly granted Burleigh a license to sell liquor in Harpers Ferry. As many as six other men in town (including T. M. Conner, James McGraw, George Green, and Thomas Kirwan) also received liquor licenses during

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[123]See Sanborn Map 1894; Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Plan Showing Right of Way, Buildings and Tracks, Harpers Ferry, W. Va. 19 February 1913; HF-614 (Figure 16); "Historic Base Map: 1865-1900" in Gilbert, Joseph, and Wheelock.

[124]Virginia Free Press, 24 October 1867, p. 2, col. 6; 24 December 1868, p. 2, col. 5; 8 June 1872, p. 3, col. 1, 9 January 1875, p. 2, col. 6.

these years.[125] The Virginia Free Press of January 20, 1887 locates Thomas J. Burleigh, a dealer in "fine wines, brandies, liquors, gin, beer, ales, and all kinds of soft and mixed drinks," on Shenandoah Street, opposite the depot.[126] The location of Burleigh's business on Lot 1, Block A, is shown in HF-71 (Figure 15). The hip roof of the old superintendent's office is visible above the building on Wager Lot 5 in that photograph, taken across South Potomac Street, and the sign "BURLEIGHS SALOON" protrudes in front.

In 1888, the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company filed a petition in Circuit Court seeking condemnation of certain properties in Harpers Ferry needed by the railroad for "station houses, depots, tracks and terminal facilities." Among the properties requested was Lot 1, Block A. The map accompanying the request delineates a building at the front of Lot 1, indicating the old superintendent's office still stood.[127] Commissioners were appointed to determine just compensation to property owners, and they decided $2,800 was a just price for Lot 1. Bridget Burleigh refused that amount, proposing $3,000 instead.[128] The company agreed to pay that amount, and on March 19, 1889, Bridget Burleigh sold Lot 1, Block A, to the W&P Railroad Company.[129]

Thomas Burleigh may have continued to occupy the old superintendent's office after the property was sold the W&P Railroad Company, as HF-71, a photograph of the May 1889 flood, shows the sign for his saloon in front of the building. The flood probably destroyed the building,

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[125]Virginia Free Press, 26 May 1887, p. 2, col. 4; 17 May 1888, p. 3, col. 3; 7 May 1890, p. 3, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 12 May 1885, p. 3, col. 3; 14 May 1889, p. 3, col. 3; 12 May 1891, p. 3, col. 1.

[126]Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1887, supplement.

[127]Application of W&P Railroad, in W&P Railroad vs Lucy Wager, et al, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

[128]Report of Commissioners, 25 February 1889, in W&P Railroad vs Lucy Wager, et al; Spirit of Jefferson, 26 March 1889, p. 3, col. 3.

[129]Bridget Burley to Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company, 19 March 1889, Deed Book T, p. 93.

and Thomas Burleigh's losses from that deluge were estimated at $1,000. The building does not appear in HF-614 (Figure 16), taken about 1889 or 1890.[130]

In July 1893, Florence Kirwan and her husband Thomas, owners of Lot 2, the W&P Railroad Company, and the Real Estate and Improvement Company of Baltimore executed a deed by which the Kirwans sold part of Lot 2 in exchange for cash and a portion of Lot 1 to be used as an alley. This strip ran along the property line with Lot 2 to the rear line of that lot and was ten feet wide, except for the part nearest Shenandoah Street. Its course altered to accommodate the realignment of the Baltimore and Ohio and Winchester and Potomac railroad tracks underway in 1892 and 1893, Bridge Street (South Potomac Street) now cut diagonally across the front of Lot 1 and the old Wager lots adjoining on the east.[131]

As part of the changes, the railroad realigned its track. Instead of running along the rear of properties on the south side of Shenandoah Street toward the Bollman Bridge, the new track curved to the northeast to connect with a new bridge across the Potomac River. The center of this new track crossed the property line shared by Lots 1 and 2 at a point 51 feet northward of an alley just north of the old track and was built on an embankment. Thus, a sizeable portion of Lot 1 now lay either south of the new track or under the new South Potomac Street.[132]

Construction of the new track also led to removal of the shed north of the old track, but the 1894 Sanborn Map still documented the one-story railroad carpenter shop and the small one-story frame building next to it. These two buildings are also recorded by the 1902 Sanborn

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[130]Virginia Free Press, 13 June 1889, p. 3, col. 4.

[131]Florence W. Kirwan and husband Thomas A., The Real Estate and Improvement Co. of Baltimore, and the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Co., 1 July 1893, Deed Book 75, p. 465.

[132]Kirwan & others, 1 July 1893, Deed Book 75, p. 465. Information on the embankment is contained in William Lee Sisson, "Harper's Ferry Improvement,' 1894, HFB-190.

(Figure 6). By then, a small, one-story frame building had been erected along the property line with Lot 2, angled into the corner formed by that property line and the railroad embankment. The Sanborn Map also shows a one-story frame building along Bridge or South Potomac Street, just north of the railroad embankment and probably sitting partially on Lot 1 and partially on the old Wager lots east of Block A. A photo and news establishment was located there.

By the 1907 Sanborn Map (Figure 7), this building had been replaced by a one-story frame lunch room operated by Leo O'Beirne. The son of Patrick and Ellen O'Beirne and a lifelong resident of Harpers Ferry, O'Beirne, by 1903, was established in the grocery business, first at the corner of High and Shenandoah Streets in Park Building 12, and from 1914, in Park Building 37 on High Street.[133] Several other eating establishments were located in Harpers Ferry about 1907, for instance a restaurant in Park Building 38, one in Shep Gatrell's hotel in Park Building 10, and another, more formal one in the Hotel Conner. However, O'Beirne's lunch room on South Potomac Street was particularly convenient for travellers crossing the Shenandoah or Potomac rivers on foot or by vehicle, as well as passengers coming from the nearby train depot.

Newspapers from the 1910s occasionally document the availability of raccoon and turtle at O'Beirne's restaurant, delicacies befitting his reputation as an avid hunter. Signs on the front of the building indicate soft drinks, steaks, and oysters in season were also among the food items offered there.[134]

Leo O'Beirne still operated the lunch room in August 1928 when he drowned in the

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[133]Farmers Advocate, 17 January 1914, p. 2, col. 4; 25 April 1914, p. 2, col. 1; 11 August 1928, p. 1, col. 1; Harpers Ferry Times, 20 November 1903, p. 2, col. 2.

[134]Farmers Advocate, 11 March 1911, p. 3, col. 2; 25 November 1911, p. 2, col. 3; 18 December 1915, p. 2, col. 3; 11 May 1918, p. 2, col. 7. The signs are visible in a photograph xerox in HFD-547 and in HF-1308 (Figure 18) of the 1924 flood.

canal.[135] The lunch room building stood until the 1936 flood. Its destruction during the flood is documented by aerial photographs taken by the 29th Division, Aviation, Maryland National Guard (HF-1724, Figure 19).

Aside from the tool house between the railroad tracks and the river and a one-story hen house located on Lot 1, but likely associated with Lot 2, the rest of the railroad property had been vacant during much of O'Beirne's occupancy of the lunch room.[136] The 1902 Sanborn Map is the last map documenting the railroad carpenter shop.[137] It also is the first appearance of the one-story frame building adjoining Lot 2 and later identified as a hen house. The 1922 Sanborn Map (Figure 9) is the next map showing any structures other than the tool house, hen house, and lunch room. In 1922, a portion of the one-story grain warehouse sitting on the Wager lots east of Block A probably intruded upon Lot 1. (The W&P Railroad had acquired those properties in 1889 as well, and subsequently, the property line separating Block A from these lots disappeared.) The 1933 Sanborn Map (Figure 10) documents this portion of that building as storage. By then, a one-story frame auto garage had been erected onto the western end. Farther west, partially crossing the old property with Lot 2, was a one-story feed storage building. The hen house had been replaced by a portion of a large building on Lot 2 for autos. With the exception of the last mentioned building, all these structures were gone in the 1940s.

In October 1953, the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company sold a portion of Lot 1 to the United States for $300. This portion is described as follows:

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[135]Farmers Advocate, 11 August 1928, p. 1, col. 1.

[136]Although the conveyance of a ten-foot wide strip of Lot 1 to Florence Kirwan in 1893 for use as an alley probably did not extend as far back as the hen house, maps suggest a fence tying this building to Lot 2 rather than Lot 1.

[137]The disappearance of the carpenter shop may have followed on the heels of the removal of the bridges and building division to Cumberland in 1902.

> BEGINNING at a point in the southerly line of Potomac Street, said point being 36.0 feet west of the intersection of said southerly line and center line of main track of Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company at Valuation Station 2-15.3; thence through the lands of the Grantor, S. 9° 26' W., 48.4 feet to a point 32.0 feet distant measured at right angles in a westerly direction from the center line of said main track at Valuation Station 2-64.0; thence N. 40° 57' W., 88.3 feet to a point in the aforesaid southerly line of Potomac Street; thence with said southerly line of Potomac Street S. 73° 57' E., 68.5 feet to the point of beginning, containing 1,646 sq. feet more or less.[138]

The property conveyed was only the northern portion of Lot 1, at the intersection of Shenandoah and Potomac streets. The rear, whose ownership had been in question since the confusing and contradictory description provided in 1869, already had been acquired by the State of West Virginia in January. The State Conservation Commission had filed suit against the unknown owners of this property, seeking to acquire the land on the southside of the railroad right-on-way between Lot 2 and the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah river (including part of the old Wager Ferry lots). By court order, the property described as follows was transferred to the State.

> BEGINNING at a point on the southeastern right of way line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, and in the northeast line of Lot 2, Block A, at the end of a stone retaining wall; thence N. 66 deg. 28' E. 214 feet to a point near the junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah River; thence up the west bank of the Shenandoah River S. 43 deg. 59' W. 220 feet to the southeast corner of Lot 2, Block A; thence N. 32 deg. 10' W. 85 feet to the beginning.[139]

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[138]Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company to United States of America, 5 October 1953, Deed Book 195, p. 447.

[139]Order, State of West Virginia vs All Parties Unknown, 12 January 1953, Deed Book 191, p. 134.

Figure 15. HF-71. Looking west on Shenandoah Street during the 1889 flood.

Figure 16. HF-614. The rear of buildings on Blocks A & B can be seen in this circa 1890 photograph.

Figure 17. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map, 1913.

Figure 18. HF-1308. Shenandoah Street from the depot during the 1924 flood. O'Beirne's lunch room is on the left.

Figure 19. HF-1724. Aerial of the 1936 flood taken by 29th Division Aviation, Maryland National Guard.

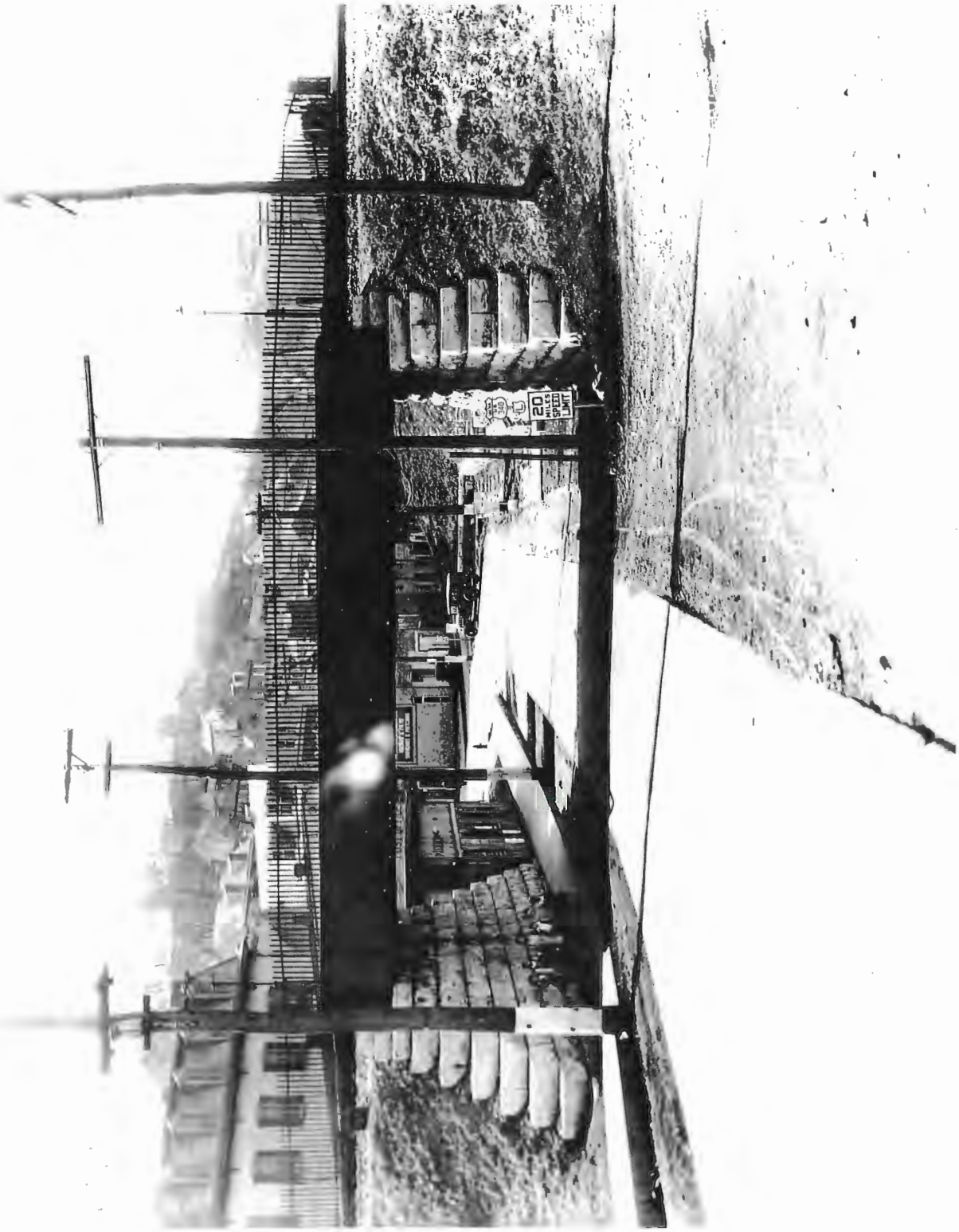

Figure 20, HF-298. Circa 1932 view of Route 340 at the railroad underpass. The small building just beyond the underpass is O'Beirne's old lunch room.

Lot 2, Block A: 1869-1953

At the end of the Civil War, the United States owned Lot 2, Block A. Shortly thereafter, the decision was made to close the armory and sell the government property at Harpers Ferry. In 1868, Congress passed legislation authorizing this sale, which took place in December 1869. Defined in 1852, when the government had sold a sizeable portion of its holdings at Harpers Ferry, Lot 2 fronted thirty feet on Shenandoah Street and ran back to the Shenandoah River. The vacant lot was intersected by a ten-foot wide alley at the railroad embankment.[140]

At the December 1869 sale, Capt. Francis C. Adams, who also placed the highest bids on the musket and rifle factory sites and waterpower, purchased Lot 2 for $1,665. Adams failed to pay, and the U. S. District Court for West Virginia ordered the resale of the properties purchased by Adams. First advertised to occur July 20, the sale was rescheduled for September 28, 1876.[141] In December, the court confirmed the sale of Lot 2, Block A, to Florence W. Kirwan; however, a deed was not executed until April 1886. A month before Kirwan received her deed, Bridget Burleigh, owner of Lot 1, deeded Kirwan a five-foot wide strip erroneously included in the description of Lot 1.[142]

In December 1890, Kirwan and her husband Thomas leased Lot 2 to John A. Stuart for ten years at an annual rent of $150, payable quarterly.[143] A native of Fleshingen, Holland, Stuart had lived in Jefferson County for a little over a decade. The 1880 census indicates Stuart,

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[140]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 86-8, 91.

[141]Virginia Free Press, 20 May 1876, p. 2, col. 7; 12 August 1876, p. 2, col. 4.

[142]W.H.H. Flick to Florence W. Kirwan, 9 April 1886, Deed Book P, p. 159; Bridget Burley to Florence W. Kirwan, 12 March 1886, Deed Book P, p. 4.

[143]Lease, F.W. Kirwan and husband Thomas A. to John A. Stuart, 29 December 1890, Deed Book W, p. 39.

his wife Henrietta, and their nine children were residents of the Bolivar District.[144] Before the 1889 flood, Stuart reportedly had an eating house and refreshment stand at the entrance to the Island Park bridge.[145]

While the wording of the 1890 lease from Kirwan to Stuart could imply the existence of a building on Lot 2 at that time, it was not until the following year that Stuart actually had a building constructed. In April 1891, the Virginia Free Press noted William Phillips & Sons, building suppliers of Charles Town, had a contract "for a hotel to be erected by Mr. Jas. A. Stuart, east of Hotel Conner, at Harper's Ferry." The Hotel Conner was located on Lots 3 and 4, Block A, adjoining Lot 2 on the west.[146] Stuart's building was completed and occupied by October 1, 1891, when Stuart executed a deed of trust to Forrest W. Brown, trustee of the Harpers Ferry and Bolivar Building Association No. 1. Among the properties covered by this document were the lease on Lot 2, the "two story house" thereon, and "all fixtures & furniture therein, 20 Parlor chairs, 16 Kitchen chairs, two glass show cases, two glass hanging lamps, 3 Looking glasses, 4 round Tables, 4 square Tables, two Counters, 2 Coffee Urns."[147] An 1895 deed of trust describes the building on Lot 2 as a "store room and dwelling house."[148] Stuart operated a restaurant in the building and may have lived upstairs.[149]

Photographic documentation shows the building on Lot 2 as a two-story frame structure.

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[144]Farmers Advocate, 4 September 1909, p. 3, col. 5; Tenth Census (1880), p. 28, p. 30 of Bolivar District.

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

[146]Virginia Free Press, 1 April 1891, p. 3, col. 3.

[147]Deed of Trust, John A. Stuart and wife Henrietta W. to Forrest W. Brown, 1 October 1891, Deed Book Y, p. 93.

[148]Deed of Trust, John A. Stuart and wife Henrietta W. to Forrest W. Brown, 14 January 1895, Deed Book 78, p. 290.

[149]Randall's Business Directory of Winchester, Berryville and Front Royal, Va, Charlestown, and Harper's Ferry, W. Va., 1892-93. (Martinsburg: John C. Randall, pub.), p. 53.

A storefront covered much of the first floor front, although another door, perhaps providing access to the upstairs, was located at the end nearest Lot 3. The upper story was three bays wide across the front, and the building had a four-bay depth. A one-story porch extended across the front.[150]

In 1888, the Winchester and Potomac Railroad Company filed a petition in Circuit Court seeking condemnation of certain properties in Harpers Ferry needed by the railroad for "station houses, depots, tracks and terminal facilities." Among the properties requested was Lot 2, Block A. Commissioners were appointed to determine just compensation to property owners, and they decided $1,700 was a just price for Lot 2.[151]

Lot 2 was not, however, deeded to the W&P Railroad, and it remained the property of Florence Kirwan. In 1892, the Cherry Run and Potomac Valley Railroad petitioned the circuit court for the condemnation of Harpers Ferry properties including Block A. Commissioners determined Kirwan should be paid $1,850 for Lot 2, "Jas. A. Stuart tenant."[152] Once again, Lot 2 did not become railroad property. However, on July 1, 1893, Florence Kirwan, The Real Estate and Improvement Company of Baltimore, and the W&P Railroad Company reached an agreement, whereby Kirwan would sell the railroad company a portion of Lot 2 in exchange for $1,200 and a ten-foot wide strip of Lot 1 for an alley bordering Lot 2. The portion of Lot 2 conveyed was described as follows:

> Beginning at Station 1 plus 61 a point on the located centre line of the connection between the Harpers Ferry and Valley Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road and the Cherry Run and Potomac Valley Rail road, and running thence South 37 degrees 45 minutes East for 10 feet to an Alley, thence binding on North side of said Alley North 62 degrees 30 minutes East for 30.5 feet to the dividing line of

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[150]See Figure 22 (HF-96, dated ca. 1896), Figure 21 (HF-1819, dated ca. 1900), and Figure 26 (HF-1722, dated 1908 or later).

[151]Application of W&P Railroad and Report of Commissioners, in W&P Railroad vs Lucy Wager, et al, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

[152]Virginia Free Press, 16 November 1892, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 3 January 1893, p. 2, col. 4.

land of Florence W. Kirwan and the Winchester and Potomac Rail Road Company, thence along said dividing line North 37 degrees 45 minutes West for 51 feet crossing said centre line station 1 plus 93.7, thence South 30 degrees West for 32.5 feet to the dividing line of land of F.W. Kirwan and T.M. Conner, thence along said dividing line South 37 degrees 45 East for 22 feet to the place of beginning containing .23 of an Acre, more or less.[153]

On the same day, Florence Kirwan sold all but a one-eighth interest in the remainder of Lot 2 for $1,366.28. George Baylor, A. W. McDonald, and John A. Stuart each received an undivided one-fourth interest, while Forrest W. Brown received an undivided one-eighth interest. In 1896, Kirwan sold her remaining interest to T. M. Conner for $250.[154]

John Stuart continued to operate a restaurant on Lot 2 following these transfers. By 1896, his establishment was known as the Potomac House, a name originally associated with a building across South Potomac Street on the Wager Lots. That building sat on one of the properties transferred to the railroad and was torn down in 1893.[155] In the 1895-96 edition of the West Virginia State Gazetteer, Stuart advertised his Potomac House hotel and restaurant located opposite the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad depot. In large part a duplication of an advertisement run in the 1891-92 edition by George McGlincey, the proprietor of the other Potomac House, and even using the drawing of the old building, Stuart's advertisement noted the good fare, clean beds, and attentive waiters.[156]

George Baylor and Forrest Brown sold their interest in Lot 2 to Theodore Conner in 1896

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[153]Florence W. Kirwan and husband Thomas A., The Real Estate and Improvement Co. of Baltimore, and Winchester & Potomac Railroad, 1 July 1893, Deed Book 75, p. 465.

[154]Florence W. Kirwan and husband Thomas A. to George Baylor, A. W. McDonald, John A. Stuart, and Forrest W. Brown, 1 July 1893, Deed Book 75, p. 468; Kirwan and husband to T.M. Conner, 27 January 1896, Deed Book 80, p. 352.

[155]Spirit of Jefferson, 11 April 1893, p. 3, col. 3. HF-96, taken circa 1896, shows the name Potomac House on Stuart's building.

[156]West Virginia State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1891-92 and 1895-96.

and 1898 respectively, while A. W. McDonald sold his interest to John Stuart in 1900.[157] On January 31, 1901, Stuart sold his interest to Conner for $3,200. This interest consisted of a half-interest in Lot 2 and the ten-foot wide strip of Lot 1 conveyed to Florence Kirwan by the W&P Railroad Company in 1893, together with his whole ownership of the improvements on the property, consisting of,

> the building known as the "Potomac House," a cistern, ice house, coal house, including [the] coal therein, water closets, and any other buildings and improvements thereon. Also the house hold and Kitchen furniture and stock of goods in the Potomac House, and on the premises including signs, except a few articles reserved by the said John A. Stuart in an inventory in the possession of the parties to this deed.[158]

The other buildings mentioned in this deed probably included those standing just north of the railroad embankment on the 1902 Sanborn Map.

Theodore Conner was the owner of Lot 3 and 4, Block A, where his Hotel Conner stood. He converted the Potomac House for use in connection with his hotel. Sanborn maps for 1902 and 1907 (Figure 6 and Figure 7) document the building as the hotel office. They also show a two-story passageway had been constructed to connect the Potomac House, now known as the Hotel Conner Annex, with the Hotel Conner. A second passageway was constructed before preparation of the Sanborn Map of 1912 (Figure 8), which also indicates the second floor of the hotel annex was used for hotel rooms and the first floor was a vacant saloon. The saloon likely had been moved to the annex after alterations were made to the hotel in 1908. It operated in the hotel annex until the county court declined to issue liquor licenses in June 1911. Following approval of statewide prohibition, but before it took effect in July 1914, the saloon reopened and

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[157]George Baylor and wife Salla to Theodore Conner, 5 September 1896, Deed Book 81, p. 543; Forrest W. Brown and wife Emma B.J. to T.M. Conner, 27 June 1898, Deed Book 85, p. 157; A. W. McDonald and wife Mary E. to John A. Stewart, 22 November 1900, Deed Book 89, p. 367.

[158]John A. Stuart and wife Henrietta W. to Theodore M. Conner, 31 January 1901, Deed Book 89, p. 464.

operated in 1913 and the first half of 1914.[159]

In July 1914, the Farmers Advocate reported William Waters had rented the room of the annex formerly occupied by the bar and would open a grocery. Waters apparently opened a general merchandise store instead. That use of the annex was noted in a January 1915 account of a fire in the building.

> The annex of Hotel Conner, now occupied by W. A. Waters, as a general merchandise store was discovered to be on fire thursday morning between 5 and 6 o'clock. The newsboy first saw the flames as they came issuing from a rear window on the lower floor. He ran up to the depot and notified the night men and Mr. Butts grabbing several grenades as he ran soon had an entrance forced from the front and throwing the fire extinguishers upon the spot where it appeared to be burning soon had it out.[160]

Three months later, Waters filed for bankruptcy in court, claiming assets of $1,800 and debts of $2,400. In May, Waters' stock of goods was sold.[161]

The Farmers Advocate reported in January 1916 that a Mr. Brown, an insurance agent, had rented a store room in the annex and intended to open a merchandise store. Just four months later, however, the post office, long located across Shenandoah Street, was moved into the hotel annex. Earlier that year, Theodore Conner had been appointed postmaster, a position he held until his death February 26, 1920.[162]

The appraisement of Conner's estate in July 1920 provides the best indication of the interior of the hotel annex. According to that document, the annex contained six hotel rooms, a

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[159]Sanborn Maps, 1902, 1907, and 1912; Farmers Advocate, 10 June 1911, p. 2, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 16 January 1913, p. 2, col. 2. The Hotel Conner Annex name appeared on the side of the building. HF-1722 (circa 1910) shows the annex in use as a saloon.

[160]Farmers Advocate, 9 January 1915, p. 2, col. 4. See also 18 July 1914, p. 2, col. 4.

[161]Farmers Advocate, 24 April 1915, p. 2, col. 4; 15 May 1915, p. 2, col. 4.

[162]Farmers Advocate, 29 January 1916, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 22 February 1916, p. 3, col. 3; 23 May 1916, p. 2, col. 1; Register of Deaths (1905-1949), p. 31.

junk room, and a hall. It also held the post office. While Conner's estate was being settled, the post office continued to occupy the premises, bringing in $200 in rental income for both 1920 and 1921. (See the transcription of the appraisal in the appendix.)[163]

Following Theodore Conner's death, his wife Laura became acting postmistress. She finally was officially appointed to the position in 1921. Laura Conner already had experience in the post office before her husband's death. When her father S. V. Yantis was postmaster (1889 to 1893), Laura was his assistant. Later, she assisted her husband, whom she married in 1910. Laura Conner held the position of postmistress into the 1930s, and the post office remained in the hotel annex during these years.[164]

Laura Conner had the buildings back of the hotel annex and immediately northward of the railroad embankment removed in 1924. Sanborn maps variously labeled these buildings as storage, "W.C.," garage, wagon shed, and hen house. She replaced them with a five-car garage.[165]

In 1923 and April 1937, Laura Conner mortgaged Lots 2, 3, and 4, together with a small strip of Lot 1, to Forrest A. Brown. In June 1937, Brown sold these lots to E. A. Rinehart, receiver of the Bank of Harpers Ferry. Rinehart sold these properties to James F. Cassell in 1941.[166]

When Cassell bought the property, the hotel annex no longer housed the post office. An

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[163]Appraisement of Estate of T.M. Conner, 7 July 1920, Accounts of Fiduciaries Book O, p. 548; Account of estate of Theodore M. Conner, Accounts of Fiduciaries Book P, p. 92.

[164]Virginia Free Press, 23 May 1889, p. 3, col. 1; 12 July 1893, p. 3, col. 2; Marriage Register 5, p. 159; Farmers Advocate, 26 March 1921, p. 1, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 11 March 1931, p. 6, col. 1.

[165]Sanborn Map, 1902, 1907, 1912, 1922, and 1933; Farmers Advocate, 22 March 1924, p. 1, col. 2.

[166]Deed of Trust, Laura Y. Conner to Forrest A. Brown, 3 May 1923, Deed Book 123, p. 205 and 16 April 1937, Deed Book 145, p. 378; Forrest A. Brown to E.A. Rinehart, 7 June 1937, Deed Book 146, p. 4; E.A. Rinehart to James F. Cassell, 14 March 1941, Deed Book 153, p. 489.

apartment had occupied part of the building for years, and Albert Roeder and his family lived there for several months following the 1924 flood. Late in 1937, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Stephenson and family moved into that apartment. After buying the property in 1941, Cassell had a second apartment created. He probably also had the asphalt shingling put over the building at that time (See HF-322, Figure 24). One family subsequently occupying Cassell's building was the "Wink" Cooper family, who moved in early in 1942.[167]

Cassell died in 1950, leaving his estate to wife Peach. She sold the property, except for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company right-of-way, to the State of West Virginia in November 1952.[168]

At that time, the hotel annex (Park Building 17) and garage (Park Building 18) stood on the property. (See Figure 30.) According to the 1955 Architectural Base Map, the annex fronted thirty feet on Shenandoah Street and extended forty-four feet back on the Potomac Street side, with a 16-foot long porch extending back an additional twelve feet. On the Lot 3 side, this building was fifty-six feet long. The garage, a nearly triangular-shaped building, was fifty feet wide, crossing both the Lot 1 and Lot 3 lines. On the former's side, it was twelve feet deep, while on its Lot 3 side, it gave way to Park Building 19 on Lot 3. The annex was in "reasonably sound" condition, while the garage showed "deterioration from neglect." These buildings were demolished by the Park late in 1956.[169]

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[167]Farmers Advocate, 10 January 1925, p. 1, col. 1; 8 October 1937, p. 1, col. 5; 21 March 1941, p. 6, cols. 1 & 2; 13 February 1942, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 21 May 1924, p. 1, col. 6.

[168]Will of James F. Cassell, probated 29 September 1950, Will Book I, p. 126; Peach B. Cassell to State of West Virginia, 8 November 1952, Deed Book 190, p. 199.

[169]1955 Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, NM-HF 3055; Notes accompanying map; Buildings 17 & 18, Building Histories, Park Ownership, Computer Database Files.

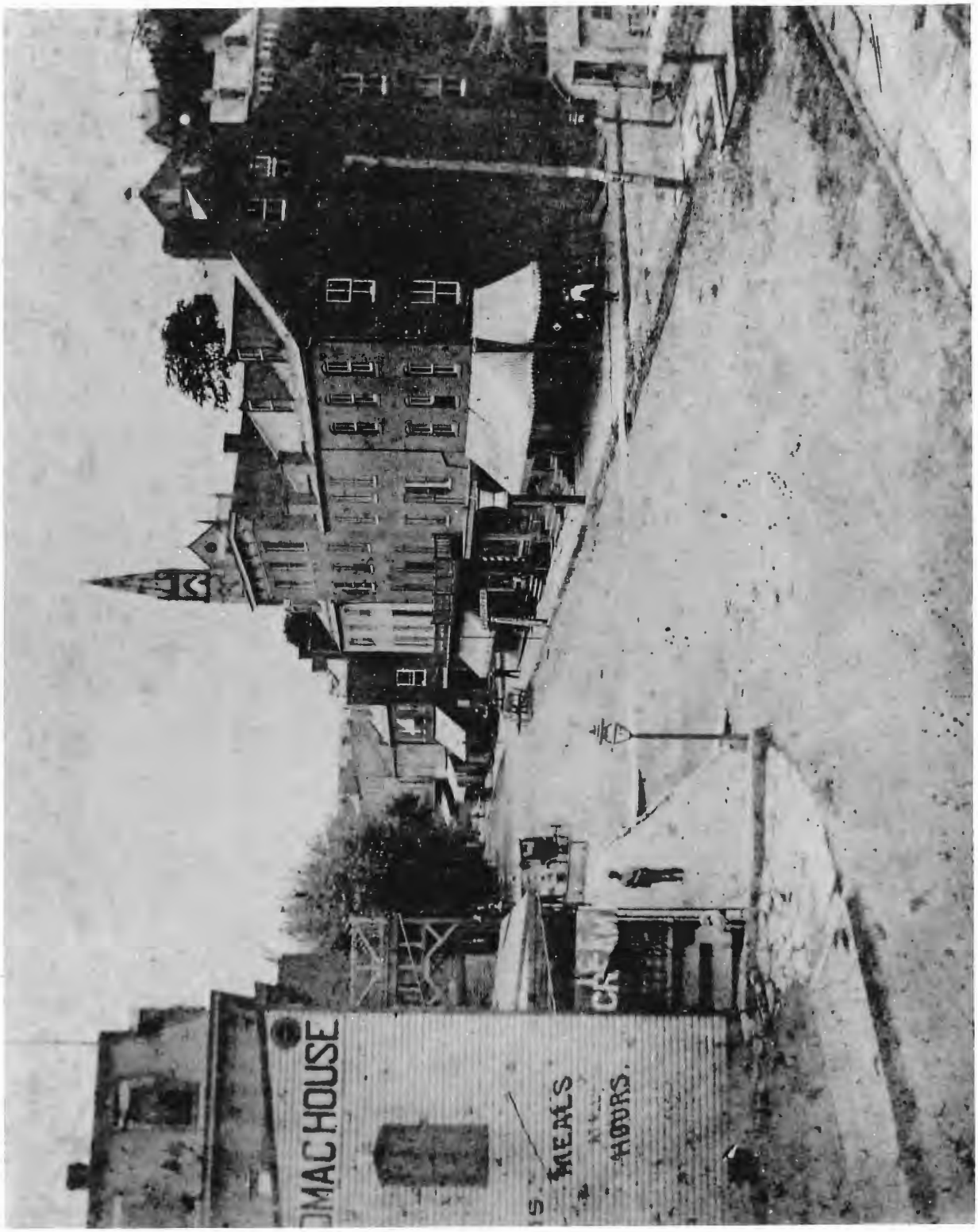

Figure 21. HF-1819. Circa 1900 view of Shenandoah Street. The Potomac House on Lot 2 is on the left.

Figure 22. HF-96. View of Harpers Ferry from Maryland Heights, circa 1896.

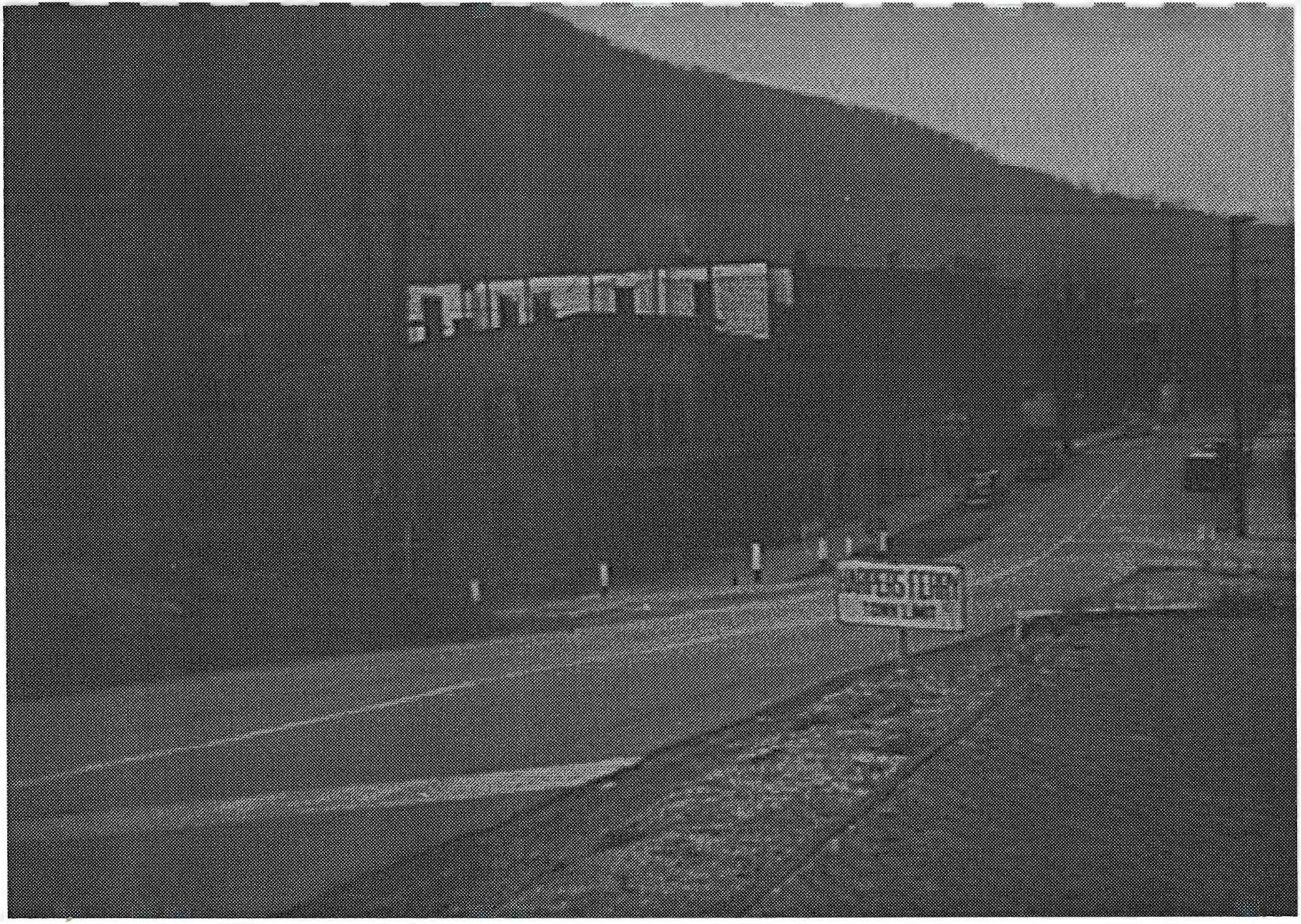

Figure 23. HF-1523. The hotel annex is the first building on the left in this circa 1939 view of the demolition of the Hotel Conner.

NO PRINT IN PHOTO FILE

THIS IS SCANNED IMAGE FROM PHOTOLOG

MORE DETAIL IS SEEN IN ACTUAL IMAGE

Figure 24. HF-322. Note the siding on the hotel annex in this 1955 photograph.

Lots 3 and 4, Block A: 1869-1953

At the end of the Civil War, the United States owned Lots 3 and 4, Block A. Shortly thereafter, the decision was made to close the armory and sell the government property at Harpers Ferry. In 1868, Congress passed legislation authorizing this sale, which took place in December 1869. Defined in 1852, when the government had sold a sizeable portion of its holdings at Harpers Ferry, both lots fronted thirty feet on Shenandoah Street and ran back to the Shenandoah River. These vacant lots were intersected by a ten-foot wide alley at the railroad embankment.[170]

At the December 1869 sale, J. M. Decaulne, who owned a grocery store across Shenandoah Street, purchased Lot 3 for $1,800 and Lot 4 for $2,000. Decaulne died in 1875.[171] Three years later, his widow Leonie applied for abatement of the purchase price on Lots 3 and 4. According to her application, she and her late husband had spent $1,000 for improvements such as two sheds, fencing, and a small, wooden building. The latter structure was erected with the view of renting it as an office or store, but "it was not rented two months in the year." The Decaulnes used the sheds to house a cart and wagon and used the yard for stock, coal, and other items. Two floods (probably those of 1870 and 1877) wrecked the property, except for the wooden building, and Mrs. Decaulne stated she believed the lots were worth no more than $250 apiece.[172] Mrs. Decaulne was interested in keeping the lots, but only at her price ($200 to $250 apiece). The government declined so small a sum, and in October 1878, she executed a quit claim

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[170]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 86-8, 91.

[171]Noffsinger, p. 136; Virginia Free Press, 22 February 1866, p. 2, col. 4; 21 October 1869, p. 3, col. 1; 30 January 1875, p. 3, col. 1.

[172]Application of Mrs. J.M. Decaulne, Reel 239, Frame 145; L.C. Decaulne to K. Raynor, 24 June 1878, Reel 239, Frame 302.

deed releasing any claim to Lots 3 and 4.[173]

In November 1879, the United States sold Lots 3 and 4 to George W. Green for $300 apiece. A native of Maryland, George Green had been a Baltimore and Ohio Railroad conductor for several years before taking charge of the Mountain View Hotel, located on one of the Wager lots across South Potomac Street and possibly run in connection with the railroad. Green also served as mayor of Harpers Ferry in 1877 and 1878.[174] Green also was one of the incorporators of the Harpers Ferry Bridge Company, then constructing a new bridge across the Shenandoah River near the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers.[175]

In June 1881, the Spirit of Jefferson reported George Green had "commenced the foundation for a new hotel, on a portion of the old arsenal lot, on Shenandoah Street."[176] In October, the newspaper reported J. C. Holmes, a Charles Town builder, nearly had Green's hotel completed. Green's new Mountain View Hotel opened in late December 1881 or early January 1882. The old Mountain View Hotel was slated for demolition, and its material was offered for sale at the same time the new hotel opened. Although tourists also could obtain accommodations across South Potomac Street until the mid-1890s, and summer hotel and boarding house facilities were available elsewhere in town, Green's new hotel emerged as the premiere year-round hostelry in late nineteenth-century Harpers Ferry.[177]

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[173]Mrs. J.M. Decaulne to Mr. K. Raynor, 12 October 1878, Reel 238, Frame 667; Quit Claim Deed, Mrs. J.M. Decaulne to United States, 9 October 1878, Reel 238, Frame 713.

[174]United States to George W. Green, 20 November 1879, Deed Book H, p. 79; Farmers Advocate, 5 January 1918, p. 2, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 23 March 1875, p. 2, col. 5; Virginia Free Press, 6 January 1877, p. 3, col. 1; 12 January 1878, p. 3, col. 2.

[175]Spirit of Jefferson, 25 February 1879, p. 3, col. 1; 5 August 1879, p. 3, col. 1.

[176]Spirit of Jefferson, 7 June 1881, p. 3, col. 1.

[177]Spirit of Jefferson, 18 October 1881, p. 3, col. 1; 10 January 1882, p. 2, col. 3 and p. 3, col. 1. Among other establishments in the 1880s and 1980s were the Potomac or Brooks House (South Potomac), Hilltop Hotel (Camp Hill), Green's Mountain Hotel (Loudoun Heights), and Lockwood House and other Storer College buildings available for summer boarding (Camp Hill).

The Martinsburg Statesman described the new Mountain View Hotel as "one of the neatest, nicest, best kept hotels in the Valley of Virginia."[178] Early photographic documentation shows the hotel was a three-story frame building. The building was five bays wide and deep with a two-story veranda and bracketed cornice across the front. An L-shaped two-story porch crossed the rear of the main portion and the two-story rear wing on the Lot 4 side. Just north of the railroad was a two-story stone storage shed.[179]

A June 1885 advertisement for Green's Hotel indicates it had a "FIRST-CLASS Restaurant and Livery Stables . . . ; also BILLIARD AND POOL ROOMS." George W. Green was the proprietor and F. W. Drew the clerk.[180] The hotel also likely contained a bar, as newspapers through the 1880s list Green among the recipients of a liquor license.[181]

In May 1889, Green's Hotel was among the properties in Lower Town inundated by flood waters. According to the Spirit of Jefferson, "Capt. George W. Green moved his hotel goods from the lower to the second floor, and yet had them flooded."[182] Perhaps Green had already decided to relocate--he would build another hotel on the mountain across the Shenandoah River later that year--or perhaps the flood persuaded him to leave.[183]

In either case, in June 1889, Green sold his hotel property on Block A to brothers Ashby P. and Theodore M. Conner for $8,000. Included in the deed were:

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[178]Quoted in Spirit of Jefferson, 19 September 1882, p. 3, col. 1.

[179]HF-1731 (Figure 25), taken in the 1880s, is the best view of Green's hotel as originally constructed. See also HF-614 (Figure 16) for a rear-view of the building during that decade. Also see the 1894 Sanborn Map.

[180]Virginia Free Press, 18 June 1885, p. 2, col. 4.

[181]Spirit of Jefferson, 13 May 1884, p. 2, col. 1; 12 May 1885, p. 3, col. 3; Virginia Free Press, 26 May 1887, p. 2, col. 4; 17 May 1888, p. 3, col. 3.

[182]Spirit of Jefferson, 4 June 1889, p. 2, col. 3.

[183]Spirit of Jefferson, 24 September 1889, p. 2, col. 2.

> The Beds, Bedding, Bed Clothes, washstands, chairs, carpets, clocks, carpets, mattings, rugs, bureaus, tables, stands, office furniture, and fixtures, lamps, piano, organ, parlor and bedroom furnitures, table ware, Dining room furniture, fixtures, and appointments, table service, Kitchen furniture, linen, Towels, and all the Hotel goods proper now in the said Green Hotel.[184]

About a month later, Ashby Conner, a resident of Hagerstown, Maryland, sold his interest to Theodore Conner.[185]

A native of Winchester, Theodore Conner had been located in Harpers Ferry since at least 1883. That year, he was granted a liquor license. Conner's saloon was located at the corner of Shenandoah and Potomac streets (Park Building 9).[186] In November 1889, Conner married Mary Cochrane, widow of William Cochrane, who had been killed in a train wreck earlier that year.[187] In 1893, Conner was elected to the town council. Later the same decade, he was a director of the Harpers Ferry and Bolivar Building Association and the Harpers Ferry Electric Light and Power Company.[188]

In the early years, Conner did not run his hotel. Rather, it operated under lease arrangements for many years. The first operator was John W. Doll, former Baltimore and Ohio Railroad conductor and mayor of Harpers Ferry in the early 1890s.[189] Doll leased the hotel immediately after the Conner brothers purchased it in June 1889. A five-year lease prepared a year later stipulated Doll's rent initially was to be $50 a month, but it would eventually rise to

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[184]George W. Green to A.P. Conner and T.M. Conner, 12 June 1889, Deed Book T, p. 394.

[185]Ashby P. Conner and wife G. Addie to Theodore M. Conner, 10 July 1889, Deed Book T, p. 395.

[186]Farmers Advocate, 28 February 1920, p. 1, col. 6; Virginia Free Press, 24 May 1883, p. 2, col. 4; 20 January 1887, Supplement.

[187]Virginia Free Press, 18 February 1869, p. 3, col. 2; 31 January 1889, p. 3, col. 2; 20 November 1889, p. 3, col. 4.

[188]Virginia Free Press, 11 January 1893, p. 3, col. 3; 7 December 1898, p. 3, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 16 March 1897, p. 3, col. 4.

[189]Virginia Free Press, 7 January 1891, p. 3, col. 1; 11 January 1893, p. 3, col. 3; 22 August 1894, p. 3, col. 2.

$800 a year. Included in the lease was the furniture. The stable at the rear of the property was to be used by both Conner and Doll. Two years later, this lease was voided and a new 3-year lease calling for annual rent of $700 executed.[190]

It was likely during Doll's occupancy that several important changes were made to the Hotel Conner. In July 1889, the Harpers Ferry Sentinel reported the "brick supports under the veranda of Hotel Conner are being replaced with iron ones."[191] In May the following year Doll "improved the Hotel Conner at Harper's Ferry by changing the main entrance to the centre of the lower floor, and closing up the end of the porch where the steps formerly went up. The office has also been removed to the lower floor."[192] Photographic documentation shows that sometime between 1889 and 1896, a mansard roof was added to the hotel, creating a fourth story. The 1894 Sanborn Map does not record this story, suggesting the change occurred toward the latter end of that time frame.[193]

If the addition of the mansard roof did occur nearer to 1896, then the Hotel Conner no longer was occupied by John Doll when that change was made. In April 1893, Shep Gattrell became proprietor of the hotel, with John Duke as manager and Wallace Cochrane, Conner's stepson, as clerk. At that time, the hotel was "repainted and improved in many ways."[194] The town council granted Conner permission in October 1894 to catch water from McDaniel's spring, build a reservoir for the overflow, and lay pipes from the reservoir through Potomac Street and

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[190]Spirit of Jefferson, 25 June 1889, p. 3, col. 1; Lease, John W. Doll and T.M. Conner, 1 April 1890, Deed Book U, p. 457; Lease, 1 April 1892, Deed Book Z, p. 17.

[191]Quoted in Spirit of Jefferson, 30 July 1889, p. 3, col. 4. The iron posts are just visible in HF-1142 (1890s).

[192]Spirit of Jefferson, 20 May 1890, p. 3, col. 4.

[193]Compare roof lines in Figure 15 (HF-71, 1889 flood) and Figure 16 (HF-614, dated 1889-1891) with Figure 22 (HF-96, dated circa 1896).

[194]Harpers Ferry Sentinel quoted in Spirit of Jefferson, 23 April 1893, p. 3, col. 3.

across Shenandoah Street to the Hotel Conner. This work may have led to the installation of the water tank and wind pump behind the building, not noted on the 1894 Sanborn Map but visible in photographs taken about 1896. In November 1901, the town council granted Conner permission to dig a ditch in the alley running along Blocks A and B near the railroad at the rear of the properties of Mr. Hurst (Lot 2, Block B), Mr. Conway (Lot 7, Block A), Mrs. Walsh (Lot 6, Block A), and others so that he could lay water pipes.[195]

The 1900 census lists thirteen people at the Hotel Conner. Hotel proprietor Shepherd Gatrell (49), his wife Margaret (48), and daughter Ella (21) apparently lived on the premises, as did boarders T. M. Conner (46), a saloon keeper, an unnamed female Conner (54), most likely Conner's wife Mary, and electrician John Livers. Also enumerated were seven hotel employees: clerk J. H. Duke (59), bartender Robert Rockenbaugh (32), hotel cooks James Lovett (47) and Nora Johnson (21), porter Harvey Johnson (29), bellman George Williams (22), and chambermaid Rosa Hopewell (25). The latter five were black. Evidently hotel guests were not enumerated.[196] Gatrell ran the Hotel Conner until 1901, when Theodore Conner took control.[197]

About 1902, Theodore Conner moved to the hotel annex (Lot 2), he and his wife Mary having separated. She continued to live in the Hotel Conner. In 1904, Theodore Conner filed for divorce, offering to provide a home for Mary on High Street. The divorce was granted.[198]

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[195]Harpers Ferry Council Minutes, Vol. 1891-1909, pp. 122, 383; Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, November 1894; Figure 31 (HF-92, dated ca. 1896); Figure 22 (HF-96, dated ca. 1896).

[196]Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 79B. That hotel guests were not included is surmised from the fact the census supposedly was taken June 14, during the tourist season. Besides, the number of employees listed would not have been needed unless there were guests.

[197]Spirit of Jefferson, 9 April 1901, p. 2, col. 3.

[198]T.M. Conner vs Mary D. Conner, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse. According to Theodore Conner's testimony, he and Mary had been living apart for two years prior to his move to the "Stuart" building (annex).

Conner finally would be remarried in August 1910 to Laura S. Yantis.[199]

When Joseph Barry's The Strange Story of Harper's Ferry was printed in 1903, it carried an advertisement for the Hotel Conner. According to this full-page advertisement, the Hotel Conner, "located in the business part of the town and convenient to trains," had "just been completely renovated throughout." The hotel had steam heat, electric lights and call bells, artesian water, and hot and cold baths. It ran on the American Plan, meaning guests were charged a fixed rate for rooms and meals combined. Prices started at $2 a day. The advertisement described the hotel as "HEADQUARTERS FOR TRAVELING MEN" and indicated a sample room was located on the first floor. Guides and bait were also available for fisherman.[200]

This advertisement suggests the Hotel Conner catered to traveling salesmen in addition to the tourists and summer residents for whom a number of boarding facilities in Harpers Ferry provided housing. That the Hotel Conner should have served businessmen is logical since, as the advertisement indicates, the hotel was convenient to the railroad and the business district of town. As was typical of many hotels, the Hotel Conner also apparently served some local residents who boarded at the hotel for varying lengths of time.[201]

In addition, the hotel provided meeting space for various local or regional organizations. For example, newspapers note meetings of stockholders of the Harpers Ferry and Potomac Bridge Company, the Bank of Harpers Ferry, and the Union Savings Bank of Washington, as well as

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[199]Marriage Register 5, p. 159.

[200]Barry, see advertisements following p. 200.

[201]For example, the Farmers Advocate reported in February 1919 that Mr. and Mrs. Garland Hurst and Miss Jennie Tearney had been at the hotel since the fall (15 February 1919, p. 2, col. 1). In March 1921, C.C. James closed his home in Bolivar and was staying at the Hotel Conner with his family, while W.H. Savery was staying there while his wife and daughter were away from home (12 March 1921, p. 1, col. 2; 19 March 1921, p. 1, col. 5). For a discussion of hotels as residences see Paul Groth, Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

meetings by the Eastern Panhandle Medical Association and the Jefferson County Board of Equalization and Review.[202] Over the years, local citizens also met at the hotel to organize a board of trade, to discuss the free bridge question, and to discuss steps for getting a knitting mill established in Harpers Ferry.[203]

In November 1907, Messrs. Rohr and Watkins of Charles Town were contracted to raise the Hotel Conner four feet, move the building forward to sit in line with other buildings, and install modern glass fronts in the first floor. Work on the building continued through the winter. Numerous jacks were placed under the hotel, which was raised "an inch at a time" until the building was four feet, four inches higher than before. As a result, the first floor had a 12-foot ceiling. That floor reportedly was made into two apartments and a hallway. Work was completed in May 1908.[204]

The altered Hotel Conner appears in HF-1722 (Figure 26), taken circa 1910. The first floor under the veranda was no longer open. Instead it contained store entrances at either end of the hotel front, an entrance for the hotel in the center, glass store fronts in between, and brick walls supporting the whole. The 1912 Sanborn Map (Figure 8) indicates a brick wall had been constructed running the length of the first floor from front to back. This map and the 1913 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Map (Figure 17) show a one-story frame addition on the Lot 5 side of the hotel, a furnace room attached to the rear of the building, and a pump house, shed, and

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[202]Virginia Free Press, 20 June 1894, p. 2, col. 5; 3 October 1894, p. 2, col. 6; Farmers Advocate, 8 August 1896, p. 2, col. 6; 23 April 1898, p. 2, col. 5; 15 April 1899, p. 2, col. 4; 21 April 1900, p. 2, col. 7; 6 December 1913, p. 2, col. 3; 13 December 1919, p. 1, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 3 July 1917, p. 2, col. 4.

[203]Virginia Free Press, 1 May 1902, p. 3, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 4 February 1908, p. 2, col. 3; Farmers Advocate 1 February 1913, p. 2, col. 4.

[204]Spirit of Jefferson, 19 November 1907, p. 3, col. 2; 21 January 1908, p. 2, col. 4; Farmers Advocate, 23 November 1907, p. 2, col. 4; 30 May 1908, p. 2, col. 3.

"W.C." between the hotel and the railroad embankment.[205]

Following completion of this work, the hotel office moved from the annex (Lot 2) to the first-floor hotel room nearest Lot 2. This move took place prior to 1912, as its new location is documented by the 1912 Sanborn Map. Meanwhile, in April 1911, George Child moved his store goods from his store (then located on Lot 6, Block C) to the other room on the first floor. Child ran a general store or grocery, advertising items such as garden seeds and tools, coffee, flour, paint, staple dry goods, hardware, glassware, crockery, fruit, olives, sardines, lobster, salmon, mushrooms, and coal and olive oils during the 1890s and early 1900s. Child's store remained at the Hotel Conner until November 1913.[206]

Following Child's departure, Theodore Conner made another alteration to the Hotel Conner. He converted the space previously occupied by Child into a restaurant. The second-floor area then utilized as the hotel restaurant was to be converted into "bedroom apartments." According to the Farmers Advocate account, a man from New York was to run the new restaurant. This business opened in January 1914.[207] Either no man from New York operated this establishment, or he soon departed. In December 1914, Fred Jefferson and/or his mother Annie were proprietors of a cafe in the hotel known as the Jefferson Lunch Room. In October 1915, Annie Jefferson relinquished proprietorship of the cafe, which reportedly was to be run by the hotel management thereafter.[208]

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[205]While the 1912 and 1922 Sanborn Maps show only one brick wall on the interior of the building, the 1933 map shows two walls running front to back and creating a hallway. As the description of the hotel after completion of alterations in 1908 clearly indicates two apartments and a hallway had been created, it is likely both brick walls were in place in 1908.

[206]Sentinel, 4 July 1896, p. 2, col. 5; 16 July 1898, p. 2, col. 3; 21 February 1902, p. 8, col. 1; 24 July 1903, p. 3, col. 5; Harpers Ferry Times, 8 July 1906, p. 4, col. 2; 30 August 1907, p. 2, col. 5; Farmers Advocate, 8 April 1911, p. 2, col. 4; 8 November 1913, p. 2, col. 2.

[207]Farmers Advocate, 13 December 1913, p. 2, col. 3; 10 January 1914, p. 2, col. 3.

[208]Farmers Advocate, 26 December 1914, p. 2, col. 4; 30 January 1915, p. 3, col. 5; 9 October 1915, p. 2, col. 2.

In January 1914, the same month the restaurant opened in the lower floor of the Hotel Conner, the Farmers Advocate reported Bernard J. Miles, son of A. R. Miles, would move his newsstand into the room then in use as the lobby and office of the Hotel Conner. Late in December, the building in which A. R. Miles and Son's general store was located (Wager Lot 51, corner of High and Shenandoah streets) burned to the ground, and a few days later, the elder Miles died. Bernard Miles planned to operate a billiard and pool room in the hotel, where he would also sell tobacco and cigars. Miles further planned to install several barber chairs and hire a tonsorial artist to work for him.[209]

On March 31, Miles signed a contract with Francis Ganter of Baltimore in which Ganter agreed to sell Miles pool equipment for $530. The equipment consisted of:

> 2 Maple Pool Tables, 1 Rosewood pool table, each 4 - 1/2 x 9 ft. in size; 1 7 ft. Golden Oak Wall show case; 3 doz. pool cues; 3 sets of pool balls (16 balls to a set)[;] 6 pool bridges; 3 leather pool bottles; 3 sets of tally balls (16 balls per set)[;] 3 sets of pool markers; 3 rubber covers for pool tables, 3 triangles for pool balls; 1 table brush; 3 cue racks, [and] 3 ball racks.

Upon recording of the contract, Ganter was to deliver these goods to the Hotel Conner lobby, where they were to remain until July 10. At that time, the pool equipment was to be moved to the hotel barroom.[210] Ganter fulfilled his part of the contract, and Miles opened his billiard and pool room in the hotel lobby before the middle of April. Miles evidently did not move to the hotel barroom in July, but remained in the old hotel lobby and office room until about the first of April 1915. He then moved to Park Building 45.[211]

In October 1917, the Farmers Advocate reported the Hotel Conner had closed for the

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[209]Farmers Advocate, 3 January 1914, p. 4, col. 4; 24 January 1914, p. 2, col. 2; Virginia Free Press, 1 January 1914, p. 3, col. 4.

[210]Contract, Francis X. Ganter and Bernard J. Miles, 31 March 1914, Deed Book 110, p. 485.

[211]Farmers Advocate, 11 April 1914, p. 2, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 6 April 1915, p. 2, col. 2.

winter. In April 1918, Mrs. Minerva Beck Griffin of New York, who had run a tea room on Camp Hill the previous year, "assumed proprietorship of Hotel Conner--sleeping apartments and table, with son Jack in charge of the office."[212] In September, Mrs. Griffin, then described by the September 14 issue of the Farmers Advocate as the proprietress of the hotel, married Col. D. L. Perry of Columbus, Ohio. A week later, this newspaper described her as the "former proprietress," suggesting she had relinquished this position upon her marriage.[213]

In July 1919, New York native Henry Weiss, former manager of hotels in Berryville and Petersburg, Virginia, became the new proprietor of the Hotel Conner. Shortly thereafter, an electric sign for "Hotel" was installed on top of the hotel roof facing the railroad depot (See HF-1329, Figure 28). He advertised the availability of meals at all hours, with chicken dinners as a specialty. Weiss also had an electric organ placed in the hotel office in May 1920 so that guests waiting for the train or eating their meals could be entertained for only a nickel.[214]

The 1920 census lists nine persons in the hotel. Henry L. Weiss (36), proprietor, lived with his wife Evelyn B. (37). Postmaster Theodore M. Conner (65) and his wife Laura S., assistant postmaster, boarded at the hotel, as did William L. Erwin (54). Employed at the hotel were clerk Charles J. Drew (62), cook Minnie Williams (49), assistant cook Douglas Freeman (25), and porter Lester Harris (16), the latter three being black. During the summer, Weiss relinquished management of the Hotel Conner and moved to Charles Town to run a hotel.[215]

In February, several months before Weiss' departure and a month after the census was

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[212]Farmers Advocate, 20 April 1918, p. 2, col. 2. Also 27 October 1917, p. 2, col. 3.

[213]Farmers Advocate, 14 September 1918, p. 2, col. 3; 21 September 1918, p. 2, col. 3.

[214]Farmers Advocate, 26 July 1919, p. 2, col. 4; 16 August 1919, Insert, p. 1, col. 3; 22 May 1920, p. 1, col. 1; The Mountain Echo, 1919, copy from Isabel Kern Flanagan.

[215]Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 190A; Farmers Advocate, 17 July 1920, p. 1, col. 1.

taken, Theodore Conner died. An appraisement of Conner's estate valued the Hotel Conner and Annex (the latter located on Lot 2) at $9,000. The appraisal (see page 186) provides the best indication of the interior of the Hotel Conner. The contents of the hotel were valued at nearly $600. More important, this document indicates the dining room, kitchen, and lobby were located on the main floor. The first floor held an apartment, two hotel rooms, a parlor, hall, and porch. Seventeen rooms, including three servants' rooms, a bathroom, and two halls were located on the second floor, while the top floor contained twelve rooms and a hall.[216]

Because Conner died intestate, his property descended not only to his wife, but also to his siblings, nieces, and nephews. As a result, his widow Laura had to obtain deeds from various heirs so that she might have sole title to the property. Between 1921 and 1924, she received these deeds.[217]

During this period, a Mr. and Mrs. Cooper managed the hotel. The Coopers had assumed management of the Hotel Conner by September 1920, after Henry Weiss took over a hotel in Charles Town. They remained in charge until about January 1929.[218]

Early in 1923, alterations were made to the lobby of the Hotel Conner so that druggist Shirley Nichols could move his drug store to the building April 1. Shirley Nichols was the son of Lucy and Daniel Nichols, a local builder and one-time deputy sheriff and justice of the peace. Nichols first established his drug store in 1921, thus providing competition for Walter Dittmeyer's

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[216]Register of Deaths (1905-1949), p. 31; Appraisement of Estate of T.M. Conner, Accounts and Fiduciaries Book O, p. 548.

[217]Roberta S. and Emma W. Conner to Laura Y. Conner, 11 January 1921, Deed Book 119, p. 430; Laura A. McCormick to Same, 18 April 1921, Deed Book 120, p. 128; Emily Hoover, et al, to Same, 17 October 1922, Deed Book 122, p. 314; Emma Brown, et al, to Same, 18 October 1922, Deed Book 122, p. 315; Ida C. Correll to Same, 20 October 1922, Deed Book 122, p. 317; Forrest W. Brown, special commissioner, to Same, 27 December 1922, Deed Book 122, p. 318; E. Catherine Overington, et al, to Same, 18 April 1923, Deed Book 123, p. 203; Edwin M. Conner and wife F. Merle to Same, 15 May 1924, Deed Book 124, p. 320.

[218]Farmers Advocate, 11 September 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 2 April 1921, p. 1, col. 1; 12 January 1929, p. 1, col. 1. The first name of Mr. Cooper is not known. Newspapers variously refer to him as G.C., L.C., A.S., and A.C. Cooper.

drug store on Shenandoah Street. Before moving to the Hotel Conner lobby in 1923, Nichols' drug store had been located in his uncle's store on High Street (Park Building 3) and later in the Jones' building on Shenandoah Street (Park Building 11).[219]

The 1926 "Historical and Industrial Edition" of the Spirit of Jefferson stated Nichols' drug store was "modern, [and] up to date," "one of the real landmarks of the town." Nichols employed three people in the store to serve the public. The following account, though essentially an advertisement for the store in its highly laudatory tone, provides the best description of Nichols store:

> A line of pure, fresh drugs is carried at all times, along with a big stock of patent medicines, Whitman's candies, Kodaks, stationery, rubber goods, and all lines found in the modern drug store. A large soda fountain, with 16 serving tables, is another big feature of the business.
>
> The store is open Sundays, and is fully equipped to give its patrons a complete service in all its lines. It is well located, in the very heart of things, and has won a place of importance in the community life.[220]

An advertisement later in the same issue includes a photo of Nichols' storefront, with a sign welcoming tourists and offering sodas, candy, tobacco, postcards, souvenirs, and Kodak.[221] Other advertisements during the 1920s indicate Nichols also sold items such as paints; Cenol fly destroyer and Cenol pipe flush; Dr. Thacher's liver and blood syrup; stoves; Dorothy Gray facial creams, lotions, and cosmetic accessories; and Cooper's Saponified Cresol Solution for disinfecting the dairy, barn, or stock.[222] A 1927 advertisement offering a C. Z. Champion

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[219]Farmers Advocate, 9 April 1921, p. 1, col. 3; 18 June 1921, p. 1, col. 1; 23 March 1923, p. 1, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 21 July 1926, p. 11; 25 February 1931, p. 1, col. 6.

[220]Spirit of Jefferson, 21 July 1926, p. 11.

[221]Spirit of Jefferson, 21 July 1926, p. 21. See also HF-1329 (1924).

[222]Farmers Advocate, 28 July 1923, p. 5, col. 3; 12 September 1925, p. 5, col. 4; 9 September 1927, p. 5, col. 3; 24 September 1927, p. 7, col. 6; 3 March 1928, p. 1, col. 1; 23 February 1929, p. 2, cols. 4, 5, & 6; Spirit of Jefferson, 9 May 1929, p. 2, col. 1.

Electric Corn Popper, electric hot water urn, and a show case for sale suggest popcorn had been available at the drug store as well.[223] Nichols also informed customers of the sanitary conditions of his soda fountain by advertising his use of Vortex Sanitary Paper Cups that were used only once and then thrown away.[224]

In 1928, Shirley Nichols purchased a drug store in Charles Town. He did not discontinue his business in Harpers Ferry but maintained both stores for the next two years. Finally, in September 1930, Nichols sold his Harpers Ferry store to Thomas Jamieson of Clear Spring, Maryland. According to the account in the Farmers Advocate, Jamieson previously had owned drug stores in Paw Paw and Parsons, West Virginia.[225] Although the newspaper had reported this sale on September 13, formal transfer did not take place until September 22. On the latter day, Jamieson purchased the personal property in the "store room heretofore occupied by said Shirley Nichols, and now by the said T. W. Jamieson in the drug store business in the Hotel Conner building." This property consisted of:

> Soda Fountain and accessories, back bar, wall fixtures, shelves and closets, prescription counter, cigar case, wrapping counter, two National Cash Registers, York Iron Safe, three tables, twelve chairs, electric sign out over entrance, work table with desk attached, desk chair and all other articles of fixtures, furniture and equipment.[226]

Jamieson was in his sixties when he purchased Nichols' drug store. Two years later he became sick, and he died in October 1932. At that time, his assistant Charles Reek was running

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[223]Farmers Advocate, 12 March 1927, p. 5, col. 4.

[224]Spirit of Jefferson, 13 February 1930, p. 2, cols. 2 & 3.

[225]Farmers Advocate, 24 November 1928, p. 1, col. 5; 13 September 1930, p. 1, col. 2.

[226]Deed of Trust, T.W. Jamieson and wife Sarah E. to Forrest A. Brown, 22 September 1930, Deed Book 134, p. 305.

the store. Following Jamieson's death, his wife Sarah Jamieson ran the store.[227] Then, in March 1936, the worst recorded flood ever to hit Harpers Ferry occurred. Jamieson's drug store was among the properties damaged by the record deluge. Following the flood, Sarah Jamieson moved the store to Camp Hill.[228]

The rest of the Hotel Conner apparently had been unoccupied several years before the 1936 flood. The last available documentation of operation of the hotel is from 1929. According to a February 1929 report in the Farmers Advocate, W. L. Erwin had taken over management of the Hotel Conner, and a new electric range had been installed in the kitchen and the heating plant put in order. Six months later, however, Erwin committed suicide on Virginius Island.[229] Aside from Jamieson's drug store, the last references of any activity in the hotel are announcements for upcoming bake sales in November 1929 and May 1930. Both undoubtedly were held on the first floor. While suggesting stores occupied both sides of the first floor, the 1933 Sanborn Map indicates the upper floors, previously used for the Hotel Conner, were vacant.[230] The hotel evidently was not in the most healthy condition as the Town of Harpers Ferry had the building fumigated in fiscal year 1930/1931.[231]

In September 1937, the Farmers Advocate reported on the building's lack of use:

> The rear doors and windows of Hotel Connor, which has been unoccupied for some years, have been boarded up to prevent marauders from entering the building and removing articles of furniture. Some losses of personal property by theft have

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[227]Spirit of Jefferson, 26 October 1932, p. 1, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 10 April 1936, p. 1, col. 1.

[228]Spirit of Jefferson, 19 March 1936, Flood Extra; Farmers Advocate, 10 April 1936, p. 1, col. 1.

[229]Farmers Advocate, 2 February 1929, p. 1, col. 1; 17 August 1929, p. 1, col. 2.

[230]Spirit of Jefferson, 7 November 1929, p. 11, col. 3; 22 May 1930, p. 1, col. 4; Sanborn Map, May 1933.

[231]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1910-1934, p. 555.

been noted recently.[232]

Three months earlier, Forrest Brown, trustee by deeds of trust executed by Laura Conner in 1923 and 1937, sold the property to E. A. Rinehart, receiver of the Bank of Harpers Ferry.[233]

Although Laura Conner no longer owned the Hotel Conner, she evidently did not remove the furniture from the building. Finally, over a year later, on September 16, 1938, a public sale of the hotel contents was held. For sale were:

> ABOUT 12 OR 15 BEDSTEADS Walnut, Brass[,] iron and Wood; 7 bureaus with mirrors, some with marble tops; 12 wash stands, One Handsome Walnut Wardrobe with claw feet, 2 front and 2 end doors with sliding drawers, a handsome piece of furniture; 1 small wardrobe, pair of office tables, 3-Piece Walnut Bed Room Suite, excellent condition, very old and handsome; 3 leather arm chairs, 1 music cabinet, lot of straight back chairs small tables, lot of pictures, Five Large Oil Paintings; lot of mattresses, springs, feather pillows; 1 convertible leather couch, 2 Tete-a-tets, 3 Electric Hanging Lamps, large Chandelier, equipped for gas or electric, beautiful large hall piece, Sterling Piano, good condition; 2 leather couches, one Morris chair, large kitchen table, lot of crockery, wash bowls[,] slop jars, etc.; Large Square Showcase, Back Bar (damaged by flood) mirror O. K.; lot of pieces of broken furniture, trunks and other articles too numerous to mention.[234]

This sale probably was held in anticipation of the demolition of the Hotel Conner. While the Land Book for 1938 still lists a value for a building on Lots 3 and 4, the 1939 book records no value. A series of photographs, dated circa 1939, taken by mayor Lewis Nichols document the removal of the building. (See Figure 36 and Figure 29.) In calling for the improvement of the downtown area of Harpers Ferry in 1941, the Harpers Ferry correspondent to the Farmers Advocate acknowledged, "With the demolition of the unsightly old frame hotel, and the

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[232]Farmers Advocate, 17 September 1937, p. 1, col. 4.

[233]Deed of Trust, Laura Y. Conner to Forrest A. Brown, 3 May 1923, Deed Book 123, p. 205; Same to Same, 16 April 1937, Deed Book 145, p. 378; Forrest A. Brown to E.A. Rinehart, 7 June 1937, Deed Book 146, p. 4.

[234]Farmers Advocate, 2 September 1938, p. 2, col. 5.

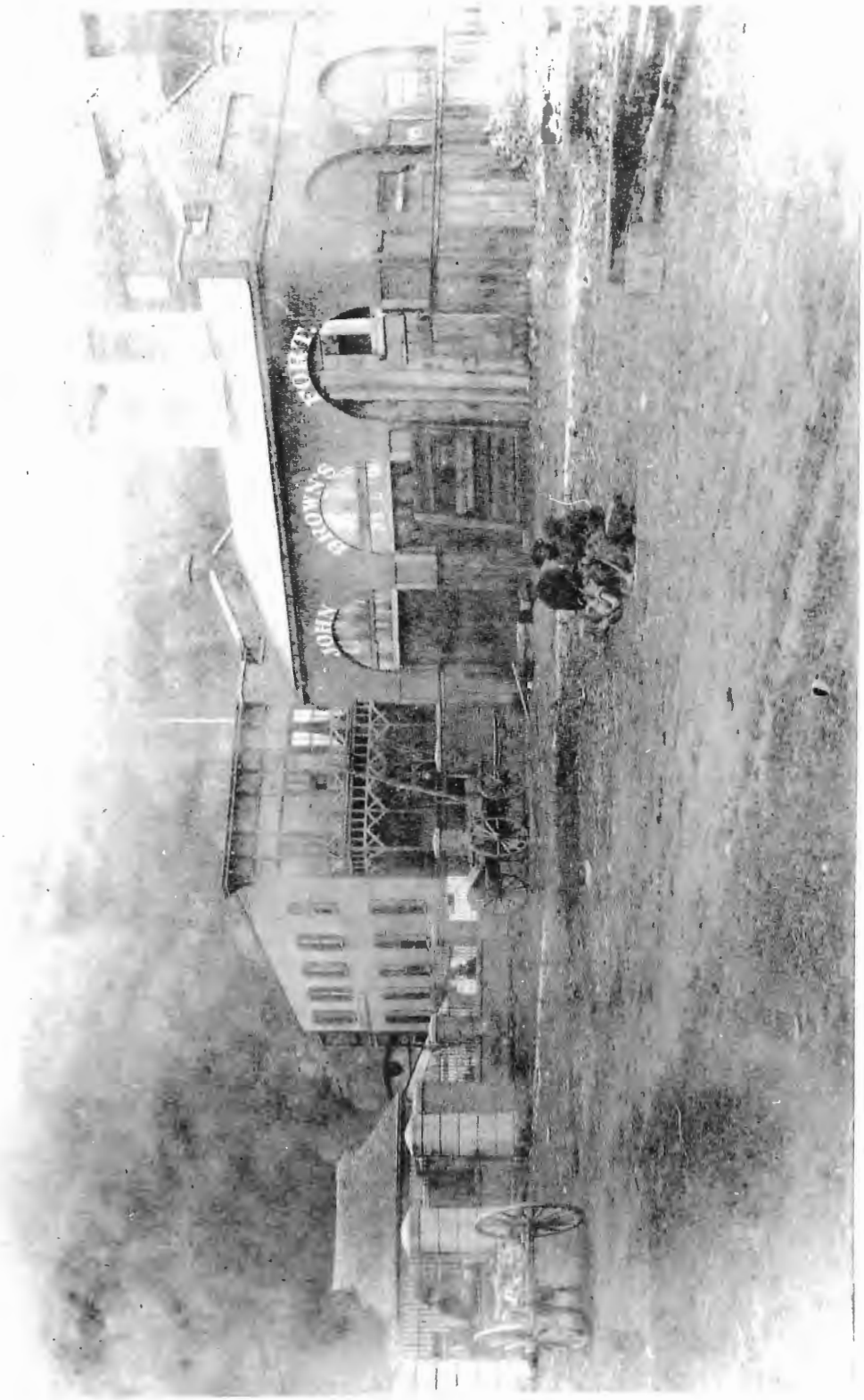

Figure 25. HF-1731. Green's Hotel as originally constructed is best seen in this pre-1889 photograph. The hip roof of the old superintendent's office on Lot 1 is also visible.

Figure 26. HF-1722. The best photograph (circa 1908) of the Hotel Conner and annex after its remodelling.

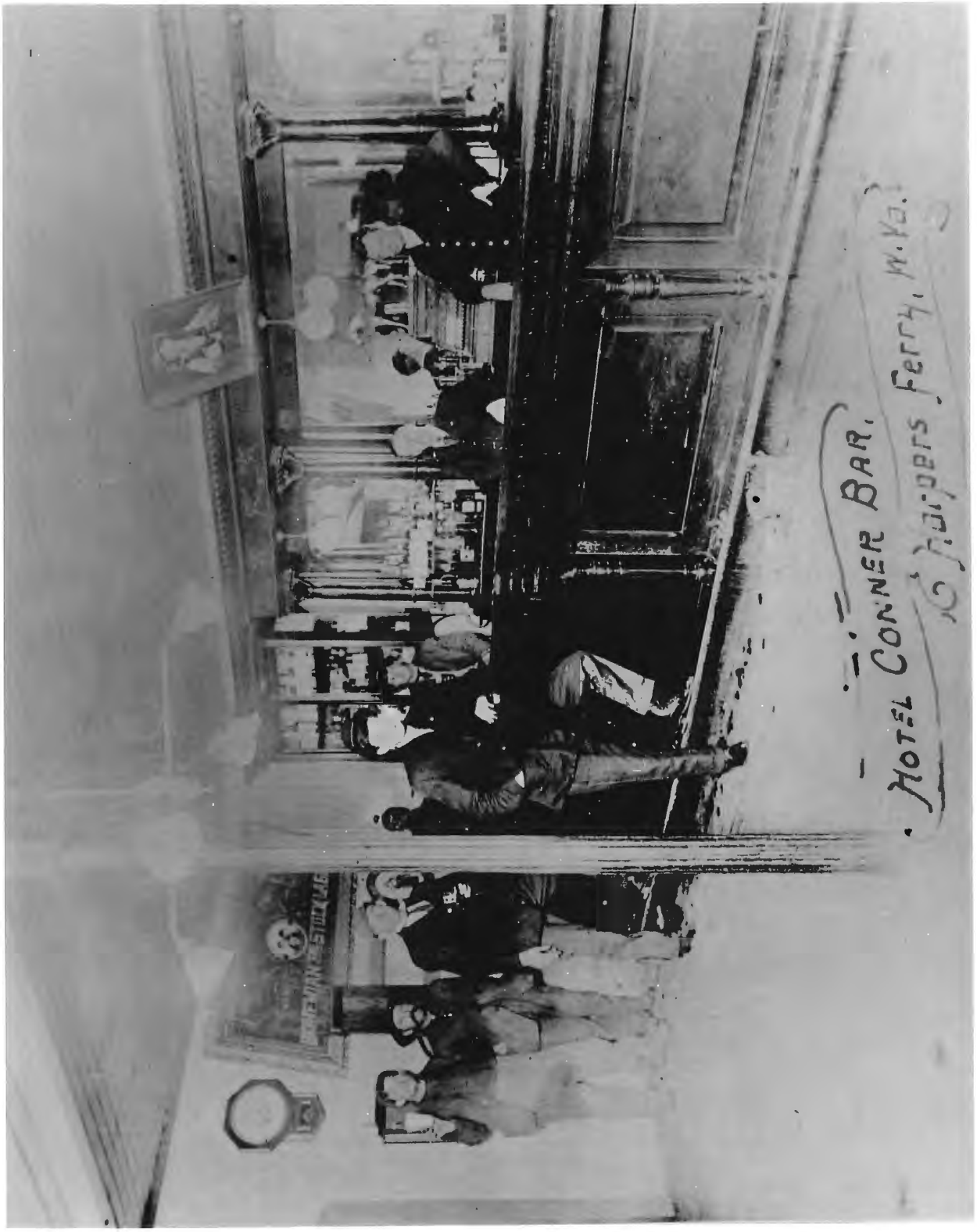

Figure 27. HF-1723. The interior of the Hotel Conner bar.

Figure 28. HF-1329. The Hotel Conner during the 1924 flood.

Figure 29. HF-1524. Rear view of the Hotel Conner and annex during demolition of the hotel, circa 1939.

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MORE DETAIL IS SEEN IN ACTUAL IMAGE

Figure 30. NHF-342. Park Buildings 18 and 19 at the rear of Lots 2 and 3, Block A.

remodeling of the annex into apartments the worst has been remedied."[235]

In March 1941, E. A. Rinehart sold Lots 3 and 4, Block A, together with Lot 2 and the ten-foot wide alley on Lot 1 once owned by Theodore and Laura Conner, to James F. Cassell for $500.[236] There is no indication Cassell made any use of Lots 3 and 4. On November 8, 1952, Cassell's widow Peach deeded all these properties to the State of West Virginia. The description for the portion of Lot 1 and Lots 2, 3, and 4 is as follows:

> Beginning at a point at the intersection of south side of Shenandoah Street and the S. W. side of Potomac Street; thence S. 32 deg. 10' W. 323 feet to a point on the north bank of Shenandoah River; thence up the river S. 54 deg. 26' W. 98.42 feet to a point; thence leaving the river N. 32 deg. 10' W. 329 feet to a point on the south side of Shenandoah Street; thence N. 59 deg. .002½' E. 98.1 feet to the beginning. SAVING and EXCEPTING the land within the right-of-way granted the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.[237]

When the Park acquired Lots 3 and 4, Park Building 19 stood on the Lot 3 side of this two-lot area, immediately north of the railroad embankment. (See Figure 30.) The 1955 Architectural Base Map indicates this two-story stone structure was thirty-three feet long on its Lot 2 side and forty-four feet long on its Lot 4 side. It was twenty-six feet wide. Abutting it on the Lot 2 side was Park Building 18, which partially extended around the front. While the walls of the building were "sound," the interior of Park Building 19 had "deteriorated due to neglect." This building was demolished in 1959 at a cost of $1,000.[238]

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[235]Farmers Advocate, 23 May 1941, p. 3, col. 2.

[236]E.A. Rinehart to James F. Cassell, 14 March 1941, Deed Book 153, p. 489.

[237]Peach B. Cassell to State of West Virginia, 8 November 1952, Deed Book 190, p. 199.

[238]1955 Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, NM-HF 3055; Notes accompanying map; Building 19, Building Histories, Park Ownership, Computer Database Files.

Lot 5, Block A: 1869-1953

At the end of the Civil War, the United States owned Lot 5, Block A. Shortly thereafter, the decision was made to close the armory and sell the government property at Harpers Ferry. In 1868, Congress passed legislation authorizing this sale, which took place in December 1869. Defined in 1852, when the government had sold a sizeable portion of its holdings at Harpers Ferry, Lot 5 fronted thirty feet on Shenandoah Street and ran back to the Shenandoah River. The vacant lot was intersected by a ten-foot wide alley at the railroad embankment.[239]

At the December 1869 sale, Capt. Francis C. Adams, who also placed the highest bids on the musket and rifle factory sites and waterpower, purchased Lot 5 for $2,050. Adams failed to pay, and the U. S. District Court for West Virginia ordered the resale of the properties purchased by Adams. First advertised to occur July 20, the sale was rescheduled for September 28, 1876.[240] The property was sold to Lawrence A. Montague for $405, with the court confirming the sale in December 1876. Not until January 1879, however, did Montague receive a deed.[241]

Lawrence Montague was the brother of Julia Walsh, wife of Harpers Ferry merchant Murtha Walsh and owner of Lot 6. In 1870, the 24-year old Montague was a clerk in a dry goods store, likely that of his brother-in-law, with whom he then was living.[242] A decade later, Montague still was a store clerk. Six years earlier, he had married Virginia McQuaide of Harrisonburg, Virginia. In 1880, they had daughters Maria L. and Julia.[243] Montague served

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[239]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 86-8, 91.

[240]Noffsinger, p. 136; Virginia Free Press, 20 May 1876, p. 2, col. 7; 12 August 1876, p. 2, col. 4.

[241]Nathan Goff, Jr., to Lawrence A. Montague, 28 January 1879, Deed Book G, p. 501.

[242]Spirit of Jefferson, 10 October 1905, p. 2, col. 2; Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 463, p. 28.

[243]Virginia Free Press, 5 December 1874, p. 3, col. 2; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 3, p. 5.

several terms on the Harpers Ferry town council and was active in conservative Democratic politics.[244]

After purchasing Lot 5, Block A, in 1876, Lawrence Montague apparently did not immediately build upon the land. It is possible no building was erected until after Montague left Harpers Ferry, having been appointed a gauger and assigned to the Hannis Distillery at Martinsburg in 1885. Land books through the 1880s record no valuation for buildings on the lot. The 1891 Land Book indicates a building valued at $500 stood on Montague's property.[245] Photographic documentation shows this building was a one-story, double frame building. The half nearest Lot 6 extended farther back on the property than the other half. Just north of the railroad, abutting the property line with Lot 6, stood a two-story frame shed.[246]

According to the 1894 Sanborn Map, the portion of the double frame building nearest Lot 6 was vacant. The part nearest Lot 4, however, was occupied by a barber, likely James Brunswick. The 1900 census lists Brunswick immediately after the Hotel Conner (Lots 3 and 4) and before Julia Walsh (Lot 6). According to the census, barber James Brunswick (40), a black man, lived with his wife Margaret (35) and his son James E. (23), also a barber.[247] Definite proof Brunswick's shop was located on Lot 5 by the late 1890s is an 1898 agreement between James Conway, agent for Lawrence Montague, and Brunswick, whereby Brunswick leased the northeast room of the Lot 5 building for a barber shop for a year for $108.[248]

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[244]Virginia Free Press, 23 January 1875, p. 3, col. 1; 10 January 1880, p. 2, col. 2; 8 May 1880, p. 2, col. 4; 1 February 1883, p. 3, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 15 August 1876, p. 2, col. 3; 13 August 1878, p. 2, col. 2; 20 July 1880, p. 2, col. 2; 19 September 1882, p. 2, col. 2.

[245]Virginia Free Press, 10 September 1885, p. 3, col. 1; Jefferson County Land Books 1889 and 1891, HF-1728.

[246]See Figure 31 (HF-92, dated ca. 1896), Figure 32 (HF-1142, dated 1890s), and Figure 36 (HF-1521, dated ca. 1939).

[247]Randall's Business Directory; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 79B.

[248]HFD-44. While this lease only covered the period from April 1, 1898 to March 31, 1899, there would have been individual leases for each year.

An article in the July 4, 1896 issue of the Harper's Ferry Sentinel provides a description of Brunswick's business. Brunswick's shop held four barber chairs of "the latest design" and a mirror in front and behind the chairs. There were "individual mugs, brushes and sponges, [and] improved appliance for shampoo." All these furnishings made Brunswick's shop "first-class" and "the most complete shop in the Shenandoah Valley."[249] Sanborn maps document only one other barber shop (that of Absalom Herrod) in Harpers Ferry at that time, although census and voter registration records for the Harpers Ferry/Bolivar area suggest as many as four barbers may have been in business in the area.

While the other portion of the frame building was vacant when the 1894 Sanborn Map was prepared, it soon was occupied. Late in 1894, the Bank of Harpers Ferry was incorporated by James Conway, James C. McGraw, George Dittmeyer, Will Rau, Charles R. Rau, G. R. Bready, George Marquette, and James M. Mason, Jr. Conway, Marquette, Rau, Dittmeyer, Mason, together with George Bowers of Martinsburg, John Porter of Neersville, Virginia, and Christian Smith of Brunswick, Maryland, were the first directors. Will Rau was chosen cashier and James Mason attorney. McGraw became the first president of the bank, which opened in November 1894. After his financial failure in 1897, he was succeeded as president by James Conway.[250]

According to a December 1902 report of the bank's condition, the assets of the Bank of Harpers Ferry totaled about $56,000. The bank carried over $41,000 in deposits subject to check. These figures suggest the Harpers Ferry bank was fairly small, even by comparison to two Charles Town banks. The Bank of Harpers Ferry had only a little more than one-forth the dollar amount

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[249]Harper's Ferry Sentinel, 4 July 1896, p. 2, col. 4.

[250]Virginia Free Press, 3 October 1894, p. 2, col. 6; 24 October 1894, p. 3, col. 2; 6 October 1897, p. 3, col. 4; 26 January 1898, p. 3, col. 1; Incorporation of the Bank of Harpers Ferry, Corporation Book 1, p. 252.

of assets held by both the First National Bank of Jefferson and the Bank of Charles Town. While the bank had slightly more than half the deposits of the former, it had less than one-third the deposits of the latter.[251] In 1919, the assets and deposits of the Bank of Harpers Ferry still were considerably lower than the figures for the other two banks in 1902. Then, the Bank of Harpers Ferry had nearly $80,000 in assets, but deposits had risen only to slightly over $48,000.[252]

Sanborn Maps for 1902, 1907, and 1912 show the bank was still located in the southwestern portion of the double frame building on Lot 5, while the barber shop occupied the northeastern portion. Barber James Brunswick died in 1909, leaving furnishings in his barber shop appraised at over $440 (See page 177). His son (James) Edgar continued the business. The bank remained on Lot 5 until 1919, when it moved to Park Building 12.[253]

Late in December 1918, Lot 5 owner Lawrence Montague died at his home in Martinsburg. Early in January, daughter Louise Montague obtained quit-claim deeds from her sisters Julia and Frances, now known as Sister Immaculata and Sister M. Loretta respectively, for any interest they had in their father's estate.[254] A year later, Louise Montague deeded Lot 5, improved by a "double frame building used for mercantile purposes," to her cousin William A. Walsh.[255]

Brunswick's barber shop continued in the northeastern portion of Lot 5, and former Harpers Ferry resident Isabel Kern Flanagan remembers it being next to the Hotel Conner in the

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[251]Virginia Free Press, 4 December 1902, p. 2, col. 8.

[252]Spirit of Jefferson, 25 March 1919, p. 2, col. 3.

[253]Farmers Advocate, 12 June 1909, p. 2, col. 2; 2 August 1919, p. 3, col. 4; 20 September 1919, p. 2, col. 3.

[254]Spirit of Jefferson, 1 January 1919, p. 2, col. 3; Quit Claim, Sister Immaculata to Louise Montague, 3 January 1919, Deed Book 118, p. 101; Sister M. Loretta to Louise Montague, 10 January 1919, Deed Book 118, p. 101.

[255]M. Louise Montague to William A. Walsh, 15 January 1920, Deed Book 118, p. 190.

1920s.[256] A full-page story on Harpers Ferry in a 1921 issue of the Washington Star made the following commentary on Edgar Brunswick's prowess as a barber: ". . . Ike, as everybody calls him, can give you a Saturday night shave that will last until Monday."[257]

Meanwhile, following the bank's removal in 1919, Carroll White converted the southwestern portion of the frame building into a restaurant. Construction of a one-story addition at the rear of this half of the building may have taken place at this time; this addition appears on the 1922 Sanborn Map (Figure 9). Evidently, White's restaurant planned to open early in the morning and cater to travelers. The Harpers Ferry correspondent to the Farmers Advocate noted the niche filled by this restaurant:

> An accommodation of this kind to open early is sorely needed by the traveling public for passengers arrive here on the 5 a. m. trains and are obliged to wait till noon to get up the valley and they nearly starve for something to eat.[258]

In 1923, Fred Jefferson, earlier connected with the restaurant in the Hotel Conner, purchased White's restaurant. A photograph of the 1924 flood (HF-305, Figure 33) documents the location of "Jefferson's Lunch Room" in this location. This business may have run intermittently, catering to tourists, as the April 3, 1926, issue of the Farmers Advocate reported Jefferson's lunch room in the Walsh building had reopened after being closed during the winter. Fred Jefferson and his mother Annie Jefferson ran this business until about the time of her death in January 1929.[259]

Within a month of Annie Jefferson's death, Jesse Dailey, a local undertaker who had the

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[256][Isabel Kern Flanagan], Reminiscences of Harpers Ferry before and after the 1924 flood (undated photocopy).

[257]Washington Star, 12 June 1921, clipping, McDonald Papers.

[258]Farmers Advocate, 9 August 1919, p. 4, col. 8.

[259]Farmers Advocate, 29 September 1923, p. 1, col. 2; 3 April 1926, p. 1, col. 1; 12 January 1929, p. 1, col. 1; HF-305.

Figure 31. HF-92. Circa 1896 view of the rear of the buildings on Blocks A and B.

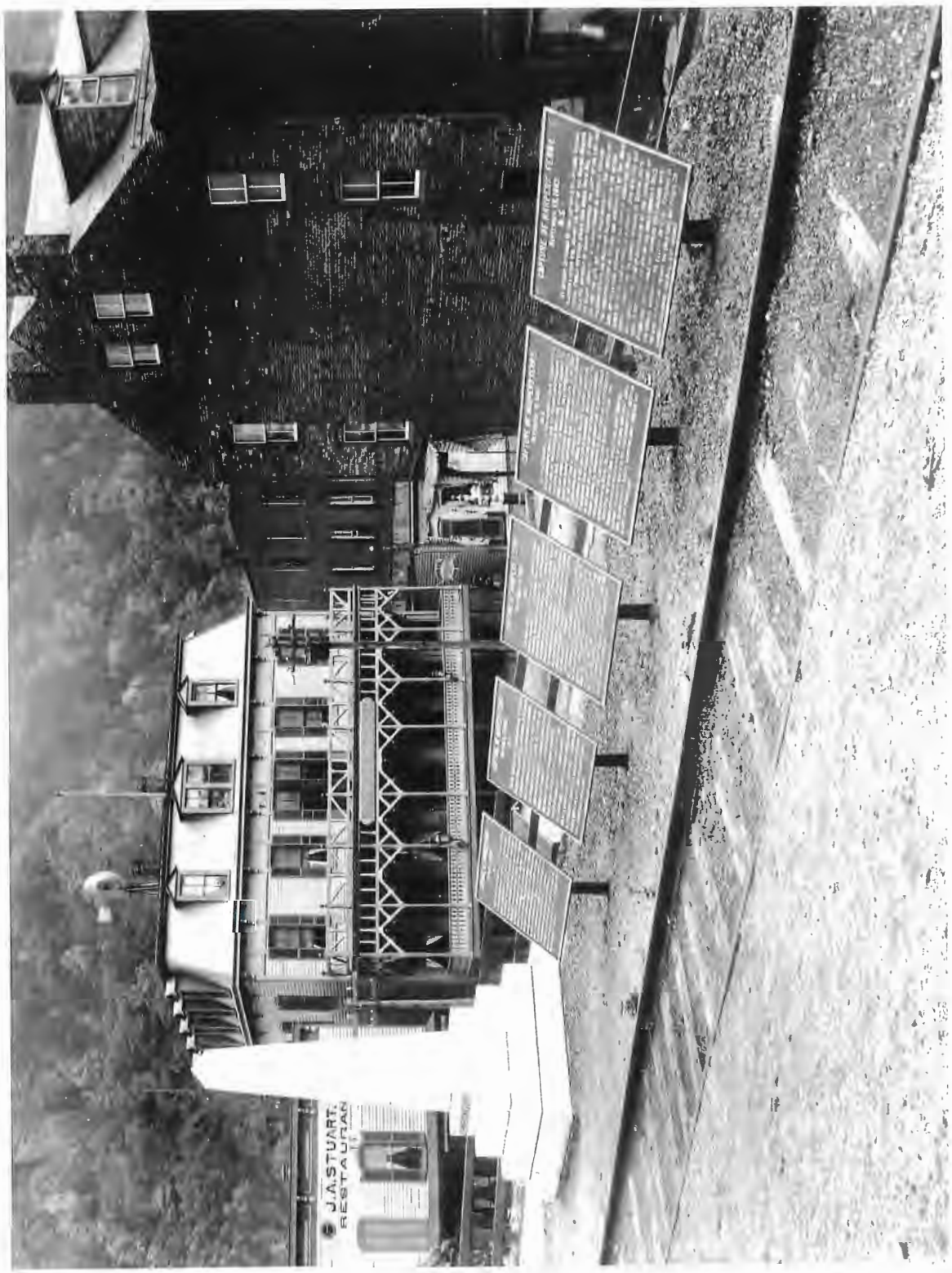

Figure 32. HF-1142. Circa 1900 view of the Hotel Conner. Note the frame building to the right of the hotel has a barber's post in front of it.

Figure 33. HF-305. The sign for Jefferson's Lunch Room on Lot 5 is seen in this 1924 flood photograph.

Figure 34. HF-304. The Lot 5 building held the Blue Ridge Lunch Room when this photograph was taken about 1930.

Figure 35. HF-971. The Blue Ridge Lunch Room sign notes the availability of beer in the 1936 flood photograph.

Figure 36. HF-1521. The business on Lot 5 sold Coca Cola when the Hotel Conner was being demolished about 1939.

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Blue and Gray Lunch Room across the street, bought the Jefferson's restaurant and moved his lunch room to Lot 5, Block A.[260] A year later, the Farmers Advocate reported Nellie Burleigh McConnell had "improved the interior of the room next to Mr. Walsh's store" and would serve sandwiches and lunches. As a clothing store was located on the Lot 7 side of Walsh's store (Lot 6), this news item likely refers to Lot 5.[261] A photograph taken in the early 1930s (HF-304, Figure 34) shows the Blue Ridge Lunch Room occupied the western half of the double frame building on Lot 5. A sidewalk sign noted the availability of chicken dinners and lunches. By the mid-1930s, beer was available as well. The Blue Ridge Lunch Room and the barber shop still occupied the frame building on Lot 5 when Harpers Ferry was hit by its worst flood in 1936.[262]

It is not known whether the barber shop continued in this building after the 1936 flood. Nor is it known whether the Blue Ridge Lunch Room continued at this location, as Nellie McConnell, the probable operator of this lunch room, died in January 1937. However, an eating establishment of some kind evidently operated in the building subsequently. Photographs of the demolition of the Hotel Conner about 1939 show a "Coca Cola" sign mounted on the front facade of the Lot 5 building.[263]

Property owner William Walsh died February 27, 1952. Walsh was unmarried and died intestate, and his estate descended to his three surviving sisters Louise Walsh, Leah Kirby, and Sister Mary Angelica (Aimee Walsh). In December, his sisters deeded Lot 5, Block A, to the State of West Virginia. The deed described the property as follows:

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[260]Farmers Advocate, 2 February 1929, p. 1, col. 1.

[261]Farmers Advocate, 1 February 1930, p. 1, col. 1; also see page 138 of this report.

[262]HF-304 (early 1930s); Figure 35 (HF-971, 1936 flood); Spirit of Jefferson, 19 March 1936, flood extra.

[263]Farmers Advocate, 29 January 1937, p. 1, col. 1. See HF-1521 (Figure 36).

> BEGINNING at a point 53.8 feet from the intersection of the southerly side of Shenandoah Street and the easterly side of High Street; thence N. 59 deg. 00½' E. 28.5 feet to a point; thence S. 32 deg. 10' E. 329 feet to a point on the north bank of the Shenandoah River; thence up the river 28.6 feet to a point; thence leaving the river N. 32 deg. 10' W. 331 feet to the beginning, SAVING and EXCEPTING the land included within the right of way of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.[264]

The 1955 Architectural Base Map (revised in 1956 and 1957) indicates the double frame building (Park Building 25) fronted twenty-five feet along Shenandoah Street. On the Lot 4 side, the building extended back thirty feet. On the Lot 6 side, it originally extended back forty-six feet, with the circa 1920 addition adding another nine feet. The shed at the rear was fourteen feet wide and thirty-two feet deep. The map indicates both the shed and the rear portions (both the 1920 addition and the original extra length on the Lot 6 side) of Park Building 25 had been demolished by the Park. Although repairs were made to the building in 1956 following removal of the rear portion, Park Building 25 was demolished in 1958.[265]

Lot 6, Block A: 1869-1952

At the end of the Civil War, the United States owned Lot 6, Block A. Shortly thereafter, the decision was made to close the armory and sell the government property at Harpers Ferry. In 1868, Congress passed legislation authorizing this sale, which took place in December 1869. Defined in 1852, when the government had sold a sizeable portion of its holdings at Harpers Ferry, Lot 6 fronted thirty feet on Shenandoah Street and ran back to the Shenandoah River. The

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[264]Louise C. Walsh, et al, to State of West Virginia, 31 December 1952, Deed Book 191, p. 45. See also Spirit of Jefferson, 6 March 1952, p. 4, cols. 4 & 5.

[265]Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, 13 September 1955, NM-HF 3055; Computer database files, Building Histories (NPS Ownership).

vacant lot was intersected by a ten-foot wide alley at the railroad embankment.[266]

At the December 1869 sale, John L. Walsh placed the highest bid on Lot 6 of $2,025.[267] After Congress passed legislation in 1878 providing for abatement of part of the purchase price of some property sold in the 1869 sale, Walsh applied for an abatement of $1,825. He claimed to have expended $300 for repairs to the property. This sum included about $282 paid to Mary Conway (Lot 7 owner) for half the cost of a brick wall "on adjoining Lot" (likely at the property line). The remainder was spent on fencing and repairs. For two years prior to applying for abatement, Walsh had used his own lot for a garden. The purchase price was abated to $300.[268] Julia Walsh, possibly John Walsh's sister-in-law, paid the $300 and received a deed in November 1879.[269]

Julia Walsh was the sister of Lot 5 owner Lawrence Montague and wife of Murtha Walsh, whom she had married in 1858.[270] In 1870, the Walsh household held retail dry goods merchant Murtha (44), Julia (30), Sarah (11), Mary (9), Louise (7), Genevieve (5), and John Walsh (2); Lawrence Montague (24), a store clerk; Kate Walsh (32), sister of Murtha; Amanda Willis (35), a black domestic servant; and Lizzie Willis (6). A decade later, the family had grown through the births of Christopher, Aimee, Julia, and Leah. The eldest daughter Sarah had died in 1879. Domestic servant Charlotte Piper (60), a black woman, and store clerk Frank Gannon (18) were

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[266]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 86-8, 91.

[267]Noffsinger, p. 136.

[268]Application of John L. Walsh, Reel 239, Frame 147; Report of Purchasers of U.S. Armory Property at the Sale of November 30th 1869 who desires an abatement, Reel 238, Frame 995; Statement of Applications for Abatement and action of Solicitor of the Treasury under the Act of June 14 1878, Reel 239, Frame 50.

[269]United States to Julia Walsh, 6 November 1879, Deed Book H, p. 10. Julia Walsh had a son John L. Walsh, but he was born in 1869. Her husband Murtha had a brother John.

[270]Virginia Free Press, 19 August 1858, p. 2, col. 6.

also part of the Walsh household.[271]

Shortly thereafter, Murtha Walsh made plans to have a building erected on his wife's Lot 6 property. In September 1881, the Virginia Free Press reported:

> In addition to the new hotel being erected for Maj. Geo. W. Green, next adjoining will be a large store-room and dwelling for Mr. Murtha Walsh, and on the same street Mr. Thos. W. Beale is having a large brick building for stores, shop and dwelling put up.[272]

Joseph Cockrell, formerly of Charles Town, had Walsh's building under construction by May 1882. In July, the Spirit of Jefferson reported brick manufacturers Davis, Souders, and Lock had provided a portion of the first kiln of brick burned at their new yard east of Charles Town for Murtha Walsh's building. By November, the building was "under roof."[273]

Photo and map documentation show Walsh's building was a three-story structure with a first story of stone and upper stories of brick. It had a 4-bay front. The number of windows along the sides varied, with the side along Lot 5 having more than the side along Lot 7, where another three-story building prohibited windows except toward the rear. A two-story porch crossed the rear of the building. Behind this building but north of the railroad were two small frame sheds and a two-story stone shed.[274]

On May 8, 1884, the newspaper reported Murtha Walsh would be moving into his new storeroom that week.[275] According to a January 20, 1887 advertising supplement to the Virginia

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[271]Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 463, p. 28; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 3, p. 5; Virginia Free Press, 16 August 1879, p. 3, col. 3.

[272]Virginia Free Press, 24 September 1881, p. 3, col. 1.

[273]Virginia Free Press, 6 May 1882, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 18 July 1882, p. 3, col. 1; 14 November 1882, p. 2, col. 1.

[274]Sanborn Map, 1894 (Figure 5); Figure 31 (HF-92, dated ca. 1896); Figure 35 (HF-971, dated 1936); Figure 37 (HF-1218, dated ca. 1939); Figure 38 (HF-1420, 1942 flood); Figure 19 (HF-1724, dated 1936).

[275]Virginia Free Press, 8 May 1884, p. 3, col. 3.

Free Press, Walsh was a dealer in:

> dry goods, boots, shoes, notions, hats, caps, clothing, carpets, oil cloths, groceries, provisions, glass, queens and hardware, paints, oils, flour and country produce.

According to that document, Walsh was but one of at least seven general merchants in Harpers Ferry and Bolivar in 1887. M. A. Cavalier and Rudolph Rau were located in Bolivar. Principal dry goods merchants in Harpers Ferry were J. C. Child (corner of High and Shenandoah streets), S. D. Hirschman & Company (Lot 1, Block B), and Tearney and Geary (probably Park Building 38). S. A. Graham, the seventh general merchant, had an emphasis on millinery. Another listed merchant, J. H. Myers, dealt in clothing.[276]

The appraisement of the personal estate of Murtha Walsh, who died in September 1889, provides considerable detail on the contents of both Walsh's store and his residence above. This appraisement notes some of the store items damaged in the flood that had inundated Harpers Ferry four months earlier. According to this document, Walsh had store goods worth over $5,500. He had currency, notes, bonds, and book accounts in excess of $5,300. The total value of his personal estate was $11,227.95, a considerable sum.[277] (See page 178)

Following the death of her husband, Julia Walsh assumed control of the business. In 1896, she advertised in the Harpers Ferry Sentinel. J. V. Walsh was a dealer in "Dry Goods, Notions, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Groceries, &c." Julia Walsh was an agent for Carlisle and Bay State shoes. Hardware, queensware, tobacco, and cigars were also among the items sold in Walsh's store.[278]

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[276]Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1887, supplement.

[277]Appraisement of the Personal Estate of Murtha Walsh, 28 September 1889, Accounts of Fiduciaries Book G, p. 324; Virginia Free Press, 6 June 1889, p. 2, col. 3; 13 June 1889, p. 3, col. 4; 26 September 1889, p. 3, col. 1. In comparison, Jonathan Child, another store owner in Harpers Ferry who died less than a year later, had a personal estate valued at only $5,329.18 and included store goods and cash or account assets appraised at roughly half the value given Walsh's. For a transcription of Child's appraisement, see Mary Edith Johnson and John Barker, "Virginius Island: The Transformation of a Small Industrial Community, 1800-1936" (National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, 24 March 1993), pp. 202-207.

[278]Harper's Ferry Sentinel, 4 July 1896, p. 2, cols. 6 & 7.

Initially, Julia Walsh was aided by her son John as a clerk and daughter Louisa Catherine as bookkeeper. The 1900 census indicates daughters Genevieve (33) and Aimee (26) were salesladies, no doubt at their mother's store. Son John (31) was the bookkeeper. Rounding out the household were merchant Julia Walsh (60), daughters Mary (37), Louise (35), Julia (24), and Leah (21), and son William (19), a clerk at the express office.[279] A decade later, sons John and William evidently had assumed primary responsibility for the business, although Julia still owned it. The Walsh household held the same members with the following exceptions: daughter Leah had married, and her husband Hugh Kirby, a coal merchant, and their son Edward (4) also lived in the house; and sister Aimee had entered the order of Sisters of Mercy as Sister Angelica.[280]

In August 1914, the Farmers Advocate reported Julia Walsh & Son was "having the wooden front in their store taken out and a glass and iron one put in with a vestibule effect." A Mr. Boxwell of Charles Town and several assistants were doing the work. Material was being furnished by Phillips Lumber and Manufacturing Company.[281] Later, William Walsh indicated this improvement was made because he thought Harpers Ferry was going to experience an economic boom.[282]

Julia Walsh died November 19, 1916 at the age of seventy.[283] In her will, written in 1893, she directed the sale of the "three story dwelling house, with store room, on Shenandoah Street . . . , including the lot of ground on which it stands, . . . provided it can be sold at a fair

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[279]Will of Julia V. Walsh, dated 23 September 1893, Will Book D, p. 284; Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, pp. 79B-80.

[280]Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 190; Farmers Advocate, 4 November 1905, p. 3, col. 5.

[281]Farmers Advocate, 8 August 1914, p. 2, col. 4; 22 August 1914, p. 3, col. 3.

[282]Baltimore Sun, Metrogravure Magazine, 5 February 1950. A boom may have been expected in 1914 because there was talk of an electric railroad running through Harpers Ferry, as well as construction of a dam by the Northern Virginia Power Company.

[283]Farmers Advocate, 25 November 1916, p. 3, col. 4.

price and not at a sacrafice [*sic*]." Reflecting the fact the will was written in 1893, only four years after the death of Murtha Walsh, Julia Walsh stipulated part of the proceeds of this sale were to go to son John and daughter Louisa, who were to receive $10 a month for the time they had worked in the store since the death of their father. The residue was to be divided equally among Julia Walsh's nine children.[284] By the time Julia Walsh died, however, daughter Genevieve had died.[285] Unlike the appraisement of her husband's personal estate over twenty-five years earlier, Julia Walsh's appraisal did not include store goods, instead listing household furnishings valued at $234.50.[286]

The Shenandoah Street property was not sold, and the surviving children of Julia Walsh retained ownership for nearly another forty years. In 1920, William Walsh headed the Walsh household, still located on Lot 6, Block A. Walsh (39) ran the dry goods store on the first floor. Sisters Julia (42) and Louise (50) were salesladies. The census lists brother John (48) as a salesman. Sisters Mary (52) and Leah (40), and Leah's son Edward Kirby (13) also lived in the Walsh home. That census and a full-page article appearing in the Washington Star a year later indicate the primary competitors (dry goods, general, and department stores) of Walsh's store in Harpers Ferry were those of Charles Demory, William Demory, Abe Kaplon, and William and Ella Doran, all located along Shenandoah Street.[287]

John Walsh died in July 1929. Brother William continued the business until his death in February 1952. According to his obituary, the 1936 and 1942 floods had wrecked his store, but

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[284]Will of Julia V. Walsh, dated 23 September 1893, probated 7 December 1916, Will Book D, p. 284.

[285]Farmers Advocate, 13 November 1915, p. 2, col. 3.

[286]Inventory and Appraisement of the Personal Estate of Julia Walsh, 26 February 1917, Accounts and Fiduciaries Book O, p. 221.

[287]Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 190; Washington Star, 12 June 1921.

Walsh had continued his business until taken ill in his store the day before his death. Walsh was survived by sisters Louise Walsh and Leah Kirby, both living at home, and Sister Mary Angelica (Aimee Walsh) of Baltimore, Maryland.[288]

On December 31, 1952, the Walsh sisters deeded Lot 6, Block A, to the State of West Virginia. The property was described as follows:

> BEGINNING at a point 24.1 feet from the intersection of the southerly side of Shenandoah Street and the easterly side of High Street; thence N. 59 deg. 00½' E. 29.7 feet to a point; thence S. 32 deg. 10' E. 331 feet to a point on the north bank of the Shenandoah River; thence up the river 29.8 feet to a point; thence leaving the river N. 32 deg. 10' W. 333 feet to the place of beginning. SAVING and EXCEPTING, however, the land included within the limits of the right of way of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company.[289]

Standing on the property were Park Buildings 20 and 24. According to the 1955 architectural base map, Park Building 20, was eighteen feet wide and twenty-eight feet long. The two-story stone and frame warehouse or ice house, standing in 1894, was flood damaged and neglected. (See Figure 40.) Park Building 24, the Walsh store and residence, was about thirty feet wide and about seventy-nine feet long. It was in "Generally good" condition, although there had been some flood damage to the lower floor. (See Figure 39.) The Park made several repairs to the building before demolishing both it and Park Building 20 in 1959.[290]

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[288]Farmers Advocate, 27 July 1929, p. 1, col. 2; Spirit of Jefferson, 6 March 1952, p. 4A, cols. 4 & 5.

[289]Louise C. Walsh, et al, to State of West Virginia, 31 December 1952, Deed Book 191, p. 45.

[290]Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, 13 September 1955, NM-HF 3055; Explanatory sheets accompanying map; Computer database files, Building Histories (NPS Ownership).

Figure 37. HF-1218. The buildings on Lots 6 and 7, Block A, and Lot 1, Block B, appear in this circa 1939 photograph.

Figure 38. HF-1420. The east end of Walsh's building is seen in this 1942 flood photograph.

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Figure 39. NHF-358. The front of the Walsh building appears in this 1957 photograph.

Figure 40. NHF-353. Park Building 20 at the rear of Lots 5 and 6 during the winter of 1955/1956.

Lot 7, Block A: 1869-1953

At the end of the Civil War, the United States owned Lot 7, Block A. Shortly thereafter, the decision was made to close the armory and sell the government property at Harpers Ferry. In 1868, Congress passed legislation authorizing this sale, which took place in December 1869. Defined in 1852, when the government had sold a sizeable portion of its holdings at Harpers Ferry, Lot 7 fronted twenty-four feet on Shenandoah Street and ran back to the Shenandoah River.[291]

At the December 1869 sale, Mary Conway placed the highest bid ($2,085) on Lot 7. After Congress passed legislation in 1878 providing for an abatement of part of the purchase price of some property sold in 1869, Mary Conway applied for an abatement. On her application, she stated she had made $5,164.35 in improvements, consisting of $5,114.35 expended for construction of a dwelling and store and $50 spent for fencing and other improvements. She sought an abatement of all but $200 of the purchase price.[292] The government abated the price to $300 and upon payment of that sum deeded Lot 7, Block A, to Mary Conway's husband James Conway in November 1879.[293]

As Mary Conway's application for an abatement indicates, a building had been erected on Lot 7 between 1869 and 1879. In January 1870, only a month after the government sale, the Virginia Free Press reported F. Gannon of Harpers Ferry had visited Charles Town to contract for brick for "a large house" for James Conway. The building was to be "three stories high, glass

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[291]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 86-8, 91.

[292]Statement of Applications for abatement, Reel 239, Frame 50; Application of Mary Conway, Reel 239, Frame 147; Report of Names and Addresses of Purchasers, Reel 238, Frame 995.

[293]United States to James Conway, 6 November 1879, Deed Book 86, p. 302.

front to 1st story, and is to be a very handsome and complete edifice."[294] An early photograph (HF-1749, Figure 41) of the building shows it as a three-story brick structure sitting on part of the site earlier occupied by the small arsenal. It was three bays across the front, with four windows on both the second and third floors on High Street extended. A one-story section and two-story porch are just visible at the rear of the building. The 1894 Sanborn Map shows the rear of the building with a large two-story section near the Walsh building on Lot 6 and a small one-story addition where the two-story porch had appeared in the photograph. By 1902, a small two-story addition had been made in the corner formed by the two-story and one-story additions.[295] A motion by the town council in October 1892 calling for James Conway to secure an areaway with a safe covering within thirty days shows the Conway building had an access to the basement level along the High Street side of Lot 7.[296]

The Conways used the building for a store and dwelling. In 1870, the Conway household, possibly already in residence upstairs, contained James Conway (32), a retail liquor dealer, his wife Mary (32), daughter Mary (2), and son John (5 months).[297] The first floor of the building was used for James Conway's saloon. Newspapers through the latter part of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century regularly note Conway received a liquor license.[298] An 1887

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[294]Virginia Free Press, 3 January 1870, p. 3, col. 2.

[295]Sanborn Maps 1894 and 1902. For the placement of Conway's building in relationship to the small arsenal see Drawing No. 10 in Edward McMillan Larrabee, "Report of Archeological Investigation of the Arsenal Square, Harpers Ferry National Monument, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, from July 20 through September 5, 1959" (December 1960).

[296]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1891-1909, p. 64. Basement level windows are just visible in HF-1749 (ca. 1878), indicating the areaway likely was original to the building.

[297]Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 459, p. 19.

[298]Spirit of Jefferson, 3 May 1870, p. 3, col. 2; 12 May 1885, p. 3, col. 3; 14 May 1889, p. 3, col. 3; 10 May 1892, p. 3, col. 2; 5 March 1907, p. 3, col. 1&2; Virginia Free Press, 3 June 1871, p. 3, col. 2; 25 May 1872, p. 3, col. 2; 3 May 1872, p. 3, col. 1; 26 May 1877, p. 3, col. 2; 24 May 1883, p. 2, col. 4; 26 May 1887, p. 2, col. 4; 17 May 1888, p. 3, col. 3; 15 May 1895, p. 3, col. 3; 17 April 1902, p. 3, col. 8; Farmers Advocate, 11 March 1905, p. 2, col. 2.

advertisement indicates Conway, located at the corner of Shenandoah and High streets, was a "Dealer in pure rye whiskies, brandies, wines, gins and malt liquors. All orders from the country will receive prompt attention."[299]

In October 1891, daughter Mary Conway married Harpers Ferry merchant William Rau. Son John died in December 1897 of consumption.[300] In 1900, the Conway household consisted of saloon keeper James, wife Mary, son-in-law and merchant Will Rau (31), Conway daughter Mary Rau, and grandchildren James R. (7) and Charles William Rau (5). Servant Elizabeth Baygent (18) also was enumerated with the Conways.[301] Mary Conway died in 1902, and Mary Rau died in 1904.[302] James Conway, his son-in-law William Rau, and Rau's sons James and William continued to share a home until Conway's death in February 1911.[303]

The inventory of Conway's personal estate indicates James Conway was one of the wealthier residents of Harpers Ferry. Only including his personal estate and not real estate he owned, this document indicates Conway owned nearly $9,000 in personal property, largely consisting of stock in the Bank of Harpers Ferry and bonds. More relevant to Lot 7, the appraisal of furniture was made on a room-by-room basis and shows the Conway building held a storeroom, kitchen, dining room, parlor, sitting room, hall, and four bedrooms. (See a transcription of the appraisal on page 184)

By the time Conway died, the first floor of his building on Lot 7 likely no longer was a

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[299]Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1887, supplement.

[300]Spirit of Jefferson, 27 October 1891, p. 3, col. 2; 4 January 1898, p. 2, col. 3.

[301]Twelfth Census (1900), Harpers Ferry, p. 79B.

[302]Virginia Free Press, 17 April 1902, p. 3, col. 6; Spirit of Jefferson, 18 October 1904, p. 3, col. 4.

[303]Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 190; Farmers Advocate, 18 February 1911, p. 2, col. 1.

saloon. Sanborn maps in 1894, 1902, and 1907 document its use as a saloon; however, in 1908, Conway did not apply for a liquor license. In 1910, the Farmers Advocate reported the directors of the Bank of Harpers Ferry, of which Conway was president, had leased Conway's storeroom and planned to move the bank to that location after remodeling the premises.[304] The bank apparently never moved to the Conway building, and in March 1911, the Farmers Advocate, reporting Emma Higgins had gone to the city to purchase millinery, noted "The Misses Higgin will conduct their millinery in the room previously occupied by Mr. James Conway for business."[305]

The Misses Higgins were sisters Anna and Emma Higgins. Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, the Farmers Advocate periodically noted one or the other sister had gone east to buy hats for the new season.[306] Shortly afterwards, the newspaper occasionally carried an advertisement for the Higgins sisters' millinery. These advertisements were similar to one placed in the newspaper in 1912:

> MILLINERY OPENING. The Misses Higgins wish to announce they will have their SPRING and SUMMER OPENING, THURSDAY, FRIDAY and SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 15 and 16. We will display the latest New York Patterns of Ladies, Misses and Children's Hats and Novelties. Respectfully, THE MISSES HIGGINS, MAIN STREET, Harpers Ferry, W.Va.[307]

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[304]Farmers Advocate, 16 May 1908, p. 2, col. 3; 12 March 1910, p. 2, col. 1.

[305]Farmers Advocate, 18 March 1911, p. 2, col. 2.

[306]Farmers Advocate, 9 March 1912, p. 2, col. 4; 22 February 1913, p. 2, col. 1; 21 March 1914, p. 2, col. 2; 4 March 1916, p. 2, col. 3; 23 September 1916, p. 2, col. 3; 25 August 1917, p. 2, col. 3; 31 August 1918, p. 2, col. 4; 15 February 1919, p. 2, col. 1; 21 February 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 28 August 1920, p. 1, col. 1; 10 September 1921, p. 1, col. 2; 18 February 1922, p. 1, col. 1; 14 April 1923, p. 1, col. 1; 3 March 1924, p. 1, col. 2; 20 February 1926, p. 1, col. 2; 12 March 1927, p. 1, col. 1.

[307]Farmers Advocate, 16 March 1912, p. 3, cols. 5 & 6.

Other advertisements noted the availability of French fashions and ready-to-wear hats.[308]

Until 1919, the Higgins sisters rented the storeroom from the Conway heirs. James Conway's property had descended to his two grandsons James and Charles William Rau. In 1913, James Rau conveyed his half-interest in Lot 7, Block A, and other real estate which his grandfather also had owned to his brother. In return, he received his brother's interest in $3,600 in bonds and fifty-five shares of stock in the Bank of Harpers Ferry. In December 1919, Charles William Rau sold Lot 7, Block A, to Anna and Emma Higgins for $4,500.[309]

A year later, the Higgins family moved into the Conway building which had "undergone many improvements with the end in view of a comfortable home and a good business stand."[310] According to the 1920 census, the Higgins family then consisted of milliners Emma Higgins (36) and Anna Higgins (33) and their father Edward Higgins (85).[311] In August 1925, Emma Higgins married William McLure of Tampa, Florida, and moved to that community. In November, Edward Higgins died.[312]

Anna Higgins continued her millinery shop through 1927 but did not open it for the 1928 season.[313] In May 1928, the Moore Insurance and Realty Company of Charles Town advertised the storeroom previously occupied by the Higgins' millinery was available for rent immediately.

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[308]Farmers Advocate, 15 March 1913, p. 2, col. 5; 21 March 1914, p. 2, cols. 6 & 7; 19 September 1914, p. 2, col. 5; 20 March 1915, p. 2, col. 4; 18 September 1915, p. 2, col. 4; 23 September 1916, p. 3, col. 4; 14 September 1918, p. 2, cols. 5 & 6; 20 September 1919, p. 3, col. 1; 19 March 1921, p. 5, col. 1; 10 September 1921, p. 5, col. 1.

[309]James R. Rau and wife Bessie L. to Charles William Rau, 1 November 1913, Deed Book 110, p. 75; C.W. Rau and wife Maria M. to Anna Higgins and Emma Higgins, 12 December 1919, Deed Book 118, p. 124.

[310]Farmers Advocate, 27 November 1920, p. 1, col. 2.

[311]Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 193A.

[312]Farmers Advocate, 5 September 1925, p. 1, col. 2; Register of Deaths (1905-1949), p. 83.

[313]Farmers Advocate, 20 February 1926, p. 1, col. 2; 12 March 1927, p. 1, col. 1.

By August, Victor Kaplon of Brunswick, Maryland, brother to Harpers Ferry merchant Abe Kaplon, had rented the store and was remodeling the room in preparation for opening his business.[314] Kaplon apparently opened a clothing store for young men, as references to such use of the property were made in the newspapers in 1929 and 1930.[315]

In March 1929, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad signal maintainer Morgan Laign, formerly of Shenandoah Junction, and his wife moved to an apartment in the Higgins building. When Laign accepted a position in Martinsburg in November, he was replaced by Gerald Orndorff, formerly of Toms Brook, Virginia, who moved into the same apartment with his wife.[316] In 1930, when the Empire Construction Company sent a of corps of engineers and workmen to do preliminary surveys and test holes for the new railroad bridge, they rented an apartment for office work in the Higgins building over the clothing store.[317]

Emma Higgins McLure and Anna Higgins continued to own the property, although neither apparently occupied the premises. The Farmers Advocate reported in July 1937 that John Mercer, former proprietor of a grocery on Camp Hill, had opened a store in the Higgins building on Shenandoah Street. That business was still there in 1939 but evidently was gone by October 1941, when Raymond Wiltshire, operator of the Blue Moon near Bolivar, applied to the Town of Harpers Ferry for a license to operate a restaurant and beer building on the Higgins property. Wiltshire's application was rejected. A June 1943 account of the presence of a black snake on the second floor of the Higgins building noted two families lived on the premises, one on the first

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[314]Farmers Advocate, 12 May 1928, p. 5, col. 4; 25 August 1928, p. 1, col. 5.

[315]Farmers Advocate, 30 March 1929, p. 1, col. 1; 10 May 1930, p. 1, col. 1.

[316]Farmers Advocate, 30 March 1929, p. 1, col. 1; 28 September 1929, p. 1, col. 1; 23 November 1929, p. 1, col. 1

[317]Farmers Advocate, 10 May 1930, p. 1, col. 1.

floor and the other on the second. In 1951, the owner of Corky's Cafe was considering moving that business to the Higgins' property. At the March meeting of the town council, Mayor Perry asked for authority to close the business if that step were taken, as the building had no toilet facilities. His request was tabled at that meeting, but the cafe apparently never moved to Lot 7.[318]

Anna Higgins died in December 1951.[319] On November 29, 1952, Emma McLure in her own right as co-owner of the property, and with her sisters Katherine Watts, and Elizabeth Roche, another relative Louise Madden, and their husbands, as the heirs of Anna Higgins, sold Lot 7, Block A, to the State of West Virginia for $8,000. The deed described the property as follows:

> Beginning at a point at the intersection of south side of Shenandoah Street and E. side of High Street; thence N. 59 deg. 00½' E. 24.1 feet to a point; thence S. 32 deg. 10' E. 333 feet to a point on the north bank of the Shenandoah River; thence by the river S. 54 deg. 26' W. 24.2 feet to a point on the east side of High Street; thence N. 32 deg. 10' W. 335 feet to the beginning. SAVING and EXCEPTING the land within the Right-of-Way granted the B. & O. R. R. Company.[320]

Standing on Lot 7 were Park Buildings 21, 22, and 23. The 1955 architectural base map indicates Park Building 21 was a one-story building, six by eleven feet, standing back on the property north of the railroad. This building, located where a building had been documented on Sanborn maps since 1894, was a shed in deteriorated condition. Park Building 22 was a one-story frame garage fronting on High Street. This twelve by twenty foot structure, together with an adjoining garage that was not standing in 1955, had been built between 1922 and 1933 for

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[318]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1935-1955, pp. 195, 406; Farmers Advocate, 9 July 1937, p. 8, col. 2; 4 June 1943, p. 2, col. 6. While partly undecipherable in HF-1218 (Figure 37), dated 1939, a sign on the Higgins building in this photograph appears to include the name Mercer.

[319]Spirit of Jefferson, 20 December 1951, p. 8B, col. 4.

[320]Emma H. McLure, et al, to the State of West Virginia, 29 November 1952, Deed Book 191, p. 94. Louise Madden probably was the daughter of Mary Higgins Exner, a deceased sister of Anna Higgins.

automobiles. The remaining garage was in fair condition in 1955. Park Building 23 was the Conway/Higgins store building. The main part of this three-story brick building was twenty-four feet wide and thirty-nine feet deep. A thirteen-foot long porch on the High Street side and a twenty-five foot brick section on the Lot 6 side extended at the rear. Another porch, fifteen feet long, was located at the rear of the brick section. Park Building 23 was in generally good condition, although the lower floor had suffered some flood damage. Park Building 21 was demolished in 1955, Park Building 22 in 1957, and Park Building 23 in 1959.[321]

High Street Extended

Prior to 1869, High Street did not extend south of Shenandoah Street, and this area was part of the arsenal yard, with part of the small arsenal apparently sitting on a portion of what later would become a street. According to information provided by the Town of Harpers Ferry in reply to a lawsuit filed by Lot 1, Block B, owner Mary Barrett in 1920, before the Civil War, the United States gave the town a piece of land where the street extended south of Shenandoah Street in 1920. The town's answer to Barrett's suit stated "the authorities of said town built a stone jail on said lot, and said stone jail stood there until demolished during the said Civil War."[322]

No corroborating documentation has been found for the statement that the site held a stone building used for a town jail; however, the brick building on Lot 2, Block B, previously used for the jail was torn down in 1858 so that the master armorer's house could be built, necessitating

[321]Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, 13 September 1955, NM-HF 3055; Explanatory sheets accompanying map; Computer database files, Building Histories (NPS Ownership); Sanborn Maps, 1894 to 1933. Part of the buildings at the rear can be seen in HF-1541 (Figure 47).

[322]Answer of defendants in Mary J. Barrett vs Town of Harpers Ferry, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

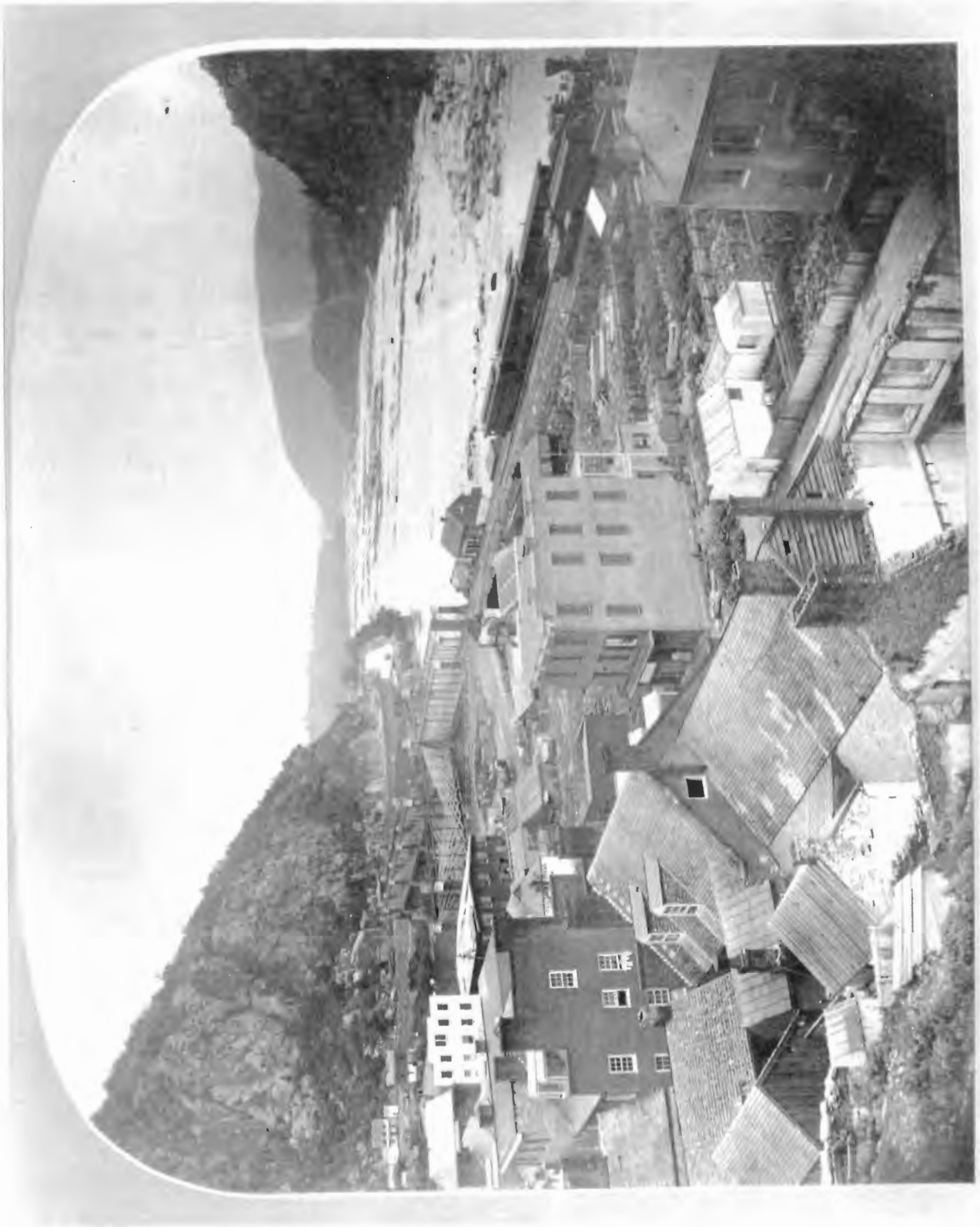

Figure 41. HF-1749. This 1870s view of the old arsenal yard shows the Conway building on Lot 7.

Figure 42. HF-712. Wentzell's tobacco store and the Beale building, 1915-1920.

removal of the jail to another location. In their extensive research on the pre-war era, Charles Snell and his team of historians never documented the jail's location after 1858, although they concluded the town hall probably had moved to the old brick superintendent's office on Lot 1, Block A.[323] In 1872, when town authorities sought permission to use government-owned property for multiple town purposes, they stated, "We have neither town-house nor jail, the jail also having been destroyed during the war."[324] This statement supports the later account that the town jail was destroyed during the war and proves it was not located in the old superintendent's office on Lot 1, Block A, which stood at least until the 1889 flood.

The town's statement in the Barrett case continued to relate the history of this site. According to the statement, after the Civil War, Thomas H. Trail obtained a lease for the property from the town and built a frame building for use as the town's meat market. No building appears on this site in HF-1749 (Figure 41), a photograph taken during the 1870s, although further details in the town's statement (see below) clearly indicate Trail must have erected his building by 1878. Trail's lease to town property was subject to a ground rent of $12 a year and could last as long as Trail or his assignees wished. The town stated Trail occupied the building as a meat market for "some years."[325]

Thomas Trail was the son of Samuel and Eveline Trail. The 1860 census indicates the elder Trail was a carpenter, while the younger Trail (21) was a butcher. Thomas Trail likely was erroneously listed on the 1870 census as Thomas Hodges (32), a butcher who lived with his wife Frances (30), children Charles (6), Harry (4), Clarence (3), and Annie (4 months), and Betsy

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[323]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 69, 74-5.

[324]Photostated copy of letter from Daniel Ames, mayor, and others to Hon. W.W. Belknap, Secretary of War, 5 July 1872, in Noffsinger, p. 153.

[325]Answer of defendants in Mary J. Barrett vs Town of Harpers Ferry, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

Lennox (57). This household was listed immediately after the Samuel Trail household, and Thomas Trail is known to have had a wife Frances.[326] In the years following the Civil War, Thomas Trail was active in Harpers Ferry, serving terms as township treasurer and clerk, member of the town council, and participating in the masons. About 1878, Trail left Harpers Ferry and was living in Kansas when his wife died in 1895.[327]

According to the town's statement, Trail sold his lease and building to John Erwin. After reportedly also using the building for several years as a meat market, he sold his lease in 1879 to C. B. Wentzell, who continued to pay the $12 ground rent to the town.[328] C. B. Wentzell was Charles Benjamin Wentzell (not to be confused with Charles Bloom Wentzell, another resident of Harpers Ferry who was approximately the same age), son of Alexander and Harriet Wentzell and a life-long resident of Harpers Ferry. The census indicates Wentzell was engaged in the manufacture of cigars by 1880. He used the building on High Street in connection with that business.[329]

At its September 1892 meeting, the town council adopted a motion to notify C. B. Wentzell to vacate the High Street ground and move his cigar store by April 1, 1893. Wentzell and the town came to some understanding, and at the November 1892 meeting, the town council adopted a motion to lease the ground to Wentzell for five years at $12 a year beginning April 1, 1893. In 1900, minutes note the town council agreed to renew Wentzell's ground rent.[330]

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[326]Eighth Census (1860), Harpers Ferry, p. 200; Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 13, p. 456.

[327]Virginia Free Press, 1 October 1868, p. 3, col. 3; 4 November 1871, p. 2, col. 3; 15 November 1873, p. 3, col. 3; 23 January 1875, p. 3, col. 1; 24 April 1895, p. 3, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 22 April 1895, p. 2, col. 6.

[328]Answer of defendants in Mary J. Barrett vs Town of Harpers Ferry, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

[329]Ninth Census (1870), Bolivar Township, p. 469, p. 39; Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 6, p. 12.

[330]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1891-1909, pp. 64, 67, 328.

In its reply to the Barrett suit filed two decades later, the town stated Wentzell remodelled the front of the building on High Street,

> replacing it with a large plate-glass front, with recess doors in the centre of the front of said building, weather boarding, re-roofing, reflooring, relining and painting it, constructing a concrete pavement in front of the building, and otherwise making it an ornate building, a credit to the town.[331]

This improvement likely occurred in 1909, as the Farmers Advocate reported in May 1909 that Wentzell was putting concrete pavement in front of his store and the Harpers Ferry Times indicated in July that Wentzell had completed unspecified repairs to his store including the addition of a "fine new sign" by James N. Small. The remodelled building is best seen in HF-712 (Figure 42), taken in the late 1910s.[332]

Charles Wentzell died in 1917. His lengthy obituary made the following comment on Wentzell and his store:

> Mr. Wentzell was 66 years of age and for nearly a half century was engaged in the manufacture of cigars and the sale of tobacco in Harpers Ferry and with his passing closes the last cigar factory in the 2nd Cong. Dist. He possessed a strong personality which he exerted in strict attention to business and devotion to church and Sunday School work, being for 45 years a prominent member of the M. P. Church. His factory was located at the foot of High St., in the heart of the town and was the emporium from which nearly everyone in the community received their supply of tobacco and a club room where the citizens of town met to discuss the topics of the day and strangers visiting the town scarcely failed to call thus giving the deceased a wide acquaintance and making his death a passing of one of the landmarks of the town. Mr. Wentzell was always clean in his conversation and required it of those around him and the three score and upward years allotted him were no doubt fruitful of much good to the young men of the town.[333]

Wentzell never married, and his sister Ida took over the store following her brother's

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[331]Answer of defendants in Mary J. Barrett vs Town of Harpers Ferry, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

[332]Farmers Advocate, 29 May 1909, p. 2, col. 3; Harpers Ferry Times cited in Spirit of Jefferson, 27 July 1909, p. 1, col. 6.

[333]Farmers Advocate, 9 June 1917, p. 2, col. 3.

death, assisted when needed by T. J. Burleigh.[334] In June 1920, Mary Barrett asked the town to make Ida Wentzell move the store building from High Street. The town council voted, however, to allow her to stay.[335] Mrs. Barrett then filed suit against the town to force the building's removal. According to her bill, the Wentzell building was a one-story frame building, nineteen feet wide and twenty-two feet deep, sitting in the middle of High Street within five feet of the property line with Lot 1, Block B. Only a thirteen-foot wide area was left on the other side of the building between it and Lot 7, Block A, for the use of town citizens. Barrett claimed the presence of the tobacco store interfered with her use of her own building on Lot 1, Block B.[336]

While this case was still in contention, Ida Wentzell decided to sell the business. In December 1921, W. E. Colbert, who had been operating a grocery and green goods store in Harpers Ferry for several months, moved his store to the old cigar store. A carpenter had converted the building into a large storeroom.[337] Colbert still had his store in this building in September 1922 when the building caught fire.

> Fire that is believed to have started by mice or rats nibbling at matches, wrecked the interior of the grocery store operated by Harvey Colbert, in the room formerly occupied as a cigar store by the late Mr. Wentzell on Shenandoah street about 3 o'clock Thursday morning. The stock was damaged to the amount of $500 to $800, partially covered by insurance. The fire tested the fire fighting equipment of the town, which proved entirely satisfactory, all the attending circumstances considered.[338]

Ida Wentzell had died the previous February. The appraisal of her estate made that month

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[334]Farmers Advocate, 16 June 1917, p. 2, col. 2; 24 November 1917, p. 2, col. 3.

[335]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1910-1934, pp. 271-72.

[336]Complaint of Mary J. Barrett, in Mary J. Barrett vs Town of Harpers Ferry, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

[337]Farmers Advocate, 5 February 1921, p. 1, col. 6; 20 August 1921, p. 1, col. 5; 5 November 1921, p. 1, col. 1; 10 December 1921, p. 1, col. 1.

[338]Farmers Advocate, 30 September 1922, p. 1, col. 5.

states her half-interest in the frame storeroom was worth $200. Eugene Bready, administrator of both Ida's and Charles' estates, settled the disposition of this building late in the year. In November, $550 was paid to Charles' estate by the insurance company for the fire damage. On December 23, 1922, $100 was paid the estate for the sale of the building.[339]

The building was purchased by Leo O'Beirne, who planned to have general contractor Oscar Scarlett move it to a vacant lot on High Street. In April, excavation of the lot (Wager Lot 54A) was complete. The old cigar store was moved to its new location, remodelled, and in November 1923 occupied by jeweler W. W. Kronk. The building stood on Wager Lot 54 until it was demolished by the Park in 1957.[340] The portion of High Street where the cigar store originally stood held no buildings after 1923.

Lot 1, Block B (Front Half): 1869-1953

At the end of the Civil War, the United States owned Lot 1, Block B. Shortly thereafter, the decision was made to close the armory and sell the government property at Harpers Ferry. In 1868, Congress passed legislation authorizing this sale, which took place in December 1869. Defined in 1852, when the government had sold a sizeable portion of its holdings at Harpers Ferry, Lot 1 fronted thirty feet on Shenandoah Street and ran back 147 feet to the railroad.[341]

At the 1869 sale, the highest bid for this lot of $1,850 was placed by John H. Hodges.

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[339]Register of Deaths (1905-1949), p. 222; Appraisement of Estate of Ida L. Wentzell, Accounts of Fiduciaries Book P, p. 137; Statement of Estate of Chas. B. Wentzell in account with Eugene Bready, admr, Accounts of Fiduciaries Book P, p. 281.

[340]Farmers Advocate, 6 January 1923, p. 1, col. 1; 14 April 1923, p. 1, col. 1; 3 November 1923, p. 1, col. 5.

[341]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 86-8, 92.

After Congress passed legislation in 1878 providing for abatement of part of the purchase price of properties at Harpers Ferry, Hodges applied for an abatement. At that time, Hodges had spent $27 for building a fence around the property. This fencing is visible in HF-1749 (Figure 41), an 1870s photograph that also shows several small frame buildings at the front of the property. Hodges makes no mention of buildings in his application. He believed the property to be worth only $200 and sought abatement of the price to that amount. The government reduced the price to $300, which was paid by John E. Erwin, to whom Hodges had assigned his interest. Erwin was given a deed in November 1879. In July 1880, Erwin sold the front half of the lot, running 73 1/2 feet long, to Thomas W. Beale for $325.[342]

A native of Harpers Ferry, Thomas Beale had been engaged as a tinner in town for three decades when he bought the front half of Lot 1, Block B.[343] Beale became a member of the Odd Fellows before the Civil War. After the war, he served several terms on the town council and as mayor of Harpers Ferry.[344] Beale also served as a director of the Harpers Ferry Bridge Company and as secretary of the Harpers Ferry Board of Trade.[345]

In September 1881, the Spirit of Jefferson reported the numerous improvements being made at Harpers Ferry, among them a new building for Thomas Beale.

> Thos. W. Beale, Esq, is having erected, on the east side of Shenandoah street, Harper's Ferry, (opposite his present quarters), a large brick building which will embrace two store rooms, tin shop, and dwelling--an improvement which we are especially pleased to note, as being made by one of our best patrons and a

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[342]Application of John Hodges, Reel 239, Frame 337; United States to John E. Erwin, 21 November 1879, Deed Book K, p. 316; John E. Erwin and wife Dorsey H. to Thomas W. Beale, 2 July 1880, Deed Book K, p. 319.

[343]Seventh Census (1850), Harpers Ferry, p. 416B; 1892 Voter Registration.

[344]Virginia Free Press, 12 May 1877, p. 3, col. 2; 21 January 1882, p. 3, col. 3; 21 January 1886, p. 3, col. 1; 12 January 1888, p. 3, col. 1; 9 January 1895, p. 3, col. 1; 11 January 1899, p. 3, col. 4; Spirit of Jefferson, 16 January 1894, p. 2, col. 1; 21 September 1915, p. 4, col. 2.

[345]Virginia Free Press, 17 January 1880, p. 3, col. 1; 15 March 1888, p. 3, col. 1; 17 July 1902, p. 3, col. 6.

gentleman in every way deserving of the success which he has met in conducting an honorable and straight-forward business.[346]

By December, Beale's building was nearly complete.[347] The Beale building was a two-story brick structure with a second-story balcony. A two-story porch crossed much of the rear of the building, extending from the Lot 2 side of the building to a two-story ell on the High Street side. As planned, the building contained two storerooms.[348]

Beale moved his tinware shop into one of the two storerooms (the corner storeroom) after the building was finished. An advertisement Beale first placed in the Spirit of Jefferson in October 1872, but which ran through December 1882, indicates Beale was a manufacturer and dealer in stoves, tinware, and sheet ironware. He guaranteed spouting or tin roofing would be "executed in the very best manner."[349] In January 1883, Beale ran a new advertisement. Although virtually the same in content, Beale's new advertisement indicated the business now was located on the south side of Shenandoah Street rather than the opposite corner of High and Shenandoah streets and noted Beale had thirty-three years of experience in the trade.[350] Other tinsmiths located in Harpers Ferry during the late 1800s were William Exner, William Harrell, and James Cassell.[351]

In September 1886, S. D. Hirschman & Company, a Charles Town business, opened a branch store in the Beale building, likely in the second storeroom. Simon Hirschman, a native

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[346]Spirit of Jefferson, 20 September 1881, p. 3, col. 1. See also p. 2, col. 1.

[347]Spirit of Jefferson, 20 December 1881, p. 3, col. 1.

[348]Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, November 1894; Figure 42 (HF-712, dated late 1910s); Figure 44 (HF-1215, dated ca. 1914-1923).

[349]Spirit of Jefferson, 8 October 1872, p. 3, col. 5.

[350]Spirit of Jefferson, 9 January 1883, p. 3, col. 8.

[351]Exner had a business on High Street in the 1870s and 1880s. He was succeeded in the late 1880s by Harrell. Cassell, who became the town's premier plumber, opened his tin shop on High Street about 1890. Harrell and Cassell later were located on Shenandoah Street.

of Bavaria, was active in the wholesale business in Philadelphia and Baltimore until about 1880. Subsequently, he spent much of his time with his daughter in Charles Town. S. D. Hirschman & Company established the Charles Town store in 1883 as a branch of the Wholesale Establishment of Baltimore. Sons Milton, Stuart, and S. D. were associated.[352]

A January 1887 advertisement for the Harpers Ferry branch indicates dry goods, notions, millinery, and fancy goods were sold there.[353] More detailed information on the goods likely sold in Harpers Ferry comes from advertisements for the Charles Town store. Goods advertised in the late 1880s include a variety of cloths, hats, feathers, trimmings, shirts, pants, cloaks, overcoats, suits, shoes and boots, underwear, gloves, blankets, edgings and insertings, carpets and mattings, parasols, carpenter's tools and tool chest, baseball clothes and equipment, and window shades.[354]

Hirschman & Company still had a store in Harpers Ferry in September 1887, when a notice appeared in the Virginia Free Press that the company's stores in Charles Town, Harpers Ferry, and Morgantown, West Virginia, would be closed for a holiday.[355] The store closed sometime before April 1889, when the Harpers Ferry Sentinel reported Newton Webb would be opening a drug store in the Beale building.[356]

The 1892 Voter Registration Roll indicates druggist Newton Webb (26) was a native of

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[352]Virginia Free Press, 23 August 1883, p. 2, col. 7; 23 September 1886, p. 3, col. 3; 18 July 1894, p. 3, col. 3.

[353]Virginia Free Press, 20 January 1887, supplement.

[354]See for example Virginia Free Press, 28 October 1886, p. 3, col. 4; 4 November 1886, p. 3, col. 4 and p. 4, col. 1; 11 November 1886, p. 3, col. 4; 18 November 1886, p. 3, col. 4; 6 January 1887, p. 3, col. 4; 13 January 1887, p. 3, cols. 6 & 7; 3 February 1887, p. 3, col. 4; 31 March 1887, p. 3, col. 2; 14 April 1887, p. 3, cols. 6 & 7; 28 April 1887, p. 3, col. 4; 16 June 1887, p. 3, col. 4; 30 June 1887, p. 3, col. 5; 26 January 1888, p. 3, cols. 6 & 7; 12 April 1888, p. 3, col. 5; 3 May 1888, p. 3, col. 5.

[355]Virginia Free Press, 22 September 1887, p. 3, col. 1.

[356]Spirit of Jefferson, 9 April 1889, p. 3, col. 4.

Maryland who had been in Jefferson County for six years. Before beginning his own business, he was a clerk in R. H. Cavalier's drug store located across Shenandoah Street. Webb likely opened his own drug store by May 1889, when he was among the heaviest losers of store goods and property to the flood that swept through Harpers Ferry that month. Newton Webb's drug store definitely was in operation in the early 1890s, as Randall's Business Directory for 1892/1893 includes N. E. Webb, Shenandoah Street, among the three druggists listed in Harpers Ferry.[357]

At the beginning of the 1890s, Lot 1, Block B, held Thomas Beale's tin shop in the storeroom at the corner of High and Shenandoah streets and Newton Webb's drug store in the storeroom next to it. The 1894 Sanborn documents these stores on the property; however, Newton Webb apparently had vacated the premises by then. In May 1893, the Sentinel reported Webb had purchased property in Washington, D. C., for a drug store and would be moving there.[358]

Thomas Beale removed his tin shop around the time the Sanborn Map was published. In May 1894, the Harpers Ferry town council issued a license to E. M. (Edward Miller) Miskimon to operate a drug store on Shenandoah Street.[359] Nearly a year later, in April 1895, the Virginia Free Press reprinted an item from the Sentinel which reported Beale had moved his tin shop and his old storeroom was occupied by Miskimon (Beale's grandson):

> One of the prettiest store rooms in the State is that of E. M. Miskimon, druggist. The room formerly occupied by Mr. T. W. Beale has been remodeled and refitted for Mr. Miskimon. He has had put in handsome new furniture of solid oak, finely carved, with all the latest conveniences. The wood work being made by Reinle Bros. & Salmon, of Baltimore, and put in place by the foreman of the shop of the

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[357]1892 Voter Registration; Spirit of Jefferson, 28 August 1888, p. 3, col. 1; 4 June 1889, p. 2, col. 2; Randall's Business Directory, p. 48.

[358]Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1894; Virginia Free Press 17 May 1893, p 3, col. 2.

[359]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1891-1909, p. 116.

above firm.[360]

Among the items sold in Miskimon's drug store were Chamberlain remedies and Dr. King's New Discovery cough and cold medicine.[361]

Miskimon also purchased soda fountain equipment for his drug store. On June 18, 1895, he signed an agreement with Charles Lippincott & Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Miskimon previously had given notes totaling $733.98 for the soda water apparatus "now at my place of business." This apparatus consisted of:

> 1-12-3 dft. Shelbourne Soda Water Apparatus, and Marble Slabs, 2 steel fountains, 1/2 doz. # 14 Holders, 3 doz. # 16 tumblers, 1 Doz. # 17 tumblers, 1 Presto Change stand, 1 - 3 1/2 ft sink, 1 Doz. spoons.[362]

In March 1898, E. Miller Miskimon placed all his goods "in the building belonging to Thomas W. Beale on Shenandoah Street in Harpers Ferry, now occupied by the said E. Miller Miskimon as a drug store," together with all accounts in trust with Forrest W. Brown to secure debts he owed in excess of $2,800. By far the largest creditor was his grandfather, to whom he owed $2,735.[363] Six months later, on September 9, Miskimon died at the age of 22. The inventory of his personal estate shows the goods in the drug store were worth $1,507.25. (See page 185)[364]

Less than a month after Miskimon's death, Thomas Beale sold the drug store to Newton Webb, former proprietor of a drug store in the other storeroom in Beale's building. This drug

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[360]Harpers Ferry Sentinel, 27 April 1895, p. 3, col. 2.

[361]Harpers Ferry Sentinel, 27 April 1895, p. 2, col. 4 & p. 3, col. 4.

[362]Agreement, Chas. Lippincott & Co. and E.M. Miskimmon, 18 June 1895, Deed Book 79, p. 196.

[363]Deed of Trust, E. Miller Miskimon to Forrest W. Brown, 26 March 1898, Deed Book 84, p. 414.

[364]Virginia Free Press, 21 September 1898, p. 3, col. 5; Inventory of the personal estate of E.M. Miskimon, Accounts of Fiduciaries Book I, p. 438.

store property consisted of:

> All the drugs, merchandise, fixtures, scales soda water Fountain, shelving, counters, mirrors, Show cases fancy goods and the entire stock of goods and other property in the Building belonging to Thomas W. Beale on Shenandoah Street in Harpers Ferry.

Beale sold this property to Webb for $1,600.[365]

In November 1900, the Virginia Free Press reported Webb sold his drug store to W. H. Waldo of Washington. Waldo was still operating a drug store in Harpers Ferry in 1902, when town council minutes noted he was issued a drug license and he placed several advertisements in the Harpers Ferry Sentinel for Bucklen's salve, Dr. King's consumption treatment, and dyspepsia tablets.[366]

In 1903, he was replaced by Henry Dashiell Wright of Washington, who took over the Miskimon drug store in March. That month, Wright sold the contents of his drug store "in the brick building owned by Thos. W. Beale on Shenandoah Street" back to Newton E. Webb for $1,200.[367] Advertisements from that year indicate pills, dyspepsia and kidney cures, candy, ice cream sodas, spices, salve, and electric bitters were among the items available at Wright's pharmacy.[368]

Although Wright sold the contents of his drug store to Newton Webb in 1903, town council minutes show Wright was issued a drug license for his business on Shenandoah Street in 1903 and

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[365]Deed of Trust, N.E. Webb to Forrest W. Brown, 1 October 1898, Deed Book 85, p. 394.

[366]Virginia Free Press, 28 November 1900, p. 3, col. 6; Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1891-1909, p. 396; Harpers Ferry Sentinel, 21 February 1902, p. 3, cols. 1 & 4 and p. 4, col. 1.

[367]Farmers Advocate, 7 March 1903, p. 3, col. 5; Henry D. Wright to Newton E. Webb, 17 March 1903, Deed Book 93, p. 181.

[368]Harpers Ferry Times, 7 August 1903, p. 1, col. 1 and p. 2, col. 2; 20 November 1903, p. 4, cols. 1-5; 27 November 1903, p. 2, cols. 3-5 and p. 4, col. 1.

1904.[369] In April of the latter year, the American Soda Fountain Company of Boston, Massachusetts, made a conditional sale to Wright of "One Double Stream Draught Stand, Cooler Box and bottles, One # 2 Gas Outfit, One Steel Fountain Six Holders Six Spoons." The company reserved title until Wright paid $100.[370]

In November 1904, Walter Eugene Dittmeyer, son of George and Johanna Dittmeyer of Bolivar and a recent graduate of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, took over the drug store formerly operated by Wright in the Beale building.[371] In the decade following his purchase of the drug store, Dittmeyer was active in professional, political, and civic circles. He was involved in Democratic meetings, member and later president of the school board, and director of the Bank of Harpers Ferry. In 1910, Dittmeyer was elected vice-president of the West Virginia Pharmaceutical Association, and three years later he became president.[372] In June 1913, Dittmeyer bought Park Building 12 at the opposite corner of High and Shenandoah streets, planning to improve that building for his drug store. A year later, in June 1914, however, he exchanged that property for Park Building 9 and moved his business to that location instead.[373]

Sanborn maps for 1902, 1907, and 1912 show the drug store, run by Miskimon, Webb, Waldo, Wright, and finally Dittmeyer, was located in the corner storeroom of the Beale building, while the other storeroom was occupied by a barber. Little information on this barber shop has been uncovered, but existing documentation indicates Absalom Herrod's barber shop was in the

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[369]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1891-1909, pp. 418-19, 445.

[370]Reservation of Title, American Soda Fountain Co. and Henry D. Wright, 20 June 1904, Deed Book 94, p. 459.

[371]Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, p. 5B; Farmers Advocate, 5 November 1904, p. 3, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 22 November 1904, p. 2, col. 3.

[372]Farmers Advocate, 8 September 1906, p. 3, col. 4; 25 June 1910, p. 3, col. 5; 1 March 1913, p. 3, col. 5; Spirit of Jefferson, 7 March 1911, p. 2, col. 3; 11 July 1911, p. 2, col. 1; 22 July 1913, p. 2, col. 1.

[373]Spirit of Jefferson, 17 June 1913, p. 3, col. 4; Farmers Advocate, 9 May 1914, p. 2, col. 1; 27 June 1914, p. 2, cols. 1 & 4.

Beale building. In July 1911, the Farmers Advocate reported on a recent incident involving a horse and an old well:

> Several mornings recently the town was handed a thrill of surprise by the discovery of a long forgotten well on Shenandoah St., before Harrold's [*sic*] barber shop. It was built by the Government when the armory was in the heyday of its prosperity and was used by citizens till the close of the war when for some reason or other it was covered over and allowed to stand idle despite the great necessity for convenience of the character in the Square. Its [*sic*] in an excellent state of preservation and contains some 20 odd feet of water. . . . The spot is fenced in and the council, we understand is considering the advisability of resuscitating it again into a town pump . . . .[374]

As there were two barber shops on Shenandoah Street in 1911 (the other was on Lot 5, Block A), this item is not conclusive evidence Herrod's barber shop was on Lot 1, Block B. However, at its August 3, 1911 meeting, the town council voted that a "safe temporary top [be] put on the old well now in front of The barber Shop near Dittmeyer's drug store."[375] The reference to Dittmeyer's drug store, then located in the corner storeroom of the Beale building, suggests Herrod was in the adjoining barber shop.

Herrod was located in Harpers Ferry by 1880, when the census taker enumerated Herrod (then 32), his wife Rebecca, and four children. By the early 1890s his business was on Shenandoah Street.[376] Herrod's barber shop could have been in the Beale building as early as 1893, when druggist Newton Webb (see page 151) reportedly planned to move to Washington. By 1910, Herrod's son John (32) was his assistant, while son Thomas (17) was an apprentice barber. Herrod's barber shop may have remained in operation until April 1918, when Absalom Herrod, having suffered a stroke, moved to Hagerstown, Maryland, with his family. The news

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[374]Farmers Advocate, 22 July 1911, p. 2, col. 3.

[375]Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1910-1934, p. 40.

[376]Tenth Census (1880), Harpers Ferry, p. 4; Randall's Business Directory, p. 47.

account of his departure reported Herrod had worked as a barber in both Harpers Ferry and Brunswick, Maryland. Herrod died in Hagerstown less than a year after his departure.[377]

Less than three years before Herrod's death, Thomas Beale died on September 18, 1915 of cancer at the age of eighty-five.[378] By his will, Beale left all his property to his daughter Ella M. Miskimon. This property included a brick dwelling on Camp Hill, "where I now reside," the "brick dwelling house situate on Shenandoah street," household furniture, stock in the Harpers Ferry and Loudoun Bridge Company, and money in the bank, appraised in total at nearly $4,300.[379]

At Beale's death, his building on Lot 1, Block B, may have held Absalom Herrod's barber shop and a drug store. Although Walter Dittmeyer had moved his drug store from the building in June 1914, another drug store may have operated in the same location subsequently. In August 1915, in describing an accident involving a runaway horse and buggy, the Farmers Advocate indicated the horse ran down High Street, "hurling the vehicle with great force against the sign post before Bealle's drug store as he sharply turned into Shenandoah St."[380] The following month, shortly before Beale's death, the newspaper reported Eugene Bready and Frederick Marquette had rented the "former 'drug stand' of T. W. Bealle."[381]

Eugene Bready was the son of pulp mill superintendent George Bready and his wife Mary, while Fred Marquette was the son of railroad agent George Marquette and his wife Mary. The

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[377]Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 187; Farmers Advocate, 20 April 1918, p. 2, col. 2; 4 January 1919, p. 3, col. 3.

[378]Register of Deaths (1905-1949), p. 11.

[379]Will of Thomas W. Beale, dated 25 November 1914, probated 22 September 1915, Will Book D, p. 227; Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate of Thomas W. Beale, Accounts of Fiduciaries Book O, p. 82.

[380]Farmers Advocate, 14 August 1915, p. 2, col. 2.

[381]Farmers Advocate, 11 September 1915, p. 2, col. 5.

1910 census indicates Eugene Bready (27) then was a clerk at the pulp mill. Fred Marquette (25) was a telegraph operator.[382] Bready and Marquette rented part of the Beale building with the intention of opening "an automobile supply depot and later a garage."[383] According to statements given in 1919, they rented the storeroom from Neil Marquette, Fred's brother, who had rented the room from property owner Ella Miskimon. They paid $10 a month for the storeroom. Eugene Bready and Fred Marquette organized the firm of Marquette and Bready to sell Dart and Mitchell cars, Flint trucks, tires, oils, and accessories, and repair automobiles. They also were distributors for the La France Fire Engine Company and sold a chemical engine to the town of Harpers Ferry. In December 1915, the town council gave them a permit to place a gasoline tank and pump on the street in front of the Beale property at the intersection of High and Shenandoah streets.[384]

By the end of June 1916, Fred Marquette had sold his share of the business to Eugene Bready, who planned to continued the business as the Shenandoah Garage. In its March 10, 1917 issue, the Farmers Advocate reported Bready and his wife Eva, whom he had married in August, would move to the Beale building where he had his garage.[385] The following week, the newspaper carried an advertisement placed by Bready offering his garage and accessories store for sale. The garage, according to Bready's ad,

> Has full equipment, tools, shop full of necessary things. Shop will hold 10 or 12 cars. Accessories store with stock, Bowser Red Sentry Curb Pump, brand new, 550 gallon gasoline tank. Steam vulcanizer and equipment. Fine stand, and a

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[382]Thirteenth Census (1910), Harpers Ferry, p. 188.

[383]Farmers Advocate, 11 September 1915, p. 2, col. 5.

[384]Statement of Facts, in Mary J. Barrett vs. I.S. Glass, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse; Spirit of Jefferson, 9 November 1915, p. 4, col. 2; 29 February 1916, p. 2, col. 5; Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1910-1934, p. 139.

[385]Spirit of Jefferson, 27 June 1916, p. 2, col. 3; Farmers Advocate, 26 August 1916, p. 2, col. 4; 10 March 1917, p. 2, col. 3.

> paying proposition for anyone giving it their whole attention. Price I ask can be made back quadruple this summer.[386]

Bready sold the garage to I. S. Glass of Norfolk, Virginia, in September 1917. Eugene Shugart, Mrs. Miskimon's agent, rented the property to Glass on September 25, 1917, and Glass took possession the following day.[387]

On February 19, 1919, Ella Miskimon sold the front half of Lot 1, Block B, to Mary J. Barrett for $3,000, reserving a vendor's lien on the property to secure the unpaid portion of the purchase price.[388] In March, Eugene Bready and his wife moved from the second floor, and Mrs. Barrett and her family took possession. The Barrett family consisted of James Barrett (56), Mary Barrett (55), and their daughter Elizabeth (13).[389]

After buying Lot 1, Block B, Mary Barrett sued I. S. (Isaac) Glass seeking to recover $300 and use of the building. Glass claimed he did not know whether the terms of his rental of the property from Ella Miskimon were by the month or the year, only that he paid rent monthly. Eugene Shugart, Mrs. Miskimon's agent, indicated he knew nothing about the rental terms either. On April 12, the court ordered that Mary Barrett receive possession of a "certain front room occupied by I. S. Glass as an automobile garage and salesroom, said room being on the first floor of the building owned by Mary J. Barrett . . . on front half of Lot No. 1 in Block B."[390]

Glass' business was still located in Barrett's building in September 1919, when the Farmers Advocate reported he was laying the foundation for his gasoline pump "opposite his garage on the

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[386]Farmers Advocate, 17 March 1917, p. 2, col. 5.

[387]Farmers Advocate, 29 September 1917, p. 2, col. 3; Statement of Facts, Mary J. Barrett vs I.S. Glass, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

[388]Ella M. Miskimon to Mary J. Barrett, 19 February 1919, Deed Book 117, p. 73.

[389]Farmers Advocate, 22 March 1919, p. 2, col. 1; Fourteenth Census (1920), Harpers Ferry, p. 190A.

[390]Mary J. Barrett vs I.S. Glass, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

corner lot." Glass had purchased Wager Lot 51 across the street from Lot 1, Block B, in April and was having the property improved. The newspaper reported Glass' lease to the Beale (Barrett) building expired November 1.[391]

The following year, Mary Barrett sued the Town of Harpers Ferry to force removal of Wentzell's tobacco shop from High Street next to her property. Barrett stated a barber shop was located in the southern end of her building, while the northern end (corner) held a grocery store run by Barrett. The Barrett family lived upstairs. The only entrance to the second floor was on the High Street side, and Barrett claimed Wentzell's shop blocked her approach to her building on that side for twenty-two feet. The tobacco shop was situated within five feet of her property line. If that obstruction were removed, Barrett indicated she would remodel the first floor by putting in a corner entrance with large plate glass windows. Wentzell's tobacco shop was removed in 1923, not due to the court action, but rather the death of Ida Wentzell and subsequent sale of the building. Barrett's case, therefore, was dismissed in October 1923.[392]

In 1920, when Mary Barrett filed suit, the two storerooms in her building were occupied by a barber shop and her grocery. In February 1919, the Farmers Advocate indicated Raymond Hackley had opened a tonsorial shop in the room adjoining Glass' store. This barber shop apparently lasted only a short time, as Hackley advertised the sale of two barber chairs and barber equipment in June.[393] In March 1920, H. C. Hinkins of Brunswick, Maryland, opened a barber shop in the "Beale" building, and it is his barber shop to which Barrett likely referred in her suit.

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[391]Farmers Advocate, 6 September 1919, p. 2, col. 4; Katharine W. and Anna S. Riddle to I.S. and May Glass, 30 April 1919, Deed Book 117, p. 283.

[392]Mary J. Barrett vs Town of Harpers Ferry, Attic, Jefferson County Courthouse.

[393]Farmers Advocate, 8 February 1919, p. 2, col. 2; 21 June 1919, p. 2, col. 5.

The only other mention of Hinkins barber shop is an advertisement he placed in the March 20, 1920 issue of the Farmers Advocate for his new barber shop in Harpers Ferry.[394]

C. W. Colbert of Purcellville in Loudoun County bought the groceries and goodwill of Barrett's grocery early in 1921 and rented the storeroom and "the one next to it," presumably meaning the room earlier occupied by the barber shop, for use as a grocery and butchering business. The Barrett family remained in residence upstairs. In August, Colbert moved his grocery and green goods store to the Doran store on Shenandoah Street, and Charles Randall of Maryland opened a grocery and confectionery in the Barrett building. Randall evidently did not remain long, as the Farmers Advocate reported in April 1922 that Scheutze and Rosenburg (actually Rosenberry), formerly connected with the butchering business of Fry and Littleton, had opened a store in the Barrett building. They only remained until March 1923, when they moved to Bolivar.[395]

That month, Mary J. Barrett and her husband sold the front half of Lot 1, Block B, to James F. Cassell for $4,000.[396] A native of Pennsylvania, Cassell had been living in Harpers Ferry since about 1889, when he married Peach Smith. He served terms on the town council in the 1890s and 1910s.[397] Cassell was a tinsmith and plumber who operated shops in several locations in Harpers Ferry before buying Lot 1, Block B, from the Barretts in 1923. He and his brother-in-law Briscoe Smith were responsible for much of the water system providing plumbing

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[394]Farmers Advocate, 30 March 1920, p. 1, col. 5 and p. 8, col. 1.

[395]Farmers Advocate, 5 February 1921, p. 1, col. 6; 20 August 1921, p. 1, col. 5; 15 April 1922, p. 1, col. 1; 17 March 1923, p. 1, col. 2.

[396]Mary J. Barrett and husband James to James F. Cassell, 20 March 1923, Deed Book 122, p. 532.

[397]Virginia Free Press, 22 August 1889, p. 3, col. 4; 15 January 1896, p. 2, col. 1; 13 January 1897, p. 3, col. 5; 14 January 1915, p. 3, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 8 January 1910, p. 2, col. 1; Spirit of Jefferson, 15 August 1911, p. 2, col. 3; 7 January 1919, p. 3, col. 3.

Figure 43. HF-1454. Note the drug store sign in front of the Beale building in this 1913 photograph.

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Figure 44. HF-1215. The rear of the Conway building, Wentzell's tobacco store, and the Beale building, taken before 1924.

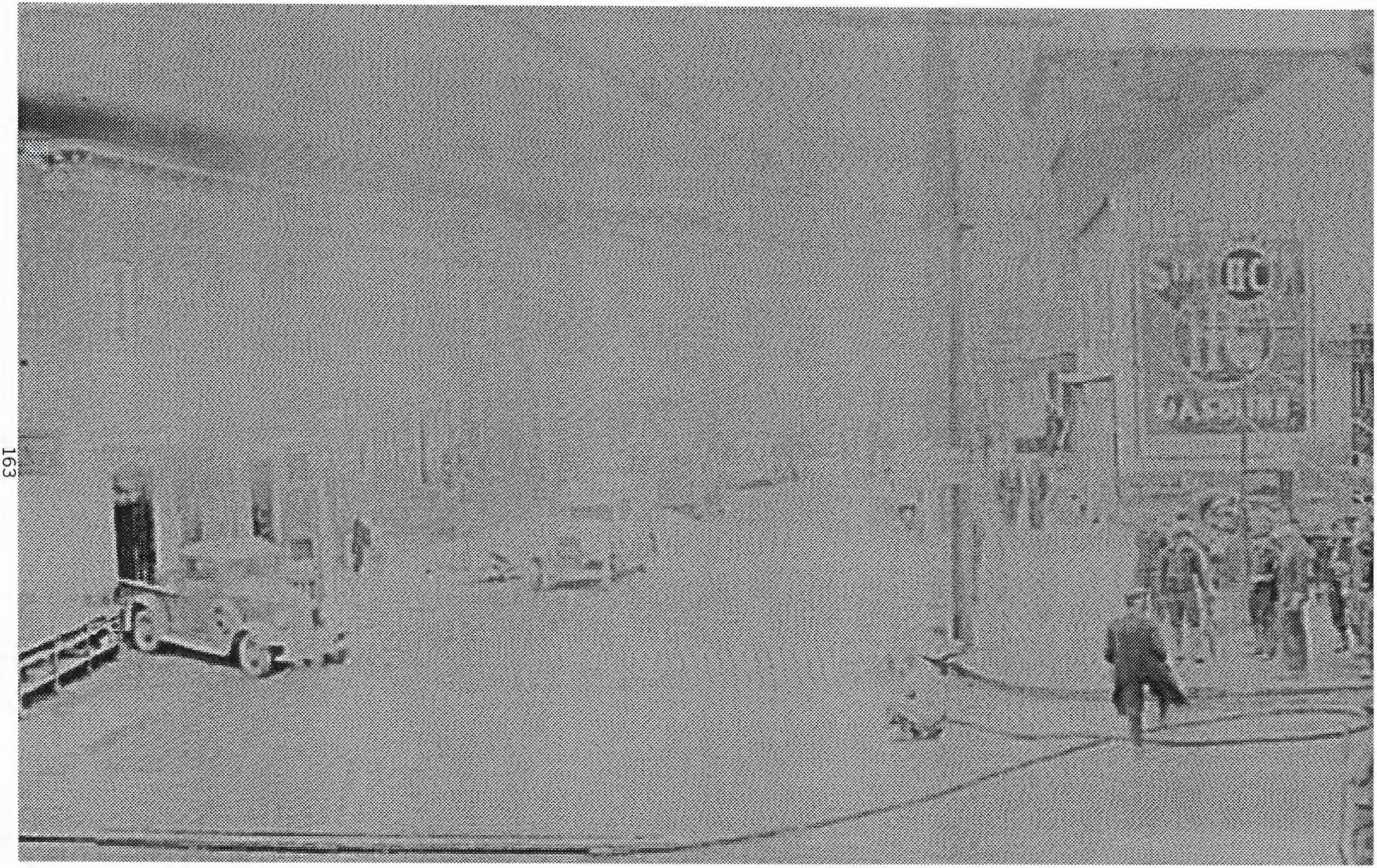

Figure 45. HF-1483. Clean-up of the 1936 flood. Note the A&P store sign on the building on Lot 1, Block B.

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MORE DETAIL IS SEEN IN ACTUAL IMAGE

Figure 46. HF-367. The Triangle Food Store on Lot 1, Block B, is seen in this 1942 flood photograph.

to Lower Town.[398]

In May 1923, the Farmers Advocate reported John Wychka, a native of Saxony, Germany, and a resident of Butler, Pennsylvania, for sixteen years, had rented a room in the Barrett building and would be opening a shoe repair shop. Wychka advertised his new shop later in the month: "Opened in the Barrett Building on Shenandoah St., Harpers Ferry. Work neatly and promptly done. All work and material guaranteed. Give us a trial."[399] Wychka's shoe shop may not have remained long, as in November the newspaper reported Cassell would soon be opening a hardware store in the building. "Carpenters and painters are remodeling the room which will be ready for goods in a few days."[400] Cassell's store definitely was open by March 1924, when he made preparations to erect a building on the rear half of Lot 1, Block B.[401]

The plans Cassell had for erecting a building on the rear half of Lot 1 may have included an addition to the front half as well. While the 1922 Sanborn Map (Figure 9) continues to document the same configuration for the building on the front half, the 1933 Sanborn Map (Figure 10) documents several changes affecting the rear of the front half. The latter map shows the two-story frame ell at the rear of the building had been replaced by a smaller, two-story frame section containing access to both the store at the front and another store at the rear--Cassell's hardware store moved to the rear of the building in 1928. The store at the rear was a one-story frame building that apparently was part of the adjoining hardware storage on the back half of Lot 1. The two-story porch across the remainder of the rear of the brick building had been replaced

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[398]Harpers Ferry Sentinel, 27 April 1895, p. 1, col. 1; Farmers Advocate, 11 December 1909, p. 2, col. 3; 13 August 1910, p. 2, col. 1; 24 June 1922, p. 1, col. 5.

[399]Farmers Advocate, 26 May 1923, p. 5, col. 3. See also 12 May 1923, p. 1, col. 2.

[400]Farmers Advocate, 10 November 1923, p. 1, col. 2.

[401]Farmers Advocate, 22 March 1924, p. 1, col. 2.

by a larger two-story structure with oil storage on the first floor and a porch on the second.

Cassell advertised the sale of his "stock of Hardware, Paints, Oils, Glass, Feed, Etc." and low rent for the building in March 1927, stating he was "unable to attend store and outside work."[402] He evidently was unsuccessful in selling the business, as he still had it a year later. In March 1928, local newspapers reported an Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company store would open about April 1 in the storeroom then occupied by Cassell's hardware store. Alterations were planned for the building. Cassell's hardware store was to move to a room in the rear of the building. This statement suggests that the store would move to an existing building rather than a newly-erected building, indicating the changes appearing on the 1933 Sanborn Map were those planned and possibly constructed in 1924.[403]

In March 1936, the highest recorded flood ever to hit Harpers Ferry struck. The A&P Company began moving merchandise out early in the day of March 18 in preparation for inundation of the building. The store was among those whose contents were damaged, but the A&P remained in business for over a year after the flood. Late in 1937, however, the A&P store was closed, reportedly due to a lack of business, in part attributed to the destruction of the Shenandoah River bridge by the 1936 flood. A few weeks after the A&P closed, James Cassell opened the Triangle Food Store in the building.[404]

June Newcomer came to Harpers Ferry in 1939, and she remembered Cassell's store.

> [T]here was a real good little store downtown that had been an A & P. On the corner next to the Master Armorer's, and we dealt at that store after I came here,

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[402]Farmers Advocate, 19 March 1927, p. 4, col. 3.

[403]Farmers Advocate, 10 March 1928, p. 1, col. 1; 17 March 1928, p. 1, col. 1.

[404]Spirit of Jefferson, 19 March 1936, Extra; Farmers Advocate, 20 March 1936, p. 8, col. 3; 12 November 1937, p. 8, col. 1; Figure 46 (HF-367, 1942 flood).

> and that was run then by Cassel, plumbing, well they didn't for a few years, and Boody Smith, Briscoe Smith, and then Briscoe ran the store at that point and Daddy Cassel ran the plumbing and heating business. That went on for a long time after that, that store. Came back to life after that flood [1936], and probably went through the flood of whatever it was in the 40s there.[405]

In September 1939, Cassell deeded the front half of the lot to his wife Peach.[406] James Cassell died September 9, 1950 at the age of 83. His obituary reported Cassell "had been connected with different business enterprises, including the general merchandise store, which he operated as long as his health would permit."[407] Two years later, in November 1952, Peach Cassell deeded all property she owned within the boundaries of the area set aside for Harpers Ferry National Monument to the State of West Virginia. (See page 172 for a description of all of Lot 1) In September 1953, she sold the store to her grandson William Reid, who reportedly had worked there for several years. The Spirit of Jefferson indicated Reid soon would remove the store from the Cassell building within the park to Camp Hill.[408]

Standing on Lot 1 were Park Building 26 and a portion of Park Building 27 (see Lot 1, Block B (Rear Half) for discussion of the latter). According to the 1955 architectural base map, Park Building 26 fronted thirty feet on Shenandoah Street and ran back fifty-nine feet. Mostly a two-story brick structure, the building included a two-story frame lean-to at the rear. Notes accompanying the map indicate the building was in "generally good" condition with a "serviceable" apartment on the second floor. This building was demolished by the Park in

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[405]Transcription of Interview with John and June Newcomer by Patricia Chickering, 28 October 1991, p. 33.

[406]James F. Cassell to wife Peach S. Cassell, 8 September 1939, Deed Book 160, p. 26.

[407]Spirit of Jefferson, 14 September 1950, p. 2A, col. 1.

[408]Peach B. Cassell to the State of West Virginia, 8 November 1952, Deed Book 190, p. 199; Spirit of Jefferson, 3 September 1953, p. 8B, col. 4.

1966.[409]

Lot 1, Block B (Rear Half): 1869-1953

At the end of the Civil War, the United States owned Lot 1, Block B. Shortly thereafter, the decision was made to close the armory and sell the government property at Harpers Ferry. In 1868, Congress passed legislation authorizing this sale, which took place in December 1869. Defined in 1852, when the government had sold a sizeable portion of its holdings at Harpers Ferry, Lot 1 fronted thirty feet on Shenandoah Street and ran back 147 feet to the railroad.[410]

At the 1869 sale, the highest bid for this lot of $1,850 was placed by John H. Hodges. After Congress passed legislation in 1878 providing for abatement of part of the purchase price of properties at Harpers Ferry, Hodges applied for an abatement. At that time, Hodges had spent $27 for building a fence around the property. This fencing is visible in HF-1749 (Figure 41), an 1870s photograph. Hodges believed the property to be worth only $200 and sought abatement of the price to that amount. The government reduced the price to $300, which was paid by John E. Erwin, to whom Hodges had assigned his interest. Erwin was given a deed in November 1879. The rear half, running 73 1/2 feet long and fronting thirty feet on the Winchester and Potomac Railroad embankment, was sold to George and John Dittmeyer for $275.[411]

George and John Dittmeyer of Bolivar likely began using the rear half of Lot 1 for a coal

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[409]Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, 13 September 1955, NM-HF 3055; Explanatory sheets accompanying map; Computer database files, Building Histories (NPS Ownership).

[410]Snell, "Old Arsenal Square," pp. 86-8, 92.

[411]Application of John Hodges, Reel 239, Frame 337; United States to John E. Erwin, 21 November 1879, Deed Book K, p. 316; John E. Erwin and wife Dorsey H. to George and John Dittmeyer, 2 July 1880, Deed Book K, p. 409.

yard about the time they purchased the property. The two brothers were in the coal business by 1879, and the 1880 census lists both of them as coal dealers.[412] The 1894 Sanborn Map (and subsequent ones through 1912) indicates a large, frame coal and lumber shed stood on the back half of Lot 1.[413] In poor health, George Dittmeyer retired from the coal business in 1913, and he and John sold the property to George's son Elmer in December 1913. In January 1915, Elmer Dittmeyer died, followed a month later by his father George and a year after that by his uncle John Dittmeyer.[414]

Following the deaths of Elmer and George, the rear half of Lot 1, Block B, was inherited by George Dittmeyer's surviving children Walter, Cassandra, and Stella. Walter Dittmeyer conveyed his undivided one-third interest to his sisters in April 1915. On October 28, 1918, Cassandra and Stella Dittmeyer sold the property to John Aglionby for $1,000.[415] The following day, the Dittmeyer sisters and their brother Walter transferred any interest they might have in the "Coal Bins situated under the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (Winchester & Potomac Branch) and located upon the Baltimore & Ohio railroad grounds, at the foot of High Street . . . and generally known as Dittmeyer's Coal Bins" to Aglionby.[416]

Aglionby, a trustee of Storer College, purchased the Dittmeyer property and coal bins with the view to assisting the college. World War I was underway then, and Aglionby's intention was to aid the college in obtaining coal. Correspondence between college president Henry McDonald

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[412]Virginia Free Press, 28 June 1879, p. 1, col. 7; Tenth Census (1880), Bolivar, pp. 5B, 6.

[413]Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, 1894, 1902, 1907, and 1912. Also see HF-614 (Figure 16).

[414]George Dittmeyer and wife Maria J. and John Dittmeyer to Elmer A. Dittmeyer, 29 December 1913, Deed Book 110, p. 261; Farmers Advocate, 17 January 1914, p. 2, col. 4; 20 February 1915, p. 2, col. 2; 14 April 1916, p. 2, col. 3; Spirit of Jefferson, 12 January 1915, p. 4, col. 2.

[415]Walter E. Dittmeyer to Cassandra C. and Stella C. Dittmeyer, 28 April 1915, Deed Book 113, p. 270; Cassandra C. and Stella C. Dittmeyer to John Aglionby, 28 October 1918, Deed Book 122, p. 512.

[416]Walter E. Dittmeyer, et al, to John Aglionby, 29 October 1918, Reel 118, Flash 18.

and several trustees in July 1921 indicates the college had free use of the coal "pocket" under the railroad from the time Aglionby purchased the Dittmeyer property. In 1921, apparently at the urging of Aglionby, the college considered purchasing the property from Aglionby, an action to which some trustees were opposed. Alice Metcalf noted "the buildings are in ruins and no use to the College."[417]

The condition of the building is noted on the 1922 Sanborn Map, which indicates it was vacant and dilapidated and had no roof. Its condition is also indicated in town council minutes. In April 1921, the town council passed a motion to notify Aglionby to remove or repair the Dittmeyer coal shed property within fifteen days or the town would do so. Aglionby failed to comply, and the town did not follow through on its threat, as two years later, at its February 1923 meeting, the town council again voted to inform Aglionby to remove the building and also fix or remove the scales in front of the building. (The scales are noted on the 1913 B&O Map, Figure 17.)[418]

On March 21, 1923, Storer College purchased the rear half of Lot 1 for $1,000. The college also acquired the coal bins under the railroad.[419] On or about March 22, the college sold this property to James Cassell, owner of the front half of Lot 1, for $1,000. Although a deed reportedly was executed at that time, it was lost, and this transfer was not recorded until 1947, when another deed was prepared.[420]

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[417]Statement of John Aglionby, undated by probably 1921; Alice M. Metcalf to H.T. McDonald, 11 July 1921; L.B. Stillman to Mr. McDonald, 5 July 1921; George Rice Hovey to Henry T. McDonald, 7 July 1921; Alf. Wms. Anthony to President McDonald, 11 July 1921; Harry [Myers] to H.T. McDonald, 7 July 1921, Reel 113, Flash 3.

[418]Sanborn Map, Harpers Ferry, November 1922; Harpers Ferry Town Minutes, Vol. 1910-1934, pp. 296, 373.

[419]John Aglionby to President and Trustees of Storer College, 21 March 1923, Deed Book 122, p. 513; Aglionby to Storer College, Reel 118, Flash 18.

[420]President and trustees of Storer College to James F. Cassell, 19 June 1947, Deed Book 169, p. 317.

In March 1924, the Farmers Advocate indicated James Cassell was planning to construct a building behind his store (front half of Lot 1) for a feed and storage room. These plans may have included construction at the rear of the front half as well as on the rear half. The 1933 Sanborn Map shows a one-story frame store stood behind the brick building on the front half. This frame building mostly or entirely stood on the front half; however, it apparently was part of the adjoining hardware storage room on the rear half.[421]

The 1933 Sanborn Map also documents a change made in 1928. In August 1928, the Farmers Advocate reported,

> James F. Cassell, coal, feed and building supply dealer here, is erecting a two-story warehouse, of galvanized iron, with wood-and-steel frame work at the rear of his present plant, with which he will be equipped to handle feed, cement, and such supplies in carload lots. The warehouse extends from the coal tipple to his other buildings. The upper floor is level with the railroad tracks, and will be the storage room, while the lower part will provide storage for his trucks and cars.[422]

The Sanborn Map shows this two-story building, labeled a feed warehouse, at the rear, adjoining the railroad (See Figure 10; also Figure 47 and Figure 48).

James Cassell died September 9, 1950 at the age of 83. His obituary reported Cassell "had been connected with different business enterprises, including the general merchandise store, which he operated as long as his health would permit."[423] Two years later, in November 1952, Peach Cassell deeded all property she owned within the boundaries of the area set aside for Harpers Ferry National Monument to the State of West Virginia. Lot 1, with the front and back halves combined, was described as follows:

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[421]Farmers Advocate, 22 March 1924, p. 1, col. 2.

[422]Farmers Advocate, 18 August 1928, p. 1, col. 1.

[423]Spirit of Jefferson, 14 September 1950, p. 2A, col. 1.

> Beginning at the intersection on the south side of Shenandoah Street and W. side of High St.; thence S. 32 deg. 10' E. 135 feet to a point at the intersection on west side of High Street and N. side of a common alley; thence with the alley S. 61 deg. 30' W. 38.5 feet to a point; thence N. 33 deg. 5' W. 131 feet to a point on the south side of Shenandoah Street; thence N. 57 deg. 20' E. 30 feet to the beginning.[424]

Standing on Lot 1 were Park Building 26 and a portion of Park Building 27 (see Lot 1, Block B (Front Half) for discussion of the former). According to the 1955 architectural base map, Park Building 27 was eighty-two feet long on its Lot 2 side, meaning it extended onto the front half of Lot 1. The first floor of the two-story warehouse section was open. Notes accompanying the map indicate the building was "generally serviceable." This building was demolished by the Park in 1957.[425]

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[424]Peach B. Cassell to the State of West Virginia, 8 November 1952, Deed Book 190, p. 199.

[425]Architectural Base Map of Harpers Ferry, 13 September 1955, NM-HF 3055; Explanatory sheets accompanying map; Computer database files, Building Histories (NPS Ownership).

Figure 47. HF-1541. The rear of Lot 7, Block A, and Lot 1, Block B, probably after the 1942 flood.

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Figure 48. NHF-395. The High Street side of the buildings on Lot 1, Block B, in the 1950s.

APPENDIX

JEFFERSON COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA ACCOUNTS OF FIDUCIARIES BOOK M, p. 106

Inventory & Appraisement of the Personal Estate of Jas. L. Brunswick Dec'd 27 July 1909

[partial transcription]

	Bar Shop One Combination case representing thre [*sic*] Plat Mirrors and two Cup Rocks		200.00
2	Patent Barber chairs	25	50.00
1	" " "		12.00
1	" " " childs		5.00
6	chairs	50	3.00
1	Arm chair		1.00
1	Stove & two Hot water tanks		25.00
4	Walnut Mirrors	3.00	12.00
6	Razors	1.00	6.00
25	shaving Mugs	15	3.75
3	Pr clippers for.		2.50
6	" Scissors		3.00
1	case & conts of Powder Soap		2.50
1	Floor Cigar case		15.00
1	Bath tub		30.00
1	Marble Top wash Stand		3.00
12	Fancy toilet Bottles	15	1.80
2	Bracket		.50
1000	Cigars		35.00
2	Hat Racks		.50
1	Clock		2.00
	Floor covering		2.50
2	chairs Old	2.00	4.00
1	Cup Case		20.00
		[Total	440.05]
		Total [of entire estate]	$662.55

Appraisers Eugene Shugart
H.H. Winters
N.C. Brackett

20 " Oat Meal 60/ 130 Damge Tobacco 19.50/15		20.10
359 " Asst & Tobacco	@35	125.65
1¼ bbls Flour	@400	5.00
96 Grain Sacks	@15	14.40
5 Tubs 200/40 2 Gro Tin Tut Cans 600/300		8.00
4 Brass Kettle 400/100 6 Doz Blinds @3.00/18.00		22.00
1 Lot Window Holland		2.50
200 Yds Floor Oil Cloth	@20	40.00
6 Smyrna Rugs		10.00
400 yds Carpet	@25	100.00
18 prs Blankets	@100	18.00
2 Horse Blankets & Comfort		2.00
50 Shawls 50.00/100 28 Bal Skirts 5.60/		55.60
8 Cloaks 2000/ 65 Skeins Yarn 325/5		23.25
97 Umbrellas & Parasols		50.00
Lot Damaged Thread & Buttons		2.00
75 boxes Paper Collars	@5	3.75
517 Corsets	" 50	258.50
50 Yds Table Oil Cloth	" 15	7.50
130 " Denims	" 10	13.00
170 " Cottonade	" "	17.00
50 " Ky Jeans	" 12	6.00
12² " Corduroy	" 60	7.50
120 " Cassimere		50.00
100 " Grey Flannel	" 10	10.00
175 " Red Do	" 25	43.75
75 " Sacking "	" "	18.75
20 " White "	" 18	3.60
200 " Shirting Check	" 6²	13.00
215 " Bed Tick 2150/10 200 " Crash 1200/6		33.50
400 " Can Flannel 3600/9 414 Neck Ties 6210/15		98.10
50 " Wigans 300/6 60 yds Leas 180/3		4.80
280 " Asst & Drill 1400/5 143 cheese Cloth 286/2		16.86
910 " Blcd & Bro Cotton	@6	54.60
30 " Ital. Cloth 450/15 50 " Canvass 250/5		7.00
50 " Herian 250/5 17 Towels 170/10		4.20
700 " Colored Cambric	@4	28.00
16 Turkish Towels		2.00
2800 yds Assorted print	@4	112.00
1400 " " Ginghams	" 5	70.00
Amt Carried ford		4394.27
Amt brought ford		4394.27
1400 yds Lawn & Satin	@4	56.00
60 " Table Linen		10.00
2100 " Dress Goods	@20	420.00
Contents of two (2) Show Cases		20.00
22 prs Kid Gloves		10.00

125 Doz Spool Cotton	@30	37.50
20 " Damaged spool Silk		6.00
110 Boxes Buttons	@15	16.50
15 " Collars	" 25	3.75
18 " Knit Cotton	" 40	7.20
21 Doz prs Suspenders		31.50
15 Boxes Hdkfs	" 50	7.50
9 Doz Napkins	" "	4.50
1 Lot Notions & Trimmings		100.00
71 Yds Bobinet	@6	4.26
49 " Albatross	" 20	9.80
15 " Crash	" 10	1.50
70 " Tarleton	" 5	3.50
66 " Velveteen	" 25	16.50
125 " Veiling	" 5	6.25
130 " Pap. Cambric	" 5	6.50
33 " Surah Silk	" 25	8.25
1000 " Barred Cambric and India Linen	@5	50.00
60 Knitted Hoods & Jackets		6.00
5 Quilts 300/60 6 Aprons 100/		4.00
7 Trunks 600/ 600 Matting 6000/		66.00
1 Gross Brooms		12.00
1 Doz Pitch Forks		3.00
8 Shovels	@30	2.48
6 Spading forks 200/ Doz Rakes & Hoes 200/		4.00
150 lbs Rst & Coffee	@20	30.00
18 Wooden Buckets		1.50
4 Sacks Salt 400/20 Wash boards 200/		6.00
125 lbs Ham 1500/12 100 Shoulders 700/7		22.00
23 Boxes Soap	@3.00	69.00
10 Doz Glass jars	" 75	7.50
1 Lot Stone ware		15.00
2 Oil Cans & Oil		5.00
2 Pckgs Fish 5.00/ 120 " Starch 3.60/		8.60
100 Gals Syrup 20.00/ Vinegar 1.00/		21.00
12 Kegs Nails 24.00/ 50 lbs Balt Cotton 4.00/		28.00
5 Doz sheets Wadding 125/ 5 Bush Onions 250/50		3.75
7 Coal Hods 175/1 Oil Barrel 50/6 " Potatoes 3.00		5.25
Scales Lamps & Fixtures		25.00
Amt Carried forward		5576.28
Amt brought forward		5576.28
Currency on hand		391.24
Currency in bank		893.38
Notes and Bonds		625.00
Book Accounts		3,437.00
80 yds Matting (in use)	@8	6.40
2 Willow Rockers		2.00

2 Camp. Chairs	@50	1.00
1 Plush Parlor Suit		25.00
1 Lounge 400/ 11 Rugs 4.40/		8.40
3 Stands	@75	2.25
2 Centre Tables		7.00
4 Lace Curtains		5.00
4 Blinds & Fixtures		.60
2 Rocking Chairs	@1.50	3.00
6 Hair Cloth Chairs & 2 Sofas		20.00
5 Pictures		1.00
1 Secretary & Book Case		12.00
1 Organ & Stool 2500/ 6 Chairs 300/50		28.00
1 Lounge 200/ 3 Hanging Lamps 300/		5.00
2 Pictures 100/ 2 Stands 100/		2.00
1 Wardrobe 2.50/ 1 Stand 50/		3.00
35 yds Matting	@5	1.75
5 Rugs 50/ 3 Pictures 3.00/		3.50
15 Yds Rag Carpet	@10	1.50
1 Lounge 2.00/ 6 Chairs 200/		4.00
1 Table Oil Cloth 50/ Stove & Pipe $2.50		3.00
1 Clock 100/ 1 Picture 25/		1.25
1 Bouffet 1000/ Queensware 1000/		20.00
Glassware 2.50/ 1 Castor & 2 Cake Stands 300/		5.50
6 Doz Knives, Forks & spoons		5.00
1 Extension Table		3.50
12 Dining Chairs		3.00
1 Hanging Lamp		1.00
1 Mirror 2.00/ 2 Curtains & Poles 50/		2.50
2 Blinds 25/1 Table Oil Cloth 75/		1.00
5 Table Covers	@75	3.75
1 Cook Stove & Fixtures		5.00
2 Tables 50/ 1 Lot Tinware 100/		1.50
2 Chairs 10/ 1 Lamp 15/ 3 Buckets 10/		.35
2 Coffee Mills		.25
Amt Carried forward		11,121.90
Amount brought forward		11,121.90
25 Yds of Matting	@4	1.00
2 Rugs 40/ 1 Wardrobe 150/		1.90
1 Lamp 50/ 25 " Matting 100/		1.50
1 Rug 20/ 1 Chamber Suit 1000/		10.20
1 Iron Stove " Set		1.50
40 lbs Feathers	@15	6.00
1 Mattress 150/ Bed Trimmings 250/		4.00
25 Yds Carpet 250/ 10 Window Curtain 25/		2.75
20 " Do 150/ 2 Bed Steads 4.00		5.50
1 Bureau 1.00/ 25 " Feathers 2.50/		3.50
3 Mattresses 2.25/1 Bed Trimmings 3.50/		5.75

1 Wash Stand 50/ 1 Ewen & Basin 40		.90
Curtains for 2 Windows		.25
3 Chairs 30/ 1 Rocker 25/ 1 Lamp 50/		1.05
15 Yds Carpet 2.25/ 1 Bed Stead 2.00/		4.25
25 lbs Feathers 3.75/ 1 Mattress 75/		4.50
Bed Trimmings 200/ 3 Chairs 50/		2.50
1 Bureau 2.00/ 2 Washstands 1.50/		3.50
1 Chamber Set 100/ Mirror 10/		1.10
1 Towel Rack 15/ 1 Lamp 10/		.25
1 Curtain		.25
20 Yds Matting 1.50/		1.50
1 Bed Room Set		10.00
2 Curtains & Blinds		1.50
25 lbs Feathers		3.75
Bed Trimmings 300/ Mattress 75/		3.75
1 Bedstead 3.00/ 1 Mattress 75/		3.75
Bed Trimmings 2.50/ 5 " Feathers 75/		3.25
2 Washstands 75/ 1 Chamber Set 75/		1.50
2 Chairs 25/ Blinds Curtains 40		.65
1 Rug 25/ 2 Stoves 5.00/		5.25
1 Lot Carpet 50/ Bedstead 75/		1.25
1 Stand & Table 25/ Bed Clothing 5.00/		5.25
2 Round Tables 2.00/ Broken Stove 50/		2.50
	Total	$11,227.95

Chas. H. Trail
Geo. McGlincy
James Conway
L.A. Montague

Inventory & Appraisement of the Personal Estate of James Conway made 23 February 1911

Parlor, 1 looking glass, 5 chairs, matting & Rugs,	12.00
Sitting Room, 2 sofas, 7 chairs, 1 stove, 1 table, 1 book case, carpet & curtains,	35.00
Bed Room, 1 wash stand, matting, chair, curtains, 1 bureau, 1 table,	10.00
Hall, 1 Organ, 1 lamp, 1 clock, 1 wardrobe,	7.00
Bed Room, 1 bureau, wash stand, table, bed, chairs, wardrobe, bureau, table,	20.00
Bed Room, 1 bureau, 1 bed, 1 table,	5.00
Bed Room, 1 bed, 1 bureau, 1 wash stand, 6 chairs, carpet & bedding, 1 wardrobe,	50.00
Store Room, 1 stove, 1 lamp, 1 show case, 2 refrigerators	10.00
Dining Room, 2 tables, 1 buffet, chairs, 1 safe, dishes and silver-ware,	40.00
Kitchen, 1 stove, 2 tables, cooking utensils,	6.00
Bond #229, La Belle Iron Works,	1000.00
Bond #1472, Wheeling Traction Co.,	900.00
" #154, Jefferson County,	100.00
" #55 " "	100.00
" #56 " "	100.00
" #57 " "	100.00
" #87 " "	500.00
" #88 " "	500.00
" #89 " "	500.00
" #32 " "	1000.00
" #33 " "	1000.00
Cash in gold,	400.00
Cash in Bank,	39.16
64 shares Harpers Ferry Bank Stock,	2566.00
	$8994.16

Appraisers
C.R. Rau
T.J. Burleigh
J. Garland Hurst

Inventory of Personal Estate of E. M. Miskimmon April 1, 1898

Fluid Extracts		18.94
Flavoring "		3.70
Elixors		3.67
Syrups		20.20
Oils		26.23
Acids		9.03
Shelf Bottles		14.35
Herb Cans		23.00
Tinctures		12.08
Prescription Sundries		58.43
" Bottles		3.75
Powders & Herbs		26.37
Patent Medicines		145.76
Plated Ware		37.54
Sundries		98.59
		501.64
	Amount forward	501.64
Toilet Articles, Perfumery &c		37.71
Stationery		61.15
Cigars & Cigarettes		146.28
Proprietary Preparations		10.47
Store Fixtures		350.00
Fountain (x Fixtures)		400.00
	Amt	$1507.25

Signed W. H. Kable
R. R. Miskimmon

Appraisement of Estate of T. M. Conner, dec'd

Furniture, Floor coverings & pictures in rooms # 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, & 28 - 3rd floor

Room #17, $10.00; #18, $8.; #19, $8.; #20, $7.; #21, $9.; #22, $9; #23, $6; #24, $10.	$67.00
" #25, $10.00; #26, $7.; #27, $10.; #28, $10.;	37.00
3rd. Floor Hall, 1 sofa, 2 chairs 6 pictures & Carpet	7.00

Furniture, Floor Coverings & pictures 2nd. floor

Room #1, $18.; #2, $18.; #3, $18.; #4, $12; #5, $10.; #6, $18.; #7, $18.; #8, $12.; #9, $25. #10, $50.;	199.00
" #14 - Servants room $2.; #15 - Servants Room $3.; #16, Bath Room $4.; #39 - servants room $3.; #12, Servants Hall $.50; 2nd. Follor [*sic*] Hall $12.;	24.50
1st floor Room #29, $10.; #31, $12; #32, $15.; Parlor $25.; Hall $10.; Porch 6 chairs $3.; Room #11 (Apartment) $100.;	175.00
Main floor - Dining Room, tables, chairs & Linoleum	50.00
cooking, utensils, Dishes, glass ware, knives, forks & spoons & table linen	17.00
Kitchen Furniture & Stove	10.00
Hotel Lobby Furniture	75.00
Junk in Outside Buildings	15.00
7 shares stock Bank of Harpers Ferry	315.00
4 " " Harpers Ferry Electric Light & Power Co.	100.00
1 " Shenandoah Valley Agricultural Society	5.00
1 " Hagerstown Lodge #378 B.P.O.E.	40.00
10 " Charles Town Horse Show Association	80.00

Hotel Annex

Room #34, $8.; #35, $12.; #36, $8.; #38, $10.; #39, Junk Room $5.; #40, $8.; Annex Hall $1	52.00
Uncollected Bills (Estimated value)	500.00
Cash in Bank	126.00
Watch & Jewelry $25; Riding Sadle [*sic*] $5.; 2 bar fixtures $100.;	130.00
Post Office Fixtures & Furniture	500.00
Real Estate	
2 Building Lots in Bolivar, W.Va.	30.00
Hotel Conner & Annex	9000.00

Building on Potomac St. (White Hall)	200.00
4 Lots in Duval Co. Texas	20.00
	$11774.50

Given under our hands this 30 day of July, 1920

Dr. B. B. Ranson
Jas. M. Ranson Appraisers
T. J. Burleigh

[Paper attached to appraisal later indicates indebtedness of note to A.P. Conner & G. Addie Conner, dated March 25, 1903 for $7,362.87. Value uncertain]

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NAME INDEX

Adams
Francis C. 5, 75, 110
Aglionby
John 169, 170
Alexander
R.A. 62
Annin
Samuel 53
Barrett
Elizabeth 158
James 158, 160
Mary 140, 146, 158-160
Baygent
Elizabeth 135
Baylor
George 78
Salla 79
Beale
Thomas W. 7, 8, 15, 19, 148, 149, 151, 152, 156
Blew
George 61
Bowers
George 112
Boxwell
Mr. 126
Bready
Eugene 42, 147, 156, 157
Eva 157
G.R. 112
George 156
Mary 156
Brown
Emma 98
Emma B.J. 79
Forrest A. 81, 100, 102
Forrest W. 76, 78, 98, 152, 153
Mr. 80
Brunswick
Edgar 111, 113, 114
James 7, 111, 113, 177
Margaret 111
Burleigh
Bridget 13, 26, 61, 62, 64, 75
Mary 13
Mattie 62
Thomas 13, 26
Thomas J. 13, 16, 18, 19, 23, 26, 34-36, 61-64, 146
Cassell
James F. 44,46,81,82,109,149, 160, 165-167,170, 171
Peach Smith 82, 167, 171
Cavalier
M.A. 125
R.H. 151
Child
George 95
J.C. 125
Clark
James 54
Cochrane
Mary Beale 14, 21, 90
Wallace 91
William 90
Cockrell
Joseph 124
Colbert
C.W. 160
W.E. 146
Conner
Addie 90
Ashby 89
Edwin M. 98
Emily 14
Emma W. 98
F. Merle 98
Laura Yantis 81, 97, 98, 102, 109
Mary Beale 92
Patrick 14
Roberta S. 98
Theodore 14,18,19,21,34,35, 36,63,78-80, 89-92,95,97,98, 109

Conway
James 5, 16, 19, 21, 23, 26, 34, 92, 111, 112, 133, 134, 135, 184
John 134, 135
Mary 5, 16, 21, 123, 133-135
Correll
Ida C. 98
Craig
Henry 25
Cross
Florence 21
Dailey
Jesse 114
Dearborn
Henry 53
Decaulne
J.M. 87
Leonie 87
Demory
Charles 127
William 127
Dittmeyer
Cassandra 169
Elmer 169
George 8, 112, 154, 168, 169
Johanna 154
John 8, 168, 169
Stella 169
Walter 41, 98, 154, 156, 169
Doll
John 34
John W. 90, 91
Doran
Ella 127
Michael 13, 15
Richard 10, 13, 15
William 127
Drew
Charles J. 97
F.W. 89
Duke
John 91, 92
Erwin
Dorsey H. 148, 168
John 144, 148, 168
William 97, 101
Exner
Mary Higgins 139
William 149
Fairfax
Lord 1, 53
Fitzpatrick
Catherine Doran 13
John 26
Freeman
Douglas 97
Gannon
F. 133
Frank 123
Ganter
Francis 96
Gattrell
Ella 92
Margaret 92
Shep 35, 36, 91, 92
Geary
Kate Lyon 21
Glass
I.S. 158
Graham
S.A. 125
Green
George W. 7, 14, 19, 63, 88, 89
Griffin
Jack 97
Minerva Beck 97
Hackley
Raymond 159
Harper
Robert 1, 53
Harrell
William 149
Harris
Lester 97
Herrod
Absalom 8, 112, 154, 155
John 155
Rebecca 155
Thomas 155
Higgins
Anna 16, 21, 136-139
Edward 16, 19, 21, 137

Higgins
Emma 16, 21, 136, 137
Kate Lyon Geary 16
Hinkins
H.C. 159
Hirschman
Milton 150
S.D. 125, 150
Simon 149
Stuart 150
Hodges
Annie 143
Charles 143
Clarence 143
Frances 143
Harry 143
John H. 147, 168
Thomas 143
Holmes
J.C. 88
Hoover
Emily 98
Hopewell
Rosa 92
Hurst
J. Garland 92, 93
James
C.C. 93
Jamieson
Sarah 101
Thomas 100
Jefferson
Annie 95, 114
Fred 95, 114
Johnson
Harvey 92
Nora 92
Kaplon
Abe 127, 138
Victor 138
Kirby
Edward 126, 127
Hugh 22, 126
Leah Walsh 121, 127, 128
Kirwan
Florence 14, 62, 65, 75, 77, 78, 79
Kirwan
Kattie 14
Lawrence 14
Margaret 14
Richard 14
Thomas 14, 19, 21, 26, 63, 65, 75
Knox
Henry 1
Kronk
W.W. 147
Laign
Morgan 138
Lennox
Betsy 144
Livers
John 92
Lovett
James 92
Mackey
John 53
Madden
Louise 139
Marmion
Nicholas 10
Marquette
Fred 156, 157
George 112, 156
Mary 156
Martin
Mary 21
Mason
James M. Jr. 112
McCabe
Patrick 10
McConnell
Nellie Burleigh 121
McCormick
Laura A. 98
McDonald
A.W. 78, 79
Henry 169
Mary E. 79
McGlincey
George 78
McGraw
James 7, 14, 17, 18, 63

McGraw
James C. 18, 19, 34, 112
Julia 14
Preston 14
McLure
Emma Higgins 138, 139
William 137
McMahon
Richard 22
McQuaide
Virginia 21, 110
Mercer
John 138
Metcalf
Alice 170
Miles
A.R. 96
Bernard J. 36, 40, 96
Miskimon
Edward Miller 151, 152, 185
Ella Beale 156-158
Montague
Catherine 15
Christopher 15, 16
Frances 113
Julia 21, 110, 113
Lawrence 7, 15, 16, 19, 21, 110, 111, 113, 123
Louise 113
Maria 110
Myers
G.L. 7
J.H. 125
Newcomer
June 166
Nichols
Daniel 98
Lewis 102
Lucy 98
Shirley 41, 98-100
O'Beirne
Ellen Fitzpatrick 13, 66
Frank 21
Leo 13, 18, 19, 21, 34, 41, 66, 147
Patrick 13, 16, 26, 66
Orndorff
Gerald 138
Overington
E. Catherine 98
Perry
D.L. 97
Gilbert 27
Mayor 139
Piper
Charlotte 123
Porter
John 112
Quinn
Major 26
Matthew 26
Ramsey
Edward 55
Randall
Charles 160
Rau
Bessie 137
Charles 112
Charles William 135, 137
James 135, 137
Mary Conway 135
Rudolph 125
Will 21, 34, 112, 135
Reek
Charles 100
Reid
William 167
Rinehart
E.A. 81, 102, 109
Roche
Elizabeth Higgins 139
Rockenbaugh
Robert 92
Roeder
Albert 82
Roosevelt
Franklin 45
Savery
W.H. 93
Scarlett
Oscar 147
Schilling
John 61, 63

Shugart
Eugene 158
Small
James N. 145
Smith
Briscoe 160, 167
Charles 35
Christian 112
Peach 160
Sponseller
A.M. 62
Stephenson
R.L. 82
Stuart
Henrietta 76, 79
John 7, 8, 75, 76, 78, 79
Talcott
George 2
Tearney
Edward 7, 17
Jennie 93
Trail
C.H. 62
Eveline 143
Frances 144
Samuel 143, 144
Thomas H. 143, 144
Waldo
W.H. 153
Walsh
Aimee 22, 121, 123, 126, 128
Christopher 22
Genevieve 22, 123, 126, 127
James Christopher 123
John 22, 123, 126, 127
John L. 123
Julia 22, 123, 126, 127
Julia Montague 15, 16, 22, 92, 110, 111, 123, 125-127
Kate 123
Leah 22, 123, 126
Louise 22, 121, 123, 126-128
Mary 22, 123, 126, 127
Murtha 7, 15, 19, 21, 22, 110, 123, 124, 127, 178
Sarah 22, 123
Sarah Doran 13, 15
Walsh
William 16, 19, 22, 45, 113, 121, 126, 127
Washington
George 1
Waters
William 80
Watts
Katherine Higgins 139
Webb
Newton 150-152, 155
Weiss
Evelyn 97
Henry 97, 98
Wentzell
Alexander 144
Charles Benjamin 7, 39, 144, 145
Charles Bloom 144
Harriet 144
Ida 145, 146
White
Carroll 114
Williams
George 92
Minnie 97
Willis
Amanda 123
Lizzie 123
Wiltshire
Raymond 138
Wright
Henry Dashiell 153, 154
Wychka
John 165
Yantis
Laura 15, 93
S.V. 81