

GENERAL VIEW OF HARPER'S FERRY, SHOWING THE BRIDGE, ARMORY, ADJACENT HILLS, ETC.—[SEE PAGE 712.]

General view of Harpers Ferry, showing the railroad bridge, Loudon and Maryland Heights and the U.S. Armory. Circa 1855. Courtesy Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (HF 242).

Politics and Personalities at Harpers Ferry Armory, 1794-1861

William G. Gavin

Thomas Jefferson, in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, first published in 1785, wrote with some eloquence regarding the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah with the beautiful Blue Ridge at Harpers Ferry:

The passage of the Patowmac (sic) through the Blue ridge is perhaps one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain an (sic) hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patowmac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea.¹

Harpers Ferry today remains unchanged and is unchallenged for its great natural beauty. Nearly every location in the village, which is situated on the point of land between the two rivers, offers a view of Maryland Heights, Loudon Heights, or of the Shenandoah or Potomac rivers. One vantage point, located on the higher ground near the present day Hilltop House hotel, looks down at the gap in the Blue Ridge. This view is unsurpassed, and ranks at the top of all scenic marvels of the entire eastern United States.

The Harpers Ferry locality during the 1790s was completely undeveloped industrially. It did, however, possess promising potential for manufacturing operations due to the water power available. Both the Potomac and Shenandoah descend rapidly in height as they approach the Gap in the Blue Ridge. Water power was of great importance at this period as the steam engine remained in a state of early development.

Prior to 1794, all military arms furnished to United States troops had been purchased from importers or private manufacturers for delivery to arsenals in Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania. This system had many deficiencies, and President Washington took a personal interest by sponsoring legislation approved by Congress in 1794 for the erection and repair of Arsenals and Magazines. This legislation gave the President the choice of site selection for as many as four national armories, and, moreover, gave him complete authority in the appointment and dismissal of both armory superintendents and master armors. This latter provision created a source of political patronage which was to become the subject of bitter contention in local politics in the years ahead.²

Springfield was immediately selected as the site of the first national armory by Secretary of War Henry Knox. Springfield possessed adequate buildings, water power, and transportation facilities, with land already owned by the United States. Moreover, it was in Secretary Knox's home state.

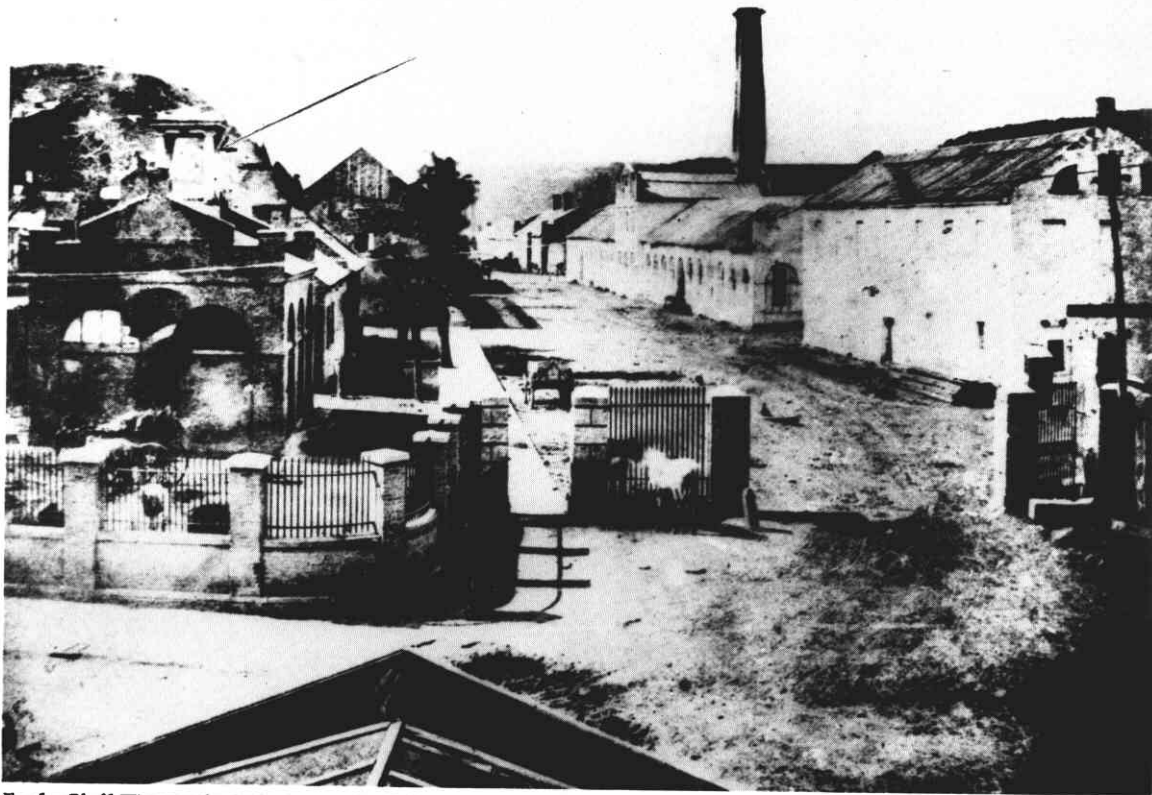
President Washington now made the decision to build one large arsenal in a new location as opposed to rebuilding



three smaller ones. The new arsenal would be developed into a full-fledged armory operation as quickly as budgetary restraints permitted. Although Henry Knox and his successor opposed him, Washington was resolutely determined to build the new installation at Harpers Ferry. Everyone knows that George Washington is the "Father of his Country." He likewise must be considered as the Father of the Armory at Harpers Ferry. It was he who selected the site and ordered its purchase regardless of the opposition of his two Secretaries of War, Knox and Pickering, as mentioned below.

Washington's preference for Harpers Ferry received the warm endorsement of both Tobias Lear and George Gilpin of Alexandria, Virginia. These influential men, along with Washington, were devoted to the development of the Potomac valley. The Potowmack Company, of which Lear and Gilpin were directors, had promoted Harpers Ferry with glowing reports on its potential as a site for extensive mill developments. Both men were confidants of the President, and were instrumental in the final decision for governmental land purchase at the tip of land at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers. Between 1794 and 1797, Lear and Gilpin acted as special agents for the President, and aggressively pursued land transactions for the future facility at Harpers Ferry.

Both Secretary of War Henry Knox and his successor, Timothy Pickering, opposed Washington's selection. In 1795, Pickering commissioned the French-born military engineer, Colonel Stephen Rochfontaine, to survey the Potomac Valley for suitable sites. Rochfontaine recommended against Harpers Ferry due to its limited space for building complexes and its historic susceptibility to catastrophic floods. Rochfontaine's finding upset Washington, and the latter directed Rochfontaine to return to the settlement and then re-submit a revised report to coincide with Washington's expectations. This was done. However, it took nearly three



Early Civil War period photograph of the armory and the only known photograph taken of the main entrance looking into the facility. Notice the bell has already been removed from the John Brown "Fort" by Federal troops from Massachusetts as a souvenir. Courtesy Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (HF 27).

years to overcome disinterest and opposition at the War Department before the final deeds reached Philadelphia in 1797.³ Without the personal backing of Washington, it is certain there never would have been a Harpers Ferry armory. The site selection of Harpers Ferry was based greatly upon political considerations!

Under the best of circumstances, the construction of a factory to fabricate firearms was a difficult and trying experience. A successful effort required a trained labor force, special tools, tested management skill, easy access to raw materials, a transportation network, and a social milieu adaptable to change and regimentation. Harpers Ferry was sadly deficient in all these categories. In 1798 the village was merely a trading outpost occupied by a handful of residents.⁴

No actual construction work was done at the site and it was a "paper project" until 1798 when the undeclared war with France occurred. Despite some misgivings about the project, Secretary of War McHenry appointed John Mackey as paymaster and storekeeper and Joseph Perkins as superintendent at Harpers Ferry in August, 1798. Perkins was a graduate of the Birmingham gun trade prior to emigrating to America in 1774. During the Revolution he worked as an armorer at the Rapahannock Forge near Falmouth, Virginia. Later he had his own gun shop in Philadelphia until 1792, when he became supervisor of the New London arsenal, in Campbell County, Virginia.

Initially, in the fall of 1798, Perkins set up operations in an old warehouse and utilized the services of a small contingent of armorers brought with him from the New Lon-

don, Virginia, arsenal. They were occupied solely with the repair of arms received from other government facilities. It was August, 1799, before work commenced on the dam, canal, and waterway which would divert Potomac waters into the future complex. By December, 1799, Mackey proudly announced the completion of the main armory building.

Mackey was an arrogant person who gained many enemies, including Superintendent Perkins. Under pressure from local factions as well as from Washington, he resigned in January of 1800. With his departure the first tumultuous period in the armory's history came to an end. Personal controversy and political confrontation were, however, to become an integral part of what may be termed the Harpers Ferry syndrome.

On April 22, 1800, Samuel Annin, a confidant of Secretary of War McHenry, was appointed to replace Mackey. At this period the Paymaster actually was the chief executive officer of the operation, with the superintendent reporting to him. Annin, a competent administrator, continued to press the work on the waterway, but it was not completed until 1801.⁵

It is difficult to determine when the Harpers Ferry armory became sufficiently manned and equipped to launch full-scale production. Early inventory records indicate it was October, 1801, before a beginning was made on the fabrication of gun making machinery. Superintendent Perkins admitted as late as August 1801, that his men were still engaged primarily on old arms. Considering all the circumstances, it is reasonable to assume that regular weapons production



Oil portrait of James Stubblefield (1780-1855). Stubblefield was the literal "Czar" of the Harpers Ferry Armory for many years before his resignation in 1829. Courtesy Merritt Roe Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory*.



Colonel George Bomford, Chief of Ordnance, (1821-1842). A foremost proponent of the uniformity manufacturing system, Bomford was an implacable foe of Superintendent James Stubblefield and finally prevailed with the latter's resignation in 1829. Courtesy Merritt Roe Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory*.

did not commence at Harpers Ferry until sometime in 1802. We do know of (U.S. Model 1795) French Charleville pattern muskets bearing the dates of 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803. Production records indicate 293 muskets were made in 1801, with a total of 2813 through 1803.⁶ From 1804 through 1807, the Armory was basically occupied with the manufacture of the Model 1803 rifle and delivered a mere 342 muskets to the arsenal at that time.⁷ Consequently, early-dated Model 1795 Harpers Ferry muskets are a rarity.

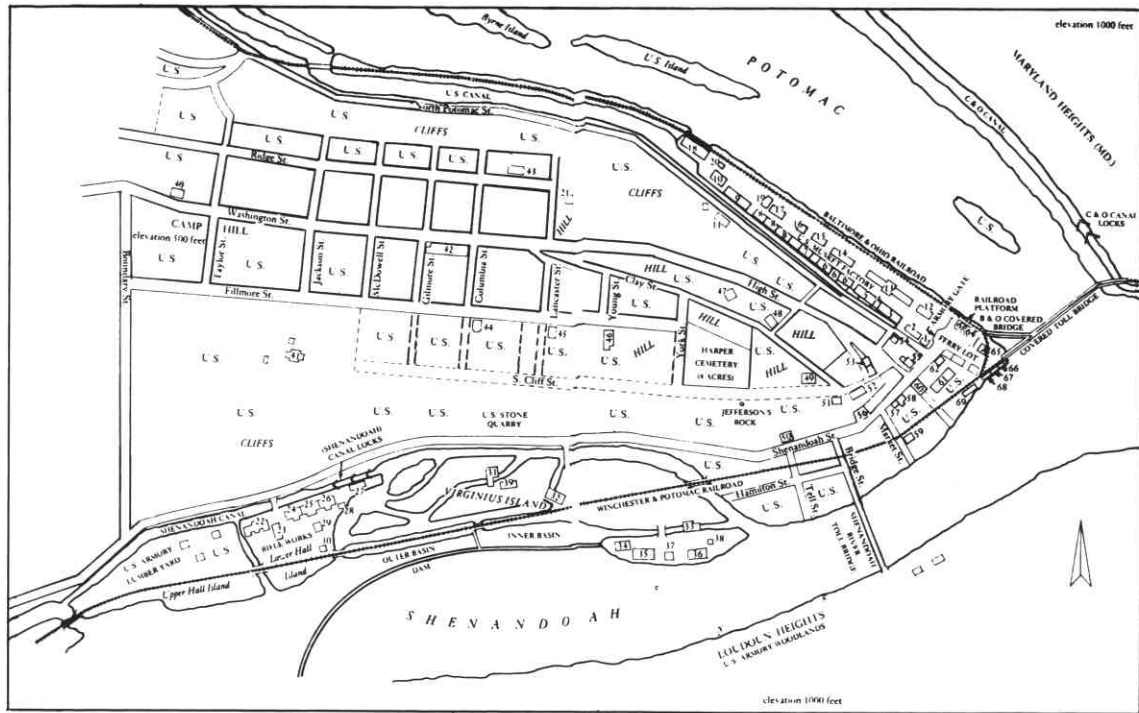
The Model 1795 Harpers Ferry musket of 1800 really looks like "Type 2" or Model 1808 musket made at Springfield, except it has the Charleville trigger-guard straps with the pointed ends having the teardrop finial.⁸ The basic 1795 musket was manufactured for over 20 years at Harpers Ferry and ended when production of the Model 1816 musket was initiated. For those members of the Society who are interested in examining differences between early Model 1795 muskets of Harpers Ferry versus those of the Springfield Armory, there is on display an 1802 Harpers Ferry as well as an 1802 Springfield Model 1795 musket from the author's collection.

In May, 1803, Secretary of War Dearborn directed Perkins to design a "short rifle". Later that year an approved design was adopted and an order for 2000 weapons, with a later addition of 2000 more. The 1803 rifle clearly shows Pennsylvania rifle influence, which is not surprising in view of Perkins' (and his assistants') background in Pennsylvania rifle making. Between 1799 and 1801, Perkins had successfully attracted the armorers from the Philadelphia area, amongst

them Thomas Anneley, a "complete artificer" in every respect. Anneley was to become the first master armorer at Harpers Ferry. The roster of early armorers at Harpers Ferry reads like a "Who's Who" of Pennsylvania gun making.⁹ Maryland was also well represented, with the arrival in 1804 of Marine T. Wickham of Frederick County, Maryland, who was from the "Emmitsburg School" of gunsmiths.¹⁰

Completion of the 4000 rifles was achieved in February, 1807, after many delays due to labor shortages from an outbreak of malaria (so called bilious fever) in 1806 and 1808. Of all the weapons produced at Harpers Ferry, the Model 1803 rifle is in many respects unique. It has been prized by gun collectors, popularized in folklore, and studied by historians as the first regulation rifle to be manufactured in government armories.¹¹ It is a graceful and most beautiful weapon.

Harpers Ferry was now given the assignment of producing pairs of flintlock pistols designated as the Model 1805. This weapon was authorized by the Secretary of War in late 1805. Pattern pistols were made at Harpers Ferry late that year and early 1806. In 1806, they were approved for manufacture with eight pattern pistols being fabricated, followed by 2880 in 1807 and 1208 in 1808, for a total of 4096.¹² The pistols were numbered in pairs, with each set of two having a common serial number. A noted member of American Society of Arms Collectors, the late Mr. Ralph Arnold, succeeded in reuniting one pair with identical serial numbers several years ago. This is the only matched pair known to the author.



Harpers Ferry, 1859. Adapted from 1859 base map, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

Detailed map of the Harpers Ferry Armory and Rifle Works including residential area. The reader will find it interesting to compare this map with the drawing opposite, which is an excellent rendition of the works circa 1859. Courtesy Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Adapted from 1859 base map.

During this early period of the Armory's existence, it is interesting to comment on the habits of the majority of the working men, which is an excellent reflection on the type of personnel management in existence at the time.

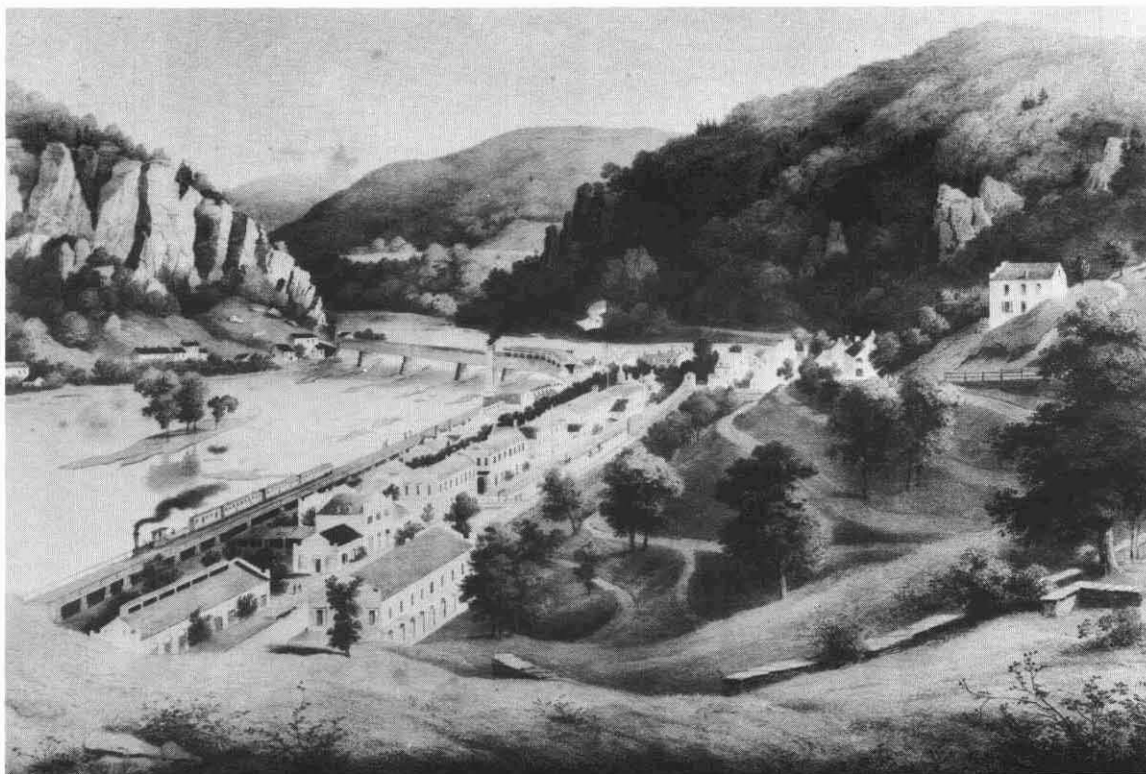
All sorts of diversions punctuated the working day. Armorers habitually suspended their chores to share a cup of whiskey or engage in conversation. Periodically they would throng to the armory yard to watch dogfights and cockfights, bloody fisticuffs between co-workers, and less belligerent wrestling matches. Invariably onlookers placed wagers on the outcome of the contests. On other occasions armorers would leave their stations to listen to itinerant evangelists and stump orators and examine wares being hawked by peddlers. Interspersed throughout the work year were holidays, barbecues, and celebrations. Election days, the Fourth of July, and other seasonal observances fostered a carnival-like spirit reminiscent of Bartholomew Fair and "St. Monday" in England. Periodic visits by foreign dignitaries and government officials also prompted much fanfare and excitement. These were festive occasions, a time when the entire community turned out to join in general merriment. Often the drinking, dancing, gaming, and visiting went on until the small hours of the morning.¹³

Rather than opposing or discouraging these celebrations, armory officers were often their most enthusiastic supporters. Such activities provided an emotional release and strengthened morale among the workers. As political appointees and former craftsmen themselves, the superintendent and his subordinates well understood the importance of maintaining harmonious relations within the community. Holiday festivities afforded an excellent opportunity to curry favor with the armorers by mixing with their families, making flattering remarks, and occasionally treating them to free food and drink. Just as life and work were intermixed at Harpers Ferry, so too were employer-employee relations. While the superintendent demanded a certain degree of deference and obedience from the workmen, they

in turn expected to be coddled and not interfered with. As skilled artisans, particular care had to be taken not to treat them with condescension. Over the years such thoroughly inbred and highly individual work habits served to hinder innovation at Harpers Ferry. Above all, the armorers considered themselves artisans, not machine tenders, and had little interest in the introduction of new manufacturing techniques at the armory.¹⁴ This situation seriously hindered and delayed production improvements and innovations over the years at Harpers Ferry.¹⁵

In 1806, Secretary Dearborn informed Perkins of his desire to increase the manufacture of muskets at the armory. However, the total production of muskets that year was only 136 stands. Perkins died in December of 1806 and was replaced by James Stubblefield in 1807. Stubblefield had only limited experience as a gun maker and that did not extend beyond a small country shop. Other men were approached regarding the position at Harpers Ferry, including Eli Whitney, who unfortunately turned down the offer. Another, Charles Williams, a Virginian, who was rejected by Dearborn because of suspicions concerning his political sympathies. During this period, the Paymaster continued to be the ranking executive at the Armory. Stubblefield was astute enough not to challenge the competent Paymaster Samuel Annin. Accordingly, their relationship remained friendly over the next eight years.¹⁶

Stubblefield brought about some important changes during his first few years in office. The Armory was expanded significantly to accommodate at least 100 workmen for musket production. A glance at the production charts during his early years indicate sharp production increases to a



A beautiful rendition of Harpers Ferry Armory, circa 1857, by Edward Beyer from his *Album of Virginia*. For identification of the various armory buildings, see the map opposite. Courtesy Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. (HF 256).

level of 10,000 muskets annually by 1811. In 1807, his first year of tenure, a total of 50 only were produced. By 1810, the armory facilities had expanded to 12 workshops and a work force of 197 men. Production records of musket manufacture over the next several years were consistent and averaged 8,000 to 10,000 stands of arms per year.¹⁷

During the summer of 1815, a profound change would occur at Harpers Ferry: it was then that Colonels Wadsworth and Bomford of the Army Ordnance Department drew up regulations aimed at transforming the loosely organized worker into a well-disciplined organization. The capable Paymaster Annin had resigned in 1815, clearing the way for Stubblefield to assume the top administrative position at the Armory, inasmuch as the Ordnance Department's new regulations gave the Superintendent control of all operations and specifically designated the Paymaster as a subordinate effective January, 1816. This change gave Stubblefield complete control and he was quick to seize advantage of the opportunities it presented. He became a virtual dictator and initiated a reign that was to last until 1829.

As an initial move, Stubblefield appointed his brother-in-law, Armistead Beckham, as Master Armorer. Three other brothers-in-law either held contracts or were closely associated with affairs of the Armory through Stubblefield. In addition, the important Wager family, original owners of much of the land about the Armory, were likewise intermarried with the Stubblefields. This powerful family oligarchy became known locally as the "Junto". Other members of the community aligned themselves with the family clique despite marked differences in social status. These included several prominent businessmen who realized their continued prosperity hinged on Harpers Ferry being a closed "com-

pany" town. There was a \$10,000 monthly payroll at the Armory at that time and it was in the interests of the "Junto" to insure this money was spent with the local businesses. The armory workers soon realized that their positions were held at the superintendent's and master armorer's discretion and were reluctant to cause problems that might endanger their livelihood.

In 1819 John Hall received an appointment from Colonel George Bomford, Chief of Ordnance, as director of a Rifle Works to be established at Harpers Ferry for production of Hall's breech-loading rifles. Hall was received coolly by Stubblefield and the Junto. The superintendent had good reason to be rid of Hall, as 20% of his budget was soon designated for Hall's program. Besides, Hall's semi-independent status divided authority and threatened to undermine Stubblefield's local power. Stubblefield detested Hall, and Hall, in turn, considered the superintendent an envious, deceitful person who placed private interests ahead of the public welfare. This state of affairs continued with constant bickering between the two until Stubblefield's departure in 1829. The Ordnance Department normally backed Hall, which did little to improve Hall's relations with Stubblefield.

Time and space do not permit additional commentary on Hall but it is planned that John Hall and his celebrated Rifle Works at Harpers Ferry will be the subject of another paper for the Society.

Dr. Merritt Roe Smith, in his excellent book, *Harpers Ferry Armory*, writes convincingly in claiming for Hall the distinction of being the first person to produce fully interchangeable weapons in the United States.¹⁸ The 21 years John Hall spent at Harpers Ferry were notable; he is one of the



THE BURNING OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL AT HARPER'S FERRY, 10 P.M. APRIL 18, 1861.—[SKETCHED BY D. H. STODDER.]

Sketch from *Harpers Weekly* showing the burning of the arsenal building by Federal troops at 10 P.M., April 18, 1861. Nearly 15,000 stands of arms were destroyed in the fire. Contemporary archaeological investigations confirmed hundreds of destroyed firearms in the ruins. Note early gun collectors carrying off muskets for their collections. I cannot be sure, but one figure looks like a very young Ralph Reid carrying weapons away from the fire. That's why he has such a fine Harpers Ferry collection today - nothing like getting started early!

prime personalities in the story of Harpers Ferry and its firearms. His many accomplishments and developments at the Rifle Works are remarkable, considering the many obstacles he encountered, such as Stubblefield's uncompromising and unyielding opposition. Without the constant support of George Bomford, Hall could never have succeeded.

In June, 1821, Colonel George Bomford became Chief of Ordnance, and almost at once, became a problem for Stubblefield. He was forced to continually reprimand Stubblefield for exceeding budgets, and for squandering money needlessly on houses, roads, and bridges for the convenience of the inhabitants of the town. Other concerns of Bomford were non-payment of debts, poor accounting methods, and, of most importance, questionable employment practices at the armory.¹⁹

The situation between Bomford and Stubblefield continued to deteriorate. In some instances, disenchanted workers had travelled to Washington to complain about the Junto and unfair treatment at Harpers Ferry, causing grave concern in the Ordnance Department in Washington. Bomford finally decided to solve the problem by switching positions of the capable Roswell Lee, Superintendent of the Springfield Armory, with Stubblefield. Lee consequently arrived at Harpers Ferry on November 15, 1826, and assumed command. Stubblefield, on sick leave at the time, never did move to Springfield but remained in the vicinity on his plantation of Berry Hill.

In the meantime, Congress had become alarmed through information received from armory employees about

mismanagement at the armory and convened a court of inquiry in April, 1827. This inquiry, headed by Inspector General Wool, resulted basically in vindication of Stubblefield and he was reinstated on June 1 of that year, and Lee was notified he could now return to Springfield. The Wool inquiry had not been thorough and the Ordnance Department considered it a mere exercise to pay lip service to the Congress. It was a typical Washington political "white-wash".

Even after the Inquiry, Stubblefield, now back in office, continued to operate as before with excesses in annual appropriations, contracts without bidding, and approval of defective muskets for storage. However, with the presidential campaign of 1828 over, Stubblefield was in trouble, for he had backed John Q. Adams, who had been defeated for President. The situation continued to deteriorate for Stubblefield, with the agitation of several local politicians. This resulted in a second investigation by Wool in May of 1829. By the 1st of June, Stubblefield felt his critics closing in, and proceeded to submit his resignation. By August 1st, he had closed his accounts, and left office for his home at nearby Berry Hill.

Thus closed the 22 year Stubblefield dynasty and Junto control at the armory. He started out well by introducing the division of labor, piece rates, and increased use of machinery. By 1816, however, he had consolidated control, acquired a large plantation, and commenced to disassociate himself from active management. This resulted in poor management, inept subordinates and failure to keep current with production innovations of the period. Springfield, by



Harpers Ferry Armory ruins. Brady photograph circa 1862. This view was published in *Harpers Weekly*, October 4, 1862. An excellent view of the armory, pontoon bridge, damaged railroad bridge, and the C&O Canal. "Harpers Ferry under wartime conditions." Courtesy Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (HF 30).

comparison, had moved far ahead of Harpers Ferry in manufacturing practices under the competent leadership of Roswell Lee. Provincialism continued to be a dominant problem at Harpers Ferry.

As much as Stubblefield believed in the rightness of his actions, he had sacrificed national goals for community convenience at Harpers Ferry. Repeated misjudgments, unfair employment practices, and questionable contracting practices brought him under increasing criticism from the Ordnance Department and his constant critic, Colonel George Bomford.²⁰

Despite Stubblefield's shortcomings, there was a great deal of cooperation with the armory at Springfield (under Roswell Lee) during his "reign". The armories shared general administrative information and men, machinery, and raw materials as well. The sharing of detailed technical information on the various machines in use at each installation was prevalent and beneficial to both. However, Harpers Ferry was often reluctant to accept changes: the failure to promptly adopt Blanchard's stockmaking machinery and the adoption of triphammers in barrel welding are excellent examples of this attitude. Stubblefield appeared reluctant to replace men with machines. Apparently he was tied to an influential family clique which encouraged a "status quo". This provided the "Junto" with a continuing source of private profit and political power.

The next superintendent selected by Secretary of War John H. Easton was a competent individual, Thomas B. Dunn, who assumed office August, 1829. He had been the superintendent of the nearby Antietam Iron Works and was

known as a man of integrity and experience in a similar business. Dunn proceeded to replace many incompetent workers, as well as Master Armorer Beckham, the brother-in-law of James Stubblefield. These drastic actions resulted in considerable animosity on the part of the veteran workmen at the armory and culminated with the murder of Dunn on January 19, 1830, by a disgruntled worker, Ebenezer Cox.

Dunn was succeeded by George Rust of Virginia, who was superintendent for the next seven years, until 1841. During his tenure, Harpers Ferry was struck with a devastating flood in the winter of 1831-1832, along with a cholera epidemic which caused grave interruptions in armory operations.

Colonel Edward Lucas, a local politician and a native of Shepherdstown, became the next superintendent and held office until the position was taken over by commissioned officers of the Ordnance Department in 1841. Lucas was to be the last political appointee until late 1854.

In 1841, after a debate of 45 years whether a civilian or an army officer should superintend the national armories at Harpers Ferry and Springfield, the military gained control and promptly appointed Major Henry Craig of the Ordnance Department as the new superintendent. Craig had extensive experience with weapons and had been superintendent of inspectors of contract arms in New England as well as the commanding officer of Watertown Arsenal in Massachusetts. Craig arrived at Harpers Ferry in the spring of 1841 and immediately halted the practice of permitting unauthorized personnel in the workshops and the consump-

tion of liquor during working hours. He installed a time clock and insisted that all workers observe the ten-hour day.

The next military superintendent, who assumed command in 1844, was Major John Symington, who drew up a comprehensive plan for complete renovation of the outdated armory. Construction commenced in 1845 and continued until 1854. It was a major project and finished with 25 new structures on heavy stone foundations with brick superstructures. The grounds were walled off and landscaped to project a well-groomed appearance.²¹

In the early 1850s, a series of violent controversies erupted concerning the Ordnance Department's operation of the armory. Beginning in 1851, the anti-military group exchanged insults, accusations, and rebuttals in a debate which lasted over 3 years. Charles J. Faulkner, of Martinsburg, was then the representative of the district in the House of Representatives. Faulkner was in favor of restoration of civilian control and was persistent in his case. He finally utilized the politically popular measure (widely used today) of amending the appropriations bill of 1854 with a provision providing for the restoration of civilian superintendents at the armories. This bill was signed into law in 1854 despite Secretary of War Jefferson Davis' opposition.

Faulkner appointed Henry Clowe as the new superintendent, but he was replaced after a disastrous administration by Alfred M. Barbour in early 1859. Barbour was to be the last superintendent of the armory. He departed in April, 1861, taking with him many skilled workmen as well as quantities of much needed arms-making equipment to be utilized in manufacture of weapons for the Confederacy.

Another personality, John Brown, entered the Harpers Ferry scene in October of 1859 with his famous raid with the intent of arming and freeing the slaves. Again, this ill-fated venture had much intrigue involved, and is an ideal topic for another future paper on the Harpers Ferry story.

The raid did little damage to the armory and operations continued until the outbreak of the Civil War. On the afternoon and evening of April 18, 1861, barrels of gunpowder were placed under and through all the Armory and Arsenal buildings by Lieutenant Roger Jones and 42 U.S. soldiers stationed at Harpers Ferry. Jones anticipated an immediate attack on the facilities by Virginian troops then assembling in the area. There were about 15,000 stands of arms in storage which unfortunately could not be saved. Between 9 and 10 P.M. detonations commenced and the entire armory was soon involved in a mass of fire and explosions. Jones did not have time or resources to destroy the Rifle Works one-half mile up the Shenandoah valley. The Virginia Confederate troops arrived shortly and salvaged whatever machinery they could. The Rifle Works was saved and its machinery and parts were sent south with the machinery and parts that were salvaged from the burning armory buildings. This machinery was later used in Fayetteville, N.C., and in Richmond, Virginia, for the manufacture of the Confederate Fayetteville rifle and the Richmond .58 caliber rifle musket respectively.²² Weapons manufacturing at Harpers Ferry was gone forever.

The Civil War history of Harpers Ferry is impressive. The town was completely devastated by April, 1865, and never again obtained the industrial prominence that it once en-

joyed. After the war, there were several attempts to establish manufacturing facilities on Virginias Island on the Shenandoah, but eventually these failed, primarily on account of a series of periodic devastating floods. Even today the town is plagued by flooding of a serious nature about every 10 to 15 years.

In the winter of 1868-1869, after much discussion and debate, Congress decided to abandon all ideas of rebuilding the armory and rifle works, and the bulk of government property was sold at public auction in 1869. Springfield Armory assumed the additional work load of weapons manufacturing for the army and did it in a highly commendable manner until it, too, was closed nearly 100 years later. This ended the 63 year saga of firearms production at the Harpers Ferry Armory.

In conclusion, a short comment on the rifles and muskets manufactured after the initial production follows:

Dr. M.R. Smith, in his book on Harpers Ferry, compiled an accurate and detailed table on the entire scope of weapons manufactured at Harpers Ferry, along with production costs and much other pertinent detail.²³ In summary, after production of the Model 1795 musket ceased, the Model 1816 was produced until the early 1840s, followed by the Model 1842, and finally the Model 1855, which was the last musket produced. In parallel with this was the manufacture of the Hall rifle, both flintlock and percussion; then, commencing in 1845, the Mississippi rifle, and, finally, in 1857, the Model 1855 rifle at the Rifle Works.

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NOTES

¹ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Philadelphia, R.T. Rawles, 1801, page 325.

² Merritt Roe Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1977, page 28. Afterwards referred to as "Smith". This outstanding work has been widely used in the preparations of this paper.

³ *Ibid*, pages 30-31.

⁴ *Ibid*, page 33.

⁵ *Ibid*, pages 48 and 49.

⁶ Stuart S. Brown, Jr. *The Guns of Harpers Ferry*, Virginia Book Company, Berryville, Virginia, 1968, pages 13-17. Brown has illustrated examples and discussed some of the very early Harpers Ferry production muskets.

⁷ In the author's collection is a Model 1795 musket with lockplate dated 1802, with a very early serial number, 720, on the barrel. It has been noted that one or two other early pieces with lockplates dated 1801 have barrels with higher serial numbers. This indicates that barrels and locks may have been made separately commencing in 1801 and assembled without regard to chronological consideration. Brown lists an 1802 dated lockplate musket with barrel #1331 and another dated 1801 with barrel #2150.

⁸ C. Meade Patterson, "Harpers Ferry and its Firearms," *ASAC Bulletin* Number Eleven, Spring 1965, page 23.

⁹ Smith, pages 56 and 57.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, page 59 and 60.

¹¹ *Ibid*, page 56.

¹² Patterson, *op. cit.*, pages 11-25.

¹³ *Ibid*, page 66.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pages 67-68.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pages 66-67.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pages 72-75.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, Appendices, Output, Table 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, pages 248-251.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, pages 153 and 154.

²⁰ *Ibid*, pages 180-183.

²¹ *Ibid*, page 276.

²² Patterson, *Op. Cit.*, page 30.

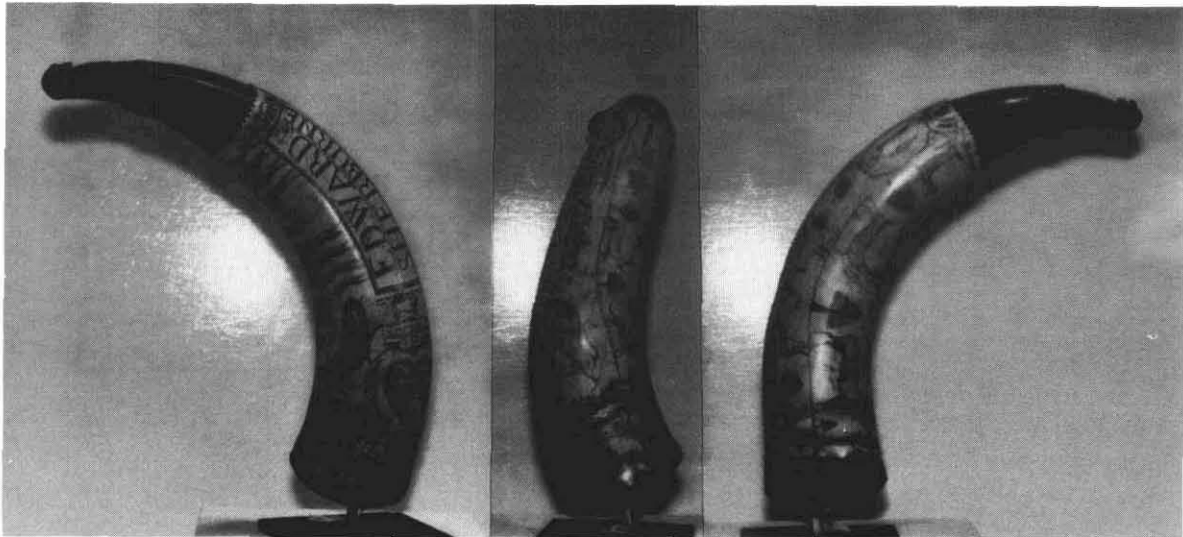
²³ Smith, (Appendices) Maps and Tables, Table 1.

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EDWARD SHERBURNE - His Horn



Major Edward Sherburne of Portsmouth, Aide-de-camp to General Sullivan during the 1776 New York campaign, was killed at the Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1777.

His horn was carved at Camp at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and dated Jan. 23, 1776, by Jacob Gay of New Hampshire, who began inscribing horns in 1758 during the French and Indian War and continued until the 1780s. He was one of the better carvers of both the French and Indian War and the American Revolution, and the Sherburne horn is one of his masterpieces. It is a large horn, seventeen inches in overall length, and is shown courtesy of Bill Guthman.

How did it get on the cover? Well, as she went through the display room, Saratoga looked at this horn and said "Put it on the cover." So we did.