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# THE LOCKWOOD HOUSE

Birthplace of Storer College

Furnishings Study  
Historical Data Section

By  
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## PREFACE

The purpose of this report (RSP-HAFE-11) is to provide the available information on the furnishings of the two west rooms of the Lockwood House at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, as they appeared during the nascent years of Storer College. The history of Storer College begins in the Lockwood House and with the refurnishing of the two west rooms, its memory will herein be preserved in the Lockwood House so as to commemorate the successful efforts made there to uplift the freedmen and community as a whole.

The Storer College Papers, on which this report is largely based, were left to the National Park Service after the college closed down and they presently are stored at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Many of the original letters and documents have been typed and filed in loose-leaf notebooks set, for the most part, in chronological order. The citations in this report do not always refer to a notebook because many of the materials were read first-hand from the bundles of correspondences and record-books kept in a file cabinet in the attic, and other sources have never been entered in the notebooks.

For those who seek more detailed information on the development and change in Storer College throughout the eighty-eight years of its existence, they will find it within the complete collection of Storer College catalogues also at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

My special thanks and appreciation go to the whole staff at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, who were most helpful to me during my stay there, and, to Mrs. Sarah Jackson and Mrs. Elaine Everly at the National Archives, who guided me through the vast Freedmen's Bureau and War Department records pertinent to Storer College.

Have you ever thought of the courage shown by those first students who dared to entrust themselves and their future to these strangers from a strange land? Who dared to brave the scorn and antagonism of those to whom they had always looked for support? And of antagonism there was plenty in those first years.

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Anonymous, "Building  
Roads for the Future,"  
Storer College Papers.



## CHAPTER I: HARPERS FERRY AND THE FREE WILL BAPTIST HOME MISSION,<sup>1</sup> 1865-1867

The events and attitudes developing in the Shenandoah Valley, and specifically in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, during the years between the close of the Civil War in April 1865 and the founding of Storer College in October 1867 laid the groundwork for the early history of the school. The opening scenes were played against a background of prejudice. The influx of Negroes from the South and white missionaries from the North in 1865 and 1866 furnished the fuel for the local bitterness and prejudice which erupted after the war.

In 1865 the Shenandoah Valley teemed with some 30,000 freedmen,<sup>2</sup> and Harpers Ferry itself "was literally swarming with colored people."<sup>3</sup> Before and during the war Harpers Ferry drew many ex-slaves from the south because the federal arsenal and Union troops located there offered these refugees their nearest point of safety. Even though the Negroes living in the Shenandoah Valley before the war had been "generally acknowledged to be more enterprising and intelligent than in most sections

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1. Throughout this report Freewill and Free Will shall be used interchangeably as the various sources cite this Baptist denomination both ways.

2. American Baptist Historical Society, History of the Freewill Baptists (Rochester, 1957), p. 147

3. Louise W. Brackett to Henry T. McDonald, September 6, 1917. General Reference Notebook "B," Storer College Papers (SCP), Harpers Ferry National Park (HFNHP).

of the South,"<sup>4</sup> once the flood of blacks began to converge in the area from points south, prejudice and hostility flared up throughout the countryside. Moreover, the general lack of education and the dire poverty of the contrabands unquestionably influenced many citizens of Jefferson County to feel that the new arrivals spread contamination to the society as a whole. Local opposition, at first largely vocal, mounted to threats of violence, and finally to violence itself. In 1867 even the Employment Agent in Harpers Ferry for the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (B.R.F. & A.L.), O.S.B. Wall, admitted to an unfavorable impression of the freedmen who had remained, for one reason or another, in Jefferson County to face the rising tide of opposition:

there are quite a number of families who are so very degraded they take no interest in the education of their children, while the parents themselves are very much demoralized from a lack of proper direction. The morals of all classes here are very bad. In short, the necessity at this place for a missionary work is great, there being no church or regular minister for a population of nearly one thousand souls.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time Wall reported that according to the Acting Superintendent for the Bureau in Jefferson and Berkeley Counties, Lieutenant Higgs, a very large proportion of freedmen were either entirely idle or were getting only partial employment. While it was apparent that

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4. Kate J. Anthony, Storer College, Brief Historical Sketch, With Supplementary Notes, 1867-1891 (Boston, 1891), p. 1. Miss Anthony presented her speech on Storer College at Ocean Park, Aug. 15, 1883. The Supplementary Notes which carry the history of Storer College to 1891 were written anonymously.

5. O.S.B. Wall, to Chas. H. Howard, Assistant Commissioner, Freedmen's Bureau, April 26, 1867, Letters Received, Volume 2, 1867, Box 4, No. 1801, Record Group 105, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, National Archives, herein cited as R.G. 105, N.A.



more jobs needed to be opened for those blacks crowded into Harpers Ferry, it was also clear that Harpers Ferry, a sleepy pre-war town, could not easily absorb and facilitate so vast a number of newcomers, especially when they threatened the social status-quo of the community.

When Agent Wall submitted this report in April 1867, however, at least a year had passed since the peak concentration of refugees in the area, and inroads had already been made in Harpers Ferry and vicinity by the agent of the Free Will Baptist Home Mission, the Reverend Dr. Nathan Cook Brackett, to fulfill the spiritual, educational and employment needs of the freedmen to which Wall had alluded. In October of 1865, when Dr. Brackett first started his work to establish day-schools, night-schools and Sabbath schools throughout the Shenandoah Valley, there were far more Negro refugees crowded into the town of Harpers Ferry than there were after December 1866, when the Arsenal and troops were withdrawn and the Negro population correspondingly dropped nearly fifty per cent.<sup>6</sup> In conjunction with his notification that the Negro population in the Harpers Ferry vicinity had declined, the Inspector of Freedmen's schools, Bvt. Gen Horaces Seide, reported that "prejudice against colored people is fast dying out, and hopes are entertained that during the winter they may be recognized, and to some extent supported, in the same mass as 'free white schools.'"<sup>7</sup> Seide's optimism, how-

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6. Report of the Freedmen's Schools, Bvt. Brig. Gen Horace Seide, Dec. 1866, Educ. Div., Synopsis of School Reports, Jan. 2, 1867-July 19, 1869, R.G. 105, N.A.

7. Ibid.

ever, concerning the future of race relations in Harpers Ferry stands out in vivid contrast to the impressions gained from the available correspondence and records of and about the mission school founders and their first years in the Ferry when they met with mounting prejudices and dangers on account of their aid to the freedmen.

#### Nathan C. Brackett and the Mission Work

Doctor Brackett was exceptionally well-equipped to represent the Free Will Baptist Home Mission among the freedmen following the war. His "strenuous" childhood in the rugged, rural community of Philips, Maine, his years spent in teaching school, his self-financed college education, and his volunteer work in the Shenandoah Valley for the Christian Commission--forerunner of the American Red Cross--during the Civil War prepared him to be an excellent representative of a denomination largely comprising "rural people of small means but high ideas."<sup>8</sup> Doctor Brackett had been ordained a minister in 1864 just prior to his term spent in the Christian Commission with Sheridan's army, and had entertained hopes of returning to New England to enter a seminary. But his excellent contacts made as a common agent for both armies and his reputation of unselfish and dedicated work in the Shenandoah Valley during the war made Brackett the obvious delegate for the Church Mission. Although somewhat reluctant at first to relinquish his seminary ambitions, he nevertheless accepted the assignment to head up the mission work in

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8. Mrs. Mary Brackett Robertson, "Traditions & Memories," February 26, 1937, Founders' Day Speech, p. 1, SCP, HFNHP. For details on Dr. Brackett's early life see "A Talk with a Southern Educator," an interview published in 1906 by the Lewiston Journal. A copy in SCP, HFNHP.



the south. Soon after he was able to brighten his future by winning the hand of Louise Wood, a childhood sweetheart, who promised to follow him to West Virginia as soon as she was able.

Doctor Brackett arrived in Harpers Ferry in October 1865 and by December he had schools underway in Harpers Ferry, Martinsburg, Charles Town, and Sheperdstown.<sup>9</sup> His quick success made clear his natural talents as an administrator, educator, minister, and financier. Moreover, he fast became noted for his exceptional kindness, courtesy, patience and bravery in his dealings with all groups in the area. It was not long before "everywhere the colored people considered him their friend, and advisor and many were the personal problems he was called upon to solve."<sup>10</sup>

One year after his arrival in the Shenandoah Valley, Doctor Brackett officially established the mission headquarters at Harpers Ferry in the dilapidated government building known as the Lockwood House on Camp Hill, where he and his family were at the time sharing the available space with several Negro families, a few teachers, and the Freewill Baptist primary school directed by the Reverend S. Nickerson.<sup>11</sup> The Lockwood House had been the Paymaster's Quarters for the Arsenal until late in 1864,

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9. Robertson, p. 8.

10. Robertson, p. 12.

11. O.S.B. Wall to C.H. Howard, April 26, 1867, Ltrs. Rcd., Vol. 2, 1867, Box 4, #1801. R.G. 105, N.A.

and the building had received occasional shellings during the war from Rebel forces on Maryland Heights. When Doctor Brackett first moved in in 1865, the roof was shattered, and after the four years' occupancy by officers and soldiers of contending armies, the house stood almost bare of doors and windows.<sup>12</sup> "But poor as it was, [the Lockwood House] had been the chief factor in deciding on [Harpers Ferry], for headquarters instead of Winchester as first planned."<sup>13</sup>

The Lockwood House not only served as mission headquarters for Doctor Brackett but also as a base of operations for his government work with the Freedmen's Bureau in the Shenandoah Valley. His position as Superintendent of Free Schools in the Valley<sup>14</sup> offered Brackett relevant contacts with prominent officials in Washington, some who were later involved in the founding of Storer College.

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12. "Supplementary Notes," in Kate J. Anthony, p. 21. The wood missing from the doors and windows evidently had been pulled out by soldiers to build fires or huts. William Ingersoll, Historic Structures Report, Part II, Historical Data Section, The Lockwood House, Building No. 56, p 4.

13. Mrs. N.C. Brackett, "Storer College," p. 2.

14. Ltrs. to Asst. Comm., Index, Vol. 3, 1867, #103, R.G. 105, N.A. According to one account Dr. Brackett served in the same capacity during the last year of the war as well. Anthony, p. 2. When he returned to the valley as a missionary in the fall of 1865 his appointment was, most likely, simply renewed by the Bureau. Brackett did not receive a formal commission from General O.O. Howard, Director of the Bureau, however, until July 23, 1867. A copy of this commission is now in the possession of his grandson, John C. Newcomer, in Harpers Ferry. Alfred Mongin, "A College in Secessia: The Early Years of Storer College," West Virginia History, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, July 1962, p. 2.



In addition, as an agent for the Freedmen's Bureau, Doctor Brackett had considerable flexibility in implementing his decisions for the area under his jurisdiction--Jefferson and Berkeley Counties--because he was able to manage those funds which the Bureau doled out to the Normal school in consonance with its policy throughout the South to pay the exorbitant rent on schoolhouses and the necessary travel expenses of Northern volunteers en route south to teach freedmen.<sup>15</sup> Above all, there was no conflict of interest for Doctor Brackett between his position as Superintendent of Freedmen's Schools and Superintendent of the Freewill Baptist Home Mission in the Shenandoah; each position reinforced the goals of the other and further committed Doctor Brackett to his efforts to offer relief, advice, and education to the freedmen.

#### The Mission Receives Volunteer Teachers

Only one month after Doctor Brackett had begun his work in the Shenandoah Valley, the first lady teachers who were sent by the mission to Harpers Ferry--Anne Dudley, a Maine state Seminary graduate, and three other young Freewill Baptist volunteers--moved into the already crowded quarters in the Lockwood House to teach under Doctor Brackett's supervision.<sup>16</sup> Other teachers joined the group in the Lockwood House to spend the Christmas holidays, and several were obliged to remain until suitable

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15. American Baptist Historical Society, p. 148. For references and allusions made by Brackett to the Bureau's financial support for freedmen's schools, see: Brackett, Teachers of the Freedmen, Brochure, n.d., Storer College Papers, HFNHP. and, Brackett to Asst. Comm., Nov. 23, 1867. Register of Lttrs. Rcd., Vol. 3, 1867, R.G. 105, N.A.

16. American Baptist Historical Society, 148.

arrangements could be made to secure homes for them near their various school locations throughout the Valley.<sup>17</sup> In December of 1866 a female reporter writing for a New York newspaper, The Independent, was at the Ferry to witness and record an arrival of young women teachers from the North. Although written with an obvious northern bias, her description elucidates the sectional antagonism and bitterness aroused over the issue of education for the freedmen, while it offers a colorful picture of the type of young ladies who volunteered as mission teachers:

It was a small procession of Yankee girls, just from the cars [train] ...a sight you would have to come all the way fo the old slave-lands to appreciate! There they were--"the teachers." The teachers for whom Virginians had the most chivalric contempt, and the few northern hearts here the warmest greeting.

A troop of maidens, who, in some undefinable way, suggest Tennyson's "sweet girl graduates with their golden hair," although I am very sure that their tresses are not the hue of sun. I see jaunty hats and natty jackets, gay scarves and graceful robes. I see elegance, beauty and youth....

Here was the red-lipped school-girl, just from school; here the young widow, holding the tearful love the memory of buried husband and child; here were women in the prime of mature power, with their rare beauty of sumptuous womanhood-- women whose elegance and grace and fine mentality would have lent luster the highest sphere.

Opposite my window they encounter a Virginia belle...Her scornful eyes behold the object of all others she despises most-- a "nigger teacher." This Virginia belle possesses very positive convictions concerning these teachers. Her first conviction is that "no respectable woman ever comes South to teach niggers." Her second conviction is "that everyone who does ought to be arrested and put into prison."<sup>18</sup>

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17. Mrs. N.C. Brackett, "Storer College," SCP, HFNHP.

18. Mary Clemmer Ames, "Yankee Teachers in the Valley of Virginia" (December 1866), The Independent, January 3, 1867, p. 1.



Doctor Brackett's recollection of the first teachers and their problems with the local community reemphasizes and broadens Mary Ames' impressions:

The Volunteer Teachers of 1865-1868 were of heroic mold.... The trials and dangers of those days, the difficulties in getting rooms for the schools and homes for the teachers, the menaces, the contemptuous glances and sometimes insulting remarks that were met upon the streets, are not pleasant to recall.<sup>19</sup>

Doctor Brackett also noted that there was such strong opposition during his own first years of work organizing schools that "many indignation meetings were held and I became bitterly despised."<sup>20</sup> In his correspondences Doctor Brackett clearly emerged as a man deeply sensitive to any and all such demonstrations of hatred for himself and his work:

Worst of all, among our own race we were regarded as moral lepers. Perhaps the hardest thing of all to bear during a period of years was the conviction in the minds of our white neighbors that we had all come to help colored people from some base or at best sordid motive.<sup>21</sup>

Quite naturally in the face of such opposition, the community of mission teachers and pupils at the Lockwood House and neighboring town schools banded together for moral support and cooperation. While the life within the school periphery developed into a rewarding and ex-

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19. Brackett, Teachers of the Freedmen, Brochure, (Boston, n.d.), SCP, HFNHP.

20. "A Talk with A Southern Educator," Lewiston Journal, 1906. Copy in SCP, HFNHP.

21. Robertson, p. 9. A quote lifted from Dr. Brackett's biography on the Reverend Alexander Morrell.

citing communal existence, the white population of Harpers Ferry and adjoining Bolivar townships continued to wage an increasingly vehement war against the very existence of a freedmen's school in their midst. Ever since the winter of 1864-65 when Miss Julia (?)Mann opened the first school in the Lockwood House to teach refugee slaves, the local community had staunchly objected to the use of the government building for school purposes.<sup>22</sup> At the same time the school Commissioners of Harpers Ferry refused to build a school for colored children.<sup>23</sup> Thus, when the white community learned of the proposition to expand the Harpers Ferry mission school into a normal school and eventually into an accredited college, their embittered cause was greatly enhanced. The actual opening of Storer did not entail any major changes to the school or to the community at large. The same teachers and many of the same pupils continued in an adjoining room in the Lockwood House with subjects not much more advanced than the primary level. Even though it has been expressed that "Storer College would have a perfect right to date her beginning at the opening of this

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22. L.W. Brackett, no title, no date, General Reference B, Storer College Papers, HFNHP. Miss Mann, the niece of the famous educator, Horace Mann, reflected the dedication of her uncle: each day she walked to school from a farmhouse in London, West Virginia, and back.

23. Report of John Kimball, Esq., Supt. Schools, D.C., June 18, 1868. Synopsis of School Reports, Educ. Div., p. 217, R.G. 105, N.A. This report makes it clear that as late as June 1868 the Commissioners had still done nothing for the education of their Negro community.

mission school in 1865, two years earlier than the date she claims,"<sup>24</sup>  
the founding of Storer College in October 1867 and its first years compose a history distinct from the predominantly mission-oriented years that preceded them.

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24. Robertson, p. 11.



## CHAPTER II: THE FOUNDING OF STORER COLLEGE

Storer College was born in the midst of the turmoil inherent in the Reconstruction policy of the Johnson administration. The environmental factors in Harpers Ferry only mirrored the more severe conditions throughout the South, especially the savage conflicts between those forces working to alleviate the plight of the blacks and those whites who feared and resisted any such changes. By 1867 the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and of the missions and benevolent societies had made headway in relief aid and in the establishment of primary schools for freedmen; however, only six normal schools had been founded in the states of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and in the District of Columbia.<sup>1</sup> Storer College, then, marked one of the earlier and more courageous steps to carry the education of the Negro to a higher plateau. The Reverend Doctor Brackett, in his recollection of the school's founding, set in capsule form the array of obstacles he and his associates confronted on the national and local levels during the years 1867-1868:

This birth period of Storer College was the most intense and bitter of the Andrew Johnson regime, including the impeachment trial. The whole South was in a fever of excitement such

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1. J.W. Alvord, Gen. Supt. Schools, B.R.F. & A.L., Ninth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen (Washington, 1870), p. 6.



as is hard to realize now that we are so far removed from it. With a bill before the legislature of West Virginia to grant a charter to Storer College, another before the Federal Congress to give the college certain valuable buildings and grounds, the former homes of the officers of the government Armory at Harpers Ferry, and the whole country not only arrayed against both measures both opposing before the War Department at Washington and in the courts of the State, the temporary possession of the building already in use, the period from the opening of the school, October 2, 1867, to the passage of the bill by Congress in December 1868, was one of intense anxiety and labor.<sup>2</sup>

Such intense anxiety, however, was matched by an intense relentlessness, optimism, and ambition from those dedicated to the hope for a normal school in Harpers Ferry. The story of the founding of Storer College, therefore, not only reflects the northern drive to uplift the educational level of the freedmen throughout the South but also commemorates in particular the high ideals and accomplishments of those individuals who struggled in Harpers Ferry, in the Capital, and in the North to bring about this founding.

#### The Conditions Were Ripe

"Early in the year 1866 the question of establishing a Normal School in the Shenandoah Valley was discussed by the officers of the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society and by teachers then employed among the freedmen."<sup>3</sup> I.D. Stewart, a Freewill Baptist officer, reported for a committee assigned to study such a project that there was no other way to meet the needs for teachers for the freedmen than to establish a

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2. Brackett, "Storer College Historical Sketch," Brochure, n.d., Storer College Papers, HFNHP.

3. Centennial Record of Freewill Baptists, 1780-1880 (Dover, N.H., 1881), p. 229.

school to train Negroes for the task, as there just were not sufficient numbers of teachers from the North to staff schools.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the feeling among the denomination members was "that colored teachers could do efficient work in fields where no white person could enter. Many facts showed that the salvation of the freedmen demanded that instructors and helpers be raised from their own ranks and that the chief energies of Northern workers should be bent in this direction."<sup>5</sup>

The Reverend Dr. Oren B. Cheney, president of the denominational college of Bates in Lewiston, Maine, promulgated this concern for the founding of a normal school in the Shenandoah Valley in his social and business relations throughout New England. Simultaneously, one of Cheney's foremost philanthropic associates, John Storer, Esq., of Sanford, Maine, was contributing substantial sums to Freewill Baptist causes although he himself was of another church affiliation.<sup>6</sup>

In January 1867 Doctor Cheney paid one of his frequent visits to John Storer in behalf of Bates College. Their conversation that evening

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4. American Baptist Historical Society, History, pp. 148-149.

5. Anthony, p. 2.

6. Other than his relationship with Cheney and his donations to the Freewill Baptist causes, Storer is unknown to Freewill Baptist work. That his obituary was published in the Christian Freeman, a Universalist paper with abolitionist and prohibitionist leanings, suggests Storer's theological and ethical sympathies, if not his actual church membership. American Baptist Society, History, p. 149.



laid the groundwork for the founding of Storer College. Kate J. Anthony, in her speech at Ocean City in 1883, related the dialogue which so promptly opened the way for a normal school in the Freewill Baptist mission area:

Storer: I have determined to give \$10,000 to some society which will raise an equal amount toward the founding of a school in the South for the benefit of colored people. I should prefer that your denomination have this money, only that I fear that they will not or cannot meet my condition. I am old and I desire to see the school started before I die, so as you came I was about writing to the American Missionary Association making them this proposal, and I am confident they will accept and rapidly advance the project.

Cheney: A school there is just what we must have in order to carry forward the work. We shall feel that God has heard our prayers and is blessing our labor if you will give your support. You may set your own time, one year, six months, or less,--  
only let us try! (sic)<sup>7</sup>

According to Miss Anthony, it was not until almost midnight when Mr. Storer decided in favor of Doctor Cheney's request. He allowed that if the denomination demonstrated some progress by July 1867 the deadline would then be extended to January 1, 1868. He also expressed his wish that the institution be operated as a normal school or seminary until the endowment funds should be adequate for it to be a college and that it be chartered as a college from the first. And, finally, Storer directed that the school be opened to both sexes without distinction of race or color.

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7. Anthony, p..4-5.

With Doctor Cheney's acceptance of these provisions for the Freewill Baptist denomination the stage was set for the curtain to rise on the first act of Storer College history.

### Organizing to Raise Money

With an agreement reached over the donation, Doctor Cheney drew up a legal instrument to provide for the necessary operational details of fund raising. This document called for a third party who was instructed to hold Storer's \$10,000 until the Freewill Baptists had raised the matching funds, and, also, for a commission specifically appointed to complete the task of money-raising. The instrument further provided that the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society would appoint the trustees of the college.<sup>8</sup>

These legal terms not only established a framework within which the denomination operated, but it provided protection for those responsible for the money donated, while it allowed for non-denominational local and national figures to contribute to the fund-raising drive. William P. Fessenden, Congressman from Maine and a member of the Freewill denomination from childhood, assumed the responsibility as the third party. At the annual meeting of the Home Mission Board in Northwood, New Hampshire, on June 6, 1867, the church leaders appointed twenty-five men representing all sections of the denomination for a "Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South," otherwise known as Trustees

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8. American Baptist Historical Society, p. 150.



of the Storer Fund, and proceeded to have the Commission legally incorporated in the New Hampshire legislature. By July 1867 this Commission was furnishing the necessary leadership and organization for the fund-raising campaign.<sup>9</sup>

The actual fund-raising campaign gained momentum slowly but the influence of several individual backers made a significant difference in the final success of the drive. Dr. George H. Ball of New York has been distinguished as the man who turned the tide of events: the efforts to raise money had not met with any marked success until he delivered an inspired and enthusiastic speech at a Genesee Yearly Meeting in behalf of the normal school which raised a pledge of \$4,000 from his audience.<sup>10</sup>

Another influential figure in the financial development of Storer College was General O.O. Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau. When he was appointed Commissioner, General Howard claimed he was invested with "almost unlimited authority" and that the act and orders gave "great scope and liberty of action."<sup>11</sup> This authority empowered him to

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9. The Executive Committee of this commission included: Silas Curtis; E. Knowlton, President; George T. Day; J.M. Brewster, Secretary; N.C. Brackett, Treasurer; O.B. Cheney; George Goodwin; J. Calder; G.H. Ball; I.D. Stewart. Centennial Record, p. 230. See also Anthony, p. 4, and Brackett, Historical Sketch, brochure, for reference to the Commission's organization.

10. Brackett, Historical Sketch, and Anthony, p. 5.

11. J.L.M. Curry, LL.D., Education of the Negroes Since 1860 (Baltimore, 1894), p. 13.

cooperate with and support private benevolent associations in the interest of freedmen's welfare. In this capacity, General Howard consistently displayed his active dedication. Thus, when in June 1867 the Reverend Dr. Cheney presented him with a request for financial aid for a Freewill Baptist normal school, Howard threw his solid support behind the plan. Immediately, he promised \$6,000 from the Bureau. This generous pledge was followed by several others beginning with an appropriation of \$500 in September 1867 for the badly needed repairs on the Lockwood House.<sup>12</sup>

During the years 1867-1868 the Freewill Baptists raised a sum total of \$45,122.12, which included the Storer gift, the money contributed by the church body, and by the Freedmen's Bureau.<sup>13</sup>

In October 1867, when the Storer Normal School opened in Harpers Ferry, the trustees moved their financial base from New Hampshire to West Virginia by organizing and securing a joint stock company which was the only legal protection then available in the state, as the West Virginia Legislature did not reconvene until January 1868, and even then

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12. Frackett to Asst. Comm., August 31, 1867, Ltrs Rcd., Asst. Comm., Index, Vol. 3, #103, R.G. 105. Totaled, the Bureau throughout the first ten years turned over approximately \$18,000 for the maintenance and expansion of Storer College. Anthony, p. 6.

13. American Baptist Association, p. 151. These figures were foot-noted from the Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society (Dover, 1868) p. 67.

the possibility of gaining the charter desired for Storer College from such an apparently hostile representative body was uncertain.<sup>14</sup>

On the twenty-fourth of October, 1867, John Storer died, but not before he was able to see not only the school named in his honor, but also the apparent certainty that his plan for a southern school would be brought to a successful completion. Anticipating his possible death before the deadline of January 1, 1868, however, Storer provided in his will that if the \$10,000 was not reported invested--not just pledged--by the established date, his gift would revert to his family. The trustees, apparently unaware of this detail, included pledged funds in their report to receive the Storer donation. A brief but acute crisis ensued when William Fessenden, the legal agent for the will, informed the trustees by telegram on January 1, 1868, that they had twelve hours to show proof that all the \$10,000 had been invested. The situation was momentarily desperate as only two trustees were at hand to invest the several thousand dollars needed to fulfill the terms. These men, however, quick to assume the burden of responsibility, put up nearly \$3,000 from their own pockets to guarantee the Storer gift.<sup>15</sup> The crisis subsided, and the founders turned their full attention to the immediate problems of providing for a permanent campus and for a school charter.

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14. Brackett, Historical Sketch, p. 2.

15. Centennial Record, p. 230. This day, January 1, 1868, was thereafter often referred to as "Black Wednesday" among members of the Freewill Baptist denomination. Anthony, p. 8.



## Harpers Ferry, A Likely Spot for Storer College

The choice made in June 1867 by the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board to locate Storer Normal School in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, involved several considerations. Moreover, their decision was only the first step in the long struggle to try to secure government property as a permanent campus site for Storer Normal School.

Before deciding on the location of the school, Doctor Cheney visited Doctor Brackett in West Virginia and with him made a tour of the Freewill Baptist Mission area as defined by the Shenandoah Valley. Five factors clearly influenced their selection of the Ferry. First, the town already hosted an efficient mission school which had prepared a number of students for the normal school level. In addition, the town boasted a beautiful natural environment, a central locality, and an historical significance to the nation at large. Finally, Harpers Ferry was the location of the abandoned Armory, four buildings of which, if donated to the school, would make the beginnings of an excellent campus.

The fact that Harpers Ferry already had a mission school advanced to the level of a potential normal school was probably an attribute shared with several other towns in the valley. Few others, however, boasted of such attractive surroundings, especially as seen from the Lockwood House set on the crest of Camp Hill:

On one side you see the Shenandoah winding under the green walls of Loudon Heights its broken bridge,



its picturesque ferry; on the other you see Maryland Heights, purple in the autumnal sunshine, the turbid Potomac rolling below.<sup>16</sup>

Thus Mary Ames (previously mentioned as a New York reporter) reflected her obvious feeling for the natural surroundings at Harpers Ferry and continued:

I looked out on the wide Valley of Virginia with its lordly Potomac pouring down its floods on one side, and the poetic Shenandoah murmuring on the other; while at my feet, stretching far down the hill, were the graves of our Union dead.... Now the tassled [?] corn waved by the roadside, and sheep and cattle were feeding or lying at rest on hundreds of sunny slopes, while from hundreds of quiet homes the blue smoke curled through the golden air.<sup>17</sup>

Such an idyllic scene might easily capture the heart of a romantic writer as Miss Ames, but the practical consideration of the centrality of Harpers Ferry probably weighed more heavily in the Founders' decision. A railroad brought teachers, advisors, books and clothing directly from the North into the Ferry and obviously facilitated organizational complications.<sup>18</sup>

In April 1867 Doctor Cheney cited another determining factor in his letter to Reverend Brackett: "I think the school should be at Harpers Ferry-- the ground is historic--we can raise money for that place more readily. For instance, we will have a John Brown scholarship fund."<sup>19</sup>

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16. Mary Clemmer Ames, "Yankee Teachers in the Valley of Virginia," The Independent, January 3, 1867, p. 1.

17. Ibid.

18. Doctor Cheney mentioned this attribute as a reason for his preference of the Ferry over Charlestown (now Charles Town) in a letter to Doctor Brackett, April 29, 1867, SCP, HFNHP.

19. Ibid.

Probably the most decisive factor in choosing Harpers Ferry as the site, however, was the possibility of acquiring the 4 ex-officers quarters on Camp Hill, one of which--the Lockwood House--had been loaned by the Ordnance Department as early as 1864 for contraband and freedmen schools. It was the hope of the trustees that with the proper persuasion these buildings might be donated to the school as a gift, for although the structures stood desolate and dilapidated from the Civil War, they once were "fine old mansions,"<sup>20</sup> and if repaired, they would complement the grandeur of their natural surroundings to make a notable campus for Storer College. In fact, promising news concerning the future of the four buildings on Camp Hill seems to have been the crucial factor in Dr. Cheney's decision, for, as Dr. Brackett recalled: "Before he returned to his home he had practically settled the question of location by securing from Secretary Stanton of the War Department an order turning over certain government grounds and buildings to the Freedmen's Bureau for school purposes."<sup>21</sup>

With the major question of a general location for the school resolved, Doctor Cheney cautioned Doctor Brackett to close the bargain on Smallwood Farm on Bolivar Heights, which Cheney had placed the first deposit on during his visit to the Ferry, so as to assure a campus for the school in case the hopes for the government property collapsed.<sup>22</sup>

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20. Ames, p. 1.

21. Brackett, Historical Sketch, p. 2.

22. Cheney to Brackett, April 29, 1867, SCP, HFNHP.

Thus by June 1867, far-reaching plans had been set in motion to establish the normal school at Harpers Ferry. The struggles to arrange the school opening, to carry out the remaining requirements set down by Storer, and to seek a grant of the government property as the campus site constitute a separate chapter in the history of the birth years of Storer College.



### CHAPTER III: THE UPHILL STRUGGLE

During the first eight months of 1867 the trustees were involved not only in the fund-raising campaign to match Storer's grant, but also in the plans for the school's opening, its charter, and for its permanent campus in Harpers Ferry. Their most pressing problems were again financial, the foremost one being the expensive repair work needed on the Lockwood House. Moreover, quickly frustrated by the opposition which the charter and property proposals met in the West Virginia State legislature and in Congress, the trustees soon realized the need and significance of tedious diplomacy to forward their aims in the political world.

#### Financial Frustrations

As early as April 1867 Lieutenant A.F. Higgs, from the Office of Superintendent of Freedmen's Schools for Jefferson and Berkeley Counties, inspected the Lockwood--Building No, 32 of the Armory--and reported: "The house is in bad order, and it will take nearly a thousand dollars to put it in good repair."<sup>1</sup>

Less than four months earlier, reporter Mary Ames described the "relics of the fine old mansions". In one, "bats and desolation rule[d] supreme," and in the Lockwood House she had "listened to the winds shrieking through

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1. Higgs to Col. William W. Rogers, April 23, 1867, Lttrs. Rcd. by Asst. Comm., D.C., Vol. 2, 1867, Box 4, # 1815, R.G. 105, N.A. See Illustrations for floor plan which accompanied this letter.

its deserted halls, and through the great loopholes made in its walls by rebel batteries."<sup>2</sup>

The Lockwood House, moreover, suffered a fire sometime during the summer of 1867 which accentuated the needs for repair.<sup>3</sup>

Doctor Brackett, residing as he was in the Lockwood House at this time, not only understood and confronted these housing difficulties but also, as Treasurer for the Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South, he knew well the financial limitations of the Home Mission Board. Throughout these years in the Lockwood House, Brackett received many directives from church officials warning that he take that course "which will be best for the cause and the least expensive for our funds are growing low and we must [use] economy in all our out lays."<sup>4</sup> As one old school teacher of Storer Normal School remembered: "The financial struggle of the first ten years was pitiful. The continuance of the school was a matter of painful interest to its most hopeful friends and of grave doubt to others."<sup>5</sup>

Even though money seemed always painfully elusive in planning for the normal school, a cardinal principle of the Freewill Baptists, as seen in the frequent correspondences between Doctor Brackett and his

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2. Ames, p. 1.

3. Brackett to Asst. Comm., August 31, 1867, Lttrs. Rcd., Vol. 3, #103, R.G. 105, N.A.

4. Curtis to Brackett, May 6, 1867. Notebook, 1867, SCP, HFHP.

5. Anonymous, "The Past," Morning Star, May 30, 1895, p. 1.

associates, was never "to incur the dragging weight of debt."<sup>6</sup> Thus everyone in Harpers Ferry involved in the school work came to expect and accept self-denial so as to save or contribute money for the school. In 1866 Silas Curtis, Treasurer for the Freewill Baptist Home Mission, inquired of Doctor Brackett how much of the \$15 salary per month the lady teachers wished to contribute to the mission effort.<sup>7</sup> Always quarters were over-crowded in the Lockwood House, probably largely due to the exorbitant rent demanded for freedmen school houses in the vicinity. Moreover, even the first pupils of the normal school were expected to pay for all the books which the mission did not furnish.<sup>8</sup>

Doctor Brackett, as Treasurer for the Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South, kept careful account of the expenditures and receipts of Storer College. His Annual Cash Report for 1867-1868<sup>9</sup> reflects the numerous techniques which he had his associates devised to raise extra money for the normal school. Misses Everleth and Smith, early teachers at the Lockwood House, raised \$18 by a Festival for the Normal school. An assistant, H.E. Keyes, collected \$21 from the local

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6. Anthony, p. 9. See also Notebooks for 1867 and 1868, SCP, HFNHP.

7. Curtis to Brackett, November 28, 1865, SCP, HFNHP.

8. Curtis to Brackett, October 21, 1867, SCP, HFNHP.

9. Report in SCP, HFNHP. See Appendix A for the complete report.



colored people, and another \$35.05 was raised from selling books. The most fruitful enterprise proved to be the 150-acre Smallwood Farm on Bolivar Heights which originally was purchased as a stand-by campus for Storer College in lieu of the Camp Hill site. The proceeds from the cultivation and sale of lots for 1867-1868 amounted to \$367.99. This sum represents much hard work in raising crops; Brackett himself devoted many hours to the Farm, and eventually he even moved there in order to keep closer supervision over the harvests.<sup>10</sup> Thus the Smallwood Farm "largely assisted in supporting the school during its infancy."<sup>11</sup>

Even with these self-supporting measures, the community of teachers and pupils in the Lockwood House could not collect the funds needed to make adequate repairs on the building itself. Thus, in August 1867, with only a few months to spare before Storer College was scheduled to open, Doctor Brackett submitted a request to the Freedmen's Bureau for \$500 to repair the normal schoolhouse "badly damaged by fire."<sup>12</sup>

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10. L.W. Brackett, to Henry McDonald, September 6, 1917, SCP, HFNHP. The exact date when Brackett moved to the farm is not known but it probably was not until after 1869, judging from available information on the early years in the Lockwood House.

11. Anthony, p. 6.

12. Anthony, p. 6. In later years--it is not sure exactly when--the Bureau contributed \$4,000 more "to renovate the shattered government buildings." G.T. Ward and G.A. Burgess, Free Baptist Cyclopaedia, Historical and Biographical (Chicago, 1889), p. 625.

Within a month the Freedmen's Bureau had handed over this sum, and, soon after, the Bureau also released the \$6,000 which General Howard had pledged to Doctor Cheney.<sup>13</sup> The Storer Normal school thereby opened in October with preliminary repairs completed, some securities invested, and more pledged towards the \$10,000 needed to receive the storer gift.<sup>14</sup>

#### A Charter for Storer College

As soon as the West Virginia Legislature reconvened in January 1868, the trustees took their first opportunity to apply for a state charter for Storer College only to be met with "intense and violent opposition."<sup>15</sup> But with the staunch report of Judge John Hoke, a West Virginia legislator who in wartime had been a prominent Union man, the state legislature passed an act on March 3, 1868, which legally incorporated the school as Storer College.<sup>16</sup>

The struggle for a charter, however, had not ended: "At the next session of the legislature mass meetings were held and strong efforts put forth to annul [the] charter."<sup>17</sup> Fortunately, Judge Hoke "again

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13. See Apeendix A.

14. Brackett reported to the Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau on October 10, 1867, that "the effort to establish a Normal School and College...has been so far successful," and that \$30,000, (including the \$6,000 from the Bureau) had been pledged to it. Register of Letters Received, Vol. 3, 1867, R.G. 105, N.A .

15. Anthony, p. 8.

16. Ibid.

17. Anthony, p. 11.

proved a 'friend in need'," and the school charter was saved.

Members of the incorporation formed by this charter included men of stature and prominence from four states and from the District of Columbia. Among the noted non-denominational trustees of Storer College were: the Honorable John Hoke (W. VA.), General H. Howard (D.C.), and Frederick Douglass, the revered and influential black leader, then residing in Rochester, N.Y.<sup>19</sup>

Having secured the charter, the trustees had carried out the major provisos of the Storer Grant. Still pending in Congress, however, was the bill proposing that the government property on Camp Hill be donated to Storer College. Although headway on the bill was slow, the trustees took heart in February 1868 with the transfer of the four buildings in concern from the Ordnance Department to the Freedmen's Bureau for Educational purposes.<sup>20</sup>

#### Seeking the Armory Buildings For Storer College

When Storer Normal School opened in October 1867, the Lockwood House, the only school building, was on loan to the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society from the Ordnance Department. As early as the winter

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18. Ibid.

19. For a complete list of Incorporators, see Appendix B.

20. D.J. Young to A.B. Dyer, February 17, 1868, Office of Chief Ordnance-Document File. 1797-1894, Box 277, File 679 W.D., R.G. 156, Ordnance Department, N.A.



of 1866 the Freedmen's Bureau had attempted to receive custody of the Lockwood House--Building No. 32 of the Armory--with the intention of assuring the school organizers free use of the building for educational purposes. Although the Secretary of War declined the request, he granted the Bureau permission to use the Lockwood House "so long as it may not be required for Ordnance purposes."<sup>21</sup>

The Freedmen's Bureau, did not win control over the buildings on Camp Hill for another year and nine months. The school's rights to the Lockwood House, secured on such a tentative basis, became an increasing irritant for those local citizens who were determined to prevent the continuation and growth of the mission school. Moreover, once it was learned that a normal school for freedmen would open in the fall of 1867 in the Lockwood House, community opposition mounted sharply. Shortly before the school was scheduled to begin classes, a teacher in the vicinity wrote home: "It is unusual for me to go to the post-office without being hooted at, and twice I have been stoned on the streets at noonday."<sup>22</sup>

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21. D.J. Young to G.W. Wells, March 5, 1866; Copy of letter in Notebook: "Storer College, 1866," SCP, HFNHP. Young represented the Ordnance Department in Harpers Ferry while Wells acted as agent in the Ferry for the Freedmen's Bureau; both were Captains.

22. Anthony, p. 10.

Undaunted by the overt resistance to the school which was disrupting Jefferson County, Doctor Cheney had, the preceding Spring, initiated promotional work in the Capital to secure complete rights to the Camp Hill property for Storer College. After a personal visit to Secretary of War Stanton in April, Doctor Cheney reported that the Secretary was "favorably disposed" to the request for the property but that there was a question as to the title of the land which would not be settled for a month. This complication over land titles probably involved a dispute between the government and John Harper's descendants, who claimed certain lots on Camp Hill.<sup>23</sup> Doctor Cheney recognized a foreseeable problem over this conflict: that "if the government loses the title, land will not be worth as much there."<sup>24</sup>

However, the initial optimism over the headway Dr. Cheney made on the government grant drained away with time. As the months wore on with no certain progress in sight, the trustees began to witness the pinch of anxiety creep into their painstaking efforts. Finally, in December 1867 Doctor Brackett (having just returned from Washington, D.C., where he most probably renewed with Congress the school's plea for the government land) received from the Reverend George Day a letter which

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23. There is no certainty that the dispute between the Harper heirs and the government was that to which Cheney referred. According to official ordnance records, however, the conflict was in full force by the fall of 1869. See OCO-Document file, 1797-1894, Box 277, R.G. 156, N.A., for details.

24. Cheney to Brackett, April 20, 1867, SCP, HFNHP.

mirrored the heightened tension common to all Storer College supporters during this extended waiting period; but, at the same time, it was a letter which voiced a renewed hope:

I am hardly less interested and anxious than you are over the action which is likely to be soon taken by Congress. I am glad over the favorable look of things, and I am sure that whatever amount of time, painstaking, lobbying, button holing, etc. etc. of a reasonable and decent sort may be necessary, or seem [sic] necessary to success should be unhesitatingly accepted. I don't presume it is pleasant but I trust you will be able to 'bear the cross.'<sup>25</sup>

Although the disappointments and disillusionments throughout the last half of 1867 had strained the high hopes of the school backers, a gathering of forces gradually began to bring some tangible advancements in Congress towards winning the desired bill. A petition, introduced and sponsored in the Senate by William Fessenden of Maine, and in the House of Representatives by General James Garfield, asked that the "two brick buildings Nos. 31 and 32 with the lots Government property, situated on Camp Hill, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, be granted to Storer College."<sup>26</sup> Senators Wilson and Cameron also backed the petition,<sup>27</sup> but even with this coalition of Congressmen, the bill failed to make substantial headway. Such a stalemate often occurs with legislative proposals, especially when

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25. Day to Brackett, December 17, 1867, SCP, HFNHP.

26. A copy of the "Petition in the Hands of the Honorable William Pitt Fessenden" is included in the Miscellaneous Historical Data compiled by Bradley Nash, SCP, HFNHP.

27. Anonymous, "History of Storer College," Storer Record, 12 (Harpers Ferry, 1895) 3.



more pressing issues are at hand, and they were during these months. On February 24, 1868, the first impeachment of a United States President-- Andrew Johnson--disrupted all normal business in Congress. George Day, in writing Brackett on this day, voiced his fear that "the thunder at Washington suggests a storm which may absorb the entire public attention and so postpone the action upon the Harper's Ferry property."<sup>28</sup>

However, the trustees' spirits had been lifted somewhat the month before with the transfer of the property to General Howard's custody "for educational purposes to remain in force until the said buildings and lots shall be permanently disposed of by Act of Congress."<sup>29</sup> The implication of the last phrase can be, and probably was, construed as a promising note for future action in behalf of Storer College. Moreover, in the formal verification of this transaction, the boundaries defined notably enlarged those requested in the petition of William Fessenden and General Garfield: the document listed "buildings numbered 30, 31, 32, with their lots, also no. 25 [sic], with enough of its lots to give a breadth of ten(10) rods on High Street."<sup>30</sup>

A barrage of administrative and local opposition more overt and more violent than ever before followed the news of this property transfer. The Ordnance Department officer in Harpers Ferry--Captain D.J. Young--

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28. Day to Brackett, February 24, 1868, SCP, HFNHP.

29. O.O. Howard to E.M. Stanton, January 16, 1868, O.C.O.-Document File, 1797-1894, Box 277, R.G. 156, N.A.

30. Ibid. See Map, in Illustrations.

proved to be hostile to any concessions or arrangements which might benefit Storer College. In the papers he drew up for the property transfer, Young deliberately inserted the stipulation--without official permission from the Chief of Ordnance, Brevet General A.B. Dyer--that "there shall be no removal of any brick partition walls," nor any "material changes in the construction of the buildings without the written consent of the Chief of the Ordnance Bureau at Washington, D.C."<sup>31</sup> In his letter of February 17, 1868, to General Dyer acknowledging the transfer, Young explained that he had been

induced to insert this condition in consequence of the great value of the property thus transferred, as if it was allowed to be changed it might render it unfit for any other purposes, and thereby deprive the United States of its real value should Congress authorize its sale.<sup>32</sup>

Although Young's explanation at first clothed his personal opposition to the school's continuance in the government buildings behind apparent logical reasoning and foresight, he soon again had to answer for his actions. In March a formal request from General O.O. Howard himself to General Dyer, to lift these restrictions reflected the obvious imposition they were to be the Bureau:

As in their present condition the buildings turned over to this Bureau for educational purposes are not adapted to the purpose

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31. D.J. Young to A.B. Dyer, February 17, 1868, O.C.O.-Document File, 1797-1894, Box 277, R.G. 156, N.A.

32. Ibid.

for which they were asked, I have the honor to request that you will consent to such changes and reconstruction as may be necessary to make them immediately serviceable.<sup>33</sup>

General Howard's plea clearly evoked a rapid response from General Dyer, for within six days after his letter, Captain Young addressed another explanation for the clause to Dyer. Young's defense thinly disguises his antipathy to the party of teachers and pupils in the Lockwood House:

I estimate the value of the property turned over to Major Brown to be worth at least \$25,000 in its present condition, and if there is not some restraint placed upon the parties at present occupying it, it will soon be so changed that it will be valueless to the U. States.

Moreover, when he went on to explain why he inserted into the invoice the words, "for Educational and Religious purposes only," Young's prejudices showed up in even sharper relief:

because the colored people held an exhibition of some kind in the best building the last Christmas holidays which ended in a disgraceful general fight, and on which occasion firecrackers were freely used in the house which greatly endangered the property by fire and for the further reason that it was so granted by the Hon. Secty of War.<sup>35</sup>

Doctor Brackett, a man well known both in Harpers Ferry and Washington for his honesty and integrity, was quick to refute this accusation

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33. Howard to Dyer, March 14, 1868, OCO-Document File, 1797-1894, Box 277, R.G. 156, N.A.

34. Young to Dyer, March 20, 1868, OCO-Document File, 1797-1894, Box 277, R.G. 156, N.A.

35. Ibid.



of disorderly conduct at the Lockwood House. His explanation of the Christmas celebration, if true, as suspected, points up the extent to which the opposition was ready to go to discredit the normal school:

With reference to a slight disturbance at the school exhibition Christmas evening--It was simply this--some disorderly fellow burned a firecracker in a room where several were present.... Another young man removed him for it, some words followed, a short scuffle near the door.... The whole affair lasted but a few moments, when the exercises were resumed and went on without interruption.... No one was hurt although the parties were heartily ashamed of their folly...it was nothing more than what often occurs at public gatherings of either white or colored people in this country. Our great trouble is that the laws are not enforced.<sup>36</sup>

Young, however, apparently was frustrated in his efforts to arouse sympathy in the Capital. He continued, all the same, to barrage the Ordnance Department with embellished accusations against the school, and even submitted a recommendation that the Department revoke the property transfer because:

A set of worthless drunken Negroes who keep the neighborhood in a continual confusion by their rioting (fighting, amongst themselves--caused by their habitual whiskey drinking.) One of these disgraceful scenes occurred last night.... I fear the hotelry will be burned if some change is not made--as these drunken...[?] are not capable of protecting against the danger of fire.<sup>37</sup>

It is fairly obvious from these letters where Young's sympathies lay. The suspicion here arises whether his strong objections to the

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36. Brackett to Captain Brubacker, Sub-Assistant Commissioner of Education in the 5th District, April 6, 1868, Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner, Box 5, Vol. 4, B91, R.G. 105, N.A.

37. Letters of Col. D.J. Young, n.d., Notebook "1868," SCP, HFMHP.

transfer of the buildings for school-use gave him reason enough to falsify his accounts and to join the rising tide of violent opposition sweeping Harpers Ferry and vicinity. Certainly his allusion to the likelihood of a fire on Camp Hill if the black population stayed on there prompts some speculation when it is compared with a report made by Captain Brubacker of the Freedmen's Bureau in April 1868:

the action of Congress of certain buildings at Harper's Ferry has embittered the rebels and there is well grounded apprehensions in the event of such a transfer, that an effort to destroy them will be made.<sup>38</sup>

Brubacker also gave a dispassionate account of the terrorists tactics endangering the lives of the school population, and requested that:

a small military force of about twenty men be stationed at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. Outrages upon Freedmen in Jefferson County are increasing to an extent, arousing to a degree of alarm, all freedmen and persons who have taken an active part, in advocating the rights of the freedmen and improving their condition. The civil authorities afford no protection. The trial of white man amounts to little more than a farce before a majority of magistrates in Jefferson County.<sup>39</sup>

Brubacker's grim description likely prodded the Freedmen's Bureau to action, for Kate J. Anthony later recalled that a militia escorted the lady teachers from place to place, and that faculty and pupils alike carried arms with them for protection.<sup>40</sup>

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38. Brubacker to C.H. Howard, Asst. Comm., April 21, 1868, Index, Asst. Comm., Letters Received, Vol. 4, #95, R.G. 105, N.A.

39. Ibid.

40. Anthony, pp. 10-11.



The animosities in Harpers Ferry took a turn for the worse once the long-pending bill to grant the Camp Hill property to Storer College was passed by Act of Congress, approved December 15, 1868.<sup>41</sup> In fact, so adamant were the efforts from the community to revoke the federal grant that the school did not receive the deed of ownership to the land until December 1869.<sup>42</sup> In her speech on the early years of Storer College, Kate J. Anthony offered a vivid account of how some members in the community worked to slander the school and gain back the property:

Scandalous reports and petitions to revoke the grant of government buildings were sent to Washington to such an extent that an officer was finally dispatched to investigate affairs. "Riots" dissolved into prayer-meetings! The worst charges, and what appeared true causes of complaint, were traced to their own doors and even proved to have been created by themselves to attain their end.<sup>43</sup>

But the Act of transfer withstood this onslaught from the community, and after numerous surveys of the land granted, and after repeated appeals for the deed to the Secretary of War by the Trustees of Storer College and by the Superintendent of Education, John Kimball, Storer College finally received an official verification of ownership which brought

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41. A copy of the Act of Congress is in the SCP, HFNHP.

42. On December 11, 1869, Brevet Major General A.B. Dyer submitted the deed for signature and execution. OCO-Document file, 1797-1894, Box 277, R.G. 156, N.A.

43. Anthony, p. 11.



the long, tedious uphill struggle to its pinnacle.<sup>44</sup> From this point in the history of Storer College, a very slow and yet promising downhill march to better school conditions and to a better understanding between the school and the community commenced, led by the Reverend Dr. Nathan C. Brackett who pointed the way for the inhabitants of Harpers Ferry to gain a true interest and even pride in Storer College.

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<sup>44</sup>. A survey of the property deeded to Storer College was conducted by S. Howell Brown, in the spring of 1869 after disputes bogged down over four acres bordering on the Lockwood House which John Harper's heirs claimed in accordance with his will of 1872. See Correspondence on Storer College, OCO-Document file, 1795-1894, Box 277, R.G. 156, N.A. Also see Illustrations for survey map of Camp Hill. For Superintendent Kimball's appeal in behalf of the school see Synopsis of School Reports, 1869-70, Educ. Div., p. 132, R.G. 105, N.A.

## CHAPTER IV: THE LIFE WITHIN THE LOCKWOOD HOUSE

While the bitter animosity towards Storer College festered into violence following the close of the Civil War, a spirit of good will and devotion prevailed within the Lockwood House among the teachers and the freedmen. Doctor Brackett's sister, Mrs. Lightner, nostalgically depicted the life among the teachers and pupils at this time:

Those early years were blessed years. The storms of prejudice and hatred might rage without, but we shut the gate against them. Within were prayers and songs of praise and gratitude and love and work. And so--it seemed a little heaven.<sup>1</sup>

This contrast between the two worlds--within and without the Lockwood House--was strengthened by the challenging dichotomy between enthusiasms and privations in the daily routine of the Freewill Baptist community: "Poor in purse, we were rich in opportunities. Regarded with contempt by our neighbors the workers neither asked nor expected their approval."<sup>2</sup> The courage, determination, and hard work which the handful of teachers brought to their pupils in the Lockwood House was returned in kind. Following is a brief sketch of those characters who, by their deep inward strength, formed the building-blocks of Storer College.

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1. Quote in Anonymous, "Building Roads for the Future," n.d., p. 7. SCP, HFNHP.

2. Robertson, p. 2. Words of Mrs. Lightner as quoted by Mrs. Robertson from the Missionary Helper.

## The Teachers

Robert Swint in his recent study, The Northern Teacher in the South (New York, 1967) analyzed the inner drive of Yankee teachers who left home prepared to endure grave hardships in behalf of the freedmen:

Probably the outstanding motivating factor was religious and humanitarian interest. Many of the teachers had been abolitionists; practically all were profoundly religious. In fact the outstanding characteristic of the Yankee teacher seems to have been piety. Many of the teachers were also ministers, and practically all were religious to the point of fanaticism.<sup>3</sup>

This sketch serves as an introduction to the early leaders of Storer College: to the Reverend Dr. Nathan Cook Brackett, to his wife, Louise Wood Brackett, and to his sister, Lura Brackett; and to the dedicated female teachers who were most frequently and fondly mentioned by memory or referred to in official records--Martha J. Stowers, M.C. Everleth, Anne Dudley, and Mrs. M.J.W. Smith.

Doctor Brackett already has frequently been cited in this report for his outstanding labors in behalf of the freedmen. Starting his mission work in October 1865 in the bombed and battered Lockwood House, he was, a friend recalled, a man "despised, tabooed, distrusted, suspicioned, shadowed, but through it all was so patient, so kind, so courteous, so harmless and so brave that he won his way into hearts, came to be loved, revered, trusted."<sup>4</sup> In addition, Doctor Brackett was remembered

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3. Swint, pp. 35-36.

4. Address delivered by Reverend Henry M. Ford, at Storer College, Commencement Day, June 9, 19 ??, SCP, HFNHP.



as a "quiet, gentlemanly, but tireless worker, laboring continuously for the welfare of his students and the advancement of their race."<sup>5</sup>

Doctor Brackett's sense of responsibility during these years of pressure surpassed even the bounds of his many taxing assignments as Agent for the Freedmen's Bureau, Supervisor for the Freewill Baptist Home Mission in the Shenandoah Valley, Treasurer of the Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South, member of the Executive Board of the Trustees of Storer College, and Secretary, Treasurer, and Principal of Storer Normal School, for he extended himself continuously to make personal contacts and friendships with black and white alike to pave the way for an harmonious, upstanding community in Harpers Ferry.

Doctor Brackett, according to his daughter, most of all "felt a great anxiety to help these poor people, groping under the responsibilities of citizenship, with no preparation by inheritance or education."<sup>7</sup> Earnestly he instituted a fifteen-minute lecture period each evening in which he enlightened his pupils on good morals, good conduct, and good sense, including such topics as personal hygiene, sanitation,

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5. Words of Thomas C. Miller, Principal, Shepherd College, West Virginia, in Storer Record, August, 1910, SCP, HFNHP.

6. Brackett remained in his position as mission supervisor until the Reverend Dr. Morrell's return to the Ferry in 1870; he remained as principal until 1896, and as Treasurer of the College and member of the Executive Committee of the Trustees until his death at Harpers Ferry on June 20, 1910. See Alfred Mongin, "A College in Sessia: The Early Years Of Storer College," West Virginia History XXIII, pp. 2-3.

7. Celeste Brackett Newcomer, "Storer Spirit, The Contributions of My Family," February 26, 1944, p. 3. SCP, HFNHP.

current events, and "how to take care of money, the advantages of owning a home, respect for the other peoples' property, the dignity of being a free man, and the responsibility of it; the difference between 'getting religion' and living a Christian life."<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Doctor Brackett never neglected to stress the importance of labor and thrift in every individual's life. He urged his pupils to save and purchase their own homes as a safe and solid investment for the future. Today, many of the descendants of the first Storer College students still reside in Harpers Ferry.

The impact from Brackett's daily vespers was gratefully remembered by many Storer alumni who passed on their appreciation to his children.<sup>9</sup> Clearly, a more dedicated man could not have been found to serve Storer College in its nascent years.

Of inestimable support to Doctor Brackett during these years was his wife, Louise Wood, who was a teacher in the Lockwood House, first in the mission schools, then in Storer College until 1891, when a complete breakdown in health compelled her to lay aside her school work.<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Newcomer

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8. Ibid.

9. Robertson, p. 23; Newcomer, p. 3.

10. Louise Wood Brackett, brochure, n.d., SCP, HFNHP.

remembered her mother as a "natural born teacher" who had "an outstanding ability to impart that love of learning"--she was "the embodiment of the Teaching Spirit."<sup>11</sup> After Mrs. Brackett's death in May 1936 the Trustees of Storer College passed a resolution in her honor, which fondly recalled that for "seventy-one years she lived in this community and her life has been spent in loving service for the people of Storer College....Her Christian character has been impressed on every student of the college."<sup>12</sup>

Likewise, Doctor Brackett's sister, Lura Brackett, was affectionately respected among the most devoted members of the school community. Miss Lue, as she was nicknamed, joined the group in the Lockwood House in the fall of 1869 at the age of nineteen, having just completed her normal school training in Farmington, Maine, and she remained at Storer College to the end of her life, at the age of seventy-five. During these fifty-six years of service she taught any elementary subject assigned to her, and in 1876, she assumed the position as principal for the women students. Her insight, balanced judgment, sympathetic understanding, and, especially "her great desire to help" the young students were indeed memorable contributions to Storer College.<sup>13</sup>

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11. Newcomer, pp. 3-4.

12. "Resolutions Passed by the Trustees of Storer College, on the Passing of Mrs. Louise Wood Brackett, May 29, 1936," SCP, HFNHP.

13. Newcomer, p. 6.



Although their names were frequently cited in Storer College records and memorabilia, the specific contributions of the first lady teachers-- Anne Dudley (m. Bates), Martha J. Stowers, Mrs. M.W.L. Smith, and M.C. Everleth (m. Strout)--were not related in any detail, partly because these teachers for some years rotated from the Lockwood House to nearby towns where mission work was urgently in demand. Doctor Brackett's daughter, upon thinking back on her childhood at Storer College, recollected only the first two teachers (of those listed above), the former of which outlived Doctor Brackett and "to the end of her days was an ardent supporter of Storer College."<sup>14</sup>

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14. Robertson, p. 17. An article written for a Storer College publication by Anne Dudley Bates about her mission work in the Shenandoah Valley sharply brings to focus the spirit of dedication and purpose which guided the early associates of Storer: "I worked in the Shenandoah mission as teacher and missionary nine years. My special fields were Charlestown, Martinsburg, and Shepardstown, where many were converted, and a mission church organized in each place. We held our meetings in an old log barn, or some old tumble-down building, and sometimes under trees. Then in the name of the Lord I built a church in these three towns; raised the money on and off the fields, bought all the material, hired the workmen, never failed to make payments when due, and no debts left. I also built a mission house at Martinsburg which is since used as a parsonage. At Martinsburg, for six years, I did the work of pastor, except that Brother Brackett or Brother Morrel[sic] came to have communion once a month and to baptize. I raised many thousands of dollars for the work....Shunned and ostracized, we went on our way rejoicing, though there was danger on every side. I went under guard of soldiers to my work, and always kept weapons of defense at hand. It is wonderful how God guided and protected us and supplied our need." Storer Items, brochure, n.d., (Boston). SCP, HFNHP.

Miss Stowers received mention more often than Anne Dudley. According to a school report submitted in April 1867 to the Freedmen's Bureau,<sup>15</sup> Miss Stowers first taught in the elementary mission school before Storer normal school opened in the fall of 1867, and she simply continued to teach in the Lockwood House throughout the early years of the college. In the school catalogue for 1870 she ranked among the Board of Instructors as Preceptress and music teacher.<sup>16</sup> And it was Mrs. M.W.L. Smith, Doctor Brackett later recalled, who acted as the assistant principal in charge and as a teacher when Storer Normal School first commenced its work, and, in the adjoining room, Miss M.C. Everleth taught the much larger primary class.<sup>17</sup>

### The Pupils

As might be expected, the impressions of the early pupils varied sharply according to individual prejudices and inclinations. It was mentioned earlier that one Ordnance Department Officer, Captain D.J. Young, suggested in his letters a feeling widespread in Harpers Ferry of disdain and disgust for the black refugees, seeing them as immoral, and generally

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15. Brackett to Kimball, April 4, 1867, Letters Received, Superintendent of Education, Box 1, R.G. 105, N.A.

16. Catalogue of Storer College, Normal Department, 1870 (Dover, New Hampshire, 1870) p. 1.

17. Brackett, Historical Sketch, SCP, HFNHP.

destructive to the community as a whole.

In contrast, an anonymous "old teacher" of Storer College sent an article to the Freewill Baptist newspaper, The Morning Star, in 1895 entitled "The Past," in which he recalled that

Of its earlier pupils the majority had once been slaves. Many were no longer young, all were poor, but they were in earnest. To them, getting an education meant work and self-denial. Then the school was colony of self-dependent men and women, who toiled and saved in summer for the privilege of studying in winter.<sup>18</sup>

Self-dependency seems to have been a quality not only essential for the pupil but also glorified by the teachers. Since Storer was not a boarding school until the mid-1870s, "many men students and all the women boarded themselves."<sup>19</sup> In fact, "many students came for only three months, working the other nine months to save the meagre sum necessary to stay in school and board themselves."<sup>20</sup> So stressed was this quality that by 1895 the Storer College faculty was able to boast that "perhaps the most marked characteristic of Storer College is its policy of developing self-dependence."<sup>21</sup>

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18. The Morning Star, No. 22, Volume LXX, May 30, 1895, p. 1.

19. Anonymous, "Portrait of Lura Ellen Brackett," n.d., p. 2.  
SCP, HFNHP.

20. Robertson, p. 18.

21. Storer Record, March 3, 1895, Vol. 12, No. 3, SCP, HFNHP.



Miss Lue, Doctor Brackett's sister, also painted a very favorable picture of her first pupils in the Lockwood House:

The pupils, quite largely, represented a superior class. Many had been brought up in homes of refinement and wealth. They had traveled in this country quite extensively. Some had been abroad. Dignified, courteous, earnest and self-respecting, it was a joy to instruct them in the mystery of books.<sup>22</sup>

Whether Miss Lue's and Captain Young's evaluations are each relative exaggerations is difficult to tell for sure, but it is clear that the early Storer pupils continued to receive intensive training in fundamentally primary education, as well as in basic Christian doctrine.

#### The Normal School--Its Substance and Growth<sup>23</sup>

When Storer Normal School opened in early October 1867<sup>24</sup> in the Lockwood House, there were "nineteen pupils all above the second reader, one as high as the fifth.... The primary [or mission school] taught... in the adjoining room was much larger."<sup>25</sup> Even though the normal school

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22. Robertson, p. 21. Mrs. Robertson quoted Mrs. Lightner's words from the Missionary Helper.

23. See Appendix C for an interesting and informative "Teachers Monthly Report" which Doctor Brackett submitted to the Freedmen's Bureau for the month of December 1867. Superintendent of Education, Monthly School Reports, Letters Received, R.G. 105, N.A.

24. The exact date the school opened is debatable, as different sources recorded October 2, 8 and 19. Doctor Brackett himself cited different dates in his writings and records.

25. Brackett, Storer College, Historical Sketch, n.d., Brochure, SCP, HFNHP.

advanced rapidly in size--in January 1868 it numbered 36, and in March, when the charter was obtained, it averaged 75--it was in January 1868 still a "very primary normal school."<sup>26</sup> Doctor Brackett's daughter, Mrs. Robertson, remembered that, "For some years most of those entering Normal school had to begin with the primary grades and even in 1875, the class in which your speaker learned her A,B,C's was composed chiefly of grown men and women."<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, for over twenty years Storer College represented the only school above primary grade opened to black students between Washington on the east, and the Ohio River on the west, and between the Mason and Dixon line on the north and Hampton, Virginia, on the south.<sup>28</sup> And the school seemed to meet with instantaneous success among most of the colored population, so much so, that Brackett in February 1868 wrote the Superintendent of Education, John Kimball: "we have succeeded in producing a public sentiment in favor of a social reform all through this region--everybody wants a certificate."<sup>29</sup>

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26. Kimball, Report of January 18, 1868, Synopsis of School Reports for January 2, 1867-July 19, 1869, Education Division, p. 176, R.G. 105, N.A.

27. Robertson, p. 21.

28. Robertson, p. 20.

29. Brackett to Kimball, February 6, 1868, Superintendent of Education, Unentered Letters Received, 1867(S-Z), Box 2, R.G. 105, N.A.

In 1872, the first class, numbering eight, graduated with the credentials to teach in freedmen's schools. These eight pupils had come to school from West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Bermuda.<sup>30</sup> These students, and the many who followed them, constituted "excellent material for preachers and teachers,"<sup>31</sup> and, by 1895, their numbers filled all the colored free schools in Jefferson County.<sup>32</sup>

As much as or even more than in the academic area, the Storer College faculty was concerned with the moral and religious training for the students. An applicant to the school had to "be able to give satisfactory evidence" of his good moral character and of his desire to learn before he or she would be accepted as a student.<sup>33</sup>

The missionary spirit of the faculty permeated the tightknit community who gathered daily in the Lockwood House. School rooms were used for church services and Sunday school on Sundays and for

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30. Catalogue of Storer College, Normal Department, 1870 (Dover, N.H., 1870).

31. Report of J. Kimball, Received September 10, 1868, Synopsis of School Reports, 1869-70, Education Division, p. 132, R.G. 105, N.A.

32. Storer Record Volume 12, March 1, 1895, p. 3.

33. Catalogue, 1870, p. 10. For further details on school admissions, curriculum, and growth for the first twenty years see: Alfred Mongin, "A College in Secession: The Early Years of Storer College," West Virginia History, Volume XXIII, No. 4, July 1962.



church services and Sunday school on Sundays and for prayer meetings every evening.<sup>34</sup> Doctor Brackett seized the opportunity each vespers to present his fifteen-minute lessons on good religious and moral practices. And soon after Storer normal school opened, the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board voted to strengthen the denomination's spiritual forces in Harpers Ferry and the Shenandoah Valley by summoning the Reverend Alexander Morrell, who was up to that time, a successful and beloved pastor of a large and influential church in Bath, Maine, and who had earlier been Doctor Brackett's pastor, to join the group in the Lockwood House.<sup>35</sup>

Doctor Morrell arrived in November 1867 with his wife and two children, and at once commenced the task of administering to the spiritual needs throughout the Valley. In response to the preacher's powerful persuasion, a revival in the school soon occurred, followed by the establishment of a small church with only six members on November 12, 1867.<sup>36</sup> Later, Doctor Brackett warmly memorialized his co-worker:

the school and mission were to him one precious cause, and he put into them such earnestness of spirit, such persistent labor by day and night, such physical exposure, especially the long night revival services, as few men could endure.<sup>37</sup>

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34. Robertson, p. 12.

35. Robertson, p. 14.

36. Anthony, p. 7.

37. Brackett, Reverend A.H. Morrell, brochure, (Boston, n.d.), SCP, HFNHP.

Moreover, Doctor Brackett pointed out that always "there were abundant calls for labor and eager multitudes to listen to the word of life," and this constant strain on Doctor Morrell weakened him until he was forced to return north with a severe attack of lung congestion before 1867 had drawn to a close.<sup>38</sup> Although Doctor Morrell did not serve Storer College again for three years on account of his health, his work before and following his absence left a deep impact on the spiritual consciousness of Storer College's earlier students. Doctor Brackett later portrayed how concentrated and intense Doctor Morrell's efforts became during his revivals:

Sometimes the revival included almost the whole school before the close of the session. During these seasons our meetings were held every evening for weeks in succession, continuing, especially in the earlier years while the habits of slave life still clung to our students, till [sic] a late hour at night with extra ones often at eight in the morning and at the close of each day's school session.<sup>39</sup>

Doctor Brackett went on to depict the emotional fever which Doctor Morrell's preaching aroused: sometimes inadvertently

Though he never sought to arouse the noisy demonstrations which were characteristic of the worship of those days, but rather to substitute for them, reflection, high resolves and honest purposes, yet now and then the storm would come with such tremendous violence, the air ringing with such wild hallelujahs, as nearly to take away the senses of one not accustomed to it. At such times, with wide open windows

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38. Robertson, p. 15. Mrs. Robertson quoted her father but the source is unknown.

39. Brackett, Morrell,

and doors, we had the prostrate forms of the shouters carried out of doors, and sang a long metre hymn till order was restored and then went on with the meeting.<sup>40</sup>

Doctor Morrell's success in bringing the gospel to Storer College had its parallel in the teachers' contribution in the academic sphere. Just as the school gradually affected positive changes in the character of its pupils, so also did it effect improvements in community relations. By 1883 Kate J. Anthony was able to express her gratitude that:

The change in public sentiment is indeed marked and wonderful. To-day, the inhabitants of Harper's Ferry hold a true interest and even pride in the college. Some of its old opponents are now numbered among its most devoted friends. And no person in the community is held in higher honor or warmer esteem than Mr. Brackett, once of all men most hated and despised.<sup>41</sup>

This climatic understanding reached between those within and without the Lockwood House brings this brief narrative on the early history of Storer College to a close. While the preceding background data helps to enrich and deepen the historical perspective on Storer College, it does not afford the type of specific information needed to restore the Lockwood House, and so, the chapters to follow attempt to ~~amass~~ and evaluate what sparse resource materials were available on the furnishings and use of the rooms in the first schoolhouse of Storer College.

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40. Ibid.

41. Anthony, pp. 11-12.



## CHAPTER V: THE LOCKWOOD HOUSE, ITS USE AND FURNISHINGS, 1867-1870

The scarcity of information on the specific use and furnishings of the Lockwood House during its first years of service to freedmen's education is due partly to the sparsity of supplies then available to the school community. In addition, the combination of extensive war damages and the general financial restrictions on the Freewill Baptists allowed for very limited alterations or improvements to the deserted Paymaster's Quarters before the 1880's. This dearth of information, however, belies the significance of the Lockwood House in the early history of the Freewill Baptist Mission effort in the Shenandoah Valley, for during the first five years the house furnished the mission members with a headquarters, residence, school, and chapel. The tight living space, affording little or no individual privacy, must have placed a considerable strain on day-to-day personal relations, and yet testimony of those years demonstrates that these individuals made the intimacy of their surroundings work in behalf of mission goals. The Lockwood House, then, not only provided the physical shelter and security for those early mission workers but it also helped to develop the outstanding spirit of patience, dedication and perseverance in the mission community, a spirit which guided Storer College through the trials of its birth years.

## 1865-1866: The Lockwood House Takes Shape

Because it served as mission headquarters prior to the opening of Storer College, the Lockwood House received a constant flow of incoming teachers from the north as well as from the field locations. First came Doctor Brackett in October 1865 to open the Lockwood House for his headquarters and "hither for the Christmas holidays gathered the young teachers scattered throughout the Valley and hither at about the same time came the young bride [Brackett's wife] from the North."<sup>1</sup> The next year, 1866, Mrs. Brackett recalled that:

those teachers who had been employed elsewhere under the pay of the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society were all sent here [Harpers Ferry] at the opening of this school year-- numbering nineteen with those already on the ground. Until their schools were arranged they were all members of the family at the Lockwood and several nights all rooms at their command including kitchen, school and church room had to be converted into dormitories and tables and benches into bedsteads. The best room in the house was occupied by a union soldier and family, put there soon after the "surrender," and all told including those most battered by the war there were but six rooms for the use of these teachers. It didn't matter so much. Sleep was not so unwilling a guest as at some later periods.<sup>2</sup>

When Mrs. Brackett's description is held beside ones of her husband and daughter, certain parallels and incongruities in detail appear. One of Doctor Brackett's recollections elaborated some on the Union soldier:

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1. Ames, The Independent, January 3, 1867, p. 1.

2. L.W. Brackett, "Storer College: A Chapter of History," n.d., p. 3, in General Reference B Notebook, SCP, HFNHP.

"during the first winter...the German Union soldier, who had been in possession of the best room in the house had died and his family moved away."<sup>3</sup> Mary Robertson mentioned in even more detail the presence of the Union soldier's family in the household, but she also unfortunately remembered the event of their departure at a different season:

The upstairs rooms, five in number, were uninhabitable, except one, the northwest, which was occupied by a sick...war veteran ...with his wife and baby. Not until the soldier died the following summer and the mother and babe returned to her people was this room available for school purposes.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, either during the winter or summer of 1866 the best room upstairs was left to the disposal of the mission members. Yet, even with the northwest room free, the Lockwood House had open only the four rooms on the first floor and one on the second, which totals five. How, then, Mrs. Brackett tallied "six rooms for the use of these teachers" before the Union soldier's family left the Lockwood House looms as an unsolvable question in the research, a question which throws some doubt as to the accuracy of Mrs. Brackett's memory.

Since the upstairs was not opened for school use throughout most of these mission years, the burden fell largely to the four first floor rooms. Mrs. Robertson vividly depicted the cramped quarters:

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3. Brackett, Historical Sketch, SCP, HFNHP.

4. Robertson, pp. 10-11. It seems likely that her version of when the room was vacated is less dependable than that of her father's, as his was a reflection of events he personally witnessed and chronicled shortly thereafter.



It is fortunate the few rooms that were habitable at all were very large for each had to serve several purposes. The southwest room served as office, teachers' sitting room and at night as bed-room for the young organizer and administrator. The southeast room was kitchen and dining room and at night sleeping room for two teachers. The northwest room was sleeping room for the cook, although wintry snows blew in through cannon ball holes in the north wall. The northeast room was school room, and there during the holidays sleeping places were made for the visiting teachers on the tops of tables that had been built to take the place of desks.<sup>5</sup>

That Mrs. Robertson specifically cited only four rooms for school use during this time in the Lockwood House strengthens the supposition that Mrs. Brackett's recollection was in error. These early years might well have been hazy to Mrs. Brackett when she set down her thoughts in 1917--some fifty-two years after the fact. To be sure, she herself admitted, "I'm surprised that I know so little."<sup>6</sup> With Mrs. Robertson, on the other hand, although she presented her recollections in an address to Storer College in 1937--twenty years after her mother had set down her memories--the text seems knowledgeable and lucid. She even, perhaps, carefully gathered together others' memorabilia as well as her own before presenting her speech.

Mother and daughter do not always contradict each other, however. In her recollection of the Lockwood House during 1865-1866, Mrs. Brackett<sup>7</sup>

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5. Robertson, p. 10.

6. L.W. Brackett to President H. McDonald, September 6, 1917, p. 2. SCP, HFNHP.

strikes close parallels with her daughter's account:

There was a small porch entrance at the east side which seemed to be considered the front, and was used for entrance to school and church services, which...were in the room at the right of that entrance having a door into the vestibule, the N.E. one. The N.W. had a big hole in the wall but was used for a sleeping room. There was a porch partly across the west side, so rotten that a wind carried off the most of it one of the first winters.<sup>7</sup>

That both persons agree so well on the north room adds credibility to their descriptions, and, correspondingly, to the new and interesting details Mrs. Brackett recalled on the physical condition of the east and west entranceways. Moreover, that both accounts correspond in designating the northeast room the schoolroom is especially fortuitous in that Mr. Archie Franzen, a National Park Service architect who recently conducted an extensive restoration survey in the Lockwood House, discovered that after peeling away several layers of paint in this room parts of a blackboard surface still remain on one wall. Such empirical evidence of course reinforces the reliability of written memorabilia.

It appears that prior to the opening of Storer Normal School an additional classroom had to be prepared to accomodate the pupils. In

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7. Ibid. p. 3.



December 1866 General Horace Seide, having made an inspection of freedmen's schools in Harpers Ferry reported:

At this point were found two schools under the auspices of the Free Will Baptist Asso. [sic].... The school rooms are in a building the property of the government, formerly one of the Arsenal buildings. The rooms are...of ample size to accomodate the pupils, the aggregate number of whom is seventy, the average attendance is fifty.<sup>8</sup>

Even though these various descriptions of the life within the Lockwood House pre-date the opening of Storer College they serve as an important link in understanding the total environment which the normal school joined and shared during its early years. Moreover, further testimonies from the Bracketts as well as from federal school inspectors, and visiting newspaper reporters reveal that while the rooms might have played different roles after Storer opened, they received few physical changes or additions. In fact, most contemporary descriptions of the house during the 1860's refer to the bareness and simplicity of the accommodations, even as late as 1876.<sup>9</sup> Conditions, it seems, remained largely the same for local school members prior to 1870, that is cramped and austere.<sup>10</sup> Just as the interior furnishings, largely out

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8. Report of an Inspection of Freedmens Schools made by Bvt. Brig. Gen. Horace Seide in compliance with instructions from the Commissioner, December 30, 1866, Synopsis of School Reports, January 2, 1867-July 19, 1869, Educ. Div., R.G. 105, N.A.

9. Supplemental Notes, p. 18.

10. On February 4, 1868, Brackett in a letter to the Asst. Comm. of the B.R.F. & A.L., mentioned how the school was in great need of room. Even in 1878, after new buildings had opened and the Brackett family had moved to another house, conditions for the school remained over-crowded, as is obvious in Brackett's complaint that "We have not felt that we could get along this way another year, i.e. be so crowded. We have but one sleeping room for our family of six." Brackett to Mrs. Mosher, March 14, 1878, Storer Notebook, 1869-79, SCP, HFNHP.



of necessity, lacked color and imagination, so also did the descriptions of the house left in the memorabilia. Thus, in attempting to draw up an exact and detailed account of the furnishings and few subtle alterations made in the Lockwood House during the first Storer years, it is necessary to wrestle with a collection of loosely-dated and generally explicated source materials. Consequently, what facts there are can only be assembled into an approximate depiction of the Lockwood House during those first struggling years of Storer College.

#### 1867-1868: Storer College Forces Change in the Lockwood House

With the addition of Storer College to the Lockwood House, there was an obvious demand for more space and better surroundings. All told, the house seen from the exterior and interior stood stark and bare. "All was desolation...with hundreds of soldiers' graves nearby,"<sup>11</sup> and the old Paymaster's Quarters "was little but battered walls, only partially supplied with windows, and roof riddled by shells and cannon balls."<sup>12</sup> The patchwork on the building completed in the fall of 1867, thanks to \$500 from the Freedmen's Bureau, probably cleaned up the most

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11. Mrs. Anne S. Dudley Bates, "Tribute to Dr. Brackett," Morning Star, Boston, August 18, 1910.

12. Brackett, "Biographical Sketch of Reverend Morrell," Star Pamphlet No 11 in Morrell Notebook, SCP, HFNHP.

glaring damage which the building had recently suffered from a fire.<sup>13</sup> But when the school opened in October the upper windows still held no panes, and during the school winter they were closed by "boards in place of the upper sash."<sup>14</sup> In addition, "the big holes left by the war in the wall toward Maryland Heights had taken on the appearance of wounds beginning to heal."<sup>15</sup>

Inside the Lockwood House accommodations continued to be limited for the most part to practical or necessary demands. All five of the upstairs rooms were repaired and opened to make room for the additional members, but conditions remained overcrowded. Once Doctor Morrell, his wife and two children arrived along with the birth of a third Brackett member, an infant son, in the fall of 1867, the nine rooms above the basement housed "two families, two lady teachers, the school, several pupils [who came from a distance] and church services."<sup>16</sup> The basement, moreover, continued to shelter "two or three families of freedmen, left there by the Bureau."<sup>17</sup>

With so many people sharing the ~~same~~ roof and with four more rooms opened up on the second floor, the working and living space in the Lockwood House required a few rearrangements.

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13. See Appendix A for Brackett's record of the Bureau's gift.

14. Brackett, Historical Sketch, SCP, HFNHP.

15. Robertson, p. 14.

16. Brackett, Historical Sketch, SCP, HFNHP.

17. Brackett, Morrell, SCP, HFNHP.

## The First Floor<sup>18</sup>

Only for the two south rooms of the first floor does any consensus hold among the sources. Both Mr. and Mrs. Brackett referred to how these rooms were "appropriated to schools and churches."<sup>19</sup> As previously mentioned, the mission workers had also selected two rooms for school and church--the northeast one and another not distinguished in General Seide's report. The news that the Lockwood House would be the temporary quarters for a normal school in addition to the mission schools must have prompted plans for an immediate rearrangement, for Mrs. Brackett remembered, "I'm sure the school began in the S.W. [sic] room down stairs and that before spring the two adjoining south rooms were used for school and meeting."<sup>20</sup> Regrettably, Mrs. Brackett once again creates a numbers mystery for on the first floor there is only one adjoining south room, not two. Either she was recalling a temporary division in the southeast room or else her memory was very short in relation to the physical layout of the Lockwood House. The latter seems especially the case when Mrs. Brackett's recollection is laid beside her husband's, which mentions only two classrooms: "The Normal Depart-

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18. For a floor plan of the first and second stories as of April 1867, see Appendix D.

19. Brackett, Historical Sketch, SCP, HFNHP.

20. L.W. Brackett to McDonald, September 6, 1917, SCP, HFNHP.



ment...opened in the Lockwood House. The primary school...in the adjoining room was much larger."<sup>21</sup>

When recalling these two south rooms, Doctor Brackett, more so than his wife, laid emphasis on their corresponding religious functions: "Both school rooms were in use all day Sunday for church purposes, also two evenings of the week, and during the long, powerful revival every evening till late at night."<sup>22</sup>

The northeast room across the hall, where the mission school had been, Dr. Brackett recalled was "both family sitting-room and guest chamber." And, with a hint of nostalgia he briefly reminisced on the room's "glorious views from the windows."<sup>23</sup> This spectacular panorama from the northeast room greeted numerous guests throughout the first winter, especially during the holidays when the Lockwood House served as homecoming for the mission teachers. At such occasions beds had to be improvised in the schoolrooms and kitchen as well to supplement the guest chamber.<sup>24</sup>

The question arises here as to the exact location of the kitchen during these early Storer years. According to Doctor Brackett, a

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21. Brackett, Historical Sketch.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

room on the first floor "was kitchen and diningroom for the entire household."<sup>25</sup> As Brackett identified all three other rooms on the first floor, the kitchen according to his recollection, was the northwest one. This seems a logical spot for the kitchen since it was there that the cook slept in pre-Storer years. Doctor Brackett's wife, however, recalled that both north rooms were arranged to accommodate Doctor Morrell's family.<sup>26</sup> The contradiction in their accounts may well stem from a fault in one or the other individual's memory, but it seems more likely that since time almost melted together the early experiences, that both accounts were true at one point during the first strategic years in the Lockwood House.

This completes a coverage of the four rooms on the first floor, and in ascending to the second story, only Mrs. Brackett's recollection serves to elucidate the accommodations set up there.

### The Second Floor

Since there is no other source for comparison it seems fair to let Mrs. Brackett fill in the only information available for a depiction of the second story:

Our room, fall of 1867, was the ...S.W. one opening into it the S.E. one was our common sitting room with a curtained bed in it for guests. Across the hall from that was our kitchen and dining room and the other one on that side was occupied by the teachers....

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25. Ibid.

26. L.W. Brackett to McDonald, September 6, 1967.

The little room off the hall was a sleeping room.<sup>27</sup>

### Early Storer College Furnishings

It seems logical to assume that not much was written on the Lockwood House furnishings during early Storer years because not much had been collected for the house by the abstemious mission teachers. The teachers living in or visiting the Lockwood House were "reared in good homes,"<sup>28</sup> but, like Mrs. Brackett, they had made a choice between the comforts they were accustomed to and a life imbued with "the true missionary spirit."<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the obstacles of difficult

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27. Brackett to McDonald, September 6, 1917, SCP, HFNHP. According to a description in the Storer College Papers, Doctor Brackett had a personal chair which he probably kept in the common sitting room upstairs during the first years of Storer College. This chair has been kept in the family for three generations and today is in the possession of his grandson, John Newcomer, in Harpers Ferry. As tradition has it, after Brackett completed his work for the Christian Commission during the Civil War, he passed through Harpers Ferry and "gave this chair and certain other furniture" to Miss Mann, who was conducting a school for Negro refugees in the Lockwood House. When he returned in October 1865 to reorganize the mission and schools he found the chair in Miss Mann's deserted school room. The chair thereafter continued in service "in Mr. Brackett's office in Storer College." The chair "is typical of furniture made by soldiers and found in army camps and offices everywhere in the war between the States." Anonymous, "Mr. Brackett's Civil War Chair," Brackett Notebook, SCP, HFNHP.

28. N.C. Brackett, Teachers of the Freedmen, Brochure, n.d., SCP, HFNHP.

29. Ibid.



and expensive transportation, meagre wages and capital, and an impoverished, war-scarred territory filled with destitute refugees likely diverted their attention from such seemingly frivolous concerns.

Because there is such a paucity of information, then, it has been necessary to apply certain assumptions and generalizations in the proposals for refurnishing the two west rooms in the Lockwood House to the early Storer years.

One major complication in attempting to draw up an account of the furniture emerges from an absence of information on where exactly the furniture was obtained. Occasional correspondence between Doctor Brackett and mission officials reveal that books--mostly Bibles--and clothing were sent from Maine to mission headquarters but no mention is made of beds, tables, lamps, and the like. It seems probable, however, that the missionaries ventured from New England without these bulky household objects, for as one teacher remembered, "All the comforts of home were left behind and only the barest necessities could be secured."<sup>30</sup> Those personal items which could be carried in suitcases or trunks, however, were evidently brought along by some to cheer the humble surroundings, as was the case with Doctor Brackett, whose room was "brightened by pictures and books from home."<sup>31</sup>

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30. Mrs. Anne S.D. Bates, "Tribute to Dr. Brackett," Morning Star, August 18, 1910.

31. Ames, The Independent, January 3, 1867.

With the assumption that the bulk of the furniture probably did not come from New England, there is more of a likelihood that it was purchased somewhere in or around Harpers Ferry. Judging from the overall opposition of the local citizenry, however, it is difficult to imagine much cooperation on their part in helping the missionaries to settle permanently in the Lockwood House. And yet, just prior to the opening of Storer Normal School, Doctor Brackett made a brief allusion to the fact that the mission school had already gained a number of friends among the white population.<sup>32</sup> This comment perhaps was optimistic, for in consecutive correspondence he had only gloomy reports of white hostility. Nonetheless, if such flickering support operated in behalf of the mission, it probably allowed enough leeway to secure many of the basic necessities for daily existence.

Even with a predominantly hostile reaction to the school, however, Harpers Ferry did not host a wealthy community and the citizens' need for money probably overwhelmed their antagonistic instincts. Certainly the record of expenditures drawn up by Doctor Brackett for the Commission for the Promotion of Education in the South, which supervised Storer's birth, strongly suggests that furniture was purchased locally, for it lists \$125.11 for school furniture.<sup>33</sup> Where it was bought, what furniture

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32. Brackett to Kimball, April 4, 1867, Letters Received, Superintendent of Education, Box 1, R.G. 105, N.A.

33. See Appendix A.

it was, and how much, however, Brackett never details nor do any other school records.

The mission workers perhaps did not need to rely on local purchases for some of their furniture, however, for it is certainly possible that the evacuating officers and troops left behind, in the Lockwood House, some of the coarser or more burdensome Army items, such as stoves, rough hewn tables and chairs.

Wherever the "barest necessities" were acquired remains to supposition, and the accumulated data on their substance is as follows:

#### The Southwest Room: The Schoolroom

Because of the shortage of available furniture, improvisation probably became one of the catchwords in the missionaries' daily routine. While General Seide of the Freedmen's Bureau reported in late 1866 that two Lockwood House mission schools were "furnished with appropriate desks and benches,"<sup>34</sup> Doctor Brackett recalled that during the first years of the normal school, "benches with neither back nor desks were not reckoned a hardship."<sup>35</sup> Thus, in furnishing the southwest room as the first Storer classroom it would be appropriate to emphasize that the benches were crude and that the first 19 pupils probably had sometimes to use their laps

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34. Inspection Report by General Seide, January 1866, Synopsis of Reports, January 2, 1867-July 19, 1869, Education Division, p. 6, R.G. 105, N.A.

35. Brackett, Historical Sketch.



as desks. Rough-hewn tables, however, would also be appropriate in this room as Doctor Brackett's daughter had explained that visiting teachers often slept "on tops of tables that had been built to take the place of desks."<sup>36</sup>

A record of expenditures for the mission during February 1866 reflects other probable accessories which would have been needed for the normal school, that is, blackboard, seats, fuel and lights.<sup>37</sup> The fuel and lights were likely oil lamps. If any seat or chair was in the normal school classroom it most probably blended with the other simple furnishings, for in 1866 the cost of seats and blackboard together only amounted to \$6.25. Thus, a hardback-type chair of the period would be most appropriate.

Since "all the windows were boarded up at the top but the lower sashes were pretty well supplied with panes and shades,"<sup>38</sup> some adjustments to the classroom windows might also need attention.

One other suggestion for the schoolroom is quite naturally school books. Among the Storer Collection at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park is an old geography textbook published in 1865 which needs a good deal of repair. The book, entitled, American School Quarto Geography,

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36. Robertson, p. 10.

37. "Shenandoah Mission for the Month of February 1866" in Notebook for 1866, SCP, HFNHP.

38. Robertson, p. 10.

by J.H. Colton, would be an excellent exhibition piece, although according to the 1870 Storer catalogue it had been replaced by Cornell's Series of Geographies for the normal school. If any of those books cited as texts in the first Storer College catalogue, published in 1869, could be found and acquired for display purposes, all the better.<sup>39</sup>

Since several references were made to the cold winters at Harpers Ferry, and since Doctor Brackett totaled \$17.46 for "fuel for school-room,"<sup>40</sup> it can be presumed that either a fireplace or stove filled the great demand for heat in the classroom.

#### The Northwest Room

Contradictions and ambiguities complicate the available information on the northwest room. The most critical problem relates to the contradiction of sources over the function of this room. On one hand, Doctor Brackett designated it as "kitchen and dining room for the entire household," while his wife remembered it as living quarters for the Morrell family. The Morrells moved into the Lockwood House, according to several references by Doctor Brackett, in November 1867--one month after Storer College opened. Doctor Brackett never mentioned where in the Lockwood

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39. Unfortunately, the 1869 Storer catalogue was not to be found in the Library of Congress or the Storer College Papers at Harpers Ferry. It can be generally assumed, however, that the list of books in the 1870 edition essentially is the same. See Appendix E for a list of these textbooks.

40. See Appendix A.

House the family stayed, probably because they remained only two short months before Doctor Morrell fell sick and they returned North. Since the Morrells lived in another house upon their return to Storer College in 1870,<sup>41</sup> it seems plausible that during their brief residence in the Lockwood House they did reside in the two north rooms.

And yet, even considering Mrs. Brackett's probable advantage over her husband on the domestic details of the house--as these likely fell to her responsibility--she wrote her recollections some thirty years after he did. That he not only had a logical and clear mind, which in itself connotes a good memory, but that he wrote so much sooner after the actual happening makes Dr. Brackett's account appear more reliable.

Moreover, as cited earlier, available sources show that the northwest room functioned as the kitchen-dining room and as quarters for the cook throughout 1865-1866. This fact gives reason to believe, as Doctor Brackett implies, the room merely continued in this capacity once Storer opened. Even if the northwest room did serve as a sitting room for the Morrells during their two-month stay, however, it hardly deserves to be refurnished as such in relation to early Storer history. On the other hand, the room definitely played a long and significant role as kitchen and dining room and would therefore be best restored as a cooking and eating area and quarters for the cook.

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41. Robertson, p. 16.



With these functions in mind the refurnishing of the room would follow the general pattern seen throughout the Lockwood House of simplicity and practicality. Unfortunately, more so than with the schoolroom, educated guesswork has to replace specific knowledge on the furnishings of this room. It can be assumed, for instance, that a stove for cooking along with a table and a few chairs filled part of the spacious room. Pre-Storer allusions made to furniture suggest that tables and possibly chairs were made by members of the school community--perhaps even by freedmen who had been trained as carpenters in slavery--for school purposes, and this crude-style furniture would set the theme of the room as a whole. Any cooking utensils would likely be in the same vein, simple and functional--spoons, forks, knives, ladles, dishes, large pots, skillets, and the like.

This northwest room simultaneously functioned as bedroom for the cook, according to various Brackett family references to early Lockwood House days. The cook never receives formal identification by name and background in any memoirs, like the teachers did, and so it appears that she (or he) maintained a secondary, unobtrusive role in the school or mission operations. Moreover, as previously described, the cook had to contend with the drafty discomforts caused by the war-made gash in the north wall. All told, the imagination surmises that whoever slept in this room was exposed to more severe hardships than the others and, that this may well have been a product of the individual's impoverished condition. If this unidentified cook chose to live in the kitchen-dining room, then, she (or he)

probably had few possessions, and it seems likely that a cot of some sort covered with a plain spread sufficed as a bed. Beside or near this bed may well have been a small table with a gas light or perhaps even a candle in a simple holder.

The specific components of this room, however, really remain for the specialist in mid-19th Century American furnishings and antiques, for without the aid of factual historical testimonies only a general contemporary scene along the lines of the total Lockwood House environment can be constructed in restoration.

## CHAPTER VI: EPILOGUE: THE LOCKWOOD HOUSE CHANGES AS STORER COLLEGE EXPANDS, POST-1870.

The final release of the three other government buildings on Camp Hill to the legal custody of Storer College in December 1869 seemed to act as a stimulant for rapid growth and change within the school. Overnight buildings were readied for use and funds were raised to expand the campus further.

Several factors facilitated the growth in size and support of Storer College following 1870. First, the Storer normal school represented the only institution in West Virginia to offer Negroes an education above that provided in the State schools.<sup>1</sup> In addition, by 1872 Storer remained as the only Freewill Baptist mission school in West Virginia not replaced by "free schools" of the State Department of Education.<sup>2</sup>

It was not only uniqueness, however, which enhanced the prestige and endorsement of Storer College. Rather, the record of long, hard, and patient work by the mission teachers significantly improved the overall reputation of the school in the community as well in New England. As tensions eased between Harpers Ferry and its Negro normal school, and as donations from New England philanthropists multiplied, Storer College gradually fostered a prominence and security which allowed the trustees

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1. Robertson, p. 20.

2. American Baptist Historical Society, p. 151.



to proceed more effectively in planning the school's development.

The school administrators placed high on the list of priorities for college improvements those changes needed to accomodate the swelling number of student enrollees. The three government buildings to be released to Storer College in December 1869 were in May suffering very badly for repairs, and the Lockwood House needed work done on the shingle roof.<sup>3</sup>

But more ambitious programs followed fast on the heels of repair work. In 1870-71 the Freedmen's Bureau extended \$4,000 toward the erection of Lincoln Hall, a three-story wooden building with thirty-four double rooms for young men.<sup>4</sup> The dormitory was completed by 1871. Beginning in 1873 Mrs. Anne S.D. Bates initiated a fund-raising program to build Myrtle Hall, a dormitory for women.<sup>5</sup> Progress in the collection of donations was distressingly slow until the Woman's Missionary Society finally tackled the problem, and in 1879 they saw the project carried to completion with the dedication of the building.

Meanwhile, in December 1869 Anthony Hall replaced the Lockwood House as the school and mission headquarters, and the Lockwood remained only

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3. Brackett to Bro. Stewart, May 4, 1869, in Notebook "Storer College, 1869-1879," SCP, HFNHP.

4. Supplemental Notes, p. 20.

5. Ibid.

as a boarding hall for male students until 1876, when it again assumed a strategic role in Storer College operations as the first summer boarding house opened on campus. The significance of this boarding project overlapped in several areas, for it improved the financial, environmental, and, very likely, the political situation for the college and its community. The money received from the summer lodgers provided the main support for a few of the Camp Hill families who wished to educate their children, and many students, who worked as waiters in the Lockwood House, put their wages towards their own schooling.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the development of Harpers Ferry as a summer resort furnished profitable business for all elements in the community, white and black alike. A by-product of this financial boon, then was a much welcomed boost in both race and community relations.

The financial uplifting of Harpers Ferry corresponded with an overall sprucing up of the environment. Camp Hill, "which had previously been quite like a graveyard in the summer...[became] the center of life in the town." An "excellent class of summer boarders,"--who largely harked from Washington--received careful attention from "intelligent honest and faithful" students, as well as from the Lovett family, who gained a fine reputation for their long years of supervision in the Lockwood House during the summers. It was not long before the available rooms were "filled to overflowing."<sup>8</sup>

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7. Robertson, p. 19.

8. Supplemental Notes, pp. 18-19; Robertson, p. 19.

In order to make more room for summer and winter residences, the Trustees appropriated funds in 1877 and again in 1879 to add a third story with ten new rooms and a mansard roof to the Lockwood House.<sup>9</sup> This enlargement, completed in 1883, better accomodated the immediate demands for space while the number of boarders continued to swell.<sup>10</sup>

The summer profit made by students and town folk eventually was shared by the school as well, for the prominent boarders often left Harpers Ferry with an interest in the welfare of Storer College. By referring the campus as a summer resort to other Washington notables they stirred up more business for the community and likely secured more political friends for the college. Moreover, the trustees held out the hope that some generous summer boarder would "add liberally to the endowment of the institution."<sup>11</sup>

Thus, the Lockwood House once again played a leading role in Storer College history, but, also, its last. Gradually as newer buildings dotted the campus, the Lockwood House receded into the background and fell into disrepair. During its decline, the Lockwood House received some patchwork mending and sporadic summer and dormitory usage, but increasingly it loomed as a burden to the trustees. Several attempts to sell the house failed.<sup>12</sup> In 1940 President McDonald in desperation ordered

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9. Storer College, Book 1, Records, n.d., p. 45. SCP, HFNEP. This book gives the minutes of trustee meetings.

10. Supplemental Notes, p. 19.

11. Ibid.

12. Ingersoll, p. 13.



its renovation at great expense to resolve the problem of a rapidly expanding college enrollment. In 1943 he lamented that the project had been a nightmare.<sup>13</sup> By the time Storer College closed its doors in 1955 the Lockwood House again was in shabby condition and today it is undergoing some badly needed restoration.

The memory of Storer College in the community, however, suffers little damage with the years. In Harpers Ferry the fine legacy left by Storer College, its leaders and graduates, symbolizes the remarkable transformation from racial hostilities to racial coordination and respect. And the spirit lingers on in the town, quietly reinforced by the old Camp Hill campus where recently the National Park Service renewed the educational tradition by establishing a training center, and where the Lockwood House still remains as the foremost historical relic of Storer College.

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13. Ingersoll, p. 14.

APPENDIX A  
ANNUAL CASH REPORT OF TREASURER OF COMMISSION  
FOR THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.  
1867-1868

# Annual Cash Report of Treasurer

1867		Receipts,	
May	from	Rev. O. B. Cheney	100 00
June	"	"	1066 00
"	"	Day, Baiter & others	1750 00
"	"	Printing Establishment & by self	500 00
August	"	"	100 00 351 00
Oct.	"	Rev. P. D. Stewart	3011 57
"	"	" " " " by Mrs. Smith	24 04
Feb. 1868	"	" " " "	170 02
March	"	" " " "	500 00
Apr.	"	" " " "	200 00 3905 63
		Kind of Rev. A. H. Russell	655 00
		" " Mrs. M. C. Everette	45 00
		" " J. W. Dwyer	50 00
Sept.	"	" Nelson Howard	150 00
"	"	" self	325 00 1225 00
"	"	Bureau by Gen. Phas. H. Howard	500 00
"	"	Day by Rev. G. T. Day	5 00
"	"	" Mrs. E. A. Leavitt	17 17
"	"	Mrs. M. P. Baldwin	2 00
"	"	a N. Y. Quarterly Meeting	20 00



"	Miss Everith & Mrs. Smith by Festivals	12 00	
"	Collected of Colored People by H. E. Keyes	21 00	
"	Simon Howell	<u>5 00</u>	588 17
"	Sale of Land	98 00	
"	" " Produce from farm	270 99	
"	for Rent	7 50	
"	Use of Horse	18 82	
"	from Sale of Books	<u>35 05</u>	420 86
"	H. E. Keyes on Note	4 90	4 90
"	Bolivar Township for Tuition	<u>17 53</u>	17 53
"	Total		9687 59
State Col. Receipts,			
"	from Bureau by Gen. O. O. Howard	6000 00	
"	Sale of Stock	<u>100 00</u>	6100 00
"	Total		15787 59

# of Commission for Promotion of Education in South

Expenditures.		
Paid for Farm		6127 00
" Repairing Buildings & Fencing Land		808 95
" Insurance of "		17 00
" Fencing Farm		997 82
" Tax on		9 57
" Stock & Farming Tools		770 21
" Fodder		79 26
" Feed		43 14
" Farm-work		111 53
" <del>Grain</del> Ties, Clamps (Revered) &c		44 75
" School - Furniture		125 11
" " Organ		40 00
" " " "		165 11
" " " " (Smith)		84 70
" " Board of Teachers		227 82
" " Fuel for School room		17 47
" " " "		279 99
" Board of Self		133 05
		133 05

"	Travel & Expense in Washington	103 86	
"	Journey to Northwood & Co	45 00	
"	Washington to secure extension	3 00	
"	Travel to Res. James Collier	30 00	
"	" " " " O. B. Cheney	42 24	
"	" " " " P. P. Dickinson	9 50	232 50
"	Service & Travelling Expense to H. C. Reyes	46 80	46 10
"	Stationery, Stamps, Telegrams, Blank books	37 75	
"	Lent to H. C. Reyes	14 90	14 90
"	" School-books	35 05	35 05
"	Overlaid on Note	8 00	
"	Res. A. H. Howell	41 00	
"	" A. H. Dungee " with interest	52 60	99 60
Total:			9950 18
Paid to Res. F. D. Stewart		6000 00	6000 00
Total			15950 18
Balance due Treasurer			162 59
		Mark H.	



## APPENDIX B

### LIST OF INCORPORATORS OF STORER COLLEGE

The Reverend Silas	New Hampshire
" George T. Day	"
" Issac D. Stewart	"
" Jonathon M. Brewster	"
" Edward A. Stockhorn	Maine
" Oren B. Cheney	"
" Ebenezer Knowlton	"
" Nathan C. Brackett	West Virginia
Captain Daniel J. Young	"
Honorable John Hoke	"
The Reverend Alexander H. Morrell	"
" Daniel Ames	"
" Hamilton Keyes	"
" George H. Ball	New York
General H. Howard	Washington, D.C.

### TRUSTEES IN CONNECTION WITH THE CORPORATORS

Honorable William Pitt Fessenden  
" J.B. Dale  
Frederick Douglass  
William Still

APPENDIX C

TEACHER'S MONTHLY REPORT, DECEMBER 1867

## TEACHER'S MONTHLY SCHOOL REPORT

For the Month of December, 1867

To contain one entire calendar month, and to be forwarded as soon as possible after the close of the month.  
 A School under the distinct control of one Teacher, or a Teacher with one Assistant, is to be reported as one School.

(Answers placed here.)

Name and location of your School? *Storer Normal School.*

What grade? *Normal.*

When did your present session commence? *Oct. 8<sup>th</sup>.* When to close? *Dec. 24<sup>th</sup>.*

Is your School supported by any Ed. Soc.? *It is.* What Society? *Storer College Corp'n.*

Is your School supported wholly or in part by a local Pub. School Board? *It is not.*

Is your School supported wholly or in part by Freedmen? *" " "*

Have you had Bureau transportation? *Have not.*

Who owns the School building? *Government.*

What rent paid by Freedman's Bureau? *No.* How much? *Nothing.*

What number of Teachers and Assistants in your School? *Three* White *Three* Colored *None*

What number of pupils enrolled during the month? *Eighteen* Male *Ten* Female *Eight.*

What number of pupils enrolled last report? *No. Report.* Number enrolled last report, by adding new scholars and subtracting those left school, will equal the whole number now enrolled.

What number left School this month? *None.*

What number of new scholars this month? *None.*

What is the average attendance? *Sixteen.*

What number of pupils pay tuition? *None.*

What number of white pupils? *None.*

What number always present? *Eight.*

What number always punctual? *Six.*

What number over sixteen years of age? *Three.*

What number in Alphabet? *None.*

What number spell and read easy lessons? *Ten.*

What number of advanced readers? *Eight.*

What number in Geography? *Six.*

What number in Arithmetic? *Eighteen.*

What number in higher branches? *Two.*

What number in writing? *Eight.*

What number in needlework? *None.*

What number free before the war? *Four.*

Have you a Sabbath School? *We have.*

What number of Teachers in Sabbath School? *Five.*

What number of pupils in Sabbath School? *Thirty-five.*

Have you an Industrial School? *No.* State kind of work done?

To the following questions give exact or approximate answers, prefixing to the latter the word "about."

- How many Day or Night Schools within your knowledge, not reported to the Bureau? *None* Number of pupils (estimated) in such Schools? *None*
- How many Teachers (estimated) in such Schools? *None* White, *None* Colored, *None*
- Give name and Post Office address of the Teachers,
- How many Sabbath Schools within your knowledge, not reported to the Bureau? *One.*
- How many Teachers (estimated) in such Schools? *About ten* White, *About ten* Colored, *None.*
- Whole amount of tuition paid by colored pupils during the month? *Nothing.*
- Whole expense for your School by Public School Board for the month? *Nothing.*
- Whole expense for your School by the Freedmen's Bureau for the month? *Nothing.*
- State the public sentiment towards Colored Schools, *Improving.*
- Remarks.

A pupil is not to be reported as enrolled until (Signed)  
 or five days' attendance.

*N. G. Bennett - Principal.*

Teacher of Freedmen's School.



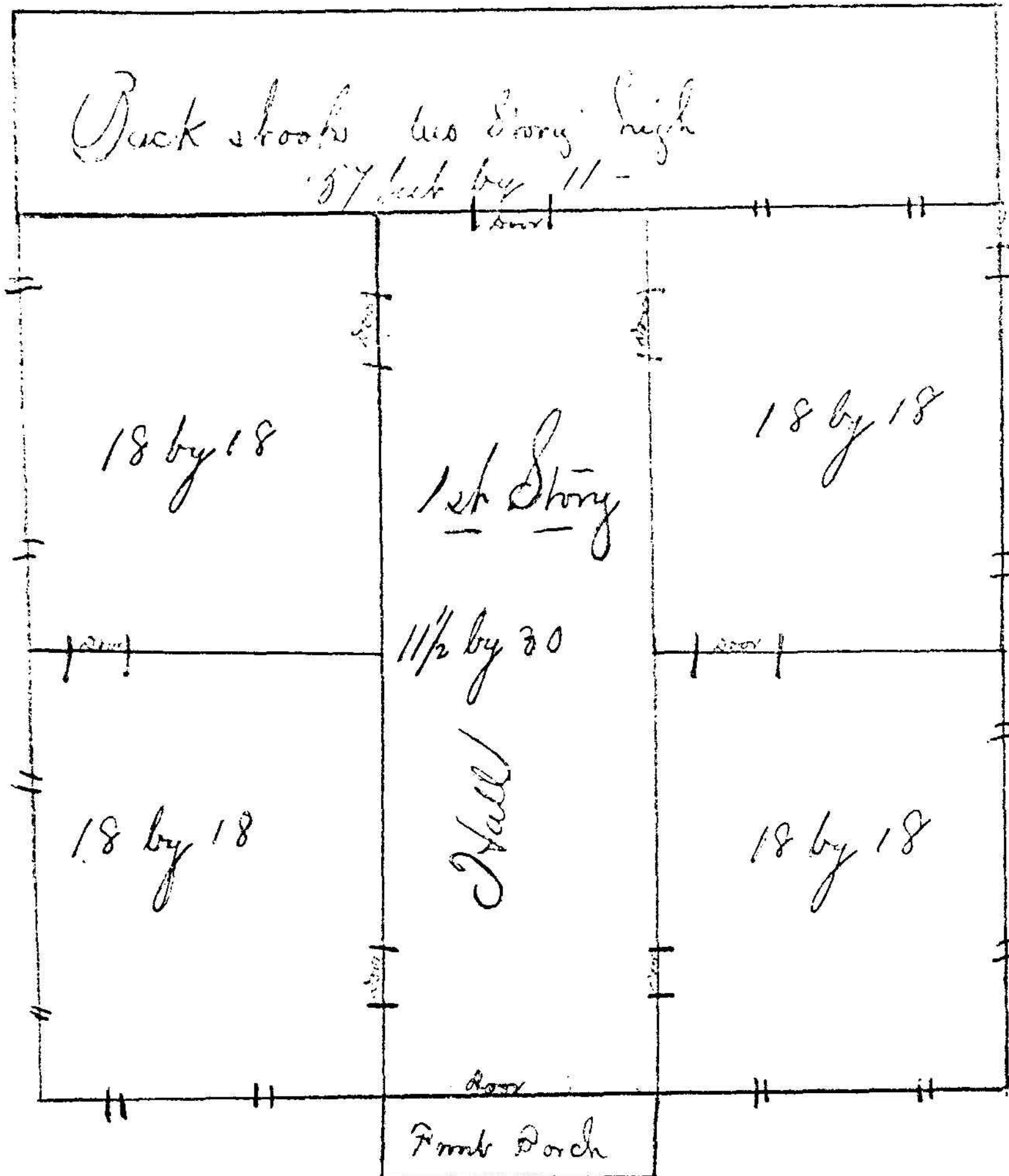
#### APPENDIX D

##### FLOOR PLAN OF LOCKWOOD HOUSE, 1867.

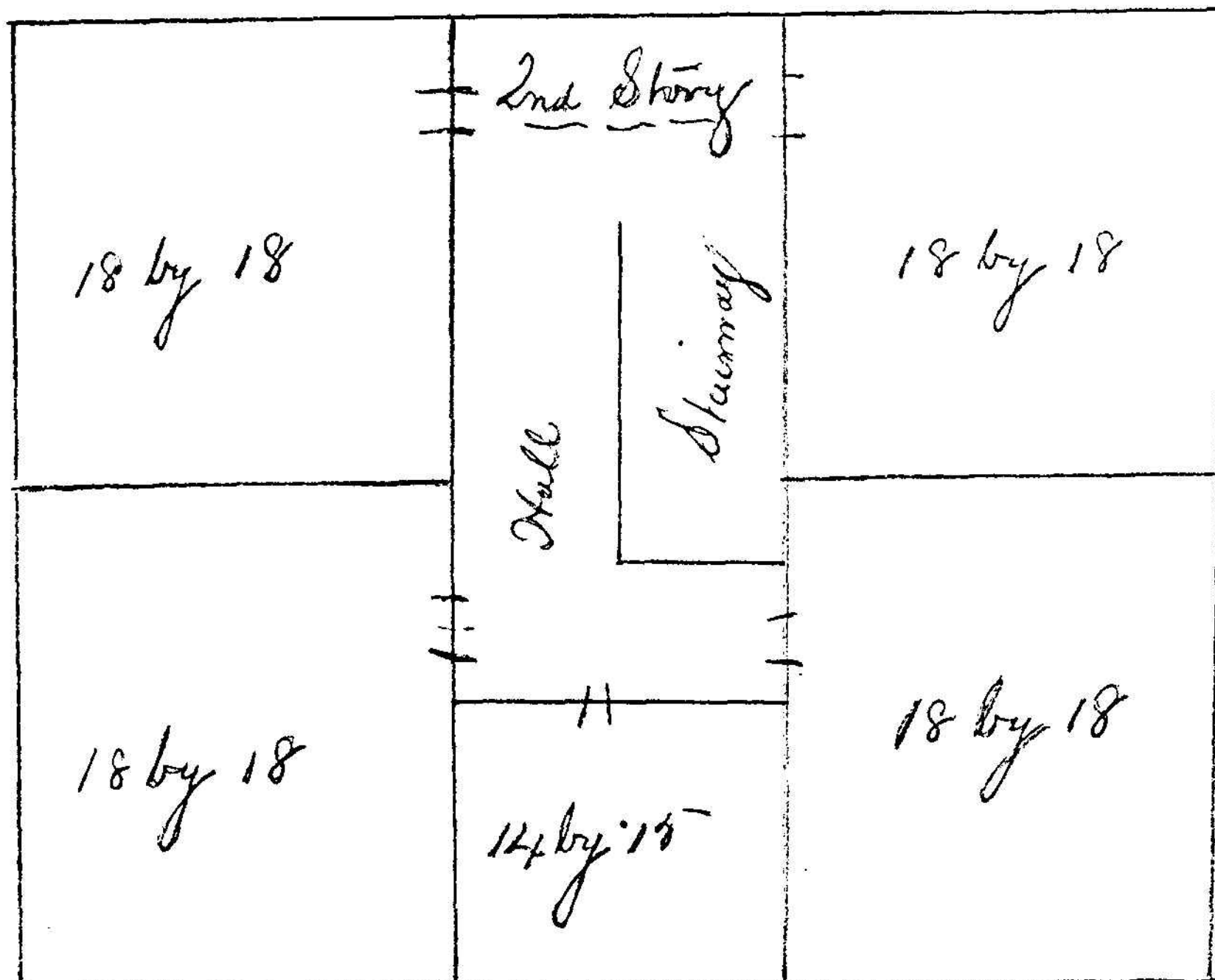
Enclosed with a letter dated April 23, 1867, from Lieutenant A.J. Higgs to the Colonel William H. Rogers of the Freedmen's Bureau was this diagram with the explanation:

"Plan of house occupied by Freedmens School, borne upon the books of the Ordn. Dept. at Washington as 'House No. 32' 'Same as No. 30, formerly Paymaster's Quarters'."

No. 1815, Letters Received, Acting Comm., D.C., 1867, R.G. 105, N.A.



Basement, similar to this floor



APPENDIX E

LIST OF TEXTBOOKS ENTERED IN STORER COLLEGE CATALOGUE, 1870

Sander's Series of Readers

Cornell's Series of Geographies

Greenleaf's Series of Arithmetics

Kerl's Series of Grammars

Webster's Dictionary

Quackenbos's History of the United States

Greenleaf's Algebra

Dalton's Philosophy

Peck's Natural Philosophy

Wayland's Moral Science



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Record Group 156, Office of Chief of Ordnance.

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Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

A collection of correspondence, record books, college catalogues, pamphlets, brochures, written speeches, and various personal memorabilia.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The Lockwood House as Sheridan's Headquarters, 1864

This sketch of the Lockwood House by J.E. Taylor appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper on September 3, 1864.

This oversimplified drawing suggests that the artist favored clarity in the engraving. Architectural details appear out of proportion, simplified or irregular, possibly due to Taylor's haste while sketching.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-341.





## 2. Founders of Storer College

Reverend Nathan Cook Brackett, his wife, Louise Wood Brackett, and his sister, Lura Brackett Lightner, devoted most of their lives to the promotion of Storer College.

Photos from a series of brochures on Storer College among the Storer College Papers.



Rev. N. C. Brackett, Ph. D.



Mrs. N. C. Brackett.



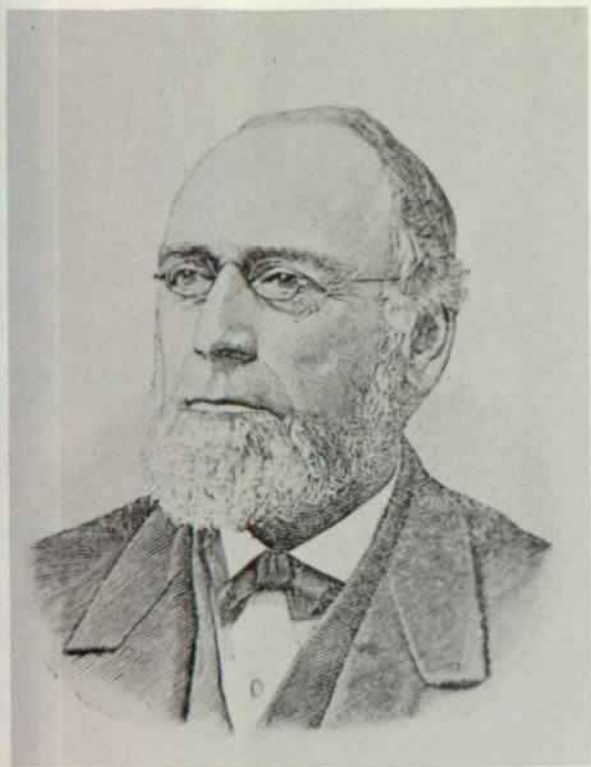
Lura Brackett Lightner.



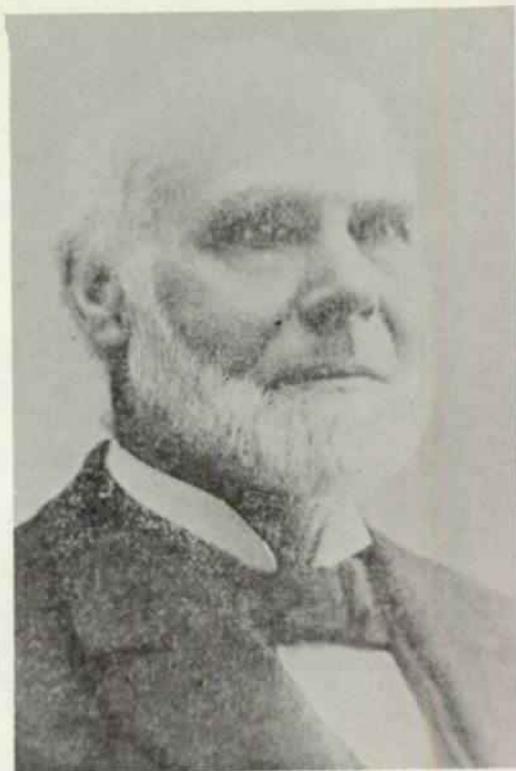
### 3. Founders of Storer College

The Reverend Oren B. Cheney, the Reverend George H. Ball, and the Reverend Alexander Morrell all significantly helped shape the development of Storer College.

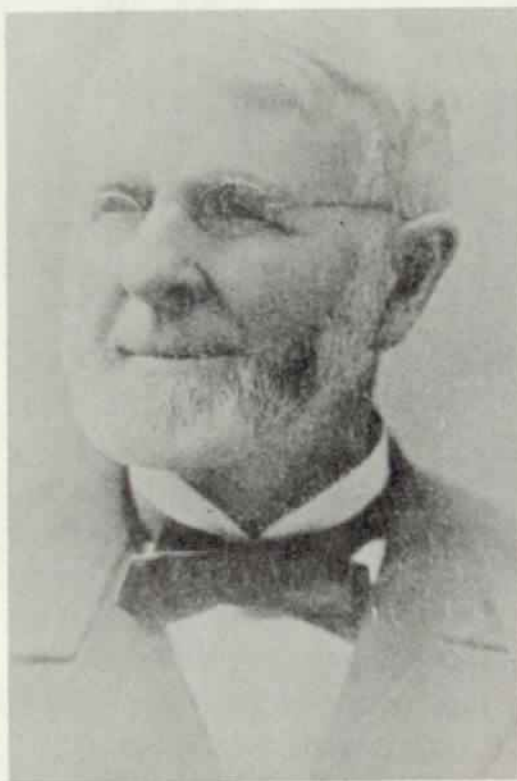
Photos from a series of brochures on Storer College among the Storer College Papers.



Rev. Alexander H. Morrell



Rev. Geo. H. Ball



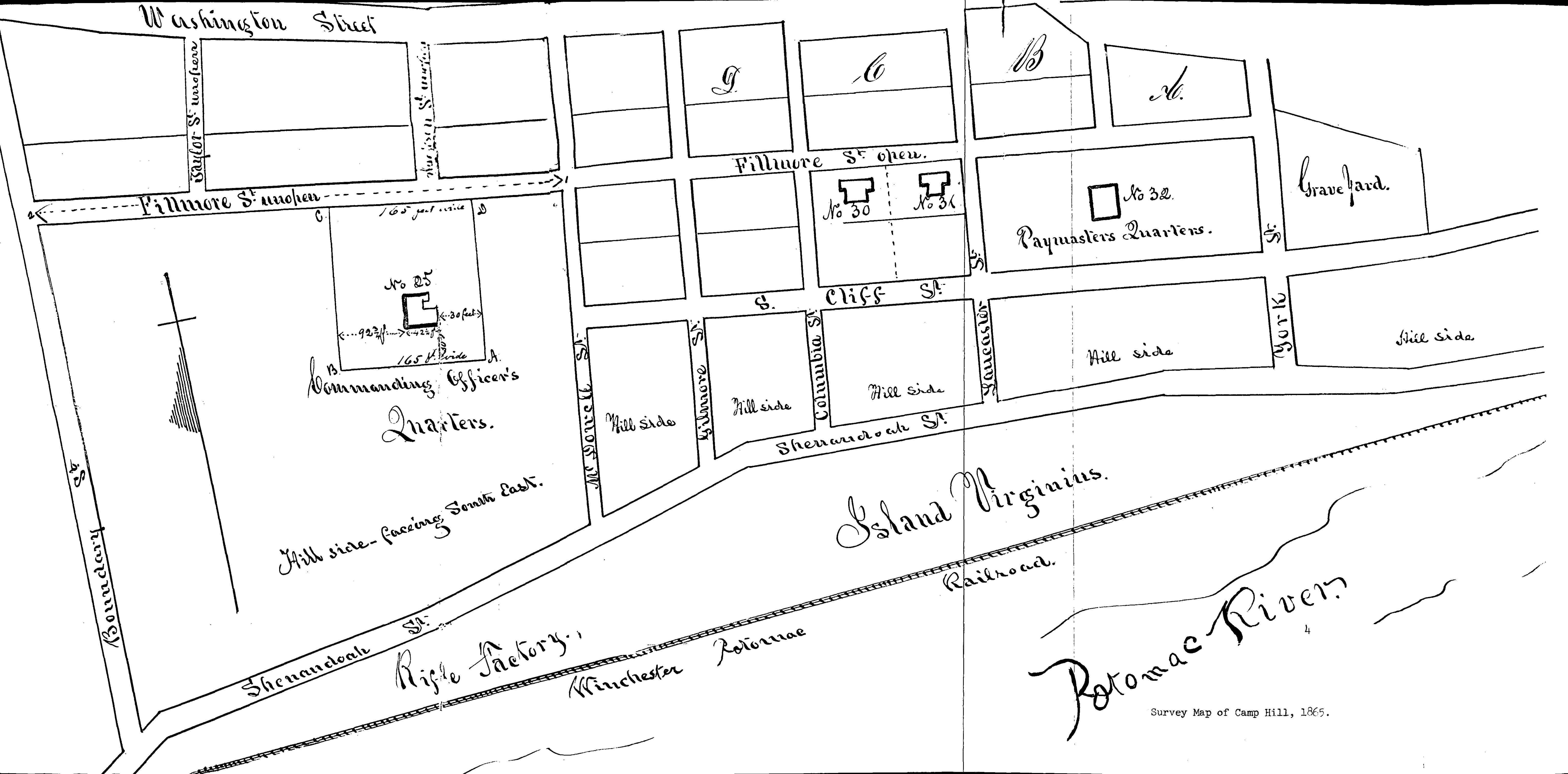
Rev. O.B. Cheney

4. Survey Map of Camp Hill, 1865.

Maps of this type were used to define the property lines for the land requested from Congress as the Storer College Campus, and for the disputes which continued through 1869 over lot boundaries.

File 679 W.D., Box 277, OCO-Document File, 1797-1894, R.G. 156, N.A.





5. Distant View of Lockwood House, Sometime Between 1870-1883.

No specific date has been established for this photograph but the fact that the house has only two stories means the picture predates 1883.

Harpers Ferry Negative No. HF-78.

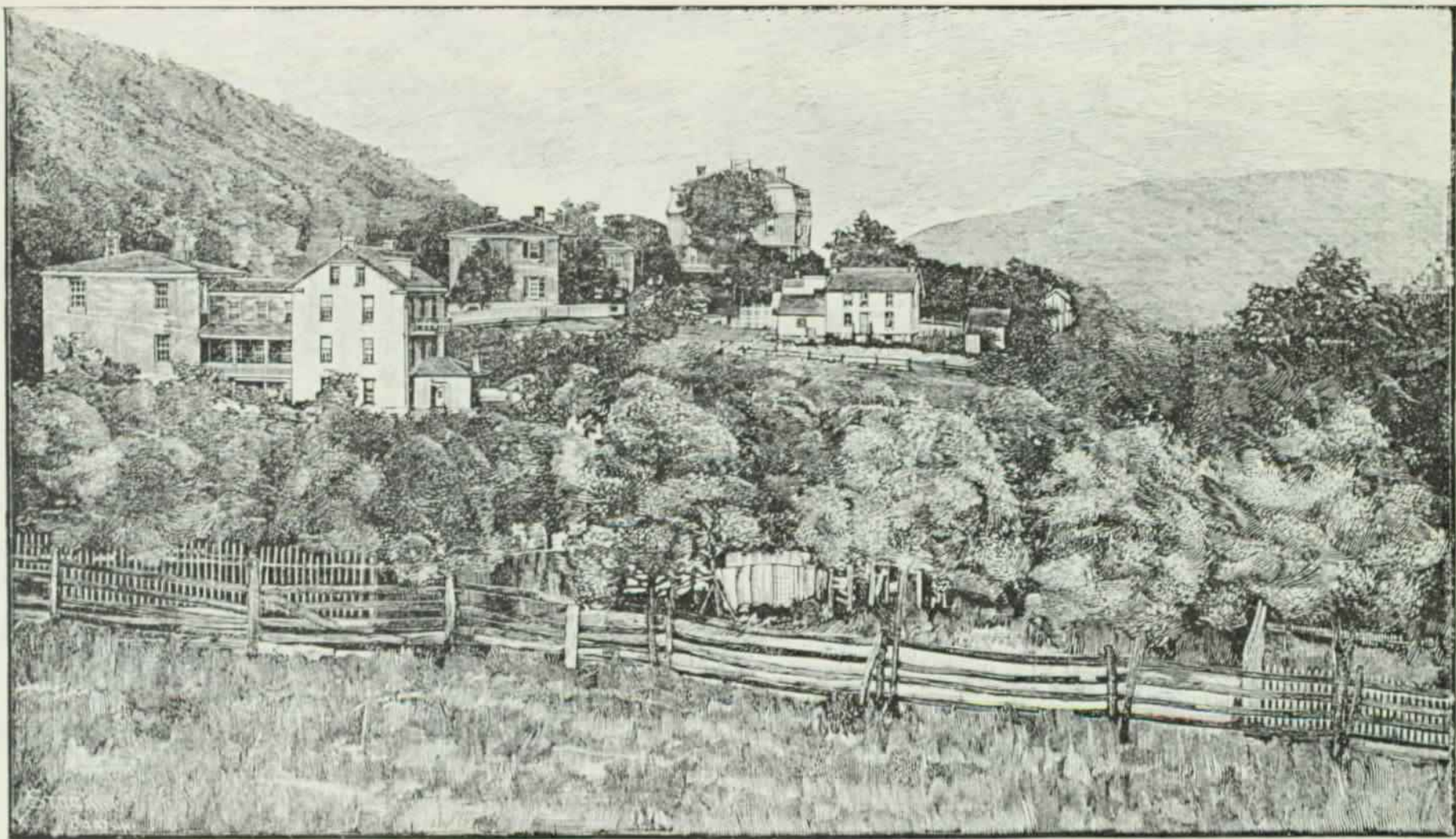




6. The Lockwood House Taken From in Front of Anthony Hall, 1890.

Anthony Hall, one of the main college buildings after 1870, stands across Camp Hill to the west of the Lockwood House. The foreground gives an idea of the natural beauty surrounding the Lockwood House and the other school buildings.

Photo from Historical Sketch by Kate J. Anthony.



7. Lockwood House, West Front, with Mansard Roof, 1913.

In 1883 the college added a third story with ten rooms and a mansard roof to the Lockwood House to make room for more student residents and for more summer boarders. They extended the porch along the north side around the turn of the century.

Photo in Catalogue of Storer College, 1913-1914.





8. Lockwood House from the Northwest, 1958.

Note the absence of the north porch and the second story shutters, and the condition of the front porch railing and second story brickwork.

Photo by Jack Boucher, December 1958.





9. East side of Lockwood House, 1958.

This side of the building, **was**, for a long time, considered the front. Note absence of the portico and shutter and deteriorated condition of the paint. Since 1958, however, the National Park Service has carried out considerable restoration work on the Lockwood House. The third story and the mansard roof have been removed and the building restored to the period when it first housed Storer College.

Photo by Jack Boucher, December 1958.

