

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service  
National Register of Historic Places Registration Form**

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

**1. Name of Property**

Historic name: Concord Quarters

Other names/site number: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of related multiple property listing:

N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

**2. Location**

Street & number: 301 Gayosa Street

City or town: Natchez State: MS County: Adams

Not For Publication:  Vicinity:

**3. State/Federal Agency Certification**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this \_\_\_ nomination \_\_\_ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property \_\_\_ meets \_\_\_ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

\_\_\_ national \_\_\_ statewide **X** local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

**X** A \_\_\_ B **X** C \_\_\_ D

<hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> <b>Signature of certifying official/Title:</b>	<hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> <b>Date</b>
<hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> <b>State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</b>	

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.	
<hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> <b>Signature of commenting official:</b>	<hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> <b>Date</b>
<hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> <b>Title :</b>	
<hr style="border: 0; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> <b>State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</b>	

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**4. National Park Service Certification**

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain:)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of the Keeper

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Action

**5. Classification**

**Ownership of Property**

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private:

Public – Local

Public – State

Public – Federal

**Category of Property**

(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)

District

Site

Structure

Object

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**Number of Resources within Property**

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	buildings
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	sites
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	structures
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	objects
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

**6. Function or Use**

**Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC

Sub: Multiple Dwelling

**Current Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC

Sub: single dwelling

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## 7. Description

### Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Classical Revival

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**Materials:** (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: brick, wood, stucco

### Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and non-contributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

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### Summary Paragraph

The property consists of a two-story, brick ca. 1819 slave quarter. The boundary encompasses 1.54 acres of a former plantation/suburban estate, northeast of downtown Natchez, Mississippi. The slave quarter is a roughly northeast-facing building constructed at the southwestern corner of a larger main house that burned in 1901, along with a similar building at the southeast corner constructed c.1819. The foundations for the mansion and the flanking dependency are evident. Around 1962, a sympathetic addition was added to the quarter's western elevation. Today, the residence is surrounded by lawns and gardens and rests among mature trees and plantings, such as cedar, oak, pecan and crepe myrtle.

### Narrative Description

Concord Quarter is a single residential structure that consists of a ca. 1819 core with a ca. 1962 addition. The original slave quarter is a rectangular, single-pile, two-story brick building with a hipped roof over a full-width two-tiered gallery supported by 5 giant order Tuscan columns. The bricks are laid in a common bond with 4 to 6 rows of stretchers laid between rows of headers. On the original eastern façade, which faced a courtyard behind Concord's main house, the asymmetrical, 6-bay fenestration consists of a single-leaf door in the first, fourth, fifth and sixth bay positions and a 6/6 double hung sash wood window in the remaining bays. The arrangement is repeated on the second floor. Exterior doors on both levels have six-panel leaves with beaded stiles and rails and are surmounted with simple five-light transoms. The panels are flush on the front and recessed on the rear. Inside, the doors have conventional Neoclassical single architraves. All window and door casings in the original section of the buildings are set in openings with radiating brick headers. Window frames are plain except for single beads at the corners. Exterior shutters were previously hung on straps turning on plinths with iron plates screwed to the face of the window frames.

The five brick columns are covered in stucco and rise directly to support the roof, creating an 8'-deep porch. There is no entablature, a treatment which once mirrored that of the main house's portico and surrounding galleries. The brick columns have gently flared bases resting on low rising, square plinths that are set on the ground. The second floor gallery once featured a simple wooden balustrade that has been replaced with a modern cast iron railing. The ceilings on the gallery are simple tongue and groove boards. The north elevation of the original structure features two over two bays of 6/6 sash windows. The south elevation of the original structure features a centrally placed, 6/6 sash window on each floor.

Originally, the structure was roofed with wooden shake shingles, although HABS photographs from the 1930s reveal that by that time the roof was standing seam metal. During the 1960s addition, the roof was modified on the original structure.

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The modification extended the roof out creating a more significant overhang adding additional protection to the eaves. Today, the roof is covered in plywood decking with sheets of asphalt shingles

The interior of the original portion of the quarter contains six rooms (3 up and 3 down) and a stairhall. The ceiling heights downstairs are 9'8" while upstairs they are only slightly lower at 9' 6". Upper rooms are slightly larger but only because the wall thickness is diminished. On the southern end on both floors, two roughly 14 x 18 ft. rooms that share a common chimney. The back to back hearths and flues are constructed of brick laid in a clay mortar. The fireplaces have Greek and slightly Gothic mantles which appear to be mid-19<sup>th</sup> century additions. The stairhall is roughly 8' x 18' and is lighted only by the door transom. . The open-string stair with square balusters and round rail rises along the southern wall and reaches a landing before turning to the east. The remaining room on the north end measures roughly 12' x 18' and has no fireplace. The stairwell is located between the two rooms with common fireplace to the left and a room to the right. The rooms all contain beaded baseboards and crown moldings, and all interior walls are covered in plaster.

On the western elevation is the sympathetic 1962 addition to the original building that created a new street-facing facade. The addition consists of a one-story, five bay hipped roof wing featuring a central single leaf entrance with 3 pane sidelights. The first and fifth bays contain 6/6 sash windows while the second and fourth bays contain smaller 6/3 sash windows. The entrance is sheltered by a projecting gable roof porch supported by two simple square posts. The one story wing is surmounted by a large centrally placed, three-bay gabled-roof dormer. The dormer is stuccoed and embellished with classical pilasters framing the three 6/6 sash windows. Two original 6/6 sash windows flank the central dormer. A simple, gable-roofed entrance porch supported by simple wooden posts is located on the northern elevation of the addition. This elevation has a 4-light entrance door and a 3/6 light sash window. The southern elevation of the addition contains two 6/6 sash windows.

The 1962 addition contains a kitchen, living room and master bedroom downstairs and two bathrooms upstairs.

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### 8. Statement of Significance

#### Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

#### Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

#### Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Architecture  
Ethnic Heritage: Black

#### Period of Significance

1819-1863

#### Significant Dates

ca. 1819, 1863

#### Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

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N/A  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Cultural Affiliation**  
N/A  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Architect/Builder**  
unknown  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph** (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The circa 1819 brick slave quarter at Concord in Natchez, Mississippi is eligible for its local significance to the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A, as it is associated with the broad pattern of local history relating to slavery and African American heritage, and under Criterion C, as it embodies the distinctive characteristics of early Natchez architecture and methods of slave quarter construction. The period of significance ranges from 1819 to 1863, reflecting the building's use as a slave quarter from the time of construction until the occupation of Natchez by Federal troops on July 13, 1863.

The building is the survivor of two such dependencies erected at Concord that established in the Natchez District the formal plan of flanking rear outbuildings forming a central courtyard, a plan used at several plantations and urban settings in the region. The quarter is one of a dwindling number of extant slave quarters in the Natchez region and while slightly altered, retains a significant amount of historic fabric and is an excellent example of the most elite early 19<sup>th</sup> century slave quarters in Mississippi. It also reflects the influence of prevailing national architectural styles on vernacular building types, i.e. the use of full height, giant order Tuscan columns on a simple brick building. Concord quarter is in its original location, although today it is surrounded by a late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century neighborhood rather than the expansive fields and pasture it commanded when it was originally constructed. Nevertheless, the quarter retains integrity of location, design, materials, feeling and association, and is in excellent condition.

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**Narrative Statement of Significance** (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

**HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

**Slavery in the Natchez District**

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Natchez, Mississippi was one of the principal commercial, cultural, and social centers in the cotton belt of the American South. Produced by thousands of plantation-based slaves, cotton generated a concentration of power and wealth in Natchez that was unparalleled in other Southern towns of comparable size. Nowhere was the slave economy more firmly established, and Natchez had the second-largest slave market in the nation. At the same time, almost half of Mississippi's entire free African-American population resided in Natchez during the antebellum period. The antebellum lifestyle is interpreted in more than two dozen historic houses open to the public in Natchez, and the city is nationally significant both for the concentration and the survival of so many buildings, structures, and objects associated with this period of American history.<sup>1</sup>

From the founding of Fort Rosalie by the French in 1716, the population of the Natchez area included African slaves, and, while John Law's Company of the Indies controlled the Natchez District, the number of African slaves greatly increased. In 1723, the population of the Natchez settlement was 303, including 111 slaves. By 1727, the population had more than doubled, to 713, including 280 slaves. This rapid increase resulted in the 1724 adoption of Bienville's "Code Noire," or Black Code, to regulate slavery. The intent of the code was to prohibit cruelty and define constraints. It forbade the separation of husbands and wives and of children under fourteen from their mothers, but it also restricted slaves from congregating, drinking, and carrying weapons.<sup>2</sup>

Although slave labor was an important part of overall agricultural production in Natchez since 1716, the tremendous growth of the enslaved population after 1800 was due to the rapid expansion of the region's cotton economy. In 1800, the year of the first United States census in the Mississippi Territory, the number of slaves was 3,489. Within the first decade of the territorial period, the number of slaves had grown to 17,088, an increase of almost 400 percent. In contrast, the population of the City of Natchez increased only modestly between 1800 and 1860, rising from 2,184 to 6,612. One of the watersheds in the history of African enslavement occurred during the territorial period in 1808, with the enactment of the federal law that prohibited the importation of slaves. As lands wore out in the older eastern states and the demands for slaves increased in the Deep South, the number of the slaves being transported from states like Virginia and the Carolinas steadily increased. The 1808 ban on importation caused a boom in the demand for American-born slaves to supply the needs of cotton planters in the Deep South. According the historian Charles Sydnor, "In Mississippi the supply of slaves seldom equaled the demand ... Mississippians bought many slaves from other States [sic] but exported relatively few."<sup>3</sup>

Natchez probably had the only permanent slave market in Mississippi during the territorial period, although more or less permanent markets were later established in towns like Vicksburg. During the colonial and early territorial periods, slave sales were held at the landing and throughout the town, but by the early 1790s, more slave transactions began to take place at the Forks-of-the-Road slave markets on the outskirts of town. According to historian D. Clayton James, the slave markets at Natchez (Forks-of-the-Road) and New Orleans (located across the river in Algiers) became the two busiest slave markets in the entire South.<sup>4</sup>

As the need for and dependence on slave labor increased and as abolitionist sentiment grew in the North, planters became increasingly defensive about slavery. During the early statehood period, many Natchez politicians and wealthy planters

<sup>1</sup> Ann Beha Associates, Inc. *Natchez National Historical Park Historic Resource Survey* (National Park Service, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens*, (1880; reprint, Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1978), 40.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1933) p. 133, 186. D. Clayton James, *Antebellum Natchez* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 197.

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still admitted the evils of slavery, as they had in the colonial and territorial periods. In 1818, George Poindexter noted that slavery for Mississippians was "not a matter of choice .... We found them here, and we are obliged to maintain and employ them. It would be a blessing could we get rid of them; but the wisest and best men among us have not been able to devise a plan for doing it." In 1828, Governor Gerard Brandon of Adams County stated, "Slavery is an evil at best..." Expressions of such sentiments became increasingly rare during succeeding decades.<sup>5</sup>

Slaves in the Natchez District were found on plantations, townhouses, and the suburban estates that ringed the city's downtown, just outside the city limits. More is known about the lives of town slaves than about those who worked in the cotton fields, because the planters, whose writings provide most of the historical record, themselves typically had very little contact with field hands. In the decades leading to the Civil War, more and more field hands were supervised by overseers managing plantations for absentee planters, who often owned several plantations and lived, for the most part, near town and away from the source of their growing wealth. In the 1850s, seventy-three percent of the enslaved people in Adams County lived on plantations of fifty or more slaves, and the majority of slaves owned by the wealthiest Natchez area planters did not even live in Adams County. Many lived across the Mississippi River on plantations in the fertile flatlands of Louisiana, upriver or downriver in Mississippi, or as far away as Texas and Arkansas. These people were, according to Joseph Holt Ingraham, "secluded in the solitude of an extensive plantation, which is their world, beyond whose horizon they know nothing."<sup>6</sup>

In contrast, antebellum accounts document that town slaves socialized with each other, with house servants from suburban villas, and, to a lesser extent, with house servants on plantations. William Johnson, a free man of color known as the Barber of Natchez, records parties held for slaves, including "darkey balls," wedding parties, and social events at the mansions of slave owners and at hotels. Town slaves and suburban slaves both enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom in their movement around town. In writing to his wife about a possible slave insurrection in 1861, William Ker noted "that this trouble ought to be a sad lesson to those people about Natchez, who have always allowed their servants to run wild." The notion that town slaves enjoyed a great deal of freedom is documented in William Johnson's diary. Frequently, Johnson would have to fetch his slave Steven from the town jail after a night of drunken carousing.<sup>7</sup>

Town slaves lived in detached dependency buildings, second stories, and basement rooms on the property of both commercial buildings and residences in downtown Natchez. Typical among the surviving detached dependency buildings are the two-story buildings with a kitchen room below and the slave quarters on the second story. At grand mansion-scaled townhouses, multiple slaves typically lived in the second story of attached kitchen wings. Town slaves also occupied small frame dwellings on the grounds of townhouses with generous lots, but these have almost disappeared from downtown Natchez. The existence of other small frame buildings that were possibly residential buildings for town slaves, is documented in deed book maps, surveys, and Sanborn Insurance Maps.<sup>8</sup>

Based on the English country house model, the grand suburban estates of Natchez typically contained a villa and a collection of support structures or dependencies. These included kitchens, dairies, laundries, privies, storerooms, barns, stables, poultry houses, and of course, slave cabins or quarters. Together, these outbuildings were important to the daily preparation of meals and the general upkeep of the estate. Often, these buildings were arranged to create a courtyard behind the main house, the primary space in which domestic slaves performed their many household chores. Domestic

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<sup>5</sup> Claiborne, 386.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Holt Ingraham, *Southwest by a Yankee*, Vol. II (New York: Harper, 1835) 2:54

<sup>7</sup> Winthrop Jordan, *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek, An Inquiry into a Civil War Slave Conspiracy* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University, 1993), 321.

<sup>8</sup> Beha, 91.

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slaves spent a considerable amount of time in detached kitchens preparing the day's meals and were often quartered in spaces directly above the cooking space. Slaves who did not have duties in the mansion house, often resided in cabins closer to their work, such as the vegetable gardens and the paddock areas.

The house servants at the suburban villas of Natchez represented approximately twenty percent of the Adams County enslaved population and, along with the slaves associated with the townhouses, constituted the highest level of slave society in Mississippi. Nonetheless, remnants of the slave-bell systems that survive at some houses are tangible reminders that these favored house servants were at the beck and call of their owners. Information about the lives and number of slaves at Natchez suburban villa estates can be gleaned from a review of the McMurrin family correspondence and tax roll information. In 1848, when the family moved into the main house at the suburban estate, Melrose, they had seventeen slaves on the property; by 1861, they had twenty-five slaves there. Family letters also mention the names of various slaves, as well as make reference to their health, their roles in the household, and social functions held for them.<sup>9</sup>

The end of slavery in the Natchez District came with the Union occupation of Natchez, and thousands of slaves fled from suburban estates and plantations far and wide into the town. Many of the able-bodied Freedmen enlisted in the Union army. Others lived in refugee barracks, referred to as contraband camps. The barracks were located at Natchez Under-the-Hill north of the estate known as Magnolia Vale along the river and at the slave markets at the Forks of the Road. According to Mary Conway Shields Dunbar, "old black men, women, and children were quartered north of Magnolia Vale and able bodied black men, including a 'Negro regiment' were quartered at the Forks of the Road." She noted that sometimes twenty a day would die in the contrabands barracks and many were buried in "General Quitman's nearby enclosure." During the summer of 1863, the contraband camp housed as many as 4,000 refugees and by the fall of that year, 2,000 had died of disease. Of the 3,270 former slaves who had joined the United States Colored Troops and were stationed in Natchez for the duration of the war, approximately 830 died from disease.<sup>10</sup> While many slaves perished in the contraband camps of Natchez or while serving in the United States army, many Freedmen remained at the plantations, townhouses and suburban estates of Natchez, occupying the same living quarters in which they had resided when they were enslaved.<sup>11</sup>

**Concord Significance**

According to Spanish legal records, 1790s correspondence, and an 1850 United States Supreme Court case, Spanish Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos built the great house at Concord Plantation in 1794-1795. Gayoso bought a tract of land in 1794 about a mile and a half from Fort Rosalie "to build thereupon a house" and "to raise the commodities" to support a family. Desiring additional land for pasture, he successfully petitioned for a Spanish grant to enlarge his property to one thousand acres. This land, purchased and granted in 1794, constituted the original Concord property.<sup>12</sup>

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, the son of a Spanish consul, was born in Portugal and served as governor from 1789 to 1797. Educated in Great Britain, Gayoso spoke fluent English and French and was immensely popular and influential among the Tories who had flocked to the region on the eve of the American Revolution. Gayoso's contributions to Natchez have been long lasting. He completed the platting of the grid plan of the town, creating a public commons, or park, overlooking

<sup>9</sup> Beha, 92.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 126.

<sup>11</sup> Map of the Defenses of Natchez, Historic Natchez Foundation; Mary Conway Shields Dunbar, *My Mother used to say: a Natchez belle of the sixties* (Christopher Pub. House, 1959), 183.

<sup>12</sup> *Robinson v. Minor*, 51 U. S. 627 (1850) This court case establishes the acquisition of the Concord property and the chain of title from Manuel de Lemos Gayoso to Stephen Minor and his heirs.

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the Mississippi River. He instituted zoning and required licenses for taverns. He created militias and the city's first police force, and he was also interested in sanitation, fire protection and roads.<sup>13</sup>

Gayoso was eulogized as having "an excellent and generous heart, a liberal mind, and an enlightened understanding." A practitioner of "banquet diplomacy," Gayoso lived large and entertained in the grand manner at Concord. Years later, one travel writer noted that there was a certain "Natchez nostalgia" for the Spanish period of its history: "The yoke of their government sat easy on the neck of the Anglo Americans who lived under it, and they still speak of the Spanish time as the golden age." Early settler George Willy extolled the virtues of Gayoso and reminisced that "The mild, paternal rule of the good governor makes an old man revert with pleasure to the scenes of his youth, and even at times to regret the change of government."<sup>14</sup>

Manuel Gayoso was married three times. His first wife, Theresa, was Portuguese and died in 1790, the year after he arrived in Natchez. In 1792, Gayoso married Elizabeth Watts, an American who died three months after the marriage. Later, rumors circulated that Gayoso was keeping a mistress in Natchez and had built a house for her. That residence, of course, was the much-celebrated house known as Concord.<sup>15</sup>

In the 1790s, Natchez was a village of perhaps some eighty-five houses, and the largest of these was Concord. Travel writer Fortesque Cuming described Natchez before 1810 as looking like St. John's, Antigua, due to what he perceived as a Caribbean architectural influence. Indeed, the main house at Concord reflected a common architectural form that developed in the West Indies, along the Gulf Coast, and up the lower Mississippi River Valley. This type is primarily identified by a distinctive roof shape: a central gable roof with shed attachments extending out over the galleries or porches. The original Concord house was similar to many houses of the era, a large frame cottage raised on a tall brick basement and surrounded by wide galleries. These houses were typically wider than they were deep, often merely consisting of a single file of rooms to facilitate cross ventilation. The galleries shaded the exterior walls and took the place of interior hallways, so often a stair was located on the open galleries. When completed, the original Concord probably resembled a house known today as The House on Ellicott Hill (215 N. Canal St, NHL), constructed for James Moore in the 1790s on a hillside overlooking the Mississippi River in downtown Natchez.<sup>16</sup>

In 1797, Gayoso became Governor-General of Louisiana and West Florida and by March of 1798, the Spanish had relinquished control of Natchez. In July, 1797, Gayoso's mistress, Margaret Watts, the sister of his second wife, gave birth to a son, Fernando, and the couple soon left Natchez for New Orleans where Gayoso assumed his duties as governor. On Sunday, December 10, 1797, the Bishop of Louisiana "baptized young Fernando and married his parents on the same day." The marriage and baptism occurred in St. Louis Cathedral where Gayoso was soon buried beneath the altar after dying of yellow fever in 1799. Gayoso's widow sold Concord a month after his death, and it changed ownership twice before Stephen Minor acquired the property in 1800 for \$10,000.<sup>17</sup>

Stephen Minor served as a Captain in the Spanish Army and as the Secretary to Manuel Gayoso. For his invaluable service to the Spanish government, Minor received generous land grants which he turned into nine very productive plantations. He also sold the tract atop the bluffs which would become the city of Natchez to Carlos de Grand-Pre, the

<sup>13</sup> Jack D. L. Holmes, *Gayoso: The Life of a Spanish Governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799* (Baton Rouge, 1965), 18-19. D. Clayton James, *Antebellum Natchez* (Baton Rouge, 1968), 32-33, 59, 240.

<sup>14</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*. Jack D. L. Holmes, *Gallant Emissary: The Political Career of Manuel Gayoso de Lemos in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1959).

<sup>15</sup> *Robinson v. Minor*.

<sup>16</sup> James, 169-170.

<sup>17</sup> *Robinson v. Minor*.

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district's supreme military and civil authority under Gayoso. Stephen Minor served as the first president of the Bank of Mississippi from 1797 to 1815 and became one of Natchez's richest residents. During his tenancy at Concord, he played host to a number of celebrated individuals, including Lafayette, Aaron Burr, and Winthrop Sargent.<sup>18</sup>

Stephen Minor died in 1815 and his widow, Katherine Lintot Minor, added the distinctive columned portico, curving steps, and columned side galleries in 1819. Katherine had written a letter to her brother-in-law, John Minor, and "enclosed a plan of the stairs wanted for the front of her house" so he could secure materials while on business in the northern states. Notations in John Minor's account books at Louisiana State University refer to the arrival of slabs of marble and the addition of the curving marble steps and iron railings in April, 1819, just in time for the marriage of Katherine's daughter, Frances, to Henry Chotard in May of that year. Indeed, notations in the margins of Minor's account book note that house was remodeled specifically in preparation for that event.<sup>19</sup>

Natchez builder, W. D. Klapp, who lived at Concord in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, provides us with the best description of Concord as it appeared after it was remodeled.

The curving set of marble stairs terminates on the upper gallery in a slab of marble about 10x6 feet. The ground floor entrance between the curving stairs consists of a vestibule paved with alternate squares of white and black marble. The recessed entrance door is richly carved and opens into a broad hall extending the depth of the house. Three large rooms flank the broad hall. Five flights of stairs provide access to the upper story and consist of the two flights on the exterior façade and one with the galleries on each side of the house and one inside stair located in the central hallway. The second story consists of one gigantic ballroom across the front of the house with folding doors opening onto the upper gallery; three rooms span the rear portion of the second story. Two staircases lead to the attic story which consists of three very large rooms. The center room features an interesting space defined by wooden bars that extend from floor to ceiling about "half way across the middle room of the attic."<sup>20</sup>

The design and construction of the distinctive portico and surrounding columned gallery at Concord can be attributed to Natchez carpenter and builder John Muncie. Again, Minor's account books reference Muncie as working at Concord from 1818 through 1824, along with Joseph Sylvester, who was paid in 1819, for "painting the upper part of the dwelling house and painting and setting 248 panes of glass in the brick house." The distinctive portico at Concord, with the giant order Tuscan columns supporting the pediment of the house, is almost identical to the one at Gloucester, the Federal mansion that was purchased by James Wilkins and Catherine Minor after their marriage in 1824. Catherine was the daughter of Stephen and Katherine Minor and no doubt the newlyweds engaged the same builder to add the portico to their house as well. The main houses at both Concord and Gloucester feature a pediment with oval window resting directly on top of the columns; there is no entablature between the capitals and the base of the pediment.<sup>21</sup>

In his 1835 account, *The South-West. By a Yankee*, Joseph Holt Ingraham described Concord:

The road [St. Catherine St.], for the first mile after leaving town, passed through a charming country, seen at intervals, and between long lines of unpainted, wretched looking dwellings, occupied as "groggeries," by free negroes, or poor emigrants. The contrast between the miserable buildings and their squalid occupants and the rich woodlands beyond them on either side among whose noble trees rose the white columns and lofty roofs of elegant villas, was certainly very great, but far from agreeable. On a hill a short distance from

<sup>18</sup> Stanley Nelson, "Stephen Minor in Frontier Natchez," *Concordia Sentinel*, Mar 5, 2014.

<sup>19</sup> John Minor, *Account Books, 1815-1824*, Minor Family Papers, Special Collections: Louisiana State University.

<sup>20</sup> W. D. Klapp, "Concord, A Relic of Spanish Days", *Times Democrat* [New Orleans], May 28, 1893.

<sup>21</sup> Minor, *Account Books*.

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the road the “Orphan Asylum” was pointed out to me...Some distance beyond the asylum, to the left, a fine view of groves and green hills, presenting a prospect strikingly resembling English park scenery, terminated in the roof and columns of a “southern palace” rising above rich woods and ever-green foliage—the residence of the family of a late distinguished officer under the Spanish regime. These massive structures, with double colonnades and spacious galleries, peculiar to the opulent southern planter, are numerous in the neighborhoods of Natchez, but they date back to the great cotton era, when fortunes were made almost in a single season.<sup>22</sup>



*Concord, ca. 1890, George Malin Davis Kelly Collection, Historic Natchez Foundation  
D. Simmons, Photographer*

*L.*

The reference to the brick house in the contract with Joseph Sylvester may indicate that at least one of the two flanking dependencies, with giant order Tuscan columns that complimented those on the house’s new portico, was constructed at this time. Importantly, at Concord, we see for the first time in Natchez, the construction of pairs of detached, flanking dependencies or outbuildings to the rear of the main house. Introduced at Concord, this formal, symmetrical arrangement of structures that housed activities to support the lifestyle of the occupants of the main house, will be repeated at a number of suburban villas and townhouses in Natchez, including D’evereux, Lansdowne, Montebello, and Oakland. This arrangement will be fully developed at Melrose, a suburban estate where one finds a symmetrical arrangement of flanking two-story dependencies, octagonal cistern covers, a storehouse and privy, creating a sense of order and formality in a utilitarian workspace. These two-story buildings contained rooms such as kitchens, pantries, laundries, and slave quarters.<sup>23</sup>

At the remaining Concord quarter, the floorplan for both levels consists of three rooms and a stairhall and was intended to house six enslaved families or other residents. As with many two-story quarters, a relatively unified exterior encloses

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Holt Ingraham, *Southwest by a Yankee*, Vol. II (New York: Harper, 1835) p. 109.

<sup>23</sup> Minor, *Account Books*.

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rooms that were unequal in size, light, and heat. Originally, access to all six spaces was solely from the gallery; there were no interior connecting doors. Essentially, these rooms acted as separate cells. The interior stairhall at Concord provided access to the upstairs gallery only. The two rooms on the southern end, those furthest from the main house, share a fireplace. This arrangement is similar to the kitchen dependency at Melrose, which originally contained three rooms on both levels, accessed solely from the gallery and by an exterior staircase. At Melrose, the single room downstairs, without a fireplace, served as a pantry while the two rooms that shared a fireplace (also furthest from the main house), served as kitchens. At Concord, this brick dependency – due to the high level of interior finishes - is thought to have been slave quarters, rather than kitchens or pantries. Too, the chimneys here are too small to have accommodated the fires necessary for cooking and the preparation of meals. Nevertheless, the upstairs rooms at both sites – Melrose and Concord - no doubt served as living quarters for enslaved servants.<sup>24</sup>

In 1820, by the time the first major renovations at Concord had been completed, Katherine Minor owned 147 slaves, 90 males and 57 females. Sixty-two were under the age of 14, forty-six were between the ages of 14 and 25, twenty-six were between the ages of 26 and 44, and thirteen were over the age of 45. After Katherine Minor's death in 1844, an *Inventory of the effects of the deceased, Mrs. K. Minor of Concord* was compiled. A list of over 120 slaves – including names, ages, and values - was included in that inventory. Concord slaves used the surnames of Morton, Franklin, Lewis, Thompson, Perkins, Williams, Hamilton, Garrett, and others. Values ranged from \$50 to \$700. Unfortunately, there is no identification of those who worked in the main house and therefore, might have lived in the dependency. The main slave quarter for those working on the plantation was located some distance northeast of the main house, east of the Pine Ridge Road, adjoining a parcel identified as a cow pasture.<sup>25</sup> That quarter is non-extant.

Upon Katherine Minor's death, Concord Plantation was divided into 4 parts among her three children. Catherine Wilkins originally owned parcel C, which included the main house. Her brother, William J. Minor, however, soon purchased the tract from her. An American planter, slave owner, and banker in the antebellum South, Minor (1808-1869) was educated in Philadelphia and served as the second President of the Agricultural Bank in Natchez. The Minors were prominent Unionists during the Civil War. Although he lived at Concord, Minor's greatest assets were three large sugar plantations in Ascension and Terrebonne parishes in Louisiana, worked by 313 slaves. In 1860, his real estate in Louisiana alone was worth \$125,000 while his personal estate was valued at \$200,000. With Minor's primary agricultural concerns in Louisiana, Concord may have become more a suburban estate than a working plantation. Period maps show the estate surrounded by pastures and cornfields and by 1860, there were only 43 slaves at Concord and 14 were under the age of 12. Minor's real estate holdings in Adams County for that year were valued at \$150,000, which was probably the value of Concord, itself.<sup>26</sup>

The shift from working plantation to suburban estate is also evident in the fact that even prior to 1860, the Minor family began selling lots on the edge of their Concord estate. The suburban estate, Shadyside and its former gardens (107 Shadyside Street, NR), which lay to the southwest, was one of the first parcels sold. In 1890, Dr. Stephen Kelly of New York purchased Concord from the heirs of William J. Minor. Kelly had family ties to Natchez and in 1873, he had married Julia Davis whose parents owned the great Natchez townhouse known as Choctaw. By 1866, the Davises had also purchased Melrose, the great suburban estate which today is owned by the National Park Service. Initially, Dr. Kelly had plans to practice medicine in Natchez but after the deaths of both his father-in-law and his wife in 1883, Kelly, with his young son, George, returned to New York City. It is unclear why Dr. Kelly purchased the Concord tract from the

<sup>24</sup> Ed Chappell and Carl Lounsbury, *Notes on Concord Quarter* (MDAH, unpublished, 2018).

<sup>25</sup> *Inventory of the effects of the deceased, Mrs. K. Minor of Concord*, Natchez, Adams County, Mississippi, Inventory papers. Map of the Defenses of Natchez, 1864. Historic Natchez Foundation.

<sup>26</sup> 1820 and 1860 U. S. Free and Slave census, Natchez, Adams County, Mississippi and 1860 U. S. Free and Slave census, Ascension and Terrebonne Parishes, Louisiana.

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Minor heirs in 1890. He and his son already owned three of the great Natchez houses - Melrose, Choctaw and Concord - but in October of that year, he purchased what remained of the Concord property, including the 10 acres surrounding the remaining dependency and outbuildings.<sup>27</sup>

During Dr. Kelly's absence, Georgie Eidt, the estate manager, supervised the Kelly holdings in Natchez and Louisiana and Concord became a rental property. Subsequent sales and the laying out of streets created nearby Woodlawn and the surrounding Minorville, two historically African-American neighborhoods. In Minorville, which obviously takes its name from the Minor family of Concord, streets such as Vidal, LaSalle and Monette were named for early settlers and explorers. The Kelly family's importance to the development of the area is recognized with a street bearing their name. Indeed, Minor Street and its surrounding area really began to solidify as an African-American neighborhood after Dr. Kelly's purchase of the property. In 1901, George Kelly and his wife, Ethel, visited Natchez to inspect the various properties he had inherited from his grandparents and his mother. Eventually, through a series of property and land swaps, Dr. Kelly would transfer all of his interests in his Natchez properties to his son, George, whose account book contains entries for the sale of lots and rental income from properties in Minorville well into the 1940s.<sup>28</sup>

In January of 1901, the Duke and Duchess of Manchester arrived in Natchez to visit his maternal grandmother, Ellen Yznaga, who resided across the Mississippi River at Ravenswood, a plantation that bordered Lake St. John. Initially, the couple stayed at the Natchez Hotel but they rented Concord from Dr. Kelly, hosting one of the last great parties there. In March of that year, the great house at Concord burned, leaving only the curving marble steps, one of the brick dependencies and a small number of frame outbuildings on the property.<sup>29</sup>

In 1905, Stephen Kelly sold 1.6 acres of the property containing the remaining dependency to F. J. Stier, who in turn, sold the property to his daughter Lena Lucille and her husband, Emmett Burns. The couple started a dairy on the Concord property. The Burns family took great pride in owning the former estate, often having their family photographs taken on the remains of the curving marble steps which once led to the upper floor of the mansion. During their tenancy, the Burns added a one story porch across the rear of the dependency, in effect, re-orienting the entrance of the residence to the west with a drive from Gayosa [sic] street. HABS photographs from 1936 also reveal the enclosure of a portion of the first floor gallery and the construction of a shed roof addition to the columned porch. During the Burns' tenure, for the first time, interior doorways were created, allowing interior access to all of the downstairs and upstairs rooms. Historic photographs from the 1940s also indicate that the Burns enclosed portions of the upper gallery.<sup>30</sup>

In 1962, Lena L. Burns conveyed the property to her son, F. Conner Burns and it was probably at that time, the family added the sympathetic addition to the rear of the original dependency. This new hipped roof addition followed the lines of the one story rear porch but it also contained a gable roofed, second story addition as well, spanning the middle third of the structure. This second story addition provided for two upstairs bathrooms. The first floor of the new addition contained a modern kitchen, living room and master bedroom suite. With this modern addition, the dependency became a very comfortable residence. During the 1960s addition the roof was modified on the original structure. The modification extended the roof out creating a more significant overhang adding additional protection to the eaves. During the 1960s addition the chimney top was also removed at the roof line. In 2012, Gregory and Deborah Cosey purchased and

<sup>27</sup> Adams County, Mississippi, Deed Book 4C, p. 559.

<sup>28</sup> George Malin Davis Kelly, *Real Estate Journal, 1901-1944*, Natchez National Historical Park.

<sup>29</sup> *Duke of Manchester's Party*, Natchez Democrat, Jan. 1, 1901, p 1.

<sup>30</sup> Adams County, Mississippi, Deed Book 4C, p. 559 and Deed Book 4D, p. 336. Historic American Building Survey, James Butters, Photographer April 10, 1936.

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sympathetically renovated the former brick dependency and opened a bed-and-breakfast in what is today known as Concord Quarters.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Adams County, Mississippi, Deed Book 25Q, p. 447.

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## 9. Major Bibliographical References

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*Robinson v. Minor*, 51 U. S. 627, 1850.

Sydnor, Charles. *Slavery in Mississippi*. New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1933

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### Previous documentation on file (NPS):

preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested

previously listed in the National Register

previously determined eligible by the National Register

designated a National Historic Landmark

recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # Miss, 1-NATCH.V, 10-3

recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_

recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # \_\_\_\_\_

### Primary location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office

Other State agency

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Federal agency  
 Local government  
 University, Louisiana State University  
 Other  
Name of repository: Historic Natchez Foundation

**Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned):** 001-NAT-4005.2

**10. Geographical Data**

**Acreage of Property** 1.54 acres

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

**Latitude/Longitude Coordinates**

Datum if other than WGS84: \_\_\_\_\_  
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- |                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Latitude: 31.564646, | Longitude: -91.382009 |
| 2. Latitude: 31.564096  | Longitude: -91.381752 |
| 3. Latitude: 31.564279  | Longitude: -91.380990 |
| 4. Latitude: 31,564926  | Longitude: -91.381172 |

**Verbal Boundary Description** (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

Beginning at a 1/2" iron pin marking the southeasterly corner of the intersection of LaSalle Street with Gayosa Avenue, as shown by the plat of Concord-subdivided into lots, recorded in Deed Book 4-C, Pages 996 and 997, being the northwesterly corner within described tract. Thence from the said point of beginning, run North 73 Degrees 04 Minutes East along the southerly right-of-way line of LaSalle Street for 280.00 feet; thence run South 16 Degrees 56 Minutes East for 257.28 feet to a point on a chain link fence; thence run along said chain link fence South 71 Degrees 37 Minutes West for 37.48 feet to a 2" metal fence post; thence run South 72 Degrees 11 Minutes West along said chain link fence for 20.17 feet to the corner of a wooden building; thence run South 85 Degrees 09 Minutes West along the line of said building for 18.38 feet; thence run South 87 Degrees 51 minutes West along a chain link fence for 82.78 feet to a point where said chain link fence corners with a barbed wire fence for 47.50 feet to a 8" cedar street; thence run South 83 Degrees 09 Minutes West along said barbed wire fence for 78.19 feet to a 1/2" iron pin on the easterly right-of-way line of Gayosa Avenue; thence run North 16 degrees 56 minutes West along said right-of-way for 1216.73 feet to the point of beginning. Within described parcel contains 67,207.75 square feet (1.54 acres).

**Boundary Justification** (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundaries were drawn to include the 1.54 acre property today known as Concord Quarters that includes the two-story brick dwelling.

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**11. Form Prepared By**

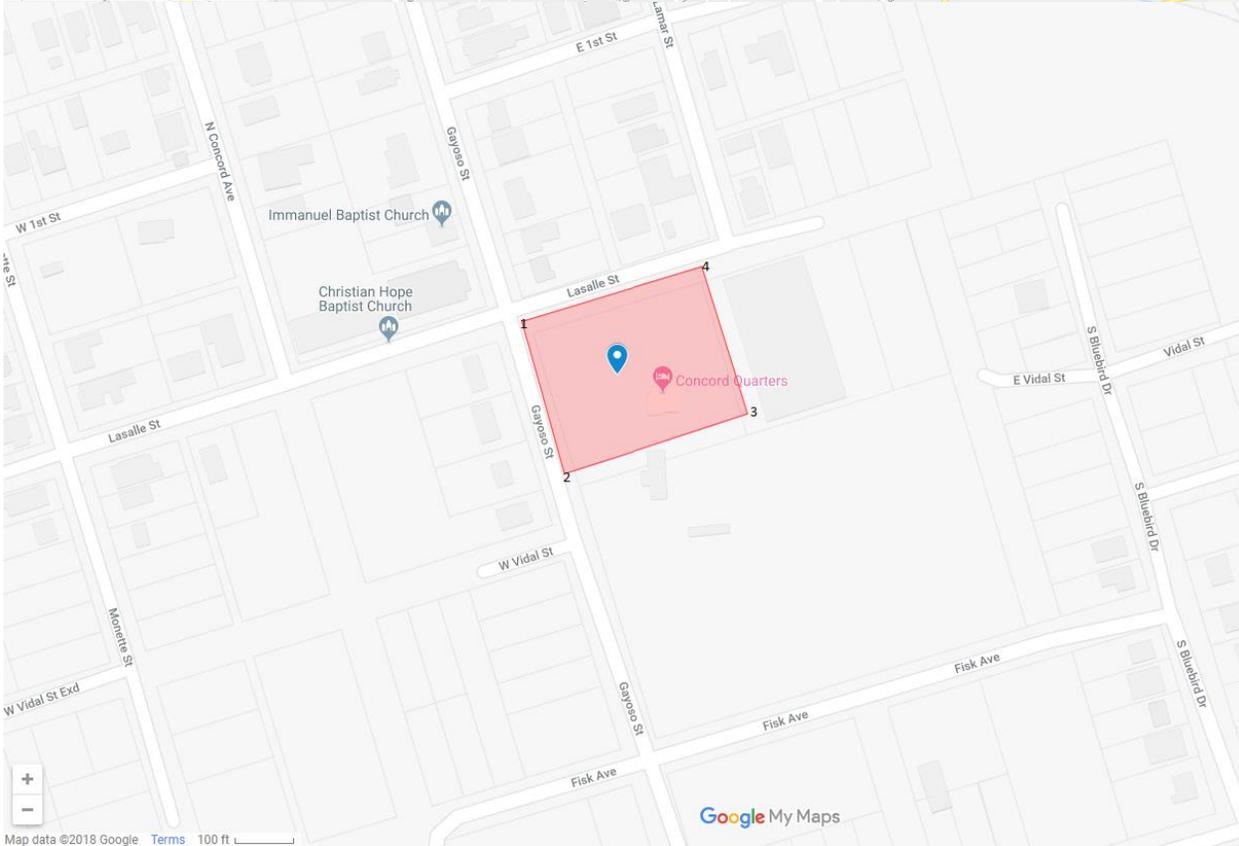
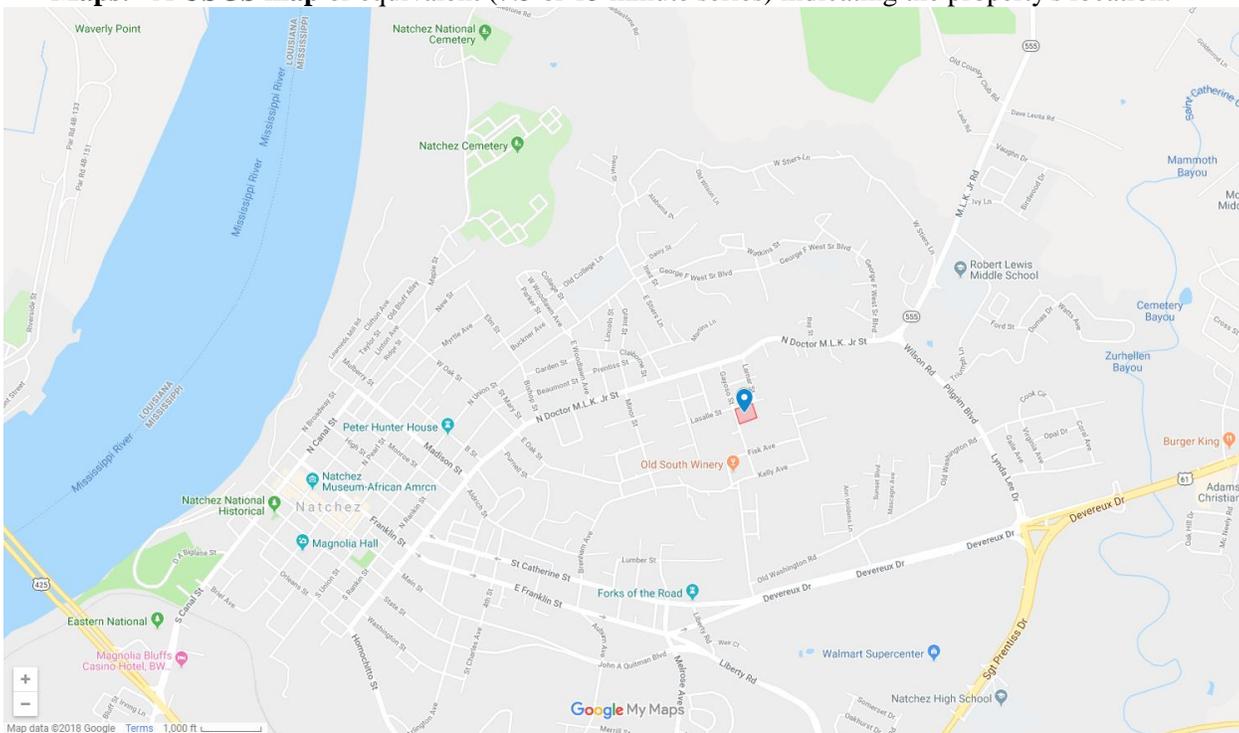
name/title: Jefferson Mansell  
organization: Natchez National Historical Park  
street & number: 601 South Canal Street, Box E  
city or town: Natchez state: MS zip code: 39120  
email [Jeff\\_Mansell@nps.gov](mailto:Jeff_Mansell@nps.gov)  
telephone: 601 445 5347  
date: July 31, 2018

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**Additional Documentation** Submit the following items with the completed form:

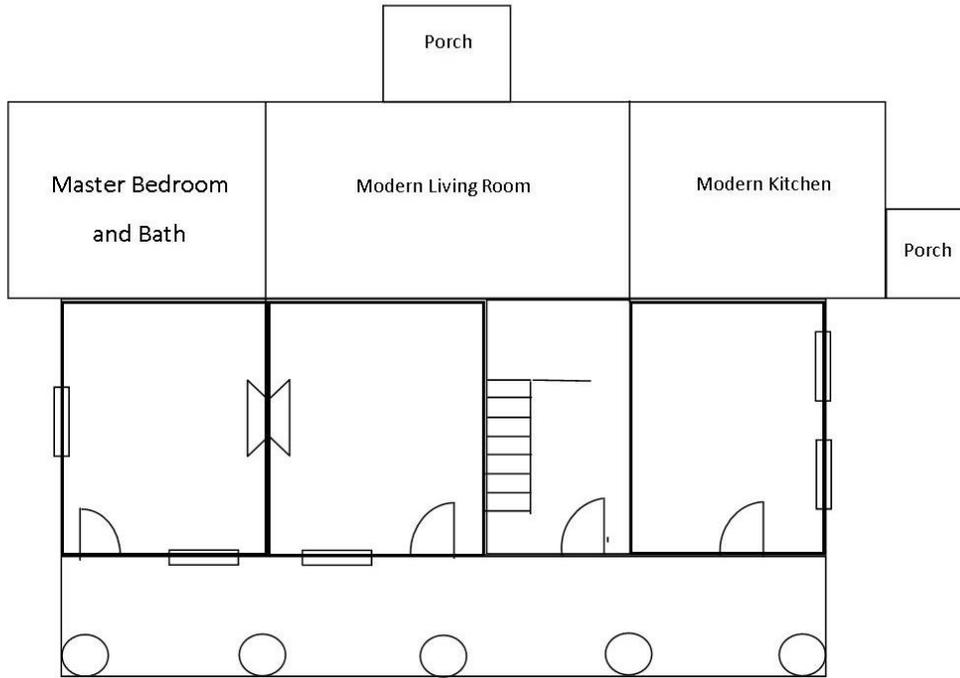
- **Maps:** A USGS map or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.



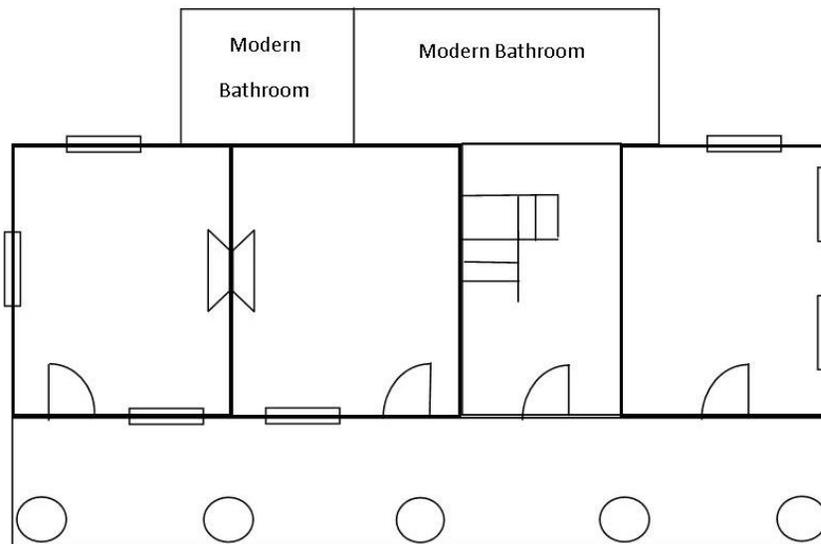
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- **Floor plan** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.



**Concord Quarters**  
**First Floor Plan**



**Concord Quarters**  
**Second Floor Plan**

- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)  
Section 9-end- page 20

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### Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

### Photo Log

Name of Property: Concord Quarters  
City or Vicinity: Natchez  
County: Adams State: MS  
Photographer: Jefferson Mansell  
Date Photographed: May 16, 2018

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

- 1 of 12. # 1 façade, camera facing west.
- 2 of 12 #2 façade, camera facing west
- 3 of 12 #3 southern elevation, camera facing north/northeast
- 4 of 12 #4 southern elevation, camera facing north/northeast
- 5 of 12 #5 western (present front façade), camera facing east
- 6 of 12 #6 northern elevation, camera facing south
- 7 of 12 #7 interior view, passage with stair, camera facing south/southwest
- 8 of 12 #8 interior, fireplace mantle, camera facing southeast
- 9 of 12 #9 interior, door and transom, camera facing east
- 10 of 12 #10 historic aerial photograph
- 11 of 12 #11 HABS photograph, camera facing west
- 12 of 12 #12 HABS photograph, camera facing south

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**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.



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MS - Adams County - Concord Quarters - 0002

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MS - Adams County - Concord Quarters - 0003

Copyrighted photos by Jess SQUILLER  
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