

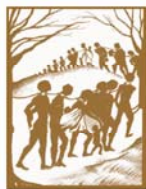
**Archaeological Data Recovery  
Investigation of the  
Lumpkin's Slave Jail Site  
(44HE1053)  
Richmond, Virginia**

August 2010

**Volume I: Research Report**



**Prepared for:**



**Richmond City Council  
Slave Trail Commission**

*Preserving and sharing Richmond's slave history*

*Richmond, Virginia U.S.A.*

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## ABSTRACT

Between August and December 2008, the James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc. (JRIA) conducted an archaeological data recovery investigation at the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site (44HE1053), located in the Shockoe Bottom district of Richmond, Virginia. In the decades before the Civil War, Robert Lumpkin's slave jail was one of the largest and most notorious of the Richmond businesses that specialized in buying and selling enslaved African Americans. After Emancipation, the property served briefly as the site of the Colver Institute, a school which trained black students for the ministry, and which ultimately evolved into Virginia Union University. By the 1890s, the site had been leveled and was occupied by the large Richmond Iron Works foundry, and later by a Seaboard Air Line Railway freight depot. In the late 1950s, the western portion of the former Lumpkin property was buried beneath Interstate 95. By the time of the 2008 investigation, the site had been long buried beneath a city-owned parking lot adjacent to Main Street Station.

The Lumpkin's Slave Jail project began in 2005, when the Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission, in partnership with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the Alliance to Conserve Old Richmond Neighborhoods, initiated an ambitious undertaking to find the site. A preliminary historical and archaeological study found compelling evidence that mid-nineteenth-century features survived beneath multiple feet of complex urban fill. JRIA subsequently returned to conduct a large-scale archaeological data recovery investigation at the site in August 2008. In the course of the 18-week project, archaeologists discovered remarkably intact remains associated with the antebellum slave-trading complex, including the cobbled central courtyard and brick drain features; a massive brick retaining wall that divided the site into upper and lower levels; the footprint of the kitchen building; and two other outbuildings. Most significantly, JRIA identified the remains of the jail structure itself at a depth of nearly 15 feet below the modern ground surface.

Despite significant challenges, including the unusual depth of the excavation area and the constant infiltration of water, JRIA unearthed a major portion of the former Lumpkin's Slave Jail property, and documented a significant cultural landscape directly associated with Richmond's pivotal role in the interstate slave trade. The project also yielded a large assemblage of more than 16,000 artifacts spanning the entire occupation of the site from the 1830s through the twentieth century.

Once the excavation phase of the project had been completed, JRIA supervised the intentional reburial of the site in February 2009 to ensure its long-term preservation. Members of the public currently may visit the site location, which is a key component of the Richmond Slave Trail.

Overall, the rediscovery of the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site has revealed much about this particular time and place, and helped to broaden the understanding of slavery in an urban context, offering a unique glimpse into a difficult, yet important chapter in the city's history.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

On Wednesday, 6 August 2008, the James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc. (JRIA) began the much-anticipated archaeological data recovery investigation of the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site (44HE1053) in Richmond's Shockoe Bottom district on behalf of the Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission (Figures 1-2).

Two years earlier, JRIA's preliminary investigation had identified the exact location of the site through intensive documentary research, and uncovered promising physical evidence that at least a portion of the antebellum slave-trading facility remained intact, buried beneath multiple feet of urban fill and covered by a busy parking lot. Now the effort to more fully explore the site had begun, and expectations were high.

The following day, an Associated Press article on the project appeared in newspapers and websites around the world, focusing attention on this symbol of Richmond's deep involvement in the slave trade. "Virginia Dig Searches for Black Southern Heritage" was the headline. "In a district where young professionals live in airy lofts and flock to trendy restaurants and clubs," Steve Szkotak reported, "historians are intent on revealing the buried remnants of Richmond's bustling slave-trading past." The article noted that "the Richmond Slave Trail Commission is attempting to link key stops in slavery's footprint—from a James River port where slaves were transported to an old, long-forgotten burial ground and, ultimately, the former site of Lumpkin's Jail. The ambitious project aims to explore the legacy of slavery and the Civil War beyond heroic memorials to Confederate leaders that were erected in the city" (Szkotak 2008).

Four months later, reporters were back at the site once again. But this time they were literally able to descend into a time capsule of Richmond's slave-trading history, and walk on the very same cobblestones once trod by notorious slave-dealer Robert Lumpkin and the hundreds of enslaved African Americans who passed through the jail from the 1830s through the 1860s. In the intervening weeks, JRIA had unearthed a significant portion of the Lumpkin's Jail complex, and an amazingly intact array of features: a massive brick retaining wall that once divided the site into upper and lower levels; the foundation of the kitchen building that served Lumpkin's customers and slaves; and the site's central courtyard with brick drains that still channeled water after more than 150 years. Most significantly, JRIA had found compelling evidence of the infamous jail building itself in the lowest and wettest portion of the excavation area, nearly 15 feet below the modern ground surface. In the course of the excavation, JRIA also retrieved many thousands of artifacts associated with the Lumpkin occupation. These included a wide variety of materials, including animal bone, ceramics, glass bottles and other glasswares, and many other personal items such as clothing buttons, lenses of eyeglasses, toothbrushes, and porcelain doll parts. Ironically, the damp soil conditions which complicated the excavation had also preserved many organic items such as leather, fabric, and wood which normally would have disintegrated long ago.

Beyond the physical remains, however, David Zucchini of the *San Francisco Chronicle* conveyed the broader significance of the findings:

The discovery of the jail site continues the city's "public acknowledgment of Richmond's enslaved African Americans," said



Delores L. McQuinn, City Council vice president and chairwoman of the Slave Trail Commission.

"Many of us here were trying to work through this without the facts," McQuinn said. She was referring to fellow African American commission members who came of age when Richmond's white leadership ignored the contributions of slaves and their descendants on the city's past.

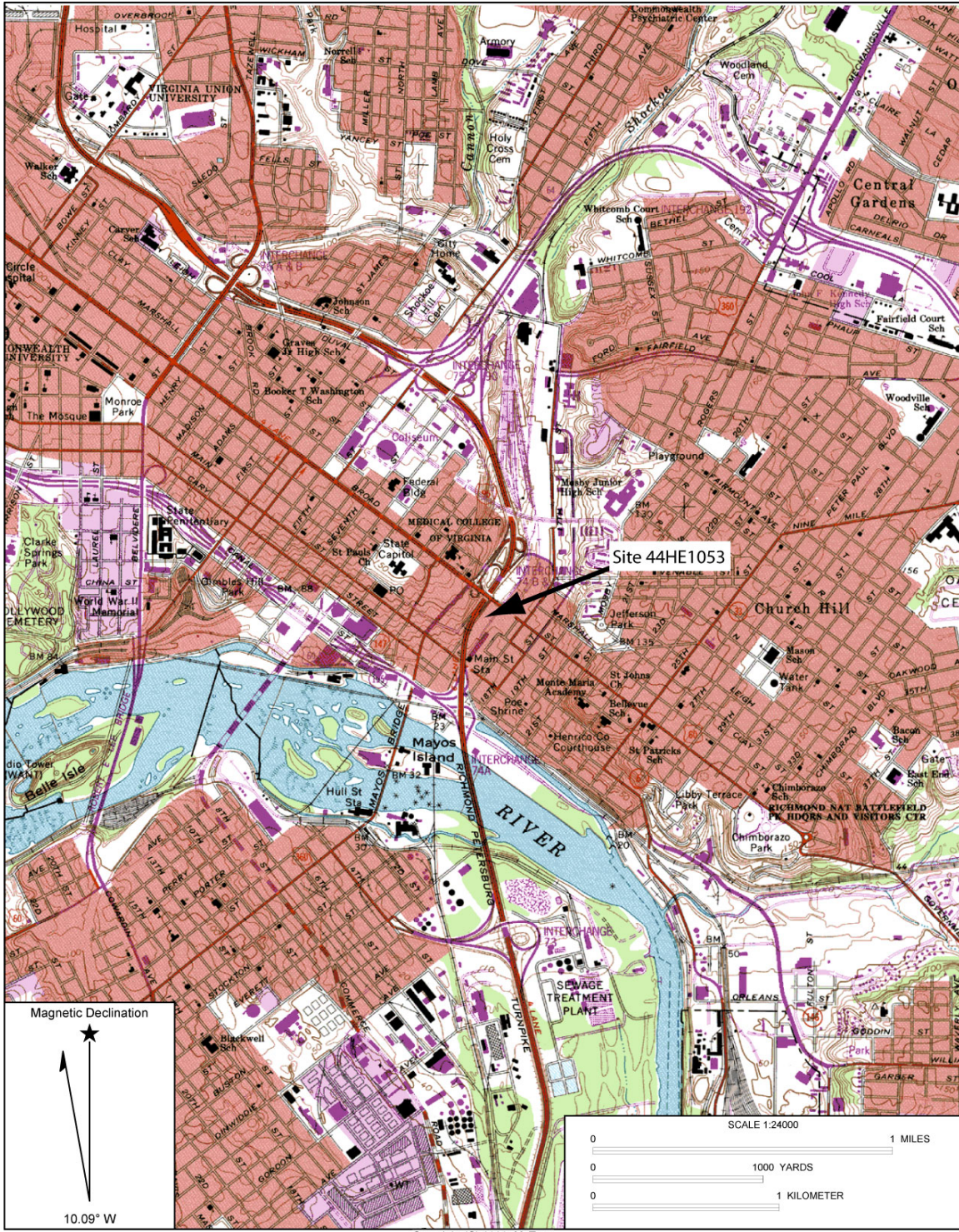
Because of the Slave Trail and the commemoration of "this infamous jail," McQuinn said, "generations to come won't have to do as much work to find out who they are and where they came from" (Zucchini 2008).

This two-volume report provides a detailed description of the archaeological data recovery efforts conducted by JRIA at the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site between August and December 2008. Volume I includes an historic context that situates the site within the context of Richmond's role in the interstate slave trade in the period between the 1820s and 1860s, and traces the complex physical evolution of the site from the 1830s through the present. A summary of the preliminary investigation conducted by JRIA in 2006 follows, along with a discussion of the research design that guided the archaeological data recovery effort. The main body of the report consists of detailed results of the archaeological investigation, a description of the subsequent intentional site reburial, an analysis of the material culture evidence, and a discussion of the broader significance of the site from a cultural landscape perspective. The complete artifact inventory for the archaeological data recovery investigation, including both provenienced and unprovenienced artifacts, is included in Volume II.

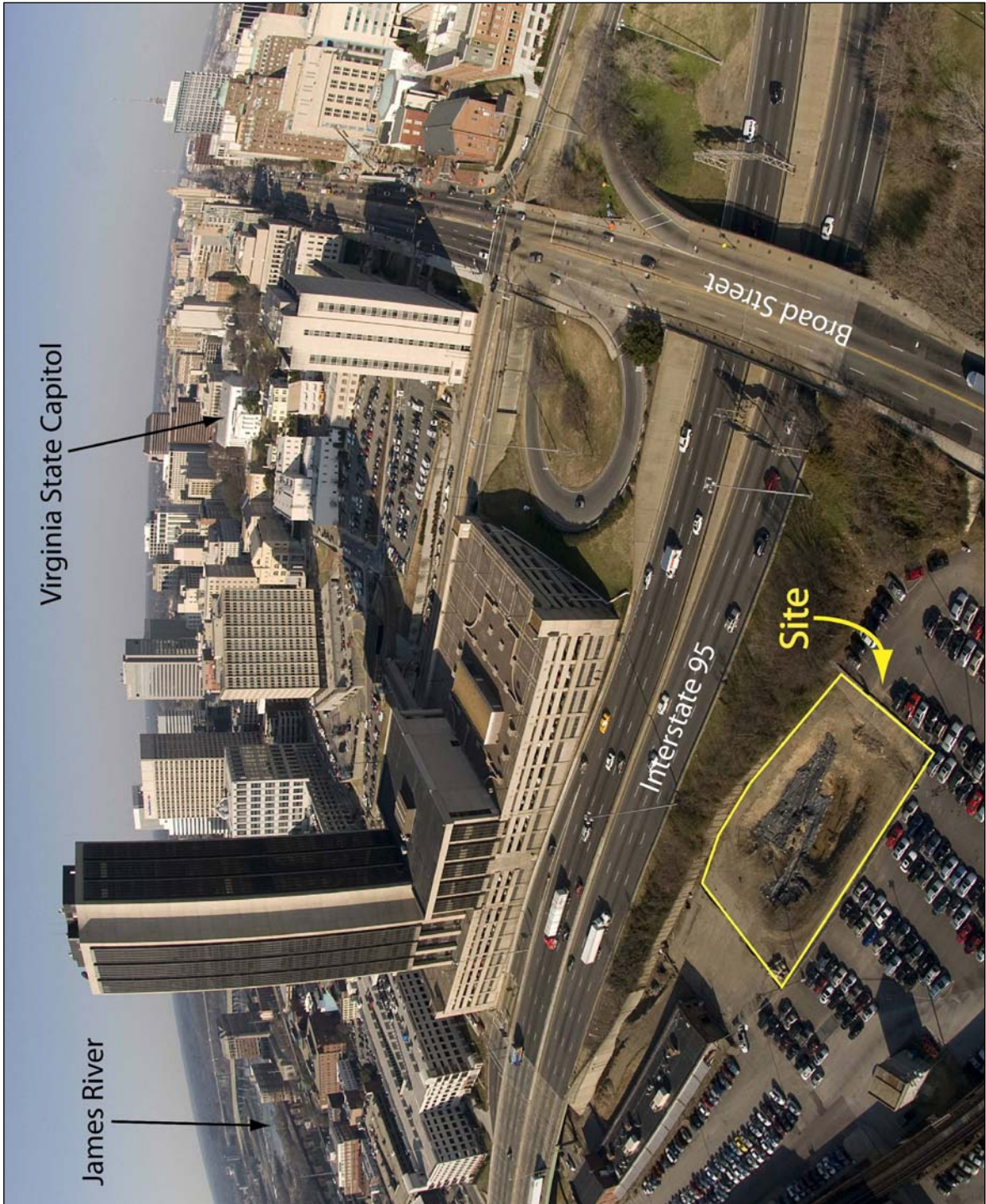
The Lumpkin's Slave Jail project would not have occurred without the vision, dedication, and financial support of the main project sponsor, the Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission, and the other project partners, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the Alliance to Conserve Old Richmond Neighborhoods. We are grateful to them for the opportunity to participate in what proved to be one of the most challenging and rewarding projects our firm has yet undertaken. In particular, we would like to thank the following individuals, each of whom provided invaluable assistance, advice, and encouragement to JRIA over the course of the project: Janine Bell of Elegba Folklore Society and Slave Trail Commission member; Reverend Benjamin Campbell of Richmond Hill and Slave Trail Commission member; David Herring of the Alliance to Conserve Old Richmond Neighborhoods; Delegate Delores L. McQuinn, Chair of the Slave Trail Commission; Pat Montgomery of Messer Contracting, LLC; Steven P. Pond of Schnabel Engineering; Jeffrey Ruggles of the Virginia Historical Society; Dr. Philip J. Schwarz, Professor Emeritus of History at Virginia Commonwealth University and Slave Trail Commission member; Steve Skinner, Public Information Manager for Richmond City Council; Christopher Stevenson, Archaeologist with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources; and Jeannie Welliver, Project Development Manager with the Department of Economic and Community Development, City of Richmond.

This report was researched and written by JRIA Partner and Senior Researcher Matthew R. Laird, Ph.D., Principal Investigator for the project. He was assisted by Sean Devlin, who served as field director. The archaeological fieldwork was conducted by

Brittany Bishop, Rebecca Calonico, Andrew Cox, Lauren DeSalvo, Emily Harger, Jesse Harris, Karisa Jacobsen, Sean Romo, and Tony Smith. The artifact assemblage was cataloged by Sherrie Beaver and Fredrick Lumb, and processed by Collections Manager Tonia Deetz Rock, who also assisted with the artifact analysis. Evan Leavitt provided assistance with the report graphics.



**Figure 1.** Location of Site 44HE1053 on detail of U.S.G.S. 7.5' Richmond topographic quadrangle map, 1994.



**Figure 2.** Aerial view of the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site, view to west, January 2009.

## 2. HISTORIC CONTEXT

### **Richmond and the Interstate Slave Trade**

The history of Lumpkin's Jail, and those facilities like it which operated in Richmond's Shockoe Bottom district in the years prior to the Civil War, was wrapped up in broader political and economic trends which shaped not only the capital city of Virginia, but patterns of slaveholding throughout the South. Richmond's location amid the agricultural regions of Tidewater and Southside Virginia, the availability of ample water power from the James, and its accessibility as a port and railroad hub made it an ideal industrial and export center. Yet, by the 1850s, the city's greatest export was neither agricultural produce nor manufactured goods, but rather enslaved African Americans. The story of how this came to be is a complex one, with its roots in the very beginnings of the nation, and its struggle over how to reconcile slavery with the promise of the freedom gained through independence (Chen and Collins 2007: 1).

For a variety of reasons, from humanistic concerns to fears of slave rebellion, every state in the Union but South Carolina had prohibited the importation of slaves by 1803. Virginia had voted to halt the trade in 1778, with many convinced that the ban would actually benefit the state, as the value of its existing slave population would rise accordingly. Finally, in 1808 Congress enacted the African Slave Trade Act, which effectively ended the legal importation of slaves into the United States. Significantly, this political milestone coincided with a profound shift in the agricultural economies of the Upper South states such as Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, and the rapid development of the Lower South, including Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and later Texas (Chen and Collins 2007: 1).

By the time of the American Revolution, the labor-hungry tobacco economy which had dominated every aspect of life in the Upper South since the earliest days of colonial settlement was on the wane. Increasingly, the agricultural economy of this region was based largely on the production of grain crops such as corn and wheat. This transition would have a significant effect on the demand for farm labor, which had been provided mainly by enslaved African Americans. Where tobacco had required a laborer for every three acres of tobacco under cultivation, a single slave could now tend up to 20 acres of wheat. From a practical standpoint, plantation owners found themselves with far more workers than they needed, while the number of slaves in their charge continued to grow through natural increase. Meanwhile, the reverse was true throughout the Lower South. With the rapid expansion of the cotton economy, the demand for labor was extremely high. And with the end of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, slaveowning planters had little choice but to look northward for an accessible source of labor. The result was the emergence in the 1820s of what has been termed the "interstate slave trade." Estimates vary, but it is clear that the end result was a massive relocation of African Americans from the Upper to Lower South regions, with as many as 300,000 enslaved Virginians leaving the state during the peak years of the trade between 1830 and 1860 (Chen and Collins 2007: 1; Gudmestad 2003: 8).

As the profitability of the interstate traffic in slaves grew, so did the number of speculators involved in the business. Yet, many plantation owners recognized that they were often better served by traveling north themselves to purchase additional laborers, thereby saving money and improving their selection. Richmond soon emerged as the

primary destination for both speculators and purchasers alike. Situated in the heart of the Upper South, easily accessible, and already a thriving commercial and banking center, the capital of Virginia would emerge as one of the nation's largest antebellum slave markets, second only to New Orleans. As Richmond's role in the interstate trade grew, so did the number of businesses dedicated to serving this lucrative commerce: auction houses, hotels to accommodate buyers and sellers, and specialized facilities known as "slave jails" equipped to house enslaved African Americans passing through Richmond for sale and transportation southward. In 1857, the *Richmond Enquirer* estimated that the total value of Richmond's slave auctions topped \$3.5 million; while by 1860, the *Richmond Directory* was advertising 18 "negro traders," 18 purchasing agents, and 33 auctioneers. Despite its commercial importance, the slave trade was still generally considered a distasteful element of Richmond's public life, and as such was kept isolated from the city's more genteel quarters. Consigned to the gritty Shockoe Bottom district, the trade was concentrated primarily in an area bounded by Broad Street to the north, Cary Street to the south, Fourteenth Street to the west, and Seventeenth Street to the east (Gudmestad 2003: 11-12, 14; Chen and Collins 2007: 3-6).

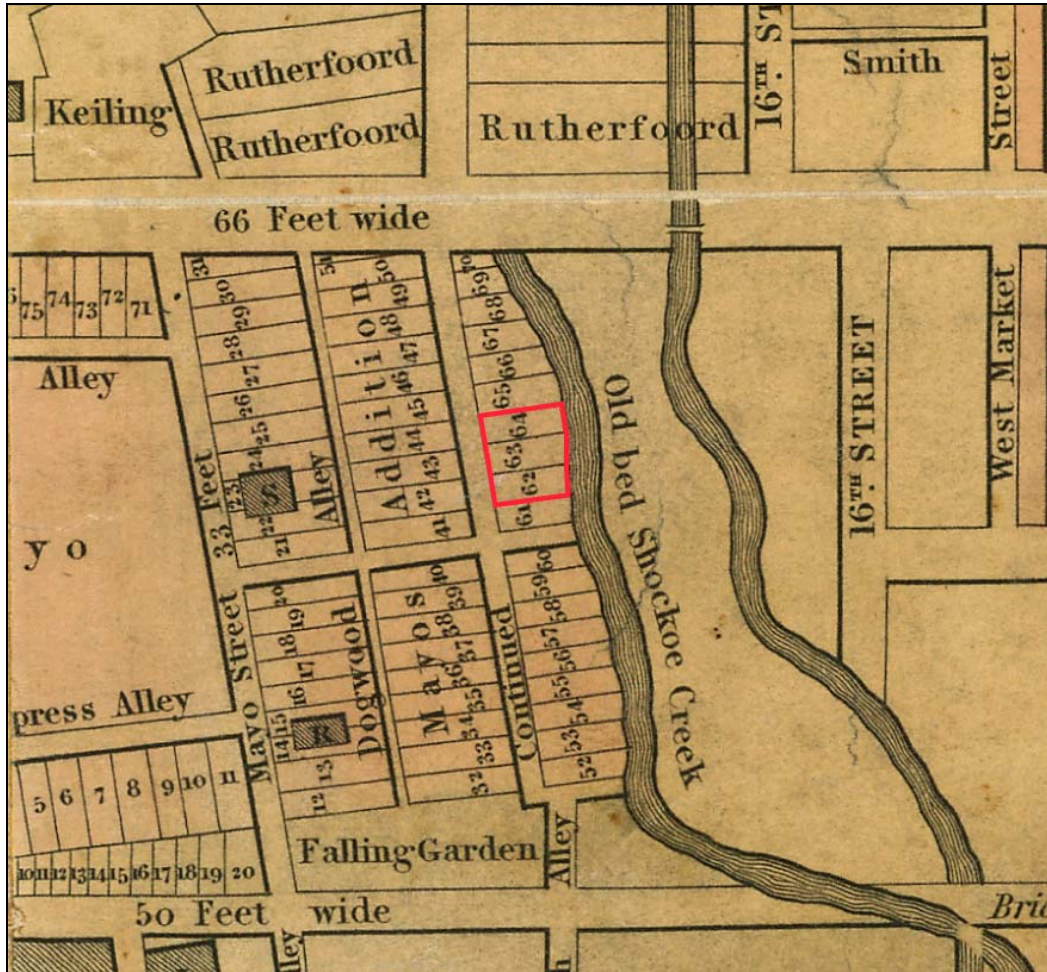
### **The Emergence of a Slave Trading Site**

Within the heart of Richmond's slave trading district was Wall Street, also known as Birch Alley, and later as Lumpkin's Alley. This narrow lane was an extension of Fifteenth Street connecting Franklin and Broad Streets. Situated in a neighborhood originally known as "Mayo's Addition," it had been laid out in the early years of the nineteenth century. This commercial and residential enclave was bounded to the north by Broad Street, to the west by the steep slopes of Council Chamber Hill, and on the east by Shockoe Creek, the sluggish and polluted waterway that flowed south through the Shockoe Valley before emptying in the James River. By the 1830s, its proximity to established auction houses and hotels had made Wall Street a focal point of the city's interstate slave trade. One of the most notorious of these businesses in all of Shockoe Bottom was Lumpkin's Jail, located on the east side of Wall Street between Broad Street and an east-west alley later known as Ross Street. Though his name would ultimately become linked to this property, slave dealer Robert Lumpkin was not the first to develop it. In fact, the documentary evidence suggests that it was most likely operating as a slave-trading site well before he became one Richmond's most prosperous and well-known dealers.

In May 1830, Bacon Tait purchased two 30-foot-wide lots in Mayo's Addition numbered 63 and 64 from the prominent Richmond attorney Charles Copland. The following month he acquired the adjoining Lot 62. These three lots, with a combined frontage of 90 feet on the east side of Wall Street, would form the core of what would become the Lumpkin's Jail complex<sup>1</sup> (Figure 3).

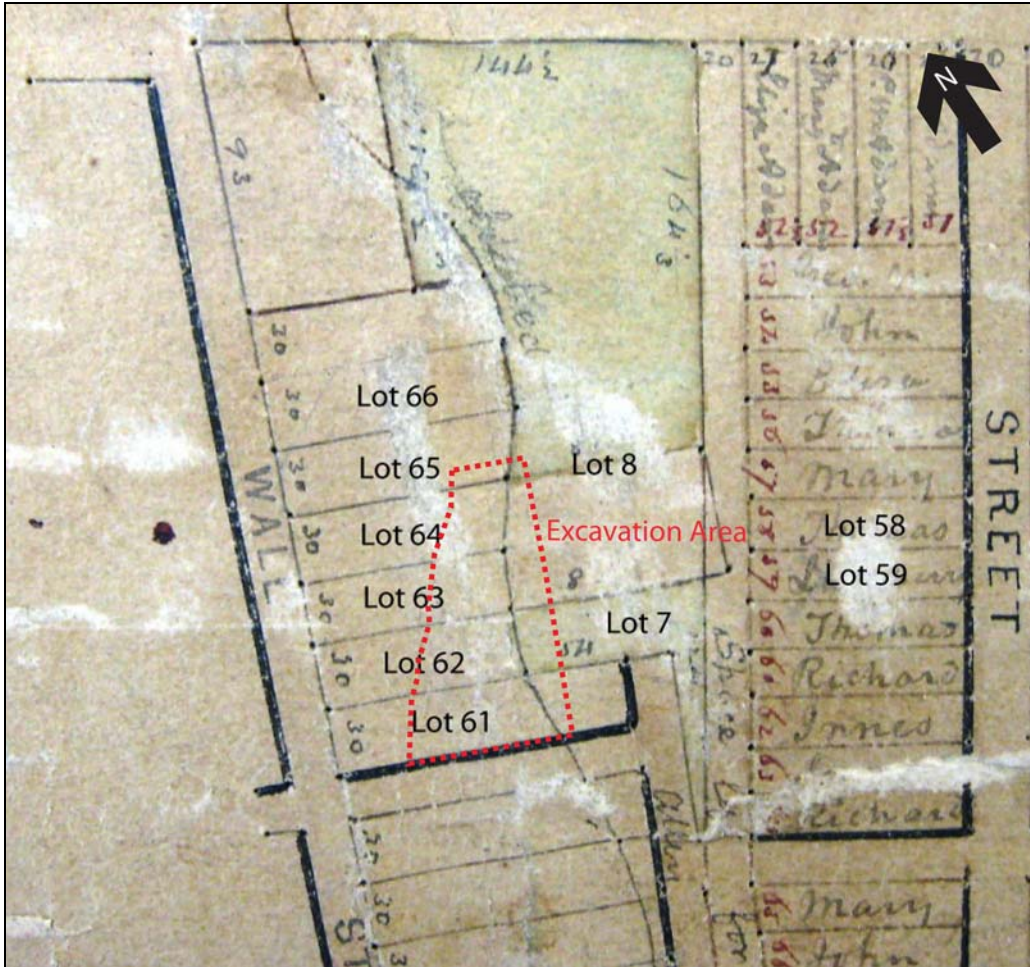
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<sup>1</sup> The exact depth of Lots 62-64 was never specified. This issue evidently was complicated by the fact that the main channel of Shockoe Creek had shifted to the east since the Mayo's Addition lots were originally surveyed. The 1835 Bates map depicted the Wall Street lots terminating at the "Old bed Shockoe Creek." By the 1850s, however, it appears that this natural boundary was no longer considered an impediment to development. When Lumpkin purchased the adjoining Lot 61 from the estate of Miles Turpin in May 1852, it was described as "fronting thirty feet on Birch Alley in the City of Richmond, and running back one hundred and twenty-five feet towards Shockoe Creek to an alley twenty feet wide. . . ." More than



**Figure 3.** Location of Lots 62, 63, and 64 in Mayo’s addition on detail of Micajah Bates’ *Plan of the City of Richmond Drawn From Actual Survey, 1835.*  
 Courtesy of the Library of Virginia.

likely he was already unofficially using the intervening land between the old and existing beds of Shockoe Creek behind his Wall Street lots. This use was formalized when he purchased Lot 7 “in the rear of lot no. 62 in Mayo’s plan” in April 1861, and a portion of Lot 8 behind Lots 65 and 66 in February 1863. These lots were depicted on the undated (ca. 1850s?) plan of the division of the Richard Adams estate (see Figure 4) (RCHDB 63: 97; 77A: 281; 79B: 224).



**Figure 4.** Location of lots eventually owned by Lumpkin on detail of James J. Pleasants’ *Plan of the Division of Richard Adams’ Estate*, n.d. [ca. 1850s?].  
 Courtesy of the Library of Virginia.

At the time he purchased the Wall Street property, Tait was well on his way to becoming one of Richmond’s most successful slave traders. Exactly how he used these lots during his relatively short tenure is not clear, however. When he first acquired the land, it included structures worth the relatively modest sum of \$400. By 1833, however, he had built a two-story brick dwelling house fronting on Wall Street, insuring it for \$1,500 with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia.<sup>2</sup> The dwelling measured 22 feet by 26 feet, was roofed with wood shingles, and had a one-story rear porch. The policy noted that there was only one other wooden building within 30 feet of the house at that time. It was not recorded what additional buildings Tait may have erected on the lots, but

<sup>2</sup> This was the same house later occupied by Robert Lumpkin, and then by Reverend Nathaniel Colver after the Civil War. Lewis Collier insured this dwelling with the Mutual Assurance Society in 1837 and 1844, while Lumpkin re-insured it in 1851, and again in 1858 (Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia Policies, Vol. 98, #9656; Vol. 109, #12767; Vol. 121, #16375; Vol. 132, #19830).



any other structures would have been fairly insubstantial, as the total assessed value of his buildings, including his dwelling, never exceeded \$2,200 (Gudmestad 1993: 110, 131, 167, 194; Richmond City Hustings Deed Book [RCHDB] 29: 14; 32: 134; Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia [MAS] policy, Vol. 95, #8005; Richmond Land Books, 1830-1833).

On July 6, 1833, Bacon Tait deeded Lots 62, 63, and 64 to Lewis A. Collier, a fellow Richmond slave dealer who had extensive business connections with plantation owners throughout the South (RCHDB 32: 134; Gudmestad 1993: 14, 28, 32). Most likely Tait sold this property because he was preparing to establish a new slave jail nearby at the corner of Fifteenth and Cary streets. In January 1835, he placed an advertisement in the *Daily Richmond Whig & Public Advertiser* announcing the opening of this facility. Though brief, this notice provides a unique insight into both the conditions of Richmond's slave jails at that time, as well as the expectations of their customers.

Notice: The commodious buildings which I have recently had erected in the City of Richmond are now ready for the accommodation of all persons who may wish their NEGROES safely and comfortably taken care of. The buildings were erected upon an extensive scale, without regard to cost, my main object being to insure the safe keeping, and at the same time the health and comfort of the Negroes who may be placed thereat. The rooms and yards for the Females are separate from those for the Males, and genteel home Servants will have rooms to themselves. The regulations of the establishment will be general cleanliness, moderate exercise, and recreation within the yards during good weather, and good substantial food at all times, by which regulations it is intended that confinement shall be rendered merely nominal, and the health of the Negroes so promoted, that they will be well prepared to encounter a change of climate when removed to the South. These buildings are situated on the lot corner of 15<sup>th</sup> and Cary streets between Mayo's Bridge and the Bell Tavern. Apply to Bacon Tait (*Daily Richmond Whig & Public Advertiser*, 24 January 1835, p. 1).

While Tait was plying his trade a few blocks away, Lewis Collier evidently was making significant improvements to his new Wall Street property. According to the city land books, in 1836 the value of buildings increased to \$3,000, and again to \$5,000 the following year. The figure grew to \$5,720 in 1838, and peaked at \$6,000 by 1840. By this time, however, Collier had overextended himself financially. In 1837, he pledged the lots as collateral for a loan from the Bank of Virginia. By 1844, the bank had foreclosed on the property, finding a willing buyer in Robert Lumpkin, who may already have been leasing the property from Collier. No doubt the 36-year-old Lumpkin was attracted to Collier's property because it already suited the particular requirements of his slave-trading business. In addition to the brick dwelling house, Collier had added a number of other buildings, including a hotel and a separate kitchen. He also appears to have erected the two-story brick building later known as "Lumpkin's Jail." When Lumpkin acquired Lots 62-64 in 1844, the value of buildings was assessed at \$6,000. This figure remained

unchanged until 1857, suggesting that he did not make any significant changes for more than a decade after buying the property. It is well documented that the jail building was in use during this period, as the escaped slave Anthony Burns was held there in 1854. And so, while Lumpkin has become irrevocably linked to this property in the popular imagination, the jail and associated complex actually predated his ownership (RCHDB 53: 155; Richmond Land Books 1833-1857).

### **Lumpkin's Jail**

In the early 1850s, a visitor from Syracuse named Otis Bigelow was curious to see the inner workings of Shockoe Bottom's infamous slave market. Shadowing a potential buyer up Wall Street, he found himself at the site of Lumpkin's Jail. The account of what he saw is among the earliest descriptions of the property:

I went far enough in the rear not to be noticed until he turned into an entrance, over which was the sign "Lumpkin's Jail." I entered a large open court. Against one of the posts sat a good natured fat man, with his chair tipped back. It was Mr. Lumpkin. I duly introduced myself as from New York, remarking that I had read what the Abolitionists had to say, and that I had come to Richmond to see for myself. Mr. Lumpkin received me very courteously and showed me over his jail. On one side of the open court was a large tank for washing, or lavatory. Opposite was a long, two-story brick house, the lower part fitted up for men and the second story for women. The place, in fact, was a kind of hotel or boardinghouse for negro-traders and their slaves. I was invited to dine at a large table with perhaps twenty traders, who gave me almost no attention, and there was little conversation. They were probably strangers to one another (Bancroft 1996: 102-103)

Considering his later prominence as one of Richmond's largest slave dealers, relatively little is known about Lumpkin or his background. In the Federal Census of 1850 his age was given as 44, and his birthplace Virginia. He was then residing with fellow slave trader George W. Apperson, 47, of Georgia, and the 23-year-old John A. Starke. A decade later, the 1860 Census listed his occupation as proprietor of a "Private Goal [jail]." The value of Lumpkin's real estate at that time was assessed at the considerable sum of \$20,000, and his personal estate at \$6,845. From the 1840s through the 1860s, Lumpkin was granted "private entertainment" and liquor licenses by the Richmond City Hustings Court, no doubt for the tavern he operated on the property to entertain his clients and guests. He also owned a number of slaves himself. The minutes of Richmond's First African Baptist Church from the 1850s recorded the baptisms of several of his "servants," including Lucy Henry, Sarah Jackson, Matilda Smith, Judy Foster, as well as the death of Mahala Carter. Most significant among these, however, was Mary F. Lumpkin, the African American woman who lived with him and later became his wife.<sup>3</sup> The extensive research conducted by Dr. Philip J. Schwarz, Professor

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<sup>3</sup> Charles H. Corey's 1895 history of the Richmond Theological Seminary made a point of noting that Mary Lumpkin was Robert Lumpkin's "lawful widow." "For though Lumpkin was a white man and had bought this woman many years before as a slave, and she had become the mother of his children, yet, after

Emeritus of History at Virginia Commonwealth University has revealed that Robert and Mary Lumpkin had at least five children together, including Martha, Anna, Robert, Richard, and John. At the height of his business, Lumpkin had sent them north, where ostensibly they would be protected from sale as slaves. Martha and Anna were pupils of the Ipswich Female Seminary in Massachusetts in 1857-1858. And in 1860, all of the children except John were living in Philadelphia (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850: 685; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860: 146; Richmond City Hustings Court Order Book 16: 540; 17: 164, 544; 26: 86, 362; 27: 179; 28: 459; First African Baptist Church, Richmond City, Minutes, Book 1: 235, 250, 267, 297, 299; Corey 1895: 48; Schwarz 2006: 1-2).

Perhaps the most colorful description of Lumpkin and his early dealings was provided by one of his former slaves, a man named Robinson, who related it directly to renowned Massachusetts lawyer, author, and abolitionist Richard Henry Dana, Jr. Robinson claimed to have formerly been “foreman and overseer” for “Messrs. Lumpkins and Logan slave traders in Richmond, Va.” In 1841, Lumpkin put Robinson in charge of a group of enslaved African Americans he was sending from Richmond to New Orleans aboard the brig *Creole*. En route, a group of 19 slaves mutinied and took over the ship. They forced the crew to sail to Nassau in the Bahamas, a British territory where slavery had recently been abolished. Over the protest of the American consul, the local authorities eventually freed all the slaves on board, and Robinson made his way to Boston. Lumpkin traveled there two years later and spoke to him about the incident, but made no effort to return him to Virginia. In 1854, however, Lumpkin returned. Under the terms of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, he now had the right to reclaim his former property. Robinson sought Dana’s advice on the situation, and, as a result of their conversations, Dana recorded his vivid recollections of Lumpkin and his trading practices (Lucid 1968: 639-640; Benton 1856: 409-413).<sup>4</sup>

One of the most disturbing elements of Robinson’s account concerned the sexual exploitation of the enslaved women at the jail, behavior that was rarely, if ever, acknowledged in polite society, but clearly formed an integral part of the slave-trade experience. “The two owners were unmarried men,” Robinson recalled, “& lived near the jail. They kept low company, that of horse jockeys, slave traders, & blacklegs of all kinds. They used to sleep with the girls, ordering me, at night, to bring such a girl or such a girl up to the house, just as they would order out such a horse to ride” (Baptist 2001: 1619-1650; Lucid 1968: 640).

Robinson also described the preparations made prior to a sale, and the degrading inspection process that ensued:

Each slave in the jail had a new suit of clothes, & when any purchasers came, they were dressed in the new clothes, the boys had their faces washed & greased, to make them shine. “Many a time,” said he “have I

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Richmond fell, he did the honourable thing of marrying her, and so legitimized her and her children. Thus they became his lawful heirs.” Corey added that “Mrs. Lumpkin was a pious and intelligent woman, and after her marriage was admitted to membership in the First African Baptist Church in Richmond” (Corey 1895: 74-75).

<sup>4</sup> As Robinson had left Virginia in 1841, his stories about Lumpkin and Logan would have pre-dated Lumpkin’s ownership of the Wall Street jail complex. However, it is certainly possible that he may have been leasing the facility from Lewis Collier prior to purchasing it in 1844.

greased the faces of the boys & girls where they were tallowy complexioned, to make them look glossy.” The purchasers go round, make the slaves open their mouths, that they may look in, as they would to a horse, feel of their limbs, strip them, & make them run, jump & try all their physical powers. In case of the girls, they often lift up their clothes & feel of their legs, feel their bosoms, & try all their feminine points, they all sitting round in a row (Lucid 1968: 640).

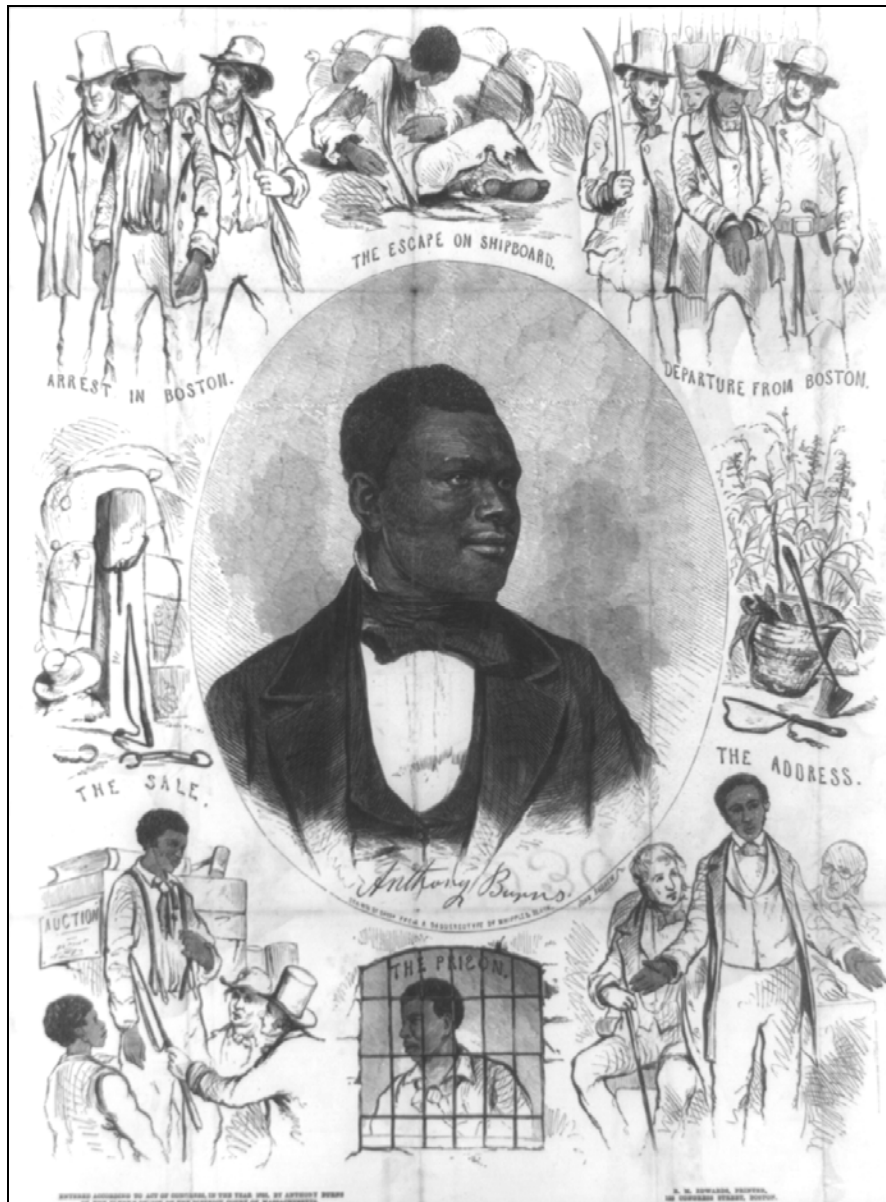
According to Robinson, Lumpkin used the jail yard for a variety of activities, even training dogs to pursue runaways:

[Robinson] said that he trained the blood-hounds for these men, & was considered quite skilful in their use. The way he trained them was this. A negro boy was made to run all round the yard of the jail barefooted, & then hide himself in the large tree that grew in the yard. The hounds were kept out of sight, & then let loose & nosed the track of the boy round & round ‘til he came to the tree. The discipline of the little dogs was to keep them to the scent & keep them under control. The boys used to enjoy the fun, as they were perfectly safe in the tree before the dogs were let out. He said that a number of the companions of these traders would be there of an afternoon, drinking & smoking & gambling, gambling away men, women & children, & would say to him, “Now Bill, get out your dogs,” & he would get them out & exhibit them on the trail of the boys (Lucid 1968: 640-641).

A dedicated abolitionist, Dana was particularly interested to know how the enslaved people held in the jail were punished. The traders rarely flogged the slaves, Robinson informed him.

As they had little or no work to do, & the chief object is to keep their slaves in good condition & stripes diminish their market value, they seldom punish in such a way as to leave marks. The common punishment was to strip them, make them bend over a log, fasten their hands & feet & beat them over the seat with a board wh. had auger holes bored through it. This raised blisters. They then broke the blisters with a cowhide & dressed them down with a little brine” (Lucid 1968: 641).

Of all those who endured such treatment at Lumpkin’s Jail, the best known was Anthony Burns (Figure 5). Burns had escaped from slavery in Virginia in 1854, only to be apprehended in Boston two months later and tried under the Fugitive Slave Law.



**Figure 5.** Engraving of Anthony Burns by John Andrews, 1855 (Library of Congress).

Despite considerable popular protest, Burns was returned to Richmond, where he spent four trying months in Lumpkin's Jail while his fate was being determined. Eventually he was freed through the intervention of northern abolitionists, and an account of his ordeal was published in 1856. He returned to the North and became a pastor, and eventually moved to Canada, where he died in 1862 at the age of 28. As related by his biographer Charles Emery Stevens, Burns' tale offers the most compelling description of conditions at Lumpkin's Jail, made all the more poignant by the fact that he witnessed them at first hand.

Brent [the agent of Burns' owner] was accompanied to the jail by one Robert Lumpkin, a noted trader in slaves. This man belonged to a class of persons by whose society the slaveholders of the South profess to feel disgraced, but with whose services, nevertheless, they cannot dispense. He had formerly been engaged exclusively in the traffic in slaves. Roaming over the country, and picking up a husband here, a wife there, a mother in one place, and an alluring maiden in another, he banded them with iron links into a coffle and sent them to the far southern market. By his ability and success in this remorseless business, he had greatly distinguished himself, and had come to be known as a "bully trader." At this time, however, he had abandoned the business of an itinerant trader, and was established in Richmond as the proprietor of a Trader's Jail.<sup>5</sup> In this he kept and furnished with board such slaves as were brought into the city for sale, and, generally, all such as their owners wished to punish or to provide with temporary safe keeping. He also kept a boarding-house for the owners themselves. Lumpkin's Jail was one of the prominent and characteristic features of the capital of Virginia. It was a large brick structure, three stories in height, situated in the outskirts of Richmond, and surrounded by an acre of ground. The whole was enclosed by a high, close fence, the top of which was thickly set with iron spikes.

To the proprietor of this prison, Burns was now delivered up by Brent. He was ordered by Lumpkin to put his hands behind him; this done, the jail-keeper proceeded to fasten them together in that position with a pair of iron handcuffs. Then, directing Anthony to move on before, he followed him closely behind until they arrived at his jail.

Here he was destined to suffer, for four months, such revolting treatment as the vilest felons never undergo, and such as only revengeful slaveholders can inflict. The place of his confinement was a room only six or eight feet square, in the upper story of the jail, which was accessible only through a trap-door. He was allowed neither bed nor air; a rude bench fastened against the wall and a single, coarse blanket were the only means of repose. After entering his cell, the handcuffs were not removed, but, in addition, fetters were placed upon his feet. In this manacled condition he was kept during the greater part of his confinement. The torture which he suffered, in consequence, was excruciating. The gripe of the irons impeded the circulation of his blood, made hot and rapid by the stifling atmosphere, and caused his feet to swell enormously. The flesh was worn from his wrists, and when the wounds had healed, there remained broad scars as perpetual witnesses against his owner. The fetters also prevented him from removing his clothing by day or night, and no one came to help him; the indecency resulting from such a condition is too revolting for description, or even thought. His room became more foul

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<sup>5</sup> In a later court case, it was stated that Robert Lumpkin and William H.G. Lumpkin (presumably a relative) were partners in the slave trade. William purchased slaves throughout Maryland and Virginia, and sent them to Richmond where Robert re-sold them at his jail. *Lumpkin v. Lumpkin*, City of Richmond Circuit Court, 1875-76, File 64.

and noisome than the hovel of a brute; loathsome creeping things multiplied and rioted in the filth. His food consisted of a piece of coarse corn-bread and the parings of bacon or putrid meat. This fare, supplied to him once a day, he was compelled to devour without Plate, knife, or fork. Immured, as he was, in a narrow, unventilated room, beneath the heated roof of the jail, a constant supply of fresh water would have been a heavenly boon; but the only means of quenching his thirst was the nauseating contents of a pail that was replenished only once or twice a week. Living under such an accumulation of atrocities, he at length fell seriously ill. This brought about some mitigation of his treatment; his fetters were removed for a time, and he was supplied with broth, which, compared with his previous food, was luxury itself.

When first confined in the jail, he became an object of curiosity to all who had heard of his case, and twenty or thirty persons in a day would call to gaze upon him. On these occasions, his fetters were taken off and he was conducted down to the piazza in front of the jail. His visitors improved the opportunity to express their opinion of his deserts; having no pecuniary interest in his life, they were anxious that it should be sacrificed for the general good of slaveholders. When curiosity was satisfied, he would be led back to his cell, and again placed in irons. These exhibitions occurred ordinarily once a day during the first two or three weeks, and, though humiliating, furnished a relief to the solitude of his confinement. There were other slaves in the jail, who were allowed more or less intercourse with each other; but between them and Burns all communication was strictly prohibited. The taint of freedom was upon him, and infection was dreaded.

His residence in the jail gave him an opportunity of gaining new views of the system of slavery. One day his attention was attracted by a noise in the room beneath him. There was a sound as of a woman entreating and sobbing, and of a man addressing to her commands mingled with oaths. Looking down through a crevice in the floor, Burns beheld a slave woman stark naked in the presence of two men. One of them was an overseer, and the other a person who had come to purchase a slave. The overseer had compelled the woman to disrobe in order that the purchaser might see for himself whether she was well formed and sound in body. Burns was horror-stricken; all his previous experience had not made him aware of such an outrage. This, however, was not an exceptional case; he found it was the ordinary custom in Lumpkin's jail thus to expose the naked person of the slave, both male and female, to the inspection of the purchaser. A wider range of observation would have enabled him to see that it was the universal custom in the slave states.

In spite of the interdict under which he was laid, Burns found a method of communicating with other slaves in the jail. It has been stated that during his illness he was released from his fetters and supplied with broth. The spoon given him to eat with, on that occasion, he contrived to secrete, and when alone, he used it in enlarging a small hole in the floor.

It was just behind the trap-door, by which, when thrown open, it was entirely hidden from view, and thus escaped discovery. Through this hole Burns made known his situation to some slaves in a room below, and at once enlisted their sympathies. The intercourse thus established was afterward regularly maintained. To avoid detection, it was carried on only at dead of night; then, throwing himself prostrate upon the floor and applying his mouth to the aperture, Burns whiled away hour after hour in converse with his more fortunate fellow bondmen. He filled their eager and wondering ears with the story of his escape from bondage, his free and happy life at the North, his capture, and the mighty effort that it cost the Government to restore him to Virginia. He was their Columbus, telling them of the land, to them unknown, which he had visited; inspiring them with longings to follow in his track; and warning them, out of his own experience, of the perils to be avoided. On their part, they communicated to him such information as their less restricted condition had enabled them to obtain. Conversation was not the only advantage that he derived from this quarter. His new friends furnished him with tobacco and matches, so that, during the long night watches, he was able to solace himself by smoking.

After a while, he found a friend in the family of Lumpkin. The wife of this man was a "yellow woman" whom he had married as much from necessity as from choice, the white women of the South refusing to connect themselves with professed slave traders. This woman manifested her compassion for Burns by giving him a testament and a hymn-book. Upon most slaves these gifts would have been thrown away; fortunately for Burns, he had learned to read, and the books proved a very treasure. Besides the yellow wife, Lumpkin had a black concubine, and she also manifested a friendly spirit toward the prisoner. The house of Lumpkin was separated from the jail only by the yard, and from one of the upper windows the girl contrived to hold conversations with Anthony, whose apartment was directly opposite. Her compassion, it is not unlikely, changed into a warmer feeling; she was discovered one day by her lord and master; what he overheard roused his jealousy, and he took effectual means to break off the intercourse.

In the search of Anthony's person at the common jail, some things had escaped discovery. He had concealed between the parts of his clothing a little money, some writing paper, and a pen, and these he still retained. Ink only was wanting, and this, through the aid of his prison friends, he also secured. Thus furnished, he wrote several letters to his friends at a distance; in all there were six, two of which were addressed to persons in Boston. To secure their transmission to the post-office, he adopted the following method: The letter was fastened to a piece of brick dug from the wall; then watching at his window until he saw some negro passing outside the jail fence, he contrived by signs to attract his attention and throw to him the letter. The passer-by was in all probability an entire stranger, as well as a person unable to read, yet Burns trusted, not



unreasonably, that his wishes would be rightly interpreted, and that his letters would reach the post-office. No answers were expected in return, none would have reached him had they been written. The postmaster at the South, albeit an officer of the Federal Government, is not the less an obsequious servant of the slaveholder. If a letter addressed to a slave bears a southern post-mark, it is delivered to its claimant without question; but when the post-mark indicates a northern origin, the postmaster withholds it from the claimant, inquires his master's name, and then deposits it in the latter's box. If the letter is found to be objectionable, it is destroyed and nothing is said about it; if otherwise, the master reads to his slave such portions as he sees fit. One of the letters written by Burns was addressed to Col. Suttle, giving an account of his illness. Suttle immediately wrote to Brent upon the subject, and the confounded agent hastened to the jail for an explanation. Burns frankly told him of the manner in which he had despatched his letters to the post-office, and enjoyed not a little his visitor's astonishment at the revelation. The consequence was that Brent deprived him of his pen in the vain hope of putting an end to his letter-writing (Stevens 1856: pp. 187-94).

Aside from Anthony Burns, virtually nothing is known about the many other enslaved people who passed through Lumpkin's Jail. The sole known document associated with Lumpkin's slave-trading business is a ledger held by the Valentine Richmond History Center.<sup>6</sup> Only a handful of pages in the volume were used, yet they document five separate shipments of "negroes sent south" by Lumpkin to S.B. Jones between January 1849 and March 1850. These records provide an intriguing, if fragmentary, glimpse of the human element of the trade. Among the 77 individuals listed were 50 men and women, and 27 children. A number of the adults were mothers accompanied by as many as four of their children. For the most part they were referred to only by their given names; but a handful—Susan Dillard, John Johnston, and Henry Grigsby, for instance—had a surname recorded, as well. The wide geographic scope of the trade was also hinted at, as the origin of some was noted: "Susan taken from Durham," and Martha, Laura, and William "of Florida." Lumpkin listed the amount he paid for each individual—or mother and children together—as well as their final sale price. These figures suggest the enormous investment of capital embodied in the interstate slave trade, and the potential profits to be made. Lumpkin's total costs for purchasing these 77 individuals amounted to \$29,622, while he was able to sell them for \$37,595, making a gross profit of \$7,973 within a period of just over a year. To put these numbers in perspective, all the buildings on Lumpkin's property at this time, including his house, hotel, kitchen, and jail, were valued at \$6,000 (Robert Lumpkin Ledger, 1848-1850).

Lumpkin may have begun as an itinerant trader, but by the time his Wall Street business was well established he was evidently operating as a more specialized slave

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<sup>6</sup> In 1866, Lumpkin claimed that his books and papers had been destroyed, initially by a flood of Shockoe Creek, and later by Union troops when they entered Richmond in April 1865. *Lumpkin v. Lumpkin*, Richmond City Circuit Court, 21 May 1864, File 64.

broker. In an advertisement in Richmond's *The Daily Dispatch* in October 1864, Lumpkin noted: "I wish to purchase, for a Southern gentleman, for his own use, one first-rate Cook, Washer and Ironer, and one Female House Servant, well qualified, for which I will pay the highest market price." Three years earlier, he had advertised for sale a woman with the same specialized skills: "For sale, a young Negro Woman and her Child, two years old. The Woman is a most excellent Seamstress—can cut and make almost any garment, and, besides, a very accomplished House Servant. For terms, &c., apply at Robert Lumpkin's Jail, on Wall street, before Tuesday next." As was the case with Anthony Burns in 1854, Lumpkin's Jail also served as a convenient temporary lock-up for runaways. In November 1861, William A. Allen of Hanover Junction offered a reward of \$25 to anyone who would return his slave named John H. Williams to Mrs. Ladd's boarding house on Franklin Street, or to "Robert Lumpkin's Jail." The following March, W.S. Warwick of Powhatan County sought to reclaim his "Negro man, George" who had been seen "lurking about the premises of Benj. Gray, Esq., on Franklin Street." He promised \$20 "for his delivery at Robert Lumpkin's Jail, in this city" (*The Daily Dispatch* 10 August 1861: 2; 24 October 1864: 2; 1 November 1862: 4; 21 March 1862: 3).

The most detailed physical descriptions of the Lumpkin's Jail complex are found in two accounts of the Colver Institute, the religious school for freedmen established on the site after the Civil War. The earliest was published in 1876, the second 25 years later. The two differ in some minor details; most notably, the original 1876 work provided a more complete description of the dimensions of the jail building:

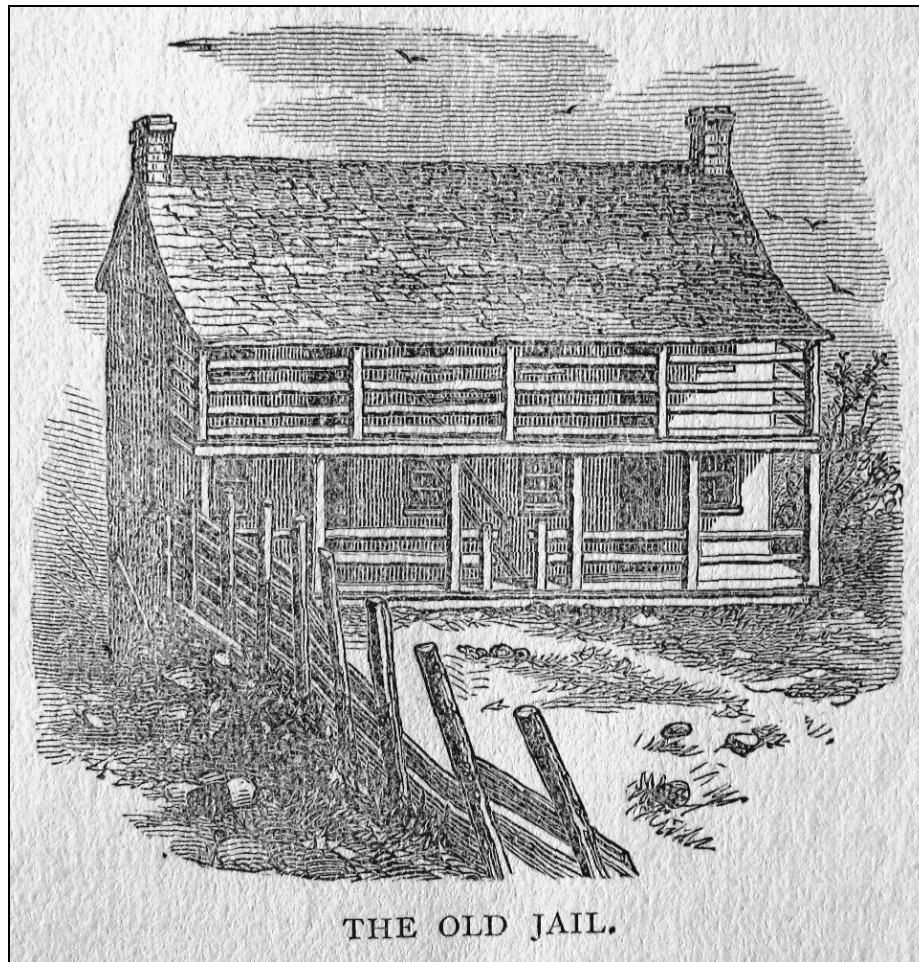
This establishment, which has often been spoken of as the "old slave pen," was situated near Shockoe Creek, in "Lumpkin's bottom."<sup>7</sup> The four principal buildings were of brick. One was used by the proprietor of the establishment as his residence and his office. Another was used as a boarding house for the accommodation of those who came to sell their slaves, or to buy. A third served as a bar-room and a kitchen. "The old jail" stood in a field a few rods from the other buildings. It was forty-one feet long, eighteen feet wide, and two stories in height, with a piazza to both stories, on one side of the building. Here men and women were lodged for safe keeping until they were disposed of at private or public sale (Corey 1876: 4-5) (Figure 6).

According to the later 1895 account:

Lumpkin's slave-pen consisted of about half an acre of land near the center of the older portion of Richmond. The patch lay very low in a deep hollow or "bottom," as it might be called, through which a small stream of water ran very slowly. In reaching this place of sighs from Broad Street, one had to climb down the incline of a sandy embankment nearly one hundred feet. The descent was steep, irregular, and in some places

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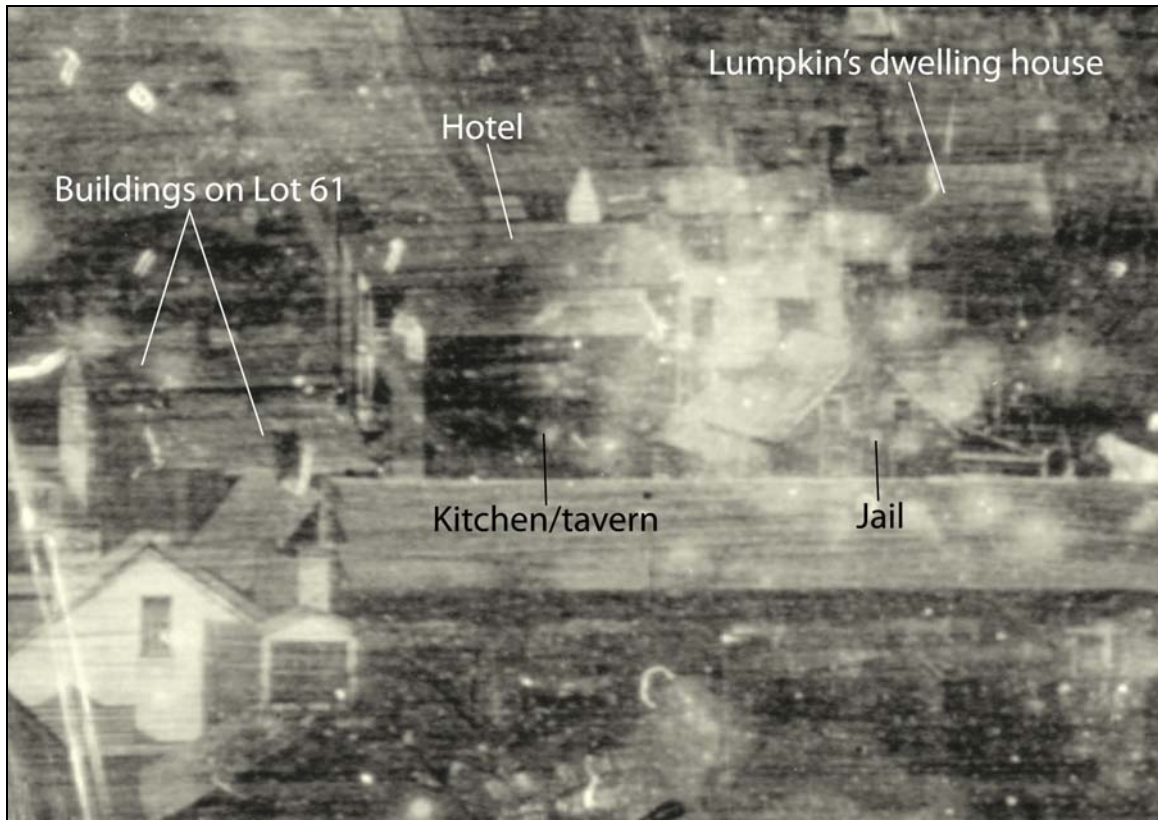
<sup>7</sup> The 1895 version added the following description: "It was situated in "The Bottom" between Franklin and Broad Streets, on the west side of Shockoe Creek. . . . A narrow lane known as Wall Street, properly Fifteenth Street, led to it" (Corey 1895: 46-47).



**Figure 6.** Engraving of Lumpkin's Jail in Charles H. Corey's, *Historical Sketch of the Richmond Institute*, 1876, p. 5.

difficult. In approaching the place from the Franklin Street side, the descent was quite gradual and easy by means of a narrow, crooked, and untidy lane. Around the outer borders of the said half-acre was a fence, in some places ten or twelve feet in height. Inside the fence, and very close to it, was a tall old brick building which Lumpkin had used for his dwelling-house. Near by were other buildings, also of brick, where he used to shelter the more peaceable of his slave-gangs that were brought to him from time to time to be sold. But in the center of the plot was the chief object of interest—a low, rough, brick building known as “the slave jail.” In this building Lumpkin was accustomed to imprison the disobedient and punish the refractory. The stout iron bars were still to be seen across one or more of the windows during my repeated visits to the place. In the rough floor, and at about the center of it, was the stout iron staple and whipping ring (Corey 1895: 75-76).

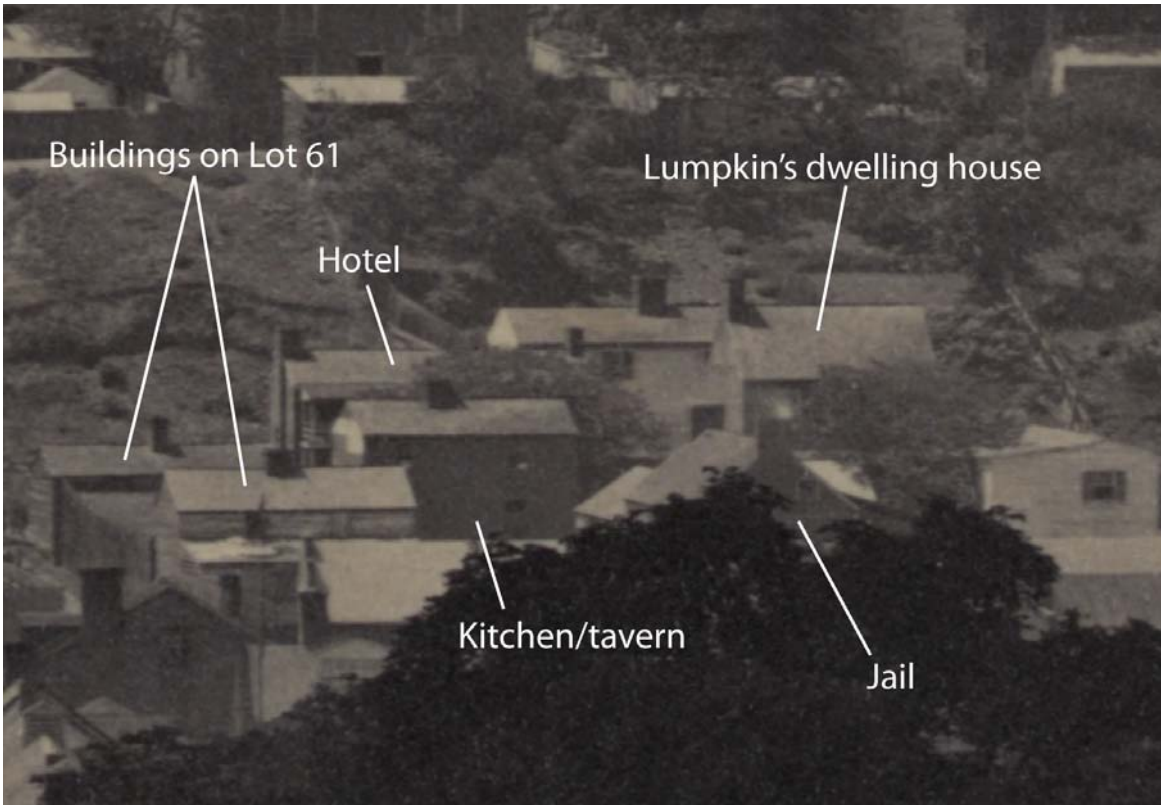
At least two mid-nineteenth-century photographs depict the Lumpkin's Jail complex, and generally substantiate the contemporary descriptions of the property. The earliest is a daguerreotype dating to ca. 1853-1856 from the collections of the Valentine Richmond History Center (Figure 7). The second image, dating to April 1865, was taken by Union Army photographer Captain Andrew J. Russell, and is held by the Library of Congress (Figure 8). Both were panoramic views of the city captured from Church Hill, looking west along Grace Street. Each shows the principal buildings on the property, including Lumpkin's dwelling and hotel fronting on Wall Street, and the kitchen/tavern and jail buildings to the rear (east), towards Shockoe Creek.



**Figure 7.** Detail of View of Richmond from Church Hill, 1853-56.  
Courtesy of the Valentine Richmond History Center.

Most contemporary accounts of the Lumpkin's Jail complex describe the principal buildings on the lots, including Lumpkin's dwelling house, the hotel, the kitchen/tavern, and the jail itself. But there is at least indirect documentary evidence of additional structures, as well. When Lumpkin re-insured his house with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia in May 1858, the policy noted that it was contiguous to "9 wood houses" and "6 brick mostly covered [i.e. roofed] with wood." Further evidence is provided by a brief mention in a Civil War era newspaper story. In July 1862, Confederate military police learned that Moses Taylor, a "free negro" from Norfolk, and

one of Lumpkin's slaves named Thornton had been illegally selling liquor to soldiers. According to *The Daily Dispatch*, "they made a descent . . . on a house in rear of Lumpkin's Jail," and arrested the two suspects. In addition to barrels of whisky and brandy, they also seized a considerable quantity of military supplies believed to be "plunder from the battle-field." Not only is this account significant for its mention of another building on the property, but also because it implies a certain lack of oversight over the activities there (Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia Policies, Vol. 132, #19830; *The Daily Dispatch*, 14 July 1862: 1).



**Figure 8.** Detail of Andrew J. Russell's *Richmond, from Oregon [sic.] Hill, April 1865*.

The arrival of Union troops in Richmond in April 1865 brought a sudden and dramatic end to Lumpkin's slave-trading business. As the Southern troops abandoned the city on the night of April 2<sup>nd</sup>, Lumpkin reportedly attempted to board the last departing train—which happened to be carrying Confederate President Jefferson Davis—with a recently acquired shipment of slaves. Turned away by armed guards, Lumpkin marched the group back to the jail and locked them up for what would be their last night of captivity. When the Federal forces entered the city the following day, an exuberant crowd of African Americans gathered on Broad Street near Lumpkin's Jail. Sensing their impending release, the inmates reportedly began chanting:

Slavery chain done broke at last!  
Broke at last! Broke at last!  
Slavery chain done broke at last!  
Gonna praise God till I die!

The crowd then took up the refrain as Union soldiers opened the jail. As they were freed, the grateful slaves tearfully thanked God and “master Abe” (Litwack 1979: 167-168).

### **“Devil’s Half-Acre” to “God’s Half-Acre”**

Robert Lumpkin died in 1866. In the will he wrote in February of that year, he bequeathed to his widow Mary F. Lumpkin “who resides with me, my real estate in the city of Richmond, consisting of a lot of land lying on the East side of Birch [Lumpkin’s] Alley, fronting on said alley, and running back to Shockoe Creek.” He also left her the remainder of his Richmond real estate, which by that time included a number of additional lots on both sides of Lumpkin’s Alley he had acquired during the 1850s and 1860s, including Lots 61, 65, and 66, and those in the rear of 62, 65, and 66 adjacent to Shockoe Creek. He also left to her property in Philadelphia and Huntsville, Alabama. If she should marry, he noted, the estate would then pass to “her children,” including Martha Dabney K[elsey], Annie E. Lumpkin, Robert Lumpkin, Richard C. Lumpkin, John L. Lumpkin, “and any other child she may hereafter have by me.” Most significantly, he made Mary his executrix, a role which she would not have been legally entitled to fulfill only the year before, prior to Emancipation (Richmond City Hustings Wills 24: 416-422; RCHDB 63: 97; 67A: 230; 77A: 281; 79B: 224).

Mary Lumpkin’s inheritance of the Lumpkin’s Jail complex after the Civil War would precipitate the most remarkable phase of its history. In May 1867, an abolitionist Baptist minister, Reverend Nathaniel Colver, arrived in Richmond as a representative of the National Theological Institute to establish a school to train African Americans for the ministry (Figure 9). Colver’s biographer, Jesse L. Rosenberger, later described the difficulties he faced:

It was not easy in those days to get any kind of a place in the South to be used for a school for the freedmen. If, in an exceptional case, an owner of property was personally favorably disposed to the project, he was nevertheless afraid to go against public sentiment. Even many of the colored people themselves were afraid to act against it. For this latter reason Dr. Colver’s original plan of starting the school in one of their churches had to be abandoned. At last, in his perplexity, he devoted a day to fasting and prayer. Toward evening he went out on to the streets to see, as he afterward said, what answer the Lord might give him. He had not walked far when he met on the sidewalk a group of colored people. He stopped them, and engaged them in conversation. He told them his object in coming to Richmond, and of the obstacles which he had encountered. In the midst of the group was a large, fair-faced freedwoman, nearly white, who said that she had a place which she thought that he could have. The place was the Lumpkin’s Jail property. The woman, who had been bought by Lumpkin as a slave, but had been married to him after the war,

had, as his widow, come into possession of the property. She was a member of the First African Baptist Church of Richmond, and, Dr. Colver said, was a true Christian. She was not only willing to lease the property for the school, but let it for five hundred dollars a year less than she could have rented it for to others” (Rosenberger 1922: 105-106).



**Figure 9.** Portrait of Reverend Nathaniel Colver from Jesse Leonard Rosenberger’s *Through Three Centuries*, 1922.

With a site finally identified, Colver set to work converting the former slave-trading facility into an educational institution. “It was in the old Jail, the threshold of which was pressed by the foot of a slave for the last time on the memorable Sunday afternoon of the evacuation,” recorded his successor,

that Dr. Colver made a beginning of his work. Appropriate services were held on the premises, and Dr. Colver preached an impressive sermon from the porch of the boarding house. He referred to the change that had taken

place in the status of the colored people, and also to the different purpose to which the premises were about to be devoted: to the old jail, with the iron grating across the windows (a place of bitter memories) that was in the adjacent yard. No longer would there go up from within those walls from broken-hearted men, torn from their families forever, an agonizing wail to Heaven. No longer would helpless wives and mothers wash those floors with their tears. The Doctor urged all ministers and young men to avail themselves of the opportunity to enter the school. The occasion was one of profound and tearful interest (Corey 1895: 54-55).

Within a few short weeks, the former jail had undergone significant changes. In June 1867, Lumpkin's estate was charged for "taking irons out of 28 Window frames," and other tasks, such as "moving house and fitting up," "putting in steps," "Cutting out & putting in 2 Doors," erecting fences, building privies, and "making & Hanging" a large gate. A former teacher, Mrs. H. Goodman Smith, recalled that classes were held in the jail, while the instructors lodged in other buildings on the premises. According to Smith, the recent history of the site did not trouble them greatly. "So entirely absorbed were we in our arduous work of teaching these eager students," she claimed, "some of whom were already pastors, that our uninviting surroundings were unthought of by us, only as our Northern friends commented on them in their visits to us (Lumpkin's Exec. v. Kelsey, Richmond City Circuit Court, account of M'Kiel & Wilson, May 1867, submitted to court 27 June 1872; Corey 1895: 82-83).

Reverend Colver took up residence in the "tall old dwelling house of the late Mr. Lumpkin," and set to work teaching. By all accounts, he was universally loved and respected by his pupils, who initially numbered between 30 and 40. Yet, ill health forced him to resign his position in June 1868, after which he was replaced by fellow Baptist minister, Charles H. Corey. A Civil War veteran who had recently served as principal of the Augusta Institute in Georgia, Corey was inspired by what he found in Shockoe Bottom. "In the other buildings" on the property, he observed, "colored students for the ministry were living and boarding in common. They too were happy. Glad faces greeted me on every side. The old slave pen was no longer the "devil's half acre" but "God's half acre" (Corey 1895: 57-59, 76).

By 1870, the Colver Institute had over 100 students taking day and evening courses, with a daily attendance of about 60. Though Lumpkin's Jail had served its purpose admirably at the outset, the school now required larger and better accommodations. "It was a proud day," Reverend Corey remembered, "when the students and teachers of Lumpkin's Jail marched up out of that old slave-pen, and took possession of the United States Hotel, at the corner of Nineteenth and Main Streets." In the years that followed, the institution changed names and locations a number of times. When it was incorporated in 1876, it was renamed the Richmond Institute. It then became the Richmond Theological Seminary in 1886. In 1899, it joined with the Wayland Seminary, which had relocated from Washington, D.C., to become Virginia Union University, which continues to thrive as a premier historically black institution of higher education in Richmond (Corey 1895: 58-59, 80; Rosenberger 1922: 110).



## The Site Transformed

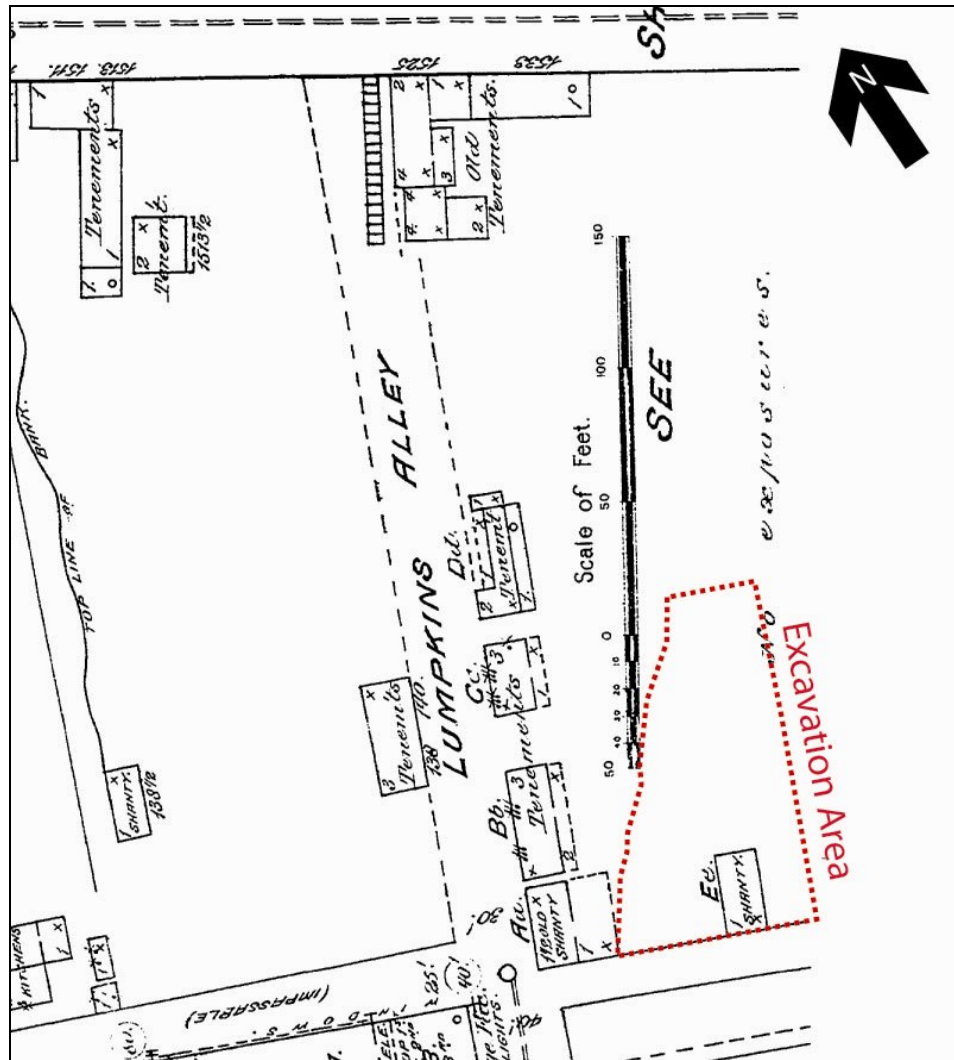
The period following the relocation of the Colver Institute from the Lumpkin's Jail site was characterized by a gradual process of urban decay, as the buildings on the site, now nearly 40 years old, began to show their age. In 1873, Mary Lumpkin sold all her lots on the east side of Wall Street, including the former jail complex, to Andrew Jackson Ford and his wife Mary Lucy Ford. Ford was the proprietor of the new Ford's Hotel at Eleventh and Broad Streets, then considered to be one of the Richmond's best hostelries. At the time of the transaction, the value of buildings on the property was still assessed at \$10,000, unchanged since before the Civil War. As is evident from contemporary descriptions of the property, however, the city tax assessors were slow in noting the rapid deterioration of the Lumpkin era buildings (RCHDB Book 100A: 104; *The Times Dispatch* 1903b: 1-2; Richmond City Land Books 1867-1874).

In a March 1872 filing of an ongoing Chancery suit concerning Lumpkin's estate, it was claimed that "within the last two or three years the real-estate has greatly declined and is steadily declining owing to the fact of its location, the property having been formerly valuable as a Negro jail but now not adapted to any business purposes nor for a residence, all the rents are so small and precarious that the property affords no revenue worth speaking of and is going to decay while your oratrix [Mary Lumpkin] has no means of keeping it in repair." Several months later, a witness familiar with the property told the court that the jail property "is on a low place sometimes overflowed by Shockoe Creek—The buildings are some of wood and some of brick—They are all in very bad condition, and need repairs very much. Its annual value is about \$300 gross per year, and it is doubtful whether that amount is collected. It is occupied entirely by negroes—Its fee simple value is about \$8000. It might be used for manufacturing purposes." In December 1872, Chancery Commissioner Edward Y. Cannon noted that A.J. Ford was interested in purchasing the property to establish a laundry for his hotel and lodgings for his employees who could not be accommodated in the Broad Street building. He agreed that the buildings were "going to decay," and providing little benefit to Lumpkin's estate. As such, he "earnestly" recommended the sale to Ford. His fellow commissioner, Henry Hudnall, was of the same opinion. "The buildings are much out of repair," he agreed, "and the somewhat disreputable character of the neighborhood would prevent much competition at a public sale. Were I an interested party I would cheerfully ratify the sale. The terms are as good as such sales will command at this or any other time" (*Small's Admin. v. Lumpkin's Exec.*, Richmond City Circuit Court, decree of 28 June 1879; *Lumpkin's Exec. v. Kelsey*, Richmond City Circuit Court, answer of S.N. Davis to interrogatories, 13 June 1872).

By 1876, the value of buildings on the property had dropped considerably to \$6,500. The atlas of Richmond published by F.W. Beers the following year depicted buildings along Wall Street on the former Lumpkin lots, but no structures to the rear where the jail had been located (Figure 10). Given this evidence, it appears likely that the decline in the value of built improvements coincided with the demolition of the jail building. By 1881, the buildings on A.J. Ford's Wall Street lots were assessed at only \$1,250. The first detailed Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps of Richmond



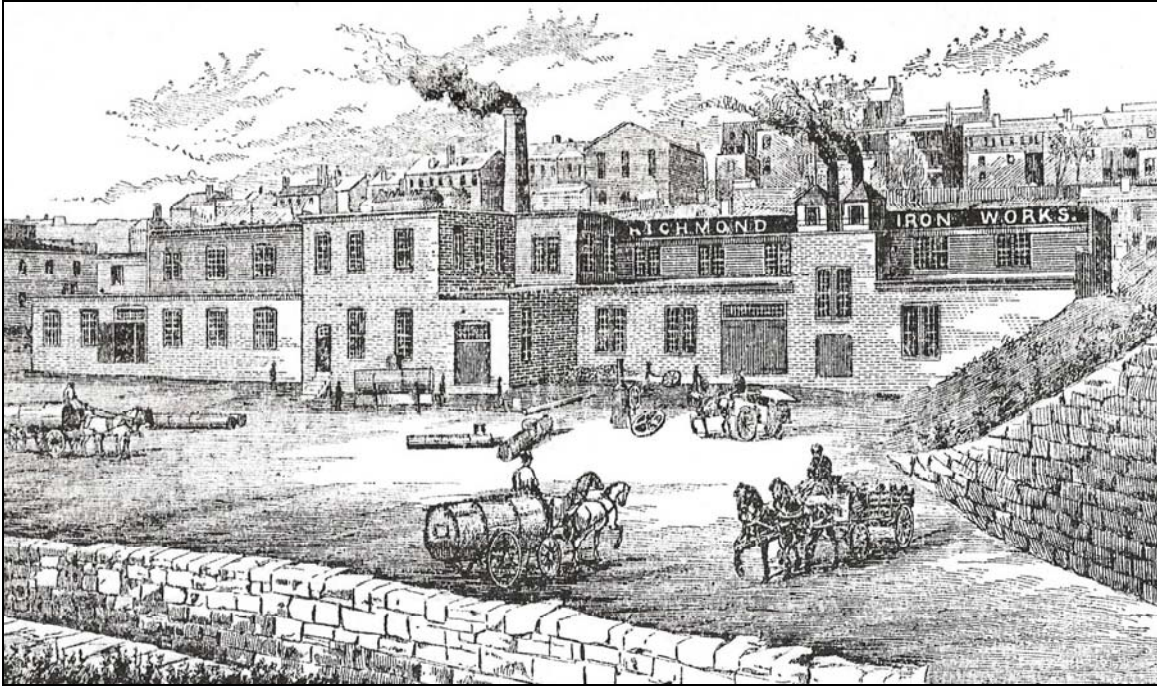
**Figure 10.** Location of the former Lumpkin lots and buildings on detail of F.W. Beers' *Illustrated Atlas of the City of Richmond, Va., Section G, 1877.*



**Figure 11.** Location of the former Lumpkin buildings on detail of the Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. map of Richmond, 1886.

published in 1886 indicate that the structures that remained were being occupied as tenements, perhaps by Ford's Hotel employees (Richmond City Land Books, 1876-1881) (Figure 11).

In 1892, Ford sold the lots to John Chamblin and James H. Scott. With Alexander Delaney, they subsequently established the Richmond Iron Works on the property (Figures 12-13). This industrial enterprise specialized in brass and iron casting, and manufactured a variety of products, including engines, boilers, sawmills, agricultural implements, fire escapes, grills, fencing, pulleys, gearing, shafting, verandas, and balconies. As noted by Charles H. Corey in his history of the Richmond Theological Institute, the large factory building was built directly atop the former Lumpkin's Jail site. By an interesting coincidence, James H. Scott was the father of the young Mary Wingfield Scott, who would go on to become a well-known architectural historian and



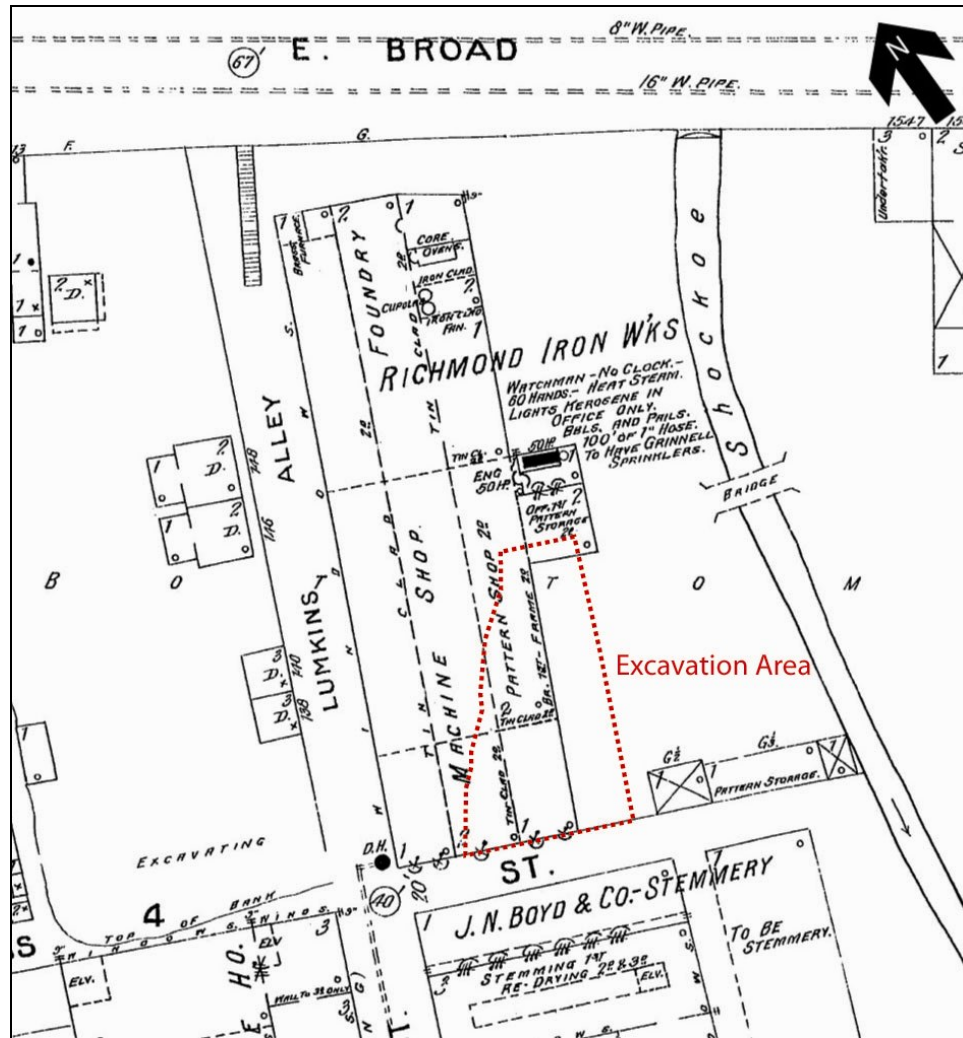
**Figure 12.** The Richmond Iron Works as depicted on company letterhead, ca. 1894.  
Courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society

spearhead the historic preservation movement in Richmond. In her unpublished autobiography, “The Making of an Architectural Historian,” she described visiting her father’s workplace as a young child: “I remember going to ‘the shop,’ as he called it, down in the bottom where the C&O tracks afterward ran, and seeing the iron poured into “pigs” and an engine coming out of what I took to be hell!”<sup>8</sup> (RCHDB 145A: 473; *The Times Dispatch* 1903a: 10; Corey 1895: 47; Scott n.d.: 23, 25-26).

In 1905, John Chamblin deeded his share in the Richmond Iron Works property to the Seaboard Air Line Railway. At that time, the tract was bounded by Broad Street to the north, Wall Street to the west, Ross Street to the south, and Shockoe Creek to the east. The transfer was not fully completed until 1907, however, when the executors of Chamblin’s now deceased partner, James H. Scott, conveyed his interest to the railroad company. In 1901, Seaboard and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway had jointly built the new Main Street Station on the adjoining property, and acquisition of the Richmond Iron Works tract allowed for the expansion of rail facilities in this area. The railroad subsequently demolished the ironworks and built a large freight depot on the site. Completed in 1909, the brick building consisted of a two-story office fronting on Franklin Street attached to a long, single-story warehouse that extended 500 feet to the north, nearly to Broad Street. As depicted on Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, the Seaboard

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<sup>8</sup> The original manuscript is included with the Mary Wingfield Scott Papers at the Virginia Historical Society, Mss2Sco851b.



**Figure 13.** The Richmond Iron Works foundry on detail of the Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. map of Richmond, 1895.

freight depot had loading sheds on both sides, and was served by multiple rail spurs that ran under Broad Street (Figure 14). As with the former ironworks, a portion of this large building also overlaid the former Lumpkin’s Jail lots (Richmond Circuit Court Deed Book [RCCDB 187B: 205; 193B: 46]).

In the post-World War II period, the fate of the former Lumpkin’s Jail site would be determined largely by the decline of the railroads and the increasing importance of automobile transportation. When the Richmond and Petersburg Turnpike (later subsumed by Interstate 95) was built in the late 1950s, the western portion of the original Lumpkin lots was buried beneath the elevated roadway. Before the new toll road was opened in 1958, the northernmost section of the Seaboard freight depot was removed to make way for the tall highway embankment. In the years that followed, the facilities in this area continued to decline as rail traffic diminished, and Amtrak’s last passenger train departed from Main Street Station in 1975. In 1978, however, Larry Shifflett and David

White of Richmond's SWA Architects began planning a multimillion-dollar restoration of Main Street Station, which they envisioned as a shopping and dining destination. In 1983, Main Street Properties, Inc. (later Main Street Associates) purchased the station and its surrounding property, including the Seaboard freight depot and former Lumpkin's Jail property.<sup>9</sup> Despite a devastating fire at Main Street Station in October 1983, the renovations continued and the new mall opened in November 1985 (Kollatz 2003: 7-11; RCCDB 819: 741; 825: 1763).

Only two years after the restored Main Street Station re-opened for business, the development partners were forced to sell the entire property to the First National Bank of Boston to satisfy an outstanding debt. In April 1988, the bank deeded the property to the Commonwealth of Virginia, which used both the station and the Seaboard freight depot as office space. The state then transferred the property, including the Lumpkin's Jail site, to the City of Richmond in August 2000. At the time of the preliminary archaeological investigation of the Lumpkin's Jail site in 2006, the portion not covered by Interstate 95 was situated beneath a paved parking lot leased by the City of Richmond to Virginia Commonwealth University (RCCDB 25: 219; 142: 48; 163: 1985; 203: 1087; Richmond Circuit Court Instrument #000021522).

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<sup>9</sup> At some point after the 1983 sale, an additional section at the north end of the former Seaboard freight depot was removed. The accompanying survey of the site indicated that, at the time of the transaction, the building had not yet been reduced to its current length (Richmond City Plat Book 36: 49).

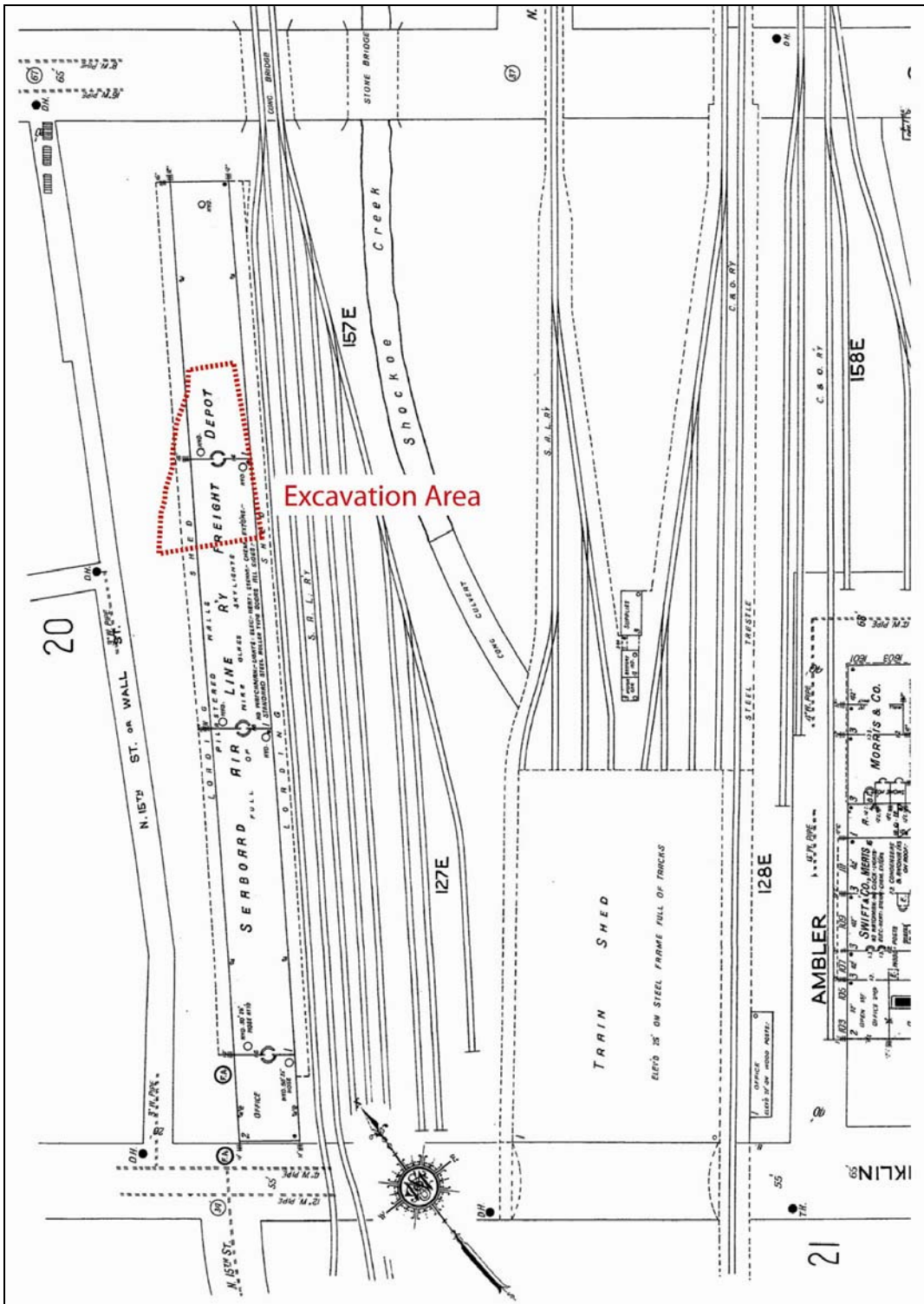


Figure 14. The Seaboard Air Line Railway freight depot on detail of the Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. map of Richmond, 1924.

### 3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In late 2005, JRIA began a documentary and archaeological investigation of the Lumpkin's Jail site in order to establish its location and assess its archaeological integrity. The crucial first task of the investigation was to determine as accurately as possible the location of Lumpkin's property on Wall Street, long since buried beneath Interstate 95 and the paved parking lot behind Main Street Station. To accomplish this, intensive documentary research was conducted using a variety of written sources, maps, and photographs, which succeeded in identifying the property owned and occupied by Lumpkin's Jail from the 1840s through the 1860s. Once this had been accomplished, it was necessary to relocate the former city lots, long since abandoned, on the much altered modern landscape. City of Richmond GIS specialist Amy Howard "georeferenced" the detailed 1835 Micajah Bates map of Richmond, digitally overlaying it on modern maps and aerial photographs, and determining locational data points (Figure 15). A City survey team then used this information to establish and mark the lot locations in the field. At this point, it was clear that Wall Street and the western portion of the lots (including Lumpkin's dwelling and hotel) had been buried beneath the Interstate 95 embankment. Since the available documentary evidence suggested that the jail building was located towards the rear (east) of the lots, however, JRIA determined that there was a strong possibility that it was located beneath the existing parking lot north of the Seaboard freight depot (Laird 2006).



**Figure 15.** Projected location of Lumpkin's Lots 62, 63, and 64.



In April 2006, JRIA conducted the archaeological component of the investigation. The defined testing area measured approximately 135 feet (N-S) by 40 feet (E-W) at its maximum extent (Figure 16).



**Figure 16.** Location of the preliminary testing area and test trenches, 2006.

During the course of the investigation, JRIA archaeologists monitored the mechanical excavation of three test trenches using a backhoe with three-foot smooth and toothed buckets. Strata and architectural remains clearly associated with the Seaboard Air Line Railway depot's northern section and the ca. 1890s Richmond Iron Works foundry were noted. It was assumed that any strata below the foundry level might reasonably be associated with the Lumpkin era occupation, and excavation was terminated at a depth at which possible intact cultural layers were observed. The depth of this layer, which was observed in all three trenches, ranged from approximately 8-10 feet below the modern ground surface in Trenches 1 and 2, and approximately 5 feet in Trench 3. Once this level had been reached, a steel trench box was inserted into the

trenches, and test units were excavated by hand to retrieve a representative sample of artifacts and to potentially reveal intact features (Figure 17).



**Figure 17.** Trench 2 with steel trench box in place.

The excavation of Test Unit 1 in Trench 2 yielded evidence of a preserved vertical wood post and *in situ* brick (Figure 18). In addition, Test Unit 1 in Trench 3 revealed an area of intact cobble paving, and probing indicated that it continued throughout the base of the trench (Figure 19). A number of contemporary accounts of Robert Lumpkin’s compound referred to a courtyard area between his dwelling on Wall Street and the jail at the rear of the lots. As such, JRIA speculated that this cobbled paving surface was consistent with such a “high-traffic” area, suggesting that Trench 3 was located within the central portion of the complex.

Given the constraints of trenching within deep urban fill, with depths ranging from 5 to 10 feet below existing grade, it was not possible to retrieve a representative sample of artifacts from all soil layers. However, visual observation of the trench profiles confirmed the known sequence of events on the property subsequent to the demolition of the Lumpkin compound in the 1870s. Prior to the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry, it appeared that a significant quantity of sterile clay fill was deposited across the site to provide a level construction surface. This layer appeared to be considerably deeper towards the southern end of the project area, suggesting that the original site topography sloped downwards in this direction.



**Figure 18.** Possible fence feature in Test Unit 1, Trench 2,

Sealing this layer was a series of strata clearly associated with the Richmond Iron Works, including heavy inclusions of brick rubble, slag, and charcoal, as well as numerous pieces of cut leather. A second layer of clay fill appears to have been deposited over the remains of the ironworks in the early twentieth century, and a concrete slab was poured as the foundation of the Seaboard freight depot. When this section of the Seaboard freight depot was demolished in the mid-twentieth century, the slab was left in place and paved over. In general, it appeared that the nature of these fill soils—relatively damp and highly compacted—had provided an excellent environment for preserving organic materials such as wood and leather. They also had protected the deposits and features associated with the nineteenth-century domestic occupation of this site, most notably the period of Robert Lumpkin’s ownership, ca. 1844-1866.



**Figure 19.** Cobble paving surface, Trench 3, Test Unit 1.

The results of the archaeological testing indicated that, while generally accurate, the lot boundaries established by georeferencing historic maps and surveyed in the field might be refined somewhat. Using the location and alignment of the concrete slab of the former Seaboard freight depot section that was discovered in Trench 2, it was possible to overlay the project area limits on the 1924 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map and align it accurately on an east-west axis. Then, measuring from the existing north façade of the Seaboard freight depot, the project area was aligned on an east-west axis. When this was accomplished, it appeared that the project area was situated approximately 20 feet further to the south than was intended, although it still extended across virtually all of the Lumpkin lots. Given that intact features were identified adjacent to the Seaboard Air Line Railway depot foundation, it also appeared likely that the site extended some distance to the east.

In total, 863 artifacts were recovered from the excavation of intact cultural contexts in the two test units in Trenches 2 and 3. In general, the ceramic assemblage from the two test units was entirely consistent with a mid-nineteenth-century occupation, including the Robert Lumpkin period (ca. 1844 through 1866), and the subsequent use of the property by the Colver Institute until 1870. As expected, the most numerous ceramic type was whiteware, including plain, blue transfer-printed, underglaze polychrome, ironstone, and spatter-sponged variants. Most of these varieties of whiteware were introduced into the American market in the 1830s and 1840s, and would have been the most common household ceramic wares during the Lumpkin period. The next most

common type was porcelain (bone china), which post-dated 1830. Contemporary with these wares were Rockingham/Bennington and yellowware, which comprised a far lesser portion of the total assemblage. Interestingly, a small but still significant proportion of the ceramics consisted of Pearlware, which first appeared in the United States in the 1780s and continued in popular use until ca. 1830. The presence of this earlier ware type suggested that certain cultural strata and features at the site might pre-date Lumpkin's ownership, possibly representing the occupation of his predecessors Bacon Tait and Lewis A. Collier.

In summary, the mechanical excavation of three test trenches with a total surface area of approximately 600 square feet indicated that the project area was characterized by a deep and complex series of fill and destruction layers associated with the ca. 1890s Richmond Iron Works foundry and a former section of the 1909 Seaboard Airline Railway freight depot. Despite the substantial depth of overlying fill layers, which ranged from approximately five to ten feet below grade, the testing indicated that mid-nineteenth-century cultural deposits and features evidently associated with Robert Lumpkin's domestic and commercial complex survived intact beneath later fill and destruction layers. No definitive evidence of the jail building itself was found; however, at least two significant features were identified, including a cobble-paved surface and possible boundary fence. In addition, it appeared that preservation within this sealed context was excellent, with organic materials such as wood and leather surviving in remarkably good condition.

Given the historical significance of this site as one of Richmond's most notorious slave trading compounds from the 1830s through the 1860s, and the high degree of integrity of the archaeological deposits, JRIA recommended that the site should be considered eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A, B, and D. The excavated trenches were then backfilled, and the site area protected pending further investigation.

## 4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The goals of the preliminary archaeological investigation conducted by JRIA in 2006 were relatively straightforward: to conduct intensive documentary research to establish as precisely as possible the location of Robert Lumpkin's slave-trading complex; and to perform archaeological testing to establish whether any intact archaeological remains of the mid-nineteenth-century occupation survived below ground. Having established that significant cultural layers, features, and artifact concentrations associated with the Lumpkin era were present at the site, JRIA was retained by the Richmond City Council Slave Trail Commission to develop a plan for conducting more intensive archaeological data recovery efforts at the site. The scope of the proposed project differed significantly in physical scale and the breadth of research objectives from the 2006 study. With the assumption that a substantial portion of Lumpkin's complex would be exposed through a combination of mechanical earth removal and hand excavation, the archaeological data recovery offered the opportunity to address a variety of research issues. Some of these were specific to the site itself, while others would be grounded in a comparative complex, integrating the results of previous investigations of similar urban sites associated with the interstate slave trade in the antebellum period.

Clearly, one of the principal tasks was to locate what survived of the major buildings associated with Lumpkin's complex, particularly the jail structure itself. It was also hoped that significant features such as trash pits, privies, yard areas, and other physical remains of the complex would be found. But it would be the analysis and interpretation of all the various strands of evidence that would help tell the story of how people used this site over time. Overarching research questions that would shape the data recovery included: What were conditions like for the African Americans who endured captivity here? How was this compound organized as a residential and commercial facility, with accommodations for Lumpkin and his household, as well as the customers he entertained here while conducting their transactions? What evidence remained of how the site was transformed from slave-trading business to educational institution? And how did Lumpkin's complex compare archaeologically with other contemporary urban slave-trading facilities that have been investigated archaeologically?

### **Interpreting the Houselot**

Since Charles Fairbanks' pioneering work in the late 1970s, the houselot has offered historical archaeologists a manageable conceptual unit for analyzing the material remains of human behavior. In this case, the assumption is that the artifacts excavated from primary deposits in a defined house yard were deposited by the residents of the houselot, the same individuals who controlled the yard space and artifact deposition. The upshot is that artifacts "represent the combined acquisition and deposition behaviors of all residents in a house structure" over time (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987: 2). Beaudry (1986), however, has cautioned historical archaeologists against the "Pompeii premise," or the presumption that archaeological features and artifacts associated with a houselot can be attributed with certainty to any given group of residents over time. In many cases multiple, consecutive occupations of houselots have blurred the lines between those who lived there, confusing any straightforward association between chronology,

material culture, and behavior. The first task of the historical archaeologist, therefore, must be to sort out these relationships.

In the case of the Lumpkin's Jail complex, it was expected that there would be a variety of complex temporal and stratigraphic relationships to unravel. As demonstrated in the preliminary phase of testing, the evidence of the later phases of site use associated with the Richmond Iron Works foundry and the subsequent Seaboard Air Line Railroad freight depot building would be relatively easy to identify and isolate. These were large, industrial-scale enterprises which—when demolished—left an unmistakable physical imprint in the form of deep fill strata strata. Once these have been removed, however, the earlier phases of occupation would likely prove more challenging to sort out. Lumpkin may have been the most notorious owner of these lots, yet the documentary evidence indicated that he was certainly not the first. This particular neighborhood in Shockoe Bottom, known as "Mayo's Addition," was established in the early nineteenth century, and was occupied for at least 20-30 years prior to Lumpkin's arrival on the scene. It is clear that two of Lumpkin's fellow Richmond slave traders—Bacon Tait and Lewis A. Collier—owned these lots during the 1830s and 1840s, and likely pursued similar commercial activities on the site. In fact, there is compelling evidence to suggest that it was Collier who built the 2 ½-story brick structure that ultimately became known as "Lumpkin's Jail." A number of diagnostic artifacts retrieved during the preliminary archaeological testing clearly dated to the earlier years of the nineteenth century. As a result, it was anticipated that at least some of the structural remains, features, and artifact deposits at the site would predate the Lumpkin occupation.

Conversely, the use of the site changed dramatically after the Civil War brought an end to Lumpkin's commercial activities. Within two years of the Union occupation of Richmond, Lumpkin's African-American widow Mary Lumpkin leased the property to the Colver Institute, a Baptist educational institution for newly freed slaves. Later accounts of the school's beginnings indicate that its director, Reverend Nathaniel Colver, took up residence in Lumpkin's former dwelling, the remains of which were likely situated under Interstate 95. Surviving documents identified by Dr. Philip Schwarz in the chancery records of the Richmond Circuit Court actually detailed some of the physical alterations that were made to the jail—including removing the iron bars from the 28 window frames—to render it more amenable for use as a classroom building. Although the Colver Institute occupied the Lumpkin's site only until 1870, it was thought possible that evidence of the "adaptive reuse" of the former commercial complex might be discernable in the archaeological record. Finally, land records and cartographic sources indicated that, while the Lumpkin era buildings were demolished by the mid-1870s, the lots included tenements occupied predominantly by African-Americans until the construction of the Richmond Iron Works in the early 1890s. Although physical evidence of these later wood frame structures would be relatively ephemeral, there appeared to be a strong potential for identifying artifact concentrations and subsurface features associated with the post-Lumpkin residential use of the lots.

While sorting out the complex temporal (i.e. vertical) development of the site would pose a significant challenge, it appeared that establishing the horizontal layout of the Lumpkin complex would be somewhat more straightforward. Written descriptions of the compound indicated that there were four major buildings on the lots, including Lumpkin's dwelling, a boarding house/hotel for his customers, a kitchen/tavern, and the

jail building, which was separated from the other structures by a central courtyard space. This basic layout was confirmed by two mid-nineteenth-century photographs in which the upper levels of these buildings are visible. A projection of the original Mayo's Addition grid on the modern landscape made it clear that the front/western portion of Lumpkin's lots was buried beneath Interstate 95. However, the rear/eastern section, which evidently included the jail building, would be the focus of the data recovery excavation. Other documented site features which might assist in orienting the complex were a tall fence that surrounded the lots, a portion of which may have been identified in the initial investigation. The earlier course of Shockoe Creek formed the eastern limits of the lots, and presumably this feature would be readily identifiable once the deep fill overburden has been removed. Finally, a short segment of an alley known as Ross Street bounded Lumpkin's lots to the south. Evidence of this feature would also aid in defining the extent of the complex.

In terms of evaluating distinct areas of occupation/use within the Lumpkin complex, it was thought that soil chemistry analysis might play an important role in defining distinct areas of occupation and use, and how they evolved over the course of the site's occupation during the primary period of interest, ca. 1830-1870. Soil chemistry has been demonstrated to offer an effective means of identifying and defining activity areas at historic domestic sites. The presence and concentration of trace levels of various chemicals in soils, particularly phosphorous, potassium, calcium, and magnesium are strong indicators of specific types of activity. Analyzed in conjunction with other data sources, soil chemistry can serve as a powerful tool for understanding zones of activity and recurrent behavior over time (Pogue 1988: 3-4; Custer et al. 1986: 90-91; Hoseth et al. 1994: 70).

In addition to soil chemistry analysis, the artifacts yielded by the site potentially offered an important source of information concerning the site's successive occupants, particularly as they related to wealth and status (e.g. the Lumpkin occupation versus the later tenancy). Ceramics, in particular, have significant interpretive value. Since the 1980s, historical archaeologists have become increasingly concerned with understanding how the socioeconomic status of historic households influenced the material items deposited in the archaeological record. Though a variety of factors including the regional availability of goods, ethnicity, and occupation clearly had some impact on the amount, style, and cost of material items purchased by consumers in the early years of the nineteenth century, there is general agreement that the value of household items, particularly ceramics, bore a direct correlation to the socioeconomic status of their owners. One of the most effective and enduring tools for measuring attributes of artifact assemblages has been Miller's (1980 and 1991) economic scaling indices of whiteware. It was thought that this analytical technique might provide a useful benchmark for helping to sort out what may otherwise be a temporally compressed and relatively indistinguishable succession of site occupations.

### **The Archaeology of Urban Captivity in a Comparative Context**

Archaeological data recovery of the Lumpkin's Jail site promised to provide a unique insight into Richmond's principal role in the antebellum interstate slave trade, a once dominant facet of the city's built environment which has virtually disappeared from



the modern landscape. However, this would not be the first investigation of a significant site of this date and type in Virginia. In the late 1980s, Engineering-Science, Inc. (ES) conducted archaeological data recovery at the site of the former Franklin and Armfield slave trading complex, also known as the “Alexandria Slave Pen,” located at 1315-1317 Duke Street in Alexandria. The conclusions that they were able to draw concerning the use and evolution of this site, and some fundamental generalizations concerning what they termed the “archaeology of urban captivity,” have important ramifications for the proposed investigation of the Lumpkin’s Jail Site (Artemel et al. 1987).

The Alexandria Slave Pen differed in a few obvious ways from the Lumpkin’s Jail site: the original Franklin and Armfield dwelling/office dating to the 1820s, as well as other nineteenth-century structures are still extant; and the stratigraphic character of the site was far less complex than the deeply-buried deposits in Shockoe Bottom. However, the parallels are far more numerous and compelling. Used originally as a residence and office in the period ca. 1812-1828, the site then served as the headquarters and holding facility for a large and prosperous slave-trading business from the late 1820s through the beginning of the Civil War—a temporal context almost identical to that of Lumpkin’s Jail. As with Lumpkin’s property, the war brought an end to its commercial use, and the site subsequently served as a Union Army prison, a hospital, and a boarding house and apartments. Faced with interpreting a lengthy and continuous occupation, ES made the decision to focus primarily on what they considered to be the site’s most significant period of use: ca. 1828-1861, when it functioned as the Alexandria Slave Pen.

In essence, ES proposed that the most effective way to understand this property archaeologically was as a “short-term habitation site.” Unlike Lumpkin’s Jail, where Lumpkin and his family actually resided at the site, the Franklin and Armfield complex was not occupied by the owners, only by the African-American slaves who spent a limited period of time there awaiting sale and transportation elsewhere. As noted by ES, “few archaeological studies have been conducted that record transient residence by captive members of society who have limited access to material goods. Material culture found on these sites,” they proposed, “may consist almost entirely of objects supplied by the agents and wardens of the institutions they served.” Assuming that physical evidence of the jail structure can be identified and evaluated at the Lumpkin’s complex, the results of the ES excavation at the Alexandria Slave Pen may provide important clues as to how the material culture—or lack thereof—may represent a unique type of “coerced” occupation radically different from typical domestic sites, even those of enslaved African Americans who generally had at least some, if limited, control over their domestic space and activities. Based on the results of their investigation, ES proposed a number of generalized characteristics that would apply to such sites:

*Short-term occupation.* Based on documentary sources, it appears that slaves generally spent between two weeks and two months at the Alexandria facility, which likely was typical of Richmond slave jails such as Lumpkin’s, as well.

*Limited access to personal property.* Slaves generally arrived at these holding facilities with only those personal items carried on their persons, and these may well have been confiscated. Contemporary accounts indicate that in many cases they left with two new sets of clothing.

*Physical separation from family and society.* With the exception of small children, sex segregation appears to have been the norm, with males and females occupying separate spaces regardless of family association.

*Material objects supplied by the institution.* Everything associated with the slave pen, including furnishings, cooking and eating implements, clothing, etc. was supplied by the slave dealers (Artemel et al. 1987: 124-126).

In general, the conditions at the Alexandria Slave Pen, Lumpkin's Jail, and other such facilities resembled that of a typical prison. As noted by ES: "it is hypothesized that the restricted personal behavior, conditions of capture and incarceration, and the physical setting may lead to general statements regarding archaeological sites exhibiting those characteristics already enumerated. These include: little or no general site refuse from areas inhabited by inmates; archaeological remains generally confined to architectural features; and non-architectural artifacts brought to the site from locations away from surrounding town or city" (Artemel et al. 1987: 126-127).

Should the physical imprint of the Lumpkin's Jail structure be identified in the course of data recovery, JRIA assumed that it would be possible to evaluate it in the context of the archaeological signatures proposed by ES based on their study of the Alexandria Slave Pen. It was hoped that such a comparative study might help to form a more complete picture of Virginia's major role in the domestic slave trade in the years before the Civil War.

## 5. METHODOLOGY

The field methodology for the excavation of the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site involved a three-stage approach consisting of mechanical excavation, hand excavation of trenches and test units, and hand excavation of cultural features. For the most part this process was sequential; however, the nature of urban archaeology and the particular circumstances of the site often precluded a straightforward linear progression. For example, mechanical excavation of an area typically was followed by hand excavation. In many cases, however, the results of hand excavation indicated that further mechanical excavation was required. Additionally, because the depth of contemporaneous deposits varied greatly across the site, mechanical and hand excavation often proceeded concurrently. The general procedures that governed the excavation and the subsequent processing of artifacts are described in the following section. Finally, the safety precautions taken by JRIA employees to comply with relevant federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and Virginia Department of Labor and Industry (DOLI) standards are reviewed.

### **Mechanical Excavation and Stabilization**

The results of JRIA's preliminary archaeological investigation of 2006 indicated that cultural materials and features associated with the antebellum Lumpkin occupation would be identified roughly five to eight feet below the modern ground surface. In order to expose the maximum possible area of the former Lumpkin's Jail lots, JRIA proposed to open an area measuring approximately 80 feet (east-west) by 160 feet (north-south), with a surface area of 12,800 square feet, or approximately 58,400-93,440 cubic feet of fill material. Additionally, the preliminary archaeological testing and documentary research indicated that the open area excavation would entail the partial removal of the brick foundation of Richmond Iron Works foundry building, as well as the concrete foundation of the former north section of the Seaboard Air Line Railway freight depot. Given the depth of the fill overburden, and the substantial overlying architectural remains, it was evident that mechanical excavation would be the only practical means of exposing the antebellum cultural horizons for hand excavation.

Throughout the archaeological data recovery investigation, Messer Contracting, LLC of Glen Allen, Virginia was responsible for the mechanical excavation, identification and removal of underground utilities, management of backfill, and overall site stabilization and safety measures. All phases of mechanical excavation were conducted under the supervision of JRIA's field director. During the preliminary stages of site excavation, engineers of Schnabel Engineering and representatives of the City of Richmond and the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) met several times on site to determine the appropriate setback necessary to avoid compromising the retaining wall along the Interstate 95 embankment. Only once this setback had been established did soil removal proceed in this area.

The process of soil excavation generally consisted of the removal of approximately two to three feet of fill at a time from across the excavation area until major soil textural or coloration changes and/or architectural remains were encountered. Once a change or cultural feature was identified, JRIA field staff cleaned and cleared the base of the excavation. The field director then supervised the mechanical excavation of

test trenches varying in depth from three to four feet, the profile of which was used to determine the stratigraphic relationship between the deposits and the architectural remains, and their relationship to the anticipated Lumpkin era contexts. Once the trench profile had been examined and an initial stratigraphic/temporal relationship had been determined, JRIA staff typically conducted hand excavations in the base of the trenches to assess the depth of the remaining post-Lumpkin period overburden. All pertinent information was recorded, and the excavation was continued to the appropriate depth. Particular attention was paid to the architectural remains of the ca. 1890s Richmond Iron Works foundry building, the construction of which essentially sealed the Lumpkin era city lots. This process was repeated until Lumpkin era deposits were revealed across the majority of the site.

### **Test Unit and Feature Excavation**

Each hand-excavated test unit was assigned a grid coordinate corresponding to the unit's southwest corner, as well as a unique numerical identifier. Test units were excavated according to natural stratigraphic layers using flat-bladed shovels and trowels. Each layer was assigned a letter designation beginning with "A" and proceeding alphabetically. All excavated soils were screened through ¼-inch hardware cloth, and all recovered materials stored in bags labeled with the appropriate provenience information, including site number, test unit and layer alpha-numeric designation, date of excavation, and excavator's initials. When excavation was completed, measured profile drawings of the unit profiles were drawn at a 1"=1' scale. All layers in the profile were recorded on standardized forms using Munsell color designations and USDA soil texture terminology. Finally, a 1"=1' plan drawing of any features or anomalies noted at the base of the unit was made.

Once the Lumpkin period occupation level was reached, site conditions required a reevaluation of the preliminary research design. It became apparent that the much of the exposed site area was characterized by historic "hardscaping" comprised of paved cobble and brick surfaces. The fill and associated materials overlying this surface were determined to be associated with the destruction of the mid-nineteenth century structures on the site. Additionally, the principal unpaved area included the interior of the former Lumpkin period kitchen building. As a result, JRIA quickly determined that shovel testing would potentially disturb the already complex stratigraphic relationship between occupation, destruction, and later deposits within the structure, and that test unit excavation was a more appropriate method for examining the uncovered deposits and features. Test units were excavated by hand to test the deposits directly overlaying the areas of cobble paving, revealing architectural evidence of structures and property lines; they also allowed for the intensive investigation of a significant structure directly associated with the Lumpkin occupation.

All potential cultural features were mapped on the site plan and documented. Features were excavated according to a standardized procedure using trowels. Each was recorded in plan at 1'=1" scale and digitally photographed. For non-linear features, half of the fill was removed to reveal a section in profile. Once the profile had been recorded at 1'=1" scale, the remaining half was removed. As in test units, deposits were removed by natural layers, if visible, and were screened through ¼-inch wire mesh. All soils were described using standard Munsell color and United States Department of Agriculture

(USDA) textural terminology. Both sections of all non-linear features were excavated, including postholes and other smaller cultural features. If during the sectioning process it was determined that the feature was a natural anomaly, the excavation was terminated.

### **Laboratory Methodology**

All artifacts collected during the course of the investigation were transported to the JRIA laboratory in Williamsburg, Virginia for processing and analysis. Prior to washing, provenience information accompanying the artifacts was confirmed against the artifact bag catalog and then recorded onto acid-free paper labels. After provenience information and/or bag numbers were confirmed, artifacts from each bag were emptied into a screening basket to assess their suitability for washing. Fragile items or items that typically should not be washed (certain metals/alloys, cloth) were removed and treated (dry-brushed) separately. Stable artifacts were washed with soft brushes in tap water. All items were thoroughly cleaned to aid in detailed identification and to assist in mending vessels. Washed items were then placed on a screen rack for ambient drying.

Once dry, artifacts were bagged by material type and provenience. All artifacts of a specific material type (i.e. ceramics, glass, bone, brick, etc.) were bagged in individual 2-millimeter (mil) polyethylene bags. All material type bags of a specific provenience were then placed in a single larger 2-mil polyethylene bag with an acid-free paper label bearing provenience information, site name, site number, artifact bag number, date of excavation, and excavator's initials in ink.

Objects larger than one square inch, except certain fragile items, were then labeled. The label consisted of the site number (44HE1053) and specific provenience applied with permanent ink to the artifact, typically between an under- and overcoat of clear sealer. If possible, artifacts were labeled in areas that would not obscure diagnostic features. Items too small or unstable for labeling were placed in archival quality plastic containers along with a label of permanent ink on an acid-free paper label.

Following washing, labeling, and bagging, the artifact assemblage was catalogued for further analysis. Artifacts were described by material, stylistic attributes, function and other qualifiers and entered into a Microsoft Access relational database.

Artifacts recovered from mechanically removed deposits were assigned to the provenience of Excavation Register (ER) 1. In September 2009, these materials were washed and cataloged by volunteers in a public-outreach program titled "Holding History in Your Hands—Artifacts from Lumpkin's Jail" sponsored by the Black History Museum and Cultural Center of Virginia in collaboration with the Slave Trail Commission and JRIA. The artifacts were first sorted in the laboratory at JRIA to assure that any potentially hazardous or sharp items would not be handled by the participants, and excessive soil was removed in advance. In total, seven Hollinger boxes of artifacts were selected as appropriate and processed at the Richmond event, which was attended by approximately 70 children and adults. Tables were set up in three stations for washing, documenting basic artifact information, and for final placement of the artifacts with their associated paperwork for review. All artifacts were washed and assigned a unique number, which followed the artifact completely through the process. At the conclusion of the program these items were added to the overall artifact database.

## **Safety Protocols**

Various safety protocols were closely followed during the course of the archaeological data recovery project to minimize risk to all site personnel and visitors. With the presence of large earth-moving equipment, particular care was taken to avoid potential injury to JRIA staff. The archaeologists always operated at a safe distance from the equipment. If this was not possible, they were assigned tasks away from the excavation area. Throughout, the field director worked closely with the machine operator to ensure that damage to the archaeological resources and site personnel was avoided. As a result, there were no injuries or accidents during the course of the project.

Prior to the project, the City of Richmond contracted with Schnabel Engineering to develop a site safety plan for all JRIA employees working on or visiting the site. As outlined in the plan, the archaeologists were required to wear hard hats, hard-soled shoes, and high-visibility safety vests while on site. As it progressed, the depth of the excavation also necessitated certain additional safety precautions. Messer Contracting ensured that the slopes around the margins of the site were maintained according to OSHA guidelines, and that all test trenches and other excavation areas were properly secured.

Comprehensive testing and analysis of soil and air-quality samples by DOLI determined that there was no appreciable risk to site workers from ground or airborne contaminants. Nonetheless, JRIA archaeologists were required to wear N95 Particulate Safety Mask Respirators and nitrile gloves as an added precaution to minimize exposure and discomfort during the excavation process.

## 6. ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA RECOVERY

JRIA began the archaeological data recovery project at the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site during the week of August 6<sup>th</sup>, 2008. The entire excavation phase of the project ran for approximately 18 weeks, concluding in mid-December 2008.

In the initial stages of the project, JRIA worked closely with Messer Site Development to mechanically remove fill the upper layers of asphalt and fill material within the excavation area, which measured approximately 80 feet wide by 160 feet long (Figure 20). During the course of the excavation, JRIA removed between eight and 15 feet of fill within the excavation area, exposing a wide variety of historic features spanning the occupation of the site from the 1830s through the mid-twentieth century (Figures 21-22).

The following section provides a detailed description of all significant archaeological contexts and features that were discovered and documented in the course of the excavation.



**Figure 20.** Removing asphalt paving within excavation area, August 2008.



Figure 21. Overall plan of the excavation area.





**Figure 22.** The excavation area and significant site features, view to west, December 2009.

## SEABOARD AIR LINE RAILWAY FREIGHT DEPOT

Once mechanical excavation within the defined testing area had begun, the first historic subsurface features to be identified were associated with the former northern extension of the extant Seaboard Air Line Railway freight depot, which was completed in 1909 (see Figure 14). Located just below the surface of the current paved parking lot, these features included the continuous concrete foundations of the demolished section of the building; an apron of cut granite cobblestones that coincided with the loading shed area on the west side of the depot; and remnants of the rail line, including well preserved wood railroad ties, which paralleled the east side of the building. These features were mapped, photographed, and then removed as mechanical excavation continued (Figure 23).



**Figure 23.** Aerial view of the Seaboard depot and Richmond Iron Works foundations.

## RICHMOND IRON WORKS FOUNDRY

As anticipated, mechanical excavation next uncovered the remains of the former Richmond Iron Works foundry, which was constructed by the firm of Chamblin, Delaney & Scott in the early 1890s (see Figures 12-13). A large section of the eastern wall of the foundry, measuring approximately 115 feet long, was uncovered and exposed by careful machine trenching and limited hand excavation (Figures 24-25). In some places, the massive foundry wall consisted of as many as 13 intact brick courses laid up in common bond, two and a half bricks wide, buttressed at intervals along its interior (west) face, and resting on large cut granite blocks.



**Figure 24.** Mechanical excavation reveals the Richmond Iron Works foundation.



**Figure 25.** Detail of Richmond Iron Works foundations.

A portion of the foundation of a two-story office addition adjoining the west wall of the main foundry building was also exposed. Soils within the interior of the foundry building were characterized by heavy concentrations of coal and slag, the partially vitreous by-product of smelting ore. No test unit excavation was conducted in association with the foundry features, although samples of slag were retained for potential future analysis.

Most significantly, mechanical excavation revealed the southeast corner of the foundry building and a portion of its south wall. Based on the available Sanborn Fire Insurance Company mapping, it was evident that the south wall of the foundry coincided with the northern edge of Ross Street, the thoroughfare that had marked the southern limits of Robert Lumpkin's Wall Street complex after he acquired Lot 61 in 1852. Based on this evidence, it was possible to reconstruct with some accuracy where the former 30-foot city lots were situated within the site area. In addition, the Sanborn maps indicated that the foundry building had measured approximately 80 feet wide, with its west façade fronting directly on Wall Street/Lumpkin's Alley. Having identified the southeast corner of the building, it was thus possible to project the location of the western edges of the Lumpkin lots, long since buried beneath the Interstate 95 embankment.

## **LUMPKIN PERIOD COURTYARD AND ASSOCIATED FEATURES**

Once the remains of the Richmond Iron Works foundry building had been fully documented, mechanical excavation continued in the northern portion of the site with the goal of relocating the area of cobble paving originally identified in the course of the 2006 investigation. As described in the following section, the excavation identified and ultimately uncovered a substantial area of cobble paving believed to represent the central courtyard of the Lumpkin period complex; a V-shaped brick drain running along its western limits; a cobbled berm feature; as well as a brick-paved area which appeared to channel water from the northern portion of the property to the drain.

### **Trench 19**

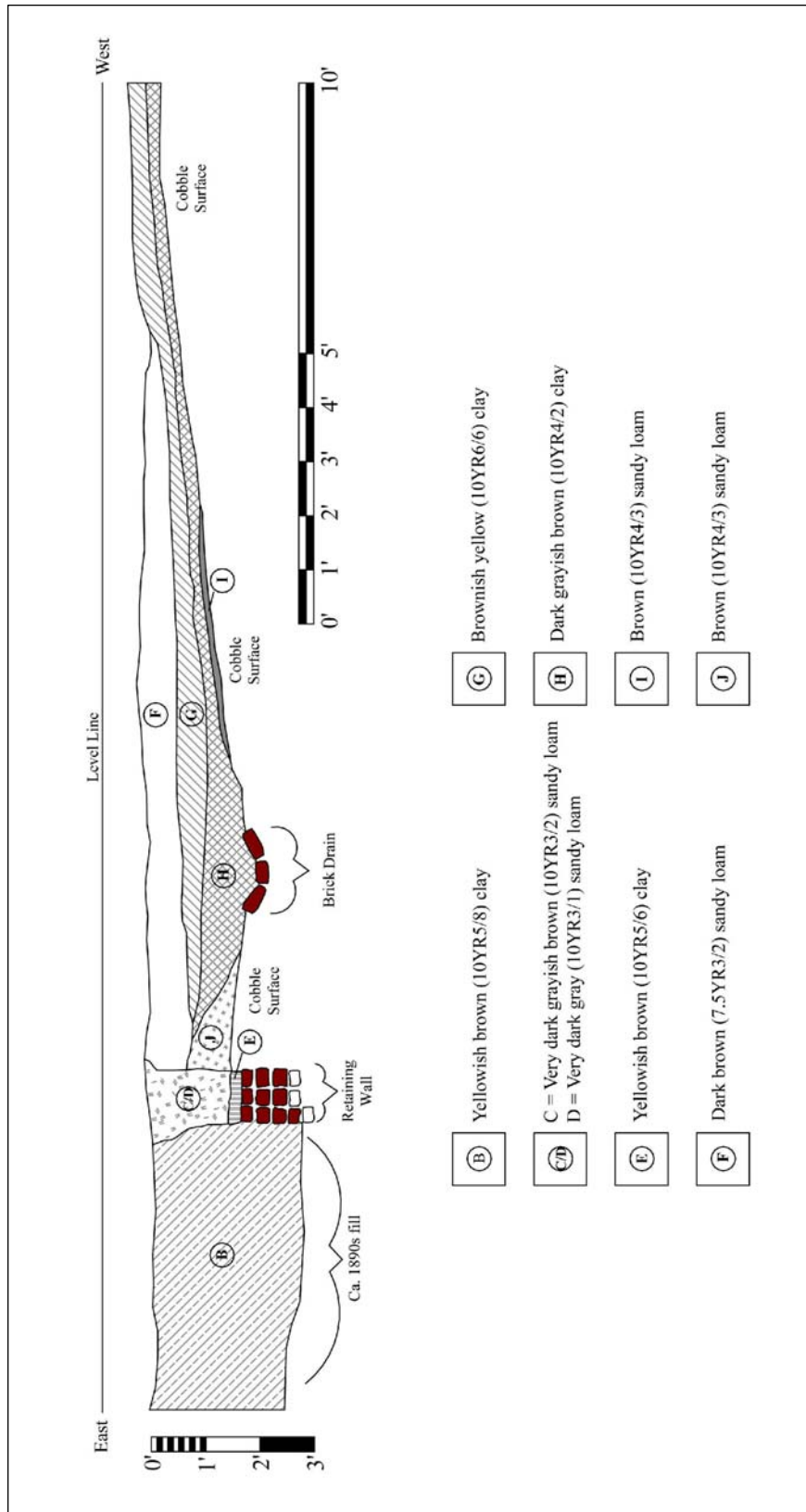
Trench (TR) 19 was the first exploratory trench mechanically excavated into the deposits below the level of the Richmond Iron Works foundry building. It was located approximately midway along the southern foundation wall of the foundry, in the vicinity of the section of cobble paving observed in 2006. Initially, TR 19 measured approximately 6.0 feet wide by 12.0 feet long, and extended in a roughly east-west orientation from the remains of the foundry foundation to the western excavation boundary. Subsequently, the trench was extended to approximately 30.0 feet in length when the western excavation limits were expanded after the removal of an inactive utility line. The stratigraphic sequence observed in the profile of TR 19 established that the excavations had reached the nineteenth-century deposits first encountered during the 2006 testing, and indicated the sequence of soil deposition across this portion of the site (Figures 26-28).



**Figure 26.** Overview of Trench 19, view to southeast.



**Figure 27.** South profile of Trench 19.



**Figure 28.** South profile of Trench 19.

Eight primary deposits were identified along the southern profile of the trench. The first included contexts 19C and 19D, characterized as very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) to very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy loam. This deposit appeared to represent the upper remains of a robber's trench feature which cut through the surrounding contexts. Context 19E, consisted of yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clay and represented the lower portion of the robber's trench for what was later determined to represent a large brick retaining wall. Adjoining the brick retaining wall to the east was a deep deposit (Context 19B), of yellowish brown (10YR5/8) clay which represented the massive filling episode that preceded the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry in the 1890s. Based on its stratigraphic relationship with Contexts C and D, it was evident that this section of the brick retaining wall was still standing when the fill was deposited. A more distinct series of soil strata was observed to the west of the brick retaining wall. The uppermost excavated layer was Context 19F, a dark brown (7.5YR3/2) sandy loam. Beneath this was Context 19G, comprised of brownish yellow (10YR6/6) clay; Context 19H, a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) clay; Context 19I, consisting of brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam; and Context 19J, a brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam. These fill deposits sealed what would have been the Lumpkin period ground surface, which consisted of a cobble-paved courtyard area. Also visible in TR 19 was a section of a V-shaped brick drain which paralleled the brick retaining wall to the west.

#### **Test Unit 34**

Test Unit (TU) 34 was a three-foot square test unit with a southwestern corner location of 1054N/997E on the site excavation grid. Along with TU 39 and TU 40, it was excavated to provide a sample of the deposits to the north of TR 19, which was presumed to cover the cobble surface to the west of the brick retaining wall. Ultimately, excavators identified three sequential contexts in this test unit.

Context 34A consisted of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay with charcoal and brick inclusions throughout. Excavators also noted the presence of ashy materials running throughout the matrix of the context. This context was found to be relatively uniform in depth, which only varied from 0.3 foot to 0.4 foot deep across the surface area of the unit. Representative artifacts recovered included sherds of whiteware, porcelaneous and bone china porcelain, and English brown stoneware; cut and unidentifiable nail fragments; various metal hardware and architectural fragments; various glass bottle fragments; pharmaceutical bottle glass fragments; various tableware and drinking glass fragments; window and flat glass fragments; a graphite pencil fragment; and a piece of roofing slate; brick fragments; and animal bone. Removal of this context revealed that it directly sealed context 34B.

Context 34B was comprised of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy clay. In addition to the textural change of the soil which distinguished it from 34A, it also contained a significant amount of crushed mortar inclusions. This layer was relatively uniform across the surface area of the test unit. Its depth varied only slightly from 0.5 foot to 0.35 foot, with a very gradual transition from the thickest portion in the southwestern corner of the unit to the thinnest in the northern half of the unit. The artifact density was relatively light. Diagnostic materials included only a single sherd of undecorated whiteware and nine cut nail fragments. Other representative materials recovered included unidentified nail fragments, a metal strap fragment, a variety of

hollowware glass fragments, window glass fragments, several small lithic fragments, and a small amount of coal.

Sealed by 34B was Context 34C, characterized by very dark gray (10YR3/1) clay. Excavators noted a large fragment of slate embedded in the top of this context. It was found to be a thin layer, varying in depth from only 0.2 foot to 0.3 foot, which was very uniform across the unit. A slightly greater amount of diagnostic artifacts was recovered from this context, including eight sherds of ironstone whiteware, three sherds of green/red/purple transfer-printed whiteware, one sherd of porcelaneous ceramic, one sherd of blue transfer-printed whiteware, one sherd of stoneware ginger beer bottle, and three cut nail fragments. Other materials included unidentifiable nail fragments, various bottle glass fragments, pharmaceutical bottle glass fragments, window glass fragments, glass tumbler and wine glass fragments, a porcelain doll part, and a small amount of coal and architectural slate. Directly below this context, excavators encountered the cobbled surface first identified in TR 19. In this unit, it was found that the clay material of context 34C readily separated from the tightly laid cobble surface and that there was little to no accumulation of earlier materials between the cobbles below this deposit.

### **Test Unit 39**

TU 39 was a three-foot square test unit excavated to sample the deposits covering the cobbled surface identified in TR 19. The southwestern corner of the unit was located at grid point 1061N/1000E. Only two contexts were identified within this unit. Context 39A was characterized by very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay. Context 39A was found to cover the entire surface area of the test unit at a depth of approximately 0.4 foot, while Context 39B was observed only along the southern third of the unit. Context 39A was found to extend a further 0.5 foot deeper in the northern two-thirds of the unit, directly sealing the cobbled surface. A fragment of intact wooden board running east to west across the unit was found to separate Context 39B from the remaining portion of 39A, about 1.0 foot north of the unit's southern edge. Diagnostic materials recovered from this context included 12 cut nail fragments, nine sherds of undecorated whiteware, four sherds of American brown stoneware, one sherd each of porcelaneous and bone china porcelain, and a fragment of a glass canning jar with molded patent dates. A *terminus post quem* (TPQ) of 1868 was derived from the latest legible date from this canning jar fragment, confirming that the fill covering the cobbled surface was deposited in the post-Lumpkin period. Other artifacts recovered included unidentifiable nail fragments, metal hardware fragments, bottle glass fragments, several fragments of glass mugs/tankards and drinking glasses, a large amount of unidentifiable glass fragments, window and flat glass fragments, a black glass button, lithics, slate tile fragments, and a small amount of wood, coal, and animal bone. In the northern two-thirds of the unit, removal of this context revealed the tightly laid cobble surface encountered in TR 19 across the base of the excavation. In the southern third of the unit, removal of 39A revealed that it sealed context 39B.

Context 39B was a very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy clay loam contained within the southern third of the unit. As described above, a fragment of wood was found to separate contexts 39A and 39B along this boundary. No evidence that this wooden fragment was associated with a larger structural element (e.g. a fence line) was found during the excavation of this test unit, or during subsequent excavations to expose the



entire cobbled surface. As such, it appears that this wood was merely a component of the fill deposited to cover the cobbled surface. Relatively few artifacts were recovered from this context. Diagnostic materials included three sherds of undecorated whiteware, two fragments of porcelaneous material, one sherd of ironstone whiteware, one sherd of under glaze painted whiteware, and a single cut nail fragment. Other materials recovered included unidentifiable nail fragments, and various bottle glass fragments. Removal of this context revealed the remainder of the tightly laid cobbled surface found below context 39A in the northern two-thirds of the unit.

#### **Test Unit 40**

TU 40 was a three-foot square test unit located with its southwestern corner at grid point 1072N/1003E. Along with TUs 34 and 39, it was excavated to complete the sampling of the deposits overlaying the cobble surface across the northern portion of the site. Additionally, TU 40 was situated to determine whether the open brick drain first observed in TR 19 continued to the north. Two contexts were observed within this excavation unit. Context 40A was located along the northern and western edges of the unit, and did not cover the entire surface area of the unit, possibly the result of the slightly uneven mechanical removal of the overburden above this layer. It consisted of dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) sandy loam with crushed mortar inclusions. This deposit was relatively shallow, its depth varying from 0.1 foot to 0.2 foot along the north and west profiles of the unit. The few diagnostic materials recovered from this context were limited to a sherd of undecorated whiteware, a sherd of porcelaneous ceramic, a sherd of American Blue and Grey Stoneware, and five cut nails. Other material included an unidentified earthenware sherd, unidentifiable nail fragments, iron wire fragments, and various bottle glass fragments. This context was found to directly seal 40B, which covered the entire surface area of the unit.

Context 40B was comprised of very dark gray (10YR3/1) loamy clay. This context was observed at the surface of the test unit along the southern and eastern edges of the unit, and was found to extend across the entire unit once 40A had been removed. The depth of this deposit varied slightly across the test unit, from a maximum of roughly 1.0 foot along the eastern edge of the unit to a minimum of 0.4 foot along the western profile. The artifact density of 40B appeared to be slightly higher than in 40A. Diagnostic materials included three sherds of undecorated whiteware, one sherd of ironstone whiteware, one sherd of bone china porcelain, one sherd of yellowware, and 20 cut nail fragments. Other materials recovered included a stoneware pipe fragment, unidentifiable nail fragments, iron wire fragments, various bottle glass fragments, pharmaceutical bottle glass fragments, various glass tableware fragments, window glass fragments, and small amount of oyster shell, bird bone, and mammal bone.

The removal of Context 40B revealed the continuation of the open brick drain, as well as a portion of a previously unidentified feature of the cobbled surface. The construction of the brick drain uncovered in TU 40 was found to match that encountered in TR 19. As in TR 19, it consisted of a two bricks sloping to a row of stretcher bricks which formed the base of the channel. The entire drain was found to pitch very slightly from the northern end of the unit to the southern edge.

In addition to the continuation of the brick drain, the removal of context 40B revealed that the cobble surface in this area had been built up to create a small berm of

tightly laid cobbles. This berm directly abutted the western edge of the brick drain and rose to a height of approximately 0.35 foot as observed in the western wall of the test unit. This previously unidentified feature was designated as FE 60, and was completely recorded after remaining fill deposits were removed across the entire northern portion of the site.

### **Feature 60: Cobbled Berm Feature**

A small portion of Feature (FE) 60 was first identified in TU 40. Subsequently, the deposits overlying the cobbled surface were stripped through both mechanical and hand excavation. Once these later materials had been removed, a portion of FE 60 was uncovered along the northern half of the cobbled surface. The feature was found to consist of a cobbled berm roughly 1.0 foot wide which formed a rectangle surrounding an area of tightly laid cobbles (Figures 29-31).

Portions of three sides were exposed during the excavation, but much of the feature ran into the western edge of the excavation area near to the Interstate 95 retaining wall. The southern berm of the feature was exposed to a length of approximately 15.0 feet from the embankment to the feature's southeastern corner. The eastern berm ran north from this point for an additional 15.0 feet to a point directly abutting the brick drain to the east and a portion of brick-laid surface to the north. Only a small section of the north berm was uncovered in the area where excavation could safely be conducted. This section was roughly 6.0 feet in length and ran from the northeastern corner of the feature into the excavation area sidewall directly abutting the laid brick surface to the north.

Potentially associated architectural elements were observed within the confines of FE 60, although stratigraphic evidence suggested that at least some were later additions. Most notably, a fragmentary line of dry-laid bricks was found to extend from the excavation area sidewall roughly 6.0 feet east along the interior edge of the south berm. Most of this feature consisted of brick bats, but three whole bricks were located at the eastern end of the line. A test excavation alongside the whole bricks revealed that deposits similar to contexts 40A and 40B (i.e. later fill material) was situated between the bricks and the cobble surface below. Diagnostic materials recovered included 11 sherds of undecorated whiteware, nine sherds of ironstone whiteware, and a single sherd of bone china porcelain. Other materials included unidentifiable iron fragments, a few bottle glass fragments, a portion of a lead tap, fragments of a bone toothbrush, fragments of leather, and a small amount of animal bone and coal. A TPQ of 1867 was derived from a maker's mark on one of the ironstone fragments, which read: "ROYAL PATENT/IRONSTONE/GEORGE JONES." This mark was associated with the George Jones Company, while the design dated to the period ca. 1867-1873.

A wooden post also was uncovered near the eastern terminus of the brick within the southern interior section of FE 60. The post appeared to be driven straight into the cobble surface, with no well-defined associated posthole. Although it appeared that the dry-laid brick had been deposited after the cobbled surface area had been covered with fill, the relationship between the berm, the wooden post, and the brick feature remained unclear.

Once the excavation of TUs 34, 39, and 40 had been completed, the remaining overburden was carefully shoveled off by hand, exposing a large section of the cobbled courtyard area, the V-shaped brick drain, and the unidentified cobble berm feature. Once

this was accomplished, an area of brick paving was revealed along the northern margins of the excavation area. The exposed portion measured approximately 22 feet (N-S) by 8 feet (E-W) at its widest point where it abutted the north side of the cobbled berm feature. The brick paving was slightly concave and sloped gently to the south where it intersected with the V-shaped brick drain. As a result, it appeared to have been designed to channel water from the northern part of the property into the brick drain. Although the northernmost portion of the brick retaining wall had been robbed, it appeared that the brick paving originally would have abutted its western face.



**Figure 29.** Cobbled berm feature, view to east.



**Figure 30.** Detail of cobble paving and open brick drain.



**Figure 31.** Detail of cobble paving, brick drain, and berm feature, view to south.

## **BRICK RETAINING WALL**

One of the most significant Lumpkin period features identified in the course of the investigation was a massive brick retaining wall running north-south across the site, which effectively divided the property into “upper” and “lower” levels. A portion of this wall was revealed initially by TR 19, and more fully exposed with the excavation of the cobble-paved courtyard area. Not until it was investigated in more detail, however, was its size and purpose fully understood. The subsequent analysis of its location in relation to the southeast corner of the Richmond Iron Works foundry indicated that it roughly coincided with the location of the “old bed” of Shockoe Creek indicated on the 1835 Bates map (see Figure 3).

### **Test Unit 31**

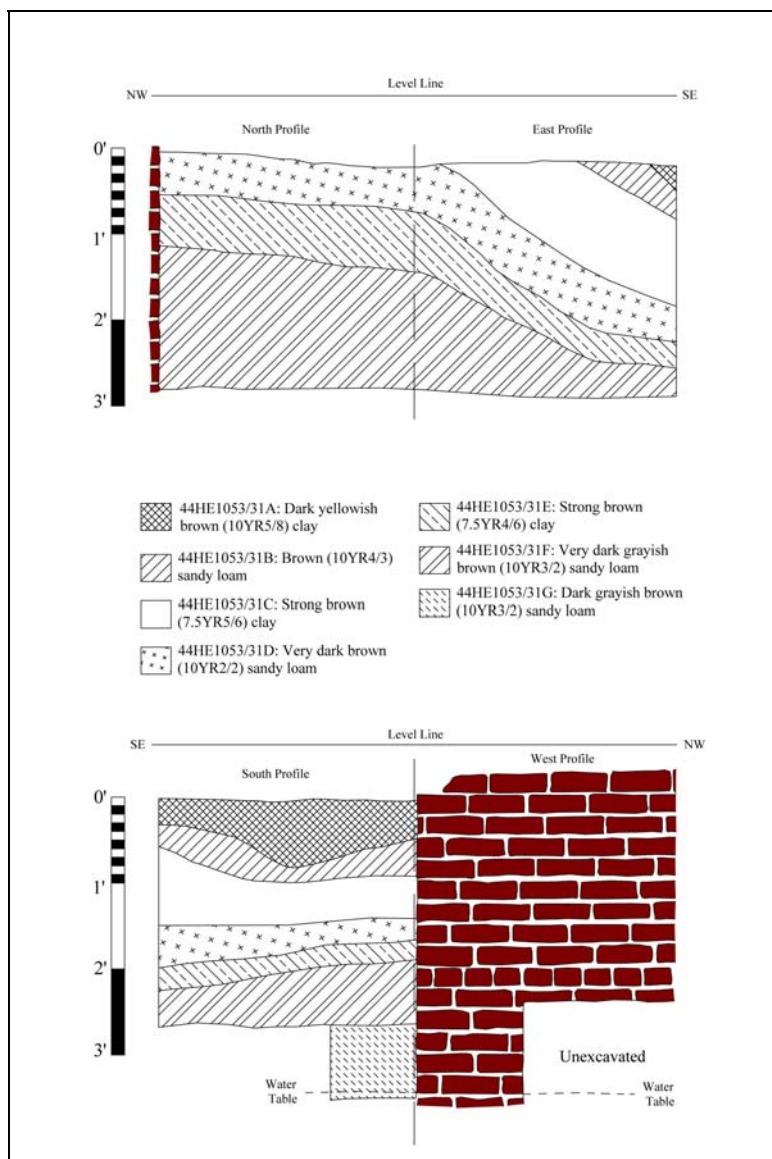
TU 31 was a three-foot square unit located within TR 19 along the eastern edge of the intact retaining wall. This unit was excavated to examine both the east exterior face of the wall and the fill soils that abutted it to the east. It was evident that this material was most likely associated with the massive filling episode that preceded the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry facility in the early 1890s. By confirming this through the excavation of this unit, JRIA was able to continue mechanical removal of fill materials from the eastern half of the site.

Five natural fill layers were identified within this unit (Figure 32). Context 31A consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR5/8) clay concentrated along the southern edge of the unit with no significant diagnostic artifacts. Context 31B was comprised of brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam with brick rubble and mortar inclusions found primarily along the southern half of the unit. A single sherd of undecorated Pearlware and one of American blue and gray stoneware were recovered from this context. Below 31B, Context 31C consisted of strong brown (7.5YR5/6) clay which sloped from the north of the unit to the south. Context 31D consisted of a very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy loam with brick and mortar inclusions. Two identifiable cut nails and a sherd each of American Blue and Gray stoneware and of English brown stoneware were the only diagnostic artifacts recovered from context 31D. As with the upper layers, 31D sloped significantly from north to south. This was also the case for both 31E, another layer of strong brown (10YR4/6) clay, and 31F, more very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam with brick and mortar throughout. A single sherd of American blue and gray stoneware from 31E and a sherd of Rockingham from 31F were the sole diagnostic artifacts retrieved from these two contexts.

The profile for this excavation clearly shows the fill pattern of materials sloping sharply from north to south as they were deposited on the site in what was likely a fairly rapid filling episode. Excavation of the entire unit was halted at a depth of roughly three feet for safety concerns, as the test unit was already at the base of a four-foot trench. In an effort to identify a builder’s trench for the retaining wall, a one-foot square unit was excavated in the southwest corner of the unit adjacent to the wall. However, the water table was encountered at a depth of approximately one foot and excavation was terminated. This test excavation was identified as Context 31G, comprised of a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam that yielded three sherds of Bristol glazed stoneware.

The removal of the fill to the east of the retaining wall in TU 31 revealed the exterior surface of the wall, which was one and a half bricks wide and laid up in common bond. The exposed surface of the wall exposed nine stretcher courses, beneath which was a header course, with at least five more stretcher courses below. Within this test unit, the brick retaining wall was found to extend at least four feet below the base of excavation of TR 19 (Figure 33).

Excavation of TU 31 provided clear stratigraphic evidence that the materials abutting the east side of the retaining wall were the result of a post-Lumpkin period fill episode. As the fill was evidently deposited in a single episode to level the upper and lower portions of the site divided by the retaining wall, it was likely associated with the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry in the early 1890s.



**Figure 32.** Test Unit 31 profiles.



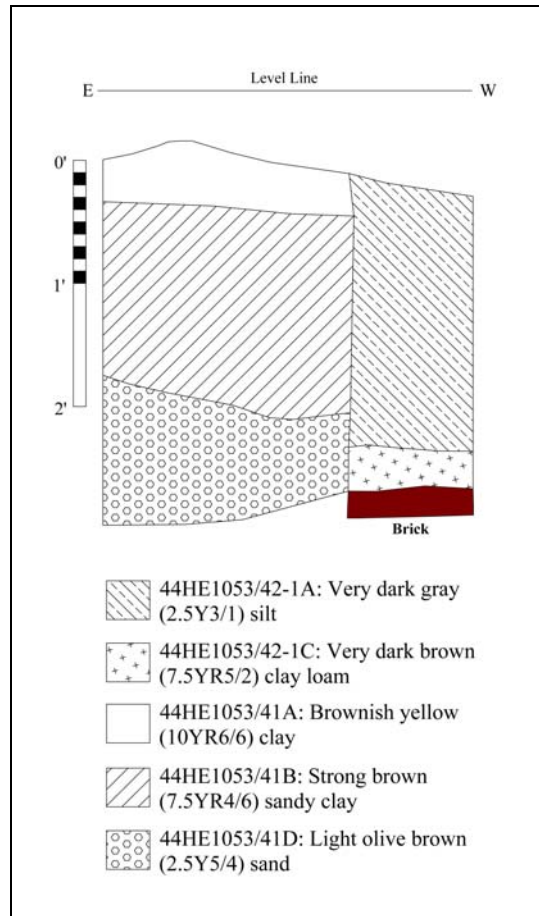
**Figure 33.** Exposed section of brick retaining wall in Test Unit 31, view to west.

### **Test Unit 41 and Feature 42**

TU 41 was a three-foot-square test unit with the southwest corner located at 1052N/1009E on the site grid. This unit was excavated to expose an additional section of the retaining wall to the north of TR 19. This unit was also excavated to retrieve a sample of the materials from the associated robber's trench used to reclaim bricks prior to the major fill episode preceding the construction of the Richmond Iron Works. Because the robber's trench was clearly identifiable on the surface of the test unit prior to excavation, it was assigned its own unique ER number: FE 42.

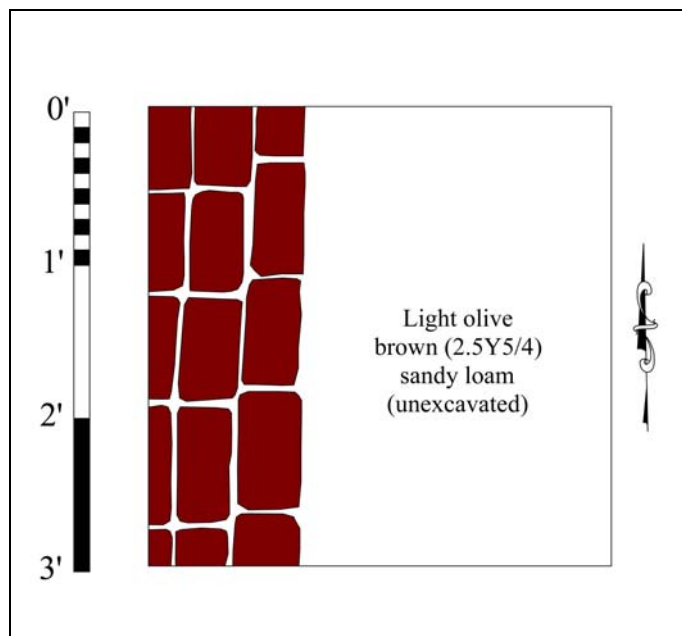
The remainder of the material within the eastern two-thirds of the unit test unit represented the fill materials presumably used to fill the eastern portion of the Lumpkin property prior to the construction of the foundry (Figure 34). The first stratum identified was context 41A, which consisted of a brownish yellow (10YR6/6) clay sterile layer varying in depth from 0.3 foot to 0.5 foot in depth and directly sealed context 41B. Context 41B consisted of a strong brown (2.5Y4/6) sandy clay with a low artifact density. Context 41C was characterized as a light olive brown (2.5Y5/4) sandy layer which was only visible in the eastern profile of the excavation and was culturally sterile. Context 41D was found across the entire eastern two-thirds of the unit and was comprised of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sandy materials with a significant amount of brick rubble and cobble inclusions throughout. The artifact density within this layer was the greatest of any of the fill layers excavated in this unit. Yet, the only diagnostic artifact recovered was a single sherd of blue transfer-printed whiteware.





**Figure 34.** South profile of Test Unit 41.

The western third of TU 41 consisted of the same materials as the robber's trench deposit identified as FE 42-1. Context 42-1A was a very dark gray (2.5Y3/1) silty loam that extended to a depth of roughly two feet. This layer had a moderate artifact density, with diagnostic artifacts including 11 sherds of undecorated whiteware, seven cut nails, three sherds of transfer-printed whiteware, two sherds of bone china porcelain, one sherd of porcelain, one sherd of ironstone, one sherd of Pearlware with annular decoration, one sherd of transfer-printed Pearlware, one sherd of Rockingham, and one fragment of a probable Pamplin tobacco pipe bowl. Initially, Context 42-1B appeared to be a squared-off extrusion of the robber's trench along its eastern edge. Once excavated, however, it became apparent that this context was likely comprised of the same material as 42-1A. Five additional sherds of undecorated whiteware were the only diagnostic artifacts recovered from this context. Context 42-1C was a very dark brown (7.5YR2.5/2) clay loam that had a depth of roughly 0.3 foot sitting on top of the intact portion of the brick retaining wall (Figure 35). One cut nail, one sherd of undecorated whiteware, and one sherd of ironstone were the primary diagnostic artifacts recovered from this context. The section of the retaining wall exposed in this location was identical to the section exposed to the south.



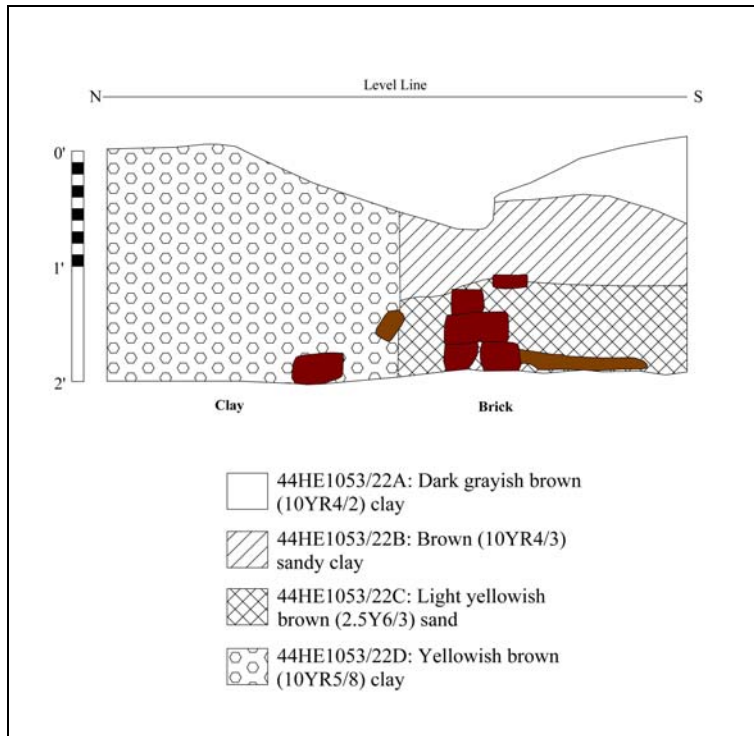
**Figure 35.** Test Unit 41 after excavation.

### **Test Unit 22**

TU 22 was a 3.0 foot by 5.0 foot unit located approximately 15 feet south of TR 19. The unit was excavated with the goal of exposing an additional section of the brick retaining wall. The excavation revealed four fill layers, and post-excavation analysis of the soil profile provided a clearer picture of the overall stratigraphic sequence on the site (Figure 36).

The first layer encountered, Context 22A, was a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) clay covering roughly three-fourths of the unit's surface, with the exception of the northeastern corner. Excavators noted a moderate artifact density throughout the context, with a slightly higher density in the southern portion of the unit. Surprisingly, artifacts recovered from this context included late eighteenth-/early nineteenth-century materials that clearly predated the antebellum slave jail complex, such as sherds of Jackfield and creamware. Given the stratigraphic sequence, this deposit most likely represented the fill episode that preceded construction of the Richmond Iron Works, and these materials either came from off site, or from earlier context disturbed during the deposition.

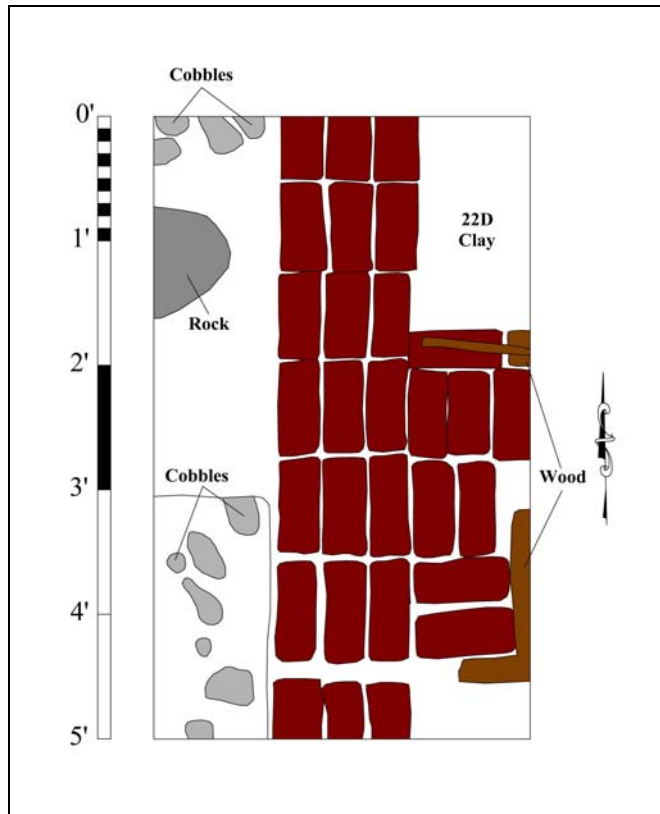
Below 22A, Context 22B was a brown (10YR4/3) sandy clay deposit with a relatively low artifact density. Artifacts recovered from this context included sherds of whiteware ironstone, Rockingham/Bennington, American blue and gray stoneware, bone china porcelain; unidentified nail fragments; and fragments of bottle, window, and pharmaceutical glass. Removal of context 22B revealed Context 22C and associated cobblestones. Context 22C was a light yellowish brown (2.5Y6/3) sandy loam with mortar inclusions. Most important, it appeared that this layer covered portions of the intact cobblestone surface first encountered in TR 19. These cobbles were revealed primarily in the western profile of this unit, with what appeared to be intact sterile fill



**Figure 36.** East profile of Test Unit 22.

material beneath them. Given the sequence of deposits encountered elsewhere on the site, it appeared that 22C represented the fill that directly overlaid the cobblestone surface throughout the courtyard of the complex. As such, it might represent materials associated with the demolition of the Lumpkin period structures. Diagnostic materials recovered from this deposit included 16 sherds of undecorated whiteware, four cut nails, three sherds of bone china porcelain, two sherds of stoneware ginger beer bottle, one sherd of American blue and gray stoneware, 1 sherd of undecorated Pearlware, one sherd of transfer-printed Pearlware, one sherd of ironstone, and one sherd of Staffordshire mottled glaze coarse earthenware. Finally, context 22D appeared primarily in the northeastern corner of the unit. It was a yellowish brown (10YR5/8) clay deposit, and appeared to be associated with the filling episode that leveled the site prior to the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry.

As expected, the excavation of these four contexts revealed the extension of the brick retaining wall, which was consistently one and a half bricks wide and laid up in common bond. However, a second brick wall intersecting the main wall at a 90-degree angle was found at the base of the unit (Figures 37-38). This additional wall was most likely built later, as it was not bonded into the retaining wall. Another portion of this wall also continued to the south, directly abutting the retaining wall, though not bonded with it. This wall appeared to be a brick and a half wide along the eastern extension, reduced to a single brick in width where it intersected with the retaining wall.



**Figure 37.** Plan of Test Unit 22 after excavation.



**Figure 38.** Test Unit 22 after excavation, view to north.

## **LUMPKIN PERIOD KITCHEN (STRUCTURE 45)**

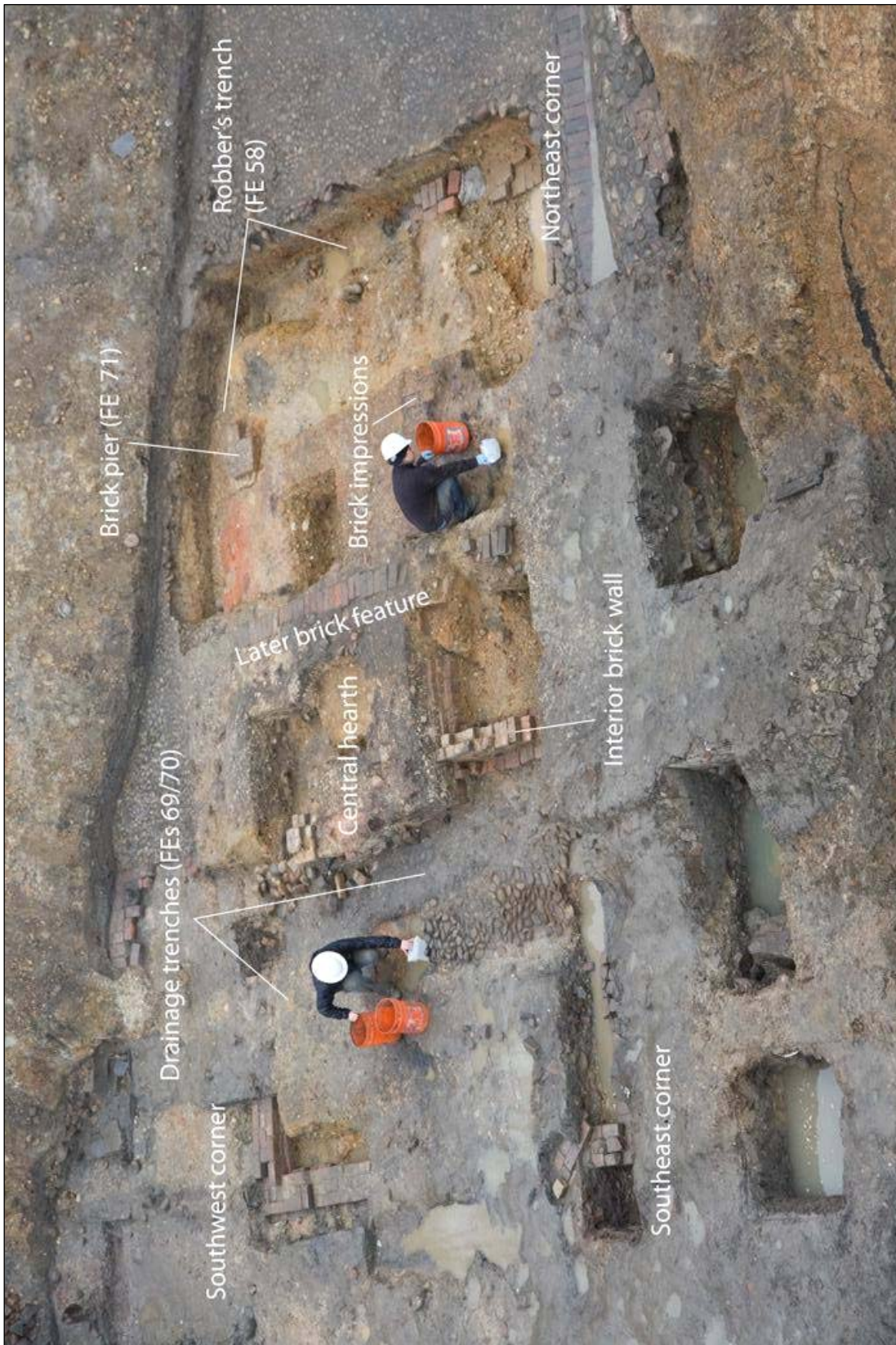
Of the buildings that once comprised the core of the Lumpkin's antebellum slave jail complex on the site's upper terrace area, only the kitchen (designated as Structure 45) was identified in the course of the archaeological investigation (Figure 39). The investigation of the kitchen included the hand excavation of a series of test units within the north and south rooms of the building, as well as sampling of several intrusive features that post-dated the destruction of the kitchen in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Excavation revealed that a substantial portion of the kitchen's brick foundation remained intact, and that the former two-story building, which measured approximately 28 feet long by 18 feet wide, was situated entirely within the projected limits of the historic Lot 62. The archaeological evidence suggested that the ground floor of the building included two main rooms divided by a large H-shaped brick hearth associated with a central chimney, while the larger north room, at least, had a raised wooden floor. Diagnostic artifacts retrieved from the builder's trench confirmed that the kitchen was erected post-1830.

### **Test Units 29, 32, and 33: Southeast Kitchen Corner**

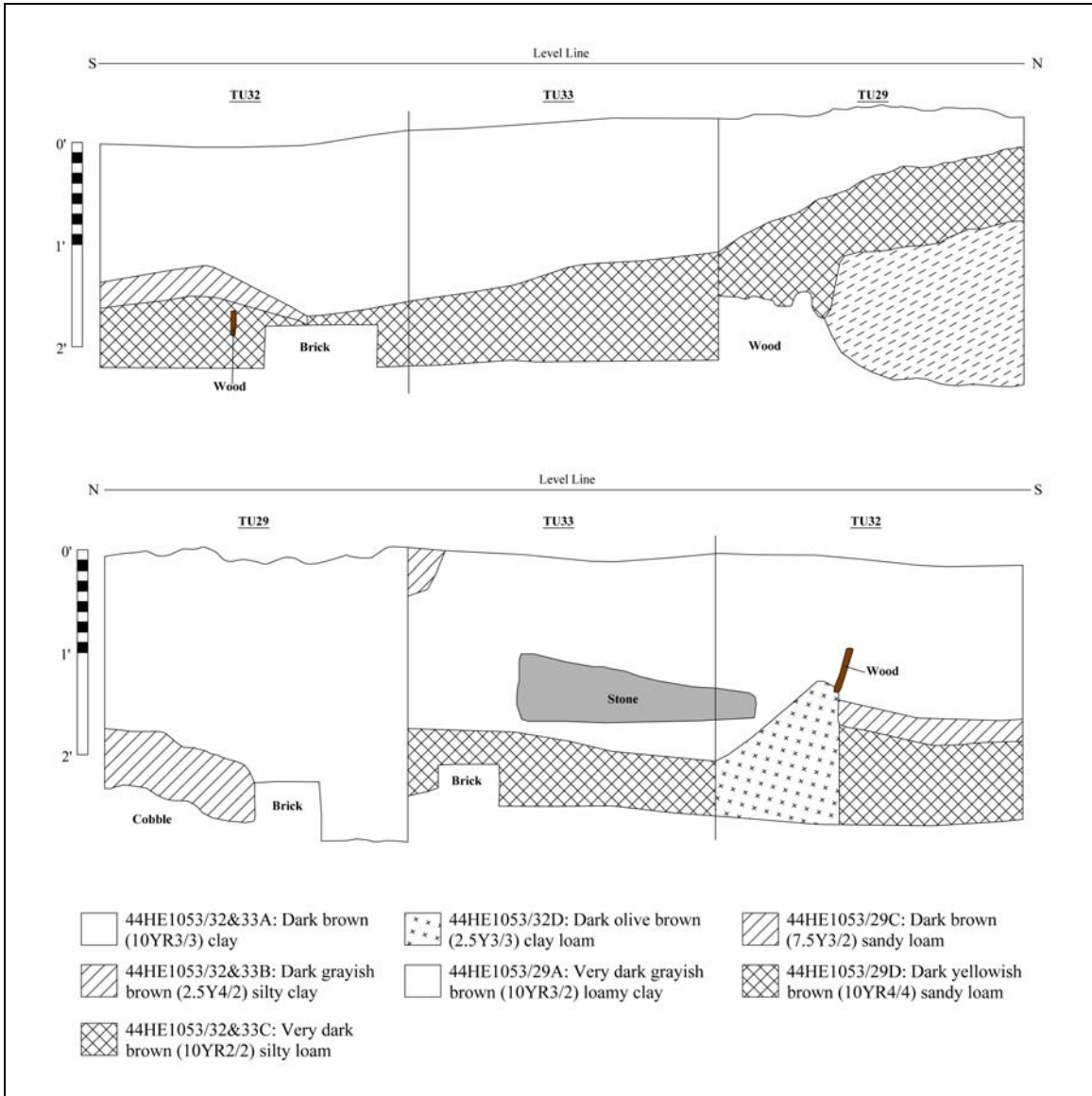
TUs 29, 32, and 33 were three adjoining three-foot-square test which revealed the southern portion of the east foundation wall of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). The units were excavated separately and, while their profiles were not identical, there were broad stratigraphic similarities among them (Figure 40). The upper contexts of all three units were somewhat disturbed, yet comparable. Contexts 29A, 32A, 33A, and 33B consisted of a dark brown (10YR3/3) to a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silty clay with varying degrees of brick and mortar inclusions. Context 29B was strong brown (7.5YR4/6) clay with brick and mortar fragments. Finally, context 32B was characterized by dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) clay. Post-excavation analysis indicated that these contexts represented material associated with two later trenches (FEs 69 and 74), probably used for drainage, which intersected this portion of the building after it was dismantled. Intact wooden fragments were found at the base of these contexts, and were similar to those found in a subsequent bisection of FE 69 further north. Context 29A yielded a fragment of an aqua bottle reading: "..USCH & SON"/"..HMOND"/"SOLD." Documentary research indicated that Francis Dusch was a Richmond grocer who was in business as early as 1856. However, this particular bottle was produced between 1881 and 1904, suggesting that this context was deposited in the 1880s or early 1890s (Grant 2003: 311).

Following the removal of these upper contexts, excavators encountered portions of a robber's trench feature associated with the kitchen foundation. These contexts included 29C, 32D, 33C and 33D, and were collectively designated as FE 58 (see FE58 discussion below). Removal of these contexts revealed the portions of the eastern foundation wall of the kitchen and several potentially intact deposits associated with the use and destruction of the building.

Context 29D was concentrated primarily in the northwestern corner of TU 29. The deposit consisted of a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam with brick and



**Figure 39.** Lumpkin period kitchen excavation area, view to west.



**Figure 40.** East and west profiles of Test Units 29, 32, and 33.

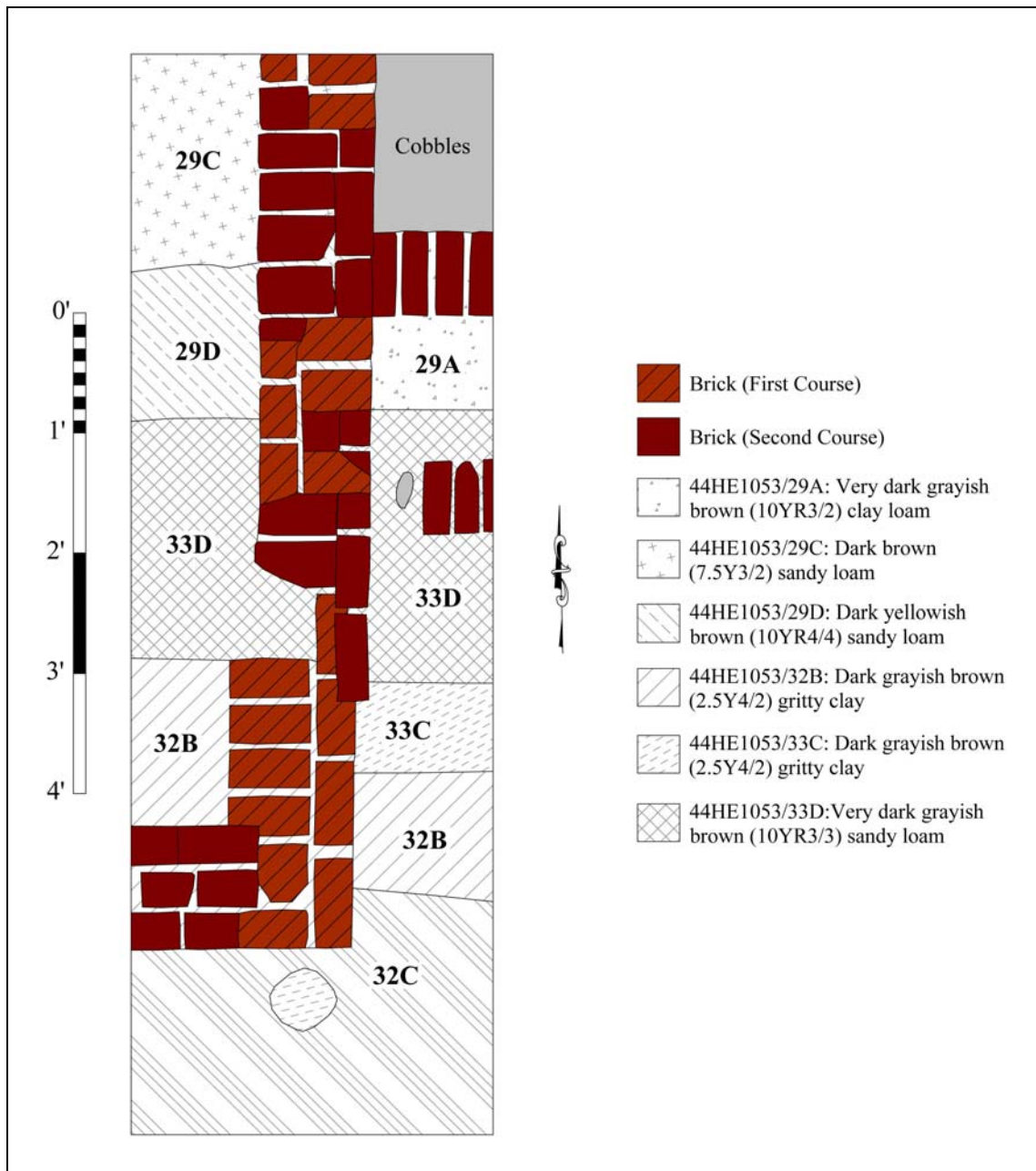
mortar inclusions. Along the northwestern corner of the excavation unit the context had a maximum depth of approximately 1.5 feet. It appeared that the context was present only on the interior of the brick foundation wall. Relatively few artifacts were retrieved from this context, and included six fragments of window glass, six unidentifiable nail fragments, four cut nail fragments, two fragments of an aqua hollowware vessel, one piece of limestone rock, one unidentifiable earthenware sherd, a rodent tooth, and small amounts of animal bone, mortar and coal. It appears this deposit was cut by the robber's trench associated with the kitchen foundation, suggesting that it was likely deposited while the building was still standing.

Context 32C consisted of very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy loam with a few cobbles mixed throughout. This context was present only in the southern portion of the test unit along the exterior (east) edge of the brick foundation. Diagnostic ceramics recovered from this context included 14 ironstone/granite whiteware sherds, ten under-glaze polychrome whiteware sherds, six bisque stoneware sherds, five undecorated whiteware sherds, two under-glaze transfer-printed whiteware sherds, one annular decorated whiteware sherd, one porcelain sherd, one bone china porcelain sherd, one over-glaze enamel decorated porcelain sherd, one porcelaneous sherd, one Bristol glazed stoneware sherd, and one English brown salt glazed ink/mineral bottle fragment. Other materials recovered included 77 glass bottle fragments, 23 window glass fragments, 16 cut nail fragments, 14 unidentifiable nail fragments, 13 pharmaceutical glass bottle fragments, ten glass hollowware vessel fragments, five case bottle fragments, four wine bottle fragments, four lamp/lantern shade glass fragments, four unidentified form glass fragments, three fragments of scrap iron, three glass lamp chimney fragments, two fragments of scrap copper, two fragments of iron wire, two drinking glass fragments, one fragment of a leather shoe, one fragment of a reed stemmed tobacco pipe, one agateware doorknob, one iron bolt, one bottle cork, one glass inkwell fragment, one milk-glass button, one glass mug/tankard fragment, one wine glass fragment, as well as small amounts of mammal and bird bone, oyster and clam shell, and coal.

Excavation of 32C also revealed a possible small posthole/mold feature at the southeastern corner of the building. Excavation of this feature yielded no artifacts, but it may have been associated with the fence dividing Lots 61 and 62 that was also encountered in TU 26 a short distance to the east.

Removal of the upper contexts of TUs 29, 32, and 33 revealed the largely intact southeastern corner and a portion of the eastern foundation wall of the kitchen building (Figures 41-42). The wall had been constructed of handmade bricks and was one and a half bricks wide. At least two visible courses remained intact in some sections. At the base of TU 29, a row of bricks laid on edge extended to the east, north of which was an intact area of cobble paving. A similar row of edge-laid bricks was located approximately 1.2 feet to the south in TU 33. The function of these features was not clear.





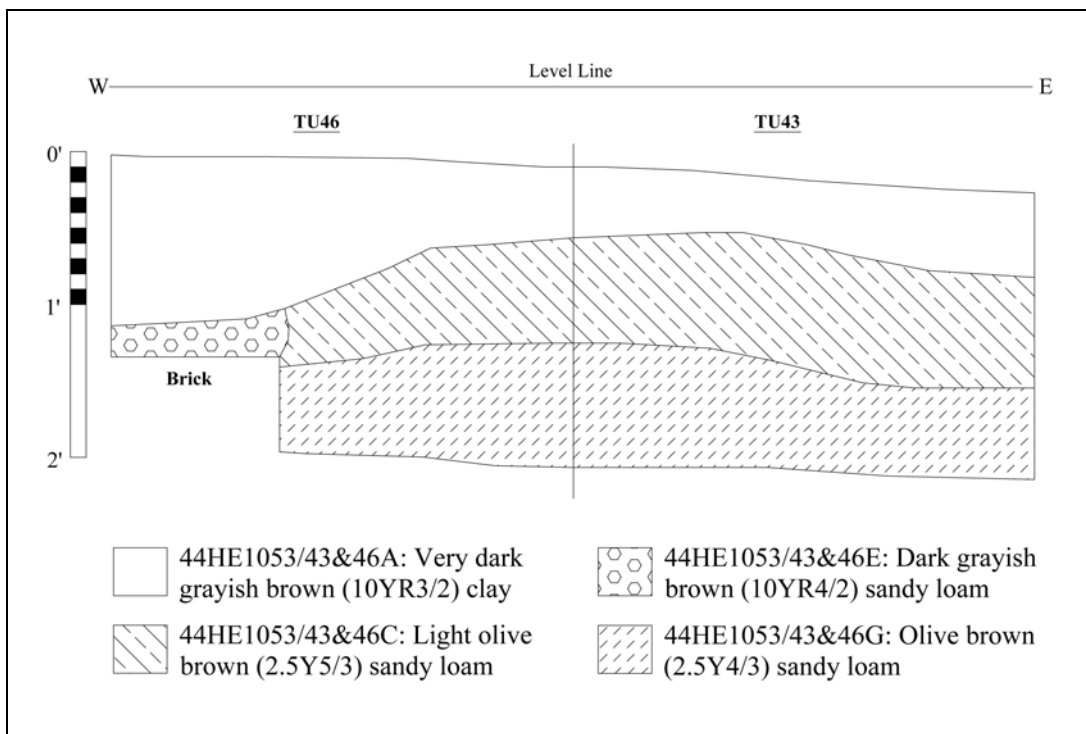
**Figure 41.** Plan of Test Units 29, 32, and 33 after excavation.



**Figure 42.** Southeast corner of kitchen foundation in Test Units 29, 32, and 33, view to north.

### Test Units 43 and 46: Southwest Kitchen Corner

TUs 43 and 46 were two adjacent three-foot-square test units excavated to expose the southwestern corner of the brick foundation wall of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). The stratigraphic profile of both test units was consistent along the south (exterior) and north (interior) of the kitchen foundation (Figure 43). Contexts 43/46A extended across both units, and had a maximum depth of approximately 1.1 foot at the west end of TU 46. It consisted of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay and yielded a large number of artifacts, including a variety of ceramics (transfer printed pearlware; whiteware; ironstone; porcelain; and American blue and gray stoneware); a large variety of bottle glass (liquor and pharmaceutical) and glass tablewares; a modest amount of faunal bone; an eighteenth-century kaolin tobacco pipe bowl; possible leather shoe fragments; cut and unidentified nails; as well as coconut husks and a peach pit.



**Figure 43.** North profile of Test Units 43 and 46.

Contexts 43/46B had a maximum depth of 0.6 foot in the eastern portion of TU 43, and consisted of olive brown (2.5Y4/3) sandy loam. Artifacts included two whiteware sherds; aqua window glass; bottle glass (liquor and pharmaceutical); glass tablewares; leather shoe fragments; and roofing slate. On the north side of the units, this context directly sealed Contexts 43/46D, which consisted of a maximum of 0.6 foot of very dark gray (10YR3/1) clay. Artifacts retrieved from this context included a number of different ceramic types, including Rockingham/Bennington, whiteware, and ironstone; bottle glass (liquor and pharmaceutical); window glass; glass tablewares; a wood knife handle; and coal fragments.

Contexts 43/46C had a maximum depth of 0.8 foot and consisted of light olive brown (2.5Y4/3) sandy loam. Artifacts included ceramics such as Pearlware, whiteware, and American blue and gray stoneware; animal bone; a small amount of bottle glass; and a handful of prehistoric Native American lithic fragments. This layer directly sealed Context 43E, which represented a section of the robber's trench associated with the south foundation wall of the kitchen building (Feature 58). It consisted of approximately 0.4 foot of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam. The relatively few artifacts retrieved from this context included window glass and glass hollowware fragments; and animal bone, none of which provided a useful date for the destruction of the building.

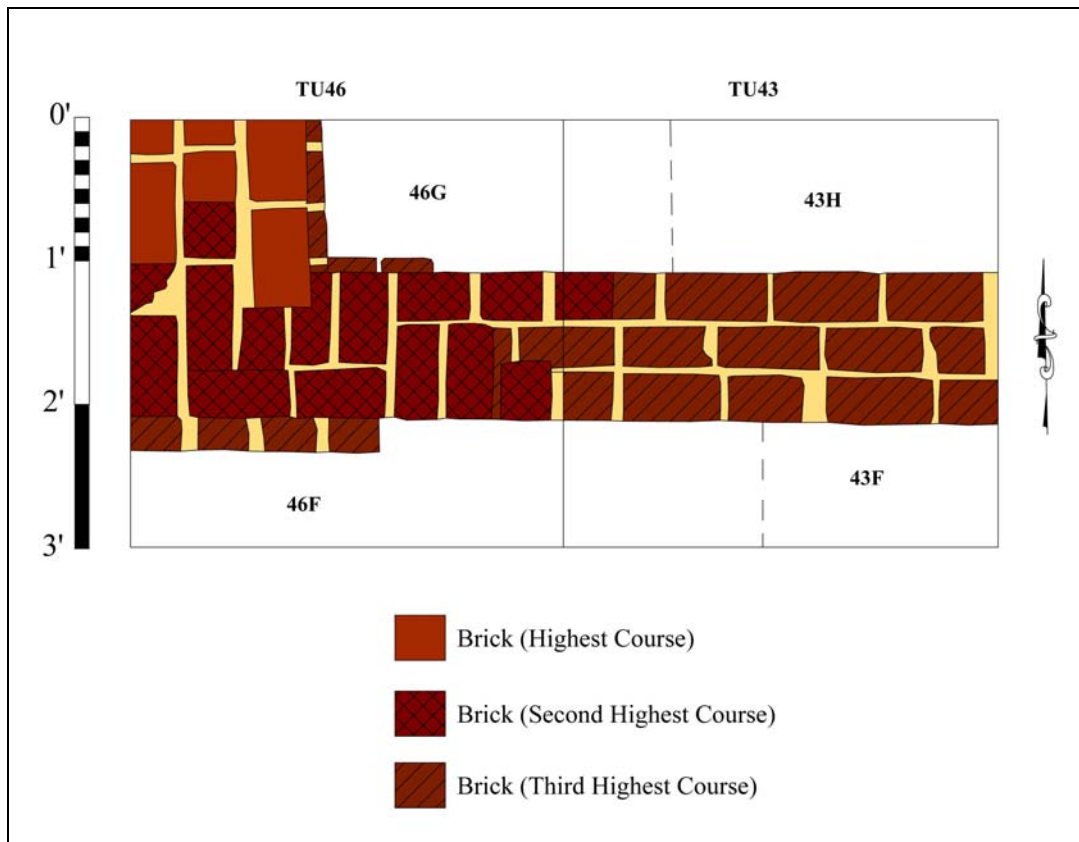
While Contexts 43/46A-E clearly had been deposited after the destruction of the kitchen building, the remaining contexts, 43/46F and G, appeared to represent layers deposited during the occupation of the building. Contexts 43/46F was situated adjacent to the south side of the brick foundation wall on the outside of the structure, and consisted of approximately 0.4 foot of very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy loam. Artifacts retrieved from this context included a sherd of unidentified earthenware from a mug or tankard; cut nails; window glass; bottle glass (wine and pharmaceutical); unidentified glass hollowware fragments; and animal bone. Contexts 43/46G was situated on the north side of the brick foundation wall, within the interior of the kitchen building. It was comprised of a maximum of 0.8 foot of olive brown (2.5Y4/3) sandy loam. The very small number of artifacts retrieved from this context included single sherds of whiteware and porcelain and animal bone.

Excavation of Context 43G revealed a portion of the original builder's trench running along the north side of the foundation. Originally designated as Context 43H, it was later redesignated as FE 59-2A (see FE 59 discussion below). It consisted of olive brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam and yielded no artifacts.

Excavation of these contexts in TUs 43 and 46 revealed the southwest corner of the kitchen building and approximately five feet of its south wall. The remnants of the robbed foundation consisted of between one and three brick courses (Figures 44-45).



**Figure 44.** Southwest corner of kitchen foundation in Test Units 43 and 46, view to north.



**Figure 45.** Plan of Test Units 43 and 46 after excavation.

## **Test Units 65 and 68: Northwest Kitchen Foundation**

### *Test Unit 65*

Test Unit 65 was an irregularly shaped unit measuring 3.0 feet by 4.1 feet, bounded to the west by the edge of the excavation area, with its southwest corner at grid point 1025.1N/981.5E. The unit was excavated with the goal of investigating the west wall of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45).

Excavation of the unit indicated that Contexts 65A, 65C, and FE 58-5A comprised a portion of the robber's trench of the west foundation wall of the kitchen (see Feature 58 discussion below). These contexts consisted of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam with a maximum depth of approximately 1.5 feet. Artifacts included ceramics such as pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone; dark green wine bottle glass; clear glass hollowware; milk glass buttons; cut and unidentified nails; window glass; coal; bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone; and clam and oyster shell. The most notable artifact was a fragment of a hand-carved bone finger ring with an inscribed geometric design (Figure 94). A dense concentration of brick fragments, evidently associated with the dismantling of this portion of the kitchen foundation, was observed at the base of FE 58-5A.

Additional layers excavated in this unit included Contexts 65B, 65D, 65E, 65F, 65G, and 65H. Context 65B was confined to the northern part of the unit and consisted of very dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam with brick and plaster inclusions. The few artifacts from this context included unidentified nails and iron hardware; window glass; and bird and mammal bone. Context 65D was a shallow layer of very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy clay loam that yielded no artifacts. Context 65E was comprised of a layer of brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam confined to the southeastern portion of the unit. The few artifacts retrieved included an unidentified nail fragment; window glass; and a small mammal pelvis. Contexts 65F and 65H, subsequently designated as FE 76, consisted of a concentration of crushed brick and mortar measuring approximately 3.5 feet (north-south) by 1.0 foot (east-west) along the eastern edge of the test unit. No artifacts were associated with these contexts. Finally, Context 65G was identified along the western edge of the test unit. It consisted of brownish yellow (10YR6/6) sandy loam and included a sherd of whiteware; unidentified nail fragments; coal; and bird and mammal bone.

Excavation of TU 65 also revealed a portion of cobble paving evidently associated with the central courtyard of the complex which abutted the western edge of the robber's trench for the kitchen foundation.

### *Test Unit 68*

Much like TU 65 which adjoined it to the south, TU 68 was situated along the western margins of the excavation area and was intended to reveal the continuation of the east wall of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). It measured approximately 5.0 feet by 3.0 feet, with its southwest corner at grid point 1030N/981.5E.

Excavation of the unit indicated that Contexts 68A, 68B, 68C, and FE 58-8 comprised a portion of the robber's trench of the west foundation wall of the kitchen (see Feature 58 discussion below). The contexts varied slightly in color and texture but generally consisted of sandy loam with brick, plaster, and cobble inclusions. Artifacts

retrieved from this context included ceramics such as pearlware, whiteware, and bone porcelain; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; clear glass hollowware fragments; a slate pencil; cut and unidentified nails and iron hardware; window glass; bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone; and oyster shell. Once the robber's trench had been excavated, a limited section of the former brick foundation wall consisting of two courses of handmade brick was noted in the southeastern corner of the unit.

Context 68D consisted of very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay loam fill with plaster inclusions along the east edge of the unit. The few artifacts from this context included animal bone, window glass, and dark green wine bottle glass. Context 68E was comprised of brownish yellow (10YR6/8) coarse sandy loam confined to the northeastern corner of the unit. Artifacts included olive green wine bottle glass along with bird and mammal bone.

Excavation of TU 68 revealed a small section of cobble paving along the western excavation limits, a continuation of the same area of paving observed in the adjoining TU 65.

### **Test Units 27, 61, 62, and 64: North Wall Kitchen Foundation**

#### *Test Unit 27*

Test Unit 27 measured three feet square, with its southwest corner at grid point 1033.5N/990E. This was the first of the test units excavated to investigate the suspected north wall of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). Excavation began with the removal of Context 27A, approximately 0.3 foot of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, and bone porcelain; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; clear pharmaceutical glass; glass hollowware fragments; window glass; brick fragments; coal; slag; and bird, mammal, and rodent bone. The removal of Context 27A revealed a section of the cobble paved courtyard that extended 0.5 foot into the northern portion of the test unit, terminating abruptly at the edge of what had been the north kitchen foundation wall.

Context 27B represented a portion of the robber's trench fill for the north kitchen foundation wall (see FE 58 discussion below). It was comprised of grayish brown sandy loam with cobble inclusions, and yielded artifacts including sherds of pearlware, whiteware, and yellowware; olive green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; a milk glass button; cut and unidentified nail fragments; window glass; coal; brick fragments; and bird, mammal, and rodent bone.

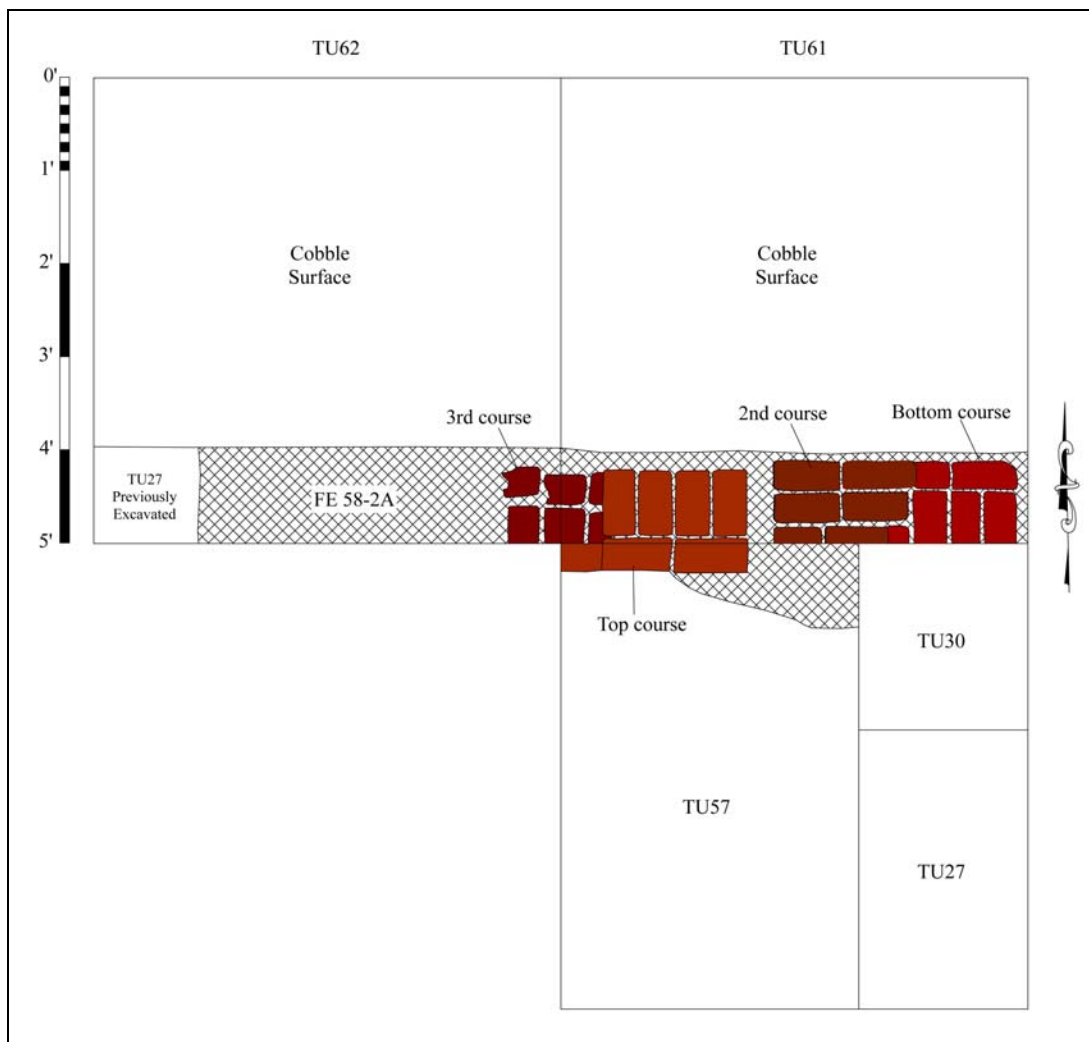
Context 27C consisted of the sandy sterile fill soil exposed by excavation of the robber's trench, and which continued underneath the adjoining cobble paving. This context was not excavated, but a handful of artifacts were retrieved from its interface with 27B, including sherds of whiteware and English brown stoneware from an ink/mineral water bottle; as well as dark green bottle glass.

#### *Test Units 61, 62, and 64*

Once the excavation of TU27 had established the location of the north wall of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), the remainder of the overburden in this area was mechanically stripped and then cleaned by hand to expose the cobble paving of the central courtyard. At that point, the robber's trench feature (FE 58) was exposed

along much of the north wall, which was excavated as Contexts 61A, 62A, and 64A, and FEs 58-2A and 58-4A. These contexts generally consisted of a dark yellowish brown sandy loam, and yielded artifacts including a variety of ceramics such as whiteware, Chinese porcelain, bone porcelain, American blue and gray stoneware, and a sherd of eighteenth-century white salt-glazed stoneware; clear and aqua pharmaceutical bottle glass; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; window glass; cut and unidentified nail fragments; coal; bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone; and clam shell.

Excavation of the robber's trench contexts indicated that the base of the north kitchen foundation wall remained at last partially intact in TU 61 and into the eastern portion of TU 62, with portions of four brick courses noted. However, the foundation brick had been completely robbed within TU 64 (Figures 46-47).



**Figure 46.** Plan of robber's trench and brick foundation, north kitchen wall.





**Figure 47.** Partial north kitchen foundation, view to east.

## **Test Units 25 and 30: Northeast Kitchen Foundation**

### *Test Unit 25*

TU 25 was a three-foot-square test unit excavated to investigate the east foundation wall of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). The southwest corner of the unit was situated at grid point 1029N/950E. Excavation began with the removal of Context 25A, which represented fill post-dating the demolition of the kitchen and overlaid the cobble paving that bordered the foundation wall to the east. It was comprised of strong brown (7.5YR5/8) clay and dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy clay, and yielded artifacts including sherds of pearlware, yellowware, porcelaneous ware, and an English brown stoneware ink/mineral water bottle; a kaolin clay tobacco pipestem fragment; aqua, clear, green, and olive green bottle glass; a milk glass button; brick fragments; slag; coal; bird, fish, mammal bone; and oyster shell.

Contexts 25B and 25C represented the fill of the robber's trench for this section of the east foundation wall of the kitchen building. They were comprised of mottled dark gray (10YR4/2) sand and clay and yielded artifacts including sherds of pearlware, whiteware, porcelaneous ware; and unidentified stoneware; dark green bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; milk glass buttons; cut and unidentified nails; window glass; bird, fish, and mammal bone; and oyster shell. Once the robber's trench contexts had been excavated, a single course of bricks remaining from the east foundation wall of the kitchen was revealed at a depth of approximately 0.5 foot below the level of the adjacent cobble paving (Figures 48-49).

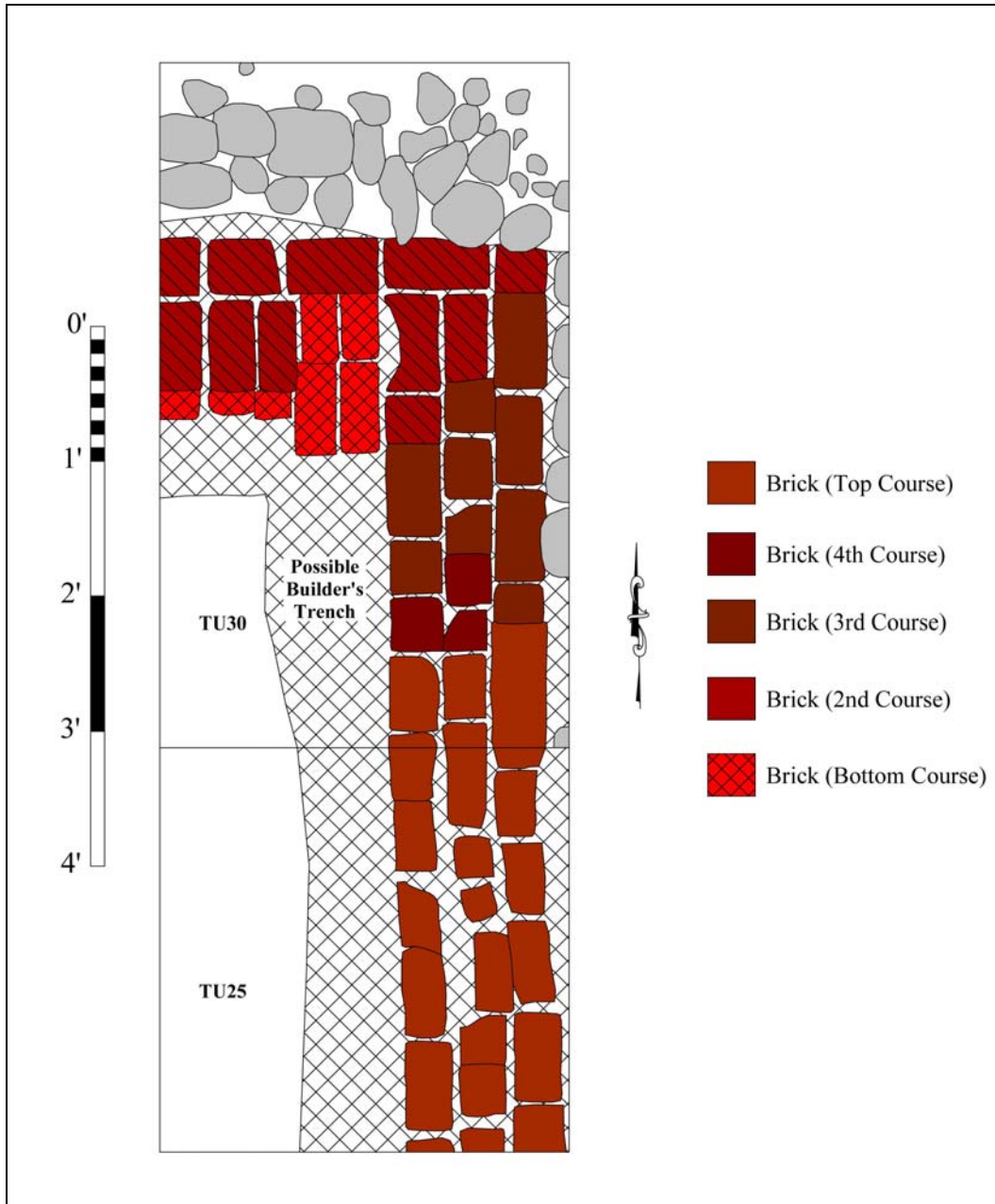
Contexts 25D, 25E, and 25F were noted in the western portion of the test unit and represented deposits within the interior of the north room of the kitchen. Context 25D consisted of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand with a depth of approximately 0.7 foot. This context yielded artifacts including sherds of coarse earthenware (flower pot) and whiteware; olive green wine bottle glass; an unidentified nail fragment; window glass; bird and mammal bone; and oyster shell. Context 25E consisted of as much as 0.7 foot of very dark brown (10YR2.5/2) sandy clay. Artifacts included sherds of whiteware and bone porcelain; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; an unidentified nail fragment; a fragment of roofing slate; and bird, fish, and mammal bone. The final layer excavated was Context 25F, approximately 0.5 foot of yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sand that yielded artifacts including a sherd of transfer printed whiteware; olive green wine bottle glass; an unidentified nail fragment; and animal bone. Excavation of the unit was terminated at this point.

### *Test Unit 30*

TU 30 adjoined TU 25 to the north and measured 5.0 feet by 3.0 feet, with its southwest corner at grid point 1032N/950E. The unit was excavated as a continuation of TU 25 to expose the northeast corner of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45).

Contexts 30A, 30B, and 30C consisted of relatively compact soil layers that post-dated the demolition of the kitchen and overlaid the cobble paving that bordered the kitchen corner to the north and east (Figure 50). Context 30A consisted of strong brown (7.5YR5/8) clay; Context 30B was comprised of dark brown (10YR3/3) sandy loam; and Context 30C was dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy clay. Artifacts from these upper

fill layers included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, and yellowware; a wide variety of types of pharmaceutical and bottle glass and hollowware fragments; window glass; cut and unidentified nails; animal bone; and oyster shell.



**Figure 48.** Plan of Test Units 25 and 30 after excavation.



**Figure 49.** East foundation wall of kitchen, Test Unit 25.



**Figure 50.** West profile, Test Units 25 and 30.

Context 30D represented the robber's trench fill for the northeast corner of the kitchen building, and consisted of mottled dark gray (10YR4/2) sandy clay (see FE 58 discussion below). Artifacts from this context included sherds of Rockingham/Bennington ware, ironstone, and Albany slipware; aqua pharmaceutical bottle glass; olive green bottle glass; an iron knife blade fragment; a glass spectacle lens; cut and unidentified nails; roofing slate; window glass; and mammal and rodent bone. Removal of the robber's trench fill revealed the partially intact corner of the building foundation, which was one and half bricks wide and consisted of as many as five visible courses of handmade brick (see Figure 48).

Context 30E represented the fill of the builder's trench associated with this section of the kitchen foundation (see FE 59 discussion below). It was comprised of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand. Artifacts retrieved included sherds of pearlware, whiteware (plain and transfer printed), and bone porcelain; light green and olive green bottle glass; brass and shell buttons; window glass; cut and unidentified nails; roofing slate; and bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone.

The remaining contexts excavated in the unit (30F, 30G, 30H, 30I, and 30J) were situated to the southwest of the building corner and represented deposition layers in the interior of the north room of the kitchen. Context 30F consisted of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam with a maximum depth of 0.7 foot. Artifacts included olive green and dark green wine bottle glass; unidentified nail fragments; and rodent bone. Directly below was Context 30G, a thin 0.4 foot) layer dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sand that yielded an unidentified nail fragment; olive green wine bottle glass; a fragment of an iron pipe; bird and mammal bone; and oyster shell. Context 30H was comprised of 0.3 foot of very dark brown (10YR2.5/2) sandy clay. Artifacts from this context included sherds of whiteware and bone porcelain; dark green and olive green bottle glass; an unidentified nail fragment; window glass; animal bone; and oyster shell. Context 30I was a layer of strong brown (7.5YR5/6) clay with a depth of approximately 0.4 foot. The few artifacts from this layer included olive green wine bottle glass; window glass; and animal bone. Context 30J was comprised 1.1 feet of yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sand that yielded dark and olive green wine bottle glass; an unidentified nail; wood; and animal bone. This context sealed what appeared to be sterile clay subsoil (see Figure 50).

### **Test Units 48, 63, 66, and 73: Kitchen Hearth and Interior Wall**

This group of test units was excavated to explore the central portion of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45) and revealed evidence of a partially intact central H-shaped brick hearth base and interior brick wall.

#### *Test Unit 48*

TU 48 was a three-foot-square test unit located roughly in the center of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45) with its southwest corner at grid point 1020N/991E. It was situated with the goal of examining the northern edge of the central brick hearth, and potential occupation surfaces in the north room of the kitchen.

Excavation of the unit identified five relatively shallow fill layers sealing what appeared to be sterile subsoil, designated as Contexts 48A-E. It was speculated that these may have represented deposits within the hearth in the north room of the kitchen. The first context to be excavated (48A), consisted of mixed dark olive brown (2.5Y3/3) and

light olive brown (2.5Y5/6) sandy loam with brick inclusions. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware and whiteware; dark green and olive green bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; window glass; cut nails; coal; slag; and bird, mammal, and rodent bone. Context 48B was comprised of very dark grayish brown (2.5Y3/2) sandy clay loam with brick and cobble inclusions. Artifacts included a sherd of whiteware; aqua bottle glass; unidentified nails; and bird and mammal bone. Context 48C consisted of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) loamy sand that yielded quartzite lithics; sherds of Chinese porcelain and Bristol glaze stoneware; olive green wine bottle glass; and animal bone. Context 48D was comprised of mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy loam. Artifacts included sherds of creamware, whiteware, and Chinese porcelain; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; unidentified nails; coal; bird and mammal bones; and oyster shell. Context 48E consisted of olive brown sandy loam with cobble inclusions that yielded pearlware sherds; olive green bottle glass; a green glass hollowware fragment; and window glass.

Once Context 48E was removed, a portion of the builder's trench for the north wall of the central hearth was observed along the south edge of the unit. Designated as FE 72-1A, it consisted of dark gray fill mixed with brick fragments, mortar, and burned cobbles. The only artifacts retrieved from the excavation of the feature included olive green wine bottle glass fragments, and bird and mammal bone. Once the fill had been removed, a single course of bricks was observed along the south edge of the feature.

### *Test Unit 63*

TU 63 was a five-foot-square unit situated adjacent to the east wall of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), with its southwest corner at grid point 1020.1N/996.5E. The northern portion of the unit was left unexcavated as a baulk. Excavation of the unit began with the removal of Context 63A, which was a higher area of fill soil along the west wall of the unit present consisting of dark brown (10YR3/3) sandy loam with plaster and brick inclusions (Figure 51). Artifacts retrieved included whiteware and yellowware sherds; bottle glass, window glass, a cut nail, and animal bone. Excavation of this context, evidently a robber's trench, had a maximum depth of 0.9 foot, revealed the surface of what was subsequently revealed to be a partially intact section of a brick feature, with three remaining courses of brick. Based on the results of additional test unit excavation in this vicinity, this feature appeared to represent the east side of the kitchen's central hearth. Adjoining the wall to the north was Context 63B, comprised of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) coarse sandy loam with cobble inclusions, with a maximum depth of 0.8 foot. Artifacts included several types of ceramics, including coarse earthenware, pearlware (Mocha, transfer printed underglaze), whiteware (plain and transfer printed), Chinese porcelain, wine bottle glass, window glass, oyster shell, animal bone, and fish scales. Context 63B directly sealed Contexts 63C and 63D to the north of the brick foundation. Context 63C, with a depth of approximately 0.2 foot, was dark brownish yellow (10YR6/6) loamy sand that yielded sherds of transfer printed underglaze pearlware and bone porcelain; a glass button; an unidentified nails; window glass; animal bone; and oyster shell. Context 63D consisted of approximately 0.2 foot of brownish yellow (10YR6/6) with plaster and cobble inclusions. Artifacts included



**Figure 51.** Plan and west profile of Test Unit 63.

pearlware sherds (plain and transfer printed underglaze), and an unidentified nail fragment.

Contexts 63G and 63J represented a portion of the robber's trench associated with the east foundation wall of the kitchen building (see Feature 58 discussion below). Context 63G consisted of yellowish brown (10YR5/6) with a depth of about 0.2 foot. Artifacts included two sherds of whiteware; wine bottle glass; window glass; an unidentified nail fragment; coal; and bird and mammal bone. Context 63J, approximately 0.6 foot of mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/4) loamy sand, yielded no artifacts.

Context 63E represented a portion of the builder's trench for the east foundation wall of the kitchen building (see Feature 59 discussion below). It had a maximum depth of 1.3 feet, and was comprised of dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) sandy loam with brick flecking and heavy plaster and cobble inclusions. Artifacts included local slip earthenware, whiteware, and bone porcelain sherds; wine bottle glass and glass

hollowware fragments; unidentified nails; fish and mammal bone; oyster shell; coal; and wood fragments.

Context 63F was a small layer of strong brown (7.5YR5/8) in the center of the unit. Artifacts retrieved from this context included pearlware and yellowware sherds; a wine bottle glass fragment; an unidentified nail; bird and mammal bone; and oyster shell. Context 63H, which was directly sealed by Context 63E, consisted of approximately 0.3 foot of strong brown (7.5YR5/8) sandy clay that yielded plain and transfer printed whiteware sherds; wine bottle glass; a glass bottle stopper; window glass; unidentified nail fragment; animal bone; a large animal tooth; and oyster shell. Context 63K consisted of a relatively deep (0.5+ foot) layer of mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/6) loamy sand. Artifacts included mocha pearlware and transfer printed whiteware sherds; olive green wine bottle glass; pharmaceutical bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; window glass; unidentified nail fragments; mammal, bird, and fish bone; and coal.

At the base of the test unit, Context 63L consisted of yellowish brown (10YR5/6) coarse loamy sand with cobble inclusions. Artifacts retrieved from this layer included a sherd of pearlware; olive green wine bottle glass; an unidentified nail fragment; animal bone; and oyster shell.

Excavation of TU revealed a small section of what was thought to represent a possible east chimney cheek for a hearth in the north room of the kitchen, consisting of three relatively intact courses of brick.

#### *Test Unit 66*

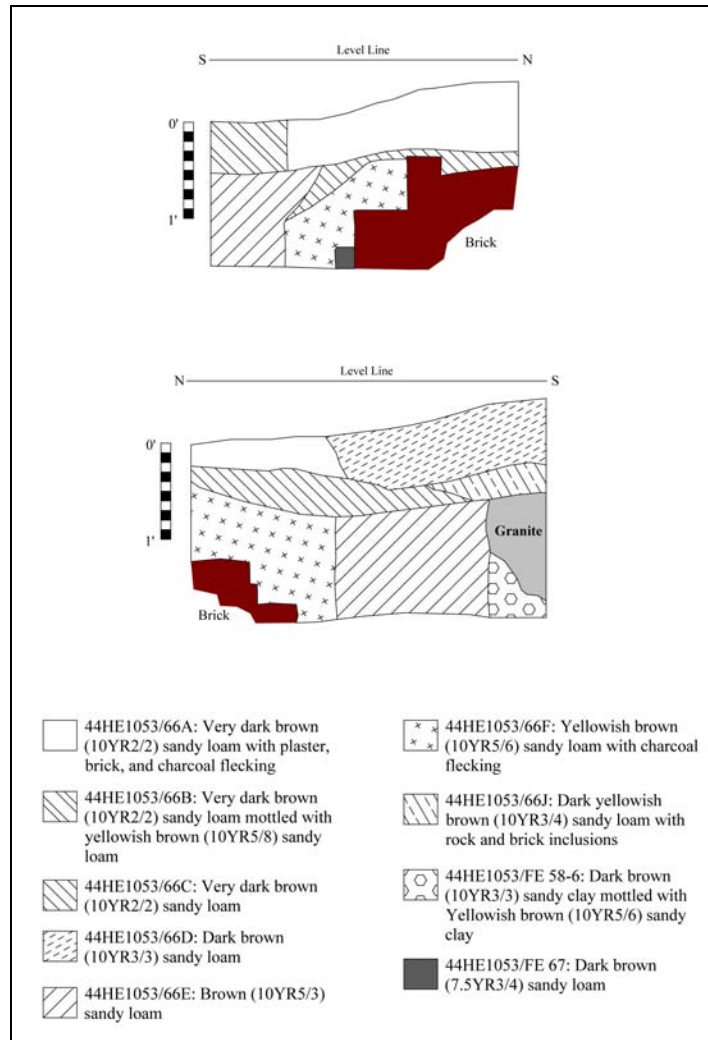
TU66 was a five-foot-square test unit which adjoined TU63 to the north along the eastern side of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), with its southwest corner at grid point 1015.1N/996.5E. Excavation of this unit revealed a portion of the east foundation wall of the kitchen, as well as a section of an interior brick wall.

Excavation concentrated on the northern portion of the unit, as the southern two feet had already been mechanically excavated. The first context to be removed (66A) consisted of approximately 0.6 foot of dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy loam with brick and charcoal flecking (Figure 52). Artifacts retrieved from this context included sherds of pearlware and whiteware; aqua, clear, and green bottle glass fragments; cut and unidentified nails; window glass; and bird, fish, and mammal bone.

Contexts 66B and 66E were associated with a later trench feature (FE 70) that cut across TU 66 from east to west (see FE 70 discussion below). In the northern portion of the test unit, Context 66C directly sealed the top of the brick interior wall, suggesting that it was deposited after the destruction of the kitchen. It was comprised of approximately 0.2 foot of very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy loam. Artifacts retrieved from this context included a variety of ceramics such as pearlware, whiteware, bone porcelain, and sherds of an English brown stoneware ink or mineral water bottle; aqua pharmaceutical bottle glass; amber, green, olive green, and aqua bottle glass; clear glass hollowware fragments; and bird and mammal bone.

Context 66D consisted of dark brown (10YR3/3) clay fill at the surface in the southeastern portion of the unit, with a depth of approximately 0.6 foot. Artifacts included whiteware and Bristol glazed stoneware; amber and olive green bottle glass; aqua pharmaceutical bottle glass; window glass; and animal bone.





**Figure 52.** West and east profiles of Test Unit 66.

Context 66F consisted of a layer of yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy loam with charcoal flecking which sealed the bottom courses of the brick interior wall of the kitchen. The concentration of artifacts in this context was relatively high and included sherds of pearlware and whiteware; a kaolin pipestem fragment; aqua, clear, olive green, and dark green bottle glass; clear glass hollowware fragments; a cut nail; coal; and bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone.

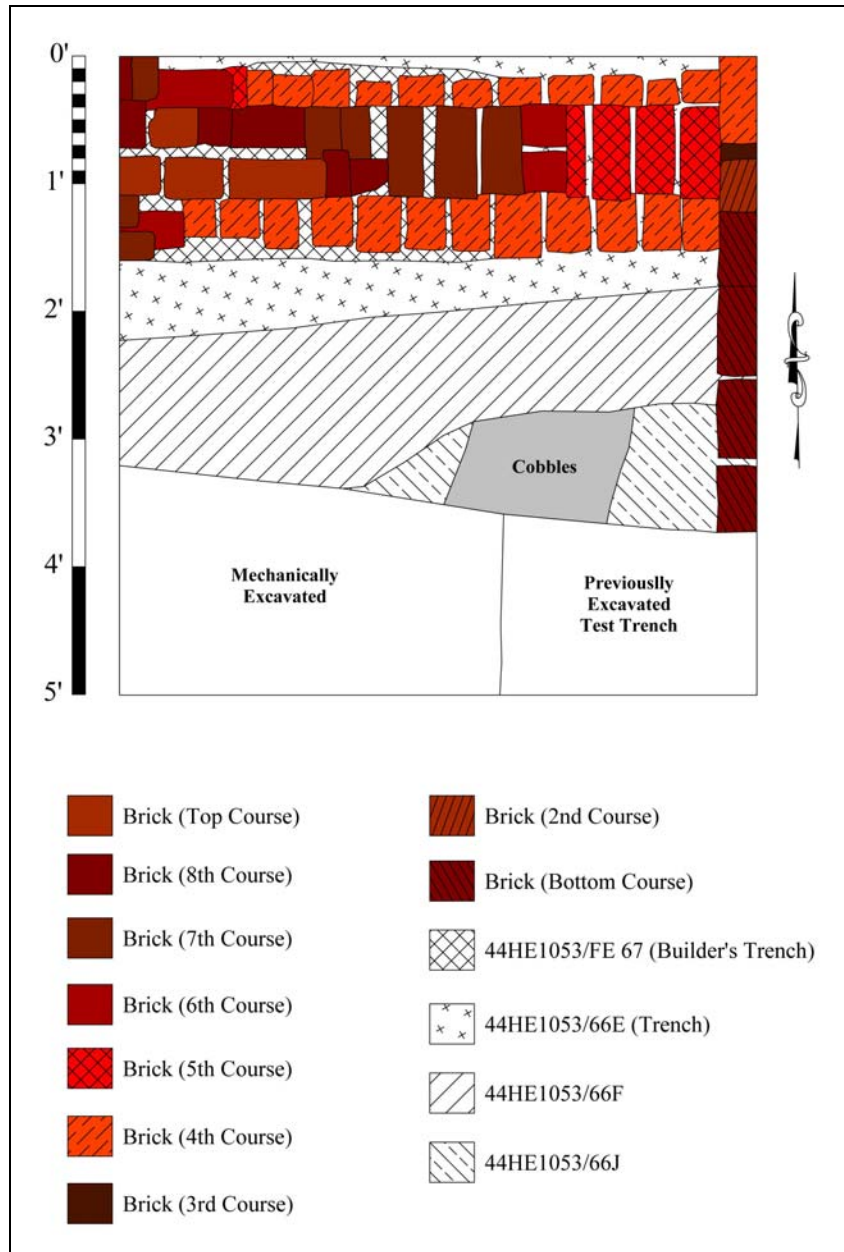
Contexts 66G and 66H both represented portions of a robber's trench for the brick interior wall of the kitchen. Context 66G consisted of strong brown (7.5YR5/6) coarse sandy loam with heavy brick and mortar inclusions. Artifacts included pearlware, whiteware, and porcelain sherds; aqua window glass; olive green bottle glass; animal bone; and oyster shell. Context 66H was comprised of strong brown (7.5YR5/8) clay with heavy cobble and brick inclusions. Artifacts retrieved from this context included a sherd of creamware and two fragments of olive green bottle glass.

Context 66J was a small deposit of dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) sandy loam with stone and brick inclusions located in the southeast corner of the test unit. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware and whiteware; window glass; green and olive green bottle glass; amber and clear glass hollowware fragments; a cut nail; bird and mammal bone; and oyster shell. Excavation of Context 66J revealed a large piece of granite, which in turn sealed a section of the robber's trench for the eastern exterior wall of the kitchen, designated as FE 58-6 (See FE 58 discussion below). This context consisted of mottled dark brown (10YR3/3) and yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy clay. Excavation of this context yielded on a fragment of aqua window glass; an unidentified nail; and animal bone.

Excavation of TU 66 revealed a single course of bricks running along the eastern edge of the unit which were associated with the east wall of the kitchen building. It also exposed a portion of an interior wall oriented east-west which ran from the east wall of the building to the east side of the central hearth (Figures 53-54). This section of the interior wall, which was one brick wide, consisted of portions of five brick courses atop a spread foot. It appears that this interior wall would have partitioned off the south room of the kitchen, measuring approximately 18 feet by 10 feet, from the north room, which measured roughly 18 feet by 16 feet. Feature 67 represented a portion of the builder's trench visible along the spread feet on both the north and south sides of the brick interior wall. It consisted of dark brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy loam. The handful of artifacts retrieved from this context included sherds of aqua and dark green bottle glass, as well as a sherd of blue/green-edged Pearlware. This ceramic type remained popular into the 1830s, so its presence in the builder's trench appeared to support the presumed mid-1830s construction date of the kitchen building.



**Figure 53.** Interior kitchen wall in Test Unit 66, view to north.

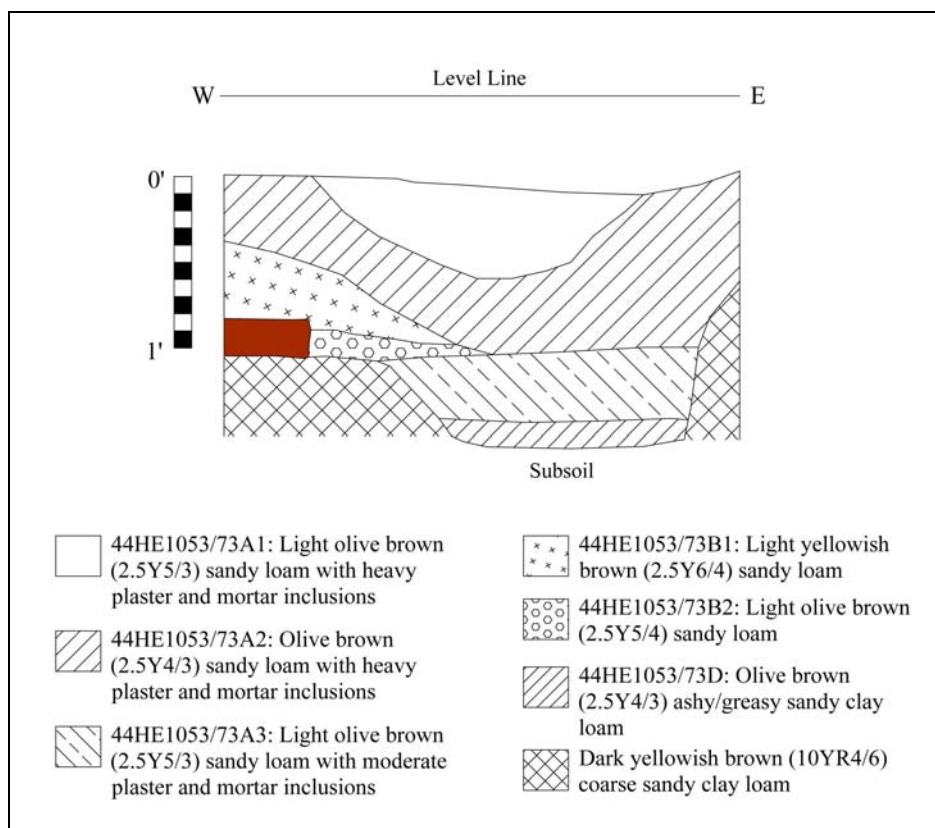


**Figure 54.** Plan of Test Unit 66 after excavation.

*Test Unit 73*

TU 73 measured 3.0 feet (E-W) by 4.0 feet (N-S) and was situated in the central portion of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45) with its southwest corner at grid point 1018N/988E. Excavation of this test unit revealed the west chimney cheek of the central brick hearth.

Contexts 73A and 73D represented the robber's trench for the brick hearth, designated as FE 72 (Figure 55). Context 73A was divided into sub-layers (A1, A2, and A3) based on subtle distinctions in color, but in general was comprised of olive brown



**Figure 55.** North profile of Test Unit 73.

sandy loam with heavy plaster and brick inclusions. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, and American brown stoneware; aqua pharmaceutical glass; olive green wine bottle glass; glass buttons; a slate pencil fragment; a bone utensil handle; cut nails and unidentified iron hardware; slag; coal; and bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone. Context 73D consisted of olive brown (2.5Y4/3) sandy clay loam with an ashy/greasy consistency. The few artifacts from this context included a sherd of unidentified earthenware; unidentified nails; window glass; light green glass from an unidentified vessel; and animal bone.

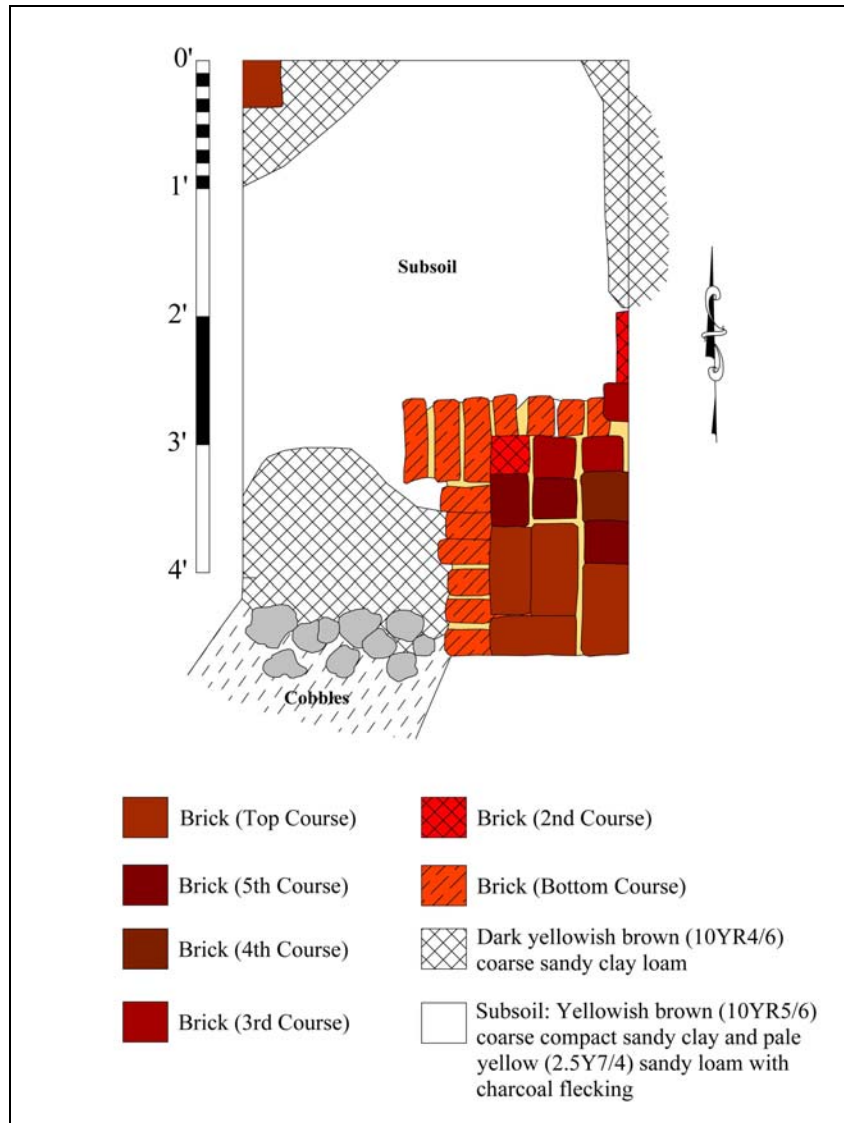
Context 73B was divided into sub-layers (B1 and B2) based on subtle distinctions in color, but in general consisted of light yellow or olive brown loamy sand. Artifacts included only animal bone. Context 73C was comprised of a light colored coarse sandy loam layer along the northeastern edge of the unit. Artifacts from this context included only two fragments of window glass and oyster shell. Context 73E was olive yellow (2.5Y6/6) coarse sandy loam with heavy brick rubble and cobble inclusions confined to the southwest corner of the unit. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware; olive green wine bottle glass; an aqua glass holloware fragment; bird, fish, and mammal bone; and oyster shell. Directly below was Context 73F, which consisted of light olive brown (2.5Y5/4) and light yellow brown (2.5Y6/4) coarse sandy loam with heavy inclusions of rock and cobbles. The few artifacts retrieved from this layer included window glass; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; and animal bone. Finally, Context 73G below was

dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) sandy loam with rock and cobble inclusions. Artifacts included a sherd of whiteware; dark green and live green wine bottle glass; an unidentified nail fragment; wood; bird and mammal bone; and oyster shell.

Once excavation of TU 73 had been completed, what appeared to be a portion of the west chimney cheek of the central brick hearth was revealed. The feature included six partial courses of handmade brick, and was abutted to the south by cobble paving identical to that in the courtyard area adjoining the kitchen to the north (Figures 56-57).



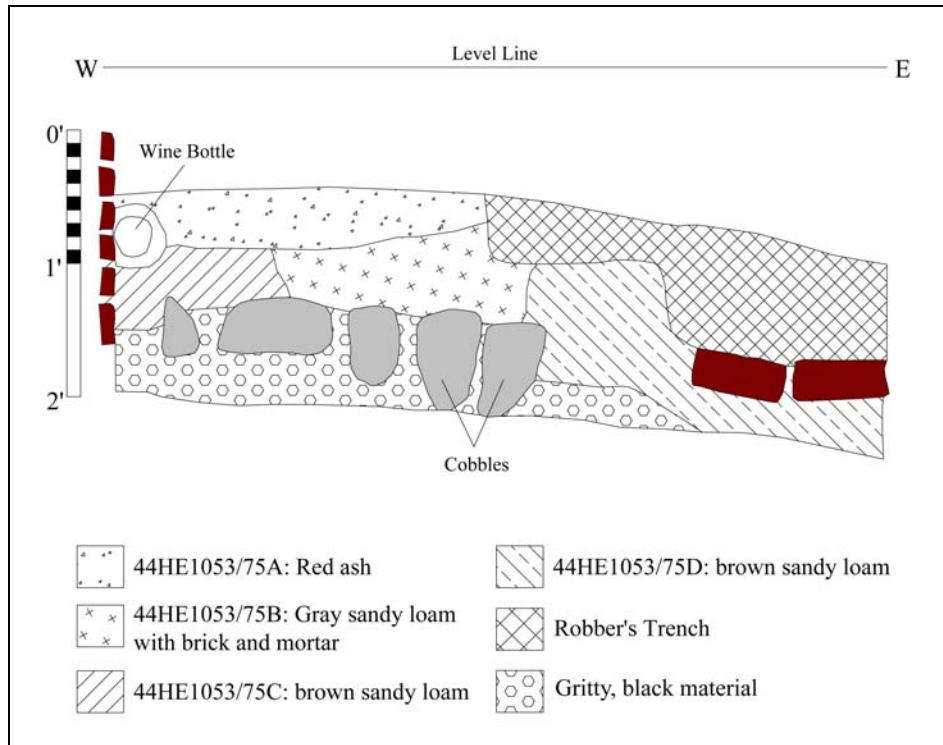
**Figure 56.** Brick chimney cheek in Test Unit 73, view to south.



**Figure 57.** Plan of Test Unit 73 after excavation.

### *Feature 75*

Excavation of the later trench (FE 70) which bisected the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45) revealed in cross-section the hearth which served the south room of the kitchen (Figures 58-60). The feature was not excavated, but several fill layers were noted between the west chimney cheek excavated in the adjoining TU 73 and the remnant of the east chimney cheek represented by some remnant brick and a clearly identifiable robber's trench. The distance between the inside face of the cheeks was just over four feet.



**Figure 58.** North profile of hearth (Feature 75) in the south room of the kitchen.



**Figure 59.** Hearth (Feature 75) in the south room of the kitchen, view to north.

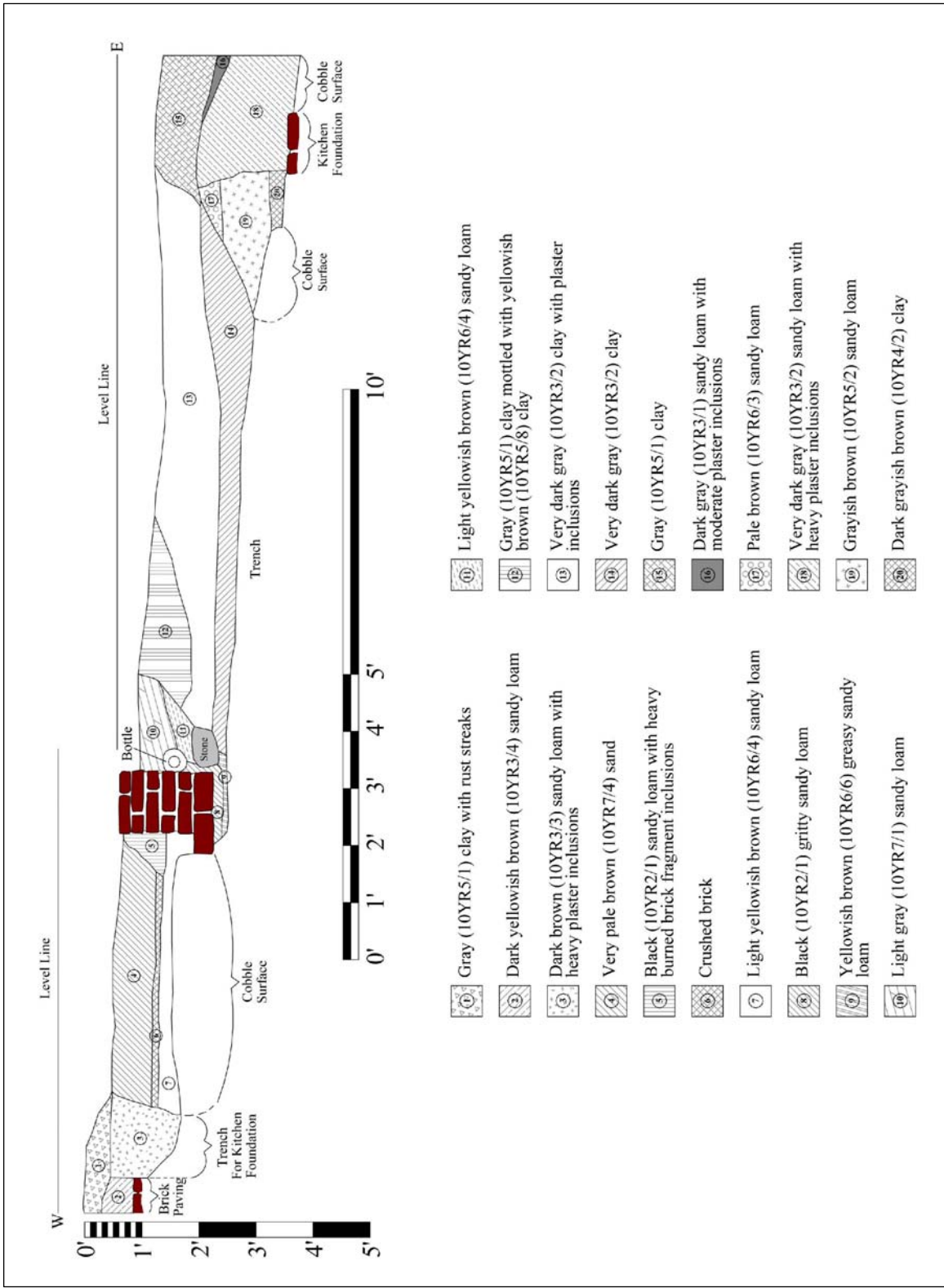


Figure 60. North profile of the kitchen building's south room.



## TEST UNITS 28, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, AND 57: NORTH ROOM KITCHEN INTERIOR

### *Test Unit 28*

TU 28 was a three-foot-square unit excavated in the north room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). The southwest corner of the unit was a grid point 1025.4N/990E. The first layer excavated was Context 28A, which consisted of up to 0.8 foot of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sandy loam. Artifacts retrieved from this context included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, and American blue and gray stoneware; olive green wine bottle glass; a kaolin clay tobacco pipestem fragment; window glass; brick fragments; wood; and bird, mammal, and rodent bone. Context 28B had a depth of only about 0.2 foot, and consisted of yellowish brown (10YR5/8) sandy clay, with artifacts including two sherds of creamware; olive green wine bottle glass; and bird and mammal bone. Finally, Context 28C, which was excavated to a depth of 1.0 foot, was comprised of brownish yellow sandy clay with a high concentration of pebbles. The context was relatively sterile, yielding only a fragment of limestone and coal.

### *Test Unit 52*

TU 52 was a five-foot-square unit excavated in the north room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), the northeast corner of which intersected with previously excavated TU 25. The southwest corner of the unit was a grid point 1025.1N/996.5E. The first layer excavated was Context 52A, which consisted of approximately 0.2 foot of very dark grayish brown sandy loam. Artifacts retrieved from this context included sherds of whiteware, ironstone, and bone porcelain; dark green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; kaolin and Pamplin clay tobacco pipestem fragments; an unidentified nail fragment; slag; coal; and animal bone. Context 52B was comprised of up to 0.4 foot of dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) sandy loam with brick, plaster, and cobble inclusions. Artifacts included a sherd of whiteware; clear pharmaceutical bottle glass; milk glass buttons; olive green wine bottle glass; window glass; brick fragments; and bird, fish, and mammal bone. Context 52C appeared to consist of multiple lenses of material, so was divided into two sub-layers (C1 and C2) based on subtle distinctions in color and texture. Context 52C1 consisted of approximately 0.1 foot of light yellow (2.5Y5/6) sandy loam with brick inclusions, while 52C2 was characterized by light yellowish brown (2.5Y6/4) sandy loam to a depth of about 0.1 foot. Artifacts from Context 52C included only a fragment of olive green wine bottle glass and an unidentified copper object. Context 52D, which was concentrated in the eastern portion of the unit, was also excavated as two sub-layers. Context 52D1 consisted of approximately 0.1 foot of light yellowish brown (2.5Y5/3) sandy loam with brick and cobble inclusions, while 52D2 was characterized by dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam. Artifacts included sherds of coarse earthenware, pearlware, and whiteware; olive green wine bottle glass; a slate roofing tile fragment; bird, fish, and mammal bone; and oyster shell.

Once Context 52C had been excavated, a confined patch of strong brown (7.5YR5/8) clay stained with very dark grayish brown (2.5Y3/2) clay was noted in the northwest corner of the unit. Designated as Context 52F, this deposit was characterized by the impressions of bricks which had once rested on this layer but had since been removed (Figure 61). No artifacts were retrieved from this context. This feature may



**Figure 61.** Brick impressions in Test Unit 52, view to west.

have represented the remains of a brick pier similar to that identified in TU 55 (FE 71).

#### *Test Unit 53*

TU 53 was a five-foot-square unit excavated in the north room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), the southwest portion of which intersected with previously excavated TU 28. The southwest corner of the unit was a grid point 1025.1N/991.5E. The first layer excavated was Context 53A, which was confined to the northwestern portion of the unit, and comprised of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam with brick rubble, plaster, and cobbles. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, bone porcelain, and eighteenth-century Whieldon ware; olive green wine bottle glass; an aqua glass hollowware fragment; unidentified nail fragments; coal; bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone; and oyster shell. Context 53B was limited to the eastern edge of the unit and consisted of olive yellow (2.5Y6/6) loamy sand. The few artifacts from this context included two sherds of pearlware and a window glass fragment. Context 53C measured approximately 0.5 foot deep and was observed only in the western portion of the unit. It was comprised of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam with cobble inclusions. Artifacts included a variety of ceramics such as Pennsylvania coarseware, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, bone porcelain, and American blue and gray stoneware; olive green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; unidentified nail fragments; and animal bone. Context 53D was confined to the eastern portion of the unit, and consisted of as much as 0.7 foot of light olive brown (2.5YR5/4) and dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam with brick rubble and

cobbles. Artifacts from this context included sherds of eighteenth-century Whieldon ware, pearlware, whiteware, and bone porcelain; olive green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; and animal bone.

Once Context 53D had been excavated, two distinct soils were observed at the base of the unit. Context 53E was confined to the southern half of the unit and consisted of strong brown (7.5YR5/8) clay mottled with dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam. Context 53F was located primarily in the northern half of the unit and was characterized by yellowish red (5YR5/8) sandy clay. Neither of these contexts was excavated, and they yielded no artifacts. What appeared to be a brick stain was observed along the northwestern margins of the unit, which was possibly related to Context 52F (the clay with brick impressions) in the adjoining TU 52.

#### *Test Unit 54*

TU 54 was a five-foot-square unit excavated in the north room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), the southeast portion of which intersected with previously excavated TU 28. The southwest corner of the unit was a grid point 1025.1N/986.5E. The first layer excavated was Context 54A, which was comprised of as much as 0.6 foot of brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam with heavy brick and plaster inclusions. Artifacts retrieved from this context included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, and bone porcelain; two complete bone buttons; a local clay tobacco pipe bowl fragment; olive green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; unidentified nail fragments; window glass; bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone; and oyster shell. Context 54B consisted of a limited deposit of light bluish-gray (2 8/5PB) sandy gley in the northern portion of the unit which yielded no artifacts. Context 54C consisted of as much as 0.4 foot of strong brown (7.5Y4/6) sandy loam. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, and bone porcelain; olive green wine bottle glass; window glass; unidentified nail fragments; bird and mammal bone; and oyster shell. Running down the center of the unit was Context 54D, comprised of black (10YR2/1) sandy loam with artifacts including a copper Liberty Head five cent coin dated 1817; a possible Pamplin tobacco pipestem fragment; olive green bottle glass; window glass; unidentified nail fragments; and bird, mammal, and rodent bone. Context 54E within the eastern portion of the unit was characterized by 0.3 foot of pale brown (10YR6/3) sand. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, porcelain, and bone porcelain; window glass; a slate roofing tile fragment; mammal bone; and oyster shell. Context 54F was concentrated in the eastern portion of the unit and was comprised of yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy loam with a depth of only 0.2 foot. Artifacts from this context included sherds of eighteenth-century Whieldon ware, pearlware, and whiteware; olive green wine bottle glass; unidentified nail fragment; a slate roofing tile fragment; coal; and bird, mammal, and rodent bone. The final deposit excavated was Context 52G, approximately 0.3 foot of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam confined to the eastern half of the unit. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware; part of a kaolin clay tobacco pipe; and olive green wine bottle glass.

Once these layers had been excavated, two concentrations of burned brick dust were observed in the north-central and western portions of the unit. The base of the unit was characterized by various shades of sandy loam, from brownish yellow (10YR6/6) through black (10YR2/1).

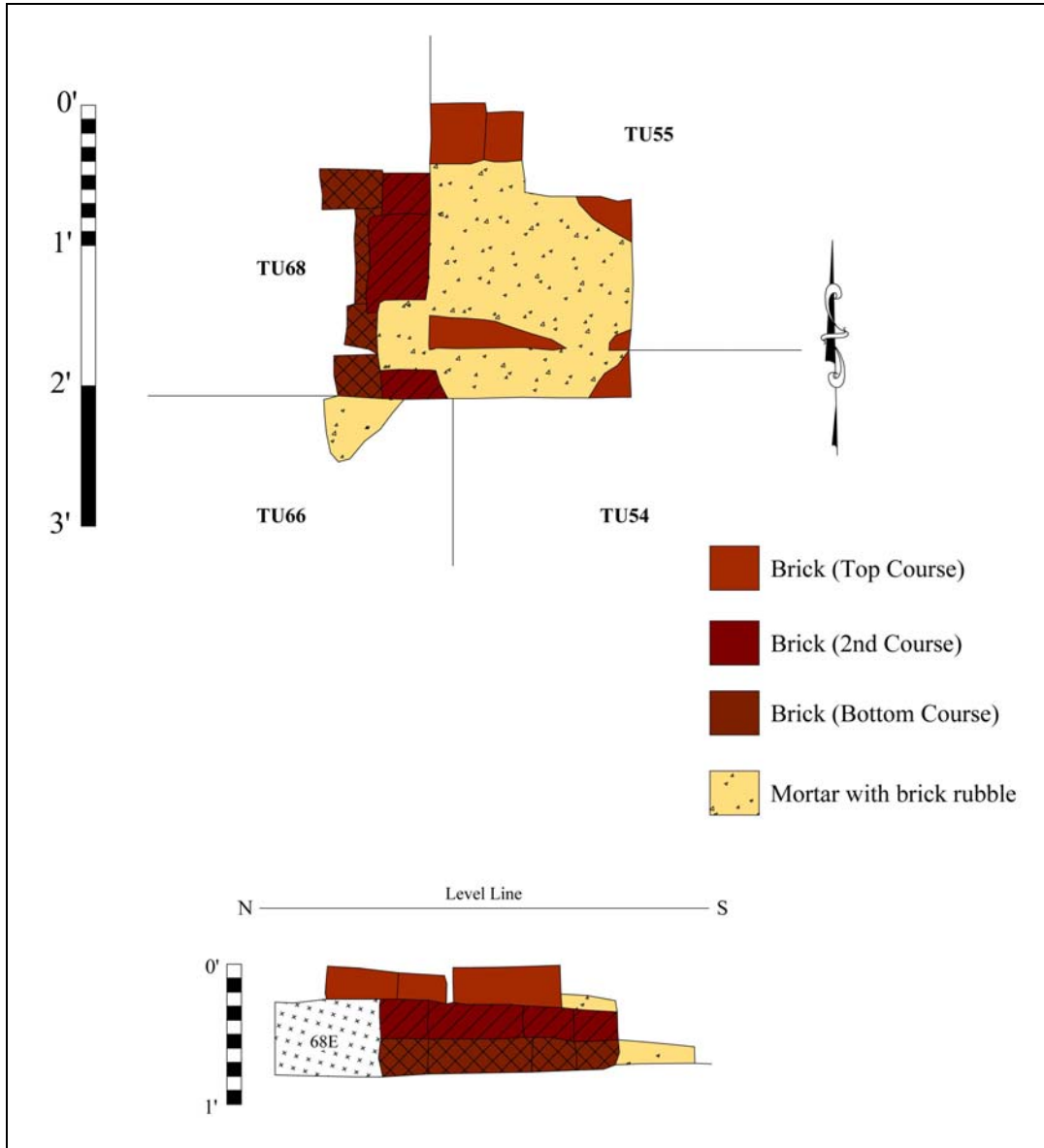
### *Test Unit 55*

TU 55 was a five-foot-square unit excavated in the north room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), the northeast portion of which intersected with previously excavated TU 27. The southwest corner of the unit was a grid point 1030.1N/986.5E. The first layer excavated was Context 55A, which was comprised of approximately 0.2 foot of very dark gray (2.5Y3/1) sandy loam running along the western portion of the unit. Artifacts included sherds of whiteware, ironstone, porcelain, bone porcelain, porcelaneous ware, and unidentified stoneware; an agateware door knob; dark green wine bottle glass; unidentified nail fragments; window glass; and mammal bone. This deposit clearly post-dated the destruction of the kitchen, as it directly sealed Context 55F, designated as FE 58-3A, a portion of the robber's trench for the north foundation wall of the kitchen (see Feature 58 discussion below).

FE 58-3A consisted of approximately 1.2 feet of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam, with artifacts including sherds of whiteware, porcelain, and Rockingham/Bennington ware; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; unidentified nail fragments; wood; and bird and mammal bone. No intact remnants of the brick foundation wall were noted.

Context 55B was characterized by as much as 0.6 foot of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam and was confined to the southwest corner of the unit. Artifacts from this context included sherds of whiteware, American blue and gray stoneware, and Rockingham/Bennington ware; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; clear bottle glass; cut and unidentified nail fragments; coal; and bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone. Adjacent was Context 55C, a layer of dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam with a significant concentration of brick fragments. Artifacts included unidentified nail fragments; a complete milk glass button; olive green wine bottle glass; and mammal bone. Context 55D had a significant concentration of brick fragments and was concentrated in the southeast quadrant of the unit. Artifacts included a single sherd of whiteware; a bone utensil handle; olive green bottle glass; cut and unidentified nail fragments; and mammal bone. Context 55F was comprised of a deposit of reddish orange sandy clay that extended throughout most of the unit. No artifacts were retrieved from this context. Context 55G consisted of 0.3 foot of olive brown (2.5Y4/4) sandy clay with charcoal flecking. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, bone porcelain, American blue and gray stoneware, and American brown stoneware; a milk glass button; a heavy concentration of dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; cut and unidentified nail fragments; window glass; coal; wood; bird, fish, mammal, and rodent bone; and oyster shell. Context 55H was a light sandy layer in the southeast corner of the unit which yielded no artifacts. Context 55J consisted of 0.6 foot of yellowish brown (10YR5/8) sandy loam.

Once these layers had been excavated, the base of what appeared to be a brick pier was revealed in the southwest corner of the unit, with three visible courses of brick (FE 71) (Figures 62-63). This feature, which overlapped slightly into adjoining TUs 54, 65, and 68, measured approximately two feet square. A number of additional small deposits (Contexts 55L-P) were noted at the base of the unit but not excavated. The presence of this pier, and the remains of another possible pier in nearby TU 52, suggested that there was likely a raised wooden floor in the north room of the kitchen building.



**Figure 62.** Plan and east profile of brick pier, Feature 71.



**Figure 63.** Brick pier (Feature 71) in Test Unit 55, view to west.

#### *Test Unit 56*

TU 56 was a five-foot-square unit excavated in the north room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), the northwest portion of which intersected with previously excavated TU 27. The southwest corner of the unit was a grid point 1030.1N/991.5E. The first layer excavated was Context 56A, which was comprised of approximately 0.3 foot of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sandy loam with brick fragments running along the western portion of the unit. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware and whiteware; two kaolin tobacco pipestem fragments; olive green wine bottle glass; clear pharmaceutical, bottle, and stemmed glass; window glass; coal; wood; and bird and mammal bone. This deposit clearly post-dated the destruction of the kitchen, as it directly sealed FE 58-2A, a portion of the robber's trench for the north foundation wall of the kitchen (see TU 62 and FE 58 discussion).

Context 56B consisted of pale brown (10YR6/3) sand in the southeast corner of the unit and had a maximum depth of 0.3 foot. The only artifacts retrieved from this layer included two sherds of whiteware. Context 56C consisted of as much as 0.3 foot of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand confined to the center and eastern portions of the unit. The sole artifact from this deposit was a fragment of olive green wine bottle glass. Context 56D, which was located in the southern portion of the unit, consisted of a thin (0.1 foot) lens of dark brown (7.5YR3/2) sandy loam. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware, whiteware, and bone porcelain; olive green wine bottle glass; window glass; and an unidentified nail fragment. Context 56E was a mottled sandy brown and grayish layer in the center-east of the unit which yielded sherds of eighteenth-century

Staffordshire coarse earthenware and whiteware; a kaolin tobacco pipestem fragment; dark green wine bottle glass; a cut nail; and bird and mammal bone. Context 56F was characterized by dark brown (7.5YR3/2) sandy clay loam running through the center of the unit, and with a maximum depth of 0.4 foot. Artifacts included sherds of pearlware and yellowware; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; an unidentified nail fragment; mammal bone; and unidentified shell. Context 56G was comprised of a thin (0.1 foot) lens of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand in the southeastern portion of the unit, with artifacts that included a single sherd of pearlware and olive green wine bottle glass. Context 56H was a thin (0.2 foot) deposit of strong brown (7.5YR5/8) clay that yielded only fragments of dark green and olive green wine bottle glass. Finally, the last deposit to be excavated was Context 56I, characterized by yellowish brown (10YR5/8) loamy sand. Artifacts from this layer included sherds of whiteware; dark green and olive green wine bottle glass; brick, charcoal, and coal fragments; fish and mammal bone; and oyster shell.

#### *Test Unit 57*

TU 57 was a five-foot-square unit excavated in the north room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45), the eastern portion of which intersected with previously excavated TUs 25 and 30. The southwest corner of the unit was a grid point 1030.1N/996.5E. The first layer excavated was Context 57A, which was comprised of approximately 0.7 foot of yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sandy loam mottled with brick fragments and plaster. Artifacts included sherds of whiteware, bone porcelain, and stone ginger beer bottle; a portion of a glass thermometer; a milk glass button; dark green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware and stemware fragments; unidentified nail fragments; window glass; and bird, fish, and mammal bone. This deposit clearly post-dated the destruction of the kitchen, as it directly sealed FE 58-1A, a portion of the robber's trench for the north foundation wall of the kitchen (see TU 61 and FE 58 discussion).

Context 57B was comprised of a four distinct strata (57B1-B4) of sandy loam and clay differentiated slightly by color and texture, with a combined depth of approximately 0.7 foot. A large quantity of artifacts was retrieved from this context, including sherds of whiteware, ironstone, yellowware, and porcelainous ware; a brass jewelry fragment; a bone button; three bone knife handles; a large quantity of olive green wine bottle glass; glass hollowware fragments; unidentified nail fragments; window glass; slag; coal; bird, fish, and mammal bone; and oyster shell.

The removal of Context 57B revealed a sterile, yellowish-brown sandy layer with heavy cobble inclusions, and excavation was terminated.

#### *Brick Feature in North Room of Kitchen*

A brick feature of unknown function was identified in the vicinity of the north room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). It measured approximately 14 feet long and was oriented along an east-west axis, roughly parallel with the north and south walls of the kitchen. It consisted of a single row of bricks laid side by side on the ground surface. No excavation was conducted in association with this feature; however, it appears to have postdated the destruction of the building as it was situated atop soil strata that sealed the robber's trench for the kitchen foundation (see Figure 39).

### Feature 58: Kitchen Foundation Robber's Trench

FE 58 was the contextual designation assigned to all excavated contexts that comprised portions of the robber's trench associated with the brick foundation walls of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). A robber's trench is created when a building is dismantled and the foundation bricks are salvaged, leaving an open trench where the foundation had been. This trench is typically backfilled with materials from the demolition of the original structure and mixed deposits dug from around the foundation. The following table indicates all contexts and excavation units which included sections of the robber's trench. An analysis of the artifacts retrieved from these contexts yielded no dateable materials which could provide a specific TPQ for the destruction of the building.

**Table 1.** Contexts for Feature 58 (Robber's Trench), Structure 45.

Context	Excavation Unit	Diagnostic Artifacts?
25B	TU 25	No
25C	TU 25	No
27B	TU 27	No
29C	TU 29	No
30D	TU 30	No
32D	TU 32	No
33C	TU 33	No
33D	TU 33	No
43E	TU 43	No
46D	TU 46	No
46E	TU 46	No
57A	TU 57	No
61A	TU 61	No
62A	TU 62	No
64A	TU 64	No
65A	TU 65	No
65C	TU 65	No
68A	TU 68	No
68B	TU 68	No
68C	TU 68	No
58-1A	TU 61	No
58-2A	TU 56/62	No
58-3A	TU 55	No
58-4A	TU 64	No
58-5A	TU 65	No
58-6A	TU 66	No
58-7A	FE 69	No
58-8A	TU 68	No



### Feature 59: Kitchen Foundation Builder's Trench

In the course of test unit excavation associated with the Lumpkin period kitchen (Structure 45), several contexts were identified that appeared to represent a builder's trench for the brick foundation walls, designated as FE 59. As detailed in the following table, portions of FE 59 were sampled in four separate excavation units. Two of the contexts (25E and 30E) yielded sherds of transfer printed whitewares, a ceramic type which became common in Virginia only after about 1830. Although the artifact sample is admittedly small, the presence of ceramics in the builder's trench that post-date 1830 appears to support the documentary evidence that the kitchen was built as part of the larger complex by slave dealer Lewis Collier in the mid-to-late 1830s.

**Table 2.** Feature 59 (Builder's Trench) Contexts, Structure 45.

Context	Excavation Unit	Diagnostic Artifacts?
59-1A	59-1A	No
59-2A	TU 43	No
25E	TU 25	Transfer printed whiteware (brown/black), post-1830
30E	TU 30	Transfer printed whiteware (blue; green/red/purple) post-1830

### Feature 69: Trench Feature

FE 69 consisted of a trench feature of unknown function which cut through the south room of the Lumpkin period kitchen (Structure 45). The majority of this feature was exposed by mechanical removal of overlaying deposits, and portions of it were likely truncated during the process. Nevertheless, the trench was found to extend at least 25 feet from the western limits of the excavation area to the eastern foundation wall exposed in TUs 29, 32, and 33. The width of the feature varied to some degree across this length, but generally was ranged between 2.5 feet and 3.0 feet. The western terminus of the trench was located near an unidentified feature largely hidden by the edge of the excavation area. The eastern terminus appeared to coincide with the brick channel that extended from the eastern foundation of Structure 45 in TU 32. As evidenced by the excavation of TUs 29 and 33, it appeared that the eastern terminus of FE 69 may have been truncated by FE 74. Given the linear nature of FE 69 and that the fact that it appeared to intersect with the brick channel, it is possible that the trench served as a drainage channel. Portions of this feature were excavated as context 69-1A.

Context 69-1A was excavated to explore the relationship between FE 69 and FE 58, the robber's trench associated with the foundation of Structure 45. The feature was bisected east-west along the western foundation of Structure 45, and the excavated area measured 2.5 feet by 1.0 foot. This deposit consisted of a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay, and had a maximum depth of 0.4 foot. The stratigraphic profile of the bisection revealed that this feature clearly post-dated the destruction of the kitchen building, as it cut the robber's trench feature. Diagnostic materials recovered from this context included four sherds of undecorated whiteware, one sherd of blue transfer-printed whiteware, one sherd of English brown ink/mineral water bottle stoneware, and a glass

insulator. The insulator was marked “W. BROOKFIELD/55 FULTON ST/ ..NY/ CAUVET'S/PAT/JULY 25 1865.” The well-known insulator manufacturing firm, the Brookfield Glass Company, had its offices on Fulton Street in Brooklyn, New York, from 1868 to 1882 (Whitten 2010). This artifact gives the feature a TPQ of 1868, which supports the stratigraphic evidence that FE 69 post-dates the destruction of the kitchen. Other recovered materials included an unidentifiable iron fragment, tin strapping fragments, a bottle cork, various bottle glass fragments, glass hollowware fragments, window glass fragments, a milk glass button, a wine glass fragment, and a small amount of coal and slate.

### **Feature 70: Trench Feature**

FE 70 was a second trench feature which cut across the south room of the Lumpkin period kitchen building (Structure 45). The western terminus of the feature extended in an east-west alignment from the western excavation area limits for a distance of approximately 25 feet. The feature had an average width of about 2 feet. Portions of FE 70 were excavated as contexts 70-1A, 70-2A, 66B, and 66E.

Context 70-1A was a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay loam deposit with brick and rock inclusions. It was located along the western edge of TU 66, contiguous with contexts 66B and 66E, and was removed to investigate a brick feature encountered along the western edge of TU 66. Ultimately, this brick feature was found to represent a cheek of a chimney base and dividing wall associated with Structure 45, portions of which FE 70 had truncated.

Contexts 66B and 66E were excavated within TU 66, directly west of context 70-1A. Context 66B was characterized by very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy loam mottled with a yellowish brown (10YR5/8) clay covering the southern portion of the test unit. Context 66E, directly below 66B, consisted of brown (10YR5/3) sandy loam with brick and cobble inclusions. Context 66E extended through the test unit from west to east (see Figures 52-54). Along the eastern profile of the test unit, Context 66E cut through the robber's trench (FE 58-6A) associated with the kitchen foundation wall.

Context 70-2A was excavated as part of a bisection of FE 70 where it intersected FE 58, the robber's trench associated with the brick foundation of Structure 45, near grid point 1015N/984E. This bisection was conducted to confirm the relationship between FE 70 and FE 58. This section of FE70 had a maximum depth of 1.0 foot, and cut directly through portions of FE 58 and the brick foundation of Structure 45. As such, it was evident that FE 70 post-dated the destruction of the kitchen building and the backfilling of the robber's trench. The purpose of this feature was not determined, although, like FE 69, it likely served as a drainage trench.

A large assortment of cultural materials was recovered from these contexts. Diagnostic ceramics included 62 sherds of undecorated whiteware, 11 sherds of porcelain, eight sherds of American Brown stoneware, seven American Blue and Gray stoneware, five sherds of bone china porcelain, four sherds of blue transfer-printed whiteware, four sherds of polychrome underglaze painted whiteware, three sherds of undecorated pearlware, three sherds of Rockingham/Bennington, two sherds of porcelaneous ceramic, two sherds of English Brown ink/mineral water stoneware, one sherd of annular decorated whiteware, one sherd of underglaze-painted whiteware, one sherd of yellowware, and one sherd of English brown saltglazed stoneware. Diagnostic

nail forms included 43 cut nail fragments and four wire nail fragments. An 1854 Liberty Head penny was recovered, as well as a small milk glass jar embossed lettering reading: CHESEBROUGH MFG. CO/NEW YORK/VASELINE.” The company was established by Robert Chesebrough in 1875, which provides a TPQ for the backfilling of this feature. Other materials recovered included unidentifiable nail and iron fragments, a wide variety of glass tableware fragments, glass bottle fragments, wine bottle glass fragments, window and flat glass fragments, unidentifiable earthenware and stoneware sherds, a white ball clay tobacco pipe stem fragment, a coarse earthenware reed stem tobacco pipe fragment, a ceramic marble, glass buttons, a wooden knife handle, an fragment of a bone brush, and quantities of mammal bone, bird bone, fish bone, clam and oyster shell, coal, wood, slag/clinker, and prehistoric Native American lithics.

#### **Feature 74: Trench Feature**

FE 74 represented a probable drainage trench which post-dated the destruction of the Lumpkin period kitchen (Structure 45). Contexts associated with FE 74 included 29A, 32A, 33A, and 74A. These were characterized by dark brown (10YR3/3) to a dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silty clay, with an average depth of approximately 1.5 feet. Removal of the trench fill revealed thin brick pavers lining the eastern edge and base of the trench feature. The stratigraphic evidence indicated that this trench was excavated after the kitchen had been demolished, as it overlaid the remnant southeast corner of the building foundation. A portion of this same drain was also likely encountered in TU 50, where a similar brick paver feature was noted.

Artifacts associated with this feature included six sherds of undecorated whiteware, three fragments of bottle glass, two fragments of pharmaceutical glass bottle, a sherd of Rockingham/Bennington ware, a sherd of Bristol glazed stoneware ginger beer bottle, a fragment of iron wire, a fragment of a non-lead glass candleholder, a fragment of shoe leather, and small amounts of wood and animal bone. One of the pharmaceutical bottles bore the embossed lettering: “R.R.R./RADWAY & CO/NEW YORK/ENTd ACORDd TO/ACT OF CONGRESS” with a “2” on the base of the bottle. “Radway’s Ready Relief” was a popular nineteenth-century painkiller and nerve tonic. The name of the firm that produced it was changed to “Radway & Company” in 1877, which provides a TPQ for the backfilling of this feature.

## **LOT 62 OUTBUILDING AND LOT BOUNDARY**

Although it was not fully excavated, the area immediately adjacent to the southern limits of the brick retaining wall appeared to include the remains of a structure of undetermined purpose which would have been located between the kitchen and the lower, eastern portion of the site. Testing in this area also revealed clear physical evidence of the boundary line between Lot 62, originally the southernmost lot of the slave jail complex, and Lot 61, which Lumpkin subsequently acquired in 1852.

### **Test Unit 35**

TU 35 was a three-foot square test unit, the southwestern corner of which was situated at trid point 1022N/1016E. It was excavated with the goal of identifying a possible extension of the brick foundation originally observed in TU 22 to the west.

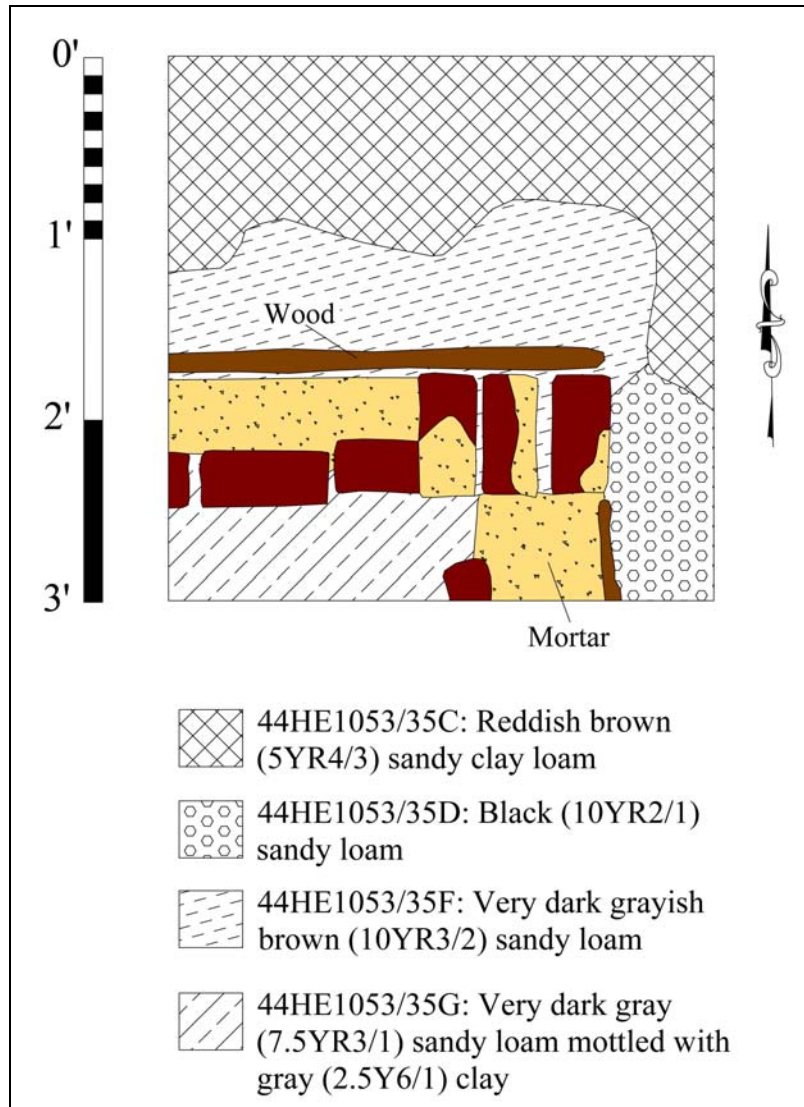
Context 35A was a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay concentrated in the southwestern corner of the test unit, with a maximum excavated depth of 1.0 foot. Excavation of this context quickly revealed that it was fill material associated with the interior of a brick foundation. Artifacts recovered included 29 fragments of case bottle glass, three cut nail fragments, three sherds of a Westerwald mineral water bottle, two sherds of ironstone/granite whiteware, two fragments of glass of unidentified form, one sherd of Pearlware, one fragment of bottle glass, one fragment of pressed glass, one fragment of glass tableware, one fragment of window glass, and a pencil lead and wooden casing.

Context 35B was also present on the surface of the test unit prior to the beginning of excavation. Excavators noted that the context formed a rough “L” shape of yellowish brown (10YR5/8) clay mottled with dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) clay. This context was roughly 0.4 foot deep, and its removal revealed context 35E. Given the stratigraphic sequence, it appeared that contexts 35B and 35E represented portions of a robber’s trench for the brick foundation found within this test unit. Artifacts recovered from this context included four unidentified nail fragments, three fragments of bottle glass, two sherds of whiteware, a fragment of stemmed glassware, and small amounts of wood, animal bone, and shell.

Context 35C was also apparent on the surface of the test unit prior to excavation, and was located along the northern and eastern edges of the unit. This context consisted of a reddish brown (5YR4/3) sandy loam, which was found to extend to a depth of only 0.2 foot below the surface of the unit. In the southeastern corner of the test unit, the removal of 35C revealed a black (10YR2/1) lens of grit which was designated as Context 35D. While a single sherd of eighteenth-century English brown salt-glazed stoneware was recovered from these two contexts, it was clear that they comprised a portion of the late-nineteenth century fill layer found across the eastern portion of the site.

Context 35E was uncovered directly below 35B, and consisted of a grayish brown (10YR5/2) mottled with dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) clay. It was similar to Context 35B, but was given its own designation as the material appeared slightly grayer than 35B. Regardless, excavation of 35E revealed an intact portion of a brick foundation (Figures 64-65). The foundation was a single brick wide, and appeared to represent part of the same foundation encountered in TU 22. Well-preserved wooden boards were found directly along the “exterior” edge of the foundation along its northern face, and turned to

run to the south in the southeastern corner of the test unit. Given the stratigraphic sequence, it appears that contexts 35E and 35B were portions of a robber's trench associated with this brick foundation. Artifacts recovered from context 35E included 11 fragments of bottle glass, two fragments of wine bottle glass, two sherds of underglazed transfer-printed Pearlware, one cut nail, one fragment of pharmaceutical bottle glass, one fragment of window glass, one fragment of non-leaded stemware, and small amounts of coal, wood and slate.



**Figure 64.** Plan of Test Unit 35 after excavation.



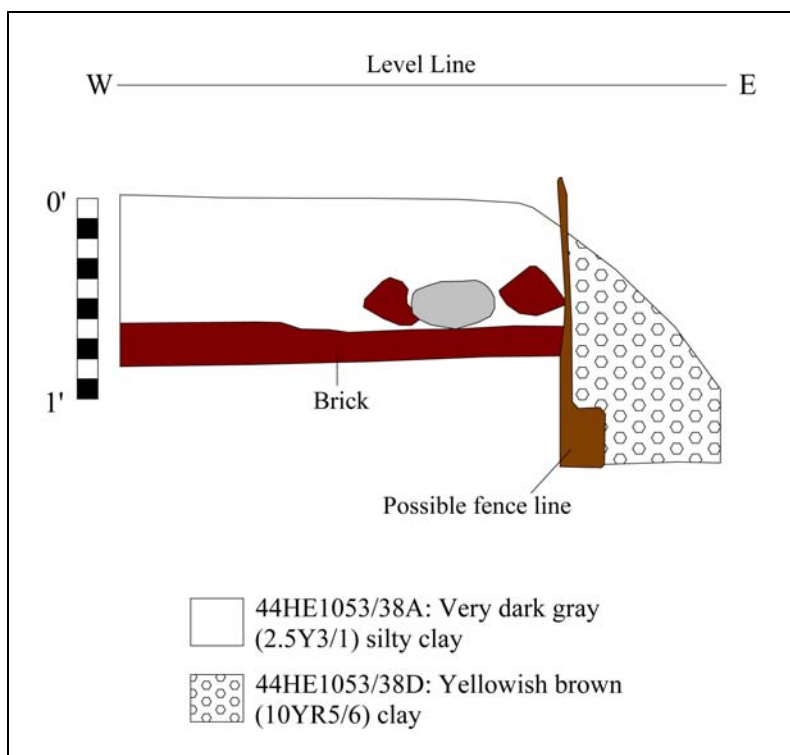
**Figure 65.** Brick foundation in Test Unit 35, view to east.

### **Test Unit 38**

TU 38 was a three-foot square test unit, the southwestern corner of which was located at grid point 1012N/1016E. This test unit was situated south of TU 35, and was intended to further investigate the feature complex and brick foundation identified there.

The first of the five soil layers excavated was Context 38A, comprised of very dark gray (2.5Y3/1) silty clay with shell, brick, and cobble inclusions throughout (Figure 66). This deposit was concentrated in the northwestern corner and along the northern edge of the unit. The context extended to a depth of approximately 0.8 foot below the unit surface along its northern edge. Materials recovered from this context included sherds of pearlware, plain whiteware, transfer-printed whiteware, ironstone whiteware, yellowware, and porcelaneous china; cut and unidentified nail fragments; and a variety of bottle and flat glass fragments.

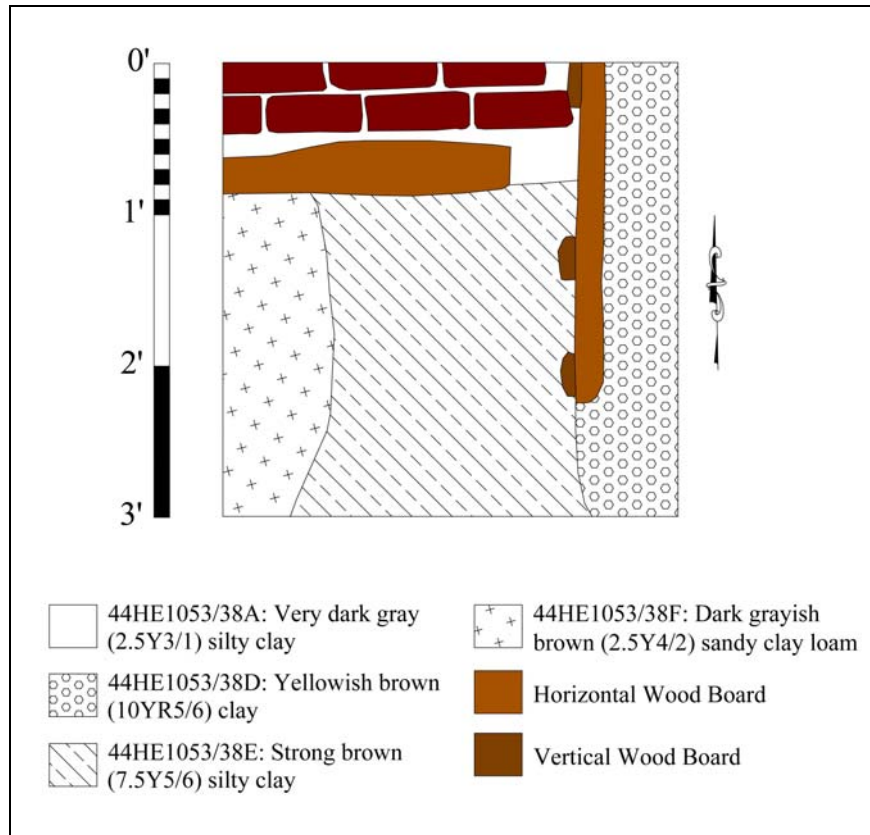
Removal of these materials revealed an intact brick foundation along the northern edge of the unit, extending from the northeastern corner of the unit approximately 2.3 feet to the west, and flanked on both the southern and eastern edges by intact wooden boards. The exposed portion of the brick foundation was a brick and a half wide. It appeared that this represented the southern corner of the brick foundation encountered in TU 35, where the brick turned to form a southern wall. This context evidently represented a robber's trench created when bricks from the foundation were removed after the structure was dismantled. Also, wooden boards were found running north-south, extending from this corner to a series of small (0.1 foot by 0.2 foot) wooden uprights, which appeared to separate Context 38D from 38B, 38C, 38E, and 38F (Figure 66).



**Figure 66.** North profile of Test Unit 38.

Context 38B was identified along the western edge of the excavation on the unit's surface, and extended roughly 1.0 foot into the center of the unit. This deposit consisted of olive brown (2.5Y4/3) clay loam with a scattering of cobble and brick inclusions throughout. Along the western profile of the excavation, Context 38B extended to a depth of approximately 1.2 feet below the surface of the unit, and directly abutted the wooden remains found along the southern face of the brick foundation. The few cultural materials recovered from this context included transfer-printed pearlware, unidentified stoneware fragments, a stoneware ginger beer bottle fragment, and window and bottle glass fragments. Removal of this context revealed that it directly sealed context 38F.

Context 38C was identified on the surface of the excavation directly to the east of 38B, and occupied roughly the middle third of the unit. Prior to excavation, a thin strip of remnant wooden boards was noted dividing contexts 38C from 38D along the western edge of the context. Context 38C consisted of olive yellow (2.5Y6/6) sandy clay loam with brick and cobble inclusions throughout. This context had an average depth of 0.6 foot along the southern edge of the excavation, and sloped gently from west to east. The few artifacts recovered from this context included a sherd of blue transfer-printed whiteware, unidentified nail fragments, scrap metal fragments, and a few fragments of bottle and window glass. Removal of this context revealed that it directly sealed context 38E. Removal of 38C also revealed additional wooden board fragments along the eastern edge of the context where it abutted context 38D, and extending from the southeastern foundation corner to several small wooden uprights (Figure 67).



**Figure 67.** Plan of Test Unit 38 after excavation.

Context 38D, measuring approximately 0.9 foot wide, was identified along the entire western edge of the excavation unit. The eastern edge of the context was sloped as a result of the mechanical removal of material to the east that was clearly associated with the ca. 1890s filling episode preceding the construction of the Richmond Iron Works. This context consisted of yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clay. Excavators removed this material to expose the wooden boards and posts which divided it from contexts 38C and 38F. Materials recovered from this excavation included a single sherd of ironstone whiteware, an unidentified nail fragment, window glass fragments, and a small amount of animal bone. Excavation was terminated when the water table rose and the excavation area was inundated.

Context 38E was sealed by 38C, and was characterized by a strong brown (7.5YR5/6) silty clay. The few materials recovered from this context included plain whiteware, annular decorated whiteware, ironstone whiteware, a cut nail fragment, an unidentified nail fragment, and a variety of bottle and hollowware glass forms. Excavation of this context was curtailed by the rising water table.

Context 38F was sealed by 38B, and was located along the western edge of the excavation area, and extended roughly 0.7 foot towards the center of the unit. It was comprised of a dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) sandy clay loam. Artifacts recovered from this context were limited to several fragments of partially preserved shoe leather and a



single fragment of window glass. Full excavation of this context was precluded by the rising water table.

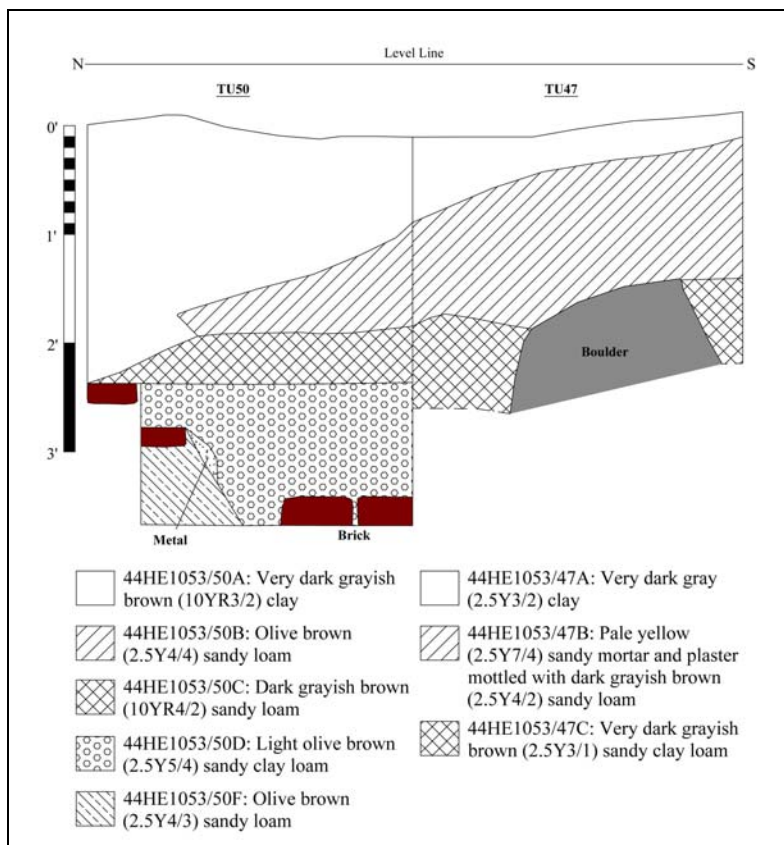
### **Test Units 47 and 50**

TUs 47 and 50 were two adjacent three-foot square excavation units located 12.0 feet west of TU 38, and approximately 4.0 feet south of TU 22. These units were situated to investigate the continuation of the retaining wall revealed in TU 22 to the north, and the rectangular brick foundation found in TUs 35 and 38. It was anticipated that the excavation of this unit would reveal the southwestern corner of the brick foundation at its intersection with the retaining wall. However, substantial pieces of granite—evidently from the foundation of the Richmond Iron Works foundry—were encountered and could not feasibly be removed without causing undue damage. In addition, excavation of TU 50 was hampered by the rising water table. While neither of these units could be fully excavated, TU 50 did reveal a possible brick foundation at its base.

Three discrete contexts were identified in TU 47 and six in TU 50 (Figure 68). Contexts 47A and 50A appeared to be stratigraphically consistent, and sloped steeply from the southern edge of TU 47 to the northern edge of TU 50. The deposit grew significantly deeper as it sloped to the north, reaching a maximum depth of over 2.0 foot along the northern edge of TU 50. These contexts consisted of a very dark gray brown (2.5Y3/2) and a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay. Artifact density was relatively low in these contexts. Materials recovered included sherds of Rockingham/Bennington, plain whiteware, transfer-printed whiteware, yellowware, a cut nail fragment, unidentified nail fragments, and a variety of bottle, hollowware, and window glass fragments. Removal of these contexts revealed a series of thin paver bricks along the northern edge of TU 50. These appeared to represent a portion of a brick drain running roughly southwest to northeast across the unit. This section of the drain was a continuation of the same feature identified in TUs 32 and 35 which was ultimately designated as FE 74. These contexts directly sealed 47B and 50B, and appeared to have cut them stratigraphically.

Contexts 47B and 50B consisted of a dark grayish brown (2.5Y4/2) or olive brown (2.5Y4/4) clay mottled with pale yellow (2.5Y7/4) clay and brick inclusions throughout. As with 47A and 50A, both of these B contexts sloped from a high point along the southern edge of TU 47 to a point roughly 1.0 foot from the northern edge of TU 50. As these contexts sloped to the north, they also became significantly shallower. A moderate amount of artifacts was recovered from these contexts, including transfer-printed whiteware, Chinese porcelain, cut and unidentified nail fragments, scrap metal fragments, glass stem and hollowware fragments, various bottle and window glass fragments, and a number of buttons made from various materials including milk glass, black glass, and iron. Small amounts of coal and slate fragments were also recovered. Removal of these contexts revealed that they directly sealed contexts 47C and 50C, as well as several large granite blocks in TU 47.

Contexts 47C and 50C consisted of very dark gray (2.5Y3/1) and dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy clay loam respectively. These contexts were identified across the entire surface area of both excavation units except for the northern edge of TU 50, and varied in depth from 0.8 foot to 0.5 foot. Most notable was the inclusion of several

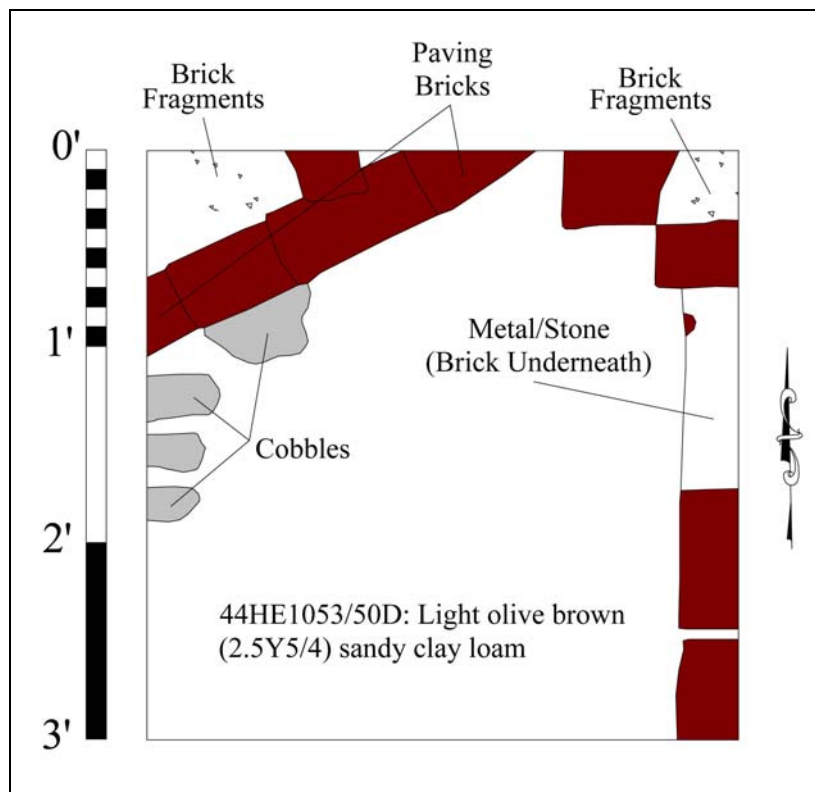


**Figure 68.** East profiles of Test Units 47 and 50.

large granite blocks throughout Context 50C, which ultimately prevented further excavation. Some of the many cultural materials recovered included white ball clay tobacco pipe fragments, local clay reed stemmed pipe bowl fragments, sherds of unidentified coarse earthenware, local coarse earthenware, Yorktown coarse earthenware, and Pennsylvania slip coarse earthenware, undecorated Pearlware, annular decorated Pearlware, blue- and green-edged Pearlware, Rockingham/Bennington, undecorated whiteware, annular decorated whiteware, sponge/spattered whiteware, transfer-printed whiteware, hand painted under-glaze whiteware, ironstone whiteware, yellowware, porcelain, bone china, porcelaneous, American blue and gray stoneware, American brown stoneware, black basalt stoneware, Bristol glazed stoneware, English brown stoneware ink bottles, Westerwald mineral water bottles, Yorktown stoneware, cut nail fragments, wire nail fragments, unidentified nail fragments, scrap metal, various metal can and container fragments, hardware fragments, various bottle glass fragments, glass tableware fragments, window glass fragments, a slate pencil, several milk glass buttons, a wooden button, a black glass button, an iron button, a black glass bead, and small amounts of oyster shell, animal bone, and brick fragments. As with Context TU 50C, the presence of the granite rubble prevented further excavation below 47C. A small section of cobble paving was found in the northwestern corner TU 47 and along the western edge of TU 50, and may have been an extension of the paved surface to the west of the units.

Excavation of the lower strata of TU 50 was hampered by the infiltration of water. However, several additional stratigraphic contexts were identified within the unit. Context 50D was a light olive brown (2.5Y5/4) sandy clay loam with a depth of approximately 1.0 foot. The removal of this context revealed several bricks laid in course along the eastern edge of the unit, forming a possible extension of the foundation identified in TU 22 (Figure 69). Only a single brick's width of this possible foundation was uncovered through the excavation of context 50D, although at least three bricks were found to from the southern edge of the unit to the north. Rubble and metal artifacts in the northeastern and eastern profiles obscured any additional bricks to the north, but probing indicated that solid brick was present beneath. Given the presence of context 50D directly atop the brick foundation, it appears likely that it represented the fill of a robber's trench. Similar fill was identified as context 50F in the northwestern corner of the test unit, and it appeared likely these two contexts represented a similar fill episode.

Context 50E was identified as a thin context situated directly below the brick paver drain running through the test unit. It was characterized by a very dark brown (10YR2/2) sandy loam, and occurred only in the eastern and northern profiles of the excavation. Context 50F appeared to be only slightly different from 50D, consisting of an olive brown (2.5Y4/3) sandy clay loam visible in the western profile of the test unit. Both contexts 50D and 50F appeared to represent the fill of a robber's trench associated with the brick foundation. Unfortunately, the rising water table prevented further excavation within this test unit.



**Figure 69.** Plan of Test Unit 50 after excavation.

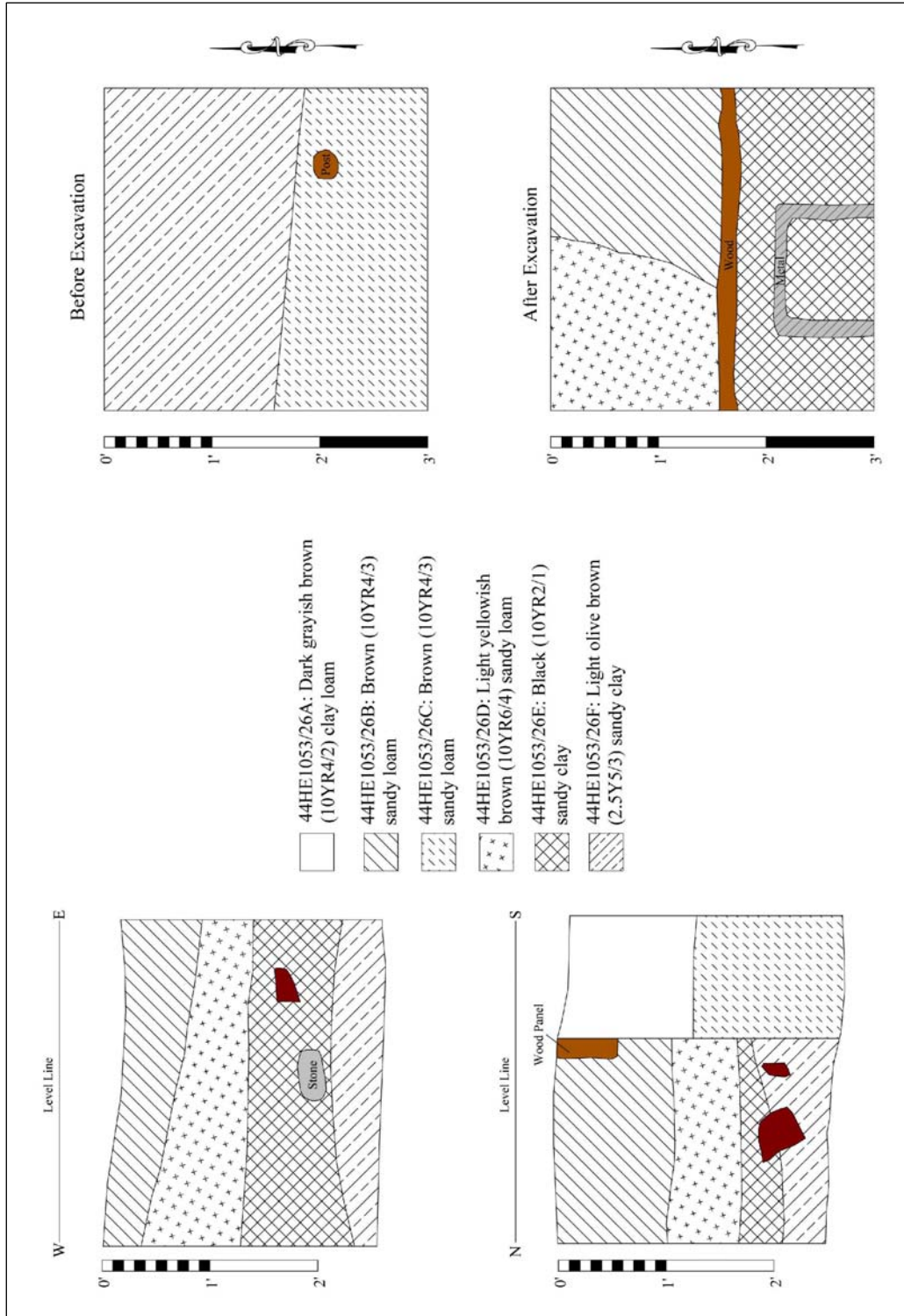
## Test Unit 26

TU 26 was a three-foot square excavation unit with the southwest corner at grid point 1007N/1010E. The unit was situated four feet south of TU 47 and roughly three feet west of the edge of TR 22. The goal of excavating this unit was to further investigate the apparent vertical stratigraphic division originally observed in TR 22 (see description below). Given its general location within the site, it was suspected that this division represented the former property line between Lumpkin's original city lots (62, 63, 64) and Lot 61, which he did not acquire until 1852.

This hypothesis was quickly reinforced as excavators noted that two major contexts were visible on the surface of the test unit prior to excavation (Figure 70). One was observed in the southern third of the unit, while the other occupied the northern two-thirds. These contexts were divided by wood fragments running roughly east to west across the unit's surface. Context 26A was comprised of dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) loamy clay concentrated along the southern half of the unit. This context extended to a depth of roughly 1.0 foot below the surface of the test unit throughout its entire southern third. During excavation, a thin ashy lens was found to run intermittently from the southeastern corner of the test unit approximately 1.5 feet to the southwest. Along the northern edge of this context excavators noted the presence of what appeared to be the remnants of wooden boards. The largest of these wood fragments was approximately 0.5 foot wide, and they appeared to be oriented vertically, suggesting they might have been fence rails. These wood remains created a clear division between contexts 26A and 26B, very similar to the division earlier observed in the profile of TR 22. Representative materials recovered from this context included undecorated whiteware, ironstone whiteware, polychrome underglaze painted whiteware, American blue and grey stoneware, an unidentified nail fragment, various wine and liquor bottle glass, glass hollowwares, and pharmaceutical bottle glass fragments, in addition to a small amount of animal bone and wooden fragments. Removal of this context revealed that it directly sealed context 26C, and the vertical division from context 26B and wooden fragments.

Context 26B directly abutted 26A to the north, and consisted of brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam. This context sloped gradually from the west to the east, with a depth that varied between 0.3 foot and 1.0 foot. Despite this variation of depth from west to east, the vertical stratigraphic division between 26B and 26A was well defined throughout. Representative cultural materials recovered included a local clay pipe stem, ironstone whiteware, porcelain sherds, a cut nail fragment, unidentified nail fragments, scrap metal fragments, window glass fragments, bottle glass, pharmaceutical bottle glass, and a table glass fragment, as well as a small amount of mortar. When this context had been removed, it was found to seal context 26D across the entire northern two-thirds of the unit.

Context 26C was identified within the southern third of the unit, directly between 26A and 26B. It consisted of brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam that extended to a depth of approximately 1.3 feet across the entire southern third of the unit. The vertical stratigraphic division observed in the upper layers clearly continued throughout this context, with a visible soil line in the profile and wooden fragments found in the same vertical plane located approximately one foot north of the southern edge of the unit (Figure 71). Roughly 0.6 foot below the surface of the context, excavators observed a large, unidentified metal object which ran into the southern profile wall of the unit. Other



**Figure 70.** Profiles and Plans of Test Unit 26.



**Figure 71.** Probable lot line division in Test Unit 26, view to north.

representative materials recovered included local coarseware, undecorated whiteware, ironstone whiteware, spatter/sponge decorated whiteware, transfer printed whiteware, underglaze polychrome painted whiteware, yellowware, American blue and gray stoneware, English brown stoneware, various metal hardware fragments, cut nail fragments, unidentified nail fragments, scrap metal fragments, various wine and liquor bottle glass fragments, pharmaceutical bottle glass fragments, various other glass hollowware fragments, several drinking glass fragments, and window and flat glass fragments. A small amount of animal bone, coal, unidentifiable leather, wood, and slate fragments was recovered as well. Removal of this context to a depth of 1.3 feet revealed a small (0.2 foot by 2.0 feet) wooden upright roughly 1.0 foot north and 0.5 foot west of the southeastern corner of the test unit. This upright was similar to those observed in TU 38. The location of the upright along the line of possible wooden fence rail fragments suggested that it may have represented the remains of a small fence post to which the rails were attached. No clear post hole was observed in association with the wooden post. The water table was encountered at the base of the excavation, and the bottom of this context was continually flooded, precluding further excavation.

Context 26D was located in the northern two-thirds of the test unit, and was sealed by Context 26B. It was comprised of a light yellowish brown (10YR6/4) sandy loam with a significant amount of stone and brick inclusions throughout. The context was first encountered in the northwestern corner of the test unit and sloped to the east. In contrast to context 26B, which increased in depth from west to east, context 26D generally decreased in depth from west to east. Once again, however, the line of wooden

fragments represented a definitive stratigraphic division from the adjoining context to the south. Artifacts recovered included undecorated ironstone whiteware, spatter/sponge decorated whiteware, bisque porcelain, stone ginger beer bottle, Rhenish/Westerwald mineral water bottle, scrap metal fragments, unidentified nail fragments, a variety of bottle glass fragments, a glass inkwell fragment, pharmaceutical glass bottle fragment, and a small amount of mortar and animal bone. Removal of this context indicated that it directly sealed context 26E.

Context 26E consisted of black (10YR2/1) sandy clay loam with brick and charcoal flecking throughout, and included large brick bats. While the surface of 26E appeared to be relatively level, its depth varied across the northern two-thirds of the excavation unit. This was most noticeable along the southern edge of the context adjoining the wooden fragments, where the materials appear to have been much thinner than along the northern profile of the test unit. The density of artifacts in this context was relatively high. Cultural materials retrieved included sherds of undecorated whiteware, ironstone whiteware, spatter/sponge decorated whiteware, bone china porcelain, porcelaneous ceramic, transfer-printed whiteware, underglaze transfer-printed pearlware, underglaze painted whiteware, blue/green edged pearlware, Rockingham/Bennington, yellowware, English brown stoneware, various unidentified iron hardware fragments, cut nail fragments, unidentified nail fragments, scrap metal fragments, various bottle glass fragments, flat and window glass fragments, pharmaceutical bottle glass fragments, various glass tableware fragments, various glass drinking vessel fragments, lamp chimney glass fragments, a milk glass button, a porcelain doll part, fragments of shoe leather, a ceramic marble, a coarse clay reed stemmed tobacco pipe stem fragment, as well as, small amounts of mortar, animal bone, oyster shell, coal and wood fragments. A TPQ of 1867 for the context was provided by one of the whiteware sherds marked "GEORGE JONES/STOKE-UPON-TRENT/1867" on the base. Given the large amount of domestic materials and destruction debris in this layer, it may represent debris resulting from the demolition of structures on the site post-dating the Lumpkin occupation. The excavation of this material revealed that it directly sealed 26F, the final context excavated in this test unit.

Context 26F consisted of light olive brown (2.5YR5/3) sandy clay, with a significantly lower artifact density than context 26E. As with all the contexts in the northern portion of the test unit, 26F was divided from the material in the southern third of the unit by the line of wood fragments. The excavated portion of this context revealed that it was up to 0.8 foot deep along the division line, but was only 0.4 deep along the northern profile of the test unit. This was possibly the result of material accumulating along the former fence/property line. Diagnostic materials recovered from this context included sherds of annular decorated pearlware, undecorated whiteware, and bone porcelain. Other materials included scrap metal fragments, unidentifiable nail fragments, a variety of bottle glass, pharmaceutical bottle glass, and a variety of flat and window glass fragments, as well as, a small amount of animal bone. At this point in the excavation the base of the excavation became waterlogged, precluding further excavation.

## **LOT 61 OUTBUILDING (STRUCTURE 44)**

The remains of a nineteenth-century building, designated as Structure 44, were identified along the southeastern margins of the excavation area. Although this area was not the primary focus of the archaeological investigation, a number of exploratory trenches were excavated to determine the size and construction of this building. Most important, its location and evident association with the available mid-nineteenth-century photographs of the property confirmed that the southern boundary of the excavation area coincided with the edge of former Lot 61, the southernmost lot of the Lumpkin's Jail complex (see Figures 7-8).

Portions of Structure 44 were first encountered during the removal of upper fill levels across the site. When the southeastern corner of the former Richmond Iron Works foundry building was revealed, an exploratory trench (TR 14) was excavated east from the corner for approximately 20.0 feet and to a depth of 3.0 feet. Several brick features were observed along the southern profile wall of the trench, the largest consisting of a possible hearth base, which measured 5.0 feet wide by at least 3.5 feet deep (Figure 72). A small exploratory unit was excavated at the eastern edge of this brick feature, but the infiltration of groundwater prevented its completion. In addition, a smaller brick feature was observed roughly 5.0 feet to the east. This feature appeared to represent a cross-section of a one-brick-wide foundation. The bricks comprising this feature appeared to be laid up in common bond. A blue glass bottle, embossed with "MINERAL WATER/MEINCKE & EBBERWEIN/SAVANNAH/GEO/1882," was found directly atop the large brick feature, providing a TPQ of 1882 for the filling of this area. Additional evidence for a mid- to late-nineteenth century deposition was derived from the fill between the two brick features, which was found to contain rubber sheeting.

Further evidence of Structure 44 was encountered in another exploratory trench (TR 23), which was excavated by removing the remnant foundation wall and associated builder's trench of the Richmond Iron Works foundry building. The edge of a brick foundation was uncovered along the eastern edge of this trench (Figure 73). The foundation began at the presumed northwest corner of the structure, which was situated at the boundary between former Lumpkin lots 61 and 62, and extended approximately 30.0 feet to the south. Remarkably, timbers that appeared to be the original wooden sills for the structure were preserved directly atop the brick foundation along the southern 20.0 feet of the wall.

The east-west dimensions of Structure 44 were determined when the late-nineteenth century fill deposits predating the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry were mechanically removed across the eastern half of the site. The excavation of these deposits began along the boundary between former Lumpkin lots 61 and 62 and continued to the north. At this time, a small brick pier was uncovered, along with an intact wooden beam which extended from the pier to the northwest corner of Structure 44 (Figure 74). An aqua glass bottle was recovered from directly atop this feature, approximately halfway between the brick pier and the northwestern corner. This bottle had molded lettering which read: "F DUSCH & SON/RICHMOND VA/No 2 EAST BROAD St/THIS BOTTLE IS NEVER SOLD." Documentary research indicated that Francis Dusch was a Richmond grocer who was in business as early as 1856. However, this particular bottle was produced between 1881 and 1904, suggesting that the building





**Figure 72.** Possible chimney base for Structure 44.



**Figure 73.** West foundation of Structure 44, view to south.



**Figure 74.** Brick pier at northeast corner of Structure 44, view to south.

survived at least into the 1880s before being demolished prior to the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry (Grant 2003: 311).

A trench measuring roughly 2.0 feet by 3.0 feet was excavated around the brick pier feature to determine its relationship with the other components of Structure 44. This excavation removed the adjacent fill deposits to a depth of approximately 2.5 feet along the pier's northern edge. The exposed area was comprised of nine courses of brick, each consisting of two stretchers and a header creating a square finished edge at both corners. The exterior of the brick appeared to have been painted or whitewashed. In plan, the pier was roughly "L"-shaped, the short leg of the "L" comprising the northern edge of the feature, and the longer leg extending south into unexcavated deposits. The eastern edge of the pier was found to be directly in line with the cross-section of the brick wall uncovered originally in TR 14, indicating that Structure 44 measured approximately 30.0 feet north-south by 18.0 feet east-west. The original ground level evidently had sloped considerably to the east, requiring the northeastern corner of the building to be built on a raised pier.

## LUMPKIN PERIOD SLAVE JAIL BUILDING

From the preliminary archaeological investigation in 2006, one of the principal goals of the project was to identify the physical remains of “Lumpkin’s Jail,” the notorious building in which many enslaved African Americans were held during their tenure at the site. Documentary and photographic evidence suggested that it had been situated in the eastern portion of the property nearest Shockoe Creek, and probably straddling Lots 62-63. Once the large brick retaining wall had been discovered, it became clear that the area to the east had consisted of a “lower terrace” lying as much as 7-8 feet below the main “public” portion of the site, which included Lumpkin’s dwelling, hotel, kitchen, and courtyard. Reexamination of the available mid-nineteenth-century photographs appeared to confirm this topographic relationship, as the jail structure—relatively tall at 2.5 stories—appeared to be considerably lower than the other buildings in the complex.

The stratigraphic evidence indicated that vast quantities of fill material had been deposited in the eastern portion of the property in order to level the site prior to the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry in the early 1890s. As a result, JRIA continued to excavate a series of deeper exploratory trenches in this vicinity in an effort to identify architectural features possibly associated with the jail. This trenching focused primarily within the areas included within former lots 62 and 63.

As the exploratory trenches began to reach depths of 14 feet or more below the level of the modern ground surface, the constant infiltration of groundwater into the excavated areas became a persistent problem, and hampered the investigation in this significant portion of the site. JRIA employed gasoline-powered pumps to dewater this area, but the flooding could not be adequately controlled, and it was only worsened by rainfall, which occasionally flooded the entire eastern half of the site. Recognizing that extensive open area excavations had the potential to harm any exposed nineteenth-century features, JRIA intentionally limited the size of the test trenches in this vicinity, excavating only as much as was necessary to identify the location of the jail and associated features. Two mechanical trenches, designated as TR 36 and TR 37, were excavated through the last of the late-nineteenth century fill layer in this lowest part of the site, supplemented by several hand-excavated 3.0-foot-square extensions to explore the exposed architectural features.

TR 36 was a mechanically excavated trench located on the lower terrace of the site just to the west of TR 22. This trench was somewhat irregular in dimensions and roughly L- shaped. Where it was completely excavated, its base was approximately 14 feet below the modern ground surface, revealing an extensive series of features comprising the historic ground surface. These included an area of brick paving area bisected on an east-west alignment by a series of granite blocks which capped an historic drain (Figures 75-77). Evidently this drain was still channeling groundwater: when one of the cap stones was temporarily removed, water flooded out of the feature into the surrounding trench. In order to expose a larger section of this paved area, three additional test trenches (TR 81, 82, and 83), each measuring three feet square, were excavated to the north.

Excavation of this additional area revealed a number of significant historic features reminiscent of those identified on the upper terrace to the west. The first was an



**Figure 75.** Brick drains, cobble paving, and robbed foundation of the jail building, view to north.



**Figure 76.** Cobble paving and drains adjacent to the robbed foundation of the jail building, view to south.



**Figure 77.** Brick drains and cobble paving in the jail vicinity, view to south.

open, V-shaped brick drain, which ran east-west immediately adjacent to the area of brick paving. The drain was identical to that which paralleled the brick retaining wall to the west, and was comprised of two bricks angled slightly downward towards the center, where a single line of bricks formed the trough of the drain. Immediately to the north of the brick drain was an area of cobble paving comparable to that uncovered in the main courtyard area on the upper terrace. Given the obvious similarities between the brick drains and areas of cobble paving, it is likely that both these areas were built at roughly the same time, presumably when the complex was first constructed in the 1830s.

Most significantly, hand excavation of the test trenches north of TR 36 revealed a robber's trench for a structural foundation wall. Unfortunately, extensive excavation of this feature was precluded by the constant infiltration of groundwater. However, it was observed that the trench was aligned on a roughly east-west axis and extended to a depth of approximately 1.0 foot below the adjoining cobbled surface. The base of the trench was lined with what appeared to be cut stone blocks.

Given its location and orientation, it appeared possible that this feature represented the robbed-out south foundation wall of the jail building. In order to identify the possible north wall of the building, a second exploratory trench (TR 37) was mechanically excavated to the north. The trench was somewhat irregularly shaped, but measured approximately 35.0 ft. long (north-south) and between 8.0 and 10.0 feet wide (east-west). In a portion of the trench, a series of cut granite blocks was uncovered running in an east-west orientation across its entire width (Figure 78). These blocks were



**Figure 78.** North foundation wall of the jail building.

uncovered, but further excavation was precluded by flooding. However, it was apparent that they formed a consistent line which ran parallel to the robber's trench in TR 36 at a distance of approximately 18 feet.

The archaeological evidence corresponded exactly with Corey's 1876 description of the jail building, which indicated that it measured 18 feet wide. In addition, the position of the two suspected foundation walls revealed that the building had straddled lots 62-63, as the jail appeared to do in the available photographs. As a result, it appeared very likely that these features represented portions of the north and south foundation walls of the former jail building which had been dismantled in the post-Civil War era, then deeply buried beneath multiple feet of fill prior to the construction of the Richmond Iron Works foundry. Unfortunately, the depth of this part of the excavation area (approximately 14-15 feet below the modern ground level) and the persistent flooding prevented any intensive investigations in this area, and the excavation was terminated before the east and west walls of the building could be identified. Nonetheless, the primary goals of identifying the physical remains of the jail and its location on the property had been accomplished.



## 7. SITE STABILIZATION AND REBURIAL

The excavation phase of the project was completed at the end of December 2008. In consultation with the Slave Trail Commission and the VDHR, it was determined that the long-term preservation of the site would be best facilitated through intentional reburial. Site reburial is commonly used on archaeological sites to protect them from the inevitable damage caused by exposure to the elements and other disturbances. As outlined by Robert M. Thorne of the Center for Archaeological Research, University of Mississippi:

Naturally occurring loss is a combination of site and content aging with some form of erosion. If a site is not shielded from the consequences of rainfall, the combined effects of frost heaves, subsequent rainfall and strong winds, deflation of the surface will be continuous. The effects of acid rain on site contents are as yet poorly understood, but some form of protection may be necessary. . . . An obvious advantage of site burial is that surface erosion of the archaeological matrix is eliminated when a new land surface is produced. Similarly, future freezing and thawing can be eliminated by designing the fill depth to exceed the depth of the frost line. Newly created land surface or strata can also provide relief from the absorbed effects of acid rain as well as serving to shed rainwater (Thorne 1991: 4).

For a variety of reasons, preservation through reburial was particularly appropriate for the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site. The expansive cobble paved surface and other sensitive features, such as the kitchen building foundation and retaining wall, would soon have begun to deteriorate if left exposed to the elements. Most importantly, the persistent infiltration of groundwater, only exacerbated by heavy rainfall, was already beginning to cause irreversible damage to significant features, particularly in the deepest portion of the site where the jail remains were located.

JRIA prepared a detailed plan for site reburial, which was subsequently reviewed and approved by VDHR. In early February 2009, JRIA began preparing the site for reburial, stabilizing sensitive site features with sandbags, and backfilling excavated test units and test trenches by hand to create a relatively level site surface (Figure 79). JRIA then covered the entire excavation area and sloped sidewalls with a woven geotextile fabric (Figure 80). In total, JRIA used four rolls of geotextile fabric measuring 12.5 feet wide by approximately 430 feet long. It was carefully secured with sod staples where possible, and weighted down in impervious areas such as the cobbled courtyard.

Once the entire excavation area had been covered with the geotextile fabric, Messer began the process of site reburial using the stockpiled backfill from the site. JRIA monitored the entire process of depositing the initial lift of backfill across the site, which measured approximately 4-5 feet deep (Figures 81-82). At the recommendation of Schnabel Engineering, these backfilled soils were not mechanically compacted to ensure that buried site features were not damaged. Messer subsequently completed the site reburial with additional lifts of backfill.



**Figure 79.** Securing the Lumpkin period kitchen foundation prior to reburial.



**Figure 80.** Covering the excavation area with woven geotextile fabric.



**Figure 81.** Completing the initial lift of backfill soils.



**Figure 82.** Excavation area after the initial lift of backfill material was completed.

## 8. PROJECT LIMITATIONS

By their very nature, all archaeological investigations—and particularly large-scale data recovery projects—present unforeseen challenges. Although some below-ground conditions may be anticipated in advance, they cannot be fully understood until the excavation process is underway. In the case of the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site, JRIA had to contend with a number of unanticipated obstacles, including the unusual depth of portions of the excavation area, the constant infiltration of rain- and groundwater, and the presence of large areas of historic hardscaping. Though not insurmountable, these issues did have a significant bearing on how the original research questions could be addressed.

The overriding aim of the project was to recover as much information as possible concerning Robert Lumpkin's antebellum slave trading complex, and particularly the enslaved African men, women, and children who were held there. At the same time, JRIA was constantly aware that without proper controls, certain physical conditions might cause irreparable damage to the site. At several points during the excavation, it became necessary to weigh the importance of resource protection against the recovery of archaeological information. Because this site was not threatened by impending development or other immediate disturbances, the primary goal of the project was to conduct controlled research rather to mitigate adverse effects. As a result, JRIA was always mindful of promoting the preservation of the resource when adequate conditions for excavation and documentation could not be met.

### *Depth of Excavation*

Based on the results of the 2006 investigations, JRIA anticipated that the archaeological remains associated with the Lumpkin era would be identified at a depth of approximately five to ten feet below the modern ground surface. As the excavation progressed, however, it became clear that the site was characterized by two major levels divided by the massive brick retaining wall. The upper portion of the site, including the western portion of the excavation area directly adjacent to the current Interstate 95 embankment, was buried by as much as ten feet of later fill material, while the lower level in the eastern part of the excavation area proved to be significantly deeper, requiring the removal of fill materials to a depth of up to 15 feet.

Aside from the logistical challenges that resulted from removing this massive amount of soil from the site, the excessive depth served to restrict the overall size of the excavation area. The entire designated excavation area measured in excess of 11,000 square feet. However, once the sidewalls had been sloped sufficiently to meet OSHA requirements and to facilitate access to the site, the base of the excavation area was restricted to approximately 6,000 square feet. In many instances, significant site features, including the cobble-paved courtyard, and even the jail building foundations, could not be completely exposed and investigated.

### *Water Infiltration*

Managing water infiltration was a constant challenge throughout the course of the excavation. The initial mechanical trenching in 2006 had revealed no serious water issues, so JRIA and the project consultants initially planned only for mitigating and

removing rainwater accumulation across the excavation area, a typical precaution at any open-area archaeological site. As the excavation area grew increasingly deep and autumnal rainstorms more frequent, however, groundwater posed significant problems for the investigation.

Given the historical proximity of the Lumpkin property to Shockoe Creek, these difficulties were not necessarily surprising. Unforeseen, however, was the length of time it would take for groundwater levels to recede after major rainstorms. Only during relatively dry periods with little rainfall were the deepest parts of the site not submerged. It was during one of these brief dry spells that JRIA was able to mechanically excavate trenches in the lower eastern portion of the site. During most of the period in which the excavation area was open, standing water of varying depth covered some portion of the site. Using gas-powered pumps, it was possible to remove water after major rainstorms, and to stem the infiltration of groundwater during working hours (Figure 83). Yet, after any significant pause in pumping, the groundwater level would once again rise and inundate portions of the excavation area. Over the course of the excavation, it became apparent that the groundwater issue could not be adequately addressed except through more elaborate means, and that—barring such measures—it would simply not be possible to maintain a consistently dry excavation environment for an extended period of time.

The intensity of the groundwater flow through the site was highlighted when test units along the upper portion of the site also filled with water welling up from below. As the bottom levels of these test units were variously four to six feet higher in elevation than the lower portion of the site, the amount of water draining through the area clearly was substantial.

Groundwater affected the archaeological data recovery investigation in several ways. Most obviously, when the soils became saturated it was impossible to continue mechanical excavation without causing undue physical damage to the site. In addition, the presence of water within test units also hampered hand excavation. Archaeologists frequently excavate waterlogged deposits such as filled wells; yet, conducting such investigations below the water table greatly reduces the ability to recognize and properly describe the stratigraphic relationships between deposits. Simply removing deposits without proper recordation severely limits the research value of an archaeological site. Continued excavations below the water table also threatened to compromise the integrity of significant portions of the site. The ebb and flow of water can be devastating to open excavations, and can easily disturb or destroy exposed deposits and features. As the project proceeded, it became increasingly clear that continuing the investigation without the ability to properly stabilize the deposits would ultimately cause serious and permanent harm to this irreplaceable archaeological resource.

Most significantly, the problems with managing water at the site affected the quantity and type of information that could be recovered concerning the jail structure and the lower portion of the site as a whole. Unlike the upper level, which could be completely exposed and investigated in a controlled fashion, the conditions in the lower portion of the site allowed only glimpses of the information it contained. While the investigation succeeded in identifying the location of the former jail building and determining at least the partial footprint of the structure, the conditions would not allow for controlled excavation of test units, which might have provided significant archaeological information concerning the enslaved African Americans held here during



**Figure 83.** Dewatering the lowest part of the site near the jail building foundation.

the antebellum period, or the activities of the Colver Institute in the immediate post-Civil War period. These features and associated deposits remain relatively intact, however, and—given the proper stabilization of site conditions—offer significant potential for future research.

#### *Historic Hardscaping*

Although visually compelling, the large and intact section of cobbled courtyard across much of the project area forced JRIA to reevaluate and modify the original research design. While the 2006 investigation had revealed a small section of this feature, its size and remarkable level of preservation was not known until it was fully exposed. It soon became evident that major portions of the site were covered by this historic hardscaping, which evidently had been created when the site was initially developed in the 1830s. In fact, the only portions of the site that were not paved included the interiors of structures, particularly the Lumpkin period kitchen. In many ways, the original data recovery plan had been designed to address the “typical” historic household in which an earthen yard, rather than a paved courtyard, is the predominant element of the domestic landscape. This discrepancy between anticipated and actual site conditions led JRIA to modify the original excavation and sampling techniques to better suit the particular characteristics of this urban site. While the original data recovery plan had assumed that the historic yard area would be shovel tested at regular intervals to obtain soil samples for subsequent chemical analysis, the presence of an impervious surface across much of the site rendered this potentially informative testing methodology ineffective.

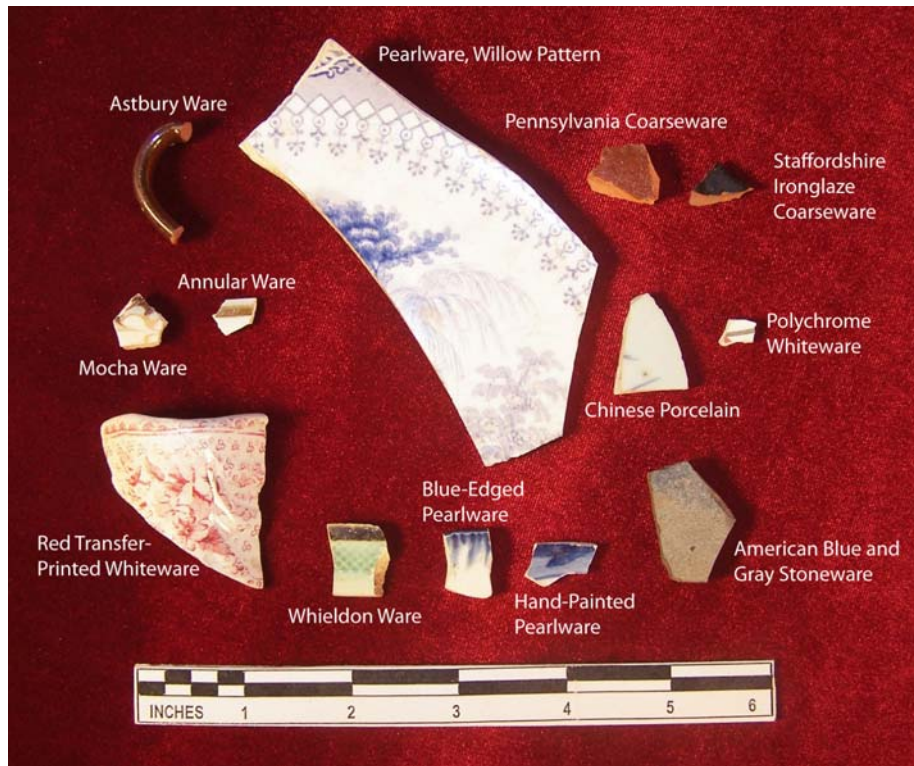
## 9. MATERIAL CULTURE

Over the course of the 18-weeks archaeological data recovery investigation, JRIA retrieved a vast amount of cultural material from the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site—enough to fill 24 Hollinger boxes of “provenienced” artifacts from identifiable contexts, and nine boxes of “unprovenienced” items collected during mechanical excavation of the multiple feet of fill soils covering the site. In total, the excavation yielded 16,160 individually cataloged artifacts, including 2,321 ceramic sherds; 9,223 glass fragments; and 2,495 nails. Material that was weighed rather than counted consisted of 7.06 kg (15.53 pounds) of animal bone; 5.07 kg (11.15 pounds) of brick; 4.4 kg (9.68 pounds) of oyster shell; and 1.03 kg (2.26 pounds) of mortar.

In aggregate, the excavated cultural materials included an array of architectural items, including brick, mortar, plaster, nails, roofing slate, door knobs, and other assorted hardware. Many of the artifacts represented the typical remains of nineteenth-century domestic life—ceramic cooking vessels and tablewares; glasses; wine, liquor, and soda bottles; pharmaceutical bottles; chamber pots; and the occasional coin. Personal items included clothing buttons, spectacle lenses, wooden toothbrushes, porcelain doll parts, and even parts of a carved bone ring with an inscribed decoration. A number of objects might well have been associated with the brief occupation of the Colver Institute between 1867 and 1870, such as large imported English stoneware ink bottles, ink wells, and slate pencils (Figures 84-94). In addition, the generally damp soil conditions had served to preserve many organic items such as leather shoes, fabric, and wood which normally would have disintegrated long ago.

While most of the ceramics and glasswares found at the site were either imported from England or originated from outside of Virginia, a number of artifacts were directly associated with Richmond retailers and manufacturers. These included a handful of stoneware items, including an inkwell and other utilitarian vessels likely produced by the Parr Pottery Works, which operated at Rockett's Landing from the 1850s until the 1870s (Monroe et al. 2010). A number of pharmaceutical bottles were marked with the names of several prominent nineteenth-century Richmond druggists, including R.W. Powers & Co., Charles A. Berrian, Dove & Co., and the Bodeker Drug Co. Other bottles were associated with Richmond grocer Francis Dusch, and bottlers Brummel & Byrne. There were several examples of one of Richmond's best known exports of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries, Valentine's Meat Juice. Most ironically, perhaps, among the unprovenienced artifacts retrieved during mechanical excavation were fragments of plates belonging to the Exchange Hotel. Located nearby Lumpkin's Slave Jail at the corner of Franklin and Fourteenth Streets in the heart of Shockoe Bottom, it was a prominent Richmond landmark from the 1840s until it closed in 1896. At the height of its popularity in the antebellum period, it accommodated the offices of a number of slave traders, as well as those seeking to purchase enslaved African Americans from one of the neighborhood's many auction houses or slave jails (Chen and Collins 2007: 6, 10; Richardson).

These artifacts are fascinating in their own right, and provide an intriguing glimpse into daily life in Richmond from the 1830s through the 1890s. From an archaeological perspective, however, their true interpretive value lies in their context, and this is where things become problematic. As became clear during the excavation, there



**Figure 84.** Assorted ceramics from the Lumpkin period kitchen.



**Figure 85.** Ceramic rose decoration (left) and stemmed glassware (right).





**Figure 86.** Assorted bottles: Geyser Spring mineral water (left), Little's White Oil horse liniment (center), and Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce (right).



**Figure 87.** Assorted pharmaceutical bottles.



**Figure 88.** Faunal bone.



**Figure 89.** Inkwell (left), stoneware ink bottle (top right), and slate pencil (lower right).



**Figure 90.** Domestic (left) and imported (right) clay tobacco pipe bowls.



**Figure 91.** Wood toothbrush and clothing buttons.



**Figure 92.** Porcelain figurine heads.



**Figure 93.** Spectacle lenses.



**Figure 94.** Carved bone ring with incised decoration.

were relatively few undisturbed archaeological contexts which could be associated directly with the Lumpkin period of occupation. In fact, the bulk of the cultural material retrieved from the site came from soil layers deposited after the Lumpkin period complex had largely disappeared from the landscape. In this sense, the artifact assemblage says far more about the tenement dwellers on this property in the latter years of the nineteenth century than about Robert Lumpkin, his clients, and the enslaved African Americans who occupied the jail before the Civil War.

While a number of individual contexts were identified that had been deposited during the lifespan of the kitchen building, it is virtually impossible to isolate the Lumpkin period of ownership in particular, or to distinguish it from prior or later usage. In general, these contexts spanned the entire period between the initial construction of the kitchen in the 1830s through its demolition, which likely occurred in the latter 1870s or 1880s. Given this extended period of use by a variety of owners, including Lumpkin, the Colver Institute, and later tenants on the property, it is difficult to draw any specific conclusions based on an analysis of material culture. Initially, it was hoped that an examination of refined earthenwares using Miller's CC index might provide insight into the relative wealth of the household. As Miller noted, however: "in dealing with sites that have been occupied for a long period of time, one should attempt to break down the site assemblages into meaningful time units such as periods of occupation for different families or generations of a family. Generating average CC index values for lumped assemblages representing over 20 years of occupation seems to be a meaningless exercise" (Miller 1991: 4).

Much the same problem holds true for the faunal assemblage, as well. With little temporal differentiation within the few evidently undisturbed mid-nineteenth-century contexts across the site, any analysis of this material would provide only a broad aggregation of data for a variety of households over a period of 40-50 years. In many ways, this is a problem common to the investigation of urban domestic sites, with a succession of households occupying the same confined space over an extended period of time. But the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site in particular, with its relative absence of intact contexts and extensive disturbance from later filling and construction activities, is particularly resistant to meaningful material culture analysis.

Nonetheless, artifact evidence did provide some important clues concerning the construction and destruction dates of both the outbuilding on Lot 61 (Structure 44) and the Lumpkin period kitchen (Structure 45). In the case of the Lot 61 outbuilding, a mineral water bottle dated 1882 and a bottle associated with Richmond Grocer Francis Dusch produced ca.1881-1904, both of which were found in direct association with the structural remains of the building, indicated that it had survived at least into the early 1880s. The presence of transfer printed whitewares in builder's trench features associated with the brick foundation of the Lumpkin period kitchen confirmed that the building could not have been standing prior to 1830, which corroborated the documentary evidence that it was erected with the other major buildings on the property in the mid- to late 1830s. In general, however, the temporally diagnostic artifacts retrieved from the excavated contexts, particularly ceramics, served mainly to confirm the relatively detailed chronology of the site derived from documentary sources.

Although certainly not definitive, a basic analysis of the artifacts retrieved from contexts associated with the occupation of the Lumpkin period kitchen from the 1830s through the post-Civil War era may offer some clues as to how the building was used. The archaeological evidence indicated that the kitchen, which measured approximately 28 feet long by 18 feet wide, was divided into two main rooms by a wall with a central hearth. The north room, which would have measured roughly 18 feet by 16 feet, was somewhat larger than the south room, which was 18 feet by 10 feet. A substantially larger sample of artifacts was retrieved from excavation units within the north room, primarily because much of the south room had been disturbed by later drainage trenches. However, when the artifacts were divided between north and south room contexts, a few interesting patterns did emerge.

Although faunal bone was found in both north and south room contexts, it appeared to be more prevalent in the south room. Because the faunal bone was weighed rather than counted, a relative ratio of the amount of bone in each room was calculated by dividing the weight by the total number of artifacts retrieved. A similar ratio was also derived for faunal teeth and oyster shell. As outlined in Table 3 below, the relative amount of bone, animal teeth, and oyster shell was higher for the south room than the north. However, the reverse was true of wine bottle glass, which was significantly more prevalent in the north room. One possible explanation for this pattern might be that the smaller south room served as the primary space where food preparation took place, hence the greater proportion of faunal material, particularly the teeth of butchered animals. Meanwhile, the larger north room, with its greater quantity of wine bottle glass, may have accommodated the "bar-room" which reportedly shared the same building during the Lumpkin period.

**Table 3.** Relative proportion of selected artifacts in Lumpkin period kitchen rooms.

	<b>North Room Kitchen</b>	<b>South Room Kitchen</b>
<b>Animal Bone</b>	1,622.5g	454.3g
Total Artifacts	3,582	751
Ratio	<b>0.45</b>	<b>0.6</b>
<b>Animal Teeth</b>	36.2g	28.6g
Total Artifacts	3,582	751
Ratio	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.04</b>
<b>Oyster Shell</b>	820.4g	388g
Total Artifacts	3,582	751
Ratio	<b>0.23</b>	<b>0.52</b>
<b>Wine Bottle Glass</b>	2,339	47
Total Artifacts	3,582	751
Ratio	<b>0.65</b>	<b>0.06</b>

## 10. CONCLUSION

### **The Site Revealed**

Over the course of the 18-week archaeological data recovery investigation, from August through December of 2008, JRIA slowly peeled back the layers on a complex and deeply buried urban site, unearthing features spanning 150 years of Richmond's history. First to emerge were the substantial foundations of the ca. 1909 Seaboard Air Line Railway freight depot and the ca. 1890s Richmond Iron Works foundry. Once these had been documented and removed, archaeologists uncovered a remarkably intact mid-nineteenth-century built landscape associated with Robert Lumpkin's infamous slave jail property. Significant features included the brick foundation of the former kitchen building that served the complex and two nearby outbuildings; a large portion of the cobble-paved central courtyard; numerous drainage features; and most significantly, remnants of the jail building itself, where hundreds of enslaved African American men, women, and children were held. The excavation also yielded thousands of artifacts spanning the entire history of the site, from the 1830s through the twentieth century, at least some of which could be directly associated with the Lumpkin period of occupation.

The project was not without its challenges. The unusual depth of the site and the associated problems with water infiltration hampered the excavation, particularly in the lowest part of the site—up to 15 feet below the modern ground surface—which encompassed the former jail building. Still, the archaeological investigation shed light on a number of significant questions concerning the physical layout of the Lumpkin period complex, including the location of the principal site components, as well as the basic chronology of building and destruction episodes during the major phases of the site's occupation. In this sense, the archaeological study succeeded in corroborating much of what was already known from documentary sources. However, it was a simple, yet unexpected discovery which arguably revealed most about the “meaning” of Lumpkin's Slave Jail, and the experiences of the various people who occupied this historical space.

One of the first major Lumpkin period features to be discovered was a section of a massive brick retaining wall which ran north-to-south across the site. At first, its purpose was unclear. As the investigation continued, however, it became apparent that it had been an essential component of the site's built environment. From a practical perspective, the wall formed a distinct physical boundary, delineating a substantial shift in the depth of fill soils that needed to be understood as the excavation proceeded. Yet, as the long-buried historical topography of the site was slowly exposed, it became the key to understanding the unique cultural landscape of this site.

### **“At the Back and Down”: The Cultural Landscape of Urban Slavery**

Think of the term “landscape,” and what probably springs to mind is a pleasant view of scenery, as in a painting. Yet, over the past 50 years, scholars from a variety of academic fields, including geography, architecture, planning, history, and archaeology, have come to define “landscape” in a much different way: that is, as the complex interaction of people and places over time. In this sense, the “cultural landscape” provides a powerful tool for describing and understanding the interrelationship of all human societies, past and present, with the physical environment. The National Park Service has offered this basic definition of the cultural landscape: “a geographic area, including both



cultural and natural resources . . . associated with an historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.” Other definitions emphasize various aspects of these relationships, but at root they all stress that the manner in which humans alter their physical surroundings says a great deal about their culture and values, while physical environments in turn have an important effect on shaping human behavior (Birnbaum 1994: 1-2).

One of the basic principles of cultural landscape studies is that ordinary, seemingly unremarkable landscapes are worthy of study. If examined closely, they can be, in the words of Pierce F. Lewis, “important archives of social experience and cultural meaning.” Lewis has proposed that we can “read the landscape” as we would a book. “Our human landscape,” he writes, “is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears in tangible, visible form. We rarely think of landscape that way, and so the cultural record we have ‘written’ in the landscape is liable to be more truthful than most autobiographies because we are less self-conscious about how we describe ourselves. . . . All our cultural warts and blemishes are there, and our glories, too; but above all, our ordinary day-to-day qualities are exhibited for anybody who wants to find them and knows how to look for them (Lewis 1979:12).

Rather than focusing narrowly on individual features, artifacts, or occupation areas, a cultural landscape approach encourages a broader consideration of how the inhabitants of an area perceived the landscape, how and why they altered it, and how it, in turn, may have modified their cultural forms. It is crucial to identify and evaluate the component parts of the landscape (e.g. buildings, walls, public spaces, and private areas). Yet the cultural landscape approach ultimately requires viewing the landscape as an integrated whole whose meaning is greater than the sum of its parts.

In the popular imagination, the most familiar landscape of nineteenth-century slavery is the sprawling, rural Southern plantation. In this formulation, the large and imposing “big house” of the master and his family was surrounded at some distance by the quarters of his extended “family” of enslaved men, women, and children, and the agricultural fields in which most of them labored. Much has been written by historians and anthropologists about how this particular landscape was structured—both deliberately and unconsciously—to maximize the surveillance and control of the enslaved population, as well as to emphasize the distinct hierarchy of the plantation’s self-contained world, from the master down to the lowliest field hand.

While this idealized plantation model certainly existed throughout Virginia and the rest of the South in the antebellum period, clearly it did not reflect the slave experience in larger urban centers such as Richmond. In his pioneering 1964 study, *Slavery in the Cities*, renowned urban historian Richard C. Wade proposed that slaveowners’ properties in densely populated cities may not have outwardly resembled rural plantations, yet they still managed to reproduce the same power structure through a distinctive style of architecture and use of space. “Housing slaves in the city,” Wade observed:

required facilities quite different from those in the countryside. A dense population, town lots of limited size, and relatively high land values all precluded the arrangement of the plantation. Instead of cabins strung together in a colony well beyond the big house, cities produced a more

compact system with Negro quarters located on the same plot as the owner's residence. Indeed, the buildings were often adjacent, or at most a few yards separated the abodes of master and bondsman. If the urge in rural areas was to keep the slaves at a distance, the enforced conditions of the city induced proximity (Wade 1964: 55).

Because urban conditions did not allow for much physical separation between slaveowner and enslaved, it was all the more important that the buildings be designed and situated in such a way that they preserved the necessary social distance. Examining patterns of slave housing in large southern cities such as Charleston, New Orleans, and Richmond, architectural historian John Michael Vlach noted that, particularly where space was limited, slaveowners carefully organized their properties as "compounds," typically comprised of the master's house, its yard, and detached servants' quarters set at the back edge of the lot.

Not simply their location in the rear, but also the distinctive architectural style of the quarters emphasized the subservient role of their occupants. At the ca. 1830s Gally House in New Orleans, for example, the slave quarter was three stories tall, as was the master's residence. But each of its floors was significantly lower than the corresponding level of the main house, so that the slaves were forced to look slightly upwards across the narrow intervening space. As such, Vlach contended, they were "put in a position that was both at the back and down, and thus their low social status was doubly underscored by their architectural context" (Vlach 1997: 151, 153).

Wade, too, saw subtle statements about status and authority expressed in the basic design of urban slave buildings. "The physical design of the whole complex," he observed, "compelled slaves to center their activity upon the owner and the owner's place. Symbolically, the pitch of the roof of the Negro quarters was highest at the outside edge and thus slanted sharply towards the yard—a kind of architectural expression of the human relationship involved" (Wade 1964: 59).

Architectural features, particularly walls and other elements, that served to enclose space punctuated the landscape of the "urban plantation." In Wade's analysis, the walls that typically surrounded a slaveowner's city lots had "extraordinary significance."

Sometimes more than a foot thick, almost always made of brick, generally very high, they transformed a residential complex into a compound. The very smallness of the yards and gardens at the center of the lots seemed to magnify the commanding size of the walls and emphasize the calculated isolation of the slave quarters. The relentless masonry encirclement was broken only by the stark escarpment created by the rear of adjacent buildings. . . . Standing in the middle of the plot the bondsman could see only a maze of brick and stone, the forbidding reminders of his servile confinement" (Wade 1964: 59-60).

As revealed through both photographic and archaeological evidence, Robert Lumpkin's residential and commercial compound embodied virtually every distinctive aspect of the urban slave landscape described by Wade and Vlach. At a practical level,

the layout of the site was dictated to a large degree by the natural landscape. The steepness of the slope descending from Council Chamber Hill to Shockoe Creek prompted the construction of the massive brick retaining wall to gain additional level ground to accommodate the “public” space along Wall Street, which included Lumpkin’s house, central courtyard, hotel, and kitchen. Meanwhile, below and to the east of the wall was located the “jail” and its service yard, where most of the enslaved African American men, women, and children were housed temporarily prior to their sale. Topography may have dictated the basic site layout. Yet, those who designed and built the compound (presumably Lumpkin’s predecessors, Bacon Tait and Lewis Collier) clearly understood the symbolic importance of situating the jail and its occupants “at the back and down.” At two and a half stories, the jail structure was likely just as tall, or taller than Lumpkin’s other buildings, including his own house. Situated as it was on the lower terrace, however, and backing up against the low-lying and unappealing waste land along Shockoe Creek, it literally was towered over by the “white” space above that was the realm of Lumpkin and his customers (see Figures 7-8). Even the brick retaining wall, ostensibly built to serve a utilitarian purpose, formed an unmistakable physical barrier between the two distinct areas of the complex. Standing well above head height, this wall undoubtedly would have assumed a menacing, dominating aspect to those who viewed it from below.

As with his fellow urban slaveholders, Lumpkin was faced with the prospect of accommodating potentially large numbers of enslaved African Americans in close proximity to his family and guests. Everything about the landscape of the property, therefore, was geared towards ensuring that the necessary psychological distance was maintained between black and white, free and enslaved, buyer and commodity. Like the water that was carefully channeled downward across the site to Shockoe Creek, power clearly flowed in one direction only. Customers might descend to the jail to inspect potential purchases, but a slave could move upwards only at the whim of the owner, as when Lumpkin demanded that young women be brought up to the house for his pleasure. Perhaps this is why the illicit communication between the imprisoned Anthony Burns and Lumpkin’s slave mistress provoked such an immediate and furious response. It was but a short distance across the courtyard between the upper window of the jail and the master’s house. But, by trespassing on this strictly segregated social space, Burns threatened to undermine the entire system of authority and control that had been so carefully designed and built into the landscape.

### **Reimagining the Devil’s Half Acre**

Ultimately, it was the emancipation of Richmond’s enslaved population in April 1865, not the destruction of its buildings that irrevocably altered the cultural landscape of the Lumpkin’s Jail property. By taking up residence in Lumpkin’s old house, Reverend Colver may have unwittingly perpetuated the segregated division of space in which the white “master” literally overlooked his black charges. But at least now the jail building served a positive use. And when they eventually “marched up out of that old slave-pen” to their new facility on Main Street, the African American scholars of the Colver Institute were both literally and symbolically transcending a painful past to meet a future filled with promise.

Richmonders never quite forgot where Lumpkin's Jail had stood in the years when Shockoe Bottom was "ground zero" for the traffic in human misery. The site was eventually buried by tons of fill and occupied by a busy factory and railroad depot, symbols of the city's rise to prosperity from the ashes of the Civil War. These, in turn, succumbed to the march of time, and the site was traversed by an interstate highway, the twentieth century's homage to speed and "progress." Yet, even as these successive layers accumulated, the memory of this place persisted, at least among a few dedicated preservationists and community members who were committed to re-telling its story.

By peeling back these layers and uncovering the remains of the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site, a fascinating window has been opened on a corner of Richmond's history which had long since disappeared from view. From an historical and archaeological perspective, the investigation has yielded important data to be studied; yet, it is clear that the project represented much more than just a technical research study. Without question, there are many ways to experience and interpret this site that have nothing whatsoever to do with science or scholarship. While the excavation was ongoing, the many visitors could see for themselves the tangible evidence in the ground, and even stand on the cobblestones of the courtyard where their predecessors, white and black, had walked before them. Many commented that they came away with a deeper understanding of Richmond's past, one that lies largely hidden underfoot. And, while more remains to be learned about the site from an archaeological perspective, it is important to recognize that this is only one lens through which its complex story can be viewed.

As the analysis of this investigation is concluded, it is apparent that the Lumpkin's Slave Jail site has revealed much about this particular aspect of Richmond's story, and helped to broaden the understanding of Southern slavery in an urban context. But, above all, it appears that this project has helped to perpetuate an ongoing dialogue about the past, present, and future of relations within a multicultural community. Perhaps that will be the most enduring legacy of the "Devil's Half-Acre."

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