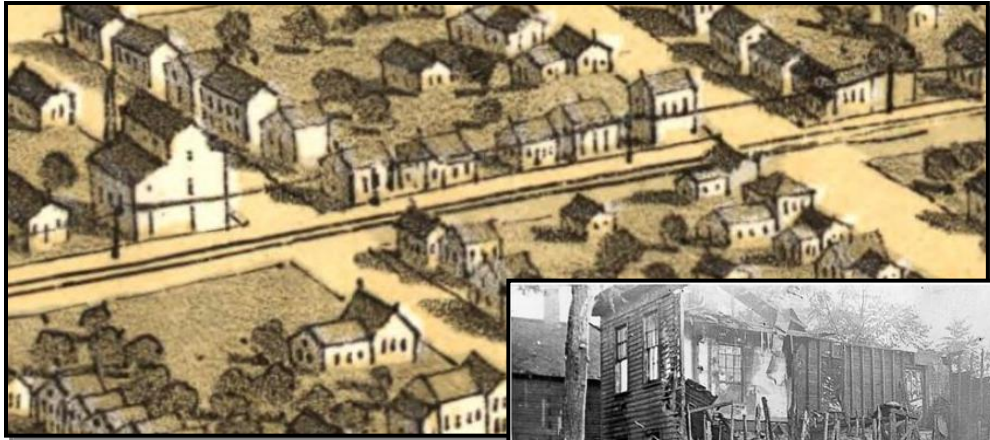


**RESULTS OF PHASE III DATA RECOVERY  
FOR THE SPRINGFIELD RAIL IMPROVEMENTS PROJECT,  
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS**

**VOLUME II:  
RACE RIOT SITE (11SG1432),  
HOUSE A (301 NORTH TENTH STREET)**



Fever River Research, Inc.  
Springfield, Illinois

2024  
[5/31/2024]

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RACE RIOT SITE (11SG1432),  
HOUSE A (301 NORTH TENTH STREET)**

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## *Introduction*

The report presented here is part of a multi-volume report that summarizes the methods and results of the Phase III archaeological mitigation and/or data recovery conducted in April–November 2019 at archaeological site 11SG1432 (the Race Riot Site). Located in Springfield, Illinois, this site initially was identified during the Phase I archaeological investigations undertaken for the Carpenter Street Underpass project, which was the first phase of the larger Springfield Rail Improvements Project (SRIP)—a decade-plus long effort aimed at relocating rail traffic from the City’s Third Street Rail Corridor onto an improved and expanded Tenth Street Corridor (Figures 1-2). This multi-year construction project, and the subsequent archaeological investigations, has been segmented into a series of smaller projects (identified as “Usable Segments”) with the Carpenter Street Underpass project representing the first (Usable Segment I).

The remains of seven nineteenth-century houses (six of frame construction, one of brick construction; all pre-dating circa 1870) were documented within that portion of Site 11SG1432 lying within the proposed project right-of-way. Five of these dwellings were destroyed by fire during the Springfield Race Riot of August 1908. Phase II archaeological testing conducted in the fall of 2014 documented the excellent subsurface integrity of the house sites and resulted in the determination of Site 11SG1432 being eligible to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under Criterion D (archaeology). The site was determined to have local significance in respect to its potential to contribute substantially to our understanding of the lifeways of the city’s Black occupants during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Additionally, the site was determined nationally significant under Criterion A (social history) for its association with the 1908 Springfield Race Riot, which was a seminal event in the history of the city as well as of national importance due to its role in the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

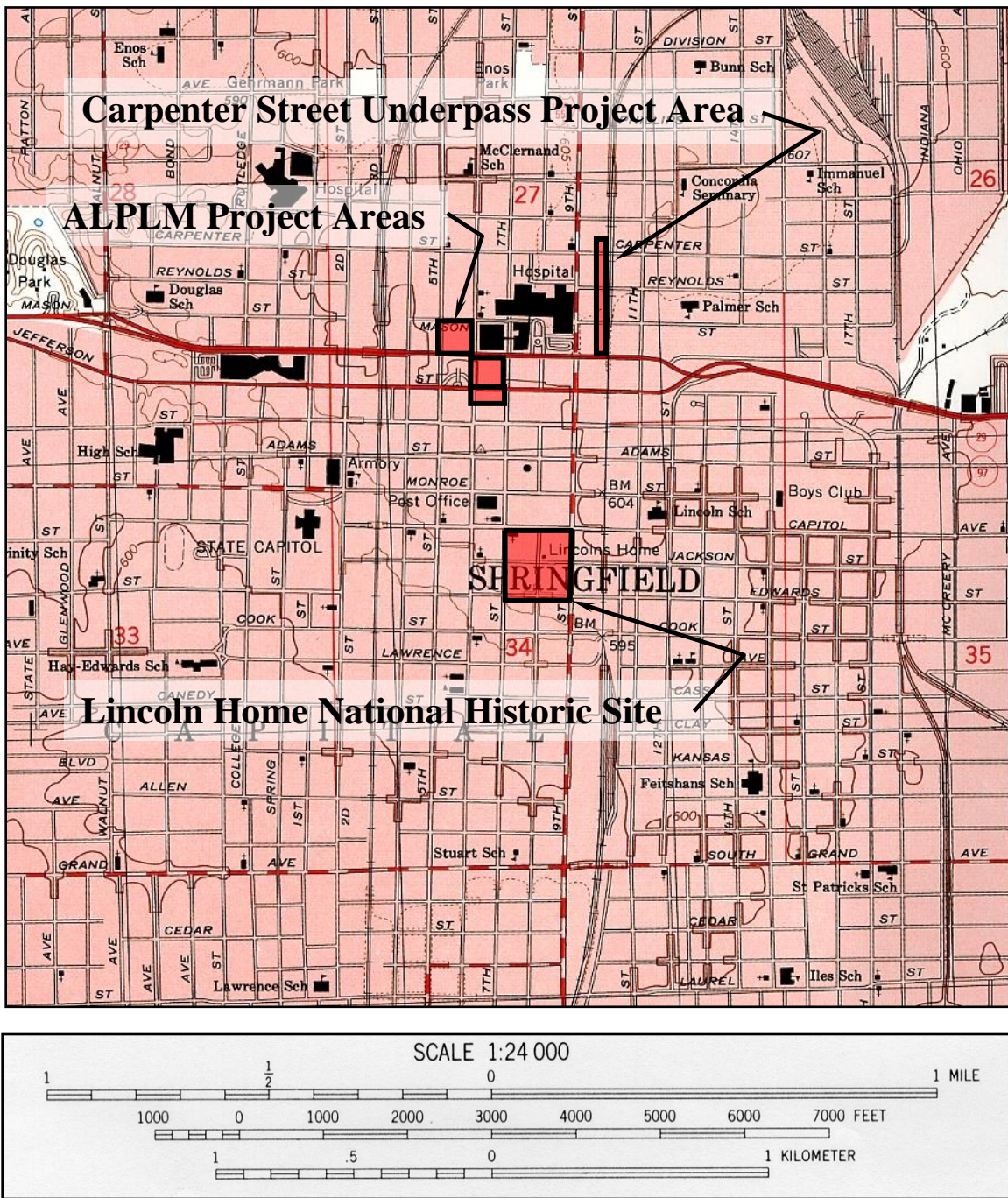
Subsequent consultation with interested parties negotiated the protection of a part of the site, which is now in City of Springfield ownership and awaiting potential inclusion into the National Park Service as a National Historic Monument (managed by the Lincoln Home National Historic Site). That portion of the site that could not be protected from the proposed rail improvements was subjected to Phase III archaeological mitigation (data recovery) in 2019.

This report (Volume II) details the results of the archaeological investigations at House A (301 North Tenth Street), which was one of the five houses at archaeological site 11SG1432 destroyed in August 1908 by a white mob driven by racial hatred. It also includes a site-specific history of the property. Separate volumes present: a detailed project history and general historic context for the project area (Volume I); the results of the archaeological investigations at Houses B (Volume III), C (Volume IV), D (Volume V), and E (Volume VI), also destroyed during the 1908 riot. Volume VII summarizes the results of similar archaeological mitigation undertaken at the Price/Edwards (11SG1532) and Sappington (11SG1533) sites located immediately to the east of the Race Riot Site, and Volume VIII similarly summarizes archaeological mitigation undertaken at the Portuguese Site (11SG1433), located immediately to the north of the Race Riot Site. Yet another volume summarizes limited mitigation efforts at six additional middle-to-late

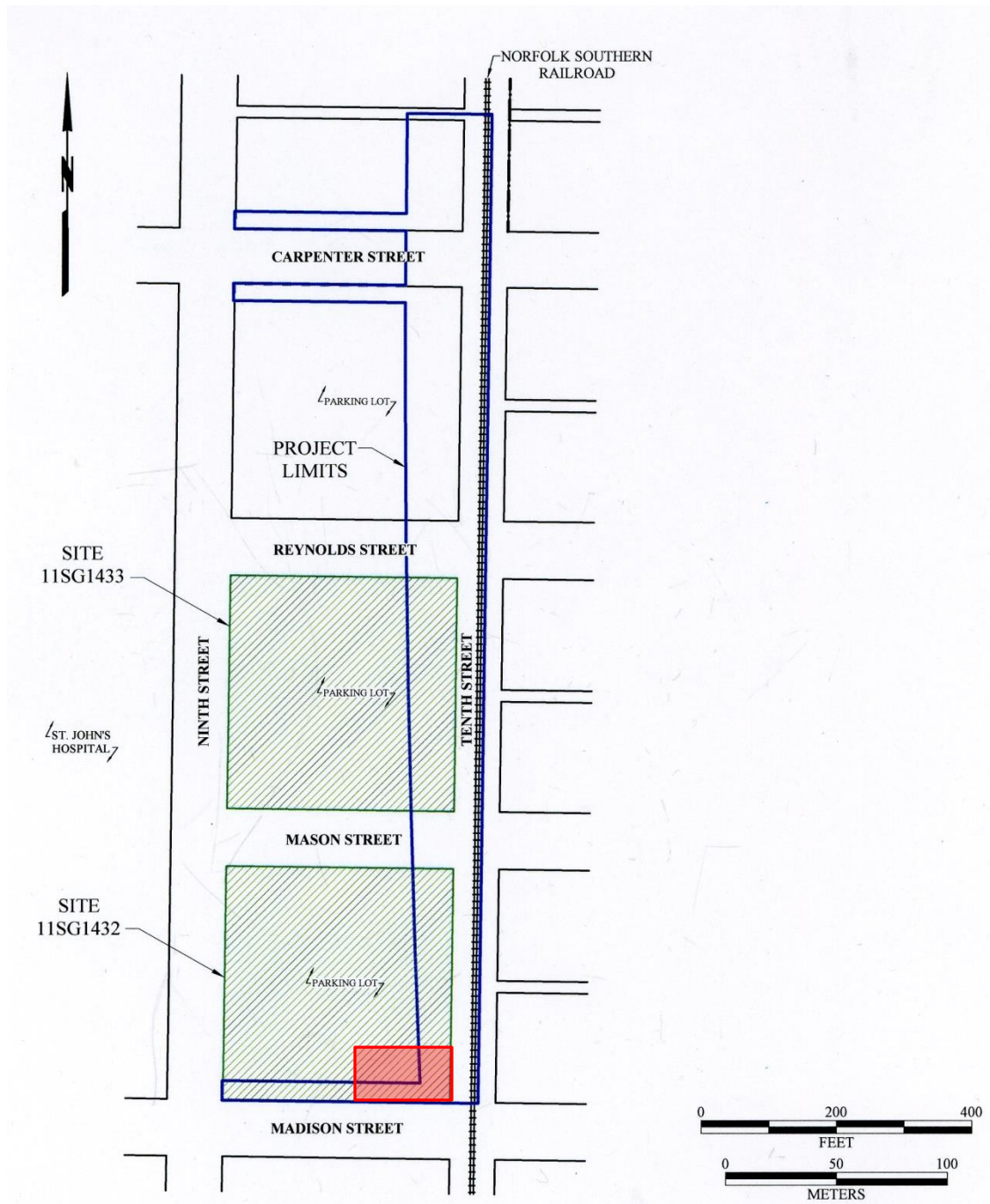


nineteenth century urban house sites located along the rail corridor (Volume IX). An additional summary volume addressing the original research questions identified within the Data Recovery Plan for this project is anticipated (Volume X).

House A (301 N. Tenth Street) is located at the northwest corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection, on a parcel of land historically identified as the South 80-ft (which equates to the S1/2) of Lots 13-16, Block 3, Jonas Whitney's Addition, Springfield. House A sits on the South 40-ft (or S1/2) of the S1/2 of Lots 13-16, with the N1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16 being an empty lot and/or side yard once associated with the house. The house is situated approximately 8-ft (2.44m) from the south edge of the property line (and the Madison Street right-of-way), and 2-ft (0.61m) from the north property edge of the original landholding (S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16). Approximately 62-ft (18.90m) separates House A from House B, located due north. The front of the house is set back approximately 19-ft (5.79m) from the original right-of-way for Tenth Street rail corridor. Although the majority of House A was exposed during the Phase II archaeological investigations, the west end of dwelling extends into the adjacent parking lot to the west (beyond the project limits) and was not investigated.



**Figure 1. Location of the Carpenter Street Underpass project area in Springfield, Illinois (*Springfield West, IL 7.5-minute U.S.G.S. topographic map, 1998*). The locations of both the Lincoln Home National Historic Site and the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM) project areas are also indicated.**



**Figure 2. Site plan showing the relationship of Sites 11SG1432 and 11SG1433 (hatched in green) in relationship to the Carpenter Street Underpass Project Area (outlined in blue) and surrounding vicinity. Site 11SG1432, bounded by Ninth, Tenth, Mason, and Madison Streets, consists of parts of two adjacent plats that correspond to Block 14 of Wells and Peck’s Addition and Block 3 of J. Whitney’s Addition. The location of House A, which is the focus of the existing report/volume, is indicated by the red square.**



## *Results of Archival Research*

Jonas Whitney filed the plat of his new subdivision in April 1837 (Sangamon County Deed Record [SCDR] K:553). Whitney's Addition was located on what was then the northeastern corner of the city, and it was composed of nine blocks that were bound on the north by Mason Street, on the east by Twelfth Street, and on the south by Washington Street. On its western end, Whitney's Addition extended just west of Tenth Street, where three partial blocks adjoined the southern extension of the Wells and Peck's Addition. The lots in Whitney's Addition all measured 40x157-ft. in size and were oriented north/south, with each full block containing sixteen lots. Block 3, where the project area is located, was one of the partial lots in the addition.

As originally platted, Lots 13-16, Block 3 were initially oriented towards Madison Street to the south. The economic downturn known as the Panic of 1837 had an impact on the development of the neighborhood, and it was not until 1841 that the first of Whitney's on Block 3 began to sell. Prior that time, Whitney had "re-packaged" his eight lots on partial Block 3, reorienting them to Tenth Street. The reorientation of the lots possibly was related to the planned construction of the Northern Cross Railroad along Tenth Street. The "re-packaged" lots would thus front the railroad. Although grading for the railroad through the project area apparently was completed in the late 1830s, it was not until the early 1850s that track actually would be laid down.<sup>1</sup> Sometime prior to 1842, Whitney "re-packaged" Lots 13-16, reorienting them to Tenth Street, and it was not until mid-1842 that the "re-packaged" lots began to sell.

In July 1842, Whitney sold the N1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16 (the vacant lot adjacent to House A) to Michael Mergenthaler for \$100 (SCDR T:381), and in November of that year he sold the S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House A) to John Meyers (or Mayers) for \$100 (SCDR S:115). The deed to Meyer indicates that he was a resident of nearby Logan County when purchased the property (see Table 1). Each of these parcels had an approximate 40-ft (12.19m) frontage on Tenth Street. The prices paid for the parcels suggests that neither of them was improved at the time of their sale. The reorientation of the lots possibly was related to the planned construction of the Northern Cross Railroad along Tenth Street. The "re-packaged" lots would thus front the railroad. Although grading for the railroad through the project area apparently was completed in the late 1830s, it was not until the early 1850s that track actually would be laid down.

John and Elizabeth Meyers sold the S1/2, S1/2 to Peter Westenberger on September 1, 1848 for \$450. This was a four-fold increase over what Meyers had paid for the parcel six years before, and likely reflects the construction of house there during the intervening period. Meyers and his wife were residents of Sangamon County at the time of the sale, suggesting that they were potentially residing in House A during the years circa 1843 through September 1848. Unfortunately, little is known about the Meyer family. The family is not enumerated in the 1850 U.S. Census of population for Sangamon County. Although several newspaper notices noting a

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<sup>1</sup> The route of the Northern Cross Railroad running east of Springfield to the Sangamon River was surveyed and permanently located by October 1837, and contracts for this section of the line were issued soon after (Illinois State Archives, Board of Commissioners of Public Works, Transcripts of Reports Submitted to the Board, Record Group 493.003, pp. 67, 90). Grading and other preparatory work, including the construction of abutments for the bridge across the Sangamon River, was carried out in 1838 (*Sangamo Journal*, 7 October 1837; 5 May 1838, p. 2; 9 June 1838, p.1). These efforts were well in advance of tracks actually being laid down, however.

bankruptcy petition for one John Mayer appear in the local newspapers from November 1841 and continue through 1842 (cf. *Sangamo Journal*, 23 December 1842, p. 4), it is unclear whether this is the same individual or not.

Peter Westenberger was a German cabinetmaker and carpenter/builder who had immigrated to the United States in 1848, arriving in Springfield in July of that year. Although Peter's exact birthplace is not known, the fact that his son Gerhard was born in the Duchy of Nassau makes it likely that he too was a native of this western German state (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:726; Wallace 1904:912). The 1850 U. S. Census of Population for Springfield reports Peter Westenberger as age 61 and residing with his wife Eve (nee Boll; age 40), daughter Margaret (age 7), and son Valentine (age 5). The census indicates Westenberger's real estate value at that time as being \$550. His household also included a second family group—a young married couple named Gerhardt and Frederica Wilkenberg, the former being a blacksmith. Peter was one of thirty-one cabinetmakers recorded in the 1850 census of Springfield, another eight of whom were German-born like him (United States Bureau of the Census [USBC] 1850). German cabinetmakers comprised nearly a third of the local trade during this period, and they (and their sons) would remain a significant part in the industry in Springfield for some time to come.

Based on his proximity to other known property owners and/or residents on Block 3 in the census, Peter Westenberger likely was residing on the S1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House A) in 1850. Peter Westenberger purchased the adjoining N1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16 from Michael Mergenthaler for \$65 on February 26, 1850 (SCDR BB:51; EE:440)—thus consolidating the two parcels into an 80-ft (24.38m) wide lot.<sup>2</sup>

The 1854 and 1858 maps of Springfield illustrate a total of three buildings on the Westenberger's tract of land at that time. The building shown on the eastern end of the tract—at the northwest corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection—is believed to represent the Westenberger residence. The 1860 city directory confirms that Peter Westenberger was residing at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Streets (SCD 1860:141). Located immediately behind the home (adjacent to its northwest corner), as depicted on the 1854 and 1858 city maps, is a smaller structure that most likely represents a summer kitchen (or other detached outbuilding). The third building documented on these two early maps is a small frame building located on the rear of the property, which is depicted as being set tight to the southwest corner of the lot (fronting Madison Street) and as having a wing or extension along its east side. This outbuilding probably represents Westenberger's cabinet shop and/or barn (Potter 1854; Sides 1858; Figure 3). The 1855 city directory properly lists Peter Westenberger as a cabinetmaker, but incorrectly places his residence on "Madison corner [of] 11<sup>th</sup>." It is of note that the directory does not indicate Peter as being in another's employ, as a number of other cabinetmakers were, which suggests that he may have been self-employed at this time (Springfield City Directory [SCD]

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<sup>2</sup> This parcel of ground immediately north of the Westenberger house was purchased for a price slightly less than the unimproved corner lot had sold for several years earlier. This price may reflect the fact that it was not a corner lot, as well as the fact that the topography quickly dipped to the north, with a prominent swale located between the location of Houses A and B.

1855).<sup>3</sup> An 1881 county history noted that “Peter carried on building and the manufacture [of cabinetry] extensively in Germany and moderately after coming to Springfield...” (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:726). Peter was already in his late 50s when he immigrated, so it is understandable if his workload moderated over time, and he was semi-retired. City directories typically list him as being employed as a cabinetmaker, but there was one edition (1859) that reported him as a carpenter, and several others (1860, 1866) that provided no occupation for him. Although somewhat speculative, it is suspected that Peter was working out of the outbuilding on the southwest corner of his property (as will be discussed further below).<sup>4</sup>

The 1860 U.S. census indicates two households that appear to have been living within House A. The first, and most obvious, was that of Peter Westenberger. At that time, Peter was listed as a 72-year-old cabinetmaker, apparently still practicing his trade despite his advanced age (and would continue to do so for some years to come). His personal household consisted of his wife (Eve; age 50), son (Folly, age 15), and daughter (Margaret, age 18). By this date, Peter’s oldest son Gerhardt had left the family home, but he had followed in his father’s footsteps in becoming a cabinetmaker.<sup>5</sup> Peter Westenberger’s real estate had risen in value to \$2,000 by this date, while his personal property had an estimated value of only \$75 (USBC 1860:212). The second household potentially living within House A at that time was that of a wood turner named Eber B. Bowen.<sup>6</sup> The 1860 census indicates that Bowen, who had a real estate evaluation of only \$60, was living with his wife Mary (age 48) and their five children (B.F., age 17; George, age 15; Eliza, age 11; Rebecca, age 9; Christian, age 7). All of the family members were born in Ohio. By 1864, Bowen was listed as living on West Adams Street.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> George and Gerhardt Westenberger, for instance, were noted in the 1855 city directory as being employed as cabinetmakers by J. A. Hough, a furniture manufacturer in Springfield. Six other cabinetmakers also were listed as being employed by Hough in this directory.

<sup>4</sup> Research of city directories and local newspapers found no advertisements or business listings for Peter Westenberger, but this is not altogether unexpected if he were running a small shop on his own.

<sup>5</sup> The 1860 U.S. Census records the 24-year-old “Garret” [Gerhardt] Westenberger residing in the Springfield home of John and Jane Bretz, who were his in-laws. Gerhardt had married the Bretz’s daughter Mary earlier that same year. A 1910 profile of Gerhardt states that his father trained him in cabinetmaking, and after leaving home, he worked for a time building rail cars for the Chicago and Alton Railroad in Bloomington and later built passenger coaches for the Missouri-Pacific Railroad in St. Louis. He later returned to cabinetmaking before opening a furniture store in Springfield in 1861. He managed the furniture store for the remainder of his career (USBC 1860; *Illinois State Journal*, 8 February 1910, p. 12). Gerhardt employed several family members as cabinetmakers at his store at different points in time, including D. P. and F. Westenberger in 1866 (SCD 1866:238-239).

<sup>6</sup> The enumerator listed the family as that of E. B. Brewer, but the 1860-1 *Springfield City Directory* indicates an Eber B. Bowen, a turner, living at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Streets. Besides Brewer, this city directory also listed Henry R. Grape as residing at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison streets (SCD 1860). Grape is not listed in the 1860 census for Springfield. As noted above, “E. B. Brewer”, was listed in the census returns immediately before Peter Westenberger. It’s unclear whether “Bowen” and “Brewer” represent the same man or are two different individuals. The census also indicates that Brewer was employed as a wood turner (maybe in Westenberger’s shop?). Oddly, his household is assigned a dwelling number in the census but no family number (USBC 1860:212).

<sup>7</sup> Little is currently known about Mr. Bowen. The *Illinois State Journal* (December 2, 1856) listed Bowen as having mail to be picked up at the post office (suggesting that he may have been in the Springfield area by that date). In the

The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* lists several Westenberger family members as residing at, or very near, this location. Peter is listed as a cabinetmaker with his residence on the north side of Madison, between Ninth and Tenth Streets. Similarly, John is listed as a blacksmith who was boarding at the same location/address. Valentine was listed as a cabinetmaker with his residence at the corner of Tenth and Madison streets. These slight differences in listings may suggest that the original dwelling had been subdivided into at least two units by this time, with one having an entrance facing Madison Street, and the other facing Tenth Street.<sup>8</sup>

Peter Westenberger died on 16 May 1869 at age 82 (Sangamon County Probate Record 10:258; Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:726).<sup>9</sup> In his will, Peter bequeathed the S1/2 of Lots 13-16 to his wife Eva for the duration of her life, after which ownership was to be shared equally between his children.<sup>10</sup> After her husband's death, the widow Westenberger continued to occupy their home at Tenth and Madison. In 1870, the U. S. Census documented Eva Westenberger as living with her daughter Margaret's family. Although the census spells Margaret's surname as "Dickerson," it actually was Dirksen (also spelled Dirkson), as she is known to have married John Dirksen on 6 August 1867.<sup>11</sup> The census lists John Dirksen as a 33-year-old, Prussian-born cabinetmaker. Besides Eva (age 60), John's household included his wife Margaret (age 24) and their young son, Theodore (age 1). This household was documented while the enumerator traversed along Madison Street and hence was not tallied with the other nearby Tenth Street properties. This may corroborate the theory of the house having been subdivided into two units earlier (with one unit fronting Madison Street). This theory is further substantiated by the 1872 city directory, which lists John Derksen [sic] residing at "Madison and 10<sup>th</sup>" and S. Westenberger (a widow, presumably Eva) at "10<sup>th</sup> and Madison" (SCD 1872:44). Both addresses presumably refer to House A, but the subtle difference between them once again suggests that the residence had been duplexed, with Eva Westenberger's unit oriented to Tenth Street and the Dirksens' to Madison Street. By 1873, John and Margaret Dirksen had relocated to a home at 718 East Mason Street, 2-1/2 blocks west of House A. John was still working as a

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spring of 1868, the *Illinois State Journal* (May 1, 1868) reported that Mr. Bowen was nominated as the Market Master by City Alderman Vredenburg.

<sup>8</sup> The 1869 *Springfield City Directory* lists both Peter and John residing at this location, with George residing at 812 N. Fifth Street, and his furniture shop located at 39 W. Adams (SCD 1869). Brother Gerhard's residence at this time was listed as 812 N. Fifth Street.

<sup>9</sup> Peter was a member of SS. Peter and Paul's Church, a German Catholic congregation, and was buried in Calvary Cemetery, which adjoins Oak Ridge Cemetery.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Westenberger's probate case file is No. 2067 (UIS IRAD, Roll P356). The file includes Peter's last will and testament but no inventory of personal property present in his household at the time of his death. The land associated with House A was described as two separate parcels in the will—one being specifically identified as the S1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16, Block 3 and the other, described in metes and bounds, equating to the N1/2, S1/2 of Lots 13-16.

<sup>11</sup> Their date of marriage can be found in the Illinois State Archives' Statewide Marriage Index, which spells the surname as "Dirkson." The 1868 city directory lists John Dirkson as a carpenter residing at the corner of Madison and Tenth streets (SCD 1868:78). This suggests that he and Margaret may have moved into her parent's home shortly after they married.

cabinetmaker and was in the employ of his brother-in-law Gerhardt Westenberger, who was a furniture manufacturer and dealer (SCD 1873:58; 1876:82).

The Westenberger property is illustrated by three different bird's-eye views of Springfield and a city map published between 1867 and 1878. While consistent with their general depiction of the property, they vary in level of detail. The 1867 bird's-eye view illustrates House A as side-gabled structure fronting Tenth Street and depicts the cabinet shop/barn on the rear of the lot as being front-gabled and facing Madison Street (Ruger 1867; Figure 4). A second bird's eye view, published in 1873, is more detailed; it depicts the house as having have a five-bay façade (with center door) and shows wings/extensions on the north and east sides of the cabinet shop (Koch 1873; Figure 4). Neither of these sources illustrate the outbuilding shown at mid-yard by the 1850s-era maps. This outbuilding is, however, illustrated by an 1876 city map (Bird 1876). A circa-1878 bird's eye view shows the house, mid-yard outbuilding, and the cabinet shop/barn but is rather simplistic in its representation compared to the earlier bird's eyes, with no window or door openings shown. It also depicts the cabinet shop as having a side-gabled roof, whereas the 1867 and 1873 bird's eyes show it with a front-gabled roof (Beck and Pauli [1878]; Figure 5).

The 1876 *Springfield City Directory* indicates Eva Westenberger as a German-born widow and property owner residing at 301 N. Tenth Street. Although the 1879 *Springfield City Directory* does not list Eva, the 1880 U. S. Census (compiled in June of that year) lists the 70-year-old Eva Westerberg [sic] as living by herself on Tenth Street, presumably in the family home (House A).<sup>12</sup> The city directory published that same year (1880), however, lists Eva Westenberger residing at 716 E. Mason Street, two blocks northwest. The latter address was the residence of her son-in-law John Dirksen. John was still working as a cabinetmaker at this time and remained in the employ of Gerhardt Westenberger (SCD 1880:64, 207).<sup>13</sup> Given her advanced age, Eva Westenberger perhaps found it necessary to reside her daughter and son-in-law for part of this year, or only recently moved in with her daughter's family. The 1881 city directory lists an "N. Westenberger" with a home on the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison streets. This possibly represents a typographical error, and "N" was intended to refer to Eva. What is of interest is that this same directory also lists two other individuals residing on the "nw cor 10<sup>th</sup> and Madison," as renters. These were Edward F. Willis, a white brakeman, and Silas Greene,<sup>14</sup> a Black laborer (SCD 1881). If these men were residing in House A, as the directory's description of their place of residence suggests they were, it presents the possibility that the house had been subdivided into multiple apartments by this date (SCD 1882:237). The outbuilding on the rear of the lot also seems to have been utilized (or serviceable) for residential purposes during this period, given that

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<sup>12</sup> The household that follows her in the census is that of Belle [sic] Watkins, who is known to have occupied House B at this time.

<sup>13</sup> In 1884, John Dirksen purchased a home at 921 East Mason Street, one block north of House A. City directories indicate that he resided at that location through 1898. This property was subject to archaeological investigations in 2017, conducted by Fever River Research, prior to the construction of St. John's Hospital's new Medical Office Building.

<sup>14</sup> This individual also is documented as residing at House D at later date (though under a different name) (see "Cyrus Greenleaf, 'A Splendid Good Old Man:' Ex-Slave, Civil War Veteran, and Forty Year Resident of Springfield, Illinois," Appendix V, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume V]).



the local Board of Fire Underwriters classified the building as “dwelling” in its 1880 *Minimum Tariff of Rates*. This source assigns an independent street number for the building—919 North Tenth Street (presumably meaning East Madison Street)—whereas House A is addressed as 303 North Tenth Street (Board of Fire Underwriters 1880:279).<sup>15</sup> This is the only instance found by the current research where the outbuilding was assigned a separate street address.

The 1882-3 city directory is the last to list Eva Westenberger on the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison. She had two renters in her home at this time, who were different from the year before; these were John Grant, a laborer, and William Walden, a carpenter, both of whom were white (SCD 1882:102, 231, 237). The directory published for 1884 indicates that Eva was residing with her granddaughter on North Fifth Street at that time; SCD 1884:283). She later moved into her son Gerhardt’s home at 1005 North Fifth Street, where she was reported in 1887. Eva Westenberger died on 9 March 1894 at the age of 83 (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 March 1894, page 5).<sup>16</sup>

Tax assessments published in 1889 indicate that the S1/2 of Lots 13-16 was still in Peter Westenberger’s name at that time, despite him having died twenty years before (*Illinois State Register*, 13 April 13, 1889). Gerhardt Westenberger ultimately acquired full ownership of the S1/2 of Lots 13-16 by purchasing his fellow heirs’ interests in the property. This process began with him buying out John Valentine Westenberger’s 1/5 interest for \$250 in February 1896 and John Peter Westenberger’s 1/5 interest, for \$188, one month later. In May 1897, Gerhardt purchased another 1/5 interest from John Dirksen and his four children for \$250 (Margaret Dirksen had died in 1885<sup>17</sup>). Finally, in April 1901, Gerhardt acquired the remaining 1/5 interest outside of his control by buying out Susan and Eva’s Florence Westenberger’s respective half interests in this share for \$125. A Master-in-Chancery deed, recorded in March 1903, seems to have finalized Gerhardt’s full control of his parents’ former homestead (SCDR 101:134, 102:11; 110:105).

Following Eva Westenberger’s departure the old family homestead at Tenth and Madison streets, House A was used a rental property for the remainder of its history, with the majority of the tenants being African American. City directories and local newspapers suggest that the property had a very mixed history in the 1880s and 1890s. Period newspapers report on the presence of a number of houses of ill-repute—variously referred to as “ranches” or “resorts”—on or near the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Street at different points in time. In early 1885, the

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<sup>15</sup> The *Minimum Tariff of Rates* misspelled Mrs. Westenberger’s last name as “Weisenburg” and provided insurance ratings for two buildings owned by her, one of which was House A. The street number “919” fits the outbuilding on the rear of her lot quite well, as the large I-House located directly west of it was numbered “915,” and the saloon later built in between the two would be numbered “917.” The mistake in the street reference for “919” was not unique for the *Minimum Tariff of Rates*, as House C was listed as 313 *East Madison Street*, as opposed to *North Tenth Street* (Board of Fire Underwriters 1880:277, 279).

<sup>16</sup> Several Westenberger family trees on Ancestry.com all indicate that Eva Boll Westenberger died in 1858. Unless Peter had two wives named Eva, our research suggests that this is not correct.

<sup>17</sup> Margaret Dirksen died on 21 April 1885 at age 42. Her husband John died on 13 February 1904 at age 68 (*Illinois State Journal* 14 February 1904, page 4). They are buried together at Calvary Cemetery in Springfield.

*Illinois State Journal* noted that “Dan Sutton’s ranch” was located at the corner of Tenth and Madison Streets. Although unconfirmed, it is suspected that this “resort” was located in House A, as none of the other corners of the intersection are plausible locations for it.<sup>18</sup> Discussing a recent raid on Sutton’s establishment, the January 2, 1885 edition of the *Journal* reported the following:

The police began the new year well by raiding the dwelling of Daniel Sutton, corner of Tenth and Madison street, where they captured ten inmates. The place has long been regarded as a den of thieves and colored prostitutes. Several geese, supposed to be stolen, were recovered, one of which was taken from a pot in which it was placed to boil. All the furniture was thrown out of the house, and is thought the resort is broken up (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 January 1885, p. 8).<sup>19</sup>

Although this account implies that Sutton had been operating his “ranch” from this location for some time, it seems unlikely to have persisted more than a couple of years at most, considering that Eva Westenberger apparently was still residing in House A as recently as 1882-3. City directories indicate that Sutton had been living in the general vicinity of Tenth and Madison since at least 1880, though none report him at the location of House A.<sup>20</sup>

Following the break-up of Sutton’s “ranch,” House A appears to have briefly returned to a more conventional rental property. The 1886 *Springfield City Directory* lists two widows named Julia Hand and Minerva Stickley, both white, residing at the “cor[ner] 10<sup>th</sup> and Madison” (SCD 1886:127, 265). The corner referred to must have been the northwest (i.e., House A), since the other three corners are otherwise accounted for.<sup>21</sup> The 1887 city directory provides no listing for 301 North Tenth Street, or the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison, which suggests that House A was sitting vacant when the directory was compiled.

By 1888, House A apparently was once again being used for illicit activities. In May of that year, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on the potential suicide, or accident death of a man at the “Lynch Resort” and specifically notes its location at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Streets—presumably House A. The “landlady” of the Lynch Resort was a Mollie Lynch (*Illinois*

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<sup>18</sup> The presence of a “resort” on any of the three other corners of the intersection seems highly unlikely, considering that the Phoenix Mill occupied the southwest corner, the southeast corner was open ground used for a railroad switch between the Tenth and Madison Street rail corridors, and the home of Rev. Henry Brown was located on the northeast corner.

<sup>19</sup> A follow up article also references “Dan Sutton’s ranch, corner of Tenth and Madison streets” (*Illinois State Journal*, 3 January 1885, p. 7).

<sup>20</sup> In 1880, Sutton was living along the south side of Madison Street, near Tenth (SCD 1880:193). The city directory for 1881-2 places his residence as “next to mill”—presumably indicating the old Phoenix Mill on the southwest corner of Madison and Tenth streets. In 1883, his place of residence was reported as “Jefferson bet. 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>” (SCD 1883:250). The following year, he reportedly was living on Madison Street, west of Tenth (SCD 1884:264).

<sup>21</sup> The family of Rev. Brown was still living at the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison at this time. The 1886 directory provides a specific address for their home—300 North Tenth Street—unlike House A (SCD 1886:51-52).

*State Journal*, 28 May 1888, p. 4).<sup>22</sup> Little historical information has surfaced regarding Mollie Lynch and her “resort.” Perhaps it too ultimately was broken up by the authorities, as Dan Sutton’s “ranch” was. Whatever its fate, Lynch’s business was no longer operating out of House A by 1889. That year’s city directory lists five different residents at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison: John Hutchinson, a laborer (white); Etta Meredith, a widow (white); John Mongold, a machinist (white); John Schmitt, a laborer (white); and Coleman Woods, a hod carrier (Black). The directory classifies Hutchinson, Schmitt, and Woods as “renters” and Meredith and Mongold as “boarders.” This suggests that House A potentially was divided up into as many as three living units, minimally, at this time (SCD 1889:162, 216, 221, 275, 333).

There are two different city directories available for Springfield for 1891-2. The one published by J. Babeuf lists two individuals residing at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison: Allen Grandbery, a laborer, and Lina Lewis, a widow, both of whom were Black and are indicated to be “renters” (Babeuf 1891:138, 201). The other city directory available for 1891-2 was published by the United States Central Publishing Company and was the first to provide a separate street directory in addition to the standard name directory. Its street directory does not include a listing for 301 North Tenth Street, but does provide one for 303 North Tenth, which is believed to refer to House A; and notes James L. Graberg as the occupant, with no mention of Lina Lewis. The name directory, however, reports a James L. Granbery at 303 North Tenth Street (United States Central Publishing Company 1891:265; 760). Although seemingly contradictory, “Allen Grandbery,” “James L. Graberg,” and “James L. Granbery” were actually the same individual—James A. Granberry, who more commonly went by his middle name, Allen.<sup>23</sup> The omission of Lina Lewis from the second directory might be related to it having been compiled at a different time than Babeuf’s directory.

The 1892 city directory does not provide a listing for either 301 North Tenth Street or the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison. However, it does include a listing for 306 North Tenth Street, which is believed to refer to House A. Typically, one would not draw this conclusion, since the properties on the west side of Tenth Street were assigned odd numbers, while those on the east had even numbers. However, in this instance, the directory also incorrectly listed the Fitzgerald Plaster Company—located directly east of House A—as 307-309 North Tenth Street.

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<sup>22</sup> The deceased was one John (“Jack”) O’Hunter, who was blind and earned his living “by writing and selling doggerel rhymes.” One witness claimed he had been drinking heavily in the week leading up to his death. Another claimed he had taken an overdose of morphine (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 May 1888, p. 4).

<sup>23</sup> Research proves this connection. The June 29, 1908 edition of the *Illinois State Journal* carried a story about the death of a James Granberry, age 98, who reputedly was the oldest Black resident of Springfield and had come to the city in 1863. The article related that the deceased “was an exceptionally hardy man and his ability to perform heavy labor at his extreme old age had long been a subject of comment.” It further noted that the man’s daughter Leona had been murdered several years before (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 June 1908, p. 5). Leona Granberry’s 1904 murder was particularly vicious and had been heavily reported on by the local papers, which regularly referenced her father as being named “Allen” (see *Illinois State Journal*, 4 November 1903, p. 5; 5 November 1904, p. 6). This suggests that the father’s full name was James Allen Granberry but that he usually went by his middle name. He likely is the same “Alen Granbery” the 1870 census of Springfield lists as working at the Leland Hotel as a waiter. The census notes his place of birth as Alabama and his age as 45 (USBC 1870:437). He also is believed to be the “Allen Crannberry” reported as a living at 319 North Tenth Street (House D) in 1896 (SCD 1896:120). The latter is one of the more interesting variations in the spelling of his name.

In other directories, the plaster company often is assigned a Madison Street address (1001-1011), but regardless, any Tenth Street address given it should be an even number (such as 300-310), and there is no other property known to have been numbered 306 North Tenth Street. In any event, the 1892 directory's street index indicates "M. Howard" as the occupant of 306 North Street—presumed to be House A. The directory notes Howard as "colored" but provides no other personal information on them (They were omitted from the directory's name index) (SCD 1892:795). However, the individual in question is suspected to be Minnie Howard, who is known to have resided in several other of the houses in the project area in the 1890s.<sup>24</sup> Howard's occupation of House A appears to have been of relatively short duration.

The occupant most closely associated with House A during the 1890s was Mrs. Lina Lewis. She was listed as a resident there in Babeuf's 1891 city directory and, though unaccounted for in 1892, was reported there once again in the 1894 directory, which is the first to provide the proper house number for the property (i.e., 301 North Tenth Street).<sup>25</sup> The latter source indicates that Lina Lewis was the widow of George Lewis, Sr. and African American (SCD 1894:287, 682). She would remain at House A for another eight years. Although none of the city directories from this period provide an occupation for Mrs. Lewis, the 1900 U.S. Census of Population notes her occupation/trade as "washing," indicating she earned her living as a laundress.<sup>26</sup> This census further records that Lina had been born in Kentucky in 1856 and was the widowed mother of five children, four of whom were sons: George, Jr. (b. 1875), Chester (b. 1878), James (b. 1881), and Theodore (b. 1882) (USBC 1900:17A). A daughter named Mildred (or Catherine) was born circa 1880; she married and left home in 1896.<sup>27</sup> As an unskilled, single mother with multiple mouths to feed, Mrs. Lewis faced significant challenges in sustaining her family.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> In 1894, for instance, Minnie Howard was reported as residing at 315 North Tenth Street (House C) (SCD 1896:244). Two years later, she was living at 321 North Tenth Street (House D or E) (SCD 1896:226).

<sup>25</sup> Even after this, the city directories were inconsistent with the address for a period of time. The 1896 city directory, for instance, provides an address of 307 North Tenth Street, while the one published in 1898 omitted the property completely in its street listings. The 1898 directory did, however, include Lina Lewis in its name listings, where it notes her place of residence as "10<sup>th</sup> nw cor[ner] Madison," thus reverting back to the description style employed in earlier directories (SCD 1896: 120; 1898:335, 763).

<sup>26</sup> Prior to moving to 301 North Tenth Street, Lina Lewis had resided in a home on the northwest corner of Allen and Walnut streets, on the southwest side of the Springfield. City directories place her here in 1886 and 1887 and note that she was employed as a "washwoman" (SCD 1886:171; 1887:179).

<sup>27</sup> The Illinois Statewide Marriage Index (Illinois State Archives) indicates that a Catherine Lewis married William H. Britton on April 6, 1896. This corroborated by the *Illinois State Register*, which provides some further details on the bride at the time of her marriage, noting that she was 19 years old, Black, and the daughter of George Lewis (*Illinois State Register*, 7 April 1896, p. 5). When Lina Lewis died in 1902, however, a Mrs. Mildred Britton was noted as the surviving daughter (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 February 1902, p. 2). Mildred Britton died at age 29 on May 5, 1905, and her obituary states that she was the daughter of "Mr. and Mrs. George Lewis of this city" (*Illinois State Register*, 7 May 1905). Although this evidence suggests that Catherine and Mildred Lewis were the same person, this has not been proven conclusively, and the use of two different first names is not understood.

<sup>28</sup> The date at which Lina Lewis's husband George died is not known, though it appears to have occurred by 1881. On November 29, 1881, Mrs. Lewis provided a court deposition in which she attested to be an unmarried woman who had given to a son on October 20, the father of whom she swore to be Daniel Scott of Lanesville (presumably Sangamon County, Illinois). Although the court issued a warrant for Daniel Scott's arrest, there is no evidence that he was ever apprehended (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 November 1881, p. 6). The child referred to in the case was

Period newspapers show that Lina Lewis' eldest son, George Jr., was frequently in trouble with the law during the period his family occupied House A. George's name appears numerous times in local crime reports from 1892 (when he was around age 17) up through the early 1900s, primarily in relation to cases of larceny and adultery. The loss of a hand in a railroad accident in 1893 does not appear to have significantly impeded his involvement in these activities.<sup>29</sup> George Lewis also had associations with a number of individuals known to have operated "resorts" in the project area, the most significant being Etta Page. Previously a resident of St. Louis, Page reportedly arrived in Springfield by early 1896<sup>30</sup> and quickly became involved in prostitution. In May 1896, the *Illinois State Register* described Etta Page as "a negro proprietress of a house of ill fame on North Tenth street" (*Illinois State Register*, 8 May 1896). Later that year, the same paper referred to her as a "negro denizen Shinbone alley" in a report of her arrest on a charge of adultery. The individual she was accused of having an affair with George Lewis (*Illinois State Register*, 1 October 1896, p. 6). Although the exact location of Etta's Page's "house of ill fame on North Tenth street" is not known, one possibility is that was operated from House A, as it was during this time that the house was occupied by the Lewis family and George Lewis was in a relationship with Etta. George E. Lewis is listed at 307 [sic; 301] North Tenth Street in the 1896 city directory (which notes no occupation for him) as is his mother Lina (SCD 1896:279). A more likely scenario, however, is that Page was operating her resort out of another property nearby. On May 8, 1896, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on the recent arrest of Emma Black, Susan Emory and Etta Page, "three negroes...on a charge of stealing \$15 from Abraham Hamilton, an old farmer, at their resort at No. 314 North Tenth street." No. 314 North Tenth Street was located on the opposite side of Tenth Street and slightly north of House A. The charge against Black, Emory, and Page was dismissed when Mr. Hamilton failed to appear in court, but the women were promptly rearrested on a charge of disorderly conduct by Officer James Bretz, who was "bent on driving them out of the city" (*Illinois State Register*, 2 May 1896, p. 16). Rather than being driven out of the city, however, Page simply relocated to a new neighborhood. Newspaper reports from late 1896 and 1897 variously place her "resort" on "East Washington Street" (September 1896), "Second street near Washington" (November 1896), and "near Second and Jefferson streets" (March 1897).<sup>31</sup> It is unclear if these references are to a single property, or to several she may have occupied on the northwestern edge of the Central Business District. George Lewis and Etta Page were living together during this period, and they

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James Lewis. Given these circumstances, there is strong likelihood that Lina's youngest child, Theodore, also was born out of wedlock. The fact that Lina Lewis and her youngest two boys (were caught stealing coal from the Chicago, Pacific, and St. Louis Railroad in the dead of winter in January 1895 provides some sense of the economic difficulties the family faced (*Illinois State Journal*, 17 January 1895, p. 6).

<sup>29</sup> George Lewis lost his hand during an attempt to board a passing freight train on the Jacksonville and Southeastern Railroad. He lost his balance and fell under the train, resulting in his hand being cut off at the wrist (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 September 1893, p. 6). Several later newspaper articles described him as being "one-armed," but this appears to be a bit of an exaggeration (see *Illinois State Journal*, 4 June 1899, p. 2).

<sup>30</sup> A newspaper article from June 27, 1897 states that Etta Page "came here [Springfield] about a year ago from St. Louis" (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 June 1897, p. 4).

<sup>31</sup> These locations are provided by the *Illinois State Journal* (22 September 1896, p. 3; 22 November 1896, p. 3) and the *Illinois State Register* (30 March 1897, p. 6).

were said to have “given the police considerable trouble as many reports were made of robberies that were committed in their house” (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 September 1897, p. 5). The *Illinois State Register* described them as “about the toughest set in town” (30 March 1897, p. 6). Etta herself was regarded as the “ring leader” of the so-called “Etta Page Gang” (*Illinois State Register*, 19 August 1897). The gang apparently was broken up in the late summer of 1897, when Etta was jailed for “harboring females under 18 years of age in her disreputable resort” and George Lewis was sentenced to 100 days in the county jail for adultery (with Etta) (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 August 1897, p. 7; 26 September 1897, p. 5). Newspaper research indicates that the couple reunited for a time after their incarcerations, despite the continued legal danger they faced in living together out of wedlock. Both pleaded guilty to adultery in March 1898, after which Etta Page disappears from the pages of Springfield newspapers (*Illinois State Register*, 2 March 1898, p. 5; *Illinois State Register*, 2 March 1898, p. 6).

One reputed member of the “Etta Page Gang” was Melinda Reed, who also operated a “resort” in the project area in the 1890s. In 1893, a news story noted that “Malinda [sic] Reed’s negro house of ill fame” was located “at Tenth and Madison streets” (*Illinois State Register*, 19 September 1893).<sup>32</sup> While “Tenth and Madison” presumably refers to the actual intersection—thereby implying that Reed’s “resort” was located in House A—it suspected that the newspaper article meant it in a more general sense, as a locale (as was the case with Page’s “resort”). The 1894 city directory lists Reed’s place of residence as 317 North Tenth Street (presumably House D), only one-half block north of the intersection (SCD 1894:376). By February 1894, Melinda Reed appears to have relocated her “colored resort” to East Washington Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 February 1894; 1 March 1894); but she soon returned to her former neighborhood. The 1896 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Melinda was residing at 313 North Tenth Street (presumably House C), on the opposite side of “Shinbone Alley” from her earlier residence (SCD 1896:388). Newspaper accounts from 1896 also attest to her living on Tenth Street at that date (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 28 April 1896; 1 May 1896). Melinda Reed was described by contemporary reporters as “a notorious levee negress...known to be a crook and has been in the police courts before on various charges. She belonged to the Etta Page gang before that crowd was broken up by the police recently” (*Illinois State Register*, 19 August 1897).<sup>33</sup>

Another proprietor of a “resort” at Tenth and Madison streets during this period was Lizzie Cousins, who also was Black.<sup>34</sup> In 1892-1893 Cousins reportedly was working at a “resort” run

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<sup>32</sup> Accounts of Melinda Reed’s activities first appear in the local newspapers in November 1890, when she filed a complaint on a local Black man (*Illinois State Register*, 15 November 1890).

<sup>33</sup> Melinda does not appear listed in the 1898 city directory. In March 1898, she married Horace Grison. The marriage license noted that Melinda was 34 years old and was residing at 1008 East Mason Street at the time (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 March 1898). Later that same summer, Grison was arrested for shooting a man at the corner of Tenth and Madison Streets for accosting Melinda (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 July 1898). Little is heard regarding Melinda until early 1902 when the newspapers reported a man being robbed of \$25 “in a resort conducted by Malinda Reed, a negress, on Ninth street, between Mason and Madison streets” (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 April 1902). The 1902 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Melinda Reed was a roomer at 320½ South Fifth Street. From this point, Melinda does not appear in the city directories, and no further news is found relating to Melinda Reed.

<sup>34</sup> Lizzie Cousins and Melinda Reed were known to one another. In May 1893, they had a fight on Madison Street, were arrested, and each fined \$3 (*Illinois State Register*, 9 May 1893, p. 6). In August of that year, Cousins

by Sadie Johnson at 1004 East Mason Street, just around the corner from the project area (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 July 1892, p. 4; *Illinois State Register*, 16 August 1893, p.5). She later went into business for herself. In 1895, the *Illinois State Register* reported that “Lizzie Cousins’ house of ill fame” was located “at Tenth and Madison streets.” (27 August 1895, p. 6; 5 October 1895, p. 6). Once again, while this description suggests that Cousins might have been operating out of House A, there is no firm evidence for this, and her “resort” possibly was just in close proximity to the Tenth and Madison Street intersection. The enterprise appears to have been a short-lived affair and is not mentioned in local newspapers after October 1895.<sup>35</sup> However, it is of note that the local Board of Fire Underwriters classified the occupancy of 301 North Tenth Street as “Female Boarding,” as opposed to “Dwelling,” in their 1899 *Tariff of Rates*. “Female Boarding” may have been a coded reference to a brothel/resort in this particular publication (Board of Fire Underwriters 1899:133).<sup>36</sup>

The earliest Sanborn fire insurance maps depicting House A was published in 1890. At that time, House A was depicted as a rectangular dwelling with a large adjacent outbuilding at the northwest corner of the intersecting rail lines running down both Madison and Tenth Streets. The rear yard outbuilding once serving as the Westenberger cabinet shop and/or barn had been demolished by this date (Figure 6). The “Delinquent 1890 Tax List” indicates that House A was had the highest assessed value of the five houses within the project area. Assessed at \$16.14, it was considerably higher than the next highest, House D (at \$14.75). The assessments of the other three houses in the project area: House B, at \$12.51 and House C, at \$10.05, and House E, at \$13.80 (*Illinois State Register*, 11 April 1891, p. 7). Both Houses A and D were larger houses reflective of the higher assessment values. The 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map depicted a similar house and adjacent outbuilding at the site (Figure 7). The 1906 map is a single page depiction of Springfield’s central business district, and was drawn at a much smaller scale than the other years’ maps. As such, it is unclear as to whether outbuilding behind House A was gone by this date, or simply not depicted on this smaller scaled map (Figure 8). These cartographic images are discussed in more detail in subsequent sections of this report.

As noted above, the Lina Lewis family was still residing in House A when the 1900 U.S. Census was compiled. George Lewis, his relationship with Etta Page apparently now ended, had returned to his mother’s home by this date. He was 25 years old and employed as a laborer. Lina’s other three sons also were living with her at this time. Chester (age 21) and Theodore (age 17) were working as deliverymen, while James (age 18) was a laborer like his elder brother. The 1900 census also records a second family group residing at House A. The second family was represented by William Hughes (age 35) and his 26-year-old wife, Flora. Hughes’

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reportedly was working out of the “resort” run by Sadie Johnson at 1004 East Mason Street, just around the corner from the project area (*Illinois State Register*, 16 August 1893, p. 5).

<sup>35</sup> A search of references to Lizzie Cousins in local newspapers finds the earliest to date to August 29, 1883 and the last on August 24, 1897.

<sup>36</sup> The long-established brothel at 1016 East Madison Street, known as “Old Point Comfort,” also was classified as “Female Boarding” in the 1899 *Tariff of Rates*. The same was true of Houses B, C, D, E, and F within the project area (Board of Fire Underwriters 1899:171, 456). “Female Boarding” was not used as an occupancy classification in the earlier issues of *Tariff of Rates* that were consulted (Board of Fire Underwriters 1866, 1880, 1891).

occupation was listed as “waiter” (USBC 1900:17A). Several newspaper accounts from circa 1899-1900 document Hughes’ (a.k.a. “Tea Rose Willie”) activities, many of which were fairly violent affairs located within the immediate project area (see *Illinois State Journal*, April 13, 1900; *Illinois State Register*, November 28, 1899, April 24, 1900). The *Illinois State Journal* (August 26, 1900) documents Hughes’ release from jail and subsequent abuse of his wife at their Tenth and Madison Street residence. Another individual accounted as a resident of House A during this general period was Henry J. Moore, a young Black man originally from Independence, Missouri. Moore reportedly was living at 301 North Tenth Street when he died from consumption at age 24 in February 1899 (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 February 1899, p. 6; *Illinois State Register*, 6 February 1899, p. 4).<sup>37</sup>

In mid-March 1901, the *Register* reported on an “explosion of a lamp in the house of Mollie Drennan at tenth and Madison streets” (*Illinois State Register*, 14 May 1901, p. 5). It is unclear whether the property referred to was House A and Drennan was an otherwise undocumented resident there.<sup>38</sup> Seven years earlier, the *Illinois State Journal* had claimed that “Mollie Drennan” was an alias of one Mary E. Aldred—described as a “proprietor of a bawdy house in the ‘tenderloin district’” (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 May 1894, p. 4).

Mrs. Lina Lewis died in her home on the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison streets on February 10, 1902, at the age of 52. The cause of death was asthma. She had her funeral service at St. John’s African Methodist Episcopal Church and was interred in Oak Ridge Cemetery (*Illinois State Journal* 11 February 1902, p. 2; *Illinois State Journal*, 13 February 1902, p. 6).<sup>39</sup> The 1902 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Theodore Lewis continued to reside at 301 North Tenth Street but that his brothers had moved elsewhere. William Hughes also had relocated by this date (SCD 1902:318, 379-380, 839). It is not known if Theodore was still living in House A when he died in November 1903.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Moore’s obituaries are the earliest newspaper references found that specifically mention 301 North Tenth Street. It is unclear whether Moore had any familial connections to either the Lewises or Hugheses. His obituaries indicate that his parents and siblings were still living in Missouri at the time of his death (see Table 3)

<sup>38</sup> City directories do not record a Mollie Drennan in Springfield during this period. It is not known whether this is the same Mollie Drennan who was the proprietor of a “resort” in Springfield circa 1885-1899. That Mollie Drennan—whose real name apparently was Mary E. Aldred—is mentioned in Springfield newspapers dozens of times during this period, and her establishment usually is referenced as being located on East Jefferson Street. The 1894 *Springfield City Directory* lists Miss Mollie Drennan at 716 East Jefferson Street, which was on the eastern edge of the Levee, or “Tenderloin District” (see *Illinois State Journal*, 18 May 1894, p. 4; SCD 1894:162).

<sup>39</sup> The age stated in her obituary and death certificate (52) is four years younger than what it is suggested by the 1900 census, which recorded her as 44 years old and having been born in 1856.

<sup>40</sup> Theodore Lewis died on November 1, 1903 from “complication of diseases, after a short illness,” at age of 20. His funeral was held at the residence of his brother Chester, at 1014 East Mason Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 November 1903, p. 6). Theodore had several run-ins with the law before his death. In May 1900, he was convicted of stealing \$10 worth of brass fixtures and sentenced, as a minor, to serve a term in the state reform school in Pontiac (*Illinois State Register*, 26 May 1900, p. 6). He arrested again in January 1903 on the charge of stealing a \$10 gold piece and a check from Solle Brothers (*Illinois State Register*, 27 January 1903).



Newspapers articles published between 1902 and 1908 document a series of everyday life experiences (births, deaths, marriages, and work) associated with the occupants of House A. Family surnames associated with these events include Allen, Conley, Oglesby, Johnson, Page, and Smith. City directories connect several additional surnames with 301 North Tenth Street during this same period, these being Darden and Hymes. The number of names associated with the property in this six-year span may be indicative, in part, of a high turnover rate in tenants but also probably reflects the house being divided into multiple living units (cf. Tables 2 and 3).

In December 1902, a Harriet W. Allen was reported as a resident of 301 North Tenth Street, when her infant child died four days after birth. The child's obituary/funeral notices indicate that Ms. Allen was Black but provide no other information on her (other than her address); and she is absent from city directories from the relevant time frame (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 December 1902, p. 6; 5 December 1902, p. 6). Her residency at House A appears to have been relatively short.

In 1903, House A was occupied by Mrs. Anne Conley (SCD 1903). Annie Conlee [sic] was one of twenty-eight women "arrested" in "Cocaine Alley" for disorderly conduct in July 1900 (*Illinois State Journal*, July 11, 1900). Mr. and Mrs. William Oglesby, occupants of 301 North Tenth Street, brought home a fourth son on August 10, 1903 (*Illinois State Register*, 25 August 1903, p. 3). A family—husband, wife, and four sons. By mid-1904, William Johnson and his wife Maude were apparently residing in House A. The two had been married in February 1893. William received a charitable donation of groceries at that address in June of that year (*Illinois State Register*, 19 June 1904, p. 16). In November 1904, Maude Johnson filed for a divorce from her husband, on grounds that "on one occasion her husband beat her until she became unconscious. She also asserts that he often kicked her... [and] that her husband is now living with another woman" (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 November 1904, p. 2). Maude's mother, Anna Conley, apparently was living with her daughter at 301 North Tenth Street in early 1905, as her obituary lists 301 North Tenth Street as her address in April of that year (*Illinois State Register*, 23 April 1905, p. 10). She was only 42 years of age and died of a complication of diseases "at the family residence." In late January 1905, an anonymous person living at 301 North Tenth Street took out an advertisement in the *Illinois State Journal* that read "WANTED—SITUATION BY experienced colored lady as cook. 301 North Tenth" (*Illinois State Journal*, 30 January 1905, p. 7). Perchance this advertisement may have been taken out by Maude or her mother. In late summer 1905, Maude was still residing at this address, as the *Illinois State Register* reported that

At 310 [sic] North Tenth street, a frame house owned by Gerhard Westenberger and occupied by Maude Johnson was damaged. The roof was ablaze and it was necessary to tear off a lot of the shingles to subdue the flames (*Illinois State Register*, 27 August 1905, p. 1).

It would appear that the extended Conley family may have been residing at this address during these years, as in October 1905, the 18-year-old Winnetta Conley gave 301 North Tenth Street as her residence when she applied for a wedding license (*Illinois State Register*, 13 October 1905, p. 5).<sup>41</sup> In late 1906, a new name—Grace Page—appears in the newspapers with an association

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<sup>41</sup> Winnetta married Martin Stephenson, 1116 East Madison Street.

with 301 North Tenth Street. Grace had received \$2 worth of groceries from the Overseer of the Poor for Capital Township (*Illinois State Register*, 18 September 1906, p. 6).

One potential short-term occupant of House A in 1906 was Mildred Spriggs. On June 2, 1906, the *Illinois State Journal* reported that Spriggs, who the paper described as “a notorious negro woman living in a shack at Tenth and Madison streets,” had “attempted suicide by taking poison.” The suicide attempt was attributed to “despondency” (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 June 1906, p. 6).<sup>42</sup>

Robert Darden, a Black laborer, was the only person reported at 301 North Tenth Street in 1906 city directory (SCD 1906:200, 1047). The directory for the following year lists William Smith, a Black laborer, at this address, but makes no reference to any other occupant (SCD1907:739, 1098). Prior to the spring 1907 elections, the *Illinois State Register* published a list of registered voters in the city and listed only one voter at 301 North Tenth Street, and this was “W. N. Smith” (*Illinois State Register*, 24 March 1907). The 1908 city directory once again reports a William Smith at 301 North Tenth Street, but also notes a Mr. and Mrs. William Smith, Jr. as residents at this address (SCD 1908:780, 1163).<sup>43</sup>

The archival record and physical remains indicate that House A, when still owned by George Westenberger and occupied by tenants, was thoroughly destroyed by fire the night of August 14, 1908 (Figure 12). Three historic photographs illustrate the burned out, smoldering remains of House A in the aftermath of the riot (Figures 9-11). One is a panorama of the burned-out buildings along Madison Street south side of the 900 block of East Madison Street taken the day after the riots, which shows the chimney stack of House A visible along the margins of the photograph. A substantial billboard stretches across nearly the entire backyard of the property (facing Madison Street), and it perhaps of no surprise that one of the prominent advertisements on this billboard was for G. Westenberger’s furniture store (Figure 9).<sup>44</sup> The second photograph is a similar perspective but represents a close-up view of the chimney stack and fireplace (Figure 10). Both photographs appear to be picture postcards printed almost immediately after the riots for sale to tourists and sightseers. The second photograph was labeled “Remains of a Negro Cabin burned during the Riot,” and integrated into a scrapbook from 1909 entitled *In the Wake of the Mob: An Illustrated Story of Riot, Ruin, and Rage*. The third photograph is a view looking northwest along Madison Street of the results of the mob action, taken from the southwest corner

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<sup>42</sup> This is the only reference found to Mildred Spriggs.

<sup>43</sup> For detailed summary of information regarding William Smith, Sr., his son William Smith, jr., and another man named Harrison West, see “The Brutal Beatings of Two Elderly Black Men (Harrison West and William Smith, Sr.), and the Heroic Efforts of the Sisters of St. Johns Hospital,” Appendix V, this volume.

<sup>44</sup> Prominently located on the western end of this billboard were three identical placards promoting the appearance of John C. Weber and his band performing at the White City amusement park on East Capitol Avenue in Springfield the week of the riots. Similar broadsides were posted on many of the burned houses in the district, and a large banner announcing his arrival was stretched across the burned out remains of Loper’s Restaurant. The aftermath of the riot was a sightseeing extravaganza that brought many individuals to downtown Springfield. Photographic souvenir books and postcards of the burned-out properties and National Guardsmen on the streets of Springfield were almost instantaneously produced for sale to tourists and sightseers. Placement of these broadsides on the burned-out houses, and Loper’s restaurant was an opportunistic advertising strategy conducted by Weber’s promoters.

of the Madison and Tenth Street intersection, and published in *The Inter Ocean* (17 August 1908, p. 3). At far right, two militiamen are standing in front of the large chimney stack of House A (Figure 11). Until the current research, these photographs were unbeknownst to historians researching the 1908 Springfield riot. They are the only photographs known to exist depicting the project area in the aftermath of the race riot and provide some details on the exterior form and interior layout of House A (see discussion in Summary and Conclusions).

Archival evidence suggests that House A was occupied at the time of the riot by, among others, Callie, Mary, and William Smith, all of whom filed claims against the City of Springfield after the riot.<sup>45</sup> Currently, the relationship of these three individuals is not precisely understood. A William Smith, who was described as a “helpless cripple,” was dragged from the house, severely beaten, and tied to a telegraph pole on Madison Street during the first night of rioting in 1908 (Senechal 1990:37-38; *Illinois State Register*, 15 August 15 1908). Although, it is not entirely clear whether the victim of this attack was William Smith, Sr. or William Smith, Jr. as both men suffered severe injuries that night, it seems that the elder Smith was the more likely candidate.

Another individual with a possible connection to House A at the time of the 1908 riot was Robert Darden. In reporting on the damages inflicted by the mob during the riots, the *Illinois State Journal* (16 August 1908, p. 5) noted that “the residence of Robert Darden, at Tenth and Madison streets, was burned to the ground and the loss will be \$300.” No reference to a Robert Darden was found in a search of the Springfield city directories for the years immediately preceding the riot (1907, 1908), but he was listed at 301 North Tenth Street in the 1906 directory. This presents the possibility that Darden was occupying a second living unit in House A at the time of the riot but had been missed when the 1907 and 1908 directories were compiled.<sup>46</sup>

Additionally, newspaper accounts published in the aftermath of the riot indicate that a Harrison West—a 65-year-old-black man “living by himself at Tenth and Madison streets since he came to this city thirty years ago, was attacked by a mob and badly beaten over the head with a club before he was rescued by the police” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 15, 1908). Based on this description, the most likely location for the West residence would have been in House A, but a search of relevant Springfield city directories (1906, 1907, 1908) found no reference to a Harrison West in Springfield. Earlier sources, such as the 1900 U. S. Census and newspaper articles, however, do report him as having previously resided within one block of House A. As in earlier instances, the newspaper’s use of “Tenth and Madison” in reference to West’s residence may have been a general locale as opposed to precise location.

Under Illinois law, local municipalities could be sued for personal injury and property damage incurred by mob action, and many claims were filed against the City of Springfield in the aftermath of the 1908 riot. In late August, 1908, Gerhardt Westenberger filed a Riot Claim for loss of real estate at Tenth and Madison streets for the sum of \$800 (*Illinois State Register*, 30

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<sup>46</sup> On November 4, 1906, the *Illinois State Register* reported that a Robert Darden had served as secretary at a “big meeting” of Black Democrats (p. 2). It is uncertain whether this was the same Robert Darden residing at House A.

August 1908, p. 4).<sup>47</sup> One year later, he filed a Riot Claim for \$1000 for unspecified reasons and property, though this may too have been related to the loss of House A (*Illinois State Journal*, 12 August 1909, p. 3; *Illinois State Register*, 12 August 1909, p. 6). It is not known what Gerhardt ultimately awarded by the courts, but other riot claims typically were settled well below what the plaintiffs had asked for. In January 1912, the City of Springfield settled several of their remaining Riot Claims, one of which had been filed by John H. Fitze and Frank C. Westenberg for personal property at 301 North Tenth Street. Fitze and Westenberg were furniture dealers in Springfield (unrelated to Gerhardt Westenerger). The manner in which the partners experienced the claimed loss is unknown, but it possibly was for furniture present in House A when it burned, on which money was still owed. Fitze and Westenberg were paid \$59.50 for the damages they incurred (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 January 1912, p. 2).<sup>48</sup>

The site of House A sat vacant for many years after the 1908 riot. The 1917 Sanborn map shows no buildings or any other structures on the site, nor on the lots to the north it (which also had been impacted by the riot) (Figure 13). The house site was redeveloped in the mid-twentieth century by the Barker-Goldman-Lubin Company, a building supply firm whose operations eventually extended over the entire surrounding block. The firm later was renamed the Barker-Lubin Company. The 1952 Sanborn map shows no buildings on the site of House A, but do indicate piles of lumber there. A lumber shed was located immediately north of the site (Figure 14). A photograph from the 1960s shows that a small building on raised foundations had been erected on the northeast corner of the house site since 1952, but that the majority of the site was utilized for parking and open storage of building materials by Barker-Lubin (Figure 14). The surrounding block largely had been cleared of buildings by the early 1980s.

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<sup>47</sup> “ABOUT \$75,000 IN CLAIMS FILED. City Swamped with Demands for Payment Riot Damages” (*Illinois State Register*, 30 August 1908, p. 4)

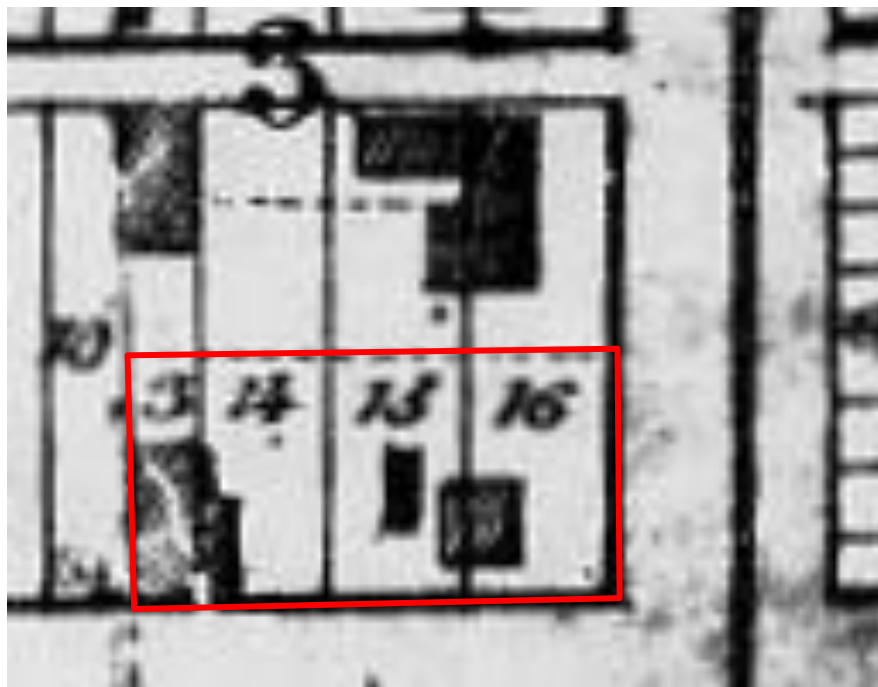
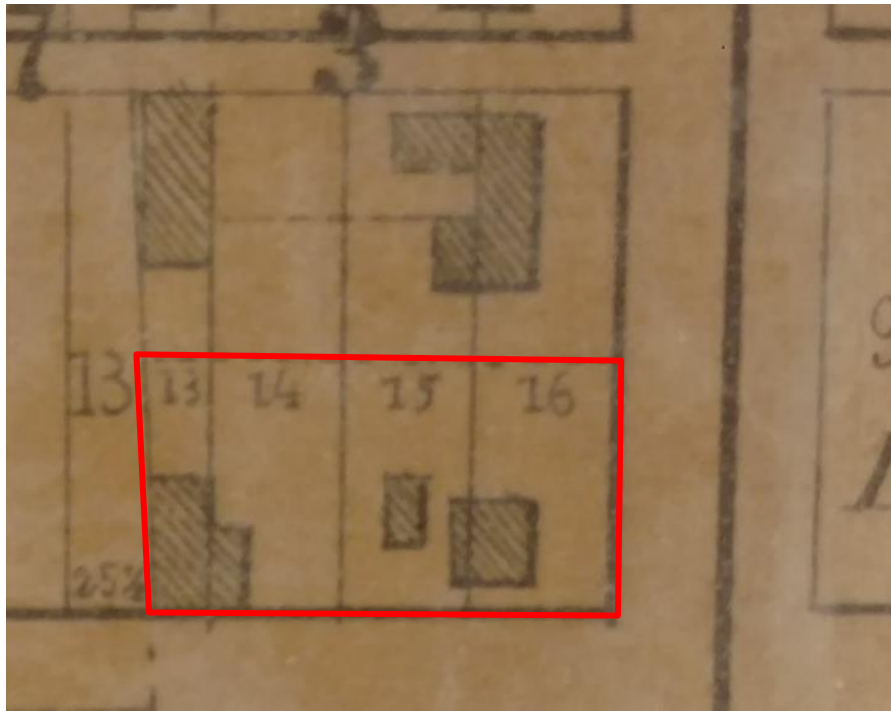
<sup>48</sup> Fitze and Westenberg’s store was located at 519 East Monroe Street (SCD 1909:324). The partners had previously filed a \$200 Riot Claim against the City of Springfield, the reason for which was not specified in the newspaper (*Illinois State Register*, 14 August 1909, p. 6). If this claim was related to the same personal property loss discussed above, they ultimately were compensated only about a quarter of the amount they had claimed.

**Table 1**  
**House A Chain-of-Title**  
S1/2 [S 80ft], Lots 13-16, Block 3, Jonas Whitney's Addition (Entire Landholdings)  
S1/2, S1/2 [S 40ft], Lots 13-16, Block 3, Jonas Whitney's Addition (House)  
N1/2, S/12, Lots 13-16, Block 3, Jonas Whitney's Addition (Vacant Lot)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
10 April 1837			Whitney's Addition Platted			K:553
23 July 1841	Jonas and Louisa Whitney	Michael Mergenthaler	N1/2, S1/2 Lots 13-16	\$100.00	WD	T:381
03 November 1842	Jonas and Louisa Whitney	John Meyers (Note 1)	S1/2, S1/2 Lots 13-16	\$100.00	WD	S:115
01 September 1848	John and Elizabeth Meyers	Peter Westenberger	S1/2, S1/2 Lots 13-16	\$450.00	WD	BB:51
26 February 1850	Michael and Margaret Mergenthaler	Peter Westenberger	N1/2, S1/2 Lots 13-16	\$65.00	WD	EE:440
19 February 1896	John Valentine Westenberger	Gerhard Westenberger	Und. 1/5 <sup>th</sup> Interest, S1/2 Lots 13-16	\$250.00	QC	101:134
02 March 1896	John Peter Westenberger	Gerhard Westenberger	Und. 1/5 <sup>th</sup> Interest, S1/2 Lots 13-16	\$188.00	QC	101:134
17 May 1897	John Dirksen, Sr., Paul Dirksen, John Dirksen, Jr., F. T. Dirksen, Eva Dirksen	Gerhard Westenberger	Und. 1/5 <sup>th</sup> Interest, S1/2 Lots 13-16	\$250.00	QC	102:11
19 April 1901	Susan and Eva Florence Westenberger	Gerhard Westenberger	Und. 1/2 interest in 1/5 <sup>th</sup> Interest, S1/2 Lots 13-16	\$125.00	QC	110:105
12 March 1903	Charles Keyes, Master in Chancery	Gerhard Westenberger (Note 2)	S1/2, S1/2 Lots 13-16	--	MCD	70227 (abstract)

Note 1. John Meyer resided in Logan County, Illinois at the time of his purchase of the property.

Note 2. Peter Westenberger's name appears as the owner of these lots in published property lists in 1903 and 1911 newspapers. Gerhard Westenberger's name appears in a 1919 newspaper list as the owner of the property.

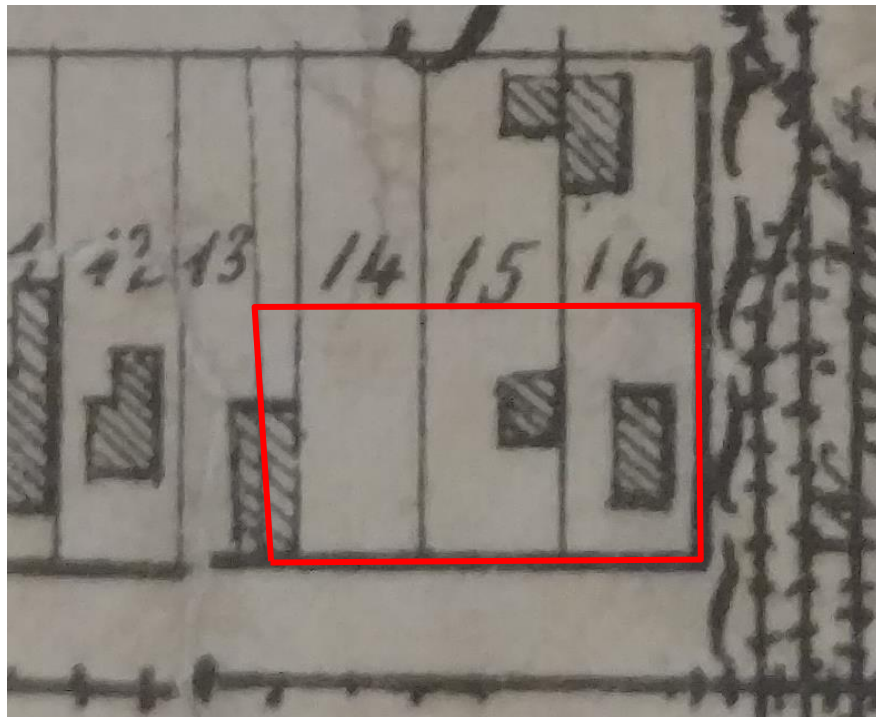


**Figure 3. Top: Detail of House A and associated lot (outlined red) as depicted on the 1854 *Map of Springfield* (Potter 1854). The map indicates the presence of two detached outbuildings to the rear of the house. The outbuilding at the rear (left) of the lot represents the cabinet shop of Peter Westenberger and/or a barn. Bottom: Detail of House A and associated lot as depicted on the 1858 *Map of Springfield, Illinois* (Sides 1858). This copy of the map unfortunately is not clear enough to distinguish the difference between frame and brick construction details.**



**Figure 4. Top: Close-up view of Houses A, B, and C from 1867 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois* (Ruger 1867), with House A lot outlined in red. Bottom: Houses A, B, and C (left to right) from the 1873 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois* (Koch 1873). The 1873 bird's eye is one of the better representations of House A, in respect to door and window openings, the size of its associated lot, and the degree of separation between it and House B (located north/right of it). The suspected cabinet shop and/or barn associated with House A also is depicted by both of these bird's eye view.**





**Figure 5. Views of House A, as illustrated by an 1876 map of Springfield (top; Bird 1876) and a circa-1878 birds-eye view (bottom; Beck and Pauli [1878]). Peter Westernberger's old cabinet shop and/or barn, located to the rear of the house, apparently was still standing when these views were produced. The 1876 map incorrectly shows this outbuilding extending over onto the adjacent lot to the west.**



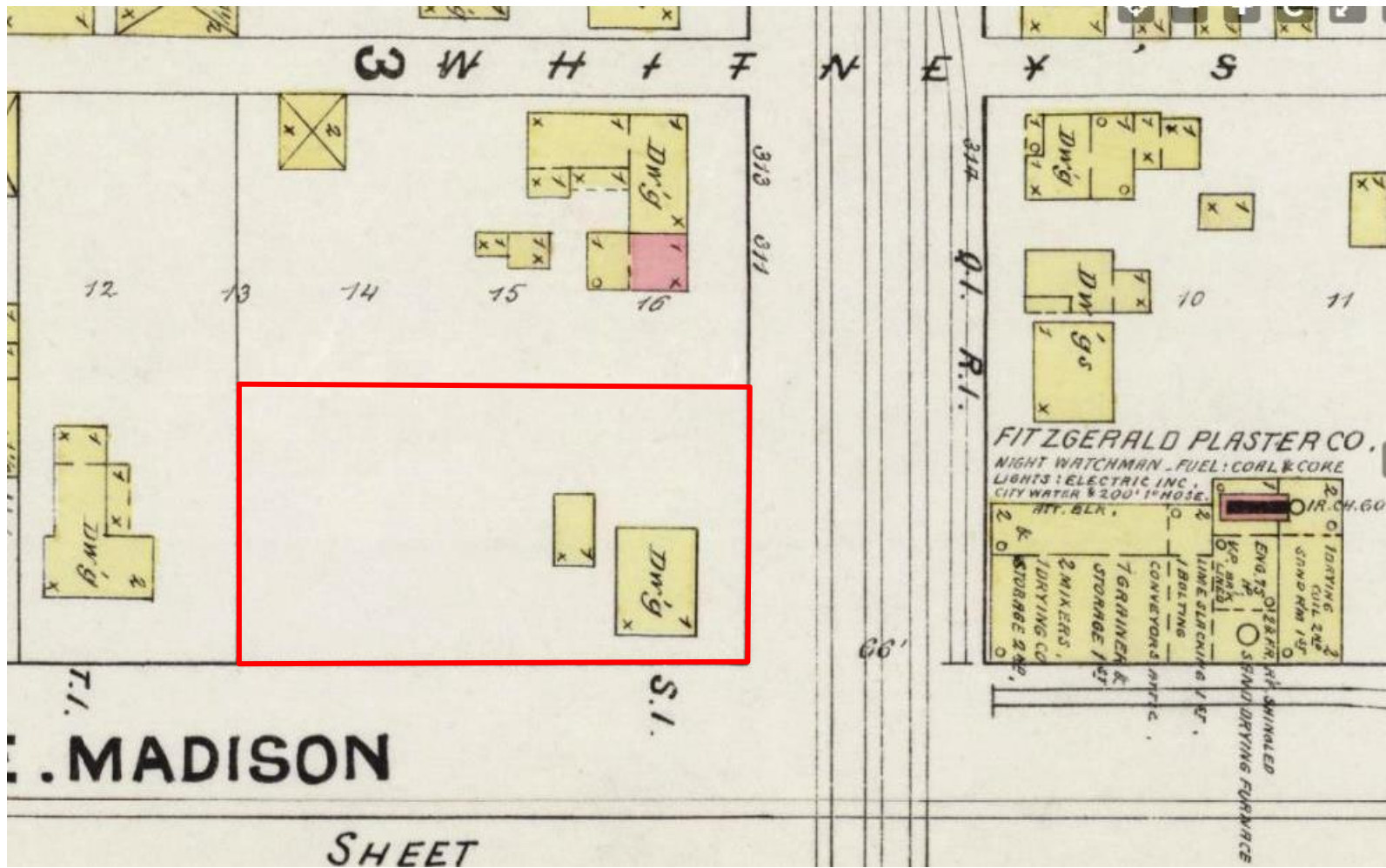


Figure 6. View of House A and associated lot (outlined in red), as depicted on the 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn-Perris 1890:12). The map depicts House A as being of frame construction and having a rectangular footprint. A smaller frame outbuilding is shown immediately to the rear of the dwelling. The large outbuilding previously shown on the southwest corner of the lot apparently had been removed by this time. Note the intersecting rail lines running down Madison and Tenth streets. Houses B and C appear to the north of House A.

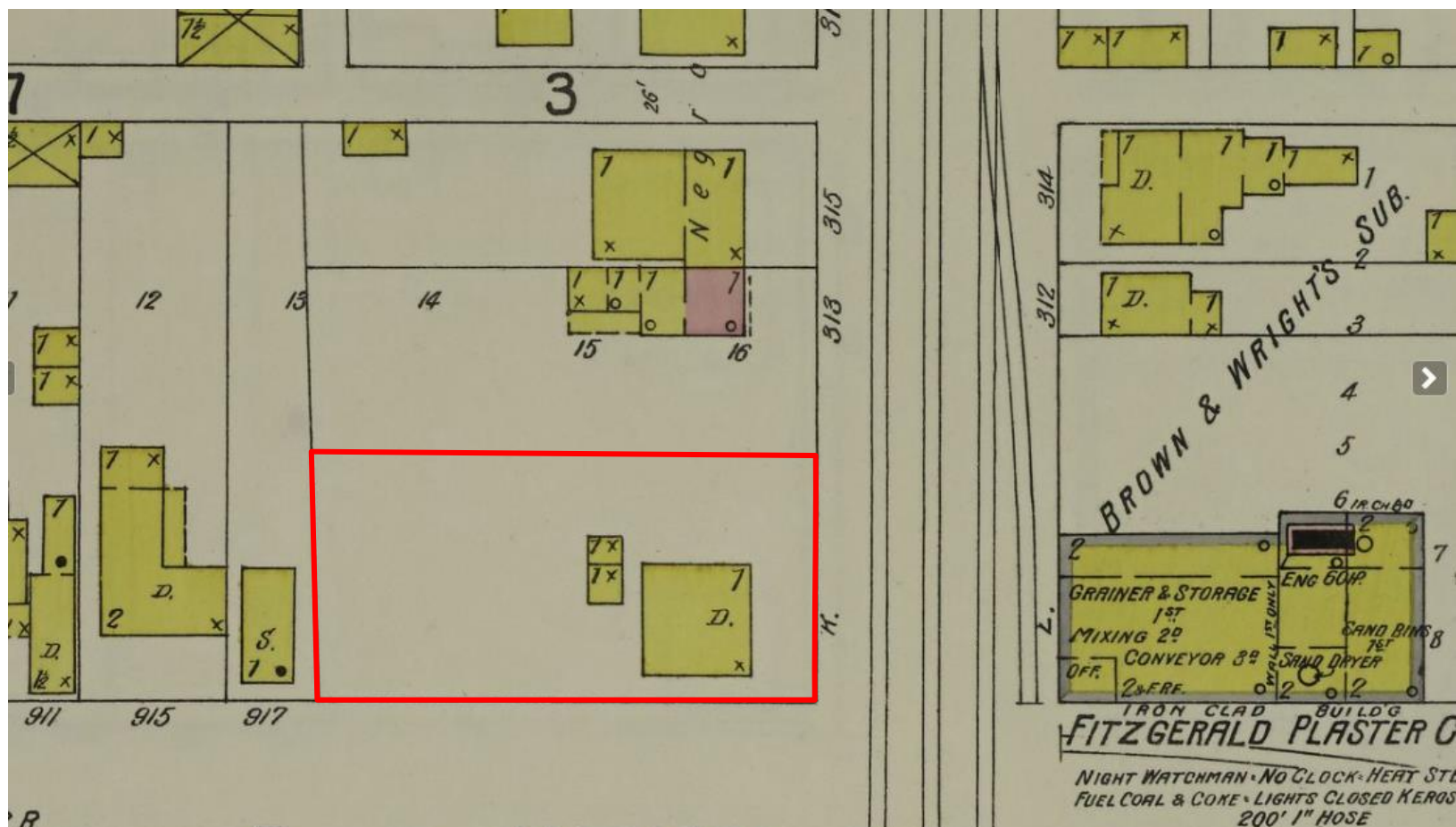
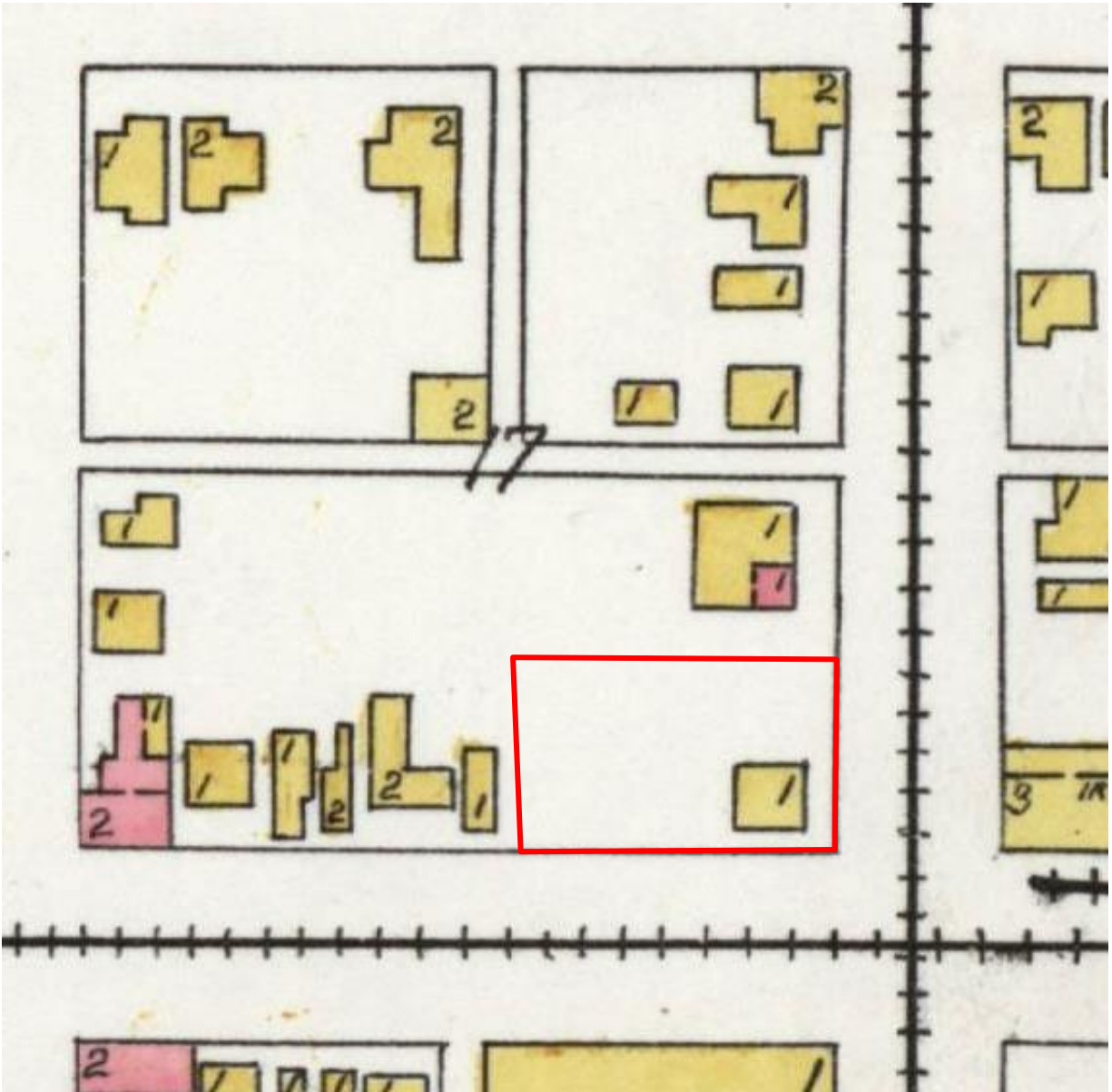


Figure 7. View of Houses A, B, and C as depicted on the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn-Perris 1896:4). This source depicts House A as having more of a square footprint (as compared to the previous Sanborn map). It shows the same frame outbuilding located immediately behind the house and it suggest that this building was constructed in two episodes, or represented two distinct rooms (or sections).



**Figure 8. View of entire project area, as depicted on the 1906 Sanborn fire insurance map, with House A lot outlined in red (Sanborn 1906). The 1906 map is a single page depiction of Springfield's central business district, and was drawn at a much smaller scale than the other years' maps. As such, it is unclear as to whether the outbuilding shown directly behind House A on the previous Sanborn maps was gone by this date or simply was omitted on this smaller scaled map.**

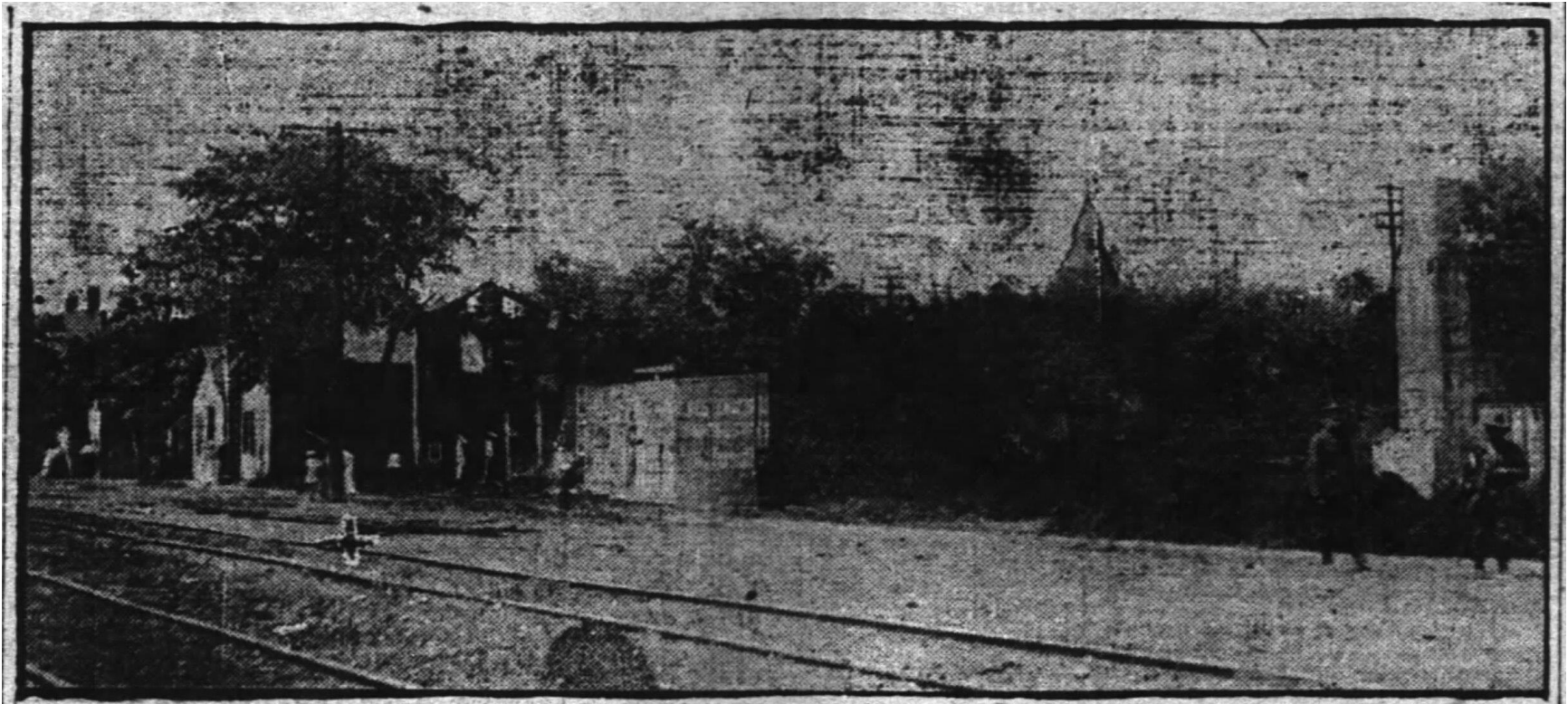




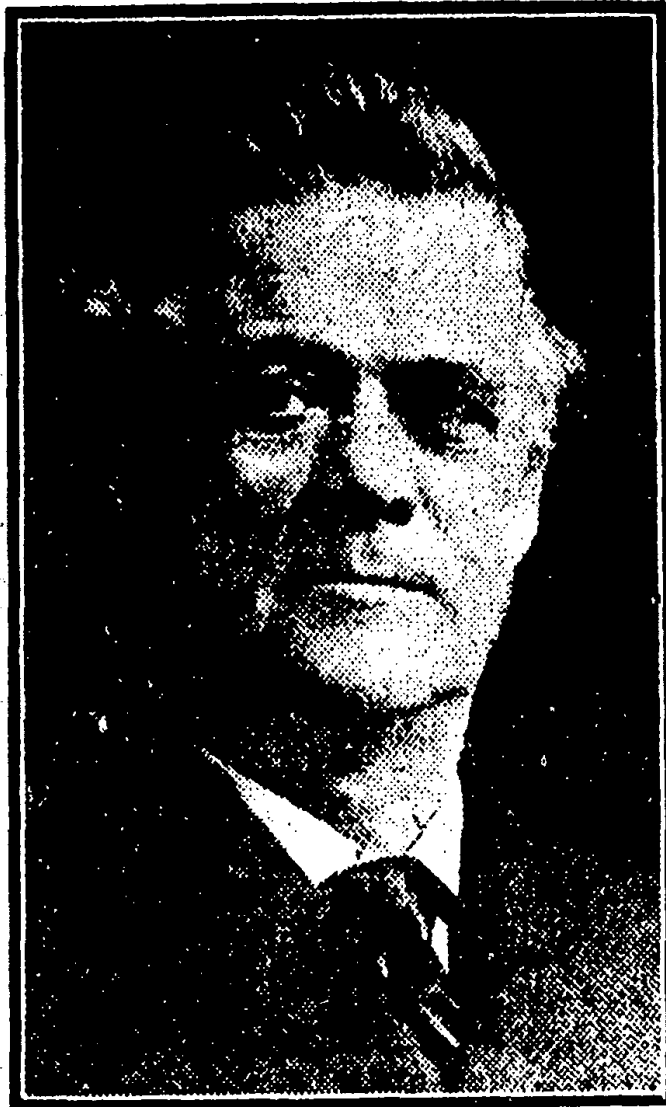
**Figure 9. Top: View of the ruins of the house and adjacent saloon at 913-915 and 917 East Madison Street (far left) and House A (far right; circled in red), looking north from across Madison Street. Bottom: Enlarged detail of burned remains of House A. Only the brick chimney stack remains standing. This seems to be the only image of the burned houses in the immediate project area (ALPLM Ide Collection, NG5792; see also <http://alplm-cdi.com/chroniclingillinois/items/browse?collection=221>).**



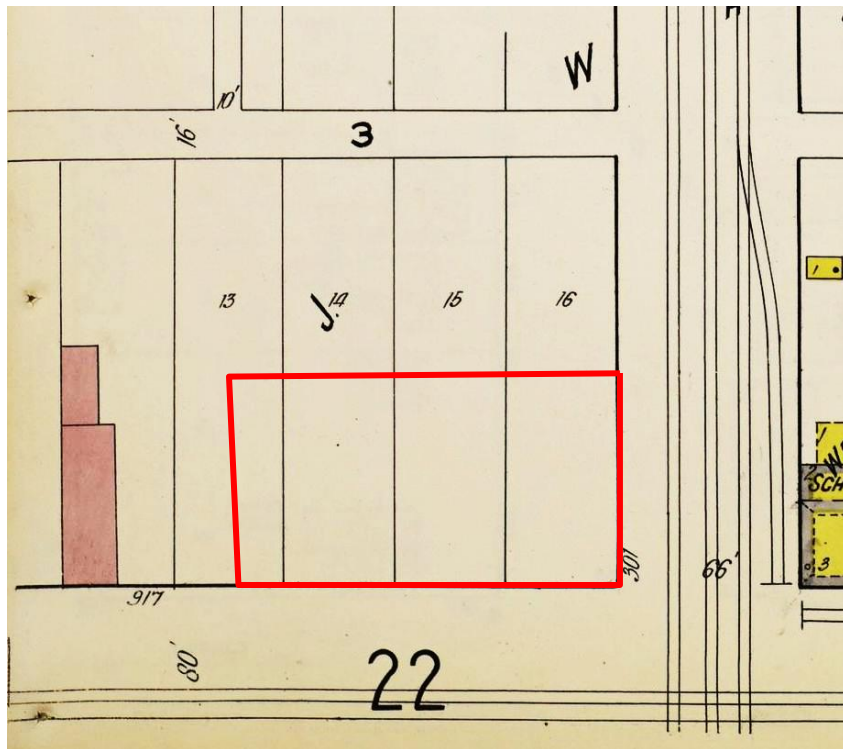
**Figure 10.** Newly discovered photograph of the ruins of House A (*In the Wake of the Mob* 1909). This image provides a closer view of the chimney stack standing amongst burned remains of the dwelling. The sidewalk shown in the foreground runs along the north side of Madison Street.



**Figure 11. View looking northwest along Madison Street of the results of the mob action, taken from the southwest corner of the Madison and Tenth Street intersection (*The Inter Ocean*, 17 August 1908, p. 3). At far right, two militiamen are standing in front of the large chimney stack of House A.**



**Figure 12. Gerhardt Westenberger, circa 1910. Westenberger lived in House A during the latter part of his youth. After his mother vacated the home in circa 1882-83, he and his siblings retained ownership and used it as a rental property. Beginning in 1896, and culminating in early 1901, Gerhardt succeeded in consolidating ownership of the property in his name. He was the owner of House A when it was destroyed by the rioters on the night of 14 August 1908 (*Illinois State Journal*, 8 February 1910, p. 12).**



**Figure 13. Left: A 1917 Sanborn map showing the location of House A. The site remained undeveloped at this date, as did the other lots directly north of it, which also had been impacted by the 1908 riot (Sanborn 1917:34). Right: An aerial photograph taken in May 1938 showing the location of House A and conditions on surrounding block. By this date, the Barker-Goldman-Lubin Company had begun to expand its operations on the block on which House A was located. The house site itself, however, apparently had not seen any building activity upon it (United States Department of Agriculture 1939).**



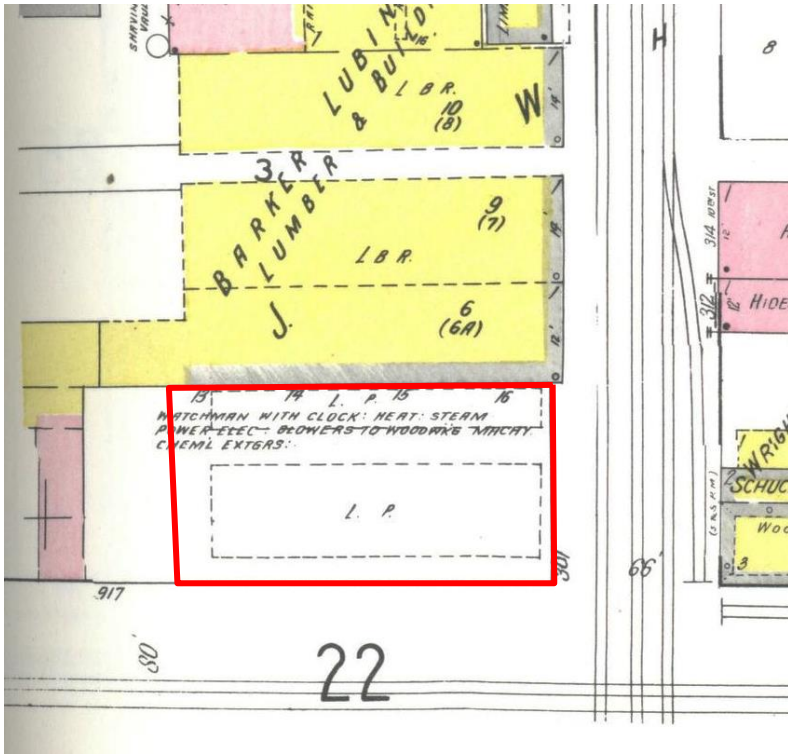


Figure 14. Left: A 1952 Sanborn map illustrating the location of House A. The “L.P.” notation on the map may refer to lumber piles (Sanborn 1952:34). Right: A 1960s photograph showing the location of House A. A small building of unknown had been constructed on the northeast corner of the site (Sangamon Valley Collection).

**Table 2**  
**Details of Occupancy, 301 North Tenth Street (House A)**  
 (from select *Springfield City Directories*)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>House Occupant</u>
1855	Madison St., cor. 11 <sup>th</sup> [sic]	Peter Westenberger
1860	nw cor. Tenth and Madison St.	Peter Westenberg [sic]
1868	n. side Madison St., bet. 9 <sup>th</sup> and 10 <sup>th</sup>	Peter and John Westenberger
1872	Madison and Tenth St.	Eva Westenberger; John Derksen[sic]
1876	301 North Tenth St.	Eva Westenberger
1881	nw cor. Tenth and Madison St.	N.[sic], Westenberger; F. Willis; Silas Green (col)
1882	nw cor. Tenth and Madison St.	Eva Westenberger; John Grant; William Walden
1886	cor. Tenth and Madison St.	Julia Hand; Minerva Stickley
1891	303[sic] North Tenth St.	James L. Granberry (col)
1892	306[sic] North Tenth St.	M. Howard (col)
1894	301 North Tenth St.	Mrs. L. Lewis (col)
1896	307[sic] North Tenth St.	Mrs. Lina Lewis
1902	301 North Tenth St.	E. Louis (col)
1904	301 North Tenth St.	Mrs. A. Conley (col)
1905	301 North Tenth St.	Maude Johnson (col)
1905	301 North Tenth St.	T. A. Hymes
1906	301 North Tenth St.	Robert Darden (col)
1907	301 North Tenth St.	Wm. Smith (col)
1908	301 North Tenth St.	Mrs. Smith, Jr. (col)

“Col” is an abbreviation for the term “Colored,” and was used in reference to the occupant’s race (Black) within the historic document.

**Table 3**  
**Newspaper Items Gleaned from *Illinois State Journal* (ISJ) and *Illinois State Register* (ISR)**  
**Regarding 301 North Tenth Street (House A)**

<u>Date</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Name of Person in Article</u>	<u>Synopsis of Newspaper Article</u>
2/6 1899	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Henry J. Moore	Died of Consumption at his home (24)
7/7 1899	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	William T. Hughes & Florence Williams	Marriage license recorded (aged 25 and 26 resp.)
2/13 1902	ISJ	Tenth and Madison	Lina Lewis	Obituary
12/4 1902	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Harriet W. Allen	Infant son died at family residence
12/5 1902	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Harriet W. Allen	Funeral for infant son
8/22 1903	ISR	301 North 10th St.	Mr. & Mrs. William Oglesby	Birth of fourth son
6/19 1904	ISR	301 North 10th St.	Wm. Johnson	\$2; groceries
4/23 1905	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Anna Conley	Death of complication of diseases (42)
4/27 1905	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Anna Conley	Funeral
1/17 1905	ISJ	301 North 10th St.		Wanted-Work by the day by competent woman
1/29 1905	ISJ	301 North 10th St.		Experienced Colored Lady Cook Wanting Work
6/16 1905	ISR		Mary Smith	Received aid for burial and grave: \$5
10/13 1905	ISR	301 North 10th St.	Winnetta Conley	Received marriage license (18)
9/18 1906	ISR	301 North 10th St.	Grace Page	Received \$2 for grocery assistance
9/13 1908	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Callie Smith	Claim Filed Against City
9/13 1908	ISR	301 North 10th St.	Mary Smith	Claim Filed Against City
8/18 1908	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Will Smith	Badly Beaten
8/16 1908	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Will Smith	Revised List of Casualties (badly beat face, chest, arms)
8/29 1908	ISR	North 10th St.	Will Smith [Sr.]	Claim Filed Against City
8/29 1908	ISR	North 10th St.	Will Smith, Jr.	Claim Filed Against City
9/5 1908	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Will Smith	List of damaged properties; owner and occupant
9/13 1908	ISR	301 North 10th St.	Mary Smith	Filed Suit Against City, for personal property valued at \$302.83
9/13 1908	ISR	301 North 10th St.	Callie Smith	Filed Suit Against City, for personal property valued at \$268.15
9/5 1908	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	George Westenberger (owner)	Riot: Frame residence destroyed
9/5 1908	ISJ	301 North 10th St.	Will Smith (occupant)	Riot: Frame residence destroyed

*ISJ=Illinois State Journal; ISR=Illinois State Register*

## *Results of the Archaeological Investigations*

### *History of Archaeological Research*

Beginning in late 2014, several phases of archaeological investigations were undertaken at the site of House A. These included the initial Phase II testing in that year, as well as the Phase II testing of the adjacent Madison Street frontage in 2018 (cf. Mansberger and Stratton 2016, 2017, 2018). Subsequent to the Phase II testing, archaeological mitigation was undertaken in both those areas of the site. A short synopsis of each project undertaking is outlined below in their chronological order.

#### **Phase II Investigations (2014)**

In late 2014, Phase II archaeological investigations were conducted at Site 11SG1432. Previous to the archaeological investigations, the general contractor had removed the asphalt and gravel from what had been a surface parking lot. At that time, with the aid of a trackhoe, the investigations consisted of removing the overburden capping that portion of the house foundations located within the proposed right-of-way (as then defined). Immediately upon the initiation of the backhoe trenching, the physical remains of a brick perimeter foundation wall (Feature 1) was encountered approximately 16-ft (4.88m) north of Madison Street, and approximately 2-ft 4-in (0.72m) below the surface of the asphalt parking lot (Figures 15-16) (see Table 4 for a list of archaeological features identified at House A).<sup>48</sup> Subsequent work with the backhoe exposed three brick foundation walls (representing the north, south, and east walls) of the building, with the east wall setting approximately 19-ft (5.79m) west of the Tenth Street right-of-way. Additionally, the remains of a stone, two-step entrance stoop (Feature 2), and a brick sidewalk (Feature 3), were located in the front yard of the dwelling, and a potential brick starter step (Feature 6) were located in the narrow side yard to the south of the house foundations (Figures 17-20). The north and south foundation walls extended into the unexcavated portion of the adjacent parking lot located to the west of the project area.

The foundations subsequently were mapped in plan view and photographed. Only the eastern front section of the house and a small section of the front yard were exposed during the archaeological Phase II investigations. The western half of the house extended into the unexcavated parking lot to the west of the project area and was not investigated at this time.

As part of the Phase II investigations, a single 1m x 2m test unit was excavated along the north wall of the house adjacent to the west right-of-way edge and within the footprint of the building (Figure 21). This test was located within what was suspected as the northeast room of the dwelling. This test unit, which was excavated within the confines of the house foundations in order to assess the depth and integrity of the cultural deposits within the house, was excavated in arbitrary 10cm levels. Upon completion of the excavation unit, a profile wall was drawn and photographed. All fill from the test unit was screened.

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<sup>48</sup> While metric units of measurement are standard for archaeological investigations, the authors also have provided English units in describing individual features and the layout of the house lot, as this system of measurement more closely aligns to the mindset of the individuals responsible for the built environment there.

This test unit was excavated to the base of the brick foundation, exposing approximately 1-ft 6-in (46cm) of fill deposits. The test unit exposed a narrow builder's trench into which was set the first course of brick—a rowlock course. Capping the original ground surface, and presumably deposited after construction of this foundation system, was a thin 6-8cm (2-3-in) thick deposit of homogeneous topsoil fill (Zone VI), and/or pre-fire deposits. Capping Zone VI was a similarly thin 6-8cm (2-3-in) thick deposit of burned wood, charcoal, ash, and domestic artifacts (Zone V), representing the physical remains of the burned structure and its contents that collapsed into the shallow basin during the fire. Capping the fire debris represented by Zone V was Zone IV, which although contemporary with Zone V, consisted mostly of demolition debris (plaster) and ash. Zone IV was, in turn, capped by a very clean, yellow silt loam (Zone I) which extended over the top of the foundations onto the fills surrounding the exterior of the building. Zone I represents a post-fire capping episode placed over the burned structure. This fill was probably placed over the burned remains shortly after the fire—late 1908 or early 1909 (Figure 22).

Zones IV and V appear to have been disturbed along the northern edge of the test unit. Zones II and III are located within a shallow trench that extends to the base of the fire deposits along the edge of the brick foundation wall. These two fill zones suggest that someone may have dug into the fire debris shortly after the 1908 fire and prior to the capping of the house ruins with clean fill. This digging activity may have been undertaken in an attempt to recover personal items from the house rubble. The excavations indicate that the interior fire deposits (construction rubble with household artifacts), albeit relatively thin, are well preserved beneath a thin cap of yellow silt loam, and a thin deposit of pre-fire materials are present on a relatively undisturbed topsoil beneath them.

The excavations also documented the presence of the narrow side yard facing Madison Street. The narrow area between the edge of the house and the street right-of-way is approximately 8-ft (2.43m).<sup>49</sup> It was in this area that the large bill board documented in the historic photograph of the site was located. Although little of this area was excavated, a dense concentration of electrical insulators was located along the outside edge of the south perimeter foundation wall. Similarly, a much wider side yard was documented along the north side of the dwelling. The north edge of this yard was demarcated by a line of posts (Feature 7; representing an east/west fence line) located approximately 42-ft (12.80m) to the north of the house (and consistent with the 80-ft/24.38m-wide subdivision partitioned off Lots 1-4 in the 1840s). This fence line was represented by a series of approximately 2-ft (0.61m) diameter circular post holes set 8-ft (2.43m) on center. Except for an additional post near the northeast corner of the structure, no additional features were noted in the north side yard. An early domestic midden (Feature 4) was present in the northern side yard of the house, with several small fragments of transfer printed whitewares (typical of an 1840s occupation) and small fragments of bone being recovered (Figure 16). The front yard of the house was only minimally investigated. A small remnant of a north/south trending brick walkway was located along the east edge of the excavation block.

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<sup>49</sup> Although not readily apparent at the time of the Phase II investigations, it later was determined during archaeological mitigation that the south foundation wall of house runs at a slight angle to the sidewalk and street (running 1-2 degrees north of due east/west). This may reflect the magnetic declination in Springfield (which is 2 degrees west of north)—assuming a compass was used when the house was laid out—or perhaps is a reflection of the irregular character of Madison Street at the time the house was constructed. There would have been no curb or sidewalk to measure off of at that date.

After completion of the Phase II investigations, the site was covered with Geotech fabric and backfilled with clean sand, in expectation of future mitigation being undertaken.

### **Phase II Investigations: The Madison Street Frontage (2018)**

In early summer 2018, Fever River Research conducted Phase II archaeological testing of a narrow strip of ground (approximately 12-ft wide) along the north side of Madison Street between Ninth and Tenth Streets, which was required for the future construction of an underpass at Madison Street.<sup>50</sup> The proposed right-of-way included a narrow strip along the south side of the House A lot, extending west from the southwest corner of the dwelling (Figure 23). With the aid of a backhoe, the asphalt pavement and underlying gravels were removed in search of subsurface features. The testing along the south end of Lots 13-16 (that area associated with House A) uncovered the southwest corner of the foundation of House A (Feature 1),<sup>51</sup> a brick pavement and/or walk (Feature 9), and several pit features (Features 10-12), all which date to the period of significance for Site 11SG1432 (Figures 24-31). Additionally, the remains of the small commercial building located immediately west of House A, destroyed by the mob in August 1908, were also uncovered albeit just outside of the proposed right-of-way (Figures 32-33).<sup>52</sup> The commercial structure in question was built as a saloon between 1890 and 1896 by Charles Baxter, whose wife Mabel operated a well-established brothel (or “resort”) immediately west of it. Daniel Neal owned this saloon, and the adjacent house occupied by the brothel, in 1908. Photographs taken in the aftermath of the 1908 riot suggest that a cellar pit, filled with fire debris, associated with the saloon is located immediately to the north and just outside of the existing project area.

Phase III mitigation was recommended (Stratton and Mansberger 2018). At the conclusion of the Phase II testing, the base of the test trench was covered with plastic, and the trench backfilled with clean sand in expectation of mitigation being undertaken at a future date.

### **Phase III Mitigation: The Front Yard (2019)**

As part of the on-going consultation process that was undertaken between 2014 and 2019, the proposed right-of-way for the Tenth Street Rail Project at the location of the Race Riot Site (11SG1432) was realigned and/or shifted approximately 22-ft to the east in an effort to avoid as much of the site as feasible. This realignment resulted in the reduction in size of the area that ultimately needed to be mitigated. As originally envisioned in 2014, the project area included the approximate eastern half of House A, and its associated front yard. During the consultation process, a decision was made to preserve House A in place (including its stone front steps), and

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<sup>50</sup> The Madison Street Underpass will be constructed as part of Usable Segment III of the Springfield Rail Improvements Project.

<sup>51</sup> This corner of the house foundations originally was designated as Feature 8 during the Phase II investigations of the Madison Street frontage.

<sup>52</sup> Two square/rectangular flat-bottomed pits believed to represent the foundations or piers associated with this commercial building were found during the testing of the Madison Street frontage. These pits were designated as Features 6 and 7 during the Phase II investigations, but they were not reassigned feature numbers for the mitigation report, as they are located outside of the historic lot limits for House A.

remove it from the area of affect. As redefined, the project area associated with House A included only the front yard east of the stone steps (Feature 2), and a narrow band along the Madison Street frontage (Figure 34).

Work began on the House A mitigation in late October 2019, as it was the last of the five houses mitigated during the summer and fall of that year. This work began by removing overburden from that section of the front yard not previously stripped during the Phase II investigations in 2014. No additional work was conducted within the house, or immediately adjacent to the house foundations. Features in this area were limited, but included a brick walk (Feature 20), a potential ornamental planting (Feature 23), and a deep ditch-like feature running along the eastern property line (Feature 22) (Figures 35-39).

### **Phase III Mitigation: The Madison Street Frontage (2020)**

In September and October 2020, that area adjacent to the southwest corner of House A along the Madison Street frontage, previously tested and determined to contain significant archaeological deposits in 2018, was mitigated. This work consisted of laying out a series of eight 1m x 2m test units which were excavated by hand (with all fill being screened through ¼” hardware cloth) (Figures 40-41). Besides those features identified during the Phase II testing, a bulkhead cellar entrance (Features 16a and 16b) was identified and partially excavated. The excavation of the late middens at this location yielded a significant number of artifacts dating from the Late Pre-Fire context.

#### ***The Archaeological Features***

During the course of the archaeological excavations, a total of 24 archaeological features were defined (Table 4). These features represent the physical components of the original house, as well as landscape features located immediately adjacent to the front and rear of the dwelling. These features document changes made to that structure and its associated landscape through time, and are described below.

Houses (and other structures) are, in essence, a complex archaeological feature with both above-ground and below-ground components. Unfortunately, the houses mitigated during the course of these investigations were represented solely by sub-surface components. As a complex feature, houses are generally composed of multiple components each of which are assigned a separate feature number. At or near the scraped surface, the original house at this location was documented by a brick perimeter foundation wall (Feature 1) and a brick bulkhead cellar entrance (represented by Features 16a and 16b).

The perimeter foundation walls (Feature 1) were constructed with hand-struck, soft-mud brick set in a very soft lime mortar. The foundation walls were two bricks wide (typically 8-1/2-in or 22cm), and the walls did not have a spread footing. The foundation walls were constructed in a shallow, approximately 3-4-in (7-10cm) deep builder’s trench. The shallow builder’s trench was excavated solely to level the surface on which the foundations were constructed upon. The first course of brick work set into this shallow builder’s trench was a rowlock course, capped by five to seven surviving courses of brick work laid in a running bond pattern (with the sixth course



being a header course). In total, in the southwest corner of the dwelling, approximately 1-ft 7-in (0.50m) of brick work have survived of this structure (Figure 42).

The dwelling documented by these perimeter foundation walls measures approximately 30-ft 0-in (9.14m) wide (north/south), by 29-ft 0-in (8.84m) deep (east/west)—enclosing approximately 870 square feet of space on its ground floor. The house sits slightly askew to the street grid (with the Madison Street frontage being oriented 1-2 degrees north of east to the street).

The front entrance into House A was well documented by a set of stone steps and associated stoop located along the eastern wall of the dwelling (Feature 2). The stoop and steps measured 4-ft 0-in (1.22m) wide, and were fabricated from two slabs of local limestone stacked one on top of the other, with a slight overlap of the two slabs (Figures 17-18, 21-22). The upper block of stone measured 5-in (12cm) thick by 2-ft 0-in (61cm) deep, and left exposed a 12-in (0.30cm) wide lower step. The lower step was created by a slab of stone that measured 6-in (15cm) thick by 1-ft 6-in (47cm) deep. The stone slabs had been squared up and tooled along their edges. The stone step and stoop rested on shallow, deteriorated brick wing walls (or brick blocking). The backside of both steps had settled at least 2-in (6-7cm) with both being in major disrepair (and hazardous by today's standards).<sup>53</sup> The steps were located one foot (30cm) off-center of the house's front elevation (being slightly closer towards the north side of the house).

At the base of the steps was located a heavily worn and disturbed brick sidewalk (Feature 3) that ran in an easterly direction (Figures 31, 35-36). This walk, which abutted the base of the stone step, measured 4-ft (1.22m) wide and was made using soft-mud brick laid in a pattern suggestive of a modified and/or repaired 45-degree herringbone design, but also including a section laid in a 45-degree running bond. This walk extended only 8-ft 8-in (2.46m) to the east of the steps at which point it abruptly terminated. It was constructed on a built-up topsoil dating from the early occupation of the house, slightly above the settlement-era (circa-1840) ground surface. The eastern end of this short section of brick walk appears to have been rebuilt, as the brick pattern is inconsistent with the other brick work (following a 90-degree herringbone pattern). Most likely this walk originally extended eastward to Tenth Street during the early years of the house occupation. Unfortunately, no physical evidence of this extended walk (to Tenth Street) was noted in the field.

At the eastern end of this short section of walkway, the walk turns 90-degrees and proceeds to the Madison Street frontage. This section of the walk measures 3-ft 4-in (1.0m) wide and was laid in a 45-degree herringbone pattern using soft-mud bricks. The junction of these two walk sections is poorly laid with the corners not aligned (as the north/south walk is off-set by approximately 4-in from the east/west walk). It is unclear as to when this reorientation may have occurred, but the north/south section of the walk was built on the same surface as the original walk. The eastern end of the original east/west walk appears to have been re-laid when the north/south walk was installed in order to provide a neat transition between two. Nonetheless, this junction between the two walks was poorly made, suggesting that the north end of the

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<sup>53</sup> It is possible that dirt was heaped up behind the steps at the time of their installation to provide underlying support. This might explain why the steps settled to the extent they did. Less settling probably would have occurred if the steps had been placed on a more stable surface.

north/south walk may also have been re-laid as well. An alternative possibility is that the north/south walk was constructed when the original walk still extended to Tenth Street (assuming it did originally), and that the eastern end of the latter was re-laid when the section leading to Tenth Street was taken up; if so, this might explain the odd 4-in offset between the eastern edges of the two walks. If so, when the walk was reconfigured, it was done with poor workmanship. In either event, access to/from the front of the house ultimately was re-oriented to Madison Street at that time. Railroad traffic perhaps discouraged the use of Tenth Street as a preferred point of access to the property. Madison Street also may have offered a better public sidewalk to connect to than Tenth Street did.<sup>54</sup> Late Pre-Fire cinder middens were deposited over both front yard walks in the late nineteenth century suggesting that this re-configuration of the walkway may have occurred sometime prior to circa 1885. By 1908, the brick walk and the entire bottom step on the east had been completely covered with coal ash, clinkers, and topsoil midden (Feature 5), raising the grade of the front yard immediately adjacent to the house by at least 8-in (20cm). This cinder midden thinned out farther away from the house, but even the north/south leg of the walk was covered with several inches of cinders by 1908.

A redware crockery jar set in the ground (Feature 23) was found approximately 8-ft 6-in (2.5m) north and 2-ft (61cm) north of the original front walk. This jar may have been set in the ground to hold an ornamental planting. The topsoil into which the jar was set actually represents capping fill within a ditch-like feature (Feature 22) pre-dating the construction of House A.

Feature 22 extended across the entire front of the house lot (and continued north across the lots associated with Houses B, C, D and E) (Figures 35, 37-38). The western edge of the feature was located approximately 12-ft 6-in (3.81m) west of the east lot line and tapered down (to the east) to a moderately level surface located some 2-ft 5-in (80cm) beneath the surface of the front walk. Feature 22 was infilled with “clean” topsoil. Small fragments of soft-mud brick were present in the uppermost capping fills, and/or surface of the feature. Although the origin and function of Feature 22 is not known with certainty, it may be related to grading activity undertaken in preparation for the Northern Cross Railroad. The grading for the section of the line between Springfield and the Sangamon River reportedly was completed in the late 1830s, but no track was laid down until around 1853, by which time the line had been renamed the Great Western Railway.<sup>55</sup> Early in the intervening period, the ditch apparently was infilled, an event that roughly coincided with the construction of House A (as suggested by the absence of domestic debris in the fills).

Several bricks laid on the original ground surface along the outside edge of the southern foundation wall may document the location of a secondary side entrance fronting Madison Street (Feature 6) (Figure 24). Unfortunately, this feature was disturbed with only a section of intact

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<sup>54</sup> Photographs taken in the immediate aftermath of the 1908 riot show a brick sidewalk running along the north side of the 900 block of East Madison Street. It not known if a public walk was present along the adjoining section of Tenth Street. Although Tenth Street still functioned as an active street at this time, the railroad tracks running down the middle of the street limited the space available for non-rail traffic. As such, there may not have been adequate room for a public sidewalk here.

<sup>55</sup> A similar ditch-like feature was found at Site 11SG1533, on the opposite side of Tenth Street, during the 2021 Phase II testing for Usable Segment III (Stratton and Mansberger 2022). This may represent the eastern extent of Feature 22, and/or a similar ditch-like feature adjacent to a raised rail bed.

brick still in situ. The north edge of this feature was approximately 13-ft (3.9m) west of the southeast corner of the building. The southern edge of the feature was located 3-ft 5-in (1.04m) to the south of the perimeter foundation wall, and would have placed a potential door to Madison Street within the southwest corner of the smaller of the two front rooms.

Few structural details pertaining to the rear of the dwelling were documented as the excavations in this area were limited in scope (Figure 40). Nonetheless the physical remains of an exterior brick bulkhead entrance into a suspected cellar located beneath the southwest corner of the house were documented (Features 16a and 16b). Feature 16a represents the original structure, whereas Feature 16b represents the re-built structure. Only the very southern portion (approximately 14-in or 35cm) of this feature was exposed and partially excavated, with the bulk of the feature extending into the unexcavated yard to the north of the right-of-way. The south wall of this bulkhead entrance was located 2-ft 7-in (0.79m) north of the southwest corner of the house, and it extended 4-ft 3-in (1.30m) in length (perpendicular to the house's western perimeter foundation wall). The width (north/south dimension) of the feature is not known, but a typical bulkhead of this period was around 3-ft. (0.92m) wide, on average. As originally constructed (Feature 16a), the three exterior walls of this feature were lined with a single wythe of brickwork, and it only extended approximately 3-ft (0.92m) west of the house's perimeter foundation wall. The bulkhead exhibited a "stepped" east/west profile with one prominent "step" down to its base. The base of the bulkhead was flat and located 2-ft 11-in (0.58m) beneath the base of the adjacent perimeter foundation wall (and/or the circa 1840s ground surface). A distinctive 1-2-in (3-5cm) "step" along the eastern edge of the bulkhead floor suggests that the floor of the feature may have been partially paved with brick up to the base of the foot of the stairway/steps. The bulkhead wall extends east just past the interior edge of the perimeter foundations (Figures 42-43). The original bulkhead (Feature 16a) was constructed with similar brick as the perimeter foundations, but it is impossible to determine whether they were integral to one another due to the later rebuilding of the upper side walls of the bulkhead (Feature 16b). Although inconclusive, it appears that the original brick perimeter foundation wall was penetrated and/or broken out to construct this set of steps into the cellar. If so, this would suggest that the house, as originally constructed, did not have a cellar beneath the dwelling and that this feature represents a modification to the original house.<sup>56</sup> This assessment is supported by the mixed soil fill with scattered brick fragments (Zone V) that caps the early-occupation era ground surface (Zone VI) in proximity to the bulkhead. Zone V is suspected to represent spoil from the excavation of the cellar, with waste brick from the construction of the bulkhead mixed in. It appears to have been deposited relatively early in the occupation of the site (ref. Figure 48).

This bulkhead exhibits evidence of having been modified multiple times during the history of the house. At some point during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the bulkhead entrance into the cellar was modified resulting in the extension in its length to the west, and the modification of the upper side walls (Feature 16b). This new bulkhead was lengthened by approximately 1-ft 2-in (0.35m), most likely adding another step to the stairs leading into the cellar. This modification

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<sup>56</sup> For comparative purposes, the nearby House D—which is very similar in plan and age to House A—did not have a cellar beneath the dwelling. As originally constructed, a small Inner Yard cellar most likely associated with the nearby summer kitchen and/or wash house would have been present.

was probably necessitated by the raising of the rear yard grade during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The builder's trench for this modification cut through several fill zones and originated at the level of the adjacent brick pavement or walk (Feature 9). The fill immediately beneath this brick walk was mixed subsoil and topsoil with brick fragments (Zone IIIb), potentially resulting from the bulkhead remodeling. Besides lengthening the bulkhead, a new two-wythe brick wall (constructed with hard paste brick) was constructed on top of the earlier single wythe wall extending at least 2-ft 0-in (0.61m) west of the house's perimeter foundation (and extending through the perimeter foundation wall to the east and terminating at the inside wall surface beneath the house). Presumably contemporaneous with this work was the placement of approximately 0.35m (1-ft 2-in) of topsoil fill (Zone X') within the bulkhead, which was subsequently capped with a brick pavement (Feature 17). It is unknown whether the floor of the cellar beneath the house was also raised to an equivalent height at this time. As only a small window was present exposing Zone X', little information was garnered as to its contents (other than noting it contained minor amounts of wood ash and mortar). The bulkhead remodeling is suspected to have taken place circa 1870 (Figures 44-46).

Yet again, at a slightly later date, the bulkhead was again modified. This last modification prior to it being completely abandoned and filled up was the bricking up of the opening in the perimeter foundation wall which accessed the cellar beneath the house. This double-wythe wall (Feature 18) was haphazardly constructed on a thin lens of black cinders (Zone VIII'; Feature 19) which had accumulated in the base of the bulkhead. The cinders were thicker at the western end of the bulkhead, and their presence suggests that the bulkhead had fallen into disuse prior to the opening in the perimeter foundation being bricked in. Following the blocking off of the bulkhead, it was filled with a succession of differential fills, beginning with loose brick and mortar rubble (Zone VII') (which may be from the demolition of the upper part of the bulkhead walls), followed by topsoil mixed with mortar, cinders and brick fragments (Zone VI'), and cinders (Zone V'). The character of the fills suggest that the bulkhead was filled in over time, and the fills had time to settle before the brick pavement at the rear of the house (Feature 9) was extended over the western end of the bulkhead. The abandonment of this bulkhead entrance appears to have occurred well before the August 1908 destruction of the house by fire as this brick walk and associated ground surface was subsequently capped by rather thick cinder fills (greater than 20cm or 8-in thick) (Zone II). These cinder fills are believed to have been deposited post-1883, after House A had become a rental property (Figures 46-47). Yard maintenance seems to have declined significantly during the later years of occupation of the house (a period during which certain previous household activities may have declined, or perhaps been abandoned altogether, within the yard).

The excavations in the area adjacent to the southwest corner of the house (within the Madison Street frontage) documented a rather complex sequence of fills with at least three, if not four distinctive living surfaces identified (see Profiles, Figures 48-50). As noted above, the house foundations were constructed within a shallow, approximately 7-10cm (3-4-in) deep builder's trench cut into the circa 1840 ground surface (Zone VII). Brick fragments, presumably from the construction of the house foundations, were scattered intermittently on this surface. Upon completion of the foundation construction, approximately 15cm (6-in) of topsoil fill with brick and mortar inclusions was mounded against the southwest corner of the house foundations.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> The dirt potentially was mounded up on the corner of the house to help direct rainfall away from the foundations.

This fill quickly thinned out and transitioned into the early-occupation-era ground surface (Zone VI) and associated midden (Feature 14) approximately 1.2m (3-ft 11-in) west of the house foundations. The artifact density in this early midden was light and primarily represented by architectural material (e.g., brick, machine-cut fragments, and window glass). Subsequently, sterile subsoil fill mixed with topsoil and substantial crushed brick fragments (Zone V) was deposited on this surface represented by the upper portion of Zone VI. Zone V pinched out approximately 2.2m (8-ft 3-in) west of the southwest corner of the house but it continued farther to the northwest; at the northern edge of the excavation block, Zone V ended approximately 4.5m (14-ft 8-in) from the house. As noted previously, Zone V is believed to represent spoil from the excavation of the cellar and construction of the bulkhead, which was broadcast and spread out to the rear of the house. It is capped by 15 to 20cm (6 to 10-in) of fairly homogenous topsoil fill with brick and mottling (Zone IV), which was deposited after the construction of the cellar and bulkhead, perhaps to level off the backyard, and built-up over time. A thin topsoil midden (Feature 24) developed on this surface. Artifacts recovered from Zone IV include a wide variety of refined tablewares and teawares (painted, transfer-print, and relief-decorated) and utilitarian redware crockery). A well-worn 1827 dime also was found in the lower part of Zone IV, along the south side of the house (ref., Figure 50). Zone IV represents second-generation ground surface, and the material recovered from it suggests that was active during the period circa 1850-1870. Capping the topsoil midden (Feature 24) was a thin, approximately 5cm (2-in) deposit of mixed topsoil and subsoil fill with brick inclusions (Zone IIIb) which appears to represent yet another construction episode, potentially preparing a bed for the brick walkway (Feature 9) to be constructed upon. It is unclear whether other construction activity was associated with the construction of this brick walk; however, one possibility (as discussed above) is that the bulkhead was modified at the same time (Feature 16b)—potentially circa 1870, in association with the Dirksen family's residency in House A (1867-1872). Sometime afterwards, the bulkhead was completely abandoned and filled in, the walkway was modified and expanded over a portion of the filled in bulkhead. This must have occurred fairly late in the history of the house, potentially circa 1890. After the re-working of the brick walk (Feature 9), a dense cinder-rich midden (Zone II; Feature 15) developed over the top of the walkway. Along the south side of the house, the cinder fill exhibited several distinct episodes of deposition, with the initial cinders fills (Zone IId) being capped by thin lens of mixed topsoil and cinders (Zone IIc) and plaster debris (Zone IIb), which was in turn covered by later cinder fill (Zone IIa). The plaster debris may be from a remodeling/repair episode—potentially related to the chimney fire reported at the house in 1905. Fragments of burned were found on the surface of Zone IIa along the south side of the house, suggesting that this was the ground surface in 1908. Immediately west of House A, this cinder midden is as much as 30cm (12-in) thick and may exhibit evidence of having been redeposited and/or reworked into a hummocky surface—either just prior to, or after the 1908 fire. Artifacts from this midden were deposited in the 1890s and early 1900s and represent Late Pre-Fire deposits (see artifact discussion below). The upper surface of this cinder-rich midden may contain a small number of Post-Fire artifacts.

Several landscape features were identified adjacent to the southwest corner of the house, within the area of the Madison Street frontage. Feature 9 represents the disturbed remains of a north/south trending brick walkway that appears to have connected the rear of House A to Madison Street. The brickwork did not follow a single pattern, and many of the bricks used were fragmentary. As a whole, its appearance suggested multiple episodes of construction and/or

repair. As originally constructed, the walk appears to have been approximately 2-ft 6-in to 3-ft 0-in in width and constructed with a herringbone pattern (with the long axis of the brick pavers alternating between being parallel to, and at 90-degree angle to, the sidewalk edge).<sup>58</sup> Remnants of what may be a brick edging (consisting of a brick turned on edge) are present. Although difficult to ascertain due to the disturbed nature of the walk, the eastern edge of the sidewalk was located approximately 4-ft 6-in east of the house and had sufficient setback to have accommodated the adjacent bulkhead entrance (as well as a narrow porch along the west side of the dwelling, if ever present).<sup>59</sup> At some point in time, the walk was widened and extended approximately 1-ft 6-in to the west. This new pavement was constructed by laying brick in a simple “stacked” pattern without a staggered bond. Over the course of its life, many of the original brick in both sections of the walk were replaced with fragments, making a determination of the original pattern difficult to determine. This brick surface was built upon earlier fill deposits and probably dates to the latter years of the nineteenth century (circa 1870s-1880s)—potentially associated with the rebuilding and expansion of the adjacent bulkhead (Feature 16b) (Figure 51).

Two pit features were identified in adjacent Tests 6 and 7, capped by the brick walk (Feature 9) (Figures 52-54). Feature 10 was a small, basin-shaped oval pit that measured approximately 1.0m (3-ft 3-in) by 1.2m (3-ft 11-in) in size, with its long axis set askew to the cardinal directions. It was set tight to the southern lot line.<sup>60</sup> A brick-filled post clipped the eastern edge of the feature. The basin-shaped pit originated from the early occupation-era ground surface (Zone VI) and was capped by Zone IV. It extended to a depth of approximately 25cm (10-in) below the base of Zone IV. Fills within this feature consisted of mixed topsoil and subsoil with few artifacts. The majority of the artifacts consisted of machine cut nails, window glass, and minor amounts of brick, mortar, and plaster fragments (Lots A-60 through A-66). Three secondary vessels were present and included a red-paste earthenware chimney flue (or thimble; Vessel A-138), an undecorated whiteware plate (Vessel A-139), and a printed plate (Vessel A-140). The artifacts suggest that the feature may have been filled during, or shortly after a remodeling episode (potentially one that included chimney repair and/or modification). Feature 11 was roughly circular in plan measuring approximately 85-95cm (2-ft 9-in to 3-ft 1-in) in diameter. The pit had vertical side walls and a flat bottom, distinctly different than the adjacent Feature 10. The fill in the pit included a lower deposit of topsoil (with small brick fragments; Zone II) and an upper deposit of yellow silty clay subsoil (Zone I). Except for a single fragment of very thin window glass (and the occasional brick fragment), no artifacts were recovered from Feature 11 (Lot A-67). This feature appears to have originated at a level similar to that associated with Feature 10. Both pits pre-date the deposition of Zone IV which is suspected as

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<sup>58</sup> This is in contrast to laying the pavers with their long axis being oriented at a 45-degree angle to the sidewalk edges.

<sup>59</sup> Given the narrow separation between the house and summer kitchen (as shown on historic maps), it would have made sense for a rear porch to have occupied this area, as it would have provided a sheltered passage and work space between the two buildings. However, none of the historic maps available illustrate a rear porch on the dwelling; and the archaeological investigations were inconclusive in determining the presence or absence of a porch due to the limited excavations in this area.

<sup>60</sup> The southern edge of the feature could not be determined precisely as it had been clipped by a modern utility line trench.



representing fill laid down at the time of the construction of the house cellar and adjacent bulkhead entrance (Feature 16a). The morphology of the two pits is different—with one being basin shaped and the other with straight sides and flat bottom. Both were relatively shallow and date to the early years of occupation at the site. Although the function of these pits is unknown, one possibility is that they may have functioned as small storage pits associated with the adjacent house kitchen, and abandoned when the cellar was excavated beneath the house. At the time of their original use, the Madison Street frontage may have been blocked by a fence, only being opened up during a later period (and construction of the later brick walk). A thin lens of subsoil fill was identified in the adjacent Test 3 extending into the unexcavated yard to the north. Although initially thought to be discreet feature during the Phase II investigations (and designated as Feature 12) the Phase III mitigation determined that this lens of subsoil fill actually is a continuation of Zone V and thus likely represents spoil from the excavation of the cellar. It too predates the construction of the brick walkway (Feature 9).

Numerous posts were found in the rear yard of House A. A number of these were associated with a fence line running along the south property line fronting Madison Street (Feature 8).<sup>61</sup> Feature 8 consisted of ten posts (Posts 1-10), which were set 7-8-ft (2.1-2.4m) on center. Several of the posts are doubled up, suggesting repair episodes. The fence line extended eastward from the southwest corner of the lot for a distance of 70-ft (21.34m) and appeared to terminate approximately 33-ft (10m) west of the rear of the house. Only one other fence post was found along this 33-ft interval, and this was an apparently isolated post (Post 34) located about 4-ft (1.2m) off the rear of the house. The excavation block extended far enough south to have exposed additional fence posts had they been present—assuming the fence ran on a straight line. Several scenarios are presented: 1) the fence line (Feature 8) only extended across the west end of the lot; or 2) it extended nearly to the southwest corner of the house (potentially terminating at Post 34), but ran slightly off-square to the street along its eastern extent. In any event, Post 34 was removed prior to, or in conjunction with, the brick pavement (Feature 9) being put down at the rear of house, circa-1870. Soil deposition suggests that the remainder of the southern fence line (Feature 8; Posts 1-10) was removed prior to circa 1900, being replaced by a large billboard discussed as Feature 13.

Feature 13 included ten post holes (Posts 12-21) that were associated with a billboard present at the time of the 1908 race riot (Figures 29-31).<sup>62</sup> This billboard extended across portions of the House A lot as well as part of the adjacent lot to the west (Lot 13, Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition). The total length of the billboard was 52-ft 6-in (16m). It was supported by 4x6-in posts. Based on the pattern of the post molds, the billboard appears to have been constructed in three episodes: an eastern section, 24-ft 4-in (7.4m) long (Posts 12-14 and 21); a center section, 15-ft (4.6m) long (Posts 15-17); and a western section, 12-ft 2-in (3.7m) long (Posts 18-20).<sup>63</sup> It

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<sup>61</sup> This fence line originally was designated as Feature 13 for the Madison Street Testing (2018), but has been reassigned as Feature 8 for the mitigation report.

<sup>62</sup> Feature 13 originally was designated as Feature 14 for the Madison Street Testing.

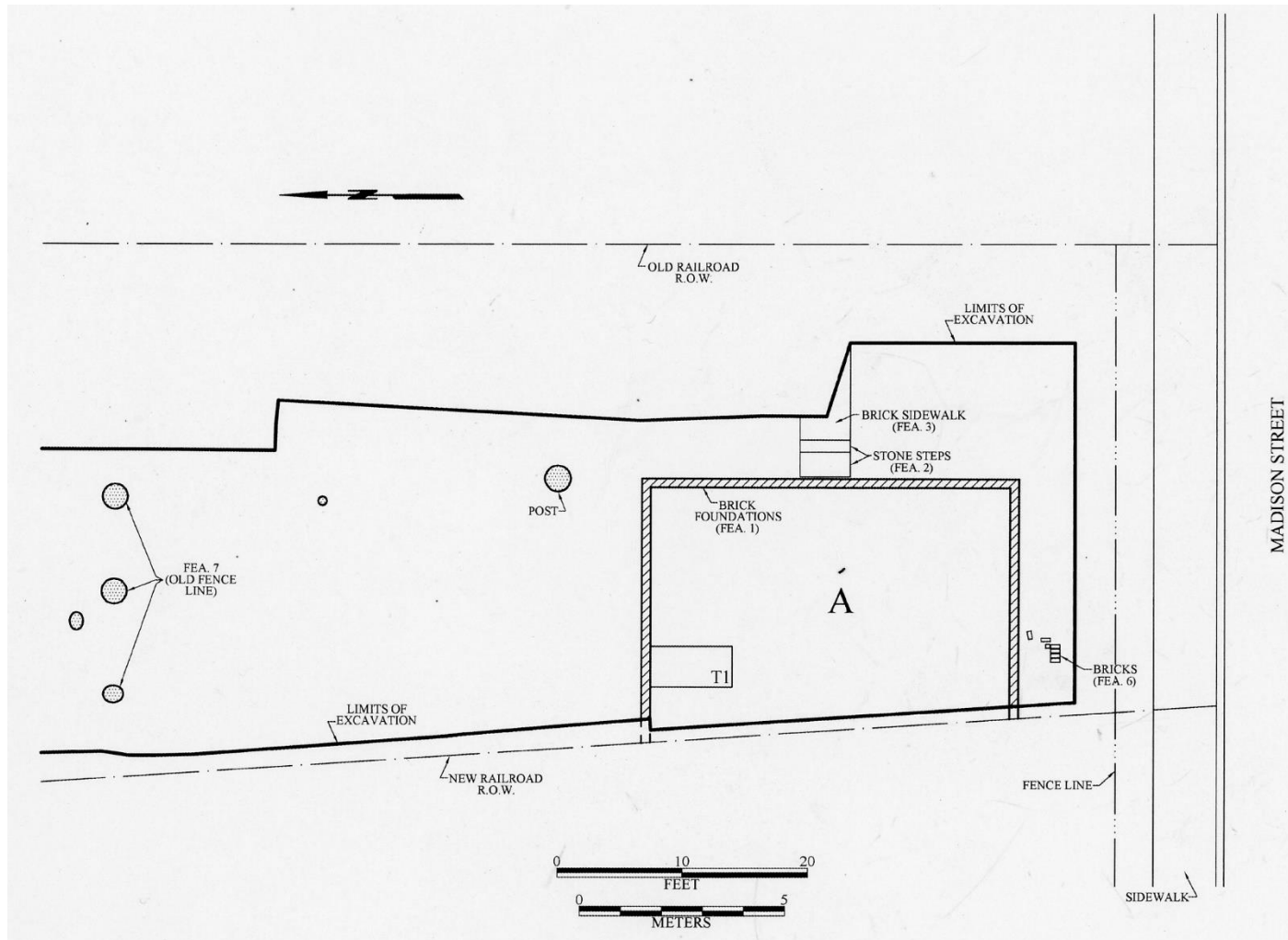
<sup>63</sup> The dimensions provided for the individual sections of the billboard were measured from the outer edge of the outermost posts. The total length of the billboard would have been somewhat larger than the compiled lengths of the sections.

is unclear which section was built first, but it is possible that the billboard progressed from east to west, considering that the preponderance of its length lay on the House A lot. It is of note that the advertisement carried on the eastern third of the billboard in 1908 was for the furniture store of George Westenberger, who had been the owner of the property since the late nineteenth century. The fact that the billboard appears to have partially overlapped a saloon building on the adjacent lot to the west and ran at a slight angle to Madison Street also is of interest. The billboard, as fully completed, would have formed a large screen, shielding whatever activities may have taken place on the lots behind it from public view (described as an “unplatted court” by contemporary newspaper accounts). Historic photographs taken in the aftermath of the 1908 race riot show that the eastern and western ends of the billboard were partially burned during the riot (the west end especially). The surviving remnants of the billboard may have been removed following the riot. Damage claims made after the riot describe claims for damage of the billboard.

A large post (Post 31) was found on the southwest corner of the house lot, set in 6-ft (1.83m) from the south fence line, and a distinct zone of plaster and/or mortar fragments was found in the lower fill around it. This may represent the physical remains of Peter Westenberger’s cabinet shop and/or barn. A cluster of three closely set posts (Posts 27-29) was located approximately 32-ft (9.75m) east of Post 31, and these too might be associated with the cabinet shop—possibly resending the southeast corner of the main building or perhaps part of one of the wings historic maps illustrate attached to the shop. Alternatively, Posts 27-29 might have been associated with an internal fence line, separating the shop/barn from the domestic yard space. Several other posts found at mid-yard (Posts 23-26) have an indeterminate function.

**Table 4  
House A Features**

<u>Re-assigned Feature Number</u>	<u>Original Feature Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Function</u>
<u>Phase II Testing (2014)</u>				
1	1	perimeter brick wall	main house	original house foundation
2	2	stacked stone blocks	front of house	steps and landing
3	3	brick pavement	front of house	walkway
4	4	surface artifact concentration	front and northside yard; on OGS	midden
5	5	surface artifact concentration	above brick walk; front yard	midden
6	6	brick set in line	south side yard	base for steps/starter step
7	7	posts	north side yard	fence line
<u>Madison Street Testing (2018)</u>				
not assigned	6	square/rectangular (?) flat- bottomed pit	west of House A (West pt., Lot 13)	building foundation or pier (?) [Not House A]
not assigned	7	square/rectangular (?) flat- bottomed pit	west of House A (West pt., Lot 13)	building foundation or pier (?) [Not House A]
1	8	perimeter brick wall	main house (Test 4)	original house foundation (same as Feature 1)
8	13	posts (in line)	rear yard, Madison Street frontage	property line fence
9	9	brick pavement	rear yard (Tests 3, 4 and 7)	walkway
10a, b	10	circular/irregular pit	rear yard (Test 6)	unknown
11	11	circular/irregular pit	rear yard (Tests 5-6)	unknown
12	12	irregular pit	rear yard (Test 6)	unknown
13	14	posts (in line)	side yard	billboard
14	not assigned	surface artifact scatter	rear yard; on OGS	midden
15	not assigned	surface artifact scatter	rear yard; above brick pavement	midden
<u>Phase III Mitigation (2019 and 2020)</u>				
16a, b	not assigned	U-shaped brick wall	rear yard (Test 4)	bulkhead entrance to cellar
17	not assigned	brick pavement	inside bulkhead	floor/pavement
18	not assigned	brick wall segment	main house	bricked-up bulkhead door
19	not assigned	fill	inside bulkhead	fill
20	not assigned	brick pavement	front yard	walkway
21	not assigned	narrow, linear trench	front yard	utility trench
22	not assigned	wide, deep linear trench	front yard	ditch (?)
23	not assigned	crockery jar set in pit	front yard	ornamental planting ?
24	not assigned	surface artifact scatter	rear yard beneath brick walk	midden



**Figure 15. Site plan from the 2014 Phase II testing illustrating the exposed portion of House A and associated features in relationship to property line boundaries. A single test unit was placed inside the house during the testing.**



**Figure 16. Top: Initial backhoe excavations uncovering House A and side yard to the north of the house, looking north. Bottom: Selection of artifacts recovered from the lower midden adjacent to the north edge of House A. These items included transfer-printed whitewares and redwares consistent with the 1840s occupation.**



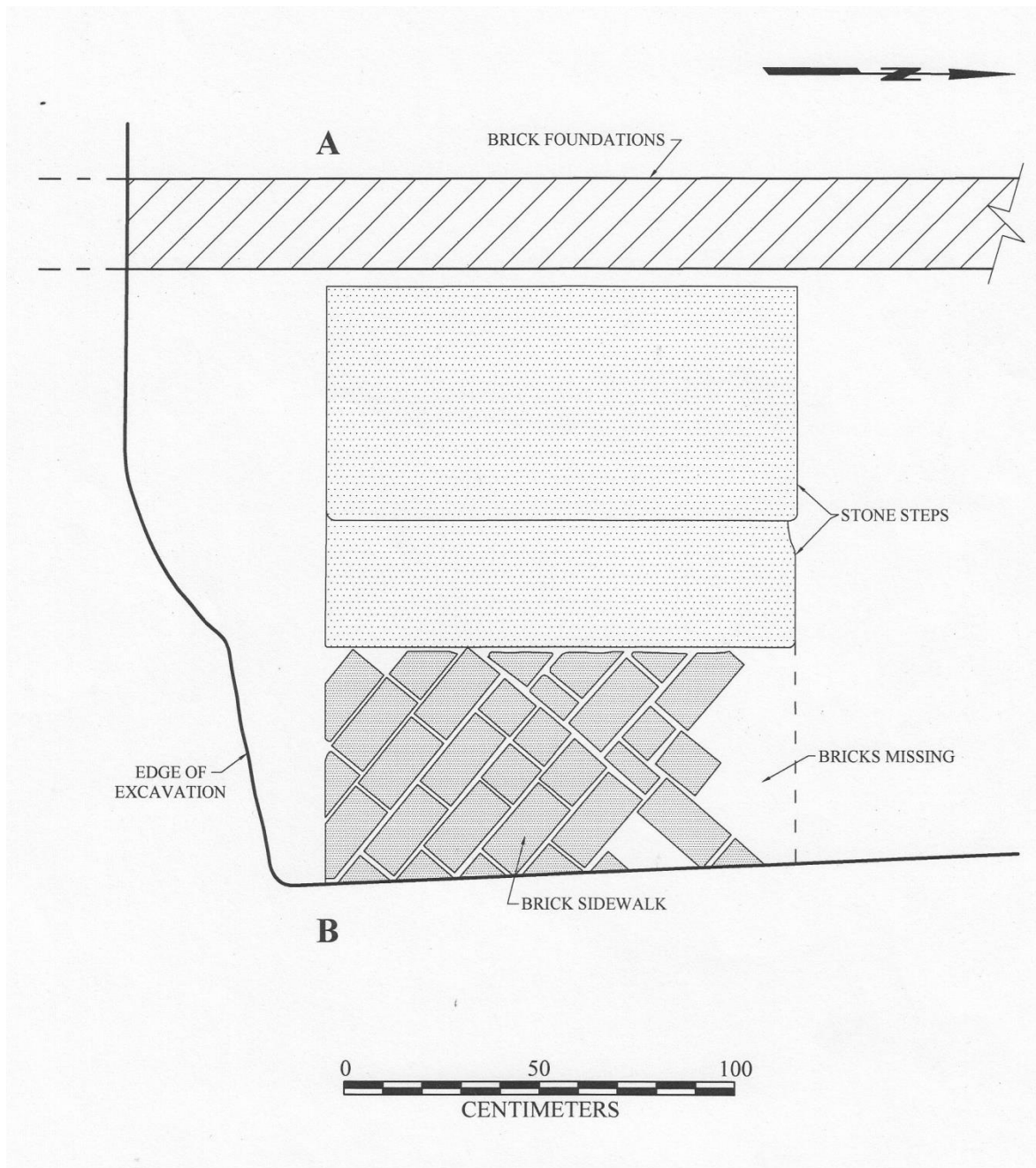


**Figure 17. View of House A, shortly after initial stripping of overburden. This house was constructed in the 1840s by a German tradesman. By 1900, the house was occupied by working-class Black families. In August 1908, the house was occupied by, among others, an elderly invalid named Will Smith. Smith was pulled from the house and severely beaten by the mob during the riot.**





**Figure 18. Top: Detail of the front stoop of House A. Bottom: Documenting the steps during the Phase II investigations.**



**Figure 19. Plan view of stone steps (Feature 2) and brick sidewalk (Feature 3), House A.**

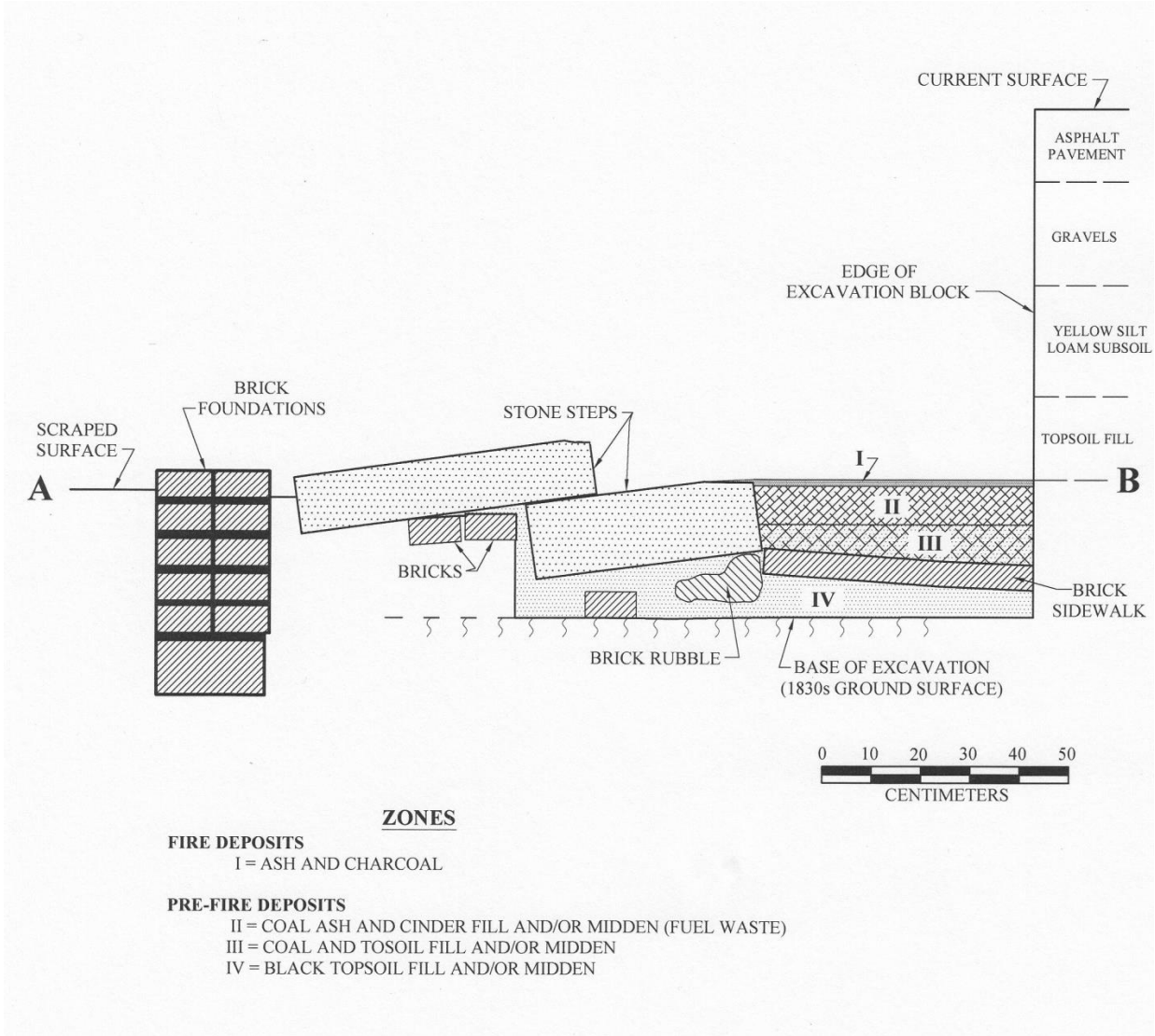


Figure 20. Profile through House A stoop.





**Figure 21. Two views of Test 1, located in House A. Top: This test indicates the relatively thin lens of burned remains associated with the 1908 fire event, which is situated on top of an older ground surface. The fire-deposit contains a variety of artifacts (albeit burned and/or melted) associated with the house and its contents. The fire-deposits were capped with a clean, loess fill. Bottom: Note the presence of the rowlock stretcher course on the bottom of the wall.**

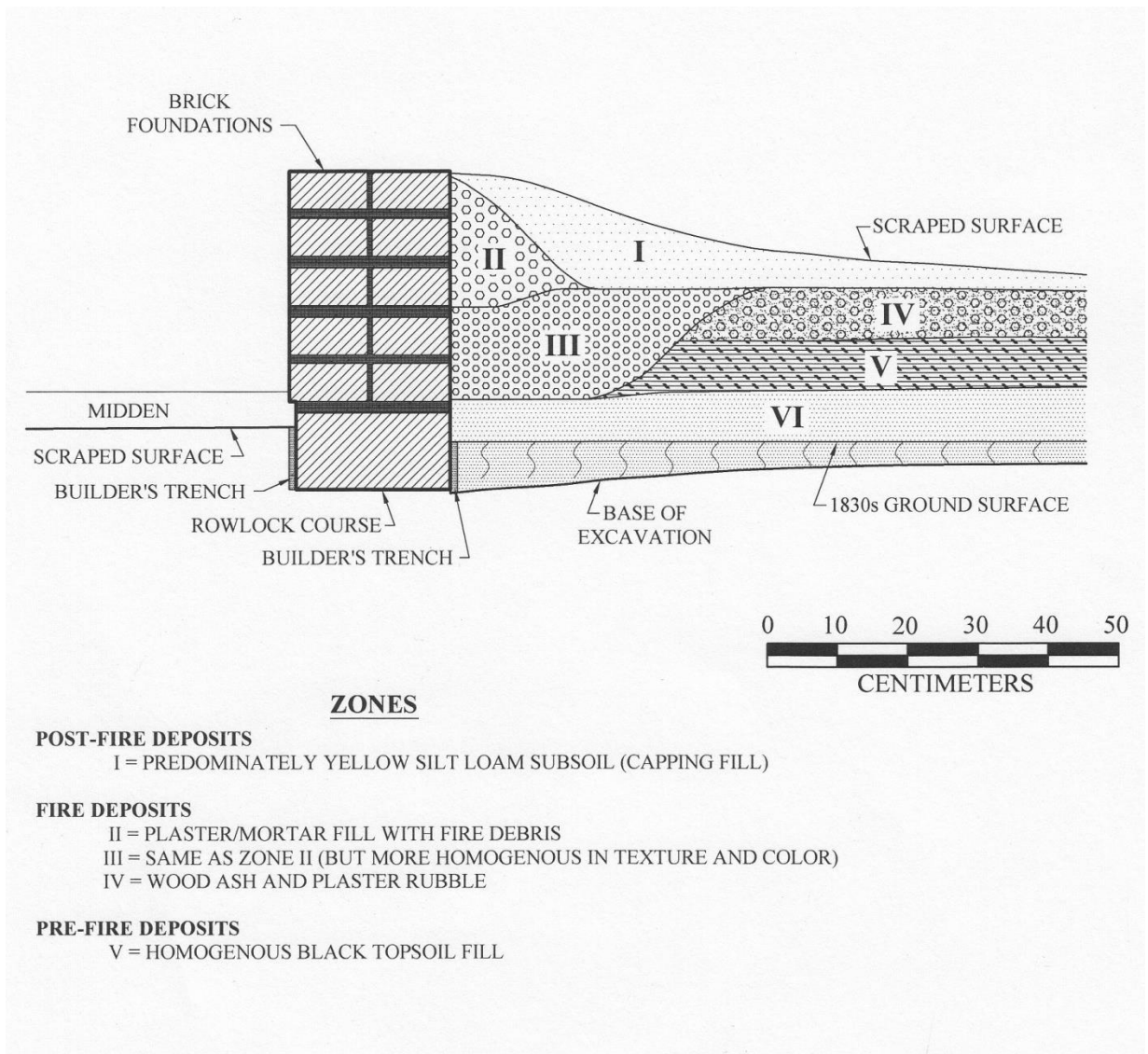
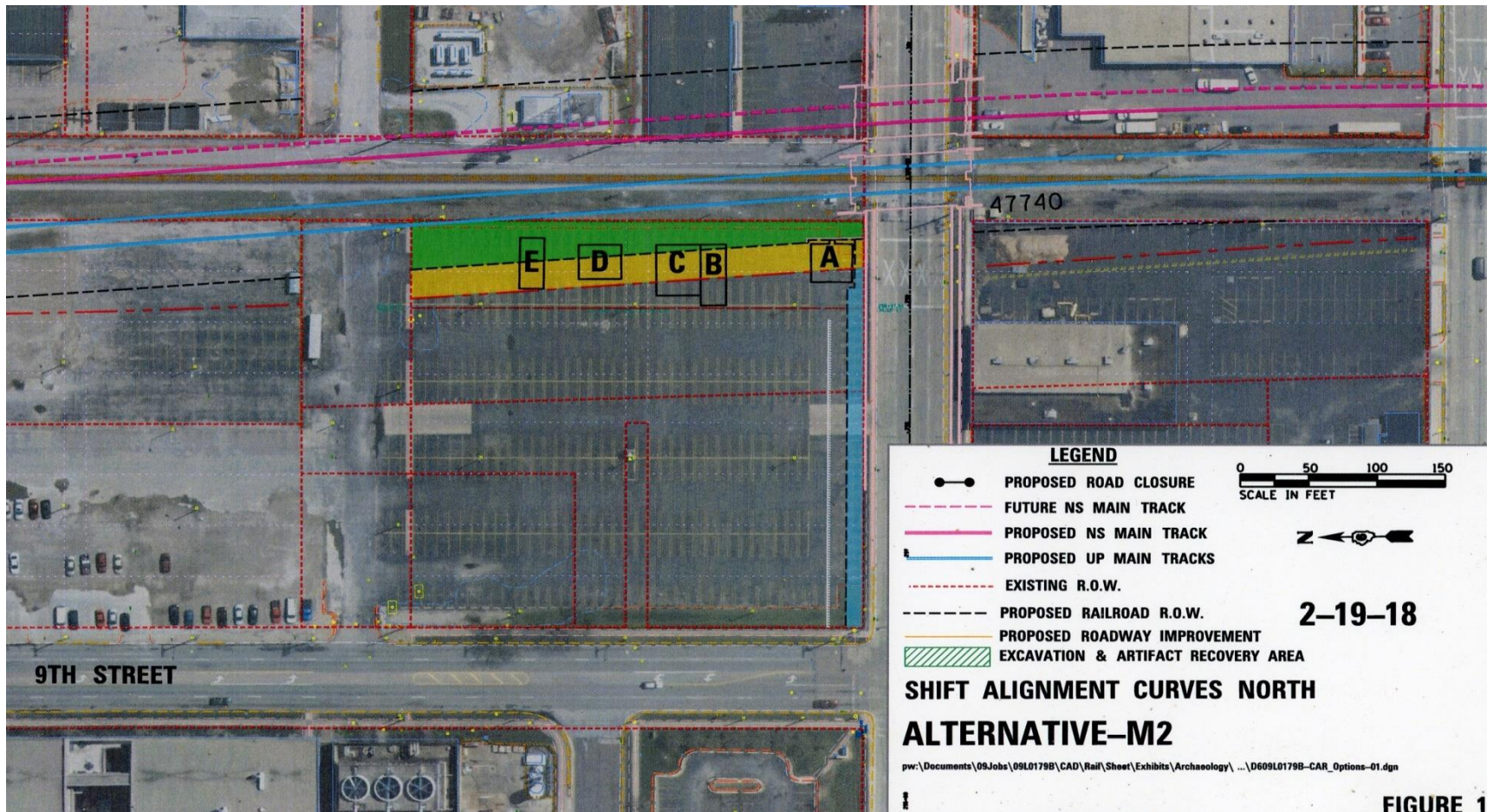


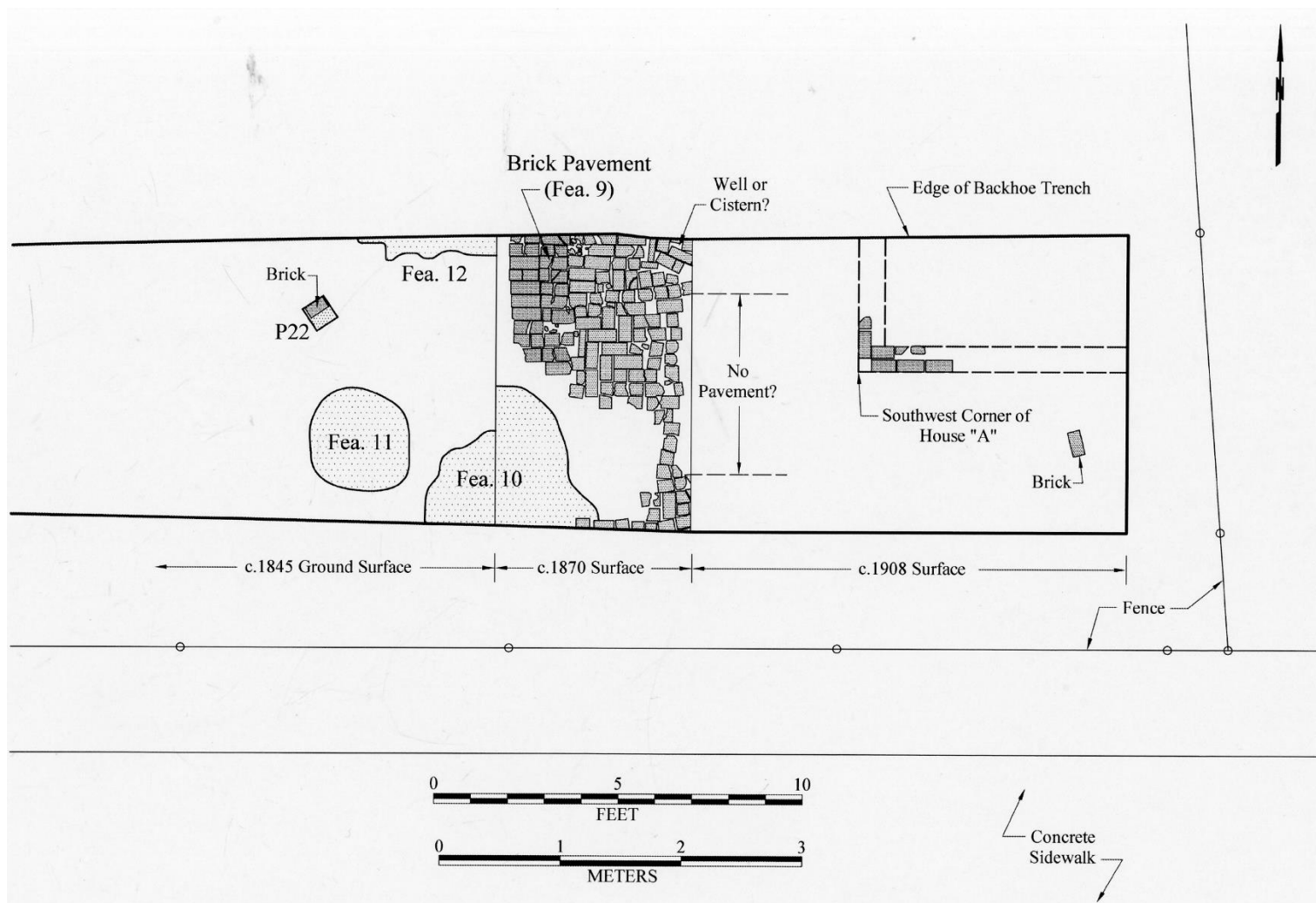
Figure 22. East wall profile, Test 1, House A.





**FIGURE 1**

Figure 23. Current design for Carpenter Street Underpass project area (Alternative-M2) shifts the western edge of the proposed right-of-way approximately 22-ft to the east, resulting in the preservation in place of large sections of Houses A through E (areas highlighted in yellow). The new right-of-way avoids House A completely, but does include a narrow band of right-of-way located along Madison Street (area highlighted in blue). The Madison Street Phase II Testing occurred in that area highlight in blue along Madison Street.



**Figure 24. Site plan, southwest corner of House A (Madison Street Phase II testing). Map illustrating the features exposed on the eastern end of the backhoe trench, adjacent to House A. The excavations on this end of the trench were stepped to illustrate the features on three distinct ground surfaces dating to circa 1845, 1870, and 1908.**



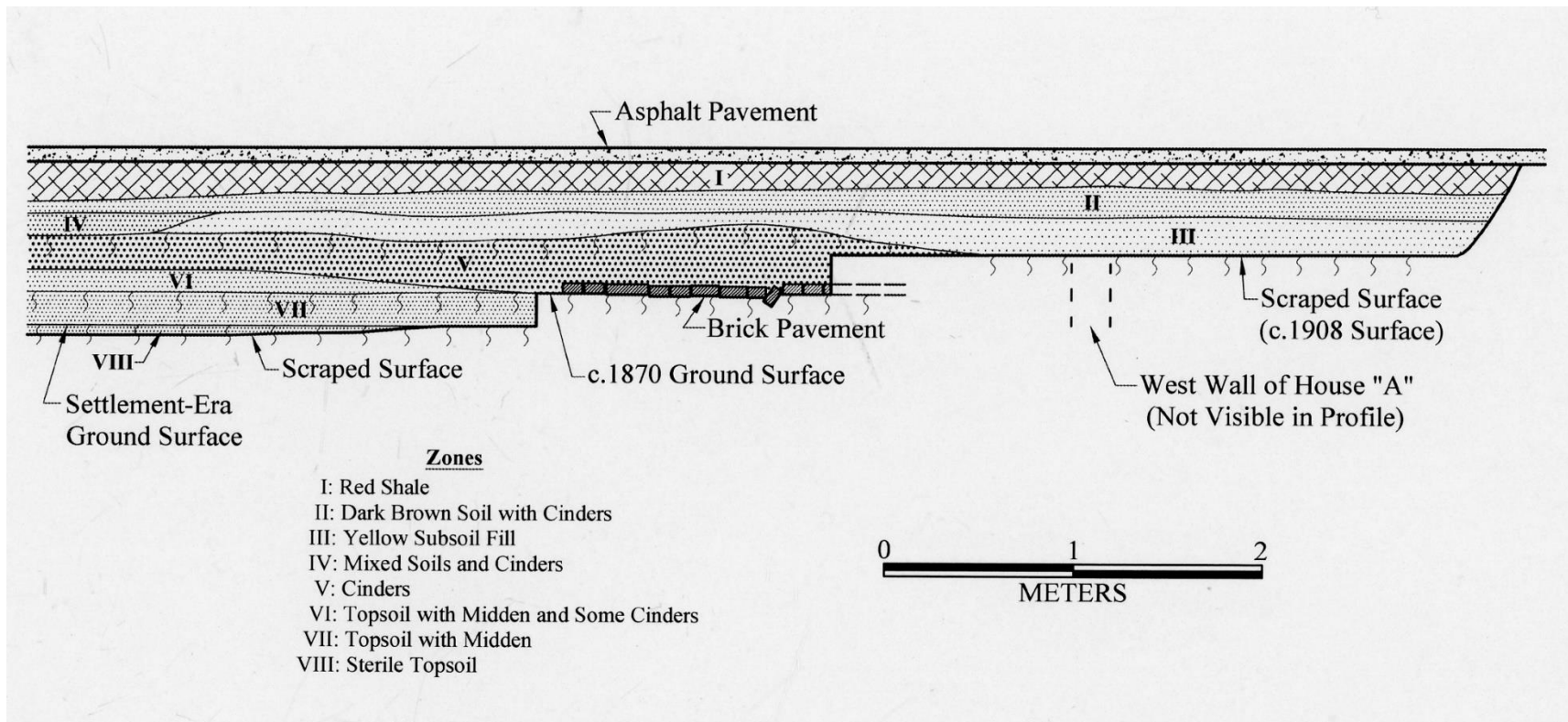


**Figure 25. View of the eastern end of the backhoe trench excavated for the Phase II testing of the Madison Street frontage, showing an exposed brick pavement (Feature 9) and two pit features in foreground (Features 10 and 11). The southwest corner of House A is visible on the higher of the stepped excavation levels.**



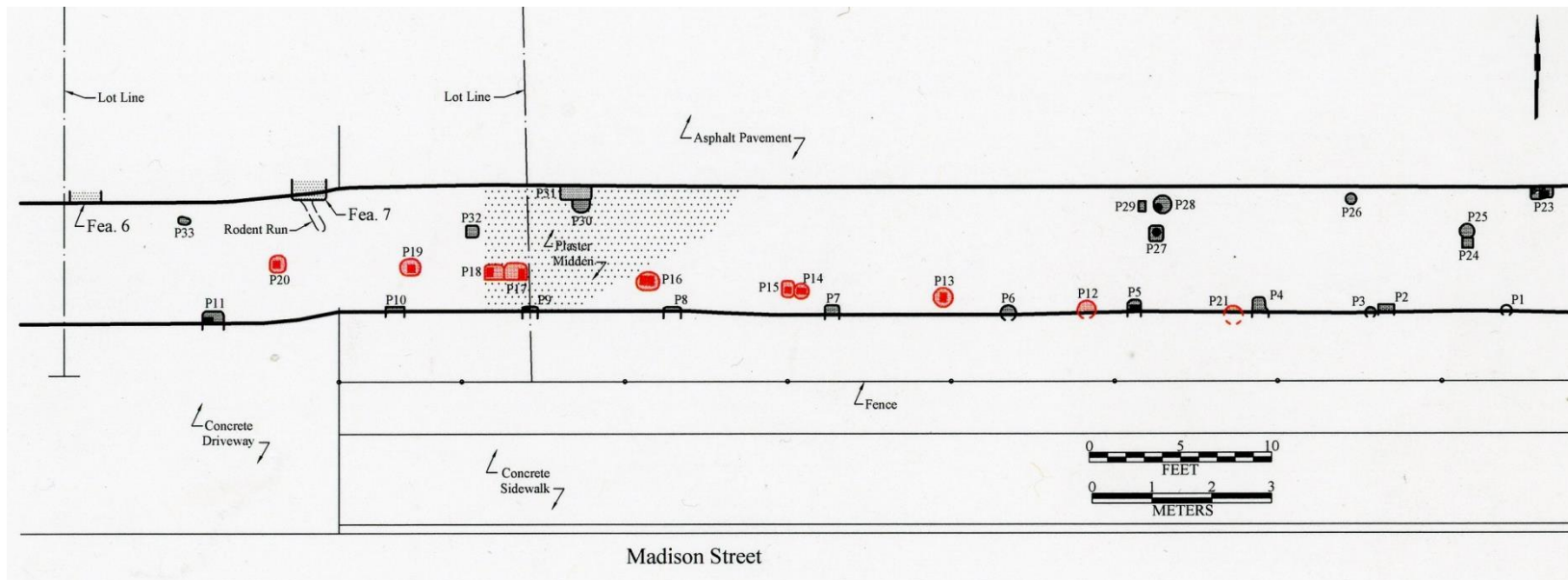


**Figure 26. Another view of the east end of the trench excavated for the Phase II testing of the Madison Street frontage , illustrating the soil deposition at this location. The brick pavement and/or walk (Feature 9) is perched over fills which cap the underlying original ground surface. In turn, this brick walk is capped by a thick layer of cinders, which accumulated in the years leading up to the 1908 race riot. A layer of yellow subsoil was deposited over the remains of House A (and adjacent areas) shortly after the 1908 riots.**



**Figure 27. View of the north profile wall of excavation trench near the southwest corner of House A, Madison Street Phase II testing. The profile is to the rear (west) of House A.**

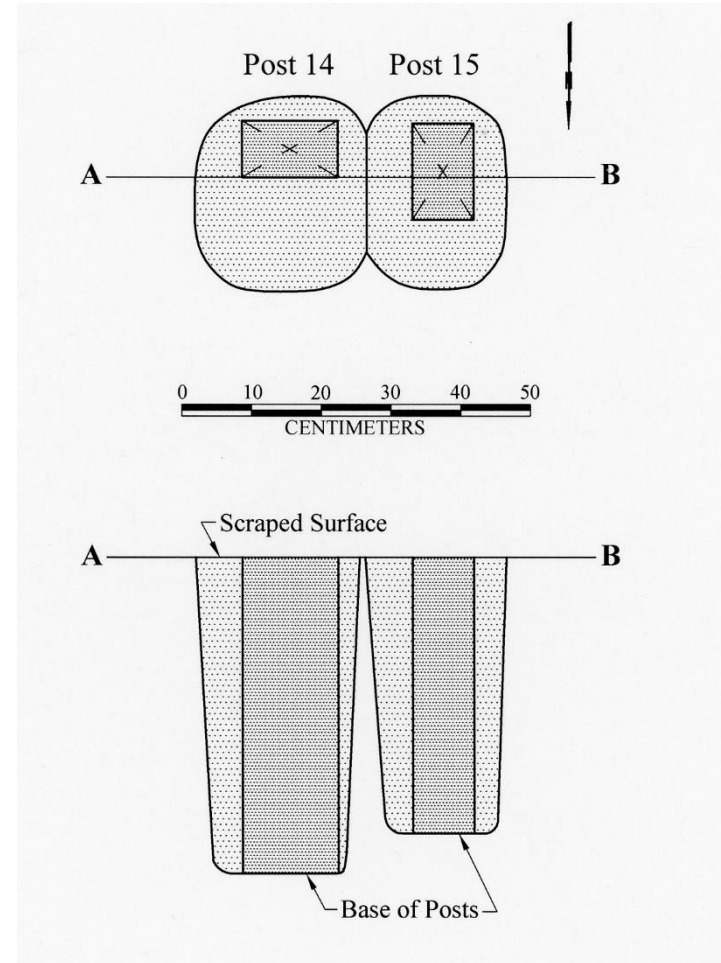




**Figure 28. View of posts along south property line, west of House A, Madison Street Phase II testing. Numerous post holes were exposed during the investigations. Ten of these posts (Posts 1-10) appear to be associated with a fence line that once fronted Madison Street (Feature 8). Ten others (Posts 12-21) are associated with a billboard that extended across portions of Lot 13 and the lot of House A in 1908; these are highlighted in red above and are discussed as Feature 13.**

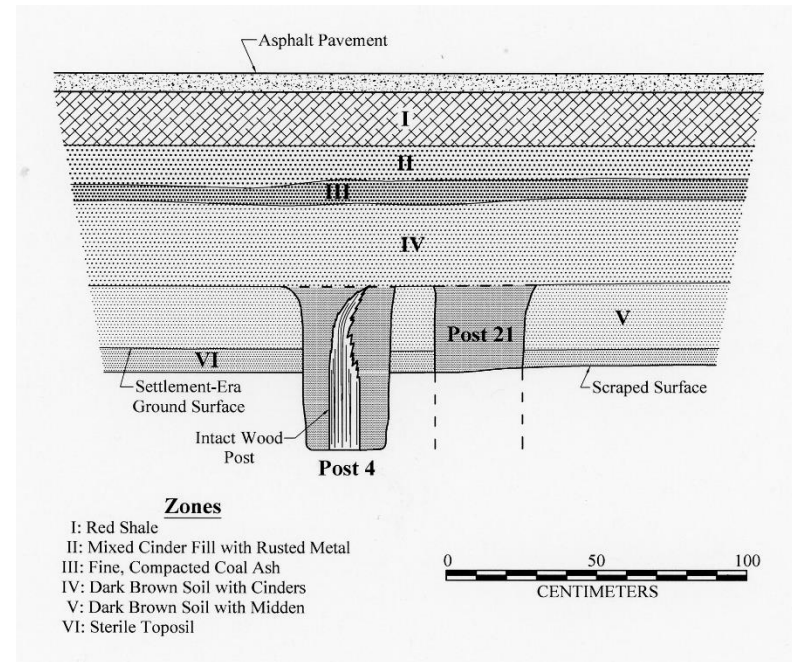


**Figure 29. Detail of a historic photograph taken in the immediate aftermath of the 1908 Springfield Race Riot, showing the billboard fronting Madison Street that is discussed as Feature 13. The east and west ends of the billboard have been destroyed, presumably on account of their proximity to House A (at far right) and the saloon on Lot 13 (at far left), both of which were burned during the riot (ALPLM Ides Collection, NG5792**



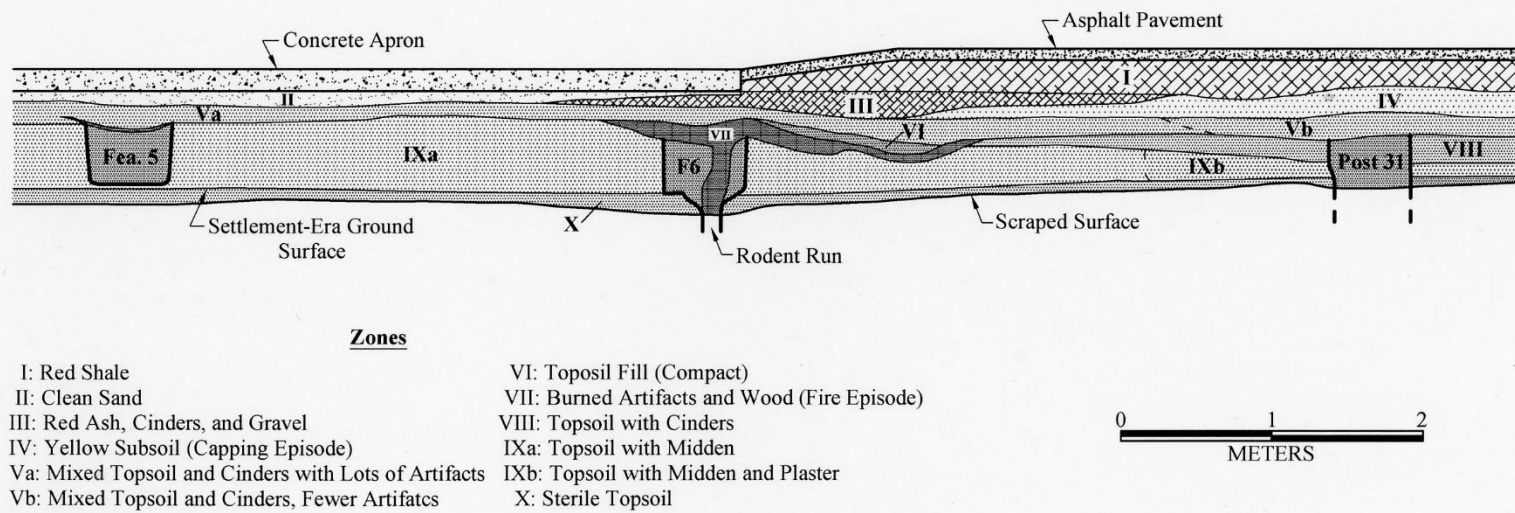
**Figure 30. Photograph, plan, and sectional view of Posts 14 and 15, Madison Street Phase II testing. The two posts were associated with a billboard that fronted Madison Street at the time of the 1908 race riot. The pattern of these (and other posts) suggests that the billboard was built in three episodes.**





**Figure 31. Profile view of Posts 4 and 21, two of the fence posts bordering the Madison Street frontage. Post 4 was associated with a fence line, while Post 21 appears to be the easternmost of the posts associated with the historic billboard present in 1908. Both post holes are capped with deep fills post-dating 1908.**



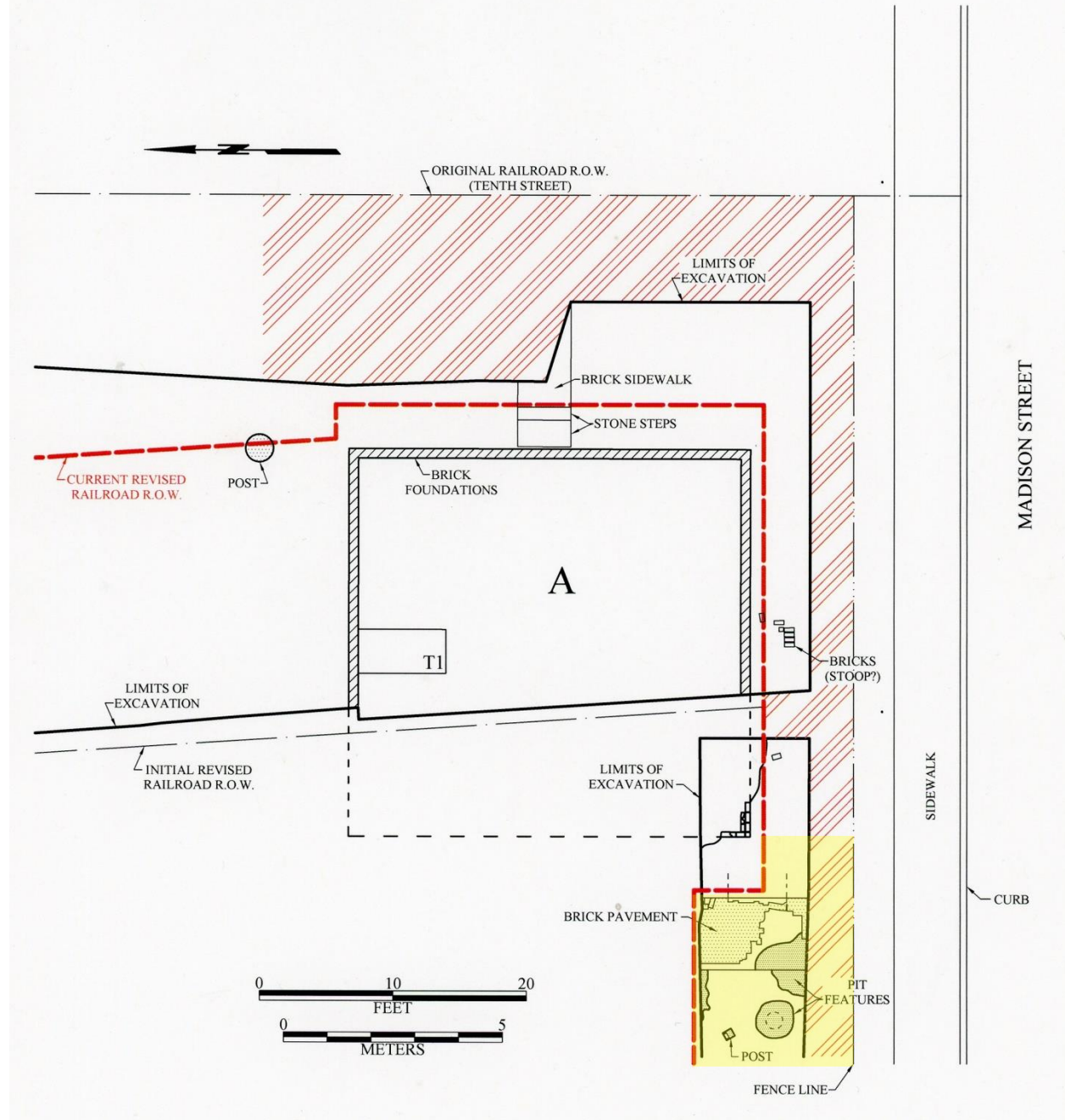


**Figure 32. Soil profile on Lot 13 showing Features 6 and 7 (as assigned for the testing of Madison Street frontage), which potentially represent builder's trenches for piers or foundations associated with the saloon formerly present at 917 East Madison Street.**



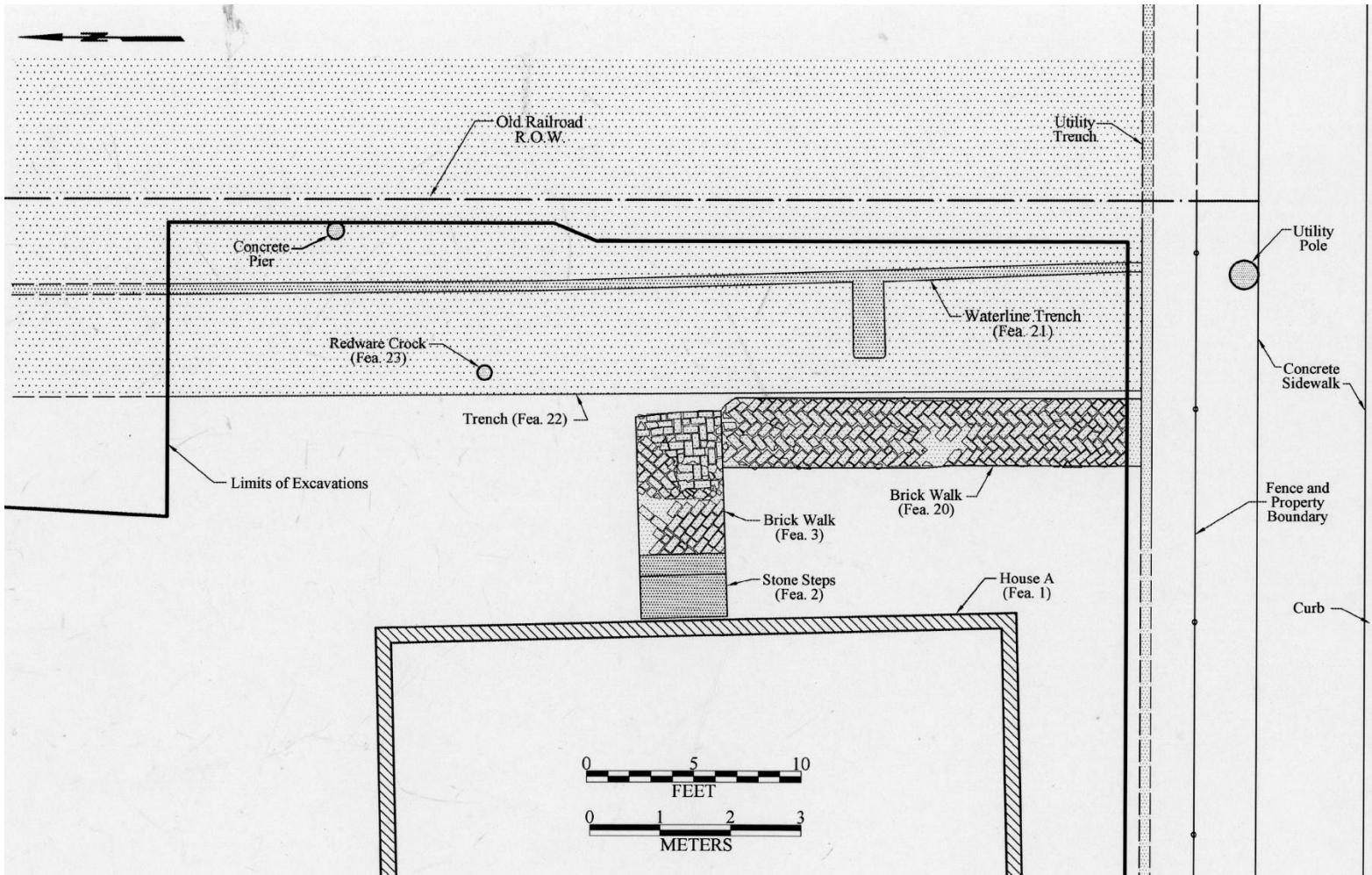


**Figure 33. Photograph and profile of Feature 6 and 7 (Madison Street testing), two trenches/pits filled with fire debris exposed on Lot 13. The test trench just clipped the two features, which potentially represent builder's trenches for piers or foundations(?) associated with the saloon formerly located on Lot 13 (and which was destroyed in the 1908 race riot). Feature 7 has been impacted by a rodent run, which can be seen extending out from it in the lower photograph.**



**Figure 34. Plan view of House A, illustrating original and revised ROW edges, location of proposed hand-excavation units (at southwest corner of house; highlighted in yellow), and limits of new area to remove overburden (crosshatched in red) for Phase III mitigation. No excavation units were to be dug inside this house. The front and side yard (fronting Madison Street to the south) were to be completely stripped in search of additional features (such as utility lines and landscape features). Initially, five 1m x 2m test units were planned for excavation adjacent to the southwest corner of the house; however, eight test units ultimately were excavated.**





**Figure 35. Front yard site plan, House A, from Phase III mitigation. The large area hatched with dots on the upper part of this drawing indicates the extent of the ditch discussed as Feature 22.**

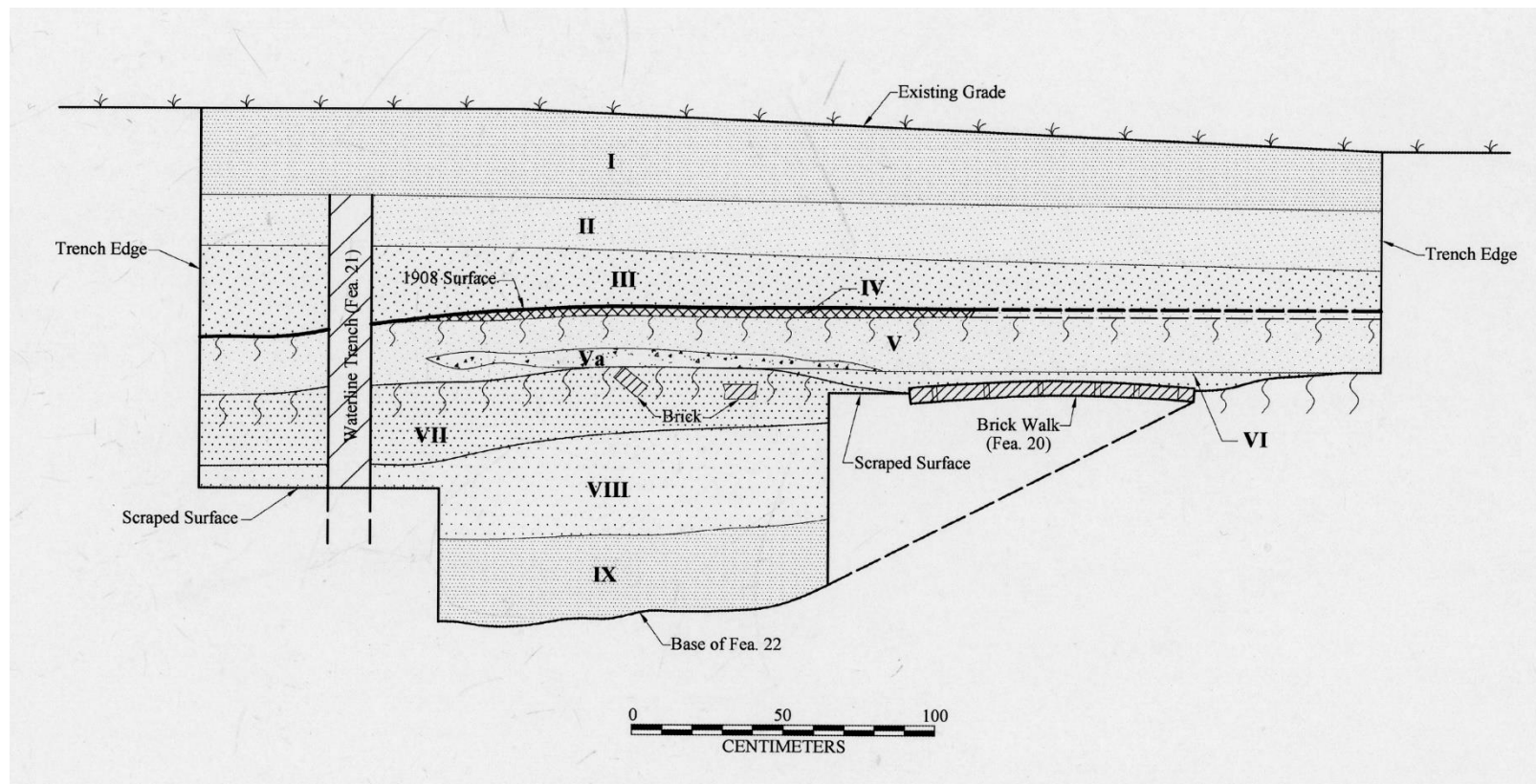


**Figure 36. View of brick walkway in front yard of House A (north is to the right of the image). . This walkway consisted of two parts: 1) a short east-west section projecting from the stone steps (Feature 3), and 2) a long north-south section (Feature 20). The short east-west section appears to have been rebuilt, with the later portion being a herringbone pattern with brick oriented parallel to long axis. The longer north-south section was constructed with a herringbone pattern with the bricks laid at a 45-degree angle to the long axis of the walk. This appears to represent a re-orientation of the walkway from Tenth Street, to the adjacent Madison Street. The north/south section may represent a later add-on, and was laid when the shorter east/west section still extended to Tenth Street (which may explain the offset between the two sections).**



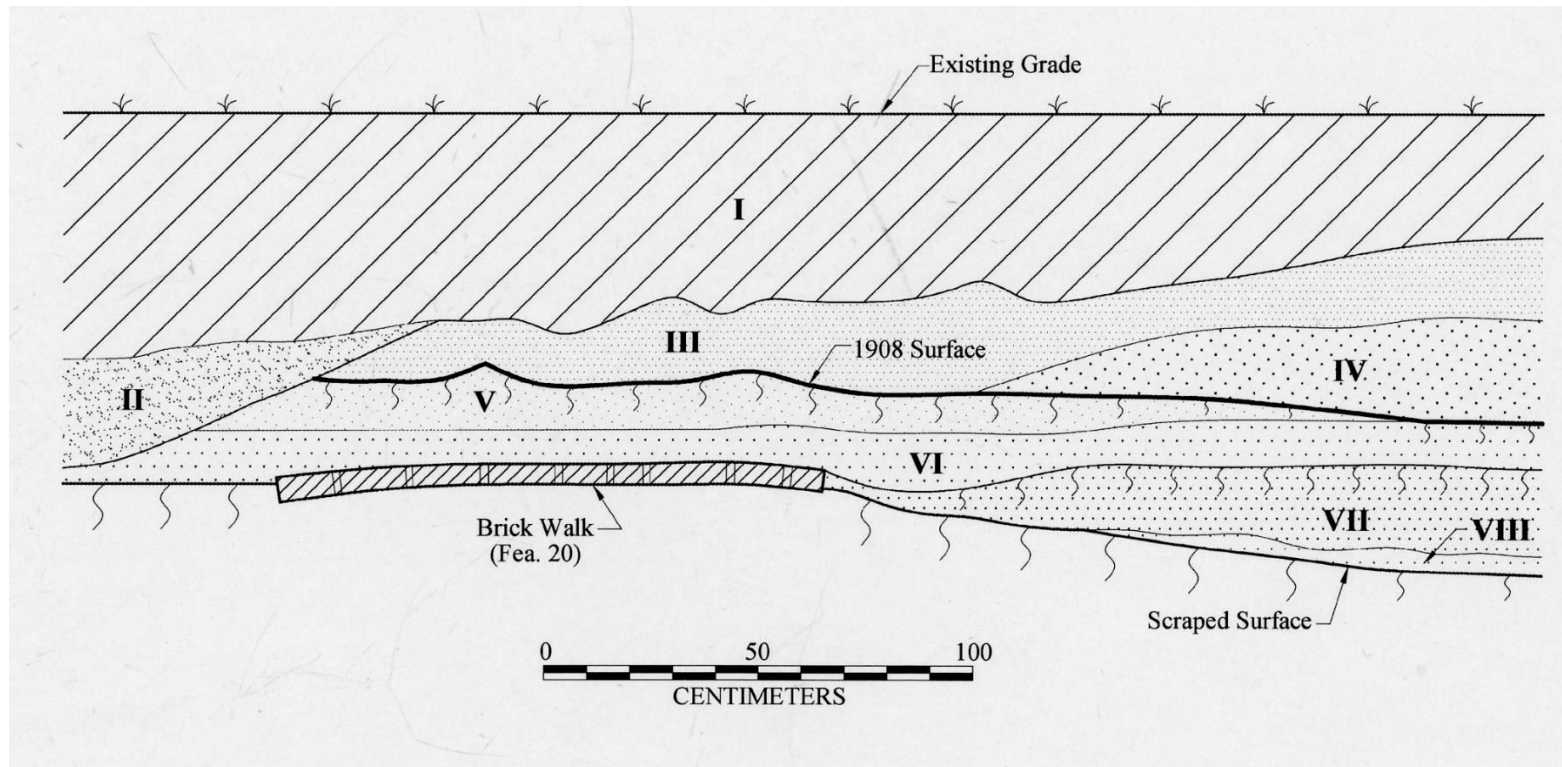


**Figure 37. View of East-West profile along south edge of Front Yard, illustrating deep fills in ditch-like feature (Feature 22) running along the east edge of lot (extending all the entire length of the block). A later water-line trench (Feature 21) can be seen cutting through it at left.**

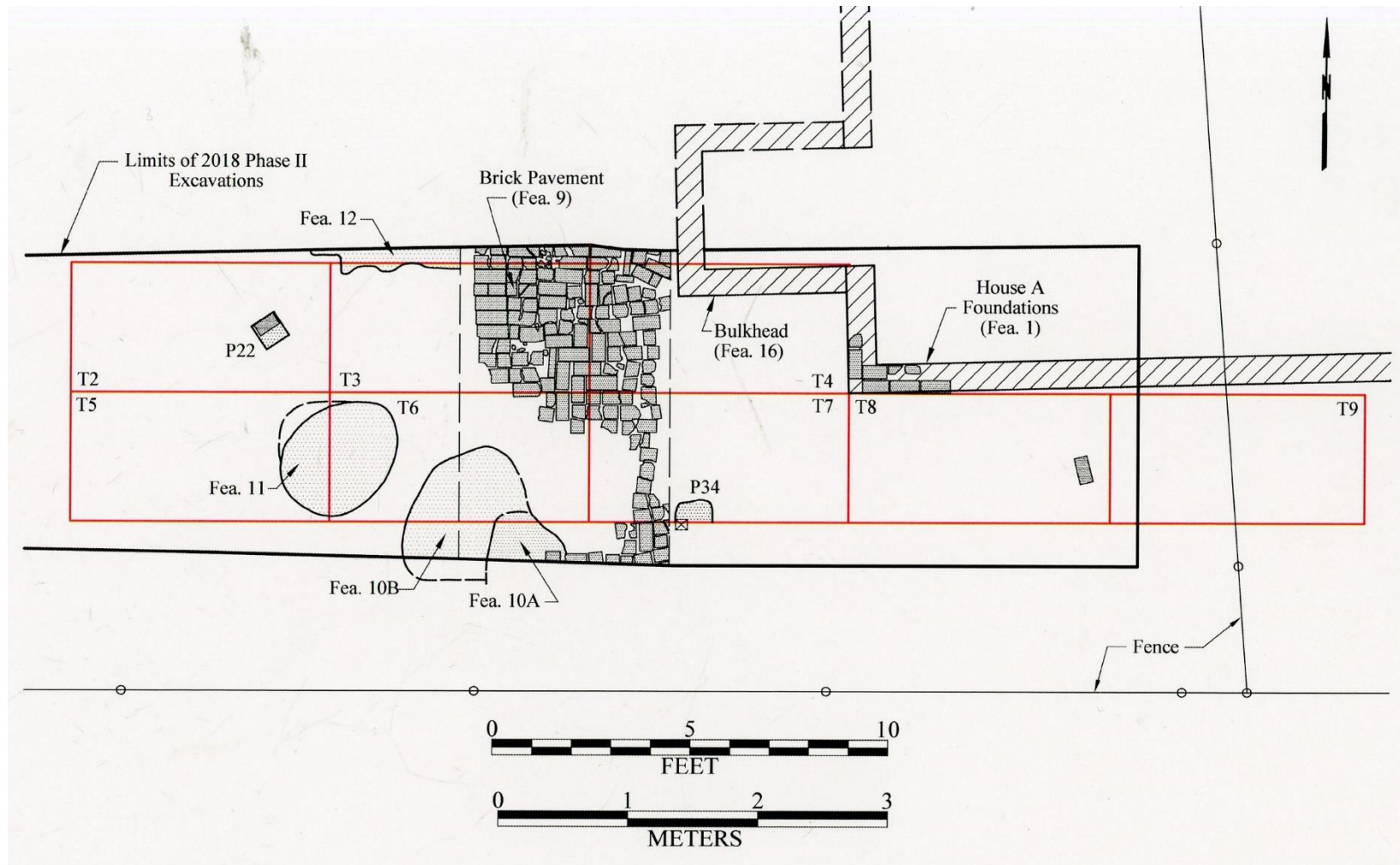


**Figure 38. East/west profile through early ditch-like feature (Feature 22) running across the east end of the House A lot (as seen by the Madison Street frontage). This deep trench pre-dates the construction of House A and continues along the eastern edge of the entire block. Zones I-III are Post-Fire fill deposits. Zones V and VI are Late-Pre-Fire fills, consisting primarily of cinders. The cinder deposits were extensive in the yard, and this material eventually covered over the brick sidewalk (Feature 20) running between the front entrance to the house and Madison Street. Zone VII represents the Early and Middle-Pre-Fire topsoil in the front yard—and is the surface upon which the brick sidewalk was built. Zones VIII and IX are clean, soil fills that were used to backfill Feature 22 prior to the construction of House A.**





**Figure 39. East/west profile through front yard walk (Feature 20) of House A, along Madison Street frontage (adjacent to southeast corner of house). Zones I-IV are Post-Fire fill deposits. Zones V and VI are Late-Pre-Fire fills (cinders) that covered the brick sidewalk (Feature 20) leading to the front entrance to the house. Zones VII is a built-up topsoil dating from an Early to Middle-Pre-Fire context. Zone VIII is mixed topsoil and subsoil fill, possibly deposited during the construction of House A.**



**Figure 40. Location of hand-excavated test units located along the Madison Street frontage, adjacent to the southwest corner of House A. The Phase III mitigation of this area was conducted in the fall of 2020.**





**Figure 41. General views of the Phase III mitigation of the Madison Street frontage in the fall of 2020. Both of these view look east.**





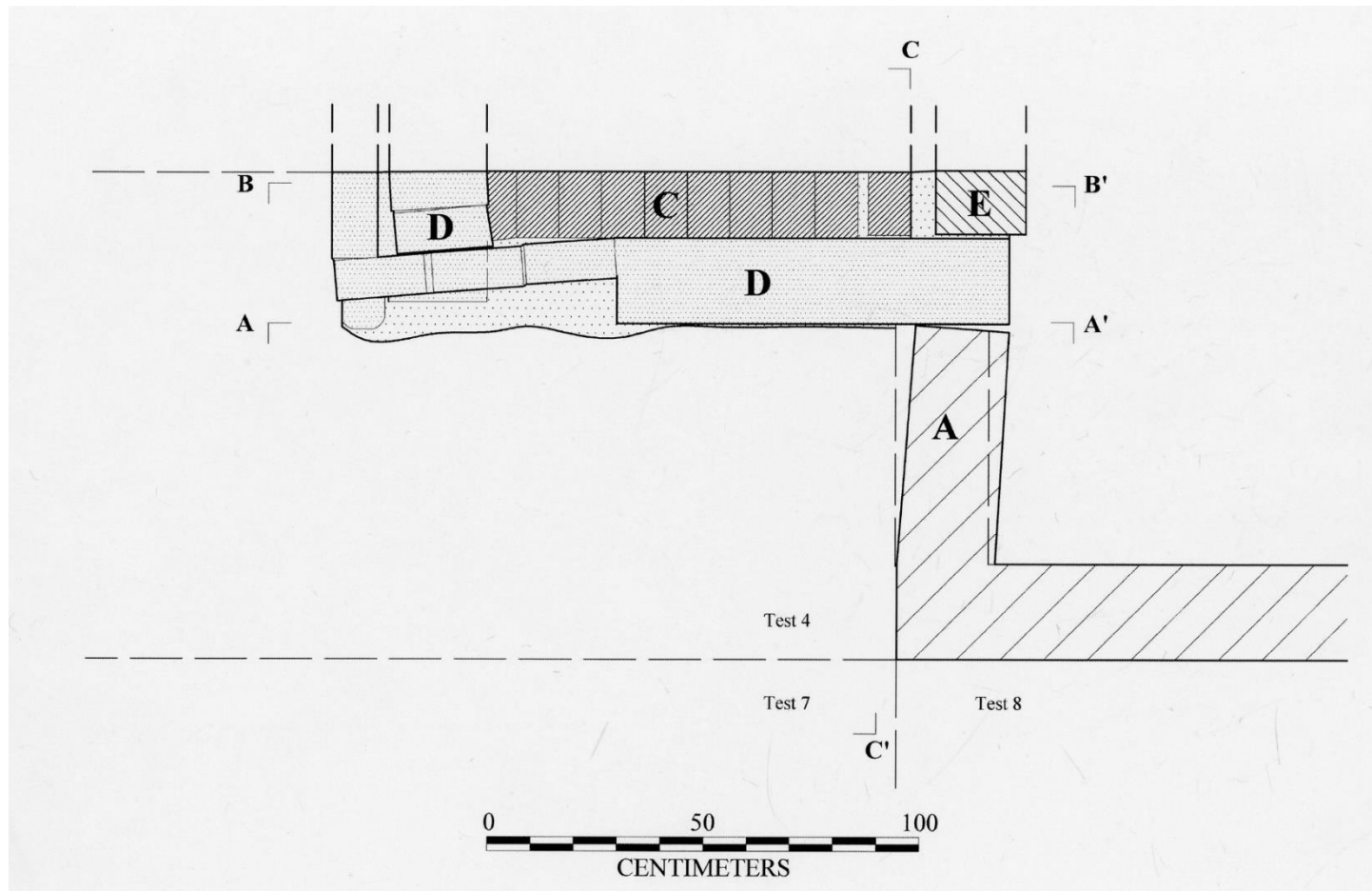
**Figure 42. Top: Detail of the juncture between the bulkhead entrance (at left) and the cellar, with the west foundation wall of House A (at right). Bottom: View of the south side of the bulkhead (Feature 16) as exposed at the base of Test 9. The bulkhead exhibited several construction/modification episodes. The fill zones seen above the shelf on which the photo board is sitting represents Post-Fire deposits.**



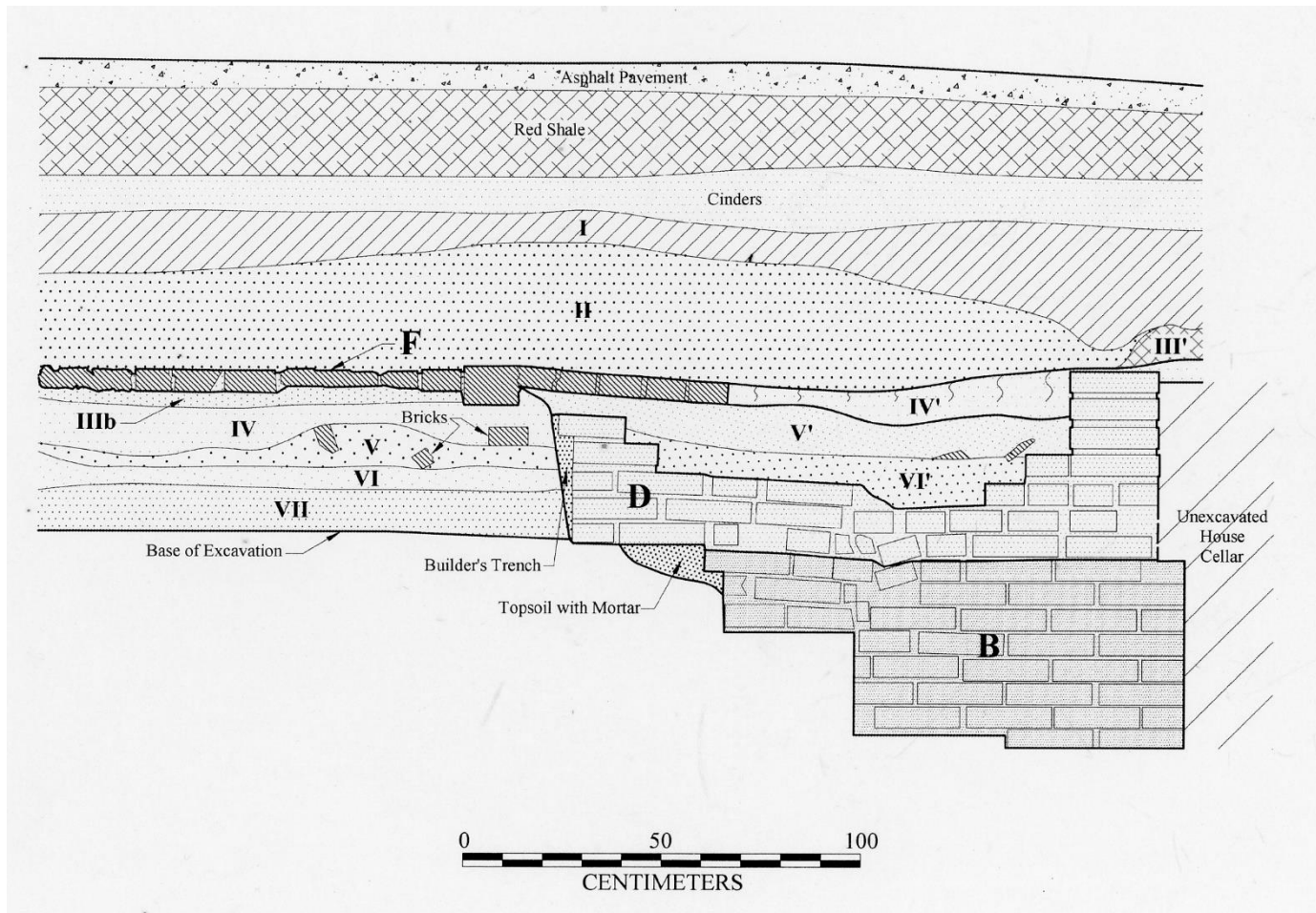


**Figure 43. Top: View of the bulkhead after its interior was partially excavated and the south sidewall was fully exposed down to its base. Bottom: Detail of the bulkhead sidewall. The lower section is original and only one brick wide (Feature 16A). The upper section, which represents a later modification, is two bricks wide (Feature 16B).**





**Figure 44. Plan view of House A during mitigation, illustrating the bulkhead entrance located at the southwest corner of the house. Episodes of construction are indicated as follows: A) original perimeter foundations (Feature 1); C) brick pavement installed within partially infilled bulkhead (Feature 17); D) raised and extended bulkhead wall (Feature 16B); and E) brick infill closing off bulkhead from house (Feature 18). The original section of the bulkhead wall (Feature 16A; “B”) is not visible from this perspective. Profile locations also are indicated (A-A', etc.).**



**Figure 45. East-west longitudinal view along the south side of the bulkhead entrance, House A, illustrating the exterior face of the feature (Profile A-A'). The section marked "B" is the original bulkhead wall (Feature 16A), while "D" is the raised and extended bulkhead (Feature 16B). When the bulkhead was abandoned, it was filled with debris (represented here by Zones' V'-VI') and partially capped by a brick pavement (Feature 9; "F"). Zone II is cinder-rich fill from a Late-Pre-Fire context. Zone I and above are Post-Fire deposits.**



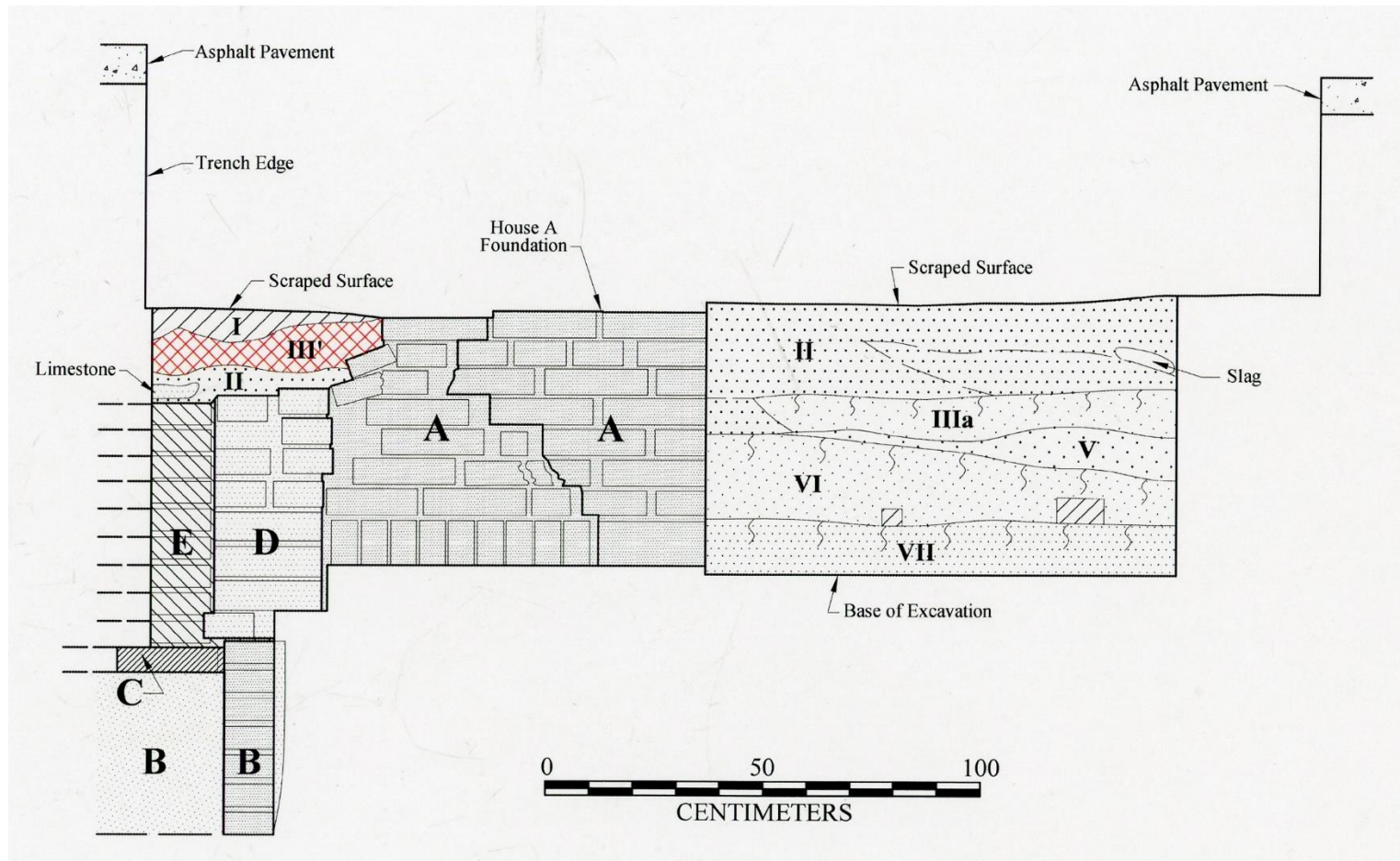
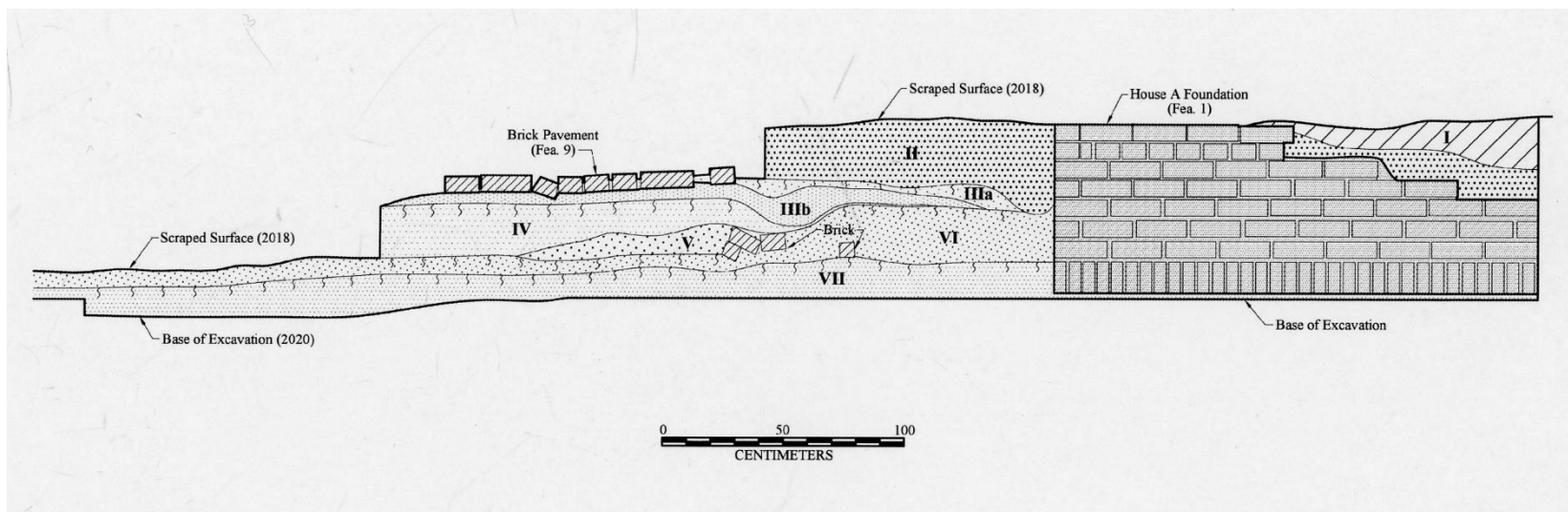
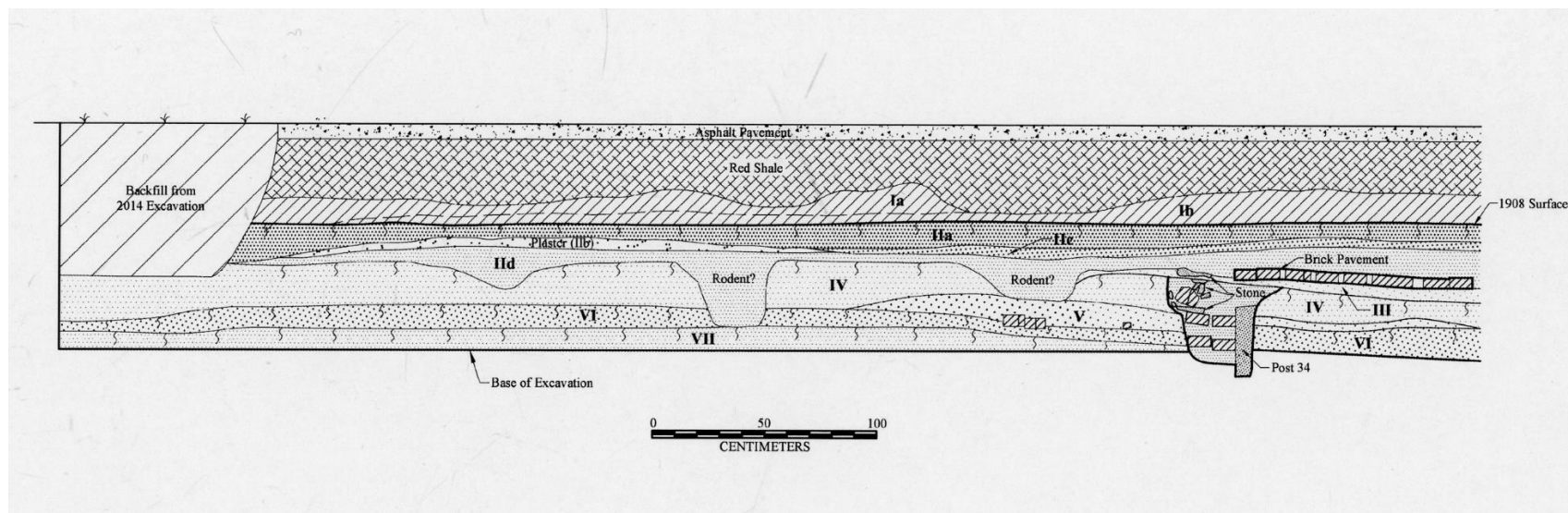


Figure 47. North-south profile illustrating the bulkhead entrance (left), western face of the house foundation (middle), and fill deposits along the south edge of the house (emulating from the southwest corner of the building) (Profile C-C'). The bulkhead does not appear to have been original to the dwelling, as the house foundation exhibits a disturbed and/or broken edge abutting the bulkhead. The two episodes of construction for the bulkhead are indicated by “B” and “D”. Zone VII on the right-hand side of the profile is the sterile topsoil on which House A was built. Zone III' is Fire deposits from 1908.

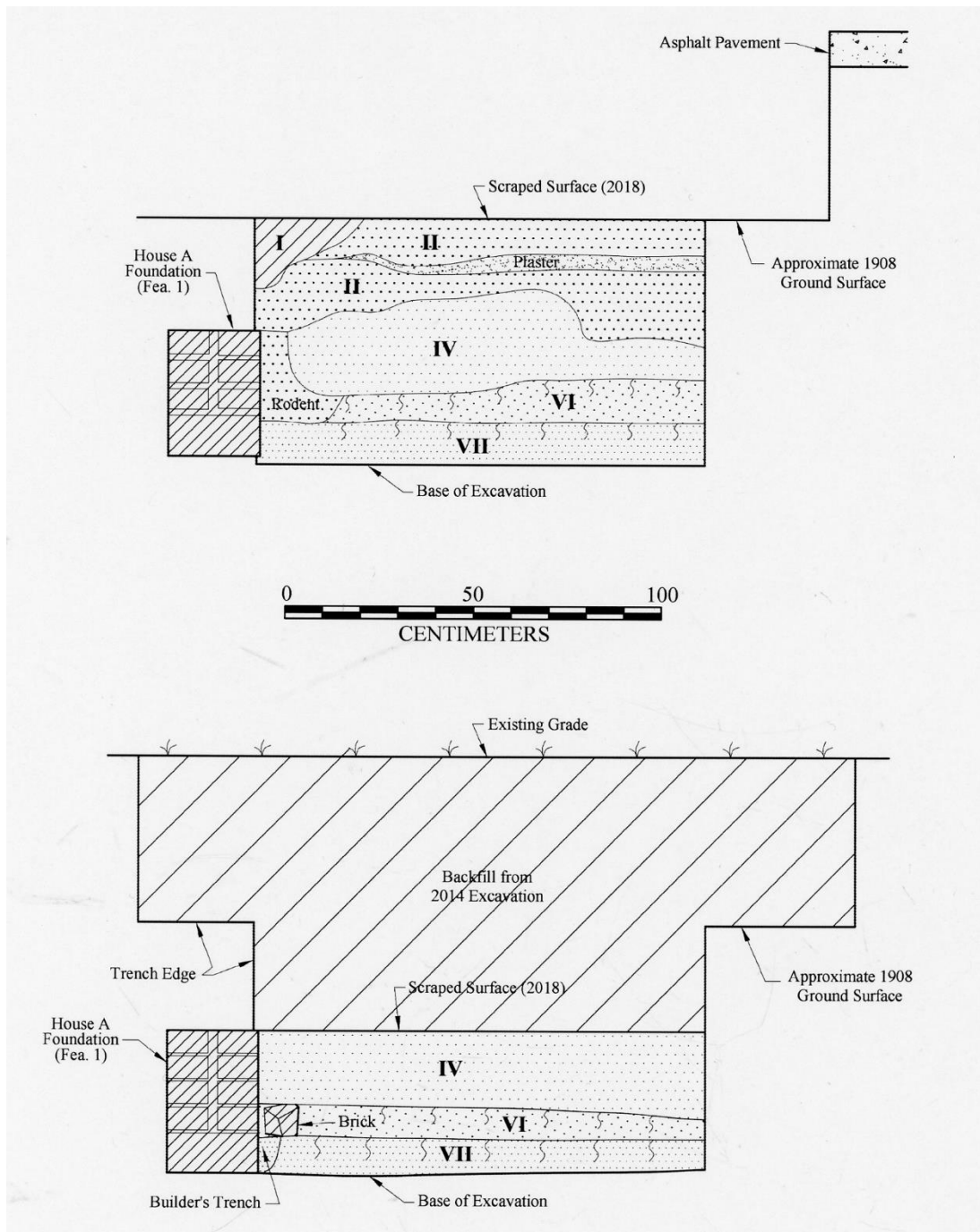




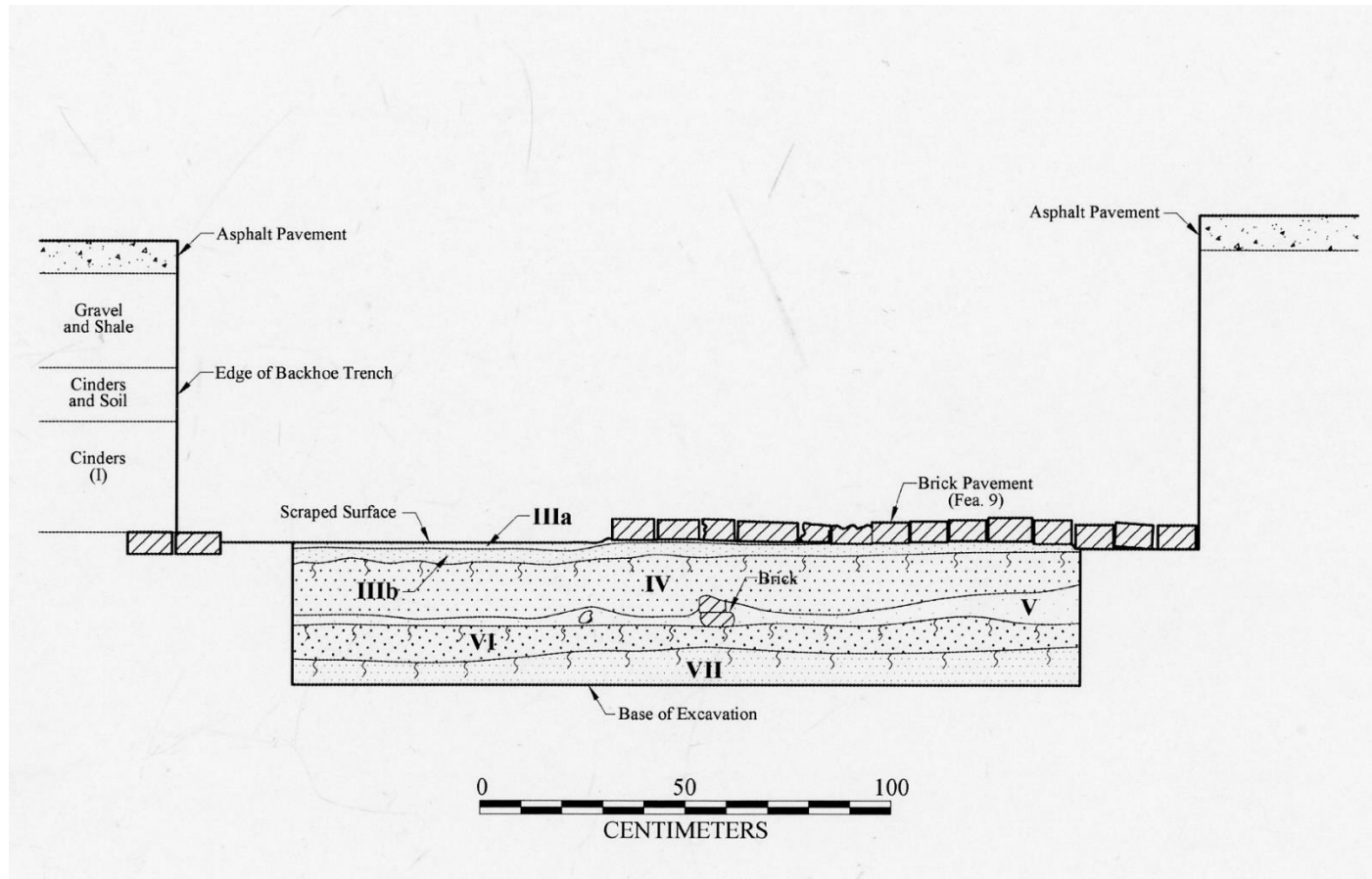
**Figure 48. Mid-line profile of the Phase III excavations (Profile 2) illustrating strata associated with the southwest corner of House A during Phase III mitigation (east is to the right). Zone I is Post-Fire fill. Zone II is Late-Pre-Fire deposits, which covered the brick pavement (Feature 9) located to the rear of the house. This pavement and the surface it accumulated on (Zone III) dates to a Middle-Pre-Fire context. Zones IV-VI represent Early to Middle-Pre-Fire deposits. Zone VII is sterile topsoil.**



**Figure 49. South profile (Profile 3) along Madison Street frontage (east is to the left). Zone I (and above) are Post-Fire fills. Zone II is Late-Pre-Fire deposits, which covered the brick pavement (Feature 9) located to the rear of the house (and seen at right) and extended around the east side of the dwelling. The brick pavement dates to a Middle-Pre-Fire context, and the surface it was built on (Zone III) capped an earlier post hole (Post 34). Zones IV-VI represent Early to Middle-Pre-Fire deposits. Zone VII is sterile topsoil.**



**Figure 50.** Two north/south profile views along south edge of House A, between the south foundation wall and Madison Street frontage. A builder's trench was located only in the far eastern section of the wall (in Test 9). Zone VII is sterile topsoil.

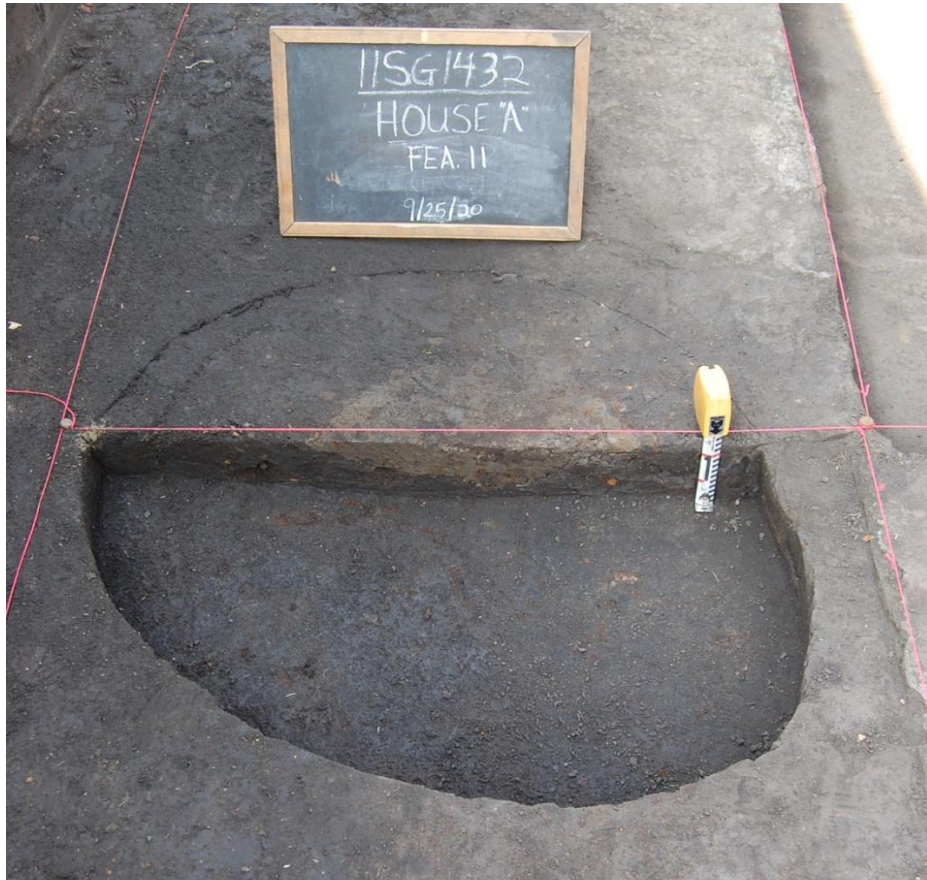


**Figure 51. North-South profile immediately to the west of House A, illustrating the aggregated surface on which the brick pavement at the rear of the house (Feature 9) was built. The pavement was laid on a thin layer of mixed soil fill (Zone III). Zones IV and V are topsoil and subsoil fills and have a considerable amount of crushed brick and mortar—deposits that may have resulted from the construction of the cellar and bulkhead. Zone VI is topsoil with scattered brick fragments and light artifact density, and it is believed to date to the early occupation of House A. Zone VII is sterile topsoil.**





**Figure 52. View of the shallow pit features identified as Features 10 and 11 at the scraped surface (looking east). Both features date from the early occupation of House A and are located in the inner rear yard, close to the southwest corner of the house. They possibly represent small storage pits.**



**Figure 53. Feature 10 (top) and Feature 11 (bottom) after partial excavation.**



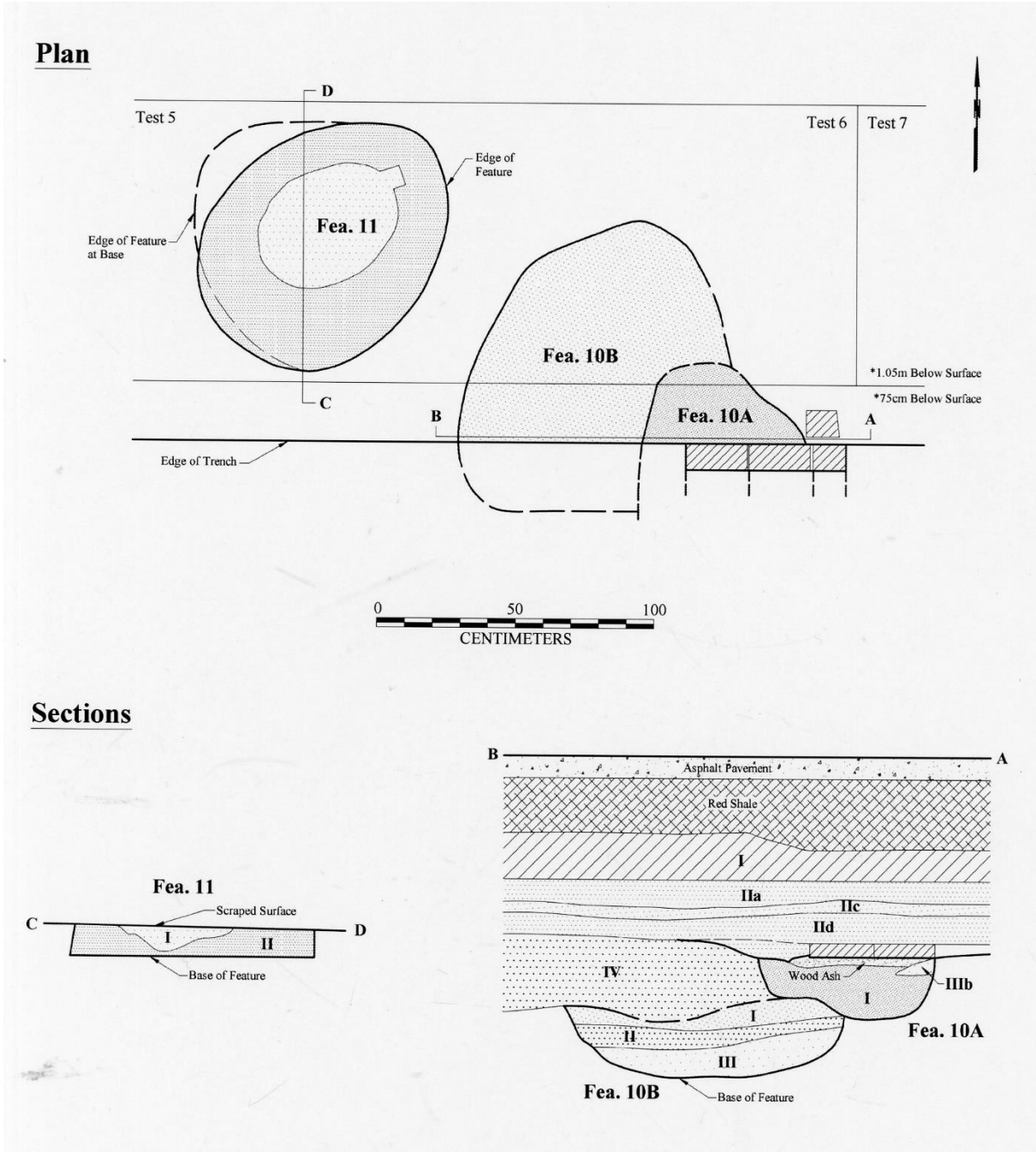


Figure 54. Plan and section views of Features 10A, 10B, and 11.

## *The Artifact Assemblage*

The artifact assemblage from House A can be segregated into three distinct contexts represented by 1) Pre-Fire, 2) Fire, and 3) Post-Fire assemblages. Fill deposits within the single test excavated within the house footprint during the Phase II testing (Test 1) were shallow. Although these three contexts were well defined, a considerable amount of mixing had occurred with the artifacts, particularly with earlier components mixed with the later components. Fills within the adjacent yard, particularly those identified within the Madison Street frontage, contained several middens segregated by relatively sterile fills and allowed for the separation of an Early, Middle, and Late Pre-Fire Components. Unfortunately, the separation of the Pre-Fire deposits into Early (circa 1845-1865), Middle (circa 1865-1885), and Late (circa 1885-1908) contexts was not always well defined, with mixing deposits occurring between the components. Also, as discussed below, a Pre-House A component that predates the Early Pre-Fire component (dating from the late 1820s through early 1840s and the construction of House A) may also be present at this location.

The accompanying appendices contain detailed information as to Lot Provenience (Appendix I), Lot Inventories (Appendix II), and Vessel Descriptions (Appendix III) for the various contexts. A total of 192 ceramic and glass vessels were identified in the House A assemblage. Tables 8 and 9 summarize the ceramic and glass vessel assemblages by context. Similarly, Figure 55 is a graphic representation of the ceramic and glass vessels from the three primary contexts discussed below (Early/Middle Pre-Fire, Late Pre-Fire, and Fire components).

### **The Early to Middle Pre-Fire Component**

The Early to Middle Pre-Fire component was associated with the early ground surface and middens deposited around the house from its original construction through circa 1870. Although the artifacts were few in number and small in size, they represent a distinctive pre-1870 assemblage associated with the early years of the Westenbergers' occupation of the site. When they first occupied the site in 1848, Peter and Eva Westerberger were a middle-aged couple with children, having only recently emigrated from Germany.

A total of 65 ceramic and glass vessels were assigned to the Early/Middle Pre-Fire context (Table 7). Secondary vessels outnumbered Primary vessels by a factor of nearly 4½ to one. By far, the greatest number of ceramic and glass vessels from the Early/Middle Pre-Fire context were represented by items in the Foodways Service category (n=43; representing 66.2% of the vessels). These vessels were equally represented by tablewares (n=19 vessels) and teawares (n=24 vessels). The next highest functional category was represented by Medicines, which consisted of 6 vessels (representing 9.2% of the vessels from this context). The medicine bottles were represented by over four times the number of non-proprietary vessels (n=4) to proprietary vessels (n=1). The single proprietary medicine bottle recovered from this context was represented by Vessel A-147. The single indented panel of this small bottle was embossed "H. G. O. CARY." The Cary Company was established in Zanesville, Ohio by the druggist/chemist Harrison Gray Otis Cary (c. 1816-1891) most likely during the 1850s (or earlier).<sup>64</sup> He was

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<sup>64</sup> Cary was born in Maine, published *The Farmer's Almanac* in Zanesville in 1849, was married to Matilda Ingalls in November 1854 in Muskingum, Ohio. By the Civil War, he was issuing tokens for his cough cure



joined by William Weller in 1869, the two producing a number of proprietary medicines under the guise of “Cary’s Family Medicines.” Among the medicines marketed by the company were Cary’s Cough Cure, Indian Vegetable Liver Pill and Blood Purifier, Eye Salve, Vegetable Toothache Remedy, Buckeye Condition Powders, Pure Glycerine, Barrell’s Indian Liniment, Barrell’s Worm Confections, and Soluble Ink Powder (Morrison, Plummer and Company 1880:140). In circa 1879, Weller purchased Cary’s interest and continued to market Cary’s Family Medicines through 1891 (at which point he sold the company to Fluke and Henry).<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, it is unclear as to what product was present in this small, potentially sample sized bottle (Figure 75). The non-proprietary vessels included a homeopathic vial, a pill bottle, and an unmarked bottle with a distinctive Godfrey Cordial shape (Vessel A-149). Godfrey Cordials were a patent medicine that generally contained laudanum (a tincture of opium) in a sweet syrup used as a sedative “to quieten infants and children.” Other functional categories were represented by low numbers, and included Kitchenwares (n=5; 7.7%); Indulgences (n=3; 4.6%); Household (n=2; 3.1%); Food Storage (n=1; 1.5%); and Architecture (n=1; 1.5%). Indulgences were represented by three alcohol containers, which consisted of a single whiskey flask, wine bottle, and unidentified third bottle with an applied tool Brandy lip finish (Vessel A-162). Household vessels were represented by a single chamber pot (Vessel A-193) and a glass lamp chimney (Vessel A-150). The lamp chimney had a straight base with crimped finish (typical of the later end of this time period/component).

A small number of Pre-Fire artifacts were present on, or immediately above, the original ground surface exposed in Test 1, as well as to the area immediately north of the house. It is unclear as to whether any of these artifacts were deposited in this context prior to the construction of the existing house, and potentially associated with a Pre-House A component. Although it seems most likely that the few items in this context were deposited after the construction of the house, it does not preclude the potential that this may represent a midden that pre-dates this dwelling (see discussion, Houses B and C). The majority of the pre-1870 artifacts from the House A excavations were recovered from the light midden located in the yard immediately to the north of the house (identified as Feature 1), and on the original ground surface in the Madison Street frontage. Additionally, some early artifacts recovered from later contexts probably represent re-deposited materials from the earlier period (and are discussed in this section).

Several ceramic vessels recovered from this early context could easily have been associated with this Pre-House A component, and associated with a late 1820s and 1830s context. A single undecorated toiletry vessel (a chamber pot) was present in this assemblage and may date from this earliest Pre-House A component. The creamware (cc-ware) chamber pot was represented by a number of highly fragmented sherds and could easily have been from an 1830s context. Several of the edge decorated wares had scalloped rims typical of an earlier period of time. Printed pearlwares decorated with an overall dark blue printed pattern typical of the 1820s and 1830s, and the scalloped edge printed wares decorated in the SOWER pattern from circa 1835, may very well have been in use during the early to middle 1830s. Similarly, several of the redware vessels recovered from House A were refined tablewares (bowls, mugs) reminiscent of

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(<https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Cary-1469>). No advertisements for the Cary Family Medicines were found in the local newspapers.

<sup>65</sup> [https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7518250/william-a\\_-weller](https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7518250/william-a_-weller)

locally produced redwares manufactured by the Ebey family, potentially from a workshop (with kiln) located only a couple blocks to the west during the very late 1820s and early 1830s (see Mansberger 2009). A manganese-glazed redware mug (?) distinctive of wares produced in Philadelphia during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was also among this assemblage. Although these wares may have been associated with a Pre-House A component, it is just as likely that they represent older wares in use by the Westenberger family during the middle to late 1840s. As with Houses B and C, a large potentially forged nut and an iron bracket of unknown function were recovered from the site, potentially associated with a component that pre-dates House A.

The artifacts from the Early Pre-Fire context included a variety of ceramic and glass wares typical of a middle 1840s through circa 1875 domestic occupation presumably associated with the Westenberger family—a German immigrant cabinet maker. The ceramics from this component included a range of edge-decorated, painted, sponge-decorated, printed, and relief-decorated tableware and teaware vessels, as well as an occasional fragment of utilitarian kitchenwares. Most of the edge decorated wares had simple round bodies (without scalloped edges) typical of later (1850s-60s) wares (Figure 57). Painted wares included teawares with small and moderately sized floral motifs typical of the same period. Several sponge-decorated vessels (some incorporating painted and/or “lined” rims and bodies) were also present (Figure 58). The edge decorated, painted, and sponge-decorated wares represent a range of less formal and/or cheaper teaware vessels in use at the site. All the painted and sponge-decorated wares from House A are teawares. Painted and sponge decorated wares are often associated with Pennsylvania German families. Although the Westenbergers were first generation German immigrants with no known connection to Pennsylvania, the colorful palette of these wares may nonetheless reflect the family’s German heritage. Given that Peter and Eva Westenberger were middle-aged when they arrived in the United States, they perhaps had a stronger affinity to such wares.

Printed wares were relatively common in this early assemblage, and represent middle-of-the road table and tea wares from the later 1840s through circa 1860 (Figures 59-63). Printed wares far outnumbered the painted wares—suggesting the potential better-than-average status of the Westenberger family during these pre-Civil War years (especially during the 1840s and early 1850s). As noted above, although the majority of these were recovered along the outside edge of the house, in the side yard, a low-density midden was present beneath the house (at least in Test 1)—and may represent materials discarded and/or deposited beneath the floorboards of this house.

**Table 5**  
**Print Patterns from House A**

<u>Pattern Name</u>	<u>Decoration Type</u>	<u>Manufacturer</u>	<u>Date Range</u>	<u>Vessels</u>
Garden Scenery	print	T. J. & J. Mayer	1843-1855	A-114, A-27
Sower	print	William Adams	1800-1864 (ca. 1835)	A-29
Sirius	print	James and Thomas Edwards	1839-1841	A-165
Geneva	print	Joseph Heath	1845-1853	A-26
Crystal Palace 1851	print	J. & M. P. Bell [?]	1851 [?]	A-28

At least five individual print patterns were identified in the assemblage (Table 5). These include SOWER (manufactured by William Adams, circa 1835-40), Sirius (manufactured by James and Thomas Edwards, circa 1839 through 1841), GARDEN SCENERY (manufactured by T. J. and J. Mayer, circa 1843-1855), GENEVA (manufactured by Joseph Heath, circa 1845 through 1853), and CRYSTAL PALACE (presumably manufactured in 1851 or slightly after by an unknown pottery). Except for the GARDEN SCENERY pattern (which was represented by both cups and plates), these patterns were represented by single vessels. The presence of both table and teawares decorated in the GARDEN SCENERY pattern suggests that the Westenberger family may have purchased a set of dishes decorated in this pattern sometime during the middle to late 1840s—potentially upon their arrival in Springfield. Both the SOWER and SIRIUS patterns may date from the middle to late 1830s, potentially representing older wares purchased by the family. The SOWER pattern, with its red color and agricultural theme, is reminiscent of a pitcher (decorated with the HARVEST SCENERY pattern) recovered from the Early Pre-Fire component of House E (and associated with the contemporary Smith family) (Figures 60-61).

A fragment of a plate (Vessel A-28) decorated with a print pattern identified as the CRYSTAL PALACE was recovered from the early midden north of House A (Figures 62-63), and was associated with the early component of the house. The sherd from House A has a distinctive grape vine border which has been identified on a series of printed wares which have central images that depict London's Crystal Palace. At least five different views of the Crystal Palace, all with this same border, have been identified. Unfortunately, none of these vessels (plates and sugar bowl) with this border are marked, and the manufacturer of this particular border design remains unidentified. Although the manufacturer of this plate is unknown (cf. Snyder 1997:96), Weber (1978:247) suggests that a pattern identified as CRYSTAL PALACE was produced by John and Mathew P. Bell at their Glasgow Pottery in 1851.<sup>66</sup> The Glasgow Pottery's border by this name is different than that used on the plate recovered from House A, suggesting that this particular design was not produced by Bell. Two other potters are known to have produced wares with images of the Crystal Palace. These include the Thomas Godwin Pottery, and Pinder, Bourne and Hope Pottery—both produced a pattern illustrating the Crystal Palace, but with different border designs.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> The two Bell brothers established their pottery, in Glasgow, in 1840-41, and presumably exhibited wares decorated with this pattern at the Great Exhibition held in the Crystal Palace in 1851 (Kelly 2006:24, 123; <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-003-306-C>; <https://www.ebth.com/items/12607241-scottish-j-m-p-bell-and-co-and-other-crystal-palace-ironstone-tableware>).

<sup>67</sup> The Transferware Collectors Club Database of Patterns and Sources details at least four potential manufacturers (based on distinctive border designs) of ceramic wares illustrating the Crystal Palace. Three of the designs have identifying marks for potters, and include 1) Bell, 2) Thomas Godwin, and 3) Pinder, Bourne and Hope. Bell's Glasgow Pottery was established in 1840-41 and continued through 1923. The Thomas Godwin Pottery was in business from 1834 to 1854. Pinder, Bourne and Hope produced pottery from 1851 through 1862. The fourth design, which is the example from House A, was unidentified as to its maker (<https://www.transferwarecollectorsclub.org/tcc2/search/?prg=1633531879&searchid=79368>).

Who produced these printed vessels with this distinctive grape vine border is unknown. Although a search for similar border designs proved unsuccessful, printed wares produced by John Goodwin (1841-1851) incorporate a grape vine motif reminiscent of this design (<http://www.thepotteries.org/allpotters/454a.htm>).

The “Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations” (known simply as The Great Exhibition) was held from May through October 1851 in the distinctive Crystal Palace constructed specifically for the event in Hyde Park, London.<sup>68</sup> Held in response to earlier French exhibitions, it was the British response to emphasize its superiority as a world leader in industrial technology. The presence of this plate in the early Westenberger family’s house raises questions as to its inherent meaning to the family. Although some of the wares carrying images of the Crystal Palace were probably sold by vendors at the Crystal Palace to tourists as souvenirs of their visit [see *Punch* cartoon], it seems unlikely that the Westenberger family visited the Crystal Palace in mid-1851. However, the implications of the Great Exhibition’s theme of industrial technology may, indeed, have piqued the interest of the craftsmen family (whether father, or son).

Relief decorated wares were also identified from the assemblage in limited number (Figure 64). These included simple Gothic forms (such as Vessel A-33) typical of the 1840s, as well as molded wares more typical of the 1850s and 1860s. Plates (Vessels A-65 and A-88) illustrated with BOOTE’S 1851 Pattern (registered in July 1851 by T. and R. Boote), and at least one saucer (Vessel A-32) decorated in the CERES SHAPE (registered in 1859 by the firm of Elsmore and Forster) were recovered from the Early to Middle Pre-Fire deposits (Dieringer and Dieringer 2001:51, 126).

Although glass tablewares were few in number from this early component, several vessels were identified and included a small fragment of a glass cup plate (Vessel A-190), and two small, lead-glass serving bowls (Vessel A-190 and A-91) (Figure 65). The lead glass cup plate was illustrated in a design reminiscent of the ARCHED LEAF Pattern (Lee 1931:241, Plate 73). The earlier of the two lead-glass serving bowls (Vessel A-190) was recovered from Middle Pre-Fire context. The upper surface of the everted rim from this bowl was decorated with a row of small round nodes (“beads”) located along the top surface of the rim. A similar row of beads was located immediately below the rim on the outer surface of the bowl.<sup>69</sup> The later of the two serving bowls (Vessel A-91) was decorated in the MAGNET AND GRAPE Pattern (Lee 1931:204, Plate 63). Lee (1931:291) suggests that this pattern dates from the 1860s and potentially 1870s, and that it is found in two styles—an earlier one with frosted leaf and a slightly later one with stippled and veined leaf (similar to that found at House A). The Early American Pattern Glass Society (EAPGS) defines both a *MAGNET AND FROSTED GRAPE* and *MAGNET AND STIPPLED GRAPE* pattern, with the frosted grape design being slightly earlier than the stippled design.<sup>70</sup> Although this sherd was recovered from a Late Pre-Fire

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<sup>68</sup> *Dickinsons’ Comprehensive Pictures of The Great Exhibition of 1851* was published in 1852 and contains many images of the event, including those presumably used on the printed wares produced by these potters (Nash et al. 1852; <https://archive.org/details/Dickinsonscompr1/page/n131/mode/2up>).

<sup>69</sup> This rim design is reminiscent of that of the PRAYER RUG pattern manufactured by Adams and Company (Pittsburgh, in operation 1861-1891) and introduced in circa 1881 (<https://www.eapgs.net/full-images.php?idx=43927&pat=2245>). Unfortunately, the sherd from House A is too small to make a positive pattern identification. If, indeed, this represents the PRAYER RUG pattern, it would suggest that this Middle Pre-Fire component might extend through the early 1880s, and/or this context (Lot 70) may better be assigned a mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire context.



component, it is unclear whether it was associated with the earlier Westenberger family's occupation of House A, or with the later 1870s and/or early 1880s occupation of the house by tenants. Both the cup plate and two serving bowls represent better quality items generally associated with a more affluent household. Several ceramic table and/or teawares recovered from this early component also hint at the elevated status of the site occupants. Although porcelain wares were few in number, fragments of a porcelain serving vessel (presumably a bowl) with pierced sides suggestive of a basket was recovered (Vessel A-189). A gilded porcelain saucer (Vessel A-103) was also recovered. These limited porcelain wares were probably associated with the Middle Pre-Fire components (Figure 77).

The Kitchenwares associated with the Early to Middle Pre-Fire deposits were represented predominately by redware vessels and a limited number of salt-glazed stoneware vessels (Figure 66). The redware vessels included both utilitarian kitchenwares and refined tablewares. The utilitarian kitchenwares were most likely locally produced and included small jugs (Vessel A-192), and the ever-present small jars and/or bowls (such as Vessels A-136 and A-172). The refined redwares from this context are uncommon examples of both non-local, black-glazed wares typically associated with regional Philadelphia produced wares (cf. Myers 1980) and locally produced wares typical of the late 1820s and early 1830s production. Several of the redware vessels such as a small jug (Vessel A-192) and bowl (Vessel A-72) exhibit over-firing and/or burning in the kiln. The locally produced redware tablewares included two small refined bowls (Vessel A-142 and A-146) most likely produced by John Ebey (perhaps at a pottery he operated only a few blocks to the west in circa 1830-32) (Mansberger 2009). The non-local wares were represented by a potential mug (Vessel A-179) with a distinctive black-glaze. A single salt-glazed crockery jar/bowl was present (Vessel A-141). Rockingham-glazed kitchen wares, although few in number, were also present (Vessel A-93).

Foodway Remains from the Early Pre-Fire component consist of discarded animal remains from past meals and butchering activities of people who occupied the site of House A from circa 1845 to 1865. Tables summarizing the faunal remains from House A are presented in Appendix IV. A total of 164 faunal specimens are associated with the Early Pre-Fire component, which makes up only 8.5% of the total House A faunal assemblage. The 48 identified specimens are from seven animal taxa with pig, chicken, and cattle being most numerous. Although the sample is relatively small, 52.6% of the pig bones are from high value pork butchering units (consisting of both ham and loin), along with 15.8% from low value cuts (hock, foot, and jowl), plus four isolated teeth. Seven of nine cattle bones are sawed, and 55.6% of the beef butchering units are from low value cuts. The identified bird remains are limited to chickens (MNI = 3), all of which are mature individuals.

Foodways Remains from the Middle Pre-Fire consist of 406 animal remains (45.9 percent of the total House A faunal assemblage), which reflect subsistence activities from approximately 1865

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<sup>70</sup> Although the MAGNET AND FROSTED GRAPE pattern may have been produced by the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company as early as circa 1860 (cf. Jenks and Luna 1990:344), the MAGNET AND STIPPLED GRAPE pattern may not have been manufactured until circa 1872. Adams and Company of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (in operation from 1861 to 1891) first advertised the pattern in their 1872 catalog under the name KEYSTONE ([https://www.eapgs.org/patterns/pattern-lists.php?pat\\_name=magnet+and+grape;](https://www.eapgs.org/patterns/pattern-lists.php?pat_name=magnet+and+grape;) <https://www.eapgs.org/patterns/full-images.php?id=28207&pat=2582>).

through 1885. A total of 259 specimens (63.8%) from this collection were identified below class (representing 78.5% by specimen weight). Although bones from pigs are twice as numerous as bones from cattle, beef makes up 50.3% of the estimated biomass for the Middle Pre-Fire component, compared to 34.7% from pork. Beef and pork were supplemented by sheep or goat (including butchering units of rack or rib, neck, and shoulder), eastern cottontail (13 bones from a minimum of two individuals), and fowl. The birds consist mostly of domestic chicken (25 bones from at least three individuals) along with two bones each from turkey and rock dove. Also recovered were isolated bones from a domesticated cat (a left distal humerus shaft fragment), a small dog (left distal humerus shaft), and 141 bones from at least eight individual Norway rats.

Butchering is indicated by sawed and chopped bones in the faunal assemblage. Nearly 64% of the cattle bones are sawed, reflecting purchases from professional butchers at local meatpacking plants and/or retail markets where various skeletal portions and butchering units of beef and pork were sold at prices based on consumer preference and demand (Dappert-Coonrod and Kuehn 2017; Milne and Crabtree 2001; Schulz and Gust 1983). Butchering units associated with pork consists of a balanced distribution among retail value cuts with 31.8% coming from low value portions (foot, snout, jowl, and hock), 27.3% from middle value cuts (spare ribs and shoulder butt), 25.0% from high value portions (loins and hams), plus seven isolated teeth. The bones from cattle are consistent in that 63.6% of the butchering units are from low value cuts (mostly cross and/or short ribs). The presence of the isolate pig teeth and presence of chopped bones (and/or the use of a cleaver versus saw in processing) may suggest on-site processing of hog carcasses.

A variety of small finds associated with the Early Pre-Fire component were recovered from the excavations. Personal items included both writing slates and associated slate styluses (Figure 68). The writing slates were lined, and suggestive of educational activities and/or writing lessons with children. Writing slates and styluses were also present in the Middle Pre-Fire contexts. Also of interest was the recovery of a single coin from the Early Pre-Fire deposits of House A. This coin was recovered from the low-density midden associated with the lower ground surface within the Madison Street frontage to the rear of the dwelling. The coin was a “Capped Bust” dime with a mint date of 1827 (Lot A-94) (Figure 70). The 1827 date of this coin may suggest the presence of a Pre-House A component.

Smoking pipes were not present in the Early Pre-Fire context, and present in very small numbers from a mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire component (Lots A-80 and A-83). The few pipe fragments recovered from this context are stem and bowl fragments of undecorated long-stemmed kaolin pipes—similar to others recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context.

Artifacts associated with clothing were few in number within this early component, but included a small number of buttons (Figure 69). The buttons in the Early Pre-Fire context were represented by bone and Prosser (glass) examples. The Prosser buttons were represented by both white and blue-colored glass buttons. The Prosser buttons suggest a post 1849 date of deposition. The mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire deposits had similar bone and Prosser buttons, but were supplemented with shell and stamped metal examples. The Prosser buttons from this mixed context included white and colored examples, as well as pie-crust molded and potentially

a painted example. Also present in this mixed context was a large domed cuprous tack or decorative stud, and a blue glass tubular bead. This variety in buttons in the mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire context is reminiscent of the later Late Pre-Fire component.

Toys were present in this early assemblage, and were represented by a couple rather uncommon examples (Figure 67). One of these less-than-common toys was a small salt-glazed stoneware ovoid jug with cobalt blue decoration. This small toy jug may represent a relatively high-priced toy. Also recovered from this early context was a small Parian figurine of a human figure, which also may represent a child's toy (Lot A-93). A second fragment, of a much larger Parian figurine (Lot A-2) was also recovered. It is unclear as to whether this second figurine fragment represents a toy, or a household knickknack. A single marble was recovered from the mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire context.

Artifacts associated with remodeling and/or construction activity were also present in this early component. Most common was the occasional brick fragment, window glass, and nail. Although limited in number, some of this structural debris appears to represent demolition debris (in contrast to construction debris). Besides these more common items, fragments of a hand-turned, unglazed, red-paste earthenware flue liner (or "thimble") also were present (Vessel A-138) (Figure 73). Both ends of this "vessel" were open with an everted rim on one end, and a straight rim on the opposite end. The straight end was created by removing (cutting out) the turned base while the vessel was still "green." Cut marks along the inside edge of the base indicate its removal. Although a small amount of mortar is attached to the vessel (suggesting that it may have been installed within a chimney), the interior of the thimble is clean (with no soot present)—suggesting it was little used, or broken during installation. The presence of this thimble in this early context suggests remodeling and/or expansion activity occurring with House A at a relatively early date, presumably prior to circa 1870. This early remodeling activity may have been associated with the modification of chimneys retrofitting them for use with cast iron stoves (whether cooking or heating stoves is unknown). The only historic photograph of House A suggests that the dwelling was outfitted with minimally heating fireplace, if not both heating and cooking fireplaces when originally constructed.<sup>71</sup> Other items associated with potential remodeling activity include glass scrap cut into strips indicative of glass cutting to fit into window panes (Lot 44; Feature 13) and small fragments of brick with lime wash (and/or whitewash) on exterior surface (Lot 70; Test 7, Zone III). The latter two items identified with a mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire Component.

Household items from this early context were limited in number but included fragments of at least one mirror (recovered in both Early and Middle Pre-Fire contexts), furniture hardware (drawer or door cabinet lock), a fragment of a Parian figurine as well as fragments of hand turned red-paste earthenware flower pots (Vessel A-81) (Figures 66, 71-72). Figures 76-80 illustrate a variety of small finds associated with a mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire component.

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<sup>71</sup> The retrofitting of the kitchen chimney for a cooking stove, and the front-room and upstairs chimneys for heating stoves may represent a single or two separate remodeling episodes.

## **The Late Pre-Fire Component**

The Late Pre-Fire component was associated with cinder-rich middens deposited around House A, and occurred in both the front and back yard locations. The artifact density in the Late Pre-Fire context was considerably higher than the earlier Early/Middle Pre-Fire contexts. The beginning date of this component is generally associated with the shift from the owner-occupied deposits associated with the later years of the Westenberger family's occupation of the house to the early years of the deposits associated with the generally Black occupants of the later years of the nineteenth century. The date of this shift is not known with certainty, but appears to have occurred in the very late 1870s or early 1880s (circa 1880). As noted earlier, the distinction between Middle and Late Pre-Fire components was not easily defined, with some contexts being assigned a Middle/Late Pre-Fire context.

The shift from an owner-occupied to tenant occupied dwelling may not have occurred on a specific date, but may have occurred over an extended time period. During the later years of the widow Westenberger's occupation of the house (circa 1881-1883), she apparently had boarders living with her in the family house. It is unknown whether rooms in the older family home were simply rented out to boarders, or whether it was physically separated into multiple rental units. By the later 1880s, the house was probably divided into multiple rental units occupied at times by both white and Black tenants. During the later 1880s and the 1890s, the tenant-occupied house also may have functioned as a "house of ill fame." Post 1890, the occupants predominately were Black.

During this Late Pre-Fire time frame, artifact disposal practices changed. Discard of waste shifted from disposal in rear-yard pits (such as abandoned privy pits) and/or off-site disposal to being broadcast in the adjacent yards (both front, side, and rear) resulting in a rapid build-up of the ground surface—witnessed by the burial of brick walkways, both front and rear yard. Earlier raised surface in the back yard was due to construction activity at an early date; perhaps with construction and/or expansion of original cellar.

An unusually late-dating assemblage of artifacts was recovered from what was originally believed to be a Late Pre-Fire Front Yard context of House A. These artifacts included a large selection of whole vessels in the fill capping Feature 22 (Figure 78). One of these vessels was a small machine-made cream bottle embossed "PRODUCERS / DAIRY CO. SPRINGFIELD, ILL. // SEALED / HALF PINT / LIQUID" (Vessel 52). Producers Dairy first got its start in circa 1932, and suggests that there may have been an episode of fill (with artifacts placed over the ruins of House A as late as the 1930s.

A total of 101 ceramic and glass vessels were assigned to the Late Pre-Fire context (Table 7, Figure 55). Primary vessels were still fairly low in number, with Secondary vessels outnumbering Primary vessels by a factor of slightly more than 1½ to one. By far, the greatest number of ceramic and glass vessels from the Late Pre-Fire context were still represented by items in the Foodways Service category (n=43; representing 42.6% of the vessels). Compared to the earlier Early/Middle Pre-Fire context, the Foodways Service category in the Late Pre-Fire context was represented by a considerably smaller percentage of vessels (representing a substantial 35.6% decline, or decrease of 23.6 percentage points within this functional category).



This decrease in vessels from the Foodways Service category may not indicate a decrease in importance of food consumption from the earlier period, but a decreased presence of specialized food service vessels. Foodways Service vessels from the Late Pre-Fire component consist of basic table service wares. Minor decreases in percentages of vessels were also noted in the functional categories of Architecture (down 1.5 percentage points) and Kitchenware (down 4.7 percentage points). The decrease in these functional categories was offset by the increased percentages of Indulgences (n=18; representing 17.8% of the vessels) (up 13.2 percentage points), Foodways Storage (n=9; 8.9% of the vessels) (up 7.4 percentage points), Household (n=8; representing 7.9% of the vessels) (up 4.8 percentage points), Medicines (n=14; 13.9% of the vessels) (up 4.7 percentage points), and Personal Care and/or Hygiene (n=3; representing 3.0% of the vessels) (up 3.0 percentage points).

Vessels associated with the Indulgences functional category exhibited the largest increase from the earlier deposits. The Indulgences functional category represented 17.8% of the vessels from the Late Fire context of House A, and represent an increase of 387% over the earlier Early/Middle Pre-Fire context. Vessels in this category represent a great increase in the number of both non-alcoholic and alcoholic vessels from the earlier period. Vessels from this functional category were represented by both Non-alcoholic Drink (n=6) and Alcoholic Drink (N=12). The Non-alcoholic Drink vessels were represented solely by blob-top soda water bottles. Three of the six soda water bottles were identified as to their owner. It is of interest that only one of the three identified bottles were owned by local soda water manufacturers. This bottle (Vessel 17) was embossed “F. X. Reisch / Springfield / ILL.” Frank X. Reisch was a saloon keeper during the later 1890s, and joined into a partnership with J. Lauterbach to produce and bottle non-alcoholic drinks (soda water, ginger ale, and mineral waters) in circa 1902. The partnership was still in business in June 1907—suggesting that this bottle may not have been in use until sometime late 1907 or 1908. The other two soda water bottles were from non-Springfield locations, and included one embossed “KENDALL / BOTTLING WORKS / ILLIOPOLIS, ILL.” (Vessel A-40), and another embossed “JOHN SCHEU / DETROIT” (Vessel A-58) (Figure 83). Illiopolis is a small town in eastern Sangamon County, approximately 25 miles from Springfield. No information is known as to the date of the Kendall Bottling Works. John Scheu was a German-born immigrant who settled in Detroit in 1866. Originally a brewer, he established the Scheu Bottling Works and began the manufacture of soft drinks sometime during the later nineteenth century, which he continued up through his death in 1921 (*Detroit Free Press*, 1 March 1921, p. 20). The presence of both the Illiopolis and Detroit soda water bottles in the Late Pre-Fire context of House A is puzzling, and may attest to the transient nature of the House A occupants at this time. Although the presence of soda waters from Illiopolis is not unreasonable, it is doubtful that Scheu would have been marketing his soda waters in Springfield during this time period.

Bottles associated with Alcohol Drink were relatively plentiful and were represented by wine bottles (n=2), beer bottles (n=3), whiskey flasks (n=5), distilled liquor/brandy bottles (n=1), and an indeterminate amber bottle probably representing another large beer bottle. An ornate, long-necked bottle reminiscent of a wine bottle (Vessel A-51) was recovered from a Front Yard context, and was embossed “L. ROSE & CO.” This company specialized in lime juice beverages from the West Indies. The whiskey flasks were of various styles, and included Dandy, Coffin, and Picnic flasks. One of the flasks was embossed “SPRINGFIELD, ILLS” (Vessel A-97) and is

reminiscent of the liquor bottles marked by the firm J. M. Fitzgerald who used a variety of flasks and cylindrical whiskey bottles variously embossed J. M. FITZGERALD / GROCER / WINES & LIQUORS / SPRINGFIELD / ILL” and “J. M. FITZGERALD / WINES & LIQUORS / WARRANTED PURE / SPRINGFIELD, ILL” (Figure 84). Although James Fitzgerald died in early 1892, his grocery store continued operating under his name through late 1905. If this bottle was used by Fitzgerald, it would have been in use the 1890s or very early 1900s (through circa 1905) (cf. Stratton and Mansberger 2017: 130). One of the beer bottles was a two-tone, Bristol-glazed stoneware bottle which probably held a ginger beer (Vessel A-93).

Several non-vessel small finds associated with Indulgences were recovered from this Late Pre-Fire context, and included smoking pipes, an opium pipe, and a brass hypodermic syringe (Figures 85-87). Although artifacts associated with tobacco smoking were, in general, poorly represented, a couple fragments of long stem, kaolin pipes and a single fragment of a dark-paste stoneware elbow pipe were present in the assemblage (and similar to the mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire context discussed above). Apparently, the occupants of House A were not smoking solely tobacco, as a large fragment of an opium pipe bowl was also recovered near the southwest corner of the house. This burnished, black-paste undecorated stoneware bowl is typical of oriental pipes in use during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. A similar pipe, albeit red paste with traditional Chinese characters impressed in the bowl, was recovered from excavations at the site of the Presidential Library Parking Garage West (Mansberger 2009), as well as at Sites 1532 and 1533 (located across Tenth Street to the east).<sup>72</sup> This pipe fragment was recovered from the circa 1908 surface near the southwest corner of the house and represents very late household discard just before the August 1908 fire, or potential household contents burned during the fire. It is unclear whether the black paste color of the pipe bowl is its original color, or due to the burning that occurred during the blaze. In either case, the presence of this pipe suggests the consumption of opiates by the occupants of this house. Similarly, a brass hypodermic syringe found in the backdirt during the Phase II investigations (Lot A-6) may suggest the use of similar opiates (such as morphine) by the house occupants. Both the opium pipe and the hypodermic syringe hint at the illicit use of drugs in this immediate vicinity immediately prior to the 1908 riots.

Nine vessels from the Food Storage functional category (representing 8.9% of the vessels from this context) were recovered from this Late Pre-Fire context. This represents an increase of 593% within this category from the earlier Early/Middle Pre-Fire contexts. Although this increase may simply document the technological advancements of commercial food packaging and the growth of the commercial food industry during the latter years of the nineteenth century, it may also hint at the decreased home cooking and/or preparation of foods by the house occupants in favor of commercially packaged foods. The decrease in the percentage of Kitchenware vessels in this Late Pre-Fire context may also hint at this latter interpretation. The increase in Foodways Storage vessels, combined with the decrease in Kitchenware vessels, may suggest a shift away from basic home preparation of foods to the use of prepared and/or commercially packaged foods.

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<sup>72</sup> Sites 11SG1532 and 11SG1533 are located across the street, to the east, of House A. These two sites, which were mitigated as part of the Springfield Rail Improvements Project in the summer of 2019, were initially improved by free Black families during the early 1860s and occupied by the same families through the beginning years of the twentieth century. During the years immediately prior to the August 1908 riots, both houses were occupied by unknown tenants.

The Food Storage vessels were represented by both Home Canned (n=3) and Commercial Packaged/Canned (n=6) foods. The Home Canned vessels were represented by canning jars and a large glass demi-john (Vessel A-18). The Commercial Packaged/Canned functional category included a milk bottle, flavoring extract bottle, olive oil bottle, and condiment bottle. The machine-made milk bottle was embossed “PRODUCERS / DAIRY CO. SPRINGFIELD, ILL. // SEALED / HALF PINT / LIQUID” (Vessel A-52). As noted earlier, this milk bottle may post-date the Late Pre-Fire context.

The Household functional category also contained eight vessels (representing 7.9% of the vessels from this context). This represents a 255% increase in vessels in this functional category from the earlier Early/Middle Pre-Fire context. The majority of the vessels from this functional category represented Household Furnishings (N=8), and consisted of lamp chimneys (N=5), lamp fonts (n=2), and a single hand-turned flower pot (Vessel A-81).

**Table 6**  
**Proprietary Medicines from House A**

<u>Embossed Details</u>	<u>Ailment</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Vessel No.</u>	<u>Context</u>
H. G. O. CARY	Cary's Family Medicines	ca.1850-post 1920	A-147	Early.Middle Pre-Fire
“DR. EARL S. SLOAN / SLOAN’S N & B LINIMENT / BOSTON MASS U.S.A.”	Nerve and bone liniment; aches, pains, rheumatism	1870s-post 1950	A-39	Late Pre-Fire
“THE GRAY MEDICINE CO. / TRADE / MARK / NEW YORK”	“seminal weakness, spermatorrhea, impotency and all diseases that follow as a sequence of self-abuse...”	1890s-	A-23	Late Pre-Fire
“DR KING’S / NEW DISCOVERY // H. E. BUCKLEN & CO // CHICAGO, ILL.”	coughs, colds, throat and lung problems, consumption cure	1880s-	A-23	Late Pre-Fire
“OMEGA OIL”	aches and pains		A-56	Late Pre-Fire
“ZIMMERMAN / DRUGGIST”	druggist dosage glass	unknown	A-95	Late Pre-Fire
“BAUMANN BROS. / DRUGGISTS / SPRINGFIELD, ILL.”	druggist prescription bottle	1886-1894	A-13	Fire

A total of 14 vessels were present in the functional category of Medicine (representing 13.9% of the vessels from the Late Pre-Fire context). This represents an increase of 154% over the earlier context. This increase in number was mostly exhibited in the increase of both Proprietary Medicines (n=6), as well as Prescription Medicines (n=3). This increase in this functional category may reflect the decrease in healthfulness of the house occupants at this later date, alternatively, the increased consumption of alcohol disguised as medicine (particularly with the proprietary medicines). Generic, unmarked medicine bottles (n=5) were represented by bottles and vials.

The most common (n=6) form of medicine bottle recovered from this context was proprietary medicines (Table 6). Two of the vessels were represented by small fragments that did not include enough information to identify the company name. Four identified proprietary medicines were noted in this assemblage and discussed below. Vessel 23 was a pill bottle embossed with the text “THE GRAY MEDICINE CO. / TRADE / MARK / NEW YORK” and an accompanying arrow motif (Figure 89) Advertisements from the *Illinois State Journal* (September 10, 1890) state that “Gray’s Specific Medicine” was touted as a cure for “seminal

weakness, spermatorrhea, impotency and all diseases that follow as a sequence of self-abuse, as loss of memory, universal lassitude, pain in the back, dimness of vision, premature old age, and many other diseases that lead to insanity or consumption and a premature grave.” Advertisements for the Gray Medicine Company first appear in the Springfield newspapers in 1878 (*Illinois State Register*, 12 July 1878, p. 3) and continue through early 1891.

Vessel 39 was embossed “DR. EARL S. SLOAN / SLOAN’S N & B LINIMENT / BOSTON MASS U.S.A.” (Figure 92). The “N & B” is in reference to the product being a “Nerve and Bone” Liniment. In conjunction with his brother and their horse trade, Earl Sloan began marketing his father’s horse liniment from St. Louis in 1871. The father of these two men was an Ohio harness maker and early veterinary surgeon from who had had local success with his liniment for many years prior to this date. Soon after Sloan introduced his liniment in St. Louis it was recognized for its value for relieving muscle ache in humans as well as horses and it was marketed for both “man and beast.” Sloan’s liniment was known for the relief of muscle aches and rheumatism. Sloan was a successful marketer early in his career, especially to women, and by the turn-of-the-century he had published several cook books advertising his various medicinal products (cf. Sloan 1901, 1905).<sup>73</sup> This bottle probably post-dates 1900.<sup>74</sup>

Vessel 56 was a small round bottle embossed “OMEGA OIL” (Figure 90). Omega oil was a distinctive green liniment the main ingredients of which were chloroform, oil of wintergreen and mineral oil. Touted as a cure for aches-and-pains of all sorts (including sore feet, backs, throats, as well as rheumatism) the liniment first appears advertised in local Springfield newspapers in circa 1900 (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 November 1900, p. 8).

The fourth proprietary medicine bottle identified in this context was a paneled bottle embossed “DR KING’S / NEW DISCOVERY // H. E. BUCKLEN & CO // CHICAGO, ILL.” (Vessel A-123) (Figure 91). Dr. King’s New Discovery (which contained chloroform, morphine, and pine tar as its main ingredients) was promoted as a cure for consumption (tuberculosis) as well as coughs associated with the common cold. The H. E. Bucklen and Company purchased the rights for this remedy from a Dr. King (of Elkhart, Indiana) in circa 1878 and moved its production to Chicago in circa 1878-79.<sup>75</sup> Advertisements for Dr. King’s New Discovery appear in local Springfield newspapers beginning in the early 1880s, and continue through at least 1937 (*Illinois State Journal*, 7 December 1882, p. 2; 6 January 1937, p. 3).

Prescription bottles (and associated dosage glasses marked with a pharmacy) (n=3) were also present in the Late Pre-Fire context. The two prescription bottles (Vessels A-57 and A-110) both

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<sup>73</sup> Two of his publications were *Sloan’s Handy Hints and Up-To-Date Cook Book* (1901) and *Sloan’s Cook Book and Advice to Housekeepers* (1905), both of which published in Boston (after Sloan had relocated from St. Louis).

<sup>74</sup> The first advertisements in the local Springfield newspapers for Sloan’s Liniment occurred in early 1908 (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 January 1908, p. 5). Advertisements continue in the newspaper through at least 1954. Sloan apparently adopted his father’s title of “Doc” in 1900. Although Wikipedia suggests that Sloan moved production to Boston in 1904, his 1901 cook book references his factory as being located in Boston at that earlier date ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earl\\_Sloan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earl_Sloan); <https://www.ebay.com/itm/313461604769>).

<sup>75</sup> <https://ehive.com/collections/4339/objects/350672/he-bucklin-dr-kings-new-discovery-for-coughs-and-cold-bottle>



had improved tool lip finishes and were both embossed on their base with a back slant script of the word PEARL. This mark probably is in reference to the Sheldon Foster Glass Company, which was in operation from circa 1900 to circa 1907.<sup>76</sup> A shot-sized dosage glass embossed with the words “ZIMMERMANN / DRUGGIST” was also included in this functional category (Vessel A-95) (Figure 88). An archival search for a local druggist by the name Zimmermann was not successful, suggesting that this dosage glass probably was from a non-local druggist (hinting at the transient character of the inhabitants of the house) (cf. Farnsworth 2015).<sup>77</sup>

Three vessels from the Personal Care and/or Hygiene functional category (representing 3.0% of the vessels) were recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context. No artifacts from this functional category were recovered from the earlier Early/Middle Pre-Fire context. All three of these vessels represent skin care products. Vessels (Vessels A-53 and A-54) are machine made milk glass jars that probably held cold cream (or similar product such as skin whiteners). One of the jars integrates molded columns into its design. The third jar is clear glass and embossed “CHEESEBROUGH / NEW YORK” (Vessel A-168) and originally contained a salve (such as Vaseline) (Figure 93). Jars of this form were also used for skin whiteners (cf. advertisements in *The Crisis* magazine aimed at Black women during the early years of the twentieth century).

Foodway Remains from the Late Pre-Fire component of House A comprise 26.4% of the total House A faunal assemblage. A total of 234 animal remains were recovered from contexts dating from circa 1885 through mid-1908. A total of 78 specimens (33.3%) were identified below class (comprising 77.4% of the collection by specimen weight). Similar to previous House A contexts, specimens from pig and cattle are most numerous, together making up 62.8% of all identified animal remains. Pig remains are more than twice as numerous as specimens from cattle, but only contributed an estimated 45.4% of the estimated biomass in comparison to 44% from beef. Six bones from sheep and/or goat (MNI=1) were also identified, and these represent the butchering units shoulder, shank, leg, and rack or rib. Additional mammals include isolated bones from at least two eastern cottontail rabbits and a minimum of one individual Norway rat. Ten bones from domestic chickens (MNI=2) were also recovered. It is unknown whether the presence of the wild rabbit represents was the remains of a meal, or simply documents the death of a wild animal in the cellar.

Pork butchering units from Late Pre-Fire contexts are equally divided among high value (32.4%; mostly loins), middle value (32.4%; shoulder, picnic shoulder, and spare ribs) and low value cuts (29.4%; mostly foot), plus two isolated teeth. For cattle, nearly 87% of the bones were sawed, and about 53% of the beef butchering units consist of high value cuts (mostly short loin). Low value and middle value beef butchering units are represented by a diverse range of bones (see Appendix IV).

The small finds recovered from the Late Pre-Fire contexts were relatively numerous. Architectural items included glass cut into thin strips, indicative of window repair, and a glass insulator for a ground wire bracket associated with a lightning rod (Figure 94). Small finds

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<sup>76</sup> <https://sha.org/bottle/pdf/PLoGoTable.pdf>

<sup>77</sup> A search of the 1887, 1900, and 1906 Springfield city directories did not locate a reference to this druggist.

associated with Household Furnishings were limited in number, but included a small diameter, hollow, turned bone item with slit on top. The slit is darkened in color, as if burned. Although reminiscent of a gas jet for lighting, it is doubtful if bone would have been used for such a purpose (Figure 95). Clothing and personal items were some of the more plentiful small finds. The Clothing small finds consisted predominately of buttons, but included a great variety of these fasteners (Figure 96). Sew through bone, shell, Prosser, hard rubber, and stamped metal were present in the assemblage. Loop shank hard rubber, glass, and three-piece metal buttons also were among the buttons in this assemblage. Two loop-shank black glass buttons of note was one large faceted button, and a second with a molded/intaglio floral design. Additionally, several bone and glass collar studs were present in the assemblage (Figure 97).

Although the buttons were represented by a great variety of types, non-button clothing fasteners (such as buckles and suspender clips) were poorly represented in this assemblage. Similarly, jewelry items were poorly represented in this Late Pre-Fire assemblage. Nonetheless, the assemblage did contain two finger rings and a collar pin (Figure 98). One of the cast brass rings appears to represent a child's ring. The second ring is a slightly larger ring created by sawing a thin slice of mammal long bone. Edges of the cut bone surface had been extensively smoothed over and/or polished (potentially by wear). This unusual ring appears to represent a woman's ring based on its size. The collar pin was in the form of a large "S" and was embossed with the words "BLOOD AND FIRE" (Figure 99). This phrase was the motto of the Salvation Army, and it is in reference to "the blood of Jesus shed on the cross to save all people, and the fire of the Holy Spirit which purifies believers." This motto was incorporated into the Salvation Army's identifying crest in 1878.<sup>78</sup> The S-shaped collar pin, with its distinctive slogan, was one of the early logos for the Salvation Army. The words "Blood and Fire" are the "war cry" of the Salvation Army, with "Blood" referencing "Jesus' blood that washes us clean from sin" and "it is the fire of the Holy Spirit that makes us pure and helps us live lives that are pleasing to God."<sup>79</sup> The Salvation Army was established in London in circa 1865 as a Christian charitable organization with a military-style organizational philosophy. It was not until the early 1880s that the organization gained a foothold in the United States. Besides offering support to the downtrodden, the Army's early efforts in the United States were focused on the salvation of those who consumed alcohol, smoked, consumed illegal drugs, and gambled. The reputation of the organization improved dramatically after their relief efforts associated with the Galveston Hurricane (1900) and the San Francisco Earthquake (1906). Although later versions of the pins are often enameled, this pin was a plain version which was in common use during the 1880s and 1890s. How this Salvation Army pin ended up at this site, in a Late Pre-Fire context near the back door of House A is unclear. Perhaps an occupant of the house was a volunteer worker for the Salvation Army, or had a Salvation Army volunteer lost the pin during a visit to the house?<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> <https://centralusa.salvationarmy.org/northern/the-salvation-army-crest/>

<sup>79</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Salvation\\_Army](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Salvation_Army)

<sup>80</sup> The extent of activity of the Salvation Army in the Badlands prior to 1908 is unknown, but circumstantial evidence suggests that the organization (or at least some of its members) had more compassion for the Black community than most. At the time of his visit to Springfield during the riots, William English Walling found few individuals sympathetic to the Black victims' plight and noted the prevalent feeling in the city was that it was the Blacks themselves that had brought the terror upon themselves (Walling 1908). His wife, Anna Strunsky Walling, had a similar impression: In "moving among the people [Anna] found only one to express sympathy for the Negro—

Other small finds from the Late Pre-Fire component of House A included pocket knives and a harmonica sound board (Figure 103). Several small metal artifacts from this context (associated with the Labor/Activities functional category) are suggestive of metal working activities. These include chisel cut and snapped straps of lead, and lead printer's type (potentially representing scavenged metal intended to be melted down and recast). The four lead printer's type were recovered from a mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire context (Lots 80, 81, 92), and most likely were associated the Late Pre-Fire context. The origin of the printer's type in House A—as well as in other contexts at several of the other house locations—is unclear. One possibility is the melting down of scrap lead by the occupants of these houses was a fairly common activity during the later decades of the nineteenth or very early twentieth centuries. How the lead type came to be in the possession of the house occupants is unknown (Figure 100). Writing activities were represented by slate writing tablets, slate styluses, as well as wooden pencils (Figure 101). Other items of note included eye glass lenses, a small brass padlock which may have originated at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, and a badly decayed human tooth (a molar) (Figures 106 and 107). The tooth exhibited several small caries along the gum line, as well as a deep cavity in the tooth's crown. Additionally, the tooth had a severely curved dilacerated root. Clearly the deep cavity located in the center of the tooth most likely had exposed the nerve and would have caused pain, resulting in the tooth's extraction.

The use of firearms among the inhabitants of House A was well documented by the presence of a variety of spent munitions (Figure 105). These munitions represented smaller caliber pistols (Lots 35, 68, 77, 79), large caliber rifles (Lot A-3), and even shotguns (Lot 36). The small arms ammunition included single examples of shell casings with diameters of 0.24" (Lot A-77), 0.34" (Lot A-35), 0.39" (Lot A-79), and 0.43" diameter (Lot A-68). The single shotgun shell was represented by a brass end cap from a 10-gauge shell. The large caliber spent rifle shell was 0.50" in diameter and was recovered from the cinder midden that capped the earlier brick sidewalk adjacent to the front steps (Lot A-3). Except for one rim-fire shell casing, all of the shells were center fire and recovered from Late Pre-Fire contexts.

Toys from the Late Pre-Fire component from House A, although present, were not numerous (Figure 104). The toys recovered from this context included a few fragments of toy dishes from a tea service, a small jointed porcelain doll arm, a blue Rockingham-glazed marble, and several very small fragments of porcelain dolls (arm and head fragments). The majority of the doll head fragments were from bisque dolls (common from the 1870s through 1920s). One doll fragment from this context, though, stood out from all the doll fragments recovered throughout the course of investigations at these five house sites. This artifact is a fragment of what apparently was a very small China doll head depicting a Black child (or potentially adult woman). This doll head fragment was deposited near the surface of a cinder-rich midden near the southwest corner of House A (Lot A-34; Test 4, Level 1) sometime shortly prior to the August 1908 riots. Whether it represents a fragment of a recently broken doll, or a redeposited fragment from an earlier context, is unknown. The doll exhibits realistic facial features, hair, and skin tone which contrast

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a Salvation Army worker. Many boasted of what they had done" (Ovington 1947:102). See also Craig, Berry, "William English Walling: Kentucky's Unknown Civil Rights Hero," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, 96(4): 358-59.

with the overall blackness and exaggerated facial features typical of racialized dolls common during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (which were generally inspired by minstrel caricatures).

### **The Fire Component**

Artifacts from the Fire Component represent household items located within House A at the time of the riots and destruction of the house late Friday evening, August 14, 1908. These artifacts represent physical remains of the house and its contents immediately prior to the destruction of the dwelling by fire. The majority of the artifacts from this context were represented by materials associated with the actual house structure—such as window glass, nails, and plaster rubble. Various stages of melted, burned, and fire-shattered window glass were common. Burned nails were common (Figure 114). These nails were represented by both machine cut and wire-drawn varieties of various sizes (Figure 117). The presence of numerous wire-drawn nails document late nineteenth and/or early twentieth century (circa 1890-1908) remodeling episodes. As little work within the house was undertaken, architectural hardware was limited to a single rim lock strike plate and wood screws (Figure 118).

The excavation of a single test unit (Test 1) in House A appears to have been placed within a potential bedroom context, and does not suggest a public space (such as a parlor or kitchen location). Some of the artifacts from this test may have originated in an overhead, second story location. Although the elder William Smith, Sr. was known to have occupied the house at this time, it is unclear whether these artifacts were associated with this individual or not, as other tenants are suspected as having occupied the house as well.

A total of only 17 ceramic and glass vessels were recovered from this context (Table 8; Figure 55), and primary vessels were few in number (Figure 108). Due to this small sample size, comparisons with the earlier contexts (particularly the Late Pre-Fire context) are problematic. As one might suspect, primary vessels (n=11) outnumbered secondary vessels (n=6) in this context by nearly two to one. Vessels from the Foodways Service were the most numerous, representing slightly over 35% of the vessels from this context. Teawares represented 23.5% and Tablewares represented 11.8% of the vessels from this context.

Percentages of ceramic and glass vessels from the Kitchenware (n=1; representing 6% of the vessels from this functional category), Food Storage (n=1; 5.9% of the vessels), and Medicine (n=2; representing nearly 11.8% of the vessels) functional categories were similar in percentage to those in the earlier Late Pre-Fire context. Kitchenware vessels were represented by a single Bristol-glazed crockery jar or mixing bowl (Vessel A-195). Food Storage vessels were represented by a single, machine-made, glass canning jar embossed “MASON” (Vessel A-10).

The medicine bottles recovered from the Fire context included one proprietary prescription bottle (Vessel A-13), and a non-embossed, non-proprietary bottle (Vessel A-5). The proprietary prescription medicine bottle was embossed “BAUMANN BROS. / DRUGGISTS / SPRINGFIELD, ILL.” (Figure 113). The Baumann Brothers pharmacy, which was located at 630 East Washington Street, was in operation in Springfield from 1886 to 1924 (Farnsworth 2015). A relatively large amount of melted milk glass container fragments—presumably from



salve jars and/or ointment jars were also recovered, but not assigned vessel numbers due to their unrecognizable form (Figure 112).

One of the more significant differences in the ceramic and glass vessels from the Fire deposits was the substantial increase in vessels from the Household/Furnishings functional category, which increase from 7.9% to 29.4% of the vessels (an increase of over 370%). As the house was occupied, with household furnishings and personal possessions at the time of the fire, it only seems expected that this functional category would increase. The vessels from this functional category represented the second highest of the functional categories from this context, second only to Foodways Service. The five vessels from this functional category recovered from the Fire context included both toiletry (n=3) and floral-related (n=2) items. The toiletry vessels included two wash basins (Vessel A-1 and A-14) (Figure 109) and a large wash basin pitcher (Vessel A-2). The vessels associated with flowers included a brown printed vase (Vessel A-15), and a small jigger-molded starter pot for seedlings (Vessel A-11) (Figure 111). The vase suggests the occasional presence of cut flowers displayed within the house. Similarly, the presence of the starter pot raises the question whether or not the house occupants were tending a garden in the rear yard of the dwelling. Non-vessel artifacts from this category were also present, and included furniture parts such as castors (for chairs, tables, or beds), as well as cushion springs (potentially from a stuffed chair).

The ceramic and glass vessels from the Indeterminate functional category also increased over the earlier context, increasing from 3.0% to nearly 12% of the total vessels. The two vessels from this category were glass bottles (Vessels A-6 and A-7), which more-than-likely represented medicine or chemical bottles.

Similarly, a substantial decrease in the percentage of ceramic and glass vessels from the Indulgences functional group was noted in the Fire deposits. This functional category decreased from 17.8% down to 0.0%--with no ceramic or glass vessels associated with drink (alcoholic or otherwise) being recovered from this context. This sharp decrease in drink related vessels, particularly the vessels associated with the Alcohol Drink category, may attest to the character of the house inhabitants and their relative abstinence from alcohol consumption, at least its consumption in the tenant apartments at the time.

Although no ceramic or glass vessels from the Architectural functional group were recovered from the Fire deposits of House A, a variety of artifacts from this functional category were recovered. These included window glass (much of which was melted), nails, architectural hardware (door lock strike), and plaster rubble. The presence of wire-drawn nails in relative abundance suggests that the house had undergone some renovations during the pre-1908 years (circa 1885-1908). An iron framing hatchet was also recovered from the Fire deposits of House A. This hatchet, associated with a Labor/Activities functional category, was recovered from within the suspected bedroom location (Test 1). Its presence in this location is of interest, and may hint at its potential multi-functional use for construction work, chopping kindling, and potentially as a weapon lying next to a chair or night table adjacent to the bed. Small finds were few in number from the Fire Deposits, but did include a single toy saucer, and a teaspoon.

Foodways Remains from the Fire Component constitute only 7.7% of all animal remains from House A. A total of 68 animal remains were directly associated with this context, of which 44 specimens (64.7%) could be identified below class (which equates to 88.2% by specimen weight). Unique from other House A components, 32 bones apparently originated from a single large domestic chicken that were all recovered from Test 5. Fowl is followed distantly by cattle (nine bones) and pig (three bones). Beef contributed 67.4% of the estimated biomass with eight of the nine bones representing low value cuts. Pork consists of two cuts from the ham and one from the jowl, altogether comprising 25.1% of the estimated biomass (see Appendix IV).

Small finds were not overly plentiful in this assemblage, but included several teaspoons and tablespoons (Figure 114), a small iron framing hatchet (Figure 115), a saucer from a toy tea service (Figure 119), iron casters (potentially from a bed or dresser) (Figure 120), as well as a single coiled furniture spring (most likely from an upholstered chair, sofa, or cushion) (Figure 120). The recovery of this hatchet at this location is somewhat perplexing, as it seems to be out-of-place for this suspected bedroom location.

### **The Post-Fire Component**

The Post-Fire artifacts were few in number and associated with a post-abandonment yellow silty clay fill that capped the Fire deposits. This fill was generally devoid of artifacts. Concentrated along the southeast corner of House A, capping the fire deposits and lying along the outside edge of the building foundation, was a concentration of industrial-looking metal and green-glass pole-type electrical insulators (Figure 121). This debris appears to have been deposited in the rubble immediately after the fire. Other potential Post-Fire artifacts were recovered from a small number of intrusive features (posts). A single chemical bottle from this Post-Fire context was represented by a small, machine-made hydrogen peroxide bottle embossed “LYSOL” (Vessel A-37). Lysol was first introduced in Germany in circa 1889, and it soon thereafter became available as an industrial and household disinfectant. One of the earlier formulations of Lysol contained the abortifacient cresol which led to the use of Lysol to induce abortions by women.<sup>81</sup>

Just over a dozen faunal specimens were found in refuse deposits from Post-Fire and unknown contexts. The only identified bones are from pigs and consist of high value cuts of loin (lumbar and thoracic vertebrae, and a dorsal rib portion) and ham (sawed pelvis) along with lone bones from the mid-value spare rib and a low value hock (ulna) (see Appendix IV).

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<sup>81</sup> <http://oldglassbottles.blogspot.com/2014/05/lysol-lehn-fink-inc.html>.

**Table 7**  
**Functional classification of ceramic and glass vessels from Early/Middle Pre-Fire and Late Pre-Fire contexts, House A.**

	<u>Early/Mid Pre-Fire Context</u>						<u>Late Pre-Fire Context</u>					
	<u>Secondary Artifacts</u>		<u>Primary Artifacts</u>		<u>Totals</u>		<u>Secondary Artifacts</u>		<u>Primary Artifacts</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<b>1.1 Tablewares (Eating)</b>	19	35.8%	0	0.0%	19	29.2%	20	31.7%	3	7.9%	23	22.8%
<b>1.2 Teawares (Drinking)</b>	21	39.6%	3	25.0%	24	36.9%	16	25.4%	4	10.5%	20	19.8%
		<b>75.5%</b>		<b>25.0%</b>		<b>66.2%</b>		<b>57.1%</b>		<b>18.4%</b>		<b>42.6%</b>
<b>2.1 Kitchenware</b>	4	7.5%	1	8.3%	5	7.7%	3	4.8%	0	0.0%	3	3.0%
<b>2.2 Food Storage</b>												
2.21 Home	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	1	1.5%	3	4.8%	0	0.0%	3	3.0%
2.22 Commercial	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	3.2%	4	10.5%	6	5.9%
2.23 Indeterminate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>1.9%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>1.5%</b>		<b>7.9%</b>		<b>10.5%</b>		<b>8.9%</b>
<b>4.1 Indulgences</b>												
4.11 Drink--Alcohol	1	1.9%	2	16.7%	3	4.6%	6	9.5%	6	15.8%	12	11.9%
4.12 Drink--Non-alcohol	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	4.8%	3	7.9%	6	5.9%
4.13 Smoking	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.14 Drugs	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>1.9%</b>		<b>16.7%</b>		<b>4.6%</b>		<b>14.3%</b>		<b>23.7%</b>		<b>17.8%</b>
<b>4.2 Medicine</b>												
4.21 Prescription	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.6%	2	5.3%	3	3.0%
4.22 Proprietary	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	1	1.5%	1	1.6%	5	13.2%	6	5.9%
4.23 Non-proprietary	1	1.9%	3	25.0%	4	6.2%	3	4.8%	2	5.3%	5	5.0%
4.24 Indeterminate	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>3.8%</b>		<b>33.3%</b>		<b>9.2%</b>		<b>7.9%</b>		<b>23.7%</b>		<b>13.9%</b>
<b>4.3 Personal Care/Hygiene</b>												
4.31 Hair Care	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.32 Perfumes/Scents	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.33 Skin Products	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	7.9%	3	3.0%
4.34 Miscellaneous	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>7.9%</b>		<b>3.0%</b>
<b>6.1 Household</b>	2	3.8%	0	0.0%	2	3.1%	2	3.2%	6	15.8%	8	7.9%
<b>6.2 Chemical</b>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<b>6.3 Infant/Dependent Care</b>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>3.8%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>3.1%</b>		<b>3.2%</b>		<b>15.8%</b>		<b>7.9%</b>
<b>7.0 Labor/Activities</b>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<b>8.0 Architecture</b>	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	1	1.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<b>9.0 Indeterminate</b>	3	5.7%	1	8.3%	4	6.2%	3	4.8%	0	0.0%	3	3.0%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



**Table 8**  
**Functional classification of ceramic and glass vessels from Fire and Post Fire contexts, House A.**

	<b>Fire Context</b>						<b>Post-Fire Context</b>					
	<b>Secondary Artifacts</b>		<b>Primary Artifacts</b>		<b>Totals</b>		<b>Secondary Artifacts</b>		<b>Primary Artifacts</b>		<b>Totals</b>	
	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>1.1 Tablewares (Eating)</b>	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	11.8%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	1	11.1%
<b>1.2 Teawares (Drinking)</b>	0	0.0%	4	36.4%	4	23.5%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	22.2%
		<b>33.3%</b>		<b>36.4%</b>		<b>35.3%</b>		<b>50.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>33.3%</b>
<b>2.1 Kitchenware</b>	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	1	5.9%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	1	11.1%
<b>2.2 Food Storage</b>												
2.21 Home	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	1	5.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
2.22 Commercial	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	1	11.1%
2.23 Indeterminate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>16.7%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>5.9%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>33.3%</b>		<b>11.1%</b>
<b>4.1 Indulgences</b>												
4.11 Drink--Alcohol	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	1	11.1%
4.12 Drink--Non-alcohol	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.13 Smoking	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.14 Drugs	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>33.3%</b>		<b>11.1%</b>
<b>4.2 Medicine</b>												
4.21 Prescription	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	1	5.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.22 Proprietary	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.23 Non-proprietary	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	1	5.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.24 Indeterminate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>18.2%</b>		<b>11.8%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>
<b>4.3 Personal Care/Hygiene</b>												
4.31 Hair Care	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.32 Perfumes/Scents	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.33 Skin Products	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	1	11.1%
4.34 Miscellaneous	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>33.3%</b>		<b>11.1%</b>
<b>6.1 Household Furnishings</b>	2	33.3%	3	27.3%	5	29.4%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	1	11.1%
<b>6.2 Chemical</b>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	1	11.1%
<b>6.3 Infant/Dependent Care</b>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		<b>33.3%</b>		<b>27.3%</b>		<b>29.4%</b>		<b>33.3%</b>		<b>0.0%</b>		<b>22.2%</b>
<b>7.0 Labor/Activities</b>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<b>8.0 Architecture</b>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<b>9.0 Indeterminate</b>	0	0.0%	2	18.2%	2	11.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



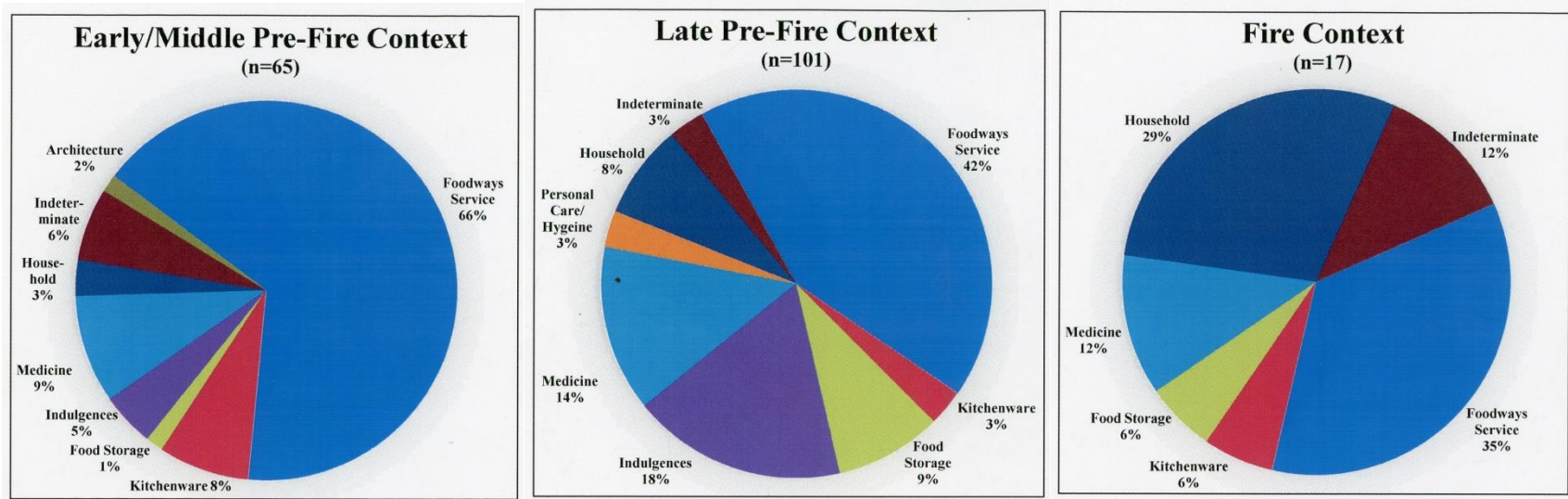
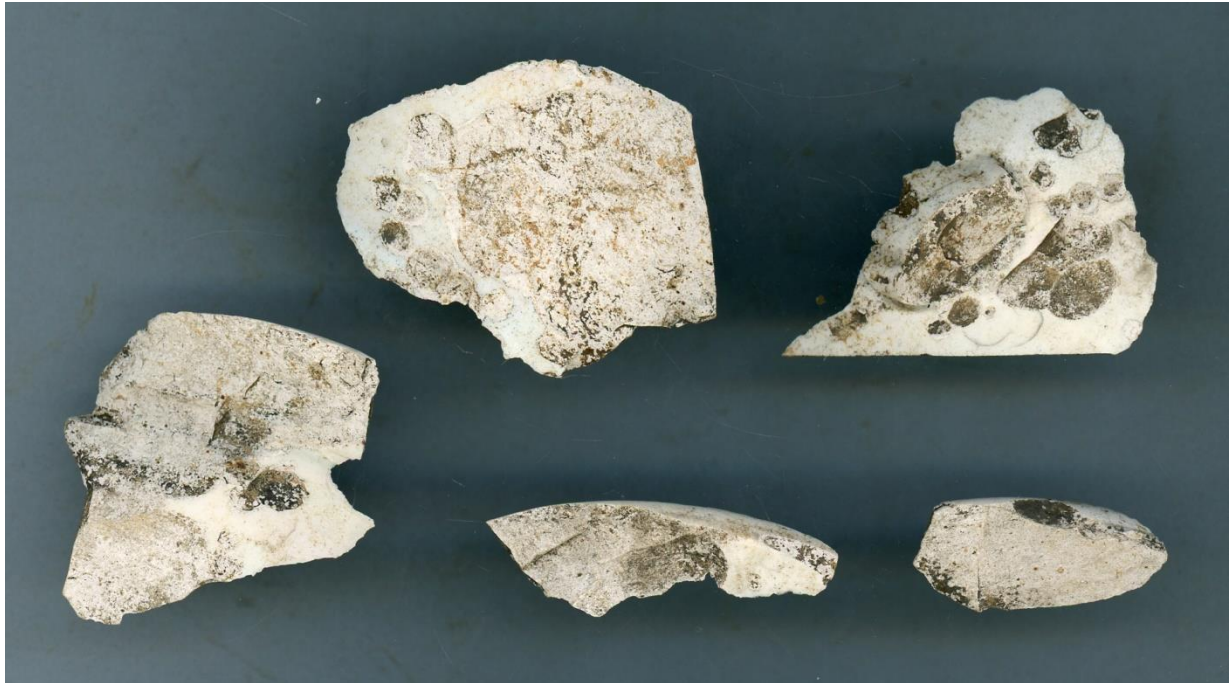


Figure 55 . Comparison of ceramic and glass vessel functions, by context in House A.



**Figure 56.** Undecorated, cream-colored earthenware chamber pot fragments (Vessel A-193).



**Figure 57.** Edge-decorated wares from the Early Pre-Fire component at House A. These were represented by vessels with scalloped (far left; Vessel A-143) and un-scalloped (and/or plain round) (second from left and center; Vessels A-83 and A-139) rims. Similarly, some vessels lacked the impressed “feather” detail and were simply painted with a blue edged rim (far right; Vessel A-64).



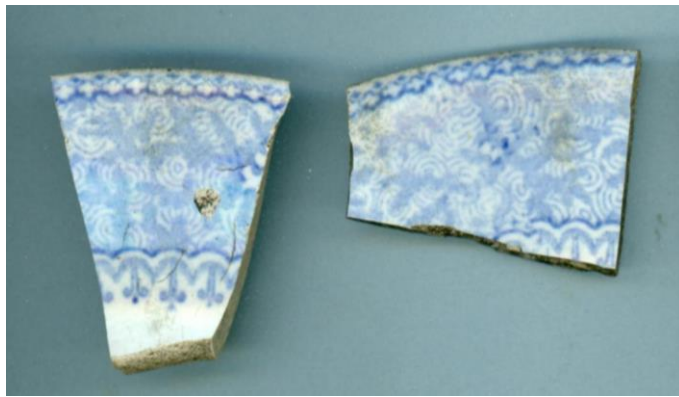
**Figure 58. Painted and Sponge-decorated wares from House A. Top: Saucer (Vessel 146). Middle: London-Urn shaped cup (Vessel A-66; left) and saucer (Vessel A-44; middle). Bottom: Sponge-decorated saucers, Vessel A-144 (left) and Vessel A-175 (with blue lined rim, right). All painted and sponge-decorated wares are teawares.**





**Figure 59. Miscellaneous transfer printed wares from Early Pre-Fire component of House A. Top: Dark blue printed wares (Vessels A-42 and A-158). Middle: Light blue printed whitewares, Vessel A-165 (plate) and Vessel A-114 (cup). Both the cup and plate were decorated with a variant of the SIRIUS Pattern, manufactured by James and Thomas Edwards, circa 1839-41 (Snyder 1997:57). Bottom Left: Gothic-shaped cup (Vessel A-26) illustrated in the GENEVA Pattern which was manufactured by Joseph Heath, 1845-1853 (Williams 1978:271). Bottom Right: Unidentified blue printed plate with painted highlights (Vessel A-164). The plate probably dates from the 1850s and/or 1860s.**





**Figure 60. Top: Pre-fire artifact assemblage associated with Phase II testing, House A. These artifacts were found in a pre-1870s midden encapsulated along the north foundation wall of the house, and associated with the early occupation of this dwelling. Three of the four light blues sherds are from the same plate, illustrated with a variant of the GARDEN SCENERY Pattern (Vessel A-114) (Bottom) (Williams 1978:268). The GARDEN SCENERY Pattern was manufactured by T. J. and J. Mayer circa 1843-1855. Both a plate (Vessel A-114) and cup (Vessel A-27) of this pattern were identified at House A, suggesting use of both tableware and teawares of this pattern. The red printed sherd is the SOWER Pattern (Vessel A-29) (Snyder 1997:28).**



**Figure 61. Identified transfer print patterns from House A. Top: Variant of the SIRIUS Pattern, manufactured by James ad Thomas Edwards, circa 1839-41 (Snyder 1997:57) (Vessel A-165). Middle: Cup (Vessel A-29) decorated with the SOWER Pattern, manufactured by William Adams, circa 1800-1864 (most likely 1830s-40s) (Williams 1978:526). Snyder (1997:28) suggests this vessel dates from circa 1835. Reminiscent of the HARVEST SCENERY Pattern recovered from an early context in House E, and also manufactured by ADAMS. Bottom: Cup (Vessel A-26) decorated with a variant of the GENEVA Pattern which was manufactured by Joseph Heath, 1845-1853 (Williams 1978:271).**





**Figure 62. Left: Plate (Vessel A-28) fragment from House A decorated with the CRYSTAL PALACE 1851 Pattern (Snyder 1997:96) (Actual Size). This plate references the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851. It is an unusual pattern, whose presence in the Westenberger's household (a German family living in Springfield) is intriguing. Middle and Right: Two plates with similar border illustrating slightly different views of the Crystal Palace. Unfortunately, these plates are not marked with a manufacturer's name. Although the manufacturer of this plate is unknown (cf. Snyder 1997:96), Williams (1978:247) suggests that this pattern was possibly produced by J. and M. P. Bell in 1851. The Glasgow Pottery's border is different than that used on this plate, and thus suggests that this particular design was not produced by Bell.**



**Figure 63. Three marked plates illustrated with the CRYSTAL PALACE pattern, each exhibiting a different border design. Left: CRYSTAL PALACE pattern manufactured by John and Matthew Bell (The Glasgow Pottery; 1841-1923). Middle: CRYSTAL PALACE pattern manufactured by Thomas Godwin (1834-1854). Right: CRYSTAL PALACE Pattern manufactured by Pinder, Bourne and Hope (1851-1862). All three plates are decorated with a very different border than that recovered from House A (<https://www.transferwarecollectorsclub.org/tcc2/data/patterns/c/crystal-palace-05/>; <https://www.ebth.com/items/12607241-scottish-j-m-p-bell-and-co-and-other-crystal-palace-ironstone-tableware--illustrates>; <http://www.thepotteries.org/allpotters/800a.htm>).**





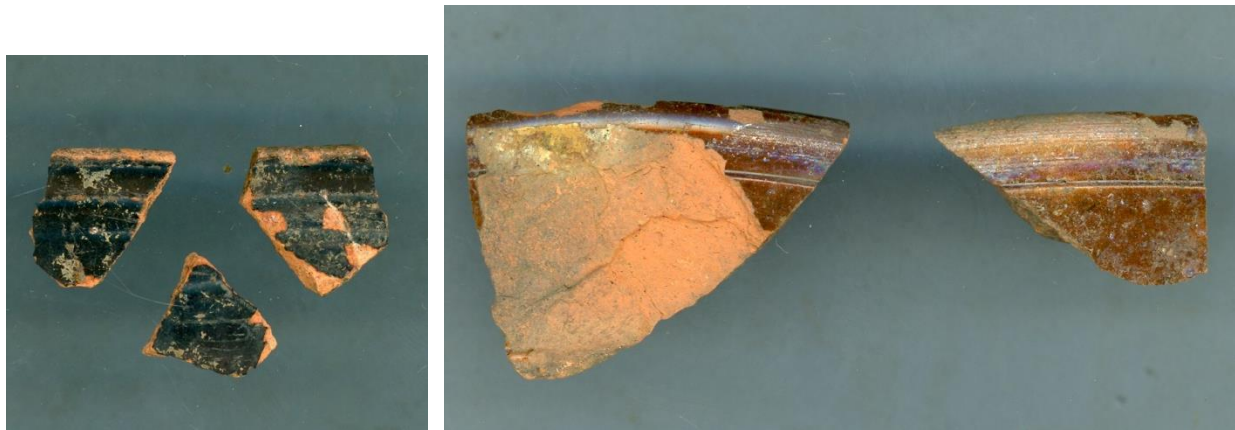
**Figure 64.** Also present within the encapsulated Pre-Fire midden were relief decorated wares, that included Gothic paneled cup (top; Vessel A-33), saucer (middle row; Vessel A-32), and plates (bottom row; Vessels A-65 and A-88). The paneled cup is typical of early relief-decorated wares from the circa 1840s. The saucer (A-32) is decorated in the CERES SHAPE which was registered in 1859 by the firm of Elsmore and Forster. The bottom row depicts BOOTE'S 1851 Pattern, registered in July 1851 (Dieringer and Dieringer 2001:51, 126) (Actual size).



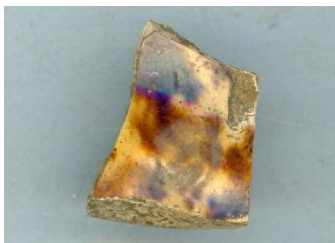
**Figure 65. Pressed lead glass tableware from the Early/Middle Pre-Fire deposits of House A. TOP: Small fragment of a cup plate (Vessel A-190; Lot 80) illustrated in a pattern reminiscent of the ARCHED LEAF Pattern (Lee 1931:241, Plate 73) (150% actual size). Bottom: Pressed lead glass serving bowl (Vessel A-191; Lot 70) recovered from Middle Pre-Fire context (150% actual size). The upper surface of this everted rim was decorated with a row of small round nodes (“beads”) located along the top surface of the rim. A similar row of beads was located immediately below the rim on the outer surface of the bowl. This rim design is reminiscent of that of the PRAYER RUG pattern from circa 1881 (<https://www.eapgs.net/full-images.php?idx=43927&pat=2245>).**



Vessel A-81 and A-136



Mug (Vessel A-186 left); Bowls (Vessels A-142 and A-179 right)



Unidentified vessel (Vessel A-93)

**Figure 66. Locally manufactured utilitarian crockery (kitchenware bowl/jar) (top right) and flower pots (household wares) (top left) from the Early Pre-Fire deposits of House A. Non-local (middle left) and locally produced (middle right) redware refined tablewares from a similarly early context. The dark glazed wares are typical of the dark-glazed wares produced in the Philadelphia region during the early years of the nineteenth century. The lighter colored bowls were probably produced by the potter John Ebey. Bottom: Small fragment of an unidentified Rockingham-glazed tableware vessel (Vessel A-93) (Actual Size).**





**Figure 67. Toys from the early component of House A. Left: Toy salt-glazed stoneware ovoid jug with cobalt blue decoration (Lot A-93). Right: Front and back views of a small Parian figurine (Lot A-93). Both items are actual size.**



**Figure 68. Slate styluses (left; Lots A-93 and A-94) and lined writing slates (right; Lot A-38) were recovered from the Early Pre-Fire deposits (actual size).**



**Figure 69. Artifacts associated with Clothing were few in number, but included sew-through bone and Prosser examples. The Prosser buttons were represented by white/milk and blue glass varieties (Lots A-93 and A-94) (actual size).**





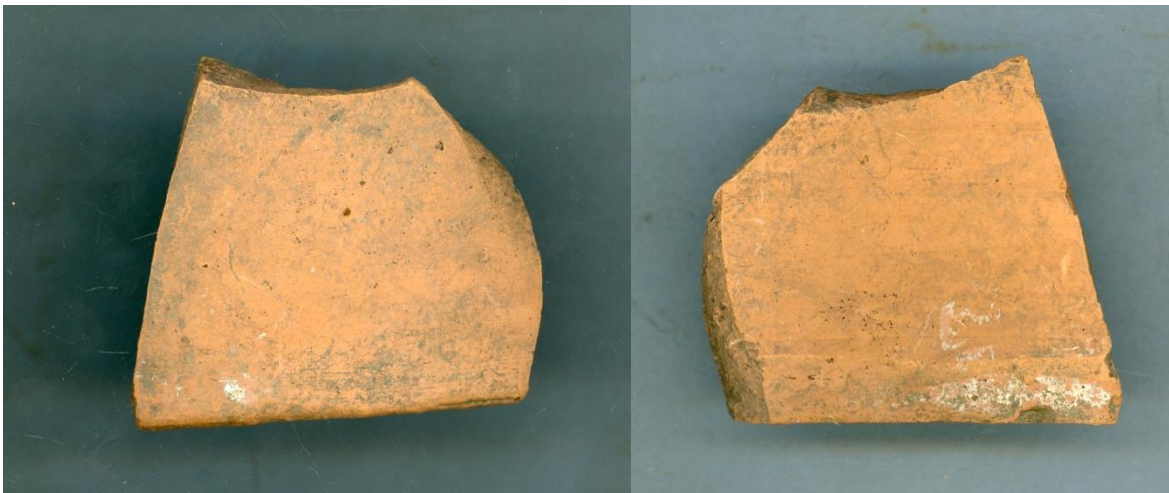
**Figure 70.** A single coin was recovered from the Early Pre-Fire deposits of House A. This coin was a “Capped Bust” dime which had been minted in 1827 (Lot A-94) (left, actual size; right, enlarged example albeit wrong mint date). It was recovered from the early midden associated with the original ground surface along the Madison Street frontage.



**Figure 71.** Household items from the Early Pre-Fire deposits of House A included fragments of an early mirror (top left; Lot A-94), a fragment of a Parian figurine (top right; Lot A-2), and a furniture drawer or cabinet door lock plate (bottom; Lot A-93) (Actual Size). The figurine sherd appears to illustrate a child’s arm.  
ADD Catalog image



**Figure 72. Iron items from the Early Pre-Fire deposits of House A included an unidentified bracket (top left) and a forged nut (top right) (both from Lot A-94), and a large iron plate of unknown function (bottom; Lot A-66). All are actual size, and potentially were associated with an early component that pre-dated House A (see discussion Houses B and C).**



**Figure 73. Fragments of a hand-turned red-paste earthenware flue liner, or “thimble” (Vessel A-138). Both ends of the “vessel” are open with an everted rim on one end, and a straight end on the opposite end. The straight end was created by removing (cutting out) the turned base while the vessel was still “green.” Cut marks along the inside edge of the base indicate its removal. Although a small amount of mortar is attached to the vessel (suggesting that it may have been installed within a chimney), the interior of the thimble is clean (with no soot present)—suggesting it was little used, or broke during installation.**





**Figure 74. Primary vessels associated with the Early/Middle Pre-Fire component at House A were few in number. These are the primary vessels tentatively assigned to the Middle Pre-Fire component.**





**Cary's Family Medicines.**

**Cary's Cough Cure Troches**  
 For Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Asthma, Hoarseness, Whooping Cough, Catarrh, Bronchitis, Difficult Breathing, Sore Throat, etc. Relief warranted in ten minutes.

**Cary's Indian Vegetable Liver Pills and Blood Purifier.**  
 ANTI-BILIOUS CATHARTIC.  
 For Dyspepsia, Headache, Fevers, Costiveness, Liver Complaints, etc.  
*Sugar Coated.*

**CARY'S INDIAN EYE SALVE.**  
 A safe and certain cure for Diseased Eyes, Granulation of the Eye-lids, Weak or Inflamed Eyes, Inflammation of the Lachrymal Glands, or any disease to which the Eye is subject.

**Cary's Indian Vegetable Toothache Remedy.**  
 Is perfectly safe; will cure in one minute, without pain or danger.

**Cary's Buckeye Condition Powders.**  
 For Horses, Cattle, Hogs, Sheep and Chickens.

**CARY'S PURE GLYCERINE**  
 A new and valuable remedy for Chapped Hands, Lips and Face.

**Barrell's Indian Liniment.**  
 For Internal and External Applications for MAN or BEAST, acting upon the System powerfully; for Rheumatism, Sore Throat, Pains, Bruises, Burns, Cuts, Sprains, Erysipelas, Diarrhea, Flux, Bronchitis, etc.

**Barrell's Worm Confections or Sugar Drops.**  
 The most safe and effectual remedy for worms ever discovered.

**CARY'S HEALING AND STRENGTHENING SALVE.**

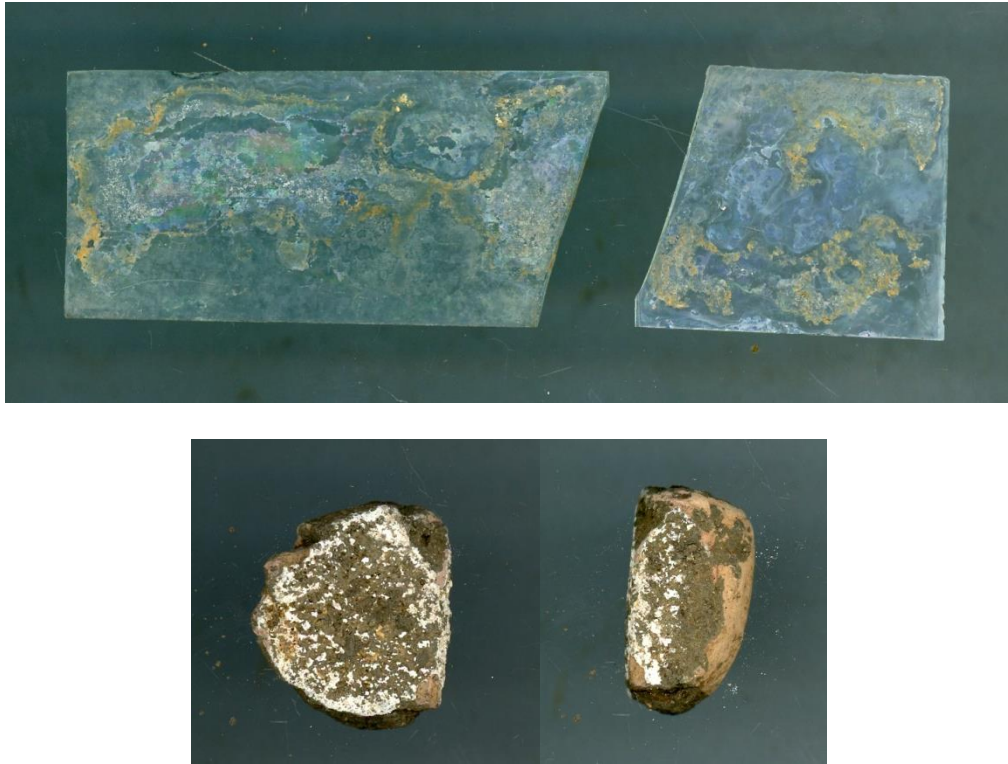
**Cary's Soluble Ink Powder**  
 For Schools, Offices, Traveling Agents, and all wanting an **Instant and Always Ready Ink.** One box, which can be carried in the pocket, will make a pint of Best Black Ink in five minutes.  
 \$1.25 per dozen, \$1.35 by mail. *Send 25 cents for a sample box.*

**H. G. O. CARY,**  
 ZANESVILLE, O.

Agents for Chicago, MORRISSON, PLUMMER & CO.

Figure 75. The single proprietary medicine bottle identified from the Early/Middle Pre-Fire component was this small, potential sample-sized bottle marked “H. G. O. Cary.” Cary was a druggist/chemist that manufactured a variety of proprietary medicines by at least the 1860s. This is an advertisement from Morrison, Plummer and Company (1880:140).

The Middle to Late Pre-Fire Component



**Figure 76. Architectural artifacts potentially indicative of remodeling activities associated with House A during the later years of the nineteenth century. Top: Glass scrap cut into strips indicative of glass cutting (potentially for replacement window panes) (Feature 13, Lot 44). Similar scrap glass was recovered from the Middle Pre-Fire contexts. Bottom: Small fragment of soft-mud brick with lime wash and/or whitewash painted surface (Lot 70).**

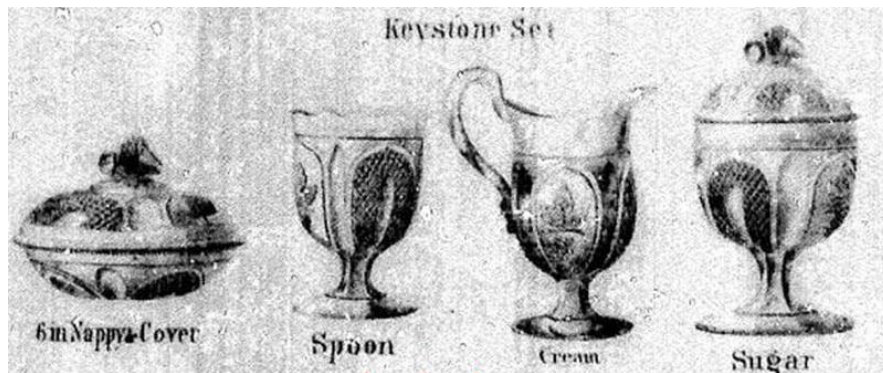
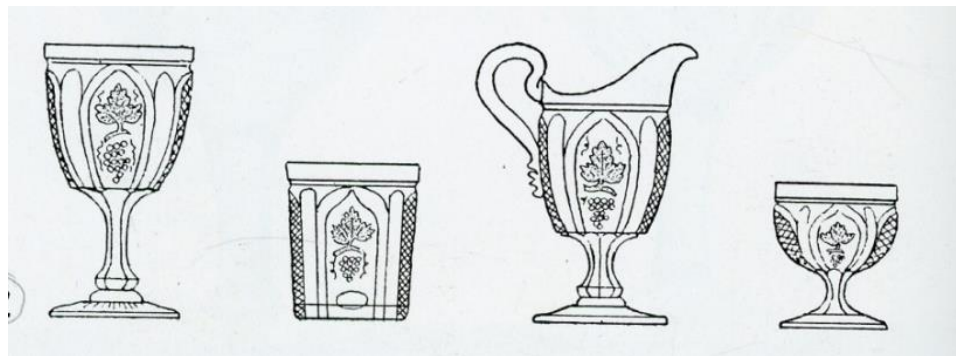


**Figure 77. Porcelain vessels from the Pre-Fire context (Actual size). Top Left: Printed bowl from Early Pre-Fire (Vessel A-50). Top Right: Saucer from mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire (Vessel A-103, Lot 77). Bottom: Reticulated basket/serving bowl from mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire (Vessel A-189; Lot 83).**



**Figure 78. Fragment of a Godfrey Cordial medicine bottle (Vessel A-149; Lot A-80) from the mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire context of House A (Actual size). Godfrey cordials were a patent medicine that generally contained laudanum (a tincture of opium) in a sweet syrup used as a sedative “to quieten infants and children.”**





**Figure 79. Remnants of a small press-molded lead glass bowl decorated in the MAGNET AND GRAPE Pattern (Lee 1931:204, Plate 63) (Vessel A-91). Although this sherd was recovered from a Late Pre-Fire component, it probably was associated with a Middle Pre-Fire context (dating from the late 1860s or early 1870s). The Early American Pressed Glass Society suggests that this pattern may have been introduced in circa 1872 by Adams and Company (Pittsburgh, in operation from 1861 to 1891) under the name KEYSTONE.**



**Writing slates and styluses (Lots 81, 83)**



**Printer's type (Lots 80, 81 and 92); Marble Lot 81**



**Pipes (Lots 80 and 83); bead (Lot 83)**



**Bone, Milk Glass (white and dark blue, plain and pie crust), shell, and stamped metal buttons (Lots 40, 80, 81, and 84); domed cuprous tack or decorative stud (Lot 40)**

**Figure 80. Miscellaneous small finds from the mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire context of House A.**





**Figure 81. Late Pre-Fire primary vessels from House A, recovered primarily from the Madison Street right-of-way investigations?**



**Figure 82. Late Pre-Fire vessels from the front yard of House A. The redware vessel on the left most likely represents a pot set in the ground for a plant. The small machine made cream bottle is embossed “PRODUCERS / DAIRY CO. SPRINGFIELD, ILL. // SEALED / HALF PINT / LIQUID” (Vessel 52).**





**Figure 83. Vessels from the Indulgences functional category from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A included both Alcohol and Non-Alcohol Drink bottles. Non-Alcohol Drink bottles consisted solely of soda water bottles, and included both local Springfield bottlers, as well as non-local bottlers from Illiopolis (Kendall Bottling Works) as well as Detroit, Michigan (John Scheu).**



**Figure 84.** Wine, beer, and distilled liquors (whiskey, brandy) were all represented in the Indulgences functional category for the Late-Pre-Fire context of House A. Whiskey flasks were of several styles—Dandy, and Coffin forms being the most common. One flask was embossed with a local firm’s name and “SPRINGFIELD / ILLS”. Although reminiscent of those used by the local firm of “J. M. Fitzgerald,” the name of the local firm was not identified. Bottom: Examples of flasks and bottles embossed with Fitzgerald’s slug plate, reminiscent of one from House A (Stratton and Mansberger 2017:140).



**Figure 85.** Small finds associated with the Indulgences functional category included tobacco smoking pipes, which were fairly sparse from this context. Tobacco pipes were represented by both long-stem kaolin pipe stems and bowls (Lots 36, 90, 69), as well as dark-paste elbow pipes (Lot 69) (Actual Size).



**Figure 86.** Consumption of narcotic substances by house occupants was suggested by the presence of opium pipe bowl (top; Lot A-90) and brass syringe (Lot A-6) recovered from the Late Pre-Fire deposits (Actual Size). Top: Two views of highly burnished bowl of an opium pipe. It is unclear whether the black color of the pipe is the original paste color, or that it was burned during the house fire.



**Figure 87.** Opium pipes required the use of a distinctive heat source, or “lamp” such as that illustrated here. Unclear whether lamp chimneys from an opium lamp were present in the assemblage (<https://theopiumpipe.com/opium-lamps/>; <https://www.collectorsweekly.com/articles/journey-into-the-opium-underworld/>; Trickey 2018).





Figure 88. Dosage (or dose) glass from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A (Actual size). This glass (Vessel A-95) appears to have been embossed “ZIMMERMANN / DRUGGIST” and apparently does not represent a local Springfield druggist.



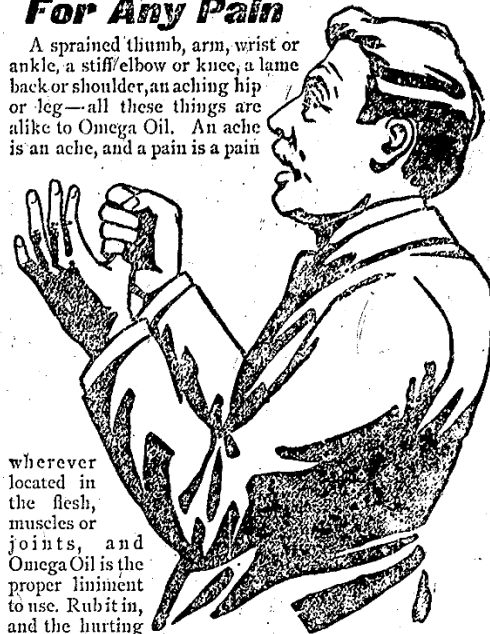
Figure 89. Small late nineteenth century pill bottle recovered from the Late Pre-Fire deposits around the front stoop of House A (Lot A-3; Vessel A-16). This bottle was embossed “The Gray Medicine Co. / Trade / Mark / New York” and incorporated an image of the company’s trademarked arrow (as depicted in accompanying advertisement). Top Right: Advertisement from the *Illinois State Journal* (September 10, 1890) advertising the “Gray’s Specific Medicine” which was touted as a cure for “seminal weakness, spermatorrhea, impotency and all diseases that follow as a sequence of self-abuse...”



# Omega Oil

## For Any Pain

A sprained thumb, arm, wrist or ankle, a stiff elbow or knee, a lame back or shoulder, an aching hip or leg—all these things are alike to Omega Oil. An ache is an ache, and a pain is a pain



wherever located in the flesh, muscles or joints, and Omega Oil is the proper liniment to use. Rub it in, and the hurting will stop. Don't be afraid of using it, because it won't burn or blister. Nature makes this oil for exactly this purpose, and Nature has never made a mistake since the beginning of time. Omega Oil is good for everything a liniment ought to be good for.

Any druggist will sell you a bottle of the Omega Chemical Co., 217 Broadway, New York, will mail a bottle prepaid for you, in cash, money order or stamps.

# Omega Oil

**ACHING BACKS**—There are a whole lot of women (and men too) whose health would be good if they didn't have trouble with their backs. The back is the vital part of the body that requires strength. A weak back weakens you all over. You may have



leg and arm muscles like a prize fighter, but those muscles won't do you any good if your back is weak. Nature supplies in Omega Oil all that is needed to make the muscles of the back strong. It is a green-colored, oily liniment. Rub it in at night before retiring, or get some one else to do

it for you. Keep up this treatment for a little while, and your back won't hurt any more. If weak women will use more Omega Oil outside and less drugs inside, they will be better off. You simply rub it into the pores, and next day you'll feel its good effects. It is good for everything, a liniment ought to be good for.

Never take a substitute for Omega Oil. If your druggist persistently refuses to give what you ask for, the Omega Chemical Co., 217 Broadway, New York, will mail you a bottle prepaid, for 50 cents in cash, money order or stamps.

Figure 90. Bottle of Omega Oil with shamrock design similar to that recovered from House A. Two advertisements for Omega Oil in local Springfield newspapers (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 November 1900, p. 10; 8 December 1900, p. 8).

**Excited Thousands.**

All over the land people are going into ecstasy over Dr. King's New Discovery for Consumption. Their unlooked for recovery by the timely use of this great life Saving Remedy, causes them to go nearly wild in its praise. It is guaranteed to positively cure Severe Coughs, Colds, Asthma, Hay Fever, Bronchitis, Hoarseness, Loss of Voice, or any affection of the Throat and Lungs. Trial bottles free at J. B. Brown's drug store. Large size \$1.00.

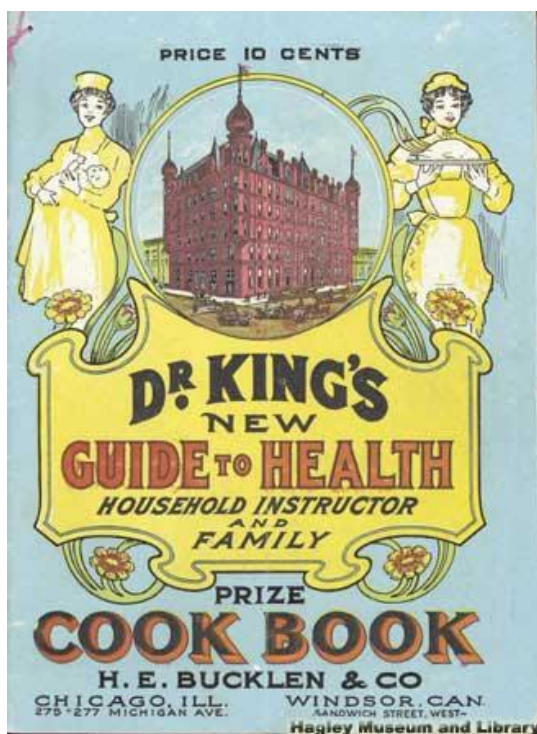


Figure 91. Left: Advertisement for King's New Discovery (Illinois State Journal, 25 July 1883, p. x). Middle: Cover of Dr. King's New Guide to Health, Household Instructor and Family Prize Cook Book (H. E. Bucklen and Company, circa 1907). Right: Inside front cover from Dr. King's Cook Book (<https://oldmainartifacts.wordpress.com/2013/08/20/dr-kings-new-discovery-for-coughs-and-colds-h-e-bucklen-co-chicago-ill/>).





**SLOAN'S LINIMENT**

**Sloan's Liniment**

is put up in three sizes: Family size, 25 cts.; large sizes 50 cents and \$1.00. All three sizes look like this picture. You will find them for sale in any drug-store. No doubt but you will find in the country a few dealers who, when asked for Sloan's Liniment, will try to work off some remedy which they will call "just as good." Do not submit to any such imposition. When you ask for Sloan's Remedies insist on getting them. If the dealer's supply has run out, he can quickly obtain them from his jobber, for they are kept on hand by every wholesale druggist in the country.

Sloan's Family Liniment cures RHEUMATISM, LUMBAGO, and PLEURISY; is used instead of sticky plasters for pain in back or chest. Will kill sting or poison from insects.

Ten drops diluted in a half glass of water and used as a gargle will cure SORE THROAT. Ten or twelve drops in a little water or on a little sugar will cure CRAMPS or PAIN in Stomach or Bowels. Bicyclists and Trainers who apply this liniment after a run, feel no bad effects next day, from their exertion.

**KILLS ALL PAIN IN MAN OR BEAST.**  
Will Relieve and Cure quicker than any other Liniment known.

**CURES RHEUMATISM**

PREPARED ONLY BY  
**DR. EARL S. SLOAN**  
BOSTON, MASS., U.S.A.

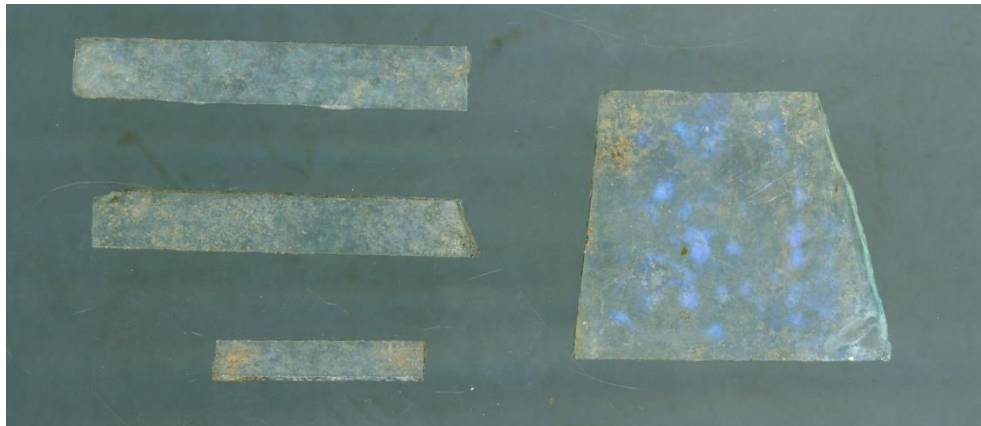
Copyright, 1901, by Dr. E. S. Sloan.

Figure 92. Left: Dr. Sloan's Bone and Nerve Liniment bottle (Vessel 39) from Late Pre-Fire context of House A. Right: Inside cover page advertisement for Dr. Sloan's liniment from his 1901 Cookbook (Sloan 1901) (<https://soapysmiths.blogspot.com/2012/04/smelling-soapy-smiths-wife-sloans.html>).





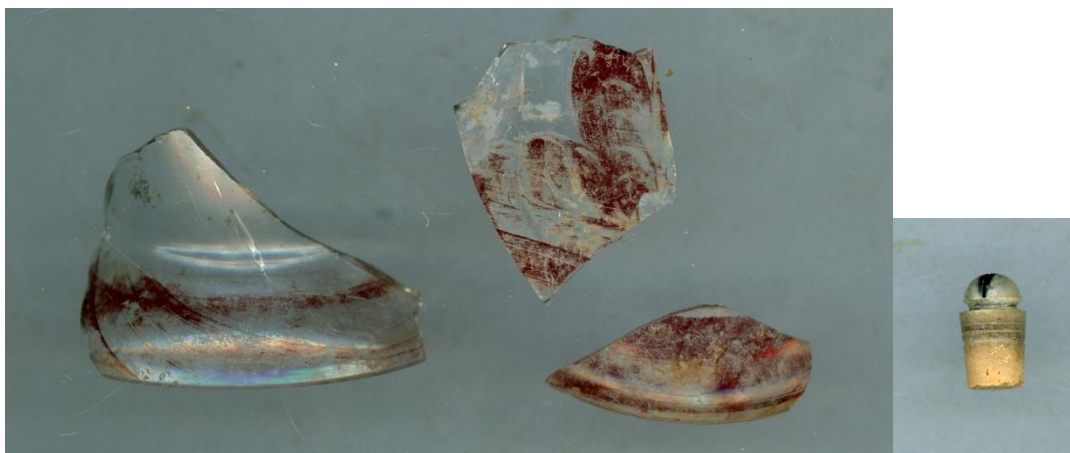
**Figure 93. Two cold cream jars from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A (Vessels A-53 and A-54).**



Lot A-54



**Figure 94. Architectural items from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A. Top: Glass strips indicative of glass cutting, suggesting the repair of broken window sash (Lot A-54). Similar glass cutting activity was noted in the mixed Middle/Late Pre-Fire contexts. Bottom Left: Glass insulator for a ground wire bracket used with a lightning rod (similar to that recovered from the Lincoln Home) (Lot A-90). Bottom Right: Flat-tipped screw (Lot A-77) such as those used with door hinges (and suggestive of a pre-1846 date of construction).**



**Figure 95. Household Furnishings were limited in number. Left: Fragments of a painted lamp chimney (Vessel A-127). Right: Small diameter, turned bone item ( hollow with slit on top; slit is darkened in color, as if burned) (Lot A-68).**



**Figure 96. Clothing items from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A included a variety of buttons—including shell (top left), bone (top right), hard rubber (second row from top), glass loop shank (middle row), Prosser (second from bottom), and three-piece metal loop shank and stamped sew-through (bottom) varieties. All buttons are illustrated actual size except for the black glass loop shank button (middle row) with floral design (which is enlarged 200%).**



Figure 97. Besides buttons, several bone and glass collar studs were also recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A (Actual size).

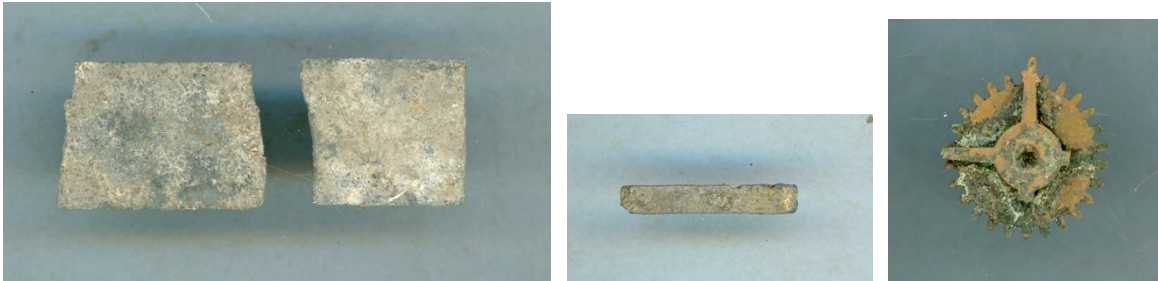


Figure 98. Although jewelry was not common from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A, at least two finger rings were recovered from this context. Left: Moderately sized bone ring, highly polished from wear and presumably representing a woman's ring (Lot A-52). Right: Small, presumably child's brass ring; right view of face is enlarged 200% to illustrate detail (Lot A-78). Both rings are illustrated actual size (except for enlarged face view).



Figure 99. Left: Brass collar pin in shape of letter "S" and embossed "BLOOD & FIRE" recovered from Late Pre-Fire context of House A (Lot 92; Actual size). Middle: Online example of a similar enameled collar pin. Right: Circa 1889 photograph of Florence Booth with a Salvation Army shield badge and S-collar pin <https://www.salvationarmy.org.uk/about-us/international-heritage-centre/virtual-heritage-centre/who-are-the-salvation-army>.





**Figure 100. Snapped lead strap (Lots A-35 and A-36), lead printer's type (Lt A-92), and clock gear (Lot A-68).**



**Figure 101. Writing-related artifacts: wooden pencils (top left, Lot 36 and 90); slate styluses (top right, Lot A-35); and numerous lined slate fragments (Lots 69, 92).**



**Figure 102.** Melted glass Tableware (left; Lot A-34) and window glass (Lot A-92; see also Lot A-76) potentially suggesting mixed Late Pre-Fire/Fire contexts. See also Lot A-68 for melted glass.



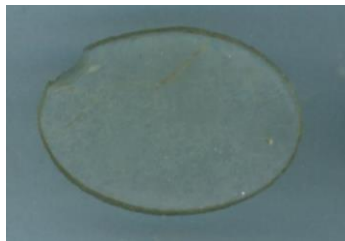
**Figure 103.** Harmonica sound board (top; Lot A-68) and bone-handled pocket knife (blade potentially broken post-discard; discarded with blade in open position) (bottom; Lot A-77).



**Figure 104.** Relative to some of the other excavated houses from this project, the toys from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A were fairly low in number. Top: Saucer (Lot 90) and cup (Lot 25) fragments from a toy tea set (Actual Size). Top Right: Small porcelain doll arm (Lot 35) (Actual size). Middle Left: Painted porcelain bisque doll head fragments typical of European (German) dolls. Middle Right: Blue Rockingham-glazed marble (Actual size). Bottom: Two views of a porcelain China doll head fragment illustrating a Black individual (Lot A-34; Actual size and enlarged 370%). This doll fragment was deposited in a cinder-rich midden sometime prior to the August 1908 riots. The doll exhibits realistic facial features and skin tone which contrasts with the overall blackness and exaggerated facial features typical of racialized dolls common during the late nineteenth century (and inspired by minstrel caricatures).



**Figure 105.** Firearms and/or ammunition were fairly well represented in the Late Pre-Fire context, and included shotgun shells (Lot 36), smaller caliber pistols (Lots 35, 68, 77, 79), and large caliber rifles (Lot A-3) (Actual size).



**Figure 106.** Miscellaneous small finds from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A. Top: eye glass lens. Bottom: Small brass padlock embossed “St. Louis,” with photo of similar lock manufactured for and distributed at the 1904 World’s Fair (Lot A-6) (<http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/98503>). All artifacts are actual size.





**Figure 107. Three views of a human molar (lower/mandibular first or second molar) from the Late Pre-Fire deposits of House A (Madison Street Testing, Lot 9). Several caries (small cavities) were present along the gum line, as well as a deep cavity present in the tooth's crown. Additionally, the tooth had a severely curved dilacerated root. Clearly the deep cavity located in the center of the tooth most likely had exposed the nerve and would have caused pain, and was extracted.**

Fire Component



**Figure 108. Primary vessels from the Fire component, House A.**



**Figure 109.** Artifacts associated with the August 1908 riot were numerous within the single excavated test unit (Test 1). Many of the items from this context were smoked, burned, melted, and/or shattered by heat. **Top:** This represents the shattered and burned remains of a bowl—presumably a small wash basin (Vessel A-20). **Middle and Bottom:** Partially reconstructed rims of the relief decorated wash basin (Vessel A-20) (illustrated at 50% actual size).



**Figure 110.** Few ceramic tablewares were present in the fire deposits of House A, which is consistent with the suspected bedroom location of this test unit. This undecorated cup (Vessel A-12) was recovered from the Fire deposits of House A (Actual size).





**Figure 111. As rough as living conditions were in House A in 1908, cut flowers and/or potted plants may have been present in the house at the time of the riots. Left: Nearly whole printed vase from the fire deposits of House A (Test 1; Vessel A-33). Right: Small seedling or starter flower pot from the fire deposits of House A (Test 1; Vessel A-23).**



**Figure 112. Much of the glass recovered from the fire deposits of House A was badly deformed and/or melted. Unfortunately, it is generally impossible to ascertain the type of vessel from which the melted glass originated. Left: Milk glass container fragments (presumably remnants of salve and/or ointment jars). Middle: Window glass. Right: Clear glass containers.**



Figure 113. Three glass vessels from the fire deposits of House A, recovered from Test 1. Left: Proprietary prescription medicine bottle embossed "BAUMANN BROS." (Vessel A-5). Middle: Prescription medicine bottle (Vessel A-13). Right: Tumbler/jelly glass (Vessel A-8). All three vessels were melted and/or deformed by fire. All three vessels are illustrated at 90% actual size.





**Figure 114. Eating utensils from the Late Pre-Fire (top and middle) and Fire (bottom) deposits of House A. Top: Large tablespoon (Lot A-1). Middle: Teaspoon with a decorated pewter bowl and potential iron handle (Lot A-4). Bottom: Presumably silver plated brass teaspoon (Lot A-8). All artifacts are actual size.**





**Figure 115. Framing hatchet found in fire deposits of House A (Test 1) (illustrated at 80% of actual size). The recovery of this hatchet at this location is somewhat perplexing, as it seems to be out-of-place for this suspected bedroom location. Lot A-7)**



**Figure 116. A large portion of the artifacts from the fire deposits of House A (Test 1) consisted of heavily encrusted nails.**



**Figure 117. Top: Machine cut nails were most common in the fire deposits of House A, and included great variation in sizes. Bottom: Wire-drawn nails also were present in the fire assemblage, albeit in lower number and variety of sizes. The presence of the wire-drawn nails attests to remodeling activities on this dwelling during the very late nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century prior to the 1908 riots. All are actual size.**

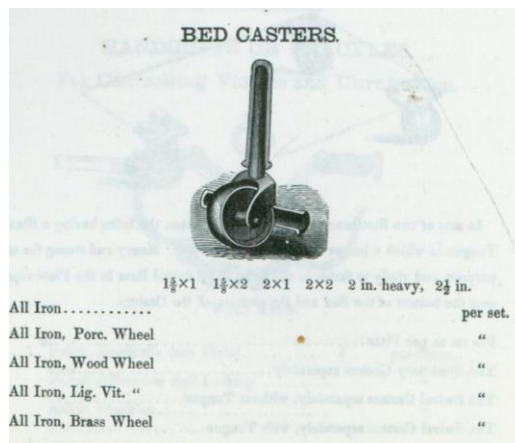


**Figure 118.** Aside from nails, architectural hardware was limited from the fire deposits of House A. Nonetheless, screws (top) and door hardware were recovered. The screws most likely were associated with door hinges. Both flat-tipped (non-pointed) (top right) and machine-pointed (top left) wood screws were present in the House A fire deposits. The flat-tipped screws are consistent with the pre-1850 age of the original house. The cast iron rim lock latch (bottom) was from a typical nineteenth century door rim lock. All artifacts are actual size.



**Figure 119.** Toys were few in number from the Fire context of House A, but did include this toy saucer (Lot A-7) (Actual size).





**Figure 120. Several furniture-related artifacts were found in the fire deposits of House A (Test 1). Top: Iron springs, presumably from an upholstered chair, sofa, or cushion. Bottom: Iron furniture casters, which may have been associated with a bureau, table, sofa, or as illustrated here—a bed (Lot A-7).**





**Figure 121. Telegraph and/or electrical pole insulators from Post-Fire deposits laying alongside the south foundation wall, adjacent to the southeast corner of the dwelling. These pole insulators probably were deposited along the burned out ruins of the dwelling immediately after the riots and repair of utility lines along Madison Street.**

## *Summary and Conclusion*

The combined archival research and archaeological investigations of House A has resulted in the recovery of a wide range of information related to the structure of the dwelling and its associated outbuildings, changes through time related to the physical character of the house and its surroundings, as well as to the identity of the house occupants and their quality of life over the approximate 66-year life span of the building.

House A was probably constructed by, or for, John Meyers (Mayers) sometime between 1842 and 1848 (possibly during the earlier part of this timeframe). Unfortunately, little is known about John Meyers and his family, other than he may have come to Springfield from nearby Logan County. Beginning in 1848, and continuing through circa 1882-83, the house was occupied by Peter Westenberger and his family. Westenberger, a German immigrant recently arrived in Springfield, was a cabinetmaker who appears to have plied his trade at times from a workshop located on the rear of the property. Although Peter died in 1869, his widow Eva remained living in the family home through circa 1882-83. During the period 1867-1872, the house also was occupied by Eva and Peter's daughter, Margaret Dirksen and her husband John. The Dirksens had two children during their time of residence at House A.<sup>82</sup> Archival evidence suggests that Eva took in boarders during the later years of her occupation. During the later years of the nineteenth century (circa 1885-1895), the home remained in the Westenberger family's ownership and was utilized as a rental property. During the initial years as a tenant-occupied dwelling under the Westenberger siblings' management, the house may have been used in a commercial manner as a "house of ill fame," or "resort" (variously known as "Dan Sutton's Ranch," the "Lynch Resort," and "Malinda Reed's negro house of ill fame"). Beginning in 1896, Gerhardt Westenberger began purchasing his siblings' interest in the property, and by 1897 he had four-fifths ownership in the rental property. He did not acquire the final 1/5 interest in the property from his sister until April 1901. During the later years of the nineteenth century, after Gerhardt Westenberger had consolidated ownership of the property (post 1897), the house appears to have been used in a more mainstream manner as a tenant house with at least two rental units. City directories suggest that the house was divided into multiple living units prior to this point in time as well. After 1883, the tenants primarily were Black and their periods of occupancy generally of short duration (the Lina Lewis family being one notable exception).

Both the archival research and archaeological investigations suggest that House A was totally destroyed by fire late Friday evening (or early Saturday morning) August 14, 1908. All that survived of this dwelling the following Saturday morning was the large chimney stack with its associated fireplace (or fireplaces)—as depicted in a single surviving photograph of the Madison Street streetscape immediately after the riots. Shortly after the mob action, the grounds were cleaned up and the burned-out remains of the structure was capped with clean subsoil fill, encapsulating the archaeological remains of the dwelling and its contents. The property remained undeveloped through the 1910s, finally being developed during the 1930s for use by the Barker-Goldman-Lubin Company (later Barker-Lubin), a building materials supply firm.

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<sup>82</sup> The Dirksen's youngest children were born in 1869 and 1871.

Even then, however, the house site appears to have experienced very limited constructed activity, being used primarily for parking and the temporary storage of materials.

### Lot Use

The corner lot associated with House A was oriented east/west, with the front yard facing Tenth Street, and with its south exposure facing Madison Street. The house was located on eastern end of the lot, and sited south of center, close to Madison Street, where there was a low knoll. The historic ground surface sloped gently away from the house, with the slope to the north being the most pronounced (with an apparent low-lying drainage separating Houses A and B). The eastern edge of the property had had a substantial ditch (Feature 22) cut across it at some point (possibly circa 1838), but this feature appears to have been infilled by the time House A was constructed or not long afterwards. There is evidence of the lot having had fencing on its north and south sides (Features 7 and 8); and the other two sides property may have been fenced in as well. Both the 1854 and 1858 city maps illustrate a substantial-sized outbuilding adjacent to the northwest corner of the house. This building was probably a detached summer kitchen and/or wash house. Additionally, these maps depict a larger outbuilding on the southwest corner of the property, fronting Madison Street, which is suspected to represent Peter Westenberger's cabinet shop and/or barn. These are the only outbuildings documented on the lot (Figure 122).

Historic cartographic sources are consistent in their placement of the large outbuilding on the rear of the lot. All depict it as being set tight to the southern and western lot lines, apparently fronting Madison Street. However, these sources provide conflicting information in respect to other aspects of the building. The 1867 and 1873 bird's eye views, for example, show it as having a front-gable roof, while the circa-1878 view shows it with a side-gabled roof. The earlier views (1867, 1873) are considered to be more reliable in this instance than the latter. Although none of the bird's eye views show any upper-story windows, the building is depicted as having sufficient height to have been 1-1/2-stories. The 1880 *Minimum Tariff of Rates* indicates that the building was indeed 1-1/2 stories tall (Board of Fire Underwriters 1880:279). The 1854 and 1858 city maps indicate that the building was of frame construction, measured approximately 20-ft by 40-ft in size, and suggest it had a narrow extension running along its east side, extending roughly three-quarters the depth of the main structure. No such extension is illustrated by the 1867 and circa-1878 views. By contrast, the 1873 bird's eye depicts *two* extensions, neither of which corresponds to the one illustrated by the 1850s-era maps. One extension runs along the north side of the building, while the other juts off the southeast corner and runs parallel to Madison Street; both are depicted as having shed roofs. Interestingly, the 1873 bird's eye view shows a window and door opening along the east elevation, in the same location where the 1854 and 1858 maps had shown an extension/addition. Additionally, this view shows the roof on the southeast extension as draining toward Madison Street, as opposed to away from it. This suggests that the building was modified between 1858 and 1873, with the earlier wing being removed and one, if not two, new ones being constructed and also that there was a potential reorientation of the building's entrance from Madison Street to the east elevation, facing into the rear yard of House A (Figures 122-123).

Throughout this report, the outbuilding on the rear of the lot has been discussed as a possible cabinet shop, a barn, or a combination of the two. Barns, of course, were a common feature on

nineteenth-century urban house lots associated with the more affluent households and tradesmen. These outbuildings typically were located at the rear of a property, adjoining an alley and housed the family carriage (or wagon), horse(s), and perhaps a milk cow. Given that the Westenbergers did not have access to a platted alley (due to the east/west orientation of their lot), if they did have a barn there is some sense in having located it near the southwestern corner of lot, where it could be accessed from Madison Street. However, there are a number of factors that suggest that the outbuilding in question had another use. To begin with, the 1867 and 1878 bird's eye views both depict it as being as large (if not larger), than its associated dwelling (House A); and the 1873 bird's eye shows it as having a layout more complex than the typical carriage barn. Peter Westenerger, so far as is known, was self-employed, and he was still working as a cabinetmaker as late as 1868, despite his advanced age. Hence, the outbuilding may have served as his cabinet shop. John Dirksen, who also was a cabinetmaker, may also have had need for a home-based shop during the period he resided at House A (1867-1872), though by 1873 he had relocated and was in the employ of Gerhardt Westenerger (his brother-in-law) and presumably worked at the latter's place of business. It is equally possible that the outbuilding was multi-purpose and functioned both as a barn and shop. A multi-purpose use might explain the several additions/extensions made to the building over time. The 1880 *Minimum Tariff of Rates* suggests that the building had been repurposed for use as a dwelling by that date (Board of Fire Underwriters 1880:279). The outbuilding was demolished at some point between 1880 and 1890.

The footprint of the Westenerger cabinet shop/barn largely lies outside of the project APE. However, the archaeological investigations did find a distinct zone of plaster and/or mortar fragments in the lower fill on the southwest corner of the house lot, in association with a large post (Post 31), which may represent the remains of the shop/barn (corresponding to the southwest corner of the building). A cluster of posts (Posts 27-29) located east of Post 31 might be associated with southeast corner of the building, or one of the wings attached to it.

The 1854 and 1858 city maps depict the suspected summer kitchen as being located immediately west of the house (with 8 to 10-ft separating the two buildings), being of frame construction, and to have measured approximately 12-ft (east/west) by 20-ft (north/south) in size. These maps also show the summer kitchen as being offset to the house, with the south end of the former being roughly even with the centerline of the house. The 1867 and 1873 bird's eye views do not illustrate the summer kitchen, but it does appear on the 1876 city map and circa-1878 bird's eye view. The circa-1878 view shows it with a side-gabled roof and locates it farther away from the house (more at mid-yard) than any of the other sources. The 1890 Sanborn map's depiction of the summer kitchen is very similar to the 1850s-era maps in respect to its size (approximately 12-ft by 20-ft) and location in relationship to the house, aside from narrowing the degree of separation between them to 5 to 6-ft. The 1896 Sanborn map suggests that the building was partitioned into two unequal-sized rooms, with one occupying the northern third of the building and the other the southern two-thirds. The summer kitchen apparently was demolished at some point after 1896. Its removal would have resulted in a change in how the immediate area outside of the house (the Inner Yard) was used, with some of the activities previously done in the outbuilding (cooking, washing, etc.) now being shifted into the house—a modernization of working-class housing widespread during this era (Figure 124).



Although no well or cistern was documented during the archaeological investigations, one, if not both, likely were present on the house lot. The most plausible location for a cistern would be off the northwest corner of the house—the one corner of the house that was not exposed during the excavations. The location of the well is more open to speculation, though it too likely was located in the Inner Yard activity area, possibly south of the summer kitchen, within easy reach of both the house and summer kitchen; if so, it is possible that the brick pavement at the rear of the house (Feature 9) extended around the well. The fact that this section of the inner yard ultimately was paved circa 1870 suggests that it was a primary (high-use) activity area.

Similarly, no privies have been documented on the lot, but they certainly would have been present. Privies usually are not illustrated on historic maps and bird's-eye views, even Sanborn maps. None were found during the archaeological investigations, but this is not surprising given the limited extent of excavations in the rear yard and the specific areas tested. Privies in an urban setting typically were located at the rear of the lot, along an alley (when present) or along an adjoining property line; they were less common along a primary thoroughfare like Madison Street, where the 2017 and 2020 investigations were conducted. A large section of the rear yard was taken up by Peter Westenberger's cabinet shop/barn, but there was still room to the north of the outbuilding for several generations of privies. Previous archaeological investigations in Springfield have found the average life cycle of a privy to be around ten years (or less). If the same holds true for House A, there may be up to six or seven privy shafts on the house lot. The most probable area for privy locations on this house lot is along the rear of the lot north of the Westenberger workshop, and along the west half of the north property line. Given the lack of significant development on the house lot post-1908, the likelihood of these features having good archaeological integrity is high, and, as privies, they would have a high potential for containing significant data relevant to a variety of research questions.

By 1890, the rear yard area was devoid of major outbuildings, and by 1906 even the inner-mid yard most likely was vacant with the removal of the summer kitchen.<sup>83</sup> Certain domestic activities, such as the drying of laundry (Lina Lewis was a laundress), presumably continued, but the day-to-day activities within the Inner, Mid, and Outer yards likely were less than what they had been during the Westenberger family's occupation and the first decade or so of House A's use as a rental property. It is possible that the rear yard of House A had, by this point in time, become part of the "unplatted court near Tenth and Madison streets" referred to by the *Illinois State Journal* in 1899—being a crossroads of sorts for foot traffic between the various brothels, resorts, gaming houses, and saloons associated with "Shinbone Alley" and where illicit activity was alleged to have occurred. The large billboard erected by Gerhardt Westenberger along the Madison Street side of the property (Feature 13) would have screened the greater part of the rear yard from public view, and this feature perhaps delineated the southern boundary of the so-called "court."

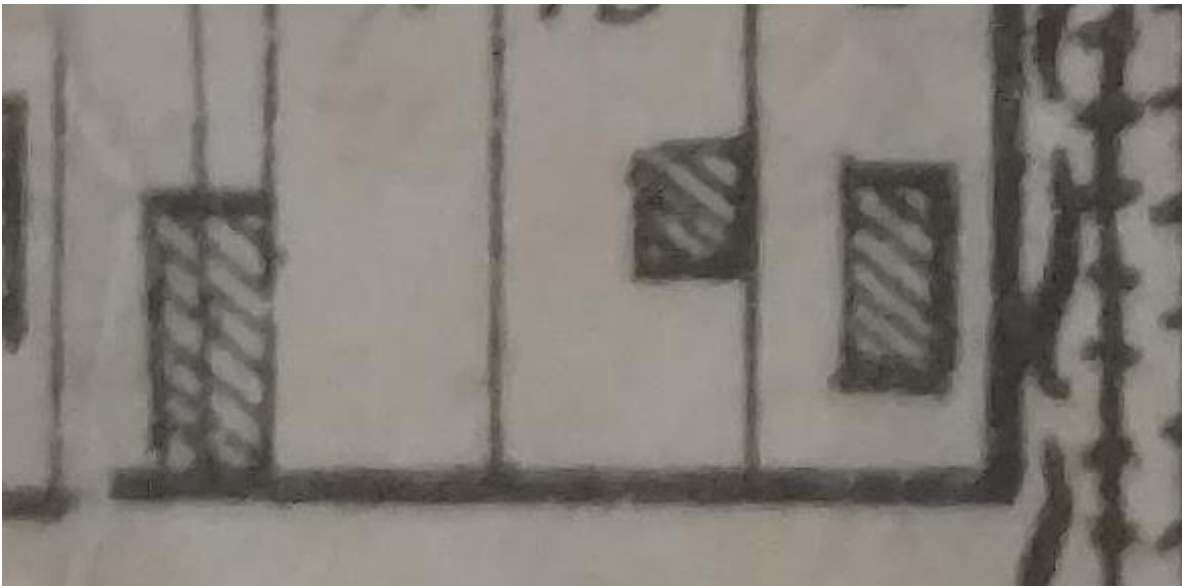
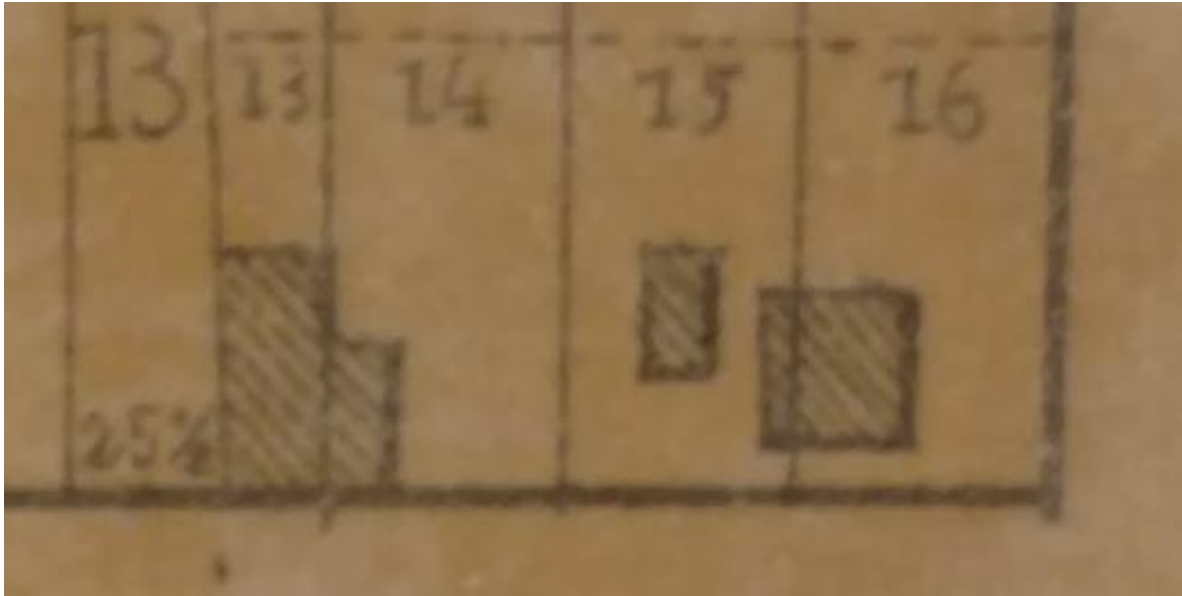
The house lot and its associated rear yard appears to have poorly maintained during the later years of the house's occupation. Archaeological investigations found a thick deposit of cinders (fuel waste) around the periphery of the house and extending into the front and rear yards. These deposits appear to date from the period that House A was a rental property (post-1883). By 1908

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<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately, the 1906 Sanborn map probably does not indicate the presence of major outbuildings such as barns and summer kitchens.

the cinders had accumulated to a point where they completely covered the front walk, lower front step, and the brick pavement at the rear of the house; up against the house, they were nearly at the height of the house's sill plate. In the earlier era, when the house was still owner occupied, stove waste (wood ash, and later coal ash and cinders) probably was disposed of in a more discriminate manner (such as in an abandoned privy pit or elsewhere on the rear of the lot). A photograph taken in the aftermath of the 1908 riot shows the portion of the yard immediately behind the house as overgrown with weeds (some of which may be sunflowers). This view also shows medium-sized trees along the west and north property lines. The trees along the west property line may have grown after the cabinet shop was removed.

Little information is available regarding what formal plantings might have been present during the Westenbergers' period of occupation. One possible exception is the presence of a potential planter, consisting of a redware jar set into the ground in the front yard.

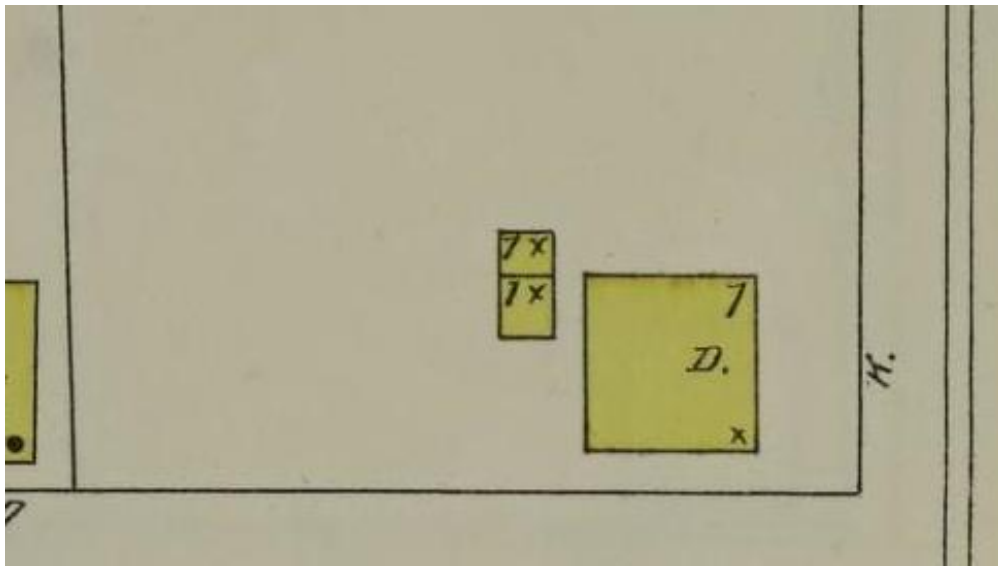
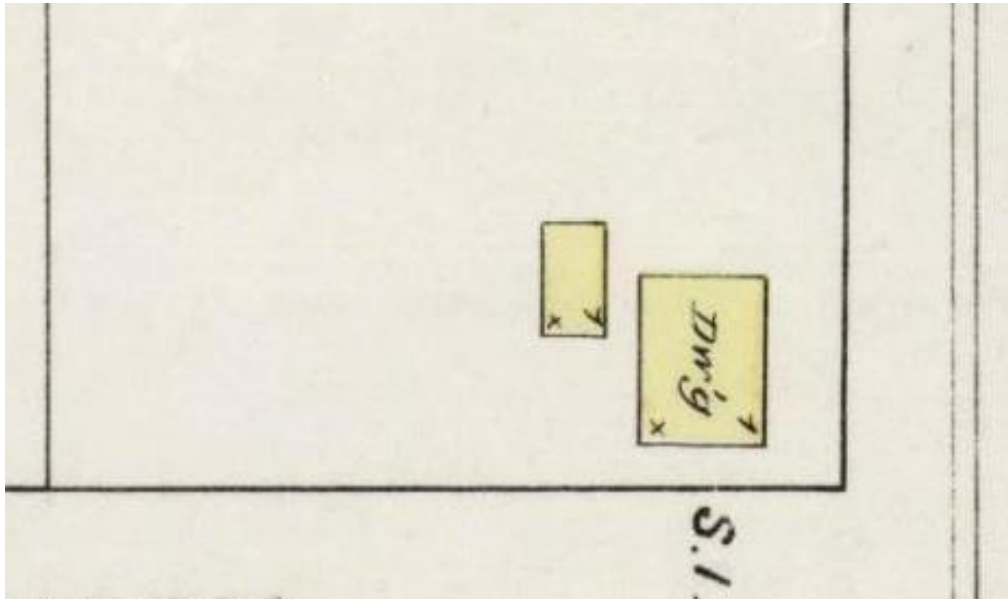


**Figure 122. Top: Site plan as depicted on the 1854 *City of Springfield* map (Hart and Mapother 1854). Bottom: Site plan as depicted on the 1876 Map of Springfield (Bird 1876). Both site plans depict a similar suite of buildings, which consists of a frame house, detached outbuilding immediately to the rear of the house in an Inner Yard location (presumed summer kitchen), and a large rear yard building fronting Madison Street (presumably representing the cabinet shop of Peter Westenberger). The summer kitchen (and/or wash house) appears to have been demolished sometime between after 1896. Although the site plans are similar, the two maps depict the buildings with widely different footprints, with the 1854 map most likely being the more accurate representation of the buildings.**



**Figure 123. Close-up views of Houses A, B, and C (left to right) from the 1873 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois* (Koch 1873). The 1873 bird's eye is one of the better representations of House A (which is circled in red), in respect to door and window openings, the size of its associated lot, and the degree of separation between it and House B. House B is the smallest of the houses indicated in the project area at this time. The illustration suggests a five-bay elevation with a central doorway. The gable end window suggests the presence of a second-floor garret room. The image is unclear whether the house was a single pile (one-room deep) or double pile (two room deep) dwelling. Earliest depiction appears to suggest a double pile dwelling under common gable roof, whereas the 1873 image appears to document a single pile dwelling.**





**Figure 124. Top: House A and associated outbuildings as depicted on the 1890 (top) and 1896 (bottom) Sanborn Fire Insurance map. The 1896 Sanborn appears to more accurately reflect the size and shape of the House A footprint.**

## The House

### The Original House

The fact that House A was reduced to its foundations in 1908 and only minimally investigated archaeologically naturally limits the amount of data available for determining the as-built character of the house and its evolution through time. Nonetheless, a general idea of the house's exterior character can be derived from documentary sources such as the historic bird's-eye views and Sanborn fire insurance maps. Additionally, the ruins of the house appear in one of the photographs taken in the immediate aftermath of the riot (the only known post-riot photograph to illustrate any portion of the project area), in which the house's massive chimney stack prominently displayed (Figure 125). The following discussion reviews the documentary information available on the house and the structural data recovered from the archaeological investigations. Even less is known about the interior of the house. In the absence of a standing structure, the presentation of any floor plan naturally entails a certain degree of speculation. However, a reasonable conjecture of the house's basic floor plan can be proposed based on its size, massing, number of bays, and also by reference to contemporary examples of similar housing in Springfield and elsewhere in Illinois. The conjectural floor plans, and sectional reconstruction, will be discussed in detail below (Figures 126-128).

Documentary sources provide slightly different depictions of House A, and some are more detailed than others. The 1854 and 1858 city maps depict the house as being of frame construction. Scaling from the 1854 map, the house measures approximately 25-ft square and has a 25-ft+ setback from Tenth Street. The 1867 bird's eye view suggests that the house a 1½-story, side-gable, double-pile frame structure with a central doorway along its eastern elevation, fronting Tenth Street. This source shows the house set tight to Tenth Street. A second bird's eye view, published in 1873, is more detailed; it depicts the house having a five-bay façade (with a central door) and also shows an upper-story window in the north gable-end wall, indicating a 1-½-story height. It also places the front of the house fairly close to Tenth Street. The 1878 bird's eye view, like the earlier views, shows the house with a side-gabled roof, but depicts the dwelling with a much narrower footprint, suggesting that had a single pile plan. Unfortunately, this source illustrates no window or door openings on any of the elevations. The 1876 city map also depicts the house with a narrow, rectangular footprint with its long-axis running north/south. The 1890 and 1896 Sanborn fire insurance maps also provide slightly different data on House A. The 1890 map depicts the house as being frame and as measuring approximately 25x30-ft in size (long axis north/south), with a 15-ft setback from Tenth Street. The 1896 Sanborn map, by contrast, shows the house with a square footprint, approximately 35-ft by 35-ft, and a 20-ft setback from Tenth Street. None of the sources referenced illustrate any porches on House A.

The archaeological research indicates that House A had a nearly square footprint, measuring 30-ft (north/south) by 29-ft (east/west) in size.<sup>87</sup> The structure was constructed with shallow foundations, resting at or very near the circa 1840 ground surface. All of the historic bird's-eye views depict the house as having had a side-gabled roof with a ridge running north/south. This is

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<sup>87</sup> An allowance of ± 1-in should be given to these dimensions due the variability in the conditions of foundations at the points they were measured from.

corroborated by a photograph taken in the aftermath of the house's destruction in 1908. The photograph in question (Figure 125) documents a large brick chimney stack, with fireplace, located towards the rear half of the house (and just outside of the current project area). The ghost of a sloped roof line is evident along the south side of the chimney. The fact that the ghost of the roofline continues upward, as opposed to coming to a peak, indicates that the chimney was not located in the center of the house. Further, the photograph suggests that this was an internal chimney, located within the body of the house (as opposed to being on a gable-end wall), as evidenced by the extent of the burned-out area on all sides of it. Based on the dimensions of the house and the location of the chimney within it, the house is believed to have been double pile (two-rooms deep) and two rooms wide. Based on the bird's eye views, the house most likely had a five-bay façade, with a central doorway flanked by two windows either side of it.

As noted above, House A probably had a five-bay façade with two windows each side of a central door. The presence of a central doorway was corroborated by the archaeological investigations. The front steps (Feature 2) were located 1-ft (30cm) off-center of the house's front elevation, being slightly closer towards the north side of the house. The 1-ft off-center nature of this stoop probably indicates the presence of two unequal-sized rooms within the front half of this structure. The larger, northern room would have measured approximately 16-ft (4.87m) in width (north/south), with the smaller southern room measuring approximately 12-ft (3.04m) in width (north/south). The depth (east/west) of these two rooms is unknown, though based on the off-center chimney (and the comparable example of House D), the rooms may have been approximately 16-ft in depth. Most likely, this house did not have a central hallway, but instead may have had an enclosed stairway integrated into the larger of the two front rooms leading to the upper story. Although the location of the stairway is unclear, stairways were often located within the larger of the two rooms, associated with the front entrance, and abutting the common wall separating the two rooms. These stairways could either have a straight-run to the upstairs, or incorporate a 90-degree turn into their plan. The layout of the stairway in House A has been interpreted with a 90-degree turn, which would have required winders at the upper part of the stairway in order to fit the conjectural floorplan, but this was not uncommon for comparable housing of the period.

Under the proposed modeling, the rear (or west) rank of rooms in the house would have been narrower than those on the east, with their depths (east/west) being approximately 11-ft 6-in (3.5m). Although it cannot be said with certainty, the post-fire photograph of the house suggests that there were two rooms in the rear of the house and that there was an internal chimney positioned along their common interior wall. Assuming the interior wall separating the two rear rooms was on-line with that dividing the front rooms, the width (north/south) of the southwestern room was approximately 12-ft (3.04m) while that of the northwestern room was approximately 16-ft (4.87m). The photograph further suggests that although the main body of the chimney was located within the northwestern room (as indicated by an apparent wall fragment extending off the southwest corner of the chimney), there was a fireplace in the southwestern room (the face of which was flush with the interior wall). The fireplace in question had been bricked up at some point and replaced by a stove, the thimble for which can be seen protruding out of the chimney. Part of the brick infill collapsed during the house fire, exposing the firebox behind it. Although unclear from the photograph, the substantial width of the stack suggests that it had two back-to-back fireboxes integrated into this single chimney stack (as with nearby House D). A second

thimble for a stove flue can be seen protruding out of the west side of the chimney; this would have been associated with a stove in the northwest room, and it is reasonable to assume that the fireplace in this room had also been bricked up (as was commonly done in many homes by the late nineteenth century). The base of this chimney stack presumably is located within the western (or back) half of the house, which was not stripped of overburden during the Phase II investigations. It is unclear whether House A had a similar chimney stack in the front half of the dwelling, as was documented in House D. No evidence of this second chimney stack was noted in the eastern half of the dwelling during the Phase II investigations, although it may have been covered with Post-Fire fills. Arguing against its presence was the fact that a second chimney stack was not visible in the historic photographic view, and it seems unlikely that the stack would have been demolished to a point where it would not have been visible above the relatively thin Post-Fire fill. The absence of a second chimney does raise questions about how the front half of the house was heated initially. It is possible that at some point, stove pipes might have been extended into these rooms, vented through the single stack that is known to have been present.

The original function of the first-floor rooms in the home is open to speculation, though some plausible proposals can be made. Given that the front entrance to the home opened into the northeast room, this space most likely served as the more formal parlor. The northwest room possibly functioned as the kitchen—a theory strengthened by this room's proximity to the summer kitchen at the rear of the house. Most likely, a door was located near the northwest corner of the kitchen allowing easy access to the summer kitchen. Although positioned off-center to the house, the summer kitchen was directly aligned to the northwest room, and only 5 to 6-ft. separated the two. As originally laid out, the southeast room of the house functioned either as a less formal public space (a hall; as in Hall and Parlor House form), or a downstairs bedroom. The southwest room most likely functioned as a bedroom.

As noted above, a small stoop was documented on the front of the house. This stoop appears to have been in use throughout the life of the house, as no evidence for a subsequent front porch has been located. Similarly, no archival evidence for a back porch has been located, and no substantial archaeological investigation has been undertaken in this area. The limited archaeological research adjacent to the cellar bulkhead entrance is inconclusive whether or not a rear porch was present. Subsequent archaeological investigations in this area would be required to ascertain the presence of a porch in this area. Although rear work porches were common during the nineteenth century, it is worth noting that the house with a similar house form located at Second and Capital Street did not have a rear work porch, or for that matter, a front porch (see Figures 129-130).

The 1908 post-fire photograph illustrates the apparent ghost line separating the ceiling/floor between the upper and lower stories of the house, as well another ghost line for the rafters. The two ghost lines are separated by a significant distance, suggesting that there was adequate headroom for usable living space on the upper half-story of the house, as opposed to just an unfinished attic space—a fact corroborated by the suspected second-story gable end windows depicted in the bird's eye view. A conjectural sectional view of the house (Figure 128) indicates that the upper story would have had a garret ceiling, with a height of at least 7-ft at center. The upper floor possibly consisted of a single room measuring 29-ft long (north/south) and upwards



of 16-ft wide (east/west). A window likely was present in both gable-end walls. The upper story of the house may have been used as bedroom and/or storage space, as needed.

Documentary sources consistently indicate that House A was of frame construction, and the extent of destruction documented by the 1908 photograph confirms this. Considering its date of construction, the house most likely was timber frame and built predominately with locally procured hardwood lumber, as was typical of most housing in Springfield prior to the 1850s.

### The Later House (Additions and/or Modifications)

The combined archival and archaeological evidence suggests that the exterior of the house witnessed relatively little change over the course of its 60-plus-year history. The house appears to have retained its original dimensions, with no major additions, or deletions, made to it. However, it did experience important changes over time that were related to the changing domestic needs by the owners and occupants. These are discussed chronologically below:

1) The Addition of a Cellar Beneath the House: It is unclear whether the original house had a cellar beneath it. If the house had a cellar at the time the house was constructed, that cellar most likely was accessed through a trap door only, and not through an adjacent bulkhead entrance. This is based on the fact that the archaeological investigations noted that the bulkhead entrance to the cellar was not an original feature of the house, as the construction of the steps entailed the piercing of the original perimeter foundation wall. The assessment of the bulkhead entrance found near the southwest corner of the house (Feature 16a) suggests that it was not original, but represents an early modification to the original dwelling. Although speculative, it is likely that the original house constructed did not have a cellar (as was the case with adjacent House D, of similar size and shape). To many early nineteenth century Midwesterners, organic foodstuffs gave off “vapors” which were believed to be the cause of many ailments (such as the “ague” which tormented many early settlers in Illinois). As such, cellars for the storage of such foodstuffs were often located outside of the house footprint, in an exterior cellar (i.e. a root cellar) located in an Inner Yard location. More-than-likely the archaeological remains of a small exterior cellar in use by the initial house occupants is located in the adjacent yard within close proximity to rear of the house, the summer kitchen, and a well.

At some point during the early history of the house lot, the grade in the immediate rear yard was raised by the deposition of mixed topsoil and subsoil fills upon the original ground surface and associated midden (corresponding to fill Zones V and VI). This fill may have originated from the excavation of the cellar beneath the house, with the soil from the cellar being broadcast in the immediate rear yard raising the level of the grade in this area. This construction activity appears to have occurred fairly early in the occupation of the house, and it potentially occurred after Peter Westenberger purchased the property from Jacob Mayer in 1848. The Westenbergers, as recent German immigrants, may have had different perceptions of disease transmission than the earlier Mayer, and most houses constructed by, or for, German families required a substantial cellar beneath the dwelling.

Unfortunately, although the excavations have documented the presence of a cellar minimally beneath the southwest room of the dwelling, the dimensions of the cellar are not known as this

portion of the house was not subject to mitigation. However, the cellar is suspected to have been relatively small (in the range of 8x8-ft in size) and probably was located just within the southwest room of the house. The low head room available within the cellar (less than 4-ft), coupled with the need to inset it an adequate distance from the house's shallow foundation walls, would have presented significant restraints on the size of the cellar. The original bulkhead had a single-wythe brick walls and was quite shallow horizontally (east/west).

2) Cellar Modifications: The cellar eventually was repurposed or modified, as indicated by the partial infilling of the cellar and original bulkhead (Feature 19). The floor was raised approximately 1-ft 4-in (40cm). Upon the surface of this fill, at least within the bulkhead, a brick pavement (Feature 17) was installed, and the upper section of the bulkhead's brick walls were modified with the addition of a double-wythe wall (Feature 16b). The reason for the infilling of the bulkhead is not known, but it may have been driven by a failure in the cellar design (water infiltration and the natural silting up of the cellar, and/or wall collapse) or the decision that an internal cellar of that size was no longer necessary. The bulkhead possibly was modified circa 1860; this is speculative, however, as the fills associated with this modification (Zone X') were not able to be assessed during the mitigation. It is unclear from the available documentary and archaeological evidence whether the bulkhead ever was sheltered within a rear porch.

Eventually, the opening within the brick perimeter foundation wall through which the bulkhead entranceway was located, was infilled with brick completely closing off the exterior entrance to the cellar. The exterior bulkhead with its brick floor appears to have remained open and may have served as the equivalent of an exterior cellar, with the complete abandonment of the main cellar beneath the house at this time. These later cellar modifications are suspected to have taken place during the period that John and Margaret Dirksen resided in House A (1867-1872).

3) Brick Pavement/Sidewalks: A brick pavement (Feature 9) was laid down at the rear of the house. Although it is unclear as to when this pavement may have been laid down, the physical remains of the pavement suggest it was modified through the years, and potentially constructed in multiple episodes, perhaps with the initial construction associated with the cellar and its associated bulkhead entrance. Only a portion of this pavement was exposed during the archaeological investigations, but the pavement appears to have extended north from the public sidewalk along Madison Street, past the bulkhead, and possibly continued to the summer kitchen and rear entrance to the house. It, too, is believed to have been installed during the Dirksen occupation (circa 1870)—or perhaps slightly earlier, and modified by the Dirksen family. The front sidewalk (Features 3 and 20) might also have been re-oriented from Tenth Street to Madison Street during this period.

4) Conversion of Fireplaces to Stoves: The post-fire photograph of House A from late 1908 indicates that the house originally was equipped with fireplaces, but that the fireplaces eventually were abandoned and replaced by stoves. This conversion may have occurred relatively early, potentially by the 1860s, and associated with a kitchen remodel. Related to this change was the eventual adoption of coal over wood as a fuel source, the latter of which had major implications for waste disposal practices by the later house occupants. Later occupation fills around House A primarily consist of coal waste, and by 1908 the coal waste had accumulated nearly to the height of the house's sill plate.

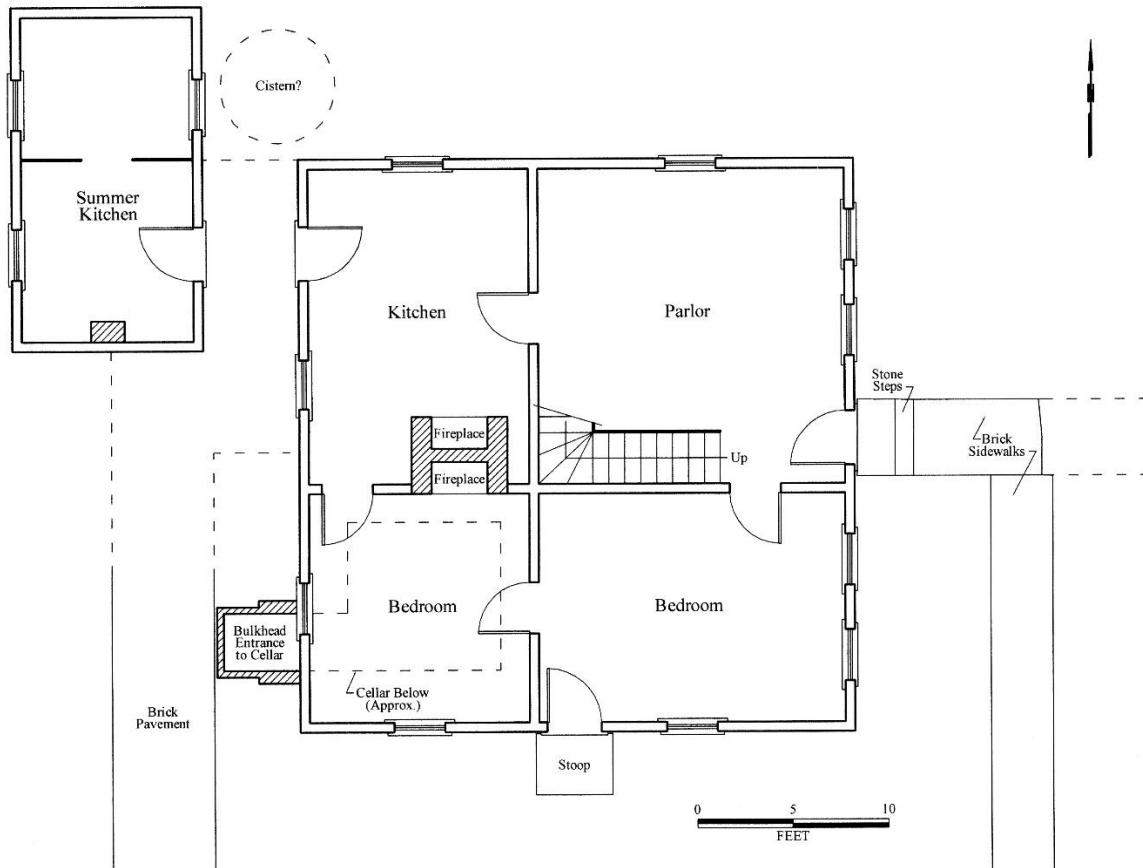
4) Conversion to Multiple-Family Housing: While there is no question that House A ultimately was converted to multiple-family housing (which necessitated physical changes to both the house and surrounding yard), it is unclear when some of the changes occurred. The presence of Feature 6 suggests the addition of an exterior door along the south elevation of the house. A door stoop at this location seems unlikely under the suspected as-built conditions when the home was under single-family occupancy. The question is, when was this side entrance installed? One possibility is that it was put in place during the Dirksens' period of occupancy, though it seems unlikely given the inter-marital relations of the family. That being said, the Dirksens might still have been given personal family space in the southern half of the house, with the Westenbergers maintaining space on the north. Once the Dirksens moved out, the use of a shared front entrance might have been abandoned. City directory research suggests that Eva Westenberger was taking in renters into the house during the later years of her occupation. Two men, listed as "renters," were reported in Mrs. Westenberger's residence in the 1881 city directory, and two different ones were renting from her in 1882-3. It is impossible to know whether these men simply were renting individual rooms, or whether there was a formal division of space in the home at this point in time. Such a division may not have taken place until after Mrs. Westenberger moved out in 1883-4. The 1889 city directory lists three "renters" and two "boarders" at House A, which presents the possibility of at multiple units in the home at that time. The northeast and northwest rooms might have been used as one-room rentals (each having exterior entrances), while the southern two rooms (having a single exterior entrance) might have been rented as a larger living unit. An upstairs living unit also might have been present. Depending on the conditions and character of the tenants, a small entrance hallway might have been framed out in the northeast room, thereby allowing private access to the adjoining rooms and upstairs.

5) Demolition of the Summer Kitchen/Wash House: The summer kitchen was demolished at some point after 1896, possibly following Gerhardt's consolidation of full ownership of the property in circa 1898-1901. In all likelihood, the activities associated with the traditional use of the summer kitchen and wash house most likely had already been integrated into the main body of the house by this time, perhaps during an earlier kitchen remodel. The demolition of the summer kitchen likely reflects a significant change in the use of the house lot at the time the house was converted to multiple-family use. Activities previously done in the summer kitchen apparently were no longer necessary or abandoned—or previously integrated into the main body of the house. Whatever kitchen activities were still being carried out were now being conducted inside the house.

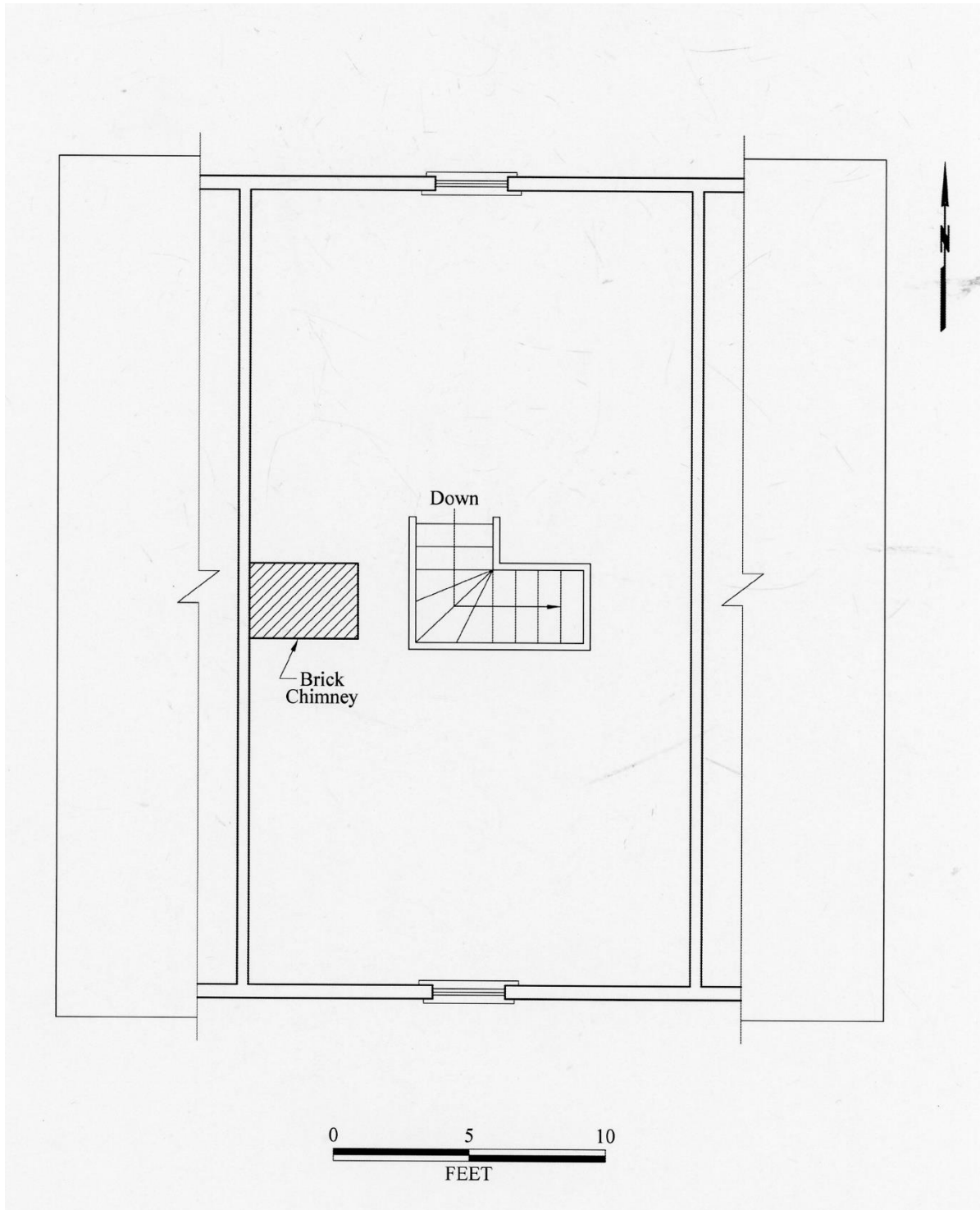


**Figure 125. Two views of the remains of House A in the immediate aftermath of the 1908 riot. Note presence of floor line and roof line (indicated by arrows). The firebox has been bricked up and stove flue(s) added to the chimney. It is unclear from the photograph whether the chimney stack had a single firebox, or back-to-back fireboxes similar to House D, though we suspect the latter.**

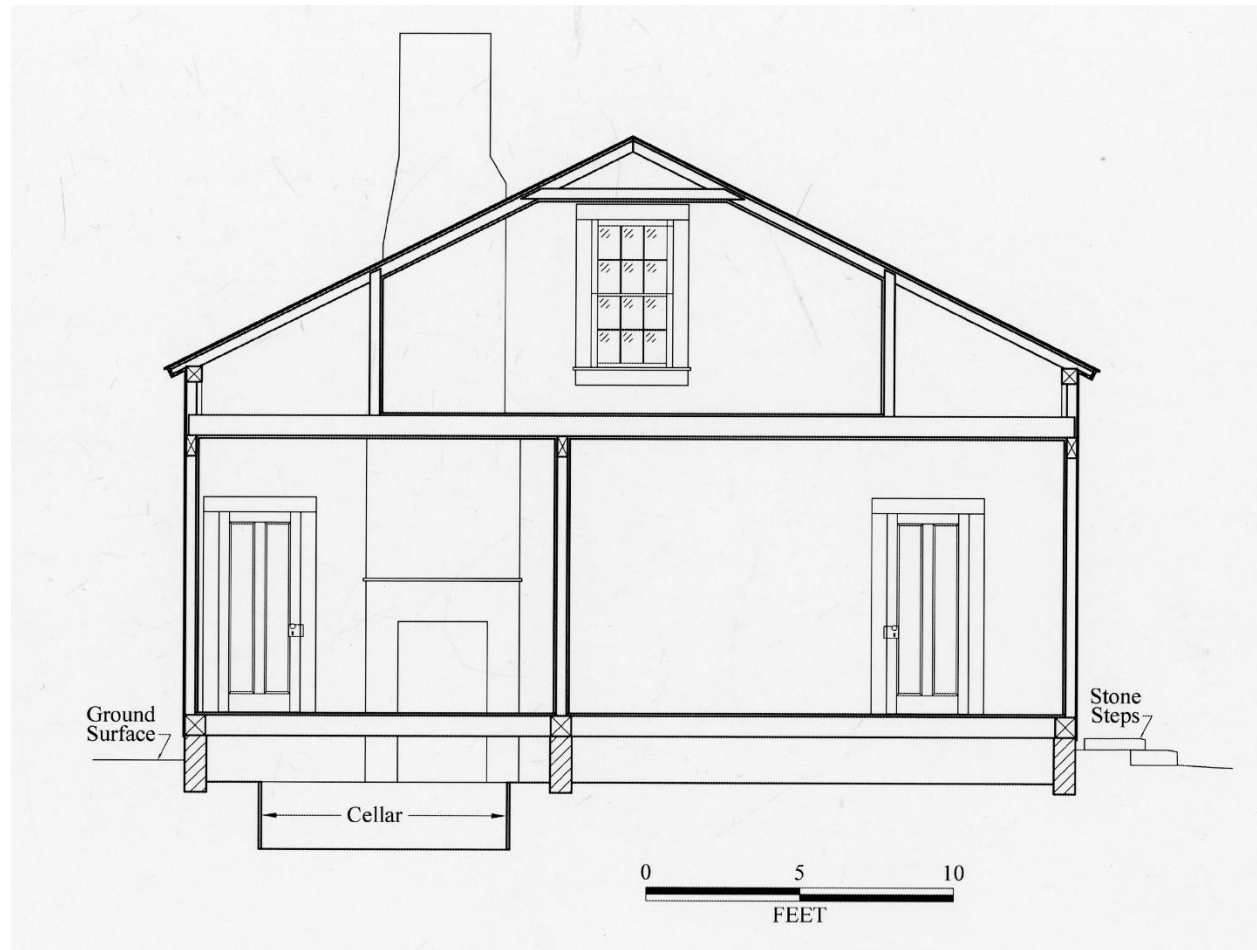




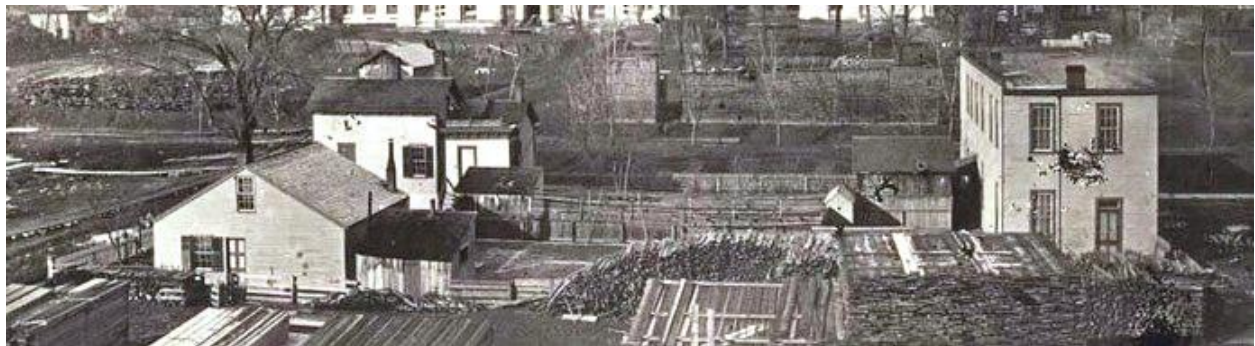
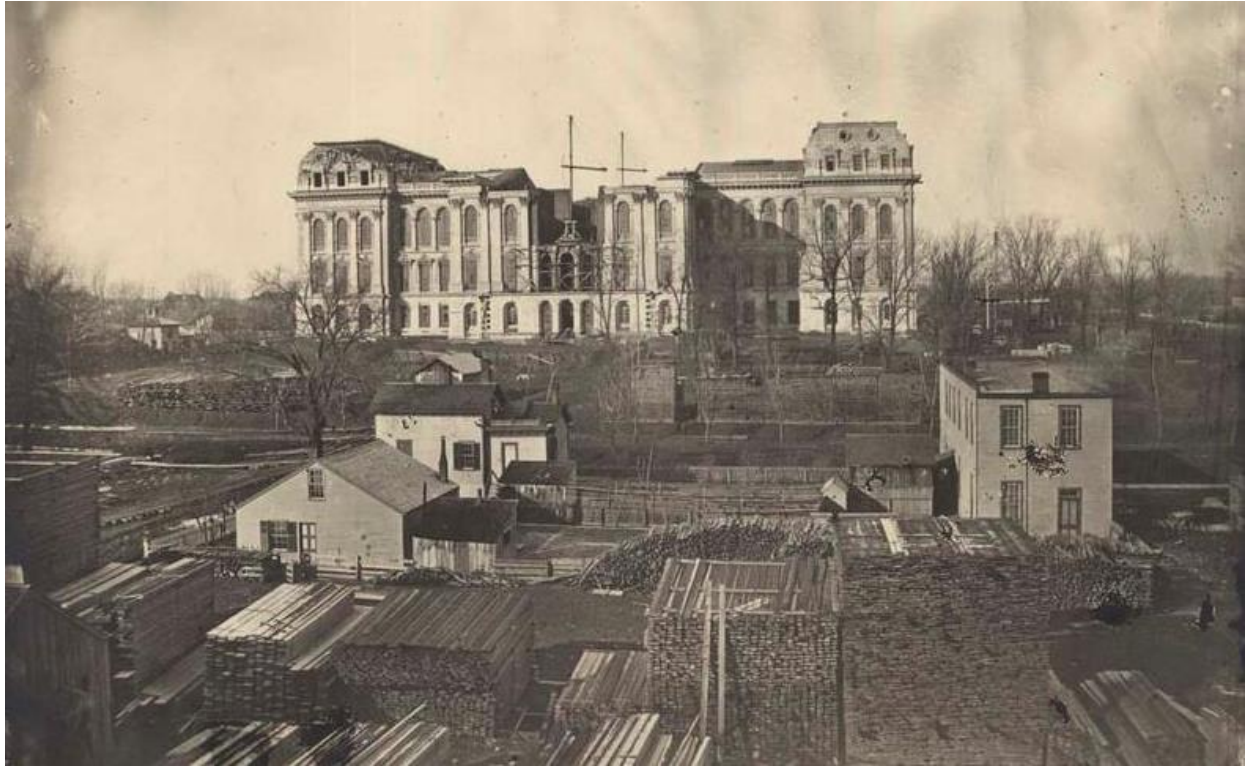
**Figure 126. Conjectural first floor plan of House A as it would have appeared during the Westenberger occupation. The figure is based on archaeological data, Sanborn maps, a post-fire photograph of House A, as well as comparable examples of contemporary housing in Springfield and Illinois. Specific details on room layout and use are speculative, however. The figure also includes several features that were not present on the original house and were added later on (i.e., the cellar, bulkhead entrance, rear brick pavement, and entrance door and stoop on the south side of the house). After the house became rental property (post-1883), the house appears to have been divided into at least two living units, with the northern two rooms likely representing one unit and those on the south the other unit. City directories suggests that individual rooms in the home may have been rented out at times, thereby adding to the number of living units present.**



**Figure 127. Conjectural second floor plan of House A. This likely was used as supplemental bedroom space and/or for general storage. The stair layout and room width is speculative.**

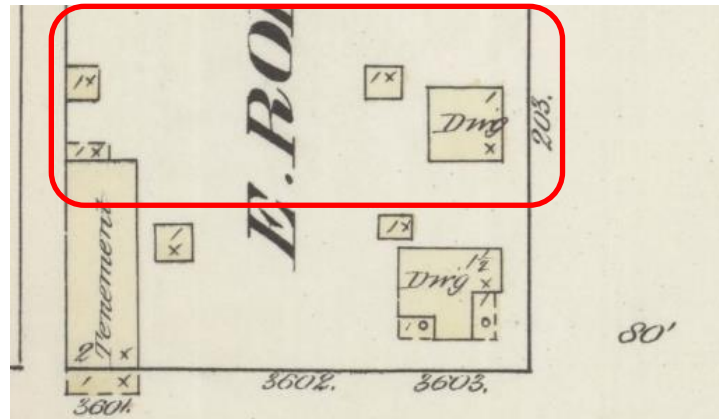


**Figure 128. Conjectural sectional view of House A, looking north through the southern half of the house, circa 1860. Given its 1840s-era construction, the house is believed to have been timber framed. Framing details are speculative, though are representative of contemporary housing in Springfield and Illinois. Note the shallow character of the cellar beneath the southwest corner of the house. Although the approximate depth of the cellar was established during the archaeological investigations, its dimensions remain unknown at present.**



**Figure 129. Top: View, looking west, of the Illinois State Capital under construction. Although undated, this photograph probably was taken sometime between circa 1872 and 1874. Construction on the new State House began in 1868, and the exterior of the building was more-or-less complete by 1876. Bottom: Detail of three buildings located in foreground at the northeast corner of Capital and Second Street. The two houses faced Capital Street. The two-story frame commercial building was labeled as a “Tenement” on the 1884 Sanborn fire insurance map. The massive supply of stacked lumber located immediately east of these buildings was associated with a carpenter shop identified on the 1884 Sanborn fire insurance map on the adjacent lot. Of particular interest is the mid-century frame house located in the lower-left corner of this image [Photograph from Facebook, otherwise source unknown.]**





**Figure 130. Top: Close-up view of the house at 203 West Capital Street. Bottom: Detail of the house and its associated outbuilding, as depicted on the 1884 Sanborn fire insurance map. The 1884 Sanborn fire insurance map notes that this house was one-story dwelling with a square footprint and suggests that a detached summer kitchen and/or wash house was located immediately to the rear of the dwelling. The footprint of the house and its accompanying outbuilding is remarkably similar to that depicted on the 1890 Sanborn map of House A. Although partially blocked by a large stacked pile of lumber, the only other outbuilding with this house appears to be a small frame privy located towards the rear of the lot—which is not depicted on the Sanborn map (see earlier picture). The photograph indicates that the detached outbuilding (presumably a summer kitchen) had a shed roof, and potentially two stove-pipe chimneys. One significant difference between this house, and House A, is the lack of a large interior chimney stack (with fireplace) within the main house. This house does not have the large double chimney stack present at House A, and instead has a small corner chimney most likely associated with a cooking stove. The lack of additional chimneys for use with heating stoves is unusual. A substantial plank fence surrounds the property. This 1½-story, mid-century frame house and summer kitchen is reminiscent of the dwelling identified as House A.**

*The Artifacts:  
Insights into House Occupants and their Lifestyles (Significant Findings)*

**The Meyer Occupation (Circa 1842-1848)**

Although the earliest of materials recovered from the side-yard midden during the Phase II investigations and within the Madison Street right-of-way may have been associated with this component, little can be said about this family and their occupation of the site.

**The Westenberger Occupation (1848-circa 1885)**

Although the Westenberger family's occupation of this property spanned multiple generations, archaeological materials associated with this component were not numerous. Contexts associated with this family's occupation of the site are reflected in the earlier middens identified in the surrounding yard, and within the lower fills of the cellar. Unfortunately, although the early fills of the cellar were noted as being present, they were not investigated as part of the archaeological investigations and remain preserved in place within the footprint of House A. The unexcavated cellar deposits most likely contain artifacts directly affiliated with the Westenberger family, and represent a significant data set in interpreting the life of this self-employed German craftsman and his family. A small number of sponge decorated teawares recovered from the site may hint at the German heritage of this family. Similarly, dark-glazed red-paste tablewares, distinctive of a redwares manufactured in the Philadelphia region, also hints at the early site occupants origins (perhaps the Meyer family). As the Westenberger family emigrated to Springfield from Germany via St. Louis, the family had little contact to the Philadelphia region.

On the whole, the volume of artifacts associated with the Westenberger occupation was relatively low and generally represented secondary deposits (middens). This reflected, in part, the limited extent to which the house lot was investigated archaeologically. The artifacts that were found that were associated with the Westenberger occupation suggest that they were fairly conservative as consumers but not oblivious to popular tastes. Although a variety of refined tablewares were recovered, including multiple transfer-print patterns, high-valued porcelains were poorly represented at the site. One of the more interesting print patterns recovered from this component was from a plate illustrated with an image of the famous Crystal Palace in London (Figure 131). The "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations" (known simply as The Great Exhibition) was held from May through October 1851 in the distinctive Crystal Palace constructed specifically for the event in Hyde Park, London.<sup>88</sup> Held in response to earlier French exhibitions, it was the British response to emphasize its superiority as a world leader in industrial technology. The presence of this plate in the early Westenberger family's house raises questions as to its inherent meaning to the family. Although some of the wares carrying images of the Crystal Palace were probably sold by vendors at the Crystal Palace to tourists as souvenirs of their visit, it seems unlikely that the Westenberger family visited the Crystal Palace in mid-1851. However, the implications of the Great Exhibition's theme of

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<sup>88</sup> *Dickinsons' Comprehensive Pictures of The Great Exhibition of 1851* was published in 1852 and contains many images of the event, including those presumably used on the printed wares produced by these potters (<https://archive.org/details/Dickinsonscompr1/page/n131/mode/2up>).

industrial technology may, indeed, have piqued the interest of the craftsmen family (whether father, or son).

### **Late Century Tenant Occupations (Circa 1885-August 1908)**

The artifacts from the Late Pre-Fire component document household living conditions and lifeways that contrast dramatically with the earlier Westenberger household. Unlike the earlier component, which documents a single-family owner-occupied household over multiple decades, the artifacts from this component document multiple, more-or-less anonymous, short-term tenant occupants (the majority of whom were Black residents). Accompanying biographies (cf. Harrison West, the William Smith family; and Cyrus Greenleaf) document several of the occupants of this house during these years.<sup>89</sup>

One of the more dramatic departures from the earlier Early/Middle Pre-Fire component is the significant rise of Indulgences. Non-alcoholic beverage consumption jumped from 0.0% to 5.9% of the identified vessels, which documents the rise of soda water consumption during these years. But also of significance was the jump from 4.6% to 11.9% in the alcohol containers. Concomitant with the decline in ceramic and glass Foodways Service vessels (from approximately 66% to 43% of the identified vessels) was the increased consumption of both alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages. This shift may reflect the tenant occupants' shift away from home prepared and consumed meals and the increase of leisure drinking activities.

Another recognizable difference between these two contexts was an increase in the presence of medicines during the Late Pre-Fire time period (which increased from a total of 9.2% to 13.9% of the identified vessels). This consisted of a slight increase in the use of prescription medicines (changing from 0.0% to 3% of the vessels), as well as an increase in propriety and/or patent medicines (which increased from 1.5% to 5.9% of the vessels identified). Although this change appears to represent a shift away from non-proprietary medicines to patent medicines, it may simply reflect the rise of embossed bottles (as many of the earlier patent medicines contained paper labels). Clearly, the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century were the heyday of the patent medicine era.

A look at the patent medicines being consumed by the house occupants during the Late Pre Fire time period gives us insights into the ailments afflicting the tenant occupants at the time. Although the sample size is small, two of the medicines were directed at general aches, pains, and rheumatism (Omega Oil and Sloan's Liniment). A third medicine was marketed as a treatment for coughs, colds, throat and lung problems, as well as a cure of consumption (Tuberculous) (Dr. King's New Discovery). The fourth patent medicine was a "cure all" for "spermatorrhoea, impotency and all diseases that follow as a sequence of self-abuse" (Gray Medicine Company). These patent medicines bespeak of common ailments, ailments often associated with working men.

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<sup>89</sup>“The Brutal Beatings of Two Elderly Black Men (Harrison West and William Smith, Sr.), and the Heroic Efforts of the Sisters of St. Johns Hospital,” Appendix V, this volume, and “Cyrus Greenleaf, ‘A Splendid Good Old Man:’ Ex-Slave, Civil War Veteran, and Forty Year Resident of Springfield, Illinois,” Appendix V, in Mansberger and Stratton (2024, Volume V).

The use of these medicines may have been combined with the heavy use of alcohol and other illicit drugs (such as opium and potentially morphine). Fragments of a Chinese-style opium pipe and brass hypodermic syringe from this Late Pre-Fire context minimally suggest the occasional use of illicit drugs by some of house occupants at this time. This pipe symbolizes the use of illicit drugs (opium) on site, popularized by the local Chinese immigrant population during this era (Figure 137). Similarly, the hypodermic syringe most likely documents the use of morphine. Both drugs may have been used in conjunction with other illicit activities (prostitution, gambling) reportedly widespread in the neighborhood at the time (both in the adjacent “unplatted court” to the west of House A, as well as within House A itself). Similar activities were documented in both houses located immediately across the street at Sites 11SG1532 and 11Sg1533 during the years circa 1905-1908.<sup>90</sup>

One observation regarding the Late Pre-Fire artifact assemblage is the perception that the artifacts from this Late Pre-Fire (and Fire) contexts represent multiple “voices” that bespeak of disparate “stories” (i.e. activities) relating to the use of this house and its surrounding yard during this era. The Chinese-style opium pipe and brass syringe bespeak of a neighborhood rife with crime and illicit activities. But other artifacts suggest an entirely different neighborhood experience. The “story” related to this opium pipe (and its users) contrasts dramatically with the “story” forthcoming from the Salvation Army lapel pin recovered from this same context. Completely contrary to the negative connotations derived from the opium pipe, this pin represents the compassion and Christian values of an organization (and individuals) intent on helping their less fortunate neighbors. Unfortunately, the “journey” this lapel pin made to ultimately end up in this midden at House A is unknown. Perhaps it was the property of one of the house occupants (a Salvation Army volunteer), or someone that visited the house in the course of their mission work (Figure 137). Such is the disparity in the “voices” of the artifacts recovered from this context.

Other “voices” retell the story of a young Black family intent on acknowledging their children’s Black heritage and cultural identity. Recovered from the midden associated with this same house and time period was a porcelain doll fragment depicting a black-skinned individual (Figure 136). This black-skinned doll exhibits a relatively unusual, realistic depiction of a Black individual that contrasts with both the more common white-skinned dolls in use among poorer working-class Black families, and the racially-demeaning caricature dolls (such as Golliwog dolls) typical of the Jim Crow era.

By the turn-of-the-century, most ceramic dolls in use by American children (whether white or Black) were of European (generally German and French) manufacture, and generally depicted a white child. By the 1850s, fabric-bodied dolls with clear-glazed porcelain heads, lower arms (with hands), and legs (with feet) sewn onto cloth bodies and adorned with removable dresses had become common among more affluent households.<sup>91</sup> These white-bodied dolls with their

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<sup>90</sup> Minimally remnants of seven opium pipes were recovered from the two house sites during the archaeological mitigation undertaken at the two sites during the summer of 2019.

<sup>91</sup> China dolls have an all-over clear glaze which gives them a glossy white appearance. In contrast, Bisque dolls have an unglazed surface which gives the tinted (painted) skin a matte finish. China dolls generally had porcelain



glossy white skin texture usually had painted hair, eyes, lips, and shoes (sometimes even a garter) with varying hair styles popular at the time of manufacture. These dolls, introduced in the 1840s, were predominately manufactured by German and French companies. American companies often imported porcelain doll parts (heads, arms, and legs) and assembled these “China” dolls using locally manufactured fabric bodies and clothing. Although the peak in popularity of this doll style lasted through the 1880s, they remained in common use for much longer.<sup>92</sup> Examples of black-skinned China dolls are rare, at least in the United States.

By the middle-nineteenth century, less-expensive porcelain-bodied dolls with immovable limbs were available for use by children of less affluent households.<sup>93</sup> Although often unglazed (sometimes referred to as Parian-ware), clear glazed examples similar to that of the China dolls were also produced. These relatively small, molded porcelain dolls came in a variety of sizes and consisted of head, body, and fixed appendages generally depicting an unclothed (naked) child.<sup>94</sup> Although these dolls sometimes exhibited painted details (hair, lips, eyes), they were often simply glazed (white) without painted detailing. These solid-bodied dolls, also introduced in the 1840s, were a specialty of German porcelain factories, and apparently were introduced as bath toys (thus the lack of clothing), and came in a variety of sizes and shapes.<sup>95</sup> Initially known as “Penny Dolls” because of their one-cent cost, the dolls became very popular during the middle nineteenth century, and were often baked into desserts (cakes, puddings) for children during birthdays and other celebrations. Today these small “Penny Dolls” are generally referred to as Frozen Charlotte dolls.<sup>96</sup>

Another high-end doll introduced by European producers during the middle nineteenth century were German and French manufactured unglazed porcelain, bisque-headed dolls. These dolls generally had a high quality porcelain head manufactured by pressing the clay into a mold.

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arms and legs, whereas Bisque dolls generally have only a porcelain head, with the body and appendages being another material.

<sup>92</sup> *Harper's Bazaar* references china dolls as being “old fashioned” in 1873 (cf. [https://www.wikiwand.com/en/China\\_doll](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/China_doll)). A large number of such dolls were recovered from a large institutional privy pit associated with the Experimental School for Idiots and Feeble-Minded Children in Jacksonville and presumably filled in circa 1877-78 (cf. Mansberger 2001). The Butler Brothers 1893 catalog lists “Glazed China Doll Heads” as well as “China Limb” dolls.

<sup>93</sup> The cheapest of dolls in use during the nineteenth century would have been simple rag dolls (often made at home by family members) and jointed wooden dolls (cf. Butler Brothers 1893).

<sup>94</sup> Clothed examples were also manufactured.

<sup>95</sup> One major supplier was the German firm of A. W. Fr. Kister (1850-1920).

<sup>96</sup> By the middle-twentieth century, these small unglazed porcelain “Penny” dolls had become known as Frozen Charlottes, and associated with a folktale of a young girl that froze to death one winter evening. Unsubstantiated stories connect the 1843 introduction of the original story (a poem) to the introduction of this doll form. This folk tale, and the association with this nineteenth century story, seems to have originated in the twentieth century among doll collectors (Taylor-Blake 2019). The use of the term “Frozen Charlotte” was “coined within the doll-collecting community sometime slightly before or around World War 2 is evident in doll collector/historian Eleanor St. George’s 1948 book, *Dolls of Yesterday*.”

These “hand pressed” bisque dolls had matte textured pink-tinted skin, separate movable glass eyes, and human hair wigs. Bodies, arms and legs were generally of a non-ceramic, composition material. These bisque dolls generally were considered “fashion” dolls representing adult women. During the later years of production (1890s-1930s) less expensive versions representing babies became popular, with bodies replaced by even cheaper composition materials. The peak in popularity of this doll form was from circa 1860 to 1920.<sup>97</sup> Fragments of these dolls were found in small number from the Late Pre-Fire context of House A.

Few Black-skinned China dolls were manufactured, and even fewer appear to have made their way into Midwestern markets (cf. Perkins 1993:9).<sup>98</sup> Black-skinned bisque dolls may have been produced in slightly greater number during the later years of the nineteenth century, but they too were uncommon in the United States. The Parisian firm Jumeau advertised Black bisque dolls in their 1892 catalog, but they were expensive and their presence in Midwestern markets was limited. More common, albeit still rare, are black-skinned examples of Penny dolls (Frozen Charlottes), which were advertised as “Glazed Nigger Baby” dolls by the likes of Marshall Field (Martin 2016) (Figures 133-134). No known examples of Black China dolls or Penny dolls have been found in archaeological contexts in Springfield. Although still relatively uncommon, black-skinned Penny dolls were produced and are more common than black-skinned China dolls.<sup>99</sup> Many of these black-skinned penny dolls, with their all-over dark black color of hair and skin and exaggerated features presented an unrealistic depiction of the Black child, contributing to stereotypical depictions of Blacks and presenting a poor representation of identity for a young Black child. Some of the black dolls have Caucasian features and are covered with a glossy black glaze some of which appear to simply have been painted on. Others use a contrasting red paint to exaggerate facial details (lips and eyes).

Most of the black dolls available in the United States during the Jim Crow era were based on minstrel depictions of Black individuals with exaggerated physical attributes, and was a common practice associated with the period caricature of Blacks during the time. Cream-o-Wheat adopted Rastus in 1893; the Pearl Milling Company introduced Aunt Jemima (a mammy caricature) for their pre-mixed pancake mix that same year. Beginning in 1894 Aunt Jemima included Black paper doll cutouts on the boxes of their batter mix. Racialized dolls known as “Golliwoggs” mimicked the character of Golly in Florence Kate Upton’s children books first published in 1895.<sup>100</sup> Comic characters, such as Little Black Sambo introduced in 1899,

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<sup>97</sup> [https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Bisque\\_doll](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Bisque_doll) ; Black porcelain dolls with moveable joints, similar to Penny Dolls from German, circa 1880 (<https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/limbach-ancient-porcelain-dolls-small-498560127>).

<sup>98</sup> Perkins (1993:9) notes that, in 1869, in discussing the variety of dolls on the market at that time the magazine *Harpers Bazaar* made reference to “Negro” dolls “with characteristic features.” As Perkins notes, these dolls were generally “colored the deepest black possible” and “shades of brown were never offered.”

<sup>99</sup> An example of a Penny doll exhibiting black skin color was recovered from the Dorchester Industrial School for Girls (Derington n.d.).

<sup>100</sup> The first of Upton’s books was *The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls* (Upton 1895), to which “...and a “Golliwogg” added to the title upon its second printing. She published twelve additional Golliwogg books between 1896 and 1909 (cf. <https://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/golliwog/>).

continued to popularize the racialized view of Blacks, and empowering white superiority.<sup>101</sup> As Hix (2013) states, “The matronly Mammies or Aunt Jemimas, the passive Uncle Tom, the aggressive Savage Brute, the sexually available Jezebel, the nagging Sapphire, and pickaninny children like Little Black Sambo and Topsy were all stereotypical characters that appeared as composition, celluloid, and rubber dolls in the early 20th century.”

Springfield’s growing Black elite during the post-Civil War years had few choices in regard to appropriate dolls for their children. During the later years of the nineteenth century, during the post 1880s Jim Crow era, racialized dolls depicting Black stereotypes (often based on minstrel caricatures) were clearly not the choice of Black families.

Such was the state of the empowered white majority’s popular culture depiction of Blacks at the turn-of-the-century. The demeaning representation of Black identity did not promote race pride, and created an environment in which Black parents preferred not to subject their children to. As such, most Black parents—even the more affluent—did not have access to the more expensive black-skinned China and bisque dolls, and generally resorted to the use of the more common, older realistic looking, albeit white-skinned, China dolls. By the later nineteenth century—if not even earlier—a burgeoning Black elite was present in Springfield (and most other moderately sized Midwestern towns). Although “African American social reformers championed refined and intelligent black dolls as a means to teach black children ‘that there is some pride, some merit, some worth and something to be admired in dark skin’,” few sources for such dolls were present for the average Black family (Gordon 2017). Racially appropriate dolls such as those manufactured by the Parisian firm of Jumeau (which did offer Black-skinned bisque dolls in their 1892 catalog) were expensive and most likely were poorly marketed in most U.S. locations such as Springfield.<sup>102</sup>

Owning a “store-bought” doll, in contrast to those children that had home-made rag and jointed wooden dolls, was a symbol of status—whether in a white or Black family. Rather than subject their children to the demeaning depiction of racialized Black dolls common during this period, many affluent Black families preferred to present their children with white-skinned China dolls. Figure 136 depicts two contrasting “voices” of doll use during the later years of the nineteenth century, with the white child’s use of racialized Black doll empowering the child to view Blacks as a derogatory caricature (Maine), versus the affluent Black child with a white doll with realistic body image—as no Black dolls with realistic body image were readily available (Wisconsin).<sup>103</sup>

It was not until the waning years of the first decade of the twentieth century that Black dolls with realistic depictions of the human form become readily available (at reasonable cost) for the working class Black family in the United States. In 1907, Richard Henry Boyd, Nashville business man and publisher of the *Globe* newspaper and founder of the National Baptist Publishing Board became frustrated in not being able to find appropriate dolls for his daughter.

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<sup>101</sup> The juxtaposition of Little Black Sambo cartoon with the pictures (and accompanying headlines) in the local Springfield newspaper the day after the riots is surrealistic.

<sup>102</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black\\_doll](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_doll)

<sup>103</sup> <https://www.artsy.net/ricco-slash-maresca-gallery/article/ricco-maresca-gallery-black-dolls>

Boyd sought out German doll manufactures, sent them pictures of African American children to use as models for the production of more life-like representation of Black children to counter the lack of Black dolls as well as the common dark-skinned caricature that was common place at the time. In July 1908, Boyd introduced his dolls to Nashville and published advertisements in the *Globe* in August 1908 for his Negro Doll Company. His effort met with great success and was promoted by a variety of organizations such as the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. During the 1908-1909 Christmas season, the firm sold an estimated 3,000 dolls. In 1909, the Negro Doll Company was re-named the National Negro Doll Company as a result of their national popularity, and adopted the slogan "Negro Dolls for Negro Children" (Figure 135). By 1912, Boyd had moved production of his dolls from Europe to Nashville (Gordon 2017).<sup>104</sup>

The presence of this small China doll with its realistic depiction of a Black individual in this House A context is of great interest to this research. This Black doll in use by the House A occupants probably represents a relatively rare French- or German-made China doll from an earlier period and speaks to the rising middle class standing of some Black families living in the neighborhood during the Jim Crow era. Unfortunately, like the accompanying Salvation Army collar pin recovered from a similar context, deciphering its "voice" (unlocking its meaning) in this context is difficult, as its "voice" has several potential interpretations. The simplest interpretation is that it represents a doll used by one of the house occupants (a child) sometime immediately prior to the August 1908 riots. Black dolls with realistic attributes were less than easy to acquire at that time, and those Black dolls that were available were often racialized depictions of Blacks inspired by minstrel caricatures. Moderately priced ceramic dolls exhibiting realistic depictions of Black individuals did not become readily available until the immediate post-riot establishment of the National Negro Doll Company, which was established to make such available to the American public. Prior to that time, such dolls were uncommon, probably difficult to find in stores (especially in Springfield), and relatively expensive—all reasons to suggest that a Black child living in House A in circa 1900-08 probably would not have had such a doll. White-skinned China dolls, by contrast, had been a common doll form since the middle nineteenth century. They were available new (and used) at reasonable cost, and were probably more typical of working-class Black families during this period. Such was the case of young Tessa Maxwell, who appears in a circa-1907 photograph proudly holding a white-skinned China doll in her arms. Tessa's mother, "Aunt Lou" Maxwell, was employed as a washerwoman at Springfield's Camp Lincoln (Figure 132).<sup>105</sup>

The other possibility, and more plausible interpretation, is that this doll fragment was a remnant from an earlier period in time. This small doll fragment exhibited substantial mechanical damage, its small size due to mechanical damage (foot traffic) from high-traffic areas (a condition typical of middens located in close proximity to a house), and is suggestive of an artifact that may have been redeposited from another location. This doll fragment does not

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<sup>104</sup> <https://blackdollcollecting.blogspot.com/2010/02/moments-in-black-doll-history-rh-boyds.html>; see also 1950s efforts to produce "anthropomorphically correct" dolls, <https://encyclopediainfarkansas.net/media/%C2%93doll-for-negro-children%C2%94-11424/>

<sup>105</sup> "'Aunt Lou' Maxwell: The Life of a Cuban-Immigrant Washerwoman and her step-son Charles Maxwell, "The Springfield Bugler," Appendix VII, this volume).



represent one of the cheaper “Penny dolls” with black skin. It is a realistic depiction of skin and hair details that dramatically contrasts with these earlier dark-skinned Penny (or Frozen Charlotte) dolls, and represents a black-skinned China doll head potentially associated with one of the more affluent middle class Black families living in the neighborhood during the pre-Jim Crow era (1865-1880) (such as Reverend Henry Brown who raised a family immediately across the street to the east of House A). Black-skinned dolls from the post Westenberger family’s occupation of the site (post circa 1885) by Black tenants would have been difficult to get and probably relatively expensive compared to the alternative white-skinned dolls. Archival evidence as to the potential Black families who may have occupied house A during the later years of the Westenberger occupation (circa later 1870s and 1880s) is unknown. During the 1890s and 1900s, the most likely candidates who may have been associated with this doll were the extended Lina Lewis family (and mother Anne Conley), or Maude Johnson during later 1900s. The presence of this doll fragment in the House A artifact assemblage documents the growing Black middle class in Springfield from this period. Unfortunately, we can only speculate as to who sought out and purchased this Black-skinned doll for their young child to play with—and how that doll might have instilled a sense of pride in her regarding her race identity.<sup>106</sup>

### **The Race Riot Victims (August 1908)**

Unlike the earlier Late Pre-Fire component (which was associated with numerous tenant families over at least two decades), the Fire deposits represent artifacts associated with the presumably Black occupants during the short time immediately prior to (and during) the riots. Of particular interest, the artifacts from this context represent a distinctive look at the household contents at a specific point in time (August 14, 1908), and give a remarkable voice to the occupants of that house at the time of the riots.

As only a single test unit (Test 1) was excavated within the footprint of House A, limited archaeological remains directly associated with the mob action of August 1908 were recovered. Nonetheless, although limited in scope, they were sufficient to acknowledge that Fire deposits are present and represent a significant interpretive data set for this house. The single excavated test unit appears to have been excavated within the northwest corner of the larger of the two front rooms within the house. Based on the recovered artifacts from Test 1, and assuming the artifacts did not drop from the overhead loft during the fire, this room appears to have functioned (at least in part) as a bedroom.

Primary artifacts from the Fire deposits of Test 1 included the remains of a fire-damaged (blackened and shattered) wash basin, a deformed tumbler (partially melted), prescription medicine bottles (one partially melted, and the second fire-blackened), a ceramic tea cup, extremely deformed (melted) milk glass fragments presumably from one or more small salve or ointment jars, as well as a printed vase, small earthenware seedling or starter flower pot, a teaspoon, and an iron framing hatchet (Figures 138-140). The prescription medicine bottles not only bespeaks of an individual with health issues, but one that is treating their ailments with the

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<sup>106</sup> Elizabeth Chen presents an ethnographic study of modern “ethnically correct” dolls and their significance to children in *Purchasing Power: Black Kids and American Consumer Culture* (Chen 2001).

assistance of a doctor (or minimally the advice of a pharmacist). The lack of ceramic tablewares, and the presence of the tumbler and cup suggest the consumption of liquids, perhaps in keeping with the physical condition of the tenant (and/or the context of the recovered artifacts within a bedroom location). The presence of the decorated vase, as well as the seedling flower pot, both bespeak of a tenant with an appreciation of cut flowers and a desire to propagate either flowers or herbs from seeds. Furniture is represented by casters (potentially from a bed or dresser), as well as furniture springs (suggesting an upholstered chair or chair cushion).

The recovery of the hatchet at this location is somewhat perplexing, as it seems to be out-of-place for this suspected bedroom location. Although the as-designed function of this hatchet was as a tool used in the construction of houses (and other frame buildings), it also could serve for the production of kindling (splitting of small pieces of wood) for use in starting fires in a stove—neither task of which were likely to have been undertaken at the perceived bedroom location. As such, one must ask the question as to why the hatchet was potentially in the bedroom of this potentially sick individual at the time of the riots. One possible explanation for its presence at this location is its potential use as a weapon, for self-protection (perhaps lying beneath a bed for quick access). A quick perusal of the Springfield newspapers indicates the use of hatchets as weapons in a variety of circumstances.

Unfortunately, at the time of the riots, the house had been divided into multiple rental units, and the owners of these artifacts remain anonymous. Nonetheless, the artifact assemblage bespeaks of a tenant potentially of limited means and poor health, yet receiving the care of a physician or pharmacists and appreciative of floral embellishments—an interpretation that conflicts with the contemporary perception of the “despicable character” of the occupants of the neighborhood.



**Figure 131. Right: Plate (Vessel A-28) fragment from House A decorated with the CRYSTAL PALACE 1851 Pattern (Snyder 1997:96) (Actual Size). This plate illustrates the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851. It is an unusual pattern, whose presence in the Westenberger's household (a German family living in Springfield) is intriguing. Left: A plate with similar border illustrating the Crystal Palace. Unfortunately, this plate is not marked with a manufacturer's name.**



**Figure 132.** The recovery of a black-skinned porcelain China doll fragment (left; enlarged 370%) from House A was a relatively unusual, realistic depiction of a Black individual that contrasts with both the more common white-skinned dolls in use among poorer working-class Black families (middle), and the racially-demeaning caricature dolls (such as Golliwogg dolls; right) typical of the Jim Crow era. This Black doll probably represents a relatively rare French- or German-made China doll from an earlier period and speaks to the rising middle class standing of some Black families living in the neighborhood during the Jim Crow era. Dolls more typical of working class Black families of the period was the use of white-skinned China dolls, such as that in the arms of young Tessa Maxwell (circa 1907). Aunt Lou Maxwell was a Springfield washerwoman working at Camp Lincoln (see Appendix VII, this volume).





8 VERGHO, RUHLING & CO.'S TRADE PRICE LIST.

**CHINA BABIES OR BATHING DOLLS.**

Superior quality. Glazed china, black hair, gilt boots.

No.	Size	Length	Doz.	Per Gross	Per Doz.
No. 3	0	1 1/4 in.	2 doz.	\$1 75	\$ 20
"	O B.	2 1/2 "	3 "	2 75	25
"	1	3 "	2 "	4 25	40
"	2	3 3/4 "	1 "	6 00	60
"	3	4 1/4 "	1/2 "		75
"	4	4 1/2 "	1/2 "		1 00
"	5	5 "	1/2 "		1 15

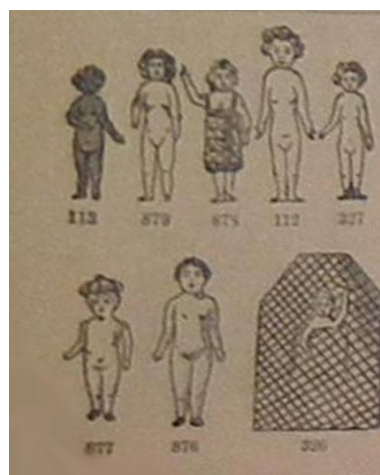
**Negro Babies.— Glazed China.**

No.	Size	Length	Doz.	Per Gross	Per Doz.
No. 3	0	1 1/4 in.	2 doz.	\$1 75	\$ 20
"	O B.	2 1/4 "	3 "	2 75	30
"	1	3 "	2 "	4 00	40
"	2	3 1/2 "	1 "	5 50	60

Figure 133. Examples of black-skinned Penny Dolls (aka “Frozen Charlotte” dolls), including one with a dress. Bottom: Advertisement from Chicago mail order firm for “China Babies or Bathing Dolls” and “Negro Babies—Glazed China” (Vergho, Ruhling and Company 1881:8) ([https://www.theriaults.com/sites/default/files/lot\\_images/cat-1152\\_214\\_0.jpg](https://www.theriaults.com/sites/default/files/lot_images/cat-1152_214_0.jpg)).



Glazed Solid China Dolls.		Doz.
No. 880, 3-Cent Glazed China—3-inch, free arms and legs, gold feet, painted features. Better quality than usual at the price. 1 doz. in box.....		\$0 27
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 25c	
No. 881, 5-Cent Glazed China—4 1/4-inch, 1 doz. in box		40
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 37c	
No. 882, 10-Cent Glazed China—5 1/2-inch, 1 doz. in box		70
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 75c	
Miscellaneous Solid China Dolls.		
No. 884, Special 5-Cent China Doll—4 1/4-inch, white china, painted features, hair and feet, jointed arms and fancy painted hat. 1 doz. in box.....		35
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 33c	
No. 885, Special 10-Cent Solid China—7-inch, as above. A wonderful doll for the money. 1 doz. in box		78
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 75c	
No. 883-328, 5-Cent Nigger Doll—Extra size, being 4 1/4-inch, free limbs. Best 5-cent nigger doll we ever offered. 1 doz. in box.....		43
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 41c	
Dressed Solid China Dolls.		
No. 888, 3-Cent Dressed Doll—3-inch, jointed arms, painted feet, cap and shoes. 1 doz. in box, sewed in..		25
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 23c	
No. 889-331, 5-Cent Dressed Doll—Glazed china, gold feet, free arms and legs, colored dress, size 3 1/2-in. Sewed in box of 1/2 doz. 1 doz. in pkg.....		39
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 36c	
No. 890-332, 10-Cent Dressed Doll—4 1/4-inch, as above. Dandy dime goods. Sewed in box of 1/2 doz....		72
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 doz. or more, 69c	



SOLID CHINA DOLLS.		Gross.
Penny Solid China Goods.		
No. 113, Nigger Doll—1 3/4-inch, open arms and legs. 1 gross in box.....		\$0 80
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 gross or more, 77c	
No. 879, Glazed China Baby—1 3/4-inch, free arms and legs, painted features. 1 gross in box.....		81
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 gross or more, 78c	
No. 878-325, Dressed Doll—1 1/2-inch, painted features, loose arms, worsted slip. 1 doz. on card, 1 gross in box		81
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 gross or more, 78c	
No. 112, Penny Doll with Hair—2-inch, 1/2 with short curly hair, 1/2 long braid down back. 1 gross in box...		84
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 gross or more, 80c	
No. 327, Fine Glazed China Doll—1 1/2-inch, extra quality, free arms, gold feet. 1 gross in box.....		89
Quantity price.....	In lots of 6 gross or more, 86c	
No. 877, Tam O'Shanter Doll—2 1/4-inch, free arms, painted features, Tam O'Shanter hat. 1 gross in box.....		89

Figure 134. Solid China Dolls offered for sale in the 1893 Butler Brothers catalogue (Butler Brothers 1893:14). By this date, a more racialized description of “Nigger Doll” has been used to describe the Black Penny dolls (in contrast to the earlier, Pre-Jim Crow description as “Negro Baby” dolls).

DOLLS, DOLLS

# NEGRO DOLLS

**An Opportunity is Given to Every Negro Family to Secure  
a Beautiful Negro Doll for Their Girls.**



An exhibit of these dolls is now at the Nashville Globe Office. The public is invited to call at the Globe office and see these dolls, and get the prices on the same. There are four sizes. The most beautiful collection that has ever been seen in Nashville.

The fact that the Colored Dolls have reached this city, and that hundreds of families will get them in their homes within the next three months is true beyond a doubt. Take your child to the Globe office in the Odd Fellows' Hall Building, 447 Fourth Avenue, North, (North Cherry) and see these beautiful toys. There will be a clerk in the Globe office who will give full information concerning these dolls. Those who can not get to the Globe Office will be given an opportunity to see the same assortment of dolls by calling at the National Baptist Publishing Board, 523 Second Avenue, North, (North Market). They will be given the same exhibition with full information.

**Orders for these dolls should be placed at once, as they must be shipped from the factory. Do you want one for your child? If so, call at either of the two above named places. If you can not call, write for prices and pictures to the**

## NEGRO DOLL COMPANY

523 Second Avenue, North, or 447 Fourth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tenn.

These toys are not made of that disgraceful and humiliating type that we have been accustomed to seeing black dolls made of. They represent the intelligent and refined Negro of to-day, rather than that type of toy that is usually given to the children, and as a rule used as a scarecrow. These toys are placed in the city and at the disposal of the people that they may teach their children how to look upon their people.



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For Further Information  
Call on the **NATIONAL BAPTIST PUBLISHING BOARD,**  
523 SECOND AVENUE, NORTH, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

Figure 135. Advertisement for the Negro Doll Company (*Nashville Globe*, 28 August 1908; Gordon 2017). Dolls manufactured by this firm appear to have had bisque heads (with wigs).



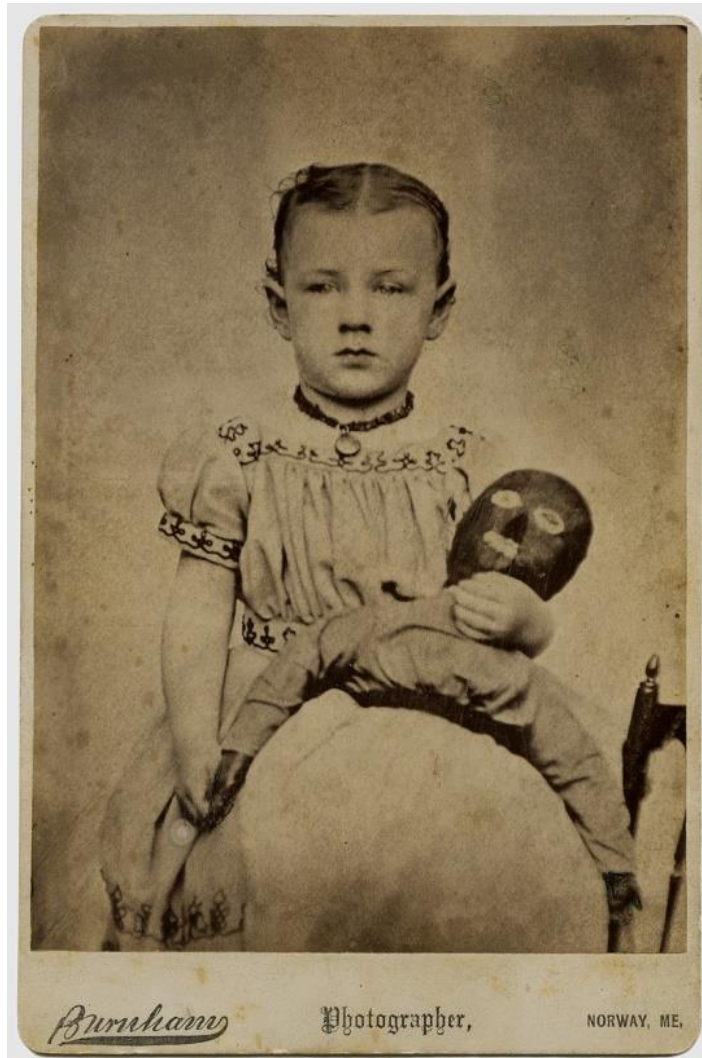


Figure 136. Two contrasting “voices” of doll use during the later years of the nineteenth century. Left: White child’s use of racialized Black doll empowering the child to view Blacks as a derogatory caricature (Maine). Right: Affluent Black child with white doll with realistic body image—as no Black dolls with realistic body image were readily available (Wisconsin) (<https://www.artsy.net/ricco-slash-maresca-gallery/article/ricco-maresca-gallery-black-dolls>).





**Figure 137. Late Pre-Fire artifacts include a range of items with greatly differing messages, and include a Salvation Army collar pin (left) and opium pipe bowl (right)—both from the Late Pre-Fire deposits of House A.**



Figure 138. Three glass vessels from the fire deposits of House A, recovered from Test 1. Left: Proprietary prescription medicine bottle embossed “BAUMANN BROS. / DRUGGISTS / SPRINGFIELD, ILL.” (Vessel A-5). Middle: Unmarked prescription medicine bottle (Vessel A-13). Right: Tumbler/jelly glass (Vessel A-8). All three vessels were melted and/or deformed by fire. All three vessels are illustrated at 90% actual size.



**Figure 139.** As rough as living conditions were in House A in 1908, cut flowers and/or potted plants may have been present in the house at the time of the riots. **Left:** Nearly whole printed vase from the fire deposits of House A (Test 1; Vessel A-33). **Right:** Small seedling or starter flower pot from the fire deposits of House A (Test 1; Vessel A-23).





**Figure 140. Framing hatchet found in Fire deposits of House A (Actual size). The recovery of this hatchet at this location is somewhat perplexing, as it seems to be out-of-place for this suspected bedroom location. Perhaps it was functioning as a “peace keeper” (a self-defense weapon) stashed in the occupant’s bedroom.**



### ***Future Archaeological Potential***

Figures 141-142 illustrate those portions of the House A lot that have been tested, mitigated, and preserved in place. Figure 142 illustrates House A and its relationship to the greater archaeological Site 11SG1432. The area of the site associated with House A in Figure 142 is outlined in red. This figure illustrates the three areas of the site relating to the status of its long-term preservation. Area I, which includes the front section of the house, is that part of the site which has been mitigated as part of the current project. Area II, consisting of the rear half of the house and the immediate rear yard, is that part of the site that was subject to Phase II testing, is currently under the ownership and management of the City of Springfield, and will be preserved in place. Area III consists of the western, or rear, half of lot and is that portion of the site primarily in the possession of HSHS St. John's Hospital (with a small part abutting Area II also owned by the City of Springfield). Area III comprises the rear-yard activity areas (the suspected location of privy pits and other features). Although no archaeological testing has been conducted in Area this area, these suspected archaeological resources most likely retain similar integrity, and offer significant research potential that would complement that of the current excavations. The rea-yard activity areas have the potential for the presence of a wide range of features such as privy pits, exterior cellars, cisterns, middens, and other archaeological features. The long-term preservation of the archaeological resources associated with House A and located on HSHS St. John's Hospital grounds should be pursued. As Table 9 illustrates, over 90% of the lot associated with House A remains intact.

The archaeological integrity of House A is excellent, and the entire footprint of the House is located outside of the proposed area of effect (and located within the City of Springfield landholdings) (Figure 141). The excavation of the single test unit substantiated that discrete relatively shallow fire deposits are well preserved within the footprint of the dwelling, and a partial cellar is present beneath a portion of the rear half of the dwelling. Both contexts have potential for research relating to both the early Westenberger occupation as well as the 1908 victims of the riot.

**Table 9**  
**Approximate Percentage of House Lots by Area (11SG1432)**

	<u>House A</u>	<u>House B</u>	<u>House C</u>	<u>House D</u>	<u>House E</u>
<b>Area I</b>	10%	15%	15%	20%	25%
<b>Area II</b>	40%	35%	35%	30%	25%
<b>Area III</b>	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%

The back yard activity area (consisting of Inner Yard with its summer kitchen, and Outer Yard with the physical remains of the Westenberger workshop) associated with House A lies predominately to the west of the City-owned property, on lands owned by HSHS St. John's

Hospital. Both of these areas most likely retain their archaeological integrity and offer significant research potential. Physical remains of the summer kitchen (and adjacent activity areas) are most likely intact in the Inner Yard immediately to the west of the house (and adjacent to the northwest corner of the dwelling). Additionally, the back yard activity areas have the potential for the presence of a wide range of features such as privy pits, exterior cellars, cisterns, middens, and other archaeological features. Similarly, during the Madison Street Phase II testing, the physical remains of the small gable-front saloon once associated with Mabel Baxter's resort (which fronted Madison Street along the rear of the Westenberger property) were identified and suggest that substantial remains of the saloon and her resort are most likely preserved immediately adjacent to the west of House A.<sup>107</sup> Unfortunately, although a portion of the Inner Yard activity area is located within the City-owned parcel, the majority of the back yard activity areas are private lands located immediately to the west of the City-owned property on lands currently owned by HSHS St. John's Hospital. The long-term preservation of the archaeological resources associated with House A and located on HSHS St. John's Hospital grounds should be pursued (Figure 142).

Proposed construction for the adjacent Madison Street Overpass, although it does not impact on the physical remains of House A, will occur immediately adjacent to (less than one foot away from) the foundations of this significant historic property. Prior to construction, it is recommended that an archaeologist relocate the two corners of the building to ensure its protection. Although not part of this DRP or Fever River Research's scope of work, it is important to note that the MOA Amendment requires the City to ensure that a permanent protective barrier is installed along the east and south sides of the foundation of House A before initiating any construction activities within the Project's APE. The purpose of the permanent protective barrier is to protect the foundation of House A from damage during construction of the rail line as well as any subsequent maintenance or construction work in that location.

Four additional structures highlighted in orange within Site 11SG1432 on Figure 142 represent structures (both domestic and commercial) that also were destroyed by the mob action in August 1908 and warrant preservation. Archaeological testing by Fever River Research suggests that those properties fronting Madison Street have good archeological integrity (Stratton and Mansberger 2018). Significant subsurface archaeological resources most likely are present at these Area III locations. As with the houses previously mitigated, it is the entire lot associated with these additional four structures that warrant preservation.

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<sup>107</sup> Figure 9 illustrates an historic photograph of both Mabel Baxter's resort and saloon, the ruins of which are being guarded by Illinois militiamen.

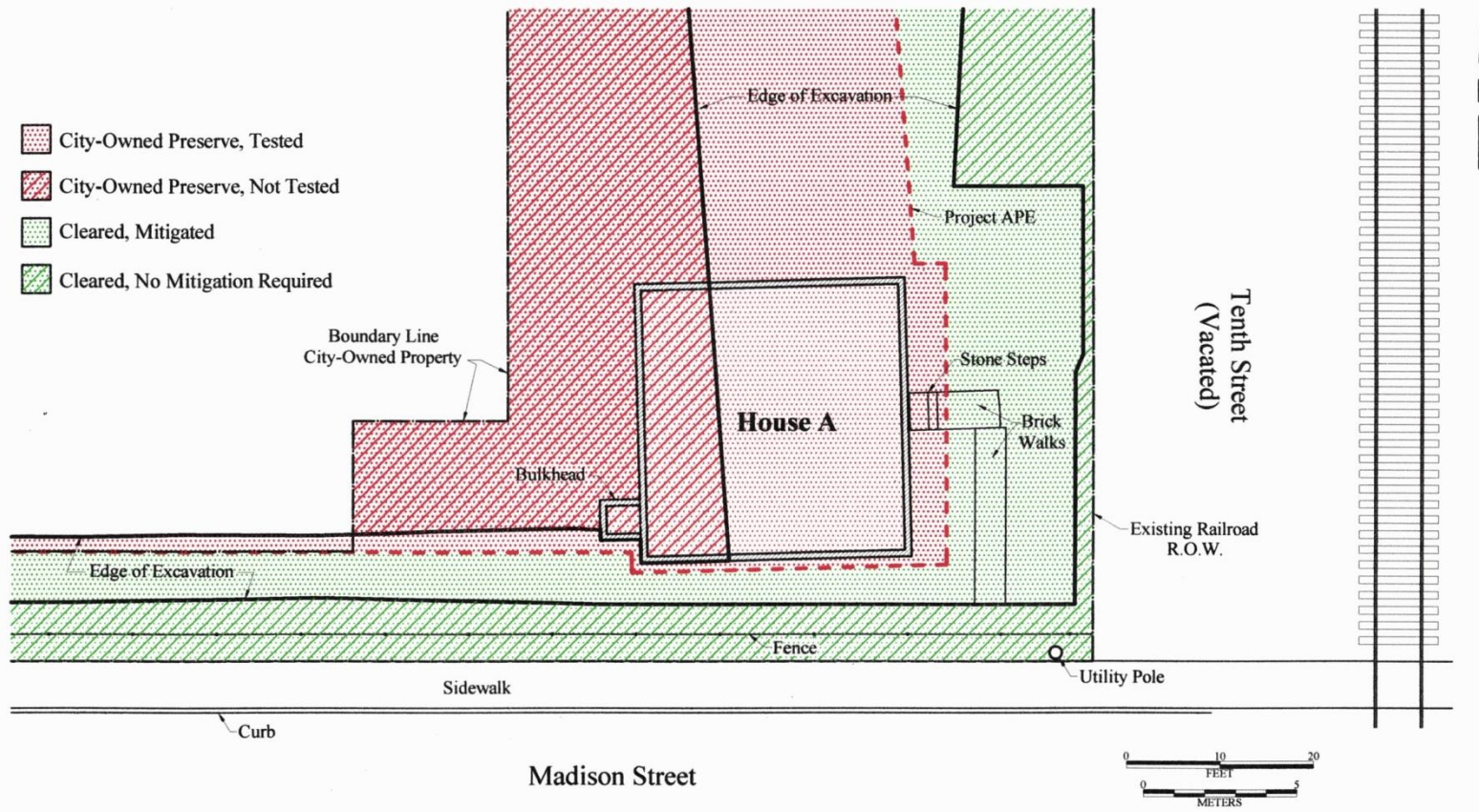


Figure 141. Plan illustrating those portions of the House A lot that have been tested, mitigated, and preserved in place.

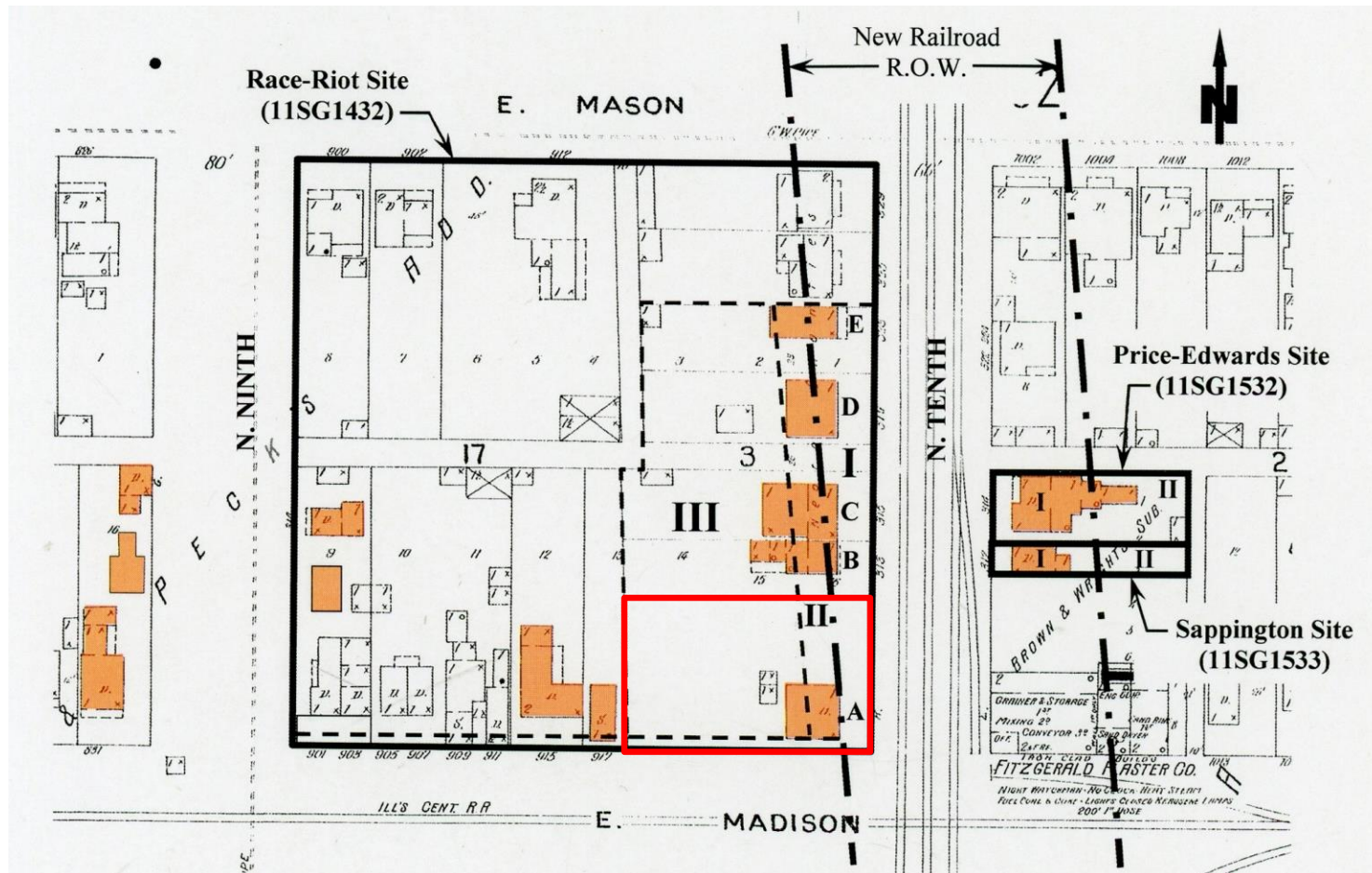


Figure 142. Detail of the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map illustrating the location, and various areas of, Sites 11SG1432, 11SG1532, and 11SG1533. Area I indicates that portion of the three sites that was impacted by the railroad project and the focus of the archaeological mitigation. Area II is that portion of the sites that has been subjected to Phase II archaeological testing and will be preserved in place under City of Springfield ownership. Area III represents the back-lot activity area associated with each of the five houses (identified as Houses A-E) at Site 11SG1432, and currently in the possession of HSHS St. Johns Hospital. Buildings highlighted in orange were destroyed during the 1908 Race Riot. The area of the site associated with House A is outlined in red.



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## **Appendix I**

### **Lot Provenience, House A**

#### **Phase II Testing (2014)**

A-1	Late Pre-fire	Scraped surface
A-2	Early Pre-fire	Old ground surface, north of House A
A-3	Late Pre-fire	Cleaning and exposing front stoop
A-4	Late Pre-fire	Scraped surface, along outside edge of foundation wall
A-5	Fire	Scraped surface adjacent to (and/or east of) Test 1
A-6	Late Pre-fire	Backdirt
A-7	Fire	Test 1, Level 1
A-8	Fire	Test 1, Level 2
A-9	Fire	Test 1, profile wall
A-100	Post Fire	Scraped surface, west wall of house, Southeast corner

#### **Phase II Testing Madison Street Frontage (2018)**

A-10	Late Pre-fire	Backdirt (around House A)
A-11	Late Pre-fire	Backdirt (west end of lot)
A-12	Post Fire	Upper fill; rear yard, west of house (mid-section of test trench)
A-13	Late Pre-fire	Upper fill; mid-yard, west of house
A-14	Late Pre-fire	Upper Midden/ground surface (adjacent to House A)
A-15	Late Pre-fire	Lower Midden/original ground surface beneath and immediately west of brick sidewalk (Feature 9)
A-16	Post Fire	Post 4
A-17	Late Pre-fire	Post 14
A-18	Late Pre-fire	Post 15
A-19	Late Pre-fire	Post 24
A-20	Late Pre-fire	Post 25
A-21	Late Pre-fire	Post 28
A-22	Early Pre-fire	Lower fills (adjacent to Posts 3 and 31)

#### **Phase III Mitigation Front Yard (2019)**

A-23	Late Pre-fire	Cinder Midden (Front Yard)
A-24	Late Pre-fire	Cinder Midden (Front Yard, above walk)
A-25	Late Pre-fire	Topsoil midden (Front Yard, adjacent to walk)
A-26	Late Pre-fire	Midden (Front Yard, on/in brick walk)
A-27	Early Pre-fire	Lower fill (Front Yard)

#### **Phase III Mitigation Madison Street Frontage (2020)**

A-28	Pre-fire	Backdirt
A-29	Early Pre-fire	Test 2, Level 1
A-30		Test 2, Post (Post 22)
A-31	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 2, Zone III (Brick walk, Feature 9)
A-32	Early Pre-Fire	Test 3, Zone IV
A-33	Early Pre-Fire	Test 3, Zone V



A-34	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 1
A-35	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 2
A-36	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 3 (Area A)
A-37	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 3 (Area A; Brick Walk/Feature 9)
A-38	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 3 (Area B; Feature 13)
A-39	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 4 (Area A) [topsoil fill at level of walk]
A-40	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 4 (Area B; Feature 13)
A-41	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 4 (Area C; Feature 14) [top of bulkhead]
A-42	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 4 (Area D) [Rodent disturbance?]
A-43	Early Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 5 (Area A)
A-44	Middle Pre-Fire ?	Test 4, Level 5 (Area B) (Area B; Feature 13)
A-45	Mid Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 5 (Area C; Feature 14, top of bulkhead)
A-46	Mid Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 5 (Area E)
A-47	Early Pre-Fire ?	Test 4, Level 6
A-48	Post-Fire ?	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), Zone I
A-49	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), Upper Zone II
A-50	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), Lower Zone II
A-51	Fire ?	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), Zone III
A-52	Late Pre-Fire ?	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), Zone IV
A-53	Late Pre-Fire ?	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), Zone V
A-54	Late Pre-Fire ?	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), Zone VI
A-55	Late Pre-Fire ?	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), Zone VII
A-56	Late Pre-Fire ?	Test 4, Feature 14 (bulkhead), foundation wall modification
A-57	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 6, Level 1, Area A
A-58	Early Pre-Fire	Test 6, Level 2, Area A
A-59	Early Pre-Fire	Test 6, Zone IV (Profile)
A-60	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 6, Level 1, Area B (Feature 10)
A-61	Early Pre-Fire	Test 6, Level 2, Area B (Feature 10)
A-62	Early Pre-Fire	Feature 10 (Tests 5-6), North ½, Level 1
A-63	Early Pre-Fire	Feature 10 (Tests 5-6), North ½, Level 2
A-64	Early Pre-Fire	Feature 10 (Tests 5-6), South ½, Upper fills
A-65	Early Pre-Fire	Feature 10 (Tests 5-6), South ½, Lower fills
A-66	Early Pre-Fire	Feature 10 (Tests 5-6), South ½, (extension into profile wall to south)
A-67	Early Pre-Fire	Test 6, Level 1, Area C (Feature 11)
A-68	Late Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone II
A-69	Late Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone II, rodent disturbance
A-70	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone III
A-71	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone IV
A-72	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone V
A-73	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone V, Brick Blocking of Post (Post 34)
A-74	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone V, Post (Post 34)
A-75	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone VI [Construction fills]
A-76	Late Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 1, Area A [plaster, mortar, brick rubble]
A-77	Late Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 1, Area B [cinder midden]
A-78	Late Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 2, Area A [plaster, mortar, brick rubble]

A-79	Late Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 2, Area B [cinder midden]
A-80	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 2, Area C [Mixed; midden associated with brick walk]
A-81	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 3, Area A [midden]
A-82	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 3, Area C
A-83	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 4, Area A [midden]
A-84	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 4, Area B [fill]
A-85	Early Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 5, Area A
A-86	Early Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 5, Area B
A-87	Early Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 6, Area A [mixed context]
A-88	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 8, Level 6, Area B
A-89	Post-Fire	Test 9, Zone I
A-90	Late Pre-Fire	Test 9, Zone II, Area A (upper cinder midden)
A-91	Late Pre-Fire	Test 9, Zone II, Area B (plaster rubble fill)
A-92	Late Pre-Fire	Test 9, Zone II, Area C (lower cinder midden)
A-93	Early Pre-Fire	Test 9, Zone IV (upper)
A-94	Early Pre-Fire	Test 9, Zone IV, (lower, Area A)
A-95		Test 9, Zone IV, (lower, Area B) [rodent disturbance]
A-96	Early Pre-Fire	Test 9, Zone VI, Area A [construction fill]
A-97		Test 9, Zone VI, Area B [rodent disturbance]
A-98	Early Pre-Fire	Test 9, Zone VII
A-99	Middle Pre-Fire	Feature 8 (Perimeter Foundation Wall; main house)

**Appendix II**  
**Lot Inventory, House A**

**Lot A-1**

- 1 Vessel A-16
- 1 Vessel A-17
- 1 Vessel A-18
- 1 Vessel A-19
- 1 Vessel A-20
- 1 table spoon (iron handle; pewter bowl; decorated handle)

**Lot A-2**

- 2 Vessel A-27
- 1 Vessel A-28
- 1 Vessel A-29
- 1 Vessel A-30
- 1 Vessel A-31
- 1 Vessel A-32
- 1 Vessel A-33
- 1 Vessel A-34
- 1 doll head (painted; porcelain)
- 1 figurine/knickknack (unglazed porcelain)
- 1 printed (brown) whiteware
- 1 printed (blue) whiteware [flatware]
- 1 painted (polychrome, small floral) whiteware
- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 2 redware
- 9 bone

**Lot A-3**

- 1 Vessel A-21
- 1 Vessel A-22
- 1 Vessel A-23
- 5 Vessel A-24
- 2 Vessel A-25
- 1 undecorated whiteware (base sherd; backstamp “[IRON]STONE CHINA”)
- 1 undecorated yellowware
- 1 unglazed, red-paste earthenware [flowerpot?]
- 1 toy saucer (porcelain)

- 1 marble (blue; Rockingham-glaze; stoneware; 0.55” diameter)
- 1 flat glass (textured privacy glass; tan colored)
- 3 container glass (blue-green)
- 3 container glass (clear)
- 2 window glass (aqua)
- 1 machine cut nail fragment
- 1 shell casing (brass; center fire; 0.50” diameter; 2 1/8” long; fired; head stamp illegible)
- 1 button (shell; 2-hole; 0.60” diameter)
- 2 bone

**Lot A-4**

- 1 undecorated (pink glazed) porcelain
- 1 undecorated porcelain (burned)
- 1 doll head (glazed; porcelain)
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 1 teaspoon (iron handled; pewter bowl)
- 4 machine cut nails (3” long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 ½” long)
- 1 nail fragment (wire drawn)
- 2 bone

**Lot A-5**

- 9 whiteware (?) (burned)
- 12 container glass (?) (burned and/or melted)

**Lot A-6**

- 2 Vessel A-26
- 1 pipe bowl (kaolin)
- 1 printed (black) whiteware
- 1 flat glass (aqua; oval; 1” x 1 7/16”; ground edges) [eye glass lens?]
- 1 padlock (brass; approximately 1 ½” x 2” size; both faces of lock embossed “St. LOUIS” in distinctive Art Nouveaux script) [Purportedly manufactured for the 1904 World’s Fair held in St. Louis that year.]

1 syringe (?) (brass; 0.66" diameter; body is approximately 2" long)

**Lot A-7**

57 Vessel A-1  
87 Vessel A-2  
2 Vessel A-3 [3a]  
1 Vessel A-194 [3b]  
1 Vessel A-4  
3 Vessel A-5  
8 Vessel A-6  
21 Vessel A-7  
1 Vessel A-8  
5 Vessel A-9  
9 Vessel A-10  
1 Vessel A-11  
1 toy saucer (1 3/4" diameter)  
77 container glass (clear; melted; 556g)  
32 container/window glass (aqua; melted; 126g)  
2 window glass (aqua)  
12 container glass (milk glass; melted; 78g)  
1 axe head (iron; small hand axe; approximately 8" by 4 1/2")  
1 skillet handle (?) (cast iron)  
1 spring (iron)  
2 furniture casters (iron; wooden wheeled; wheels gone)  
14 wire handle (iron; container such as a pail or slop bucket)  
1 furniture spring (iron; 2-3" diameter; stuffed cushion?)  
12 wire furniture spring fragments (iron)  
10 teaspoon fragments (copper) [mnv=1]  
1 shoe eyelet  
1 suspender buckle (iron)  
269 machine cut nail fragments  
15 machine cut nails (3 1/4" long)  
16 machine cut nails (3" long)  
36 machine cut nails (2 3/4" long)  
30 machine cut nails (2 1/2" long)  
8 machine cut nails (2 1/4" long)  
8 machine cut nails (2" long)

23 machine cut nails (1 1/2" long)  
48 machine cut nails (1 1/4" long)  
3 machine cut nails (1" long)  
12 machine cut nails (finishing nails; 2 3/4" long)  
3 machine cut nails (finishing nails; 2 1/2" long)  
1 machine cut nails (finishing nails; 2" long)  
2 screws (flat-tipped; 1 1/2" long)  
2 screws (pointed; 1 1/2" long)  
1 screw (indeterminate type; 1 1/2" long)  
3 wire-drawn nail fragments  
1 wire-drawn nail (4" long)  
1 wire-drawn nail (3" long)  
1 wire-drawn nail (2 3/4" long)  
8 wire-drawn nail (2 1/2" long)  
3 wire-drawn nail (2" long)  
10 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)  
10 wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)  
1 wire-drawn nail (finishing nail; 2 1/8" long)  
1 wire-drawn nail (finishing nail; 1 1/4" long)  
32 burned wood (74g)

**Lot A-8**

3 Vessel A-12  
1 Vessel A-13  
1 Vessel A-14  
1 undecorated whiteware (with partial backstamp)  
2 undecorated whiteware  
3 container glass (clear)  
1 teaspoon (copper plated; 6" long; burned)  
1 unidentified strap (iron; 3/4" wide)  
1 door rim lock, latch (iron)  
1 woven shoe lace with metal eyelet  
1 rolled paper (?) (burned and/or carbonized)  
28 coal (small pieces)  
9 bone  
8 bone (burned)



**Lot A-9**

- 1 Vessel A-195 [3c]
- 3 Vessel A-15
- 1 Vessel A-27
- 2 printed (dark blue) pearlware
- 1 textile sample
- 1 human tooth (lower/mandibular first or second molar)

**Lot A-10**

- 1 Vessel A-39

**Lot A-11**

- 1 Vessel A-40

**Lot A-12**

- 1 Vessel A-35
- 1 Vessel A-36

**Lot A-13**

- 1 Vessel A-41
- 1 Vessel A-42

**Lot A-14**

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 button (shell; 2-hole; 0.78" diameter)
- 1 button (shell; 2-hole; 0.69" diameter)
- 1 knife point/scissors (?) (iron; 1/2" tall; minimally 2" long; triangular body)
- 2 wood (slightly burned)

**Lot A-15**

- 1 Vessel A-43
- 1 Vessel A-44
- 1 Vessel A-45
- 1 Vessel A-46
- 1 undecorated porcelain
- 1 elbow pipe bowl (red paste; undecorated)
- 1 utensil (?) handle (pewter; burned ?)
- 1 harmonica soundboard (iron; 7/8" x approximately 3 3/4"; heavily burned)
- 2 bone

**Lot A-16**

- 3 Vessel A-37

- 1 Vessel A-38
- 4 container glass (clear)
- 2 container glass (cobalt blue)
- 1 machine cut nail fragment
- 2 stone (igneous gravel?)
- 1 brick (very small fragment)

**Lot A-17**

- 1 Vessel A-47
- 1 painted (red) whiteware
- 1 window glass (aqua)
- 3 container glass (dark green/black)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (4 1/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (4" long)

**Lot A-18**

- 1 unidentified ferrous metal (loop large gauge wire in round button-like 5/8" diameter; 5/8" tall)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 bone

**Lot A-19**

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 2 container/lampshade or globe glass (milk glass)
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 1 clinker
- 1 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 brick (small fragment)

**Lot A-20**

- 1 Vessel A-48
- 1 Vessel A-49
- 1 undecorated whiteware

**Lot A-21**

- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 1 bone

**Lot A-22**

- 1 Vessel A-50
- 1 container glass (amber)

**Lot A-23**

- 1 Vessel A-51
- 1 Vessel A-52
- 1 Vessel A-53
- 1 Vessel A-54

**Lot A-24**

- 1 Vessel A-55
- 1 Vessel A-56
- 1 Vessel A-57
- 1 Vessel A-58
- 2 Vessel A-59
- 1 Vessel A-60
- 3 Vessel A-61

**Lot A-25**

- 2 Vessel A-62
- 1 toy cup or chamber pot (undecorated porcelain; handled; approximately 1" diameter base)

**Lot A-26**

- 2 Vessel A-63
- 3 Vessel A-64
- 1 window glass (aqua; measured)
- 1 bone

**Lot A-27**

- 1 Vessel A-65
- 1 Vessel A-66
- 10 Vessel A-67
- 1 toy (?) saucer (undecorated; whiteware; 3" diameter rim)
- 1 toy plate/cup plate (undecorated; porcelain; 3" diameter base; 4" diameter rim)
- 2 limestone "cobbles" (fragments of a single cobble; round as if residue from slaking residue)

**Lot A-28**

- 1 Vessel A-83
- 1 Vessel A-130
- 3 Vessel A-48
- 1 Vessel A-181
- 1 Vessel A-182

- 1 Vessel A-183
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 sponge decorated (red) whiteware
- 1 container glass (aqua)

**Lot A-29**

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 6 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 clinker
- 1 brick fragment (soft mud)
- 4 bone

**Lot A-30**

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 nut (iron; 3/4" x 7/8")
- 1 half brick (soft mud)
- 1 bone

**Lot A-31**

- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 1 painted (flow blue) whiteware
- 2 black (printed) whiteware
- 1 printed (flow blue) whiteware
- 4 redware
- 3 window glass (aqua; measured) [very thin]
- 8 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 2 wood (burned)
- 10 bone
- 3 bone (calcined)

**Lot A-32**

- 8 Vessel A-138
- 1 container glass (dark green/black)
- 2 U-shaped handle (?) (iron; 1 1/4" wide; 6 1/2" long) [cooking pot/pan handle?; possible shovel handle attachment; MNV=1]
- 19 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 brick fragments (soft mud)
- 1 brick fragment (soft mud; construction debris?)
- 3 plaster
- 4 bone

**Lot A-33**

1 window glass (aqua; measured)  
[thin]  
1 clinker

**Lot A-34**

1 Vessel A-76  
2 Vessel A-77  
1 Vessel A-78  
5 Vessel A-79  
2 undecorated whiteware  
1 undecorated whiteware (burned)  
1 Albany-slipped stoneware (?)  
(burned)  
8 container glass (aqua)  
15 container glass (clear)  
3 tableware glass (clear/lead; press  
molded; burned/melted)  
1 plate glass (aqua; 5.38mm thick)  
15 window glass (aqua; measured)  
1 doll head (painted; porcelain; small)  
[black/African American]  
2 doll head (painted; porcelain)  
1 unidentified hard rubber [barrette  
fragment?]  
4 writing slate (gray; lined)  
1 rivet (cuprous) [shoe eyelet?]  
38 machine cut nail fragments  
1 machine cut nail (4 1/4" long)  
1 machine cut nail (3" long)  
2 machine cut nail (2 7/8" long)  
1 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)  
1 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)  
1 railroad spike (6" long)  
1 railroad spike (?) (7 3/4" long)  
1 railroad spike (?) (7" long)  
1 wire spike (?) (6 1/2" long)  
1 brick fragment (burned)  
10 bone

**Lot A-35**

3 Vessel A-80  
1 Vessel A-81  
2 undecorated whiteware  
1 painted (blue; gilded) porcelain  
1 container glass (amber)

7 container glass (aqua)  
14 container glass (clear)  
1 container glass (clear; melted)  
19 window glass (aqua; melted)  
1 unidentified leather  
1 shell casing (brass; 0.34" diameter;  
0.60" tall; center fired)  
1 lead scrap (3/4" wide) [similar to Lot  
A-50; brass?]  
2 writing stylus (slate)  
1 writing slate (slate; lined)  
1 grommet (?) (ferrous) [shoe eyelet]  
1 button (cuprous face/ferrous body; 3-  
piece loop shank; circle pattern on  
face; 0.68" diameter)  
1 button (hard rubber; 2-hole; 0.71"  
diameter) [burned?]  
2 button fragments (shell)  
2 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.43"  
diameter)  
1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.40"  
diameter)  
1 doll arm (undecorated; porcelain)  
1 indeterminate metal rod (brass?;  
approximately 1/4" diameter; 1" long)  
1 railroad spike (?) (ferrous)  
63 machine cut nail fragments  
1 brick fragment (soft mud)  
1 mortar  
15 bone

**Lot A-36**

5 Vessel A-82  
1 Vessel A-83  
2 undecorated whiteware  
2 printed (brown) whiteware  
2 container glass (aqua)  
2 container glass (clear)  
5 window glass (aqua)  
1 pipe bowl (kaolin; ornately  
ribbed/fluted)  
1 pipe stem (kaolin)  
1 pencil lead (graphite; round)  
1 sheet lead scrap (3/4" wide) [same  
style as Lot A-35]  
1 shotgun shell casing (cuprous; 0.93"

- diameter; 0.46" tall; center fired; impressed "...R / ...NO. 10")
- 8 shaker cap (zinc/composite material?; heavily fragmented) [mnv=1]
- 11 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (6" long) [large]
- 1 machine cut nail (3" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail ( 1 1/4" long)
- 1 coal
- 1 brick fragment (soft mud)
- 4 bone

**Lot A-37**

- 5 whole bricks (soft mud)
- 3 paving bricks (soft mud; half size; approximately 1 1/2" thick)
- 1 brick (soft mud; thinner; approximately 1 3/4" thick; vitrified)
- 1 wedge-shaped brick (soft mud; chisel cut and ground into shape) [possible cistern brick]

**Lot A-38**

- 1 Vessel A-163
- 1 salt-glazed/Albany-slipped stoneware
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 2 window glass (aqua)
- 1 writing slate (slate; lined)
- 1 safety pin or spring (cuprous) [clothes pin?]
- 13 machine cut nail fragments
- 8 bone

**Lot A-39**

- 1 Vessel A-120
- 1 Vessel A-136
- 1 Vessel A-137
- 1 printed (black) whiteware
- 3 container glass (aqua)
- 5 container glass (clear)
- 2 window glass (aqua)
- 1 indeterminate glass (aqua;

- melted/burned)
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter)
- 21 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 coal
- 6 brick fragments (soft mud)
- 6 plater (no white coat)
- 1 sandstone (thin; tabular)
- 55 bone

**Lot A-40**

- 1 Vessel A-82
- 3 undecorated whiteware
- 4 container glass (aqua)
- 5 window glass (aqua)
- 1 button (bone; 4-hole; 0.66" diameter)
- 1 button (cuprous; stamped; 4-hole; 0.55" diameter)
- 1 tack/decorative stud (cuprous; domed cap with ferrous tail; 0.75" diameter)
- 18 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 indeterminate iron
- 18 bone

**Lot A-41**

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 2 container glass (aqua)
- 1 glass droplet (aqua; melted)
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 3 lamp chimney (clear)
- 2 window glass (aqua; measured)
- 11 machine cut nail fragments
- 2 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/2")
- 1 clinker (large; greater than 2")
- 1 brick fragment (soft mud; burned)
- 3 mortar
- 4 bone

**Lot A-42**

- 1 container glass (amber)



- 1 window glass (aqua; measured)
- 5 machine cut nail fragments
- 5 bone

**Lot A-43**

- 1 brick fragments (soft mud; lime/mortar on exterior?)
- 1 bone

**Lot A-44**

- 2 window glass (aqua; cut into strip approximately 1 ¼" wide; glass cutting activity; measured)
- 2 machine cut nail fragments

**Lot A-45**

- 1 Vessel A-164
- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 2 salt-glazed stoneware or redware (highly burned and vitrified)
- 1 writing stylus (slate; sharpened to point; round)
- 1 button (milk glass; loop shank; 0.35" diameter)
- 1 buckle (?) (ferrous; 2 7/8" x ¾")
- 2 buckle fragment (?) (oval; ¾" x 3" and ½" x ½"; fused together)
- 16 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (3 7/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (3" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)
- 3 plaster/mortar
- 2 bone

**Lot A-46**

- 1 Vessel A-184
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 2 window glass (aqua) [thin]
- 2 machine cut nail fragments
- 2 quarter bricks (soft mud)
- 1 whole brick (soft mud)
- 10 bone

**Lot A-47**

- 1 window glass (aqua; thin; measured)

- 1 machine cut nail fragment
- 1 bone

**Lot A-48**

- 3 bone (not burned)

**Lot A-49**

- 1 Vessel A-73
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.40" diameter; burned)
- 1 relief decorated porcelain (burned) [saucer?]
- 7 container glass (aqua) [canning jar?]
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 1 teaspoon (ferrous; 1 ¼" wide; bowl only)
- 6 indeterminate ferrous
- 20 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 6 shaley coal (?)
- 1 wood (burned)
- 4 coal
- 1 igneous cobble (approximately 3" x 2 ½")
- 1 clinker
- 3 bone

**Lot A-50**

- 1 Vessel A-74
- 1 Vessel A-75
- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 1 container glass (amber)
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 5 container glass (clear)
- 5 lamp chimney (clear)
- 8 window glass (aqua)
- 1 comb (hard rubber; 5/8" wide; short tines)
- 1 sheet lead scrap (3/4" x minimum 1" long)
- 1 rivet (?) (cuprous)
- 1 rod (iron; approximately 5/8" diameter shaft; 8 7/8" long)
- 2 sheet metal (ferrous)
- 39 machine cut nail fragments

- 2 machine cut nail (1 ¼" long)
- 2 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 large clinker
- 3 bone

**Lot A-51**

- 4 container glass (clear)
- 2 container glass (amber)
- 2 swivel connector (cuprous; iron rod; 5/8" diameter base; 1 ½" diameter "bell"; scrollwork stamped on bell) [furniture drawer pull?]
- 1 button (bone; 4-hole; 0.61" diameter; burned)
- 1 rod (?) (ferrous; 2 ¼" long; ¼" diameter) [door stop?]
- 30 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 ¾" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 ¼" long)
- 5 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut tack (5/8" long)
- 1 plaster (no white coat)
- 7 wood (burned)
- 1 wood plank (1 3/8" wide; burned one side)
- 3 bone

**Lot A-52**

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 redware
- 2 container glass (aqua)
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 2 window glass (aqua; very thin)
- 8 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 finger ring (cut long-bone; polished; 0.73" inner diameter; 0.93" outer diameter)

**Lot A-53**

- 1 Vessel A-112
- 1 Vessel A-113
- 14 Vessel A-134
- 1 Vessel A-135
- 1 indeterminate ceramic (?) (vitrified

- and burned)
- 3 salt-glazed stoneware
- 2 container glass (aqua)
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 1 doll head (porcelain; fragmented)
- 11 window glass (glass (aqua; thick; measured)
- 1 writing slate (unlined)
- 1 strap hinge (iron; 5" long; 1 ¼" tapered to 7/8")
- 1 strap (iron; 2 ¾" long; 7/8" wide)
- 1 tack/button (ferrous; domed; 0.78" diameter)
- 62 machine cut nail fragments
- 2 machine cut nail (4 ¾" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 ¼" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 ½" long)
- 3 plaster/mortar
- 2 brick fragments (soft mud)
- 1 half brick (soft mud)
- 3 bone

**Lot A-54**

- 4 window glass (aqua; cut into strips; glass working debris; measured)
- 1 button (bone; 4-hole; 0.68" diameter)
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.49" diameter)
- 7 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 plaster lath key
- 2 plaster
- 1 brick fragment (soft mud)

**Lot A-55**

- 3 container glass (aqua)
- 2 window glass (aqua; measured)
- 1 machine cut nail/spike (6" long)
- 1 iron band (1 ¼" wide; 4 ¼" long)
- 1 indeterminate iron "plate" (1 ¾" wide one end; 4 ¼" long; approximately ¼" thick)
- 1 half brick (soft mud; split in half to form 1 1/8" thick brick)

**Lot A-56**

- 1 whole brick (soft mud; 8 ½" x 4" x 2

½”); mortar still attached)

11 bone

**Lot A-57**

12 Vessel A-138  
1 printed (black) whiteware  
1 redware  
3 window glass (aqua)  
1 button (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank;  
domed; 0.60” diameter;  
approximately 0.27” tall)  
1 sheet metal (ferrous)  
14 machine cut nail fragments  
1 plaster  
2 sandstone fragments (very small; less  
than ¾”)  
1 coal  
1 clinker  
4 brick fragments (soft mud)  
6 bone

**Lot A-61**

3 Vessel A-138  
13 machine cut nail fragments  
20 sheet metal fragments (ferrous)  
1 bone

**Lot A-62**

2 brick fragments (soft mud;  
construction debris?)

**Lot A-63**

5 brick fragments (soft mud;  
marbleized)  
1 brick fragment (old patina and/or  
surface deformed; not of normal size  
and potentially keyed)

**Lot A-58**

1 Vessel A-138  
4 machine cut nail fragments  
2 bone

**Lot A-64**

2 machine cut nail fragments  
2 brick fragments (soft mud)  
4 plaster (brown coat)  
2 bone

**Lot A-59**

1 Vessel A-165  
1 Vessel A-158

**Lot A-65**

8 brick fragments (soft mud;  
marbleized)  
1 plaster

**Lot A-60**

9 Vessel A-138  
2 Vessel A-139  
1 Vessel A-140  
1 undecorated whiteware  
1 printed (black) whiteware  
1 redware  
1 window glass (aqua)  
7 sheet metal (ferrous; folded edge)  
25 machine cut nail fragments  
1 plaster/mortar  
2 coal  
1 coal (anthracite?)  
1 brick fragment (soft mud)  
1 brick fragment (vitrified and heavily  
glazed)  
2 bone (calcined)

**Lot A-66**

1 Vessel A-138  
1 undecorated whiteware  
1 iron “plate” (6” x 2 5/8”;  
approximately 3/8” thick; 2-holes)  
3 sheet metal (ferrous)  
46 machine cut nail fragments  
1 machine cut nail (4 1/8” long)  
6 brick fragments (soft mud)  
3 bone

**Lot A-67**

1 window glass (aqua; measured) [very  
thin]

**Lot A-68**

2 Vessel A-84  
 1 Vessel A-85  
 24 undecorated whiteware  
 7 undecorated whiteware (burned)  
 6 undecorated porcelain  
 1 salt-glazed stoneware  
 1 redware  
 11 Rockingham-glazed yellowware  
 1 printed (red) whiteware  
 3 annular decorated (blue) whiteware  
 1 unglazed buff paste earthenware  
 1 relief decorated (gilded) porcelain  
 6 doll head (painted; porcelain; burned)  
 1 doll head (?) (undecorated; porcelain)  
 1 container glass (dark green/black)  
 22 container glass (aqua)  
 25 container glass (clear)  
 6 lamp chimney (clear)  
 2 glass droplets (clear; melted)  
 46 window glass (aqua; measured)  
 1 window glass (aqua; melted; white patina)  
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.61" diameter)  
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.42" diameter)  
 1 button (black glass; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter; burned)  
 1 button (shell; 2-hole; approximately 0.66" diameter)  
 1 button (bone; 4-hole; 0.55" diameter)  
 1 button (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank; 6-spoke design; 0.59" diameter)  
 1 button (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank; 0.42" diameter)  
 3 collar stud (bone) [mnv=2]  
 1 shell casing (brass; 0.43" diameter; 0.75" tall; center fired)  
 1 bead (light blue glass; 0.16" tall; 0.19" diameter)  
 1 indeterminate turned bone (5/8" tall; approximately 3/8" diameter; slit on end) [umbrella rib nib/tip?]

1 writing stylus (slate)  
 3 clock (?) gears (ferrous; 1" diameter; 3/8" tall) [mnv=1]  
 1 disk (clear glass; 1/2" diameter; illegible gilding; 0.63mm thick)  
 2 harmonica soundboard (ferrous; 7/8" wide) [mnv=1]  
 1 indeterminate cuprous (1/2" x 5/8") [knob?]  
 1 conical brass (1" long; approximately 1/2" diameter; tapered; slit along side) [pencil sharpener?]  
 3 wire (cuprous; sheathed; heavy gauge)  
 8 indeterminate bar/rod (iron)  
 22 sheet metal (ferrous)  
 1 large spike (9" long)  
 2 large rod/spike (7" long)  
 217 machine cut nail fragments  
 1 machine cut nail (5" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (4 3/4" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (4 1/2" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (4 3/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (4 1/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (3" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)  
 3 wire-drawn nail fragments  
 7 coal  
 1 plaster  
 13 clinkers  
 1 fruit pit  
 29 bone

**Lot A-69**

1 Vessel A-87  
 1 Vessel A-88  
 1 Vessel A-89  
 1 Vessel A-90  
 1 Vessel A-91  
 1 Vessel A-92  
 1 Vessel A-93  
 1 Vessel A-94  
 1 Vessel A-186  
 36 undecorated whiteware



11 redware  
 1 Bristol-glazed stoneware  
 1 undecorated porcelain  
 1 printed (black) whiteware  
 3 container glass (dark green/black)  
 1 container glass (cobalt blue)  
 1 container glass (amber)  
 15 container glass (aqua)  
 2 container glass (aqua; melted)  
 1 container/tableware glass (aqua; pattern molded)  
 18 container glass (clear)  
 1 container glass (clear; pattern molded; large thumbprint design)  
 1 glass droplet (clear; melted)  
 27 window glass (aqua; measured)  
 1 writing slate (not lined)  
 1 button (black glass; loop shank; faceted; 0.79" diameter)  
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.51" diameter)  
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.44" diameter)  
 1 elbow pipe (red paste; stoneware; embossed)  
 1 pipe stem (kaolin)  
 1 doll leg (undecorated; porcelain; ¼" long foot) [very small]  
 1 small knob (cuprous; ball end; and threaded end; approximately 7/8" long)  
 86 machine cut nail fragments  
 1 limestone  
 15 bone

**Lot A-70**

1 Vessel A-141  
 2 Vessel A-142  
 1 Vessel A-143  
 1 Vessel A-144  
 1 Vessel A-145  
 11 Vessel A-155  
 1 Vessel A-190  
 1 Vessel A-192  
 7 Vessel A-193  
 107 undecorated whiteware (heavily

fragmented) [some probably Vessel A-193]  
 1 printed (red) whiteware  
 1 salt-glazed/Albany-slipped stoneware  
 2 yellowware  
 7 redware  
 1 container glass (milk glass)  
 1 container glass (aqua)  
 6 container glass (clear)  
 13 window glass (aqua)  
 2 mirror glass (aqua; 1.08mm thick)  
 1 elbow pipe (salt-glazed; stoneware)  
 5 sheet metal (ferrous)  
 41 machine cut nail fragments  
 1 machine cut nail (3 5/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)  
 1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/8" long)  
 1 brick (heavily whitewashed surface; small fragment)  
 3 clinkers  
 2 sandstone  
 13 bone

**Lot A-71**

1 container glass (clear/lead)  
 1 redware  
 4 machine cut nail fragments  
 1 brick fragment (soft mud)  
 1 brick fragment (vitrified)  
 1 bone (burned)

**Lot A-72**

1 container glass (dark green/black)  
 1 machine cut nail (4" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (1 ½" long)  
 7 brick fragments (soft mud)  
 5 brick fragments (vitrified; with glazed surface) [construction debris?]  
 1 whole brick (soft mud; 8 ¼" x 4" x 2")  
 1 bone

**Lot A-73**

1 undecorated whiteware/pearlware

- 1 brick fragment (soft mud)
- 1 half brick (soft mud)

**Lot A-74**

- 2 half bricks (soft mud)

**Lot A-75**

- 2 half bricks (soft mud; mottle paste)  
[construction debris?]
- 2 brick fragments (soft mud)
- 1 brick fragment (burned?)

**Lot A-76**

- 1 Vessel A-95
- 4 Vessel A-99
- 4 container glass (aqua)
- 2 container glass (aqua; embossed  
"CURE // FOR...")
- 7 container glass (clear)
- 75 window glass (aqua; measured)
- 8 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 27 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (3 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (3 1/2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 4 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (3 5/8" long)
- 2 bone

**Lot A-77**

- 3 Vessel A-97
- 1 Vessel A-98
- 2 Vessel A-99
- 16 Vessel A-100
- 1 Vessel A-101
- 5 Vessel A-102
- 1 Vessel A-103
- 2 Vessel A-104
- 12 Vessel A-105
- 2 Vessel A-106
- 1 Vessel A-107
- 2 Vessel A-108
- 1 Vessel A-109
- 4 Vessel A-110

- 1 Vessel A-111
- 1 Vessel A-112
- 1 Vessel A-113
- 3 Vessel A-114
- 1 Vessel A-115
- 1 Vessel A-116
- 6 Vessel A-117
- 4 Vessel A-168
- 16 undecorated whiteware
- 1 undecorated porcelain
- 1 redware (interior glaze only)  
[spittoon fragment?]
- 9 container glass (amber)
- 23 container glass (aqua)
- 105 container glass (clear)
- 90 window glass (aqua; measured)
- 1 doll head (painted; porcelain)
- 1 collar stud (milk glass)
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; piecrust  
pattern; 0.40" diameter)
- 1 button (cuprous; 4-hole; stamped;  
0.55" diameter; embossed  
"UNIVERSEL")
- 1 clamp/clasp (cuprous; approximately  
1" long; approximately 1/2" wide)
- 1 pocket knife (bone handle; ferrous  
tang; broken while open; 4 1/4" long)
- 1 sheet metal (cuprous; round; folded  
and flattened on itself; 5/8" wide; 3"  
long)
- 3 writing slate (lined)
- 1 screw hook (cuprous; pointed screw  
end; 1 1/2" long)
- 1 screw eye (cuprous; pointed)
- 1 shell casing (brass; 0.24" diameter;  
0.44" tall; rim fired)
- 1 eyelet (cuprous)
- 1 wire (ferrous; twisted; wrapped  
around itself; heavy gauge; 7" long)
- 2 strap (ferrous; approximately 3/8"  
wide)
- 3 umbrella/parasol ribs (ferrous)
- 1 bar (ferrous; approximately 3/4" wide;  
2" long)
- 1 bar (ferrous; 3/4" wide; 4" long)
- 1 lamp wick advancer (ferrous; 3/4"

diameter)  
 89 machine cut nail fragments  
 1 machine cut nail (4 7/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)  
 2 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)  
 3 machine cut nail (1 3/4" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)  
 6 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (1" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (7/8" long)  
 63 wire-drawn nail fragments  
 1 screw (pointed; approximately 2 1/2" long)  
 1 screw (pointed; 1 7/8" long)  
 1 screw (pointed; 1 5/8" long)  
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel (1 1/2" long)  
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel (1 3/8" long)  
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel (1 1/4" long)  
 1 gastropod shell  
 3 fruit pit (burned)  
 1 wood (burned)  
 1 plaster?  
 21 bone

**Lot A-78**

1 Vessel A-118  
 1 undecorated whiteware  
 1 sponge decorated (red) whiteware  
 1 undecorated yellowware  
 3 container glass (aqua)  
 3 container glass (clear)  
 1 writing slate (unlined)  
 1 finger ring (brass; 12/6mm inner diameter; approximately 1 1/4" size; flora/pinwheel design) [child's?]  
 1 large headed tack (cuprous head/ferrous shank; 3/4" diameter)  
 148 window glass (aqua)  
 1 indeterminate iron (5 1/2" long; layered?) [nail?]  
 8 machine cut nail fragments  
 9 bone

**Lot A-79**

1 Vessel A-119  
 1 Vessel A-120  
 6 undecorated whiteware  
 1 Albany-slipped stoneware  
 2 container glass (aqua)  
 1 container glass (aqua; melted)  
 4 container glass (clear)  
 3 lamp chimney (clear)  
 13 window glass (aqua)  
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.38" diameter)  
 1 shell casing (brass; 0.39" diameter; 3/4" tall; center fire; fired; headstamp impressed "S. L. M. C. H. / 38 S & W")  
 10 machine cut nail fragments  
 5 roofing slate (purple; approximately 5" x 6 1/2") [mnv=1]  
 1 brick (soft mud)  
 2 bone

**Lot A-80**

2 Vessel A-112  
 1 Vessel A-116  
 1 Vessel A-119  
 1 Vessel A-146  
 1 Vessel A-147  
 1 Vessel A-148  
 2 Vessel A-149  
 1 Vessel A-150  
 2 Vessel A-160  
 1 Vessel A-184  
 1 Vessel A-191  
 13 undecorated whiteware  
 2 sponge decorated (red) whiteware  
 1 printed (blue) whiteware  
 1 yellowware  
 1 redware  
 1 Albany-slipped stoneware  
 1 container glass (dark green/black)  
 1 container glass (amber)  
 23 container glass (aqua)  
 22 container glass (clear)  
 242 window glass (aqua; measured)  
 1 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)

1	rod (clear glass; approximately 3/16" diameter)	1	salt-glazed stoneware
1	pipe bowl (kaolin; burnished; small punctates around rim)	7	redware
1	printers type (lead; 7/8" long; 1/8" wide; letter "C," "G," or "O")	1	redware (greenish glaze)
1	writing stylus (slate; round)	1	Albany-slipped stoneware
1	button (milk glass; piecrust pattern; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter)	2	container glass (dark green/black)
1	button (shell; 4-hole; 0.61" diameter)	3	container glass (amber)
1	button (?) (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank?; bottom only; 0.45" diameter)	5	container glass (aqua)
9	sheet metal (ferrous)	16	container glass (clear)
2	metal container (ferrous; round; rim only) ["tin" can?]	1	container glass (aqua; melted)
1	indeterminate iron	166	window glass (aqua; measured)
1	indeterminate cuprous	6	mirror glass (aqua; measured)
1	spike fragment (3/4" x 3/4" shank)	1	writing slate (not lined)
1	rod (iron; 7" long; 1/2" x 1/2" shank)	1	writing stylus (slate; worn both ends)
50	machine cut nail fragments	1	printer type (lead; 7/8" long; letter "E")
1	machine cut nail (5 3/4" long)	1	printer type fragment (lead; potentially "-")
1	machine cut nail (4 1/8" long)	1	graphite stylus (rectangular; approximately 3/4" long; 3/16" wide)
1	machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)	1	button (bone; 4-hole; 0.52" diameter)
2	machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)	1	button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.52" diameter)
5	wire-drawn nail fragments	1	button (blue glass; 4-hole; 0.42" diameter)
5	clinkers	1	button (shell; 2-hole; 0.70" diameter)
2	wood (burned; lath?)	1	marble (buff paste stone; 0.56" diameter)
38	bone	7	sheet metal (ferrous)
		1	railroad spike (?) fragment
		1	indeterminate iron
		1	twisted wire (cuprous)
<b>Lot A-81</b>		120	machine cut nail fragments
1	Vessel A-107	1	machine cut nail (3 1/8" long)
2	Vessel A-144	2	machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
1	Vessel A-146	2	machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
1	Vessel A-151	1	machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
1	Vessel A-152	1	machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
1	Vessel A-153	1	machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
1	Vessel A-154	1	brick fragment (soft mud)
8	Vessel A-155	1	sandstone (5/8" thick)
1	Vessel A-156	1	plaster
5	Vessel A-160	2	clinkers
1	Vessel A-187	11	coal
1	Vessel A-188	269	bone (small mammal)
15	undecorated whiteware		
1	undecorated whiteware (burned)		
1	undecorated porcelain		
1	printed (purple) whiteware		



**Lot A-82**

1 undecorated whiteware

**Lot A-83**

1 Vessel A-74  
 1 Vessel A-144  
 2 Vessel A-146  
 1 Vessel A-157  
 1 Vessel A-159  
 1 Vessel A-160  
 4 Vessel A-161  
 1 Vessel A-189  
 4 undecorated whiteware  
 1 printed (blue) whiteware  
 1 printed (flow blue) whiteware  
 3 container glass (aqua)  
 8 container glass (clear)  
 1 tubular bead (blue glass; wound;  
 0.31" diameter; 0.71" long)  
 1 pipe stem (kaolin)  
 1 pipe bowl (kaolin; ribbed/fluted)  
 2 writing slate (lined)  
 73 window glass (aqua)  
 1 mirror glass (aqua)  
 1 corrugated sheet metal (ferrous)  
 22 machine cut nail fragments  
 2 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)  
 1 soil sample (with lime inclusions)  
 113 bone

**Lot A-84**

9 Vessel A-162  
 1 redware (burned)  
 3 container glass (aqua)  
 5 window glass (aqua)  
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.50"  
 diameter)  
 5 machine cut nail fragments  
 3 clinkers  
 7 bone

**Lot A-85**

1 Vessel A-116  
 1 Vessel A-166  
 3 Vessel A-167  
 2 container glass (aqua)

28 window glass (aqua)  
 5 sheet metal (ferrous)  
 1 rod (iron; knob end; 15" long)  
 20 machine cut nail fragments  
 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)  
 3 machine cut tacks (5/8" long)  
 2 brick fragments (soft mud; burned?)  
 27 bone

**Lot A-86**

1 architectural tile (salt-glazed;  
 stoneware?; burned; 1/2" thick;  
 fragment)

**Lot A-87**

1 Vessel A-168 [This jar has to be  
 intrusive into this early context]  
 1 Vessel A-150  
 9 window glass (aqua)  
 2 sheet metal (corrugated)  
 12 machine cut nail fragments  
 2 bone

**Lot A-88**

1 container glass (aqua; embossed  
 "[SPRI]NGFIE[LD] / IL[L]") [soda  
 water bottle]

**Lot A-89**

11 Vessel A-68  
 20 Vessel A-69  
 1 Vessel A-70  
 1 Vessel A-71  
 1 Vessel A-72  
 1 unglazed red paste earthenware  
 [roofing tile or coping cap]  
 1 container glass (milk glass; pressed)  
 7 container glass (clear)

**Lot A-90**

5 Vessel A-69  
 69 Vessel A-73  
 1 Vessel A-70  
 1 Vessel A-84  
 17 Vessel A-96



**Lot A-92**

1 Vessel A-78  
 1 Vessel A-86  
 1 Vessel A-91  
 1 Vessel A-108  
 1 Vessel A-109  
 1 Vessel A-118  
 1 Vessel A-119  
 9 Vessel A-125  
 3 Vessel A-127  
 6 Vessel A-132  
 1 Vessel A-133  
 1 Vessel A-159  
 15 undecorated whiteware  
 1 annular decorated whiteware  
 6 salt-glazed stoneware  
 4 container glass (dark green/black)  
 1 container glass (amber)  
 24 container glass (aqua)  
 37 container glass (clear)  
 1 container glass (clear; melted)  
 290 window glass (aqua; measured)  
 2 window glass (aqua; melted)  
 1 doll head fragment (painted; porcelain)  
 1 button (black glass; loop shank; floral design; 0.67" diameter)  
 1 button (shell; 4-hole; 0.36" diameter)  
 1 button (shell; 4-hole; 0.38" diameter)  
 1 button (milk glass; 2-hole; 0.45" diameter)  
 1 button (hard rubber; 2-hole; 0.73" diameter; embossed "NOVELTY RUBBER CO.")  
 1 button (hard rubber; 4-hole; 0.53" diameter; embossed "I. R. C. CO. / 1851 / GOODYEAR")  
 1 button (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank; approximately 0.80" diameter)  
 1 pencil lead (graphite; round)  
 4 writing slate (lined)  
 1 writing stylus (slate; round; fragment)  
 4 wire and rubber gasket (cuprous; heavy gauge) [blob top bottle closures]

1 lapel pin (cuprous/brass; letter "S" shape; embossed "BLOOD & FIRE"; 0.93" x 0.62") [Salvation Army lapel pin]  
 1 printer type (lead; 7/8" long; "Y")  
 1 disk (ferrous; round; 1 1/8" diameter)  
 6 tin can or canning jar lid (ferrous; approximately 2 1/2" diameter; round)  
 2 indeterminate cuprous  
 2 large headed tacks (domed; 3/4" diameter head)  
 4 sheet metal (ferrous; corrugated)  
 1 railroad spike fragment  
 1 unidentified hardware (?) (iron; 1 1/4" x 1 1/4" base; 1 1/2" tall)  
 123 machine cut nail fragments  
 1 machine cut nail (3 1/4" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)  
 1 finishing nail fragment  
 2 plaster (?)  
 12 coal  
 37 bone

**Lot A-93**

4 Vessel A-144  
 1 Vessel A-159  
 1 Vessel A-166  
 1 Vessel A-169  
 3 Vessel A-170  
 2 Vessel A-171  
 1 Vessel A-172  
 1 Vessel A-173  
 1 toy jug (salt glazed, cobalt blue decorated; stoneware; ovoid shape)  
 4 Vessel A-175  
 1 Vessel A-176  
 1 Vessel A-177  
 32 undecorated whiteware  
 2 printed (blue) whiteware  
 2 printed (brown) whiteware  
 1 Rockingham-glazed yellowware  
 1 undecorated whiteware (burned)  
 4 redware  
 1 redware (refined)

1 container glass (dark green/black)  
 5 container glass (aqua)  
 19 container glass (clear)  
 7 lamp chimney (clear)  
 76 window glass (aqua)  
 1 window glass (aqua; melted)  
 2 mirror glass (aqua; measured)  
 1 tableware glass (clear; patterned; berries and zig zag)  
 1 pipe bowl (kaolin) [small fragment]  
 1 figurine (Parian ware; feet and head missing; man with hand on hip; bag or knapsack over shoulder; vest; originally approximately 1 3/4" tall)  
 1 writing slate (small fragment)  
 1 pencil lead (graphite; round)  
 1 button (ferrous/composite?; 3-piece loop shank; 0.82" diameter)  
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.56" diameter)  
 1 button (blue glass; 4-hole; 0.42" diameter)  
 1 railroad spike fragment  
 1 furniture drawer or door lock (cuprous/ferrous; 1 5/8" x 1 3/8" x approximately 3/8")  
 48 machine cut nail fragments  
 1 machine cut nail (4 1/4" long)  
 3 coal  
 37 bone

**Lot A-94**

1 Vessel A-136  
 4 Vessel A-144  
 1 Vessel A-146  
 2 Vessel A-153  
 1 Vessel A-166  
 1 Vessel A-178  
 3 Vessel A-179  
 13 undecorated whiteware  
 1 painted (red; floral) whiteware  
 2 printed (blue) whiteware  
 4 redware  
 1 container glass (dark green/black)  
 1 container glass (amethyst)  
 1 container glass (cobalt blue)

9 container glass (aqua)  
 11 container glass (clear)  
 8 lamp chimney (clear)  
 6 mirror glass (aqua)  
 75 window glass (aqua; measured)  
 1 writing stylus (slate; worn one end; 1 1/2" long)  
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.46" diameter)  
 1 button (bone; 4-hole; 0.66" diameter)  
 1 coin (Capped Bust dime; mint mark 1827)  
 1 nut (iron; square; forged?; 1 1/4" x 1 1/4")  
 1 bracket (iron; 7/8" wide; approximately 5" long, if whole) [reminiscent of a bed rail bracket, or utensil handle?]  
 71 machine cut nail fragments  
 4 brick fragments (soft mud; small; construction debris?)  
 3 coal  
 5 plaster (?)  
 71 bone

**Lot A-95**

2 undecorated whiteware  
 1 undecorated porcelain  
 1 button (milk glass; loop shank; 0.62" diameter)  
 1 container glass (clear)  
 4 window glass (aqua)  
 2 machine cut nail fragment  
 1 machine cut nail (2 7/8" long)  
 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)  
 1 wire-drawn nail fragment  
 1 clinker (shaley coal)  
 11 soil sample (with lime inclusions)  
 9 bone

**Lot A-96**

4 window glass (aqua)  
 1 gastropod shell (small)  
 6 machine cut nail fragments  
 4 plaster/mortar  
 7 brick (soft mud; clear construction)



debris?)

**Lot A-97**

- 1 container glass (dark green/black) [thick]
- 1 window glass (aqua; 1.20mm)

**Lot A-98**

- 1 rod (iron; approximately 12 ½” long; round; ½” diameter)

**Lot A-99**

- 1 whole brick (soft mud)

**Lot A-100**

- 2 electrical pole insulators (conical shaped, approximately 3 ¼” diameter base; 4 ¼” tall; internal threads to attach to threaded post; embossed “8” on outside top surface and “B” on side near base)
- 1 electrical pole insulator (conical shaped, approximately 3 ¼” diameter base; 4 ¼” tall; internal threads to attach to threaded post; embossed “8” on outside top surface and “H. G. CO.” on side near base)
- 3 electrical pole insulators (conical shaped, approximately 3 1/2” diameter base; 4” tall; internal threads to attach to threaded post; embossed “BROOKFIELD” on side near base; beaded base)
- 1 electrical pole insulator (conical shaped, approximately 3 5/8” diameter base; 4” tall; internal threads to attach to threaded post; embossed “HEMINGWAY. / No. 40” on one side near base and “PATENTED / MAY 2, 1893” on other; beaded base)
- 1 electrical pole insulator (conical shaped, approximately 3 5/8” diameter base; 4” tall; internal threads to attach to threaded post; embossed “HEMINGWAY -- 42” on

- 1 one side near base and “MADE IN U.S.A.” on other; beaded base)
- 1 electrical pole insulator (conical shaped, approximately 2 ½” diameter base; 3 5/8” tall; internal threads to attach to threaded post; embossed “HEMINGWAY” on one side near base and “PATENTED / MAY 2, 1893” on other; beaded base)

**Appendix IIIA:  
Vessel Descriptions, House A**

[The “S” refers to a “secondary” vessel or one represented by a limited percentage of the whole vessel. The “P” refers to a “primary” vessel, or one represented by a large percentage of the whole vessel.]

<b><u>Vessel Number</u></b>	<b><u>Primary or Secondary</u></b>	<b><u>Description</u></b>
A-1	P	washbasin (relief decorated, whiteware; smoked and/or burned; fire-shattered)
A-2	P	large pitcher (?) (relief decorated, whiteware; handled; lightly burned; fire shattered) [a large pitcher for use with a wash basin?]
A-3	S	plate (undecorated, whiteware; burned)
A-4	P	small flower pot (unglazed, red-paste earthenware, jigger molded; 1 3/8” diameter base, 2 1/4” diameter rim; 2” tall)
A-5	P	medicine bottle (clear; molded, improved tool prescription lip finish; embossed “BAUMANN BROS. / DRUGGISTS / SPRINGFIELD, ILL.”; melted and deformed)
A-6	S/P	indeterminate bottle (aqua; round; molded; applied tool ring or oil lip finish; approximately 3” diameter body) [reminiscent of Vessel A-162]
A-7	P	medicine/chemical bottle (cobalt blue; molded; round; 2” diameter base; improved tool bead lip finish; partially melted and deformed)
A-8	P	jelly glass/tumbler (clear; molded; round; approximately 2 1/4” diameter base; approximately 3”-3 1/2” tall; indeterminate mouth diameter; starburst molded base; approximately 1 1/4” long V-shaped ribs around base; beaded border around rim; badly melted and deformed)
A-9	S/P	tumbler (clear; molded; round; undecorated body or base; melted and fire-shattered)
A-10	S	canning jar (aqua; round; machine-made; embossed “MASON”; melted)
A-11	S	flower pot (red-paste earthenware; hand-turned; approximately 2 1/2” diameter base; base fragment only; small potting pot)
A-12	P	cup (undecorated; whiteware; round; 2 1/4” diameter base; 3 1/4” diameter mouth; 3” tall; handleless?)
A-13	P	prescription medicine bottle (clear; beveled ideal shape; 1 3/4” x 1 1/8” base; 6” tall; 3-piece plate bottom mold; improved tool prescription lip finish; unpointed; embossed body with graduated numbers along the bottle side; 100cc size; embossed “3iv”; slightly burned and deformed)
A-14	S	large bowl/wash basin (undecorated; whiteware; thinly potted early vessel)
A-15	P	vase (printed; brown; floral pattern; whiteware; 2 1/2” diameter base; 5 3/4” tall; lightly burned)
A-16	S	small platter (undecorated, ironstone, oval, approximately 5” x 8”; impressed mark “HOTEL”)

- A-17 P soda water bottle (aqua, round, 2 ¼” diameter base, 6 ½” tall, 3-piece plate bottom mold, improved tool blob top finish, unpontiled; embossed “F. X. Reisch / Springfield / ILL.”; base embossed “R”)
- A-18 S large bottle/demi-john (aqua; machine made, Ring or Oil finish; 2” diameter lip; neck and finish only)
- A-19 S indeterminate pedestaled vessel (clear, stem only) [possibly pedestaled cake stand, bowl, or lamp]
- A-20 S/P lamp chimney (clear, molded; 2 ¾” diameter lip)
- A-21 S cup (relief decorated; printed, green and red; whiteware) [late style]
- A-22 S small plate (undecorated; ironstone; heavy “Hotel” ware)
- A-23 P vial/pill bottle (clear; round; 5/8” diameter base; 1 5/8” tall, three-piece plate bottom mold; improved tool finish; unpontiled; embossed “THE GRAY MEDICINE CO. / TRADE / MARK / NEW YORK” with embossed arrow motif) [Potentially a laxative pill bottle based on 1904 advertisement.]
- A-24 S soda water ? bottle (clear; round; 2 1/8” diameter; base only)
- A-25 S lamp chimney (clear; straight rim)
- A-26 S cup (printed; brown; GENEVA Pattern; whiteware; small rim only)
- A-27 S plate (printed, blue; GARDEN SCENERY Pattern; whiteware) [Same as Vessel A-114 pattern]
- A-28 S plate (printed; blue; CRYSTAL PALACE 1851 Pattern; whiteware)
- A-29 S cup (transfer print; red; SOWER Pattern, whiteware; small rim only)
- A-30 S saucer (undecorated; whiteware; burned)
- A-31 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; burned?)
- A-32 S saucer (relief decorated; ribbed/Gothic pattern; backstamp CERES SHAPE; ironstone) [Registered by Elsmore and Forster in 1859 (Wetherbee 1985:77)]
- A-33 S cup (relief decorated; unidentified flat panel/Gothic pattern; whiteware)
- A-34 S small mixing bowl (Albany slipped; stoneware; jigger molded; collared rim only)
- A-35 S large mug (undecorated hotelware; base only; 3 ½” diameter; back stamp “[G]RINDLEY HOTEL WARE / ENGLAND / VITRIFIED / “*Thornley*” / John R. Thompson Co / PATENTED / 102 / MUG”)
- A-36 S ashtray (citron glass; molded; 6” diameter) [Uranium glass?]
- A-37 S hydrogen peroxide bottle (amber; machine made; base only; 1 7/8” diameter base; embossed script “*Lys[ol]*”)
- A-38 P salve/cold cream jar (milk glass; molded; 2” square base; approximately 2” tall; embossed in oval sunken panel “POND’S”)
- A-39 P medicine bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; improved tool patent lip finish; Blake Variant 1 base; 1 1/8” x 2” x 4 7/8”; “DR. EARL S. SLOAN / SLOAN’S N & B LINIMENT / BOSTON MASS U.S.A.”)
- A-40 P soda water bottle (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 2 ½” diameter; 6” tall; Hutchinson Blob Top, improved tool lip finish; base embossed “V”; embossed “KENDALL / BOTTLING WORKS / ILLIOPOLIS, ILL.”; fragments of bottle stopper inside)
- A-41 S/P small plate (undecorated; ironstone; approximately 6” diameter rim; 3 ½” diameter base; impressed “[IRO]NSTONE / [WED]GWOOD / [CHI]NA”)
- A-42 S small platter (undecorated; porcelain “hotelware”; oval; minimally 5” x 7”)

- A-43 S bowl/jar (redware; turned; base only; indeterminate size)
- A-44 S saucer (painted; polychrome; small floral; whiteware; small rim only)
- A-45 S plate (printed; dark blue; whiteware/pearlware; small rim fragment)
- A-46 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; London-Urn shape; shoulder/body only)
- A-47 S wine bottle (dark green/black; dip molded; 3" diameter base; base only)  
[Potentially same as Vessel A-155]
- A-48 S large bowl (sponge decorated; blue; Bristol glazed; stoneware; rim only; 9" diameter)
- A-49 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; small rim fragment; heavy bodied)
- A-50 S serving bowl (printed; flow blue; porcelain; floral pattern; rim only; indeterminate size)
- A-51 P wine bottle (?) (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 2 3/4" diameter base; 13 3/4" tall; applied tool Brandy lip finish; embossed "L. ROSE & CO." with vines; base embossed "594") [specialized in lime juice beverages; <https://baybottles.com/2016/11/08/l-rose-co/>]
- A-52 P milk or cream bottle (clear; machine made; round; 2 1/8" diameter base; 5 1/4" tall; Bead/Ring lip finish; ledge inside for receiving lid; embossed "PRODUCERS / DAIRY CO. SPRINGFIELD, ILL. // SEALED / HALF PINT / LIQUID" and dots around neck; base embossed circle "S")
- A-53 P salve/cold cream jar (milk glass; machine made; round; 2 1/4" diameter base; 2" tall; screw top; embossed columns)
- A-54 P salve/cold cream jar (milk glass; machine-made; round; 2 1/4" diameter base; 2" tall; screw top)
- A-55 P flavoring/extract bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Blake Variant 1 base; 7/8" x 1 3/4" base; 5 1/8" tall; paneled 4-sides; ball neck; improved tool Patent lip finish)
- A-56 P proprietary medicine bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 7/8" diameter base; 3 1/4" tall; improved tool Patent lip finish; embossed "OMEGA OIL")
- A-57 P prescription medicine bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Handy base; 1 3/8" x 2 1/2" base; 6 1/4" tall; improved tool Prescription lip finish; embossed "VI"; base embossed "PEARL")
- A-58 P soda water bottle (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 2 1/2" diameter base; minimally 6 1/2" tall; fluted heel; missing lip; embossed "JOHN SCHEU / DETROIT")
- A-59 P beer bottle (amber; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 2 1/2" diameter base; 9 5/8" tall; improved tool Crown lip finish; indeterminate embossing on base)
- A-60 S liquor bottle (amber; turn-molded; round; 3 1/4" diameter base; mamelon on base) [beer?]
- A-61 P lamp font (clear; molded; square; pedestaled; four feet; approximately 5" x 5" base; 7" tall)
- A-62 S whiskey flask (?) (clear; molded; improved tool Double Bead/Ring lip finish)
- A-63 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; small rim fragments only)
- A-64 S plate (edge decorated; blue; whiteware; no "feather" detail; non-scalloped/round; small rim and base fragment only)



- A-65 S plate (relief decorated; BOOTE'S 1851 ROUND Pattern (?); whiteware; 9" diameter rim)
- A-66 S cup (painted; polychrome; floral pattern; whiteware; London-Urn shape; body only)
- A-67 P bowl/jar (redware; hand turned; round; 7 1/4" diameter base; minimally 6" tall)
- A-68 P condiment bottle (?) (clear; machine made; round; 2 3/4" diameter base; unknown height; lip missing; narrow neck)
- A-69 P beer bottle (aqua; machine made ?; round; 2 1/2" diameter base; minimally 7" tall; lip missing; base embossed "9.") [soda water bottle or beer bottle]
- A-70 S cup (gilded/painted; small floral; embossed scrollwork around rim; porcelain; approximately 1 1/2" diameter base)
- A-71 S plate (undecorated; porcelain; 5-6" diameter base)
- A-72 S jar/bowl (undecorated; redware; hand turned; round; small rim fragment only)
- A-73 P beer bottle (amber; machine made; round; Crown lip finish; 2 1/2" diameter base; base embossed "1418 / 176...")
- A-74 S soda water bottle (aqua; molded; round; approximately 2 3/4" diameter base; improved tool Hutchinson Blob Top lip finish; base embossed "...KER'...")
- A-75 S medicine bottle (clear; molded; improved tool Bead lip finish)
- A-76 S homeopathic vial (clear; molded; round; 1/2" diameter base; base only)
- A-77 S whiskey flask (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Handy base; approximately 1 3/8" x 2 3/4" base; improved tool Brandy lip finish)
- A-78 S tumbler (clear; molded; round; short flutes; ground pontil?; 2 3/8" diameter base; 3 1/4" diameter rim)
- A-79 S canning jar (aqua; molded; round; 4" diameter base; base embossed "...3...7..."; small base only)
- A-80 S serving vessel ? (undecorated; whiteware; rim only)
- A-81 S flower pot (unglazed; red paste earthenware; hand turned; round; 4-5" diameter rim)
- A-82 P vial (aqua; 2-piece mold; round; 1" diameter base; applied tool Patent lip finish)
- A-83 S plate (edge decorated; blue; whiteware; approximately 8" diameter rim, unscalloped/round)
- A-84 P lamp chimney (clear; molded; straight base; round; 3" diameter base)
- A-85 S saucer (relief decorated; gilded around rim; 6" diameter rim)
- A-86 P lamp chimney (clear; crimped; straight base; 1 1/2 petals per inch)
- A-87 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; round; handled; body only)
- A-88 S plate (relief decorated; BOOTE'S 1851 ROUND Pattern (?); whiteware; heavy bodied; approximately 8" diameter rim)
- A-89 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; approximately 8-9" diameter rim)
- A-90 S serving bowl (clear; pressed; scalloped edge rim)
- A-91 S/P serving bowl (clear; pressed; oval; MAGNET AND GRAPE Pattern; approximately 2" tall; approximately 4" x 6" in size) (Lee 1931: 204, Plate 63)
- A-92 S plate (clear; pressed; dot pattern; approximately 3" diameter base) [similar pattern to Vessel D-284]
- A-93 S beer bottle (salt-glazed; two-tone; buff top; probably Bristol-glazed base; stoneware; lip only)
- A-94 S cup (red/rose-colored; molded; round; small rim fragment)

- A-95 S shot/dosage glass (clear; molded; round; 1 ½” diameter lip; embossed “ZIMMERMANN / [DR]JUGGIST”)
- A-96 P olive oil bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 2” diameter base; minimally 7” tall; tapered body; lip missing)
- A-97 S/P whiskey flask (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; improved tool Brandy lip finish; embossed “SPRINGFIELD / ILLS.”; Jo Jo flask shape) [half pint size] [similar to John Fitzpatrick bottles]
- A-98 S proprietary medicine bottle (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Blake Variant 1 base; 1 1/8” x 2” base; paneled 4-sides; embossed “...TION”; base embossed “27”)
- A-99 S medicine bottle (clear; molded; improved tool Prescription lip finish)
- A-100 P condiment bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 1 7/8” diameter; improved tool Narrow Packer lip finish)
- A-101 S liquor bottle (dark green/black; applied tool Ring or Oil lip finish)
- A-102 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; 9” diameter rim; heavy bodied)
- A-103 S saucer (relief decorated; gilded band around rim; scalloped rim; porcelain; 6” diameter rim)
- A-104 S cup ? (undecorated; gilded around rim; scalloped/petaled rim; porcelain; slight bluish tint to glaze)
- A-105 P proprietary medicine bottle (?) (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 1 ½” diameter base; improved tool Prescription lip finish; illegible embossing)
- A-106 S saucer (undecorated; scalloped rim; whiteware; approximately 6” diameter rim)
- A-107 S saucer (undecorated; whiteware; 6” diameter rim)
- A-108 S small plate (undecorated; whiteware; 7” diameter rim)
- A-109 S plate (relief decorated; early twentieth century pattern; scalloped rim; ironstone; approximately 8” diameter rim)
- A-110 P prescription medicine bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; possibly Erie Oval base; approximately 7/8” wide base; improved tool Prescription lip finish; embossed “I”; base embossed “PE[ARL]”)
- A-111 S/P stemware (clear/lead; molded; round; straight stem; body/stem only) [cordial glass]
- A-112 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; 2” diameter base; approximately 3” diameter rim)
- A-113 S serving bowl (undecorated; whiteware; approximately 5” diameter base)
- A-114 S cup (printed; blue; GARDEN SCENERY Pattern; whiteware; small rim only) [Same pattern as plate (Vessel A-27).]
- A-115 S soda water bottle (aqua; molded; round; improved tool Hutchinson Blob top lip finish; lip only)
- A-116 S canning jar lid liner (milk glass; molded; round; approximately 2 ½” diameter; embossed “...TH...”; burned/melted)
- A-117 S indeterminate bottle (clear; molded; Blake Variant 1 base; paneled at least 2-sides; indeterminate size)
- A-118 S serving bowl (clear; press molded; round; approximately 4” diameter lip)
- A-119 S tumbler ? (clear; press molded; round; fluted; approximately 2-3” diameter lip; decorated base; ground foot rim) [possible shot glass]
- A-120 S saucer (undecorated; porcelain; approximately 5-6” diameter rim)

- A-121 S/P lamp font (clear; press molded; square base; ribbed and beaded; approximately 4" x 4" base) [heat shattered?]
- A-122 P homeopathic vial (clear; molded; round; 3/8" diameter; 2 3/4" tall; Narrow Packer lip finish)
- A-123 P proprietary medicine bottle (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Blake Variant 1 base; 1/2" x 1 1/4" base; 4 1/8" tall; paneled 4-sides; improved tool Patent lip finish; embossed "DR KING'S / NEW DISCOVERY // H. E. BUCKLEN & CO // CHICAGO, ILL.")
- A-124 P cup (undecorated; whiteware; handled; 1 7/8" diameter base; 3 5/8" diameter rim; 2 7/8" tall; badly burned)
- A-125 P small plate (undecorated; whiteware; 5" diameter base; backstamp "IRON[STONE C]HINA / WARRANTED" with British Royal coat-of-arms)
- A-126 P saucer (relief decorated; whiteware; 6" diameter rim; 2 5/8" diameter base; backstamp "WARRA[NTED] / SEMI-PORCE[LAIN]")
- A-127 S/P lamp chimney (clear/lead; painted; red; floral design; gilded; flared base; round; approximately 2 3/8" diameter base; sheared and ground base)
- A-128 S food jar (clear; molded; round; machine made?; ledge for receiving lid; approximately 5" diameter lip)
- A-129 S olive oil bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 2" diameter base) [same style as Vessel A-97]
- A-130 S indeterminate bottle (clear; molded; round; 2" diameter base)
- A-131 S small bowl/serving vessel (painted; blue; red glaze; whiteware; small rim fragment) [reminiscent of majolica?]
- A-132 S/P whiskey flask (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Irregular Polygon base; 1 5/8" x 2 3/4" base; improved tool Double Ring or Oil lip finish; Coffin shape)
- A-133 S stemware (clear; molded; fluted stem; 3" diameter base)
- A-134 P saucer (undecorated; whiteware; 6" diameter rim; backstamp "ROYA[L] / WARRANTED BEST ... / H..."; heavy bodied)
- A-135 S small serving bowl (undecorated; oval; whiteware; 7" diameter rim)
- A-136 S jar/bowl (undecorated; redware; hand turned; small rim only)
- A-137 S stemware (clear; molded; round stem with knob in center; small body) [cordial glass?]
- A-138 S/P chimney thimble (unglazed; red paste earthenware; hand turned; approximately 8" diameter rim and base; folded rim; cut/trimmed base)
- A-139 S plate (edge decorated; blue; whiteware)
- A-140 S plate (printed; blue; unidentified floral pattern; whiteware; cut base fragment only)
- A-141 S crockery jar/bowl (salt-glazed; stoneware; hand turned; 7" diameter base)
- A-142 S small bowl (undecorated; redware; hand turned; approximately 6-7" diameter rim; thinly potted) [refined tableware; probably locally made; Ebey Pottery]
- A-143 S plate (edge decorated; blue; scalloped edge; whiteware/pearlware; small rim fragment only)
- A-144 S saucer (sponge decorated; red; whiteware; 6" diameter rim)
- A-145 S cup (painted; polychrome; whiteware/pearlware; handle only; 1/4" wide handle)
- A-146 S/P saucer (painted; polychrome; large floral; whiteware; 6" diameter rim)

- A-147 P proprietary medicine bottle (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 5/8" diameter base; lip missing; single indented panel embossed "H. G. O. CARY")
- A-148 P homeopathic vial (clear; molded; round; 1/2" diameter base; 3" tall; Narrow Packer lip finish)
- A-149 P medicine bottle (aqua; molded; improved tool Patent lip finish; Godfrey Cordial style tapered body)
- A-150 S lamp chimney (clear/lead; crimped; straight base; round; approximately 2 1/4-2 3/4" diameter base; 2 1/2 petals per inch)
- A-151 S tumbler/drinking glass (clear; molded; beaded/floral pattern; approximately 3" diameter lip)
- A-152 S saucer (undecorated; whiteware; 6" diameter rim) [thinly potted; early]
- A-153 S plate (relief decorated; indeterminate Gothic pattern; multi-sided; whiteware)
- A-154 S waster bowl (slip decorated; yellowware; approximately 6-7" diameter rim)
- A-155 S/P wine bottle (dark green/black; dip molded; round; 3" diameter body; body/neck only) [Potentially same as Vessel A-47]
- A-156 S stopper (clear; molded; round; 3/4" x 1/2")
- A-157 S indeterminate hollowware (undecorated; whiteware; approximately 4 1/4" diameter base; backstamp "BU... / B..."; heavy bodied) [chamber pot?]
- A-158 S saucer (printed; dark blue; scroll pattern; whiteware/pearlware; small rim fragment only)
- A-159 P jelly glass/tumbler (clear; molded; round; 1 3/4" diameter base; 3" diameter lip; ledge for receiving lid)
- A-160 P small tumbler (clear; molded; fluted; six -sided; 1 3/4" diameter base; 2 1/2" diameter lip; 2 7/8" tall)
- A-161 S vial (aqua; probably hand blown; 7/8" diameter; fragile lip finish)
- A-162 P alcohol bottle (?) (aqua; 2-piece mold; 2 3/4" diameter base; 7 3/4" tall; applied tool Brandy lip finish)
- A-163 S/P whiskey flask (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Oval base; 1 3/8" x approximately 2" base; Picnic flask shape; missing lip finish and neck)
- A-164 S plate (printed; blue; painted highlights; red; 4-5" diameter base)
- A-165 S plate (printed; blue; SIRIUS Pattern; whiteware; 9" diameter rim)
- A-166 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; 2" diameter base)
- A-167 S indeterminate hollowware vessel (clear; molded; handle only; 3/4" wide handle)
- A-168 P salve jar (clear; molded; round; 1 1/2" diameter base; improved tool Bead lip finish; embossed "[C]HESEBROUGH / [N]E[W Y]ORK") [Vaseline]
- A-169 S tumbler/drinking glass (clear; molded; round; fluted; 3-3 1/4" diameter lip)
- A-170 S whiskey flask (clear; molded; Oval base; Picnic flask shape)
- A-171 S/P lamp or compote base (clear; molded; round; unidentified pattern with reversed arch around base and light stippling; approximately 6" diameter)
- A-172 S indeterminate medicine bottle (clear; molded; indeterminate base shape and size)
- A-173 P pill bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; French Square base; 3/4" x 3/4" base; 2 1/8" tall; improved tool Prescription lip finish)
- A-174 number not assigned [toy jug (salt-glazed; cobalt blue decorated; stoneware; hand turned; 1 3/8" diameter base; early ovoid shape); toys were not assigned vessel numbers]



- A-175 S saucer (sponge decorated; red; painted; blue lined; whiteware; 6" diameter rim)
- A-176 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; 3 1/4" diameter rim; straight sided)
- A-177 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; 5" diameter base; heavy bodied)
- A-178 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; molded; folded to interior lip finish)
- A-179 S mug/tableware bowl (?) (manganese glazed; redware; hand turned; small rim fragments) [probably Philadelphia black-glazed redware tablewares]
- A-180 number not assigned
- A-181 S serving bowl (?) (relief decorated; scalloped edge; whiteware; rim fragment only)
- A-182 S saucer (printed; polychrome red/green; small floral; embossed rim; whiteware; small rim fragment)
- A-183 S plate (edge decorated, blue, whiteware/pearlware; small rim fragment only)
- A-184 S plate/small plate ? (edge decorated, blue, whiteware; small rim fragment only)
- A-185 number not assigned
- A-186 S small bowl (undecorated; redware; hand turned; approximately 6-7" diameter rim; thinly potted) [refined tableware, probably locally made; Ebey Pottery; similar to Vessel A-142]
- A-187 S saucer ? (transfer print; purple; unidentified pattern; whiteware; very small rim sherd)
- A-188 S cup (undecorated; porcelain; small handle fragment only)
- A-189 S serving vessel (undecorated; porcelain; reticulated basket; small rim fragment only)
- A-190 S cup plate (clear/lead; pressed; Lacy-period design; small scalloped edge; potentially ARCHED LEAF Pattern; small rim fragment only) (Lee 1931: 241, Plate 73).
- A-191 S small serving bowl (clear/lead; pressed; Lacy-period design; beaded rim; round; small rim fragment only)
- A-192 S small jug (redware; hand turned; heavily over-fired and/or burned in firing with most of exterior glaze burned off; rounded should; small shoulder fragment only) [probably locally produced Ebey/Brunk wares]
- A-193 S chamber pot (undecorated; cc-ware/pearlware; heavily fragmented into small pieces)
- A-194 S plate/platter (undecorated; whiteware; heavy bodied "Hotel Ware"; burned) [Was Vessel A-3B]
- A-195 S crockery jar/bowl (Bristol glazed; stoneware; burned?; very small fragment of base) [Was Vessel A-3C]

**Appendix IIIB:  
Vessels By Context and Function, House A**

<u>Vessel Number</u>	<u>Artifact: Primary or Secondary</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Functional Category</u>	<u>Lot No.</u>	<u>Context: Primary or Secondary</u>
71	S	plate	1.1	89	Post Fire
35	S	large mug	1.2	12	Post Fire
70	S	cup	1.2	89	Post Fire
72	S	jar/bowl	2.1	89	Post Fire
68	P	condiment bottle	2.22	89	Post Fire
69	P	beer bottle	4.11	89	Post Fire
38	P	salve/cold cream jar	4.33	16	Post Fire
36	S	ashtray	6.1	12	Post Fire
37	S	hydrogen peroxide bottle	6.2	16	Post Fire
3	S	plate	1.1	7	Fire
194	S	plate/platter	1.1	7	Fire
2	P	pitcher	1.2	7	Fire
8	P	jelly glass/tumbler	1.2	7	Fire
9	S/P	tumbler	1.2	7	Fire
12	P	cup	1.2	8	Fire
195	S	crockery jar	2.1	9	Fire
10	S	canning jar	2.21	7	Fire
13	P	prescription medicine bottle	4.21	8	Fire
5	P	medicine bottle	4.23	7	Fire
1	P	wash basin	6.1	7	Fire
4	P	small flower pot	6.1	7	Fire
11	S	flower pot	6.1	7	Fire
14	S	large bowl/wash basin	6.1	8	Fire
15	P	vase	6.1	9	Fire
6	S/P	indeterminate bottle	9	7	Fire
7	P	medicine/chemical bottle	9	7	Fire
16	S	small platter	1.1	1	Late Pre
22	S	small plate	1.1	3	Late Pre
41	S/P	small plate	1.1	13	Late Pre
42	S	small platter	1.1	13	Late Pre
45	S	plate	1.1	15	Late Pre
49	S	plate	1.1	20	Late Pre
63	S	plate	1.1	26	Late Pre
64	S	plate	1.1	26	Late Pre
80	S	serving vessel	1.1	35	Late Pre
83	S	plate	1.1	28	Late Pre
88	S	plate	1.1	69	Late Pre
89	S	plate	1.1	69	Late Pre
90	S	serving bowl	1.1	69	Late Pre
91	S/P	serving bowl	1.1	69	Late Pre
92	S	plate	1.1	69	Late Pre
102	S	plate	1.1	77	Late Pre
108	S	small plate	1.1	77	Late Pre
109	S	plate	1.1	77	Late Pre
113	S	serving bowl	1.1	53	Late Pre
118	S	serving bowl	1.1	78	Late Pre
125	P	small plate	1.1	90	Late Pre
131	S	small bowl/serving vessel	1.1	90	Late Pre
135	S	small serving bowl	1.1	53	Late Pre
21	S	cup	1.2	3	Late Pre
26	S	cup	1.2	6	Late Pre

44	S	saucer	1.2	15	Late Pre
46	S	cup	1.2	15	Late Pre
78	S	tumbler	1.2	34	Late Pre
85	S	saucer	1.2	68	Late Pre
87	S	cup	1.2	69	Late Pre
94	S	cup	1.2	69	Late Pre
103	S	saucer	1.2	77	Late Pre
104	S	cup	1.2	77	Late Pre
106	S	saucer	1.2	77	Late Pre
107	S	saucer	1.2	77	Late Pre
111	S/P	stemware	1.2	77	Late Pre
112	S	cup	1.2	53	Late Pre
114	S	cup	1.2	77	Late Pre
119	S	tumbler	1.2	79	Late Pre
124	P	cup	1.2	90	Late Pre
126	P	saucer	1.2	90	Late Pre
133	S	stemware	1.2	92	Late Pre
134	P	saucer	1.2	53	Late Pre
43	S	bowl/jar	2.1	15	Late Pre
48	S	large bowl	2.1	20	Late Pre
186	S	bowl	2.1	69	Late Pre
18	S	large bottle/demi-john	2.21	1	Late Pre
79	S	canning jar	2.21	34	Late Pre
116	S	canning jar lid liner	2.21	77	Late Pre
52	P	milk bottle	2.22	23	Late Pre
55	P	flavoring/extract bottle	2.22	24	Late Pre
96	P	olive oil bottle	2.22	90	Late Pre
100	P	condiment bottle	2.22	77	Late Pre
128	S	food jar	2.22	90	Late Pre
129	S	olive oil bottle	2.22	90	Late Pre
47	S	wine bottle	4.11	17	Late Pre
51	P	wine bottle	4.11	23	Late Pre
59	P	beer bottle	4.11	24	Late Pre
60	S	liquor bottle	4.11	24	Late Pre
62	S	whiskey flask	4.11	25	Late Pre
73	P	beer bottle	4.11	49	Late Pre
77	S	whiskey flask	4.11	34	Late Pre
93	S	beer bottle	4.11	69	Late Pre
97	S/P	whiskey flask	4.11	77	Late Pre
101	S	liquor bottle	4.11	77	Late Pre
132	S/P	whiskey flask	4.11	92	Late Pre
163	S/P	whiskey flask	4.11	38	Late Pre
17	P	soda water bottle	4.12	1	Late Pre
24	S	soda water bottle	4.12	3	Late Pre
40	P	soda water bottle	4.12	11	Late Pre
58	P	soda water bottle	4.12	24	Late Pre
74	S	soda water bottle	4.12	50	Late Pre
115	S	soda water bottle	4.12	77	Late Pre
57	P	prescription medicine bottle	4.21	24	Late Pre
95	S	shot/dosage glass	4.21	76	Late Pre
110	P	prescription medicine bottle	4.21	77	Late Pre
23	P	vial/pill bottle	4.22	3	Late Pre
39	P	proprietary medicine bottle	4.22	10	Late Pre
56	P	proprietary medicine bottle	4.22	24	Late Pre
98	S	proprietary medicine bottle	4.22	77	Late Pre
105	P	proprietary medicine bottle	4.22	77	Late Pre

123	P	proprietary medicine bottle	4.22	90	Late Pre
75	S	medicine bottle	4.23	50	Late Pre
76	S	homeopathic vial	4.23	34	Late Pre
82	P	vial/pill bottle	4.23	36	Late Pre
99	S	medicine bottle	4.23	76	Late Pre
122	P	homeopathic vial	4.23	90	Late Pre
53	P	salve/cold cream jar	4.33	23	Late Pre
54	P	salve/cold cream jar	4.33	23	Late Pre
168	P	salve jar	4.33	77	Late Pre
20	S/P	lamp chimney	6.1	1	Late Pre
25	S	lamp chimney	6.1	3	Late Pre
61	P	lamp font	6.1	24	Late Pre
81	S	flower pot	6.1	35	Late Pre
84	P	lamp chimney	6.1	68	Late Pre
86	P	lamp chimney	6.1	92	Late Pre
121	S/P	lamp font	6.1	90	Late Pre
127	S/P	lamp chimney	6.1	90	Late Pre
19	S	indeterminate pedestaled vessel	9	1	Late Pre
117	S	indeterminate bottle	9	77	Late Pre
130	S	indeterminate bottle	9	28	Late Pre
27	S	plate	1.1	2	Early Pre
28	S	plate	1.1	2	Early Pre
50	S	serving bowl	1.1	22	Early Pre
65	S	plate	1.1	27	Early Pre
139	S	plate	1.1	60	Mid Pre
140	S	plate	1.1	60	Mid Pre
143	S	plate	1.1	70	Mid Pre
153	S	plate	1.1	81	Mid Pre
154	S	waster bowl	1.1	81	Mid Pre
157	S	indeterminate hollowware	1.1	83	Mid Pre
164	S	plate	1.1	45	Early/Mid Pre
165	S	plate	1.1	59	Early Pre
167	S	indeterminate hollowware	1.1	85	Early Pre
177	S	plate	1.1	93	Early Pre
181	S	serving bowl	1.1	28	Early/Mid Pre
183	S	plate	1.1	28	Early/Mid Pre
184	S	plate/small plate	1.1	46	Early/Mid Pre
189	S	serving vessel	1.1	83	Mid Pre
191	S	small serving bowl	1.1	80	Mid Pre
29	S	cup	1.2	2	Early Pre
30	S	saucer	1.2	2	Early Pre
31	S	cup	1.2	2	Early Pre
32	S	saucer	1.2	2	Early Pre
33	S	cup	1.2	2	Early Pre
66	S	cup	1.2	27	Early Pre
120	S	saucer	1.2	39	Mid Pre
137	S	stemware	1.2	39	Mid Pre
144	S	saucer	1.2	70	Mid Pre
145	S	cup	1.2	70	Mid Pre
146	S/P	saucer	1.2	80	Mid Pre
151	S	tumbler/drinking glass	1.2	81	Mid Pre
152	S	saucer	1.2	81	Mid Pre
158	S	saucer	1.2	59	Early Pre
159	P	jelly glass/tumbler	1.2	83	Mid Pre
160	P	small tumbler	1.2	80	Mid Pre



166	S	cup	1.2	85	Early Pre
169	S	tumbler/drinking glass	1.2	93	Early Pre
175	S	saucer	1.2	93	Early Pre
176	S	cup	1.2	93	Early Pre
182	S	saucer	1.2	28	Early/Mid Pre
187	S	saucer	1.2	81	Mid Pre
188	S	cup	1.2	81	Mid Pre
190	S	cup plate	1.2	70	Mid Pre
34	S	small mixing bowl	2.1	2	Early Pre
67	P	bowl/jar	2.1	27	Early Pre
136	S	jar/bowl	2.1	39	Mid Pre
141	S	crockery jar/bowl	2.1	70	Mid Pre
142	S	bowl	2.1	70	Mid Pre
192	S	small jug	2.21	70	Mid Pre
155	S/P	wine bottle	4.11	70	Mid Pre
162	P	alcohol bottle	4.11	84	Mid Pre
170	S	whiskey flask	4.11	93	Early Pre
147	P	proprietary medicine bottle	4.22	80	Mid Pre
148	P	homeopathic vial	4.23	80	Mid Pre
149	P	medicine bottle	4.23	80	Mid Pre
161	S	vial	4.23	83	Mid Pre
173	P	pill bottle	4.23	93	Early Pre
172	S	indeterminate medicine bottle	4.24	93	Early Pre
150	S	lamp chimney	6.1	80	Mid Pre
193	S	chamber pot	6.1	70	Mid Pre
138	S/P	chimney thimble	8	32	Early Pre
156	S	stopper	9	81	Mid Pre
171	S/P	lamp or compote base	9	93	Early Pre
178	S	indeterminate bottle	9	94	Early Pre
179	S	mug/tableware bowl	9	94	Early Pre
174		not assigned			
180		not assigned			
185		not assigned			

**Appendix IV**  
**Faunal Assemblage, House A**  
**(Martin 2023)**

**Table IV-1  
Total Faunal Assemblage From House A (Number of Identified Specimens and Minimum Number of Individual) (Martin 2023).**

	NISP	MNI	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass (kg)	NISP Sawed	NISP Burned or calcined
CLASS: MAMMALS						
Eastern Cottontail, <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	25	5	15.5	.340	-	-
Norway Rat, <i>Rattus norvegicus</i>	149	9	19.3	-	-	-
Domestic Dog, <i>Canis lupus familiaris</i>	1	1	2.2	-	-	-
Domestic Cat, <i>Felis catus</i>	1	1	2.7	-	-	-
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	108	8	710.5	11.356	12	1
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	55	4	951.3	14.742	37	-
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	4	2	30.6	.612	1	-
Sheep/Goat, <i>Ovis/Capra</i>	13	1	59.8	1.130	2	-
<i>Subtotals, identified mammals</i>	<i>356</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>1,791.9</i>	<i>28.180</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>1</i>
Unidentified very large mammal	14	-	80.1	1.512	7	-
Unidentified large mammal	258	-	291.5	4.975	62	23
Unidentified medium-sized/large mammal	121	-	79.9	1.464	1	18
Unidentified medium-sized mammal	18	-	7.6	.177	-	1
Unidentified small/medium-sized mammal	1	-	.7	.019	-	1
<i>Subtotals, unidentified mammals</i>	<i>412</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>459.8</i>	<i>8.147</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>43</i>
CLASS: BIRDS						
Domestic Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	77	9	66.5	1.042	-	-
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	2	2	3.3	.061	-	-
Rock Dove, <i>Columba livia</i>	2	1	.6	.013	-	-
<i>Subtotals, identified birds</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>70.4</i>	<i>1.116</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
Unidentified large bird	1	-	.7	.015	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized/large bird	2	-	2.3	.045	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized bird	28	-	8.1	.151	-	-
<i>Subtotals, unidentified birds</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>11.1</i>	<i>.211</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATES	4	-	.5	-	-	-
CLASS: GASTROPODS						
Grand totals	885	44	2,333.9	37.654	122	44
Totals, identified	437	43	1,862.3	29.296	52	1
% identified	49.4		79.8	77.8		

**Table IV-2  
Number of Specimens (NSP) and Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) for Animal Remains From House A by Temporal Component (Martin 2023)**

Temporal Component	NSP	NSP Wt (g)	NISP	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass Estimate from NISP (kg)
Early Pre-Fire	164	409.5	48	303.2	4.959
Middle Pre-Fire	406	762.5	259	598.7	8.918
Late Pre-Fire	234	644.0	78	498.4	7.786
Fire	68	422.4	44	372.5	4.959
Post-Fire	3	11.7	3	11.7	.241
Unknown	10	83.8	5	77.8	1.324
Totals	885	2,333.9	437	1,862.3	28.187

**TableIV-3**  
**Faunal Assemblage From House A By Component (Number of Identified Specimens and**  
**Minimum Number of Individual),**  
**Early Pre-Fire, Middle Pre-Fire, and Late Pre-Fire Components (Martin 2023).**

Animal Taxon	Early Pre-Fire			Middle Pre-Fire			Late Pre-Fire		
	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass (kg)	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass (kg)	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass (kg)
CLASS: MAMMALS									
Eastern Cottontail, <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	2/1	1.7	.042	13/2	9.4	.198	10/2	4.4	.100
Norway Rat, <i>Rattus norvegicus</i>	5/1	1.2	-	141/8	16.9	-	3/1	1.2	-
Domestic Dog, <i>Canis lupus familiaris</i>	-	-	-	1/1	2.2	-	-	-	-
Domestic Cat, <i>Felis catus</i>	-	-	-	1/1	2.7	-	-	-	-
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	19/2	103.1	1.706	44/1	199.9	3.096	34/2	231.8	3.537
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	9/1	167.4	2.639	22/1	323.9	4.779	15/1	224.0	3.429
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	2/1	18.9	.371	-	-	-	2/1	11.7	.241
Sheep/Goat, <i>Ovis/Capra</i>	1/-	2.3	.056	8/1	39.6	.721	4/-	17.9	.353
<i>Subtotals, identified mammals</i>	<i>38/6</i>	<i>294.6</i>	<i>4.814</i>	<i>230/15</i>	<i>594.6</i>	<i>8.794</i>	<i>68/7</i>	<i>491.0</i>	<i>7.660</i>
Unidentified very large mammal	-	-	-	4/-	24.2	.463	5/-	37.2	.682
Unidentified large mammal	15/-	43.3	.781	98/-	114.6	1.876	123/-	96.8	1.612
Unidentified medium-sized/large mammal	79/-	57.5	1.009	35/-	17.9	.353	7/-	4.5	.102
Unidentified medium-sized mammal	5/-	.8	.022	1/-	1.3	.033	12/-	5.5	.122
Unidentified small/medium-sized mammal	1/-	.7	.019	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, unidentified mammals</i>	<i>100/-</i>	<i>102.3</i>	<i>1.831</i>	<i>138/-</i>	<i>158.0</i>	<i>2.724</i>	<i>147/-</i>	<i>144.0</i>	<i>2.518</i>
CLASS: BIRDS									
Domestic Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	10/3	8.6	.145	25/3	22.2	.343	10/2	7.4	.126
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	-	-	-	2/2	3.3	.061	-	-	-
Rock Dove, <i>Columba livia</i>	-	-	-	2/1	.6	.013	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, identified birds</i>	<i>10/3</i>	<i>8.6</i>	<i>.145</i>	<i>29/6</i>	<i>26.1</i>	<i>.417</i>	<i>10/2</i>	<i>7.4</i>	<i>.126</i>
Unidentified large bird	-	-	-	1/-	.7	.015	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized/large bird	-	-	-	1/-	2.1	.040	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized bird	13/-	3.6	.065	7/-	3.0	.055	7/-	1.3	.026
<i>Subtotals, unidentified birds</i>	<i>13/-</i>	<i>3.6</i>	<i>.065</i>	<i>9/-</i>	<i>5.8</i>	<i>.110</i>	<i>7/-</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>.026</i>
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATES	2/-	.2	-	-	-	-	2/-	.3	-
CLASS: GASTROPODS	1/1	.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand totals	164/10	409.1	6.855	406/21	784.5	12.045	234/9	644.0	10.330
Totals, identified	48/9	303.2	4.959	259/21	620.7	9.211	78/9	498.4	7.786
% identified	29.3	74.2	72.3	63.8	79.1	76.5	33.3	77.4	75.4



**TableIV-4**  
**Faunal Assemblage From House A By Component (Number of Identified Specimens and**  
**Minimum Number of Individual),**  
**Fire, Post Fire, and Unknown Components (Martin 2023).**

Animal Taxon	Fire			Post-Fire?			Unknown Period		
	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass (kg)	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass (kg)	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass (kg)
CLASS: MAMMALS									
Eastern Cottontail, <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Norway Rat, <i>Rattus norvegicus</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Domestic Dog, <i>Canis lupus familiaris</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Domestic Cat, <i>Felis catus</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	3/1	86.2	1.452	3/1	11.7	.241	5/(1)	77.8	1.324
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	9/1	258.0	3.895	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sheep/Goat, <i>Ovis/Capra</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, identified mammals</i>	12/2	344.2	5.347	3/1	11.7	.241	5/(1)	77.8	1.324
Unidentified very large mammal	5/-	18.7	.367	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified large mammal	18/-	31.0	.578	-	-	-	4/-	5.8	.128
Unidentified medium-sized/large mammal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized mammal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified small/medium-sized mammal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, unidentified mammals</i>	23/-	49.7	.945	-	-	-	4/-	5.8	.128
CLASS: BIRDS									
Domestic Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	32/1	28.3	.428	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rock Dove, <i>Columba livia</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, identified birds</i>	32/1	28.3	.428	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified large bird	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized/large bird	1/-	.2	.005	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized bird	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/-	.2	.005
<i>Subtotals, unidentified birds</i>	1/-	.2	.005	-	-	-	1/-	.2	.005
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CLASS: GASTROPODS									
Grand totals	68/3	422.4	6.725	3/1	11.7	.241	10/(1)	83.8	1.457
Totals, identified	44/3	372.5	4.959	3/1	11.7	.241	5/(1)	77.8	1.324
% identified	64.7	88.2	85.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	92.8	90.9

**TableIV-5**  
**Butchering Units (MISP) of Swine, Cattle, and Ovicaprids (Sheep or Goat), House A**  
**(Martin 2023).**

	Early Pre-Fire	Middle Pre-Fire	Late Pre-Fire	Fire	Post-Fire?	Unknown Period	Totals for House A
<b>SWINE</b>							
<b>High value pork cuts</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>40</b>
Ham	5	4	3	2	-	1	15
Loin	5	7	8	-	3	2	25
<b>Middle value pork cuts</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>26</b>
Shoulder/Boston butt	1	4	4	-	-	-	9
Picnic shoulder	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
Spare ribs	1	8	3	-	-	1	13
<b>Low value pork cuts</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>43</b>
Hock	1	1	3	-	-	1	6
Foot	1	8	7	-	-	-	16
Snout	-	4	-	-	-	-	4
Jowl	1	1	-	1	1	-	4
Isolated teeth	4	7	2	-	-	-	13
Total NISP	19	44	34	3	3	5	108
<b>CATTLE</b>							
<b>High value beef cuts</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>12</b>
Short loin	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Round	1	3	1	-	-	-	5
Rump	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
<b>Middle value beef cuts</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>10</b>
Chuck	2	3	2	1	-	-	8
Arm	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
<b>Low value beef cuts</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>31</b>
Cross ribs/short ribs	2	10	1	1	-	-	14
Chuck/ribs	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
Brisket/short plate	1	-	1	4	-	-	6
Neck	-	2	-	1	-	-	3
Front shank	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
Hind shank	1	1	-	1	-	-	3
Indeterminate cuts	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Butchering waste							
Feet (carpals-phalanges)	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total NISP	9	22	15	9	-	-	55
<b>SHEEP OR GOAT</b>							
Neck	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Shoulder	-	1	2	-	-	-	3
Shank (leg-shank)	1	-	2	-	-	-	3
Rack/Rib (short/hotel rack)	1	4	1	-	-	-	6
Leg (leg-butt)	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
Total NISP	3	8	6	-	-	-	17

## Appendix V

### **The Brutal Beatings of Two Elderly Black Men (Harrison West and William Smith, Sr.), and the Heroic Efforts of the Sisters of St. Johns Hospital**

Floyd Mansberger  
and  
Christopher Stratton

On the late evening of August 14, 1908, an invalid Black man named Will Smith was savagely dragged from his house at 301 North Tenth Street (House A), ferociously beaten, tied to a telegraph pole along Madison Street, and left for dead—solely because of the color of his skin. That man’s name was William Smith. Eventually, concerned bystanders intervened and were able to remove Smith to safety. History—*his* story—has all but been lost to the past, if not for the resurrected voice given to him by the power of archaeology. A second individual named Harrison West was also severely beaten at the same time and location. This event was featured in contemporary newspaper accounts and also is recounted in Roberta Senechal’s *The Sociogenesis of a Race Riot: Springfield, Illinois, in 1908* (Senechal 1990:37-38; see also Landis 2002, Merritt 2008).

The small frame house at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Streets (eventually identified as 301 North Tenth Street) was probably constructed by, or for, John Meyers (Mayers) sometime between 1842 and 1848 (possibly during the earlier part of this timeframe). Unfortunately, little is known about John Meyers and his family, other than he may have come to Springfield from nearby Logan County. Beginning in 1848, and continuing through circa 1882-83, the house became the family home of Peter Westenberger. Westenberger, a German immigrant recently arrived in Springfield by way of St. Louis, was a cabinet maker by trade who plied his trade from a workshop located on the rear of the property. Although Peter died in 1869, his widow Eva remained living in the family home, often with extended family members (such as her daughter’s family) through circa 1882-83.<sup>1</sup> Archival evidence suggests that Eva took in boarders during the later years of her occupation of House A (later 1870 and very early 1880s). In the later years of the nineteenth century (circa 1885-1895), the home remained in the Westenberger family’s ownership and was utilized as a rental property. During the initial years as a tenant-occupied dwelling under the Westenberger siblings’ management, the house may have been used in a commercial manner as a “house of ill fame,” or “resort” (variously known as “Dan Sutton’s Ranch,” the “Lynch Resort,” and “Malinda Reed’s negro house of ill fame”). Beginning in 1896, Gerhardt Westenberger began purchasing his siblings’ interest in the property, and by 1897 he had acquired four-fifths ownership in the rental property. He did not acquire the final 1/5 interest in the property from his sister until April 1901. During the later 1890s, after Gerhardt Westenberger had consolidated ownership of the property (post 1897), the house appears to have been used in a more mainstream manner as a tenant house with at least

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<sup>1</sup> During her later years, Eva lived with her son (George), and the family home at 301 North Tenth Street was used as rental income property. Eva died in March 1894.

two rental units. Although it is unclear as to when the house was formally divided into multiple rental units, city directories suggest that this may have occurred during the 1890s (or earlier). After 1883, the tenants primarily were Black and their periods of occupancy generally of short duration (see detailed discussion of House A archival research).

Immediately prior to the riots, the *Illinois State Register* published a list of registered voters residing in Springfield immediately prior to the spring 1907 elections (*Illinois State Register*, 24 March 1907). At that time, only a single registered voter—W. N. Smith—was listed as residing at 301 North Tenth Street (House A). William N. Smith was the son of Isaac and Elizabeth Smith (House E) and not the individual suspected as living in House A. This suggests one of two possibilities: 1) that inclusion of the middle initial “N” was in error and the elder Black individual beaten during the riots named William Smith was a registered voter, or 2) the newspaper listing of registered voters incorrectly listed William N. Smith’s address.<sup>2</sup> The *Springfield City Directory*, for 1908 indicates both William Smith (laborer) and William Smith, Jr. (with no listed occupation) as residents of 301 North Tenth Street. Both individuals were listed as “colored.”

On the evening of August 14, 1908, racial tensions in Springfield, Illinois ignited, in part due to the allegations of a white woman (which were later recanted) that she had been assaulted by a Black man. A large, vengeful crowd gathered at the Sangamon County Jail demanding justice. Fearing trouble, the sheriff had secretly whisked the prisoner out of the jail and to the safety of a nearby town. Hearing such, the white crowd erupted into violence, leading to two days of rioting during which two Black men were lynched, many downtown businesses and homes in the city were destroyed, and five white men died from wounds received during the riots. Many other residents (both Black and white) were injured during the event. One residential neighborhood in particular—referred to by the contemporary press as the “Badlands”—was the locale where much of the violence occurred at the hands of the mob. With quick action by the authorities, the National Guard was mobilized, crowds were dispersed, and order was again returned to the streets of Springfield.<sup>3</sup>

The house at 301 North Tenth Street (House A) was within the heart of the area burned-out by the rioters. Late in the evening of August 14, 1908, the unruly white mob egged on by Kate Howard wreaked havoc at the Tenth and Madison Street intersection, destroying multiple houses and at least one commercial building along this stretch of Madison and North Tenth Streets. The mob initially ransacked the Black commercial district along East Washington Street (known as the Levee), turned north along Ninth Street destroying Scott Burton’s barber shop, and proceeded to Madison Street (and the “Red Light District” known as the Badlands). At Madison Street, the mob turned east and began a major rampage of destruction. It was at Tenth and Madison Street that some of the worst of the destruction occurred. Among the houses at this

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<sup>2</sup> Neither the 1907 or 1908 *Springfield City Directories* listed a William N. Smith. The 1906 *Springfield City Directory* indicates William N. Smith as a brakeman residing at 555 West Mason Street.

<sup>3</sup> Soon after this horrific weekend of violence, and incensed by the fact that this event had taken place in the hometown of the Great Emancipator Abraham Lincoln, a prominent group of social reformers came together in February 1909 and formed the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (NAACP).



location was that at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Streets, identified at that time as 301 North Tenth Street (House A).

The archival record and physical remains suggest the house, which was owned by George Westenberger at the time and occupied by tenants, was thoroughly destroyed by fire during the riot. A panoramic photograph taken of the north side of Madison Street presumably the day after the destruction of the houses illustrates the remnant chimney of House A, and a substantial billboard stretching across nearly the entire backyard of the property (facing Madison Street). It is no surprise that one of the prominent advertisements on this billboard was for G. Westenberger's furniture store.<sup>4</sup>

As horrific as the destruction of these buildings was that hot August evening, one of the more egregious acts perpetuated by this mob was the brutal, near death beating of two elderly Black men—both of whom may have been occupants of House A. As Senechal (1990:37) notes that “several Badlands blacks who lived alone and were too ill or old to escape fell prey to the mob.” The following discussion details the plight of those individuals from House A who were unfortunate to have been overtaken by this mob.

### Harrison West

The day following the riots, the *Illinois State Journal* listed Harrison West among the tabulation of injured individuals as “negro, Tenth and Madison streets; badly beaten by mob” (“CASUALTIES,” *Illinois State Journal*, 15 August 1908, p. 1). Unlike all the others listed in this tabulation, the newspaper also carried a separate one-paragraph headlined story entitled “NEGRO BEATEN IN HIS HOME. Harrison West, Living Alone, Is Attacked By Mob,” *Illinois State Journal*, 15 August 1908, p. 5). This story stated:

Harrison West, 65 years old, colored, who has been living by himself at Tenth and Madison streets since he came to this city thirty years ago, was attacked by a mob and badly beaten over the head with a club before he was rescued by police. He was taken to the police station.

Why a gravely injured individual would have been taken to the police station as opposed to the hospital—which was closer than the police station from the location of the attack—is unimaginable. The only residence at the Tenth and Madison Street location was that dwelling situated at the northwest corner of the intersection. As such, it would appear that West may also have been living in the residence at 301 North Tenth Street (House A).

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<sup>4</sup> Prominently located on the western end of this billboard were three identical placards promoting the appearance of John C. Weber and his band performing at the White City amusement park on East Capitol Avenue in Springfield the week of the riots. Similar broadsides were posted on many of the burned houses in the district. The aftermath of the riot was a sightseeing extravaganza that brought many individuals to downtown Springfield. Photographic souvenir books and postcards of the burned out properties and National Guardsmen on the streets of Springfield were almost instantaneously produced for sale to tourists and sightseers. Placement of these broadsides on the burned-out houses was an opportunistic advertising strategy conducted by Weber's promoters.

Newspaper account suggests that West arrived in Springfield “about thirty years ago,” which would suggest a later 1880s date of arrival in the Capitol City. A search of the Springfield city directories did not uncover one reference to his name.<sup>5</sup> A search of local newspapers was slightly better and returned a couple references pertaining to one Harrison West. The earliest of the newspaper accounts is from 1898, which notes that Harrison West and Annie Simpson were arrested in September 1898 for “living together in an unlawful manner.” Harrison (a Black man) and Simpson (a white woman) were taken into custody and charged with adultery while at their residence “on Tenth Street between Madison and Mason Streets” (“Violated Seventh Commandment,” *Illinois State Register*, 19 September 1898, pl. 7). A couple days later, the charges were dismissed and the couple was released from jail (*Illinois State Journal*, 21 September 1898, p. 7). Although this location “between Madison and Mason streets” would suggest that their residence at that time was not at the 301 North Tenth Street location (House A), it places the couple within the immediate neighborhood and only a house or two away from House A. West was arrested again in early 1902 on a warrant filed by Elza Woods, who claimed West “used adjectives unbecoming a gentleman in her presence” (*Illinois State Register*, 23 March 1902, p. 6).

Harrison West was enumerated within the 1900 U.S. Census of Population, which indicates that the 54-year-old West was born in Missouri, and was living with the 28-year-old Swedish-born Alma Samson, a White servant at 1024 East Mason Street (immediately around the corner from the project area). The relationship between West and Samson is unknown. West’s occupation was listed at that time as brick mason. Born in August 1845, West would have been 68 years old at the time of the riots. Although potentially residing at 301 North Tenth Street in August 1908, his residence location at the time of the riots has not been verified with any assurance.

Approximately two weeks after the riots, Harrison West was arrested for abnormal behavior at a location just south of the Tenth Street project area. On August 28, 1908, The *Illinois State Journal* reported that:

His mind believed to have become unbalanced by the race riots while his feeble intellect sought to devise some way to rebuild the burned homes of the blacks. Harrison West, an aged negro was found early yesterday morning removing lumber from the yards of Shuck [sic] & Son at Tenth and Jefferson streets.

When discovered... the aged negro had thrown nearly a half carload of lumber over the fence surrounding the company’s yards onto the Wabash right of way. To the officer, Wes explained that he was going to rebuild all the burned homes in the east end. The officer thought best to take the old negro to the station until the lumber company gave its consent for the removal of its property.

West was attired in nothing but a shirt and a lot of perspiration when taken from the lumber yard. It is the belief of the officers that West is mentally unbalanced over the recent riots and he will be held until his sanity can be determined (“AGED NEGRO IS JAILED. Harrison West Believed To Have Lost Mind

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<sup>5</sup> His name was not located in the 1876, 1880, 1887, 1892, 1898, 1906, 1907, or 1908 directories.

Since Riot—Is Held For An Examination,” *Illinois State Journal*, 28 August 1908, p. 6)

The following day, the *Illinois State Register* wrote

Harrison West, an aged negro, was recently arrested in the Schuck & Son lumber yard, Tenth and Jefferson streets, violently insane. When found the man wore only a shirt and was busily engaged in throwing lumber over the fence onto the Wabash right of way. He is said to believe that it is his duty to rebuild all the burned houses in the colored district (“Colored Man Insane,” *Illinois State Register*, 29 August 1908, p. 5).

As illustrated by Harrison West’s plight after the riots, it was not only the physical beatings inflicted on the Black inhabitants of the neighborhood that they endured, but the psychological terror that they had to overcome as well. If anyone deserved compensation for damages for his experiences during that horrific Friday evening of August 14, 1908, it would have been the elder Harrison West. Nonetheless, no record exists suggesting that Harrison West ever filed a claim against the City for injuries received that evening. Payments to the Sangamon County Poor Farm in early 1910 suggest that Mr. West was institutionalized at that location shortly after his arrest in late August 1908 (*Illinois State Register*, 11 March 1910, p. 11). The 1910 U.S. Census of Population also indicates that West was an “inmate” of the Sangamon County Poor House in May of that year (USBC 1910). The date of West’s death is unknown, and he presumably was buried in an unmarked grave at the Poor House.

#### William Smith Sr. (and his son, William Smith, Jr.)

The day after the initial evening of riots, the *Illinois State Journal* (15 August 1908, p. 1) included one Will Smith among those injured the night before. The newspaper noted that Smith was “colored; beaten up. Employed at Wabash depot. Taken to St. John’s hospital.” That same day, the *Illinois State Register* carried a similar tabulation of the “dying” and injured, but wrote a considerably more horrific description of Smith’s condition: “William Smith, colored; tied to telegraph pole and face beaten to jelly” (*Illinois State Register*, 15 August 1908, p. 1). The following day, the *Journal* modified its listing for Smith, and wrote “Will Smith, 301 North Tenth street, colored, badly beaten around face, chest and arms” (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 August 1908, p. 2). Similarly, the *Register* modified their listing, greatly toning down their description of the severity of Smith’s beating: “Smith, William, colored; beaten; employed at Wabash depot” (*Illinois State Register*, 16 August 1908, p. 2). At the time of the second day’s tabulations, the *Journal* reported three “Dead” (Louis Johnson, John Colwell, and Scott Burton) and 80 injured, whereas the *Register* tabulated three “Dead” (Johnson, Burton, and Colwell), three “Dying” (Donnigan, Thomas Foley, and James Scott), and 59 “Injured.” Five days later, the *Illinois State Register* published a “Revised Causality List” (21 August 1908, p.9) which listed six “Dead” (Donnigan, Frank Delmor, Johnson, Burton, Colwell, and James Scott) and sixty “Injured.” The “Revised Casualty List” reiterated their earlier statement: “Smith, William, colored; beaten; employed at Wabash depot.”

The *Inter Ocean*, a Chicago newspaper reporting on the riots in Springfield, wrote that

No negro who has been attacked has been the object of more sincere pity than William Smith. 70 years old, whom the mob attempted to burn to death. Although he was suffering from paralysis of the lower limbs and was unable to get out of his chair, the rioters dragged him from his house and attempted to burn him to death. Police arrived in time to save him. He was carried away from the mob with his clothes still burning. He cannot live (*Inter Ocean*, 16 august 1908, p.2).

As with many of the details within the *Inter Ocean* article, several aspects of their story were inaccurate, including the reference to the elderly William Smith having been set on fire. It would appear that the paper may have conflated the attacks on William Smith, Sr. and William Smith, Jr., the latter of whom was seriously burned. Although both Smith's miraculously survived their ordeal, the severity of the assault led the *Inter Ocean* to state "he cannot live." In describing the attack on William Smith, Senechal (1990:37-38) noted that "In an old wood shack at the corner of Tenth and Madison Streets, the mob discovered another black invalid, William Smith, who suffered from paralysis." She continued, presumably quoting from the *Springfield News* (15 August 1908) that

Smith is a helpless cripple and has been for a long time. The mob found him in the house and pulled him out into the weeds and began to beat him unmercifully. Some of the mob wanted to save him but they were overruled.

Senechal (1990:38) also noted that Kate Howard was "allegedly active in the assault on Smith" and that "a white bystander, disgusted by the spectacle, managed to get Smith away from the crowd and carried him to safety."

St. John's Hospital was located only a block east of Smith's residence, and if not for the quick actions of a passerby who transported Smith to the hospital, and the work of the Sisters working in the hospital's emergency room that night, Smith would have perished tied to that telegraph pole that hot August evening. Sister M. Magdalene Wiedlocher was on night duty at the hospital that eventful night. Around 10pm, she "encouraged the patients to go to bed, but a number refused because they claimed that there would be terrible happenings. Soon, about a dozen men were brought into the emergency department of St. John's Hospital for treatment of gun wounds — the race riots had begun" (Wiedlocher, as cited in Gillerman 2016). Not only did the Sisters care for the injured regardless of their skin color, but they were assured that the Hospital would serve as a refuge from the violence occurring in the streets immediately outside of their doors. Additionally, firemen apparently "stood vigil on the hospital's roof to keep the flames from reaching and burning down the hospital, and it was not damaged." As Gillerman (2016) notes "the archives of the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis say that, despite the horrific violence, inside St. John's Hospital, there was some peace: 'When no more rooms were available at the hospital, patients were laid on mattresses on the floor — black and white patients lying side by side. Interestingly, once the injured entered St. John's Hospital, they set aside all prejudice, antagonism, and hatred'" (Gillrman 2016).



A couple of weeks after the riots, in discussing financial claims for liability made against the City of Springfield, the *Illinois State Register* elaborated on the plight of both William Smith Sr., and William Smith, Jr. on the night of August 14, 1908. Although the *Register* only reiterated that William Sr. had received injuries “at the hands of the mob, who caught and severely beat him,” the paper expanded on what William, Jr. had experienced that night. According to the *Register*, “William Smith, Jr., son of the above [William Smith, Sr.] was sick in bed at the time, and his house was set on fire. He was severely burned before he could be rescued from the flames. He resided at 316 North Tenth Street,” a location across the street from 301 North Tenth Street (House A) (“MOB SUFFERERS FILE BIG CLAIMS. Five Separate Suits for \$5,000 Each Filed,” *Illinois State Register*, 29 August 1908, p. 9). Based on this news account, it is easy to understand how the *Inter Ocean* conflated the injuries of William Smith, Jr. and William Smith, Sr. into a single individual. It is also worthy to note that none of the casualty lists published by the two newspapers ever report injuries to multiple William Smiths, and/or referenced William (and/or Will) Smith as a junior, or senior.

As a result of their injuries, both William Smith, Jr., and William Smith, Sr. filed Riot Claims against the City of Springfield. Unlike the numerous personal property claims filed after the riots, those filed by the two William Smiths were for bodily injury with each individual claiming the maximum \$5,000 claim. The Smith’s claims were one of only a small handful of Springfield residents that filed such claims against the City of Springfield (and included relatives of Scott Burton, William Donnigan, and John Colwell—all killed during the riots) (“MOB SUFFERERS FILE BIG CLAIMS. Five Separate Suits for \$5,000 Each Filed,” *Illinois State Register*, 29 August 1908, p. 9). The Smiths’ claims were the only major injury claims that were held valid by the courts in April 1909, but unfortunately for the Smiths, the judicial system moved forward ever-so-slowly, and it was not until 1915 that the Smiths’ claims were adjudicated. Neither William Smith Jr., nor William Smith, Sr. filed personal property claims against the City of Springfield.

Archival evidence further suggests that House A was occupied at the time of the riots by Callie and Mary Smith as well. Claims against the City of Springfield were filed in mid-September 1908 by both Callie and Mary Smith, both of whom claimed their residence at the time of the riots as 301 North Tenth Street. The date in which Callie and Mary filed their claims was the last day to file such claims with the circuit clerk. At that time, more than \$125,000 in claims had been filed against the City. Callie filed a claim of \$268.15 for personal property lost, whereas Mary claimed \$302.83 in lost property (“\$10,000 MORE IN CLAIMS Filed Against City Yesterday Because of Race Riots,” *Illinois State Register*, 13 September 1908, p. 5).<sup>6</sup> Earlier, the *Illinois State Register* (27 August 1908, p. 9) had reported that Callie Smith had filed a claim for \$138.85 for the loss of a residence at Eleventh and Madison Streets.<sup>7</sup> Such would suggest that Callie owned the residence on Eleventh Street, and although the initial perception is that the two claims are contradictory, it is possible that they were not. Although owned by Callie, the

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<sup>6</sup> A couple days later, on September 15, 1908, the *Illinois State Journal* published a similar story but incorrectly noted both Callie’s and Mary’s address as 501 North Tenth Street (“END TO FILING OF RIOT CLAIMS. LAST NOTICES OF SUITS AGAINST CITY GIVEN.” *Illinois State Journal*, 15 September 1908, p. 5).

<sup>7</sup> The *Illinois State Register* also noted that a claim had been filed by Callie Smith for \$691 in the county court for a hearing (*Illinois State Register*, 14 August 1909, p. 7).

Eleventh Street residence may have been occupied by a tenant while she was living with her family on Tenth Street. Unfortunately, there is no record that Callie had collected for the loss of the Eleventh Street residence.

Just before the riots, the 1908 *Springfield City Directory* noted both a William Smith and William Smith, Jr. as residing at 301 North Tenth Street. Whereas William, Sr. was listed as a laborer, the younger William had no occupation listed. Both individuals were listed as “colored.” Similarly, Mary Smith was listed as a boarder, without an occupation listed, at 1016 East Mason, and Callie simply as “cook Windsor Hotel.” Both Mary and Callie were noted as “colored,” as well.<sup>8</sup> At this time, 1016 East Mason Street probably was functioning as one of the more well-known brothels in Springfield.<sup>9</sup>

Based on the common surname and shared residence location, it is suspected that these two women (Callie and Mary Smith) were related to the two William Smiths (Junior and Senior). Unfortunately, it has been difficult to discern the relationship of these individuals from the archival record. One possible scenario is that Mary and William, Sr. were husband and wife, and Callie and William, Jr. were their children. One suggestion of this comes from the *Illinois State Register* (19 April 1895, p. 5) which note the household consisting of William and Mary Smith (presumably husband and wife) were neighbors to one Ella Gates in West Springfield, and the two households were feuding. As the newspaper noted, “Bad blood has existed out there for a long time. Yesterday it cropped out in an all-around and calling of bad names. Smith had Ella Gates arrested on a charge of disorderly conduct. Ella then had Smith arrested on a peace warrant, and Mary Smith on a charge of disorderly conduct.”<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the newspaper does not indicate the race of these individuals, and we are unable to discern if this is indeed the same William and Mary Smith.<sup>11</sup> A William and Mary Smith, who were residing together as husband and wife at Eighteenth and Laurel Streets in mid-1904, were forcibly evicted from their house and were arrested after pointing a gun at an officer (*Illinois State Register*, 22 June 1904, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 23 June 1904, p. 5). Similarly, this husband/wife team was not noted as being Black, and it is doubtful that this is indeed the same individuals associated with House A.

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<sup>8</sup> Although the 1908 city directory listed seven Mary Smiths, only one was listed as Black (“Colored”).

<sup>9</sup> In 1874, Jessie Brownie was operating a “house of ill fame” at 1016 East Mason Street. Eva Montague was listed as residing at 1016 East Mason Street in 1876, having probably taken over the earlier Jessie Brownie resort. In circa 1886, this house was taken over by Lou Barnes, who continued to operate it as a brothel through circa 1899. In 1896, the Sanborn fire insurance map designated this property as “Old Point Comfort”—presumably one of the more well-known brothels in the City of Springfield. This location—1016 East Mason Street—was to persist as a “house of ill fame” for several decades. For a detailed historical context of prostitution in Springfield, see “‘Springfield A Wicked Old City’: The Rise of Vice in Illinois’ Capital City,” Appendix I in Mansberger and Stratton (2024, Volume I).

<sup>10</sup> Although the 1896 *Springfield City Directory* does not list an Ella Gates, it does list a Miss Lucinda Gates with residence at 420 West Monroe Street (which would be considered West Springfield). Miss Gates was not listed as “colored.”

<sup>11</sup> The fact that the newspaper does not indicate the race of the individuals suggests that they most likely were white.

Mary's whereabouts may be more easily determined than William's, her potential husband. Apparently, Mary Smith was well known in the project neighborhood by early 1895. In January 1895, a Mary Smith and William Purvines were arrested for disorderly conduct "at Tenth and Mason streets;" the nature of their disagreement is unknown (*Illinois State Register*, 1 January 1895, p. 6). The *Journal* carried a similar note indicating that a separate case against Smith and Purvine, filed by Hattie Hunter against the couple for living in adultery, was dismissed for insufficient evidence (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 January 1895, p. 4). In April 1895, a Mary Smith is noted as having a presence (and/or residing in) the 300 block of North Tenth Street. At that time, Mary Smith swore out a peace warrant "for the arrest of Judge Haywood, alleging that he threatened to knock her head off" (*Illinois State Journal*, 14 April 1895, p. 1). Judge Hayward (a "colored" laborer) was a resident of the neighborhood; he and his son were listed as residing at 424 North Tenth Street in the 1894 *Springfield City Directory*.<sup>12</sup> Insights into Mary's activities in this neighborhood is suggested by another news story that was published in late May 1895 which describes a "knock-down, drag-out fight" within "the negro neighborhood on North Tenth street just above the Wabash depot." By the time the patrol wagon had arrived on the scene, "Amanda White had already put Lillie Williams out and was putting the finishing touches on Mary Smith. The party was hauled to the calaboose. Several women engaged in the melee had escaped when the patrol wagon arrived on the battle field" (BELLIGERENT FEMALES. Negro Wenches Make the Air Gory Near the Wabash Depot," *Illinois State Register*, 26 May 1895, p. 7).

Mary Smith's character was detailed in two newspaper articles from late 1897, which describe a serious feud between Mary and a Mrs. Susie Crawford (who lived near the corner of Thirteenth and Mason Streets). Both Mary and Mrs. Crawford were noted as "negroes" and "colored." Apparently the feud, which had started over Mrs. Crawford's request to get Mary to return a dress she had borrowed, had been ongoing for a couple weeks. According to the news story, Mary Smith was "a negress who recently came here from the south and who has a house of ill repute at Tenth and Mason streets." Smith became enraged by Mrs. Crawford's request for the return of the dress, and when she returned the dress (accompanied by Jennie Black and Mary Rogers) an altercation ensued resulting in Mary striking Mrs. Crawford multiple blows to the head with a hatchet.<sup>13</sup> Mary Smith and Jennie Black were both charged with assault. Mary Smith pleaded guilty and served 30 days in jail ("A WOMAN IN BLACK. She Wore Another's Dress And It Precipitated Trouble," *Illinois State Journal*, 25 November 1897, p. 3; 16 January 1898, p. 3; "STRUCK WITH HATCHET. Alleged Attempt to Murder a Colored Woman—Warrants Out," *Illinois State Register*, 25 November 1897, p. 6, 3 December 1897, p. 5, 16 January 1898, p. 6).

In early 1907, Mary was again arrested and fined for "disorderly conduct." At this time, seven Black women, and a single white woman, were arrested "while they were on the streets in that

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<sup>12</sup> The 1896 *Springfield City Directory* does not list Judge Haywood/Hayward. Hayward has been documented as residing in multiple houses within the immediate project area. In 1880, he was living in House D, and in circa 1890, he was living across the street (in a house soon to be demolished for the construction of the Fitzgerald Cement Company's warehouse).

<sup>13</sup> Jennie Black was reported to have been Mary Smith's sister. Although there is a strong similarity in name with Bessie Black—occupant of House E at the time of the riots—it is clear that this is not the same lady.

portion of the town which has a questionable reputation.” Mary and two other Black women were fined \$3 and costs. Two of the Black women (Etta Patten and Mattie Howard) were sentenced to thirty days, and the other two Black women (Julia Rose and Emma St. Clair) were sentenced to sixty days in the county jail for their offences. The single white woman (Lillian Thorpe) was sentenced to six months in the City prison (“WOMEN ARE GIVEN HEAVY SENTENCES. Magistrate Shipp Deals Harshly With Colored Disorderly Characters,” *Illinois State Journal*, 11 April 1907, p. 5).<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately, little is known about the father and son duo named William Smith and their lives in Springfield. Part of their historical anonymity is due, no doubt due to the commonality of their name—William Smith. There is no lack of information regarding the numerous William Smiths living in Springfield prior to the 1908 riot. On the contrary, the difficulty is discriminating between the various William Smiths that called Springfield home at that time. The glut of information makes it difficult to discern one William Smith from the other in the archival record.<sup>15</sup> To further complicate the research, multiple William Smiths were residing in the very same neighbor as the William Smith who occupied House A. For example, living on the southeast corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection at the time of the riots (opposite the location of House A on the northwest corner) was the home and business of another William Smith:

On the southeast corner of Tenth and Madison street, a family of white people live, and their home and a saloon owned by William Smith at the corner of Eleventh and Madison streets, were not set ablaze (*Illinois State Journal* 15 August 1908, p. 1, col. 3).<sup>16</sup>

By the later nineteenth century, the local newspapers were quick to report that the subjects of their new stories were “colored” or “negroes,” which reduced the number of stories relating to the various William Smiths in town—but these generally were only negative stories emphasizing the racially-biased perception of the City’s Black population. Further confusing the issue was the fact that the William Smith of this vignette also had a son named William, and the newspapers seldom distinguished between Smith, Sr., and Smith, Jr.

One of the first references to an African-American named William Smith residing in Springfield occurred in June 1892, and referenced a Black man by this name that was caught burglarizing a

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<sup>14</sup> It would appear that the single white woman involved with this incident was handed out the most severe of the sentences, perhaps sending another message aside from that stated in the articles headline.

<sup>15</sup> For example, a search of the name “William Smith” in the Springfield newspapers (via GenealogyBank.com) resulted in over 5,260 “hits” with the earliest occurring in October 1832. Another 2,938 “hits” occurred for the name “Will Smith.” Similarly, the Springfield city directories list numerous individuals named William Smith. For example, the 1908 directory lists 26 individuals named William Smith (many distinguished by middle initials), 6 of which were African Americans.

<sup>16</sup> Similarly, another man named William “Business” Smith also operated a saloon in the neighborhood for many years. “Business” Smith was a saloonkeeper that “had a checkered career while a resident of this city” (*Illinois State Register*, 5 June 1896, p. 10), and during the mid-1890s apparently had a bad experience with “morphine or opium... [and] came near dying from the effects of it” (*Illinois State Register*, 10 March 1894, p. 6). He died in early June 1896 of alcoholism aged 42 years (*Illinois State Register*, 6 June 1896, p. 2)

house on South Fifth Street (“A BURGLAR TRAPPED. A Plucky Woman Captures a Dusky Night Marauder,” *Illinois State Journal*, 16 June 1892, p. 1). As noted above, it is impossible to determine if this was either of the William Smith’s brutally beaten and burned during the riots in August 1908. Similarly, the *Illinois State Journal* in 1894 noted a Black man named William Smith had been arrested for attempting to rob J. Richstein’s pawnshop. This particular individual had worked previously as a saloon porter (*Illinois State Journal*, 12 August 1894). In late 1895, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on police raids of two “colored resorts in the bad lands.” In one of the two resorts five “inmates” were arrested for disorderly conduct, and they included Frank Payne, Ed Lucas, Minnie Carroll, Leora Woods, and one William Smith (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 November 1895, p. 6). Another account from May 1899 documents another warrant for a William Smith, who threatened to stab Georgia Richardson. This latter news article claimed that Smith was “a new arrival here and is an aspirant for pugilistic honors” (*Illinois State Journal*, 30 May 1899, p. 3).

Based on the newspaper’s reporting of Mary’s transgressions in late 1897, and assuming that William and Mary were indeed husband and wife, it would appear that William Smith Sr. may have been residing at 301 North Tenth Street by at least late 1897.<sup>17</sup> In mid-summer 1899, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on a ruckus that occurred at the Tenth and Madison Street location. The story reports on the arrest of one William Smith:

William Smith says he is a greatly injured individual. He is under arrest on a charge of disorderly conduct, a charge which he declares to be without warrant and wholly beyond the bounds of reason, especially when it is considered that the arrest followed close upon a robbery by which he lost \$2.60. William was arrested in the unplatted court near Tenth and Madison streets which, for want of better designation, is popularly known as ‘Shinbone alley.’<sup>18</sup> The police allege that William was raising a disturbance in the neighborhood and was threatening to ‘clean out’ the shanty of one of the residents of the alley. William, on the other hand, avers that he was only protesting, in a mild and gentle voice, against the robbery which had deprived him of his \$2.60.

Just what Maggie Howey [Mattie or Maddie Howard?<sup>19</sup>] had to do with the affair is not quite plain. She was on the scene when the police arrived, and as she had

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<sup>17</sup> In September 1897, a Black man named William Smith was arrested at the Wabash Depot, having been found beneath the Depot’s platform and accused of being “peeping at ladies who happened to pass over the opening in the [platform’s] floor” (“PEEPING TOM’ CAUSES PANIC. Caught With His Eye to a Crack in the Wabash Depot Platform,” *Illinois State Register*, 5 September 1897, p1).

<sup>18</sup> Shinbone Alley was the name assigned to the east/west running alley located south of Mason Street, north of Madison Street that ran between Ninth and Eleventh Streets. The “unplatted court” was an open area located south of the alley behind Houses A-C and to the rear of Mabel Baxter’s resort on Madison Street (See “Springfield A Wicked Old City’: The Rise of Vice in Illinois’ Capital City,” Appendix I in Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume I]).

<sup>19</sup> It is suspected that Maddie Howard was Mary Howard Greenleaf’s sister-in-law (see “Cyrus Greenleaf, ‘A Splendid Good Old Man:’ Ex-Slave, Civil War Veteran, and Forty Year Resident of Springfield, Illinois,” Appendix V, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume V]).



the appearance of a woman who would be as well satisfied in the city prison as anywhere else, they took her along. Yesterday they told Justice Early they thought the woman had been “bittin’ the cocaine,” but she wearily and dreamily replied that “it was no such thing.” The couple declined to plead guilty to the charges of disorderly conduct which were booked against them and their cases were continued a week (*Illinois State Journal*, July 23, 1899).<sup>20</sup>

The 1898 *Springfield City Directory* lists four African-Americans named William Smith: a coal miner boarding at 1020 South Eighteenth Street, two porters, one working at John Conners and rooming at 424½ east Jefferson and the other working at Michael O’Conner’s with no residence listed; and a waiter, residing at 1118 South Pasfield Street. It is unclear if any of these are the William Smith suspected as residing at 301 North Tenth Street. The 1900 U.S. Census of Population is also silent as to where William Smith (Junior or Senior) may have been living at the time, and the character of his family dynamics.

Although the 1902 *Springfield City Directory* lists 18 individuals named William Smith, only five were listed as being of African-American heritage. Of these African-Americans, one individual was listed as a laborer boarding at 1703 South Fifteenth Street. A second African-American named William Smith also was listed at this same address, with an occupation of miner. Presumably, the first individual was William Smith, Sr., whereas the second was William Smith, Jr. A Mary Smith was listed as a chambermaid working and boarding at the Troy Europ [sic] Hotel. No Callie Smith was listed in the directory. The 1904 *Springfield City Directory* lists William, Jr. as residing at 1705 South Fifteenth Street, whereas; William Sr. appears to not be listed. The 1906 city directory lists a laborer named William Smith residing at 324 North Tenth Street, presumably representing William, Sr. The 1907 city directory lists William, a “colored” laborer residing at 301 North Tenth Street (SCD 1907:788). In 1907, a second William, also “colored”, was listed as a miner boarding at 1122 East Mason Street. The 1908 *Springfield City Directory* lists three Black men named William Smith, two of whom reside at 301 North Tenth Street. William Smith (presumably Senior) was listed with an occupation of laborer living at 301 North Tenth Street. His son, listed as William Smith, Jr., was listed with no occupation and residing in the same house. The third William Smith was listed as a laborer residing at 1122 East Mason. This directory listing would suggest that the earlier 1907 directory had listed only William Smith, Sr., and not William Smith, Jr. (SCD 1908:780).

Once the smoke had cleared in late August 1908—if not while it was still smoldering and/or settling down, many Springfield residents filed claims against the City of Springfield for damages incurred at the hand of the rioters. These damages were for the destruction of dwellings and businesses (real property), personal possessions (personal property), and for physical harm incurred at the hands of the mob. The vast majority of the claims were for damage to buildings filed by predominately White property owners, and loss of personal property filed by Black

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<sup>20</sup> The news story was entitled “PLEAS OF NOT GUILTY. William Smith and Maggie Howey Refuse To Waive a Jury Trial.” William Smith is suspected as being the occupant of House A. The Maggie Howey may represent the Martha Howell that occupied House G in the later 1870s and 1880s.

tenants.<sup>21</sup> But the most serious of the claims were for the more egregious acts that lead to loss of life and personal injury. Along with Kate Burton (wife of Scott Burton), Oswald Donnegan (son of William Donnegan), and Mary Scott (wife of Thomas Scott), claims were filed by both William Smith, Jr. and William Smith, Sr. “who allege they were attacked by the mob in the ‘bad lands’ district and sustained serious injuries” (“CITY IS ASKED TO PAY \$30,000. Deaths and Injuries Lead to Damage Suits,” *Illinois State Journal*, 29 August 1908, p. 10).<sup>22</sup> Both William, Jr. and William, Sr. set their damage claims at \$5,000 each.<sup>23</sup> These more serious claims pertaining to death and personal injury were to be settled in the circuit court, and were expected to be heard in the forthcoming September term (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 August 1908, p. 5).

As fast as the claims were filed, the City of Springfield was equally as slow to settle the claims with the various claimants. The cases were not scheduled to be heard in the Circuit Court until early 1909 (“WILL TRY RIOT CASES. Many Trials Based Upon August Disturbance Are Scheduled,” *Illinois State Journal*, 29 January 1909, p. 3), with Burton’s, Scott’s, Donnegan’s and both of the Smith cases being slated to be heard by the Circuit Court on Saturday, January 30, 1909. A ruling in the case was not given until April that year, and the Court ruled that only

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<sup>21</sup> One account noted that “Persons who lost personal property have filed their claims in large numbers, and those whose businesses were put out of commission have large claims to present.” These claims ranged from \$25 to \$5,000, the latter being for loss of life.

When it came to the loss of personal property, the *Illinois State Journal* took a rather condescending and racially charged view, writing that “Five-dollar patent leather shoes seem to have been a common thing in the ‘levee’ and ‘bad lands’ districts. A majority of those who lost shoes and clothing appear to have been well dressed men and women and nothing but the best was included in their wardrobes. In all the claims, no one wore shoes that cost less than \$4, and their clothes are valued at from \$20 to \$40 a suit.” The news story continued by stating “‘Shoe business must have been good during the past years,’ said a city official yesterday, scanning the claims. ‘Shoes cost \$5 a pair and clothes are worth \$40 a suit. If poor people lived in these districts, as supposed, it is time for the assessors to make a personal investigation of the schedules filed by residents of the Fourth and Fifth Wards.’” (“CITY SWAMPED WITH CLAIMS: Fully Two Hundred Expected to be Filed,” *Illinois State Journal*, 29 August 1908, p. 5; see also “REAPING THE WHIRLWIND. City Begins To Realize The Cost of Mob Rule,” *Illinois State Register*, 24 October 1908, p. 6). [The latter report focused on Loper’s request for \$20,000 and the two requests by the Smiths for \$5,000 each.]

In July 1909, the *Illinois State Register* further noted that “Perhaps the heaviest loser of all those whose property was ruined in the riots is Isidor Kanner. He brings suit in the sum of \$10,000 for dwelling houses and stores in East Washington street and East Madison street, which were burned by the mob” (*Illinois State Register*, 25 July 1909, p. 18).

<sup>22</sup> Both Scott Burton and William Donnegan were Black men lynched by the mob during the riots. Thomas Scott was a White man killed by a gunshot while in the Levee District during the riots.

<sup>23</sup> Both Oscar Donnegan (who had been shot in the eye), and Will Smith (“who was badly beaten around the head and shoulders”) were still in the Colored Ward at St. John’s Hospital at the time these claims were filed (“VICTIMS OF RIOT ARE IMPROVING,” *Illinois State Journal*, 29 August 1908, p. 5). The newspaper prominently headlines the notion that William Bowe—a White participant in the mob action—was “attacked by [a] mob of negroes” yet fails to comment on the brutal attack of Will Smith by the white mob.

Questions were almost immediately raised as to the amount of money that could be claimed by the victims. Illinois statute had fixed the amount of liability for death in riots at \$5,000 per death, but was in conflict with more recent legislation that set the liability for loss of life at \$10,000.

“that class of people who had been mobbed” could recover damages, and conversely those that “were accidentally injured while others were being mobbed” had no rights to a claim against the City. As a result those Whites that had been injured, and even those who had died from their injuries, had no rights to file a legitimate claim.<sup>24</sup> The courts agreed that Burton, Donnegan, and both of the Smiths had “a right by the laws of the state to maintain an action for the recovery of damages suffered” and were “allowed to pursue action against the City” [“MUST BE MOBBED TO GET DAMAGES,” *Illinois State Journal*, April 16, 1909, p. 7; “NO DAMAGES FOR DEATH OR INJURY OF SPECTATORS IN THE RIOTS OF AUGUST,” *Illinois State Register*, 16 April 1909, p. 7). The cases were again on the court docket in May 1909 (*Illinois State Register*, 2 May 1909, p. 22). In September 1909, the City was hopeful that all the riot claims would be settled within the next three months (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 September 1909, p. 14).

As one might have suspected, the wheels of justice moved slowly. It was not until January 1912 that the City began to pay off the Riot Claims with any significance.<sup>25</sup> This process continued for many months, culminating in August 1913, with public announcements that the last of the Riot Claims had been paid out (“FINISH PAYING RIOT CLAIMS TODAY,” *Illinois State Register*, 9 August 1913, p. 12.) Although these 1913 news stories suggested that all riot claims had been settled, several prominent cases—including those of Oscar Donnegan, William Smith, Jr. and William Smith, Sr.—remained unsettled until early 1915. In February 1915, the *Illinois State Register* again reported that the last of the riot cases had been “cleaned up” and reported that the Donnegan, and Smith claims had been settled. William Smith, Sr. settled out of court for \$525 in damages (well below the initial claim of \$5,000), whereas the case of William Smith, Jr. was dismissed (“CLEAN UP LAST OF RIOT CASES,” 17 February 1915, p. 16; “LAST RIOT DAMAGE SUIT IS SETTLED,” *Illinois State Journal*, 17 February 1915, p. 3).<sup>26</sup> Oscar Donnegan received \$1,500 for the loss of his eye.

The question remains what became of Mary and William Smith after the August 1908 riots. Newspaper stories suggest that William remained in St. John’s Hospital for several weeks after the riots, not leaving until early September (“VICTIMS OF RIOT ARE IMPROVING,” *Illinois State Journal*, 29 August 1908, p. 5; “RIOT VICTIMS IMPROVE,” *Illinois State Journal*, 5 September 1908, p. 7). When William was released from the hospital, and where he lived after his release is unknown. The 1909 *Springfield City Directory* lists four William Smiths of color as living in Springfield, only one of whom was listed without a middle initial. That William

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<sup>24</sup> This also included the few Blacks that had been accidentally injured, or in the case of the young waiter Lewis Johnson who had been accidentally killed while in Loper’s Restaurant.

<sup>25</sup> Among those who settled their claims at this time was George Westenberger, owner of the house at 301 North Tenth Street (House A). Westenberger received \$400 in damages (TEN RIOT CLAIMS SETTLED IN COURT,” *Illinois State Journal*, 23 January 1912, p. 12).

<sup>26</sup> According to the article, Wesley Edwards and William Smith, Sr. were the last two claims to be settled by the City. “Both the men who were allowed judgment by agreement allege that they were injured on August 14, 1908 by a mob ‘with knives, guns, fists, clubs and bricks.’ At this time, a new trial for Oswald Donnegan was refused (“LAST RIOT DAMAGE SUIT IS SETTLED,” *Illinois State Journal*, 17 February 1915, p. 3).

Smith, potentially William, Jr., was listed as a miner living at 320 North Tenth Street.<sup>27</sup> No Mary Smith of color was noted in either the 1909 or 1910 city directories, suggesting that the family may have maintained a low profile for a time after the riots.

Due to the plethora of men named William Smith living in Springfield at this time, coupled with the failure of the newspapers to distinguish between father and son with the use of the terms Junior and Senior, has made newspaper research difficult. With this in mind, a few newspaper stories from the immediate post-riot years may refer to one of the two men of interest to this story. One article of note is the death of a 32-year old Black man named William Smith, from tuberculous, in December 1908 (*Illinois State Register*, 18 December 1908, p. 9). In early 1909, a Black man named William Smith was arrested for an altercation with his neighbor, the two of which were living in a double house near Third and Union Streets (*Illinois State Register*, April 5 1909, p 6). One Will Smith, a “east end resident” was arrested on a peace warrant for “wife beating” in January 1910 (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 January 1910, p. 6; 20 January 1910, p. 11). On February 1910, a “negro preacher” named Will Smith was arrested for annoying one “Mrs. Stelay Berry, a negress,” who later stabbed him (*Illinois State Journal*, 7 February 1910, p. 5; 30 May 1910, p. 1). For a few years after the riots, a Black man named William Smith was noted in the papers as a participant in nefarious activities within the neighborhood (cf. “NEGRO STABBED NEAR HEART. William Smith Receives Wound Above Heart at Hands of Mattie Kelly,” *Illinois State Register*, 29 May 1910, p. 3; CRAP GAME RAIDED, *Illinois State Register*, 19 June 1910, p. 6). Kelly operated a rooming house at 705½ East Washington Street, where Smith was residing. A year later, in late 1911, a Black man named William Smith dropped dead, the victim of a heart attack, at a saloon on East Washington Street. Unfortunately, this individuals age was not reported (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 December 1911, p.2; *Illinois State Register*, 14 December 1911, p. 11). It is unclear if any of these reports are in reference to one of the two William Smiths who once occupied the house at 301 North Tenth Street, and if so, whether they represent the father or son. Although the 1910 U.S. Census of Population lists numerous William Smiths as living in Springfield, the majority of these individuals were white, and none fit the profile of the elder William Smith, Sr. (USCB 1910).

As noted earlier, it was a long wait, but the last of the Riot Claims were settled in 1915, with William, Sr. receiving only a fraction of the amount initially claimed, and William, Jr.’s claim being completely dismissed. One would assume that both William Smith Jr., and William Smith Sr. were alive and presumably living in Springfield in early 1915 when their claims for damages were settled. William Jr.’s claim was dropped “by the plaintiff” suggesting that he was, indeed, still alive. Similarly, William Smith, Sr.’s claim was settled “by agreement” suggesting that he, too, was still alive. If either had been deceased at this time, the claims most likely would have been dropped and/or reported as such at that time.

The 1920 U.S. Census of Population listed a 66-year old Black woman named Mary Smith living with Thomas and Mattie Hammous on Capitol Avenue in mid-1920. Mary was listed as a

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<sup>27</sup> The other three included William E (teamster), William H. (with no occupation listed, residing at 1918 Stuart), and William M. (a miner residing at 611 North Third Street). It is doubtful any of these men represent William, Sr. This same individual appears to be listed as employed by G. E. Ousley, and rooming at 1516 North Fifteenth Street in 1910. Gabriel Ousley was a Black lunch room operator with his restaurant in the 800 block of East Washington Street.

widow, and grandmother—perhaps the grandmother of Mattie (a child of either William or Callie Smith—perhaps the Mattie Howey noted earlier?). The fact that she is listed as widow, if indeed the Mary Smith of this story, suggests that William Smith, Sr. had died by this date.

Unfortunately, no conclusive information relating to William Smith, Sr., his wife Mary Smith, or their son William Smith, Jr. is known following the 1915 settlement of their riot claims. Although the archaeological investigations of House A were limited in scope they have resulted in some insights into the lifeways of the occupants of the house at the time of the house destruction (evening of August 14, 1908), as well as to the predominately Black tenants that occupied the house during the 1890s and early 1900s leading up to that eventful evening.

Of particular interest, the artifacts from the Fire deposits of House A offer a distinctive look at the household contents at a specific point in time (August 14, 1908), and give a remarkable voice to the occupants of that house at the time of the riots, and potentially William Smith himself. The single excavated test unit in House A is believed to have been located within the northwest corner of the larger of the two front rooms within the house. Based on the recovered artifacts, this room appears to have functioned (at least in part) as a bedroom. Primary artifacts from the Fire deposits included the remains of a fire-damaged (blackened and shattered) wash basin, a deformed (partially melted) tumbler or drinking glass, prescription medicine bottles (one partially melted, and the second fire-blackened), a ceramic tea cup, extremely deformed (melted) milk glass fragments presumably from one or more small salve or ointment jars, as well as a printed vase, small earthenware seedling or starter flower pot, a teaspoon, and an iron framing hatchet (Figures 1-2). The prescription medicine bottles not only bespeak of an individual with health issues, but one that is treating their ailments with the assistance of a doctor (or minimally the advice of a pharmacist). The lack of ceramic tablewares, and the presence of the tumbler and cup suggest the consumption of liquids, perhaps in keeping with the physical condition of the tenant (and/or the context of the recovered artifacts within a bedroom location). The presence of the decorated vase, as well as the seedling flower pot, both bespeak of a tenant with an appreciation of cut flowers and a desire to propagate either flowers or herbs from seeds. Furniture is represented by casters (potentially from a bed or dresser), as well as furniture springs (suggesting an upholstered chair or chair cushion).

The recovery of a hatchet at this location is somewhat perplexing, as it seems to be out-of-place for this suspected bedroom location. Although the as-designed function of this hatchet was as a tool used in the construction of houses (and other frame buildings), it also could serve for the production of kindling (splitting of small pieces of wood) for use in starting fires in a stove—neither task of which were likely to have been undertaken at the perceived bedroom location. As such, one must ask the question as to why the hatchet was potentially in the bedroom of this potentially sick individual at the time of the riots. One possible explanation for its presence at this location is its potential use as a weapon, for self-protection (perhaps lying beneath a bed for quick access). A quick perusal of the Springfield newspapers indicate the use of hatchets as weapons in a variety of circumstances.

Archaeology has given us some insights into the house once located at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Streets, as well as to the quality of life of the individuals that occupied the house. Unfortunately, at the time of the riots, the house had been divided into multiple rental



units, and the owners of these artifacts remain anonymous, and cannot be definitively assigned to William Smith. Nonetheless, the artifact assemblage bespeaks of a tenant potentially of limited means and poor health, yet receiving the care of a physician or pharmacists and appreciative of floral embellishments—an interpretation that conflicts with the contemporary perception of the “despicable character” of the occupants of the neighborhood. Although these artifacts cannot be directly affiliated with William Smith, they give dramatic “voice” to the anonymous victims of the horrific events that transpired that evening of August 14, 1908. Whether associated with William Smith or not, these artifacts bespeak of the Black residents living in the neighborhood that were innocent victims of the violence bestowed on them by the racially inspired White mob.

One of the more powerful images from the entire investigations conducted along the North Tenth Street project area as part of the Carpenter Street excavations was an image of the stone front steps leading into the house. Although it is unclear whether the mob entered the front or the back of the residence, these structural remnants of House A are a powerful connection to the events of that night, which included dragging the elder Smith from his house. It may have been from these steps that the elder William Smith was pulled from the house and beaten.

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Figure 1. Three glass vessels from the fire deposits of House A, recovered from Test 1. Left: Proprietary prescription medicine bottle embossed “BAUMANN BROS. / DRUGGISTS / SPRINGFIELD, ILL.” (Vessel A-5). Middle: Unmarked prescription medicine bottle (Vessel A-13). Right: Tumbler/jelly glass (Vessel A-8). All three vessels were melted and/or deformed by fire. All three vessels are illustrated at 90% actual size.



**Figure 2.** As rough as living conditions were in House A in 1908, cut flowers and/or potted plants may have been present in the house at the time of the riots. **Left:** Nearly whole printed vase from the fire deposits of House A (Test 1; Vessel A-33). **Right:** Small seedling or starter flower pot from the fire deposits of House A (Test 1; Vessel A-23).





**Figure 3. Framing hatchet found in Fire deposits of House A (Actual size). The recovery of this hatchet at this location is somewhat perplexing, as it seems to be out-of-place for this suspected bedroom location. Perhaps it was functioning as a “peace keeper” (a self-defense weapon) stashed in the occupant’s bedroom.**





**Figure 4. View of House A, shortly after initial stripping of overburden. This house was constructed in the 1840s by a German tradesman. By 1900, the house was occupied by working class black families. In August 1908, the house was occupied by, among others, an elderly invalid named Will Smith. Smith was pulled from the house and severely beaten by the mob during the riot.**



**Figure 5. Circa 1912 image of Sister M. Magdalene Wiedlocher, director of the School of Nursing (1912-1933). Sister Wiedlocher played a significant role in the care of the riot victims—both Black and white—during the riots of 1908 (<http://www.idaillinois.org/digital/collection/stjohns/id/4>).**

## Appendix VI

### **“Aunt Lou” Maxwell: The Life of a Cuban-Immigrant Washerwoman and her Step-son Charles Maxwell, “The Springfield Bugler”**

Floyd Mansberger  
and  
Christopher Stratton

As part of our ongoing research for the Tenth Street Rail Project, an early-twentieth-century picture postcard of a middle-aged Black woman identified in handwritten script on the photograph as “Aunt Lou,” and captioned in typescript “Greetings From Camp Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois” came to our attention (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Many postcards of Camp Lincoln date from this era (cf. Figure 2), but the presence of this one with Aunt Lou is unusual in its depiction of the Black woman and child.

This postcard, typical of the picture postcards common during the first decade of the twentieth century, depicts “Aunt Lou” in work clothing holding in her right hand the hand of a small well-dressed Black child with a doll, and in her left hand a work basket (potentially filled with clothes). At the base of the card, Arthur Haglund wrote “See the life out here / am certainly fine” and dated it June 30, 1907. The card was addressed to Miss Georgiana Kecin, 907 North Washtenaw Avenue, Chicago, and postmarked June 29, 1907. The card, which was published by the *Press Illinois State Register, Springfield*, was of special interest to our research as it depicted a working class Black woman in her work clothes and represented a comparative example of vernacular women’s dress just prior to the riots of August 1908. To my surprise, when I searched a database of stories in the Springfield newspapers, numerous “hits” for the name “Aunt Lou” Maxwell were displayed—several with a connection to Camp Lincoln.

Camp Lincoln, the headquarters of the Illinois National Guard, is located approximately two miles to the northwest of Springfield’s central business district. The facility was established in 1886 as a training center for the Illinois State Militia. The castle-like Camp Lincoln Commissary building, constructed in 1903, is the oldest building currently located on the grounds (and currently the home of the Illinois State Military Museum).

The first reference to “Aunt Lou” in the local Springfield newspapers occurred in mid-July 1900, at which time the *Illinois State Register* reported on the unfortunate story of “a well known colored woman” who had been “beaten, outraged and robbed by a member of the Eighth Battalion” (Illinois National Guard) at Camp Lincoln (CRUEL WORK OF A FIEND. Colored Soldier Brutally Attacks Aged Woman,” *Illinois State Register*, 13 July 1900, p. 6). According to the story, “the aged lady is Mrs. Lou Tiler [sic, Tyler], better known as ‘Aunt Lou,’ and after

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.cardcow.com/187366/>

collecting her pay from the soldiers at Camp Lincoln, she was followed home, robbed, and beaten. According to her story, which was verified by her appearance, she “was beaten into insensibility, outraged and robbed of \$10.25.” Mrs. Tyler resided “just east of Camp Lincoln,” and “has been doing some of the washing about camp for the soldier boys.” Unfortunately, the culprit was not apprehended. The use of the term “Aunt” in reference to this woman clearly was a term of endearment and/or respect, which is corroborated by the fact that her image was reproduced on a postcard identified with the activities associated with Camp Lincoln. Clearly, Aunt Lou was a common site at Camp Lincoln by circa 1905, and well-liked by the young men stationed there.<sup>2</sup>

The first occurrence in the local Springfield newspapers for Lou Tyler occurred in October 1895. The news story indicates that Mrs. Tyler had sworn out warrants for the arrest of Joseph Maxwell and his son Charley Maxwell.<sup>3</sup> “The parties are neighbors, living in the northwest part of town. Mrs. Tyler and Charley Maxwell had trouble and the father came to the rescue. The parties are colored.” Apparently, Joseph had struck Mrs. Tyler and threatened her life (*Illinois State Register*, 8 October 1895, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 8 October 1895, p. 5). Unfortunately, no city directory has survived for 1895.<sup>4</sup>

The 1896 *Springfield City Directory*, which is the first to note the presence of Louis Tyler in the community, indicates she was the widow of Edward Tyler, and a resident of 527 Maple Avenue (SCD 1896:484). In June 1896, the *Journal* reported that payment of \$2.50 to Lou Tyler was referred to committee by Sangamon County for work she performed at the Poor Farm (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 June 1896, p. 3). The following day, the *Journal* noted that Lou Tyler was to be paid \$2.50 for “attendance of Amanda White to Insane hospital at Jacksonville” (*Illinois State Journal*, 12 June 1896, p. 3).

The 1898 *Springfield City Directory* also lists the widow, Louis Tyler (SCD 1898:547). The 1896 directory also lists Robert Tyler, a waiter at the Hotel Palace, with the same residential address. The 1898 directory lists Robert, a laborer boarding at 517 Maple Avenue [sic]. A Black man named Robert Tyler was also documented in the 1892 *Springfield City Directory*, as a clerk at “L. M. Fee,” and boarding at 624 North Second Street (SCD 1892:552). The 1894 *Springfield City Directory* similarly lists Robert Tyler, a Black janitor at “J. T. Grimsely” boarding at the same location (SCD 1894:456). Although it is unclear whether this is Lou’s son, it seems reasonable to suspect that it was, suggesting that the family may have been in

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<sup>2</sup> Hart (2017:58) discusses the use of the term “Aunt” in addressing African American women: “Today the terms ‘Aunt,’ ‘Aunty,’ ‘Sister,’ etc. may be considered as racially insensitive, but this was not the case at the time. It seems more a term of affection and friendship and compassion beyond the ordinary and approaching that of family.”

<sup>3</sup> According to one source, Charles was born on December 7, 1876 (“U.S.V.W. Honors Charles Maxwell. Bugler Named Dept. Chief Musician,” *Illinois State Journal*, 11 September 1943, p. 7). Other sources suggest he was born in 1878 [see footnote below].

<sup>4</sup> A news story entitled “Death in a Bagnio” appeared in early 1889 and reported on the death of a young Lou Taylor “at the bagnio of Nell Woods, 915 East Madison street.” According to the newspaper, “the girl had been in the city for something over a year, and during the whole of that period was an inmate of Nell Woods’ house. She was reared in Christian county, and ‘Lou Taylor’ was her alias.” Although similar in name, this was not the Lou Tyler of this story.



Springfield by 1892.<sup>5</sup> Although the newspapers are silent regarding anyone named Edward Tyler, two news stories from July 1895 report on the serious injuries inflicted on one Robert Tyler, presumably her son.

Robert Tyler, the Springfield colored man, whose head was seriously injured Thursday when he was thrown by a fractious horse, was removed yesterday by the hospital corps to his home in the city (“WILL ARRIVE TODAY. Colonel Turner’s Command Takes Charge of Camp Lincoln,” *Illinois State Journal*, 13 July 1895, p. 3).

Robert Tyler, the colored man who was thrown from a horse at Camp Lincoln while the Second regiment was here, was removed Saturday morning to his home at 517 West Maple avenue, where he is now suffering with concussion of the brain. The attending physician, Dr. Jones, believes the patient will recover although he is now in a serious condition (“Tyler in a Bad Condition,” *Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1895, p. 5; cf. *Illinois State Register*, 16 July 1895, p. 5).

Robert survived his injuries, and was reportedly working as a cook at Camp Lincoln in August 1897. Robert was accused of disorderly conduct in March 1897, when he was arrested with Susi Nash and Mable Boone for “creating a disturbance near Eleventh and Mason streets” (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 March 1897, p.5). Later that same year, Robert was again charged with disturbing the peace and disorderly conduct by one Selma Janes Woods, and the local civil authorities attempted to arrest Tyler while he was within Camp Lincoln. Apparently, “the trouble occurred at the pool at the camp grounds on Tuesday, when it is alleged Tyler threw a little boy into the pool, clothes and all” (*Illinois State Register*, 26 August 1897, p. 6). It is unclear whether Robert was working as a civilian, or as an enlisted member of the Illinois Militia. Colonel Bennett, in command of the Third Regiment, refused to allow the civil authorities to arrest Tyler. After this date, Robert does not appear in any subsequent newspaper accounts (other than at the time of his stepfather’s and mother’s obituaries).

Apparently, it was not only Mrs. Tyler that had trouble with her young neighbor, Charley Maxwell. In early October 1896, Joseph Maxwell swore out a warrant on the charge of vagrancy for the arrest of his own son, Charles. According to Joseph, “the lad is but 17 years of age and... he will not go to work and is very abusive and quarrelsome toward the family” (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 October 1896, p. 5). Charles Maxwell answered President McKinley’s patriotic challenge to raise 20,000 Black soldiers in June 1898 for forthcoming military action against Spain, and enlisted in the Illinois militia’s Company I, Eighth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and was part of the occupational forces in Cuba during the Spanish American War.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Neither Lou or Robert Tyler are noted in the 1891 Springfield City Directory. A Black woman named Miss Fannie Tyler, a domestic at 817 North Fifth Street, was listed in this directory (SCD 1891: 540). This young Black woman was probably not related to Lou and Robert.

<sup>6</sup> Company H was mustered out of service and returned to Springfield in April 1899 (cf. Goode 1899; Hall 1900). Presumably Company I was mustered out at the same time. It is unclear as to whether or not Charles Maxwell returned with his fellow comrades to Springfield at this time, as several later sources suggest that he also served in the Philippines sometime after his Cuban experience (cf. “U.S.V.W. Honors Charles Maxwell. Bugler Named Dept. Chief Musician,” *Illinois State Journal*, 11 September 1943, p. 7 which states “he entered the army after a brief term



Over the next couple of years, Joseph Maxwell and his widow neighbor Lou Tyler apparently had a reconciliation, as the two were married in late October 1899 (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 October 1899, p. 6; *Illinois State Register*, 24 October 1899, p. 5). Joseph Maxwell was noted as being a 58-year old farmer, whereas Lou Tyler [sic] was 43 years of age. Neither individual was noted as being Black, and they both gave an address of 527 Maple Avenue—suggesting they may have been living together as husband and wife prior to their marriage. The *Illinois State Journal*, which correctly noted that the bride was named Lou Tyler, wrote that “the groom is a farmer and is 58 years old. His bride is 44 years old. This is her second marriage” (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 October 1899, p. 6).<sup>7</sup> The *Register* further noted that “their wedding was a very quiet and pretty event (*Illinois State Register*, 24 October 1899, p. 5).

Apparently, Joseph Maxwell had lived in Springfield for many years prior to meeting Lou Tyler. The earliest reference to the young Joseph Maxwell (also known as John Maxwell) being a resident of Springfield occurred in late 1864. In November 1864, the 23-year old Joseph enlisted with the 29<sup>th</sup> Regiment U.S. Colored Infantry. His Muster and Descriptive Roll suggests that he

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in the Illinois national guard and served in both Cuba and the Philippine islands.” His obituary notes that “following the Cuban campaign Mr. Maxwell was transferred to the Philippine Islands where he served under Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur, father of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. After that Mr. Maxwell returned to the United States and re-enlisted in the service serving with the 49<sup>th</sup> infantry division out of St. Louis. During his military service Mr. Maxwell earned five medals including Spanish War Veterans staff bugler, the Cuban Campaign, Grand Army of the Republic, overseas service and for the Philippine occupation along with two marksmen medals which he wore during the battle of 1898-99” (“Last Company I War Veteran Dies,” *Illinois State Journal*, 1 May 1966, p. 32).

The “transfer” to the 49<sup>th</sup> required that Maxwell resign from the Illinois militia and re-enlist with the regular Army. In Springfield, many of the enlisted men from Company H were rejected by the regular army, mostly on grounds that the recruits could not read or write. Of the 15 that applied, only one was selected, due to “their physical defects or their inability to read and write.” Some had become so attached to the military life that they “wept like children” upon the rejection (“NOT UP TO STANDARD. Colored Volunteers Fail to Pass Physical Examination for Regular Army,” *Illinois State Register*, 11 April 1899, p. 6). Maxwell’s re-enlistment into the Regular Army may have been an uncommon event.

The 48<sup>th</sup> and 49<sup>th</sup> U.S. Volunteer Infantries were organized in 1899 for service in the Philippines during the American-Philippine War (Spanish-American War). Although the recruits and line officers were all African Americans, the field and staffs were white—unlike conditions in the Eighth Illinois Infantry which served in Cuba in 1898-99. The regiments arrived in the Philippines in January 1900, and were stationed in the Department of Northern Luzon. The troops of the 48<sup>th</sup> and 49<sup>th</sup> Volunteer Infantry were the last to return to the United States, arriving back home in May-June 1901. Although they experienced racial issues during their 1½ years while overseas, the units “had the least reports of abuse of the Filipino people” during their service (<https://nkaa.uky.edu/nkaa/items/show/2189>). See also *NegroYear Book* for both 1912 and 1913 (Work 1912, 1913).<sup>1</sup>

Joseph’s younger son (Joseph, Jr.) also joined the Illinois National Guard sometime prior to December 1902, only to be dishonorably discharged for non-attendance at drills (*Illinois State Register*, 9 December 1902, p. 8).

<sup>7</sup> A month after their marriage, a suit was filed by Samuel Myers against Joseph Maxwell to recover damages resulting from a horse (valued at \$100) falling into a well on Maxwell’s property. Apparently, Myers horse was in Maxwell’s pasture when it fell into the well and was killed. Maxwell claimed he was not responsible for the loss of the horse as he had leased the land on while the well was located to Lou Tyler at the time. The outcome of this case is unknown (*Illinois State Register*, 28 November 1899, p. 6)

had been born in North Carolina, stood 5'3" tall, had an occupation of "laborer," and had enlisted in Springfield (Camp Butler) for one year as a substitute for James Burne.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent roll calls list Joseph under the name John Maxwell, which will ultimately haunt the elder Maxwell when he pursues his military pension.<sup>9</sup> Military documents all signed with an "x" indicating that Joseph could not read or write.

In March 1865, while stationed at Fort Harris, Virginia, John [sic Joseph] Maxwell was admitted to several hospitals over the course of the subsequent nine months, eventually arriving at "Hospital No. 867" for treatment of a "Fistula in Anos [sic anus]." Hospital No. 867 was located in Baltimore, Maryland. In late December, only a couple days prior to Christmas, John Maxwell was issued new clothing and given orders to be transferred to Springfield, Illinois where he was to be mustered-out of military service with the rest of his regiment. At the time of his discharge, Maxwell was a Private in Company E, 29<sup>th</sup> U.S. Colored Troops. Unfortunately, Maxwell did not arrive in Springfield with his orders and was not able to officially muster-out of service with his regiment. According to his testimony:

That on my arrival at Indianapolis, Ind. enrou [sic] for Springfield Ill. I was violently attacked by a party of intoxicated men who wrested from me all the papers in my possession among which was my Hospital discharge that I made diligent affect to recover the papers so [ ] from me but failed to obtain them and they were lost to me.<sup>10</sup>

Efforts to collect his final pay were stymied by the War Department as they could not verify that Maxwell had served with the 29<sup>th</sup> U.S. Colored Troops or the 29<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteers, in part due to the confusion of his name, Joseph versus John. The issue was not settled until March 1866. As such, it would appear that Joseph Maxwell returned to Springfield in December 1865, or January 1866.

Although the young Joseph Maxwell had mustered-in while in Springfield, it is unclear as to when he may have actually moved to Springfield. The 1850 U.S. Census of Population lists one family of color with the surname Maxwell as residents of Springfield at that time. The Uriah Maxwell family consisted of 33-year-old Uriah, his 32-year old wife Lucy, and two presumed boarders (Harriet Jones, 18 years of age, and her presumed son, Alonzo Jones, 8 months of age) (USBC 1850). All were noted as being mulatto; Uriah was noted as being born in Illinois. It

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<sup>8</sup> James Burne apparently was from Erin Township, Stephenson County, Illinois. The 1860 U.S. Census of Population indicates that James Burne was a 40-year-old, Irish stonecutter living with his wife, and six children in the vicinity of Freeport, Stephenson County, Illinois (USBC 1860).

<sup>9</sup> In March 1866, "Individual Muster-out Roll" indicates that "this man's name [Joseph Maxwell] is not borne on the company Muster out roll of the 29<sup>th</sup> U.S. Col'd Troops. No account of pay on last settlement of Clothing Account. Clothing drawn at Camp Butler Dec 3/64 \$30.14. Clothing drawn at U.S. Hospital Baltimore Md Dec 22, 1865, \$16.20" (U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865; Ancestry.com).

<sup>10</sup> John was initially sent to a Field Hospital, from which he was transferred to the Pilot Rock Hospital, thence to Port Smith Hospital, thence to Kims Hospital in Baltimore, thence to Hicks Hospital west of Baltimore where he remained until December 1865.

seems unlikely that the young Joseph was related to the Uriah Maxwell family.<sup>11</sup> The 1860 U.S. Census of Population does not indicate any Black or mulatto families with the surname Maxwell as being residents of Springfield. Similarly, neither the 1866 nor 1868 *Springfield City Directories* list Joseph Maxwell. The 1870 U.S. Census of Population indicates that a 30-year-old Black laborer named Joseph Maxwell was living with the Catherine Latham family. This household included the 57-year-old Catherine (noted as “Keeping House”), 34-year-old Mary Halbert, 14-year old Katy Halbert, and 22-year old domestic servant Mary Morrison—all of whom were white (USBC 1870). Joseph Maxwell was not located in the 1880 census for Sangamon County (USBC 1880).

In May 1879, the *Journal* noted that one Joseph Maxwell owned Lot 10, Block 1, V. Hickox’s Third Addition. It is not clear whether this is the same Joseph Maxwell who married Lou Tyler. One of the first references to a Black man named Joseph Maxwell is the 1882 *Springfield City Directory* (SCD 1882:154) which lists a Black man named Joe Maxwell as a laborer residing at 624 North Second Street. It was in 1882 that Joseph Maxwell filed for his military pension for his service during the Civil War. Both the 1886 and 1887 city directories indicates that Joseph was working at the Springfield rolling mills and was still residing on Second Street at that time (SCD 1886:183; 1887:192). In early 1890, the *Journal* reported on the death of the two-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Maxwell, colored, at their residence at 624 North Second Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 January 1890, p. 4). It is unclear as when, and to whom, Maxwell had married. In April 1891, the *Register* reported a story regarding Joseph Maxwell being assaulted and struck on the head with a hammer, and that his eye was severely injured. The report was filed by “Mrs. Lou Thompson, housekeeper for Joseph Maxwell, colored” (*Illinois State Register*, 26 April, 1891, p. 6). One might question if the housekeeper was not Lou Tyler, Maxwell’s future wife. The 1891 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that Joseph was still residing on Second Street at this time (SCD 1891:215). By 1895, Joseph (with at least two children, Charles and Joseph, Jr.) was apparently living on Maple Street, without his wife.

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population lists Joseph Maxwell as a 67-year-old Black man residing with his 44-year-old wife Willey L. Maxwell (USBC 1900). Apparently, Charles and Joseph were as living elsewhere at this time, as no other individuals were listed in the household in the census.<sup>12</sup> The census indicates the couple had been married two years. The census also indicates that Willey L. Maxwell—presumably Lou Maxwell—was born in December 1855 in Louisiana, of Cuban parents, and that she had given birth to 14 offspring, only one of which was living!<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> In 1881, the petition to establish the Black VFW Post in Springfield, a James Maxwell was one of the 19 individuals to sign the petition. James had been a member of Company A, 45<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry Colored Troops. This regiment was organized in the summer of 1864 at Camp William Penn in Pennsylvania, and it seems likely that this man was neither a long-time resident of Springfield nor a relative of Joseph Maxwell.

<sup>12</sup> Apparently, Joseph’s children (Joseph Jr., Lucinda, and Charles) and Lou’s son (Robert) were not living with the family at the time. The relationship between Lou and Charles apparently did not improve after she married Joseph. In September 1900, Charles’ new stepmother, Lou Maxwell (nee Tyler) again swore out a peace warrant for the arrest of Charles Maxwell, as he had again threatened to do her bodily harm and to kill her (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 September 1900, p. 1; *Illinois State Register*, 18 September 1900, p. 6). At that time, the news accounts indicate that Lou Maxwell lived “on South Maple Avenue” [sic] and “near Camp Lincoln.”

<sup>13</sup> Later censuses are inconsistent as to whether Lou Maxwell was born in Louisiana of Cuban-born parents, or in Cuba. These later census returns are also inconsistent with the reporting of both Lou and Joseph’s ages. The 1900

Joseph, Sr. had been born in North Carolina in 1832, and both of his parents had also been born in that state. Although neither Joseph nor Lou could read or write, the elder Joseph owned his farm free and clear, without a mortgage. All of the Maxwell's neighbors, as enumerated in the census each side of their listing, were white.<sup>14</sup>

Like many of her fellow Springfield neighbors, "Aunt Lou" apparently had a substance abuse problem. One of America's first opioid addiction crises raised its ugly head in the 1890s, and became a driving force for a range of illicit activity for several decades, generally being perceived as a problem associated with the City's Black population.<sup>15</sup> The *Illinois State Register* reported in September 1901 that

"Aunt" Lou Maxwell, colored, who resides in the north part of the city near Camp Lincoln, indulged a little too freely in the "coke" and other stimulants yesterday, and as a result she was arrested and locked up in the city prison last evening.

Early in the evening "Aunt" Lou showed a strong disposition while at the corner of Fifth and Washington streets to make a public display of her oratorical powers. To this Officer Charles Burwitz objected and on two different occasions, he asked "Aunt" Lou to desist. Unfortunately for her she heeded not the officer's advice and soon had a crowd of more than a hundred people around her. During her "address," which was eulogistic of the late President McKinley, some unappreciative fellow cried out, "Anarchist."<sup>16</sup> This fired "Aunt" Lou's blood and she started in the direction from which the sound came and landed two blows on the face of an interested but innocent gentleman. Her oratory was soon brought to a close, however, by Officer Burwitz arresting her and having her locked up in the city prison.

Fired with the effects of liquor and cocaine, the unfortunate woman knew not what she was doing. She will probably be assessed a light fine this morning and released ("A COCAINE FIEND. "Aunt" Lou Maxwell Creates a Scene on the Street," *Illinois State Register*, 17 September 1901, p. 5).

The 1910 U.S. Census of Population recorded the Joseph Maxwell family as residing at 517 West Maple Avenue, on the north edge of Springfield. Joseph was listed as a 74-year-old Black man, whereas his wife Louisa was listed as a 68-year-old Cuban-born, Mulatto woman.

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Census states that Joseph was born in 1832, and Lou was born in 1855 (USBC 1900). Whereas Lou's stated year in the 1900 census is consistent with the age she gave for her marriage license the previous year (October 1899), Joseph's stated age in 1900 is approximately ten years more than that stated in October 1899 for his marriage license.

<sup>14</sup> The nearest listing for another Black family in the census was that of the day laborer Jerry Walker, who was listed near the end of the adjacent page (USBC 1910).

<sup>15</sup> "Springfield A Wicked Old City": The Rise of Vice in Illinois' Capital City," Appendix, I in Mansberger and Stratton (2024, Volume I).

<sup>16</sup> The charge of "anarchist" probably was related to President William McKinley's assassin, Leon Czolgosz, being a self-identified anarchist.

According to the census, the couple had been married for twelve years. Living with the aged couple was one son, Charles (a 31-year old Mulatto man, married for one year), and a daughter Teresa (a 7-year-old Black child).<sup>17</sup> Conflicting with the earlier census, the 1910 census return suggests that Louisa's father was born in Cuba, but that her mother was born in the United States. Also of interest, the census enumerator noted that Louisa had immigrated to the United States in 1885. Both Joseph and Charles were listed as farmers, with Joseph owning his farm. Unlike the earlier census, both Joseph and Louisa apparently could read, whereas Joseph could

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<sup>17</sup> Although Louisa is enumerated as being 68 years of age, the census clearly indicates that the 7-year-old Teresa was Joseph and Louisa's daughter—which would suggest that Louisa had her daughter when she was 61 years old. Archival evidence suggests that both Louisa and Joseph have incorrectly cited their age in the 1910 (as well as 1920 and 1930) census returns. Based on Lou's age in 1899, as indicated on her marriage license at the time of her marriage to Joseph, Lou was approximately 47 years old in 1903 (the suspected birth year of Teresa/Tessa). Similarly, Joseph seems to have underestimated his age, as he was approximately 80 years old in 1910, which also corresponds with the age cited in his obituary (*Illinois State Register*, 18 November 1922, p. 2).

Unfortunately, the name of Charles' wife is not known, and no other information has been located regarding his marriage at this time. Later in life (as noted in the 1930 census), his wife's name was Eva.

Charles may have matured significantly over the past decade, and/or after his marriage. In June 1901, presumably only days after returning from service in the Philippines, Charles Maxwell, along with William Burton, Richard Ross, and Elijah Greenleaf (Silas Greenleaf's son) was mustered in at the organizational meeting of the John R. Tanner Camp of the Sons of Veterans (see "Cyrus Greenleaf, 'A Splendid Good Old Man:' Ex-Slave, Civil War Veteran, and Forty Year Resident of Springfield, Illinois," Appendix V, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume V]). Chairman of the committee was Richard Ross [potentially related to Robert Wright's father-in-law John Ross?] ("JOHN R. TANNER CAMP. New Post of the Sons of Veterans Organized by Colored Men," *Illinois State Journal*, 4 June 1901, p. 5). [For more on this organization, see "Robert Nathaniel Wright (1880-1935): Springfield Citizen, Spanish-American War Veteran, and Victim of the 1908 Springfield Race Riot," Appendix V, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume III)]. During World War I, Charles Maxwell's name was drawn within the first hundred names during the selective service draft (*Illinois State Register*, 1 October 1918, p. 1). It is unclear whether or not he served during World War I (see World War I draft card).

Little information is available regarding Charles' life during the 1910s. Charles was not found in the 1920 U.S. Census of Population (USBC 1920). Newspaper accounts suggest that he started working as a caretaker at the Lincoln Tomb in circa 1921, a position he maintained for over 40 years ("Post Pays Tribute To Col. Duncan," *Illinois State Journal*, 22 May 1961, p. 6). The 1930 U.S. Census of Population documented Maxwell as a 50-year-old Black man living with his 42-year-old wife, Eva. At the time Maxwell was listed with an occupation of "janitor," and he owned his own house which was valued at \$3,000 (USBC 1930). His obituary stated that "in the early part of his life Mr. Maxwell worked for the *Illinois State Journal* and was custodian at the Ferguson Building. After his release from the service he was a well-known landscape gardener in Springfield, assistant custodian at Lincoln's Tomb, the department chief musician of the United Spanish War Veterans, and a parade leader in Springfield for over 40 years" ("Last Company I War Veteran Dies," *Illinois State Journal*, 1 May 1966, p. 32).

By the late 1920s, Charles had begun to play taps at a variety of civic functions for the community. His first appearance in newspapers performing this act was in February 1929 at which time he and Sergeant F. Townsend were buglers at the Springfield Culture Club's annual Soldiers Day Celebration at the Union Baptist Church (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 February 1929, p. 7). According to a newspaper account from 1945, Maxwell began "sounding taps" at funerals and other civic events beginning in circa 1915 ("Charles Maxwell is Given Honor," *Illinois State Journal*, 9 November 1945, p. 17.) From this point forward, Charles was actively engaged with the Robert L. Blakeman Camp, Spanish War Veterans. Charles obituary identified him as "the Springfield Bugler," and noted that "he started his career as a bugler before the Spanish-American War," a task that he apparently performed during his military service beginning in 1898. At the time of his death, he reportedly had "blown taps for more than 500 military burials from five wars" ("Last Company I War Veteran Dies," *Illinois State Journal*, 1 May 1966, p. 32).



write, but Louisa could not. As in 1900, the Maxwell family appears to be one of the only Black families in the immediate neighborhood in 1910 (USBC 1910).

The 1920 U.S. Census of Population noted the Maxwell family as residing at the same address as noted a decade earlier—517 Maple Avenue. In 1920, the household included Joseph (89 years of age), his wife Lou (81 years of age), and their daughter, Tessa (17 years of age).<sup>18</sup> The census indicated that Lou had been born in Louisiana of Cuban-born parents, and that Joseph owned his house, free of any mortgage. Although Tessa's occupation was listed as "laborer," no occupation was listed for either parent (USBC 1920).

Aunt Lou's second husband, Joseph Maxwell, died in late November 1922. His obituary states that he "was one of Springfield's oldest and best known negro citizens" at the time of his death, and that he

was born in[to] slavery in North Carolina in 1830 and grew to manhood there. When a young man he was sold by his old master and was taken into Arkansas by the new owner. At the outbreak of the [Civil] war, he enlisted in the Union cavalry in Arkansas but was later discharged. He came to Camp Butler and from here went back South with the 29<sup>th</sup> Illinois Volunteer Infantry [29<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry, U.S. Colored Troops]. At the close of the war, he returned to Springfield and has lived here since.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The ages given for both Joseph and Lou are inconsistent with their suspected actual ages (see footnote above). In 1916, the young Theresa Maxwell, along with several other young women from Springfield, were noted as performing "The Women At the Grave" at the Holy Trinity Church for Easter service (*Illinois State Register*, 21 April 1916, p.5). Theresa apparently married one Robert J. Singleton at an unknown date.

<sup>19</sup> Some details of Joseph's story is not credible, particularly the part about him joining Union forces in Arkansas at the outbreak of the war, as Arkansas remained in Confederate control through the Battle of Arkansas Post in January 1863 and it seems improbable that he would have joined a Union cavalry unit at that time and location. At least nine individuals named Joseph Maxwell joined Illinois Regiments to serve during the Civil War. To complicate issues, two men by this name are recorded as joining the 18<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry in Little Rock, Arkansas on December 10, 1863. Both of these men were 24 years old, of light complexion, of Irish heritage, and farmers by trade. These two entries probably represent the same man, and it seems doubtful that this Joseph Maxwell (a White farmer) is that man who later settled in Springfield. One Joseph Maxwell was documented as joining the 29<sup>th</sup> Infantry U.S. Colored Troops, with his one-year enlistment occurring on November 6, 1864 in Springfield, presumably joining the regiment upon its arrival at Camp Butler, from Quincy, prior to heading south. Maxwell's enlistment does not include any designation as to the company he was assigned to.

The 29<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (U.S. Colored Troops) was organized in Quincy, Adams County and mustered into service on April 24, 1864. Lieutenant Colonel John A. Bross, of Chicago, was responsible for its organization and became its commanding officer. The 29<sup>th</sup> Regiment was assigned to the Eastern Theater in April 1864, and its first engagement was the Battle of the Crater (and the siege of Petersburg, July 30, 1864). Although initially chosen to be the lead division at the initiation of the charge into the battle, the 29<sup>th</sup> Infantry was held back from the initial charge (ultimately saving many of the 29<sup>th</sup> Infantry men's lives). The 29<sup>th</sup> Infantry participated in the Appomattox Campaign, which led up to Lee's surrender, and the cessation of hostilities between the North and the South. Although Maxwell's military records are confusing, it appears that he apparently was mustered into service in November 1864, in Springfield, and would have missed the Battle of the Crater. He was mustered out, in Springfield, on November 6, 1865. According to military records, he was 19 years of age at the time of his mustering into service, suggesting a birth year of 1843 (Illinois State Archives, *Illinois Civil War Muster and Descriptive Rolls*).

Joseph's obituary indicates that he was survived by his wife, Lou Maxwell, two sons (Joseph and Charles), two daughters (Mrs. Lou Berryhill and Mrs. Alice Marshall), and a step son (Robert Tyler [sic, Tyler]).<sup>20</sup> According to his obituary, Joseph "was one of the last four negro Civil war veterans who belonged to the negro G. A. R. post which was disbanded a few years ago because of the small number of members" ("Joseph Maxwell, 92, Former Slave, Dies in Hospital," *Illinois State Register*, 18 November 1922, p.2; "FORMER SLAVE, 92, DIES AT HOSPITAL," *Illinois State Journal*, 19 November 1922, p. 12).<sup>21</sup> Joseph bequeathed the majority of his estate, which included a 53-acre farm, to his son Charles, giving his widow Lou the family homestead for her use during her life (*Illinoi State Journal*, 24 November 1922, p. 7).<sup>22</sup> In 1925 Robert

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<sup>20</sup> In 1932, at the time of Aunt Lou's death, her death announcement noted that she was survived by three sons and three daughters: step-son Joseph (Junior) was a resident of Minneapolis; step-son Charles was living in Springfield; son Robert Tyler was a resident of Chicago; step-daughter Lou's name was given as Lula Deeryhill (a resident of Chicago) [sic Berryhill]; Alice's last name was cited as McMillan (not Marshall, and a resident of Columbus, Ohio); and daughter Miss Theresa Maxwell (a resident of Springfield) (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 January 1932, p. 14).

This is the first that research documents that Joseph had a daughter, named Lou Maxwell (who, after 1899, coincidentally shared the name with her step-mother "Aunt Lou"). Initial research into Aunt Lou Maxwell's life uncovered numerous news stories recounting Lou Maxwell's illegal and/or illicit activity in Springfield that initially led to a "Good Lou, Bad Lou" interpretive dichotomy. Lou Maxwell—the daughter—first appears in the Springfield newspapers beginning in July 1893, charged with "street walking" (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 July 1893, p. 5). She apparently would have been 13 years old at this time. In 1894, Lou Maxwell appears in the local newspapers on at least four occasions—one of which involved altercations with one Mary Smith, presumably the occupant of House A. In 1895, the *Illinois State Register* refers to Lou as "the notorious Lou Maxwell" (*Illinois State Register* 3 October 1895, p. 6). In December 1896, Lou was arrested for being an inmate in a "colored house of ill-fame, and was slashed across her face by her ex-lover (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 December 1896, p. 6; 25 December 1896, p. 2). In October 1897, Lou was arrested with Etta Page regarding multiple fights (assault with a deadly weapon), and the two were described as "negroes, and denizens of the bad lands" (*Illinois State Register*, 23 October 1897, p. 5). Lou's criminal activity caught up with her in mid-1898. Described as "a colored character in police circles," she was convicted for robbery and was sentenced to serve time in the Joliet penitentiary (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 June 1898, p. 4). The "bad Lou" next appears in the local newspapers in late 1901, being arrested for being drunk and disorderly (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 September 1901, p. 5). In 1905, Lou (alias Lou Pervines) was arrested for "conducting a house of ill fame" (*Illinois State Register*, 3 March 1905, p. 6). Again in December 1905, and one last time in October 1909, the local newspapers report on Lou Maxwell's (alias Lou Purvines) proclivity for robbery (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 December 1905, p. 9; 31 October 1909, p. 13). After this date, Lou's activities are no longer noted in the Springfield newspapers.

The 1910 U.S. Census of Population had no reference Lou Maxwell or Lula Berryhill (USBC 1910). Presumably, Lou married one John Berryhill in circa 1910 or shortly thereafter. The 1917 *Springfield City Directory* indicates Lula was a widow (husband John Berryhill apparently had died), worked as a cook at the Springfield Mud Bath Sanitarium, and resided at 114 North Eleventh Street (SCD 1917). Social security records indicate she was born January 9, 1880 and died on August 22, 1973 (Ancestry.com).

<sup>21</sup> Several issues arose regarding Joseph's estate. Although Charles was the chief beneficiary, the home was left to his wife (Lou) for use during her life, and was to be split among the four children at the time of her death. A fifth child, Joseph Maxwell was left only \$10. Joseph Jr. subsequently sued Charles, the administrator of the estate, for the sum of \$1,440 for back pay owed him as "he had worked for his father for five years and was entitled to the \$1,440." The jury awarded Joseph, Jr. only \$400 (*Illinois State Register*, 24 November 1922, p. 2; "MAXWELL WINS \$400 BACK PAY," *Illinois State Journal*, 19 July 1923, p. 3).

<sup>22</sup> This notice suggests that Joseph and Lou had four children: Theresa, Lou, and Deen Maxwell, and Alice Maxwell Sidney.

Wright and Simeon Osby, members of a special committee of the Robert Blakeman Camp No. 86, Spanish War Veterans, worked towards the proper marking of the graves of Colored Veteran troops at Oak Ridge cemetery, procuring and setting a commemorative headstone on Joseph's and several additional Black Springfield veterans' graves (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 March 1925, page 9; 19 March 1925, page 7).

Again, the 1930 U.S. Census of Population indicates that the Maxwell family was still residing at 517 Maple Avenue. As expected, the elder Joseph Maxwell was no longer enumerated, and the 91-year-old Lou Maxwell was listed as the head of the household.<sup>23</sup> Living within the household was Lou's 27-year-old daughter Tessa (aka Teresa), and her three grandchildren (Robert Singleton, aged 8 years; Louise J. Holmes, aged 4 years and 3 months; and Earl W. Sanders, aged 11 months). Lou was noted as owning her home (valued at \$300), being born in Cuba, and Spanish-speaking.<sup>24</sup>

The *Illinois State Journal* carried a short news story on Christmas Day, 1931 with a banner headline that read: "MRS. LOU MAXWELL IS 97 YEARS OLD" (*Illinois State Journal* 25 December 1931, p. 8). The story noted that Mrs. Maxwell, "a Negro better known as 'Aunt Lou'," was "born in Havana, Cuba, and came to Springfield in 1908 [sic]." Clearly, the news reporter incorrectly stated the date in which Aunt Lou had arrived in the Capitol City. Aunt Lou Maxwell died, only a few weeks later, in late January 1932. At the time of her death she was still residing at 521 West Maple Avenue—a location she had lived at continuously since circa 1895-96.<sup>25</sup> Besides visitation in her home, funeral services were held at the Holy Trinity Lutheran church with burial at Oak Ridge Cemetery (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 February 1932, p. 8). The 1940 U.S. Census of Population indicates that 35-year old "Tresa" and her 52-year old husband (Robert Holmes, a plasterer) were residing in the family home at 521 Maple Avenue,

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<sup>23</sup> As noted earlier, the purported age of Lou Maxwell is probably not correct. If born in circa 1855, she would have been only 74 years old in 1931 (<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/87696425:6224>)

<sup>24</sup> Theresa apparently married a man named Robert Singleton, and they had one child whom they also named Robert (b. 1922). Robert Joseph Singleton (1922-1979) served in the U.S. military from May 1943 to November 1946. He received a shrapnel injury to his scalp while serving in North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia). Although Robert was a resident of Champaign at the time of his enlistment, he traveled to Peoria to enlist. Robert was single, and employed by the 2264<sup>th</sup> Company, Civilian Conservation Corp, Camp Erie, SCS-50, Erie, Illinois at the time of his enlistment. He listed his mother Teressie [sic] Singleton, 521 W. Maple as his next of kin. Robert died in 1979 at the age of 57, and is buried in Camp Butler National Cemetery (Section D, Site 364-B). He apparently never married or had any offspring (*Illinois State Journal-Register*, 29 March 1979, p. 38). Sometime between 1922 and 1926, Theresa apparently married Robert Holmes, and they had two children (Louis J. and Earl W.). Earl Holmes died at the age of 32 in 1967 (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 May 1967, p. 16). Earl apparently never married nor had any children. Louis J. Holmes married a man with a surname Hill and apparently raised a family (one son, six daughters) in Springfield. She died in August 1980 (*Illinois State Journal-Register*, 11 August 1980, p. 5).

See also obituary for Mrs. Alice Maxwell McMillan, Charles' sister, who died in 1926. At the time, she was a resident of Columbus Ohio, and was survived by two brothers (Charles of Springfield and Joseph of Minneapolis) and one sister Mrs. Lula Beryhill [presumably the Lou Maxwell of earlier days' notoriety] (*Illinois State Journal*, 17 February 1936, p. 10).

<sup>25</sup> In the mid-1890s, Lou Tyler and her soon-to-be husband apparently were living in side-by-side houses. By 1899, it would appear that Lou probably moved into Joseph's house.

Springfield. At the time, the family included two sons (Robert, 18 years of age and Earl, 12 years of age) and a single daughter (Louise, 14 years of age) (USBC 1940). Theresa Holmes died in early 1971 (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 April 1971, p. 4).<sup>26</sup>

Joseph Maxwell and his wife Lou Tyler Maxwell were working-class, Black Springfield residents whose story is reminiscent of many Black families during the post-Civil War years. Joseph had been a slave who grew to maturity in North Carolina, potentially ending up in Arkansas by circa 1860. Most likely, with the onslaught of hostilities, he ended up in Illinois (potentially at Camp Butler) where he enlisted with the 29<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry, U.S. Colored Troops.<sup>27</sup> At the end of the war and his military service, he settled in Springfield, where he eventually ended up owning a small parcel of land on the north edge of Springfield, which he farmed. Unfortunately, little is known about his life during the early years of his Springfield residency and acquisition of his farm. Prior to his marriage to Lou Tyler, Joseph appears to have been married to another woman and have had three children by that marriage. The plight of his children—at least their later life journeys—is poorly documented. In later life, Joseph was a relatively successful, civic-minded farmer who owned his own house and a small plot of ground on the edge of the community.

Aunt Lou appears to have been a Cuban-born immigrant who came to the United States in circa 1885. We can only speculate as to her motivation to leave Cuba, and ultimately settle in Springfield. In the mid-1880s, Cuba was still reeling from the Ten Years' War (1868-1878) and Little War (1879-1888), two revolts fought unsuccessfully for independence from Spain. In 1881, a pro-Independence Cuban activist named Jose Marti established a Cuban exile community in southern Florida, and in October 1886, slavery was finally abolished in Cuba. It was in that context that Lou (whose original surname is not known) left Cuba. Perhaps Lou, a recently freed slave, left Cuba due to social unrest and economic hardships and settled in southern Florida prior to arriving in Springfield by the mid-1890s. As with her second husband (Joseph Maxwell), little is known about her first husband (Edward Tyler) and their early life in Springfield. Upon her arrival in Springfield, Lou pursued a trade common among Black women—that of a washer woman, and soon found a niche for her services among the service men at Camp Lincoln. She apparently was a hardworking, family-oriented woman, albeit with potential substance abuse problems, who garnered respect from the military community at Camp Lincoln.

Little is known about Joseph and Lou's children. Joseph's daughter Lou Maxwell lead a troubled life during her early years. She eventually married but her husband died very early, and she lived out her years in Springfield. She died in 1973. His son Joseph, Jr. was estranged from his brother and stepmother, and eventually moved to Minneapolis. Their daughter Alice married, and died young in Columbus Ohio, apparently without offspring. Theresa married at least two times and raised several children in Springfield. She died in 1971.

Lou's stepson Charles was portrayed as a "troubled" youth, often in conflict with his father and stepmother during the 1890s. With the Spanish-American War, he enlisted in the military where he served with distinction, and he continued a tradition of service to the community for decades

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<sup>26</sup> Charles' obituary suggests that Mrs. Tessie Holmes (Springfield) was Charles' niece.

<sup>27</sup> See previously reference biography of Cyrus Greenleaf for a similar story of a Springfield Civil War veteran.

thereafter. For many years, Charles Maxwell was the “caretaker” of the Lincoln Tomb working as a housekeeper and cook for the renowned Lincoln Collector and Custodian Herbert Wells Fay, 1921-1958) (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 February 1945, p. 12). By the late 1920s (if not earlier), Maxwell played taps at a variety of events throughout the community (including funerals, and wreath-laying ceremonies at the Lincoln Tomb). As such, Maxwell’s tap-playing activities are a common news item (often accompanied by a photograph) in the local newspapers from circa 1930 through his death in 1966. Charles died in late April 1966 at the Veterans Hospital in Kansas City, at the age of 88 years of age. The “Springfield Bugler” had blown taps for over 500 military funerals during his lifetime.

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1860 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1870 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1880 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1900 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1910 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1920 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1930 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1940 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

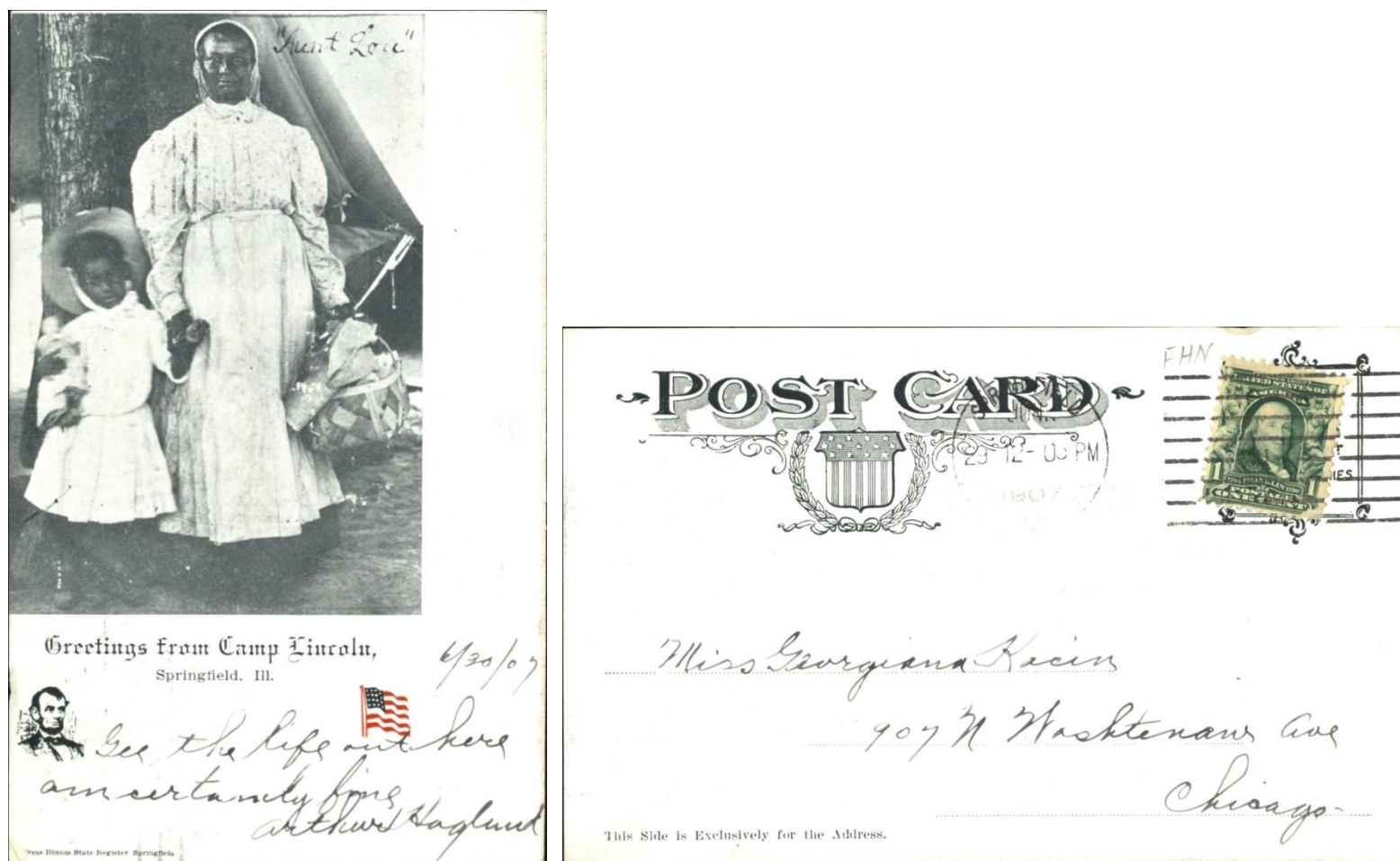


Figure 1. Two views of the picture post card postmarked June 1907 depicting “Aunt Lou.” The hand writing of the words “Aunt Lou” at the top of the picture and the accompanying text at the base of the card are of two different hands. Many postcards of Camp Lincoln date from this era, but the presence of this one illustrating Aunt Lou is unusual. This card was published by the “*Press Illinois State Register, Springfield.*” Presumably, these cards were being sold or distributed as souvenirs at Camp Lincoln. Many picture postcards of the era were actual pictures taken of, or by, the sender. This card is not of that sort, due to the printed reference to Camp Lincoln, the reference to a publisher, and its similarity to other cards depicting Camp Lincoln.







**Figure 3. The historic Commissary Building at Camp Lincoln, now the location of the Illinois State Military Museum.**

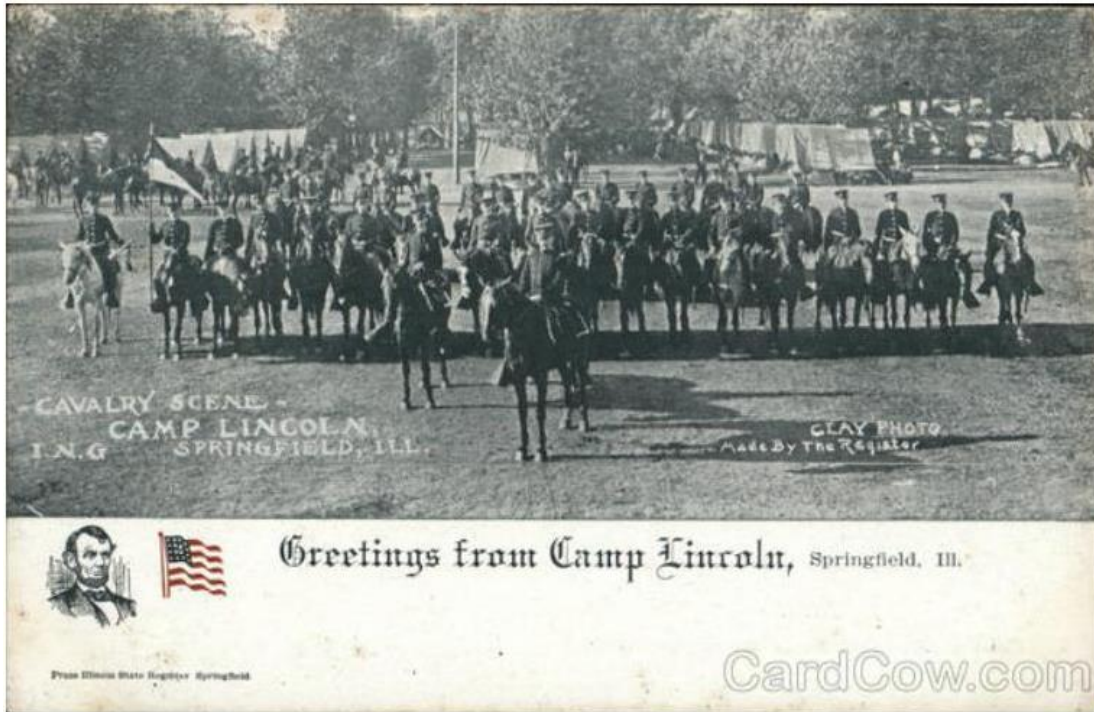


Figure 4. Two “Greetings from Camp Lincoln” postcards dating from circa 1905-1910, similar in style to the one illustrating “Aunt Lou” and published by the *Press Illinois State Register, Springfield*. Military scenes such as these are more typical of the cards associated with Camp Lincoln.





**Figure 5. View of “Aunt Lou” Maxwell (nee Tyler) at Camp Lincoln. The young girl, with her white-faced doll, may be her daughter Theresa “Tessa” Maxwell (born in circa 1903). Aunt Lou was reportedly born in Cuba (or potentially Louisiana of Cuban parents), and married her second husband Joseph Maxwell (Civil War veteran, 29<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry, U.S. Colored Troops) in 1899. Aunt Lou lived to a ripe old age of 97, dying in early 1932. This postcard is dated June 1907, and probably depicts Aunt Lou and Tessa sometime just prior to that date.**

M | 29 | U.S.C.T.

*Joseph Maxwell*

Appears with rank of ..... on .....

**Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of Substitutes forwarded**

for the *29* Reg't U. S. Col'd Inf. Roll dated *Springfield Ill. Nov 6, 1864.*

Where born *North Carolina*

Age *23* yrs; occupation *Laborer*

When enlisted *Nov 6, 1864.*

Where enlisted *Springfield Ill*

For what period enlisted *1* years.

Eyes *Blk*; hair *Woolly*

Complexion *Blk*; height *5* ft *3* in.

When mustered in *Nov 6, 1864.*

Where mustered in *Springfield Ill*

Bounty paid \$ *100*; due \$ *100*

Where credited *Erin Stephen Co. Ill 3 Dist*

Company to which assigned .....

Remarks *Mustered in for 1 year as subs for James Brown 21 Sept 30, 1864*

Book mark: .....

*L. J. & M. Wright*

(389) Copy.

M | 29 | U.S.C.T.

*Joseph Maxwell*

Reg't, Co. *29* Reg't U. S. Col'd Infantry.

Appears on an **Individual Muster-out Roll**

of the organization named above. Roll dated *Springfield Ill. Nov 6, 1864.*

Muster-out to date *Nov 6, 1865.*

Last paid to ..... 186 .....

Clothing account:

Last settled ..... 186 ; drawn since \$ ..... 100

Due soldier \$ ..... 100; due U. S. \$ ..... 100

Am't for cloth'g in kind or money adv'd \$ ..... 100

Due U. S. for arms, equipments, &c., \$ ..... 100

Bounty paid \$ ..... 100; due \$ ..... 100

Remarks: *Reported and Mustered out as an unassigned recruit of the 29th U.S. Col'd Troops to date Nov 6, 1865, the date of Muster-out of his Regt pursuant to S.O. No. 46, dated (1865)*

Book mark: *446.867 643.821*

*Rose*

(389) Copy.

M | 29 | U.S.C.T.

*Joseph Maxwell*

Appears with rank of *Pvt* on .....

**Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of Substitutes forwarded**

for the ..... Reg't U. S. Col'd Inf. Roll dated *Camp Butler Ill. Dec 29, 1864.*

Where born *North Carolina*

Age *23* yrs; occupation *Laborer*

When enlisted *Nov 6, 1864.*

Where enlisted *Springfield Ill*

For what period enlisted *1* years.

Eyes *Blk*; hair *Woolly*

Complexion *Blk*; height *5* ft *3* in.

When mustered in *Nov 6, 1864.*

Where mustered in *Springfield Ill*

Bounty paid \$ ..... 100; due \$ ..... 100

Where credited *Erin Stephen Co. Ill 3 Dist*

Company to which assigned .....

Remarks: *Substitute for Jas Brown Co. 29th Regt on Roll*

Book mark: *C-8-Vol 5-99.C.67 1865*

*L. J. & M. Wright*

(389) Copy.

M | 29 | U.S.C.T.

*John Maxwell*

Appears with rank of *Pvt* on .....

**Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of Substitutes forwarded**

for the *29* Reg't U. S. Col'd Inf. Roll dated *Springfield Ill. Dec 13, 1864.*

Where born *North Carolina*

Age *23* yrs; occupation *Laborer*

When enlisted *Nov 6, 1864.*

Where enlisted *Springfield Ill*

For what period enlisted *1* years.

Eyes *Blk*; hair *Woolly*

Complexion *Blk*; height *5* ft *3* in.

When mustered in *Nov 6, 1864.*

Where mustered in *Springfield Ill*

Bounty paid \$ ..... 100; due \$ ..... 100

Where credited *Erin Ill 3 Dist*

Company to which assigned .....

Remarks: .....

Book mark: *M.C. on file*

*L. J. & M. Wright*

(389) Copy.

Figure 6. "Muster and Description Roll" records for Joseph and/or John Maxwell (U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865; Ancestry.com).

SUBSTITUTE  
VOLUNTEER ENLISTMENT.

STATE OF  TOWN OF

Illinois Springfield  
I, Joseph Maxwell born in the State  
of North Carolina aged Seventy Three years, and by  
occupation a Laborer Do hereby acknowledge to have agreed with  
James Burne Esq. of Evans  
Stephenson Co. 2<sup>d</sup> Dist. Ill.

to become his SUBSTITUTE in the Military Service, for a sufficient consideration paid and  
delivered to me, on the Twelfth day of November, 1864,  
and having thus agreed with said James Burne, I DO HEREBY  
ACKNOWLEDGE to have enlisted this Twelfth day of November  
1864 as a Soldier in the Army of the United States of America, for the period  
of THREE YEARS, unless sooner discharged by proper authority; I do also agree to accept such  
bounty, pay, rations, and clothing, as are, or may be, established by law for soldiers. And I do  
solemnly swear that I will bear true and faithful allegiance to the United States of America;  
that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies or opposers whomsoever;  
and that I will observe and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders  
of the Officers appointed over me, according to the Rules and Articles of War.

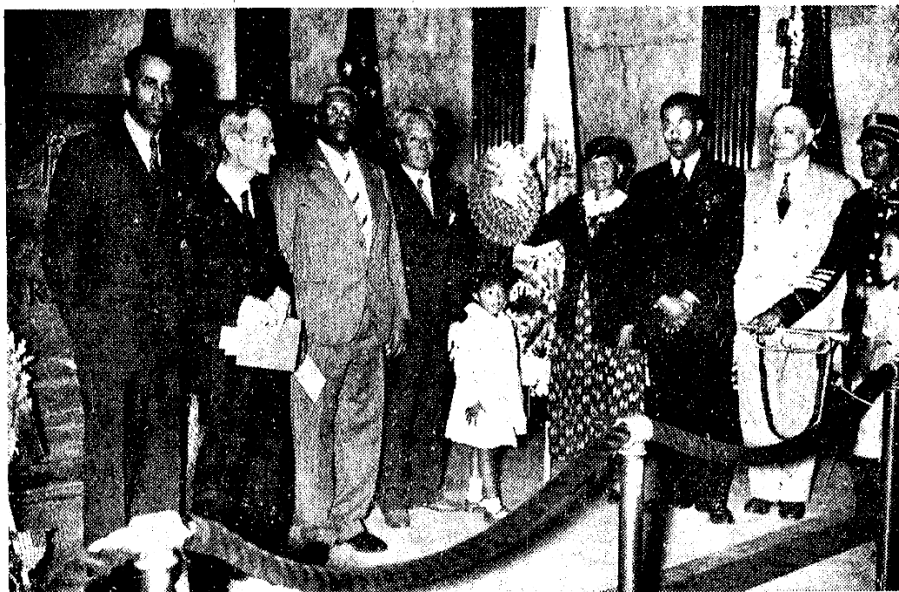
Sworn and subscribed to, at Springfield  
this Twelfth day of Nov 1864 Joseph M. Maxwell  
Subst. James Burne Wm. S. Demson  
Capt. Co. 1<sup>st</sup> Regt. Ill. Col.

We certify, on honor, That we have carefully examined the above-named Volunteer Substitute  
agreeably to the Regulations, and that, in our opinion, he is free from all bodily defects and mental infirmity  
which would in any way disqualify him from performing the duties of a soldier; that he was entirely sober  
when enlisted; that he is of lawful age, (not under 18 years;) and that, in accepting him as duly qualified to  
perform the duties of an able-bodied soldier, and as a Substitute in lieu of James  
Burne drafted in Evans Stephenson Co.  
we have strictly observed the Regulations which govern  
in such cases. This soldier has Black eyes, Red hair, Black complexion; is 5 feet 9  
inches high.

James Burne  
Private, Stephenson Co.  
Wm. S. Demson  
Commissioner of Board.  
W. H. Whitmore  
Sergeant of Board.  
Board of Enrollment of 2<sup>d</sup> Dist. of Illinois

Figure 7. "Substitute Volunteer Enlistment" form for Joseph Maxwell, substitute for James Burne, Stephenson County, Illinois (U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865; Ancestry.com).





**Figure 8.** Charles Maxwell (“Aunt Lou” Maxwell’s stepson). Top: “Last Company I War Veteran Dies,” *Illinois State Journal*, 1 May 1966, p. 32. Bottom Left: *Illinois State Journal*, 24 September 1940, p. 15.; Bottom Right: *Illinois State Journal*, 31 May 1943, p. 3.

## PLACE WREATH AT TOMB



Representatives of Springfield post, 809 of the American Legion, are shown above as they assembled for wreath laying

ceremonies at Lincoln's tomb yesterday. Left to right are Charles Maxwell, tomb attendant, who sounded taps; Alonzo Mose-

ley, post commander; Mrs. Elizabeth Gaines, auxiliary president, and Rev. K. J. Siddall, chaplain.

—Photo by Helm.

**Figure 9. Charles Maxwell begins appearing on a regular basis in the local newspapers for his playing of taps at funerals and civic events beginning in the middle-to-late 1920s, and continues through to his death in 1966 (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 February 1946, p. 2). At a yet undetermined date, Maxwell was appointed caretaker of the Lincoln Tomb by the State of Illinois, and for many years lived on-site as caretaker for the Lincoln collector and custodian Herbert Wells Fay (custodian from 1921-1958). Maxwell was the last Spanish-American War veteran in Springfield, and what is more fitting than the company bugler to outlive all other members of his unit and to play taps to the end!**





**Figure 10. Father and son headstones of Joseph Maxwell (left) and his son Charles Maxwell (right). Joseph served during the Civil War in the 29<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry (Colored Troops) and is buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield. Charles served in both the Spanish American War (Cuba, 1898) and the Philippines-American War (Philippines, 1900-1901), and is buried in Camp Butler National Cemetery.**