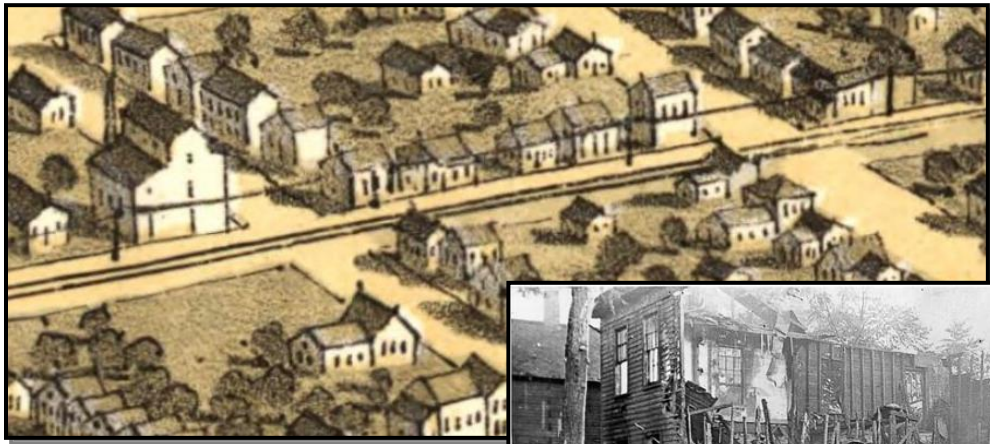


***RESULTS OF PHASE III DATA RECOVERY
FOR THE SPRINGFIELD RAIL IMPROVEMENTS PROJECT,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS***

**VOLUME IV:
HOUSE C (313 NORTH TENTH STREET)
THE RACE RIOT SITE (11SG1432)**



Fever River Research, Inc.
Springfield, Illinois

2024
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HOUSE C (313 NORTH TENTH STREET)**

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2024

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Results of Archival Research	5
Results of the Archaeological Investigations	36
History of Archaeological Research	36
Phase II Investigations (2014)	36
Phase III Mitigation (2019)	37
The Archaeological Features	38
The Artifact Assemblage	82
The Pre-House C Component (Circa 1838-1842)	82
The Early Pre-Fire Component (Circa 1848-1860)	85
The Middle and Late Pre-Fire Component (1860-1908)	90
The Fire Component	96
The Post-Fire Component	104
Summary and Conclusions	187
Lot Use	188
The House	191
The Original House	191
The Later House (Additions and/or Modifications)	194
Construction of the First Addition	194
Construction of the Second Addition	195
The Pre-House C Structure	195
The Artifact Assemblages: Insights into House Occupants and Their Lifestyles	209
The Pre-House C Component (Pre-1842)	209
The Early Pre-Fire Component (Circa 1842-1870)	210
The Middle Pre-Fire Component (Circa 1870-1882)	210
The Late Pre-Fire Component (Circa 1882-August 1908)	211
The Race Riot Victims (August 1908)	214
Future Archaeological Potential	217
References Cited	232
Appendices	
I. Lot Provenience	239
II. Lot Inventory	243
III. Ceramic and Glass Vessel Description	278
IV. Faunal Tables	290
V. Lot Provenience, Alley Test	296
VI. Lot Inventory, Alley Test	296
VII. Ceramic and Glass Vessels, Alley Test	302
VIII. The Phoenix Mill	305
IX. Early Black Inhabitants of the Neighborhood	321

X.	Reverend Henry Brown	378
XI.	The Wright and Brown Subdivision	391
XII.	Lloyd Thomas: Lord of the Badlands	444

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 the 2019 field season (April through November 2019) at archaeological site 11SG1432 (the Race Riot Site). Located in Springfield, Illinois, this site was the location of five houses identified during the Phase I archaeological investigations for the proposed Carpenter Street Underpass project, which is being undertaken by the City of Springfield in anticipation of proposed rail improvements along the Tenth Street rail corridor (see Figures 1-2).

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 that lies within the proposed project right-of-way. The Phase II archaeological testing conducted in 2014 documented the excellent subsurface integrity of these sites, and resulted in the determination of the site's National Register eligibility 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 Memorial (managed by the Lincoln Home National Historic Site). That part of the site that could not be protected from the proposed rail improvements were subjected to Phase III archaeological mitigation (data recovery), which was conducted during the summer and fall of 2019.

Volume I of this multi-volume document contains a history of the project, and presents detailed context of the project area history. This report (Volume IV) details the result of the archaeological investigations at House C (313 North Tenth Street), which was one of the five houses destroyed in August 1908 by fire by a white mob driven by racial hatred. Separate volumes detail the results of the excavations at Houses A (Volume II), B (Volume III), D (Volume V), and E (Volume VI). Volume VII details the results of the Phase II archaeological testing conducted at two additional houses (House F and G) in 2014. Although Houses F and G were not destroyed by the mob action in August 1908, the archaeological investigations of these two late nineteenth century houses provide significant context material for the project narrative. Volume VIII is a summary volume that addresses the original research questions identified within the Data Recovery Plan prepared prior to the 2019 investigations, as well as a series of summary historical vignettes of the various families and individuals who once called this neighborhood home—including those who were unfortunate to have experienced the horrific events within that neighborhood on the hot August weekend of 1908.

House C (313/315 N. Tenth Street¹) was located along the west side of Tenth Street, three houses north of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection, and immediately south of the east/west alley bisecting the block. The house was located on the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16, Block 3, Jonas Whitney's Addition, City of Springfield. With an approximate 39-ft (11.89m) frontage, the house fronted Tenth Street to the east, with the front of the structure roughly in line with Houses A and B and set back approximately 19-ft (5.79m) from the Tenth Street right-of-way. The south wall of House C was located immediately on the property edge and abutted the north side of House B. The north wall of the house was located 5-ft 6-in (1.68m) south of the 16-ft (4.88m)-wide east/west alley once located in the center of the block. Although the majority of this dwelling, as originally constructed, was exposed during the Phase II archaeological investigations, the west end of the rear service wing of this dwelling extended into the adjacent parking lot and was not investigated. The Phase III archaeological mitigation resulted in the complete excavation of the front (east) half of the house and the adjacent front yard.

¹ In 1890, the Sanborn Fire Insurance maps listed this house as 313 N. Tenth Street, whereas in 1896, it was listed as 315 N. Tenth Street. The 313 N. Tenth Street listing is probably the most accurate.

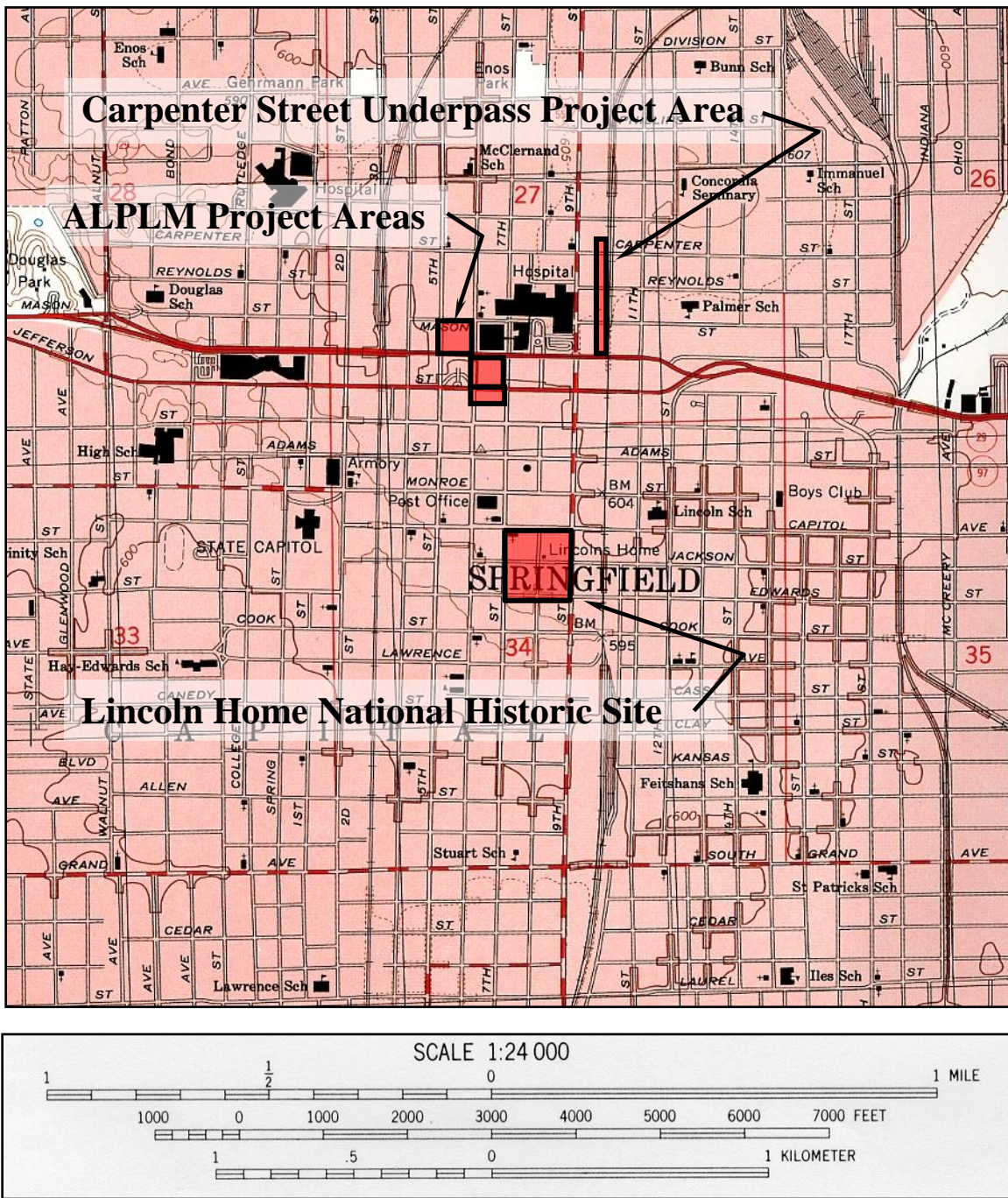


Figure 1. Location of the proposed Carpenter Street Underpass in Springfield, Illinois (*Springfield West, IL 7.5-minute U.S.G.S. topographic map, 1998*). The location of both the Lincoln Home National Historic Site and the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM) project area also are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

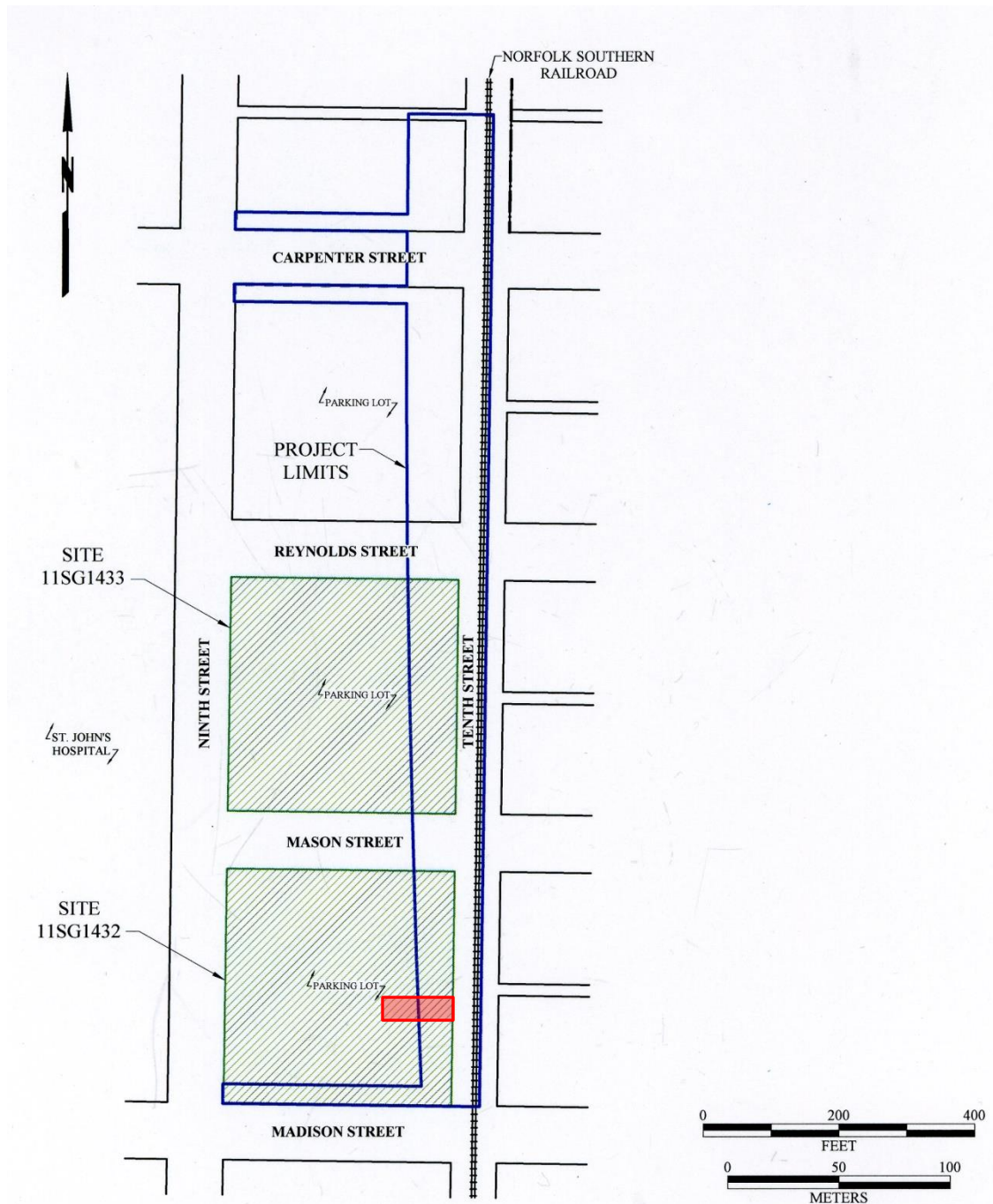


Figure 2. Site plan showing the relationship of Sites 11SG1432 and 11SG1433 (hatched in green) in relationship to the Carpenter Street Underpass Project Area (outlined in blue) and surrounding vicinity. Site 11SG1432 corresponds to Block 3 of J. Whitney’s Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck’s Addition to Springfield. Site 11SG1433 corresponds to Block 14 of Wells and Peck’s Addition. The location of House C, which is the focus of the existing report/volume, is indicated by the red rectangle.

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 to 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.² 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 January 1842, Whitney sold the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16, Block 3 (House C), with its 38½-ft frontage, to William Barrett of Sangamon County for the sum of \$100 (SCDR T: 94; see Table 1).³ William Barrett owned this parcel for a very short time, selling it to James Conner in September 1843 for the sum of \$150 (SCDR U:503). At the time of this sale, both the Barrett and Conner families were residents of McLean County. Conner subsequently sold this lot to John T. Briscoe in March 1847 for the sum of \$240 (SCDR Z:78). By this date, Conner listed his place of residence as being Sangamon County on the 1847 deed, suggesting that he may have moved to Springfield by that date. In March 1844, a James Conner published a notice entitled "Information Wanted" regarding the whereabouts of a Michael Conner, who had left Tuam, Galloway County, Ireland "about ten years since" (see Figure 4).⁴ It is unclear whether or not the increase in price from \$100 in January 1842, to \$150 in September 1843, represents

² 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.

³ During the Phase II investigations, Barrett's name was incorrectly noted as being Barnett.

⁴ Michael Conner had last been heard from in New York City about eight years prior. In early 1844, James Conner had listed his address as Springfield, Illinois (*Sangamo Journal*, 28 March 1844, p. 2). The next reference to a James Conner in the local newspapers occurred in mid-1859. At that time, a short notice read "James Conner was placed in jail yesterday, at the request of friends, being in a state of insanity" (*Illinois State Register*, 6 July 1859, p. 2). The earliest Springfield city directory (1856) lists no James Conner.

improvements to the lot. The archaeology suggests that there may have been an earlier house on this lot and the adjoining one associated with House B by that time (a house which pre-dated Houses B and C, and probably was demolished prior to 1842). Most likely, the \$50 increase in price seen in the sale between Barrett and Conner simply reflects the rise in value of this unimproved lot. However, the subsequent increase in sale price to \$240 in March 1847, with Biscoe's purchase, may reflect the construction of a new house at that time. Although the sale price was relatively modest, it represents a 62% increase in value from what Conner paid for it in 1843 and is suspected to reflect improvements having been made on the property during the interim (as opposed to increased inflationary/speculative value of an unimproved lot in Springfield).

Relatively little is known about John T. Briscoe. However, there is a "John Briscoe" listed in the 1850 U. S. Census for Springfield, who was reported as a thirty-eight-year-old miller from Virginia and may be the same individual (USBC 1850).⁵ In June 1850, John T. Briscoe sold N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 to Jacob Tiger for the sum of \$300 (SCDR DD:576).⁶ This price most likely indicates the presence of a house on this lot at that time. If a house was not already present on the lot by 1847, when Briscoe purchased it, one probably was by this point in time. In support of this interpretation, Tiger and his family are listed within the 1850 U.S. census for Springfield (compiled in October of that year) living in a location presumed to be that of House C. Tiger's residence in this census is listed only two doors away from Isaac Smith's in the census (occupant of House E), making it plausible that he was residing on the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 (in House C) at this time. The census reports Tiger as a 27-year-old miller and native of Ohio, whose real estate was valued at a modest \$350 (only \$50 more than he had paid for the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16). At this time, he was married to Effa Ann, who was age 25 and from New Jersey. The couple had five children between 1 month and 7 years of age. A fellow miller named Thomas Billington, age 28 and from England, also was living in the household at the time (USBC 1850:76).⁷ Tiger was working at the adjacent Phoenix Mill.⁸

⁵ The John Briscoe in question was residing at the American House (then Springfield's largest hotel and run by A. L. Miller) and had no spouse or children enumerated with him. This profile fits with the John T. Briscoe associated with House C, who had no wife as co-signatory and was still a resident of Sangamon County when he sold House C in June 1850. This is also corroborated by the fact that Briscoe was listed as an engineer in the census. Briscoe appears to have experienced financial/legal difficulties in the early 1850s. In early 1851, for example, four lots he owned in Block 2 of Whitneys Addition (Lots 9-12; located immediately east of the project area) were put up for public auction due to non-payment of taxes (*Illinois State Register*, 15 February 1851, p. 3). Briscoe himself had purchased these same lots at a tax auction in 1848 (SCDR EE:2-3). He also was named, along with Jacob Bunn, in a foreclosure suit filed by William P. Grimsley in the Menard County Circuit Court in 1853. The public notice published in the newspapers concerning this suit noted that Briscoe was no longer a resident of State of Illinois (*Illinois Journal*, 15 March 1853, p. 3).

⁶ Jacob's surname is variously spelled "Tiger" and "Tigar," though the former is the most consistent. Jacob Tiger died in 1869.

⁷ Billington was later to buy a house on the north half of this block (see House G discussion).

⁸ Early in 1852, Tiger published a notice in the local newspaper stating that he had found a lost pocketbook on Seventh Street in Springfield. The notice indicated that the owner could contact Tiger at the "Phoenix Mills" (*Illinois Journal*, 6 February 1852, p. 3; see Figure 5). For a more in-depth view of the history of this mill, which was an early industrial anchor to the neighborhood, refer to "The Phoenix Mill: Industrial Anchor to the Tenth Street Project Area," Appendix VIII, this volume]).

Jacob and Effa Anna Tiger sold the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 to Lewis Apgar on August 8, 1853, for the sum of \$1,000 (SCDR LL:637).⁹ The significant increase in the value of the property since 1850 probably reflects the expansion of the house during the intervening period. The 1854 *Map of Springfield*, which is the earliest map to illustrate the project area, depicts House C as a frame structure with an L-shaped footprint (Potter 1854). Archaeological investigations determined that the main body of the house and its rear service wing (or “ell”) was constructed in two separate episodes. The rear wing possibly was added during the Tigers’ period of ownership—and thus explains the higher price Apgar paid for it in 1853. The 1854 map also illustrates a large frame outbuilding on the rear (west) end of the House C lot. The map depicts this outbuilding as extending partially onto the House B lot, but it may, in fact, be two adjoining buildings that the map fails to delineate between (Potter 1854). An 1858 map of Springfield essentially shows the same conditions on the House C lot as that presented by the 1854 map (Sides 1858) (Figure 3).

Lewis Apgar’s name is not included in either the 1855 or 1857 Springfield city directories, but this is not entirely surprising considering that Springfield city directories from the 1850s are far less comprehensive than later ones, and it was not unusual for known city residents to be omitted from them. Apgar is listed in the directory for 1859, which notes him as living on Tenth Street between Madison and Mason and being employed as a “fireman” (SCD 1859:26).¹⁰ He presumably was living in House C. Apgar also appears in the 1860-1 *Springfield City Directory*, which once again places his residence on the west side of Tenth Street between Madison and Mason. This directory notes Apgar’s occupation as “engineer” (SCD 1860b:49). The 1860 census lists Lewis Apgar two doors down from Elizabeth Smith’s household (in House E), which fits with the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 (House C). Apgar is reported in the census as 35-year-old New Jersey native, who was employed as a “fireman in mill” (most likely at the nearby Phoenix Mill). He was married to Mary Ann (age 26) and had three children between the ages of 9 and 12.¹¹ His real estate had an estimated value of \$2,500, while his personal property was worth \$100 (USBC 1860:211).

The Apgars apparently relocated not long after the 1860 census was taken, as they sold the N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 on August 16, 1860 to George McDaniel for the sum of \$2,000 (SCDR

⁹ As of 1860, Jacob Tiger was farming in the vicinity of Springfield. He apparently enjoyed some success in this endeavor, as the 1860 census indicates that he owned \$4,000 worth of real estate and personal property valued at \$1,000 (USBC 1860). Tiger, however, eventually returned to his former trade and took over the Phoenix Mill after the death of William P. Grimsby (Tiger’s one-time employer). He seems to have been operating the mill by May 1863 (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 17 May 1863, p. 2). Notices published in February 1867 newspapers by Jacob Tiger advertise for the sale of the “Old Phoenix Mill” at auction (*Illinois State Journal*, February 6, 1867). The Phoenix Mill, located at the southwest corner of Madison and Tenth streets, was constructed in the early 1840s and remained in operation until 1885, when it was displaced by a lumber yard (see “The Phoenix Mill: Industrial Anchor to the Tenth Street Project Area,” Appendix VIII, this volume).

¹⁰ This directory incorrectly spells his surname as “Alager.”

¹¹ The Illinois Archives’ Statewide Marriage Index indicates that Lewis Apgar married Susan Ann Smallsopher on April 2, 1846, in Sangamon County. It not known whether this “Susan Ann” was same “Mary Ann” reported in the 1850 census.

8:495).¹² By August 1861, local newspapers carried notice of Lewis Apgar's death, with none other than Jacob Tiger acting as the estate executor (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 5 September 1861, p. 3) (Figure 5).¹³ It is possible that Apgar and Tiger were friends/associates through working at the Phoenix Mill.¹⁴

According to the deed record, George McDaniel was a resident of Cass County when he purchased N1/2, N1/2 of Lots 13-16 from the Apgar family in August 1860.¹⁵ The 1860 U. S. Census of population lists George McDaniel as a resident of Lancaster Township (or Precinct), in southeastern Cass County, Illinois at that time.¹⁶ In the census, McDaniel was reported as a 60-year-old Maryland-born farmer living with his Virginia-born wife, Elizabeth (59 years old), and a 41-year old Irish-born John McLoughlin (USCB 1860a).¹⁷ The increase in the property's purchase price paid by McDaniel suggests that substantial improvements had been made to the

¹² Research documents a Sangamon County man named George McDaniel (1826-1896), the son of Robert McDaniel. This particular McDaniel family had immigrated from Virginia, via Kentucky, with Robert and his family arriving in rural Mechanicsburg Township in 1835. The following year (1836) the family moved to Buffalo Hart Grove (Power 1876:498). In October 1854, this George married Louisa Constant. Louisa (born in 1833) was the daughter of Jacob Constant, who also had emigrated from Kentucky arriving in Buffalo Hart Grove in 1826 (Power 1876:222-223). Although potentially related, this particular George McDaniel is not the same George McDaniel residing in House C.

¹³ Apgar apparently also owned a 160-acre farm located ten miles northeast of Virginia, in Cass County, which the estate did not sell until early 1864 (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 28 January 1864, p. 2).

¹⁴ There also is a possibility that Lewis Apgar and Jacob Tiger were connected through their families' place of origin. The 1860 census indicates that Apgar was born in New Jersey; although a more precise locale of his birthplace has not yet been identified, there is a good chance that he was born in Hunterdon County—and more specifically Tewksbury Township. Hunterdon County is located in northwest New Jersey and borders the Delaware River Valley. Circa 1707, a group of German immigrants who were members of the German Reform Church and fleeing religious persecution settled in Tewksbury Township. Among these were the Apgars, who are described in an 1881 history of Hunterdon County as "a very numerous family." A search of this surname in the 1850 U. S. Census (through Ancestry.com) found the majority of Apgars in the United States still residing in Hunterdon County, though not exclusively in Tewksbury Township. The 1881 history also noted an earlier Jacob Tiger who was part of the initial German settlement in the township (Snell 1881:471-473). The Jacob Tiger associated with House C was born in Ohio, but he may have been part of a branch of the family that had moved west. Further research is needed to establish whether Lewis Apgar and the Jacob Tiger both had their origins in Hunterdon County, New Jersey.

¹⁵ The 1860 U. S. Census of population lists George McDaniel as a resident of Lancaster Township (or Precinct), in southeastern Cass County, Illinois. This township's name later was changed to Philadelphia. At the time, he was living with his presumed wife, Elizabeth (59-years old), and a 41-year-old John McLoughlin (USCB 1860).

¹⁶ This township's name later was changed to Philadelphia.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Russell apparently was born in Shepherdstown, Virginia on August 21, 1800. Her first husband was a man named Humpage, who died after fourteen years of marriage. After the death of her first husband, she married George McDaniel while living in Hagerstown, Maryland. According to her obituary, after the death of her first husband, while still living in Hagerstown, Elizabeth Russell Humpage married George McDaniel. Elizabeth and George McDaniel moved to Springfield, arriving in late November 1831. Elizabeth died at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. A. E. Seaman on August 10, 1875 (*Illinois State Journal*, 12 August 1875, p.4). Elizabeth McDaniel's is buried in the McDaniel family plot at Oak Ridge Cemetery Her obituary notes her religious conviction, and devotion to her grandchildren.

house and/or property during the Apger occupation (circa 1853-1860).¹⁸ McDaniel does not appear in the 1857, 1860, or 1863 Springfield city directories—most likely due to his residence in Cass County. Local newspapers, though, may suggest George was living in Springfield as early as 1840 (cf. his August 1840 testimonial for Lindsay’s Liniment), and that he presumably sold his house located “in the west part of the city” in 1851, perhaps moving to Cass County at that time.¹⁹ Although McDaniel is not noted in the 1863 city directory, the 1864 city directory indicates that a George McDaniel, a teamster, was living on Tenth Street, between Madison and Mason Streets at the time (presumably in House C). Previously, in May 1862, McDaniel had advertised in the local newspaper his Tenth Street house for rent. The advertisement described the property as, “A comfortable house, on 10th street, on the block immediately north of Grimsley’s Mill. It contains three rooms, with a good cellar, and has a good barn attached (*Illinois State Register*, 20 May 1862, p. 2) (Figure 6). He apparently gave up on the idea of renting House C, however, and occupied the dwelling himself. As previously noted, he appears to have been residing there when the 1864 *Springfield City Directory* was compiled. The 1866 *Springfield City Directory* records George McDaniel’s place of residence as being on the west side of Tenth Street, three houses north of Madison—a description that matches the location of House C exactly. Interestingly, this directory notes McDaniel’s occupation as “farmer” (SCD 1866:159). The “City Tax Sale Delinquent Tax List for 1865” indicates that George McDaniel was late in paying the property taxes due on the property (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 March 1866, p. 4).²⁰

George McDaniel was not listed in either the 1868 or 1869 city directories, suggesting that he may have moved from Springfield by that date.²¹ George McDaniel, the owner of the property associated with House C, died on October 8, 1869, apparently “while absent from home” in Kansas City. He was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery (*Illinois State Journal*, 12 August 1875, p. 4, as cited in Findagrave.com).²² At the time of this death, George was 68 years of age.

The 1867 *Bird’s-Eye View of Springfield* illustrates House C, but the artist seems to have melded it and adjoining House B into a single structure, with no clear differential between the two. The bird’s eye depicts the house as having a side-gabled roof and a front façade with at least three openings (though it is impossible to discern windows from doors). No outbuildings are

¹⁸ This also included fractional Lot 13, Block 17, of Wells and Peck Addition, which may account for some of the increased price. This may have been when the rear service wing was constructed onto the rear of the house.

¹⁹ This may reference the other George McDaniel. Robert McDaniel, the father of the second George McDaniel, died in late 1855 or very early 1856 (cf. advertisement for administrator’s sale of his father’s property, *Illinois State Journal*, 22 January 1856, p. 2).

²⁰ At that time [1865], the county assessed a tax of \$7.60 for that part of Lot 16 on which his house was located. Similarly, Isaac Smith’s estate was delinquent with their property taxes as well, and that portion of Lot 1 on which House E was located was assessed a similar \$7.60 tax (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 March 1866, p. 4).

²¹ By late 1866, a George McDaniel—presumably the second George McDaniel not associated with House C—apparently was living in Buffalo Hart, and he ran for county sheriff in 1868 (*Illinois State Journal*, 7 August 1866, p. 2).

²² The original copy of this newspaper article could not be located. A transcription of the article appears with her burial information at <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/23797908/elizabeth-mcdaniel>.

illustrated to the rear of House C on the bird's eye (Ruger 1867; Figure 7). The 1866 Board of Fire Underwriters assessed a fire insurance rate of \$1.25 for House C. This was the same rate which was applied to Houses D, E, and G. Slightly lower rates were assessed on House A and G (\$1.00) and House B (\$0.85) (Board of Fire Underwriters 1866:91).

An Administrator's Deed dated 8 September 1870 indicates that George McDaniel had recently died, that his estate was sold to pay his debts, and that his widow (Elizabeth McDaniel) subsequently purchased the property for \$1,100.73 from the estate administrator (SCDR 48:150).²³ That same month, a tax list was published that indicated that George McDaniel owed \$16.27 in city taxes on the N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16 of Block 3 of J. Whitney's Addition.²⁴ This tax assessment was one of the lowest in the project area, but it was not much lower than the taxes assessed on the lots associated with Houses D, E, and F that same year; and it was significantly higher than those imposed on the adjacent S1/2, N1/2 Lot 16, which was the location of the adjacent House B (*Illinois State Register*, 17 September, 1870, p. 6).²⁵ In early 1871, the *Daily Illinois State Register* noted that George McDaniel (or more appropriately, his estate) was delinquent paying a portion of the city taxes owned for 1870. At this time, \$8.78 was still owned on the N1/2, N1/2 Lot 16—that parcel on which House C was situated (*Daily Illinois State Register*, 18 May 1871, p. 4).

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population suggests that a family named Seaman was residing in House C in that year. At the time, the head of household was listed as 47-year-old, Virginia-born Ann Seaman. Also residing in the house were her seven children (Joseph, age 27; Annie, age 23; Hattie, age 19; Mary, age 15; Charles, age 17; Lulu, age 13; and Jonacetta,²⁶ age 11) all of whom had been born in Illinois. Joseph, the eldest son, was listed as a laborer. Besides these family members, 68-year-old Elizabeth McDaniel (George's widow), and two-year old Georgie Turley were also residing in the house with the family. The Seamans' placement in the census rolls between the households of Judge Hayward (in House D) and Lida Pollard (in House B) fits with House C (USBC 1870).

Ann Seaman, who was Elizabeth McDaniel's daughter from her earlier marriage, had married Isaac D. Seaman on 26 May 1842 in Sangamon County (Ancestry; U.S. Compiled Marriages, 1791-1850).²⁷ The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* lists a "Mrs. A.[nn] E. Seaman," who was a

²³ The property was sold by Moses Anderson, the administrator of George McDaniel's estate, to pay debts. Elizabeth McDaniel purchased the property at the public sale which was held on 4 August 1870.

²⁴ The tax assessment included "several city, school, general interest, water interests, gas, sewer, plank and back taxes assessed...by the city council of the city of Springfield, for the municipal year 1870...."

²⁵ The tax assessments on the other houses in the project area that year were as follows: House A, \$27.01; House B, \$11.59; House D, \$17.16; House E, \$16.79; House F, \$16.79; and House G, \$22.88.

²⁶ This daughter's name is listed in the 1886 city directory as "Isaacetta," which suggests that she may have been named in honor of her father. Other city directories simply list her name as "Etta."

²⁷ Isaac D. Seaman married Ann E. Humpage on 26 May 1842 in Sangamon County (Ancestry; U.S. Compiled Marriages, 1791-1850). The June 3, 1842 edition of the *Sangamo Journal* noted that Isaac D. Seaman married "Miss Ann H. Umphage" [sic] (*Sangamo Journal*, 3 June 1842, p. 3).

widow, residing on the north side of Madison Street between Ninth and Tenth Street. Although this location clearly does not match House C, it nevertheless was in the immediate vicinity of House C (SCD 1868:151).²⁸ The 1872 city directory indicates that Ann Seaman was a widow residing on Tenth Street between Madison and Monroe—another location that does not correspond with House C, though this may simply represent an error in the directory listing. The 1873 *Springfield City Directory* subsequently notes that Ann Seaman was living on the west side of Tenth Street, three houses north of Madison, a location that matches House C precisely. By the following year (1874), however, Ann Seaman had relocated to the north side of Jefferson Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets. She would reside on Jefferson Street for several years before moving to 915 East Madison Street, right around the corner from House C (SCD 1874:127; 1875:132; 1876:188; 1879:205).²⁹

House C is depicted in two bird's-eye views of Springfield and a city map published in the 1870's. The 1873 bird's-eye view is the most detailed of these three sources (Koch 1873; Figure 7). This view, which looks in a southwesterly direction across the city, depicts House C as being

The 1850 U.S. Census of Population enumerated the Isaac Seaman family. At that time, Isaac was listed as a 32-year-old clerk from Virginia, living with his 27-year-old, Virginia-born wife Ann, and three children (James, 7 years of age; George, 5 years of age, and Ann, 3 years of age). All three of the couple's children had been born in Illinois. Isaac had no real estate value listed. Living next to the Seaman family in 1850 was the 35-year-old, Kentucky-born Nancy Hargraves and her two Illinois-born children (John, nine years of age and Mary four years of age) (35 years of age). Nancy Hargraves had a real estate evaluation of \$100. The Hargraves family was Black—and the daughter of Leanna Donnigan Knox.

The 1857-58 *Springfield City Directory* listed I. D. Seaman as a clerk residing on the west side of Klein Street, between Jefferson and Madison Streets (1857:78). The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* lists Mrs. Ann Seaman as living on Klein Street, between Jefferson and Madison Streets. It is interesting that she is listed in this manner, without reference to a husband, or as a widow. The fact that the Seaman listing in the directory is not by the husband's name suggests that the husband may have been separated from the family for some time.

²⁸ This location may correspond to the “house of ill-fame” later identified as 915 East Madison Street.

²⁹ The 1874, 1875, and 1876 city directories all place Ann Seaman (widow of Isaac) on the 500 block of East Madison Street, and the one for 1876 specifically cites 517 East Madison as her address. She is listed at 915 East Madison Street in city directories published between 1879 and 1886, and these same sources indicate that several of her children resided with her at points during this period including her son Charles S. (a bookkeeper) and her daughters Lola B. and Etta (both teachers) (SCD 1879:205; 1881:92; 1882:205; 1886:248). It is note that the house at 915 East Madison formerly had been operated as a brothel by Emma Nash circa 1872-1876. Nash later relocated her business closer to the Levee, and Mrs. Seaman apparently occupied 915 East Madison Street after her departure. The property was once again repurposed as a brothel in the early 1890s by Mabel Baxter

In late 1895, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on police raids of two “colored resorts in the bad lands.” One of the two resorts was “run by a white woman named Annie Seaman” where she and five “inmates” were arrested. The inmates included Annie Jones, Frank Golden, John Schulz and Ed Miller—all of which were charged with being inmates of a house of ill-repute” (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 November 1895, p. 6). In December 1895, Annie Seaman (alias Fannie Reisch) was noted as the “proprietress of a house of ill fame” at unspecified location (*Illinois State Register*, 7 December 1895, p. 6). Although it seems obvious that the elder widow Seaman was not the same Annie Seaman arrested in 1895, one might question whether her daughter, the younger Annie Seaman (who would have been approximately 48 years of age in 1895), was the individual involved. It is possible that Seaman's “resort” was located at 908 East Madison Street (on the opposite side of the street from Mabel Baxter's brothel) as the 1896 city directory lists an Anna Seaman (widow of Morris) residing at that address (SCD 1896:429). The 1894 city directory also lists a Nancy A. Seaman (widow of Morris) at 910 East Madison Street (SCD 1894:410).

set tight to the alley bisecting Block 3 and directly abutting House B to the south. The main block of the house has a side-gabled roof that is portrayed as being significantly taller than House B. Although House C is not depicted as being two stories in height, the disparity between its roof height and that of House B suggests that it may have had a usable upper half story or loft. No window is shown in the upper part of the north gable-end wall, but this does not preclude an upper half story being present, considering that the bird's eye is not comprehensive in its depiction of houses (due to the small scale involved), and openings commonly were omitted. The front elevation is depicted as having a four-bay façade, consisting of three windows and a doorway, the latter of which is positioned just north of center. Interestingly, the bird's eye suggests that the front entrance was framed by side and transom lights—a feature not depicted on Houses A, B, D, and E. No front porch is shown on House C by the bird's eye. The rear wing on the house is depicted as having a gable roof with a ridgeline running perpendicular to, and slightly lower than, the roof on the main block. The 1873 bird's eye also shows a relatively tall, but modest sized, outbuilding positioned on northwest corner of the house lot. A subsequent bird's eye view, published in 1878, is far less detailed in its depiction of House C; it conflates Houses B and C into a single structure, omits the rear wing on House C, and fails to show any window or door openings (Beck and Pauli 1878; Figure 7). An 1876 city map is similarly lacking in detail; it simply illustrates the footprint of House C, melding it with House B, though it does show the rear wing at least. This map depicts no outbuildings on the lot (Bird 1876; Figure 8).

In early March 1877, Ann Seaman sold the property (and House C) to Joseph Faro (unknown-1878) for the sum of \$900 (SCDR 21:979). The greatly reduced price for the house at this time suggests the property (and neighborhood in general) may have deteriorated to some extent during the McDaniel/Seaman occupation.³⁰ Based on the Springfield city directories, it would appear that the Faro family was living at this location by 1874-75, which was several years prior to the purchase of the property in 1878. The family presumably was renting House C from Mrs. Seaman prior to their purchase of it. The Faros had lived in the immediate vicinity of the project since at least 1870.³¹ The 1875 *Springfield City Directory* listed both Joseph and Daniel Faro as Black laborers residing at 313 N. Tenth Street (House C). In October 1878, only a few months after his purchase of the property, Joseph Faro died “at his residence, 313 North Tenth Street.” His obituary states that

He was a member of St. Paul's A. M. E. Church, and was a devoted and zealous Christian. He leaves a wife and six children to mourn his loss. In the death of

³⁰ In 1879, the Board of Fire Underwriters assessed an insurance of \$1.00 on House C, which was \$.25 lower than the 1866 rate (Board of Fire Underwriters 1880:279). The city taxes owed on the N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16 of Block 3 of J. Whitney's Addition also had decreased significantly over the course of the decade, dropping from \$16.27 in 1870 to \$4.46 in 1881. It is unclear whether this decrease reflects a general cut in property taxes in Springfield or it indicates a deterioration in the condition of the house. Interestingly, the taxes on the House C lot were still being assessed in Elizabeth McDaniel's name in 1881 (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 May 1881, p. 9).

³¹ The 1870 U.S. census suggests that the Joseph Faro, Sr. family was living in the block immediately to the north of the project area. At that time, the family consisted of Joseph (age 36; laborer), his wife Mary (age 19; keeping house), Daniel (age 15), Caroline (age 14), Laura (age 12), and Ellen Taylor (age 13). All of the family members had been born in Kentucky. Mary Faro's obituary states that she was a former slave born in Kentucky (*Illinois State Journal*, January 9, 1916, p. 7; see also *Illinois State Register*, January 9, 1916, p. 10).

Joseph Faro this community loses a good citizen and his church an upright member (*Illinois State Journal*, October 16, 1878, page 5).

The 1879 city directory listed a total of five Faro family members associated with this address, including Joseph (clerk), Daniel, Jr. (laborer), Carie [sic], and Laura—all being listed as residents, as well as Edith who was listed as “help at 313 N. Tenth Street.” An Adah Faro had no listing for a personal residence; she simply was listed as “help at 725 Fourth Street.” Similarly, Carie’s occupation was listed as “help at 912 Mason Street, between Ninth and Tenth.” (SCD 1879:59).

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population indicates that House C was occupied by the Faro family at that time. Mary [Joseph’s widow; 1832-1916) was enumerated as being 45 years old, with an occupation of “Keeping House.” Living with her at that time were her four stepchildren (Joseph, age 30; Eva, age 27; Carry, age 23; and Laura, age 21), all of whom had been born in Illinois. Georgie Allen, Mary’s 17-year-old niece, was also living in the house at the time. The 1880 city directory listed Mary Faro as a widow residing at 313 N. Tenth Street (House C) (SCD 1880:72).

Individual biographies of African American residents of Springfield dating from the nineteenth century are few in number. Power (1876) has no reference to the Faro family. One of the first sources to speak directly to the contribution of the African American residents of Springfield was the *History of Sangamon County, Illinois*, which was published in 1881. This county history published a nine-page section entitled *The Colored People of Springfield*, which highlighted the lives of twenty-two Springfield residents—one of whom was Mary Faro.

Mary Faro, widow of Joseph Faro, was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, December, 1830. July 1861, she married to Joseph Faro. He was born in Trumbull County, Kentucky. His parents were Joseph Faro, Sr., and Hannah Faro. Joseph Faro, Jr., was first married to Hettie Davis, and they had ten children, six living, viz: Joseph, Daniel, Ada, Carrie, Laura and Martha. His second wife, Mary Faro, the subject of this sketch, had two children, both dead. Joseph Faro, Jr., her husband, was a member of the M. E. Church, and a farmer—died October 15, 1878. Mrs. Faro is a member of the M. E. Church, on Fourth Street. Her father, Abson Taylor, was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, as was his mother, Jane Taylor, they were members of the Baptist Church. Mrs. Faro has a nice residence at 313 North Tenth Street, where she resides (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:742).

At the time of this publication [1881], Mary Faro was still living in House C, located in the 300 block of North Tenth Street which was described as “a nice residence.” The 1881-82 *Springfield City Directory* confirms Mrs. Mary Fero’s [sic] address as 313 N. Tenth Street (SCD 1881:46). The 1882-3 *Springfield City Directory* lists one John Burton as a renter (tenant) at 313 North Tenth Street (SCD 1882:50), implying that Mary Faro had vacated the property by that time. The 1886 city directory indicates 313 North Tenth Street was occupied by the Byrd family, consisting of Finess and Nannie Byrd. Finess was listed as “works Bryant’s” (a dealer in hides and wood), while Nannie was listed as a dressmaker. Both Finess and Nannie were listed as

“colored” (SCD 1886:56). Similarly, the 1887-88 *Springfield City Directory* noted F. Byrd, a “colored” grocer, as residing at 313 N. Tenth Street (SCD 1887:59). The 1887-88 *Springfield City Directory* indicates the house at 313 North Tenth Street was occupied by Mollie Parker and Lucretia Vandervert, suggesting that the house had been duplexed by that date. Both women were noted as being “colored” (SCD 1887:225, 290). By 1887, Mary Faro was listed as a “domestic” living on the east side of Seventh Street, near Monroe, having moved from the family home.³² The 1888 *Springfield City Directory* lists Frank Hickox, a Hackman, as residing at 313 North Tenth Street (SCD 1888:188).

Tax assessments published in 1889 indicate that “Mary Fero” [sic], although not residing in House C, was still the owner of the property at that time (*Illinois State Register*, April 13, 1889). Similarly, the “Delinquent 1890 Tax List” indicates that Mary Faro, the owner of the house, was again delinquent with her property taxes. The taxes owned on the House C lot in 1890 was assessed at \$10.05, which was lower than those for Houses A, B, D, and E (*Illinois State Register*, 11 April 1891, p. 7).³³

The first reference to this property by address in the local newspapers is from January 1889, which notes that a Jerry McKinney was deathly ill at his mother’s house on Tenth Street (*Illinois State Register*, 18 January 1889, p. 6). McKinney was a Cincinnati railroad worker whose race is unknown (possibly employed by the Cincinnati, Indianapolis and Western Railroad), and his mother most likely was residing in a boarding house at that location at the time. In 1890, a young woman named Gertie May Mitchell was trying to get a marriage license to marry Robert Haywood, who may have been the son of Judge Haywood (or Hayward) who had occupied House D circa 1870-1876. The couple apparently had difficulty in obtaining the marriage license, as Gertie was only 17 years of age. At the time, Gertie was living with one Maria McKinny (described as a “colored lady”) and she vouched for the young couple’s intent, and the couple was granted a marriage license. Although Judge Haywood and his family had not lived in the Tenth Street neighborhood since the 1870s, it is more-than-likely this Maria McKinny was the mother of Jerry McKinney, and it was through the Tenth Street neighborhood connections that Judge Haywood’s son met the young Gertie (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 June 1890, p. 4).³⁴

George Carpenter, the executor for the estate of Anna Asher, filed a lawsuit against the Faro family and was awarded a court order allowing for the forced sale of the property on 31 October 1889. Anna—whose relationship to the Faro family is unknown—had died in mid-1888 (cf. published announcement, *Illinois State Register*, 2 September 1888, p. 2). At the October 1889

³² The 1886 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Mary Faro and her children Carrie, Joseph, and Laura were all residing at other locations in Springfield—not in House C. Mary Faro does not have a specific residence referenced in the directory but is noted as “help at W. H. Holly’s.” W. W. Holly owned a sales stable and had a residence on the east side of Seventh Street, south of Monroe (SCD 1886:96, 140).

³³ The tax assessment on House C was even lower than the much smaller House B, which was \$12.51. The assessments on the other house were: House A, \$16.14; House D, \$14.75, and House E, \$13.80 (*Illinois State Register*, 11 April 1891, p. 7).

³⁴ See also, “The Early Black Occupants of the Tenth Street Neighborhood: Racial Diversity and a New Hope for Equality in Early Springfield,” Appendix IX, this volume).

public sale, Carpenter purchased the property for the Asher estate. Subsequently, Carpenter assigned the property to St. John's Hospital and the Home for the Friendless. They, in turn, assigned the property to Rachel Rubinsky (who received the Master in Chancery deed from Colby) in late November 1891 (SCDR 85:317). By this point in time, Mary Faro was residing with her son Joseph at 1115 East Madison Street in Springfield and was working as a dressmaker (SCD 1892:208). She would live until age 85, dying on January 6, 1916 in Chatham, located a short distance southwest of the capital city (*Illinois State Register*, 7 January 1916, p. 10; *Illinois State Journal*, 9 January 1916, p. 3).³⁵

As discussed above, it appears that the Faro family continued to own House C after Mary vacated the premises in circa 1882, maintaining the dwelling as rental property from circa 1882 through 1891. Rachel Rubinsky also operated House C as a rental income property throughout her period of ownership, which lasted through 1911.³⁶ Rubinsky was a Jewish immigrant from Polish Russia who was born in 1854 and had immigrated to the United States in 1871. Her husband Michael also was from the Russian-controlled portion of Poland; he was a peddler in 1891, but later became a junk dealer and eventually a grocer. In 1891, the Rubinskys were living at 912 East Madison Street (directly south of project area) but by 1900 they had relocated to 1024 East Madison Street (USBC 1900).³⁷

The first Sanborn fire insurance map of Springfield to illustrate House C dates to 1890. This map, which numbers the house as 313 North Tenth Street, depicts the dwelling as a rectangular frame structure with a distinctive L-shaped footprint. Both the front (or main block) and rear service wing of the house were indicated as one story in height at this time. The large rear service wing faced south into a small courtyard created by the adjacent House B. A small extension and a porch were located along the south side of the rear wing. A two-story frame carriage house was documented along the rear alley (Sanborn 1890:12; see Figure 9).

³⁵ See also <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/30436310/mary-a-faro>. A news item published in mid-1903 entitled "FARO FAMILY REUNION," which was held in Washington park, noted the extended family members present: Charles Ellis family, Joseph Bell family, Moses Smith family, Mrs. Fanny Donegan, Mrs. Annie Rhodes and family, as well as Mrs. Carrie Smith and family—all who had connections to various houses within the greater project area (*Illinois State Register*, 2 August 1903, p. 9).

Hart (2017) also has some information on the Faro family, particularly in respect to Ruth Charlotte Ellis, who was the daughter of Charles Ellis and Carrie Faro Ellis and the granddaughter of Mary Faro. Born in Springfield in 1899, Ruth was witness to the events of the 1908 race riot, at which time her family lived at 1417 East Monroe Street. Hart writes that her father, "armed with only a sword, refused to leave his house in Springfield and stayed to thwart off a band of rowdy, brick-throwing whites." In the 1920s, Ruth Ellis moved to Detroit, where she became the first Black woman to own a printing business in the city and was a prominent gay activist (Hart 2017:101). The Ruth Ellis Center (ERC) in Detroit, which services LGBTQ+ young people, is named in her honor.

³⁶ Tax lists published in the *Illinois State Journal* lists Rachel Rubinsky as the owner of the property in both 1903 and 1911 (2 July 1903, p. 14; 9 July 1911, pt. 6, p. 9).

³⁷ The home the Rubinskys occupied in 1900 (1024 East Madison Street) was one of those destroyed in the 1908 race riot. The family had relocated to 815 East Carpenter Street in 1905-1906 (SCD 1906:659). See also "The Landlords of the Badlands at the Turn-of-the-Century: The Jewish Connection," Appendix III, Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume I]).

The 1891 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that John S. Baylor, a barber, was the occupant of 313 North Tenth Street (SCD 1891:40). In 1891, the *Illinois State Register* published a list of names left out of J. Babeuf's City Directory, and among those names were John S. and William H. Balor [sic]. John was listed as a resident of 313 North Tenth Street, whereas William was listed as a boarder at this address (*Illinois State Register*, 9 July 1891, p. 8). The 1891 city directory listed William H. Baylor as a resident of 640 North Third Street (SCD 1891:40). The city directory indicates both men as "colored." The following year, a newspaper notice from February 1892 suggests that the house was occupied by an unmarried woman named Sarah Harris. This news item indicates that Mrs. Celia Bosley (resident at 313 North Tenth Street) one of the "oldest and highly respected citizens of Hannibal, Mo., died... at the residence of her daughter, Miss Sarah Harris, 313 N. 10th st." (*State Capital*, 6 February 1892, p. 4). The *Illinois State Register* noted that Celia, a native of Kentucky, was 69 years of age, and had been a resident of Illinois for only three months (*Illinois State Register*, 30 January 1892, p. 5).³⁸ The city directory for 1896 is confusing, as the street index suggests the house was occupied by Theorore Esslinger, a white laborer, but the name index lists Melinda Reed at 313 North Tenth—potentially in error, as the street index for that year has her living at 312 North Tenth Street (across the street to the east). Besides Bailor, surnames associated with this address in the city directories through 1895 include Harris and Fry, both of whom were Black families. Subsequent newspaper entries through 1908 document a series of everyday life experiences (births, deaths, marriages, and work) associated with tenants living at this address. Family surnames associated with these events are similar to those noted above, with some additions (see discussion of Bosley-Jones family, House B).

The 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map of Springfield indicates that the rear service wing of House C had been significantly expanded since 1890. This expansion removed the small extension and side porch illustrated on the south side of the wing by the previous map and all but eliminated the "courtyard" between Houses B and C (leaving a small gap, only several feet wide, between the two houses). The Sanborn map also shows that the two-story carriage house previously depicted on the lot had been replaced by a smaller, one-story outbuilding. This map also notes the house as being numbered "315," though this is an aberration from other archival sources, which typically list it as "313" (Sanborn 1896:4; Figure 10)

The 1898 city directory indicates that 313 North Tenth Street was occupied by Thomas E. Butler (a peddler) and John Skelski (a miner), both of whom were white (SCD 1898:109, 501, 763). Little is known about Skelski, who appears to have been a short-term resident of Springfield.³⁹

³⁸ Her husband was William Bosley. An 1896 news story which indicates that William potentially worked at delivering laundry, suggests that House C may have functioned as a laundry at that time (*Illinois State Journal*, 30 August 1906, p. 5). The family was originally from Kentucky, and Hattie had eight children: Sarah Harris, Mrs. Margaret Jones, Mrs. Lucy Wilson, Mrs. Francis Vanaver, Messrs. John and Charles Harris, and Mrs. Mary C. Jones—several of whom were residents of this neighborhood over the subsequent years, 1890-1908. The 1887 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that Mrs. Celia Bosley was a washerwoman boarding at 1022 East Madison Street (just around the corner from House C) in that year. Lucy Wilson and Mary Jones were associated with other houses in greater project area (see House B discussion in Volume III).

³⁹ John Skelski is not listed in Springfield city directories preceding and following 1898, nor is his included in the 1900 U. S. Census for the city. A search of his name in local newspapers yielded no results.

Much more information is available for Thomas E. Butler and his wife Hattie. A search of the Springfield newspapers found numerous news stories relating to the Butlers, beginning in the early 1880s and continuing through circa 1901. These news accounts suggest that the couple had a “colorful” past which included numerous allegations of theft, unruly and illicit behavior, and involvement with prostitution. In the early 1890s, Mrs. Butler reportedly ran a “house of ill fame” at Ninth and Madison Streets referred to as “Hattie Butler’s Ranch” (cf. *Illinois State Register*, December 3, 1893).⁴⁰ Thomas Butler is variously listed in city directories from the 1880s and 1890s as a “rag peddler,” “ragman,” “peddler,” and “junk dealer.” The directories indicate that he and Hattie regularly switched residences during this period, but they never seem to have strayed too far from the Central Business District—and particularly the Levee.⁴¹ One newspaper article from 1894 specifically refers to “Tom Butler, the rag merchant, who makes his headquarters in the ‘tenderloin’ district” (*Illinois State Journal*, 21 May 1894, p. 4). Thomas and Hattie initially occupied House C at some point between 1896 and 1898. Thomas died from consumption, at age 37, on April 29, 1899. The funeral was held in the family home at 313 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 April 1899, p. 6; 30 April, p. 6; 1 May 1899, p. 6).⁴²

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population indicates that House C (313 N. Tenth Street) was occupied by Hattie Butler (age 46), who was operating a boarding house at this location that year.⁴³ Hattie apparently was the only permanent resident in the house at this time. The census enumerated seven individuals in the house besides her. These included four “roomers” (one with a daughter), and two boarders. The “roomers” included Edna Crouch (age 24; laborer), Mary Kelleher (age 34; washing) and her daughter (age 9), John Lutrics (age 52; laborer), and Henry Lutrics (age 41; laborer). The “boarders” included Albert Thrasher (age 27; laborer), and Lilly Schribner (age 27; dress maker). All inhabitants of this house at that time were white, which stands in contrast to the other four houses in the project area, all of which had Black residents.

⁴⁰ Hattie Butler’s “ranch” possibly was located at 828 East Madison Street, as this is the address provided for Thomas Butler in the 1894 city directory (SCD 1894:113). The Butlers also were accused of keeping a house of “ill-fame” at several other points in time, including 1887, 1890, and 1895 (cf., *Illinois State Journal*, 20 October 1887, p. 4; 23 January 1890, p.1; *Illinois State Register*, 11 July 1895, p. 6).

⁴¹ City directories list Thomas Butler at 108 South Eighth Street in 1887, on the east side of Tenth Street, north of Madison in 1888, at 709 East Jefferson Street in 1891 and 1892, at 828 East Madison Street in 1894, and 308 North Second Street in 1896. The 1898 city directory lists Thomas E. Butler, a peddler, residing at 313 North Tenth Street. (SCD 1887:59; 1888:61; 1891:64; 1892:124; 1894:113; 1896:64; 1898:109).

⁴² Despite Thomas Butler’s somewhat checkered past, the newspaper articles concerning his illness and death were sympathetic. Four days before his death, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on his imminent passing and referred to him as “one of the best-known characters in Springfield.” It further noted that, “‘Tom’, as he was familiarly called, is a horse trader, and being a wild and reckless sort of fellow, he was well-known to the men who frequent ‘trader’s alley’” (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 April, p. 6; cf., *Illinois State Journal*, 30 April 1899, p. 6). The paper presumably used “horse trader,” in a colloquially sense—meaning that Tom was hard bargainer, as opposed to being an actual trader in horseflesh—given that he is consistently noted a rag peddler and junk dealer by other sources.

⁴³ The term “boarding house” was often a euphemism for a “house of ill fame.” In late December 1901, the *Illinois State Register* (December 5, 1900) reported that Lloyd Thomas “has been living with a woman in a resort on North Tenth street...” We know that Thomas was living in House C at a later date, and as such, it is very possible that it was Hattie Butler who he was living with—and House C was the new location of Hattie Butler’s Ranch.

Two of Hattie Butler's roomers in 1900, Edna Crouch and Mary Kelleher, were relatively well-known in the neighborhood for their illicit activities (as reported in the newspapers). Although there is no direct reference to Hattie operating a "house of ill fame" in 1900 within House C, the possibility is strong that she was still in the "resort" business.

Newspaper research found the names of several earlier residents at Hattie Butler's rooming house. In early 1898, the *Illinois State Register's* "Local News Notes" reported that Mrs. J. Bryant, a resident at 313 North Tenth Street" was moving to Beardstown "where she will make that her home" (*Illinois State Register*, 22 February 1898, p. 5). In late 1899, the *Register's* "Mortuary" column noted the death of 3-month-old John W. Swaringer at the residence of his parents Mr. and Mrs. John Swaringer at 313 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Register*, 22 November 1899, p. 5). Most likely, the young Swaringer couple and their new-born child were residing at Hattie Butler's boarding house.⁴⁴ By late 1901, Mrs. Butler had relocated from House C to 430 North Tenth Street (1-1/2 blocks north of the former).⁴⁵

The 1902 *Springfield City Directory* reports Mrs. Anna Conley ("colored") as the occupant of 313 North Tenth Street in 1902. The directory listing provided no occupation for Mrs. Conley (SCD 1902:839).⁴⁶ The *Illinois State Journal's* "Mortuary Record" in November 1902 reported the death, by suicide, of one Ada Huey [sic Haughey] ("colored") at her residence (313 North Tenth Street) (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 November 1902, p. 6). A news story regarding her death noted that "two companions watched without interference the drinking of a fatal draught of carbolic acid by Ada Haughey, a negress 34 years of age, yesterday afternoon in a shack at 313 North Tenth Street" (*Illinois State Register*, 24 November 1902, p. 6). At the time, she apparently was living temporarily with her brother Willis Balor after leaving her husband. The two witnesses were George Nola and Lena Woods (both described as "mulattos"). Haughey may have been a boarder in House C.

One of the House C occupants in 1903-1904 apparently was a man named Bert Thrasher. Albert Thrasher, a laborer, was listed as one of several boarders in Hattie Butler's boarding house at this location in the 1900 U.S. Census of Population. The 1904 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Thrasher was an occupant of 313 North Tenth Street with an occupation of teamster (SCD 1904:664).⁴⁷ In July 1904, Thrasher was arrested for failure to clean up the property when he vacated the premises. According to the *Register*,

⁴⁴ City directory research around this period found little reference to John Swaringer, which suggest that their time in Springfield was relatively short.

⁴⁵ Hattie Butler's relocation to 430 North Tenth Street also is documented by a newspaper article published by the *Illinois State Register* on November 19, 1901 (p. 1), which describes her place of residence as a "hovel." She also is listed at this address in the 1902 city directory, which incorrectly records her first name as "Hester" (SCD 1902:115).

⁴⁶ By 1904, Mrs. Conley had relocated to 301 North Tenth Street (House A), where she was still residing at the time of her death in April 1905 (SCD 1904:155; *Illinois State Register*, 23 April 1905, p. 10).

⁴⁷ In keeping with the transient nature of the neighborhood tenants during this era, although Thrasher was noted as boarding at 313 North Tenth Street in 1900 and 1904, the 1902 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that he was boarding at 430 North Tenth Street at that time (SCD 1902: 619).

Thrasher is a scavenger and is accused of allowing a large amount of rubbish to remain for a year in the rear of 313 North Tenth street. Thrasher formerly occupied the house, and when he moved refused to clean up. Complaint was made to the health department and a warrant for his arrest was secured. He was arrested on a similar charge last summer and was fined \$14.10 (*Illinois State Register*, 24 July 1904, p. 4).

Although variously identified as a laborer and teamster, Thrasher's occupation as a "scavenger" may have been similar to that of the deceased Thomas Butler.

In 1904-1905, House C apparently was occupied by Miss Clara Jones, who was Black (SCD 1904:355, 913). Newspaper accounts from April 1905, detail the tragic death of Clara at the hands of her lover William Jackson, who in a jealous fit of rage shot her and then himself. According to the accounts, "Jackson... has had a reputation of being a bully. It is stated by them [the authorities] that he is also married, although he has been living for some time with the Jones woman." Jackson died almost immediately from his gunshot wounds. Whereas Jones was suspected to survive, she ultimately died of her wounds as well. Clara's mother, Mrs. Mary Jones, lived at 311 North Tenth Street (presumably in House B).⁴⁸ House C is illustrated on a 1906 Sanborn map of the Springfield's central business district, but it is less detailed in its depiction of the property as compared to previous Sanborn maps (Sanborn 1906; Figure 11).

Both the 1906 and 1907 *Springfield City Directories* indicate that the house at 313 North Tenth Street was occupied by an individual named Lloyd Thomas.⁴⁹ A news account from December 1900 indicates that Thomas, a Black hod carrier, was arrested for disorderly conduct and "for some time has been living with a woman in a resort on North Tenth street" (*Illinois State Register*, 5 December 5, 1900, p. 6). A few years later, in 1906, the *Illinois State Register* reported that Thomas was charged with inducing a young woman (Rosie Mitchell) recently released from the Jacksonville asylum with cocaine to enter a house of ill fame.

Thomas is alleged to have taken the young woman to the bad lands district and to have loaded her with the drug... Lloyd... is known far and wide as the "king of the bad lands" and has an unenviable name in police records. He is a dealer in cocaine and runs a resort in Shin-Bone alley. He is a bad character and known to

⁴⁸ The initial account by the *Illinois State Journal* states that the event occurred at Clara's house on North Tenth Street, between Mason and Jefferson Streets. A later account by the *Illinois State Register* states that Clara lived on North Tenth Street, between Madison and Mason (*Illinois State Journal*, February 9, 1905, February 11, 1905, March 8, 1905; *Illinois State Register*, February 9, 1905, February 10, 1905, March 8, 1905, March 10, 1905). These accounts also state that Clara's mother lived across the street—potentially making reference to the alley between Houses C and D.

⁴⁹ See also "Purloined Chickens and 'Lord' Lloyd Thomas, King of the Badlands (A.K.A. 'Short and Dirty,'" Appendix XII, this volume).

all who have dealings with him to be bad (*Illinois State Register*, 13 September 1906, p. 2; see also 22 September 1906, p. 6).⁵⁰

The list of registered voters published in March 1907 indicates three males of voting age were residents of 313 North Tenth Street at that time, and these were Loyd [sic] Thomas, Warren Minard, and Samuel Hall (*Illinois State Register*, 24 March 1907, p. 28). The 1907 *Springfield City Directory* omits Hall from its listing for 313 North Tenth Street but does include Thomas and Minard (whose surname is misspelled as “Bernard” in the directory) (SCD 1907:89, 1098).⁵¹ Newspaper accounts indicate “W. W. Minnard,” age 56, dropped dead of a heart attack in the spring of 1908 at his home at 313 North Tenth Street prior to the riots. The cause of his death was “hemorrhage of the brain.” The newspaper stated that,

[Minnard] was formerly a had worked as a cook at both the St. Nicholas and Silas hotels but for the past two years has been unable to do any work, but has been able to move about his home. For several years he has been in failing health, but his death was unexpected. The man was a widower, his wife having died several years ago. He is survived by one son, Robert Minnard of this city; two brothers Henry Minnard of Chicago and David Minnard of this city, and one sister, Mrs. Jennie C. Morrison, also of this city (*Illinois State Register* 12 March 1908, p. 5).

The street index for the 1908 *Springfield City Directory's* does not have an entry for 313 North Tenth Street. The reason for this omission is not known, but it encouraged an initial supposition that House C may have been unoccupied in 1908.⁵² But this, in fact, was not the case. A search of the directory's name index found that Lloyd Thomas was still residing at 313 North Tenth Street in 1908. In addition, a woman named Ada Johnson also was reported living there. Both were noted as “boarders” in the directory. In respect to occupation, Thomas was listed as a “laborer” while none was reported for Johnson. The directory does not note Johnson as “colored” (as it does for Thomas), which typically would indicate that the resident was white; however, it may represent an omission (SCD 1908:434, 828).

⁵⁰ In September, the newspaper noted that Thomas was “languishing in the county jail on the charge.” Relating to Rosie Mitchell. Although Lloyd Thomas was charged with a variety of crimes over the years (including disorderly conduct and assault with a deadly weapon), he seems to have avoided serving any serious prison time through 1908 (*Illinois State Journal*, July 1, 1907, p. 5; *Illinois State Register*, July 1, 1907, p. 6). Although once known as “Lord Thomas, King of the Badlands”, Thomas’ fall from grace apparently was rapid. In late December 1909, Thomas—then known by the nickname “Short and Dirty” was arrested for stealing chickens (*Illinois State Journal*, December 31, 1909, p. 10). For their chicken heist, Thomas and his accomplice (William Bell) were “given an indeterminate sentence in the Chester penitentiary” (*Illinois State Register*, February 12, 1910, p. 6). By 1917, Thomas was back in Springfield and up to his previous “fowl” behavior. The *Illinois State Journal* noted that Thomas “an old offender with chicken stealing... [who] has served time for a similar offense, was arrested by the police last night. Three chickens were recovered” (*Illinois State Journal*, December 1, 1917, p. 5).

⁵¹ The 1907 city directory lists a Samuel Hall (“colored”) as a miner residing at 912 East Madison Street, right around the corner from House C (SCD 1907:838).

⁵² The street index in the 1908 also fails to include any of the addresses associated with House D (315, 317, 319, and 321 North Tenth Street).

House C was set on fire by the white mob on the night of August 15, 1908, during the early stages of the Springfield Race Riot. The house was a total loss. Immediately after the riots, news of the destruction by the mob was reported by the local newspapers. On August 16, the *Register* reported that “Residences at 313 and 317 North Tenth Street destroyed; damage about \$1,000” (*Illinois State Register*, 16 August 1908, p. 2; see also *Illinois State Register*, 21 August 1908, p. 5 for same information).

Only a couple weeks after the riots, damage claims against the City of Springfield were filed. Among those filed were claims made by Mrs. T. Schwartz for damages to her house at 313 North Tenth Street in the sum of \$1,800 (*Illinois State Register*, September 10, 1908). Theresa Schwartz was the widow of Henry Schwartz, a local bartender and property owner. It is unclear as to why Mrs. Schwartz filed claims as the owner of the property, and not Rachel Rubinsky—in whose name the taxes on the property continued to be assessed through 1911.⁵³ Claims were again filed by Theresa Schwartz in 1909 for the sum of \$2,000 for damages to her property at 313 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Register*, 15 July 1909; see also 14 August 1909, page 7; *Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1909). Later, in 1911, Schwartz was cited by the health department for allowing weeds to grow up on a vacant lot she owned on north Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison (*Illinois State Journal*, August 26, 1911, p. 12).⁵⁴ In 1912, although claiming \$2,000 in damages, Schwartz was awarded \$750 for the loss of a house on Tenth Street during the race riot (*Illinois State Journal*, February 2, 1912).⁵⁵ Deed records suggest that Rubinsky sold the property to one Charles Sullivan sometime after 1911 (see Table 1).

In addition to claims on real property destroyed or damaged during the riot, the City of Springfield also was exposed to liability on personal property lost. On September 10, 1908, Lloyd Thomas filed a claim with the City of Springfield for personal property lost at 313 North Tenth Street (valued at \$316.25) during the riots. Unfortunately for Thomas, his claim

⁵³ Rachel Rubinsky is listed as the owner of the property in a city tax list published 1911 (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 July 1903, p. 14; 9 July 1911, part 6, p. 9).

⁵⁴ In late August 1911, three years after the riots, several of the properties at Tenth and Madison Street had not been cleaned up. Two owners of lots located on North Tenth Street, between Madison and Mason Streets—Mrs. Theresa Schwartz and H. J. Friedman—were being fined for not abating the weeds on their properties. At that time, a campaign had been waged for several weeks by the city health department to abate the nuisances, which had been ignored by the property owners, and warrants were subsequently issued (“MUST CUT WEEDS OR SUBMIT TO FINE,” *Illinois State Journal*, 26 August 1911, p. 12).

The Oral History Office (Sangamon State University) conducted an interview with Mr. Ross Wright in 1973. Wright was an eleven-year-old boy at the time of the 1908 riots, and with his father, he saw many of the events of the August riot firsthand. In 1973, when asked about the conflicting reports as to the number of casualties that occurred that night, he potentially made reference to the overgrown lots owned by Mrs. Schwarz, when he noted that:

I only know of two that actually came out. But there is a place on Tenth and Madison, and it’s behind Barker-Lubin’s [Lumber City]. It was allowed to grow up in weeds and it was rumored they don’t know how many was killed and thrown [sic] in there (Alexander 1973:4).

⁵⁵ Mrs. Schwartz died in 1913 and left her properties to her brother, Henry I. Friedman (*Illinois State Register*, 12 September 1913, p. 7).

ultimately was rejected. The same was true for the vast majority of Black citizens of Springfield who had suffered losses at the hands of the white mob (*Illinois State Register* 10 September 1908, p. 5; cf., *Illinois State Journal*, 14 August 1909, p. 3; *Illinois State Register*, 14 August 1909, p. 6).

The site of House C 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 south of it or immediately north (Sanborn 1917:34; Figure 12). House F (325 North Tenth Street) was the only residence on the west side of the 300 block of North Tenth Street to have survived the riot; however, it too would be removed in the early 1920s. The site of House D was redeveloped in the 1930s by the Barker-Goldman-Lubin Company, a building supply firm whose operations eventually extended over the entire surrounding block (see Figure 12). This firm was later renamed the Barker-Lubin Company. The 1952 Sanborn map shows a lumber shed associated with Barker-Lubin covering the entirety of the site of House C (Sanborn 1952:34; see Figure 13). The surrounding block largely had been cleared of buildings by the early 1980s and has since been used for parking.

Table 1
House C Chain-of-Title
N1/2, N1/2 [38'6"], Lots 13-16, Block 3, Jonas Whitney's Addition

<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
10 January 1842	Jonas and Louisa Whitney	William Barrett (Note 1)	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	\$100.00	WD	T:94
26 September 1843	William and Mary Barrett (Note 2)	James Conner (Note 3)	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	\$150.00	WD	U:503
23 March 1847	James and Sarah Conner (Note 4)	John T. Briscoe	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	\$240.00	WD	Z:78
7 May 1850	John T. Briscoe	Jacob Tiger	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	\$300.00	WD	DD:576
12 August 1853	Jacob and Effi Ann Tiger	Lewis Apgar	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	\$1,000.00	WD	LL:637
16 August 1860	Lewis and Mary Ann Apgar	George McDaniel (Note 5)	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	\$2,000.00	WD	8:495
8 September 1870	Moses K. Anderson, Administrator (Note 7)	Elizabeth McDaniel	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	\$1,100.73	AD	48:150 (14400)
7 March 1877	Ann McDaniel Seeman (Note 8)	Joseph Faro	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	\$900.00	WD	62:145 (21979)
24 November 1891	William Colby, Master in Chancery (Note 9)	Rachel Rubinsky (Note 10)	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	--	MCD	85:317 (212979)
Post 1911	Rachel Rubinsky (Note 10)	Charles Sullivan	N1/2, N1/2, Lots 13-16	?	WD	14:400 70:944

Note 1: Barrett is living in Sangamon County when he purchased the lot from Whitney.

Note 2: The Barretts were living in McLean County when they sold the lot to James Conner.

Note 3: James Conner was living in McLean County when he purchased this lot.

Note 4: By this date, the Conner family was living in Sangamon County. John T. Briscoe also was a resident of Sangamon County at the time of sale.

Note 5: George McDaniel was living in Cass County when he purchased this property from the Apgar family.

Note 6: This also included fractional Lot 13, Block 17, of Wells and Peck Addition.

Note 7: The property was sold by Moses Anderson, the administrator of George McDaniel's estate, to pay debts. Elizabeth McDaniel purchased the property at the sale which was held on 4 August 1870.

Note 8: Ann McDaniel Seaman was the daughter, from an earlier marriage, of Elizabeth McDaniel. She inherited the property after the death of her mother on 10 August 1875.

Note 9: George Carpenter, the executor for the estate of Anna Asher, filed a lawsuit against the Faro family and was awarded a court order allowing for the forced sale of the property on 31 October 1889. The property was purchased by Carpenter for the Asher estate. Carpenter assigned the property to St. John's Hospital and the Home for the Friendless. They, in turn, assigned the property to Rachel Rubinsky (who received the Master in Chancery deed from Colby).

Note 10: Rachel Rubinsky is listed in the *Illinois State Journal* in both 1903 and 1911 as the owner of the property (2 July 1903, page 14; 9 July 1911, part 6, page 9).

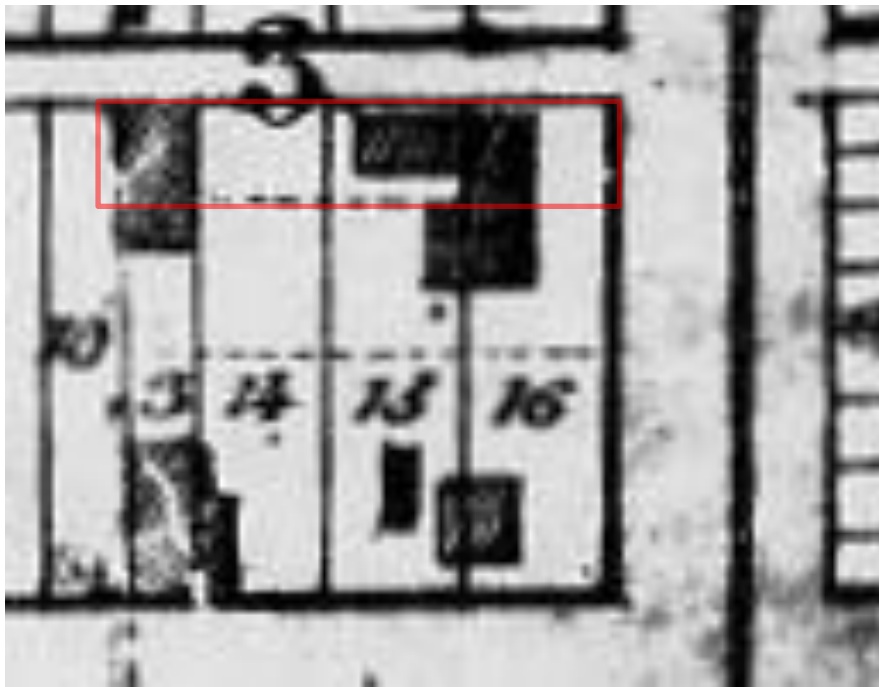
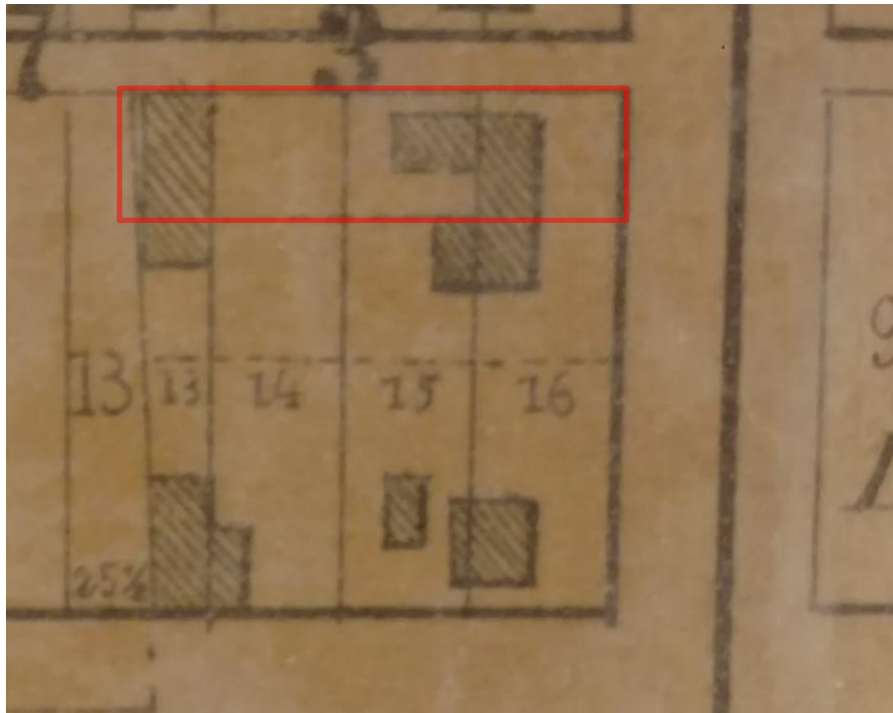


Figure 3. Top: Detail of Houses A, B, and C as depicted on the 1854 *Map of Springfield* (Potter 1854). This map does not illustrate House B as being of brick construction, potentially suggesting that it had been covered in siding. Bottom: Detail of Houses A, B, and C as depicted on the 1858 *Map of Springfield, Illinois* (Sides 1858). This copy of the map is unfortunately not clear enough to distinguish the difference between frame and brick construction details.

Information Wanted.

MICHAEL CONNER, left Tuam, Galloway county, Ireland, about ten years since. He was last heard from in New York city, about eight years ago. If this should meet his eye, or any one who knows where he is, the subscriber will be glad to hear.

Address **JAMES CONNER,**
 March 27, 1844. 657 3w Springfield, Illinois.

Figure 4. Request for information, presumably for information relating to a lost family member, published by James Conner in late March 1844 (*Sangamo Journal*, 28 March 1844, p. 2).

POCKET-BOOK FOUND,

ON Seventh street, a Pocketbook, containing a small sum of money, which the owner can have by calling on the subscriber and paying for this advertisement.

Jan. 21, 1852. **JACOB TIGER,**
at the Phoenix Mills.

(*Illinois Journal*, 26 January 1852, p. 3)

ESTATE OF LEWIS APGER, DECEASED.

Notice is hereby given that the undersigned, executor of the estate of Lewis Apger, deceased, will attend before the county court of Sangamon county, to be holden at the courthouse in Springfield, on the third Monday in the month of October next, and on the third day of said term, when and where all persons having claims against said estate, are notified to present them for adjustment.

All persons indebted to said estate are requested to make immediate payment to the undersigned.

Springfield, Illinois, August 29th, A. D. 1861.
 aug30-w6w **JACOB TIGER, Executor.**

(*Illinois State Register*, 5 September 1861, p. 3)

Figure 5. Miscellaneous newspaper announcements regarding Jacob Tiger and Lewis Apgar.

This is to certify that I was afflicted with a most excruciating pain in my back, caused by a sprain. Having heard of Lindsay's liniment, I bought a bottle; and after rubbing by myself I received immediate relief, and in a few days was restored.

GEORGE McDANIEL.

Springfield, Aug. 22, 1840.

(Sangamo Journal, 16 October 1840, p. 3).

HOUSE AND LOT FOR SALE.
I WILL SELL MY HOUSE AND LOT, IN THE WEST part of the city, on reasonable terms, and take a pair of Horses and a Wagen in part payment. For particulars enquire of [aug9:3in] **GEORGE McDANIEL.**

(Illinois State Journal, 20 August 1851, p. 2)

HOUSE TO LET.
A comfortable house, on 10th street, on the block, immediately north of Grimsley's Mill. It contains three rooms, with a good cellar, and has a good barn attached. Apply to this office or to **GEORGE McDANIEL.**
may14-dtf

(Illinois State Register, 20 May 1862, p. 2)



Figure 6. Top and middle: Miscellaneous newspaper announcements regarding George McDaniel. Bottom: George and Louisa J. McDaniel in later life. The family had two sons (Edwin and Elmer), and no daughters. Both sons moved west to Utah (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5799732/george-mcdaniel>). This is the second George McDaniel, and not the one associated with House C.

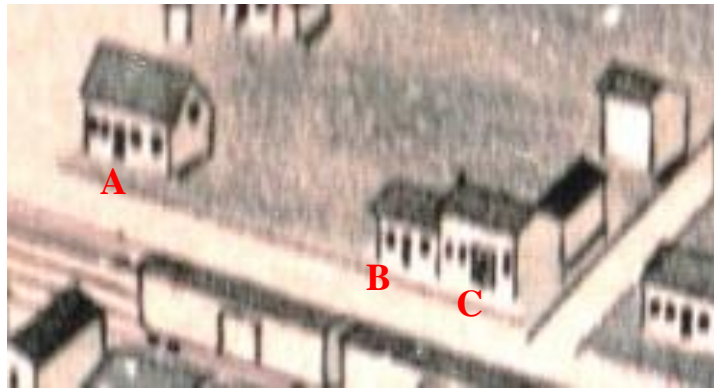


Figure 7. Top: Close-up views of Houses A, B, and C from 1867 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois* (Ruger 1867). **Middle:** Close-up views of Houses A, B, and C from 1873 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois* (Koch 1873). House B is the smallest of the houses indicated in the project area at this time. **Bottom:** View of Houses A, B, and C, looking north from the Madison and Tenth Street intersection (Beck and Pauli 1878). House C is the smallest of the houses indicated in the project area at this time.

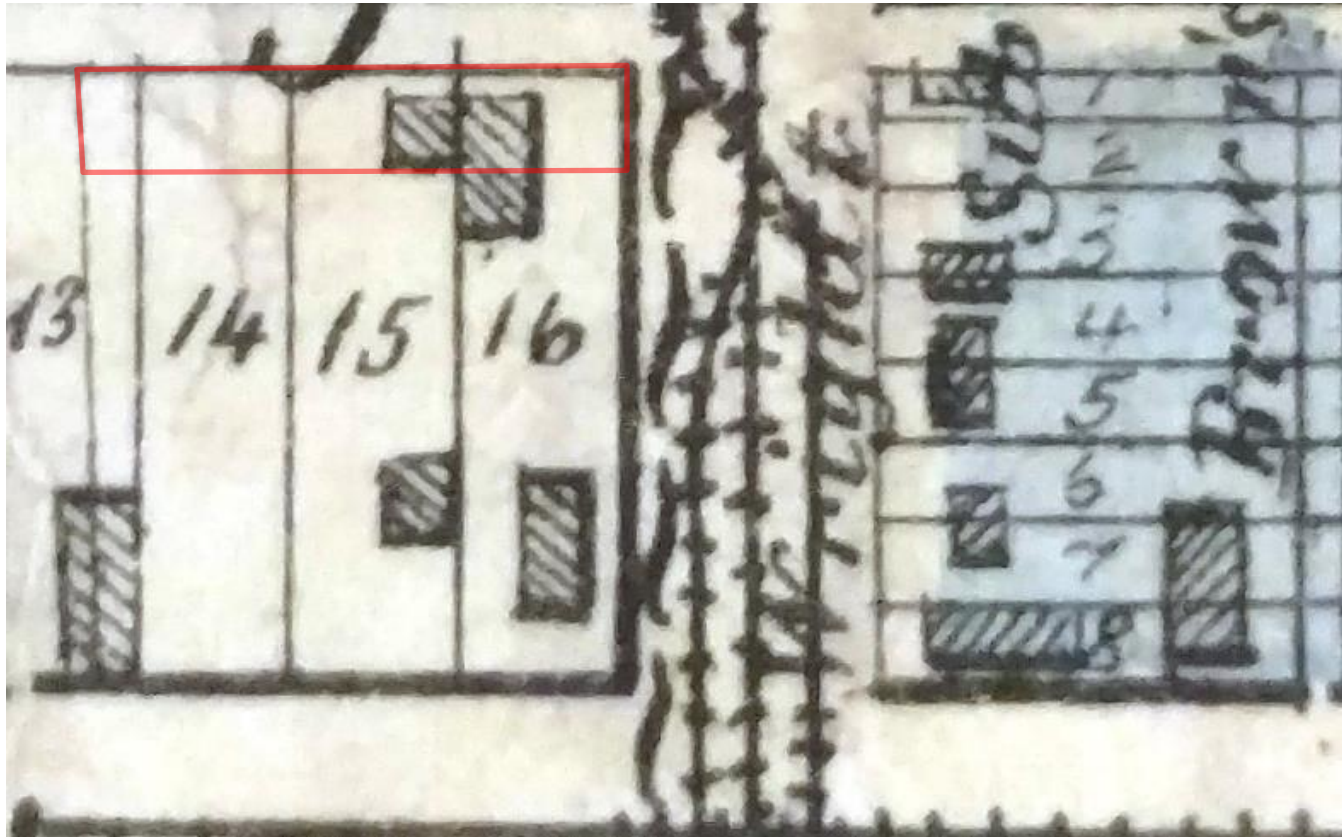


Figure 8. Detail of the *Map of the City of Springfield, Ill.* illustrating the project area and Wright and Brown's Subdivision (Bird 1876). Houses B and C are conflated into what appears to be a single structure on the north end of Lots 15 and 16.

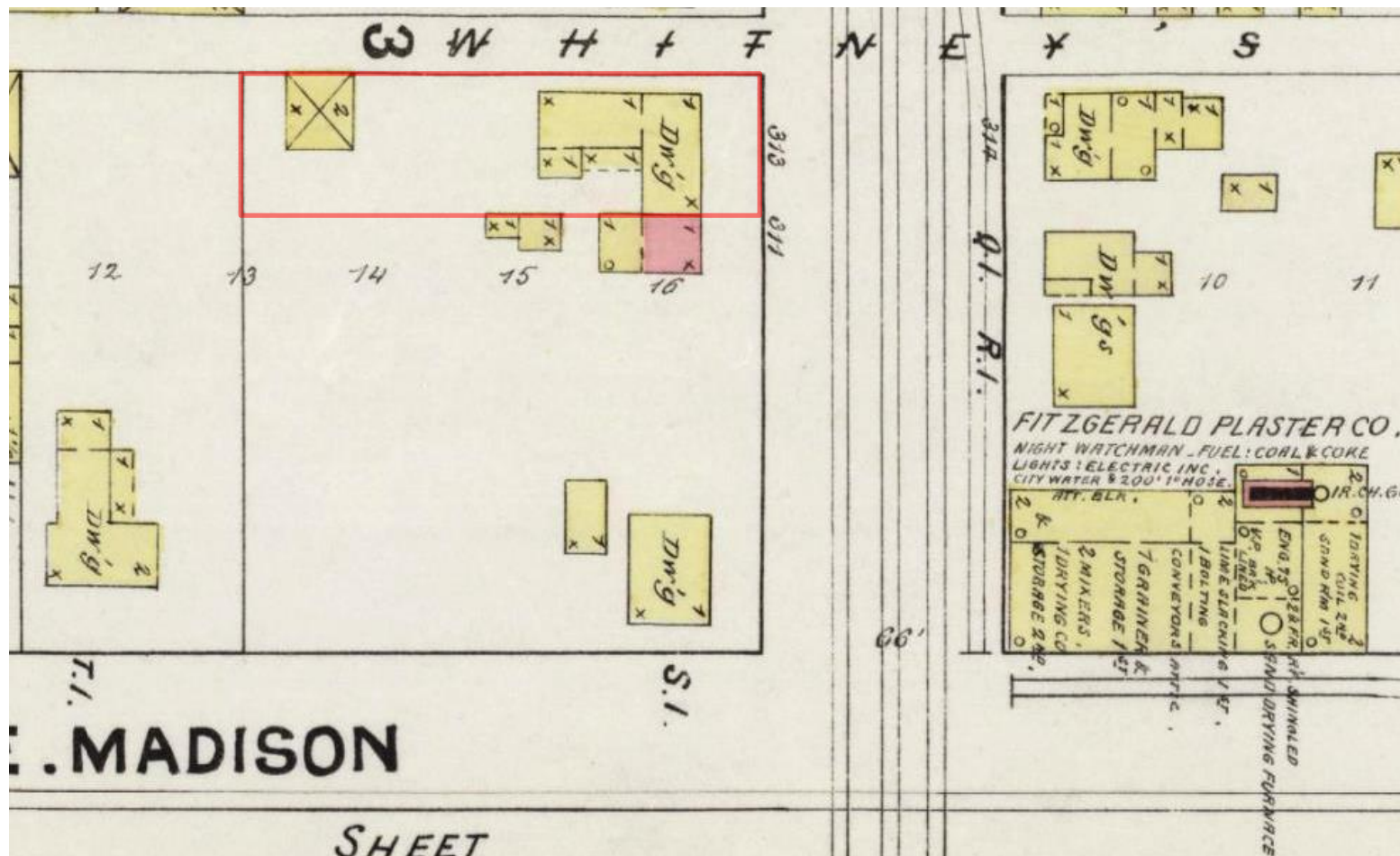


Figure 9. View of Houses A, B, and C as depicted on the 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn 1890:12). The house C lot is outlined in red. At this time, House C was depicted as a rectangular frame dwelling with a distinctive L-shaped footprint. Both the front (or main block) and rear service wing of the house were indicated as one story in height at this time. A two-story frame carriage house was documented along the rear alley. The large rear service wing faced south into a small courtyard created by the adjacent House B. A small extension and a porch were located along the south side of the rear wing.

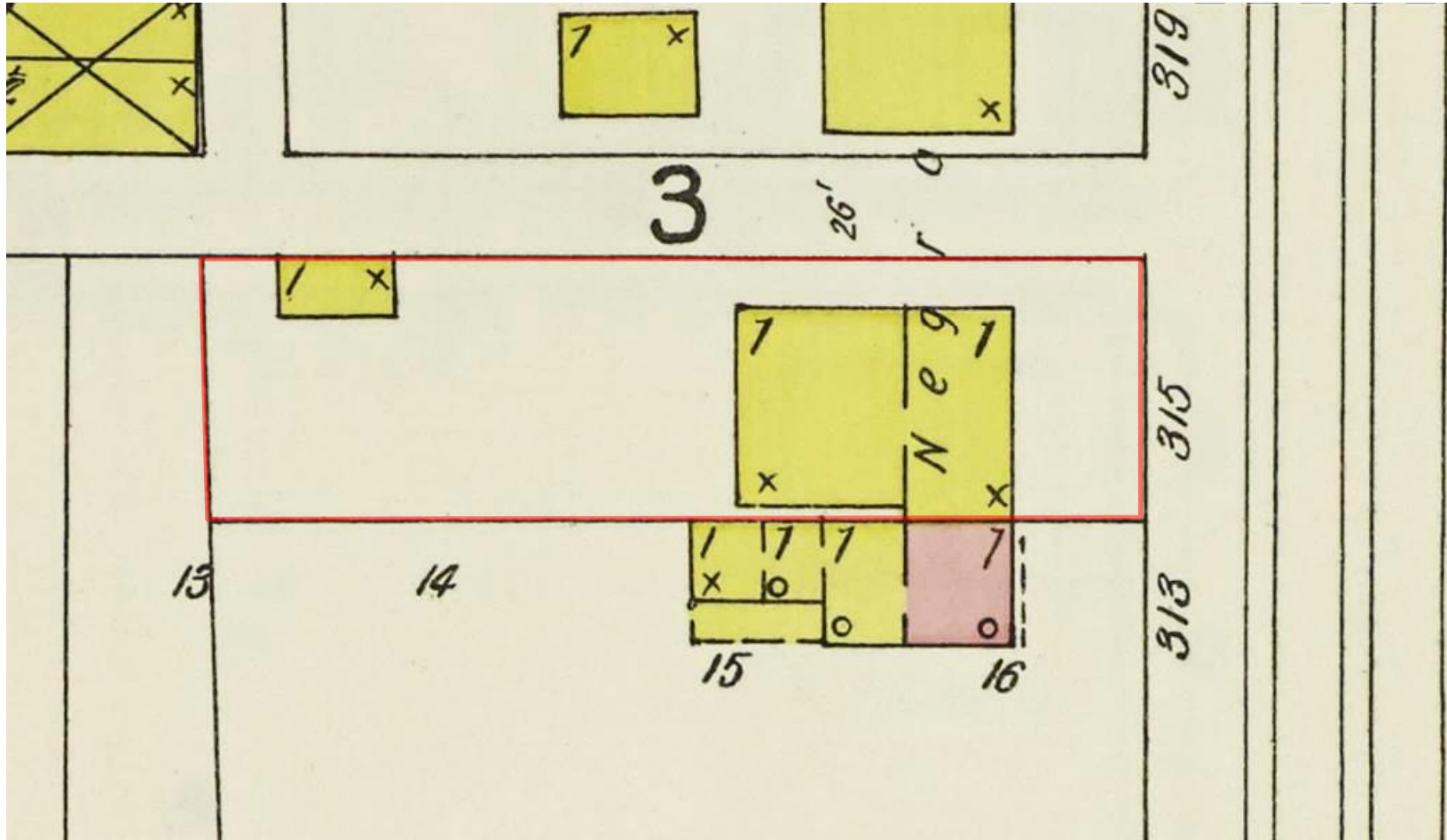


Figure 10. View of Houses B and C as depicted on the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map (Sanborn 1896:4). At this time, House C was depicted as a large one one-story structure. By this date, the rear service wing had expanded dramatically, enclosing much of the courtyard south of the original service wing depicted on the earlier 1890 Sanborn map. Also, the large two-story carriage barn depicted in 1890 had been demolished and replaced by a small rectangular outbuilding of unknown function. All buildings indicated as “Negro Shanties.”

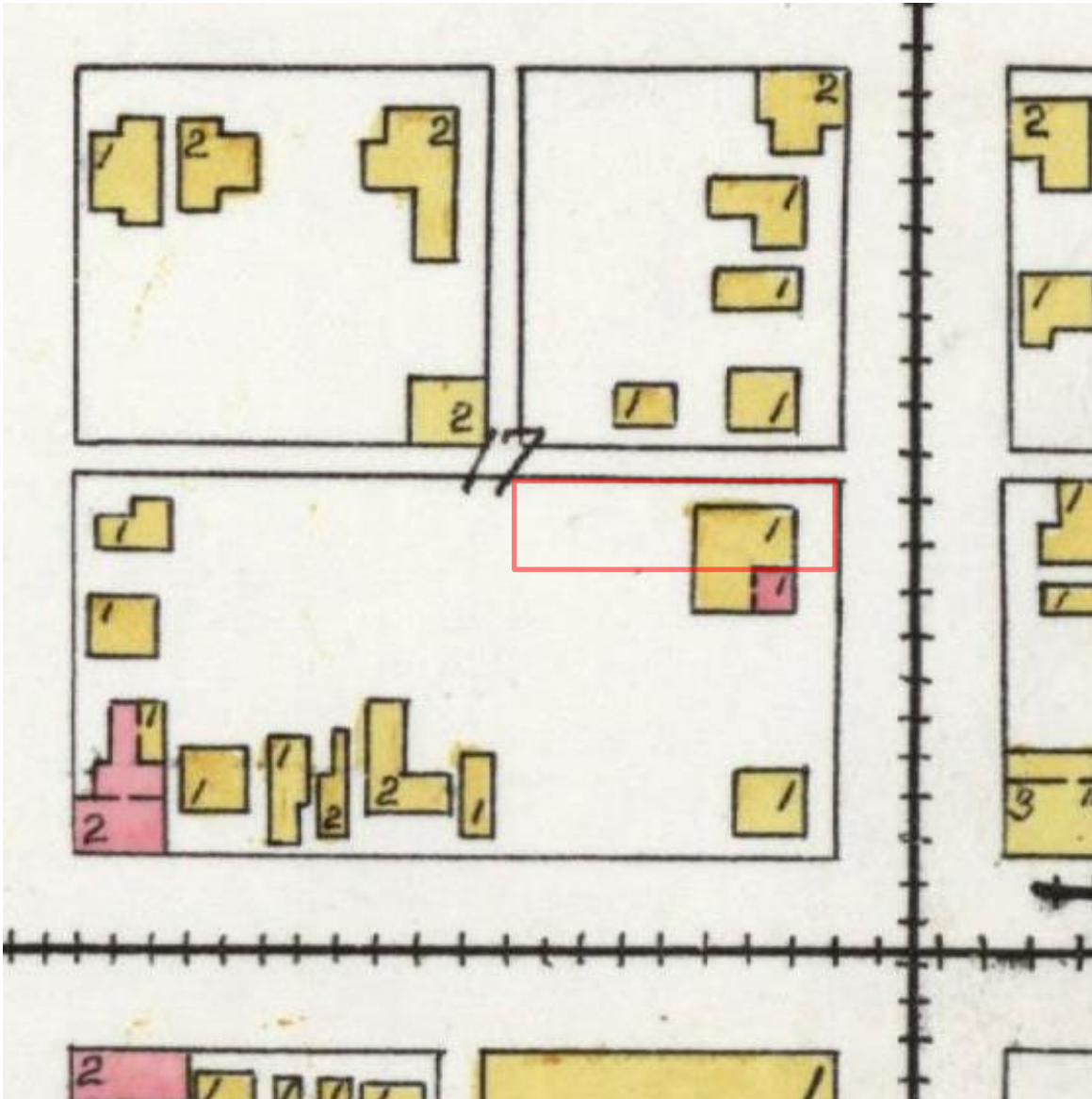


Figure 11. Detail of the 1906 Sanborn Fire Insurance map (Sanborn 1906). This map appears to depict Houses B and C as a single structure.

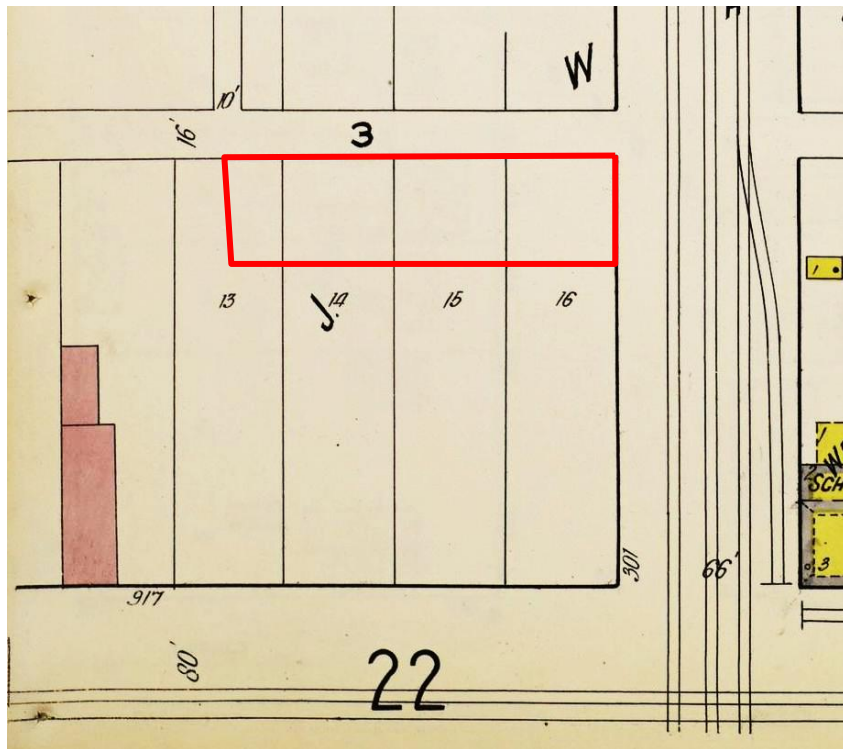


Figure 12. Left: The 1917 Sanborn map showing the location of House B. The site remained undeveloped at this date, as did the other lots directly north of it, which also had been impacted by the 1908 riot (Sanborn 1917:34). Right: An aerial photograph taken in May 1938 showing the location of House B and conditions on surrounding block. By this date, the Barker-Goldman-Lubin Company had begun to expand its operations on the block. A lumber shed had been constructed over the site of House B (USDA 1939).

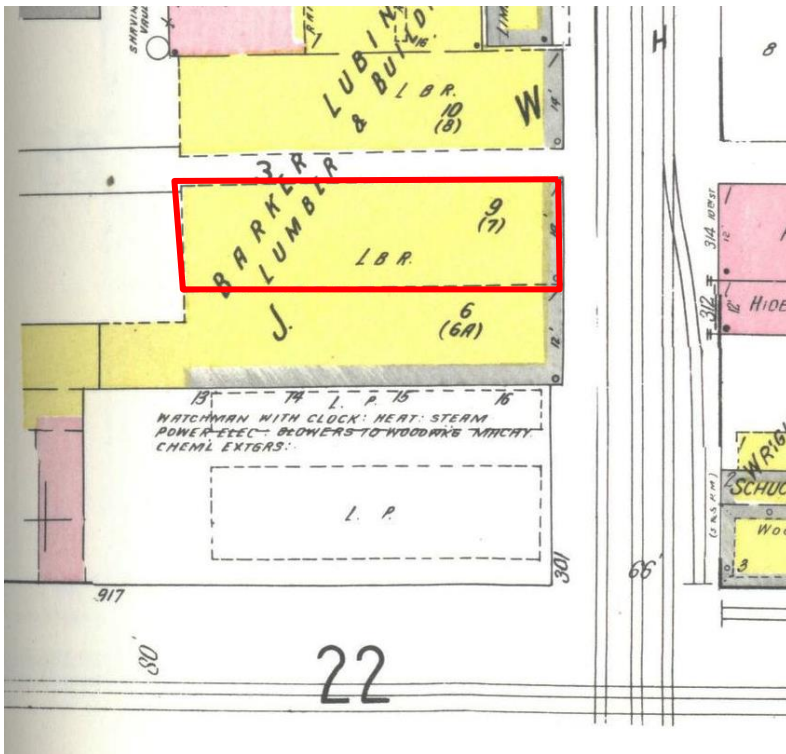


Figure 13. Left: A 1952 Sanborn map illustrating the location of House B and lumber shed that had been built on the site (Sanborn 1952:34). Right: A 1960s photograph showing the location of House B (Sangamon Valley Collection).

Table 2
Details of Occupancy, 313 North Tenth Street (House C)
(From select *Springfield City Directories*)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>House Occupant</u>
1875	313 North Tenth St.	Daniel Faro (col)
1875	313 North Tenth St.	Joseph Faro (col)
1876	313 North Tenth St.	Belle Watkins
1879	313 North Tenth St.	Faro Family [multiple entries]
1880	313 North Tenth St.	Mary Faro
1891	313 North Tenth St.	John S. Bailor (col)
1892	313 North Tenth St.	Mrs. S. Harris (col)
1894	313 North Tenth St.	Mrs. S. Harris (col)
1894	313 North Tenth St.	Thomas Fry (col)
1896	313 North Tenth	Melinda Reed
1896	313 North Tenth St.	Theodore Esslinger
1898	313 North Tenth St.	T.E. Butler
1898	313 North Tenth St.	John Skelski
1902	313 North Tenth St.	Mrs. A. Conley
1904	313 North Tenth St.	Mrs. H. Butler
1904	313 North Tenth St.	Clara Jones
1905	313 North Tenth St.	vacant
1906	313 North Tenth St.	L. Thomas (col)
1906	313 North Tenth St.	J. Smith (col)
1907	313 North Tenth St.	Lloyd Thomas (col)
1907	313 North Tenth St.	Warren Minard (col)
1908	313 North Tenth St.	Lloyd Thomas
1908	313 North Tenth St.	Ada Johnson

“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
Items Gleaned from Newspapers Regarding 313 North Tenth Street (House C)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Name of Person in Article</u>	<u>Synopsis of Newspaper Article</u>
1/18 1889	ISR	313 North 10th St.	Jerry McKinney	Cincinnati railroad worker; dangerously ill at house of mother
7/9 1891	ISR	313 North 10th St.	John S. Balor	Residence; City directory errors noted
7/9 1891	ISR	313 North 10th St.	William H. Balor	Boarder; City directory errors noted
1/30 1892	ISJ	313 North 10th St.	Celia J. Bosley	Death notice (69)
2/6 1892	SC	313 North 10th St.	Mrs. Celia Bosley	Obituary
2/22 1898	ISR	313 North 10th St.	Mrs. J. Bryant	Moving to Beardstown
11/22 1898	ISJ	313 North 10th St.	Mr. & Mrs. John Swaringer	Death of infant son (3 months old)
4/30 1899	ISJ	313 North 10th St.	Thomas Butler	Death of consumption (37 year old horse trader)
11/22 1902	ISJ	313 North 10th St.	Mr. & Mrs. Fred Curtis	Death of only child of pneumonia (2 months old)
11/25 1902	ISJ	313 North 10th St.	Ada Huey	Funeral notice; suicide (carbolic acid)
11/26 1902	ISR	313 North 10th St.	Julia Haughey	Funeral notice
7/24 1904	ISR	313 North 10th St.	Bert Thrasher	Scavenger Arrested
6/15 1905	ISR	313 North 10th St.	John Davis	Received aid for groceries; \$2
6/16 1905	ISR	313 North 10th St.	Erle Davis	Received aid for groceries; \$4
3/12 1908	ISR	313 North 10th St.	Warren W. Minard	Cook at St. Nicholas; dropped dead (56 years old)
9/10 1908	ISR	313 North 10th St.	Mrs. T. Schwartz	Files Claim with City for Damage to House, \$1,800
9/10 1908	ISR	313 North 10 th St.	Lloyd Thomas	Files claim against City for personal property, \$316.25
9/16 1908	ISR	313 North 10th St.		Riot damage, with 317; Residence destroyed; damage \$1,000
9/21 1908	ISR	313 North 10th St.		Riot damage, with 317; Residence destroyed; damage \$1,000
7/15 1909	ISJ	313 North 10th St.	Theresa Schwartz	Files Claim with Court for Damage to House, \$2,000

ISJ=Illinois State Journal; ISR=Illinois State Register; SC=State Capital

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 C. These included the initial Phase II testing in that year, followed by the Phase III mitigation during the summer and early fall of 2019. 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. The initial fieldwork in late 2014 consisted of exposing the house foundations with a backhoe, followed by shovel scraping to define structural details. At that time, with the aid of a backhoe, the investigations consisted of removing the overburden capping that portion of the house foundations located within the proposed right-of-way (as then defined). The exposed foundations subsequently were mapped in plan view and photographed. The entire footprint of the front (eastern) section of the original house and a large section of the rear service wing addition was exposed during the Phase II investigations. The western-most portion of the rear service wing addition extended into the unexcavated parking lot to the west of the project area (Figures 14-17).

Subsequently, after mapping the foundation remains, two 1m x 1m test units (Tests 1 and 2) were excavated within the footprint of House C. Test 1 was located in the northeast corner of the rear service wing. Test 2 was located along the north wall, adjacent to the central fireplace, within the front and/or main body of the house. Both test units were excavated in arbitrary levels. Both test units indicated that the undisturbed pre-settlement ground surface was located approximately 8 to 10-in (20-25cm) below the scraped surface, and the fills located within the perimeter foundation walls documented a distinctive Fire deposit separating both Pre-Fire and Post-Fire deposits. All fill from the two test units was excavated by hand (using shovel scraping and troweling methods) and was screened through ¼-in hardware cloth.

In Test 2, the circa-1840 ground surface was capped with 2 to 4-in (5-10cm) of a black topsoil fill mixed with minor amounts of mortar and brick debris associated with the construction of the dwelling (Zone VI). Zone VI was capped with fire deposits (Zone V), and post-fire cleanup activities (Zones I-IV). Zone V consisted of a dense concentration of plaster and mortar rubble with charcoal and wood ash. Zone IV consisted of brick rubble with mortar and plaster mixed within it. Zone III consisted of mixed yellow silt loam and topsoil. Zone II consisted predominately of clean yellow silt loam. Both Zones II and III were clean fills laid over the remains of the burned-out house. Zone I consisted of dense concentration of brick and mortar rubble lying along the foundation wall, and apparently capping the clean fills. The small area excavated within the fire box had a distinctive fill which consisted of heavy concentrations of wood ash and charcoal mounded against the back of the firebox. Although this may represent 1908 fire deposits, it more likely represents debris present in the closed-up firebox at the time of the fire. It is interesting to note that a series of small finds (i.e., buttons) were found in the thin

midden beneath, and immediately in front of, the firebox. Upon completion of the excavation units, multiple wall profiles were drawn and photographed (Figures 18-22).

In total, eight archaeological features were defined at House C during the Phase II investigations (Table 4). The results of the Phase II investigations were discussed in Mansberger and Stratton (2016, 2017). At the completion of the Phase II investigations (in October 2015), archaeological site 11SG1432 was covered with geo-tech fabric, sand, and topsoil.

Phase III Mitigation (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 entire original dwelling (House C), and the eastern half of the rear service wing addition. As redefined, the project area consisted of slightly less than the eastern half of the original dwelling (and associated front and side yards). With this realignment of the project area, the rear half of the original dwelling, and the mid-century service wing addition no longer was located within the area of impact and will be preserved in place on city-owned land (Figure 26).

In April 2019, after completion of the Section 106 consultation process, Fever River Research returned to Site 11SG1432 and began Phase III data recovery (archaeological mitigation). Work on House C began in June 2019 by removing overburden from the house and front yard with the use of a backhoe. The previously stripped area above the house had been covered with topsoil, clean sand, and geo-tech fabric in October 2015. Initially, a backhoe was used to remove the backfill placed over the house foundations in 2015, and finished with hand labor (i.e., shovels) which required a substantial amount of hand shoveling to fully expose the unexcavated deposits. Much of the front yard had not been stripped previously in 2014 and hence required the removal of the post-1908 deposits. This was also removed with a backhoe, exposing the middle nineteenth century deposits, which subsequently were shovel-scraped and inspected for front-yard features.

Hand excavations were initiated by laying out ten 1m x 2m test units within the eastern section of the original house footprint. Test 2, one of the original test units excavated during the Phase II testing in 2014, was among these ten test units laid out in 2019. Alternating test units (Tests 2, 4, 6, 9, and 11) were initially excavated in a checkerboard pattern which allowed for the documentation of a series of north/south and east/west profile walls through the dwelling, and facilitated better control of artifact recovery in the second half of the checkerboard.⁵⁶ Upon recording of the requisite profile walls, the second half of the checkerboard was excavated by zones (Tests 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10). Additionally, another test unit (Test 12) was located outside of the house footprint, adjacent to the north foundation wall near the northeast corner of the house; this test was 1m x 1m in size. The initial test units were excavated in arbitrary 10cm levels

⁵⁶ In the case of Test 2, the excavations involved the removal of the clean sand that had been deposited within following the Phase II investigations.

(albeit separating different fills in each of the levels by area), whereas the second set of test units was excavated in natural stratigraphic zones (based on profiles recorded after excavation of the initial half of the checker board). All test units were excavated by hand (using shovel scraping and troweling methods), and the soil was screened through ¼-in hardware cloth (Figures 23-26).

The methodology employed in the front yard involved the mechanical stripping of post-1908 fill down to a depth where the later (upper) features associated with House C were exposed. These features were then mapped in plan and photographed. Subsequent work entailed selective shovel scraping to expose lower middens and features, which also were mapped and photographed. The front yard deposits were stratified and far more complex than anticipated.

Aside from the investigations conducted on the house lot proper, a 1m x 2m test unit (designated Test 13) was excavated within the limits of the historic alley that formerly ran along the north side of House C. This test was excavated to assess the general character and depth of the deposits in the alley. The findings of that test unit excavation will be discussed in this volume.

The Archaeological Features

During the 2019 investigations, an additional 17 features were subsequently identified (Table 4). As such, not counting posts, a total of 25 archaeological features were identified at the House C location. These features represent the physical components of not only House C, but also the physical remains of an earlier structure pre-dating House C, as well as landscape features associated with both of these structures (Figure 26-27). The following discussion will cover the structural remains of House C first, then the front and side-yard features known to be associated with the house, and finally the features that pre-date the House C occupation.

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), a fireplace foundation (Feature 2), a chimney foundation (Feature 3), and a single interior pier (Feature 9). The rear addition (documented during the Phase II investigations) was represented by a partial perimeter foundation (Feature 4), and a series of brick piers (Features 6 and 8).

The main body of this dwelling was represented by a rectangular perimeter brick foundation wall (Feature 1) that was two wythes wide (8.5-in or 22cm) and measured 16-ft 2-in (4.93m) wide (east/west) by 32-ft 5-in (9.88m) long (north/south). The bricks used for the foundation were soft mud and hand struck; many of them were highly vitrified and slightly deformed. A builder's trench, which averaged 4-5-in (10-13cm) in depth, was present along the inside edge of the foundation wall. Although very modest by today's standards, the builder's trench for House C was deeper and more uniform than any of those found at Houses A, B, D, and E. There was no spread footing. An average of eight courses of brickwork remained extant along the perimeter

foundations. The north end of the foundations directly abutted House B. An examination of this juncture indicated that House C was built after House B.⁵⁷

Abutting the north wall of the perimeter foundation was a large interior fireplace foundation (Feature 2), which measured 2-ft 2-in (0.66m) wide by 5-ft 0-in (1.53m) long (Figures 21 and 22). The fireplace had a Rumford-style firebox, with tapered sides. The firebox measured 2-ft 11-in (0.89m) wide at the front and 2-ft 1-in (0.64m) wide at the back firewall, and it was 1-ft 5-in (0.43m) deep. Unlike the fireplace foundation associated with House B, the double-course brick wall comprising the back wall of the firebox abuts the two-course foundation wall, presumably due to the house being of frame construction versus the brick construction of adjacent House B. Abutting the south wall of the perimeter foundation was a rectangular pad that measured 1-ft 0-in (33cm) by 1-ft 9-in (53cm) and which represents the base of an internal chimney (Feature 3). Like the fireplace foundation, the chimney was not integrated into the perimeter foundation wall. The fact that the base of the chimney was located three courses above the base of the foundations suggests that it was not original to the house. A large amount of brick was present in the tests adjacent to this feature, due to the chimney fall (Figure 28). Both the chimney and fireplace were set slightly off center (not on the ridgeline) and closer to the front (east) side of the building.

A single brick pier (Feature 9) was found centered within the footprint of the original house. This pier was two bricks wide (8.5-in/22cm) and an undetermined length.⁵⁸ It sat within a fairly large builder's trench which had been filled with mortar after the pier was laid. Based on its positioning within the house, the pier is believed to have supported an interior east/west partition wall that divided the main body of the house into two nearly equal-sized rooms. The absence of another pier in concert with this pier, which would have documented the presence of two walls, suggests that a central hallway was not present in the home (Figure 29).

Two long north/south profiles (Profiles 1 and 2) and four shorter east/west profiles (Profiles 3, 4, 5, and 6) were recorded prior to the excavation of the tests located within the second half of the checkerboard. The fill deposits were assigned zone designations in the order they were excavated, and they differ slightly from those previously discussed in reference to Tests 1 and 2 (excavated in 2014). The fill deposits within that portion of the interior of the house excavated in 2019 (as documented on these profile drawings) can be discussed in terms of Post-Fire, Fire, and Pre-fire contexts. Post-Fire deposits were represented by Zones I-V. These deposits capped the underlying Fire-Deposits, and resulted in the final filling and leveling off of the house basin—and also capped any exposed foundation walls then present. The Post-Fire deposits consisted of mixed soil fill (Zone I), brick and mortar rubble (Zone II), “clean” subsoil fill (Zone III), mixed soil fill with brick/mortar rubble (Zone IV), and gritty dark brown soil (Zone V). It is not clear how long the house basin sat exposed after the Race Riot. Some infilling may have occurred soon after the event, with additional fill being deposited in the years that followed. The house basin certainly would have been completely filled in, and the site leveled off, prior to the construction of the lumber shed over it in the 1930s (Figures 30-33).

⁵⁷ This was indicated by the fact that the mortar joints on the north side of House B were neatly finished (as would be expected if they were exposed), whereas those on the House C foundations were not.

⁵⁸ Only the eastern edge of the pier was exposed within the excavation block for the mitigation

The Fire Deposits within the house basin, which were deposited as a direct result of the August 1908 fire (materials more-or-less dropping in place from above), were represented by Zone VI. These deposits primarily consisted of dense concentrations of burned plaster, along with wood and charcoal. The fire deposits extended across the entirety of the excavated house basin but varied considerably in respect to thickness. They averaged upwards of 8-in. (20cm) along the perimeter foundations, where the presence of walls augmented the volume of plaster deposited from the fire, and thinned out considerably towards the center of the house basin. In contrast to House E, relatively little charred lumber was found in the Fire zone of House C (Figure 34). The lack of charred lumber, as compared to House E, may be indicative of the extreme heat of the fire; or perhaps due to some of the burned material having been scraped away in the aftermath of the fire (as may have been done at adjacent House D). The former interpretation is suspected to be more likely of the two, as one would expect the perimeter foundations to have been more disturbed had a significant amount scraping activity occurred after the fire. Some mixing of Fire and Pre-Fire Deposits was noted, which possibly indicates immediate post-fire salvage activities.

Pre-Fire deposits within the house basin were represented by Zones VII, VIII, and IX. Zone VII consisted of dark topsoil with coal and cinders running through it. This zone had a distinct sooty surface, which presumably was caused by the 1908 fire. Zone XII was a compact, dark topsoil fill with light brick and mortar flecking. This topsoil fill accumulated during the construction of House C—primarily through the excavation of the builder’s trench for the perimeter foundations—and caps a pea-gravel surface (and midden) that pre-dates the house (Feature 5; discussed further below). Zone IX was a blocky topsoil fill and found only at the southern end of the house basin; it possibly was related to the excavation of a small pit cellar that pre-dates House C (Feature 19; discussed below).

The rear service wing of House C was represented by a brick perimeter foundation wall along the north side of the wing (Feature 4) and two brick piers along what is interpreted as the south side of the wing (Feature 8A and 8B). The northern foundation wall, which was constructed with hand-struck, soft-mud brick, was two wythes (8.5-in/22cm) wide and lacked a spread footing. It was offset approximately 10-in (25cm) from the northwest corner of the adjacent main body of the house. The two brick piers located along the south wall of the service wing measured approximately 9-in (0.23m) wide by 1-ft 6-in (0.46m) long, and had a gap of 5-ft (1.52m) between them. The brick perimeter foundation wall and the eastern brick pier of the rear wing both abutted the adjacent main house foundation wall, which suggests that the wing was not original to the dwelling and represented a later addition. The service wing measured 15-ft 3-in (4.65m) wide (north/south). The length of the wing was not able to be determined since its west end extended into the adjacent parking lot to the west (beyond the limits of the excavation block). Based on what the portion that was exposed during the Phase II testing, and assuming an equal spacing of the piers, the rear service wing—or at least the eastern section of that wing—would have had a minimum length (east/west) of approximately 14-ft 6-in (4.42m). However, this is considerably shorter than the length determined from the available archival data (Sanborn fire insurance maps), which suggests that this rear service wing measured approximately 25-ft to 26-ft (7.63-7.93m) long (east/west). The longer length is believed to be more likely, given that the “good cellar” mentioned George McDaniel’s 1862 sale advertisement for House C was not found in any of the sections of the dwelling excavated in 2014 and 2019, which suggests that the

most likely location of that cellar is in the western half of the wing (and beneath the existing parking lot). A long, narrow brick-rubble filled depression (Feature 7) ran in an east/west direction down the center of the rear service wing. The function of this feature is unknown, though it potentially represents an in-filled-utility trench.

Ancillary features associated with House C include the remnants of a brick stoop and/or steps on both the front and rear of the house (Features 14 and 6, respectively), multiple episodes of a brick walkway (Feature 13), potential remnants of a porch (Posts 1, 2, and 3), multiple planting beds (Features 11, 13, and 22), and a fence line (Feature 23).

Feature 6 was represented by three small brick piers that abutted the west wall of the main body of the dwelling, just south of the rear service wing. Each had three courses of brick still intact. These piers most likely represent supports for a porch and/or entrance steps accessing either the rear service wing or the main body of the house (prior to the construction of the rear service wing).

Feature 14 was a brick wall remnant located approximately 12-ft 6-in (3.81m) south of the northeast corner of the house. This wall consisted of single wythe of brick approximately 2-ft. (60cm) long, running perpendicular to the house foundation. It was aligned to Feature 13, which was a sand bed for a brick walkway that appears to have terminated upon reaching the wall. Given its location and articulation to Feature 13, Feature 14 is suspected to have served as a support for a set of steps or stoop accessing the front entrance to the house. A matching brick wall was not found intact to the south of Feature 14, but if the width of the sand base is any indication, the proposed steps/stoop may have been approximately 5-ft (1.24m) wide. Both of these features are offset slightly from the center of the house, which is consistent with the asymmetrical façade the 1873 bird's-eye presents for the dwelling (with the doorway placed north of center) (Figure 35).

Feature 13 had two distinct segments, one of which ran east/west and was aligned to Feature 14 (as previously discussed). This segment, which appears to have run between the front entrance and Tenth Street, had the majority of its brick pavement removed at some point in time, leaving only the sand base and some edging brick as indicators of its former presence. It averaged 4-ft (1.22m) in width. The other segment of Feature 13 branched off from the east/west section near the eastern lot line and ran in a northwesterly direction before wrapping around the northeast corner of House C and then running parallel to the house and adjacent alley. It averaged 2-ft 4-in (71cm) in width. Although the northern leg of the sidewalk had much more of its brick pavement in place as compared to the southern section, the majority of the brick were crushed or otherwise deteriorated. The excavation of Test 12, located outside the north foundation wall, suggested that there were at least two generations of brick sidewalk (built atop one another) along the alley-side of House C (Figures 36-37).

Several features found in the front yard of House C were indicative of historic decorative plantings. Two of these (Features 11 and 12) were located in the northeast corner of the front yard and represented successive generations of circular planting beds delineated by bricks set on edge. The earlier "ring" was approximately 4-ft (1.22m) in diameter, while the later one had a slightly smaller diameter, at 3-ft 8-in (1.12m). The two overlapped one another slightly, which

suggests a continuity in respect the plantings in this part of the front yard, following a suspected episode of remodeling and/or landscaping (see Figure 38). Another suspected planting bed was Feature 22, which was located along the north side of the southern leg of the front sidewalk (Feature 13). Feature 22 had mixed soil fill and exhibited evidence of once having brick edging that had been pulled up. The front yard was built up over the life-span of House C, and some features (like Feature 13) eventually were covered over. Four stable surfaces, dating from the occupation of the house, were identified in the front yard (Figures 39-41).

Evidence of a fence line (Feature 23) was found along the south lot line, extending out from the southeast corner of House C. Three post holes (Posts 4-6) were found in a line here. Based on the fact that the post holes were located on the House C side of the lot property line, the fence is believed to have been associated with that dwelling, as opposed to the adjacent House B. No evidence of additional fence lines demarcating property boundaries was found within the excavation block.⁵⁹

There was a line of three other posts holes (Posts 1-3; Feature 21) that ran parallel to the eastern foundation wall of House C and was set approximately 6-ft. (1.83m) out from it. Feature 21 measured roughly 18-ft (5.49m) from end to end and was roughly centered on the house. Given its positioning in relation to House C, Feature 21 might represent evidence for a front porch. However, none of the archival sources that depict House C depict it as having a front porch. Whatever the function of Feature 21, its northernmost post (Post 1) clearly cut through a feature that pre-dated the construction of House C (i.e., Feature 5).

As previously mentioned, there were a number of features found during the investigations that clearly pre-date the construction of House C. These included: a linear gravel surface or walkway (Feature 5); a concentration of bone (Feature 10); a thin concentration of gravel in the front yard (Feature 15); a long, shallow and narrow trench representing a possible mud sill (Feature 16); a deep trench/ditch running across the front of the lot (Feature 18); a suspected pit cellar (Feature 19); a midden in the front yard (Feature 20); and two sets of post holes representing possible fence lines or structural supports (Features 23 and 24).

The earliest of the features identified at House C was Feature 18, a large ditch-like trench that ran north/south along the entire width of the east side of the house lot. It extended both north and south into adjacent house lots—and, in fact, crossed the entire length of the project area. Feature 18's early age (relative to the other features identified on the lot) is indicated by the fact that several features believed to be associated with a pre-House C structure cap and/or cut into it, including the suspected mud sill (Feature 16) and the series of posts (Posts 7-9) discussed as Feature 24. The western edge of Feature 18 was located approximately 10-ft (3.01m) west of the east lot line and generally ran parallel it and Tenth Street, albeit tracking slightly northeast.⁶⁰ The northern end of Feature 18 was excavated to assess its depth and character. The feature was

⁵⁹ Obstructions on the eastern side of the house lot prevented the excavation block from fully extending to the Tenth Street R.O.W., so there is a chance that a fence line may have been present here but was not exposed during the investigations.

⁶⁰ The western edge of Feature 18 was located approximately 10-ft 6-in (3.80m) south of Tenth Street at the southern lot line and 9-ft (2.74m) at the northern lot line.

found to have a neatly tapered side (with an approximate 30-degree angle, sloping to the east) that terminated at a slightly sloped base. This feature had been backfilled with “clean” subsoil and topsoil (see Figure 41). Although the origin and function of Feature 18 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.⁶¹ Early in the intervening period, the ditch was infilled.

Several of the features pre-dating House C cut into the infilled ditch identified as Feature 18. One of these was Feature 16, a narrow, linear feature that ran east/west and located approximately 11-ft (3.35m) north of the south lot line. Feature 16 extended through much of the front yard, beneath the east wall of House C, and continued west to the edge of the excavation block. It minimally was 20-ft (6.01m) in length. Feature 16 proved to be a shallow trench that had been infilled with soil and midden material. Although the original function of this feature is unclear, it is reminiscent of a sill log (or mud sill) that was laid directly on the ground surface, and potentially representing the north wall of a structure. The presence of a mud sill would suggest the presence of an early log or frame structure at this location. It potentially was associated with the adjacent early pit cellar (Feature 19) which was located less than 3-ft (0.91m) south of the trench.

The eastern end of Feature 16 originates at a point in line with the center of three posts discussed as Feature 24. The line of posts is oriented north/south and stretches approximately 10-ft (3.05m), from end to end. The centering between the posts (4.5 to 5.5-ft) is closer than what would be expected for a fence line, and the line is very abbreviated as well. This presents the possibility that the posts were related to a structure, and the posts represent the eastern extent of it. The post holes had been filled with soil and crushed, soft-mud brick.⁶² Feature 16 appears to cut into the center post (Post 8) of Feature 24.

Two of the features pre-dating House C were pea gravel surfaces. One of these, Feature 5, initially was identified during the Phase II testing, with a small portion of it being exposed in both Tests 1 and 2. Given the limited extent of the latter investigations, the age, extent, or purpose of Feature 5 could not be determined at that time—aside from the fact that it ran in an east/west direction. The Phase III mitigation determined that Feature 5 extended through the original section of House C (beneath that structure), and continued through the front yard of the house lot, extending both east and west beyond the limit of the excavation block. Approximately 36-ft (10.97m) of the feature was exposed during the Phase II testing and mitigation. The pea gravel surface was only ½-in to 1-in (1.27-2.54cm) thick but was very distinct. It also had a fairly regular width—averaging 2-ft 6-in (76cm)—and was straight, albeit with a slight curve in its eastern end. Feature 5 ran parallel to, and was located half-way between, Feature 16 (the

⁶¹ 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 18.

⁶² None of the bricks had mortar on their surface, which suggests that they were associated with a construction episode, rather than a demolition one.

potential mud sill representing the wall of a structure) and the alley bordering the north side of the House C lot. This feature most likely represents the remains of a prepared gravel walkway. However, it is unclear as to where Feature 5 starts and ends. If the feature extended more than 40-ft west of Tenth Street, it would not conform to the original layout of Whitney's 1837 addition's plat, as the lots were only 40-ft wide (east/west) (Figures 42-43).

The other pea gravel surface was Feature 15. This feature is a bit of an enigma. Unlike Feature 5, the pea gravel here was not concentrated; nor did it provide a complete coverage of surface. It was located above, and capped, the potential mud sill (Feature 16) and Feature 15, and thus post-dates the proposed structure those features may have been associated with. Feature 15, in turn, was capped by the front walkway associated with House C (Feature 13). Feature 15 appears to originate along the eastern foundation wall of House C (if not immediately beneath the foundation wall) and extended eastward, as if intended as a prepared surface. It widens out substantially towards the eastern property line. The function of Feature 15 is unclear. It may have served as temporary pavement, work surface, or area where pea gravel was stockpiled prior to use elsewhere.

Feature 19 was a large, rectangular pit located at the southern end of the original section of House C (Figures 44-45). The feature extended beneath the south foundation wall of the house, and also the north foundation of House B, which established that the feature pre-dates the construction of both dwellings. At the scraped surface, Feature 19 measured approximately 10-ft 6-in (3.20m) north/south. The feature extended past the excavation block to the west, so its east/west dimension could not be determined; however, the portion that was exposed measured 2-ft 5-in (74cm) east/west. The pit had earthen walls, was basin shaped and extended approximately 1-ft 4-in (41cm) below the historic surface. A thin flagstone had been laid on the floor of the feature. Artifacts recovered from Feature 19 included a redware crock, a blue shell-edged plate, and a tinware pot lid (see Figure 46). The feature is interpreted as a pit cellar associated with an earlier dwelling at this location. The large sandstone blocks found beneath House B, immediately south of Feature 19 may be part of the foundation of this early structure. The suspected mud sill (Feature 16) might also be associated with it. Feature 19 appears to have been infilled when House B was constructed during the middle 1840s. This would have been a necessary precursor to the house's construction, since Feature 19 extended beneath the foundation wall of House B as well. There also was a significant amount of brick rubble in with the feature fill, which may have been related the construction of House B. An early midden (Feature 20) extends out from Feature 19 and may be associated with it (and concentrated beneath the south end of the House C).

Another feature apparently pre-dating House C was a shallow, circular pit with a dense concentration of bone (Feature 10) located near the northeast corner of the house. This feature originated from the pre-settlement surface and was capped by later fills associated with the House C occupation, as well as by the brick walkway (Feature 13) wrapping around the north side of the house. The bone recovered from within this pit included the remains of a minimum of five individual pigs less than one or two years in age. Cranial and foot bones were numerous, suggesting potential butchering waste, and most likely indicates that the bone concentration was the end result of pork processing and not refuse from meals. The presence of this pit within the

front yard of House C strongly suggests that this pit was associated with the early, Pre-House C component.

As noted above, a single test unit (Test 13) was located within the south edge of the adjacent alley, immediately north of House C. This test unit was excavated in order to assess the character of the fills associated with the alley context (Figures 47-48). The excavation of this test unit indicated that surface of the alley built-up considerably in the seven decades between the platting of J. Whitney's Addition and the 1908 Race Riot. In total, nearly 1.0m of fill had been deposited over the original ground surface within the alley. As expected, there is no evidence of the alley having ever been formally paved during this period. However, the profiles did show that a considerable amount of coal ash and cinders (representing discard of household fuel waste) had been deposited into the alley during the later years of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Included within this fuel waste was also a wide variety of other household "trash". Some of this material likely came from the two households adjoining it (i.e., Houses C and D), while other items may have been dropped by people passing through. The lane certainly would have had a higher level of foot traffic during the years it was known as "Shinbone Alley" when it served as a connector between the brothels in the immediate neighborhood. Appendices V, VI and VII contain a detailed inventory of the material collected from this context.

Several feature's post-dating the destruction of the house in 1908 also were identified during the mitigation. These included a narrow waterline trench (Feature 17) that passed through the east side of the front yard, and a concrete pier (Feature 25) that intruded into the house basin and was exposed in Tests 5 and 6.

Table 4
List of Features, House C

<u>Feature Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Function</u>
<u>Phase II (2014)</u>			
1	perimeter brick wall	front of house	original house foundation
2	U-shaped brick wall	front of house	fireplace foundation
3	square brick pad	front of house	chimney foundation
4	perimeter brick wall	rear of house (Test 1)	rear addition foundation
5	linear gravel surface	rear of house (Test 1)	walkway
6	brick piers (A, B, C)	rear of house	porch/stoop supports
7	linear trench	rear of house	unknown
8	brick piers	rear of house	porch supports
<u>Phase III (2019)</u>			
9	brick pier	center of house	structural support
10	concentration of bone	northeast corner of	midden (?)
11	brick circle	front yard	planting bed
12	brick circle	front yard	planting bed
13	linear sand "bed" with brick	front yard	walkway
14	brick concentration	front yard	stoop foundation
15	thin concentration of gravel	front yard	walkway/pavement (?)
16	long, narrow linear	front yard	mud sill (?)
17	narrow linear trench	front yard	utility line
18	deep, wide trench	front yard	ditch/borrow pit (?)
19	large, rectangular pit	front of house	pit cellar
20	artifact concentration	front of house	midden
21	Posts 1, 2, 3	front yard	porch (?)
22	brick edging and fill	front yard	edged planting bed
23	Posts 4, 5, 6	front yard	fence line
24	Posts 7, 8, 9	front yard	fence line (?)
25	concrete pier	center of house	footing for lumber shed



Figure 14. View of House C during initial Phase II exploratory investigations (looking northwest, fall 2014). The upper part of the brick perimeter foundations of the original house (Feature 1) has been exposed. The south end of House C directly abutted House B, whose foundation remains can be seen at lower left.

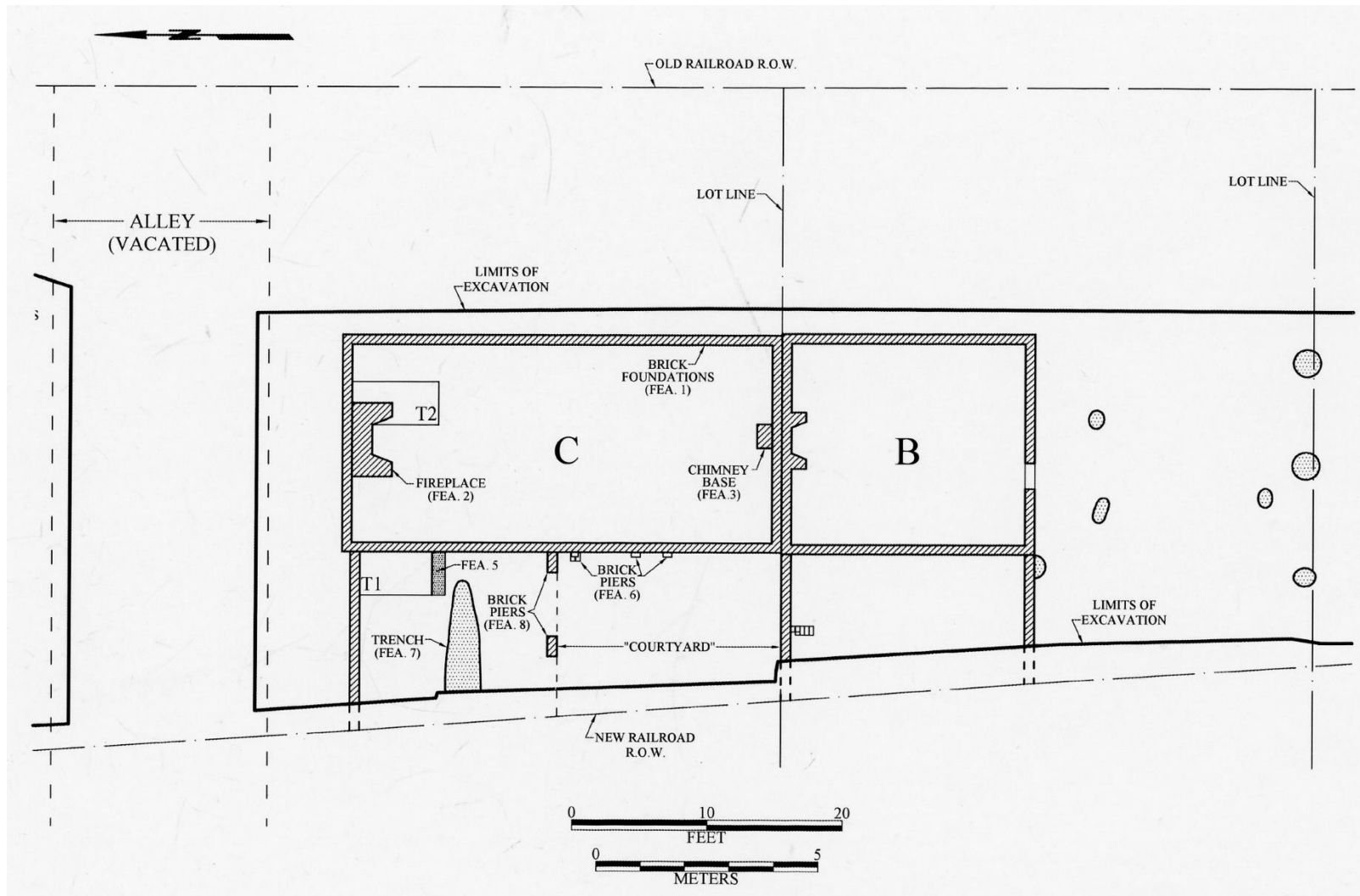


Figure 15. Plan view of Houses B and C (illustrating limits of excavation in relationship to vacated alley, east property line, and proposed new right-of-way at time of the Phase II investigations). Test units excavated and features identified at House C during the Phase II investigations are indicated.



Figure 16. Two views of House C during Phase II testing. Top: Looking south across the original section of the house. Bottom: Detail of fireplace foundation on the north end of the original house (Feature 2).

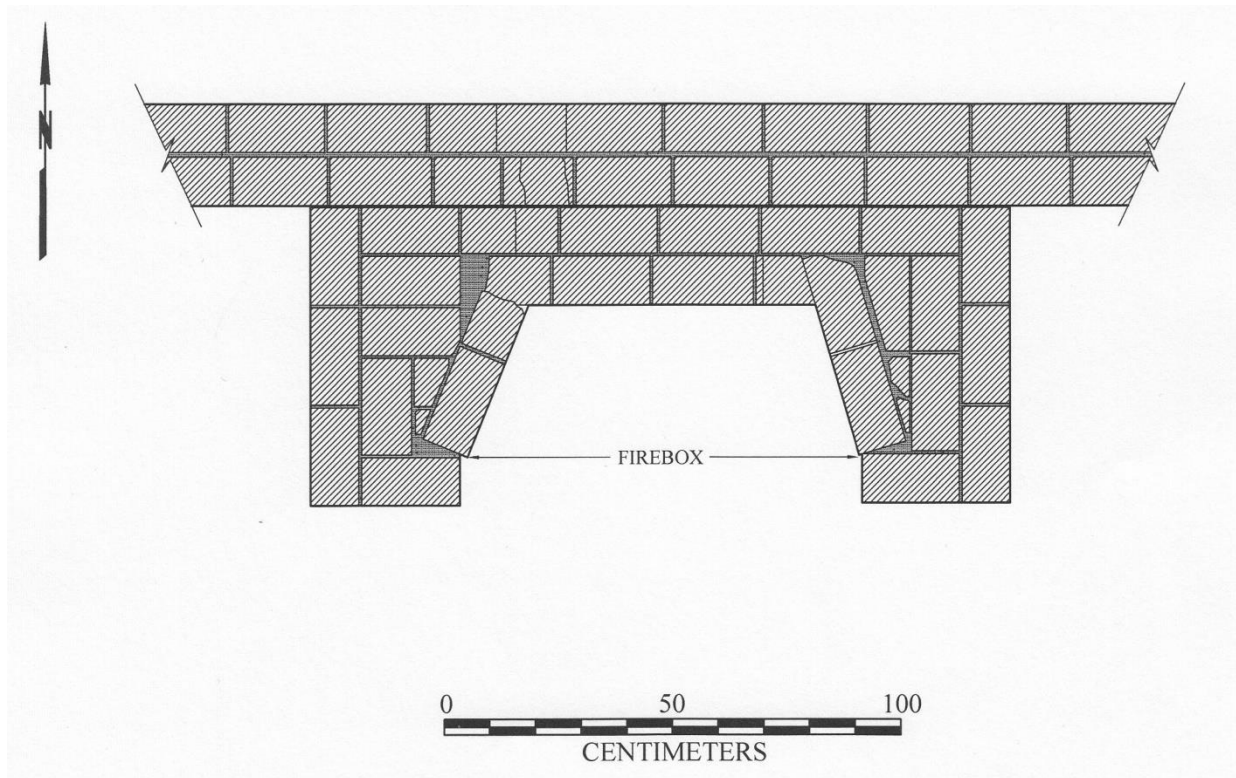


Figure 17. Plan view of north end wall of House C, illustrating the foundation of a fireplace. Opposite this fireplace, located on the south wall of the house, was the foundation for a chimney stack meant for venting a stove (Feature 3).

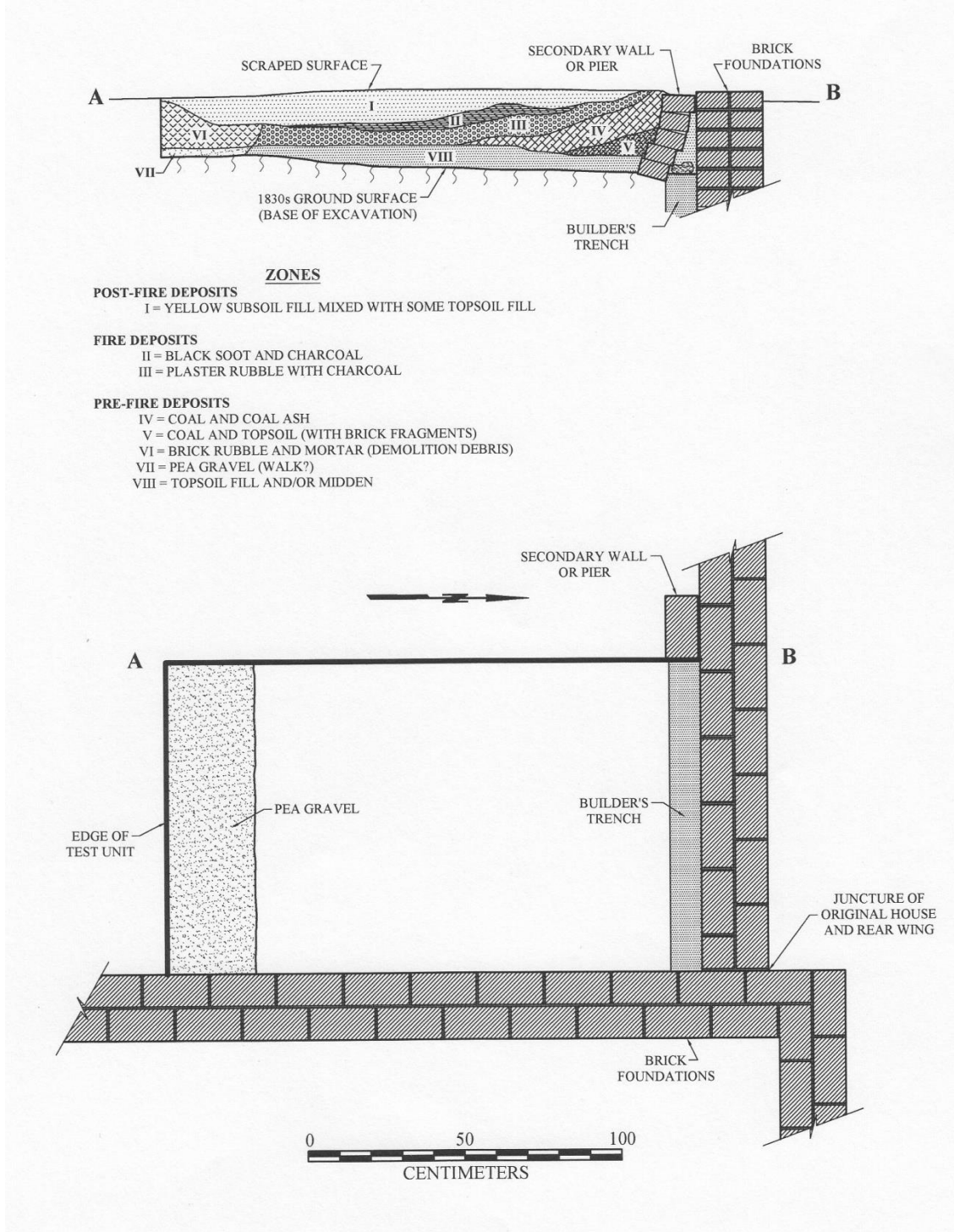


Figure 18. Plan view and section of Test 1, House C. This test, excavated during the 2014 Phase II testing, was located with the northeast rear service wing of the dwelling, at its juncture with the original house. Note the offset between the two sets of brick foundations. The pea gravel surface exposed in Test 1 was designated as Feature 5. More of it would be exposed during the 2019 mitigation work.



Figure 19. Two views of Test 1, House C (2014). Left: Looking north. This test was located within the northeast corner of the rear service wing. The brick wall on the right is from the original dwelling (main house), and the deteriorated wall on the north end of the test unit is that of the rear service wing. Right: Looking northwest. Note the builder's trench running along the inside edge of the rear addition's foundation wall.



Figure 20. Two additional views of Test 1, House C. Top: Looking west. Note the pea gravel surface (Feature 5) along the south edge of the test unit. Bottom: Looking northwest. During the 2019 mitigation work, the pea gravel walkway was determined to have pre-dated the construction of House C.

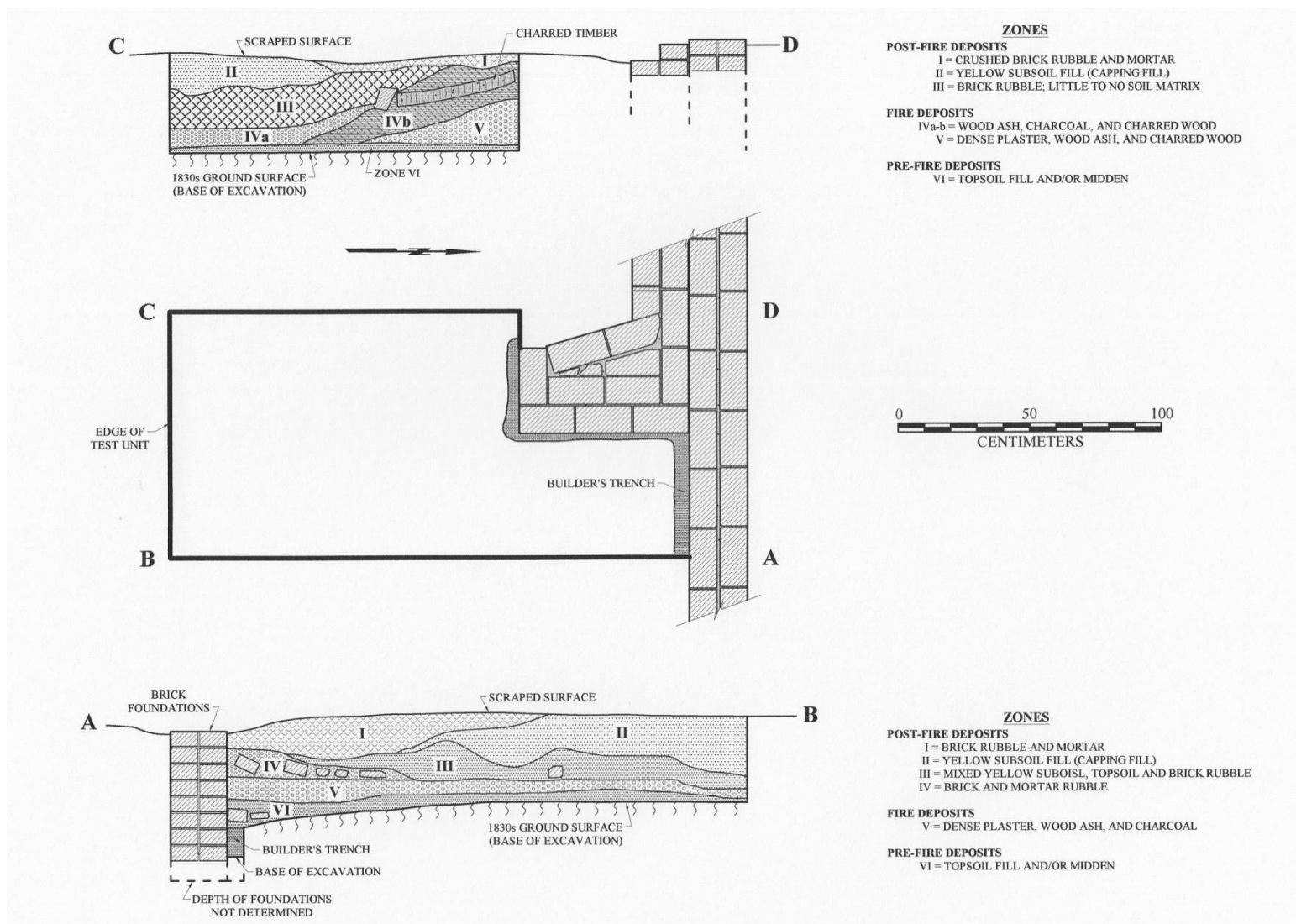


Figure 21. Plan view and sections of Test 2, House C (2014). This test was located in the original portion (front section) of the dwelling. The zone designations used on the profiles views do not correlate with the zones applied in the profiles drawn during the 2019 mitigation work.



Figure 22. Three views of Test 2, House C (2014). Top: Looking north at fireplace foundation. Middle: Looking northwest. Bottom: Looking east.



Figure 23. Excavations in progress on House C. Note the interpretative sign for House C in the upper photograph. A similar sign was prepared for each of the houses excavated in order to inform the visiting public.



Figure 24. Two views of House C during 2019 investigations. Left: First half of checkerboard excavated, looking south. Right: Completion of second half of checkerboard. Both views are looking south, with the front yard located to the left.



Figure 25. Detail of House C after completion of checkerboard (and prior to front yard investigations). Note the presence of the gravel walkway (Feature 5) beneath the House C foundations in foreground. A portion of this walkway was removed during the excavation of the first half of the checkerboard. This was one of several features found within the house basin that predated the construction of House C. View is looking south/southwest.

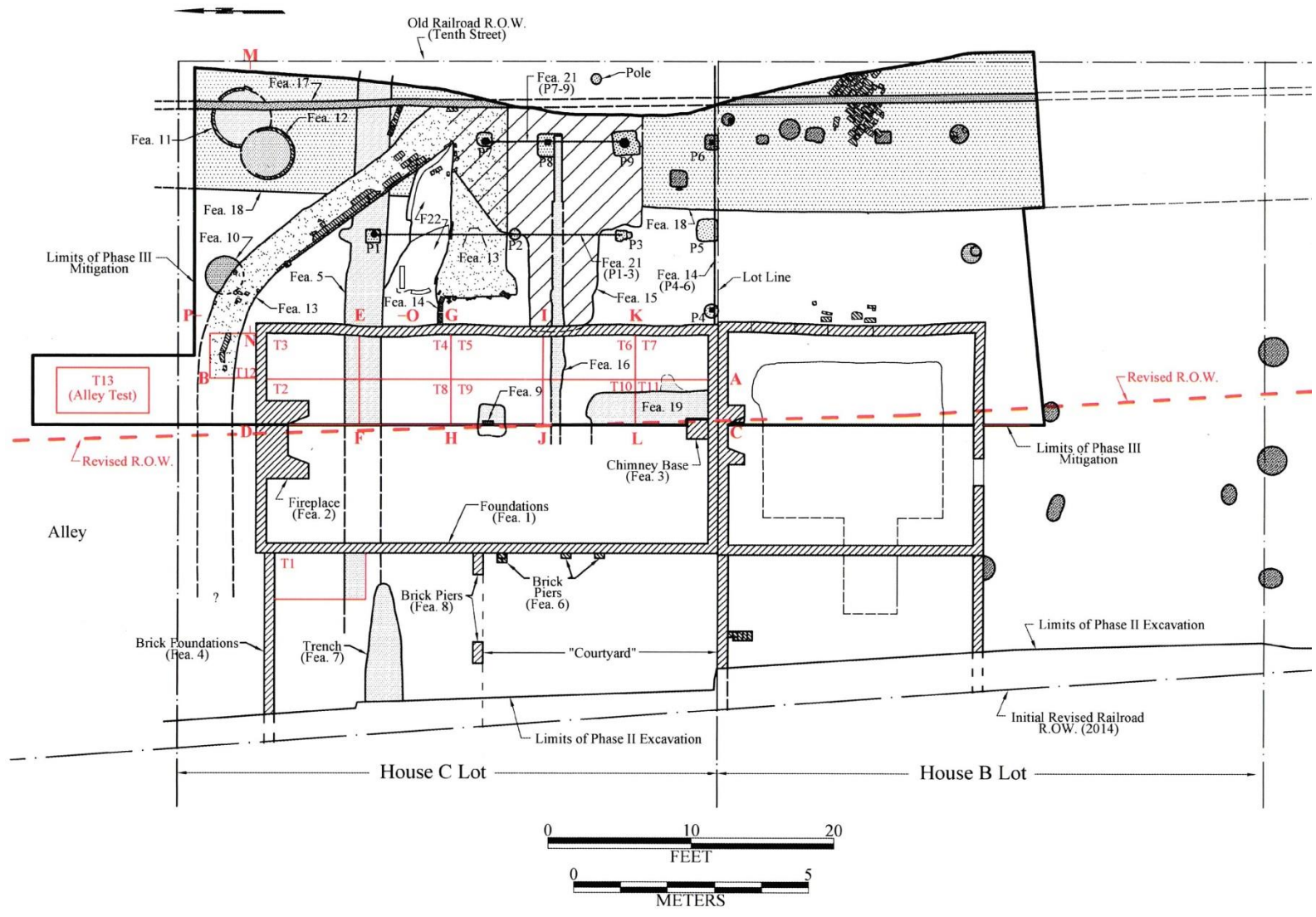


Figure 26. Site plan of Houses B and C, illustrating test units excavated and features uncovered during the 2019 Phase III excavations.

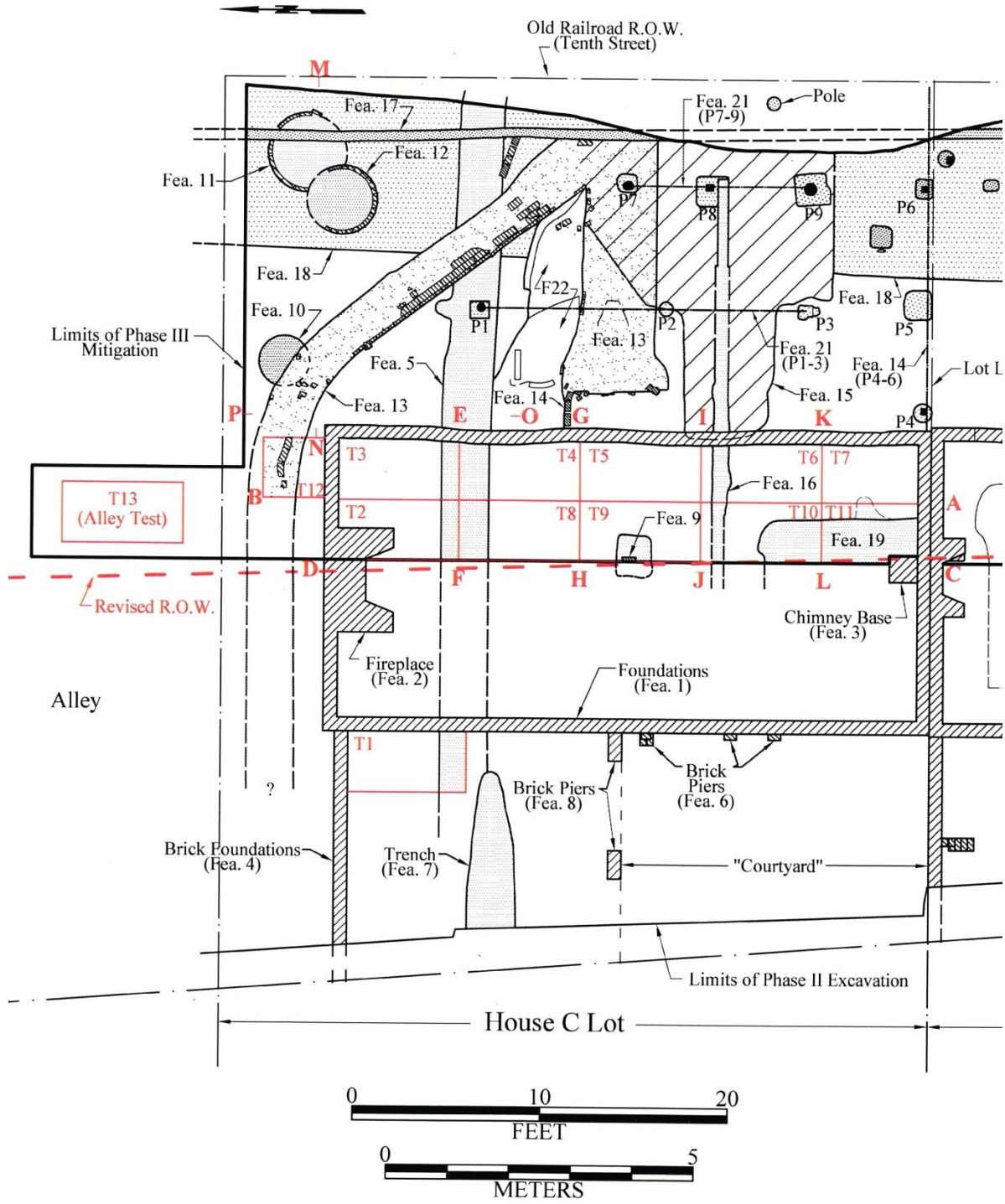


Figure 27. Enlarged view of site plan of House C, illustrating test units excavated and features uncovered during the 2019 Phase III excavations. The red letters indicate profile lines.



Figure 28. Views of brick chimney base (Feature 3) located at the south end of House C. Left: Dense brick rubble found adjacent to the chimney (seen at upper right) in Test 11. Much of this rubble was the chimney fall. Right: The chimney base did not extend as deep as the perimeter foundations, which suggest it was not original to the house. The brick rubble seen in the ground surface in this view is associated with a pit cellar (Feature 19) that pre-dates the construction of House C.



Figure 29. Two views of the brick pier (Feature 9) found in the center of the original section of House C. The pier, which was set into a builder's trench that was backfilled with mortar, is believed to have supported an interior partition wall separating the original house into two rooms. Note the stratigraphy adjacent to the pier. The lighter, plaster-rich fill in the center of the profile represent fire deposits from 1908.

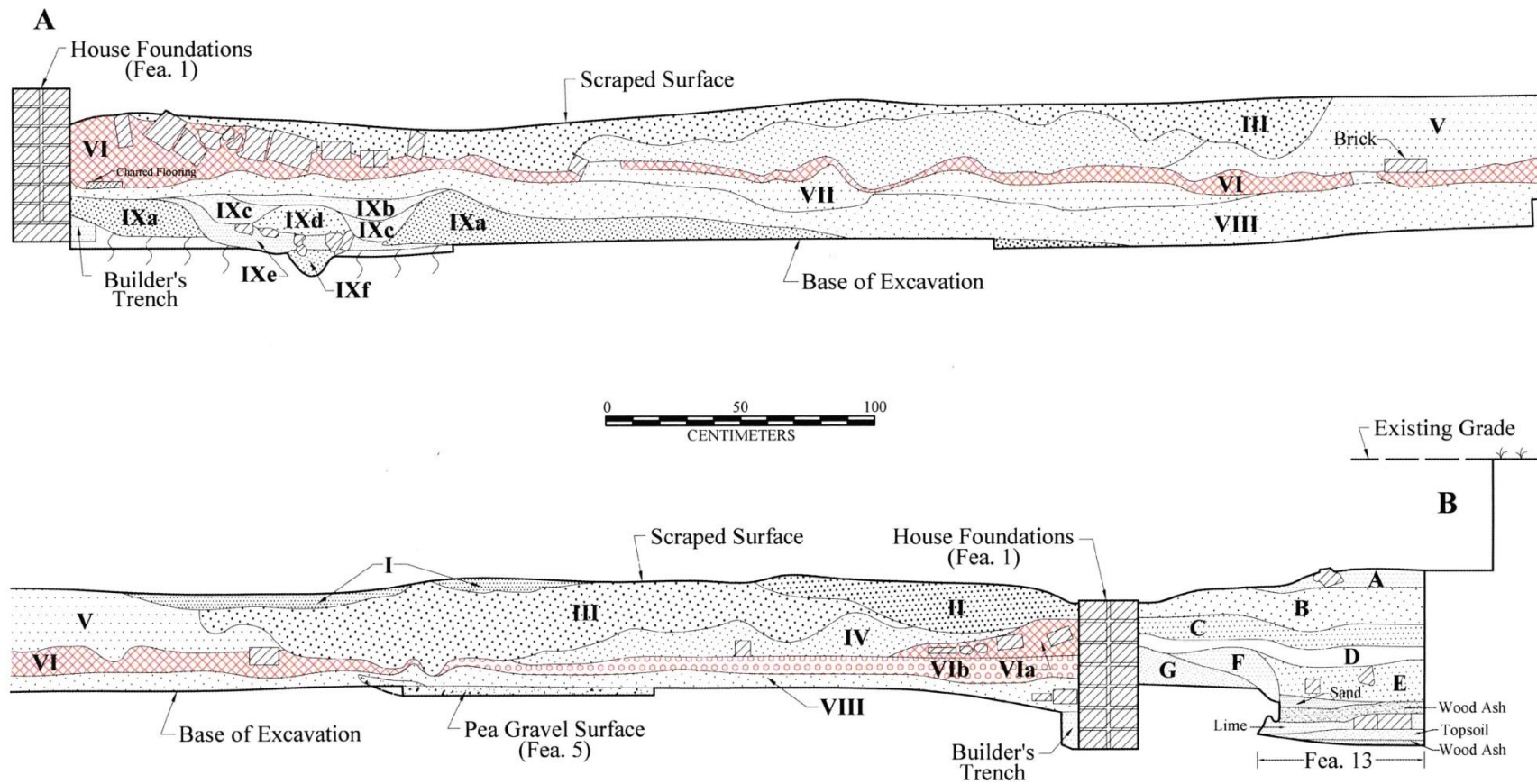


Figure 30. North/south Profile 1 through House C (Profile 1). Zones I-V represent Post-Fire fills. Zone VI, highlighted in red, is the Fire deposit from August 1908. Zones VII-IX are Pre-Fire deposits. The fills located on the exterior of the house, adjacent to the north foundation wall, are also shown and are labelled separately (Zone A-E, etc.). The ground surface around the periphery of the house built up considerably over time, and Zone B represents the circa-1908 surface. The deposits associated with the brick walk discussed as Feature 13 are indicated as well.

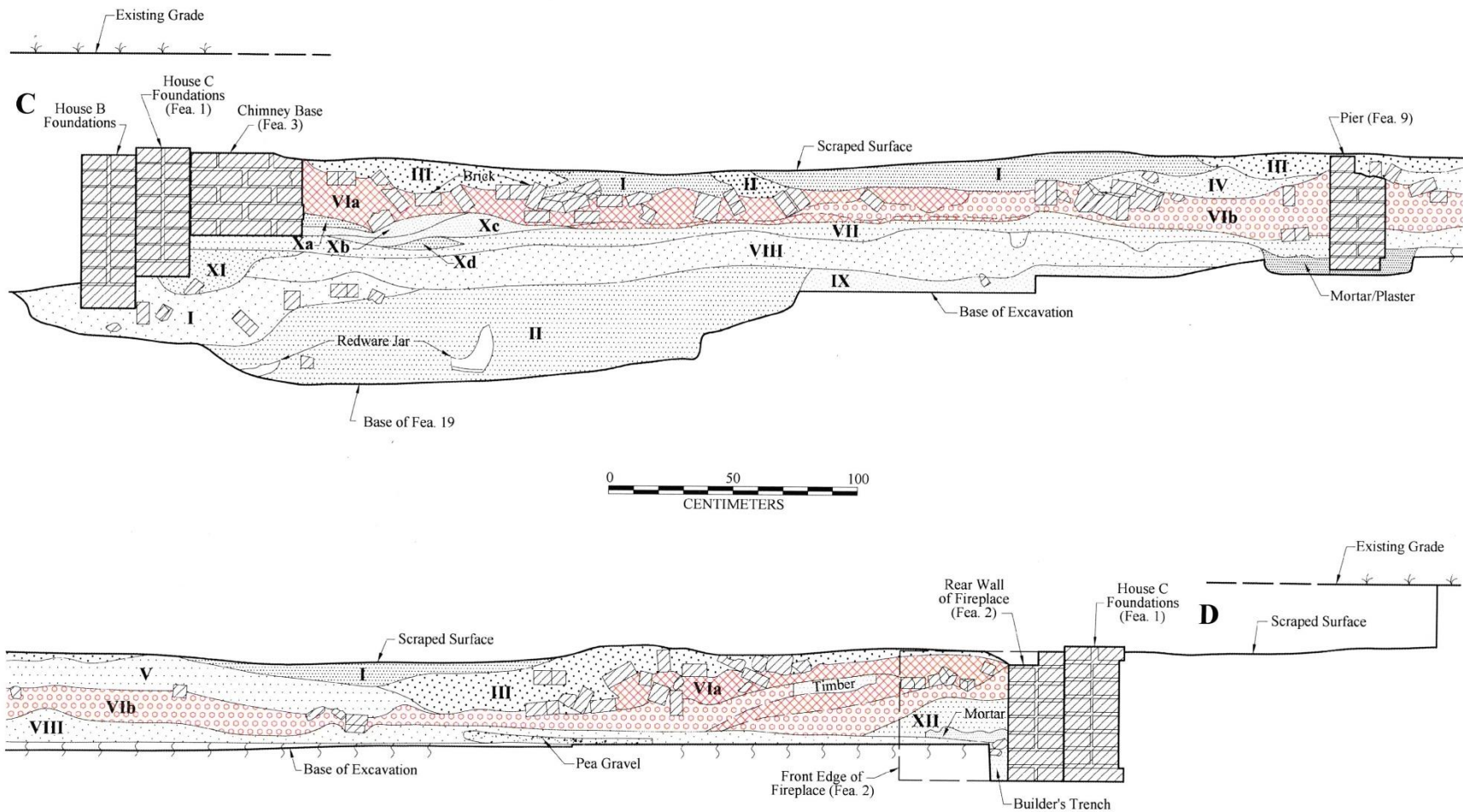


Figure 31. North/south Profile 2 through House C (Profile 2). Zones I-V represent Post-Fire fills. Zone VI, highlighted in red, is the Fire deposit from August 1908. Zones VII-IX are Pre-Fire deposits. Feature 19, a pit cellar pre-dating the construction of House C is shown at far left, with separate fill sequence (Zones I and II) noted.

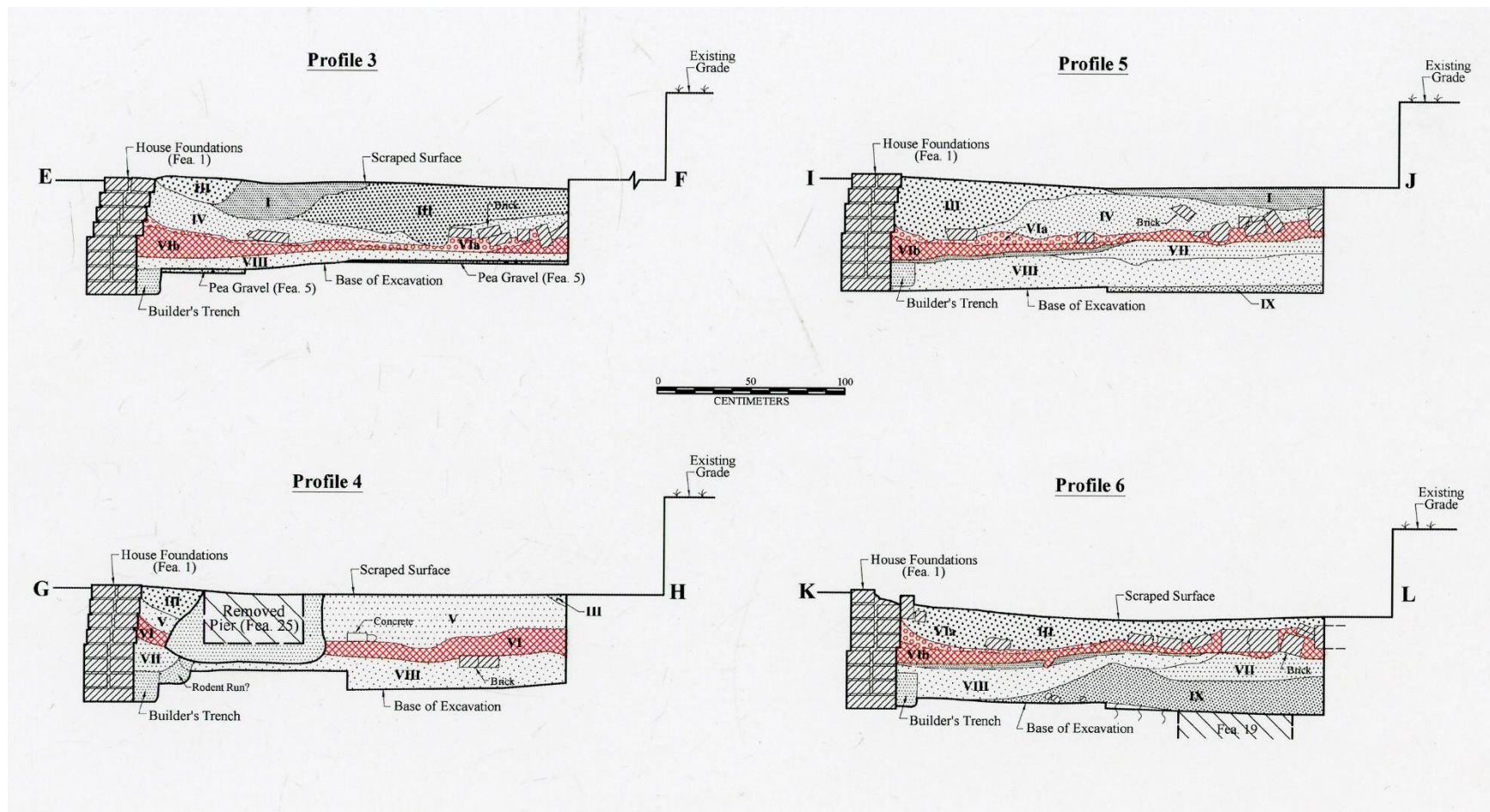


Figure 32. East/west Profiles from House C. The profiles are arranged from north to south, with Profile 3 being the northernmost. Zones I-V represent Post-Fire fills. Zone VI, highlighted in red, is the Fire deposit from August 1908. Zones VII-IX are Pre-Fire deposits.



Figure 33. Two representative views of the soil strata in House C, with the lighter (plaster-rich) Fire deposit separating Pre- and Post-Fire fills. Top: Test 6, looking south (which corresponds to Profile 6). Note the builder's trench along the inside of the perimeter foundations. Bottom: Test 9, looking south (corresponding to Profile 5).



Figure 34. Left: Surface of the Fire deposit (Zone VI) exposed within Test 8, looking south. Right: Burned floor board exposed in Test 7, located in the southeast corner of House C.



Figure 35. Two views of the juncture of Features 13 and 14, along the east side of House C, looking west. Feature 13 is a sand base for a brick sidewalk (the brick having been removed), while Feature 14 appears to be the remnants of a brick wall support for a set of steps and/or stoop aligned to the front door of the house.



Figure 36. Three views of the remains of the northern leg of the brick walkway (Feature 13) in the front yard of House C. One leg of this walk led from Tenth Street to the front entrance, whereas a second leg wrapped around the north side of the dwelling. Much of the brickwork on the pavement had been removed, and that which was present was deteriorated and/or crushed. A significant portion of the brick edging remained intact, however, as seen in these photographs.



Figure 37. Remnants of the brick sidewalk (Feature 13) exposed in Test 12 on the north side of House C. The walk was covered with cinder fills and other deposits by the time of the 1908 race riot.



Figure 38. Two episodes of front-yard planting beds (Features 11 and 12) in the northeast corner of the front yard. Both were circular and edged with brick. A mid-twentieth century waterline trench (Feature 17) can be seen cutting through the earlier planting bed in the photograph at bottom.

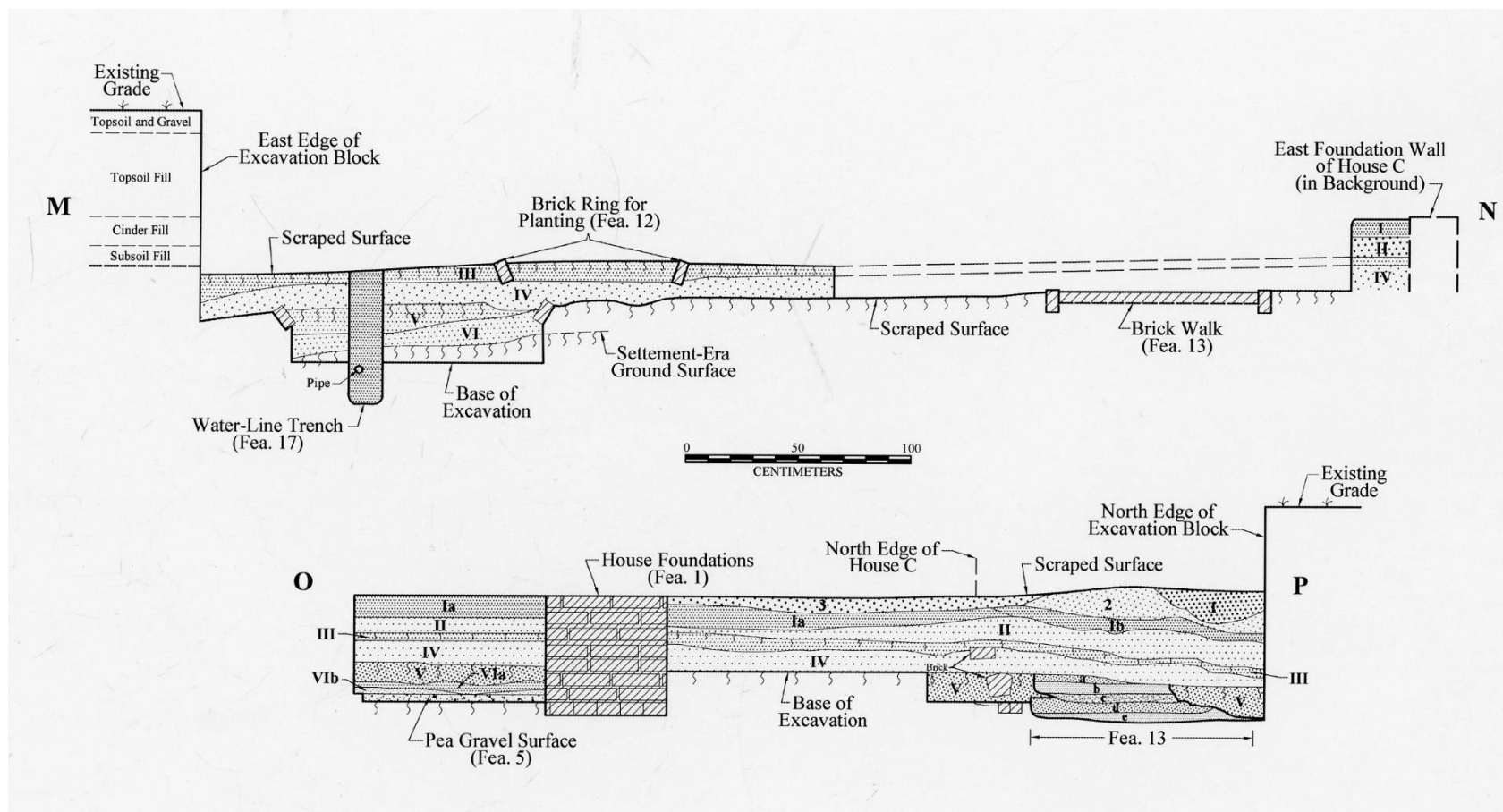


Figure 39. Profiles 7 and 8 illustrating the deposition in the front yard of House C. Profile 7 (top) runs east/west across the northern end of the front yard. Profile 8 (bottom) runs north/south and illustrates the yard adjacent to the northeast corner of House C. The built-up surfaces associated with the northern leg of Feature 13 (Zones a-e) are shown at the far right of Profile 8. The section of house foundation shown in Profile 8 was located in a narrow window that was cut back from the main profile. Zones 1-2 in Profile 8 represent post-fire deposits.

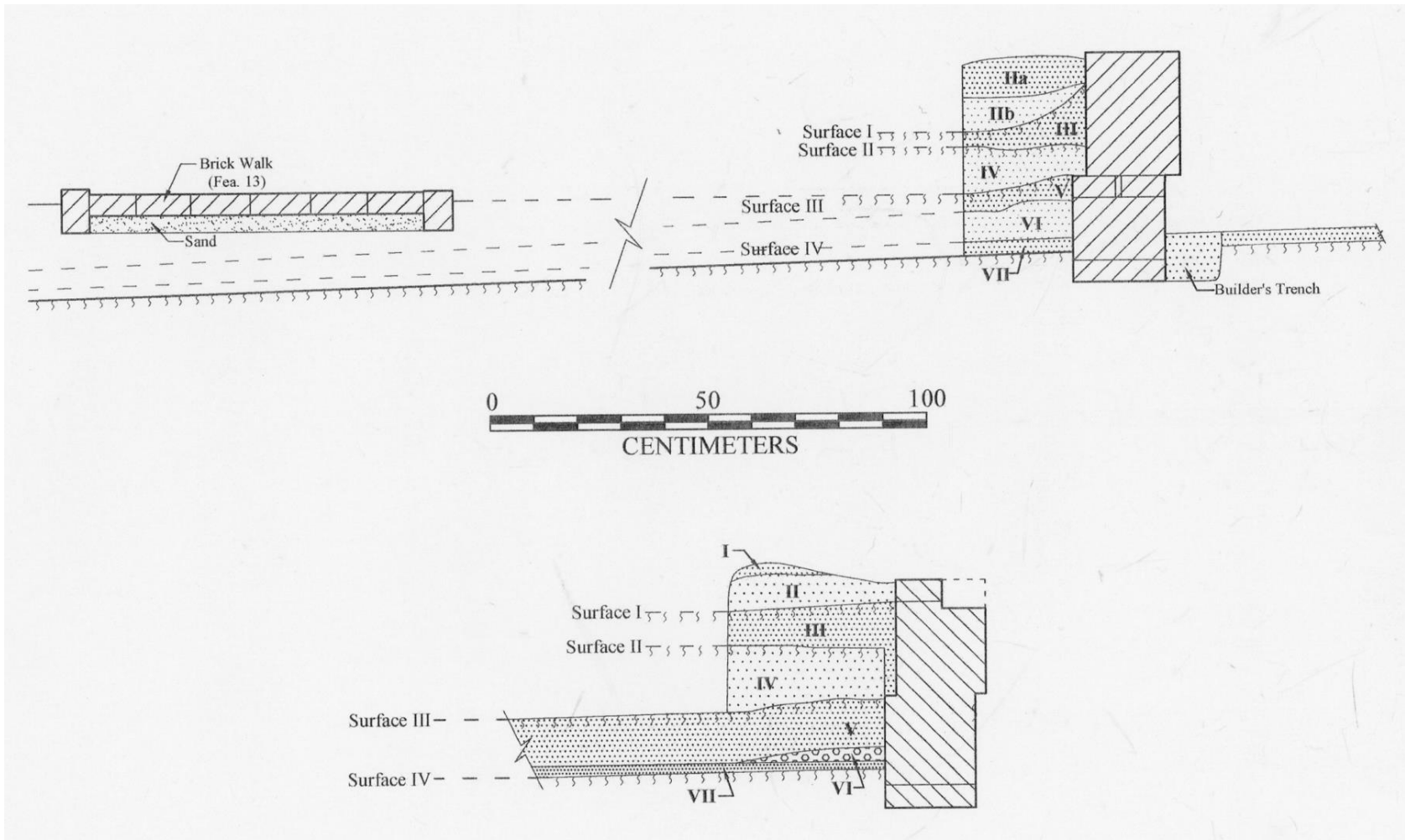


Figure 40. The deposits in the front yard of House C were complex. Four separate stable surfaces were identified. The jog seen in the house foundations in these profiles was not by design, but rather appears to be due to the foundations having shifted over time.

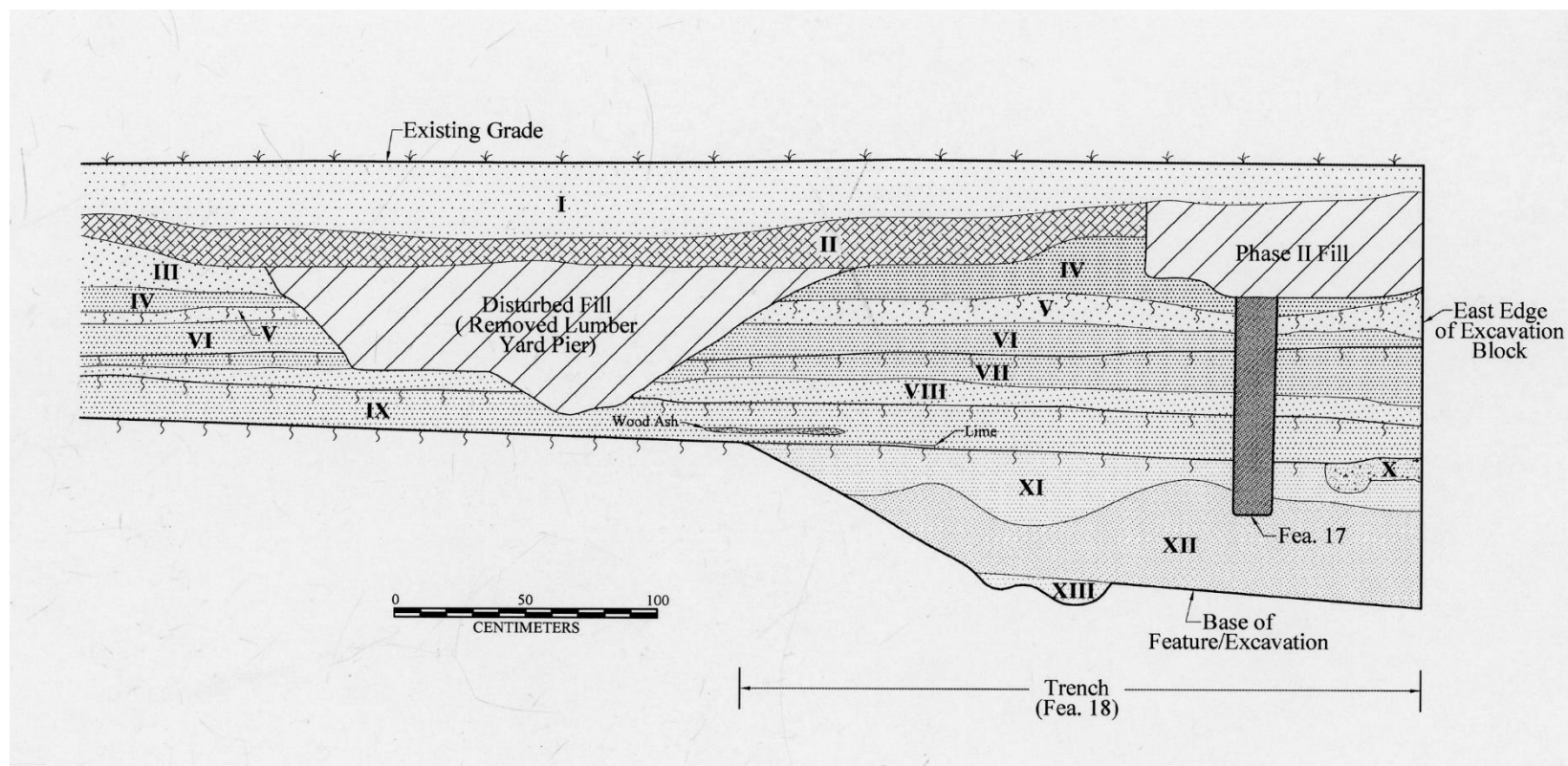


Figure 41. Profile 10, House C. This profile was located along the north edge of the lot, immediately adjacent to the alley. It illustrates the built-up ground surface in the front yard of House C. Zones I-IV represent Post-Fire deposits, while Zones V-IX were accumulated through the occupation of the house. Zones X-XIII are fills associated with Feature 18, the early trench running along the eastern side of Block 3 that pre-dates the construction of House C.



Figure 42. Two views of Feature 5, a pea gravel walkway that pre-dates the construction of House C and runs through the northern end of the house footprint. The foundation of the fireplace appears at the right-hand side of both images. The gravel pavement continues into the front yard. Part of the pavement in the upper image has been removed during the excavations.



Figure 43. Two views of a section of the pre-House C gravel walkway (Feature 5) within the front yard. Left: View of the scraped surface immediately above Feature 5, showing the irregular lens of sand mortar that may represent a work surface associated with the construction of House C, or alternatively a pulled brick pavement. Right: Same area, with Feature 5 exposed. Note the brick sidewalk (Feature 13) superimposed over Feature 5. Also of note is the post hole cutting into the gravel pavement. This the northern post of Feature 21.

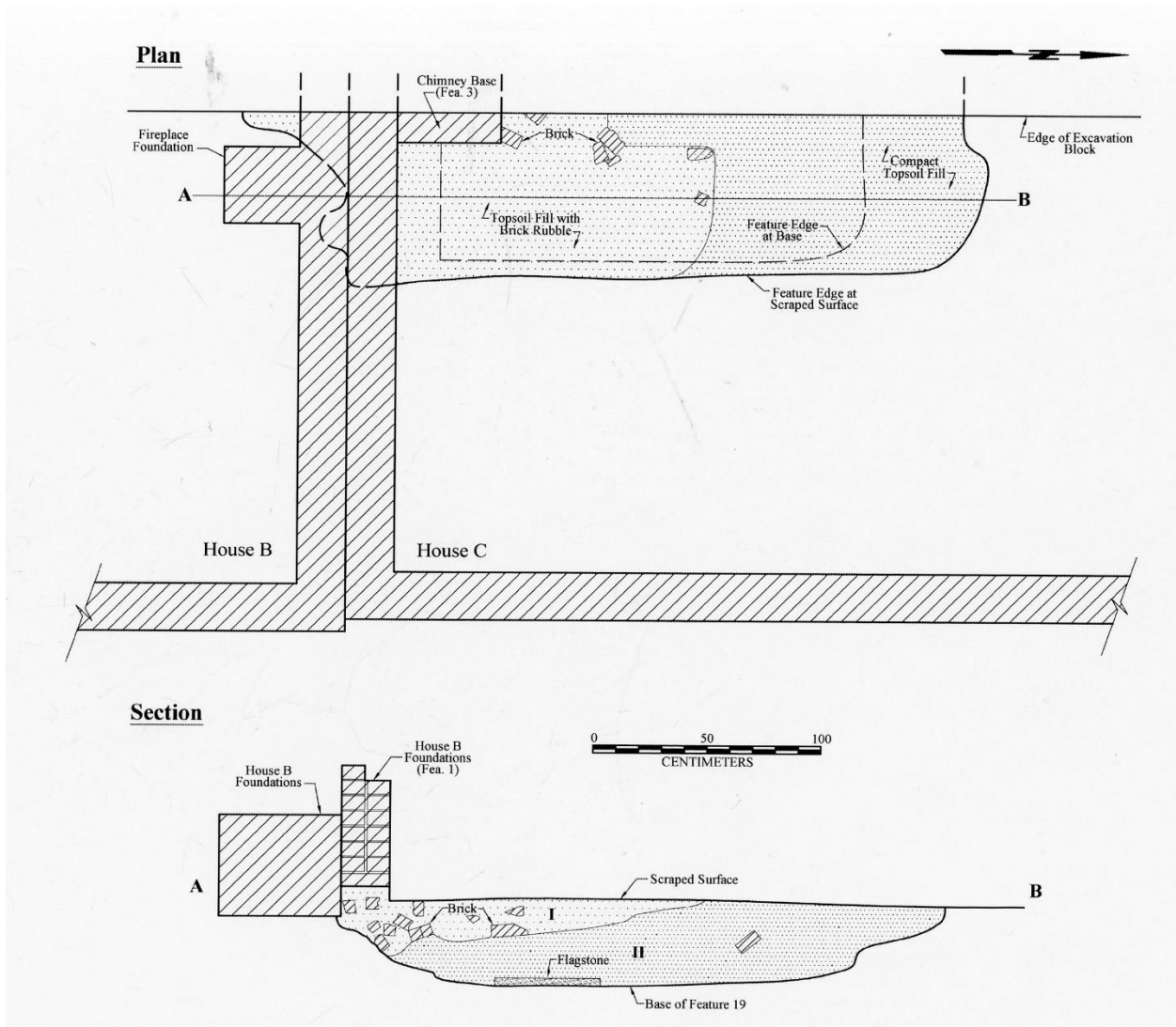


Figure 44. Plan and section view of large pit (Feature 19), predating the construction of both Houses B and C. This feature represents an early pit-cellar located beneath a pre-1840s dwelling.



Figure 45. Two views of the partially excavated pit feature, located beneath House C and extending beneath adjacent House B as well. Note the large slab of stone located on floor of pit, and the irregular, basin-shaped north end of pit.



Figure 46. Left: Redware jar and tinware lid on floor of pit cellar (Feature 19). Right: Edge decorated plate from Feature 19.



Figure 47. Two views of Test 13, located in the alley immediately to the north of House C. Top: View looking east. Bottom: View looking north.

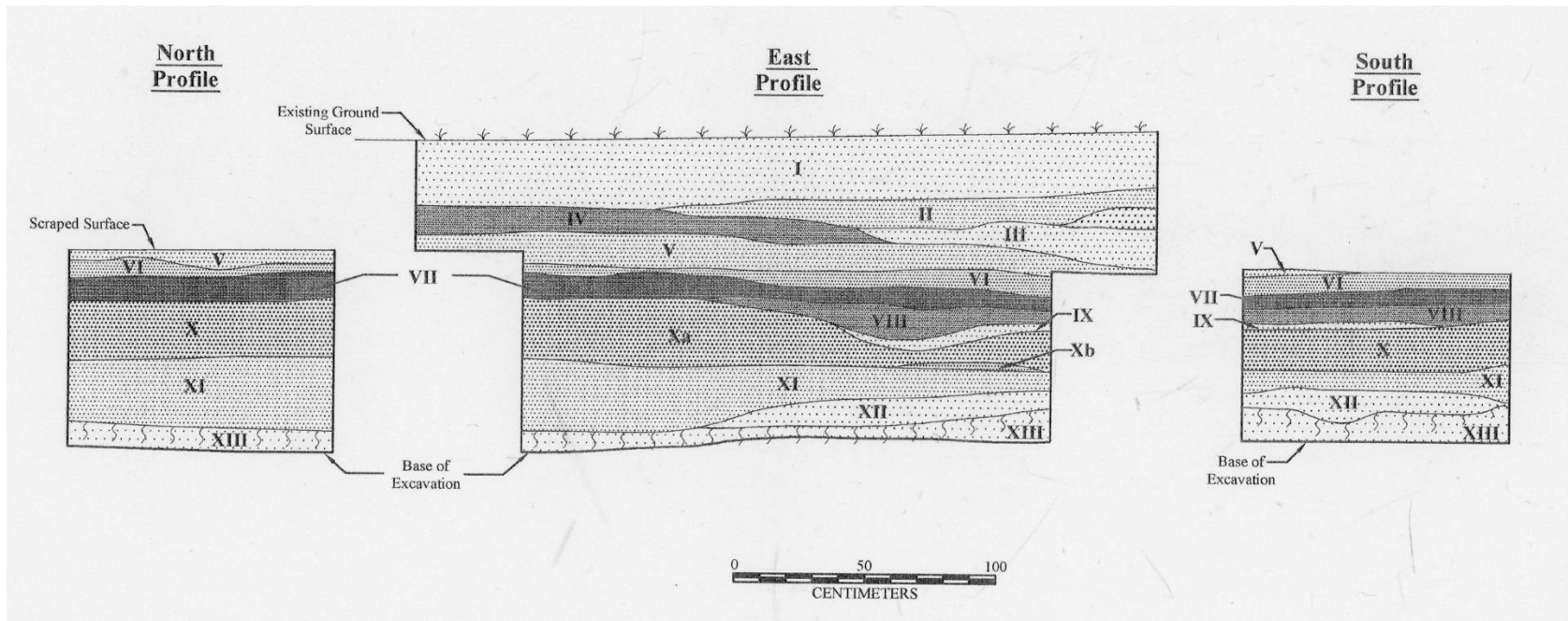


Figure 48. Profile drawings of the Alley Test (Test 13). Zones I-V represent Post-Fire deposits. Zones VI-XII are fills that accumulated within the alley from the platting of Whitney's Addition in 1837 until 1908, with Zones VI-IX being Late Pre-Fire deposits, Zones X-XI being Mid Pre-Fire deposits, and Zone XII being Early Pre-Fire deposits. Zone XIII represents the settlement-era ground surface.

The Artifact Assemblage

The 2014 Phase II excavations suggested that the fill deposits in both the front and back sections of House C were shallow. Subsequent investigations in 2019 confirmed that the deposits in the front of the house were of a uniform thickness throughout, and no cellar was present. As such, the number of artifacts recovered from this house were not overly numerous.

As with the 2014 excavations, the artifacts from the 2019 investigations were segregated into three distinct “components,” consisting of 1) Pre-fire deposits, 2) Fire deposits, and 3) Post-fire deposits. Segregating the artifacts from the excavations into these contexts was somewhat more difficult than within the other houses investigated during this research due to the relatively shallow character of the deposits, and the partial mixing of the stratigraphic zones (resulting from the fire and immediate post-fire activities). Additionally, a fourth component, one that pre-dates the occupation of House C, was identified. Unfortunately, it has been difficult to segregate the artifacts associated with the early Pre-Fire House C occupation from those associated with this Pre-House C component. Nonetheless, the following discussion attempts to discuss the Pre-Fire assemblages in terms of 1) Pre-House C (circa 1838-1848), 2) Early Pre-Fire (circa 1848-1860), 3) Middle Pre-Fire (1860-1885, and 4) Late Pre-Fire (1885-1908) contexts.

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 discussed below. A total of 176 ceramic and glass vessels were identified in the House C assemblage. Tables 6 and 7 present summaries of the ceramic and glass vessel assemblages by context. Similarly, Figure 49 is a graphic representation of the ceramic and glass vessels from the three primary contexts discussed below (Pre-Fire, Fire, and Post-Fire components). Appendix IV contains tables detailing the faunal remains from the various contexts at this site. Additionally, details of the Lot Provenience, Lot Inventories, and Vessel Descriptions pertaining to the Alley (Test 13) context are presented in Appendices V-VII.

The Pre-House C Component (Circa 1838-circa 1842)

The earliest of the Pre-Fire components (Pre-House C) clearly pre-dated the construction of both Houses B and C, and is represented by a small pit cellar (Feature 19) and an early midden located beneath the house and rear addition, as well as within the front yard. Improvements associated with this early Pre-House C component may date as early as circa 1837-38 (or earlier) and potentially associated with early industrial activities. Unfortunately, it is unclear as to who was responsible for these improvements (and the activities undertaken at this location at the time). The initial improvements at this location appear to have been short-lived, as the lots associated with both Houses B and C were sold by the original developer (Jonas Whitney) in 1842—suggesting that the early improvements on these two lots were demolished by that date. Most likely, House B was initially constructed in circa 1842, followed a few years later by the construction of House C (in circa 1847-48). It most likely was at this same time that the lots in Whitney’s addition were re-oriented from Madison Street to the Tenth Street corridor.

Artifacts associated with this component were recovered from within the pit cellar (Feature 19), and the surrounding midden (located beneath the house, as well as within the front yard).

Unfortunately, only a small portion of the pit cellar was excavated (as it extends into the portion of the site to the west of the excavation block that is to be preserved), and it was difficult to segregate the artifacts recovered from the surrounding middens into Pre-House C and Early House C components. As such, the artifacts discussed in this section were recovered predominately from the pit cellar, along with a handful of artifacts recovered from the midden which most likely were associated with this early component. Subsequent discussion of the Early Pre-Fire context most likely integrates some material from this Pre-house C context into its discussion.

The artifact density within that portion of Feature 19 excavated was very low. Nonetheless, two primary ceramic vessels were recovered from the pit cellar (Feature 19). These included a single plate (Vessel C-115) and a large utilitarian storage jar (Vessel C-120) (Figures 50-51). The plate was a blue edge-decorated (shell edge) pearlware vessel with scalloped edge. The jar was a redware vessel with everted rim and ovoid form typical of locally produced wares likely produced by the Ebey pottery during the later 1820s or early 1830s. Additionally, a metal (ferrous) lid, such as would be used with a cooking vessel or storage jar, was also present.

Miscellaneous secondary vessels from the early cellar (represented by small sherds) included painted teawares (cf., Vessels C-119 and C-116). These vessels were decorated with small floral, polychrome painted designs typical of the later 1830s and 1840s. Small body sherds from a salt glazed stoneware vessel (presumably a storage jar) with painted cobalt-blue decoration was also present in this assemblage (Vessel C-118). Glass vessels were poorly represented from this early context (Figure 52).

Architectural items present in the cellar included small fragment of wall plaster with a white coat, suggesting the presence of a building with a finished interior. Two artifacts recovered from the front yard midden, and most likely associated with the demolition of this early structure, included a large brass door stop and a brass door key (Figure 76). The door stop is a relatively unusual item for this early period, and if this door stop indeed was associated with this early structure it, along with the brass door key, suggests that it may have been a rather upscale dwelling for the time period. Also present, albeit in small quantity, were small brick fragments (one hard-fired and/or vitrified fragment of which had a distinctive white encrustation) and a moderately-sized coal clinker (Figure 52). The vitrified brick and clinker are unusual for this early context, and is suggestive of an early industrial and/or craft-related activity associated with the burning of coal (such as with a blacksmith, or within a steam boiler). Although several large sandstone blocks suspected as being foundation remnants of an early structure that pre-dates House C were located in the surrounding midden (and within the builder's trench of the House B cellar), no sandstone was present in this cellar. A flat slab of limestone was present on the floor of this small cellar.

Several artifacts atypical of a domestic component were recovered from both House B and C. Although recovered from later contexts, a couple large iron nuts (Lots C-43 and C-44) and a large diameter bolt (bottom; Lot C-81) were recovered from House C, potentially having been redeposited from earlier contexts. Similarly, recovered from the Pre-fire deposits of House B were multiple large-diameter threaded bolts with square heads, and forged nuts (see discussion House B). One of the nuts was still threaded onto the end of bolt, which appears to have been

chisel cut, or broken from the larger bolt. Additionally, a small piece of fossiliferous limestone with a glazed and/or partially melted surface indicative of exposure to high heat was recovered from the earliest context of House B and reminiscent of similar materials recovered from the early components of Houses E and F (Lot B-113).

Recovered from the builder's trench of House C, and presumably associated with this early Pre-house C structure, was a small hatchet and padlock. These two artifacts were fused together and were recovered from the builder's trench along the inside of the east foundation wall of House C (Lot C-34). The hatchet appears to represent a small hewing hatchet, a multi-purpose tool in common use by a house builder/carpenter (Figure 81). The padlock is a high-end lock with a brass escutcheon and drop plate. The presence of the padlock suggests the necessity for securing some aspect of the site (whether a tool chest, entrance to a cellar or other building) during this earliest of components.

Recovered from the early midden, and potentially associated with this earliest of components at House C, was a Coronet-style (Liberty design) U.S. large cent which was minted from 1816 through 1836 (Figure 77). Although the mint date is not completely legible, a careful inspection of the coin hints at a mint date of 1828.

Foodway Remains consist of discarded animal remains from past meals and butchering activities of people who occupied the site of House C. Just more than 42% of the total House C faunal assemblage is associated with contexts that preceded the construction of House C (Appendix IV). These deposits include an area of old ground surface in Test 2, a small pit cellar (Feature 19), a shallow trench potentially representing a mud-sill (Feature 16), and a shallow pit (Feature 10). The vast majority of identified specimens from these early contexts are from pigs, most of which were discovered in a shallow pit or depression within the front yard (Feature 10). These consist of 64 cranial specimens from at least three individuals, 274 lower front and hind leg and foot bones (four of which are sawed) from a minimum of six individuals, plus a proximal femur, a sawed atlas vertebra, and a sawed portion of a scapula. Most of the bones are from a minimum of five individual pigs less than one or two years in age, based on unfused epiphyses (Getty 1975:1222, 1227) and deciduous teeth in one maxilla. Metapodials with fused epiphyses represent another individual more than two years of age. Whether Feature 10 constitutes butchering waste or food refuse is unclear. Intra-site distributional patterns discerned for an early to mid-nineteenth century eastern Ozark farmstead in southeastern Missouri suggested that hog cranial fragments there were associated with butchering waste, whereas hog feet were most likely table refuse (Price 1985:50). Except for two bird bones (chicken distal tibiotarsus and unidentified a large bird shaft fragment), Feature 10 consists of pig bones, which most likely indicates that the bone concentration was the end result of pork processing and not refuse from meals. The other Pre-House C context that contained pig remains is Feature 16, which has two cranial fragments, two foot bones (a calcaneus that may represent a hock and a metacarpal from the foot), a sawed tibia shaft portion (from the ham), and the distal half of a scapula (representing a picnic shoulder). The only cattle bones from this earliest component are a sawed portion of a pelvis (rump butchering unit) from Feature 16, and a sirloin cut from a proximal femur and a sawed portion of a cross or short rib, both recovered from the Feature 19 pit cellar. The lack of pork remains from Feature 19 is of note.

The Early Pre-Fire Component (Circa 1848-1860)

The initial, Pre-House C improvements at this location appear to have been short-lived, as the lots associated with both Houses B and C were sold by the original developer (Jonas Whitney) in 1842—suggesting that the early improvements on these two lots were demolished by that date. Most likely, House B was initially constructed in circa 1842, followed a few years later by the construction of House C. It most likely was at this same time (circa 1842) that the lots in Whitney’s addition were re-oriented from Madison Street to the Tenth Street corridor. The Early Pre-Fire component associated with House C minimally dates from the circa 1847-48 construction of the house by, or for, John Briscoe (a Virginia-born farmer/miller). Briscoe sold the house in 1850 to Jacob Tiger, an Ohio-born miller who occupied the house through 1853. Tiger subsequently sold the house to Lewis Apgar, a New Jersey-born engineer who occupied the house through 1860. Most likely, all three men were skilled tradesmen associated with the Phoenix mill located immediately south of Madison Street. As such, the Early Pre-Fire component represents discard generated by skilled Northern tradesmen (circa 1848-1860).

The Early Pre-Fire component from House C was represented by materials recovered from the early front yard midden and within the lower fill deposits within the House C footprint. Additionally, some secondary materials mixed with the later components and most likely redeposited from the earlier component, are also discussed below. As noted above, segregating the Early Pre-Fire and Pre-House C components was difficult, and some of the material discussed below may have been associated with the Pre-House C component.

Artifacts from this component were relatively numerous, and were represented by minimally 62 ceramic and glass vessels (Table 6). Although relatively numerous, the vast majority of these vessels (approximately 89%) were represented by small fragments that comprised secondary vessels. Only seven vessels (comprising approximately 11% of the vessels) were characterized as primary vessels from this context.

The ceramic and glass vessels from this context were represented predominately by vessels in the Foodways Service (n=47, representing 75.8% of the vessels from this context) functional category. The Foodways Service category was represented nearly equally by both tablewares (n=20 vessels) and teawares (n=27 vessels). The functional category with the second highest number of ceramic and glass vessels was that of Kitchenwares (n=7; representing 11.3% of the vessels from this context). The functional categories of Household Furnishings (n=3; representing 4.8% of the vessels from this context), Personal Care/Hygiene (n=1; representing 1.6% of the vessels from this context), and Indulgences/Drink (n=2; representing 3.2% of the vessels from this context) represent the remainder of the identified vessels from this early context. No vessels were present within the Food Storage, or Medicine functional categories. Two vessels (representing 3.3% of the vessels) were of Indeterminate function.

The tablewares from this context included approximately 15 plates, two serving bowls, a waster bowl, an indeterminate hollowware vessel (presumably a small pitcher) and a small child’s plate. The tableware from this context consisted predominately of whiteware, with a few pearlware vessels. Three of the plates were edge decorated (blue), two were painted and/or sponge decorated, and nine of the plates were printed. The two serving bowls were both edge decorated

(one blue, the other with an unpainted beaded rim). The child's plate was represented by a small fragment of a relief decorated plate with painted polychrome highlights (Vessel C-60) (Figure 58). Most likely, this small plate would have had a central printed image which depicted a personalized message to the child (such as the child's name, nursery rhyme, proverb, or positive reinforcement such as "For a Good Girl"). Although only a small fragment was recovered, the rim is very similar to those produced by John King Knight, who is known for producing a number of children's plates which are illustrated with one of Franklin's Maxims (Riley 1991).⁶³ The painted wares predominately were polychrome designs depicting small floral (sprig) patterns. One saucer (Vessel 30) was decorated with a more elaborate CORNFLOWER pattern. One plate from the Early Pre-Fire context was decorated with a sponge-decorated rim (red) with a painted (polychrome) central motif depicting a stylized peacock (also known as a Peafowl) (Vessel C-10). These plates and similarly decorated wares are often associated with Pennsylvania German immigrants. Undecorated table and tea ware vessels from the Early Pre-Fire component were few in number, but they included at least one potential plate with an early rolled (ovolo) rim form (Vessel C-163) (Figures 53-56).

The teawares from this context consisted of 12 cups, 12 saucers, two potential cup plates, and a glass tumbler (drinking glass). Although the majority of the teaware vessels were represented by whiteware bodies, a small number of the vessels (n=4) were represented by transitional pearlware bodies (consistent with the early date of the component). Unlike the tablewares, five of the teaware vessels (one cup and four saucers) were represented by porcelain wares. The non-porcelain cups were represented by an equal number of painted (n=5) and printed (n=5) examples, and one potential relief decorated example. The non-porcelain saucers were represented by both painted (n=5) and printed (n=3) examples. One of the cup plates (Vessels C-27) was printed as well. The second potential cup plate (Vessel C-5) had a sponge-decorated (red and green) rim.

The porcelain teawares from the Early Pre-Fire context of House C represent the highest-value ceramic wares present at the site. Several soft-paste porcelain vessels were recovered from the Early Pre-Fire context of House C. The porcelain teawares recovered from this early context consisted of one painted cup, two painted saucers, one undecorated saucer, and one saucer of indeterminate decoration (heavily burned). Although some of these vessels were undecorated (cf. Vessels C-126 and C-129), at least three of the vessels were decorated with a painted overglaze polychrome small floral (or sprig) design typical of the 1840s and 1850s. Each of the sprig patterns were unique, suggesting individual cup and saucers (not sets). These included both a cup (Vessel C-41) and two saucers (Vessels C-13 and C-30). All of the soft-paste porcelain wares were teawares (Figure 72).

As noted above, undecorated and minimally decorated wares were not well represented in the Early Pre-Fire component (Figures 55-56, 74). These minimally decorated wares included an occasional plate, edge decorated plates and serving vessels, and painted teawares (cups and saucers). The presence of the sponge-decorated plate with painted peafowl represents a unique tableware item in this component, and may attest to the background of one of the early site occupants (Figure 57). Such ceramics are often associated with Pennsylvania German

⁶³This molded and painted border design has been described as "Rose Sprays" (<https://db.transferwarecollectorsclub.org/patterns/?border=3963>; Camehl 1916).

immigrants. Although a native-born American, Louis Apgar, who owned House C 1853-1860, is believed to have come from a community in New Jersey's Delaware River Valley founded by Germans in the seventeenth century. More ornate printed wares were relatively common in the Early Pre-Fire context and included a variety of tableware and teaware vessels. Minimally eight distinct printed patterns were identified from this component. Relief decorated wares were all but non-existent from this component, represented potentially by a single cup. The lack of relief decorated wares typical of the later 1850s and 1860s is striking.

Table 5
Print Patterns
House C

<u>Pattern Name</u>	<u>Decoration</u> <u>Type</u>	<u>Manufacturer</u>	<u>Date Range</u>	<u>Vessels</u>
Coral Border	print	Thomas Dimmock	ca. 1828-1859	C-2
Canova	print	Thomas Mayer	ca. 1834-1848	C-6
Romania No. 91	print	unknown	unknown	C-20, C-28
Abbey 1779	print	George Jones and Sons	circa 1890	C-21, C-122
Ivanhoe	print	Podmore Walker Company	ca. 1839-1859	C-36
Mesina	print	Wood and Challinor	ca. 1828-1843	C-38
Willow	print	unknown	unknown	C-40, C-125
Garden Scenery	print	T. J. & J. Mayer	ca. 1843-1855	C-84
"Flute Player"	print	unknown	unknown	C-80
Nanking	print	Edward Challinor	1842-1872	C-54
Isola Belle	print	William Adams and Sons	1829-1861	C-127

[The pattern identified as "Abbey 1779" is associated with the Late Pre-Fire context.]

Printed tableware and teaware vessels were numerous from this context (Figure 59). As noted above, minimally ten distinct print patterns were identified from the Early Pre-Fire context (Table 5). Additionally, at least six additional print patterns on vessels from this context remain unidentified. One of the earlier of the patterns identified from this context was a thinly potted saucer (Vessel C-6) illustrated with the CANOVA pattern (Figure 60). This pattern was produced by Thomas Mayer, circa 1826-1838, and is relatively common on sites from the 1830s in Illinois (Williams 1978:214).⁶⁴ Two teaware vessels were decorated with the ROMANIA NO. 91 pattern (Vessels C-20 and C-28) (Figure 61). Unfortunately, the manufacturer of this relatively uncommon pattern is unknown. At least one plate (Vessel C-2) was decorated with the CORAL BORDER pattern, produced by Thomas Dimmock circa 1828-1859 (Williams 1978:619) (Figure 62). This pattern was also recovered from the nearby House E. Another plate was decorated with the MESINA pattern, which was produced by Wood and Challinor, circa 1828-45 (Williams 1978:334; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:378) (Vessel C-38) (Figure 64). Plates from this context were also illustrated with the IVANHOE (Vessel C-36; Figure 65), GARDEN SCENERY (Vessel C-84; Figure 66), NANKING (Vessel C-54; Figure 67), and ISOLA BELLE (Vessel C-157; Figure 68) patterns. The IVANHOE pattern was produced by Podmore Walker Company, circa 1834-59 (Williams 1978:309). The GARDEN SCENERY pattern was produced by T. J. & J. Mayer during the years circa 1843-55 (Williams 1978:268;

⁶⁴ Cf. Farmer's Home Hotel Site (Mansberger 1989), and the Apple River Fort Site (Mansberger and Stratton 1996).

Snyder 1997:119). The NANKING pattern was produced by Edward Challinor between 1842 and 1872, and the ISOLA BELLE pattern was produced by William Adams and Sons between 1829 and 1861 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999). At least two plates decorated with the standard WILLOW pattern were also recovered, and were manufactured by unknown potters (Vessels C-40 and C-125) (Figure 63). At least seven additional patterns were unidentified by name (Figures 69-71). An unidentified pattern on a cup, illustrating a male flute player with a female companion is tentatively referred to as “The Flute Player” pattern (Vessel C-80; Figure 71).

The Foodways Storage and Preparation functional category includes both Kitchenware and Food Storage vessels. The Kitchenware vessels include utilitarian vessels associated with the preparation of foods, and were represented by both redware, and salt-glazed stoneware vessels. The redware vessels (n=4) were represented by small jars and/or bowls, most likely of local manufacture. The salt-glazed stoneware vessels (n=2) were represented by crockery jars of unknown size. All vessels were wheel-thrown (Figure 73).

The Personal functional category from this context included a single glass vessel associated with Personal Care/Hygiene, and two associated with Indulgences (Drink). The glass vessel associated with Personal Care/Hygiene was the remains of a small perfume bottle (Vessel C-12) (Figure 75). The two glass vessels associated with the Indulgences category both represent alcoholic drink containers. One of the vessels was represented by a distinctive body sherd once part of a scroll whiskey flask (Vessels C-99). The second alcohol vessel was represented by a base fragment of a wine bottle (Vessel C-181). Small finds from this functional category included fragments of a bone lice comb (Lot C-82), as well as a hard rubber comb (Lot C-26) and a hair pin (Lot C-89) (Figure 77). The presence of the hard rubber items suggests a late 1840s or 1850s context. Toys were poorly represented, and included a single badly eroded stone marble (Lot C-119) (Figure 77). A small gold finger ring (Lot C-33) potentially originated from this early component was also recovered (Figure 77). Of interest is the lack of vessels associated with the Indulgences and Medicine categories.

The smoking of tobacco during this early context is documented by the presence of several small fragments (stems and bowls) of long-stem, kaolin pipes. A single anthropomorphic figural pipe was recovered from the Early Pre-Fire context (Lot C-121). This pipe, which was recovered from fill associated with the brick walk in the front yard (Feature 13), depicts a man with a mustache and turban (Figure 79).

The Household Furnishings functional category was represented by three vessels and a limited number of small finds. The vessels were represented one lamp chimney (Vessel C-17), and two potential chamber pots and/or chamber pot lids (Vessels C-1, C-19) (Figure 74). The potential chamber pot lid (Vessel C-1) had a creamware-like body, was undecorated, and had a small diameter suggestive of a child’s chamber pot. A salt-glazed stoneware ink well recovered from a Post-Fire context (Vessel C-167) may represent a redeposited vessel from this early component (Figure 75).

The functional category Clothing was represented by a limited number of buttons. These buttons were more-or-less equally divided between bone, shell, and metal varieties (Figure 78). Bone buttons were represented by both 5-hole and one-hole examples. The one-hole bone button

probably represents a fabric covered button. Shell buttons were either two-hole or four-hole sew-through varieties. Metal buttons included three-piece loop shank examples and stamped four-hole sew-through examples. The three piece loop-shank buttons included several decorated examples (with floral details). Prosser buttons appear to be absent from this early component—suggesting a pre-1848 era. Single milk glass domed button with a loop shank (Lot C-33).

Activities represented by the small finds from the Labor and/or Activity functional category included writing, sewing, and construction activity. Writing activities were documented by the presence of slate writing stylus and slate tablet fragment (Lots C-107 and C-69, respectively; Figure 77). Sewing activities were potentially documented by the presence of a pair of blunt-end iron scissors (Lot 119; Figure 80). Construction activity (specifically carpentry) may be suggested by the presence of an iron hewing hatchet (as noted earlier) (Lot C-34; Figure 81). Fused together with this hatchet, recovered from the eastern wall builder's trench of the house, was an iron padlock (Figure 81). The padlock has a brass escutcheon and drop plate, and suggests the need for security at the site during this early period. The presence of a well-worn, rat-tail tanged, antler-handled butcher knife suggests the possibility of on-site butchering (Lot C-69; Figure 80). This knife has been aggressively sharpened and/or nearly worn out with much of its blade having been sharpened "away." This knife was recovered from a mixed context, and may have been associated with a Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire context. Commercial activity (Commerce) associated with this early component is documented by the presence of a Coronet-style (Liberty design) U.S. large cent which was minted from 1816 through 1836 (Figure 77). Although the mint date is not completely legible, a careful inspection of the coin hints at a mint date of 1828.

The faunal collection of 387 specimens associated with Early Pre-Fire contexts is the second largest from House C making up nearly 33% of the total House C faunal assemblage (Appendix IV). A total of 176 specimens (45.5%) could be identified below class (85.5% by specimen weight). Specimens from pig and cattle are most numerous, together making up nearly 65% of all identified animal remains. Pig remains are more numerous than cattle specimens and contributed an estimated 57.6% of the estimated biomass in contrast to 38.7% from beef. Additional mammals include sheep or goat, identified from a dorsal rib fragment, and white-tailed deer, represented by an astragalus with knife cut marks. This is one of the very few specimens of deer encountered at 11SG1432. Hoffmeister (1989:31) noted that deer populations in central Illinois were in decline by 1860, mainly due to overhunting. Remains of at least two subadult domesticated cats were also recovered, including 27 bones from a single juvenile that were found in a builder's trench in Test 4. Bones and isolated teeth from at least two individual Norway rats were also identified. Avian species include domestic chicken, including a juvenile and a subadult, and single wing bones from Canada goose (proximal humerus) and duck (distal radius).

Low value portions (foot, hock, snout, and jowl) comprise 58% of the pork butchering units, with high value cuts (hams and loins) contributing 28% of the butchering units. The remaining 13.5% of the pork butchering units are from middle value cuts (picnic shoulder, spare ribs, and shoulder butt). Although eleven isolated teeth occurred along with cranial and mandible fragments, the pattern does not necessary attest to the butchering of hogs in the yard of House C during this period of occupation. For cattle, 64% of the bones were sawed, and 48% of the beef

butchering units consist of low value cuts (mostly rib fragments) along with two foot bones. High value butchering units (especially sirloins) represent 36% of the beef cuts.

The Middle (circa 1860-1885) and Late (1885-1908) Pre-Fire Components

In 1860, Apgar sold the house to George McDaniel, a Virginia-born teamster who occupied the house with his family until his death in 1869. McDaniel's widow and his widowed daughter's family (Ann Seaman) occupied the house through circa 1874. By 1875, House C was occupied by the extended Joseph Faro family. Faro, a Black laborer, purchased the house in early 1877. Although Joseph died only a few months after the purchase of the property, his widow and extended family lived in the house through sometime in the early-to-middle 1880s. The Middle Pre-Fire component represents discard generated by two extended, non-skilled, property-owning families—one a Southern white family (McDaniel-Seaman; circa 1860-1874), and the other a Southern Black family (Faro; circa 1874-1885).

Although the Faro family appears to have retained ownership of the property through circa 1890-91, they used the house as rental income property during the later years of their ownership. House C was purchased by white investors by 1891-92, and after that point in time through the riot of August 1908, the house functioned as rental income property. During these years of the Late Pre-Fire component (circa 1885-1908), the house was variously occupied by non-skilled, low income white and Black tenants, and at various points in in time may have functioned as a boarding house, house of ill-fame, as well as a drug house (operated by the “King of the Badlands” Lloyd Thomas).

The Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire component from House C was represented by materials recovered predominately from within the lower fill deposits within the House C footprint. Few artifacts were recovered that were assigned a Middle Pre-Fire context, and due to the mixed character of the fill zones associated with these two components it was difficult to segregate the two components into separate assemblages. As such, the following lumps the assemblages into a single discussion. Similarly, some secondary materials mixed with the later components most likely were associated with these two components as well, and are discussed below. Landscape features associated with this early component were limited to remnant brick walks (Feature 13), and planting beds (Features 11 and 12). .

Artifacts from these two components were not overly numerous, and were represented minimally by only 19 ceramic and glass vessels. The majority of the vessels (84%) from this context were represented by small fragments representative of secondary vessels. Only three vessels (comprising approximately 16% of the vessels) were characterized as primary vessels from this context.

The ceramic and glass vessels from this context were represented predominately by vessels in the Foodways Service (n=8, representing 42.1% of the vessels from this context) functional category. The Foodways Service category was represented equally by tablewares (n=4 vessels) and teawares (n=4 vessels). The functional category with the second highest number of ceramic and glass vessels was that of Medicinal group (n=3; representing 15.8% of the vessels from this context), with Food Storage, Indulgences, and Household groups each represented by two

vessels (representing 10.5% of the identified vessels from this context). Both the Personal Care/Hygiene and Indeterminate groups were represented by a single vessel (comprising 5.3% of the vessels from this context). No vessels were present within the Kitchenware or Architecture categories. Two vessels (representing 3.4% of the vessels) were of Indeterminate function (Table 6). The low number of vessels assigned to these two contexts makes any significant statements about the functional categories questionable.

The tablewares from this context included a single plate, a waster bowl, an indeterminate tableware vessel, and an indeterminate hollowware vessel. Similarly, the teawares were represented by two ceramic cups, and two glass tumblers. One of the cups was gilded porcelain (Vessel C-29). Relief decorated wares typical of the middle nineteenth century were more-or-less lacking from this assemblage. Decorated wares recovered from these later components of House C were represented by late printed wares, most likely associated with a Late Pre-Fire or Fire context (Figure 82).

Two lead-glass shot glasses were recovered from the Post-Fire fills of House C during the stripping of the site's overburden (Figure 83). Both of the shot glasses were manufactured with lead glass. One was free-blown with ground panels and a ground base (Vessel C-68). The second was had molded flutes and a ground base (Vessel C-67). Unfortunately the context of these specialized and quality vessels is unknown (albeit most likely from the Middle-Late Pre-Fire contexts). Although not tallied in either the Middle or Late Pre-Fire contexts, both of these shot glass represent quality drinking glasses presumably manufactured during the middle nineteenth century (circa 1840s-70s). At what point in time these specialized drinking glasses (general associated with the consumption of distilled liquors) were used at this location—or if they were used at this location at all—is not known.

Small finds associated with the Foodways Service category recovered from the Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire context of House C were few in number, but included a utilitarian iron tablespoon and a souvenir cuprous teaspoon (both from Lot C-45; Figure 85). The souvenir teaspoon was from the Pan-American Exposition, and depicted the bust of a Native American (with headdress), an image of Niagara falls labeled “NIAGARA,” and “PAN AM 1901” on the front side of the handle. The backside of the handle exhibited an image of the Exposition's Electric Tower with small print referencing its height, “391 / FEET HIGH” and the word “BUFFALO.” Although the spoon bowl has been damaged, online examples indicate the front side of the spoon bowl would have been illustrated with a domed building labeled “MANUFACTURERS & LIBERAL ARTS.” The souvenir teaspoon commemorates the Pan-American Exposition, which was held in Buffalo, New York in 1901 (May 1 through November 1). The exposition was a “World's Fair designed to recognize the independence and growth of the nations of the Western Hemisphere and to celebrate the technological advances of the 19th century.”⁶⁵ It was while at the fair, on September 6, 1901, that President William McKinley was assassinated. The Electric Tower was a central element of the fair and included a miniature Niagara Falls. This building introduced electricity to the public, and a “central focus [of the Exposition] was the massive ‘Electric Tower... This tower measured 391 feet tall and acted as a great light beacon. It functioned as a

⁶⁵ [https://nyheritage.org/collections/pan-american-exposition-collection#:~:text=The%20Pan%2DAmerican%20Exposition%20\(Pan,advances%20of%20the%2019th%20century](https://nyheritage.org/collections/pan-american-exposition-collection#:~:text=The%20Pan%2DAmerican%20Exposition%20(Pan,advances%20of%20the%2019th%20century)

place to view not just the Exposition itself, but also the great ‘Niagara River’ in the distance, the same river that Nikola Tesla had dreamed about harnessing as a young boy. Inside the Tower building was a large 18-foot-tall nude statue of a winged angel holding a torch. She was named the “Goddess of Light” and she truly seemed to be a monument representing the success and genius of Nikola Tesla.”⁶⁶ Despite bad weather and the McKinley assassination, over eight million tourists visited the fair, which contributed to the success of the Exposition. One might wonder if one of the visitors to the exposition lived in House C.

No ceramic or glass Kitchenwares were recovered from this context. Two vessels assigned to the Food Storage category were recovered and included a Gothic-style pickle jar (Vessel C-7) and a condiment bottle/food jar (Vessel C-47). The condiment bottle/jar had an embossed base that read “CAMPBELL PRESERVE CO. / CAMDEN / PATENTED / AUG 29 1893 / N.J.”). The Gothic pickle jar may have been in use during the Middle Pre-Fire time period, whereas the condiment botte/food jar was in use during the Late Pre-Fire component (Figure 86). The Campbell Preserve Company was established in 1869, by a fruit merchant (Joseph Campbell) and a manufacturer of ice-boxes (Abraham Anderson). By the late nineteenth century, the firm marketed a wide range of canned tomatoes, vegetables, jellies, soups, condiments, as well as minced meats.⁶⁷

Foodways Remains from these two components were not overly numerous. Of the identified specimens, pork predominated with minimal cattle remains present. Non-food mammals present included the ubiquitous Norway rat, as well as the domestic cat. Fowl was represented predominately by domestic chicken, and a single Canadian goose. Fish were also noted in very low number from this context, with one example of a Sunfish being present (Appendix IV).

Ceramic and glass vessels from the Personal Functional Category from the Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire context included vessels in the Indulgences (Drink) (n=2), Medicine (n=3), and Personal Care/Hygiene (n=1) sub-categories. The two vessels from the Indulgences category were both soda water bottles (Vessels C-45 and C-46). One bottle had a crown finish whereas the second had an older Hutchinson-style lip finish. Brand names were not identified with either of the bottles. No alcohol containers were identified within this context. The medicine bottles from this context included one proprietary (Vessel C-18) and two non-proprietary (Vessels C-15 and C-44) bottles. The proprietary medicine bottle was represented by a small fragment of a blue-glass dosage cup that doubled as a bottles cap (Figure 87). This bottle was manufactured for “JOHN WYETH & BRO.” (embossed on the side of the bottle). The cap was embossed in the center “THIS CAP HOLDS” and around its rim “A HEAPING DESSERT SPOON FUL [sic],” and printed numbers around the rim of the dosage cup are printed upside down. The sequential numbers embossed around the rim of the dosage cup, which are right-side up when the dosage cup was placed over the mouth of the bottle, progress in order from 1 through 12, and apparently reference the hours of the day and allow the user to set the time of day for the next dose to be taken, as the neck of the bottle was embossed “TAKE NEXT DOSE AT” with an arrow pointing up to the dose cap and the embossed number. The base of the bottle was embossed with a patent

⁶⁶ <https://buffaloah.com/h/panam/north.html#The>; <https://www.teslaniagara.org/resources/pan-american-exposition/>

⁶⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Campbell_Soup_Company

date of May 16, 1899. The Wyeth and Brother firm was from Philadelphia, and this unique bottle, which included the dosage cup to assist with keeping track of the time of the next dose, contained a powerful laxative.⁶⁸

The single glass vessel from the Personal Care/Hygiene category was a perfume bottle (Vessel C-16) (Figure 84). This bottle, which was mold blown with an improved tool, Patent lip finish, retained its paper label which read “ROYAL / VIOLET / P[ERFU]ME.” Royal Violet Perfume was a British product introduced during the 1840s, and common throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century (cf. Ede 1845). Ede (1845:last page) indicates that Royal Violet Perfume was one of twenty-two new perfumes under the heading “R. B. Ede’s New Perfumes” recently introduced.

Several small finds associated with the Personal Care/Hygiene functional category were also recovered from this context. These items included fragments of a bone toothbrush, as well as hard rubber combs and hair pins (cf. Lot C-45; Figure 94). The handle of the toothbrush is embossed “The Dandy Brush” (Figure 95). Daily brushing of teeth was not a common practice until well into the twentieth century, when there was a big push for daily brushing initiated with the military, particularly during World War II when soldiers returned home. The hard rubber comb was embossed “HERCULES.” The “Unbreakable” HERCULES comb was manufactured by the Butler Hard Rubber Company as early as 1891 (cf. Butler Hard Rubber Company advertisement for Hercules combs in the 1891 trade journal *American Druggist*). Whereas the Hercules-brand comb most likely was associated with the Late Pre-Fire component, the smaller comb and two hair pins may have been associated with a Middle Pre-Fire component.

Small finds associated with toys and leisure activity was also recovered in limited number from this context (Figure 92). The toys from this context were represented predominately by marbles, and included undecorated stone, blue-veined marble, as well as both blue and brown Rockingham-glazed ceramic examples. A small hollow lead shoe, reminiscent of a gaming piece, was also recovered from a Late Pre-Fire context. Music was represented by a single harmonica soundboard (Lot 45).

The smoking of tobacco during later nineteenth century (Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire context) was represented by several artifacts, suggesting a more prolific use than from the earlier period (Figure 88). Present were several fragments of long-stem kaolin pipes similar to those recovered in the earlier context. An unglazed reed stem elbow pipe with a bowl decorated with a simply chevron pattern around its rim was also present (Lot C-33). Murphy (1976:14) refers to this style as Point Pleasant Chevron, and suggests that it may have originated from potteries once located in Point Pleasant, Ohio. Additionally, an unglazed, red-paste elbow pipe embossed “CATLIN’S” twice around its rim was recovered from this context (Lot C-33). A similar pipe was also recovered from the Fire deposits. This pipe was probably an advertisement and/or

⁶⁸ https://www.bottlepickers.com/bottle_articles72.htm; <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/antique-john-wyeth-brother-cobalt-1796464992>; <https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/antique-john-wyeth-brother-cobalt-1796464992>.

promotional item produced for, and distributed by, the Catlin Tobacco Company of St. Louis.⁶⁹ Similar pipes were also recovered from the adjacent House D. Unlike at House D, where remnants of at least four spittoons were recovered, none were recovered from House C suggesting that the chewing of tobacco was not common practice at this house.

The functional category Clothing from the Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire context included a number of buttons (shell, metal, and bone) and fasteners (Figure 89). Some of the more common buttons from this context were shell buttons, which included both four-hole sew-through and loop shank varieties. Ferrous and cuprous buttons were also present. The iron buttons were stamped sew-through and presumed loop shank varieties. A large brass button, potentially decorated, was a three-piece loop shank variety. Although a single milk glass loop shank shoe button was present, few sew-through milk glass (Prosser) buttons were present. Burned hard rubber and bone buttons were present in low numbers. Fragments of an ornate, cuprous garter clasp was also present. Both milk glass and bone collar studs were present in the assemblage, and suggests the presence of starched collars/cuffs in use by the house occupants. Also present was a combination bone and metal “chain-link” cuff link. Artifacts associated with the adornment of clothing included a small number of blue glass beads, and a copper end “cap” for cord or belt. Jewelry items were few in number, but included a potential copper pendant locket (Figure 90).

Both ceramic and glass vessels, as well as small finds, from the Household furnishings functional category were relatively low in number from the Middle-Late Pre-Fire context. The two vessels from this category included a single flower pot (Vessel C-49) and a lamp chimney (Vessel C-23; Figure 96). Small finds indicative of case furniture included at least one wood-wheeled caster (Lot C-45; Figure 91). The flower pot was a hand-turned, unglazed, red-paste earthenware vessel. A similar floor pot, potentially redeposited from an earlier component, was recovered from the Post-Fire context (C-156).

Small finds associated with the Labor/Activities functional category were few in number but included Commerce, Household Maintenance (tool sharpening), and Metal Working activities. The Commerce-related activities were represented by a number of coins within the Late Pre-Fire context (C-45, C-33, C-46) (Figure 93). One of the coins was a Barber dime (1892-1916) with an 1899 mint date (Lot C-33). Two V-Nickels (or Liberty Head Nickels) (1883-1913) of indeterminate mint dates were also recovered from this context (Lot C-33 and C-46). Household Maintenance activities represented by artifacts associated with the sharpening of cutting tools, such as knives (Figures 97-99). These artifacts included a fine-grained whetstone (Lot C-8), which exhibits heavy use along both of its narrow surfaces, as opposed to the larger and/or wider surfaces. Fragments of a small-diameter grinding stone wheel were recovered from a mixed Late Pre-Fire/Fire context (Lot C-24). This sandstone grinding wheel also exhibits substantial wear. The two stones suggest both coarse and fine sharpening activity. Coarse sharpening stones are used to shape the blade and put an initial edge on the tool. Fine sharpening tools are used to put

⁶⁹ In circa 1840, Dan Catlin had established a tobacco factory in North St. Louis. The Catlin family had come to St. Louis from Litchfield, Connecticut. The Catlin Tobacco Company became a leader in the tobacco industry and was known for “putting products with attractive brands on the market” (Stevens 1909:617). Catlin Tobacco Company, of St. Louis, merged with the American Tobacco Company in 1898. The Catlin Tobacco Company was established by the Catlin family in 1840; and the family moved to St. Louis in 1850 (Snow 1908:176; Stevens 1909).

a sharper edge on the tool after it has been initially shaped by the coarse stone. Also recovered from a potential Fire context was a large fragment of sandstone, which appears to have functioned as an abrader (or coarse sharpening stone) (Lot C-52). One surface of this sandstone fragment, which was a re-used fragment of tooled building stone, such as a sill, lintel, or water table), exhibits evidence of having been shaped by bush hammering. Similarly, one of the larger flat surfaces exhibits evidence of long abrasive “cuts” potentially associated with the sharpening of a cutting tool. The linear marks are abrasive cuts, suggesting that the re-purposed sandstone slab was used to sharpen cutting tools. This Late Pre-Fire/Fire tool kit, consisting of a large knife, a large abrader, and two types of whetstones, suggests on-site meat processing during the Late Pre-Fire or Fire era (circa 1885-1908). As noted earlier, the knife may date from the earlier Early Pre-Fire context. The metal working activity was represented by a single cast lead bar (Lot C-33), which may suggest the salvage and recasting of lead.

Artifacts from the Architectural functional category from the Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire context were low in number, and included predominately fasteners (such as nails) and some window glass. A single red paste, black-glazed door knob fragment may have been associated with this context (Lot C-55) (Figure 100).

Also present was a couple fragments of heavy gauge electrical wire (Lots C-33, C-45) and a coil of thin-gauge copper wire indicative of low voltage use (Lot C-45) (Figure 101). The heavy gauge copper wire exhibited a twisted connection in which a slightly smaller gauge wire was connected to a heavier gauge line. Similar fragments of heavy gauge cloth-wrapped wire was recovered from the Fire deposits; Lot C-52). Additionally, the base of an electrical light bulb was recovered from a Fire context (Lot C-24)—which may suggest that House C was minimally wired for the use of lighting. Although no remnant fragments of electrical porcelain (i.e. knob and tube wiring) was recovered from within the House C footprint, a single knob was recovered from a Late Pre-Fire context (Lot 105, landscape feature). A section of copper piping (Lot C-45), presumably for use with gas lighting (Lot C-45), was also recovered from this Late Pre-Fire context. No other evidence was found suggesting that House C was equipped with gas lighting.

The smallest assemblage of Foodway Remains are associated with the Middle Pre-Fire component (from about 1860 to 1885). Only ten faunal specimens are associated with this component (Appendix IV). The three identified specimens consist of a rib (ventral portion) from a pig, the sawed mid-portion of a cattle rib, and the sawed anterior part of a cattle ilium (sirloin). Foodways Remains from the Late Pre-Fire component consist of 135 animal remains, which constitutes 11.4% of the total House C faunal assemblage (Table A). This collection reflects subsistence activities from 1885 through 1890 by the Faro family, followed by and a series of tenants when the property functioned as a boarding house. Sixty-two specimens (46%) from this collection were identified below class (84.3% by specimen weight). Bones from pigs far outnumber bones from cattle, and pork makes up 78.4% of the estimated biomass for this component, compared to only 14.5% from beef. These mammals were supplemented by fowl, which includes domestic chicken and duck. Also present are two freshwater fish bones, a vertebra tentatively identified as bluegill. In addition to food remains, bones from one adult domesticated cat were found in the fill of a hearth in Test Unit 2. Four cranial bones of at least two individual Norway rats were also encountered in Test Unit 5. Fifty percent of the butchering units associated with pork consist of middle value butchering units, with the remainder coming

from low value (mainly foot) and high value (loin) cuts. The only beef cut is a fragment of an anterior rib from a middle value chuck.

The Fire Component

At the time of the riots in August 1908, House C most likely was functioning in a commercial capacity as a boarding house, perhaps under the management of Lloyd Thomas. Thomas was associated with a range of illicit activities at both House C and the adjacent House D across the alley to the north. Other than Thomas, who may have managed the commercial activities at this site, the occupants of House C (and/or those individuals responsible for the artifact assemblage) are poorly documented. Nonetheless, the artifact assemblage bespeaks of a potential mix of residential and commercial activities undertaken at this location immediately prior to, and at the time of, the August riots.

The Fire Component is represented by a distinctive deposit that exhibits obvious evidence of burning (burned wood, charred plaster, melted window glass, corroded building hardware) and a wide range of charred and melted domestic artifacts that were in use, within the house, in mid-August 1908. The Fire deposits from House C represent artifacts associated with the Black occupants (presumably Lloyd Thomas) and their potential commercial activities during the short time immediately prior to (and during) the riots.

The functional category with the highest number of artifacts was that of the Architecture category. These artifacts all items, consisting of the physical remains of the demolished house, were found in abundance. These items—consisting predominately of plaster, nails, window glass, an occasional fragment of brick, and limited architectural hardware—were typical of materials used in nineteenth century construction. Fasteners consisted predominately of nails, a large number of which were recovered from the Fire deposits. Although a large number of nails were recovered, the majority of them were fragmentary and heavily corroded. The nails used in the house were predominately of the machine cut variety, and included a variety of sizes that included small lath and shingle nails, medium sized trim nails, and larger framing nails (Figure 102). Additionally, a very limited number of wire-drawn nails were also recovered, and suggest limited late nineteenth and/or early twentieth century (post 1885) remodeling and/or maintenance activity on this dwelling. Plaster fragments were present, and indicated that much—if not all of it—had been applied over wooden lath (Figure 103). Although the lath impressions appeared to indicate the use of rived lath, this was not ascertained with any certainty. The majority of the plaster fragments had a very thin whitecoat, with a rough unpainted surface. A small number of plaster fragments did exhibit a blue painted or whitewashed surface (Lot C-52). The window glass was relatively thick. Scrap sheet copper fragments associated with metal working activities were also recovered in low number from Test 1 and may represent re-deposited materials from an earlier component (originating from the construction of the dwelling?).

Architectural hardware included both door and window fixtures. Minimally four door hinges were recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C (Figures 104-105). These hinges included three with butts that measured approximately 1¾ x 3-in, and one that measured approximately 1½ x 3⅛-in. Although heavily corroded, and encrusted with fire debris, all appear to have a combination of flat-tipped and machine pointed screws. The presence of both types of screws

suggest repair and/or maintenance activity. Two rim locks for doors were recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C (Figure 106-107). The larger of the two measures 2½ x 3¾-in in size, with its long axis oriented horizontally. The door knob shaft with one of the two door knobs were both attached (Lot C-32). The door knob is heavily burned making a determination of the type of knob impossible to determine. A single door lock strike plate (Lot C-5) was also recovered from the Fire Deposits (Figure 108). This rim lock and associated strike plate represent a common style of door lock typical of the mid-century (cf. Russel and Erwin 1980). The second rim lock recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C was a slightly smaller lock that measured 2½ x 3¼-in and had a ½-in round projection centered on one end (opposite the door strike). This lock may have been used with a secondary door, such as a closet. Individual door knobs were also recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C (Figure 109). These included two varieties of knobs which included both black “Mineral” (n=1; Lot C-32), and white Porcelain (n=2; Lot C-75) knobs. Window hardware was limited to roller shade brackets (Lot C-59; Figure 112). A sliding bolt latch, most likely associated with a piece of furniture or cupboard, was also recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C (Lot C-74; Figure 110). This latch is similar to the “Cottage Bolts” illustrated in the Russell and Erwin’s 1865 catalogue (Russell and Erwin 1980:98). Fragments of electrical wire was recovered in very small number, and along with a single light bulb fragment (Lot C-24), may suggest that the house was minimally electrified with a light or two.

Ceramic and glass vessels from this component were relatively numerous, and were represented by minimally 42 vessels (Table 6). As expected, the number of primary vessels (n=14, representing approximately 33% of the vessels from this context), was slightly higher than in the earlier contexts. Secondary vessels comprise over nearly 67% of the vessels from this context. Figure 113 illustrates the primary vessels from this context.

Although the largest number of ceramic and glass vessels from this context were represented by vessels in the Foodways Service (n=9, representing 21.4% of the vessels from this context) functional category, this was considerably lower than expected for traditional domestic components. The Foodways Service category was represented by teawares (n=8 vessels) eight times the number of tablewares (n=1). Although the sample size is small, this also reflects an atypical domestic component, with the consumption of food being of secondary importance to drinking. The functional category with the second highest number of identified ceramic and glass vessels was that of the Household functional category (n=7; representing 16.7% of the vessels). The Personal Category was represented equally by vessels associated with drink (Indulgences) and Medicine, with each functional category containing seven vessels (representing 16.7% of the vessels from this context). The functional categories of Foodways Storage (n=5; representing 11.9% of the vessels from this context), Personal Care/Hygiene (n=2; representing 4.9% of the vessels from this context) and Kitchenwares (n=2; representing 4.8% of the vessels from this context) represent the remainder of the identified vessels. No vessels were present within the Labor/Activities or Architecture categories. Of note is the relatively high number of unidentified vessels associated with the Indeterminate category (n=6; representing 14.3% of the vessels from this context). The high number of unidentified vessels from this category is partially due to the heavily burned, melted and/or deformed character of the glass vessels.

As noted above, ceramic and glass tablewares were poorly represented in the House C fire deposits—whether within the rear or front portion of the house. Primary ceramic and glass vessels from the Fire Deposits of House C included a chamber pot lid (Vessel C-90; Figure 116), two cups (Vessels C-69 and C-103; Figure 114), two medicine/pill bottles (Vessels C-82 and C-97; Figure 117), a mug (Vessel C-81; Figure 115), a kerosene lamp font (Vessel C-109), at least one salve/ointment jar (Vessel C-78), a canning jar lid liner (Vessel C-77), a painted porcelain cup (Vessel C-73; Figure 114), and a suspected small pitcher (Vessel C-74; Figure 114). All vessels exhibited various degrees of burning and/or melting. Both cups consisted of heavy bodied, handleless, “hotel wares.” The mug is an undecorated coarse ware vessel, potentially with a salt glazed exterior and Bristol-glazed interior. This mug is not a typical tableware item, and may represent a specialized vessel that was located in an upstairs bedroom in the front of the dwelling. The two primary medicine bottles from the Fire Deposits of House C included a potential round pill bottle and a French Square medicine (Vessels C-82 and C-97; Figure 117).

The Foodways Storage and Preparation functional category included vessels from both Kitchenware (n=2) and Food Storage (n=4) categories. The Kitchenware vessels included a jigger-molded, potentially Bristol-glazed mixing bowl (Vessel C-75), and an annular decorated, London-urn shaped, yellowware waster bowl (Vessel C-111; Figure 118). Small finds from this category included a pewter utensil handle recovered from the front of the house (Figure 118). Food Storage vessels recovered from this context included food jars (both commercial and home canned goods, Vessels C-91 and C-77 respectively), a condiment bottle (Vessel C-105), and an olive oil bottle (Vessel C-79).

Foodways Remains included a limited number of faunal and floral artifacts. Although the faunal remains were very limited from the Fire deposits, they were more varied in species than adjacent House B (Appendix IV). Species identified in this assemblage included the ever-present pig, cattle, and chicken, as well as large duck. Non-food mammals present included the Norway rat and the domestic cat. Although the sample size was very low (NISP=115), unlike the Late Pre-Fire context, the remains of cattle were slightly more numerous than pork. Floral remains included charred fragments of a walnut shell (Lot C-8).

Foodways Remains from the Fire Component constitute less than 11% percent of all animal remains from House C. A total of 128 animal remains were recovered, of which 38 specimens (30%) could be identified below class (52% by specimen weight). Foodway patterns are obscured by small samples. Low value pork cuts consist of two bones from the hock (radius and ulna) and one from the snout (occipital bone), whereas the only high value cut is from the loin (a dorsal fourth rib). Low value beef cuts include two ribs and a hind shank (proximal tibia), altogether representing 43% of the cattle bones from the Fire context. Short loin and rump represent high value beef units, and an anterior rib from the chuck is of middle value. Eastern cottontail and domestic chicken were also identified. Twenty cat bones represent at least three individuals based on the presence of fragments of three left humeri. Three Norway rat bones were found in two test units.

Ceramic and glass vessels from the Personal functional category within the fire deposits of House C included vessels from Indulgences (n=4), Medicine (n=6), and Personal Health Care/Hygiene (n=2). The vessels within the Indulgences category consisted solely of alcohol-

related bottles. Both distilled liquors (brandy and whiskey bottles) and wine bottles were present. One of the wine bottles was a long-necked Hock bottle associated with German-style wines. Unlike the earlier Late Pre-Fire context, no soda water bottles were present. All of the medicine bottles were non-proprietary medicines typical of the later nineteenth century.

Vessels associated with Personal Care/Hygiene included at least two milk glass “cold cream” or ointment jars, generally associated with skin products (Figure 119). Unfortunately, these milk glass containers were melted beyond recognition, with only one partially legible base that read, in part, “...NEILL...”. This embossed jar has not been identified as to its product. A small, tin-glazed earthenware salve jar (or salve “pot”) was also recovered from the fire deposits. This ceramic vessel, representative of an earlier time period, had a blue colored exterior and a white interior with an oval base that measured approximately 1 x 1½-in (Vessel C-100).

Small finds associated with the Personal Category were limited in number, but did include a small number of smoking pipes, jewelry items, toys, and other personal items (Figure 120-123). The pipe fragments, both of which were found in the rear of the dwelling, consisted of a kaolin pipe bowl, and a synthetic mouthpiece (burned). Jewelry items included blue glass beads (Lot C-24), gem that once was part of a ring or brooch (Lot C-43), a gold stick pin (Lot C-39), and fragments of a watch fob chain and clasp (Lot C-43 and C-44). Cuff links and collar studs (which may be better associated with Clothing items than jewelry) were also present (Lots C-39, C-43, and C-44). Also present was a ferrous “lapel” pin (1¼-in diameter) which once may have carried a product’s advertisement, or political message (Lot C-88). A large stamped copper pendant from the Post Fire context (Lot C-3) may also have been associated with the Fire Deposits. This pendant, which was a large, 1¼-in diameter medallion with a stamped floral design, had a clasp suggesting it was once part of a pendant necklace.

Fragments of a potential round hand mirror (approximately 3⅜-3½-in in diameter) were also recovered (Lot C-23). This round piece of framed glass was badly burned and partially melted with hints of what may represent the remnants of the silvered mirrored coating on its backside. If not a mirror, this artifact most likely represents a round picture frame.

Toys were not very numerous, but included marbles and remnants of a china tea set (Figure 120). The marbles included painted stoneware and Rockingham-glazed (blue and brown) varieties (Lot C-8, C-23). A single toy pitcher from a child’s tea set was also present (Lot C-31). These toys were reminiscent of those recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context, and most likely represent redeposited materials from this earlier context.

In contrast, a couple of artifacts recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C—and associated with adult leisure activity and/or entertainment--clearly were associated with the house occupants at the time of the fire (Figure 121). These included a burned ivory billiard ball (Lot C-52) and a burned poker chip (Lot C-45). The poker chip was a burned synthetic material, approximately 1½-in in diameter, with a roulette-decorated edge and what appears to be an embossed “V” on one side. The billiard ball and poker chip suggest male leisure activity as well as gaming (gambling).

Also present in this Fire context, and potentially reflective of male leisure activity, was a harmonica sound board suggesting the presence of a musical instrument (Lot C-59) (Figure 121). Similarly, at least three harmonica soundboards were recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context of House D, with a fourth being recovered from a Post-Fire context. The harmonica (also known as a mouth organ) was introduced in central Europe in the 1820s, and German-speaking immigrants most likely carried harmonicas with them in their travels to their new homelands by the 1830s.⁷⁰ At what point in time African Americans were introduced to the harmonica is unclear, but “first and random meetings between the instrument and African American players may have happened as early as the 1850s. Even in the South, social contacts between African Americans and recent German immigrants could have been facilitated by a broad abolitionist sentiment among the German speaking population.” Although initially a rather expensive item to purchase, the introduction of a new reed milling machine in 1878 simplified production and helped lower costs. And “with the establishment of American mail order companies in the 1870s, new distribution channels made the cheap harmonica easily accessible, even in rural and remote areas of the U.S.” The harmonica was intricately connected with the development of the blues during the later years of the nineteenth century. By the 1910s, the blues harmonica was well established among African American musicians, with their unique manner of playing (blues scale, created by both draw and blow notes). Although as part of the Great Migration, Blacks brought the mouth harp and the blues with them north, it can be argued that the instrument was well established among Black musicians in such communities as Springfield prior to that time.⁷¹

Artifacts associated with household furnishings were limited in number from the Fire deposits. Artifacts suggesting the presence of furniture (such as a dresser, bed, or table) included a large ceramic-wheeled caster (Lot C-3), a trunk caster (Lot C-33), a potential surface-mounted furniture lock (Lot C-44), two small brass box hinges (Lot C-24), and a small fragment of a badly burned marble slab (perhaps a table or dresser top) (Lot C-44) (Figure 124, 126). The small furniture/drawer lock measured approximately 2 x 1¾-in (Lot C-44). Additionally, although no coil springs were recovered, numerous upholstery tacks suggesting the presence of an upholstered chair or sofa (Lots C-5, C-8, C-52). Also present was an iron bale handle for a potential container, or drawer pull (Lot C-24), as well as an iron key (Lot C-43), and a milk glass lamp font (Vessel C-109). Several cast-iron clothes or “wardrobe” hooks were recovered from the Fire context of House C (Lots C-23 and C-74) (Figure 125). These hooks are similar to the wardrobe hooks illustrated in Russell and Erwin’s 1865 hardware catalog (Russell and Erwin 1980:85) and may have been integrated into a free-standing wardrobe (located in an upstairs bedroom?) or attached to boards attached directly to the bedroom walls. A stamped decorative copper artifact, potentially representing a decorative detail of an unidentified household item, was also recovered (Figure 127). An unusual plate glass table-top or desk-top “pad” consisting of thick glass with beveled and ground edges was recovered from the Fire Deposits (Figure 129). This plate glass item retained the “ghost” of reverse lettering on its back side, suggesting that it was either an advertising piece, or potentially covered some form of printed material. Similar desk pads were advertised by the Chicago Mirror and Art Glass Company in the *American Stationer and Office Outfitter* (May 17, 1917). Figure 128 depicts several miscellaneous

⁷⁰ Hotz was founded in 1830 near Stuttgart, Seydel in 1847, and Hohner was established in 1857.

⁷¹ Although the peak of Hohner’s imports to the United States was in the 1920s, imports were nonetheless large by the 1890s. The first recording of a blues song with a harmonica occurred in 1924 (Quelle 2019).

Household items from the Fire Deposits of House C, including upholstery tacks, a potential wire bale drawer handle, and an iron key potentially from a furniture lock.

Small finds associated with the functional category of Clothing were very numerous from the Fire Deposits of House C (Figure 130). Among these artifacts were a great number and variety of buttons (cf. Lot C-24). The buttons in this assemblage included bone, milk glass (Prosser), hard rubber, and metal (brass and ferrous) examples. The most common button recovered from this context were undecorated milk glass (Prosser buttons). Also present in moderate number were ferrous buttons, which included both three-piece loop shank, as well as stamped, four-hole sew-through varieties. Bone and hard rubber buttons, although present, were few in number.

Several brass, three-piece, loop-shank buttons were present in the assemblage. These buttons were of two sizes (suggestive of coat and vest buttons), and distinctively decorated with design elements associated with electric streetcar workers (Figure 131). The smaller of these buttons were slightly over ½-in in size (0.56-0.58-in; Lots C-8, C-16), with the majority being decorated with a small spoked wheel with the word “MOTORMAN” wrapping around the wheel. Another button of this size was embossed with the word “CONDUCTOR” wrapping around a six-pointed star. Although illegible due to corrosion, it appears that at least one of these buttons had impressed lettering on the back side. The larger of these buttons measured slightly less than 1-in in diameter (0.90-in) and was embossed on its face with the wheel and word “MOTORMAN” (Lot C-32). Whereas the back of this larger button was brass, the front appears to be a ferrous material. The back side of this button is impressed “NEW HAVEN CAR REGIST CO. // N. H. CONN.” in reference to the New Haven Car Register Company of New Haven, Connecticut. Although little was found regarding this company, they apparently were in business by at least 1884 and were known for a variety of automated street car fare devices. The firm also expanded into a variety of other street car paraphernalia (including buttons and cigar vending machines). The limited lettering exposed on the smaller of the buttons discussed above suggests that they, too, were most likely impressed with this same firm name. These buttons document the potential presence of multiple garments associated with both a streetcar motorman (vest and coat) and conductor (vest) within House C. A motorman was the individual that operated (or drove) the electric streetcars that plied the city after circa 1890, whereas the conductor was the individual that dealt with the public on the streetcar—opening doors, collecting fares, etc. The motorman’s job was the more skilled position.⁷² The concentration of these buttons in this location—along with the earlier noted dresser clothes hook—may suggest the presence of clothes located in a second floor bedroom at the time of the fire, or conversely, it may suggest a collection of buttons held by a washerwoman (or seamstress).

Another unusual button from this assemblage was a brass, three-piece, loop shank button embossed with the Seal of the State of Illinois (Figure 132). This button was a large (0.92-in diameter), presumably coat button (Lot C-24). Unfortunately, the back side of the button is

⁷² Photographs of Springfield’s electric streetcars (and the men that operated them) are presented in Russo, Garvert, Mann (1995:22-24). See also *Transportation Uniform Buttons. Volume Two: Transit* (Van Court 1987). The first appearance of the term “motorman” in the local Springfield newspapers, located by the current researchers, occurs in late October 1890 with the notice that Ed Smith, a motorman on the Fifth Street electric car line, had resigned and was being succeeded by Morgan Gillette (*Illinois State Journal* October 28, 1890; see also story on December 2, 1890).

heavily corroded and the presence of a manufacturer's name is not visible. Incorporated into the design of this button is the silhouette of a city with a ship sailing on a body of water (presumably Chicago and Lake Michigan) and the dates 1818-1868. This button was probably manufactured by the Scovill Manufacturing Company of Waterbury, Connecticut and dates from the later 1860s or 1870s. Another slightly different variety of this button was manufactured by the Waterbury Button Company. Most likely, this button was associated with a coat in use by a member of the Illinois State militia.

A single spherical, high-dome brass button ($\frac{3}{4}$ -in diameter) with slightly flattened back and loop shank was also recovered from this context (Lot C-24) (Figure 133). This button is reminiscent of nineteenth century military buttons, potentially used as a collar or cuff button with dress uniforms, and is often referred to as a "Cadet" button.

Also present in this context were numerous ferrous clothes fasteners generally associated with suspenders and/or overalls (Figure 134). These included small rectangular buckles (with two-pronged bars), and glides with toothed clips for securing the vertical strap. Brass eyelets and boot lace hooks (with rivet-style attachments) were also present suggesting the presence of lace-up shoes and/or boots. Numerous brass snaps, as well as rivets and safety pins, were also present (cf. Lot-24, Lot 32) (Figure 135-136).

Although artifacts from the Labor and/or Activities functional category were also limited in number, they did document a variety of activities. Tools recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C included items associated with yard work, as well as construction activity. The yard tools included a socketed rake (Lot C-5; similar to that illustrated in Russell and Erwin's 1865 hardware catalog [Russell and Erwin 1980:299]), and the handle of a suspected shovel (Lot C-52) (Figure 145). Construction (or more appropriately wood-working activities) were represented by a whetstone (Lot C-8) associated with sharpening of cutting tools (such as knives, chisels, and other edge tools), remnants of a carpenter's folding rule (Lot C-8), and a framing or roofing hatchet (Lot C-23) (Figures 138-130). The Fire deposits from Test 1 also contained a small number of sheet metal scrap, potentially documenting metal working activities, potentially associated with roof flashing (Lot C-5; Figure 111). Two iron harness buckles (Lot C-24), which may suggest the presence of harness-related items within the house at the time of the fire, were also recovered from the fire deposits (Figure 140). These artifacts are similar to the "Rein, Breast, Tug, and Alter Snap" advertised in Russell and Erwin's 1865 hardware catalog (Russell and Erwin 1980:274).

Minimally five multi-purpose bottle openers and screw drivers were recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C (Lots C-16, C-24, C-31, C-46; see also Lot C-8) (Figures 143-144). These multi-purposed tools have a bottle opener for use with crown bottle closures on one end (common with both beer and soda-water bottles), and a small screw driver on the opposite end. A patent for a very similar multi-purpose tool (a "Capped Bottle Opener") was granted in February 1894 to one W. Painter. The tool integrated a screwdriver end opposite a looped end for removing crown bottle caps. Later examples often integrated a short hook into the looped end, as well as modified the screwdriver end with a slight curved hook for opening for use with opening paint cans. The presence of several of these bottle openers in the Fire Deposits may be suggestive of the non-domestic, commercial character of the house at the time of the riots.

Several artifacts atypical of a domestic component were recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C, and potentially represent redeposited materials from the earliest Pre-House C component. These items include several large iron nuts (top; Lots C-43 and C-44), a large diameter bolt (bottom; Lot C-81), railroad spikes, and large lag bolt (Figure 146-147).

Writing activities were represented by both slate stylus and metal pen nibs (for ink) (Lot C-44) (Figure 137). Additionally a small fragment of a writing slate was also present (Lot C-31). The writing slate and slate stylus may represent redeposited materials from an earlier component.

Commerce-related artifacts were few in number, but included a small token presumably from a nearby saloon operated by one Thomas Guyett (Lot C-44) (Figure 141). This cuprous token was 0.83-in in diameter with a small center hole. It was embossed “T. Guyett / 300 N. 9th St. // Good For 5c in Trade.” The 1904 *Springfield City Directory* (SCD 1904:284) indicates Thomas Guyett was a “driver” working for John Anderson, and boarding at 417 North Ninth Street in that year. The 1905 *Springfield City Directory* (SCD 1905:305) suggests that Thomas Guyett was operating a saloon at 300 North Ninth Street at that time. A review of the Springfield city directories and local newspapers suggest that Guyett opened his saloon at this location [northeast corner of Ninth and Madison Street] in late 1905, and still was operating the saloon at this location at the time of the 1908 riots.⁷³ Guyett’s saloon was still at this location in August 1908 (cf. SCD 1908: 350), and he was residing at 302 North Ninth Street (presumably next door, or upstairs above the saloon). The presence of this token in the fire deposits of House C suggests the occupant (or potentially client) of House C also was a client at Guyett’s nearby saloon.

The presence of firearms within the neighborhood at the time of the riots were represented by a large, presumably 38-caliber bullet recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C (Figure 142). Although this center fire shell had a hammer impressions (suggesting it had been fired), the lead projectile was still intact (suggesting that the round may have misfired) (Lot C-44). Most likely, this round represented ammunition for a large-caliber pistol.

The Post-Fire Component

The Post-Fire component was represented by a substantial number of artifacts associated with off-site commercial and domestic contexts. During the Phase II testing, many of the artifacts

⁷³ Guyett first appears in the local newspapers in circa mid-1895, at which time he was a married young “driver of a dray” (a teamster) involved with a paternity claim (*Illinois State Register* 24 July 1895, p. 1). Apparently Guyett had only recently arrived in Springfield, as the 1894 *Springfield City Directory* does not have a listing of him. Married in December 1895, his wife filed for divorce in January 1897, which was granted in December of that year (*Illinois State Register*, 20 November 1897, p. 6). By December 1897, Guyett was “living in open adultery” with one Mollie Miller (who apparently was the operator of a “house of ill fame” located at Ninth and Madison streets (*Illinois State Register*, 29 December 1897, p. 6; 19 April 1898, p. 6). Shortly after (in May 1899), Guyett again married only to be charged with “extreme and repeated cruelty” by his wife (Annie) in April 1905. At that time (1905), Guyett was operating a saloon at 909 East Madison Street (with stock worth \$1,500, and a weekly income of \$75) (*Illinois State Register*, 20 April 1905, p. 7). By October 1905, Guyett apparently was operating a saloon at Ninth and Madison Streets, which would correspond to the 300 North Ninth Street location (*Illinois State Register*, 7 October 1905, p. 6). In early 1915, the *Illinois State Register* suggests that the bar at 300 North Ninth Street was recently under new ownership, operating as “Ben’s Bar” (*Illinois State Register*, 29 January 1915, p. 12).

associated with the Post-Fire component were discarded in the field (not collected). This was not done during the mitigation, with all artifacts being collected.

Although the Post-fire deposits were fairly numerous within House C, they are given only a cursory discussion here. A total of 58 ceramic and glass vessels were recovered, the majority of which were represented by secondary vessels (Table 7). The largest number of these vessels was from the Foodways Service category (n=25; representing 43.1% of the vessels from this context), with teawares being represented by over twice the number of tablewares. A large number of the vessels from this context (n=12; representing nearly 21% of the vessels) were unidentified as to their function (Figure 49). One of the more interesting series of vessels from this context were the remnants of at least two large, presumably handleless cups decorated with a blue print pattern identified as the ABBEY 1779 pattern (Figure 148). Although reminiscent of earlier, pre-Civil War printed wares, this pattern was produced by George Jones and Sons beginning in circa 1890 (Vessel C-21; see also Vessel C-122).

Several items of interest, potentially redeposited from an earlier context, were recovered from the Post-Fire context (Figures 149-150). One of the more interesting artifacts of this nature was a heavily corroded, three-piece, loop-shank, ferrous military button depicting an older style spread-wing eagle with shield typical of pre-Civil War buttons (Lot C-42). Whether this was redeposited in this late component from the earlier midden, or carried on site with trash deposited in the open house basin in the immediate Post-Fire years, is unknown.

Another small find recovered from the Post-Fire deposits was a heavily worn Buffalo or Indian Head nickel. These coins were not minted until 1913, and the presence of this worn nickel in these deposits suggests the house basin remained open, potentially receiving trash from off site, through sometime well after 1913 (Lot C-95). Figures 151-152 illustrate miscellaneous items from the Post-Fire context.

A total of 24 animal remains were obtained from the Post-Fire component. The only unique species to House C from this context among the 15 identified specimens are shells from eastern oyster and northern quahog (Appendix IV). These materials likely came from off-site commercial and domestic contexts. A human tooth was recovered from the Alley Test (Lot AL-3) (Figure 153).

Table 6

Functional classification of ceramic, glass, and metal vessels from Early Pre-Fire and Mid-Late Pre-Fire contexts, House C.

	Early Pre-Fire Context						Mid-Late Pre-Fire Context					
	Secondary Artifacts		Primary Artifacts		Totals		Secondary Artifacts		Primary Artifacts		Totals	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1.1 Tablewares (Eating)	18	32.7%	2	28.6%	20	32.3%	4	25.0%	0	0.0%	4	21.1%
1.2 Teawares (Drinking)	25	45.5%	2	28.6%	27	43.5%	4	25.0%	0	0.0%	4	21.1%
		78.2%		57.1%		75.8%		50.0%		0.0%		42.1%
2.1 Kitchenware	5	9.1%	2	28.6%	7	11.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
2.2 Food Storage												
2.21 Home	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
2.22 Commercial	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	6.3%	1	33.3%	2	10.5%
2.23 Indeterminate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		6.3%		33.3%		10.5%
4.1 Indulgences												
4.11 Drink--Alcohol	2	3.6%	0	0.0%	2	3.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.12 Drink--Non-alcohol	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	12.5%	0	0.0%	2	10.5%
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%
		3.6%		0.0%		3.2%		12.5%		0.0%		10.5%
4.2 Medicine												
4.21 Prescription	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	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%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	12.5%	1	33.3%	3	15.8%
4.24 Indeterminate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		12.5%		33.3%		15.8%
4.3 Personal Care/Hygiene												
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	1	1.8%	0	0.0%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	1	5.3%
4.33 Skin Products	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.34 Miscellaneous	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		1.8%		0.0%		1.6%		0.0%		33.3%		5.3%
6.1 Household Furnishings	2	3.6%	1	14.3%	3	4.8%	2	12.5%	0	0.0%	2	10.5%
6.2 Chemical	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
6.3 Infant/Dependent Care	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		3.6%		14.3%		4.8%		12.5%		0.0%		10.5%
7.0 Labor/Activities	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
8.0 Architecture	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
9.0 Indeterminate	2	3.6%	0	0.0%	2	3.2%	1	6.3%	0	0.0%	1	5.3%
Totals	55	100.0%	7	100.0%	62	100.0%	16	100.0%	3	100.0%	19	100.0%

Table 7
Functional classification of ceramic and glass vessels from Fire and Post Fire contexts, House C.

	Fire Context						Post-Fire Context					
	Secondary Artifacts		Primary Artifacts		Totals		Secondary Artifacts		Primary Artifacts		Totals	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1.1 Tablewares (Eating)	1	3.6%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%	7	16.7%	1	6.3%	8	13.8%
1.2 Teawares (Drinking)	5	17.9%	3	21.4%	8	19.0%	5	11.9%	12	75.0%	17	29.3%
		21.4%		21.4%		21.4%		28.6%		81.3%		43.1%
2.1 Kitchenware	1	3.6%	1	7.1%	2	4.8%	3	7.1%	0	0.0%	3	5.2%
2.2 Food Storage												
2.21 Home	0	0.0%	1	7.1%	1	2.4%	1	2.4%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%
2.22 Commercial	3	10.7%	1	7.1%	4	9.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
2.23 Indeterminate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		10.7%		14.3%		11.9%		2.4%		0.0%		1.7%
4.1 Indulgences												
4.11 Drink--Alcohol	3	10.7%	1	7.1%	4	9.5%	4	9.5%	0	0.0%	4	6.9%
4.12 Drink--Non-alcohol	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%
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%
		10.7%		7.1%		9.5%		11.9%		0.0%		8.6%
4.2 Medicine												
4.21 Prescription	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
4.22 Proprietary	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	6.3%	1	1.7%
4.23 Non-proprietary	5	17.9%	2	14.3%	7	16.7%	4	9.5%	0	0.0%	4	6.9%
4.24 Indeterminate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		17.9%		14.3%		16.7%		9.5%		6.3%		8.6%
4.3 Personal Care/Hygiene												
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%	1	6.3%	1	1.7%
4.33 Skin Products	1	3.6%	1	7.1%	2	4.8%	1	2.4%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%
4.34 Miscellaneous	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		3.6%		7.1%		4.8%		2.4%		6.3%		3.4%
6.1 Household Furnishings	5	17.9%	2	14.3%	7	16.7%	4	9.5%	1	6.3%	5	8.6%
6.2 Chemical	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
6.3 Infant/Dependent Care	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
		17.9%		14.3%		16.7%		9.5%		6.3%		8.6%
7.0 Labor/Activities	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
8.0 Architecture	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
9.0 Indeterminate	4	14.3%	2	14.3%	6	14.3%	12	28.6%	0	0.0%	12	20.7%
Totals	28	100.0%	14	100.0%	42	100.0%	42	100.0%	16	100.0%	58	100.0%

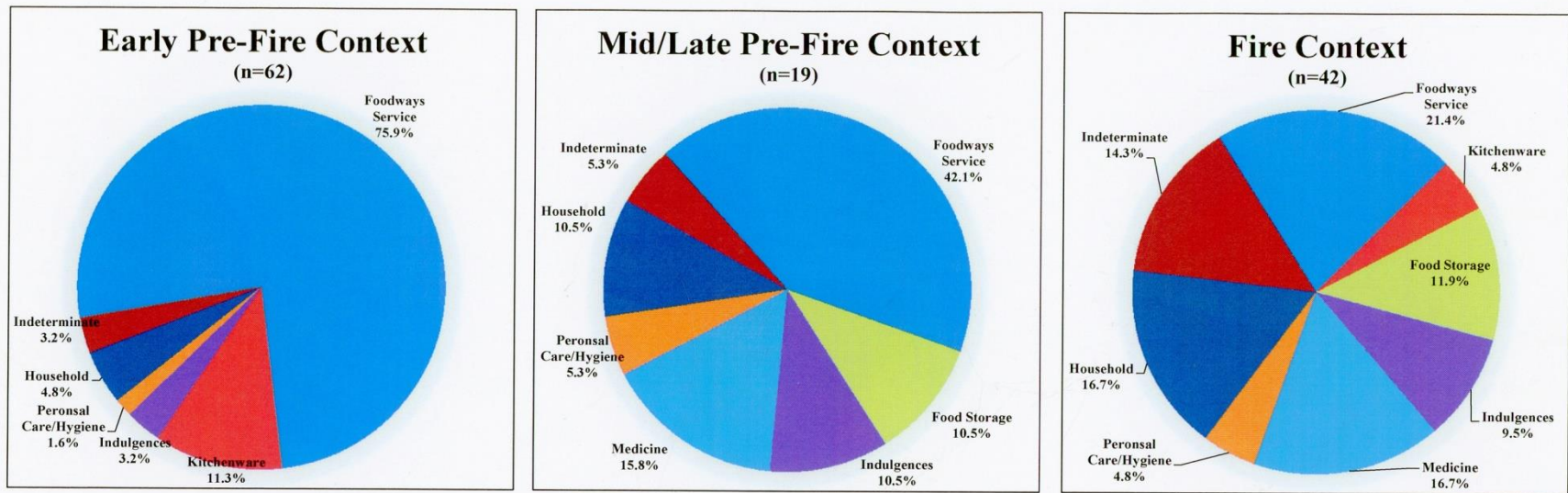


Figure 49. Functional comparison of ceramic and glass vessels, by context in House C.

Pre-House C Context (Pit Cellar, Feature 19)



Figure 50. Two primary vessels recovered from the pit cellar (Feature 19) predating, and located beneath, Houses B and C (Vessels C-120 and C-115). Also recovered, but not pictured here was a redware bowl (Vessel C-117).



Figure 51. Detail of jar rim, handle and decoration of the redware jar recovered from the pit cellar (Feature 19). The decoration consisted of a sinuous line drawn between two parallel incised lines at the level of the applied handles. Most likely, this jar was produced locally by the potter John Ebey.



Figure 52. Miscellaneous items from the early cellar (Feature 19) pre-dating Houses B and C. Top: Vessels C-119 (left) and C-116 (right). Middle: Cobalt blue decorated, salt glazed stoneware (Vessel C-118) (left) and small fragment of plaster with whitecoat (right). Bottom: Brick fragment with white encrustation (?) (left) and coal clinker (right). The brick and clinker are unusual for this early context, and is suggestive of an early industrial and/or craft-related activity associated with the burning of coal (such as with a blacksmith, or within a steam boiler).



Figure 53. Undecorated table and tea ware vessels from the Early Pre-Fire component were few in number, but included at least one potential plate with an early rolled (ovolo) rim form (Vessel C-163).



Figure 54. Minimally decorated serving bowl with simple beaded edge from the Early Pre-Fire context, House C (Vessel C-133).

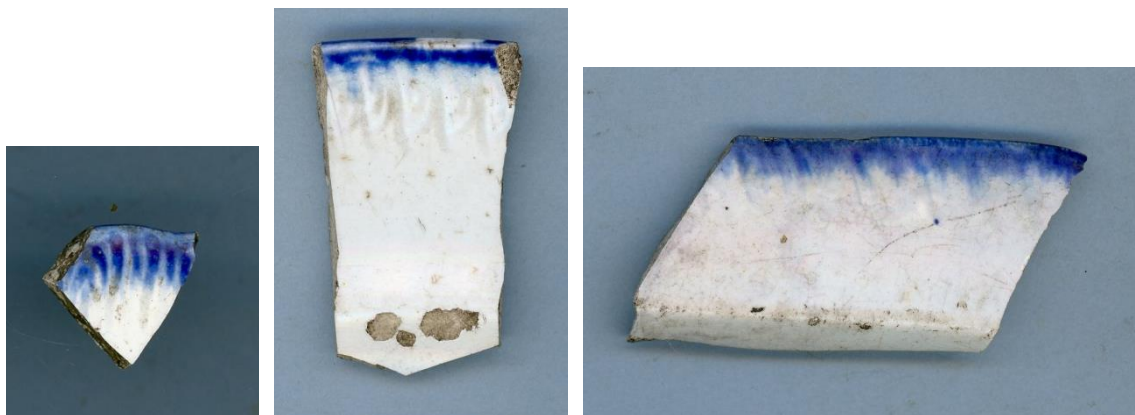


Figure 55. Minimally decorated wares from House C included edge decorated wares. These included both plates (left and middle; Vessels C-57 and C158) and serving vessels (right; Vessel C-51), the majority of which had plain, non-scalloped edges. Vessel C-158 has a scalloped edge reminiscent of earlier wares.



Figure 56. Minimally decorated vessels were also represented by painted wares, the majority of which were teawares. These wares were decorated with polychrome small floral or sprig patterns. Top: Miscellaneous painted sherds from Lots 53, 69, 78, and 92. Bottom Left: Vessel C-131. Bottom Right: Vessel C-132.



Figure 57. A single plate from the Early Pre-Fire context was decorated with a sponge decorated rim with a painted (polychrome) central motif depicting a stylized peacock (also known as a Peafowl) similar to the plate illustrated here (Vessel C-10). These plates and similarly decorated wares are often associated with Pennsylvania German immigrants.



Figure 58. Small fragment of a relief decorated plate with painted polychrome highlights (Vessel C-60) (150% actual size). This most-likely was a child’s plate with a central printed image which depicted a personalized message to the child (such as the child’s name, nursery rhyme, proverb, or positive reinforcement such as “For a Good Girl” or one of many images referencing Franklin’s Maxims).



Figure 59. The Early Pre-Fire component included a variety of transfer printed ceramics such as these recovered from Lot 26 (top) and Lot 33 (bottom).



Figure 60. Vessel C-6 is a thinly potted saucer illustrated with the CANOVA pattern, which was produced by Thomas Mayer, circa 1826-1838 (Williams 1978:214). This pattern is relatively common in an 1830s context in Illinois (cf. Farmer's Home Hotel Site, Red House Site, Apple River Fort Site).



Figure 61. Two vessels decorated with the ROMANIA NO. 91 pattern. Top Left: Saucer (Vessel C-28). Top Right: Cup (Vessel C-20). Bottom Left: Partial backstamp (Vessel C-28). Bottom Right: Plate decorated in pattern. Unfortunately, the manufacturer of this plate is unknown.



Figure 62. Vessel C-2, decorated with the CORAL BORDER pattern, produced by Thomas Dimmock circa 1828-1859 (Williams 1978:619). This pattern was also recovered from the nearby House E.



Figure 63. Plates decorated with the standard WILLOW pattern, maker unidentified (Vessels C-40 and C-125).



Figure 64. Plate decorated with the MESINA pattern produced by Wood and Challinor, circa 1828-45 (Williams 1978:334; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:378) (Vessel C-38).

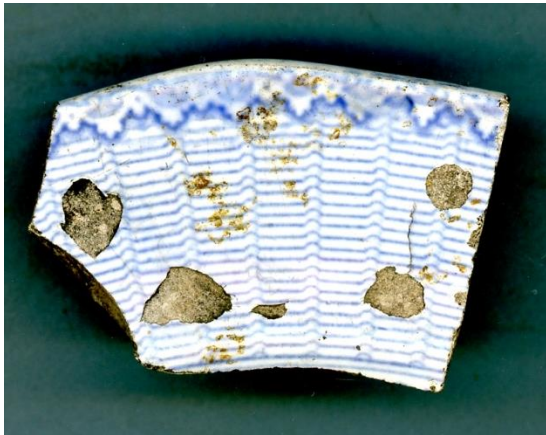


Figure 65. Vessel C-36 is a multi-sided Gothic-shaped plate illustrated with the IVANHOE pattern, produced by Podmore Walker Company, circa 1834-59 (Williams 1978:309). The Gothic Shape is reminiscent of a cup illustrated with GARDEN SCENERY (Vessel C-84).



Figure 66. Another heavy-bodied, Gothic-shaped vessel was a cup decorated with the GARDEN SCENERY pattern, which was produced by T. J. & J. Mayer during the years circa 1843-55 (Williams 1978:268; Snyder 1997:119) (Vessel C-84).



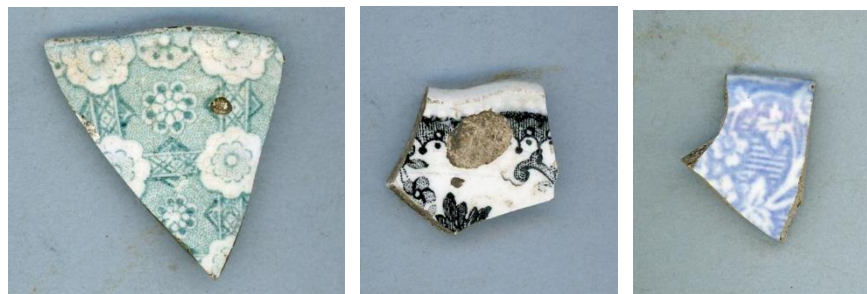
Figure 67. Plate decorated with the NANKING Pattern, which was produced by Edward Challinor (1842-1872) (Vessel C-54).



Figure 68. Plate (Vessel C-157) decorated with the ISOLA BELLE pattern, which was manufactured by William Adams and Sons (1829-1861) (Snyder 1997).



Figure 69. Unidentified print pattern on a Gothic-shaped cup (Vessel C-134). Top Left: Outer surface of rim. Top Right: Inner surface of rim. Bottom: Lower body.



left: Vessel C-155; Middle: Vessel C-166; Right: Vessel C-128



Left: Vessel C-5; Middle: Vessel C-124; Right: Vessel C-127

Figure 70. Unidentified print patterns from House C.



Figure 71. Two views of a cup decorated with an unidentified pattern tentatively referred to as “The Flute Player” (Vessel C-80) (actual size). The cup has a double-curve shape, and this pattern illustrates a young man playing a flute for a female companion. Bottom image is enlarged.



Figure 72. Several soft-paste porcelain vessels were recovered from the Early Pre-Fire context of House C. Although some of these vessels were undecorated (cf. Vessels C-126 and C-129), at least three of the vessels were decorated with a painted over-glaze polychrome small floral (or sprig) design—each with a distinctively different pattern. These included both a cup (right; Vessel C-41) and two saucers (left; Vessels C-13 and C-30). All of the soft-paste porcelain wares were teawares (Actual size).

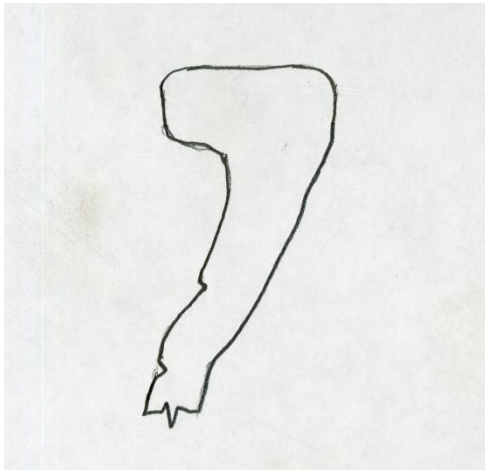


Figure 73. Utilitarian kitchenwares (Foodways Storage and Preparation functional group) were represented by both redware (top and middle; Vessels C-37 and C-123, respectively) and salt-glazed stoneware (bottom; Vessel C-52) wares. The majority of the redware vessels appear to be locally produced wares.



Figure 74. Ceramics from the Early Pre-Fire context of House C from the Household Functional category were few in number, but included this undecorated lid (potentially representing a small creamware chamber pot lid; Vessel C-1).



Figure 75. Also included within the Household Functional category from the Early Pre-Fire of House C was a small perfume bottle (right; Vessel C-12). Although recovered from a Post-Fire context, this salt-glazed stoneware ink well (left; Vessel C-167) may represent a redeposited artifact from this earlier context.



Figure 76. Miscellaneous architectural items recovered from the Early Pre-Fire front yard context. Top: Large (5-in long) brass doorstop with flat-tipped iron attachment screw (Lot C-12). Middle: Brass door key (Lot C-12). Bottom: Large (5-in) machine-cut spike (Lot C-108). All artifacts are actual size.



Figure 77. Miscellaneous small finds associated with the Early (and potentially Middle) Pre-Fire contexts of House C. Top: U.S. large cent (Coronet style, Liberty design, 1816-1836). Second from Top: Writing stylus and slate tablet fragment (Lots C-107 and C-69, respectively). Second from Bottom: Gold finger ring, actual size and enlarged 350% (Lot C-33). Bottom: Hard rubber comb and hair pin (Lots C-26 and C-89), and stone marble (Lot C-119). Not shown are fragments of a bone lice comb (Lot C-82).



Figure 78. Clothing items from the Early Pre-Fire context were represented predominately by buttons. Top: Bone buttons (Lots C-6, C-78, and C84). Second from top: Shell buttons (Lots C-33 and C-89). Second from bottom: Metal buttons. Left to right: Stamped (Lots C-33 and C-89), floral decorated three-piece loop shank (Lot C-33), undecorated three-piece loop shank (Lot C-33), and decorated three-piece loop shank (Lot C-26) (All actual size). Bottom: Enlarged details of decorated three-piece loop shank buttons.



Figure 79. Anthropomorphic figural pipe from the Early Pre-Fire context (Lot C-121). This pipe depicts a man with a mustache and turban. Top: Actual size. Bottom: Front and side views, enlarged.



Figure 80. Top: Blunt-end iron scissors recovered from the Early Pre-Fire context, near to the original ground surface in the front yard of House C (Lot 119). Bottom: Rat-tail tanged, antler-handled butcher knife (Lot C-69). This knife has been aggressively sharpened and/or nearly worn out with much of its blade having been sharpened “away.” Both artifacts are actual size.

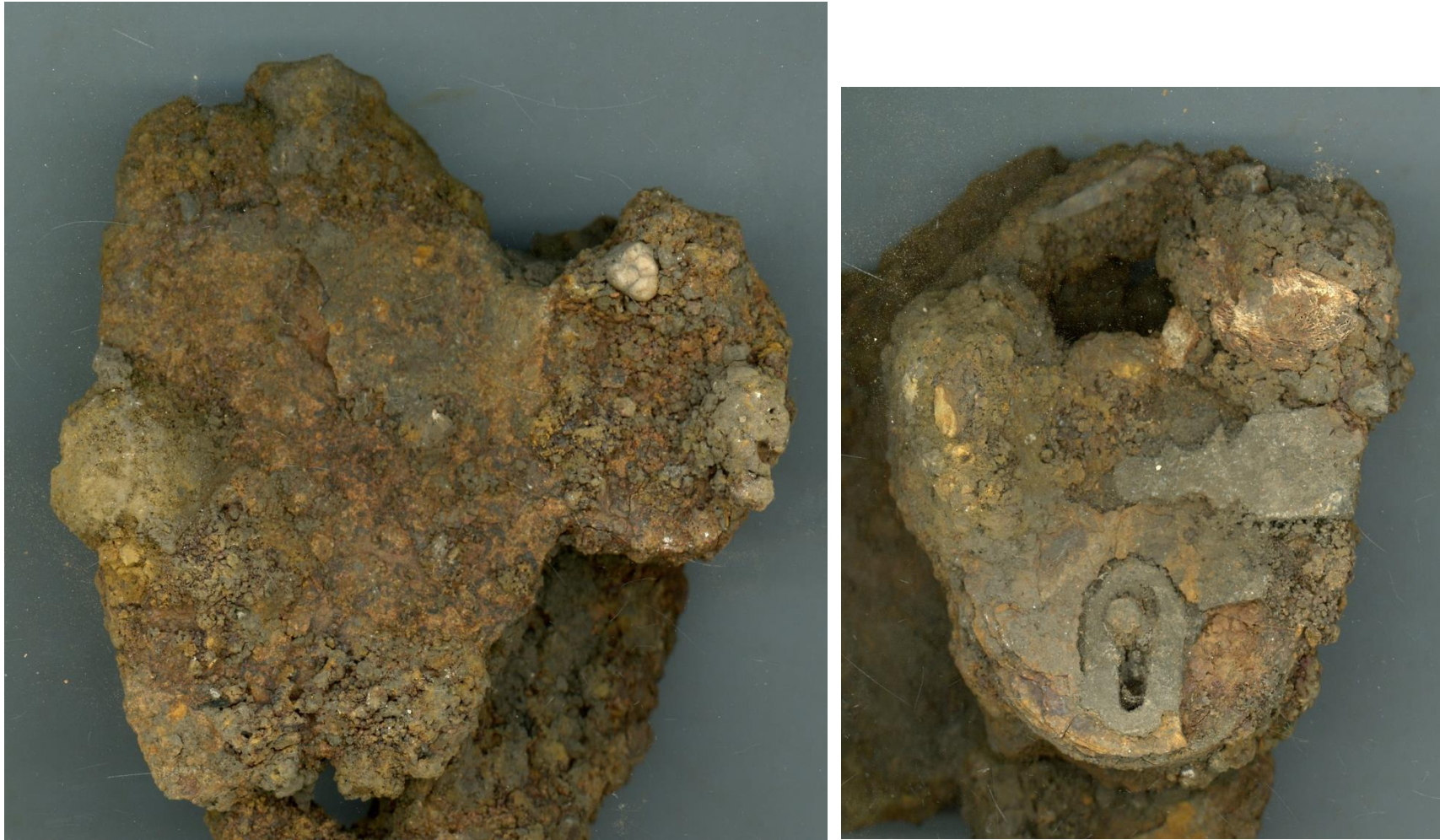


Figure 81. Iron hatchet and padlock from the Early Pre-Fire context of House C (Lot C-34). These two artifacts were fused together and recovered from the builder's trench along the east foundation wall of the house (Lot C-34). This hatchet appears to represent a small hewing hatchet. The padlock has a brass escutcheon and drop plate. Both artifacts were associated with the pre-House C component at this site.



Post Fire (Vessel C-61)

Figure 82. Late printed wares from House C, most likely associated with a Late Pre-Fire or Fire context. Top: Saucer, Vessel C-88 (Fire). Middle Left: Plate, Vessel C-85 (Fire). Middle Right: Plate, Vessel C-174 (Post Fire). Bottom: Large bowl or wash basin, Vessel C-61 (Post Fire).



Figure 83. Two shot glasses recovered from the back dirt during stripping of the overburden of House C were recovered (Lot C-2). Left: Lead glass, free-blown shot glass with ground panels and ground base (Vessel C-68). Right: Lead glass example with molded flutes and ground base (Vessel C-67). Both vessels are actual size. Unfortunately the context of these specialized and quality vessels is unknown (albeit most likely from the Middle-Late Pre-Fire contexts).



Figure 84. A perfume bottle with remnant paper label which read “ROYAL VIOLET PERFUME” was recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context of House C (Vessel C-16). Royal Violet Perfume was a British product introduced during the 1840s (cf. Ede 1845) (125% actual size).



Figure 85. Utilitarian iron tablespoon (Top) and souvenir cuprous teaspoon (Bottom), both recovered from Lot C-45). The ssouvenir teaspoon commemorates the Pan-American Exposition, which was held in Buffalo, New York in 1901.



Figure 86. Glass artifacts associated with Foodways Storage and Preparation were few in number from this early component at House C. One of the few glass items from this category was remnants of a Gothic-style food jar (Vessel C-7) (75% actual size) ---probably a pickle or relish container.



Figure 87. Fragments of a blue-glass proprietary medicine bottle cap embossed “JOHN WYETH & BRO.” This bottle fragment was recovered from a Late Pre-Fire context at House C (Vessel C-18). This unique bottle, which included a dosage cup to assist with keeping track of the time of the next dose, contained a powerful laxative (<https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/antique-john-wyeth-brother-cobalt-1796464992>).



Figure 88. Smoking pipes from the Middle-to-Late Post-Fire context. Top: Kaolin pipe bowl and stem fragments (Lots C-3, C-33, C-51, and C-79). Middle: Decorated, unglazed elbow pipe with decorated bowl (Lot C-33). Murphy (1976:14) refers to this style as Point Pleasant Chevron. Bottom: Unglazed elbow pipe embossed “CATLIN’S” along rim, similar to online example (right) (Lot C-33).



Figure 89. Clothing fasteners from the Mid-Late Pre-Fire context of House C. Top: Four-hole sew-through and loop shank shell buttons. Second from top: Iron and brass buttons. The iron buttons were stamped sew-through and presumed loop shank varieties. The large brass button, potentially decorated, was a three-piece loop shank button. Second from bottom: small milk glass loop shank shoe button, burned hard rubber button, and burned bone button. Bottom Left: Ornate clip, potentially from a garter. Bottom Right: Milk glass and bone collar studs. Except for one of the collar studs, all artifacts are from Lot C-45. The one collar stud is from Lot C-47. All artifacts are actual size.



Figure 90. Miscellaneous small finds from the Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire context of House C associated with Personal adornment and/or Clothing. Top: Two views of a bone and metal “chain-link” cuff link, and blue glass beads (Lot C-45). Bottom: Pendant and copper end “cap” for cord (Lot C-45).



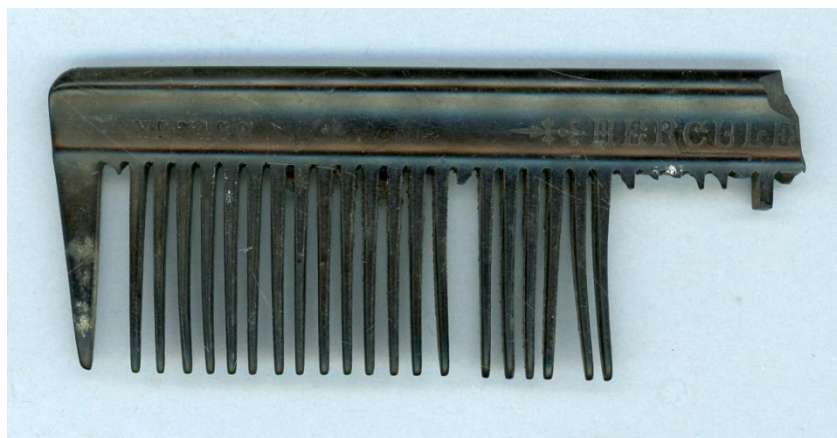
Figure 91. Household furnishings were poorly represented, but included this wood-wheeled caster (Lot C-45).



Figure 92. Toys and musical instruments from the Middle-to-Late Pre-Fire components at House C. Top: Undecorated stone/marble marbles (Lots 33 and 34). Second from Top: Blue-veined marble marbles (Lots C-45 and C-46). Second from Bottom: Blue (Lots C-45, C-46) and brown (C-33, C-35) Rockingham-glazed ceramic marbles. Bottom: Hollow lead shoe, reminiscent of a gaming piece (Lot C-45) and Harmonica soundboard (Lot 45).



Figure 93. Commerce-related activities represented by a number of coins within the Late Pre-Fire context. Top: Unidentified coin (Lot C-45). Middle: Barber Dime with 1899 mint date (Lot C-33) (1892-1916). Bottom: Two V-Nickel/Liberty Head Nickels of indeterminate mint dates (1883-1913) (Lot C-33 and C-46).

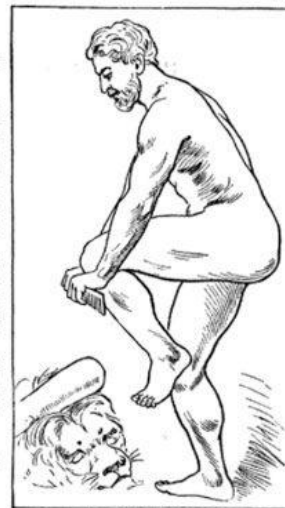


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They not only warrant that, with fair and reasonable use, they will fulfil the expectation the name implies, but agree to replace any comb bearing this stamp which may be broken in twelve months from the time of purchase.



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Figure 94. Hard rubber combs and hair pins from House C. Top Left: "Unbreakable" HERCULES comb manufactured by the Butler Hard Rubber Company (Lot C-45). Middle Left: Comb fragment (Lot C-26). Bottom Left: Two fragments of hair pins (Lots C-26 and C-89). Right: Butler Hard Rubber Company advertisement for Hercules combs (*American Druggist* 1891). The smaller comb and two hair pins most likely were associated with a Middle Pre-Fire component.



Figure 95. Two views of bone toothbrush (Lot C-45). The handle of this toothbrush is embossed “The Dandy Brush.” Daily brushing of teeth was not a common practice until well into the twentieth century, when there was a big push for daily brushing initiated with the military, particularly during World War II when soldiers returned home.

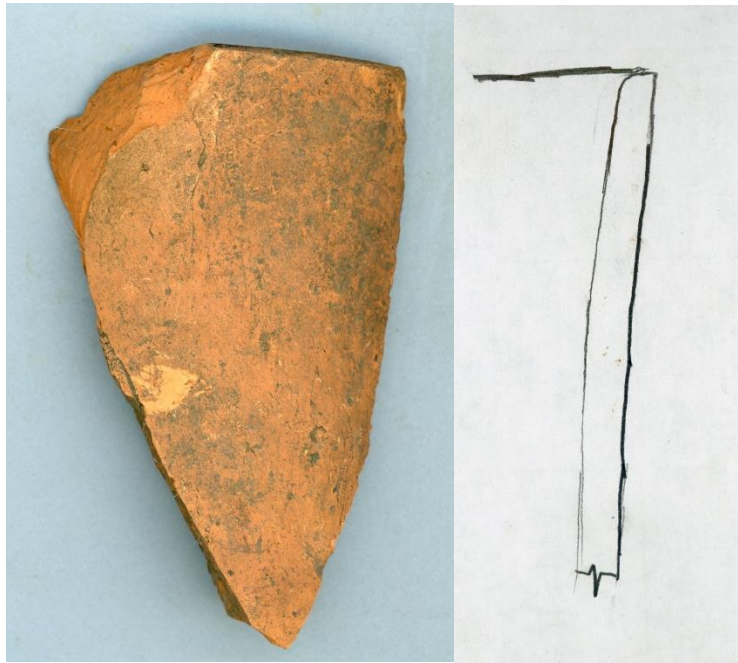


Figure 96. Two other vessels potentially associated with the Middle Pre-Fire Household context included two hand-turned flower pots (Vessel C-49 and C-156). Vessel C-156 was recovered from a Post-Fire context, and may represent an artifact redeposited from an earlier context.



Figure 97. Two artifacts from House C associated with the sharpening of cutting tools, such as knives. Top: Fine-grained whetstone recovered from the Fire Deposits (Lot C-8), which exhibits heavy use along both of its narrow surfaces, as opposed to the larger and/or wider surfaces (actual size). Bottom: Partial grinding stone wheel recovered from a suspected Fire context (Lot C-24; 75% actual size). This sandstone grinding wheel also exhibits substantial wear. The two stones suggest both coarse and fine sharpening activity. Coarse sharpening stones are used to shape the blade and put an initial edge on the tool. Fine sharpening tools are used to put a sharper edge on the tool after it has been initially shaped by the coarse stone.

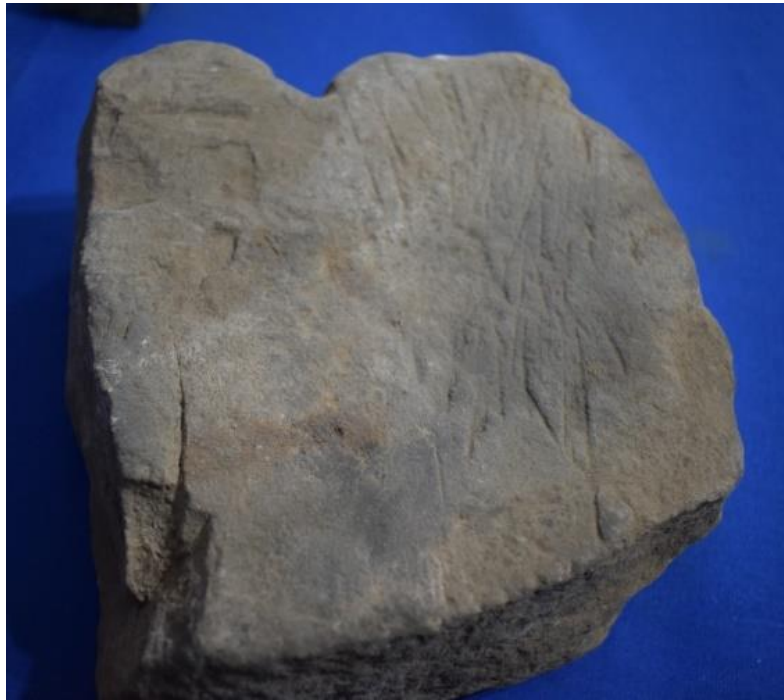


Figure 98. Fragment of architectural building stone re-utilized as a sharpening stone, recovered from Fire Deposits of House C (Lot C-52). One surface of this sandstone fragment exhibits evidence of having been shaped by bush hammering. Similarly, one of the larger flat surfaces exhibits evidence of long abrasive “cuts” potentially associated with the sharpening of a cutting tool. The originally thought was that this was an anvil for meat processing, and the cut marks were from hacking (as with a cleaver), a task more appropriate for a wood block, and not stone. A closer inspection suggests that the linear marks are abrasive cuts, not hack marks, suggesting that the re-purposed sandstone slab was used to sharpen cutting tools.



Figure 99. This Late Pre-Fire/Fire tool kit, consisting of a large knife, a large abrader, and two types of whetstones, suggests on-site meat processing during the Late Pre-Fire or Fire era (circa 1885-1908). The knife most likely dates from an earlier Early Pre-Fire context.



Figure 100. Architectural artifacts from the Late Pre-Fire component were few in number at House C. This fragment of a mineral door knob (red paste with black glazed surface; Lot C-55) most likely was redeposited from an earlier context.



Figure 101. Top: Heavy gauge copper wire, twisted connections (Lots C-33, C-45) and small coil of thin-gauge copper wire indicative of low voltage use (Lot C-45). Middle: Cast lead bar (Lot C-33). Bottom: Gas piping, presumably for gas lighting (Lot C-45).



Figure 102. Considerable variety in machine cut nail sizes were recovered from the fire deposits of House C (left). A very small number of wire-drawn nails were present in the fire deposits of House C (right). All artifacts are actual size and from Test 2 (Lot C-8).



Figure 103. Plaster demolition debris was relatively common in the fire deposits of House C. Top: This plaster consisted of a thin whitecoat applied over a thick brown coat. The lath impressions on the backside of the plaster suggests that it had been applied over a rived wooden lath. The plaster fragments illustrated here, from Lot C-5, are reproduced at 90% their actual size. Bottom: Small fragment of finish plaster with a blue painted/whitewashed surface (Lot C-52). Most of the plaster fragments from House C had a rough, unpainted surface.



Figure 104. Three of the four butt hinges recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C. Each butt hinge measured approximately 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 3-in with a fixed pin and utilized both flat-tipped and machine-pointed screws (Lots C-23, C-31, and C-39).



BROAD BUTTS, FAST JOINT.

\$	2x2	2x2½	2½x	2½x2½	2½x3 inch.	doz. pair.
\$	3x2½	3x3	3½x3	3x3½	3½x3½ inch.	doz. pair.
\$	3½x4	4x3½	4x4	4x4½	4½x4 inch.	doz. pair.
\$	4½x4½	4½x6	5x4½	5x5	5x5½ inch.	doz. pair.
\$	5½x5	5½x5½	5½x6	4x6	4½x6 inch.	doz. pair.
\$	6x5½	6x6 inch.				doz. pair.

Figure 105. Top: Single, slightly larger butt hinge from the Fire Deposits of House C. This hinge measured 1½ x 3¾-in butt (Lot C-24). Bottom: These hinges from House C represent 3 x 3½ and 3 x 3¼-in fast-joint butt hinges, were in common use during the middle nineteenth century, as advertised in Russell and Erwin's mid-century hardware catalogue (Association of Preservation Technology 1980:116).



Figure 106. Rectangular door rim lock with one door knob still attached (Lot C-32). The iron horizontal rim lock measures 2½ x 3¾-in. The door knob is heavily burned making a determination of the type of knob impossible to determine. Common rim lock at mid-century.



Figure 107. A slightly smaller, horizontal rim lock from the Fire Deposits of House C. This lock measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{1}{4}$ -in and has a $\frac{1}{2}$ -in round projection centered on one end.



Figure 108. Door lock strike plate (Lot C-5).



Figure 109. Front and back views of door knobs recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C. Two varieties of knobs were recovered, and included 1) Mineral (left; Lot C-32), and 2) Porcelain (middle and right, Lot C-75) knobs (Actual size).

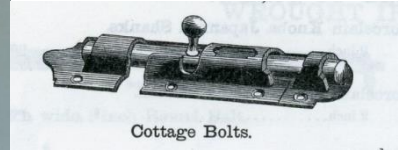


Figure 110. Sliding bolt latch from the Fire Deposits of House C (Lot C-74). This latch is similar to the “Cottage Bolts” illustrated in Russell and Erwin (1865:98).



Figure 111. The fire deposits from Test 1 of House C also contained a small number of copper sheet metal scrap (Lot C-5; actual size).



Figure 112. Roller shade hardware from the Fire Deposits of House C (Lot C-59; see also Lot C-44) .



Figure 113. Primary ceramic and glass vessels from the Fire Deposits of House C included a chamber pot lid (back; Vessel C-90), two cups, two medicine/pill bottles, a mug (middle row, left to right; Vessels C-69, C-103, C-97, C-82, C-81), a kerosene lamp font, at least one salve/ointment jar, a canning jar lid liner, a painted porcelain cup, and a suspected small pitcher (bottom row, left to right: Vessels C-109, C-78, C-77, C-73, C-74). All vessels exhibited various degrees of burning and/or melting.



Figure 114. Ceramic artifacts from the fire deposits of House C were limited in number, but did include a lightly burned, soft-paste porcelain cup (potentially a child's cup) (top left; Vessel C-73), a small pitcher handle (top right; Vessel C-74), and two heavily burned handleless "hotel ware" cups (bottom; Vessels C-69 and C-103).



Figure 115. Unusual drinking mug recovered from the fire deposits of House C (Vessel C-81). The vessel appears to have a clear or salt glazed exterior with a white-glazed interior.



Figure 116. Two views of the heavily burned chamber pot lid from the Fire Deposits of House C (Vessel C-90). The handle was not recovered from the excavations.



Figure 117. The two primary medicine bottles from the Fire Deposits of House C included a potential round pill bottle (left, Vessel C-97), and a French Square medicine (right; Vessel C-82).



Figure 118. Miscellaneous Foodways Storage and Preparation artifacts from the Fire Deposits of House C. Top: Annular decorated, London-urn shape waster bowl (Vessel C-111). Bottom: pewter spoon handle (Lot C-8).



Figure 119. Glass artifacts did not fare well in House C. Fire-damaged artifacts from the fire deposits of House C. Top Left: Small round aqua medicine bottle (Vessel C-76). Top Middle: Neck from a badly deformed medicine bottle (Vessel C-180). Top Right: Small oval salve jar, tin-glazed with white interior and blue exterior (Vessel C-100). Bottom: Melted salve jar(s) from Test 1 (Vessels C-78). Similar melted milk glass sherds, albeit not recognizable to any specific form, also was recovered from Test 2 (Lot C-8). All artifacts are actual size.



Figure 120. Toys recovered from the Fire Deposits were few in number, and included marbles and remnants of a toy tea set. The marbles were painted stoneware (left), and two Rockingham-glazed (blue and brown) marbles (middle and right) (Lot C-8, C-23). Small toy pitcher from a child's tea set (Lot C-31). These most likely were associated with an earlier context, redeposited in the Fire Deposits.



Figure 121. Artifacts associated with adult entertainment and/or recreational activities (classified as toys) included a burned ivory billiard ball (top left; Lot C-52) and a burned poker chip (top right; Lot C-45). Also present in this Fire context was a harmonica sound board suggesting the presence of a musical instrument (Lot C-59).



Figure 122. Miscellaneous items from the Fire Deposit of House C. Left: Unidentified bone pendant or “tag” (Lot C-44). Right: ; Bone inlay and smoking pipe mouthpiece (Lot C-5).



Gold stick pin (Lot C-39); blue glass beads (Lot C-24; see also Lots C-8, C-39 and C-43) [similar to ones in Late Pre-Fire]; gem “stone” for ring or brooch (Lot C-43; Enlarged (250% actual size))



Cuff link fragments (left; Lot C-44) and collar studs (right; Lots C-39 and C-43)



Watch fob (Lots C-43 and C-44)

Figure 123. Artifacts associated with personal adornment (jewelry) from the Fire Deposits of House C were present in limited number.



Cast-iron wall bracket (Lot C-44); ceramic wheeled caster (Lot C-3)



Unidentified metal (brass plated iron?), potentially a decorated door knob (Lot C-8); milk glass lamp font (?), base and threaded top (Vessel C-109)

Figure 124. Miscellaneous Household items from the Fire Deposits of House C.



Figure 125. Cast iron wardrobe hooks from the Fire Deposits of House C. Left: Fragmentary hooks from Lots C-23 and C-74 (65% actual size). Middle: Whole hook from Lot C-23 (actual size). These hooks are similar to the wardrobe hooks illustrated in Russell and Erwin's 1865 hardware catalog (right) (Russell and Erwin 1980:85). Such hooks may have been integrated into free-standing wardrobes (located in the upstairs bedrooms?) or attached to boards attached directly to the bedroom walls.

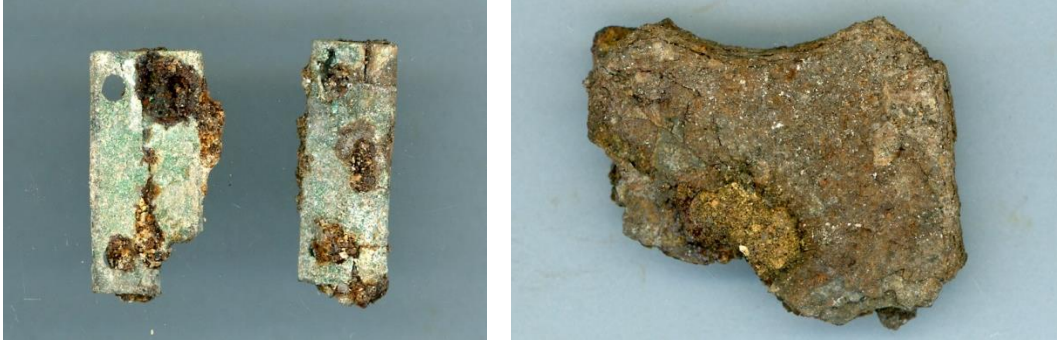


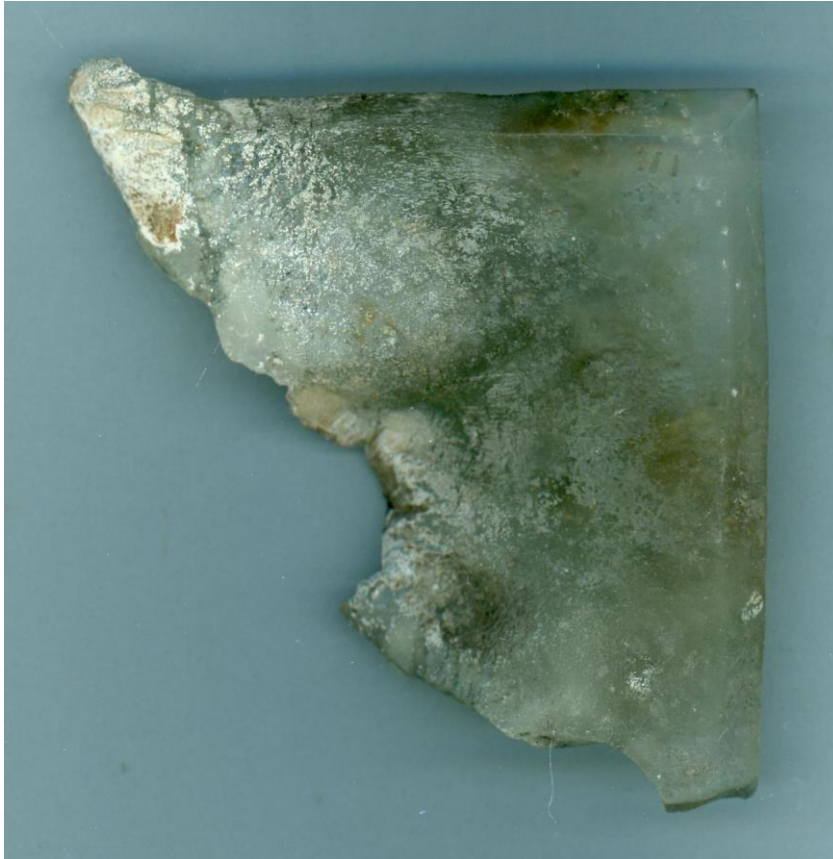
Figure 126. Two small brass box hinges (Lot C-24), and a surface mounted lock (Lot C-44).



Figure 127. Two views of a stamped decorative copper artifact, potentially representing a decorative detail of an unidentified household item (convex shaped to fit an approximately 5-in diameter curve; approximately 4½-5-in long; tapered from approximately 2-in wide at one end to 1-in wide at opposite end; two holes approximately 3-in apart with iron screws or bolts potentially representing decorative attachment bolts; decorated with lobes separated by central band running length of artifact. This potentially represents a furniture or other household furnishings item (Lot C-24).



Figure 128. Miscellaneous Household items from the Fire Deposits of House C. Top: Iron upholstery tacks (Lots C-5, C-52). Middle: Iron bale handle for a container, or drawer pull (Lot C-24). Bottom: Iron key (Lot C-43). All artifacts are actual size.



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Figure 129. Fragments of a thick plate glass table- or desk-top pad (with beveled and ground edges) were recovered from the Fire deposits of House C (Test 1; Lot C-4). Reversed ghost lettering was present on several fragments, indicating that it may have been an advertising item, or may have been a desk pad similar to that advertised by the Chicago Mirror and Art Glass Company in the *American Stationer and Office Outfitter* (May 17, 1917). This seems to have been an odd item present in this house at the time of the August 1908 fire.



Burned (bottom) and unburned (top) Prosser buttons from the Fire Deposits of House C (Lot C-24).



Burned shell buttons (Lot C-5)



Top: Ferrous, loop-shank, three-piece (top) and ferrous 4-hole, sew-through (bottom) buttons (Lot C-24).



Burned bone (Lots C-23 43); unburned (Lot C-8); hard rubber embossed "I. R. C Co. / GOODYEAR 1851" (Lot 39); melted hard rubber (Lot 8); Black glass button with loop shank,

Figure 130. Buttons from the Fire Deposits of House C (actual size).



Figure 131. Several distinctively embossed loop-shank buttons (top; actual size) were recovered from the fire deposits of House C (Lot C-8, C-16). These buttons variously were embossed with the words “MOTORMAN” and “CONDUCTOR” similar to those illustrated here. The backside of these buttons were embossed “NEW HAVEN CAR REGIST CO. / N. H. CONN.” in reference to the New Haven Car Register Company of New Haven, Connecticut. These buttons would have been associated with garments most likely used by white workmen on the city’s electrical streetcars at the turn-of-the-century.



Figure 132. Also recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C was this large diameter coat button decorated with the Seal of the State of Illinois (Top left; Lot C-16—actual size). Surviving examples of these buttons were manufactured by the Scoville Manufacturing Company of Waterbury, Connecticut and probably date from the late 1860s and 1870s. Most likely, these buttons were in use by the Illinois State Militia.



Figure 133. A single, $\frac{3}{4}$ -in diameter, spherical, high-dome brass button with slightly flattened back and loop shank attachment was also recovered from this context (Lot C-24). This button is reminiscent of nineteenth century military buttons, potentially used as collar or cuff buttons, and often referred to as a “Cadet” button.



Figure 134. Suspender and overall buckles from the Fire Deposit of House C included ferrous buckles with rectangular frames and two-prong bars (top), and toothed suspender and/or overall clips (bottom)(Lot C-24). This basic buckle form (top) was well established by the middle nineteenth century, and often associated with overalls. At least nine such buckles were recovered from this one context.



Figure 135. Left: Several small buckles were also present in this context (Lot C-24). Right: Decorated iron buckle (Lot C-8).



Figure 136. A variety of copper eyelets (top left), “lacing” hooks (top right), and snaps (bottom) were recovered from the Fire Deposits (Lot C-24).



Figure 137. Writing activities were represented by both slate stylus and metal pen nibs (for ink) (Lot C-44), as well as a small fragment of a writing slate (Lot C-31).



Figure 138. Tools generally are uncommon on archaeological sites. Fragments of a whetstone (top; Lot C-8) and a potential folding carpenter's rule (bottom; Lot C-8) were recovered from fire deposits in Test 2. All artifacts are actual size.



Figure 139. Framing or roofing hatchet recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C (Lot 23).

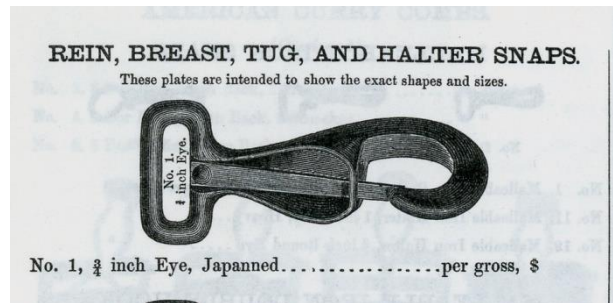


Figure 140. Two harness buckles from the Fire Deposits of House C (Left; Lot C-24). Right: “Rein, Breast, Tug, and Alter Snap” as advertised in the Russell and Erwin hardware catalog (APT 1865:274).



Figure 141. Commerce-related activities included a five-cent token issued by Thomas Guyett for credit at his saloon, located at 300 North Ninth Street from late 1905 through at least the time of the riots (August 1908) (Lot C-44).



Figure 142. Firearms were represented by a large, presumably 38-caliber bullet (Left). Although this center fire shell had a hammer impressions (suggesting it had been fired), the lead projectile was still intact (suggesting that the round may have misfired) (Lot C-44). Right: Unfired 22-caliber bullet from a Post-Fire context, which probably represents re-deposited artifact from an earlier component (Lot C-95). Most likely, both rounds represent ammunition for a pistol.



Figure 143. Multi-purposed paint can and bottle openers from Fire Deposits of House C (Lots C-16, C-24, C-31, C-46; see also Lot C-8). Note the large Motorman button fused to one of the openers (left).

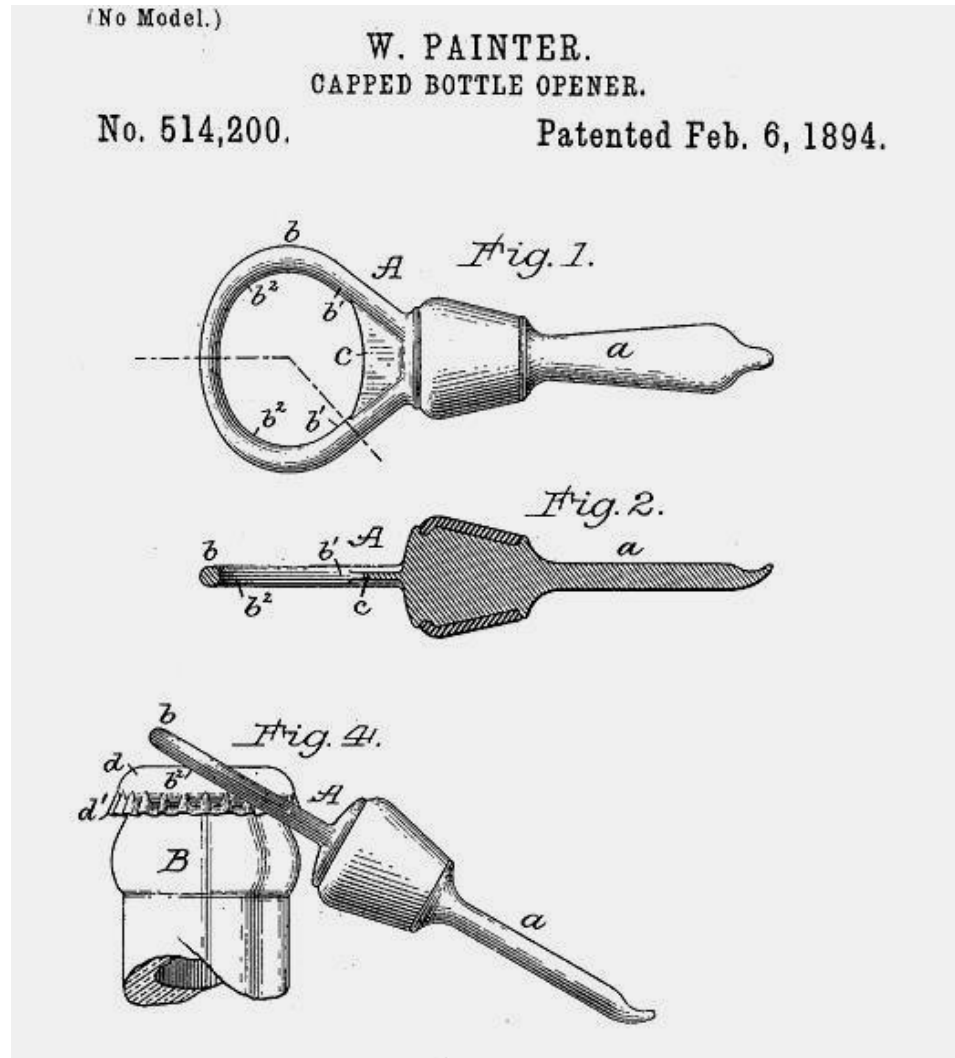


Figure 144. Left: Online example of vintage paint can and bottle opener. Right: Patent for a “Capped Bottle Opener” for use with crown bottle caps issued in 1894. Tool integrates a screwdriver end, often slightly curved for use with a paint can, with a looped end for removing crown bottle caps.

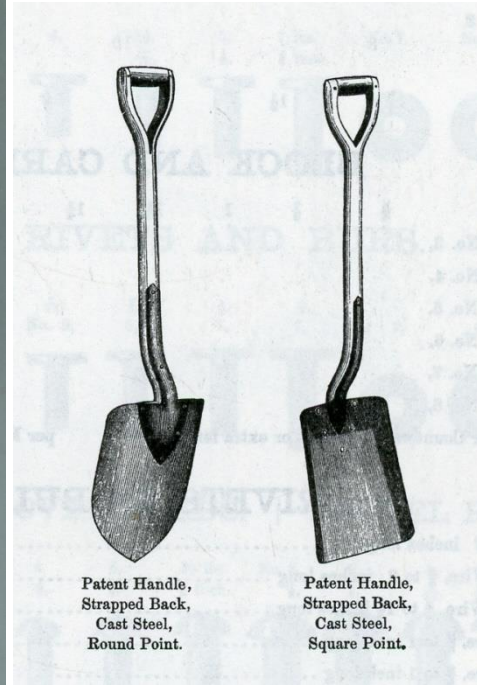


Figure 145. Yard tools recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C included a combination metal and wood shovel handle (top; Lot C-52), and a socketed rake (bottom; Lot C-5). Both artifacts are reproduced at 75% actual size. The shovel advertisements are from Russell and Erwin's 1865 catalog (p. 292).



Figure 146. Several artifacts atypical of a domestic component were recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C. Among these items were large iron nuts (top; Lots C-43 and C-44), a large diameter bolt (bottom; Lot C-81), railroad spikes and large lag bolt (see next figure). All artifacts are actual size.



Figure 147. Left: Railroad spikes from House C (Lots C-1 and C-5). Rail spikes were common within the debris associated with the houses along Tenth Street, and reflect the significance of the railroad to the inhabitants of the houses along this corridor. These spikes were mostly of the larger variety, but smaller ones were also present. Right: Long lag screw or carriage bolt (Lot C-81). All artifacts are actual size.



Figure 148. Two large, presumably handleless cups were recovered from Post-Fire Deposit and decorated with a printed pattern identified as the “Abbey 1779” pattern. Although reminiscent of earlier, pre-Civil War printed wares, this pattern was produced by George Jones and Sons in circa 1890 (Vessel C-21; see also Vessel C-122).



Figure 149. Left: Stamped copper pendant (Lot C-3; Post Fire). Right: Decorated button (Lot C-3). Although recovered from a Post-Fire context, both most likely were redeposited from a Fire Context, as button has burned wood and plaster adhering to it.



Figure 150. Two views of a three-piece, loop shank military button depicting an older style spread-wing eagle with shield typical of pre-Civil War buttons recovered from the Post-Fire context of House C (Lot C-42). Whether this was redeposited in this late component from the earlier midden, or not, is unknown.



Figure 151. Miscellaneous small finds from the Post-Fire context of House C. Left: Kaolin pipe bowl (Lot C-3). Middle: Electrical porcelain (Lots C-27). Right: This whole knob (from “knob and tube” wiring) was recovered from a Late Pre-Fire Context (Lot C-105).



Figure 152. Fragments of an oyster shell (left) and a fresh water mussel (right) from Lot C-71.



Figure 153. Human remains from alley test, north edge of House C. Two views of human molar recovered from Alley Test, House C (Lot AL-3).

Summary and Conclusions

The combined archival research and archaeological investigations of House C 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 60-year life span of the building.

House C was probably constructed by, or for, John Briscoe, a farmer/miller by trade, in circa 1847-48. Earlier improvements at this location (and the adjacent House B) may date to as early as the later 1830s, and potentially associated with both a domestic and industrial/trade-related occupation (and will be discussed separately below). Initial improvements at this location appear to have been short-lived, as the lots associated with both Houses B and C were sold by the original developer (Jonas Whitney) in 1842—suggesting that the early improvements on these two lots were demolished by that date. Most likely, House B was initially constructed in circa 1842, followed a few years later by the construction of House C (in circa 1847-48). Prior to the construction of either of these homes, the lots in Whitney’s addition had been re-oriented from Madison Street to the Tenth Street corridor.

Briscoe sold the house in 1850 to Jacob Tiger, an Ohio-born miller who occupied the house through 1853. He subsequently sold it to Lewis Apgar, a New Jersey-born engineer who occupied the house through 1860. Both men were skilled tradesmen associated with the Phoenix mill located immediately south of Madison Street. As such, the Early Pre-Fire component represents discard generated by skilled Northern tradesmen (circa 1848-1860). In 1860, Apgar sold the house to George McDaniel, a Virginia-born teamster who occupied the house with his family until his death in 1869. McDaniel’s widow and his widowed daughter’s family (Ann Seaman) occupied the house through circa 1874. By 1875, House C was occupied by the extended Joseph Faro family. Faro, a Black laborer, purchased the house in early 1877. Although Joseph died only a few months after the purchase of the property, his widow and extended family lived in the house through sometime in the early-to-middle 1880s. The Middle Pre-Fire component represents discard generated by two extended, non-skilled, property-owning families—one a Southern white family (McDaniel-Seaman; circa 1860-1874), and the other a Southern Black family (Faro; circa 1874-1885). Although the Faro family appears to have retained ownership of the property through circa 1890-91, the house was not owner-occupied and utilized by the family as rental income property after circa 1882. Tenants who have been identified as residing in the home in the early-to-middle 1880s include: John Burton, the Byrd family, Mollie Parker, and Lucretia Vandervert. In 1891, the house was purchased by white real estate investors, and after that point in time through the riot of August 1908 the house functioned as rental income property. During these years of the Late Pre-Fire component (circa 1882-1908), the house was variously occupied by non-skilled, low income white and Black tenants, and at various points in in time may have functioned as a boarding house, house of ill-fame, gambling house, as well as a drug house (operated by the “King of the Badlands” Lloyd Thomas).

Both the archival research and archaeological investigations suggest that House C was totally destroyed by fire late Friday evening (or early Saturday morning) August 14, 1908.

Unfortunately, unlike House A, no photographs of House C (before or after the mob action) are known to exist. Most likely, all that survived of this dwelling the following Saturday morning were remnants of the brick chimneys. Post-fire archaeological evidence suggests that the house ruins may have remained open for many years after the 1908 riots, presumably being used for trash disposal from a variety of nearby residential and commercial entities. By the middle 1910s, the ruins were cleaned up, covered over, and the property eventually was integrated into the Barker-Goldman-Lubin Company's holdings (later Barker-Lubin), a building materials supply firm. Even then, however, the house site appears to have experienced very limited construction activity. As indicated by the recent excavations, the archaeological integrity of this house has remained excellent up to the present day.

Lot Use

The lot associated with House C was oriented east/west, with the front yard facing Tenth Street, and the rear of the lot abutting the adjacent property to the west. No alley was located on the rear property line. However, there was an alley on the north side of the lot, which bisected the north and south halves of Block 3 (and also Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition). The House C lot measured 39-ft 3-in by 138-ft 10-in (5,449 square feet or 0.125 acres).⁷² The size of this lot was slightly smaller than a typical house lot of this era in Springfield (with most lots being 40-ft by 157-ft in size). The atypical dimensions of the property resulted from the reorientation of the original lots on Block 3 of Whitney's Addition from their original Madison Street frontage to Tenth Street, as well as from the fact that Block 3 was not full sized when originally platted.⁷³ The archaeological investigations indicate that House C was set back from the Tenth Street right-of-way (and the rail corridor) approximately 18-ft 6-in (5.64m)-19-ft (5.79m), which was in close alignment with the adjacent House B, and in line with House A further to the south. The south end of the dwelling directly abutted House B, while its north end was setback approximately 5-ft 6-in (1.68m) from the alley.

The historic ground surface around House C appears to have been relatively flat, and slightly elevated compared to the area immediately to the south, at least within the front third of the lot. The archaeological investigations suggest that a substantial ditch (Feature 18) was once located within the front yard, cutting north/south across the eastern edge of the property. This ditch was excavated early in the history of the lot, potentially associated with the grading of the original rail right-of-way (possibly circa 1838). This feature appears to have been infilled by the time House C was constructed.

The 1854 and 1858 city maps both indicate the presence of a large frame outbuilding running along the entire rear/west end of the House C lot. Although these maps suggest that this outbuilding continued onto the adjacent lot to the south (associated with House B), it is suspected

⁷² The depth provided for the House C lot represents an average, since the western property line of the property ran on a slight angle (following the dividing line between Block 3 of J. Whitney's Addition and Block 17 of Wells and Peck's Addition).

⁷³ House C's parcel represented one quarter of Lots 13-16 of Block 3. Lot 13, however, was only a partial lot, thus resulting in the shallower depth of the property.

that the maps have conflated two attached outbuildings into one.⁷⁴ Assuming this is the case, the maps suggest that the outbuilding on the House C lot measured approximately 22-ft (east/west) by 38-ft (north/south) in size. It is quite possible that this structure represents the “good barn” George McDaniel mentioned as being attached to the property when he advertised it for rent in 1862 (*Illinois State Register*, 20 May 1862, p. 2). The 1873 bird’s eye view shows a tall, side-gabled outbuilding on the northwest corner of the House C lot. Given its size and location, this structure has all the hallmarks of a carriage house/barn as well. It is of note that the outbuilding pictured in the bird’s eye is much shorter than the one depicted on the 1854 and 1858 map, which raises the possibility that the earlier barn may have been replaced by a newer one sometime between 1858 and 1873. This scenario appears to be supported by the 1890 Sanborn map, which illustrates a two-story frame carriage house, approximately 20 x 20-ft in size, located on the northwest corner of the lot. The carriage house in question more closely matches the outbuilding shown on the bird’s eye view than that depicted on the 1854 and 1858 maps. The 1896 Sanborn map indicates that the carriage barn had been removed and replaced by a much smaller one-story, frame outbuilding, approximately 8 x 18-ft in size. The latter structure was placed tight to the alley and roughly 10-ft off the rear lot line. It possibly served as a storage shed.

None of the historic maps and bird’s-eye views illustrate a summer kitchen on the House C lot. This is of note considering summer kitchens do appear to have been present at Houses A, B, D, and E at different points in time. The addition of a rear service wing onto House C relatively early in its history may have obviated the need for a summer kitchen.

Although no well or cistern was documented during the archaeological investigations, one, if not both, likely would have been present on the house lot. No cistern was documented during the excavations in close proximity to the original dwelling, all four corners of which were exposed during the Phase II testing. A cistern, if present, possibly was located off one of the corners of the rear service wing later added to the house. Similarly, a well most likely is present in the inner yard activity area located to the west of the house, immediately outside of the excavation block.

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 specific areas mitigated and the lack of excavations in the rear yard. 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 (within either the Outer Yard, or potentially a Mid-Yard location). 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 C, there may be up to six or seven privy shafts on the house lot to the west. 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 contributing to our knowledge of the house occupants and their lifeways.

⁷⁴ This also appears to have been done by these maps in respect to the suspected, attached summer kitchens at House’s D and E.

House C was located immediately north of House B and formed the eastern edge of the “unplatted court near Tenth and Madison streets” referred to by the *Illinois State Journal* in 1899. This “court” functioned as an outdoor plaza and a crossroads of sorts for foot traffic between the various brothels, resorts, saloons, and other businesses on the east half of this block, and was bordered by “Shinbone Alley” on the north, the commercial buildings along Madison Street to the south, a substantial billboard along the Madison Street frontage associated with House A, and the rear of the dwellings fronting Tenth Street (Houses A-C) to the east, and was a location where illicit activity was alleged to have occurred. The large billboard erected by Gerhardt Westenberger along the Madison Street frontage adjacent to House A would have screened the greater part of the “courtyard” from public view. Most likely, the illicit activities extended to the north side of Shinbone Alley with both House D (and a second house constructed along the alley behind House D) being integrated into the wide range of commercial activities associated with this locale. Both Houses C and D were located across the alley from each other at the east end of Shinbone Alley, one of the main entrances into this “unplatted court.” Although it is unknown whether House C was an integral component of this “commercial district” during these years, its association with Lloyd Thomas (the self-proclaimed “Lord of the Badlands”) suggests that it was. Regardless, the location of House C on the edge of this district, sandwiched between two houses that most likely were participating in the illicit activities (Houses B and D), affected the quality of life of the House C residential occupants during the later 1890s and early years of the twentieth century.

As with the other house sites investigated as part of this project, the archaeological evidence suggests that household waste disposal (particularly related to fuel waste such as coal ash and clinkers) changed dramatically during the 1880s-90s. Archaeological investigations found a thick deposit of cinders around the periphery of the house, extending into the front and presumably rear yards. These deposits appear to date primarily from the period that House C was a rental property (post-1882). In the earlier era, when the house was still owner occupied, stove waste probably was disposed of in a more discriminate manner (such as in an abandoned privy pit, elsewhere on the rear of the lot, or offsite).

There is evidence of a historic fence line on the south side of the front yard, as represented by Feature 23. Similar fence lines were not found along the north and east sides of the front yard, although in the latter case it is possible that the excavation block did not extend quite far enough to expose a fence line fronting Tenth Street (due to obstructions). The presence or absence of fence lines on the rear of the lot is unknown, since this area was not included within the APE for any of the archaeological investigations.

A brick sidewalk (Feature 13) running between Tenth Street and the front entrance to House B was laid through the front yard fairly early in the house’s history. On the east side of the front yard, a separate leg of this walk branched off at angle in order to wrap around the north side of the house, at which point it ran parallel to the dwelling and alley. The archaeological investigations suggested that the front sidewalk, with the raising of the surrounding grade, required maintenance/rebuilding over the years. It was abandoned and covered over with soil well before the destruction of the house in 1908.

In respect to historic plantings and landscape features, archaeological investigations found evidence of two generations of planting beds (Features 11 and 12) at the northeast corner of the front yard. There also was a suspected flower bed (Feature 22) located along the north side of the sidewalk leading to the front entrance.

The house lot appears to have poorly maintained during the later years of the house's occupation in respect to landscaping. Archaeological investigations found a substantial deposit of cinders (fuel waste) around the periphery of the house. These deposits date from the period that House C was used as a rental property.

The House

The Original House

Physical and archival evidence suggests that House C was built by John Briscoe in 1847-48 as a 1-1/2-story, frame, single pile dwelling with a side-gable roof, and that it had a rear service added to it by 1854. The 1854 and 1858 city maps indicate the house was of frame construction and portray the original section as measuring approximately 36-ft (north/south) by 18-ft (east/west) (Potter 1854; Sides 1858) (see Figure 154). Unfortunately, both the 1867 and 1878 bird's eye views poorly illustrate House C, and they offer little insight into its character. Both views meld Houses C into House B and show no distinguishing features, aside from it having a side-gabled roof (Ruger 1867; Beck and Pauli 1878). By contrast, the 1873 bird's eye provides some actual details on the character of the residence (Koch 1873). This view (whose perspective looks towards the southwest) depicts House C as having a side-gabled roof and a four-bay façade composed of three window openings and a doorway. The doorway is shown as being located north of center and as having one window on its north side and two windows to the south. The 1873 bird's eye also clearly portrays the roof line of House B as being lower than that of adjoining House C, suggesting it was taller than one story in height (see Figure 155). Although no window openings are illustrated in the upper part of the north gable-end wall of House C, the difference in roof heights between it and House B suggests that House C may have been 1-1/2-stories in height—or at least had a usable upper-story loft/attic. Shorter 1-1/2-story houses in Springfield often were noted as being only one story when evaluated for insurance purposes. Such was the case with House C, which is listed as being only one story tall on the 1890 and 1896 Sanborn maps, as well as in *Table of Rates* produced by the local Board of Fire Underwriters (1866, 1880, 1891, 1899).⁷⁵ Both of the Sanborn maps portray the original section of House C as measuring about 32-ft (north/south) by 16-ft (east/west). They also note that it had a wood shingle roof (see Figure 156).

The archaeological investigations indicate that the foundations of the original house (Feature 1) measured 16-ft 2-in deep (east/west) by 32-ft 4-in long (north/south). An additional 1 to 2-in could be added to these dimensions if the exterior siding was factored in. The investigations also determined that a fireplace (Feature 2) was incorporated into the north end of house, as built, and that a chimney for venting a stove (Feature 3) was added at the south end of the dwelling sometime after its original construction. The brick pier (Feature 9) found near the center of the

⁷⁵ Several other houses in the project area—notable Houses A and E—as were noted as being one-story by these sources, even though other documentary evidence indicates otherwise.

house likely served as a structural support for an interior partition wall. Based on its relatively narrow width, the original house is believed to have been one room deep (or single pile), but two rooms wide. This impression is corroborated by the rental advertisement George McDaniel placed in 1862, in which he described his house on North Tenth Street as containing “three rooms” (*Illinois State Register*, 20 May 1862, p. 2). One of the three rooms referenced had to have been located in the rear service wing (since the wing is known to have been in place by this point time), while the other two were located in the original section of the house.

The basic layout of House C, as originally built, corresponds to what architectural historians and cultural geographers have defined as the Hall and Parlor House, or I-Cottage. The defining characteristics of these dwellings is that they are single-pile, two rooms wide, have a three to five-bay façade, and typically have a side-gable roof. These houses are often single-story, but sometimes have an upper half-story that is utilized as bedroom and storage space. Access to the upper story is provided either by means of a stairway located in one of the downstairs rooms, or by a separate stair hall. As originally defined, an I-Cottage does not necessarily have a central hallway. Nonetheless, some researchers distinguish between a Hall and Parlor Cottage and an I-Cottage if a central hallway is present. If the central hallway is present, the house is often referred to as an I-Cottage (Jakle et al. 1989:111).

The term “hall”, in Hall and Parlor, does not refer to a hallway in the typical sense, but rather to one of the two downstairs rooms, which functioned as a multi-purpose living area, serving as both kitchen and dining room as well as parlor and second bedroom. Some Hall and Parlor Houses have a rear service wing that gives them an L-shaped plan. Jakle, Bastian, and Meyer (1989) have found the Hall and Parlor House to be the most common single-pile house form in the eastern United States and have particularly noted that form’s prevalence in the lower Middle West. Similarly, Glassie (1968) notes the presence of this house form in association with Upland South farm families of moderate success.⁷⁶ The Lincoln Home in Springfield, as interpreted by the National Park Service, was originally erected as a Hall and Parlor/I-Cottage, with Greek Revival detailing.

The larger version of this house form is the I-House. I-Houses are two-story, single-pile, side-gable dwellings characterized by a rectangular plan and a three or five-bay facade. This house form was so named due to its initial identification in the “I” states of Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. The I-House has two rooms on each of its floors that are often (but not always) separated by a central hallway. This type of dwelling represents a traditional Anglo-American house form that maximizes on the available wall space for windows, which was necessary both for natural light and ventilation. Often associated with the Upland South, the I-House in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came to connote the economic and agrarian stability of the middle-class farmer “who carried much of the predominately English folk culture of the Eastern United States” (Glassie 1968:99). As Fred Kniffen noted, “The I-House became symbolic of economic attainment by agriculturalists and remained so associated throughout the Upland South and its peripheral extension” (Kniffen 1936:179-193). Although far more common in rural settings, I-

⁷⁶ One of the communities surveyed by Jakle, Bastian, and Meyer in their work *Common Houses in America’s Small Towns* (1989) was Petersburg, Illinois, which is located fifteen miles northwest of Springfield. They found that Hall and Parlor houses accounted for the majority of single-pile dwellings in Petersburg.

Houses are found in urban locations as well, including Springfield. One such example was the house at 915 East Madison Street, located immediately adjacent to the project area.⁷⁷ Figures 160-165 presents a comparative discussion of early Hall and Parlor/I-Cottages and I-Houses in Springfield.

House C is one of two Hall and Parlor/I-Cottage in the project area, the second being House F located three houses to the north of House C. These two houses stand out when compared to the double-pile plans followed by Houses A, D, and E. If the John Briscoe listed in the 1850 census for Springfield is the same one who built House C, it is of note that he was born in Virginia. As a Virginian who most likely came to Illinois via the Upland South (e.g., Kentucky or Tennessee), Briscoe would have been quite familiar with the Hall and Parlor/I-Cottage house form.

Figures 158 depicts conjectural floor plans and sectional views of House C as originally constructed (circa 1848). The original section of House C appears to have been divided into two equal-sized rooms, each measuring approximately 15-ft 5-in by 15-ft 3-in in size. The asymmetrical character of the façade (indicated by the 1873 bird's-eye), which is substantiated by the positioning of the interior brick pier discussed as Feature 9,⁷⁸ indicates that the house did not have a central hallway. In total, the first floor of the original house provided roughly 527 square feet of living space. The north room of the house had a fireplace centered along its north wall. This is the room the 1873 bird's-eye view suggests the front doorway opened into (something corroborated by the Feature 14, the suspected stoop foundations). The north room (Room 1) is believed to have been multi-purpose, originally serving as kitchen, dining room, and a public space for non-formal entertaining of guests (effectively playing the same role as the "hall" in the classic Hall and Parlor House). The southern room (Room 102) in the original house probably was used as a combination bedroom, private domestic space, and potentially more-formal "entertaining" of guests (being the "parlor" component of the Hall and Parlor House). Room 102 had a chimney for venting a stove on its south wall, though the archaeological investigations suggest this feature was added at a later date. Perhaps the early owners didn't consider a direct heat source necessary in this room since it directly abutted House B (and the latter home's fireplace was located on this same wall, providing indirect heat). None of the historic maps and bird's-eye views depict House C as having a front porch. However, the three posts in the front yard discussed as Feature 21 presents the possibility of there being one, perhaps during its early years of occupation. If this feature does in fact represent evidence of a porch, the porch would have measured approximately 6-ft (east/west) by 17-ft (north/south).

As noted above, the issue as to whether House C had a usable upper-story loft is open to debate. If one were present, the stairway accessing it likely would have been located within the north room of the house, since this was the "public" area of the home. The loft possibly consisted of a single open room. The only window(s) present presumably would have been located in the north

⁷⁷ This house also was destroyed in the 1908 Race Riot. It served as a brothel for periods of time after 1870. Another example was the adjacent House G, located at the southwest corner of the Tenth and Mason Street intersection (Mansberger and Stratton 2016).

⁷⁸ The interior brick pier discussed as Feature 9, which probably supported an interior partition wall, is centered within the north/south axis of the house. The fact that it is not centered within the east/west axis suggests that there may be a second pier in line with Feature 5, located beyond the Phase III excavation block.

gable-end wall, as the south gable-end abutted House B and no dormers are depicted on the house in any of the historic bird's-eye views. Depending on its use—living space vs. attic storage—the walls and ceilings in the loft may or may not have been finished with plaster and lath.

Documentary sources consistently indicate that the original section of House C was of frame construction. Considering its date of construction, the house most likely was timber-frame (or modified timber frame) and built predominately with locally procured hardwood lumber, as was typical of most housing in Springfield prior to the 1850s.⁷⁹

The Later House (Addition and/or Modifications)

1) Construction of First Addition. The 1854 map of Springfield indicates that a new rear service had been added to House C by that point in time. The map portrays the wing as extending off the northern end of the original house and as measuring approximately 18-ft (north/south) by 25-ft east/west. This new service wing is noted as being of frame construction, like the original house. No porches are shown (Potter 1854; see Figure 154). It is uncertain whether the rear service wing was added during Jacob Tiger's short, three-year period of ownership (1850-1853) or earlier during Lewis Apgar's ownership (1853-1860). The size of the Tiger family in 1850 certainly might have driven the construction of the wing, and the sale price to Apgar seems to reflect a significant improvement to the dwelling. However, when Apgar sold the house in 1860, it sold for double the price he purchased it for in 1853.

The only historic bird's-eye that illustrates the rear service wing is the one published in 1873 (Koch 1873), which indicates the northern elevation of the wing. The bird's eye depicts the wing as having a gable roof that runs perpendicular to, and slightly lower than, the roof over the main house (thus being one story in height). The view also appears to illustrate the slight offset in the juncture of the north walls of the two sections of the house. The bird's eye shows no window or door openings in the north elevation of the wing, but these may have been omitted by the artist (see Figure 155).

The 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map depicts the main body of the rear wing as measuring approximately 15-ft (north/south) by 28-ft (east/west) and notes it as being one story and of frame construction. This map also shows a porch and enclosed room along the south side of the wing. The room in question was located on the southwest corner of the wing and measured

⁷⁹ Timber-frame construction utilizes heavy timbers (posts, plates, sills, and girts) connected to one another by mortice-and-tenon joinery. Knee bracing was utilized to prevent the wracking of the frame. Intermediary vertical studs functioned solely as infill for wall construction and did not carry the overhead load. In contrast, modified timber frame construction utilized elements of both timber-frame construction and the newly introduced balloon-frame construction methods. Modified timber-frame methods generally utilized heavy sills, and corner posts, but lacked the heavy rafter plate and girts (which supported floor joists). Knee bracing may or may not be utilized within the modified timber frame structure. With this hybrid method, second-story floor joists were supported by the upright studs, which functioned as load-bearing structural elements of the frame, which were capped by a light rafter plate (often consisting of a 2 x 4-in sawn board). With the modified timber frame, the floor joists were either half-lapped onto the upright studs (as at the early Dresser Cottage/Lincoln Home), or they were supported by a horizontal ribbon/ledger (typical of balloon frame construction methods).

approximately 8-ft by 12-ft in size. Small rooms integrated into service wing porches often functioned as a pantry, located off a kitchen. The porch, which was about 6-ft wide, was sandwiched in between this room and the main house (Sanborn 1890; see Figure 156). Neither the porch nor adjacent room are depicted on the 1854 or 1858 city maps, which presents the possibility that they represent later additions. South-facing work porches, however, were common features of service wings, and it is possible that the maps failed to illustrate it. Oftentimes, a portion of the work porch was enclosed to provide a storage area (a pantry) connected to the kitchen. The 1896 Sanborn map suggests that the rear wing was about 25-ft long. Figures 159 depicts conjectural floor plans and sectional views of House C after construction of the rear service wing (circa 1850-52).

The archaeological evidence indicates that the rear service wing was about 15-ft 4-in wide. The Phase II testing only exposed about 12-ft of its length, so the east/west dimensions remain unknown, but the historic maps suggest that the wing was at least 25-ft long. The 1862 advertisement regarding the rental of House C states that there were three rooms in the house, one of which is believed to have been located in the rear service wing. This room likely functioned as a kitchen/dining room and thus it assumed several of the roles formerly played by the north room in the original house. The latter room possibly served as a more formal parlor (and a bedroom, if necessary) after the addition of the rear wing. Assuming the rear service wing did measure at least 25-ft long, it would have added about 383 square feet of living space to House C. Another piece of information provided by George McDaniel's 1862 rental advertisement is its mention of a "good cellar" at House C. Given that none of the archaeological investigations found such a feature, the cellar McDaniel referred to must have been located beneath the west end of the rear service wing (an area not exposed during the archaeological investigations). No information is available for the window, door, and chimney locations in the rear wing, but some hypotheticals can be presented. As a service wing, a chimney certainly would have been present, and this probably was located along the west gable-end wall, as chimneys commonly were located along gable-end walls. There also would have been an exterior doorway, and this likely was located on the south side of the wing, in order to access the side porch. House C's service wing, in conjuncture with the west wall of the main block of House C and the north wall of adjacent House B, created a small enclosed courtyard on the south side of the service wing.

2) Construction of Second Addition. Between 1890 and 1896, a second addition was constructed onto House C. This addition was built along the south side of the rear service wing and involved the removal of the porch and pantry/storage room formerly present here. The 1896 Sanborn map suggests that the expanded rear wing of the house measured approximately 30-ft (north/south) by 25-ft (east/west). The addition eliminated the "courtyard" behind House C and left only about 2-ft of space between it and House B. None of the archival sources or archaeological investigations provide any insights on the interior layout of the second addition. The addition likely was related to the use of the property as a multi-family residence during the later years of its occupation.

The Pre-House C Structure

Multiple features were found on the House C lot that pre-dated the construction of House C. These included a pit cellar (Feature 19), a suspected mud sill (Feature 16), two pea gravel pavements (Features 5 and 15), a line of posts (Feature 24), and a midden (Feature 20). The limited investigations associated with this early component suggests that it was, indeed, a dwelling pre-dating House C, but little else can be inferred from the limited excavations of the features associated with this component. It is unclear as to whether this dwelling was associated with the early years of the platted subdivision, or whether or not it may have pre-dated the 1837 platting of the original subdivision. Another unknown is whether all of these features were associated with just a domestic occupation, or whether some of them might be related to some other industrial or craft-related activity on the site.

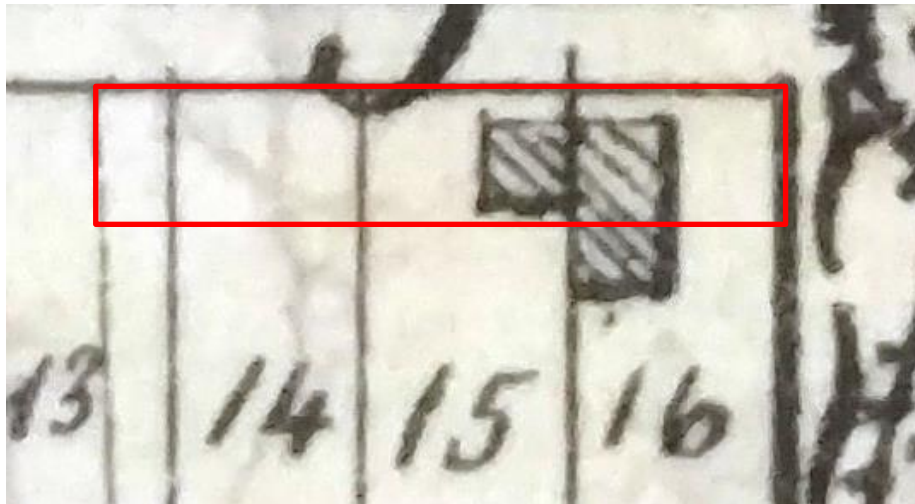
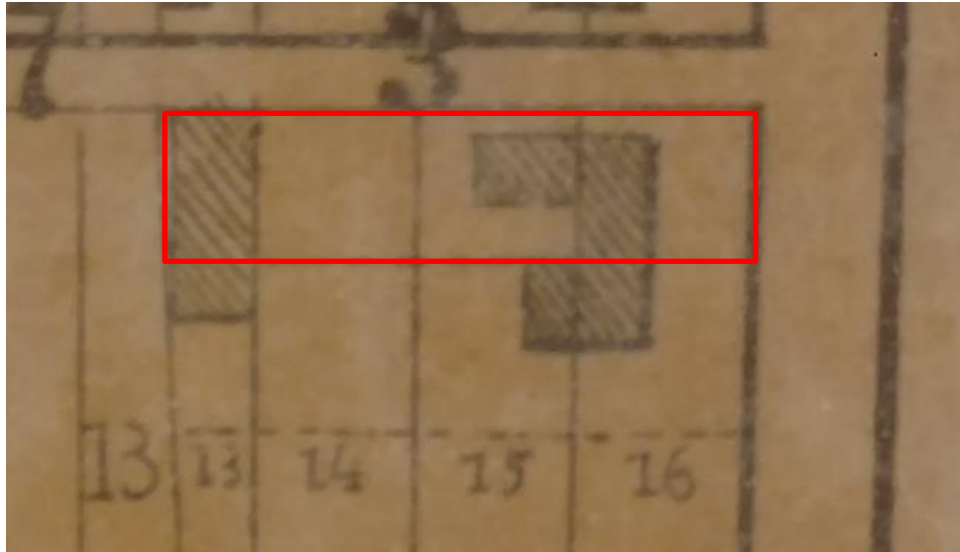


Figure 154. Top: Site plan as depicted on the 1854 *City of Springfield* map, illustrating Houses B and C, with the House C lot outlined in red (Potter 1854). The 1858 *City of Springfield* map (Sides 1858) illustrates the same landscape as depicted on this 1854 map. Both maps depict a similar suite of buildings, which consists of two side-by-side frame houses, and detached outbuildings adjacent to the rear property line. Both maps suggest that the rear additions of both Houses B and C had already been constructed by this time [1854]. Additionally, both maps incorrectly indicate House B as frame construction. Bottom: Detail of the 1876 *Map of the City of Springfield, Ill.* illustrating Houses B and C (Bird 1876). By this time, the frame outbuildings along the rear of both properties had been demolished. The 1876 city map appears to incorrectly depict the size of House B.



Figure 155. Of the three nineteenth-century bird's-eye views of Springfield, the one published in 1873 (Koch 1873), and depicted here, provides the most detailed image of House C. The 1867 and 1878 views are of little interpretive value. Although slightly larger than the adjacent House B, the 1873 view depicts House C as a small, relatively small, 1-1/2 story, four-bay dwelling with a gable roof. The house façade appears to have an off-set door with two windows flanking it on the south side, and one flanking it on the north side. No windows are depicted on the north elevation of the building. Attached to the rear of House C is a single-story rear service wing. A small outbuilding is depicted along the rear of the property.

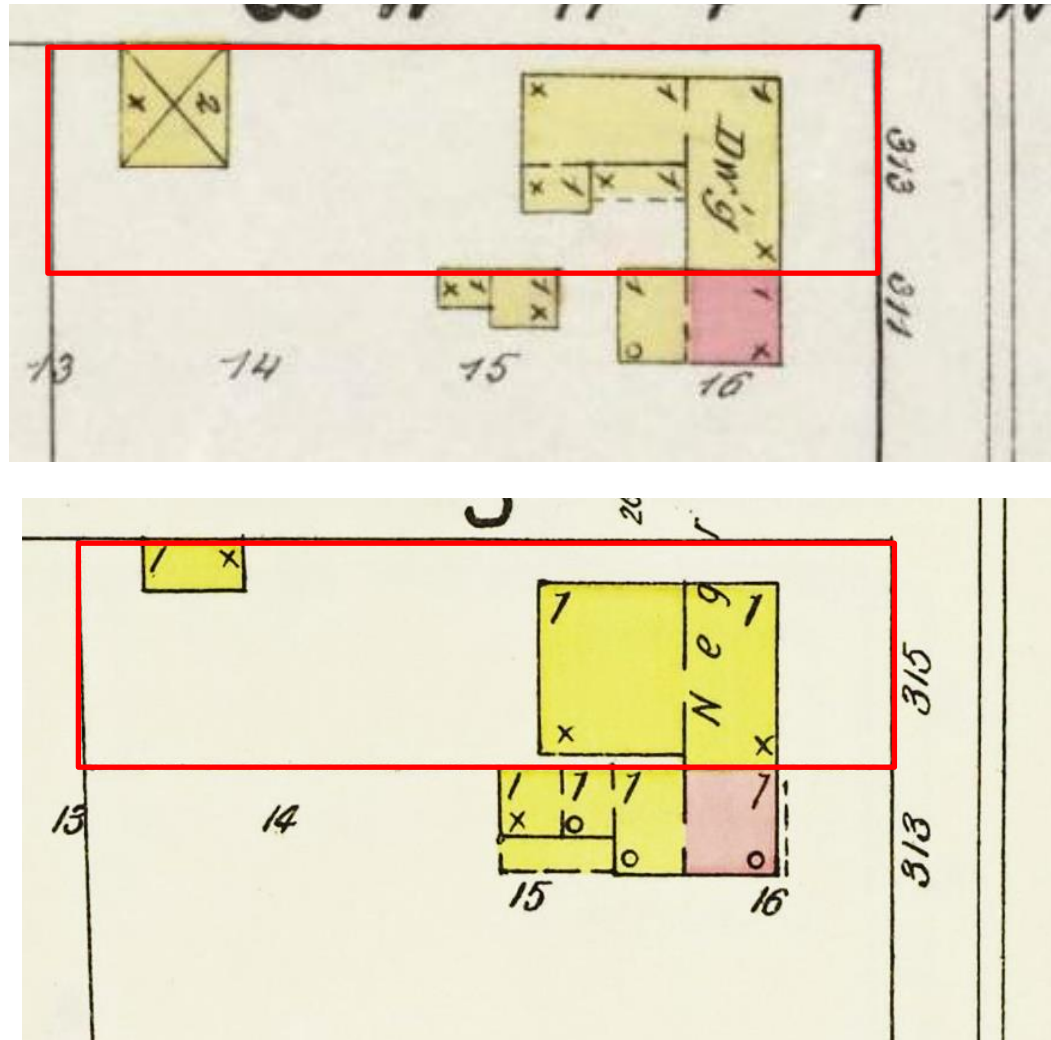


Figure 156. View of Houses B and C, as depicted on the 1890 (top) and 1896 (bottom) Sanborn fire insurance maps (Sanborn-Perris 1890, 1896). Between 1890 and 1896, House C undergoes several major changes, and includes: 1) the enlargement of the rear service wing, expanding it to the south, 2) demolition of the Outer Yard carriage barn, and 3) construction of small frame outbuilding.

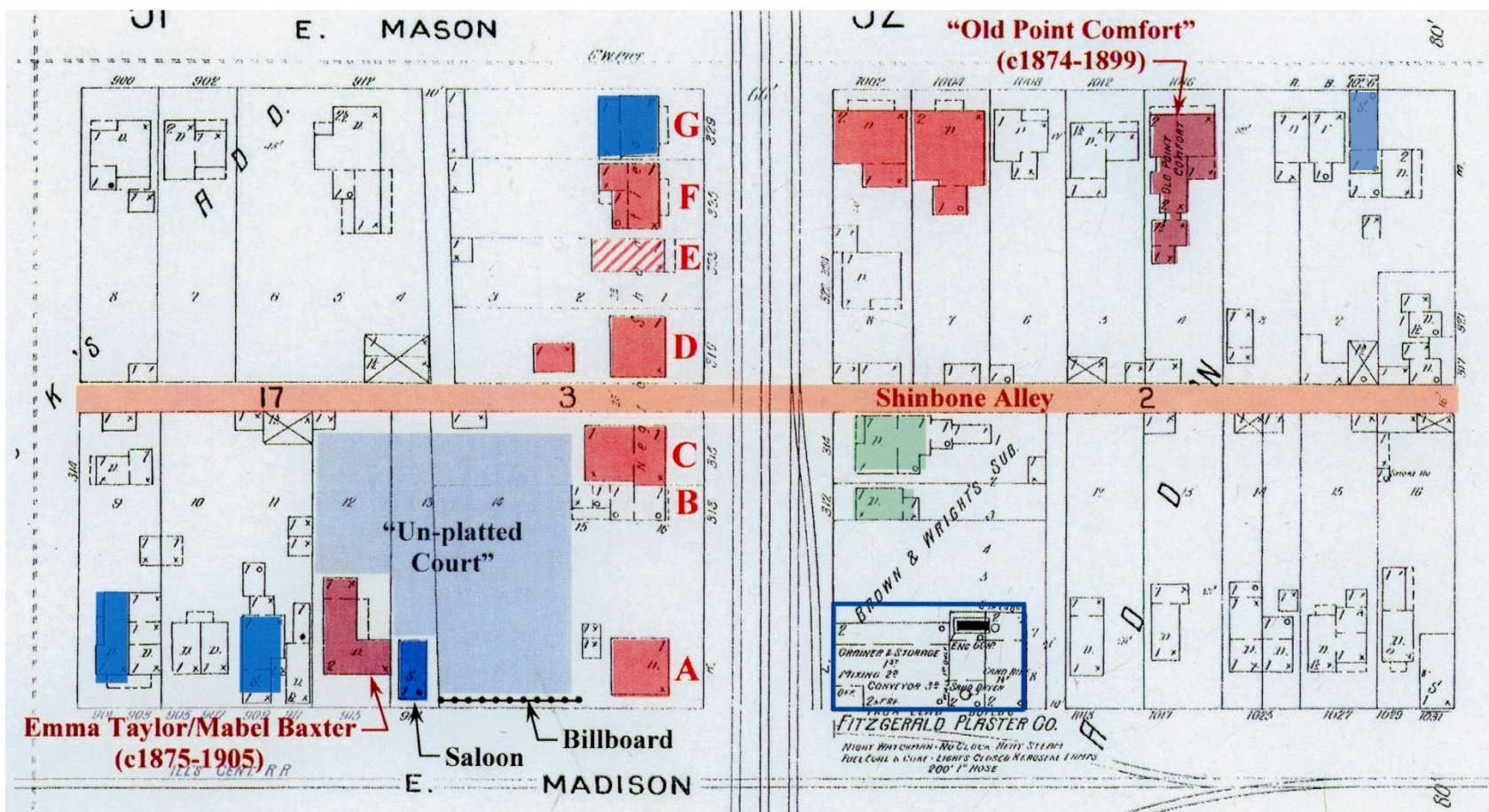


Figure 157. Close-up view of the Tenth and Madison Street location (southwest corner of the Badlands district) in 1896 indicating the location of known “houses of ill fame” at different points in time (highlighted in red) and other landscape features (such as Shinbone Alley). By circa 1907-08, the houses highlighted in blue functioned as saloons, and those highlighted in green most likely were operating as an opium dens and/or gambling houses. Of particular note are the locations of the infamous Emma Taylor/Mabel Baxter and Old Point Comfort resorts in relationship to the Tenth Street Rail Improvements Project (Houses A through G). House B is not known to have ever operated as a resort, though a number of other dwellings in the project area had, including its immediate neighbor to the north—House C

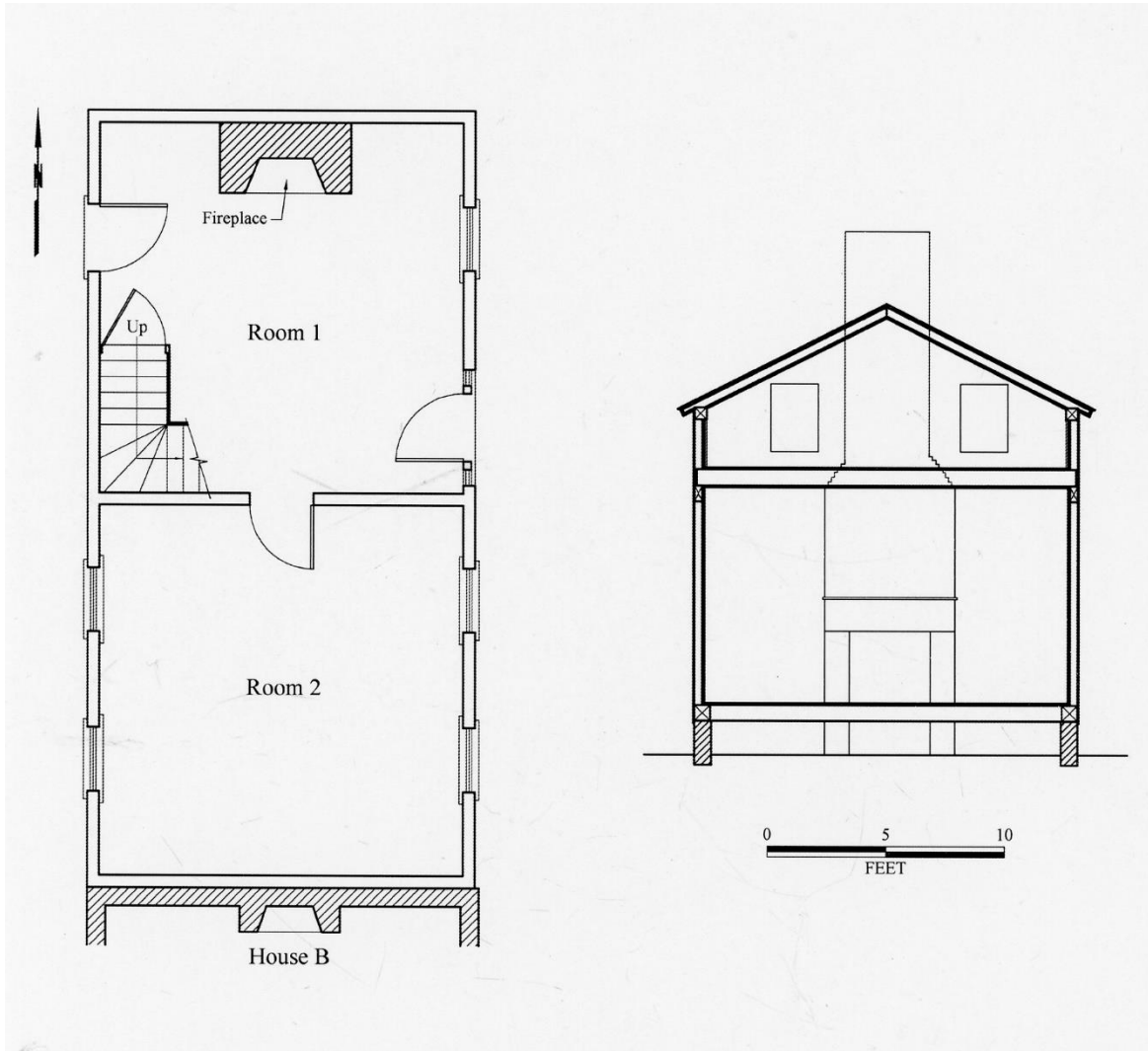


Figure 158. Conjectural floor plan of and sectional view of House, as originally constructed (circa 1848). The figure is based on archaeological data, Sanborn maps, as well as comparable examples of contemporary housing in Springfield and Illinois. The layout of the door and window openings on the east (front) elevation is based on the 1873 bird's eye view. The other openings are speculative. Location of the stairway to upper loft also is speculative.

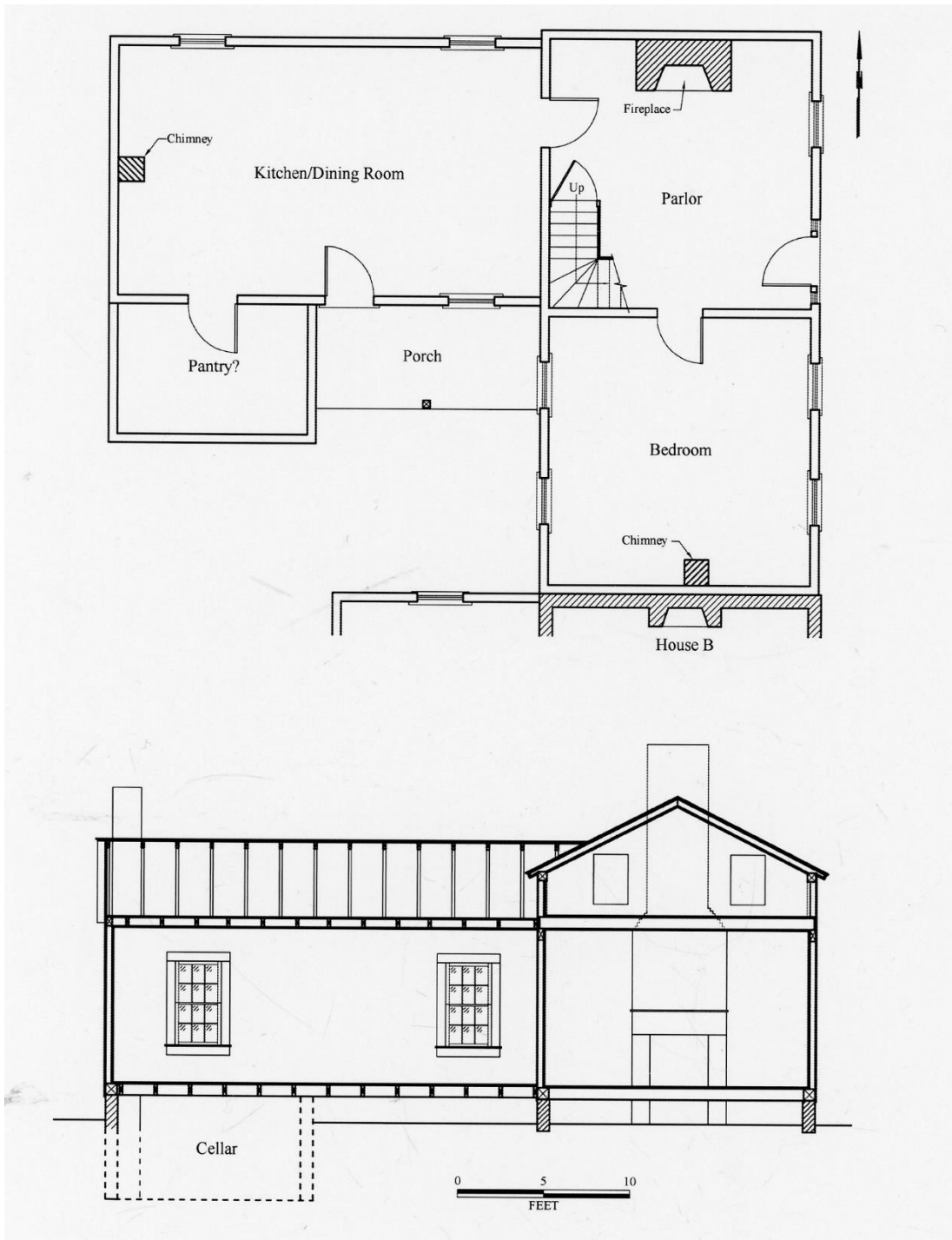


Figure 159. Conjectural floor plan and sectional view of House C, illustrating conditions after the construction of the rear service wing (circa early 1852-53). As with the previous figure, the locations of openings are speculative.

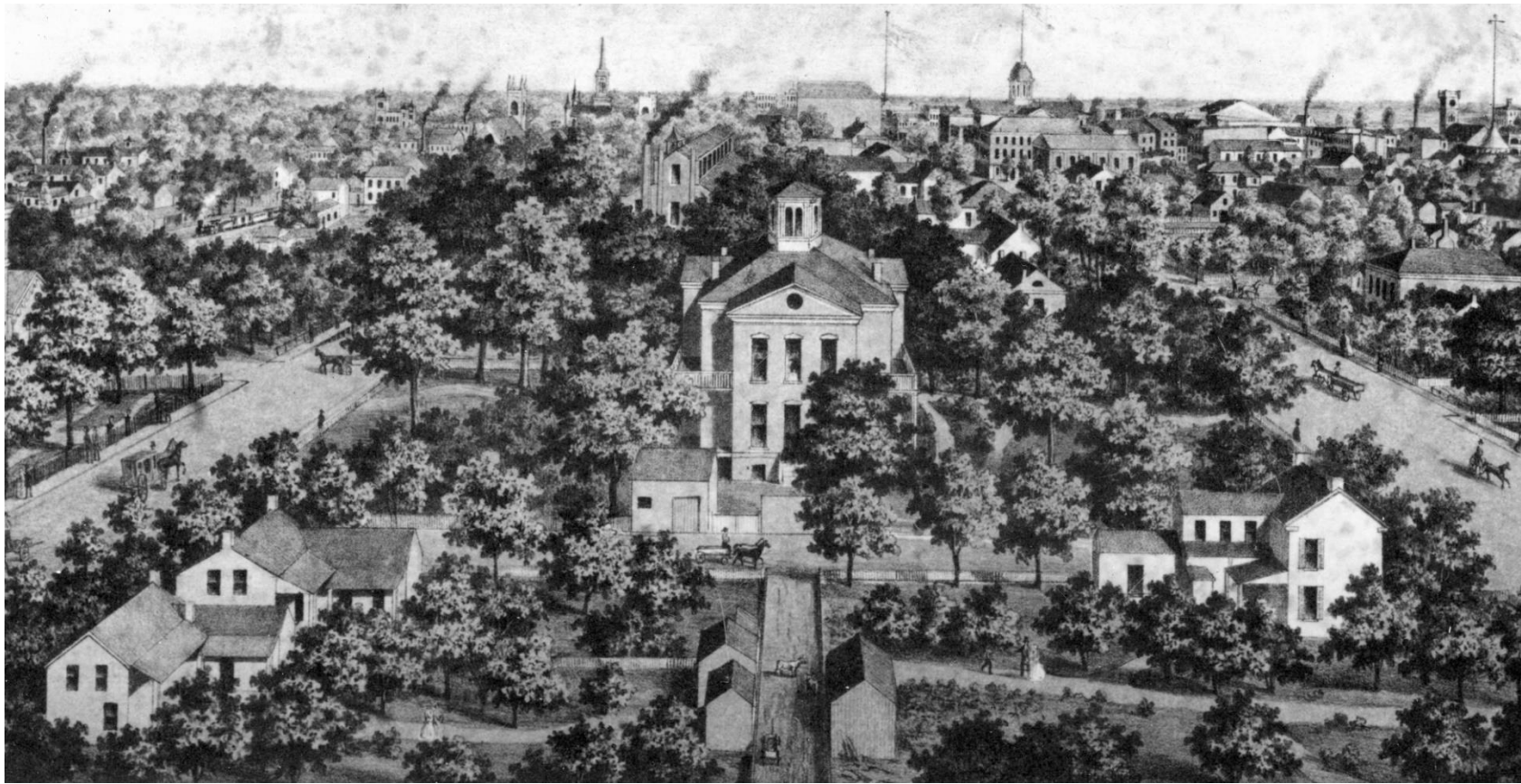


Figure 160. Detail from the bird's eye view entitled "*Springfield, Illinois 1860*" (Haerting 1860). This view is from the south, looking north at the Governor's Mansion and the central business district (slightly to the northeast and/or in the upper right-hand corner of the image). Of special interest to this research are the three frame houses located in the foreground, immediately south of the Governor's Mansion. The two houses on the left, facing Fourth Street, are 1-1/2-story dwellings with single story rear service (or kitchen) wings. At right, is a much larger frame house of similar form, albeit a full two stories in height and with a much larger and more complex rear service wing. This image provides a fairly detailed look at three frame houses and their back yard activity areas from this early, pre-Civil War era, and allows for an interesting comparison between houses occupied by two tradesmen, and a merchant (two differing social classes within the community at this time). [Need to reference I-Cottage/I-house; See file: 1860 Birds Eye Houses]



Figure 161. Detail from the bird's eye view entitled "*Springfield, Illinois 1860*" (Hearting 1860) illustrating two traditional frame houses associated with two painting contractors. The northern house was owned by R. H. Zimmerman in 1854, whereas the southern house was owned by A. P. Willard. Both houses are 1-1/2 stories in height, gable-roofed, single-pile dwellings with single story rear service wings. The rear service wings are located with their roof lines perpendicular to the main body of the house, giving the dwellings a distinctive L-shaped footprint, with the kitchen wings located off the north end of the main body of the house. The placement of the kitchen wing along the north end of each cottage allows for the work porches accompanying each of the kitchen wings to take full advantage of a southern exposure. Both houses lack architectural stylistic details (such as decorative eave or return cornices). The main body of the northern house appears to be slightly wider than the southern house's main body, and the rear service wing of the northern house appears to be slightly larger than the southern house's service wing. Both houses are considered traditional I-cottages. Unfortunately, it is unclear as to the character of the front of each house, and whether they are 3-bay (one window each side of main level door) or 5-bay (two windows each side of main level door) dwellings. The northern house was constructed on two city lots, whereas the southern house was constructed on 2½ city lots. Although one house (the smaller of the two) has multiple outbuildings adjacent to the rear alley, the second house (the larger of the two, which is located on the corner lot) has no outbuildings.

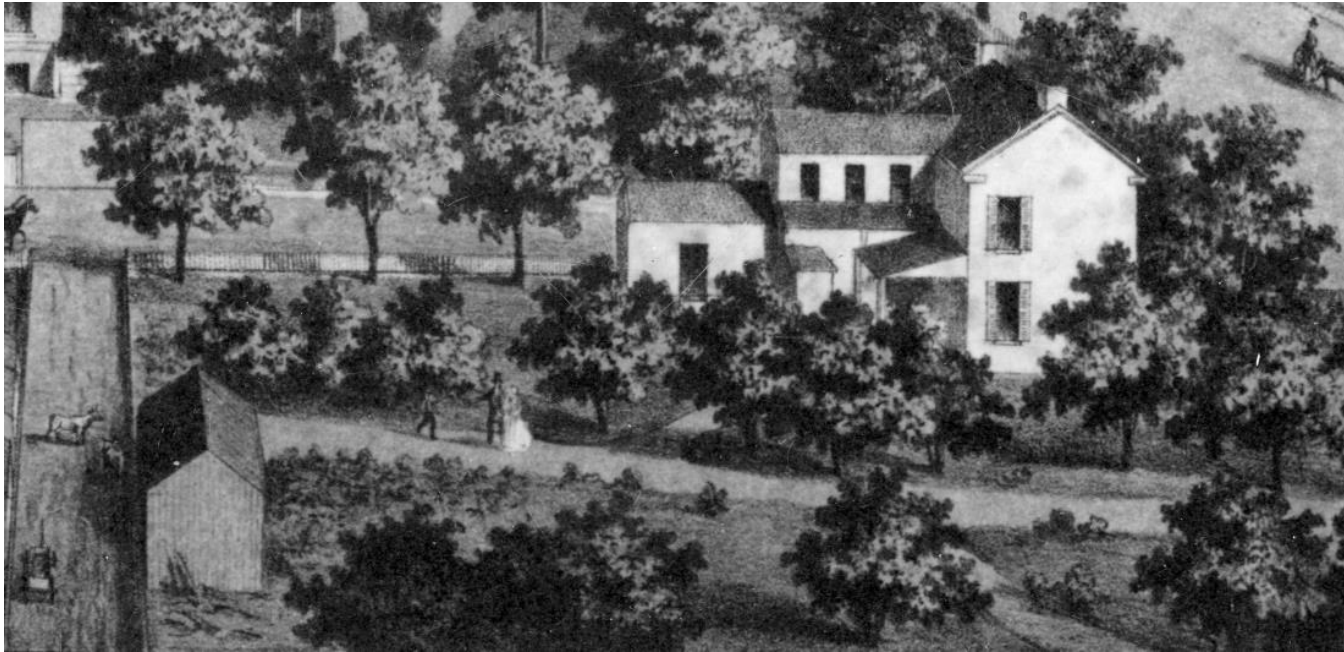


Figure 162. Detail from the bird's eye view entitled "*Springfield, Illinois 1860*" (Haerting 1860) illustrating the house at the southwest corner of Edwards and Fifth Streets. In 1854, this house was owned by the merchant C. M. Smith. Although the L-shaped footprint of the Smith house was similar to the Zimmerman and Willard houses, both the front section of the Smith house, and the main section of the rear service wing were a full two stories in height. Additionally, a single-story service wing extended further out from the two-story service wing towards the rear to the rear of the property. A small, shed-roofed structure immediately adjacent to (or potentially attached to) the two-story section of the rear service wing's porch may represent a privy. Unlike the Zimmerman and Willard houses, the Smith house exhibited architectural stylistic details (return cornices). As the remodeled house has survived to the present day, it is presumed that the house was constructed as a 5-bay structure (as currently present on the lot). Located on the rear of the property was a large carriage house. The Smith house was constructed in circa 1846 on 3½ city lots and would later be occupied by the Lindsay family (It currently is the Vachel Lindsay Home State Historic Site). The house depicted by this 1860 bird's eye view (and illustrated here) may represent an enlarged and remodeled house considerably different than the dwelling originally constructed in circa 1846. Henry Dresser, brother of Reverend Charles Dresser, reportedly constructed this house.

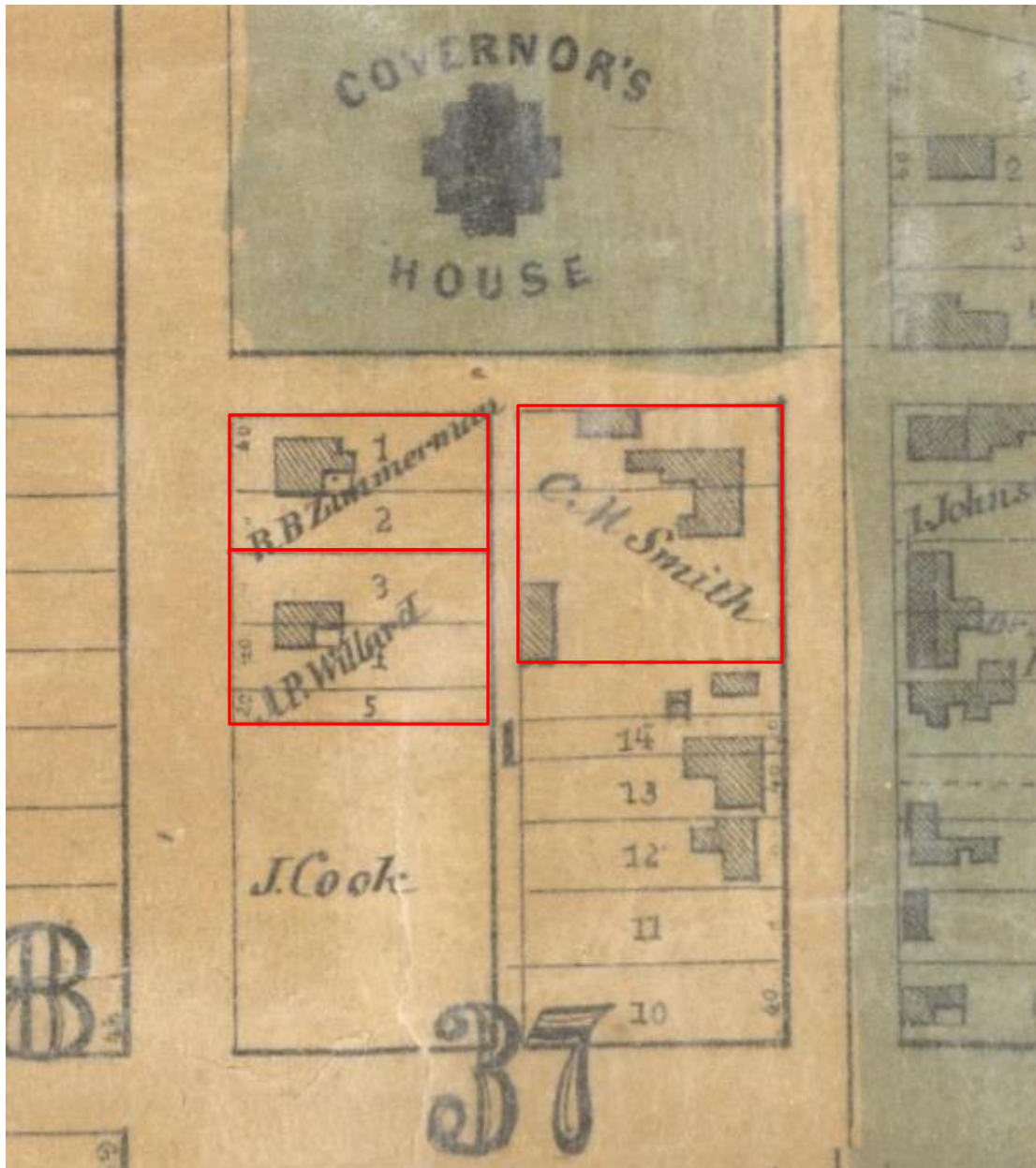


Figure 163. Detail from *City of Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois* (Potter 1854) illustrating the block bordered by Edwards Street on the north, Cook Street on the south, Fourth Street on the west, and Fifth Street on the east. The three houses (and their landholdings) outlined in red were depicted by the bird's eye view entitled "*Springfield, Illinois 1860*" (Haerting 1860). The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* indicates R. B. Zimmerman was a painter in the partnership Willard and Zimmerman, and that he occupied a house at this location at that time (SCD 1857:88). Similarly, A. P. Willard was a painter in partnership with Zimmerman, and occupied a house "east side Fourth, between Edwards and Cook" streets (SCD 1857:86). The Willard and Zimmerman painting contractors were located "north side Adams, between Fourth and Fifth Streets." C. M. Smith was listed as a [clothing] merchant living at the "southwest corner, Fifth and Edwards" Streets in 1857 (SCD 1857:79).

HOUSE SAID TO BE ABOUT 124 YEARS OLD

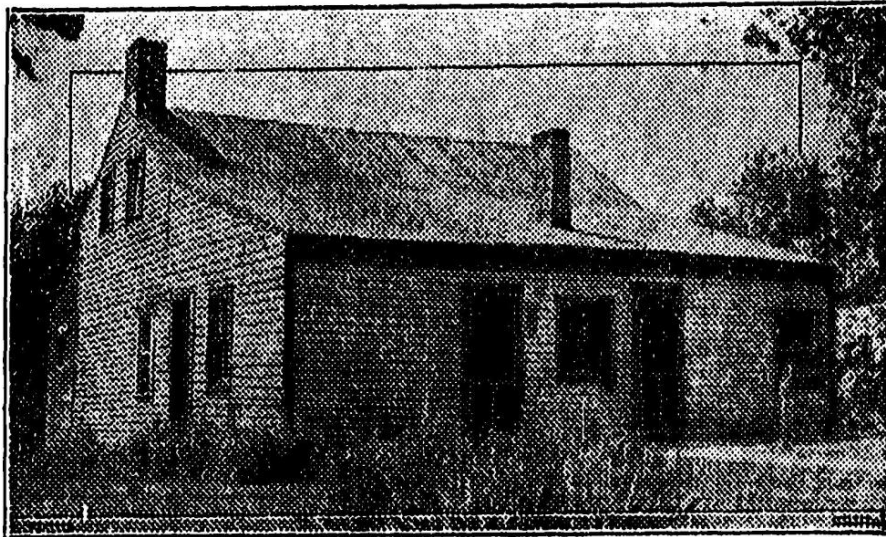
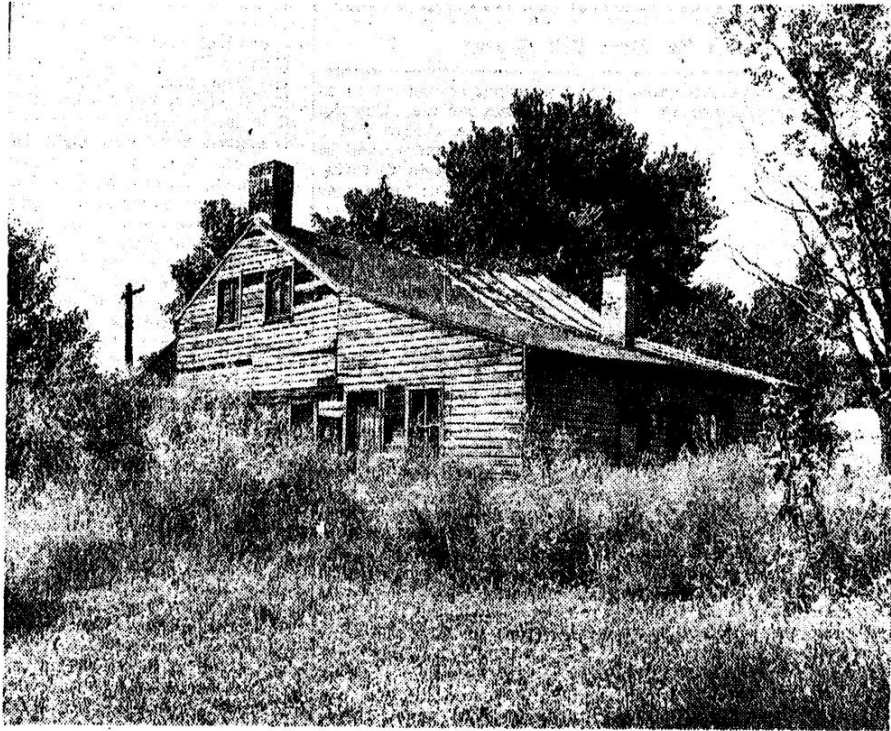


Figure 164. Constructed in the 1820s, the James J. Hughes House was once located at 2131 South Sixteenth Street. In 1947, it was touted as the oldest house of its time in Springfield. The front of the house faced away from Sixteenth Street, as it pre-dated the platting of the current subdivision. The rear of the house, as shown here, faced Sixteenth Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 5 September 1947, p. 30). The Hughes House represents a log example of an I-Cottage.

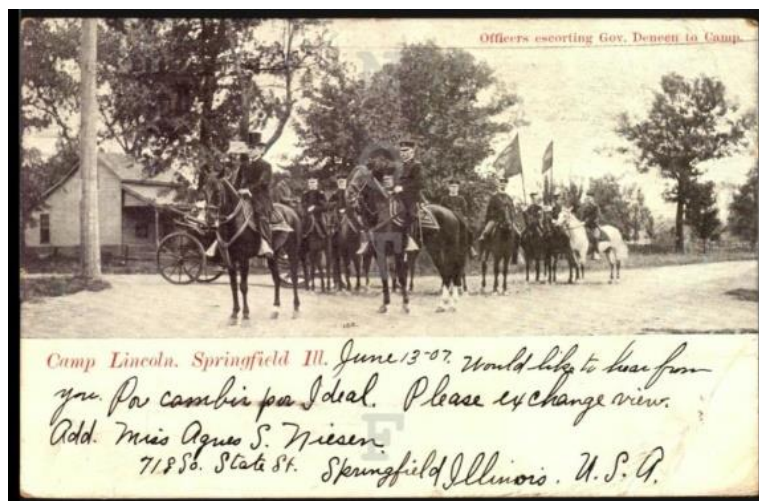


Figure 165. Detail of small frame cottage typical of those in project area. This small house appears to represent a three-bay, 1-1/2-story, dwelling (I-cottage), similar to House C. Unlike House C, this house has a shed-roof rear extension, whereas the original house C was without a rear service wing. The service wing addition constructed onto the original House C was a gable-roofed wing with its long axis perpendicular to the long axis of the original house.

The Artifact Assemblages: Insights into the House Occupants and their Lifestyles (Significant Findings)

The lack of a cellar beneath the house, and the relatively thin deposits within the house basin, both contributed to the relatively low number of artifacts recovered from House C, as well as to the intermixing of components. As such, the artifacts recovered from House C were difficult to separate into discrete components. Although the fill deposits from the Pre-Fire component were not subdivided into smaller temporal components (Early, Middle, and Late), some general observations regarding the various components are presented below.

The Pre-House C Component (Pre-1842)

A pit cellar pre-dating both Houses B and C was documented during the archaeological investigations (Feature 19). This early pit cellar was located predominately beneath House C extending only slightly beneath the north foundation wall of the adjacent House B. A very limited number of domestic artifacts, which included a redware jar and a blue edge-decorated pearlware plate, were recovered from this feature. Unfortunately, the artifacts recovered from the House C investigations assigned to this Pre-House C component is limited in number. The artifacts recovered from within this cellar suggest a domestic component (see discussion, House B) that pre-dates the circa 1842 construction of House B (Figure 166). Whether this was a house constructed prior to the 1837 platting of Whitney's subdivision, or after (early improvements associated with initial platting, circa 1836-38), is unknown. Unfortunately, archival research has yielded little to no information as to the individuals (and their activities) present at this location prior to 1842.

Although the artifacts recovered from within Feature 19 were indicative of a domestic occupation, the presence of non-domestic artifacts potentially associated with industrial and/or craft activities (large iron nuts and bolts, potential kiln waste) within the earliest of contexts at this house lot (and the surrounding lots) hints at the activities associated with this pre-House C component (cf. Figures 146-147). These artifacts hint at blacksmithing activities, as well as potential discard from a kiln (for lime, brick, or even ceramic production). The large forged bolts and nuts are suggestive of an association with heavy industry (such as would be expected with the adjacent railroad grading and construction activity, circa 1838-29), whereas the small fragment of "glazed" limestone is more suggestive of the processing and/or manufacture of building materials by a tradesman such as John Roll (circa 1838-42; activities better documented to the north of Houses B and C).

Unfortunately, definitive answers as to the industrial or craft-related activities undertaken at this location prior to the construction of House B—based on archival research or the artifact analysis—was not forthcoming. Whether any of this material was associated with the structure straddled by Houses B and C is unknown. As such, it is unclear whether these industrial and domestic artifacts represent the same temporal component associated with the early domestic activities, or two separate temporal components.

The Early Pre-Fire Component (Circa 1842-1870)

By all likelihood, House B was constructed sometime circa 1847 (or slightly earlier), and greatly improved (with the construction of a rear service wing) by 1853. Three of the primary families associated with this house during the years circa 1848 to 1860 were the John Briscoe, Jacob Tiger, and Lewis Apgar families—all young, skilled tradesmen (millers and an engineer, most likely working at the adjacent mill at the southwest corner of Madison and Tenth Street).

The earliest component associated with House C included a relatively large collection of ceramic table and tea wares typical of the 1840s and 1850s (Figure 167). These included undecorated and minimally decorated tablewares, edge-decorated wares (consisting of both plates and serving vessels), painted (polychrome) wares (predominately teawares), as well as printed wares (both tablewares and teawares). Additionally, several soft-paste porcelain teaware vessels were present in the assemblage. The printed wares were represented by numerous patterns typical of the 1840s and 1850s. At least three of the porcelain vessels were decorated with an over-glaze painted polychrome small floral (or sprig) design—each with a distinctively different pattern (Vessel C-13, C-30, C-41). Glass tablewares from this early component were few in number.

The heritage of one potential family that occupied this property is hinted at by remnants of a distinctive plate. This plate, recovered from the Early Pre-Fire context, was decorated with a red sponged rim and a painted (polychrome) central motif depicting a stylized peacock (also known as a Peafowl) (Vessel C-10). These plates and similar brightly-decorated wares are often associated with Pennsylvania German immigrants.⁸⁰

Small finds from this assemblage included a variety of personal items such as perfume bottles and a gold finger ring, as well as children's toys. The pre-Civil War era domestic artifacts recovered from the site included table and tea wares typical of a tradesman and/or a moderately successful working class family (such as the Briscoe, Tiger or Apgar families) consistent with a later 1840s and 1850s domestic occupation. Both the porcelain teawares, and the printed wares, reflect the more affluent status of these three families. Lacking from the assemblage were relief-decorated wares typical of the later 1840s through 1860s.

Many of these artifacts were recovered from a fill deposit (or potential midden) located at the southern end of the house basin, adjacent to and/or capping the earlier cellar (Feature 19). As such, it is unclear whether some of these artifacts may have pre-dated House C, and have been associated with the earlier component. Similarly, it is unclear whether the encapsulated midden located beneath the First Addition (cf. Test 1) is associated with the early occupation of House C, or the earlier dwelling which pre-dates House C.

The Middle Pre-Fire Component (Circa 1870-1882)

By 1870, House C was occupied by the widow Ann Seaman, her young children, and her mother Elizabeth McDaniel. Elizabeth's husband George had purchased the house in 1860 and appears

⁸⁰ Both the Tiger and Apgar families were of German descent having settled in Tewksbury Township, Huntingdon County, New Jersey. Located within the Delaware River Valley, these two families fit the description of "Pennsylvanian German" heritage.

to have variously occupied the house himself as well as to rented it to tenants during his nearly decade long ownership of the house. George died in 1869, and ultimately his widow (and her daughter by a previous marriage) gained title to the property. By circa 1874-75, House C was occupied by the Joseph Faro family. Joseph Faro was a Black laborer, who purchased the house from Seaman in 1878. Although Faro died only a few months after his purchase of the home, his widow and children continued to live in the house through circa 1882. The Middle Pre-Fire component is characterized by both white and Black owner-occupied occupants, who were of modest means. Unfortunately, artifacts from the Middle Pre-Fire component were poorly represented at this site. The low number of artifacts from this component suggests the disposal of household trash away from the house, and as no major remodeling episodes occurred during this period, few artifacts were deposited beneath the floorboards of the dwelling.

The accompanying Appendix IX documents several of the early Black inhabitants of House C from this era, including the Faro family.⁸¹ Unfortunately, the artifacts assemblage is not overly prolific from this component.

The Late Pre-Fire Component (Circa 1882-August 1908)

Although Mary Faro continued to own House C through her death in 1888, the property functioned as a rental income property for the family during the later 1880s. By 1891, the house was owned by Rachel Rubinsky who continued to operate it as rental income property. During the 1890s, and continuing through August 1908, House C was occupied by a variety of tenants, the majority of whom were of Black heritage. By 1900, House C was operating as a boarding house under the management of one Hattie Butler. Hattie was a middle-aged Black woman with an assorted history and colorful past that included previous operation of a “house of ill fame.” In 1900, Hattie’s boarding house lodged seven boarders all of whom were white. Although there is no direct reference to Hattie operating a “house of ill fame” in 1900 within House C, the possibility is strong that she was still in the “resort” business, as two of her boarders that year were known for their illicit activities. By 1906, the self-proclaimed “Lord of the Badlands” Lloyd Thomas was living in House C and had his hands in a variety of illicit activities that included prostitution, gambling, and drugs.⁸² As such, House C appears to have been the home to a variety of transient occupants, some of whom were involved with illicit activities. By 1908, the house appears to have been occupied predominately by low-income Black individuals, and the house may have functioned in both a residential and commercial role. At that time, it is unclear as to how the house was subdivided into its various residential and commercial space. The archaeological investigations hint at the possibility that the north half of the front section of the building functioned in a residential manner, whereas the south half of the building may have functioned as commercial space.

⁸¹ “The Early Black Occupants of the Tenth Street Neighborhood: Racial Diversity and a New Hope for Equality in Early Springfield,” Appendix IX, this volume.

⁸² See discussion in House D (Volume V, as well as “Purloined Chickens and ‘Lord’ Lloyd Thomas, King of the Badlands (A.K.A. ‘Short and Dirty’),” Appendix XII, this volume.

Compared to several of the other houses investigated during the course of this project, the Late Pre-Fire component of House C was represented by a relatively small number of artifacts. The Late Pre-Fire component nonetheless was fairly diverse and documents living conditions and lifeways that contrast dramatically with the earlier domestic components. Unlike the earlier components, which mostly document single-family tenant-occupied households over multiple decades, the artifacts from this component document multiple, more-or-less anonymous, short-term tenants (of mixed racial composition), and/or debris discarded by non-domestic, commercial activities. The accompanying biography for Lloyd Thomas (Appendix XII, this volume) documents one of the more “colorful” inhabitants of House C during the Late Pre-Fire era.

The functional breakdown of the ceramic and glass vessels recovered from the Late Pre-Fire component is similar to that identified at the other domestic sites investigated by this research. Figure 168 compares the Late Pre-Fire ceramic and glass vessels, by functional category, from House C, House D, and House E. In general, the functional breakdown of these vessels from this context was relatively similar across the board between these houses, with the largest functional category being vessels from the Foodways Service category, with the Household, Medicine, and Indulgences (Drink) categories all being well represented. It would appear that the composition of the ceramic and glass vessels in use with the commercial/non-domestic component of House C is similar to that of the domestic components of Houses D and E, and conversely, the functional composition of the ceramic and glass vessel assemblage from this site does not suggest its commercial function.

Unlike the artifact assemblage at House D where the Foodways Service category was represented by twice the number of teawares than tablewares (suggesting social drinking over food consumption), the Foodways Service category was represented by nearly equal number of tableware and teaware vessels at House C. Similar to the House D assemblage, medicine bottles from House C were relatively common in the Late Pre-Fire assemblage. In both Houses C and D, the non-proprietary medicine bottles were represented by twice the number of proprietary or patent medicines. Although the patent medicines from House D suggest the treatment of the common cold/cough, hay fever, stomach and/or indigestion issues, and worms, as well as teething issues of infant children, the identified bottles from House C were few in number and documented only the presence of a strong laxative.

Although archival evidence strongly suggests that both Houses C and D functioned in both a residential and commercial role during the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century, the contemporary artifact assemblages from the two houses differed dramatically in the number of recovered artifacts from each context. Although the artifacts recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context of both houses are more-or-less typical of the types of debris (such as ceramics and glass vessels, as well as small finds such as toys, smoking pipes, and clothing related artifacts) commonly found on domestic sites, the assemblage from House D varied significantly from typical domestic urban assemblages in terms of both the *quantity* and *diversity* of the artifacts recovered. In terms of sheer volume, with over 310 vessels, House D contained over five times the number of vessels from House E (70 vessels), and fifteen times the number of vessels from House C (19 vessels). Similarly, the number of small finds from House D was far greater than one would expect with a contemporary residential property. The commercial/non-domestic use

of House D may have contributed to the unique artifact assemblage recovered from that dwelling. Potentially, the commercial use of House D resulted in a large number of people (cliente) coming and going from this location, and remaining for short periods of time. Similarly, tenancy was fluid, with transient tenants of short duration. The individuals who may have lived at this location during these years (such as the “women of easy virtue,” or prostitutes) may have been predominately female, whereas the clientele who visited the commercial establishment may have been predominately male.

Although House C appears to have functioned in a similar commercial manner as House D, the artifact assemblage from House C lacked the robust character (volume) of its neighbor, House D. As noted above, the number of ceramic and glass vessels, as well as the number of small finds, were considerably smaller at House C than at House D. Although the assemblage from House C was substantially smaller than that from the adjacent House D, the diversity (variety) of small finds recovered from House C was reminiscent of that from the adjacent House D assemblage. Smoking pipes were represented by a variety of kaolin (white ball clay) long stem and stoneware reed-stemmed elbow pipes (Figure 169). The reed-stem elbow pipes included examples of Point Pleasant Chevron pipes manufactured in Point Pleasant, Ohio, as well as advertisement pipes for the Catlin Tobacco Company of St. Louis. Identical pipes were recovered from House D as well. Although lacking the numerous toy tea sets recovered from House D, a variety of marbles were recovered from House C. Similarly, personal items such as perfume bottles, hair combs, hair pins, toothbrushes, harmonica sound boards, and coins were also present in House C, reminiscent of those from the adjacent House D. Clothing-related fasteners were also represented by a variety of shell, iron, brass, bone, and hard rubber buttons. Various forms of cuff links and collar studs were also present. Lacking from this assemblage was the large number of decorated glass and metal buttons recovered from the adjacent House D.

Although lacking empirical data, it would appear that the artifact assemblages at Houses C and D were similar in their diversity of artifacts present, but not in the quantity of items recovered. While the suspected commercial function of these two house sites may have resulted in the great diversity of items at these two house sites, the difference in the quantity of recovered items from the two adjacent house lots is difficult to explain.

The diversity of artifacts present at both House C and D during the Late Pre-Fire context may be reflected, in part, by the presence of multiple individuals identified by the occupation of “scavenger.” Webster’s *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1854:987) defines a scavenger as “a person whose employment is to clean the streets of a city, by scraping or sweeping and carrying off the filth.” Thomas Butler, an occupant of House C during the latter 1890s, is variously listed in city directories from the 1880s and 1890s as a “rag peddler,” “ragman,” “peddler,” and “junk dealer.” One newspaper article from 1894 specifically refers to “Tom Butler, the rag merchant, who makes his headquarters in the ‘tenderloin’ district” (*Illinois State Journal*, 21 May 1894, p. 4). Thomas and Hattie Butler moved into House C at some point between 1896 and 1898, and Thomas died from consumption, at age 37, on April 29, 1899. The funeral was held in the family home at 313 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 April, 1899, p. 6; 30 April, p. 6; 1 May 1899, p. 6).⁸³ Similarly, Albert “Bert” Thrasher was a resident

⁸³ The funeral was held in the family home at 313 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 April, 1899, p. 6; 30 April, p. 6; 1 May 1899, p. 6). Despite Thomas Butler’s somewhat checkered past, the newspaper articles

of House C by 1900. The 1900 U.S. Census of Population indicates that Thrasher was a boarder in Hattie Butler's boarding house at that time (which she operated from House C). The 1904 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Thrasher was an occupant of 313 North Tenth Street with an occupation of teamster (SCD 1904:664).⁸⁴ Although variously referred to as a laborer and teamster, Thrasher apparently worked also as a scavenger. In July 1904, Thrasher was arrested for failure to clean up the property when he vacated the premises. According to the *Register*,

Thrasher is a scavenger and is accused of allowing a large amount of rubbish to remain for a year in the rear of 313 North Tenth street. Thrasher formerly occupied the house, and when he moved refused to clean up. Complaint was made to the health department and a warrant for his arrest was secured. He was arrested on a similar charge last summer and was fined \$14.10 (*Illinois State Register*, 24 July 1904, p. 4).

Collectively, Thrasher's and Butler's occupations as "scavengers" may have contributed to the character of the artifact assemblages associated with the Late Pre-Fire component of both Houses C and D.

One of the more intriguing artifacts recovered from the Late Pre-Fire assemblage of House C was a souvenir spoon from the Pan-American Exposition, which was held in Buffalo, New York in 1901 (Figure 170). This spoon represents a physical manifestation of the growth of middle-class tourism during the era of rail transportation typical of the 1880s through early years of the twentieth century (prior to the surge of tourism sparked by the rise of the automobile). Well before 1900, moderately priced rail travel to Niagara Falls was available from Springfield. In 1897, the Wabash Line advertised a round-trip fare leaving Springfield for only \$9.00, with additional options available for the use of a Wagner Palace sleeping car for added comfort (*Illinois State Register*, 10 April 1897, p. 6). Does the presence of this souvenir of a trip to Niagara Falls suggest an inhabitant of House C visited the Exposition in 1901, or is it serendipitous that the spoon ended up in this archaeological context? Based on our current understanding of the occupants of the house in circa 1900-1905, it seems unlikely that the spoon was acquired at the fair by one of the house occupants. Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that this souvenir may have been a valuable keepsake (with fond memories of days-gone-by) of one of the house occupants living in House C somewhat prior to the August 1908 riots.

concerning his illness and death were sympathetic. Four days before his death, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on his imminent passing and referred to him as "one of the best-known characters in Springfield." It further noted that, "'Tom', as he was familiarly called, is a horse trader, and being a wild and reckless sort of fellow, he was well-known to the men who frequent 'trader's alley'" (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 April, p. 6; cf., *Illinois State Journal*, 30 April 1899, p. 6). The paper presumably used "horse trader," in a colloquially sense—meaning that Tom was hard bargainer, as opposed to being an actual trader in horseflesh—given that he is consistently noted as a rag peddler and junk dealer by other sources.

⁸⁴ In keeping with the transient nature of the neighborhood tenants during this era, although Thrasher was noted as boarding at 313 North Tenth Street in 1900 and 1904, the 1902 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that he was boarding at 430 North Tenth Street at that time (SCD 1902: 619).

The Race Riot Victims (August 1908)

Unlike the earlier Late Pre-Fire component (which was associated with numerous tenant families over a span of over 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 (and/or building's) 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. The Fire (August 1908) assemblage represents materials located within the house at the time of the fire, and is most likely was associated with Black "occupants" potentially associated with illicit commercial activities. Figure 157 depicts the character of the illicit activities within the project area during the years immediately leading up to the 1908 riots. Immediately after the riots, damage claims were filed by the property owner (Mrs. Theresa Schwartz), as well as one suspected occupant—Lloyd Thomas. Thomas was associated with a range of illicit activities at both House C and the adjacent House D. Other than Thomas, who may have managed the commercial activities at this site, the occupants of House C (and/or those individuals responsible for the artifact assemblage) are poorly documented. Nonetheless, the artifact assemblage bespeaks of a potential mix of residential and commercial activities undertaken at this location immediately prior to, and at the time of, the August riots.

The Fire deposits from House C were similar in quantity and diversity to the Late Pre-Fire component, if not slightly more diverse. The artifacts from the Fire Deposits of House C were relatively low in number, but nonetheless are reminiscent of the larger assemblage recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context. One difference noted between the Late Pre-Fire assemblage and the Fire assemblage was the character of the vessels from the Foodways Service functional category. Although teawares and tablewares were more-or-less equal in the Late Pre-Fire context, the teawares were approximately eight times more plentiful than the tablewares in the Fire context. Although the small sample size is clearly at issue, this difference may reflect the occupants' emphasis on drinking and/or non-eating activities during this later period of time. Also present among the primary artifacts from this context was a chamber pot lid (Figure 171).

Similarly, the small finds from the Fire assemblage were reminiscent of those recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context (and similar to those recovered from the adjacent House D). The small finds within this component included numerous clothing-related items (mostly shell and milk glass/Prosser buttons, as well as numerous suspender or over-all clasps) and toys (marbles and china tea sets) typical of a working-class family. Of note was the lack of more ornate and/or decorative buttons (such as the black-glass Victorian buttons recovered in such number from the adjacent House D).

Although the buttons from House C were not as plentiful or varied as those from House D, they nonetheless represent a distinctive assemblage atypical of a working class family. Although the majority of the buttons were shell and milk glass (or Prosser) varieties, many were not your run-of-the-mill, everyday fasteners. Represented within the button assemblage were distinctive buttons associated with the military and skilled tradesmen (Figure 177). The military buttons included a spherical, high-dome brass button (¾-in diameter) with slightly flattened back and

loop shank. These nineteenth century military buttons, potentially used as a collar or cuff button with dress uniforms, are often referred to as a “Cadet” button. A second military button, most likely associated with the Illinois State militia, was a large, brass, three-piece, loop-shank coat button embossed with the Seal of the State of Illinois. Incorporated into the design of this button is the silhouette of a city with a ship sailing on a body of water (presumably Chicago and Lake Michigan) and the dates 1818-1868. This button was probably manufactured by the Scovill Manufacturing Company of Waterbury, Connecticut and dates from the later 1860s or 1870s. The tradesmen buttons included several distinctively embossed loop-shank coat and vest buttons embossed with the words “MOTORMAN” and “CONDUCTOR” were also present in this assemblage. The backside of these buttons were embossed “NEW HAVEN CAR REGIST CO. / N. H. CONN.” in reference to the New Haven Car Register Company of New Haven, Connecticut. These buttons would have been associated with garments most likely used by white workmen on the city’s electrical streetcars at the turn of the 1900 century. The presence of several buttons representing unique, predominately white males—electric street car operators; Illinois militiamen, and U.S. military officers is unusual. It seems unlikely that these buttons, which span a wide time period, were deposited at this boarding house by uniformed veterans, active military enlistee, or electric streetcar workers. Although it is feasible that a selection of an electric streetcar worker’s clothing was in an upstairs wardrobe at the time of the riots, it is more likely, these buttons were deposited at this site by a washerwoman or dressmaker—several of which were documented as occupants of this house during the latter years of its existence. Lost buttons recovered by a washerwoman after processing the wash may have been collected for later use in clothing repairs. Similarly a dressmaker, who may have also conducted clothing repairs, may have collected buttons for later use in her clothing repair. Perhaps a washerwoman or dressmaker was residing in the house at the time of the riots.

Besides the various buttons discussed above, several artifacts recovered from the Fire Deposits are suggestive of additional commercial activities potentially associated with an illicit “gambling house,” “house of ill fame,” or similar illicit commercial establishment operating from this boarding house. Individually, the small number of artifacts suggestive of these activities are not convincing, but taken as a whole they hint at the variety of adult leisure and/or entertainment activities that undertaken at this site in 1908.

Smoking of tobacco was well documented by the remains of numerous pipes, particularly within the earlier Late Pre-Fire context. The chewing of tobacco appears to have been less common. Alcohol consumption was documented by both beer bottles and whisky flasks, but the commercial consumption of alcohol at this site is suggested by the presence of multiple crown-top bottle openers. Minimally five multi-purpose bottle openers and screw drivers were recovered from the Fire Deposit for use on this relatively new form of bottle closure (Figure 175-176). These multi-purposed tools have a bottle opener for use with crown bottle closures on one end (common with both beer and soda-water bottles), and a small screw driver on the opposite end. A patent for a very similar multi-purpose tool (a “Capped Bottle Opener”) was granted in February 1894 to one W. Painter. The presence of several of these bottle openers in the Fire Deposits is suggestive of the non-domestic, commercial character of the house at the time of the riots, and although speculative, it is suspected that they were used predominately for opening beer bottles (as soda water bottles were still predominately of the older style closure at this time). The presence of a token issued by Thomas Guyett, a saloon owner at 300 North Ninth Street,

also bespeaks of the character of the boarding house occupants or clientele (and their presence at various neighborhood establishments). Gaming activities were suggested by the presence of a burned ivory billiard ball, and a poker chip. The poker chip was a burned synthetic material, approximately 1½-in diameter, with a roulette-decorated edge and what appears to be an embossed “V” on one side. Both billiards and poker were common forms of gambling during the early years of the twentieth century (Figures 172 and 173). Also commonly associated with drinking and gambling activities was music. Also present in the Fire context was a harmonica sound board suggesting the presence of a musical instrument (Figure 174). The harmonica was intricately connected with the development of the blues during the later years of the nineteenth century, and by 1908, the blues harmonica was well established among African American musicians, with their unique manner of playing (blues scale, created by both draw and blow notes) and more-than-likely the instrument was well established among Black musicians in such communities as Springfield by to that time. Although no “smoking guns” were found among the artifacts to suggest the presence of “working women” (prostitutes), the recovery of several milk glass salve jars may reflect their presence, as well. Collectively, these artifacts suggest the presence of a variety of illicit commercial activity associated with the boarding house at this location. Additionally, the presence of firearms among the inhabitants of the boarding house is documented by the presence of a 38-caliber bullet recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C. This bullet suggests the presence of a large-caliber pistol, presumably used for personal protection.

As with the Late Pre-Fire component, it is unclear as to how the house was subdivided at this point in time, perhaps being segregated into separate residential and commercial activity areas within the larger structure. Artifacts recovered during the 2019 excavations were recovered from what would have been the North Front Room, and the South Front Room of the boarding house. The artifacts from these two sections of the structure potentially suggest differential use of this space during the occupation of the dwelling, with the North Front Room representing “domestic” activities (based on recovery of ceramic vessels, and concentrations of buttons) and the South Front Room “commercial” activities (based on the lack of ceramic vessels and the recovery of bottle openers and the billiard ball). Fragments of carbonized walnuts suggest the workings of rodents (rats and/or squirrels) in and around the house. Similarly, the presence of carbonized wood-dauber’s nests suggest the open nature of at least a portion of the boarding house attic—a prime location for mud-daubers to inhabit.

Future Archaeological Potential

Figure 178 depicts archeological site 11SG1432 in its entirety and illustrates three areas of the site with relevance to a discussion of its long-term preservation. That area of Site 11SG1432 associated with House C is outlined in red. Area I is that portion of the site that is located in the proposed rail corridor, is slated for demolition through construction of the rail project, and has been mitigated through data recovery (total excavation). Area I comprised approximately 15% of the lot associated with House C. Area II is that area of the site currently under the ownership and management of the City of Springfield and is slated for long-term preservation. This area includes lands purchased by the City of Springfield for construction of the rail project, as well as lands donated to the City of Springfield by HSHS St. John’s Hospital. Area II comprises approximately 35% of the lot associated with House C, and includes the western half of the

original house as well as the majority of the early service wing (including a potential cellar located towards the western end of the service wing). Area III, which entails the majority of the city block, is owned by HSHS St. John’s Hospital. That portion of Area III associated with the back yard activity area of House C represents an area of high archaeological potential (and significance) that warrants preservation in place along with the adjacent City-owned property. Rear yard activity areas have the potential for the presence of a wide range of archaeological features such as privy pits, exterior cellars, cisterns, middens, and other archaeological features that offer significant research potential. The archaeological resources located in the back-lot activity areas of these house lots complement the front-lot resources which were the focus of the archaeological investigations. Area III comprises approximately 50% of the lot associated with House C.

Table 8
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>
Area I	10%	15%	15%	20%	25%
Area II	40%	35%	35%	30%	25%
Area III	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%

As Table 8 illustrates, 85% of the lot associated with House C remains intact. The archaeological integrity of those segments of House C investigated is excellent, and in all likelihood, those portions of the dwelling located outside of the APE also exhibit excellent integrity. Half of the original house and the entire rear service wing remains intact, unexcavated, and on City-owned property. These resources, located on City-owned property, have significant research potential and warrant long-term preservation. Approximately 50% of the house lot (representing the rear lot activity area associated with House C) is located on lands currently owned by HSHS St. John’s Hospital. The archaeological investigations at this house site have indicated that the archaeological integrity at this house lot is excellent. Although the investigations were undertaken only within the front portion of the house lot, all indications are that the remainder of the site also has excellent integrity, and great research potential. The long-term preservation of the archaeological resources associated with House C located on HSHS St. John’s Hospital grounds should be pursued.

Four additional structures highlighted in orange within Site 11SG1432 on Figure 140 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.



Figure 166. Early Pre-House C component was represented by minimally decorated tablewares and redwares from the early cellar (Feature 19). Two primary vessels recovered from the pit cellar (Feature 19) predating, and located beneath, Houses B and C (Vessels C-120 and C-115). Also recovered, but not pictured here was a redware bowl (Vessel C-117).



Figure 167. A wide range of ceramic wares were recovered from the Early Pre-Fire context of House C, and included painted wares (top), sponge-decorated and painted wares (middle), and printed wares (bottom) (all illustrated at 75% actual size). The distinctive sponge-decorated peafowl plate may reflect a Pennsylvania German immigrant. Not illustrated are painted porcelain teawares, which were also recovered from this site. Collectively, this assemblage is typical of a household associated with a tradesman and/or a moderately successful working-class family (such as the Aldridge family), and consistent with a 1840s domestic occupation.

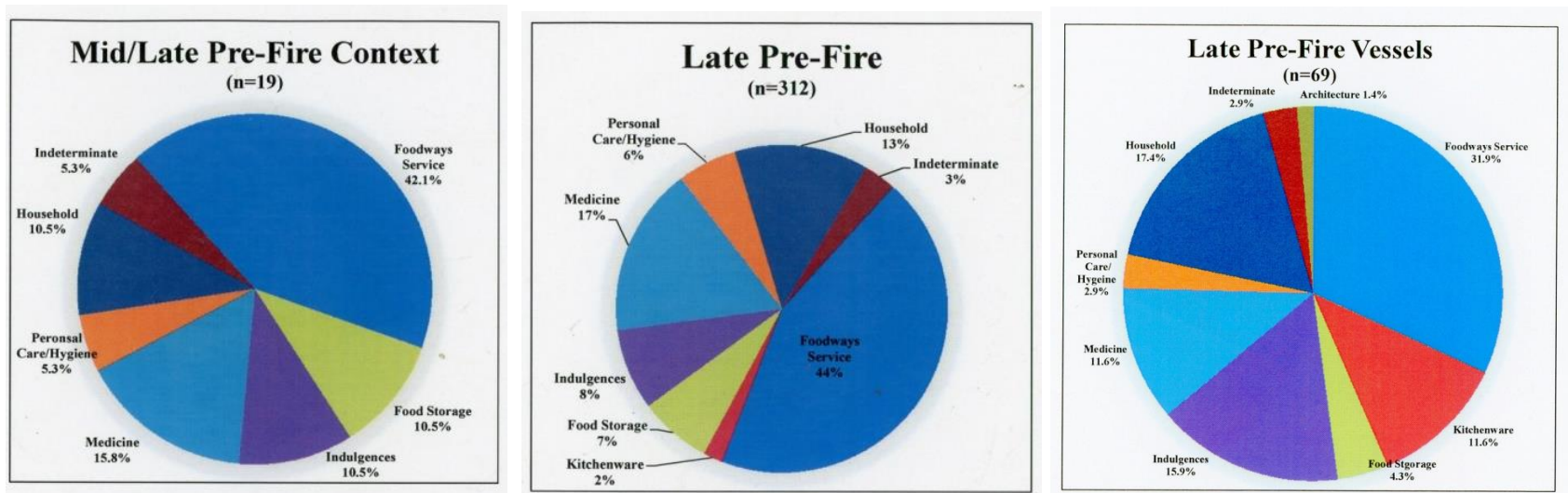


Figure 168. Comparison of Late Pre-Fire ceramic and glass vessels, by functional category, from House C (left), House D (middle), and House E (right). In terms of sheer volume, with over 310 vessels, House D contained over five times the number of vessels from House E (70 vessels), and fifteen times the vessels from House C (19 vessels). In general, the functional breakdown of these vessels from this context was relatively similar across the board between these houses, with the largest functional category being Foodways Service, with the Household, Medicine, and Indulgences (Drink) categories all being well represented as well. It would appear that the composition of the ceramic and glass vessels in use with the commercial/non-domestic component of House D is similar to that of the domestic components of Houses C and E.



Figure 169. Although smoking pipes from the Late Post-Fire context were not as numerous in House C as within the adjacent House D, they were represented by a variety of kaolin long stem pipes (not illustrated here), as well as distinctive elbow pipes most likely manufactured at Point Pleasant, Ohio—such as this Point Pleasant Chevron (Murphy 1976:14; top) and promotional advertising pipe manufactured for the Catlin Tobacco Company of St. Louis (bottom)—both of which were also recovered from the adjacent House D (and suggestive of a potential commercial connection between these two properties).



Figure 170. Souvenir teaspoon from the Pan American Exposition, which was held in Buffalo, New York in 1901, recovered from the Late Pre-Fire Deposits of House C. Based on our current understanding of the occupants of the house in circa 1900-1905, it seems unlikely that the spoon was acquired at the fair by one of the house occupants. Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that this souvenir may have been a valuable keepsake (with fond memories of days-gone-by) of one of the house occupants living in House C somewhat prior to the August 1908 riots.



Figure 171. Primary ceramic and glass vessels from the Fire Deposits of House C included a chamber pot lid, two cups, two medicine/pill bottles, a mug, a kerosene lamp font, at least one salve/ointment jar, a canning jar lid liner, a painted porcelain cup, and a suspected small pitcher. All vessels exhibited various degrees of burning and/or melting, and potentially depict an assemblage atypical of a domestic component.



Figure 172. Billiards were a common gaming activity associated with gambling, and a billiard table may have been present in House C. Top: Local Springfield depiction of billiards (*Illinois State Register*, 28 December 1900, p. 7). Bottom: Two views of a heavily burned ivory billiard ball recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C. Similar activities may have been documented at House D as well, as represented by a token recovered from the Late Pre-Fire Deposits of that dwelling. This token was embossed “[H.]. TUCKHORN & CO. / BILLIARD / --&-- / POOL TABLES / 12 N. HALSTED ST. / CHICAGO” on its front, and “GOOD FOR / 5¢ / O’]BRIEN] / IN / TRADE” on its reverse side.



Figure 173. Although limited in number, adult gaming activities were documented in the Fire component by the presence of a poker chip. Similar poker chips, and a bone die was recovered from the Late Pre-Fire context of House D. Card games such as poker have long been a common male past time, as depicted in this early photograph of Springfield residents James Matheny, Samuel Baker, W. Gibson Harris, and Zimri Enos (believed to have been taken during the 1840s) (McMurtry 1970; Enos 1909). Similarly, the “shooting of craps,” potentially represented by the bone die from House D, has been a common game associated with gambling activities for many years.



Figure 174. Music was documented by the presence of a harmonica soundboard (top; actual size). The harmonica was a cheap musical instrument that became popular with a variety of less well-off individuals such as the poor, working street children of New York City. Karl Witkowski (1860-1910) painted numerous images of the poor, young immigrant street workers of New York City, which included these two images of young street workers playing the harmonica. Bottom Left: *Playing a Tune* (Undated). Bottom Right: *Shoeshine Boys* (1889). By the early years of the twentieth century, the harmonica had become a staple of poor Black southern musicians who developed a distinctive style of playing, which led to the development of the Blues (<https://oldtime-central.com/one-in-every-pocket-the-rise-of-the-harmonica-in-old-time-music/>; <https://www.patmissin.com/ffaq/q5.html>).

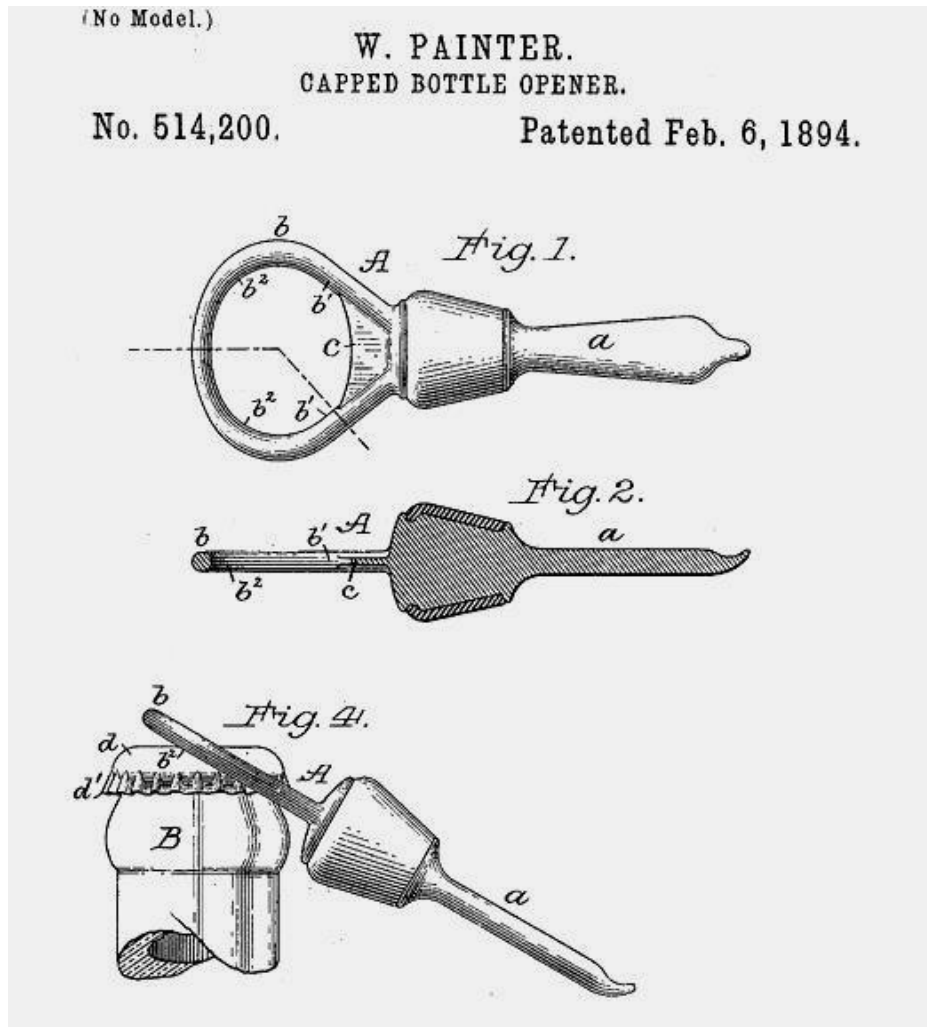


Figure 175. Several bottle openers were recovered from the Fire Deposits of House C. The presence of numerous bottle openers is atypical of domestic activity and suggests the potential commercial service of beverages with the new bottle closure. As few bottles with crown closures were recovered from the Late Pre-Fire or Fire contexts of House C, it is unclear as to what type of beverage might have been offered to the patrons of this commercial establishment.



Year	Barrels
1865	2,000
1870	18,000
1880	131,000
1890	728,000
1900	938,788
1901	1,006,498
1902	1,108,318
1903	1,201,782
1904	1,302,711
1905	1,403,788

1906 - 1,543,468 Barrels of Beer

Budweiser
Sales for 1906
162,700,710 Bottles

This Exceeds that of All Other BOTTLED BEERS.
The high standard of quality, fine flavor and exquisite taste here won for Budweiser its great popularity.

We want the
of Pure Food
Commissions

Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass's
St. Louis, U. S. A.

STROH'S Bohemian BEER

"The Beer Without a Peer"

At the club, cafe, and in the home Stroh's Beer has been used by connoisseurs for over 50 years.

Always the Same and Always Good.

Phone Main 316

for the quick delivery of a case to your residence or ask your grocer.

Prompt Shipment of
Out-of-Town Orders

Stroh Brewery Co.,
DETROIT, MICH.

Figure 176. Although it is unclear as to what type of beverage might have been offered to the patrons of this commercial establishment, it most likely was beer that was being served at this location. Crown bottle closures were relatively new in the early years of the twentieth century. Top: Although some soda water manufacturers, such as Coca Cola, were utilizing crown closures by this time, soda water bottles from House C were predominately of the Hutchinson blob-top variety. Top: Coca Cola advertisement from 1905, illustrating bottle with crown closure (<https://www.adbranch.com/brand/coca-cola/page/8/>). Bottom: Traditional cork closures continued to be used with beer bottles through the first decade of the twentieth century, as depicted in this 1907 Budweiser advertisement. Nonetheless, the new crown closures were quickly transforming the industry, as depicted in this 1906 advertisement for Stroh's Bohemian Beer from the *Detroit Free Press*. By 1910, Goebel Beer was advertising the exclusive use of the crown closure, advertised as "the most approved style of corkage" (cf. 1910 advertisement in the *Detroit Free Press*, 2 December 1910) ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Budweiser_ad_1907_with_bottle.pdf](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Budweiser_ad_1907_with_bottle.pdf;); <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/359302876493036430/>).



Figure 177. A distinctive aspect of the small finds from the Fire Deposits of House C was the variety of the buttons recovered from this context. Although the majority of the buttons were shell and milk glass (or Prosser) varieties, many were not your run-of-the-mill, everyday fasteners. Represented within the button assemblage were distinctive buttons associated with the military and skilled tradesmen. The military buttons included a button associated with the Illinois militia (top left), and a “Cadet” button potentially associated with the U.S. military (top right). Buttons associated with skilled tradesmen included specialized buttons embossed “MOTORMAN” and “CONDUCTOR” and in use with electric streetcar worker’s uniforms (middle). Additionally, numerous suspender and/or overall buckles were recovered from this context (bottom).

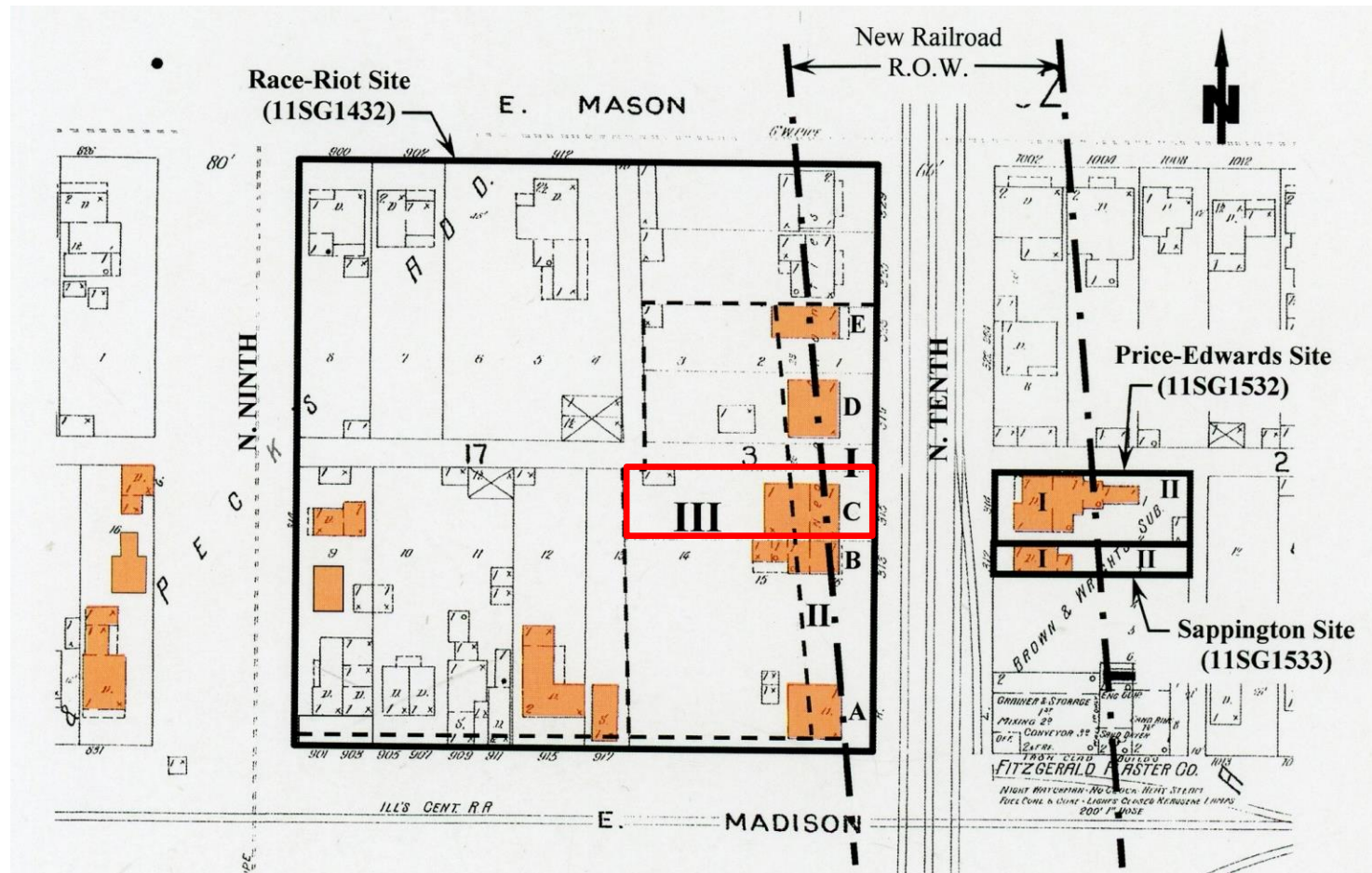


Figure 178. Detail of the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map illustrating the location, and various areas of, Sites 11SG1432, 11SG1532, and 11SG1533. Area I indicates that portion of the three sites that was impacted by the railroad project and the focus of the archaeological mitigation. Area II is that 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 C is outlined in red.

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Appendix I Lot Provenience, House C

Phase II Testing

C-1	Post Fire	Surface around fireplace foundations
C-2	Post Fire	Surface (Backdirt)
C-3	Post Fire	Test 1, Scraped surface [Mixed with Fire]
C-4	Fire	Test 1, Level 1
C-5	Fire	Test 1, Level 2
C-6	Early Pre-Fire	Test 1, Level 3
C-7	Post Fire	Test 2, Level 1 [Mixed with Fire]
C-8	Fire	Test 2, Level 2
C-9	Early Pre-Fire	Test 2, Level 3
C-10	Pre-House C	Test 2, Base (top of old ground surface)
C-11	Late Pre-Fire	Surface; around North fireplace foundation

Phase III Mitigation

C-12	Early Pre-Fire	Front Yard; surface around post, property line between Houses B and C
C-13	Early Pre-Fire	Front Yard; surface around remnant porch foundations (Feature 14)
C-14	Post Fire	Surface, west of Test 8
C-15	Post Fire	Test 2, Zone IV, east profile clean up
C-16	Fire	Test 2, Zone VI, east profile clean up
C-17	Fire	Test 2, Zone VIII, surface
C-18	Post Fire	Test 3, Zone I
C-19	Post Fire	Test 3, Zone II
C-20	Post Fire	Test 3, Zone III
C-21	Post Fire	Test 3, Zone IV
C-22	Fire	Test 3, Zone VI
C-23	Fire	Test 3, Zone VI, Area A
C-24	Fire	Test 3, Zone VI, Area B [Mixed with Late Pre-Fire]
C-25	Early Pre-Fire	Test 3, surface of builder's trench
C-26	Early Pre-Fire	Test 3, Zone VIII
C-27	Post Fire	Test 4, Level 1
C-28	Post Fire	Test 4, Level 2
C-29	Post Fire	Test 4, Level 2, Area B
C-30	Post Fire	Test 4, Level 2, Area D
C-31	Fire	Test 4, Level 3, Top of level
C-32	Fire	Test 4, Level 3, Bottom of level
C-33	Early Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 4, Area B
C-34	Early Pre-Fire	Test 4, Builder's trench
C-35	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Level 4, Disturbance
C-36	Late Pre-Fire	Test 4, Post
C-37	Post Fire	Test 5, surface
C-38	Post Fire	Test 5, Pier, Area A (Feature 21)

C-39	Post Fire	Test 5, Pier, Area B (Feature 21)
C-40	Post Fire	Test 5, Zone III
C-41	Post Fire	Test 5, Zone IV
C-42	Post Fire	Test 5, Zone V
C-43	Fire	Test 5, Zone VI, North half
C-44	Fire	Test 5, Zone VI, South half
C-45	Late Pre-Fire	Test 5, Zone VII, North half
C-46	Middle Pre-Fire	Test 5, Zone VII, South half [Mostly Middle Pre-Fire]
C-47	Early Pre-Fire	Test 5, Zone VIII
C-48	Early Pre-Fire	Test 5, Builder's trench
C-49	Post Fire	Test 6, Level 1
C-50	Post Fire	Test 6, Level 2, Area A
C-51	Post Fire	Test 6, Level 2, Area B [Redeposited early artifacts]
C-52	Fire	Test 6, Level 3
C-53	Early Pre-Fire	Test 6, Level 4
C-54	Early Pre-Fire	Test 6, Level 5
C-55	Late Pre-Fire	Test 6, Level 4, Post
C-56	Early Pre-Fire	Test 6, Builder's trench
C-57	Post Fire	Test 7, Zone III
C-58	Fire	Test 7, Zone VI, Area A
C-59	Fire	Test 7, Zone VI, Area B
C-60	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone VIII, Area A
C-61	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone IX
C-62	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Zone IX, Area A and B
C-63	Early Pre-Fire	Test 7, Builder's trench
C-64	Post Fire	Test 8, Zone I
C-65	Post Fire	Test 8, Zone III
C-66	Post Fire	Test 8, Zone IV
C-67	Post Fire	Test 8, Zone V [redeposited early artifacts]
C-68	Fire	Test 8, Zone VI
C-69	Early Pre-Fire	Test 8, Zone VIII
C-70	Post Fire	Test 9, Level 1
C-71	Post Fire	Test 9, Level 1, Area A
C-72	Post Fire	Test 9, Level 1, Area C
C-73	Fire	Test 9, Level 2, North half and South half combined
C-74	Fire	Test 9, Level 2, North half
C-75	Fire	Test 9, Level 2, South half
C-76	Early Pre-Fire	Test 9, Level 3, Combined North and South halves
C-77	Early Pre-Fire	Test 9, Level 3, North half
C-78	Early Pre-Fire	Test 9, Level 3, South half
C-79	Post Fire	Test 10, Zone III
C-80	Post Fire	Test 10, Zone IV
C-81	Fire	Test 10, Zone VI
C-82	Early Pre-Fire	Test 10, Zone VII, Area A
C-83	Early Pre-Fire	Test 10, Zone VII
C-84	Early Pre-Fire	Test 10, Zone VII

C-85	Early Pre-Fire	Test 10, Zone IX
C-86	Pre-House C	Test 10, Zone X (Original Ground Surface)
C-87	Post Fire	Test 11, Level 1
C-88	Fire	Test 11, Level 2
C-89	Early Pre-Fire	Test 11, Level 3
C-90	Early Pre-Fire	Test 11, Level 4
C-91	Early Pre-Fire	Test 11, Level 4, Area A
C-92	Early Pre-Fire	Test 11, Level 5 [potentially Pre-House C?]
C-93	Early Pre-Fire	Test 11, Level 6 [potentially Pre-House C?]
C-94	Early Pre-Fire	Test 11, Builder's trench [Early Pre-Fire]
C-95	Post Fire	Test 12, Level 1
C-96	Post Fire	Test 12, Level 2
C-97	Post Fire	Test 12, Level 3
C-98	Early Pre-Fire	Test 12, Level 4
C-99	Early Pre-Fire	Test 12, Level 5, Area B
C-100	Early Pre-Fire	Test 12, Level 5, Area C
C-101	Early Pre-Fire	Test 11, Zone XI [potentially Pre-House C]
C-102	Pre-House C	Tests 10-11, Pre-House C cellar (Feature 19), Zone I
C-103	Pre-House C	Tests 10-11, Pre-House C cellar (Feature 19), Zone I (below brick wall of House B)
C-104	Pre-House C	Tests 10-11, Pre-House C cellar (Feature 19), Zone II
C-105	Late Pre-Fire	Front yard, landscape features (Features 11 and 12)
C-106	Middle Pre-Fire	Front yard, Zone VII [Topsoil fill capping upper brick walk, Feature 13; Second surface above OGS]
C-107	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, Zone IX [Topsoil fill capping gravel walk and lower brick walk, Features 5 and 13, respectively; First surface above OGS.]
C-108	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, Zone X, Area B [Sand and mortar; construction material]
C-109	Early Pre-Fire	Perimeter house foundation wall (lower course; brick sample)
C-110		Not assigned
C-111	Late Pre-Fire	Test 2, Zone VIa [Cleaning profile]
C-112	Fire	Test 2, Zone VIb [Cleaning profile]
C-113	Late Pre-Fire	Test 2, Zone XII [inside hearth] [mixed with Middle Pre-Fire]
C-114	Early Pre-Fire	Test 2, Hearth (Mortar sample)
C-115	Late Pre-Fire	Front yard, Zone Va [mixed with Middle Pre-Fire]
C-116	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, Zone IX [Topsoil fill capping gravel walk and lower brick walk, Features 5 and 13, respectively; First surface above OGS.]
C-117	Late Pre-Fire	Front yard, Stoop (Feature 14) at surface of Zone IX [mixed with Middle Pre-Fire]
C-118	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, Zones IX and XI [potentially Pre-House C]
C-119	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, Zone XI [potentially Pre-House C]
C-120	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, midden associated with upper brick walk (Feature 13a); surface of Zone IX
C-121	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, Fill beneath upper brick walk (Feature 13a)

C-122	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, Lower brick walk ash/lime fill (Feature 13b)
C-123	Early Pre-Fire	Front yard, Lower brick walk ash/lime fill (Feature 13b)
C-124	Pre-House C	Front yard, Feature 10 (Bone concentration in Zone XI)
C-125	Pre-House C	Front yard, Feature 16 (shallow, narrow, linear trench)
C-126	Late Pre-Fire	Front yard, Post 2
C-127	Late Pre-Fire	Front yard, Post 3
C-128	Middle Pre-Fire	Front yard, Post 5
C-129	Late Pre-Fire	Front yard, Post 7
C-130	Late Pre-Fire	Front yard, Post 8
C-131	Fire	Backdirt

Appendix II
Lot Inventory, House C

Lot C-1

- 2 Vessel C-61
- 2 Vessel C-62
- 1 Vessel C-63
- 1 Vessel C-64
- 1 Vessel C-65
- 3 Vessel C-66
- 7 Vessel C-122
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 2 window glass (aqua)
- 1 railroad spike (4 ½” long)
- 4 bone

Lot C-2

- 2 Vessel C-67
- 1 Vessel C-68
- 1 printed (blue) whiteware
- 1 container glass (clear/lead)
- 1 container glass (clear; melted)
- 2 container glass (aqua; melted)
- 1 oyster shell

Lot C-3

- 1 Vessel C-21
- 4 Vessel C-69
- 2 Vessel C-70
- 2 Vessel C-71
- 2 Vessel C-72
- 1 desk/table-top “pad” (clear; 1/4” thick plate glass; beveled and ground edge; square corner; unknown size; ghosts of reversed lettering present; burned and melted) [cross mends with Lots C-4]
- 4 container glass (clear; melted)
- 4 container glass (aqua; melted)
- 1 container glass (rose colored)
- 1 iron furniture castor (iron; porcelain wheel; 1 ¾” diameter wheel)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 ¾” long)
- 1 wood sample

- 1 medallion/jewelry (brass; stamped; 1 ¾” diameter; floral design)
- 1 pipe bowl (kaolin)
- 1 button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; indeterminate—potentially floral—decoration on front of button; 0.95” diameter)

Lot C-4

- 2 Vessel C-73
- 3 Vessel C-69
- 23 desk/table-top “pad” (clear; 1/4” thick plate glass; beveled and ground edge; square corner; unknown size; ghosts of reversed lettering present; burned and melted) [cross mends with Lots C-3 and C-5]
- 2 container glass (white/milk glass; melted)
- 15 window glass (aqua; melted; 2.14mm average thickness; ranged from 1.84mm to 2.68mm; small sample measured)
- 1 machine cut nail (4 ¼” long)
- 1 machine cut nail (3 ¾” long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 ¾” long)
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.52” diameter)
- 7 plaster (with whitecoat and lath impressions; burned)

Lot C-5

- 4 Vessel C-69
- 4 Vessel C-71
- 2 Vessel C-72
- 1 Vessel C-74
- 1 Vessel C-75
- 2 Vessel C-76
- 2 Vessel C-77
- 10 Vessel C-78
- 1 Vessel C-79
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware

4	desk/table-top "pad" (clear; 1/4" thick plate glass; beveled and ground edge; square corner; unknown size; ghosts of reversed lettering present; burned and melted) [cross mends with Lots C-3 and C-4]	1	machine cut nail (4 1/4" long)
17	window glass (aqua) [2.08mm average thickness; ranged from 1.05mm to 2.93mm in thickness; small sample size]	1	machine cut nail (3 1/2" long)
78	window glass (aqua; melted)	1	machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
1	container glass (rose-colored; painted/gilded)	1	machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
25	container glass (aqua; melted)	1	machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
1	bone inlay (fret sawn and drilled)	1	machine cut nail (1 3/4" long)
1	smoking pipe mouthpiece (indeterminate synthetic molded material; burned)	1	machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
1	button (?) (copper/brass; potentially remnant of a 3-piece loop shank button; only front section present; decorated; 0.94" diameter)	1	wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
1	button (shell; 4-hole; 0.50" diameter)	35	plaster (whitecoat present; lath impressions)
3	button (shell?; 4-hole; approximately 0.62" diameter; deformed into an oval due to burning)	5	coal
1	upholstery tack (5/8" long; machine cut?)	11	wood/charcoal
1	scrap/cut brass (coiled)	1	clinker
1	scrap sheet copper (3/4" x 4 1/2"; cut into curvilinear shape)	1	brick (soft-mud; small fragment; chimney brick?)
1	cloth (small fragment)	28	bone (burned)
1	"garden" rake (iron; socketed Russell and Erwin catalog, page 299)	<u>Lot C-6</u>	
1	railroad spike (iron; 6" long)	1	Vessel C-21
1	carriage (?) bolt with nut and washer (iron; 4 1/2" long; 3/8" shank; 3/4" head; 1/2" nut)	7	Vessel C-28
2	sheet iron containers	4	Vessel C-80
1	rim lock strike plate (approximately 1" x 4 1/8"; cast iron)	1	salt-glazed stoneware
1	unidentified iron (furniture castor?)	1	container glass (clear; burned)
1	screw (brass)	1	window glass
2	unidentified iron	3	plaster (burned)
2	strap/band (iron; 1" wide)	1	brick (soft-mud; burned chimney brick?)
258	machine cut nail fragments	3	machine cut nail fragments
		15	bone
		1	button (bone; 5-hole; 0.67" diameter)
		<u>Lot C-7</u>	
		1	Vessel C-85
		1	undecorated whiteware (burned)
		1	painted (?) whiteware (burned)
		1	container glass (dark green/black)
		1	container glass (aqua)
		1	privacy glass (clear)
		1	railroad spike (5 1/2" long)
		1	bone
		<u>Lot C-8</u>	
		27	Vessel C-81
		1	Vessel C-82
		1	Vessel C-83

1	Vessel C-180	1	button (?) (brass; round; hollow; probably loop shank; 0.26" diameter)
32	container glass (clear; melted)	1	button (?) (iron; domed/cup-like; loop shank; 0.73" diameter)
32	container glass (aqua; melted)	1	bead (blue glass; 0.22" diameter; 0.21" long)
13	container glass (?) (milk glass; melted)	1	shoe eyelet (brass; 0.31" diameter)
5	lamp chimney (clear)	1	end cap (brass; 0.45" diameter; placed on end of wood rod; attached with machine cut nail?)
5	window glass (aqua) [small sample of window glass, unburned and burned; one very thick piece at 3.26mm removed from sample; after removal of one piece, sample averaged 2.00mm in thickness; ranged from 1.66mm to 2.29mm in thickness]	1	unidentified copper tube (approximately 0.35" diameter; partially flattened and/or crudely soldered into tube; fairly heavy gauge sheeting)
22	window glass (aqua; burned; melted)	2	rivet (brass; 0.5" diameter; 0.30" deep/thick)
1	marble (Rockingham glazed; blue and brown; originally blue and burned?; 0.73" diameter)	1	end-cap (brass; rectangular; part of folding carpenter rule?; see next entry)
1	marble (painted; marble; 0.82" diameter)	1	"hinge" (brass; round; part of folding carpenter rule?)
1	button (?) (hard rubber; 1-hole; approximately 0.9" diameter; burned and deformed)	1	needle (iron; broken)
1	button (bone; 5-hole; 0.67" diameter)	21	unidentified "knob" (copper plated iron; round; approximately 1 1/2" diameter and 1/2" deep to center line of knob; spoked wheel design; potentially a small copper/brass door knob?)
1	button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter)	1	combination paint can and bottle opener (iron; 3 3/4" long) [screw driver?]
1	button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.41" diameter)	1	upholstery tack (iron; machine cut)
1	button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.37" diameter)	1	whetstone (3/4" thick; 1 11/16" wide; broken)
1	button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; 0.58" diameter; face embossed with spoked wheel and word "CONDUCTOR")	1	railroad spike (iron; 6" long)
4	button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; 0.58" diameter; face embossed with star and word "MOTORMAN")	293	machine cut nail fragments
2	button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; 0.58" diameter; face embossed but illegible and/or heavily corroded—probably a "Motorman" or "Conductor" button)	1	machine cut nail (4" long)
1	button (brass; loop shank; slightly cupped body; no embossing?; 0.54" diameter)	2	machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
		3	machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
		6	machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
		13	machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
		1	machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
		1	wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
		1	wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
		1	wire-drawn nail fragment

- 1 wood screw (1" long; potentially flat-tipped)
- 1 bolt (?) (threaded end; 1 ½" long; L-shaped head; approximately 1/8" shank)
- 28 bone
- 15 bone (burned)
- 1 drain/sewer tile (salt-glazed stoneware; small fragment)
- 1 buckle/clasp (cast iron; decorated rope-like design; 1" x 2 ½")
- 1 belt buckle (iron)
- 1 screw eye (iron; 3 ¾" long)
- 2 clothes/wardrobe hooks (cast iron)
- 1 utensil handle (silver-plated copper; floral decoration)
- 2 iron bands (1/2" wide)
- 1 iron band (1 ½" wide)
- 1 unidentified copper
- 7 unidentified metal
- 1 mud dauber's nest (burned; carbonized)
- 4 walnut shells (burned; carbonized)
- 40 wood (burned)
- 6 coal
- 3 clinkers
- 6 mortar
- 2 plaster

Lot C-9

- 1 Vessel C-84
- 1 printed (flow blue) whiteware
- 1 printed (black) whiteware
- 1 printed (black; "American Scenic View"; whiteware)
- 1 painted (polychrome) whiteware
- 2 window glass (aqua; 1.89mm and 1.10mm thick)
- 1 pencil lead (round; graphite)
- 2 machine cut nail fragment
- 19 bone

Lot C-10

- 3 undecorated whiteware

Lot C-11

- 2 indeterminate copper (punched holes) [food grater?]

Lot C-12

- 1 Vessel C-49
- 1 Vessel C-50
- 1 Vessel C-51
- 1 Vessel C-52
- 1 annular decorated whiteware
- 1 printed (brown floral with painted polychrome highlights) whiteware [flatware]
- 2 container (?) (clear, body)
- 1 key (brass; 3 ½" long)
- 1 doorstop (brass; 5" long; 3/16" diameter' with iron flat-tipped screw end; approximately 1 7/8" long)
- 3 bone

Lot C-13

- 2 Vessel C-53
- 2 Vessel C-54
- 1 Vessel C-181
- 2 redware

Lot C-14

- 1 indeterminate container (cuprous; hinged; round; 1 5/8" diameter; ½" thick; heart embossed on cover "POMACE / BLOOM"; stylized Greek key design around edge) [makeup container?]

Lot C-15

- 1 printed (black) whiteware
- 1 container glass (aqua) [bottle]
- 1 window glass (aqua)
- 1 roofing slate (purple)

Lot C-16

- 20 Vessel C-81
- 1 vial (aqua; approximately 0.15" diameter; small; melted)
- 9 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 7 container glass (?) (clear; melted)
- 1 milk glass (melted)

- 1 combination paint can and bottle opener (iron; 3 ¾" long) [screw driver?]
- 1 button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; 0.90" diameter; face embossed with star and word "MOTORMAN") [fused onto paint can/bottle opener]
- 1 button (cuprous; stamped; sew through; approximately 0.50" diameter)
- 1 button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; 0.58" diameter) [Motorman?]
- 1 button/snap (cuprous; 3-piece; 0.63" diameter; "lipped")
- 1 button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; 0.92" diameter; "SEAL of the STATE OF ILLINOIS")
- 12 sheet metal (copper) [lamp font?]
- 1 umbrella fragment
- 1 twisted wire (iron)
- 3 container glass (clear; body)
- 48 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 ¾" long)
- 4 machine cut nail (1 ½" long)
- 1 machine cut tack
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 ¼" long)
- 2 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1" long)
- 1 bone
plaster
charcoal

Lot C-17

- 1 Vessel C-11
- 1 Vessel C-13
- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 1 redware
- 1 printed (flow blue) whiteware
- 2 machine cut nail (2" long)
- 8 bone
- 3 clinkers

Lot C-18

- 1 Vessel C-178
- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 1 container glass (cobalt blue)
- 2 container glass (aqua)
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 2 plate glass (aqua)
- 4 window glass (aqua)
- 1 electrical wire (cuprous; 8" long; 0.13" diameter)
- 4 wire nail fragments
- 1 button (shell; loop shank missing; 0.39" diameter)
- 1 button (shell; 2-hole; 0.47" diameter)

Lot C-19

- 2 Vessel C-175
- 1 Vessel C-176
- 1 Vessel C-177
- 4 undecorated whiteware
- 6 electrical insulator (?) (porcelain; brown)
- 1 automobile battery casing (hard rubber)
- 1 Fiestaware (green)
- 1 container glass (amber)
- 1 container glass (cobalt blue)
- 1 container glass (milk)
- 5 container glass (aqua)
- 27 container glass (clear)
- 6 plate glass (aqua; ¼" thick)
- 12 window glass (aqua)
- 8 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 7/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 ¾" long)
- 2 wire-drawn nail (2 ½" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 ½" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 button (shell; 2-hole; 0.52" diameter)
- 3 bone
- 3 wood (dowels?; worked)
- 1 wood dowel (3/4" long; ¼" diameter)
- 1 slate (drilled hole) [furniture?]

Lot C-20

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 container glass (?) (clear; melted)
- 1 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 1 strap/bracket (iron; 2 ½" long; 7/8" wide; screws 1 5/8" long either side) [to mount pipe or wire to wall?]
- 2 bone

Lot C-21

- 1 felt (?) (approximately 2" x minimally 4")
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.45" diameter)
- 3 electrical insulator (porcelain)
- 3 undecorated whiteware
- 1 painted (polychrome; small floral) whiteware
- 2 printed (blue) whiteware
- 1 printed (purple) whiteware
- 2 printed (black) whiteware
- 1 container glass (amber)
- 3 container glass (milk)
- 6 container glass (aqua)
- 21 container glass (clear)
- 3 plate glass (aqua; ¼" thick)
- 15 window glass (aqua)
- 2 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 1 lock plate (ferrous; 1 5/8" x ¾" x ¼"; 2 flat-head screws 7/8" long)
- 1 electrical wire (copper; sheathed; 0.06" diameter)
- 1 railroad spike (iron; 6 ¼" long; approximately 1" square)
- 15 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 ¾" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 ½" long)
- 12 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 2 wire-drawn nail (3 5/8" long)
- 3 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
- 6 bone
- 1 wood (7" long; 1 ¾" wide)
- 1 furniture caster wheel (wood; approximately 1 ½" out diameter; ¾"

inner diameter; ½" thick; 13/16" wide)

- 6 roofing slate (purple)

Lot C-22

- 1 container glass (clear)
- 1 whetstone (1 7/8" x ¾" x unknown length; well-worn; broken in half and burned)

Lot C-23

- 1 Vessel C-82
- 1 Vessel C-90
- 1 Vessel C-92
- 2 Vessel C-93
- 1 Vessel C-103
- 6 Vessel C-104
- 1 Vessel C-107
- 5 Vessel C-108
- 6 Vessel C-109
- 1 button (bone; 4-hole; oval; 0.57" x 0.61" diameter)
- 3 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.62" diameter)
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.57" diameter)
- 1 marble (Rockingham glaze; 0.86" diameter; burned)
- 7 mirror (clear glass; metallic back; circular shape; approximately 3 3/8" to 3 ½" diameter) [The presence of the metal mirror back is problematic due to the heavy burning and melting; may be a round picture frame?]
- 4 container glass (clear, melted, body)
- 20 container glass (?) (clear, melted)
- 75 window glass (?) (aqua, highly melted)
- 20 window glass (?) (clear, highly melted, with inclusions)
- 70 window (aqua, slightly melted)
- 7 window glass (?) (aqua, drips)
- 1 glass (aqua?; highly melted; brown/red patina)
- 2 milk glass (melted)

7 coin purse (cuprous; clasp)
 37 sheet metal (cuprous)
 7 sheet metal (ferrous)
 4 wire (cuprous)
 1 unidentified stamped ferrous metal
 (7/8" wide with slots) [buckle?/lamp
 part?]
 1 buckle prong (?) (ferrous; 1 1/4" long;
 1/2" wide) [foot?]
 1 buckle (ferrous; 1 1/4" x 15/16")
 5 clothes hook (iron) [different styles]
 1 butt hinge (iron; 1 3/4" x 3" leaf; flat-
 tipped screw?)
 1 lathing hatchet (iron; 6 3/8" long)
 1 railroad spike (6" long)
 1 tube (iron; 1/2" outer diameter; 1/4"
 inner diameter; 2" long)
 1 bar (iron; 1 1/2" wide; 1/4" thick; 8 1/4"
 long)
 1 button (ferrous; 3-piece; snap socket;
 0.69" diameter; interior felled?)
 1 clothing "snap"/snap (cuprous; 3-
 piece; snap socket; 0.43" diameter)
 1 clothing "snap"/snap (cuprous; 3-
 piece; snap stud; 0.40" diameter)
 1 eyelet (cuprous; 0.32" diameter)
 165 machine cut nail fragments
 1 machine cut nail (3 1/4" long)
 1 machine cut nail (3" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
 3 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
 4 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
 5 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
 13 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 6 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
 5 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
 3 machine cut nail (1" long)
 12 wire-drawn nail fragments
 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/4" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (1" long)
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn
 nail/dowel nail (1" long)
 5 bone

Lot C-24

9 Vessel C-76
 12 Vessel C-81
 7 Vessel C-82
 23 Vessel C-90
 2 Vessel C-91
 3 Vessel C-92
 1 Vessel C-93
 1 Vessel C-94
 11 Vessel C-103
 124 Vessel C-104
 1 Vessel C-105
 8 Vessel C-182
 1 floor tile (porcelain/ceramic; 13/16"
 square; 1/4" thick)
 3 bead (blue glass; 0.23" tall; 0.34"
 diameter) [one whole]
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.62")
 2 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.61"
 diameter)
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.58"
 diameter)
 1 button (bone; 4-hole; oval; 0.52" x
 0.55" diameter; burned)
 2 button (burned milk glass?; 4-hole;
 approximately 0.60" diameter)
 1 button (?) (burned mussel shell;
 approximately 1" diameter;
 fragmentary)
 4 glass tube (light aqua; 0.17"
 diameter)
 53 container glass (clear)
 28 container glass (milk glass; melted)
 1 container glass (dark green; bottle
 glass)
 20 container glass (?) (clear?; melted
 with brown/red patina)
 65 container glass (?) (clear)
 109 container glass (?) (aqua; melted)
 1 container glass (milk)
 160 window glass (aqua; slightly
 melted/not melted)
 322 window glass (aqua; melted)
 29 window glass (?) (aqua; melted;
 white patina)

1	U-shaped "clip" (cuprous; 1/2" x 15/16" x 1/8") [end clip for carpenters folding ruler]	3	buckle (ferrous; scallop edge; 1 3/4" x 3/4")
2	carpenter folding ruler hinge (cuprous; 5/8" long; 1/4" wide)	1	buckle (ferrous; 1 1/2" x 7/8")
1	"lynch pin" (?) (iron; 2 1/8" long)	1	buckle (ferrous; 5/8" x 5/8")
1	sheet metal (iron; folded; hole in center; 1 1/8" long; 3/4" wide; crimped connectors on either end)	2	clothing "snap" (cuprous; 1/2" diameter; snap socket, fabric grommet, and stud)
10+	window screen (cuprous; highly fragmented; diagonal pattern)	1	clothing "snap" (cuprous; 7/16" diameter; snap socket and fabric grommet; stud missing; decorated/embossed)
1	stamped decorative copper (convex shaped to fit an approximately 5"-diameter curve; approximately 4 1/2-5" long; tapered from approximately 2" wide at one end to 1" wide at opposite end; two holes approximately 3" apart with iron screws or bolts potentially representing decorative attachment bolts; decorated with lobes separated by central band running length of artifact)[Potentially represents furniture or other household furnishings item.]	3	clothing "snap" (cuprous; 0.42" diameter; socket)
1	rivet (copper; 0.44" diameter; 1/2" tall) [copper alloy facing that exfoliated; appears like purple glitter]	2	clothing "snap" (cuprous; 0.56" diameter; socket)
1	rivet (iron; approximately 3/4" diameter one side; 1/2" diameter other side; 1/2" tall)	1	clothing "snap" (cuprous; 0.63" diameter; socket)
1	butt hinge (iron; 1 1/2" x 3" leaf; fixed pin)	2	clothing "snap" (cuprous; 0.38" diameter; snap stud)
1	lag bolt (iron; 7" long; 1/2" diameter)	1	clothing "snap" (cuprous; 0.55" diameter; heavily corroded)
1	key (iron; 1 7/8" long)	2	button (ferrous; stamped; 4-hole; 0.68" diameter)
1	key (iron; 3" long)	1	button (ferrous; stamped; 4-hole; 0.71" diameter) [stamped slots]
1	combination paint can and bottle opener (iron; 3 3/4" long) [screw driver?]	2	button (ferrous; stamped; 2-hole; 0.70" diameter)
2	harness buckle (iron; 2 3/4" long)	3	button (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank; 0.72" diameter) [Motorman?]
2	buckle (ferrous; 3/4" x 5/8")	4	button (ferrous; stamped; 2-hole; 0.56" diameter)
1	buckle (ferrous; 3/4" x 7/8"; "D" shaped)	1	button (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank missing; 0.66" diameter)
9	buckle (ferrous; 1 1/4" x 7/8"; 1/8" thick; 2 prongs)	1	button (ferrous; stamped; 4-hole; 0.57" diameter)
		1	button (?) (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank missing; 0.50" diameter)
		1	button (cuprous; spherical; loop shank; 0.80" diameter; 0.76" tall)
		7	grommet "boot" or "lacing" hook (cuprous)
		12	eyelet/grommet (?) (cuprous; 0.44" diameter) [part of "snap"?]
		3	eyelet (cuprous; 0.35" diameter)
		2	eyelet (cuprous; 0.34" diameter)
		1	eyelet (cuprous; 0.33" diameter)

4 eyelet (cuprous; 0.31" diameter)
 9 eyelet (cuprous; 0.30" diameter)
 2 eyelet (cuprous; 0.29" diameter)
 3 eyelet (cuprous; 0.28" diameter)
 2 eyelet (cuprous; 0.17" diameter)
 1 light bulb (base fragment; cuprous/glass; 1" diameter; threaded)
 1 furniture pull/handle (?) (iron; 4" long x 1 3/4")
 4 clothes hook
 4 furniture castors (iron; includes white ceramic wheel; porcelain; 1" diameter)
 2 hinges (cuprous; 1 1/4" x 3/8" leaf; 2 screw holes per leaf) [small box lid?]
 86 umbrella parts (aluminum?)
 6 twisted wire (?)
 1 unidentified stamped ferrous metal (7/8" wide with slots) [buckle or lamp part?]
 43 sheet metal (cuprous)
 13 droplets (melt; copper)
 3 window glazing
 865 machine cut nail fragments
 2 machine cut nail (3 1/4" long)
 2 machine cut nail (3" long)
 5 machine cut nail (2 7/8" long)
 17 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
 16 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
 14 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
 17 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
 5 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
 8 machine cut nail (2" long)
 27 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
 213 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 29 machine cut nail (1 1/8"-1 1/4" long)
 19 machine cut nail (1" long)
 60 machine cut tacks (1/2"-3/4" long)
 107 wire-drawn nail fragments
 1 wire-drawn nail (3 5/8" long)
 5 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
 3 wire-drawn nail (2 1/2" long)
 5 wire-drawn nail (2 1/8" long)
 3 wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
 8 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
 8 wire-drawn nail (1 3/8" long)

1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)
 3 wire-drawn nail (1 1/8" long)
 2 wire-drawn nail (1" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (7/8" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (3/4" long)
 2 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 3/8" long)
 2 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)
 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
 4 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)
 11 bone
 1 grinding wheel (7 3/8" diameter; 1" hole in center; 1 1/2" thick; broken in half; burned; sandstone; heavily used)
 plaster
 charcoal
 wood flooring

Lot C-25

8 bone
 1 undecorated whiteware

Lot C-26

1 Vessel C-32
 1 Vessel C-80
 5 undecorated whiteware
 1 undecorated whiteware (burned)
 2 redware
 1 painted (polychrome; small floral; whiteware)
 1 printed (blue; whiteware)
 1 printed (flow blue) whiteware
 1 comb (hard rubber; approximately 3/16" wide and 1 1/8" long fragment)
 1 disk glass (clear; oval)
 2 container glass (clear)
 3 window glass (aqua)
 1 button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; floral design; 1.05" diameter)
 1 unidentified iron (flat; oval approximately 4" wide and 1/4" thick)

- 1 unidentified iron ("D" shaped; approximately 5/8" long; 9/16" wide) [small buckle/clasp]
- 7 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (3" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail fragment
- 1 fruit pit (small)
- 28 bone
- plaster
- charcoal
- brick

Lot C-27

- 1 Vessel C-154
- 1 Vessel C-170
- 1 Vessel C-173
- 1 Vessel C-174
- 1 marble (marble; Rockingham-glazed; blue/green/brown; 0.70" diameter)
- 7 undecorated whiteware
- 2 annular decorated yellowware (mnv=1)
- 4 salt-glazed stoneware
- 1 Albany-slipped stoneware
- 1 painted (salt-glazed; blue) stoneware
- 1 undecorated porcelain
- 2 electrical insulator (pole type; ceramic/porcelain; brown; large)
- 1 electrical porcelain (1 1/8" x 1" x 1"; base embossed "US / PATD / 2 4 08 / 5 16 11") [exposed wire attachment]
- 5 container glass (milk glass) [canning jar lid]
- 1 container glass (green)
- 1 container glass (amber)
- 5 container glass (aqua)
- 12 container glass (clear)
- 2 tableware (?) (clear; textured base)
- 5 plate glass (aqua; 1/4" thick)
- 30 window glass (aqua)
- 3 finger ring (cuprous; 8-prong for gem; approximately 1" tall; oval

- shape; 9/16" x 7/16") [mnv=1; jewelry]
- 1 leather
- 1 strap (ferrous; 2" wide; minimally 6 1/2" long; approximately 1/4" thick)
- 1 disk (ferrous; approximately 1 3/4" round diameter; 1/4" thick)
- 1 strap (ferrous; curved; approximately 4" long; 5/8" wide)
- 3 rod/bolts (ferrous; approximately 1/2" diameter)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/2" long)
- 20 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 3 wire-drawn nail (3 5/8" long)
- 3 wire-drawn nail (2 3/4" long)
- 5 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
- 3 wire-drawn nail (2 1/2" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 7/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
- 3 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
- 1 mortar
- 3 wood (knots?)

Lot C-28

- 1 cigar tip (plastic; 1 3/8" long; 1/2" diameter)
- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 2 yellowware
- 1 container glass (dark green/black)
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 3 window glass (aqua)
- 6 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 8 machine cut nail fragments
- 9 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (3 7/8" long)
- 3 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/4" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/8" long)

Lot C-29

- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 2 annular decorated yellowware
- 1 oyster shell

Lot C-30

- 1 container glass (amber)
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 3 window glass (aqua)
- 1 architectural tile "block" (ceramic; minimally 2 ¼" x 2 ¼"; approximately ¾" thick)
- 1 nail (cuprous; approximately 3 ¾" long; 1/8" diameter) [distinctive "bent"/prong end; slate roofing nail]
- 3 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 ½" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail fragment
- 1 bone
- 1 plaster (with white coat)

Lot C-31

- 2 Vessel C-72
- 1 Vessel C-98
- 1 Vessel C-99
- 1 Vessel C-100
- 1 Vessel C-101
- 3 Vessel C-102
- 2 undecorate whiteware (one with partial back stamp)
- 1 undecorated porcelain
- 1 toy pitcher (undecorated porcelain; burned; 1 ½" tall; 1" diameter)
- 6 container glass (aqua)
- 1 container glass (aqua; melted)
- 21 lamp chimney
- 1 container glass (?) (clear; melted)
- 125 window glass (aqua; lightly melted or burned/not burned)
- 199 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 255 window glass (?) (aqua; highly melted; white patina)
- 61 window glass (?) (aqua; folded; melted; possible window)
- 109 window glass (?) (aqua; highly melted; drips)
- 1 writing slate
- 1 pencil lead (round graphite)
- 1 electrical wire (ferrous; wrapped; 0.14" diameter)

- 1 mouth harp (iron; 2 ½" tall; 1 7/8" wide)
- 1 combination paint can and bottle opener (iron; 3 ¾" long) [screw driver?]
- 1 handle (cast iron; button end; 1 3/8" screw attachment; heavy) [heavy door or box handle?]
- 1 butt hinge (iron; 3" x 1 3/4" leaf; fixed pin; potential flat-tipped screws)
- 1 rim lock (iron; 2 ½" x 3 ¼" with a ½" round projection on one end) [secondary door]?
- 1 ring (cuprous; 5/8" diameter) [same as Lot C-59]
- 1007 machine cut nail fragments
- 3 machine cut nail (3 3/8" long)
- 6 machine cut nail (3 ¼" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (3 1/8" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (3" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 7/8" long)
- 14 machine cut nail (2 ¾" long)
- 31 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 6 machine cut nail (2 ½" long)
- 9 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)
- 19 machine cut nail (2 ¼" long)
- 9 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 7/8" long)
- 6 machine cut nail (1 ¾" long)
- 60 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 85 machine cut nail (1 ½" long)
- 78 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 24 machine cut nail (1 ¼" long)
- 30 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 10 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 10 machine cut tacks (5/8"-3/4" long)
- 1 machine cut bolt and nut ? (3 ½" long)
- 22 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (3 ¼" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 ½" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2" long)

- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 3/4" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)
- 6 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)
- 3 bone
- plaster
- mortar
- 2 window glazing
- 2 brick
- 11 coal
- 8 clinkers

Lot C-32

- 1 Vessel C-88
- 2 Vessel C-95
- 2 Vessel C-96
- 1 Vessel C-97
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 2 lamp chimney (clear)
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 1 container (aqua; lip)
- 4 window glass (aqua; slightly melted; window seam)
- 42 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
- 16 window glass (?) (aqua; melted)
- 1 glass (indeterminate color; highly melted)
- 6 container glass (?) (clear; melted)
- 1 rim lock (iron; 2 1/2" x 3 3/4"; with doorknob still attached; doorknob heavily burned) [The door knob is heavily burned making a determination of the type of knob impossible to determine.]
- 1 door knob (red paste marbled; clear glaze) [probably other knob to rim lock]
- 1 twisted wire (iron; with rings; approximately 1/4" diameter)
- 1 safety pin (cuprous; 2" long x 1/2" wide)

- 1 "hook" (hook and eye fastener)
- 1 "cap" (cuprous; fragments)
- 14 sheet metal fragments (ferrous)
- 950 machine cut nail fragments
- 2 machine cut nail (4" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (3 1/4" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (3 1/8" long)
- 5 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
- 14 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 4 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)
- 7 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 7/8" long)
- 17 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 24 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 25 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 9 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
- 19 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 4 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 23 machine cut tacks (5/8"-3/4" long)
- 12 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/2" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/4" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
- 2 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)
- 5 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 6 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1" long)
- 5 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (7/8" long)
- 1 button (shell; 4-hole; 0.50" diameter; burned)
- 1 button (shell; 2-hole; 0.60" diameter; burned)
- 1 bone
- plaster
- charcoal

Lot C-33

- 1 Vessel C-10
- 1 Vessel C-17

2	Vessel C-18	1	jewelry ring (cuprous; approximately 2 7/8 diameter; 2 - 3/16" oval suspension holes on one end) [bracelet/jewelry]
1	Vessel C-19		
1	Vessel C-20		
1	Vessel C-21		
1	Vessel C-25	6	unidentified sheet iron/container (flat; approximately 1/8" thick)
1	Vessel C-26		
1	Vessel C-27	1	washer (iron; approximately 2 1/2" diameter with 1/2" diameter hole)
1	Vessel C-28		
5	undecorated whiteware	1	roller shade bracket (?) (iron; approximately 1" x 2")
1	salt-glazed stoneware		
1	sponge decorated (blue; whiteware)	1	trunk caster (?) (iron; round part is approximately 7/8" in diameter; approximately 1 1/2" tall; rectangular bracket approximately 1 3/4" x 1 5/8")
4	annular decorated/painted (?) [very small fragment]		
9	printed (blue; whiteware)		
1	button (undecorated; porcelain; loop shank; 0.33" diameter)	2	copper electrical wire (small gauge wire wrapped around a larger gauge wire) [knob and tube wiring?]
1	marble (marble; undecorated; 0.76" diameter)	1	coil (copper; approximately 3/8" tall with 3/16" diameter) [spring?]
1	marble (clay; undecorated; 0.58" diameter)	2	button (ferrous; 3-piece loop shank; floral embossed; 0.60" diameter)
1	marble (Rockingham glazed; 0.57" diameter)	1	button (ferrous; loop shank?; 0.60" diameter)
5	pipe bowl (red paste; elbow pipe; chevron decorated around rim)	1	button (?) (iron; approximately 15/16" diameter) [probable loop shank]
1	pipe bowl (kaolin; ribbed/fluted; small body only)		
3	pipe bowl (red paste; elbow pipe, unglazed; embossed "CATLIN'S" twice around rim)	1	unidentified connector [approximately 2 1/4" long iron square rod hinged to 9/16" diameter "cap" for wood dowel]
2	rubberized fabric (?)		
1	comb (celluloid; brown)	1	coin (copper/nickel; potentially a V-Nickel; approximately 7/8" diameter; indeterminate mint date)
1	button (shell; 2-hole; 0.57" diameter)		
1	button (shell; 2-hole; 0.71" diameter)	1	coin (Barber dime; silver; approximately 3/4" diameter; potential "1899" mint date)
1	button (shell; 4-hole; 0.40" diameter)		
1	fabric		
3	pencil (wood with cuprous cap with pink glass faceted jewel on end; approximately 3/8" diameter)	1	finger/jewelry ring (gold; approximately 3/4" diameter; broken in half; embossed polygonal alternating pattern)
43	container glass (clear; body)		
4	container glass (clear; body; melted)		
2	container glass (aqua; body; melted)	1	lead bar (approximately 2 3/16" long x 5/8" wide base x 7/16" wide top/3/8" tall)
1	container glass (amber; body; bottle)		
3	unidentified glass (aqua; highly melted; probable window)	55	machine cut nail fragments
8	window glass (aqua)	1	machine cut nail (4 3/8" long)
1	mirror glass	1	machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)

- 2 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 9 machine cut tacks (5/8"-3/4" long)
- 9 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)
- 42 bone
plaster
- 4 wood
- 1 brick
- 5 coal

Lot C-34

- 7 Vessel C-39
- 1 Vessel C-40
- 1 Vessel C-41
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware
- 1 annular decorated (black; whiteware)
- 1 printed (blue; whiteware)
- 1 marble (marble; 0.63" diameter)
- 1 marble (marble; 0.68" diameter)
- 1 padlock (iron; approximately 4" tall; 3" wide; 1" thick; 1 1/2" key "drop" bent around side to keep in place away from key hole; key broken inside)
- 1 broad axe (iron; approximately 5" long x 4 3/8" wide edge; head open)
- 19 sheet metal fragments (ferrous)
- 6 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (5/8" long)
- 41 bone
- 1 plaster
- 6 mortar

Lot C-35

- 1 marble (Rockingham glazed; stoneware; 0.76" diameter) [burned?]
- 5 container glass (clear)

Lot C-36

- 2 Vessel C-21
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 fabric
- 1 comb tine (hard rubber)
- 2 mirror (aqua; metallic backing; 2" diameter)
- 1 button (dark green/black glass; 4-hole; 0.42" diameter)
- 2 container glass (clear) [lamp chimney?]
- 2 container glass (clear; approximately 1/4" thick)
- 4 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 2 window glass (aqua)
- 1 rod (iron; 3/4" thick; approximately 3" long)
- 28 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut tack (5/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail fragment
- 1 wire-drawn nail (5/8" long)
- 1 button (shell; 2-hole; 0.45" diameter)
- 1 button (shell; 2-hole; 0.41" diameter)
- 2 bone
plaster

Lot C-37

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 2 annular decorated yellowware [mnv: 1]
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2" long)

Lot C-38

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 undecorated yellowware
- 1 canning jar lid liner (milk glass; "GENUINE")
- 2 plate glass (clear; 1/4" thick)
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 4 container glass (clear)
- 3 window glass (aqua)
- 1 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 2 stone (?)
- 2 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (3 5/8" long)

Lot C-39

1 Vessel C-135
 1 Vessel C-136
 1 Vessel C-137
 4 Vessel C-138
 10 undecorated whiteware
 2 yellowware
 1 Rockingham glazed yellowware
 2 salt-glazed stoneware
 1 Bristol-glazed stoneware (blue decoration)
 1 annular decorated whiteware
 1 printed (blue) whiteware
 1 undecorated porcelain
 1 painted (lined; gray) porcelain [rim; cup]
 1 gilded (gold/light blue; embossed) porcelain
 1 bead (light blue glass; 0.19" diameter; 0.12" tall)
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.42" diameter)
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.45" diameter)
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.41" diameter)
 1 button (black glass; loop shank; 0.82" diameter; melted)
 1 button (hard rubber; 4-hole; 0.59" diameter; "I. R. C. C^Q / GOODYEAR 1851")
 3 felt/tar paper (burned)
 2 privacy glass (clear; pattern molded) [ripple; mnv=1]
 3 container glass (aqua)
 14 container glass (clear; thick approximately 1/8" thick)
 31 container glass (clear; thin) [lamp chimney]
 3 container glass (amber)
 1 container glass (green)
 12 window glass (aqua; melted)
 30 window glass (aqua)
 1 pin (gold; 0.04" diameter; 1 3/4" long) [jewelry/stick pin?]
 2 crown bottle caps (ferrous)

1 butt hinge (iron; 1 3/4" x 3" leaf with screws attached)
 1 coin purse (iron; rim/closure)
 1 unidentified iron (round; approximately 2 1/2" diameter; 3 1/2" long; 1/4" thick)
 1 unidentified iron (pointed at one end; three rounded knobs)
 1 iron bar (?)
 1 coil (iron; approximately 3/4" diameter)
 16 spring (cuprous; 1/4" diameter)
 1 unidentified sheet metal (iron; 3/8" wide)
 1 metal disk (iron?; 3/4" diameter) [coin-like but hammer flattened]
 1 pin/nail (cuprous; 0.05" diameter)
 79 machine cut nail fragments
 1 machine cut nail (3 3/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
 2 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 3/4" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
 2 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
 8 wire-drawn nail fragments
 1 wire-drawn nail (2 3/4" long)
 4 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (1 3/4" long)
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
 1 collar stud (bone; 0.53" diameter)
 13 bone
 1 plaster
 1 brick
 coal
 wood

Lot C-40

1 undecorated whiteware
 1 container glass (clear)
 7 window glass
 3 machine cut nail fragments
 2 mussel shell

- 1 oyster shell
- 1 slate

Lot C-41

- 1 Vessel C-170
- 1 Vessel C-171
- 1 Vessel C-172
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter)
- 2 container glass (amber)
- 4 container glass (dark green/black)
- 5 container glass (aqua)
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 7 window glass (aqua)
- 4 sheet metal (ferrous)
- 5 machine cut nail fragments
- 5 bone
- 4 oyster shell
- 6 mussel shell
- 1 plaster

Lot C-42

- 1 Vessel C-169
- 5 fabric
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 printed (brown overglaze) whiteware
- 2 container glass (aqua)
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 8 lamp chimney
- 2 window glass (aqua)
- 4 window glass (melted)
- 9 sheet metal (ferrous)
- 1 military button (cuprous; 3-piece loop shank; Spread-wing eagle with shield; 0.82" diameter) [illegible manufacturer name impressed on reverse; older style eagle]
- 1 indeterminate personal adornment (lead/"pot" metal; circle with snowflake/floral design; 0.88" diameter)
- 15 machine cut nail fragment
- 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 7 wire-drawn nail fragment

- 1 roofing slate (purple)

Lot C-43

- 7 Vessel C-87
- 3 Vessel C-88
- 2 collar stud (milk glass)
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.37" diameter)
- 1 bead (light blue glass; 0.18" diameter; 0.12" tall)
- 1 window glass (aqua; slightly melted; window seam)
- 11 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
- 57 window glass (?) (aqua; melted; several folded; melted fragments)
- 1 nut (?) (iron; forged; 1" x 1 1/8" x 7/8")
- 1 key (iron; 3" long)
- 1 button (brass; 3-piece loop shank; 0.90" diameter; face embossed with star and word "MOTORMAN"; backside embossed "NEW HAVEN CAR REGIST CO. // N. H. CONN.") [New Haven Car Register Company, New Haven, Connecticut]
- 3 ring (cuprous; 7/8" diameter; chain link attached; sliding closure on one side; 0.13" diameter) [earring?/jewelry; mvn=1]
- 1 cameo (cuprous; 3-piece; 3 purple glass faceted "gems" in center; oval; 0.48" x 0.71" around) [ring or pendant inlay; jewelry]
- 1 unidentified iron [handle?]
- 148 machine cut nail fragments
- 3 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (2" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 8 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 5 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
- 8 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 2 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 3/8" long)

- 2 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 button (bone; 4-hole; oval; 0.48" x 0.52" round; burned)
- plaster
- coal
- charcoal

Lot C-44

- 2 Vessel C-21
- 1 Vessel C-24
- 4 Vessel C-71
- 8 Vessel C-72
- 2 Vessel C-106
- 5 undecorated whiteware
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter)
- 2 rubberized fabric (?)
- 1 writing stylus (slate)
- 23 lamp chimney (clear)
- 40 container glass (clear; body; slightly melted)
- 104 window glass (?) (aqua; highly melted; white patina)
- 81 window glass (aqua; melted; folded flat glass)
- 140 glass droplets (aqua; melted; drips)
- 34 glass droplets (aqua; melted; small drips)
- 39 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 22 window glass (aqua; melted; window seams)
- 43 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
- 11 glass (several colors; highly melted)
- 4 window glazing
- 1 token (cuprous; 0.83" diameter; hole in center; embossed "T. Guyett / 300 N. 9th St. // Good For 5c in Trade")
- 1 nut (iron; 1 7/8" x 2" x 1 1/8"; with 3/4" hole off center)
- 1 furniture/drawer lock (surface mounted, cast iron; 2" x 1 3/4" minimally)

- 1 unidentified iron (cast iron; approximately 4 1/4" x 2 3/4"; embossed Eastlake-style decoration) [lamp/wall sconce bracket or decorative door key escutcheon?]
- 1 strap (iron; row of holes; rivets still in 3 holes; 3/4" wide; 1/8" thick) [handle]
- 1 button (cuprous; 3-piece loop shank; 0.56" diameter) [possibly Motorman Button?]
- 1 pen tip (cuprous; 1 1/4" long)
- 1 cartridge (brass; bullet, brass shell with lead projectile intact; center fire with hammer impression; 0.38-0.39" mm) [misfired?]
- 1 cufflink (?) (cuprous; 0.40" diameter; with stem riveted to circular base)
- 1 cap (cuprous; 3/4" diameter; 3/8" tall; thick) [see lot C-59]
- 2 washer (cuprous; 1/4" thick; approximately 1/2" diameter)
- 2 unidentified iron
- 953 machine cut nail fragments
- 2 machine cut nail (4 1/4" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (3 1/4" long)
- 6 machine cut nail (3 1/8" long)
- 4 machine cut nail (3" long)
- 10 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
- 17 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 6 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
- 6 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)
- 21 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
- 10 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
- 5 machine cut nail (1 7/8" long)
- 22 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 41 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 55 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 14 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
- 64 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 20 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 10 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (3/4" long)
- 77 machine cut tacks (1/2"-3/4" long)
- 34 wire-drawn nail fragments

1	wire-drawn nail (2 ½” long)	1	marble (painted; marbled blue/green; salt-glazed stoneware; 0.60” diameter)
1	wire-drawn nail (2 3/8” long)		
1	wire-drawn nail (2 1/8” long)		
1	wire-drawn nail (1 7/8” long)	1	marble (Rockingham glaze; blue; stoneware; 0.48” diameter)
3	wire-drawn nail (1 5/8” long)	1	comb (hard rubber; 1 5/8” wide; minimally 4” long; impressed “N ^o 746C / HERCULE[S] // [BUTLER R]UBBER CO.”)
4	wire-drawn nail (1 ½” long)	5	comb tines (hard rubber)
4	wire-drawn nail (1 3/8” long)	2	comb tines (celluloid; brown)
1	wire-drawn nail (1 ¼” long)	1	hair pin (hard rubber)
7	wire-drawn nail (1 1/8” long)	1	unidentified “handle” (hard rubber; approximately 5/8” wide; flat backside; convex front side; hole for nail/pin attachment)
7	wire-drawn nail (1” long)		
4	double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8” long)	5	flat disk (burned rubber or synthetic material; round; approximately 1 ½” diameter; roulette-decorated edge; embossed “V” on one side) [appears to be a burned poker chip]
2	double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1” long)	1	button (hard rubber; 2-hole; burned; 0.70” diameter)
1	unidentified “tag” (bone; 1 13/16” long; rounded ends; hole on one end)	2	braided cording/gimp(?)
1	button (bone?; 4-hole; 0.89” diameter; heavily burned)	1	fabric
1	button (shell; 4-hole; 0.49” diameter)	1	cufflink (bone and metal; undecorated; round; two-link chain attached to round bone “button”; approximately 5/8” diameter) [“chain-link” style cuff link]
1	gastropod shell	1	collar stud (bone)
6	bone	1	collar stud (milk glass)
1	whetstone (broken)	2	collar stud (milk glass; 3 rings on base)
	plaster	1	button (shell; loop shank; 0.95” diameter)
	charcoal	2	button (shell; 4-hole; 0.39” diameter)
		2	button (shell; 4-hole; 0.57” diameter)
		1	button (milk glass; fragment)
		1	button (porcelain; loop shank; 0.27” diameter)
		1	bead (blue glass; 0.21” long; 0.23” diameter)
		1	bead (light blue glass; 0.11” long; 0.18” diameter)

Lot C-45

19	Vessel C-15		
1	Vessel C-16		
4	Vessel C-22		
1	Vessel C-23		
4	Vessel C-24		
2	Vessel C-29		
1	Vessel C-33		
2	Textile 1 (braided trim or cording; wool fiber; brown?)		
1	Textile 2 (indeterminate textile; balanced plain weave; wool/hair fiber; indeterminate fabric; hair follicles present; no seams; possible furniture stuffing/textile?)		
1	composite material (rounded; approximately 2” diameter) [burned rubber?]		
1	printed (blue; whiteware)		
2	undecorated whiteware		

1	tableware glass (clear; pattern molded)		headdress on front of handle with "PAN. AM. 1901"; "BUFFALO" on back vertical writing) [Pan American Exposition Buffalo, NY; Electrical Building]
2	lamp chimney (clear)		
1	container glass (clear)		
2	container glass (milk glass; blue)		
12	container glass (clear; thick)	1	spoon (ferrous; bowl without handle; approximately 2 3/8" x 1 3/8")
58	container glass (clear; lamp chimney)	1	harmonica soundboard (approximately 3 7/8" x 1")
3	container glass (milk glass)		
13	window (aqua)	1	figurine/toy boot/foot (lead; approximately 13/16" x 3/8")
2	mirror glass		
1	button (ferrous; sew through; stamped; 0.65" diameter)	1	coin (copper; indeterminate type and mint date; approximately 3/4" diameter)
2	button (?) (ferrous; stamped; 0.76" diameter)		
1	button (ferrous; sew through; stamped; 0.75" diameter)	1	jewelry crimp (cuprous; tapered with bulbous end; holes for attachment at wide end; approximately 5/16" wide tapered to 1/16") [bolo-like endcap; cord-end]
1	button (?) (ferrous; snap?; 0.59" diameter)		
1	button (?) (ferrous; single hole; 1.36" diameter)	4	chain links (cuprous; "S" shaped) [jewelry chain?]
1	button (cuprous; 3-piece loop shank; burned; decoration illegible; 0.89" diameter)	3	safety pin (cuprous; approximately 1/4" wide) [mnv=1]
1	garter clip (?) (cuprous; hinged; approximately 3/4" x 7/8" diameter) [delicate scrollwork, not solid]	9	unidentified ferrous metal
1	cufflink (?) (ferrous; approximately 5/8" tall; 0.62" diameter)	1	metal disk (ferrous; loop shank?; 0.83" diameter) [button?]
1	locket (cuprous; round 1" diameter; top swinging hinge; face has "parent" scrollwork on right side. Dimple approximately 1/8" diameter in center)	1	unidentified iron (2 1/2" long) [small clasp?]
1	disk (cuprous; round 0.80" diameter; hole at one end) [perhaps a part of locket?]	1	unidentified iron (approximately 4" long; 1 3/8" wide at end, tapers to 1" wide as it transitions to 1/2" "blade")
1	roller shade bracket (iron; approximately 1 1/8" x 3/4")	1	hook (iron; 1/2" gauge shank screw end; approximately 2 3/4" x 3")
1	roller shade end cap (iron; approximately 15/16" outer diameter; 1/4" inner diameter)	3	furniture castor (iron; no wheel; approximately 3" tall) [2 different castor types; represents 2 different pieces of furniture]
7	crown bottle cap	1	round bar (?) (iron; approximately 5" long; 1 3/8" diameter)
5	spoon (cuprous; approximately 4 1/2" long; decorative teaspoon; 1" wide spoon bowl; Native American with	2	unidentified iron
		1	unidentified cuprous sheet metal (folded)
		1	gas tubing (brass; 3/8" outer diameter; 1 section of threaded pipe 6" long with 90 degree coupling at one end)

1	wire (copper; twisted; 0.06" diameter) [knob and tube wiring?]		diameter) [Britannia-like metal/deteriorated]
6	wire (copper; small gauge; 0.04" diameter; no sheathing present) [knob and tube wiring?]	1	comb "tooth" (hard rubber; broken; point only)
1	wire bundle (unidentified material; small gauge; 9 loops) [possibly aluminum]	4	undecorated whiteware
1	shoe (?) nail (copper; approximately 1/2" long)	1	printed (blue; whiteware)
80	machine cut nail fragments	4	undecorated porcelain
2	machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)	1	furniture castor wheel (porcelain; 1/2" thick; approximately 1" diameter)
1	machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)	1	button (porcelain; loop shank; 0.33" diameter)
1	machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)	1	marble (Rockingham glaze; blue; clay; 0.50" diameter)
1	machine cut nail (2" long)	1	marble (painted; marbled blue/green; salt-glazed stoneware; 0.71" diameter)
3	machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)	1	button (shell; 2-hole; recessed front; 0.30" diameter)
1	machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)	1	button (shell; 2-hole; approximately 0.40" diameter; fragments)
2	machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)	1	snail (shell)
40	machine cut tacks (5/8" long)	6	container glass (clear; lamp chimney)
2	machine cut tacks (7/8" long)	1	container glass (aqua)
6	wire-drawn nail fragments	1	window glass (aqua)
4	wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)	1	crown bottle cap (ferrous)
2	wire-drawn nail (1" long)	1	coin (copper/nickel; V-Nickel/Liberty Head Nickel; indeterminate mint date)
1	wire-drawn nail (3/4" long)	3	unidentified iron strap/band (approximately 1/2" wide; thin; rounded on one edge) mnv: 1 [clothing stay?]
5	staples	1	combination paint can and bottle opener (iron; 3 3/4" long) [screw driver?]
1	double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)	1	button (cuprous; red; 3-piece loop shank; 0.53" diameter)
16	pencil (wood, graphite, cuprous endcap with eraser)	21	machine cut nail fragments
1	toothbrush (bone; 6 1/4" long; 1/2" wide; embossed "The Dandy Brush")	1	machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
1	button (bone; 4-hole; 0.67" diameter)	1	machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
42	bone	1	machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
1	window glazing (red paint)	1	machine cut tack (5/8" long)
	coal	1	wire-drawn nail (2 3/4" long)
1	cork (approximately 11/16" diameter; 7/8" long)	1	wire-drawn nail (1 3/4" long)
6	burned wood		
1	walnut		
Lot C-46			
2	Vessel C-4		
2	Vessel C-7		
1	Vessel C-8		
1	round disk (composite material; highly burned; approximately 1 1/2"		

- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (7/8" long)
- 16 bone
- burned wood
- 2 clinkers

Lot C-47

- 1 Vessel C-4
- 3 Vessel C-9
- 1 Vessel C-42
- 1 porcelain doll face (?)
- 1 collar stud (porcelain?)
- 3 undecorated whiteware
- 11 redware
- 1 container glass (aqua/milk glass; layered glass)
- 1 container glass (aqua; pattern molded)
- 5 chimney glass (clear; thin)
- 2 container glass (clear; thick)
- 15 container glass (clear)
- 1 container glass (clear; frosted)
- 4 window glass (aqua)
- 1 unidentified iron strap/band (approximately 1/2" wide; thin) [clothing stay? Matches 3 fragments from Lot C-46]
- 16 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 4 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 47 bone
- 1 lid seal (?) (cork; 1" diameter; 1/8" thick)
- 3 wood

Lot C-48

- 1 Vessel C-30
- 6 machine cut nail fragments
- 30 bone
- 1 plaster
- 1 mortar

Lot C-49

- 1 Vessel C-153
- 1 Vessel C-168
- 2 Vessel C-179
- 5 undecorated whiteware
- 1 printed (purple) whiteware
- 1 container glass (layered red/clear)
- 2 container glass (aqua)
- 1 privacy glass (clear; 1/8" thick; Florentine pattern)
- 54 window glass (aqua)
- 28 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (aluminum; 2 3/8" long)
- 2 bone
- 1 mussel shell
- 4 wood (one fragment 5 3/8" long; 1 1/2" diameter)
- 1 roofing slate (black)
- 2 brick (small fragments)
- 1 coal

Lot C-50

- 1 Vessel C-167
- 4 undecorated whiteware
- 1 printed (brown) whiteware [cup]
- 1 printed (black) whiteware
- 1 container glass (dark green/black)
- 2 container glass (aqua)
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 8 window glass (aqua)
- 4 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 1 indeterminate metal (ferrous; approximately 6 1/4" long; 1 1/2" outer diameter; approximately 1" inner diameter) [bent; pipe-like]
- 10 machine cut nail fragments
- 2 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 2 bone
- 2 mussel shell

Lot C-51

- 1 Vessel C-166
- 1 pipe stem (kaolin)
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 4 window glass (aqua)
- 1 machine cut nail fragment
- 1 coal (large sample)

Lot C-52

- 1 Vessel C-89
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 plate (painted; blue; whiteware)
- 1 painted (polychrome; whiteware)
- 1 lamp shade (?) (milk glass)
- 3 lamp chimney (clear)
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 9 container glass (?) (clear; melted; possible tableware (?))
- 52 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
- 48 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 1 electrical wire (copper; heavy gauge; cloth covered/wrapped; 1 3/4" long)
- 4 U-shaped iron and wood shovel (?) handle [mnv: 1]
- 480 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (4" long)
- 4 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
- 4 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/4" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 17 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 11 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1/2" long)
- 18 machine cut tacks (5/8"-3/4" long)
- 10 machine cut tacks (1/2" long)
- 13 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/4" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
- 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)

- 2 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (7/8" long)
- 1 window glazing
- 20 ivory "ball" (turned; 2.3375" diameter; burned) [pool or billiards ball]
- 3 bone
- 1 "anvil" stone (sandstone; 6" x 6" x 2 1/2" burned; both surfaces heavily worked; reused building stone with tool marks on two opposing flat surfaces) ["worked" surface most likely created by sharpening edge tools.]
- 1 writing slate
- 2 mortar/plaster
- coal
- brick

Lot C-53

- 1 Vessel C-2
- 8 Vessel C-7
- 1 Vessel C-12
- 10 undecorated whiteware
- 3 redware
- 1 painted (polychrome; small floral; whiteware)
- 4 container glass (clear)
- 2 container glass (aqua)
- 2 window glass (?) (aqua; melted)
- 16 window glass (aqua)
- 1 strap-like iron (approximately 1/8" thick and 1" wide)
- 36 machine cut nail fragments
- 3 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 8 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 11 bone
- 6 mortar
- coal

3 brick

Lot C-54

5 brick

Lot C-55

1 undecorated whiteware (burned)
1 doorknob (red paste; dark/black glaze)
1 container glass (clear; burned)
7 window glass (aqua)
3 window glass (aqua; melted)
3 machine cut nail fragments
2 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
coal

Lot C-56

1 Vessel C-35
2 Vessel C-36
3 Vessel C-7
13 undecorated whiteware
2 machine cut nail (3/4" long)
1 bone
10 mortar

Lot C-57

1 Vessel C-165
1 Vessel C-168
1 undecorated whiteware
1 redware
1 printed (blue) whiteware
5 container glass (clear)
10 window glass (aqua)
4 machine cut nail fragments
5 wire-drawn nail fragments

Lot C-58

1 Vessel C-76
17 Vessel C-105
3 Vessel C-112
1 container glass (clear; crimped; rim only; burned/melted)
13 container glass (clear; burned)
10 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
159 window glass (?) (aqua; melted)

41 window glass (?) (melted; white patina)

76 window glass (?) (aqua; highly melted; white patina with metal corrosion)

5 glass (clear; melted)

9 sheet metal pan (iron; handle 1 1/8" wide; 1/8" thick)

471 machine cut nail fragments

1 machine cut nail (3" long)

8 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)

6 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)

2 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)

8 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)

6 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)

11 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)

21 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)

10 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)

4 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)

6 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)

1 machine cut nail (1" long)

8 machine cut tacks (1/2"-5/8" long)

5 wire-drawn nail fragments

1 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)

2 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)

5 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)

1 double-pointed wire-drawn/dowel nail (1" long)

1 window glazing

plaster

charcoal

Lot C-59

9 Vessel C-71

1 Vessel C-92

1 undecorated whiteware

13 container glass (clear)

115 container glass (?) (aqua; melted)

21 container glass (?) (clear; melted)

92 window glass (aqua; melted; some possible melted container glass included)

3 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)

37 window glass (?) (aqua; highly melted; white patina)
 50 unidentified glass (several colors; highly melted)
 72 unidentified glass (clear; melted; container glass included?)
 67 unidentified glass (clear; highly melted)
 1 harmonica soundboard (copper; 1" x 3 7/8")
 1 cuprous ring (5/8" diameter)
 1 roller shade bracket (iron; 1 3/8" x 7/8" x 1 1/4" nails still attached)
 1 "cap" (cuprous; iron wire attached on backside?; approximately 0.72" diameter 0.38" tall) [see lot C-44]
 550 machine cut nail fragments
 20 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
 2 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
 45 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
 45 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 6 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
 1 machine cut tack (7/8" long)
 13 machine cut tack (5/8" long)
 75 wire-drawn nail fragments
 1 wire-drawn nail (3" long)
 3 wire-drawn nail (2 3/4" long)
 2 wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (1 3/8" long)
 2 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
 2 wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)
 3 wire-drawn nail (1 1/8" long)
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 3/8" long)
 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)
 2 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (7/8" long)
 1 bone
 plaster
 charcoal

Lot C-60

1 undecorated whiteware
 1 printed (blue) whiteware
 1 straight pin
 2 machine cut nail fragments
 2 wire-drawn nail fragments
 3 bone
 1 mortar
 4 bricks

Lot C-61

1 window glass (aqua)
 4 machine cut nail fragments
 2 bone
 plaster
 9 brick
 3 clinkers

Lot C-62

15 Vessel C-1
 1 container glass (clear; body)
 2 machine cut fragments
 1 bone
 plaster
 coal

Lot C-63

8 Vessel C-1
 5 Vessel C-34
 14 undecorated whiteware
 1 redware
 2 window glass (aqua)
 17 machine cut nail fragments
 3 bone
 9 mortar
 1 brick

Lot C-64

1 Vessel C-163
 1 Vessel C-164
 1 Vessel C-167
 9 undecorated whiteware
 2 undecorated porcelain
 1 unglazed red paste earthenware
 1 salt-glazed stoneware
 1 Albany-slipped stoneware

- 1 container glass (amber)
- 8 container glass (aqua)
- 7 container glass (clear)
- 23 window glass (aqua)
- 1 sheet metal (cut scrap copper; triangular; 1" long)
- 2 machine cut nail fragment
- 2 wire-drawn nail fragment
- 7 bone

Lot C-65

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 2 window glass (aqua)

Lot C-66

- 2 container glass (clear; melted)
- 3 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 43 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
- 8 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 2 machine cut tacks (1/2" – 5/8" long)
- 11 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)

Lot C-67

- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 container glass (dark green/black)
- 10 container glass (clear)
- 5 window glass (aqua)
- 1 button fragment (milk glass; 4-hole?) [small fragment]
- 7 indeterminate sheet metal (ferrous; layered)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 4 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 roofing slate (purple)

Lot C-68

- 1 undecorated whiteware

- 1 button (blue glass; 2-hole; 0.42" diameter)
- 1 container glass (brown; probable bottle)
- 38 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 23 window glass (aqua; highly melted)
- 11 unidentified glass (clear)
- 22 coin purse fragments (ferrous)
- 4 sheet metal (iron)
- 1 indeterminate iron (bar?; 3/4" x 3/4"; heavily corroded) [lag bolt?]
- 1 staple (7/8" long)
- 1261 machine cut nail fragments
- 8 machine cut nail (3 1/4" long)
- 9 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
- 7 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
- 27 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
- 21 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 46 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
- 17 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (3/4" long)
- 38 machine cut tacks (5/8"-7/8" long)
- 50 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 3 wire-drawn nail (1 3/4" long)
- 2 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 3/8" long)
- 6 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (7/8" long)
- 1 fruit pit (small) [peach?]
- 17 bone
- plaster
- charcoal
- 9 wood (burned; worked?)

Lot C-69

- 1 Vessel C-10
- 1 writing slate
- 3 knife (bone/antler handle; rattail tang; approximately 8" long; mnv=1)
- 1 undecorated pearlware
- 16 undecorated whiteware

- 5 redware
- 1 painted (blue; lined rim) whiteware
- 1 painted (black; lined rim) whiteware
- 1 painted (?) (blue) whiteware
[unusual]
- 1 annular decorated (brown)
whiteware
- 2 annular decorated whiteware
- 1 edge decorated (blue) whiteware
- 1 printed (blue) whiteware [same
pattern as Vessels C-20, C-21, C-28]
- 1 printed (flow blue; pearlware; with
back stamp: "...MBU...")
- 2 printed (purple) whiteware
- 1 container glass (milk glass)
- 1 container glass (aqua; melted)
- 3 container glass (aqua)
- 1 window glass (aqua)
- 1 unidentified glass (clear; melted)
- 8 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (3 1/4" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn
nail/dowel nail (1" long)
- 32 bone
mortar
wood (burned)
- 1 clinker

Lot C-70

- 2 Vessel C-167
- 1 unglazed red paste earthenware
- 5 container glass (dark green/black)
- 3 container glass (aqua)
- 7 container glass (clear)
- 8 window glass (aqua)
- 6 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 1 wire (ferrous; large gauge;
approximately 7" long) [handle?]
- 1 handle (?) (ferrous; figure 8 shape; 2
5/8" long; 1 3/8" wide)
- 5 sheet metal (ferrous)
- 8 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 bone

- 5 mussel shell
- 1 coal

Lot C-71

- 1 Vessel C-161
- 1 Vessel C-162
- 1 doorknob (white; porcelain) [small
fragment]
- 2 redware [mnv=1; bowl/jar base]
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware
- 1 printed (blue) whiteware
- 6 container glass (dark green/black)
- 3 container glass (aqua)
- 2 container glass (clear)
- 8 window glass (aqua)
- 1 buckle (?) (ferrous; 1/2" x 3/4")
- 3 indeterminate sheet metal (ferrous;
layered)
- 1 wire (ferrous; thick gauge) [handle?]
- 15 machine cut nail fragments
- 3 bone
- 4 mussel shell
- 1 coal
- 1 plaster

Lot C-72

- 1 printed (red) porcelain
- 2 container glass (dark green/black)
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 2 window glass (aqua)
- 1 wire (ferrous)
- 1 wire (cuprous; flattened)
- 1 bolt (ferrous; minimally 4" long;
3/8" diameter)
- 1 indeterminate cuprous metal
(approximately 5/8" wide; thin)
- 3 strap (ferrous; 7/8" wide)
- 5 machine cut nail fragments
- 3 wire-drawn nail fragments

Lot C-73

- 1 Vessel C-86
- 1 door knob fragment (white porcelain;
heavily burned) [crossmends with lot
C-75]
- 1 container glass (?) (clear; melted)

4 window glass (aqua; melted)
 8 machine cut nail fragments
 2 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1" long)
 plaster

Lot C-74

1 undecorated whiteware
 10 window glass (aqua; melted)
 3 container glass (?) (clear; melted)
 1 sliding bolt door latch (1 7/8" x 3 5/8"; broken; sliding bolt missing)
 1 door latch "keeper" (?) (3" long)
 1 cuprous "ring" (broken; flattened; approximately 1/2-5/8" diameter)
 543 machine cut nail fragments
 4 machine cut nail (3 1/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (3" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
 4 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
 4 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)
 4 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
 3 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 3/4" long)
 15 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
 22 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 3 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
 29 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
 5 machine cut nail (1" long)
 2 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
 3 machine cut nail (3/4" long)
 1 machine cut nail (5/8" long)
 10 wire-drawn nail fragments
 1 wire-drawn nail (4 5/8" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (4 1/4" long)
 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)
 3 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
 4 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)
 plaster

Lot C-75

14 door knob fragments (white porcelain; heavily burned; two different knobs) [possible to same hardware; crossmends with Lot C-74]
 6 container glass (clear)
 23 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
 50 window glass (aqua; highly melted; white patina)
 1 sheet metal/disk (iron; 1 1/2" diameter) [light bulb base?]
 528 machine cut nail fragments
 1 machine cut nail (3" long)
 3 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
 7 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
 2 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)
 4 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
 2 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 3/4" long)
 10 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 7 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
 6 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
 53 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
 4 machine cut nail (1" long)
 25 machine cut tacks (5/8" 7/8" long)
 7 wire-drawn nail fragments
 1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
 2 wire-drawn nail (1 3/8" long)
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (3/4" long"
 3 window glazing
 plaster
 charcoal

Lot C-76

1 Vessel C-3
 1 Vessel C-4
 1 undecorated pearlware
 5 undecorated whiteware
 1 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)

- 1 window glass (?) (aqua; highly melted; burned)
- 3 bone

Lot C-77

- 16 Vessel C-19
- 7 undecorated whiteware
- 1 undecorated whiteware (burned)
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware
- 3 machine cut nail fragments
- 5 bone
- plaster and mortar

Lot C-78

- 5 undecorated whiteware
- 1 undecorated whiteware (burned)
- 1 redware
- 2 unidentified redware (?) (spalled; burned?) [possibly burned whiteware]
- 5 redware (mottled black and yellow)
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware (cobalt blue decoration?)
- 1 annular decorated (mocha; pearlware)
- 2 painted (polychrome; small floral; whiteware)
- 2 printed (blue) whiteware
- 1 button (bone; 5-hole; 0.69" long)
- 1 paper (charred)
- 1 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 7 window glass (aqua)
- 6 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (3" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 44 bone
- coal
- 1 stone

Lot C-79

- 1 Vessel C-154

- 1 Vessel C-155
- 1 Vessel C-156
- 1 Vessel C-157
- 1 Vessel C-158
- 1 Vessel C-159
- 1 Vessel C-160
- 1 Vessel C-168
- 1 pipe stem (kaolin)
- 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.69" diameter)
- 13 undecorated whiteware
- 2 redware
- 1 Albany-slipped stoneware
- 1 printed (black) whiteware
- 1 printed (brown) whiteware
- 3 printed (blue) whiteware
- 2 container glass (dark green/black)
- 1 container glass (cobalt blue)
- 1 container glass (amber)
- 1 container glass (milk)
- 8 container glass (aqua)
- 11 container glass (clear)
- 14 window glass (aqua)
- 2 bolt (iron; approximately 4 1/2" long; approximately 3/8" diameter)
- 1 horseshoe (iron; broken; 5/8" wide; minimally 3 3/4" tall)
- 1 parasol rib base (?) (black enameled metal; 7/8" tall; 1/4" diameter; hole at end)
- 1 button (cuprous; 3-piece stamped socket and stud; 0.67" diameter)
- 26 machine cut nail fragments
- 2 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 4 bone

Lot C-80

- 1 Vessel C-152
- 1 Vessel C-153
- 5 undecorated whiteware
- 2 unglazed red paste earthenware
- 1 Albany-slipped stoneware
- 1 painted (green/black floral) whiteware
- 1 printed (green) whiteware
- 2 printed (blue) whiteware

1 container glass (dark green/black)
 8 container glass (aqua)
 7 container glass (clear)
 14 window glass (aqua)
 6 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
 5 container glass (?) (aqua; melted)
 6 indeterminate sheet metal (ferrous; layered)
 55 machine cut nail fragments
 1 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
 4 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
 11 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 3 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
 19 wire-drawn nail fragments
 1 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
 3 bone
 1 plaster (with white coat)

Lot C-81

1 Vessel C-11
 1 Vessel C-22
 1 Vessel C-110
 2 Vessel C-111
 2 undecorated whiteware
 1 undecorated yellowware
 1 painted (polychrome; small floral; whiteware; burned)
 1 container glass (clear)
 3 unidentified glass (clear; melted; white patina)
 84 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
 121 window glass (aqua; highly melted; white patina)
 1 roller shade hook (?) (iron; nail still attached?)
 1 door latch (?) (iron; 1 1/4" wide x 8 1/4" long; ben) [reminiscent of Norfolk-style latch]
 1 nut (?) (iron; 1" diameter shank; 1 3/4" head; 3 1/4" long)
 1 railroad spike (iron; 5 3/4" long)
 758 machine cut nail fragments
 1 machine cut nail (3 1/4" long)
 2 machine cut nail (3" long)
 11 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)

10 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
 19 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
 66 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 37 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
 9 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
 10 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
 2 machine cut nail (1" long)
 2 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
 8 machine cut tacks (1/2"-5/8" long)
 43 wire-drawn nail fragments
 1 wire-drawn nail (3 1/4" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
 2 wire-drawn nail (2" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
 2 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (1 3/8" long)
 2 wire-drawn nail (1 1/4" long)
 1 wire-drawn nail (1 1/8" long)
 4 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 3/8" long)
 27 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/4" long)
 7 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
 15 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)
 2 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (7/8" long)
 1 screw fragment (3/16" diameter)
 3 bone

Lot C-82

3 Vessel C-2
 2 lice comb (bone)
 6 undecorated whiteware
 3 window glass (aqua)
 17 machine cut nail fragments
 1 bone
 1 brick

Lot C-83

15 Vessel C-2
 1 Vessel C-28
 8 undecorated whiteware
 1 container glass (aqua; melted)
 3 window glass (aqua)

- 1 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (1 ½" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)

Lot C-84

- 1 Vessel 5
- 2 undecorate whiteware
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware [probably a jug]
- 1 button (bone; 1-hole; 0.46" diameter)
- 3 window glass (aqua)
- 13 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 7/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 ¾" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 ½" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1 1/8" long)
- 12 bone
- 4 clinkers
- coal
- 1 fruit pi (small; peach?)

Lot C-85

- 4 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 4 bone

Lot C-86

- 1 container glass (green)
- 1 machine cut nail fragment
- 10 brick

Lot C-87

- 1 Vessel C-150
- 1 Vessel C-151
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware (Albany-slipped interior)
- 1 printed (blue) whiteware
- 1 elbow pipe (red paste)
- 1 container glass (amber)
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 1 window glass (aqua)

- 1 wire-drawn nail fragment
- 4 bone

Lot C-88

- 3 Vessel C-89
- 3 undecorated whiteware
- 1 redware
- 1 painted (polychrome) whiteware
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 9 window glass (aqua; slightly melted)
- 4 "lapel" pin (ferrous metal with cuprous pin; stamped; unknown decoration; 1 ¼" diameter) [advertisement or political?]
- 2 wire (iron; thick gauge; one with bulbous "head")
- 4 sheet metal (iron)
- 592 machine cut nail fragments
- 4 machine cut nail (3 ¼" long)
- 4 machine cut nail (3" long)
- 11 machine cut nail (2 ¾" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (2 ½" long)
- 3 machine cut nail (2 ¼" long)
- 8 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 16 machine cut nail (1 ½" long)
- 33 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1" long)
- 4 machine cut nail (7/8" long)
- 3 machine cut tacks (5/8" long)
- 19 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (4 ¼" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 ¾" long)
- 4 wire-drawn nail (1 5/8" long)
- 5 wire-drawn nail (1 ½" long)
- 2 double-pointed wire-drawn nail/dowel nail (1" long)
- 14 bone
- plaster
- charcoal
- brick

Lot C-89

- 18 Vessel C-1

1 Vessel C-13
 4 Vessel C-14
 1 Vessel C-30
 1 Vessel C-31
 2 undecorated ironstone
 5 undecorated whiteware
 1 hair pin (hard rubber; 2 7/8" long)
 1 button (shell; 4-hole; 0.39" diameter)
 1 unidentified shell (mother of pearl?)
 1 container glass (milk)
 4 container glass (aqua)
 3 container glass (clear)
 15 window glass (aqua)
 1 button (stamped metal/copper?; 4-hole; 0.47" diameter)
 22 machine cut nail fragments
 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
 2 machine cut tacks (5/8" long)
 14 sheet metal fragments
 25 bone
 3 bone (burned)
 plaster
 1 brick

Lot C-90

15 Vessel C-1
 1 Vessel C-6
 7 undecorated whiteware
 6 redware
 1 salt-glazed stoneware
 1 printed (blue) whiteware
 3 window glass (aqua)
 3 unidentified sheet metal
 22 machine cut nail fragments
 30 bone
 plaster

Lot C-91

3 Vessel C-1
 13 Vessel C-6
 1 undecorated whiteware
 4 bone

Lot C-92

1 undecorated whiteware
 1 redware

2 painted (polychrome; small floral; whiteware)
 2 window glass (aqua)
 5 machine cut nail fragments
 15 bone
 1 eggshell
 coal

Lot C-93

1 Vessel C-2
 1 Vessel C-1
 2 undecorated whiteware [rim; hollowware]
 2 redware
 4 window glass (aqua)
 1 machine cut nail fragments
 1 machine cut nail (5/8" long)
 4 bone
 plaster
 1 stone fragment

Lot C-94

1 Vessel C-1
 1 Vessel C-37
 1 Vessel C-38

Lot C-95

1 Vessel C-139
 1 Vessel C-140
 1 Vessel C-141
 1 Vessel C-142
 1 Vessel C-143
 1 Vessel C-144
 1 Vessel C-145
 1 Vessel C-146
 2 Vessel C-147
 2 Vessel C-148
 1 Vessel C-149
 7 automotive battery casing (hard rubber; black; embossed on side "PAT. SEPT..."; exterior threaded cap)
 3 drainage tile (salt-glazed stoneware)
 3 electrical porcelain "plates" [socket or fuse]

1 electrical porcelain fuse socket (?)
(exterior threaded)

1 electrical insulator (aqua; small; pole
type)

4 electrical insulator
(ceramic/porcelain; large; pole type)

1 doorknob (black glazed; red paste; 2
¼" diameter)

1 indeterminate leather (?)
(approximately 4 3/8" x 2 3/4")

20 undecorated whiteware

1 unglazed red paste earthenware

1 undecorated hotelware

1 salt-glazed stoneware

2 Albany-slipped stoneware

1 black glass slag

10 container glass (amber)

5 container glass (milk)

4 container glass (cobalt blue)

1 container/table glass (blue/green)

37 container glass (aqua)

86 container glass (clear)

1 architectural glass block (clear;
minimally 4 ¼" x 3 ¼";
approximately 3/8" thick)

3 privacy glass (clear; ¼" thick;
Florentine pattern)

1 privacy glass (clear; ¼" thick; wavy
pattern)

1 privacy glass (clear; ¼" thick; lined
pattern)

1 privacy glass (clear; ¼" thick;
textured pattern)

57 plate glass (aqua; ¼" thick)

1 privacy glass (clear; acid-etched
patterned)

109 window glass (aqua)

2 graphite battery core (?) (minimally
1 5/8" long; ½" diameter)

1 coin (Buffalo/Indian Head nickel)
[1913-1938; date worn off]

1 washer (?) (lead; ¼" thick; ½"
diameter)

1 washer (ferrous; 1 ½" diameter
exterior; ½" diameter hole)

1 strap (cuprous; 3/8" wide; minimally
2" long)

1 shell casing (cuprous; 22-caliber;
7/16" tall) [center or rim fire
unknown]

1 bar (cuprous; blunted on end; 3/16"
diameter)

1 peg board bracket (ferrous; 9 ½"
long)

2 indeterminate ferrous (4" long; 2"
wide; 3/4" thick)

10 electrical armored cable (ferrous)

1 indeterminate lead (melted)

18 machine cut nail fragments

1 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)

1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)

18 wire-drawn nail fragments

1 wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)

1 double pointed cuprous nail (?) (2
½" long)

34 bone

4 coal

Lot C-96

1 electrical insulator
(ceramic/porcelain; brown; large
pole type)

1 bead on twisted wire (milk
glass/cuprous; 0.19" diameter; 0.16"
tall)

1 undecorated buff paste earthenware

4 container glass (clear)

2 container glass (aqua)

1 container glass (milk glass)

1 plate glass (aqua)

7 window glass (aqua)

1 crown bottle cap

1 wire-drawn nail fragment

1 wire-drawn nail (1 ¾" long)

1 bone

Lot C-97

1 container glass (aqua; base?;
approximately 3" diameter) [jar?]

4 container glass (clear)

- 1 container glass (clear)
[tumbler/drinking]
- 34 window glass (aqua)
- 2 machine cut nail fragments

Lot C-98

- 1 Vessel C-11
- 3 window glass (aqua)
- 3 sheet metal (iron; round; approximately 1/4" thick; similar to piece in Lot C-26)
- 1 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (3 1/2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (7/8" long)

Lot C-99

- 1 machine cut nail fragments

Lot C-100

- 1 container glass (clear; body)
- 1 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 bone

Lot C-101

- 2 bone [phalanges?]
- 8 plaster (with white coat)
- 1 brick

Lot C-102

- 6 Vessel C-115
- 1 Vessel C-116
- 2 Vessel C-117
- 1 Vessel C-118
- 1 undecorated pearlware
- 1 painted (polychrome; small floral; whiteware)
- 3 window glass (aqua) [measured]
- 2 unidentified iron
- 18 unidentified sheet metal (iron)
- 1 clinker
- 5 bone
- 4 mortar
- 3 plaster (with thin white coat)

- 10 brick [large fragments; clean; construction debris]

Lot C-103

- 1 Vessel C-119
- 2 window glass (aqua) [measured]
- coal

Lot C-104

- 4 Vessel C-117
- 15 Vessel C-120
- 15 Vessel C-121
- 3 window glass (aqua) [measured]
- 2 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 bone
- 1 brick (nodule-like "clinker" with white calcined? Deposits on broken surface)
- 2 brick (soft; small fragments)
- 1 mortar

Lot C-105

- 1 Vessel C-44
- 1 Vessel C-45
- 1 Vessel C-46
- 1 salt-glaze stoneware
- 1 painted (polychrome; small floral; whiteware) [saucer?]
- 1 printed (flow blue; whiteware)
- 1 electrical insulator ("knob" from "knob-and-tube" wiring; porcelain; 1" diameter; 1 5/8" tall)
- 1 window glass (aqua)
- 1 bone
- 1 brick (glazed)

Lot C-106

- 2 Vessel C-47

Lot C-107

- 1 Vessel C-48
- 2 undecorated whiteware
- 2 printed (blue; whiteware)
- 1 writing stylus (slate; 0.18" diameter; 2 3/8" long)
- 6 machine cut nail fragments

1 bone

Lot C-108

4 Vessel C-56
1 Vessel C-57
1 Vessel C-58
4 Vessel C-59
1 Vessel C-60
9 undecorated whiteware
1 undecorated pearlware (burned;
small base only)
8 redware
1 annular decorated whiteware
2 printed (blue; whiteware)
1 container glass (aqua)
6 window glass (aqua; measured)
1 coin (copper; large cent; 1 1/8"
diameter; illegible mint date)
1 machine cut spike (iron; 5 3/4" long)
5 machine cut nail fragments
6 bone
1 coal

Lot C-109

3 mortar sample

Lot C-110 (number not assigned)

Lot C-111

1 Vessel C-112
1 Vessel C-113
1 Vessel C-114
5 container glass (clear)
1 writing stylus (slate; 1/4" diameter)
16 machine cut nail fragments
1 wire nail fragments
4 bone
1 mortar

Lot C-112

1 undecorated whiteware
1 button (milk glass; loop shank; 0.52"
diameter)
1 comb tine (hard rubber)
1 container glass (clear)
6 machine cut nail fragments

1 sheet metal (iron; 1 1/8" x 1 7/8";
curved)

1 button (shell; 4-hole; 0.54" diameter)

Lot C-113

94 bone
2 coal

Lot C-114

2 mortar

Lot C-115

1 electrical insulator (aqua; round; 3
1/4" diameter base; 4" tall; pole-type;
base embossed "PETTICOAT //
H.G. CO."

Lot C-116

1 Vessel C-123
1 Vessel C-124
1 Vessel C-125
2 undecorated whiteware
2 printed (blue) whiteware
1 printed (brown) whiteware
4 bone

Lot C-117

1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; pie crust
pattern; 0.41" diameter)
1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.62"
diameter)
1 writing stylus (slate; round; 3 7/8"
long; 0.19" diameter)
1 ring (cuprous; 1 15/16" outer
diameter; 1 7/16" inner diameter)
[solid metal]

Lot C-118

3 Vessel C-2
2 Vessel C-10
5 Vessel C-126
1 Vessel C-127
1 Vessel C-128
4 Vessel C-129
2 Vessel C-130
1 Vessel C-131

- 3 undecorated whiteware
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware
- 1 printed (blue) whiteware
- 21 bone

Lot C-119

- 10 Vessel C-132
- 1 marble (limestone; 0.57" diameter)
[unglazed and/or eroded]
- 9 undecorated whiteware
- 2 undecorated porcelain
- 5 printed (blue) whiteware [includes
what probably is GARDEN
SCENERY pattern cup]
- 1 window glass (aqua)
- 2 scissors (iron; 6 1/2" long; 2 5/8"
wide) [mnv=1]
- 4 bone
- 1 coal

Lot C-120

- 5 Vessel C-133
- 2 Vessel C-134
- 1 undecorated whiteware
- 1 machine cut nail fragment
- 1 machine cut nail (2 3/4" long)

Lot C-121

- 1 pipe bowl (kaolin; face with turban
and mustache; burned)
- 1 saw blade (iron; serrated; 1 1/8"
wide; minimally 2 3/4" long blade)
[tapered blade?]
- 1 machine cut nail (2 3/8" long)
- 4 brick (soft mud; burned; ash
covered)
- 1 brick (?) (heavily burned/vitrified;
fragment) [blackish-green color]
- 1 bone

Lot C-122

- 1 printed (blue/green) whiteware
[gothic shaped cup?]

Lot C-123

- 8 lime sample

Lot C-124

- 1 window glass (aqua)
- 517 bone

Lot C-125

- 1 Vessel C-10
- 15 bone

Lot C-126

- 1 ferrous slag/clinker
- 3 brick (small fragments)

Lot C-127

- 2 bone
- 1 brick (small fragment)

Lot C-128

- 1 indeterminate metal slag (large
fragment; approximately 3"
diameter)
- 1 brick (soft mud; approximately 2" x
3" x 4")

Lot C-129

- 7 brick (soft mud; greater than half
sized)

Lot C-130

- 9 brick (less than half sized)

Lot C-131

- 1 window glass (aqua; melted)
- 1 window glass (aqua; melted; white
patina; painted edge from window
molding)
- 1 indeterminate glass (heavily melted)

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

C-1	P	chamber pot ? lid (undecorated; pearlware; approximately 5" interior diameter with 6" outer diameter rim/lip) [too large to be a sugar bowl; potentially unidentified small jar or small chamber pot]
C-2	S/P	plate (printed; blue; CORAL BORDER pattern; whiteware)
C-3	S	indeterminate hollowware (undecorated; whiteware; handle only) [small, straight handle; small pitcher?]
C-4	S	waster bowl (?) (annular decorated; whiteware; approximately 8" diameter rim; rim only) [Probably London Urn shape]
C-5	S	cup plate or toy saucer/serving vessel (?) (sponge decorated; polychrome; red; green; whiteware; small rim only)
C-6	S/P	saucer (printed; blue; CANOVA pattern; whiteware; approximately 3" diameter base; 5 1/2" diameter rim)
C-7	S/P	food jar (aqua; molded; approximately 3 1/2" square base; Gothic panels; minimally 8" tall; body only)
C-8	S	indeterminate hollowware (printed; polychrome; pink luster overglaze highly faded; whiteware; body only)
C-9	S	indeterminate hollowware (painted; blue-lined rim; pearlware; approximately 3" diameter rim) [globular shape; potential sugar bowl]
C-10	S	plate (sponge decorated; red with painted, polychrome center; central "peafowl"; whiteware)
C-11	S	medicine (?) bottle (aqua; polygonal; 2-piece mold; pontil base; body embossed "S...")
C-12	S	perfume (?) bottle (clear/lead; molded base; octagonal?; base fragment only)
C-13	S	saucer (painted; small floral pattern; overglaze polychrome; ribbed/relief molded body; porcelain) [Teaware set, includes Vessels C30 and C-41.]
C-14	S	saucer (painted; polychrome; small floral; whiteware; 3" diameter base; 6" diameter rim)
C-15	P	medicine bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; approximately 1" x 1 3/4" wide base; minimally 4"-5" tall; 1" tall neck; improved tool Patent lip finish)
C-16	P	perfume bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Philadelphia Oval base; approximately 1 1/8" x 3/4"; approximately 2 7/8" tall; 3/4" long neck; improved tool Patent lip finish; with paper label "ROYAL / VIOLET / P[ERFU]ME")
C-17	S	lamp chimney (clear; straight base; approximately 1" tall base; approximately 2 1/2" diameter base)
C-18	S	medicine bottle/dosage cup (cobalt blue; machine made; round; 1 1/2" diameter mouth; Patent lip finish; embossed rim "...2...3.... 4..."; melted) [Sequential numbers around rim are printed upside down. Fragments of a dosage cup associated with a chemical/medicine bottle embossed "JOHN WYETH & BROS." Cap apparently is embossed in the center "THIS CAP HOLDS" and around rim "A HEAPING DESSERT SPOON FUL[sic]". The sequential numbers around the rim, which are right-side up when the dosage cup was placed over the mouth of the bottle, extend from 1 through 12, and apparently reference the hours of the day and allow the user to set the time of day for the

next dose to be taken—as the neck of the bottle is embossed “TAKE NEXT DOSE AT” with an arrow pointing up to the dose cap and the embossed number. The base of the bottle was embossed with a May 16, 1899 and represents the patent date.]

- C-19 S indeterminate hollowware vessel (annular decorated; polychrome; mocha; yellowware; body only) [Small bowl, or chamber pot]
- C-20 S cup (printed; blue; ROMANIA NO. 91 pattern; whiteware/pearlware) [Same pattern as C-28; probably matching cup and saucer.]
- C-21 S/P cup (printed; blue; whiteware; ABBEY 1779 Pattern; body only)
- C-22 S tumbler (clear/lead; molded; fluted; 2” diameter base; 8-flurtes ?; approximately 3” diameter lip)
- C-23 S lamp chimney (clear; straight base; approximately 2 ½” diameter base; base only)
- C-24 S/P cup (painted/printed overglaze; polychrome; large floral; handled; porcelain; 2” diameter base)
- C-25 S saucer (undecorated; whiteware/porcelain?; heavily burned; scalloped edge; 6” diameter rim)
- C-26 S plate (?) (edge decorated; blue; whiteware; scalloped rim; small rim only)
- C-27 S cup plate ? (printed; blue; unidentified pattern; whiteware/pearlware; approximately 5” diameter; burned) [Very small vessel, may also be a toy plate.]
- C-28 S saucer (printed; blue; ROMANIA NO. 91 pattern; whiteware/pearlware) [same pattern as C-20; probably matching cup and saucer]
- C-29 S cup (?) (gilded; porcelain; indeterminate rim diameter) [small fragments, possibly large ornate cup]
- C-30 S saucer (painted; small floral; Cornflower pattern; overglaze; polychrome; porcelain; 6” diameter rim) [Teaware set, includes Vessels C-13 and C-41.]
- C-31 S cup (painted; polychrome; small floral design; whiteware; London-urn shape; body only)
- C-32 S indeterminate bottle/jar (clear; improved tool; bead lip; lip only)
- C-33 S plate (undecorated, whiteware; 9” diameter rim; heavy bodied)
- C-34 S saucer (painted; polychrome; small floral design; whiteware)
- C-35 S plate (painted; monochrome; flow blue; whiteware; rim only)
- C-36 S plate (printed; blue; potentially IVANHOE pattern; whiteware; Gothic shape) [reminiscent of Vessel C-84.]
- C-37 S bowl/jar (redware; hand turned; 8” diameter rim; rim only)
- C-38 S plate (printed; black; MESINA pattern; whiteware; rim only)
- C-39 S indeterminate bottle (clear/lead; molded; square body; tapered neck; molded geometric design; melted) [early molded glass or tableware]
- C-40 S plate (printed; blue; WILLOW pattern; whiteware; approximately 9” diameter rim)
- C-41 S cup (painted; polychrome; small floral; overglaze; porcelain; burned) [Teaware set, includes Vessels C30 and C-41.]
- C-42 S tumbler/drinking glass (clear; molded; scroll design; approximately 2½” diameter lip)
- C-43 S number unassigned

- C-44 S medicine bottle (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Blake Variant 1 base; 1" x 1 7/8" base; minimally 5" tall; base embossed "2"; side embossed "...G")
- C-45 S soda water bottle ? (clear; machine made; Crown lip finish; lip/neck only)
- C-46 S soda water bottle (aqua; molded; Hutchinson Blob Top lip finish; lip only)
- C-47 S condiment bottle/jar (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; 2 1/8" diameter base; base embossed "CAMPBELL PRESERVE CO. / CAMDEN / PATENTED / AUG 29 1893 / N.J.")
- C-48 S cup (undecorated; whiteware/ironstone; 2" diameter base; embossed mark "OPAG[UE]... / GRAN[ITE] ... / CH[INA]"; base only) [potentially relief decorated?]
- C-49 S flower pot (unglazed; red paste earthenware; jigger molded; flat/cut rim; 6" diameter rim)
- C-50 S indeterminate tableware (?) (clear/lead; ribbed, body only)
- C-51 S serving bowl (edge decorated; blue; whiteware; octagonal shape)
- C-52 S jar (salt-glazed; stoneware; everted rim; globular shape; hand turned)
- C-53 S cup (painted; polychrome; small floral; London Urn shape ?; pearlware/whiteware; 1 7/8" diameter base; base only)
- C-54 S plate (printed; red; NANKING Pattern; whiteware)
- C-55 S number not assigned
- C-56 S lid (undecorated?; whiteware?; round; 6" diameter; burned) [sugar bowl?]
- C-57 S plate (edge decorated; blue; pearlware/whiteware; round/unscalloped rim; 8"-9" diameter)
- C-58 S saucer (printed; brown; unidentified pattern; whiteware; 6" diameter rim)
- C-59 S cup (painted; polychrome; small floral; whiteware; 4" diameter rim)
- C-60 S small plate (painted; embossed/relief decorated; polychrome highlights; small floral design; scalloped edge; pearlware; small rim fragment only) [Pratt Ware child's plate?]
- C-61 S large bowl/wash basin (printed; brown; late floral/aesthetic pattern; whiteware)
- C-62 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; scalloped edge; 6" diameter base)
- C-63 S indeterminate vessel (hard paste porcelain/Parian ware; potentially unglazed bisque exterior; exterior partially covered with "sanded" surface; round base; 3" diameter base; base only) [potential statuary?]
- C-64 S jar/bowl (salt-glazed; stoneware; hand turned; approximately 8" diameter base; base only)
- C-65 S gin bottle (green; molded; square base; approximately 3" x 3" base; embossed boar's head on base) [British Gordon's Dry Gin bottle]
- C-66 S jelly glass/tumbler (?) (clear; round; four etched bands around rim; melted)
- C-67 P shot glass (clear/lead; molded; alternating wide and narrow flutes; ground pontil and ground base; 1 1/2" diameter base)
- C-68 P shot glass (clear/lead; molded; fluted base; 1 5/8" diameter base; ground pontil and ground base)
- C-69 P cup (undecorated?; ironstone/soft-paste porcelain; heavy-bodied "hotel ware"; handleless; 3 1/4" diameter rim; 2" diameter base; 3" tall; burned/smoked)
- C-70 S/P small serving bowl (blue glass; press molded; footed; potentially round, approximately 3" diameter; approximately 2 1/2" tall; interior lip to receive lid; unburned)

- C-71 P jelly glass/tumbler (clear; molded; round; wide rouletted band around rim exterior; exterior lip to receive metal lid; 3” diameter)
- C-72 P lamp chimney (clear; molded rim; straight base; 1 ¼” tall base; 3” diameter base; burned/melted)
- C-73 S cup (painted; polychrome; small floral pattern; soft-paste porcelain; approximately 2 ½” diameter rim; burned) [potentially a child’s cup?]
- C-74 S pitcher (?) (relief decorated; whiteware/ironstone; handle only; heavily burned)
- C-75 S/P mixing bowl (Bristol glazed?; stoneware; jigger molded; indeterminate base size; base only; burned)
- C-76 S medicine bottle (aqua; molded; melted and deformed)
- C-77 P canning jar lid liner (milk glass; round; 2 ½” diameter; burned/melted; unmarked)
- C-78 P salve/cold cream jar (milk glass; round; approximately 2” diameter base; burned and melted; base embossed “...NEILL...”) (Vessel C-6) [May represent multiple jars?]
- C-79 S olive oil (?) bottle (clear; round; long neck; improved tool Patent lip finish; lead foil seal around neck)
- C-80 S cup (printed; brown; unidentified “FLUTE PLAYER” pattern; whiteware; double-curve shape)
- C-81 P mug (indeterminate glaze; earthenware; handled; burned and shattered) [potentially a Bristol-glazed coarseware mug?]
- C-82 P medicine bottle (clear; square; 2” x 2” base approximately 4 5/8” tall; heavily burned/smoked; half heavily melted) [probably Blake Variant I medicine bottle; approximately 6” tall]
- C-83 S indeterminate vessel (unglazed, red-paste earthenware; body only) [may be either fragment of a flower pot, or chimney “thimble”—most likely the latter.]
- C-84 S/P cup (printed; blue; GARDEN SCENERY pattern; whiteware; Gothic-shape; heavy-bodied)]
- C-85 S plate (printed; black; whiteware; 6” diameter base; burned; base only)
- C-86 S liquor bottle (dark green/black; round; lip only; improved tool Brady lip finish)
- C-87 S lamp chimney (clear; 1” tall straight base; base only)
- C-88 S saucer (printed; brown; unidentified floral pattern; painted polychrome highlights and lined rim; whiteware; 6” diameter rim; burned)
- C-89 S wine bottle (dark green/black; round; applied tool string lip finish)
- C-90 P chamber pot lid (indeterminate glaze and decoration; ironstone?; heavily burned; 10” outer diameter; 8” inner diameter) [probably ironstone?]
- C-91 S indeterminate food jar? (clear; round; heavily melted with ferrous metal cap; 1 ½” diameter cap)
- C-92 S/P whiskey flask (clear; minimally 2 ½” wide; ball neck; improved tool Brandy lip finish)
- C-93 S indeterminate bottle (clear; round; 1 ½” diameter; improved tool Patent lip finish; small rim only)
- C-94 S vial (aqua; 5/8” diameter; highly melted)
- C-95 S wine bottle (amber; round; long neck; applied tool string lip finish; Hock-style bottle)
- C-96 P homeopathic vial (clear; molded; “patent” lip finish; ½” diameter base; 3” tall)

- C-97 P indeterminate bottle (clear; 1 ½” diameter; improved tool Patent lip finish; Ricketts mold; 1 ½” diameter base; 2 ¾” tall; ¾” neck) [pill bottle/glue or polish bottle]
- C-98 S lamp chimney (clear; straight base minimally 1 ¼” tall; burned)
- C-99 S whiskey flask (aqua; molded; scroll-style flask; small body only)
- C-100 S salve jar/”pot” (blue exterior; white interior; oval; tin-glazed earthenware; approximately 1” x 1 ½” base; unknown height)
- C-101 S medicine bottle ? (clear; lip only; molded; improved tool Patent lip finish; 1 3/16” diameter)
- C-102 S lamp globe (?) (milk glass; round; flared lip only; molded; 4” diameter)
- C-103 P cup (undecorated porcelain; 3 3/8” rim diameter; 2” base diameter; heavily burned’ handleless) [shaving cup?]
- C-104 P indeterminate vessel (?) (indeterminate material; earthenware?; indeterminate size and shape; heavily burned and melted)
- C-105 P condiment bottle (clear; screw top blow-over-mold; fire polished lip finish; 2 ½” diameter base; base embossed “16 3-2”) [catsup]
- C-106 S/P lamp chimney (clear; molded; straight base; ground lip; 1” diameter lip; 3/8” tall base) [child’s lamp?]
- C-107 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; round; molded; potential Owen’s scar; 2 ½” diameter base)
- C-108 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; round?; illegible embossed base; burned/melted) [may represent melted fragments of Vessel C-7, a Gothic food jar]
- C-109 S lamp font (?) (milk glass; screw top mouth approximately ¾” diameter and 3/8” tall; bulbous body; decorated; heavily melted)
- C-110 S flower pot (unglazed; red paste earthenware; hand turned; 6” diameter; rim)
- C-111 S waster bowl (annular decorated; yellowware; London Urn shape; approximately 6” diameter rim)
- C-112 S saucer (undecorated; whiteware; 6” diameter rim; burned)
- C-113 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; approximately 3” diameter rim)
- C-114 S jelly glass/tumbler (clear; molded; roulette rim; approximately 2 ½” diameter rim)
- C-115 P plate (edge-decorated; blue; pearlware; scalloped rim; 9” diameter rim)
- C-116 S waster bowl ? (undecorated ?; whiteware; base only)
- C-117 S bowl (redware; 10” diameter; rolled rim; hand turned) [crossmends with bowl in Lot C-104]
- C-118 S jar (?) (salt glazed; stoneware; painted decoration; cobalt-blue; body only) [same as sherd in Lot C-78 and Lot C-102]
- C-119 S saucer (painted; polychrome; small floral/sprig; whiteware; 6” diameter rim)
- C-120 P jar (redware; ovoid shape; 9 1/2” diameter rim; 12 1/8” tall; 6 7/8” diameter base; hand-turned; everted rim; two line and wave design; strap handle) [local ware]
- C-121 P lid (stamped iron; approximately 9” diameter; 7/8” lip height; dome shape) [cooking pot lid]
- C-122 S cup (printed; blue; ABBEY 1779 pattern; whiteware)
- C-123 S bowl/jar (undecorated; redware; hand turned; rim only; 6” diameter rim)
- C-124 S plate (printed; black; whiteware; rim only) [Potentially Gothic shaped plate?]

- C-125 S plate (printed; blue; WILLOW pattern; whiteware)
- C-126 S saucer (painted; overglaze; unknown color; small floral pattern; porcelain; 3” diameter base)
- C-127 S plate (printed; brown; ISOLA BELLE Pattern; whiteware; rim only; Gothic shape?)
- C-128 S cup ? (printed; blue; unidentified pattern; whiteware; small rim only) [Unusual cup or small jar form.]
- C-129 S saucer (undecorated; porcelain; 6” diameter rim)
- C-130 S saucer (painted; polychrome; small floral/dot pattern; whiteware; 6” diameter rim)
- C-131 S cup (painted; polychrome; medium-sized floral pattern; whiteware; approximately 3 1/2” diameter rim only) [glaze has bluish tint]
- C-132 S saucer (painted; polychrome; small floral; whiteware; 6” diameter rim)
- C-133 S serving bowl (undecorated; round; beaded rim; whiteware; approximately 8” diameter rim; S-curve shape) [bluish tint to glaze]
- C-134 S cup (printed; blue; unidentified pattern; whiteware; Gothic shape; approximately 2 1/2”-3” diameter rim)
- C-135 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; round; approximately 2” diameter; three-piece plate bottom mold; base embossed “A...”)
- C-136 S indeterminate bottle (amber; machine made; Owen’s scar; “192” inside a diamond)
- C-137 S saucer (printed; small floral overglaze; whiteware; burned)
- C-138 S indeterminate hollowware vessel (slip-glazed exterior; red/pink; ironstone)
- C-139 S salve jar (milk glass; round; 2 1/2” diameter; minimally 2” tall; molded)
- C-140 S liquor bottle (amber; round; long-necked; lip/neck only; improved tool Brandy lip finish) [cylindrical liquor bottle]
- C-141 S indeterminate bottle (clear; machine made; screw top; lip/neck/shoulder only; approximately 1” tall neck; melted)
- C-142 S milk pan (Bristol-glazed stoneware; approximately 8” diameter; 1 1/4” collared rim; jigger molded; rim only)
- C-143 P bottle stopper/pouring spout (undecorated; porcelain; 1 3/8” tall; 7/8” diameter)
- C-144 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; molded; square; 2” x 2”; base embossed “F8 / C M”; base only)
- C-145 S indeterminate bottle (clear; base only; molded; approximately 2 1/4” diameter)
- C-146 S jelly glass tumbler (clear; base only; approximately 2 1/2” diameter; molded; base embossed “PAT. IN U.S. / DEC. 22. 1903 / JULY 17. 1906 / 50”)
- C-147 S serving bowl (undecorated; whiteware; approximately 6” diameter base; base only; back stamp “K. T. & K. / CHINA”)
- C-148 S saucer (undecorated; whiteware; scalloped edge; 4” diameter base)
- C-149 S saucer (relief decorated; porcelain; scalloped edge; rim only)
- C-150 S soda water bottle (aqua; molded; round; approximately 2 1/2” diameter; base embossed with illegible letter; base only)
- C-151 S medicine bottle (clear; applied tool Prescription lip finish; lip/neck/shoulder only; approximately 1 1/4” tall neck)
- C-152 S medicine bottle (clear; improved tool prescription lip finish; lip/neck/shoulder only; 1 1/8” tall neck)

- C-153 S vial (aqua; round; molded; folded to interior lip finish)
- C-154 S whiskey flask (clear; Oval base; 1 ¼” x approximately 2 ½” base; Brandy lip finish; probably semi-automatic manufacture)
- C-155 S cup (printed; green; unidentified floral pattern; whiteware; scalloped edge; approximately 4” diameter rim)
- C-156 S flower pot (unglazed; red paste earthenware; rim only; hand turned; approximately 3 ½” diameter rim)
- C-157 S plate (printed; blue; unidentified floral pattern; whiteware; rim only)
- C-158 S plate (edge decorated; blue; scalloped rim; whiteware; small rim fragment)
- C-159 S saucer (printed; red; unidentified pattern; whiteware; 2” diameter base; base only)
- C-160 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; 2-piece mold; round; 2 ¼” diameter base; base only)
- C-161 S medicine bottle (clear; Blake Variant 1; base only; 1” x 1 ½” base)
- C-162 S indeterminate bottle (clear; machine made; round; approximately 1 3/8” diameter; base embossed “310” within Illinois Glass Company diamond mark)
- C-163 S small plate (undecorated; whiteware; early rim style; rim only)
- C-164 S canning jar lid liner (milk glass; round; approximately 2 ½” diameter; embossed “...FOR MASO[N]...”)
- C-165 S cup (undecorated; porcelain; handle only) [angular; gothic shape]
- C-166 S plate (printed; black; scalloped rim; whiteware; rim only)
- C-167 S inkwell (salt-glazed; stoneware; approximately 1 ½” diameter base; shouldered; hand turned)
- C-168 S serving bowl (clear; round; 7” diameter; press molded; large flutes exterior; thumbprint pattern) [large footed or pedestaled compote]
- C-169 S jelly glass/tumbler (clear; round; lip only; approximately 2 ½” diameter lip; single roulette above “dots” on exterior lip)
- C-170 S beer bottle (amber; round; machine made; approximately 3” diameter base; Crown lip finish)
- C-171 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 2 ¼” diameter; base only)
- C-172 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; base only; 2” diameter base)
- C-173 P perfume bottle (clear; oval base; 3/8” x 1”; 3 ¼” tall; improved tool bead lip finish; ball neck; machine-made) [reminiscent of Tapered Perfume bottle; Illinois Glass Company (1926:88)]
- C-174 S plate (printed; black; whiteware; unidentified floral patter; burned; 10” diameter rim)
- C-175 S indeterminate bottle (Kelly-green; round; lip/neck only; machine made; Crown lip finish) [probably a soda water bottle]
- C-176 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; round; approximately 2 ½” diameter; base only)
- C-177 S lamp chimney (clear; molded rim?; small rim fragment only)
- C-178 S serving bowl (?) (undecorated; round; hard-paste porcelain; heavy-bodied; base only; approximately 5” diameter base)
- C-179 S bowl/jar (redware; hand turned; small rim only)
- C-180 S medicine bottle ? (clear; melted and/or deformed; ball neck; lip/neck only)
- C-181 S wine bottle (dark green/black; base only)

C-182 S indeterminate hollowware (indeterminate glaze and decoration; burned; probably ironstone)

**Appendix IIIB:
Vessels by Functional Context and Functional Category, House C**

<u>Vessel Number</u>	<u>Artifact: Primary or Secondary</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Functional Category</u>	<u>Context: Primary or Secondary</u>
62	S	plate	1.1	Post Fire
157	S	plate	1.1	Post Fire
158	S	plate	1.1	Post Fire
174	S	plate	1.1	Post Fire
147	S	serving bowl	1.1	Post Fire
168	S	serving bowl	1.1	Post Fire
178	S	serving bowl	1.1	Post Fire
70	S/P	small serving bowl	1.1	Post Fire
21	S/P	cup	1.2	Post Fire
69	P	cup	1.2	Post Fire
122	S	cup	1.2	Post Fire
155	S	cup	1.2	Post Fire
165	S	cup	1.2	Post Fire
172	S	cup	1.2	Post Fire
66	S	jelly glass/tumbler	1.2	Post Fire
71	P	jelly glass/tumbler	1.2	Post Fire
169	S	jelly glass/tumbler	1.2	Post Fire
146	S	jelly glass/tumbler	1.2	Post Fire
137	S	saucer	1.2	Post Fire
148	S	saucer	1.2	Post Fire
149	S	saucer	1.2	Post Fire
159	S	saucer	1.2	Post Fire
67	P	shot glass	1.2	Post Fire
68	P	shot glass	1.2	Post Fire
163	S	small plate	1.2	Post Fire
64	S	bowl/jar	2.1	Post Fire
179	S	bowl/jar	2.1	Post Fire
142	S	milk pan	2.1	Post Fire
164	S	canning jar lid liner	2.21	Post Fire
170	S	beer bottle	4.11	Post Fire
65	S	gin bottle	4.11	Post Fire
140	S	liquor bottle	4.11	Post Fire
154	S	whiskey flask	4.11	Post Fire
150	S	soda water bottle	4.12	Post Fire
143	P	bottle stopper/pouring spout	4.22	Post Fire
151	S	medicine bottle	4.23	Post Fire
152	S	medicine bottle	4.23	Post Fire
161	S	medicine bottle	4.23	Post Fire
153	S	vial	4.23	Post Fire
173	P	perfume bottle	4.32	Post Fire
139	S	salve/cold cream jar	4.33	Post Fire
156	S	flower pot	6.1	Post Fire
167	S	inkwell	6.1	Post Fire
72	P	lamp chimney	6.1	Post Fire
177	S	lamp chimney	6.1	Post Fire
61	S	large bowl/wash basin	6.1	Post Fire
135	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
136	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire

141	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
144	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
145	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
160	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
162	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
171	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
175	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
176	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Post Fire
138	S	indeterminate hollowware	9	Post Fire
63	S	indeterminate vessel	9	Post Fire
85	S	plate	1.1	Fire
24	S/P	cup	1.2	Fire
73	S	cup	1.2	Fire
103	P	cup	1.2	Fire
81	P	mug	1.2	Fire
74	S	pitcher	1.2	Fire
13	S	saucer	1.2	Fire
88	S	saucer	1.2	Fire
112	S	saucer	1.2	Fire
75	S/P	mixing bowl	2.1	Fire
111	S	waster bowl	2.1	Fire
77	P	canning jar lid liner	2.21	Fire
105	P	condiment bottle	2.22	Fire
108	S	food jar	2.22	Fire
91	S	food jar	2.22	Fire
79	S	olive oil bottle	2.22	Fire
86	S	liquor bottle	4.11	Fire
92	S/P	whiskey flask	4.11	Fire
89	S	wine bottle	4.11	Fire
95	S	wine bottle	4.11	Fire
96	P	homeopathic vial	4.23	Fire
11	S	medicine bottle	4.23	Fire
82	P	medicine bottle	4.23	Fire
101	S	medicine bottle	4.23	Fire
76	S	medicine bottle	4.23	Fire
180	S	medicine bottle	4.23	Fire
94	S	vial	4.23	Fire
100	S	salve jar/"pot"	4.33	Fire
78	P	salve/cold cream jar	4.33	Fire
90	P	chamber pot lid	6.1	Fire
110	S	flower pot	6.1	Fire
87	S	lamp chimney	6.1	Fire
98	S	lamp chimney	6.1	Fire
106	S/P	lamp chimney	6.1	Fire
109	S	lamp font	6.1	Fire
102	S	lamp globe	6.1	Fire
93	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Fire
97	P	indeterminate bottle	9	Fire
107	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Fire
83	S	indeterminate vessel	9	Fire
104	P	indeterminate vessel	9	Fire

182	S	indeterminate vessel	9	Fire
3	S	indeterminate hollowware	1.1	Early Pre Fire
57	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
115	P	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
26	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
35	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
10	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
54	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
2	S/P	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
36	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
38	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
40	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
124	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
125	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
127	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
166	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
55	S	plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
51	S	serving bowl	1.1	Early Pre Fire
133	S	serving bowl	1.1	Early Pre Fire
60	S	small plate	1.1	Early Pre Fire
116	S	waster bowl	1.1	Early Pre Fire
9	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
41	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
31	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
53	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
59	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
131	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
20	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
80	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
84	S/P	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
128	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
134	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
48	S	cup	1.2	Early Pre Fire
27	S	cup plate	1.2	Early Pre Fire
5	S	cup plate/saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
30	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
126	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
14	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
34	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
119	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
130	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
132	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
28	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
6	S/P	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
58	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
129	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
25	S	saucer	1.2	Early Pre Fire
42	S	tumbler/drinking glass	1.2	Early Pre Fire
117	S	bowl	2.1	Early Pre Fire
37	S	bowl/jar	2.1	Early Pre Fire
123	S	bowl/jar	2.1	Early Pre Fire

118	S	crockery jar	2.1	Early Pre Fire
120	P	crockery jar	2.1	Early Pre Fire
52	S	jar	2.1	Early Pre Fire
121	P	lid (iron)	2.1	Early Pre Fire
99	S	whiskey flask	4.11	Early Pre_Fire
181	S	wine bottle	4.11	Early Pre Fire
12	S	perfume bottle	4.32	Early Pre Fire
19	S	indeterminate hollowware vessel	6.1	Early Pre Fire
17	S	lamp chimney	6.1	Early Pre Fire
1	P	small chamber pot lid	6.1	Early Pre Fire
39	S	indeterminate bottle	9	Early Pre Fire
56	S	lid	9	Early Pre Fire
8	S	indeterminate hollowware	1.1	Mid-Late Pre Fire
50	S	indeterminate tableware	1.1	Mid-Late Pre Fire
33	S	plate	1.1	Mid-Late Pre Fire
4	S	waster bowl	1.1	Mid-Late Pre Fire
113	S	cup	1.2	Mid-Late Pre Fire
29	S	cup	1.2	Mid-Late Pre Fire
114	S	jelly glass/tumbler	1.2	Mid-Late Pre Fire
22	S	tumbler	1.2	Mid-Late Pre Fire
47	S	condiment bottle	2.22	Mid-Late Pre Fire
7	S/P	food jar	2.22	Mid-Late Pre Fire
45	S	soda water bottle	4.12	Mid-Late Pre Fire
46	S	soda water bottle	4.12	Mid-Late Pre Fire
18	S	medicine bottle/dosage cup	4.22	Mid-Late Pre Fire
15	P	medicine bottle	4.23	Mid-Late Pre Fire
44	S	medicine bottle	4.23	Mid-Late Pre Fire
16	P	perfume bottle	4.32	Mid-Late Pre Fire
49	S	flower pot	6.1	Mid-Late Pre Fire
23	S	lamp chimney	6.1	Mid-Late Pre Fire
32	S	indeterminate bottle/jar	9	Mid-Late Pre Fire
43	S	not assigned		

Appendix IV
Faunal Assemblage, House C
(Martin 2023)

Table IV-1
Total Faunal Assemblage from House C, by Component
(NISP, number of identified specimens; MNI, minimum number of Individuals)

Temporal Component	NISP	NSP Wt (g)	NISP	NISP Wt (g)	Biomass Estimate from NISP (kg)
Pre-House C	502	1,329.3	354	1,244.1	16.674
Early Pre-Fire	387	1,436.8	176	1,227.9	16.906
Middle Pre-Fire	10	41.0	3	27.4	.526
Late Pre-Fire	135	117.0	62	98.6	1.215
Fire	128	347.7	38	179.9	2.370
Post Fire	24	213.9	15	207.4	2.261
Totals	1,186	3,485.7	648	2,985.3	39.952

Table IV-2
Faunal Assemblage from House C by Component,
Pre-House C, Early Pre-Fire and Middle Pre-Fire Components
(NISP, number of identified specimens; MNI, minimum number of Individuals)

Animal Taxon	Pre-House C			Early Pre-Fire			Middle 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									
Rabbit/Cottontail, Family Leporidae	1/1	.7	.019	-	-	-	-	-	-
Norway Rat, <i>Rattus norvegicus</i>	2/2	1.2	-	15/2	3.5	-	-	-	-
Domestic Cat, <i>Felis catus</i>	-	-	-	31/2	18.3	-	-	-	-
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	347/6	1,109.2	14.471	89/3	714.4	9.740	1/1	.9	.024
White-tailed Deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	-	-	-	1/1	16.7	.331	-	-	-
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	3/1	131.4	2.122	25/2	459.6	6.549	2/1	26.5	.502
Sheep/Goat, <i>Ovis/Capra</i>	-	-	-	1/1	2.3	.056	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, identified mammals</i>	353/10	1,242.5	16.643	162/11	1,214.8	16.676	3/2	27.4	.526
Unidentified very large mammal	-	-	-	2/-	11.9	.244	-	-	-
Unidentified large mammal	146/-	83.7	1.414	160/-	169.6	2.670	7/-	13.6	.276
Unidentified medium-sized/large mammal	1/-	.2	.006	27/-	21.1	.409	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized mammal	-	-	-	5/-	.8	.022	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, unidentified mammals</i>	147/-	83.9	1.420	194/-	203.4	3.345	7/-	13.6	.276
CLASS: BIRDS									
Canada Goose, <i>Branta canadensis</i>	-	-	-	1/1	6.0	.104			
Large duck spp., Subfamily Anatinae	-	-	-	1/1	.7	.015	-	-	-
Domestic Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	1/1	1.6	.031	12/4	6.4	.111	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, identified birds</i>	1/1	1.6	.031	14/6	13.1	.230	-	-	-
Unidentified large bird	1/1	1.3	.026	2/-	1.3	.026	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized/large bird	-	-	-	2/-	.8	.017	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized bird	-	-	-	11/-	3.2	.059	-	-	-
Unidentified small bird	-	-	-	1/1	<.1	-	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, unidentified birds</i>	1/1	1.3	.026	16/1	5.3	.102	-	-	-
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATES									
Grand totals	502/12	1,329.3	18.120	387/18	1,436.8	20.353	10/2	41.0	.802
Totals, identified	354/11	1,244.1	16.674	176/17	1,227.9	16.906	3/2	27.4	.526
% identified	70.5	93.6	92.0	45.5	85.5	83.1	30.0	66.8	65.6

Table IV-3
Faunal Assemblage from House C by Component,
Late Pre-Fire, Fire and Post Fire Components
(NISP, number of identified specimens; MNI, minimum number of Individuals)

Animal Taxon	Late Pre-Fire			Fire			Post 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>	-	-	-	1/1	1.3	.033			
Norway Rat, <i>Rattus norvegicus</i>	4/2	.8	-	3/1	1.1	-	1/1	.2	-
Domestic Cat, <i>Felis catus</i>	33/1	31.1	-	20/2	37.3	-	-	-	-
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	14/1	53.9	.952	4/1	13.6	.276	3/2	46.8	.838
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/1	37.0	.678
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	1/1	8.3	.177	7/1	124.8	2.026	3/2	40.0	.728
<i>Subtotals, identified mammals</i>	<i>52/5</i>	<i>94.1</i>	<i>1.129</i>	<i>35/6</i>	<i>178.1</i>	<i>2.335</i>	<i>8/5</i>	<i>123.8</i>	<i>2.244</i>
Unidentified very large mammal	-	-	-	10/-	75.2	1.284	-	-	-
Unidentified large mammal	25/-	12.9	.263	67/-	79.9	1.356	2/-	4.6	.104
Unidentified medium-sized/large mammal	18/-	2.6	.062	2/-	3.6	.083	6/-	1.6	.040
Unidentified medium-sized mammal	3/-	.6	.017	6/-	1.7	.042	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, unidentified mammals</i>	<i>46/-</i>	<i>16.1</i>	<i>.342</i>	<i>85/-</i>	<i>160.4</i>	<i>2.765</i>	<i>8/-</i>	<i>6.2</i>	<i>.144</i>
CLASS: BIRDS									
Canada Goose, <i>Branta canadensis</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Large duck sp., Subfamily Anatinae	1/1	.6	.013	-	-	-	-	-	-
Domestic Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	8/1	3.8	.069	3/2	1.8	.035	1/1	.8	.017
<i>Subtotals, identified birds</i>	<i>9/2</i>	<i>4.4</i>	<i>.082</i>	<i>3/2</i>	<i>1.8</i>	<i>.035</i>	<i>1/1</i>	<i>.8</i>	<i>.017</i>
Unidentified large bird	-	-	-	2/1	2.3	.044	-	-	-
Unidentified medium-sized bird	-	-	-	2/-	.4	.009	-	-	-
<i>Subtotals, unidentified birds</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>4/1</i>	<i>2.7</i>	<i>.053</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
CLASS: FISHES									
Sunfish sp., Family Centrarchidae	1/1	.1	.004	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified fish	1/-	<.1	-	-	-	-	1/1	<.1	-
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATES	25/-	2.2	-	-	-	-	1/-	.3	-
CLASS: BIVALVES									
Eastern Oyster, <i>Crassostrea virginica</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	5/2	59.6	-
Northern Quahog, <i>Mercenaria mercenaria</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/1	23.2	-
CLASS: GASTROPODS									
	-	-	-	1/1	4.7	-	-	-	-
Grand totals	135/7	117.0	1.560	128/10	347.7	5.188	24/10	213.9	2.405
Totals, identified	62/7	98.6	1.215	38/8	179.9	2.370	15/9	207.4	2.261
% identified	45.9	84.3	77.9	29.7	51.7	45.7	62.5	97.0	94.0

Table IV-4
Butchering Units of Swine, Cattle and Ovicaprids (Sheep or goat) from House C,
by Context,

	Pre-House	Early Pre-Fire	Middle Pre-Fire	Late Pre-Fire	Fire	Post Fire
SWINE						
<i>High value pork cuts</i>	2	25	-	3	1	1
Ham	2	13	-	-	-	-
Loin	-	12	-	3	-	1
<i>Middle value pork cuts</i>	3	12	1	7	-	1
Shoulder/Boston butt	2	3	-	4	-	-
Picnic shoulder	1	5	-	-	-	1
Spare ribs	-	4	1	3	-	-
<i>Low value pork cuts</i>	342	52	-	4	3	1
Hock	50	9	-	1	2	-
Foot	226	19	-	3	-	-
Snout	60	9	-	-	1	-
Jowl	5	4	-	-	-	1
Isolated teeth	1	11	-	-	-	-
Total NISP	347	89	1	14	4	3
CATTLE						
<i>High value beef cuts</i>	2	9	1	-	2	1
Short loin	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sirloin	1	4	1	-	-	-
Ribs	-	1	-	-	-	-
Round	-	1	-	-	-	-
Rump	1	3	-	-	1	-
<i>Middle value beef cuts</i>	-	1	-	1	1	-
Chuck	-	1	-	1	1	-
Arm	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Low value beef cuts</i>	1	12	1	-	3	-
Cross ribs/short ribs	1	2	1	-	1	-
Chuck/ribs	-	6	-	-	1	-
Brisket/short plate	-	1	-	-	-	-
Neck	-	1	-	-	-	-
Front shank	-	1	-	-	-	-
Hind shank	-	1	-	-	1	-
<i>Veal</i>	-	1	-	-	-	2
Shoulder	-	1	-	-	-	-
Leg	-	-	-	-	-	2
Indeterminate cuts	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>Butchering waste</i>	-	2	-	-	-	-
Feet (carpals-phalanges)	-	2	-	-	-	-
Total NISP	3	25	2	1	7	3
SHEEP OR GOAT						
Shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rack/Rib (short/hotel rack)	-	1	-	-	-	-
Total NISP	0	1	0	0	0	1

Table IV-5
Faunal Assemblage from Pre-House C Contexts at House C
(NISP, number of identified specimens; MNI, minimum number of Individuals)

	Old Ground Surface		F. 10 Front Yard Bone Concentration		F. 16 Shallow Trench in Front Yard		F. 19 Pre-House C Cellar	
	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)	NISP/ MNI	NISP Wt (g)
CLASS: MAMMALS								
Rabbit/Cottontail, Family Leporidae	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/1	.7
Norway Rat, <i>Rattus norvegicus</i>	1/1	.1	-	-	-	-	1/1	1.1
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	-	-	341/6	1,024.3	6/2	84.9	-	-
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	-	-	-	-	1/1	94.0	2/1	37.4
Unidentified large mammal	2/1	3.4	137/-	12.5	6/-	5.2	1/-	1.5
Unidentified medium-sized/large mammal	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/-	.2
CLASS: BIRDS								
Domestic Chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	-	-	1/1	1.6	-	-	-	-
Unidentified large bird	-	-	1/1	1.3	-	-	-	-
Grand totals	3/2	3.5	480/8	1,039.7	13/3	184.1	6/3	40.9
Totals, identified	1/1	.1	342/7	1,025.9	7/3	178.9	4/3	39.2
% identified	33.3	2.9	71.3	98.7	53.8	97.2	66.7	95.8

**Appendix V
Lot Provenience,
Alley Test (House C, Test 13)**

Phase III Mitigation

Al-1	Fire/Late Pre Fire	Level 1, Area B [Zone VI]
Al-2	Late Pre Fire	Level 2, Area A [Zones VII-VIII]
Al-3	Mid Pre Fire	Level 3, Area A [Zones IX-X]
Al-4	Mid Pre Fire	Level 3, Area B [Zones IX-X]
Al-5	Mid Pre Fire	Level 4 [Zones IX-X]
Al-6	Early Pre Fire	Level 5, Upper [Zones XI-XII]
Al-7	Early Pre Fire	Level 5, Lower [Zones XI-XII]
Al-8	Early Pre Fire	Level 6 [Zones XIII]

**Appendix VI
Lot Inventory,
Alley Test (House C, Test 13)**

<u>Lot Al-1</u>			
		13	undecorated porcelain
23	Vessel Al-1	4	yellowware
11	Vessel Al-2	3	annular decorated yellowware
1	Vessel Al-3	2	Rockingham-glazed yellowware
5	Vessel Al-4	3	salt-glazed stoneware
8	Vessel Al-5	12	Albany-slipped stoneware
21	Vessel Al-6	4	printed (black) whiteware
3	Vessel Al-7	3	printed (blue) whiteware
6	Vessel Al-8	1	figurine/knickknack (Parian; burned)
2	Vessel Al-9	2	doll head (painted; porcelain; shoulder fragment)
2	Vessel Al-10		
1	Vessel Al-11	1	container glass (green milk glass)
11	Vessel Al-12	1	container glass (amber)
1	Vessel Al-13	3	container glass (dark green/black)
3	Vessel Al-14	88	container glass (aqua)
3	Vessel Al-15	81	container glass (clear)
1	Vessel Al-16	1	container glass (clear; pattern molded)
3	Vessel Al-17		
1	Vessel Al-18	20	container glass (clear; melted)
3	Vessel Al-19	84	window glass (aqua)
1	Vessel Al-20	4	glass slag
1	Vessel Al-21	1	shoe (leather; 2" wide; minimum 6 ½" long) [child's/woman's]
1	Vessel Al-22		
1	Vessel Al-23	20	lightbulb (porcelain/cuprous base; clear glass) [mnv=2]
94	undecorated whiteware		
2	undecorated whiteware (burned)		

- 1 disk glass (clear; ovoid; beveled edge; 1" x 1 3/8"; slightly melted)
- 1 marble (Rockingham-glazed; stoneware; 0.45" diameter)
- 23 metal container (ferrous) ["tin" cans]
- 2 metal container disk cap ("pot" metal; approximately 1" diameter)
- 1 sheet metal (ferrous; 2 1/2" wide; approximately 3/8" thick)
- 28 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (3" long)
- 2 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 7/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 3/4" long)
- 19 wire-drawn nail fragments
- 1 wire-drawn nail (?) (large; 6 3/8" long)
- 3 wire-drawn nail (3 1/8" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (3 1/4" long)
- 2 wire-drawn nail (2 3/4" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (2 1/2" long)
- 5 wire-drawn nail (2" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 7/8" long)
- 2 wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
- 1 wire-drawn nail (1 3/8" long)
- 10 wood (approximately 1 1/2" wide; approximately 3/8" thick)
- 1 brick (soft mud; small fragments)
- 1 sandstone
- 11 bone
- 1 muscle shell
- 4 fruit pit [peach]

Lot AI-2

- 1 Vessel AI-3
- 7 Vessel AI-6
- 9 Vessel AI-7
- 1 Vessel AI-9
- 1 Vessel AI-24
- 1 Vessel AI-25
- 1 Vessel AI-26
- 2 Vessel AI-27
- 1 Vessel AI-28
- 1 Vessel AI-29
- 3 Vessel AI-30

- 1 Vessel AI-31
- 13 undecorated whiteware
- 1 undecorated whiteware (backstamp "...SLAND")
- 1 undecorated porcelain
- 1 salt-glazed/Albany-slipped stoneware
- 1 printed (red) whiteware
- 1 yellowware
- 2 annular-decorated yellowware
- 2 majolica whiteware
- 1 undecorated whiteware (?) (burned)
- 1 doorknob (porcelain; white)
- 2 doll head (painted; shoulder fragment)
- 7 container glass (amber)
- 5 container glass (aqua)
- 10 container glass (clear)
- 1 container glass (aqua; melted)
- 6 window glass (aqua)
- 1 indeterminate brass (?) (notched with chisel-cut end; 7/8" diameter; 1" tall)
- 1 button (hard rubber; 2-hole; 0.60" diameter)
- 1 strap (ferrous; 3/4" wide; 6 1/2" long)
- 13 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (4" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
- 1 machine cut nail (1 1/4" long)
- 2 wire-nail fragments
- 2 shaley coal
- 14 bone

Lot AI-3

- 1 Vessel AI-13
- 9 Vessel AI-27
- 1 Vessel AI-32
- 1 Vessel AI-33
- 2 Vessel AI-34
- 1 Vessel AI-84
- 5 undecorated whiteware
- 1 yellowware
- 1 annular decorated yellowware
- 2 Rockingham-glazed yellowware
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware
- 1 majolica (green) whiteware

1	furniture pull (white; porcelain; 7/8" diameter)	21	Albany-slipped stoneware
1	button (black glass; basket weave-like pattern; ground face; loop shank; 0.71" diameter)	2	salt-glazed/Albany-slipped stoneware
1	button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.44" diameter)	3	yellowware
2	button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter)	10	annular decorated (blue/white) yellowware
1	writing stylus (slate; round; 0.24" diameter)	7	ironstone
13	container glass (aqua)	2	majolica (pink/yellow) whiteware
10	container glass (clear)	2	salt-glazed stoneware
5	window glass (aqua)	3	container glass (amber)
9	unidentified sheet metal (ferrous; layered; approximately 1/4" thick)	2	container glass (dark green/black)
1	indeterminate bar (ferrous; approximately 1/2" thick)	1	container glass (teal/Kelly green; embossed "...S...")
48	machine cut nail fragments	3	container glass (milk glass)
3	bone	87	container glass (aqua)
		70	container glass (clear)
		6	window glass (aqua)
		1	button (milk glass; pie crust pattern; 4-hole; 0.40" diameter)
		1	button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.41" diameter)
		1	button (milk glass; 2-hole; 0.56" diameter)
		1	button (black glass; loop shank; anchor and rope design; 0.72" diameter)
		1	disk (cuprous; flat; 0.35" diameter)
		1	rod (ferrous; 6" long)
		5	sheet metal (ferrous; approximately 1/4" thick; slightly curved)
		11	sheet metal (ferrous; thin)
		72	machine cut nail fragments
		1	machine cut nail (3 1/8" long)
		1	machine cut nail (2 7/8" long)
		6	machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
		1	machine cut nail (2" long)
		1	machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
		12	wire-drawn nail fragments
		1	wire-drawn nail (2 5/8" long)
		1	wire-drawn nail (1 1/2" long)
		1	shoe (leather; 8" long; 2 1/2" wide toe box; 2" wide heel; 1 1/2" tall heel) [women's heels]
		1	shoe (leather; minimally 11" long; 2 1/2" wide heel; worn on left side; left shoe) [man's shoe]

Lot Al-4

1	Vessel Al-27
2	Vessel Al-28
1	Vessel Al-35
2	Vessel Al-36
4	Vessel Al-37
1	Vessel Al-38
2	Vessel Al-39
3	Vessel Al-40
2	Vessel Al-41
1	Vessel Al-42
1	Vessel Al-43
8	Vessel Al-44
2	Vessel Al-45
1	Vessel Al-46
1	Vessel Al-47
4	Vessel Al-48
1	Vessel Al-83
93	undecorated whiteware
1	undecorated whiteware (backstamp "...AL... / ...ONST... / ...OGWOOD")
1	undecorated whiteware (backstamp "...ARKE...")
2	Rockingham-glazed yellowware

3 brick (soft mud)
 1 slate
 3 shaley coal
 2 coal (large fragments)
 44 bone

Lot AI-5

1 Vessel AI-9
 2 Vessel AI-37
 1 Vessel AI-43
 1 Vessel AI-44
 3 Vessel AI-48
 5 Vessel AI-49
 1 Vessel AI-50
 1 Vessel AI-51
 3 Vessel AI-52
 15 Vessel AI-53
 1 Vessel AI-54
 1 Vessel AI-55
 1 Vessel AI-56
 2 Vessel AI-58
 1 Vessel AI-59
 1 Vessel AI-60
 1 Vessel AI-61
 1 Vessel AI-62
 2 Vessel AI-63
 1 Vessel AI-64
 1 Vessel AI-65
 1 Vessel AI-66
 159 undecorated whiteware
 29 redware
 3 Rockingham-glazed yellowware
 1 yellowware
 3 salt-glazed stoneware
 3 salt-glazed/Albany-slipped stoneware
 7 Albany-slipped stoneware
 3 printed (blue) whiteware
 1 printed (black) whiteware
 1 mocha stoneware
 2 undecorated whiteware (illegible backstamp)
 1 sponge-decorated (blue/red) whiteware
 1 annular decorated (blue) whiteware
 1 printed (red) whiteware

1 painted (green/blue) whiteware
 3 undecorated porcelain
 2 toy pitcher (relief decorated; porcelain)
 3 container glass (dark green/black)
 3 container glass (amber)
 37 container glass (aqua)
 14 container glass (clear)
 42 window glass (aqua)
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.38" diameter)
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.42" diameter)
 1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter)
 2 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.50" diameter)
 1 button (shell; 4-hole; 0.46" diameter)
 1 cameo (black glass; woman's face with beaded edge; 5/8" x 3/4")
 2 writing stylus (graphite; 0.22" diameter) [mnv=1]
 1 writing stylus (graphite; 0.15" diameter)
 1 writing slate (lined)
 1 buckle (cuprous; 1 1/8" x 3/4" x 3/16")
 1 buckle (ferrous; 1 1/8" x 3/4")
 7 sheet metal (ferrous; large fragments)
 1 sheet metal (ferrous; folded into a triangle; approximately 4 1/2-5" x 5")
 1 strap (ferrous; 1 1/2" wide)
 11 sheet metal (ferrous)
 1 corset busk (ferrous; 1/2" wide)
 3 canning jar lid ("pot" metal; interior threads)
 1 indeterminate iron (round)
 68 machine cut nail fragments
 2 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (2 1/2" long)
 2 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
 2 machine cut nail (1 7/8" long)
 4 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 1/2" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 3/8" long)

1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
 2 lead melt
 1 shoe (leather; 9" long; 2 1/2" wide toe box; 2" wide heel) [men's shoe]
 2 coal
 1 brick (1 7/8" x 3 3/8"; hard paste)
 1 roofing slate (purple)
 3 fruit pit [peach]
 1 mussel shell
 48 bone

Lot Al-6

1 Vessel Al-50
 2 Vessel Al-64
 1 Vessel Al-66
 19 Vessel Al-67
 1 Vessel Al-68
 1 Vessel Al-69
 2 Vessel Al-70
 2 Vessel Al-71
 1 Vessel Al-72
 3 Vessel Al-73
 1 Vessel Al-74
 5 Vessel Al-75
 1 Vessel Al-76
 1 Vessel Al-77
 103 undecorated whiteware
 1 figurine/knickknack (?) (painted; black; porcelain)
 1 painted (black) whiteware
 5 printed (black) whiteware
 11 printed (blue) whiteware
 3 painted (polychrome; small floral) whiteware
 71 redware
 2 yellowware
 5 annular decorated yellowware
 4 salt-glazed/Albany-slipped stoneware
 4 salt-glazed stoneware
 5 container glass (dark green/black)
 1 container glass (amber)
 17 container glass (aqua)
 16 container glass (clear)
 45 window glass (aqua)

1 button (milk glass; 4-hole; 0.44" diameter)
 1 button (painted; red; milk glass; 4-hole; 0.43" diameter)
 2 utensil (cuprous; 3/4" wide; 2 1/8" long)
 2 pipe bowl (kaolin)
 1 shoe (leather; 7" long; 1 1/2" wide heel; 2" wide toe box) [child's]
 2 shoe (leather; approximately 2 5/8" wide; 2" wide heel; minimally 6" long)
 1 strap (ferrous; 1" wide; 8" long)
 5 sheet metal (ferrous)
 38 machine cut nail fragments
 2 machine cut nail (2 1/4" long)
 2 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 7/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 5/8" long)
 1 machine cut nail (1 1/8" long)
 1 whole brick (warped/deformed; cracked)
 7 brick (soft mud)
 2 writing slate (gray)
 1 mussel shell
 15 plaster
 45 bone

Lot Al-7

2 Vessel Al-64
 2 Vessel Al-67
 1 Vessel Al-79
 2 Vessel Al-80
 1 Vessel Al-81
 1 Vessel Al-82
 7 undecorated whiteware
 1 printed (blue) whiteware
 2 salt-glazed stoneware
 4 redware [one small refined vessel?]
 1 Rockingham-glazed yellowware
 1 container glass (aqua)
 1 sheet/strap (cuprous; folded edges; 2" wide; 8" long)
 3 shoe leather
 2 machine cut nail fragments
 1 machine cut nail (3" long)

- 1 machine cut nail (2 1/8" long)
- 2 wood
- 3 plaster (with white coat)
- 1 brick (soft mud)
- 1 brick (heavily fired)
- 2 brick (vitrified)
- 2 sandstone [building stone]
- 19 bone

Lot AI-8

- 1 Vessel AI-57
- 2 Vessel AI-78
- 15 undecorated whiteware
- 6 redware
- 1 salt-glazed stoneware
- 1 painted (polychrome; small floral) whiteware
- 1 container glass (aqua)
- 1 container glass (clear)
- 1 indeterminate iron (7/8" wide; 3" long) [knife?]
- 7 sheet metal (ferrous)
- 4 machine cut nail fragments
- 1 machine cut nail (2 5/8" long)
- 10 brick (soft mud)
- 2 brick (with mortar) [small brick fragments, some with mortar; construction debris]
- 6 clinkers
- 4 mussel shell
- 11 bone

Appendix VII
Ceramic and Glass Vessel Descriptions,
Alley Test (House C, Test 13)

- Al-1 P saucer (printed; overglaze; polychrome; small floral; scalloped rim; embossed rim; porcelain; 4" diameter base; 6" diameter rim)
- Al-2 P saucer (printed; overglaze; polychrome; small floral; scalloped rim; gilded edge; embossed rim; porcelain; 4" diameter base; 6" diameter rim)
- Al-3 S milk pan (salt-glazed/Albany-slipped; stoneware; jigger molded; approximately 11" diameter rim; very wide 2 ¼" collared rim)
- Al-4 S saucer (undecorated; embossed rim; scalloped rim; whiteware; 4" diameter base)
- Al-5 S plate (undecorated; scalloped rim; ironstone; 6" diameter rim)
- Al-6 S indeterminate hollowware (relief decorated; whiteware; 5" diameter base; appears to be somewhat straight-sided; heavily fragmented; flat/everted rim) [chamber pot?]
- Al-7 S saucer (undecorated; ironstone; 5 ¾" diameter rim)
- Al-8 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; heavy bodied; 8" diameter rim)
- Al-9 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; heavy bodied; 6" diameter base; 9" diameter rim)
- Al-10 S cup (printed; brown; ivy pattern; whiteware; 3 ¾" diameter rim; burned)
- Al-11 S cup (undecorated?; embossed heel; porcelain; 3" diameter base; burned)
- Al-12 P toy saucer (indeterminate decoration; porcelain; heavily burned and melted) [transformed into a "clinker"]
- Al-13 S large bowl (undecorated; yellowware; 6" diameter base; rolled rim) [Kitchenware/mixing bowl]
- Al-14 S liquor bottle (clear; molded; round; embossed "...ASH... / ...ND...URNED... / [NOT] TO BE [B]OUGHT OR..."; body only; 4" diameter body) [cylindrical whiskey bottle?]
- Al-15 S soda water bottle (aqua; 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; improved tool Hutchinson Blob top lip finish; embossed "...[SPRIN]GFIE[LD]"; base embossed "C") [Who was "C" a mark for?]
- Al-16 S wine bottle (dark green/black; molded; round; 2 ½" diameter base)
- Al-17 P medicine bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Erie Oval base; 7/8" x 1 ¾" base; improved tool Prescription lip finish; embossed "Circle N" on base)
- Al-18 S medicine bottle (clear; 3-piece plate bottom mold; Blake Variant 1 base; ¾" x 1 ½" base)
- Al-19 S medicine bottle (clear; molded; Double Ring/Bead lip finish; base embossed "REX")
- Al-20 S medicine bottle (clear; Prescription lip finish; melted)
- Al-21 S jelly glass/tumbler (clear; molded; round; interior flutes; exterior rim for receiving lid; 3" diameter rim)
- Al-22 S flavoring/extract bottle (aqua; improved tool ball neck; neck/shoulder only; melted)
- Al-23 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; Patent lip finish; melted; wide mouth)
- Al-24 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; 1 ½" diameter base; heavy bodied)
- Al-25 S saucer (painted; cobalt blue line around rim; whiteware; 6" diameter rim)
- Al-26 S plate (printed; brown; small floral; whiteware; 6" diameter base)
- Al-27 P small plate (undecorated; whiteware; 4 ¾" diameter base; 8" diameter rim; backstamp "THOMAS FUR[NIVAL] / TRADE [MARK] / EN[GLAND]"

- Al-28 S small plate (undecorated; ironstone; 4" diameter base; 8" diameter rim)
- Al-29 S whiskey flask (clear; probably 3-piece plate bottom mold; improved tool Double Ring/Bead lip finish; Picnic flask shape)
- Al-30 S indeterminate bottle (clear; molded; Prescription lip finish; lip/neck only)
- Al-31 S indeterminate bottle (clear; potentially Handy base; illegibly embossed base; base only)
- Al-32 S small bowl (annular decorated; mocha; yellowware; body only) [Kitchenware]
- Al-33 S flavoring/extract bottle (aqua; improved tool Patent lip finish)
- Al-34 S indeterminate vessel (clear; approximately 7/8" diameter base; approximately 7/8" above base the round vessel flares out) [very unusual vessel]
- Al-35 S large hollowware (undecorated?; whiteware; relief decorated handle; handle only) [most likely a pitcher]
- Al-36 S pitcher (undecorated; yellowware; spout only)
- Al-37 S small plate (undecorated; whiteware; 5" diameter base; 8" diameter rim)
- Al-38 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; approximately 5-6" diameter base)
- Al-39 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; 9" diameter rim)
- Al-40 S saucer (undecorated; whiteware; 6" diameter rim)
- Al-41 S plate (undecorated; yellowware; 8-9" diameter rim; small rim fragments) [early rolled rim]
- Al-42 S indeterminate hollowware (Rockingham-glazed; yellowware) [small vessel]
- Al-43 S cup (painted; pink lined; small floral; polychrome; porcelain; 4" diameter rim; heavy bodied)
- Al-44 P pepper sauce bottle (aqua; probably 3-piece plate bottom mold; round; 1 7/8" diameter base; Ring Pepper Sauce bottle style) [IGC 1906: 204]
- Al-45 S soda water bottle (aqua; molded; fluted heel; 2 1/2" diameter base; base only) [Usually M. A. Fischer bottles]
- Al-46 S jar lid (milk glass with light green shade; 4" diameter; 5/8" tall) [food or cosmetic?]
- Al-47 S small serving bowl (clear/lead; press molded; scalloped edge)
- Al-48 S indeterminate hollowware (majolica; blue/pink; small fragments) [tableware pitcher?]
- Al-49 S lid (printed; black; whiteware; polygonal; approximately 3" x 3") [could be teapot, sugar bowl, serving bowl]
- Al-50 S plate (undecorated; whiteware; 9" diameter rim)
- Al-51 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; 2" diameter base)
- Al-52 S ginger beer bottle (salt-glazed; stoneware; Brandy lip finish)
- Al-53 S crockery jar (slip and salt-glazed/yellow; stoneware; 8" diameter base; hand turned)
- Al-54 S jar/bowl (undecorated; redware; 8" diameter base; hand turned)
- Al-55 S cup (undecorated; ironstone; 2" diameter base)
- Al-56 S cup (undecorated; whiteware; 2" diameter base)
- Al-57 S jar/bowl (undecorated; redware; hand turned; 9" diameter rim)
- Al-58 S saucer (undecorated; whiteware; 6" diameter rim)
- Al-59 S waster bowl ? (annular decorated; blue; whiteware; 4" diameter rim)
- Al-60 S small plate ? (undecorated; beaded rim; whiteware; approximately 7-9" diameter rim; rim only)
- Al-61 S indeterminate bottle (aqua; Double Ring/Bead lip finish; lip fragment only)

- Al-62 S flavoring/extract bottle (clear; molded; Blake Variant 1 base; approximately 7/8" x 1 1/2" base; paneled 4-sides)
- Al-63 S soda water bottle (aqua; applied tool Lightning lip finish)
- Al-64 S tumbler (clear/lead; fluted; 7-sided; 2 3/8" diameter base)
- Al-65 S tumbler (clear; 3" diameter lip)
- Al-66 S liquor bottle (dark green/black; Brandy lip finish; kickup)
- Al-67 P jar/bowl (undecorated; redware; hand turned; 8" diameter rim)
- Al-68 S medicine bottle (?) (clear; improved tool Patent lip finish; ball neck; lip/neck only)
- Al-69 S plate (sponge decorated; red/green; whiteware; 9" diameter rim)
- Al-70 S plate (edge decorated; blue; whiteware; 9" diameter rim)
- Al-71 S saucer (flow blue; whiteware; 6" diameter rim; backstamp illegible)
- Al-72 S indeterminate bottle (clear; molded; French Square base; 1 1/4" x 1 1/4" base)
- Al-73 S plate (relief decorated; Unidentified Gothic Pattern; polygonal rim; whiteware; 5" diameter base)
- Al-74 S large bowl (undecorated; round; ironstone/Hotel Ware; approximately 13" diameter rim)
- Al-75 S plate (undecorated; ironstone; 6" diameter base; 9" diameter rim)
- Al-76 S small plate (undecorated; whiteware; 8" diameter rim)
- Al-77 S jug? (salt-glazed; stoneware; 8" diameter base; hand turned)
- Al-78 S crockery jar (salt-glazed/Albany-slipped; stoneware; 10" diameter base; hand turned)
- Al-79 S jug (salt-glazed; yellow/light green tinted green; stoneware; 6" diameter base; hand turned) [Vessels 53 and 79 are unusual colored glaze; early western Illinois wares; also presence of jugs is unusual in this early context; not present in many other contexts)
- Al-80 S jug (salt-glazed; stoneware; 7" diameter base; hand turned)
- Al-81 S saucer (painted; polychrome; small floral; whiteware; rim only)
- Al-82 S saucer (undecorated/painted; whiteware; 6" diameter rim)
- Al-83 S indeterminate vessel (refined red paste stoneware; body only) [small pitcher?]
- Al-84 S indeterminate vessel (amethyst/milk glass; layered; molded; body only)

Appendix VIII

The Phoenix Mill: Industrial Anchor to the Tenth Street Project Area

The Phoenix Mill Site is located on Lots 1-4, Block 4 of J. Whitney's Addition to the City of Springfield at the southwest corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection. During the later years of the nineteenth century, rail tracks ran down the center of both Madison and Tenth Streets. This site was variously referred to as both 928 and 930 East Madison Street.

The Phoenix Mill Site was identified as Site 4 within the initial archaeological assessment of the Tenth Street Rail corridor (Stratton and Mansberger 2016). Although initially identified as one of eighteen historic archaeological sites along the Tenth Street rail corridor that warranted Phase II archaeological testing as part of the Springfield Rail Improvements Project (SRIP), subsequent re-design of the project in the area of the Race Riot Site (11SG1432) resulted in the shifting of the proposed right-of-way significantly to the east, and all but avoiding this site. Only the easternmost of the lots historically associated with the mill site was to have been impacted under the original design of the SRIP. The following is a summary of the archival research conducted on this site in anticipation of conducting that testing. Several of the early occupants of House C were employed at the Phoenix Mill, and one of them—Jacob Tiger—owned it for several years in the 1860s.

Summary of Archival Research

Edward Olds purchased Lots 1-3, Block 4 (and Lots 2-16, Block 6) of Whitney's Addition to Springfield in late November 1837 from Jonas Whitney for the sum of \$2,800 (Sangamon County Deed Record [SCDR] M:47) (Table 1). This price represents an average cost of slightly over \$155 per each of the eighteen lots purchased by Olds at that time. This price is substantial, and appears to reflect pre-Economic Panic of 1837 prices paid for this commercial property well after the May 1837 crash. As such, this inflated price may suggest that a portion of this property purchased was improved by that date.

In late 1842, James Blanks filed a suit for recovery of \$60 against lands owned by Olds in Block 6 (cf. *Sangamo Journal*, 11 November 1842). Several months later, in May 1843, a petition to enforce a mechanics lien was filed against Olds (*Sangamo Journal*, 18 May 1843, p. 2). It is unclear if this petition was in reference to the earlier suit filed in late 1842, or yet a different one. The petition for this mechanics lien suggests that Olds was a non-local resident, and that improvements had been undertaken on his property sometime prior to late 1842.

Edward Olds sold the N1/2, Lots 1-3, Block 4 to Charles B. Francis and Ira Sanford in early July 1842 for \$200 (SCDR 2:262).¹ Francis and Sanford were partners in a retail establishment

¹ This deed describes the property being sold to Olds as "being situated on Madison Street and continuous to the Northern Cross Rail Road running South from Madison Street half way to the Alley which runs between Madison and Jefferson Streets." The Northern Cross Railroad had just begun rail service to Springfield in 1842.

located on the west side of the Public Square. Advertising as “wholesale and retail dealers in dry goods, groceries, hardware, and Queensware,” the firm’s first advertisements begin appearing in local newspapers by late 1839 (cf. *Sangamo Journal*, 6 December 1839, p. 2).² In 1841, the firm purchased the Broadwell Mill at Sangamo Town, and began carding wool in conjunction with the operation of their Springfield mercantile business (*Sangamo Journal* 2 July 1841, p. 3).³ Sometime shortly after their purchase of the Broadwell Mill in July 1841, Francis and Sanford apparently constructed a steam-powered mill on their Madison Street property in Springfield, as by April 1843, advertisements by the firm of Lewis and Tunison referenced the use of their pumps at “Francis & Sanford’s mill, this city” (*Sangamo Journal*, 27 April 1843, p. 4).⁴

In January 1844, Iran Sanford (“surviving partner of the late firm of Francis & Sanford”) filed a petition to enforce a mechanics lien against Edward F. Olds and Jonas Whitney. This lien was for “materials and lumber, used in the erection of a ware house situated on the south half of lots one, two, and three in block four, Whitney’s addition to the town (now City) of Springfield” (*Sangamo Journal*, 18 January 1844, p. 3). Sanford had difficulty in serving the subpoena for Olds or Whitney to appear in court as neither individual was “found in the county, Nov. 4, 1843.”

Deed records indicate that the Springfield merchant William Grimsley acquired title to N1/2 Lots 1-3 (which included Francis and Sanford’s mill) through four separate deeds, dated May 10 and 23, 1848. Grimsby’s interest in Lots 1-3 actually pre-dated 1848, as the deeds themselves make clear. Three of the deeds refer to the sale of “parts” (comparable to shares)⁵ of the lots due to unpaid debts owed by Townsend and Sanford—debts possibly incurred through the construction of their Madison Street mill. A court judgement levied against the two in April 1843 for the sum of \$1,554.66 resulted in the County Sheriff selling 64% of the “parts” to Jonathan Goodhue, Pelatiah Pent, and Calvin Durant. Goodhue, Pent, and Durant then assigned their certificate of purchase to William Grimsby (SCDR AA:452). A second court judgement against Townsend and Sanford, for \$554.30, was issued by the Circuit Court in June 1843. Albert Bledsoe, a creditor for whom the court had decided in favor of, acquired 24% of the “parts” of Lots 1-3, and he then assigned them to Grimsby (SCDR AA:454). The remaining

² Newspaper announcements from early 1840 indicate that the firms of Vaughn, Sanford and Company, and Sanford, Francis and Company were dissolved “by mutual consent,” and that J. Sanford and C. B. Francis had purchased the interests of F. Vaughn and J. Maxey as well as B. S. Clement, and were to operate under the new title of Francis and Sanford (*Sangamo Journal*, 28 February 1840, p. 1).

³ The mill, which had been formerly owned by Charles Broadwell, and “Carman and Ruckel,” was put “in good repair” and advertised “Sawing Lumber and Lath, Grinding and Wool carding, and are now adding a Smut Machine” (*Sangamo Journal*, 3 September 1841, p. 1). The “smut machine” was a mechanism for removing smut and other impurities from grain prior to grinding and many new devices to achieve this were patented in the early 1840s and 1850s (cf. *Scientific American* July 1853, pp. 42, 332).

⁴ Corresponding with the improvement in rail service was an expansion of Springfield’s industrial base. Flour and grist milling—an industry that dated to the earliest years of the community—boomed between 1845 and 1865 (Interstate Publishing Company 1881:577).

⁵ The deed records refer to Lots 1-3 of Block 4 comprising 266,667 “undivided parts.” The basis for this number is not understood.

12% of the “parts” were purchased by Grimsby directly after the court issued yet another judgement against Townsend and Sanford in October 1845, for the sum of \$331.21 (SCDR AA:453). The fourth and final deed relating to Grimsby’s acquisition of Lots 1-3 references his purchase of the lots through a Sheriff’s sale held in April 1846 for delinquent property taxes owed for 1845, at which time he offered the highest bid: a modest \$14.22 (SCDR AA:435).

Even before acquiring complete ownership of the property, Grimsley began advertising a desire to purchase wheat, flour barrels, and wood, to be delivered to the Phoenix Mill as early as mid-November 1844 (*Sangamo Journal*, 14 November 1844, p. 3).⁶ Similar advertisements continued on a regular basis through late February 1847. It is unclear as to Grimsley’s relationship with Francis and Sanford during these years. Although deed records do not indicate his purchase of the mill until several years later, in late February 1845 Grimsley announced that he had purchased the mill formerly owned by Francis and Sanford.

Farmer’s Look Here

The undersignee having purchased and fitted up the Steam Mill in the North East part of the city, formerly owned by Francis & Sanford, and known as the Phoenix Mill, is now ready to grind for those who may favor him with a call, on the best terms and in the best manner, come and try (*Sangamo Journal*, 27 February 1845, p. 3).

Advertisements ran in January 1846 by Grimsley noted that “the PHOENIX MILL is now in good repair and prepared to grind both Wheat and Corn in the best manner, and on terms that cannot fail to render perfect satisfaction” (*Sangamo Journal*, 1 January 1846, p. 1). Grimsley noted that his store was located on the southwest corner of the public square, and his brand name FAMILY FLOUR was available to purchase at both his store and mill. Again, in late 1849, Grimsley advertised his mill operation to the rural agricultural community.

To the Farmers

The PHOENIX MILL having been enlarged and undergone a thorough repair, with an entire new set of bolts, arranged expressly for grist work. We are prepared to grind Wheat, Corn, &c. a little better than any other mill in this country; for proof which we only ask a trial by our old patrons and the public generally (*Illinois Journal*, 8 September 1849, p. 3).

To entice business, Grimsley noted in his advertisements that “those who come from a distance, if compelled to remain over night, shall be at no expense.” In November 1849, Grimsley further advertised that “The Phoenix Mill is now prepared to grind Buckwheat for the public, in the best manner—having new machinery expressly prepared for the purpose. The Buckwheat flour made at this Mill is an excellent article, free from grit—the Buckwheat being passed through the smut machine” (*Illinois Journal*, 24 November 1849, p. 2).

⁶ Grimsley also solicited feathers, beeswax, flax seed, linsey and jeans.

Subsequently, deed records suggest that Grimsley purchased the S1/2, Lots 1-3 from Ira Olds in late March 1851 for the sum of \$500 (SCDR FF:671).⁷ Presumably, a large warehouse had been constructed on this parcel several years earlier. Grimsley continued carrying regular, weekly advertisements through August 1852, at which time the advertisements abruptly stopped.

Both the 1854 and 1858 *City of Springfield* maps depict two large frame structures straddling Lots 1-3, Block 4, Whitney's Addition. The 1854 map labeled the northern of the two buildings, which fronted Madison Street, as "GRIST MILL." Both maps illustrate the larger building fronting Madison Street as slightly set back from Tenth Street, whereas the smaller building on the south half of the lots had a more rectangular footprint and was nestled in the corner of the lots abutting the alley to the south and Tenth Street to the east.

Beginning in April 1863, Amelia Grimsley (the executrix of the William P. Grimsley estate) advertised the sale of the Phoenix mill, touted as "one of the best in the city."⁸

MILL PROPERTY FOR SALE

The undersigned offers for sale on reasonable terms the fine Mill property, known as the Phoenix Mill, situated on the Great Western Railroad, in the Northeast part of the City of Springfield. This Mill, one of the best in the city, is in good repair and fine running order. There is also attached a large warehouse, stable and three good wells. The ground on which the mill and other buildings are situated embraces some four lots, and is enclosed by a strong board fence. Persons desirous of purchasing one of the most desirable pieces of property in the city, can ascertain the terms and time by addressing or calling on the undersigned, Executrix of the Estate of William P. Grimsley, deceased (cf. *Illinois State Register*, August 28, 1863 for a copy of the announcement).

These advertisements for the sale of the mill ran for nearly the entire year, suggesting that the mill property was not an easy sale during these Civil War years. Although advertisements stopped appearing in late 1863, deed records do not indicate the sale of the property until April 1864, at which time Jacob Tigar purchased the property for the sum of \$8,150 (SCDR 18:365).⁹

⁷ Ira Olds had purchased the south half of these three lots from Edward Olds in December 1842, paying \$1,520 for this property (SCDR V:32).

⁸ William P. Grimsley was born May 9, 1840 in Rochester. He was the child of Lewis Grimsley and Caroline McCoy (an early pioneer family of Rochester Township). Although the newspapers suggest that William P. Grimsley had died in 1863, Power (1876:489) suggests that one William P. Grimsley was the chief clerk in the County Clerk's office in May 1876 (Power 1876:489).

⁹ The 1850 U.S. Census of Population indicates that Jacob Tigar was a 27-year-old miller and native of Ohio, whose real estate was valued at a modest \$350. At this time, he was married to Effa Ann, who was age 25 and from New Jersey. The couple had five children between one month and seven years of age. In June 1850, Tigar had purchased and presumably was occupying a located on the west side of the 300 block of North Tenth Street, immediately north of Madison Street (SCDR DD:516). The remains of this dwelling (discussed as House C) were exposed and partially excavated as part of the archaeological investigations at the Race Riot Site (11SG1432)

In late 1865, Tigar advertised the addition of hominy production at his Phoenix Mill. This advertisement noted that the Phoenix Mill was located at the corner of *Fourth* and Madison Streets (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 December 1865, p. 2). Although this address was most likely a printing error, it ran for many months uncorrected. Tigar sold the “Old Phoenix Mill” at a public auction in February 1867 (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 February 1867, p. 2). In advertisements for the sale, Tigar noted that “this is a rare chance to purchase a good property” in Springfield, and that:

The Phoenix Mill is in good running condition. The boiler has just been repaired, and has under it one of G. W. Fair’s Smoke Consuming Arch Heaters. Water is in abundance for any season—never fails. The mill lot has 100 feet on Tenth street by 157 feet deep, with a railroad switch at the door. I will sell a warehouse and lot 60 feet on Tenth Street by 157 deep, adjoin the mill lot. Corn Sheller, Scales, Sacks, Hogs, a Span of beautiful matched Mares, Mill Team, Delivery Wagon; also a fine Stallion, all to be sold on the same day. Sale at the mill (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 February 1867, p. 2).

Deed records suggest that Louis Wackerle et al purchased the Old Phoenix Mill property on 14 February 1867 for the price of \$8,000 (SCDR 29:545). The “et al” probably is in reference to his partner John Rapps, as the Mill apparently was operated under the name Wackerle and Rapps from 1867 through June 1871. Louis Wackerle was an experienced mill operator who previously operated the Union Flouring Mill on Spring Creek (which was located 2½ miles west of Springfield) (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 5 July 1869, p. 3). In June 1871, Lewis Wackerle and John Rapps terminated their partnership (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 June 1871, p. 4).¹⁰

Tiger died in late 1868, shortly after the sale of his property. The administrator of the Tiger estate (Charles Keys) published a notice of his death, to inform the public to file any claims against the estate by early February 1869 (*Illinois State Register*, 5 January 1869, p. 6) (Figure 2).

News regarding the Phoenix Mill, and advertisements pertaining to the mill’s activities, are limited during the early 1870s. In their New Year’s edition 1873, the *Illinois State Journal* wrote that there were “five first class steam mills within the city limits employed in the manufacture of flour.” Of these five mills, only the Phoenix Mill, owned by L. J. Wackerlee [sic], received individual coverage.

This mill situated on the line of the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railway, at the corner of 10th and Madison streets, is one of the oldest and best known mills in the city, and was formerly known as the “Grimsley Mill,” and by this name every old

¹⁰ Louis Wackerle was born in Emmerdingen, Baden, Germany on April 12, 1826. He immigrated to the United States in circa 1849 at the age of 23 years. In March 1851, he married Appolonia Keefner in Springfield and the couple eventually had eight children. According to his obituary, Mr. Wackerle “was actively engaged in business in this city, having opened and operated from 1851 to 1859 the old Wackerle mill, which was located on spring creek a few miles northwest of the city. From 1865 to the time of his removal from this city in 1884 he operated the Phoenix mill, which was located at Tenth and Madison streets.” His wife died in Eldorado, Kansas in 1896. One of their daughters married into the Rapps family (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 March 1909, p. 5).

settler will recognize it and its location. The mill was for a considerable time operated by Wackerlee [sic] & Rapps, but as before stated is now run by L. J. Wackerlee, Esq. The mill is now provided with all the most approved machinery for the manufacture of flour, corn meal, etc., and the present enterprising proprietor is largely engaged in the purchase of wheat and corn, and manufacturing it into flour and meal. The product turned out by this mill is second to none in the city. Besides an extensive city trade Mr. Wackerlee [sic] supplies a large number of our county dealers, and manufactures several thousand barrels for shipment. By offering none but the best of grades he has established a trade second to but few in Central Illinois. The capacity of the mill is about one hundred barrels per day (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 January 1873, p. 2).¹¹

Again, in late 1881, the *Illinois State Journal* carried a short description of the old mill:

L. J. WACKELE

is proprietor of a four-run mill at the corner of Eleventh [sic] and Madison streets. Its capacity is 100 barrels per day. About 12,000 barrels of flour were manufactured at this mill during the year. An average of 20 bushels of meal is ground per day, making the product for the year 6,000 bushels. The larger portion of the manufactures are sold in the city and surrounding towns. It finds ready sale at home. Six men are employed at wages averaging \$50 per month (*Illinois State Journal*, 21 December 1881, p. 6).

Only a few years later, in late September 1883, Wackerle (and his wife) defaulted on a mortgage that they had taken out in August 1872 for the sum of \$25,000. As title to the mill property had been used as collateral for this loan, the property was sold on the courthouse steps at a public auction held on 13 October 1883 (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 13 September 1883, p. 6). A quit claim deed from Wackerle to Ernest Helmle dated 26 September 1883 records the sale (SCDR 74:497).¹² In August 1885, Helmle sold the property to the Springfield Marine Bank who in turn sold it to J. Henry Schuck for the sum of \$3,000 (SCDR 77:365, 370). Schuck operated a nearby lumber yard, and had purchased the property to expand his lumber business. In that same month, August 1885, the *Illinois State Journal* wrote that “The old Wackerle mill at the corner of Tenth and Madison streets is being torn down” (“THE CITY. General Mention”, *Illinois State Journal*, 12 August 1885, p. 8). The 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map depicts the presence of J. H. Schuck and Son’s lumber yard and planing mill.

¹¹ The other four flour mills in operation at that time were Everybody’s Mill, the Illinois Mill, the Excelsior Mill, and the Aetna Mill.

¹² In March 1884, the *Illinois State Register* advertised for a “BIG SALE” of the personal property of Louis Wackerle, noting that “he is leaving the city” (*Illinois State Register*, 22 March 1884, p. 3). Wackerle died in March 1909 (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 March 1909, p. 5).

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Table 1
Partial Chain-of-title for Site 4
(Lots 1-3, Block 4 of J. Whitney's Addition)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
24 November 1837	Jonas Whitney	Edward F. Olds	Lot 1-3 [Note 1]	\$2,800	WD	M:47
7 July 1842	Edward F. Olds	Chas. B. Francis & Ira Sanford	N1/2 Lots 1-3	\$200	WD	T:262
13 December 1842	Edward F. Olds	Ira M. Olds	S1/2 Lots 1-3	\$1,520	WD	U:32
10 and 23 May 1848	W. Harvey (Sheriff)	William P. Grimsley	N1/2 Lots 1-3	[Note 2]	SD	AA:435, 452-454
21 March 1851	Ira M. Olds	William P. Grimsley	S1/2 Lots 1-3	\$500	WD	FF:671
23 November 1843 [Note 3]	Ira M. Olds	Edward F. Olds	S1/2 Lots 1-3	?	QCD	YY:152
14 April 1864	Amelia Grinsby [sic]	Jacob Tigar	Lots 1-3	\$8,150	WD	18:365
14 February 1867	Jacob Tigar	Louis Wacherlie et al.	Lots 1-3, pt. of Lot 4	\$8,000	WD	29:545
8 June 1871	John W. Rapp	Louis J. Wackerle	Lots 1-4 [Note 4]	\$1,350	WD	43:343
26 September 1883	Lewis J. Wackerlie	Ernst H. Helmle	Lots 1-4	\$1	QCD	74:497
10 August 1885	Ernst H. Helmle	Springfield Marine Bank	Lots 1-4	\$1	QCD	77:365
10 August 1885	Springfield Marine Bank	J. Henry Schuck	Lots 1-4	\$3,000	WD	77:370

--no more transactions through 1905--

Note 1: This sale also included Lots 2-16 in Block 6 of J. Whitney's Addition.

Note 2: This transaction involved four separate deeds transferring ownership of the N1/2 of Lots 1-3 to William Grimsley. One of these, involving the N1/2 of Lots 1-3, indicates that the property was sold at auction for \$14.72. The abstracts for the other three deeds do not indicate a purchase price.

Note 3: Although dated 23 November 1843, this deed was not recorded with the Sangamon County Clerk until 24 March 1853.

Note 4: The deed specifically mentions that the property included a "steam mill".



Figure 1. Location of the site of the Phoenix Mill (outlined in red), as illustrated on the 1854 (left) and 1858 (right) *City of Springfield* maps (Potter 1854; Sides 1858). Both maps document a large mill on the north end of the multi-lot property, and a warehouse on the south end of the property.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ESTATE OF JACOB TIGER,
deceased.

Notice is hereby given that the undersigned, administrator of the estate of Jacob Tiger, deceased, will attend before the county court of Sangamon county, to be holden at the court house in Springfield, on the 3d Monday in the month of February next, and on the 3d day of said term, when and where all persons having claims against said estate are notified to present them for adjustment.

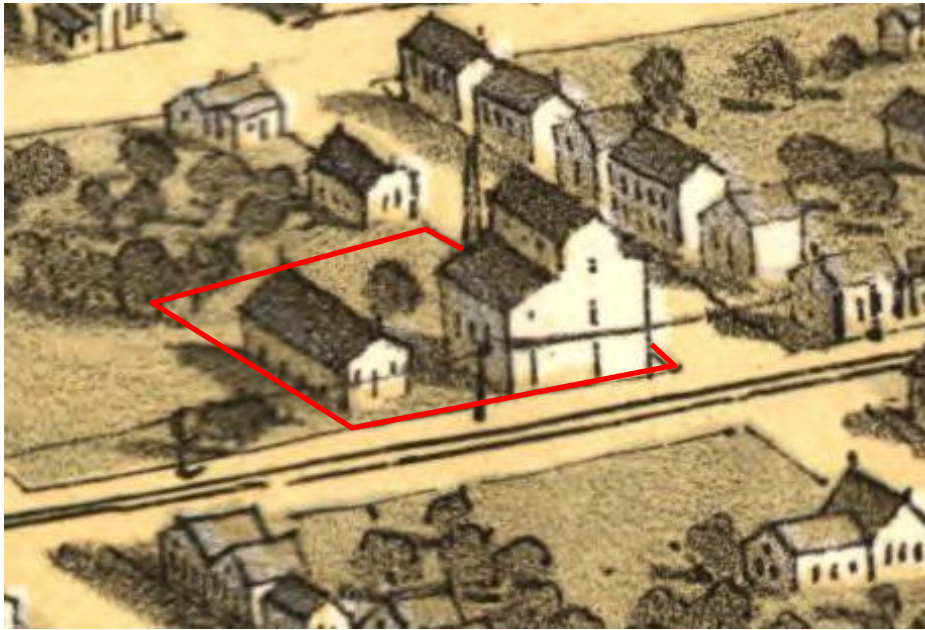
All persons indebted to said estate are requested to make immediate payment to the undersigned.

CHARLES A. KEYES,
Administrator.

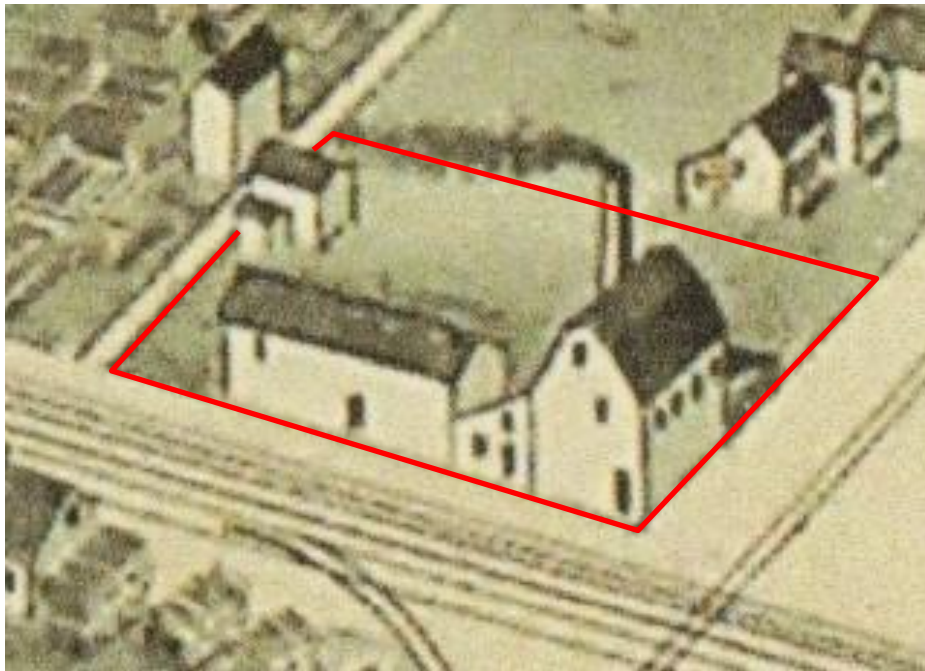
Springfield, Ill., January 2, A. D. 1869.

Jan 4 1869

Figure 2. Advertisement announcing the estate sale of Jacob Tiger (*Illinois State Register*, 5 January 1869, p. 6).



1867



1873

Figure 3. Location of the Phoenix Mill, as illustrated on the 1867 (top) and 1873 (bottom) bird's eye views of Springfield (Ruger 1867; Koch 1873). These two images depict the mill, as well as the early warehouse. The 90-degree shift in the orientation of the warehouse between 1867 and 1873 is perplexing, and may suggest that the warehouse had been rebuilt during these years.

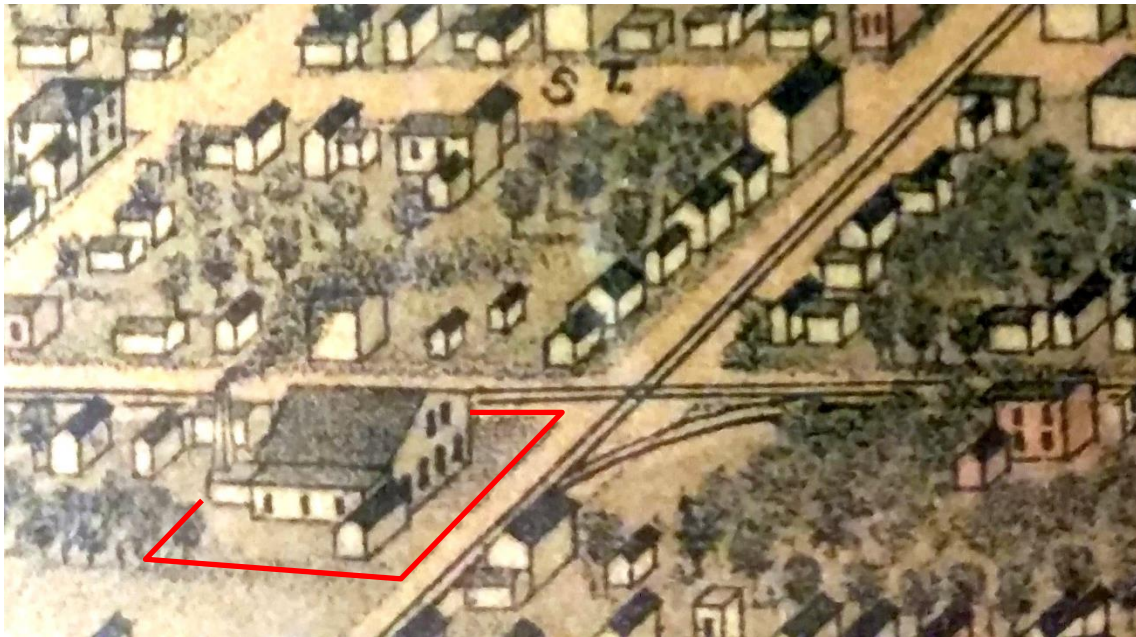
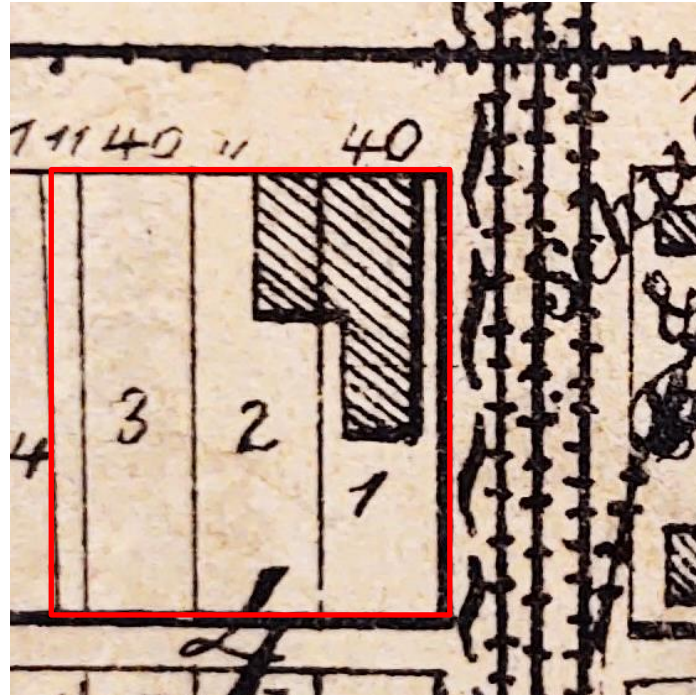


Figure 4. Location of the Phoenix Mill, as illustrated by the 1876 city map (top) and circa-1878 bird's-eye view of Springfield (bottom) (Bird 1876; Beck and Pauli [1878]). These images suggest that the large warehouse may have been demolished by 1876.

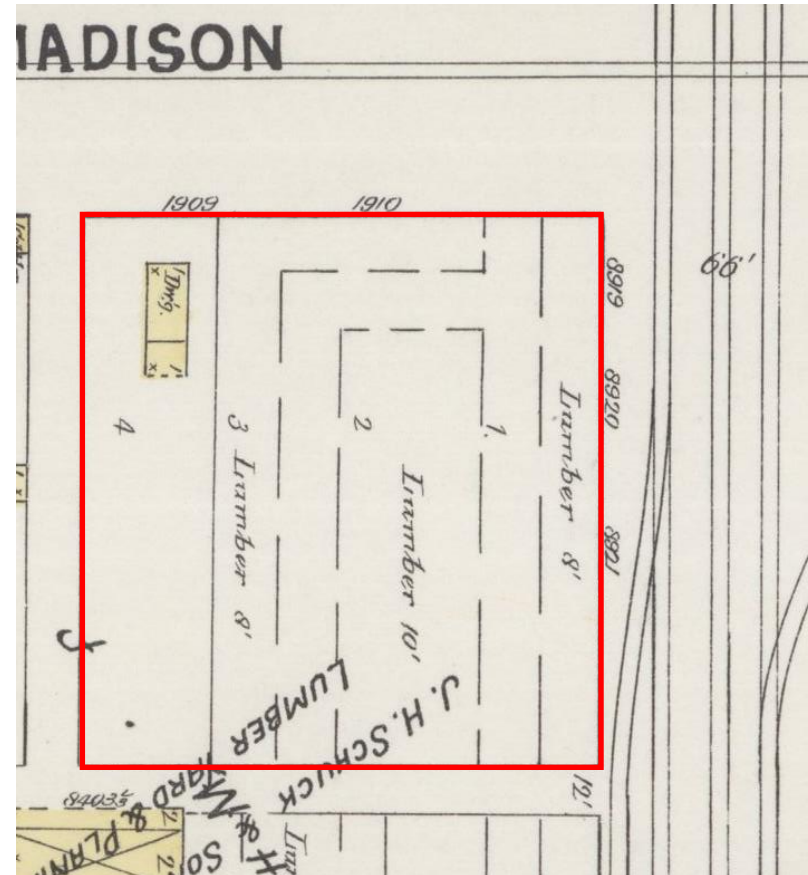
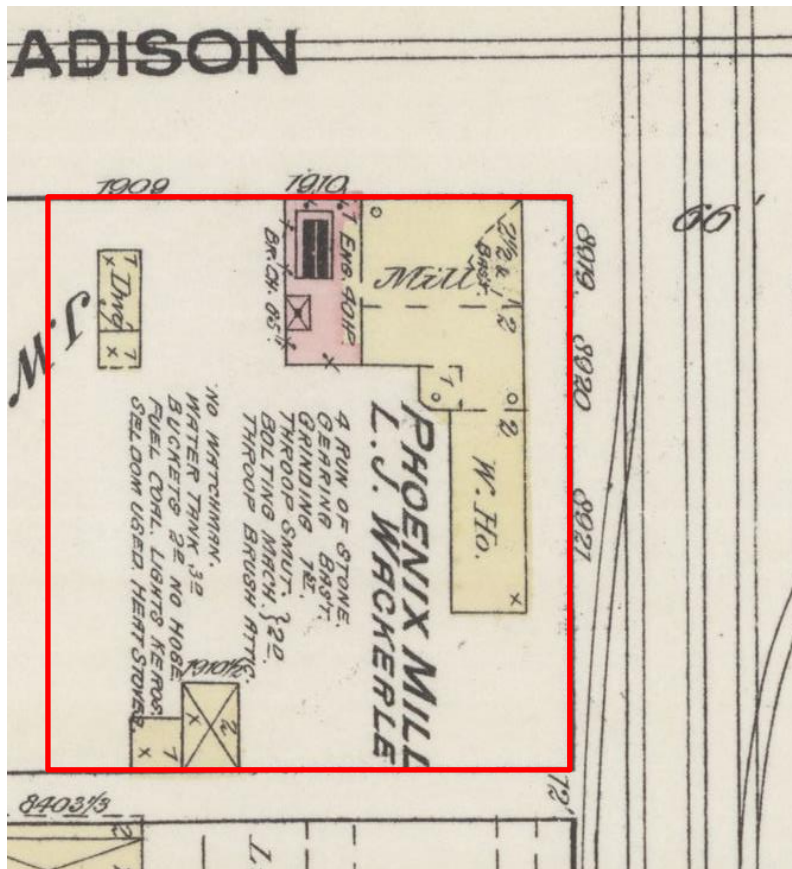


Figure 5. Location of the Phoenix Mill, as illustrated by the 1884 and 1890 Sanborn maps (Sanborn 1884:9; Sanborn-Perris 1890:13). The mill was demolished in 1885, and the site was integrated into J. Henry Schuck’s lumber yard.

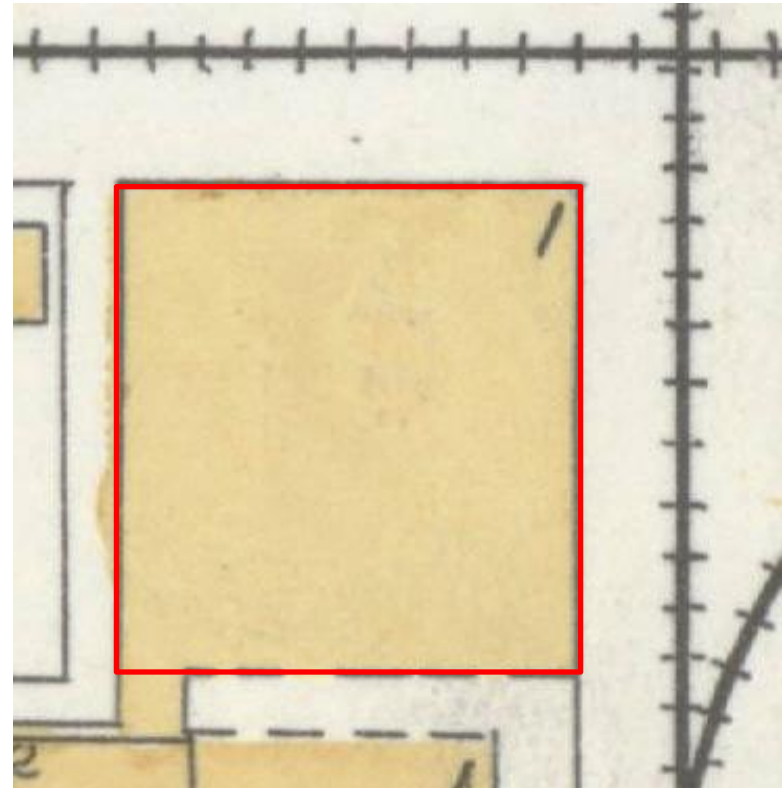
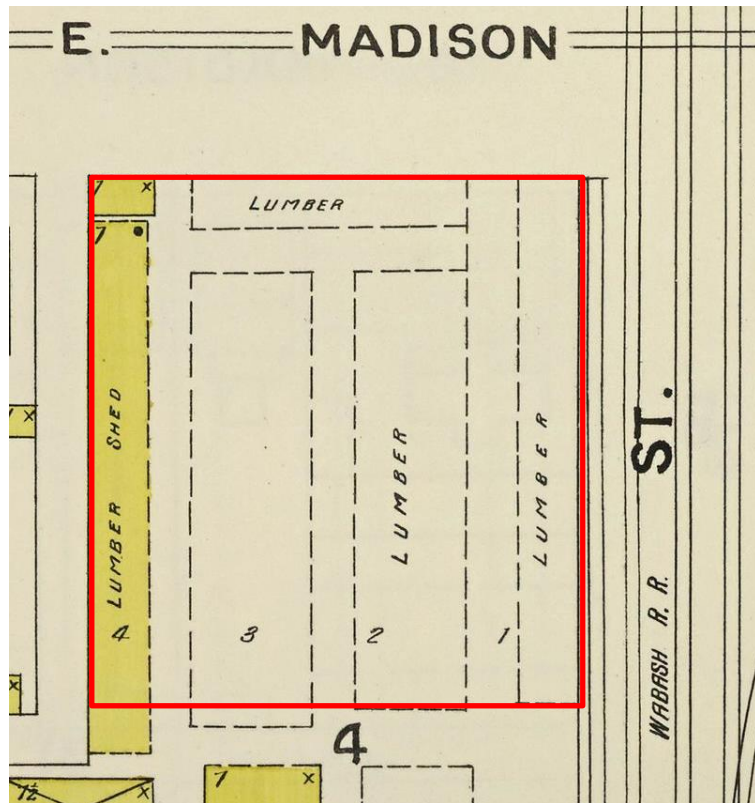


Figure 6. Location of the Phoenix Mill, as illustrated by the 1896 (left) and 1906 (right) Sanborn maps (Sanborn-Perris 1896:4; Sanborn 1906).

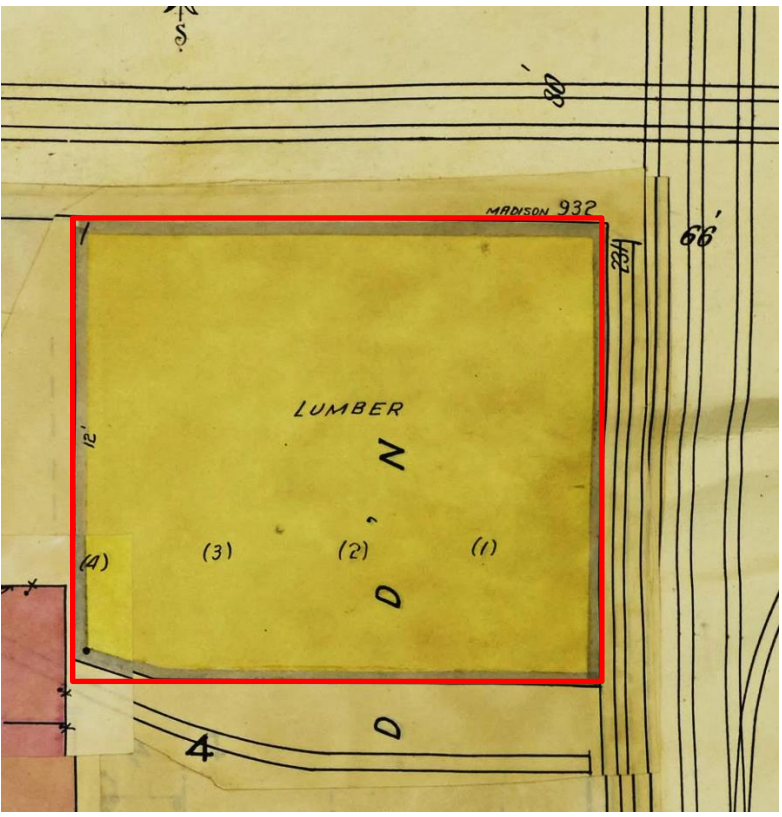
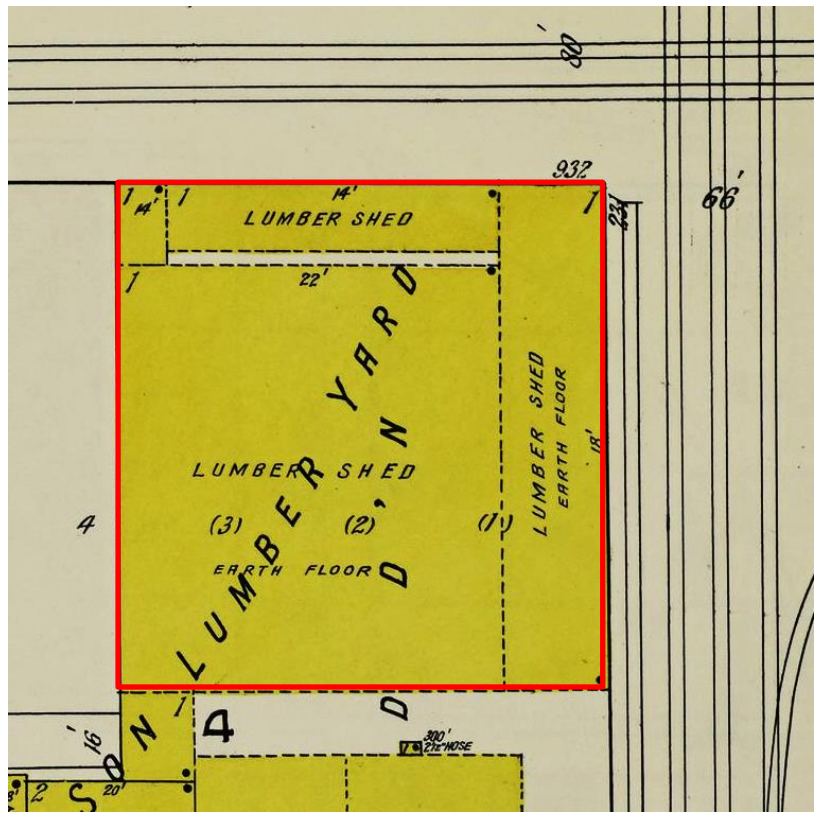


Figure 7. Location of the Phoenix Mill, as illustrated by the 1917 (left) and 1950 (right) Sanborn maps (Sanborn 1917:22; Sanborn 1950:22).

Appendix IX

The Early Black Occupants of the Tenth Street Neighborhood: Racial Diversity and a New Hope for Equality in Early Springfield

Floyd Mansberger
and
Christopher Stratton

During the late evening of August 14, 1908, after ransacking the Black commercial district on East Washington Street known as “the Levee,” a white mob fixated on terrorizing the city’s Black inhabitants, turned their attention towards the mixed-race neighborhood on Springfield’s northeast side known at that time as “the Badlands.” Housing in the Tenth Street project area neighborhood in 1908 consisted of older housing stock constructed predominately in the middle nineteenth century (circa 1840s-1870s). By 1908, much of the housing stock was run-down, poorly maintained, and not owner-occupied. Local newspapers often described the housing of the neighborhood in terms such as “wretched shanties,” “shacks,” and “hovels” (cf. *Springfield News* June 3, 1902), and the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map goes so far as to label several of the houses in the immediate project area as “Negro Shanties.” In 1887, for example, the *Illinois State Journal* described one of the houses in the Tenth Street project area (House B) as “a dilapidated tenement house, near the corner of Tenth and Madison streets... [a] dreary cold hovel.”¹ The implications are significant in that much of the housing in the neighborhood was substandard, and poorly maintained by the time of the riots. Additionally, by this date, many of the dwellings housed businesses of questionable character, including saloons, gambling establishments, houses of prostitution, and even opium dens with the Tenth and Madison Street intersection being the heart of the illicit.²

This neighborhood, though, did not always have this negative reputation, and on the contrary, was one of the more upscale neighborhoods once associated with socially affluent free-Black Springfield families during 1860s and 1870s.

Black Residents in Early Springfield

Until relatively recently, the African American presence in early Springfield was poorly understood, generally ignored, and often misrepresented by early historians. Formal published histories generally glossed over the African American contribution to early Springfield.³ It was

¹ The *Journal* was reporting on the death of one Sarah Clark in the house who had “died alone... in a dilapidated tenement house, near the corner of Tenth and Madison streets... At what time she died perhaps will never be known, for she was unattended and alone, even those of her kind avoided her. The cause of her death was disease, brought on by her life of wantonness, and exposure. What agony she must have suffered, when alone in that dreary cold hovel... She was buried in the potters [sic] field” (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 October 1887).

² 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).

³ Power (1871) in his *History of Springfield, Illinois* mentions “Colored” citizens only twice—once in reference to the establishment of a school for colored students in December 1858 (1871:56), and a second time acknowledging

not until the early 1880s and the publication of *The History of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Inter State Publishing Company 1881) that any mention of an African American citizen in Springfield was even mentioned. In this history, in discussing the layout of the incipient community of Calhoun (later renamed Springfield) in 1828, John Stuart noted the “residence of Polly, a colored woman” and “the cabin of a colored woman, called familiarly Aunt Creecy” located on Washington Street at that time (Inter State Publishing Company 1881:194, 198).⁴

Table 5
Population by Color and Nativity, Springfield, Illinois 1850-1910
(Schneider 1915)

Year	Total population	Negroes		Foreign-born whites	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1850	4,533	171	3.77	.. ^a	.. ^a
1860	9,320	203	2.18	.. ^a	.. ^a
1870	17,364	808	4.65	4,456	25.7
1880	19,743	1,328	6.73	4,284	21.7
1890	24,963	1,806	7.24	4,796	19.2
1900	34,159	2,227	6.52	4,654	13.6
1910	51,678	2,961	5.73	6,900	13.4

Although historical sources often cite William Florville (who arrived in Springfield in 1831) as the first African-American resident of Springfield, census records suggest otherwise.⁵ The 1830 U.S. Census of Population recorded forty-seven African Americans residing in Sangamon County in 1830 (one year prior to Florville’s arrival), some of whom most certainly were living in Springfield. As such, as suggested by Stuart in his 1877 description of Calhoun, Black individuals were part of the Springfield scene since the earliest days of settlement. Research by

the contribution of black students towards the funding of the National Lincoln Monument (Lincoln Tomb) (1871:103). Similarly, there is no mention of African Americans or Negroes in his work. A couple years later, in his *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois*, Power has no discussion of any African American, Negro, or Colored citizens of Sangamon County. The only use of the term “Colored” in reference to race includes six instances where he discusses white citizens of the county and their service in the Civil War as commanders in various U.S. Colored Troop regiments, and one instance in describing the life of a white farmer, teacher, and abolitionist—Stephen Child (Power 1876). It is interesting to note though, that one of the more prominent African American families in Springfield in circa 1870 was the extended William Florville family. Florville’s extended biography is presented by Power (1871:333), but nowhere in that biography does one discern that Florville was Black (other than his birth having been at Cape Haitian, West Indies). Similarly, Angle (1935) in his history of Springfield also contains no references to black citizens of the city.

⁴ The mention of these two Black residents from 1828 was integrated into a lengthy description of the town, as written by John T. Stuart in 1877. Otherwise, little mention was made of the city’s Black citizens (Inter State Publishing Company 1881:194, 198).

⁵ His surname was spelled “Fleureville” originally but eventually was Americanized to “Florville,” which is the form most commonly cited in historical sources.

Springfield historian Richard Hart has documented the presence of free-Blacks, Black indentured servants, as well as actual enslaved Blacks in the community from its earliest of days.⁶ Hart's ground-breaking research has done much to dispel the inaccuracies of early Black settlement in Springfield. As Hart (1999, 2008) has so well emphasized, African Americans were present in early Springfield from its earliest days, and a significant number of these individuals were minimally indentured servants, if not actual slaves. Hart (1999:35) states that, "At the time of Abraham Lincoln's arrival in 1837, Springfield had an African American population of approximately twenty-six—1.7 percent of the total population of 1,500. Six of those twenty-six were slaves."

The 1840 U.S. Census of Population suggests that four Springfield families still owned enslaved Blacks at that time,⁷ and at least twenty-three families had at least one live-in "Free Colored" servant (some of which were no doubt indentured servants). In that year [1840], the U.S. census documented twelve Free-Black families as having independent residences in Springfield (USBC 1840; Hart 2008:225-226). These included the Thomas Cox, Ephraim Henson, John Jackson, Titus Kirkpatrick, Henry Mann, Uriah Maxwell, Luke Mayberry, Jesse Price, Mary Shelby, Meshac Stewart, Allen Stewart, and Daniel West families.

By 1850, the number of Black residents in Springfield had increased substantially to approximately 171 individuals, which represented approximately 3.8% of the total population 4,533 (Schneider 1915:7) (Table 5). Hart (2008) suggests slightly different numbers, noting the presence of 245 individuals of color within the City of Springfield at that time (representing approximately 5% of the total population of 5,106 residents (Hart 2008:133). Our analysis of the 1850 Census suggests that there were approximately thirty independent Black households in the city at this time.⁸ Additionally, approximately 18 individuals were listed as living within an all-white household, presumably as live-in servants. Similarly, our research suggests that the total Black population in Springfield, based on the 1850 U.S. Census of Population, was approximately 160 individuals (see attached Table 1). Occupations of Black citizens of Springfield, as documented in the 1850 U.S. Census of Population, included laborers (n=15), barbers (n=9), cooks (n=2), blacksmiths (n=1), carpenters (n=1), draymen (n=1), farmers (n=1),

⁶ Hart argues that an enslaved man referred to as "Negro Jack" was probably Springfield's first African American resident. Jack was held in bondage by Henry and Mary Kelly, who settled in Springfield in 1819 (as part of the "Kelly Settlement"). The Kellys sold Jack to Joseph Reavis in March 1822 (Hart 2008:10).

⁷ These included the James Bell (one female), J. R. Betts (two males), Ninian Wirt Edwards (one male), and William Lewis May (one female) families. At that time, all of the enslaved individuals were young (10-24 years of age)(Hart 2008:225).

⁸ Based on the 1850 U.S. Census of Population, Hart identified sixty-six Black families having independent residences in Springfield at that time (Hart 2008:227-230). The authors' own analysis on that census, however, suggests that the number of *independent* Black households at that time was lower, with approximately thirty individual households (identified by the "Head of Household") present in the city. Many of these households included secondary families, and individuals who may represent extended family members and/or simply boarders—groups Hart possibly included in his tally of independent residences. See also SangamonLink, for county-wide statistics (<https://sangamoncountyhistory.org/wp/population-changes-1840-2010/>). SangamonLink indicates 34 "free colored" residents and 13 slaves in the county in 1830. Similarly, they indicate 160 "free colored" and 6 slaves in 1840.

servants (n=1), and shoemakers (n=-1).⁹ The numerous live-in servants (indentured and free) were not identified as to their “occupation.” Fourteen of the 30 individual households were recorded as having owned real estate. These entries ranged from a low assessed value of \$50 (Mack Shelby) to a high of \$1,000 (William Florville), with the average value of real estate being \$316—far lower than that of the average white real estate owner. The four real estate owners with assessed values greater than the average were Henry Bayler (barber), John Jackson (cook), Thomas Cox (barber), and William Florville (barber).¹⁰

One of the first city directories in Springfield to identify its entries by race was D. Winter’s *Springfield City Directory For 1857-58* (Winters 1857). Blacks were identified within the directory with “(col’d)” following their name, which was a reference to the term “colored.” This directory identified thirty African-American residents in Springfield at that time. Typical of such directories, minor children and married women not employed outside the home were not recorded. Of the 30 Black individuals listed in the 1857 directory, 8 were females, three of whom were identified as widows and three as laundresses. Occupations common among Black women during this era was that of laundress and/or washer woman.¹¹ Of the 22 males in the directory, twelve were identified as to their occupations which included barbers (n=5), shoemakers (n=2), whitewashers (n=2), a laborer (n=1), a fireman (n=1), and by inference, a minister (n=1). Ten of the 22 males were not identified as to their occupation. With the assistance of the 1860 U.S. Census of Population, six of these ten individuals were identified as to their occupations, which included barbers (n=2), laborers (n=2), and draymen (n=2). In total, the Black males listed within the 1857 city directory with known occupations were barbers (n=7), laborers (n=3), shoemakers (n=2), draymen (n=2), whitewashers (n=2), a fireman/laborer (n=1), and a minister (n=1). The occupation representing the most socially (and economically) affluent trade was that of barber, a skilled position that allowed many free-Blacks to attain economic and social status in the community (as indicated above by the 1850 U.S. Census of Population). Among the early barbers in Springfield, represented in this directory, were the brothers Presley and Spencer Donnegan, J. N. H. Fountain (who actually purchased an advertisement in the city directory), David King, Henry Ellis, and William “Billy the Barber” Florville. Besides the 30 residential entries, the 1857 city directory also listed three individuals’ business locations—all of which were barbers located at, or near, the central business district. William Florville’s barber shop was located along the north side of Adams Street (between Sixth and Seventh Street), Henry Ellis’ shop was located “under the St. Nicholas Hotel,” and John Fountain’s shop was located on the west side of Fifth Street (between Monroe and Adams Streets). Another skilled occupation often pursued by Black men was that of shoemaker.

⁹ Martin and Townsend (2012:10) cite the number of African-American residents in Springfield in 1850 as 168, consisting of 14 laborers, 7 barbers, 2 cooks, 2 servants, one blacksmith, one carpenter, one farmer and one drayman (Jenkins). These numbers are slightly different than those tallied by our research.

¹⁰ The barbers listed in this census include Samuel Ball, Henry Baylor, Thomas Cox, Spencer Donnega, Presley Donnegan, William Flourville, Dave Kint, Richard Smith, and Dalton Stewart. Only four of the barbers were listed as owning real estate; the average assessed value of the real estate of these nine barbers was \$264. The average for the four barbers that owned real estate was \$593.

¹¹ See “‘Aunt Lou’ Maxwell: The Life of a Cuban-Immigrant Washerwoman and her Step-son Charles Maxwell,” “The Springfield Bugler,” Appendix VII, in Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume II].

Presley and Spencer Donnegan's brother William was a shoemaker in Springfield at this time. The other prominent Black man listed within this directory was the Reverend Henry Brown, minister with the A.M.E. (African Methodist Episcopal) Church. Glaringly absent from this directory are the numerous live-in servants, transient boarders, and less-skilled tradesmen who were not enumerated in the directory.

One of the more interesting aspects of the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* is that it similarly assigns a street location for each individual's residence. Figure x plots the location of the residential locations of these 30 individuals, and represents one of the first opportunities to plot the location of the early Black residents in Springfield. Although the spatial analysis of this data indicates widely disbursed locations of Black-occupied residences throughout the city, it also documented several clusters (or enclaves) of Black residents. The largest concentration of Black residents at that time were located on the north side of West Washington Street "near the African Church" (n=10). It was at this location that the first Black church in Springfield (the Colored Baptist Church) was established. Another individual residence was listed at "west side Washington west end" which probably corresponded to a nearby location as well, albeit farther to the west. The 1850 U.S. Census of Population recorded several families in close proximity to each other, which most likely represents this cluster of Black residents along west Washington Street. The six families noted in this census representing this enclave are the Jackson, Dyer, Maxwell, Vance, Thompson, and Butler families.

Springfield's Colored Baptist Church was organized by Reverend John Livingston in early April 1838, with eighteen charter members.¹² Charter members included George Brents, Thornton Coleman, Maria Vance, Anna Butler, Francis Ellis, Saddle Demery, Winefred Huston, Joseph Huston, and Nancy Jackson. The organizational meeting was held in Anderson Carter's home, located on West Washington Street, between Pasfield and College Streets. Subsequently, a church was constructed on West Washington Street (W25', Lot 14, Block 1, John Taylor's West Addition). Samuel Ball, a national proponent of the African Colonization movement, was pastor of the church during the 1840s (he died in 1852). This church later became known as the Zion Baptist Church, and was relocated to a location northeast of the central business district in the late 1850s. In April 1857, the Second Portuguese Presbyterian congregation sold their church at Gemini (now Carpenter) and Ninth Streets (Lot 16, Block 5, Wells and Peck's Addition) at public auction (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 April 1857, p. 3). This building was purchased by the Colored Baptists, and soon became known as the Zion Baptist Church (Hart 2008:153). A few months later, in July 1857, the auctioneer John Maxcy advertised the upcoming auction of the W25', Lot 14, Block 1, John Taylor's West Addition, on which "is a Church, some 26 by 16 feet, known as the Colored Baptist Church" ("Church At Auction," *Illinois State Journal*, 20 July 1857, p. 3). By 1858, the Springfield Gas Works had been constructed along the eastern edge of this Black neighborhood (Figure x).

Two additional clusters of Black-occupied residences are also identified in 1857 Springfield. The larger of these two clusters of Black residences, consisting of seven residences, was less

¹² Livingston was a Black missionary also responsible for organizing the Mount Emory Baptist Church in nearby Jacksonville, Morgan County (Hart 2008:83; Zion Missionary Baptist Church, 145th Anniversary Bulletin, 24 April 1983; Casey 1926).

concentrated than those located along west Washington Street. Located off the northeast corner of the Central Business District, this enclave was located along east Jefferson and Washington Streets, between Sixth and Ninth Streets. Among the early residents of this enclave were the shoemaker William Donnegan, and the barber William Florville.¹³ The 1850 U.S. Census of Population noted the close proximity of the Robinson, Shelby and Smith families, which most likely represent this early enclave. This neighborhood was to develop into the Black-commercial district known as the Levee. Both Donnegan and Florville had very successful careers, and became two of the wealthier Black men in Springfield.¹⁴

The third “cluster” of Black-occupied residences is small, consisting of only four residences located north of the Cook and Ninth Street intersection, within close proximity to the Springfield home of noted attorney, Abraham Lincoln. Among the occupants at this location were two barbers (David King, Henry Ellis), and a drayman (Jamison Jenkins).

By the late 1840s, the Colored Methodist Church (later known as the African Methodist Episcopal, or AME Church) was located within an old log cabin on the east side of North Fourth Street, north of Madison Street (S40’, Lot 3, Block 4, Ninian Edwards Addition). This church was organized by Reverend Spencer Donnegan in 1843, and had moved to this Fourth Street location by circa 1850, and it soon became a draw for Black residents of the city.¹⁵ By 1860, a small enclave of Black families (including members of the Donnegan, Sappington, and Coleman families) were living adjacent to the church. The AME congregation, which later was named St. Paul’s, would occupy two other church buildings on Springfield’s Near North Side in later years.¹⁶

¹³ William Donnegan also has the distinction of being one of the two Black men lynched during the 1908 Springfield Race Riot.

¹⁴ One of the first Black residents in this area was a man identified as “Black Frank.” Frank Shelby (aka “Black Frank”) purchased a lot on the north side of Washington Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets for \$10 in December 1831. Frank’s Certificate of Freedom was issued in Galena in November 1830. He died in March 1837, and his estate papers include a household inventory of his personal property (Hart 2008:43, 63, 67).

¹⁵ Initially, the congregation met at the home of John Wesley McDaniel, a white farmer, in 1843 to organize the church. McDaniel’s home was purportedly located on Sangamon Avenue (within the current location of the Illinois State Fairgrounds). Donnegan was the first pastor of this church. After a year, the church relocated to Klein and Carpenter Street, and then to a log cabin on Fourth Street, north of Mason. The congregation apparently constructed a new church at their Fourth Street location beginning in September 1859, and being completed by early 1860. The new church was to be constructed of brick, be 50’ x 32’ in size, and capable of seating 400 individuals (Hart 2008:167; *Illinois State Journal*, 6 September 1859, p. 3; 21 April 1860, p. 3).

Spencer Donnegan was later to move to Lincoln, where he was also instrumental in establishing a second AME church in that community in 1868. In Lincoln, the church initially met in Donigan’s home for five months, at which time the congregation purchased a vacant brick school on Sherman and Broadway (*Lincoln Evening Courier*, 26 August 1953, p. 12; 26 August 1953, Section four, p. 12).

¹⁶ In summer 1883, the congregation had begun to demolish the old brick church in anticipation of moving the frame North Baptist Church at the corner of Sixth and Madison Streets to their Fourth Street location. Controversy developed regarding the move, and the congregation purchased two lots on the east side of Sixth Street, between Madison and Mason and located the frame church at that location (cf. “New A.M.E. Church,” *Illinois State Register*, 6 July 1883, p. 4: “Appeal in Behalf of St. Paul’s A.M.E. Church,” *Illinois State Journal*, 26 October 1883,

The 1857 city directory indicates that Donnegan, the first pastor of the AME Church, was living on Fourth Street, north of Madison—a location adjacent to the church. The congregation constructed a new brick church at this location, beginning in September 1859. By 1860, a small enclave of Black families (including members of the Donnegan, Sappington, and Coleman families) were living adjacent to the church. The 1854 *City of Springfield* map illustrates the African Church (the AME Church) on Fourth Street north of Madison. Located each side of the church was a frame house. In October 1853, Presley Donigan apparently had purchased Lot 2, Block 4, Edwards Addition, located immediately adjacent and to the south of the church, from Joseph Klein (Hart 2008:146). Landrum Coleman occupied the adjacent house to the north of the church.

According to Hart (1999:35), the 1860 U.S. Census reported 234 African-Americans living in Springfield within thirty-six households, representing 2.5% of the city's total population of 9,320 (Hart 1999:35).¹⁷ As Hart notes, for the most part, the homes were scattered around and not concentrated in any given area. One exception was a cluster of seven Black homes he identified along the north side of Washington Street, just east of First Street. There was also a group of three adjacent residences on the east side of Fourth Street, south of Carpenter Street—in the area of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. Overall, according to Hart (1999) however, there was no obvious segregation of Black housing from white-occupied residences. A case in point is the presence of the Jamison Jenkins house located only a few doors south of the neighborhood's most famous resident, Abraham Lincoln. This perhaps is not entirely surprising given the modest number of homes occupied by Black families at this date, and is also a reflection of the diversity and heterogeneity of neighborhoods (in terms of socio-economic status, as well as ethnicity and/or race) during this era.

One individual of note in the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* was the Reverend Henry Brown, who was listed as residing at the north side Madison, between Tenth and Eleventh Street (northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Streets) in that year. Although the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* did not reference other Black residents in the near northeast neighborhood in which Reverend Brown's was located, it is clear that other Black families not documented in this early city directory were living in the area by circa 1860. By 1856, Thomas Wright and his family were living at the northeast corner of Mason and Thirteenth Streets (Hart 2008:155). Living adjacent to Wright in 1860 was the young Thomas Killion family. Killion was a barber, and living with the family was Narcissus Donnegan (USBC 1860). In November 1856, Nancy Collier purchased what most likely was an improved lot (with house) at the northwest corner of Twelfth and Mason Streets for \$850. Nancy was an older washer woman from Virginia (Hart 2008:152).¹⁸ The 1860 U.S. Census of Population indicates she was living with her 18-year-old

p. 7). This church was later to be known as St. Paul's AME Church, later relocated to Sixteenth and Stuart Streets (Hart 2008:114; *Illinois State Journal*, 1 July 1934, p. 2).

¹⁷ There is a problem with Hart's number totals for both the 1850 and 1860 census returns. These numbers should be considered approximations.

¹⁸ The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* lists an Albert Colyer (sic, Collier) as residing on the north side of Mason Street, west of Klein Street. It is unclear whether this was Nancy's husband.

son (Francis Collier, a laborer), and a four-year-old child named Ann Brooks (USBC 1860). Living adjacent to the Collier residence in 1860 was the Nathan Smallwell family. Smallwood was a cook. Living with the family at that time was their 18-year-old son (who also was a cook) (USBC 1860). The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* notes Mrs. Henrietta Fry living on the west side of Tenth Street between Mason and Reynolds Street by 1860 (cf. SCD 1860:89). The Fry family was early Black residents of Springfield, having arrived in circa 1838 (Hart 2008:89, 166).

In 1857, the Reverend Brown was living in a house at the northeast corner of Madison and Tenth Streets, in the newly established Wright and Brown Subdivision. By 1860, Brown had purchased this property, and his social status in the early Black community soon became a draw to his friends and congregation, many of whom built houses adjacent to him and his family. Over the next decade, a substantial enclave of socially elite Black Springfield residents settled in the Tenth and Madison neighborhood.

When the City of Springfield finally organized a public school for Black children in 1859, this too was located on the Near North Side, in close proximity to the project area.¹⁹ Initially, the school was housed in a rented room at the rear of the AME church on Fourth Street, but by 1865, this space had proven altogether inadequate for the number of students who were enrolled, not to mention being in a dilapidated condition (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 December 1858, p. 3; 20 June 1860, p. 3; 27 July 1865, p. 3). In 1866, the city council approved construction of a “Colored School” on Fifteenth Street, north of Madison Street, on the northeast edge of the city, near the Cottage Garden Addition. This school building apparently was in place by the following year (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 July 1866, p. 4; 11 April 1867, p. 4; see also Hart 2008:163).

The 1860 U. S. Census of Population recorded 203 Black residents in Springfield. This was a slight increase from the number reported in 1850, but it represented a significant decrease in respect to Springfield’s population as whole, since the city had doubled in size during this same period. Blacks represented only 2.2% of the city’s population in 1860 (Schneider 1915:7). That the local African American community did not experience a proportional expansion over the course of the decade may have been due in part to an 1853 state law that outlawed the settlement of free Blacks in Illinois. This law (sometimes referred to as the “Logan Law,” after its sponsor State Representative John A. Logan) built upon the Black Codes previously enforced in the state and was considered one of the most restrictive ever implemented in the North.

Illinois’ 1853 Black Law would remain in effect until January 1865, but it was not as tightly enforced during the tumultuous Civil War years.²⁰ Large numbers of formerly enslaved African

¹⁹ The local Black community had attempted to organize a school for their children as early as 1850, but it wasn’t until 1857 that the Springfield School Board appointed a committee to study the establishment of a free public school for Black students (*Illinois State Journal*, 14 June 1850, p. 3; 18 June 1857, p. 3; 23 December 1858, p. 3).

²⁰ This is not to say that enforcement of the 1853 Black Law was abandoned during the war. A prime example is the case of *Nelson v. Illinois* which involved six Black men who were arrested in Hancock County and charged with violating the law in 1864. The men were prosecuted, convicted, and subsequently sold at public auction—as allowed under the terms of the law. The men appealed to the Illinois Supreme Court, but the court upheld the law as constitutional (Masur 2021:299). Ironically, the sponsor of the 1853 law, John A. Logan, would become a leading

Americans, who had been freed by the Union army or had self-emancipated themselves, came into the state during the war. Many initially passed through Cairo, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, where a large camp for Black refugees (“contrabands”) was set up, and then moved to other points in search of jobs and new homes.²¹ As discussed previously, Springfield enjoyed a flourishing economy during the war and years following. This fact, coupled with Springfield status as the hometown of the “Great Emancipator” Abraham Lincoln attracted new Black residents to the city. Local censuses indicate modest, if uneven, growth in Springfield’s African American population during war years, with 274 Blacks being reported in the city in July 1862 and 230 in 1864. The 1864 tally showed a strong majority of these residents (n=164) living in the First and Second Wards on the north side of the city at that point in time (*Illinois State Register* 14 July 1862, p. 3; SCD 1864).²² Springfield’s African American population increased markedly in the immediate post-war era, and by 1870 it had risen to 808—nearly quadruple what it had been ten years before—and now represented 4.7% of the city’s total population (Schneider 1915:7).

The Wright and Brown Subdivision

Demographic changes in the Tenth Street neighborhood were fluid during these early years of settlement, and changes were quick to manifest themselves during the latter 1850s. In the immediate project area, change was soon to be seen in the form of the subdivision of the southwest quarter of Block 2, J. Whitney’s Addition to Springfield. Originally platted in April 1837, Presco Wright and Henry H. Brown purchased Lots 9, 10, 11, and 12, Block 2, J. Whitney’s Addition to Springfield at a presumed tax sale for delinquent unpaid taxes on 13 July 1854.²³ Approximately two years later, on June 14, 1856, the two business partners subdivided three of these lots (Lots 9, 10, and 11 of Whitney’s Addition to Springfield) creating Wright and

figure in the Republican party and a vocal advocate for African American rights following his service in the Civil War.

²¹ Under the Confiscation Act of 1861, enslaved Blacks held by individuals fighting for, or otherwise actively supporting, the Confederacy could be seized as “contraband of war.” They commonly were referred to as “contrabands,” and this term remained in common use even after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued on January 1, 1863. The contraband camp at Cairo housed several thousand former slaves. Cairo also was a major base for Union army and naval forces during the Civil War.

²² In 1864, Springfield was divided into four wards, with the First Ward covering that portion of the city lying north of Washington Street and west of Fifth Street, the Second Ward extending north of Washington and east of Fifth, the Third Ward lying south of Washington and west of Sixth, and the Fourth Ward extending south of Washington and east of Sixth. A city directory published that year presented census figures for the city, separated by race and ward. It indicated that Second Ward had the largest number of Black residents (n=96), followed in order by the First Ward (n=68), the Fourth Ward (n=45), and the Third Ward (n=21) (SCD 1864:7).

²³ Presco Wright (and wife Phoebe A.) and Henry H. Brown (and wife Julia S.) formed a partnership in a dry goods, grocery, and general merchandise establishment under the name of Wright and Brown in March 1851. Together they bought out the “Old Auction Store of Lewis & Adams” located on the east side of the Courthouse Square. (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 March 1851, p. 3; 8 March 1851, p. 3). The partnership was dissolved in April 1856, and it was in that year that Wright was elected as Sangamon County Clerk (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 April 1856, p. 4). Henry H. Brown was not the same man as Reverend Henry Brown.

Brown' Subdivision.²⁴ This new subdivision partitioned the original three lots from Whitney's Addition (which were oriented to Madison Street to the south) into eight smaller lots oriented to Tenth Street to the west. The new subdivision not only reoriented the lots which originally fronted Madison Street to the Tenth Street corridor (and the newly constructed section of the Great Western Railroad), but also re-packaged three relatively large lots (each measuring 40'x157' and containing approximately 6,280 square feet) into eight much smaller parcels (each measuring 20'x120' and containing approximately 2,400 square feet)—representing just over one-third the size of the original lots.²⁵ Additionally, Wright and Brown's Subdivision included a short section of alley running north/south along the eastern edge of the property, separating the new Subdivision from the adjacent Lot 12 to the east. The reason behind Wright and Brown's subdivision is unclear. Perhaps the impetus for their subdivision was to supply smaller lots for lower income housing units (and potentially commercial enterprises), and the reorientation to Tenth Street was secondary to the establishment of the larger number of lots. This practice of re-orienting the lots adjacent to the Tenth Street rail corridor had been ongoing for many years, as seen by the reorientation of the lots located on the west side of the 300 Block of Tenth Street (and the location of Houses A-G). Although these lots on the west side of the Tenth Street corridor were reoriented to the Tenth Street corridor they remained more-or-less the same size as the original platted lots.

Shortly after the initial platting of Wright and Brown's Subdivision, seven of the eight lots were acquired by Bishop E. Rucker.²⁶ Lot 1 was the first to be purchased in July 1856, at a cost of \$75 (SCDR WW:310). Rucker purchased the lot from Stephen S. Whitehurst who had only days before purchased the property from Thomas Lewis at a "Trustee's Sale".²⁷ In May 1857, Rucker

²⁴ Lot 12 of Whiney's Addition (along with the newly created Lot 2 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision) was subsequently sold to Richard Price, a non-local investor from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania only a couple of weeks later. At \$275, the price for these two lots was exceptionally high, and probably reflects the rampant economic inflation and speculation experienced immediately prior to the Crash of 1857, as well as improvements on the adjacent Lot 12. As discussed below, Richard Price may have had business dealings in Springfield during the 1850s, if not earlier.

²⁵ Seven of the eight new lots measured 20' in width. The eighth lot (Lot 1) was located adjacent to the alley on the north and it only measured 17' in width.

²⁶ Bishop Emory Rucker was born in December 1834, son of Thomas and Diedamia Rucker. Of French descent, Thomas Rucker was born in Caldwell County, Kentucky in 1805 and moved to Sangamon County with his extended family in the fall of 1832. Thomas developed a large farm four miles east of Springfield (in the area known as Round Prairie). In 1855, Thomas Rucker advertised for sale his 200-acre farm, located "on the Rochester road, has 12-acres prairie under cultivation, and 80 acres timber, a fair house, good orchard of apple and peach trees, and a first rate barn" (*Illinois State Register* 31 August 1855). By 1876, Thomas Rucker was living near the west end of Monroe street, and his son Bishop was living near Taylorville (Power 1876:631).

²⁷ Thomas Lewis was a successful boot, shoe, leather merchant in Springfield, established by late 1830s, and may have been the owner of "Old Auction Store of Lewis and Adams" purchased by Wright and Brown in circa 1851? As such, Lewis may have held a mortgage payable to him by Wright and Brown. The breakup of the Wright and Brown partnership appears to have had financial ramifications for the two partners, who had invested only a couple of years earlier in the subdivision which bore their name. In mid-July 1856, Lots 1, 3-8 in Wright and Brown's Subdivision (the entirety of the Subdivision, less Lot 2), and a 7/4-acre parcel of ground "lying on the Great Western railroad, a short distance northeast from the Illinois State University" was sold at public auction at a Trustee's Sale to satisfy a mortgage taken out by Presco Wright and Henry Brown, presumably with Thomas Lewis (cf. SCDR Mortgages 1:596-97). This mortgage probably originated with Wright and Brown's purchase of the "Old Auction

purchased Lots 3-8 for a total price of \$100, again from Stephen S. Whitehurst.²⁸ Whitehurst had acquired these five lots from Thomas Lewis, Trustee under the name of Whitehurst and Rucker in December 1856, at the same Trustee Sale that he had acquired Lot 1 (SCDR ZZ:404). Unlike the Lot 1 transaction, which was a warranty deed, this transaction was a quit claim deed between Whitehurst and Rucker, suggesting some previous transaction. Both Thomas Rucker (Farmer living in Springfield) and Gideon Rucker (Lawyer) are documented in the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* as living in the same residence located at the north side of Adams Street, between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets. There is no listing in this directory for Bishop. The 1858 *Tax Sale List*, published in February 1858 noted that the property taxes for Lots 3-8 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision were delinquent, and in the name of Thomas Rucker—not Bishop (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 February 1858, p. 4).²⁹ The average price of \$20 per lot for these five lots was considerably less than what had been paid for Lot 1. These pre-Economic Panic of 1857 prices are low and suggest that the properties were unimproved at that time. Lot 2, with the adjacent Lot 12, Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition (which abutted the alley along the east side of Wright and Browns Addition) was purchased by one Richard Price, a resident of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania from Presco Wright, et al for the price of \$375 (SCDR WW:76).³⁰ This sale of Lot 2 occurred prior to the Trustee's Sale of Real Estate. The high price of these two lots may suggest that a significant improvement was present on one of these two lots at that time—or solely represent the high speculative prices paid by the Philadelphia investor.

Although deed records do not suggest that Reverend Henry Brown (and/or his wife) purchased a lot in Wright and Brown's subdivision until November 1860, city directories suggest that the family were living at this location by 1857—shortly after their arrival in Springfield. Other purchases by Black residents occurred in April 1860 by Elijah Sappington (Lot 1), and October 1863 by his brother David (Lot 3). Similarly, although deed records suggest that Leanna Donnegan Knox did not purchase property in the neighborhood until 1872, city directories suggest that she was living in the neighborhood by 1866. As such, by at least late 1865, two of Springfield's more socially prominent Black citizens—the Reverend Henry Brown and widow Leanna Donnegan Knox (and her daughter-in-law's family—were living side-by-side adjacent to Reverend Brown. Their presence in the neighborhood most likely enticed other Black families

Store of Lewis and Adams". Stephen S. Whitehurst apparently purchased Lot 1 at the sale, as well as Lots 3-8 along with the Rucker family (perhaps Thomas Rucker, and not son Bishop?).

²⁸ Little is currently known about Whitehurst, who appears to have been residing in Chester, Randolph County in the early 1850s (owner/editor of the *Chester Herald*). By the later 1850s, Whitehurst appears to have relocated to Springfield, and by 1863 had been elected to the position of the Sangamon County Circuit Clerk. His relationship with the Rucker family in the middle 1850s is unknown.

²⁹ In July 1859, the *Illinois State Register* ran a notice of a Sheriff's Sale for property owned by Thomas Rucker to satisfy a debt owed to Smith, Edwards and Company. The property sold at that time was Lot 16, Block 1, Gray's Addition to Springfield, and potentially represented Rucker's Springfield home (*Illinois State Register*, 28 July 1859, p. 2). It would appear that the elder Thomas Rucker was having financial issues at this time, which may have resulted in the transfer of his property in Wright and Brown's Subdivision to his son, Bishop.

³⁰ Unfortunately, little is known about Richard Price.

to locate in the subdivision, as well as within the adjacent neighborhood. By circa 1870, a small enclave of successful Black families had made the neighborhood their home.³¹

The Tenth and Madison Street Neighborhood in 1870

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population characterizes the demographic composition of the neighborhood well for this time period. Occupying the house on Lots 1 and 2 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision was the 30-year-old Cornelia Price (widow?). Located in the house immediately to the south, on Lot 3, were the two Sappington brothers, David (31 years old) and Elijah (28 years old), as well as a young 6-year-old Willie Sappington, presumably David's son. Both David and Elijah were listed as laborers, born in Mississippi. Occupying the next house south, on Lots 4 and 5 was the Joseph Faro family. Mr. Faro was listed as a 36-year-old laborer from Kentucky living with his 29-year-old wife Mary, their three children (aged 12 to 15), and a fourth child named Ellen Taylor (thirteen years of age). The adjacent house to the immediate south, located on Lot 6, apparently was a double house and/or was occupied by two families. One of these families was that of the 29-year-old John Clay (a laborer) and his wife Anna. The second family at this location was that of Sidney Donnegan, widow of Wiley Donnegan who had only recently died (circa 1865-66). Living with the widow Donnegan were her children Narcissa (19-years old), Susan (16), Presley (14), and David (12), as well as a 30-year-old laborer named George Gloss. Unlike the previously noted families, all of which were Black, the extended Donnegan family (less George Gloss) were all listed as Mulatto. Living around the corner, one house east of the Madison and Tenth Street intersection (on the East Half Lots 7 and 8) was the Leanna Knox household. The widow Leanna Donigan Knox was the matriarch of the Donnegan family, and she had only recently moved from her house on Jefferson Street, adjacent to her son William (northeast corner of the Eighth and Jefferson Street intersection). Living with Leanna at the time was her daughter Narcisa Donnegan (36 years of age) and the 25-year-old Margaret Lee (presumably one of her grandchildren, daughter of Caroline and Peter Lee). Although Leanna had a real estate evaluation of \$1,000, none of the other Black family heads-of-households in this area were listed as having a real estate or personal property assessment (which is somewhat conflicting with the deed records which suggest property ownership). At this time [1870], the Reverend Henry Brown and his family were apparently out of town doing itinerant missionary work at some unknown location in Illinois (perhaps in Quincy, Cairo, or Galena). The suspected location of his residence, adjacent to Leanna's was occupied by one Jerry McCarty, a 28-year-old Irish laborer, and presumably his three siblings (one male and two females between the ages of 21 and 26). Only a short time later, the Reverend Brown was again living within his residence at this location. The house immediately to the east of Leanna's, across the alley on Lot 12, appears to have been occupied by the Timothy Howard family. Howard was a 50-year-old Irish-born shoemaker living with his wife and presumed four children (ages 14 to 23 years of age).³²

³¹ For a more detailed historical context of Wright and Brown's Subdivision, see "Wright and Brown's Subdivision of Lots 9, 10, and 11, Block 2, J. Whitney's Addition to Springfield: A Free-Black Enclave in Civil War Era Springfield," Appendix XI, in Mansberger and Stratton (2024, Volume IV).

³² Timothy Howard died at his residence, 1013 East Madison Street, in mid-December 1886 (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 December 1886, p. 4). Numerous individuals with the Howard surname (such as Silas Greenleaf's wife, and her notorious sister) were present in the neighborhood during the later years of the nineteenth century. It is unclear whether these individuals may have been related to the Timothy Howard family. See 1880 Census, two households side-by-side, one Black and one White.

Located immediately across Tenth Street to the west, and representing the first Black family in this row of houses located on the west side of the 300 block of Tenth Street, was the Judge Hayward [sic Haywood] family (presumably living in House D at that time, adjacent to Ann Seaman in House C and Elizabeth Smith in House E).³³ Across the alley, two doors south of the Hayward family was the Lida Pollard household. Lida was a 30-year-old white widow soon to be operating a boarding house (in House B), and to be introduced to one “Bell” Watkins (a successful man of Black heritage, and step son to race activist Jameson Jenkins). Lida owned real estate valued at \$1,500, and shortly thereafter became his wife. Several other Black families were noted further north on Tenth Street, and/or around the corner on Mason Street. [These included the Wesley Ford, Henry Johnson, Amanda Tayler, George Wise, Isaac Wright, and Ellen Reed families. Except for the Reed and Wright families, all were small households, predominately laborers. Reed was a larger household with a couple of presumed boarders (laborers); Wright was a Kentucky born brick mason with a young family.

The Neighborhood Families, circa 1870

Reverend Henry Brown

The Reverend Henry H. Brown was a renowned Black Springfield resident. Born in North Carolina in 1823, the young Henry Brown moved with his family in circa 1835 to the Beech Settlement, a rural free-Black community located in Rush County, Indiana. While in Indiana, the young Henry Brown was ordained as a minister. During his early days of preaching, in 1848, Brown met and married Mary Ann King in Paris, Edgar County, Illinois. Brown and his wife Mary moved to Springfield in circa 1855, where the Reverend continued his ministry work. By 1857, potentially upon his arrival in Springfield, Reverend Brown occupied a house on the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Streets—the location of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision. During the latter 1860s and 1870s, Reverend Brown was actively involved with his ministerial duties with the AME Church, which took him throughout the State of Illinois, and away from his family. Personally acquainted with Abraham Lincoln, the Reverend Brown was honored to lead the martyred President’s horse during his funeral procession. In 1894, Mr. Brown suffered an injury and never fully recovered. At 83 years of age, on September 3, 1906, Reverend Henry Brown died. His obituary noted:

Mr. Brown’s name was connected inseparably with the history of church work among the colored race in this city and state. For the past thirty years he has resided in this city, and for more than fifty years his life and interests had been identified with the growth of Springfield (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 September 1906, p. 5).³⁴

³³ The 1870 census also suggests that House D may have been subdivided into two units by this date, and that the second unit was unoccupied at the time of this census.

³⁴ For a more detailed historical sketch of Reverend Brown, see “Springfield’s Reverend Henry Brown: Pastor, Friend of Lincoln, Social Activist,” Appendix X, in Mansberger and Stratton [2004, Volume IV].

Leanna Donnegan Knox (and Family)

Leanna Donnegan was a free woman of color who emigrated from Kentucky, to central Illinois with her extended family in 1847, which included her second husband Joel Knox. Eventually settling in Springfield, Leanna raised a strong family consisting of four free-Black men (Spencer, Presley, Nelson/Wiley, and William) and four women (Caroline, Nancy, Malissa, Narcissa/Grace), that were actively involved on many levels of race activism in the city, as well as the State of Illinois, during the formative years of the middle nineteenth century. Although the Donnegan name in Springfield is forever linked with the Springfield Race Riot of August 1908,—as Leanna’s son, William Donnegan was one of the two Black men lynched during the riots that summer—the story of the Donnegan family in Springfield is a story not only of the racial hardships most Blacks encountered during these years, but also of race activism and the struggle for race equality in America during the nineteenth century.

Leanna, the matriarch of this activist family, initially lived in a house she owned (and shared with her youngest son, William) on Jefferson Street, but moved to a house immediately adjacent to the east of Reverend Henry Brown’s residence by 1866. Her son Spencer had purchased a lot on the north side of this same block (but outside Wright and Brown’s Subdivision) in 1864 and subsequently moved there.³⁵ After the death of her son Wyley in 1865, Leanna’s daughter-in-law (and her family) also moved into the Wright and Brown Subdivision during the later 1860s. Similarly, at least one of her nephews (Quinn Donnegan) also lived in the neighborhood (House B) during the 1890s. For a detailed biography of Leanna, and her family, see the attached historical sketches of both her (Leanna Donnegan Knox), and her youngest son (William Donnegan).³⁶

As noted above, Reverend Brown and Leanna Donnegan Knox, were two individuals prominent within the Black community of early Springfield. Their presence in this neighborhood resulted in additional families settling in the Wright and Brown Subdivision, as well as within the surrounding neighborhood. Among the families that joined the neighborhood, settling within the Wright and Brown Subdivision, were the following families.

George Price and Jacob Edwards Families

Elijah Sappington purchased Lot 1, Wright and Brown’s Subdivision, for an undisclosed amount of money from Bishop Rucker in April 1860 (SCDR 44:535).³⁷ Sappington sold Lot 1 to George

³⁵ Spencer Donnegan purchased Lot 2, Block 2 of J. Whitney’s Addition from James Mullen on February 24, 1864 (SCDR 17:583).

³⁶ “Leanna Donnegan: Free-Woman of Color, and Matriarch of Springfield’s Activist Donnegan Family,” in *Results of Phase III Data Recovery for the Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield, Illinois. Volume VII: Archaeological Sites 11SG1532 (Price-Edwards Site) and 11SG1533 (Sappington Site) (in progress)*; “The Scott Burton and William Donnegan Murders: The Lynching of Two Innocent Black Men in Illinois’ Capital City, August 14-15, 1908 [Part III: William Donnegan]”, Appendix VI, in Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume I]

³⁷ No deed apparently exists for this transaction, but it is referenced in a later one (SCDR 44:535), which states that Rucker mistakenly deeded Lot 8 to Sappington when he intended the sale to be for Lot 1. The sale price is not

W. Price in July 1864 for the sum of \$80, suggesting that the house on this lot had, as yet, not been constructed (SCDR 21:100). The 1860 U.S. Census of Population indicates that the 35-year-old Elijah and his 31-year-old brother David were residing together in a house, presumably on Fourth Street at that time (near the AME Church).³⁸ The younger David was listed as a laborer with a real estate evaluation of \$150. Elijah had no occupation listed, and both individuals were noted as having been born in Missouri.³⁹

On August 2, 1864, approximately one month after purchasing Lot 1, George Price purchased the adjacent Lot 2 from Springfield resident Jonathan A. Hughes for the sum of \$105, consolidating the two lots into one residential property (SCDR 21:101). Hughes had only the day before purchased the lot, with the adjacent Lot 12 located immediately to the east of the Wright and Brown Subdivision. Archival evidence suggests that a house was not constructed at this location (Lots 1 and 2, Wright and Brown's Subdivision) until the summer of 1864 when the two adjoining lots were purchased by George Price and his wife Cornelia.

Presumably, the house on Lots 1 and 2 was constructed for George Price and his family sometime shortly after his purchase of the property in the summer of 1864. In late January 1866, Price and his wife Cornelia had taken a mortgage from Charles Weston with Lots 1 and 2 as collateral. Apparently, the Price family was unable to meet the demands of the mortgage and local newspapers carried an advertisement for the sale of the property to be held on 6 July 1867 (*Illinois State Journal* 29 June 1867, p. 3). It is unclear whether this sale actually occurred or not. Transactions between George Price, William Watson, and Cornelia Price in 1868 may reflect the renegotiation and/or settlement of the mortgage (SCDR 41:553-554).⁴⁰ At any rate, George and his wife Cornelia retained ownership of their house throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

George and Cornelia Price apparently were living in Virden, Illinois by August 1860, as the family was enumerated in the 1860 U.S. Census of Population in that community. At that time, George was noted as a 41-year-old, Illinois-born, Black barber, without any real or personal property value listed. Living with him at that time was his wife Cornelia (25 years of age), their son Samuel (age 3), and an 18-year-old female house worker named Louisa Griffith (USBC

known since the original deed is missing. Although the original deed is lost, and the purchase price unknown, it would appear that the property probably sold for \$75-80.

Elijah Sappington married Caroline Butler on 3 March 1861. A news story from May 1862 indicates Elijah was charged "with having administered a brutal castigation to his wife" (*Illinois State Register*, 1 May 1862, p. 3). He died in 1894, and is buried in Oak Ridge cemetery.

³⁸ Neighbors to the Sappington brothers in the 1860 census included two additional Black households: the Linden Coleman family (shoemaker, later pastor), and the Presley Donnegan family (barber; Leanna's son) (USCB 1860). These three houses were clustered around the AME church on Fourth Street.

³⁹ The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* does not list either David or Elijah Sappington as residents of Springfield.

⁴⁰ The two deed records suggest price transactions of \$243.65 and \$258.65—perhaps borrowed to construct the family home.

1860).⁴¹ It is unclear exactly when the Price family relocated to Springfield. As early as April 1860, the *Illinois State Journal* advertised the presence of undelivered mail to Mrs. Cornelia Price at the Springfield Post Office (*Illinois State Journal* 2 April 1860, p. 2).⁴² The earliest reference to the Price family's residence in Springfield occurs in newspapers dating from 1863.⁴³ George and his wife possibly relocated to Springfield to take advantage of the capital city's booming economy during the Civil War years, and/or to relocate to a community more receptive to Black residents than the small rural community of Virden.

Although the 1864 *Springfield City Directory* does not list George Price as a resident of Springfield, both the 1866 and 1868 city directories list him as a Springfield resident. The 1866 city directory indicates that George W. Price was a barber operating as "Edwards and Price". His residence at that time was listed as the east side of Tenth Street, two doors south of Mason Street—which would place him at the location of Lots 1 and 2 (SCD 1866:184). The Edwards and Price barbershop was located on Sixth street "near [the] *Journal* office" (SCD 1866:97). His partner at that time was Jacob Edwards, who boarded on the east side of Second Street, south of Mason. The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Price was "Colored" and his residence was located on the east side of Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison Streets (SCD 1868:). The 1869 *Springfield City Directory* does not list a George Price.

Other than he was a barber by trade, little is known about George Price. Whether George died, or simply left Springfield, is unknown, but after 1868 there is no reference to George Price. The 1870 U.S. Census of Population lists Cornelia Price as the sole occupant of the house on Lots 1 and 2. Cornelia was listed as a 30-year-old Black female with an occupation of "keeping house." It is of note that the census indicates that Mrs. Price had neither a personal or real property evaluation at the time—even though deed records suggest she owned her residence on Tenth Street at this time. The whereabouts of George and Cornelia's son Samuel (who would have been approximately 13 years of age at the time) is unknown (USBC 1870).

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests that Cornelia Price had married her ex-husband's business partner, Jacob Edwards, sometime during the previous decade. Although the exact date of their marriage is not documented, archival research suggests they were married in circa 1877.⁴⁴ The census indicates that Jacob Edwards (a 42-year-old Black barber) and his wife

⁴¹ At this time [1860], the Price family appears to be the sole Black residents of Virden—a small agricultural community located 25 miles south of Springfield.

⁴² Similarly, in July 1863, the newspaper advertised undelivered mail for both George and Cornelia Price (*Illinois State Journal* 6 July 1863, p. 3).

⁴³ In March 1863, two news briefs suggest that both Cornelia and George were living in Springfield by that date. The first account indicates that "Cornelia Price and George W. Price had a 'bit of a time' at fisticuffs, causing a disturbance of the peace. Fined \$3 each and costs" (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 March 1863, p. 3). A couple weeks later, Cornelia (a colored woman) was charged with "aiding, abetting and encouraging an assault and battery—by one child upon another" (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 March 1863, p. 3).

⁴⁴ The 1900 U.S. Census of Population states the couple had been married for 23 years, suggesting they married in circa 1877 (USCB 1900).

Cornelia (42-years of age, no occupation) were residing at 113 North (?) Tenth Street.⁴⁵ Also living within the household at that time were George (12 years of age) and Daisey (9 years of age) Loomis—two young Black boarders (USBC 1880).⁴⁶

Reference from a newspaper dated August 1884 suggests that the Jacob Edwards family were residing at 314 North Tenth Street in that year (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 August 1884, p. 8). In 1885, Jacob and Cornelia secured a loan in the amount of \$500 using their Tenth Street property as collateral. By late 1891, the couple apparently was having financial difficulties in meeting the terms of the loan and was being sued by the Workman's Building and Loan Association (*Illinois State Register*, 25 December 1891, p.15). Apparently, the Edwards' overcame their financial difficulties at this time. By 1890, the house at this location was identified as 314 North Tenth Street.

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population suggests that Jacob and Cornelia Edwards were still residing in the house at 314 North Tenth Street.⁴⁷ Jacob was listed as a 57-year-old barber, whereas his wife Cornelia was listed as being 52 years of age. The census, which suggests that the couple had been married for 23 years (in circa 1877), indicates that Cornelia had had three children, none of whom were still living at that time. A young Black lodger named Clara York (12 years of age; at school) also resided within the household. The 1900 census may suggest that the Price/Edwards dwelling may have been duplexed by that date, as a second family was separately listed at this address. The second family consisted of Minnie Mingo (a 33-year-old Black woman whose occupation was noted as servant) and her two sons: 7-year-old Clarence and 2-year-old Ralph. This census suggests Minnie had been married for five years, had three children, two of whom were still living. The whereabouts of Minnie's husband is unknown (USBC 1900).

In 1901, Jacob and Cornelia again had difficulty meeting the terms of the mortgage they had negotiated in 1885 with the Workman's Building and Loan Association. Unlike earlier, it appears that the couple lost their house to the Building and Loan Association in the spring of 1901 (SCDR 105:518). In July 1903, the Association sold the property to Henry Friedman. Friedman was Mrs. Theresa Schwartz brother—part of an extended Jewish family heavily

⁴⁵ Reference to 113 North Tenth Street probably represents a recording error, as the family presumably was living in the house in the 300 block of Tenth Street at this time.

⁴⁶ Cornelia Edwards was fined \$3 and costs for "language and conduct in August 1879 (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 August 1879, p. 4).

⁴⁷ There is some confusion as to the house numbers during these years. In 1896, the Edwards family was apparently still residing in the family residence on Tenth Street, an address that appears to bear the number 314 North Tenth Street. In early 1896, though, the *Illinois State Register* noted that "Abraham Hamilton, a farmer, went up in the bad lands yesterday afternoon with a friend, and dropped into a colored joint at No. 314 North Tenth street. When he got ready to go he found that he had been touched for \$15, and he immediately swore out a warrant before McConnell for the arrest of the keeper of the joint" (*Illinois State Register*, 1 May 1896, p. 6). The following day, the newspaper reported that those arrested on a charge of stealing the \$15 from Hamilton at that address were Susan Emory, Eddie Page, and Emma Black (*Illinois State Register*, 2 May 1896, p. 6). Although it seems unlikely that these news articles are referencing the Edwards residence, it attests to the changing character of the neighborhood during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

invested in rental income properties within this neighborhood.⁴⁸ By late 1904, the Edwards family was no longer residing at this address.⁴⁹ From circa 1904 to August 1908, the house was occupied by multiple, predominately Black, tenants.

The Sappington Brothers (David and Elijah)

It was not until October 1863 that David Sappington purchased Lot 3 for \$75. David's brother, Elijah, had purchased the adjacent Lot 1 in 1860. The \$75 sale price paid by David for Lot 3, although it was slightly over double the price Rucker had purchased the lot for, probably suggests the lot was unimproved at that time (SCDR 42:381). Sappington, a carpenter, presumably constructed a house on the unimproved lot for his use in circa late 1863 or 1864. Deed records indicate that David Sappington sold Lot 3 (and the relatively new house) to his son, William David Sappington, on 1 June 1871 for the sum of one dollar (SCDR 51:142). William David Sappington would have been only four or five years of age at that time.⁵⁰ Lot 3 (and the improvements on the lot) remained in the Sappington family ownership through early July 1904, at which time it was sold to Walter Ruckel for the sum of \$700, followed a few days later by the sale of the property (with adjacent Lot 12, Block 2) to Thurman Baker for \$2,500 (SCDR 124:438: 124:458).⁵¹

As noted above, the Sappington brothers were living in Springfield by early 1860 (perhaps arriving in very late 1859 or early 1860).⁵² The 1860 U.S. Census of Population indicates that

⁴⁸ In March 1903, Jacob Edward was still using the 314 North Tenth Street location for his residence, when he received \$16 in coal as a charitable contribution from the county (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 March 1903, p. 3). See also "The Landlords of the Badlands at the Turn-of-the-Century: The Jewish Connection," Appendix II, in Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume I].

⁴⁹ The 71-year-old Jacob Edwards died on 17 April 1909 at his residence at 435 North Eleventh Street, a location he apparently had moved to after the family lost the property in 1901-03. According to his obituary, "Mr. Edwards was one of the best known and most respected colored men in the city. He was for many years proprietor of a barber shop" (*Illinois State Register*, 18 April 1909, p. 26). His wife Cornelia died in late 1913 (*Illinois State Journal*, 31 October 1913, p.14).

⁵⁰ This transaction may have been in response to David's changing marital status at this time, as later that same month he married his second wife, Francis Mosely. This transaction would have insured that the property remained in his child's name (and not his new wife's name) should he die.

⁵¹ The 1904 *Springfield City Directory* listed William Sappington (a colored cook) residing at 312 North Tenth Street (SCD 1904: 579). This directory also notes Silas and his wife Jennie, and a Julius Sappington (waiter at the Leland Hotel, boarding at 1026 First Street). The 1906 city directory indicates that William Sappington worked at a lunch room and resided at 1718 East Reynolds Street (SCD 1906:670).

Thurman Baker was the principal of Baker's Real Estate Agency located in the Meyers Building, downtown Springfield. Baker also published the quarterly *Baker's Real Estate News* (SCD 1904:61-62).

⁵² David Sappington died on 18 April 1901. Unreferenced information posted with a picture of his tombstone on Findagrave.com suggests that he was born in Missouri, was 66 years of age at his death, had resided in Springfield for 41 years at the time of his death, and was survived by an unnamed son (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/31201709/david-sappington>). Although the source of the information is unknown and unverified (presumably coming from an unidentified newspaper obituary), this would suggest that he was born in circa 1835, and would have moved to Springfield in circa 1859-60. A short obituary published in the

David was a 31-year-old laborer living with his 35-year-old brother Elijah in a house adjacent to the residences of Landen Coleman and P. L. Donnegan on Fourth Street (adjacent to the AME Church). Coleman's wife was Malissa Donnegan, Leanna's daughter. Although archival records are conflicting as to David's birth year, he appears to have been born in circa 1835 and raised in Franklin County, Missouri (with his brother Elijah, and an older man named Silas Sappington).⁵³ The proximity of the two brother's residence to the Coleman and Donnegan residences raises question as to whether the Sappington family may have had a connection to the extended Coleman and Donnegan families at this early date.

Six months prior to purchasing this property, the 32-year-old David Sappington had married one Mary Price on 9 April 1863. Although his wife shared a surname with George Price (residing on Lots 1 and 2 immediately next door to the north) the relationship of Mary and George is unknown.⁵⁴ In June 1863, David registered for military service in Springfield (Sangamon County) with the Provost Marshall.⁵⁵ David was the only Black man of the seventeen individuals who registered at that time. The registry noted that he was a 32-year-old, married carpenter born in Missouri. Although the older Silas enlisted and served with the 55th Massachusetts Infantry, David apparently was not drafted into, or never served in the military. In February 1866, David and Mary had a son, William David Sappington.⁵⁶

Register suggested that David was born in Kentucky, was 66 years of age, had been a resident of Springfield "for a number of years," and was survived by one son named Will (*Illinois State Register*, 20 April 1901, p. 2; 23 April 1901, p. 3; *Illinois State Journal* 21 April 1901, p. 6).

⁵³ The 1850 U.S. Census of Population lists a free-Black family with the surname Sappington living in District 31, Franklin County, Missouri. This family consisted of three men with the same surname: Silas (30 years old), Elijah (28 years old), and David (25 years old). The head of the household at that time was the 65-year-old Deborah Sappington. All four family members were noted as having been born in Missouri. Although Silas, Elijah, and David are suspected as being brothers, the relationship of these three individuals to Deborah is not made clear in the census. The obituary of Mrs. Nancy Sappington (aged 74 years of age) published in the *Illinois State Journal* (29 May 1895, p. 5) indicates that she was the mother of Silas Sappington—if this indeed represents the same Silas as enumerated in the 1850 census (and not David and Elijah). Nancy "was born in Washington, Franklin County, Missouri and moved to Springfield in 1865." Besides Silas, she also had one daughter, Mrs. Caroline Bacon. Silas and his wife (Jennie) celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary in 1922, and the newspaper announcement of their anniversary celebration stated that the couple had resided in Springfield for 58 years (suggesting that they arrived in circa 1864-65) (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 July 1922, p. 6) (see also *Illinois State Register*, 29 November 1883, p 3).

⁵⁴ A Mary E., Price (28-years of age) was documented as a resident of Springfield in the 1850 U.S. Census of Population. In 1855, Mary E. Price married John N. H. Fountain, a prominent early Springfield barber (Hart 2008:150). It seems unlikely that this is the same Mary Price that David married in 1863.

⁵⁵ Ancestry.com. *U.S., Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863-1865* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/1666/images/32178_620305173_0015-00179?usePUB=true&phsrc=OQK49&phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=2007459

⁵⁶ <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/61721444/william-david-sappington>. Duff (1920) suggests William was born in 1868, not in 1866. His wife was named Minnie. William was a sergeant in Company I, 370th Infantry in World War I. He died in August 1934 in Danville (potentially at the Veteran's hospital). William David Sappington, a bartender, potentially occupied House C, on the opposite side of Tenth Street, in 1898.

Although neither David nor Elijah Sappington was noted within the 1864 *Springfield City Directory*, both were listed within the subsequent 1866 city directory. In 1866, David Sappington was listed as a carpenter residing on the east side of Tenth Street, three houses south of Mason Street—presumably in the house at Site 20 (SCD 1866:194). This directory lists three other boarders with the same address: his brother Elijah Sappington (a laborer), and two white men named Emory Johnson (an engineer working at the nearby Phoenix Mill) and Isaac Gray (a laborer).⁵⁷

Both the 1868 and 1869 city directories are silent with regard to David or Elijah Sappington. Both directories list a Black widow named Nancy Sappington residing on Tenth Street, corner of Reynolds Street in 1868 (SCD 1868:149) and on Tenth Street between Mason and Reynolds Streets in 1869 (SCD 1869: 152). This woman most likely is the same woman listed in the 1850 U.S. Census of Population as living in Missouri, with three young men (Silas, Elijah, and David). In 1868, Silas Sappington (a cook) was listed as residing on Tenth Street, corner of Reynolds (SCD 1868:140), and in 1869 he was noted as residing on the east side of Tenth Street, near Mason (SCD 1869:152). It is unclear if these descriptions refer to the same location, or represent two separate houses.

The 31-year-old David and 28-year-old Elijah “Sabington” [sic] were documented in the 1870 U.S. Census of Population as residing in a house presumed to be at this location. Both individuals were noted with occupations of “laborers.” Living with the two adult men was David’s 6-year-old son, Willie (William David). Both David and Elijah were noted (presumably incorrectly) as having been born in Mississippi. Neither man is listed with their wives, suggesting that they may both have been widowers at this point in time.

On 22 June 1871, David Sappington married Francis Mosely (Illinois State Archives, Statewide Marriage Index). It is unclear as to whether David’s earlier wife (Mary Price Sappington) had died, or whether the couple had divorced.⁵⁸ David Sappington was listed that same year as a carpenter residing on the east side of Tenth Street, between Madison and Mason. His inclusion in the city directories was inconsistent over the next few years. Absent in the directories published in 1872 and 1875, David was included in those published in 1873 and 1874, both of which place his residence on Tenth Street between Madison and Mason (former specifying its

⁵⁷ Three other individuals with the Sappington surname are listed in this 1866 city directory, and include Mary E Sappington (a vest maker) and Jesse Sappington (a tailor)—both residing on the south side of Jefferson Street, seven houses west of First—and Cyrus Sappington (a cook at the St. Nicholas Hotel; no residence listed). Presumably, Mary and Jesse were white (see note below). Although with the similarity in their names, one might suspect that Cyrus and Silas Sappington (potentially David and Elijah’s older brother) were the same individual, the 1887 city directory lists both Nancy (widow of Cyrus) and Silas Sappington suggesting they were two separate individuals.

The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* notes that Isaac H. Gray was the proprietor of the American House. It is unclear whether this Isaac Gray residing within the Sappington family home was related to the owner of the American House.

⁵⁸ The 1873 city directory has a listing for one Mrs. Mary E. Sappington (resident on the south side of Jefferson Street, between Rutledge and New) (SCD 1873:157). The 1875 city directory lists Mary E. Sappington as a resident of 210 West Jefferson Street. David was not listed in this directory. The 1876 city directory indicates that Mary E. Sappington was a white, unmarried woman, and presumably not the wife of David.

location on the east side of Tenth) (SCD 1873:157; 1874:and 1876:125). The 1876 directory lists a Barnard Headley (a colored laborer) as a lessee residing at 310 North Tenth Street (SCD 1873:238). Both David and Elijah Sappington were listed as residents of 310 North *Thirteenth* Street at that time, with David noted as “owner” and Elijah as “res[ident]” (SCD 1873:242).⁵⁹ It is unclear whether the Thirteenth Street listing is an error or not, but the preponderance of evidence suggests that it is.

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population lists the “Savington” [sic; Sappington] household at an unspecified Tenth Street location, presumably on Lot 3. The household included the 45-year-old Elijah, his 35-year-old brother David, and a 16-year-old William (presumably William David Sappington, David’s son; born in 1866) (see Figure 75). All three individuals were listed with an occupation of laborer. Both David and Elijah were noted as being widowed, which would explain the absence of David’s wife, Francis. The census incorrectly noted that all three individuals, and their parents, were born in Tennessee (USBC 1880). The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* lists David Sappington as a carpenter, and his brother Elijah as a “whitener”—both residing at 310 North Tenth Street (SCD 1880:176). The 1887 city directory noted both David and Elijah as residing at 312 North Tenth Street (SCD 1887:275).⁶⁰

Neither David nor Elijah Sappington was listed in the 1892 city directory (SCD 1892:486). By 1896, the house at this location was identified as 312 North Tenth Street.⁶¹ The 1898 city directory lists both David (carpenter) and William D. (bartender at J. S. Murray’s) as residing at 312 North Tenth Street; Elijah is not listed in the directory (SCD 1898:475).

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population documents the elder David Sappington (65-years of age) and his son William (38 years of age) as residing at 312 North Tenth Street in that year. The census indicates that David, a widow, was born in Missouri in 1835, and his son was born in Illinois in 1862.⁶² William’s occupation was listed as bartender. Although William could read and write, his father apparently could not. Of note, although the house was owned by the son William, the census noted that David owned the house free of a mortgage (USBC 1900). In the spring 1901, David Sappington succumbed to “a complication” at his home at 312 North Tenth Street. He was 66 years of age at the time of his death and had been a resident of Springfield

⁵⁹ The *Directory of Colored People in Springfield* published separately within the 1876 city directory lists five individuals with the surname Sappington: David, Elijah, Ann, Steve, and Julius (SCD 1876:242).

⁶⁰ This directory listed four white individuals with surname Sappington and seven individuals with this surname as “colored.” These Black individuals with this surname included David, Elijah, Nancy (widow of Cyrus; boarding at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Reynolds Streets), Silas, Stephen, and two Williams (one working at the St. Nicholas Hotel as a cook, the other at the Leland Hotel as a porter).

⁶¹ Although not identified as such in the 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map, the designation of 314 North Tenth Street for the house located on adjacent Lots 1 and 2 would suggest that this house also was designated 312 North Tenth Street in 1890 that year as well.

⁶² The census returns are notoriously incorrect in listing the age and birth years of individuals. William was probably born in 1866. The census noted that David’s parents were born in S. Carolina (father) and Maryland (mother).

“for a number of years.” His obituary noted that he had been born in Kentucky, and was survived by one son, Will Sappington (*Illinois State Register*, 20 April 1901, p. 2).

In early July 1904, William David Sappington sold the family residence to Walter Ruckel for the sum of \$700 (SCDR 124:438). Only a few days later, Ruckel sold Lot 3 (along with adjacent Lot 12, Block 2) to Thurman Baker for \$2,500 (SCDR 124:458).⁶³ The 1904 city directory still listed William Sappington as occupying 312 North Tenth Street (SCD 1904:579). The 1905 city directory indicates the residence at 312 was occupied by William Jones (presumably white) (SCD 1905:977). In September 1905, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on a fire in the roof “of an old frame residence situated on the east side of Tenth street between Madison and Mason streets.” Although a “large portion of the roof” was destroyed, quick action by the fire department prevented significant damage to the house (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 September 1905, p. 1).

William Riddle Family

It April 1864 William Riddle purchased Lots 4 and 5 (Wright and Brown’s Subdivision) for the sum of \$154.85 (SCDR 19:145). The approximate \$77 sale price per lot was similar to the price that had been paid for the adjacent Lot 3, and although slightly over double the price they had previously been purchased for, the sale price probably suggests the lots were unimproved at that time (SCDR 42:381). The 1864 *Springfield City Directory* lists William Riddle as “colored” and residing on Eighth Street, between Washington and Jefferson—an area soon to be known as “Greasy Row” adjacent to the Levee commercial district (SCD 1864). In 1866, the city directory indicates that Riddle, a carpenter by trade, resided in a house on the east side of Tenth Street, three houses north of Madison—the suspected location of the house on Lots 4 and 5 (SCD 1866:188). The 1868 and 1869 city directories indicate similar listings for Riddle at this location (SCD 1868:144; 1869:146).⁶⁴

Ownership of the dwelling at 312 North Tenth Street appears to have remained in the Riddle name throughout the 1870s and into the early 1880s. Unfortunately, little information is available as to the whereabouts of Riddle during these years. Beginning in 1869, Riddle apparently began a ten-year stretch in which his property taxes were paid late (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 15 April 1869, p. 4). The 1869 list of delinquent property taxes indicate that both Lots 4 and 5 went unpaid and were listed in the name of “W. Riddler’s [sic] Est[ate]” suggesting that he had apparently died sometime circa 1868-69 (*Illinois State Register*, 17 September 1870, p. 6). Unpaid tax notices for this property, in Riddle’s name, were published in 1874, 1876, 1879, and 1881 (*Illinois State Register*, 23 April 1874, p. 12; 25 May 1876, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 21 June 1879, p. 4; 26 May 1881, p. 9). Presumably, during these years, the property was occupied by tenants.

⁶³ William David Sappington remained in Springfield for most of his life, eventually marrying a woman named Minnie K. During World War I, William joined the 370th Infantry and served in France. He died at the Veterans Hospital, Danville (Vermilion County) in August 1934.

⁶⁴ Little is known about William Riddle. In early 1867, the local newspapers reported on theft of “a lot of iron from William Riddle” (*Illinois State Register*, 8 March 1867, p. 4).

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population suggests that Lots 4 and 5 were occupied by the African American Joseph Faro family, suggesting that the family moved into this dwelling sometime in 1869 or early 1870. The Faro family lived at this location through the middle 1870s. The 1876 city directory indicates that Scott Robison, a Black cook, resided at 306 North Tenth Street, presumably in reference to the Riddle house (SCD 1876:242). The 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests that the house on Lots 4 and 5 had been duplexed by this date, as the census lists two separate households within the dwelling at that time. The first family to be enumerated was that of David Minard, a 25-year-old Black servant who was living with his wife Emma (21 years of age). The second family enumerated in the 1880 census was that of Thomas Purvine, a 33-year-old Black brick mason from Florida. Purvine was living with his wife Mariah (27 years old) and their two young children (Eva, 6 years of age; William, 3 years of age). The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Minard was a waiter at the Leland Hotel (no residence location given), and Purvines was a brick layer residing at 308 North Tenth Street (SCD 1880:145, 164).

John Clay Family

Although deed records do not reveal when the Clay family purchased Lot 6 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision), published delinquent property tax listings, combined with city directories, suggest that John Clay probably had purchased, and was residing at this location, by 1866. The 1866 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that John Clay, a Black cook, was living on the east side of Tenth Street, two houses north of Madison Street—which would place him at this location.⁶⁵ The 1865 list of delinquent taxes indicates that Thomas Rucker was responsible for paying these taxes (and the presumed owner of the property) (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 March 1865, p. 3). Similarly, unpaid taxes for 1868 were noted as the responsibility of John Clay (*Illinois State Register*, 15 April 1869, p. 4). Clay failed to pay his 1868, 1869, 1873, 1875, 1879, and 1880 property taxes on time as well—and thus the reason for the two separate tax sales in 1871 and 1889. Although the county followed through with two separate tax sales, it would appear that Clay was successful in regaining title to his property from the two individuals that had purchased the property for the delinquent back taxes owed.

The 1868 city directory listed John Clay, a laborer, residing on Tenth Street, between Madison on the south and Mason on the north (within the existing project area) (SCD1868:69). The 1869 and 1873 city directories similarly indicate Clay at this same location (SCD 1869:551 1873:44). The 1873 directory indicates that John Clay was working as a waiter by that time.

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population enumerated two families living in the presumed dwelling at this location. The first of these was John Clay (a 29-year-old Black laborer born in Missouri) and his young wife Anna (30-years of age).⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that Clay is not listed as

⁶⁵ The earlier 1864 city directory indicates that John Clay (colored) resided on Eighth Street, between Washington and Jefferson Street (SCD 1864:25). This was the heart of the early Levee district, and location of a small cluster of Black individuals (including the 47-year-old washerwoman named Rachel Clay) in the 1860 census.

⁶⁶ Marriage licenses suggest John Clay married Anna Lewis in 1887 (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 July 1887, p. 4) and Laura Horton in 1889 (*Illinois State Register*, 8 November 1889, p. 3). According to the local newspaper, Laura and John “are both colored, and begin life together with a pretty fair knowledge of what it means to get married. Laura

owning any real or personal property in the census, even though he presumably owned his house at that time. The second family living in this dwelling was that of Sidney Donnegan (the 46-year-old widow of Wiley Donnegan). Living with Sidney was her children: Narcissa (19 years of age), Susan (16 years of age), Presley (14 years of age), and David (12 years of age), as well as a 30-year-old Black laborer named George Gloss. The Donnegan family was noted as being mulatto.

The 1876 *Springfield City Directory* is the first to list Clay with a formal street address. In that directory, John Clay was noted as the owner of the property at 302 North Tenth Street. Additionally, a Rachel Clay, a widow, was noted as a resident at the same address (SCD 1876:234). Although it is unclear as to the relationship of Rachel and John Clay, she most likely was John's mother.⁶⁷

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population also enumerated the much larger Clay family at 306 North Tenth Street (and this presumed location). At that time, the family consisted of the 40-year-old John (a farm hand), his wife Cornelia (30 years old), and children: Clinton (16 years old), William (10 years old), Minnie (6 years old), and Lula (3 years old). The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that John Clay was a farmer residing on the east side of Tenth Street, near Madison (SCD 1880:48).

On 3 January 1890, John Clay sold Lot 6 to Samuel Prather for the sum of \$450 (SCDR 84:414; *Illinois State Journal* 11 January 1890, p. 4). Prather was the primary stockholder for the Fitzgerald Plaster Company. Shortly after the purchase of Lot 6, the house was demolished in preparation for the construction of the Fitzgerald Plaster Company's plant, which had been completed by late 1890. Both the 1890 and 1896 Sanborn fire insurance maps depict this newly constructed building, which was present at the time of the 1908 riots, and it remained one of the few buildings not destroyed at the Tenth and Madison Street intersection during the riots. An 1890 lithograph illustrates the plant (Barker 1890: plate 9).

Joseph and Mary Faro

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population suggests that the house located on Lots 4 and 5 (owned by William Riddle) were occupied by the African American Joseph Faro family, suggesting that the family moved into this dwelling sometime in 1869 or early 1870. In the census tabulations, this household was sandwiched between David Sabington [sic Sappington] and John Clay

has already seen two husbands buried, and her new husband has already lost a couple of wives" (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 November 1889, p. 4).

⁶⁷ A 47-year-old Black washerwoman named Rachel Clay was enumerated in the 1860 U.S. Census of Population as residing at a presumed Eighth Street address (adjacent to the infamous Emma Gladdin house of ill-fame). Although the 19-year-old John Clay was not noted in the 1860 U.S. Census, it seems reasonable to assume that his mother (Rachel) and siblings (Sarah, Adaline, and Mary) were living at this location at that time—suggesting that they represent a pre-Civil War, free-Black family in Springfield. Also living in the family home at that time, on Eighth Street, was a 20-year-old John Hargraves and his one-month-old daughter Eveline. It is unclear who the mother of the young child was. John may have been the son of the elder John Hargraves—a prominent Black barber in Springfield and husband of Nancy Donigan (Leanna's daughter). As such, the Clay family may have had familial ties to the Donigan family, thus explaining the two families sharing this house in 1870.

households on Lots 3 and 6, respectively. Faro was noted as a 36-year-old laborer living with his 29-year-old wife Mary and their three children (Daniel, 15 years old; Carline, 14 years old; and Laura, 12 years old). Additionally, a 13-year-old Ellen Taylor was also residing in the house.⁶⁸ All six individuals were noted as having been born in Kentucky (USBC 1870). The 1872 city directory simply lists Joseph Pharo [sic Faro] as residing on Tenth Street, near Madison (SCD 1872:96). The 1873 city directory notes Joseph Pharoah [sic] was residing on the east side of Tenth Street between Madison and Mason Streets (SCD 1873:141).

By the publication of the 1876 *Springfield City Directory* Joseph Faro, Sr. was residing across the street at 313 North Tenth Street (House C; SCD 1876:236). Although the Faro family initially rented the house at this location, the family purchased the property from Ann Seaman in July 1878.⁶⁹

The Faro family was documented as having occupied 313 North Tenth Street (House C), described as a “nice residence,” for a decade between circa 1875 and 1885. The 1881 *History of Sangamon County* history published a nine-page section entitled *The Colored People of Springfield*, which highlighted the lives of twenty-two Springfield residents. Among the twenty-two Black residents was the widow Mary Faro. Mary’s biography suggests that she was born in Shelby County, Kentucky in December 1830 to Abson and Jane Taylor. The biography also notes that her husband, Joseph Faro, was born in “Trumbull County” (Kentucky), but there is no county by that name in Kentucky. The authors possibly meant Trimble County, which is located immediately upriver from Louisville. Shelby County also is in the vicinity of Louisville. Joseph’s parents were Joseph and Hannah Faro (Inter-State Publishing Company 1881:742). Mary reportedly was born into slavery, and there is a strong possibility that Joseph was as well though this is not known with certainty. The couple married in July 1861, presumably in Kentucky. This was Joseph’s second marriage, and he is reported to have had six children with his first wife (Hettie Davis), to whom Mary assumed the role of mother. The Faros apparently arrived in Springfield by 1870 and initially settled in the immediate in the Wright and Brown Subdivision.

⁶⁸ Ellen Taylor most likely was a younger sister of Mary, whose maiden name was Taylor.

⁶⁹ Ann Seaman was the step-daughter of George McDaniel, owner and part-time occupant of House C who had died in 1869.

Mary Faro, widow of Joseph Faro, was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, December, 1830. July 1861, she was married to Joseph Faro. He was born in Trumbull County, Kentucky. His parents were Joseph Faro, Sr., and Hannah Faro. Joseph Faro, Jr., was first married to Hettie Davis, and they had ten children, six living, viz: Joseph, Daniel, Ada, Carrie, Laura and Martha. His second wife, Mary Faro, the subject of this sketch, had two children, both dead. Joseph Faro, Jr., her husband, was a member of the M. E. Church, and a farmer—died October 15, 1878. Mrs. Faro is a member of the M. E. Church, on Fourth Street. Her father, Abson Taylor, was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, as was his mother, Jane Taylor, they were members of the Baptist Church. Mrs. Faro has a nice residence at 313 North Tenth Street, where she resides.
(Interstate Publishing Company 1881:742)

Sadly, in October 1879, only a few months after the family had purchased their home. Joseph died. He was 59 years old. Joseph's obituary stated:

He was a member of St. Paul's A. M. E. Church, and was a devoted and zealous Christian. He leaves a wife and six children to mourn his loss. In the death of Joseph Faro this community loses a good citizen and his church an upright member (*Illinois State Journal*, October 16, 1878, page 5).

Mary and her children remained living at this location for several years after her husband's death. The 1880 U.S. Census of Population lists the 45-year-old Mary Fero living with her four adult step-children: Joseph (30 years old, laborer), Eva (27 years old, Servant), Carey (23 years old; servant), and Laura (21 years old) (USBC 1880). The Faro family remained living at this location through circa 1884-85.⁷⁰ Strained financial circumstances appear to have forced the family to vacate the home in circa 1885. By 1886, Mary Faro was employed as live-in domestic help in Springfield, as were several of her step-daughters. House C ultimately would be sold for back taxes in 1891. Mary Faro remained in domestic service until late in life. In 1900, she was employed as a servant at a banker's home in Curran Township, just west of Springfield. She later moved to Chatham. Mary Faro died in January 1916, reportedly aged 85.

Joseph Faro, Jr. and his family continued to reside in the vicinity of the project area after his stepmother vacated House C. Employed at different points as a laborer and porter, Joseph, Jr. took an active role in the public affairs of his community. Newspapers show that he was heavily involved in Republican politics in the Springfield's First Ward, once serving as a delegate to the state party convention, and also was selected several times to be a member of the committee arranging the city's annual Emancipation Day celebration (one of the premier events of the

⁷⁰ After the Faro family vacated House C, the dwelling continued to be occupied by moderately successful Black families. The 1886 city directory indicates 313 North Tenth Street was occupied by the Byrd family, consisting of Finess and Nannie Byrd. Finess was listed as "works Bryant's" (a dealer in hides and wood), while Nannie was listed as a dressmaker. Both Finess and Nannie were listed as "colored" (SCD 1886:56). Similarly, the 1887-88 *Springfield City Directory* noted F. Byrd, a "colored" grocer, as residing at 313 N. Tenth Street (SCD 1887:59).

African-American community). Joseph Faro, Jr. died in April 1899. One of homes he and his family had lived in the 1890s (1115 East Madison Street) was burned by the same mob that destroyed his parent's former home on the night of August 14, 1908.

Bellfield “Bell” Watkins: Horseman Extraordinaire and Stepson of Jameson Jenkins

Bellfield Watkins settled into the Tenth Street neighborhood, on the west side of the 300 Block of North Tenth Street (in House B), beginning in circa 1874 and remained at that location through the early 1880s. More commonly known as “Bell,” Watkins was a successful horse trainer and dealer, liveryman, and jockey. Bellfield is believed to be the step-son of Jameson Jenkins, a documented “conductor” on the Underground Railroad and race activist who had come to Springfield in the later 1840s.

Bellfield Watkins most likely was born in Rush County, Indiana sometime in May 1835. Although Bellfield's mother is well documented (Elizabeth Pellum Watkins), there is some confusion as to the name of his father. According to Naglich, Bellfield's parents were David and Elizabeth Watkins (Naglich 2015).⁷¹ Bellfield's parents most-likely were free-Black residents of North Carolina who had relocated to east-central Indiana sometime prior to 1835. During the middle 1830s, the extended Jenkins family settled in a rural, free-Black community located in Rush County, known as the Beech Settlement. The Beech Settlement was established in close proximity to the town of Carthage (northwest corner of Ripley Township), which was settled by Quakers from Virginia and North Carolina who had moved to Indiana due to their dislike of slavery. The first Quakers arrived in this area in 1821, and by 1825 a large population of Quakers had settled at this location. The anti-slavery Quakers, assisted by their Black neighbors, participated jointly in activities of the Underground Railroad (Martin and Townsend 2012:4, 6;

⁷¹ The early history of the Jameson and Watkins family is shrouded in confusion. Although Bellfield's obituary noted that he had been born in May 1835, historical records are inconsistent as to when he had been born. Hart (2014:23), citing the *Illinois State Register* (9 October 1891, p. 5) suggests that Bellfield was born, in Indiana, in May 1835. Naglich (2015:38) suggests that he was born in 1833, based on his grave marker, and his age reported on his marriage record. Bellfield's grave marker appears to be a later marker and although the dates of birth references 1833, its authenticity is of concern. Bell's military draft records from 1863 suggest a birth year of 1839 or 1840, and suggest that he had been born in Virginia (not Indiana). The 1850 U.S. Census of Population lists his surname incorrectly as Jenkins (and not Watkins), and based on his age would suggest a birth year of 1835 or 1836. This census also noted that he was born in Indiana.

Hart (2014:23) was not able to identify Bellfield's father, simply noting him as “unknown Watkins.” Naglich (2015:45), based on Bellefield's 1883 Macoupin County marriage license, identified Bellfield as having been born in Virginia, and that his father was David Watkins, his mother was Elizabeth Pelham. Martin and Townsend (2012:9) suggest that Bellfield was not Jameson Jenkins's stepson, but his son—as suggested by the 1850 U.S. Census of Population. Martin and Townsend (2012:6, 9) state that Bellfield was born of the union of Jamison Jenkins and his wife Gilley Evans Jenkins who he had married in January 1831 while still in Wake County, North Carolina, and that Gilley died “within three years of the birth of their son Bellfield in 1836” (Martin and Townsend 2012:9).

The backgrounds of Bell Watkins and his extended family are covered in detail by Richard Hart in his 2014 publication: *Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks, African American Neighbors of Abraham Lincoln* (Hart 2014). Hart indicates that Bell Watkins' mother, Elizabeth Ann (Pellum) Watkins, was born in Richmond, Virginia on 22 November 1807. She was a mulatto and is suspected to have been born free.

Hart 2014:22-23). The Blanks and Jameson families were among the earliest Black residents to settle in this rural agricultural community, with the Watkins family joining them “sometime prior to May 1835.” The extended Watkins family became “one of the most prosperous of the Beech settlers” (Hart 2014:23, footnote 55), and was “one of the principal extended families who were early settlers in Beech” (Martin and Townsend 2012:9). Among the Watkins family members to purchase land, and improve property in this settlement were Sterling Watkins (from Greensville County, Virginia), as well as Daniel, David, and John. The Jameson Jenkins family arrived at the Beech Settlement in the spring 1838.⁷² Jenkins apparently was born in North Carolina in 1808.⁷³ Although born a “free person of color,” Jenkins grew up in an era when free Blacks in North Carolina faced severe limitations on their freedom of movement and association; and their rights were even further restricted in the wake of Nat Turner’s rebellion in 1831. Jenkins married Gilley Evans in 1831 while in North Carolina, and ultimately decided to leave North Carolina by the spring of 1838 [post summer 1835 and prior to Bellfield’s birth in Indiana in 1836]. Jenkins also found his way to Rush County, Indiana.⁷⁴

On October 6, 1840, while residing in Rush County, Indiana, Jamison Jenkins married Elizabeth Pelham Watkins (Martin and Townsend 2012:24; 88, footnote 57; Hart 2014:26). This was the second marriage for both, and what became of both of their earlier spouses (Gilley Jenkins, and the “unidentified Mr. Watkins”) is unknown. If Bellfield’s father was, indeed, David Watkins, he had died in the Beech Settlement in the late summer 1840, only a couple of months prior to Jamison and Elizabeth’s marriage (Naglich 2015:38).

By late 1845 or early 1846, the extended Jenkins-Watkins family had relocated to Springfield, where Elizabeth Jenkins’ sister and brother-in-law, Martha and James Blanks, had moved several years earlier, perhaps as early as 1841 or 1842 (Martin and Townsend 2012; Hart 2008:28; Hart 2014:2-6, 26-27).⁷⁵ In October 1842, shortly after their arrival in Springfield, James Blanks

⁷² Other early residents of the Beech Settlement who eventually relocated to central Illinois was the Reverend Henry Brown (Springfield, Edgar and Sangamon Counties) and Staten Brown (New Philadelphia, Pike County) (Martin and Townsend 2012:9). It currently is unknown whether Rev. Brown and Staten Brown were related.

⁷³ As with much of the research relating to the early life of the older African Americans living in Springfield (and elsewhere) during the later nineteenth century, the birth year and ages of these individuals are often difficult to ascertain (cf. “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]). Several discrepancies exist with regard to Jamison’s year of birth, as well as his early marriages and children. Martin and Townsend (2012:4) suggest that he was born in 1810 in New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina. Jamison’s mother was named Nancy Jenkins, a free woman of color living in early North Carolina for most of her life, dying at 104 years of age (Martin and Townsend 2012:4).

⁷⁴ Jenkins had previously become familiar with Quakers during the several years (1835-1838) he lived in Wake County, North Carolina. Martin and Townsend (2012:4) suggest that Jenkins sought permission from the Wake County Justice of the Peace to travel to Guilford County in 1835 “presumably to get the help of the Quakers to emigrate to Indiana.” Alternatively, it may have been during a trip to Guilford County, for whatever its reason, that Jameson was introduced to the Quakers. As Hart (2014:20) posits, the Guilford Quakers most likely assisted Jenkins in his move to the Beech Settlement in Indiana (see discussion in Martin and Townsend 2012).

⁷⁵ Naglich (2014:7) suggests that the James Blank family was in Springfield by 1841 or early 1842, and were potentially living on Lot 5, Block, Block 11, E. Iles Addition “by the early 1840s.” James Blanks purchased this lot for \$212 on November 13, 1847 (SCDR AA:26). Hart (2008:28) suggests that “about 1842” the Blanks family

purchased two lots (Lots 13 and 14, Block 11, E. Iles Addition) on the west side of Ninth Street, south of the Jackson and Ninth Streets intersection and less than a block from the future home of Abraham Lincoln (which he purchased in 1844) (Naglich 2014:8; SCDR S:299).⁷⁶ Although it is unclear whether these lots were improved (with a house) or not, it seems likely that they were and it was at this location that the Blanks family resided upon their arrival in Springfield.⁷⁷ Several years later, in mid-November 1847, James Blanks purchased Lot 5, Block 11, E. Iles Addition for \$212 (SCDR AA:20-21, as cited in Hart 2014:36; see also SCDR AA:284-285, as cited in Martin and Townsend 2012:87). This lot was located along South Eighth Street, immediately across the alley from his lots located on South Ninth Street.⁷⁸ Although as before, it is unclear whether or not this sale price is suggestive of an improved or unimproved property, it seems most likely that it was minimally improved with a small dwelling.⁷⁹ Naglich (2014:7) suggests that Lot 5 was improved, and the Blanks family was residing at this location by the early 1840s.

On 28 March 1846, shortly after his arrival in Springfield, Jameson Jenkins filed a Certificate of Freedom with the Sangamon County Illinois Recorder of Deeds, suggesting that the family had arrived in the county sometime in the late winter or spring 1846 (SCDR 4:21, as cited in Martin and Townsend 2012:87). Although it is unknown where the family was living at that time, they

moved to Springfield, followed by the Jenkins family in 1844. Martin and Townsend (2012:9) suggest it was “by 1846” that the Jenkins family arrived in Springfield. The motivation for the extended family’s move to Illinois is not known. Hart (2014:27-28) presents several motives, including the passage of new laws in Indiana restricting the settlement of African Americans and a growing division among the Quakers over abolition. He also notes that Reverend Henry Brown, another North Carolinian and former member of the Beech Settlement, also moved to Springfield during this period—albeit several years later.

⁷⁶ Hart (2008:36) cites SCDR (U:11-12) for this transaction.

⁷⁷ Naglich (2015:9, 39) does not believe the two lots were improved, and that the Blanks family did not live at this location. Hart (2015:30) identifies these two lots as Lots 13 and 14, Block 11, E. Iles Addition, notes that Blanks had purchased them for the sum of \$266.66, and suggests that the two lots were unimproved (without a house present) at that time (SCDR U:11-12). It is our opinion, though, that this purchase price most likely suggests the property was improved at that time, which is substantiated by the 1854 *City of Springfield* map (Potter 1854). The 1854 city map suggests that a substantial house was present on Lot 13, whereas Lot 14 was vacant. James Blanks apparently owned this property through 1854. Although Hart (2008) suggest that these two lots were located at the southwest corner of Ninth and Jackson Streets, these two lots are located mid-block, fronting Ninth Street. Lots 15 and 16, which are located at the southwest corner of this intersection, were indeed unimproved. As such, the original deeds should be checked to verify which lots were, indeed, purchased by the Blank family.

In February 1854, James and Martha Blanks sold Lots 13, 14, and 15, Block 11 to Charles Arnold for \$1,000 (SCDR NN:337). Naglich (2015:9) characterizes this as a low sale price indicative of unimproved lots. On the contrary, we would argue that this price may be suggestive of at least one of the lots having been improved, with a dwelling.

⁷⁸ Hart (2008:36) suggests this lot (and its associated house) was purchased from John Mason for \$212 (SCDR AA:20-21). Martin and Townsend (2012:7) suggest the lot (and house) was purchased Mason for \$212 (SCDR AA:26).

⁷⁹ Blanks family real estate assessed at three-times the value of that of the Jenkins family, and is consistent with the perceived values of a typical frame dwelling on two lots compared to that of a very small frame dwelling on one lot (as depicted on the 1854 *City of Springfield* map).

may have been living with the Blanks family—potentially within a house on Lots 13-14, or on the recently purchased Lot 5. In mid-February 1848, Jamison Jenkins purchased a small frame house on Lot 5, Block 11, Elijah Iles Addition from his wife’s sister and her husband James and Martha Ann Blanks for the sum of \$200 (SCDR AA:284-285, as cited in Martin and Townsend 2012:11; Hart 2015:36).⁸⁰ This house was located on South Eighth Street, with its rear yard nearly abutting the back yard across the alley from the two lots (and potential house) owned by Blanks located on the adjacent Ninth Street to the east. Most likely, by this date this lot was already improved with a small house. The 1854 *City of Springfield* map depicts a small house at this location (Potter 1854).

The 1850 U.S. Census of Population lists two side-by-side entries for the extended Blanks, Jenkins and Watkins families (USBC 1850). The first household enumerated in this census was that of the 38-year-old James Blanks, a Virginia-born laborer with a real estate valuation assessed at \$900. Living with James was his wife Martha Ann (35-years of age), his wife’s mother Jane Pelham (62-years of age), and two individuals named Lydiann Mason (13-years of age), and Bellfield Jenkins (14-years of age)—the latter two reportedly having been born in Indiana.⁸¹ Although listed with the surname Jenkins, the young Bellfield is believed to have been the son of David Watkins and Elizabeth Pelham Watkins Jenkins. The Jamison Jenkins family was enumerated in a separate house immediately following the entry for the James Blanks family in the census. The Jenkins household included Jimison [sic] Jenkins (a 40-year-old, North Carolina-born drayman with a real estate valuation assessed at \$300. Living within this household was Jamison’s wife, Elizabeth Pelham Jenkins (43-years of age), their 6-year-old daughter Nancy Jenkins (born in Indiana), and Elizabeth’s two daughters from her previous marriage (Jane Watkins, 17 years of age and Quilly Ann Watkins, 12-years of age). According to the census, Jane had been born in Virginia, whereas Quilly Ann had been born in Indiana.⁸² All members of both the Jenkins and Blanks’ households were noted as “mulatto” by the census taker. Although the 1850 U.S. Census of Population listed Bellfield with the surname Jenkins, he clearly took the surname Watkins later in life. The 1850 census entry most likely represents an error by the census enumerator who incorrectly noted the family relationship, as Bellfield was living in the adjacent residence with his aunt and uncle at the time.

Naglich (2015:38) concludes that Bellfield was the son of David and Elizabeth Watkins and that he was born in either Virginia (as noted by his military draft registration and marriage records) or in Indiana (as noted by census returns). As for his birth date, Naglich suggests it was in the year 1833 (based on his grave marker and his age listed on his marriage record). This date conflicts with the May 1835 date listed within his obituary, and is consistent with the 1835 or 1836 date suggested by census data. Bellfield’s military draft registration suggests he was born in 1839 or 1840, which clearly is inaccurate. Based mostly on the 1850 census, Martin and Townsend

⁸⁰ When the Jenkins family purchased this lot, they put the deed in their four-year-old daughter’s name, Nancy Jenkins. The reason for this is unknown (Martin and Townsend 2012L11).

⁸¹ One of William Herndon’s informants recalled that a “Jane Jenkins”—likely Jane Pellum in actuality—did laundry for the Lincoln family (Hart 2014:57-58).

⁸² Nancy Watkins married William L. Florville, son of William “Billy the Barber” Florville and his wife Phoebe Rountree. Jane Watkins moved to Chicago with the Blanks family in the 1850s. Aquilla Ann Watkins married William Wright in Springfield in 1867 (Martin and Townsend 2012:14).

(2012:6) suggest that Bellfield was not the son of David and Elizabeth Watkins, but that he was born in 1836 in Wake County, North Carolina, the son of Jamison Jenkins and his first wife Gilley (who he had married in January 1831 while living in Wake County, North Carolina).⁸³ Hart (2014:23) suggests that Bellfield was born in Indiana in May 1835, the son of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins and her husband (a man with the surname Watkins, first name unknown).

Based on the 1850 U.S. Census of Population, the current perception among several authors (cf Martin and Townsend 2012 and Naglich 2015:10) is that the extended Blanks, Jenkins, and Watkins family were living in adjacent houses, both of which were located on South Eighth Street (Lot 5, Block 11, Elijah Iles Addition) within the current Lincoln Home National Historic Site. Martin and Townsend note several times that Jamison Jenkins and his family “was sharing property, one lot with two houses, with his brother-in-law James Blanks” (Martin and Townsend 2012:25, 87).⁸⁴ Apparently, this interpretation was predicated on the 1850 census returns, which lists the two households side-by-side. If these two families were sharing a single structure, such as a connected dwelling, the census enumerator would have recorded two families within a single structure, which they did not. Unfortunately, the location of the neighbors each side of the two families in the 1850 census could not be determined, which could have shed some light on this issue. Later in 1857, the Eli Withey family enumerated two families from the Blanks family were living on South Ninth Street, just around the corner from Lot 5. As discussed above with regard to Lots 13 and 14, it is not unreasonable to suspect that the Blanks family could have been living in a house on Lot 13 by the latter 1840s. Having said this, the 1860 U.S. Census of Population lists Jane Pelham (75 years of age; washerwoman) after the Solomon Allen household, followed by the Jameson Watkins family (consisting of Jamison, his wife and two children). The next entry in this census is that of F. H. Weber (Cook house?). The 1860 census seems to corroborate that these two families may, indeed, have been living in two houses located on Lot 5.⁸⁵

Jameson Jenkins was an active participant in the Underground Railroad during this period. The best documented example of his involvement occurred in January 1850, when he assisted in the escape of seven enslaved individuals from St. Louis, who he shepherded from Springfield to Bloomington. This event came to be known as the “Slave Stampede” (Martin and Townsend 2012:16-22). Such activities were dangerous in a community like Springfield, with its strong pro-slavery sympathies, and especially so for a Black man. Jenkins nonetheless braved the risk, as did his fellow African American “conductors” in Springfield, William Donnegan and

⁸³ Gilley Evans Jenkins died sometime between 1836 and 1840 while living in Indiana (Martin and Townsend 2012:24). Jamison married the widow Elizabeth Pelham Watkins in early October 1840 while living in Rush County, Indiana.

⁸⁴ Martin and Townsend (2012:87) note multiple times that they lived in “two houses that shared a Springfield lot.”

⁸⁵ Although the Blanks family had moved to Chicago in the 1850s, the elder Jane Pelham (who had been living in the Blanks household in 1850) remained in Springfield. Blanks sold Lots 13 and 14, with adjacent Lot 15, to Charles Arnold in 1854 for the sum of \$1,000, which Naglich again interprets as unimproved properties (SCDR NN:337; Naglich 2015:9). Naglich (2015:9) has long paragraph arguing against the Blanks family having lived on Ninth Street. Nancy and William Florville sold Lot 5 (and its improvements) to Abner Allen for \$1,200 in September 1865. At that time, Jameson and Elizabeth Jenkins moved to a residence at the corner of Adams and 14th Street (Naglich 2015:12).

Reverend Henry Brown (Hart 2014:40-48).⁸⁶ Although the extent of Jameson Jenkins' influence on his stepson Bell is impossible to know, Jenkin's willingness to risk imprisonment (or worse) to help desperate people in need must have made a strong impression on the youth. Whatever the case, a survey of Bell Watkin's subsequent career indicates that he matured into an exceptionally confident and talented man, with a brave and generous character.

It is unclear when the young Bellfield Watkins moved from his parents' home and set out on his own. None of the Springfield city directories from the 1850s list Bellfield Watkins. Similarly, his presence has not been located within the 1860 U.S. Census of Population; at which time he would have been approximately 24 years of age. Jameson and his wife continued to reside at the family home on South Eighth Street through 1865, selling the property in September of that year (SCDR 23:378, as cited in Martin and Townsend 2012:88). By the mid-1860s, Jamison and his wife resided at Fourteenth and Adams Street, moving to Eleventh and Adams Street just prior to his death.⁸⁷ Jamison died on February 3, 1873; his wife died November 23, 1880 (Martin and Townsend 2012:14).

Bell Watkins' had a gift with horses, perhaps first gained while tending to his stepfather's team, and he would spend most of his career working with the animals in one way or another. In October 1859 Watkins was awarded a "first premium" in the "roadsters and stallions four years and upward" category at the Sangamon County Fair. He was twenty-four years old at this time (*Illinois State Register*, 7 October 1859, page 9). One year later, he won the second-place prize (worth \$15) in the "Horses for Saddle" category at the Illinois State Fair for his horse "Grape Shot" (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 September 1860, page 3). These were but the first of a string of horses Watkins would win awards for at the county and state fairs in future years.

By 1860, Bell Watkins was working at the American Livery and Sale Stable, which was located on Monroe Street, between Sixth and Seventh, and was owned by Henry B. Cone.⁸⁸ In December of that year, Watkins was nearly killed in an altercation with a man named Gus Loyd, who while drunk bit off the ear of the livery's pet cat. Incensed at this senseless act of cruelty, Watkins challenged Loyd to a fight on the edge of town. The two men rode out of Springfield together, but Loyd, upon dismounting, chose to settle matters with a revolver rather than his fists. Loyd fired three shots at the unexpected Watkins, who was lucky to escape with only a slight grazing in the affair (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 December 1860, page 3).⁸⁹ This incident illustrates Watkins' basic decency and sense of honor.

⁸⁶ The Jenkins were members of the Second Presbyterian Church (also known as the Westminster Presbyterian Church) (Hart 2006:16). Jameson had a falling out with the church for "failure to attend church meetings and licentiousness... lacking legal or moral restraints; especially: Disregarding sexual restraints." Jameson refused to respond to the allegations (See Martin and Townsend 2012:13).

⁸⁷ The 1866 and 1869 Springfield City Directories place the family at Fourteenth and Adams Streets, whereas the 1872 and 1873 city directories place them at Eleventh and Adams Streets (SCD 1866, 1869, 1872, 1873).

⁸⁸ Cone resided one block south of his livery, on Seventh Street between Market and Jackson (SCD 1860:69). He still owned the stable in 1864 (SCD 1864:25).

⁸⁹ Lloyd was arrested for the shooting, but it is not known whether he faced any judicial punishment over the incident.

Before long, Watkins was operating a livery stable of his own, at times independently and at other times with a partner. An 1863 newspaper advertisement mentions a horse auction that was to be held at “Bell Watkins’ Stable” on August 15. The auction was to include Watkin’s race horse “Grey Eagle,” who the advertisement claimed to be “one of the best bred and finest stallions brought into this state....” and also “a fine Prophet Filley, three years old, sired by Old Prophet” (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 August 1863, page 2).⁹⁰ In 1863, Watkins registered for the draft.⁹¹

In 1864, Bell Watkins was partnered with David W. Thomas in operating a livery on the east side of Seventh Street, between Adams and Washington Street, in a building they rented from J. Buckhardt. It is unclear whether this was the same stable referenced in the 1863 advertisement. Unfortunately, for the partners, their livery caught fire early on the morning of 19 September 1864 and was completely destroyed. Watkins was sleeping in the stable when he was woken by the neighing of horses to find the hay loft already in flames. With the assistance of citizens and soldiers, Watkins managed to save about twenty horses. Equipment and supplies valued at between \$1,000 and \$1,200 (none of which was insured) were consumed in the fire. Watkins also lost the \$200 in cash he had in his pants, which he did not have time to put on in the scramble to save the horses.⁹² The fire was severe enough that it destroyed several outbuildings of the Carrigan House, a hotel located to the south of the stable, and threatened for a time to spread to the hotel before the flames were finally quenched by a rainstorm and the efforts of a fire brigade. The cause of the fire was not determined, though there was some suspicion that some careless soldiers taking shelter in the loft may have accidentally started it (*Illinois State Journal*, 30 September 1864, page 3).⁹³ A new livery apparently was eventually constructed on, or adjacent to, the same location as the old one, as city directories from the 1870s report Bell Watkins as having a livery on the alley behind the Everett House (formerly the Carrigan House) (SCD 1875:149; 1879:186).

It is of note that one of the newspaper articles concerning the 1864 fire mentioned that Watkins “sleeps in the livery stable building.” This makes sense in the context of his profession, as the horses needed close attention and protection from theft; and, moreover, Watkins was not married at this time, nor had children. If Watkins regularly slept in his livery stable, as opposed to a regular residence, it might explain why he was not listed in the 1860 and 1870 federal censuses for Sangamon County, nor was included in any of the Springfield city directories prior to the

⁹⁰ The sale of “Grey Eagle” apparently did come off. In December 1863, it was reported that Bell Watkins’ “Grey Eagle” was supposed to have raced Henry P. Cone’s “Brown Dick,” with a \$250 purse at stake, but that Watkins withdrew from the race and had to pay a \$70 forfeit fee (*Illinois State Journal*, 5 December 1863, p. 3).

⁹¹ *Civil War Draft Registrations*, Ancestry.com (as cited in Naglich 2015:77).

⁹² Two-hundred dollars was a substantial amount of money to be carrying around on one’s person for the period. Watkins may have felt the need to keep that much cash on hand in the event he needed to do some horse trading on short notice, and may suggest that he was a successful business man not trusting of banks.

⁹³ Preliminary reports on the fire are found in the 29 September 1864 editions of the *Illinois State Journal* (page 3) and the *Illinois State Register* (page 4).

early 1870s. There is no question that Watkins was living in Springfield during this period, and he was by no means invisible within the community. Aside from his livery business, he was making quite the name for himself in racing circles. Between 1863 and 1882, his name was frequently mentioned in local racing reports as having entered horses in running and trotting events.⁹⁴ He seems to have done quite well for himself in horse racing. In 1875, for example, the *Illinois State Register* reported that Watkins was going to showing off “his fine black horse ‘Sleepy John,’ which, under his skillful training this season, has been the victor on many a hard contested field, and has brought in Bell a fat roll of bank bills indeed” (*Illinois State Register*, 22 September 1875, 22 September 1875, page 4). Three years later, the *Illinois State Journal* mentioned that “Bell Watkins, the famous horseman of Springfield, will be at the Mason County fair with some good trotters. He has a number under his charge” (*Illinois State Journal*, 30 August 1880, page 4).

The first year Bell Watkins was listed in the *Springfield City Directory* was 1873. He was about 38 years old and had lived in the city for nearly three decades at this point in time. This directory indicated that he had a “boarding stable” and was then residing on the northeast corner of Adams and Eleventh streets (SCD 1873:184). The following year (1874), he was reported as living at 311 North Tenth Street (House B). This house was owned by Ann E. (“Lida”) Pollard Dick, a white woman who was divorced and childless (see discussion of House B history). The exact nature of Watkins and Dick’s relationship in 1874 is unclear (i.e., tenant/landlord vs. romantic), but by 1880 the two were living together as a couple. Although not legally married, they were enumerated in the 1880 census as husband and wife and Lida’s surname was listed as “Watkins” in that year (USBC 1880:183A).⁹⁵ In August 1883, the couple formalized their

⁹⁴ Bell Watkins had a taste for speed, even on city streets, as suggested by an 1864 incident in which he was fined \$3, plus court costs, for “fast driving” (*Illinois State Journal*, 30 April 1864, p.3). Horses owned by Watkins mentioned as being entered in running races included “Grey Eagle,” “Young Barton,” and “Midnight.” Among his trotters were “Brown Ethan,” “Sleepy John,” and “Larkin” (*Illinois State Journal*, 5 December 1863, p. 3; 8 July 1865, p.3; 10 July 1865, p.3; 25 November 1867, p.4; 5 August 1877, p. 4; 22 September 1882, p.6; *Illinois State Register*, 22 September 1875, p.4; 20 September 1882, p.3).

⁹⁵ In April 1879, while living at 311 North Tenth Street (House B), Bell Watkins was charged with assaulting a woman named Bertha Eugene. The latter individual had obtained some notoriety in Springfield as a “madam” running a brothel on the southwest corner of Jefferson and Pasfield streets. This locale was well outside the recognized vice district in the city, and its presence infuriated neighboring residents, who petitioned the City Council to force its closure. Their petition was granted on 2 February 1879 (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 February 1879). Some hoped that Bertha Eugene would leave Springfield after her brothel was closed, but they were disappointed. On February 7, the *Illinois State Journal* reported: “It is a mistake. Bertha Eugene has not left the city, unless *Tenth street* is out of the limits” (italics added). It is tempting to speculate that Eugene may have found temporary living quarters on Tenth Street, near House B, and her run-in with Bell Watkins was part of a neighbors’ dispute. With her reputation, she would hardly have been considered an ideal neighbor, particularly if the newspaper reports of her violent temper were true (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 January 1879, p. 4; 23 May 1879, p. 4). However, there is no firm evidence for her residing in the vicinity of House B when her altercation with Watkins occurred; nor are the exact circumstances of the altercation known. Newspapers simply report that she charged Watkins with assaulting her, and he was fined \$3 and costs on the charge (*Illinois State Journal*, 20 April 1879, p. 4; 21 April 1879, p. 4; 22 April 1879, p. 4). In 1882, Bell Watkins also was fined \$3, plus costs, for assaulting William Florville, who happened to be his brother-in-law. Once again, the circumstances of the assault are not known (*Illinois State Register*, 3 December 1882, p. 3; Hart 2014:96).

relationship when they married in Macoupin County.⁹⁶ The following month they sold the property at 311 North Tenth Street (SCDR 74:495), and subsequently relocated to a modest home at 1211 East Adams Street in Springfield, three blocks southeast of their former residence.

Around 1878, Bell Watkins became partners with William H. Holly in the buying and selling of horses.⁹⁷ Although Watkins maintained his livery stable for a few years after partnering with Holly, he eventually shifted into horse trading full time.⁹⁸ Holly had a large sales stable on the south side of Monroe Street, between Seventh and Eighth streets (SCD 1880:104; 1887:160). In October 1884, it was reported that Watkins had shipped eighteen horses and twenty-one mules to St. Louis (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 October 1884, page 7). William H. Holly died in July 1890, and afterward Bell Watkins entered the horse-trading business with Joseph McWherter. This partnership lasted for only a short time before Watkins's own death, at age 56, on 8 October 1891 from a complication of heart or stomach troubles (*Illinois State Register*, 13 June 1890, page 5; *Illinois State Journal*, 9 October 1891, page 5).

The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* lists Bell Watkins as residing at 311 N. Tenth Street and indicates that he was running a stable (SCD 1880:204). Although Bell Watkins was not located in the 1870 U.S. Census of Population, he and his wife were enumerated in the 1880 census. The 1880 census enumerated Bell Watkins as residing on Tenth Street in Springfield. The census recorded him as a 44-year-old Indiana native who was working in a livery stable. Residing with him were his wife "Lyda Watkins" (age 41; born in Missouri) and a Black female servant named Allie Hall (age 18) (USBC 1880). "Lyda" actually was Ann E. Dick (aka Lida Pollard). Although not officially married, she and Bell Watkins clearly were living as a married couple at this point in time. One thing of interest in the census return was that Bell Watkins was categorized as "white." As noted previously, he was listed as "mulatto" in the 1850 U.S. Census, as were his mother and stepfather, and he was noted as "colored" in his 1891 obituary. Yet, Watkins was never categorized as "colored" in any of the city directories of Springfield he is listed in. It is unclear whether Bell Watkins was passing as white or perhaps was assumed to be by the census enumerator due to the lightness of his skin and the fact that he was living with a white woman who identified as his wife; but given his long history in the community, the latter scenario seems more likely than the former. Bell Watkins and Ann E. Dick eventually would formally marry on 2 August 1883 in Macoupin County, Illinois (Illinois State Archives Statewide Marriage Index). Although Ann used her formal name in the marriage certificate, she would continue to go by "Lida" for the remainder of her life.

⁹⁶ Ann E. Pollard Dick (aka Lida Pollard) married Bellfield Watkins on August 2, 1883 in Macoupin County (Illinois State Archives Statewide Marriage Index). Why did they leave Sangamon County to get married? Perhaps to keep secret the fact that they had no already been married? At the time, the Macoupin County marriage records identified his father as David Watkins, and his mother as Elizabeth Pelham (Naglich 2015:45). Naglich (2015:45) suggests they left the county to get married "because they had previously concealed their marital status

⁹⁷ Watkins' 1891 obituary states that he was a partner with W. H. Holly for twelve years prior to the latter's death. Holly died in June 1890, hence the belief that their partnership dated to 1878 (*Illinois State Register*, 13 June 1890, p. 5; *Illinois State Journal*, 9 October 1891, p. 5).

⁹⁸ The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Watkins still had a stable at that time. However, the stable was not advertised in the business directory that year, in contrast to previous years (SCD 1880:204).

One of the interesting questions about Bell Watkins pertains to his racial identity—both as perceived by his community and conveyed by himself. He was classified as “mulatto” in the 1850 census, but the 1880 census lists him as “white.” Perhaps his mixed racial heritage (which ran several generations deep) and his marriage to a white woman caused the 1880 census enumerator to believe, or assume, that he too was white. Alternatively, one could speculate that Watkins was passing as white. This is an intriguing possibility given that none of the city directories in which he is listed note him as being “colored,” as was typically done for Black residents in this period. Similarly, he was not included within the 1876 “*Directory of the Colored People of Springfield*” (drawn up especially for that year’s city directory) but rather was included within the general directory of white residents, even though his own mother was listed in the accompanying “colored” directory. Passing off as white would not have been easy for Watkins to pull off in Springfield though. His family was well known in the community, and there is no evidence that they tried to conceal their African heritage—or could for that matter. Bell Watkins’ step-father and mother, Jameson and Elizabeth Jenkins, were both listed as “Black” in the 1870 census and were interred in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, and the same was true of his grandmother, Jane Pellow (Hart 2014:79-80, 83). Similarly, when Watkins died, his obituary matter-of-factly described him as a “colored,” with no attempt at obfuscation, and he too was interred in the “colored section” at Oak Ridge. Although impossible to know with certainty, it is possible that Watkins—a popular, light-skinned Black man who had white business partners and a reputation as a skilled horseman—simply wasn’t as identified by race to the degree his contemporaries were.

The degree of respect Bell Watkins was regarded within Springfield is evident from the *Illinois State Journal’s* account of his funeral on 12 October 1891:

The funeral of the late Bell Watkins took place at his home, 1211 East Adams street, at 2 o’clock yesterday afternoon, and was, without doubt, the largest funeral ever held over the remains of a colored person in the city. The house and yard were overcrowded with the friends of the deceased, both white and colored, while a large number stood outside the fence. The services were conducted by Rev. A. C. Byerly, pastor of the First M.E. church who took his text from First Corinthians, 15th chapter, and preached an eloquent sermon, in which he called attention to the characteristics of the deceased, who was one of the most benevolent of men. It can be said of him that he cheerfully responded whenever any person applied to him for assistance.

George Judd, a well-known horse-dealer in Springfield with whom Bell Watkins had done \$20,000 worth of trading (and “had never misrepresented even to the extent of one cent”) paid for all of the funeral expenses. In another gesture of esteem for Watkins, all the liverymen in the city sent carriages for his funeral procession to Oak Ridge Cemetery (*Illinois State Journal*, 12 October 1891, p.5). His wife Lida survived him by a several years, before her own death from consumption, at age 56 on 1 March 1895 (*Illinois State Register*, 2 March 1895, p.8). Bell Watkins, along with his wife Lida Pollard Dick Watkins had lived within House B from circa 1874 through circa 1883. Bell’s wife, Lida had lived at the same location prior to their union, having purchased the house in July 1864. Artifact assemblages associated with the Dick and

Watkins families are limited, but include a distinctive pressed glass serving plate referencing the Lord's Prayer.

Judge Haywood

In 1870, a Judge Hayward [sic Haywood) was enumerated in the U.S. Census of Population as a 45-year-old Black laborer living with his wife Francis (age 33), and their four children (Benjamin, 12; Judge, Jr., 4; John 3; and Francis 1). Hayward had been born in South Carolina and his wife in Kentucky. All four of the Hayward children had been born in Illinois, which suggests that the family had been in Illinois since at least 1858, and thus they appear to represent a pre-Civil War, free-Black family living in Springfield. Although it is unclear as to when Hayward and his family may have moved into House D, they presumably were in the house by the later 1860s. The earliest Hayward documented in the Springfield city directories is a clergyman named Henry L. Hayward who shows up in the 1860 city directory.⁹⁹

Over the years, Judge Hayward lived at several locations in Springfield. He first appears in the *Springfield City Directory* in 1866, at which time he was employed as a well digger and was living on the west side of Eighth Street, two doors south of Jefferson (SCD 1866:125). He later relocated to Thirteenth Street, between Mason and Reynolds, where he is listed in 1868 and 1869 (SCD 1868:100; 1869:94). The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* noted one Judge Haywood as a Black laborer residing on Thirteenth Street, at the corner of Mason, suggesting he had moved into the Tenth Street house sometime after 1868 and prior to 1870 (SCD 1868:100). The 1874 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Judge Haywood was residing on the west side Tenth Street between Madison and Mason Streets at that time, presumably in House D (SCD 1874:73). The 1876 *Springfield City Directory* listed one Judge Haywood (a laborer, and lessee of his house) as residing at 317 North Tenth Street (SCD 1876:238).¹⁰⁰ That same year, Haywood was noted as a member of the "Colored Hayes and Wheeler Club," with the club's goal the election of the Republican Presidential candidate Rutherford B. Hayes (*Illinois State Journal*, 8 August 1876, p. 5).¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Henry Hayward was the pastor of the Universalist Church located at the northeast corner of Market and Pasfield Streets (SCD 1860:89). Reverend Hayward most likely was white.

¹⁰⁰ One Judge Haywood served with Company L, 12th Regiment, U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery during the Civil War. Haywood had enlisted, at 18 years of age, as a "substitute" in Louisville, Kentucky in late September 1864. His registration information indicates that he was a laborer born in Jefferson County, Kentucky in 1846. Military records indicate that Judge Haywood died of inflammation of lungs in Bowling Green, Kentucky in June 1865. Although the names are identical, there seems no doubt that these were two different Black men from the same time period named Judge Haywood (Ancestry.com. *U.S., Colored Troops Military Service Records, 1863-1865* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007).

¹⁰¹ Although Hayes was elected to the Presidency, the 1876 election was one of the more contentious elections in U.S. history. Hayes lost the popular vote, and neither of the two candidates received sufficient electoral votes to assume the office, and as a result the President was chosen by the U.S. House of Representatives. The vote in the U.S. House of Representatives was swung to Hayes after the Compromise of 1877. Southern Democrats agreed to support Hayes if he would agree to remove Federal troops from the former Confederate States, and end Reconstruction.

The 1880 U.S. Census suggested that the Haywood family had moved from their Tenth Street residence and were residing on Jefferson Street at that time (USBC 1880:190). Judge was listed as a 70-year-old Black laborer living with his 44-year-old wife Francis, their 15-year-old son Judge (Jr.), and 11-year-old daughter Francis. The family apparently was living immediately adjacent to the Jessie Brownie “household.” Although Jessie’s occupation was simply listed as “Keeping House,” the occupations of all four female boarders living at this address were listed as “prostitute” (USBC 1880).

Frances Hayward died on June 16, 1894, at age 55. At that time, she and her husband were living at 424 North Fourth Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 June 1894, p. 5). Judge Hayward died in June 1895 at his son’s residence at 515 N. Second Street. He was 72 years old at the time of his death and “was a well-known colored man, a laborer by occupation” (*Illinois State Register*, June 28, 1895, p. 5). Earlier that same year, an anonymous concerned citizen had written a letter to the editor of the *Illinois State Register* related to Haywood, which stated: “Old Judge Haywood, an aged colored cripple, is ill and destitute at his home, Tenth and Reynolds streets. Let not those charitably disposed forget this old man. Here, indeed, is a case to be looked into” (*Illinois State Register*, 8 February 1895, p. 5).

In 1885, the *Illinois State Journal*, in a column entitled “THE CITY. General Mention” quoted a local Springfield man identified as “old Judge Haywood” as saying “Some folkses don’t b’leve cullud people is human bein’s... Now I’d jes like fer to know if a hue aint a culluer; then don’ hit jes stan’ reason that a cullud man is a hue-man?” (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 August 1885, p. 8). In an era of increased Jim Crow racism, it took courage for a Black man to be cited in the local newspaper making such a statement. Apparently, “Old Judge Haywood” was well-known and respected in and around both the county courthouse and the State Capital building. When his son was getting married in 1890, the *Illinois State Journal* noted that he was the “son of the personage who, with the philanthropists around the Government building and the County Court House, has become famous as ‘Judge’ Haywood” (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 June 1890, p. 4). Although Mr. Haywood’s actual name was “Judge,” it appears the local press assumed it was a nickname (and was somewhat incredulous that a Black man could be a judge).¹⁰²

In July 1886, Mr. Samuel Casey and the former Miss Mary A. Howard celebrated their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary at their residence in Quincy, Illinois. In reporting on the celebration, the *Register*, in a news story entitled “Silver Bells,” noted that “we have neither the time nor space to tell who were present, and it is perhaps sufficient to say that the *elite* of the colored society was very fully represented” at the event, and reported on the quests who had attended and their gifts—which included several prominent Springfield families: Mr. and Mrs. William

¹⁰² At the time, Robert Haywood was 30 years of age and was attempting to marry Gertie May Mitchell, who was only 17 years of age. Due to Gertie’s young age, she needed the permission of her parents to obtain the marriage license, but both parents were deceased and she had no legal guardian. Taking the advice of the county clerk who issued the licenses, the young couple consulted with Judge Matheny who gave his approval to the marriage (as there was nobody to make a legal objection). Apparently, Gertie had been living with one Maria McKinny (“a colored lady”), and “to settle all doubts” McKinny also gave her consent “to the match, and the couple went away happy” (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 June 1890, p. 4). There is the possibility that Maria McKinny occupied the adjacent House C; see discussion House C). Judge Haywood, Jr. married Mary L. Smith in late 1897 (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 September 1897, p. 6). Judge was employed as a waiter at the Leland Hotel.

Donnegan (silver castor), Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Bell (salt and pepper cruet), Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Reed (silver tablespoon set), Mrs. Judge Haywood (set silver teaspoons), Mrs. Jennie Sappington (silver thimble) (*Illinois State Register*, 9 July 1886, p. 2). Apparently, the couple had been married in Springfield, after which they moved to Quincy. Among the named quests were the Jones, Donnegan, Neal, Sappington, Birdsong, as well as Haywood families.

By early 1890, Judge Hayward had returned to live in the Tenth Street neighborhood. In January 1890, the Fitzgerald Cement Company purchased the last of the property located at the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Street, in preparation of constructing a new factory. As part of this process, the company purchased a house “now occupied by an old negro named Judge Hayward (*Illinois State Register*, 5 January 1890, p. 5).

Judge Hayward died in June 1895 at his son’s residence at 515 N. Second Street. He was 72 years old at the time of his death and “was a well-known colored man, a laborer by occupation” (*Illinois State Register*, June 28, 1895). In August 1895, the *Register* noted that he was among a list of individuals recently deceased who had lived in Springfield for over 35 years (*Illinois State Register*, 2 August 1895, p. 8). The Middle-Pre-Fire assemblage associated with House D most likely was associated with the Judge Hayward family.

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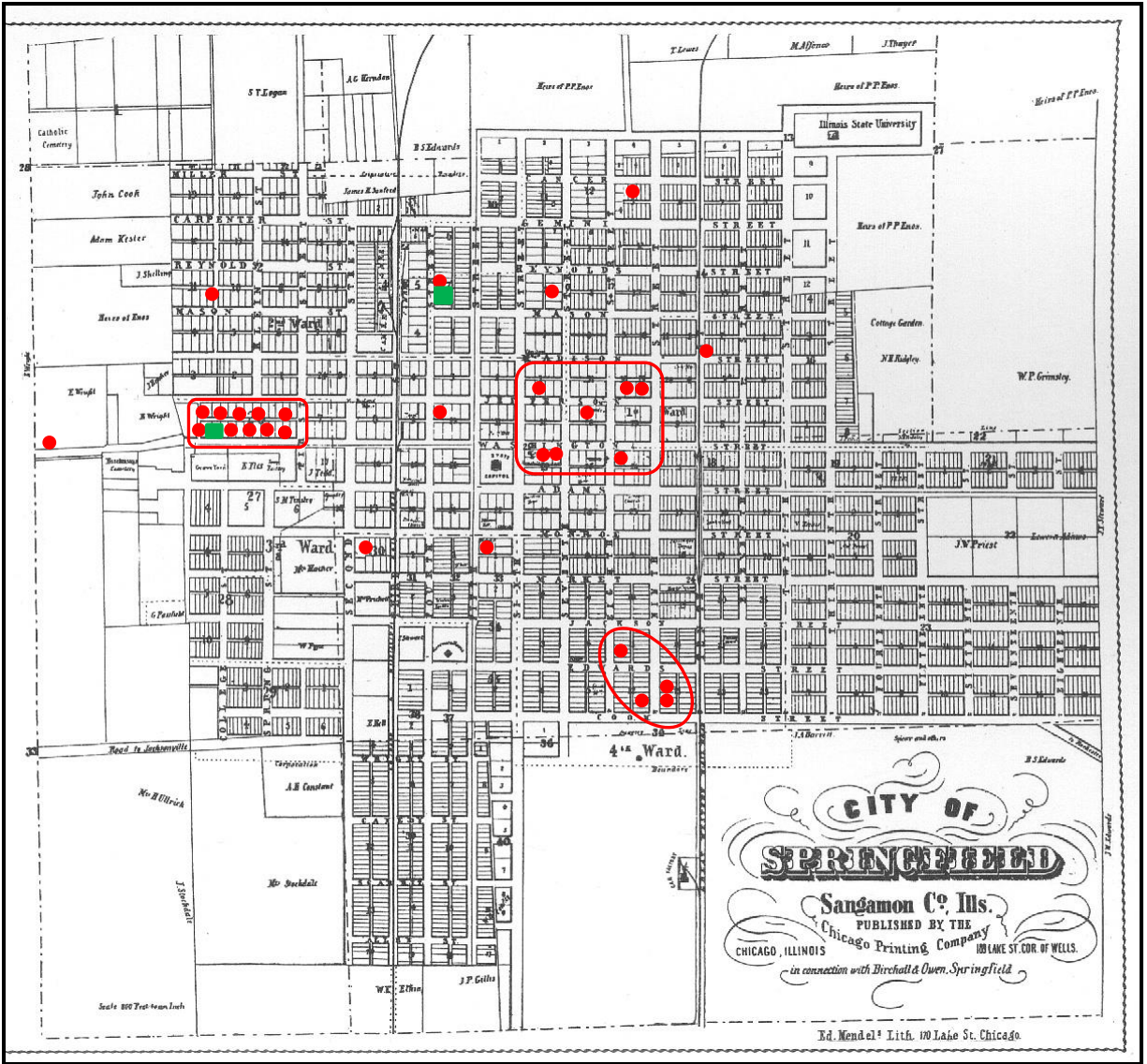


Figure 1. One of the earliest maps of Springfield, published in 1855, illustrating the location of African-American residents (red squares) documented by entries in the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* (Hall 1855). Also noted is the location of the two African Churches present at that time (green squares). Although the thirty Black residents were disbursed throughout the community, three clusters of Black residents are noted. The densest enclave was located along the west end of Washington Street, near the city limits, where ten households were located “near the African Church.” A second cluster was located to the immediate northeast of the central business district along east Jefferson and Washington Streets. The third small enclave was located along south Eighth and Ninth Streets, near Edwards and Cook Streets. The location of the African Methodist Episcopal Church along North Fourth Street, and the home of Reverend Henry Brown (northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Streets) were soon to become the location of two other enclaves by the early 1860s.

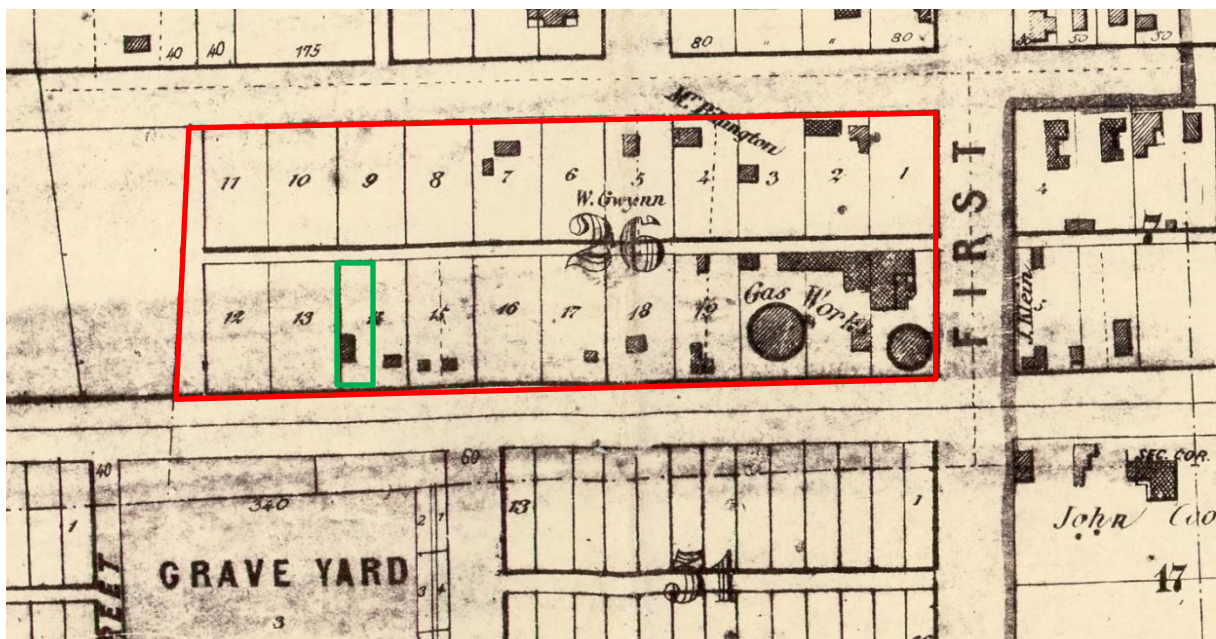
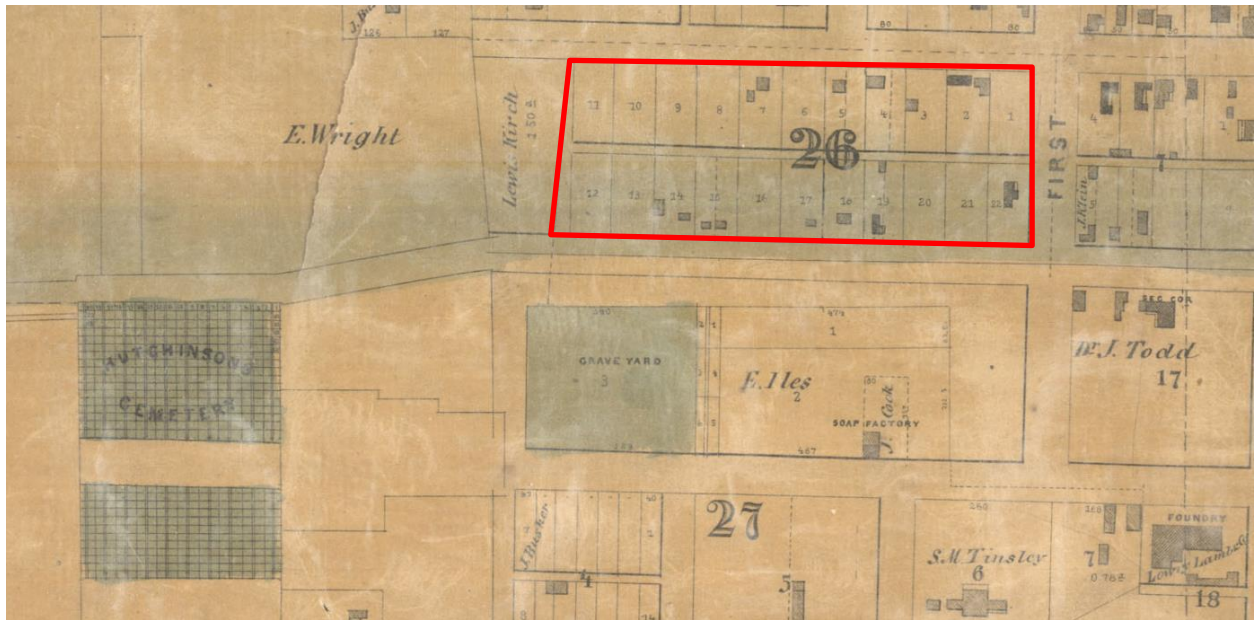


Figure 2. Location of the early Black enclave located along the north side of West Washington Street, within John Taylor’s West Addition (which is outlined in red). The Colored Baptist Church was located on the W25’, Lot 14, Block 1 of John Taylor’s West Addition (outlined in green on the 1858 map). Top: Detail of 1854 *City of Springfield* map (Potter 1854). Bottom: Detail of 1858 *City of Springfield* map (Sides 1858). By 1859, the city’s gas works had been constructed on the east end of this parcel of land. In 1857, the Colored Baptist Church relocated to a new location as the Zion Baptist Church, and the church on Washington Street was sold.

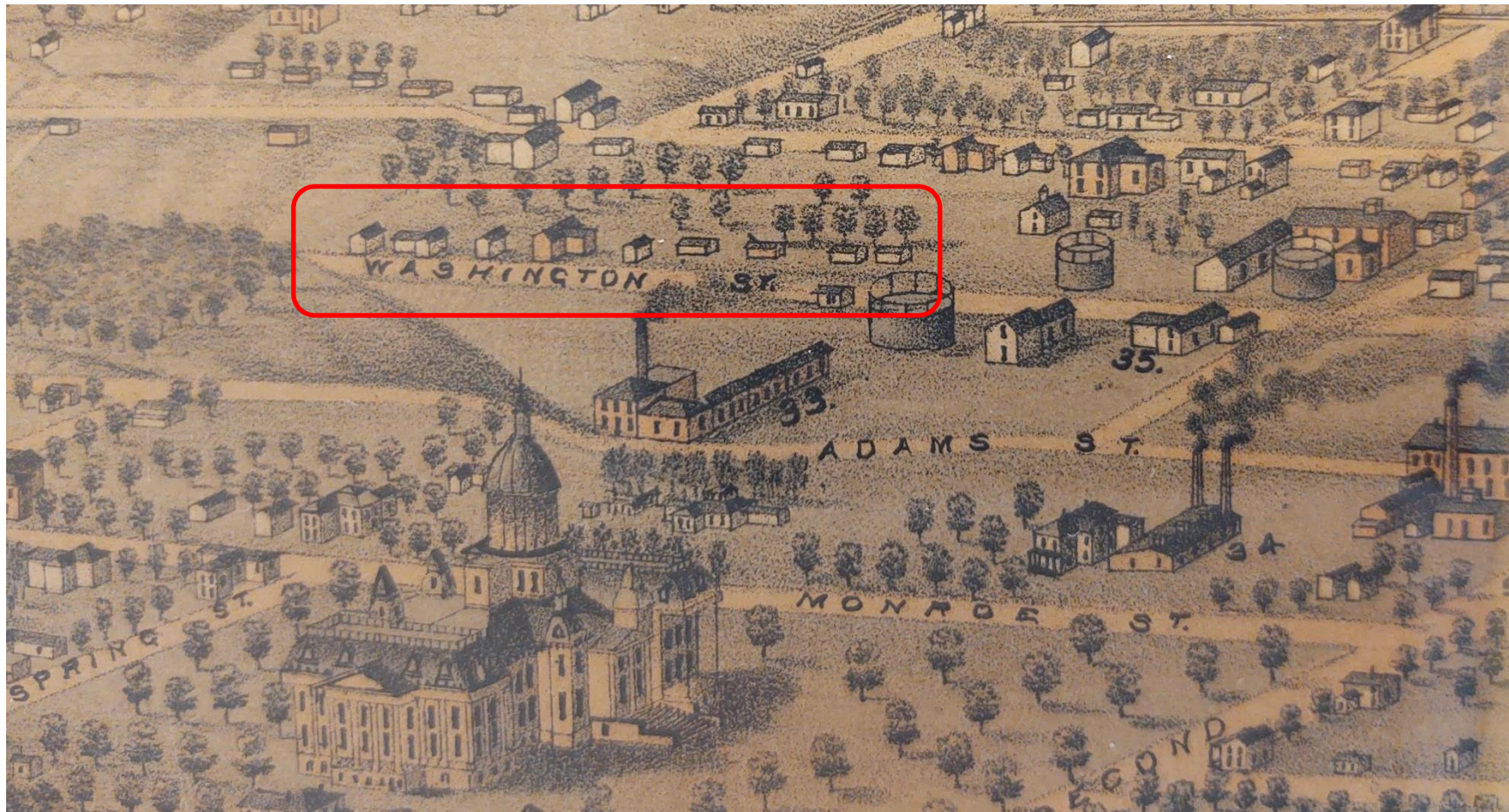


Figure 3. Depiction of the early enclave of Black residences located near the western end of Washington Street, as depicted on the 1878 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois* (Beck and Pauli [1878]). This part of town was an odd mix of residential, heavy industrial, and governmental use. Note the presence of the Springfield Gas Works to the east of the neighborhood.

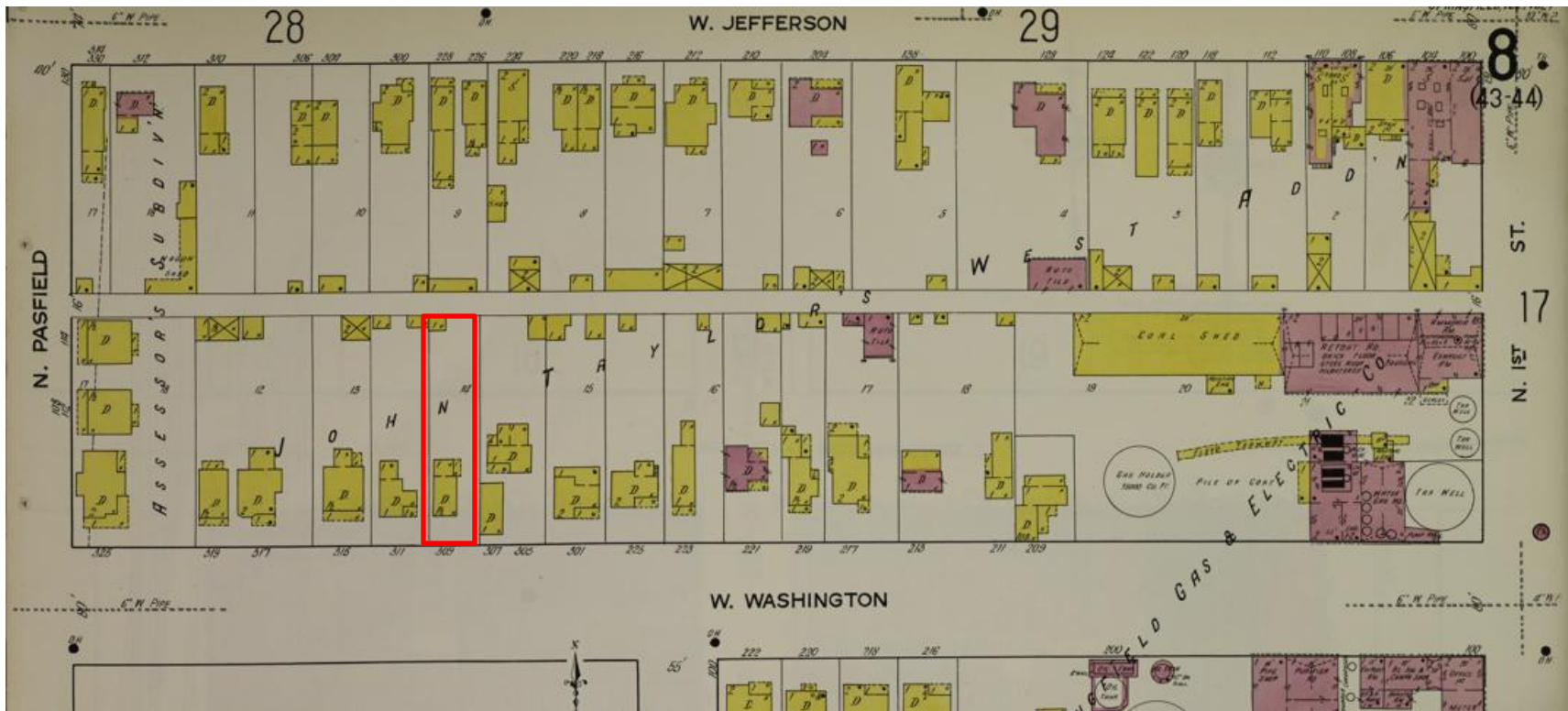


Figure 4. Early residential Black neighborhood located on West Washington Street, as depicted on the 1917 Sanborn Fire Insurance map (Sanborn 1917). The location of the Colored Baptist Church is outlined in red.

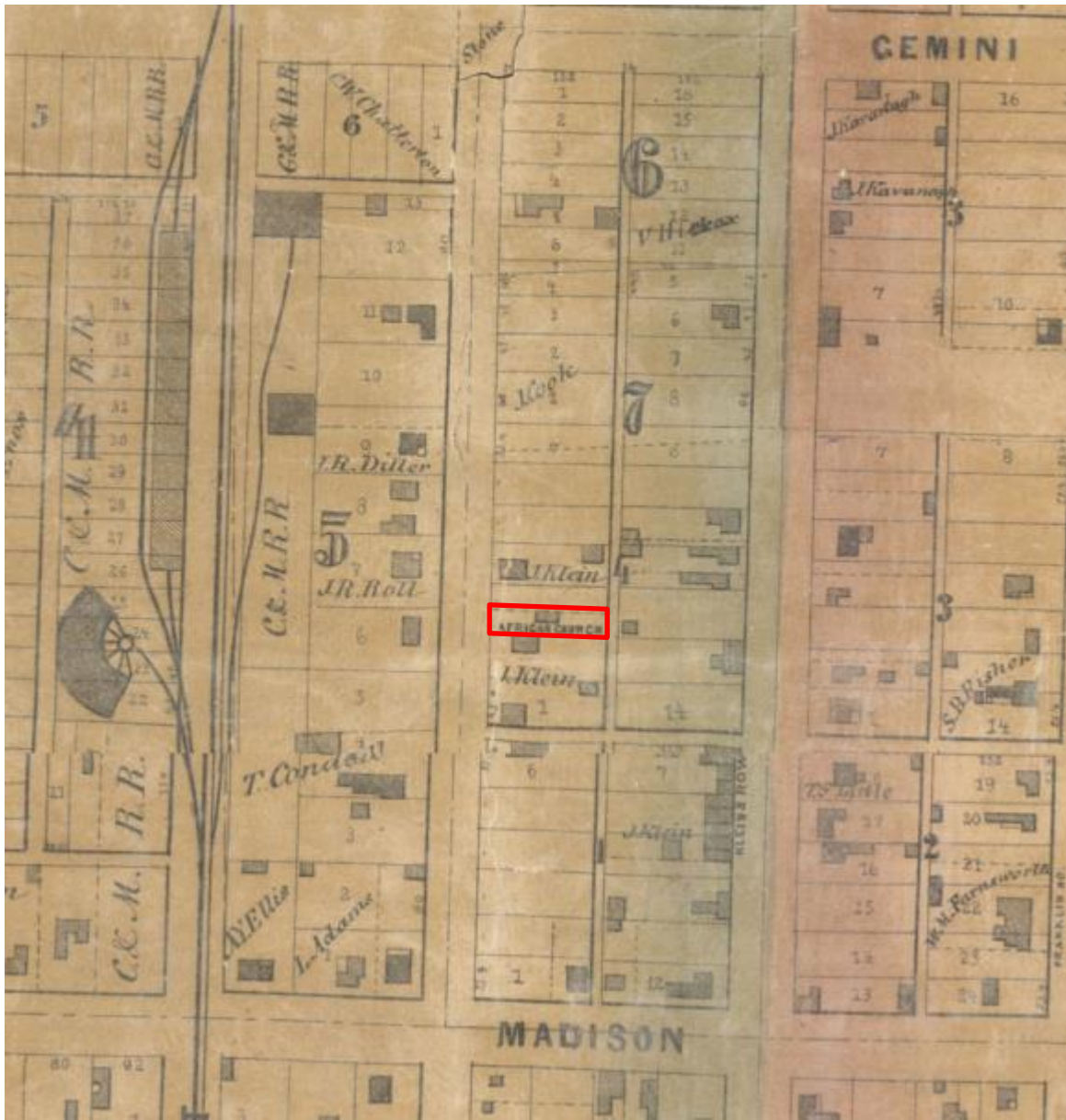


Figure 5. Location of the second African Church (African Methodist Episcopal Church) as depicted on the 1854 City of Springfield map. This church was organized in 1843 by Reverend Spencer Donnegan, and moved to this location by the late 1840s where it remained until circa 1877. By the later 1850s, both Presley Donnegan, Landrum Coleman, and the Sappington Brothers (David and Elijah) were living immediately adjacent to the church.

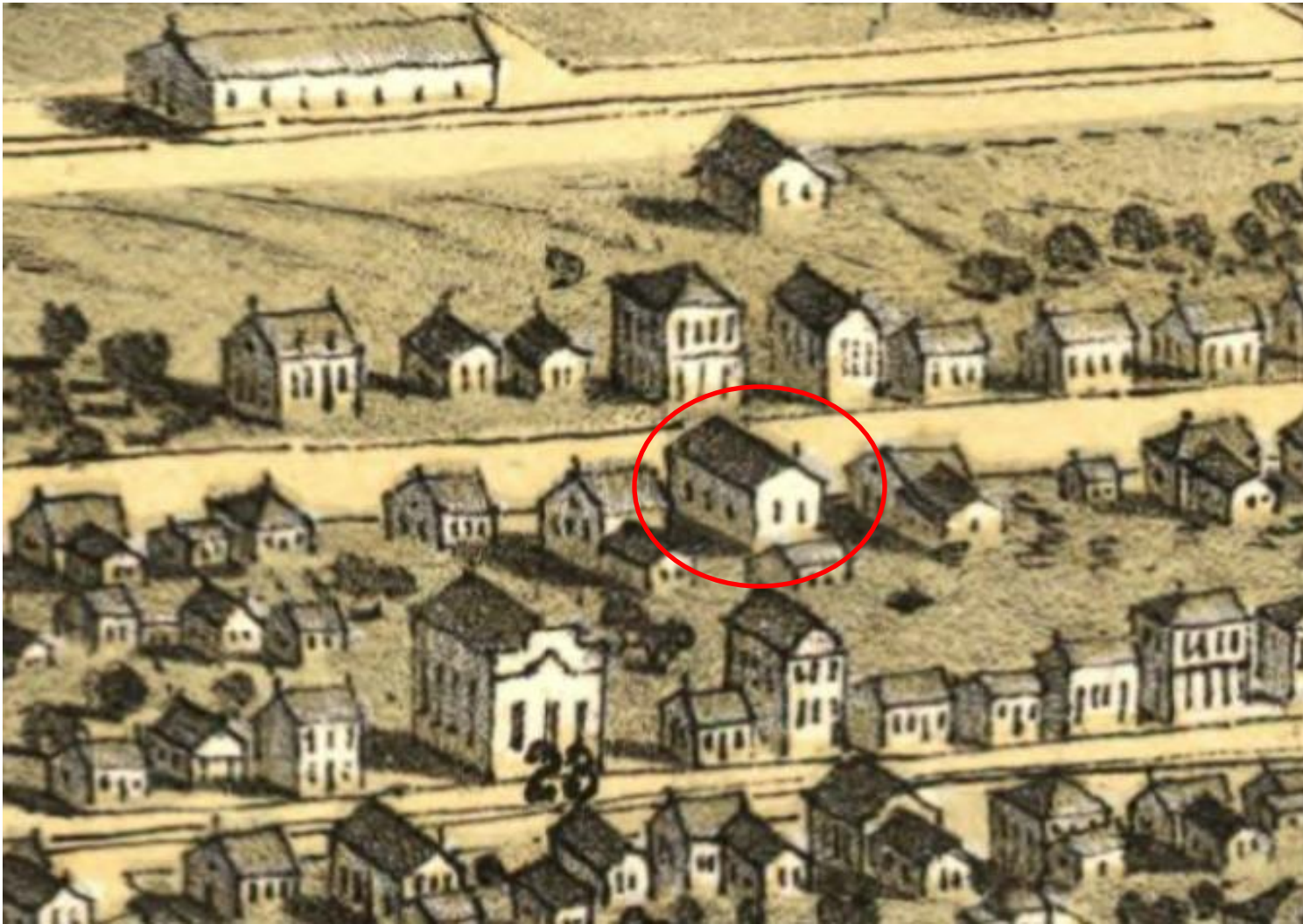


Figure 6. Detail of the 1867 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois* (Ruger 1867) illustrating the location of the African Methodist Episcopal Church on Fourth Street (north of Madison Street). Located immediately across the street to the west, most likely within the large hip-roofed dwelling owned by John Roll, was the infamous “Fort Taylor”—the house of ill fame operated by Madame Lucinda Taylor and her husband Harvey Taylor during the 1860s.



Figure 7. Early development of the Black residential neighborhood known as the Badlands by circa 1900, as depicted on the 1858 *Map of Springfield (Sides 1858)*. The newly established Wright and Brown Subdivision (and the location of Reverend Henry Wright's house) is outlined by a red rectangle. The three green circles note the suspected location of Black residences by circa 1860, and include the Fry, Collier, and Wright families. Located just to the east of this location on Fifteenth Street was the first Colored School, constructed in 1859.

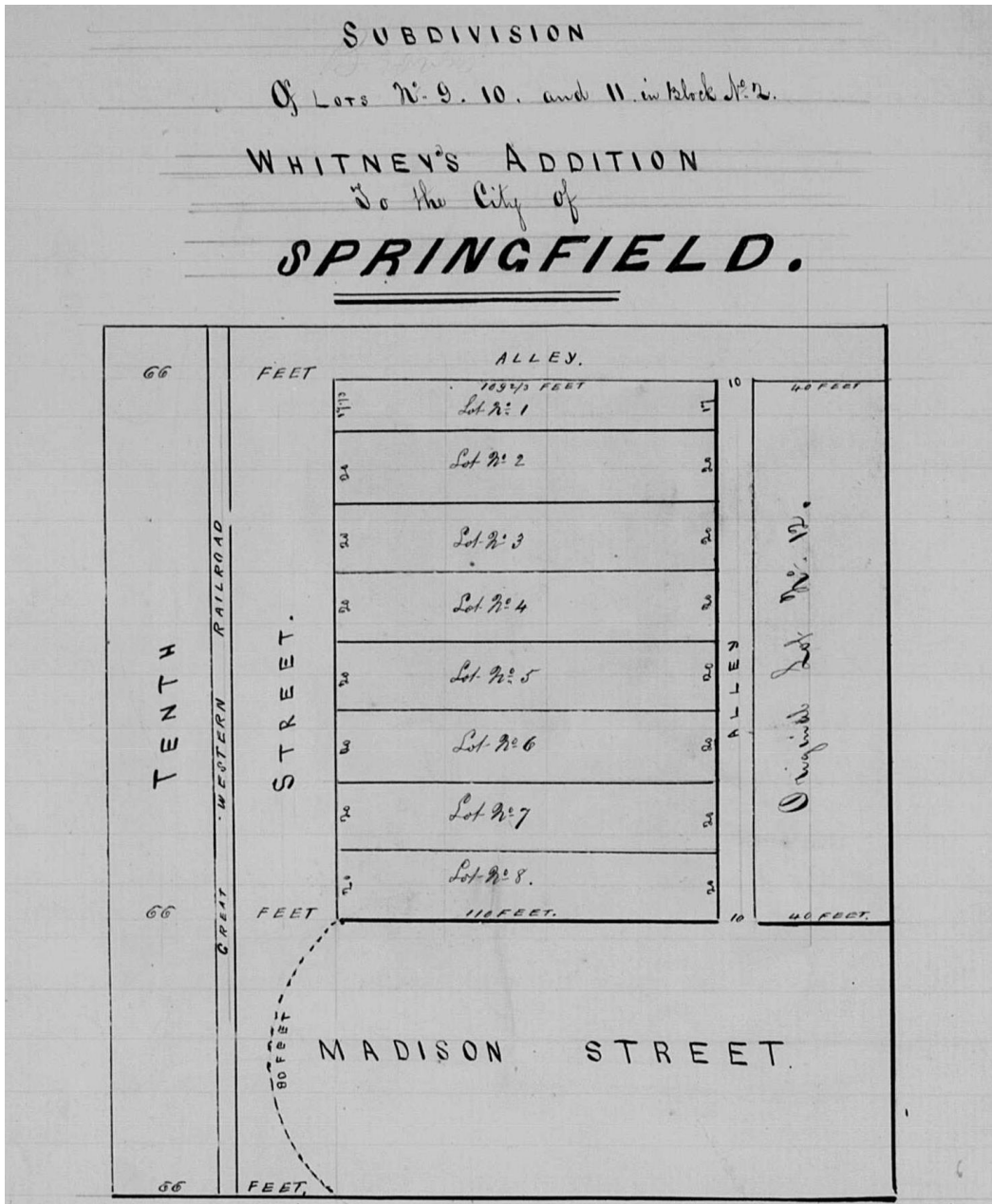


Figure 8. Plat of Wright and Brown's Subdivision, which was surveyed in May 1856. It represented a subdivision of Lots 9-11 of Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition and produced eight narrow lots reoriented to Tenth Street, and the introduction of a secondary alley between the new subdivision and the old Lot 12 to the east of the newly platted lots. Note the Great Western Railroad running down the center of Tenth Street (SCDR XX:619).

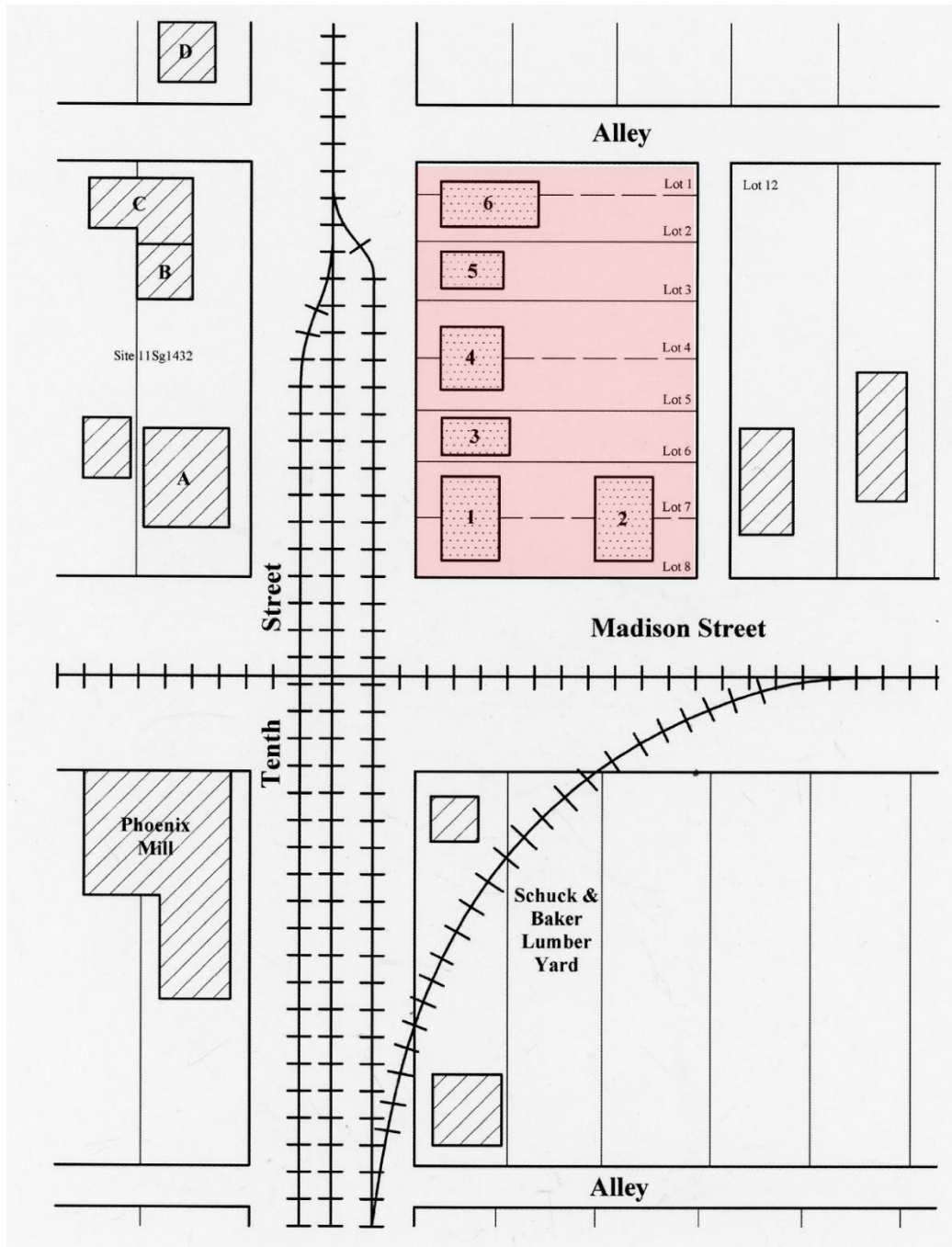


Figure 9. Circa 1871 landscape at the intersection of Tenth and Madison Streets, Springfield, Illinois. By this time, the Wright and Brown Subdivision (highlighted in red) included six houses constructed for, and occupied by, socially elite Black residents, which included: Reverend Henry Brown and his family (1), the widow Leanna Donigan Knox and her daughter (2), the Clay and widow Sidney Donigan families (3), the Joseph Faro family (4), the David Sappington family (5), and the recently widowed Cornelia Price and her family (6). Immediately across Tenth Street to the west are located Houses A-D (archaeological site 11Sg1432).



Figure 10. Detail of the 1854 (top) and 1858 (bottom) versions of the *City of Springfield* maps showing Wright and Brown’s Subdivision (highlighted in red; Potter 1854; Sides 1858). The location of Sites 19 and 20 within the subdivision are outlined in blue in the bottom image.

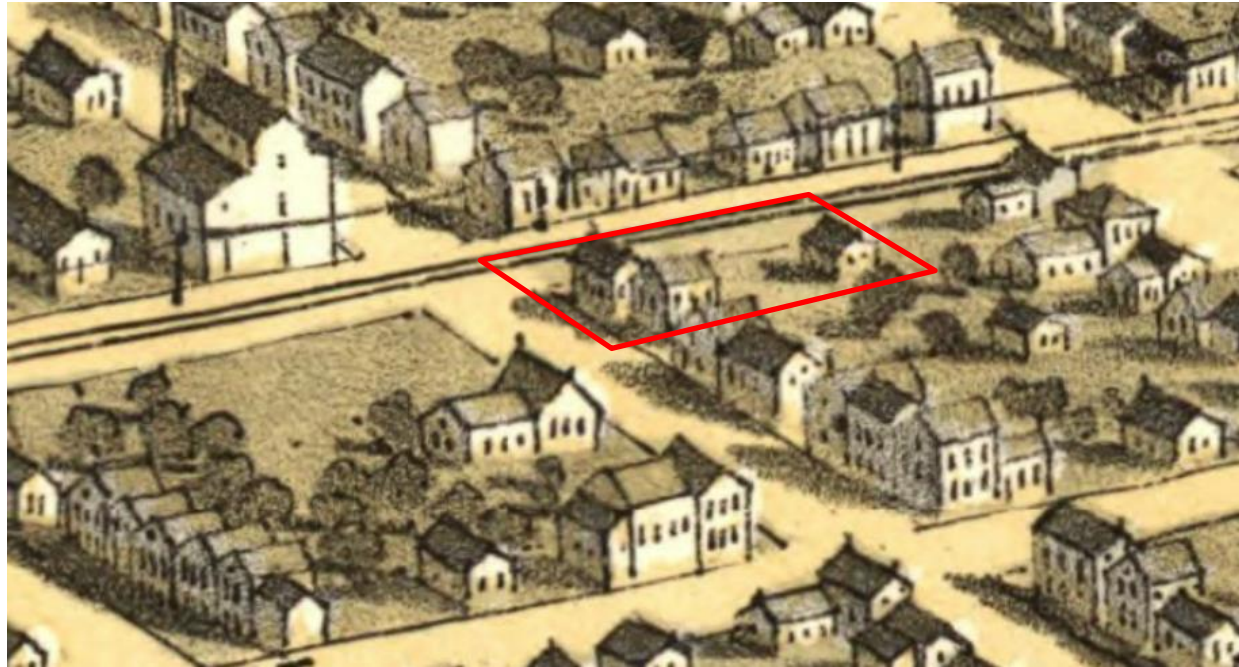


Figure 11. Detail of Wright and Brown's subdivision as it appeared in 1867 (Ruger 1867). This bird's-eye view illustrates two houses along the south side of the property (potentially fronting Madison Street) and a third smaller house along the alley (fronting Tenth Street).

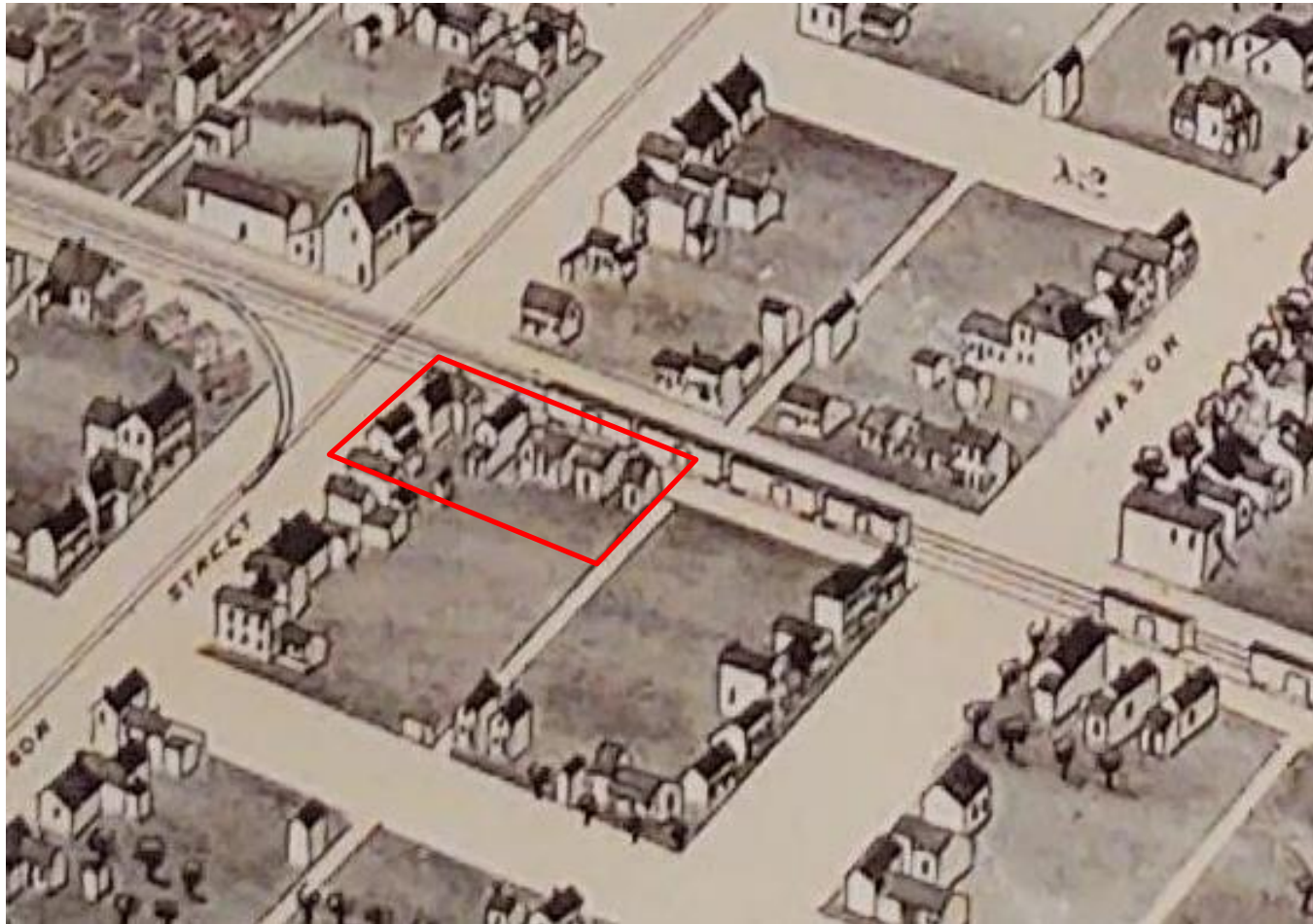


Figure 12. Detail of the neighborhood surrounding the Wright and Brown Subdivision in circa 1873 (Koch 1873). Note the Phoenix Mill across the street to the south and west of the subdivision. By this date, a rail line had been laid down the center of Madison Street. Wright and Brown's Subdivision is outlined in red, whereas Sites 19 and 20 are outlined in blue.

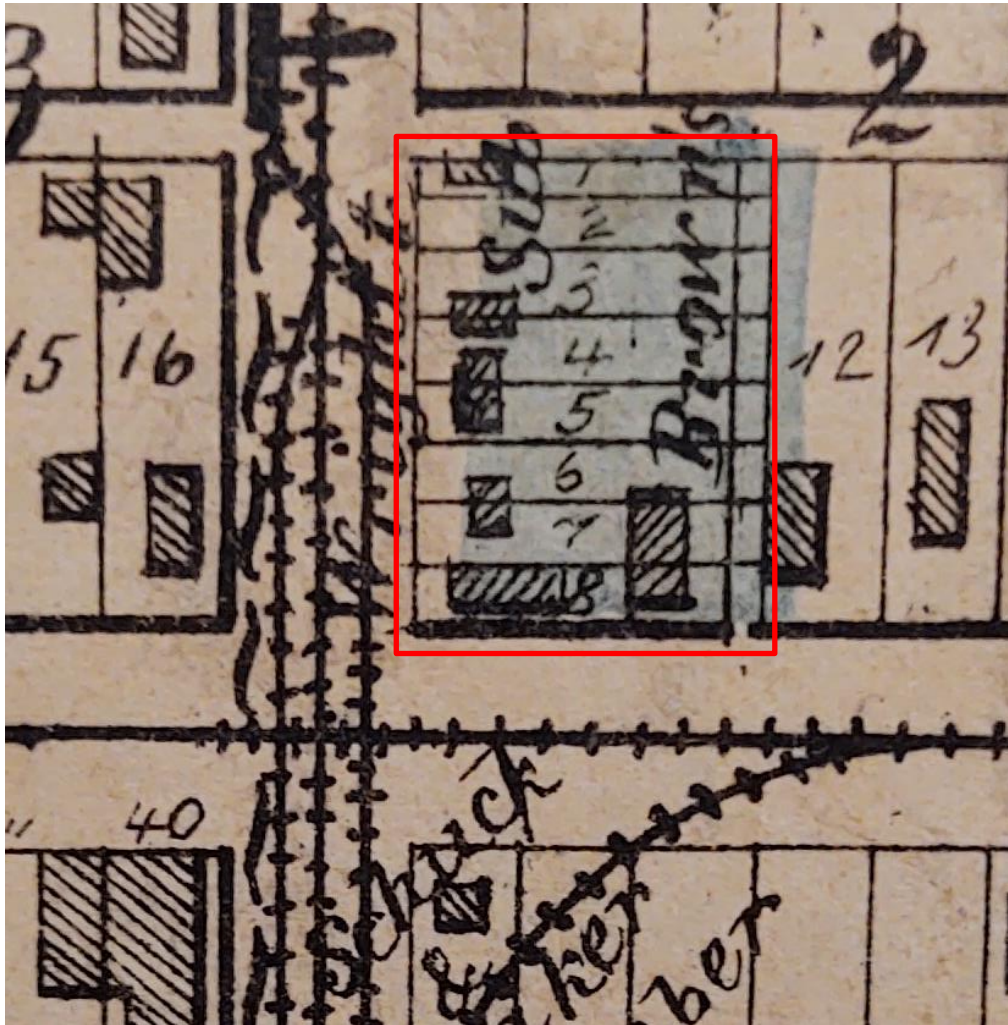


Figure 13. Detail of Wright and Brown's Subdivision, as illustrated on *Map of the City of Springfield, Ill* (Bird 1876). The placement of the houses on the various lots within Wright and Brown's Subdivision is problematic. Wright and Brown's Subdivision is outlined in red, whereas Sites 19 and 20 are outlined in blue.



Figure 14. Detail of the neighborhood adjacent to Wright and Brown's Subdivision, as depicted on *Map of Springfield* (Beck and Pauli 1878).

Appendix X

Springfield's Reverend Henry Brown: Pastor, Friend of Lincoln, Social Activist

The Reverend Henry H. Brown was a renowned Black Springfield resident. The *History of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Inter-State Publishing 1881:736) notes that Reverend Brown was born on 17 April 1823, and was “a native of Raleigh, Halifax county, North Carolina.” Unfortunately, Raleigh is located in Wake County, and is approximately 80 miles southwest of Halifax, the county seat of Halifax County. As such, it is unclear as to where Reverend Brown was born.¹ Brown’s father (Staten Jones) died shortly after his birth in 1824, and although his father’s surname was Jones, he apparently used his mother’s surname of Brown (Inter-State Publishing 1881:736).

In circa 1835, at the age of 12, the young Henry—presumably a free person of color—left North Carolina relocating in Ohio for approximately one year prior to settling in Rush County, Indiana, presumably within the free-Black community known as the Beech Settlement. It is unknown whether or not the young Henry left North Carolina with his mother, or not. The Beech Settlement, located thirty miles east of Indianapolis near Carthage (Ripley Township, Rush County), was one of the largest and earliest free-Black communities in Indiana. By 1835, the population of this community had reached approximately 400 individuals. While in Indiana, Brown “was bound to a family of Quakers at the age of fourteen, and assigned to the ordinary labors of the farm.”² In early July 1844, while living in the Beech Settlement, Brown married a woman named Martha Delina Roberts.³ Martha apparently died during their first year of marriage (Hart 2017:44; Martin and Townsend 2021:74).⁴ Brown’s route to Springfield, via the Beech Settlement, was similar to that undertaken by fellow Springfield residents Jamison Jenkins and the Watkins family, and as Hart (2014:43-44) suggests, it seems likely that these families may have known one another prior to coming to Springfield.

In circa 1846, while apparently living in Indiana, Brown “was licensed to preach” and according to Inter-State Publishing (1881:736), he was “a faithful and constant laborer in the Lord’s vineyard.” In 1847, “while in the line of his duty” Brown met the young widow Mrs. Mary Ann King (daughter of Allen Williams, “a wealthy gentleman”) in Paris, Edgar County, Illinois, and

¹ His obituaries suggest he was born in Halifax County, North Carolina (*Illinois State Journal*), or Halifax, Nova Scotia (*Illinois State Register*). Neither newspaper mentions Raleigh.

² There is some discrepancy in the details relating to Brown’s early childhood. Brown’s obituary in the *Illinois State Register* suggests that he moved to Ohio in circa 1831 (at the age of nine) with his parents, relocating in a year to Indiana “where he grew to manhood.”

³ According to Hart (2014:44), the Roberts family “settled in Rush County in the 1820s, and there they were successful farmers and community leaders.”

⁴ There is some discrepancy in the date of their marriage. Hart (2017:44) suggests they were married in 1843, whereas Martin and Townsend (2021:74, citing an unnamed family tree in Ancestry.com) suggest the more specific date of 7 July 1844.

the couple was soon married, the wedding occurring on 21 October 1848.⁵ Although the 1881 county history noted that the couple relocated to Springfield “as early as 1847,” Brown’s obituary printed in 1906 stated that he and his wife remained in Paris “until 1855, when he came to Springfield and went to work for Abraham Lincoln, then a rising lawyer of the Springfield bar.”⁶

When the young couple moved to Springfield is not clear. The arrival of Reverend Brown in Springfield in circa 1847 is oft quoted (cf. Martin and Townsend 2012:74). Inter-State Publishing (1881:736) suggests that the couple moved to Springfield shortly after their marriage in 1848. One of the more useful sources to resolve this issue would have been the 1850 U.S. Census of Population. Unfortunately, neither Henry nor his wife Mary could be located in that census, whether in Sangamon County or any other county in Illinois. In October 1853, Brown (then a resident of Paris, Illinois) attended the Colored State Convention in Chicago, as a representative of Edgar and Coles Counties. The Chicago Conference, in which Brown attended, noted his place of residence at that time as Paris, Illinois—and not Springfield. Both of Henry’s published obituaries in the Springfield newspapers report that the couple remained in Paris until 1855 when they relocated to Springfield. Unfortunately, little is known regarding the young couple’s life during these years (circa 1848-1855).

Deed records suggest that the Brown family purchased property (presumably Lot 8) in Wright and Brown’s Subdivision, at the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Streets, in late 1860. A deed dated November 1860 appears to reference the sale of Lot 8, for \$250, to Mary Brown, albeit incorrectly identifying it as Lot 1 (SCDR 10:48).⁷ The sale price of \$250 strongly suggests that the property (Lot 8) had been improved with a dwelling by that date. Although deed records

⁵ Both Springfield newspapers, in reporting his death, note the wedding was on October 23, 1848.

In describing Reverend Brown’s wife, the *Evansville Courier and Press* noted that “she was a bright, intelligent, kindly woman. She had been educated in a white school at Paris, Edgar county, Illinois, but after some color-line remonstrance she was finally ousted from the school, and that ended her opportunities for education” (Frank A. Myers, “A New Lincoln Story Never Before Published,” *Evansville Courier and Press*, 19 September 1909, p. 6). Henry and Mary Brown had five children: Louella (married Abner Nailor, and later a man named Taylor), Nannie, Thomas T. (law student), Katie, and Edward (Inter-State Publishing 1881:736). The 1860 U.S. Census of Population suggests the family had four children: William (12 years old), Sarah J. (11 Years old), Luella (4 years old), Nancy (2 years old). This census also suggests that Brown, a Methodist preacher, had a real estate value of \$500, and a personal property value of \$100. Living with the family at that time was one Louise Griffith (a 17-year-old female, Black), and Agnes Johnson (a 64-year-old woman, white). No occupations were given for Griffith or Johnson. All surrounding families within the census returns were listed as white—with the Brown family being the only Black resident in the area.

⁶ “Negro Employed By Lincoln Dead,” *Illinois State Journal*, 4 September 1906, p. 5. The *Illinois State Register* noted that, although working for Lincoln, “he did not neglect the ministry, however, and for thirty-seven years he was engaged in itinerant work for the African M. E. [church]” (“Was Employed By Lincoln,” *Illinois State Register*, 4 September 1906, p. 8).

⁷ Rucker (the grantor of this transaction) had made the same mistake with Elijah Sappington as he had with Brown—in his case deeding him Lot 8 when he intended it to deed him Lot 1. The list of delinquent tax payments for 1861 incorrectly suggests that Elijah’s brother David was the owner of Lots 7 and 8 [sic, Lots 1 and 3] at that time (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 January 1862, p. 1).

suggest that the Brown family had not purchased this lot until late 1860, city directory research suggests that Henry Brown and his family were living at this location by 1857.⁸ Although the Brown family was not listed in the 1855-56 *Springfield City Directory*, they do show up in the subsequent 1857 city directory. The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that Reverend Henry Brown was living in a house on the north side of Madison Street, between Tenth and Eleventh Streets (SCD 1857:39). Although this location could have placed him on the adjacent lots to the east of Wright and Brown's Subdivision, a list of delinquent property taxes for 1857 published in the local newspaper noted the unpaid taxes for Lot 1, Wright and Brown's Subdivision, in the name of "Henry Brown, colored." The total amount of taxes due, compared to the adjacent lots in this subdivision, strongly suggests that the lot was improved by that date (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 February 1858, p. 4). As such, it would appear that the Brown family was residing at the northeast corner of Madison and Tenth Streets by 1857. The 1857 city directory also noted that Brown was "colored" (a man of color).⁹ Although the 1858 *City of Springfield* map does not illustrate a house at this location, it seems probable that a house may have been constructed by Rucker as a rental property on Lot 8, facing Madison Street at about this time (1858-59).¹⁰ As noted above, although this delinquent tax list references Lot 1, it most likely was in error and should have referenced Lot 8.

The 1860 city directory notes Henry Brown, a whitewasher, residing at the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Streets, clearly on Lot 8 (SCD 1860:61). This directory does not indicate that he was a preacher, or Black. Although Brown was not listed within the 1863 *Springfield City Directory*, the 1864 city directory simply lists one Henry Brown, colored, residing at the corner of Madison and Tenth Streets (no occupation listed). This same directory lists one Daniel Brown, a painter (presumably white) as residing on Tenth Street, between Madison and Mason Streets (SCD 1864:19). The 1866 city directory does not list Henry or his wife, Mary.¹¹ By the middle 1860s, Wiley Donigan's widow Sidney (and her family) and Leanna Donigan Knox (and daughter) were living each side of Reverend Brown in the Wright and Brown Subdivision.¹²

⁸Neither the 1854 or 1858 *City of Springfield* maps indicate any improvements within Wright and Brown's Addition to Springfield. Although the 1854 is probably accurate, some improvements (such as the house in which Reverend Brown resided) were probably in place by 1858.

⁹ A second individual with the surname Brown (V. Brown) was indicated as a "colored" widow residing on the north side of Washington Street, near the "African Church" (AME Church). This appellation of "colored" for these two individuals is rather unique for this early date, as it is not until the middle 1860s that the city directories begin to systematically reference race.

¹⁰ The 1858 *City of Springfield* map is notoriously inaccurate, and it may have failed to illustrate a house on Lot 8 at this time. Another possibility is that the Reverend Brown was not residing in what was to become his residence at the northeast corner of this intersection but may have been residing in a house on the adjacent Lot 12 next door.

¹¹ The location of Daniel Brown's residence is unknown. Was he related to Reverend Brown? Similarity in professions (whitewasher versus painter) might suggest such, but the directory suggests that Daniel was white (SCD 1864:19).

¹² See "The Early Black Occupants of the Tenth Street Neighborhood: Racial Diversity and a New Hope for Equality in Early Springfield," Appendix IX, in Mansberger and Stratton [2024, Volume IV].

In describing Brown's ministerial work, the *Illinois State Journal* wrote in his obituary in September 1906:

Mr. Brown soon joined the active ministry and began a life of itinerant work in the A.M.E. church. He kept up this active work for thirty-seven years."

While following the line of his duty, he endured many privations in those early days. Often he walked from city to city or from village to village over the circuit that constituted his work. He was a man of immense physique, being six feet, three inches in height and weighing 250 pounds, a fact that enabled him to withstand many hardships to which a less hardy man would have succumbed. In those early days, it was not an easy matter for a stranger to secure accommodations, especially if he was colored. Many times Mr. Brown was forced to eat the scanty meal that was passed out to him upon the porch amid the falling snow and biting winds of winter.

While traveling on a boat from Quincy to Cairo, he was prevented from taking a seat at the table with the remainder of the passengers. He declined to make any trouble about the matter, but rose from his seat, knelt down and prayed to God. He pleaded that if it were the will of the Heavenly Father that his race should be so treated, then God's will be done, but it were not so, then he asked that God would not permit the boat to make another trip. The boat reached Cairo in safety but never made the return passage.

Many a poor slave escaping by means of the underground railway during the civil war was helped on his way by Mr. Brown, who acted as a "conductor" at the Quincy and Springfield stations.¹³ His idea of the golden rule was illustrated by one instance when he gave his own coat and vest to a poor fellow who was without one.¹⁴

In 1873, Reverend Brown was the featured speaker at a celebration held in Springfield for the 4th anniversary of the 15th Amendment. At this time, Brown was noted as "the pastor of a (colored) church at Jacksonville." Although advances in race relations had improved remarkably during the previous decade, his address was foretelling of future setbacks during the egregious segregated Jim Crow era. Brown spoke of his earlier arrival to Springfield, noting at that time that "a black man had no rights that a white man was bound to respect," and that "times had changed, and we now stand on free ground." Brown praised both Abraham Lincoln and General U.S. Grant in his speech. But Brown, described as "only a Methodist preacher" and not a "politician or orator," also noted that "We have felt, and do so now, a fear that we may not obtain our rights under the law" ("Grand Celebration," *Illinois State Journal*, 1 April 1873, p. 4).

¹³ One of the better sources for the Underground Railroad in Springfield is Hart (2006).

¹⁴ "NEGRO EMPLOYED BY LINCOLN DEAD. Rev. Henry Brown Expires at Home in this City," *Illinois State Journal*, 4 September 1906, p. 6.

In 1881, Inter-State Publishing produced a new history of Sangamon County and included a section on the prominent Black residents in the community. Reverend Henry Brown was the first individual listed within that section of the 1881 *History of Sangamon County* entitled “The Colored People of Springfield” (Inter-State Publishing 1881:736). According to the 1881 county history, Brown and his family had resided in Springfield through 1881, “except [for] about four years’ residence at Galena and Quincy.” During the latter 1860s and 1870s, Reverend Brown was actively involved with his ministerial duties with the AME Church, which took him throughout the State of Illinois, and away from his family.

Besides travels to Galena (Jo Daviess County) and Quincy (Adams County), newspaper articles place him variously in such places as Moline (Rock Island County), Chicago (Cook County), Jacksonville (Morgan County), and Cairo (Alexander County),¹⁵ as well as Evansville, Indiana. In Evansville, Brown preached at an A.M.E. Church on Fifth Street.¹⁶ The 1881 county history also notes that Reverend Brown, although a resident of Springfield, was “pastor of the A.M.E. Church at Milwaukee, Wisconsin” at that time [1881].

In reference to his work in Chicago, his obituary notes that “While stationed in Chicago, prior to the fire of 1871, Mr. Brown built the Bethel church, borrowing the money to complete it from Carter H. Harrison.”¹⁷ Presumably, shortly after his stay in Chicago, Brown was on the move to Cairo in far southern Illinois. The early 1870s were also a time of heartache for the family, as they lost a young child to a horrific accident. The *Chicago Post* reported that the nine-year old son of Reverend Henry Brown, of Springfield, had been killed “by a pile of lumber on which he was at play toppling over on him” (*Chicago Post*, 17 October 1872, p. 2). At that time (1872), the *Post* noted that Brown was not only a resident of Chicago, but the Pastor of the A.M.E. church in Jacksonville.

In April 1877, shortly after the death of Leanna Donigan Knox in 1876, Leanna’s heirs sold the widow’s Wright and Brown residence (located immediately adjacent to Reverend Brown’s home) to Narcissa Donigan (Leanna’s daughter) (SCDR 62:544). Narcissa died shortly

¹⁵ Reverend Brown apparently served as a pastor for the A.M.E. Ward Chapel in Cairo from 1871-1873 (Pimblott 2012:49-50). While in Cairo, Reverend Brown “maintained a position of strict political neutrality during his tenure. While some speculated that the Methodist minister had been influenced by recent donations made by prominent white benefactors toward the church edifice, Brown’s refusal to associate with the political protest of the Black working class also reflected deep-seated tensions within the Methodist Church over the appropriate means of achieving equality.” This reflected the broader schism in the AME Church at this time with some arguing for “frugality, temperance, and industry” as a way to achieve equality, whereas others argued for more radical race activism to achieve equality—a dichotomy that remained an active point of contention for many years as reflected in the disparate views of such men as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Dubois at the turn-of-the-century. Although Reverend Brown appears to have been trying to be neutral, he supported Republican politics and the move towards race equality (<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/10201083.pdf>).

¹⁶ The 1909 newspaper account suggest that the reminiscences had taken place approximately 40 years prior, in circa 1868-69 (Frank A. Myers, “A New Lincoln Story Never Before Published,” *Evansville Courier and Press*, 19 September 1909, p. 6).

¹⁷ Harrison was a prominent Democratic politician in Chicago, and future mayor of that city. Bethel AME Church in Chicago was established in 1862—suggesting that Brown was in that city at that time (<https://www.thechristianrecorder.com/bethel-ame-church-chicago-celebrates-165-years/>).

thereafter, and the executor of her estate sold the property (the E1/2, Lots 7 and 8, Wright and Brown's Subdivision) to Reverend Brown for \$300 in August 1879 (SCDR 66:126). City directories continue to place the Brown family at their family home through the 1880s. The 1881-82 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Henry Brown (a minister), his daughter Nannie (no occupation listed) and son Thomas T. (a law student) were residing at 300 North Tenth Street—the house located at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison Street. The 1887 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Nannie was living at 300 North 10th Street.¹⁸ Brown held onto the combined Lots 7 and 8 until January 1890, at which time he sold them to Samuel Prather for the combined sum of slightly over \$700 (SCDR 84:415). Shortly thereafter, the family home was demolished to make way for the construction of the Fitzpatrick Plaster Company's industrial plant (SCD 1881). In 1892, the *Springfield City Directory* indicates the family had relocated to 1427 East Reynolds Street (SCD 1892:113). By 1898, the couple was residing at 1528 East Mason Street (SCD 1898:100), and at the time of his death in 1906, the family was residing at 1530 East Mason Street.

Reverend Brown was “a great admirer of Abraham Lincoln, and was employed by the great Emancipator for a number of years in various capacities, ending only when Mr. Lincoln removed to Washington, in the spring of 1861, to assume the duties of President of the United States. In 1865, when Mr. Lincoln's remains were brought to Springfield, Mr. Brown came, by request, from Quincy, Illinois, and led Mr. Lincoln's old family horse, “Bob,” in the funeral procession” (Inter-State Publishing 1881:436).¹⁹ Late in life, Reverend Brown reported that “I lived close to him, in the same square, and knew him very well—very well indeed.” According to this account, “he had been a sort of supernumerary or servant for Mr. Lincoln for a long time, tending to his horse, digging in his garden, calcimining his fences and outbuildings, repairing his fences and gates, and like little jobs; and ... that his wife had milked the cow for Mrs. Lincoln, assisted in the washing and house-cleaning and to her household duties. Both knew Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln well, knew them in their quiet inner domestic life, knew them in their everyday life” (Frank A. Myers, “A New Lincoln Story Never Before Published,” *Evansville Courier and Press*, 19 September 1909, p. 6). With Lincoln's election to the Presidency, Brown had been hoping to move to Washington, D.C. with the Lincoln family, but that did not come to pass.

In 1894, Mr. Brown suffered an injury and never fully recovered. His obituary noted that:

His last active work was at Avondale, Ill., where he met with an accident, resulting in a broken leg and almost total loss of his bodily powers. Since that

¹⁸ Nancy “Nannie” Brown married Albert Morgan on 17 October 1897 (Ancestry; Hart 2017:135). The 1910 U.S. Census of Population indicates she was living in Chicago, with her husband and mother. Nancy died in July 1920 and also is buried in Oakridge Cemetery.

¹⁹ “At Lincoln's funeral, Mr. Brown occupied a prominent place. He had been telegraphed for to take part in the cortege and with Rev. W. C. Trevan led Lincoln's horses in the funeral procession. The two men attracted much attention as both were over six feet tall and of massive build. The badge which Mr. Brown wore at the funeral is still in possession of the family and was one of the keepsakes that the decedent prized very highly” (“NEGRO EMPLOYED BY LINCOLN DEAD. Rev. Henry Brown Expires at Home in this City,” *Illinois State Journal*, 4 September 1906, p. 6).

time, 1894, he had not been able to leave his premises or even walk about the house.²⁰

At 83 years of age, on September 3, 1906, Reverend Henry Brown died. Brown, presumably born a free-person of color in North Carolina relocated to the North as a teenager, eventually settling in Springfield with his new wife during the middle 1850s. Brown was a prominent preacher that worked tirelessly on establishing churches across Illinois, from Cairo in the south, to Chicago and Galena in the north. During the 1850s and early 1860s, he worked on securing the freedom of runaway slaves and also worked as a race activist with his ministerial work. He was also a friend and confidant of Abraham Lincoln and his family, during a critical time in the President's life, just prior to his move to the White House. His obituary noted:

Mr. Brown's name was connected inseparably with the history of church work among the colored race in this city and state. For the past thirty years he has resided in this city, and for more than fifty years his life and interests had been identified with the growth of Springfield.

The *Illinois State Register* went so far as to say "The Rev. Henry Brown can well be called the father of his church in central Illinois." (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 September 1906, p. 5) At the time of his death, Reverend Brown and his wife were residing at 1530 East Mason Street. His funeral was held at St. Paul's A.M.E. Church with burial at Oak Ridge Cemetery.²¹ Shortly after his death, his widow moved to Chicago to be with her daughter, Mrs. Albert Morgan (3427 Armour Avenue).²²

²⁰ Avondale is a neighborhood of Chicago, located on the northwest side of the city.

²¹ Brown is buried in Block 5, Lot 118 of the Colored Section (Hart 2017:133).

²² "NEGRO EMPLOYED BY LINCOLN DEAD. Rev. Henry Brown Expires at Home in this City," *Illinois State Journal*, 4 September 1906, p. 6; "WAS EMPLOYED BY LINCOLN. Death of Rev. Henry Brown, Colored," *Illinois State Register*, 4 September 1906, p. 8; *Broad Ax*, 20 July 1907, p. 3. Mrs. Brown may have had issues with her mental health. In June 1883, a verdict of insanity was returned for the case of People vs. Mary A. Brown. The court ordered that she "be certified to the proper authorities at Jacksonville" (*Illinois State Register*, 18 June 1881, p. 4). It is unknown whether she was committed to the Jacksonville Hospital, and if so, for how long.

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1870 Population Schedule for the City of Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1880 Population Schedule for the City of Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

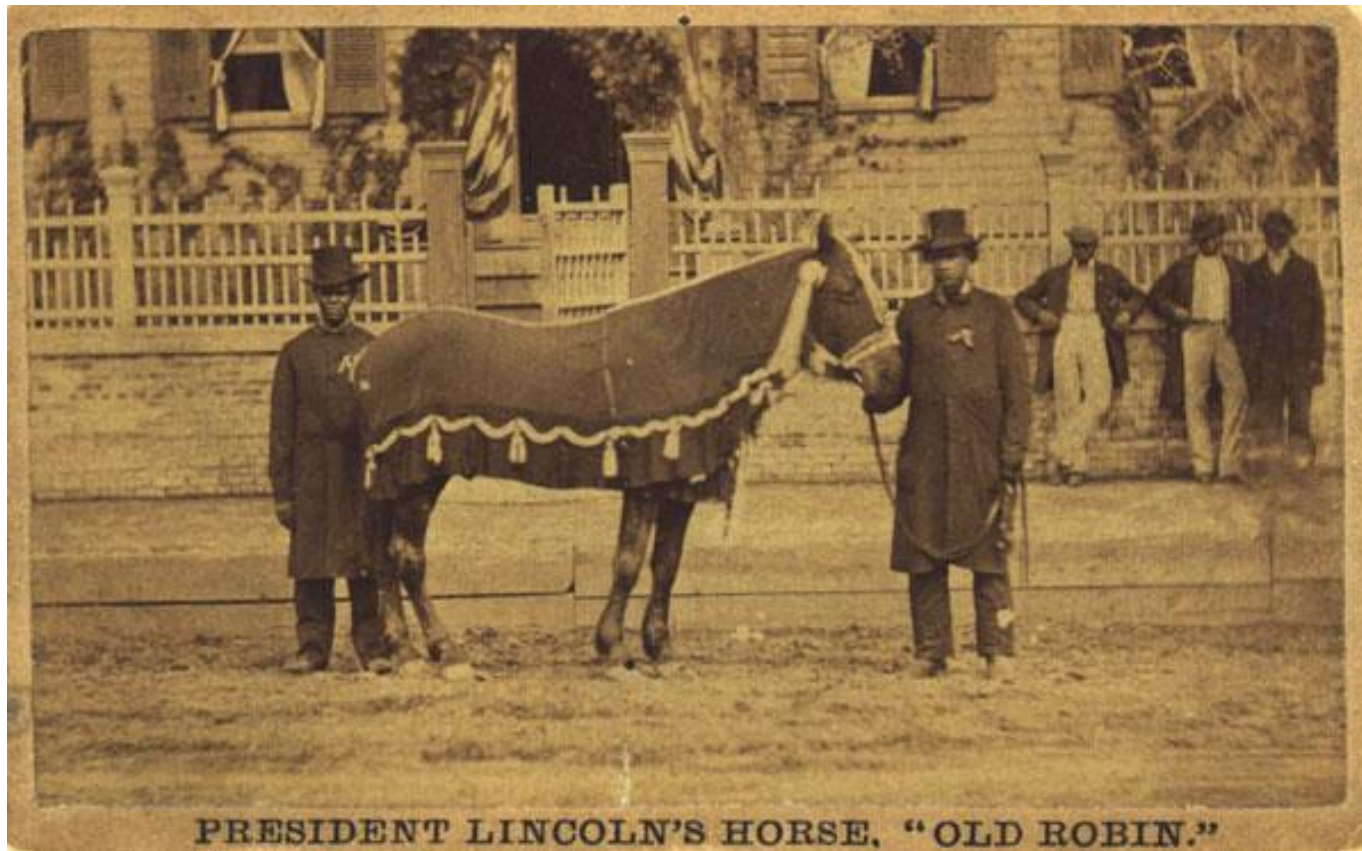


Figure 1. Photograph of Reverend Henry Brown (left) and Reverend Trevan (right) with President Lincoln's horse "Old Bob". This photograph was taken by Frederick Ingmire on May 4, 1865 in front of the Lincoln Home at the time of Abraham Lincoln's funeral (Lnce Ingmire Collection, Pittsford, New York) (Hart 2008: Back cover; see Hart 2017:73). Hart questions if one of the two men standing in the rear with his hands on his hips may be Jameson Jenkins.

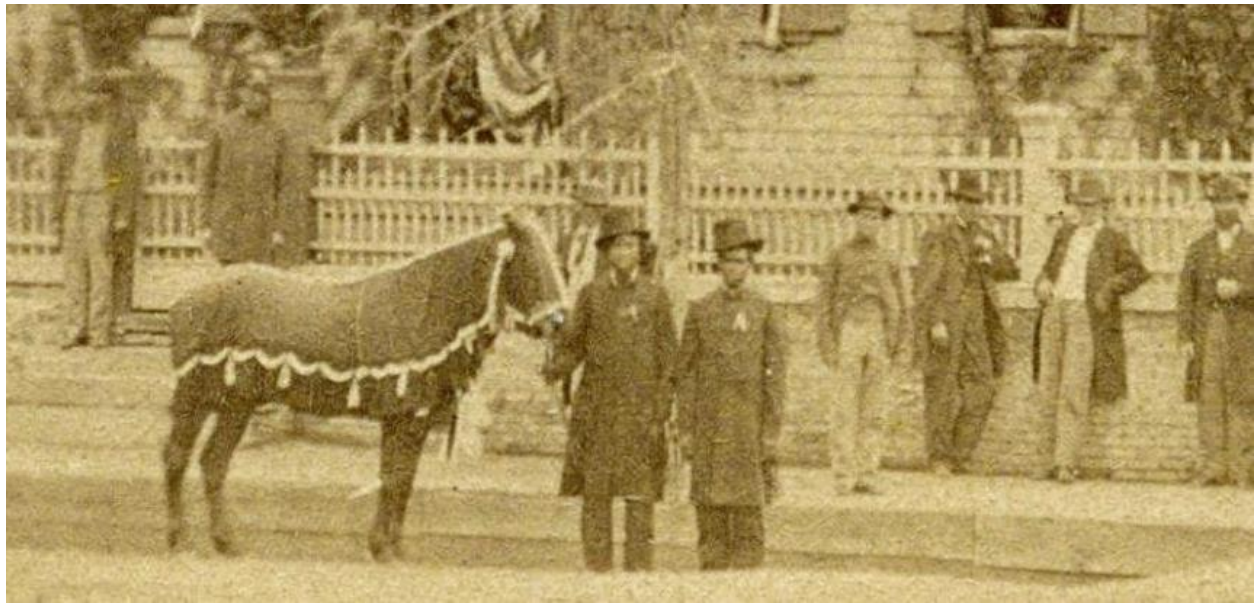


Figure 2. Crowd in front of Lincoln's residence at time of his funeral, presumably a CDV taken by Frederick Ingmire on May 4, 1865. The two Black men at with Old Bob are probably Reverends Trevan and Brown (<https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/1865-abraham-lincoln-funeral-cdv-1811125730>).

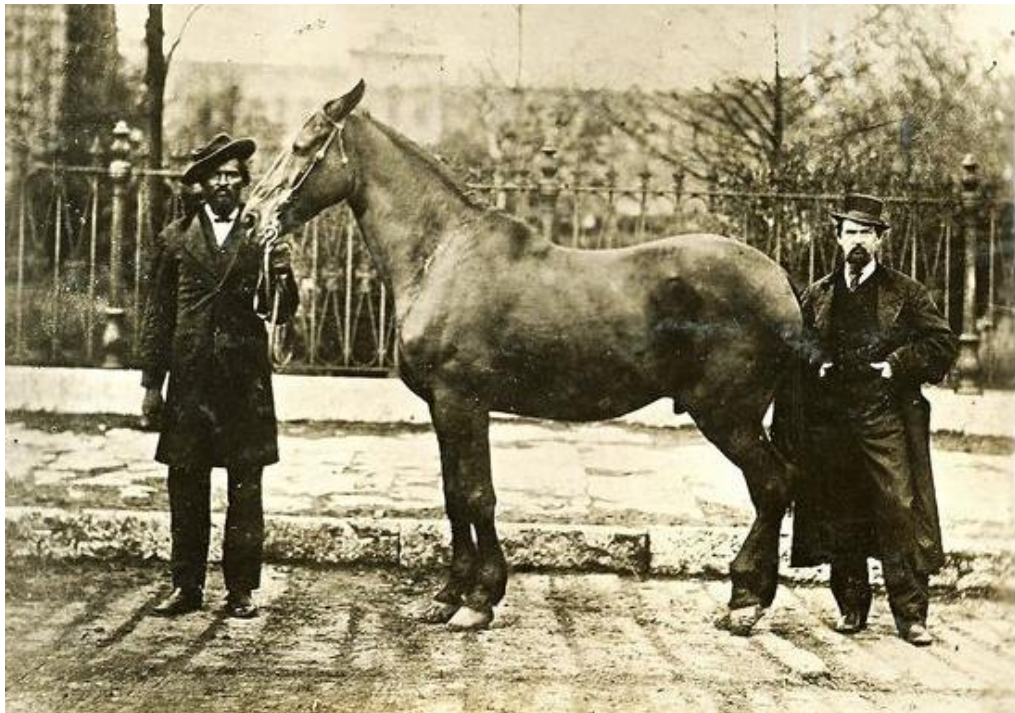


Figure 3. Two additional views purportedly of Reverend Henry Brown. Top: Photograph of Reverend Henry Brown with Old Bob decorated in mourning garb for Lincoln’s funeral (source unknown; <https://sangamoncountyhistory.org/wp/?p=2535>). Bottom: Photograph of “Old Bob” with two unidentified men. The unidentified Black man on left, although often attributed as Reverend Henry Brown, appears to be a different person, perhaps Reverend Trevan (ALPLM; https://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2011/07/07/opinion/Disunion_Mascots/s/Disunion_Mascots-slide-056Z.html).



Figure 4. Lincoln funeral procession leading into the Illinois State House (Old State Capitol building) on May 3, 1865. Lincoln’s body was on view on the second floor within the House of Representatives Hall. Waiting in line to view the martyred president, on the north side of the State House grounds, were Mary and Reverend Henry Brown (identified with red dots) (Library of Congress image; <https://illinoishistory.org/iltomb/>; <https://www.fords.org/lincolns-assassination/impact-on-a-nation/lincoln-s-funeral/>; <https://sangamoncountyhistory.org/wp/?p=7141>).

Appendix XI

Wright and Brown's Subdivision of Lots 9, 10, and 11, Block 2, J. Whitney's Addition to Springfield: A Free-Black Enclave in Civil War Era Springfield

Introduction

Beginning in the later 1850s through the middle 1860s, a small enclave of free-Black families settled within a small subdivision established along the east side of the Tenth Street rail corridor, near the northeast corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection—which at the time was fairly close to the eastern edge of the expanding community. J. Whitney's Addition to Springfield had been platted in 1836, but it had been to develop—especially in that area east of Tenth Street. In mid-July 1854, Presco Wright and Henry H. Brown purchased the undeveloped Lots 9, 10, 11, and 12, Block 2, J. Whitney's Addition to Springfield at a tax sale for delinquent unpaid taxes (Sangamon County Deed Record [SCDR] WW:266)¹ Approximately two years later, on June 14, 1856, the two business partners subdivided three of these lots (Lots 9, 10, and 11 of Whitney's Addition to Springfield) creating Wright and Brown's Subdivision.² Wright and Brown filed their plat for this subdivision of Lots 9-11 of Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition in May 1856. The new plat of this subdivision produced eight narrow lots reoriented to Tenth Street (and the Great Western Railroad right-of-way) and introduced a secondary alley between the new subdivision and the old Lot 12 to the east of the newly platted lots (SCDR XX:619) (Figures 1-2).

This new subdivision partitioned the original three lots from Whitney's Addition (which were oriented to Madison Street to the south) into eight smaller lots oriented to Tenth Street to the west. The subdivision not only reoriented the lots which originally fronted Madison Street to the Tenth Street corridor (and the newly constructed section of the Great Western Railroad), but also re-packaged three relatively large lots (each measuring 40 x 157-ft and containing approximately 6,280 square feet) into eight much smaller parcels (each measuring 20 x 120-ft and containing approximately 2,400 square feet)—just over one-third the size of the original lots.³ Additionally, Wright and Brown's Addition included a short section of alley running north/south along the

¹ Presco Wright (and wife Phoebe A.) and Henry H. Brown (and wife Julia S.) formed a partnership in a dry goods, grocery, and general merchandise establishment under the name of Wright and Brown in March 1851. Together they bought out the "Old Auction Store of Lewis & Adams" located on the east side of the Courthouse Square. (*Illinois Journal*, 6 March 1851, p. 3; 8 March 1851, p. 3). The partnership was dissolved in April 1856, and it was in that year that Wright was elected as Sangamon County Clerk (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 April 1856, p. 4).

² Lot 12 of Whitney's Addition (along with the newly created Lot 2 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision) was subsequently sold to Richard Price, a non-local investor from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania only a couple of weeks later. At \$275, the price for these two lots was exceptionally high, and probably reflects the rampant economic inflation and speculation experienced immediately prior to the Crash of 1857, as well as improvement on the adjacent Lot 12. As discussed below, Richard Price may have had business dealings in Springfield during the 1850s, if not earlier.

³ Seven of the eight new lots measured 20' in width. The eighth lot (Lot 1) was located adjacent to the alley on the north and it only measured 17' in width.

eastern edge of the property, separating the new Subdivision from the adjacent Lot 12 to the east (Figure . The reason behind Wright and Brown's subdivision is unclear. As discussed above, similar subdivisions of small parcels of previously platted lands along the Tenth Street rail corridor occurred earlier, and like these other subdivisions, the impetus for the re-parceling of these large lots may have been two-fold: to supply smaller lots for lower income housing units (and potentially commercial enterprises), and the reorientation to Tenth Street (which probably was secondary to the establishment of the larger number of lots). Similarly, the lots on the west side of Tenth Street had been re-packaged and re-oriented to the Tenth Street corridor at an earlier date (circa 1842), albeit keeping the larger 40-ft frontage. At face, it seems unlikely that these lots would have been very attractive to residential purchasers, given the heavy rail traffic on Tenth Street and the narrowness of the lots. Wright and Brown perhaps envisioned them as potential commercial properties (for which a 20-ft frontage was common in Springfield) and thought the business district would expand northward. But whatever the perceived appeal of the lots or the thinking of the proprietors, Wright and Brown Subdivision developed first as a residential area, with commercial construction occurring only decades later.

In mid-July 1856, Lots 1 and 3 through 8 in Wright and Brown's Subdivision (the entirety of the Subdivision, less Lot 2), and a 7.25-acre parcel of ground "lying on the Great Western railroad, a short distance northeast from the Illinois State University" was sold at public auction at a Trustee's Sale to satisfy a mortgage taken out by Presco Wright and Henry Brown, with Thomas Lewis acting as the trustee for the sale (cf. SCDR Mortgages 1:596-97) (Figure 4).⁴ This mortgage may have originated with Wright and Brown's purchase of the "Old Auction Store of Lewis and Adams." At this sale, Stephen S. Whitehurst purchased Lot 1 for \$24 (SCDR WW:309),⁵ and in partnership with Bishop Rucker purchased Lots 3-8 for \$200 (SCDR ZZ:404).⁶

Only a few days later, Rucker purchased from Stephen S. Whitehurst Lot 1 for \$75, and his half interest in Lots 3-8 for \$100 (SCDR WW:310; ZZ:404). Bishop Emory Rucker was born in December 1834, son of Thomas and Diedamia Rucker. Of French descent, Thomas Rucker was born in Caldwell County, Kentucky in 1805 and moved to Sangamon County with his extended family in the fall of 1832. Thomas developed a large farm four miles east of Springfield (in the area known as Round Prairie). In 1855, Thomas Rucker advertised for sale his 200-acre farm,

⁴ Thomas Lewis was a successful boot, shoe, leather merchant in Springfield, established by late 1830s, and may have been the owner of "Old Auction Store of Lewis and Adams" purchased by Wright and Brown in circa 1851? As such, Lewis may have held a mortgage payable to him by Wright and Brown. The breakup of the Wright and Brown partnership appears to have had financial ramifications for the two partners, who had invested only a couple of years earlier in the subdivision which bore their name.

⁵ Little is currently known about Whitehurst, who appears to have been residing in Chester, Randolph County in the early 1850s (owner/editor of the *Chester Herald*). By the later 1850s, Whitehurst appears to have relocated to Springfield, and by 1863 had been elected to the position of the Sangamon County Circuit Clerk. His relationship with the Rucker family in the middle 1850s is unknown.

⁶ This later sale was recorded as a quit claim deed dated December 1856. The price of \$40 per lot was considerably higher than the \$24 he had paid for lot 1. Both Thomas Rucker (farmer, in Springfield) and Gideon Rucker (lawyer) are documented in the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* (SCD) as living in the same residence located on the north side of Adams Street, between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets. There is no listing in this directory for Bishop Rucker.

located “on the Rochester road, has 12-acres prairie under cultivation, and 80 acres timber, a fair house, good orchard of apple and peach trees, and a first rate barn” (*Illinois State Register* 31 August 1855).⁷ The *Tax Sale List*, published in February 1858 listing unpaid taxes from 1857, noted that the property taxes for Lots 3-8, Wright and Brown’s Subdivision, were delinquent, and in the name of Thomas Rucker—not Bishop (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 February 1858, p. 4).⁸ The average purchase price of \$20 per lot for these five lots was considerably less than what he had been paid for Lot 1. These pre-Panic of 1857 prices are low and suggest that the properties were unimproved at that time.

The first African American family to settle in Wright and Brown’s Subdivision was that of Reverend Henry H. Brown.⁹ Although the Browns would not formally purchase a lot in the neighborhood until 1860, city directories and tax records suggest that they were residing there as early as 1857. Reverend Brown was a leading figure in Springfield’s small African American community of the period, and it seems that his presence may have encouraged other Black families to build homes in Wright and Brown’s Subdivision (see Appendix I for information regarding Henry H. Brown). By the middle 1860s, six residences—all owned and occupied by Blacks—had been built within the subdivision. Five of these homes fronted Tenth Street, while the sixth faced Madison Street. Among the families who settled adjacent to Reverend Brown by circa 1865 were members of the socially affluent Donnegan/Donnegan family, which included the matriarch Leanna Donnegan Knox (and her daughter Narcissa) and the widow Sidney Donnegan (and her family).¹⁰ Other free-Black families occupying adjacent houses included the George Price and David Sappington families (Figure 4).

Springfield’s African American population grew significantly in the years following the Civil War, and many of these individuals chose to establish homes in the vicinity of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision—including along the west side of Tenth Street, directly opposite it (i.e. the Race Riot Site).¹¹ By circa 1900, the area of the city roughly bound by Carpenter, Jefferson, Ninth, and Fifteenth streets represented Springfield’s largest Black neighborhood (see Appendix VIII for a discussion of the early Black residents in this neighborhood).

⁷ By 1876, Thomas Rucker was living near the west end of Monroe Street, and his son Bishop was living near Taylorville (Power 1876:631).

⁸ In July 1859, the *Illinois State Register* ran a notice of a Sheriff’s Sale for property owned by Thomas Rucker to satisfy a debt owed to Smith, Edwards and Company. The property sold at that time was Lot 16, Block 1, Gray’s Addition to Springfield, and potentially represented Rucker’s Springfield home (*Illinois State Register*, 28 July 1859, p. 2). It would appear that the elder Thomas Rucker was having financial issues at this time, which may have resulted in the transfer of his property in Wright and Brown’s Subdivision to his son, Bishop.

⁹ Although sharing similar names, the Henry H. Brown (white merchant) who was partnered with Presco Wright in the development of Wright and Browns Subdivision was not the same individual as the Henry H. Brown (Black minister) who settled in this neighborhood in the middle-1850s.

¹⁰ A detailed historical context for the Donigan/Donnegan family is in preparation, “Leanna Donnegan: Free-Woman of Color, and Matriarch of Springfield’s Activist Donnegan Family,” in *Results of Phase III Data Recovery for the Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield, Illinois. Volume VII: Archaeological Sites 11SG1532 (Price-Edwards Site) and 11SG1533 (Sappington Site) (in progress)*.

¹¹ One example is the Joseph Faro family, who occupied House C at the Race Riot Site by the mid-1870s.

The following is a summary of the development history of the eight lots platted in 1856 as Wright and Brown's Subdivision, and the families who occupied this early free-Black enclave. Partial chain-of-titles for the eight lots are presented in Tables 1-7 below.

Three of the lots within the subdivision were subject to archaeological investigations as part of Usable Segment III of the Springfield Rail Improvements Project (SRIP). These were Lots 1-2, which have been designated as the Price-Edwards Site (11SG1532), and Lot 3, which has been designated as the Sappington Site (11SG1533). Phase II testing at these two sites was conducted in the fall of 2021 (Stratton and Mansberger 2022). The testing resulted in the sites being determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Phase III mitigation on that portion of the sites located within the APE of the SRIP was carried out in the summer of 2022. The results of the mitigation work at the Price-Edwards and Sappington sites are discussed in detail in Volume VII of the *Results of Phase III Data Recover for the Springfield Rail Improvements Project, Springfield, Illinois* (Mansberger and Stratton n.d.).

The Neighborhood

Lots 1 and 2 (Site 11SG1532): Lot 1 was located adjacent to the alley on the north end of the Subdivision. Unlike the other lots in the subdivision (which were all 20-ft in width), Lot 1 was only 17-ft in width. In mid-July 1856, Lots 1 and 3 through 8 in Wright and Brown's Subdivision (the entirety of the Subdivision, less Lot 2), and a 7.25-acre parcel of ground "lying on the Great Western railroad, a short distance northeast from the Illinois State University" was sold at public auction at a Trustee's Sale to satisfy a mortgage taken out by Presco Wright and Henry Brown, with Thomas Lewis acting as the trustee for the sale (cf. SCDR Mortgages 1:596-97).¹² This mortgage may have originated with Wright and Brown's purchase of the "Old Auction Store of Lewis and Adams." At this sale, Stephen S. Whitehurst purchased Lot 1 for \$24 (SCDR WW:309),¹³ and in partnership with Bishop Rucker purchased Lots 3-8 for \$200 (SCDR ZZ:404).¹⁴

¹² Thomas Lewis was a successful boot, shoe, leather merchant in Springfield, established by late 1830s, and may have been the owner of "Old Auction Store of Lewis and Adams" purchased by Wright and Brown in circa 1851? As such, Lewis may have held a mortgage payable to him by Wright and Brown. The breakup of the Wright and Brown partnership appears to have had financial ramifications for the two partners, who had invested only a couple of years earlier in the subdivision which bore their name.

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Only a few days later, Rucker purchased from Stephen S. Whitehurst Lot 1 for \$75, and his half interest in Lots 3-8 for \$100 (SCDR WW:310; ZZ:404).¹⁵ Bishop Emory Rucker was born in December 1834, son of Thomas and Diedamia Rucker. Of French descent, Thomas Rucker was born in Caldwell County, Kentucky in 1805 and moved to Sangamon County with his extended family in the fall of 1832. Thomas developed a large farm four miles east of Springfield (in the area known as Round Prairie?). In 1855, Thomas Rucker advertised for sale his 200-acre farm, located “on the Rochester road, has 12-acres prairie under cultivation, and 80 acres timber, a fair house, good orchard of apple and peach trees, and a first rate barn” (*Illinois State Register* 31 August 1855).¹⁶ The *Tax Sale List*, published in February 1858 listing unpaid taxes from 1857, noted that the property taxes for Lots 3-8, Wright and Brown’s Subdivision, were delinquent, and in the name of Thomas Rucker—not Bishop (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 February 1858, p. 4).¹⁷ The average purchase price of \$20 per lot for these five lots was considerably less than what he had been paid for Lot 1. These pre-Panic of 1857 prices are low and suggest that the properties were unimproved at that time. The 1858 map of Springfield shows no buildings on Lots 1-2, or anywhere else within Wright and Brown’s Subdivision (Sides 1858).

Bishop Rucker maintained ownership of Lot 1 through April 1860, when he sold it to Elijah Sappington for an undisclosed amount of money (SCDR 44:535).¹⁸ Sappington sold Lot 1 to George W. Price in July 1864 for the sum of \$80, suggesting that the house on this lot had, as yet, not been constructed (SCDR 21:100). The 1860 U.S. Census of Population indicates that the 35-year-old Elijah and his 31-year-old brother David were residing together in a house, presumably on Fourth Street, near the AME Church (USBC 1860b).¹⁹ The younger David was

¹⁵ Little is currently known about Whitehurst, who appears to have been residing in Chester, Randolph County in the early 1850s (owner/editor of the *Chester Herald*). By the later 1850s, Whitehurst appears to have relocated to Springfield, and by 1863 had been elected to the position of the Sangamon County Circuit Clerk. His relationship with the Rucker family in the middle 1850s is unknown.

¹⁶ By 1876, Thomas Rucker was living near the west end of Monroe Street, and his son Bishop was living near Taylorville (Power 1876:631).

¹⁷ In July 1859, the *Illinois State Register* ran a notice of a Sheriff’s Sale for property owned by Thomas Rucker to satisfy a debt owed to Smith, Edwards and Company. The property sold at that time was Lot 16, Block 1, Gray’s Addition to Springfield, and potentially represented Rucker’s Springfield home (*Illinois State Register*, 28 July 1859, p. 2). It would appear that the elder Thomas Rucker was having financial issues at this time, which may have resulted in the transfer of his property in Wright and Brown’s Subdivision to his son, Bishop.

¹⁸ No deed apparently exists for this transaction, but it is referenced in a later one (44:535), which states that Rucker mistakenly deeded Lot 8 to Sappington when he intended the sale to be for Lot 1. The sale price is not known since the original deed is missing. Although the original deed is lost, and the purchase price unknown, it would appear that the property probably sold for \$75-80.

Elijah Sappington married Caroline Butler on 3 March 1861. A news story from May 1862 indicates Elijah was charged “with having administered a brutal castigation to his wife” (*Illinois State Register*, 1 May 1862, p. 3). He died in 1894, and is buried in Oak Ridge cemetery.

¹⁹ Neighbors to the Sappington brothers in the 1860 census included two additional Black households: the Linden Coleman family (shoemaker, later pastor), and the Presley Donnegan family (barber; Leanna’s son) (USCB 1860). These three houses were clustered around the AME church on Fourth Street.

listed as a laborer with a real estate evaluation of \$150. Elijah had no occupation listed, and both individuals were noted as having been born in Missouri.²⁰

Lot 2, with the adjacent Lot 12, Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition (which abutted the alley along the east side of Wright and Browns Addition to the east) was purchased by one Richard Price, a resident of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania from Presco Wright, et al. for the price of \$375 on 30 May 1856 (SCDR WW:76).²¹ This sale of Lot 2 occurred prior to the Trustee's Sale of Real Estate. The high price of these two lots may suggest that a significant improvement was present on one of these two lots at that time—or more likely solely represents the high speculative prices paid by the Philadelphia investor prior to the Panic of 1857.²² Richard Price sold Lot 2 and the adjacent Lot 12 to Springfield resident Jonathan A. Hughes on 1 August 1864 for the sum of \$275 (SCDR 20:105).²³ On August 2, 1864, approximately one month after purchasing Lot 1, George Price purchased Lot 2 from Hughes for the sum of \$105, consolidating the two lots into one residential property (SCDR 21:101).

Presumably, the house on Lots 1 and 2 was constructed for George Price and his family sometime shortly after his purchase of the property in the summer of 1864. In late January 1866, Price and his wife Cornelia had taken a mortgage from Charles Weston with Lots 1 and 2 as collateral. Apparently, the Price family was unable to meet the demands of the mortgage and local newspapers carried an advertisement for the sale of the property to be held on 6 July 1867 (*Illinois State Journal* 29 June 1867, p. 3). It is unclear whether this sale actually occurred or not. Transactions between George Price, William Watson, and Cornelia Price in 1868 may reflect the renegotiation and/or settlement of the mortgage (SCDR 41:553-554).²⁴ At any rate, George and his wife Cornelia retained ownership of their house throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

²⁰ The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* does not list either David or Elijah Sappington as residents of Springfield.

²¹ Little is known about Richard Price. Notices published in Springfield newspapers in early 1841 indicate one Richard Price, who was not an inhabitant of the State of Illinois, involved with a suit filed in the Illinois Supreme Court's December 1840 term (cf. *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, 29 January 1841, p. 3). Beginning in 1858, the local Springfield newspapers record the unpaid property taxes of one Richard Price on Lot 12, Block 2, J. Whitney's Addition (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 7 May 1858, p. 6). Later, in the middle 1870s a Richard Price was noted as secretary for the Alliance Insurance Company of Boston, and signatory of the company's annual audit of Illinois' public accounts (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 29 February 1876, p. 3). If these various newspaper references refer to the same man, then it would seem that Richard Price, although not an Illinois resident, may have been familiar with Springfield due to his professional duties, and may have invested in local real estate by the late 1850s.

²² The list of unpaid property taxes for both 1861 and 1862 suggest that taxes on Lot 2 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision) were the responsibility of one Joseph Price (*Illinois State Journal* 28 January 1862, p. 1; 3 February 1863, p. 1). Joseph Price was noted as the Treasurer of the St. Louis, Alton and Chicago Railroad in 1860 (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 1 October 1860, p. 3). The relationship of Richard, Joseph, and George W. Price—if any—is unclear.

²³ The 1864 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Hughes was an insurance agent residing on West Monroe Street (SCD 1864:43).

²⁴ The two deed records suggest price transactions of \$243.65 and \$258.65—perhaps borrowed to construct the family home.

George and Cornelia Price apparently were living in Virden, Illinois by August 1860, as the family was enumerated in the 1860 U.S. Census of Population in that community. At that time, George was noted as a 41-year-old, Illinois-born, Black barber, without any real or personal property value listed. Living with him at that time was his wife Cornelia (25 years of age), their son Samuel (age 3), and an 18-year-old female house worker named Louisa Griffith (USCB 1860a).²⁵ It is unclear exactly when the Price family relocated to Springfield. As early as April 1860, the *Illinois State Journal* advertised the presence of undelivered mail to Mrs. Cornelia Price at the Springfield Post Office (*Illinois State Journal* 2 April 1860, p. 2).²⁶ The earliest reference to the Price family's residence in Springfield occurs in newspapers dating from 1863.²⁷ George and his wife possibly relocated to Springfield to take advantage of the capital city's booming economy during the Civil War years, and/or to relocate to a community more receptive to Black residents than the rural Virden.

Although the 1864 *Springfield City Directory* does not list George Price as a resident of Springfield, both the 1866 and 1868 city directories list him as a Springfield resident. The 1866 city directory indicates that George W. Price was a barber operating as "Edwards and Price". His residence at that time was listed as the east side of Tenth Street, two doors south of Mason Street—which would place him at the location of Lots 1 and 2 (SCD 1866:184). The Edwards and Price barbershop was located on Sixth street "near [the] *Journal* office" (SCD 1866:97). His partner at that time was Jacob Edwards, who boarded on the east side of Second Street, south of Mason. The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Price was "Colored" and his residence was located on the east side of Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison Streets (SCD 1868:141). The 1869 *Springfield City Directory* does not list a George Price.

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population lists Cornelia Price as the sole occupant of the house on Lots 1 and 2, suggesting that George Price may have died by this date. Cornelia was listed as a 30-year-old Black female with an occupation of "keeping house." It is of note that the census indicates that Mrs. Price had neither a personal or real property evaluation at the time—even though deed records suggest she owned her residence on Tenth Street at this time. The whereabouts of George and Cornelia's son Samuel (who would have been approximately 13 years of age at the time) is unknown (USCB 1870).

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests that the widow Cornelia Price had married her ex-husband's business partner, Jacob Edwards, sometime during the previous decade. Although the

²⁵ At this time [1860], the Price family appears to be the sole Black residents of Virden—a small agricultural community located 25 miles south of Springfield.

²⁶ Similarly, in July 1863, the newspaper advertised undelivered mail for both George and Cornelia Price (*Illinois State Journal* 6 July 1863, p. 3).

²⁷ In March 1863, two news briefs suggest that both Cornelia and George were living in Springfield by that date. The first account indicates that "Cornelia Price and George W. Price had a 'bit of a time' at fisticuffs, causing a disturbance of the peace. Fined \$3 each and costs" (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 March 1863, p. 3). A couple weeks later, Cornelia (a colored woman) was charged with "[aiding, abetting and encouraging an assault and battery—by one child upon another](#)" (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 March 1863, p. 3).

exact date of their marriage is not documented, archival research suggests they were married in circa 1877.²⁸ The census indicates that Jacob Edwards (a 42-year-old Black barber) and his wife Cornelia (42-years of age, no occupation) were residing at 113 North (?) Tenth Street.²⁹ Also living within the household at that time were George (12 years of age) and Daisey (9 years of age) Loomis—two young Black boarders (USCB 1880).³⁰

Reference from a newspaper dated August 1884 suggests that the Jacob Edwards family were residing at 314 North Tenth Street in that year (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 August 1884, p. 8). In 1885, Jacob and Cornelia secured a loan in the amount of \$500 using their Tenth Street property as collateral. By late 1891, the couple apparently was having financial difficulties in meeting the terms of the loan and was being sued by the Workman's Building and Loan Association (*Illinois State Register*, 25 December 1891, p.15). Apparently, the Edwards' overcame their financial difficulties at this time. By 1890, the house at this location was identified as 314 North Tenth Street.

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population suggests that Jacob and Cornelia Edwards were still residing in the house at 314 North Tenth Street.³¹ Jacob was listed as a 57-year-old barber, whereas his wife Cornelia was listed as being 52 years of age. The census, which suggests that the couple had been married for 23 years (in circa 1877), indicates that Cornelia had had three children, none of whom were still living at that time. A young Black lodger named Clara York (12 year of age; at school) also resided within the household. The 1900 census may suggest that the Price/Edwards dwelling may have been duplexed by that date, as a second family was separately listed at this address. The second family consisted of Minnie Mingo (a 33-year-old Black woman whose occupation was noted as servant) and her two sons: 7-year-old Clarence and 2-year-old Ralph. This census suggests Minnie had been married for five years, had three children, two of whom were still living. The whereabouts of Minnie's husband is unknown (USCB 1900).

²⁸ The 1900 U.S. Census of Population states the couple had been married for 23 years, suggesting they married in circa 1877 (USCB 1900).

²⁹ Reference to 113 North Tenth Street probably represents a recording error, as the family presumably was living in the house in the 300 block of Tenth Street at this time.

³⁰ Cornelia Edwards was fined \$3 and costs for "language and conduct in August 1879 (*Illinois State Journal*, 11 August 1879, p. 4).

³¹ There is some confusion as to the house numbers during these years. In 1896, the Edwards family was apparently still residing in the family residence on Tenth Street, an address that appears to bear the number 314 North Tenth Street. In early 1896, though, the *Illinois State Register* noted that "Abraham Hamilton, a farmer, went up in the bad lands yesterday afternoon with a friend, and dropped into a colored joint at No. 314 North Tenth street. When he got ready to go he found that he had been touched for \$15, and he immediately swore out a warrant before McConnell for the arrest of the keeper of the joint" (*Illinois State Register*, 1 May 1896, p. 6). The following day, the newspaper reported that those arrested on a charge of stealing the \$15 from Hamilton at that address were Susan Emory, Eddie Page, and Emma Black (*Illinois State Register*, 2 May 1896, p. 6). Although it seems unlikely that these news articles are referencing the Edwards residence, it attests to the changing character of the neighborhood during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

In 1901, Jacob and Cornelia again had difficulty meeting the terms of the mortgage they had negotiated in 1885 with the Workman's Building and Loan Association. Unlike earlier, it appears that the couple lost their house to the Building and Loan Association in the spring of 1901 (SCDR 105:518). In July 1903, the Association sold the property to Henry Friedman. Friedman was Mrs. Theresa Schwartz brother—part of an extended Jewish family heavily invested in rental income properties within this neighborhood.³² By late 1904, the Edwards family was no longer residing at this address.³³

In late December 1904, the *Journal* noted that Mrs. Jennie King had died at her family residence at 314 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 20 December 1904, p. 6; *Illinois State Register*, 20 December 1904, p. 2). The Register noted a few days prior that one George Drage, a resident of 314 North Tenth Street had received a charitable contribution from the county in the form of shoes valued at \$1.25 (*Illinois State Register*, 16 December 1904, p. 15). The 1906 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that the house at 314 North Tenth Street was occupied by a Black man named J. Minerfield (SCD 1906:1047). The 1908 city directory indicates that the house was vacant at the time the directory was compiled (SCD 1908:1163).

In September 1905, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on a fire in the roof “of an old frame residence situated on the east side of Tenth street between Madison and Mason streets.” Although a “large portion of the roof” was destroyed, quick action by the fire department prevented significant damage to the house (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 September 1905, p. 1). It is unclear whether the house referred to was located on Site 11SG1532, or on adjacent Site 11SG1533.

Early cartographic records (such as Ruger 1867, Koch 1873, Bird 1876, and Beck and Pauli 1878) document a small rectangular house on Lot 1, but these sources unfortunately give little detail as to the character of that dwelling (Figures 5-8). The first detailed depiction of this dwelling is the 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map which depicts a single-story frame dwelling straddling both Lots 1 and 2 (Figure 9). The house depicted on this map has an approximate square footprint with an incised front porch located at the northwest corner of the dwelling. The presence of this porch may suggest that the small cottage at this time had a distinctive L-shaped plan typical of L-shaped cottages. The larger footprint of the house at this time, and its presence on both Lots 1 and 2, may suggest that the early rectangular dwelling had been remodeled into this form sometime during the latter nineteenth century (circa 1880s). The 1890 Sanborn map depicts two distinct rear extensions off the east end of the dwelling. Besides the house, two frame outbuildings are present on the property. The first is a small outbuilding with a square footprint located along the south property line immediately to the rear of the house (in an Inner Yard activity area). This outbuilding most likely represents a summer kitchen/wash house. The

³² In March 1903, Jacob Edward was still using the 314 North Tenth Street location for his residence, when he received \$16 in coal as a charitable contribution from the county (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 March 1903, p. 3).

³³ The 71-year-old Jacob Edwards died on 17 April 1909 at his residence at 435 North Eleventh Street, a location he apparently had moved to after the family lost the property in 1901-03. According to his obituary, “Mr. Edwards was one of the best known and most respected colored men in the city. He was for many years proprietor of a barber shop” (*Illinois State Register*, 18 April 1909, p. 26). His wife Cornelia died in late 1913 (*Illinois State Journal*, 31 October 1913, p.14).

second outbuilding is a long rectangular structure located in the southeast corner of the lot, adjacent to the alley. This may represent a multi-purpose storage shed, or outbuilding for animal husbandry (chickens, hogs, milk cow, and/or horse). The 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map depicts a similar dwelling, albeit with the addition of a third rear extension attached to the far eastern end of the dwelling. This map also documents the demolition of the suspected summer kitchen, it and suggests the integration of the summer kitchen activities into the newly constructed service wing attached to the rear of the dwelling. Additionally, the rear outbuilding appears to have been reduced in size from its 1890 appearance (Figure 9).

The house on Lots 1 and 2 was destroyed by fire set by mob action during the riots of August 14-15, 1908. Riot claims filed with the City of Springfield immediately after the August riots suggest that the frame residence located at 314 North Tenth Street was owned by Henry I. Freeman [sic, Freidman], and occupied by Della Smith. According to the newspapers, the house was a total loss, with claims made at various times for both \$2,000 and \$2,500 in damages (*Illinois State Register*, 5 September 1908, p. 6; 9 September 1908, p. 4; 15 July 1909, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 9 September 1908, p. 7; 15 July 1909, p. 9). Little could be found regarding Della (Delia) Smith relevant to this location and time.³⁴

Newspaper accounts of the riots indicate that William Smith, Jr. (son of the elder William Smith, Sr. who was forcibly removed from 301 North Tenth Street, brutally beaten and left for dead) was residing in a house presumably located on the east side of the 300 block of North Tenth Street. These accounts note that “William Smith, Jr., ...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” (*Illinois State Register* 29 August 1908, p. 9). Unfortunately, 316 North Tenth Street was not an address in use at that time. Although the 1906 *Springfield City Directory* indicates one William Smith residing at 324 North Tenth Street (north of the alley in a house not destroyed by the mob), and the 1907 city directory lists him at 301 North Tenth Street, the 1908 city directory lists William Smith (presumably the elder) and Mrs. Smith, Jr. as residing at 301 North Tenth Street, without reference to the location of William Smith, Jr. Although the location of William Smith, Jr.’s residence in 1908 is unknown, it seems likely that he was residing at either 312 or 314 North Tenth Street (most likely 314, which was listed as vacant in the 1908 city directory).

As expected, the 1917 Sanborn fire insurance map depicts Lots 1-2 as being vacant, without any improvements on them (Figure 11). Around 1920, a one-story, brick-faced commercial building was constructed on Lot 3 of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision. This structure was built for the Ben Wright Hide Company, which processed hides and tallow. Although it currently is unknown as to when Wright purchased Lots 1-3, he most likely purchased the two lots in circa 1920.³⁵

³⁴ The *Illinois State Journal* (10 February 1897, p. 3) notes a Della Smith was arrested for disorderly conduct, and was “found fighting in an alley in the east part of town.” Numerous similar articles are present but seem unlikely to be the Della Smith living at this location.

³⁵ Ben Wright was a Russian-born Jew who immigrated to the United States in 1904. He was living in Pana, Illinois, working at a junk yard, when the 1920 U.S. Census was compiled, but he apparently relocated to Springfield soon after, as he is listed in the 1921 *Springfield City Directory*, which notes his business at 312 North Tenth Street. Wright was one of several Jewish families that invested in this neighborhood during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

City directories typically list the company's address as 312 North Tenth Street (though some newspaper advertisements list it as 310 North Tenth). In late 1922, Wright was noted as having over nineteen years of experience in the business, and a leader in the business (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 September 1922, p. 12). In 1939-1940, Ben Wright made a large addition onto the north of his building, expanding it onto Lots 1-2. After this, the property was addressed as 312-316 North Tenth Street. Several historic photographs show the building prior to its expansion. After Ben Wright died in 1948, his son Phillip continued to operate the hide company from this location (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 September 1948, p. 18). The 1950 and 1952 Sanborn maps illustrate the expansion of the hide company's building onto Lots 1-2. In July 1959, Phillip Wright et al. purchased Lots 4-8 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision from C. W. H. Schuck and Son. This acquisition consolidated the Wright family's ownership of the entirety of the subdivision (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1959, p. 5). This was the same building, albeit greatly renovated, used as a warming center by the City of Springfield and demolished immediately prior to the Phase II investigations (Figures 12-16).

Lot 3 (Site 11SG1533): Lot 3, located immediately south of Lot 2, measured 20' in width and fronted Tenth Street to the west. In mid-July 1856, Lots 1 and 3 through 8 in Wright and Brown's Subdivision (the entirety of the Subdivision, less Lot 2), and a 7/4-acre parcel of ground "lying on the Great Western railroad, a short distance northeast from the Illinois State University" was sold at public auction at a Trustee's Sale to satisfy a mortgage taken out by Presco Wright and Henry Brown, with Thomas Lewis acting as the trustee for the sale (cf. SCDR Mortgages 1:596-97).³⁶ At this sale, Stephen S. Whitehurst and Bishop Rucker purchased Lots 3-8 for \$200 (SCDR ZZ:404).³⁷ Whitehurst sold his half interest in these six lots to Bishop Rucker in May 1857 for \$100 (SCDR XX:641).

It was not until October 1863 that Rucker sold Lot 3 to David Sappington, whose brother Elijah had earlier purchased Lot 1 in the subdivision. The \$75 sale price, although it was slightly over double the price Rucker had purchased the lot for, probably suggests the lot was unimproved at that time (SCDR 42:381). Sappington, a carpenter, presumably constructed a house on the unimproved lot for his use in circa late 1863 or 1864. Deed records indicate that David Sappington sold Lot 3 (and the relatively new house) to his son, William David Sappington, on 1 June 1871 for the sum of one dollar (SCDR 51:142). William David Sappington would have

³⁶ Thomas Lewis was a successful boot, shoe, leather merchant in Springfield, established by late 1830s, and may have been the owner of "Old Auction Store of Lewis and Adams" purchased by Wright and Brown in circa 1851? As such, Lewis may have held a mortgage payable to him by Wright and Brown. The breakup of the Wright and Brown partnership appears to have had financial ramifications for the two partners, who had invested only a couple of years earlier in the subdivision which bore their name.

³⁷ This later sale was recorded as a quit claim deed dated December 1856. The price of \$40 per lot was considerably higher than the \$24 he had paid for lot 1. Both Thomas Rucker (a farmer, in Springfield) and Gideon Rucker (a lawyer) are documented in the 1857 *Springfield City Directory* as living in the same residence located on the north side of Adams Street, between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets. There is no listing in this directory for Bishop Rucker.

This represents \$33.33 for each of the six undeveloped lots. Stephen S. Whitehurst was a printer by trade (cf. his obituary, *Illinois State Journal*, 20 May 1875, p. 4).

been only four or five years of age at that time.³⁸ Lot 3 (and the improvements on the lot) remained in the Sappington family ownership through early July 1904, at which time it was sold to Walter Ruckel for the sum of \$700, followed a few days later by the sale of the property (with adjacent Lot 12, Block 2) to Thurman Baker for \$2,500 (SCDR 124:438: 124:458).³⁹

As noted above, the Sappington brothers were living in Springfield by early 1860 (perhaps arriving in very late 1859 or early 1860).⁴⁰ The 1860 U.S. Census of Population indicates that David was a 31-year-old laborer living with his 35-year old brother Elijah in a house adjacent to the residences of Landen Coleman and P. L. Donnegan on Fourth Street (adjacent to the AME Church) (USBC 1860b). Coleman's wife was Malissa Donnegan. Although archival records are conflicting as to David's birth year, he appears to have been born in circa 1835 and raised in Franklin County, Missouri (with two brothers, Silas and Elijah).⁴¹ The proximity of the two brother's residence to the Coleman and Donnegan residences raises question as to whether the Sappington family may have had a connection to the extended Coleman and Donnegan families at this early date.

³⁸ This transaction may have been in response to David's changing marital status at this time, as later that same month he married his second wife, Francis Mosely. This transaction would have insured that the property remained in his child's name (and not his new wife's name) should he die.

³⁹ The 1904 *Springfield City Directory* listed William Sappington (a colored cook) residing at 312 North Tenth Street (SCD 1904: 579). This directory also notes Silas and his wife Jennie, and a Julius Sappington (waiter at the Leland Hotel, boarding at 1026 First Street). The 1906 city directory indicates that William Sappington worked at a lunch room and resided at 1718 East Reynolds Street (SCD 1906:670).

Thurman Baker was the principal of Baker's Real Estate Agency located in the Meyers Building, downtown Springfield. Baker also published the quarterly *Baker's Real Estate News* (SCD 1904:61-62).

⁴⁰ David Sappington died on 18 April 1901. Unreferenced information posted with a picture of his tombstone on Findagrave.com suggests that he was born in Missouri, was 66 years of age at his death, had resided in Springfield for 41 years at the time of his death, and was survived by an unnamed son (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/31201709/david-sappington>). Although the source of the information is unknown and unverified (presumably coming from an unidentified newspaper obituary), this would suggest that he was born in circa 1835, and would have moved to Springfield in circa 1859-60. A short obituary published in the *Register* suggested that David was born in Kentucky, was 66 years of age, had been a resident of Springfield "for a number of years," and was survived by one son named Will (*Illinois State Register*, 20 April 1901, p. 2; 23 April 1901, p. 3; *Illinois State Journal* 21 April 1901, p. 6).

⁴¹ The 1850 U.S. Census of Population lists a free-Black family with the surname Sappington living in District 31, Franklin County, Missouri. This family consisted of three presumed brothers: Silas (30 years old), Elijah (28 years old), and David (25 years old). The head of the household at that time was the 65-year old Deborah Sappington. All four family members were noted as having been born in Missouri. Although Silas, Elijah, and David are suspected as being brothers, the relationship of these three individuals to Deborah is not made clear in the census. The obituary of Mrs. Nancy Sappington (74 years old) published in the *Illinois State Journal* (29 May 1895, p. 5) indicates that she was the mother of Silas Sappington—if this indeed represents the same Silas as enumerated in the 1850 census. Nancy "was born in Washington, Franklin County, Missouri and moved to Springfield in 1865." Besides Silas, she also had one daughter, Mrs. Caroline Bacon. Silas and his wife (Jennie) celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary in 1922, and the newspaper announcement of their anniversary celebration stated that the couple had resided in Springfield for 58 years (suggesting that they arrived in circa 1864-65) (*Illinois State Journal*, 10 July 1922, p. 6) (see also *Illinois State Register*, 29 November 1883, p 3).

Six months prior to purchasing this property, the 32-year-old David Sappington had married one Mary Price on 9 April 1863. Although potentially related to George Price (residing on Lots 1 and 2 immediately next door to the north) the relationship of Mary and George is unknown. In June 1863, David registered for military service in Springfield (Sangamon County) with the Provost Marshall.⁴² David was the only Black man of the seventeen individuals who registered at that time. The registry noted that he was a 32-year-old, married carpenter born in Missouri. Although his older brother [or cousin?] Silas enlisted with the 55th Massachusetts Infantry, David apparently was not drafted into, or never served in the military. In February 1866, David and Mary had a son, William David Sappington.⁴³ A selection of artifacts recovered from this period of the Sappingtons' occupation of Lot 3 are illustrated in Figure 17.

Although neither David nor Elijah Sappington was noted within the 1864 *Springfield City Directory*, both were listed within the subsequent 1866 city directory. In 1866, David Sappington was listed as a carpenter residing on the east side of Tenth Street, three houses south of Mason Street—presumably in the house at Site 11SG1533 (SCD 1866:194). This directory lists three other boarders with the same address: his brother Elijah Sappington (a laborer), and two white men named Emory Johnson (an engineer working at the nearby Phoenix Mill) and Isaac Gray (a laborer).⁴⁴

Both the 1868 and 1869 city directories are silent with regard to David or Elijah Sappington. Both directories list a Black widow named Nancy Sappington residing on Tenth Street, corner of Reynolds Street in 1868 (SCD 1868:149) and on Tenth Street between Mason and Reynolds Streets in 1869 (SCD 1869: 152). This woman most likely is the same woman listed in the 1850 U.S. Census of Population as living in Missouri, with three young men (Silas, Elijah, and David). In 1868, Silas Sappington (a cook) was listed as residing on Tenth Street, corner of Reynolds (SCD 1868:140), and in 1869 he was noted as residing on the east side of Tenth Street, near Mason (SCD 1869:152). It is unclear if these descriptions refer to the same location, or represent two separate houses.

⁴² Ancestry.com. *U.S., Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863-1865* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.
https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/1666/images/32178_620305173_0015-00179?usePUB=true&_phsrc=OQK49&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=2007459

⁴³ <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/61721444/william-david-sappington>. Duff (1920) suggests William was born in 1868, not in 1866. His wife was named Minnie. William was a sergeant in Company I, 370th Infantry in World War I. He died in August 1934 in Danville (potentially at the Veteran's hospital). William David Sappington, a bartender, potentially occupied House C, on the opposite side of Tenth Street, in 1898.

⁴⁴ Three other individuals with the Sappington surname are listed in this 1866 city directory, and include Mary E Sappington (a vest maker) and Jesse Sappington (a tailor)—both residing on the south side of Jefferson Street, seven houses west of First—and Cyrus Sappington (a cook at the St. Nicholas Hotel; no residence listed). Presumably, Mary and Jesse were white (see note below). Although with the similarity in their names, one might suspect that Cyrus and Silas Sappington (potentially David and Elijah's older brother) were the same individual, the 1887 city directory lists both Nancy (widow of Cyrus) and Silas Sappington suggesting they were two separate individuals.

The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* notes that Isaac H. Gray was the proprietor of the American House. It is unclear whether this Isaac Gray residing within the Sappington family home was related to the owner of the American House.

The 31-year-old David and 28-year-old Elijah “Sabington” [sic] were documented in the 1870 U.S. Census of Population as residing in a house presumed to be at this location. Both individuals were noted with occupations of “laborers.” Living with the two adult men was David’s 6-year-old son, Willie (William David). Both David and Elijah were noted (presumably incorrectly) as having been born in Mississippi. Neither man is listed with their wives, suggesting that they may both have been widowers at this point in time.

On 22 June 1871, David Sappington married Francis Mosely (Illinois State Archives, Statewide Marriage Index). It is unclear as to whether David’s earlier wife (Mary Price Sappington) had died, or whether the couple had divorced.⁴⁵ David Sappington was listed that same year as a carpenter residing on the east side of Tenth Street, between Madison and Mason. His inclusion in the city directories was inconsistent over the next few years. Absent in the directories published in 1872 and 1875, David was included in those published in 1873 and 1874, both of which place his residence on Tenth Street between Madison and Mason (former specifying its location on the east side of Tenth) (SCD 1873:157; 1874:and 1876:125). The 1876 directory lists a Barnard Headley (a colored laborer) as a lessee residing at 310 North Tenth Street (SCD 1873:238). Both David and Elijah Sappington were listed as residents of 310 North *Thirteenth* Street at that time, with David noted as “owner” and Elijah as “res[ident]” (SCD 1873:242).⁴⁶ It is unclear whether the Thirteenth Street listing is an error or not, but the preponderance of evidence suggests that it is.

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population lists the “Savington” [sic; Sappington] household at an unspecified Tenth Street location, presumably on Lot 3. The household included the 45-year-old Elijah, his 35-year-old brother David, and a 16-year-old William (presumably William David Sappington, David’s son; born in 1866) (Figure 18). All three individuals were listed with an occupation of laborer. Both David and Elijah were noted as being widowed, which would explain the absence of David’s wife, Francis. The census incorrectly noted that all three individuals, and their parents, were born in Tennessee (USCB 1880). The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* lists David Sappington as a carpenter, and his brother Elijah as a “whitener”—both residing at 310 North Tenth Street (SCD 1880:176). The 1887 city directory noted both David and Elijah as residing at 312 North Tenth Street (SCD 1887:275).⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The 1873 city directory has a listing for one Mrs. Mary E. Sappington (resident on the south side of Jefferson Street, between Rutledge and New) (SCD 1873:157). The 1875 city directory lists Mary E. Sappington as a resident of 210 West Jefferson Street. David was not listed in this directory. The 1876 city directory indicates that Mary E. Sappington was a white, unmarried woman, and presumably not the wife of David.

⁴⁶ The *Directory of Colored People in Springfield* published separately within the 1876 city directory lists five individuals with the surname Sappington: David, Elijah, Ann, Steve, and Julius (SCD 1876:242).

⁴⁷ This directory listed four white individuals with surname Sappington and seven individuals with this surname as “colored.” These Black individuals with this surname included David, Elijah, Nancy (widow of Cyrus; boarding at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Reynolds Streets), Silas, Stephen, and two Williams (one working at the St. Nicholas Hotel as a cook, the other at the Leland Hotel as a porter).

Neither David nor Elijah Sappington was listed in the 1892 city directory (SCD 1892:486). By 1896, the house at this location was identified as 312 North Tenth Street.⁴⁸ The 1898 city directory lists both David (carpenter) and William D. (bartender at J. S. Murray's) as residing at 312 North Tenth Street; Elijah is not listed in the directory (SCD 1898:475).

Both the 1890 and 1896 Sanborn fire insurance maps depict a rectangular dwelling with its long axis perpendicular to the Tenth Street right-of-way. An incised porch is depicted in the southwest corner of the structure, and a single rear service extension is noted. Neither Sanborn map illustrates any outbuildings on Lot 3 (in contrast to the adjacent house on Lots 1 and 2). The 1896 map appears to illustrate the space between the two houses on Lots 1-2 and Lot 3 as less than that depicted on the earlier 1890 map. Additionally, the orientation of the house on Lot 3 to House B located across the street to the west has changed. It would appear that the house on Lot 3 may have been moved slightly to the north, perhaps after Prather purchased the property to the south. The 1896 Sanborn map similarly suggests that the house at Site 11SG1533 straddled the Lot 2/Lot 3 lot line (and was located on the south part of Lot 2 and north part Lot 3)—something that is not reflected by the early deed records (Sanborn-Perris 1890:12; 1896:4).

The 1900 U.S. Census of Population documents the elder David Sappington (65-years of age) and his son William (38 years of age) as residing at 312 North Tenth Street in that year. The census indicates that David, a widow, was born in Missouri in 1835, and his son was born in Illinois in 1862.⁴⁹ William's occupation was listed as bartender. Although William could read and write, his father apparently could not. Of note, although the house was owned by the son William, the census noted that David owned the house free of a mortgage (USCB 1900). In the spring 1901, David Sappington succumbed to "a complication" at his home at 312 North Tenth Street. He was 66 years of age at the time of his death and had been a resident of Springfield "for a number of years." His obituary noted that he had been born in Kentucky, and was survived by one son, Will Sappington (*Illinois State Register*, 20 April 1901, p. 2).

In early July 1904, William David Sappington sold the family residence to Walter Ruckel for the sum of \$700 (SCDR 124:438). Only a few days later, Ruckel sold Lot 3 (along with adjacent Lot 12, Block 2) to Thurman Baker for \$2,500 (SCDR 124:458).⁵⁰ The 1904 city directory still listed William Sappington as occupying 312 North Tenth Street (SCD 1904:579). The 1905 city directory indicates the residence at 312 was occupied by William Jones (presumably white) (SCD 1905:977).

⁴⁸ Although not identified as such in the 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map, the designation of 314 North Tenth Street for the house located on adjacent Lots 1 and 2 would suggest that this house also was designated 312 North Tenth Street in 1890 that year as well.

⁴⁹ The census returns are notoriously incorrect in listing the age and birth years of individuals. William was probably born in 1866. The census noted that David's parents were born in S. Carolina (father) and Maryland (mother).

⁵⁰ William David Sappington remained in Springfield for most of his life, eventually marrying a woman named Minnie K. During World War I, William joined the 370th Infantry and served in France. He died at the Veterans Hospital, Danville (Vermilion County) in August 1934.

In September 1905, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on a fire in the roof “of an old frame residence situated on the east side of Tenth street between Madison and Mason streets.” Although a “large portion of the roof” was destroyed, quick action by the fire department prevented significant damage to the house (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 September 1905, p. 1). It is unclear whether the house referred to was located on Site 11SG1533, or on adjacent Site 11SG1532.

The 1906 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that 312 North Tenth Street was occupied by a white woman named Annie Rhodes at that time (SCD 1906:1047).⁵¹ Apparently, Rhodes did not occupy the residence for very long, as the house was occupied by Maggie and C. J. Boblett by the summer 1907. Mrs. Boblett died unexpectedly in July 1907 in her home from complications associated with “excessive use of alcoholic stimulants.” Maggie Boblett was 26 years of age (*Illinois State Register*, 22 July 1907, p. 5; 23 July 1907, p. 12). None of the newspaper articles concerning Boblett’s death reference her race, as was often done during this period if the individual was Black, so one assumes that she was white. However, it is of interest that the 1907 city directory lists a “Georgie Boblett,” who was Black, as residing at 312 North Tenth Street (SCD 1907:101). Additional research needs to be done to resolve this question.

The 1908 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that 312 North Tenth Street had recently been occupied by a Black woman named Susan Ellis (SCD 1908:1163). Susan Ellis first appears in local newspapers beginning in late 1879 when she posted a \$2,000 bond and was appointed guardian to one Lulu Simon, a minor child (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 October 1879, p. 3). Similarly, in early 1883, Susan had posted a bond with J. S. Kirk and W. B. Price for guardianship of William B. Ellis, a minor (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 May 1883, p. 6). In both March and June 1906, Susan was noted as resident at 214 North Eighth Street and having

⁵¹ Beginning in the middle 1890s, Rhodes was well known among the city police and courts—with many appearances of her name within the local newspapers for a wide range of offences. In April 1894, her lover Frank DeFrates (“a well known young Portuguese”) was arrested for assaulting her “in a terrible manner.” (*Illinois State Register*, 17 April 1894, p. 6). At that time, she was living near the Twelfth and Madison Street intersection. Two years later, Annie was arrested “for keeping a house of ill-fame,” presumably on East Madison Street (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 May 1896, p. 5; *Illinois State Register*, 5 October 1898, p. 2). In late 1906, city authorities were attempting to run her out of town, and although she had only recently been “given hours to leave town,” she was again arrested “on the same old charge, disorderly” (*Illinois State Register*, 12 December, 1906, p. 14). Apparently, Rhodes never left town, as in February 1908 she was described as “an aged woman with a most deplorable past” who had been “taken from the county jail to St. John’s hospital” in “a very serious condition. She was recently allowed to find shelter and care in the county jail because she was destitute and had no home or friends. She has been a familiar character in the local justice courts, jail and police station and has repeatedly served time in the jails of the city. At one time she was imprisoned in the county jail for six months and has served many lesser sentences. Her health has been failing for some time and she has grown gradually worse since she has been at the county jail. Annie Rhodes is well advanced in years and her condition is thought to be critical” (*Illinois State Register*, 12 February 1908, p. 11). Although in bad physical condition, a 50-year-old Annie Rhodes appears to have been issued a marriage license to wed one Alexander Bennett (70 years of age) in early September 1908—if indeed this is the same Annie Rhodes (*Illinois State Register*, 01 September 1908, p. 5). Annie Rhodes died in early January 1910 (*Illinois State Register*, 14 January 1910, p. 5).

The possibility exists that the Annie Rhodes noted above was not the same individual occupying the house at 312 North Tenth Street. In late September 1908, Annie J. Rhodes filed suit for a divorce against her husband Thomas J. Rhodes on grounds of “habitual drunkenness.” Annie and Thomas had married in July 1902, and had “resided together until this year [1908]” (*Illinois State Journal*, 23 September 1908, p. 10).

received aid for groceries totaling \$5 (*Illinois State Register*, 20 March 1906, p. 6; 19 June 1906, p. 6).

An inventory of damaged buildings and riot claims filed against the City of Springfield shortly after the August 14-15 riots was prepared during the Phase II investigations (see Appendix II, Mansberger and Stratton 2016). The inventory identified two houses on the east side of the 300 Block of North Tenth Street. The inventory identified these two properties as being located at 314 and 320 North Tenth Street. According to the newspaper accounts from 5 September 1908 (see Table 3, Appendix II, Mansberger and Stratton 2016), 314 North Tenth Street was owned by H. I. Freeman (sic, Henry Friedman) and 320 North Tenth Street was owned by Isaac Kanner. Whereas the house on Lots 1-2, Wright and Brown's Subdivision was identified as 314 North Tenth Street on the available Sanborn fire insurance maps, and it was owned by Henry Friedman at the time of the riots, it correlates well with the house identified in the inventory as 314 North Tenth Street.

The second house identified by this inventory—320 North Tenth Street—would be expected to lie to the north of the house on Lots 1-2, Wright and Brown's Subdivision (on the north half of the block, north of the alley). Unfortunately, neither the 1906 or 1908 city directories list a 320 North Tenth Street as an existing address in use at that time. Both city directories list four residences along the east side of the 300 block of North Tenth Street, and label them (from south to north) as 312, 314, 322, and 324 North Tenth, with 312 and 314 being located south of the alley closer to Madison Street, and both 322 and 324 being located north of the alley closer to Mason Street. As such, the location of the burned residence identified as 320 North Tenth Street is unknown—perhaps referencing 322 or 324 North Tenth Street.

The initial list of properties damaged during the riots, as reported by the *Illinois State Journal* on 16 August 1908, suggested four houses along the east side of North Tenth Street. The first one mentioned was simply listed as a double frame shack owned by Aunt Sue Crawford on the east side of Tenth Street near Madison. Subsequent newspaper research (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 28 August 1908, p. 6) suggests that this probably referenced a house on the east side of Eleventh Street, near Madison. A second house, referenced as a residence owned by Robert Darden, was simply identified as being located at an unidentified Tenth and Madison Street location. Unfortunately, the city directories and newspapers are silent as to where Mr. Darden was living at the time of the riots. Finally, this same news article notes the total destruction of “two shacks” owned by “negroes” located at Tenth and Madison Streets, *north of the U.S. Gypsum Company's plant*. This would most likely refer to the two houses south of the alley identified as 312 (Lot 3) and 314 (Lots 1-2) North Tenth Street. It is interesting to note the newspaper's statement that the houses were owned by Blacks, even though the dwellings had been sold in the recent past to white landlords. Perhaps the newspapers reference to 320 North Tenth Street was a typographical error, and should have read 312 North Tenth Street. Unfortunately, it is currently unknown who owned 312 North Tenth Street in August 1908, and no reference to an occupant named “G. West” at this location has been identified. As such, no riot claims appear to have been filed for property damage incurred at 312 North Tenth Street.

The 1917 Sanborn fire insurance map depicts two small, single story frame buildings on Lot 3, one of which was noted as being “iron clad.” These buildings were most likely associated with

an unidentified commercial function. Around 1920, a one-story, brick-faced commercial building was constructed on Lot 3 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision. This structure was built for Ben Wright, and/or the Ben Wright Hide Company, which processed hides and tallow at this location. Although it currently is unknown as to when Wright purchased Lots 1-3, he most likely purchased the two lots in late 1920 or early 1921.⁵² City directories typically list the company's address as 312 North Tenth Street (though some newspaper advertisements list it as 310 North Tenth). In late 1922, Wright was noted as having over nineteen years of experience in the business, and a leader in the business (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 September 1922, p. 12). In 1939-1940, Ben Wright made a large addition onto the north of his building, expanding it onto Lots 1-2. After this, the property was addressed as 312-316 North Tenth Street. Several historic photographs show the building prior to its expansion. After Ben Wright died in 1948, his son Phillip continued to operate the hide company from this location (*Illinois State Journal*, 24 September 1948, p. 18). The 1950 and 1952 Sanborn maps illustrate the expansion of the hide company's building onto Lots 1-2. In July 1959, Phillip Wright et al. purchased Lots 4-8 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision from C. W. H. Schuck and Son. This acquisition consolidated the Wright family's ownership of the entirety of the subdivision (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1959, p. 5). This was the same building, albeit greatly renovated, used as a warming center by the City of Springfield and demolished immediately prior to the Phase II investigations.

Lots 4 and 5: Lots 4 and 5 are both located immediately south of Lot 3 and front Tenth Street to the west. The combined width of the two lots was 40'. In late December 1856, Stephen Whitehurst and Bishop Rucker purchased Lots 3-8 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision from Thomas Lewis (Trustee) for the sum of \$200 (SCDR XX:641).⁵³ Whitehurst sold his half interest in these six lots to Bishop Rucker in May 1857 for \$100 (SCDR ZZ:404). It was not until April 1864 that Rucker sold Lots 4 and 5 to William Riddle for the sum of \$154.85 (SCDR 19:145). The approximate \$77 sale price was similar to that he had received for the adjacent Lot 3, and although slightly over double the price he had purchased the lots for, the sale price probably suggests the lots were unimproved at that time (SCDR 42:381). The 1864 *Springfield City Directory* lists William Riddle as "colored" and residing on Eighth Street, between Washington and Jefferson (SCD 1864). In 1866, the city directory indicates that Riddle, a carpenter by trade, resided in a house on the east side of Tenth Street, three houses north of Madison—the suspected location of the house on Lots 4 and 5 (SCD 1866:188). The 1868 and 1869 city directories indicate similar listings for Riddle (SCD 1868:144; 1869:146).⁵⁴

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population suggests that Lots 4 and 5 were occupied by the African American Joseph Faro family, suggesting that the family moved into this dwelling sometime in

⁵² Ben Wright was a Russian-born Jew who immigrated to the United States in 1904. He was living in Pana, Illinois, working at a junk yard, when the 1920 U.S. Census was compiled, but he apparently relocated to Springfield soon after, as he is listed in the 1921 *Springfield City Directory*, which notes his business at 312 North Tenth Street. Wright was one of several Jewish families that invested in this neighborhood during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (cf. vignettes on neighborhood landlords).

⁵³ This represents \$33.33 for each of the six undeveloped lots. Stephen S. Whitehurst was a printer by trade (cf. his obituary, *Illinois State Journal*, 20 May 1875, p. 4).

⁵⁴ Little is known about William Riddle. In early 1867, the local newspapers reported on theft of "a lot of iron from William Riddle" (*Illinois State Register*, 8 March 1867, p. 4).

1869 or early 1870. In the census tabulations, this household was sandwiched between David Sabington [sic Sappington] and John Clay households on Lots 3 and 6, respectively. Faro was noted as a 36-year-old laborer living with his 29-year-old wife Mary and their three children (Daniel, 15 years old; Carline, 14 years old; and Laura, 12 years old). Additionally, a 13-year-old Ellen Taylor was also residing in the house. All six individuals were noted as having been born in Kentucky (USCB 1870). The 1872 city directory simply lists Joseph Pharo [sic Faro] as residing on Tenth Street, near Madison (SCD 1872:96). The 1873 city directory notes Joseph Pharoah [sic] was residing on the east side of Tenth Street between Madison and Mason Streets (SCD 1873:141). By the publication of the 1876 *Springfield City Directory* Joseph Faro, Sr. was residing across the street at 313 North Tenth Street (House C; SCD 1876:236). The 1876 city directory indicates that Scott Robison, a Black cook, resided at 306 North Tenth Street (SCD 1876:242).

Ownership of the dwelling at 312 North Tenth Street appears to have remained in the Riddle name throughout the 1870s and into the early 1880s. Unfortunately, little information is available as to the whereabouts of Riddle during these years. Beginning in 1869, Riddle apparently began a ten-year stretch in which his property taxes were paid late (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 15 April 1869, p. 4). The 1869 list of delinquent property taxes indicate that both Lots 4 and 5 went unpaid and were listed in the name of “W. Riddler’s [sic] Est[ate]” suggesting that he had apparently died sometime circa 1868-69 (*Illinois State Register*, 17 September 1870, p. 6). Unpaid tax notices for this property, in Riddle’s name, were published in 1874, 1876, 1879, and 1881 (*Illinois State Register*, 23 April 1874, p. 12; 25 May 1876, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 21 June 1879, p. 4; 26 May 1881, p. 9). Presumably, during these years, the property was occupied by tenants.

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population suggests that the house on Lots 4 and 5 had been duplexed by this date, as the census lists two separate households within the dwelling at that time. The first family to be enumerated was that of David Minard, a 25-year-old Black servant who was living with his wife Emma (21 years of age). The second family enumerated in the 1880 census was that of Thomas Purvine, a 33-year-old Black brick mason from Florida. Purvine was living with his wife Mariah (27 years old) and their two young children (Eva, 6 years of age; William, 3 years of age). The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Minard was a waiter at the Leland Hotel (no residence location given), and Purvines was a brick layer residing at 308 North Tenth Street (SCD 1880:145, 164).

In August 1882, the two lots were sold by the Sangamon County Clerk to Nathan Place for non-payment of taxes (SCDR 71:438). Efforts to remove Thomas Purvines from the residence by Nathan Place became a court battle, as Purvines refused to vacate the premises (*Illinois State Register*, 30 November 1887, p. 3). Similarly, the County Clerk again sold the two lots to J. D. Hardin in September 1887 (SCDR 78:588). The same day that Hardin purchased the property from the County Clerk, he resold the two lots to Thomas Purvines for the sum of \$29 (SCDR 81:467). The 1887 city directory indicates Thomas Purvines was residing at 310 North Tenth Street at that time (SCD 1887:255). The 1887 city directory also notes that Mrs. Emma Minnard boarded at 310 North Tenth Street (SCD 1887:224).

Thomas Purvines and his family remained in the house at this location for only a few more years. On 1 January 1890, Purvines sold the two lots (and improvements) to Samuel Prather for the sum of \$800 (SCDR 86:325). At the time of the sale, the grantors reserved “the privilege of removing all buildings from the premises.” Prather was the primary stockholder for the Fitzgerald Plaster Company.⁵⁵ By late 1890, the company had constructed a large commercial plant at the northeast corner of Madison and Tenth Streets (predominately on Lots 6, 7, and 8). Although purchased by Prather, the house on Lots 4 and 5 was not demolished immediately for construction of the adjacent plant. The 1890 Sanborn fire insurance map depicts the newly constructed plant, as well as the adjacent frame house on Lots 4 and 5.⁵⁶ An 1890 lithograph illustrating the recently constructed plaster company’s plant located at the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison streets appears to illustrate a small portion of the house (the gable end) of the house once located on Lots 4 and 5 (Barker 1890: plate 9) (Figure 10). By 1896, the house has been demolished (cf. 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map). In July 1959, Phillip Wright et al. purchased Lots 4-8 of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision from C. W. H. Schuck and Son.⁵⁷ This acquisition consolidated the Wright family’s ownership of the entirety of the subdivision (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1959, p. 5).

Lot 6: Lot 6, which is 40 ft in width, is located immediately south of Lot 5 and fronts on Tenth Street to the west. In late December 1856, Stephen Whitehurst and Bishop Rucker purchased Lots 3-8 of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision from Thomas Lewis (Trustee) for the sum of \$200

⁵⁵ In late 1889, the Secretary of State issued incorporation papers for the Fitzgerald Plaster Company, Springfield. The capital stock was valued at \$50,000 with S. E. Prather, John T. Orr, and Clinton L. Conkling as primary stockholders (*Illinois State Journal* 18 December 1889, p. 1). The *Illinois State Journal* announced that a contract had been awarded for the construction of “a handsome three-story brick building, to be erected on the corner of Tenth and Madison streets” (“The Boom Is Coming,” *Illinois State Journal*, 25 January 1890, p. 1). Plans for the building apparently changed before construction started, as in May of that year, the paper noted that the Fitzgerald Plaster works was to be a two-story frame building, 60x125 feet, construction at a cost, including machinery, of \$30,000 (*Illinois State Register*, 11 May 1890, p. 8). By late 1890 the plant was in operation, producing twenty tons of plaster every ten hours and employing twenty-five men. (*Illinois State Journal*, 2 January 1891, p. 1; *Illinois State Register*, 30 August 1891, p. 1; “A Big Deal,” *Illinois State Register*, 19 September 1891, p. 5). The plant was purchased by John F. Duncombe of Fort Dodge Iowa (*Illinois State Journal*, 18 December 1898, p. 3). Duncombe, in turn sold his interest in the firm to the U.S. Gypsum Company in 1902 (*Illinois State Register* 24 October 1902, p. 4). By 1916, Schuck and Son, a building materials firm (whose lumberyard was located on the opposite side of Madison Street from the mill) had acquired the property, though they leased it to other parties initially. In 1920, the Pozzolana Company remodeled the plant for the production of Italian stucco. This operation was short lived, however, and the plant reverted back to Schuck and Son in early 1958, followed by demolition shortly thereafter (*Illinois State Journal*, 7 January 1920, p. 2; 6 February 1958, p. 6).

⁵⁶ The 1890 Sanborn map is the first fire insurance map to depict Wright and Brown’s subdivision. The Fitzgerald Plaster Company had constructed a plant on Block 2, on the northeast corner of Madison and Tenth streets (Lots 7 and 8, Wright and Brown’s Subdivision), replacing the two residential structures formerly located at that location (see Figure 15).

⁵⁷ C. W. H. Schuck and Son was a building materials firm who sold masonry and plaster supplies from a building due east of the plaster mill (1023 East Madison Street). Although the two Sanborn maps label this building as “plaster mill,” they also note that the interior was being used for “wood working.” The 1953 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Springfield Wood Works, Inc. was using the mill building as a warehouse—a use that apparently continued into 1956 (SCD 1953:225; 1956:240). The mill was demolished early in 1958 (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 February 1958, p. 6).

(SCDR XX:641).⁵⁸ Whitehurst sold his half interest in these six lots to Bishop Rucker in May 1857 for \$100 (SCDR ZZ:404). Deed records suggest that Lot 6 remained in Rucker's ownership through 1871, at which time it was purchased along with additional property (including several hundred acres of rural farmland) at a sheriff's sale by R. A Keazer [sic Keager?] for the sum of \$154.85 (SCDR 44:7). Again, in June 1889, the property was sold for non-payment of property taxes to J. D. Hardin (SCDR 78:602).

Although deed records do not reveal when the Clay family purchased Lot 6, published delinquent property tax listings, combined with city directories, suggest that John Clay probably had purchased, and was residing at this location, by 1866. The 1866 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that John Clay, a Black cook, was living on the east side of Tenth Street, two houses north of Madison Street—which would place him at this location.⁵⁹ The 1865 list of delinquent taxes indicates that Thomas Rucker was responsible for paying these taxes (and the presumed owner of the property) (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 March 1865, p. 3). Similarly, unpaid taxes for 1868 were noted as the responsibility of John Clay (*Illinois State Register*, 15 April 1869, p. 4). Clay failed to pay his 1868, 1869, 1873, 1875, 1879, and 1880 property taxes on time as well—and thus the reason for the two separate tax sales in 1871 and 1889.⁶⁰ Although the county followed through with two separate tax sales, it would appear that Clay was successful in regaining title to his property from the two individuals that had purchased the property for the delinquent back taxes owed.

The 1868 city directory listed John Clay, a laborer, residing on Tenth Street, between Madison on the south and Mason on the north (within the existing project area) (SCD1868:69). The 1869 and 1873 city directories similarly indicate Clay at this same location (SCD 1869:551 1873:44). The 1873 directory indicates that John Clay was working as a waiter by that time.

The 1870 U.S. Census of Population enumerated two families living in the presumed dwelling at this location. The first of these was John Clay (a 29-year-old Black laborer born in Missouri) and his young wife Anna (30-years of age).⁶¹ It is interesting to note that Clay is not listed as owning any real or personal property in the census, even though he presumably owned his house at that time. The second family indicated as living in this same dwelling was that of Sidney Donnegan (the 46-year-old widow of Wiley Donnegan; see Donnegan vignette). [see note below; the Clay family may have had family ties to the Donnegan family.] Living with Sidney

⁵⁸ This represents \$33.33 for each of the six undeveloped lots. Stephen S. Whitehurst was a printer by trade (cf. his obituary, *Illinois State Journal*, 20 May 1875, p. 4).

⁵⁹ The earlier 1864 city directory indicates that John Clay (colored) resided on Eighth Street, between Washington and Jefferson Street (SCD 1864:25). This was the heart of the early Levee district, and location of a small cluster of Black individuals (including the 47-year-old washerwoman named Rachel Clay) in the 1860 census.

⁶⁰ Reference the other newspapers (1868, 1869, 1873, 1875, 1879, and 1880).

⁶¹ Marriage licenses suggest John Clay married Anna Lewis in 1887 (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 July 1887, p. 4) and Laura Horton in 1889 (*Illinois State Register*, 8 November 1889, p. 3). According to the local newspaper, Laura and John “are both colored, and begin life together with a pretty fair knowledge of what it means to get married. Laura has already seen two husbands buried, and her new husband has already lost a couple of wives” (*Illinois State Journal*, 9 November 1889, p. 4).

was her children: Narcissa (19 years of age), Susan (16 years of age), Presley (14 years of age), and David (12 years of age), as well as a 30-year-old Black laborer named George Gloss. The Donnegan family was noted as being mulatto. The 1876 *Springfield City Directory* is the first to list Clay with a formal street address. In that directory, John Clay was noted as the owner of the property at 302 North Tenth Street. Additionally, a Rachel Clay, a widow, was noted as a resident at the same address (SCD 1876:234). Although it is unclear as to the relationship of Rachel and John Clay, she most likely was John's mother.⁶²

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population also enumerated the much larger Clay family at 306 North Tenth Street (and this presumed location). At that time, the family consisted of the 40-year-old John (a farm hand), his wife Cornelia (30 years old), and children: Clinton (16 years old), William (10 years old), Minnie (6 years old), and Lula (3 years old). The 1880 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that John Clay was a farmer residing on the east side of Tenth Street, near Madison (SCD 1880:48).

On 3 January 1890, John Clay sold Lot 6 to Samuel Prather for the sum of \$450 (SCDR 84:414; *Illinois State Journal* 11 January 1890, p. 4). Prather was the primary stockholder for the Fitzgerald Plaster Company. Shortly after the purchase of Lot 6, the house was demolished in preparation for the construction of the Fitzgerald Plaster Company's plant, which had been completed by late 1890. Both the 1890 and 1896 Sanborn fire insurance maps depict this newly constructed building, which was present at the time of the 1908 riots, and it remained one of the few buildings not destroyed at the Tenth and Madison Street intersection during the riots. An 1890 lithograph illustrates the plant (Barker 1890: plate 9). In July 1959, Phillip Wright et al. purchased Lots 4-8 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision from C. W. H. Schuck and Son. This acquisition consolidated the Wright family's ownership of the entirety of the subdivision (*Illinois State Journal*, 15 July 1959, p. 5).

Lots 7 and 8: Lots 7 and 8 are located immediately south of Lot 6 at the northeast corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection. These two lots represent the southernmost two lots within the Wright and Brown Subdivision, and have a combined width of 80-ft. In late December 1856, Stephen Whitehurst and Bishop Rucker purchased Lots 3-8 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision from Thomas Lewis (Trustee) for the sum of \$200 (SCDR XX:641). Whitehurst sold his half interest in these six lots to Bishop Rucker in May 1857 for \$100 (SCDR ZZ:404). Deed records are relatively silent as to the early sale of Lots 7 and 8 by Rucker. A quit claim deed filed in early 1872 references an undated sale of Lot 7 (or part thereof) to Leanna Knox for the sum of \$125 (SCDR 46:183). Similarly, a deed dated November 1860 appears to reference the sale of Lot 8, for \$250, to Mary Brown, albeit incorrectly identifying it as Lot 1

⁶² A 47-year-old Black washerwoman named Rachel Clay was enumerated in the 1860 U.S. Census of Population as residing at a presumed Eighth Street address (adjacent to the infamous Emma Gladdin "house of ill-fame"). Although the 19-year-old John Clay was not noted in the 1860 U.S. Census, it seems reasonable to assume that his mother (Rachel) and siblings (Sarah, Adaline, and Mary) were living at this location at that time—suggesting that they represent a pre-Civil War, free-Black family in Springfield. Also living in the family home at that time, on Eighth Street, was a 20-year-old John Hargraves and his one-month-old daughter Eveline. It is unclear who the mother of the young child was. John may have been the son of the elder John Hargraves—a prominent Black barber in Springfield and husband of Nancy Donnegan (Leanna's daughter). As such, the Clay family may have had familial ties to the Donnegan family, thus explaining the two families sharing this house in 1870.

(SCDR 10:48).⁶³ The sale price of \$250 strongly suggests that the property (Lot 8) had been improved with a dwelling by that date. Mary Brown was the wife of Henry H. Brown—a different man than the Henry H. Brown partnered with Presco Wright.

Although deed records suggest that the Brown family had not purchased this lot until late 1860, city directory research suggests that Henry Brown and his family were living at this location by 1857.⁶⁴ The Brown family was not listed in the 1855-56 *Springfield City Directory*, but they do show up in the subsequent 1857 city directory. The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that Reverend Henry Brown was living in a house on the north side of Madison Street, between Tenth and Eleventh Streets—presumably at the northeast corner of the Tenth and Madison Street intersection, a location that corresponds to Lot 8 (SCD 1857:39).⁶⁵ Unusual for the time, the directory also noted that Brown was “colored” (a man of color). Although the 1858 City of Springfield map does not illustrate a house in this location, it seems probable that a house may have been constructed by Rucker as a rental property on Lot 8, facing Madison Street at about this time.⁶⁶

The 1860 U.S. Census of Population enumerated the Brown family at their presumed Madison Street location. Based on the census, Brown’s family was the only Black family in this area as all his immediate neighbors were white. Brown was noted as a 35-year-old Black man born in North Carolina, with an occupation of ‘Methodist Preacher.’ Living with him was his 31-year-old wife Mary Ann (born in Tennessee), and their four children: William (12 years of age), Sarah (11 years of age), Luella (4 years of age), and Nancy (2 years of age). Also living with the family at this time was 17-year-old Louise Griffith (Black; no occupation) and 64-year-old Agnes Johnson (white; no occupation). Brown was listed as having a real estate valuation of \$500 and a personal estate valuation of \$100. According to the census, the Brown family’s immediate neighbors were 40-year-old John Wood, a white teamster and his family with a real estate valuation of \$1,200 and the 26-year-old John Bunn, an Irish laborer with a personal estate valuation of \$100. Although Bunn apparently did not have a real estate valuation, most of the surrounding entries had a real estate value, albeit low, suggesting a high degree of home ownership in the circa 1860 neighborhood.

⁶³ Rucker had made the same mistake with Elijah Sappington as he had with Brown—in his case deeding him Lot 8 when he intended it to deed him Lot 1. The list of delinquent tax payments for 1861 suggests that Elijah’s brother David was the owner of Lots 7 and 8 [sic Lots 1 and 3?] at that time (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 January 1862, p. 1).

⁶⁴ Neither the 1854 or 1858 *City of Springfield* maps (Potter 1854; Sides 1858) indicate any improvements within Wright and Brown’s Addition to Springfield. Although the 1854 is probably accurate, some improvements (such as the house in which Reverend Brown resided) were probably in place by 1858.

⁶⁵ A second individual (V. Brown) was indicated at a “colored” widow residing on the north side of Washington Street, near the “African Church” (AME Church). This appellation of “colored” for these two individuals is rather unique for this early date, as it is not until the middle 1860s that the city directories begin to systematically reference race.

⁶⁶ Another possibility is that the Reverend Brown was not residing in what was to become his residence at the northeast corner of this intersection, but he may have been residing in a house on the adjacent Lot 12 next door.

The 1860 city directory notes Henry Brown, a whitewasher, residing at the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison Streets, clearly on Lot 8 (SCD 1860:61). This directory does not indicate that he was a preacher, or Black. Although Brown was not listed within the 1863 *Springfield City Directory*, the 1864 city directory simply lists one Henry Brown (“colored”) residing at the corner of Madison and Tenth Streets (no occupation listed). This same directory lists one Daniel Brown, a painter (presumably white) as residing on Tenth Street, between Madison and Mason Streets (SCD 1864:19). The 1866 city directory does not list Henry or his wife, Mary.⁶⁷

As for Leanna Knox, the 1860 U.S. Census of Population notes the 60-year-old Leanna Knox residing with her 28-year-old son William Donnegan (shoemaker) at their Jefferson Street location (north side Jefferson, just east of Eighth Street)—one block south and two blocks west of her new house. Living in the household at that time was William’s 19-year-old wife Levina, two young males named Jesse and John Ayers (15- and 19-years of age, respectively, and a young 6-year-old Thomas Donnegan (presumably William’s son). Although the property probably was in Leanna’s ownership, the census noted that William Donnegan had a real estate valuation of \$900, and a personal estate valuation of \$100. As with the Brown family, the census suggests that all of the Donnegan family’s neighbors were white, and property owners (including that of O. M. Sheldon, a grocer with a real estate valuation of \$9,000 and personal estate value of \$8,000).⁶⁸

The 1863 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Leanna Knox (“colored”) was residing at 53 Jefferson Street. This also was the location of her son, William Donnegan at this time [See Burton and Donnegan Vignettes]. Although the 1864 city directory does not list Leanna, the 1866 directory indicates that she was the widow of Joel and resided in a house on the north side of Madison, two houses east of Eleventh Street (SCD 1866:147). This reference to Eleventh Street presumably is in error, as her house in the Wright and Brown Subdivision was located two houses east of *Tenth* Street (not Eleventh). The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* also indicates that the widow Mrs. L. Knox was living on the north side of Madison Street, between Tenth and Eleventh Streets (SCD 1868:114). As such, it would appear that the widow Leanna Knox moved into her new house adjacent to the Reverend Henry Brown in circa 1864-65.

Although deed records would suggest that Leanna had purchased Lot 7 (which fronted Tenth Street), the city directories suggest that her house fronted Madison Street to the south. The 1867 *Bird’s Eye View of Springfield* (Ruger 1867) suggests that both of the houses on Lots 7 and 8 fronted Madison Street—suggesting that Brown may have held title to the West Half, Lots 7 and 8 and the widow Knox held title to the East Half, Lots 7 and 8. Although the deed records do not reflect this subdivision of these two lots, the published lists of delinquent property taxes for these two lots do, indeed, reflect this division. For example, unpaid taxes from 1865 and 1868 due Henry Brown were for the West Half, Lots 7 and 8 (*Illinois State Journal*, 19 March 1866, p. 3; *Illinois State Register*, 15 April 1869, p. 4). Similarly, assessments from 1869 and 1875 assessed

⁶⁷ The location of Daniel Brown’s residence is unknown. Was he related to Reverend Brown? Similarity in professions (whitewasher versus painter) might suggest such, but the directory suggests that Daniel was white (SCD 1864:19).

⁶⁸ Oliver M. Sheldon was a wholesale dealer in groceries, liquors, and wines. He resided at 75 North Sixth Street, between Madison and Reynolds—approximately two blocks (?) northwest of the Donnegan family (SCD 1860:129).

Leanna Knox were for the East Half, Lots 7 and 8 (*Illinois State Register*, 17 September 1870, p. 6; *Illinois State Register*, 25 May 1876, p. 6).

The year 1876 was a sad year for the Donnegan family, as it was on 21 June 1876 that the family's matriarch—the 82-year-old Leanna Donnegan Knox—died. A simple notice appeared in the local newspaper announcing her funeral at the A.M.E. Church. She was buried in Oak Ridge cemetery. Leanna's heirs (Presley et al) sold the widow's Wright and Brown residence to Narcissa Donnegan (one of Leanna's daughters) in April 1877 for the sum of \$400 (SCDR 62:544). Narcissa died shortly thereafter, and the executor of her estate sold the property to Henry Brown for \$300 in August 1879 (SCDR 66:126). Brown held onto the combined Lots 7 and 8 until January 1890, at which time he sold them to Samuel Prather for the combined sum of slightly over \$700 (SCDR 84:415). At that time, the grantors reserved "the privilege of removing all buildings from the premises." As noted earlier, Prather was the primary stockholder for the Fitzgerald Plaster Company. Shortly after the purchase of Lots 7-8, the two dwellings on the property were demolished in preparation for the construction of the Fitzgerald Plaster Company's plant, which had been completed by late 1890. Both the 1890 and 1896 Sanborn fire insurance maps depict this newly constructed building, which was present at the time of the 1908 riots, and it remained one of the few buildings not destroyed at the Tenth and Madison Street intersection during the riots. An 1890 lithograph illustrates the plant (Barker 1890: plate 9).

Summary and Conclusions

Platted in 1856, yet not occupied until shortly after the Economic Panic of 1857, Wright and Brown's Subdivision, and the family's that occupied this early free-Black enclave, appears to have been the beginnings of the mixed-race neighborhood that became known by the racially-derogatory appellation the Badlands by the 1890s. The Badlands—along with the Black commercial district known as the Levee—became the focus for the mob action that devastated the City of Springfield one hot August weekend in 1908.

Large extended family relocated from downtown locations that had become fairly untenable with regard to unsavory conditions. With Clay family, house on Eighth Street immediately adjacent to one of the most infamous houses of ill-fame in early Springfield (Emma Nash's resort). Similar conditions may have grated on Leanna who was living on Jefferson Street only a few blocks to the north—conditions that eventually drove William Donnegan to relocate as well (to his Spring and Edwards location). As with Coleman, Presley Donnegan, and Sappington family a few years earlier who settled adjacent to the AME Church, these family members settled next-door to one of the more affluent Black preachers and race activist.

Although located adjacent to the Tenth Street rail corridor (and the adverse living conditions of noise and soot associated with steam locomotives of the era), the neighborhood may have seemed rather idyllic compared to conditions in the neighborhoods closer to the downtown central business district that they had left behind. Unfortunately, the "tranquility" and/or relative serenity of this neighborhood was not to last long. In the middle 1870s, for reasons similar to those that spurred the earlier relocation of the extended Donnegan family, Emma Nash and her house of "boarders" relocated from her Eighth Street resort to a new house constructed on the

north side of the 900 block of Madison Street—approximately one-half block to the west of Reverend Brown’s residence and the enclave of Black families that had begun to call this neighborhood home⁶⁹ (Figures 19-20).

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⁶⁹ Appendix x (Volume I) contains a detailed history of prostitution within Springfield.

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United States Bureau of the Census (USBC)

1860a Population Schedule for Virden, Macoupin County, Illinois.

1860b 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

Table 1
Partial Chain-of-title for Lots 1 and 2 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
10 July 1856	Thomas Lewis, Trustee	Stephen S. Whitehurst	Lot 1	\$24	WD	WW:309
24 July 1856	Stephen S. Whitehurst	Bishop E. Rucker	Lot 1	\$75	WD	WW:310
16 April 1860	Bishop E. Rucker	Elijah Sappington (Note 1)	Lot [1]	?	WD	44:535 [ref.]
5 July 1864	Elijah Sappington	George W. Price	Lot 1	\$80	QC	21:100
4 June 1872	Mary A. Brown (& Hus.)	Elijah Sappington (Note 2)	Lot 1	\$1	QC	46:59

Note 1: No deed apparently exists for this transaction, but it is referenced in a later one (44:535), which states that Rucker mistakenly deeded Lot 8 to Sappington when he intended the sale to be for Lot 1. The sale price is not known since the original deed is missing.

Note 2: This quit-claim deed was filed in order to clear up the title to Lot 1, as Rucker had made the same mistake with Brown as he did with Sappington—in her case deeding her Lot 1 when he intended it to be Lot 8.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
30 May 1856	Presco Wright, et al.	Richard Price (Note 1)	Lot 2, and more (Note 2)	\$375	WD	WW:76
1 August 1864	Richard Price	Jno. A. Hughes	Lot 2, and more (Note 3)	\$275	WD	20:105
2 August 1864	Jno. A. Hughes	George W. Price	Lot 2	\$105	WD	21:101

Note 1: Richard Price was a resident of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania.

Note 2: This sale also included Lot 12, Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition, which abutted the east side of Wright and Brown's Subdivision.

Note 3: Lot 12, Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition was included.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
3 April 1868	W. W. Watson	Cornelia Price	Lots 1 and 2	\$243.65	QC	41:554
6 July 1868	George W. Price	William W. Watson	Lots 1 and 2	\$258.65	TD	41:553
3 May 1901	Jacob Edwards	Workman's Building and Loan Association	Lots 1 and 2	\$500	QC	105:518
30 March 1903	Workman's Building and Loan Association	E. S. Williams, et al	Lots 1 and 2	?	Contract	86336 [missing]
3 July 1903	Workman's Building and Loan Association	Henry Friedman	Lots 1 and 2	?	WD	71295 [missing]

--no more transactions through 1904--

Table 2
Partial Chain-of-title for Lot 3 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
20 December 1856	Thomas Lewis, Trustee	Whitehurst & Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$200	WD	XX:641
12 May 1857	Stephen S. Whitehurst	Bishop E. Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$100	QC	ZZ:404
13 October 1863	Bishop E. Rucker	David Sappington	Lot 3	\$75	QC	42:381
1 June 1871	David Sappington	Wm. David Sappington	Lot 3	\$1	WD	51:142
2 July 1904	Wm. David Sappington	Walter Ruchel	Lot 3	\$700	WD	124:438
18 July 1904	Walter Ruckel	Thurman C. Baker, Jr.	Lot 3 and more (Note 1)	\$2,500	WD	124:458
--no more transactions through 1904--						

Note 1: This sale also included Lot 12, Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition, which abutted the east side of Wright and Brown's Subdivision. Ruckel had purchased Lot 12 in May 1904.

Table 3
Partial Chain-of-title Lots 4 and 5 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
20 December 1856	Thomas Lewis, Trustee	Whitehurst & Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$200	WD	XX:641
12 May 1857	Stephen S. Whitehurst	Bishop E. Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$100	QC	ZZ:404
13 April 1864	Bishop E. Rucker	Wm. Riddle	Lots 4 and 5	\$154.85	QC	19:145
1 August 1882	Louis H. Ticknor (County Clerk)	Nathan Place	Lots 4 and 5 (Note 1)	?	TAX	71:438
26 September 1887	Lewis Dorlan (County Clerk)	J. D. Hardin	Lots 4 and 5 (Note 2)	?	TAX	78:588
26 September 1887	J. D. Hardin	Thomas Purvines	Lots 4 and 5	\$29	QC	81:467
1/1/1890	Thomas Purvines (& wf.)	Samuel E. Prather	Lots 4 and 5 (Note 3)	\$800	WD	86:325
--no more transactions through 1904--						

Note 1: The lots had been sold at public auction for non-payment of taxes on 3 August 1880.

Note 2: The lots were being sold for non-payment of taxes due in 1884.

Note 3: The grantors reserved "the privilege of removing all buildings from the premises."

Table 4
Partial Chain-of-title Lot 6 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
20 December 1856	Thomas Lewis, Trustee	Whitehurst & Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$200	WD	XX:641
12 May 1857	Stephen S. Whitehurst	Bishop E. Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$100	QC	ZZ:404
15 November 1871	A. B. McConnell (Sheriff)	R. A. Keazer	Lot 6, and more (Note 1)	\$154.85	TAX	44:7
17 June 1889	S. M. Rogers (County Clerk)	J. D. Hardin	Lot 6 (note 2)	?	TAX	78:602
3 January 1890	John Clay (& wf.)	Samuel E. Prather	Lot 6	\$450	WD	84:414
4 January 1890	Jno. J. Hardin	Samuel E. Prather	Lot 6 (Note 3)	\$20	QC	82:396
29 June 1897	Reuben Keager et al.	John Clay	Lot 6	?	QC	59397 [missing]
--no more transactions through 1904--						

Note 1: This transaction included multiple tracts, including several hundred acres of rural land in Sangamon County and additional lots in Springfield, all of which were being sold for non-payment of taxes.

Note 2: The lot was sold for non-payment of taxes on 29 June 1886.

Note 3: This transaction involved the partial interest Hardin retained in Lot 6 due his previous purchase of the property in a tax sale.

Note 4: The grantors reserved "the privilege of removing all buildings from the premises."

Table 5
Partial Chain-of-title Lot 7 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
20 December 1856	Thomas Lewis, Trustee	Whitehurst & Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$200	WD	XX:641
12 May 1857	Stephen S. Whitehurst	Bishop E. Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$100	QC	ZZ:404
17 September 1872	Bishop E. Rucker (& wf.)	Leanna Knox	Lot 7 (Note 1)	\$125	QC	46:183
24 April 1877	Spencer Donigan (& wf.) et al.	Narcissa Donigan	Lot 7 (Note 2)	\$400	WD	62:544
11 August 1879	Travis Davis (Executor)	Henry Brown	Lot 7 (Note 3)	\$300	WD	66:126
3 January 1890	Henry Brown (& wf.)	Samuel E. Prather	Lot 7 (Note 4)	\$450	WD	84:415
--no more transactions through 1904--						

Note 1: This deed was made "in lieu of one heretofore made for the same Lot and same consideration which has been lost or mislaid or that it cannot be found and not placed in the Record."

Note 2: The heirs of Leanna Knox were selling their interest in Lot 7 to Leanna's daughter Narcissa.

Note 3: Davis was serving as the executor of Narcissa Donnegan's estate. She had died in March 1879.

Note 4: The grantors reserved "the privilege of removing all buildings from the premises."

Table 6
Partial Chain-of-title Lot 8 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
20 December 1856	Thomas Lewis, Trustee	Whitehurst & Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$200	WD	XX:641
12 May 1857	Stephen S. Whitehurst	Bishop E. Rucker	Lots 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	\$100	QC	ZZ:404
17 November 1860	Bishop E. Rucker	Mary A. Brown	Lot [8] (Note 1)	\$250	WD	10:48
4 June 1872	Elijah Sappington	Mary A. Brown	Lot 8 (Note 2)	\$1	QD	44:535
19 May 1879	Bishop E. Rucker (& wf.)	Mary A. Brown et al.	Lot 8 (Note 3)	\$100	QC	64:104
3 January 1890	Henry Brown (& wf)	Samuel E. Prather	Lot 8 (Note 4)	\$257.15	WD	84:415
8 November 1898	Master In Chancery	Samuel E. Prather	Lot 8	?	MD	59411 [missing]
--no more transactions through 1904--						

Note 1: This deed states hat Rucker was selling Lot 1, but this was a mistake. Brown actually was purchasing Lot 8, an error that had to be cleared up later on.

Note 2: This quit-claim deed was filed in order to clear up the title to Lot 8, as Rucker had made the same mistake with Sappington as he had with Brown—in his case deeding him Lot 8 when he intended to deed him Lot 1.

Note 3: This was yet another effort to clean up the title to Lot 8.

Note 4: The grantors reserved "the privilege of removing all buildings from the premises."

Table 7
Partial Chain-of-title Lots 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 (Wright and Brown's Subdivision)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Parcel</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Reference</i>
11 November 1898	Samuel E. Prather (& wf)	Fitzgerald Plaster Company	Lots 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	?	WD	59421 [missing]
12 December 1898	Fitzgerald Plaster Company	John F. Duncombe	Lots 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	?	WD	59590 [missing]
1 March 1902	Jno. F. Duncombe (& wf)	U.S. Gypsum Company	Lots 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	?	Special WD	69211 [missing]

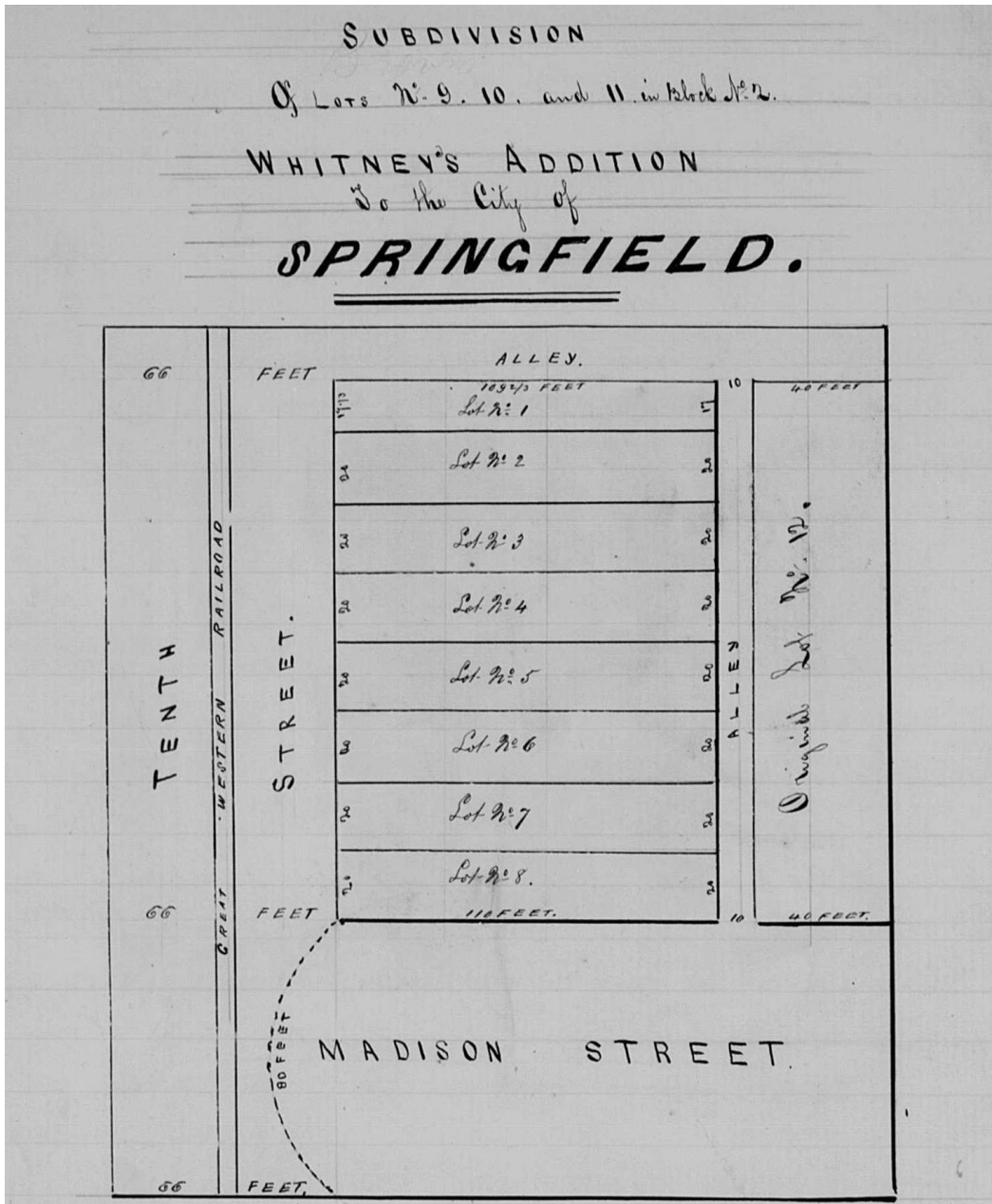


Figure 1. Plat of Wright and Brown's Subdivision, which was surveyed in May 1856. It represented a subdivision of Lots 9-11 of Block 2 of J. Whitney's Addition and produced eight narrow lots reoriented to Tenth Street, and the introduction of a secondary alley between the new subdivision and the old Lot 12 to the east of the newly platted lots. Note the Great Western Railroad running down the center of Tenth Street (SCDR XX:619).



Figure 2. Detail of the 1854 (top) and 1858 (bottom) versions of the *City of Springfield* maps showing the location of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision (highlighted in red; Potter 1854; Sides 1858). The 1854 map predates the platting of Wright and Brown’s Subdivision, but it does note Wright and Brown’s ownership of the three lots they would subdivide two years later. The location of Sites 11SG1532 and 1533 within the subdivision are outlined in blue in the bottom image.

TRUSTEE'S SALE OF REAL ESTATE.

BY VIRTUE OF A DEED OF TRUST,
 executed to the undersigned on 31st day of May, 1856,
 by Prisco Wright and Phoebe A. Wright, and Henry H.
 Brown and Julia S. Brown, and recorded in the Recorder's
 office of Sangamon county, in book No. 1 of mortgages,
 pages 696 and 7, I will proceed to sell at public auction on
 the TENTH day of JULY, at the Court House, in Spring-
 field, for cash, sale to commence at 2 o'clock p. m., the
 following real estate, to-wit:

Lots No. one (1,) three (3,) four (4,) five (5,) six (6,) seven
 (7) and eight (8,) Wright & Brown's sub-division of lots
 number 9, 10 and 11, in block number 2, in J. Whitney's
 addition to the town (now city) of Springfield. Also, seven
 and one-fourth acres of land, lying on the Great Western
 Railroad, a short distance northeast from the Illinois State
 University.

THE above being a CASH sale, it offers a rare oppor-
 tunity for those who have cash to invest in real estate.

THOMAS LEWIS, Trustee.

MAXOY & McALLISTER, Auc'rs. . . . July 7

Figure 3. Advertisement for Trustee's Sale of Wright and Brown's unsold property in their recently platted subdivision, July 1856 (*Illinois State Journal*, 7 July 1856, p. 2).

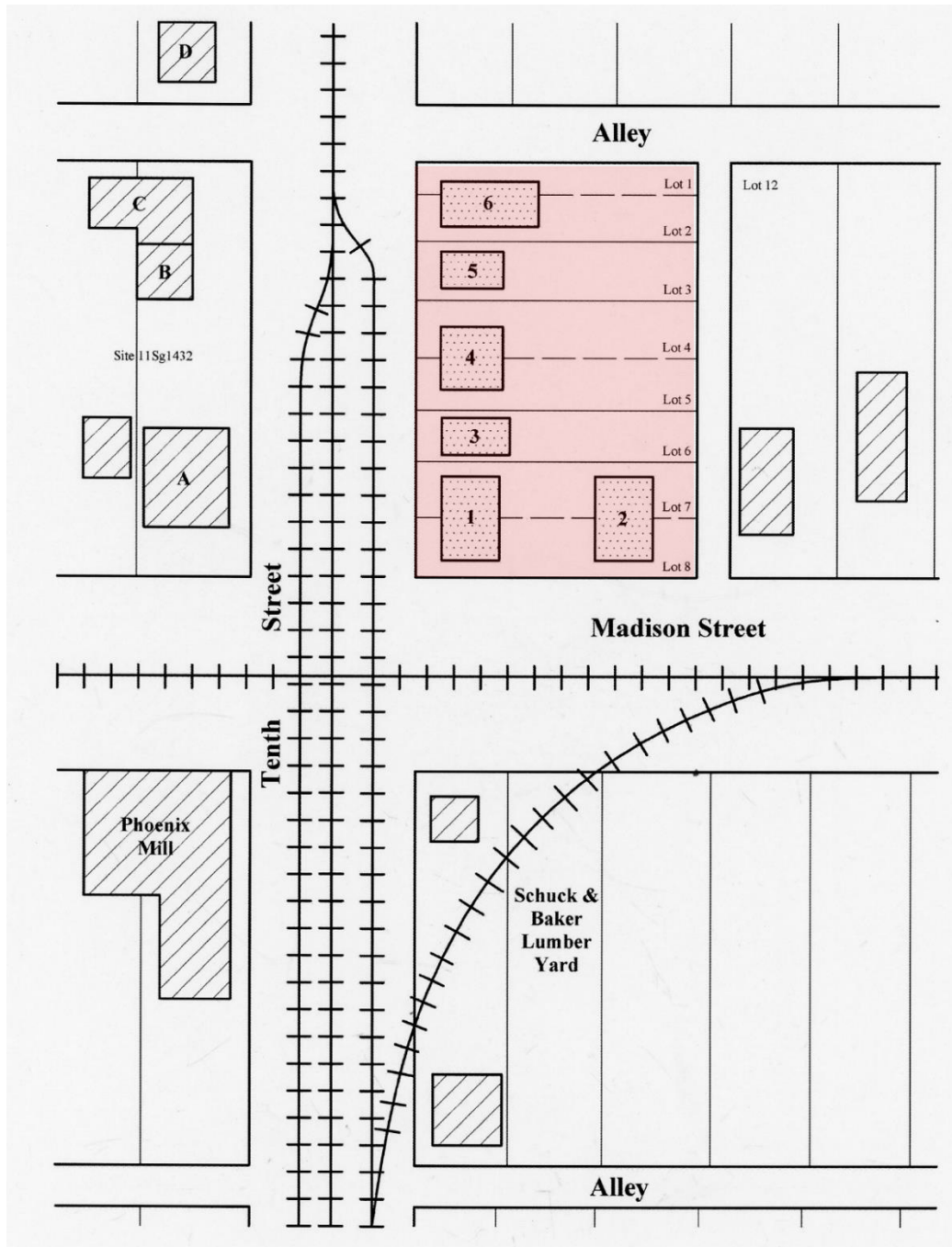


Figure 4. Circa 1871 landscape at the intersection of Tenth and Madison Streets, Springfield, Illinois. By this time, the Wright and Brown Subdivision (highlighted in red) included six houses constructed for, and occupied by, socially elite Black residents, which included: Reverend Henry Brown and his family (1), the widow Leanna Donnegan Knox and her daughter (2), the Clay and widow Sidney Donnegan families (3), the Joseph Faro family (4), the David Sappington family (5), and the recently widowed Cornelia Price and her family (6). Immediately across Tenth Street to the west are located Houses A-D (archaeological site 11SG1432). Houses 5 and 6 are located on Sites 11SG1533 and SG1532, respectively.

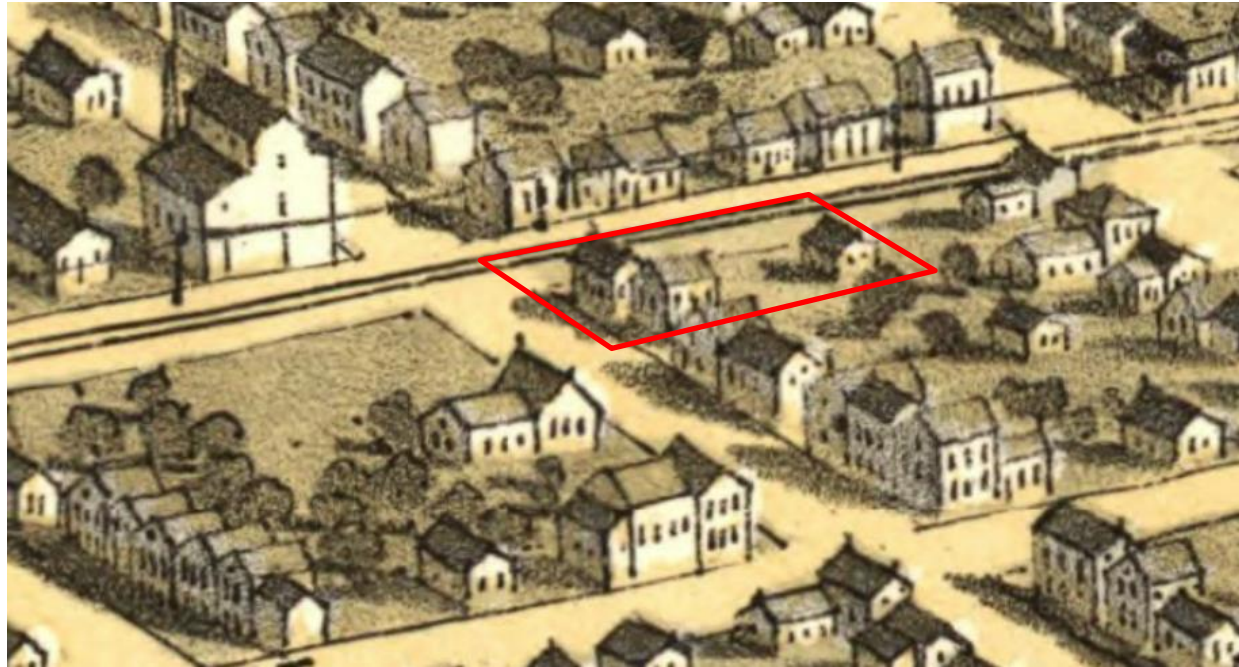


Figure 5. Detail of Wright and Brown's subdivision as it appeared in 1867 (Ruger 1867). This bird's-eye view illustrates two houses along the south side of the property (potentially fronting Madison Street) and a third smaller house along the alley (fronting Tenth Street).

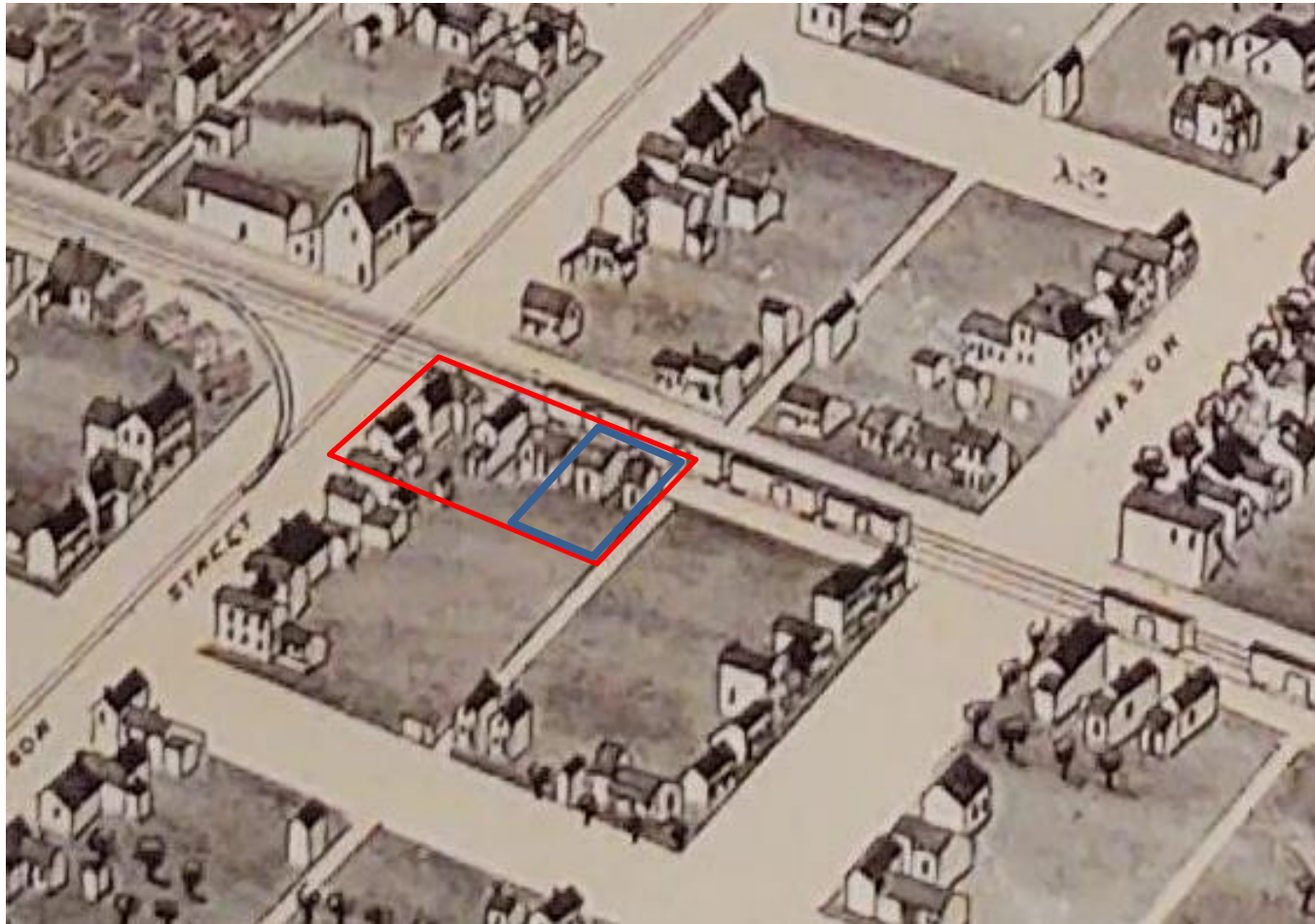


Figure 6. Detail of the neighborhood surrounding Wright and Brown's Subdivision in circa 1873 (Koch 1873). Note the Phoenix Mill across the street to the south and west of the subdivision. By this date, a rail line had been laid down the center of Madison Street. Wright and Brown's Subdivision is outlined in red, whereas Sites 11SG1532 and 11SG1533 are outlined in blue.

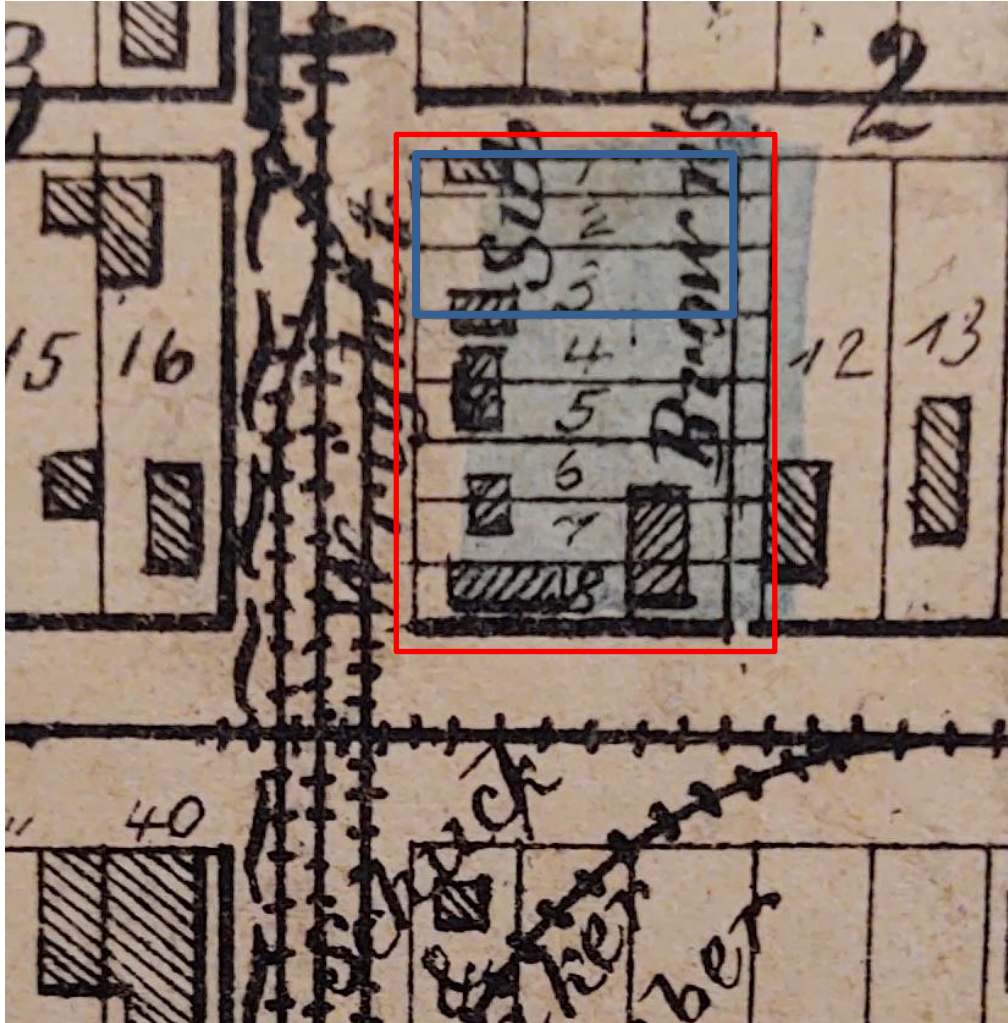


Figure 7. Detail of Wright and Brown's Subdivision, as illustrated on *Map of the City of Springfield, Ill* (Bird 1876). The placement of the houses on the various lots within Wright and Brown's Subdivision is problematic. Wright and Brown's Subdivision is outlined in red, whereas Sites 11SG1532 and 11SG1533 are outlined in blue.



Figure 8. Detail of the neighborhood adjacent to Wright and Brown's Subdivision (outlined in red), as depicted on *Map of Springfield* (Beck and Pauli 1878).

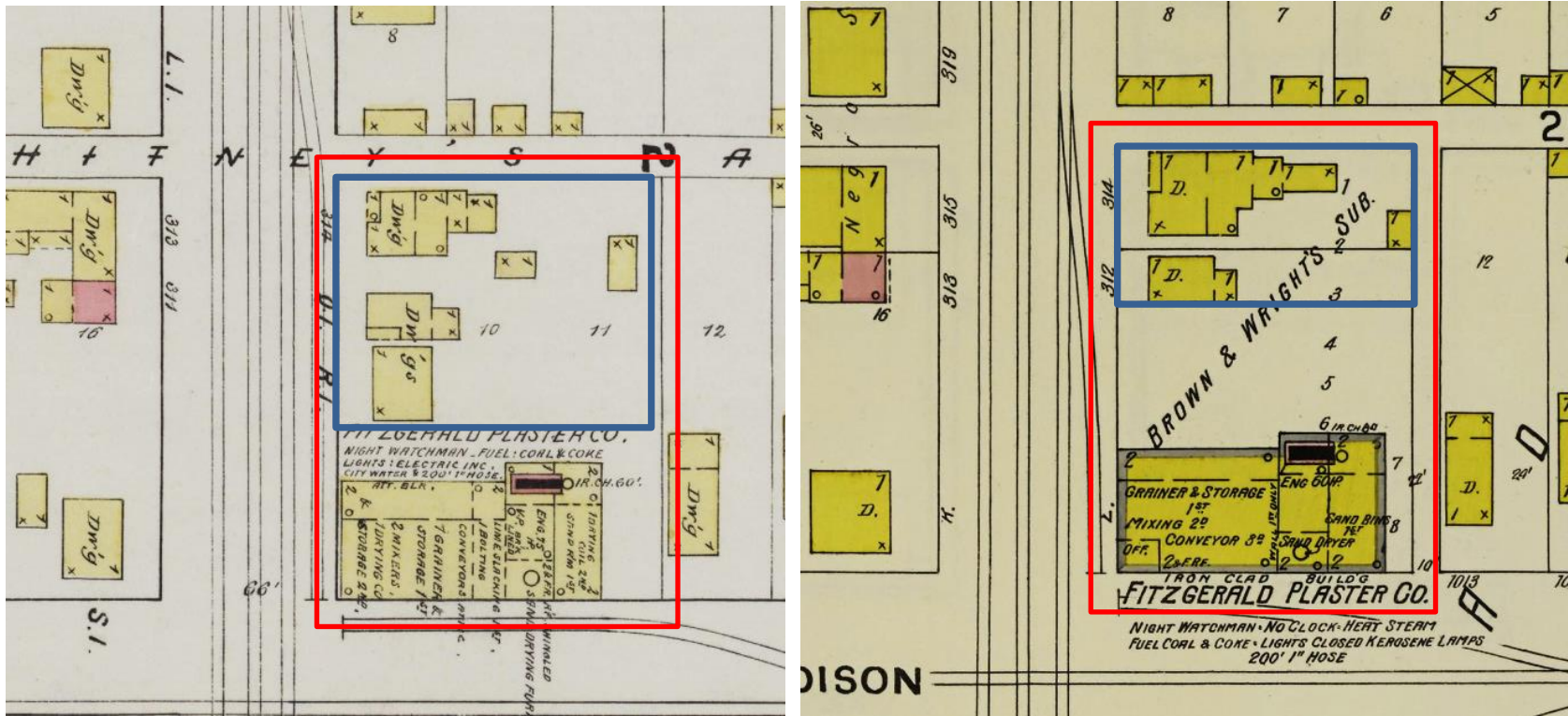


Figure 9. Two views of Wright and Brown’s subdivision, as depicted on the 1890 (left) and 1896 (right) Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. Sites 11SG1532 and 11SG1533 are outlined in blue. These maps illustrate the presence of the Fitzgerald Plaster Company on the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison streets. Constructed in 1890, the plaster mill displaced three earlier residences in the subdivision. The 1896 Sanborn map indicates that the home located directly north of the Fitzgerald Plaster Company (on Lots 4-5) on the earlier map had been demolished by this date. The 1896 map also appears to illustrate the space between the two houses on Lots 1-2 (Site 11SG1532) and Lot 3 (Site 11SG1533) as being less than that depicted on the earlier 1890 map. It is unclear whether this discrepancy indicates a slight relocation of the home at Site 11SG1533 between 1890 and 1896, or whether there was an error in the mapmaking (note the difference in scale of the house on Site 11SG1532 between the two maps).



Figure 10. The Fitzgerald Plaster Company, shown here in an 1890 lithograph, was located on the northeast corner of Tenth and Madison streets. The site of the plaster factory lies partially within the APE (Barker 1890: plate 9). **Construction of the plaster mill resulted in the removal of the three houses previously located on Lots 6-8 of Wright and Brown's Subdivision.**

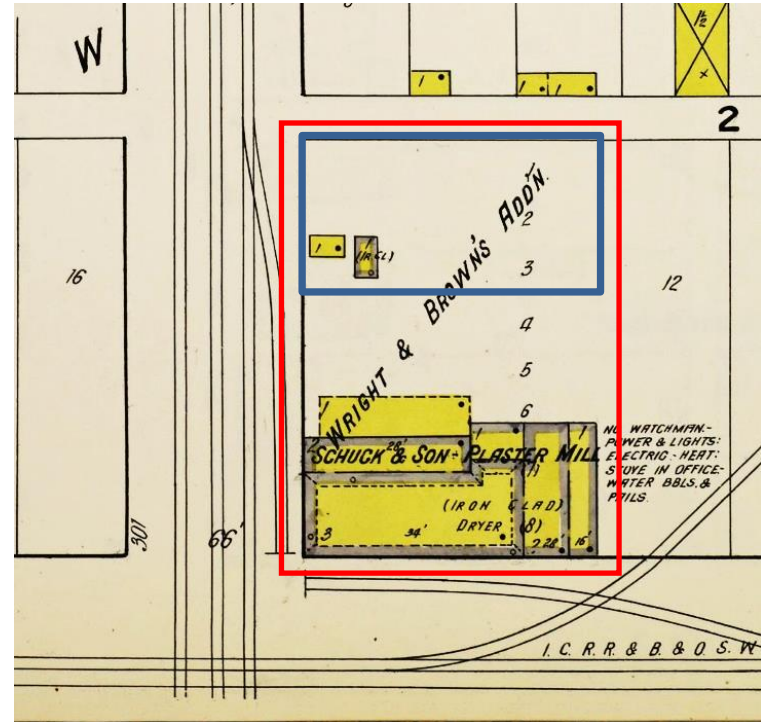
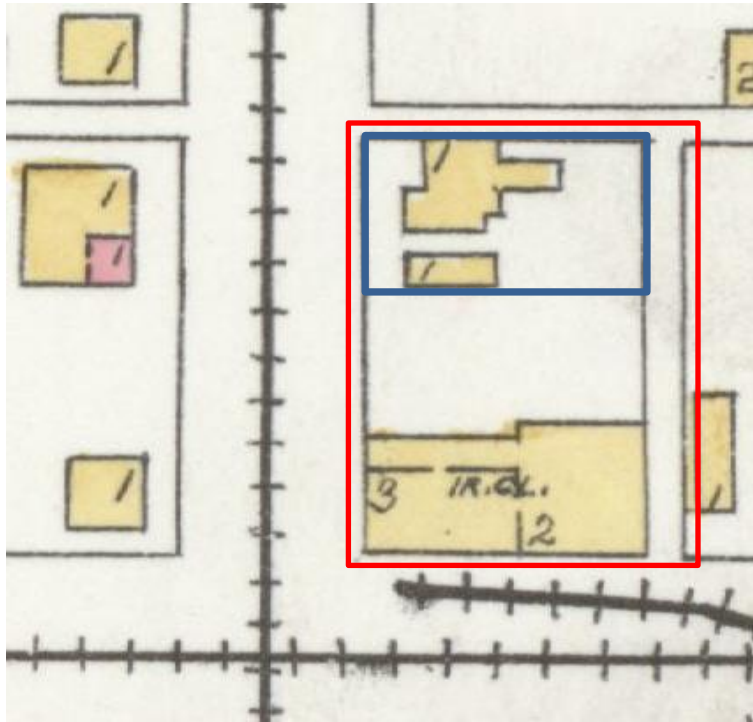


Figure 11. Two views of Wright and Brown's subdivision, as depicted on the 1906 (left) and 1917 (right) Sanborn Fire Insurance maps (Sanborn 1906, 1917:34). The 1917 map indicates the removal of the houses from Sites 11SG1532 and 11SG1533 (outlined in blue) since 1906. Both homes were destroyed in the 1908 Springfield Race Riot.

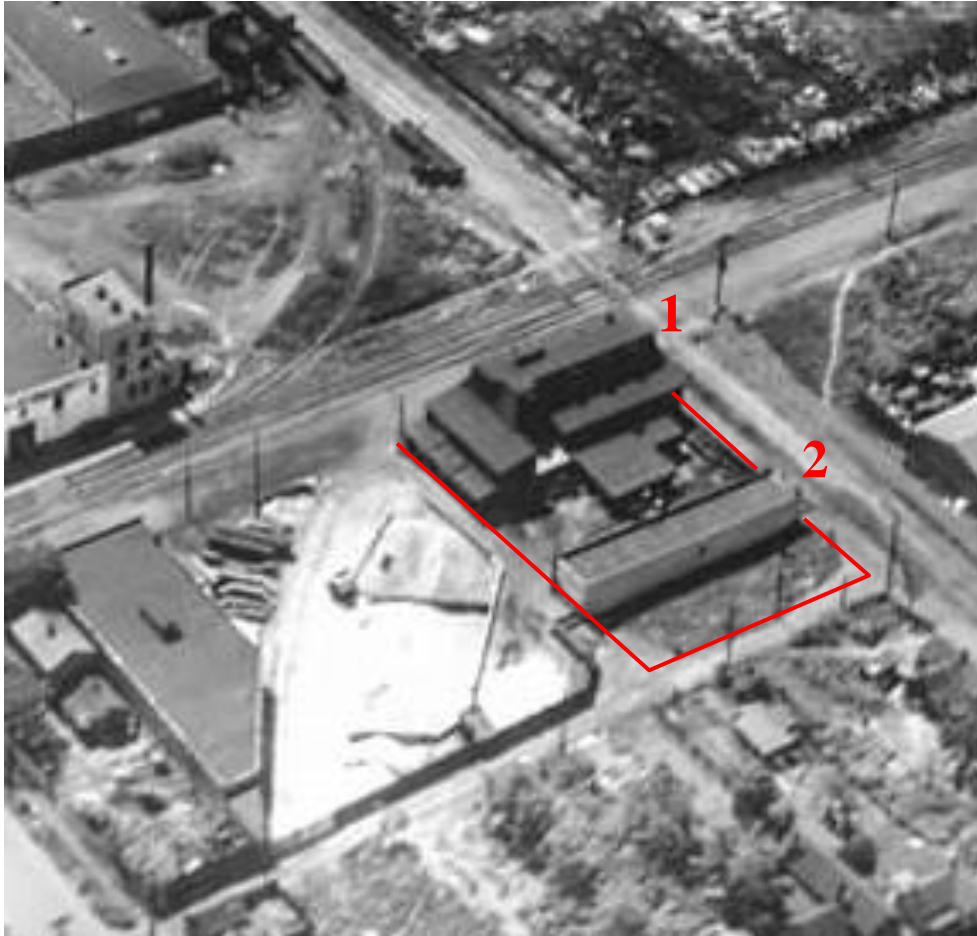


Figure 12. Two photographs taken in the mid-1930s showing developments in Wright and Brown's Subdivision (outlined in red) at that time. (Top) Aerial view, looking southwest and showing the old plaster mill on the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison (No. 1) and the narrow brick building occupied by the Ben Wright Hide Company (No. 2), which had been constructed in 1920-1. (Bottom) Another view of these buildings, looking northeast from the central business district (Sangamon Valley Collection).

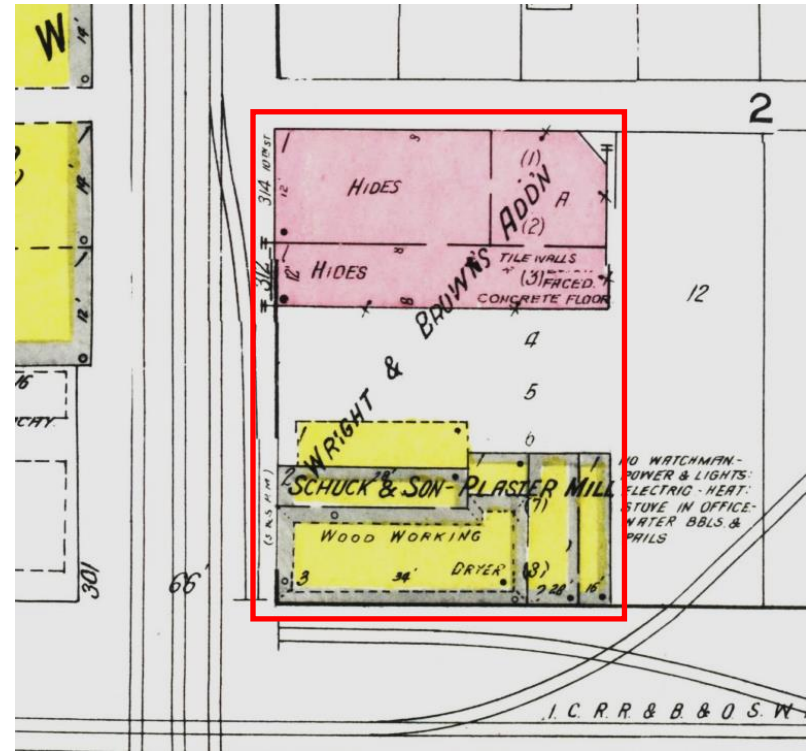
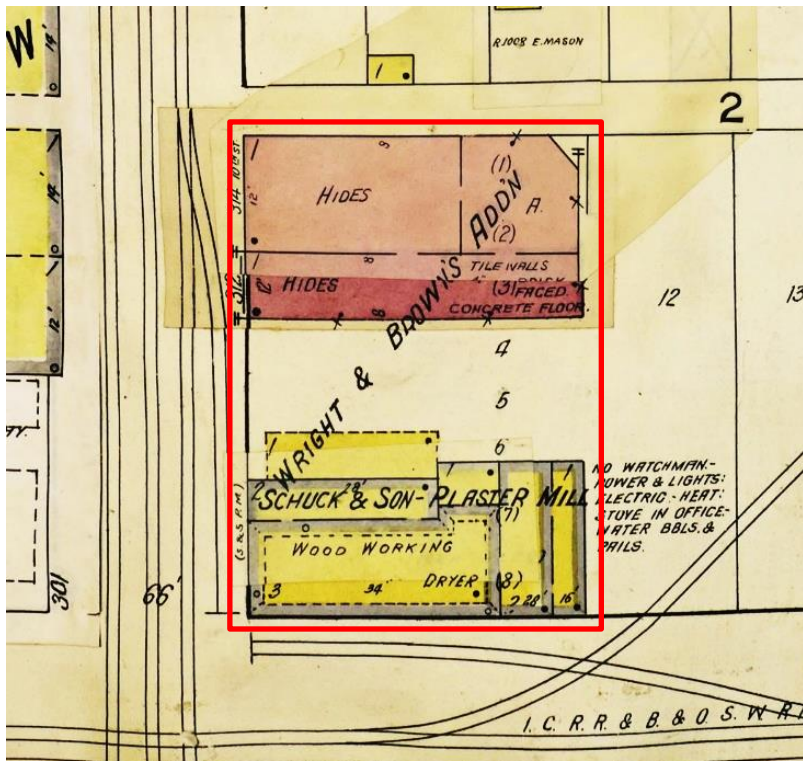


Figure 13. Two views of Wright and Brown's subdivision, as depicted on the 1950 (left) and 1952 (right) Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. The brick commercial building on the north end of the subdivision had been expanded by this time and now covered both Sites 11SG1532 and 11SG1533 (Sanborn 1950:34; 1952:34).



BEGIN DEMOLITION OF OLD GYPSUM MILL—

One of Springfield's oldest industrial buildings, now being dismantled as an eyesore and fire hazard, is being dismantled at the corner of Madison and Tenth streets. The mill, built in 1908, was first operated by Z. McGinnis, making sanded or prepared gypsum for building use. It was later acquired by the U.S. Gypsum Co., which sent William V. Ruhle from Chicago to manage it and who returned to operate it for Schuck & Son. It was damaged in the 1930s by a fire in the yard. Christian Ruhle in 1942. Ruhle sold it in 1946 to Schuck & Son, owned by Charles Schuck and C. W. H. Schuck. In 1948 it was purchased by E. A. Telsy, who manufactured stucco for building use. It was returned to Schuck by default. Schuck III, the present owner, said the property has been a target for vandals in the past two years and was a target for vandals. He plans to sell or lease the land.

Figure 14. Newspaper article and photograph announcing the demolition of the former Fitzgerald Plaster Company mill at Madison and Tenth streets (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 February 1958, p.6).



ATTENTION!!
FARMERS AND BUTCHERS
WE PAY
HIGHEST CASH PRICES
FOR YOUR
HIDES AND TALLOW
BEN WRIGHT
312 North 10th St. Capitol 709
Wabash Private Switch Springfield

Figure 15. Top: Aerial view of Wright and Brown's Subdivision as seen in an early 1960's photograph (Sangamon Valley Collection). The plaster mill had been removed by this date, and the brick commercial building on Lots 1-3 was still occupied by the Ben Wright Hide Company. Bottom: Early 1920s advertisement for Wright's Hide Company (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 August 1921, p. 8).

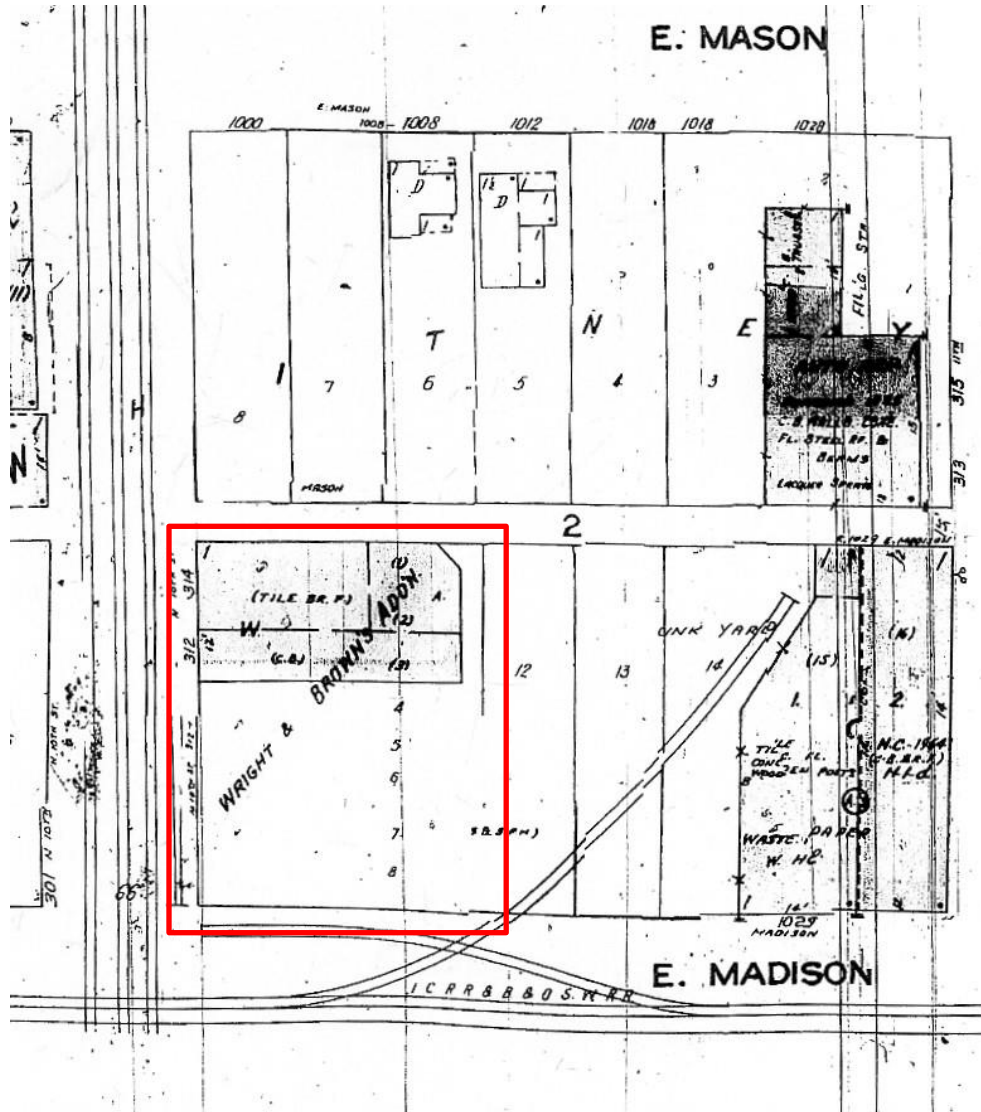


Figure 16. Detail of the 1972 Sanborn fire insurance map illustrating the extant brick building constructed for the Wright Hide Company in circa 1920 (Sanborn 1972:34).



Figure 17. Select field images of artifacts recovered from the encapsulated Pre-Fire midden from Test 2 at Site 11SG1533 (The Sappington Site). These artifacts were recovered from a midden located beneath the charred floorboards of the burned house at this location, and presumably represent materials deposited by the Sappington family during the circa 1860s, prior to the construction of the rear service wing. The Sappington’s were a free-Black family with ties to Springfield’s extended Donnegan family and constructed the house at this location in circa 1863. Top: Worked bone Federal Shield Insignia (with two attachments designed for sewn-on attachment to a garment). Similar brass examples are illustrated online, but this is the only example of a vernacular, hand-carved example that could be located. Bottom: Two elbow pipes. The redware example is of an unknown, well-adorned woman with earrings and presumably a pearl necklace. The second pipe is a simple, undecorated example.



WILLIAM D. SAPPINGTON

Sergeant, Company I, 370th Infantry, 93rd Division, U. S. A. Son of David and Mary Sappington, deceased. Born February 20, 1868, in Springfield, Ill. Address, 1026 East Reynolds street, Springfield, Ill. Entered service in 1917, in Springfield, Ill. Received his training at Camp Logan, Houston, Tex. Sailed overseas April 6, 1918, on the U. S. S. *President Grant*. In action in the Bois Mortier, Acier-Brouzer, Saon-Safere, Forest of Saint Gobain, and St. Pierre. Was in Belgium when the Armistice was signed. Discharged February 24, 1919, at Camp Grant, Ill.

Figure 18. William David Sappington, son of David and Mary Sappington, was born in the house at 312 North Tenth Street, spent much of his early life in that residence, and was deeded the property by his father in 1871 (Site 11SG1533) (Duff 1920).

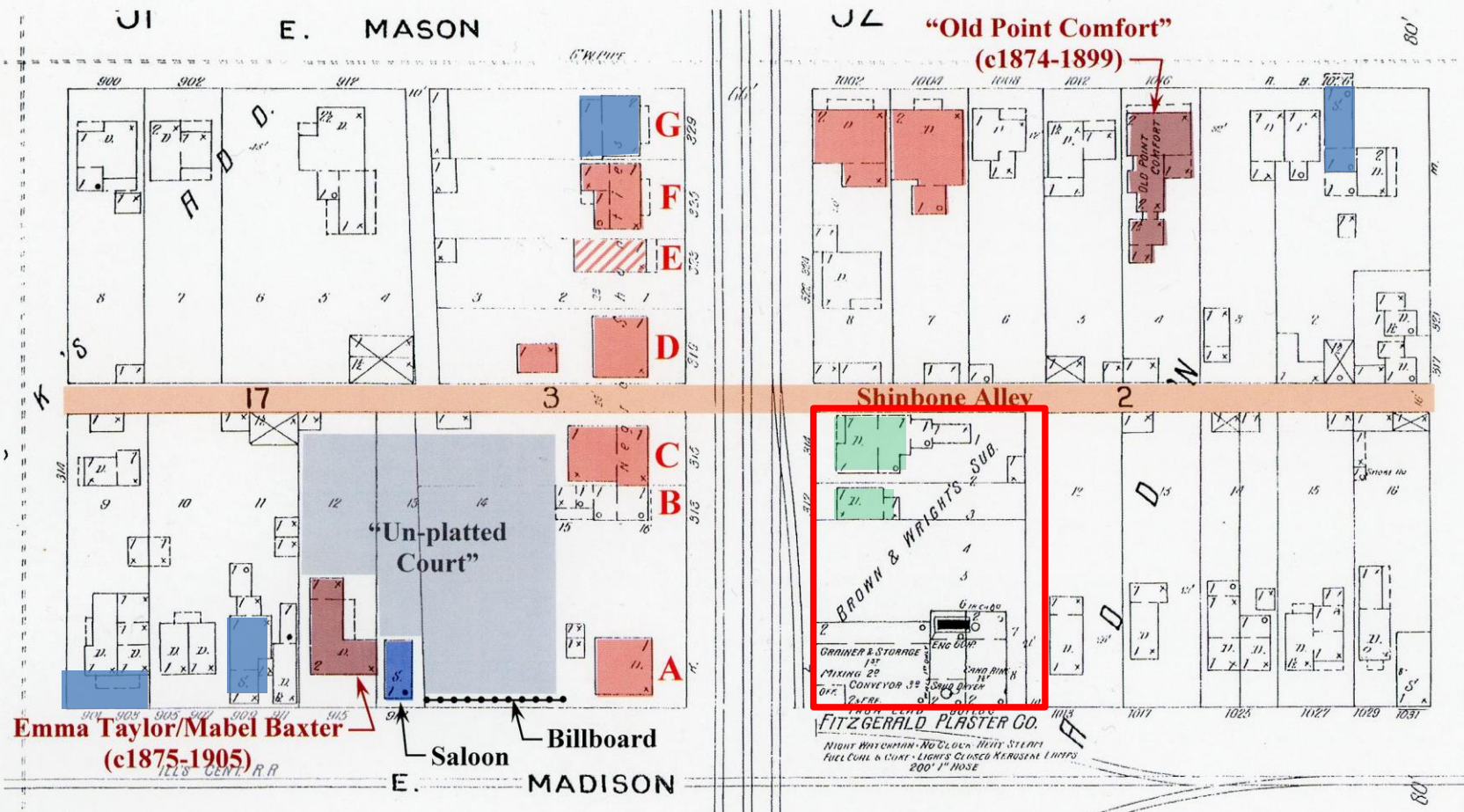


Figure 19. The Tenth and Madison Street neighborhood (circa 1905-08) illustrating Wright and Brown’s Subdivision (outlined in red), the two primary “houses of ill fame” (highlighted in dark red and labeled), and the lesser “resorts” (highlighted in light red). Those houses labeled A through G are the dwellings located within the Springfield Rail Improvements Project that were the focus of earlier archaeological investigations for Usable Segment I (Mansberger and Stratton 2016). The buildings highlighted in blue were the location of saloons, and those highlighted in light green may have operated as Chinese opium dens and/or gambling houses. The saloon to the east of Mabel Baxter’s resort was operated by Mabel Baxter’s husband in conjunction with their “house of ill fame.” Two buildings to the west of Mabel’s house were also saloons.



Figure 9. The intersection of Tenth and Madison streets was severely impacted by the Springfield Race Riot of August 1908, which resulted in multiple buildings around the intersection being set on fire and destroyed. The image above was taken in the immediate aftermath of the riot and looks southwest towards the ruins of four homes destroyed on the south side of the 1000 block of East Eleventh Street. The train in the near distance sits on the switch track connecting the Wabash Railroad (on Tenth Street) with the Illinois Central Railroad (on Madison Street). The roofs rising just beyond the train belong to lumber sheds belonging to the Schuck and Son lumberyard (located at the former site of the Phoenix Mill). The dome of the Illinois State Capitol appears in the far distance (<http://library.uis.edu/archives/localhistory/riotphotos.html>; from the Booth-Grunendike Collection, Archives/Special Collections, Brookens Library, University of Illinois at Springfield).

Appendix XII

Purloined Chickens and “Lord” Lloyd Thomas, King of the Badlands (A.K.A. “Short and Dirty”)

The early life of Lloyd Thomas is more-or-less obscured to history. Although archival records suggest that Lloyd most likely was born in Missouri, the year of his birth is unclear. Death records suggest that he was born on 15 March 1868, the son of Newman Thomas and Caroline Jones.¹ Earlier census records suggest that he had been born in either 1862 or 1863.² The 1870 U.S. Census of Population (USBC) indicates that the 48-year-old, Virginia-born Thomas Newman (Black) was living with his 50-year-old wife Caroline (Mulatto) in rural Cuivre Township, Pike County, Missouri.³ Newman was listed as a farm laborer with \$450 personal property evaluation. Living with the couple were their children Alice (17 years old), John (a 12-year old farm laborer), and Floyd (8 years of age). All three children were listed as being mulatto (USCB 1870). The 1880 U.S. Census of Population also enumerated Newman and his wife Caroline as residing in Pike County. At that time, the family is listed as residents of Bowling Green living with their daughter Mary (23 years of age) and son Loyd (17 years of age). Living within the Thomas household at that time was the family’s grandson, seven-year old Thomas Dougherty (USCB 1880).

Missouri marriage records indicate that Lloyd Thomas married Anna Bell, in Bowling Green, on 4 November 1886. At that time, Lloyd was about 24 years of age. Most likely, the young married couple left Bowling Green for Springfield, Illinois sometime shortly afterwards, in the latter 1880s.⁴ Thomas first appears in the *Springfield City Directory* (SCD) in 1898, as a Black

¹ The 1900 U.S. Census of Population suggests he was born in the year 1868, whereas death records suggest he was born on 15 March 1869 (Illinois, U.S., Deaths and Stillbirths Index, 1916-1947; Ancestry.com). Interesting to speculate that his mother was related to the extended Jones family, frequent residents of the project area neighborhood.

² Both the 1870 and 1920 census returns suggests that Lloyd he was born in 1862, whereas the 1880 census suggests he was born in 1863.

³ Established in 1820, Cuivre township is the location of the City of Bowling Green (which was established as the county seat in 1822). Pike County is notorious, tied with Howard County, as having “the highest number of lynchings of African Americans in the state [of Missouri] during the historical period” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pike_County,_Missouri).

The 1850 U.S. Census of Population lists a 27-year old Black man named Newman Thomas living in Loudon County, Virginia in July of that year. Newman was the only individual of color living within the Betsey Murray household. Betsey, a 56-year old woman with \$6,000 real estate valuation, was living with her presumed extended family, which included two unmarried children in their twenties, and a presumed daughter Betsey Harris (and her husband and children). If this represents the Newman Thomas living in Pike County, Missouri in 1870, it would suggest that he was a free man of color living in the latter 1840s and 1850s Virginia. No Newman Thomas was found within the 1860 U.S. Census of Population.

⁴ Pike County was known for its strong “white supremacy” tendencies and racial hatred towards Blacks during this period. Between 1891 and 1914 five African Americans were lynched in the county. By 1884, a Black laborer

laborer boarding at 608 S. Spring Street—a rental property owned and operated by William Donnegan (SCD 1898:538). The 1900 U.S. Census of Population indicates that the 32-year old Lloyd Thomas was living in Springfield with his 31-year-old wife Anna, and the couple had no children. Thomas' occupation was listed as hod carrier, and that they were living on North Third Street at the time. The census records incorrectly note that Lloyd and Anna were married in 1893.⁵

During the early years of the twentieth century, Lloyd began to appear in the local newspaper accounts in regards to his nefarious activities. In June 1900, the *Illinois State Journal* reported on a fight between two bricklayers (Lloyd Thomas and Thomas Reed) at the construction site of the new Hay school (*Illinois State Journal* 20 June 1900, p. 5). Later in December of that year, a news account indicates that Thomas, a Black hod carrier, was arrested for disorderly conduct and “for some time has been living with a woman in a resort on North Tenth street” (*Illinois State Register*, December 5, 1900, p. 6).

Whether Anna and Lloyd remained together as husband and wife after 1900 is unclear, but seems unlikely.⁶ Based on subsequent newspaper accounts, it would appear that Thomas began leading a lifestyle which alienated him from his wife, and sometime during the first few years of the new century, Lloyd began living with a woman named Lula Nevels in a relationship that lasted for the next two decades.

By early 1903, Lloyd begins to appear in the local Springfield newspapers for his illicit behavior. In May of that year, he was arrested and charged with larceny. The local newspapers report of his criminal activity stated that “a considerable amount of wearing apparel was found in the cocaine joint of Lloyd Thomas on Eleventh street, which was raided a short time ago. The clothing was identified by Mrs. Lucy Boone as her property. Thomas and Gus Stevens were arrested Tuesday by Deputies Price and Lawley on suspicion of chicken stealing and other offenses, and it now develops that they were evidently complicated in this case also. The articles identified by Mrs. Boone were found in a trunk belonging to Gus Thomas” (*Illinois State Register*, 21 May 1903, p. 6). A few days later, the case of larceny against Lloyd Thomas and Gus Stevens, the “two negroes charged with stealing chickens” was brought to Judge Brinkerhoff (*Illinois State Journal*, 26 May 1903, p. 5). As Thomas was unable to produce bond (\$200), he was returned to jail to await trial, and according to the newspapers, “the case against Thomas has attracted attention. He has been suspected by the police and a number of citizens of having implicated in the stealing of chickens. The charge of larceny was preferred against him for

named Newman Thomas was listed living in Kansas City, Missouri, and it may have been during the early 1880s that the family moved out of Pike County.

⁵ A Black woman named Mary Thomas was living in Springfield by late 1862. Mary was reportedly filed accusations of assault and battery against another Springfield woman, Ellen Vance, in September of that year. This case seems to also have involved Leanna Donnegan (*Illinois State Journal*, 17 September 1862, p. 3). Although Lloyd's older sister was named Mary, this woman would have been too old to have been his older sister.

⁶ It currently is unknown as to what became of Thomas' wife, Anna. A news brief from nearby Oakford (in Menard County) from early 1911 reports that a Mrs. George Lewis was visiting her mother Mrs. Anne Thomas. Mrs. Lewis was visiting from her home in Meridian Kansas. It seems unlikely that this is the same Anne Thomas (*Illinois State Register*, 25 January 1911, p. 8).

stealing a large amount of clothing and he was arrested several weeks ago by Deputy Sheriffs Price and Lawley, who have investigated the case. In Thomas' room, the deputies say they found nearly a wagon load of household furnishings, linen, clothing, etc. which have been identified by the owners" (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 June 1903, p. 3). Although only briefly mentioned in this report, it would appear that Thomas was not only involved with burglary activity, but also in the operation of a "cocaine joint" (opium den), an activity that was quickly becoming popular in Springfield during the first decade of the twentieth century, especially within the vicinity of Tenth and Madison Streets. Later that fall, Thomas entered a plea of guilty to stealing napkins and quilts from Lucy Boone, and was fined \$10 and costs, and sentenced to ten days in jail (*Illinois State Journal*, 14 October 1903, p. 6; *Illinois State Register*, 14 October 1903, p. 6).

Although Thomas was a resident of Springfield at the time, the 1902 and 1904 Springfield city directories do not list Lloyd Thomas within the pages of the two directories, and potentially confirms his elusive and/or transient lifestyle at that time.

In mid-1905, Lloyd received \$2.00 in worth of groceries, as charitable assistance from Sangamon County. At that time, he gave his address as 315 North Tenth Street (*Illinois State Register*, 16 June 1905, p. 7), which most likely refers to House D. The 1905 *Springfield City Directory* suggests that Lloyd Thomas, along with John W. Diggs, occupied a house at 315 N. Tenth Street (presumably House D). This directory indicates that both Diggs and Lloyd Thomas were Black laborers (SCD 1905:293, 713). Although Lloyd Thomas is listed in the 1906, 1907, and 1908 city directories, the listing is for a residence at 313 North Tenth Street (presumably House C) (SCD 1906:763; 1907:783; 1908:829). No doubt, confusion exists as to whether Thomas occupied House C or House D, or both at various times during this era.

Again, in late 1906, Thomas ran afoul with his illegal activities. The *Illinois State Register* reported that Thomas was charged with enticing a young woman named Rosie Mitchell (recently released from the Jacksonville asylum) with cocaine to enter a house of ill fame.

Thomas is alleged to have taken the young woman to the bad lands district and to have loaded her with the drug. Thomas is now languishing in the county jail on the charge. Lloyd, with whom Miss Mitchell was at the time of her arrest, is known far and wide as the "king of the bad lands" and has an unenviable name in police records. He is a dealer in cocaine and runs a resort in Shin-Bone alley. He is a bad character and known to all who have dealings with him to be bad (*Illinois State Register*, September 13, 1906) (cf., *Illinois State Register*, 15 September 1906, p. 6).

The *Illinois State Register* also noted that "'Lord' Thomas, King of the Bad Lands" was awaiting trial in late September 1906 (*Illinois State Register*, 22 September 1906, p. 6). By this time, his legal discretions had taken a turn for the worse involving young women, prostitution, and drugs. The newspaper noted that the young Mitchell woman "was arrested... in a cocaine joint in the bad lands as a cocaine fiend" and was locked up in the county jail "not as a coke fiend, but an Insane person." Only a week earlier, she had been released from the asylum at Jacksonville.

The 1906 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Thomas was a Black bricklayer residing at 313 North Tenth Street, a location within the heart of the vice district (SCD 1902, 1004, 1906:763).⁷ Similarly, the 1907 city directory indicates Thomas was a laborer living at the same address. The 1907 list of registered voters published in March of that year by the local newspaper suggests three individuals were residents of 313 North Tenth Street at that time. They included Loyd [sic] Thomas, Warren Minard, and Samuel Hall. Newspaper accounts indicate Minard was a cook, who dropped dead of a heart attack in the spring of 1908 prior to the riots. The 1907 city directory enumerated two Black men named Samuel Hall—neither of which were listed as a resident at this location.⁸ The 1907 *Springfield City Directory* street index indicates that Loyd Thomas and Warren Bernard occupied the house at 313 North Tenth Street. The city directory indicates that Bernard was a Black laborer (SCD 1907:89).

In the summer of 1907, Thomas was again in trouble with the law, this time being arrested for stabbing a young Black man named H. Bridges, near the corner of Tenth and Mason Streets, presumably over the ownership of a half dollar coin, and a woman. In the ensuing quarrel, Thomas drew a knife and slashed Bridge's face and body. Thomas was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, whereas Bridges was charged with disorderly conduct. Bridges apparently lived on Madison Street, between Ninth and Tenth (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 July 1907, p. 5). According to the newspaper account of the incident, "It is alleged that the trouble arose over a woman and 50 cents. Thomas rented a room of the mission man and paid him 50 cents for it and offered the room to a lady friend, who gracefully declined. He then returned to Madison street and requested that the 50 cents be returned to him, and this also was refused him. He and the man who had the room for rent became engaged in a quarrel over the coin and Thomas drew a knife and used it liberally" (*Illinois State Register*, 1 July 1907, p. 6; *Illinois State Journal*, 1 July 1907, p. 5). The outcome of this legal affair is unknown.

Lloyd Thomas apparently was still residing in his Tenth Street residence at the time of the August 1908 riots. At that time, the house he was living in at 313 North Tenth Street, and several surrounding it, were destroyed by fire by the white mob. Although the 1908 *Springfield City Directory* does not have an entry for 313 or 315 North Tenth Street (suggesting that House C may have been unoccupied or vacant at the time), Lloyd Thomas most likely was residing at this location. On September 10, 1908, Thomas filed a claim with the City of Springfield for personal property lost at 313 North Tenth Street (valued at \$316.25) during the riots. The fact that Thomas was not listed as a resident at this location by the directory may suggest that he was using the house as a commercial enterprise, potentially in conjunction with the illicit activities associated with the "unplatted court" located adjacent to the property to the west (see vignette: Tenth Street Vice District). Archaeological excavations suggest that the house at this location (House C) may have been used as a gaming house, as well as a house of prostitution. In late 1909 several citizens impacted by the riots and with claims against the City of Springfield (Thomas being one of them) successfully petitioned the courts for the "right to prosecute as poor

⁷ This most likely corresponds to House C. One Lloyd Thomas was issued a hunters' license by the Springfield city clerk in October 1904 (*Illinois State Register*, 22 October 1904, p. 7). This seems like an unusual endeavor for the Lloyd Thomas of this vignette, if indeed, it was.

⁸ One of the men named Samuel Hall was a bartender boarding at 1517 S. Tenth Street. The second was a miner residing at 912 East Madison Street (SCD 1907:338).

persons” (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 November 1909, p. 6). Thomas’ claim against the city was finally settled in early 1912, with Lloyd Thomas receiving \$59.30 of his \$316 claim (*Illinois State Journal*, 3 January 1912, p. 2).

Shortly after the riots and the destruction of his house and place of business, Thomas was living at Tenth and Jackson streets, a location a bit removed from what was earlier the heart of the Tenth and Madison Street vice district, and although he still kept busy with illegal activities, the character of these infractions appear to have lessened with regard to their heinousness. No longer does his name appear in the newspapers in association with cocaine, underage women, and prostitution. In late March 1909, Thomas was visited by Patrolmen Dotson and Gray, and upon entering the house, the two officers “found traces of a chicken dinner” and “as [the] officers were looking for persons who may have entered chicken coops, they placed Thomas under arrest and he is held pending an investigation. Thomas says he knows nothing of the several thefts of chickens which have been reported to the police in the past ten days” (*Illinois State Journal*, 25 March 1909, p. 9; *Illinois State Register* 31 March 1909, p. 6).

Although Lloyd Thomas was charged with a variety of crimes over the years (including disorderly conduct and assault with a deadly weapon), he seems to have avoided serving any serious prison time through 1908 (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, July 1, 1907; *Illinois State Register*, July 1, 1907). Similarly, although once known as “Lord Thomas, King of the Badlands”, Thomas’ fall from grace among Springfield’s “underworld” apparently was rapid. In September 1909, Thomas was one of thirteen Blacks arrested at 516 South Tenth Street and charged with disorderly conduct [perhaps gambling?] (*Illinois State Register*, 23 September 1909, p. 2; *Illinois State Journal*, 24 September 1909, p. 5). In late December 1909, Thomas—by then known by the authorities as “Short and Dirty”—and his cohort in crime William Bell were again arrested for stealing chickens (“‘Short and Dirty’ Taken For Theft; Six Policemen Storm House and Arrest Alleged Chicken Thief,” *Illinois State Journal*, December 31, 1909, p. 10; 6 February 1910, p. 6; *Illinois State Register*, 31 December 1909, p. 6, 20 January 1910, p. 6). Whereas Bell was literally caught “holding the bag” full of dead chickens, Thomas escaped only to be apprehended later at the home of one Edith Coleman on Phillips Avenue. Thomas claimed he “was unable to secure employment, and he and Bell took the fowls to get money with which to celebrate New Years. The chickens were dressed at the police station” (and subsequently returned to their owner). According to the report, Thomas was “an old offender and a number of similar thefts have been reported to the police during the past month...” For their efforts with this “chicken heist,” Thomas and his accomplice (William Bell) were “given an indeterminate sentence in the Chester penitentiary” (*Illinois State Register*, 9 February 1910, p. 6; 12 February 1910).⁹

The 1910 U.S. Census of Population listed 35-year-old Lloyd Thomas as a “resident” of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary at Chester, Randolph County, Illinois. The census return, which clearly under-reported his age by at least 10 years, noted that he had been married for ten years and that his current occupation was a laborer at the “stone quarry.” Back in Springfield, the 1910 census return enumerated one Lula Thomas as living on South Third Street with her newly born daughter, Georgia Thomas, a step daughter presumably from her earlier marriage, Pearl Nevels (9 years of age), and four boarders (including the well-known and notorious Minnie

⁹ Could this have been a relative of Thomas’ wife, Anna Bell?

Howard, 30 years of age). Lula was listed as the “head” of the household. Court documents suggest it was not until late September 1921, that Lloyd Thomas (51 years of age) was granted a marriage license to wed Lula Nevels (47 years of age), both residents of 1110 East Madison Street at that time (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 September 1921, p. 12). It would appear that Lula Nevels and Lloyd Thomas were living as husband and wife by at least 1909, and if the 1910 census return is correct for Lloyd, by circa 1900.

In late 1914, Lloyd Thomas was squirrel hunting with two other individuals near Cotton Hill, seven miles south of Springfield. During their excursion, Thomas’ gun discharged and struck one of his companions in the chest, and Thomas was charged with “assault with a deadly weapon and intent to kill,” and authorities were waiting to see if the injured man survived (*Illinois State Register*, 10 September 1914, p. 7). Although the outcome of these charges are unclear, presumably Thomas was acquitted of these charges.

By early 1917, Thomas was again in the court system charged with larceny (*Illinois State Register*, 22 May 1917, p. 9; *Illinois State Journal*, 7 May 1917, p. 2). Later that same year, Thomas was up to his previous “fowl” behavior. The *Illinois State Journal* noted that Thomas “an old offender with chicken stealing... [who] has served time for a similar offense, was arrested by the police last night. Three chickens were recovered” (*Illinois State Journal*, 1 December 1917, p. 5). Later that same month, Thomas was charged with the theft of clothes hanging outside on a clothes line of a Mrs. McDonald on North Thirteenth Street (*Illinois State Register*, 20 December 1917, p. 9). Apparently, Thomas continued with his efforts to relieve neighborhood residents of their chickens well into the early 1920s. In a news brief from early 1921, the *Journal* carried a story entitled “‘Short and Dirty’ Fined, Settles, Is ‘Short and Smiling’” (*Illinois State Journal*, 12 March 1921, p. 2). In this story, “Thomas was alleged to have stolen two large hens from a roost of Isaac Denton, 1219 East Washington street...” in which he pleaded guilty to a charge of disorderly conduct, fined, and “immediately paid \$8 to Mrs. Denton to compensate for the loss of the chickens.” The 1920 U.S. Census of Population listed Loyd [sic] Thomas as a 58-year old man living with his two “cousins”: 46-year old Lula Menels [sic Nevels] and 19-year old Pearls Menels [sic Nevels] (USCB 1920). In late 1921, the 51-year-old Thomas married his 47-year-old “cousin” Lula Nevels (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 September 1921, p. 12).

The *Illinois State Journal* published a short notice of the death of Lloyd Thomas in late April 1924. This notice indicated that Lloyd Thomas had died at his residence at 1110 East Madison Street on the morning of 26 April 1924. According to his obituary, he was 55 years of age, and survived by his wife, Lula Thomas, and two daughters (Georgia and Mary). Services were held at S. L. Finney undertaking establishment, with burial at Oak Ridge Cemetery (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 April 1924, p. 10). Several years later (in 1930), in a story about the life of police reporters a quarter of a century earlier (and accompanying a line drawing of the newly constructed City Jail), a long-time newspaper reporter related three short stories regarding some of the more “interesting” individuals who had passed through the doors of the earlier station. Among these anecdotes was that of “Short and Dirty” (aka Lloyd Thomas) who was “an almost constant caller at the station, usually in response to a command from the chief. He had a hankering for chickens which belonged to others. His baggy pants furnished a hiding place for

fowl which he had purloined” (Marney, George. “Life of Police Reporter 25 Years Ago Not Easy; Marney Reviews ‘Good Old Events’,” *Illinois State Journal*, 18 June 1930, p. 64).¹⁰

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1910 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

1920 Population Schedule for Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois.

¹⁰ The other two short stories recounted by Marney included that of Susie Crawford (and her foray into the use of drugs and fights with her husband and the various patrolmen on duty who crossed their paths) and “Tooty” Dumphy (known for his political soap-box public speeches, and accompanying street fights in which he used his wooden leg to his advantage).

Is Just Out of Insane Asylum

Rosie Mitchell, Released a Week Ago—
Lloyd Thomas Charged With Induc-
ing Her to Enter House of Ill-Fame

Rosie Mitchell, the young woman who was arrested Tuesday evening in a cocaine joint in the bad lands as a cocaine fiend, is now locked up in the county jail, not as a coke fiend, but as an insane person. Miss Mitchell did not talk rationally with Deputy Sheriff Richardson when he arrested her, but he thought the coke had been the cause of it.

Later investigation into her case revealed the fact that she had been released but one week from the insane asylum at Jacksonville, and had come here. Deputy Richardson has now changed the charge against the woman and she is held merely as an insane, being in the county jail annex.

"SHORT AND DIRTY" TAKEN FOR THEFT

SIX POLICEMEN STORM HOUSE
AND ARREST ALLEGED
CHICKEN THIEF.

Negro Admits He and William Bell
Stole Fowl to Get Money For
Celebration of New Years—
Held to Grand Jury.

Six policemen stormed a house at
1016 East Phillips avenue late yester-
day afternoon and arrested Lloyd

Figure 1. Left: Exploits of Lloyd Thomas "Lord of the Badlands" (*Illinois State Register*, 13 September 1906, p. 2). Right: Exploits of Lloyd Thomas, aka "Short and Dirty" (*Illinois State Journal*, 31 December 1909, p. 10).