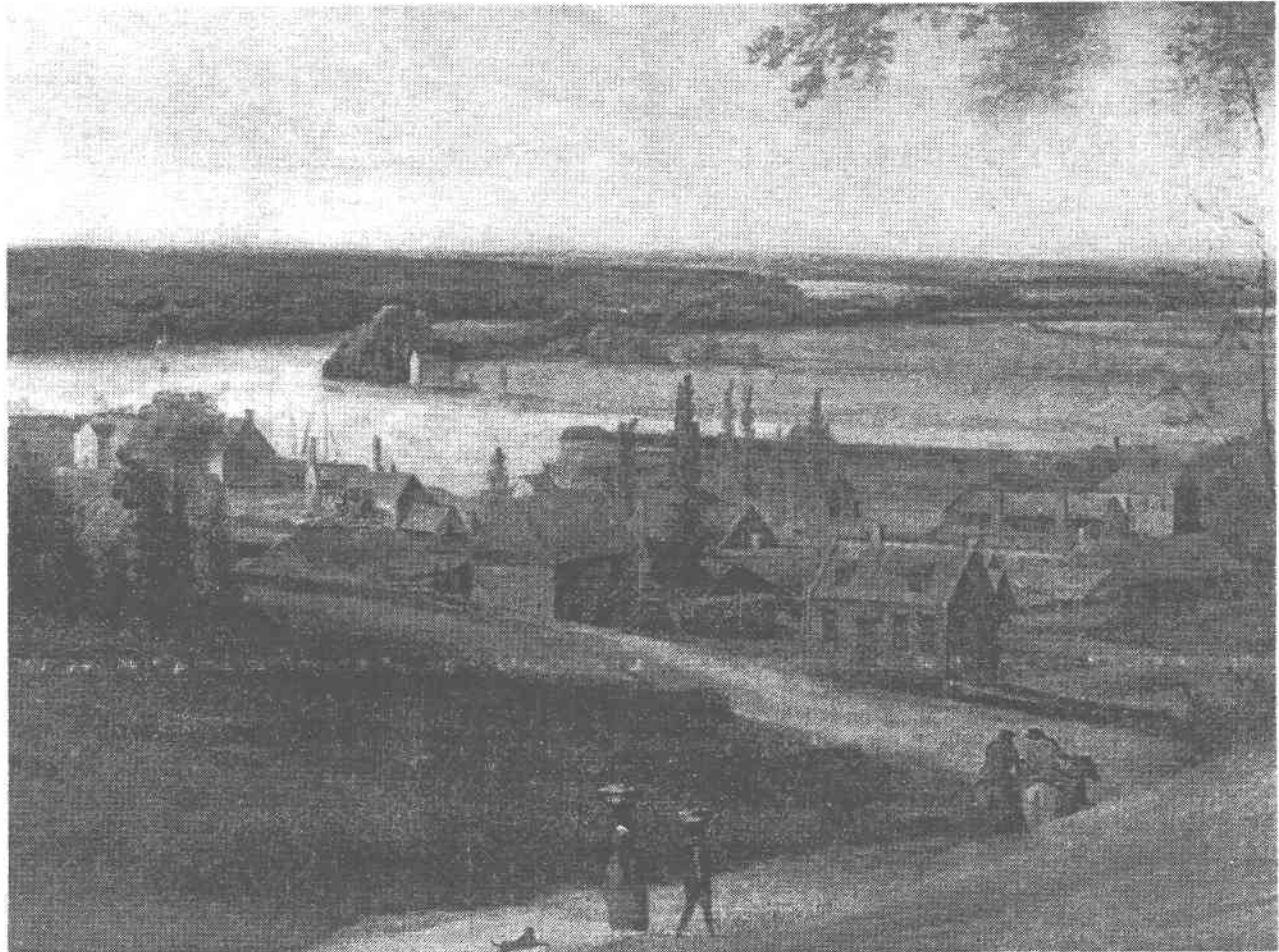


MAR 1992

# ROCKETTS

The Archaeology of the  
Rocketts Number 1 Site (44He671)  
Lot 203 in the City of Richmond, Virginia

Volume 1: Text



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"These relics of experience - always interpretations of the experience, never the experience itself - are all there is of the past. Historians never confront the Past, only the inscriptions that the Past has left. History is always interpretation of interpretation, always a reading of a given text."

Greg Denning, *History's Anthropology: The Death of William Gooch*

"Reportage of various sorts, then, may be used jointly to get at meanings in common. Interpretation gets a little more slippery, however, when the meaning of an event is not shared by all involved."

Roger D. Abrahams, *Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South*

Rocketts: The Archaeology of the Rocketts Number 1 Site (44He671), Lot 203 in the City of Richmond, Virginia.

March 1992



# Contents

## Volume 1: Text

List of Figures.....	viii
List of Plates.....	ix
List of Artifact Plates.....	xii
List of Historic Views.....	xiii
List of Historic Maps.....	xiv
List of Property Plats.....	xv
Preface.....	1
Acknowledgements.....	7
A note on style, usage and authorship.....	10
Part 1: Background to the Excavation.....	11
1.1 Introduction.....	11
Project History and Organization.....	12
Proposed Construction.....	13
Physical setting.....	15
1.2 The Phase 1 and Phase 2 Studies.....	16
Background.....	16
Survey Methods and Findings.....	16
Phase 1 Test Trenches.....	17
Trench 1.....	17
Trench 2.....	18
Phase 2 Studies.....	19
Structures and features identified during the phase two study.....	19
Archaeological Features.....	20
Archaeologically defined structures.....	33
Public works.....	35
Road abutments.....	35
Rail trestle construction features.....	36
Southern Railroad passage.....	36
CSX Rail Viaduct.....	37
Summary and Project Effects.....	37
The Rocketts #1 Site.....	37
Woodward House.....	40
Part 2: The Phase 3 Project.....	41
2.1 Of Paradigms and Problematics: Theory, Contexts and Project Goals.....	44
Postmodern Archaeologies.....	45

Historic Contexts.....	56
Urban Archaeology.....	58
Diversity and Community.....	62
Identity and Representation.....	64
Enlightenment and Revolution.....	65
2.2 Documentary History.....	66
Methods and Sources.....	66
Neighborhood data.....	68
Historical and Biographical Summary.....	69
Lot 203 Chain of Title Summary.....	70
Rocketts in the Colonial and Early Republic Periods.....	70
Powhatan.....	71
Bloody Run.....	72
Rocketts Landing Village, 1740 - 1830.....	73
Rocketts Tobacco Warehouse.....	75
"British Merchants", the Revolution, and the transformation of Rocketts.....	75
Biographic Summaries for the Colonial and Early Republic Periods.....	80
Falls Plantation: Col. Thomas Stegge Jr. and William Byrd I.....	80
Gilly Gromarrin and his Legacy.....	82
Charles and Susanna (Marrin) Lewis.....	86
John and Hannah Hague.....	90
John Lester.....	99
John Craddock and John Hague Craddock.....	101
Lot 203: ca. 1769 - 1830.....	103
Antebellum Rocketts.....	106
Biographic Summaries for the Antebellum Period.....	109
The Craddock Heirs.....	109
George Meriam.....	111
Adolph Dill.....	114
Samuel and Martha Skinner.....	114
Frederick and Maria Kirkmeyer.....	115
The Wasleys.....	116
William Jackson Clarke.....	117
John Wilder Atkinson.....	118
Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman.....	120
The Richmond and York River Railroad.....	123
Facilities of the Richmond and York River Railroad.....	124
Rocketts in the Civil War and Postbellum Eras.....	125
Biographic Summaries for the Civil War and Postbellum Periods.....	127
John F. Schonberger, Frances Schonberger and Caroline M. Schonberger.....	127

Robert Freeman.....	131
Isham H. Freeman.....	133
Ann Maragaret Gabeleine and Bridget McMahon.....	135
George A. Klein.....	136
The Schwartz Family.....	137
James and Hannah Stout.....	138
The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company.....	139
The James River Trestle.....	141
2.3 Visual Documents.....	143
Historic Views.....	143
Historic Maps.....	167
Plats.....	174
2.4 Site Structure and Chronology.....	180
Methods of Excavation.....	180
Site stratigraphy and formation processes.....	181
Stratigraphic integrity and Termini post quem dates of site features.....	182
Harris Matrix.....	184
Feature Descriptions.....	186
Cross-mending analysis.....	266
Method.....	266
Discussion.....	267
Summary.....	270
2.5 Constructed Lives and "Built" Environments at Rocketts.....	271
Structures.....	273
Structure 1.....	273
First, or Early, Phase.....	274
Second Phase.....	275
Third, or Late, Phase.....	276
Structure 2.....	277
Structure 3.....	278
Structures 4 and 5.....	278
Structures 6 and 7.....	279
Structures 8 and 9.....	280
Structures 10, 11, and 12.....	280
Structure 13.....	281
Structure 14.....	281
Structure 15.....	282
Structure 16.....	282
Structure 17.....	282
Structure 18.....	284
Structure 19.....	284
Structure 20.....	285
Structure 21.....	285

Structures 22 and 23.....	286
Structure 24.....	286
Structure 25.....	286
Structure 26.....	287
Structure 27.....	287
Structure 28.....	288
Structure 29.....	288
Structure 30.....	288
Miscellaneous Structures.....	289
Landscape Design, Modification and Use.....	290
Public Works.....	294
The Water System.....	295
Streets and Roads.....	297
Railroads.....	298
2.6 Artifact Analysis.....	300
Ceramics.....	300
Minimum Vessel Analysis.....	301
Maker's Marks.....	302
Examples.....	303
Glass.....	311
Examples.....	311
Miscellaneous Objects.....	315
Vertebrate Faunal Analysis.....	319
I. Methods of Analysis.....	319
A. The Comparative Collection.....	319
B. Coding.....	319
C. Interpretation.....	320
II. List of animals represented in the faunal remains recovered from the Rockett's #1 Site.....	320
III. Summary count of elements recorded from each species.....	321
IV Remarks.....	324
Other food and "ecofact" remains.....	326
2.7 Reflections on Rocketts.....	327
2.8 Project Assesment.....	336
Bibliography.....	341
Published works.....	341
Newspapers.....	357
Public records and loose papers.....	357

## Volume 2: Appendices

Appendix One: Excavation Unit Catalogue .....	363
Appendix Two: Excavation Units By Feature.....	378
Appendix Three: Ceramic Minimum Vessel Catalogue.....	385
Appendix Four: Ceramic Cross-Mending Matrix .....	399
Appendix Five: Glass Minimum Vessel Catalogue.....	400
Appendix Six: Artifact Inventory.....	419
Excavation Units from the Phase 1 Study .....	419
Excavation Units from the Phase 3 Study .....	443
Appendix Seven: Floatation Sample Inventory.....	533
Appendix Eight: Vertebrate Faunal Analysis Inventory.....	542
Faunal Analysis Coding Key .....	543
I. Species.....	543
II. Body Part-Element .....	543
III. Fragment.....	544
IV. Side.....	544
V. Condition/Alteration.....	544
VI. Age.....	544
Appendix Nine: Selected Documentary Source Transcriptions.....	566
Will of Thomas Stegge .....	566
Will of Gilly Gromarrin.....	568
Gilly Gromarrin's Probate Inventory.....	570
Will of Gilly Marrin.....	572
Gilly Marrin's Inventory.....	572
Settlement of Marrin's Legacy (Heirs vs. Mary Burton) .....	573
Will of Charles Lewis.....	574
Will of Susanna Lewis.....	575
John Hague's Will.....	577
Inventory of John Hague's Estate.....	578
John Lester's Will.....	578
John Craddock's Will.....	580
John Craddock's Inventory.....	582
John Craddock's Estate Account.....	584
Nathaniel Freeman: Account of Estate Sale .....	586
Adolph Dill's Will.....	586
Adolph Dill's Inventory.....	587
Samuel Skinner's Will.....	589
Samuel Skinner's Estate.....	591
James Stout's Will.....	593
Epitaphs at St. John's Church:.....	594
John Hague.....	594
John Lester.....	594

George Meriam.....	594
Exerpts From Henrico County Personal Property Tax Books.....	595
1782-1814 .....	595
Assorted Early City Records.....	596
Richmond City Land Tax Books 1787-1809.....	599
Henrico County Land Tax Books 1799A-1816B .....	600
Richmond City Personal Property Taxes 1787-1799.....	600
Richmond City Personal Property Tax Lists 1799-1834 .....	600
Henrico County Personal Property Tax Books 1831-1844.....	602
Henrico County Personal Property Tax Books 1845-1850.....	603
Richmond City Personal Property Tax Lists 1799-1834 .....	603
Richmond City Personal Property Tax Lists 1835-1850 .....	604
Property of Robert Freeman exempted under the "Homestead Laws", 1877 .....	605
Properties of John F. Schonberger which were exempted under the Homestead Laws in 1874 and 1878 .....	605
1850 Federal Census: Henrico County.....	607
1850 Federal Census: New Kent County.....	608
1860 Federal Census: Henrico County.....	609
1870 Federal Census: Henrico County.....	610
1880 Federal Census: Henrico County.....	612
1900 Federal Census Soundex: Henrico County.....	612
Appendix Ten: List of Crossmends.....	613



## Volume 3: Illustrations

### List of Figures

\*=indicates oversized figure found in pocket, inside rear cover

Figure 1: Project area and location of the Rocketts #1 Site

\*Figure 2: Project area, proposed construction, and archaeological excavation blocks and test trenches.

\*Figure 3: Section drawing, south profile of trench 1, phase 1 study

Figure 4: National Register boundaries, the Woodward House Property

\*Figure 5: Phase 2 testing, the Rocketts #1 Site

Figure 6: East wall profile, 315N/305E

Figure 7: South wall profile, 315N/305E

Figure 8: East wall profile, 335N/305E

Figure 9: North wall profile 335W/305E

Figure 10: Plan View, 340N/340E

Figure 11: Chain of Title Summary, Lot #203

Figure 12: Newspaper items pertaining to John Hague

Figure 13: 1796 Mutual Assurance Policy for John Lester & John Craddock showing tenements and lumber houses on Water Street in Rocketts

Figure 14: John Lester's obituary, December 22, 1804

Figure 15: Page from Ellyson's 1845-1856 Richmond directory

Figure 16: R.O. Huskin's advertisement, Butler's 1855 City Directory

Figure 17: Meade & Baker's Shop (formerly Richard Huskin's store), from an early 20th century engraving

Figure 18: Bill of Fare for the Exchange Hotel, 1841

**Figure 19: A Picturesque View of the State of the Nation for February 1778**

**\*Figure 20: Harris Matrix for the Rocketts #1 Site**

**Figure 21: Schematic Plan of Feature 143 and related features, showing hearth sequence**

**Figure 22: A portion of the north wall, structure 1, showing hearth, floor, and plaster sequence**

**Figure 23: Principle Early Structures**

**\*Figure 24: Site Plan #1**

**\*Figure 25: Site Plan #2**

**Figure 26: Feature 138, brick drain, revealed in trench 1 profile**

**Figure 27: Lot 203 in the late 18th/early 19th century period**

**Figure 28: The 19th century subdivisions of Lot 203**

### **List of Plates**

**Plate 1: The intersection of Williamsburg Avenue (Bloody Run Street) and Main Street (Rocketts Street).**

**Plate 2: The Woodward House and the CSX trestle at Rocketts, viewed from Libby Terrace.**

**Plate 3: Rocketts Landing and Libby Terrace viewed from the south side of the James River.**

**Plate 4: Feature 3, the north wall of Structure 4 in 280N 290E, viewing North.**

**Plate 5: Features 9 and 10 in 315N 305E, viewing South.**

**Plate 6: Features 14, 15, and 17 in 340N 340E, viewing South.**

**Plate 7: Structure 1, viewing Southeast.**

**Plate 8: The north end of Structure 1 with the hearth Feature 143 and Feature 200 intact, viewing Southeast.**

Plate 9: Southeast corner of Structure 1, viewing Northwest.

Plate 10: Features 143 and 164 in 300N 230E, viewing Northwest.

Plate 11: Feature 265 and the robber's trench in 270N 240E, viewing Northeast.

Plate 12: Robber's trench Feature 226 and Feature 163, viewing Northeast.

Plate 13: View looking Northwest across site after excavation of the 19th and 20th century fill and destruction layers.

Plate 14: Features 282, 283, 297, 298, and 301 at 280N 230E, viewing North

Plate 16: Brick drains Features 315 and 348.

Plate 17: Feature 200 at the Northeast corner of Structure 1.

Plate 18: View looking West at end of excavation.

Plate 19: Drains and cisterns at the southeast corner of Structure 1, viewing Southwest.

Plate 20: Feature 348 in 290N 230E, viewing Southwest.

Plate 21: Cut stone in the west wall of Structure 1, early phase, viewing Southwest.

Plate 22: Feature 131, the stone rubble footing for clay floor Feature 200, viewing Southeast.

Plate 23: Features 480 and 468, hearth and wall from 18th century house Structure 17, viewing Southwest.

Plate 24: The remains of the blacksmith's forge, Feature 427, viewing north.

Plate 25: Features 16 and 184, viewing Southeast.

Plate 26: The north wall of Structure 1 with the excavated hearth and drains, viewing North.

Plate 27: The 18th century robber's trench for Structure 30, Feature 457, viewing Northwest.

Plate 28: Southwest corner of Structure 4.

Plate 29: North profile of cellar fill in Structure 4.

- Plate 30: Cistern Feature 170 and drain system, viewing South.
- Plate 31: Top of Feature 204 (North bisection) fill in Feature 170, 280N 270E.
- Plate 32: Features 170, 175 and 184 in 280N 270E, viewing Northeast.
- Plate 33: Features 170, 175 and 184 in 280N 270E, viewing Northwest.
- Plate 34: Feature 449 in 290N 280E, viewing North.
- Plate 35: Feature 319 in 290N 240E, viewing East into drain interior.
- Plate 36: Builder's plate on the CSX trestle at Main Street
- Plate 37: South abutment of Southern Railroad tracks under Main Street, viewing West.
- Plate 38: Bridge and north abutment of Southern Railroad tracks under Main Street, viewing West.
- Plate 39: East end of north abutment on Southern Railroad tracks under Main Street, viewing West.
- Plate 40: Detail of east end of north abutment on Southern Railroad tracks under Main Street.
- Plate 41: Retaining wall and north abutment on Southern Railroad tracks at Ash Street, viewing East.
- Plate 42: North abutment on Southern Railroad tracks at Ash Street, viewing East.
- Plate 43: Abutments at Elm Street (32nd Street) on Southern Railroad tracks.
- Plate 44: North abutment on Southern Railroad tracks at Elm Street (32nd Street), viewing West.
- Plate 45: Detail of west end of south abutment on Southern Railroad tracks at Elm Street (32nd Street).
- Plate 46: South abutment on Southern Railroad tracks at Elm Street (32nd Street), viewing Southwest.

## List of Artifact Plates

Artifact Plate 1: Iron pry bar head

Artifact Plate 2: Shutter Hook

Artifact Plate 3: Carved Bone Handles

Artifact Plate 4: "Peacock" brand "Redi-Wet Rubbers"

Artifact Plate 5: Brass Heel Tap

Artifact Plate 6: Blue Transfer-Printed Pearlware Plate

Artifact Plate 7: Brown Transfer Print Plate

Artifact Plate 8: "Exchange Hotel" plate

Artifact Plate 9: Ferrous Padlock

Artifact Plate 10: Sponge Decorated Whiteware

Artifact Plate 11: Finger-Painted Pearlware Bowl

Artifact Plate 12: Annular, Mocha, and Finger Painted Polychrome Pearlware

Artifact Plate 13: Hand Painted Polychrome Pearlware Plate and Bowl

Artifact Plate 14: Hand Painted Polychrome Pearlware Dish

Artifact Plate 15: Hand Painted Polychrome Pearlware Bowl

Artifact Plate 16: Hand Painted Polychrome Pearlware

Artifact Plate 17: Black Transfer-Printed Creamware Plates and Hollow ware

Artifact Plate 18: Shaving pots

Artifact Plate 19: Porcelain Vase

Artifact Plate 20: M. McCormack Porter Bottle: Front

Artifact Plate 21: M. McCormack Porter Bottle: Back

Artifact Plate 22: "P. Stumpf & Co. Trademark Authorized Bottler Richmond, Va." Beer Bottle

Artifact Plate 23: Whiskey Flask

Artifact Plate 24: "Bromo-Seltzer Emerson Drug Co. Baltimore, MD"

Artifact Plate 25: "Hoyt's German Cologne E. W. Hoyt Lowell, Mass"

Artifact Plate 26: Glass Inkwell

Artifact Plate 27: Brass Key

Artifact Plate 28: Glass Tumbler Rims

### List of Historic Views

View 1. "View down James River from Mr. Nicholson's house above Rocketts. 16 May 1796".

View 2. View of Rocketts from Libby Hill, ca. 1810.

View 2, Detail showing Rocketts Village.

View 3. Albert C. Pleasants. View of Rocketts and the City of Richmond.

View 4. Rocketts from Libby Hill, c. 1855-60, Cook Collection, Valentine

View 5. Rockett's from near Orleans Street, c. 1855-60.

View 5a, Detail

View 6. Richmond 1854.

View 7. View of Rocketts from Libby Hill, June 16, 1861.

View 8. View of Rocketts' and the James River, April 1865.

View 9. Similar to above.

View 10. "View of Rocketts' and the James River, Richmond Va, April 1865"

View 11. A. J. Russell: "Port Richmond Wharf, 1865".

View 11a. Detail

View 12. Rockets Landing, Richmond, Va.

13. "A View, Looking from the Bluffs, of the Flood at Rocketts, James River, Richmond, Va."

14. Rockets, Port of Richmond.

15. Untitled view looking up the James at Richmond.

16. View of Rocketts, looking up the James.

16a. Detail

17. "Richmond By Moonlight, 1863" By William R. McGrath, 1991.

18. Lester Street near the turn of the century

### List of Historic Maps

Map 1: Skirmish at Richmond Jan. 5th. 1781. Lt. Col. J. G. Simcoe, 1787.

Map 2: A Plan of the City of Richmond in Henrico County State of Virginia. R. B. James, Sept. 23, 1804.

Map 3: The City of Richmond, Richard Young, circa 1809-1810

Map 3a: Detail

Map 4: City of Richmond and it's Jurisdiction including Manchester. Richard Young, 1817.

Map 5: Plan of the City of Richmond. Micajah Bates, 1835.

Map 6: Plan of Richmond (Henrico County), Manchester & Springhill, Virginia. Charles S. Morgan, 1848.

Map 7: Map of Cimborra (sic) Hospital as it appeared July 6, 1862. Savage Smith.

Map 8: Map of Richmond, Va. and Surrounding Counties, showing Rebel Fortifications. D. van Nostrand, New York, 1864. 3

Map 9: Map of a part of the City of Richmond showing the burnt Districts. William Ira Smith, circa 1865.

Map 10: Richmond Virginia. Capt. Peter S. Michie and Major Nathaniel Michler, 1862-1867.

**Map 10a: detail of Richmond Virginia. Capt. Peter S. Michie and Major Nathaniel Michler, 1862-1867.**

**Map 11: Illustrated Atlas of the City of Richmond. F.W. Beers, 1876.**

**Map 11a: Detail**

**Map 12: Atlas of the City of Richmond Virginia and Vicinity. Wm. Baist, 1889.**

**Map 13: Map of the City of Richmond-Va. Clyde W. Saunders, Jan. 15, 1907.**

**Map 14: Guide to Richmond and Suburbs. Laburnum Corporation, Real Estate Dept., 1920.**

**Map 14a: Detail of Guide to Richmond and Suburbs. Laburnum Corporation, Real Estate Dept., 1920.**

### **List of Property Plats**

**Plat 1: William Byrd's land "below Shaccoe Creek"**

**Plat 2: Newly developed lots of John Hague, John Lester, and Joseph Simpson**

**Plat 3: The Craddock partition of 1830**

**Plat 4: The Freeman subdivision**

**Plat 5: Lot 203.1 in 1851**

**Plat 6: Plat of Picketts holdings in 1854 on Lots 197 and 204**

**Plat 7: 1857 partition of Lot 203.3.1**

**Plats 8 and 10: 1870 Plat of Lot 204**

**Plat 9: 1868 Plat of Lot 203.3.1**

**Plat 11: Lot 203.3 in 1901.**

**Plat 12: Capital City Iron Works**

**Plat 13: The Roane property today**



## Preface

This is a report on the archaeological study of an original half-acre lot of the City of Richmond, in that part of Richmond known in the 18th and 19th centuries as Rocketts. The site is called the Rocketts #1 Site (44He671), and it comprises city lot #203, which, through the course of its long history, was subdivided into seven separate lots.<sup>1</sup> This study was sponsored by the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) in order to recover important archaeological materials and information which would have otherwise been destroyed by a proposed widening of the intersection between Main Street and Williamsburg Avenue (VDOT Project # 0005-127-102, PE-101, C-501; VDHR File # 127-854).

\*\*\*

The entire City of Richmond is an archaeological site. True, the idea of excavating in Richmond may not seem as romantic or exciting as digging Troy or Teotihuacán, but the city's history is nonetheless represented in layered deposits of physical remains. There is something about the popular notion of archaeology that seems to require the distant, the ancient, the exotic otherness of societies long since vanished. The difference between the excavation of Pompeii and the archaeological study of a city block in Richmond seems to be more than one of differences in the scale of time, however. Most of the archaeological excavations we have read about in *National Geographic* and other popular sources are of sites that exist elsewhere. They include not only the estrangement of their antiquity, but the foreignness of cultural distance as well. In many cases, they are sites studied by members of "our" culture studying the ways of life of someone else. To excavate our own back yard seems to go against the grain. Isn't Richmond's history, after all, "our" history. Isn't it all a little too close to home to be fascinating? Don't we already *know* our own history? One pundit has dubbed historical archaeology "the archaeology of 'us'."

On the other hand, it has also become a contemporary truism that the interpretation of other peoples' lives - whether by historians or anthropologists or art critics or journalists or political scientists - involves the appropriation of their realities. In studying other worlds, we make them our own; we create meaning by attributing it to others. The "archaeology of us" is,

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<sup>1</sup> I called the site Rocketts #1, because it was the first site to be studied in the Rocketts port community. There are many, many more archaeological remains of considerable importance at Rocketts and I hope we will eventually have an opportunity to study Rocketts #2, #3, #4....

if not a dangerous concept, at least a delicate and ambiguous one. One historian has titled an insightful book *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Lowenthal 1985). To immerse oneself in the past - even in "our" past - is to realize how utterly foreign these other lives were. At the same time, the study of history is a relative thing. The closer we come to the present, the more like "us" our cultural ancestors seem to become. The ancient past is clearly foreign, the recent past seems less so. The anthropologist strives to maintain a sense of cultural relativism: to assess other lives on their own terms, and not by those of "our" culture, while the historian similarly strives to avoid anachronism: the misreading of the past with today's vocabulary of meanings, values and nuances. The historical archaeology of an original city lot in a city which the archaeologist calls home is not a self-evident task.

Many people feel that the value of an archaeological excavation lies in its production of superlatives: the first this, the oldest that. It is the easy way out - and the fool's way - simply to fall back on superlatives. Wherever we dig we can probably find some "firsts", some "mosts", some uniqueness that says this site was worth digging because it is different. Truly, distinctiveness is one of the reasons for digging any site, but a site's individuality and significance do not reside totally, or even substantially, in its superlatives or its uniqueness. The Rocketts # 1 Site, which is what this is all about, was indeed one of the first major urban excavations in the City of Richmond<sup>2</sup>. As such, finding "firsts" and "oldests" was easy. While such discoveries may keep newspaper reporters entertained, they were not the reason for digging, nor do they provide the principal basis of the interpretation for the site.

As Clifford Geertz (1973, 1983) and others have pointed out, there is a delicate balance that must be maintained when interpreting "the other". On the one hand, it is inappropriate to make the utterly foreign too familiar. Other ways of life are not simply "us" in other clothing. People are not simply people, with all the same wants, desires, problems, and motivations. Different cultures are truly different. On the other hand, people *are* people. There are numerous points of contact between humans of all times and places. Subtleties may be lost in translation, but the translation of one people's life into another's is possible, just as the translation of language is possible. When approaching the near historic past, the lines between other and us become

---

<sup>2</sup>. Earlier excavations in Richmond include VCU's excavations at the Shockoe Slip Site and the Shockoe Tobacco Warehouse Site. Salvage excavation in the James River and Kanawha Canal great Turning Basin, directed by Lyle Browning and William Trout is perhaps the best-known archaeological project in the City. More recently Browning has been seeking features of the Confederate prison on Belle Isle. Concurrent with the Rocketts project has been some on-going archaeological research by Tim Thompson in association with the Corps of Engineers Richmond Floodwall Project. Katharine Beidleman has been excavating in the ruins of the Virginia State Penitentiary, and VCU has completed a preliminary survey of archaeological sites across the river from Rocketts at William Byrd's Falls Plantation and the Confederate Navy Yard, sponsored by the William Byrd Chapter, APVA.

blurred. One student may stress the continuities: for example, we can find the roots of our political system clearly in the deliberations of the founding fathers. A different student may stress the exotic, the exteriority of lives shaped by values, contingencies, and environments we cannot hope fully to comprehend, let alone appreciate.

Whether historian or anthropologist, the interpreter's responsibility lies in deciding between the presentation of familiarity and foreignness, in balancing the alien with the intimate. It is not merely a point of preference or matter of style that informs such a decision. To view the past in its unity with us is to give it some responsibility for who "we" are, to raise the dead as totemic ancestors in praise of values we hold dear, and therefore to vindicate our beliefs and actions as sanctioned by history itself; or to condemn the unpunishable for our own shortcomings, and to let ourselves off the hook. One line of thought would have it that we can revel in our democracy, our equality, our capitalism, or whatever, because these were gifts of the past, fought for, created, and won by those who made us. On the other hand, history might lead us to believe we can condemn, but do little about, racism, poverty or urban blight because these we also inherited. After all (some might think) if even Thomas Jefferson and George Washington owned slaves, surely we deserve credit for doing even better, and should not blame ourselves for doing less.

In the 1960s and 1970s the social sciences and humanities, including archaeology, became caught up in some of the declining spasms of a two-centuries-old *episteme* or perspective on the world that has often been called "modernism". By the term, I mean especially to invoke a faith in science and, especially, the ways of science. Archaeology has its roots in the scientific study of nature - natural history it was once called. All of anthropology, particularly British and American anthropology, has intellectual roots in the classification and explication of the natural world. The isolation of humanity as a subject to study is of particular note, having roots of concept and practice in an earlier period, the "classical" world derived from the Renaissance. But the fractionation of mankind into a typological profusion, and the isolation of people as subjects, is a modernist practice, and one which Michael Foucault has exhaustively analyzed and related to alterations in the structuring of power throughout the periods of recent history (cf. Foucault 1972).

This natural science background to a study of humanity is inherently conflicted by the disciplinary schism between the humanities and sciences. Somehow this breach had expanded to a yawning chasm by the 1960s. What can only be viewed as a desperate scientism emerged loudly and brashly in a paradigmatic struggle with an equally audacious and testy politicized humanism characteristic of that revolutionary era. This "New Archaeology" sought to construct mankind as models to be tested, laws to be found out, generalities to be sought, controlled comparisons to be denuded to their

skeletal, structural and functional similarities. Difference, distinction, outlandishness, and eccentricity were of no concern. The individual was not of interest. Patterns counted; regularity was forced upon similarity and interpretations from observations became inferences from data. There are limits to the methods of knowledge, and structure in inquiry has always been respected, but the New Archaeology was, quite blatantly, tyrannical.

Cultural resource management (CRM), of which the Rocketts #1 Site study is an example, came to be in those heady days of scientism. And thus, those who enforce the practice of CRM have for the most part adopted as guidelines the clothing and accoutrements of scientific archaeology. An archaeological report, such as this one, is expected to adhere to a distinctive set of rules, orders, methods, and, particularly, to an obtuse language and style that say, among other things, non-practitioners need not bother reading. This report has risen from the requirements and customs of CRM, and therefore, contains information and some language and structure which are designed to make sense to those who must review, evaluate and professionally use such reports.

On the other hand, this project was undertaken because an agreement has been concluded between the Virginia Department of Highways (VDOT) and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) that has as its rationale the goal of preserving that which is important in our past while permitting the growth and change which is important to our future. The work was done under an agreement between VDOT and Virginia Commonwealth University's Archaeological Research Center (VCU-ARC). As the work was undertaken through the intersection of three public agencies the intended audience for this report is not the community of archaeological specialists or "cultural resource managers"; it is "the public."

The public is a large and multifarious entity - if it is an entity at all. As any writer knows, the first task in preparing any written text or document is to know, or select, one's "audience". Traditionally, the audience for CRM archaeological work has been the community of professional archaeologists and, within that community, the smaller subset of those who produce, and review, CRM project reports. This is a tradition which I, for one, find to be indefensible. Laws, guidelines, contracts and custom dictate, in general, the contents of a CRM report. As an archaeological site is dug the "facts" of the site are forever destroyed; there is therefore, inherent in all those laws, guidelines and customs a mandate that archaeologists recover and record all the "facts" of a site. In the case of CRM work done prior to some construction project, this requirement seems all the more sound.

The tradition has become, then, to load CRM reports with "facts". Technical data is typically presented in drawings, charts, statistical compilations, graphs, etc. These "facts" are then customarily explicated in a text that strings together

scholarly citations of previous work and thought by other students framed in a discussion of theory and methods. Nothing is better designed than the customary CRM report to lose quickly the interest and train of thought of the "public". Typically, the "public's" exposure to the complexities of an archaeological analysis and interpretation comes *via* a short newspaper article which, after all, gets most of the "facts" wrong. If the archaeologists prepares an interpretive piece for the "public", it is too often written either in dreadfully dense or mightily patronizing prose.

And so the dilemma: who is the "audience" of this report, and how does one include those items needed to permit professionals to properly evaluate the findings and interpretations, while not lulling the wider readership - the taxpaying public - into boredom or incomprehension? The solution I am attempting here is to provide my interpretations of the site in two separate parts. The "facts" of the excavation, and the technical discussion of how these were obtained and interpreted, are presented in this multi-volume technical report. As such, the volume is of necessity dense with data. I am also preparing a book which deals with my interpretations of these data in a more extensive and literary manner. This second volume goes beyond the legal and contractual responsibilities of VDOT, and I have been awarded grant funding to complete this work during the coming year. While the present report is technical, I have nonetheless assumed that readers other than professional archaeologists may well want to make use of this work, and have restricted my use of jargon and citations to obscure publications to a minimum.

The recovery and recording of archaeological "facts" - often called "data" - is subject to professional, disciplinary, custom. The custom involves ways of taking notes, ways of describing things from the texture and color of the soil to the shape and hardness of a potsherd. But, as has often been noted even, and especially, by those "New Archaeologists" of the recent past, there are an infinite, or indefinite, number of such "facts". Three archaeologists may agree that one has found a "brick" lying in some spatial nexus described by an arbitrarily-defined coordinate system, but a fourth may well infer that the location of the suspect object on the inside of a wall adjacent to an opening suggests it was actually a "doorstop", rather than a "brick". Common finds on early Virginia sites include fragments - and occasional whole examples - of "wine" bottles. And yet, when found with intact contents, they have been filled with milk or preserved cherries, or, almost anything but wine. These are but two examples of the way in which archaeologists require information about *context* (the proximity of the "brick" to other finds; the contents of the "wine" bottle) in order to interpret the meanings of artifacts.

The finding of an "arrowhead" in the ground is not a self-explanatory fact that speaks eloquently about the manly arts of the chase, subsistence of aboriginal peoples, or anything else. Detailed study of the artifact may indicate that it was never used to tip an arrow, but was instead used to pry open

oysters, or scrape hides, or cut canes to make baskets. Perhaps the context of the find will suggest it arrived in the ground when a boy scout's shoe-box full of relics fell through the floor in a fire of the 1920s, or that it was hauled in from many miles away in the back of a gravel truck. Archaeological facts are not found; they are made. Every act in the interpretation of an archaeological site is just that: interpretation. From the determining of stratigraphic breaks in the structure of the site to the inferring of function of artifacts and foundations and filled pits or ditches, to the imputing of meaning to archaeological finds and the subsequent communication of one's judgements about those meanings to one's readers, and, not least, to the readers' readings of an archaeological text...It is all - or almost all - interpretation.

The material for interpreting a site like Rocketts # 1 is enormous. Archaeologists tend to specialize in *material culture* - that is, the culturally conditioned use of, and effect on, the physical world, and the creation of cultural and social meaning *via* material objects. The defining boundaries of the study of material culture are not as restricted as they may seem. Material evidence of all aspects of a people's way of living are abundant and fair game for the archaeologist. Jars and bottles and buttons and coins are the traditional stuff of archaeology, but so are less concrete "things" including architecture, landscape, patterns of settlement and systems of economy or belief. The "data" available to a study such as this one are vast. There are several very fat notebooks of field observations, site records and drawings; there are overstuffed file folders brim-full with photostats of historic documents concerning the land and people of Rocketts; there are thousands of artifacts; there is a very large literature on early American life, urbanism, slavery, the Antebellum South, the rise of mercantilism and capitalism, etc.; there are paintings, prints, literature, histories and biographies to draw upon. How is it possible to consider the interpretation of this site as anything other than the logical, but nonetheless subjective, drawing out of meaning from these myriads of "facts"?

The story of the Rocketts #1 Site is neither that of the relatively wealthy landowners, nor of the relatively impoverished or middling tenants. It is both, and more. It is not the enfranchised male view of the documents, it is also the lives of women and children and slaves, and passers-by. It is not simply the story of the great events that clearly touched the site's occupants, such as the Revolution and, especially, the Civil War. It is also the meaning of Carbolic Mouthwash and railroad easement condemnations and the struggles of a convicted, but reformed, murderer. But it is, and here I must make my case, what *I* think about these things, and what *you*, the reader, think about what I say about these things. Our views of this history are what constructs the history *as history*. The Revolution, the Civil War, the mouthwash and the murder are long gone. It is our interest in these things, and what we make of them, that builds a reality. And it is not the 18th or 19th century reality we are constructing, it is our own. My interest, as a student of

humanity, is in the present. As Michael Foucault so well expressed, it is the history of the present, not a fascination with the past, that makes the study of history important and interesting.

## Acknowledgements

Archaeology is always a cooperative venture. Although the responsibility, and the privilege, of interpreting a site and its meanings falls to the project's principal investigator or director, his or her conclusions are ultimately dependent on the actions, knowledge, judgement, and wisdom of a staff of specialists and technicians. In the present case, I have had the benefit of working with a highly skilled and dedicated team.

It is a curious and often lamentable fact of modern archaeology that the project director is, as often as not, also an administrator and/or teacher and, as likely as not, the director of more than one project at any given time. This means that a site's interpretation is often the task of someone who has spent far too little time on the site to have fully understood and appreciated all of its nuances. For that reason, a project director is, more than ever, dependent on the skills of field specialists. During the summer of 1990, while the Rocketts #1 Site was being excavated, I was also conducting field school excavations at Curles Plantation and was serving as co-director of a major excavation of an early 17th century Colonial settlement and Protohistoric Indian village at Jordan's Point in Prince George County. Fortunately, all of these projects were within a few miles of each other, and of my office at the Archaeological Research Center in Richmond. I tried to spend some time out of each day on the Rocketts Site, and I usually succeeded. Nonetheless, the project's success was wholly reliant on the remarkable skills of Field Director Frederick T. Barker and Crew Chief Beverly Binns.

Barker's task included not only the overall organization and supervision of the crew, equipment and records, but the moment-to-moment "reading" of the complex stratigraphy and structure of the site. I had not previously worked on a site which presented so many structural puzzles as this one, but one of the great pleasures of this project for me was to work with so highly skilled an archaeologist as Barker whose keen, on-going analysis of deposits, features and artifacts helped make all the pieces fall in place. Barker created the elaborate Harris Matrix, upon which the stratigraphic-chronological interpretation of the site depends. His field interpretations and his exhaustive post-excavation review of hundreds of feature descriptions, single-layer plans, section drawings, and other bits of data were essential to unravelling and making sense of a crazy-quilt of layers, fills, wall remnants, robber trenches, brick piers, postholes, destruction layers and other building blocks of an archaeological site.



In the field Barker was very ably assisted by Beverley Binns, whose job included, among other things, the creation of the site records. Detailed recording forms were completed for every excavation unit and feature on the site. Each feature was drawn, at least in plan, and frequently also in section. The creation of this voluminous site record, and the maintenance of clarity, order, and sense in such a complex and massive undertaking requires expertise, patience, and a great deal of experience. Binns provided all of these, and the resulting site records are, to the extent humanly possible, impeccable: better, I believe, than any I have seen since my first experience with archaeology almost 20 years ago. Following the field work, Binns re-donned her hat as VCU-ARC's laboratory director and undertook the creation of the site's inventory, the cross-mending analysis, and the ceramics minimum vessel analysis. She also supervised Duane Carter, a student assistant, in the completion of the glass minimum vessel analysis. The care and pains taken by Binns in identifying the objects upon which so much of this interpretation depends were extraordinary and of the highest professional caliber. Binns is a co-author of the artifact section of this report.

Historical archaeology requires extensive digging not only in the ground, but also in the archives. The very tedious task of tracing the ownership and occupancy of the Rocketts #1 Site, and the development of the Rocketts community in general, was carried out by Katharine Harbury. Harbury not only succeeded in tracing a difficult and complex chain of title, her research took her to a vast array of sources in the search for insights and tidbits of information concerning those whose lives created the Rocketts story. In constructing my interpretations, I have had the enormous benefit of two large notebooks and an additional folio of notes made by Harbury from her archival investigations. In addition, she constructed a draft manuscript discussing the early owners of the Rocketts property and spent many hours transcribing some of the key documents used here. I have included portions of her early history directly within this report, and her authorship of this section is noted in the text. Where I have used Harbury's conclusions or interpretations directly, I have cited her notes or her manuscript as texts.

Christopher P. Egghart left at the opportunity to join two of his great interests - archaeology and railroad history - to research and write up the background historical documentation on the Richmond and York River Railroad, and the C&O Railroad viaduct. Despite running into a major roadblock - the C&O company records are locked in an attic and unaccessible - Chris' knowledge of the resources of railroad history proved invaluable in the project. Luke Boyd conducted research on the concrete bridge that carries Main Street over the Southern Railroad at the site (see Boyd 1992), and, while conducting his research, he encountered additional information on the railroads in Rocketts. Some of that information has been incorporated here.



Many others have contributed to this project as well, not the least of whom are the dedicated and talented field and laboratory crew who took great effort and great care in the excavation, analysis and treatment of materials and data from the project. I also want to thank Leslie Cohen, who conducted the faunal analysis; and Joanne Bowen and Tom White, who assisted Leslie with some of the more problematic materials; Gwen Brandon, who conserved and identified many of the metallic objects; Jay Gaynor, who assisted in identifications of some of the tools; Rob Hunter, who assisted in tracking down prints and patterns on some of the ceramics. My thanks to R. Taft Kiser for contributing to the discussion on "Prince's Magic Camera", and, especially, for his work in conducting our "magic camera" research. In addition, Kiser assisted in the critical evaluation of the illustrations discussed here, and was most helpful in obtaining plates of these graphics from various repositories.

Ronald Roane, the owner of the site, was very gracious in permitting us to take over a huge piece of his property for a year. Cooper Wamsley of the Environmental Division of the Virginia Department of Transportation was extremely supportive of this project. Without that support, the work would never have been completed. Jeff Rodgers, of VDOT's Richmond District, assisted in numerous ways, from initial negotiations with the land-owner, to providing a safety fence around the site during excavation, and providing personnel and equipment to carefully backfill the site on completion of the excavation. Bruce Larsen and Ethel Eaton, project review archaeologists for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources were very helpful in their reviews and on-site consultations during the phase 1 and phase 2 studies for this project. They recognized the potential significance of the project and provided helpful assistance in determining the treatment of the unique cultural resources at the site. Special thanks are due to my associates, Robin Ryder and Douglas McLearen whose patience and support, professional feedback from numerous discussions, and readings of various portions of this manuscript were extremely helpful.

Thanks also to: Gene Prince of the Lowie Museum of Anthropology for developing the Magic Camera and bringing it East; Barbara Batson of the Valentine Museum generously shared her expertise and views of early Rockett's. Teresa Roane and Woody Woodroof, also of the Valentine Museum, deciphered scribbled crop marks and drew new details from old pictures. Carolyn Parsons and Petie Bogen-Garrett of the Virginia State Library and Archives listened patiently, gave sound advice, and in one case, provided an illustration on a moment's notice. Cory Hudgins of the Museum of the Confederacy and Robert Haas of the Hampton Roads Naval Museum searched their collections and replaced our fuzzy photocopies with crystal clear images of Rockett's in 1865. William McGrath, who has probably studied the Rockett's photos more than any other living person, cheerfully shared his time and knowledge. A special thanks to Dr. William Frassanito, who provided inspiration with his books dissecting Civil War photographs,

and who, when a stranger rang his phone, took time out to talk about the big picture.

## A note on style, usage and authorship

For reasons which should be clear from the preface, above, as well as from the chapter on theory that follows later, the first person pronoun and the active voice have not been avoided in this report. To rephrase: I have used the first person pronoun and the active voice. For the sake of clarity, the "I" referred to is the senior author, that is, me, Dan Mouer. I am reminded of a remark made to me on a first reading of my doctoral dissertation by one of my graduate school faculty advisors. Upon encountering the term "I feel..." for the second time in my text, this reader reacted vehemently by stating, "Neither I nor any other reader gives a damn about what *you feel, think, or believe.*" Much of my career has been devoted to the proposition that nothing could be further from the truth. A great deal of what is in this report is comprised of what I feel, I think, or I believe. What's more, I feel, I think, and I believe that this is always the case, even when a report is written in the authoritative neutral voice of science. Despite my eagerness to situate myself through the common devices of language, there are several sections of this report which have been primarily authored, or co-authored, by others. I have identified each of these contributions in the appropriate sections of the report.

While I relied very heavily on the insights and knowledge of colleagues, I hope to absolve my contributing co-authors of any culpability for those cases where I may have overstepped the bounds of credulity with my interpretations, or where I may have simply gotten the "facts" wrong. What they think, feel and believe has been transmitted to me through their records, notes, texts, and dozens (or hundreds) of discussions concerning the project, and I sincerely hope that I have not misinterpreted or abused their ideas or work. Any shortcomings in the present report are solely my responsibility, I think.

Due to the sheer size of this report, for ease of use I have organized it into three distinct volumes. The report text is found here, in Volume 1. Volume 2 contains the appendices, which include much of the "raw data" from which interpretations have been, and can be drawn. Volume 3 contains all the illustrative materials, including figures, plates, historic views, plats, historic maps, etc. These are organized into thematic "folios", for ease of reference. A reader can, for example, read a feature or structure description in this volume, scan the inventory of finds related to that feature or structure in volume 2, and seek out relevant photographs or drawings in volume 3. Those wanting to make such a close reading might do well to have a large, cleared, desk before going any further.

L. D. M.

# Part 1: Background to the Excavation

## 1.1 Introduction

Driving east on Main Street out of Richmond one comes to a parting of the road. To the right, and downhill beneath the rail trestle, Main Street runs along the James River waterfront. A Tarmac cement plant and some odd warehouse buildings sparsely cover what was once one of the busiest ports in the south. Toward the left, on Williamsburg Road, the first building beyond the intersection is the Woodward House, generally thought to be the oldest frame building standing in Richmond. The Woodward house, originally built just after the Revolution, but presently restored to its early 19th century configuration, was the home of a ship's captain, John Woodward. It once stood, along with many other houses, overlooking the docks of the Port of Rocketts.

In the early 1970s, the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, as part of its Fulton Neighborhood Development Program bulldozed dozens - perhaps hundreds - of houses and stores that had until then comprised the neighborhood of Fulton, and before that, the town of Rocketts; and before that the colonial port village of Rocketts Landing. The Woodward House, rescued from demolition, is the only remaining building of what was an enormously important part of Richmond's history. The house was stabilized and partly restored by the Historic Richmond Foundation, and has been completed, and is now lived in by John and Mary Ellen Bushey, a couple who have played a very substantial role in the preservation of the city's 19th century buildings. But the Woodward house sits alone. Williamsburg Road runs within a few feet of its front stoop. The few buildings that remain standing nearby - the gas works, the currently-under-renovation warehouses and factories of Tobacco Row, the Tarmac plant - they speak of a long-faded industrial landscape. But these were not Rocketts, for Rocketts as such was disappearing into history when the compressor at Fulton began to pump gas, long before the Lucky Strike smokestack became a local landmark.

Rocketts was a village, or a town, in the old sense: a place where people lived and worked. Rocketts died when the coming of the railroads and removal of the Port of Richmond downstream left the waterfront a tangle of rotting wharves and jetties. The rise of Victorian suburbs, and the trend to separate places of living from places of working dealt the old port another blow. The town held on as a neighborhood known as Fulton Bottom, an area known to outsiders as a rough and tumble place, but to many who lived there, it was indeed a neighborhood. Industrialization and decay had surrounded and

isolated the Bottom, but many families had deep roots here. The slum-clearing bulldozers of the 1970's quelled the debate.

The 1970s were not the only time that Rocketts had been viewed by outsiders as a less desirable neighborhood than some. In the 1770s, observers noted that it was Rocketts was "a rough town", hogs and goats roamed about and the streets, and taverns were occupied by sailors of many countries. Up-country folks and Indians haunted the waterfront trade, and longshoremen and stevadores lived in the alleys, warehouses and tenements of the village. According to one source, most of the buildings were constructed of logs and sported wooden chimneys.

When Thomas Rutherford, who would later become a prominent merchant in Richmond, first arrived in this country in 1784, he landed at the port of Rocketts (Rutherford 1986 [1845]). He described the mirey slope of Rocketts Street which he had to surmount in order to get the goods from his relative's ship into Richmond's warehouses down. This slope likewise presented an obstacle to be overcome by President Abraham Lincoln when he entered the smoldering ruins of Richmond in 1865. Much of the Rocketts waterfront lay in ashes, the victim of the evacuation fire and the Confederate attempt to scuttle the remains of ships and ordnance lying on the dock and in the wharves of Rocketts Landing. Between Rutherford's and Lincoln's first views of the Rocketts port, a town had grown up and thrived on the vastly expanding international mercantile economy that fueled so much of the world's urban growth in the 19th century. Civil War had both energized the small world of Rocketts and had devastated its social and physical landscape. Rocketts as such struggled on to regain its place, but the Modern World offered little to sustain the once busy and boisterous port.

## Project History and Organization

This report presents a discussion of the identification, evaluation and data retrieval archaeological studies on Virginia Department of Highways (VDOT) project # 0005-127-102, PE-101, C-501, which comprises the widening of the intersection of Route 5 (Main Street) and Williamsburg Avenue in the City of Richmond (Figures 1, 2 and 4).<sup>3</sup> Of prime importance is the material dealing with the Rocketts #1 archaeological site (44He671). This site, along with the Woodward House, some stone abutments related to the Rocketts Street, Ash

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<sup>3</sup> Figures are found in volume 3. Figure 2 is an oversize fold-out drawing. Figure 2 shows the principal cultural landscape features, and shows the locations of phase 1 test trenches, phase 2 squares, and the main phase 3 excavation block. In addition, this figure shows existing and proposed road rights-of-way, and proposed construction limits and potential impacts. Figure 4 shows the National Register boundaries of the Woodward House property, and the potential impacts to that property.

Street and Elm Street crossings of the Richmond and York River Railroad (now the Southern Railroad), comprise the total of cultural resources potentially affected by this project. All field records and artifacts recovered from this project are curated at VCU-ARC.

In April 1988, Virginia Commonwealth University's Archaeological Research Center (VCU-ARC) was retained by the Virginia Department of Transportation to conduct a phase 1 cultural resources inventory for proposed improvements to the intersection of Main Street and Williamsburg Road in the City of Richmond. At the request of the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT), no report was submitted pending preparation of revised project plans. New plans became available in February 1990. The work was completed and preparation of a report was in process when VDOT requested that phase 2 study of the resources located in the survey commence at once. This decision was made in consultation with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) due to an accelerated construction schedule.

Following a field visit by VDHR review personnel, a phase 2 study was carried out. Again, because of the immediacy of the project, VCU-ARC was requested to prepare a "management summary" summarizing the results of both the phase 1 and 2 studies, and presenting recommendations for treatment of potentially important cultural resources. This summary report (Mouer 1990) was prepared in February of the following year and presented to VDOT. Following further consultations with VDHR staff, VDOT requested a proposal from VCU-ARC to recover archaeological information and materials in those portions of the site which would be directly impacted by the proposed construction.

Subsequent to the finalization of an agreement between VCU-ARC and VDOT to conduct the needed archaeological research, three meetings and field visits with VDOT personnel and their design consultants were held to clarify the design plans and the potential impacts. The data recovery program which then ensued was limited to the study of archaeological deposits and features which will be directly impacted. This limited the study to the western portion of Lot 203, and to railroad features in the Southern and CSX rights-of-way. This report summarizes, and provides the essential data concerning the phase 1 and phase 2 studies. Primarily, however, this serves as the final report on the data recovery research project (phase 3) at the site.

## Proposed Construction

The Virginia Department of Transportation proposes to make improvements to the intersection of Main Street and Williamsburg Road in Richmond (Figures 2 and 4). These improvements will consist of widening Main Street

to four lanes with a median for a short distance southeast of Williamsburg Road. In addition, there will be improvements to sidewalks, curbs, gutters, some utility lines and sewers, and to two railroad lines which cross Main Street in this vicinity.

One of these, the Southern Railroad, which dates to the mid-19th century, currently runs in a sunken bed under Main Street. This project will require removal of some old stone abutments, lowering the present track by six feet, and contouring of the gradient between Main Street and the tracks. The abutments, which are located on both sides of the rail tracks at the crossing of the Elm Street, Ash Street and Main Street easements, are potentially significant because they provide a record of public works improvements and landscape modifications essential to a complete understanding of the development of this portion of the village of Rocketts.

The CSX Railroad crosses Main Street in a viaduct that was constructed ca. 1905, but completely rebuilt in the 1950s. The railroad-related architecture on site includes brick and concrete retaining walls and a steel trestle set in monolithic concrete piers. The project calls for minor changes to the trestle and span over Main Street; retaining walls along Main Street will be replaced. Two piers will be replaced. The viaduct itself is significant as it is the longest elevated span of double track rail in the world and it incorporates the world's only triple rail line crossing, although this latter feature is well beyond the project area. The significance of the viaduct is primarily historical, however, as little of the original engineering and architecture remain intact. For a more extensive discussion, see the phase 3 study results, below.

There will be minor alterations to utility lines and drainage facilities beyond the immediate project area. However, review of plans and numerous consultations with VDOT personnel indicate that none of these will involve new ground disturbances, and, hence, no additional cultural resources will be affected.

The widening of the intersection will include a very slight encroachment upon the property of the Woodward House. The Woodward House is a late 18th century structure which has been highly restored to its ca. 1829 configuration. It is the only remaining structure of the village of Rocketts. The house and property are listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

In addition, the widening of Main Street will include impacts to portions of city lot #203, historically belonging to the port of Rocketts, and occupied since the third quarter of the 18th century. The archaeological remains in this lot, along with the road abutments described above, were designated the Rocketts #1 Site (44He671) following completion of the phase 1 study.

## Physical setting

The proposed project lies on portions of two alluvial terraces (T2 and T3) of the James River, just below the falls of the James in Richmond. A lower terrace, along Water and Dock Streets, is the T1 frequent floodplain, although it has been highly altered throughout the past 200 years and consists, at least in part, of made land. A fourth terrace (T4) rises above the project area and comprises the fluvial bluff. This terrace includes landforms known as Libby Terrace and Chimborazo Hill. The T2 terrace, including most of the proposed construction along Main Street, lies within the 50 year floodplain. This narrow terrace has been truncated south of Main Street by flood action as well as by human agency. Since the late 18th century, the active floodplain terrace below Main Street - today the location of the Tarmac ready-mix plant and Dock Street - has been the site of a variety of commercial, military, and industrial waterfront activities.

The T2 terrace is that on which Main Street and the railroad lines run, and on which the Rocketts #1 Site is located. The T3 terrace - currently traversed by Williamsburg Avenue - is also very narrow, and rises abruptly over the James and York River (Southern) Railroad tracks. Portions of this terrace lie within the 100 year floodplain of the James River, and all of it would be submerged in a 500 year flood. All terraces were originally capped by alluvial sediments laid down both as ancient James River beds and as periodic overbank depositional episodes. These overlay ancient coastal plain marine sediments. In many areas, historic cutting has removed much of the ancient alluvial deposits, and thin recent alluvial layers, mixed with cultural strata, overlie truncated coastal plain sedimentary profiles. All terraces contain substantial surficial deposits related to human activities. Details of the local environment, as they pertain to human use and modification of the natural landscape, are elaborated in the phase 3 report, following.





## 1.2 The Phase 1 and Phase 2 Studies

This chapter provides a summary of results of the Phase 1 cultural resources survey and Phase 2 evaluation of potentially significant resources located in or near the proposed project area. This section has been adapted from the original management summary, prepared by this author following the receipt of updated project plans in February of 1990. The descriptive material has been somewhat updated and expanded through the addition of descriptions of the test excavations. Methods and findings are discussed here, as are some of the preliminary interpretations offered in early 1990. In general, however, interpretations concerning the Rockets#1 Site have been incorporated into the discussions which follow from the data recovery excavations and are deferred to later chapters.

### Background

For the phase 1 and phase 2 portions of this project, historical map collections and secondary historical sources housed at the VCU's Archaeological Research Center were used to provide the initial contexts for resources in this area. In addition, the archaeological site and standing structure files, and the Virginia Landmarks Register and National Register of Historic Places files were consulted at the Virginia Department of Historic Landmarks.

Because the findings of this work have been summarized elsewhere (Mouer 1990), and have been extensively expanded on later in the present volume, no further discussion of this work is needed here, except to note that background research suggested a very high likelihood of encountering cultural resources related to the Rocketts port, and possibly to the earlier Colonial and Prehistoric periods. Testing confirmed the presence of well-preserved archaeological deposits and occupation of the site area during prehistoric, Late Colonial, and later periods.

### Survey Methods and Findings

The cultural resources survey was designed to identify resources relating to the prehistory and history of this area which could be impacted by the project. Architectural resources in the project area includes only a single historic building, the Woodward House, and features related to both the Southern Railroad and CSX Railroad. Other structures include remnants of road abutments. These are all related to viaducts used for the 19th century city cross streets.

Two areas were identified within the project impact zone which were considered suitable for testing for archaeological resources. These include a small area in the southeast corner of the intersection of Williamsburg Ave. and Main St., on the higher terrace, and abandoned lots between the Southern R.R. tracks, Main Street, and Peebles (formerly Poplar) Street on the middle terrace. Due to the likelihood of finding both urban and alluvial filling in this area, a backhoe was employed for deep testing during the Phase 1 survey. One backhoe trench was excavated in each of these areas. The exact locations of these trenches are indicated on Figure 2. Additional project improvements are included in design plans for Dock Street, Pearl Street, lower Ash Street, and the Southern R.R. line west of Main Street. Map checks and pedestrian survey indicated that these minor alterations will occur entirely within heavily disturbed areas. No further testing was done or is recommended in these areas. The Phase 2 testing included a substantially larger area than that which will actually be impacted by construction.

### Phase 1 Test Trenches

One backhoe trench was excavated in each of the two areas described above. Each trench was dug just slightly wider than the width of the backhoe blade (18"). The trenches were excavated wide enough to accomodate crews for cleaning and recording sections, but were kept as narrow as possible, to avoid damage to possible site resources. For additional information concerning the artifacts from the test excavations, please consult the inventory in Appendix Six.

#### Trench 1

Trench 1 was placed roughly parallel to the CSX viaduct on the T2 terrace. The trench was excavated by backhoe. As we were attempting to recover a record of stratigraphy, we did not attempt to excavate stratigraphically, except that the backhoe was not permitted to break through an intact structure floor surface (Feature 200). The trench could not be cut straight, as the operator encountered buried obstacles, particularly, the deeply buried, widely spread bases of concrete piers supporting the CSX trestle.

This trench encountered a variety of archaeological features (see Figure 3).<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, this area was designated the "Rocketts #1 Site", and assigned the state registry number 44He671. This site is described in greater detail, below. In

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<sup>4</sup>. Figures 2 and 3 can be found on a single large fold-out sheet in Volume 3 of this report. The tick-marks on the scale along the top of the profile (Figure 3) represent 1' increments. Numbered features are those identified during phase 3 studies. Other strata and features were given temporary designations during the phase 2 study, and these are not presented here, except for Feature 73. Descriptions of all features can be found in the phase 3 section of the report. As the stratigraphic sequence and structure of the site are discussed in considerable detail in the phase 3 section, I have omitted descriptive details relating to the profile drawing presented here.

summary, this 75' long trench encountered an intact "clay" floor overlain by destruction debris and recent fill layers adjacent to Main Street. Towards the east, a buried land surface dipped downward and was covered by stratified fill and destruction layers dating to the late and middle 19th centuries. At the eastern end of the trench, a probable filled cellar was encountered (Structure 2), including a partially robbed foundation wall and remnant of its builder's trench. The cellar was apparently filled in the early 19th century, and was subsequently intruded by a pit feature (Feature 73) of unknown function with artifacts suggesting filling in the third quarter of the 19th century. This pit was intruded, in turn, by Feature 151, the robbers' trench for foundation walls associated with Structure 14, a mid-19th century house.

In addition, at least two partly destroyed brick wall fragments or piers were revealed in the section of this trench. It was concluded that at least two, and perhaps as many as four distinct structures had been partly uncovered in this single trench. The artifacts recovered from the narrow trench dated primarily from the late 18th century through the 19th century. There were, however, a small number of artifacts recovered which suggested that the site had been occupied as early as the 2nd quarter of the 18th century. The number of artifacts - particularly domestic materials - was very impressive.<sup>5</sup>

### Trench 2

Trench 2, excavated in the intersection of Williamsburg Road and Main Street, revealed a series of cultural fills, all dating to the 20th century. The trench was excavated perpendicular to Williamsburg Road, extending from just beyond the existing highway right-of-way towards the escarpment to the southwest. The trench was excavated to a maximum depth of 3.5 feet for a distance of 55 feet.

The lowest cultural level, which lay over alluvial gravels, included scattered artifacts and construction materials dating from the 19th century to the mid-20th century.<sup>6</sup> No features were encountered. This layer was overlain by one consisting of additional materials of the same date range, but including destruction debris attributable to the 1970's clearing of this area by the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority. This, in turn, was overlain by a thin stratum of recent fill and disturbed soil undoubtedly dating to the ca. 1974 widening of Williamsburg Road.

A study of historic maps suggested that the area to be impacted by the slight widening of Main Street was west of any former structures. Mid-19th century photographs, discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this report, indicate that this part of Lot 196 has been substantially cut, and subsequently refilled, since

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<sup>5</sup>. See Appendix 6, EU #'s 2-5.

<sup>6</sup>. See the inventory (EU 6) in Appendix 6, volume 2.

the Civil War. Before the late 19th century, this area was a series of sharp slopes.<sup>7</sup> The nature of the materials found in Trench 2 suggest yard scatter, in the case of the lowest stratum, and recent disturbances in the other cases. No significant archaeological resources were encountered, so no profiles of this trench were recorded.

## Phase 2 Studies

Phase 2 testing of the Rocketts #1 Site, conducted in February 1990, consisted of excavation of 12 deep shovel tests, five 5x5' square test units, one 10x10' unit, one 5' x 10' unit, and a shallow exploratory trench, ca. 2' x 8'. The shovel tests were used to guide placement and stratigraphic excavation of the larger units. Neither the shovel tests nor the larger excavation units were screened. Shovel tests were excavated as whole units, while the larger squares were excavated stratigraphically. Each stratum or feature encountered was given a designation with respect to its test block. Subsequently, each of these depositional units was assigned a permanent feature number.

Placement of these excavation units at the site is indicated on Figure 2. Profile drawings for selected squares are presented in Figures 6-9. A plan drawing of Square 340N / 340E is presented in Figure 10. Photographs of three of the phase 2 test units can be found in Plates 3, 4 and 5. Feature and Structure descriptions, as determined at the phase 2 level of effort, are presented immediately below.

### Structures and features identified during the phase two study

The following archaeological features were identified during the phase 2 testing on the site. Descriptions of these are necessarily skimpy, as most of these features were only partially uncovered in small square excavations. For a description of the methods of identifying, dating, and recording features, please see the phase 3 section, following. Where features are described as being associated with structures, these refer to the structure descriptions listed in the phase 3 section of this report.

Following the listing of features, I have presented a list of structures as originally defined during the phase 2 study. Many of the structures and features described here were further investigated during the phase 3 study, so

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7. This is best illustrated in the Union photographs taken from Libby Hill in 1865 (see the folio of historic views in volume 3). Here it is clear that Williamsburg Road once ran in a deep gully, and that the land rose to a sharp scarp south of the road. At the present time, the land falls away south of Williamsburg Road, and the sequence of fills uncovered in Trench 2 indicate that the drop was considerably more rapid prior to the 1970s.

*these structure designations and descriptions apply only to the phase 2 results.*<sup>8</sup> Following the list of structures is another listing of public works architectural elements which are also considered to be elements of the Rocketts # 1 Site.

### Archaeological Features

#### *Feature # 1*

Feature type: Other

Possible floor/crawlspace or occupation level. Consisted of packed yellow-brown sand. Identified in 315N/305E from the Ph. 2 excavations.

#### *Feature # 2*

Feature type: Other

Shallow basin-shaped feature filled with dark brown coarse sand. Identified as 335N/305E, S-2 from Ph. 2 excavations.

#### *Feature # 3*

Feature type: Foundation

North foundation wall of Structure 4. Includes a bulkhead entrance with brick steps leading down into the cellar (Feature 11). The wall is 1-1/2 brick thick. Bricks are bonded with a lime mortar.

#### *Feature # 4*

Feature type: Disturbance

Intrusion of Feature 27 modern fill into underlying strata. Identified as 335N/305E, S-3 from Ph. 2 excavations.

#### *Feature # 5*

Feature type: Other

Well-defined concentration of red-brown burned shale coal with straight, squared edges. A large corroding metal plate was found resting on Feature 5.

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<sup>8</sup>. This list of structures is repeated, and considerably enhanced, in the discussion of the phase 3 excavation. It is tempting to describe what we found at the end of the phase 2 study with the acuity of 20/20 hindsight derived from later excavation and intensive documentary research. While I have edited some minor errors that appeared in the original management summary, I have not made substantive additions or corrections to this list. I have taken the liberty of adding, in parentheses, the final structure designation, to alleviate any confusion.

Shallow lense at the interface of Features 23 and 24. Identified as 315N/305E, F-5 from Ph. 2 excavation. Possibly the remnants of a late 19th century ash bin or coal furnace.

*Feature # 6*

Feature type: Cobble Concentration

Cobbles packed in yellow-brown clay. Possible cobble floor or, more likely, a cobblestone alley which served as an entrance to the Capitol City Iron Works (early 20th c.), although artifacts (EU 32) suggest a mid-19th century date. Identified as 315N/305E, S-8 from Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 7*

Feature type: Other

Very shallow oblong dark stain, possibly a rotted timber. Filled with dark brown loam with coal and brick dust. Identified as 335N/305E, S-4 from Ph.2 excavations.

*Feature # 8*

Feature type: Post mold.

Large shallow post mold, filled with black very course sand and capped with a large concrete fragment. Identified in 335N/305E from Ph. 2 excavations. Feature 13 is the associated post hole. The post was pulled in the early 20th century and set after ca. 1830.

*Feature # 9*

Feature type: Floor

Pavement of whole and partial bricks, dry-laid in black sand loam. Possible Structure 6 cellar floor. Located in the southern half of the unit and abutting Feature 10. Identified as 315N/305E, S-9 during Ph. 2 excavations. Filled ca. 1820 - 40.

*Feature # 10*

Feature type: Other

Yellow sand mottled with plaster abutting Feature 9 brick pavement in a straight line. Unidentifiable feature associated with Feature 9 and Structure 6. Possibly a robbers' trench or destruction debris from Structure 6. Identified in 315N/305E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 11*

Feature type: Other

A short, brick, bulkhead entrance with steps into cellar of Structure 4. Set in Feature 3, south wall, near northwest corner of Structure 4.

*Feature # 12*

Feature type: Pier

Remnants of a large brick pier from a structure (Structure 13) postdating Structure 4 (set into fill overlying Feature 11). Identified in 280N/290E from Ph. 2 excavations. Constructed after ca. 1900. Labelled Structure 13 in the phase 2 study.

*Feature # 13*

Feature type: Post Hole

Large shallow post hole for Feature 8 post mold. Appeared to be truncated. Filled with dark brown loam and with a yellow-brown sand wash lense at its point of origin. Identified in 335N/305E from Ph. 2 excavations. The post was pulled in the early 20th century and set after ca. 1830.

*Feature # 14*

Feature type: Foundation

Two-brick wide brick wall oriented east-west and almost at surface of modern fill. This feature was probably a store built in the mid-19th century and operated by G. F. Watson. Identified as Structure 8 in 340N/340E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 15*

Feature type: Foundation

NW corner of foundation walls of a structure predating Structure 8. Cut by Feature 17, the builders' trench for Structure 8. Identified in 340N/340E during Ph. 2 excavations as Structure 9.

*Feature # 16*

Feature type: Other

Brick foundation wall for the first phase of construction of Structure 1. Only fragments of this early wall remain, and these have only one or two courses

of thickness left. They parallel, but are not bonded to, the later foundations for Structure 1 (Feature 184). Originally identified in 277.5N/269E during Ph. 2 test excavations, and labelled Structure 3.

#### *Feature # 17*

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 14, brick wall of Structure 8. Cuts Feature 15, brick wall of Structure 9. Fill consisted of brown sand with mortar and shell. Identified in 340N/340E during Ph. 2 excavations.

#### *Feature # 18*

Feature type: Post hole

This is a possible structural posthole identified in the north section of 280N/290E during Ph. 2 excavations. No separate mold was identifiable. Fill suggests that the post was pulled after ca. 1880.

#### *Feature # 19*

Feature type: Stratum

Modern fill stratum labeled S-1 and S-2 in 315N/305E of the Ph. 2 excavations.

#### *Feature # 20*

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum consisting of brown sand loam. Labeled 315N/305E, S-3 from the Ph. 2 excavations. This stratum was filled with a large quantity of domestic artifacts dating from throughout the 19th century, and earlier. The TPQ for deposition appears to be about 1900. This stratum may represent crawlspace or cellar fill or midden accumulation from Structure 6, and/or a later unidentified structure in the same location.

#### *Feature # 21*

Feature type: Stratum

Alluvial sand deposited in 315N/305E, and labelled S-4 during the phase 2 study. Possibly deposited during a flood near the turn of the century.

#### *Feature # 22*

Feature type: Stratum



Stratum consisting of black sand loam. Labeled as S-4 4 in 315N/305E from the Ph. 2 excavations. Like Feature 20 in the same square, this feature contained a large quantity of domestic debris (EU 21) from the 19th century. This layer, like the two preceding layers, seems to have been deposited around the turn of the century.

*Feature # 23*

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum consisting of dark brown sand loam with plaster fragments. Unlike the overlying strata, this one contains only a relatively small number of domestic artifacts (EU 24). Labeled S-5 in 315N/305E from Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 24*

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum consisting of dark brown sand loam with ash, gravel and domestic debris (EU 28). Identified as 315N/305E, S-6 from Ph. 2 excavations. TPQ ca. 1880.

*Feature # 25*

Feature type: Stratum

Course black sand loam with coal ash and an abundance of unidentified corroded iron materials. Identified as stratum 7 in 315N/305E from Ph. 2 excavations. A moderate amount of domestic debris (EU 31) suggests a fill date between ca. 1850 - 1870.

*Feature # 26*

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum consisting of dark brown sand loam with approximately 20% coal cinders. Appears to be fill deposit for Structure 6 cellar hole, deposited shortly after ca. 1867. Similar to fill in Structure 4 cellar hole. Identified as 315N/305E, S-9 from Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 27*

Feature type: Stratum

Modern fill containing a portion of an *in situ* concrete pad, Feature 28. Feature 27 was labeled S-1 and S-2 in 335N/305E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 28*

Feature type: Floor

Portion of a concrete pad extending into excavation unit. Probably the floor of the Structure 8, the 20th century iron works. Identified in 335N/305E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 29*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum consisting of brown sand loam, brick fragments, coal (possibly), cobbles, gravel. Feature 29 labeled S-3 in 335N/305E from Ph. 2 excavations. This fill contains a large quantity of domestic artifacts (EU 22) from the late 18th century to the late 19th century (TPQ ca. 1900).

*Feature # 30*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum (335n/305E, S-4) consisting of dark brown sand loam, brick fragments and a large amount of oyster shell. Possible early fill of cellar designated Structure 7. The large quantity of domestic artifacts (EU52) gives a TPQ of ca. 1795. The absence of even early whitewares, which are common in overlying strata, suggests a TAQ of ca. 1820.

*Feature # 31*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode in Structure 7 cellar. Consisted of brown sand loam with fewer brick fragments than the overlying Feature 30. Labeled stratum 5 in 335N/305E from Ph. 2 excavations. The artifacts (EU 58) were fewer, but generally similar to those from Feature 30. A similar 1795-1820 date range is indicated.

*Feature # 32*

Feature type: Floor

Possible cellar floor representing Structure 7. Consisted of small cobbles packed in yellow-brown mottled gray clay. Feature 32 was not excavated but, a small test area showed it was ca. 0.5' deep with gray sand loam underlying it. Feature 32 was labeled stratum 6 in 335N/305E from Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 33*

Feature type: Stratum

Modern fill episode. Labeled S-1 in 280N290E from Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 34*

Feature type: Stratum

Dense gray river clay capping fill strata in Structure 4 cellar. Labeled stratum 2 in 280N/290E from the Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 35*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode consisting of dark brown sand loam. Labeled stratum 3 in 280N/290E from the Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 36*

Feature type: Stratum

Red-brown burned shale coal stratum. Located abutting the exterior of Feature 3 north wall of Structure 4. Labeled stratum 4 in 280N/290E from Ph. 2 excavations. Probably the location of an ash dump for the coal furnace or coal-burning fireplace in Structure 4. Inclusive artifacts (EU 35) indicate deposition in the late 19th century.

*Feature # 37*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode in Structure 4 cellar. Consisted of loose black coal cinders. Fill appears to be railroad-related. Labeled stratum 5 in 280N/290E during Ph. 2 excavations. TPQ ca. 1900.

*Feature # 38*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode inside Structure 4 cellar. Consisted of compact red-brown sand loam and cinders. Appears to be railroad-related fill. Labeled stratum 6 in 280N/290E during Ph.2 excavations. TPQ ca. 1900.

*Feature # 39*

Feature type: Stratum

Secondary fill episode inside Structure 4 cellar. Contained brick wall fall from Feature 3, brick wall. Fill within the brick rubble consisted of dark brown colluvial silt loam. Labeled stratum 7 in 280N/290E during Ph.2 excavations.

*Feature # 40*

Feature type: Stratum

Lowest fill episode in Structure 4 cellar. Consisted of dark brown silt loam mottled with yellow-brown sand. Labeled stratum 8 in 280N/290E during Ph. 2 excavations. It was thought that this might be a primary floor deposit, so the fill was removed for floatation analysis (EU 51). The TPQ for this deposit is ca. 1880.

*Feature # 41*

Feature type: Floor

Yellow-brown clay floor of Structure 4 cellar. Labeled S-9 in 280N/290E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 42*

Feature type: Stratum

Humus and modern fill. Labeled S-2 in both 290N/315E & 290N320E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 43*

Feature type: Stratum

Very dense dark red-brown very coarse sand packed with cinders and coal (possibly). Probable railroad-related fill episode. Located in both the interior and exterior of Feature 3, the north wall of Structure 4. Labeled S-2 in 290N/315E & 290N/320E during Ph. 2 excavations. This layer was deposited near the turn of the 20th century.

*Feature # 44*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode located on the exterior of Feature 46 east wall of Structure 4. Consisted of dark brown silty clay mottled with orange-brown and gray clay with coal (probably) and cinders. Labeled S-3 in 290N/320E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 45*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode consisting of homogeneous brown silt loam. Located adjacent to a concrete railroad trestle pier and probably associated with its mid-20th century construction or maintenance. Labeled S-4 in 290N/315E & 290N/320E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 46*

Feature type: Foundation

Brick east wall of Structure 4. Identified in 290N/320E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 47*

Feature type: Stratum

Humus and modern fill stratum. Labeled S-1 in 277.5N/269E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 48*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum consisting of dark brown fine sandy clay with brick fragments, charcoal flecking, coal and mortar. Labeled S-2 in 277.5N/269E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 49*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum consisting of yellow-brown clay mottled with gray-brown clay. Labeled S-3 in 277.5N/269E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 50*

Feature type: Other

Semi-circular depression located at the foot of Feature 11, bulkhead entrance steps in the Structure 4 cellar. Set into Feature 41, the cellar floor. Filled with light brown sand loam with brick fragments and charcoal. Feature 50 probably represents the location of a stone landing or nosing set into the floor at the foot of the steps. Identified in 280N/290E from Ph. 2 excavations. Artifacts in the feature fill demonstrate that the landing was removed after ca. 1860.

*Feature # 51*

Feature type: Stratum

Turn-of-the-20th-century fill stratum comprised of very densely packed coal and cinders. Labeled S-1 in 340N/340E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 52*

Feature type: Stratum

Modern fill stratum consisting of black coarse sand humus. Labeled S-1 in profile of 315N/240E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 53*

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from a turn-of-the-century railroad trestle (Structure 20). Identified in 315N/240E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 54*

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from turn-of-the-century railroad trestle (Structure 20). Identified during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 55*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum consisting of mottled yellow and very light brown sand clay. Labeled S-2 in the profile of 315N/240E during Ph. 2 excavations. Related to C&O Rail construction, ca. 1900 - 1905.

*Feature # 56*

Feature type: Stratum

Thin fill stratum consisting of gray-brown sand loam. Labeled S-3 in the profile of 315N240E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 57*

Feature type: Stratum

Clean fill material. Underlying Feature 57 are natural sediments sufficiently truncated so as to have no active soil profile. Feature 57 consists of mottled light brown and orange-brown coarse sand and light gray clay. Labeled stratum 4 in the profile of 315N/240E during Ph. 2 excavations. There were no artifacts associated with this level; however, this is probably fill related to construction of the C&O Railroad line. Truncation of the natural soil and an associated rodent burrow (Feature 58) suggests removal of compressable soils and replacement with coarser material.

*Feature # 58*

Feature type: Other

A vertical intrusion of very light gray coarse sand running through the natural strata. Possible root or rodent burrow. Appears to be truncated by a cut prior to laying of the Feature 57 fill stratum. Identified in the south profile of 315N/240E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 59*

Feature type: Stratum

Natural ancient alluvial stratum consisting of layers of brown, light gray and orange-brown coarse sand. Slopes down to the west. Labeled S-5 in the south profile of 315N/240E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 60*

Feature type: Stratum

Layer of cobbles lying in the same natural ancient alluvial coarse sand as Feature 59 above and Feature 61 below. Labeled S-7 in the south profile of 315N/240E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 61*

Feature type: Stratum

Natural ancient alluvial coarse sand similar to Feature 59 above. Labeled stratum 8 in the south profile of 315N/240E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 62*

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from the turn-of-the-century railroad trestle (Structure 20). A large bolt runs through the pier and remains of iron angle braces (Feature 65)

and decaying wood beams (Feature 64) from the trestle were found in association with the pier. Feature 62 was first identified in 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 63*

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from turn-of-the-century railroad trestle (Structure 20). This pier has a large bolt running through it and the decaying remains of 2 bracing beams from the trestle lie in close association with Feature 63. This pier was first identified in 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 64*

Feature type: Other

Concentration of decaying wood brace beams from underground cribwork supporting a turn-of-the-century wooden railroad trestle (Structure 20). Associated with Feature 62, trestle pier, and Feature 65, iron angle braces. Feature 64 was first identified in 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 65*

Feature type: Other

Iron angle braces from the turn-of-the-century wooden railroad trestle (Structure 20). Associated with Feature 62, pier, and Feature 63, bracing beams from the trestle structure. Feature 65 was identified in 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 66*

Feature type: Stratum

Modern fill stratum consisting of dark brown sand loam. Labeled S-1 in the south profile of 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 67*

Feature type: Stratum

Late fill stratum consisting of light brown coarse sand. Labeled S-2 in the south profile of 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 68*

Feature type: Stratum



Late fill episode consisting of black coarse sand. Labeled S-3 in the south profile of 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 69*

Feature type: Other

Decaying wooden brace beam from the turn-of-the-century wooden railroad trestle (Structure 20), seen in the south profile of the Ph. 2 315N/265E in association with Feature 62, pier, and Features 64 and 65, wooden beams and iron angle braces, from the trestle structure.

*Feature # 70*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum consisting of brown coarse sand mottled with light gray and red-brown sandy clay. Labeled S-5 in the south profile of 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 71*

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum consisting of coarse sand with decaying remains of Feature 64, wooden bracing beams from the turn-of-the-century railroad trestle (Structure 20). Labeled S-6 in the south profile of 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 72*

Feature type: Stratum

Natural sediment stratum that appears to be cut by a construction hole for the turn-of-the-century wooden railroad trestle (Structure 20). Consists of gleyed clay. Identified in the south profile of 315N/265E during Ph. 2 excavations.

*Feature # 73*

Feature type: other

Trench 1 encountered a large pit which intrudes a filled cellar. The pit contains artifacts from the mid-late 19th century. During phase 3 studies, portions of an elaborate water-delivery system seemed to drain purposefully towards this pit. For that reason, we have called the feature a "drainage pit", although that seems unsatisfactory as a proper description of the feature's function. The pit may have served a function similar to the silt traps or

"cisterns" associated with the water system. Unfortunately, further excavation of this feature was not permitted.

### Archaeologically defined structures

#### *Structure 1*

A compact clay and lime plaster floor was encountered adjacent to Main Street in Trench 1, as well as in a shovel test at 280N, 250E. This floor appeared to have been laid on grade. Associated brick rubble and artifacts lying on the floor suggested a third quarter 19th century date for the destruction of the structure. This was presumed to be either the large house or commercial structure shown on the 1865 map and possibly associated with the railroad, or else this "floor" represents the "yard" to that structure suggested by the map.

Widening of Main Street will destroy this structure. Phase 3 investigations, discussed below, concentrated on entirely excavating this structure, as well as remains of earlier structures in this location not revealed in the Phase 2 study.

#### *Structure 2*

Trench 1 encountered a filled basement, a portion of the builder's trench to the structure and an intrusive feature, possibly a drainage pit. The cellar fill contained artifacts dating from the mid-18th century through the first quarter of the 19th century. Late 18th-century artifacts from the builder's trench provided the TPQ for construction. The intruding pit contained materials from the mid-19th century. This was overlain by fills containing late 19th- and early 20th-century artifacts. Plans available as of this writing indicate no impacts to Structure 2 from the proposed construction.

#### *Structure 3 (Structure 1)*

Structure 3 was identified near the corner of East Main Street and Peebles Street. This structure had only been revealed through a section of massive intact brick foundation wall crossing a shallow exploratory trench. The run of the wall did not lie parallel or perpendicular to any other known structure walls uncovered in this testing. (*Further excavation during the phase 3 work indicated that this wall was a part of Structure 1*).

#### *Structures 4 and 5 (Structure 4)*

A long structure was partly revealed in the 10x10' unit, in the shallow test trench, in the 5x10' unit at, and in shovel test adjacent to that unit. The width of the structure was not known from the phase 2 testing, but, due to the proximity to Peebles Street, it was thought to be only one room deep. The structure has a basement extending approximately four feet below grade. A bulkhead entrance and cellar stair was excavated in the 10x10' unit. This portion of the basement was partially excavated and indicated that the building was probably a house. While analysis of the large quantity of artifacts from this excavation had not yet been completely analyzed prior to beginning the phase 3 work, preliminary evidence suggested that this cellar was filled in the late 19th century. Artifacts from the surface of the builder's trench of the bulkhead suggest construction ca. 1800. It appeared likely, from the minimal evidence then at hand, that the structure was a double house - perhaps a tenement. Widening of Main Street will destroy part of this structure, so phase 3 data recovery included recovering additional information on its size and dating, as well as additional excavation only in that portion of the building which will be affected; that is, the extreme western end.

#### *Structures 6 and 7*

Below approximately 2.5'-3' of fill layers and features of the late 19th or 20th century in square 315N, 305E, we encountered a "floor" consisting of compacted sand and clay and a broken brick pavement, possibly representing a shallow cellar or grade level floor of a house. Oyster shell and early 19th century artifacts characterized the deposit just above the "floor".

A very similar "floor" or surface was identified in square 335N, 305E. Here, at about the same depth as that described above, was a dark shell-filled lens overlying a compact sand or sand-and-clay surface. Again, this was associated with a variety of early 19th century artifacts (e.g., creamware and hand-painted pearlware), numerous oyster shell and bone fragments, etc. The "floors" of structures 6 and 7 may eventually prove to be a single feature. Current project plans indicate these structures will not be impacted by construction.

#### *Structures 8 and 9*

Two apparently unrelated structures were revealed in a square at 340N, 340E. One two-brick thick foundation wall (Structure 8) bonded with lime mortar was revealed at grade, below a thin gravel layer. A shovel test south of this wall suggests either a filled basement at least four feet deep, or a deeply buried

surface. The lowest level attained in the test pit did not reach the bottom of the fill, but encountered a thick midden-like loam layer containing bone and late 18th - early 19th century artifacts. Just north of this wall were two additional brick walls forming a right-angle corner, but not running parallel or perpendicular to the wall of Structure 8. This brickwork, designated Structure 9, was only partly revealed and cannot be adequately interpreted at this time. It may represent a separate structure or some type of feature appended to Structure 8. (*See Structure descriptions in the phase 3 report sections below. These buildings are not related*).

### *Structures 10, 11, and 12*

One very large structure and two slightly smaller structures appear on mid-19th century maps in the southeast corner of the Southern R.R. and the old right-of-way of Ash Street, on City lots 205 and 206. and one local informant suggested that there was a large iron foundry which stood until the 1930's or 1940's. Limited testing on lot 205 revealed large amounts of brick rubble, coal, cinder, and slag in this location. Documentary research revealed that the foundry, Capitol City Iron Works, was a 20th century operation which was located primarily on Lots 203 and 204. The large building and two smaller buildings indicated on mid-19th century maps are a store and two tenements. None of these structures will be effected by the proposed construction.

### *Structure 13*

A brick pier was uncovered in the 10' x 10' square, 280N 315E. This substantial structure support penetrates the fill in the bulkhead entrance to Structure 4, and therefore was constructed following destruction of Structure 4. A probable robbed pier was uncovered in Trench 1 during the Phase 1 study. These both may relate to a single structure, although this is by no means certain.

## Public works

### *Road abutments*

Three distinct types of stone abutments exist within the compass of the site. These are all related to bridges or viaducts used to carry the principal cross streets of Rocketts from Williamsburg Road (formerly Bloody Run Street) to Main Street (Rocketts Street). All are found in places in which the cross streets descend from the upper terrace over the Southern (Richmond and York River) Railroad cut. The oldest of these are formed of large granite blocks. These abutments are found on the northern side of the cut at Main Street, and on both sides of the cut at the former locations of the Ash Street and Elm

Street crossings. These abutments were apparently built to carry the roads over the railroad track after 1855. The Main Street crossing includes a large, high granite abutment on the south side of the cut, and the northern abutment has been raised to the present level of Main Street with a wall of brick laid in five course American bond. Preliminary study of these features suggested that Rocketts Road, Ash and Elm Streets were raised over the railroad at the time of construction. Following the Civil War, the roads were raised higher yet, perhaps to provide more clearance.

As these road features can be considered important elements for understanding the public works engineering and development of the urban landscape of 19th century Rocketts, further study of their history and construction was recommended in order to further illuminate the history of the site. VDOT design consultants have indicated that it is not possible to leave these structures in place. Nineteenth-century massive stonework is not all that rare in Richmond, and since these are considered to be important archaeological features, the significance of which lies in the information they can provide for reconstructing site history, further study and recording of these abutments is probably adequate to mitigate project effects.

#### *Rail trestle construction features*

Two five-by-five foot squares were excavated beneath the existing CSX trestle. Both of these showed that this area has been substantially disturbed by construction of the trestle, circa 1905. Large wooden pilings, mechanically driven to at least 10 or 12 feet in depth were found in one square, while the second square encountered similar pilings and a cribwork substructure of timbers, mill-sawn dimensional lumber and iron plates and fasteners extending to a depth of at least six feet. These features are interpreted as elements of the support system of a low, temporary rail trestle used to carry materials to the site of construction of the permanent trestle. Remnants of several such trestle piers can be seen at various places under the present viaduct between the site and Fulon Yard. Similar features are apparently duplicated along the considerable length of the trestle, and can be seen protruding above the ground in several places well beyond the limits of the Rockets #1 Site.

#### *Southern Railroad passage*

The sunken line of the Southern Railroad represents the present day remains of one of the first railroads in Richmond. Constructed in 1855 as the Richmond and York River line, this road was of some importance in the Civil War, as the James River was rendered useless as a supply and transportation link after Federal occupation of the Peninsula. Preliminary research suggested that some alteration to the bed of the railroad had taken place in the late 19th or 20th centuries. Of course, ties, rails and ballast have

all been replaced periodically. No switching gear or other historic railroad technology is found within the project area. The road abutments described above were probably constructed along with the railroad. It was recommended that these be recorded and studied along with the sub-surface features of the Rocketts#1 Site.

Remaining portions of the Richmond and York Railroad may be of considerable historical significance and some materials of significance to engineering history may exist along the line. As the present project will have minimal effects on the line, and will not impact any historic features, it was not considered necessary to carry out a significance determination on the railroad line as a whole.

### CSX Rail Viaduct

The CSX Chessie System Railroad runs over the proposed construction area on a viaduct constructed for the C&O in 1905. This trestle is the longest elevated double rail track in the world. As such, the trestle is probably eligible for inclusion in the National Register.

The present project will require removal of a small section of trestle substructure and replacing it with steel pilings constructed on existing concrete piers. Two piers and their associated trestle will be removed to add a lane to Main Street. This will add a considerable length to the unsupported railroad bridge span, requiring the superstructure to be reinforced with steel girders. While this work will totally alter the nature of the small trestle section over Main Street, its effect on the entire elevated track system will be small. It was recommended that VDOT treat the trestle as if it were eligible. Subsequent research has shown that the present structure (superstructure, substructure and piers) in the vicinity of the site all date to the mid-20th century, however. Alterations to this structure will not impact any historic fabric related to the viaduct, and the new construction will be compatible with the existing structure. Of primary concern, then, is the documentation of the history of the viaduct and its importance to the Rocketts community.

## Summary and Project Effects

### The Rocketts #1 Site

The Rocketts #1 Site (44 He671) was originally defined as an area encompassing four original 1/2 acre lots of that section of the City of Richmond that was historically known as Rocketts. The site was so defined because initial plans by the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT Project # 0005-127-102, PE-101, C-501) suggested that proposed improvements

to the intersection of Main Street and Williamsburg Road could potentially impact possible archaeological resources on the historically defined lots numbered 203, 204, 205 and 206 fronting on Poplar Street. Additional minor impacts were possible on Lot 196 fronting on Williamsburg Road. Following the initial testing of the proposed project area, and the confirmation that indeed all four of these historic lots contained archaeological remains of some merit, numerous consultations between the archaeologists of VCU and VDOT, the design consultants, and VDOT personnel responsible for the construction of the proposed road improvements, it was determined that impacts to archaeological remains could be limited through design considerations.

With the exception of some alterations to the track bed and some historic stone abutments along the Southern Railway line on the property, all impacts will be confined to cultural resources in the area which originally comprised Lot 203. There will also be some minor encroachment on Lot 196, which is now a portion of the property of the Woodward House, which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The present report deals primarily with the history and archaeology of Lot 203 which, by the mid-19th century, had been sub-divided into 7 smaller lots. The determinations of the boundaries of an archaeological site in the midst of an 18th and 19th century urban area is never easy and must be somewhat arbitrary. For the purpose of this report, the Rocketts #1 Site is defined as Lot 203, a very small portion of Lot 196 in the intersection of Main Street and Williamsburg Road, and the Southern Railroad right-of-way between Main Street and the Elm Street easement (Elm Street is no longer in existence).

The site is situated in the corner of "Poplar Street" and "Rocketts Street", as they were historically known. This corner marked the western edge of the Rocketts port. Only two of the historic maps studied during the phase 2 investigation show standing structures, rather than showing only streets and lots: the 1865 Michie, and 1876 Beers Atlas maps.<sup>9</sup> Both of these indicate improvements on portions of these lots. One structure shown on the 1865 map appears to be a large building with a fenced yard on the north side of the building.

The 1876 map indicated that portions of the original city lots had been acquired as railroad property near the corner of Rocketts and Poplar Streets. Presumably, prior to the construction of the railroad in the late 1850s, these lots would have contained houses or commercial buildings. By comparison with surrounding lots on the later maps, it was thought to be likely that these lots had been further subdivided at least by the mid-19th century and may have contained numerous houses and service buildings.

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<sup>9</sup>. A more extensive review of maps and plats concerning the site will be presented in a later section of this report.

Photographs and prints of the project area indicated the presence of numerous commercial and domestic structures. Illustrations, dating between ca. 1850 and 1865, suggested the nature of occupation during this period. Earlier 19th century prints show portions of the Rocketts Landing area. All such graphic materials available were studied in greater detail during the phase 3 investigation to help provide architectural and functional details for interpreting the Rocketts #1 Site.

### Site Significance

The Rocketts #1 Site was found to contain intact remains of domestic, commercial, industrial, and civil engineering structures dating at least as early as 1780 - and possibly from the Colonial Period - through the 19th century. Archaeological testing and preliminary documentary research suggested that a wide range of structure types and functions were present within the city lots to be impacted by proposed construction. The site contains artifactual data, large quantities of faunal material, architectural remains, and well-preserved organic non-carbonate materials including leather, wood and, perhaps, cloth. The material remains and the excellent contexts in which they were found, provide excellent data for reconstructing the material life of Richmond's early waterfront. Comparative studies concerning, for example, the use and circulation of locally produced ceramic and glass items would be especially valuable. Numerous Richmond and Baltimore bottles were recovered from the site in preliminary test excavations, as were earthenware and stoneware containers of local, as well as distant provenance.

Test excavations suggested the presence of privies, wells, cellars and sealed, tightly datable trash deposits. Historical data suggested that the waterfront was a highly mixed community of merchants, free black and hired-out slave artisans and laborers, domestic slaves, stevedores, transients, mariners, innkeepers, and captains. That this highly heterogeneous community is represented within the remains of the Rocketts #1 Site was apparent in the variety of architectural and artifactual remains recovered as well as being suggested by the variety of building types and sizes in the pictorial representations of the site.

While it is likely that other 18th and 19th century remains are yet to be uncovered further east in the Rocketts/Fulton area, it was clear from the preliminary testing that the Rocketts #1 Site lies within the core of the early village associated directly with Rocketts Landing and the Rocketts tobacco warehouse. Standing as it does opposite the 17th century Falls Plantation, and on Gilly Gromarrin's plantation lands, this location also preserves perhaps the best hope for recovery of Colonial period remains at this early port.



The Rocketts #1 Site was recommended to be considered eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Upon completion of the phase 2 study, the available project plans suggested that approximately 60% of the site would be impacted by proposed road widening, CSX trestle construction, and rebuilding of the Southern Railroad line. Subsequent consultations with VDOT have assured the author that the actual impacts will be much smaller.<sup>10</sup> A very small portion of the CSX trestle will be altered to provide an additional lane for Main Street. This impact is minor in that it entails replacement or removal of two mid-20th century concrete piers and minor replacement of steel superstructure elements which are mid-20th century in date. This work will not effect the historical significance of the structure.

### Woodward House

The Woodward House, which is the only remaining standing structure associated with Rocketts, will not be directly impacted by this project. Visual changes occurring from the improvement of the intersection of Main Street with Williamsburg Road will not impact the property. Approximately 2000-2500 square feet of Woodward house property will be taken at the intersection. This is not within the historical boundaries of the property and would have no adverse effect on the significance of property.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>. As of the present writing (January 1992) there are tentative plans to re-design some aspects of this project. New designs should be reviewed by archaeological consultants to ascertain whether any additional impacts might result from these changes.

<sup>11</sup>. The present property boundaries are, however, the National Register property boundaries.

## Part 2: The Phase 3 Project

Excavation of the Rocketts #1 Site was a massive undertaking by any measure. More than 400 tons of deposits were removed from an area of approximately 3500 square feet - all by hand. Nearly 500 features were excavated and recorded in detail. Portions of numerous individual building structures were uncovered. More than 30,000 artifacts and biological specimens were recovered, processed, and analyzed. These included portions of more than 900 glass and ceramic vessels, all of which have been analyzed, assigned to a minimum vessel count, and, where possible and appropriate, mended, with cross-mending records made for all ceramic vessels. Detailed archival data was recovered for more than 40 households and firms which lived on, operated on, or owned portions of the site between ca. 1670 - 1900. This research included complete searches of all relevant deeds, wills, city directory entries, federal censuses, real estate and personal property tax records, newspaper notices, family papers, etc. Obviously, this report can only be an accounting of a small portion of the vast amount of information collected in the project.

I have selected an untraditional format for presenting the basic information about the project. The site interpretation is, to me, the paramount product of the project, and, as noted above, considerably more interpretation than can be accommodated here will be presented in a forthcoming book. To others, however, access to "the data" will be equally, or more, important. Given the excess of data, compared to what can be interpreted by one person, I consider it important to make these data as useful as possible to those who would attempt other interpretations of the site. It is tempting to think that it would be possible to prepare all of the data - artifact descriptions, feature lists, etc. - in the form of appended lists, charts, or graphs, and get on with making some sense of these. To the extent that such an approach is possible, within the canons of good sense and professional practice, I have done just that. However, data do not "speak for themselves". It is important to describe in some detail how the data were obtained, or selected, and to retrace to some extent the connections between observations and conclusions.

There is, of course, a great deal of data which is not reproduced here. For example, it would be of little use to reproduce the single-layer plans of every feature, even though these are important for low-level site interpretation. In addition, reproducing these would have probably quadrupled the thickness of, and the cost of producing, this report. Most of the "important" features - and there is a dimension of judgement required here - have been reproduced on two master maps (Figures 24 and 25), which illustrate the main excavation block features which predate and postdate construction of a particular floor in

a particular structure. This floor served as an important archaeological horizon delimiter during the excavation. There are several drawings and numerous photographs of selected features which are more complex, or which were of particular importance in some aspect of the interpretation.

In the first chapter (2.1), I have provided a discussion of the archaeological theory and research design by which this project was conducted. I have stressed both the hermeneutic method and the idea of the "narrative construction of reality", to use Bruner's (1991) phrase. I likewise have argued that our entry into past discourse suggests that a style of presentation should follow the style of discourse, and I am especially persuaded of the importance of narrative in this, and similar enterprises. In order to construct a narrative interpretation, it was necessary to analyze the data in an appropriate format. Chronology and context are the keystones of the interpretation in this report.

Chapter 2.2 goes through the exercise of establishing narrative contexts and a form of chronology that can be elicited from documents. This chapter subsumes discussions of methods and findings of "historical" research. Important components of this chapter include the presentation of biographical data on persons who owned, occupied, or otherwise were important to the history of the site. These mini-biographies have been compiled from extensive surveys of public documents and secondary sources. It should be kept in mind that the purpose of each section within this chapter is either to present a review of sources of data, to present observations themselves, or to provide an exposition on methods of analyses, including interpretive analyses.

Chapter 2.3 provides a critical review of visual source documents, including plats, maps, paintings, prints, photographs, and the use of a technique called "Prince's magic camera". Visual documents are tools for providing accuity for viewing, or understanding the context of the site. Specific details of architecture and landscape are revealed through these reviews. Perhaps more importantly, these visual documents are, themselves, artifacts, many of which are best viewed as representations of Rocketts and its environs. As such, these documents provide material for interpretation; that is, they are cultural statements about the past, made in the past, and they are here considered to be part of the "archaeological" record of Rocketts.

Chapter 2.4 deals with site stratigraphy, features, and their relationships. An archaeological chronology, and archaeological contexts, are constructed which can be played against the documentary contexts. In addition, necessary information about the methods of excavation, recording, and analysis of the archaeological structure and formation processes of the site is presented.

The following chapter (2.5) deals with the modification, creation and use of an urban environment. The single most important way in which historical

archaeology differs from history, as such, is that archaeologists are concerned very much with the physical, or material remains of the past; that is, the artifacts, broadly speaking. No "artifact" is more important than the physical space, the "built environment", in which historical events and social actions occur. The making of the landscape, whether by conscious design and centralized control, or by more "organic" processes, is an important feature of all human settlement, and certainly it is an overarching attribute of urban life. The story of the Rocketts #1 Site is situated within the physical setting of the site, and this is a setting that was largely created by owners and occupants. The nature of that setting will be reviewed using a variety of documentary and archaeological sources.

Of course, the most immediately apparent aspect of the urban "built environment" is its buildings. This chapter deals with the buildings at the site, again as reconstructed from archaeological and documentary sources. Of particular interest here is the use of buildings as representations of people and their activities, as well as the representations of buildings, landscape, etc. through art and written description.

The construction of landscape and public works is discussed here. A unique water system is of special interest in this section. Transportation and similar features were extremely important to this study, and to the history of the site. The creation of streets, roads, alleys, walkways and yard walls defined the spaces of life at the site. The construction of two rail lines through the site physically altered the locality in critical ways. In fact, the story of the C&O viaduct is a telling tale of the power of industry and public utilities over the more "mundane" aspects of city life.

Chapter 2.6 deals with the more portable components of material culture recovered from the site. Here the bottles, dishes, and personal items lost or discarded at the site are examined in order to elicit some additional, perhaps more intimate, aspects of life on Lot 203. This chapter includes discussion of analytical methods and a catalogue of selected artifacts used in the interpretation of the site, or of potential importance to archaeologists seeking comparative contextual data.

Interpretation is woven throughout this volume as, I contend, it is woven throughout all phases of all archaeological projects. Furthermore, as noted above, a future volume dealing more specifically with site interpretation is in preparation. Nonetheless, some of the suggested dimensions and directions of interpretation are discussed in Chapter 2.7.

Finally, in Chapter 2.8, I have presented an assesment of the project. This involves an evaluation of the project goals, and the successes, failures, or limitations encountered in meeting those goals.

## 2.1 Of Paradigms and Problematics: Theory, Contexts and Project Goals

Although it is usually easy to tell what sort of paradigm, or approach, a scholar takes to his or her research by perusing the organization and language of a research report, archaeological excavation reports customarily include a chapter on "theory". The numerous functions of this chapter include a measure of self-aggrandizement on the part of the author, in which he or she can demonstrate depth of scholarship by presenting short abstracts of ideas followed by long lists of scholarly citations. In a cultural resource management site report, such as this one, this section serves a second purpose: it provides the basis of the "research design" upon which the study is supposedly based, and permits governmental reviewers to ascertain the legitimacy of the project director - author, again by assessing those short abstracts of ideas and citations of references.

Perhaps the most legitimate purpose for the existence of theory essays in site reports is to "situate" the author, not simply with regard to academic schools of thought and disciplinary politics, but with regard to the broader social and ethical issues raised - or not raised - by his or her writing. While making some concession to the games that scholars play, and the rules we have devised among ourselves to play those games, I hope nonetheless to offer this present discussion to help not only my archaeological colleagues, but also the non-specialist reader to understand, more closely, my own ideas and ideologies with regard to archaeology. I have titled this section "Theory and Project Goals", although I would have rather found a less loaded term than "theory". "Project goals" stands partly in place of the more traditional "research design". Clearly goals are not all of a research design, which includes methods designed to obtain those goals. Methods are discussed elsewhere, but goals and theory are closely related, and will be dealt with here.

My objection to "research designs" is not due to any problem I have with planned, systematic approaches to the recovery and generation of knowledge, but to the use of the term as a guidon by the processual school of archaeology which flourished throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Even more sinister is the appropriation of the term, and in fact much of the paradigmatic equipment of the "New Archaeology" by the institutions of cultural resource management. Most written guidelines concerning how CRM-related data retrieval should be organized and presented makes assumptions that scholars will select a form of the scientific method, in which generalizations (theories) provide hypotheses, which are "tested" *via* excavation and analysis. From this process,

more generalizations are inferred through the accepting or rejecting of hypotheses.

There is by now a literature so large within the humanities and social sciences critiquing the positivist approach, that even discussing it here in what must be a very inadequate form seems questionable. In archaeology, one of the more widely read critiques is that of Courbin (1988). This thoroughgoing "deconstruction" of archaeological positivism suffers precisely for what it concludes: that archaeology is what archaeologists do. This often-repeated homily could be accepted as nothing but a silly tautology except that Courbin has very specific ideas about what archaeologists *should* do and, therefore, what archaeology *should* be. And this vision, while avoiding the pitfalls of positivism, is a very limited, perhaps even mechanical, notion of archaeology that would separate the excavating, dating, and sherd-sorting activities from the scholarly interpretations of history, society or culture. These latter activities are not, in his mind, the realm of archaeology, but of sociology and anthropology.

Thus, archaeology should exist without theory, but the flaw here is the intractable and irreducible relationship between theory, method, observation and inference, a point which the New Archaeologists themselves made very clearly, and which many non-positivists continue to embrace. Archaeology cannot exist without theory, but that is little reason to embrace wrong-headed (or simply boring) theory, such as processualism, materialism, and cultural ecology.

## Postmodern Archaeologies

Other alternatives abound. Some of these have been summarized by Hodder (1986) in his book *Reading the Past*. Hodder's "post-processual" or "contextual" archaeologies fall, for the most part, into a general grouping of approaches which share a few - although sometimes very few - attributes, and which are sometimes referred to as postmodern approaches (Mouer 1991). One of the hallmarks of postmodernists is their resistance to classification, including being pigeonholed as postmodernists. Within archaeology, most would probably rather identify with the term "interpretivist", a term which breaks cleanly with positivism, stresses the hermeneutic method, and avoids some of the extreme stances often associated with postmodernism. There is, after all, quite a bit of territory covered by that term. Postmodern human study has its roots primarily in literary theory, cultural criticism, and philosophy. Much of the range of contemporary literary theory is glossed (but only glossed) in the excerpts of essays compiled by Newton (1988). Postmodernism in the visual arts tends to be rather different, but shares many of the general qualities of the episteme; a valuable collection of essays and excerpts has been compiled by Risatti (1990). Postmodernism in the social

sciences has taken on a life of its own as well (see, for instance, Rabinow and Sullivan 1987, Clifford 1988, Clifford and Marcus 1986, Marcus and Fischer 1986, R. Rosaldo 1989). The most comprehensive general review to date is the book-length essay by Rosenau (1992). Rosenau does not position herself among the postmodernists, but takes the view that the movement is of utmost importance to social sciences. Perhaps more so than the literary or visual arts, social sciences have long given a privileged position to objective truth, rationality, classification, generalization, and other Enlightenment "gestures" which postmodern perspectives eschew, or at least question.<sup>12</sup> For a better flavor of the genre, one would do well to spend some time reading in the various cross-disciplinary criticism journals that carry post-modernist essays as a rule. Some of my favorite reading for some years now has generally been found in the University of Chicago's journal, *Critical Inquiry*.

For an introduction to postmodern thought specifically in the framework of archaeology and material culture see the series of essays compiled by Christopher Tilley (1990) in *Reading Material Culture*.<sup>13</sup> This work is much less accessible than Hodder, but considerably more sophisticated. Tilley and his fellow contributing authors present deep explorations of the intellectual legacies of Claude Lévy-Strauss, Paul Ricoeur, Clifford Geertz, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, and Michael Foucault, and possibilities for applications to archaeological research and interpretation. The principal difficulty with the streams of thought presented in that volume is *difficulty* itself. The authors, or most of them, have clearly been infected by the French structuralist and post-structuralist fascination with the problematic of language, and a conviction that greater density equals greater signification. Many of the essays read like bad attempts to imitate the styles of Barthes, Derrida and Foucault.<sup>14</sup>

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12. Rosenau divides the world of postmodern social science into the "extreme", or "skeptical", approaches, and the "moderate", or "affirmative" approaches. My views, as a rule, are more consonant with the latter, though I would naturally take issue with her relatively negative assessment of these perspectives. Archaeologists, in general, have sometimes adopted the terms suggested by Ian Hodder - "contextual", or "post-processual" archaeology. I have chosen to lump hermeneutics, post-structuralism, and - with some hesitation - Frankfurt School critical theory, neo-Marxism, post-Marxism, and "subaltern" studies here under the rubric "postmodernism". In many fields there are practitioners who would chafe at lumping these approaches. My goal is to place contemporary archaeological thought within the broader trends of non-positivist and post-positivist inquiry which reach across disciplines. One goal of all of these "movements" is to "decenter", "deconstruct", or "unmask" the workings of disciplinary boundary maintenance and academic politics. It does not serve the purpose to continue to treat archaeology as a stand-alone discipline with its own internal schisms, rather than to situate recent archaeological trends in a broader social and intellectual discourse.

13. Tilley's work is highly influenced by Foucault. Earlier seminal works of importance include Miller and Tilley (1984), Shanks and Tilley (1987a and 1987b).

14. French post-structuralism views language as the ultimate conditioner of thought and constructor of reality. As such, many writers insist that a text be "writerly", full of uncertainty and ambiguity. Clarity, a particular bugbear for French post-Structuralists, is apparently seen



Nonetheless - or perhaps because of this - the volume opens onto vistas of interpretive and analytical possibility that have become long-since entrenched within the humanities traditions of philosophy and criticism, among others, but which feel wholly alien to an archaeologist raised on the virtues of scientism. These essays do provide a grounding which permits one to approach more easily the primary works of the subject authors themselves. Of these, Clifford Geertz is undoubtedly best known among American archaeologists. (I hasten to add that a great many more archaeologists probably know of Lévy-Strauss, but fewer would admit to truly knowing the man's work).

One of the truly fertile areas of postmodern research is in culture history, and a closely-related endeavor, often referred to as "micro-history." Culture history is of respectable antiquity in the disciplines of anthropology and folklore/folklife studies, but it has made a major resurgence in recent years also among historians. Postmodernists are into dissolving disciplinary boundaries - blurring the genres, to use Geertz' phrase - and micro-history and culture history are turfs upon which historians, anthropologists, and others find a meeting ground. Much of this devolves from the Geertzian approach to "local knowledge", and the desire to allow individuals, neighborhoods, and small communities of various sorts to speak through their own actions and representations. Rather than reviewing what is by now an enormous literature within postmodern human studies, I propose to outline some commonalities of the diverse approaches, and to outline the ways in which these have structured this present inquiry.

- First, and foremost, all are generally non-positivist. Some are stringently anti-positivist. All embody some level of skepticism about certainty, evidence, generalization, classification, and the uses and methods of knowledge. Case histories are the basic unit of analysis. As Geertz notes, theory "hovers" just above the level of data. There is rarely an attempt to seek over-arching generalizations. Comparisons may be used, not to generate general patterns or to elucidate the workings of abstract "systems", but to point to the uniquenesses of the cases themselves, and to emphasize context. Context is of great importance in these newer approaches, and the exegesis of a case study - be it an ethnographic, historic, literary, or archaeological one - is fully grounded in the critical analysis of "texts" and contexts.

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as the handmaid of oppression, while difficulty is the vehicle for liberation. The Anglo-American rush to write difficult texts is not without philosophical grounding, but it is also not entirely necessary. Many anglophone postmodernists - especially Americans - have rejected the adulation of difficult writing, and some have embraced clarity as a liberating tool. Frankly, it is my sense that any essentially humanist writing is more clear, more accessible, and more "liberating" - for writer and reader - than the obfuscutory jargo-speak of scientistic archaeology and cultural resource management.



- Most follow a method which is loosely (perhaps *very* loosely) structuralist; that is, structure with a small "s". Lévy-Strauss and Saussure are beginning points that have been left behind. In fact, the French philosophers so important to the postmodern movement are often referred to as "post-structuralists". The structuralism manifests itself in a fundamental concern with meaning and context, rather than with function. Functionalism appears almost nowhere in this line of thought, and is treated as a clearly retrograde view. In postmodern social analyses, one is more apt to read of "mediation", "negotiation", and "manipulation", than of "integration" or "adaptation".

- There is an abiding concern with "meaning". Meaning is seen to exist in human actions and constructs, to be variable ("polysemic"), plural ("polyvocalic"), and - by some extremists - completely fluid and ungrounded. Meaning is created not only by the human subjects we study, but by our study of them. It is our job as scholars not only to capture or interpret other's meanings, but to create and clarify meaning through our own works. This fascination with meaning leads to an affiliation in general with semiotics and the workings of postmodern semiologists, such as Umberto Eco, hence completing the circle back towards linguistics begun when Lévy-Strauss set out to discover culture with the structures implied by the work of Saussure. The multiplicities of meanings available in any social or cultural action suggests that no single meaning should be the sole source of interpretation.

The exegesis of meaning requires the exploration of *difference*, of *identity*, and of *representation*. Objects and actions are used to create meaning, and as such, there is an importance to individual actors. People are viewed not as passive participants or carriers of culture, but as creators of culture. Likewise culture and meaning - which converge on each other - are not unitary phenomena, but changing, mediated, negotiated, and indefinite. The search for meaning in material culture is nothing new, of course, and underlies the fundamental work of scholars such as Deetz, Glassie, and Prown.

- Meaning and structure are imbedded in *performances* (as per Geertz), or *texts* as per Ricoeur, Barthes, and others. Actions, artifacts, even houses and landscapes are constructed texts which can be *read* - hence the titles of both Hodder's and Tilley's books. Among my favorite "readings" of archaeological data are Martin Hall's (1992) approach to slave and non-slave assemblages and documents from South Africa, and Robin Ryder's (1991) explication of the Gilliam house site in Virginia. Not only do the contemporary archaeologies require, or permit, us to view artifacts (in the broad sense) as texts, but to view documents as artifacts, as advocated by archaeologists such as Mary Beaudry and Anne Yentsch. By reading back and forth between written and material texts - seeking intertextuality, as the theorists would put it - broader contexts are formed. Sometimes it is in the interstices between documents and material culture that a certain friction is formed which permits insightful interpretation. This is similar to Leone's and Crosby's

(1987) idiosyncratic interpretation of "middle range theory", although their attempt to methodologically systematize the approach seems a last gasp of positivist yearnings for universals.

- Reading implies interpretation. Postmodernism eschews not only the universalism implicit in positivist approaches, but often also the opposite of extreme relativism inherent in much of 20th century British, and especially American, social or cultural anthropology. If we can *read* others' actions and objects, it is because of the possibility for intersubjectivity. The interpretive act requires immersion into a discourse with our subjects, even though they may be long dead. I think one of the finest statements concerning the role and applicability of hermeneutics in archaeology - particularly historical archaeology - was Mary Beaudry's (1991) plenary address for the 1991 SHA meeting, titled *Reckless Eclecticism*. See also the extensive essay by Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski (1991).

Many are put off by what seems to be an extreme openness of interpretation, and, in fact, the "deconstructionists", following Derrida, and some feminist theorists have argued long and hard against "foundationalism", or the sense that there is an abiding, transcendent, and knowable reality, rather than simply a congeries of interpretations. A far more common concept of the process - and the one followed here - views interpretation as being limited. Those who like, or require, hard and fast rules and clearly defined limits within which work is considered legitimate, and beyond which it is peripheral, will have a hard time with an interpretative approach. But the limits are real, and the question of these limits, both for human semiotics and for the hermeneutic act, have been nicely explored in two works by Umberto Eco. One of these is theoretical (*The Limits of Interpretation*), while the other is an application in the framework of a novel (*Foucault's Pendulum*). Both hint at, but neither comes close to systematizing a method of interpretation. The success, or validity of an interpretive act must be determined by its ability to convince, to account for "the data" and the contexts of the data.

One very significant debate among interpreters of literary texts and artworks has been that concerning "authorial intention". The question rises whether the author's intended meaning carries a privileged position in interpretation. Some, such as E. D. Hirsch have argued that, ethically, we must concern ourselves with authors' meanings, and to purposefully deviate from those in constructing our present, anachronistic, meanings is unethical. Others, such as Derrida and Barthes, have argued that all readers have equal privilege in creating, or finding, meaning in a work. The relevance to material culture and the social acts represented by material culture is central. If literary language or works of art are ambiguous, polysemic, and open to interpretation by other than the creators or users, then the question arises whether archaeologists are responsible for limiting interpretation to the meanings that materials and actions had in the past. In the present work, I

have followed a line closer perhaps to Hirsch than Derrida, in that I feel that a role of archaeology is to elicit past meanings. On the other hand, I have to accept those views which stress polysemy. The intentions of the designer of a print on a Staffordshire plate do not necessarily reflect the intended meaning of the purchaser in 19th century Richmond. Further, the owner's intended meanings were not necessarily shared by all viewers, such as dinner guests. While attempting to elicit past meanings from, and within, past contexts, I also agree with the proposition that artifacts exist today, and that archaeology exists to create an exegesis of artifacts in a world of the present.

- Interpreting the texts of the past, or of "the other" in the present, requires that we view human contexts as historically conditioned. That is, historicism (along with that bug-bear of processualists, "particularism"), rather than universalism, is the appropriate context for understanding people and the worlds they create. Historicism leads to a focus not on system or process, but on linked events, contingencies, and what Stephen Jay Gould often refers to as a "cascading chain of improbabilities." In fact, Gould's view of history and historical process, coming as it does from the work of a natural historian (read *scientist*) is especially relevant to archaeology. I have been likewise impressed by the refreshing logic of ecologist R. C. Lewontin (1991). Of course the historicist-versus-positivist debate in American anthropology is as old as the field itself. It is not surprising that an old, but worthy, critique of scientism and theory of historicism in anthropology - namely, Radin's (1987), has been recently republished. It is likewise becoming increasingly common to see Collingswood's classic theory and method of history and historiography revived and cited in disparate works.

History is not viewed in these approaches as something of interest for its own sake, but as something which exists in the present. Foucault, for example, has stated that he is not interested in history (a surprising statement for those who know his work), but in the history of *the present*. Even so, he has been criticized for viewing the history of power in the western world as a unitary phenomenon. More recent writers stress that the nodes of power and the actions which generate those nodes also generate resistances, oppositions, and realignments. I accept, however, Foucault's premise that our studies deal with charting the history, genealogy, or archaeology of today, while attempting to avoid the fallacy of anachronism and the assumption that today's structures, values and meanings were at work in the past.

- Historicism and textuality have led many to view the human construction of reality as a process of *narrative* creation. If actions are texts, then social life is narrative. The narrative construction of reality has been examined by scholars as disparate as Jerome Bruner (1991), Clifford Geertz (1973) and Renato Rosaldo (1989). Again, the combination of a narrative view of social reality and a discursive view of the study of those realities leads many scholars to view their work as continuing, or participating in, the narrative.

There is a sort of Heisenburg Principle for the humanities that asserts that we cannot attempt to *know* other lives without transforming them, or even appropriating them.

The narrative approach can be applied in the sense of cultural-reality-as-discourse - that is, the actions of people *are* texts which constitute social reality - as well as the sense that evidence of social reality - including archaeological remains - can be read as texts in which "there is neither a *rational* method of assuring the 'truth' of a meaning assigned to the text as a whole, nor an *empirical* method for determining the verifiability of the constituent elements that make up the text" (Bruner 1991:7). This leads us into the so-called "hermeneutic circle" which is exited, or transcended, through contextuality. Our "readings" of the archaeological remains must ring true with other readings of the same story, they must contain the evidence, even if they do not - because they can not - rely on the evidence as *proof*.<sup>15</sup>

I use "narrative" in both senses, because they are, in actuality, the same thing. If narrative serves as a suitable model for the construction of historical reality by those who created the "archaeological record", it is our entering this discourse, though at some temporal remove, that brings the historical realities into the present through our own story-telling. Thus, sherds of pottery and glass, broken bricks and rusted nails, and the stains of posts once placed in the ground but now long-since rotted away...all of these form at least fragments of a text of social discourse from the past. As such, these fragments retain some portion of the meanings invested in them by the original narrators, and these meanings were diverse, negotiable, and fluid. Our attempts to "read" these fragmentary texts and find meaning in them engages us in the ancient discourse. We are, however, imbedded in present discourses and in the ongoing narrative construction of our own social world. Thus, in telling stories that account for the fragments of the past, we are, in essence, *explaining* those fragments by incorporating them into a metanarrative of the present.

This leads to the question of style. Style in discourse is always rhetorical; that is, it is chosen to make a point, to convince a readership. In scientific writing, style generally follows certain rules designed to convince a reader that objective facts have been logically concluded. The structure of this report is essentially narrative, and this will be particularly the case with the forthcoming interpretation volume. There is a great deal of purely descriptive material, but even description is discursive, and part of a narrative

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<sup>15</sup> The classic argument for human studies as appropriate to the applications of an "hermeneutical" science is Taylor's "Interpretation and the Sciences of Man", reprinted in Rabinow and Sullivan (1987). For a lengthy post-modernist discourse on proof and evidence, I recommend the "Questions of Evidence" series of essays by humanists and scientists in a wide variety of fields published in three recent (1991) numbers of *Critical Inquiry*.

construction. I am, in short, telling a story. As such, the story is a story not only of what people did at Rocketts in the past, but it is also the story of what we did to "discover" what people did in the past, and to invest it with meaning in the present.

Traditional archaeological reports and research papers abjure the use of first person pronouns. Twisting sentences around to remove the author from the work is merely a grammatical device to make the results or conclusions or inferences involved appear to be grounded in something more concrete than an author's interpretations. Likewise, "scientific" reports make extensive use of the passive voice. Passive construction again appears to add a level of artificial truth-value to statements which are, after all, interpretive, and, more to the point, they make actions appear to be generalized workings of some spirit of the times, rather than of specific people acting in specific historical and cultural contexts. "Normal" archaeological reports lay out a series of sections - Theory, Background, Methods, Findings, Conclusions - that give to the process the feel of a controlled experiment which reveals "truth". My intention here is to recover the feel of a process of discovery, of discourse, of a conversation between actors in the present and actors in the past, through which a story unfolds. The excavation of an archaeological site encumbers the archaeologists with a professional and ethical responsibility to present "the data" - that is, basic descriptive information about what was found, how it was found, and where it was found. These data are presented here, but they are imbedded in, and appended to, the story. They have informed, and in a sense "created" the interpretations found here and cannot be divorced from it. There is no separate "interpretation" section of this report for the reason that there is no clear separation between data, theory and interpretation.

Finally, narrative theory - or a narrative paradigm - finds itself in conflict with one of the current favorite constructs of CRM archaeology: that being *historic context* as that term is used by government review agencies, rather than by scholars of humanity. It is presently fashionable to criticize CRM studies which present narrative historical background information, but which do not then discuss "the resource" (i.e., the archaeological site) in terms of particular pre-defined problem domains. It is usual these days to rely on the development of these universalist research domains, often written up in a "resource management plan" by a planning agency. The "historic context" is, essentially, a ready-to-wear, off-the-rack research domain which, despite its almost contemporary sound, is actually a derivative of the out-moded (and widely criticized), universalist, positivist, "problem-oriented research design". A "narrative" approach, by definition, views narrative history as both the context of the problematic, and as the method of analysis. There is little place for *a priori* research designs, problem statements, or "historical contexts". On the other hand, it is possible to de-center or reposition "historic context" from its default role as research design to a more open frame of reference: the

paradigmatic problematics of discourse. That is the tact taken here, as I will elaborate, below.

- The inference drawn from this acknowledged relationship between the observer and the observed, between the scholar and subject, suggests that it is folly to believe it possible, or even desirable, to remain disengaged from one's study. Rosaldo is explicit in his call for emotional - even passionate - engagement in the lives of those we attempt to comprehend. Engagement is often viewed as one-sidedly political, in fact, as *politically correct*. There is no compulsion to become engaged on any single side of any issue. Nonetheless, the mandate for engagement requires that the scholar eschew the chimera of objectivity and attempt, instead, to deal with the subject more honestly. The conjoined ideas of engagement, many meanings, many voices, and creation of meaning by interpreters in the present, mandate at least a respect for alternative viewpoints, including feminist and minority critiques.

- Engagement and entanglement and intersubjectivity all lead to a strong need, and nearly universal call for, critical self-reflection, instead of a rhetoric that disguises interpretation as objective representation of truth. Our interpretations have uses, they have presence, in the present. They will be read, and, unless we presume the impotence of our enterprises, they will have effects. Often, these effects are not what we had anticipated. Reflexivity permits us to see our own biases and the limits of our own perceptions and patterns of reasoning. In addition, it permits us to understand, or anticipate, ways our works may be used and interpreted by others. It requires us not only to be engaged with our subjects, with the past, but to understand the uses of history in the present.

- Most of those I would subsume under the rubric of postmodernists try not to lose sight of the products of our work. Mostly, these are written works, such as this report, but occasionally they are also interpretations in museum settings, or other places. Our goal, typically, is to write what Deetz has called our *archaeographies*, culture histories, text explications, or other fruits of our research. We are all, in some sense, in some *fundamental* sense, writers. This behooves us to take great care in what, and how, we write, to concern ourselves with who will read our writings, and what the goal of such readings might be. It moves us to examine our rhetorics, syntaxes, and structures to reveal our own agendas instituted in our language, our jargon, and in the very structure of our reports. In my case, it makes me ask, "who pays for the work I have done?", and "who will benefit from it?" If our writing entails nothing but the thick and occult prose of scholarship, or seeks to meet the minimal necessities of bureaucracy or the academy, then it serves only to benefit the archaeologically initiated. On the other hand, writing that is carefully and craftfully constructed, thought-provoking, or simply entertaining may, in some way, help serve those who sponsored it.

The approach used here, then, is determinedly hermeneutic and historicist. One scholar has defined the basic method of history as "envisioning events in past time as occurring in multifaceted contexts and by bearing in mind that history consists, quite simply, of the processes of change and continuity over time, processes from which no human or collection of humans can be exempt" (Salisbury 1987). History and anthropology, like all human studies, are in a period of ferment. While the basic historiographic methods as spelled out by Collingwood remain fundamental, there is an increasing awareness of the role of the interpreter in formulating the meanings of history. Recent decades have brought potent critiques by Neo-Marxists, Critical Theorists, Feminists, Deconstructionists, Post-Structuralists and other approaches, all of which include some measure of emphasis on the "situatedness", engagement, and self-reflexiveness of the analyst. We can no longer study human subjects without being critically aware of our own assumptions and ideologies, the functions played by our interpretations within a worldview we ourselves share or construct. It is more and more difficult to believe that there is a "detached" or "objective" study of humanity. The present work depends on no such pretense.

The scientific language and the structure of traditional archaeological reports promote such an image of objectivity, of a knowable reality about which all observers can fundamentally agree, once they have all the data. For that reason, scientific approaches present descriptions in conventionalized or standardized forms which seem to avoid the pitfalls of "subjectivity". Charts, lists, and numbers become important. It is true that, when the "data" of an excavation are elaborately presented, it becomes possible for other scholars to reach an interpretation that is different from that of the excavator. For that reason, there is perhaps a wider latitude for interpretation permissible within archaeological and historical custom for the author who presents the most "data". Language and style, however, seem to count for quite a bit as well.

Clifford Geertz (1988), in re-analyzing some of the classical writings of ethnography, has shown how the author's ability to convince the reader of his/her authority to speak is of far greater importance than the presentation of objective "data". Even in those cases in which separate students studying the same human beings arrive at highly different interpretations of their culture or society, there is a tendency to continue to regard certain works as canonical based, perhaps fundamentally, on the stylistic characteristics of their presentations. Geertz completes his recent essay with a wondering about the future of social "science" and human studies. He simply broaches the question of objective fact and meaning, but backs off, only slightly disturbed. Others, fools perhaps, rush into the void left in the wake of realization that



human studies are searches for meaning as much as, perhaps more than, they are searches for information.<sup>16</sup>

As an historical archaeologist I am confronted with trying to interpret the lives and events of a parcel of ground occupied over many lifetimes. Of course, my reading of the site and its history must "make sense". It must be internally consistent with the observations made in the field, and in the archives. That still leaves a great deal of leeway. Some might choose to view the hermeneutics of archaeology (or history) as similar to the problem of a judge confronted by a myriad of "witnesses", all of whom appear to have observed slightly different versions of the same "reality". The judge may assume that there is one objective reality and that the various interpretations he/she hears are but approximations, like darts stochastically distributed around a target. By hearing enough versions, the judge may feel capable of deciding what the *real* reality is. I, for one, have little confidence in such a method. If there is a single, *real*, authoritative story to tell about the Rocketts #1 Site, I doubt that spending the remainder of my life studying in greater detail the field records, artifacts, and archival documents concerning the site would be adequate to reveal such a story. Rather, I view the project of historical and anthropological interpretation as something more similar to a group therapy session, a political caucus, or a family argument. There are various points of view, and all clamor to be understood, accounted for, and reconciled. The *truth* is not singular, it is multiple. Reality is as we see it and interpret it.

- For many scholars, elements of structuralism and hermeneutics are insufficient characteristics of postmodernism. The necessary ingredient shared by most students who can be included in this nebulous set is the use of a method popularized by Derrida, called *deconstruction*. At the heart of deconstruction is a deeply-rooted philosophical skepticism. Postmodernists question; they rarely assert. They question whether there is an essential reality that can be known through logical inquiry. *Essentialism* is one of the bugbears of postmodernism. Closely related is *foundationalism*. Whereas scientific knowledge is constructed on presumably foundational concepts related to an essential reality, postmodernists question whether such foundational concepts are supportable, and whether reality exists in essence.

In anthropology in general this skepticism has led to a broad questioning of the foundational concepts of the discipline, including the culture concept (see, for instance, Clifford 1988). Fundamental units of society, such as ethnicity, gender, and power, are viewed as being relative, situational, and fluid. Not only is scientism suspect, so is traditional humanism with its liberal assumptions. We cannot assume the domination of the working class by

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<sup>16</sup>. For further even more skeptical discussions of representation and style in anthropology see Clifford 1988, Clifford and Marcus 1986, and Marcus and Fischer 1986.



capitalists if we are skeptical about the meanings of "capitalist" or the universality and durability of "working class."

Deconstruction attempts to "decenter" essentialist or foundational concepts. It provokes discussion, creates and furthers discourse. It doesn't assert truth claims or, when it does, it quickly attempts to undermine them. Rosenau explores this paradox and feels it severely undermines postmodernist work, but hard-core postmodernists might well take that as a compliment. In the hands of extremists, deconstructionist approaches may be simply destructive. To the creative skeptic, deconstruction - and perhaps much of the postmodernist scholarly enterprise - furthers the critical questioning activities of scholarship while diluting the role of scholars as self-appointed keepers of truth.

- Finally, in this work I hope to aid in the undoing of archaeology as a self-absorbed, closed-circuit structure. This report is certainly not written in a style or manner that is meant to appeal to your average high school senior, but neither is it designed to reflect only the clubby culture of archaeology; I hope to wash some of the starch of self-importance out of the archaeological shirt. I have tried to use language, concepts, and structures which have meaning to a broader field of students of humanity. Ultimately, doing archaeology is fun. Reading about it should be fun, although I cannot find any way to make the descriptions of features or the recounting of an artifact inventory into sustained entertainment. I do feel strongly that we, as a profession, take ourselves way too seriously. Perhaps by doing so, we hope others will take us seriously. To my mind, that is a mistake. Others will better appreciate, and more willingly support, archaeology as an entertaining and enlightening addition to human discourse far sooner than they will flock to support us as an arcane and inbred group of scientists pondering the minutiae of potsherds or the over-arching Laws of Average Humanity.

## Historic Contexts

I began above a critique of the application of "historic contexts" which needs some further discussion. In CRM archaeology, the historic context is the description of a general problem domain that is considered to be a valid and important area of inquiry. The significance of an archaeological or historical "property" or "resource" is judged by its potential value to contribute to on-going discourses selected before the property is studied, interpreted, or preserved. With the minimal knowledge available prior to any intensive study of an historic property, a researcher or cultural resource manager is asked to evaluate the property's significance by reference to its value vis-a-vis one or more pre-selected "historic contexts." In arguing for the significance of

a site, one writes - or preferably, borrows <sup>17</sup> - a statement concerning the importance of a discourse on slavery, on 19th-century mining, or on some other broad, general theme that scholars and governmental agency reviewers perceive as having value.

The interest of a qualified professional researcher, or research team, in the study of a site is not adequate justification for such study unless she/he/they can state the value of such research in terms of a general and convincing (but, to whom?) "historic context." Clearly, however, one does not know the contents of an archaeological site until it has been excavated. The actual resulting interpretation of an archaeological site may, or may not, have anything to do with the "historic context" by which the site was determined to be significant - and, thus, legally eligible for publically-funded excavation. This is a game that leaves out those who play by rules which eschew *a priori* research designs based on generalizing, foundationalist, essentialist, comparative, scientific approaches. It is specifically a game designed to favor positivist, "problem-oriented" approaches over those which favor narrative, discursive, or critical approaches. This problem might not seem very serious if social sciences and humanities were still deeply imbedded in the hyper-modernist gestures of the 1970s, but such is not the case. I support the contention that *a priori* research designs, in whatever guise, are not generally compatible with, and certainly not necessary for, the analysis and interpretation of human culture.

Let us assume that a unique, previously unknown, manuscript by William Shakespeare has been discovered. It is bound between boards and, except for a title, signature, and date on the cover, nobody has yet opened the manuscript and nobody yet knows what the text has to say. The manuscript appears, on the surface, to be an authentic text. The signature is apparently that of the Bard, and the date is earlier than any other known Shakespearean text. Let us now assume that, before we can read the text, we must convince a panel of reviewers - many of whom are not experts in the details of Shakespearean scholarship - of the importance of this manuscript so that they will permit us to read it. We could write essays on "historical contexts" dealing with a wide variety of subjects. Let us say that we choose to see the manuscript's potential importance for foreshadowing some stylistic elements in the author's earliest plays. The panel is impressed, and we are awarded permission to read on.

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<sup>17</sup>. This CRM game seems to work most successfully when one or more researchers has previously prepared a cultural resource management plan which outlines a large series of "study units", or canned historic contexts. By borrowing from, or referring to, such a previously prepared "plan", a researcher seems to call on outside authority to justify her or his recommendation for excavation of a site. The trick in preparing such plans, or in interpreting them for the preparation of "historic contexts", is to be certain that the study units are sufficiently broad, and sufficiently numerous, that any decent archaeological site can be said to be potentially significant by way of contributing to predetermined research problems.

The manuscript, as it turns out, is a series of shopping lists that young Will took to the market every week, or perhaps a sheaf of letters to a lover, or maybe they are legal papers dealing with his inheritance, or... anything. Does the manuscript somehow become unimportant? Does it not contain rich materials for study and interpretation? Is it not still an early text worthy of many readings? The significance of the text lies in its integrity - is it highly fragmented, or a complete work? - and in the thoughtful readings given it by scholars and others. The text itself may provide rich insights into Elizabethan gender relations, modern literary theory, the history of the English language, or one playwright's lunch meat preferences. We don't know until we read it and interpret it and read others' interpretations of it.

In evaluating "historic contexts" concerning the Rocketts #1 Site, prior to any extensive study, I discussed the possible importance of economic links between Richmond and Baltimore, as these might potentially be revealed through a study of glass bottles. Having "read" the site, I don't find this a very interesting or important topic for interpretation, although I was correct in my analysis that the site would contain many bottles made in Baltimore. I knew, and the governmental agency reviewers knew, that the site was potentially significant because it was there, and it appeared to have the integrity necessary to contextualize the material evidence. Testing had demonstrated that intact deposits from at least the late 18th century through the late 19th century existed below the ground, and that construction would disturb or destroy these deposits. The "historic contexts" were quite beside the point.

An excavated site should be used as an entry into discourse. I see little reason to excavate a site except to provide interpretive materials to be "read" by scholars and the public. In the following sections, I discuss the Rocketts #1 Site excavation project in light of certain paradigmatic problematics - that is, domains of discourse within the discipline of archaeology and which cross-cut disciplines within human studies. These, however, are not *a priori* research domains, but generalized topics of inquiry *stimulated by the site research itself*. These are afterthoughts worthy of further exploration, not pre-cooked questions for which I sought answers.

## Urban Archaeology

The Rocketts #1 Site is an urban site, and urban archaeology as a sub-field of study has evolved its own literature, methods and problems. Many cities in the United States have had active and on-going programs of urban archaeological research. In the east, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Alexandria, Annapolis, Wilmington, and Pittsburgh, among others, have all been subjects of multiple studies. With very few exceptions, urban

archaeology has adopted the processualist mode of working<sup>18</sup> and, as such, it has frequently - by the admission of its practitioners - run into numerous problems. Recent critical reviews of urban archaeology (cf. Henry 1987, Henry and Klein 1988) question the efficacy of approaches (e.g., Miller scaling analysis, pattern analysis of various sorts) that, by now, have become nearly routine.

One question that continually arises is whether urban archaeology involves doing archaeology *in the city* or the archaeology *of the city*. Few scholars have the luxury of conducting long-term, city-wide projects which permit dealing with the archaeology *of the city*, although there have been some important exceptions. Most significant of these is undoubtedly the Alexandria Archaeology project, in which a team of researchers under the direction of Cressy has been able to obtain archaeological samples from a broad range of social and spatial sectors of a relatively small city. Throughout the years, Alexandria has fine-tuned its approach by relying on different models and theories of urban geography and urban sociology. Likewise, Henry and Klein (1988) call upon urban archaeologists to borrow more aggressively from other social science fields in the study of city sites.

The Rocketts #1 Site excavation cannot properly be a study *of the city* of Richmond, because it exists in a vacuum. There is no large comparative set of observations on other Richmond neighborhoods. That is not to say that it is impossible to contextualize the materials recovered from this site by reference to any number of historical or spatial or behavioral attributes that could be recovered from documents. This is possible, and such contextualization is viewed here as potentially productive. Nonetheless, we did not excavate Richmond, we excavated a lot in Richmond, and this study must, perforce, deal with the people who lived on that lot and, only tentatively, expand interpretation to adjacent lots, the neighborhood community, and the broader city. To go beyond that, and speculate about the meaning of this site for some courses of general human behavior, would be reckless indeed. With very few exceptions, the archeology of the city is a chimera, a neat idea which cannot be pulled off. Most 18th- and 19th-century American cities are well-documented in artworks, public records, and maps, and to seek to use the tools of archaeology to study their evolution or structure seems wrong-headed at best. Of course, such an approach to ancient cities, such as Teotihuacan, is certainly appropriate.

The city, and human life in the city, has been a major area of study since classical times. In the modern era, there have appeared thousands of books on

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<sup>18</sup>. Good examples of processual approaches, or mindsets, regarding urban sites can be found in the collection edited by the late Roy Dickens (1982), with the telling subtitle: *The Search for Pattern and Process*. See also Stephen Pendery's 1977 article: "Urban Process in Portsmouth", which uses a settlement pattern approach.

the subject, many by pre-eminent scholars such as Max Weber and Lewis Mumford. There must be tens of thousands of important articles on the social, cultural and geographic structures of cities, and the histories of their development. This vast literature is daunting, and the admonition from our colleagues that we should draw upon it implies that archaeologists working in cities should, perforce, acquire more than a passing acquaintance with this wealth of scholarship. Once again, we archaeologists seem to expect ourselves to master yet another field of inquiry before we can adequately undertake our own studies. We cannot hope adequately to use the concepts of other disciplines without understanding the intellectual history and critical thought that has created those concepts. This is not to say that we cannot benefit from the product of other fields, but, I argue, we can either take the superhuman effort to master those fields, or understand that our use of their concepts remains limited. While many of us may be amateurs in the study of cities, our typical training prepares us to be masters of the study of culture and, particularly, material culture, its use, and meanings. Here, I contend, is where we should concentrate our efforts.

While the underlying cause of the plea to draw on other disciplines - the relative ineffectiveness of archaeology working in a theoretical vacuum - might be readily acknowledged, this movement towards greater "borrowing" of models and concepts works to move archaeology away from the direction long advocated by Deetz and others, who see archaeology as having something special, of its own, to contribute. I do not argue that the thought generated in other fields should not inform our interpretations, but that we are selling our own field short when we seek to make potsherds and bottles and building foundations data to be consumed by urban geographers or sociologists.

Many urban archaeologists have worked within approaches more broadly applied to historical archaeology in general; namely, consumer research, and the search for material correlates of class, status and ethnicity. One of the best examples of what may, by now, be viewed as a customary approach to urban sites is Shephard's (1987) study of ceramic tablewares from Antebellum Alexandria, based on his dissertation research. Shephard presents a well conceived and well structured research project in which he is capable of using the fully developed historic contexts of the Alexandria Archaeology project. He deduces hypotheses from models of consumer behavior based on class and status, and measures ceramic assemblage patterns against these variables.

Shephard's study is exceptional in that it does not run into the extreme limitations of comparability noted by many authors, due to the fact that data has been more-or-less consistently recovered from a variety of sites under a unified research program. Nonetheless, following extensive discussions of context, model development, methods, analysis, and interpretation, Shephard is able primarily to conclude that middle class households utilized more

ceramics, more expensive ceramics, and more matching ceramic sets, than poorer households.

Surely, few are surprised about the results of this study. I do not mean to disparage Shephard's study - it is an excellent one - but rather to call into question here the whole enterprise of seeking material correlates of social status in the broad sense. That is not to say that these types of study make no significant contributions, for there have been many projects, including Shepherds, which have provided insights into areas such as foodways and consumer behavior. But are these issues only of interest to a few archaeologists? Do they help shed light on the actors and actions that lived and occurred in his study households? Is there a human face to this type of study which permits some broader perspective on life in 19th century American cities, let alone in late 20th century America?

Many of the self-criticisms of urban archaeologists hinge upon the lack of comparable data. If only sample sizes and techniques were standardized, if screen mesh were consistent, if minimum vessel counts were always constructed in the same manner, or flotation always done, or pollen grains consistently counted, then there would be comparability. Comparability, presumably, would then permit the search for, and revelation of, universal patterns of behavior and, one must suppose, the creation of laws about human life. Such wishing for comparability has always plagued archaeology and, I contend, it is a flaw in the pervasive positivist logic of the field. There will *never* be the type of consistency in data recovery, analysis and reporting that many archaeologists constantly wish for, and the putting off of interpretation until such a golden era descends on earth is simply folly.

On the other hand, there have been some highly successful and provocative studies done in cities. The paper presented by Praetzelis, Praetzelis and Brown in Staski's (1987) volume titled *Living in Cities* deals with a common social parameter (ethnicity) and a common archaeological datum (ceramics), but combines documentary and material resources to provide a reading of the creation of social life and ethnicity that is convincing and, further, which permits action and volition on the part of archaeological site occupants. Material culture items, and the "texts" or "performances" through which they were symbolically instantiated, provided contexts of interpretation which revealed much about the past and provide much for the present. Likewise, the on-going studies of Leone and his colleagues in Annapolis have provided alternative interpretations of landscape, architecture, and artifacts which enliven and empower present-day discourse on class structure, gender constitution and identity, race relations, and other seminal areas of inquiry (cf Leone 1988).

The Boott Mills project (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987a, 1987b, 1989) has generated some very insightful work through the careful juxtaposition of

archaeological and historical contextual information and material culture analysis. One of my favorite examples of a successful interpretation of material culture is Lauren Cook's (1989) interpretation of tobacco pipes from Boott Mills. In a carefully constructed reading of the pipes from the excavations, based on an equally careful and detailed traditional descriptive inventory of the materials, Cook has persuasively argued a role for pipes, along with other items of public display, in the daily negotiations of hegemonic relations among social groups. The urban context - in fact much of what must have been "true" about the lives of urban millworkers in 19th century Lowell - is explicated through a compelling exegesis of these lowly artifacts. The reader may feel that such an analysis stretches credulity, but nonetheless must admit that there is more "reality" here than in the myriads of Miller ceramic scaling indices crosstabulated with cardboard class or status categories in dozens of tables in the great majority of urban site reports.

The intractability of urban archaeological data is well known to those who practice in the field. Even in a town neighborhood where houselots are well defined, we cannot often be certain whose garbage we have recovered, a point well made by Brown (1987). The Rocketts #1 Site was occupied by a myriad of different households, about some of whom we know quite a bit and about others not a scrap. Contextualizing the data is, therefore, tricky, and requires careful argument, not seamless deduction. Quantitative patterns in urban sites can be affected by so many variables of refuse disposal and fill creation and other activities, that they are often likely to be useless for standard analyses, unless conditioned by so many caveats that they become unconvincing. The tools of the processual school are dulled by the facts of urban sites, and they will not be used here.

In the present study there is no numerical pattern-searching, although I have from time to time made some observations on pattern. There are no hypotheses to be formally tested, although I have weighed some ideas against observations. There are no universals of human behavior sought, although I believe that, through "thick descriptions" of individual case studies, insights into human existence can be gained. This is an interpretative study of a single archaeological site to which I have brought the powers at my disposal to critically read and analyze the lives of its occupants. I have no doubt missed the mark in some instances and hit the target squarely in others. The measure of the success of the project, however, will be its consonance with our present-day sense of reality, not with the analysis of residuals about a regression plot of normal life in an average 19th century American city.

### Diversity and Community

There is perhaps one over-arching concern in the historical and present sociological study of cities, and it is one that is of particular currency today.



That is the discussion of diversity and community, or, as it is more typically phrased, diversity *versus* community. Race and ethnic relations have played a central role in American history, and it is a role that has often been underplayed. Former generations of scholars and laypersons alike found a certain romantic attraction to the notion that America served as a "melting pot". This notion perhaps gained currency first from the writings of Cr vaco ur, a French romanticist who, in 1752, published *Letters from an American Farmer* under an Anglicized pseudonym. The "melting pot" became a sort of ideological dogma in the early 20th century, a time of intense social friction among recent immigrants, and between immigrants and native-born Americans.

The importance of the "ethnicity question" can easily be seen by perusing a contemporary reader in urban sociology, such as that edited by John Palen (1981). The majority of the essays in Palen's book deal either directly or indirectly, historically or presently, with inter-ethnic relations as a signature characteristic of urban life. To borrow the title of Michael Novak's (1981) essay, much that concerns us about diversity and community in modern American life has to do with "what the melting pot didn't melt". Colonial, fundamentally rural, Virginia also was characterized by inter-ethnic concerns of considerable proportions - master-slave relations, competition between "English" planters and "foreign (typically Scots or Scotch-Irish) merchants, etc. The early nation suffered numerous bouts of xenophobia concerning immigrants and Indians (as reflected in the first naturalization laws, the Alienation and Sedition Acts, etc.), as well as continuing threats and fears of slave and free black revolts (reflected in numerous racial sumptuary laws and other restrictive statutes). Richmond came about as a city during these trying times and Richmond, perhaps more than most Southern cities, was strongly affected by the great European migrations of the 19th century.

Rocketts, as a waterfront neighborhood, became one of those urban zones characterized by densely packed shops and tenements whose occupants were, by the mid-19th century, more likely to be German or Irish or African American than "white" and "English". The historical archaeology of Rocketts therefore has something to tell us about how people negotiated the changes from pastoral to commercial-industrial society, from relative homogeneity to intensive variety, from rural to urban. Rocketts can tell us, at least, how some people at some times went about "becoming American", defining the term for themselves and for their neighbors. Inter-group relations are not the easiest social behaviors to extract from historical and archaeological records, but the very diversity of the neighborhood around Rocketts Landing compels the attempt.

Perhaps, more than anything else, this study has been an attempt to understand issues of diversity and community. To what extent was Rocketts torn by the inter-ethnic strife that characterized so many 19th century urban



communities? The evidence is obviously conflicting and ambiguous. It is equally possible to interpret mid-19th century Rocketts with the style of a Norman Rockwell painting. There appears to be a well-functioning, perhaps well-integrated neighborhood with Jewish grocers, a German butcher, an African-American teamster or blacksmith, and an Irish miller all working together in what might appear to be a communal effort. The records preserve what must be deemed acts of generosity and kindness between groups, unless, of course, they were acts of patronization and manipulation. Certainly, the archaeology presents little compelling evidence for ethnically-specific material culture, but we needn't expect otherwise.

And yet there were clearly institutions, formal and informal, that catered to the needs of specific groups, and which helped maintain group identities, to save ethnicity from the melting pot. These included churches, workman's organizations, and, perhaps above all, hard-to-define familial and neighborly ties. Such institutions maintained - or attempted to maintain - hegemony and property ownership within inter-married "English" families, but they also served as power and money brokerages for immigrants. The group of Germans who immigrated to Rocketts from one town in Bavaria, and who took up lands and businesses adjacent to each other, is one example.

Ryder (1991), among others, has written cogently about the ambiguous statuses of free African Americans in the Antebellum years. Certainly a certain "confusion" about white versus black classificatory ethnicity that repeatedly occurs for some individuals in our study group suggests this ambiguity which, in these cases, continues into the period following Emancipation. The question, of course, is *who* was confused, and *who* might have most effectively manipulated or created such confusion? Perhaps it is only *we* who are confused, of course, because we view such issues in literally black-and-white terms. It was characteristic of the 19th century, on the other hand, to struggle with the concept of "color", concepts we have dropped from our social vocabularies, as did the most stringent Jim Crow advocates and eugenics promoters.

In this study, I have tried to be aware of ways in which the people of Rocketts attempted to solve, or avoid, issues of diversity *versus* community. I don't speculate on the extent to which the solutions found here speak of universals of human striving or common structure. I hope simply to further our present discussions by permitting the efforts undertaken by the denizens of 19th century Rocketts to inform us.

### Identity and Representation

Very closely related to the discourse on diversity and community is the parallel problematic of identity and representation. The formation of self identities is tied closely to the formation of community identities. Identities

are not simply self-made, but are negotiated between self and others, in-groups and exterior groups. Material culture can play important roles in the creation and negotiation of group and self identity through processes of representation. Throughout this report, and in subsequent analyses of the Rocketts material data, I have attempted to view material evidence as media for identity construction. Of course any self, and any community, is an intersection of various dimensions of identity. In Rocketts I have sought evidence for constructions of gender, ethnicity, urbanism, class, and place identifications and representations. It has not been my goal to provide concrete correlations between material things and specific values of identity, but to apply contextual reasoning to the materials in order to suggest pathways of identification and representation.<sup>19</sup>

### Enlightenment and Revolution

Finally, working my way through the materials of the Rocketts project caused me to confront some fundamental ambiguities of Enlightenment values, and the nature of revolution. As one philosopher and colleague noted, after having heard an essay I delivered in colloquium concerning certain aspects of Rocketts in the late 18th- and early 19th-century period, I evoked an "approach avoidance" relationship to the Enlightenment. I have been moved by Foucault's (1984) important essay on the nature of The Enlightenment, but my response is largely to the materials of Rocketts. Certain of my foundational concepts of liberal humanism were challenged by this work, and that, ultimately, is what prompted me to attempt to interpret the project through a separate book. The essays in that volume will grapple with some essentials of rationality, capitalism, the public sphere and private action, etc. This problematic should be obvious even in this "technical" report through my "readings" of some of the artifactual and documentary materials.

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<sup>19</sup>. For a good review of the crisis of representation in anthropology, see Marcus and Fischer (1986). A good inter-disciplinary selection of essays dealing with current problems of identity can be found in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1992.

## 2.2 Documentary History

### Methods and Sources

Documentary data can be used in a variety of complementary ways in the research of an historical archaeological site. Most typically, documents provide information concerning the owners and occupants of a site, as well as significant events of the site's history. In this sense documents typically provide the essential narrative structure, the "flesh" to be draped on the archaeological "bones." To some extent, the archaeology then serves to "illustrate" the narrative derived from documents, and to add details and dimensions left undocumented. Documents, themselves, may also be viewed as "artifacts" (Beaudry 1988), that is, as physical objects that can be analyzed not only as records of history and material culture, but which, in their own rights, stand as cultural creations. Leone and Crosby (1987) among others, have called for the use of documents in such a way that frictions, or inconsistencies, between the written and material records elicit realms of interpretation. A similar approach, but without the sense that some real reality would be found between the cracks in these sources, has been successfully used by Ryder (1991) and Hall (1991), for example. In this project, I have attempted to treat documents as sources to be "illustrated" by material culture, as well as an auxiliary form of interpretive contextualization. The use of documents as artifacts, a potentially very fruitful approach, has not been exhausted here by any means, but it has been attempted. Of particular importance here are visual records - plats, maps, paintings, prints, and photographs. I have chosen to view these both as records and as objects for interpretation.

The documentary record for the Rocketts #1 Site is extremely rich, but very uneven. The Colonial Period is very poorly recorded compared to later periods, for example. Even within classes of records, there is considerable inequality. Male household heads appear far more frequently, and with greater detail, than do adult women, slaves, children, or boarders. Tenants are typically poorly documented in comparison with owners. African Americans are nearly invisible in the documents. The 1815 personal property tax inventories are extremely detailed, while most other years are quite limited. Some events which appear to have been important to those living at the site have not appeared in the records - a local flood or fire, for instance. The site was incorporated into the periphery of the Confederate Navy Yard and Naval Academy during the Civil War, and, as anyone who has researched Civil War events can corroborate, the extent of documentation for these few critical

years is staggering. On the other hand, many events which would have been recorded during normal times seem to have "fallen through the cracks" during the war years.

Katharine Harbury did the majority of the archival research. Her basic method was to follow the chain of title in order to establish the basic list of owners of property at the site. The backbone of this research was undertaken through the Henrico County and City of Richmond deeds and wills. Additional information was then searched for in Hustings and Chancery Court records, Federal censuses, real estate tax and personal property tax lists, city directories, and numerous specialized sources located throughout the city and state offices and archives, the Virginia Historical Society and other major repositories. Harbury's data takes the form of original index entries, abstracts, and in some cases, transcriptions or photocopies of documents. I have indexed all of these notes and records by individual or household, commercial firm, or similar category. From these indexed records I have constructed a chain of title and biographical files, placing special emphasis on becoming familiar with relationships among the persons and households, including kinship ties, property transactions, etc. Harbury had already expanded on her files for early owners of the site, and her preliminary narrative has been partially reproduced here.

In addition, both Harbury and I conducted extensive research in secondary sources dealing specifically with the history of Richmond, as well as with more general aspects of the history and culture of 18th and 19th century cities. The basic sources are listed in the bibliography to this report, and many have been cited in text where appropriate. Published memoirs, such as Samuel Mordecai's *Richmond in Bygone Days* (1860) and the recently produced compilation of *The Autobiography of Thomas Rutherford* (1986). proved invaluable in providing specific information and, especially, "local color" or background context.

Archaeologists tend to be more concerned with the specifics of places than are historians (although, like most generalizations, this one is faulty). For that reason, some of the most important documents are those which reveal details of the site, or which represent its setting in ways of interest to a student of human culture. There are numerous maps and plats of varying degrees of accuracy and completeness for the project area. More interesting, perhaps, are the large number of paintings, prints and photographs of Rocketts landing and its village made between the 1790s and the turn of the 20th century. Most of these documents have been studied in the original. Paintings and prints were found primarily at the Valentine Museum. Photographs have come primarily from the Valentine, the Museum of the Confederacy, the Norfolk Naval Museum, and the National Archives.

## Neighborhood data

Social and economic historians, as well as many archaeologists, compile census and tax data into tables in order to construct scales, indices and other quantitative or qualitative measures to describe class structure, distributions of occupations, income, slave ownership and other qualities of neighborhoods or municipalities. I have relied here on a more intuitive approach to interpreting the characteristics of individuals or households and their social place within the Rocketts landing neighborhood. By relying on the biographical sketches of a large number of households, individuals or firms, it has been possible to produce a reasonably satisfactory sense of the variations in power, wealth, and occupations of the Rocketts landing neighborhood for various time periods. These impressions are augmented substantially by the graphic sources, such as paintings and photographs, reviewed below.

I have avoided the attempt to place persons into overarching, and overly generalized categories. The data that would permit quantified scaling exist principally for the 19th century, and these data, and the conditions they describe, are sufficiently familiar to most educated readers to permit a reliance on a certain level of "inter-subjectivity" between the Rocketts people and the reader. What's more, the relative fluidity or mobility exhibited in this urban setting during more than a century of considerable economic fluctuation and social change would require that such scales or indices be calculated for numerous household and individual life-cycle stages, repeatedly - perhaps by decade. While such an exercise may well illustrate the dynamics of change in the neighborhood, the compounding of large quantities of "raw data" with even more large quantities of scaled or indexed data would, I fear, draw us further from the cultural and social milieux we hope to understand.

Of special use in depicting the qualities of the neighborhood beyond the site area and the relatively dense documentary and material data we have for Lot 203, we have compiled less extensive, but still large, files on owners or occupants of adjoining lots. While full biographical sketches have been provided for only a few of these "peripheral" persons or households, the data base for this project has been especially useful for fleshing out a better sense of the Rocketts landing village, as well as the larger Rocketts settlement in general. Census data provide information about neighbors to those who lived at Lot 203, and the numerous 19th century city directories have proven exceptionally useful in depicting especially the commercial landscape for various periods. These list occupants and their occupations, often by street address. In summary, the combination of archaeological information with numerous graphic and written documents has provided a rather detailed series of impressions and contexts of the neighborhood of Lot #203 in the 19th century.

## Historical and Biographical Summary

To understand the Rocketts #1 Site, it is imperative that we understand the people who built the structures and landscape, and who lived and worked on, or near, the site. What follows is a general narrative history of Rocketts augmented, or expressed through abstracts of the sources that relate to the people and general history of the site. The people here are typically - but not exclusively - white male heads of households, as it is for these that records most commonly exist. In some cases, female household heads, and occasionally women acting of their own volition, or children for whom actions were taken by a trustee, appear as dynamic forces in the historical record. The bias of history toward free adult males is preserved here of necessity. In many cases, we may have to rely on other sources, including archaeology, to "people" these households more realistically.

In addition to the general narrative and biographical materials, the specifics of Lot #203 are developed in a parallel narrative. Thus, each of the following three main chronological sections (Colonial and Early Republic Periods, Antebellum Period, and Civil War and Postbellum Periods) deals with the overall history and development of Rocketts, with people who played a major part in that history as it unfolded at Lot #203, and with the physical and fiscal characteristics of Lot #203 itself, as gleaned from plats, tax records, etc. More specific details concerning the lot's history are presented in the sections discussing the built environment at Rocketts and, particularly, the individual discussions concerning plats, maps, and historic views. There is some overlap and repetition between these various discussions, but it is my hope that this will help bind the documentary histories of the lot, the people, and the community. In developing the narrative specific to Lot #203, I have chosen to anticipate the presentation of data and interpretations from visual sources and from archaeological observations, so, where appropriate, I have alluded to structures or landscape features which will be described more fully in later sections.

Some of the biographical sections were authored by Harbury; namely, those concerning Thomas Stegge, William Byrd, Gilly Gromarrin and his descendants, Charles and Susanna Lewis, John Lester, John Hague, and John Craddock. I have performed minimal editing on these and have added a few additions and notes. The remaining sections were written by me following, to a great extent, Harbury's research notes and related materials.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> I should note here some differences in style between the biographical summaries written by Harbury and those written by myself. The former are written in a more typical narrative form, while I have retained a less-interpreted listing of observations from the documents. Also, Harbury has cited primary sources using "Anon." as the author, in an author-date citation system. I have chosen to cite documents in text. I apologize for any confusion caused by this inconsistency.

Archaeological reports are required by custom to contain much of the archaeological data from an excavation, so that readers may find their own interpretations of a site rather than relying wholly on those of the author. The documents are here considered to be interpretable data in much the same way that archaeological observations are. For that reason, we have reproduced transcriptions of many of the key documents used in this study. In reading the following narratives, it may be useful to refer to these transcriptions, which can be found in Appendix 9.

### Lot 203 Chain of Title Summary

The following narratives will be more easily followed by referring to Figure 11, which is a graphic representation of the chain of title and subdivision history of Lot 203. I have constructed this title chain from deed abstracts, documents, and transcriptions assembled by Katharine Harbury.

### Rocketts in the Colonial and Early Republic Periods

This report deals primarily with Rocketts in the period between ca. 1780 and 1880, but the story begins before that - long before that - and it continues well afterward. The heart of the story, and most of the characters that comprise it, counted Lot 203 their homes or workplaces or investments between the Revolutionary War and the decades immediately following the Civil War. We should, however, lay the groundwork for these stories, because the history of Rocketts was partly conditioned by events stretching back into prehistory, just as the city of Richmond today is partly conditioned by the events that made up life in Rocketts.

Rocketts grew up in the broad flat lower valley of Gilly's Creek and its tributary, Bloody Run. To the east rises a series of ancient coastal plain and fluvial terraces. These bluff remnants form prominences known as Fulton Hill (also Marrin's, Marion, or Merrian, Hill) and Tree Hill. To the west rise the bluffs of Chimborazo Hill, Libby Hill, and Church Hill. These hills, likewise, are eroded bluff promintories. The landscape along the James in this area is a series of staircase terraces, except where the valley of Gilly's Creek has been cut. One-half mile upriver from Gilly's Creek is the broad valley of Shockoe Creek, and its principal tributary, Bacon's Quarter Branch.

The mouth of Shockoe Creek is the inland boundary of tidal waters. Throughout Virginia's early history, it was the highest point up the James River which waterborne traffic could travel without having to break bulk and portage cargoes or passengers around the seven-mile long cascade known simply as "the falls". This break in navigation divides the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain physiographic provinces, and for most of human history in



Virginia, it has provided a substantial cultural boundary. Likewise, the falls have served as a principal attractant for settlement. Anadromous fish were captured in great numbers here, both in prehistory and through the historic period.

### Powhatan

Long before ocean-going vessels ever entered these ports the falls of the James had been a boundary between the peoples of the Tidewater, or Coastal Plain, section of Virginia and the peoples who lived between the falls in the Piedmont and the Blue Ridge Mountains. A social boundary had formed here at least as early as three thousand years ago, and some evidence suggests that such a boundary existed as early as nine or ten thousand years ago. When English settlers first explored the James River in 1607 and 1608, the broad valley of Gilly's Creek - later known as Fulton Bottom - served as the corn ground for a people whose principal village sat on the bluffs of Tree Hill. This village was almost certainly enclosed within a stockade, and was described as containing twelve houses. It was known as Powhatan; its ruler was Tanx Powhatan ("Little" Powhatan), a son of the great paramount chief of Virginia who, himself, may have been born in that village.

Powhatan was the western outpost of the vast polity of "tribes" or "towns" known to historians and anthropologists today as the Powhatan Chiefdom. West of the falls that cascade through present-day Richmond, lay the land of the Monacans, a different culture and polity, a group which, at least on some occasions, challenged the Powhatans' right to the falls. Captain John Smith purchased the village Powhatan and garrisoned it. He renamed the hilltop fortress "Nonesuch". For reasons that are not clear, his garrison soon abandoned the hill and took up residence below, along the river, probably in Rocketts (Fulton Bottom).

"Powhatan" remained an important place name in the valley. The 18th-century Mayo plantation was named "Powhatan Seat", after the former village. Powhatan Seat was located just east of Rocketts along the lowgrounds of Almond Creek. Throughout the 19th century myths grew about this site. A large tree beside the James River on the former Mayo tract became known as "Powhatan's Tree", and some 19th century and early 20th century folk histories include a variety of stories about the tree's supposed historical significance. By the late 19th century, Powhatan's Tree and Powhatan's Seat had become popularly believed to be the location of Chief Powhatan's grave. Parts of Fulton Hill are sometimes called "Marrin" or "Merrian" Hill after Gilly Gromarrin, about whom more is to be written shortly. Sometimes one promintory on Fulton Hill is also called Powhatan Hill. A city playground stands on the knoll most frequently given that name, and remnants of plantation landscaping can still be seen there. Early prints and paintings show



a house on this hill; this may have been the location of the Gromarrin-Marrin plantation seat.<sup>21</sup>

While history has become sometimes confused over the source of the association, the name Powhatan has lingered in the valley of Gilley's Creek for good reason. This land, once the land of the Powhatan village, was the edge of chief Powhatan's "empire". The James itself was recorded by Captain John Smith as *Powhatan Fluvius*. While the village of Powhatan lay at Tree Hill, where its remains have been recently discovered by archaeologists of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, our knowledge of prehistoric and early historic Native American settlement systems leads inescapably to the conclusion that the Gilley's Creek Valley and surrounding margins were undoubtedly loci of Indian houses, gardens, fishweirs, and graveyards for many centuries before English settlement. It is almost a certainty that the remains of many of these settlements lie buried beneath the alluvium of the James River and Gilley's Creek, both of which flood frequently, as well as beneath the slopewash of adjacent hills and the accumulated debris remaining in the ground from Rocketts and its successor neighborhood, Fulton.

### Bloody Run

The "Battle of Bloody Run" is an enigmatic historic event that has become somewhat confused over time, but which has been associated with the tributary to Gilley's Creek known historically as Bloody Run, and presently called Stony Run. In 1656, some 700 Indians from the piedmont were reported to have settled near the "falls of James River". These Indians appear in Colonial records by the name "Recahecreans" or "Ricacherians", variously interpreted to be Cherokees, Senecas, or Monacans. These Indians petitioned the colony for permission to settle within the coastal plain for protection against other raiding Indian groups. These Indians were proclaimed enemies of the tributary Pamunkeys, however, and the Pamunkeys and English Virginians mounted a joint expedition to drive them from the colony's territory. In the resulting battle, the creek that flowed through the battleground was said to have run red with the blood of the dead. The Virginians and Pamunkeys were defeated; Chief Totopotomoy was killed and Edward Hill of Shirley - commander of the militia - was shamed, apparently for exhibiting cowardice.

The records concerning the event occur only in a few sparse notices (compiled primarily in Henning's *Statutes at Large*, but see also McIlwaine 1979: 504), and these references appear to have been partially expunged. However, In

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<sup>21</sup> By the mid-17th century the name Powhatan had come to be rendered "Powhaite" or "Powwhite". The remnant "Powwhite" Indians had small villages at the mouth of Turkey Island Creek, at Shockoe Creek, and, finally, at Powwhite Creek.

1679, John Lederer wrote that the battle was fought with the Nyhassan, Monacans and Mahocks (Lederer 1966) in the "forks of the Pamunkey". To further confuse the issue, at least one secondary source states that the name "Bloody Run" comes from a battle between Nathaniel Bacon and the Chickahomines fought in this area in 1676. Bacon had indeed patented a small piece of land, further west on what is known as Bacon's Quarter Branch of Shockoe Creek, but we have no documentation his doing battle with the Chickahomines. The true origin of the name "Bloody Run" remains obscure, but there is no doubt that the small stream becomes a violent muddy torrent after heavy rains. Perhaps the color of its waters have lent it a mythical history. Even today the stream claims victims who try to cross it during flood times. At any rate, Boody Run is intimately connected with our story of Rocketts.

#### Rocketts Landing Village, 1740 - 1830

We know very little about Rocketts before the Revolutionary War. There is evidence from a variety of sources that some houses, warehouses, and wharves were clustered along the James River waterfront east of the city line from at least the 1730s. Robert Rocketts operated a ferry here across the James River as early as 1730 (Ward and Greer 1977: 52), and it is from "Rocketts' Landing" that the community took its name. Colonial Rocketts lay outside the bounds of the City of Richmond. The settlement was effectively bisected by the run of Gilly's Creek, and the earliest "urban" settlement at Rocketts appears to have developed on the lands of Gilly Marrin, son of Gilly Gromarrin, west of Gilly's Creek<sup>22</sup>.

Because Rocketts lay adjacent to Richmond, its history is closely linked to the city's own evelopment. Richmond was first conceived and platted by William Byrd and William Mayo in 1733; lots were first advertised for sale in 1737 (Reps 1972:267). The original grid of streets and lots was laid out along Main Street, immediately west of Rocketts. The Virginia Assembly gave Richmond the official status of a town in 1742, and noted that numerous of the lots had been built on by that time (Hening 1821-3: vol. 5:191). Nonetheless, the population of Richmond remained but a few hundred souls throught the remainder of Colonial Period, and the adjacent lands, including Rocketts, were principally the domains of a few middling to large plantation holdings. These plantations, however, each had developed the beginnings of urbanism. To the west of Richmond lay Shockoes, owned by William Byrd III. While Byrd's large plantation house, Belvidere, dominated the landscape, the society

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22. Throughout much of this narrative I refer to "east Rocketts" and "west Rocketts". These refer to the areas east and west of Gillie's Creek. The latter is the earlier portion of the village, and early maps show that the layout of streets and lots after ca. 1780 was designed around wharves, warehouses and roads that had been extant for many years. East Rocketts was laid out on relatively undeveloped land. These lots were largely taken up in the period between 1780 and 1810.

of Shockoes was clearly characterized by the wharves, tobacco warehouse and inspection at the mouth of Shockoe Creek. Likewise, the land that would become Rocketts was mostly the land of Gilly Gromarrin's descendants (primarily Gilly Marrin and Charles and Susanna Lewis), Rocketts Landing and the mouth of Gilly's Creek were being developed and rented for commercial purposes. Much of the early development of the Marrin tract was done by Gilly and Wiltshire Marrin, Charles and Susanna Lewis, and (perhaps) Samuel DuVal.

In the introduction to this report I noted that descriptions of late Colonial Rocketts depict the area as a community of log houses with wooden chimneys peopled by a congeries of characters representing a variety of ethnicities, nationalities and trades. The archaeological work at the Rocketts #1 Site has indicated that this picture is somewhat distorted. Lot # 203, where the site is located, was one of the principal areas of early development in the village, but it was not one of the more highly valued lots in the decade immediately following the Revolution. Archaeology suggests, nonetheless, that substantial brick-founded structures of frame or masonry had stood on the lot before Independence. The relevant Colonial records are very scant, however, and it is not until after the Revolution that we can begin to depict the physical and social character of the community with any certainty.

It is unfortunate that the portion of Lot 203 which we excavated was highly altered in the 1780s, and that very little material of the Colonial Period was recovered other than fragments of building foundations. There is ample evidence that intact Colonial remains lie just a few yards east of our excavation, but our knowledge of Colonial Rocketts remains dim, and of that parcel of land that was to become Lot 203, we have but fragments.

Nonetheless, we can say with some certainty that at least once substantial structure, probably a house, had stood here on massive brick footings, and that this house was destroyed prior to the Revolution. It was then succeeded about 1775 by a long, narrow building, again constructed on brick footings, and by the relatively basic beginnings of a planned urban landscape replete with public works, such as roads, alleys, drains, etc. The earlier house represents west Rocketts as part of Gilly Marrin's estate lands, and the house may actually have belonged to his daughter and son-in-law, Susannah and Charles Lewis; more likely, it was a substantial tenement. We can only speculate about the possible cause of destruction of this earlier house.

Certainly a good candidate is the "Great Freshet" of 1771. This may be the largest flood ever recorded on the James River. Most of Rocketts lies within the 100 year flood plain, and much of it has suffered badly from much lesser floods. It may be for this reason that, in the later 18th century and early 19th century, many of the land-owners' and merchants' homes were placed on higher terraces, while the low-lying lands of Rocketts housed the stores, warehouses, and tenements of the working classes.

## *Rocketts Tobacco Warehouse*

Of prime importance to the development of the port was the founding of an official warehouse and tobacco inspection at Rocketts in 1781. The inspections at Shockoe and Byrd warehouses had been earlier damaged by flood, and constant silting in the mouth of Shockoe Creek had made these facilities difficult to reach. Charles Lewis was apparently at the forefront of the instigation of the Rocketts Warehouse, which was constructed on his land, directly across Main (Rocketts) Street from Lot #203.

The Shockoe and Byrd Warehouses continued to do a thriving business, but Rocketts attracted much of the tobacco trade. With merchants and sailors coming and going from Rocketts Landing, ancillary businesses quickly sprang up. These included chandleries, liveries, blacksmiths, warehouses for merchants, taverns and hotels for seamen, and small retail stores to provide goods for those who worked and lived on the waterfront. We know surprisingly little about the people who lived around Rocketts Landing in the early Federal Period. The 1790 census is helpful, but woefully incomplete, especially for Rocketts, much of which fell between the cracks of the Henrico County and Richmond City census tracts. Land tax records are of but little help in this early period. Until near the end of the first decade of the 19th century, we have figures for combined rental value and property values, but we can't put names on the tenants' faces, nor do we have much that is specific about their occupations or ethnicities. Subsequently, we begin to occasionally get tenant's names in the tax records more frequently, although we are hampered by a lack of other documents concerning these people. It is with the printing of city directories, and with more comprehensive tax and census records, that Rocketts begins to take on a more specific, human, face.

### *"British Merchants", the Revolution, and the transformation of Rocketts*

It is in the generation of the Lewises, the adults of the Post-Revolution Period, that Rocketts became a true urban community. On Lot 203, an early lumberhouse, dwelling house, drains, and other "appurtenances" were apparently constructed immediately prior to the Revolution.<sup>23</sup> In 1781

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<sup>23</sup>. The term "lumberhouse" is a confusing one. The term occurs frequently in documents of the late 18th century and early 19th century. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "lumberhouse" as something like a pawn shop, an establishment where poorer persons could acquire low interest loans by leaving personal goods as security. This usage derives from "Lombards", who often were money-lenders. Lombards set up their "Lombardhouses" in Lombardy Street in London. In Britain, the most common usage of "lumber" refers to stored miscellaneous materials, or things lying about in no apparent order. The *OED* also notes that the common American usage, referring to dressed timber, was current by the early 19th century. In a diary entry for 1796 which accompanies his drawing of Rocketts (View 1), Benjamin Latrobe refers to George Nicholson's "Lumber Warehouse". The term refers to a large warehouse building standing along the river near the mouth of Gillie's Creek. Whether lumberhouses in Rocketts should be regarded as pawnshops, or as warehouses for lumber, in the current sense, is not known. That

British occupied the city on three occasions, and there is evidence from our excavations that Rocketts may have suffered heavily from one of these occupations. Benedict Arnold's troops encamped at Rocketts, at the Rope Walk, in January. From here he marched troops into the city and destroyed munitions factories, mills and magazines. In April, Phillips attacked the city, but Lafayette's presence held the British in Manchester. This time, Lafayette was encamped at the Rope Walk in Rocketts. Finally, Cornwallis occupied Richmond in June, and this was probably the most destructive campaign in the city. Archaeological evidence indicates that the buildings standing at that time on Lot 203 were destroyed by fire. These buildings had almost certainly been constructed by John Hague and John Lester, who were tenants on the property then owned by Charles and Susanna Lewis.

In 1780, the capital of Virginia was removed from Williamsburg to Richmond. Governor Thomas Jefferson feared that Williamsburg was too vulnerable to British invasion. Virtually overnight, Richmond became a city. Jefferson commissioned additional lots to be laid out in the city, but these were to the west of town, in Shockoes. The new lots were of 1/2 acre and were laid on a rectilinear grid, except for the large commercial plots near the mouth of the creek (Reps 1972, Figure 189). It appears that Charles and Susanna Lewis, along with a number of merchants, began to lay out a similar street grid and 1/2 acre lots at Rocketts at the same time. We do not have a correspondingly early map of Rocketts, but the earliest extant map, the 1804 James plan (Map 2), indicates a similar structure. Lots of 1/2 acre each were laid on a rectilinear grid, again except in the vicinity of the Rocketts tobacco warehouse, and other in-place waterfront facilities. The 1809 Young map (Maps 3 and 3a) indicates the same layout of lots and identifies many of the owners. The Young map also shows the (at that time) extensive new developments in east Rocketts.

Rocketts continued to follow the development of Richmond. Describing Richmond in 1781, the Marquis de Chastellux wrote:

Though Richmond be already an old town and well situated for trade...it was before the war one of the least considerable in Virginia, where they are all in general very small; but the seat of government having been removed from Williamsburg, it is become a real capitol and is augmenting every day. (cited in Little, 1851).

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Rocketts included a number of sawmills, and that many of the owners of lumberhouses we have encountered often provided plank and other ship's stores, including chandlery services, suggests that lumberhouses were storage or preparation places for wood products. On the other hand, there is a long-lived association of pawn shops with dock areas, and John Hague's epitaph suggests that he provided services for the poor of the neighborhood. The word is certainly not simply a cognate for "warehouse", as many records discuss "warehouses", "storehouses", and "lumberhouses" as distinct entities.

Rocketts was vigorously developed after 1780 primarily by a small group of men, most of whom were recent immigrants engaged in mercantile and maritime trades. The key group included John Hague, George Nicholson, John Lester, and Joseph Simpson. Other developers included John Craddock and Thomas Rutherford. Charles and Susanna Lewis continued to be active participants, primarily through their leases and sales of lands to other developers. A perusal of the Young map, which shows owners of lots and wharves, indicates the importance of these key figures in Rocketts' history.

In 1808, the roads through Rocketts were legally named:

...the street extending from E Street by Rockett's Warehouse to Rockett's Landing and the bridge over Gilly's Creek...be called Rocketts Street...[the street running by] lots 198, 199, 200, 201 and 202 ...be called Bloody Run Street...That the street extending between lots 197 and 204 on the one side, and 198, 205, 210, and 211, and running towards Brown and Craddock's wharf be called Ash Street...That the street extending towards the Bloody Run between Lots 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209 on the one side and 211, 212, 213, 214, and 215 on the other side be called Poplar Street...That the street leading from the bridge over Gilly's Creek thro' the lots laid off by Nicholson, Simpson, Hague, and Lester...be called Lester Street... (Flournoy 1892, vol 10: 37).

The newly laid-off streets through east Rocketts - Hague Street, Lester Street and Nicholson Street - took the names of their principal developers.

By the end of the period we are discussing here - that is, by about 1830 - the landscape at Rocketts no longer resembled its Colonial predecessor. A great deal of construction had taken place. Large brick warehouses and stores had grown up all along the streets near the river. Dense clusters of houses filled blocks, and much of domestic social life must have taken place in the myriad of narrow alleyways and small common yards between houses and shops. We still know little about the laboring and artisan classes which provided much of the daily history of Rocketts, although we know quite a bit about the merchants, tobacco manufacturers, and land-owners. The city directories suggest that the neighborhood was primarily one of white and free black tenant laborers, and some larger land-owning merchants and craftspersons. These latter were primarily white, Anglo-Americans, although some were recent immigrants from Europe and from other states. There seems always to have been a rather large population of recent immigrants at Rocketts. It was the typical fate of seaports to furnish homes for persons who migrated to America, both before and after the Revolution (Daniels 1990). Even among the "English" of Rocketts, there was an unusually high percentage of recently-arrived British nationals.

The "British merchants" who had remained in the community during the Revolution had had to demonstrate their loyalty to the American cause. One can presume that this demonstration required more than subscription to a loyalty oath. As failure to demonstrate such loyalty resulted in banishment, seizure of goods, and escheatment of property, there were, no doubt, some British merchants who hid Tory sentiments. More likely, however, it appears that many of the merchants truly embraced the American cause. Many of the Rocketts people we have encountered in this project served in the military, or otherwise endured some sacrifices for the colony. Following the end of the war, there was an immediate influx of more British merchants. As earlier, many were from the English coast, but many more came out of Glasgow and Belfast. As before, many of these were very young men setting out on their first mercantile adventures.

The story of Thomas Rutherford (1860) is probably somewhat typical. Rutherford arrived in Virginia in 1784 as a young man given charge of a shipload of goods for his brother's firm out of Glasgow. The ship broke bulk at Warwick, then Rutherford put into Rocketts to unload. He comments about the extreme difficulties that were frequently encountered in those days of getting the freight up Rocketts Hill to Main Street. The hill was both steep and mirey. Rutherford was instructed to take his goods to Shockoes, where most of the merchant's business was then carried out, but upon arrival there he found it was not the proper season for doing retail business in Richmond. What is, perhaps, most instructive about the stories Rutherford told of his early days in Richmond is what they reveal about his, and his benefactors', lack of information concerning market needs and business practices in Virginia. There was a distinctive seasonality to the Richmond market, tied undoubtedly to the tobacco trade, and there were very particular demands in the Richmond market. A great many of Rutherford's goods were completely inappropriate and had to be sold at a loss, or discarded. Learning to trade on tobacco warehouse premiums was another local practice that involved pitfalls for the uninitiated, including forged tobacco certificates.

Rutherford claimed that there were many Irish (probably Belfast) merchants in Richmond at the time, but that many of these (in his Scots eyes) proved to be incompetent, unscrupulous, or insufficiently industrious to succeed. Certainly, Scots and northern British merchants continued to dominate much of Richmond's maritime trade and import business well into the first decades of the 19th century, but we must take Rutherford's comments about the Irish as a history written by one of the winners in what appears to have been a tough competition among communities of merchants that may have defined themselves along ethnic lines.

Certainly, many of these merchants found a lucrative sideline in real estate development and speculation at Rocketts. While Rutherford does not seem



to have been extensively so engaged, others, such as John Hague and John Lester, were at least as involved in development as merchandising and shipping. During the Early Republic Period, Rocketts lands largely slipped away from the hands of those who had descended from Colonial planters - the Lewises and Mayos, for example - and became the domain of the developer-merchants, many of whom were first generation Americans. It was largely this development activity that completely altered the character of Rocketts from that of a small series of wharves and warehouses attached to plantation lands, with cultural ties to the Colonial Tidewater, into a solidly urban village or town with an increasingly cosmopolitan character.

Chroniclers speak clearly about the heterogenous character of Rocketts in this period: Cherokee Indians on trading missions, foreign sailors in the street markets and taverns, Germans, Jews, Irish, Scots and newly-immigrated English all formed important elements in the community. Women like Susanna Lewis and Sarah Lester were freed to some extent from the heavy-handed patrimony of plantation culture. Less visible in the documents, but certainly a substantial presence at the time, was a large community of free African Americans. Manumission rates had become quite high immediately following the Revolution, and this phenomenon was represented in the wills of some of the Rocketts people we have studied. Following 1806, however, the Assembly began to restrict manumission severely. This was due largely to fear of slave revolts inspired by freed blacks, a fear which in Richmond had been nearly realized in 1800 with the thwarted uprising of Gabriel Prosser. There were, nonetheless, many free blacks and an even larger community of hired-out slaves living under minimal white supervision. These slaves were typically hired out to merchants and artisans at the port, sought their own housing, and otherwise lived as free men and women, paying a percentage of wages to their owners.

In this period the cosmopolitan character of Rocketts, and much of Richmond for that matter, separated the city from the mainstream of Virginia culture that had developed around plantation patriarchy. Rocketts people could probably identify more freely with those living in similar circumstances in Baltimore, Alexandria, and Philadelphia than with their rural neighbors along the James River. Before the Revolution, Williamsburg was the principal town of the Colony, and its society and culture were clearly extensions of the plantation world. Its elite were the planters and their relatives. With Independence, entrepreneurs (some, like John Craddock, being descended of lesser planters; but most of them new immigrants) led the way to the construction of a new, international, and largely urban culture. This new culture, ever-more deeply tied to capitalism and world trade, would henceforth challenge the hegemony of the plantation system and its elites (Mouer 1987).



Biographic Summaries for the Colonial and Early Republic Periods <sup>24</sup>

*Falls Plantation: Col. Thomas Stegge Jr. and William Byrd I*

The fall line lands of Thomas Stegge and his nephew, William Byrd I, were known as the "Falls Plantation". This vast tract, enhanced considerably by William Byrd II, comprised most of the area from which Richmond was later carved. Col. Thomas Stegge Jr. was the son of Captain Thomas Stegge Sr. who functioned both as a trader since 1637 along the James River and a merchant in Charles City County. A man of social prominence, he was active as a speaker of the General Assembly in 1643, a member of the Council in 1644 and an appointed member of the Parliament. As their commissioner, he was responsible for reducing "the colonies of Virginia and Maryland to obedience." After this successful submission of the colonies, he was lost at sea while enroute to England (Troubetzkoy 1953).

Like his father, Col. Thomas Stegge Jr. also achieved importance in social standing and influence. He served Virginia as a captain and colonel of the militia, as a member of the Council in 1664, and as an Auditor-General from 1664-1670 (Anon. 1940: 31). He and Henry Randolph also collected the quit-rents for Henrico and Charles City Counties in 1663 (Troubetzkoy 1953)

Both father and son were actively engaged in the profitable trade between the Colonists, England and the Indians. After his father's death, Col. Thomas Stegge Jr. inherited his father's lands in Virginia while his sister Grace (Stegge) Byrd inherited the houses in London. When his father's properties in Charles City County were sold, Col. Thomas Stegge Jr. moved to an area by the falls in 1661 - a site that would eventually form the center of Richmond. The Rocketts #1 Site, and for that matter, all of what was to become Rocketts, was contained within the boundaries of his vast holdings.

Col. Thomas Stegge Jr. received his patent for 1280 acres on the north side of the James River on January 25, 1663. It began about a mile above the falls and ran into the woods "N by E" 320 perches to a slash called Woodward's labour (Anon. 1663: 200). This was in addition to his 1659 patent for 1,800 acres across the James River, where his stone house stood (Anon. 1927: 226-7). He found his southern acreage much more attractive and promising than the northern side, due to its "level and gently rolling land." According to Troubetzkoy, the northern parcel with its "steep hills and rocky ravines" was negative enough a prospect that he may have let the patent lapse. This theory seems to be bolstered by the following 1670 statement: "...formerly granted to Coll. Thomas Stegg & by him deserted Enttring rights according to act." The patentee, Mr. William Woodward, was granted Stegg's 1280 acres (McIlwaine 1979: 225).

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<sup>24</sup>. This section was authored by Katharine Harbury.

Despite this reassignment of patent, Stegg was possessed of the property at his death. His long will with its numerous bequests and advice included this tract. He devised and bequeathed a certain portion of his vast estates to his nephew William Byrd I who was then living in London. Included were his stock, buildings and merchandizes and "household stuffs" (Anon. 1940: 31-34).

According to Little, the Legislature of Virginia in 1679 granted William Byrd the land on the condition that he place "a settlement there". The Act of Assembly may have been necessary due to the lapse of Stegge's 1663 patent, but more documentation is needed (Little 1851: 705). When William Byrd I inherited the vast tracts from his uncle Stegge, he made plans for future settlements and future growth along the James River waterway. He felt that the site by the falls had great potential for a trading post as well as water mills (Ward and Greer 1977: 1). Byrd was granted permission to make a "seate" at or near the head of the James River on his property with the understanding that he would "seate" fifty able and armed men and "other tythables." The number was not to exceed two hundred and fifty people "on both sides the said river within the space of halfe a mile along the river on each side in a straight line, and a quarter of a mile backwards into the woods." Provisions would be provided (Hening II 1823a: 453-4).

As an unpaid captain of these men, William Byrd was to lead them against the Indians within a twenty mile radius. If they traveled beyond these limits, then they were to be paid as soldiers were elsewhere. In the meantime, the tythables were free from any arrest for debt for twelve years and free from all taxes for fifteen years. The only exception were the taxes that the individuals may have inflicted upon themselves. Furthermore, it was also enacted that:

...if any other person or persons shall be willing to seate themselves in like manner and on like conditions with like obigations, exceptions and provisoes, at or neare the heads of any other the greate rivers, or in any place or places remote or backwards from the inhabitants, and soe as may be judged defencible for this his majesties country against the Indians, that the same be granted them... (Hening II 1823a: 454).

The site containing lot 203 probably lay outside the half mile limit; however, the above enactment made it possible for pioneers to settle nearby. Apparently, many took up the offer as shown by numerous patents for land on both sides of Gilly's Creek during the 1660-1670 decade. Other settlers

conducted purchases. In 1702 William Byrd I sold 100 acres out of the Stegge tract to Gilly Gromarrin, the details of which are given below.<sup>25</sup>

### *Gilly Gromarrin and his Legacy*

Little is known about Gilly Gromarrin, a 17th century figure whose name was given to Gilly's Creek at Rocketts. His surname was so unusual that it was much abused by his contemporaries: renderings include Gromorin, Gromorin, Grumarine, Grumarrin, Grumurren, Groomamarrin, Groomeren, Grumeren, Grummeren, Gilly Grew Marrain (Nugent 1977: 305, 307, 335, 340, 353 and 1986: 162, 251, 353, 403, 421), Gilliegroom Marrin (Anon. 1698b: 105), Gilly Gro Marrin (Weisiger 1976: 70), and even Gilly Grove Malliga (Anon. 1686: 383). By the latter part of the 18th century, his name was preserved simply as "Gilly Marrin" among his descendants.<sup>26</sup>

While the name Gilly may imply Scots roots, it is more likely that it was derived from the names Gilly, Gilli, Gili, Gille and Gilles in the Flemish and French regions (Dauzat 1951: 292). The name Gromarrin and its variants indicate a Dutch/Flemish origin. Considering these factors, the name "Gromarrin" may be such a Flemish or Dutch version of the French surname Gromaire (Dauzat 1951: 309); his place of birth may have been along the Flemish-French-Dutch borders.

There are also other indications that Gilly Gromarrin was not a native-born Englishman or Scot. None of the English immigration records, ship passenger lists or headrights in patents revealed his name in any form. He probably sailed for Virginia directly from his native country - a possibility which indicates that he may have been a Huguenot. It is not known whether he arrived as a single or married young man looking for better opportunities. His wife Susanna did not appear in any of the records until 1695, when his children were nearly grown (Anon. 1695: 90).

Gilly Gromarrin, planter, was first documented on February 1, 1678 when he and Derby Enroughty both purchased 300 acres from John Crowley/Crawley and Thomas Howlett of Charles City County. John's father, John Crowley/Crawley Sr., had previously purchased it from Col. Thomas Stegge, now dec'd. (Anon. 1678: 68). In 1686 that we find that Gilly's Creek had been previously known to the locals as Crawley's Creek (Anon. 1686.: 383.) This particular tract was probably located further inland on Gilly's Creek, since the

<sup>25</sup>. The tract adjoining this one to the west devised to William Byrd II who, in 1733, laid out lots here to found the City of Richmond. - L.D.M.

<sup>26</sup>. Richmonders today also remain unsettled on the spelling of Gilly's Creek, which is frequently rendered "Gillie's" or "Gilley's." I have, for convenience rather than out of some sense of correctness, spelled both the names of the creek and the men "Gilly," except where referring to specific documents, in which case I retain the spelling in the original.

parcel of land containing lot 203 was ultimately derived from Thomas Stegge through William Byrd.

On April 27, 1686 Gilly Gromarrin was mentioned as a neighbor in a patent for Samuel Bridgewater who referred to Gillie's Creek and "Gillie's land" (Anon. 1686a: 508). A year later, he was mentioned as a neighbor in a patent for William Byrd: "...down the river 250 po. to Gillie's Run, the division line bet. this & Gylly Groomamarin..." (Anon. 1687a: 548). See Plat 1. It is one of the earliest plats concerning the vicinity of Lot 203. It also shows that the area which became the Rocketts #1 Site was under the possession of William Byrd at this time.

From these various records, it appears that Gilly Gromarrin's plantation lay along the river terraces along the James River south of Gilly's Creek: the heart of what would later become Rocketts. Perhaps his dwelling was located at the vicinity of the later Rope Walk where nearby streets still preserve the Gromarrin family names. A hill in the area was called Marrin's Hill by 1793. This is the hill which now is alternately called Powhatan or Fulton's Hill or, more rarely, Marrian Hill (Waitt n.d.). While he was not formally educated, he could sign his initials to documents. He must have felt that more education was imperative since he directed in his will that both his sons and daughters were to receive at least two years worth of schooling (Anon. 1716a: 119-121).

Gilly Gromarrin accumulated a large estate during his lifetime with his several land purchases. He did not reduce much of it by selling it later; his inventory indicates that much of his wealth was tied up in land, although he led a materially comfortable life for the time (Anon. 1716b: 127). His inventory consisted primarily of materials needed to run a frontier plantation and, perhaps, some home-based manufacturing. Either he had arrived in Virginia with some inheritance or invested in lands rather than on the usual household possessions. He apparently made these purchases with his progeny in mind.

In addition to the 300 acres mentioned in 1678, Gilly "Groomeren" patented his own 539 acres on the south side of Chickahominy River, near Cattaile Branch and Holey Branch. It was his headright for transporting 11 individuals (Anon. 1687b: 562). On October 20, 1689 he patented an additional 481 acres, on the north side of the James River, near the Chickahominy Swamp, and which adjoined his previously acquired tract (Anon. 1689: 1). His other grants in 1714 were respectively for 500 acres which were located on the northwest side of the main branch of Tuckahoe, and for 292 acres at "Peckeynockey" (Anon. 1714: 210).

Gilly Gromarrin kept increasing his land holdings by deeds as well as patents. On March 14, 1697/8, John Pleasants became the owner by default of a

payment by Edward Jones for 180 acres. He sold this tract to Gilly Gromarrin for 5500 pounds of tobacco, except for "twelve locust trees and mines" (Anon. 1702a: 73-4). While the precise whereabouts of this parcel is not clear, it was not far from Gilly's Creek. On October 1, 1706, Gilly Gromarrin bought 470 acres for 9200 lbs of tobacco. This tract was located on the south side of the James River and included part of an island above Powwhite Creek and the Falls (Anon. 1705: 117). His subsequent purchase of 200 acres, also south of the James River by the Falls, was dated March 1710; it was once part of John Tullit's 7,650 acres (Anon. 1710: 66). When he bequeathed 439 acres near Chickahominy Swamp from his 1687 patent to his son-in-law Luke Smith and his daughter Arabella, he mentioned that he had sold 100 acres from the same patent to Thomas Robinson in 1690 (Anon. 1690a: 396 and Anon. 1712: 113). Another 100 acres was taken out from one of his patents "near Pequanock" for a thousand pounds of tobacco that same year (Anon. 1690b: 122).<sup>27</sup>

It is the following deed, however, that concerns the Rocketts #1 Site area. On March 2, 1702 William Byrd "granted, sold, released, enfeoffed and confirmed" to "Gilly Gromorrin" 100 acres lying on the north side of the James River. This entire parcel was part of a "grater devidend" of Byrd's and included all "housing, outhouses, edifices, buildings, barns, orchards, gardens, hedges, ditches, fences and inclosures, woods..." (Anon. 1702b.: 348-9). The "devidend" mentioned here referred to the bequest of Thomas Stegge to William Byrd.

In Thomas Jefferson's will, dated 1725, was a mention of "Gilley's Mill" but its location has not been specified for this area (Anon. 1725: 293). It probably was situated along Gilly's Creek.

According to the directions given in his will, Gilly Gromarrin's lands descended to his children, namely Arabella, Francis, "Gillee", Wiltshire and Anne. He made mention of a "fishing place" at the mouth of the creek which may be one of the earliest references to what would become the village at Rocketts (Anon. 1716a: 119-121).

Since sons Francis and Wiltshire subsequently died without issue, their lands descended to their surviving brother "Gillee" who held it as a tenant in fee tail. In contrast to his father, this particular Gillee owned slaves. In his 1746 will, he bequeathed to each of his children a horse and saddle, some currency

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<sup>27</sup>. The name "Pequanock" (also Peckanock, Pickanocky, etc.) first appears in records at this time in association with this tract along the south side of the Chickahominy Swamp in northern Henrico County. The name was retained throughout the 18th and 19th centuries in association with this plantation tract. One of the earliest uses refers to the "Pickanocky Meadows", a large bottomland associated with an otherwise unknown Indian settlement lying between the mouth of Upham Brook and Strawberry Hill. Early plats also relate the name to a trail or road which ran from Gromarrin's lands at Rocketts to the Chickahominy. L.D.M.

and these slaves (Anon. 1746: 278-9). Evidently he concentrated the family wealth on slaves rather than on land like his father. Only three of his children are known to have survived to inherit the legacies: Wiltshire, Mary the wife of Colwell Pettypool (of Cumberland County), and Susanna the wife of Charles Lewis.

His widow Mary later married David Burton in 1757 (Moore 1979: 229) whose maintenance of the family estate was less than satisfactory - Wiltshire, Mary and Susanna had to petition against their widowed mother in court in 1759. The court agreed that David Burton, her husband, should have given them their legacies - out of his estate. He apparently had taken advantage of his legal rights in controlling not only his wife's dower estate but also the estate belonging to the children. It was finally settled in 1764 (Anon. 1764a: 215).

Rocketts was by then a thriving port community with upland farms and plantations well established on each side of Gilly's Creek. The concept of constructing buildings for rental purposes was already commonplace. This would remain a striking characteristic of the Rocketts and Shockoe waterfront areas. In 1764, when widow Mary Burton and her eldest son, Wiltshire Marrin, ("otherwise called Wiltshire Gromarrin,") agreed to rent a tract to Samuel Duval, they stipulated that he follow certain conditions and agreements:

...for and in Consideration of the Rents Covenants Exceptions & Agreements herein Afscd. mentioned Reserved & Contained by and on the part & Behalf of the said Samuel Duval...do demise Grant and to Farm let unto said Samuel Duval all that Measuage Tenement plantation Tract and parcel of Land Scituate lying and being on the west side of Gilleads Creek...Containing Two Hundred Acres...Bounded by the Lands in the possession of John New Richard Adams & Morgret Brown & so Down the said Creek to James River part of which said Demised Land is Called & known by the name of Rockets Landing & all the Landings & Fishing places with Liberty of Arecting warfs and full Liberty of fishing in the Rivers & Creeks thereto belonging or Adjoining...& and also al Houses out Houses yards gardens Orchards Trees woods Ways waters watercourses profits Commodities & Advantages whatsoever to the said Tract... Except a Certain piece of Level Land on the Top of a Hill now in the Occupation of one Thomas Cardwell Containg about Twenty Acres part thereof...for...the...Term of fifteen Years from hence... paying thereupon yearly For the first Ten years of the said Term the yearly Rents or Sum of fifteen Pounds Current Money of Virginia at or upon the first day of January...for Remaining five years...Sum of Twenty pounds...The first day of January...And that said Samuel Duval his Executors Administrators...shall and

will well and Truly at his...own Proper Labour & Expence build & Erect good & Substantial Houses & wharfs And make other good & Sufficient Improvements on the said Land & Premises Hereby Demised...Timber which the said Samuel is at Liberty to get from said Land for that purpose not permitting waste...at the end...of the said Term of fifteen years shall and will peaceably & ...surrender and yield up unto the said Mary Burton & Wilsher Marrin or to such person Or persons as shall then be Lawfully intituled to the possession Thereof... (Anon. 1764b: 893-898.)

There is no certain documentary evidence that such structures in the above agreement were situated at the Rocketts #1 Site; however, this is distinctly possible, as the site appears likely to have had structures on it by this time.<sup>28</sup>

This second named Wiltshire Gromarrin/Marrin also died without issue by Dec. 1767 (Anon. 1767: 208) and his tract descended to his sisters Mary and Susanna who held it as tenants in fee tail. By an Act of Assembly in 1772, the Pettypools were allowed to sell their property to the Mayo family, which appended it to their holdings on the east side of Gilly's Creek, while the Lewis couple retained their dividend (Hening 8 1821b: 643-5 and Anon. 1769a: 180-3).

#### *Charles and Susanna (Marrin) Lewis*

Being named as co-heirs of Wiltshire Marrin, Mary and Susanna agreed that Thomas Prosser would lay off and divide Wiltshire's parcel. Mary was to receive the upper tract, 320 acres, which was bounded by a birch on the James River, which was a little below "roper's Fishing place". Her share was sold to the Mayo family as cited above. Susanna's portion was another upper tract, also 320 acres, which is vaguely described, with the exception of a description of a "beach (sic) on Gilly's Creek thence up the creek 19 poles to a corner beach then S 10 degrees East..." or another lower tract with poor descriptions (Anon. 1769b: 182-3). After careful study of this document and subsequent records, this upper portion is believed to be the area which contains the Rocketts #1 Site. Charles and Susanna Lewis probably constructed a house, or moved into an existing house, on or near Lot 203.

The Lewises could afford to possess a chariot along with "carriage horses," numerous slaves, and various structures for rental purposes. Such rents formed the basis of their annual and profitable family income. Charles Lewis stipulated in his will that his estate not be appraised, a gesture common for

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<sup>28</sup>. It is noteworthy that this arrangement was made with DuVal who was a descendant of Huguenot immigrants, as, apparently, was Gilly Marrin. There is other evidence that DuVal found himself in direct economic competition with many of the English - descended planters in Henrico through his diverse activities which included coal mining, milling, and pottery manufacturing. In 1775, DuVal beat Col. Richard Randolph of Curles Plantation out of what had become a nearly heritary Randolph seat in the House of Burgesses. L. D. M.



those of means (Anon. 1793: 278-9). Charles Lewis held large land holdings which straddled both sides of Gilly's Creek, and which were increasing greatly in value due to the growing demand for more warehouses other than Shockoe and Byrd's. Rockett's Landing was now eyed by many as an very attractive and potential business site. The ferry at Rocketts Landing continued in operation at this time (Hening 1822c: 459). The local merchants found the tobacco warehouses at Shockoe and Byrd's inadequate - due primarily to continual problems of silting in the mouth of Shockoe Creek - and petitioned the colony in 1774:

...that the Petition of divers inhabitants of the County of Henrico, setting forth, that the Warehouses at Shockoe and Byrd's Inspection are not sufficient to hold the Tobacco's brought there, and praying that another Inspection may be established on the land of Charles Lewis between the River and Main Road leading to Rocket's landing, be rejected... (Kennedy 1905: 94).

The petition was initially declined; however, the merchants must have persisted in their pleas because they eventually got their wish. In response to various public demands and petitions of the merchants and traders, the General Assembly stipulated and enacted the following:

IV. And it being represented to this present general assembly, that the erecting a ware-house on the lands of Charles Lewis, near Rockett's Landing, in the county of Henrico, will be of public benefit, and the proprietor of the land is willing to build the same:

V. Be it therefore enacted, That an inspection of tobacco shall be, and the same is hereby established at the said place, which shall be called and known by the name of Rocketts; and that the transfer notes issued by the inspectors thereof shall be payable for public dues, in the same manner as those of Byrd's and Shockoe. (Hening 1822d: 474).

The impression given by the records was that Lewis did not hesitate to take full advantage of Rocketts' surging popularity with the merchants, traders and others. On Nov. 23, 1782, he petitioned the speakers and gentlemen of the House of Delegates with the following letter:

The petition of Charles Lewis Humbly Showeth that he is proprietor of the Land at & round the Landing Call'd Rockets, which lies nearly joining on the Town of Richmond & where most of the Vessels Trading to the said Town Generally ly [sic]; Warehouses for the Inspection of Tobacco being Established at the said Landing by which your petitioner Conceives will become a great place of Trade - and as a Number of persons has



apply'd to your petitioner to purchase Lots thereon and others to Lease, and he being wiling [sic] & desirous to sell & Lease a part of his said Lands at & near the said Landing, Prays that this Honourable House will pass a Law giving your petitioner leave to lay of part of his said Lands from Gillie's Creek up to Colo. Richard Adam's Land that lies joining on the river & the said Town of Richmond into Lots & Streets, for a Town and to be Call'd & known by the name of \_\_\_\_\_ [blank] and that your Honourable House will be pleased to Appoint \_\_\_\_\_ [blank] Trustees for that purposes and your petitioner in duty bound will pray &c.

[In different handwriting, was this additional notation]: "that [sic] all the Land the property of Chs. Lewis lying on the James River between Gillie's Creek and the City of Richmond & between \_\_\_\_\_ and as far out as the lands of R A Esqr. the property of Chs Lewis shall be and the same is hereby vested in." [Underlined words were crossed out in the original.] (Lewis 1782: Legislative Petitions).

As the owner of the tobacco warehouses at Rocketts, he was to endure financial difficulties in the beginning before he received any true profits:

Tobacco being vital to the economy of Virginia, the county court exercised broad powers on behalf of the state in assuring adequate warehouses. The court could order warehouses to be rebuilt or enlarged, even if the proprietor declined to do so. ...Fee came from warehouse fees. ...Similar power was exercised against Charles Lewis, owner of Rocketts warehouses. (Ward & Greer 1977: 58.)

Such proprietors may have declined because the city was behind in their payments. Unfortunately, this was not the end of Charles Lewis' headaches concerning Rocketts. He and his wife Susanna sent another petition, dated Nov. 6, 1789, to the House of Delegates:

To the Honble the Speaker and the members of the House of Delegates, the Petition of Charles Lewis & Susanna, his Wife Humbly Sheweth

That they were seized in fee simple in some lotts of ground in the City of Richmond, at the place called Rockett's Landing, & Convenient to Rocketts Warehouses, that they hoped to have been permitted quietly to have enjoyed all the advantages which would have arisen therefrom, but your petitioners humbly Shews to your Honble House that a Wharf has been Erected at there [sic] Landing by the Order of the Court of Henrico County for the Use of the said Ware Houses at Rocketts thereby

depriving your petitioner's of some of there most Valuable property, without makeing them any Compensation for the same- your petioner's further begs leave to shew, that the said wharf is Capable of being used for many other purposes, as well as Shipping Tobacco from the Ware Houses & they hope as they have been the only persons making a Sacrifice for the Public Advantage your Honble House Will think with them, that they are the most proper persons to derive Advantage from the Said Wharf- your petitioners therefore humbly prays, that a law may pass your House permitting them to enjoy the exclusive priviledge of the Toll that may hereafter become due to the sd Wharf in consequence of every port of use made of it except Shiping Tobacco from the Ware Houses, which your petitioners is desirous and willing should be done free from any Toll whatever or that you will grant them any other relief that you shall think there case requires and your petitioners will pray &c. (Lewis 1789: File A9022).

The Lewises' petition to operate a private wharf was denied. The wharf was taken by the government "compensation to be made by valuation of a Jury & Wharf to be vested in the Public" (according to a notation made on the reverse of the above document).

In 1788 the city of Richmond and its environs had grown to such an extent that certain freeholders and inhabitants petitioned for representation in the House of Delegates. They stated that the city held more people than most of the counties, and due to a "variety of interests" and the Consitution, they desired "the priviledge of electing a representative." Among those who signed were Charles Lewis, Gilley Lewis, Alex. Montgomery and Jno. Lister (Lester), all principal landowners and merchants at Rocketts. (Anon. 1788: File A9018).

Charles Lewis spent the rest of his life reaping profits from three main sources: 1) selling family lots, 2) collecting fees from his tobacco warehouses, and 3) the especially lucrative rental properties, primarily at Rocketts. Lewis died August 22, 1793, not long after making his will and the death of his daughter Sally. Perhaps they both died of the same contagious disease.

His widow, Susanna Marrin Lewis, may have been an unusual woman for her time. She not only could read and write, she also lived long enough to be a great-grandmother, having outlived her father, uncles, brothers and some sons. While it was not unusual for a wife to be the executrix of her spouse's will, many women had male representatives who handled the transactions of land sales and other business activities. Susanna Lewis did not; she continued to execute deeds and leases on her lands after her husband's death. (Anon. 1783: 3). She petitioned in 1793 for an "alteration" in Water Street at

Rocketts; she wanted it to be vested in her name and that of her heirs. When the Council agreed, they appointed John Hague (see below) among others, as part of a committee to inform "the Hall" of this matter (Anon. 1793a: 37, No. 2).

Her will indicates that she possessed business acumen and interests concerning the management of rents, profits, housing and wharves. This document also gives an interesting illustration of what Rocketts then looked like. The impression given is of rapidly encroaching tenements and other port-related structures both at Rocketts Landing and the surrounding hills. Susanna also made reference to former leases, such as one with (John) Lester and John Craddock (Anon. 1809: 197-202). Her inventory, if any, has not yet been located. Susanna Lewis was not only interested in the future well-being of her surviving descendants, but also of others. She took in and raised an orphan boy named William Henry Radford, and saw to it that the widow Hannah Hague had a place to stay. Susanna Lewis was still living in 1811, according to the tax rolls but she must have died later that year since her will was proved in court on February 1812.

#### *John and Hannah Hague*

The next identified owner of the Rocketts #1 Site was Captain John Hague who is believed to be a Scot, Ulster, or Northwestern English immigrant. While there was a "John Hague" listed among the "Scotch-Irish" soldiers in Capt. Mathew's Company for Augusta County in about 1756, the compiler believes that this was another individual of the same name (Bockstruct 1988a: 324). No relationship could be found between this John Hague of Augusta County and the John Hague of Rocketts. None of Hague's deeds, nor his will, give any indication of his having relatives in Virginia other than his "nephew" John Craddock, which may be due to his marriage connections. In her will, Hague's wife Hannah made a bequest to John Hague Craddock, out of the "natural love and affection" for her relation, the son of her "nephew", John Craddock. John Hague made a bequest in his will to his brother William, if he ever came to America (Anon. 1795a: 187-8).

According to his obituary, John Hague was born about 1737/8 (Anon. 1795c: 3) which conflicts with the data given on his tombstone.<sup>29</sup> While there were three John Hagues born or baptised at the right time in England, the best candidate may be the "John Hague, son of John and Isabel Hague, bp. 22 May 1738, Whickham, Durham." (Anon. 1737-8: IGI Index) Durham nestles along the border dividing England and Scotland and contains a large strain of Scots among its English inhabitants. This fits with John Hague's possible Scots connections, both shown by his friendship with Thomas Rutherford, a

<sup>29</sup>. Hague's epitaph states he died in 1795, at the age of 37, giving a birth year of 1758. This is clearly an error either of the original inscription, or its transcription. L. D. M.

native Scots merchant and neighbor, and by the Scotch name of his slave, Aberdeen. If he were in fact a Scot, his name may more likely have been rendered "Haig", not "Hague" (Op. Cit.: IGI Index.)

Records concerning him before 1782 are sparse due to destruction of Charles City County and Richmond city records during the Revolutionary War and the 1865 fire. The earliest record located for John Hague is in Charles City County on 30 April 1771 when he is listed as a lessee for a plantation: "...one in occupation of John Hagues." It is interesting to note that he was listed along with Moses and William Craddock, other lessees (Anon. 1771: 37). Also mentioned was a Robert Craddock who left an estate in 1760 and had accounts in his name in 1771 (Ibid.: 36-7).

There are indications that John Hague was to form life-long social connections and business ventures with these Craddocks - he may have left Charles City County with them for better opportunities at Richmond. He served as sureties for the marriages of John Craddock to Betsey Jackson DePriest, 19 June 1793, and John Lester to Sarah Hudson, 24 April 1788 (Pollack 1984: 41 & 99). No marriage record or bonds could be located for John Hague in Richmond, Henrico County or Charles City County records.

John Hague next appeared in a newspaper advertisement dated May 24, 1776 for a lost or stolen horse belonging to Capt. Caleb Davis. The ad ends with his given address as "near Richmond town," which suggests that he may have been residing at Rocketts (Purdie 1776: 2-Supplement). While he is likely to be the "Capt. Hague," owner of the schooner *Betsy* in November 1776 (Gwathmey 1979: 336), he does not appear in any entries in the *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*. This may not be significant in view of many vanished documents. He is not to be confused with another individual named in these naval sources as "Hague/Hegue", a Frenchman operating in the Carribean, possibly for the British (Clark 1964a: 826 and 1964b: 971.). While many of the late 18th century land-owners in and near Richmond combined planting and mercantile or industrial activities, Hague seems primarily to have been a merchant and land speculator and developer.

His movements between 1776-1780 have not been ascertained by way of documentary evidence. While almost all merchants of "Great Britain" were made to leave Virginia during this time, this was not the case for those who became patriots and swore allegiance to the American cause (Ward and Greer 1977: 126). While there is no record of John Hague's political leanings, there are indications that he was for the patriot cause due to the following indication that he was in Virginia throughout the Revolution, and his merchant partnerships remained active. One of his partnerships was involved in a chancery suit at this time: "...Francis Smyth surviving partner of Marsden & Smyth, Ptf agst Smyth Blakey. John Hague & Francis Smyth surviving partners of Marsden, Blakey, Hague & Smyth Deft." (Anon. 1783a:

243). James Marsden and Francis Smyth were involved in the shipping of goods. Marsden owned Lots #358, 368, 369 and 380, which became part of the "Public Escheated Property" in c. 1782 (Anon. 1782: 326). One (or both) of these plaintiffs was probably a British native with Loyalist leanings. Many tory merchants and landowners had their estates seized by escheatment during the Revolution.

Hague was also partner of "Smyth Hague & Co.," and owned lots on the side for investment purposes. He was engaged in several appointed positions, mostly dealing with the management of the waterfront, between 1783 to his death in 1795. A court record dated April 8, 1783 cited that he and Noble Jordane were given the oaths of office when they, among others, were appointed ballast masters. John Hague was responsible for Rockett's Landing while Noble Jordane's post was located at Four Mile Creek, near Varina (Anon. 1783b: 242-3).

In 1784, John Hague is found in another firm, Hague & Crouch, and housed his goods at the residence of William Pennick, a merchant. His partner could be either Richard Crouch, Sr. or Jr. His own house was not available because it had been rented to the militia:

The Auditors are directed to issue a warrant on the Contingent fund for thirty three pounds to Mr. John Hague in full compensation for the rent of his house which was made use of by G. Smith Quarter Master and James Anderson public Armourer, as per report of Colo. Meriwether. (Hall 1952a: 387).

While the location of his house was not specified, it is probably at Rocketts rather than near his other lots near the old marketplace.<sup>30</sup>

In May 1786, he sued Henry Stratton for libel, but this trial was declared a mistrial in the Court of Admiralty (Call 1833: 84-89.) This lawsuit was repeated during June 1790, and fortunately for us, the details are given. It gives us an excellent idea of the contemporary revenue laws, shipping customs and types of goods. John Hague had sued in behalf of himself and "of the commonwealth" against Henry Stratton, master of the sloop *Nancy* for a breach in revenue rules. The *Nancy* had carried a chariot or phaeton with harness and "other articles" (Call 1833: 564-569). That same year saw John Hague selected as a customs searcher for Richmond, Manchester, Warwick and Osborne's for a yearly salary of 80 pounds, and his legal action was probably taken in this capacity (Hall 1952b: 533).

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<sup>30</sup>. As will be seen, below, John Craddock inherited Hague's house and the lots adjoining it. These are the lots from Rocketts Street to Maple Street, north of Poplar St., including Lot 203. Hague probably had his principal dwelling at Lot 203, where his widow, Hannah, remained, and where, in 1831, a dwelling referred to as "the old mansion" stood. -L. D. M.

In 1787, John Hague was appointed to be a searcher for the Richmond District, and was required to pay a 1,000 pound bond (Palmer 1884a: 235). Some of his duties, as shown by a letter and petition that year, concerned the freight business and the problems of smuggling:

... (the Lt. Gov. issued...) that he directed a warrant to issue on the Contingent Fund for twenty one pounds in favor of Captain Cunningham for the freight of one hundred Barrels of gunpowder, twelve cases of cartridge boxes and ten reams of cartridge paper from Norfolk to Richmond, the value of the said freight having been ascertained by Mr. Hague. (Hall, 1952c: 145).

and also:

Christopher Sloane and John Hague, Searchers to the Governor, Recommending further restrictions in order to prevent smuggling goods into the District The baggage of passengers and the stores of ships should be particularly examined, on account of the impositions practiced. (Palmer 1884b: 228.)

Apparently unrest had been mounting for some time among the population concerning taxes. It came to a point where the more active inhabitants took the initiative by sending their printed and signed petition to the Houses of the General Assembly on October 29, 1787. Among those who signed were John Hague, John Craddock and Jno. Henry & Alex. Montgomery (Anon. 1787: File A9003).

John Hague entered into a great number of commercial partnerships, some apparently were mercantile, but others were involved with real estate investment, primarily in Rocketts. His partnership with John Craddock seems to have involved both. It is a possible that this was a partnership that eventually evolved into John Hague & Co. by 1792. It is also possible that they were working with the firm of Montgomery's Henry & Co. since that firm had a sloop named *Cohansy* in 1787 (Hall 1952d: 96). This is a name phonetically similar to John Hague's schooner *Cowancy* or *Cohansey* at a later date. This give rise to the possibility that they may be the one and same ship (Anon. 1795b: 194).

In 1788 Capt. John Hague and John Lester were partners in the land-owning firm Hague & Lester. Hague also owned another lot worth \$60 as well as three slaves - perhaps the Aberdeen, George and Foster in his inventory (Anon. 1795b: 194). At the same time, he served as searcher for Rocketts Landing alone, for 50 pounds a year (Hall 1952e: 212).

Hague & Co. was listed on tax roles as a land-owning and slave-owning investment and, apparently, mercantile firm for several years, even for a time after Hague's death. It is not known in what capacity his slaves served, but it may be in connection with his trade.

In 1782, Richmond's Rope Walk (at Rocketts) was heavily involved with the production of hemp rope due to war-time demands. The next two years, 1789 and 1790, found John Hague busy with the construction of a wharf and repairing the public hemp warehouse. He and Smith Blakey were to be paid 90 pounds for building the wharf at Rock Landing for the benefit of Shockoe and Byrd's warehouses (Anon. 1789b: 78). For repairing the hemp warehouse at Rocketts and for furnishing scales, John Hague was paid 46 pounds, three shillings and eleven pence by the Treasurer of the Commonwealth (Anon. 1790a: 366). It was around this time that his firm was paid for providing "plank and other materials". He was also involved in yet another civic duty which involved tolls at the Rocketts Landing wharf.

In 1790, with Joseph Simpson and John Lester, he sent a petition to the Richmond City Common Hall. They stated that they were proprietors of a certain piece of land next to Gilly's Creek which had been divided by them into lots. They wished to be permitted to build a draw-bridge at their own expense over Gilly's Creek, since it would be of great benefit to the public (Anon. 1791b: 248, No. 1). The petition must have been approved because in 1794, the trio along with George Nicolson, no longer thought it necessary to keep the draw-bridge in repair. They desired that a new fixed bridge replace the draw-bridge (Anon. 1794b: 63, No. 2).

One of the last duties John Hague undertook towards the end of his life exposed him to great risks. He was chosen as a Superintendent of Quarantine. The year 1793 was an unhealthy year for Rocketts.<sup>31</sup> Not only had Charles Lewis and his daughter Sally died within a short time of each other, there are indications that a usually fatal disease had arrived on shore at Rocketts Landing. John Hague along with Mr. Lyne and Mr. Foster were committee councilmen (or "CC men") responsible for enforcing emergency health regulations. A woman had died in the house of Peter Morgan and family, and they were quarantined in mid-October. The woman's apparel and bedding and the apparel of the household's slaves were ordered to be burned while the house was to be fumigated. Passengers on stages and other modes of transportation were to be investigated by Drs. Foushee and Russell, health officers (Anon. 1793c: 35, No. 2). By October 28th, the Morgan family were declared reasonably "safe" and were "removed" by John Hague from the place. Hague was compensated for performing his duty: L 12, 1 shilling and

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<sup>31</sup> The "unhealthy year" referred to here by Harbury was a massive smallpox epidemic that occurred throughout much of 1793 and 1794. As a result of this epidemic, mass smallpox inoculation was first begun in Richmond. L. D. M.



10 pence (Anon. 1793d: 36-7, No. 2). The following December, a slave, taken ill with smallpox, was taken to the "pest house" with a guard. His owner, Mr. Smith, was responsible for his care and expenses. Mr. Hague was to be paid for "his trouble", which was not specified (Anon. 1793e: 38, No. 2).

A letter dated July 21, 1794 by Robert Mitchell to the Governor gives us another indication of the merchandise sold by John Hague & Co. He had "impressed" the 35-ton sloop Molley to transport men for a particular voyage. He had received "planke from Messrs. Haque [sic] & Lester to make a platform in the hold at the Vessel for the Soldiers to Lye on..." He also hoped that they would be able to set sail from the creek by 10 A.M. and asked for "leave to recommend the troopes Imbarking at Rockets..." (McRae & Colston 1888a: 225).

On August 2, 1794, John Hague, Robert Allyn and John Lester received a letter from the Lt. Governor, James Wood, concerning their request, along with his warning of more disease-related problems to come:

In compliance with your request that we should ascertain the value of the service rendered by sundry vessels in transporting the Militia from this place to Smithfield, by order of the Executive, are unanimously of the opinion that the value of the Sloop, Molley Burthern 29 63 - 95 Tons, with Master and three hands, is 30s per day.

The Schooner Active, Burthern, 21 25-95 Tons, Skipper & two hands, 21s, 3d. per day....

I have received information that a pestilentious or contagious disease prevails in the West Indies, and it is probable that the same may be brought into the Commonwealth by vessels arriving from the port of New Orleans on the Mississippi, or from the ports situated on the Spanish Main. For prevention of so great an evil, I thought fit...to call upon the respective Superintendants of Quarantine at the several ports of entry and delivery in this State to be particularly vigilant and attentive to the duties of their Office in this time of danger; taking care to demand of all Masters of vessels coming from the West Indies, or any of the aforementioned places, before they enter port a declaration, according to law, as to their health, &c., &c., ... (McRae & Colston 1888b: 238-9).

This disease turned out to be another case of smallpox. John Hague sent a letter dated Nov. 10, 1794 to an unidentified correspondent, stating that "the Superintendent for the ports at Richmond and Manchester" had been informed that a ship had just arrived from Petersburg, where smallpox had



broken out. He had examined the crew and passengers who were healthy and thus of no threat to the community (McRae & Colston 1888c: 367). It is believed that John Hague was this very Superintendent of the ports. However, the threat of disease would not yet abate:

Thomas Newton wrote a letter from Norfolk to the Governor on April 17, 1795 concerning Capt. Hague:

Capt. Hague of your place delivered me a list of American citizens detained on board the *Resolution*, British ship of war, one of Admiral Murray's squadron, now lying in Hampton Roads...Capt. Hague, if he is at Rocketts, will particularly inform you of the citizens detained on board the *Resolution*. ...The alarming accounts received from the West Indies of yellow fever...some precautions used here. (McRae & Colston 1888d: 466).

As for John Hague's land purchases, the record is not complete due to the destruction of relevant Richmond records during the Revolutionary War. No document could be found to date specifying the purchase of land which contained lot #203. It is believed that John Hague bought Lot #203 from Charles and Susanna Lewis before 1788 based on the following considerations: 1) When John Hague bought the tract, it is possible that the boundaries were made with geographical descriptions rather than by lot numbers. Remember the previously cited record above that he and others had just laid their lands into lots by Gilly's Creek in 1791. 2) On the other hand, Lot #203 may well have been one of the first plots sold by the Lewises sometime before 1788 - with no extant record to show for it. However, note that Charles Lewis owned all the lots, except 196-7 and 210, surrounding Lot #203 in 1788. This is an indication that he had sold #203 to John Hague, while his son Gilly M. Lewis held Lot #197. His wife Susanna Lewis held Lot #204, for example, part of which had been leased to John Brown and John Craddock (Anon. 1804: 31-39). Lots 196 and 210 may have gone to other members of his family or other yet unidentified individuals. Lot #203 was still in Hague's possession when he died (Anon. 1795a: 187-8).

The earliest recorded purchase for John Hague was dated 25 Sept. 1789. He had obtained a lot with buildings on the site of the "old Treasury" (Anon. 1789a: 465). He did not keep this parcel for long - it was sold to Samuel Couch in 1793 (Anon. 1793c: 400). On February 7, 1791, he and others became owners of Lot 320 from Robert Dempster (Anon. 1791a: 376). On April 1791, he sold a tract of 72 acres in Rocketts known as "Hague's Tract of Land" with buildings for L50 to a Jewish merchant, Isaiah Isaacs (Anon. 1791b: 408). That following October, John Hague received 24 acres from Charles and Susanna Lewis for L200. The descriptions, which contain references to Gilly's Creek, the main road and George Nicolson's line and "up again" on the James River, give

indication that this parcel lay in the vicinity of the Rope Walk below Gilly's Creek (Anon. 1791c: 512).

Charles and Susanna Lewis sold John Hague & Co. more acreage during March 1792 for the hefty sum of L1,050. It was described as lying at Rocketts, being part of Lots #211 and 212 which were directly across Poplar Street from Lots #203 and 204. There are references to John Roper's fence, the street from the main road (Rocketts Street) to Water street and the latter to Rockett's tobacco warehouses (Anon. 1792a: 248-9.) On April 1793, John Hague sold certain plots of land along the James River and Gilly's Creek, being about 5 acres in all, for L56 and 10 shillings to Joseph Simpson (Anon. 1793a: 287). That same month, John Hague & Co. sold a parcel of land known as "\_\_\_\_" [blank] to Joseph Simpson for L75. It began at a corner of John Hague & Co. warehouse, running 60 feet on Water Street. It ran "\_\_\_\_" feet [blank] from this point on street leading from Water Street to the main road to "John Roper's fence." Running along this fence, the line continued to John Hague & Co. line and the beginning (Anon. 1793b: 286). This sounds very near Lot #203, somewhere along Rocketts Street, and sounds more or less identical to the deed between John Craddock and John Lester in 1797 which is discussed below under the entries concerning John Craddock.

John Hague continued to sell off more of his properties. During January 1794, he and his wife Hannah sold to George Nicolson lots which had been purchased from Charles and Susanna Lewis. The land had been "laid off into lots and streets"- being 3 lots numbred 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 (Anon. 1794a: 410). On November 1794, John Hague and John Lester purchased a lot identified as lot "C" on the north side of Main Street for L400. Since a tenant was still living on the premises, the grantor, Pleasant Younghusband, was to receive the rents. The site was near the marketplace in Shockoe Bottom (Anon. 1794b: 157).

It is not certain why John Hague was selling off his lands. It may be that he had heavy debts or felt the effects of deteriorating health since he was to die the next year. He nonetheless retained some lands which became bequests for his widow, Hannah, and for John Hague Craddock, including Lot #203. This again suggests that this lot was among his purchases from the Lewises in or before 1788.

John Hague made an interesting will - he desired that three of his slaves - Aberdeen, Foster and Sukey - be set free after his wife's death. His ship Cohansey was to be sold and the money from the sale to be given to his widow, Hannah. (His other ship, Polly & Sally, "lay sunk" at Rocketts). She also received one half of "the brick house" and its lot. To his "nephew", John Hague Craddock, he left one half of the same brick house and lot, also one half of the "lumber house" adjacent to the brick house, one half of "the store house" near the market place which was occupied by a Charles Burnett, and

lastly, one half of the *lease* of the lumber house of Montgomery & Henry. Robert Braxton Craddock was to have the lots lying east of Gilly's Creek. He made other bequests to Elizabeth Roper, Mary Green and Hannah Vaughan as well - the latter may have been a servant (Anon. 1795a: 187-8 and 1795b: 194). See Appendix 9 for his will and inventory.

John Hague was buried at the Henrico Parish (St. John's) Church, which is situated on a hill above Rocketts. See Appendix 9 for his epitaph. His obituary appeared in the *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser* on July 1, 1795. His wife Hannah and his executor John Craddock put a notice in the *Richmond & Manchester Advertiser* requesting that, if any of his customers needed their accounts to be settled, to come forth immediately (Purdie 1795: 3) (see Figure 12).

His widow, Hannah Hague, with John and Elizabeth Craddock, sold a tenement on E street, located on the east side of Shockoe Creek, to George Charter of New York. The purchase price for this May 1812 transaction was quite steep, showing how much the value of such properties had increased: \$2,475.00 (Anon. 1812: 166-7). Not much more information has been found to date concerning Hannah Hague. She disappeared from the tax lists after 1816 although she may have been alive in 1819. In 1819, she was probably the "Hannah Hogan" listed on Rocketts Street in Maddox's directory. Perhaps she had become indigent or was tax-exempt due to her old age - or both.

Due to her continued relationship with the Craddocks, she is the better candidate than John Hague to be related by blood to John Craddock. She signed her deed with an "X" mark (Anon. 1819: 442-3). She may or may not have been born a Craddock herself - perhaps back in Charles City County. This is due to the details of her will, in which she was more specific in defining her relationship to John Craddock and his son John Hague Craddock.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, she gave John Hague Craddock her half of the "brick house and store" and lot, which was then still occupied by Jonathan Brown, and her half in the lumber house adjoining the brick house. This included her right and title to both properties.<sup>33</sup>

Towards the end of her life, her economic status deteriorated. Compared to the wealth of widow Sarah Lester, the Craddocks and others, she was, for all practical purposes, indigent. She did not spend all of her last years on Lot #203 alone - sometimes she shared her abode with other tenants or boarders or she was on one of Susanna Lewis' rental properties. It would seem that

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<sup>32</sup>. In addition, Hannah Hague was involved in a land-owning partnership with Robert Craddock and Braxton Craddock, two other denizens of Rocketts who may be brothers of John Craddock. See Charles Lewis' will for details. L. D. M.

<sup>33</sup>. These properties were probably on Lots 211 and 212, across Poplar Street from Lot 203. L. D. M.

the widow Sarah Lester and the Craddocks did not contribute to her welfare in a satisfactory manner, and that Susanna Lewis was concerned enough to take her in.<sup>34</sup> This supports the strong possibility that John Hague faced serious financial difficulties during the latter part of his life, and that his bequests were not enough to support her comfortably.<sup>35</sup> It is interesting to note that, when the Craddocks divided Lot #203 in 1830, the property then contained "the old mansion", the "lumberhouse" and a small house facing onto Rocketts road then still known as "Mrs. Hague's House".

### *John Lester*

Not much is yet known about this individual. According to his obituary, he was born at Saul, Surrey, England (Purdie 1804: 3). His birth or baptism record has not been located in the International Genealogical Index at the Mormon branch library, but these records are not complete. He first appeared in Richmond in 1788. He was newly married to Sarah Hudson (Pollóck 1984: 99) and was a land development and merchant partner of John Hague. According to his obituary, he was a patriot for the American cause. While his military records have not been definitely ascertained, he may be the John Lester/Lister, sargeant of the 1st Continental Line (Gwathmey 1979: 469.)

Besides the two petitions and deeds cited earlier, John Lester also appeared in other records. During the month of March 1794, Lester obtained from Joseph Simpson a piece of land that was part of Lot #4 in Rocketts that once belonged to John Hague. It was located on the street leading from the bridge at Rocketts to George Nicolson's Rope Walk, being 100 feet in length and taking up 40 feet in depth. It joined the "back side" of Lester's other lot. Streets had been laid off and were free for use (Anon. 1794d: 365-6). John Lester and wife Sarah sold Lot #16 to Benjamin Philips (Anon. 1795f: 187). He also sold Lot #193, which contained the hemp warehouse, to William H. Weymouth (Anon. 1797g: 188).

Joseph Simpson sold property in 1796 at Rocketts Landing to John Craddock and John Lester for L370. It was the same parcel that he had purchased from John Hague & Co. with all the buildings thereon, "as lately erected by me..." (Anon. 1796a: 239). In August 1797, John and Elizabeth Craddock sold a parcel

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<sup>34</sup>. It should be noted that John Craddock apparently built a house for Hannah Hague and, by 1809, she had returned to live there on Lot #203. - L. D. M.

<sup>35</sup>. It is also a possibility that heirs to Hannah Hagues' lands (after John Craddock's death, this meant his children), which she jointly owned with John Craddock, fought for control over the Rocketts lots and their houses, stores, lumberhouses and other rented facilities. If so, they may have been less than scrupulous about assuring their father's "aunt" her dower right legacy. That the property was not settled entirely amicably is illustrated by the suit brought by one of the minor heirs, and settled by partition in 1830. See the discussion concerning John Craddock, below. L. D. M.

of land at Rocketts back to John Lester for L187 and 10 shillings (Anon. 1797a: 390). The reasons behind this transaction are not known.

John Lester was active in civic duties as well. John Craddock, Henry Hovey and he appraised the estates of John Joy and John Prentis during January 1801 (Anon. 1801: #67).

Lester also rented properties like John Hague and John Craddock. While he may not have been wealthy, he made excellent investments which enabled his wife to live comfortably.

John Lester was involved, like Hague, with the world of shipping at Rocketts Landing. He was mentioned in two letters, dated 1795 and 1801 respectively. The following first letter is by James Barnes to the Lt. Governor, and involves Hague's ship:

...have now the satisfaction of advising you that the annexed four cases were yesterday shipped on board the said Schooner Betsey (a well-formed vessel), already sailed, and by whom I addressed a letter covering Bill of lading to Capt. John Lester at Rocket's landing, to whom consigned. (Flournoy 1890a: 293).

while the second letter was written by John Clarke to the Governor:

...Describing the house near Rocketts call'd the Hemp Inspection house, with opinion as to removing it and fitting it up for a Barracks for the Armory Guard, which he approves. Enclosing proposal of John Lester for renting the above named house and lot for seven years, which he disapproves. (Flournoy 1801b: 200).

John Lester made his will which well illustrates the close relationships that existed between he and his merchant friends and partners. Besides the usual family bequests, he gave specific directions concerning his lots and wharves for their benefit (Anon 1805: 181-4). See Appendix 9 for his obituary.

His widow Sarah Lester was left in very comfortable circumstances. Her husband's investments were so successful that she could afford to have fine items, such as furniture with gold or silver leaf. While not as visibly active as Susanna Lewis, she nonetheless conducted business on her own, if on a smaller scale. She was paid \$42.64 for plank which she had furnished to the Committee of Streets for Jefferson Ward (Anon. 1812: 306, No. 3). Sarah Lester also rented properties to tenants, which provided part of her income.

### *John Craddock and John Hague Craddock*

Little is known about John Craddock, who probably was a descendant of the Robert Craddock family of Charles City County (Anon. 1771: 36-7), and who in turn may well be descendants of "William Cradouk" who was living in the county in 1626 (Hotten 1962: 267) <sup>36</sup>

John Craddock apparently served in the Continental Navy during the American Revolution. He was probably the "Ensign Craddock" who received two pairs of stockings in a Philadelphia public store disbursement (Anon. 1779: 38) A John Craddock was also listed among the American prisoners aboard the H.M.S. Flora as a private marine (Clark 1964c: 817).

According to the instructions of John Hague's will, John Craddock received a half moiety to the "lumber house", "brick house", etc. (probably on Lots 211 and 212), as well as John Hague's house and the lots and buildings surrounding his house, including Lots 203 and 20 (Anon. 1795a: 187-8). He also had other land holdings; he received Lot #37 at Rocketts in 1794 from Charles and Susanna Lewis. It was by "the Red Lumberhouse" and "Ross's Lumberhouse" (Anon. 1794e: 349).

John Craddock later formed a partnership with James Brown, their firm not surprisingly known as Brown and Craddock. His partnership Lester and Craddock was still in operation at this time. To improve his business opportunities, he obtained a lease during May 1803 from Susanna Lewis for a 16 year term - the lease included a right-of-way to the wharf. For this 1 and 3/4ths of an acre he was to pay the yearly rent of L48 (Anon. 1803c: 57).

John Craddock kept making purchases. In 1797, he obtained another parcel in fee simple for L375 from John Lester who was acting as a trustee for Joseph Simpson. It was part of lots known as #211 and 212, which had been purchased by John Hague & Co. from Charles and Susanna Lewis in 1792. It began "at the corner of John Roper's fence on the street leading from the main road to Water Street \_\_\_\_ [sic] feet". From this point it ran along Water Street to Rocketts Warehouse 60 feet before continuing in a straight line to Roper's fence (Anon. 1797b: 239-40). He also received other lots which once belonged to George Nicolson in 1803 and 1804 (Anon. 1803a: 456 and Anon. 1806: 494).

John Craddock eventually sold more acreage to other prospective buyers when he was thinking about moving to some other location. He sold some property to John Gringan and others in 1803 and to John Williamson in 1813

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<sup>36</sup>. This was the same William Craddock who served as Sir Thomas Dale's Lieutenant for Bermuda Hundred in 1614, and who took up residence at "Jordan's Journey" following the 1622 Indian attack. - L.D.M.

(Anon. 1803b: 458 and Anon. 1813: 17). The last two parcels he sold went to Thomas Rutherford, a neighboring Scots merchant. The first parcel, sold with its title for \$804.17 in 1814, was on or near E Street. Craddock's "pailing", or fence, was one of the features mentioned in this deed (Anon. 1814: 75). The second parcel, which included the previous parcel, was sold in 1817 for a \$6000 price tag. It once had been George Nicolson's property, and prior to that, Susanna Lewis' (Anon. 1817: 400). In 1805, being about to move, he manumitted his slave named Violet who was described as "very black considerably marked with the smallpox aged about forty two years..." (Anon. 1805: 244).

John Craddock, like John Lester, had invested well. In order to understand the full extent of his wealth and income from rental properties, see his inventory (Anon. 1817d: 274-5) which can be found in Appendix 9. It is believed that, due to his owning stables and an unusual number of vehicles, that he may have supplemented his income by running a livery service. Furthermore, to get an idea of the extent of his business contacts, see the names of individuals and firms in his accounts (Anon. 1823: 300), Appendix 9.

Shortly before his death, he drew up his will. Besides the usual family bequests, he made one unusual move. He *loaned* the "brick store and dwelling house" along with a "lumber house" to his eldest son John Hague Craddock, and stipulated that it would continue to be handed down to his descendants. At the time the "brick store and dwelling house" was occupied by a tenant Jonathan Brown. He gave his son, Randolph Craddock, one acre with a "dwelling house", "lumber house" and other improvements on it, and mentioned that Hannah Hague was living there.<sup>37</sup> He gave other parcels to the rest of his family along with assigned slaves (Anon. 1817e: 163-5). His daughter inherited his homelot on Libby Terrace, and this property remained in the Craddock family for at least two more decades.

Elizabeth DePriest Craddock, his widow, did not stay in Richmond after his death. She was living in Halifax County in 1830 when she gave Baylor Walker and his wife, her daughter, "lot 3" in the subdivision of Lot #203. It once belonged to her son Randolph who had died intestate (Anon. 1830: 282-4).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>. This is Lots 203-4. The legacy to John Hague Craddock included Lots 211 and 212.-L.D.M.

<sup>38</sup>. This ends the section authored by Harbury.



Lot 203: ca. 1769 - 1830

Lot 203 was derived from what was apparently a 1 acre-parcel which originally included Lots 204 and 210 as well<sup>39</sup>. Poplar and Ash Streets were apparently not in existence when these lots were originally laid off. The nature and size of the original lots in this area can be inferred from early property transfer descriptions and from the depiction of old property boundaries on the earliest extant plat, the Craddock partition plat of 1830 (Plat 3). It is not known exactly when the original division of lots in west Rocketts occurred. It may have been under the ownership of Gilly Marrin - and the tenancy and management of Samuel DuVal - or it may have been only after Susanna Lewis gained her legacy in 1769. There is little evidence to argue one way or the other. There is very little archaeological evidence for occupation of Lot 203 prior to ca. 1760, so it is possible, perhaps likely, that the Lewises were responsible for initial developments here. The southern portion of the original parcel - that which later became Lot 210 - was joined with Lots 211 and 212 in a sale by the Lewises to John Hague and Co., and then to John Lester and John Craddock. Either Hague or Joseph Simpson built a "brick store and dwelling", and a "lumberhouse" here in the late 1780s or early 1790s.<sup>40</sup>

The oldest buildings on the site include what may be the foundations of a substantial dwelling house (Structure 17). The builders' trenches to this building contain very few artifacts, and nothing diagnostic. We cannot say when the house was built, but we know it was destroyed prior to ca. 1775, when another large building was constructed on the same spot. Another building, Structure 18, may have stood here at the same time. This colonial building is very poorly known, we excavated only a robbers' trench and part of a stoop for a rear entrance, as well as some destruction levels. This building stood where Poplar Street now runs. It is possible - perhaps even likely - that these buildings were destroyed by the "Great Freshet" of 1771. There are numerous flood deposits on the site, indicating frequent flooding, and the Great Freshet is known to have severely inundated Rocketts. Specifically, there is evidence of flood deposition in and around Structure 18, although wall-robbing does not appear to have occurred until after 1780. A few large postholes and molds near the northern part of the excavation block suggest there were also other, less substantial, ancillary buildings on the lot in the 1760s or 70s.

John Hague and Co. acquired Lot 203 perhaps in 1787 or 88, but there is ample evidence that Hague and Co. had been tenants on the lot for many years prior

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<sup>39</sup>. This parcel was still - quite incorrectly - referred to as containing 1 acre as late as 1817. In John Craddock's will he describes Randolph Craddock's legacy (lots 203 and 204, and a small triangular corner of Lot 210) as containing an acre. By this time, however, the property had long since been subdivided, and easements for Poplar and Ash Streets had been removed.

<sup>40</sup>. This area was not included in the archaeological study.



to this. Before Hague's death in 1795, the owners had become listed as "Hague and Craddock". It was undoubtedly Hague - possibly in partnership with Craddock<sup>41</sup>, but almost certainly with John Lester - who constructed a "dwelling house" and another "lumberhouse" on the lot just before, or during, the Revolution. The remains of the dwelling house - referred to in later plats as "the old mansion" are no longer extant, but archaeology revealed some remnants of the first lumberhouse (Structure 30), a ca. 45' long building constructed on a brick foundation. This building included a blacksmith's shop. Ample evidence of the forge, an anvil base, and much debris from this shop are in evidence, and they appear to lie wholly within the former footprint of this building. What's more, archaeological destruction dates for the blacksmith's forge correspond with the destruction dates associated with the building, at ca. 1780. I suspect, but cannot definitively demonstrate, that the building was destroyed by fire during a British occupation of Richmond in 1781.

John Hague died in 1795, leaving Lot #203 to John Craddock, with Hannah Hague, his widow, holding a moiety as her dower estate. By 1798, Craddock was charged with taxes on properties valued at 65 pounds, but this included numerous other holdings<sup>42</sup>. By 1800, Craddock was assessed on one property valued at 20 pounds, probably Lot 203, and on another property worth 24 pounds, in which William Christian is listed as a tenant. This latter lot is probably 204, which Christian later purchased from Craddock. In 1804, Craddock was taxed individually on only two parcels: one valued at 30 pounds, in which Braxton Craddock appears as the tenant, and another, containing a lumberhouse, this parcel valued at 45 pounds. Craddock's other properties are listed under his various partnerships, primarily with John Lester. It is believed that the parcel with Braxton Craddock as tenant was that part of Lot 203 containing the "old mansion", and that the lumberhouse parcel is the remainder of 203. Hannah Hague had apparently vacated the "old manion" and had been living as a tenant of Susannah Lewis since 1800.

If this reconstruction is correct, there was a very substantial jump in property value for Lot 203 between 1800 and 1804. Even if we do not include the property in which Braxton Craddock was a tenant, the increase for the lumberhouse lot is from 20 to 45 pounds, suggesting some considerable construction during this period. This construction is represented archaeologically by what I refer to below as the "early stage" of construction of Structure 1, another lumberhouse built to much the same dimensions as the one that had been destroyed in the 1780s. Archaeological features that are

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<sup>41</sup>. Craddock first appears in tax lists as Hague's partner in 1787. He may have served earlier as Hague's apprentice and lived on Lot 203 during his late teens and early adult years just before and after the Revolution, although he was clearly absent for some period of service during the war.

<sup>42</sup>. This discussion includes data derived primarily from Richmond City Land Tax books for the years mentioned in text.

related to construction of this "early stage" of Structure 1 have TPQ dates of post-1795 and post-1800.

Land tax records for the city changed in some important ways between 1804 and 1807. To begin with, valuations were now expressed in dollars, and specific lots were noted in the lists. In 1807, John Craddock was taxed for Lot 203 which was valued at \$300, with improvements. This value is quite a bit lower than some of Craddock's other nearby properties. For example, Lot 212, which contained a lumberhouse and a brick store was valued at \$1000. This, and similar, comparisons suggest that the first stage Structure 1 lumberhouse on Lot 203 was probably a relatively inexpensive frame building. It is also interesting to note that in 1807 Craddock was not listed as having tenants on the property, suggesting he was using the lumberhouse himself. He probably also paid the taxes on the dwelling, which may have continued to house a relative (Braxton Craddock?). The tax list for 1809 continues the same pattern of use and value on Lot 203.

The situation changed dramatically by 1810.<sup>43</sup> Lot 203 is represented in the land tax books now as three distinct parcels, which together were valued at \$4,000. The implications seem clear. It is apparent that between 1807 and 1810, Craddock made some very dramatic improvements on the property. Archaeological evidence (Structure 1, second stage) suggests that the original frame building was replaced, on a considerably strengthened foundation, with a brick building at this time. The division of the lot into three parcels also suggests the construction of at least one new building - probably the house that in 1830 would be referred to as "Mrs. Hague's house". In fact, by 1810, Craddock had two new tenants on the lot: Hannah Hague and a Captain Middleton. The third parcel, with the newly rebuilt lumberhouse, was in Craddock's own use. At least one small building, Structure 2, may have been destroyed at this time. The robbers' trench for this small house was identified, but not excavated. However, our Phase 1 test trench encountered the cellar of this structure, which appears to have been filled in the early first quarter of the 19th century.

The 1815 tax assesment evaluated Lot 203 at \$5500: a \$1500 climb in value, or an increase of 37.5%. While some of this added value may be increased market costs in the neighborhood, there is some archaeological evidence that suggests yet more improvements were made to Lot 203. These might include rebuilding an earlier water system and repair, or additional strengthening of

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<sup>43</sup>. On 19 February, the City Council determined that there was "great inequality" in the way properties in the city were valued, and passed an ordinance requiring a new valuation of all properties (City Common Hall Records, No. 3: p. 61). Assessors were to also make listings of all merchants and traders, shop keepers and wholesalers in the city. The new assessments probably account for some increase in value on Lot 203 and other Rocketts properties, but, as will be seen, it is more likely that the increase in value on our site was a result of additional construction.

some foundation walls of Structure 1.<sup>44</sup> It is also likely that Structure 4 was built at this time. This building was a double tenement and store facing Poplar Street. Other new buildings that might be associated with either the 1814 or 1815 construction on the lot include Structures 6 and 7. These were probably small tenements which do not appear on early plats or property descriptions, and which are not apparent, in fact, until the earliest photographic evidence of ca. 1850. Minimal archaeological evidence, from phase 2 testing, suggests construction in the early 19th century, however.

The changes in Lot 203 become more meaningful with reference to the 1815 tax list. In that year, Craddock was taxed with a lumberhouse on Lot 212, but Lot 203 was taxed simply with five tenants, some of whom may have been heads of households. Hannah Hague is one of these, but the others are persons about whom we know nothing: Abram Cooper, Elizabeth Hall, Francis Tyne, and John Roberts. While one or more of these individuals (or household heads) may have occupied the "old mansion", the others appear to be in the lumberhouse and/or the tenement buildings. Archaeological evidence exists for only a single hearth in the lumberhouse. This, combined with the large quantities of domestic debris associated with that building, suggests at least one family was resident there.

By the time of John Craddock's death in 1817, land values at, and around, Lot 203 were the highest they would ever be. By 1830, when Craddock's descendants divided the property that had been left to their deceased brother Randolph, Lots 203 and 204 combined were valued under \$4000. The drop in value can be at least partly blamed on the destruction of the Rocketts tobacco warehouse complex by fire in the late 1820s. Neither tobacco warehousing, nor the maritime mercantile trade would dominate the life of Rocketts during the Antebellum period. The port remained important, but new products, and, perhaps more importantly, new people came to prominence in the culture of Rocketts after 1830.

### Antebellum Rocketts

If during the Colonial and Early Republic Periods, the exporting of tobacco and importing of consumer goods were the principal economic activities at Rocketts, it is fair to say that the Antebellum Period was one characterized by manufacturing and the growth of the retail trade. The export of wheat and flour had become as important - perhaps more important - for Richmond in general very shortly after Independence. Much of this material was shipped from the city docks and Shockoe areas, as the major mills were located along

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<sup>44</sup>. This evidence is problematical. Please see the discussion concerning "brown-lined pearlware", and TPQ dates of 1814, in the archaeological chapter that follows. See the section, below, on "Stratigraphic Integrity and *Terminus post quem* dates". In short, the archaeological events dated ca. 1814 are probably about 5-14 years earlier.

the waterfront at the Falls. This led to Rocketts' status as the principal tobacco port for the city. The burning of Rocketts warehouse came at a time in which the old tobacco-based economy had already deteriorated. No longer were officially-inspected hogsheads of tobacco deposited in an official warehouse the principal basis of currency on Virginia.

This is not to say that tobacco did not remain important at Rocketts; quite the contrary is true. But, especially following ca. 1830, there was an important shift to manufactured tobacco products: cigars, snuff, pipe tobacco, etc. Large tobacco manufactories and warehouses grew along the riverfront, and the Rocketts port quickly stretched as far east as the mouth of Almond Creek, Wheat and flour were also exported from Rocketts, and there was a considerable growth of mills on the lower reaches of Gilly's Creek. In fact, much of the creek, and its tributary, Bloody Run, were channelized as head races to power grist mills, bark mills, and saw mills.<sup>45</sup>

As a port town, Rocketts continued to receive a constant influx of immigrants. They were now increasingly non-British, however. The Antebellum Period was one of tremendous influx of Irish and German peoples. Likewise, with the fear of Gabriel's Rebellion nearly forgotten by a new generation of slave-owners, there were even more freed African Americans and slaves living independently as wage laborers in the port community. From the beginning, Rocketts had taken on a certain level of "vertical" stratification, with more expensive residences perched on Libby Terrace and Chimborazo Hill; middling merchants and sea captains living along lower Libby Terrace, Warehouse Street and Bloody Run Street; and artisans and laborers clustered on the lower terraces along Poplar and Rocketts. The riverfront per se was not a residential area, and Water Street was lined primarily with warehouses and stores. During this period, this intra-community stratification seems to have become considerably more pronounced.

There was a large increase in retail businesses throughout the community. Rocketts/Lester Street was certainly the principal focus of grocers and other local merchants, as well as the hotels and taverns that catered to the sailors, stevadores, and businessmen in the port. Crafts trades apparently grew in importance throughout this period as well, but the largest sector of growth among occupations was probably that of wage labor, including hired slaves. Parts of lower Rocketts, particularly East Rocketts, took on characteristics which would later be called "blue collar". While occupational and economic class divisions were pronounced in the community, there was a notable absence of the very wealthy. A few merchants and tobacconists of considerable

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<sup>45</sup>. Milling was not new to Rocketts. Gilly Gromarrin had operated a mill on Gillie's Creek as early as the turn of the 18th century, but the scale of these newer "merchant mill" operations was much greater.

means owned businesses and tenements throughout the community, but they did not reside there themselves. A few of the earlier maritime merchants had become quite wealthy - Thomas Rutherford comes to mind - but many of the families that had figured so prominently in early Rocketts (e.g., the Hagues, Craddocks, Mayos, Simpsons, Lewises, etc.) lost their apical positions, not by replacement, but by attrition to the growing, and internally differentiating middle classes. There does not appear to be a preeminent stratum in Rocketts society through this period.

Rocketts undoubtedly suffered through some of the major economic downturns that characterized American economy early in this period, but the sense one gets from the documents, is that the neighborhood continued to grow substantially. Very large buildings were constructed, lots filled in and subdivided, more roads were paved, existing streets were broadened, new bridges across the creeks were constructed, and wharf building on the riverfront was continual and impressive.

The shipping business changed considerably with the advent of steamships, and the expansion of exporters into other American markets. No longer was Virginia an isolated colony whose traffic was primarily with international ports; now there was constant steamship traffic between Richmond and Norfolk, Alexandria, Baltimore (especially), Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Charleston, and regular sail commerce with New Orleans. Not only products, but passengers, moved freely among these American port cities. Baltimore became the principal harbor of the Middle Atlantic seaboard, and both passenger and merchandise traffic between Richmond and Baltimore were quite high. Some of Richmond's principal outlets for wheat and flour were ports in South and Central America, as well as the Caribbean. Connections with these ports, along with New Orleans, added an even greater cosmopolitan aura to the culture of the port which, at this time, can be viewed as completely urban in character.

The demographic character of Rocketts underwent pronounced changes during this period. During the Early Republic days, slave emancipation had reached its highest point. After 1806, emancipation became considerably more difficult. This led to an increase in the use of hired slaves, or slaves who worked for wages or commissions, part of which were paid to their owners. Free blacks and hired slaves formed the major basis of the work force in Richmond, especially in menial or difficult jobs. City life for slaves differed substantially from the country life of the plantation slave. Frederick Douglass noted that a city slave was "almost a freeman, compared with a slave on a plantation" (cited in Goldfield 1991: 123).

While most city slaves worked as domestic servants, many were hired out to industrial and commercial firms. Just under 40% of Richmond's population was black in the 1850s, but more than 70% of the unskilled labor jobs were

held by African Americans (Goldfield 1991: 127). By 1860, more than half of the male slaves in Richmond worked in tobacco factories. There were also African Americans working in skilled trades, although there were many fewer opportunities for slaves to learn trades, compared with the availability of unskilled work. Free blacks, rather than slaves, were more likely to practice trades, but even for the freed, such opportunities were hard to find. In Richmond during the Antebellum years, African Americans were particularly prominent in the building trades, and as shoemakers, and barbers. The majority of free black women worked in domestic trades, including cooking, laundry and housekeeping (Goldfield 1991: 133). While it is difficult to demonstrate the ethnic composition of any specific neighborhood in Richmond during this period, it is apparent that Rocketts had a very large population of African Americans, including domestic slaves, freed persons, and hired slaves living relatively free.<sup>46</sup> While African Americans are scarcely visible in the archival records consulted in this project, a photograph by Mathew Brady, showing a large group of black laboring men on the Quartermaster dock in Alexandria, may as easily have been taken at Rocketts wharf.<sup>47</sup>

Throughout this period the numbers of immigrants - particularly Irish and German - increased dramatically, and a great many of them settled in Rocketts. Most of the immigrants were young males who, at least at first, "fraternized" easily with the numerous black laborers they lived among. Soon enough, however, many immigrants began to compete with blacks for the more menial jobs which native-born whites avoided. By 1850, foreign-born workers comprised more than 40% of the labor force, and the competition between immigrants and blacks became "occasionally violent" (Goldfield 1991: 134).

#### Biographic Summaries for the Antebellum Period

In this section I present information on some of the people who owned or lived on Lot 203 during the Antebellum years. They are presented in chronological order and, once the lot was subdivided, by their sub-lot order.

##### *The Craddock Helrs*

Lot 203 was subdivided on three different occasions in the 19th century such that, by 1857, the original single city lot was now seven distinct properties. Figure 27 illustrates the approximate outline of Lot 203 as its legal definitions

<sup>46</sup>. Always with the proviso, of course, that, unlike free persons, slaves could not leave the city or pursue lives beyond bondage, although opportunities for escape were better for hired slaves living in the city.

<sup>47</sup>. An original print of this photograph from the National Archives was not available for reproduction for this report. A half-tone of an albumen print has been published in Campbell and Rice (1991).

represented it in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. During the occupancy of John Craddock (1795 - 1816), following the death of his partner, John Hague, the lot was already divided into three distinctive parcels under a single ownership. That this is true can be noted in land tax records for several years which present tax data on Lot 203 in three distinct entries, even when John Craddock "himself" is listed as tenant on all three.

The boundaries of these three subdivisions of the property become clear only when the Craddock descendants partitioned this property which was Randolph Craddock's legacy. Randolph Craddock died intestate, so the lot was left to his siblings, John Hague Craddock, Matilda (Craddock) Calvin, and Bridget (Craddock) Walker. A plat drawn to accompany the 1830 partition is reproduced here as Plat 3. For convenience in describing these parcels, I have used the subplot designations devised by the Craddocks themselves; Walker's parcel was "lot 1", Calvin's was "lot 2", and Craddock's was "lot 3". For convenience, I refer to these as Lots 203.1, 203.2, and 203.3 (Figure 28).<sup>48</sup>

Thirteen years after his death, the children of John Craddock flouted the intention of his will to retain his hard-won lands and buildings within an ever-growing family estate. Following the death of their brother Randolph, the Craddock siblings divided Lot 203, and his other properties, between themselves (Richmond Hustings Deed Book 31, pp. 267-269). Their mother, Elizabeth Craddock, had left the city and moved to Halifax County and, in 1830, had devised her claims on her husband's property to her children (see, for instance Hustings Deed Book 29: 282-4). John Hague Craddock and his wife, Susan; Joseph and Matilda (Craddock) Calvin; and Bailor (sometimes Bailey, Baylor) and Sarah (Craddock) Walker divided Lot 203 among themselves, following the earlier, unrecorded division of the property into three parcels. Plat 3 shows this division of the lot.

Bailor Walker and his wife Sarah were residing in Campbell County at the time, and had no use for their parcel (203.1), which they sold in 1833 to George Meriam<sup>49</sup> of Richmond, for \$230 (Hustings Deed Book 31: 623). They did retain their parents' former home and lot on Libby Terrace (Lot 181), on which they continued to collect rent money until at least as late as 1852.

Matilda Calvin may have become a widow the same year she acquired her new shares of her father's property. In 1832, she was taxed on personal property, which consisted of one slave over the age of 12 (Richmond Personal Property Tax Lists 1799-1834). In 1842, she was taxed as owner of the two lots

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<sup>48</sup>. Further subdivisions are referred to later by similar format, e.g., a division of 203.3 into four parts uses the form: 203.3.1, 203.3.2...etc. Lot 203.3.1 was further subdivided into Lots 203.3.1.1 and 203.3.1.2.

<sup>49</sup>. This George Meriam (also rendered Merrin, Merriam, etc.) is apparently not descended from the Marrin, or Gromarrin family, as will be seen, below.



adjacent to her father's former homelot, i.e., Lots 182 and 183. Up to this time, these lots had been taxed to "John Craddock estate" (Richmond City Land Tax Books 1839-1848). She continued to own and to collect rent on Lots 182 and 183 for many years. She was remarried by 1851, apparently as the land tax records give her name as "Calvin (now Bayers)". Matilda sold her dividend of Lot 203 (203.2) to Robert C. Wasley in 1833.

John Hague Craddock was the eldest son of John and Elizabeth Craddock, so he inherited his father's major commercial properties, as well as Hannah Hague's lands. In the years shortly following his father's death, John H. Craddock sold many of these properties. He owned Lots 203.3, and, among others, the immediately adjacent Lots 204, 211, and 212. He received 203.3 in the 1830 partition with his sisters, but he apparently died within the year. Tax lists carried his remaining properties for several more years under "John Craddock, estate", or "John H. Craddock, estate". His wife retained a dower third of the property he held singly, but no portion of those lands held jointly with his sisters. In 1842 a chancery suit was brought against the estate by the guardian of Robert B. Craddock, an infant, possibly the grandson of John Craddock's brother, Robert Craddock. The suit was settled by sale of John H. Craddock's estate through a commissioner. Lot 203.3, as well as Lots 211 and 212, were purchased at auction in 1844 by Nathaniel and Lockey M. Freeman. With the exception of a few remaining tenements held by John Craddock's daughters, his estate had been entirely sold out of the family.

### *George Meriam*

George Meriam acquired Lot 203.1, for \$230, from Bailor and Sarah Walker in March of 1833 (Hustings Deed Book 31:623). According to the epitaph on his tombstone at St. John's (Moore 1979: 473), Meriam was born in 1794 in Massachusetts. He may have come to Virginia in the company of an older and a younger brother, for there is a John Meriam, Jr., and an Aaron Eames Meriam, both also of Massachusetts, buried at St. Johns. John was born in 1790, and Aaron ca. 1803. Aaron died in 1823, and John died four years later.

George was married to Mary Turner Meriam, who died at the birth of a daughter in 1839. The infant, Mary Ann, died almost three months later. His children by Mary included at least three other daughters and two sons. George outlived his brothers, his wife and, perhaps, all of his children. Among the evidence about George that can be gained from his tombstone, we learn he was a Mason, from the masonic symbol engraved on the marble stone, and we learn from a note left in the vestry records by the parish priest that he was "a successful ship broker of Richmond".

In 1819 (Maddox 1819), a city directory listed a "Merrin, George" as a baker operating on Ash Street, between Poplar and Bloody Run Streets, in Rocketts. In the 1845-6 directory (Ellyson 1845), Meriam is listed as one of two ship



chandlers at Rocketts. His business was at the corner of Ash and Poplar, opposite his competition, the firm of Haskins and Libby, at the corner of Ash and Rocketts Streets (Figure 15).<sup>50</sup> In 1852, Meriam was described as a ship chandler and commission merchant of Rocketts, but he was residing in Church Hill on the north side of Franklin Street, between 27th and 28th Streets (Montague 1852). A second directory printed the same year described him as a "ship chandler and grocer, Water Street, Rocketts", which suggests his chandlery was by then operating at Lot 179, not Lot 203. By 1855, Meriam had moved his ship chandlery operation to Shockoe Bottom; specifically to 17th Street, between Main and Cary (Butter 1855).

In 1830, George Meriam paid tax on 3 slaves and a horse (Richmond City Personal property Tax Lists, 1799-1834: p. 23). In 1835, he paid personal property taxes on 3 slaves over the age of 12, 2 horses, and one 4-wheeled vehicle valued at \$350 (Richmond City Personal property Tax Lists, 1835-50: p. 8). In 1838 (p. 24), he was assessed for only a single slave and no vehicles. By 1840 (p. 23), Meriam apparently had no slaves, but was taxed for a horse. His fortunes must have improved, however, for in 1844 (p. 19), he had 4 slaves over the age of 12, a silver patent lever watch, and a clock. In 1850 (p. 42), Meriam had one fewer slaves, but he still had his silver watch, his clock, and a piano. In 1852, Meriam was taxed on 6 slaves, a silver watch, a metallic clock and a piano, as well as \$275 worth of other household and personal belongings. The tax list also notes that, in that year, Meriam had \$5,000 invested "in manufacture, trade, etc." In 1855 (p. 70, #22), "Meriam and Co." was taxed for 1 slave over the age of 12, 1 clock worth \$4.00, and household goods worth \$10.00.

Although Meriam did not purchase his portion of Lot 203 until 1833, he had bought a waterfront lot (Lot 179) and wharf adjacent to the Rocketts Tobacco Warehouse the previous year (Richmond City Land Tax Books 1827-1838: 13). In 1834, the lot he had purchased from the Craddock family (203.1) was valued at \$900, \$600 of which was for improvements (p. 13). The evaluation of the Lot 203.1 remained unchanged throughout the period for which he paid the taxes; that is, through 1843.

In 1836, George Meriam used his lands to secure debts to several individuals and concerns. Among these were Sterling I. Crump and Thomas A. Rust of New York City, Adolph Dill and Tindall Griffin of Richmond, and Plume and Co. of Norfolk (Richmond City Deed Book 33:134). Adolph Dill, a prominent Richmond tobacco manufacturer, held the largest note. Apparently George also owed money to John Meriam of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, for the following year this John (probably his father or an uncle), along with Crump and Rust, secured additional trust deeds against Meriam's property (DB 36:

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<sup>50</sup>. Meriam did not actually own property at the corner of Ash and Poplar. He probably leased the store (Structure 4) on Lot 203.3 from the Craddock heirs.

416-417). Crump and Rust apparently foreclosed on Meriam, for in 1842 they sold all of their mortgages to his properties to Adolph Dill, for \$2600.00 (DB 44:26).

Dill took legal possession of Lot 203.1, but, apparently, George Meriam remained there physically, either as a tenant or as a mortgagee. In 1845, Dill sold Lot 203.1 to a ship owner and captain named Samuel Skinner (DB 48:618-619), who, apparently, also held some claim to Lot 197 by debts of Meriam.<sup>51</sup> Six years later, Skinner and his wife, Martha, sold this property to another ship captain, Frederick Kirkmeyer (DB 61: 34-35). Again, it appears that Meriam retained possession of the property. The Kirkmeyers apparently intended to possess Lot 203.1, however, so they paid off remaining debts George Meriam owned to Samuel Skinner, and settled their ownership with a deed requiring Meriam to release the land (DB 65:347-348). In 1852, George Meriam moved his residence out of Rocketts.

The deeds that chart Meriam's financial dealings are not all very helpful for explaining why the property appears to have changed hands, but Meriam retained possession. It is noteworthy that two of the note holders - Skinner and Kirkmeyer - were ships captains. As a Chandler or ship broker, one would think that Meriam may have been *owed* money by captains. Meriam was also a commission merchant, however, and these notes may have secured consignments to the store. A good example of an indenture of security for goods consigned to Meriam's store is one with his sometime partner, Jonathon W. Beers (Hustings DB 37: 34-35). In this case the security consisted of various of Meriam's household goods, with the provision that Meriam was "to remain in the peaceable possession use and enjoyment of the property". Thus, even though Lot 203.1 legally changed owners through this period, the evidence from city directories, and from the final clearance of title to the Kirkmeyers, indicates that Meriam's store continued to operate here until at least 1852.

Lot 203.1 may have contained either a double store/dwelling, or two separate store/dwelling buildings. Throughout Meriam's tenure there, there were often others also present on the property as Meriam's tenants, including merchants Richard Hazlewood and G. W. Clarke. In 1850, the U. S. Census listed Meriam's nearest neighbors as Bushrod Seal (see "Freemans", below), William R. Wasley, and George Hudson Meriam, his 23 year old son, described in the census as a clerk. The younger Meriam was probably

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<sup>51</sup>. Skinner's holdings are confusing. The deed descriptions indicate that Skinner purchased Lot 203.1, but personal property tax books for 1846 list his Rocketts land as part of Lot 197. They further confuse the issue by describing the property as fronting 65' on Rocketts Street, but Lot 197 fronts on Bloody Run Street, not Rocketts. The same property description is repeated as the description of part of Lot 203.

occupying the second store/dwelling on the lot.<sup>52</sup> The senior Meriam's household included his daughters Virginia and Emily, and an 18 year old African American woman named Fanny Tyree.

George Meriam died in 1857, at the age of 62. He had come to Virginia as a young man with his brothers and, like many other immigrants to Richmond, he settled very near the landing where he probably disembarked. From at least as early as 1819, he lived at Rocketts, on Lot 203. His grasp on his property was always tenuous. His debts always threatened his security, but he died remembered as "a successful ship broker of Richmond."

#### *Adolph Dill*

It would be inappropriate to dwell too much here on persons who were peripheral to the history of Lot 203, but Adolph Dill, who owned Lot 203.1 for a few short years as mortgage holder to George Meriam, is an interesting figure worthy of a mention here.<sup>53</sup> Dill was born in Georgetown, D. C. He was deaf from birth. He began his career in Richmond as a baker, and he lived out his entire adult life at 00 Clay Street. His house still stands as a landmark in the Jackson Ward Historic District. Dill and his sons became involved in the tobacco manufacturing industry and the family amassed a very considerable fortune.

#### *Samuel and Martha Skinner*

Adolph and Hannah Dill sold Lot 203.1 - still occupied by George Meriam - to Samuel Skinner in 1845 (DB 48: 618-619). Skinner was a seaman who lived most of his adult life on Church Hill at Grace and 28th Street. In 1850, the U. S. Census (#95-102) described his household as himself, then age 42, occupation seaman; Martha Skinner, his wife, age 40, and their seven children ranging in age between 4 and 18. The Skinners were described as owning real estate valued at \$1000. Ten years later Skinner was described by the Census (#567-786) as a steam boat captain. His household included his wife, Martha, his son, Edward - also a steamer captain, and three other of their children. In addition James Vaughn, age 25, a clerk and presumably a boarder, was living in the house; as were Matta, age 18 (probably a slave); and Catherine Jones, described as a mulatto and a servant (possibly free). The Skinners were described as owning \$8,000 in real estate and \$5,000 in personal estate. The census taker again visited the household in 1870, but Samuel was

<sup>52</sup>. As noted earlier, during some of this period this "second store" may have been Structure 4, on Lot 203, leased by Meriam from the Craddocks. After 1844, this store lot was occupied by Nathaniel Freeman, however.

<sup>53</sup>. In the process of researching the Rocketts #1 Site, we have amassed copious information about many such "peripheral" personalities. Many of these individuals and households will play a much larger role in the interpretive volume to come. For the purposes of this present report, however, details of long-term owners or occupants seem more to the point.

dead by that time. Martha, then age 58, was "keeping house" with her daughters Mary, age 22, and Alice, age 18. Their real estate was valued at \$2,000 and their personalty at \$150. Richmond personal property taxes indicate that, during his later life, Skinner usually had one or two slaves, but never more.

In 1852, he was listed as Captain Samuel Skinner, sailor, in a city directory (Montague 1852), while an 1855 directory described Skinner's occupation as carpenter (Butter 1855). In 1860, he was again described as a captain; specifically, of the tow boat "William Allison". While Skinner lived on Church Hill, the Richmond Land Tax records suggest that he did not own that property. He was taxed only for his Rocketts lots, part of Lot 197 and Lot 203.1. In 1846, Lot 203.1 was valued at \$1000, \$700 for improvements. The Skinners collected \$100 annually in rent from George Meriam.

Samuel Skinner died in 1861. His will and estate accounts are of considerable interest for the insights they provide concerning an estate that was tied up in investments during the Civil War (Hustings Wills 20: 239 and following). Many of his assets were in Confederate bonds which, even then, were considered to have questionable value. His investments were diverse, however, and there was sufficient estate for a modest legacy for his wife and eight children.

#### *Frederick and Maria Kirkmeyer*

In 1850, Frederick Kirkmeyer had been living in New Kent County. The U. S. Census (p. 322, #249) for that year described him as a sailor, age 35. His household included his children: three boys and one girl ranging between age 4 and 15. His wife was not present and, presumably, was deceased. He also had an African American male living with him: George Jackson, age 22, probably a slave. He owned real estate valued at \$300. The following year, Kirkmeyer acquired Lot 203.1 from Samuel Skinner for \$850.

Kirkmeyer then moved to Rocketts, where he was listed in a city directory for 1855, and where he was taxed for personal property and real estate during the early 1850s. His Rocketts property, Lot 203.1, was valued at \$1,000 in 1855, \$600 of which was for building improvements (Richmond City Land Tax Books, 1855-1858: 68). Later that same year, the Richmond and York River Railroad condemned the property and purchased it from the Kirkmeyers for \$2550.

The Kirkmeyers were never well off. They were taxed with one slave in 1854 (Richmond City Personal Property Tax, 1853-1854: 28), but the following year they had no slaves. No other personal property was taxed. Frederick Kirkmeyer had died before 1860, at which time a city directory (Ferlew 1860) lists his daughter, Maria, as residing on Church Hill at 25th and Broad Streets. The U. S. Census for that year lists Maria, age 25, as head of the household,

which included her brothers George, age 22, a seaman; William, age 16, a seaman; Mary, age 4; and Susan Crump, age 55.

### *The Wasleys*

When he died in 1840, Robert C. Wasley owned a small plantation on Cornelius Creek in Henrico County, and Lot 203.2 in Rocketts (Henrico Co. Will Book 10: 342-3). He had eight children, "many crippled", according to his will. He left a life estate in his properties to his widow, Ann B. Wasley, with the proviso that the interest on his investments be used to educate and maintain his children. He bequeathed his Cornelius Creek plantation to his children, Robert, James, Amanda, Ann, and Gracy, "as long as my dum children live". Upon the deaths of his "dum" children, the plantation was to pass to daughters Ann and Gracy, apparently not dumb. To his two sons, William R. Wasley and John A. Wasley, he bequeathed "my land and house in Richmond lying at Rockets..." Robert and Ann Wasley never lived at Rocketts. They were among a group of local Henrico County planters who bought tenements in the town which provided some cash income, as well additional estate for their heirs.

For the period, Wasley's estate must be considered that of a middling planter, based on his personal property assesment in 1836 for 2 white and 5 black levies, as well as 3 horses (Henrico County Personal Property Tax Books 1831-1844, p. 13). At about this time (1837), his land in Rocketts was valued at just under \$500 (Richmond City Land Tax Books 1837-1848: 22). By 1838 (p. 6) he had only 4 tithable slaves, but had acquired a gig valued at \$50.00. By the time of his death in 1840, Wasley had increased the value of his Rocketts property by more than double. In 1839 (p. 22), the land tax gives the value of the Rocketts property as \$1346. \$1,000 of this value was for improvements. The following year, 1840 (p.22), the same property was valued at \$932, \$500 of which is for the improvements. In 1842 (p. 22), the land tax to Wasley's widow on Lot 203.2 valued the property at \$1892, \$1200 of which was for improvements. This fluctuation in value is puzzling, to say the least. It appears that the 1840 assessment was in error.

By 1840 (p. 13), Robert Wasley had died, and his estate was taxed for 1 white and 3 slave levies, 2 horses and the 50-dollar gig. In 1842 (p.15), his widow, Ann B. Wasley still had three slaves over the age of 16 and 2 horses, but her vehicle was now listed as a "Buggy", valued at \$200. Ann Wasley's evaluation for Lot 203.2 remained steady until 1851 (p. 106). She had apparently died recently, as the tax was assessed to her estate, and the value of Lot 203.2 had dropped slightly to \$1490, \$800 of which was for "buildings". She did not appear in the 1850 census and must have died just before it was taken. There was apparently a tenant on the property, as the estate was also taxed for \$96.00 for annual rent. In 1852, Ann Wasley's estate was again taxed the same as for the previous year, except there was no tenant on the property. The

following year, the lot was sold by Ann's son and daughter-in-law, William R. and Rose Anne Wasley, to William Jackson Clarke for \$1000 (Deed Book 62:454-5).

The U. S. Census (p. 241, #83) for 1850 gave William R. Wasley's age as 29. He was born in Virginia, and his property was valued at \$800. His household included his wife Rosa (*sic*) Ann, age 25, born in North Carolina; Mary Ann, age 2, born in Virginia; and John, age 20, born in Virginia. This John is undoubtedly the John A. Wasley, his brother, mentioned in his father's will. Wasley's nearest neighbors were Bushrod Seal (see "Freemans", below), George Hudson Meriam and his father, George Meriam (see "Meriam", above). This suggests that William Wasley and his family must have been living on Lot 203.2 that year. That same year his siblings Amanda Wasley, age 35, and Robert Wasley, age 38, were living in the city poor house. They were described as deaf and dumb and could neither read nor write.

William R. Wasley's estate was not large, and he claimed it during the economically depressed times of the 1830s. His mother paid the taxes on his inherited land until her death, and our only knowledge of William's occupation is his listing as "laborer" in the 1850 census. He does not appear in city directories of the era, so it appears his residence in Rocketts was a short one. The 1850 census had given the value of his property as \$800, and when he sold it two years later to William Jackson Clarke, the selling price was \$1000.

Some of the fluctuation in price during the Wasleys' tenure was due to changes in the property itself. There must have been other factors as well, however, and it seems that Rocketts was a faltering enterprise, perhaps like many land investments in the City during this period (see, for instance, the colorful discussions on investment "bubbles" during the early 19th century in Mordecai (1860)).

#### *William Jackson Clarke*

William Jackson Clarke purchased Lot 203.2 from the Wasleys in 1852, for \$1,000. This man may be related to John Clarke, described in 1819 as living at "Bloody Run at Rockets". At the same time, a Mary Ann Clarke was located at "Lester Street at Rockets", but their relationship is uncertain. His relationship, if any, to the grocer, G. W. Clarke, who was living or operating on Lot 203.1 in 1842, is also unknown. There were other Clarks living in Rocketts throughout the 19th century, and they may be members of a common family. Further research is needed here.

In 1852, Clarke was described as a tobacco manufacturer living in Church Hill, on Grace Street between 24th and 25th (Elliot and Nye 1852), with his business operation at the corner of Marshall and 28th Streets (Montague 1852). In 1855,

he operated a restaurant at Dock Street, between 19th and 20th Streets, and he resided at the corner of 20th and Main (Butter 1855). The following year his address was 7th Street, between Grace and Franklin (Ellyson 1856), but in 1860, he was back in Shockoe Bottom, but had moved to 18th Street, between Broad and Grace (Ferslew 1860); he was still there in 1866 (Divine 1866).

In 1853, Clarke was assessed real estate tax on Lot 203.2 in 1853 (p. 26) and 1855 (p. 27), but the tax books for the latter year note that John Wilder Atkinson (who had purchased the property a few months earlier) would pay the tax. The lot was valued at \$1490, \$800 of which was for buildings, throughout this period.

Clarke seems not to have ever owned more than 1 slave, and often had none. William Jackson Clarke died at the age of 72, in the year 1872, and was buried in Hollywood Cemetery (Moore 1979: 365).

### *John Wilder Atkinson*

Both John W. Atkinson (1830-1910) and his first wife, Elizabeth Bland Mayo descended from landed families with considerable history in Virginia. The Atkinson immigrant was apparently one Roger Atkinson of Cumberland County, England, who arrived in Virginia in 1743 (Atkinson, n.d.). Roger married Ann Pleasants, daughter of John Pleasants of Curles in Henrico County. Their son, Robert Atkinson of Mansfield, in Petersburg, married Mary Tabb Mayo, daughter of William Mayo of "Powhatan Seat" Plantation, part of which became Port Mayo, a wharf in Rocketts, in the 19th century. Robert and Mary's son, Thomas Atkinson, became bishop of North Carolina and married Josepha Gwinn Wilder. John Wilder Atkinson was their son. Elizabeth Bland Mayo was his first wife. Following her death he married first Florence Wright and then Bettie Andrews. According to the Atkinson family genealogist, he was born in 1830 and lived for 80 years. A letter, dated 1904, written by Atkinson's son, indicates that Wilder was then living in Wilmington, N. C. This letter suggests that Atkinson had served at Fort McHenry following the Mexican War, at which time his wife had become friends with Robert E. Lee (V.H.S. Mss1 LS1 g74 (Lee)).

Our first knowledge of Atkinson in Richmond is his listing in a city directory for 1845-46. His residence was in the heart of Richmond on Main Street, and his tobacco manufacturing company was at "tobacco row" on Cary Street (Ellyson 1845: 19). He was also listed in a directory for 1852, again as a tobacco manufacturer. This time he was living in Port Mayo, in East Rocketts, probably on his wife's family estate. His factory remained on "tobacco row" along Cary Street, between 22nd and 23rd (Elliot and Nye 1852: 45). That same year, there was a Sarah Atkinson (perhaps a sister?) operating a grocery in Rocketts. In 1856 he was still living in Port Mayo, but his business was located at 9th and Canal Streets (Ellyson 1856: 54). By 1860, Atkinson had moved both



his residence and his business. His tobacco firm was located at a new address, still in the tobacco district, but now at Main Street, between 26th and 27th. His residence was in a then fashionable part of the city (Grace Street, between 4th and 5th).

For unknown reasons, Atkinson does not appear in personal property tax records until 1858. At that time, he paid taxes on only 2 slaves. He was not even levied for himself, which would suggest he was not yet 21 years of age, which is contrary to genealogical evidence (Richmond City Personal Property Tax 1858: 15). He also paid no levy for himself in 1860, but he was taxed on 30 slaves, as well as \$5000 in investments and \$5000 in property value (1861: 8). He appears in no other personal property tax lists in the city.

Atkinson is also absent from land tax records prior to 1858, and after 1862. In 1858, the Lot 203.2 was evaluated at only \$432, none of which was for improvements. The tax list contains the notation "house down" (Richmond City Land Tax, 1858: 3). In 1862, the value of Lot 203.2 remained the same, but Atkinson was also charged with a piece of property which included another part of Lot 203. This portion of 203 is 203.3.1.2, which he had acquired in a suit involving the Freemans. By this date, Atkinson had given the property back to the Freemans, but he apparently paid the tax.<sup>54</sup>

John Wilder Atkinson purchased Lot 203.2 from William Jackson Clarke and his wife, Mary Ann, in March of 1854, for \$1500 (DB 71A: 476). Shortly thereafter, he bought Lot 204, and a portion of Lot 203.3 in an auction resulting from a suit involving the Freeman heirs (DB 71A:477). Apparently he had some ambitious business expansion plans or serious economic problems, for he also mortgaged his properties and possessions, including not only the west Rocketts lots, but his home and household goods at Port Mayo, his factory on tobacco row, and all his tobacco manufacturing machinery (DB 72A: 221). The properties secured a loan for \$14,000 from the firm of Buckley and Moore. The trust deed states that Lot 203.2 had a "brick tenement" on it at the time. This building (Structure 1) was "down" - that is, destroyed by fire - by the time of the 1858 real estate tax assessment.

In 1857, Atkinson and his wife Elizabeth sold Lot 203.3.1 to Robert Freeman, for \$500. The deed describes the building on the lot at that time as a "double tenement" (DB 79:217). This building is that which we have archaeologically identified as Structure 4. That same year he sold Lot 203.3.2 to Susanna (Freeman) Roland for \$160.00 (DB 71B: 489), which was less than its valuation by the city. Finally, in 1863, Atkinson sold Lot 203.2 to Richard O. Haskins in trust for Frances and John F. Schonberger for \$1400.

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<sup>54</sup>. This is confusing. It may be that this tax was for an alley easement which encroached on 203, rather than for 203.3.1. See the discussion under "Freemans", below.



According to Beers, John Wilder Atkinson was one of a number of tobacco manufacturers whose factories and warehouses were taken over for use by the Confederate War Department during the Civil War. The foregoing information suggests that his business and personal fortunes were never stable, and the war may have dealt him a financial blow from which he could not easily recover. At any rate, we hear no more of Mr. Atkinson in Richmond after about 1863. As noted above, he eventually moved to Wilmington, where he had relatives, and there is where he died in 1910.

### *Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman*

In October of 1844, John B. Young, a court-appointed commissioner of Henrico County, sold lots in Rocketts, legacies of John Hague Craddock and Randolph Craddock, to Nathaniel Freeman. The sale was occasioned by a suit against John Craddock's living heirs by the guardian of Robert Craddock, an infant son of one of John's children or, more likely, of his nephew Robert. (DB 47: 161-163). The nature of the case seems to be that of a Craddock descendant claiming a birthright based on John Craddock's desire, stated in his will, that his properties remain within his family. While most of Lot 203 had been sold out of the family many years earlier, Lot 203.3 and Lot 212, containing the "brick store and dwelling", had remained in the family until after John Hague Craddock's death. Both of these properties were auctioned, and both were purchased by Freeman for a total of \$875, \$250 of which was for Lot 203.3.

Nathaniel Freeman was apparently the son of Isham Freeman, a middling planter of Henrico County. He had married Lockey M. Angel, the daughter of William Angel, in December of 1806 (Pollock 1984). The 1850 census described him as a farmer, age 65, with real estate valued at \$2790. His household then included a "Susan L. M.", age 64, and his widowed daughter, Susannah Roland, age 40. "Susan L. M." was certainly Lockey M. Freeman. Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman's "farm" consisted of three acres in Rocketts ("near the powder magazine"), just outside the city line. The farmhouse was a large I-house that stood on Lot 206 along Elm Street at its corner with Poplar Street. The house is visible in Civil War era photographs, just below the Woodward house. The Freeman "farm" took in part of what became the Fulton gas works; that is, the low ground between west Rocketts' terraces and Gilly's Creek. The property actually straddled the often-disputed city-county line. While such things are difficult to discern from early photographs, the house appears to be of a Federal style, and may have been built by John Hague Craddock as his home, sometime before 1830.

The Freemans had six children: Jane, who married Edward Nunnally; Robert Freeman; Julia, wife (and, later, widow) of Bushrod Seal; Isham H. Freeman; Ann Marie, wife of Gustavus Seal; and Mary B. (Freeman) Tensor, wife of

Charles Tensor.<sup>55</sup> In the 1850 census (p. 241), Bushrod Seal, age 30, and his wife, Julia (Freeman) Seal, age 33, were apparently living on Lot 203 adjacent to William R. Wasley's family. These Seals appear not to have had any children, borders, or servants in their household. It is worth noting that two Freeman women apparently married two Seal brothers.

In 1836, Nathaniel Freeman paid personal property tax in Henrico County for himself, a horse, and a carryall, valued at \$100 (Henrico County Personal Property Tax Books, 1831-1844: 6). His taxable personal property was unchanged in 1838 (p. 6); but by 1840 he had added a slave between 12 and 16 years of age, and a "Barouche" to his property, in addition to a horse and the carryall. His taxes for 1842 indicate that the carryall was gone, but a gold watch had been added. He still owned a slave younger than 16 years of age. In 1845 (Henrico County Personal Property Tax Books, 1845-1850: 7), his personal property still included 2 slaves - one under and one over 16 - and a horse; a "four-wheel pleasure carriage and harness worth \$1,130" (?); and a metallic clock. Five years later (1850, p. 7), his taxable property bore the same description, except that both slaves were now over 16.

In 1845, Nathaniel Freeman was taxed for his Rocketts lots (203.3 and 212). Lot 203.3 had improvements valued at \$1000, and the lot was valued at \$240.<sup>56</sup> The following year (1846: 29) the assessment was lowered somewhat. Freeman paid tax on land and improvements valued at \$992; \$800 for buildings, on Lot 203.3. He was listed as a resident of Henrico County, and he was assessed for \$100 in yearly rent on the property. It is worth noting that Lot 212 was apparently subdivided this year, as there are two different entries for the lot, both charged to Freeman. Evaluations were unchanged in 1850 (p. 33).

It was about this time that Nathaniel and Locky Freeman gave some of their Rocketts properties to their adult sons Robert and Isham. In 1850, they subdivided Lot 203.3, giving 203.3.2 to their son Isham H. Freeman (DB 58:396), and Lot 203.3.4 to their son Robert Freeman (DB 58: 398). However, they retained a small subdivident (Lot 203.3.1.2) behind the double tenement. It is described in the 1858 tax list as "ground and improvements in rear, no street, \$300..." (p. 16). This is apparently where their widowed daughter, Susanna Roland, was living at the time.

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<sup>55</sup>. Very little could be discovered concerning Charles Tensor. In 1860 a Charles Tensor was living in Rocketts. He was described as a boilermaker, age 24. His household included a woman named Susan, age 20, presumably his second wife; a 1-year-old son, Charles; and a 46-year-old female named Milar (?) M. Thomas.

<sup>56</sup>. The tax entry is incorrect here. It lists both of Freeman's lots as being within Lot 212. This is corrected in subsequent tax lists to show the one in Lot 212, and the other as part of Lot 203. However, Freeman was taxed for Rocketts Street frontage, at \$10.00 per foot, rather than Poplar Street frontage, at \$5.00 per foot. This mistake continued for several years as Lot 203.3 was mistakenly described as fronting 24' on Rocketts Street, which it did not.

In 1853, Nathaniel Freeman had deeded Lot 212, with its "brick house and store" - the same buildings constructed by John Hague and John Craddock half a century earlier - to Anthony Sedgewick, in trust for his wife Lockey (DB 47: 192). This trust deed freed Lockey of any responsibilities for Nathaniel's debts or his control, and gave her rights over the property "as if she were a femme sole". What's more, following Nathaniel's death in 1857, the property was Lockey's to use, or dispose of, as she chose. This was not simply a maintenance or life estate legacy, but a grant of property: something that was rather unusual at this time. The trustee, Sedgewick, was charged with the responsibility of transferring the property to whomever Lockey should decide it be transferred to, and he was forbidden to dispose of the property without her written consent. In the case that she died without making a will, or otherwise expressing her intentions about the property, he was to devise the property to her heirs. By 1862, Lockey Freeman had died without a will; her daughters Susanna Roland and Jane Nunnally had died intestate and childless. Mary Tensor had died leaving two children. Anthony Sedgewick divided her property between Isham Freeman, Robert Freeman, and Julia Seal (widowed) - each receiving 1/4 share - and Ann Marie Seal and Charles Tensor each received 1/8th share (DB 78A: 338-340).

At Nathaniel Freeman's death, his effects were sold at auction by the firm of Larus and Shine. The proceeds of the sale were recorded in the Henrico County Will Book (#15: 405), as follows: <sup>57</sup>

1 Bedstead	2.00
1 Lot Market &c.	.12
1 Chair	.30
1 Cooking Stove	.75
1 Lot Pot Racks	.63
1 Cutbord	3.50
1 Lot China	.25
1 Bureau	5.50
1 Looking Glass	3.12
1 side Board	6.50
1 Glass	1.25
1 Table	2.50
1 Bed & contents	7.00
6 Chairs 22 1/2	1.35
1 Clock	2.00
1 Cow & calf	36.00
1 Buggy	100.00
1 Grind Stone &c.	.25
1 Plough &c.	.25
1 negro Woman "Ginny"	<u>245.00</u>
	418.27

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<sup>57</sup>. Transcribed by Harbury.

### *The Richmond and York River Railroad*<sup>58</sup>

While the Chesapeake and Ohio was born of the aspirations for a transcontinental empire, to be discussed in greater detail later, the York River Railroad has a more humble history. Chartered by an act of the Assembly in 1851, the railway was built to connect Richmond with a deep water port at West Point (Medlin 1968 :3). The full 38 miles of line was opened in 1860, on the eve of the Civil War. During the war, both Armies made use of the railway. The eastern end fell into Union hands during McClellan's Peninsular campaign of 1862. Although the retreating Confederate forces destroyed much of the track, the line was quickly put back into service by the Union Army. The railroad proved to be critical to supplying McClellan's forces during the campaign as repeated heavy spring rains often made road travel in the area nearly impossible (Johnson 1961: 57).

During the Seven Days Battle, the railroad saw use of the first armored railway gun. This weapon, conceived by General Robert E. Lee, consisted of a 32 pound rifled cannon mounted on a flat car, protected by iron plates. It was used with effective results during the battle of Savage Station. In the ensuing years, portions of the railway changed hands according to which armies controlled the area. By late 1864, only the first two and one half miles of line out of Richmond were in use, supplying the city's defenses (Johnson 1961:130). Following the conflict, the Richmond and York River Railway remained totally unserviceable due to the wartime damage caused by overuse and deferred maintenance (Medlin 1968: 2). Some of the rails had also been removed in order to maintain other strategically more important Confederate lines (Ibid.).

The line was rebuilt in 1867 with Northern capital with the intention of providing a transportation outlet for Southern agricultural products (Ibid.). By 1869 the line was reopened. Daily steamship sailings from West Point to Baltimore were inaugurated the same year (*Richmond Times-Dispatch* January 6, 1869, cited in Medlin 1968: 62). Despite the passenger business generated by steamship connections, the company failed to prosper. The line was one of the few railroads in the state on which passenger revenue exceeded that of freight. (Medlin 1968: 25). Without any outside rail connection, the Richmond and York River Railway essentially formed a bridge between two inland ports. This was almost certainly a major factor in the shortfall of freight revenue.

The financial difficulties continued until 1873 when the railway was sold. Renamed the Richmond, York River and Chesapeake Railroad, the company found itself partially under control of the Richmond and Danville Railroad, which sought to use the line to access to a deep water port. (Ibid.: 70) In 1879, a

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<sup>58</sup>. This section was authored by Christopher P. Egghart.

connection was made with the Richmond and Danville on the south side of the river. The same year the construction of a freight shed and a coach house was reported (Ibid.: 80). By 1880, the line was fully controlled by the Richmond and Danville as the Richmond and West Point Terminal Railway and Warehouse Company. At this time the railroad operations consolidated with those of the Richmond and Danville on the Southside (Ibid).

In 1896 the Richmond and Danville was absorbed into the Southern Railway System (De Butts 1955:11). Plans for a major seaport terminal at West Point however, were never realized. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Chesapeake and Ohio with its terminal at Newport News and the Norfolk and Western and its namesake port had come to monopolize area commerce. The construction of a deep water terminal for the Southern Railway System at Pinners Point, now part of Portsmouth, further sapped traffic (Prince 1970:48). The railway to West Point continued to operate as a rather obscure branch line serving local needs. The West Point branch operates under the Norfolk Southern Corporation. The line exists today almost exclusively to serve the huge Westvaco paper plant at West Point. Outbound tonnage from Richmond consists of pulpwood, chemicals and fuel oil. Paper products comprise most westbound loads.

#### Facilities of the Richmond and York River Railroad

In 1853 the Richmond and York River purchased three lots from the City of Richmond for the construction of its western terminal. These consisted of the "Harry, Pendelton and Wythe lots (sic) between Cary and Water Streets, at the ship lock, and running from the 22nd to 26th Streets, fronting on Water Street inclusive of Cross Street, 924 feet and back to Cary for an average depth of 100 feet." (Board of Public Works 1853-54: 657, in Medlin 1968: 27). This area is located approximately one quarter mile west of the project area. By the opening of the line in 1860 the Railroad had constructed a "passenger shed 200 by 45 feet with three tracks next to the dock. "A blacksmiths shop and scales for weighing cars" are also documented (Board of Public Works 1860: pp 456-57, in Medlin 1968: 27). In addition, a water tower and facilities for fueling and servicing the locomotives would have been necessary for the operation of the railroad.

Civil War era maps of Richmond show the Richmond and York River tracks in the same location as today. These maps also show two buildings and a fenced area on a lot bounded to the west and south by Rocketts Road and to the north by the railroad tracks. Although the 1876 and 1889 atlases show this lot as railroad property, no structures are indicated. Subsequent maps also show the lot as empty. It is possible that the structures shown on the Civil War maps were built to serve as freight houses or warehouses for the transshipment of goods from Rocketts landing to the railroad. The wartime date for the maps and the fact that the lot is situated adjacent to the

Confederate Naval Yard supports the case for a military use or affiliation of the structures. The lot is a logical location for a freight house as it is the closest point that the railroad comes to a wharf where ships could be unloaded without having to clear the canal locks. The absence of buildings on post war maps suggests that the structures may have been destroyed during the Confederate evacuation of Richmond.

In 1879 the Richmond and York River and the Richmond and Danville Railroads were linked via a trestle across the James. The same year a new coach house and freight shed were constructed in Richmond. The 1889 Atlas of Richmond map shows spur tracks and a freight shed at the Clyde Line steamship docks at Rocketts. During the 1880's the railway was affiliated with the Chesapeake and Richmond Steamship Company, with Thomas Clyde of Philadelphia serving as president of both companies. Extensive trackage and storage facilities designated Richmond and West Point Terminal Railway and Warehouse Company are shown across from Rocketts on the Manchester side of the river.

The York River line acquired its right-of-way through Lot 203 in 1855. Condemnation proceedings were brought against Captain Frederick Kirkmeyer (Lot 203.1) and Robert Freeman (Lot 203.3.4). Kirkmeyer had just purchased the property and had moved to Richmond and established himself on the lot earlier the same year. The railroad paid Kirkmeyer 2 - 1/2 times the assessed value of the lot.<sup>59</sup>

### Rocketts in the Civil War and Postbellum Eras

War changes everything. No matter where it is fought, the participants in war are affected in ways both subtle and obvious, but always profound. When war is fought on home soil, and when "home" is the enemy's prime objective, then war becomes anything but subtle. And so it was at Rocketts. As the principal port of Richmond, Rocketts became a principal port of the Confederacy. Richmond was a nerve center of transportation and communications in the 1860s; five major rail lines flowed through this hub of industry and commerce. Much of the Union effort throughout the war - particularly after 1862 - was aimed at cutting the rest of the south off from Richmond's rail lines. It was only when this was finally accomplished, with the fall of Petersburg, that the war was finally ended.

But long before the war against Richmond as a rail hub and symbol of the rebellion came the Union war against Richmond as a port. The Peninsula Campaign effectively secured the Chesapeake Bay as a Union sea. With Norfolk and Yorktown under Union control, Rocketts could no longer supply

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<sup>59</sup>. This ends the section authored by Egghart.

Richmond - and indeed much of the upper South - with supplies from European, Caribbean, and Latin American allies. Blockade runners played an important role in the supply and morale of the Confederacy, but their landings were not generally the major ports. Rocketts did not fade, however. Instead, it became a major locus of activity for the Confederate Quartermaster and the Confederate Navy. Across the channel from Rocketts proper, the Confederacy established a yard for the construction and repair of warships, and the conversion of civilian vessels. The Haskins and Libby warehouse, one of the largest buildings in Rocketts at the time, was impressed for use as the Quartermaster headquarters store. Richard Haskins, operating out of his "new" store next door became one of the chief chandlers for the Confederate Navy.

New docks, wharves and other facilities were constructed by the Navy at Rocketts, and the schooner Patrick Henry was converted to a training ship. Rocketts became the home of the James River squadron, a river-borne fleet which primarily shuttled between Rocketts and Drewry's Bluff, carrying materiel and safeguarding the near approaches to the capital. Just prior to the end of the war, the Confederate Naval Academy and its training ship, the Patrick Henry, were located at Rocketts. On Chimborazo Hill, above Rocketts, the Confederacy constructed what was probably the largest hospital anywhere in the world at the time. It consisted of hundreds of tents and dozens of barracks-like buildings.

Needless to say, much of the industry and commerce of Rocketts came to be focused on the supply of the armed forces. The Richmond and York River Railroad was effectively cut off from its outlets to the Bay, but it still served as a local supply road. While this activity brought about an economic upturn for many of the local merchants and artisans, there were also major setbacks. Many of the larger buildings were impressed for government and military purposes. In 1861, Union war prisoners captured at Bull Run were housed in a number of tobacco factories on Main Street and in Rocketts. Officers were housed in John Wilder Atkinson's factory, then located on Main Street between 26th and 27th Streets. Rocketts became a major point for the exchange and housing of prisoners, and many buildings were taken for that purpose.

The end of the war marked major changes for Rocketts. The factories which had begun to proliferate before the war now had to rely on wage labor, rather than slave labor. There was even more intense competition for unskilled jobs than there had been previously, and this competition sometimes took on an ugly, racist complexion. Between 1865 and 1870, there were race riots in Richmond, and several of these were in Rocketts. In one case, men and boys from Rocketts climbed Chimborazo Hill and attacked homeless blacks who were being sheltered in the remnants of the Chimborazo Hospital. But



industry did not falter, rather it soon began to prosper in Rocketts. Small manufacturing operations became commonplace along the waterfront.

By the end of the 19th century, Rocketts had been almost completely transformed into a working-class neighborhood oriented towards these small factories, as well as to the shipping industry. The switch from primarily commercial, to industrial businesses is symbolized by the transformation of Richard Haskins ship chandlery into the Meade and Baker factory, where Carbolic Mouthwash and Saponine Dentifrice were manufactured. The neighborhood remained ethnically mixed, but African Americans were becoming the dominant ethnic group, as these people became the working underclass of the city. First-generation immigrants, and their children owned and operated many of the retail groceries and other small business of the community. The middle class moved out to the newly growing and fashionable suburbs, as well as to the older, more established, city residential areas on Church Hill, and along Grace and Franklin Streets. Many of the recent immigrants and older families began, by the end of the century, to move elsewhere.

The coming of the C&O Railroad was the death knell for west Rocketts. Right-of-way condemnations moved many of the old families out of their homes. Speculators from Richmond, New York, and elsewhere, bought up land in front of the railroad, often making a killing from the poor lots that families had maintained for generations. Many of the new manufacturing enterprises were literally nipped in the bud. Besides the C&O, the city's trolley company - predecessor to Virginia Power - took over several blocks for their power plant and other operations. The gas works, which had been established at Rocketts before the war, expanded quickly, engulfing much of the neighborhood east of Maple Street. While west Rocketts faltered, Rocketts east of Gilly's Creek continued to expand. Beyond the city limits, new developments took place in the community of Fulton. Fulton soon encompassed the waterfront areas of east Rocketts, and Lester Street became the main riverfront of this newly named, slightly relocated, port town.

#### Biographic Summaries for the Civil War and Postbellum Periods

*John F. Schonberger, Frances Schonberger and Caroline M. Schonberger*

John F. Schonberger and his second wife, Frances, purchased Lot 203.2 from John Wilder Atkinson in 1863, for \$1400. The sale was made through a trustee, Richard O. Haskins, the ship chandler and merchant who operated just a few hundred feet south of Lot 203 on Rocketts Street (DB 86A: 337). The sale provided for the descent of the property. First, it was to be used for the maintenance and use of Frances and John Schonberger, and any children they



may have together in the future. If there would be no children, the property was to descend to Martha Ann Schonberger, a daughter of John by a former marriage. If John would survive Frances, which proved to be the case, he was to acquire the title.

Richard Haskins apparently served as a sort of parole officer for John Schonberger, who, in 1850, was listed as an inmate of the state penitentiary under the care of its superintendent, Charles S. Morgan. Schonberger had apparently been committed to the penitentiary in 1849 (1850 U. S. Census: 339). The census describes him as a 30 year old shoemaker serving a sentence for murder.<sup>60</sup> At present we know nothing of his crime, although additional research in court and prison records may prove useful.

John Schonberger married Frances Wray shortly after his release from prison. John was the son of Philip and R. Schonberger. He had been born in Winchester, and he was described as being 45 years old on the day of his marriage, September 26, 1861 (Bureau of Vital Statistics, Marriages, Richmond City, 1853-1878, 1861, p. 7). His wife was then 24, and the daughter of Andrew and Ellen Wray. John was described as a harness-maker by trade. They were married in Richmond by Philip Courtney.

In 1874, John Schonberger took advantage of the Virginia Homestead Act, and declared his homestead, consisting of his real property (Lot 203.2), 9 cows, some household furnishings, a clock, a refrigerator, 50 bales of hay and a feed bin (DB 104B). John's estimate of the value of this property was \$715.50. Three years later, George M. Wyatt was appointed trustee to replace Richard Haskins, who had died (DB111B:207-8). Frances Schonberger had died, and George Wyatt granted the property to John. That same year, John revised his homestead claim (DB111C:512-513). He still claimed Lot 203.2 and 9 cows, but his personal property had increased substantially. His house now sported "7 pictures", "4 spittoons", "1 Lot Books" and other amenities. He now had 3 feed bins, 1 feed cutter, a lot of "Fowl and feed", "miscellaneous articles of tin, stone, and wooden ware", 25 bales of hay, 200 bushels of mill feed, a wheelbarrow, a gun or pistol, etc. His real and personal property which met the requirements for homestead exemption were valued at \$1467.50, more than twice as much as the value of 1874.

Some aspects of John Schonberger's life remain confusing. There were a number of Schonbergers living in Rocketts, or nearby, at this time. Sometimes the surname is spelled "Shonberger" or "Schoenberger". To further confuse issues, there was apparently more than one John among these householders. Likewise, more than one were apparently employed at some times as "harnessmakers" and/or "teamsters". In addition, the John

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<sup>60</sup>. An interesting note: a James Craddock, age 50, and also a shoemaker, was serving time concurrently with Schonberger. He was also a convicted murderer.

Schonberger who lived on Lot 203 operated a dairy there. One last confusion involves ethnicity, as some are sometimes listed as "whites" and sometimes as "black" or "colored". Names, ethnicities (or, in actuality, legal racial classifications), and occupations changed, or were shared, among more than one Schonberger. Possible relatives of John Schonberger include a George P. Schonberger, a "colored" teamster (1880 U.S. Census: 87, # 743) and another teamster, Lewis Schonberger, was described by census takers as "white" (p. 36). Lewis operated his stables in Rocketts at Orleans Street.

In 1870, the U. S. Census (p. 199) listed John F. "Shanberger", age 49, living on the Rocketts lot with his wife, Frances, age 27. John was described as a laborer, and Frances was keeping house. Both were described as "white", and their real estate was valued at \$900. Boyd's 1870 city directory lists a "John J. Schonberger", as a harness maker living at Lester near Bloody Run, a description which could easily apply to Lot 203.2 (Boyd 1870: 202). This entry is listed in the "colored directory". The same directory lists a "John F. Schoenberger", also a harness maker, at Main Street near 25th Street. The previous year, Boyd had also listed the Schonberger at Lester Street as "John J."; however, the location is more precisely described as "Lester Street, between Bloody Run and Poplar". This John, a harness-maker, is clearly "our" John F. Schonberger.

The 1880 census (Soundex for Richmond, Vol. 17) lists John F. Schonberger on Poplar Street in Rocketts. He is described as a black male, age 59. His second wife had died, and he had remarried. His new wife was Caroline M. Schonberger, age 26. In the household were two of John's daughters, Virginia, age 7 (probably by Frances), and Rosa B., age 9 months. All were born in Virginia. The actual census entry (1880 U. S. Census, reel 199, p. 11, # 106-116) describes all as having parents who were born in Virginia. All members of the household are described as "black". The Schonbergers' nearest neighbors were also described as "black". John's occupation is listed as "dairyman".

John F. Schonberger, dairyman, was living at 3000 Rocketts Street (that is, lot 203.2), in directories for 1874/75, 1877, 1879/80 and 1881 (Sheriff and Chataigne 1875: 187; Sheriff 1877: 181; Chataigne 1880: 222; 1881: 276). His neighbors included Julius Schwartz, a butcher living at 3408 Lester (Rocketts) St. and Cornelius McNamara, who operated his variety store at 2819 Rocketts St. To further confuse the issue, John F. Schonberger, dairyman, appears in an 1885 directory as residing or operating in Rocketts at 815 Louisiana Street. He is described as "white". In 1891, John was still living at 3000 Rocketts St., but his occupation was described as "laborer" (Chataigne 1891: 585).

In September of 1891, John F. Schonberger and his wife, Caroline M. Schonberger, sold Lot 203.2 to George W. Couch, a real estate speculator from New York City (DB 144C:77-78). The sale price was \$600, less than half what Schonberger had paid John Atkinson for the lot. Two years later, Couch sold

the lot for right-of-way to the C&O Railroad (through Judge Edmund Waddill, Jr.) for \$2200. Throughout his 28-year long ownership of the property, Lot 203.2 steadily declined in value. This decline does not appear related to any decline in the improvements on the property, but rather to a general decline in real estate values in Rocketts. John Schonberger does not appear in city records after 1891. He was 75 years old when he sold his land.

Like Robert Freeman, discussed below, John Schonberger's "ethnicity" is not clear. He and his possible relatives were sometimes explicitly described as "white", sometimes as "black", sometimes as "colored". His occupations included being a shoemaker, a harness-maker, and a teamster, all of which were frequently chosen occupations of African Americans, and, indeed, these were trades largely dominated by free blacks prior to emancipation. His later occupations of dairyman and laborer were not limited to, or preferred by, persons of any specific "race". Schonberger was probably a free mulatto, born of free mulatto parents. It is possible that his third wife, Caroline, was physically dark in complexion, and, perhaps, she viewed herself as a "Negro".

We can trace John's history with some detail. He was born in Winchester in the northern Shenandoah Valley. He married a woman, about whom we know nothing, and fathered a daughter by her. As a young man he apparently committed murder and served his sentence in the state penitentiary in Richmond. Upon his parole, he settled in Rocketts, where other Schonbergers, possibly related, lived, and he remarried, this time to Frances Wray. He managed to purchase the lot at Rocketts, possibly with a mortgage loan from Richard Haskins, and he worked as a harness-maker. Within a decade or so, he had established a small dairy, housing his cows and chickens in the fenced lot where the old "lumber house" had once stood. He lived in a small house that faced north onto the York River cut, and south towards Poplar Street. The house contained a single storey on its northern facade, but rose two storeys over his feed lot in the rear.

His dairy business was successful. He doubled the value of his personal estate between 1874 and 1877. After Frances died, he married another young woman, Caroline, and had two children by her. John may have opened a commercial store on Louisiana Street, in the commercial heart of east Rocketts, as an outlet for his dairy products. While his property value declined over the years, John seems to have maintained a lower middle class life of modest comfort. Like many of his neighbors, John Schonberger lost his real estate to one of many slick lawyers-speculators who bought up lands in the proposed right-of-way of the C&O. The speculator, George Couch, made a very handsome profit. Schonberger's house was dismantled to make way for the rail viaduct to Fulton Yard.

### *Robert Freeman*

In 1855, the Richmond and York River condemned Robert Freeman's legacy (Lot 203.3.4), leading him to file a suit the following year against his siblings for a share of the Freeman estate (Chancery Suit: Freeman vs. Freeman, John Marshall Courts Building, Box 64). John Howard and John B. Young were appointed commissioners by the court to settle the matter (Young had also served as court commissioner to settle the earlier Craddock dispute over Lot 203). The proceedings are complex, and it is not necessary to repeat them all here. Needless to say, the railroad got its right-of-way. John Wilder Atkinson purchased Lot 203.3.1, but immediately sold it back to the Freeman family. Robert got the double tenement and its lot (203.3.1.1), as well as a portion of Lot 212. His widowed sister got Lot 203.3.1.2, where she was then living.

The U.S. Census of 1850 describes Robert Freeman's household at Rocketts. Robert, age 38, was a shoemaker with \$200 worth of real estate (p. 240). His wife, Mary, age 37, could neither read nor write. They had three children between the ages of 2 and 8. The Freeman's nearest neighbors were the members of the Isham Freeman household. In 1852, Robert Freeman was listed in a city directory as "a boot and shoe maker, at Rocketts" (Elliot and Nye 1852: 69). The 1860 census reported Robert Freeman, shoemaker, now age 47, living in the 1st Ward (known today as Jackson Ward). He had \$360 worth of real estate and \$25 in personal estate. His wife Mary, age 44 (?), and his children William and Ellen were in the household. William, age 19, was also a shoemaker, and Ellen was in school. The Freemans' youngest child, Samuel, may have died between 1850 and 1860. Also in the household were Calvin Spurlock, 25, a sailor; and J. M. Smith, 27, who served as a purser on a steamer. Smith had personal property valued at \$1,000. Two young children - perhaps recent additions to the Freeman family - also lived there.

In 1861, Robert Freeman paid personal property tax on a total of \$10 value in household goods (Richmond City Personal Property Tax, 1861: 12). In 1863, he paid personal property tax on a clock, valued at \$5, and on household goods, valued at \$30 (1863: 28).

Robert and Mary Ann Freeman sold Lot 203.3.1.1 to James Stout for \$510 in 1868 (DB 87A: 25-26). The Freemans may have held a mortgage for Stout, because this deed was not recorded as final until 1873 (DB101C:255). The next records found of anyone by the name Robert Freeman in Richmond comes in 1877, when a householder of that name claimed exemptions under the Homestead act on his property and household goods in 1st Ward. The materials he protected included 3 horses, 1 hack & harness, 2 bedsteads, 1 store & utensils, 1 table & six chairs, 1 bureau, 1 looking glasses, five pictures, 1 trunk, 1 clock, 1 cutting box, 1 wagon & harness, one lot with house on St. James Street and another lot with house on 1st Street. He evaluated this property at \$1466. This Freeman appears to have been a hackman (Hustings

DB 110A: 209). Thirty years later, in 1897, a Robert Freeman was listed as a hackman in 1st Ward, at 709 St. James Street. He was described as "colored" (Hill 1897).

This is the first, and only, indication in the documents that any of the Freeman family were considered to be other than "white". It is possible, of course, that this Robert Freeman is another person altogether, but that seems unlikely. It is worth noting that, in the deed that gave Robert Freeman his first legacy from Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman, Lockey Freeman neither signed the deed, nor made her mark. In fact her signature was obviously written by her husband (or whoever prepared the document and signed Nathaniel's name). Perhaps Robert Freeman was Nathaniel's "illegitimate" son by an African American woman, and Mrs. Freeman either did not choose to give him property, or she was not offered the opportunity to participate by her husband. If Robert was the son of a black woman, this may further help explain why it was not he, but his younger brother Isham who inherited the lion's share of his parents' estate, including the home on Lot 206. In fact, of all the Rocketts lots owned by Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman, that which they gave to Robert (203.3.4) was the smallest and, with no road frontage, the least valuable. If this scenario is realistic, then Robert's suit of his siblings following the condemnation of his lot by the Richmond and York River railroad becomes all the more interesting, for as a result of this suit, Robert won a much larger share of his father's estate, including the most valuable parcel of Lot 203 - that which contained Structure 4 (Lot 203.3.1) and fronted on Poplar Street - as well as part of Lockey's lots. Either his siblings granted him what they felt to be a more equitable portion of the family property, or the courts accepted him as "white", and gave him, the eldest son, what custom and law required.

The question of Robert's "ethnicity" is a fascinating one.<sup>61</sup> If he was in fact a mulatto, this may explain why he spent much of his life in trades which were accepted as the realm of free blacks in Richmond; namely shoemaking and hack driving. It is informative to note that no documents describe him as other than "white" until 1897. It is during the time of Jim Crow legislation, and the dawning of the era of the "Racial Purity" (eugenics) movement, that perhaps the slight tone of Robert's skin, and his affiliations through his trade, led him to be viewed as "colored". If this interpretation is reasonable - and I admit there are gaps in our knowledge - it is apparent that Robert was viewed as "colored" by his family (by his lesser inheritance) and by society at large (by apparent restrictions of occupation), and yet he was, from a legal standpoint,

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<sup>61</sup> I have not only enclosed ethnic categories, such as "white", "Negro", and "colored" in quotes, but, at times, the very term "ethnicity", itself. The term has so many varied meanings, some of which approach an essentialism I find objectionable, that it is difficult to use the concept without either a lengthy discussion of relative usage and meaning, or by opting, as I have done, to show my discomfort with both racial and social scientific categorizings.

no different than his siblings. He was not described as "free negro", and may not have been subject to some of the limitations placed on that class of people in the Antebellum years. The offspring of white men and black, or mulatto, women, sometimes were treated with the legal "ethnic" status that their "white" parents or siblings gave them. Perhaps Robert's suit, and the acquiescence of his brothers, sisters and in-laws, was sufficient to permit him to be legally "white", while retaining some cultural restrictions, as a "colored" man. With the strictly enforced racism of the turn of the 20th century, it seems Robert's legal ethnicity was no longer so flexibly defined.

### *Isham H. Freeman*

Isham Freeman married Jane C. Grinstead, with the consent of her father Jesse Grinstead, 24 March 1841 (Pollock 1984: 60). In the 1850 U. S. Census (p. 240), Isham H. Freeman, age 33, was living on the Rocketts property adjacent to his brother, Robert. He was described as a carpenter with real estate valued at \$1000. His household included his wife, Jane Catherine, age 28; their son, Jesse Alexander, age 5; and their infant daughter, Emily Jane. Also living in the household was Elizabeth Grinstead, age 36. Ms. Grinstead may have been Jane's older sister. Nobody in the household could read or write.

This household was not listed in the 1860 U.S. census. In the 1870 census (p. 199), Isham, age 44, and his three daughters, Emma, age 21; Sarah, age 18; and Maria, age 10 were listed as living in the household of Fitzhugh Gardner. Jane (Grinstead) Freeman does not appear, and had probably died.

Isham was described as a ship carpenter. Emma was working in a tobacco factory. The remainder of the household included Elizabeth Gunstick (age 60); Fitzhugh Gardner, a laborer, age 43; Elizabeth Gardner, "keeping house", age 27; and Henry Clark, age 35, a steamboat hand. It is worth noting that, while all of the Freemans are described as "white", as is Ms. Gunstick, the Gardners and Mr. Clark were described as "black". Isham and Emma Freeman were the only persons in the household who could read or write.<sup>62</sup>

Isham's 14-year-old son Alexander was not listed as residing in the household in 1870, and may have been serving an apprenticeship, for in 1880 (p.199), he is listed again as living in Rocketts on Lot 203. That year he, too, was described as a ship carpenter. At the age of 24 he was the head of a household which included his wife Emily, age 22 ("keeping house"), and a daughter Mary J., age 2. In 1850, Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman deeded Isham Lot 203.3.2, for \$10

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<sup>62</sup>. Other records indicate that Isham and his family were living in Structure 23, which is one of the two houses on Isham's lots (203.3.2 and 203.3.3), and the Gardners may have been his tenants.

(DB 58: 396).<sup>63</sup> As a result of the suit brought by Robert Freeman against his siblings, Isham H. Freeman purchased a large portion of his parents' former properties seven years later, including Lot 203.3.3 (DB 71B: 564).

In 1850, Isham Freeman had 1 slave between 12 and 16 years old (Richmond Personal Property Tax Lists, 1850, p. 25). By 1854 (p. 11), his wealth included 1 "cattle/sheep/hogs" worth \$15. Nine years later he also had a clock worth \$10. His total household goods were worth \$300.

The Richmond City Land Tax records have the following entries for Isham Freeman:

1851 (p. 38): 203.3.3, 54' near Rocketts and Poplar, total value \$1882, \$1400 for buildings.

1854: Same as above.

1858: On 203.3.3, 54' near Poplar and Rocketts: \$464, \$200 for buildings. He also owned three portions of Lot 205.

1863 (p. 15): On 203.3.3 (54' near Poplar and Rocketts): \$464, \$200 for buildings.

1864: 203.3.3 identical to 1868, following, but Isham owns only 2 other lots.

1868: 203.3.3 (54 feet "on no street"), \$358, buildings valued at \$250. He also owned five other lots, all in Rocketts.

The following land transactions are recorded in the Richmond deed books:

DB 83A: 475, May 1861, I. H. Freeman sold Lots 205 and 206 to the Richmond Railroad Company (trolley), which later became Richmond Railway and Electric, then Virginia Electric and Power Company.

DB 132B: 41 1887. I. H. Freeman and his wife Catherine sold Lot 203.3.3 to their son-in-law, P. H. Dunnington. "Land and improvements" sold for \$350. According to later transactions, Dunnington also acquired Lot 203.3.4 at this time, but the original records are not clear on this point.

DB 199B: 441 1908: Heirs of Isham Freeman - Alex J. Freeman, John Dunnington, Leroy Dunnington and Sallie Taylor - were condemned, along with Meade and Baker Carbolic Mouthwash Company, for improvements to the south side of "Lester or Rocketts Street".

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<sup>63</sup>. Although a deed could not be found, it is apparent from the Freeman suit papers and the original partition plat that Isham had been given 203.3.1, as well. This deed, or bequest, was vacated by the suit and the lot was given to Robert Freeman by the commissioners.



The Freeman vs. Freeman suit was officially closed by the Circuit Court of Henrico in February 1895, following the death of Isham H. Freeman in 1893, the last remaining heir of Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman (Circuit Court of Henrico, Box 119, File 1). Isham was survived by a widow, Lavinia Freeman, and by his children: Alexander Freeman, Emma J. McGriffin, and H. H. Herbert. Isham left three grandchildren: John A. Dunnington, Leroy Dunnington and Sarah V. Dunnington, all the children of Sarah E. Freeman and Patrick H. Dunnington.

*Ann Margaret Gabeleine and Bridget McMahon*

In October of 1862, the Freeman siblings sold the house (Structure 14) and lot (203.3.1.2) that had belonged to their sister, Susanna Roland (now deceased), to Ann Margaret Gabeleine. Gabeleine had come from Dunstadt, or Dumstadt, in Bavaria, with a group of Bavarian Jews that included her Rocketts neighbors, the Kline (or Klein) and Schwartz families. She had landed at Rocketts in or before 1850 with her husband, Henry. The 1850 U.S. census (p. 300-301, #1068-1175) lists their household as Henry Gabaland (sic), 28, a weaver by trade; Margaret, 31; Catherine, 8; all born in Virginia. Also in the household was a probable boarder, Elizabeth Heth, age 50, born in Virginia. By 1860, Henry and Catherine had apparently died, but not until Margaret had delivered two more children, Henry, age 7; and Hannah, age 4 (1860 U. S. Census, p. 92, #681). At that time, Margaret and her children were living in Rocketts, adjacent to George Kline, possibly as a tenant on the Freeman properties across Poplar Street from Lot 203; that is, on Lots 211-212. The Gabeleines were not well off. They were usually too indigent to appear in the tax rolls, except for the years 1855 and 1858, when Henry Gabeleine was taxed for a single white "tithe", but there were no assessments for personal or real property.

The Freemans sold the widow Gabeleine their sister's house (Structure 14) for a token payment. She immediately sold it to another Bavarian Jewish immigrant, Mayer Schwartz, for \$500. Just as it is significant that the Freemans sold the lot for less than its current evaluation (\$200), it is equally significant that Mayer Schwartz paid Gabeleine more than double its assessment. Thus Margaret Gabeleine's neighbors - the Anglo-American Freemans and fellow German Jew, provided a small estate for her and her children.

The same year they sold Structure 14 to Margaret Gabeleine, the Freeman siblings also sold part of Lot 212 to a recent Irish immigrant, Bridget McMahon (DB 80A: 113). While McMahon never owned part of Lot 203, the history of her relationship with the Freemans is worth noting. The deed that conveyed the old "brick store and dwelling house" on Lot 212 (the very same "brick store and dwelling house" that had most likely been built by Joseph



Simpson prior to 1796) was constructed almost identically to the deed by which Nathaniel Freeman had conveyed this land to his wife, Lockey. That is, the deed specified that this property would belong to Bridget McMahon, through the agency of a trustee, "as if she were a femme sole", free from any claims or debts of Bridget's husband, Miles McMahon. The Freemans sold McMahon this lot for \$1100; Bridget McMahon immediately sold the property to a Bavarian Jewish immigrant, George Klein (or Kline), for \$3200. The property was assessed for under \$1000 at that time.

Bridget McMahon was born in Ireland. She came to Virginia with her husband, Miles McMahon, who went to work as a miller at Rocketts Mills. They had at least four children. In 1870, these were Kate, age 11; Margret, 8; Thomas, 5; and Patsey, 2. All of the children had been born in Virginia, and no one in the household could read or write (1870 U. S. Census: p. 211, # 1020). The 1874-75 directory lists Miles McMahon as a laborer (Chataigne 1874). Miles apparently never owned real estate on his own, although Bridget used the proceeds of her sale of part of Lot 203 to finance some real estate transactions. By 1877 Bridget owned her own house and lot on 8th Street. In 1900, Bridget McMahon was living on West Cary Street. In her household were two sons - Thomas (age 26) and Daniel (age 25) - and a granddaughter, Nellie (age 11).

We know almost nothing about Miles McMahon, but the Freemans' deed to his wife went to considerable lengths to make certain he had no control over her property. We can only guess at the details, but it seems that the Freemans may have helped to protect this woman from a husband they perceived as unable to provide stability for his wife and family.

#### *George A. Klein*

George Klein (sometimes spelled "Kline") is another person whose life history sheds light on the Rocketts area, although he did not own any part of Lot 203. He was a Jewish refugee from Dunnstadt in Bavaria who arrived in Virginia in the late 1840s, or early 1850s, with his wife, Eva, and son, Peter. In 1860 George, then working as a butcher, was 42; Eva was 35, and Peter, a baker, was 17.<sup>64</sup> In 1852, he was operating a grocery store on Main Street near 22nd (Montague 1852). By 1860, the Kleins had had three new children, all born in Virginia. These were Caroline, 7; Charles, 6; and Emma, 3 (1860 Census: 92, #679). Ten years later, the household included another daughter, named Eva (age 8), and a new son, George (age 5). George Klein was then operating a bar room on his Rocketts property.

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<sup>64</sup>. The census lists George's wife as "Afa", a fair transliteration of a German pronunciation of "Eva".

By 1874, Klein had converted the old store-cum-bar room to a cigar store (Sheriff and Chataigne 1874), then a watch repair shop (1878), but for the remainder of his years, he was described in city directories as a laborer. Klein died in 1892, leaving a meager estate to pay his debts, and to support his widow, Eva, and their daughter, Nellie Klein (Will Book No. 5: 137). He was buried in the Hebrew Cemetery. George Klein never owned much personal property, and the house and store on Lot 212 was his only real estate.

### *The Schwartz Family*

In 1862, Mayer Schwartz purchased Lot 203.3.1.2 from Ann Margaret Gabeleine for \$500 (Hustings DB 79A: 226-227). Prior to this purchase, Mayer Schwartz and his family were living in 1st Ward (presently, Jackson Ward). The 1860 U.S. Census (p. 8, #58-61) described the family as consisting of Myers (sic) Schwartz, a baker, age 38; his wife Carolina Schwartz, also age 38; and their children Harmon, 13; Isaia, 5; Julius, 3; and Moses, 1. The latter three children had been born in Virginia, while all others were born in Bavaria, thus the Schwartzes had been in Virginia for at least 5 years. Schwartz owned real estate valued at \$656, and personal property valued at \$50.

Mayer and Caroline Schwartz also owned at least two small parcels in Rocketts besides their portion of Lot 203. In 1866, they mortgaged two lots near Gilly's Creek for \$300 (Hustings DB 82B: 291-293). Mayer Schwartz was taxed for personal property valued at \$104 in 1861 (Richmond Personal Property Tax 1861: 1). His property included a horse, a pleasure carriage, a watch, a clock and household and kitchen furniture valued at \$40. Two years later, his personalty had fallen in value to \$55. In 1864 (Richmond Land Tax Books, 1864, #17) Schwartz paid tax on portions of Lots 214 and 203. His homelot (Lot 203.3.1.2) was valued at \$140 for lots and buildings. The value remained unchanged at least through 1884.

Mayer Schwartz died 24 February 1869 without leaving a will (DB133B: 190), and was buried in Richmond's Hebrew Cemetery. The following year, the U.S. Census described his widow's household as including Caroline Schwartz, age 49, a rag dealer; Isaac, age 17, a laborer; Julius, age 13; and Moses, age 11. Isaac and Julius had apparently had some schooling, but neither their mother, nor their younger brother could read or write (1870 U. S. census, #845-1065). In a business directory for 1873/74, "Mrs. C. Schwartz" operated a meat market at 3400 Lester Street, that being one of the two lots near Gilly's Creek mentioned above. The 1876 Beers Atlas of Richmond shows "C. Schwarz" residing at Lot 203.3.1.2. The 1874-75 Sheriff and Chataigne directory and Sheriff's directory of 1877 list Caroline Schwartz as a grocer operating at 3406 Lester St. In 1885, she is described as a boarder at 3408 Lester, next to her store, which was operated by her son, Moses. Moses was sharing a house at 3434 Lester with Joseph Giezz and Miles Crenshaw. Caroline Schwartz apparently died soon after 1885.

In 1881, Chataigne's directory lists the whereabouts and occupations of the Schwartz children. All were living in Rocketts. Isaac was a driver living at 16 Elm Street; Julius was a butcher at 3819 Williamsburg Ave. and Moses was a butcher at 3408 Lester. In 1889, Isaac Schwartz, and Julius Schwartz, with his wife Carrie, deeded Lot 203.3.1.2 to their brother Moses Schwartz, for \$75 (DB 140B: 190). Moses also acquired Lot 210, the small triangular piece of land opposite Lot 203 (DB 162A: 219). Moses lived on Lot 203 and operated his store further east on Lester; his brother Isaac also lived elsewhere while working in the Lester Street store. Moses may have been living on Lot 203 in 1894-95 (Chataigne 1894: 562). Actually, the records are unclear. Moses Schwartz lived at or near the corner of Rocketts and Poplar Streets. This may have been on Lot 210, directly opposite Lot 203. This property was retained by the "Mayer Schwartz estate" until at least 1884. The lot and buildings were valued at \$800, while the Lot 203.3.1.2 lot and buildings remained valued at only \$140. It seems more likely that the Lot 203 property was a tenement. The 1880 census lists two single black men living on or near Lot 203. One or both may have resided in Moses Schwartz' house. In 1891, Moses Schwarz was described as a grocer operating at the corner of Lester and Poplar. This store may have been on Lot 210, or else Schwartz may have rented half of the store at Lot 203.3.1.1.

In 1893, Moses and his wife, Bertha, sold the lot to N. B. Bowe, a lawyer purchasing property for the C&O right-of-way (DB158C: 273-275). Mayer and Caroline Schwartz had purchased the tiny house we have identified as Structure 14 shortly after Mayer, a baker and a laborer, had moved to this country. Both Mayer and Caroline lived out much of their lives in this small dwelling stuck in the shadows between Poplar Street and the railroad tracks. They provided well for their sons, each of whom went on to be modestly prosperous. Moses Schwartz inherited Structure 14, after buying out his brothers' shares, but it isn't certain whether he ever returned to live in the house which had been his mother's widow's house.

### *James and Hannah Stout*

Robert Freeman and his wife, Mary Ann, sold parcel 203.3.1.1, containing the structure we have archaeologically identified as Structure 4 (a double tenement and store) to James W. Stout in 1868 (DB 87B:25-26). The selling price was \$510. The 1870 U. S. census listed James Stout, age 44, as a retail grocer. The census estimated the value of his Rocketts property at \$300. In his household were his wife Anna (or Hannah), 37; their son John, 17; and daughters Mary, 11 and Cora, 7. All were born in Virginia. The Stouts sold the property five years later to Cornelius McNamara.

After selling their Rocketts lot and its store, the Stouts operated a grocery at the corner of 2nd and Canal Streets, where they also lived. James Stout died in 1881, leaving all of his property to his wife, Hannah (Will Book 2: 1432-

1433). Hannah was apparently not able to maintain the store. In 1891, she was living alone in Oregon Hill.

*The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company*<sup>65</sup>

In 1873, when the trunk line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was completed, a long standing American ambition to link the waters of the James and Ohio Rivers was realized. This transportation need had been foreseen as early as the mid-eighteenth century. George Washington was an early proponent of a canal to facilitate east-west traffic along the James River (Evans 1959: 519). In May 1774, with the energetic support of Washington, the General Assembly passed legislation creating the James River Company. The company was chartered to facilitate navigation on the James river in order to improve commerce with the western Territories (Ibid: 520). Washington was appointed president of the company but did not actively take part in its management. Efforts centered on building locks to circumvent rapids on the river and by 1801, the James was cleared for navigation to a point 220 miles upstream from Richmond (Dabney 1960).

In June of 1835, the project was reorganized and all assets ceded to the newly formed James River and Kanawha Company. The new company was incorporated to continue construction of the James River Canal and to build a turnpike between the headwaters of the James and navigable waters of the Ohio river. In later years, much of the canal right-of-way, including four unfinished tunnels would be taken over by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway (Ibid).

The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway was created by the consolidation of the Virginia Central and the Covington and Ohio companies. The merger was forged in 1868 by Collis P. Huntington, a New York industrialist and railroad baron. The presence of vast coal, iron and timber reserves in western Virginia and West Virginia was a strong incentive for the westward expansion of the railway. It was also Huntington's ambition that the C&O should serve as the eastern segment of a new transcontinental railway under his control (Evans 1954: 569).

The Virginia Central began life as the Louisa Railroad Company in 1836. Over the years the railroad pushed west from Hanover Junction, now known as Doswell, eventually reaching Charlottesville. Meanwhile, a state-owned railroad project known as the Blue Ridge Railway was under construction between Charlottesville and Staunton. This line had cross the Blue Ridge mountains and required extensive engineering work. Upon completion, trains were operated by the Virginia Central until the takeover by the

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<sup>65</sup>. This section was authored by Christopher P. Egghart.

Chesapeake and Ohio (Ibid: 521). The Covington and Ohio Railway was incorporated in 1853 to build a line from Covington, at the foot of the Alleghenys to the Ohio River. A considerable amount of surveying and engineering work was complete before the outbreak of the Civil War halted further construction (Ibid: 522)

Under stewardship of Collins P. Huntington the Allegheny crossing was completed and the railway continued pushing toward the Ohio. By 1873, 414 miles of rail connected Richmond and Huntington, West Virginia. Located on the Ohio River, the town was founded by and named in honor of the man who chose its location as the western terminus of the railway. Then in 1871, at the behest of Huntington, the City of Richmond voted a bond issue to allow for the construction a nearly 4,000 foot long tunnel through Church Hill (Ibid 516). This extension ran from the C & O depot on Main Street to the docks at Rocketts. With the completion of the tunnel, the navigable parts of Ohio and James Rivers were finally linked. Coal and other freight traffic from the west quickly grew in volume. Much of this cargo was transhipped to tidewater vessels for points east. In 1877 alone, 907 vessels cleared the docks at Rocketts (Ibid), which the Railroad referred to as "Fulton". <sup>66</sup>

From the very beginning, Collis Huntington planned to extend the railroad to a deep water port on the Chesapeake. Newport News, with its excellent natural harbor, was chosen as the tidewater terminal (Ibid. 546). In 1880, engineers surveyed a route from Richmond to Newport News. Construction began the same year and the line was completed by May of 1882. With the railroad terminal in place, Newport News quickly grew into a major shipping center. Large coal piers were constructed providing both fuel and cargo for ocean going vessels. Piers for general merchandise and a passenger dock were also constructed.

At the same time, the Chesapeake and Ohio continued building westward from Huntington. Also, in 1890 the Richmond and Allegheny Railway was acquired. The Richmond and Allegheny had taken over the largely defunct James River and Kanawha Canal and utilized much of the tow path for right of way. This gave rise to the Chesapeake and Ohio's slogan as being the "President's Road" (Dabney 1960). The new river level route was a operational advantage as it offered much easier gradients than the Charlottesville line. Trains coming through Richmond however, were required to perform time consuming switching maneuvers in order to continue their journey. In order to relieve this bottle neck, a long viaduct was

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<sup>66</sup>. I have argued elsewhere in this report that the coming of the Chesapeake trestle largely redefined the settlement of Rocketts and gave rise to its descendant, the town of Fulton. That the C&O Railroad officially referred to its terminal as "Fulton" was undoubtedly instrumental in coaxing a change of name and identity from "Rocketts", a port town, to "Fulton", a railroad town. - L.D.M.

built along the banks of the James River from Lee Street at Hollywood Cemetery to the newly constructed yards at Fulton (*Railway Age*, April 1900).

### The James River Trestle

The project was completed in 1901 (Turner 1956). Known as the James River Trestle or the Fulton Viaduct, the bridge was an engineering marvel. It is more than 2.8 miles long holds the distinction as the longest double track railway bridge in the world. The trestle is also unique in that at 18th and Dock Streets it crosses both the bridge carrying the Seaboard mainline and on grade level, the Southern line to West Point, forming the world's only three-tiered rail crossing.

The Chesapeake and Ohio James River Trestle was the cornerstone of an ambitious program of improvements undertaken by the C&O in Richmond during the turn of the century. Other projects at the time included the Main Street passenger station, a connecting trestle along Shockoe Valley and the construction of the large and modern rail yard and engine terminal at Fulton. The April 1900 issue of *Railway Age* describes these improvements as some of the most extensive underway in the country at that time.

Prior to the construction of the trestle, trains coming off the James River line had to be broken into short segments to be hauled up the steep incline on the east side of Shockoe Valley. This was expensive and time consuming. The completion of the Penninsular Division to Newport News and the resulting growth in coal traffic put added pressure on the line. A new, elevated roadbed directly along the James was seen as the best solution to the problem. The construction of a viaduct was favored partly to the fact that most of the area in which the line was to be built is subject to severe flooding. In addition, an elevated road bed would allow for a relatively level gradient to be established. The problems associated with acquiring right of way through the commercial heart of Richmond also favored the construction of a viaduct rather than a ground level route (*Railway Age* 1900).

Harry Frazier, chief engineer for the C&O was called upon to design and build the trestle. The new trestle was to replace the temporary connection to Fulton yards. Part of this line was described as an "unsightly timber structure" (*Railway Age* April 1900). The viaduct presented numerous engineering problems. Approximately 4000 feet of the trestle had to be built directly in the James River bed. The superstructure was comprised primarily of decked Warren Truss segments supported on masonry piers. In order to minimize the effects of flood waters the sets of piers were set parallel to the orientation of the bridge.

With the completion of the viaducts, the Church Hill tunnel became redundant. Disaster struck on October 2, 1925 when the tunnel collapsed during maintenance. The cave-in trapped a work train, killing the engineer and two laborers. The conductor also died from injuries sustained in the accident (Richmond Times Dispatch October 3, 1925). The tunnel was eventually sealed with the train still inside. The bodies of the missing men were never recovered.

Today the Chesapeake and Ohio mainline is a major east-west rail artery. In the early seventies the company merged with the Baltimore and Ohio and Western Maryland to form the Chessie System. The Chessie has since been amalgamated into CSX Corporation, a large transportation, energy and real estate holding company. Coal from the Appalachian mines forms the bulk of the traffic over the old C&O. Most of this is bound for export from Newport News. The viaduct to Fulton was completely rebuilt in the late 1950s by the Lackawanna Steel Company (Plate 36). The original Chesapeake and Ohio line to Charlottesville still exists as the C&O Piedmont Division. This line however, sees very little traffic and is slated for abandonment.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>. This ends the section authored by Egghart.





## 2.3 Visual Documents

Like most American cities, Richmond has a rich record of visual representation that began to accumulate in the late 18th century and which increased in size and diversity throughout the 19th century. These materials include legal documents such as survey plats, planning documents such as maps, and "pure" representations in art, including paintings, prints and photographs. Like all documents, these visual materials can be approached as *records* of the physical facts of the city, or they can be viewed alternatively as artifacts: not as embalmed memoranda so much as inscribed memorabilia. In this chapter, I approach visual documents in both ways. What has been recorded reflects "facts" of what existed. Usually, it takes only a modicum of critical acuity to determine whether or not a painting or photograph has been thoroughly fictionalized, or simply interpreted. We cannot assume that any visual document tells it like it was with some unvarnished, uninterpreted truth value.

All decisions in the creation of a visual document are essentially interpretative, from the relatively mechanical choice of how to use landscape features to situate a surveyor's traverses on a property plat, to selections of viewpoint and focal length in the making of a camera shot. It is a truism among photographers that photographs are *made*, not *taken*, and it is more so with the mechanics of a large-format glass plate camera than with a roll-film brownie. Likewise, mapmakers choose, or neglect to choose, to represent natural or man-made features of the landscape. painters make decisions about style that are at once historical and personal and situational. Content is included or excluded, enhanced or muted, embellished or not by conscious or unconscious processes of selection.

### Folio of Historic Views

The first group of graphic documents to concern us are illustrative representations of Rocketts. Many of these can be viewed as scenic views, although there are other sorts of representations as well. These materials are very useful not only for showing us what stood on the ground in the past, but for revealing what representors thought about what stood on the ground. By noting elements of style and pictorial format, we can seek insights into the meaning of the landscape for a contemporary observer. We can also compare illustrations with each other, and with archaeological and written documentary data, and observe not only what is there, but what has been omitted by the artist.

Many of the scenic views share a physical viewpoint; that is, they are views prepared, by various artists, from approximately the same locations. For example, we have views of Rocketts from Libby Hill that span the period between Latrobe's late 18th-century watercolor sketch to a reconstructive print produced in 1991. We also have our own photographs taken from approximately the same position.<sup>68</sup>

To assist in evaluating these documents, we have used a photographic technique that has been called "Prince's Magic Camera", for Gene Prince, staff photographer and archaeologist at the Lowie Museum, University of California, Berkeley.<sup>69</sup> The principal of the technique is the juxtaposition of the historic and present-day landscape. This could be done using a view camera or medium-format camera with ground glass reflex viewscreen; however, the method is typically worked out with a Nikon F single-lens reflex 35 mm. camera (although any model with a removeable prism would probably work as well). A positive transparency is made of the historic view, and this is placed on, or under, the ground glass viewscreen. In the case of the Nikon, the prism is then replaced, and a viewer looking through the eyepiece sees the historic scene transposed on the "real world". By using a "zoom" lens, it is possible to move around the landscape, and vary the focal length, until you have re-established the spot from which the historical view was made, and the lens length used.

The basic requirement to use the technique is one or more prominent reference points which can be seen clearly in both the historic scene and the modern day view. With one of the 1865 photos of Rocketts viewed from Libby Terrace, the key landmark was approximately fifty feet of antebellum granite curbing at the intersection of Main and Williamsburg Roads.

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<sup>68</sup>. The close reader might note a change from first-person singular to plural here. The "we" referred to here includes myself, Taft Kiser, and Beverly Binns; we spent a great many hours over the past few years staring at these paintings and photos, kibbitzing with over each others' shoulders about a chimney here, a path there. Sometimes we were joined by other colleagues, especially Tim Barker. The physical interpretations discussed here are a sort of consensus that arose from these viewings.

<sup>69</sup>. Prince developed this technique in the mid-1980s, experimenting with photographs of Northern California and Nevada. During the excavations at the California coal mining town of Summersville, he proved it worked to locate vanished buildings. First used at Flowerdew Hundred in 1986, the technique pinpointed the location of an 1864 pontoon bridge used in "Grant's Crossing" of the James following the rout at Cold Harbor. At Flowerdew it has since been used in the reconstruction of an 1830s kitchen, where the camera allowed accurate measurement of doors, windows, and other architectural details. In Southern Africa at the 110th anniversary of the Battle of Isandhlwana, park interpreters let the public look through the camera and see the carnage of 1879. Most recently, Prince has been experimenting successfully with an 1841 pencil sketch of Fort Ross shortly after it was bought from the Russians by John Sutter. For a fuller discussion of the method and applications of the magic camera technique, see Prince (1988).

Combined with a ridge two miles in the distance, the basic run of the James River to the east, etc., we were able to re-establish the position from which Brady's photographers made their pictures. In this particular case the actual photo could not be used because the view was so "busy" that overlaying the images made it impossible to see either clearly. Instead, a tracing was made of the photo, and slides were shot of the tracing.

Among the benefits of using the magic camera technique is that by studying the juxtaposed images, minor landscape changes can be seen, such as the cutting of a hill, the filling of a valley, or the shifting of a road alignment by a few feet. Furthermore, when good reference points are available, we can identify specific archaeological features (e.g., foundations, post holes, etc.) with specific landscape features (buildings, fences, etc.).

For the most part the historical views of Rocketts were taken from angles that obscured, at least partially, those portions of Lot 203 where we excavated. This meant that, once we had used the "magic camera" to determine the general setting and location, we often had to study prints of the historic photographs under magnification, and to use photos from different angles at once, to "flesh out" details.

It became especially instructive to compare nearly contemporary paintings and photographs, or photos of the same area taken from different angles, in order to learn what the artist intended to represent. By noting what was purposefully cut out of the frame, as well as what was included, or by noting the liberties taken by a painter in dealing with angles of perspective, we gained considerable insight into these representations of Rocketts.

What follows is a folio of some of the illustrations that surfaced during our research, accompanied by some pertinent observations and critical comments. I have arranged these in chronological order.

View 1. "View down James River from Mr. Nicholson's house above Rocketts. 16 May 1796".

From *Latrobe's View of America, 1795-1820: Selections from the Watercolors and Sketches*. Edward C. Carter II, John C. Van Horne, and Charles E. Brownell, editors. Yale University Press 1985. Plate 14.

Architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe toured Virginia in the 1790s, and his sketches, and accompanying comments, are important documents of the state during the Early Republic. Richmond was especially well represented by Latrobe, who also designed a number of buildings for the city. The only one that was ever constructed, however, was the state penitentiary. Latrobe's is the earliest extant pictorial depiction of Rocketts. We have earlier written

descriptions, such as Elizabeth Ambler's and Thomas Rutherford's, discussed elsewhere. The following comments accompany this sketch:

View to the Eastern from the Portico of Mr. Nicholson's house.  
May 16th 1796.

The houses in the foreground are part of the Village of Rocketts. So far the river is navigable for Vessels not drawing more than [blank in ms] feet of water. The tide rises from 4 f. 6' to 6' at Rocketts, according to the Wind as easterly Wind making the largest tide. About a mile above Rocketts is the lower end of the Falls... There are several ledges of Rock below the surface of the water between the Falls and Rocketts. The last ledge is in the situation of a small two masted Vessel in the middle of the River. There is however a good channel close to the left hand Shore. The house close to the Water's edge is Mr. Nicholson's lumber Warehouse. Behind it to the left is his Rope Walk. The low Grounds on each side of the River are extremely fertile. The hills consist of clay mixed with pubbly Gravel upon a basis of Granite Rock.

The distant house over the Sloop under Sail is called Powhatan. It is said to be built upon the site of a hunting seat of King Powhatan of the Powhatan Nation...The Sloop is going into the Mouth of a Creek [Gilly's Creek] which serves as a Dock.

It is interesting to contrast Latrobe's written comments with his visual presentation. The latter appears to present a bucolic, even pastoral scene, with considerable emphasis on empty and wooded rolling hills. The river is the dominant figure, after the sky which, with its billowy clouds, takes over half the picture space. Remembering that Latrobe is an architect, presumably interested in, and mindful of architectural details, there are but few buildings represented here. It appears that the view has been chosen, or manipulated, to minimize "Man" in the landscape, and to tuck him neatly behind the rolling hills of Libby Terrace. Human activity is clearly centered on the river, and there are as many, or more, watercraft represented as buildings. While buildings are drawn carefully, the entire presentation is clearly Romantic, and man's place in nature is central, but diminished.

The text, on the other hand, reads like those of many educated men of the Enlightenment. George Nicholson was probably the most wealthy and powerful man in Rocketts at the time. His Portico, his lumber warehouse, and his rope walk are all mentioned, as is the Mayo plantation seat, Powhatan. What's more, the Enlightened Man's interest in the natural world as exploitable resource comes through in his scientist's (and economist's)

observations concerning the position of the channel, potential obstructions in the river, the fertility of the ground, etc.

In this sense, the Romanticist view and the Enlightenment text are comtable: Rocketts is a bucolic setting awaiting exploitation and development, and George Nicholson, Latrobe's host, is at the head of this development. We get no sense of the shabby, dirty village described by Ambler and others in the 1770s, nor do we see the cosmopolitan urbanism that comes through the archaeological and documentary evidence. Missing from the picture are the slave houses, at one end of the architectural scale, and the Rocketts tobacco warehouse - certainly the most prominent feature to be seen from Mr. Nicholson's priveleged portico. In fact, the omission of the Rocketts warehouse, which is repeated in later viewings, was a purposeful act. The arc of the street in the left foreground represents Warehouse Street - the road from Nicholson's to the warehouse - but the lie of Main Street (Rocketts Street), in the foreground right, has been shifted to avoid the higher angle view of Rocketts' more commercially deveoped core.

The only obviously commercial buildings in the scene are the two lumberhouses. The connection with tobacco is cut entirely, and slavery is all but absent. Missing also are people. There is nothing here but endless possibilities waiting for investment. Latrobe's view is one of potential, and certainly that must have been the overwhelming sense for prosperous and educated white males in Richmond of the Early Republic. The ties to the long-established planter oligarchy, symbolized by tobacco, is gone. This is not an "Old Dominion", but a fertile new ground needing only the application of commerce, industry, and rationality to yield wealth and power in a new republic with endless possibilities.

It has proven all but impossible to identify specific structures in the small cluster of buildings in the lower center of the sketch, which is the heart of west Rocketts (East Rocketts is hidden behind the lower terrace of Libby hill, as are the houses along Bloody Run Street. It is possible that the tall building with four windows facing the viewer gable -on is probaby the "brick store and dwelling" built by Joseph Simpson, and owned by John Craddock and John Lester, on Lots 211-212. The very small house just to the left of that building is probably on Lot 203, in the area where another house soon stood (the one known as "Mrs. Hague's House" in 1830).

## View 2. View of Rocketts from Libby Hill, ca. 1810.

Attributed date: 1st quarter 19th c., or c. 1810, attribution by Ms. Barbara Batson. Valentine Museum Collection, OM-34.

### View 2, Detail showing Rocketts Village.

While the artist and the date of the painting are unknown, Barbara Batson, of the Valentine Museum in Richmond has attributed it to ca. 1810, or, more generally, to the first quarter of the 19th century, based on its style. This beautiful painting is a view made from a spot quite near to that of Latrobe's 1796 sketch. In fact, the artist apparently stood on the very same knoll that Latrobe had occupied years earlier. In the center right, background, there is a cluster of pine or cedar trees, including one that appears much taller than the others. This may be the same small tree that occupies a prominent foreround position in Latrobe's sketch. If so, the anonymous artist apparently stood several yards further north, and included the sparse grove of mature hardwoods in the foreground. These must have been purposefully eliminated from Latrobe's view - again emphasizing his perspective of tamed countryside. The present view is all the more romantic for the framing provided by these trees. Rocketts emerges as a small, colorful gem at the edge of the forest.

In the color original, the village is depicted in warm hues of brick-reds and board greys against the lush green foliage, and the modulated blues of the sky and the river. This is one of the very few views of Rocketts that is "populated". Under the large tree at right there languishes a large cow and her calf, a goat, and some sheep. This simple pictorial device probably is helpful for interpreting the faunal remains from Rocketts, and adding some contextual insights into the "husbandry" practices of the early city. On the road heading for Rocketts are three groups of figures. In the shadows to the left are four figures, two of them apparently carrying a log. The others appear to be children. In the highlight in the center of the road are two African Americans - a woman and a boy - each carrying baskets on their heads. A small dog runs along behind them. Ahead of them, and mounted, are two men.

Ahead of the mounted men is Rocketts Street; the small brick house is standing on Lot 169, and the gray house to the left is on the north side of Bloody Run Street, near its juncture with Rocketts. Behind, and to the right of, the little brick house in the foreground is a long, low, brick building with a chimney in its northern gable end. This building is John Craddock's lumberhouse on Lot 203 - our excavated Structure 1 (second stage).<sup>70</sup> The presence of this structure helps to date the painting, as I believe that the

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<sup>70</sup>. The discussion of structures and features on the lot is in a following chapter.



combined documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that Structure 1 was rebuilt in brick between 1807-1810. Thus the attribution date for the painting of ca. 1810, or slightly later, is not controverted. Another observation which is useful for dating the painting is stand of cedars on the slope east (left) of the street with figures on it. This hill is shown covered with short stubby shrubs - probably young cedars - in the 1796 sketch. By the time of this painting, they have grown to what appears to be heights of perhaps 15-20 feet or so. For Atlantic white cedars growing on an open slope such as this, this may well represent just about fifteen years of growth.

In the village of Rocketts, the artist depicts a grove of tall, thin trees in the shape of Lombardy Poplars. The Latrobe sketch shows a puff of tree-tops rising just slightly above the roofs of the village. Lombardy Poplars became quite popular in Virginia in the early 19th century, after being introduced by Jefferson. They were soon nearly eradicated, however, because it was believed - quite incorrectly - they carried a worm that caused a tobacco plight. Lombardy Poplars grow quite quickly, and they have rather short life-spans; thus a ca. 1810-20 date for this painting seems very reasonable.

Just north of the long brick lumberhouse is a minimally-drawn shed-roofed house. We see primarily the north-facing slope of the roof - at first appearing as a shed on Structure 1, but clearly a separate building. This is an odd little building which appears to be long and narrow, with its "gable" facing the north-south run of Rocketts Street. Under magnification, the walls of the northern facade of the building are visible, but details have been obliterated by some flaws in the canvas. Even so, the landscaping around this structure shows it to be standing on a hill above the lumberhouse. This house reappears in later photographs. By comparing this painting, the 1850's Cook Collection view from Libby Terrace, and the Russell photograph taken from the south side of the James, it is apparent that this small house stood against the terrace of Rocketts Hill, rising a single storey on its north facade, but two storeys (or one storey on a raised basement) facing south. This is the house that was occupied by Hannah Hague at her death in 1819; it was still referred to as "Mrs. Hague's house" by her descendants, the Craddocks, in 1830. This building was also John Schonberger's house in the late 19th century, until it was demolished for construction of the C&O trestle. The "magic camera" technique, using the Cook photograph, clearly indicates that the house was situated exactly where the CSX trestle now stands. Archaeological testing indicated that all traces of this building were obliterated, ca. 1900-1905. If my viewings of the Latrobe painting and this one are correct, then this building was constructed sometime after 1796, and before ca. 1810 or so.

Behind the brick lumberhouse, there is a long low building with two chimneys placed along the northern facade. Behind this building stands a two-storey brick house with parapetted gable. I believe these to be the lumberhouse and the "brick store and dwelling", on Lots 211-212, owed by

John Craddock at the time of this painting, and built by Joseph Simpson in the 1790s.

In comparing this painting with the Latrobe sketch, it is obvious that there are many similarities and many differences. First, there are many more buildings in this later work, as should be expected. However, some of the buildings which appear here - such as the Lot 211-212 lumberhouse, were clearly standing when Latrobe made his sketch. They were left out on purpose. However, there are many new structures, and many of these are multi-storey brick commercial buildings. One new landmark that will remain throughout the 19th century is the tall building standing alone on the south side of the James. This was a mill - perhaps an early steam mill - constructed by the Jewish entrepreneur, Joseph Marx. Clearly, the developmental efforts of Nicholson, Hague, Lester, Craddock and others are visible here. Nonetheless, while it is a more difficult task in ca. 1810-20 than it was in 1796, this artist also plays down the urban aspects of Rocketts. The view is still a pictorial and picturesque one. Trees frame the scene, and the James rolls off into an empty countryside. There is still no sign of the Rocketts warehouse complex, hidden beyond the cedar grove at the right of the picture.

While the Latrobe sketch minimized the buildings and people, this work ensconces them in nature, but gives them a prominence. Buildings are far more numerous than ships, so the maritime aspects of the Rocketts port seem played down. The rustic nature of the village is emphasized considerably: the foreground animals setting that scene quickly. It's is perhaps interesting that the people who are most central in this scene are the African Americans, probably slaves. Slaves are notably absent from a great many illustrations of Antebellum America, and the presence of these figures in so central a role suggests they were included to enhance the rural, or rustic, quality of the scene, or perhaps the painter was a foreigner, and the slaves provided an element that "set the scene" in the American South. Again, however, this seems a contrast with Latrobe, who strived to depict a universal port village that might appear anywhere in the "western" world.

Both of these valuable early views of Rocketts depict a village; Latrobe even calls it that. And yet for one who has read the documents pertaining to this period of Rocketts history, or have glimpsed the phenomenally complex and highly "urban" archaeological sequence in the ground, this appears as a highly romanticized view of settlement. Rocketts during this period was a veritable hotbed of capitalism. The real estate development business and the import-export trades were booming. Properties were being bought and sold at a rapid pace, and new buildings were being constructed on nearly every lot every few years. There is a kind of denial of this urbanity in these representations, a clinging to the pastoral history of Virginia which one finds common even today. Richmond was not New York or Boston, but neither was it a quaint peasant village.

There is a very real, but unobvious truth in these depictions, however. While Virginia in the 18th century had been socially and economically dominated by a gentry over-class, the growth of Richmond following the Revolution was very much an enterprise of the middle classes. The lack of "big man" houses and state architectural monuments in these views represents something true about Rocketts; there were few fabulously wealthy patricians associated with the development of this port suburb. Even so, the Republican imagery is a bit extreme. We see no slave housing and, perhaps more telling, the physical stratification of the neighborhood - with the wealthiest merchants living atop Libby Terrace, middling merchants along Rocketts and Bloody Run Streets, and tenants and slaves living in the bottom - this very real perspective is obliterated by the view perspectives of these pictures. Certainly views from Water Street looking back towards Libby Terrace would have emphasized the very real emerging class structure of Rocketts.

Perhaps it is not going too far to suggest that both of these representations present republicanism as an urban, versus rural, phenomenon. Throughout the study of Rocketts - and indeed throughout my various studie of Virginia's culture history, I have been struck repeatedly by an apparent competition between the merchants who, beginning in the 1740s, immigrated to Virginia and took up residency in its towns, and the established planters - the countryside gentry. The Revolution, in some sense, was won by the merchants and industrialists (Mouer 1987). The 1783 treaty required Virginia's planters to honor their debts to their London and Bristol factors, and many of them were ruined. The country "aristocracy" lived on in showy figures like John Randolph of Roanoke ("I'm an aristocrat...I love liberty; I hate democracy..."), but the power had shifted to the towns, especially Richmond, and to the middle classes. By presenting a socially levelled view of Rocketts, our artists announce the victory of republicanism. By depicting a locus of this victory in a rural setting, the victors appropriate the domain of the gentry and proclaim it a frontier for capital domination.

It is unfortunate that we don't know the artist of this important work, or the impetus for its creation. We can make an educated guess, however. Many of the prominently displayed buildings in the Rocketts village were, in and around 1810, owned by John Craddock and, in fact, most of these had been built by Craddock or his uncle, John Hague. What's more, the viewpoint of the picture is from John Craddock's front yard - formerly George Nicholson's yard - at Lot 181 on Libby Terrace. It is utterly impossible to find a location on Libby terrace in which Rocketts Street, after its turn to the south, appears to trend back towards the west. In other words, the artist had to take some license with this view and "rotate" Rocketts Street, and the buildings on Craddock's lots, towards the west by 70 or 80 degrees. This trick of perspective eliminates from view the Rocketts tobacco warehouse, property of Charles and Susanna Lewis, and makes the buildings on Craddock's lots central. Thus

in some sense, this painting, made from Craddock's house, celebrates his new developments at Rocketts. It would not be surprising to learn that the painting was, in fact, commissioned by Craddock, or made by a friend staying at his house. Unlike the planter class members who celebrated their status with portraits of themselves and their family members, perhaps the new entrepreneurs chose instead to commemorate in art their achievements, rather than their personalities. Certainly this seems consonant with the types of cultural and social change we see at Rocketts after the Revolution; relative wealth and power accrued to those who built and invested in new businesses, not to those whose family names and lands had carved them a privileged niche at birth.

### View 3. Albert C. Pleasants. View of Rocketts and the City of Richmond.

Signed Albert Pleasants Anno 1798, but attributed to 1841-44 by Whaley Batson of MESDA. Valentine # P75.12a

This is another important early painting, one of two nearly identical views, signed by Albert Pleasants. Below the artists name is inscribed "Anno 1798", but the style of the painting, and the presence and absence of key buildings in Richmond, indicates that the painting was produced in the early 1840s. To place this view, note the large tree in the right foreground. This is growing on the east bank of Gilly's Creek. The sloop to the left of the tree is in the mouth of the creek, and the building with the tall roof behind the tree is probably a mill on the west bank. At the far left of the picture stands the three- or four-storey mill constructed by Joseph Marx, with two ships at the wharves of the Chesterfield Coal Company. Just above the mast of the sloop in the mouth of Gilly's Creek is a cluster of buildings representing west Rocketts, or the early Rocketts Village depicted in the views discussed above. The hill with prominent houses on it rising above Rockets Village is Libby Terrace. In the center background, left, is Richmond, its "skyline" dominated by the state capitol building.

Here we have the perspective denied us by the earlier artists. Rocketts is not an isolated village, but part of an expansive urban landscape. The stratified view is not flattened here. Instead, the emerging working class character of the waterfront is portrayed in the form of three men or boys in the foreground. Clusters of small houses can be seen in the valley below the old Rocketts village, clustered in the Gilly's Creek bottomlands. The perspective is still romanticized, still pictorial. The sky dominates the scene, but the arc of masts and sails along the wharves is positioned as the visually prominent element. This painting presents Rocketts at the time in which immigration from Ireland and Germany was giving the port a new demographic and cultural character. Despite the three foreground figures, people are once again generally missing from the scene. Black faces, which must have dominated

the streetscapes of Rocketts in the 1840s, are completely absent here. So too are any signs of ethnic strife between free blacks, working class American-born whites, and the new young immigrants.

The social turmoil and upheaval of the Antebellum city is washed behind an idealized and beautified scene. This is a city, but it's not the city revealed through studies of class and ethnic struggles so typical of the period. The successful merchants have assumed their places on the pinnacles above the waterfront, but they are not ensconced in palatial mansions. The capitol rises above the city, but stands on a plane with it. The scene is stratified, but minimally so, as might befit the Greek, rather than the Roman republican ideal (or, rather, Antebellum Richmond's interpretation of both). Richmonders in the 1840s took to the Greek Revival with gusto. Most of the remaining Antebellum buildings in the city reflect that architectural and ideological movement. Still, there is something unsettling and remarkably "unreal" about the picture.

A great many of those living in Rocketts during this period were engaged in manufacturing. The two mills are important framing elements to the scene, but they hardly appear "industrial". Their functions cannot be inferred. The tobacco manufactories with their hundreds of hired slaves and free blacks have no apparent place in the scene. The one- and two-masters that ride at the wharves hardly appear suited for the robust international trade in wheat, flour, tobacco products, and lumber that fueled the growth of the city during this period. By the 1840s, Richmond was a town of factories, many were steam-driven, many were just sweatshops. Perhaps these would have been understood by a contemporary observer, but they are completely invisible here. This is a clean city, a neat city. Even the men in the foreground, dressed as workers, do not appear to be working; rather they are "hanging out", enjoying the scene, relaxing.

We can get little specific information about Rocketts from this painting. Too much is missing. The slopes of Libby Terrace and Church Hill were thronged with streets and houses by the time this painting was made. Pleasants shows us instead a park-like setting of grassy slopes, not unlike today's visage of the hills over Rocketts. Note that there are still Lombardy Poplars to be found here and there, including one rising prominently from the midst of Rocketts - perhaps the last of that earlier grove. Perhaps there was a sense in the landscape of the period that there was much open space. The artist certainly seems convinced of it. While specifics of the landscape are not credible, maybe this general "feeling" should be viewed as an important artist's interpretation. If so, seeing these open spaces as park-like pastures must have required winking. Note, for instance, the large open "field" between Rocketts and Shockoe Bottom. This field occupies the location of the Rocketts Warehouse complex, which had recently burned, but the walls of which remained visible until at least the end of the Civil War. This field also

includes "tobacco row", the line of tall tobacco factories along Main and Cary Streets that preceeded those which stand today.

If this painting is dated correctly to the early 1840s, and the internal evidence seems strong, this painting must be viewed as a nostalgia piece. Perhaps Pleasants himself added the "Anno 1798" legend, thinking he was capturing the scene as he imagined it had been in the halcyon days of the early nation. Certainly, it's a beautiful painting and a powerful document, but what it reveals tells us much more about the artist's beliefs and values, than it tells us about social reality in Richmond.

#### View 4. Rocketts from Libby Hill, c. 1855-60, Cook Collection, Valentine

One of the most valuable assemblages of visual documents on early Virginia is the Cook Collection of early photographs, now housed at the Valentine Museum in Richmond. Many of the negatives and plates from this collection have been published (Kocker and Dearstyne 1954). The photographs are principally the work of Richmond photographers George Cook, and his son Heustis, and were made between 1865 and 1900. However, the Cooks also collected the works of other, including earlier, photographers, and this view, and the following one, appear to pre-date the operation of the Cook Studio in Richmond. The photographer is, therefore, unknown.

Dating this photograph has been an interesting experience in critical nit-picking. It is often attributed to the 1870s or even the 1890s, but it clearly pre-dates the Civil War. None of the construction and landscape changes that accompanied the war efforts of the Confederate Navy are visible here. The two prominent brick buildings at the right center of the photograph are the Haskins and Libby warehouse and Richard Haskins' store (the smaller building). The larger building is the older of the two, and Richard Haskins advertised his "new" store in an 1855 city directory. Note the large spreading tree - probably an elm, standing next to the old Marx's Mill building on the south bank of the James. This tree, which reaches to the roof-top of the building, is virtually absent in the 1810 painting, it rises to 2/3 the height of the building in the Pleasants painting, and it is about the same height as the mill in an 1861 painting, to be discussed below. Thus, we can date the photo to between 1855 and 1860 with some confidence.

Once again we see Rocketts from Libby Terrace. Clearly the photographer hoped to capture much of the beauty of the sinuous meanders of the James River running south and east out of Richmond, just as did Latrobe and the anonymous painter disussed above. Here we have the value of a photograph, rather than a painting or sketch, however. Despite the foreground inclusion of the rolling empty upper slopes of Libby Terrace, and the broad fields across

the river, this is clearly an "urban" scene. The core of Rocketts Village can be seen in the dense cluster of buildings just to the left of Haskins' store. These buildings lie along the north and south sides of Rocketts Street, east of Ash Street. There are some roofs of large buildings standing on Lots 204 and 205 visible just below the lip of the terrace which also obscures Bloody Run Street. Lots 203 and 204 are largely obscured by the small houses on Main Street in the foreground, although a dense forest of chimneys can be seen rising from the lower terrace behind these houses. The flat white roof seen below the lip of the terrace to the left is probably the C.F. Watson Store building, which is archaeologically represented in this study by remains we have identified as "Structure 8".

Note that there are no longer any Lombardy Poplars to be seen; the tall groves that once stood in the middle of Rocketts Village, and around the Mill on the south side of the river, are now gone. Likewise, the groves of cedars and hardwoods that had provided the rustic setting for the early 19th century painter have been replaced. Here we see instead the grassy hills depicted by Pleasants, but with ruts and paths that tell us, at least, that people and animals passed here frequently. This landscaping change - the removal of trees from open ground away from buildings, seems to reflect the more forceful hand of "man" on nature. While the photographer seems to want to direct our eyes to the countryside downriver, there is little hint of man-in-nature here. The slow shutter speed of the early camera doesn't record people - although their blurred, ghostly images are apparent under magnification - so the technology retains the "unpopulated" scene. But the works of people are everywhere to be seen. Buildings, roads, docks...these are the subject matter of the picture. The eye is as easily led to the huge commercial edifices at the right as they are to the empty country beyond view down river. The river is transformed here not as a figure of nature, but as the highway to carry the products of a complex city-based human culture. The small houses, the rising plumes of smoke from chimneys, and the denuded hillside all speak of human actions.

Look to the north river bank in the upper left corner of the picture. Compare this view of east Rockets with the impression given by the Pleasants painting. In this photo we see the tall tobacco factories, breweries and mills where the workers who thronged the streets of the now expanded town of Rocketts went to work. This photo is, at most, 20 years more recent than the Pleasants painting, and yet it tells a very different tale. Some of this is due to real changes in the landscape of Rocketts, but much of it refers to changes in the landscape of the mind. On the verge of the Civil War, Richmond was an industrial city with a huge working class made up largely of blacks and recent immigrants. While this view shows only a small glimpse of the urban, cosmopolitan nature of the town, there is nothing here that can be mistaken for the rustic and rural "south" of popular imagination and literature - both then and now.



View 5. Rockett's from near Orleans Street, c. 1855-60.

View 5a, Detail

Valentine Museum, Cook Collection negative #4065.

View 6. Richmond 1854.

Valentine 60.3.24.

This wonderful image (View 5), another in the Cook Collection, appears to have been made at about the same time as the foregoing one. Many of the same buildings and landscape features are visible in these two pictures. This view, made from just slightly further east than the Pleasants painting, helps to interpret that earlier work. The hills do not rise quite so high, and the state capitol - Jefferson's great icon of republican democracy, does not soar above the landscape. Instead it stands, nearly hidden in the mists of distance, on a visual plane with, and just left of, the large mill on the south bank.

In the foreground is a *melange* of boats, including the skeletal ribs of a decaying rowboat. Hovering above this craft is the ghostly image of a man in a stovepipe hat (see detail). Directly above his hat, on the north bank of the river, is Richard Haskins store and the Haskins and Libby warehouse. The tall two-master to the right of Haskins is anchored in the mouth of Gilly's Creek. Immediately to the right of the mast stands a long I-house. This house, on Lot 206, stands at the corner of Poplar Street and Elm Street (now Peebles and 32nd). This may have been the "farm" house of Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman. Just above it, surrounded by a white picket fence, is the Woodward House.<sup>71</sup> Once again Lot 203 is obscured by foreground buildings, primarily the Haskins Store. If you look closely at the northeast edge of the Haskins Store building, about 2/3 of the way up to the roof and immediately to the right, you can see the upper gable of Structure 4, a double tenement and store facing Poplar Street, on Lot 203.

Again, the photograph clearly shows the urban nature of Rocketts. By the time this view was made, Libby Terrace and Church Hill were both crowded

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<sup>71</sup> These identifications are problematic. The Freemans estate did not seem adequate to support such a large house. Freeman purchased Lot 206, where the I-house appears to stand. He did purchase the lot from the estate of John Craddock's son, John Hague Craddock, who lived on Lot 206. The architectural style of the house is consistent with an early 19th-century construction date. The supposed Woodward house is very similar to that standing structure, but has some architectural features that the present owners, John and Mary Ellen Bushey, do not believe to be represented in the present fabric of the building. What's more, the "magic camera" technique could not reconcile the position of these two houses vis-a-vis certain landmark buildings on Libby Terrace, using the Russell photograph, to be discussed below. Further research is needed to positively identify these buildings.



with the large houses of the upper middling merchants and industrialists. Note the dense clustering of worker housing in the lower levels of Rocketts, e.g., below, and right of the Woodward and Freeman houses. Note the almost complete lack of trees or open ground anywhere below the slopes of Libby Terrace. Rocketts, by the time this picture was made, had been fully developed. Lots had been subdivided again and again. Here we see clearly the beginning of late 19th-century social realities: capitalism has been successful for many of the merchants and industrialists, but an impoverished working class has joined the enslaved class at the base of the broad pyramid. While urban Richmond achieved a zenith in the years just before the Civil War, perhaps the photographer, wittingly or not, views the seeds of Rocketts' economic decline beginning to sprout.

Nonetheless, the records, and the archaeology, are ambivalent. The late Antebellum years included both economically depressed times, and booming growth periods, in Rocketts. The population grew rapidly. Buildings, such as Structure 1 on the site, were destroyed and not replaced and the coming of the York River Railroad displaced many persons. But there were new buildings built. While not prospering, we see the people of Rocketts caring for their neighbors and relatives. Many of the people whose histories we have traced could not amass estates of any size to pass on to their children, but they apparently remained employed. The growth of local, street-level services as well as industry is apparent. Perhaps the metaphor of the decaying boat suited the perspective of our photographer, but perhaps also this was simply one person's view of a neighborhood that had become a community of mixed ethnicities, but of a common struggle. The loss of "public" open space and vegetation is paralleled in the archaeological record by a rise in the numbers of flower pots in use on the site. Resistance to the harsh conditions of proletarian life took many forms.

It is instructive to compare this view from Rocketts bottom with a closely contemporary print (View 6), showing Richmond from Hollywood. Here we are west of town, looking across Shockoe Hill and Shockoe Bottom. Behind the rail bridge expands lower Main Street and Rocketts. This view emphasizes the successes of commerce and industry. The canal takes precedence over the river, the Gallego and Haxall Mills loom large. The homes and stores of the laboring classes stretch on into insignificance in the background. The foreground figures are early Victorian middle class - perhaps upper middling - suburbanites. This is the view from the "hills" of Richmond, and I find it difficult to accomodate this view to the that of the crowded - teeming - neighborhood of Rocketts.

## View 7. View of Rocketts from Libby Hill, June 16, 1861.

Painting by George Bacon Wood, Jr. Valentine P72.81

George Bacon Wood's view of Rocketts, made in 1861, conveyed in an almost primitive style, illustrates perhaps best of all the rosy-colored glasses some could don when looking over this port from the heights of Libby Terrace hill. Wood's view of Rocketts presents, once again, the pastoral village depicted half-a-century and more earlier. The dense, even squalid blocks of housing, rows of factories, and denuded landscape we see in contemporary photographs have been glossed. Like the early 19th-century painter, Wood stresses once again the fullness of nature. The village of Rocketts is nestled in shadow, neatly tucked beneath the bluff. There are people here - in the stage coach racing down Water Street, and clustered at the steamship dock. everyone is going somewhere, or arriving. Nobody is working or living here. Rocketts is just a contact point between unseen Richmond and the world down the river. There is no hint that a war is in progress; scarcely a sign of the burgeoning Confederate shipyard, or the supply ships and troop ships that were perennially docked at Rocketts. One sign of the war can be inferred in the unreal rendering of the old Marx Mill across the river. The front of the building appears to have been opened, and a skidway has been erected. Ships of the Confederate Navy were already under construction, probably in this building. But where are the ancillary buildings, railroads and wharves required to run a shipyard and build a Navy?

Despite the blinded perspective of Wood, his painting reveals some interesting points. The lower rise of Libby Terrace, and the Bloody Run Street cut, had taken on the characteristic of a staircase of eroded terraces. This landscaping (or, perhaps, mass wastage due to denuding the slopes) is visible in all of the Civil War era views. The small houses along Main Street, which obscured Lot 203 in the Cook Collection photo, above, have been removed. A small white shed-roof house, a grove of trees, and a picket fence all depict Lot 203 (between the viewer and the Haskins and Libby Warehouse). The shed-roof house was a tenement of John W. Atkinson's at the time this painting was made. It was probably built as a tenement for Hannah Hague, by John Craddock, in or before 1810. In another year and a half, Atkinson would sell it to John Schonberger and his wife, Frances.

We can only speculate about the reasons that Wood painted this scene the way he did. Like the romantic and exotic patterns on the Staffordshire plates at the Rocketts #1 Site, here is art as a denial of life. This is the same sort of Victorian neo-Romanticism that created Indian-head tobacco pipes to symbolically when the war against the heathen, and that selected Persian and Egyptian scenes on plates and patterns for buildings, thus symbolically appropriating the Holy Land for the "western" world (Said 1979). By casting Rocketts into a pastoral mold, perhaps the artist, and his viewers, conquered

their fears of Richmond's truly urban nature. Perhaps this throw-back to an earlier view of Rocketts helped forge a myth of the rural south over against the industrialized north with its proletarian masses. But this is ideological fluff, and certainly it was transparent to anyone familiar with the reality.

View 8. View of Rocketts' and the James River, April 1865.

Artist Unknown. Copy at the Hampton Roads Naval Museum.

View 9. Similar to above.

Museum of the Confederacy # 3130.

View 10. "View of Rocketts' and the James River, Richmond Va, April 1865"

Artist Unknown. National Archives Brady Collection # 4074. Copies at: Library of Congress (#12522), US Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, the Hampton Roads Naval Museum, and the Valentine Museum.

These are three nearly identical views of Rocketts from Libby Terrace made by Union photographers immediately after the fall of Richmond. Mathew Brady and other photographers swarmed over Richmond in April of 1865 documenting for the home command and the press the Confederate capital in Union hands. Several views were taken from Libby Terrace, all within a short time on the same day. One view (not shown here) was helpful in identifying the location from these scenes were made, in that the photographer turned his camera west, and photographed down Main Street towards Richmond. In the foreground, on the ground, in that picture lies a stereo camera. To my knowledge, none of these stereo views has survived. Two of the views shown here (8 and 10) appear to have been made at almost exactly the same instant (note the position of the steamer's wheel housing relative to the parapets of Haskins' Store), but the focal lengths of the lenses were quite different, as was the shooting position. We can be glad for that, because the wide angle view (10) reveals numerous details not seen in the tighter shots.<sup>72</sup> View #9 was made only a minute or two later, and with a longer lens.

Across the river from Rocketts lies the Confederate Navy Yard. The Marx Mill had been taken over for use by the Confederate Navy, but the building appears to be derelict. At the point of the bend in the river, just downstream from the Navy Yard wharves, a ship still under construction can be seen. In the close foregrounds of Views 8 and 9 is the terracing of Libby Terrace, first seen in the Wood painting. Bloody Run Street runs along the terrace; for scale, note the human figures in the road in View 8. Lot 203 lies within, and

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<sup>72</sup>. Compare with Plate 1, in the folio of plates, taken from approximately the same position.

on either side of, the dense clump of trees in the right foreground on Views 8 and 9, and in the middle of the picture in View 10. In all cases, the site lies between the cameras and the old Haskins and Libby warehouse, which had been commandeered as the Confederate Quartermaster headquarters during the war. A sharp eye will note - especially in View 9, the sign over the Haskins store door which reads "R. O. Haskins". The sign on the west wall of the building reads "Ship Chandlery/Groceries and Ship Stores".

At the left of the grove of trees on Lot 203 (just in front of the Haskins Store building) there is a roof of a 1 storey building facing east-west. This building is on Lot 204. Immediately to the right of that building is a row of three very small houses - the southernmost house can only be seen under magnification on the original prints; these are standing on (from north to south) Lots 203.3.3, 203.3.2, and 203.3.1.2. They are the houses of Isham Freeman (two houses) and Susanna (Freeman) Roland, respectively. Isham was certainly living in the small house at 203.3.2, and the Fitzhugh Gardner household was renting the other small house five years later.

Just in front of, and in line with, the northwestern edge of the Confederate Quartermaster (the very large brick building) in all three pictures can be seen the west gable end of Structure 4, on Lot 203.3.1.1. The building is frame, with a gable roof; it rises 1-1/2 storeys tall. There is a very small, shed addition, barely 1 storey tall attached to the end of the house. This addition has a chimney - it appears to be a coal flue suggesting someone lived in that one room. This addition left no archaeological evidence in the ground at all; it must have rested on light brick piers. The chimney probably vented a stove which also rested on brick or stone. Under magnification it is possible to see a "false front" parapet, or storefront, one storey high extending past the end of Structure 4, and in front of its shed addition. Robert Freeman owned Structure 4 at this time, and he may have operated his shoe repair business here, but he was living in 1st ("Jackson") Ward. The double house served as a store and part of it may have been rented to Cornelius McNamara, and/or to Mayer Schwartz, both of whom were grocers operating on or near the lot at this time.

Just to the right of the Freeman lots is the fenced yard of Lot 203.2, John Schonberger's home at this time. Schonberger's house can be clearly seen in View 10. It is the small one-storey white-washed brick building just beyond the Richmond and York R.R. cut (denoted by the scruffy board fence and loose dirt piles. The house appears in this view in front of, and slightly to the right of, the gable of the Quartermaster building. Actually, this view is deceptive; the house is two storeys facing the yard and Poplar Street (south), but is built into the side of the terrace. That this is so will be seen when I discuss the A. J. Russell photo, below. In the closer views it is apparent that Schonberger's lot is entirely fenced. Along the fence at the east side of his yard is a shed, perhaps for firewood, or for use as a feed bin for his dairy cattle. The fence line, and

the row of trees that obscure much of the detail in the Freeman lots, appear to line the narrow alley ("Goose Alley") running between the Freemans and Schonberger. What is obviously missing in these views of Lot 203 is Structure 1. Schonberger's lot is empty below his house where John Craddock's old "lumberhouse" once stood. This building burned in 1857 or 1858.

It is not difficult to see what the photographers wanted to say with these views. Like many artists before them, they were struck by the breath-taking landscape carved by the meanders of the James River. Beyond that, however, is the prize of the Confederate Naval Academy and the ship-building yard and drydocks. Note, especially in Views 8 and 9, the rows of artillery caissons lined up on the dock. These are the guns from Richmond's defenses that have been brought to the Rocketts wharf, from which they were shipped north.

View 11. A. J. Russell: "Port Richmond Wharf, 1865".

Valentine Museum negative 46.45.35 (National Archive Brady Collection Negative B385).

View 11a. Detail

Provided by the Virginia State Library and Archives.

This view is from a rail-loading derrick constructed by Union troops on the south bank of the James.<sup>73</sup> The derrick is barely visible in View 10, near the right edge of the print. The large building on the north bank is the Confederate Quartermaster at Rocketts, and near the right edge of this print is the Haskins Store. Immediately left of the store we see the gable end of a two-storey I-house. This had been Nathaniel Freeman's house; Isham Freeman sold this structure and all of Lots 205 and 206 to the Richmond trolley railroad in 1861. On the hill above this house stands the Woodward house, its back yard surrounded by a white fence.

To the left of the loading derrick is a high, eroded scarp. This is the the cut (and subsequently eroded) face of the T3 terrace. The cutting was done to accomodate the line of the Richmond and York River R.R., which runs at its base. On the top of the terrace, but visible mainly under magnification, are the crenelated walls that once surrounded the Rocketts Tobacco Warehouse, and which Mordecai described as rising from the banks of the James River "like an ancient fortress". Again, on a good copy and with a magnifier, several factory buildings can be seen, including what appear to be salt-glaze stoneware kilns. This is probaby David Parr's "Richmond Pottery" which, according to a

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<sup>73</sup>. Compare this view with Plate 2, in the folio of plates, taken from approximately the same position.

contemporary directory, stood "at the foot of Rocketts Street". Several years later, Parr (or Paar) moved his operation into east Rocketts. Much of the stoneware crockery excavated from Schonberger's lot appears to be "seconds", defective but usable wares probably acquired cheaply from Parr's pottery.

Centered within the upright trestles of the derrick, and on the opposite bank of the river, it is possible to see the rising line of Rocketts Street, as well as the fenced yard and the house of John and Frances Schonberger.<sup>74</sup> This fence is corroborated by a line of late 19th-century posts we excavated along Main Street. Numerous other posts penetrating the "clay floor" and rubble of Structure 1 undoubtedly belong to the various sheds and barns scattered in the Schonberger yard, and which are barely discernable in this and other photographs. Scarcely visible just to the right of Schonberger's house is the west gable end of Structure 4.

## View 12. Rockets Landing, Richmond, Va.

Engraving from a sketch by J. R. Hamilton, from *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 23, 1865

Courtesy of the Virginia State Library and Archives.<sup>75</sup>

This view of Rocketts was sketched five months after the fall of Richmond. This engraving accompanied an article in *Harpers*. The text with the picture reads in part:

We present on this page a view of Rockets Landing, the principal wharf at the port of Richmond. If anything were needed as proof of the vast difference between the state of affairs before and since the National occupation, it might be seen in the Rocketts of today and the miserable, deserted, Heaven-forsaken looking spot which was pointed out to the first comers from the North as the commercial *entrepôt* of the rebel capital. Then there was nothing to be seen on the landing but piles of disabled cannon and rusty fragments of war materials, nobody to be met but a few idle

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<sup>74</sup>. Here we can easily demonstrate one advantage of this "pictorial archaeology". In reviewing these views of Rocketts, we have seen two houses which stood on the same small plot of ground: the tiny house in Latrobe's sketch, and "Mrs. Hague's house" in the anonymous ca. 1810 painting. Depictions of John Schonberger's house in various Civil War era views shows it to be the same building that had once been "Mrs. Hague's house". Neither of these houses left a trace in the archaeological record due to the extensive landscape modifications attendant on the construction of the C&O trestle. We have many artifacts from each of these occupations, but it took these pictures, along with some plats and deeds, to flesh out the natures and histories of these houses.

<sup>75</sup>. Thanks to Petie Bogen-Garrett for locating and copying this on a moment's notice.

negroes, of all ages and sexes, coming to gape at the wonderful "Yankees." Now the scene is altogether changed. Rocketts has really resumed a portion of its former bustling character, and in a short time will far surpass it. We have opposition lines of splendid steamers running daily to and from Baltimore, Fortress Monroe and Norfolk...

The message is clear. The North, that is, the "we" of the article, has revived Rocketts which, under the decay of the war (and the South) had become sullen, trashed, and a haven for "negroes, of all ages and sexes." There are few "negro" faces among this crowd, except for a porter or two. Many of the freed, but indigent African Americans were interned in the old hospital barracks above Rocketts, on Chimbrazo Hill. In fact, a gang of Rocketts toughs assaulted the encampment and some blacks were killed. But here, on the wharf in front of Haskins' Store, the air was "civil", and the crowds thronged a dozen steamers a day. In fact, war had been both invigorating and destructive to Rocketts. The ship trades and artisans and merchants of the town had sold their wares and services to the Confederacy, and some had made out quite well. But war sapped the economy, and, almost immediately after its conclusion, Richmond boomed. The depressed conditions that followed with Occupation and Reconstruction throughout much of the rural South were not matched in Richmond. While this sketch, revealing baldly its sectional, racist, and elitist ideology, had its primary value as propaganda, it reflects a certain truth: war's end was good for Rocketts.

13. "A View, Looking from the Bluffs, of the Flood at Rocketts, James River, Richmond, Va."

*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 22, 1870. Courtesy of the Virginia State Library.

This print shows the effects of the devastating 100-year floods on Rocketts. The view is approximately from just west of the Woodward House on Bloody Run Street. The 1870 flood was, by all accounts, nowhere near as high or as destructive as the 1771 "Great Freshet", or the flooding in the wake of the "Great Gust", a hurricane of 1667. West Rocketts is submerged, nearly to the first floor ceilings of the larger buildings, and to the garrets of smaller houses. West Rocketts is somewhat higher in elevation than east Rocketts, in the bottomlands of Gilly's Creek (to the left in the picture). The archaeological sequence of the Rocketts #1 Site was punctuated by numerous flood deposits, and there was good evidence that some buildings had been destroyed by, or abandoned after, flooding. Note the figures standing on rooftops awaiting rescue. Note, too, the numerous houses and other buildings that have been lifted off of their foundations and are floating in the midst of the channel.

14. Rockets, Port of Richmond.



## Cook Collection, Valentine

## 15. Untitled view looking up the James at Richmond.

Valentine 46.44.3.s

These two views are roughly contemporary and date to the late 19th century, or to the early 20th century prior to the construction of the C&O trestle, ca. 1903-1905. View 15 is apparently somewhat earlier than 16. There are a number of industrial smokestacks in the latter picture which do not appear in the former. The photographers are unknown.

These views illustrate the rapid transformation of Rocketts to an industrial economic basis at the end of the 19th century. View 15, while revealing only minimal details of the Rocketts port, shows it to be substantially similar to that seen in the Civil War views. View 16, on the other hand reveals not only new smokestacks at Rocketts, but a large new factory or foundry on the south side of the river, standing in the location of the former Marx Mill and Confederate Navy Yard. Tied to the wharf in the earlier picture is a passenger steamer, again emphasizing the importance of Rocketts as a passenger terminal for the Atlantic steamship routes. View 16, on the other hand, shows two large ocean-going cargo ships at the wharf, although sailing ships remain the only types tied to the south bank wharves.

Both pictures emphasize the water and the maritime character of the scene at Rocketts. It is notable that one or both of the sailors in the foreground of View 15 appear to be African American. Following the Civil War, many blacks at Rocketts became hands on the steamers and schooners that sailed to and from the port of Richmond.

## 16. View of Rocketts, looking up the James.

Valentine #3697.

## 16a. Detail

This early 20th century photograph (photographer unknown) is reminiscent of the 1850s scene discussed above (View 5). In both cases we view Rocketts with Richmond in the background. There are striking differences, however, not only in the nature of the city, but also in the intentions of the photographers.

The early view was made from the river's edge. The rowboats in the foreground set the tone of the picture. In the later view, we are elevated. In

fact the location from which the shot was made is difficult to determine; apparently the photographer stood on the engine of a stationary train locomotive. In fact, rail lines, rather than the river's edge, are the dominant element of the composition. The eye is guided along the rails to Rocketts, which in this scene is traversed, and defined, by the elevated C&O trestle. The large plume of coal smoke in the center of the photograph arises from the stack of a locomotive on the trestle above the outlet of the Great Ship Lock at the base of the James River and Kanawha Canal.

The wharves of Rocketts are all but gone. What's more, the "village" of Rocketts - the dense clustering of houses so visible behind the wharves in the early view - has been obliterated by the C&O trestle. Even the smokestacks of small industries that had arisen just a few years earlier (View 15) are gone. Rocketts below Boody Run Street (Williamsburg Ave.) is a desolate wasteland of modernity, industry, and the iron tangle of railroad tracks. One familiar landmark remains. In the detail of this view we can easily recognize Richard Haskin's store. No longer a ship chandlery and grocery, the building is the factory home of Meade and Baker's Carbolic Mouthwash & Saponine Dentifrice (see also Figure 17). A few of the older houses and stores remain huddled in the shadow of the train trestle. Clearly the photographer meant to tell us that Richmond had become a "modern" city. Once again rails ran through this transportation hub, only now they would carry coal and steel and other products of civilization transformed by the 20th century. But "modernity" brought an end to Rocketts. Soon the very name of the port would be forgotten. The remaining residences and shops of Rocketts - primarily east Rocketts - would become incorporated into the new inner-city neighborhood of Fulton.

# 17. "Richmond By Moonlight, 1863" By William R. McGrath, 1991.

William R. McGrath is a contemporary artist who has produced this recent historical reconstruction based on reading of various documents and the Union 1865 photographs presented above. McGrath has extrapolated backwards to 1863, prior to the fall of Richmond, to provide his interpretation of Rocketts in the heyday of the Confederate Navy Yard. While I would quibble with some of the details of his interpretation of the early photos, this view renders details in the area of Lots 203 and 204 that are only discernable under magnification in the original photographs. The Freeman houses, and the Schonberger house, are all depicted especially well here.

This view is reproduced from a large lithograph which adds a dimension of color and clarity to the earlier views. McGrath's aim has been apparently to render architectural and landscape details very faithfully. His artistic license permits him to add some specific vessels of the James River Squadron to his

scene, and to depict the Navy Yard without the intrusions of the occupying army's later structures, or the evacuation fire's destructions. He has also chosen to picture this by-now-familiar scene at night, by moonlight. Perhaps this choice was "merely" aesthetic, but it nonetheless shows the waterfront to be an active place. While McGrath's reference photographs do not show people (due, as noted above, to the long exposures required by the glass plates), the artist has amply peopled this landscape. The Rocketts wharf is a living and lively place, even at night.

Perhaps the most telling comment we can make on this print is to note the enormous amount of research and production time it required. Obviously, Rocketts - especially, Rocketts in wartime - still commands interest. What is being sold here, however, is not an historic ideology, but an ideology of history. The South and its capital city are reborn with a view of their modernity, and a sense of reclaiming, or outliving, the Lost Cause. Many Richmonders today tend towards pride in their city's Civil War history. During the city's bicentennial of its incorporation in 1980, celebrants included not Revolutionary, but Civil War reenactors. This view counters the purpose of Brady's original photographs. Richmond is here not a breached bastion, but a wellspring of potential. In many ways, McGrath's work restates Latrobe's purpose. This is not a eulogy of the South, of slavery, or of state's rights; it is a celebration of the local, of history instantiated in the present, of Richmond for today's Richmonder.

I can't help but note, however, that today's artist is no more willing or able to depict Rocketts at the street level, to look eye-to-eye with slaves and immigrant workers, to venture into shops and down narrow and dirty alleys. Here is a view of Rocketts for which we have little representation, from either the past or present.

## 18. Lester Street

Valentine Museum Collection, Artist Unknown.

But there are exceptions, and this one is extraordinary. Floods were frequently the occasion of recordings. Like the print of Rocketts during the 1870 deluge, discussed above, this photograph shows the James as it swamps the warehouses and factories of east Rocketts. This photograph has proven difficult to date with certainty. The styles of clothing and hats suggest a time perhaps as late as 1910-20, and the trolley tracks on Lester Street indicates that the photo was made after the late 1880s. This view captures people, even those in motion. The view is along Lester Street, at about the intersection of Lester and Orleans. The storefronts stand approximately where the William R. Hill warehouse stands today.

Virtually all of the people in this picture probably considered themselves to be "Negro", or "colored". By the end of the 19th century Rocketts had become almost exclusively a neighborhood of black working people. With the exception of clothes styles, trolley tracks, and the complete lack of non-African-American faces, this scene probably represents reasonably well a day in the life at Rocketts that would have seemed familiar to residents fifty years earlier. It is worth noting that, while the flooding of the river may have been the occasion of the photographer's visit to Lester Street, the focus is clearly on the people in the street. The gentleman eyeing the camera at the right frame edge grabs the eye, and the composition comprised of converging diagonals of the rails and river's edge, and the building facades, all focus the eye towards the central group of youths and the women on the sidewalk. We cannot tell whether the photographer felt at one with these subjects, or simply found them curious or quaint. Intentionally or not, he/she captured their humanity in a way no other recorder of Rocketts had previously done.

## Historic Maps

Archaeologists frequently use historic maps as sources of information about their sites, and the sites' settings. Maps, like artwork, contain "documentary" evidence - that is they contain the information they were directly intended to contain - but they also are useful sources of "artifactual" or interpretive information. As with any artwork, what is shown may be important, but so is the manner in which it is shown. Likewise, the omissions or glosses of maps may be informative. The following is a selection of historic maps depicting Rocketts during the period of interest. For the most part, these are details of much larger city or county maps. In some cases, I have also reproduced details of the details, focusing on the site area more specifically. There are only two maps in this series which actually show buildings, other than major public edifices, and these maps prove especially useful.

Map 1: Skirmish at Richmond Jan: 5th. 1781. Lt. Col. J.G. Simcoe, 1787.

Virginia Historical Society.

This very minimal map shows little in the way of details, but illustrates the encampment of British troops at Rocketts (see the troop positions labelled "F", to the right of center. West Rocketts - that is the settlement at Rocketts Landing - is depicted by two symbols representing buildings, just west of the middle creek (Gilly's Creek). One or both of these is in the approximate position of the site, and could represent the location of buildings on Lots 203, 210, 211, and 212. Structures were probably standing on this lot when this map was made.

Map 2: A Plan of the City of Richmond in Henrico County  
State of Virginia. R. B. James, Sept. 23, 1804.

This is perhaps the earliest map showing the city lots laid out in west Rocketts. Note that lots do not extend beyond Gilly's Creek. Documentary evidence suggests considerable development east of Gilly's Creek by this date; however, the Creek served as the disputed corporate line between Richmond and Henrico County. Just below the intersection of the "County Road" and the road leading to Bloody Run are the principal early Rocketts lots, including #s 196 - 215. Poplar, Ash, Elm and Maple Streets, while not named on this map, had already been laid out by the time the map was made. It is apparent that Poplar Street had been added after the initial lots had been laid out.

This and other early maps of Richmond are monuments to town planning as only men of the Enlightenment could produce. On the larger map as a whole, the city grid is laid off in almost perfect squares, all of the same size and orientation, with little concern for topography or, for that matter, with the existence of already-existing roads, paths, houses and yards. This is the city-as-blank-slate mode of mapping. What is notable here, however, is that the Rocketts lots are considerably more irregular in shape and size than are the "older" Richmond city lots, seen in the upper left corner of this detail. While the Rocketts lots were laid out *as lots* 40 or 50 years later than these Richmond lots, their more "organic" form shows some necessity on the part of planners and surveyors, to follow property lines, and existing landscape features, that predate their rationalization on paper. Even so, one would never know, looking at this view of Rocketts, that Bloody Run Street lay three natural terraces higher than Water Street, or that E Street was on another terrace, higher yet than the three lower ones combined.

What's more, these lots, lain over the Rocketts cultural and physical landscape like a fishing net, never gained much reality other than as tax and real estate bookkeeping devices. In 1804, when this map was made, most properties were larger than any individual lot, and subsumed two, three, or more separate lots, and often pieces of adjoining lots. Within three or four years, many of the lots had already been subdivided. Lot 203 was actually three parcels by ca. 1810, for instance. We can speak of these city lots as guides to map coordinates, or indices to follow through the records of the city, but they had little more reality in 1804 than they do today.

### Map 3: The City of Richmond, Richard Young, circa 1809-1810

#### Map 3a: Detail

Richard Young was the city's surveyor for many years in the early 19th century. The city was lucky to have such a fine cartographer, and we are fortunate to have his products which, besides numerous plats, include a map of Henrico and the two city maps presented here. Young was a resident of Rocketts living on Bloody Run Street, and his familiarity with the community, and some of its leaders, shows in this map. Note the names and initials found on the wharves, and on many of the newly established lots of east Rocketts. Here we see why the names of George Nicholson, John Hague, John Lester, and John Craddock dominate so many of the early records concerning Rocketts. In the upper left quadrant of the detail is the old city corporate line, labelled by Young as "Marrin's line"; which runs along the old boundary between the lands of William Byrd and Gilly Gromarrin. The "new" city corporate boundary includes west Rocketts and the waterfront as far east as the Rope Walk.

### Map 4: City of Richmond and its Jurisdiction including Manchester. Richard Young, 1817.

Richard Young updated his city map in 1817. This shows additional owners' names in and around Rocketts. Note "S Craddock" - that is, Sally Craddock - shown as owner of the John Craddock homeplace on Libby Terrace. Craddock, just before his death (which was in the same year the map was made), had also sold off other adjacent parcels to Thomas Rutherford. This entire estate was once the home of George Nicholson. Note the Rocketts Mills, just east of "S Craddock", at the foot of Libby Terrace. The mills were powered by a headrace made by channelizing Bloody Run.

The main lots of east Rocketts are labelled as the property of Nicholson, Simpson, Hague and Lester, but most of these men had died some years earlier. Port Mayo is shown taking up east Rocketts east of the Rope Walk. This property was carved out of the western fringe of the Mayo plantation, Powhatan. The two main streets of Port Mayo - Louisiana and Orleans - speak to the importance of the early 19th century trade between Richmond and New Orleans. Another smaller street to the east is named Ohio Street, again a reference to the New Orleans trade. Goods from Pittsburgh and the Ohio country were transhipped from New Orleans. Rocketts merchants traded to and from the Ohio drainage via New Orleans which, in turn, was reached via trading trips plying the Caribbean and the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of both North and South America.

**Map 5: Plan of the City of Richmond. Micajah Bates, 1835.**

The Bates Map shows the lots at Rocketts even more heavily "rationalized" into the city plan, although a few of the older lot lines remain evident. The Rocketts Warehouse remains the prominent feature of west Rocketts, while Powhatan Warehouse is a major item in east Rocketts. Note the Chesterfield Rail Road on the south side of the river. This was the first rail line in Richmond, a colliery tram that ran from Midlothian and Black Heath to deliver coal to Rocketts. The "Marine Railway Co." has a port on the Rocketts side of the river. Much of the coal was barged across the river for transshipment. Mayo's Sawmill is shown at the right of the map between Bloody Run and Polar Streets. The Mayos ran a new headrace from upstream on Gilly's Creek to power this mill.

**Map 6: Plan of Richmond (Henrico County), Manchester & Springhill, Virginia. Charles S. Morgan, 1848.**

The Morgan Map leaves out the lot divisions at Rocketts, for reasons unknown. At the notation "D 6" on the map is the site of the Rocketts Warehouse. The corresponding legend, not reproduced here, notes that the warehouse had recently burned and had not been rebuilt.

**Map 7: Map of Cimborra (sic) Hospital as it appeared July 6, 1862. Savage Smith.**

Thompson-McCaw Library, VCU-MCV.

This map of Chimborazo Hoispital provides a slightly different perspective on Rocketts. This clearly shows the gas works in place on the site of the old Mayo Saw Mill, just east of Maple Street. Rocketts Street is mis-labelled "Warehouse Street", a street which is omitted from the map. The map also shows the run of the Richmond and York River Railrad through the west Rocketts lots.

**Map 8: Map of Richmond, Va. and Surrounding Counties, showing Rebel Fortifications. D. van Nostrand, New York, 1864.**

Valentine Museum.



This Civil War era map presents an overview of Richmond and its defenses for the northern reading public. Note the fort and associated earthworks on Fulton Hill over Rocketts. The map is also useful for showing the relative importance of the position of Rocketts in relation to the rest of the city. While Richmond is centrally located, straddling the Fall Line, to be a hub of roads and rail lines, there is only marginal navigability in the James above Rocketts, siltation at the City Docks and, before that at Shockoe Landing, was a perpetual problem. Thus, Rocketts emerged as the major port for the city.

Map 9: Map of a part of the City of Richmond showing the burnt Districts. William Ira Smith, circa 1865.

Virginia State Library and Archives.

This view of Richmond and Rocketts at the end of the Civil war shows those areas most effected by the evacuation fire. Note the Navy Yard on both sides of the River at Rocketts. Other than scuttled ships, there was miraculously little damage done to Rocketts by the great fire, which gutted many of the older districts in the main part of town.

Map 10: Richmond Virginia. Capt. Peter S. Michie and Major Nathaniel Michler, 1862-1867.

Map 10a: detail of Richmond Virginia. Capt. Peter S. Michie and Major Nathaniel Michler, 1862-1867.

National Archives.

This beautiful Union military map illustrates well not only the advances in map-making graphics of the mid-19th century, but also the relative importance of topography in a military map. Here for the first time, we have careful renderings of the major stream valleys and terraces, patterns of vegetation, and other natural features. This is also the earliest map of the city which shows considerable detail in the improvements to lots. Some of these renderings of individual lots, with their fences, yards and buildings of considerable variety are rendered very accurately, while others are quite simply glossed. Items of strategic and tactical importance are particularly well represented. Note, for instance the Quartermaster building and Haskins Store, and the fidelity with which the York River Railroad line and its deep gash through west Rocketts are depicted.

On the other hand, Lot 203 and its neighboring lots are completely inadequately shown. Lot 203 is shown having a single large building, facing east-west, with a fenced lot behind it (to the north). Perhaps this is meant to

represent Structure 4, the double tenement and store which faced Poplar Street on Lot 203.3.1. The fence probably is intended to show John Schonberger's fenced lot (Lot 203.2). There were no fewer than five - possibly six - buildings on Lot 203 at the time this map was made. Also missing are numerous houses on the south and north sides of Bloody Run Street. Considering the conditions under which the map was made, using pre-War and intelligence information sources, it is, nonetheless, a miracle of cartography.

Map 11: Illustrated Atlas of the City of Richmond. F.W. Beers, 1876.

#### Map 11a: Detail

The Beers Atlas is certainly one of the most important documents available for the study of late 19th-century Richmond. It is equally useful for geographic history as for micro-history at the neighborhood, or even the block level. There is no parallel to the Beers map sheets for detail concerning lot improvements other than digging up individual property plat sheets. Owners are listed on many of the lots and, in some instances, tenants are shown. Because a great many owners' names are listed this map proves to be a useful adjunct to, or starting point for, title searching earlier owners of city lots.

The Beers Atlas is the only extant document that confirms archaeological evidence for a second, post-Civil War, structure on Lot 203.2, for example. This building appears only as a series of archaeological postholes, with little regular structure, on the Rocketts #1 Site. Note the two structures indicated here. The northernmost is the small white house of John Schonberger. To the right of Schonberger, on lot 203.3.1 Structure 4 is depicted in an obtuse-angle configuration. Further excavation might indicate that an addition or another small house had been added to the lot, but no such addition or extra building appears on the numerous plats for the property. At any rate the lot is labelled "C. McN.", for grocer Cornelius McNamara. Behind (north) of McNamara, on Lot 203.3.3, is "C.S.", for Caroline Schwartz. The two lots north of Schwartz are labelled "I.H.F." for Isham H. Freeman. One of the houses is that of Freeman's tenants, the Fitzhugh Gardner family.

Note that Bloody Run Street is here labelled for the first time as "Williamsburg Avenue", the name it retains today.

Map 12: Atlas of the City of Richmond Virginia and Vicinity.  
Wm. Baist, 1889.

Valentine Museum.

The 1889 Baist Atlas of Richmond is also quite detailed, and this offers the advantages of showing street addresses, which become useful when researching late 19th-century city directories. Note the very intensive subdivision of lots in west Rocketts shown here. This is Rocketts, at its peak of population, as a working class industrial neighborhood. The layout of sublots presented here has been used in this report as a template for tracing the ownership and subdivision changes of Lot 203.

Map 13: Map of the City of Richmond-Va. Clyde W.  
Saunders, Jan. 15, 1907.

Although this map adds little new detail to our knowledge of the Rocketts area, it is worthwhile for noting some changes in street names and other place names. The name "Rocketts Street" has been abandoned, and the name "Lester Street", which "officially" only referred to the street in east Rocketts, has been extended west. Records indicate that, throughout the 19th century, the terms Rocketts, Lester and Main Streets were often interchangeable. The word "Rocketts" is absent entirely from the map. Almost immediately after the construction of the C&O viaduct, Rocketts changed character. A formerly heterogenous neighborhood, it became a poor, almost entirely African American community. With this change, the name "Rocketts" passed into history, except among some local residents, who continued to use the name up to the 1970s. New construction to the east and northeast proclaimed the community to be the town of Fulton. The name "Fulton" was derived from the C&O's Fulton Terminal rail yard, and that is the name that Rocketts carried into the present.

Map 14: Guide to Richmond and Suburbs. Laburnum  
Corporation, Real Estate Dept., 1920.

Map 14a: Detail of Guide to Richmond and Suburbs.  
Laburnum Corporation, Real Estate Dept., 1920.

Virginia Historical Society.

This 1920 map shows neighborhood names. Rocketts continues to exist here, but is restricted to west Rocketts, and the area south of the C&O viaduct. The small, faint letters in "Rocketts" can be compared with the larger, boldface

"Fulton". Still, however, history, of a sort, is preserved here in names. We see inscribed along the abandoned lowgrounds between the railroad tracks and the river the notation of "Powhatan's Grave". To the north are "Marion Hill" and "Gilly's Creek", monuments to Gilly Gromarrin and his descendants. John and Hannah Hague and John and Sarah Lester are commemorated in street names, but the Craddocks have long since disappeared.

## Plats

Plats are part of the legal description of a property. As such, their intent is to provide a graphic representation of a property which will permit the owner to defend his or her boundaries. Surveyors utilize both natural and cultural features of the landscape to assist in their platting and description of property boundaries. Sometimes these landscape features remain prominent over long periods and can be corroborated in other sources, such as maps, photographs, etc. Property boundaries tend to remain fairly stable, partly because they have been formalized with the help of deed descriptions and plats. Property boundary markers are sometimes placed in the ground by surveyors, and these can sometimes be relocated, as was the case with one such marker at Lot 203. The inclusion of landscape features in a plat or deed description tend to signal that these features were prominent features easily recognized or understood by those who might need to challenge or defend property lines. Even when a boundary is marked by a traverse running between "a beech by the creek" and "an oke", we can assume that these were trees that would be easily relocated by processioners or others who needed to confirm property limits.

Of course, it is generally only those landscape features that are instrumental in defining a property which make it onto plats. For that reason, plats reveal a skewed, but nonetheless valueable, depiction of the cultural landscape. At Rocketts, as in most urban areas, properties became increasingly smaller through time as land was subdivided for sale, or to make bequests to several heirs. Therefore, as we assess the extant plats which are pertinent to our study of Lot 203, we move chronologically through a world in which personally owned and defined spaces became increasingly more restricted. The following discussion is keyed to a folio of plats presented in Volume 3 of this report.

### Plat 1: William Byrd's land "below Shaccoe Creek"

The earliest surviving plat of the Rocketts property comes from a manuscript collection at the Virginia Historical Society known as the "Byrd Title Book". The plat dates to 1687 and accompanied William Byrd's patent of the lands that would later become Richmond and west Rocketts. The dominant natural features in the plat are the James River, "Shaccoe" (Shockoe) Creek and

"Gillie's Run". The eastern boundary of Byrd's patent, defined in the patent as "...the division line bet. this & Gylly Groomamarrin..." follows a trail labelled "Pickinocky Road", which ran north to Gromarrin's quarter tracts along the Chickahominy River. This trail or road was almost certainly an Indian path between Pickanocky and Powhatan. It may have continued north to Orapax and, eventually, to the Pamunkey River. In 1702, Gilly Gromarrin purchased an additional 100 acre tract from Byrd, part of the Byrd tract depicted in this plat. This 100 acre parcel extended Gromarrin's lands to the west, and it was this parcel which later became west Rocketts.

#### Plat 2: Newly developed lots of John Hague, John Lester, and Joseph Simpson

BY 1797, when this plat was recorded, Rocketts west of Gilly's Creek had been extensively developed and settled. The principle developers included John Hague, John Lester and Joseph Simpson, along with George Nicholson. Shortly after Nicholson's death, Hague, Lester and Simpson expanded their development across Gilly's Creek onto land formerly purchased by Hague. They laid off new lots and built houses and other structures on many of these. This plat shows the new lots in what was known for a short time as "Hague's Addition", or "Hague's Lots". This plat probably pre-dates 1797 and was apparently drawn to show the new addition lots with the prices for which they were offered for sale. However, the plat accompanies a 1797 deed in which Hague's heirs transferred their rights in Hague's addition to John Lester. While this plat does not show the area of Lot 203, it is an important document concerning the people who developed Rocketts.

The plat indicates the drawbridge across Gilly's Creek built by Hague and Lester. It also shows laid-off streets including those which were later known as Lester, Hague and Nicholson Streets. Someone, perhaps a clerk of court in 1797, has pencilled in "Hague Street" on the central road. (We can only wonder why Joseph Simpson never had a street named after him). What is most apparent in this plat, as with many early town divisions, is the near lack of natural features. This is a wholly cultural landscape defined by artificial benchmarks laid at the corners of lots. This is a clearly a map designed for the 18th-century equivalent of a real estate brochure: all potential and no limitations imposed by the earth.

#### Plat 3: The Craddock partition of 1830

This is the first plat depicting Lot 203 that has survived in the records. It was drawn on behalf of the heirs of John Craddock to demarcate the partitioning of Lot 203, which had been devised to Randolph Craddock. Randolph's surviving brother, John Hague Craddock, and sisters, Matilda Calvin and Sarah (Mrs. Bailor) Walker. The plat shows the original 18th-century lot lines laid off by Charles and Susanna Lewis prior to the construction of Poplar

(Peebles) Street. Note the extension of lot lines across Poplar Street, and the previous division of Lot 210, the small triangular lot south of Poplar Street. Small portions of Lot 210 and 204 remained in the Lewis estate ownership even as late as 1830. Thomas Rutherford is depicted as owning Lot 205, and most of Lot 204 and 197 belong to George Pickett.

The division of Lot 203 into three parcels clearly antedates this plat, as even during the early tenure of John Craddock, the tax lists show that the Lot was assessed as three separate parcels. On Lot 203.1 there stands a building labelled "old mansion house", a 20 foot square structure with a shed on the northern side, built into the hillside that separated Lots 196 and 197 from 203 and 204. This house was almost certainly John Hague's house. The term "mansion" indicated the dwelling of an owner, rather than a tenant. It is possible that John Craddock had also lived in this small house for a while following Hague's death, although Craddock's home throughout his later years has been identified as standing on Lot 181 on Libby Terrace. Craddock used this house primarily as a tenement. A walkway or alley easement is shown leading from the "old mansion" to Rocketts Street. This house was all, or mostly, destroyed by construction of the Richmond and York River Railroad in 1855.

Also on Lot 203.1 there stands an even smaller house, up against - and intruding into the right-of-way of - Rocketts Street. This 22' x 14' house is labelled "Mrs. Hague's house". This structure was probably built early in the 19th century for Hague's widow, Hannah. The archaeological remains of this house were destroyed when the C&O viaduct was constructed.

On Lot 203.2 stands a building labelled "lumberhouse", and shown as being 24' x 50'. This is Structure 1 of our excavation. At 14' 6" from the NE corner of Rocketts and Poplar Streets, the plat depicts the letter "B", indicating the boundary between Lots 203.2 and 203.3. A granite marker can be found in this location today, indicating clearly that the edges of Rocketts (Main) Street and Poplar Street have remained unchanged since at least 1830.

Structure 4 is indicated along Poplar Street on Lot 203.3. The plat description partly matches the archaeological remains of a 20' x 40' double tenement house, which was later also used as a store. The western cell has a feature shown on the plat which might represent the bulkead entrance we uncovered here. A similar feature is shown in an analogous location on the eastern cell, although this symbol appears to represent a chimney. This wall was not uncovered during the archaeological projects, because it is just beyond the impact area. However, we did uncover a hearth base at grade in the middle of the building.

#### Plat 4: The Freeman subdivision

When Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman divided Lot 203.3, they provided houses and lots for their two sons, Robert and Isham. These are shown here as Lots 203.3.2 and 203.3.4. Nathaniel Freeman retained the other two divisions of the lot. Note that Robert's lot is by far the smallest, and the furthest from the street frontage. His lot (203.3.4) and part of the adjoining lot, were taken for the Richmond and York River right-of-way in 1855. The fact that the lot was divided into four parcels at this time suggests that Freeman, or previous owners, had already constructed four houses on the lot.

#### Plat 5: Lot 203.1 in 1851

This plat was included as part of the documentation of the sale of a trust deed on Lot 203.1 from Capt. Samuel Skinner to Capt. Frederick Kirkmeyer. Only the house previously described as the "old mansion house" remains on the lot. Some new details are revealed about the house that had once belonged to John Hague. A porch, measuring 24' x 9' is indicated on the southern facade. Likewise, the old shed appears to have been expanded, or replaced by a larger shed. This shed - and it is so labelled here - is considerably larger than the house itself.

At this time, and for many years previous, the house was occupied by George Merriam, who operated as a retail merchant and ship chandler both from his house and from his store a few hundred feet away on the waterfront. Presumably, the shed housed stored merchandise. Note the stone wall that defined the southern and eastern boundary of the lot. This wall ran along the terrace scarp and then turned north along an alley that separated Lots 203 and 204. Note the "curb line" along Rocketts Street. This granite curb is still in place. It's indication in this plat suggests that Rocketts Street was, by this time, paved in cobblestones. In fact, property tax lists of the period indicate that both Poplar and Rocketts Streets were paved.

#### Plat 6: Plat of Picketts holdings in 1854 on Lots 197 and 204

George Pickett, Jr., later to be a famed Confederate general, inherited Lot 204 from his namesake father. A lawsuit to settle the senior Pickett's legacy was the occasion of this plat. This plat is useful for showing that the east-west alley separating the lots on Bloody Run Street from those facing Rocketts and Poplar continued west to Ash Street. This alley was first shown on the Craddock partition plat. The southwestern corner of Lot 204 runs to the edge of Structure 4, labelled the "Freeman house" in this plat.

#### Plat 7: 1857 partition of Lot 203.3.1



By this time, William Christian, another merchant, had purchased Lot 204 from the Picketts. This plat was made to show John Wilder Atkinson's partition and resale of Nathaniel Freeman's holdings on Lot 203.3.1. Atkinson legally deeded the "widow's house", described here as a 16' x 18' building, to its occupant, Susanna (Freeman) Roland. Robert Freeman reclaimed his house and store, Structure 4. The plat shows a 3' wide alley separating lots 203.3 and 203.2. Later plats describe this as "Goose Alley".

#### Plats 8 and 10: 1870 Plat of Lot 204

These are re-drawings of Plat 6. They continue to show George Pickett as owner of Lot 204, although the property had long since been sold out of Pickett hands. Plat 10 identifies the Freeman holdings on Lot 203.3, even though 203.3.1 had been sold to James Stout. These examples show the fallibility of plats which are frequently copied from previously-recorded plats. Their purpose is to identify boundaries, not necessarily owners, which is the purpose of deeds.

#### Plat 9: 1868 Plat of Lot 203.3.1

This plat was made for James Stout when he purchased Structure 4 and Lot 203.3.1.1 from Robert Freeman. Note the 3' wide alley, and the identification of Susan Roland as owner of 203.3.1.2

#### Plat 11: Lot 203.3 in 1901.

This plat shows the condemnation of the last Freeman heir at Lot 203, P. H. Dunnington, and Moses Schwartz, by the C&O Railroad. Thomas McLaughlin, who ran a foundry and blacksmithing operation, is indicated on Lot 204.

#### Plat 12: Capital City Iron Works

This plat was made for Capital City Iron Works in 1936, when the company had acquired its maximum extent of property at Rocketts. The main foundry building is shown between the C&O viaduct and the Southern Railway tracks on Lots 203 and 204. The company purchased all of the property above the viaduct, from Rocketts Street to Elm Street. This is, essentially, the modern configuration of the property.

#### Plat 13: The Roane property today

This final plat was drawn to record the sale of the property, including Lots 203, 204, 205, and 206, from the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority to the present owner, Mr. Ronald Roane. This plat was used as a

base map for the archaeological excavations and historical research of the  
Rocketts #1 Site.



## 2.4 Site Structure and Chronology

### Methods of Excavation

The site was laid off in a grid of ten-foot squares. These squares had the primary function of providing provenience units for the original de-sodding or surface removal, as well as serving as excavation units when removing some large sheet refuse or fill features. Of course, the grid also served the purpose of providing the framework for mapping the site and preparing the single-layer plans of individual features. Test units excavated in the phase 2 study were constructed from these arbitrary grid units in 5' x 5', 5' x 10', and 10' x 10' dimensions. Beyond the phase 2 work and initial surface removal for the phase 3 excavations, however, very little excavation was conducted in arbitrary horizontal units.

The site proved to be complexly stratified, which is typical in urban sites of all types and periods. The mistakes of interpretation which can easily follow from the tactic of digging small square holes in large, very irregularly shaped site deposits are best avoided through wide-area open excavation. The debate over small-unit excavations versus large-area excavations has raged for as long as archaeology has been in existence, and probably will continue to do so. There are certainly times and places where systematic or randomly-placed small squares or trenches are optimal, but this was not deemed to be one of them. Small dispersed units are suitable for seeking distributions across space, and trenches for seeking gross stratigraphic sequences. Both approaches are best suited for site testing or sampling. In the case of an excavation of a site for the purpose of recovering site data that will be destroyed by future construction, and for which governmental mandates or agreements prescribe preservation of data by recovery, there is little excuse for any approach beyond area excavation, and total excavation of the deposits to be destroyed.

For the most part, the profile or section drawings reproduced in this report are from a backhoe trench and square excavations undertaken in order to test the site. Sections of features were also made, where appropriate, and are included in the permanent site records. In general, however, the methods of stratigraphic recording used throughout the excavation were adapted from Harris (1979). Here there is very little emphasis on section drawing. As Harris makes painfully obvious, sections or profiles record sequences very locally, and cannot be used to infer stratigraphic relationships beyond the width of the trench cut. Archaeological reports frequently are illustrated with elaborate section drawings which are of only limited value in recording the sequence of deposits on the site.

Stratigraphic order was recorded using the straightforward and simple logic of the Harris method and matrix. Single-layer plans, with datum-depth elevations, were produced for each and every deposit. The feature forms used to record each layer or deposit include information about the direct relationships that exist between the deposit and any others it overlies, underlies, or intrudes. These observations were used to construct the so-called Harris Matrix (see Figure 20, a foldout inserted in volume 3 of this report), which serves to illustrate the archaeologically definable relationships between all site deposits.

All stratigraphic units were carefully defined by trowel excavation. Once they were defined they were drawn in plan. Stratigraphic units which were interpreted as urban fills, major destruction layers, or thick refuse sheets were removed by hand. Deposits were sorted by hand to recover all diagnostics, tools, and other artifactual materials. Samples of fill gravels, industrial wastes, and architectural materials (brick fragments, plaster, mortar, concrete, etc.) were retained, but the bulk was discarded. Primary deposits, such as fills in drains and postholes were carefully excavated by trowel. A sample (at least 50%) of all such fills was returned to the laboratory for floatation and fine screening. No screening was done on the site. It was, and is, the opinion of both the project director and the field director that screening of fills would have been extremely wasteful of crew time, and would have simply resulted in the recovery and subsequent handling of tons of gravels, slags, and other waste fill materials. The careful excavation and hand-sorting of deposits, combined with laboratory floatation and fine-screening of primary fills, was much more efficient for recovering important small finds, while permitting the large-area excavations needed to properly study the site.

## Site stratigraphy and formation processes

Each individual deposit which could be so discerned was assigned an individual *feature* number. That is, all postholes, postmolds, lenses, strata, fill layers, etc., were treated as individual stratigraphic units, and all such units were termed features. This can be confusing to archaeologists who treat discrete structures, such as cisterns, for example, as *features*, and individual fill lenses within such structures as *strata*. The term *strata* is used here simply as a descriptive term for features which had the form of horizontal fill layers, whether laid down by human effort, or erosion, or other natural agency. For convenience during excavation, strata were given distinctive numbers (Stratum 1, 2, 3, etc.) as they were encountered. For analytical purposes, however, each stratum has a feature number. Each minimal unit of excavation was assigned an *excavation unit* (EU) number. Some features were removed in multiple excavation units, as in the case in which a fill layer was subdivided into arbitrary squares for maintenance of horizontal integrity

within the feature. Some excavation units, such as initial test units, strata cuts, cleanings, or "blow-outs" (removal of multiple late fill strata together) contain materials from more than one feature. Such units were used on a limited basis and, of course, the materials from such mixed contexts were utilized neither in calculating TPQ dates nor in interpreting assemblages.

In general, the site structure consisted of intact foundations with attendant builders' trenches, robbers' trenches, intact floors, sub-surface and surficial features such as "cisterns" and "drains", piers, postholes and molds, etc.<sup>76</sup> These were imbedded in a matrix of stratified fills, destruction layers, flood deposits, and - though rarely discernible as such - yard deposits or middens. These stratified deposits reached depths of five feet or more in the northern section of the excavation (Plate 20), but were relatively shallow in the southern portion of the site. Historic cutting had removed the natural soil surface from most of the site, although a remnant surface existed intact in the northeastern quadrant of the excavation. Here prehistoric and Colonial deposits were located, but the majority of the site consists of truncated natural soils overlain by deposits dating from the late 18th century to the present.

There may be some confusion in the designations of postmolds and holes. Where molds were clearly discernible, they were so named. *Postholes*, on the other hand, refers both to holes accompanying molds, as well as to features in which hole and mold deposits could not be distinguished. Again, given the nature of most of the site fills, this was a more common situation than is typical of rural sites or simple urban houselots. In cases in which postholes and molds could not be distinguished, the TPQ dates are interpreted as representing post-destruction filling.

#### Stratigraphic integrity and *Termini post quem* dates of site features

TPQ dates were determined for each feature on the site, when possible. This was done by first determining the TPQ on individual Excavation Units from the artifact inventories. In cases in which a feature deposit was excavated using more than one EU, the latest TPQ date was assigned to the entire feature deposit. A final adjustment was made by referring to the Harris Matrix (see below). When a feature was found to overlie or intrude another deposit with a later EU, the later EU was also assigned to the higher deposit.

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<sup>76</sup> The terms "cistern" and "drain" are imprecisely used throughout this report, as these features were so designated in the field, and in the official feature records made in the field. The terms refer specifically to specialized water purification and delivery features that will be discussed in considerable detail below. In actuality, most of the "cisterns" appear to be silt traps, for water purification, and the "drains" are both actual drains for removing water runoff and conduits, or "pipes" of brick built to deliver drinking water to the site.

In some cases, surprisingly late dates were indicated by one or a few rare late artifacts in an otherwise earlier assemblage. The logic of archaeology requires that the later dates be assigned unless the presence of the later artifacts can be presumed to have resulted from intrusions that were not detected in the field. There is ample evidence for such stratigraphic "turbulence" on the site, and at least some portion of the site formation processes can be credited to massive disturbances by roots and burrowing rodents. At least one modern large rodent burrow showed evidence of having penetrated through, and destroyed, thick sections of a brick foundation.

Throughout much of the 20th century, portions of the site were abandoned and overgrown. So-called "weed trees" of the genera *Ailanthus* and *Pawlonia* invade most abandoned lots in Richmond, as in cities the world over. These trees grow on large runner roots which can tunnel hundreds of feet. The faunal materials from the site include ample evidence of rodents and other burrowing animals. Even today, rats the size of cats can be found along the Southern Railroad tracks, and it is likely that opossums, groundhogs and other animals have lived on the site from time to time. Excavations frequently revealed the presence of root and animal burrows, but many of the fill layers - especially those largely comprised of stone, cinder, or brick fragments - could have been intruded with little visible evidence. Therefore, when stratigraphic placement and the majority of artifacts called for an earlier dating of a feature than that of the latest artifact, it was sometimes necessary to use reasoned judgement, assume that the later materials were intrusive, and assign a more reasonable TPQ to the fill.

Despite these occasional intrusions, and considerable site formation complexity, the stratigraphic integrity of the site was excellent. By continually recording stratigraphic relationships while excavating broad areas, rather than trenches or soundings, it was possible to follow the complex stratification of the site using the method developed by Harris.

This is a good place to note a discrepancy between some of the TPQ dates that are used here and the subsequent interpretations of chronology. There are a number of features which have been assigned TPQs of 1814. For the most part, these features are associated with a one or two construction phases of Structure 1 and associated brick drains which ran under the floor of that structure. These dates were assigned based on the presence of pearlware dishes with underglaze enamelled brown line decoration on the marley. The date comes from Miller (personal communication and 1991), who indicates that 1814 is the earliest date for which brown line dishes appear on British ceramics price-fixing lists. Miller also notes, however, that pearlware with underglaze enamel brown lines occur with some frequency on British War of 1812 sites in Canada.



In reviewing the contextual and documentary data to reconstruct the sequence of construction events associated with Structure 1, it was noted that these events seemed earlier than 1814. In fact, associated contexts bore TPQ dates of 1795 or 1800. Documentary evidence suggests that the construction of this building took place between 1800 and 1804, based on a substantial change in the tax assessment. The structure was then thoroughly rebuilt in brick in 1809-1810. A quick review of the contexts dated 1814 indicated that, if the brown-lined pearlwares were not considered, most of these contexts would date to the turn of the 19th century. In further discussions, George Miller (of Winterthur) stated that a turn-of-the-19th century date for these wares did not seem unreasonable. Overglaze brown enamel lines had been used on creamware as early as 1774 (ours are overglaze enamels). Robert Hunter (personal communication), of Colonial Williamsburg, stated that, in the absence of firm evidence one way or the other, he believes the underglaze brown-lined pearlwares appear about 1805. We believe that our evidence suggests they date to before 1809, and in some cases, possibly before 1804. The reader is cautioned to keep this in mind when reviewing feature descriptions, TPQ dates in the catalogues, and on the Harris Matrix.

### Harris Matrix

Harris' method, which we have modified slightly, recognizes a limited number of possible relationships between strata or features. These relationships may be symbolically depicted in a diagram that is generally known as a Harris Matrix. The Harris Matrix for the excavations at the Rocketts #1 Site are presented as Figure 20.

Archaeological deposits may have no stratigraphic relationship with each other. That is, they may not touch each other, nor be related by each touching intervening deposits. Such deposits and the sequences formed by deposits touching them are *unrelated* (or, perhaps better, *unrelatable*). These can be illustrated as follows:

A      B

This symbolism reads: "Deposits A and B are unrelated."

When one deposit intrudes or overlies another, we map apply the principal of superposition. Overlying or intruding deposits can be symbolically depicted by joining them with a vertical line:

A  
|  
B

This reads: A overlies (or intrudes) B.

When a once-continuous deposit has been obviously cleaved by one or more subsequent intrusive features, such as a ditch or builder's trench, the two non-touching deposits that had once been continuous may be interpreted as being *correlated*.

A=B

This reads: "Feature A is correlated with Feature B".

Features which are *associated* with each other, meaning that they are parts of a larger structure, such as individual fence posts in a fence line, can be represented by a horizontal line:

A--B

"Feature A is associated with Feature B"

In our usage, *association* implies contemporaneity, although it is possible that some portions of a structure remained in use longer than others. Associations depicted on the Harris Matrix are those interpreted in the field. Subsequent analysis has sometimes changed our opinions about some associations and has pointed out likely associations not seen in the field. Care needs to be exercised when interpreting association.

If properly excavated and interpreted, the Harris Matrix reveals the stratigraphic relationships of all fills and *feature interfaces* on a site. A feature interface is a feature, or unit of stratification, which is formed in the interface between two other features. Feature interfaces have no fills, and thus no associated finds, and no TPQ date, other than that which can be extrapolated from intruded or overlain deposits. The recognition of feature interfaces forces us to remember, for example, that postholes and their fills represent two separate events: digging the posthole and filling it. While the period of elapsed time between these two events is usually insignificant, the same cannot be said of a brick foundation, for instance. While the builders' trench may have been immediately backfilled, the wall may have remained in place long enough for later strata to accumulate on one or both sides of it.

To ease interpretation of Figure 20 somewhat, we have represented horizontal features (fill lenses, strata, floors, etc.) by placing the feature number in a rectangle. Other features (e.g., postholes, builder's trenches, drains, etc.) are represented by ovals. *Terminus post quem* dates are noted where they could be confidently determined. While the Harris Matrix is not as straightforward to interpret as a section drawing, the diagram reveals the site structure across the entire excavated area rather than in a single strata cut.

## Feature Descriptions

Each depositional or stratigraphic unit on the site was designated a Feature. Features were recorded in the field on detailed feature forms which include extensive descriptions of the feature, single-layer plan drawings, section drawings when appropriate, and information on associated, correlated, underlying and overlying features, and the inclusion of the feature within a larger structure, where appropriate. The information on these forms was summarized in a computerized data base. This data base was used to generate the final Harris Matrix, as well as the summary feature descriptions which follow. I have added some information to Tim Barker's original descriptions, and have altered some of the descriptions in light of later analyses. I have also added TPQ dates, corrected to the Harris Matrix, where these could be reasonably determined.<sup>77</sup>

In fully interpreting features, it is necessary to reference other listings of pertinent information, including the Harris Matrix, the two main site plans (Figures 24 and 25) or phase 2 sections (Figures 6-9), the artifact and floatation inventories (Appendices 6 and 11), and, because these latter are listed by EU number, the EU catalogue indexed by feature (Appendix 2). This EU catalogue (Appendix 1) also provides site coordinates useful for locating features on the plans. Many features do not appear on the plans. For the most part, the only features omitted from plan drawings are those horizontal fills, lenses, or strata which could not be easily depicted.

Each feature description begins with the feature number and type. The type includes common feature types, such as strata, postmolds, walls, builders' trenches, etc. A variety of features are typed "other", meaning that these are unique or uncommon feature types. It has been noted elsewhere, but bears repeating here, that some feature types used throughout the descriptions need qualification. "Drain" refers to a variety of features, including drainage ditches but, more typically, conduits constructed of brick. Many of the "drains" on the site appear to have been designed to carry water to the site, rather than simply as conduits for removing runoff. A number of features have been classified as "cisterns", but none of these are cisterns in the traditional sense. These are all small, underground features associated with the complex system of "drains" on the site. They seem to have functioned primarily as silt traps or sumps which served to purify water delivered from a nearby spring. It has also been noted above that some "postholes" are actually features which contained posts or piers, but for which no separate postmolds could be discerned. In each such case, the TPQ dates associated with the feature indicates the date of destruction, or removal, of the post or pier. The term "discarded" appears in descriptions of features which were interpreted

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<sup>77</sup>. Please keep in mind that features with TPQ dates of 1814 more likely date to the period 1800-1804, or 1809-10, as discussed, above.

not to be archaeological features, or which were subsumed under another feature number.

Some will undoubtedly criticize the summary feature descriptions presented here. Of course, we could have paid a phalanx of typists and artists to produce finalized duplicates of every plan and profile, and of each of the complete feature records, but this would have doubled the expense of the project, and tripled the thickness of this report, purely for the benefit of a handful of archaeologists. I cannot condone that. Some will feel that more information on the sizes and depths of posts would have been helpful, but in late 18th century through 20th century construction, the consistency we are familiar with from earlier building techniques is not there, so these data are only of minimal value. In fact, the depth of post bottoms below an arbitrary datum would be meaningless, since original surfaces have generally been truncated.

#### Feature # 100

Feature type: Stratum

Sod removal across the site. Correlated with Feature 27, modern surface.

#### Feature # 101

Feature type: Cobble Concentration

Cobble Concentration. Presence of several paving bricks during excavation of 101 suggests that the cobbles were placed here during construction of Feature 112, sidewalk.

#### Feature # 102

Feature type: Drain

20th Century brick drain. Appears to have been used to drain Main St.

#### Feature # 103

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Labeled Stratum 1, this was a 20th century builders' trench for the construction of a masonry pier for the permanent CSX Rail trestle (Structure 19). Consisted of orange-brown coarse sand mottled with gray clay and gravel. At the time of the construction of the present trestle it appears that holes were dug around the earlier wooden piers in order to saw them down. Afterwards, these holes were filled with Feature 103 fill.

Feature # 104

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 105

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 106

Feature type: Stratum

Feature 106 was comprised of light brown sand with brown sand mortar and 30% plaster fragments. This was originally thought to be a destruction level associated with Structure 1, but Feature 106 sat too high in the following fill episodes to be associated with Structure 1 and was a fill level probably laid down in the 20th century. This latter interpretation is borne out by the TPQ dates on various associated excavation units, all of which fall in the present century.

Feature # 107

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 108

Feature type: Other

Feature 108 is a pile of brick rubble in a modern stratum of green clay fill (Feature 120).

Feature # 109

Feature type: Other

Phase 1 backhoe Trench 1. A TPQ of ca. 1990 is easily determined from stray artifacts which entered the excavation while it remained open for nearly two years. These artifacts should prove useful in helping future specialists shed light on the vocation-specific behaviors of archaeologists and site visitors.

Feature # 110

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 111

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum 3: black sand coal dust overlying and abutting 20th c. herring bone pattern sidewalk (Feature 112). Feature 111 was very shallow; .15'-.25' deep. Features 111 and 124 were excavated together because both were modern fill levels.

#### Feature # 112

Feature type: Other

Feature 112 is a herring bone pattern brick public sidewalk constructed earlier this century.

#### Feature # 113

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum 4. Brown fine sand with 40% yellow and green clay inclusions, coal, coal dust, brick fragments, cinder, mortar. Stratum 4 is cut by excavations around the wooden trestle (Structure 20) piers. Stratigraphy and artifacts both indicate a ca. 1900 deposition date.

#### Feature # 114

Feature type: Stratum

Localized late fill comprised of mottled brown and yellow sand with green and gray clay.

#### Feature # 115

Feature type: Other

Stump of modern utility pole.

#### Feature # 116

Feature type: Post Hole

Modern post hole for Feature 115, utility pole.

#### Feature # 117

Feature type: Stratum

Feature 117, Stratum 5. Localized, shallow fill deposit consisting of brown sand with gray and yellow-green clay. This is a late fill associated with concrete pier construction for extant trestle.

Feature # 118

Feature type: Stratum

Feature 118, Stratum 6. Localized fill deposit comprised of black sand, coal dust. Probably 20th century.

Feature # 119

Feature type: Stratum

Feature 119, Stratum 7. Localized, shallow feature comprised of orange-brown sand mottled with gray clay, pebbles. Also mottled with some of Feature 111 fill.

Feature # 120

Feature type: Stratum

Localized late fill episode consisting of green clay with mortar and brick crumbs.

Feature # 121

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold filled with dark brown sand, brick fragments, small pieces of packed clay floor. This feature, and associated molds, are probably the remains of a fence that paralleled Main St. The post was pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 122

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold filled with dark brown sand, brick fragments, mortar, fragments of clay floor from Structure 1. This feature, and associated post molds are probably the remains of a fence that paralleled Main St. The post was pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 123

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold with a portion of the deteriorating post *in situ* at bottom of feature. Filled with dark brown sand. This feature, and associated post molds, are probably the remains of a fence that paralleled Main St. The post was pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 124

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum 8. Large late fill episode consisting of brown silt loam with brick fragments and cobbles. Laid down to build grade for Feature 112, a 20th century sidewalk.

Feature # 125

Feature type: Builders Trench

Stratum 9. Sand filling excavated hole used for construction of concrete C&O trestle pier.

Feature # 126

Feature type: Other

Twentieth century pipe trench with gas pipe still *in situ*. Feature 126 cuts across the entire site from northwest to southeast. Construction smear originally caused this to be labeled as Stratum 10.

Feature # 127

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum 11. Extensive 20th century fill deposit covering Feature 159, salvage debris from Structure 1. Comprised of dark brown sand with black coal dust and cinders, pebbles, brick fragments, oyster shell, mortar, and fragments of the clay floor.

Feature # 128

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum 12. Extensive 20th century fill located to the east of Feature 127, Stratum 11, and covering the eastern half of the site. Fill comprised of yellow clay.

Feature # 129

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 130

Feature type: Discarded



Feature # 131

Feature type: Other

Granite footing for Feature 200, hard packed clay floor. Moderately large granite gravel stones were laid on their ends, leaning against each other, and the clay floor mixture was poured down onto them. The granite stones ran under the entire length of the clay floor, except in the northwest corner of Structure 1. Here, river cobbles were used instead of the granite. Very few artifacts were incorporated within the granite footing to the floor. The stone footing overlies several earlier deposits, including fills apparently placed directly beneath the footing at the time the clay floor was constructed. These fills provide a construction date of ca. 1830.

Feature # 132

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 133

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 134

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 135

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 136

Feature type: Post Mold

Shallow post mold in 290N 280E filled with mottled yellow fine sand, brown sand orange-brown sand clay, white sand mortar, charcoal. The mold is associated with Feature 137, its hole. The post was set after ca. 1830 and pulled after ca. 1840.

Feature # 137

Feature type: Post Hole

Shallow post hole filled with brown sand mottled with gray sand clay, charcoal, coal dust, cinders, brick crumbs, burnt shale coal, pebbles. The mold is associated with Feature 136, post mold. The post was set after ca. 1830 and pulled after ca. 1840.

Feature # 138

Feature type: Drain

Brick box drain which connects Feature 175, brick drain, to a large filled drainage pit (Feature 73) recorded in section in the Phase 1 backhoe trench. Feature 138 was not completely excavated, so the relationship to Feature 175 and Feature 449 cistern is not exact. But, it appears that Feature 175 drained into Feature 449 and the overflow was carried by Feature 138 into the drainage pit. Please see Figure 3, the section drawing of Trench 1.

Feature # 139

Feature type: Other

This is a small pit of unknown purpose in 290N 280E filled with dark brown sand, coal, burned coal shale, oyster shell, bricks, charcoal. Appears to be fill overlying Feature 449, a cistern, and may have been a slump fill or a robbers' pit for salvaging bricks from the cistern. This feature was filled some time after ca. 1830.

Feature # 140

Feature type: Other

Shallow wash lense in 280N 280E filled with black coal dust and brick crumbs.

Feature # 141

Feature type: Other

Shallow slump wash over Feature 259 pit. Filled with black cinders, coal dust, asbestos shingles and cobbles.

Feature # 142

Feature type: Foundation

West brick foundation wall of Structure 4.

Feature # 143

Feature type: Hearth

Hearth for Structure 1 located in Feature 164, north wall of Structure 1. The hearth has at least 3 phases of use and disuse. Beginning at the earliest, these phases are:

1) The outline of the original firebox can be seen in the varying brick work on the interior of the hearth base. Its bricks are mortared with yellow sand.

2) The original firebox was partially bricked in. Its sides were made smaller and the firebox floor was raised. Very hard light brown sand was used to bond these bricks. Inside the second, smaller firebox the bricks on its floor are burned black; the mortar is burned pink. Black silt loam and ash fills the gap between the original firebox and the raised floor of the second firebox. The original firebox was made smaller possibly to accomodate some sort of insert. Lying on the clay floor in front of the hearth was a large corroded iron plate with charcoal and burned wood adhering to it. Also lying on the floor was a second iron object consisting of a similar plate with a hemispherical top plate. These appear to be components of a fireplace insert stove or oven.

3) Finally the firebox no longer served a purpose and its front was bricked in. See Figures 21 and 22.

#### Feature # 144

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from the turn-of-the-century trestle (Structure 20). Driven through Feature 164, north wall of Structure 1.

#### Feature # 145

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from the turn-of-the-century trestle (Structure 20). Driven through Feature 143 hearth.

#### Feature # 146

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from turn-of-the-century trestle (Structure 20). Driven through sterile sand.

#### Feature # 147

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from turn-of-the-century trestle (Structure 20). Driven through sterile sand.

#### Feature # 148

**Feature type: Builders' Trench**

Builders' trench for Feature 164, north wall of Structure 1 and Feature 143 hearth/chimney. Filled with brown sand loam, brick fragments, yellow fine sand mortar, coal, pebbles. This footing trench was dug into sterile ancient alluvial sand. Artifacts in the feature provide a TPQ of ca. 1814 for construction of the wall and chimney.

Feature # 149

**Feature type: Hearth**

Interior central chimney support in Structure 4. This feature was only partially uncovered in 270N / 300E. It appeared immediately beneath the sod, at present grade. No excavation was conducted around the feature.

Feature # 150

**Feature type: Stratum**

This is a small deposit washed into a bowl-shaped depression where Feature 153, Structure 4 cellar fill, slumped. It consists of brown sand, coal and brick fragments.

Feature # 151

**Feature type: Other**

L-shaped possible robbers' trench filled with yellow hard packed clay. This feature was bisected by the eastern end of the phase 1 backhoe trench. Feature 151 may be a wall robbing trench associated with Structure 14. This feature was not excavated as it is outside of the immediate impact area.

Feature # 152

**Feature type: Stratum**

Hard-packed yellow clay fill capping earlier cellar fill inside Structure 4. This feature was not excavated as it is outside of the immediate impact area.

Feature # 153

**Feature type: Stratum**

Hard packed gray clay capping earlier cellar fill on the interior of Structure 4. Probably correlated with Feature 34.

Feature # 154

Feature type: Stratum

Light brown sand fill underlying Feature 112, a 20th century brick public sidewalk. Probably laid down as a footing for the sidewalk.

Feature # 155

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold with deteriorating post *in situ* at bottom. Filled with black cinders. Feature 155 and associated molds probably were posts for a fence that paralleled Main St. The post was pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 156

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold with a portion of the *in situ* decaying post at bottom of mold. Post intrudes into Stratum 11, Feature 127, but does not penetrate Feature 200, the clay floor of Structure 1. This feature, and associated features, are probably posts for a fence that paralleled Main St. Feature 156 was filled with black cinders, brick fragments and some clay floor fragments, as well as with artifacts that indicate that the post was pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 157

Feature type: Post mold

Post mold with a portion of the decaying cedar post *in situ*. Associated with Feature 205, its post hole. Feature 157 and associated posts are probably the remains of a fence that once paralleled Main St. The post was probably set in the late 19th century and pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 158

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold. Feature 158 and associated post molds are probably the remains of a fence that paralleled Main St.

Feature # 159

Feature type: Stratum

Primary destruction debris of Structure 1 lying on Feature 200, the clay floor. Consisting of loose brown loam, brick fragments, yellow fine sand mortar,

light brown sand mortar, charcoal, and cobbles. Feature 159 overlay the clay floor, except at the southern end of Structure 1. Here, Feature 127 fill overlay the floor. The primary destruction debris began in the southern half of Structure 1 as a very thin layer which became deeper towards the northern end of the structure (ca. 2.5'+ against the north wall). In 270N/270E (EU#292) a concentration of half bricks was noted lying on the clay floor. Only one whole brick came from this EU. This may be evidence of brick salvaging. The bricks may have been brought onto Feature 200 clay floor, cleaned of mortar and the half bricks discarded. The depth of debris at the northern end of the structure suggests that this salvaging may have taken place after the southern end of the floor had been removed and that portion of the site put to other use. The northern wall and chimney may have remained partially standing for some time after Structure 1 was destroyed. Artifacts associated with Feature 159 (EUs 243, 290, 291, 293, 300, 305, 306, 307, 308 and 309) clearly indicate a ca. 1860 for this salvaging episode.

#### Feature # 160

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier for turn-of-the-century trestle (Structure 20).

#### Feature # 161

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier for turn-of-the-century trestle (Structure 20).

#### Feature # 162

Feature type: Stratum

Fill consisting of mixed yellow, orange, brown, and gray clay filled with cobbles. This fill may have been laid to create a level grade for Feature 112, a 20th century sidewalk. Feature 240, a cobble concentration in Feature 162, may have been laid in fill to allow drainage or to stabilize fill.

#### Feature # 163

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench of the late building phase of the west wall of Structure 1. Feature 265, the brick wall of the earlier construction phase of Structure 1, parallels, abuts, and underlies the interior of Feature 163. Features 300, 226 and 260 are fills for this robbers' trench.

#### Feature # 164

Feature type: Foundation

Brick north wall of Structure 1. Some plaster still remained fixed to the bricks on the interior of the wall. Additional associated walls for Structure 1 are Features 184 and 163.

Feature # 165

Feature type: Post Hole

Large oval post hole filled with black greasy coarse sand, cinders, coal dust, pockets of mortar, bricks, and coal. Possibly associated with a structure post-dating Structure 1. Feature 165 intruded Feature 159, salvage debris from Structure 1, but did not penetrate Feature 200, the clay floor. The post was therefore set after ca. 1860. Artifacts in fill indicate the post was pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 166

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 167

Feature type: Post Hole

Large late post hole filled with loose black coarse sand, cinders, brick and mortar. Excavated to a depth of ca. 4' below point of origin without finding the bottom of the feature. Feature 167 was probably a pile-driven utility pole set and pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 168

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold filled with brown sand mottled with orange and gray clay, Feature 200 clay floor fragments, bricks, granite, and gravel. A portion of the decaying post remained *in situ*. Feature 168 penetrated the underlying clay floor. Feature 168 is probably associated with a structure that post dates Structure 1. The post was pulled in the 20th century.

Feature # 169

Feature type: Stratum

This is a small, highly localized coal and cinder lense in 300N / 240E.

Feature # 170

Feature type: cistern

A small cistern with two courses of brick lining the top. Some brown plaster lining, similar to the floor of Structure 1, was adhering to the interior bricks. The feature was located adjacent to the exterior of Structure 1's east wall. A brick drain, Feature 342, leads into Feature 170 through a gap in the east wall of Structure 1. Feature 175 brick drain is attached to the cistern through a gap opposite the wall and carried the overflow northeast into a series of additional cisterns or silt traps, and finally into Feature 73, a large drainage pit seen in profile of backhoe Trench 1.

Feature 177 is another, perhaps earlier, brick drain that is not directly attached to Feature 170, but may have been connected to an earlier cistern at the same spot, or connected to Feature 170 before the brick lining was placed. Feature 170 had several layers of fill. Each one was bisected and removed separately. From top to bottom they were; Feature 208, gray clay cap; Feature 197, cinder fill; Feature 202, brown sand loam; Feature 204, brown loam. Artifacts from all fills indicate they were laid in two episodes: ca. 1840 ( 202 and 204) and 1860 ( 197 and 208).

Natural clay subsoil was encountered at the bottom. On the floor of the cistern, in Feature 204 fill, heavily deteriorated flat metal fragments were found. They are probably the remains of a metal container that lined the cistern. The imprint of this container could be seen in the clay subsoil around the edge of the cistern floor. Features 189 and 449 are associated cisterns connected to Feature 170 by Feature 175, a brick box drain.

Feature # 171

Feature type: Post Hole

Large post hole or mold with a portion of the decaying post *in situ* with organic material around it. Filled with mottled dark brown loam and yellow sand with coal and brick fragments. Found after backfill removal in Trench 1 on Feature 200, clay floor. Feature 171 intruded into the clay floor, but the point of origin is not known, as it was disturbed by excavation of the trench. Feature 171 may represent part of a structure which post dates Structure 1, or an internal structural post related to Structure 1. Artifacts in the feature fill and stratigraphy both indicate that the feature was filled after ca. 1860.

Feature # 172

Feature type: Stratum

Feature 172, Stratum 13. Extensive late 18th or early 19th century fill. First seen in southeast corner of Structure 1 where Feature 200, clay floor, was



missing. Stratum 13 continued under the clay floor and was concentrated in the southeast quadrant of Structure 1. Feature 172 comprised of yellow-brown sand filled with brick fragments. There are a large number of domestic artifacts associated with this fill, and they yield a TPQ date for deposition of ca. 1820. The stratum contains vessel fragments that cross-mend with vessels from Features 174, dated ca. 1814, and 321, dated ca. 1830. The stratum is capped by features dated ca. 1830, and may be an earlier midden accumulation. The matrix of fine sand suggests also a flood deposit.

#### Feature # 173

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench overlying remains of Feature 184, east wall of Structure 1. It appears that the east wall of Structure 1 was only partially robbed; the bottom courses of bricks were left in place. The robbers' trench was filled with light brown sand mortar, brick fragments, charcoal, cinder dust, and artifacts (EUs 254, 272, and 318) yielding a date of post-1830 for wall robbing.

#### Feature # 174

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for east wall of Structure 1 (Feature 184). Located parallel to exterior of east wall. Filled with dark brown sand, yellow-brown sand mortar, brick fragments, charcoal, and pebbles. Artifacts (EUs 319 and 527) in the trench indicate construction or modification of the wall after ca. 1814.

#### Feature # 175

Feature type: Drain

Brick drain, draining Feature 170, a cistern. The drain flows into two other cisterns, Features 189 and 449. Feature 138, another drain, then carried the flow of water into Feature 73, a large pit seen in the profile of Trench 1. On one portion of Feature 175 cut granite stone caps remained *in situ*. This suggests that the drain was once completely capped with these stones. Also associated with Feature 175 are Features 176 and 216, both representing primary fill inside the drain. Feature 175 bisected was bisected by a 20th century pipe trench, Feature 126. A number of sherds of domestic ceramics found within the drain indicate possible construction after ca. 1795; however, these sherds may have washed into the drain after construction. Fill (Feature 179) lying under the drain also suggests a late 18th century or early 19th century construction date.

#### Feature # 176

Feature type: Other

Fill inside Feature 175 drain (see above). Comprised of dark brown sand loam, charcoal and a small amount of brick fragments. Floatation samples were taken of drain fill.

#### Feature # 177

Feature type: Drain

Fragmentary brick drain. Very similar to Feature 175 brick drain, but not clearly connected to Feature 170 cistern. Although not all the bricks for this drain remain in course, their outlines could clearly be seen in the underlying stratum. The interior of the drain was filled with a very shallow deposit labeled Feature 178. Feature 177 may have been connected to Feature 170, cistern, before its brick lining was added, or perhaps it drained an earlier cistern located in the same spot (although there is no evidence for this). Perhaps Feature 177 was just an auxillary drain to carry off excess water. Feature 177 was bisected by 20th century pipe trench, Feature 126. The only diagnostic artifacts (EU 246) found in the fill of the drain were three creamware sherds, suggesting possible construction after ca. 1775. It is possible, however, that these sherds entered the drain after construction. The relationship of the drain to underlying fill, Feature 179, indicates a late 18th century or early 19th century construction date.

#### Feature # 178

Feature type: Other

Very shallow fill inside Feature 177 brick drain (see above). Consisted of dark brown sand loam, brick fragments, charcoal. Fill was taken for a floatation sample.

#### Feature # 179

Feature type: Other

Fill lying beneath and between Features 175, 177 brick drains. Consisted of dark brown sand loam, charcoal, pebbles, brick fragments. Surface mottled with clay fill and white very fine sand mortar. Bisected by 20th century pipe trench, Feature 126. Artifacts (EU 607) in this fill provide a construction date near the turn of the 19th century for the drains.

#### Feature # 180

Feature type: Post Hole

Rectangular post hole filled with dark brown sand loam, cobbles, brick crumbs, and charcoal and located beside Feature 170, a cistern. The feature was shallow, with almost vertical sides. The western 2/3 of the hole was deeper than the eastern 1/3 and was stepped in profile. No separate mold was discerned. While there was only a single diagnostic artifact in both bisections (EUs 250 and 251), this, along with stratigraphic placement, indicates that the post was removed shortly after ca. 1780.

Feature # 181

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 182

Feature type: Other

Two cut granite stone caps *in situ* over Feature 175 brick drain.

Feature # 183

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole, located in square 280N/270E, filled with dark brown sandy loam, charcoal, brick fragments, white sand mortar, and pebbles. No separate post mold was identified. Artifacts in the fill suggest the post was pulled after ca. 1795.

Feature # 184

Feature type: Foundation

East brick foundation wall of Structure 1. The foundation is 1- 1/2 brick lengths in width. Feature 342 brick drain runs parallel to the interior of the east wall. Feature 16 also runs parallel to the interior of the east wall between the southeast corner of Structure 1 and Feature 170, cistern. Feature 16 was at first thought to be a part of Feature 184, but it is now interpreted as the remnants of the foundation of an earlier phase of construction of Structure 1.

Feature # 185

Feature type: Other

Fill in Feature 482, post hole seen in Trench 1, on Feature 200, clay floor. The point of origin is unknown as it was cut by backhoe trench. Feature 482 had several fill levels including Feature 185, the latest, and Features 291, 292, 293 underlying it. Feature 185 fill comprised of cobbles in mottled sand and clay deposited in the 20th century.

Feature # 186

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole filled with coarse black cinder dust and granite, probably associated with a structure that post dates Structure 1. Fill in the hole dates to the 20th century. No separate mold was discerned.

Feature # 187

Feature type: Other

Localized homogeneous fill deposit, in square 290N/240E, consisting of brown sand, brick fragments and charcoal. This is probably a modern disturbance.

Feature # 188

Feature type: Pier

Wooden pier from a turn-of-the-century trestle (Structure 20). Some portions of the decaying wood cribbing was still attached by bolts to the pier.

Feature # 189

Feature type: Cistern

Round cistern with vertical sides and flat bottom. Filled with dark brown loam and brick crumbs. Feature 175, a brick drain, leads out of Feature 170, another cistern, into Feature 189 and continues on to Feature 449, a third cistern. Feature 190 appears to be the filled hole for construction of Feature 189. Both 189 and 190 are bisected by Feature 126, a modern pipe trench. Fill was saved as a floatation sample. The cistern was constructed after ca. 1795 and filled in the first half of the 19th century.

Feature # 190

Feature type: Other

Filled construction hole for Feature 189 cistern (see above). Fill consisted of medium to dark brown sand loam with brick fragments, mortar, pebbles, charcoal. Fill was saved as a floatation sample.

Feature # 191

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold in 270N/270E filled with mottled yellow and brown clay with a half brick, associated with Feature 192, its hole. Artifacts in the mold (EUs 549 and 551) are of about the same date as artifacts in the hole (EUs 550 and 552), although there are no cross-mends between them. The post penetrates Feature 432, filled after ca. 1814. Overlying features date to the 20th century. Artifacts in fill indicate that the post was set after ca. 1820, but we cannot determine how long it stood in place.

#### Feature # 192

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole for Feature 191 post mold (see above). Filled with dark brown sand loam, charcoal, brick crumbs.

#### Feature # 193

Feature type: Foundation

Brick south wall of Structure 1; much of it has been salvaged. Some courses remain intact under Features 194 and 249, robbers' trench fill. Feature 211 is a possible stoop extending south at a right angle from the exterior of Feature 193. Two piers (Feature 223) probably supported a beam for a central load bearing wall for Structure 1 which extended north at a right angle from the interior of Feature 193. The foundation was partially salvaged sometime after ca. 1850.

#### Feature # 194

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench fill for Feature 193, south wall of Structure 1. Some bricks in course remain *in situ* beneath Feature 249, robbers' trench fill and Feature 194 fill. Robbers' trench filled with mottled gray and yellow clay, brick and a high percentage of charcoal. This robbing episode contains artifacts (EUs 266, 279, and 281) that date the salvaging of a portion of the foundation to the 1860s, or slightly later. This is apparently a second robbing episode, following one represented by Feature 249, which dates archaeologically to ca. 1840 (but documents suggest a date in the 1850s. This robbing episode may be contemporaneous with the large salvage deposit represented by Feature 159.

#### Feature # 195

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole filled with black sand, coal dust, coal, charcoal, brick, cobbles and fragments of Feature 200, the clay floor. This post hole intruded into several

fill strata and the clay floor, but did not penetrate the stone footings for the clay floor. This evidence, plus the presence of clay floor fragments in the fill, points to the fact that Feature 195 is associated with a structure post-dating Structure 1. No associated mold was discerned. Fill in the hole indicates that the post was pulled in the 20th century.

#### Feature # 196

Feature type: Rodent disturbance?

Fill overlying Feature 201, east wall Structure 1 robbers' trench fill. Located in an area where Feature 342, a brick drain, ran through a gap in Feature 184, the east wall, and entered Feature 170, a cistern. This feature may be related to a large rodent disturbance adjacent to it. Feature 196 fill consisted of brown sand loam, gray sand mortar, brick fragments. This material was deposited in the 20th century

#### Feature # 197

Feature type: Other

Black cinders and coarse cinder dust filling gap leading into Feature 170 cistern through Feature 184, east wall of Structure 1, and makes up one level of fill inside the cistern. Feature 199 also partially filling this gap. This is probably fill that infiltrated the drain system after the destruction of Structure 1.

#### Feature # 198

Feature type: Stratum

A modern fill stratum consisting of green, white and yellow clay. The fill contains 20th century materials.

#### Feature # 199

Feature type: Other

Fill inside gap of brick lining of Feature 170, a cistern, consisting of light brown sand mortar, gray sand mortar, brick fragments, charcoal. See discussion of Feature 197, above.

#### Feature # 200

Feature type: Floor

Clay floor for Structure 1 overlying Feature 131 granite and cobble footings. Throughout this report, this feature is referred to as the "clay" floor. In

actuality, the nature of the material is unknown. It appears to be a tan-colored cement or plaster possibly consisting of a mixture of clay with lime (the material fizzes vigorously in warm dilute acid solution) and/or gypsum ("plaster of Paris"). All constituents were apparently very finely ground and sieved. This composition may be quite similar to some base plasters, or "brown plasters", used on walls during the period between the late 18th and late 19th centuries. Similar material was used in places to line and mortar some of the brick drains on the site. The floor appears to have been constructed by first liquifying the "clay" to a soupy consistency. Then, the clay was poured onto the stone footings, smoothed with a trowel, and allowed to dry. The clay plaster slurry seeped down into the cracks of the stone footing and bonded the stones to the floor. While excavating the clay floor it was noted that the clay was much thicker in the northern half of Structure 1.

A large portion of the clay floor and its stone footing was missing from the southeast quadrant of the interior of Structure 1. This was apparently broken up and removed during a salvaging and landscaping episode about 1860. The clay floor was laid shortly after ca. 1830. In some areas where walls remained intact above the footing, the flooring material had been trowed up the walls several inches. This clay floor material was also found to overlies courses of bricks associated with both the east and west walls of the Structure 1 foundation, giving a clear indication that walls were not standing at the time the floor was laid and extra brick courses were added to the foundation.

#### Feature # 201

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' Trench over Feature 184, east wall of Structure 1. Feature 201 was filled with dark brown sand, charcoal, brick fragments. Artifacts from this feature (EUs 185, 203, 260, and 280) provide a TPQ date of ca. 1840, but documents suggest a slightly later date in the 1850s.

#### Feature # 202

Feature type: Other

Secondary fill level inside Feature 170, cistern. Consisted of medium brown sand loam, brick fragments, sand mortar, some cinder dust. Artifacts (EUs 191 and 198) indicate a fill date of ca. 1840. This feature has cross-mends with Feature 221, which has a similar TPQ date.

#### Feature # 203

Feature type: Discarded

Redeposited fill overlain and underlain by Feature 128; subsequently incorporated into Feature 128. Contained a high number of late Colonial artifacts, including delftware and Colono-Indian ware. This appears to be a lens of material taken from an original Colonial surface on the site and incorporated into a later fill. The materials and soil comprising this feature are very similar to the intact early surface soils and midden a few feet east of the main excavation block.

#### Feature # 204

Feature type: Other

Primary fill inside Feature 170, cistern (see above). Gray clay fill overlying sterile truncated subsoil. At the bottom of Feature 204, on the floor of cistern, were fragments of highly corroded flat metal that were the remains of a container placed into the cistern. Molded into the clay subsoil around the edge of the cistern floor could be seen the form of the bottom of this container. Feature 204 consisted of brown loam with whole bricks. A floatation sample was taken. The cistern was filled shortly after ca. 1840.

#### Feature # 205

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole for Feature 157 post mold. Fill contained large amount of bricks, some cobbles, and clay floor fragments. The post was set in the late 19th century and pulled in the 20th century.

#### Feature # 206

Feature type: Cistern.

Small, round cistern with vertical sides and flat bottom. This cistern is not clearly connected to any drain, but is in line with Feature 177, a fragmentary brick drain. Upper portion of Feature 206 were filled with dark gray organic loam becoming mixed with light brown sand clay and brick fragments towards the bottom. Around the edge of the cistern floor the form of the bottom of the cistern's container can be seen molded into the gray clay subsoil. No metal or other artifacts related to a container were recovered from this depth, except for some nails that might suggest a barrel. This feature was filled shortly after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 207

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 208



Feature type: Other

Gray clay cap sealing the lower levels of fill inside Feature 170, cistern (see above).

#### Feature # 209

Feature type: Discarded

Same as Feature 159, primary destruction debris of Structure 1 overlying Feature 200 clay floor. Feature 209 first appeared in the southern half of Structure 1 and did not directly connect to Feature 159 in northern half due to intervening overlying fill between them. When this fill was removed Features 209 and 159 clearly were the same and therefore Feature 209 designation was discarded.

#### Feature # 210

Feature type: Stratum

Twentieth-century fill stratum located on the exterior of the south and east walls of Structure 1 and the exterior of the west wall of Structure 4. Comprised of dark yellow-brown clay mottled with yellow-brown sand and gray clay nodules.

#### Feature # 211

Feature type: Other

Possible brick stoop extending south at a right angle from Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1. The feature is 2-1/2 brick lengths wide and 2 courses deep. Feature 211 could denote the presence of an entrance way on the south side of Structure 1.

#### Feature # 212

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 102, a 20th century brick drain.

#### Feature # 213

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 214

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Twentieth century builders' trench for construction of concrete trestle pier. Filled with mottled dark brown sand loam, gray - brown clay, orange - brown clay and light brown clay, brick fragments and charcoal.

Feature # 215

Feature type: Stratum

Localized fill or wash episode consisting of hard-packed, light brown, sandy clay. This lens is located in 290N/230E. and was laid down after ca. 1820.

Feature # 216

Feature type: Other

Primary fill inside Feature 175, brick drain. Consisted of light brown organic loam. Saved for floatation sample (EU 225).

Feature # 217

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Very thin builders' trench for Feature 175 filled with red brick powder. No artifacts were recovered.

Feature # 218

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 219

Feature type: Other

Localized fill, probably a wash lense, on the east side of Feature 179 fill in 280N/270E. Bisected by Feature 126, a 20th century pipe trench. Correlated with Feature 220 on the opposite side of the pipe trench. The feature is a very shallow wash of light gray sand. No artifacts were recovered.

Feature # 220

Feature type: Other

Local, shallow fill consisting of light gray sand. Probably a wash lense. Bisected by Feature 126, a 20th century pipe trench, and correlated to Feature 119 on opposite side of trench. No artifacts were recovered.

Feature # 221

Feature type: Stratum

Fill consisting of mottled or mixed orange-brown, gray, dark gray and light brown sandy clay. This fill covered portions of five 10' x 10' squares. Artifacts (EUs 257, 259, 261, 263, and 264). The vast majority of artifacts indicate an early 19th century date for this filling; however, the stratigraphic position of the fill indicates it was laid down after ca. 1860, as it overlies Feature 159.

Feature # 222

Feature type: Post Hole

Large 20th century post hole filled with black cinder dust and coal. The bottom was never reached, excavation ended when the pile-driven post continued into clay subsoil. This feature has similar characteristics to Feature 167 and was probably a utility pole. Feature 222 intrudes through Feature 226 and Feature 163, the west wall of Structure 1, and Feature 265, a wall remnant of an early phase of Structure 1, originally designated Structure 16. Profiles of the bricks in course of the west wall can be seen in the walls of the post hole. Profile shows the bricks were lain in clay subsoil.

Feature # 223

Feature type: Piers

Two identical brick piers, set in an unlined drain or a robbers' trench for a brick drain (Feature 356), were both identified by the same feature number. Each pier has an associated builders' trench, and these were also combined as a single feature (Feature 382). This was originally thought to be remnants of a partly robbed north-south running brick wall in the center of Structure 1 under Feature 200, the clay floor. Instead, these appear to be piers supporting either cross beams or, more likely, a summer beam which, in turn, may have supported an internal partition wall. The piers are only 1 stretcher wide, 1 course deep, and bonded with light brown sand mortar. One pier is adjacent to Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1, while the other is approximately 10-12 feet north. The builders' trenches yielded a date of construction for the piers after ca. 1825, and they probably date to slightly after 1830, the period of construction for the "clay" floor of Structure 1. Materials in the robbers' trench in which the piers were placed dates drain robbing at ca. 1810, and this was probably robbed at the same time as associated drains. TPQs associated with drain robbing are about 1814, but, as discussed above, I believe this date, which is based on brown-lined pearlware, is too late. Other archaeological evidence and documentary evidence indicate that the structure was rebuilt in brick between 1809-1810.

Feature # 224

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum concentrated in southwest quadrant of Structure 1 below Feature 200, the clay floor and Feature 131, stone footing for the clay floor. The fill consisted of brown sand loam mixed with orange-brown and yellow-brown clay, brick fragments and charcoal. This fill was possibly laid down to level grade for the floor; there were numerous artifacts (EUs 380 and 384) in the fill, and these suggest a TPQ of ca. 1830, which corresponds very well with other fills under the floor. The vast majority of the artifacts are from the period ca. 1780 - 1820, however, and this may represent removal of earlier midden material for fill.

Feature # 225

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode overlying exposed Feature 131, stone footing for the clay floor, at the southern end of Structure 1 where the clay floor was missing. Fill consisted of white sand mortar, dark brown fine sand and brick fragments. This layer was probably deposited ca. 1860, or slightly later.

Feature # 226

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Fill for Feature 163, the robbers' trench of the west wall of Structure 1. Fill consisted of dark brown to black sand loam with charcoal. Artifacts from the excavation units associated with this trench (EUs 284, 304, 325, and 329) provide a mid-to-late 19th century date for the fill.

Feature # 227

Feature type: Pier

Brick pier adjacent to Feature 163, the robbed west wall of Structure 1. The pier is three courses deep. This pier was not associated with Structure 1, however, as it sat high above Feature 200, the clay floor, and overlay two late fill strata (Features 162, 243). The pier was apparently related to a late 19th century, or, more likely, a 20th century structure.

Feature # 228

Feature type: Post Hole

Twentieth century post hole with a portion of the rotting post still *in situ*. Post appeared to be of possibly creosoted pine. The post was set in with granite

cobbles and the hole was filled with loose cinders. Feature 228 and associated features are possibly the remains of a fence paralleling Main St.

#### Feature # 229

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode in 280 N/ 240E, consisting of brown sand clay mottled with orange sand clay, small cobbles, brick, coal, plaster and a large quantity of gravel. Artifacts from the fill (EU 249) and stratigraphic placement suggest the fill was deposited in the mid-19th century.

#### Feature # 230

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole filled with black cinders. The hole cuts slightly into Feature 200, the clay floor, but does not penetrate it. Feature 230 and associated features are from a structure which post dates Structure 1. This post was pulled in the late 19th century or the 20th century.

#### Feature # 231

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole filled with brown sand loam, clay floor fragments, brick fragments, cobbles. The 0.3'x0.4' rectangular post mold was found in the bisection in the bottom 0.4' of the feature. Feature 231 and associated features are possibly associated with a structure post-dating Structure 1. This post was pulled in the 20th century.

#### Feature # 232

Feature type: Stratum

Fill episode consisting of black cinders and cinder dust. This fill was probably deposited after ca. 1860 (EU 274).

#### Feature # 233

Feature type: Other

Small wash lense inside Feature 175, a brick drain, located where Feature 189, a cistern opened into the drain. Feature 233 consisted of dark brown loam and charcoal, brick fragments, pebbles and a small amount of gray clay. Saved as a floatation sample. See Feature 175 description, above.

#### Feature # 234

Feature type: Other

Small wash lense inside Feature 175 brick drain. Located where Feature 189 cistern opened into drain. Consisted of brown sand loam, brick crumbs, charcoal, and light brown sand mortar. Saved as a floatation sample. See Feature 175 description, above.

Feature # 235

Feature type: Other

Small wash lense inside Feature 175 brick drain. Located where Feature 189 opens into drain. Feature 235 consisted of light brown sand loam with brick crumbs and charcoal flecking. Saved as a floatation sample. See Feature 175 description, above.

Feature # 236

Feature type: Other

Alluvial wash deposited inside Feature 175 brick drain. Directly overlying the brick bottom of drain. Feature 236 consisted of light brown sand, small pebbles and charcoal flecking. Saved as a floatation sample. See Feature 175 description, above.

Feature # 237

Feature type: Other

Small wash lense filling the space of a missing brick in Feature 175 brick drain. Located where Feature 189 opens into the drain. Feature 237 consisted of brown sand loam, brick crumbs, yellow sand mortar, plaster, gray clay, charcoal flecking, and small pebbles. Saved as a floatation sample. See Feature 175 description, above.

Feature # 238

Feature type: Stratum

A twentieth century fill episode consisting of hard packed dark and light brown sandy clay, black cinders, brick fragments, small cobbles and shell. A portion of Feature 238 lies directly on Feature 200, the clay floor of Structure 1, and other portions overlie Feature 159, salvage debris, and Feature 232, another fill layer.

Feature # 239

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 240

Feature type: Cobble Concentration

Layer of river cobbles laid in Feature 162 clay and covered with it. The cobble layer was 3.5' wide and 0.5' deep and ran directly under Feature 112, a 20th century sidewalk. Feature 240's function may have been to stabilize fill under sidewalk or to allow for better drainage.

Feature # 241

Feature type: Stratum

A localized fill located adjacent to Main St. in 280N/280E, which consisted of orange-brown mottled gray clay with small cobbles. This material was deposited after ca. 1840.

Feature # 242

Feature type: Stratum

Small, localized fill located near Main St. which consisted of yellow-brown sand, charcoal, deteriorating brick, white sand mortar, and small cobbles. No artifacts were recovered; however, this deposit is near, and similar to, F-241, and may be part of the same episode.

Feature # 243

Feature type: Stratum

Localized fill located adjacent to Main St. Consisted of light brown sand mottled with orange-brown sand. No artifacts were recovered; however, this deposit is near, and similar to, F-241, and may be part of the same episode.

Feature # 244

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold associated with Feature 245, its post hole. Filled with dark brown sand loam, pebbles and brick fragments. Feature 244 may be part of a fence that paralleled Main Street. No diagnostic artifacts were recovered.

Feature # 245

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole for Feature 244 post mold. Filled with brown sand loam, pebbles and brick fragments. No diagnostic artifacts were recovered.

#### Feature # 246

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold with a portion of the decaying post *in situ*. Feature 246 may be part of a fence that paralleled Main St. The post was pulled in the 20th century.

#### Feature # 247

Feature type: Stratum

Localized fill located adjacent to Main St. Consisted of yellow-brown fine sand with brick fragments. Feature 241 appeared to cut into Feature 247. No artifacts were recovered; however, this deposit is near, and similar to, F-241, and may be part of the same episode.

#### Feature # 248

Feature type: Other

Large rodent burrow intruding into Structure 1, the east wall robbers' trench (Feature 201) and over Feature 184, east wall. Late 20th century wine bottles were found in this context.

#### Feature # 249

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Primary robbers' trench fill directly overlying Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1. Fill consisted of yellow-brown sand with yellow sand mortar and brick fragments. Artifacts in this fill (EUs 273, 292, and 302) indicate that the wall was robbed after ca. 1840. Documentary evidence suggests that the building was destroyed in the early 1850s.

#### Feature # 250

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole filled with dark brown sand loam, cobbles and brick fragments. Feature 250 and associated features may represent the presence of a structure post-dating Structure 1. No separate mold was discerned. Artifacts (EU 282 and 283) in the hole suggests that the post was pulled after the mid-19th century.



Feature # 251

Feature type: Other

At first thought to be a post hole. Upon excavation it was determined to be a tree root.

Feature # 252

Feature type: Stratum

Modern fill episode adjacent to Main St. and possibly associated with the construction of a modern sewer or drain seen in the curb opposite the feature. Consisted of gray clay.

Feature # 253

Feature type: Stratum

Late fill episode adjacent to Main St. and possibly associated with the construction of a modern sewer/drain conduit seen in the curb opposite the feature. Fill consisted of mottled orange-brown and gray clay.

Feature # 254

Feature type: Stratum

Late fill episode adjacent to Main St. and possibly associated with the construction of the modern sewer/drain seen in the curb opposite the feature. Fill consisted of orange-brown and gray mottled river clay with some redeposited dark brown sand loam and brick fragments.

Feature # 255

Feature type: Other

Shallow wash lense above Feature 226, the robbers' trench for the west wall of Structure 1. Consisted of brown fine sand with brick fragments.

Feature # 256

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole for Feature 263, post mold and partial intact post. Filled with dark brown sand loam and brick fragments. Artifacts in the fill (EUs 298 and 299) indicate the post was set in the 20th century.

Feature # 257

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole for Feature 262, post mold, located in 260N / 250E, above the clay floor of Structure 1. Filled with dark brown fine sand loam. No artifacts were present in the fill, but stratigraphy and associations suggest that this was a modern post.

#### Feature # 258

Feature type: Stratum

Localized fill in 280N / 230E consisting of yellow-brown sandy clay mottled with red-brown and gray clay, large mortar fragments, and brick. There were very few artifacts in the fill (EU 312), but these suggest a deposition date after the turn of the 19th century.

#### Feature # 259

Feature type: Other

Shallow pit in 280N/280E filled with yellow-brown sandy clay and lined with asbestos shingles or tiles. A decaying post, Feature 295, was found in Feature 259 during bisection. This is a 20th century feature of unknown function.

#### Feature # 260

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

One of three distinct fills in a robbers' trench (Feature 163) for the late phase of Structure 1, directly overlying remaining bricks in course from the early phase of the west wall Structure 1. Fill consisted of yellow-brown sand with a large amount of brick, mortar and plaster. Robbing associated with this fill appears to have taken place after ca. 1850 (EU 294 and 311), which is congruent with documentary evidence.

#### Feature # 261

Feature type: Other

Brick concentration overlying Feature 449, a cistern. This appears to be a pile of brick salvaging debris from an unknown source. The bricks were placed here after ca. 1820.

#### Feature # 262

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold, located in 260N / 250E, above (penetrating) the clay floor of Structure 1, with a portion of the decaying post *in situ*. Associated with post hole, Feature 257. Small amounts of deteriorating copper were found against the decaying post. Feature 262 may be associated with a structure post-dating Structure 1. No artifacts were present.

Feature # 263

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold for Feature 256 post hole. A portion of the decaying post *in situ*. Filled with dark brown sand loam. Feature 263 may be associated with a structure post-dating Structure 1. Artifacts in Feature 256 suggest the post was set in the present century.

Feature # 264

Feature type: Other

Concentration of asbestos tiles or shingles under Feature 259 and partially covered by Feature 128 fill. Probably the bottom of Feature 259, a 20th century shallow pit lined with asbestos tiles.

Feature # 265

Feature type: Foundation

Brick west wall of an early phase of Structure 1 (originally designated Structure 16). In some places the intact clay floor (Feature 200) overlay the brick wall. Feature 226, a robbers' trench, is the remains of the later phase of that structure built over the original foundation, which may have been partly robbed before this later phase of construction. At one point a large cut granite block is built into the brick wall. This stone appears to be plugging a hole in the foundation, perhaps where a drain had penetrated the foundation. This drain probably followed the course of the ditch labelled Features 400 and 407, and exited the early building in approximately the same position that drains exited the later building phase through foundation gaps in the east wall, and ran into the cistern system.

Feature # 266

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 267

Feature type: Drain

Fill capping Feature 268, a possible drainage ditch. Bisected by Trench 1. Filled with dark brown sand loam and pebbles. This fill layer was deposited after ca. 1830.

#### Feature # 268

Feature type: Drain

Possibly a ditch that served as overflow for Feature 449 cistern, or an earlier drainage system. This ditch was overlain by another ditch, Feature 269. There was no indication that the ditch had been brick-lined, as were other drains on the site. The ditch was cut by Trench 1. Feature 268 was filled with medium brown sand, bricks and brick fragments, cobbles. This ditch was recorded only in the profile of Trench 1, and is not on the plan map. This feature was filled after ca. 1830.

#### Feature # 269

Feature type: Drain

Another possible small drainage ditch for Feature 449, cistern, that is also associated with Feature 268, the small ditch described above. No bricks were found *in situ* to indicate it was lined. Filled with medium brown sand loam, brick fragments, cobbles.

#### Feature # 270

Feature type: Other

Hard packed ash deposit in original fire box in Feature 143 hearth of Structure 1. Saved as a floatation sample. See Feature 143 description.

#### Feature # 271

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1. Filled with mottled dark yellow and orange sandy clay, brick fragments and cobbles. No diagnostic artifacts were present.

#### Feature # 272

Feature type: Foundation

A brick wall in 280N/230E was originally labeled Structure 17. Subsequent analysis indicated that this is the footing of a stoop for Structure 30. Constructed of deep red bricks 1-1/2 brick lengths wide bonded with yellow

sand mortar. Located adjacent to Main St. and running parallel to it. The wall was apparently constructed after ca. 1775, as indicated by the TPQ of the builders' trench for this wall, Feature 341.

#### Feature # 273

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench from construction of the extant railroad trestle (Structure 19) or possibly the turn-of-the-century trestle (Structure 20). Fill consisted of dark brown clay loam mottled with orange and white clay, brick fragments, charcoal, coal.

#### Feature # 274

Feature type: Post Hole

Possible post hole in 260N/250E. Filled with sand loam and brick fragments. Not excavated.

#### Feature # 275

Feature type: Other

Brick concentration against Feature 272, the brick stoop footing for Structure 30. This feature is identified as wall fall from Feature 272. Bricks were filled by a mottled, medium brown and yellow-brown sandy clay with and charcoal. Artifacts incorporated in the wall fall (EUs 395 and 400) indicate destruction shortly after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 276

Feature type: Stratum

Very small localized deposit located on the exterior of the northeast corner of Structure 1 and cut by Feature 273, a concrete trestle pier builders' trench. Fill consisted of dark brown sandy clay heavily flecked with brick fragments, charcoal, coal, and plaster. This appears to be related to the construction of Structure 1. Artifacts (EU 328) provided a TPQ of 1795.

#### Feature # 277

Feature type: Drain

Brick drain located on the exterior of the northeast corner of Structure 1, running parallel to the east wall (Feature 184). Cut by Feature 273, a concrete trestle pier builders' trench. This drain underlies Feature 276, above, and is probably a late 18th century feature.

### Feature # 278

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole in 280N/ 240E penetrating Feature 200, the clay floor. Found after the removal of Feature 159, salvage or destruction debris. Filled with dark brown loam mixed with dark yellow-brown clay and yellow sandy clay, coal and brick fragments. A separate mold could not be discerned. Artifacts (EUs 339, 340 and 372) in the hole suggest that the post was pulled after ca. 1840. This may have been a support post within Structure 1. That this is likely is supported not only by the dates on artifacts in the feature, but by the observation that clay floor fragments were not found in the feature, nor was the feature detected until removal of the building's destruction layers.

### Feature # 279

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole, in 280N / 240E, uncovered after removal of Feature 159 primary destruction debris. Feature 279 was mapped, but was not excavated. This feature may have been standing within Structure 1, or it may post-date that structure.

### Feature # 280

Feature type: Post Hole and Mold

Post hole found in Feature 200 clay floor after the removal of Feature 159, primary destruction debris. The presence of 40+ clay floor fragments and late artifacts from the excavation of this post hole seem to date it as later than Structure 1. Fill consisted of loose black coarse sand mottled with gray and red-brown clay, brick fragments, cobbles and pebbles. After the removal of Feature 200, the clay floor, it was found that after a rock (previously thought to be the bottom of Feature 280) was removed, Feature 280 fill continued and was again re-excavated. Later in the excavation, when Feature 427, black smith's forge, was identified in 280N/250E, a post hole and mold were also identified located partially within the boundries of the forge remains and labeled Feature 441 (post mold) and Feature 442 (post hole). Upon excavation of Features 441 and 442, late 19th century artifacts were recovered. The dilemma of having such a late post hole and mold so far below the clay floor and earlier strata was perplexing, until it was determined that Feature 442 was located in the exact same place as Feature 280 and was actually yet a further continuation of Feature 280. Feature 280/441 was the associated post mold in Feature 442, not identified previously. Fragments of modern bottle glass in the hole fill (EUs 332 and 333) suggest 20th century construction, although this feature had been considerably disturbed; other artifacts suggest a possible

construction date after 1830. It is likely that the post had been set as a support within the later phase of Structure 1.

#### Feature # 281

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole found penetrating Feature 200, the clay floor, after removal of Feature 159, destruction debris for Structure 1. Fill consisted of black cinders and brick fragments. No separate mold could be discerned. The presence of clay floor fragments and granite from Feature 131, the stone footing, and artifacts (EUs 334 and 335) in fill date the removal of this post hole to ca. 1860. It is possible this post was an internal support within Structure 1.

#### Feature # 282

Feature type: Drain

Brick drain lying in a semi-circular arc. Appears to predate Feature 325, another brick drain, located adjacent to it. The eastern end of Feature 282 possibly connected to Feature 332, an early drainage ditch. Its western end appears disturbed and ends at Feature 283, a cobble concentration.

#### Feature # 283

Feature type: Cobble Concentration

Cobble and pebble concentration. Possibly associated with the disturbance of Feature 282 brick drain (see above).

#### Feature # 284

Feature type: Other

Six large boulders lying in a depression within Feature 285, a robbers' trench for Structure 18. It is not possible to determine whether the stones remain in place as the unrobbed portion of a stone foundation or boundary wall, or if they were placed in the ditch as fill.

#### Feature # 285

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench for Structure 18, a colonial building predating Structures 1 and 4. Feature 285 was an eroded trench running east-west on the exterior of the south wall of Structure 1. The eastern end of the trench is bisected by Feature 241, the west wall of Structure 4, and its builders' trench, Feature 303. A large amount of decaying brick debris characterized the robbers' trench. Fill

consisted of dark yellow-brown sand loam and charcoal. Because Feature 284, boulders, were located in the trench it is possible that Feature 285 may be associated with a stone foundation. The large quantity of brick debris suggests a possible brick wall on a stone footing. Similar construction was not uncommon near the fall line and in the Piedmont during the late Colonial Period. Materials in the robbers' trench (EU 404 indicates filling of the trench after ca. 1780).

#### Feature # 286

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

This is a small section of brick salvaging on the north foundation wall of Structure 4. Filled with compact dark brown coarse sand, brick fragments, charcoal, small cobbles. The feature was not excavated. However, cellar filling in Structure 4 has provided ample data for determining the building's destruction date.

#### Feature # 287

Feature type: Stratum

Fill level, in 280N / 280E, north of a 20th century pipe trench. Fill consisted of yellow - brown sand mixed brown sandy clay, shell, brick fragments, charcoal, and pebbles. Not excavated.

#### Feature # 288

Feature type: Other

Shallow fill adjacent and parallel to Feature 175, a large brick drain. This was probably a wash deposit over or in the builders' trench; it consisted of mottled gray and yellow sandy clay. Artifacts (EUs 585 and 586) indicate the deposit was laid down after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 289

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 290

Feature type: Other

Stone cap covering Feature 175, brick drain.

#### Feature # 291

Feature type: Other



Fill level in Feature 482, a post hole (see below). This post hole had 4 fill levels in it: Features 185, 291, 292, 293. Feature 291 was comprised of black coarse cinder dust with coal, and brick fragments.

#### Feature # 292

Feature type: Other

Fill level in Feature 482 post hole (see below). This post hole had 4 fill levels in it; Features 185, 291, 292, 293. Feature 292 comprised of mixed yellow and brown loose sand.

#### Feature # 293

Feature type: Other

Fill level inside Feature 482 post hole (see below). Feature 482 had 4 fill levels: Features 185, 291, 292, 293. Feature 293 consisted of dark brown coarse sand with brick fragments.

#### Feature # 294

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 295

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold with decaying post *in situ*. Found during excavation of Feature 159. The post mold is located in the center of Feature 159 and may be associated with Structure 1. No artifacts were recovered from the mold, but stratigraphic placement suggests the mold represents either a post that stood within Structure 1, and which remained standing when Feature 159 was deposited (ca. 1860), or it was a driven post placed following the deposition of Feature 159.

#### Feature # 296

Feature type: Other

Fill used as bedding for the last fire box built into Feature 143, Structure 1 hearth. Below this is the brick floor of the original hearth. Feature 296 consisted of dark brown loam with charcoal and ash. Artifacts (EUs 352 and 355) indicate this deposit was placed here in the very early 19th century. A floatation sample (EU 355) was taken from this feature.

#### Feature # 297

Feature type: Other

Linear brick concentration extending east from the western edge of the excavation, roughly at a right angle to Feature 272, a brick wall (Structure 30). Appears to be wall fall, or robbing debris, from Feature 272. Bricks were lying in sand that resembled decaying sand mortar. Some cobbles were also present. The relationship between this feature and other destruction-related features of Structure 30 could not be determined with certainty. The linear orientation suggested that this could be foundation robbing debris, rather than wall fall debris. Artifacts (EU 407) indicate deposition shortly after ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 298

Feature type: Drain

Small portion of a brick drain extending out of the west wall of the excavation limits. This drain was cut by the west wall of the Structure 1 and Features 319 and 325, later brick drains. Feature 298 is the same drain as Feature 315 located opposite the disturbances. Feature 298 rests on a cobble footing.

#### Feature # 299

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum consisting of medium brown sand mixed with very light brown loose sand, located under the floor of Structure 1. This appears to be a wash or flood deposit. Artifacts and stratigraphy place its deposition after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 300

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench fill for the northern end of Feature 163, the robbed west wall of Structure 1. The trench was filled with gray clay with brick fragments comprising more than half the fill, and was distinct from other fills in Feature 163. Feature 300 ended abruptly at Feature 282, a brick drain, and the relationship between the two is unclear. It seems likely that Feature 300 represents an earlier salvaging episode from other fills in the robbers' trench (Features 226 and 260), and that salvors in this earlier episode, stopped work at the drain. Materials in this fill (EU 358) indicate salvaging took place after ca. 1840. Documents suggest a date in the 1850s for the destruction of this building.

#### Feature # 297

Feature type: Other

Linear brick concentration extending east from the western edge of the excavation, roughly at a right angle to Feature 272, a brick wall (Structure 30). Appears to be wall fall, or robbing debris, from Feature 272. Bricks were lying in sand that resembled decaying sand mortar. Some cobbles were also present. The relationship between this feature and other destruction-related features of Structure 30 could not be determined with certainty. The linear orientation suggested that this could be foundation robbing debris, rather than wall fall debris. Artifacts (EU 407) indicate deposition shortly after ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 298

Feature type: Drain

Small portion of a brick drain extending out of west wall of excavation limits. This drain was cut by the west wall of the Structure 1 and Features 319 and 325, later brick drains. Feature 298 is the same drain as Feature 315 located opposite the disturbances. Feature 298 rests on a cobble footing.

#### Feature # 299

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum consisting of medium brown sand mixed with very light brown loose sand, located under the floor of Structure 1. This appears to be a wash or flood deposit. Artifacts and stratigraphy place its deposition after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 300

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench fill for the northern end of Feature 163, the robbed west wall of Structure 1. The trench was filled with gray clay with brick fragments comprising more than half the fill, and was distinct from other fills in Feature 163. Feature 300 ended abruptly at Feature 282, a brick drain, and the relationship between the two is unclear. It seems likely that Feature 300 represents an earlier salvaging episode from other fills in the robbers' trench (Features 226 and 260), and that salvors in this earlier episode, stopped work at the drain. Materials in this fill (EU 358) indicate salvaging took place shortly after ca. 1840.

#### Feature # 301

Feature type: Other

Decaying wood beam associated with Features 275 and 297, the brick wall fall from Structure 30. Artifacts in fill adhering to the beam (EU 357) indicate a

date for the wall fall of ca. 1775, which is close to dates on other related features for the destruction of Structure 30, which place that event at ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 302

Feature type: Other

Shallow amorphous black stain adjacent to Feature 194, a builders' trench for the south wall of Structure 1.

#### Feature # 303

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 142, the west wall of Structure 4. Filled with brown sand clay, brick fragments, cinders, and coal. A ca. 6' portion of the builders' trench was excavated. The bottom could not be reached and probably extends as deep as the cellar on the interior. Very few artifacts were encountered. Although the inventory (EU 361) contains a single cut nail, this may be intrusive. The only other diagnostics were a large number of sherds, apparently from a single wine bottle which is similar to bottles dated ca. 1780. Further excavation of this feature in the future could more provide greater certainty concerning the date of construction of Structure 4.

#### Feature # 304

Feature type: Post Mold

Originally thought to be a post *hole* but, upon further excavation, the decaying remains of a post was uncovered. Feature 304, in square 260N / 280E is probably the remains of a fence. Fill artifacts (EUs 412 and 413) include 20th century materials.

#### Feature # 305

Feature type: Stratum

Fill located between Feature 285, the robbers trench of Structure 18, and Peebles (Poplar) St. The stratum consisted of dense gray clay. The few artifacts present (EUs 408 and 445) indicate filling after ca. 1775.

#### Feature # 306

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 307

Feature type: Other

Fill underlying the original hearth floor of Feature 143, the Structure 1 hearth. Material consisted of coarse sand mixed with yellow clay with pebbles, charcoal, and brick fragments. The northern half of the hearth interior still had the brick hearth floor *in situ* overlying Feature 307. A floatation sample (EU 364) was taken. Artifacts from the fill (EU 365) indicate construction of the firebox after ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 308

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 309

Feature type: Post or Block Pier Mold

Post mold located within Feature 356, a ditch or robbed drain. Feature 309 is possibly a central support post or block pier for the early building phase of Structure 1, although it may be an earlier feature. The post does not seem to have been deeply buried as the profile in bisection was very shallow. Fill consisted of dark gray loam and decaying wood. The few artifacts in the feature (EUs 374 and 377) provide a TPQ of ca. 1795 or later for removal of the post.

#### Feature # 310

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold located in the area where Feature 200, the clay floor and Feature 131, stone footing, had been removed (historically). A large portion of the decaying post remained *in situ*. Feature 310 has similar characteristics to a number of other post features, and these may be the remains of a fence that paralleled Main and Peebles (Poplar) Streets. There were few artifacts within the fill (EUs 533 and 534). Of these a single carbon rod appears to be from a modern battery.

#### Feature # 311

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 312

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole originating below Feature 200, the clay floor. Filled with yellow and gray sand, brick fragments, and charcoal flecking and capped by two granite stones from Feature 131, the stone footing for Feature 200. The post hole abuts

Feature 319, a brick drain, and overlies its builders' trench, Feature 320. Only a single artifact, a 19th century wine bottle sherd, was included in the fill.

#### Feature # 313

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 314

Feature type: Drain

Brick drain abutting and paralleling the interior of Feature 164, the north wall of Structure 1, and Feature 143, hearth. The brick drain is constructed of stretchers laid on their sides to form the walls and capped by headers. The interior of the brick drain is not lined and the floor of the drain is sand. A plaster material similar to the "clay" of the clay floor (see Feature 200) bonds and covers the bricks. Feature 314 is probably directly connected to Feature 342, a brick drain on the interior of Structure 1's east wall. The use of the same, or similar material as that found in the clay floor suggests construction at about the same time, or ca. 1830; however, the builders' trench for this drain, Feature 373, provided a TPQ of ca. 1780. This latter date may actually apply to the original fill of a trench in which numerous drains and wall fragments appear to lie. It is likely that this was a structure wall robbed shortly after ca. 1780 (see Feature 483 and 484 descriptions). Several other drains which used a similar clay cement also have apparent construction TPQ dates of 1780, so it is possible that the clay cement material was in use at the site as much as fifty years prior to construction of the clay floor, Feature 200.

#### Feature # 315

Feature type: Drain

Brick drain predating Feature 325, brick drain, and its connecting system. Feature 315 is cut by the junction of drain Features 325 and 319 and is not connected with them. Feature 298, another brick drain, lies opposite this junction and is a continuation of 315. Feature 315 is constructed of stretchers laid on their sides to form the walls and are capped by headers. The top and sides of the drain are lined with a cement that is similar or identical to that used on the Feature 314 drain and the clay floor, feature 200. The floor of the drain is sand. The east end of Feature 315 makes a Y junction with Feature 317, which is probably a robbed out drain. Running parallel to the south side of Feature 315, and separated by a discernable gap, is a row of brick stretchers laid flat (Feature 483). They do not resemble, or seem to be a part of, this drain. This row of bricks actually appears to be the remains of an earlier foundation wall. Feature 315 intruded Feature 330, a foundation wall.

#### Feature # 316

Feature type: Other

Fill overlying Feature 315 brick drain. Possibly laid over the drain to cover it prior to reconstruction of Structure 1. Fill consisted of loose mixed yellow-brown and gray sandy clays with brick fragments, charcoal and sand mortar. Artifacts in this deposit (EU 394) suggest deposition in the 1st quarter of the 19th century.

#### Feature # 317

Feature type: Drain

Robbed out drain beginning at a Y junction with Feature 315, a brick drain, and continuing under a portion of Feature 200, the clay floor that was not removed during excavation. Fill consisted of dark gray sand loam with charcoal, brick fragments, shale coal and small cobbles. Artifacts in the fill (EUs 391 and 494) indicate destruction of the drain after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 318

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole, in 280N / 240E, originating under Feature 200, the clay floor, and Feature 131, stone footing. Filled with loose dark brown sand loam, brick fragments, charcoal. No separate mold was discerned, and no diagnostic artifacts were recovered. The post was pulled or rotted sometime before the construction of the floor, sometime shortly after ca. 1830.

#### Feature # 319

Feature type: Drain

Brick drain running east-west under Features 200 and 131, the clay floor and stone footing of Structure 1. The drain begins on the western end with the junction of Feature 325. Its eastern end connects with Feature 342, another brick drain which leads into Feature 170, a cistern. Feature 319, a brick drain, is constructed of stretchers lying on their sides and capped with headers. The interior of the drain is unlined and the drain floor is sand. The caps are covered and bonded to the walls with clay cement similar to that used in Feature 200 and some of the other drains. Features correlated and associated with 319 make up an interconnected drain system, and are all constructed of this same method. The builders' trench (Feature 325) for this drain indicates construction after ca. 1814.

#### Feature # 320

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 321

Feature type: Stratum

Early bulk fill stratum covering roughly the northern half of the interior of Structure 1 under Features 200 and 131, the clay floor and stone footing. The stratum was comprised of a mixed gray and yellow-brown coarse sand loam with sand mortar, brick fragments, charcoal and pebbles. The purpose of the stratum appears to be fill to level grade in preparation for the construction of the 2nd stage or period of Structure 1 and its associated floor, Feature 200.

Artifacts associated with this fill (EUs 381, 388, 389, 390, 392, 393, 398, 405, 418, 427, 428, 435, 436, 438, 441, 505, and 513) indicate deposition shortly after ca. 1830.

Feature # 322

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum located in the northern half of the interior of Structure 1 under Feature 321 fill. Consisted of a mottled white gray, gray, brown sand clay with some charcoal and brick fragments. This layer appeared to be alluvially deposited sand from an historic flood. Artifacts in the fill (EUs 434, 444, and 504) suggest deposition shortly after ca. 1795.

Feature # 323

Feature type: Drain

This is a brick drain that branches off of Feature 319, brick drain and runs towards the south. It ends abruptly ca. 7' from its origin at Feature 319. The end of this drain is bricked and covered with clay cement. Feature 323 is constructed of brick stretchers laid on their sides and capped with headers. The interior of the drain is unlined and the floor is sand. The exterior of the drain is covered and the bricks are bonded by clay cement. Additional associated features are its builders' trenches, Features 336 and 339, located on either side of the drain. Feature 336 provided a construction date post 1780; however, associated features indicate construction after ca. 1814.

Feature # 324

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 325

Feature type: Drain



Brick drain extending southeast out of the western edge of excavation adjacent to Main Street. This appears to have been the drain or conduit that brought water to the site from its possible source at a spring near at the base of Libby Hill. Feature 319, and probably Feature 314, branch off of Feature 325 to eventually drain into Feature 170, a cistern. The southern end of Feature 325 is bricked off and sealed with the clay cement. This drain is constructed of brick stretchers laid on their sides and capped by headers. The drain was then sealed and bonded by clay cement. The interior of the drain is unsealed and the floor is sand.

#### Feature # 326

Feature type: Post Hole

Early post hole in 300 N / 240E with fill that consisted of gray clay, cobbles, and brick fragments. The hole was quite shallow and appears to have been truncated. No separate mold was discerned. Artifacts in the fill (EUs 422 and 423) indicate that the post was pulled after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 327

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum of natural ancient alluvial deposits similar to those seen in test units to the north of Structure 1. Feature 327 was located in the northeast corner of the interior of Structure 1. Consisted of gray sand mottled with orange-brown sand clay, no cultural material was present.

#### Feature # 328

Feature type: Foundation

Small portion of a 1-1/2 brick thick foundation wall, or a pier, from an 18th century structure (Structure 17). This remnant wall is only one course deep.

#### Feature # 329

Feature type: Foundation

Remains of the bottom course of a 1 - 1/2 brick thick English bond foundation from a probable colonial structure (Structure 30). The wall remnant is only one course deep and is set in sterile sand. The shallow remains of its builders' trench, Feature 375, parallel its west side. The truncated remains of the possible cellar floor or midden abuts the wall's east side. Feature 315, a brick drain bisects the wall and the disturbed remains of Feature 329 continue a short distance to the north of the drain; this section is labeled Feature 330.

Feature 319, brick drain, bisects the southern end of Feature 329. Feature 115, a modern utility pole, is driven through a portion of the wall.

#### Feature # 330

Feature type: Foundation

Disturbed portion of Feature 329, a wall of Structure 30 bisected by Feature 315, a brick drain. The northern end of Feature 330 is cut by Feature 314, another brick drain, and the north wall of Structure 1.

#### Feature # 331

Feature type: Stratum

Shallow deposit of black cinders and shale coal covered with a thin layer of river clay. Possibly associated with Feature 427, which is thought to be the remnants of a blacksmith's forge. A single Roccoco-edged pearlware sherd was recovered (EU 566), indicating deposition after ca. 1784.

#### Feature # 332

Feature type: Drainage ditch

Early unlined drainage ditch connected to, and running east from, Feature 282, a brick drain. The ditch was filled with yellow-brown sand loam, brick fragments (some glazed), charcoal flecking, and pebbles. The ditch itself continues to the east wall of Structure 1, but the fill is replaced by Feature 359 fill ca. 10' east of Feature 282. The eastern end of the ditch is cut by Feature 184, east wall of Structure 1 and it continues on its other side. This ditch predates Structure 1. Feature 332/359 may have been used to drain the land after massive earth moving in the late 18th century, but prior to the construction of Structures 1 and 4. Artifacts (EUs 421 and 447) in the ditch fills and stratigraphic placement indicate filling after ca. 1780. The associated Feature 359 contained mainly early artifacts as well, but there were some sherds of ceramic that suggest that filling may not have occurred until after ca. 1809. That this is likely to have been intrusive is indicated by the observation that Feature 359 is cut by two other drainage ditches, features 356 and 367, each of which appear to have been filled about 1814.

#### Feature # 333

Feature type: Other

Colluvial wash located at the foot of Feature 272, the brick wall of Structure 30. Consisted of mixed yellow and brown fine sand loam. Artifacts (EUs 397 and 401) yield a TPQ of ca. 1780, consistent with other dates for the destruction of Structure 30.

Feature # 334

Feature type: Other

Shallow wash lense against the west side of Feature 329, the brick foundation wall designated Structure 30. This was bisected by Feature 354, the builders' trench for Feature 315, a brick drain. Fill consisted of light yellow-brown sand clay with brick and mortar flecking.

Feature # 335

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 319, brick drain; it is located on the south side of the drain. The trench was filled with loose mixed gray and brown sand with brick fragments, charcoal, and cobbles. Materials associated with the feature (EU 506) indicate that Feature 319 was constructed after ca. 1814.

Feature # 336

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 323 brick drain. Located on the east side of the drain. Filled with loose mottled gray and brown sand with brick fragments, shale coal and pebbles. Fill artifacts (EU 507) indicate construction after ca. 1780; however, associated features yield TPQ dates of ca. 1814 for construction of this system.

Feature # 337

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 325, a brick drain. Located on the east side of drain south of its junction with Feature 319, drain. Fill consisted of loose mottled gray and brown sand. No datable artifacts were recovered but this trench is associated with Feature 319 and its builders' trench, feature 335, which suggests construction after ca. 1814.

Feature # 338

Feature type: Stratum

This is a possible midden on the west side of Feature 329, a foundation wall for Structure 30. It has probably been severely truncated. The feature consisted of dark gray fine sand loam, a large amount of oyster shell, and cobbles. The soil was moisture-retaining with organic textural characteristics. The midden was bisected on its southern end by Feature 319, a brick drain. Artifacts in this

deposit indicate that the midden ceased to accumulate shortly after ca. 1814. This feature is correlated with Feature 431.

#### Feature # 339

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 323, a brick drain, located on the west side of drain. Fill consisted of mixed gray and brown sand with shale coal, charcoal, and pebbles. NO datable artifacts were found in the fill.

#### Feature # 340

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 341

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 272 brick wall of Structure 30. Fill consisted of dark gray sand loam with cobbles and brick fragments. Artifacts (EU 503) indicate that Structure 30 was built after ca. 1775.

#### Feature # 342

Feature type: Drain

Brick drain running parallel to the interior of Feature 184, the east wall of Structure 1. It directly connects with Feature 319, another brick drain, and probably connects with Feature 314, a brick drain, at the northeast corner of Structure 1 under the portion of the clay floor that was left intact during excavation. Feature 342 runs south to a gap in the east wall which leads to Feature 170, a cistern. Other drains associated with Feature 342 in this system are Features 323 and 325. Feature 342 is constructed of brick stretchers lying on their sides and capped by headers. The drain is covered and bonded with a clay cement or plaster. The interior of Feature 342 is unlined and the bottom is sand.

#### Feature # 343

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Possible robbers' trench of Feature 348, remains of an early brick drain. Fill consisted of loose yellow-brown sand with a large amount of bricks and brick fragments. Robbing took place in or after 1795, as determined by artifacts in the fill (EUs 406 and 399).

Feature # 344

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 345

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench of Feature 329, a brick wall foundation wall for Structure 30. Fill consisted of dark gray fine sand clay with some cobbles. Salvaging of foundation bricks took place sometime after ca. 1780, as determined by materials (EUs 429 and 440) in the fill of this feature.

Feature # 346

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 347

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 342, a brick drain. Located on the west side of the drain, north of its connection with Feature 319, another brick drain. Fill consisted of yellow-brown sandy clay with mortar and brick fragments. Construction of this drain post-dates ca. 1814, as determined by its stratigraphic position.

Feature # 348

Feature type: Drain

Possibly the earliest brick drain found on the site. It runs parallel to the north side of Feature 315 and almost 1' deeper than that drain. It was apparently laid in the robbers' trench of an earlier structure (Structure 17, Feature 484). The drain is constructed of unbonded half brick headers, each with a small gap between them. No brick capping remains and the drain was partially salvaged after ca. 1795, as indicated by Feature 343, a robbers' trench overlying it. The drain is set into sterile ancient alluvial sand at the bottom of what is probably the robbers' trench of Structure 17. Feature 348 may have been associated with Structure 30. The construction date cannot be determined accurately, although the feature is partly overlain by a stratum (Feature 386) with a TPQ of ca. 1780.

Feature # 349

Feature type: Other

This was a small, extremely thin rectangular stain in 290N / 230E. It was located at a right angle to the south side of Feature 483. Filled with light brown sand. No artifacts were found in the stain, but its stratigraphic position suggests that this was an early feature, perhaps related to the Structure 17.

#### Feature # 350

Feature type: Other

Shallow wash lense consisting of brown sand loam with brick fragments and pebbles. Bisected by Feature 319, a brick drain. This feature is undated, and its function is unknown.

#### Feature # 351

Feature type: Post Mold

Early post mold, in 280N / 240E, that has been truncated. It was filled with black coarse sand with brick flecking and sand mortar. The bottom of the post was set in gray clay subsoil. This mold was associated with Feature 352, its post hole. Neither the setting, nor pulling of the post can be dated. Stratigraphically, these are early features on this site, and the dearth of artifacts within both the hole and mold further indicates the early date of these features.

#### Feature # 352

Feature type: Post Hole

Early post hole for Feature 351, post mold (see above). Probably truncated. Filled with dark brown coarse sand, a small amount of mortar, brick fragments and charcoal.

#### Feature # 353

Feature type: Other

This is the highly disturbed remnant of brick paving, probably a step or stoop within the entrance to Structure 30. This "step" is found directly inside the robber trench of the Structure 30 west wall, opposite a probable portico or outside stoop. Other features indicate destruction of this structure in the late 18th century.

#### Feature # 354

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench on the south side of a row of brick stretchers (Feature 483). Feature 354 was filled with light brown sand, clay chunks and brick fragments. There were no datable artifacts. This feature may be correlated with Feature 420, which has a TPQ date of ca. 1780, but this is not certain. It is more likely that Feature 483 is a remnant of an earlier wall, and that Feature 420 is both the robbers' trench of this earlier foundation, and the builders' trench for Feature 315. If that is the case, then Feature 354 may be somewhat earlier than ca. 1780, and is probably associated with Structure 17.

#### Feature # 355

Feature type: Drain

Early unlined drainage ditch running east-west which predates Structure 1. This feature has characteristics similar to Feature 332/359, except that Feature 355 is more shallow and narrow. Feature 355 is connected to Features 356, 367 and 432, which are also robbed brick drains or unlined drainage ditches. Feature 355/432 is bisected by Feature 184, the east wall of Structure 1. Feature 432 extends beyond the wall. The fill was medium brown loam with brick flecking and charcoal. Artifacts (EU 463) indicate that this ditch was filled after ca. 1814.

#### Feature # 356

Feature type: Drain

This is another unlined drainage ditch or the robbers' trench for a brick drain associated with Feature 355 and related features. The trench was filled with medium brown loam with brick fragments and charcoal. Artifacts (EU 449) suggest robbing after 1810. Associated drain robber trenches or ditches yielded dates of ca. 1809 and 1814.

#### Feature # 357

Feature type: Pier or Post Footing

Possible brick pier in 280N / 250E. Three bricks that appeared to be *in situ* lying in a square dark stain resembling a pier hole (Feature 358). One course deep with shallow pier hole, both probably truncated. These may also represent bricks placed in the bottom of a posthole to support a post. These underlay fill dating to ca. 1830, and therefore probably were supports within an early (pre-1814) phase of Structure 1, or a structure which pre-dates Structure 1. Datable artifacts were not associated with the pier or its hole.

#### Feature # 358

Feature type: Pier Hole or Post Hole

Possible pier hole for Feature 357 brick pier (see above). Square dark stain underlying the remains of a possible brick pier. Very shallow and appears to be truncated. Filled with dark brown sand loam with charcoal flecking.

#### Feature # 359

Feature type: Drain

Early unlined drainage trench. Feature 359 is the same trench as Feature 332 (see above), except the fill in this half of the trench is different. Fill consisted of gray sand loam with brick fragments, charcoal and cobbles. The eastern end of Feature 359 is cut by Feature 184 east wall of Structure 1. This would make Feature 332/359 drainage trench earlier than Structure 1. Except for a few probably intrusive artifacts, the recovered diagnostic materials (EU 560) and stratigraphic placement indicate filling shortly after ca. 1790.

#### Feature # 360

Feature type: Stratum

Thin layer of brown sand loam with a "greasy" quality due to high organic content. This localized layer was found in 270N/ 240 E, east of Feature 468, a brick foundation. This may represent an occupation level or shallow midden. Artifacts (EU 623) suggest deposition after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 361

Feature type: Post Hole

This very shallow feature may be a truncated post hole intruding Feature 332, a drainage ditch. Filled with dark gray silt loam, charcoal flecking and iron stains.

#### Feature # 362

Feature type: Stratum

Thin stratum of cinders and slag located on the exterior of the south wall of Structure 1 and the west wall of Structure 4. Bisected by Feature 285, an early robbers' trench. The stratum continued on the north side of Feature 285 and was there labeled as Feature 380, a correlate. Feature 362/380 probably dates to the late Colonial period.

#### Feature # 363

Feature type: Stratum



Thin stratum of red brick dust overlying gray fine sand. Located adjacent to the exterior of the southwest corner of Structure 4 and possibly associated with its construction.

#### Feature # 364

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 342, a brick drain. Located parallel to the west side of the drain, south of its connection with Feature 319. Filled with brown sand loam with brick fragments, charcoal and small cobbles. Artifacts in fill (EU 495) yielded a date of construction after ca. 1820.

#### Feature # 365

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold originating under the clay floor but intruding Feature 364, builders' trench for Feature 342 brick drain. Filled with black cinder dust and yellow-brown sandy clay with a granite stone from Feature 131 stone footing with clay floor fragments adhering to it. Associated with feature 365, its post hole. This may have been a short post or block pier supporting a beam or joist under the floor of Structure 1. Alternatively, it may be the remains of a scaffold for constructing the walls of a late phase of Structure 1. Presence of granite stones with "clay" floor plaster adhering were also found in the post hole, and therefore suggest this interpretation. No datable artifacts were found in either the hole or mold. The feature appears to be tightly bracketed, however, by penetrating Feature 364 (TPQ 1820) and being capped by Features 131 and 200 (ca. 1830). Clearly this post or block is related to the same construction event as the late stage drains and the the clay floor.

#### Feature # 366

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole for Feature 365 mold. Intrudes Feature 347, the builders' trench for Feature 342 brick drain. Filled with yellow-brown sandy clay with some cinder dust, brick fragments, small cobbles and a granite stone from Feature 131 stone footing with clay floor fragments adhering to it. See feature 365, above.

#### Feature # 367

Feature type: Drain

Early unlined drainage ditch which connects to Feature 355 drainage trench at a Y junction. The eastern end of Feature 367 is cut by Feature 364, the builders' trench for Feature 342, a brick drain paralleling the east wall of Structure 1.

Filled with dark brown sand loam with light gray sand mortar, brick fragments, white plaster and charcoal. Fill artifacts (EU 458) indicate completion of filling after ca. 1790. Related ditches provided fill TPQ dates of ca. 1810 or 1814 (although see earlier notes concerning 1814 TPQ dates).

#### Feature # 368

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Possible continuation of Feature 343, robbers' trench for Feature 348, an early brick drain. Intruded by Feature 330, a late 18th century brick foundation wall. No bricks were found *in situ* found after excavation. Fill consisted of gray loam mixed with brown clay. Only a few brick fragments were found in the fill. This appears to be a Colonial feature.

#### Feature # 369

Feature type: Stratum

Localized fill stratum located adjacent to the west side of Feature 345, a robbers' trench for Feature 329 and partially covering this foundation wall. Fill consisted of dark gray sandy clay with mortar and coal. This stratum was deposited after ca. 1795 (EU 443).

#### Feature # 370

Feature type: Stratum

Localized fill episode. Consisted of yellow sand with a layer of dark gray sand loam between it and Feature 321. Deposited after ca. 1820 (EUs 431 and 439).

#### Feature # 371

Feature type: Other

A 10'x10' excavation unit was placed underneath the train trestle adjacent to Main Street in order to determine the presence of any buried features in this area. Earlier testing had shown that this area had been highly truncated with the construction of the C&O trestle in the early 20th century, but the possibility of remaining cellars, footings, or other deep features needed exploring. Feature 371 was identified as a portion of a 20th century brick sidewalk. It consisted of bricks set in concrete. No earlier features were encountered.

#### Feature # 372

Feature type: Post Mold

An apparently modern decaying post *in situ* in 260N / 270E. Measured one foot in diameter.

#### Feature # 373

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 314, a brick drain. The fill was mixed sand loam and clay with brick fragments, cobbles, shale coal, and charcoal. Artifacts (EU 448) indicated construction after ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 374

Feature type: Stratum

Possible burn layer, in 290N / 230E and 300N / 230E, containing dark gray sand loam with much charcoal. This was cut by Feature 373, a builders' trench for Feature 321, and Feature 343, a robbers' trench for Feature 348. Artifacts (EUs 461 and 462) in the stratum suggest deposition after ca. 1820. This date may be too late, given the stratigraphic position of the stratum. The feature was located in an area of considerable complexity and likely rodent activity; there may have been some undetected intrusion. It is much more likely that this stratum dates to the late 3rd quarter or early 4th quarter of the 18th century. Possibly associated with another burn layer stratum (Feature 388), which has a TPQ of ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 375

Feature type: Builders' Trench

A very shallow remnant of the builders' trench for Feature 329, a foundation wall for Structure 30. Located on the west side of the wall. The fill was mixed light brown and gray sand loam with brick fragments, charcoal and small cobbles. This trench had been dug into sterile clay. No diagnostic artifacts were recovered from the fill, but stratigraphy indicated construction in the third quarter of the 18th century, or earlier.

#### Feature # 376

Feature type: Stratum

This was a modern fill stratum located between the exterior of Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1, and Feature 285, a robbers' trench. Fill consisted of dark brown sand loam mixed with dark yellow-brown fine sand with cinders, brick fragments and small cobbles.

#### Feature # 377

Feature type: Foundation? Pier?

Small portion of an 18th century wall remaining in situ. This remnant consisted of one course of hard, red, undersized bricks abutting a concentration of cobbles (Feature 378), and thin fill stratum (Feature 380). None of these related features could be reliably dated. Similar bricks, while rare, are typically found in mid-18th century contexts, according to Noël Hume (1970). The senior author has excavated similar bricks in associated with a rubblestone store foundation, dated to after ca. 1780, at Bermuda Hundred. It is possible that these features relate to a porch, shed, or stoop, attached to the back of Structure 18, the robbers' trench to which (Feature 285) was filled after ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 378

Feature type: Foundation or pier?

The cobblestone portion of the feature (Feature 377) discussed above.

#### Feature # 379

Feature type: Stratum

Thin layer of small cobbles packed in brown sand with brick fragments and coal. Located on the exterior of Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1. No datable artifacts were recovered.

#### Feature # 380

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum consisting of dark gray fine sand packed with cinders, charcoal, and coal. Feature 380 was bisected by Feature 285, an early robbers' trench (Structure 18). Feature 377/378 overlies this stratum and may be associated with it. This could be an occupation or midden layer associated with Structure 18. No datable artifacts were recovered.

#### Feature # 381

Feature type: Post or Pier Hole

Shallow, truncated, square hole intruding Feature 355, a drainage ditch. No separate mold could be discerned. The fill was dark brown sand, brick fragments and cobbles. No datable artifacts were recovered. This feature might represent a block, post, or brick pier underpinning a beam or joist in Structure 1.

Feature # 382

Feature type: Builders' Trenches

Builders' trenches for Feature 223, two piers that may have supported a north-south summer beam and/or central wall in a late phase of Structure 1. Located on the east side of the bricks in course. Filled with dark brown loam. Fill in this feature (EU 457) indicates setting of the pier after ca. 1825. This is consistent with other dates of ca. 1830 for the construction of the late phase of Structure 1.

Feature # 383

Feature type: Post or Block Mold

Shallow, truncated, square post mold, block mold or pier hole in 280N / 260E, probably truncated. Filled with dark brown sand loam and yellow clay with cinder dust, charcoal, oyster shell and pebbles.

Feature # 384

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 385

Feature type: Other

Fill washed or placed into Feature 382, a builders' trench for Feature 223, a pier supporting a north-south central wall of Structure 1. This fill lense is very shallow and flat and it may have been laid as a bedding for the the bricks from Feature 223. The fill consisted of dark brown very fine sand. Saved as a floatation sample. No diagnostics were recovered. Feature 382 dates post-1825.

Feature # 386

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum overlying a portion of the northern side of Feature 348, an early brick drain. Intruded by Feature 343 (TPQ 1795), the robbers' trench for this drain. Feature 315 overlies feature 386 as seen in the robbers' trench south profile. The fill consisted of dark gray sand loam with iron oxide stains, brick fragments, charcoal, and small cobbles. Artifacts in the fill (EU 469) indicate deposition after ca. 1780). This may date the construction of Feature 348, or it may be slightly later than that event.

Feature # 387

Feature type: Discarded

This proved to be an ancient natural sediment layer.

Feature # 388

Feature type: Stratum

This appears to be a burn layer consisting of dark gray coarse sand with a heavy concentration of charcoal. Intruded (?) or overlay Feature 386. Artifacts (EU472) and placement suggest deposition after ca. 1780. Probably associated with feature 374 (see above).

Feature # 389

Feature type: Stratum

Fill consisting of hard-packed light brown fine sand, cinders, brick fragments and small cobbles. Located on the exterior of Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1. This stratum may be contemporaneous with Feature 377/378, and may be an occupation level related to Structure 18. See also feature 380. This feature did not contain datable artifacts.

Feature # 390

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole filled with brown fine sand loam and included a brick fragment. No separate mold was discerned. Fill materials were sparse, but indicate that the post was pulled in the late 19th century.

Feature # 391

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold adjacent to Feature 377/378. Associated with feature 392, its post hole. Feature 391 may be associated with Structure 18, or another structure represented by this wall or pier, or it may be later. Feature 392, the post hole, intruded into an 18th century stratum, Feature 399. Mold fill consisted of brown fine sand loam with some yellow clay nodules, decaying wood, brick fragments and coal. No datable artifacts were recovered from either the hole or mold.

Feature # 392

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole for Feature 391 post mold (see above). Fill consisted of mottled orange-brown, yellow fine sand and gray clay with brick fragments. Post hole intruded into an 18th century stratum, Feature 399.

#### Feature # 393

Feature type: Rodent burrow

This feature was originally identified as a possible section of builders' trench parallel to the interior of Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1. The feature does not run the full length of the wall, however, and it was discovered on excavation to be very shallow. The fill appeared to be wash consisting of a mixture of brown and gray fine sand loam with brick fragments, mortar and charcoal. Artifacts date the feature after 1867.

#### Feature # 394

Feature type: Other

Small, shallow wash lense, in 260N / 270E and 270N/270E, consisting of brown sand loam with some orange-brown sandy clay, brick fragments and charcoal. No datable artifacts were recovered.

#### Feature # 395

Feature type: Post Hole

Large post hole in, 260N / 260E, filled with black cinders, coarse sand, Feature 200 clay floor fragments, and cut street cobbles. Intrudes into Feature 382, a builders' trench for a pier associated with Structure 1. Datable artifacts were found in the fill (474 and 475), suggest that the post rotted, or was pulled, in the late 19th century.

#### Feature # 396

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole, in 290N / 240E, filled with dark gray sandy clay, brick fragments, coal and cobbles. Originates below Feature 338, a deposit dated after ca. 1814. The post appears to have been truncated, and no associated separate mold was found. Artifacts (EUs 479 and 480) in the feature indicate that the post was pulled after ca. 1800. This post or block probably supported a joist or beam under the floor of an early stage of construction of Structure 1.

#### Feature # 397

Feature type: Other

Layer of cobbles packed in a mottled light gray and orange-brown sandy clay, located on the east side of Feature 329, the brick foundation for Structure 30. The feature covers portions of squares 290N / 250E, 290N / 240E, and 300N / 240E. This may represent the remains of a cobble floor or metalled yard deposit associated with Structure 30. A shallow trench, Feature 398, cuts across the cobble layer from the wall to the east. Feature 397 is bisected to the south by Feature 319, a brick drain, and to the east by Feature 342, another brick drain. The north end of Feature 397 overlies sterile ancient alluvial sand. Beneath the feature is truncated subsoil. The artifacts (EUs 493 and 512) found among the cobbles indicate deposition after ca. 1795, due to the presence of a single sherd of transfer-print pearlware. Given the nature of the deposit, however, it is always possible that a later sherd may have filtered down between the cobbles. Other artifacts incorporated in the fill suggest that the cobbles were laid down in the late Colonial Period.

#### Feature # 398

Feature type: Drain

Possible shallow unlined drain associated with Structure 30. This is the shallow remnant of a ditch which cuts the cobble yard feature described above, and which may have carried runoff water away from Structure 30. It begins at Feature 329 and runs east. The feature has been bisected by Feature 342, a later brick drain. Feature 398 is filled with light brown coarse sand. No artifacts were found in this shallow deposit.

#### Feature # 399

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum consisting of very dense light brown clay with cobbles, located at the base of Feature 377/378, the cobble and undersized brick feature (stoop?, shed pier?) apparently associated with Structure 18. This may be a fill or flood deposit under the pier or other structure represented by Feature 377/378. Artifacts in the deposit (EUs 489 and 490) suggest deposition after ca. 1780, which is consistent with the apparent date for the destruction of Structure 18.

#### Feature # 400

Feature type: Drainage ditch

Early unlined drainage ditch running east from Feature 163, the robbers' trench for the west wall of Structure 1. Bisected on the east end by Feature 356, a robbers' trench or drainage ditch. This is the same feature as Feature 407, its correlate drainage trench extending east on the opposite side of Feature 356. Feature 400/407 ditch appears to be cut by the east and west walls of Structure



1 and probably predates Structure 1. This drainage trench has characteristics similar to Feature 332/359 and may be contemporaneous with them. Artifacts in Feature 407 (EU 523) provide a TPQ for filling of this feature, after ca. 1795.

Feature # 401

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 402

Feature type: Other

Ditch-like feature seen in the south profile of Feature 343, a robbers' trench of Feature 348, an early brick drain, as well as under Feature 315 brick drain. The ditch had a bowl-shaped profile with no brick lining. It was located at a right angle to Feature 348 and was thought to be a part of this drain. No evidence of Feature 402 was found during excavation south of Feature 315. Feature 402 appeared to be dug into mottled orange-brown and gray sand with green clay nodules, an ancient natural alluvial deposit. No artifacts were found in the deposit, which is clearly one of the earlier features on the site.

Feature # 403

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum underlying Feature 399, a possible destruction level associated with Structure 18. This thin, localized stratum consisted of light brown fine sand with few brick fragments. This may also be a flood or wash deposit. No artifacts were associated with the deposit, but the overlying stratum had a TPQ date of ca. 1780.

Feature # 404

Feature type: Cobble Concentration

Circular concentration of small cobbles, in 260N / 270E, possibly filling a truncated post or block hole. The function and dating of this feature are not certain. Stratigraphy suggests that a post or block pier in this location would have been pulled after shortly ca. 1780.

Feature # 405

Feature type: Stratum

Small localized deposit consisting of gray fine sand with small cobbles, a possible wash or flood deposit. A pocket of Feature 403 overlies this stratum between it and Feature 377/378 micro brick and cobble wall. Appears to be an

18th century stratum bisected by the south wall of Structure 1. The majority of the artifacts in the deposit (EUs 510 and 511) suggest deposition in the early third quarter of the 18th century. A single pearlware (transfer-print) sherd was found here as well. It may be intrusive, however.

Feature # 406

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 407

Feature type: Drainage ditch

Continuation of Feature 400, an early unlined drainage trench. Feature 400 is bisected by Feature 356 an unlined drain or robbers' trench for a brick drain. Feature 407 extends east from this bisection to be cut by Feature 184 east wall of Structure 1. Feature 407 is filled with a mottled brown sand loam, light brown fine sand and dark gray clay with brick fragments, cobbles, cinders and charcoal. Dark brown silt deposited at the bottom of the trench lends evidence to the feature's use as a drain. The ditch was completely filled after ca. 1795.

Feature # 408

Feature type: Post Hole

Shallow post or block pier hole, in 270N / 260 E, originating below Feature 131, a stone footing for the clay floor of Structure 1. It appears to have been truncated, and no separate mold was discerned. Filled with dark brown sand loam, cinders, charcoal, and brick fragments. The feature intrudes the Feature 407, a filled drainage ditch. Artifacts in the fill (EUs 521 and 522) indicate the post or block was pulled ca. 1830. This may have been a joist or beam support underpinning an early construction phase of Structure 1.

Feature # 409

Feature type: Post Hole

This is another shallow post hole intruding into Feature 407 drainage ditch. It appears to have been truncated. Feature 409 was filled with dark brown loam mixed with green clay and orange-brown clay with cinders and fragments of Feature 200, the clay floor. Artifacts in the fill (EUs 518 and 519) indicate removal of the post after ca. 1795, although the presence of the clay floor fragments it is probable that this is a later post associated with the later building phase of Structure 1, or even post-dating Structure 1.

Feature # 410

Feature type: Post Mold

This is a shallow, truncated, post mold, in 270N / 260E, filled with brown loam mixed with some gray clay and brick flecking. The feature is associated with a post hole, Feature 411. Appears to have been truncated. There were no artifacts in the fill of either the mold or hole. This suggests that these are the remnants of an early feature, perhaps associated with an early phase of Structure 1, or one of the Colonial Period buildings on the site.

#### Feature # 411

Feature type: Post Hole

Shallow post hole for Feature 410, its post mold (see above). Appears to have been truncated. Feature 411 was filled with gray clay loam with brick flecking.

#### Feature # 412

Feature type: Hearth

Portion of an internal brick hearth remaining *in situ* from Structure 30. Only the bottom course remained intact, the rest appears to have been salvaged. The lower course of bricks within the hearth itself were glazed on their upper surfaces. This feature is associated with Feature 433, a black stain outlining the robbed portion of the hearth. Feature 412 was overlain by the filled ditch, Feature 400/407, which was filled after ca. 1795. Feature 412 was probably destroyed in the fourth quarter of the 18th century.

#### Feature # 413

Feature type: Other

Shallow linear depression paralleling the east side of Feature 329. Probably a wash lense. Filled with fine brown sand. No cultural material was recovered.

#### Feature # 414

Feature type: Stratum

Stratum located on the exterior of Feature 184, the east wall of Structure 1, and bisected by backhoe Trench 1 and Feature 126, a 20th century pipe trench. It was also intruded by Feature 125, the builders' trench for an extant concrete trestle pier. The fill consisted of gray sand with a high amount of charcoal and brick flecking. Several prehistoric artifacts were recovered from this stratum. Feature 414 appears to be redeposited fill, possibly originating from the eastern area of the site. Feature 414 may have been laid down in order to fill a low area at the base of the historic slope that was removed and to create an even grade across the site for the construction of Structure 1. After complete excavation in this area an old buried soil surface (Feature 443) could be seen

in the backhoe trench profile sloping down to the east. This deposit overlay Feature 445, an early post hole. Artifacts from feature 414 (EUs 563 and 574) indicate deposition after ca. 1814.

#### Feature # 415

Feature type: Other

A small localized fill inside Feature 317, a drainage ditch, consisting of a pocket of loose gray sand at the bottom of feature: probably a root disturbance. Deposited after ca. 1780 (EU 526). The drain itself was destroyed after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 416

Feature type: Other

Alluvial soil deposited on the interior of Feature 348 brick drain. Taken as a floatation sample.

#### Feature # 417

Feature type: Post Mold

Small, truncated mold from a driven stake located in 280N / 260E. Filled with brown sand loam, cinder dust, small brick fragments, charcoal, and pebbles. No associated separate mold was discerned. The hole intruded feature 364 (filled after ca. 1820), and was overlain by 20th century deposits. Its date is uncertain.

#### Feature # 418

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole, located in 260N / 250E, filled with dark brown sand loam, clay floor fragments, white sand mortar, brick fragments, coal, and charcoal. Shallow, probably truncated. The presence of Feature 200 clay floor fragments in the fill means that Feature 418 was filled sometime after the floor was laid. No separate mold was discerned, and no datable artifacts were found in the fill.

#### Feature # 419

Feature type: Other

Floatation sample taken of alluvial deposit on the interior of Feature 315, brick drain.

#### Feature # 420

Feature type: Other

Filled gap lying between Feature 315, a brick drain, and Feature 483, the row of stretchers running parallel to its south side. Profile clearly shows a difference in construction between the two. The profile of the row of stretchers shows two courses lying flat. The drain is built of stretchers lying on their sides capped by headers. Feature 315 may have intruded an earlier robbers' trench, represented in remnant by Feature 420. Fill was light brown sand loam with a high amount of brick fragments. Artifacts in this fill suggest that robbing of an early wall or drain took place after ca. 1780.

Feature # 421

Feature type: Other

Floataion sample taken of the alluvial deposit from the interior of Feature 319, a brick drain.

Feature # 422

Feature type: Other

Floataion sample taken of the alluvial deposit from the interior of Feature 342, a brick drain.

Feature # 423

Feature type: Other

Floataion sample of alluvial deposit taken from the interior of Feature 323, a brick drain.

Feature # 424

Feature type: Other

Floataion sample taken of the alluvial deposit from the interior of Feature 325, a brick drain.

Feature # 425

Feature type: Other

Unidentifiable filled hole, in 270N / 270E, too irregular in plan and profile to be a post hole. This is a possible tree root or rodent burrow located abutting the exterior of Feature 184, the east wall of Structure 1. Filled with mixed dark yellow-brown and gray clay (Feature 210). No datable artifacts were recovered.

Feature # 426

Feature type: Stratum

Fill stratum inside the southeast quadrant of Structure 1. Overlies Feature 427, the possible remnant of a blacksmith's forge. Fill consisted of orange-brown gray sandy clay and light brown sand with brick fragments, cobbles, cinders and charcoal. Fill artifacts (EU 617) indicate deposition in the late 18th or early 19th century. The artifacts included two pieces of bar stock which may have been lying near the earlier forge. Numerous other pieces of bar stock and nail stock were found in surface deposits apparently related to this forge.

Feature # 427

Feature type: Other

Blacksmith's forge remains. Consisted of a 5'x 8' shallow basin-like depression filled with dark brown loam, a high amount of good quality shale coal, cinders, many large cobbles and some brick fragments. Two concentrations of crumbly low-fired clay were recovered from the bisection profile and one fragment of high-fired hard clay was also recovered. Several lengths of bar stock were found in this feature and in the fill above and surrounding it. From the bar stock and the large amount of coal recovered, Feature 427 has been interpreted as being the remains of a blacksmith's forge. The many large cobbles concentrated in Feature 427 probably made up the forge foundation construction. Surrounding the forge remains are several concentrations of black shale coal and cinders (Features 428, 331, 429). Feature 427 appears to have been contemporaneous with the features associated with Structure 30. The remains of the forge are shallow and truncated. Feature 452, a square post hole identified on the interior of the northern end of Feature 427, may also be associated with the forge. Artifacts in the fill (EUs 581 and 582) indicate robbing of the forge base after ca. 1780.

Feature # 428

Feature type: Stratum

Thin concentration of black cinders associated with Feature 427, a blacksmith's forge in Structure 30.

Feature # 429

Feature type: Stratum

Thin layer of black cinders associated with Feature 427, a blacksmith's forge in Structure 30..

Feature # 430

Feature type: Other

Possible pit feature, in 290N / 280E, measuring 1.5' in diameter and only 0.3' deep. This is too large and shallow for a post hole, and the function is unknown. Filled with compact brown sand mixed with light brown fine sand, brick fragments, cinders, and cobbles. Artifacts indicate filling after ca. 1795.

Feature # 431

Feature type: Stratum

Continuation of Feature 338, possible in place midden deposit on south side of Feature 319, a brick drain. The fill consisted of dark gray sand loam with glazed and other brick fragments, oyster shell, charcoal. Artifacts from this feature and its correlate, feature 338, indicate that the midden ceased to accumulate about 1814.

Feature # 432

Feature type: Drain

Continuation of Feature 355, a drainage ditch or robbed brick drain extending beyond (southeast of) Feature 184, the east wall of Structure 1. This drainage trench is bisected by the wall and predates Structure 1. Filled with medium brown sand loam mixed with gray clay and with brick fragments and charcoal. No artifacts were found in this part of the ditch, but fills in Feature 355 and related ditches gave a TPQ of ca. 1814.

Feature # 433

Feature type: Hearth

Thin layer of black cinders, black sand, brick fragments and small cobbles that appears to be a shallow remnant of a robbers' trench for an internal hearth associated with Structure 30. Associated with Feature 112, bricks still in course from the hearth. All fill (EU 619 was saved for floatation analysis.

Feature # 434

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 435

Feature type: Other

White ash lense from the interior of Feature 412/433 Structure 30, internal robbed hearth. The deposit was saved as a floatation sample. Also included in Feature 435 was high quality shale coal (similar to that recovered from Feature 427, the blacksmith's forge) and brick fragments.

Feature # 436

Feature type: Cobble Concentration

Small cobble concentration located adjacent to the interior of Feature 193, the south wall of Structure 1. Lying just on the surface of Feature 426, a late 18th c. or early 19th c. fill. The purpose of the cobbles is unknown.

Feature # 437

Feature type: Stratum

Localized fill, in 290N / 280 E, consisting of mottled orange and yellow sand, brick fragments, charcoal. Stratigraphy suggests that this deposit was laid down in or after 1814.

Feature # 438

Feature type: Other

Floatation sample taken of the alluvial deposit from the interior of Feature 314, a brick drain.

Feature # 439

Feature type: Other

A small concentration of decayed mortar situated around Feature 112, bricks in course from Structure 30 internal hearth. Saved as a floatation sample. The material proved to be a high-lime mortar prepared from calcined oyster shells.

Feature # 440

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole, in 280N / 240E, intruding Feature 359, a drainage ditch. Filled with coarse black cinders, brick fragments and Feature 200 clay floor fragments. The presence of the clay floor fragments dates this post hole to after construction of the floor, ca 1830. This may have been an internal support post, or an underpinning for a beam, related to the late phase of construction of



Structure 1. This feature is the same feature as Feature 278, which was defined before removing the clay floor.

Feature # 441

Feature type: Post Mold

Post mold, associated with Feature 442, post hole, not identified until after removal of Feature 426. Filled with gray brown loam with artifacts dating to the second half of the 19th century and fragments material from Feature 200, the clay floor of Structure 1 (see the description for Feature 280).

Feature # 442

Feature type: Post Hole

Late post hole associated with Feature 441. Filled with coarse black cinders and artifacts dating to the turn of the 20th century. See the descriptions for Features 280 and 441.

Feature # 443

Feature type: Stratum

Original buried surface soil horizon remaining *in situ* after late 18th century land development. Consisted of gray to light brown very fine sand loam. Appeared to be an undisturbed stratum overlain by several strata of fill. This stratum is the only original topsoil revealed in the main excavation area on the site. In the profile of Trench 1, Feature 443 could be seen sloping down to the east. This stratum may be a part of the original slope of the hill that was cut down to the west. In that case the area where Feature 443 is located would have been filled, rather than cut, to create a level grade over the entire site. Feature 443 also contained perhaps the earliest post mold found on the site, Feature 448. The size and shape of this post mold strongly suggests a prehistoric origin. Several prehistoric artifacts were recovered from Feature 443 (EU 603). Prehistoric artifacts were extremely rare throughout the remainder of the excavation.

Feature # 444

Feature type: Post Mold

Round post mold set in Feature 445, a square post hole. Filled with gray yellow-brown clay mixed with light gray sand. Artifacts (EUs 593 and 595) in the mold indicate that the post was removed, or rotted, after ca. 1780. The date of setting of the post could not be determined.

Feature # 445

Feature type: Post Hole

Square post hole for Feature 444, post mold (see above). Filled with gray mottled orange-brown clay.

#### Feature # 446

Feature type: Other

Excavated hole for Feature 206, a cistern. Feature 446 was first dug out, then a container of unknown type was placed in the hole and the hole was backfilled. Fill consisted of brown silt and clay, brick and mortar fragments, and charcoal. Artifacts (EUs 613 and 615) indicate construction of the cistern shortly after ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 447

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole for Feature 462. Intrudes Features 206, 446. Filled with mottled brown sand loam and yellow clay with brick fragments, charcoal, small pebbles. Artifacts (EUs 601 and 602) in the fill, and stratigraphic position, indicate that the post was set after ca. 1795. It cannot be determined when the post rotted, or was removed.

#### Feature # 448

Feature type: Post Mold

Possibly the earliest post mold found on the site. Originates in Feature 443, a buried soil surface, in 290N / 270E. Feature 448 is probably a prehistoric post mold. Filled with dark gray sand loam.

#### Feature # 449

Feature type: Cistern

Mold of a square cistern container inside a larger hole (Feature 455) and associated with Feature 175 brick drain. When originally uncovered, Feature 449 was a large oval stain. During bisection the sloping sides of the oval hole became the vertical sides of the square mold, probably for another "cistern", or silt trap. The cistern was filled with soft dark brown sand with bricks, cobbles and granite blocks. Bricks fill Feature 455, the hole into which feature 449 is set, and are flush with the vertical sides. It appears that a large hole was excavated and a square container was set in the hole and the hole jammed with bricks. Feature 449 is a cistern it is in line with Feature 175 and thus a part of that drain/cistern system. Artifacts (EUs 572, 575, and 600) in the

feature indicate filling sometime shortly after the turn of the 19th century. The hole in which the container was placed was filled after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 450

Feature type: Drain

Small portion of a disturbed brick drain in. The bricks remaining in course are highly disturbed. Perhaps an earlier drain intruded by Feature 175 brick drain or contemporaneous with Feature 175 and connected to its drain/cistern system. Not datable.

#### Feature # 451

Feature type: Post Hole

Rectangular post hole, in 290N / 260E, set in an early fill stratum (Feature 454). It was shallow and appears to have been truncated. Two strata were identified filling the post hole. Gray and orange-brown river clay were either capping the hole or was filling the post mold, which could not be adequately discerned for separate excavation. Underlying the clay was dark brown sand loam with brick and charcoal flecking and cobbles. Artifacts in the fill (EUs 597 and 598) indicate pulling or rotting of the post after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 452

Feature type: Post Hole (Anvil Base?)

Large rectangular post or pier hole originating in Feature 427, a blacksmith's forge in Structure 30. May be associated with the forge structure. Very shallow and appeared to be truncated. Filled with brown loam, brick fragments, cobbles, coal flecking and high quality shale coal. No datable artifacts were found in the fill, but the materials were essentially the same as those filling feature 427. This feature may represent a post or block used to support an anvil at the side of the forge. The destruction date is presumed to be the same as Feature 427, or ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 453

Feature type: Discarded

#### Feature # 454

Feature type: Stratum

Small, localized fill stratum consisting of light gray clay and orange-brown sandy clay with cobbles. Located on the exterior of the east wall of Structure 1

and cut by both the pipe and backhoe trenches. No artifacts were recovered from this level, and precise dating is uncertain.

#### Feature # 455

Feature type: Other

Hole for Feature 449, a cistern or silt trap. Feature 455 was first excavated then a square cistern container or large square post was placed in the hole and the hole filled. During the bisection of Feature 455, two cut granite slabs were found at the juncture of Feature 175, a brick drain and Feature 449. These stones appear to link Feature 449 to the remainder of that drain/cistern system. Feature 455 is filled with light gray sand and bricks. Artifacts (EUs 589 and 590) in the fill date the construction to after ca. 1795.

#### Feature # 456

Feature type: Stratum

Fill concentrated inside the southeast corner of Structure 1, in 270N / 260E and 270N / 270E. The material consisted of light yellow sand with plaster, brick fragments, and cinders. Possibly related to the destruction of Structure 30. Some Feature 456 fill overlaid the eastern tip of Feature 458, burn debris. Artifacts in this fill (EU 625) confirm deposition shortly after ca. 1780.

#### Feature # 457

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench for west and south walls of Structure 30. Feature 457 represents the remains of a colonial structure. The south and west walls of Structure 1 overlie the robbers' trench. Feature 457 was filled with gray clay, soft orange brick fragments, glazed brick fragments, plaster, mortar and cobbles. Broken wine bottle fragments in the fill (EUs 606 and 616) indicate wall salvaging after ca. 1770.

#### Feature # 458

Feature type: Stratum

Large, thin burn layer forming a "shadow" on the interior of Feature 457, the south wall of Structure 30. This feature suggests the destruction of Structure 30 by fire. The northern end of Feature 458 ends abruptly ca. 2' west of the west side of Feature 433 hearth and may show where the rear addition joined the earlier south wall of Structure 30. An additional associated feature is Feature 412.

#### Feature # 459

Feature type: Foundation

Bricks in course representing the unrobbed portion of the south wall of Structure 30. In line with Feature 457, the robbers' trench. Bisected by Feature 223, the support for a north-south central beam or wall of Structure 1.

Feature # 460

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 461

Feature type: Stratum

A thin, very localized early stratum on the interior of the Structure 30 foundation features. Consisted of light brown sand mixed with very light brown sand mortar. No artifacts were recovered.

Feature # 462

Feature type: Post Mold

Square post mold with wedge shaped bottom in Feature 447, its post hole (see above). Intruding Features 206 and 446 in 290N / 280E. The mold was filled with dark brown and gray sand loam with cinders and brick fragments. The post was set after ca. 1795, but the date of removal, or rotting, cannot be determined.

Feature # 463

Feature type: Other

Fill overlying Feature 464, the brick frame at the base of the hearth (Feature 143) for Structure 1. Consisted of mottled yellow-brown and gray sand clay with brick fragments, cobbles, pebbles and charcoal and brick flecking. Only a single artifact was found in the fill (EU 610): a sherd of deep-colored, "Royal" shape creamware. This provides a TPQ of ca. 1766. However, related features tend to indicate construction after ca. 1814. It is feasible, if course, that the base of the hearth was retained from an earlier structure. There are other features, particularly associated with the hearth and northern wall of Structure 1, that give indications of a late 18th century construction phase, however.

Feature # 464

Feature type: Other

One course of brick headers framing the front of the base of the Structure 1 hearth. Bonded with fine sand and shell mortar. Constructed shortly after ca. 1814.

Feature # 465

Feature type: Other

Shallow pit feature seen in south profile of Feature 359 ditch. Filled with gray sand, brick fragments, charcoal, shell mortar and cobbles.

Feature # 466

Feature type: Other

Shallow pit feature cut by Feature 359 drainage trench (filled after ca. 1790). Filled with gray sand, brick fragments, shell mortar, charcoal, cobbles. Probably of Colonial date.

Feature # 467

Feature type: Other

Unknown pit-like feature truncated by Feature 457, Structure 30 robbers' trench. Overlay truncated subsoil. Feature 467 fill consisted of light brown sandy clay mixed with orange clay, glazed brick fragments, and cobbles. No artifacts were recovered. This may be another small remnant of a Colonial Period feature, possibly associated with Structure 17 or Structure 18.

Feature # 468

Feature type: Foundation

Brick foundation remnant of the the west wall of Structure 17, and a chimney base associated with Feature 480, a hearth. Feature 468 was not observed in profile on the baulks at the 260-270N, or 230-240E lines, so it may have been a local feature, perhaps somewhat deeper than the remainder of the Structure 17 foundation. The shape and depth suggest the footing courses for a hearth base, and the wall fragment does incorporate a hearth. The wall fragment is considerably longer than the hearth itself, however, and may indicate that an oven was built into the chimney as well, probably south of Feature 480, the hearth. No datable materials were discovered in either of the associated builders' trenches (Features 470 and 472), but other features thought to be associated indicate building destruction in the late 3rd quarter of the 18th century.

Feature # 469

Feature type: Robbers' Trench

Robbers' trench overlying partially robbed portion of Feature 468, a brick wall. Fill consisted of medium brown sand mottled with clay, brick fragments, cobbles. A single artifact, a cut nail, was found in the fill (EU 627), indicating salvaging additional over the hearth base in the early 19th century. This salvaging may have taken place during initial construction of Structure 1.

Feature # 470

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench for Feature 468, the west wall of Structure 17. Located on the west, exterior side of the wall. Filled with orange mottled gray clay, brick fragments. No artifacts were recovered, suggesting that this is among the earliest features on the site.

Feature # 471

Feature type: Post Hole

Small rectangular post hole originating below cultural fills, intruding sterile clay subsoil. Contained charcoal flecking. This is probably a scaffold post for constructing a chimney For Structure 17, represented by Features 468, 470, 472 and 480.

Feature # 472

Feature type: Builders' Trench

Builders' trench located on the east side of Feature 468, brick foundation for Structure 17. Filled with light brown sand with bricks and brick fragments and decaying wood. Very few artifacts were recovered, and all of these could be associated with building construction, thus suggesting that this is among the earliest features on the site.

Feature # 473

Feature type: Post Hole

Large rectangular post hole in 270N / 240E. Shallow, probably truncated. Fill consisted of medium brown sand loam, brick and charcoal flecking. No artifacts were recovered from the fill, but the post cuts a stratum (Feature 475) that appears to date to the late 18th century or early 19th century. This may have been a scaffolding post for the construction of Structure 1.

Feature # 474

Feature type: Discarded

Feature # 475

Feature type: Stratum

Possible early fill episode on the interior of Feature 468 west wall of Structure 17. Consisted of brown sand loam mottled with light gray clay and with brick fragments and cobbles. Deposited after ca. 1795.

Feature # 476

Feature type: Stratum

Possible occupation or wash level associated with the period in which Structure 17 as standing. Located on the interior (east side) of Feature 468. Same characteristics as Feature 461. Consisted of light gray sand mottled orange-brown sandy clay with brick fragments and cobbles. No artifacts were recovered.

Feature # 477

Feature type: Foundation

Brick south wall of Structure 4. Feature 126 pipe trench cuts through and disturbs an apparent entrance in the south wall. This entrance appears to be associated with a narrow excavation in the adjacent cellar (see Feature 481, below). It is possible that the "entrance" was a dry well, ice chute, coal chute, or similar feature, with access from Poplar Street.

Feature # 478

Feature type: Stratum

Secondary fill in the cellar of Structure 4. Excavated out of a 10'x10' unit located in the southwest corner of Structure 4. Consisted of dark red-brown sandy clay with orange-brown clay nodules, sand mortar, brick fragments, charcoal and cobbles. This fill was placed here in the late 19th century, or early 20th century.

Feature # 479

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole, in 280N / 260E, bisected by Feature 364, the builders' trench for a brick drain (filled after ca. 1820). It overlay Feature 359, a drainage ditch (filled after ca. 1790). Filled with medium brown sand loam, plaster, brick fragments,



charcoal flecking and cobbles. No separate mold was discerned. The tight temporal bracket and placement suggest that this was a beam support under the floor of the early stage of Structure 1.

#### Feature # 480

Feature type: Hearth

Hearth in Feature 468, west foundation wall of Structure 17. Bricks outlining the firebox are fire blackened and extend out from the wall several inches. The majority of the hearth floor has been robbed out but some heat-glazed bricks remained *in situ* in the hearth interior. Fill from the feature consisted of yellow-brown sand.

#### Feature # 481

Feature type: Stratum

Primary fill in the cellar of Structure 4. Identified in a 10'x10' excavation unit located in the southwest corner of Structure 4. Feature 481 appears as a ca. 6' wide trench, 1' deeper than the bottom of the cellar to the east and west and located at the base of a possible bulk head entrance into Structure 4 cellar. It seems that the bulk head steps led down to a 6' wide earth ramp with 1' high terraces to either side. The "ramp" then appears to flare out to the full cellar. Feature 481 fill consisted of black coarse sand with cinders. The narrow trench was filled after ca. 1867 (EU 639).

#### Feature # 482

Feature type: Post Hole

Post hole filled with four successive levels of fill (Features 185, 291, 292, and 293), all of which indicate the post was removed in the early 20th century.

#### Feature # 483

Feature type: Foundation

Feature 438 is a single line of brick stretchers which runs parallel to the brick drain, Feature 315, across the northern end of Structure 1. This row of brick may be the sole remaining course of brick from an earlier foundation wall, Structure 17. Adjacent fills (associated robbers' trenches) provide early dates (ca. 1780) for salvaging a wall, but these appear to be remnants of a wall for a slightly later building, the north wall of which ran in approximately the same location. These wall features have been discerned as much by the angles of their runs as by stratigraphy, which is highly disturbed in this area.

Feature # 484

Feature type: Robbers' trench

Feature 484 is thought to be a robbers' trench for the north wall of Structure 17. There were no associated fills, as the feature was defined only by an outline of a trench, into which a brick drain (Feature 348) had been laid, and then subsequently robbed. The feature is defined by the interface between feature 348 and the underlying sterile deposits. This is the oldest in a series of trenches and drains in the northern edge of the excavation block. In actuality, this feature has been defined as much by inference as evidence. The brick drain appears to be associated by date with Structure 30, but it was laid in a ditch that is much larger than was necessary. The north wall of Structure 30 was apparently laid beside the drain, and a single course of brick work from the earlier Structure 17 wall was left intact (Feature 483).

## Cross-mending analysis

Cross-mending is a useful technique for determining the possible contemporaneity of stratigraphically defined events on an archaeological site. The logic of cross-mending analysis is that individual sherds of a single broken vessel will be deposited at the same time. If different portions of the same vessel are found in two or more different archaeological deposits, then those deposits each must be contemporary with, or later than, the primary deposition of the broken vessel. The idea is to eliminate deposits which are later than the primary deposition, and to identify one or more deposits which are contemporaneous with it. Thus, if four deposits contain fragments of the same vessel, and three of those deposits share a TPQ of ca. 1820, while the third has a TPQ of 1860, it is likely that the vessel was discarded and the three ca. 1820 deposits filled at about the same time. By examining the nature and stratigraphic relationships of these deposits, it may be possible to plausibly infer that all three were "open" to filling at about the same time and are associated with the same occupation or period.

### Method

For this project, cross-mending analysis was conducted using ceramic vessels only, although similar analyses could be carried out for glass vessels or other fragmentary objects. The Rocketts #1 Site collection contains a minimum of 556 ceramic vessels or fragments distributed among 482 separately distinguished deposits, or features. Following completion of the minimum vessel analysis, to be described in the chapter on artifacts, below, all possible mends between sherds were made. By mending vessels to the extent possible, it is easier to identify form and function characteristics. For the present purposes, however, the importance of mending is that it becomes possible to identify cross-mends between archaeological deposits.

For each separate vessel containing sherds from more than one excavation unit, a cross-mending form was completed. This form records vessel number and a series of entries which read, in essence, "EU \_\_\_\_ contributed \_\_\_\_ sherds to this vessel". The data from these sheets was then coded into a spreadsheet program, feature numbers were substituted for EU numbers, and duplications (from different EUs of the same feature) were concatenated. These complete cross-mending data are presented in Appendix 10.

There are various ways of analyzing cross-mends. Perhaps the most common methods are graphical. These generally entail making a feature map of the excavation and joining features with lines whose numbers or thicknesses vary with the number of sherds or vessels shared between features. The depositional complexity of the Rocketts #1 Site did not permit a graphical analysis. Instead, the data were manipulated within a spreadsheet format. This was done by creating a square matrix containing on both axes all features

which contained cross-mends, and marking the intersection of cross-mend associated features with an "x". This system ignored the numbers of mends between features, which would have made identification of primary depositions perhaps a bit easier. However, there were so many features and cross-mends, that the observation of cross-mend presence alone was attempted.

After the matrix was constructed, the description of each feature contributing cross-mends was studied. Late fills, and some large bulk fills from earlier periods were removed from analysis. Other than confirming the level of past activity on the site, it served little purpose to note that 20th century site levelling events, for example, contained artifacts in common with a 1780s robber trench. The reduced matrix was then carefully studied once again, looking at each cross-mending pair. All cross-mends across temporally disparate events were removed, retaining for the most part cross-mends between events which appear to date no more than ten or fifteen years apart, based on TPQ determinations and/or site stratigraphy. Finally, cross-mends were ignored if they clearly resulted from the recycling of sherds, such as between a postmold and its hole, or among two fill deposits within a larger feature. The greatly-reduced cross-mending matrix is reproduced in Appendix 4.

### Discussion

I have left two large fill deposits in this matrix. These, Features 131 and 321, are both ca. 1830 deposits. Feature 321 is a fill deposited within Structure 1 prior to re-constructing the building. It appears to be comprised primarily of yard deposits and destruction debris from an early phase of the Structure. Feature 131 is the granite footing for the "clay" floor, Feature 200, which was constructed ca. 1830 as part of the rebuilding of Structure 1. It is obvious by studying the cross-mends between these two fills and other features that sherds from a great many pre-1830 contexts were mixed in these fill episodes. What is helpful here, is the strength added to the analysis of the site's chronology and formation processes in general. While these observations (and similar ones made concerning a great many other bulk fill layers deleted from the matrix) were useful in interpreting the site, they are not helpful for the traditional purposes of cross-mending analysis; namely, the identification of contemporaneous *primary* deposits. The remainder of this discussion will generally ignore cross-mends in bulk fills, and features whose only cross-mends are with bulk fills.

What follows is a discussion of each of the remaining significant cross-mend pairs. Please keep in mind that this analysis does not consider the numbers of vessels, let alone the numbers of individual sherds, shared between features. Further analysis of the data in Appendix 10 would undoubtedly prove very useful for identifying primary deposits for many of the ceramic vessels

recovered in this excavation and, in selected instances, later interpretations have made use of these data.

### *Feature 26*

This is the only feature included in the final reduced matrix from the phase 2 testing. The feature represents probable primary fill in a possible cellar, described earlier as Structure 6, and was identified in the phase 2 study as stratum 9 in square 315N 305E. The has a 3rd quarter 19th century date, although the vast majority of the materials date somewhat earlier. Three features (321, 338 (and its correlate, 431), and 426), each with earlier 19th century dates, share crossmends with F-26. This suggests that some later bottle glass may be intrusive, or that some finer stratigraphic distinction was not noted in this test square. If so, Structure 6 would appear to have a destruction date of ca. 1815. Further, this appears to show some link between the cellar fill in Structure 6 and an early midden represented by 338 and 441. Feature 426, moreover, is probably a reworking of that earlier midden for fill. Feature 321 is a ca. 1830 bulk fill.

### *Feature 159*

This feature (TPQ ca. 1860) represents brick-robbing debris associated with the destruction of Structure 1. It shares crossmends with 3 other features (202, 221 and 232), all of which have TPQ dates ca. 1840. Two of these features are strata, but one of these (202) is secondary fill, including brick and plaster dust, in a cistern associated with Structure 1. Given the vast deposit of F-159 overlying the intact floor of Structure 1, I had assumed a ca. 1860 destruction date for the building. This date was bolstered by similar dates from the robbing of the east wall of the structure. On the other hand, the only significant cross-mends were with features dating 20 years earlier. Closer examination indicated that other walls of Structure 1 were also robbed sometime during the period 1840 - 1860. In this case, the cross-mending analysis has allowed me to solidify my estimate of the destruction of this building, and to relate that destruction with the filling of a cistern at the same time. At first it appeared that Structure 1 burned in the 1840s, but some of the foundation bricks, and the southern section of the "clay" floor were not salvaged until 20 years later. The cross-mending is more consistent with the historical data: all these related events, despite some rather early TPQ dates, probably date to after ca. 1855-57, which is the period in which Structure 1 burned, or possible to ca. 1861, when John Schonberger purchased the property and, perhaps, robbed out some of the remaining foundations.

### *Feature 172*

This is a stratum of fill in the southeastern corner of Structure 1, laid down ca. 1820, or probably a few years earlier. Cross-mends were found with with

Feature 174 (TPQ 1814, based on brown-lined pearlware, but probably somewhat earlier), a builders' trench for the east wall of Structure 1, and with another fill layer inside of Structure 1, Feature 321 (TPQ 1830). These cross-mends, and others like them, indicate that these fills within the walls of Structure 1 were locally derived from middens. In some case these appear to have been reworked by human actions, such as preparing the floor and new walls of Structure 1, ca. 1830, while in others they appear to be the results of flooding.

#### *Feature 174*

This is the builders' trench described above. In addition to cross-mends with Features 172 and 321, there were mends with vessels from Features 367, an early (ca. 1800) unlined drainage trench, and with a similarly-dated midden under Structure 1. Again, these cross-mends point primarily to local reworking of deposits, rather than the importing of deposits from outside, or elsewhere on the site.

#### *Feature 204*

Feature 204 was an apparent primary deposit of silt loam washed around whole bricks in the bottom of a cistern (Feature 170). The only feature with cross-mends to F-204 was the bulk fill, F-321, under the "clay" floor of Structure 1. We cannot determine with certainty whether the fill in F-321, a bulk stratum, is primary or secondary. The latter seems most likely, so the ties between these features, at least based on cross-mends, is tenuous. It should be noted, however, that sherds in F-204 could have flowed there from within the building, through the drain system. On the other hand, it seems likely that the sherds in F-321 were moved there in fill from a local midden around the building.

#### *Feature 317*

This feature is a "robbed", or salvaged brick drain: one of a series of drainage or conduit features on the site. The drain was salvaged and replaced about 1795. The feature shares cross-mends with a probable midden deposit (F-338) associated with Structure 30, one of the earliest Structures found on the site. The midden has a TPQ date corresponding with the destruction of that building and preparation of the site for construction of Structure 1. The cross-mends allow us to correlate Structure 30 with the earlier brick conduit or drain system.

#### *Feature 338*

This is the late 18th - early 19th century midden deposit described above. As noted earlier, it is related by cross-mends with Feature 26, and thus with the

destruction of Structure 6; with the robbing of the drain, Feature 317, noted above, and with a fill stratum (F-426) overlying a probable blacksmith's forge which may be related to Structure 30. The series of cross-mends represented by this, and some of the former entries, clearly indicate that the property was highly altered, and that earlier occupation levels were covered and features filled when Structure 1 was built (ca. 1795-1800), and especially, when it was rebuilt just a few years later in brick. This permits us to more closely associate artifacts and features of this earlier site period with each other.

### Summary

While cross-mending was only of limited success in tying features together across the site, it did point to important conclusions concerning site formation processes. It underscores other observations, including direct stratigraphic ones, which permit us to assume that artifacts are, in general, lying in primary deposits, or are reworked into later deposits immediately near their points of deposition. This observation was repeatedly underscored in observing the cross-mends from several bulk fills on the site. For example, fills in the cellar of Structure 4, which are late 19th century in date, contained numerous cross-mends with earlier midden deposits and other features directly around the Structure.

While the construction of the "clay" floor in Structure 1 presented a highly visible event horizon of ca. 1830, it is also apparent that a variety of deposits represent cleaning and preparing the site for construction, ca. 1800-1805. Likewise, a ca. 1860 horizontal episode of destruction, brick salvaging and filling is evident.





## 2.5 Constructed Lives and "Built" Environments at Rocketts

In the creation of identities and lives humans construct buildings, roads, landscapes, plantations, and cities. In a community setting these constructions vie with other, creating individualities, family spaces, group configurations, matrices of constant flux or surprising endurance. Within the larger spaces, smaller spaces form. Between regular streets, alleys grow, and within dense blocks of tenements, yards are created. On the great plantations that arose along the Tidewater rivers during the 18th century, the mark of a single individual often dominated, or attempted to dominate, the physical realities of life, sanctioned by a genealogy of ancestors buried nearby. Within this man's space, slaves, women, tenants, "lesser sorts" and children sought out and found spaces for resistance, but imbalances in power were extreme, and that was always an obvious fact of life.

In the city, on the other hand, such dominations have typically been attributed to classes of people, rather than clans and webs of kinship. In the Marxist view, the rise of the working class is as much, or more, a creation of capitalists and their ideological masking devices as it is a volitional construct of working people. A positivist view seeks to classify all the groups and to find, perhaps to reify, their "places" among constructions of bricks and boards. Science creates ethnicities and social classes; it compares overlords and underdogs. In accepting the immutable nature of people and their groups, it often enshrines the works of the powerful in a history of their made environments.

Archaeology of the constructed spaces and features of the landscape at Lot 203, or elsewhere in Rocketts, decenters constructing subjects and focuses instead on their constructions. In the following section, I have named builders - or rather the authors of buildings, for the builders themselves remain anonymous. When I am able to, I name occupants, tenants, relatives, anyone whose lives I know to have been partly formed by, and to have formed, the buildings and landscapes at Lot 203 in Rocketts. But having named them, we don't know them any better. Each building, each yard, each alley is represented only in fragments, and as fragments, we can only reconstitute them as buildings, yards or alleys through interpretation. It is always tempting to view constructions as power manifestations. Poor people build buildings, if at all, that are overshadowed by the buildings rich people build. Roads and railroads are constructed by those with authority for central planning, or with money and power enough to blast rights-of-way through the constructions of others.

But archaeology puts us into the scene in a way that purely documentary history cannot. By uncovering alleys and feeling their cramped spaces, their manifestly public nature and the possibilities for privacy they hide, we can not only sense the oppression but feel the possibilities for liberation. People came to the city seeking things. They apparently found things they sought, because they kept coming. Owner-occupants subdivided their already tiny lots and built tinier houses to accommodate their new spaces.

John Hague, Joseph Simpson, John Craddock and John Lester built most of the early buildings in the neighborhood around Lot 203. When they did so, they were underdogs in a world dominated by great planters. They took bold steps. They were entrepreneurs in the almost mythical sense, and their gambit paid off. As they rose in wealth and prominence, a second generation of smaller merchants and immigrants carved away at their edifices and created a neighborhood that relied even less on slavery or class distinctions. With emancipation, the ex-slaves themselves, and their children took hold of Rocketts and helped transform it into a neighborhood free of the daily supervision of overlords. Of course, there were somewhere rationalists who believed their flights to the suburbs freed them of having to deal with the grubby realities of city life, who undoubtedly felt that class compartmentalization into neighborhoods made manipulation and control more feasible.

But overwhelming power didn't assert itself on the Rocketts environment until the C&O came through. The James and York River Railroad presaged, but also pre-dated, the real power of rail companies and their "barons". The C&O, and its dealings with people who found their homes and lives to be in its path were something else again. Rocketts, however, just shifted its position a bit. The heart of the town moved across Gilly's Creek to Lester Street in east Rocketts - or Fulton. Not even the railroad could compare with the absolute landscaping tyranny of the bulldozer army mobilized by slum-clearing well-wishers and bureaucrats of the 1970s. The "landscape" - the prettified vast emptiness - of Rocketts today is depressing. Rocketts and Fulton are gone, despite the clever appropriation of the name by the city's housing authority to apply to suburban-style housing that slowly continues to spring up in the ashes of a once vital community.

In this chapter, I have described structures and landscape features using both archaeological and documentary evidence. Determining some of the earlier structures was not a simple task. Land cutting undertaken prior to the construction of Structure 1 had obliterated the living surfaces, and most of the features associated with previous occupations. As a result, a number of foundation wall fragments, heavily robbed and/or built over by later buildings, provided considerable confusion. The structures originally designated 17, 21, 28, and 30 proved especially challenging. The dilemma of deciding which features belonged together was solved with the help of the

completion of the composite site plan, the Harris Matrix, the TPQ dates, a straight edge and a protractor. By ruling wall lines on a copy of the site plan, possible correspondences between features were noted. These were checked by carefully measuring the angles of walls, robbers' trenches, etc. The groupings of features were then checked on the Harris matrix to ascertain that they did, indeed, occupy similar stratigraphic horizons on the site. Finally, dates for each feature were compared. In this way, several small fragments of buildings came together to provide more complete pictures of these early structures (see Figure 23).

## Structures

The term "structures" includes buildings, fences, sheds, and similar constructions. The emphasis here is on low-level interpretation only. While I again emphasize that I don't believe it possible to separate the buildings from their meanings, the data from their interpretations, I have attempted here, as with the feature descriptions above, to present the relatively "objective facts" about these constructs as demanded by the customs and guidelines that regulate archaeology. The listing of structures appears in a numerical order that reflects the recognition of these structures in the field, or in post-excavation analysis, rather than a chronological or otherwise predetermined order. For reference to the individual features discussed here, please see the two main site plans, Figures 24 and 25.

### Structure 1

Structure 1 was the last substantial building constructed on Lot 203.<sup>78</sup> The structure measured 50' north-south by 24' east-west. There are three phases of construction apparent in the archaeological and documentary data. John Hague and John Craddock jointly owned Lot 203 until Hague's death in 1796. At that time Craddock became the full owner of the site. After Hague's death, Craddock constructed a lumberhouse on the lot. This is designated the Early Phase, of Structure 1. Construction-related features have TPQ dates of 1795, although some probably related features have been assigned TPQs of 1800, based on the presence of Canton porcelain (which may have been in Richmond a few years earlier). There was a substantial increase in the tax value of the lot between 1800 and 1804 (an increase from 20 to 45 pounds value), which may relate to the construction of this building. The value remained about the same (\$300) through 1809. In 1810, the value jumped substantially to \$4000, and, in 1815, to \$5500. I believe that the increased value in 1810 represents the Second Phase of construction of Structure 1. At that time, the building was rebuilt in brick. Property values fell substantially on Lot 203, and elsewhere in Rocketts, during the depressed economy of the

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<sup>78</sup>. Other, lighter, structures were built here in the late 19th century - mainly sheds of various kinds. These were constructed with post-in-ground and/or brick pier footings.

1830s. Lot 203 was subdivided into three legally separate parcels by 1830, and each parcel was valued at approximately 1/3 the value of the former complete lot. This indicates that all three parcels contained substantial improvements.

The next increase in property value on Lot 203.2 (the lot containing Structure 1) occurred during the ownership of Robert C. Wasley. In 1833, Wasley had purchased Lot 203.2 from the Calvins for \$500, which was close to its assessed value. In 1839, the value jumped to nearly \$1400. This more-or-less corresponds with archaeological dates (pst-1830) for the construction of the "clay floor", and the rebuilding of the hearth's firebox, in Structure 1. This was done either under Robert Wasley's direction, or that of his son, William, who inherited the property the following year. This building was referred to as a "brick tenement" in the early 1850s, so it is likely that Wasley had converted a "lumberhouse" to an apartment building. Within a few years, the firebox of the hearth was bricked in completely. It is apparent that occupants of the Structure had converted to coal- or wood-burning stoves by mid-century. The large quantities of Richmond Basin coal shale suggest the former.<sup>79</sup> Fills in the associated cistern and drain system suggest that it ceased to function about the time the building was converted.

The value of the property remained constant until 1858. At that time the owner was John Wilder Atkinson, a tobacco manufacturer. The tax value dropped that year to just over \$400, and the tax list contains a note - "house down" - indicating that the building had been destroyed. Archaeological evidence confirms that the building burned about this time. Destruction and salvaging debris lying over the floor, robber trenches along the main walls, and postmold fills for internal support posts have fill dates of ca. 1860.

#### *First, or Early, Phase*

Craddock's late 18th-century lumberhouse was a frame structure built on a light brick underpinning only 1 brick-length wide. This foundation sat on a single 1-1/2 brick wide footing course. The building had a fireplace and internal chimney centered on the north gable wall. It is not certain whether there was a floor in the building. There are some block pier molds with fill

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<sup>79</sup>. Throughout the excavations, from contexts of the 1780s to the mid-19th century, we recovered substantial amounts of hard lump coal which we originally identified as anthracite. In traditional histories of the coal industry, anthracite was not available until the third quarter of the 19th century. These remains of hard lump coal stand in stark contrast to the soft, poor-quality shale coal usually associated with the Richmond Basin coal deposits, and with local archaeological sites after ca. 1840. However, this coal must have come from the very high-quality seams that were mined out of Deep Run and Midlothian in the 18th and early 19th centuries. The early coal mining in Richmond was largely in the hands of Henry Heth and Samuel DuVal, whose coal yards were directly opposite Rocketts on the south bank of the River. These coal specimens, then, offer new insight into the early coal industry in Richmond. Given their apparent quality, it is no wonder that Richmond Basin coal was in high demand.

dates dating to the Second Phase of construction, ca. 1810. These may have supported beams, or posts which rose straight to the plates or roof trusses. There is insufficient evidence to reconstruct door or window locations. It appears that Craddock provided running water in the building. A sophisticated water "drain" or conduit system, which was an updating of earlier systems, may have included an indoor pump. There is a gap in the foundation wall where one of the brick conduits runs into a cistern, immediately outside the wall. There is another, adjacent gap in the brickwork, which could have accommodated a pipe for a pump. What's more, there appears to have been a brick platform just inside the wall, perhaps a base for a pump. The earliest "cisterns" and "drains" on the site predate Structure 1 by perhaps 20 years or more, but this building is the first which apparently had an indoor pump connected to the system.

It is clear from the artifacts associated with this building at this period that the structure was lived in. The hearth probably served an apartment in the north end of the building, although the water pump and cistern are located somewhat closer to the south end of the building. Presumably the building also functioned as a warehouse, and possibly as a place of fabrication, for lumber and wooden construction for shipbuilding. There is evidence of substantial flood deposits, dating around the turn of the 19th century; these are enclosed by the early foundation walls of Structure 1. We did not recover evidence of any substantial fire on the site at this time. It is feasible that a flood destroyed the Early Phase of Structure 1 or, at the least, convinced Craddock to rebuild his building more substantially.

### *Second Phase*

Between 1809 and 1810, Craddock constructed much heavier foundations outside of, and incorporating, the lighter earlier footing. The new underpinning was two brick-lengths thick on a two-and-a-half brick footing course. Extending from the southern end of the building is a brick platform. This may have served as the base of a stoop for a door just west of the centerline of the building. Alternately, this may have provided the base for a derrick for hoisting materials into the main part of the building or a loft.

An anonymous painting of ca. 1810 (Historic View 2) depicts this building after it was reconstructed in brick. The chimney in the northern gable is evident in this painting. The building rose 1, or 1 - 1/2 storeys. Neither the painting nor the archaeology provide much information concerning fenestration, although a great deal of window glass is associated with the debris from the structure. A few chunks of dressed granite and slate blocks found in the excavations may represent stone lintels for the windows, but we cannot be very certain of this. The only ornamentation we have some confidence in can be inferred from a wrought iron shutter latch (see Artifact Plate # 2) recovered from a robber trench for this building.

While a moderately large number of glazed bricks and fragments were found on the site, it is likely that these are remains from the earlier Structure 18. The vast majority of bricks associated with Structure 1 exhibit no glazing, rubbing, or other decorative treatment. Many of the excavation units associated with Structure 1 contained fragments of roofing slate. While there were very few whole slates, or even large pieces, it seems likely the building had a slate roof. Undoubtedly, the slates, like the bricks from the walls, were recycled after the building burned.

### *Third, or Late, Phase*

Between 1830 and 1840 - probably during the ownership of the Wasley family - Structure 1 underwent some substantial changes (Third Phase). Fills were placed within the foundation to raise the floor. Quite likely, earlier joists and floorboards had rotted from flooding. A new floor - referred to frequently throughout this report as a "clay" floor - was laid. Much of this floor remained intact at the time of our excavation. Above the fills, a "footing" of coarse granite gravels and river cobbles was laid. The floor material actually appears to be plaster cement comprised of a very fine-grained mixture of clay and gypsum (plaster of Paris), with a little lime. This material was apparently prepared as a thick slurry and poured or spread over the stone footing. After this cement had nearly set, it was troweled smooth. The flooring covered the inner courses of bricks in the building foundations. These were the lightly built footings for the First Phase of Structure 1, and they had probably supported sills for hanging floor joists during the Second Phase. With the removal of the joists and sills, these footings no longer served any purpose and were covered over with the new floor.

The northern wall of Structure 1 remained standing a few feet above what had been grade level in the early and mid-19th century. Here it was obvious that the floor material had been carried up the wall approximately 1 foot from the floor. The remainder of the wall exhibited no evidence of plastering. Nonetheless, there were numerous fragments of this material found which had evidence of whitewash, and in a couple examples, there was evidence of a lime-rich finish-coat of plaster, plus whitewash. Therefore, at least some of the room walls within Structure 1 had been plastered at some time.

It seems likely that the hearth firebox was reduced in size at the same time the floor was laid. This can be inferred by the correspondence between the new bottom of the hearth, and the top of the plaster coat on the bottom of the north wall. The shrinking of the firebox probably signals the conversion from a wood-burning hearth to a coal grate heater. Before a decade had passed, the hearth was completely bricked closed, probably to accomodate a stove. Lying on the floor in front of the north wall, and to one side of the hearth box, we uncovered what appears to be the top to a manufactured cast-iron oven

designed to be placed within the wall. There was also a large flat plate of ca. 3/8" thick iron lying on the floor near the northeast corner of the building. Both of these pieces are encrusted with wood and carbon, indicating that they were in the building when it burned. These appear to be parts to a bake oven (?) that had been built into the wall to the right of the hearth. That section of the wall was salvaged after the building burned, and the oven parts were apparently laid on the floor, then covered over with broken brick fragments and mortar from salvaging activities.

Internal room divisions in Structure 1 are very difficult to infer from the archaeological evidence. Under the "clay" floor, there were two piers which had been constructed in the robbed out run of an older drain. These, and the location of the old drain, corresponded with a linear slump, or settling, of the floor in the southern half of the building. Thus we can infer the likely presence of a north-south central wall in the southern half of Structure 1. There were a number of post holes and/or molds that had their bottoms on the floor, or which penetrated the floor. Some of these have fill dates that appear to correspond with destruction of the building, and were probably internal posts; most, however, are later features. The posts that correspond with the destruction of the building do not make patterns that suggest unambiguous internal wall configurations. Likewise, there were no traces of plaster, brick, or other stains on the floor to indicate walls. Because the depression and piers which suggest a north-south central partition are confined to the southern half of the structure, we may also infer a east-west central cross wall, but these are the only internal divisions we can be confident of.

Associated features: 16, 131, 143, 148, 159, 163, 164, 171, 172, 173, 174, 184, 193, 194, 200, 201, 209, 211, 223, 224, 226, 249, 260, 265, 270, 271, 276, 278, 279, 280, 281, 295, 296, 299, 300, 307, 309, 321, 322, 357, 365, 381, 382, 385, 396, 409, 410, 440, 441, 442, 463, 464, 473, and 479.

## Structure 2

This structure was identified as a filled cellar encountered in a backhoe test trench excavated during the phase 1 study on the site. At the very western end of Trench 1 the trench excavation was stopped when we encountered an intact foundation wall fragment. It was possible to define a portion of intact wall and overlying robbers' trench, as well as a section of intact builders' trench. Fill in the basement included some of the earliest artifacts recovered on the site (mid-18th century), although artifacts in the builders' trench indicated construction in the late 18th century or very early 19th century. The building apparently did not stand very long, as the cellar was apparently filled by the mid-19th century. Feature 73, a drainage pit (?) intruded the cellar, and this feature contained mid-19th century materials. Further, this pit was intruded by Feature 151 (see Structure 14 description, below), a robber trench



for a house that was standing in the 1860s, and which was demolished at the turn of the 20th century. A fragment of collapsed brick wall was found in the fill. This was coated with plaster and green paint. There are a great many domestic artifacts in this area, as indicated by testing, so this was almost certainly a house. The house stood on what would become Lot 203.3.2 by the Freeman subdivision. No further work was done on this structure during the Phase 3 study.

### Structure 3

The feature originally identified as Structure 3 during the Phase 2 study was later recognized a part of Structure 1.

### Structures 4 and 5

Structures 4 and 5 were identified during Phase 2 testing, and were thought to be two ends of a single building, possibly a double house. During the phase 3 study, we determined that these were, in fact, a single structure. Therefore, the designation "Structure 5" has been abandoned.

We know very little, archaeologically, about this building. The western end, and northeastern corner of the structure were uncovered in test units during the Phase 2 study. Sod was removed from over most of the structure during the Phase 3 excavations, but the foundation walls, for the most part, remained covered with late fill materials that were never removed. After desodding, a portion of a central hearth was revealed and added to the plan of the structure, however. The base of this hearth is at present grade; it is presumably standing on cheeks which extend to the cellar floor. We did conduct additional excavations in the very western end of the building, completing excavation of the bulkhead entrance and removing cellar fill to the floor. We also excavated a 10' x 10' unit near the southwestern wall, revealing that the cellar was not as deep in this quadrant of the building, although the foundation and cellar floor were cut by a bulkhead and chute, probably for storing ice.

Artifacts from the surface of a narrow builders' trench of the bulkhead suggested construction ca. 1790-1800. Further excavation of the builders' trench did not provide additional materials for refining this date; bottle glass from the third quarter of the 18th century was encountered, but these were found in the interception of a robbers' trench for Structure 18 by the Structure 4 builders' trench. The building may date as early as ca. 1800. Documents suggest that John Craddock undertook major construction on Lot 203 during the periods 1800-1804, 1809-1810, and 1814-1815. I believe that this building may date to the later period, but we have done too little excavation to know for certain.



This building probably served, throughout its life, as a double store-and-tenement, with stores at street level, and apartments in the rear and/or the upstairs. The front of the building faced Poplar Street. Photographs show the building to be of frame construction rising 1 1-2 storeys high. Civil War era photographs indicate the presence of a shed addition with stove flue on the western end of the house, but no archaeological trace of this room remained. Likewise, there was a "false-front" parapet or storefront that extended across the main part of Structure 4, as well as its shed addition. We know little about the occupants of the building until we get to the late 19th century. John Craddock almost certainly built Structure 4, and his eldest son, John Hague Craddock inherited this lot and its buildings.

The Craddock descendants held onto Lot 203.3 longer the other Rocketts properties, but it was sold to Nathaniel and Lockey Freeman in 1844. The Freemans apparently gave the building to their son, Isham, although other evidence indicates that Isham lived in a small house elsewhere on the lot. The suit of Robert Freeman against his siblings led to his being awarded this building, as we have reason to believe he operated his cobbler's shop here. Following the Civil War, Robert Freeman sold the building to James and Anna Stout, who operated a grocery store here. Three years after James Stout's death, Anna Stout sold the store to another probable grocer, Cornelius McNamara, an Irish immigrant, who retained the property until it was condemned by the C&O Railroad.

Associated features: 3, 11, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 50, 142, 149, 150, 152, 153, 286, 477, 478, and 481.

#### Structures 6 and 7

Below approximately 2.5'-3' of fill layers and features of the late 19th or early 20th century in square 315N, 305E, we encountered a "floor" consisting of compacted sand and clay and a broken brick pavement, *possibly* representing a shallow cellar or grade level floor of a house. Oyster shell and early 19th century artifacts characterized the deposit just above the "floor".

A very similar "floor" or surface was identified in square 335N, 305E. Here, at about the same depth as that described above, was a dark shell-filled lens overlying a compact sand or sand-and-clay surface. Again, this was associated with a variety of early 19th century artifacts (e.g., creamware and hand-painted pearlware), numerous oyster shell and bone fragments, etc. The "floors" of structures 6 and 7 may actually be a buried surface with yard features of various kinds. No further work was done in the areas of Structures 6 and 7 during the Phase 3 excavations. These structures - if indeed that's what they are - stand in approximately the same locations as two small houses (Structures 22 and 23) on Lots 203.3.2 and 203.3.3.

The stratigraphy and features uncovered in the two 5' squares during Phase 2 testing allow us to say very little about the nature of the houses that stood here in the late 18th century and early 19th century. In fact, the "floors" we uncovered could be compact yard middens. The overlying layers of fills may well contain materials related to the later Freeman occupation. We have some photographic documentation of these Freeman houses: they were very small (ca. 16 x 18'), 1-storey frame buildings.

Associated features, Structure 6: 9, 10, 20, and 26.

Associated features, Structure 7: 30, 31, and 32.

#### Structures 8 and 9

Two apparently unrelated structures were revealed in a square at 340N, 340E. One two-brick thick foundation wall (Structure 8) bonded with lime mortar was revealed at grade, below a thin gravel layer. Just north of this wall were two additional brick walls forming a right-angle corner, but not running parallel or perpendicular to the wall of Structure 8. This brickwork was tentatively designated Structure 9. The walls of Structure 9 are probably at the top of a raised foundation which includes an "English" basement. A shovel test a few feet south of these walls indicated that the 18th century and early 19th century ground level is buried by at least 4 feet of subsequent middens and fills in this location. The lowest level attained in the test pit did not reach subsoil, but encountered a thick midden-like loam layer containing bone and late 18th - early 19th century artifacts.

These structures are on Lot 204. As the proposed construction project will have no effect on this lot, we have conducted only minimal background research. Structure 9 is the earlier building and appears to be an early store or tenement associated with the ownership of George C. Pickett, who died before 1830, and his same-named son, the Confederate general. This building may have been constructed by John Craddock or his son John Hague Craddock, owners of the lot in the late 18th and early 19th century period. Structure 8 is probably the footing for a large (2 or 3 storey) brick store which appears in documents and photographs before the Civil War. This store was operated by G. F. Watson in the 1860s, and by Watson and Ludlow during the 1870s.

Associated features, Structure 8: 14, 17

Associated feature, Structure 9: 15

#### Structures 10, 11, and 12

Designations discarded.

### Structure 13

A brick pier was uncovered in the 10 x 10' square, 280N 315E, during phase 2 work. This pier penetrates the fill in the bulkhead entrance to Structure 4, and therefore was constructed following destruction of Structure 4 (ca. 1900). Two probable robbed piers were uncovered in Trench 1 during the Phase 1 study. These may all relate to a single structure, although this is by no means certain. Structure 13 is almost certainly the remains of an office, or similar service building, for the Capitol City Iron Works, a large foundry which operated here throughout the first half of the 20th century.

Associated feature: 12

### Structure 14

Structure 14 is represented archaeologically by a single feature, Feature 151, which was bisected by the Phase 1 test trench. This feature appears to be a robbers' trench for a structure foundation wall that stood just north of Structure 4. The robbers' trench penetrated the top of Feature 73, a drainage pit filled in the mid-19th century. This, in turn, overlay a builders' trench, intact wall fragment, and robbers' trench for Structure 2. The feature was not excavated, but fills apparent in the profile of Trench 1 indicated that the wall was robbed near the turn of the 20th century. Thus, on minimal archaeological evidence, we can posit a building stood here between the mid-19th century and the early 20th century.

Documentary evidence confirms these observations. A very small house (16' x 18') was constructed on Lot 203.3.1.2 by the Freemans, possibly at first to house their widowed mother, Lockey M. Freeman, but by at least 1857, it was occupied by a widowed sister, Susanna Roland. John Wilder Atkinson, the tobacco manufacturer, had acquired the property as a result of the Freeman vs. Freeman suit, but he returned the house to Susanna Roland for a token payment of \$160. Following Susanna's death, the house was sold - again for an amount that was less than its assessed value - to another widow, Ann Margaret Gabeleine. Gabeleine's husband, Henry, had been a weaver by trade, but, in 1860, she was a widow and a grocer, possibly operating a store in Structure 4. Gabeleine was a German Jew who had immigrated from Bavaria with her husband, as well as with the Kleins and Schwartzes, in the early 1850s. She immediately sold the house to Mayer and Caroline Schwarz, and it remained in the Schwarz family until 1893. Caroline Schwarz lived out much of her lengthy widowhood in this little house. Afterward she, and her son Moses, apparently retained the house as a tenement.

That the house was indeed a *little* house can be seen in various plats of the period, but especially in photographs. The house is one of three nearly identical small houses on the Freeman lots visible, for instance, in Views 8

and 9, in the "folio of historic views" appended to this report. It is unlikely these contained more than one or two rooms and a garret. The history of this little house is interesting for what it tells us about acts of charity and the treatment of widows by some of the Rocketts people in the 19th century. Because the house was primarily owned or occupied by widows, the archaeology of its middens and refuse deposits might be especially instructive; however, at the present time, the site does not appear to be threatened, so no further archaeological work has been done.

Associated feature: 151

#### Structure 15

There were two robbed piers encountered in the Phase 1 Trench 1. Both of these are apparently related to one or more structures of the 20th-century Capitol City Iron Works.

#### Structure 16

This number was originally used to designate the earliest building phase of Structure 1. The designation has since been abandoned.

#### Structure 17

This structure designation was originally given to a deeply buried fragment of a wall in the SW corner of 280N/ 230E. This feature, and associated wall-fall and robbing features, were later determined to be remnants of a door stoop or portico entrance to Structure 30. The robbing features seemed to include a shallow fragment of an older wall which, upon careful map study, proved to align with Feature 468, an earlier wall to the south. Feature 468 had originally been thought to be part of Structure 30, or a large porch on Structure 1. Once excavated, this was seen to be yet another, earlier, structure, and this earlier structure is designated Structure 17.

Structures 17 and 18 (see below) are the earliest structures for which we have recovered any physical evidence on the site. Builders' trenches for Structure 17 contained only construction debris, none of which was diagnostic. This in itself suggests an early occupation. The building is probably associated with artifacts found in an intact buried soil and midden just to the east of the highly disturbed zone around Structure 1. This soil was first encountered in the Phase 1 test trench, and was later uncovered and partially excavated at the eastern edge of the Phase 3 excavation block. A portion of this soil and midden had been redeposited as a single fill alongside Structure 1. In both the *in situ* deposit, and the redeposited materials, we found Colono-Indian ware, delftware, slipwares, white salt-glazed stoneware and other remains typical of the third quarter of the 18th century. With the exception of a very few

prehistoric artifacts, also found in this intact soil, these are the earliest artifacts on the site and date the beginning of historic occupation to ca. 1760, or perhaps slightly earlier. Structure 17 was destroyed before the Revolution, and quite possibly by the "Great Freshet" of 1771, as suggested by flood deposited sand layers on the site. The remnants of walls and robbers' trenches are overlain by construction features related to Structure 30, which was built sometime shortly after 1775.

We uncovered no complete walls of Structure 17, so we can only guess at the building's dimensions. We can infer that the length of the west wall, which ran parallel and adjacent to Rocketts Street, was at least 26' in length. From the center of the hearth (Feature 480), to the northern edge of the robbers' trench of the north wall (Feature 484), it is approximately 18'. If the hearth was centered in the wall, then the wall was at least 36' in length. The northern wall of this structure is barely discernable by the outline of a robbed wall (Feature 484), and a single line of bricks from this foundation (Feature 483). From these we can infer that the wall was at least 24' long.

A brick pier (Feature 328) shares precisely the same alignment as the north and west wall fragments. Furthermore, the center of this pier is almost exactly 10' from the north edge of the northern wall robbers' trench, and the western edge of the line of the western wall. This pier probably supported a beam. The pier location suggests that the house may have been divided into 10' bays - a typical configuration for a "Georgian" house. The two-brick thick foundation suggests that the building was substantially constructed, in comparison with later buildings on the lot, as well as in comparison with the lightly built buildings described by Ambler and others.

Unfortunately we cannot adequately reconstruct the size or shape of Structure 17. Except for the presence of domestic artifacts of the period, we have no evidence for the function of the building either. During the period in which this building stood (ca. 1760 - 1775), the lot was owned by the descendants of Gilly Marrin. Lot 203 is near Marrin's estate. I believe this to be the manor for the "tenement plantation" leased by Mary Burton and Wiltshire Marrin to Samuel DuVal, but it may have been that "Certain piece of Level Land on the Top of a Hill now in the Occupation of one Thomas Cardwell Containg about Twenty Acres" mentioned in DuVal's 1764 lease. This latter parcel sounds more likely to have been that portion of the Marrin land that was on Libby Hill. It is also possible that Charles and Susanna Lewis lived in Structure 17 after Susanna gained her inheritance in 1769, and before the Revolution. After the war, they apparently lived on the west side of Rocketts Street near their tobacco warehouse.

Associated features: 328, 349, 354, 468, 470, 471, 472, 476, 480, 483, and 484.

### Structure 18

Structure 18 is another Colonial Period building. This building is known solely from a robbers' trench for a wall, a possible footing for a porch or door stoop, and some associated fills and destruction debris. The building was apparently oriented at a slightly different angle than Structure 17, with which it may have been contemporary. The building probably faced south and extended into the area now occupied by Poplar Street, which was not laid out until late in the 18th century.

Evidence points to destruction, or at least very likely damage, of Structure 18 by flood. The wall and stoop footings were mostly robbed sometime after 1780, quite likely about the time Poplar Street was constructed. The foundation for this structure was apparently large undressed cobbles. The walls may have been partly constructed of undersized bricks, although there was considerable debris from statute bricks within the robbers' trench. These bricks included examples with glazed headers, suggesting a Flemish Bond "checkerboard" pattern.

Associated features: 284, 285, 305, 377, 378, 380, 389, 391, 392, 399, and 403.

### Structure 19

The present C&O viaduct and its Main Street overpass have been designated Structure 19. The present structure comprises a thorough rebuilding of the ca. 1901 viaduct. Plans for the early viaduct were not accessible as of this writing, but historic photographs show the original structure to be very similar to the present one (see, for instance, Historical Views 16 and 16a).<sup>80</sup> The structure is now comprised of a steel plate girder superstructure mounted on piers constructed of I-beams cross-braced with plates and riveted. The steel piers rest on truncated pyramids of reinforced concrete. Local informants told us that the entire structure had been rebuilt in the 1950s, including the concrete piers. There is no way of telling, at this time, how faithfully the existing structure reproduces the historic fabric. Throughout the length of the trestle, there are manufacturer's plates indicating a construction date of 1956 (see Plate 36).

The viaduct is a unique engineering achievement, and of considerable historical value. However, present plans will not affect the nature of the viaduct in any substantive way. Construction plans call for removal of one set

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<sup>80</sup>. The C&O Railroad records were handed over in their entirety to the C&O Railroad History Association. The death of a recent president, and the unsettled state of his estate, has caused the records to be locked in his attack. Presumably, these records will eventually become available for research, but repeated attempts during the production of this report proved futile.

of piers, and the strengthening of the resulting increased span over Main Street by adding additional heavier plate girders to the superstructure.

### Structure 20

This structure was a C&O wooden trestle which preceded Structure 19. Along with the viaduct that was constructed through the heart of Richmond, and across the James, the C&O decided to replace this "unsightly timber structure" that had been built as a temporary measure to connect the main line with the new Fulton Yards across Rocketts (*Railway Age* April 1900). Remnants of this timber structure were encountered beneath the extant trestle at the site. In addition, the sawn-off remnants of piles for the earlier trestle can still be seen in various places under the extant trestle east of the site as far at least as Nicholson Street. When the steel viaduct was constructed, the remnant timber pilings to the earlier wooden structure were simply sawn off just above ground level, and many of these remain intact below ground.

Several excavation squares uncovered below-ground remains of the cribwork footings for the trestle. These included driven pilings braced laterally and diagonally with heavy timbers and angle-iron brackets. The timbers were spiked to the pilings while the iron braces were bolted on. In at least one case, we were able to follow the cribwork to a depth of at least six feet below present grade. Additional pilings were uncovered over, and penetrating, the northern wall and hearth of Structure 1. These pilings had been steam-driven cleanly through the intact brick work. Numerous iron weights were found throughout the late fills on the site, and these apparently come from the pile-drivers that were used to build this trestle.

The exact construction date of this wooden structure could not be determined, although the C&O acquired its right-of-way across the site during 1893 and 1894. The trestle was probably in place, or under construction, by 1895. It was replaced by the steel viaduct by 1901, or very shortly thereafter. No existing photographs or plans could be located for this structure, so it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine its above-ground nature. The cribwork piers were apparently paired, and the piles were driven into the ground at angles off the verticle. The individual piles apparently converged, giving each pier the shape of a truncated pyramid. The pairs of piers were probably diagonally braced together. Presumably the superstructure involved wooden truss work of some kind, especially if the crossing of streets or streams required long spans, but this is speculation.

### Structure 21

This designation was originally used to apply to Feature 329, and associated builders' and robbers' trenches. Feature 329 is a remnant of a foundation wall that has subsequently been interpreted as the east wall of Structure 30.



### Structures 22 and 23

These structures were owned by Isham Freeman from the mid-to-late 19th century. He and his family lived in one house and rented out the other. Eventually these small lots and houses passed to Freeman's son-in-law, Patrick Dunnington. These small houses, which stood on Lots 203.3.2 and 203.3.3, are known only from plats and from photographs. These structures appear to have been very similar to Structure 14, and were probably built by the Freemans at the same time as that house. The Fitzhugh Gardner family probably occupied Structure 23 in 1870.

No archaeological study was undertaken on these lots following the phase 2 testing. Middens and destruction layers encountered in two of the phase 2 test squares are apparently related to these houses which were occupied up to the end of the 19th century. The houses were apparently demolished to construct the C&O trestle.

### Structure 24

This structure number refers to Robert Freeman's house on Lot 203.3.4. This house is only inferred through historic documents. The improvements on this lot were valued similarly to those of Robert's brother, Isham, although the lot itself was less valuable due to its lack of frontage on any street. The house apparently was similar, if not identical, to Structures 14, 22 and 23, and was probably built at the same time. It was destroyed ca. 1855 for construction of the Richmond and York River Railroad.

### Structure 25

Structure 25 was apparently built by John Craddock for Hannah Hague, on Lot 203.2, before 1810, the first year she was listed as his tenant. The house remained standing to the end of the 19th century, at which time it was owned by John Schonberger. This house is known only through documentary sources. Despite considerable testing, no archaeological remains were encountered due to their destruction during the building of the C&O viaduct. The house appears in the ca. 1810-15 painting depicted here as View 2. It was in that year that Hannah Hague apparently moved back to Lot 203. She had previously lived in the "old mansion" but, for some time after her husband's death, she resided nearby as a tenant of Susanna Lewis. The house is described in some detail in the plat of the Craddock partition which was drawn in 1830 (see Plat 3).

This house appears to have replaced Structure 26, a small house shown in the 18th-century Latrobe sketch. The shed roof and orientation of the house



apparent in View 2 appear identical to those of a house shown in this position in Civil War era photographs, and which was occupied by John Schonberger and his family between 1863 and the condemnation of the property for the C&O viaduct. Schonberger's house and Hannah Hague's house are probably the same building, although the later photographs suggest that the original fireplace and chimney had been replaced by a stove and flue, and Mrs. Hague's shed - which had extended into the right-of-way of Rocketts Street - had been removed by the late 19th century.

The house appears to have been constructed of brick in a simple two-room plan. From the north, the house appears to have risen only a single storey, without so much as a loft or attic. However, the Russell photograph taken from the south side of the river reveals that the house was constructed into the terrace and rose two storeys above its rear yard. Like many 19th-century Richmond houses, this building also had a full basement which probably incorporated a kitchen, and possibly one or more sleeping chambers.

#### Structure 26

The only record of Structure 26 is the Latrobe sketch of Rocketts (View 1). The structure number refers to the small house that is depicted in that sketch as standing (probably) on Lot 203.2, in approximately the same position occupied by Structure 25, after ca. 1810. At the time the Latrobe sketch was made, this lot was owned by John Hague. The perspective of the View obscures Hague's house (the "old mansion"); this small house may have been a tenement or slave house. The building was apparently destroyed before 1810. No archaeological remains of the building were discovered; any such remains would have been obliterated by construction of Structure 25 and, much later, by the C&O viaduct.

#### Structure 27

This designation has been assigned to yet another building known only through documentary sources: the John Hague house, or "old mansion", as it was called on the 1830 Craddock partition deed (see Plat 3). This house stood on Lot 203.1. After inheriting the property following Hague's death, John Craddock apparently used this house as a tenement. One of his tenants - a Captain Middleton - probably occupied this house in 1810. The house was occupied by George Meriam, and probably served as both a dwelling and a store, until it was purchased and destroyed by the Richmond and York River Railroad in 1855. Meriam had constructed a large shed which partly intruded onto Lot 196, as depicted in Plat 5. It is not known when the house was constructed, although it was probably built between ca. 1760 and 1785.

No archaeological remains of the house could be identified with certainty, and it is quite likely that all such remains were destroyed when the Richmond and York River Railroad was first constructed, or when the track was expanded and improved later in the 20th century.

#### Structure 28

Designation abandoned.

#### Structure 29

Designation abandoned.

#### Structure 30

Structure 30 is another of the early buildings on the site. This structure was built on Lot 203.2 following the destruction of Structure 17. Structure 30 is reconstructed primarily from evidence for the robbed west and north walls, a portion of the robber trench for the south wall, a robbed "U"-shape hearth, an intact section of the east wall, and the robbed out remains of a blacksmith's forge which had been centered in the east wall (see Figure 23). Remains of the southeast quarter of the building have been completely obliterated by subsequent cutting.

Structure 30 measured approximately 45' N-S x 22' E-W. These measurements are approximate because we have mostly robber trenches rather than intact walls. The only substantial fragment of wall remaining intact is the footing course for the east wall foundation (Feature 329), and this is 1 - 1/2 brick lengths in thickness. This rather light wall suggests that the building itself was constructed of wood. There is a remnant of a large, internal, "U"-shaped chimney which stood between 5-6 feet inside the south gable wall of the building. No evidence for an internal partition wall was found; thus, it is possible that this large hearth was free-standing.

A series of features which have been interpreted as the stone footing or floor of a blacksmith's forge have been identified as having been confined to the inside of the building at the east wall. Between this forge and the hearth was a floor surface which contained numerous pieces of bar stock, lots of slag and ash fragments, and other materials indicative of a smith's operation. The large hearth may have served as the furnace or annealing oven. Presumably the space between the hearth and the south wall served as some sort of storage area. We cannot determine with complete certainty whether the building was lived in, although there were many domestic items of the proper period associated with occupation levels and destruction levels for this building.

We have insufficient evidence to discuss the architecture of the building, other than to note its size, shape, and general materials of construction. It was built after the destruction of Structure 17, and some evidence from remnant builders' trenches indicate construction in or after 1775. The building was apparently destroyed after 1780. It appears to have perished by fire, and while it is possible that this was merely an accidental fire - a notable risk in a wooden structure containing an ironworker's operation - it is more likely that the building was burned during one of the British occupations of 1781. Both Arnold and Cornwallis burned numerous buildings in Richmond that year, and Arnold's swath of destruction is known to have included buildings along Rocketts Street.

Structure 30 was probably built by John Hague, who was apparently living on the lot at this time as a tenant of the Lewises. This may even be one of the buildings Hague leased to the government during the Revolutionary War. John Craddock may have lived in this building while serving an apprenticeship with Hague just prior to, and perhaps during, the Revolution, except, of course, for those periods in which Craddock was away in service in the Continental Navy or Marines.

Associated features: 272, 275, 297, 301, 329, 330, 333, 334, 338, 341, 345, 348, 353, 375, 397, 398, 412, 427, 428, 429, 433, 435, 439, 452, 456, 457, 458, 459, 461, 467, and 480.

#### Miscellaneous Structures

A concrete pad was uncovered in one of the 5' x 5' excavation squares during the phase 2 study. This is a remnant of the foundation/floor for the Capital City Iron Works main building, constructed in the early 20th century. Capitol City remained in business on this site until the late 1950s, at which time they moved to their current location in south Richmond. Capital City manufactured steel plate goods (R. Cervarich, personal communication, and Hill (1919: 141).

Many postholes which could not be confidently assigned to specific structures were located above, or penetrating, the floor of Structure 1. Some of these appear to have formed the fence line, feed bin, and woodshed which is apparent in 19th-century photographs around John Schonberger's Lot 203.2. Others appear to have been footings for telephone or electric poles, and some of these may have held structural members of a 10,000 gallon steel plate water tank constructed by the Capital City Iron Works. Two posts are represented by Features 444/445 and 451. Both of these are possible structural posts for one or more earthfast buildings, and both have destruction dates in the late 18th century. These posts are found in a part of the site in which some portions of

intact Colonial period midden remains. A line drawn between these posts would run closely parallel to the compass bearing of the east wall of Structure 30, and these posts may belong to a building or fence related to that Structure. Further excavation north and east of these features might reveal further remains of log or timber houses of the late Colonial period.

## Landscape Design, Modification and Use

The archaeological reconstruction of historic landscapes has gained considerable popularity in recent years, and with good reason. The shaping of space is an important cultural artifact, and one which speaks particularly well to relations of power, aesthetics, and to structural or epistemic paradigms. The landscapes we have "recovered" through archaeology and documentary study of Rocketts are quite distinct from those of "Georgian" plantations as well as from formally designed urban spaces such as those of Annapolis. Jefferson's design plans for Richmond have already been noted, but Rocketts' landscapes evade categorization as "formal". At first sight, there may seem to be very little planning involved. Nonetheless, there was considerable thought given to the use and construction of space at Rocketts, and I would like to touch here on just some of the more salient features, looking both at the broad, community-wide, structure, and more closely at details of Lot 203.

Perhaps the most obvious feature of Rocketts landscapes is urbanism, *per se*. Lots in the terraced sections of west Rocketts were laid out in a functional and regular rhythm, taking major topographic features into consideration. The initial layout of lots on the lowgrounds of Gilly's Creek, by Hague, Simpson, Nicholson, and Lester follows a grid system. Waterfront lots were often left larger, and valued more highly, in order to encourage commercial development here. The original planning lots were each approximately 1/2 acre, but, as I have noted above, these planning lots - later legal tracts - had limited meaning. In fact many holdings spilled over lot lines, and many individual lots were further subdivided very early in the history of the community.

From at least the 1790s to the mid-19th century, there was a "stratification" of the physical landscape in Rocketts which mirrored, more or less, the social stratification of the community. The most expensive properties, generally occupied by some of the major landowners and merchants, were atop Libby Hill. Prior to this time, the wealthier landowners - the Lewises, the Mayos, John Hague, etc. - had lived on lower or middle terraces. This early pattern reflected the Tidewater plantation pattern in which uplands were generally occupied by yeoman farmers, while the lower, more fertile, terraces along the rivers were sites of major plantations. With the establishment of a more urban milieu in Richmond during the Revolution, and immediately

following, the wealthier landowners took up hilltop residences.<sup>81</sup> George Nicholson acquired Libby Hill from the Lewises. His lots eventually passed to John Craddock. Merchants and sea captains were clustered on the lower slopes of Libby Hill and along the middle terrace on Bloody Run Street, while the lower terraces along Rocketts, Poplar, and the cross-streets, were occupied by tenants, artisans, laborers, slaves, and small business owners.

Masonry walls served in some cases to demarcate the "levels" of Rocketts. While many of these also served as functional retaining walls, there was, undoubtedly, a well-understood symbolic separation between the terraces, continually visually reinforced by walls and fences. Fences around individual homelots were much more rare. Plats and property descriptions only rarely mention or illustrate them in the late 18th and early 19th century period. A few fences - "Craddock's paling" and "Roper's Fence" - were important landmarks. Nathaniel Freeman's "farm" homelot on Lot 206 was completely fenced, according to numerous photographs, but this fence appears consistent with the generally "rural" appearance of the house and outbuildings complex. Fences continued to be rare in the Rocketts landscape, even to the end of the 19th century. The first appeared around Lot 203 after 1863 when John Schonberger purchased his portion of that lot. Schonberger kept dairy cows, however, and his fence appears to have served mainly to enclose his feedlot. Below, in the section interpreting artifacts at the site, I suggest that buildings remained largely unsecured. It seems that houses also retained an openness in Rocketts. Certainly family spaces were encompassed by buildings into interior "courtyards", but there seems to have been little formal, symbolic, separation between yards within a given block.

Cutting and filling are the processes of shaping the land to conform with both functional and symbolically meaningful patterns. Much of Rocketts - particularly west Rocketts - was built on hilly ground, and the reshaping of that ground was important to the construction of a community. At Lot 203, the middle terrace between Bloody Run Street and Rocketts Street had been a moderate, but gentle slope. The land rose in the northern end of the lot, but it also rose towards the west. Buried land surfaces confirm this trend. At the turn of the 19th century, John Craddock cut the western portion of the lot down by about 2 feet. In so doing, he removed all natural topsoil and, incidentally, archaeological middens of the 18th century and earlier. He probably cut into the northern section of the property and faced the hill with the stone wall which appears in later plats, thus constructing an effective terrace system with more useful level ground, and, at the same time, reinforcing the visual perspective of "vertical stratification". The material removed from the northern and western portions of the lot were partially redistributed to the southern and eastern parts of the lot. In essence, a slope

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<sup>81</sup>. In a few cases, this pattern predates the Revolution, as in the instance of William Byrd III's mansion at Belvidere, and Daniel Hylton's Windsor.

was levelled into two distinctive terraces. A secondary effect of this lot levelling was to destroy the natural drainage of the land. As runoff from rains and, especially, the perennial drainage from a series of springs on Libby Hill, would then have flowed into Lot 203 and remained there, Craddock had to deal with the drainage problem. His solution was to enhance a water drainage and delivery system that had probably been instigated by his uncle, John Hague, prior to the Revolution. These water systems will be discussed, below, under "Public works".

If the lots we have studied intensively form a representative sample, it appears that, by the second quarter of the 19th century, most lots were occupied by owners, some of whom had tenements adjacent to their own houses. Mortgage holders, many of whom were merchants in Rocketts, tended to live on the hills - principally Church Hill and Libby Hill - and a few lived in other residential areas of Richmond. The "vertical stratification" of the earlier period remained, though it was less important than the internal differentiation of property values based on street frontage. There were often extreme differences in the values of lots facing the paved streets, compared with interior lots on alleys carved out of the old half-acre lots. This stratification is apparent not only in property values, which tend to reflect differences in the commercial quality of the lots, but also in the personal estates of the owner-occupants of these lots.

Just prior to, and following, the Civil War, Rocketts had formed itself into a series of neighborhoods. The main street fronts remained primarily commercial corridors, with owners' apartments and tenements upstairs, and behind, the stores. However, certain more-or-less residential clusters can be discerned. A section of smaller lots, and less substantial houses, formed at the foot of Libby Terrace between Bloody Run branch and Gilly's Creek. Despite some internal differentiation, Rocketts was primarily a working class neighborhood at this time, and remained so throughout the remainder of the 19th century and most of the present century.

There were obvious changes in the landscape as it reflects some sense of urbanization through time. These changes are seen in the use of vegetation in Rocketts. I have discussed this topic somewhat in my reviews of historical views, but it bears summarizing here. In the 1796 Latrobe sketch, Rocketts appears to be land recently reclaimed from plantation use. Trees - very young trees - had begun to invade the slopes of Libby Hill, and some clusters of shade and ornamental trees can be seen within the center of the village. By the time of the painting shown here as View 2, vegetation has become an important element of the landscape. By the mid-19th century, however, there is little evidence of ornamental vegetation, and practically no groves of shade trees. A few trees and hedge shrubs characterize the area around Lotw 203 and 204, but they are atypical. The loss of vegetation marked the passing of Rocketts from its perceived status as a village-in-nature to a modern one as

an urban place. It was not simply that the more intensive use of space precluded the luxury of greenery, because even empty areas were denuded of trees and shrubs. This seems to have been a conceptual transition which must have been widely shared by those who lived in Rocketts. At the same time that "public" green space diminished to nearly zero, the numbers of flowerpots in use on Lot 203 rose enormously. Between the view of ca. 1810 in which humans are seen nestled in nature, framed by the forest, and the views of the period just prior to the Civil War, in which the landscape is denuded and vegetation is confined to clay pots or window boxes, there must have been a considerable change in the Rocketts denizens' views of themselves and their place.<sup>82</sup>

Alleys became the principal social divides in the landscape. The increasing importance of alleys throughout the 19th century is demonstrated through the increasing frequency with which they are illustrated in plats. For example, the 3' wide alley between Lots 203.2 and 203.3 does not appear in early plats. By the mid-19th century, however, it often is illustrated, either by survey markers, or by label. By the fourth quarter of the 19th century, the alley takes on a name in official records. It is then known as "Goose Alley", perhaps because it rose up through the lots and then turned across the top of the middle terrace and exited onto Rocketts Street. In other words, the shape of the alley somewhat resembled a "goose neck". (On the other hand, perhaps there were simply geese wandering the alley.) The point is that alleys clearly existed throughout the period of study. They became perceived as more important items in the cultural landscape as time went on. That a 3' wide space between buildings would assume a name worthy of recording on plats and deeds, illustrates something of spatial conceptualization in the crowded lots of Rocketts.

At ground level space was mostly defined by buildings. Architecture at Rocketts, like the landscape, rarely reflected formal styles. The glazed-brick Flemish bond walls of Structure 18, one of the earliest buildings we uncovered, echoed the prevailing Georgian surface decoration for masonry structures with some public visibility. Later buildings, from Structure 30 onward, reflect a more utilitarian sensibility. Photographs indicate that Rocketts shared with the rest of Richmond a particular interest in stores and houses built in the local interpretation of the Greek Revival, beginning in the second quarter of the 19th century. Broad, squarish buildings with simple and blocky adornment arose in the heart of Rocketts during the second quarter of the 19th century. Brick buildings often sported stone lintels over windows,

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<sup>82</sup>. Some colleagues, driven to materialist explanations for any phenomenon of culture, may object that flowerpots may not have been available during earlier periods. Three imported flowerpots were recovered from late 18th and/or early 19th century contexts, however. These appear to have come from Iberia or Latin America. A minimum of ten flowerpots were recovered from late Victorian strata at the site.



and sometimes the parapetted gables often associated with urban architecture (and equally often mandated by fire-control codes). On Lot 203, however, there are virtually no post-Colonial buildings which can be comfortably classified with major schools of public or domestic architecture, although some trim typical of Neoclassical influence has been recovered. These is a spartan - some may say Calvinist - simplicity and straightforwardness about the architecture in Lot 203, at least to the mid-19th century. Here, as throughout most of Rocketts, local and personal interpretations of the vernacular were the rule.

Just prior to the Civil War, a number of flat-roofed, side-passage, structures with Italianate trim arose throughout Richmond. A good example was the Watson Store, on Lot 204. Over time these grew into, or were replaced by, more developed Italianate row buildings, multiple houses, etc. Even so, Richmonders, and especially those living in Rocketts, eschewed some of the excesses of Italianate and other Victorian styles. Cupolas, belvideres, and towers, so common in Petersburg, for instance, are not seen here. Residences away from the main street frontages tended to remain in the vernacular Virginia styles. These were predominately small, hall-parlor or central-passage frame structures with exterior end chimneys. The only Rocketts interior that has partially survived is that of the Woodward house, an early example of Richmond's nearly ubiquitous side-passage style. The wood trim of the Woodward house seems consistent with this picture of Rocketts: money and efforts were not expended on over-elaborate architectural details. Workmanlike, individualized, architecture, stressing simplicity and competence, seems to have been typical. Showy overmantels and elaborate crown moldings were not the neighborhood's style. It is doubtful that the workers and merchants of Rocketts ever completely lost sight of the more elaborate houses which arose throughout the century on Libby Hill. From their massive two-storey gallery porches those who controlled much of the profit from the enterprises at Rocketts could survey the riverfront community below. It is also doubtful, however, that this visage ever intruded completely on the view from the streets and alleys of Rocketts, where rather different, and equally valid, views of life undoubtedly arose.

### Public Works

The most "public" structures at Rocketts were the dock facilities, warehouses, and factories that crowded the main streets along the river. There were virtually no governmental buildings, except during the tenure of the Confederacy. There were no grand houses of governors, mayors, or other prominent politicians prominently arrayed in the landscape of Rocketts. Certainly, until its demise in the early 1840s, the Rocketts tobacco warehouse, with its massive crenellated walls, was the dominant monument of the area. Other major "public" structures included the mills along Gilly's Creek and



Bloody Run, the gas works, Haskin's store, and the streetcar power plant. The railroads, and especially the C&O, were exceptionally potent elements in the economic, social, and spatial landscape of the village. For the most part, however, public works - even when the products of private development - took the more mundane forms of lot improvements, roads, and a unique water system.

### *The Water System*

Thomas Rutherford (1860) complained about the near impossibility of surmounting "Rocketts Hill" after a rainy spell in the early 19th century. Rocketts Street, prior to being paved, was a broad mirey spillway not only for rain runoff, but for the constant flows of a series of springs which erupted - and still erupt - on Libby and Chimborazo Hills. Samuel Mordecai reported that wooden "pipes" had been laid along Main Street in the mid-19th century in order to direct water flow from these springs back into Richmond. Our excavations show that the Libby Hill spring had been tapped as a source of public water for Rocketts much earlier.

It was perhaps one of the biggest surprises of our excavation on Lot 203 to discover that a sophisticated water delivery system had been in place before the Revolution, and that it had been regularly maintained and repaired and expanded, at least until the mid-19th century. Details of the drain-and-cistern system have been presented in Feature descriptions, above. It might be useful to provide an overview of the system here, however.

Water from the Libby Hill springs was apparently channeled along the east side of Rocketts Road in a ditch and, probably, in one or several brick conduits. Branch conduits entered Lot 203 near the northwestern corner of Lot 203.2. In the earliest system, apparently constructed at the same time as Structure 30 (ca. 1775), a main conduit continued diagonally across Lot 203.2, under Structure 30, to a "cistern" which stood just beyond the eastern wall of Structure 30. Another branch ran along the northern wall of Structure 30, taking water towards buildings on the western part of the lot, and emptying the runoff into a natural small stream easement which ran at the base of the terrace.

This original system was replaced when the Early Phase of Structure 1 was built. New brick drains were constructed along the northern wall of Structure 1, as well as under its original wooden floor. A new, more complex, "cistern" system was created in approximately the same location as the older one. A new drain, which ran along the inside of the western wall of Structure 1, carried water from the northern drain down to the cistern. Thus the cistern, and a pump just inside the building which was fed by the cistern, were fed by two separate branches of the system. One of these ran under the hearth, while the other ran diagonally under the building.

The brick drains and the main cistern (Feature 170) were lined with plaster. This second system was again rebuilt and expanded when the clay plaster floor of Structure 1 was installed. The conduit along the north wall was abandoned at this time or, perhaps, it remained simply as a drain for roof runoff, rather than a conduit of spring water. One mysterious feature of this last system is the presence of two small drain arms branching off of the principal diagonal drain, just inside the northwest corner of Structure 1. These short arms were capped at their ends. They apparently went nowhere, nor was there any evidence that they once had gone somewhere. It is possible that they fed water under gravity pressure to pumps or sinks inside the building, but there is no evidence of how the waste water would have been drained away.

Another puzzling thing is that water was directed both around the buildings walls and under its floors - especially during the earlier phases of construction. During the middle phase, one conduit passed under the hearth bricks while another was directed diagonally across the building, and yet these two water conduits had the same origin - a single conduit emerging from under Rocketts Street - and the same destination - the cistern labelled here as Feature 170. We can speculate about the rationale for this complexity. Perhaps, during warm weather, a sluice gate directed water across the building under the wooden floor. If the spring water was quite cool, this may have had a cooling effect inside the building. During winter weather, the water was redirected around the walls and under the hearth. While it is unlikely that the hearth bricks would have warmed the water appreciably, heat from the fireplace may have helped prevent the brick "pipes" from freezing. But this is all speculation. We uncovered no equivalent of a sluice gate for directing the water to one or the other of these pipelines.

Of special interest is the series of "cisterns" that were important parts of the system. These took two basic forms. The more elaborate ones were shallow brick-lined wells. The insides of these were plastered to further waterproof them. In addition, we uncovered evidence from three of the cisterns that they had had container inserts. Impressions of a tub, basket, or similar container could be seen in the walls and floors of these features. In the case of Feature 170, the floor of this "container" partially remained intact in the form of highly corroded ferrous sheet metal. In one of the cisterns, there were several very large lumps of charcoal. It seems that these features probably served as silt traps and as crude water purifiers.

John Hague almost certainly constructed the first stage of this water system, which serviced Structure 30 and, apparently, one or more structures further east, in the unexcavated portion of Lot 203. There is considerable evidence for constant repair and rebuilding of the system, more or less concomitant with at least the first two phases of construction of Structure 1. John Craddock

was undoubtedly responsible for the maintenance and enlargement of the system. Craddock also may have installed a pump on the inside of the eastern wall of Structure 1 at the point which two drains converged, crossed through the foundation wall, and entered the large cistern, Feature 170. There was a small brick platform on the inside edge of the wall at this point, with a void where a pump feed pipe may have entered the system. The pump would have been fed by this cistern. Additional drains on the exterior of the walls of Structure 1 apparently augmented the flow of spring water with rain water runoff from the building's roof.

No evidence was found of any drains or cisterns near Structure 4, which is surprising. It is possible, of course, that such features might be found with further excavation around that building. Structure 2, on the other hand, was almost certainly serviced by the system, and it is possible - but not demonstrated - that Structure 9, on Lot 204, was on the system as well. Following the destruction of Structure 2, a large pit was excavated over the filled cellar of that house, and a new drain was run down into that pit. The function of this feature is unknown.

The use of rainwater cisterns, and the use of springs, to provide potable water at a house site were both ancient practices. Nonetheless, the elaborate system uncovered at the Rocketts #1 Site suggests the extent of development on the site during the late 18th century and the early 19th century. One can only wonder if John Hague, and his fellow developers, may have installed similarly sophisticated systems elsewhere in Rocketts. The use of charcoal and removable silt traps seem to be especially modern touches. Charcoal filtration has been documented in Alexandria in the 2nd quarter of the 19th century, and there is certainly evidence of the use of charcoal, informally, to "sweeten" water, which stretches back into the distant past. Still, the engineering effort required to conceive, construct, and maintain this system points again to the planned nature of early development in Rocketts, and the unique amenities of life that made urban living attractive for many people.<sup>83</sup>

### *Streets and Roads*

From the third quarter of the 18th century on, at least, Rocketts was criss-crossed by a well-developed system of roads. In the neighborhood around Lot 203, these included three principal north-south running streets - Ash, Elm, and Maple - and the major street, Rocketts. Running east-west were: Rocketts (alias Lester) Street, after descending the middle terraces; Poplar, and Bloody

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<sup>83</sup>. There are, of course, many examples of sophisticated water drainage systems found on plantation sites in Virginia dating well back into the 18th century, and Shirley Plantation even enjoyed a unique system of hot-and-cold running water in the late 18th century. However, such sophistication seems to have been a perquisite of the extremely wealthy in the countryside. What is so impressive about the Rocketts' system is its application in the mundane commercial and tenement buildings of the emerging middle class.

Run Streets. Of the north-south streets, only Rocketts - now Main - Street remains in use. It is somewhat daunting to stand on the grounds around Lots 203 and 204 and imagine how Ash and Elm Streets descended the steep slopes between Bloody Run and Rocketts Streets. Today, the terrace is a sharp vertical dropping 20-30 feet to the Southern (formerly, the Richmond and York River) Railroad tracks. It is impossible for me to imagine the drop of these two cross-streets prior to the construction of the York River line in 1855. And yet, they appear on maps from a very early period.

At first, I assumed that, while the terrace had clearly been cut back, and made considerable more vertical, to accomodate the rail cut, the lower terrace (on which Poplar Street runs, must also have been lowered considerably. However, archaeological testing does not bear this out. In fact, the opposite appears to be true, there are several feet of fill at the foot of the terrace, overlying 18th century deposits on Lot 204 and the eastern portion of Lot 203. Another hypothesis was that these streets did not exist, but were merely drawn on city maps as easements, in the hope that they might be constructed someday. However, remnants of both Elm Street and Ash Street can be found on each of the terraces. Certainly, the slope was cut back somewhat when the railroad was built, but archaeological evidence indicates it was never a gentle slope. Two alternate conclusions are possible. Either the "streets" were little more than walkways - certainly horses could not have negotiated the steep slopes - or the straight lines on maps are merely graphic representations of what were actually meandering, swith-backed roadways. Either conclusions is feasible. Straight lines also represent the roads descending Libby Terrace - E Street and Warehouse Street, and remnants of these indicate that neither followed the straight bed indicated on historic maps. Likewise, these side streets may have been staircased sidewalks. After al, most of Rocketts' denizens moved about typically on two, not four, feet.

Following the construction of the Richmond and York River Railroad, the streets were carried over the tracks on massive stone, or stone-and-brick abutments. The Rocketts Street abutments still carry Main Street over the tracks, and steel stringers remain intact on the Elm Street (later, 32nd Street) crossing. These steel I-beams probably replaced timber stringers sometime in the early 20th century. Plates 37-46 illustrate the abutments which carried the cross streets. While Ash Street ran between two simple granite-block abutments, the supports for the crossings of Rocketts and Elm Streets were rather elaborate, consisting of rough granite bases, dressed granite lintels, and brick filling laid in five-course American bond.

### *Railroads*

As we have seen, there were no more significant "public works" or acts of landscape modification in Rocketts than the construction of the two major rail lines through the heart of the community. The Richmond and York

River line, built in 1855, was set into an excavated bed hugging the foot of the middle terrace. Its intrusion into the landscape was so minimal that 19th-century photographs fail to reveal the presence of the line, unless the observer looks very closely. Except for those few households whose homes sat directly within the right-of-way - such as those of Robert Freeman and Frederick Kirkmeyer - lives were probably not seriously disrupted by the coming of the York River road. In fact, Robert Freeman's subsequent suit earned him a considerably greater claim on his parents' estate than his family legacy had allowed. Frederick Kirkmeyer's settlement with the railroad was certainly generous, and while his having to move his household for a second time in a single year was undoubtedly a nuisance, he was well compensated.

There were probably very few negative indirect effects of the Richmond and York River line. In general the line did not supplant, but enhanced the active waterfront shipping businesses. The presence of the line undoubtedly served as a stimulus to further commercial and industrial development in Rocketts, providing a more direct outlet to the Middle Peninsula and Chesapeake Bay.

On the other hand, the coming of the C&O line at the turn of the 20th century was, at best, a mixed blessing. Rather than settling into the social and physical landscape of Rocketts, the new viaduct slashed its way across the community, severing the local neighborhoods from the waterfront. What's more, the railroad drained much business from the port, and, for that reason, forever changed the nature of the community. The construction of Fulton Yard undoubtedly brought many new jobs to the Rocketts area, but the seamen, stevedores, rope makers, chandlers, commission merchants, ship brokers and others who had given Rocketts its aggregate character, soon had to find new vocations. Hundreds of people were displaced from homes and businesses between the viaduct and the river. The brash, unrestrained power of the rail barons, in combination with the sharper attorneys and speculators who bought up the right-of-way, forever altered Rocketts. The dramatic extent of the changes wrought on the community were reflected in the decline of its very name. Where Rocketts had stood for a century-and-a-half, the new railroad town of Fulton came to be.



## 2.6 Artifact Analysis

More than 30,000 individual artifact specimens were recovered from the excavations of the Rocketts #1 Site. Several tons of other cultural materials - fill materials, brick fragments, plaster and mortar, slag, train car parts fallen from the overhead viaduct, etc. - were discarded. Of course, representative samples of these materials were saved. It is largely due to the enormous amounts of cultural materials recovered from excavations that archaeologists have generally taken to discussing artifacts using totals, ratios, and other summary statistics. As a result, archaeology has tended to eschew the interpretive treatment of individual artifacts or small related groups of artifacts, and to embrace the scientific manipulation of numbers representing patterns in assemblages. That such patterning can itself be a powerful tool for hermeneutic treatment has been demonstrated by a number of archaeologists, notably Ryder (1991), in her study of ceramics from the Charles Gilliam Site.

What follows is a series of discussions of single artifacts, or small groups of artifacts. In some cases these items have been viewed against the context of the assemblage as a whole, while in other cases the items have been assessed in light of historic and cultural context alone. The purpose of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive discussion of the finds from the site, but to frame the discussion of material remains in such a way that interpretive dimensions may be elicited through an exegesis of meaning. This approach may seem counter-intuitive to many archaeologists, for we have all been taught to deal primarily with assemblages as analytical units. If, however, we liken the site (and its related documents, artifacts, etc.) to a text to be read and interpreted by the archaeologist, then we may follow the analogy by suggesting that "readings" of individual artifacts are like passages or quotations offered in a book review. They illustrate and ground the interpretation that has been gained from "reading" the site from the first shovel cut in the sod to the final boxing of the collection.

### Ceramics <sup>84</sup>

No archaeological report, save those dealing exclusively with stone age sites, can afford not to treat ceramic remains at some length. The reasons for this are well known and widely accepted by professional archaeologists. Others may suspect - sometimes quite rightly - that archaeologists are overendowed with a fascination for life's inconsequential minutiae. Nonetheless, ceramics are formed of a plastic, and, therefore, expressive medium. They are relatively

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<sup>84</sup>. This section was co-authored by Mouer and Binns, as were the following sections dealing with glass and miscellaneous objects.



cheap and abundant items which were often made in a wide variety of forms and decorative styles. They break easily, are replaced frequently, and last nearly forever in the ground. Ceramics are uniquely suited to a wide variety of analyses, and while it is very easy to over-emphasize their importance to their users, their significance to archaeologists is enormous.

### Minimum Vessel Analysis

A minimum vessel count was conducted on the ceramic material recovered from 44He671 and is presented in Appendix 3. There were portions of at least 556 ceramic vessels recovered from the excavation. This figure was arrived at by the following analytical method. Ceramics were sorted by gross type, eg., pearlware, creamware, stoneware, etc. Rim, body and base sherds were examined for mends, crossmends, and similarity. Sherds smaller than one half inch were not used, unless of a type not represented by any other sherd. In order to distinguish individual vessels, rim sherds were examined with respect to ware type, decoration, glaze, paste, and form. Matching bases and or body sherds were included with rims in the vessel count. In certain instances, a single sherd or group of body or base sherds were distinct and not attributable to any of the rims. These were counted as separate vessels.

Numerous body, base, rim and handle sherds could not be included in the minimum vessel count due to lack of distinguishing characteristics. This was especially true of plain pearlware, creamware, and whiteware plate bases that may have gone with a number of different plain or decorated rims. Due to mass production and lack of decoration, it was also difficult to identify individual vessels from whiteware and ironstone rim sherds. The term Ironstone was used to describe a stone china body indicative of the type patented in 1813 by Charles James Mason. Graniteware, or "Hotelware" as it is sometimes called, refers to a hard, vitreous body similar to porcelain.

The description of vessel forms relied mainly on rim sherds, unless handle or body sherds yielded more information. Where determination was difficult, such as cup and bowl rims, the vessel was listed as either/or. The term dish was used to describe a deep plate or shallow bowl, as opposed to a flat dinner plate. In certain instances, body, base and handle sherds that could not be attributed to one specific vessel still contained information important to the analysis of the ceramic assemblage. For example, there were three creamware teacup bases and six possible teacup rims. Any of the bases could have gone to any one of the rims, although each rim was clearly a separate vessel. However, one of the teacup bases has an overglaze black transfer print decoration. Therefore, at least one of the creamware teacups was decorated, which is not apparent by just examining the list of minimum vessels.

Other decorated creamware examples which illustrate this problem include body sherds from a bowl with remnants of transfer print and a body sherd



from a holloware vessel with a transfer printed poem about a "Royal Oak" (possibly a British warship). None of these sherds mended with a specific vessel, however it is clear from the body sherds that there were at least two different holloware forms with transfer print decoration.

There are several body sherds representing at least two identical creamware plates with black overglaze transfer print. The scene is a popular political lampoon. No documented examples of the plate were found, therefore, the base sherds representing the two plates could be associated with any of the creamware plate rims in the minimum vessel count, and cannot be counted as separate vessels.

In some of the ware types there were handles and tops or lids that could belong to any of the vessels listed. For example, there were three different creamware chamber pot handle sherds, none of which mended with a specific vessel. There was one plain pearlware partial chamber pot lid and handle that could have gone with several different chamber pots in the minimum vessel count. Numerous plain creamware, porcelain, and whiteware teacup handles that did not mend with a specific vessel, were not included. Handles would have been included as vessels if the number of handles outnumbered the possible rims they could have belonged to. This was not the case in any of the ware types examined in this study.

It is also interesting to note, that lids and tops may not necessarily be of the same ware as the base to which they belonged. Previous research has indicated that vessels shipped directly from the factory may have a lid and bottom from two different ware types, but matching decoration and form (Hunter 1990). A broken lid or base may result in the "marriage" of the top or base of one type of ware to another.

### Maker's Marks

There were two pearlware plates with identifiable maker's marks. The first is a plain pearlware base on which is stamped "WEST GOODS", however no reference could be found to the origin and maker. The second is a blue transfer print pattern with the mark "Vista", made by Frances Morley & Co. Shelton, Hanley, Staffordshire, 1845-1858. There is an ironstone cup, vessel #412, with this same transfer print. This may indicate that broken pieces were replaced over a period of time or that the owners were not concerned with, or even aware of, the different ware types: a point made frequently by George Miller, among others.

On whiteware and ironstone there were eleven partial maker's marks that were unidentifiable although several of these had distinguishing characteristics. An ironstone plate, stamped Meakin & Co., could have been made by one of four Meakins operating potteries in the last half of the 19th

century. Another ironstone plate has a lion in a circle marked "Warranted" (in use during the 1890s) and "Copy Rgt." (used from 1858 to the present). One whiteware plate is marked "T. S. R. Verona China Made in U.S.A." The words "Made in..." do not appear until 1887 and after.

Other sherds with identifiable marks included an ironstone tureen by Thomas Furnival & Sons, Cobridge, Staffordshire, England 1871-1964+ (factory); a whiteware plate, Sampson Bridgewood & Son, Longton, Staffordshire, England 1885+ (mark), ca. 1805-present (factory); a whiteware cup by Petrus Regout & Co., Maastricht, Holland 1929-1931+ (mark); a whiteware saucer, Cartwright Bros. Co., East Liverpool, Ohio U.S.A. 1880-1927 (factory); a whiteware saucer by John Goodwin, East Liverpool, Ohio U.S.A. est. 1844. These marked sherds could belong with a number of different rims.

## Examples

The artifacts discussed here are all illustrated in a folio of Artifact Plates, located in Volume 3. Contextual information is found in the captions accompanying the illustration. These examples are presented in roughly chronological order.

### Artifact Plate 17: Black Transfer-Printed Creamware Plates and Hollow ware

While many archaeologists prefer simply to manipulate the data derived from their minimum vessel analyses in order to draw inferences about past lifeways, such quantified studies may sometimes obscure, rather than illuminate. Certainly printed or otherwise decorated ceramics beg for hermeneutic interpretation. In a setting like Rocketts, where a wide variety of products were readily available from the numerous competing maritime merchants, purchasers had far more than cost to consider in choosing their ceramics. Then, like now, pattern or design must have played an important role, and it is through selections of designs that we might best hope to interpret the meanings of ceramics.

We would like to illustrate opportunities for interpretation that would have been lost had we confined our analyses to probing charts and tables generated from the minimum vessel count. Specifically, we want to discuss three creamware vessels comprising a total of eight body sherds, none of which contributed to the minimum vessel count, and, therefore, they do not appear in the enumerated list of vessels for the site.

Seven of the eight body sherds represent at least two identical creamware plates with black overglaze transfer print. The scene is a popular political

lampoon taken from a 1778 engraving, 3 15/16" x 6 3/4" (Westminster Magazine; London, February 1778, p.64 and plate).<sup>85</sup>

Snydor describes the scene as follows (see Figure 19):

"A Picturesque View of the State of the Nation for February 1778, depicts the British economy as a cow being milked by other nations, while the British lion, symbol of her governmental power, lay asleep being bespoiled by a dog. England's current military posture was depicted by the Flagship Eagle lying aground, separated from the fleet invading America, as happened in the Battle of Fort Mifflin a few months earlier. Seated sleeping before a city in the background appear the brothers Howe, in charge of Land and Naval forces at Philadelphia, besodden with wine. The city is labeled as Philadelphia" (Snydor 1975:255-256).

Features which contributed sherds to these two vessels were: Feature 174, the builders' trench to Structure 1, second phase (TPQ 1814); Feature 172, Stratum 13 (a midden, possibly reworked by flooding, with a TPQ for the end of accumulation of ca. 1820); Feature 249, a robbers' trench for the west wall of Structure 1 (TPQ 1840, but destruction actually ca. 1858); and Feature 128, Stratum 12, a 20th century fill deposit. None of the TPQ dates help us place the time of deposition, as all deposits except Stratum 13 are reworked, and Stratum 13 is, at least, disturbed, and includes evidence of long duration. It is noteworthy, however, that all sherds were located in close proximity to each other, and that being in an area intensively occupied from the middle of the 18th century onward. It is also important to note that cross-mending sherds were found both inside and outside the foundations of Structure 1, first constructed ca. 1795 and repaired or rebuilt at least twice before the mid-19th century. This suggests that these sherds were originally in deposits disturbed by the extensive construction that took place on the site at the end of the 18th century. From these stratigraphic considerations and, more to the point, from the internal evidence of the sherds themselves, we can presume that the vessels were made during, or immediately after the Revolution. They were probably purchased during this same period.

Also found in Stratum 13 was a body sherd from a creamware hollow vessel with a transfer printed poem about the "Royal Oak". This is a small fragment with a part of the text which reads as follows:

<sup>85</sup>. Our thanks to Rob Hunter of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation who found us a copy of the print in question in the collections of the Dewitt Wallace Decorative Arts Gallery, and to Beverly Binns for having the presence of mind to seek out Rob's help.

...al Oak  
 ... nourished  
 ... the Yoke  
 ...e it Flourished  
 ... would descend  
 ... to defend  
 ...ves.

The text could not be identified. However, the name "Royal Oak" has been associated with British war ships since at least the time of the English Civil War. For example, on April 12th, 1782, Admiral Rodney defeated the French in a decisive battle with his flagship of 74 guns bearing that name. Like the "Philadelphia" plates, above, this "Royal Oak" vessel seems to have borne a maritime theme.

Richmond, and particularly Rocketts, was socially and economically dominated by that group of individuals known at the time as "merchants of Great Britain". On the verge of the Revolution, and throughout its course, British merchants were obliged to swear their loyalty to the American cause, or be deported and have their belongings and lands escheated. Lot 203 was then in the ownership of Charles and Susanna Lewis, but was almost certainly rented to John Hague, or, perhaps, the partnership of John Hague and John Lester. Hague apparently had bought the property by 1788. It appears that Hague built the first "lumberhouse" (Structure 30) on the lot just after the beginning of the Revolution. Both Hague and Lester were "merchants of Great Britain", and both had much to lose if they could not convince their fellow citizens where they stood on the issue of American independence. Lester was never a resident on the lot, but all indications are that Hague lived there, perhaps first in the quarters of the lumberhouse itself, but eventually in the small house that was later known as "the old mansion". Hague was apparently living on the site until his death in 1795, and his widow Hannah died in a tenement there in 1819.

*If* the ceramics were Hague's, then perhaps the political lampoon makes some sense in consideration of his position as a potentially hostile citizen with an estate to protect. Perhaps a public display of English plates that contain a motif that at least ambiguously questions the competence of the British Navy, economy and government, may have helped Hague convince his fellow Richmonders that he was, after all, on the right side.

Another candidate for ownership of these dishes is John Craddock. Craddock was Hague's nephew or, more likely, his wife's nephew, the Hague-Craddock family connection having been formed long before the Revolution. While Craddock was not a British merchant, but rather a descendant of Virginia, he was connected with maritime mercantilism and, following the Revolution, he was an active partner in many enterprises with John Hague, including

ownership of Lot 203. Craddock inherited the buildings on this, and adjacent lots. We don't know where Craddock lived before Hague's death - after which time he constructed a house on Libby Hill - but he may have resided at Lot 203, perhaps in the lumberhouse. He was, after all, a young single man, quite likely an apprentice of his uncle in the shipping business.

Craddock served in the Continental Navy, and was even a captive of the British for a short time. He may have purchased the "Philadelphia" plates as a commemorative during a sojourn in that city. We have a record that Ensign Craddock received a disbursement from the Philadelphia public stores in 1779. If the plates were available there, we might even suppose that Craddock might have purchased them as a gift for his benefactors and relations, the Hagues.

We cannot prove that either Hague or Craddock purchased the ceramics in question; such is the nature of urban archaeology. Hague probably had other tenants on the property; in fact, there is some evidence that one building on the lot may have been rented to the militia during the war. Even so, we can look to the maritime motifs of all three vessels, the urban and cosmopolitan nature of the scene on the Philadelphia plates, and their satirical content. All of these aspects suggest that the purchasers held a view of life that differed from that of the rural planters who had held most of the power in Virginia from the beginning. The Revolution brought about not only American independence, it galvanized a social and economic revolution as well. Merchants, shippers, and urban artisans and entrepreneurs grasped much of the economic and political power that had resided in the countryside. During the Revolution, the capital had moved from Williamsburg - a town dominated by the rural elite - to Richmond, the haven of urban capitalism.

### *Contexts*

#### Philadelphia

EU	Feature	Provenience
154	109	290N 230E back fill in Phase I backhoe trench
173	128	290N 260E stratum 12 (TPQ: 20th c.)
174	128	290N 270E stratum 12 (TPQ: 20th c.)
302	249	260N 260E fill in robbers trench west of F211 (TPQ:1840)
319	174	bisection builders trench E. wall struct 1 (TPQ:1814)
419	172	280N 260E stratum 13 (TPQ1820)
536	172	280N 260E, builder's trench overburden / fill (TPQ1820)
<b>Royal Oak</b>		
419	172	280N 260E fill stratum 13 (TPQ1820)

### Artifact Plate 6: Blue Transfer-Printed Pearlware Plate

This plate is typical of early 19th century transfer-printed wares depicting romanticized views taken from popular engravings. This one has an Oriental or Persian scene with a man on horseback. No comparable vessel was found. "Western" civilization became fascinated with a particular, somewhat fantastic, view of "the Orient" shortly following Napoleon's sojourn to the region. The view of the Near East was of an exotic, extravagant region where the aesthetic and moral strictures of Europe and America were unknown. Edward Said (1979) has analyzed the western creation of "the Orient" as a concept, and has related orientalism to European efforts to appropriate nations and peoples of the Near East, to bring "the Orient" under both political and cultural hegemony of "the West", a concomitant concept. "Oriental", or "exotic" motifs were among the first to appear on printed English ceramics as replacements for the chinoiserie and Neoclassical designs that had enjoyed sustained popularity throughout the later 18th century.

It is difficult to imagine the significance of this scene for a dweller at Lot #203 in Rocketts during the late 1st quarter of the 19th century. We are hampered by having a very incomplete understanding of the who the site's occupants were during this period. Presumably, there had been little change in the nature of the neighborhood since the time when Captain Middleton and Hannah Hague had been John Craddock's tenants here. The area was then the home and workplace of people primarily associated with maritime trades. Perhaps a sea captain or sailor would have been intrigued by notions of "the exotic", or, perhaps, a middling merchant simply wanted to appear fashionable.

### Artifact Plate 7: Brown Transfer Print Plate

Even though brown transfer-printing occurs as early as 1810 the design on this plate suggests that it is from the period termed "The Vintage Years" by Coysh and Henrywood ca. 1815-1835 (1982:10). In their work they describe a social phenomenon occurring in the early 19th century called the "cult of the picturesque". Potters began producing transfer-printed patterns depicting English and foreign landscapes. Many of these were based on the engravings of the finest contemporary artists. "The patterns were almost invariably framed in borders which decorated the rims of plates and dishes and the edges of tureens, mugs, jugs, etc. They were mainly floral, often with subsidiary designs within medallions" (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:10). Patterns such as these were popular until they were replaced by the romantic views beginning in the 1830s.

This plate (or plates) with their "Olympian" pattern depict a transition between, or blending of, Neoclassical and Romantic aesthetics. The date of deposition is similar to the Oriental scene described above, and may have been in use at about the same time.

### Polychrome Pearlwares

The Rocketts #1 Site seems to preserve a pattern among its ceramics for the early 19th-century period which we have noticed in other urban contexts; specifically in our excavations at Shockoe Slip and Bermuda Hundred, and in surveys throughout the historic core of Richmond. There is a large percentage of polychrome wares of great variety: mochas, hand-painted florals, banded or annular wares, finger-painted, and engine-turned decorations abound. This stands in stark contrast with a great many assemblages in the VCU collections from rural sites of various classes and kinds, including the great plantation at Curles, the upper middling Monroe Farm, the free African American Gilliam farm, and numerous others. While polychrome exists in these various rural sites, it is much less frequent than blue-and-white painted or printed wares, or simply plain banded or edged wares. We cannot account for the prevalence of these colorful wares simply by looking to their price tags. We broached this observation with Robert Hunter, ceramics curator for Colonial Williamsburg's DeWitt Wallace Gallery. Rob suggested that there may be parallel patterns among other interior "finishes" in urban situations. That is, carpets, upholstery, wall papers, paint surface treatments, etc., may all have been routinely more "colorful" in urban contexts of the period. While this is simply a suggestion that requires more research, our preliminary investigations suggest that Rob's hunch is a good one. There is an inkling of this in the probate inventories from Rocketts.

The profusion of polychrome pearlware in urban contexts may also reflect a particular trend in foodways. Very few of these pieces were plates and, we suspect, that those plates which do exist, probably were used for food serving. The majority of polychrome pearlware pieces are for food service - boats, dishes, bowls, creamers, etc. - or they are mugs for chocolate or coffee. They probably adorned tables set with plates of Canton porcelain and/or, plain or printed blue-and-white pearlware. In her 1824 cookbook, *The Virginia Housewife*, Richmond's most celebrated cook of the period, Mary Randolph, cautioned against the then-prevalent practice of serving an over-abundance of dishes. Instead she encouraged the use of a few well-made food items. Nonetheless, the ceramics inventory suggests that the middle-class people of Rocketts had occasions to want a profusely diverse, and colorful, table. Likewise, the discoveries of table forks and ornamented glass tumblers in late 18th-century or very early 19th-century contexts also suggest that urbanites at Rocketts adopted distinctive ways of approaching a dinner. (Lorena Walsh, personal communication 1992).



*Artifact Plate 11: Finger-Painted Pearlware Bowl*

Finger-painted wares were popular from ca. 1790s to 1830s. They were the cheapest type of decorated ware available for purchase at the time.

*Artifact Plate 12: Annular, Mocha, and Finger Painted Polychrome Pearlware*

*Artifact Plate 13: Hand Painted Polychrome Pearlware Plate and Bowl*

The plate (vessel # 347) has the combined elements of hand painting and sponge decoration. The design on this plate is painted with the soft colors associated with earlier hand painted wares of the 1820s. The use of birds, painted in polychrome enamels, was a perennial favorite in the English ceramics industry, appearing early on delftware plates. These, in turn, were copied from similar Chinese and Persian or Arabic motifs.

The bowl (vessel # 345) is characteristic of the hand painted wares dating from ca. 1795 to the 1820s. Muted shades of mustard yellow, olive green and brown painted in floral motifs are most common on teawares.

*Artifact Plate 14: Hand Painted Polychrome Pearlware Dish*

*Artifact Plate 15: Hand Painted Polychrome Pearlware Bowl*

*Artifact Plate 16: Hand Painted Polychrome Pearlware*

Artifact Plate 10: Sponge Decorated Whiteware

Simple patterns made with a cut sponge became popular on teawares in the late 1840s. Later on the designs were used on table and toiletry wares. According to Miller (1991: 6), sponged wares were the cheapest available decorated ware for their period.

Beginning in the 2nd quarter of the 19th century, and particularly following the mid-century mark, there is a notable decline in more expensive ceramics from the site. Porcelains remained in use, primarily in tea and coffee service, but these were increasingly the cheaper types of porcelain. Plain whiteware and Ironstone abound in the mid-century deposits, but these are not very useful as "status indicators", in that they were both inexpensive, but also fashionable. The continued presence of "colorful" wares, such as these sponge-decorated pieces, suggests again a particularly urban pattern.



### Artifact Plate 8: "Exchange Hotel" plate

The Exchange Hotel was built in 1841 at the corner of 14th and Franklin streets. Virginius Dabney (1990:111) describes it as "prestigious" and "one of the city's best". Located just one block from the city's slave trading center on Fifteenth and Franklin, five slave traders had their offices located there. Prior to 1859 the hotel housed the post office for a time. The hotel was closed in 1896 and demolished some years later. An example of a menu from the hotel for August 2, 1841 (Figure 18) provides a interesting view of the culinary fare served to those who could afford to dine out in mid-19th century Richmond. The letters in the Exchange Hotel logo printed at the top of the menu are the same style as those painted on the plate. How the plate ended up fifteen blocks away is a matter of speculation. Perhaps it was a souvenir from the destruction of the building in the late 19th century or taken from the hotel during the height of its popularity.

### Artifact Plate 18: Shaving pots

These two shaving soap pots are both made on a very similar whiteware body, with equally similar transfer print in a mulberry or plum colored enamel. Although the imprinted legends are not identical, the text on each may have been the same. One reads "No. 182 Chestnut...", while the other reads "STREET P(H)...". These may represent the same address on Chestnut Street, in Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia. We have not been able to further identify the source of the pots, but they may be from an apothecary, barber, or soapmaker in Philly. We know of no specific connection between any of the Lot #203 occupants of the late 19th century and the city of Philadelphia, and these were probably purchased from a local merchant. These were probably the property of John Schonberger who may have owned the decorated porcelain spittoon (vessel 169) and some whiskey flasks we recovered. The artifacts we can associate with Schonberger, including those in his two homesteading inventories, prove especially valuable for interpreting a male gender identity of the late 19th century.

### Artifact Plate 19: Porcelain Vase

If shaving pots, spittoons, revolvers, and whiskey speak to the nature of John Schonberger, then this vase may represent something of the identity associated with his third wife, Caroline. The cherub supports a vase in *blanc de chine*, a particularly ornate example of Late Victorian decorative art. The existence of vases in Virginia archaeological assemblages is something generally confined to the wealthy up to the mid-19th century. Afterward they became commonplace ornaments in even poorer households. Like flowerpots, vases exemplify some attempt to control or create a "natural"

environment indoors. While care is warranted in equating the domestic sphere with the feminine, we suspect this was probably the case here.

## Glass

A minimum vessel count was completed on the glass excavated from the Rocketts # 1 Site. A minimum of 286 different glass vessels were identified in the assemblage. The first 74 vessels listed in the count are a variety of 20th century liquor, beer, and soda bottles. The majority of these were excavated from the sod layer covering the site and most likely represent refuse deposited on the site after its last domestic occupation. The remaining 212 vessels were sorted by color and type. Necks, bases, and body sherds were all examined and counted. If one sherd or a group of sherds could have gone to more than one vessel they were listed at the end of the color group, with the corresponding vessel numbers. The glass minimum vessel list is presented in Appendix 5.

The largest quantity of bottles excavated were representative of bottles made ca. 1860 to ca. 1880. Bottles from this period were blown into a mold. The bottle neck was finished by hand or with a lipping tool. Examples found at Rocketts include patent medicine and/or extract bottles, whiskey flasks, beer bottles, condiment, and toiletry bottles. The bases from 19 different free-blown wine bottles and 1 case bottle comprise the earliest glass vessels at Rocketts. The date range for the wine bottles is ca. 1760 to 1830.

Glass tablewares excavated from the site include fragments from; 5 clear glass mugs, 19 clear tumblers (including several early examples), 6 goblets or stemmed wine glasses, and a leaded glass stopper for a decanter.

### Examples

#### Artifact Plate 28: Glass Tumbler Rims

A total of 25 glass drinking vessels were recovered from the excavations and this seems to be a remarkable number. Most of the tumblers were hand-blown examples, and several were clearly deposited in early- or mid-19th century contexts. Two sherds of an engraved tumbler were recovered from late 18th century deposits. Tumblers were uncommon at this early period, and engraved glass was certainly something of a novelty. This piece has a Neoclassical/geometric design reminiscent of some of the early pearlware dishes from the site. The design has been executed with a diamond graver.

In comparing this glass assemblage with those from rural sites of the same period, it appears obvious that there is a reversal of patterns. Tumblers are rare on rural sites, even in the later 19th century, while wine glasses are

somewhat more common, particularly on elite plantation sites. In the country, mugs and jugs made of ceramic more typically served the purpose of tumblers. Again, the assemblage seems to be telling us of a distinctive set of urban patterns and identities. In this case, We suspect that means there was an even greater use of beer and cider, relative to wine, in Rocketts.

### Beer Bottles

*Artifact Plate 20: M. McCormack Porter Bottle: Front*

*Artifact Plate 21: M. McCormack Porter Bottle: Back*

Beer drinking was a European tradition that can be traced to the Neolithic Period. Throughout the Colonial Period, ales and ciders were routinely made on the farm or plantation, stored in casks, and served from the cellar. Bottled beers were a 19th-century innovation. Nonetheless, many country cookbooks and manuscripts continued to instruct the rural housewife in the ways of beer making well into the 20th century. In the city, however, tavern-brewed and commercial bottled beers were the popular forms for imbibing the soul of John Barleycorn.

Distinctive beers, like tobacco habits, seem to be associated with specific ethnicities. Porter, and similar black beers, have long been associated with the Welsh and Irish. Certainly porter bottles appeared at the Rocketts #1 Site roughly at the same time that the McMahons, McNamaras and other Irish immigrants moved into the neighborhood. On the other hand, we cannot demonstrate that these beer bottles were used only - or even mostly - by Irish-born Americans. Rather, these bottles seem to announce the adoption of Irish beer in an American city, rather than the adoption of an American city by Irish beer drinkers. The most famous porter - and one still being brewed - was Guinness Extra Stout, from Dublin. While dedicated porter drinkers insist on taking the brew in draught, when feasible, the mass production of glass and cast ceramic bottles made commercially-brewed bottled porter available in America.

At least 13 porter bottles were recovered from the excavation at the site. Of these, those which were labelled as to place of manufacture were from Richmond, although the McCormack bottles were probably imported. It is worth noting that at least one 19th-century porter bottle from the site carried the product of a German-born Richmond brewer (Dusch). Another German Richmond brewing family was Yuengling, who operated the James River Steam Brewery in east Rocketts/Fulton. Their principal product was lager, but it is noteworthy that the Yuengling Brewery, still in operation today at Pottsville, Pennsylvania, makes one of America's premier porters.

*Artifact Plate 22: "P. Stumpf & Co. Trademark Authorized Bottler Richmond, Va." Beer Bottle*

In 1873 Adolphus Busch introduced the pasteurization process to the brewing of beer. Up until that time lager beer was unstable and difficult to "keep". This inevitably led to the dichotomy of the brewing industry between brewers and bottlers. It was more efficient for brewers of the late 19th century to concentrate on brewing and leave the pasteurization and bottling processes to independent bottlers. As a result, the bottler added his name to a bottle of beer brewed elsewhere, making it difficult to attribute specific brands of beer with a particular bottle style (Wilson 1981: 1, 2).

Lager is a German and Bohemian beer that was developed in the mid-19th century. It depends on cold fermentation which, in turn, results in a beer that is more fully carbonated than traditionally-brewed ales. In addition, lagers were typically brewed in the "Pilsner" style, from light malts, with relatively low hopping rates. The result was a cold, somewhat sweet, pale beer which gave rise to the typical "American" style of brew.

Writing in 1860, Mordecai noted that lager had become all the rage in Richmond. Most of the lager consumed in the city during the 1850s and 1860s was probably served from barrels at the numerous beergardens - typically owned and operated by German immigrants - that had sprung up around town. By the 1870s, there were at least three, and probably more, large lager breweries in Richmond, including the Yuengling's James River Steam Brewery at Rocketts. (The lagering caves of the Yuengling brewery are still intact at the Rashig/Richmond Cedar Works factory.) While modern American "pilsner" beer is different in many ways from traditional lager, it is clearly descended from that 19th-century European ancestor brew. Undoubtedly the demand for - and production of - lager was an important influence of German immigrants who brought the most up-to-date tastes and technologies in brewing with them to Richmond.

Artifact Plate 23: Whiskey Flask

Typically, prepackaged whiskeys were not the standard of distribution until the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906. Whiskey was generally stored and transported in bulk containers and drained into a variety of miscellaneous receptacles. The majority of these colorless glass flasks were undoubtedly used by bartenders and customers alike for over-the-counter sales and private consumption (Wilson 1981: 13,14).

Gin, rum, aquavits, and brandies were all available throughout the Colonial Period but, as a general rule, spiritous liquors were never very widely used in early Virginia. By the late 18th century, rum was certainly the most common distilled beverage - particularly cheap Caribbean molasses rum - but it was associated largely with sailors and laborers. Of course blended rum-based punches were a staple of the Colonial tavern, as well. Whiskey was generally introduced in the mid-18th century by Scots and Scots-Irish settlers of the backcountry. The huge Virginia Manufactory of Arms in Richmond was created as a result of Peresident Washington's sending armed federal troops against whiskey makers in Western Pennsylvania. Whiskey taxes became one of the first major "state's rights" issues, and Virginia armed itself early for possible conflict with the federal government.

Just the same, whiskey drinking did not become a popular activity in eastern and central Virginia until the mid-19th century. The rise in popularity of strong drink was paralleled by a rise in temperance movements which were often linked with feminist and suffrage movements. There were many liquor bottles recovered from the excavations at the site, but, as noted above, these were mostly from 20th-century, post-occupation, contexts. A few whiskey bottles can be traced to the third quarter of the 19th century, and many more to the last quarter. Certainly we can document the increasing use of whiskey at the site towards the end of the century, but the evidence does not suggest excessive use, at least outside the bar room.

Artifact Plate 24: "Bromo-Seltzer Emerson Drug Co. Baltimore, MD"

According to Fike, Issac E. Emerson first manufactured and trademarked Bromo Seltzer in 1889. Until 1907, the bottles were produced by Hazel-Atlas 1907. After that time, they were manufactured by the Maryland Glass Corp., using the ABM process (Fike 1987: 111). This bottle was made in the mold-blown, hand-finished-lip style prevalent in the late 19th century.

Probably the most common bottle types on the site are those associated with patent and prescription medicines in the late 19th century. Many of the "patent" bottles may have contained extracts and syrups used for other-than-medicinal purposes, although the use of similar bottles for flavorings and medicines indicates how little the two were distinguished at the time.

Artifact Plate 25: "Hoyt's German Cologne E. W. Hoyt Lowell, Mass"

Vessel # 256G. Clear bottle embossed "Hoyt's German Cologne E. W. Hoyt Lowell, Mass", found in the same context as the Emerson Bromo-Seltzer bottle, Feature 37, Structure 4 cellar fill. In 1877, E.W. Hoyt's German Cologne was advertised as being the "genuine cologne", with"... the name blown in

the bottle, and the signature of the proprietors printed in red across the label" and a warning for the buyer to beware of imitations. (Fike 1987: 64).

Another common source of late 19th-century bottles were toiletries of various sorts. Commercial colognes, oils, and other preparations became very widely available and frequently used, after the middle of the 19th century. Commercial preparations replaced numerous home-made materials, but it appears likely that the use of such toiletry products also gained considerably in popularity. Certainly such trends seem consonant with Foucault's analyses of the creation and control of "the body" at this time.

#### Artifact Plate 26: Glass Inkwell

Fragments from five other inkwells were excavated at Rocketts as well. Glass inkwells are a common site on 19th century sites. Ink would have been a well used commodity at the busy waterfront of Rocketts, where the recording of daily records, business transactions, and ship's manifests were paramount. Besides inkwells, we recovered a large number of pencils, useful for the same purposes.

## Miscellaneous Objects

#### Artifact Plate 1: Iron pry bar head

We originally thought that this tool might be a variant of the Peavey, a specialized cant hook patented in 1870, and used for moving logs. Closer study of the object, and research in catalogues and collections, suggested that this tool would not have served well as a cant hook. No comparable tools were found; however, the construction appears to be suited for dismantling masonry walls. The upper spike was oveable. It would first be thrust into a mortar joint, and then with a downward pry, the spoon, or spatulate bearing surface would press against the wooden handle. The lower curving bar would anchor the tool, and permit it to be rocked in leverage against a wall. This may have been a rather specialized tool used by the railroad gangs who dismantled buildings in the right-of-way of the railroad. The context of this tool suggests it was used to dismantle Structure 25, the house built by John Craddock for Hannah Hague, and which was home to John Schonberger until his property was condemned by the railroad company.

### Artifact Plate 2: Shutter Hook

This shutter hook probably hung on the brick walls of Structure 1. This simple curleque hook was a very common type in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, a type typical of late Colonial and Federal architecture. Gracefully understated design such as this can be associated with Neoclassicism. According to Forty (1986:17), Josiah Wedgewood and other designers of the late 18th century found Neoclassicism to be "...the style that made the late eighteenth-century middle and upper classes feel most at ease with progress." Neoclassical styles flourished during the birth of modernity and they tended most to be applied to technologies and in social contexts which were "modern." Certainly this befits the description of explosive early urbanism in Rocketts.

### Artifact Plate 3: Carved Bone Handles

The object on the left has not been satisfactorily identified. It is from a rather early context on the site. The center and right-hand objects are separated by perhaps a century in time and illustrate the duration of basic incised bone handles on utensils. These items were quite possibly locally made. The item on the right is most likely a fork handle - one of two fork handles recovered from late 18th century or early 19th century contexts on the site. This fork was probably left by one of John Craddock's tenants, perhaps Hannah Hague or Captain Middleton. The use of table forks was still a rather new idea at this time. Material culture specialist and social historian Lorena Walsh believes that forks appeared in urban contexts in this period and their presence marks a clear distinction between urban and rural social norms. City dwellers were much quicker to adopt the "new" fashionable eating styles which included the use of a fork. Apparently such fashions were not restricted to the wealthy, but were particularly popular among the burgeoning urban middle classes.

### Artifact Plate 5: Brass Heel Tap

In the mid-19th century Robert Freeman operated a cobbler's shop located in Structure 4. There were a dozen leather heel and shoe fragments found in the excavation at Rocketts. Five were from cellar fills associated with Structure 4 which was filled in the late 19th or early 20th century. These shoe fragments, lying in the debris surrounding Structure 4 when it was filled, could have been a part of Robert Freeman's stock, or his personal property.



Brass or steel taps were commonly used on men's shoes throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries.<sup>86</sup> When placed on dance shoes, they were called "taps", but when placed on street shoes, they were called "cleats", and their purpose was to prevent excess wear of the heel. Throughout the 19th century taps were often placed on men's boots - particularly on the boots of liverymen, waiters, or other uniformed (typically African American) servants and slaves, (coachmen, footmen, etc.). They were also used on military boots. The clicking or tapping of heels came to signify a military, or para-military, formal dress style. Tap-dancing originated in part in the elaboration of the servile shuffle-step of male slaves into dance styles with purely African and African-American origins. By the late 19th century, taps were identified quite readily as accoutrements of African American adult males, and perhaps especially of those who followed professions in which ritual service played a role (footmen, hackmen, doormen, waiters, etc.)

#### Artifact Plate 9: Ferrous Padlock

This artifact was found in robbers trench of the remains of a colonial structure, Feature 457. Wine bottles found in the same context date the trench after ca. 1770. The padlocks' elongated bag shape is typical of other padlocks found in contexts dating to the second half of the 18th century (Noel Hume 1970: 251).

Locks and keys are very common finds on historical archaeological sites of all periods. It is not uncommon to find a large number of locks or keys on even small farmstead sites. Larger, more intensively occupied sites, naturally tend to have a greater number of such objects. Thus it is perplexing that, with the very large assemblage of materials collected from the Rocketts #1 Site, we found only one lock and one brass key (Artifact Plate 27). A second fragment may also belong to a key. The padlock depicted here is of a colonial type and comes from a colonial context. Thus, with all of the buildings identified on this site from the late 18th century through the 19th century, there are no recovered specimens of locks, and only one certain door key. Likewise, despite our finding a large number of related hardware objects (latches, hinges, etc.), our collection suggests that either locks and keys were very carefully curated by the occupants of Lot 203, or these items were rarely used. There are, of course, any number of interpretations that could possibly account for this simple observation. Nonetheless, it seems likely that locks were not an important part of life in 19th-century Rocketts.

Unlike the Colonial planter, who believed he had to guard his tobacco, tea, wine, silver and other luxuries from pilferage by slaves, the Rocketts denizen generally owned few luxuries, and no slaves. A look at the wills and probate

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<sup>86</sup>. As a child I often wore similar devices.- L.D.M.



inventories of some of the absentee land-owners (eg., Adolph Dill and John Craddock) owned considerable numbers of household luxuries, as well as numerous slaves. Rocketts residents, on the other hand (eg., John Hague, Nathaniel Freeman, James Stout, John Schonberger) held much humbler personal estates. If locked doors and trunks imply something of social and economic inequities, perhaps their lacking should likewise imply something quite different.

#### Artifact Plate 27: Brass Key

The key may date to the late 19th century.

#### Artifact Plate 29: A Selection of Tobacco Pipes from the Excavation

The relatively small numbers of tobacco pipes from the site excavation was truly surprising. One spittoon, probably belonging to John Schonberger, suggests that chewing, rather than smoking, tobacco may have been an important working-class distinguishing attribute. Schonberger's homestead deed of 1874 lists several spittoons. Among the few tobacco pipe fragments found, the majority are of the composite, or "reed-stem" types, such as those made at Pamplin. This often very public act, the smoking of tobacco, may have served as one of many sites for the construction of a working-class identity, a point well made by Lauren Cook from his studies of short-stem pipes at Boott Mills.

While some typical ball-clay pipe fragments were found, they were very few. There was considerable variety among the reed-stem pipes; these included glazed "Indian head" pipes, the typical ribbed Pamplin-style pipes, and several relatively plain, locally-made earthenware examples.

#### Artifact Plate 4: Peacock brand "Redi-Wet Rubbers"

Along with architectural waste and detritus from over-passing railroad cars, the characteristic 20th-century materials from the Rocketts # 1 Site included a pistol, a hobo's stash of cheap fortified wine and liquor bottles, and these condoms. We were tempted to use these items - at least in a tongue-in-cheek manner - to depict something of urban life in the present century. The pistol was removed from the postmold of a large telegraph or telephone pole (or possibly a supporting pier of the Capital City Iron Works water tower). Its shape was clearly that of a snub-nose .38 police piece, modeled more-or-less on the Smith and Wesson Chief's Special. We were uncertain at first whether to conserve the artifact, as such, or to report it untreated to the police as a possible murder weapon. X-ray photographs penetrated the rusty outer layers and revealed the pistol to be a cap gun. So much for urban violence as an interpretive theme. Given its heavy iron or steel construction, it probably predates the late 1940s.

The wine bottles, upon closer inspection, were probably not in a hiding hole - why, after all, would anyone stash empties? - but had been carried into a large rodent den. The beverage bottle preferences of pack rats or 'possums hardly seems an appropriate topic for an archaeological report. Thus, the condoms - or as their label unabashedly proclaims them, "rubbers" - seem to stand alone as keys to the interpretation of Lot 203 in the mid-to-late 20th century. These are no mainline brand, but appear to be something that originated in a coin machine at a local bistro or filling station, probably in the late 1940s or early 1950s.<sup>87</sup>

## Vertebrate Faunal Analysis <sup>88</sup>

### I. Methods of Analysis

#### A. The Comparative Collection

The comparative collection belonging to the Department of Historic Resources was the primary source of reference in this analysis. Because of its limitations, however certain specimens were borrowed from The College of William and Mary's Archaeological Project Center and from the Department of Anthropology at Appalachian State University. The collection was used to determine species, element, fragmentation, side, condition, and age of the faunal remains in question. When necessary, reference publications by Stanley J. Olsen were used to aid in the identification. Each bone recovered from 44HE671 was identified to the nearest true detail possible

#### B. Coding

The coded vertebrate faunal data and coding key are presented in Appendix 8. The coding is based on a number system used for fluent data entry. Under the heading "Species" numbers 0-22 contain genus and species names for Mammalia and Aves, 35-46 Pisces, and 70 Reptilia. The gaps in numbering are left there purposefully so that additions in each category can be made in future analyses. Under the heading "Element" numbers 0-52 contain names of bodily elements for Mammalia and Aves, 60-69 Pisces, and 80 Reptilia. Again, gaps in numbering were purposefully left. Under the rest of the headings found on the coding key the numbering is self explanatory.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup>. There are many possible lines of interpretation, but I feel the reader's ability to "read" the story of these artifacts is as good as my own - probably better. - L. D. M.

<sup>88</sup>. This section was authored by Leslie Cohen.

<sup>89</sup>. The coded faunal data are in a matrix in which cases are separated by a carriage return and variables by a tab stop. This data set will be made available to anyone who requests a copy, in

### C. Interpretation

The qualitative and quantitative interpretations were made upon the completion of the gathering and recording of data. Dr. Joanne Bowen of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation was consulted for the interpretation of the butchered bone. While I have offered some observations, below, I have not attempted an extensive interpretive analysis.

#### II. List of animals represented in the faunal remains recovered from the Rockett's #1 Site

##### Mammalia

Bos taurus-Domestic Cow  
Sus scrofa-Domestic pig  
Ovis/Capra-Domestic Sheep/Goat  
Equus equus-Domestic Horse  
Canis familiaris-Domestic Dog  
Odocoileus virginianus-White-tailed Deer  
Felis domesticus-Domestic Cat  
Sylvilagus floridanus-Eastern Cottontail  
Vulpes fulva-Red Fox  
 Rat [genus/species unknown]

##### Aves

Gallus gallus-Domestic Chicken  
Meleagris gallopavo-Domestic Turkey

##### Pisces

Ictalurus punctatus-Channel Cat  
Lepisosteus sp.-Gar  
Acipenser sp.-Sturgeon  
Ictalurus catus-White Catfish  
Scenops ocellatus-Red Drum  
Catastoma commersoni-Sucker

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either MS-DOS ASCII format, or in a variety of MacIntosh formats (Text, Word 4.0, or Excel). Please contact Dan Mouer at Virginia Commonwealth University if you would care to receive a copy.

Alosa aestavalis-Blueback Herring

## III. Summary count of elements recorded from each species.

Bos taurus

1 humerus-right  
 1 humerus-right, medial, sawn  
 1 humerus-right, axed  
 1 humerus-right, distal, sawn  
 1 humerus-left, medial, sawn  
 1 humerus-right, sawn  
 1 femur-right, sawn  
 2 femurs-left, medial, sawn  
 1 femoral head  
 1 femur-proximal, sawn, [unsided]  
 3 radii-left, proximal  
 1 radius-left, distal epiphysis, sawn  
 1 radius-unsided, proximal  
 1 ulna-right  
 1 ulna-right epiphysis  
 1 ulna-unsided proximal  
 1 ulna-unsided, medial, sawn  
 1 tibia-right, distal, sawn  
 1 tibia-left epiphysis, sub adult  
 1 metatarsal  
 1 metacarpal  
 3 carpal/tarsal unknown  
 2 carpals  
 1 astragalus-right  
 1 astragalus-unsided  
 5 calcanei-left  
 1 calcaneus-right, proximal  
 10 phalanges  
 3 innominate-right, sawn  
 1 innominate-left, axed  
 2 innominate-left  
 1 scaphoid  
 2 scapulae-right, sawn  
 1 scapulae-right  
 1 scapula-unsided, sawn  
 1 mandible  
 10 molars

Sus scrofa

1 humerus-unsided  
 1 humerus-right, medial  
 1 humerus-right, distal  
 1 humerus-right, distal, sawn  
 1 humerus-left, sawn  
 1 femoral epiphysis  
 5 radii-left, proximal  
 2 radii-left, distal  
 2 radii-left, proximal  
 1 ulna-unsided  
 1 ulna-right  
 3 ulnae-left  
 1 ulna-unsided, sawn  
 1 tibia-left, proximal  
 1 tibia-left, distal  
 1 astragalus  
 2 metatarsals  
 4 phalanges  
 1 scapula-unsided  
 1 scapula-unsided, sawn  
 1 scapula-left, sawn  
 2 mandibles-right, medial  
 1 mandible-left, medial  
 3 mandibles-unsided, medial  
 1 mandible/maxilla-unknown  
 5 molars  
 12 incisors  
 19 canines

Equus equus

2 incisors

Ovis/Capra

3 humeri-left, distal  
 1 humerus-left, medial  
 1 humerus-right, medial  
 1 humerus-right, distal  
 1 humerus-right, proximal  
 1 femur-right, distal  
 1 radius-left, proximal  
 2 radii-right, proximal  
 1 ulna-right, medial  
 1 tibia-right, proximal

1 tibia-left, distal  
 1 astragalus-unsided, sawn  
 1 astragalus-right  
 1 astragalus-unsided, distal  
 1 calcaneus-right  
 1 metacarpal-unsided  
 1 carpal/tarsal unknown  
 1 scapula-right, proximal  
 1 scapula-right, medial  
 1 horn core  
 3 molars

Meleagris gallopavo

1 sternum  
 1 ulna-right, medial  
 1 ulna-left, medial  
 1 carpometacarpus-right  
 1 tibiotarsus-right, distal

Gallus gallus

1 femur-right, proximal  
 1 femur-right  
 1 femur-left  
 1 humerus-left, burned  
 2 radii-unsided  
 1 ulna-left, proximal  
 1 ulna-unsided  
 2 tibiotarsus-right  
 1 tibiotarsus-left  
 1 tibiotarsus-unsided  
 2 tarsometatarsals-left, proximal  
 1 carpometacarpal-unsided, distal  
 1 carpometacarpal-unsided  
 1 coracoid-unsided  
 1 coracoid-right, proximal

Rat [genus/species undetermined]

1 humerus-right  
 1 femur-right  
 1 femur-left  
 1 tibia-right

Odocoileus virginianus

1 humerus-right  
 1 metacarpal

1 ulna-right  
1 tibia-left  
1 scapula-left  
1 innominate-right

Sylvilagus floridanus

1 maxilla-right  
1 cranial

Vulpes fulva

1 tibia-right

Felis domesticus

21 scute fragments

Acipenser sp.

1 pectoral fin spine-right

Ictalurus catus

1 cleithrum-unsided  
1 cleithrum-left

Catostoma commersoni

1 operculum-left  
1 preoperculum-left  
1 inneroperculum-left

Alosa aestivalis

1 premaxilla-unsided

Scaenops ocellatus

1 carapace/plastron fragment unknown

Chelonia

IV Remarks

### a)General

The occurrence and frequency of the remains recovered from this site are not unusual for a site of this nature. The domestic animals, of course, are not incidental, but were presumably used for sustenance. The high occurrence of signs of butchering indicate this. The data seems to indicate that cows, pigs, sheep and/or goats, and chicken were the most numerous animals of husbandry present. This may be misleading, however, due to the thickness and survival rates of bones from large mammals. I cannot account for the infrequency of horse remains. The mass of the bones would indicate a high survival rate, yet very few are found in this assemblage. I do not think this is an indication of an absence of horses at this site, but rather some sort of inconsistency within the archaeological data.<sup>90</sup> Some of the wild mammals may be incidentals on the site. Whether or not they are recent intrusions or historical intrusions is difficult for me to infer at this point without consulting the site map for excavation levels. I can say, however, that they are consistent with animals occurring in the Richmond area.<sup>91</sup> The fish remains represented in this assemblage, as well, are not anomalous for the James River in this area, both historically and currently.

### b)Butchering

There are distinct signs of butchering among the remains of cows and pigs in this assemblage. The preferred cuts of beef seem to have been the shoulder and the rump, and of pork, the rump (ham) as well. The most frequently sawn parts are the humeri, scapula, femur, and innominate bones. Of course this is a judgement as there were many butchered bones in the assemblage which I could not assign to a genus or species. Among these "indeterminate large mammal" butchered remains are many sawn ribs and long bones.

As I stated previously, Joanne Bowen of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation was consulted to aid in the interpretation of the butchered bone.

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<sup>90</sup>. Actually, this not "an inconsistency in the archaeological data". According to Joanne Bowen (personal communication), it is not uncommon to find a few - albeit *very* few - horse bones among the food refuse on 18th and 19th century sites. In this case, the only remains are two incisors, probably painfully lost from the mouth of the old grey mare. On the other hand, Ms. Cohen's observation is a cogent one. It raises the question: what did city-dwellers do when their horses died? It is a question I cannot answer at the present, other than to say that, with some rare exceptions, they did not serve them for supper. - L. D. M.

<sup>91</sup>. Ms. Cohen did not have the context information needed to fully interpret her remains when she prepared this analysis. Her point here is well taken, however. The deer bones and fox bones, for example, were found in upper - recent - layers of the site. These may be discards left by hunters during the present century. Rat and mouse remains, on the other hand, were somewhat common in the historical fills and features. At least one rat burrow, along the southern wall of Structure 1, can be dated to the 2nd quarter of the 19th century. The fish remains are clearly from food refuse discarded during the site's occupation. - L. D. M.



She noted that two types of butchering were taking place at this site: sawing and axing; sawing being the more recent innovation in technique. In my data records I have, more or less, just documented the sawn bone. Dr. Bowen noted that many bones seemingly broken have actually been axed. She looked at several specimens from 44He671 that I had recorded as broken and explained that manner in which one could tell they are axed. Suffice it to say that many of the Bos taurus, and Sus scrofa bones that I have recorded as broken have actually been axed.<sup>92</sup>

## Other food and "ecofact" remains

No analysis has yet been completed on remains of invertebrates, or of plants from the excavations at the Rocketts #1 Site. There was a very substantial number of invertebrate remains recovered; these are listed in the inventories in Appendices 6 and 7. The vast majority, of course, were oyster shells. It is not possible to say with certainty that all of the oyster shells represent food remains, rather than materials for lime preparation, paving, etc. A more detailed study of these materials is needed. In addition to oyster shells, there were a few examples of clams, scallops, and mussels. The floatation remains - especially from primary fills in cisterns and drains - include a number of terrestrial invertebrates (land snails).

No readily identifiable plant macrofossils were recovered; that is, there were no fragments of corncobs, beans, peach pits, or nuts (other than the hardware varieties). Floatation did result in the recovery of a good assemblage of seeds, and these remain to be identified. Preliminary inspection indicates that most are probably from local weedy plant specimens.

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<sup>92</sup>. This ends the section authored by Leslie Cohen.



## 2.7 Reflections on Rocketts

Like many similar projects, archaeology in the urban port of Rocketts, in Richmond, Virginia, has led to the accumulation of a huge mass of information and materials which confounds generalization while stimulating interpretation. The Rocketts project reads like a postmodern novel. Subjects are poorly formed but richly represented; the setting is hard to grasp but as concrete as bricks and mortar; a foundational narrative proves elusive; but many stories suggest themselves, beg for interpretation, and dissolve into other stories and other interpretations. Entry into the vast "data" is impossible without a simultaneous engagement in contemporary discourse. Some of these stories involve concerns of city life today. These include the history of the shift of power from the country to the city in Virginia, and the creation of a community that preserved measures of diversity.

As an interior seaport, Rocketts became the cosmopolitan home to many generations of immigrants, beginning with young Scots merchants and Jewish entrepreneurs of the 18th century. After about 1830, there was a large immigration of Irish and Germans. The community also included many free African-Americans and hired-out slaves, as well as the sons and daughters of Anglo-American planters and farmers. The historical archaeology of Rocketts has something to tell us about how people negotiated the changes from pastoral to commercial-industrial society, from relative homogeneity to intensive variety, from rural to urban life, and from a colonial to a republican polity. Rocketts can tell us how former colonists, slaves and immigrants went about "becoming urban" and "American", defining identities for themselves and for their neighbors.

In a paper I presented several years ago (Mouer 1987) I noted that, after ca. 1730 or so, the great planters began to receive serious commercial competition from immigrant merchants, mostly Scots. The planters had previously captured, and struggled to retain, hegemony over the distribution of consumer goods, provided them by their British factors. The merchants, such as John Hylton, settled in the nascent towns of Virginia (in his case, Bermuda Hundred) and entered into direct competition with the planters' stores. Planters, who retained perpetual debt relations with their factors, passed on perpetual debt relations to their economically less-privileged neighbors, tenants, hired hands and slaves. Relations between "friends" - which, in 18th century parlance often meant those with whom you share obligatory relations institutionalized in debts (Isaacs 1982) - formed a nearly manorial, almost feudal, system of community coherence. Immigrant merchants worked on

account books that were settled regularly, rather than with debts carried in perpetuity. They threatened to alter the very structure of a society by meting the "glue" of perpetual debt bonds. By analyzing material culture, primarily houses and ceramics, of merchants, local elites, and great planters in and around the communities of Bermuda Hundred and Curles, I suggested that this direct competition had a cultural, as well as an economic, aspect. This was reflected in the merchant's adoption of social dining and tea ceremonies on a level that clearly meant to compete with the great planters, and which differed from patterns found among "local" elites, or middling planters.

This pattern appears to have changed with the Revolution. In 1775, a non-English-descended entrepreneur (Samuel DuVal) contested, and won, the election for burgess in Henrico, effectively ending nearly a century of domination of that seat by the Randolph clan. That same year, Scots merchant Daniel Hylton, John's son, moved to the burgeoning town of Richmond. He purchased the mansion of William Byrd III, thus symbolically opening up a new hegemony for merchants over planters. When we look to the evidence from Rocketts, we see immigrant merchants, and some younger sons and daughters of established planters, carving a new niche that partly displaced the planter oligarchy in Virginia.

Competition here was also cultural, not only economic. The new city-dwelling middle classes built houses that were larger than their equivalent wealth groups in the countryside, and they furnished these with more, and more expensive, furnishings (Carr and Walsh 1980, Walsh 1992). During the Early Republic period, tenants and middling owners at the Rocketts #1 Site stocked their tables with engraved glass, Canton porcelain, and transfer-printed plates. Their probate inventories speak of houses that must have appeared opulent on their interiors compared with their rural counterparts. Gold-leaf decorated mahogany tables, ornate clocks, pianos and other goods were found even in relatively humble middle class homes. While *chinoiserie* patterns are moderately abundant in the ceramics assemblage, there seems to have been a distinct preference for the more fashionable Neoclassical and, especially, Romantic designs (Hunter 1992).

We were very hard-pressed to find extant portraits of Rocketts' entrepreneurs. There are a very few (Thomas Rutherford comes to mind), but by the early 19th century, even moderately successful planters were often having portraits made. Instead, we have the painting of Rocketts dated ca. 1810 which, I feel, was possibly painted for John Craddock. Perhaps he commissioned the work. At any rate, there is a reduction in the "cult of personality" that seemed to accompany the patriarchal plantation system, and a substitution of glorification of works. At the same time, we see a rise in the importance of "family", and a concomitant decline in the importance of "genealogy". This is very well exemplified by John Lester's epitaph (which is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix 9):

No pampered verse or sculptur'd stone  
 Shall vaunt how lineage ran;  
 Write this upon the heart alone  
 Here lies an Honest Man.

And so "honesty" and works were elevated above "name" in this new hegemony.

Charity, too, found a new niche in the cities. Most of the great planters are known to have practiced charitable treatment of the disadvantaged. They took in cripples, funded orphans through their vestries, etc. But charity became something of special importance in the new city. Obituaries for both John Hague and John Lester proclaimed that the poor of the city had lost a friend. Certainly John Wilder Atkinson's purchase of widow Susanna Roland's house, and his resale to her of that house for a token payment, must be considered an act of charity among neighbors. Atkinson had little to gain. The prestige that may have accrued to a great planter for such an act would have served little purpose for Atkinson, a businessman who, at the time, was undergoing financial ruination. Likewise, the Freeman siblings' similar gestures towards two immigrant women - the widow Ann Margaret Gabeleine, and Bridget McMahon, whose plight we can only guess at - were devoid of any ulterior motives. Urbanization brought about poverty, and the community response to that poverty was a social responsibility that cut across lines of family, status and ethnicity.

We can debate the nature and intention of the charity that sent the Wasley children to the city poor house, that grand edifice of modernist isolation that still stands near the Shockoe Hill cemetery, and which today continues its basic function, but now as a nursing home. To be sure, the deaf and dumb children did not enjoy the life they could have, in another time or era, when the "handicapped" were not isolated as deviants. But perhaps institutionalization was preferable to some of the other alternatives available in the 19th century city. Nonetheless, it is instructive to compare the fortune of another deaf and dumb person whose life touched upon the Rocketts community; namely, Adolph Dill. Dill rose from the status of a neighborhood baker to that of a wealthy tobacco entrepreneur, and the head of an important, and apparently supportive, family. Perhaps the Wasleys lost their opportunities to function as productive individuals to the institutionalized charity of the almshouse.

The breakdown, or dilution, of patriarchy and, to a lesser degree, paternalism that had been so highly developed in the countryside offered some new opportunities for women to redefine their gender roles. While some widows, such as Hannah Hague and Elizabeth Craddock, had to depend on their children, or on their neighbors, because they had no fortunes of their own,

others found or created different fates. Sarah Lester and Susanna Lewis continued to manipulate their dower estates - in Lewis' case, her father's legacy - and to conduct public business in a way that was nearly unheard of on the plantation. Samuel Mordecai reports that, in early 19th-century Richmond, many women took the liberty to socialize on their own more openly. The racetracks, taverns and cardtables of Richmond were not off-limits. In some cases, women salvaged the economy of the home, as did Mary Randolph with her boarding house when husband David Meade Randolph lost his job and income. Most women, of course, remained housewives. The censuses report that the majority of women were "keeping house", although some were working in tobacco factories, and many took on boarders, especially after their husbands had died. In our small sample, German and Irish immigrant women were more likely to take to the factories and stores than were their Anglo-American counterparts. The groceries, bars, and hotels that many of these families operated were apparently family businesses in a very real sense.

Susanna Lewis, as a descendant of the landed class, widowed in the republican city, had choices and chances that Susanna Roland never had. On the other hand, the granting of an estate by Nathaniel Freeman to his wife, Locky, even through a male trustee, while retaining a paternalistic flavor, also provided a dimension of empowerment. It remained, nonetheless an empowerment that was a male option. Gilly Marrin chose to educate his daughter, Susanna, and to leave her a substantial estate. She used her advantages well and wisely, but they were "given" to her just the same. Locky Freeman remained illiterate, and the courts and her sons carved up her estate, according to her apparent wishes, and provided her a little house to live out her widowhood. John Craddock built his aunt, Hannah Hague, a widow's house too, but once again we find it to have been her "choice" to allow her younger male heirs to regulate her estate. We can only wonder what dimensions of complexity these womens'choices involved.

We see little evidence of charity from whites towards blacks, or vice versa. Nonetheless, the relations between "races" must have changed substantially over those common in the countryside. African Americans, even while enslaved, lived more autonomous lives than their plantation counterparts. The strict class-bound separation between rural blacks and whites was mitigated substantially by the conditions of city life. Free blacks tended to congregate in cities, and for good reason. Among mulattos, at least, there appears constant "confusion" over (or fluidity of) ethnicity and its attendant legal status. Look, for instance, to our own inability to understand with certainty the "ethnicities" of the Robert Freeman or John Schonberger family members. Probably, these people assumed an identity not substantially different from those of their neighbors. Their "African-American" nature only emerge in the records in the light of racist Jim Crow-era legalities at the end of the 19th century.

Of course there were those who were considered "black", "Negro", or "colored" by their neighbors living on Lot 203, and it is telling to note how difficult it is to identify such people in the records. One case is the Fitzhugh Gardner family, who were probably living in Isham Freeman's tenant house on Lot 203.3.3 in 1870. That photographs clearly indicate no differences between the Gardner house, and that of his landlord, or his landlord's widowed sister, is important. Isham Freeman may have lived in material conditions that were not substantially different from those of his African American tenants or those of a widowed woman, although his ownership of not only his own house, but of tenements, provided a genuine advantage.

The vast majority of slaves at Rocketts are virtually invisible to us, so far as the historic record is concerned. Slaves appear, often as named individuals, in some wills and estate appraisals. John Hague requested that three of his slaves, Aberdeen, Foster and Sukey, be manumitted upon his death; however, we find one slave named Aberdeen and another named Sukey listed among the slaves of his heir, John Craddock, twenty-two years later. Aberdeen, in this latter case, is described as a boy of 10 years, while Sukey is age 50. Is the latter Aberdeen a son of the man John Hague wished to free? Are the women named "Sukey" in 1795 and 1817 the same woman? This seems likely. Manumission was a relative commonplace in 1795, when Hague died, but it was a highly regulated, and discouraged, practice by 1817. While Sukey remained enslaved, we cannot determine the fate of the elder Aberdeen or Foster.

The child, Aberdeen, is listed in Craddock's estate account as one of three children of his slave Jenny, all of whom were sold (together) by the marshall "under execution for Cary Seldon". The other children are Bob and Christiana. Other slaves belonging to Craddock's estate include Sally and her two children (also sold together), a "negro girl Hannah", and "Cato of Bohannon", all of whom were sold to settle accounts. Still others of Craddock's slaves were left as legacies.

As a general observation, the free people of Rocketts owned few, if any slaves. There were slaves present, of course, owned by others, but living relatively free compared to slaves on the plantations. Our archaeological project did not include the excavation of houses or middens specifically known to be associated with slaves, although the wide range of domestic material culture recovered suggests at least the possibility that some slaves may have lived on Lot 203. Future archaeological work in Rocketts needs to focus on slave habitations in the urban context.

Throughout Rocketts' history, there was little separation between the workplace and the home. People ran their businesses, whether chandleries, or groceries, or cobblers, in the same, or adjacent buildings or lots in which

they lived. Those who worked on the docks, or in the mills and tobacco factories, lived but a short walk from their places of work. (Of course, those who worked aboard the ships were often gone for lengthy periods). The assemblage of artifacts from the site underscore this fact, as do assemblages excavated over the years at Williamsburg, Annapolis, and other cities. The tools and wastes of industry and commerce share middens with domestic items. While it is true that farms and plantations are also workplaces, there seems to be a much more clear spatial separation of work and domestic life, even on smaller farmsteads. The Enlightenment tendency to compartmentalize spheres of work and domestic life took on more subtle dimensions, in the waterfront environment. In Richmond in general, as throughout the "western" urban realm, the Victorian period marked the rise of suburban living and the segregation of workplaces from living places. This was not true in Rocketts. While there was an apparent exodus from the neighborhood of upper middle class merchants and professionals - what few there had ever been in Rocketts - during the mid-19th century, those who remained lived among blacksmith shops, mills, groceries, and other mercantile and industrial enterprises. The segregation of distinct cultural and structural categories may have been carried out in more subtle ways at Rocketts, but demonstrating this will require greater analysis of the artifactual remains before we can more clearly see what this might have meant in material terms.

Similar boundaries dissolved, or were redefined, among ethnic groups and classes. The city was not the bastion of republicanism many thought it might become, but compared with the countryside, there was a pronounced levelling. Within the "middle class", there were a great many gradations, and as the 19th century bore on, a true underclass emerged. Even so, we do not see at Rocketts the Foucault-like "surveillance" of the working class as it appears to have emerged, for instance, at Boott Mills and other northern factory environments. Rocketts seems to have been a tightly knit community. Ethnicity, of course, did not disappear. It is no surprise that we find porter and lager bottles on the site after the arrival of Irish and German immigrants in mid-century. The Rocketts church became the Catholic Irish congregation, and German benevolent associations arose throughout the city, cross-cutting neighborhoods. Nonetheless, there is a cultural sameness, a lack of clear material indices of "ethnicity". Perhaps this suggests that ethnic ties were no more important than neighborly ones. Like the complexly democratic Balinese "clubs" or pan-tribal sodalities among some American Indian groups, Rocketts culture was interlaced with patterns of affiliation and patterns of behavior that both integrated the community while providing voices for individual, or sub-group, identity and power expressions. It is as easy to depict Rocketts as a melting pot as a hotbed of class struggle and communal strife. Each perspective contains some truth. While, as Mordecai points out, it was the presence of a large German community that led to the production and popularity of lager beer, the bottles at Rocketts are not



interpretable as ethnic markers of German occupation, but rather as reminders of German dimensions of the cultural heritage of Richmond.

One surprising observation comes from the relative lack of wine bottles early in the site's history, and the very notable paucity of tobacco pipes throughout its history. The paucity of wine bottles in the early 19th century may reflect a "sober" bent among the business-oriented townspeople; perhaps, even the influence of "New Lights" protestantism or, in the case of the Hagues and some others, a directly imported Calvinism. On the other hand, it might simply indicate that taverns were just a few steps from anyone's door, and drinking may have taken on a public character in the town. Certainly many Richmonders found the German immigrants of the Antebellum period to be shockingly liberal in their public use of alcohol (Wust 1969: 206-299). Strangely, many a Colonial New Englander or Pennsylvanian had felt similarly about the Virginia planters. Whatever tee-totalling tendencies might have existed during the early period at Rocketts seemingly passed soon after 1830, or so. For a period of two or three decades, bottled beers seem to have been the favorite poison on Lot #203. By the time of the Civil War, or shortly thereafter, whiskey arrived on the block.

It is noteworthy that "ethnic" and "class" distinctions are tied closely to specific selections of mind- or mood-altering substances. Wine was traditionally "British", and "upper class", as was tea. Beer was universally used, but came in time to be associated with working class people - specific beers associated with different ethnic groups. Tea took the opposite trend, going from an elite, to a more commonplace beverage. Coffee followed much the same route, but may have an "urban" versus "rural" association to some extent. Tobacco fed everybody in Virginia, in some way or another, and it was widely, if not universally, used. The nature of its use seems to have varied with class, perhaps with ethnicity, and with gender. Patent medicines, often laced with codiene, cocaine or opiates; those designer drugs of the late 19th century, were far more democratic. We find the containers in the trash dumps of high and low, city dweller and country folk, all alike, although it has been suggested that opiates were more likely to be used by women than men. Men, of course, had whiskey, which started out as an "ethnic" beverage, and which carried some "low-class" connotations for a while during the 19th century.<sup>93</sup>

Rocketts inhabitants enjoyed a wide variety of consumer goods from all over the world. The regular traffic by steamship between Richmond and Baltimore is represented in the large numbers of bottles from the latter town. Early 19th-

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<sup>93</sup>. My appreciation to Rob Hunter who, in a tongue-in-cheek stroke of considerable insight, has reminded us all that much of what we archaeologists study, are the remnant paraphernalia of past drug use, including the ritual apparatuses for tea ceremonies, tobacco smoking, and alcohol consumption (Hunter 1992).

century flower pots from Latin America or the Caribbean are items not typically found in the country. In fact, the wealth of consumer items for all periods at this site seems to underscore the observations made above concerning household furnishings, and the observations of Carr and Walsh. Rocketts people had access to a very wide array of goods, and they took advantage of this access to produce an urban lifestyle in which consumer goods played a distinctive role. Those who lived on Lot 203, and probably elsewhere throughout the parts of Rocketts developed by men like Hague and Craddock, enjoyed amenities not found in the country. Running, purified, spring water appears to have been available from very early times at Rocketts. While running water was installed early at Shirley Plantation, one did not have to be a "Carter" to enjoy this benefit at Rocketts. On the other hand, crowded urban living had its downside, and the sharing of a water system probably aggravated poor health conditions typical of early cities. Ships continually brought the threat of smallpox or yellow fever to the wharves of Rocketts. Poor sanitary facilities and crowding probably meant that dissenter or diarrhea were commonplaces which sapped the strength of all, especially children.

In some ways, however, health was probably better in town. Cooking ranges were adopted earlier in the city, and these probably decreased the incidence respiratory ailments and of death by fire for women. For women in the country, burning to death at the fireplace was still the second most frequent cause of mortality after childbirth. For African Americans, work was undoubtedly as tedious in town as in the country, but possibly not so dangerous or debilitating.

The food bone remains at the site indicate that even middling and lower-status denizens at Rocketts had access to a variety of meats. While we cannot know how much meat was consumed, and it is difficult to infer the form that the meat took on the table, there are a very high number of major cuts - legbones and rib portions, that is - suggesting a generally good portion of meat. Chickens, goats, sheep and milch cows were kept on the backlots of many Rocketts households. Dairy products were available in town, through the efforts of people like the Schonbergers. Fish, shellfish, and, perhaps, wild meats added some interest to the diet at relatively low cost.

By the mid-19th century, the dinner table included dishes prepared with a wide variety of condiments - pickles, sauces, ketchups, etc. In fact the large number of sauce and condiment bottles also helps provide a contrast between Rocketts and any number of rural sites of the mid-to-late 19th century, where such items are relatively rare. On the other hand, rural sites of the period very often produce numerous Mason canning jars and seals, which were relatively rare items at the Rocketts #1 Site. The Mason jar literally revolutionized home food preservation, but it was, apparently, a rural phenomenon, much as it remains today. In Rocketts, the local grocery - never

more than a few blocks away - was well stocked with commercial condiments, salt meat, and canned goods. While small kitchen gardens may have been somewhat common, they did not produce - nor did they need to produce - a preservable surplus. In fact, the rather large number of flower pots from the site suggests that city gardening at Rocketts took on meanings other than the production of food.

## 2.8 Project Assessment

The Rocketts #1 Site Project has been a humbling experience. Everything came in excess in this project. We had an excessive amount of inordinately complex excavation to do, huge numbers of artifacts, and voluminous documentary data. About the only thing about this project that has been in perpetually short supply, has been the time needed to complete it. There are even, I suppose, an excessive number of short-comings to this project and this report, and here is where I would like to assess those.

My approach to this project has been to conduct, in the words of Leslie Stewart-Abernathy (1991), "an historical archaeology as anthropology that sought to understand past human experience and achievements rather than quantitative patterns, exhaustive classifications, or objective realities." But to do that within the strictures of a cultural resource management report, and the disciplinary customs and regulatory rules imposed on such a format, has meant a level of compromise which I find problematic. The requirement of presenting data - objective facts supposedly reflective of the "truth" of what lay in the ground - has been continually in conflict with my deep beliefs that "objective truth" concerning human activity is at least partially a matter of perspective and interpretation. In reviewing this report, I find, however, that I am perversely pleased with the sometimes sudden breaks between interpretive flights of fancy and perfunctory lists of observations.

At the outset, I was concerned with ways to make a CRM report literary, stylistically bound together as a narrative of interpretation, while having to present myriads of feature descriptions, low-level interpretations of structures, analysis of stratigraphy, etc. In retrospect, I find the interleaving of passages - even clauses - of prose among the prosaic, of exclamation amidst exposition, to be a sobering, if disconcerting, reminder of the inconsistencies within our discipline. We are so utterly grounded in the idea that our "data" should have a transcendent reality which will permit others to verify, confirm, dispute, or reinterpret our "findings" and "conclusions", that we have constructed rules requiring ourselves to abandon the human dimensions of our studies. But archaeology is not the sum of descriptions of artifacts and features, it is the meaning we construct of these, and the process of construction itself.

As a result of these inconsistencies, we have created a paradox. As archaeologists, we have to create "site reports" that are paid for by clients, and that meet, at least minimally, the canons of the discipline and regulations concerning the presentation of results. While the CRM guidelines and disciplinary customs appear to require that a site report contain both "data"

and "interpretations", it is generally believed that interpretations not based in a positivist, problem-oriented, matrix have no place in a site report. Likewise, the form that "data" takes in an interpretive essay - and it is the essay that is the proper format for interpretation - is never acceptable as a "site report". Clients do not pay for essays, and review agencies aren't staffed with literary critics. This has led to a true dilemma in archaeology: either the "site report", or the "interpretive volume" is almost never written. The exceptions, as usual, "prove" the rule (Bill Kelso's interpretive volume on Kingsmill was produced following the production of a multi-volume series of manuscript site reports: a feat few have paralleled for equally large projects). More typically, we get one, but not the other.

To produce cogent interpretation of a site requires ample time to review the records, handle the artifacts, read and reread the documents, compile some lists and tables and other helpful devices for reducing mountains of observations to manageable proportions... and then to reflect. The demand of a CRM project to present both a site report, in the traditional sense and format, and its well-reasoned interpretations, in a one- year period (or often much less), is unreasonable. The report is then reproduced, if at all, in very limited numbers. It is read only by other archaeologists. It tends, like this one, to be far too large and complex for any individual to make a careful reading, even if they can get their hands on an elusive copy.

We archaeologists need to reconfigure our field. Instead of requiring the production of monumentally detailed reports that reach trivial or arcane conclusions, we need to recognize that our work is public work. We are paid to be experts, and to interpret a domain of "data" - that is archaeological sites and their artifacts - for a public that hungers for insights from these materials. We are, in truth, part of the education and entertainment industries, not scientists working in isolation on theoretical constructs of reality that only a privileged few can comprehend. We are interpreters of culture and history.

We cannot expect that Highway Departments and other agencies with other missions will normally be able to pay for such interpretations, and, in fact, we do not expect as much. It is highly unusual, however, for an archaeologist to have the opportunity to produce much interpretive work beyond the site report. and this must change. If it does not, governmental belt-tighteners will soon come to view our enterprise as not being as worthy as the saving of the spotted owl, or the avoidance of impacts to an art deco drive-in diner. The millions of dollars now spent to produce mammoth reports of little use will dry up, along with the jobs these dollars support. And sites will be lost.

One goal should be to recognize that the purposes of excavating sites which are to be destroyed by governmental action are to preserve the "artifacts" in a broad sense, and to provide interpretations of these. The excavated remains, including the drawings and descriptions of features and buildings and

landscapes are preserved if the field records are impeccable, and are properly archived, and if the materials are stabilized and conserved and properly curated. Beyond this, a very basic statement of methods, so that others may know what we did, is all that is needed to preserve the integrity and context of our finds. And yet, typically, CRM does not pay for properly conserved specimens and properly archived records. Collections and records are not reviewed; reports are reviewed. The need for interpretation is not served unless books, lectures, films, or exhibits are produced. And yet, CRM does not pay for these. Interpretations are only reviewed as part of a technical report, and then only when they meet the arcane standards of the discipline.

A material culture specialist may spend six months or a year contemplating a 19th-century chair, and then he/she will write an essay about that chair. An architectural historian will publish a major article on a single over-mantle she/he has spent many months thinking about. But archaeologists expect to master every discipline related to human studies, and then to call in the palynologists, osteologists, and faunal and floral specialists to add even more to our study domains. We recovered a lot of bone at the Rocketts #1 Site, and it has had a preliminary study by a specialist, and this study is produced here. That is, the data are here, but I make no pretense at interpretation, and I feel only a few twinges of guilt about that. We took floatation samples from all likely primary deposits. We floated, picked, counted and weighed. There are seeds and fish scales and micro-bones galore in these samples. They have been properly cleaned and dried and separated and stored. Beyond that, I have little to say. I don't mean to suggest that these are not potentially valuable sources for interpretation; quite the contrary is true. I mean that I don't pretend to have the expertise, the stamina, or the resources to deal with every possible aspect of this site. In this project, I have abandoned any pretense at being comprehensive or complete. I acknowledge, as we all should, that excavation and basic analysis are only the beginning of the enterprise of archaeology. There can be no "final report" on an archaeological excavation. Nobody can say all there is to say about any single site.

Many archaeologists will undoubtedly be concerned that, of the 30,000+ artifacts from this site, I chose to discuss only a handful, and to gloss, or ignore, whole categories of material culture that are very well represented in our collection. The alternative would have been to create tables, charts, summary statistics, scales, indices, etc. To simply create summary data, without *a priori* research designs designed to extract specific information from those data, is complete folly. I could not further burden this report with nonsensical numbers. Even - or especially - dyed-in-the-wool positivists acknowledge the futility of that. Some may wish to see Miller scalings or South-style pattern analyses, but these numerical jugglings have been sources of constant criticism even among those who have used them. Still others will want to know the carbon content of the blacksmith's bar stock, the arcs of curvature to local stoneware vessels, the number of knifemarks on plates, the

species and ages of land snails in the cisterns, the makes and calibers of bullet shells, the exact size and numbers of holes in all the bone, glass, and porcelain buttons, or the seasons of exploitation of oysters during the early 19th century. Trying to deal with even a small percentage of the types of questions which archaeologists may ask of the collection is a daunting prospect. Much of the information most archaeologists will usually want from these artifacts is here in this report. Those who would like to handle the materials are welcome to do so. All are ready for study at VCU-ARC.

The need to produce a report before a project can be cleared for construction means that there is insufficient time not only to reflect on the meaning of the site, but there is often not even sufficient time to have a thorough review of the final report. I would have preferred to have had this manuscript read by more of my colleagues, and to have been able to more carefully review it myself, before committing it to covers. A tighter review of earlier drafts would have produced a far tighter, more readable, document. One left-handed benefit of this situation might be noted. There are occasionally some inconsistencies within the data. The description of a feature in the excavation unit catalogue may not be exactly the same as that in the feature description section of the report, for instance. The EU catalogue is a record made in the field, and sometimes interpretations changed between the field and the report, as might be expected. In one place a wall may be said to have been robbed "after 1814", while elsewhere the building associated with that wall may be described as having been destroyed and salvaged "after 1810". These inconsistencies are few, and are usually explained in the text (if we've caught them, that is). While they are potentially confusing (and embarrassing), they also preserve, for the close reader at any rate, an imbedded narrative of the interpretive process as it occurred. That is, they show the changes in thought about given aspects of the site as these developed in the field, in the lab, and at the word processor. I apologize for any perplexity that might result and hope, at least, that a reader may find some entertainment in the challenge.

One perennial problem is that the archaeologist is always aware that there is more to be dug. In the case of Lot #203, there are many structures we know existed on the site, and that have left material remains, but we didn't have the opportunity to study them. A sample of the diverse buildings and middens across the site would have permitted some level of internal comparison that would have undoubtedly proven interesting. We only got a small peek at Structure 4, because only a small portion of that building will be destroyed by proposed road work, but that peek was just enough to raise more questions than it answered. Likewise, we were able to document the existence of intact Colonial Period deposits on the site, but not to excavate these. Colonial Rocketts still awaits its first substantial archaeological study.

As to the success of this project, I will leave that judgement to the reader. It has been a great joy for me to come to know something of the people of



Rocketts in the past, and to introduce them to the present which they themselves helped to create. Partly as a result of this project, there has been an ever-expanding front of individuals and institutions beginning to express serious interest in the preservation and development of the historic resources of the Rocketts waterfront and the Confederate Navy Yard. I have been able to address civic groups, agencies, and other organizations who have the interest and ability to see more of Rocketts exposed, explored, and interpreted in ways that will benefit the city. It has been an enormous pleasure to work with such a talented and conscientious crew, with creative colleagues, with a sensitive and appreciative client, and with a public hungry to understand its buried heritage. If this report, and the project it represents, brings some sense of Rocketts back to life for a few readers, and for some portions of "the public", then I am pleased.



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