

Copyright  
by  
Lisa A. Kraus  
2009

**The Dissertation Committee for Lisa Kraus Certifies that this is the approved  
version of the following dissertation:**

**Archaeology of the Bruin Slave Jail**

**Committee:**

---

Maria Franklin, Supervisor

---

Samuel Wilson

---

James R. Denbow

---

James Sidbury

**Archaeology of the Bruin Slave Jail**

**by**

**Lisa A. Kraus, B.A., M.A.**

**Dissertation**

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**The University of Texas at Austin**

**December 2009**

## **Acknowledgements**

I owe a tremendous debt to numerous advisors, professors, colleagues, friends, and family, without whose help this dissertation would never have been completed. My first and most profound thanks go to my advisor and committee chair, Maria Franklin, for her tireless help, especially in the eleventh hour. I also offer my deepest gratitude to the members of my committee, Sam Wilson, Jim Denbow, and James Sidbury, for their forbearance and insightful comments. Mark Leone provided valuable comments as well. The archaeological field crew who excavated the Bruin Slave Jail deserve a special mention: Tiffany Raszick, Jenn Babiarz, Jackie Maisano, Mike Gubisch, Christian Mash and Chelsea Borcini conducted a virtuoso excavation and maintained cool heads under the most challenging circumstances. John Bedell and Charlie Leedecker managed the project for the Louis Berger Group, and have helped me in too many ways to even count. The staff of Alexandria Archaeology also made this project possible: Pamela Cressey, Fran Bromberg and Steve Sheppard helped organize the research and were of great assistance. My parents, brother, sister-in-law and future in-laws were totally confident in my ability to complete this dissertation, or at least pretended to be, and I appreciate their help and support as well. Finally, to my very dear Intrepid Companion, Jason Shellenhamer, and to Greta and Afreet, who bore the brunt of all my frustrations and

were always there with an eternal “Yea!”: you have earned my eternal love and gratitude.  
But you already had them anyway.

# Archaeology of the Bruin Slave Jail

Publication No. \_\_\_\_\_

Lisa A. Kraus, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2009

Supervisor: Maria Franklin

Archaeological and historical investigations of the Bruin Slave Jail in the West End of the City of Alexandria, Virginia, revealed a fascinating and complex history. From 1844 to 1861, the house belonged to Joseph Bruin, a slave trader, and housed the most successful and well-known slave trading operation in Alexandria. In 1848, Bruin purchased several slaves who were captured on board the schooner *Pearl* in one of the largest escapes ever attempted. Bruin and two of the *Pearl* refugees, Emily and Mary Edmondson, inspired some of the characters and events in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Stowe included the true story of the *Pearl* refugees, and the Edmondson sisters in particular, in her comprehensive survey of the domestic slave trade, *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

This study of the material culture and other archaeological data, along with extensive historical records regarding Joseph Bruin's slave trading business and the stories of several slaves purchased by Bruin after the *Pearl* incident, illuminates the ways in which the internal slave trade changed the nature of slavery, and the ways slavery was contested by slaves and by abolitionist groups. It also demonstrates the ways in which African Americans were commodified in the slave markets. Analysis of the complementary historical and archaeological data reveals the ways these forces impacted the lives of enslaved women enmeshed in the slave trade particularly, and the ways they

negotiated and resisted their sale by the slave traders who made their living buying and selling human beings in an increasingly corporate, and contested, political and sexual economy.

## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	xi
List of Figures .....	xii
Chapter 1 Introduction and Project Background .....	1
PROJECT BACKGROUND .....	2
ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING .....	6
SEQUENCE OF INVESTIGATIONS .....	11
ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION .....	13
Chapter 2 Research Design .....	15
ARCHIVAL RESEARCH .....	21
FIELD METHODS .....	25
LABORATORY METHODS .....	29
REMARKS .....	31
Chapter 3 Property History .....	33
Chapter 4 Alexandria as a Slave Port .....	39
Chapter 5 The Edmondsons, The <i>Pearl</i> , and Joseph Bruin's Jail .....	48
JOSEPH BRUIN .....	49
THE EDMONDSONS AND THE <i>PEARL</i> .....	54
AFTERMATH .....	67
Chapter 6 The North American Slave Trade .....	72
DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSIONS .....	72
SLAVE TRADING .....	78
DYNAMICS OF THE SLAVE TRADE: FROM WASHINGTON TO NEW ORLEANS .....	82
THE POLITICAL AND MORAL CONFLICT .....	91
ABOLITIONISTS AND THE PEARL INCIDENT .....	97

Chapter 7 Women and the Interstate Slave Trade .....	100
REMARKS .....	110
Chapter 8 Excavation Results .....	112
INTRODUCTION .....	112
TECHNICAL OVERVIEW .....	115
LANDSCAPE HISTORY .....	115
ANALYTICAL UNITS .....	120
PHASE II EXCAVATIONS .....	122
PHASE III SUMMARY .....	124
<i>Area 1</i> .....	124
<i>Area 2</i> .....	127
<i>Analytical Unit 4 - Feature 16, the Cistern Excavation</i> .....	135
<i>Interpretation</i> .....	137
PHASE III: THE SLAVE QUARTER .....	144
<i>Analytical Unit 6, Slave Barracks and Kitchen</i> .....	144
INTERPRETATIONS OF SLAVE DIET AND PROVISIONING	
AT THE SLAVE JAIL .....	157
<i>Oysters and Clams</i> .....	158
<i>Meat Rations as Evidence for Bruin's Management of Slaves</i> .....	159
<i>Possible Ritual Deposit</i> .....	164
<i>Further Potential Evidence for African-based Spirituality</i> .....	166
<i>Trash Disposal and the Layout of the Property</i> .....	170
SUMMARY .....	172
REMARKS .....	173
Chapter 9 Discussion .....	175
THE SLAVE QUARTER .....	177
AFRICAN AMERICAN SPIRITUAL PRACTICES AT THE SLAVE JAIL .....	178

Chapter 10 Conclusions .....	190
THE INTERSECTION OF RACE AND GENDER AND WOMEN IN THE SLAVE TRADE .....	190
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE INTERSTATE SLAVE TRADE .....	192
THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY .....	194
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH.....	195
Appendix A Persons Listed in the Alexandria Slave Manifests as Shipped by Joseph Bruin .....	196
Appendix B Faunal Report .....	201
Appendix C Feature Inventory.....	210
References Cited .....	218
Vita .....	234

## List of Tables

Table 1:	Chain of Title for 1707 Duke Street .....	36
Table 2:	Summary of Analytical Units .....	121
Table 3:	Artifacts from Analytical Unit 1b, Units 8-11 .....	131
Table 4:	Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6a, Wall A.....	146
Table 5:	Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6, Wall B.....	149
Table 6:	Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6c, Feature 50 .....	152
Table 7:	Species Summary by Feature, by Minimum Number of Bone Units .....	158
Table 8:	Summary of Cattle and Sheep or Goat Body Parts by Feature.....	165
Table 9:	Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6e, Feature 60 .....	168
Table 10:	Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6d, Feature 61 .....	169

## List of Figures

Figure 1:	The Bruin Slave Jail, Duke Street Frontage.....	7
Figure 2:	The Bruin Slave Jail, View from Back Lot.....	8
Figure 3:	Project Location .....	9
Figure 4:	Project Area .....	10
Figure 5:	Excavation at 1707 Duke Street.....	28
Figure 6:	The Cistern When Uncovered.....	30
Figure 7:	Anti-Slavery Broadside, 1836.....	41
Figure 8:	The Franklin and Armfield Slave Pen as Depicted in the 1836 Broadside .....	45
Figure 9:	Map of Bruin's Property from 1853 Declaration of Assurance .....	52
Figure 10:	Ship Manifest Listing the Edmondson Siblings as Cargo .....	55
Figure 11:	The Edmondsons Attending an 1850 Anti-Slavery Convention in Cazenovia, New York .....	68
Figure 12:	Composite Excavation Plan, Phase II and Phase III .....	116
Figure 13:	Building Footer and Twentieth Century Fill.....	120
Figure 14:	Phase II Excavation Plan .....	123
Figure 15:	Stratigraphic Profile of Trench 1 .....	125
Figure 16:	Excavating Unit 1 in the Buried Historic Surface within Trench 1 .....	126
Figure 17:	Stratigraphic Profile Across the Site, South of Area 1 .....	130
Figure 18:	Plan of Features and Testing in Analytical Unit 1 .....	132
Figure 19:	Plan of Features and Testing in Analytical Unit 2 .....	133
Figure 20:	Plan of Excavations in Analytical Unit 3.....	134

Figure 21:	Cistern Excavation in Progress .....	136
Figure 22:	Cistern after Removal of Overlying Concrete, September 2008 .....	138
Figure 23:	Cistern on Cameron Street in Alexandria .....	139
Figure 24:	South Wall of 1707 Duke Street, with Doors .....	141
Figure 25:	Sanborn Map Showing the Extension Toward the Cistern .....	142
Figure 26:	Plan of Features and Excavations in the Slave Quarter Area. ....	145
Figure 27:	Plan and Profile of Feature 23, Wall A.....	148
Figure 28:	Plan and Profile of Feature 50 .....	150
Figure 29:	Excavation Unit within Feature 50, Showing Concentrations of Brick and Oyster Shell.....	151
Figure 30:	Ceramics from Feature 50.....	154
Figure 31:	Personal Artifacts from Feature 50 .....	155
Figure 32:	B.C. Milburn Maker's Mark from Feature 50 .....	156
Figure 33:	Exterior of Franklin & Armfield Slave Pen.....	163
Figure 34:	Chicken Bones from Feature 57 .....	164
Figure 35:	Plan and Profile of Feature 61, Possible Cache .....	167
Figure 36:	Exterior View of Franklin & Armfield Slave Pen, 1864 .....	178
Figure 37:	Ceramic and Glass Artifacts from Possible Hoodoo Cache, Feature 61.....	185

## **Chapter 1: Introduction and Project Background**

This dissertation is a study of the interstate slave trade and the conflicts that it generated between slaves and abolitionists on one hand, and slave traders and their sympathizers on the other. Within this broader historical context, I focus on enslaved women who were targeted for sale South into sexual slavery, and how their predicament fueled abolitionism and resistance to slavery from the women themselves. The productive, reproductive, and sexual labor that enslaved, and mostly younger, women forcibly performed underscores the specificity of their experiences (as opposed to those of enslaved men, for example) and the need to consider the intersection of race and gender in constructing a more comprehensive and representative narrative of slavery. Scholars have legitimately argued that enslaved women's roles, contributions, and experiences have largely been obscured and that the neglect to take gender into consideration has led to the homogenization of our narratives of the institution of slavery, and slave lifeways and worldviews.

Black women's experiences often differed as a result of the dominant construction of their raced, gendered, and sexualized identity which shaped the ways in which they were uniquely commodified in contrast to other slaves. Yet black women also forged their own sense of identity, contesting the commodification of their bodies and challenging the various stereotypes (e.g., hyper-sexualized, non-feminized) typically imposed upon them. Thus, the attention to enslaved women in this dissertation demonstrates their significance in bolstering the profits derived from the domestic slave trade, while also clarifying their roles in attempting to subvert it, including by actively serving as beacons for anti-slavery agitation. This dissertation, therefore, has two interrelated goals: 1) to bring an archaeological perspective to the history of the interstate slave trade based on the analysis of data recovered from the Bruin Slave Jail in Alexandria, Virginia, and 2) to contribute to diversifying the collective body of knowledge on slavery by foregrounding enslaved women's experiences, especially within

the context of the interstate slave trade. A search of the literature revealed that archaeological studies of the domestic slave trade are extremely rare.

In the chapters that follow, I provide an analysis of the domestic slave trade which includes a consideration of the archaeological and historical evidence associated with the Bruin Slave Jail. The evidence reveals both the nature of how slave traders participated in, and profited from, the slave trade, as well as how imprisoned slaves awaiting sale coped with and even resisted their imminent sale. The story of the two Edmondson sisters, who were imprisoned by Bruin, is woven throughout the dissertation. It serves as a focal point for my interpretation of women forced into the domestic slave trade. Through primary and secondary historical sources, and archaeological data recovered from the jail, it was possible to reconstruct the Edmondson's harrowing and heroic tale from slavery to freedom and activism. The Edmondson's trials, though exceptional with regard to the outcome, are nonetheless relevant for comprehending what enslaved women experienced as commodities in the slave trade, especially from their perspective, and their story has broader implications for the potential to delineate the strategies they and their supporters employed in challenging slavery.

This chapter serves to introduce the primary site of investigation, the Bruin Slave Jail, and the research process that ensued once the site was slated for development. Importantly, this research was conducted as a public archaeology and community outreach project that involved a diverse range of interested parties, including descendants of the Edmondsons. The contemporary significance of the site in terms of its role in public history and the representation of African Americans are revealed below.

## **PROJECT BACKGROUND**

The Bruin Slave Jail is located at 1707 Duke Street in the West End of the City of Alexandria, Virginia. The two-story brick house at 1707 Duke Street, built around 1820, is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and is part of the National

Underground Railroad Network to Freedom (Figures 1 and 2). From 1832 to 1861, the house belonged to Joseph Bruin, a slave trader, and housed the most successful and well-known slave trading operation in Alexandria. An archaeological survey was required by Alexandria Archaeology prior to the property's redevelopment, as all extant structures except for the historic house at 1707 Duke Street were to be removed, followed by deep excavations for underground parking extending through three lots behind the house. Archaeological excavations were carried out in those parts of the site that would be impacted by the proposed development, along with comprehensive documentary research. The outcome was the discovery of historical information pertinent to African American history, slavery, and antebellum life in the City of Alexandria.

The archaeological deposits identified and explored at the site were primarily those dating to the period from *circa* 1830 to 1861. During that time, Joseph Bruin purchased thousands of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia and shipped them southwest, mainly to New Orleans, to be sold. Bruin became notorious through his purchase of several slaves who attempted to escape to freedom aboard the schooner *Pearl* in 1848, and he inspired some of the characters and incidents in Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This study's combined fieldwork and historical research provide a detailed story of the lives of the enslaved people who passed through Alexandria on their way to the Deep South. In several cases archaeological data speak directly to the conditions faced by Emily and Mary Edmondson, two sisters and fugitives on the *Pearl* whom Bruin bought after their escape was thwarted.

The last decade or so has seen an increasing awareness that control of archaeological resources and knowledge *must* be shared with “descendant groups, other impacted communities and the public at large” (Franklin 1997:39)—especially given the growing concern that we demonstrate what has been termed the “public benefits of archaeology” (Little 2002). This is, of course, doubly true within the archaeology of the African Diaspora where researchers “must be informed by an awareness of long-standing debates about the politics of the past among African-Americans” (La Roche and Blakey

1997:87). This is not simply a matter of making archaeological findings available to a broader audience, but also addressing the politics of the present in our modern interpretations of the past. This has proven to be challenging to archaeologists, who are not generally prepared to do this kind of work, and who furthermore have no blueprint for incorporating this kind of work into archaeological studies. Such work is prone to pitfalls, as Anne Pyburn has observed:

While the needs and wishes of local people and descendant communities must figure large in the archaeology of the next century, we archaeologists are not quite ready to meet them. We clearly have good intentions...Nevertheless, in our very enthusiasm to do something big and good, to make up for errors of the past and of course to outdo each other, we run the risk of promotions that will backfire...(Pyburn 2003:287)

Pyburn asserts that we need to rethink our craft with an eye towards engagement before we can go out into the world and “do good”...we are trained as archaeologists and that, at least at present, leaves most of us ill-suited to negotiate the terrain of community engagement. On the other hand, researchers influenced by critical race theory (e.g., Epperson 2004) have pointed out that there may at least be some clarity in how *not* to engage descendant communities. They have charged that many white scholars still commonly deploy strategies of incorporation and vulgar anti-essentialism in order to retain control of knowledge production.

Descendant communities are complicated, contradictory, multifaceted, and polyvocal, and it is difficult to know how to engage when the application of these principles varies so widely on a project-by-project basis. One basic operational answer to this dilemma has already been prescribed by researchers engaged in the archaeology of the African Diaspora. As Linda Derry explained how she got past community disinterest in Selma, Alabama: “*I had to find someone willing to talk to me, and I had to start listening*” (Derry 1997:21, emphasis in the original). The issue was further emphasized by Franklin’s observation that the “success or failure of our attempts to establish ties with black Americans will hinge upon *our* level of sensitivity, openness, and understanding of

the histories and viewpoints that they bring to the exchange” (Franklin 1997:37, emphasis in the original).

In the case of the Bruin Slave Jail, the stakes were high and the problem of community involvement was complicated by the sheer volume of stakeholders involved in the project. The results of the archaeological project were intended to provide definitive information about the site to be incorporated into Alexandria’s Underground Railroad Network to Freedom exhibit and Alexandria Archaeology’s tour of historic and archaeological sites relating to African American history. Alexandria Archaeology provided oversight for the project. The Louis Berger Group (Berger) was contracted for the excavations and historical research, and during that time, provided tours of the site. Although engagement with the descendant community and general public was not a condition of Berger’s contract, both the project manager at Berger and the staff of Alexandria Archaeology were receptive to my suggestion that I make efforts to contact descendants and develop an outreach plan. They also felt (as I did) that it would benefit the project, and encouraged my efforts to forge connections with groups who had some connection to the Bruin Slave Jail. Descendants of the Edmondsons still live in the Washington, D.C. area and are actively interested in their family history, and the Alexandria Black History Museum was also interested in the results of the study. Although I solicited questions, concerns, or ideas about the site from both the Edmondson family and staff and visitors at the museum, both parties indicated that their primary concern was that the story of the Edmondsons and other enslaved people at the jail be told plainly and publicly.

A tremendous amount of public involvement was coordinated during the excavation. Tours of the excavation were provided to all of the above-listed groups, and walking tours through Alexandria frequently stopped at the site. Local historical organizations also visited, as did local school groups and members of the general public who were simply curious about what was happening at the site. As the excavations progressed, it became apparent that the landscape was intact and could contribute

valuable information to the collective understanding of Alexandria's past. The City of Alexandria commissioned a statue of the Edmondson Sisters to be displayed at a small plaza on the slave jail site. A small model for the final statue was displayed at the Alexandria Black History Museum, for public comment and discussion, on August 20, 2009. I attended several meetings at the Museum to present my research. The level of public outreach was made possible by the presence of a public archaeology program that focuses on community involvement and enjoyment of the city's heritage.

Despite the complexities of executing an archaeological dig in an urban setting while simultaneously managing public tours, and coordination with construction contractors, developers, property owners, and city representatives as well as descendants and other interested parties, the project benefited tremendously from the engagement with the public. Listening to, and communicating openly with members of various African American communities, museums, and descendants created a public awareness of the project's importance that resulted in the a change in the planned development: the creation of a small plaza at the Bruin Slave Jail site dedicated to the Edmondsons and all the other victims of Bruin's business that will prominently feature the statue of the Edmondson sisters. This will be the first statue dedicated to any African American in the City of Alexandria.

The design of the plaza was directly informed by the archaeology. A partially intact cistern was uncovered during excavation (discussed in detail in later chapters). Historical research revealed that this cistern was located beneath the wash house where the Edmondsons, and undoubtedly countless others who passed through the jail, labored for Bruin's profit. The plaza will be situated around the cistern location and the cistern will form part of an exhibit that showcases the archaeological investigations at the site.

## **ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING**

The Bruin Slave Jail (Figures 1 and 2) occupies a small lot in the West End area

of the City of Alexandria (Figures 3 and 4), at the intersection of Duke Street and Reinekers Lane. The site where the proposed development is planned extends 230 feet between Duke and Prince Streets, with a 103-foot frontage on Duke Street. Altogether, the property encompasses an area of roughly one-half acre. Prior to redevelopment the majority of the property was open and used for surface parking, with a mix of asphalt and gravel pavement surfaces. Aside from the historic Bruin Slave Jail (1707 Duke Street), the development site contained three modern buildings: an adjoining modern one-story brick structure at 1705 Duke Street that extended approximately 85 feet into the rear of the site, and two one-story brick and block buildings located in the rear, mid-lot area of the property that had street addresses of 206 Reinekers Lane and 1708-1710 Prince Street (Figure 4). Surface elevations in the project area varied from about 25 to 27 feet above mean sea level (amsl). The parking lot surface rose slightly to the west (i.e., toward Reinekers Lane), which roughly parallels the natural topography in this area of the city. Historically, the West End was drained by Hooff Run, a tributary of Cameron Run. The natural channel of Hooff Run is several hundred feet from the project area.



Figure 1: The Bruin Slave Jail, Duke Street Frontage.



Figure 2: Bruin Slave Jail, View from Back Lot.

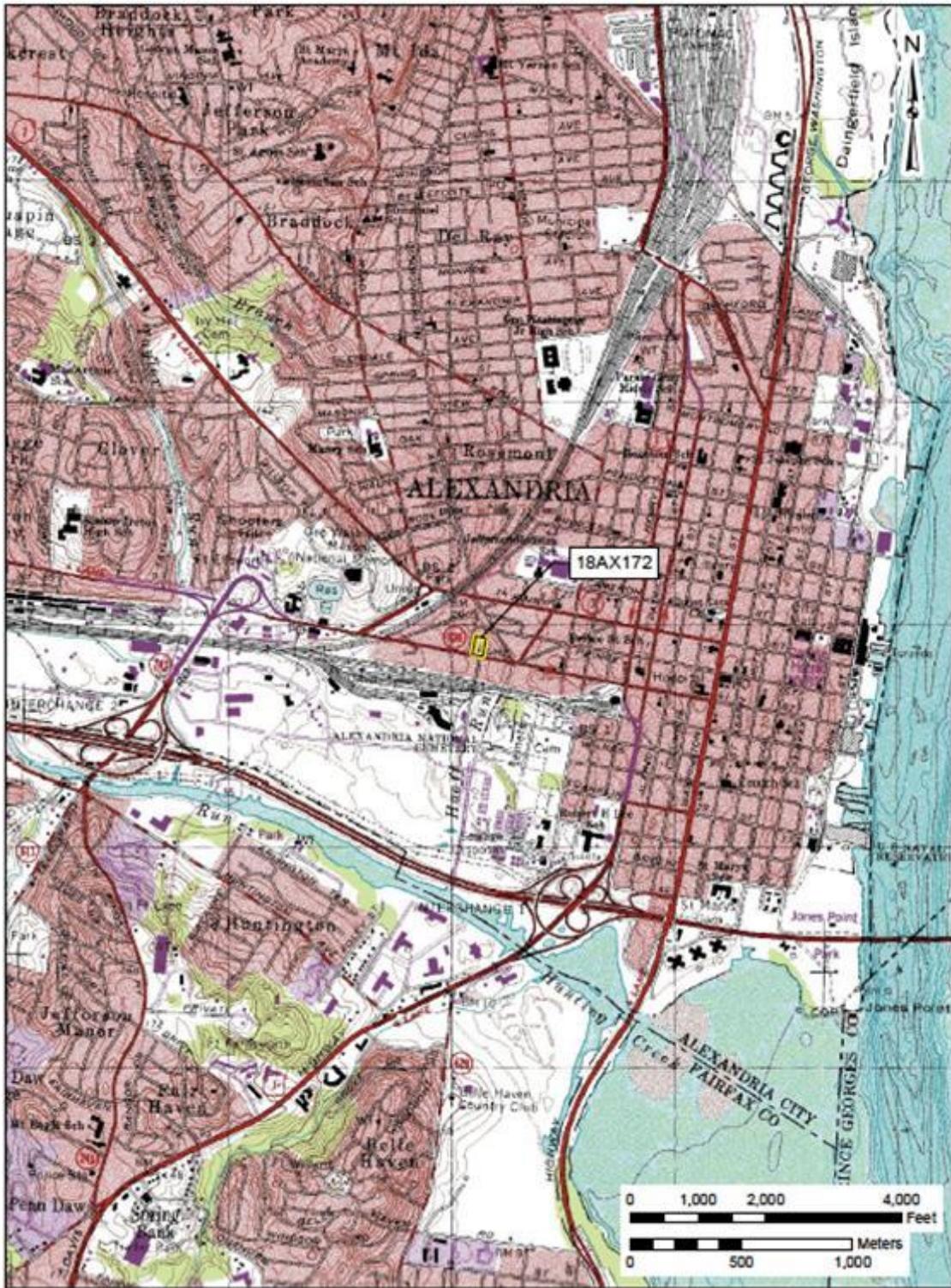


Figure 3: Project Location.



## SEQUENCE OF INVESTIGATIONS

The research and excavations for the Bruin Slave Jail project took place in stages from 2006 to 2008. Documentary and resource evaluation studies were completed in 2006 and 2007, and the final data recovery program was completed in 2008. Aside from the basic data contained in the National Register Nomination Form (Kaye 1999; Masur 2000) for the Bruin Slave Jail, all of the historical research related to the Bruin Slave Jail site was original and was conducted by the author. All community outreach and public engagement was arranged by the author, with the assistance of Alexandria Archaeology staff and the staff of the Alexandria Black History Museum.

The Documentary Study (Berger 2006) encompassed all three historic lots that are included in the redevelopment project: 1707 Duke Street and 1708 to 1710 Prince Street. Research for the Documentary Study included census research on owners of 1707 Duke Street, a search for additional maps, a review of previous reports relating to nearby properties, and additional research on the Alexandria slave trade.

The archaeological potential of the development site was assessed with a visual inspection of the project area, a projection of historical maps onto the modern property survey, and a consideration of the results of archaeological investigations of other, similar properties, especially the Franklin and Armfield “slave pen” at 1315 Duke Street (Artemel et al. 1987). The historical investigations showed that the project area was only half of the property owned by Joseph Bruin before the Civil War. Bruin’s property extended about 150 feet further to the east, and the house he lived in with his family, as well as their private kitchen, occupied the eastern part of the property. The house at 1707 Duke Street was used as the headquarters of his slave trading business (the Bruin Slave Jail).

The Archaeological Evaluation, completed in 2007, consisted of the excavation of backhoe trenches and manual excavation of test units at seven selected locations within

the site. These trenches and test units were placed on the basis of archival research into the history of the properties concerned, the locations of modern utility lines, and on the exigencies of excavation in active parking lots. Mechanical excavation was used to remove compact surface deposits, to search for architectural features, and to examine deep stratigraphic profiles. Test units were excavated to test potentially significant archaeological features and resource areas. It was apparent that the site was impacted by late nineteenth- and twentieth-century development, including the construction of modern buildings, vehicle parking lots, and utility lines; however, a recognizable historic landscape surface was identified on both the 1707 Duke Street and 1708 Prince Street properties beneath modern fill and pavement. The buried landscape was found in all four trenches dug in the parking lot behind 1707 Duke Street. Close to the Bruin Slave Jail, this historic ground surface was directly below the graveled surface of the parking area; in the northeast corner of the lot it was buried beneath 3 feet of modern fill. Numerous nineteenth-century artifacts were found in the buried landscape, especially in the area closest to the slave jail. At 1708 Prince Street part of the foundation of the early twentieth-century house was identified. Artifacts found nearby all seemed to date to the twentieth century (Kraus et al. 2007).

In the cultural resource management industry a Documentary Study as defined by the *City of Alexandria Archaeological Standards* is often referred to as a Phase IA, a Resource or Archaeological Evaluation is known as a Phase II study, and final data recovery excavations are typically referred to as Phase III. Those terms are used throughout this document.

Since the buried landscape at 1707 Duke Street appeared to be a significant archaeological deposit, archaeologists at the Louis Berger Group developed a Resource Management Plan for review by Alexandria Archaeology. The Resource Management Plan was essentially an archaeological data recovery program, as avoidance or preservation of archaeological resources was generally not practical in most of the development site, owing to the need for underground parking. The work plan for the data

recovery program was designed and carefully coordinated with the numerous other contractors working at the site. Work began by monitoring the demolition and removal of all extant structures except for the historic house at 1707 Duke Street, a process that was completed during February and March 2008. After the demolition phase was completed, archaeological data recovery began and continued with intermittent episodes during May and June 2008. During the demotion of 1705 Duke Street, a brick cistern was uncovered near the historic building at 1707 Duke Street. The cistern was initially examined during the main part of the excavation, but was revisited in late 2008 and early 2009 for further evaluation and documentation.

## **ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION**

The following chapters describe the results of this archaeological and historical research. Chapter Two explains the research design, including major questions, details of the theoretical context, archival research, and field and lab methods. Chapter Three discusses the property history for the lots explored during this study, which helps provide temporal information about the historical occupation of the site. Chapter Four details the history of Alexandria as a slave-exporting hub in the interstate slave trade. Chapter Five provides site-specific information about the history of Joseph Bruin's business, the story of the Edmondsons and the Pearl, and the interactions between Bruin, the slaves at the jail, and the abolitionist community. Chapter Six provides a broad context for the site through a survey of the history of the interstate (or domestic) slave trade. Chapter Seven discusses the history of women in slavery and in the interstate slave trade. Chapter Eight describes the results of the excavations, including an analysis of many of the features excavated during fieldwork, and an overview and analysis of the artifacts and faunal remains recovered from the site. Evidence for the practice of African-based spiritual practices as well as for the management of the jail (with regard to diet) are discussed in Chapter Nine. Finally, Chapter Ten provides a summary and conclusion. Evidence for the practice of African-based spiritual practices, slave diet and provisioning, the built environment, and the management of the jail are also discussed. Finally, Chapter Ten

concludes by summarizing the evidence used to address the major goals of this dissertation research, and by stating the significance of the project with respect to its contributions to the scholarship on slavery and public history.

## Chapter 2: Research Design

As stated in the previous chapter, this dissertation is concerned with meeting two interrelated goals: 1) discerning how archaeological research can contribute to the scholarship on the interstate slave trade, and 2) highlighting the centrality of women to this trade, and assessing their experiences in confronting their commodification, especially as fancy girls. The first half of this chapter offers a more in-depth discussion of the latter issue in particular, and provides an overview of the relationship between race, gender, and slavery in order to locate this research more firmly within the existing scholarship on enslaved black women. The second half of the chapter consists of a summary of the archival and archaeological methodologies employed for this project in order to address the dissertation goals. The various lines of evidence recovered and what each lends to this study are also discussed.

The story of the Edmondson sisters reveals much about the ways in which black bodies were commodified by slave traders during the course of the interstate slave trade, as well as the ways in which African American women confronted and resisted the domestic slave trade. I will situate this study in the context of the interstate traffic in slaves, an economic leviathan driven in large part by the demand for enslaved women's productive, reproductive, and sexual labor. In this particular case, "sexual labor" refers specifically to the forced prostitution of enslaved African American women through the trade in fancy girls. Reproductive labor is, of course, another form of sexual labor, but the domestic traffic in slaves resulted in a specific, explicit market for sexual slavery that did not exist in the U.S. (at least, not as overtly) prior to the explosion of the trade.

This study owes a great deal to scholars of African American history, women's history, Black Feminism, and the slave trade. Angela Davis' 1971 work on women in slave communities created a space for a wider range of scholarship about how the lives of African American women organized around family, sexuality and resistance. John Blassingame and Herbert Gutman focused on larger questions of slave community and

family, which propelled scholars such as Deborah Gray White and Jacqueline Jones to explore women's lives under slavery. Although Gray and Jones' work posited the importance of enslaved women's productive and reproductive labor in creating and recreating the American economy, and clarified the need for more focused studies of enslaved women's lives within a variety of circumstances, there are still relatively few scholarly works focused on the lives of women in slavery (Collins 2000; Franklin 2001; Jones 1985; Morgan 2004; White 1999).

Placing enslaved women's lives at the center of socio-historical or archaeological studies of slavery does not, by itself, allow for a full understanding of past gender relationships. Both race and gender operated as sets of power relationships through which slave owners and those they enslaved negotiated and defined race-based slavery. The ways in which slave owners and slave traders conceptualized and advertised enslaved African American women's bodies shaped the slave trade and the nature of slavery over time. These conceptualizations directly impacted the lives of women in slavery and informed the white public's ideas about all African Americans, but about African American women in particular.

This study focuses particularly on the story of the Edmondson sisters, two young women who experienced the full extent of the interstate slave trade, but who also managed, ultimately, to escape it. Their story is extremely atypical: very few people managed to extricate themselves from the domestic slave trade's powerful economic web. Despite the uniqueness of their experience, their story illuminates the experiences of other women who were forced to leave families and communities in the Upper South. Although women have always been present in a general way in literature on the domestic slave trade, there have been no studies of their particular experiences in the slave trade system, the particular ways they resisted their enslavement, or the ways in which the abolitionist literature, was formulated to recast their particular gendered experience of the slave trade.

Due to the confluence of a variety of data sources, including period accounts of the Edmondson sisters' time spent at the slave jail (included in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*), newspaper articles, letters to and from Joseph Bruin, and primary documents relating to Bruin's business and the slave trade in general, as well as the archaeological data, it has been possible to reconstruct life at Bruin's Jail in detail. The data speak to several important avenues of research in historical archaeology.

First, the site provides information about the interstate or domestic slave trade in the U.S., and about how this trade was carried out at a local level, as well as more generally in the slave exporting states in the Upper South and at slave markets in the Deep South. There have been several recent studies of the domestic slave trade that focused on the economic impact of this trade and on the demographic dimensions, but very few have focused on the way this trade affected the African Americans subjected to this despicable commerce (Baptist 2004; Deyle 2005; Franklin 1960; Gudmestad 2003; Johnson 1999; Stamp 1959; Tadman 1989). This case study brings to light a number of issues that could not be studied through primary documents alone, using the material culture uncovered during excavation in concert with documentation specific to the site and its occupants.

Joseph Bruin, his Alexandria jail, and the slaves he purchased after the *Pearl* incident in 1848 were central in a major conflict over the issue of slavery. After the failed escape attempt on the *Pearl*, several members of an abolitionist cell in Washington D.C. were exposed, and a riot ensued (Pacheco 2005; Painter 1916; Ricks 2007; Stowe 1853). The ways in which the Edmondson sisters and their family navigated the aftermath of the attempted escape and the girls' imprisonment and sale south reveals much about the ways in which enslaved people, particularly women, negotiated the domestic slave trade, as well as the ways in which the abolitionist movement and its underlying Christian ethos were utilized by both abolitionists and enslaved African Americans to achieve, or try to achieve, freedom. Thus, while this study concerns slavery as a hegemonic institution, it

also highlights the resistive acts of African Americans and white sympathizers against slavery.

Questions of race and racism are notoriously problematic for historical archaeologists to tackle. While some archaeologists address racism as a social process, most simply focus on ways that race or racism might appear in the archaeological record, rather than as a “significant dimension of material symbolism, if not all social life” (Mullins 2006: 63). Another often-overlooked condition of race is that it is not applied equally to everyone and it does not always mean the same thing, particularly in the case of women (Baptist 2004; Collins 2000; Franklin 2001; Harley et al. 2002; White 1999; Wilkie 2000, 2001). Recent scholarship in historical archaeology has made clear the importance of understanding the ways in which multiple aspects of a person’s identity – race, sex, gender, class – intersect, and have profound effects on an individual or group’s lived experiences (Epperson 1990, 1997; Franklin 2001; Mullins 1999; Paynter 1996; Wilkie 2000, 2001).

Race has been defined in terms of historical and archaeological studies in a variety of ways. Historian Winthrop Jordan described different races as “incipient species,” (Jordan 1968: 584), but this concept credits the notion that race is a significant biological fact, and ignores the social processes which invest constructions of race with social and cultural meaning. Christopher Matthews suggests “the making of racial identities occurs when individual physical characteristics are invested with meaning so that they appear representative of social and cultural inclinations” (Matthews 2001). However, as Terrence Epperson has cautioned, focusing on the social construction of race can have the effect of trivializing race’s very real and tangible force. Epperson and others suggest that scholars focus on the “invention of whiteness” rather than on the “construction of race” in order to emphasize the ways in which racial identity formation creates inequality (Epperson 2001; Ignatiev 1995; Paynter 2001; Roedigger 1991). In this particular case, ideas of race, black and white, as well as class and gender, are reified through complex interactions between and among black slaves, white slave traders and

abolitionists. The interaction of these groups during specific events relating to the Bruin Slave Jail foreground the impact of racial categorization, and show the specific ways in which race and gender intersect in ways meaningful to enslaved women's specific experiences.

In his study of Indianapolis, Indiana's Near-west Side, Paul Mullins described race as "a subjectivity that attempts to disempower particular social groups" (Mullins 2006: 62). Racialization is the process of applying this subjective categorization to a particular group or individual, to create a perception of inequality (Omi and Winant 1986; Orser 2007). The idea of race as a tool to disempower is particularly useful for understanding the domestic slave trade, and is central to the analysis of the Bruin Slave Jail presented here.

The Bruin Slave Jail serves as yet another context in which the processes of racial and gender oppression took place. Young, light-skinned women who were hired out as house slaves in Washington D.C. were commodified through the interstate slave trade as "fancy girls", women who were purchased to serve as mistresses for individual men or to work for procurers who profited from their bodies through forced prostitution (Baptist 2004; Davis 2002; Stowe 1853). Fancy girls were women who were scopically white, but who could be owned due to their racial status as black, and thus had no legal protections of any kind (Davis 2002; Deyle 2005; Gudmestad 2003). At Bruin's jail in Alexandria, women performed housework and were required to make the dresses they would be shown in at Bruin's New Orleans showroom - they were forced to be complicit in their own sale into the fancy girl trade. Up until the point that they were displayed for sale, the commodification of slaves was entirely the province of the slave trader; once a buyer and a potential purchase were standing face to face, the slave could exert some measure of influence over the success or failure of the transaction (Davis 2002; Deyle 2005; Johnson 1999). Harriet Beecher Stowe and other chroniclers of the Edmondson sisters and the *Pearl* affair describe the ways in which Mary and Emily Edmondson sought to ameliorate their circumstances (Pacheco 2005; Painter 1916; Ricks 2007; Stowe 1853). They were

also helped by their families and local African American communities, as well as by abolitionist groups, who were able to generate more support for the cause by drawing attention to these young, attractive, light-skinned women and portraying them as sympathetic victims of the wicked slave traders (ibid). The Bruin Slave Jail occupies a significant place geographically, at one end of the interstate trade in slaves, but also temporally, at a point when the issue of slavery was hotly, publicly contested by numerous interested parties: abolitionists, slave traders, and African Americans, enslaved and free.

Because of this unique history, the Slave Jail provides an opportunity to examine the forces – economic, political, religious, and social – that motivated people to posit and defend ideas about race and gender, both through oppression and through desperate attempts to redeem people from the interstate trade.

The excavation of the site provided detailed information about the spatial organization and material culture of the slave jail. There was also a great deal of historical information available about the site, which has been critical in supplementing the archaeological record. These sources shed light on the ways in which slave traders sought to redefine ideas about race, particularly among female slaves, in order to create new and profitable markets for their trade. Oral histories and period accounts of slave sales and abolitionist efforts to rescue slaves from the domestic trade show the ways in which the slave traders' efforts were contested, particularly in the domains of race, gender, and sexuality (Baptist 2004; Blassingame 1977; Johnson 1999; Painter 1916; Perdue et al. 1976; Stowe 1853).

It was also necessary to explore the intricacies of the lived experiences of slavers and the enslaved, particularly in terms of their negotiation of the interstate slave trade, and to understand the role Bruin and his contemporaries played in the creation and success of the domestic slave market. To that end, exhaustive archival and historical research was completed in order to situate the Slave Jail within a socio-historic context.

The first part of this research design discusses the archival research goals and the varied sources that were consulted in order to build a foundation for the analysis of the archaeological data.

The second part elaborates the sequence of excavations, and the strategies employed to identify and sample archaeological remains relating to the use of 1707 Duke Street as the Bruin Slave Jail. Also included is a discussion of the processes employed for basic data analysis.

### **ARCHIVAL RESEARCH**

In-depth historical and archival research was carried out in order to establish a context for the Bruin Slave Jail within the framework of the North American slave trade. The period of interest for the site is the Bruin occupation, specifically that time when the building and lot were used as a slave jail, from 1832 until 1861. During that time, thousands of enslaved people were incarcerated at 1707 Duke Street. The main goals of the historical research were:

- 1) To provide as much information as possible about the lives of the enslaved victims of Bruin's trade, particularly the Edmondson sisters and other *Pearl* fugitives.
- 2) To develop as complete a picture as possible of Joseph Bruin's slave trading business, in order to fully understand its geographic and economic scope.
- 3) To understand the larger context of the interstate slave trade, and the public debates over slavery in which Bruin's business operated.

The interstate slave trade has been the subject of considerable research by historians over the past 35 years. Research for this study began with recent books and

articles, both to define the general parameters of the trade and to help find original documents that might contain information on Joseph Bruin's trading. In the past few years there has been a major effort to put slave narratives and other documents related to slavery and the slave trade online, and much material was accessed this way.

Prior to this study, some historical information had already been gathered about Joseph Bruin and his business, including his connection to the *Pearl* incident of 1848. This material was collected as part of two studies of 1707 Duke Street, an individual property National Register nomination and a thematic National Register nomination that resulted in the house's listing in the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom (Kaye 1999; Masur 2002). These were brief, cursory documents, sufficient to make the historical connections of the property clear and to provide an overview of the ownership of the property. Both documents were useful as a starting point for a complete chain of title and in establishing the property's connection with Harriet Beecher Stowe and the *Pearl* incident.

The Land Records for Arlington County and the City of Alexandria were examined and provided much information about the property. No records existed in Alexandria regarding any transactions by Joseph Bruin or any of his associates, however.

The National Archives collection of New Orleans Inward Slave Manifests is a touchstone for researchers interested in America's internal slave trade. Multiple sources confirm that Bruin sold slaves to buyers in New Orleans; however, an examination of these records provided no information about Joseph Bruin or his partner, Henry P. Hill. Further investigation revealed that while enslaved blacks who passed through Bruin's hands did eventually end up in New Orleans, Bruin usually sent them overland by coffle, by inland waterways, or sent small groups by steamship to a larger port, where the slaves would be purchased by a larger slave dealer. These convoluted exchanges resulted in very little surviving primary documentation and scant possibility of tracing slaves from New Orleans to 1707 Duke Street and Joseph Bruin.

Slave manifests were also made in Alexandria, although, as mentioned above, none were known to exist prior to this study. A careful search of multiple archival collections identified a small cache of records pertaining to Bruin's establishment: a collection of outward slave manifests is currently archived at the New York Historical Society (NYHS). The collection includes 40 manifests, 39 of which are for outbound ships and one for an inbound shipment.

Of the 39 inward manifests, nine pertain to Joseph Bruin or the firm Bruin & Hill during the years 1845 to 1849. These manifests (transcribed in Appendix A) include the outward shipment that carried six members of the Edmondson family, all of whom were sold to Bruin following the incident of the *Pearl*.

The *Alexandria Gazette* carries many advertisements posted by Bruin & Hill. These advertisements begin in August 1843, when they advertised for "fifty to seventy-five likely young negroes of both sexes." The proprietors added that they could be seen "at all times at our residence, West End, Alexandria." They continued advertising in 1844. One advertisement from December 13, 1845 included an open offer to buy negroes and reminded slave sellers and transporters that Bruin & Hill had facilities for boarding "at the usual rate, twenty-five cents each day."

In his M.A. thesis for Georgetown University, Michael A. Ridgeway (1976) provided a fairly comprehensive survey of the slave trade in Alexandria. He was unable to locate slave manifests for the Port of Alexandria after 1843 (the NYHS collection was unknown) and so his description of Bruin & Hill's operation is based almost entirely on the advertisements in the *Gazette*. Research for this study also included a perusal of past *Gazette* editions.

The Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections at Northwestern University Library currently holds a letter, possibly from Joseph Bruin to an unknown

person, regarding the purchase of at least two slaves. The finding aid for the McCormick Library African American Documents collection describes the letter as follows:

Letter: Warrenton [Virginia] 13 April 1841, 1p. J. Bruin to “Dear Sir” re: purchase of one girl and interest in a “yellow girl in jail here” listed at \$500; going next to Centerville [possibly Joseph Bruin, slave dealer in Alexandria Virginia.].

Although a copy of this letter was requested from the Special Collections division, and one of the archivists at Northwestern agreed to photocopy and send a copy of the letter, as of this time the copy has not been obtained. A package arrived from Northwestern containing a photocopy of a document; however, the document appears to be a will dated 1822 and in no way resembles the letter described in the finding aid. The archivist has not responded to further requests and general requests made through the library’s online service have gone unanswered.

Another possible source of information concerning the Bruin Slave Jail is a collection of papers that once belonged to Moncure D. Conway, an abolitionist and graduate of Dickinson College who visited the site during the Civil War, when it was occupied by Union soldiers and the slave pens were used as jails for prisoners of war. In his anti-slavery pamphlet “Testimonies Concerning Slavery” (1864), Conway describes how he obtained a group of documents pertaining to the Alexandria slave trade:

A friend of mine among the soldiers present filled his pockets with letters and papers which were found strewn about the floor of the office adjoining...They fell into my hands. They consist of bills of sale, lists of negroes on various estates ready for purchase, and others who would be ready the next year [Conway 1864:21].

He goes on to quote several letters written or received by various Alexandria slave traders, including one written by “Joseph Bruwan.” The fate of the papers collected by Conway is unknown. They do not appear to be among the collections of similar documents held by Columbia University or Dickinson College, and attempts to contact the South Place Ethical Society in London, which keeps a small collection of papers

relating to Moncure Conway, have been unsuccessful.

Several books have been written about the Pearl fugitives. *Escape on the Pearl: The Heroic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad* by Mary Kay Ricks (2007) and *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac* by Josephine Pacheco (2005) have both been consulted extensively for details about the famous slave escape and information about the key players.

Interviews with ex-slaves from Virginia provided several valuable first-hand accounts of encounters with Joseph Bruin both in Alexandria and at slave markets in other cities. *Weevils in the Wheat*, a collection of interviews collected in the 1930s by the Federal Writers Project (Perdue et al. 1976), was one such collection. Another collection, *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews and Autobiographies* compiled by John Blassingame (1977), was another important resource.

## **FIELD METHODS**

The archaeological investigations focused on recovery of deposits that can be most clearly associated with the site's primary period of historical significance, that is, the period 1844 to 1864 when the site was used as a slave jail and then the Fairfax County courthouse. The types of deposits that were expected at the site included yard deposits and feature deposits. The 2007 Resource Evaluation demonstrated that the site contains yard deposits with material from the 19th and 20th centuries, and it was assumed that sealed feature deposits would also be present, given that previous excavations at the Franklin & Armfield Slave Pen site (1315 Duke Street) had exposed many features, such as postholes, wall foundations, and a shallow trash pit (Artemel et al. 1987).

At the Bruin site the historic landscape surface was identified on both the 1707 Duke Street and 1708-1710 Prince Street properties, beneath modern fill and pavement of varying depths. Archaeological data recovery began in 2008 with monitoring the

demolition of the modern extant buildings and the mechanical removal of the concrete slab floor and foundations underlying each of these buildings. Following removal of the modern buildings and pavement by the demolition contractor, the ensuing archaeological investigations then involved a four-stage process:

- 1) Mechanical removal of fills to expose the surface of the 19th century landscape.
- 2) Manual excavation of test units to sample the historic landscape surface.
- 3) Mechanical removal of the topsoil to expose features.
- 4) Feature excavation

The actual timing of the archaeological excavations depended on the schedule of the various demolition and construction contractors, who themselves were subject to the city's permitting process. The scheduling of building demolition required that the archaeological data recovery program occur in two phases of work. Archaeological fieldwork began with the monitoring of the demolition of buildings at 1708-1710 Reinekers Lane on February 13, 2008 and was halted on March 7, 2008. The second part of the fieldwork began on May 19, 2008, when the demolition of the building at 1705 Duke Street was completed and the slab was removed. This second part of the fieldwork was completed on June 18, 2008. Because of the hiatus between the two excavations, the areas excavated during the February and March were designated "Area 1" and the areas excavated in May and June are referred to as "Area 2."

A consistent field methodology was maintained throughout the entire data recovery program. The initial removal of fill deposits was accomplished with a backhoe whose operator worked under the close supervision of the archaeologists. The fill was removed down to the depth of the buried historic surface, which was easily recognizable as a consistent layer of dark grayish brown soil. After mechanical removal of the fill

deposits, the archaeologists removed any remaining fill and construction debris with shovels and examined the buried surface for indications of archaeological features or disturbances. Intrusive features, such as 20th -century foundations and utility trenches, were mapped. Spot elevations were taken across the buried surface so that a topographic map could be prepared of the lot before filling. The vertical datum was based on a nearby manhole cover of known elevation; this datum was used throughout the project so that all vertical measurements could be expressed according to elevation above mean sea level (amsl). Test units were laid out across the stripped area according to a grid that was oriented north-south, following the historic lot lines. Individual 3x3-foot test units were placed at 25-foot intervals, providing a 1.5 percent sample of the buried topsoil. The grid was used to facilitate mapping, but grid addresses were not assigned.

The units were excavated stratigraphically (Figure 5). Scaled drawings (plan views and sections, as appropriate) were also prepared for features, such as postholes. The soils from the test units were screened through 0.25-inch mesh to ensure systematic recovery of artifacts. For vertical control a datum hub was placed at each unit, and depths within the unit were measured by hand from this datum. The absolute elevation (amsl) was determined with the transit by reference to a fixed offsite point of known elevation. Coal, brick, and mortar fragments were present in all of the trenches and test units; other than a few intact bricks retained as a sample, this material was discarded. All animal bone was collected, but only a sample of intact clam or oyster shells was kept. Late 20th -century debris was noted and discarded. All excavation units were mapped onto the existing site plan, and the fieldwork was documented with narrative field notes, standardized excavation forms, sketch plans, stratigraphic profiles, and photographs.

After completion of the excavation units, the historic topsoil layer was mechanically removed to the top of subsoil, and once again the surface was shovel-scraped and examined for evidence of features. All features were mapped onto the site plan using tapes pulled from a grid of nails that had been placed using the transit. The top and bottom elevations of features were measured using the transit and converted to

absolute elevations amsl. Depths within the feature were measured from datum hubs, as with units. All apparently cultural features, except certain post-Civil War postholes, were excavated. Feature excavation was done by hand using trowels and shovels, and all excavated soil was screened through 0.25-inch mesh. Most features were sectioned and excavated by halves. Scaled stratigraphic drawings were drawn after half the feature had been removed. During posthole excavations care was taken to separate the postmold (the actual decayed post or the disturbance left by its removal) from the rest of the hole. The mold was designated Feature Stratum A, the hole Feature Stratum B. Feature 50, a large midden deposit, was sampled by a series of 3x3-foot units.



Figure 5: Excavation at 1707 Duke Street.

A large brick cistern, designated Feature 16, was treated differently from the other features, as the Work Plan anticipated that deep shaft features might present special challenges to excavation that would require additional consultation. The cistern was

exposed after the demolition of the house that stood at 1703 Duke Street, about 10 feet from the curb line along Duke Street and 10 feet from the standing slave jail. The brick dome that once covered it had been demolished, and it was partially covered with concrete footings (Figure 6) that appeared to have supported a structure that is believed to date to the 1920s, predating the recently demolished MacNair building at 1703 Duke Street. When it was first uncovered, it was cleaned and photographed, and then a single shovel test was dug into the fill to a depth of 2.5 feet, at which point it began to fill with water. Excavation was halted at that point, pending the outcome of consultations among Berger, the client, and the city over how best to treat this resource. Some additional excavation of the fill was completed in September 2008 in an attempt to determine the depth of the feature, but OSHA regulations precluded excavation below 4.0 feet. Probing into the cistern fill showed that it was at least 9.0 feet deep and that the fill was full of voids and large solid obstructions, perhaps stones or bricks. Because of the difficulty of proceeding further without endangering the resource, deeper archaeological excavation of the cistern was discontinued, although additional attempts to remove the concrete were monitored during late 2008 and early 2009.

## **LABORATORY METHODS**

Archaeological artifacts recovered from the project area were cleaned, stabilized (if necessary), cataloged, labeled, and packaged in accordance with the guidelines set forth in the *City of Alexandria Archaeological Standards*. All artifacts and associated project records (photographs, negatives, slides, digital images, field notes and forms) were prepared for eventual curation by Alexandria Archaeology.

Basic laboratory processing tasks were structured to provide information on the range of materials present within the collection, to assist in addressing the project's research design, and to prepare the collection for permanent curation and use by future researchers. After excavation, artifacts and samples were processed in Berger's archaeological laboratory, where they were checked in by matching the field bag

inventory list against the bags received by the laboratory. All provenience information was matched with the assigned catalog number, which was used as a reference number throughout processing and analysis. All materials were then washed or dry-brushed as appropriate and sorted into material classes for analysis: historic ceramics, vessel (curved) glass, tobacco pipes, small finds/architectural materials, faunal (including shell), and prehistoric lithics.



Figure 6: The Cistern When Uncovered.

Artifact cataloging and tabulation were accomplished using a computerized relational database. The database structure integrates the provenience information, depositional or analytical unit assignments, historic and prehistoric artifacts, and faunal collections. Historic artifacts were cataloged according to standard typologies (e.g., Noël Hume 1970; South 1977), using the class, type and variety approach (for example, class = glass, type = bottle, variety = case). In addition to standardized descriptors, a Notes field

allows the attachment of free-form text for individual artifact records. Detailed discussions of the coding and analytical procedures are provided in Berger's report on the Bruin Slave Jail (Kraus et al. 2007). Tables of artifacts from specific features are included in Chapter 8.

To facilitate the analysis of the artifacts, Analytical Units (AUs) were defined. These were groups of related contexts. Some of the AUs consisted of groups of related features; for example, Wall A is made up of six postholes that appear to be part of one wall of a building. Other AUs are made up of units grouped spatially according to the various parts of the yard as determined by the excavations.

Analysis of the faunal remains was completed by Marie-Lorraine Pipes. Her results have been incorporated into the artifact database. Her complete report is included as Appendix C.

## **REMARKS**

The historical and archaeological evidence together helped to provide a more holistic and meaningful interpretation of the interstate slave trade than is typical. Secondary sources consulted for this research helped to establish a broader historical context for the trade, especially with regard to its demographics and in delineating the connections between the Upper South and the Deep South. Works on the Pearl incident and the Edmondsons were also critical as they shed light on the experiences of enslaved women forced into the domestic slave trade. Primary archival sources such as census records, newspaper advertisements, letters, and slave manifests were instrumental in reconstructing the history of the Bruin Slave Jail and Joseph Bruin's management of it. Thus, the historical sources proved indispensable in contextualizing this research at various levels of investigation: site specific, regional, and inter-regional. Moreover, the perspectives and characteristics of the figures at the center of this dissertation, namely the Edmondsons and Joseph Bruin, could not have been recovered without consulting the

historical record.

The archaeological research provided site-specific architectural evidence for the Bruin Slave Jail as well as its related landscape features. The interpretations of the organization and use of space at the jail and Bruin's management of slaves were made possible through archaeology. Significantly, evidence was recovered that indicates the practice of African-based spirituality, which may point to acts of resistance against slavery. Altogether, the archaeology provided insights of the domestic slave trade that were absent in the historical record.

## Chapter 3: Property History

The property history presented in this chapter helped to establish a basic outline of the sequence of historic occupations of the site. This was important to the overall study because it helped tie the historic landscape to Bruin's use of the property as his slave jail. The chain of title shows that the property was only briefly inhabited prior to Bruin's purchase of the brick house and small lot. It also established that Bruin owned the property from 1832 until his death in 1882, and indicates that his widow occupied part of the property until her death in 1889. Although the property was used as the Fairfax County Courthouse for a brief period during and after the Civil War, the majority of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century use of the site was related to the Bruin Slave Jail.

The new development at 1707 Duke Street straddles what were historically three properties with distinct histories. The Phase III excavations focused on the Duke Street lot that once belonged to Joseph Bruin, which included the slave jail; however, the Phase II excavations also covered historic lots on Prince Street, directly behind the Duke Street lots. The boundary between the two Duke Street properties and the Prince Street property dates to 1830, before Joseph Bruin purchased the slave jail. However, some evidence was found during the excavations that about 10 feet of the Duke Street lot was used by the residents on Prince Street for a time in the early 20th century. Table 1 describes the complete chain of title for the slave jail building at 1707 Duke Street.

The Duke Street and Prince Street properties were long associated with the community known as the West End. The West End was founded in 1796 by John West, the Fairfax County surveyor. West envisioned a subdivision of Alexandria to be called West End Village, and he laid out a grid of more than 40 lots on both sides of the Duke Street extension (Little River Turnpike). By the early 19th century the village consisted largely of the dwellings and shops of butchers and drovers. West End endured as a village at least until 1878, when it was absorbed by the city of Alexandria. The house at 1707 Duke Street is the last remaining building from the early village.

John Longden (1755-1830), a veteran of the Revolutionary War, settled in Alexandria in 1783. He served as keeper of the poorhouse from 1794 to 1796, an Alexandria councilman in 1797, clerk of the market from 1798 to 1799 and 1803 to 1805, superintendent of police in 1808; and councilman of the second ward during most of the period between 1811 and 1823. Richard Lewis sold him a West End lot about 1802-1803, part of a tract of 98 acres Lewis bought in 1796 or 1797 from Robert Allison and his wife Ann Ramsay that was located “on the South side of the turnpike road leading from Leesburgh to Alexandria” (Fairfax County LB A2: 262). Longden built the Federal dwelling that now stands at 1707 Duke Street on the lot in 1819 (Miller n.d.). Longden died in the house in 1830, and his grandson Edgar L. Bentley inherited it. Bentley sold it to Joseph Bruin in 1833 for \$1500, although the transaction does not appear in the land records until 1844 (Miller n.d.; Ricks 2007: 129).

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Bruin fled Alexandria. Some accounts indicate that he lived with relatives who lived farther south, in Confederate territory (Ricks 2007), although there is some confusion about this, since other accounts suggest that he was captured and confined in the Old Capitol Prison in Washington until the end of the war (Cressey, personal communication, 2007). In his absence, his slave jail was used as the Fairfax County courthouse from December 4, 1862 to July 19, 1865. The old courthouse in Fairfax Court House (present-day Fairfax City) had become so unsatisfactory to the county justices that on December 1, 1862, several of them petitioned Governor Francis H. Pierpont, of the unionist Restored Government of Virginia, to change the court meeting place. “Owing to the proximity of the public enemy to our county seat and the subsequent occupation by United States forces as well as the dilapidated condition of the Court House building,” they suggested a site at or near the theological seminary or the village of West End. Three days later the governor agreed and issued a proclamation:

Whereas it is represented to me to be extremely hazardous on account of the proximity of the public enemy to hold the Courts for the County of Fairfax in the Court House thereof, therefore I Francis H. Pierpoint, Governor of the

Commonwealth of Virginia by virtue of the authority vested in me by the 11th section of the Code of Virginia do hereby authorize the Courts for said County to be held in the Village of West End so long as the cause aforesaid shall continue. Due notice will be hereafter given by proclamation of the restoring of the sessions of said Court to the County seat of said county as established by law [Pierpont, cited in Kaye 1999].

In July 1864, pursuant to an act of Congress to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, U.S. Marshal John Underwood confiscated all of Bruin's property. On July 19, 1864 he auctioned the property in two lots: the dwelling and kitchen in the east lot was made into one parcel, and the slave jail in the west lot made up the other. The slave jail was officially sold to John Sherer of New York for \$400, although the house continued to be used as the Fairfax County courthouse. The east part, including the dwelling house, was sold to Jonathan Roberts for \$605 (Fairfax County Deed Book E4: 128, 148). Roberts was the Fairfax County Sheriff, and had established his office at or near Bruin's former dwelling by January 1864 (*Alexandria Gazette* 1864).

The *Alexandria Gazette* reported on July 19, 1865 that at the last term of the Fairfax County court to be "held at West End," 12 land deeds were recorded, as well as two estate inventories, liquor and tavern licenses, tax remissions for 39 citizens, three wills, several estate letters of administration, and an order for election in the Sixth District of four magistrates, a constable, and two overseers of the poorhouse. Also, William M. Fitzhugh was appointed clerk.

Soon after the end of the war, notwithstanding the seizure of his property by the government, Joseph Bruin returned to Alexandria with his wife. It is unclear whether they lived in their dwelling on the eastern lot or if they took up residence in the former slave jail at that time. The postwar records are convoluted and occasionally even contradictory, although most suggest that at least initially, they moved into their residence next door to the slave jail.

In 1869 John Sherer sold the slave jail portion to Charles L. Mankin for \$450

(Fairfax County Deed Book K-4:305). Mary Lavinia Bruin, a daughter of Joseph and Martha Bruin, was married to Charles Lewis Mankin on May 28, 1861. According to census records, Mary Lavinia (Bruin) Mankin and her husband lived in Loudoun County, so it appears that they purchased the building so Joseph and Martha Bruin could continue to live in it. There are also records of Mankin having purchased both lots from S. Garwood as confiscated property, and of Bruin selling his interest in one or both of the properties to Mankin for \$1,850 in 1870. In any case the slave jail property stayed within the Bruin family until 1883, the year after Joseph Bruin’s death, and the 1951 deed for the western lot refers to the “brick dwelling...formerly occupied by Mrs. Joseph Bruin,” so it would appear that the Bruins occupied the property until both were deceased. Joseph Bruin died in 1882 and his widow died in 1889. It may be that some time after her husband died, she went to live with other relatives.

The 1870 Census provides further insight into the lives of the Bruin family after the war. Joseph Bruin’s occupation is listed as “farmer,” he had \$1,000 of real estate, and his personal estate is estimated at \$2,559 (U.S. Census 1870). His wife and six of his children are at home at that time, as is 16-year-old Mary Rust, 13-year-old James Rust, and 10-year-old Ginnie Rust. Bruin’s wife Martha’s maiden name was Rust, and presumably these are relatives. Bruin employed one farm laborer, a 27-year-old white man named Alexander Cornell, and one housekeeper, a 22-year-old black woman named Jane Elliot. Compare this to his 1860 Census entry, in which Joseph Bruin’s occupation is given as “Trader in Negros.” The value of his real estate was given as \$10,000, and the value of his personal property as \$100,000.

**Table 1: Chain of Title for 1707 Duke Street**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Transaction</b>	<b>Source</b>
June 1, 1951	John Paton Davies, Jr. and wife convey to Charles R. Hooff, Incorporated, for \$10 and other good and valuable considerations, a “piece or parcel of land with its improvements and apputenances...situated in the West End on the north side of Duke Street extended near Stone Bridge, formerly Fairfax County, but now within the extended	Alexandria Deed Book 321, f. 465

**Table 1: Chain of Title for 1707 Duke Street**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Transaction</b>	<b>Source</b>
	limits of Alexandria, Virginia, known as 1707 Duke Street.”	
September 10, 1947	Estelle Snowden, widow, to John Paton, for \$10 “plus.”	Alexandria Deed Book 251, f. 477
August 19, 1939	Mary C. Watkins, widow, to Julius and Estelle Snowden, for \$10 “plus.”	Alexandria Deed Book 155, f. 189
April 11, 1934	Barbara K. Watkins et al. to Mary C. Watkins, widow, for \$10 “plus.”	Alexandria Deed Book 118, f. 389
April 2, 1902	John G. Grillbortzer to Joseph Francis Watkins for \$1800	Fairfax Deed Book J-6, f. 652
August 20, 1896	William P. Bloxham to John Grillbortzer for \$1800	Fairfax Deed Book X-5, f. 91
September 27, 1883	Charles L. Mankin and wife to William P. Bloxham. Part of property formerly pledged by Mankin as security for a debt to Bloxham.	Fairfax Deed Book C-5, f. 520
April 12, 1873	Pledged in deed of trust executed by Mankin for Bloxham.	Fairfax Deed Book P-4, f. 316
June 2, 1869	John a. Sherer and wife to Charles L. Mankin for \$450.	Fairfax Deed Book K-4, f. 305
July 19, 1864	John Underwood, U.S. Marshal for the Eastern District of Virginia, to John Sherer. Confiscated under Act of Congress of July 171862 “To seize and confiscate the property of rebels.” After court proceedings, sold at auction for \$400.	Fairfax Deed Book E-4, f. 148
July 12, 1844	Joseph Bruin pledged in deed of trust to Henry W. Thomas.	Fairfax Deed Book K-3, f. 155
March 11, 1844* (recorded)	Heirs of John Longden convey to Joseph Bruin for \$1500 a “certain house and lot situated at West End, consisting of two acres more or less, bounded by the lots of William R. Biers on the south, by Hough’s Run on the east, by David Betzold on the north, and the lot formerly William Hannan’s on the west.”	Fairfax Deed Book K-3, f. 151
1832	Bentley sells the property to Joseph Bruin for \$1500	Fairfax Deed Book K-3, f. 151, Miller n.d., Ricks 2007 (129)
1830	Edgar Bentley inherits property from John Longden.	Fairfax Deed Book K-3, f. 151, 155, Alexandria Orphan’s Court Will Book 3, f. 366
1802-1803	John Longden purchases Duke Street property from Richard Lewis. Although the Fairfax Deed Index lists a conveyance to John Longden in Deed Book DD, f. 184, this deed book (1801-1803) is missing.	Fairfax Land Book A2, 262

\* The transaction was recorded in 1844 but took place in 1832.

By the time of the 1880 Census, Joseph Bruin gives his occupation as “Baker.”

Two of Bruin's adult sons were evidently helping, as their occupations are also listed as "Baker" and they appear on the same page with their father. The Bruins employed one domestic servant, a 59-year-old woman named Sarah Blake, whose race is recorded in the census as "mulatto." Although research into the post-Civil War occupation is ongoing, at the time of this writing, few details of the lives of the Bruins and their household are known. The 1890 Census of the United States was largely destroyed by a fire in 1921; this has made it challenging to follow developments in the family and their employees beyond the 1880s.

To reiterate, the study of the property lot history was necessary in order to determine the historical sequence of the Bruin Slave Jail. In summary, Bruin and his heirs owned the property between 1832 and 1889, and the Bruin Slave Jail was in operation between 1832 and 1865. The archaeological remains recovered from the site were dated in accordance to the historical sequence presented here. In the following chapter, the historical scope enlarges in order to address the role of Alexandria in the domestic slave trade providing a regional context for Bruin's slave trading operation.

## Chapter 4: Alexandria as a Slave Port

*Persons who wish to sell will do well to give us a call, as we are determined to give more than any other purchasers that are in market, or that may hereafter come into market.*

– *Alexandria Gazette*, May 17, 1828

The city of Alexandria was a hub of America's internal slave trade during the early to mid-nineteenth century. This interstate trade, which grew rapidly after the African Slave Trade Act of 1807 prohibited bringing slaves from Africa, became a focal point for the ongoing national debate about slavery (Deyle 2005; Gudmestad 2003; Harrold 2001, 2003; Johnson 1999). The Alexandria slave markets in particular became a symbol of the greed, outrage, fear, and human tragedy inherent to the business as the public furor over slavery reached fever pitch in the years before the Civil War (Harrold 2001, 2003; Ridgeway 1976; Stowe 1853). The history of Alexandria as a slave port explains not only how the city became such an important exporter of slaves to the Deep South, but also how Bruin's business fit into the larger scheme of the domestic slave trade.

When Alexandria was established in 1740, nestled in prime tobacco country and sitting at the crux of the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay, the city rapidly became a major port for the export of wheat and tobacco. By the time of the Revolution, Alexandria was the center of an extensive and lucrative agricultural network, and the city enjoyed a corresponding boom (Andrews 1969). Between 1800 and 1820, however, Virginia planters endured a crippling economic depression, the result of soil depletion and low market prices for tobacco and wheat. Alexandria had relied on Virginia's agricultural abundance to support its export-based economy. Although Washington, D.C. and Alexandria had relatively successful slave markets as early as 1800, the (illegal) continuation of the African slave trade, the city's brief occupation by the British during the War of 1812, and a financial crisis in 1819 inhibited significant growth of the internal slave trade until the 1820s (Deyle 2005; Gudmestad 2003; Harrold 2001, 2003; Johnson

1999; Ridgeway 1976).

By the early 1820s Alexandria's slave markets had begun to emerge as a significant economic force (Ridgeway 1976). William Beckman and Elijah Ogden ran frequent advertisements for "likely young negroes" in the *Alexandria Gazette* between 1820 and 1825 (*Alexandria Gazette* 1820). They were the vanguard of Alexandria's powerful slave trading network.

Traders like Beckman and Ogden were not residents of Alexandria, but traveled from place to place in the course of their business. Before 1825 most Alexandria slave traders were either non-residents like Beckman and Ogden or owned other businesses, like hotels or stores, and started trading in slaves as a profitable sideline (Ridgeway 1976; Stephenson 1968). By 1825 professional traders had begun to move into the market. Evidence of this trend appears in the *Alexandria Gazette*:

Slaves wanted: The subscriber will at all times, pay the highest price in cash for slaves, either single or families. Letters addressed to me in Alexandria, will be promptly attended to. Sixty or seventy slaves at this time, expressly to go to Tennessee. E.P. Legg.

-*Alexandria Gazette*, February 15, 1825.

E.P. Legg and John W. Smith, both former hotel owners, abandoned the hospitality industry and converted their hotels to slave pens. They were soon joined by the first full-time professional slave trader in Alexandria, Ira Bowman, who operated from 1825 to 1828 (Stephenson 1968).

As more and more slave traders converged on Alexandria, protest against the slave trade grew, both nationally and locally. Abolitionists were active in protesting slavery prior to the enactment of the African Slave Trade Act of 1807, and continued to draw attention to the ongoing American traffic in slaves (Harrold 2003, 2001; Andrews 1836). An abolitionist broadside published in 1836 used images of the Franklin & Armfield prison to demonstrate the horrors of the slave trade (Figure 7).

# SLAVE MARKET OF AMERICA.

## THE WORD OF GOD.

ALL THOSE WHO TRAVELED TO WASHINGTON CITY TO SEE THE MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE PRESIDENT LINCOLN, AND WHO HEARD THE SERMONS OF THE GREAT REVIVALISTS, WILL BE CONVINCED THAT THE MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE PRESIDENT LINCOLN IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE AND MOST IMPRESSIVE MONUMENT THAT CAN BE ERECTED TO HIS MEMORY.

### THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

WE HEREBY DECLARE THESE UNITED STATES TO BE FREE, SOVEREIGN, EQUAL, AND INDEPENDENT STATES, AND THAT AS TO THE SLAVE, HE IS NOT A MAN, BUT A THING, AND AS SUCH, HE IS NOT FIT TO BE OWNED BY MAN.

### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE HEREBY DECLARE THESE UNITED STATES TO BE FREE, SOVEREIGN, EQUAL, AND INDEPENDENT STATES, AND THAT AS TO THE SLAVE, HE IS NOT A MAN, BUT A THING, AND AS SUCH, HE IS NOT FIT TO BE OWNED BY MAN.

### CONSTITUTIONS OF THE STATES.

WE HEREBY DECLARE THESE UNITED STATES TO BE FREE, SOVEREIGN, EQUAL, AND INDEPENDENT STATES, AND THAT AS TO THE SLAVE, HE IS NOT A MAN, BUT A THING, AND AS SUCH, HE IS NOT FIT TO BE OWNED BY MAN.

#### "THE LAND OF THE FREE"



THE SEEDS OF 200 SLAVES



#### "THE HOME OF THE OPPRESSED"

### RIGHT TO INTERFERE.

THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE IS THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE SLAVE, AND NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF THE SLAVEHOLDER.

### PUBLIC PRISONS IN THE DISTRICT.

THE PUBLIC PRISONS IN THE DISTRICT ARE THE MOST IMPROVED AND MOST CONVENIENT PRISONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

#### FACTS.



#### FACTS.



#### FACTS.



### PRIVATE PRISONS IN THE DISTRICT, LICENSED AS SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

THE PRIVATE PRISONS IN THE DISTRICT ARE LICENSED AS SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE, AND ARE THE MOST IMPROVED AND MOST CONVENIENT PRISONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

#### FACTS.



#### FACTS.



#### FACTS.



State	Year	Population	Slaves	Value of Property	Value of Slaves
Alabama	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Arkansas	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
California	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Florida	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
Georgia	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Illinois	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Indiana	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Iowa	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
Kentucky	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Louisiana	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Mississippi	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Missouri	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Nebraska	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
Nevada	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
New York	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
North Carolina	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Ohio	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Oregon	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
Pennsylvania	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Rhode Island	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
South Carolina	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Texas	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
Vermont	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
Virginia	1850	1,000,000	1,000,000	\$1,000,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
Washington	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
West Virginia	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
Wisconsin	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000
Wyoming	1850	500,000	500,000	\$500,000,000	\$500,000,000

Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, 151, Nassau Street, New York, 1856.

Figure 7: Anti-Slavery Broadside, 1836 (Bourne 1836).

Abolitionists visited Alexandria in order to research the workings of the slave trade, and wrote about their experiences as part of the campaign to end slavery. One such abolitionist, Professor E.A. Andrews, wrote of his experience at Franklin & Armfield's establishment at 1315 Duke Street:

...My principle object in coming to this city was, to visit the establishment of Franklin and Armfield, who have for some years been actively engaged in purchasing slaves for the southern market. From the gentleman to whom I brought the letters from friends in Washington, I have received every attention, and such directions as enabled me to accomplish the purpose of my visit.

The establishment to which I have alluded is situated in a retired quarter in the southern part of the city. It is easily distinguished as you approach it, by the high, white-washed wall surrounding the yards, and giving to it the appearance of a penitentiary. The dwelling-house is of brick, three stories high, and opening directly upon the street. Over the front door is the name of the firm, FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD. It was mid-day when I arrived. The day was excessively warm, and the doors and windows were thrown wide open to admit the air. On inquiring at the door for Mr. Armfield, he came forward in a few minutes from the yard in the rear of the building, and invited me into his parlor.

...I explained to him frankly my object in visiting him, accompanying my statement with a request that I might be allowed to see his establishment. It was an important object in my journey to gain access to such an establishment, to see the slaves collected for transportation, and to ascertain the details of the traffic. I was not wholly without fears, that, after all my labor, I should meet with a refusal; but these apprehensions were soon dispelled, for he immediately, and apparently with great readiness, complied with my request.

Calling an assistant or clerk, he directed him to accompany me to every part of the establishment. We passed out at the back door of the dwelling-house, and entered a spacious yard nearly surrounded with neatly white-washed two story buildings, devoted to the use of the slaves. Turning to the left, we came to a strong grated door of iron, opening into a spacious yard, surrounded by a high, white-washed wall. One side of this yard was roofed, but the principal part was open. Along the covered side extended a table, at which the slaves had recently taken their dinner, which, judging from what remained, had been wholesome and abundant. In this yard, only men and boys were confined. The gate was secured by strong padlocks and bolts; but before entering we had a full view of the yard, and everything in it, through the grated door. The slaves, fifty or sixty in number, were standing or moving about in groups, some amusing themselves with rude sports, and others engaged in conversation, which was often interrupted by loud laughter, in all the varied tones peculiar to the negroes.

While opening the gate, my conductor directed the slaves to form themselves into

a line, and they accordingly arranged themselves, in single file, upon three sides of the yard. They were in general young men, apparently from eighteen to thirty years old, but among them were a few boys whose age did not exceed ten or fifteen years. They were all—except one or two, who had just been admitted, and whose purchase was not yet completed—neatly and comfortably dressed, and, in general they looked cheerful and contented. As my conductor, however, was expatiating on their happy condition, when compared with that in which they had lived before they came to this place—a discourse apparently intended for the joint benefit of the slaves and their northern visitor [sic]—I observed a young man, of an interesting and intelligent countenance, who looked earnestly at me, and as often as the keeper turned away his face, he shook his head, and seemed desirous of having me understand, that he did not feel any such happiness as was described, and that he dissented from the representation made of his condition. I would have given much to hear his tale, but in my situation that was impossible. Still, in imagination, I see his countenance, anxiously and fearfully turning from the keeper to me, with an expression which seemed to say, like the ghost in Hamlet, “I could a tale unfold” (Andrews 1836: 135-143).

The Benevolent Society of Alexandria for Ameliorating and Improving the Condition of the People of Color formed in 1827, and advertised their protest in the *Alexandria Gazette* alongside the frequent advertisements of the slave dealers. Their primary concern appears to have been for the morale of the white population of the city:

These enormous cruelties cannot be practiced among us, without producing a sensible effect upon the morale of the community; for the temptation to participate in so lucrative a traffic, though stained with human blood, is too great to be withstood by all; and even many of those who do not directly participate in it, become so accustomed to its repulsive features, that they cease to discourage it in others.

- *Alexandria Gazette*, June 22, 1827

Unfortunately, the potential for profit alluded to by the Benevolent Society far outweighed concerns about public morale. A *Gazette* advertisement from the preceding month signaled the expansion and transformation of Alexandria as a slave port:

CASH FOR LIKELY NEGROES, apply to Mr. Elias P. Legg, St. Asaph Street, Alexandria, JOHN ARMFIELD.

- *Alexandria Gazette*, May 7, 1827

The leading slave traders in the 1830s, and quite likely the largest in the nation, were Franklin and Armfield. Isaac Franklin and John Armfield formed Franklin,

Armfield & Co in 1828 (Stephenson 1968). They purchased a house at 1315 Duke Street, made this their local headquarters, and placed an advertisement describing their business:

CASH IN MARKET

The subscribers having leased for a term of years the large three story brick house on Duke Street, in the town of Alexandria, D.C., formerly occupied by Gen. Young, we wish to purchase one hundred and fifty likely young negroes of both sexes between the ages of 8 and 25 years. Persons who wish to sell will do well to give us a call, as we are determined to give more than any other purchasers that are in market, or that may hereafter come into market.

Any letter addressed to the subscribers through the Post Office at Alexandria will be promptly attended to. For information, enquire at the above described house, as we can at all times be found there.

-Alexandria Gazette, May 17 1828

Franklin and Armfield became Alexandria's largest and most successful slave trading firm. In addition to the slave pen in Alexandria (Figure 8), they operated a fleet of slave ships, and their contacts in New Orleans and Natchez, Mississippi, enabled them to eliminate middlemen and locate reliable sources and outlets for slaves. As their business grew, they dominated the market so completely that other slave traders became unofficial agents of their company (Stephenson 1968:12-15).

Although it is clear that white slaveholders maintained a façade of paternalism in spite of the overt exploitation of their enslaved labor forces, it is not entirely true that the slave trade was fully accepted, even regarding prosperous and successful speculators and trading operations, or among those who openly acknowledged its economic importance to their own livelihoods (Deyle 2005; Johnson 1999). Many cities had ordinances regulating where slave jails could be built. In Natchez, Mississippi, jails were required to be located outside the city limits. Slave traders created a small cluster of businesses outside of town known as Forks in the Road or Niggersville (Gudmestad 2003). In Alexandria, though such an ordinance was not in force, the major slave trading operations were located on the outskirts of town. Duke Street was located in the village of West End, and was the main route where drovers brought cattle, sheep and goats to be slaughtered for sale. There were five slaughterhouses within blocks of Bruin's home and business, as well as a

tannery, a pottery and a glass factory (Artemel et al. 1987). In addition, Duke Street was the location of a free black settlement known as “Darktown”, and was less than a mile from two other free black towns, the Bottoms and Hayti (Cressey 1982).

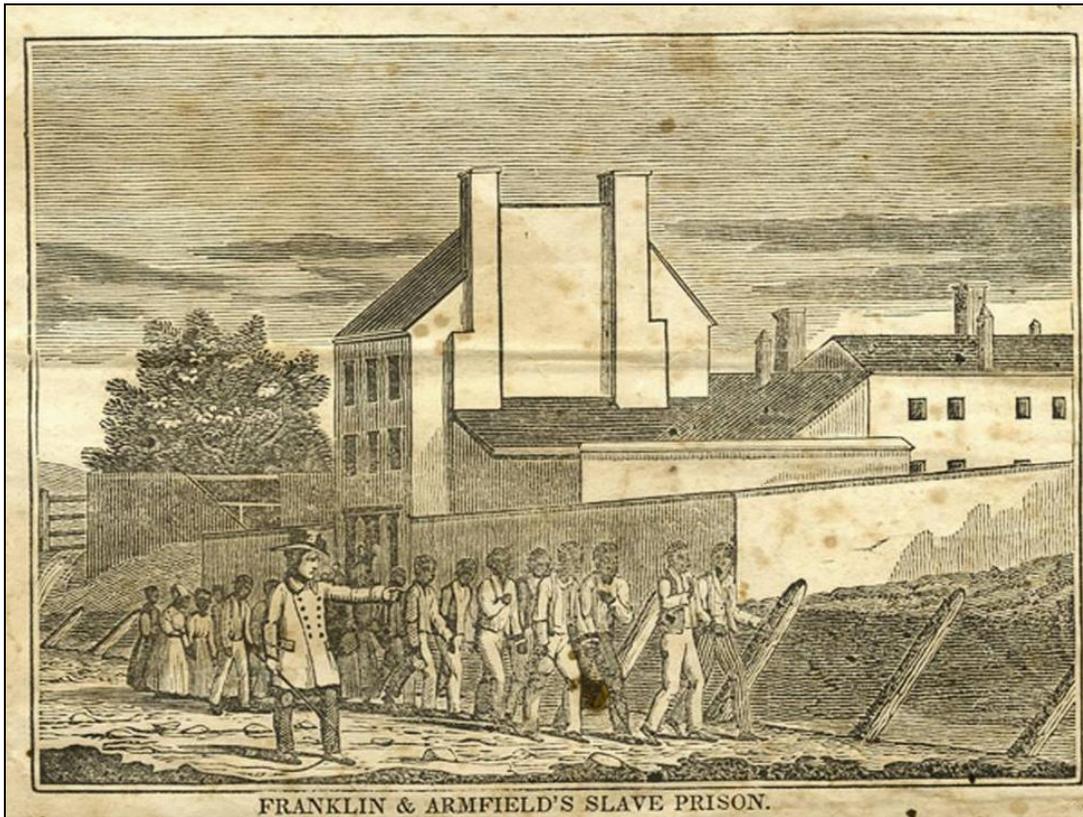


Figure 8: The Franklin and Armfield Slave Pen as Depicted in the 1836 Broadside (Bourne 1836).

Although the slave trade, along with other commercial enterprises, was relegated to the village of West End, Alexandrians acknowledged the trade as critical to their economy. It was largely due to the slave trade that Alexandria residents fought for retrocession to the state of Virginia (Harrold 2003). The slow economic development of the city of Washington in the years following its founding, coupled by the political disincentives of having no vote for representation in the Congress or the presidential election, spurred discussion of retrocession among the residents almost immediately. But

residents in the Virginia portion of the District also feared the impending abolition of the slave trade in the federal city. Washington D.C. had been previously been known as "the very seat and center of the slave trade" (Franklin and Moss 1997: 114-115). Beginning in the 1830s, likely spurred by the slave prisons operating within view of the Capitol, as well as the large operations such as Franklin & Armfield, abolitionists began agitating for the cessation of slavery in the District of Columbia (Jewett and Allen 2004). Concerns grew that the U.S. Congress would bow to the antislavery pressure groups and enact legislation that would bar slave auctions within the District boundaries. In response to these fears, Senator Robert M.T. Hunter drew up and promoted legislation that would permit the Lower District to retrocede into Virginia (Jewett and Allen 2004). Hunter hoped to preserve Alexandria's slave markets as the primary outlet for sales of African Americans from Northern Virginia to the Deep South. Hunter's efforts succeeded in 1846 and Alexandria once again became part of Virginia. Four years later, Congress enacted the legislative act known as the Compromise of 1850, which proscribed slave auction sales in the District of Columbia.

Franklin and Armfield began preparations for the dissolution of their partnership long before these concerns became paramount. Armfield sold the Alexandria slave pen and the brig *Isaac Franklin* to George Kephardt, a slave trader who had previously operated in Frederick, Maryland. Armfield entered a partnership with Rice C. Ballard, Franklin & Armfield's Richmond agent, and spent several years completing the business of Franklin & Armfield before ending all business ventures in 1841 (Stephenson 1968:20, 66-67).

After the nationwide financial crisis that resulted from the Panic of 1837, Alexandria's importance as a port in general, and in the slave trade in particular, declined. Merchants from Baltimore and Richmond came to dominate the business in the 1840s, but the success of Franklin & Armfield and the lingering reputation of Alexandria as a slave trading center continued to attract smaller slave-trading enterprises as the economy recovered and demand for slaves increased. Robert Windsor, George Kephart,

Price, Birch & Co, and Joseph Bruin & Henry P. Hill (Bruin & Hill) all vied for business in Franklin & Armfield's wake (Ridgeway 1976:87-89).

Outward shipping manifests from the Port of Alexandria indicate that Kephardt became a leader in the slave trade business in the early 1840s. His business declined, however, and by 1843 he had ceased advertising in the *Gazette*. The same year, the firm of Bruin & Hill posted their first advertisement. By the end of the decade, Bruin & Hill would be the largest slave-trading firm in Alexandria (Ridgeway 1976; Stephenson 1968).

## Chapter 5: The Edmondsons, the Pearl, and Joseph Bruin's Jail

*Joseph Bruin cultivated the appearance and manner of a gentleman, someone of religion and culture, and believed he was a slave dealer by profession, not by definition. – (Ricks 2007:18)*

In order to understand the Edmondsons' experiences within the domestic slave trade system, and to contextualize their acts of resistance, it is necessary to explore their story and the nature of Bruin's business. Each individual slave trader had a strategy and character which informed the experiences of the people they bought and sold. Bruin's character is revealed through the history of his business and through his interactions and transactions with buyers and sellers, the enslaved people he held at his jail and shipped South, and with the abolitionists who made up a small portion of his clientele. Further, the story of the Edmondson's travails in the domestic system of trade brings to light each strategy they employed to resist their enslavement.

As was mentioned in the research design, resistance against the domestic slave trade had little hope of success. While acts of resistance had a significant impact on the Atlantic slave trade (Richardson 2001), African Americans had virtually no affect at all on the internal slave trade in the U.S. (Fogel 1994). The basic reason for this was, according to Robert Fogel's *Without Consent or Contract*, because slavery created an extremely efficient and functional economy in the United States. It was entrenched and institutionalized to such a degree that those who had the deepest and most compelling motives to resist it, namely enslaved African Americans, were legally and politically deprived of the most effective means of combating it. The system worked so well at creating a strong and resilient economy that individual or even collective efforts to sabotage it had little impact on its fundamental success, and certainly had no power to accumulate any momentum that would eventually bring about its demise. This point is extremely important, because it accentuates the poignancy of the efforts of the enslaved to resist: like the Edmondsons, most enslaved people entangled in the slave trade could not hope to organize an effective, large-scale assault on the trade; they could only hope to

succeed in individually escaping it, usually by running away to the North, or by arranging their own sale to a family member or abolitionist group. Although the Edmondsons' story is one of a successful escape from the domestic trade, it should be noted that this story is one of very few exceptions to the rule, and that their success, while highly publicized by abolitionists, had little or no effect on the trade as a whole.

## **JOSEPH BRUIN**

In *Slave Trading in the Old South*, Frederic Bancroft offers descriptions of several slave trading operations with connections to Alexandria, including a brief note that “one of the most notorious of these [slave traders] was Joseph Bruin, who was also well-known in New Orleans” (Bancroft 1931:91). Bruin began his highly successful career in the interstate slave trade in Virginia, and was described in newspaper advertisements as a “trader in negroes” as early as 1831, when he was only 22 (Ricks 2007:129).

Bruin started as an apprentice to George Kephart, who had taken over the firm of Franklin & Armfield. Bruin traveled to slave markets in Virginia and New Orleans, as well as to rural counties where he purchased slaves directly. By 1835 he had established a warehouse and partnerships in New Orleans, and returned to Virginia to build the supply end of his business (Ridgeway 1976).

Kephart had tried and failed to emulate former business associates Franklin & Armfield's business model in his own slave- trading enterprise. Part of his problem was that while Franklin & Armfield maintained contacts in Baltimore and Richmond who ensured that all trade passed through their hands, Kephardt had to compete with former Franklin & Armfield associates in those cities. Further, both Baltimore and Richmond had access to railroads by the time Kephardt set up shop, and as suggested in Chapter 4, Alexandria's importance in all commercial enterprises had diminished significantly (Stephenson 1968). It was no longer possible to create a business on the scale of Franklin & Armfield in Alexandria; traders like William Hope Slatter and James Donovan in

Baltimore or Bacon Tait in Richmond had a secure grip on the majority of the market. For a few years around 1840, George Kephardt was a major trader in Alexandria, but he closed out the firm of Kephardt & Company in 1843 (Ridgeway 1976; Stephenson 1968).

The price of slaves was part of a complex economic web. Demand for slaves increased as the demand for (and price of) cotton rose. There were small fluctuations in the slave market in the early 1840s, related to the Mexican War, the entrenchment of the plantation system in the Deep South, and the improving economy in Virginia (Jewett and Allen 2004). The market had more or less stabilized by the mid 1840s, and it was at this time that Joseph Bruin decided to establish his headquarters in Alexandria. George Kephart was still working in Alexandria but would not rival Bruin's success in the period leading up to the Civil War. His failure may have been a result of a lack of business acumen, or he may have simply been outcompeted by Bruin. At one point, Kephart used money Bruin advanced to him to buy slaves in Virginia (Pacheco 2005; Ricks 2007).

Joseph Bruin gave his age as 42 in the 1850 census (U.S. Census 1850). (He is listed as "Brewen," which is transcribed incorrectly as "Brewer" in the printed index.) His wife, Martha, née Rust, was 28, and at that time they had three daughters, ages 9, 4, and 1. Mary Bruin, Joseph Bruin's 80-year-old mother, also lived in the house at that time. By 1860 Bruin's family had grown to seven children, two sons and five daughters. The census reported that he owned \$100,000 in real estate and \$100,000 in personal property.

The research conducted to gather information regarding the history of 1707 Duke Street (See Chapter 3) helped to clarify the use of the lot during Bruin's tenure of it. Joseph Bruin's property included two houses, the one at 1707 Duke Street and a second house that formerly stood on the lot to the east (Declaration of Assurance, 1853). Bruin's family lived in the eastern house, and he used 1707 Duke Street for his slave-trading business. This is an important distinction: 1707 Duke Street was not the residence of Joseph Bruin. Although the building at 1707 Duke Street was used as a dwelling before

Bruin's tenure, it was used as the main part of the slave jail while Bruin owned it. A map drawn for an insurance policy in 1853 (Declaration of Assurance, 1853) clearly shows these buildings (Figure 9). The map on the Declaration of Assurance also shows a brick structure attached to 1707 Duke Street on the east side. Both halves of Bruin's property are also mentioned in the records of the confiscation of Bruin's property by U.S. Marshal John Underwood (Fairfax County Deed Book E4: 128, 148). The structure on the east side of the main house at 1707 Duke Street is identified by the 1853 insurance policy as a washhouse.

The 1850 census provides one glimpse of Bruin's business with regard to the approximate number of slaves he may have owned at any one time, and their gender ratio and age range. When the census taker came, Bruin had 32 slaves on his property. Of these, 14 were women and 12 were men; eight entries are illegible. The ages range from 7 to 43. The 1860 slave schedule for Fairfax County records at least 15 slaves, although the records are nearly illegible (U.S. Census 1860).

Bruin regularly placed advertisements in the *Alexandria Gazette*, including one that said he was seeking "50 Negroes Immediately" (Ridgeway 1976:121).

#### CASH FOR NEGROES.

I wish to purchase immediately, for the South, any number of NEGROES from 10 to 30 years of age, for which I will pay the very highest cash price. All communications promptly attended to.

West End, Alexandria, Va., Oct. 26.—tf. JOSEPH BRUIN.  
*Alexandria Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1846

From the 1830s until Union troops seized the property in 1861, enslaved African Americans were brought to the slave jail as Bruin brokered their exchange to plantations in the Deep South. Bruin's tenure in Alexandria was distinctly different from that of his predecessors, Franklin & Armfield. Earlier slave traders arranged huge shipments of

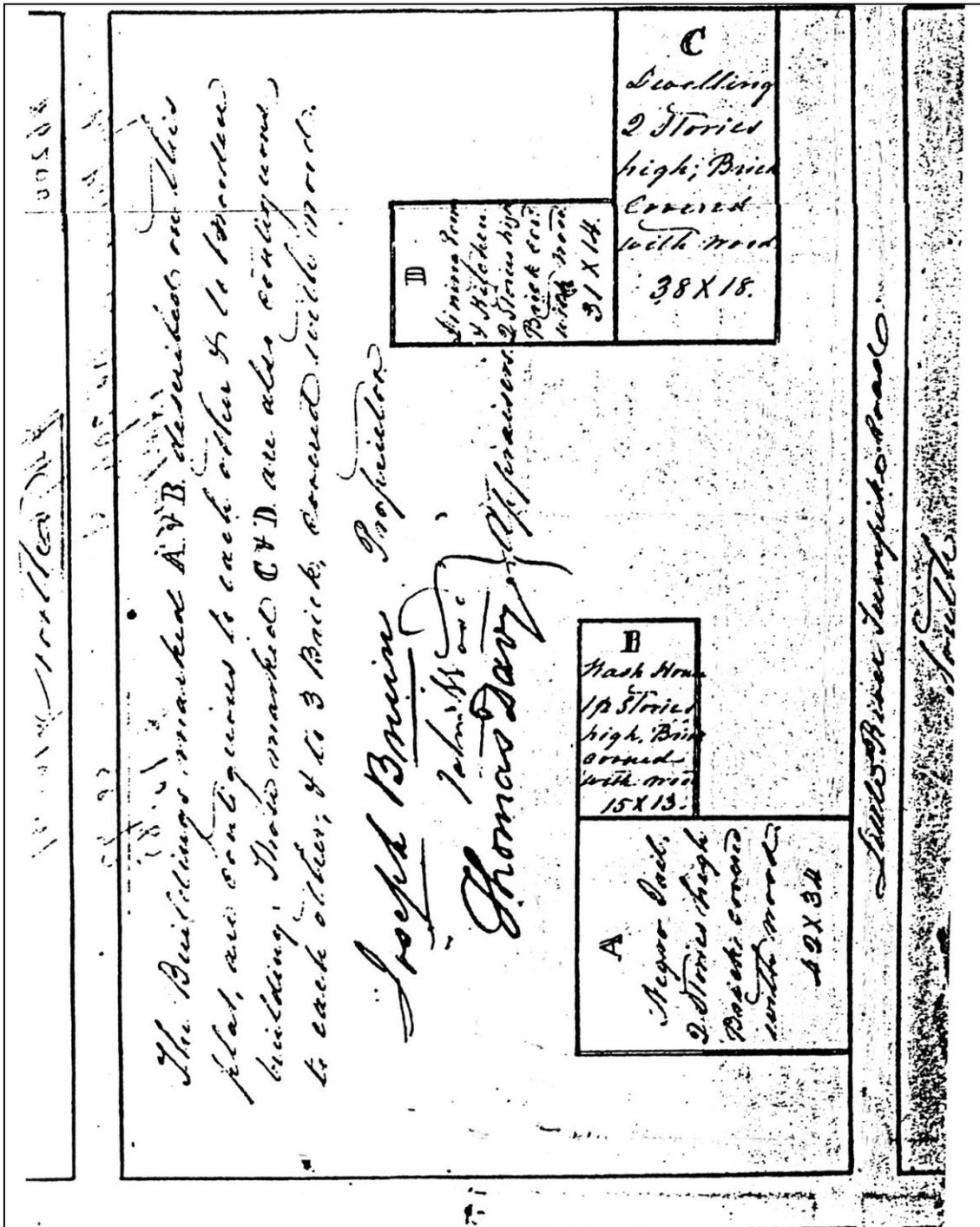


Figure 9: Map of Bruin's Property from 1853 Declaration of Assurance.

people to New Orleans and Mississippi, often sending 100 or more people at a time. This was possible because as the Virginia economy slumped, the so-called surplus slaves were readily available to fill the huge demand for labor as plantations became established in the Southern states. This demand was fueled by early losses caused by sickness as well as the magnitude of the work. As the South's cotton economy boomed and cities and towns grew, there was likely a greater demand for slaves with specialized skills, in addition to workers for the fields (Genovese 1974).

Only a handful of outward shipping manifests from the Port of Alexandria survive from the period when Bruin was in business, and they helped to establish how Bruin managed his operation. Of the 40 on file at the New York Historical Society, nine represent shipments made by Joseph Bruin, and these include the years 1845 to 1849 (Alexandria Outward Slave Manifests 1845-1849; see Appendix A). These manifests include the names, ages, sex, and heights of the slaves being shipped, and occasionally the destination. When he shipped slaves from Alexandria, Bruin sent them on steamships to Baltimore, Richmond, Washington, or the smaller Virginia ports of Dumfries and Aquia. From these ports the slaves would be sent by brig or schooner as part of larger shipments to New Orleans. Bruin sent only small groups, always fewer than 20 people. The shipping manifest (Alexandria Outward Slave Manifest, n.d.) that includes members of the Edmondson family is shown in Figure 10.

In the years between 1832 and 1861, Joseph Bruin became the most successful and best-known slave trader in Alexandria. None of Bruin's business records survive today to illustrate the full scope of his operation, but much can be learned from the few other records that have been preserved, such as the manifests previously mentioned. From interviews with former slaves, several of the letters described by Stowe in *The Key* and in abolitionist newspapers, we learn that Bruin and Hill participated in one of the more loathsome specialty markets for slaves. The fancy girl market was frequently the subject of Northern abolitionists' most impassioned pleas to end the practice of slavery altogether (Genovese 1974:417-419). It is also especially important in the history of Bruin's

enterprise, and is highlighted by the events surrounding the famous slave escape on the schooner *Pearl* in April 1848.

### **THE EDMONDSONS AND THE *PEARL***

The escape on the *Pearl* was orchestrated in part by William Chaplin, a wealthy white abolitionist who arranged for use of the ship, as well as a captain and crew, and coordinated finances donated by other abolitionists. In Washington, the slaves organized and coordinated their own escape. The runaways — old and young, male and female, mothers with children — had worked in homes, boardinghouses, and hotels. Most were enslaved descendants of Africans brought to the Tidewater area on Liverpool slave ships to be sold to tobacco planters in Maryland and Virginia. The cooperation between blacks and whites was much remarked at the time and has helped to keep the *Pearl* story an icon of the Underground Railroad (Pacheco 2005; Ricks 2007).

There were three primary organizers within the African American community. One was Paul Jennings, Senator Daniel Webster's butler. The legendary orator met Jennings in the White House, where he had been brought as a valet for his owner, President James Madison. Madison had died in 1836, and his widow, Dolley, returned to Washington with Jennings. By 1847 her financial affairs were in such disorder that she sold Jennings to an agent for \$200 (Pacheco 2005; Painter 1916). Webster later purchased Jennings for \$120 and freed him on condition that Jennings would repay the purchase price at the rate of \$8 a month. At the time of the attempted escape, he still owed Webster a considerable sum (Pacheco 2005; Ricks 2007). The second black conspirator was Daniel Bell, who was the free husband and father of an enslaved family and is credited with financing the venture to bring his wife and children to freedom. Bell apparently was engaged in litigation over his family's legal status but feared ultimately losing the case or running out of money. Such cases often went to court, when heirs contested wills that diminished their inheritance by freeing slaves (Pacheco 2005). The third man was a "hired-out" slave named Samuel Edmondson, whose family plays the central role in this

**MANIFEST** of NEGROES, MULATTOES, and PERSONS of COLOR, taken on board the *Steamer Columbia* of *Washington* whereof *Geo. Hughes* is Master, burthen *414 1/2* Tons, to be transported from the Port of *Alexandria Va* for the purpose of being sold or disposed of as Slaves, or to be held to service or labor.

Number of Entry	NAMES.	SEX.	AGE.	HEIGHT.		Whether Negra, Mulatto or Person of Color.	Owner's or Shipper's Name and Place of Residence.	Consignee's Name and Place of Residence.
				Feet.	Inches.			
1	Louis Curtis	male	25	5	2	White	Joseph Brown of Alexandria	Owner on Board
2	Peter Nix	do	24	5	5	Black		
3	Gustavus Chase	do	24	5	7	Black		
4	Phillip Greely	do	26	5	8	Black		
5	Mathew Marcist	do	23	5	5	Yellow		
6	Mathew Marcist	do	33	5	6	Black		
7	Isaac Turner	do	21	5	7	Black		
8	Perry Grace	do	22	5	7	Black		
9	Wmny Daily	Female	22	5	1	Black		
10	Sam Turner	male	26	5	7	Black		
11	Madison Pitts	do	24	5	7	Copper		
12	Ephraim Edmondson	do	33	5	7	Copper		
13	John Edmondson	do	37	5	10	Copper		
14	Sam Edmondson	do	31	5	5	Yellow		
15	Nicholas Edmondson	do	25	5	5	Black		
16	Mary Jane Edmondson	Female	17	5	6	Yellow		
17	Emily Edmondson	do	15	5	1	Yellow		

*Small & Bernard, Printers.*

Figure 10: Ship Manifest Listing the Edmondson Siblings as Cargo.

story. He and five of his 13 brothers and sisters planned to board the *Pearl*.

Two days before departure, three white men brought the *Pearl* to a secluded spot near the Seventh Street Wharf. Daniel Drayton, who chartered the small schooner for \$100, later wrote in his memoirs that he always believed in the nobility of the cause although he was paid for his services. Drayton was in charge of arranging for the “cargo.” Captain Edward Sayres, owner of the *Pearl*, was in charge of the ship and its one-man crew, a young sailor and cook named Chester English (Painter 1916).

To reach freedom, the *Pearl* would have to travel undetected more than 100 miles down the Potomac to the Chesapeake Bay, then another 120 miles up the bay, across the Delaware Canal and along the Delaware River to New Jersey, a free state (Drayton 1855).

The 77 slaves boarded the schooner *Pearl* in Washington on April 15, 1848, and made their way down the river by night, but their plan was exposed and a white posse went after them in a steamer and caught them near the mouth of the Potomac. The *Pearl* was towed back to Washington. When it passed the wharves at Alexandria, the slaves were displayed in chains to crowds of angry whites. The male slaves were manacled, as were Drayton and Sayres, who were charged with theft and illegal transportation of slaves, and all were marched across Pennsylvania Avenue to the city jail (Drayton 1855; Painter 1916).

Women and children were left unfettered. Mary and Emily Edmondson walked behind their brothers with heads high and arms around each other’s waists. According to one account of the procession toward the jail, an onlooker asked Emily Edmondson if she was ashamed of what she had done. She replied, “No sir, we are not, and if we had to go through it again, we’d do the same thing” (Painter 1916: 250).

When the procession reached Gannon’s slave market, its owner lunged at Daniel

Drayton and cut his ear with a knife. Other people tried to get at Sayres (Drayton 1855; Pacheco 2005; Painter 1916). In the growing panic the guards hailed a cab and bundled the two white prisoners off to jail. Members of the crowd concluded that the culprit must have been Gamaliel Bailey, editor of *The New Era*, a moderate abolitionist newspaper recently relocated to Washington in a building across from the U.S. Patent Office (now the National Portrait Gallery and Museum of American Art). About 1,000 people gathered in front of the newspaper, demanding that it be closed immediately, debating whether to lynch Bailey and hurling rocks and brickbats. The outrage over the attempted escape led to the three-day standoff that became known as the Washington Riot of 1848 (Pacheco 2005).

Drayton and Sayres awaited prosecution by Philip Barton Key, U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia and son of Francis Scott Key, author of the national anthem. The two were charged with 77 counts of theft and 77 counts of illegal transportation of slaves. Neither could meet his bond of \$77,000, \$1,000 for every slave (Drayton 1855; Painter 1916). Drayton and Sayres were pardoned by President Millard Fillmore after serving four years and four months (Drayton 1855; Pacheco 2005; Painter 1916).

Most of the slaves who were caught on the *Pearl* were sold by their owners. This was commonly the fate of runaways, whose owners used the threat of separation from family and familiarity to control “troublemakers” and to set an example for the remaining enslaved community (Deyle 2005; Gudmestad 2003; Faust 1991; Gutman 1976; Genovese 1974). Some people who knew the Edmondson family rushed to help. The woman who had hired Mary unsuccessfully attempted to buy her. The Edmondson siblings were all purchased by the firm of Bruin & Hill. Bruin was particularly interested in the Edmondson sisters, ages 14 and 16, and had in fact tried to buy them from their owner years before the *Pearl* incident. Stowe writes that in the midst of the events after the attempted escape on the *Pearl*, Joseph Bruin admitted having “had his eye upon the (Edmondson) family for twelve years, and had the promise of them should they ever be sold” (Stowe 1853:160). There is no explanation as to why the family attracted Bruin’s

attention.

Because of the fame of the *Pearl*, abolitionists in the north immediately began trying to raise money to purchase some of the runaways before they were sold to the south. The Edmondson sisters were attractive, light-skinned, and intelligent young women, and everyone knew that in New Orleans they would likely be sold as fancy girls. The threat of this “sale by a human flesh dealer of Christian girls,” as Rev. Henry Ward Beecher put it, aroused great indignation among abolitionists, and purchasing the sisters’ freedom became the focus of a campaign that included sermons, rallies, and letters published in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*. The Edmondsons’ father, Paul Edmondson, had earlier purchased his freedom and become active in abolitionist circles, and he organized and spoke at fundraisers himself. An offer of \$1,000 was made for one of the girls, but Bruin refused it, certain that he could get more in New Orleans (Ricks 2007; Pacheco 2005; Stowe 1853).

Bruin’s certainty was well founded. Although enslaved women had always been completely vulnerable to sexual abuse, the interstate slave trade had created a specific market for women who could be forced into sexual slavery. In a review of letters between Isaac Franklin (of Franklin & Armfield) and his associate in Richmond, Rice Ballard, historian Edward Baptist noted blatant and harrowing references to women being sold in the fancy market. In one of these letters, Franklin wrote:

The fancy girl, from Charlattsvilla (Charlottesville) – will you send her out or shall I charge you \$1100 for her? Say quick, I wanted to see her...I thought that an old Robber might be satisfied with two or three maids.

Isaac Franklin to Rice C. Ballard, January 11, 1834  
(Baptist 2004: page 184)

Baptist goes on to argue that the domestic slave trade ultimately resulted in the commodification of rape (specifically, the rape of enslaved women) by the slave traders who bought, moved and sold slaves across the South (Baptist 2004: 189). In the letters

between Ballard and Franklin, there are frequent references to the rape and abuse of enslaved women by the traders and the planters who purchased slaves from them. Bruin's admission that he had "had his eye upon" the Edmondson family – indicates that the fancy market was a major consideration in his business, as it had been in Franklin and Ballard's. The trade in fancy girls was the market with the highest returns for slave traders. Franklin and Ballard's letters, and Bruin's own transactions with abolitionists and families of young women at the slave jail, reveal that women were sold for prices between 1,100 and 5,000 dollars at various times during the existence of the trade, considerably more than slaves being considered for any other purpose (Baptist 2004).

Stowe recounts the harrowing journey of the Edmondson sisters from Alexandria to Baltimore via steamship, where they were "thrown into a slave-pen kept by a partner of Bruin and Hill" (Stowe 1853:160). They were kept in this slave pen in for three weeks, and eventually forced aboard the brig *Union* with 40 or so other slaves. They were placed in the custody of a man identified only as "Wilson, a partner of Bruin and Hill, who had the charge of the slaves at this prison" (Stowe 1853:161).

By the time the Edmondsons arrived in New Orleans, a yellow fever outbreak was erupting into a veritable epidemic. Few Louisiana planters were purchasing slaves, since the majority were from the Upper South and were not "seasoned" (Ricks 2007; Pacheco 2005; Painter 1916; Stowe 1853). It must have been apparent that the *Pearl* escapees were unlikely to sell and were certainly at risk of contracting yellow fever and dying, which would constitute a total financial loss for all the traders involved. Bruin and Hill had the Edmondsons brought back to Baltimore, although they cited quite a different reason in their statement to Paul Edmondson and the abolitionist community at large:

The bearer, Paul Edmondson, is the father of two girls, Mary Jane and Emily Catherine Edmondson. These girls have been purchased by us, and once sent to the south; and, upon the positive assurance that the money for them would be raised if they were brought back, they were returned...he has requested us to state the conditions upon which we will sell his daughters. We expect to start our servants to the south in a few days; if the sum of twelve hundred dollars (1200)

be raised and paid to us in fifteen days, or we will be assured of that sum, then we will retain them for twenty five days more, to give an opportunity for the raising of the other thousand and fifty (1050) dollars; otherwise we shall be compelled to send them along with our other servants” (Bruin 1848, in Stowe 1853: 164).

At that point Bruin and Hill had evidently severed their connection with the trader in Baltimore who organized transportation by ship (Ricks 2007; Stowe 1853) and intended to send the next group of slaves South in a coffle. This appears to have become standard practice for the firm after the events of 1848, since no other shipping manifests document shipments of slaves made by Bruin & Hill.

Paul Edmondson, Emily and Mary’s father, continued his tireless campaign to free his daughters. Armed with letters from supporters, he went to the New York offices of the Anti-Slavery Society, where he was sent to discuss his situation with the Reverend Beecher. Beecher’s church members in Brooklyn raised the necessary funds to purchase the girls’ freedom (Ricks 2007: 132). At the same time, Mary and Emily Edmondson, still imprisoned by Bruin, were engaged in caring for Bruin’s young daughter (Ricks 2007: 144). The girl became so attached to the sisters that she pleaded with her father not to send them away with the coffle. It is impossible to say how much such pleas counted to Joseph Bruin, or even how much the sisters actually mattered to the girl, who had surely seen hundreds of slaves pass through her father’s hands. Everyone who interacted with the sisters seemed to find them genuine, kind, and deeply devout. It is likely that Emily and Mary were simply behaving in accordance with their natural inclinations to be kind companions to a young child, and that they would have behaved the same way under any circumstances. But it is easy also to imagine that in doing so, the sisters hoped that she might intervene on their behalf. Stowe recounted the following episode regarding Bruin’s daughter:

The evening before the coffle was to start drew on. Mary and Emily went to the house to bid Bruin’s family good-by. Bruin had a little daughter who had been a pet and a favorite with the girls. She clung round them, cried, and begged them not to go. Emily told her that, if she wished to have them stay, she must go and ask her father. Away ran the little pleader, full of her errand; and was so very

earnest in her importunities, that he, to pacify her, said he would consent to their remaining if his partner, Captain Hill, would do so. At this time Bruin, hearing Mary crying aloud in the prison, went up to see her. With all the earnestness of despair, she made her last appeal to his feelings. She begged him to make this case his own, to think of his own dear little daughter – what if she were exposed to be torn away from every friend on earth, and cut off from all redemption, at the very moment, too, when deliverance was expected? (Stowe 1853: 164).

Emily and her sister Mary were liberated on November 4, 1848 (Ricks 2007; Pacheco 2005; Painter 1916; Stowe 1853), a result of the fundraising efforts of Reverend Beecher and the Anti-Slavery Society, their own unswerving determination and the perseverance of their own family. The fate of Emily and Mary's brothers who were also sold to Joseph Bruin is not well documented. Samuel Edmondson managed to escape from Bruin's business partner in Baltimore (Painter 1816), but the fate of the other two brothers is not known.

The Edmondson sisters were not the only female slaves who were threatened with a life of sexual slavery through Bruin's business. It was a threat he was nearly able to carry out in the tragic case of Emily Russell, another young woman who was sold to Bruin in 1850. She wrote a letter to her mother, Mrs. Nancy Cartwright, prior to her removal to the South (Blassingame 1977):

Alexandria, Virginia, Jan. 22 1850

My dear Mother, I take this opportunity of writing you a few lines to inform you that I am in Bruin's jail, and aunt Sally and all her children, and aunt Hagar and all her children, and grandmother is almost crazy. My dear mother, will you please come as soon as you can? I expect to go away very shortly. Oh mother! My dear mother! Come now and see your distressed and heartbroken daughter once more. Mother! My dear mother! Do not forsake me; for I feel desolate! Please come now.

Your daughter,  
Emily Russell

Shortly thereafter, the following letter (Blassingame 1977) was sent to Bruin:

New York, Jan. 28 1850

Mr. Joseph Bruin.

Sir; Mrs. Nancy Cartwright has learned that you have come into possession of her daughter Emily, as well as her two sisters, Sally and Hagar, with their children. Emily supposes that you design to send them to a southern market; but, from what I know of you, I have no idea that you prefer to do so (other things being equal) against the wishes of such a mother as Nancy is. Will you tell me, by return of mail, at what price you will sell Emily Russell to her mother, and how long you would give her to make up that amount? Also, at what price you hold her sisters and their children? I shall confidently expect a reply from you immediately; and, in the mean time, that you will not dispose of them.

William Harned, 61 John St.

Bruin wrote back to Harned but offered Mrs. Cartwright only eight days to raise the money to buy back her daughter, her sisters, and their children. He demanded \$5,300 for Sally, Hagar, and their children, and \$1,800 for Emily. The reply, from Bruin & Hill in Alexandria, dated January 31, 1850 (*The Liberator*, Feb. 15 1850, in Blassingame 1977), reads:

All I have to say about the matter, is that we paid very high for the negroes, and cannot afford to sell the girl Emily for less than EIGHTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS. This may seem a high price to you, but cotton being very high, consequently slaves are high. We have two or three offers for Emily from gentlemen from the South. She is said to be the finest looking woman in this country...We expect to start South with the negroes on the 8th of February, and if you intend to do any thing, you had better do it soon.

Mrs. Cartwright and Mr. Harned were unable to raise the money. Harned traveled to Alexandria to try to persuade Bruin to negotiate but was unsuccessful. The entire family was sent south in a coffle, and Emily Russell died on the journey while walking through Georgia. When she heard of her daughter's death, Emily's mother expressed only gratitude that Emily had escaped the fate that someone of her beauty was likely to experience in the fancy markets of New Orleans (Ricks 2007: 232).

The stories of Emily Russell and the Edmondsons make it clear that while Bruin was willing to treat abolitionists as paying customers (under extraordinary

circumstances), he was not willing to make any outstanding effort to accommodate them; indeed, it was quite contrary to his interests to do so. He clearly felt that even the enormous risk of sending people overland by coffle would result in a larger reward than he could expect from abolitionists, although they had met his demands in the past. Although only two cases can be documented through primary sources, it seems clear that Bruin reaped a substantial profit by selling attractive young women in New Orleans. If there was any doubt that Bruin was sufficiently ruthless to sell young women away from their families and into some form of sexual slavery, surely the case of Emily Russell dispels that uncertainty.

Despite a willingness to commit such horrific acts, Bruin's reputation was clearly important to him, and its significance is reflected in several of his actions and contemporary descriptions of his behavior. William Harned, the lawyer who represented Emily Russell's mother, described Bruin as "a middle-aged man, all smiles and politeness; very intelligent, and altogether woefully belying his profession" (Armistead 1853:10). An abolitionist who bargained with Bruin several years after the *Pearl* incident reported that Bruin was full of smiles and politeness, and that he had manners that would "eclipse even Lord Chesterfield himself" (*New York Independent*, April 18, 1850). Harriet Beecher Stowe, who plainly deplored Bruin's actions in the case of the Edmondson sisters, nonetheless comes remarkably close to excusing Bruin's behavior, remarking that he was "such a man as never would have been found in the profession of slave-dealer, had not the most respectable and religious part of the community defended the right to buy and sell" (Stowe 1853:165). She adds that Bruin had been hurt by the attacks on his character by her father, the Reverend Beecher. Mary Kay Ricks arrived at a similar conclusion about Bruin in her book, *Escape on the Pearl*: "Joseph Bruin cultivated the appearance and manner of a gentleman, someone of religion and culture, and believed he was a slave dealer by profession, not by definition" (Ricks 2007:181).

Bruin sought to differentiate himself from the other well-known and long-established slave dealers in the mid-Atlantic, like Hope Slatter and Joseph Donovan in

Baltimore. Stowe's account of the Edmondsons' travails indicates that unlike Donovan, he did not speak coarsely to them or forbid them from engaging in prayer. Bruin even wrote to Reverend Beecher, when he heard what had been said about him at anti-slavery rallies in New York, complaining that even though he was a "magnanimous, noble, most Christian slave trader," Beecher and his followers "would not touch him with a ten-foot pole" (Rick 2007: 209). When the sisters returned from New Orleans, Bruin did not return them to the slave jail but made accommodations for them in his own private residence next door. In that way the Edmondsons came to know Bruin's youngest daughter, and to work for their freedom from within the confines of their prison, however comfortable it may have been.

It is easy to see, in these descriptions of Bruin's gentlemanly aspirations and occasional pretensions to kindness, the inspiration for Stowe's character Mr. Haley in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe acknowledged Bruin's influence on the character, and added (Stowe 1853:7):

These men are exceedingly sensitive with regard to what they consider the injustice of the world, in excluding them from good society, simply because they undertake to supply a demand in the community, which the bar, the press, and the pulpit, all pronounce to be a proper one. In this respect, society certainly imitates the unreasonableness of the ancient Egyptians, who employed a certain class of men to prepare dead bodies for embalming, but flew at them with sticks and stones the moment the operation was over, on account of the sacrilegious liberty which they had taken.

Despite Stowe's incisive critique of his essentially avaricious nature, Bruin continued to believe that he was kinder and more considerate than other slave traders. The fallacy of this belief is apparent in a conversation he had a few years later with William Harned, in which he refused to sell Emily Russell to her mother. According to Harned, Bruin even added that he was "glad" the abolitionists could not raise his exorbitant price for Emily, since "I don't want to send her north; I prefer that she should go to the south" (Armistead 1853:10). In spite of his elegant deportment, Harned later described Bruin as "heartless beyond expression" (Armistead 1853:10).

In addition to protesting perceived slights against his character and maintaining polished manners, Bruin commissioned portraits of himself, his wife, Martha, and his mother, Mary Willson Bruin, from the itinerant painter John Toole, a portraitist widely known for his depictions of wealthy and influential Virginians. These paintings are recorded in the Smithsonian American Art Museum's Inventories of American Painting and Sculpture database, but remain in the possession of members of the Bruin family and have not been reproduced or digitized. The fact of their existence is sufficient to illustrate that Bruin pursued not only a successful, independent business that furnished him and his family with wealth and comfort; he also wanted all the visible trappings that would communicate his success to his neighbors and peers.

The trade in slaves obviously provided Joseph Bruin and his family with wealth, but they benefited from slavery in other ways as well. Emily and Mary Edmondson and their brothers were required to "wash for thirteen men" during their first tenure at the slave jail, and were again "employed in washing, ironing and sewing" when they returned to Alexandria from New Orleans (Stowe 1853:160, 164). After they returned to Alexandria, but before they were finally liberated, the Edmondson sisters were compelled to sew "show dresses" from "gay calico," in which they would be exhibited at the slave market (Stowe 1853:164). In this way they were forced to do the work of making themselves more marketable, to Bruin's profit and their own ruin.

Despite Harriet Beecher Stowe's assertion that Bruin was a man "of very different character from many in his trade" (clearly his genteel veneer was persuasive), he kept people in a torment of uncertainty, sometimes for very long periods of time, and benefited not only in practical terms (e.g., someone to do the washing), but also in less tangible ways. The ownership of so many slaves undoubtedly polished his reputation as a respectable member of the upper middle class. He had advanced from wandering the countryside in search of likely slaves, to an apprenticeship in an established (if fading) firm, to a successful partnership (Bruin & Hill) in approximately six years. After he

dissolved his partnership with Hill in 1852, his business continued to thrive, and his fortune, as reported in the census and tax records, was considerable.

Several other factors may have influenced the nature and success of Bruin's business. By the 1840s Alexandria was a 100-year-old city, and although plantations continued to operate in the surrounding countryside, many of the slaves available to traders were urban slaves who were accustomed to a greater amount of leeway in their daily activities than those people enslaved on farms. On the topic of urban slavery, Frederick Douglass wrote, "A city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation...he is much better fed and clothed, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation" (Douglass 1845: 38). A later scholar of urban slavery opined that "black men and women were able to find the means to sustain a far greater degree of self-pride and group cohesion than the system they lived under ever intended for them to be able to do" (Levine 1971: xi). It is not that this system is now seen to be less cruel, but rather that "human beings are more resilient, less malleable, and less able to live without some sense of cultural cohesion, individual autonomy, and self-worth" (Levine 1971: xi).

At the same time, the threat of being sold South was kept perpetually at the forefront of peoples' consciousness as they witnessed coffles, slave markets, and the operation of slave jails on a daily basis (Faust 1991; Levine 1971; Gutman 1976; Genovese 1974). Such conditions may have led to urban slaves having access to greater networks for communication and potential avenues for escape, but also the very real and constant fear of being sold away from their families and communities, among other threats. Slave traders like Bruin took advantage of the tradition among slave owners of selling slaves who made trouble to the Deep South as both a punishment and an instrument of control. The Virginia economy was stronger in the 1840s and 1850s than it had been during Franklin & Armfield's heyday, but where their success was driven mostly by the simple arithmetic of supply and demand, Bruin's was fueled in large part by the peculiar and tenuous balance of power between slave owners and slaves, and by

the market for fancy girls that Franklin & Armfield and others had helped to create. This complicated relationship was highlighted in Harriet Beecher Stowe's account of the incident of the *Pearl* in the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

#### **AFTERMATH**

After helping to obtain the sisters' freedom, the congregation at Henry Ward Beecher's Brooklyn church continued to contribute money so that they could attend school. Emily overcame the oppression of slavery and championed the emancipation of slaves, working as an outspoken abolitionist alongside Frederick Douglass and others. While studying, Emily and Mary traveled in the state of New York to participate in anti-slavery rallies. Both sisters attended the protest convention in Cazenovia during the summer of 1850 to demonstrate against the Fugitive Slave Act, later passed by Congress (Figure 11). The convention, led by Frederick Douglass (shown in Figure 11 seated at right), declared all slaves to be prisoners of war and warned the nation of an unavoidable insurrection of slaves unless they were emancipated.



Figure 11: The Edmondsons Attending an 1850 Anti-Slavery Convention in Cazenovia, New York. The sisters stand between the two figures seated at the table. Source: Syracuse library Special Collections.

In 1853 Emily and Mary Edmondson attended the Young Ladies Preparatory School at Oberlin College in Ohio through the support of Reverend Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe. After Mary's death from tuberculosis at the age of 20, 18-year-old Emily

returned to the Washington, D.C. area and enrolled in the Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington under the tutelage of Myrtilla Miner. The school trained young African American women to become teachers. City official Walter Lennox, who in 1848 had co-authored a handbill calling for calm during the Washington Riot, published a statement in the *National Intelligencer* on May 6, 1857. Describing the school as “misguided philanthropy,” he warned that “we cannot forget the events which disturbed the peace of our country some few years since, consequent upon the act of Drayton and Sayres...”

By 1860 Emily was married. After living for many years in Sandy Spring, Maryland, Emily and her husband moved to Anacostia, where they became founding members of the Hillsdale community. Emily continued working in the abolitionist movement and maintained her relationship with her neighbor, Frederick Douglass. One of Emily’s granddaughters is quoted as having written, “Grandma & Frederick Douglass were like sister and brother—great abolitionists. I sat on his knee in his office in the house that is now a museum in Anacostia where we were born” (Ricks 2007: 178). Emily Catherine Edmondson Fisher Johnson died on September 15, 1895 (Ricks 2007).

Joseph Bruin’s name resonated among former slaves as late as the 1930s, a hundred years after he embarked on his career as a trader. Several former slaves recalled Bruin during interviews with the Federal Writer’s Project. Frank Bell watched Bruin buy his uncle at the Seventh Street Wharf in the District of Columbia. Bell, born in Vienna, Virginia, in 1834, recounted the story to interviewer Claude Anderson. He described his uncle Moses Bell’s career as the black overseer on a plantation owned by John Fallons. Moses Bell had run away several times, and Fallons had vowed to sell him South if he ran away again. He followed through on that promise in 1860, when Frank Bell had been hired out to a store in the city:

Well on dis day, August I think it was, I was working in Bacon and Brothers store, on Pennsylvania Avenue, 'tween sixth and seventh Streets, when old Marsler stepped to the door an' called me, "Come on boy, an' tell your Uncle goodbye." Well I come out an' got in the wagon an' old Marsler drove me down to the 7th Street Wharf, to ole Joe Bruin's omnibus where they had them. Unlce Moses was standing there chained up with 40 or 50 other slaves what had been sold along with him. They was all runaways, there was a gang of them what had tried to get to Canada. All but ten had been caught, including Uncle Moses... and all these runaways what had been sold was chained round they wrist. An' old Marsler stopped beside the coffle and told me to get out [manuscript ends] [Perdue et al. 1976:27].

Fannie Brown, from Alexandria, told Faith Morris about seeing Bruin conduct a slave auction in Fredericksburg, Virginia, around 1860:

I recollect one day I was in town an' 'cided I'd while 'way some time watchin' 'em. I went up close among de white folks gathered roun' de warehouse peepin' in through de windows to see de slaves. Den after a big crown come roun', I heard a nigger trader say, "Bruen (dat was de sellin' man), let my niggers out. I see Mr. Mellon in de crowd, an' he's a good buyer." Den old Bruen say, "Jim, come on out," Jim, a big six-foot, tall slave, come out smilin', and his shirt was took off, and den dey start zamminin' him. Dey jerked his mouth open an' look at his teeth an' den slapped him on his back, an' den dey said, "Dis is a prime nigger. Look at dese teeth." Somebody say one hundred dollars, another two hundred and so on 'till one thousand dollars was reached. Den Jim was knocked down to de highes' bidder an' was handcuffed and put in de coffle wid de other slaves dat had been sol' [Perdue et al. 1976: 60].

In 1903 one African American attested that Bruin was the best known and most feared of all the Alexandria traders, and another elderly gentleman recounted that he had been sold from Bruin's slave pen in New Orleans. In 1861, the year the Civil War began, Bruin claimed to have been in business in New Orleans for 26 years (Pacheco 2005).

It is unjust and disappointing that such a ruthless, smooth, and plausible individual as Bruin should suffer little in the way of comeuppance in the years after the Civil War and Emancipation, but it appears that this was the case. Bruin's daughter and son-in-law were able to recover Bruin's real estate in Alexandria, which had been auctioned off after being seized by the U.S. government, and Joseph Bruin returned to his residence at 1707 Duke Street after fleeing Alexandria during the Union occupation of

the city (Ricks 2007: 307). Although he returned in straitened circumstances, he was neither destitute nor without resources. By 1870 Bruin appears to have established himself as a farmer, with \$1,000 of real estate and personal property valued at \$2,559 (U.S. Census 1870). As described earlier (see Chapter 3), his wife, six of his seven children, and several nieces and nephews were at home with him, and he employed one white farm laborer and one black housekeeper. By 1880, according to the census, Joseph Bruin had taken up a new profession as a baker, and still lived with his wife in his house in Alexandria's West End. Two of his sons were working with him, and the Bruins employed one domestic servant, described in the census as a "Mulatto" woman. Bruin died in 1882, and the Duke Street property was sold the following year.

However humble and harmless his later business might have been, Bruin's exploits as recorded in *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* and his long tenure as Alexandria's most notorious "dealer in human flesh," as Reverend Beecher called him, would be his sole legacy. His reputation had spread so far that he was referenced in abolitionist volumes and newspapers in almost every Northern state. The enslaved victims of his trade would carry their memories of him into the following century. In this way Bruin became the model of the greedy slave trader, his name known to thousands, and his slave jail became a monument to oppression.

The next chapter provides an overview of the interstate slave trade, which serves to contextualize Bruin's slave trading business. The tactics used by slave traders in their dealings underscore the lengths to which they would go in order to secure profit. Importantly, the impact the trade had on enslaved communities and individuals is revealed through contemporary observations of slave auctions, including accounts from the perspectives of those who were tragically sold South.

## Chapter 6: The North American Slave Trade

*De ship it come to dis country to New Orleans. Dar I wuz put on de block an' sold. All de blacks wuz chained an' all deir close wuz ripped off w'en dey wuz gittin' 'em ready fer de block. Dey all--chillun, women, an' men--had ter stan' on a big wooden block, lak de butcher chops an' saws his meat on now-a-days. De folks what wuz gwine ter buy de slaves, dey come 'roun' an' pinch you, an' feel your body all ober, an' look fer scars an' sees you got any broken bones 'fore dey buy you. Effen any ob de slaves don' want ter take deir close off, de oberseer he git a long, black whip an' cut 'em up hard. – Silvia King (n.d.)*

At least one million enslaved men, women, and children crossed state lines between 1790 and 1860 as the center of American slavery shifted from the tobacco fields of the Chesapeake to the cotton plantations of the Deep South. Driving much of this forced migration was a rough but extensive network of slave buyers, transporters, and sellers, who collectively brought order and regularity to the business of trading in human beings. Joseph Bruin was only one of these traders, but he was demonstrably one of the most successful, and he aspired to be different. In this chapter, I will provide a broader historical context for Bruin's slave-trading operation, indicating how it was connected to the interstate slave trade that linked the Upper and Deep South. The demographics of this trade will also be revealed, demonstrating the horrific extent and success of the trade in displacing hundreds of thousands of enslaved men, women, and children, and breaking up families in the process. Bruin's role in this trade, discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter, will be re-iterated here in order to clarify his impact and profit in the internal slave trade.

### DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSIONS

The interstate slave trade involved the forced movement of large numbers of people over a period of 70 years, and was a major force in the changing demography of North America in the nineteenth century, and yet it is difficult to estimate the actual number of enslaved people who were moved, either with white slaveholders or as a result of sales.

The first major historical study of the trade was Frederic Bancroft's *Slave Trading in the Old South*, published in 1931. Bancroft introduced a demographic approach to the problem of estimating the scope of the slave-trading business. Using data from the Federal population census, Bancroft estimated that the interstate movement of slaves involved about one million people between 1800 and 1860. The peak period of the trade was in the 1830s, when about 134,000 slaves left Virginia; the number declined to 83,000 in the 1840s and 81,000 in the 1850s (Bancroft 1931:386). So many slaves went west, either with their masters or by sale, that the enslaved populations of some Virginia counties shrank by nearly half; the slave population of Fairfax County, 6,485 in 1820, had fallen to 3,451 by 1840 (Artemel et al. 1987:16).

Bancroft's rough estimate was the only serious attempt to quantify the interstate slave trade until 1974, when two economists, Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, published *Time on the Cross: the Economics of American Negro Slavery*. Fogel and Engerman applied the mathematical tools of econometrics to American slavery. Using the Inward Slave Manifests from the Port of New Orleans, they attempted a more rigorous examination of the interstate slave trade.

They found that among the slaves who were sold by slave dealers, nearly 60 percent were men. Since (according to their findings) the overall migration to the new, western states was roughly balanced between men and women, Fogel and Engerman calculated that no more than 16 percent of the movement of slaves could have been by sale. Fogel and Engerman also disputed the notion that slave families were regularly broken up by sale. Very few of the women in their sample were sold with small children. Fogel and Engerman argued that the women sold in New Orleans were mostly single, and they suggested that this probably applied to the men as well. However, their more rigorous count of the slaves who migrated roughly agreed with Bancroft's, since they concluded that 835,000 slaves had moved between states in the 1800 to 1860 period (Fogel and Engerman 1974:48).

Fogel and Engerman's conclusions have been very controversial. In addition to attempting to quantify the domestic slave trade, Fogel and Engerman also sought to untangle several complex misconceptions about slavery. In the course of their analysis, they arrived at the conclusion that slaves benefited from slavery because a large percentage of the profits they earned for slaveholders came back to them in the form of food, clothing, and shelter. Fogel and Engerman also concluded that few slave families were sold apart from one another. Gutman (1975) scrutinized Fogel and Engerman's work in great detail, and criticized their findings on the basis of numerous problems. Gutman observed that their argument rested on evidence from a single plantation, and one not likely to be representative of the plantation economy.

Historians also criticized the methods of calculation employed in Fogel and Engerman's study. Their findings were based on "cliometrics," which is described as a systematic application of economic theory, econometric techniques, and other formal/mathematical methods to the study of history (Hughes and Reiter 1960). Perhaps due to the enormous backlash against cliometrics by many well-known historians, cliometricians felt some duty to defend the cliometric methodology and came down harder on the authors, questioning the quality of Fogel and Engerman's data, analysis and interpretation. Sutch's work on the material treatment of slaves was a detailed attempt to replicate the results of Fogel and Engerman and he "found so many errors of computation or citation, data so selective or weak, and the presentation of the results so distorted that I have been forced to conclude that *Time on the Cross* is a failure" (Sutch 1975: 339). But it was not a failure of the methodology; "the fault must lie with the authors." In Sutch's view, "quantitative methods can help in producing a more accurate and complete portrayal of slavery" (Sutch 1975: 429).

Subsequent examination of the available documentation about the slave trade has revealed the true complexity of the problem. Records of slave sales, shipping manifests that list slaves as cargo, and business records of individual slave traders are all

incomplete or simply absent. Census records are helpful for simply counting numbers of new residents, but these records do not distinguish between slaves who were sold South through traders and those who were brought South with slaveowners who were migrating southwest. Robert Fogel also addressed many of the criticisms of his and Engerman's earlier work in a comprehensive review of current scholarship titled *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (1994), which refined many of the conclusions presented in *Time on the Cross*. Although the volume does not attempt to quantify the slave trade, it does offer a particularly relevant insight: that acts of resistance against the domestic slave trade were largely futile, due to the economic power and legal and political influence the slave trade created.

There have been further attempts to assess the demographic impact of the interstate slave trade. Historian Michael Tadman (1989:33) found 97 traders and trading firms active in South Carolina in the 1850s. Tadman identified records of more than 3,000 slaves sold to traders in South Carolina, and they were equally divided between men and women. By Tadman's calculation (which also relied on a cliometric approach), about 80 percent of the slaves who moved west had been sold. Further contradicting Fogel and Engerman's conclusions, Tadman estimated that of the approximately 800,000 interstate slave sales made in the years before the Civil War, about one quarter resulted in married couples being separated from one another, and at least half resulted in families being destroyed. Young children sold apart from their parents and siblings made up a substantial portion of the latter figure. Essentially all sales resulted in the destruction of communities Johnson 1999: 19; Tadman 1989: 147-171).

Estimates of the percentages of slaves sold, versus those who were brought South with the planters who owned them, range between 14 and 80 percent. It may be that the lower number is accurate for the time before 1820, when the interstate trade was still conducted primarily by individual traders. As historian Stephen Deyle has pointed out, what *can* be demonstrated is that the number of white migrants decreased during the nineteenth century (Deyle 2005: 19). As the number of white migrants dropped, the

movement of slaves into the Deep South increased. From 1810 to 1820, 50,000 black migrants entered the states of the Deep South. During the 1820s, the number increased to more than 80,000, then rose to more than 150,000 in the 1830s (Deyle 2005). The fact that these numbers rise correspondingly with the growth of the domestic slave trade is indicative of the demographic impact of slave trading operations.

Another significant indicator of the importance of the slave trade is economic. Scholars estimate the capital invested in slaves in 1860 at \$3 billion: three times more than was invested in the nation's manufacturing industries, seven times the value of all the currency in circulation in the country, and forty-eight times the federal government's annual budget (Deyle 2005; Johnson 2004).

Slaves moved west from the Chesapeake region in three ways. Some went by ship, mainly to New Orleans. This part of the trade was carefully documented because the trans-Atlantic shipment of slaves had been banned, and maritime traders had to prove that their cargo originated in the United States. However, shipments to New Orleans made up only a small part of the total trade. During the 1830s, when more than 200,000 slaves moved between states, the New Orleans manifests record only 10,658 names (Wesley 1942:169). Some manifests are certainly missing, but as many as half of them probably survive, which would mean that the shipboard trade to New Orleans was only about 10 percent of the total movement. Some slaves were sent on foot to the Ohio River, where they were put on boats and floated down to Memphis, Natchez, or New Orleans. The busiest slave port in the United States was probably Wheeling, West Virginia (Gudmestad 2003:8). The most common method of transport was to march the slaves overland. The slaves were chained together in long lines called coffles. The overland trade left few records, but scattered references in slave traders' records suggest that it made up more than half and perhaps three-quarters of the trade. Usually a coffle was made up of 30 to 40 slaves, but some contained more than a hundred (Tadman 1989:8). The process was described by John Brown, who was sold at the age of 10, and was forced to march from Virginia to Georgia:

...we had reached the main road, and had come up with a gang of negroes, some of whom were hand-cuffed two and two, and fastened to a long chain running between the two ranks. There were also a good many women and children, but none of these were chained. The children seemed to be all above ten years of age, and I soon learnt that they had been purchased in different places, and were for the most part strangers to one another and to the negroes in the coffle. They were waiting for Finney to come up. I fell into the rank, and we set off on our journey to Georgia... Our journey lasted six weeks, as we made a good many stoppages by the way, to enable the speculator, Finney, to buy up, and change away, and dispose of his slaves. I do not recollect the names of all the places we passed through. We crossed the Roanoke river by ferry, and went on to Halifax, and from there to Raleigh in North Carolina...

When I joined the coffle, there was in it a negro woman named Critty, who had belonged to one Hugh Benford. She was married, in the way that slaves are, but as she had no children, she was compelled to take a second husband. Still she did not have any offspring. This displeased her master, who sold her to Finney. Her anguish was intense, and within about four days from the time I saw her first, she died of grief. It happened in the night, whilst we were encamped in the woods. We set off in the morning, leaving her body there. We noticed, however, that two of Finney's associates remained behind, as we conjectured to dispose of the corpse. They fetched up with us again about two hours after. (Brown 1855:16).

Railroads must also have moved many slaves in the 1850s. Jacob Stroyer, who was born in 1849 and lived as a slave near Columbus, South Carolina, included in his memoirs this account of a major slave sale on a nearby plantation:

When the day came for them to leave, some, who seemed to have been willing to go at first, refused, and were handcuffed together and guarded on their way to the cars by white men. The women and children were driven to the depot in crowds, like so many cattle, and the sight of them caused great excitement among master's negroes. Imagine a mass of uneducated people shedding tears and yelling at the tops of their voices in anguish and grief.

The victims were to take the cars from a station called Clarkson turnout, which was about four miles from master's place. The excitement was so great that the overseer and driver could not control the relatives and friends of those that were going away, as a large crowd of both old and young went down to the depot to see them off. Louisiana was considered by the slaves as a place of slaughter, so those who were going did not expect to see their friends again. While passing along, many of the negroes left their masters' fields and joined us as we marched to the cars; some were yelling and wringing their hands, while others were singing little hymns that they were accustomed to for the consolation of those that were going away, such as

"When we all meet in heaven,

There is no parting there;

When we all meet in heaven,

There is parting no more."

We arrived at the depot and had to wait for the cars to bring the others from the Sumterville Jail, but they soon came in sight, and when the noise of the cars died away we heard wailing and shrieks from those in the cars. While some were weeping, others were fiddling, picking banjo, and dancing as they used to do in their cabins on the plantations. Those who were so merry had very bad masters, and even though they stood a chance of being sold to one as bad or even worse, yet they were glad to be rid of the one they knew.

While the cars were at the depot, a large crowd of white people gathered, and were laughing and talking about the prospect of negro traffic; but when the cars began to start and the conductor cried out, "all who are going on this train must get on board without delay," the colored people cried out with one voice as though the heavens and earth were coming together, and it was so pitiful, that those hard hearted white men who had been accustomed to driving slaves all their lives, shed tears like children. As the cars moved away we heard the weeping and wailing from the slaves as far as human voice could be heard; and from that time to the present I have neither seen nor heard from my two sisters, nor any of those who left Clarkson depot on that memorable day. (Stroyer 1890:27)

## **SLAVE TRADING**

To facilitate the growing trade, a new breed of businessman appeared. Bancroft observed that slave traders were already in business by 1818, when men were observed in Winchester, Virginia, wearing signs on their hats that said "Cash for Negroes" (Bancroft 1931:18). More recent scholars have found evidence of active slave traders even earlier, including a man who took out advertisements at Richmond in 1787 stating that he wanted to buy "One hundred Negroes, from 20 to 30 years old, for which a good price will given. They are to be sent out of state, therefore we shall not be particular respecting the character of any of them – Hearty and well made is all that is necessary" (Tadman 1989:15).

Slave traders were viewed as shady characters by many Southerners, but the profits of the trade were so great that there was never a shortage of men willing to go into the business. The most successful traders were able to buy plantations and join the Southern elite; Isaac Franklin, the ultimate success story of the slave trade, owned a grand Tennessee mansion and half a dozen plantations in three states when he died in 1846. In a major study of slave trading in South Carolina in the 1850s, Michael Tadman found that most South Carolina traders were actually rather small players. They roamed rural districts in the Piedmont region looking for slaves to buy, sometimes taking out advertisements in small local papers. Some were part timers who also farmed or dealt in other goods, but most were full-time professionals (Tadman 1993:44). Traders prided themselves on being good judges of slave value, knowing from a quick inspection how hard a slave would work and whether he had any disabilities or weaknesses. Children were sometimes valued by the pound, with the idea that their size determined the amount of work they would be able to do:

A ladder was set upright against the end of the building outside, to one rung of which they made a stilyard fast. The first thing Finney did was to weight his saddle, the weight of which he knew, to see whether the stilyard was accurately adjusted. Having satisfied himself of this, a rope was brought, both ends of which were tied together, so that it formed a large noose or loop. This was hitched over the hook of the stilyard, and I was seated in the loop. After I had been weighed, there was a deduction made for the rope. I do not recollect what I weighed, but the price I was sold for amounted to three hundred and ten dollars. (Brown 1855:14).

Planters often accused traders of rigging prices, and there is some evidence that they tried to do so. A letter from trader J.J. Toler describes a large public auction held in Suffolk, Virginia in 1859 at which he and some associates agreed in advance about which slaves they would buy and what price, only to have their scheme foiled by another cabal of traders (Tadman 1989:51). These estate auctions or sheriff's sales were not the largest part of the traders' business, comprising only a few percent of sales. Most often the traders bought one or a family of slaves from planters in need of cash, building up a coffle from many purchases. Auctions did, however, play an important role in setting prices for whole regions, giving both buyers and sellers an idea of the state of the market

(Tadman 1989:53).

Buyers were quite right to distrust slave traders, who were by and large extremely ruthless businessmen who scrupled at nothing to make their fortunes, including outright deception. Isaac Franklin, quite possibly the most successful slave trader in the history of the business, once buried numerous slaves who had died of cholera in shallow graves in Natchez, Mississippi. He didn't want prospective buyers to have cause to question the health of his slaves (Gudmestad 2003: 93-94). When the bodies were uncovered during heavy rains, Franklin was widely and heavily criticized, and white citizens of New Orleans and Natchez took steps to regulate the slave trade more carefully (although it doesn't appear that Franklin's business suffered very much). Hiding illnesses, either by secretly burying slaves who died or by simply masking the symptoms, was a common practice among slave dealers. In addition to ensuring that slaves were well (and usually uniformly) dressed, they often concealed not only illnesses, but also mutilations, signs of age, and other infirmities (Deyle 2005: 137). Walter Johnson emphasized that slaves being sold had to be made to appear as "ideal slaves, exaggerated in the typicality of their appearance, too healthy, too uniform, too clean," turning individuals into symbols of their saleability (Johnson 1999: 121).

As the literal tricks of their trade became more widely known, traders had to develop new ways of marketing their product to an increasingly scrutinizing clientele. They offered warranties, began to emphasize their long durations in the slave market, and provided references (Deyle 2005; 137). Some diversified, and operated general stores where slaves were treated like any other commodity (Deyle 2005: 139). Others simply became better at marketing slaves. Traders became adept advertisers, "taking hold of slaveholders' fantasies about the slave market, wrapping them around the slaves they had for sale, and selling them back to the buyers as indications of those buyers' own good fortune and discernment" (Johnson 1999: 125).

Trade in the larger commercial centers, including Baltimore, Alexandria,

Richmond, and Charleston, was organized rather differently. In these cities some of the larger traders operated permanent facilities, called “slave jails,” at which they kept their own stock and boarded slaves for itinerant traders. These firms were often organized as partnerships, one partner handling the buying of slaves in the Chesapeake and the other the selling of them in New Orleans or Natchez. Others acted as brokers, bringing together small, local dealers with long-distance traders, or as auction clearinghouses. Newspaper reports indicated that the larger houses did as much as \$2 million in business a year (Tadman 1989:61; Gudmestad 2003:17).

Some planters from Mississippi and Alabama preferred to cut out the middleman and travel to Virginia to buy slaves themselves. Hotels in Richmond and Baltimore catered to these travelers by providing slave jails on the premises where slaves could be kept until they were ready to leave. Some planters went out hunting for slaves to buy, but others took out newspaper ads and waited for buyers to come to them. In their advertisements they were careful to specify that they were not traders but “gentlemen” who were buying slaves “for their own use and not for sale” (Gudmestad 2003:12). Some went north hoping to save money by cutting out the 20 to 30% profits earned by slave traders. Others wanted to make inquiries about the character of the slaves they were buying, since they knew that some owners sold their most troublesome slaves to dealers. Some seem to have been trying to avoid the most sordid and troublesome aspects of slave buying by taking a personal interest. They advertised that they wanted to buy families and that they intended to keep families together. Some professional slave traders saw planters as rivals and resented their intrusion into the market, but other traders tried to make alliances with planters, offering their assistance in finding slaves to purchase, boarding them, and transporting them to the planters’ home states – for a price, of course. Trader James Hutcherson of Alexandria took out an advertisement in 1827 offering to “visit persons who are strangers in the market” and advise them about how to find and purchase slaves (Gudmestad 2003:17).

## **DYNAMICS OF THE SLAVE TRADE: FROM WASHINGTON TO NEW ORLEANS**

Prior to 1820, most of the interstate movement of slave resulted mainly from white owners migrating to new lands with their workforce in tow. But as the white migration slowed after 1820, the demand for labor in the Deep South did not decrease correspondingly, and the opportunity opened for speculation in human flesh. The most successful slave traders rapidly assimilated themselves to a capitalist ethos and organized their businesses along lines that would have been familiar to northern entrepreneurs. They formed partnerships to separate the tasks of purchase, transport, and sale; they purchased their own ships to allow for a regular and predictable schedule of deliveries; they established permanent headquarters with private jailing facilities; and they emphasized their ability to conduct transactions in cash. The largest slave traders also made use of local agents to handle the most disgraceful task of separating recently purchased children from their mothers, husbands from their wives. This interstate market functioned entirely with profit, not honor, in mind, and it represented the most blatant form of capitalistic exploitation in the South (Bancroft 1931; Deyle 2005; Gudmestad 2003: 184; Johnson 1999; Tadman 1989).

This trade was deeply feared, hated and resented by the slaves themselves, who were torn away from their homes and families and placed at auction like cattle, and it was the focus of much agitation by abolitionists. Even many slave-owning planters disliked (or claimed to dislike) the practice, which undercut their paternalistic pretensions; how could they claim to be the guardians of their slaves' welfare when they were treating them as saleable commodities? But the economic imperatives were so strong that the trade thrived despite the controversy. As the nature of agriculture in the Upper South changed, planters wanted to reduce their enslaved workforces (Johnson 1999; Tadman 1989). Many planters were shifting away from tobacco, a crop that required a great deal of labor, and using their land for less labor-intensive businesses such as raising cattle and sheep, growing wheat, or even timbering. Faced with a declining need for agricultural workers and the demand for slaves in from the newly cleared lands in the west, many

planters set aside their scruples and sold their “excess” slaves. Thomas Jefferson sold some of his slaves as early as 1793, and the Byrds of Westover sold more than 50 in 1814 (Bancroft 1931:14).

There have been several historical studies of the domestic slave trade in recent years, and it is critical to understand the history these studies describe in order to comprehend the experiences of the slaves that passed through Bruin’s Alexandria jail. In *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* (1989) Michael Tadman examined the slave-master relationship and the claims by slave owners that they were paternalistic, although they actively bought and sold African Americans as commodities. The slave trade in the antebellum South, according to Tadman, “occurred, not because of crippling debt or the death of owners, but overwhelmingly for speculative reasons” (Tadman 1989: 210). White slave owners reasoned that the disruption of the lives of African American families and individuals was minimal and temporary; presuming that blacks were inferior emotionally and intellectually allowed them to depict themselves as paternalistic protectors even as enslaved families were torn apart (Johnson 1999; Tadman 1989).

This is demonstrably true in the details of Bruin’s business operations, but it does not encompass the meanings of all of his transactions. Bruin generally purchased slaves for the financial profit he would realize when he sold them in New Orleans, but he also put slaves to work, both in his own home and at the jail. He realized not only financial gain, but also an enhancement of his own social status through the labor of the slaves he purchased. As has been detailed in Chapter 5, a polished, high-status image was part of Bruin’s goal, which created a fundamental contradiction in his life: he pursued wealth and all its social trappings through an occupation that was almost universally reviled by wealthy Southerners, who struggled to maintain the illusion of paternalism even as they patronized Bruin and other traders, and bought and sold slaves.

This was not the only issue bound up within the interstate slave trade. Steven

Deyle's analysis of the internal slave trade in *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (2005), reinforced the previous arguments about the slave trade, but also emphasized its role in the market revolution. "The domestic trade" he maintains, "was not simply a consequence of this development but a central component in propelling it" (Deyle 2005: 6). The participants in the slave trade, the buyers, sellers and traders, worked to create better markets for slaves and were the driving force behind the burgeoning economy in the Deep South. They also helped the states of the Upper South, which had faced numerous economic depressions due to the failure of crops in the exhausted soils of the Chesapeake region, turn their so-called "surplus slaves" into highly marketable commodities. The nineteenth century saw many slaveowners come to view their slaves almost as currency, and slaveholders readily adopted the market-oriented language employed by slave traders when talking about their slaves (Deyle 2005: 143-144, 157-159). As callous as Bruin's references to the people in his prison seemed (see chapter 5), it was actually relatively mild compared to the written discussions held by other traders (Baptist 2004; Deyle 2005). Several examples, especially pertaining to female slaves, are discussed in Chapter 7.

Deyle is also one of the few historians of the commerce in slaves to provide an extended discussion of the local slave trade. He observes that local sales reaffirmed a community's public commitment to slavery. Auctions were social occasions that almost became ritualistic in their ability to maintain order within the slave society, as buyers used their cash to sanction the future of slavery. Still, the blatant and public exploitation of slaves *could* become offensive even if slavery was accepted as a matter of course. Itinerant or out-of-town traders frequently found themselves at odds with local traders, and they were often elbowed out of transactions and derided as shady characters. Maligning and throwing out the greedy speculators affirmed the community's commitment to slavery, even as it massaged misgivings over slave sales (Deyle 2005: 157-159).

It is obvious that the violent and disruptive nature of the slave trade directly

contradicted any pretensions that masters might have to a kind and gentle treatment of "their people," and desire to maintain the illusion of paternalism could prevent the interstate slave trade from full acceptance in southern society. Deyle makes the useful observation that readers of southern newspapers could scan tables with the current market prices for cotton, rice, hogs, and the like but could not find corresponding data for the prices of slaves. Owners, nonetheless, found ways to explain away their sale of slaves, usually citing punishment as the primary reason. Slaves *deserved* sale according to this line of thinking, because of their negative behavior (Deyle 2005).

The punitive aspect of the slave trade is also apparent in the history of Bruin's jail (see Chapter 5). Mary and Emily Edmondson, along with their brothers and other refugees captured on the *Pearl*, were sold largely because they had attempted to escape (Pacheco 2005; Painter 1916; Ricks 2007; Stowe 1853). The threat of being sold had been used by slaveholders as a disciplinary tool for years, but it was a threat that held a tenuous kind of power. The "chattel principle," as it was described by one fugitive from slavery, meant that "any slave's identity might be disrupted as easily as a price could be set and a piece of paper passed from one hand to another" (Johnson 1999: 19). But it was not always so simple. Slaves fought and disrupted sales, forcing the tragedy and violence of the act into the public consciousness, effectively "building a public critique" of the institution of slavery even if their acts of resistance were unsuccessful (Johnson 1999: 20). This is exemplified both in the stories of the Edmondsons and of Emily Russell: none of these slaves went along quietly. Their objections and pleas were heard by their families, by the communities of free and enslaved blacks in Washington D.C. and beyond, and by abolitionists, who spread the word to both sympathizers and defenders of slavery at every level of the public and even to the U.S. government (Harned 1851; Ricks 2007). The history of the Bruin Slave Jail provides insights into the most public and widely recorded means slaves employed to resist or simply survive the slave trade; the archaeology, discussed in detail in Chapter 8, provides more insights into their attempts to overcome their dire circumstances.

Resistance was not effective in preventing the forced transportation to the Deep South (Fogel 1994). As is made clear by the success of Bruin's business and that of his peers, most slave transactions were successful. But that does not mean that resistance was not prevalent and constant. Walter Johnson's *Soul By Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (1999) examined the New Orleans slave market from the perspectives of the slave, the master, and the trader. Where Tadman used quantitative data to make his case, Johnson relied upon slave narratives, court cases, slave owners' correspondence, and bills of sale to describe the horrors of the slave trade for African Americans. To Johnson, referencing the slave traders' own records was, in a sense, to consent to the traders' attempt to reduce a person to a transaction, and to treat the fact of their commodification as a foregone conclusion. By focusing too much on the quantification of the slave trade, the researcher must utilize records that "represent the world as a slave trader's dream: slaves without frail and resistant bodies; sales sealed without manipulation, coercion, or opposition" (Johnson 1999: 14).

By placing enslaved African Americans at the center of analysis, Johnson shifts the scholarly focus on the slave market from aggregate numerical measures to the chilling day-to-day commerce in human beings. According to Johnson, the market served as the foundation of the planters' fantastic and frightening worldview in which they "imagined who they could be by thinking about whom they could buy" (Johnson 1999: 79). *Soul by Soul* indicts the antebellum South on its own terms, meticulously dismantling the slaveholders' world.

Far from the image of the slave auctions that figured so prominently in abolitionist accounts, the slave markets cloaked their transactions in civility as they clothed slaves to reflect buyers' desires. Traders displayed enslaved African Americans for inspection in genteel showrooms, set apart from the slave pens in which they were imprisoned. And it was in these showrooms that sellers and buyers displayed their "knowledge" of slave bodies, reading them for signs of punishment and disease, extrapolating character traits and physical abilities from their faces, hands, limbs, and

breasts, and all the while defining through these acts their own honor, manhood and mastery (Johnson 1999: 113).

The public transcript of disputed slave sales allows for an analysis of the "hidden transcript" of the market transactions in human bodies (Scott 1990). Johnson examines documents, including slaveholders' writings, to describe what the sales meant to the parties concerned, whether it was the traders' ambitions, the slaveholders' desires, or the slaves' fears. The hidden transcripts are revealed as the slaves' own narratives of sale emerge through a careful reading of the evidence. Johnson describes the bitter ironies of a market in which African Americans were "alienated . . . from their own bodies" and forced "to perform their own commodification" (Johnson 1999: 163-164). Here they were often faced with impossible choices, for example whether to confirm a dealer's embellished account of their own abilities or not, when either course of action could lead to a beating. Johnson argues that precisely because slave deals invariably relied upon the slaves' own presentation of their bodies and minds, slaves had the ability to shape the moment of sale. At great risk to themselves, they could selectively confirm or deny sellers' claims based on their own reading of the potential buyer. They could declare their intentions to run away or harm themselves if certain conditions were not met, such as being sold with family members (Johnson 1999: 16). The story of the Edmondsons reveals that acts of resistance were both hidden and public: the sisters resisted openly by fleeing Washington aboard the *Pearl*, through their pleas and overt cooperation with abolitionists, but also in less obvious ways, by subverting their own sales.

On the margin, slaves could hope for a beneficent master living within the city and struggle to avoid a cruel master who owned a sugar plantation. Again, at peril of their own lives, slaves could continue this struggle past the point of sale in an effort - through faking illness or developing "bad" traits - to induce their masters to use the redhibition laws to return them to the markets (Johnson 1999: 16-17). Johnson concludes: "Placed on a scale between slavery and freedom or judged according to a theory that accepts revolution as the only meaningful goal of resistance, these slave-shaped sales do not look

like much: as many skeptics have put it, 'after all, they were still enslaved.' But placed between subordination and resistance on the scale of daily life, these differences between possible sales had the salience of survival itself" (Johnson 1999: 187).

In his description of the Edmondsons' brief stay in New Orleans, John H. Painter described the display of the Edmondson sisters to prospective buyers:

The girls were required to spend much time in the show room, where purchasers came to examine them carefully with a view to buying them. On one occasion a youthful dandy had applied for a young person whom he wished to install as a housekeeper and the trader decided that Emily would just about meet the requirements, but when he called her she was found to be indulging in a fit of weeping. The youth, therefore, refused to consider her, saying that he had no room for snuffles in the house. The loss of the transaction so incensed the trader, who said he had been offered \$1500 for the proper person, that he slapped Emily's face and threatened to send her to the calaboose, if he found her crying again (Painter 1916: 253).

In this account, along with descriptions of other slave sales witnessed by the Edmondsons at Bruin's New Orleans showroom, it is plain that while the traders shaped the sales of slaves up to a point, at the moment of sale, the slaves themselves still held some modicum of choice in the way they performed their commodification. Both Stowe (1853) and Painter (1916) explain that the slaves at Bruin's jail were forced to make their own clothes, to be cleaned and made "presentable," and to be marketed on porches and in showrooms, but ultimately, they could evaluate the risks inherent in a particular transaction and try to influence the outcome. This was yet another strategy employed by slaves in Joseph Bruin's inventory.

The possibility of being sold is what set chattel slavery apart from other forms of coerced labor. Slaveholders had a far greater affinity for cash than for any individual slave. This frankly contradicts the romantic idea about a Southern paternalism that "implicitly recognized the slaves' humanity" or established a truly "mutual" set of obligations between master and slave (Genovese 1976: 5). According to Johnson, violence against slaves, often irrational and unpredictable, was the "essence of that grim

mutuality," not a "violation" of it (Johnson 1999: 206). When slaves were beaten, it was for violating the master's vision of his or her own world, which was constructed, both literally and figuratively, by the slaves themselves. Slaveholders, as Michael Tadman has also demonstrated, crafted elaborate myths that have obscured the cold calculations of the market. Johnson's identification of similar brutalities cloaked within a mask of gentility is especially relevant to the analysis of the Bruin Slave Jail. Stowe's accounts of Bruin's behavior regarding the Edmondsons, and her characterization of the slave trader Haley, indicate that Bruin worked hard to create and maintain a veneer of gentility that was so persuasive and complete that even the abolitionists who despised his actions were swayed by it (Blassingame 1977; Stowe 1853). Details of Bruin's personal history also speak to his efforts: the paintings by John Toole of himself, his wife, and his mother, reflect his desire to be part of the respectable citizenry. In a detailed account of the Edmondsons' imprisonment at the jail, Edmondson descendant John Painter recalled that Samuel Edmondson overheard Bruin refusing to sell a slave on Sunday, explaining that he did not do business on the Sabbath (Painter 1916). In addition, unlike his officers in Baltimore, he did not forbid the slaves in his jail to pray, and indeed even allowed a priest from a nearby seminary to attend to the people trapped in his Alexandria prison (Painter 1916). Like Haley, Bruin worked hard to convince the (white) public, and possibly even himself, that he was a gentleman. As Johnson points out, the stakes may have been even more basic: slave traders were such maligned figures, such scapegoats for the evils of slavery, his efforts may have simply served to make Bruin seem "fully white" (Johnson 1999: 116).

Gudmestad (2003) argued that white southerners used slave traders as scapegoats to allay their guilt over the capitalistic exploitation of bonded labor. This allowed them to "blame a lowly class of itinerant traders for slavery's abuses while fully accepting the activities of prosperous speculators" (Gudmestad 2003: 4). Harriet Beecher Stowe also identified this tendency, ascribing to slave traders something almost like a caste; Bruin's slick packaging of himself as a polite Christian gentleman was likely also an attempt to rise above the lowly class generally assigned to slave traders. Isaac Franklin, the premier

Alexandria trader who retired into extreme luxury at one of his Tennessee plantations, succeeded completely in attaining status, wealth, and respect, both because of and despite his involvement in the interstate trade. Gudmestad describes Isaac Franklin's obituary, in which no mention is even made of Franklin's slave-trading business: Franklin was described simply as a "planter" (Gudmestad 2003: 7). It is very likely that Franklin's apotheosis from trader to planter was Bruin's ultimate aspiration.

Gudmestad also identified a significant trend within the growing interstate trade. The earliest slave traders who went into business after the end of the international slave trade in 1808 operated alone. The trade was relatively small at first, hindered by the continuing illegal trade from Africa and by the War of 1812, and it was therefore not sufficiently lucrative to support a larger partnership. After 1820, however, speculation became more prevalent, and soon partnerships became more profitable. In addition, joint ventures contributed to the growth of the slave trade: by splitting the work of locating and buying slaves in the Upper South, marching coffles southwest, and selling them in the Deep South, the traders were free to grow their businesses and did not have to suspend purchases or sales during "shipment." Gudmestad perceived in this new corporate tendency an "increasingly commercial nature of the trade" (Gudmestad 2003: 29).

Although slaves had always been the literal subjects and objects of commerce, the interstate slave trade involved marketing and commercializing slaves in new ways (Deyle 2005; Johnson 1999). Further, the increasingly competitive, capitalistic environment of the domestic slave trade required slave traders to shave expenses in order to improve profit margins, all while maintaining a façade of beneficence sufficient to appease the consciences of their clientele at both ends of the trade. As discussed in previous chapters, Joseph Bruin was able to use slaves in his own household, use them to create the garments in which they would be sold, to do the work he wanted them to do to perform their own commodification, and then sell them and realize a profit. In the archaeological record at the slave jail, discussed in Chapters 9, there is evidence of how low Bruin's overhead was, and how he kept his margins as lean as possible.

The domestic slave trade had profound effects on the economy, politics, and society of the Upper South and the Deep South. It affected hundreds of thousands of people personally, and created changes in the way people viewed slavery, slaves, and slave markets, as well as the traders who kept the showrooms of New Orleans filled with slaves for sale. The trends apparent in the slave trade, in the demographics, economies, and among the traders and slaves, also had immediate ramifications for Joseph Bruin and the slaves at his jail.

The slave trade's importance was not confined to the South, however. It also had a major influence upon those outside the region, and especially within the antislavery movement that emerged in the 1830s. In fact, the abolitionists used the slave trade both as a tactical device in attracting new supporters and as a fundamental component in their ideology. Important to their argument was the abolitionists' acute understanding of regional differences within the South and the integral part that the interregional trade played in maintaining the institution of slavery. They realized that the interregional slave trade was the lynchpin that held the entire system together, and so the interstate slave trade became the primary focus of the abolitionist movement (Deyle 2005; Johnson 2004).

### **THE POLITICAL AND MORAL CONFLICT**

The slave trade was always the most fiercely contested aspect of American slavery. Slave owners and their apologists liked to say that they took better care of their slaves than northern factory owners did of their own workers; however, nothing emphasized the difference between slave and free workers like the sight of slaves standing on the block, waiting to be sold, while their relatives wept in the background. From the first issue of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, the imagery of the domestic trade - coffles, slave auctions, families torn apart - became the standards of the abolitionist cause (Gudmestad 2003; Johnson 1999; Stowe 1853).

Defenders of slavery treated the slave trade as an aberration, and they sometimes placed all the blame for its miseries on the traders (Deyle 2005; Johnson 1999; Tadman 1989). One apologist, N.L. Rice, said in an 1845 debate that “the slave trader was looked upon with disgust by all decent men . . . none but a monster could inflict anguish upon unoffending men for the sake of accumulating wealth” (Tadman 1989:5). Abolitionists, on the other hand, regarded the slave trade as the essence of slavery, and they resisted the attempts by slavery apologists to demonize slave traders in order to excuse themselves. One Scottish visitor to the south wrote that slave trading “was a sore subject with the defenders of slavery . . .(they would) load all the iniquities of the system on (the trader’s) unlucky back” (Tadman 1989:4). The fact of the slave traders’ and speculators’ centrality in southern society refuted any pretensions to paternalism. And since this trade was legal and obviously conducted across the entire region, attempts to blame the trade entirely on slave traders were seen as a rather ingenious attempt to avoid facing the reality of the situation. As Harriet Beecher Stowe put it in *The Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin*:

If there is an ill-used class of men in the world it is certainly the slave-traders: for if there is no harm in the institution of slavery . . . then there is no earthly reason why a man may not as innocently be a slave-trader as any other kind of trader. (Stowe 1853:9)

Abolitionists had long focused their ire on the “traffic in human souls.” Dr. Adam Clark, an early British abolitionist, summed up their position in a sermon on the book of Isaiah:

How can any nation pretend to fast, or worship God, or dare profess to believe in the existence of such a being, while they carry on what is called the slave trade, and traffic in the souls, blood, and bodies of men? (Goodell 1855: 29).

William Wells Brown, a runaway slave who became an abolitionist and a conductor on the underground railroad, wrote that “gangs of slaves on their way to the southern market” were a common sight in his native Kentucky: “This trade presents some of the most revolting and atrocious scenes which can be imagined” (Brown 1847). As

abolitionists constantly pointed out, the essence of slavery was “reducing men to articles of property,” and the defining attribute of a piece of property was that it could be bought and sold (Weld 1837:16). All talk of masters as devoted fathers who cared for slaves as their children had to be exposed as a cover for what was really an economic relationship between an owner and a thing. A focus on the dehumanization inherent in the slave market was the perfect way to make this point, and the abolitionists did so often:

In the first place we were required to wash thoroughly, and those with beards, to shave. We were then furnished with a new suit each, cheap, but clean. The men had hat, coat, shirt, pants and shoes; the women frocks of calico, and handkerchiefs to bind about their heads. We were now conducted into a large room in the front part of the building to which the yard was attached, in order to be properly trained, before the admission of customers. The men were arranged on one side of the room, the women on the other. The tallest was placed at the head of the row, then the next tallest, and so on in the order of their respective heights. Emily was at the foot of the line of women. Freeman charged us to remember our places; exhorted us to appear smart and lively, - sometimes threatening, and again, holding out various inducements. During the day he exercised us in the art of "looking smart," and of moving to our places with exact precision.

After being fed, in the afternoon, we were again paraded and made to dance. Bob, a colored boy, who had some time belonged to Freeman, played on the violin. Standing near him, I made bold to inquire if he could play the "Virginia Reel." He answered he could not, and asked me if I could play. Replying in the affirmative, he handed me the violin. I struck up a tune, and finished it. Freeman ordered me to continue playing, and seemed well pleased, telling Bob that I far excelled him - a remark that seemed to grieve my musical companion very much. Next day many customers called to examine Freeman's "new lot." The latter gentleman was very loquacious, dwelling at much length upon our several good points and qualities. He would make us hold up our heads, walk briskly back and forth, while customers would feel of our hands and arms and bodies, turn us about, ask us what we could do, make us open our mouths and show our teeth, precisely as a jockey examines a horse which he is about to barter for or purchase. Sometimes a man or woman was taken back to the small house in the yard, stripped, and inspected more minutely. Scars upon a slave's back were considered evidence of a rebellious or unruly spirit, and hurt his sale.

One old gentleman, who said he wanted a coachman, appeared to take a fancy to me. From his conversation with Burch, I learned he was a resident in the city. I very much desired that he would buy me, because I conceived it would not be difficult to make my escape from New-Orleans on some northern vessel. Freeman asked him fifteen hundred dollars for me. The old gentleman insisted it was too much, as times were very hard. Freeman, however, declared that I was

sound and healthy, of a good constitution, and intelligent. He made it a point to enlarge upon my musical attainments. The old gentleman argued quite adroitly that there was nothing extraordinary about the nigger, and finally, to my regret, went out, saying he would call again. During the day, however, a number of sales were made. David and Caroline were purchased together by a Natchez planter. They left us, grinning broadly, and in the most happy state of mind, caused by the fact of their not being separated. Lethe was sold to a planter of Baton Rouge, her eyes flashing with anger as she was led away.

The same man also purchased Randall. The little fellow was made to jump, and run across the floor, and perform many other feats, exhibiting his activity and condition. All the time the trade was going on, Eliza was crying aloud, and wringing her hands. She besought the man not to buy him, unless he also bought her self and Emily. She promised, in that case, to be the most faithful slave that ever lived. The man answered that he could not afford it, and then Eliza burst into a paroxysm of grief, weeping plaintively. Freeman turned round to her, savagely, with his whip in his uplifted hand, ordering her to stop her noise, or he would flog her. He would not have such work - such snivelling; and unless she ceased that minute, he would take her to the yard and give her a hundred lashes. Yes, he would take the nonsense out of her pretty quick - if he didn't, might he be dead. Eliza shrunk before him, and tried to wipe away her tears, but it was all in vain. She wanted to be with her children, she said, the little time she had to live. All the frowns and threats of Freeman, could not wholly silence the afflicted mother. She kept on begging and beseeching them, most piteously not to separate the three. Over and over again she told them how she loved her boy. A great many times she repeated her former promises - how very faithful and obedient she would be; how hard she would labor day and night, to the last moment of her life, if he would only buy them all together. But it was of no avail; the man could not afford it. The bargain was agreed upon, and Randall must go alone. Then Eliza ran to him; embraced him passionately; kissed him again and again; told him to remember her - the while her tears falling in the boy's face like rain. (Northrup 1847)

It is plainly no coincidence that William Lloyd Garrison put a picture of a slave sale on the masthead of the *Liberator*. The interstate slave trade became the quintessential evil because it reduced people to things and, according to many abolitionist newspapers and pamphlets, increased the suffering of slaves (Stowe 1853). Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is perhaps the best known of the antislavery works that focused on this aspect of slavery, but the abolitionist community published hundreds of pamphlets, newspapers, books and broadsides with the interstate trade in their sights (Deyle 2005).

The largest slave sales were made when planters went bankrupt, or when they died with debts too great for their heirs to pay. On these occasions dozens or hundreds of

slaves might be sold at once. Southern apologists treated these sales as tragedies and tended to blame not slavery, but commercial capitalism. The breakup of slave families in these sales, they implied, was the fault of bankers and cotton merchants who cruelly foreclosed on good southern families (Deyle 2005). The most famous of these sales took place near Savannah in March 1859, when 429 slaves belonging to Pierce Butler were sold to pay his debts. Abolitionists called the event “the Weeping Time.” A detailed account was published by Mortimer Thompson (1859), a reporter for the *New York Tribune*. Thompson’s account shows how slave auctions appeared to northerners, and explains better than any analytical study the crucial role of slave trading in turning northern opinion against slavery:

*What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation*

“The largest sale of human chattels that has been made in Star-Spangled America for several years, took place on Wednesday and Thursday of last week, at the Race-course near the City of Savannah, Georgia. The lot consisted of four hundred and thirty-six men, women, children and infants, being that half of the negro stock remaining on the old Major Butler plantations which fell to one of the two heirs to that estate....

The sale had been advertised largely for many weeks, though the name of Mr. Butler was not mentioned; and as the negroes were known to be a choice lot and very desirable property, the attendance of buyers was large. The breaking up of an old family estate is so uncommon an occurrence that the affair was regarded with unusual interest throughout the South. For several days before the sale every hotel in Savannah was crowded with negro speculators from North and South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, who had been attracted hither by the prospects of making good bargains....

The buyers were generally of a rough breed, slangy, profane and bearish, being for the most part from the back river and swamp plantations, where the elegancies of polite life are not, perhaps, developed to their fullest extent. In fact, the humanities are sadly neglected by the petty tyrants of the rice-fields that border the great Dismal Swamp, their knowledge of the luxuries of our best society comprehending only revolvers and kindred delicacies.

Your correspondent was present at an early date.... Although he kept his business in the back-ground, he made himself a prominent figure in the picture, and, wherever there was anything going on, there was he in the midst. At the sale might have been seen a busy individual, armed with pencil and catalogue, doing his little utmost to keep up all the appearance of a knowing buyer... and otherwise conducting himself like a rich planter, with forty thousand dollars

where he could put his finger on it....

None of the Butler slaves have ever been sold before, but have been on these two plantations since they were born. Here have they lived their humble lives, and loved their simple loves; here were they born, and here have many of them had children born unto them; here had their parents lived before them, and are now resting in quiet graves on the old plantations that these unhappy ones are to see no more forever; here they left not only the well-known scenes dear to them from very baby-hood by a thousand fond memories, and homes as much loved by them, perhaps, as brighter homes by men of brighter faces; but all the clinging ties that bound them to living hearts were torn asunder, for but one-half of each of these two happy little communities was sent to the shambles, to be scattered to the four winds, and the other half was left behind. And who can tell how closely intertwined are a band of four hundred persons, living isolated from all the world beside, from birth to middle age? Do they not naturally become one great family, each man a brother unto each?

The Negroes were examined with as little consideration as if they had been brutes indeed; the buyers pulling their mouths open to see their teeth, pinching their limbs to find how muscular they were, walking them up and down to detect any signs of lameness, making them stoop and bend in different ways that they might be certain there was no concealed rupture of wound; and in addition to all this treatment, asking them scores of questions relative to their qualifications and accomplishments. All these humiliations were submitted to without a murmur, and in some instances with good-natured cheerfulness -- where the slave liked the appearance of the proposed buyer, and fancied that he might prove a kind "Mas'r."

The women never spoke to the white men unless spoken to, and then made the conference as short as possible. And not one of them all, during the whole time they were thus exposed to the rude questions of vulgar men, spoke the first unwomanly or indelicate word, or conducted herself in any regard otherwise than as a modest woman should do; their conversation and demeanor were quite as unexceptionable as they would have been had they been the highest ladies in the land, and through all the insults to which they were subjected they conducted themselves with the most perfect decorum and self-respect....

The expression on the faces of all who stepped on the block was always the same, and told of more anguish than it is in the power of words to express. Blighted homes, crushed hopes and broken hearts, was the sad story to be read in all the anxious faces. Some of them regarded the sale with perfect indifference, never making a motion, save to turn from one side to the other at the word of the dapper Mr. Byran, that all the crowd might have a fair view of their proportions, and then, when the sale was accomplished, stepped down from the block without caring to cast even a look at the buyer, who now held all their happiness in his hands. ...

As the last family stepped down from the block, the rain ceased, for the first time in four days the clouds broke away, and the soft sunlight fell on the scene. The

unhappy slaves had many of them been already removed, and others were now departing with their new masters.

That night, not a steamer left that Southern port, not a train of cars sped away from that cruel city, that did not bear each its own sad burden of those unhappy ones, whose only crime is that they are not strong and wise. Some of them maimed and wounded, some scarred and gashed, by accident, or by the hand of ruthless drivers -- all sad and sorrowful as human hearts can be.

But the stars shone out as brightly as if such things had never been, the blushing fruit-trees poured their fragrance on the evening air, and the scene was as calmly sweet and quiet as if Man had never marred the glorious beauties of Earth by deeds of cruelty and wrong.”

### **ABOLITIONISTS AND THE PEARL INCIDENT**

Washington, D.C. was home to a focused and active antislavery community, a fact that the attempted escape on the *Pearl* emphasized. The *Pearl* incident also drew attention to the cooperation of slaves and white abolitionists in organizing the escape (Harrold 2003: 124; Ricks 2007; Stowe 1853). In the immediate aftermath of the incident, the *New York Herald's* Washington correspondent reported that “for some years, slave property has become very unsafe in this quarter, and the presence of several abolitionists in Congress has encouraged the colored population of Washington to a systematic co-operation with the abolitionists of the North...for the gradual elopement of the slaves of this District” (*New York Herald*, April 19, 1848). Proslavery whites accused abolitionists of trying to destabilize the slave system in Washington by helping slaves to escape, thereby making purchases of slaves less desirable (Harrold 2003: 125). Abolitionists essentially acknowledged this strategy, and the *Pearl* incident did have this precise effect, striking a serious blow against slavery in spite of the failure of the endeavor. Frederick Douglass wrote of the incident: “Slaves escaping from the Capitol of ‘the model Republic!’ What an idea! – running from the Temple of Liberty to be free!” (*The North Star*, May 5, 1848).

William Chaplin, one of the organizers of the escape, wrote to fellow abolitionist Gerrit Smith that the *Pearl* incident was “the grandest event for the cause of slavery that

has occurred in years. It is working great good here & elsewhere. If our Abolitionists will take hold we can drive slavery out of the District at once!” (Chaplin to Smith, May 17 1848, *Gerrit Smith Papers*).

What is especially interesting about the abolitionist attention surrounding the Pearl escapees is that so much of it was focused on the Edmondson sisters, with very little focus on any of the other slaves involved in the attempt. Harriet Beecher Stowe and others essentially acknowledged that these near-white, well-spoken, virginal, attractive young Christian women, destined for a life of sexual slavery, would draw more negative attention to the slave trade than any other slaves’ life stories could (Deyle 2005; Harrold 2003; Stowe 1853). The abolitionists were absolutely willing to co-opt the Edmondson sisters’ images to advance their agenda, and to force public acknowledgement of the purposes for which slave traders intended such young women.

The interstate trade in slaves ultimately had the contradictory effect of strengthening the slave system in the Deep South, while it provided fuel for the abolitionist movement in the Upper South and the northeast. By serving as the economic conduit between the Upper South and the Deep South, the domestic slave trade linked together two large southern subregions, and provided numerous benefits for slaveholders on both ends. Moreover, it helped to create a national slave market that resulted in an escalation of slave property values in every slaveholding state. While this rise in slave prices often made it difficult for individuals who wished to purchase slaves, it certainly proved beneficial for the economy of both areas. Most importantly, it increased the monetary value of human property for everyone who owned it, even as the participants in the buying and selling diminished the humanity of that property. By linking the south's two main subregions into a common economic concern, and making the entire slaveholding class wealthier as a result, the creation of a national slave market solidified the region's commitment to the institution of chattel slavery, and it made the domestic slave trade an indispensable component in the southern slave system.

As we have seen, some planters were ambivalent about the slave trade, and this ambivalence was reflected in their business practices. But ultimately, in terms of the domestic slave trade, slaves were first and foremost property, not people. They existed to profit their owners. Many Virginia slaveowners had come to see their large slave populations as economic liabilities, while more slaves would help owners in cotton states make more money. That was the reality. As long as slaves were more valuable in some places than in others, they would be bought and sold, and any individual acts of resistance, no matter how open or how common, would do nothing to stop it or even slow it down.

## Chapter 7: Women and the Interstate Slave Trade

*She is a mother because motherhood was virtually unavoidable under slavery; she is outraged because of the intimacy of her oppression. (Braxton 1989: 19)*

The most important and unusual aspects of the historical record of the Bruin Slave Jail are the accounts of the women bought and sold by Joseph Bruin. Emily Russell and the Edmondson sisters undoubtedly represent only a small fraction of women destined for the fancy girl market upon departure from Bruin's jail. The archaeological record at the Slave Jail (discussed in the next chapter) reflects the ways in which an increasingly capitalistic and commercial interstate slave trade affected slaves in general. An examination of both the historical and archaeological records can show the ways these same forces impacted the lives of enslaved women in particular.

In recent years, some scholars have foregrounded the importance of understanding oppression through lenses of gender and sex, class, race, and ethnicity – what have been called “multiple vectors of oppression and privilege” (Ritzer 2007: 204). In order to understand the experiences of people in the past, it is critical to understand that racism toward black men was different than that toward black women, that poor white men and women were viewed differently than middle class or wealthy whites; in short, that different kinds of oppression operated in combination with others that resulted in a diverse range of experiences among those subjected by them. In the interstate slave trade, women's experiences were different than those of men. Women with darker complexions had different experiences than women with lighter complexions. Older women had different experiences than younger women and children. Much of this was due to the ways in which slave traders interpolated the intersection of race, gender, age, and other physical attributes like skin color and attractiveness in determining how to market each individual slave, and at the other end how buyers, through this same process of interpolation, subsequently subjected individuals to differential forms of forced labor and treatment. Thus, the modes of oppression varied in accordance with whether one was an attractive, young, light-skinned woman, an older woman past her reproductive years, a

healthy man able to withstand the rigors of fieldwork, etc. The consideration of these multiple means of oppressing is important in the analysis of the slaves at the jail. As discussed in Chapter 2, while women are clearly present in the domestic slave trade, there has been little research that focuses on the ways in which they confronted the realities of being sold away from their families and communities. While Chapter 6 addressed the broader patterns of the domestic slave trade, this chapter will address more specifically the role of gender in shaping the economy of the slave trade, and by extension, women's experiences in it, and the means that enslaved women used to challenge it.

American slavery functioned as a system both of racial and gender supremacy (Crenshaw 1989; Collins 2000; Franklin 2001a, 2001b; Stevenson 1996) well in advance of the interstate slave trade. It entailed the dominance of men over women as well as whites over blacks. North American slavery compelled enslaved black women to labor in three different markets: productive, reproductive, and sexual. All three aspects were crucial to the political economy (Baptist 2004; Davis 2004). Some enslaved women were forced to join free white women in performing productive, domestic labor for white households. But slavery's markets for productive labor did not follow the gender segregation patterns of the free labor market. The overwhelming majority of enslaved women labored at tasks that were typically reserved for men in the free workforce. Slaveholders forced enslaved women to cut trees, build canals, and cart manure, as well as to plow, plant, hoe, and accumulate crops (Davis 2004; Fox-Genovese 1988; White 1999). In some markets that drew heavily on enslaved men for skilled labor, slaveholders actually reserved the most arduous agricultural work for enslaved women. There was gender differentiation: enslaved men rarely did domestic labor and enslaved women were excluded from certain tasks, typically skilled labor, reserved for men. But, unlike black men, white men, and white women, who labored mainly in accord with traditional gender roles, enslaved women were compelled to perform every sort of productive labor. Significantly, forcing enslaved women to breach the sexual division of free labor did not appear to challenge the male slaveholders' own gender identity (Davis 2004; White 1999).

In addition to coercing their labor in the conventional productive markets, slavery's laws and markets extracted reproductive and sexual labor from enslaved women in a form required of no one else. Enslaved women reproduced the workforce. Land and slaves became the two great vehicles through which slaveholders realized their ambitions of fortune: the usefulness of land increased in proportion to the availability of black slaves. By 1682, all of the colonies had adopted the rule of *partus sequitur ventrem*--a child inherited its status from its mother. Without regard to whether the father was free, enslaved women gave birth to enslaved children. This rule proved to be of immense economic, racial and political significance. The South was one of the smallest importers of slaves, but had the largest slave population in the West. This demographic was inextricably tied to enslaved women's biological and social reproduction (Davis 2004; Nolen 2001; White 1999). This law also led to miscegenation and the rise of a light-skinned enslaved population. Yet slavery did not racially distinguish between light and dark slaves to a degree that favored one over the other; they were all legally mulatto or black. If a slave woman gave birth to a child, regardless of its color, it was a slave and by extension could not possibly be white.

Following the close of the (legal) international slave trade in 1808, and accompanying the rising labor demands driven by the expanding cotton market and southern frontier, a thriving domestic trade in black people emerged. In the end, the perpetuation of the institution of slavery, as nineteenth-century Southerners knew it, rested on the slave woman's reproductive capacity (Davis 2004; Johnson 1999; White 1999).

Slavery also extracted sexual labor from enslaved women. Enslaved women were coerced, blackmailed, induced, seduced, ordered, and, of course, violently forced to have sexual relations with men. Sexual access was enforced through a variety of structural mechanisms, *but it was not until the rise of the domestic slave trade that markets emerged for the purpose of selling enslaved women for the explicit purpose of sex*

(Baptist 2004; Davis 2004; Johnson 1999). Fancy girl markets provided enslaved women who could be bought to serve as the sexual concubines of one man, or to be forcibly prostituted. We might understand “fancy” as a “transitive verb made noun, a slaveholder’s desire made real in the form of a girl,” (Johnson 1999: 113), and also as a term for markets selling the right to rape a special category of women marked out as unusually desirable (Baptist 2004). Outside of these overt markets for sex, most enslaved women and girls were purchased primarily for their productive labor in the fields or plantation house, but also were expected to have sexual relations with various men (their master, his sons or male relatives, visitors, overseers, enslaved men) on the plantation as well. Whether in sex markets or reproductive ones, every sale of an enslaved woman was a sale of sexual labor, or at least of the right to compel it. Sex was part and parcel of what was expected and coerced from women in the enslaved workforce.

Slavery’s laws and markets collaborated to compel sexual and reproductive labor, as well as productive labor, from women in the enslaved workforce. Dictating that enslaved women gave birth to enslaved children and denying enslaved women access to either criminal rape law or patriarchal power, in effect, compelled enslaved women into reproductive and sexual labor. In fact, Jacqueline Jones points out, “[i]f work is defined as any activity that leads either directly or indirectly to the production of marketable goods, then slave women did nothing *but* work” (Jones 1985: 14).

Given the above it is important to keep in mind how race and gender were simultaneously operative under slavery. Since the institution of slavery was race-based, it ensured that it was legally only black women who reproduced the workforce and who suffered in slavery’s sexual markets. Of course, many enslaved people were light-skinned and actually appeared to be white due to miscegenation, which actually drove the fancy market prices upwards of \$5,000. As one historian commented: “What, after all, could be more valuable than a woman of white complexion who could be bought as one’s private sex slave?” (Stevenson 1996: 180). But legally, culturally, and politically, it was only women whose race was designated as “black”, regardless of skin color, who were

*compelled* into such horrific work. Adrienne Davis has argued that this made the slave trade a “sexual economy” as well as a political one (Davis 2004).

One significant point in the story of the Edmondsons at the slave jail is that the women who fell into Bruin’s hands had never passively accepted the role Bruin tried to ascribe to them. Their identities as enslaved women had always been part of a dynamic process of negotiation, one in which they played a prominent role. The preceding description of the racial and sexual domination of enslaved workers on plantations may paint a picture of a monolithic power structure that operated uncontested, but this was never the case. Numerous studies have demonstrated that African Americans in general resisted slavery from the outset of the institution (Aptheker 1933, 1951); others have addressed the strategies employed by women specifically (White 1999; Davis 2004; Fox-Genovese 1984; Painter 1993). Patricia Hill Collins has pointed out that “domination always involves the objectification of the dominated; all forms of oppression imply the devaluation of the subjectivity of the oppressed” (Collins 1986: 118) She later notes that self-evaluation and self-definition are two ways of resisting oppression, an observation that is considered later in this chapter.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the interstate slave trade led to a reification of whites’ dominance over blacks, and also to slaves being violently divorced from their lives and redefined, literally “repackaged” and sold in faraway markets. Women experienced particularly terrifying redefinition in the slave markets. As has been discussed above, women were always subject to sexual abuse and exploitation, but many had found strategies to resist or survive, or had at least created networks of support among their families and communities, on plantations and in other settings (White 1999; Davis 2004). By the nineteenth century, many slaves had been born into slavery into the place where they endured their bondage. They had families and communities, a familiarity with place and circumstance, and an identity shaped by the *habitus* of daily practice in this familiar setting (Wilkie 2000).

The Edmondson family is one example of relative stability in spite of the uncertainty all slaves coped with regularly. Paul Edmondson was free; his wife, Milly, was a slave, and therefore all their children were slaves. At the time of the escape on the *Pearl*, the elderly and infirm owner of the entire family had hired out many slaves due to her increasingly unstable finances. At least one of the Edmondson's fifteen children had been sold south before Mary and Emily were even born (Ricks 2007; Stowe 1853). Paul Edmondson worked from the home he and Milly shared, but Milly had to travel to her owners' home in Silver Spring to collect work to do. Mary and Emily worked in separate households in the District. Brothers and sisters were dispersed throughout Washington, Maryland and Virginia – and yet they were all active members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and were well known in both the enslaved and free black communities of Washington (Ricks 2007; Stowe 1854: 308). Despite this relative stability, they still faced the very real threat of forced separation. Milly Edmondson explained her fears to Harriet Beecher Stowe thus (Stowe 1854: 308):

Well, Paul and me, we was married, and we was happy enough, if it hadn't been for that; but when our first child was born, I says to him, 'There 'tis, now, Paul, our troubles is begun; this child isn't ours.' And every child I had, it grew worse and worse. 'Oh, Paul,' says I, 'what a thing it is to have children that isn't ours!' Paul he says to me, 'Milly, my dear, if they be God's children, it an't so much matter whether they be ours or no; they may be heirs of the kingdom, Milly, for all that.' Well, when Paul's mistress died, she set him free, and he got him a little place out about fourteen miles from Washington; and they let me live out there with him, and take home my tasks; for they had that confidence in me that they always know'd that what I said I'd do was as good done as if they'd seen it done. I had mostly sewing; sometimes a shirt to make in a day—it was coarse like, you know—or a pair of sheets, or some such; but, whatever 'twas, I always got it done. Then I had all my house-work and babies to take care of; and many's the time, after ten o'clock, I've took my children's clothes and washed 'em all out and ironed 'em late in the night, 'cause I couldn't never bear to see my children dirty—always wanted to see 'em sweet and clean, and I brought 'em up and taught 'em the very best ways I was able. But nobody knows what I suffered. I never see a white man come on to the place that I didn't think, 'There, now, he's coming to look at my children;' and when I saw any white man going by, I've called in my children and hid 'em, for fear he'd see 'em and want to buy 'em.

Clearly, her fears were well founded. When we look at slavery, to borrow MacKinnon's articulation of sexual harassment, "the entire structure of sexual

domination, the tacit relations of deference and command, can be present in a passing glance” (MacKinnon 1979: 59). Milly Edmondson was highly aware of the passing glances of the slave traders who saw her children, and she undoubtedly knew what it meant for their futures. Hiding her children was the first means she took to avoid that end.

What we learn from the family and community history of the Edmondsons is that, while they had always been vulnerable to the forms of sexual abuse that all black women were uniquely subject to, the long history of their family and their community imparted a kind of stability to their lives. This effect was somewhat protective; it was not a strong talisman against slavery’s cruelty, but it clearly provided some measure of security. It might be considered along similar lines as Deborah Gray White’s characterization of the “Female Slave Network,” a kind of strength that arose from the interdependence of women who performed much of their work in groups and who had no recourse from any injustice but their fellow female slaves (White 1999: 199-120). Collin’s (1986) statement that self-definition and self-evaluation are central to resisting oppression is highly relevant here. The Edmondson’s collectively defined themselves through familial and communal solidarity and their faith in Christianity. When Milly Edmondson passionately told Stowe of the loving care she provided her children, one sees that Milly defined herself as a mother deeply committed to raising her children right despite her owner’s likely contrasting perspective of defining Milly as a means of reproducing her labor pool. Mary and Emily Edmondson were devout Christians who maintained their piety even at Bruin’s jail, and they were well mannered, proud, and caring (see Chapter 5), characteristics that stand in opposition to Bruin’s desire to market and sell them as fancy girls, a term that evokes hyper-sexuality and wantonness. Further, Mary and Emily’s self-evaluations were publicly expressed after their capture from the *Pearl*: rather than cower, which would have been understandable given the hostile situation, they held their heads up high and stated plainly that they had no regrets (see Chapter 5). They did not see themselves as slaves, or evaluate their worth in relation to their enslavement; their attempt to escape makes that clear. Nor did they see other blacks as slaves, given their

ardent abolitionist activities (no doubt inspired by their father) following their emancipation.

Whatever identities the Edmondsons forged for themselves within the safety of their family, the church, and their community were fiercely challenged when they were captured on the Pearl and sold to Joseph Bruin. The domestic slave trade effectively made the lives of enslaved women even more tenuous than they had been previously, by providing a financial incentive for the commodification of their bodies in the market for fancy girls.

The trade in fancy girls (also called fancy maids or fancy women) operated on a finely honed distinction of skin color. Fancy girls were selected for the light color of their skin. Many were so light-skinned that they appeared to be white. This appearance is what made them so appealing on the slave market, but it also fueled outrage among abolitionists and other witnesses of the Fancy Girl Trade, as discussed in the previous chapters. Whatever the perception of their racial, ethnic, and sexual identities were prior to their purchase by slave traders, as soon as enslaved women were part of the internal slave trade, those identities became highly contested. As the discussion of the slave traders' marketing strategies has demonstrated, sellers of slaves used words, both in showrooms and in printed advertisements, to turn people into new kinds of commodities, ideally expensive and desirable ones. Abolitionists fought to define these same young women into near-saintly victims of a vile trade. And the slaves themselves resisted the attempts of the slave traders to turn them into products that could be exchanged as easily as inanimate commodities.

Beyond simply selling the bodies of enslaved women, however, the domestic slave trade also sold explicit sexual access, in effect, as one scholar has argued, turning the rape of black women into a commodity (Baptist 2004: 167). This was the most outrageous corner of the market which turned people into products, and unlike the more shrouded sexual relations between master and slave on the plantation (Mary Chestnut

called this “the thing we can’t name” [Woodward 1981: 29]), the sale of female slaves into sexual slavery was quite public (Johnson 1999: 113-117). While sexual access to black female slaves had always been implicit, the domestic slave trade made this explicit, as well as exclusive (Baptist 2004; Johnson 1999).

The archaeological data from the slave jail makes it plain that the process of commodifying slaves was not complete at the very moment a slave was purchased by a slave trader; rather, that was simply the first step. Historical records and archaeological data indicate that slaves at the jail had basic household chores, such as washing and laundering, to keep them busy until such a time as the traders could arrange for their transportation to the Deep South. The archaeological data (discussed further in Chapters 8 and 9) also indicate that at the jails of the Upper South, the slaves were invisible to the public at large – walls and fences separated the slaves from the rest of the world. Within the confines of the jail, slaves were put to work making suits of clothes in which they would be shown in New Orleans; they were, in effect, forced to be complicit in their commodification. But there are ample signs in both the historical record and the archaeological record that point to their resistance against the slave traders’ control.

During her tour of America, Frederika Bremer visited a slave jail in Richmond and observed the following scene:

In another prison we saw a pretty little white boy of about seven years of age sitting among some tall negro girls. The child had light hair, the most lovely light brown eyes, and cheeks as red as roses; he was, nevertheless, the child of a slave mother, and was to be sold as a slave. His price was three hundred and fifty dollars. The negro girls seemed very fond of the white boy, and he was left in their charge, but whether that was for his good or not is difficult to say. No motherly Christian mother visited either the innocent imprisoned boy or the negro girls. They were left to a heathenish life and the darkness of the prison. In another jail were kept the so-called “fancy girls,” for fancy purchasers. They were handsome fair mulattoes, some of them almost white girls. (Bremer 1853: 535)

Bremer was opposed to the slave trade in general, but was particularly disturbed

by the “almost white” appearance of the slaves she saw. She expresses concern for the “little white boy,” but not for the “negro girls” who were caring for him. The very appearance of whiteness that made women of mixed African and European descent desirable on the fancy girl market was also the single most powerful characteristic that motivated white abolitionists to try to obtain their release from slave traders, as has been discussed in the preceding chapter. It is clear in this brief excerpt that light-skinned women who were held by slave traders were immediately recognizable, even to a foreigner, as destined for the fancy trade. The marketing of women as sex slaves was pervasive and undisguised; posters, advertisements, and pamphlets advertised fancy women; prices paid for fancy women occasionally reached 300% of median prices for slaves in any given year (Johnson 1999: 113). In his novel, *Clotel*, William Wells Brown once reflected “...we need not add that had those young girls been sold for mere house servants or field hands, they would not have brought half the sum they did” (Brown 1853:208). The auctions for fancy women were widely attended, and slave traders, slaves, abolitionists, and everyone else gossiped about the prices paid and the spectacle of the auctions (Johnson 1999: 114).

These dramatic sales and high prices were, according to Walter Johnson, “a measure not only of desire but of dominance. No other man could afford to pay so much; no other man’s needs could be so substantially measured; no other man’s desire’s would be so spectacularly fulfilled” (Johnson 1999: 113). The reshaping of women, even enslaved women, into objects of desire even reshaped the ways in which white men’s dominance could be asserted. Women objected, and resisted, and as we have seen, their families and the abolitionist community fought hard to contest this commodification, this marketing of women’s bodies on the auction block; the women themselves pleaded, struggled, fought, and in some cases, committed suicide rather than be sold (Deyle 2005; Gudmestad 2003). This struggle to resist an imposed hyper-sexualized identity, that was specifically raced as black and gendered as woman, illuminates the ideological and lived contradictions of life along the color line.

The most dramatic expression of this sexual commerce occurred in the Deep South; the Bruin Slave Jail was only the beginning of a long journey for the slaves who resided there. Although the process of selling slaves across state lines was a drawn-out process, resistance among the enslaved began even in the earliest stages of the forced migration south, despite the futility of virtually every such act to end their enslavement.

## **REMARKS**

The objective of this chapter was to revisit the literature on black women in slavery in general, and in the internal slave trade specifically, as a way to call attention to the critical need to consider the intersection of race and gender, at minimum, in the research on slavery. Slave women experienced a particular form of oppression due to the combined labor forms that they could be forced to perform: reproductive, productive, and sexual. Yet the case study of the Edmondsons demonstrates that they and their loved ones were not without means to contest their oppression. One can argue that despite what Patricia Hill Collins refers to as self-definition and self-evaluation as instruments of resistance, slaves still largely, even if forcibly, contributed to the success of slavery. For example, Milly Edmondson, like other slave women, viewed her reproductive role as a nurturing mother, but she simultaneously and unwillingly made her owner wealthier through her reproductive labor. Still, these acts should not be devalued because they failed to overthrow slavery. What they did succeed in doing is to help to alleviate oppression and suffering, engendered more support for abolitionism, and helped to create a tradition of family and community support that lent itself to greater social stability and independence from whites among African Americans following emancipation. The black church played an instrumental role in this transition from slavery to freedom, a role that was rooted in a long tradition of Christianity among black families such as the Edmondsons. That Emily Edmondson was able to actively engage in abolitionist activities, pursue an education, raise a family with descendants still living, and help to found the Hillside Community in Anacostia (see Chapter 5) speaks to her formidable character and resilience. Her story and that of her family is certainly exceptional, but the

Edmondsons' acts of self-definition and self-evaluation and their broader implications in challenging slavery were not.

## **Chapter 8: Excavation Results**

### **INTRODUCTION**

One of the major goals of this dissertation is to provide an archaeological perspective of the interstate slave trade based on the excavation of the remains of the Bruin Slave Jail. This chapter details the results of the excavation associated with the operation of the jail, and includes discussions of the site features identified and data recovered. As described in the research design, the goal of the fieldwork was fairly straightforward: to find features that would help to identify the way the lot was used when it was the location of Bruin's Slave Jail. Reconstructing the landscape as it existed during Bruin's tenure provided insights into the experiences of the people who were kept there before being sold away South. Thus, this chapter provides an interpretation of the landscape features and faunal remains and what they might indicate about the way Bruin constructed and managed his jail, including how he provisioned slaves at the jail. Moreover, evidence of African-influenced religious practices may suggest one way in which the slaves lived and coped with the imminent prospect of sale.

The most important discoveries at the Bruin Slave Jail were a series of posthole features related to an open-air shelter at the jail, a kitchen midden deposit containing food remains, and several deposits that appear to be related to African American spiritual practices being performed at the jail. The discovery of these features provided a more detailed understanding of the layout of the yard behind the brick slave warehouse. Directly behind the jail, a kitchen or food preparation area once stood. Although this kitchen was not included in the excavation, its existence can be inferred from the presence of the midden deposit and architectural debris that was found nearby. Next to the kitchen, an open-air shelter, bounded on the east by a substantial wall, provided a dining area for the prisoners at the jail. The yard area was paved with bricks and river cobbles. No gardening, horticulture or agriculture was practiced on the site during the slave jail period.

Immediately east of the slave jail building and connected to it via connecting doors was a washhouse, supplied by a large brick cistern. It is also likely that a laundry or drying room adjoined the washhouse to the north. Both of these structures, as well as the kitchen or cooking area, are significant because they are the only two areas directly related to work being performed at the jail. In the accounts of the Edmondsons' stay at the jail, the washhouse is mentioned specifically: both Edmondson sisters, along with other women at the jail, worked at this laundry facility. Although the sex of the person or people who prepared food for the slaves is not known, no hired help is ever listed as serving the slave jail property in any of Bruin's census records. Although some enslaved men were undoubtedly responsible for some cooking, the overwhelming majority of kitchen work and cooking during the era of slavery was performed by enslaved women (Jones 1985; White 1999; Franklin 2001b). Both the cistern and the kitchen midden reflect the likelihood that female slaves were put to work at Bruin's Jail, while male slaves evidently had little to do other than wait. Jacqueline Jones' remark about enslaved women doing "nothing but work," (Jones 1985: 14, see Chapter 7) resonates in this evidence of their labor at Bruin's Jail.

North and south of the northern end of the open-air shelter were two large rectangular pits containing an assortment of ceramic, faunal, glass and metal artifacts. These appear to have been deliberately cached and buried below ground and were likely then covered by the paving bricks and stones, so that they would not be immediately apparent to anyone who did not know they existed. Caches of this description are typically understood to be related to the practice of Hoodoo. Hoodoo consists of a large body of African folkloric practices and beliefs with a considerable admixture of American Indian botanical knowledge and European folklore. Although most of its adherents are black, contrary to popular opinion, it has always been practiced by both whites and blacks in America. Other regionally popular names for hoodoo in the black community include "conjuration," "conjure," "witchcraft," "rootwork," and "tricking."

(Leone et al. 2003; Thornton 2003).

It is difficult to discuss Hoodoo or other traditions relating to the management of spirits without resorting to somewhat loaded terms such as “magic,” “superstition,” or “conjuring,” all of which have ties to somewhat negative modern stereotypes. It is also sometimes difficult to resolve these historic practices, which operated alongside and as part of Christian ideology and faith, with our modern understanding of Christian practices. These practices were not contradictory to Christian beliefs and were not simple superstitions observed by people who were ignorant or who misinterpreted Christianity; these practices were part of a system that grew out of what was, at the time, a widely held understanding about the physical and spiritual worlds and the sacred relationships between them (Fennell 2007; Leone et al. 2003; Thornton 2003).

A final feature uncovered at the jail that is of particular significance is the interment of a single chicken. The entire skeleton, minus the head, of a female chicken was found buried with a few pieces of ceramics. The chicken was not butchered or cooked, and appears to have been buried shortly after it died. This feature also appears to be related to a spiritual practice of some kind.

While the origin of these deposits can be loosely ascribed to African American spiritual practices, they actually raise more questions than they answer. The rituals associated with caches and with animal sacrifices were practiced by specific members of a community, and were generally witnessed by the community at large – they were not secret, and many specific rituals actually depended on witnesses in order to create the desired outcome.

The fact of their imprisonment at the jail meant that nearly everyone in Bruin’s jail was divorced from their community and family. Most probably did not know one another, although their desperate and shared plight may have served to forge bonds

between them. Were these spiritual practices adapted by individuals? Did the enslaved people at the jail perform these rituals together, effectively creating an expeditious community of “orphans,” or for the benefit of all prisoners present? It would have been difficult enough to conceal these rituals from the slave traders, and would have been doubly challenging to conceal them from the other slaves.

The following presents a discussion of the evidence introduced above, a timeline of excavations, as well as details about these features and incorporates historical evidence, where available, to aid in interpretation.

## **TECHNICAL OVERVIEW**

The Phase III excavations on the Duke Street Lot showed that the historic ground surface was intact across a majority of the project area. During the excavations 24 test units were dug into the historic-era topsoil. Adding these 24 to the four test units dug on the Duke Street Lot during the Phase II testing, a total of 28 3x3-foot units were dug on the site. Seventeen units were dug on the 25-foot grid specified in the Resource Management Plan and the others were placed in areas of particular interest. After the topsoil had been tested, the remaining topsoil was removed with a backhoe, exposing numerous features. Many of these dated to the Bruin period. Most of the features were then excavated by hand, although a large brick cistern (Feature 16) was excavated only partially (see below) and a few postholes that were part of fence lines datable to the twentieth century were not dug. A table listing all the features identified is presented in Appendix D, and a plan of the excavations is shown on Figure 12.

## **LANDSCAPE HISTORY**

The project area consisted of the current 1707 Duke Street property, measuring 100x230 feet, less the standing brick house itself and an area directly behind it measuring

about 40x90 feet. Although both of these areas were not supposed to be impacted by the planned construction, the 40 x 90 foot area north of the house was actually destroyed during excavation for the subterranean parking garage. This is a terrible loss to the archaeological record of the property, as it became clear during excavation that this small area must have been the site of the kitchen that served the slave jail.

The modern Duke Street lot is only the western half of the original Bruin property as it existed in the nineteenth century. According to the 1853 Declaration of Assurance issued to Joseph Bruin (Declaration of Assurance 1853), the slave jail was situated on the western portion of the property, with a wood and brick washhouse, 15x15 feet square, attached to the east side of the building (see Figure 9). The Bruins' private home, a two-story brick and wood dwelling, stood on the eastern end of the lot, with a separate kitchen and dining room attached. The standing house at 1707 Duke Street was the used as the slave jail.

The features, deposits, and artifacts encountered on the site can be associated with different events in the history of the Duke Street lot and the distinct cultural landscapes of various phases in that history. The phases of that history are summarized below.

- 1) The prehistoric period, when the area was woodland, occasionally visited by Indian hunters and gatherers.
- 2) Colonial land clearance. The Bruin site was entirely cleared and plowed before the first buildings were constructed on the site.

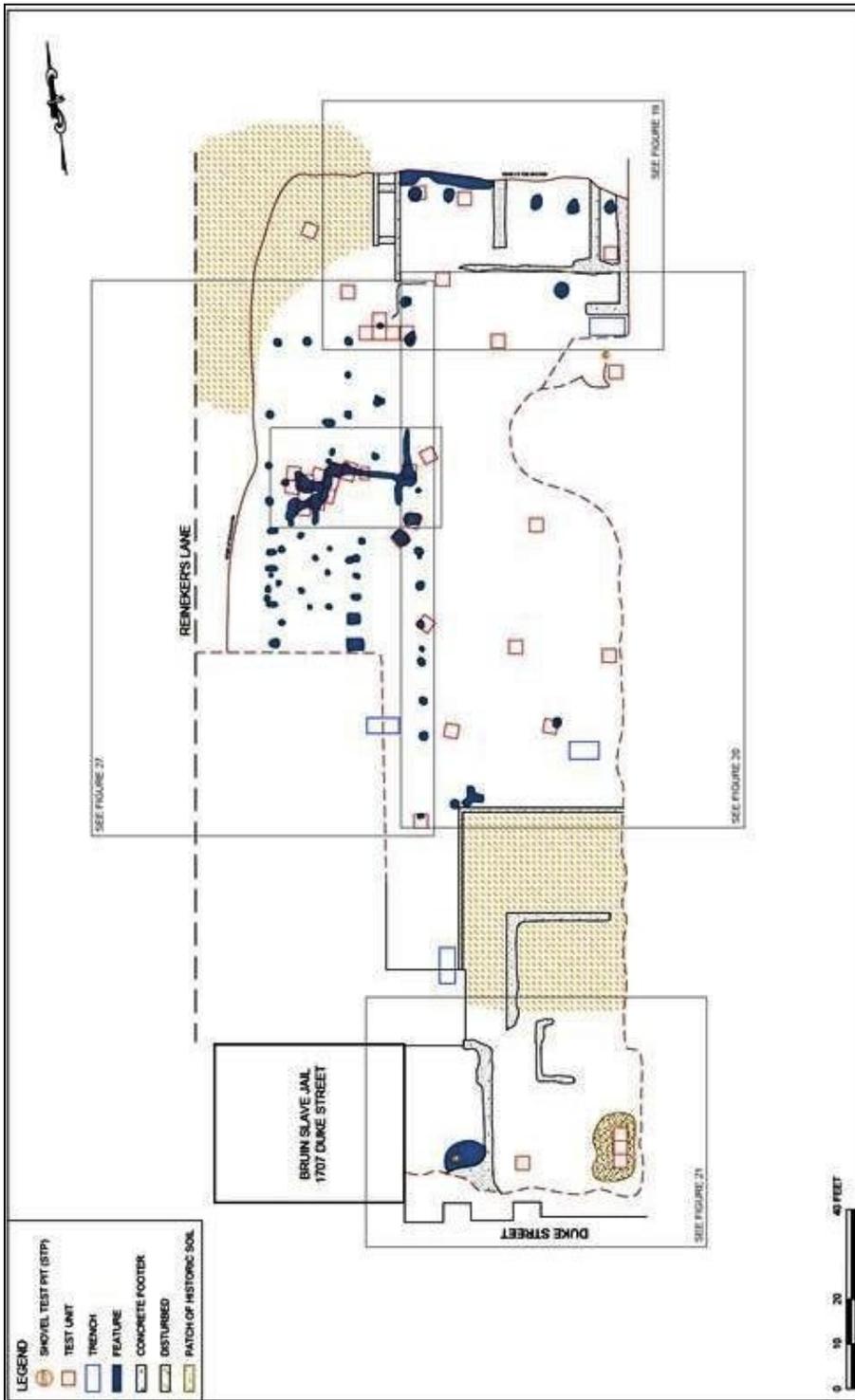


Figure 12: Composite Excavation Plan, Phase II and Phase III

- 3) The West End period, 1796 to 1819. Numerous artifacts dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were recovered from the site, and these may have come from nearby properties that were part of the village of West End, established in the 1790s (Schweigert 1994). No clear evidence was found that a dwelling from this period stood in the project area; however, the large number of artifacts from before 1819 suggests that a tenant dwelling may have stood nearby, perhaps on a part of John Longden's large property that did not become part of the modern 1707 Duke Street lot.
- 4) The John Longden period, 1819 to 1830. The house at 1707 Duke Street was built and served as home to a prominent man and his family. The only evidence of buildings dating to this period was remains of the cistern and washhouse near the east side of the standing house; much of the yard may have been vacant.
- 5) Division of the Longden Estate, 1830-1833. When John Longden died, his property was divided among his heirs. The northern boundary of the Duke Street lot was defined at that time.
- 6) The Bruin Slave Jail period, 1832 to 1861. During this period the modern lot was half of a property that extended about 200 feet to the east from the modern boundary. Joseph Bruin's house was on the eastern half of the lot (now home to Table Talk Restaurant at 1623 Duke Street), and 1707 Duke Street was the headquarters of Bruin's slave trading business. Structures, possibly a barracks for slaves and a kitchen, were built behind the house, and much trash related to the slaves was deposited in shallow pits around those structures.
- 7) The postwar period. After (or possibly during) the Civil War the slave barracks and kitchen were torn down, and much of the property was plowed again, presumably for a large garden. Wooden fences surrounded the lot. Joseph Bruin's

lot was split in two, and the modern dimensions of the 1707 Duke Street lot were defined.

- 8) Late nineteenth and twentieth century domestic occupations. The house at 1707 Duke Street served as a residence until the 1960s. In the 1930s the house was hooked to city water and the cistern was filled in. Sanborn maps from the early twentieth century show frame outbuildings directly behind the house. A building was built over the cistern not long after it was filled.
- 9) The modern commercial period. In the 1970s the lot was filled, leveled, and graveled over to create parking lots, and the lots were eventually paved. The building east of the slave jail was torn down and a new structure erected in the same place, known as 1703 Duke Street. Another structure was built in the rear of the slave jail, along Reinekers Lane.

The modern commercial period is very distinct in the stratigraphy of the site. The foundation slabs and footers of the buildings, the gravel and pavement of the parking lot, and the fill imported to the site when it was leveled are all clearly visible (Figure 13).

Beneath this twentieth -century material was dark topsoil (a very dark gray clay loam), also easily visible when the pavement and fill had been removed. This topsoil was plowed after the Civil War, after a group of structures built during the slave jail period had been torn down. Beneath the plowed topsoil across much of the site was sterile subsoil; however, in the northeastern quadrant of the lot the plowed topsoil was underlain by what we called in the field the “brown layer” (a yellowish brown clay loam). This layer seemed to represent soil that had washed into a low area of the site. Before modern filling the northeastern part of the lot was as much as 3 feet lower than the parts along Duke Street, and this low area drained eastward out of the lot. The brown layer varied in thickness from 0.1 to 0.8 foot and contained mostly artifacts dating to before the Civil

War. It essentially represents topsoil that was deeper than the depth reached by post-Civil War plowing, and the dramatic difference in color probably comes from coal dust and ash mingled into the upper layers.



Figure 13: Building Footer and Twentieth Century Fill

### **ANALYTICAL UNITS**

Although all of the material excavated during the Phase III is from the same property, it nonetheless falls into several spatial and temporal groupings. To organize the analysis and discussion of the material, several Analytical Units (AUs) have therefore been defined (Table 3). Each AU corresponds either to an area of the site or to a group of related features, such as a fence line. In essence, AUs are formal devices to “lump” or combine information from discrete excavation contexts associated with the principal

historical events that shaped the archaeological record. Various criteria were used to define analytical units, including spatial proximity, similarity of feature form, similarity of soil characteristics, stratigraphic relationships, and deposit dates.

This dissertation will focus entirely on Analytical Units 4 (the cistern), and 6, which includes an open-air shelter, kitchen midden, and associated features.

**TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF ANALYTICAL UNITS**

<b>ANALYTICAL UNIT</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION, DATING, HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION</b>	<b>FEATURES</b>	<b>UNITS</b>
1 Lot Boundary	Features and units that were close to the boundary between the Duke Street and Prince Street lots and seem to contain a mixture of artifacts from the two properties, including early twentieth century ceramics and glass from the Prince Street lots	5-10	8-10
2 Vacant Yard Area	Plowzone deposits in the east-central portion of the Duke Street lot, where very few features were identified	17, 18, 20	1, 2, 4, 12-14, 23-26, 28, 32
3 Southeast Corner	Small patch of intact topsoil in the SE corner of the Duke Street Lot, between the slave jail and the Bruin residence; contained many small artifacts from the Longden and Bruin periods		22, 29, 30
4 Cistern	Large brick cistern east of the standing house, partially excavated	16	
5 Fence A	Line of fence posts along Reinekers Lane, some repaired, apparently dating to the twentieth century	31-34, 43-45, 49, 62-64	
6 Slave Barracks/Shelter/Kitchen	The slave barracks/shelter/kitchen. Postholes, trash pits, and other features in the west-central portion of the Duke Street lot, apparently related to buildings of the slave jail period. This was further subdivided for finer analysis		
6a Wall A	Line of large posts at 9-foot intervals, likely forming a wall and one end of an open-air shelter.	13,15,19, 21-25, 56, 58	
6b Wall B	Line of large post holes at irregular intervals, parallel to Wall A and 15 feet away, possibly part of a slave barracks or kitchen.	26, 27, 37, 38, 40, 41	
6c Kitchen/ Trash Midden	Complex of shallow pits containing brick rubble, animal bones, shell, and artifacts, north of Walls A and B	50	33-40
6d Slave Quarter Pits	Pits associated with the slave quarter and dating to the mid-nineteenth century	57, 59, 60, 61	
6e Slave Quarter Units	Plowzone units excavated around the slave barracks/ kitchen		3, 27, 31

**TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF ANALYTICAL UNITS**

<b>ANALYTICAL UNIT</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION, DATING, HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION</b>	<b>FEATURES</b>	<b>UNITS</b>
7	North of Slave Quarter		15-20
8	Miscellaneous small post holes	Small post holes in the slave barracks but probably later in date	28-30, 51-55
9		Disturbed Contexts	11, 21
10	Prince Street Lots	Prince Street Lot	4 5-7

**PHASE II EXCAVATIONS**

Phase II testing of the site, completed in 2007, revealed much about the site, including the basic stratigraphy and preservation conditions. The study area included the Duke Street lot that is historically associated with the slave jail and a Prince Street lot that was not historically related to the slave jail property. During the 2007 study seven trenches were excavated across both properties with a backhoe (Figure 14). Where a buried landscape surface was identified beneath the pavement and modern fill, 3x3-foot test units were dug by hand. A buried landscape surface was located on both the Prince Street and Duke Street lots. On the Prince Street lot, foundations of a house built on the site around 1900 were identified. All of the artifacts recovered on the Prince Street lot seem to date to that relatively recent occupation and were clearly not associated with historic activity on the Duke Street lot, so no further work was pursued on that property.

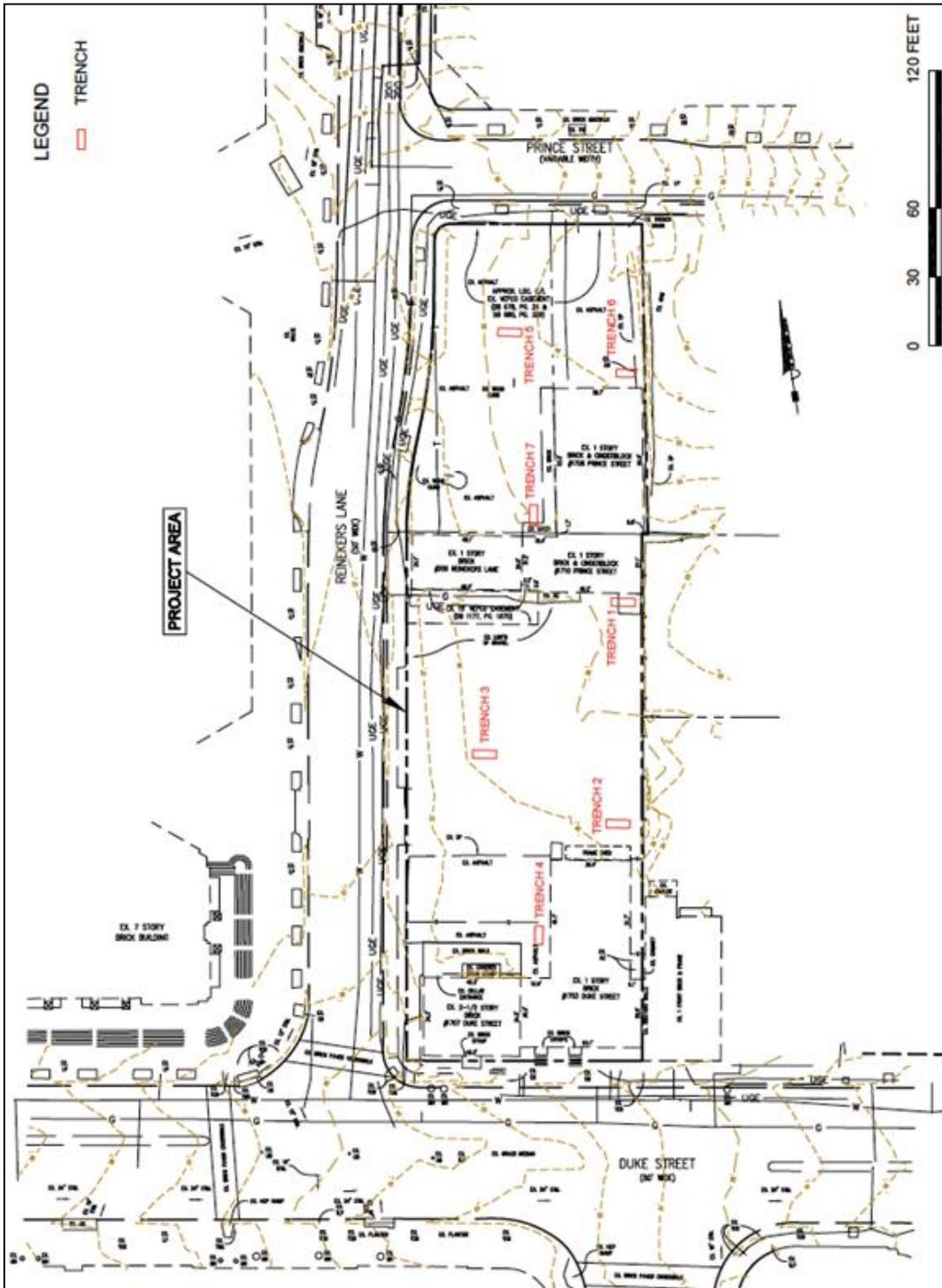


Figure 14: Phase II Excavation Plan (Source: Columbia Equity Trust, 2006)

On the Duke Street lot four trenches were excavated, and the historic ground surface was identified in all of them. The investigated area was a parking lot, mostly gravel but with some pavement close to the slave jail building. Underneath the gravel or pavement was modern fill of variable depth. In Trenches 2, 3, and 4 the historic surface was 1.0 to 1.5 feet below the current grade, but in Trench 1, near the northeast corner of the lot, the historic surface was 3.0 to 3.5 feet down (Figures 15 and 16). Before modern leveling the lot sloped down toward the northeast. In three trenches, the historic surface consisted of very dark gray clay loam topsoil over yellowish brown clay loam subsoil.

In Trench 1, however, there was an additional stratum, a dark yellowish brown clay loam between the topsoil and the subsoil. This “brown layer” contained early to mid-nineteenth century artifacts, and it was interpreted as soil that had washed into a former drainage because of agriculture-related erosion.

### **PHASE III SUMMARY**

#### *Area 1*

When the Phase II testing was completed, modern buildings stood on much of the project area (see Figure 15). These buildings had concrete floor slabs and no sub-grade basements, so it was expected that the historic ground surface might have survived underneath them. These buildings had to be demolished and removed before archaeological fieldwork could begin. Because the archaeological work was dependent on the schedule for building demolition, the work was carried out in two stages. The first area to be excavated, carried out in February and March 2008, was called “Area 1,” and it encompassed an area measuring about 40x100 feet, the northernmost end of the Duke Street lot.

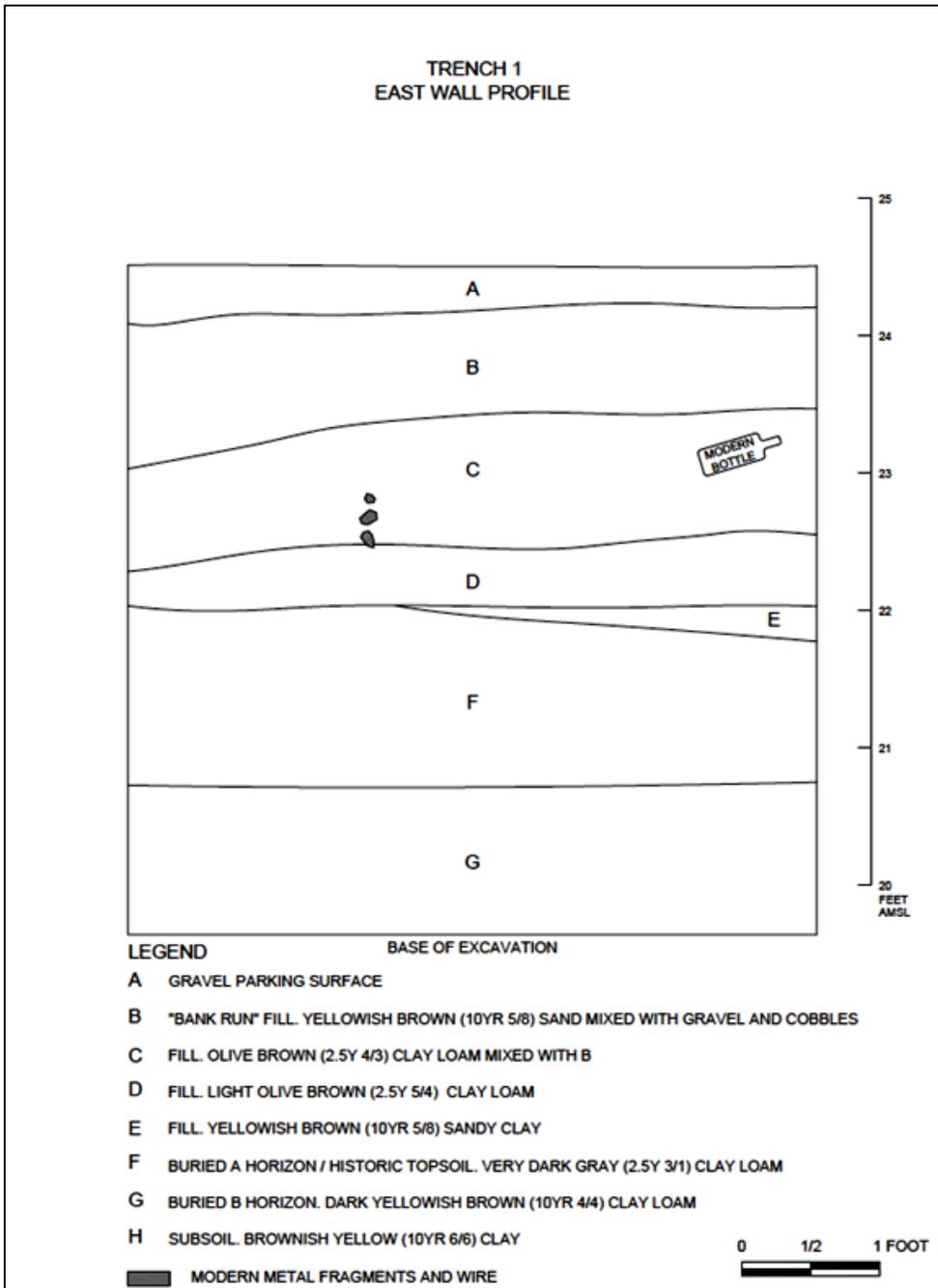


Figure 15: Stratigraphic Profile of Trench 1.



Figure 16: Excavating Unit 1 in the Buried Historic Surface within Trench 1.

Area 1 included the area where Trenches 1, 5, and 6 were excavated during the Phase II survey as well as the area formerly occupied by twentieth -century buildings at 1708-1710 Prince Street. It is important to note that although the modern addresses place these buildings on Prince Street, the buildings were within the within the historic boundary of Joseph Bruin's property.

When the buildings at 1708-1710 Prince Street were demolished and the concrete foundation slab was removed, no features were identified and the historic living surface was not immediately visible. Mechanical excavation to find any remnant of the historic surface began along the eastern end of the recently demolished buildings' footprint. As

the backhoe carefully scraped away layers of modern fill, it became clear that the historic ground surface had survived except where building footers had been placed. On the east side of the property, the surface was identified about 4 feet below the modern ground surface. As the fill removal proceeded westward, however, the ground surface rose, so the historic surface became apparent at a depth of only 3 feet on the western end of the building footprint. From the western end of the building block at 1708-1710 Prince Street to the property boundary along Reinekers Lane, the historic living surface was heavily disturbed by modern construction activity.

As the historic surface was exposed, 3x3-foot excavation units were placed at 25-foot intervals to sample the layer. Eight units, numbered 8-15, were excavated according to this sampling strategy. The backhoe carefully removed the historic soil layer, and the subsoil was examined for evidence of features. A total of eight features was identified in Area 1, although two of these, Feature 11 and Feature 12, were determined to be modern intrusions into the historic layer and therefore were not excavated (Features 1-4 were identified during the 2007 Phase II testing and were excavated). Features 5-10 and Units 9 and 10 are at the rear of the Duke Street property and may contain some material from historic Prince Street lot, so they were grouped into their own analytical unit (see discussion of AU 1, below). Features 13, 14, and 15 are related to the kitchen/slave quarter area to the south, so they were grouped with the other contexts associated with AU 6.

A layer of brown soil containing historic artifacts, probably the same that was identified as Stratum G in Trench 1 during the 2007 testing, was noted in the southwestern part of Area 1. Around Features 13, 14, and 15, this stratum was about 0.3 foot thick. It contained nineteenth century artifacts and seemed to be on top of the postholes. This meant that in order to insure that all features would be exposed, the stratum had to be removed by the backhoe. Because no twentieth -century artifacts had been noted in the stratum, and because in the area of Features 13-15 it contained substantial numbers of nineteenth century artifacts, five additional units (16 to 20) were

dug to sample this stratum. Figure 17 shows the south profile of the Area 1 excavation, illustrating the site stratigraphy in this area. This profile shows the topography of Stratum G from east to west across the middle of the site.

## *Area 2*

The remainder of the project area was investigated in May and June 2008, after the building at 1705 Duke Street had been removed. It was immediately apparent that disturbance underneath this building was much more extensive than under 1708-1710 Prince Street. The historic ground surface was present only in a small area in the southeast corner of the property, measuring perhaps 8x15 feet. The first test unit in this area, Unit 22, produced a large number of nineteenth century artifacts. This deposit was sampled more extensively in two additional test units, Units 29 and 30. No features were found. These three units were defined as an AU 3.

Although the historic ground surface was not present immediately next to 1707 Duke Street, a large brick cistern (Feature 16) was uncovered in this location. This feature was spatially separated from the rest of the excavations and it is discussed separately below as AU 4.

North and west of the footprint of the 1705 Duke Street building, the buried historic surface reappeared. Phase II testing had already established that the historic ground surface sloped down toward the northeast corner of the lot, and this was verified during the Phase III excavations. It was anticipated that this low-lying area might contain trash deposits, but test unit excavations showed that neither the A or B strata in this area contained notable numbers of artifacts, and that the artifacts that were present are highly fragmented as in other more elevated areas of the site. One reason for the small size of the artifacts was revealed during the backhoe excavation: plow scars were noted across most of the project area. The plow scars are all aligned with the modern lot lines and they cross over many of the nineteenth century features. It seems that most of the lot was

turned into a large, plowed garden some time after the Civil War – likely during Joseph Bruin’s days after the Civil War, when his occupation was recorded as “farmer” in the U.S. Census. This plowing probably destroyed many traces of the earlier use of the property as a slave jail.

Most of the features found during the excavation were in an area directly behind the standing house at 1707 Duke Street, 100 to 200 feet from Duke Street. In this area about 50 features were identified. Many of these were postholes for fences, but large posts that appear to have been parts of buildings, storage pits, and other features were also found. These features are interpreted as the remains of a slave quarter or barracks and kitchen dating to the Bruin period, as well as later fence lines. Within this area several distinct analytical units were defined (AUs 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d, 6e, and 8) representing lines of postholes and groups of shallow pits.

Eleven sherds were found from a set of dishes transfer-printed with flowing colors, a style that was very popular in the 1850s. These may represent some of the Bruin family’s better china. The large quantity of creamware (1762-1820) provides further evidence for a hypothetical tenant residence which may have been somewhere nearby before 1707 Duke Street was built in 1819. Since more creamware was found in the eastern part of the project area (AUs 2 and 3) than in the west, that residence may have stood somewhere to the east.

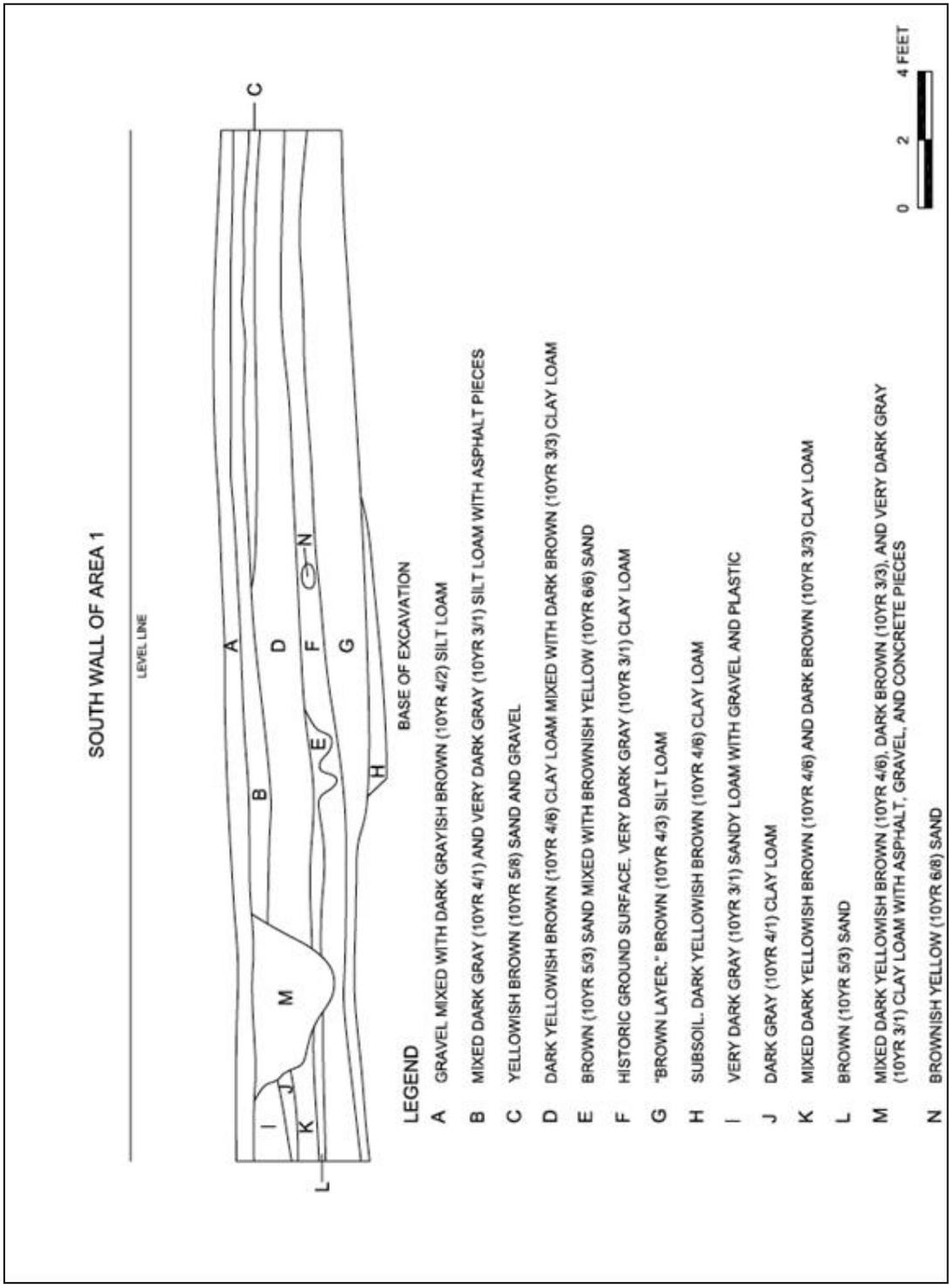


Figure 17: Stratigraphic Profile Across the Site, South of Area 1.

**Table 3: Artifacts from Analytical Unit 1b, Units 8-11**

<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>	<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>
<b>Ceramics</b>		<b>Ceramics, continued</b>	
Coarse red earthenware	8	Stoneware, black basalt (1750-1845)	1
Buff-bodied earthenware	2	Stoneware, amber bottles (1835-1910)	1
Red-bodied slipware (1670-1850)	4	Stoneware, Albany slip (1800-1940)	4
Buff-bodied slipware (1670-1795)	1	<b>Glass</b>	
Creamware (1762-1820)	19	Patent medicine bottle, aqua	1
Pearlware		Bottle base, clear (1915-1950)	1
Plain (1775-1840)	9	Bottle/jar glass	
Shell edge, green (1800-1840)	3	Clear	28
Transfer-printed (1800-1840)	1	Olive green	10
Flowing colors (1775-1840)	1	Amber	6
Hand-painted, blue, (1775-1820)	6	Aqua	25
Hand-painted, poly (1795-1825)	2	Amethyst tint (1880-1915)	10
Whiteware		Vessel glass, milk white	2
Plain (1820-present)	37	Lamp chimney	11
Transfer-printed, blue (1820-1915)	8	<b>Architectural</b>	
Transfer-printed, brown (1820-1915)	1	Window glass	39
Transfer-printed, green (1825-1915)	1	Linoleum (1937-present)	2
Hand-painted (1820-present)	1	Nails, machine-cut or wrought	43
Ironstone (1840-present)	1	Roofing slate	2
Yellowware, plain (1827-1940)	7	<b>Other</b>	
Oriental porcelain 1660-1860)	4	White clay tobacco pipe stems	4
Hard-paste porcelain		Kerosene lamp part	1
Plain	4	Hardware	2
Gilded band (1820-present)	1		
Hand-painted (1820-present)	1	<b>Total</b>	<b>315</b>

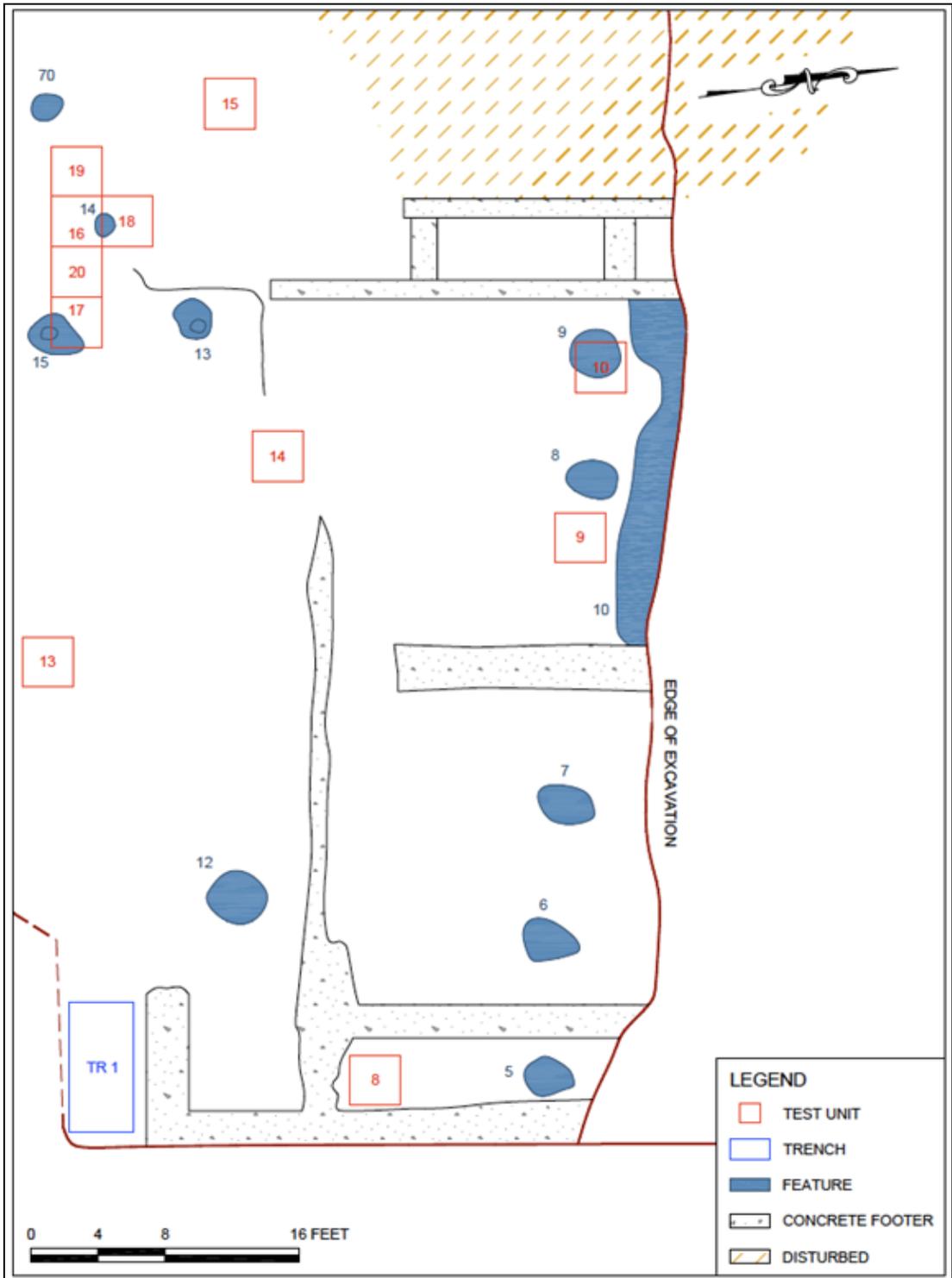


Figure 18: Plan of Features and Testing in Analytical Unit 1.

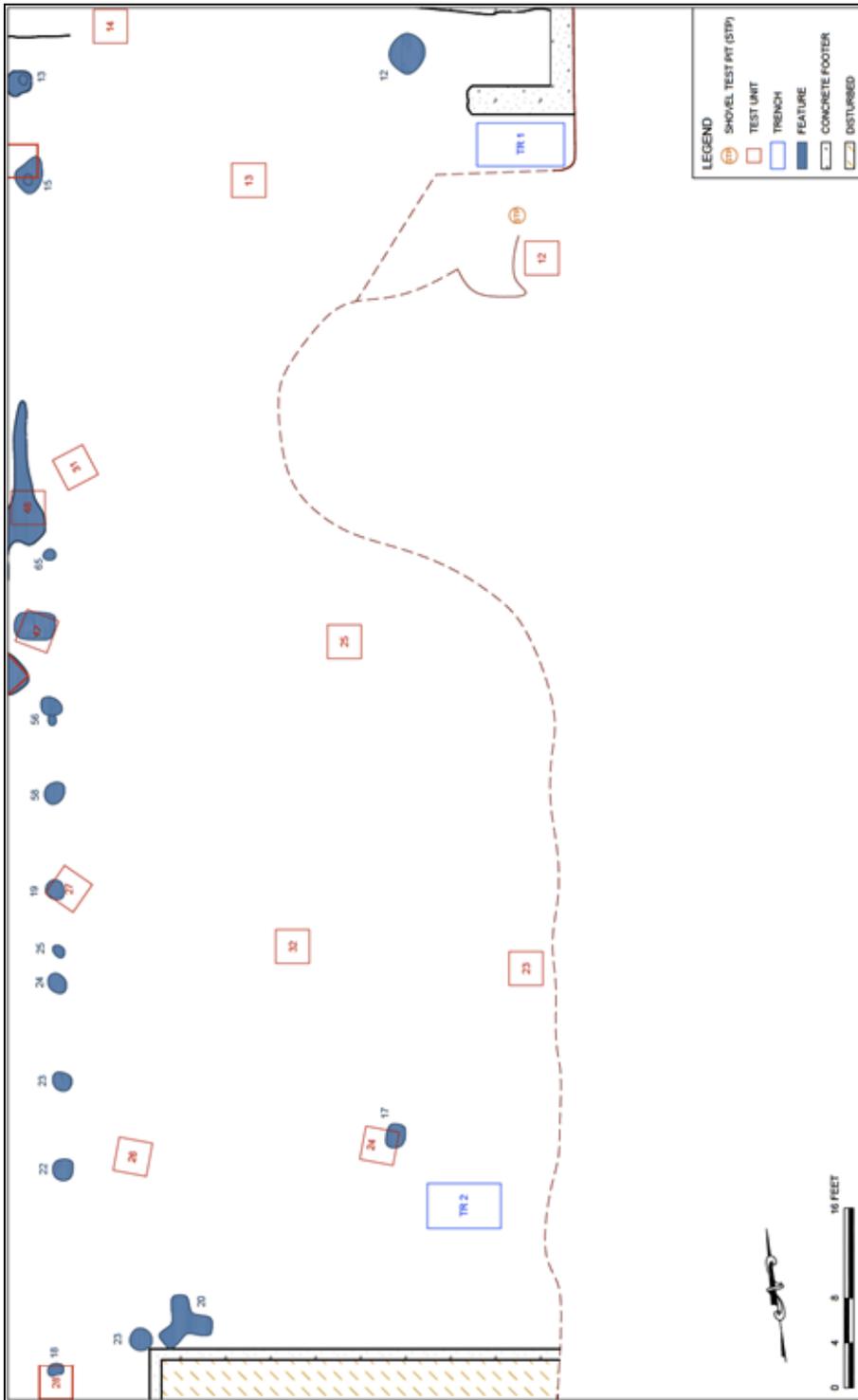


Figure 19: Plan of Features and Testing in Analytical Unit 2.

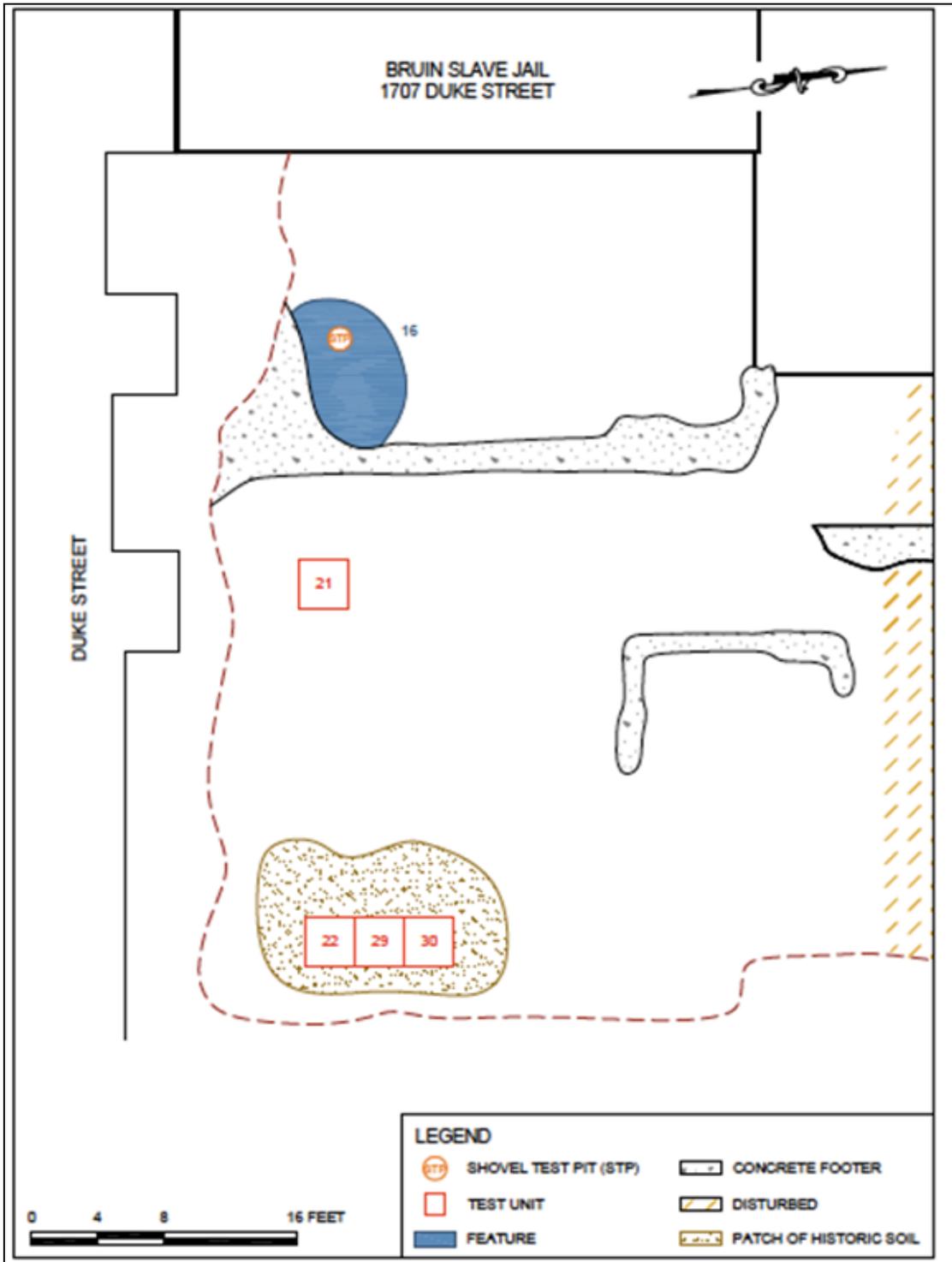


Figure 20: Plan of Excavations in Analytical Unit 3.

*Analytical Unit 4 – Feature 16, the Cistern Excavation*

The demolition of 1703 Duke Street, which was directly adjacent to 1707 Duke Street on its east side, exposed the concrete footers of an earlier twentieth -century building. Removal of the concrete floor from that earlier building and 1.5 feet of gravel exposed about half of a brick cistern. The other half of the cistern was covered in poured concrete, which varied in thickness from 0.4 foot to 1.5 feet. The construction of at least two twentieth -century buildings on the east side of the slave jail had almost completely erased all traces of historic activity in the area, except the below-ground portion of the cistern.

The cistern has an interior diameter of 10 feet, and the depth is estimated to be at least 9 feet, which would provide a storage capacity of more than 700 gallons of water. The interior is divided by a brick partition wall, which would have served to separate incoming water from filtered water.

An analysis of similar features has shown that the water supply would have entered the cistern on one side of the cistern and passed to the other side through a filter at the base of the partition wall. A pump to draw water would have been located on the opposite side of the cistern from the intake or supply pipe. The interior wall was covered with a thin layer of mortar, a parging that would have acted as a seal to make the vessel watertight. The fill in the cistern consists mostly of coal ash, mixed with artifacts from the 1920s and 1930s. The initial excavation of a single deep shovel test near the center of the feature (Figure 22) was abandoned at a depth of 3.0 feet when it began to fill with water.

Various courses of action were considered at the point, including various options for excavation and *in situ* preservation. While the various alternatives were considered, the cistern was covered and no further excavation was carried out. In early September 2008 it was decided that the concrete should be removed from the cistern, and as much of



Figure 21: Cistern Excavation in Progress.

the fill as possible should be removed within OSHA restrictions, to see if the bottom depth of the cistern could be determined. At that time a construction crew used a small pneumatic chipping hammer to remove the concrete from the cistern, exposing a larger area of the cistern (Figure 22). Concrete removal proceeded as far as possible without compromising the integrity of the cistern, but this operation was complicated by the presence of concrete rebar that penetrated the cistern. Then the archaeological crew returned to excavate as much of the fill from the cistern as they safely could, in an attempt to locate the base of the cistern chamber. The cistern was excavated to a depth of 4 feet below ground surface, and a small probe was used to try to feel a solid base beneath the remaining fill. No clear determination as to the cistern's depth could be made, as there were many chunks of mortar and concrete as well as voids within the fill. The probe encountered obstructions at a variety of depths, and in several places it sank easily to its full length of 5 feet. It is clear that the cistern is at least 9 feet deep, and likely deeper, but the unstable and irregular fill made it impossible to determine the depth precisely. The excavation was backfilled, and the cistern has been left unexcavated for the time being. Excavation around the cistern was monitored in March 2009, but no new discoveries were made.

### *Interpretation*

A similar cistern was uncovered in 2002 at 909 Cameron Street and was examined by Steven Shephard and Fran Bromberg from Alexandria Archaeology (Figure 23). This cistern was 10 feet in diameter and 10 feet deep, with an intact brick dome. At the apex of the dome was an iron cylinder, 1.5 feet in diameter, which was closed by an iron cover. The interior was "parged" (covered with a thin layer of mortar). There was a narrow interior wall, slightly off center, that separated the cistern into two separate chambers. A wooden filter connected the chambers. Water flowed into the cistern on one side of the wall and was removed from the other, so the filter removed sediment and other foreign material from the water before it was pumped up. Other cisterns had more

elaborate filtration systems. A cistern uncovered at a nineteenth century commercial bakery in Alexandria had a separate filtration chamber with layers of coarse sand, small gravel, and wood chips through which the water passed before entering the main chamber (Cuddy et al. 2006:10-31).



Figure 22: Cistern after Removal of Overlying Concrete, September 2008.

The cistern at 1707 Duke Street must once have closely resembled the Cameron Street cistern. It is about the same size, it is “parged,” and has an interior dividing wall. However, the Duke Street cistern has apparently lost its original dome.



Figure 23: Cistern on Cameron Street in Alexandria (Source: Alexandria Archaeology).

The 1853 Declaration of Assurance issued to Joseph Bruin by his insurers depicts a washhouse adjoining the slave jail building (see Figure 10), but the drawing does not appear to be accurate. It is both drawn and verbally described as being contiguous with the slave jail, but its dimensions, 15x15 feet, describe a square building. As drawn on the map, it appears to be distinctly rectangular. Further, the slave jail itself is drawn with its longer walls (42 feet) running north-south and the shorter wall fronting Duke Street (east-west). The building is actually situated with the 42-foot sides running parallel to Duke Street. The map does not appear to be drawn to scale. The orientations, sizes, and arrangements of the buildings as depicted on the map are therefore somewhat uncertain, but it seems reasonably clear that the only known structure (as of 1853) dating to the

Bruin occupation that could possibly be located in the location of the cistern would be the washhouse.

The cistern was presumably associated with the washhouse. The washhouse would have required large amounts of water on a daily basis, and the cistern would most likely have been set up so that a pipe from the roof of the washhouse would channel water into the cistern, while a pump inside the washhouse would provide water on demand for the washing activities inside. The location of the cistern supports the hypothesis that the washhouse was attached to the southern portion of the east wall of the slave jail.

When the building at 1705 Duke Street, which adjoined 1707 Duke Street from 1958 to 2008, was demolished, the east wall of the slave jail was exposed for the first time in a half-century (Figure 24). Two doors and a small window were revealed when the walls of 1705 Duke Street were peeled away from the former slave jail's east wall. Also visible in the brickwork of the wall is a silhouette of a structure that once adjoined the slave jail. In Sanborn fire insurance maps from 1901 and 1941, a small extension is depicted, projecting out about 5 or 6 feet from the slave jail's east wall (Figure 26). This small extension may have been a short hyphen, to which the washhouse had been attached.

This arrangement of cistern and washhouse was standard practice in the middle nineteenth century. Home economy manuals from the period indicate that rain barrels or other water catchers could be used to supply water to a washhouse, although the water could easily be contaminated, and the time spent ferrying the water from outdoor barrels to the interior of the washhouse reduced the efficiency of the operation (Webster and Parkes 1855). *Miss Leslie's Lady's House-Book: a Manual of Domestic Economy*, published in 1850, recommends a cistern to ensure that an "abundance of water" is always on hand, in order to get clothes really clean. The 1855 edition of the

*Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* instructs that cisterns be built in all washhouses, either on the roof or beneath the floor (Leslie 1850; Webster and Parkes 1855). It also instructs, as do several other similar publications, that a laundry be built adjoining the



Figure 24: South Wall of 1707 Duke Street, with Doors.

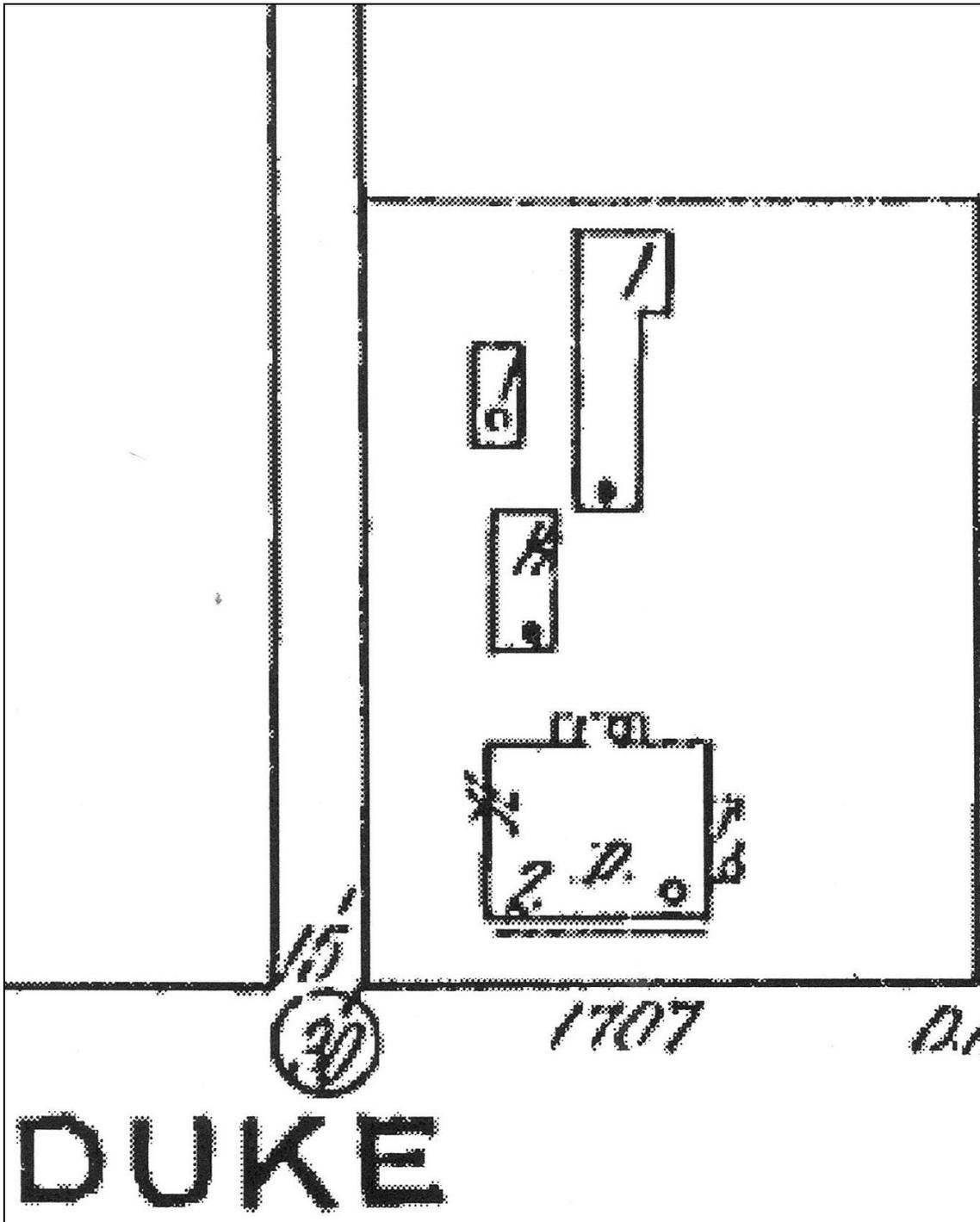


Figure 25: Sanborn Map Showing the Extension Toward the Cistern

washhouse. The washhouse would be equipped with a ready water supply as well as a heat source (the washhouse appears to have shared one of the slave jail's four chimneys), and sufficient copper wash tubs, mangles, and other devices and supplies for washing clothes. The laundry was used for drying, ironing, folding and starching of clothing. No laundry building is listed on the Declaration of Assurance. This does not necessarily indicate that no such building existed, merely that if it did, it was uninsured under Bruin's policy.

Although none of the historic ground surface was left in this area, and the cistern is the only structural element remaining of Bruin's washhouse, the location is historically significant because of Harriett Beecher Stowe's account of the Edmondson sisters' incarceration at the slave jail. As described above, the sisters were compelled to "wash for thirteen men" during their first stop at the slave jail, and were again "employed in washing, ironing and sewing" when they returned to Alexandria from New Orleans (Stowe 1853:160, 164). It would appear that the cistern is the last physical remnant of the workplace where Emily and Mary Edmondson toiled while waiting for word of their fate.

It may be that the second door in the slave jail's east wall led to a laundry building that also adjoined the washhouse, a possibility made stronger by the historical evidence. The account in Beecher Stowe's *Key* also provides a significant clue: the girls work included *ironing* and *sewing*, work that would have taken place in a laundry rather than a washhouse. The washhouse, with its huge sinks, boilers, and copious amounts of steam, was unsuitable for any other kind of work. In a space measuring only 15 feet square, there would have been no room for any other activities. An attached laundry building would be the sensible place for such activities as drying, ironing, folding, and repairing clothes and linens.

### PHASE III: THE SLAVE QUARTER

Most of the features identified during the excavations were located in the western half of the lot, directly behind the standing house (Figure 26). The contrast between the expanse of bare, yellowish brown subsoil to the east and the numerous postholes and other pits in the western area was dramatic. The large number of features in this area (about 50) presented serious problems of interpretation, and the situation is still not fully understood. This area was plowed sometime after the Civil War, destroying stratigraphic evidence that could have been used to sort out features of different periods. However, there is enough evidence to state, with a high degree of confidence, structures of some kind stood here in the Bruin period. These structures probably consisted of a wooden slave barracks and a kitchen with a brick hearth and chimney.

#### *Analytical Unit 6, Slave Barracks and Kitchen*

##### *Wall A: Features 19, 22, 23, 24, 56, and 58 (AU 6a)*

Features 19, 22, 23, 24, 56, and 58 are all postholes, and they form a line at 8-foot intervals running from north to south. They are all relatively large, about 2.5 feet in diameter, and roughly round. They are all well over a foot in depth from the “top” (the point at which its presence was noted) to clean yellowish-brown subsoil. The soil excavated from all of these features consisted of mixed olive brown silt loam and olive yellow silty clay loam with many small fragments of brick, mortar, and oyster shell. No coal ash is present, and artifacts were rather sparse. All of the recovered artifacts could date to the Bruin period; the *terminus post quem* for Wall A is 1820 (Table 10). Where postmolds were visible, they were round and measured about 0.5 feet in diameter. These postholes were placed at precise 8-foot intervals, in a line running north-south. They were all excavated to approximately the same depth, around 28 feet amsl. Judging from the size and the care that was taken to place each post at the same depth, it appears that these

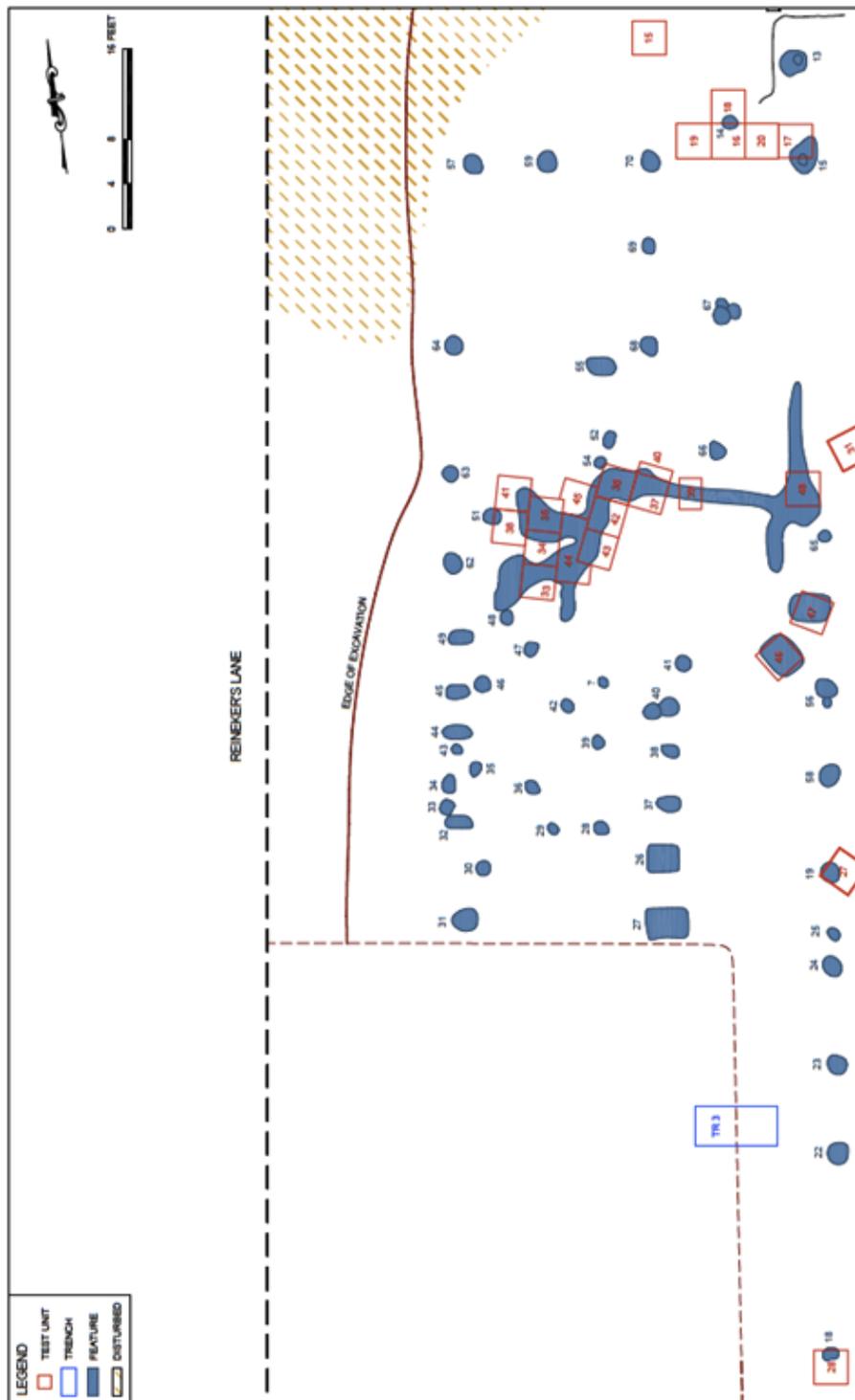


Figure 26: Plan of Features and Excavations in the Slave Quarter Area.

**Table 4: Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6a, Wall A**

ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT	ARTIFACT TYPE	COUNT
<b>Ceramics</b>		<b>Glass</b>	
White salt-glazed stoneware (1720-1805)	1	Unidentified bottle	
Whiteware		Clear	1
Plain (1820-present)	19	Aqua	3
Transfer-printed, clobbered/filled (1820-1915)	5	Curved vessel glass	
Transfer-printed, flowing colors (1840-1900)	1	Clear	1
Transfer-printed, brown (1825-1915)	11	Milk glass	2
Hand-painted (1820-present)	4	<b>Architectural</b>	
Stoneware with Albany slip and hand-painted decoration (1800-1910)	9	Window glass	2
		Cut/wrought nails	67
<b>Personal</b>		Spike	1
Bone button	1	<b>Faunal</b>	
		Unanalyzed bone	13
		<b>Total</b>	<b>141</b>

posts were structural. It was common to build and raise one long wall of a post structure as a unit, and this required that the postholes all have the same bottom elevation. If Wall A formed one side of a building, it would have been about 40 feet long.

Wall A may have been one side of a building used as housing for slaves. The brick building at 1707 Duke Street was known to serve as a slave “warehouse,” but it may have been insufficient if Bruin purchased a larger number of slaves. In addition to the purchase and sale of slaves, he also advertised that he boarded slaves at the rate of 25 cents per day. It seems probable that he required additional space for so many people.

The major difficulty with interpreting Wall A as one side of a building is that there is no corresponding side either to the east or the west. No features were noted to the east. To the west there is a line of postholes, Features 26, 27, 37, 38, 40, and 41 (see below), parallel to the northern portion of Wall A and about 15 feet away. However, the postholes are diverse within that line (as explained below), and none of them looks exactly like the postholes in Wall A. One possibility is that Wall A represents an addition made to a standing building, or even a sort of porch. That standing building, which might

have been supported on shallow brick or stone foundations that have been destroyed by plowing, would have provided support for the other side of the roof.

Descriptions of the archaeology of the Franklin & Armfield slave pen include the discovery of a similar row of postholes. Since there were period accounts of the establishment by visiting abolitionists, it was possible to conclude that these postholes were related to an open-air shelter that covered part of the yard area at the Franklin & Armfield pen. A table was set up under the shelter and slaves ate meals there. Also included in the descriptions of this establishment were outdoor fireplaces where meals were prepared, and an enclosure that was paved with bricks (Abdy 1834; Andrews 1835; Artemel et al 1987; Leavitt 1834).

It is also possible that Wall A represents a fence, although it is not connected to anything at either end and seems very well built for a simple fence. It may be that the large postholes served a dual function, as the structural support for a roof covering part of the yard area, as well as for a wall that prevented escape and separated the slave jail lot from the Bruin residence next door.

*Wall B: Features 26, 27, 37, 38, 40, 41 (AU 6b)*

Wall B is a line of postholes parallel to and 15 feet away from Wall A. Judging from their location, they would appear to represent the other side of the building; however, they have various sizes and shapes, and none of them matches the very consistent holes of Wall A. They are also at rather uneven intervals.

The material from all of the features in Wall B is quite early, with a *terminus post quem* of 1820 and 21 sherds of pearlware as compared to only one of whiteware. The presence of so many nails within this feature, which themselves date to rather early in the history of the site, suggests that wooden buildings stood in this area from the time the

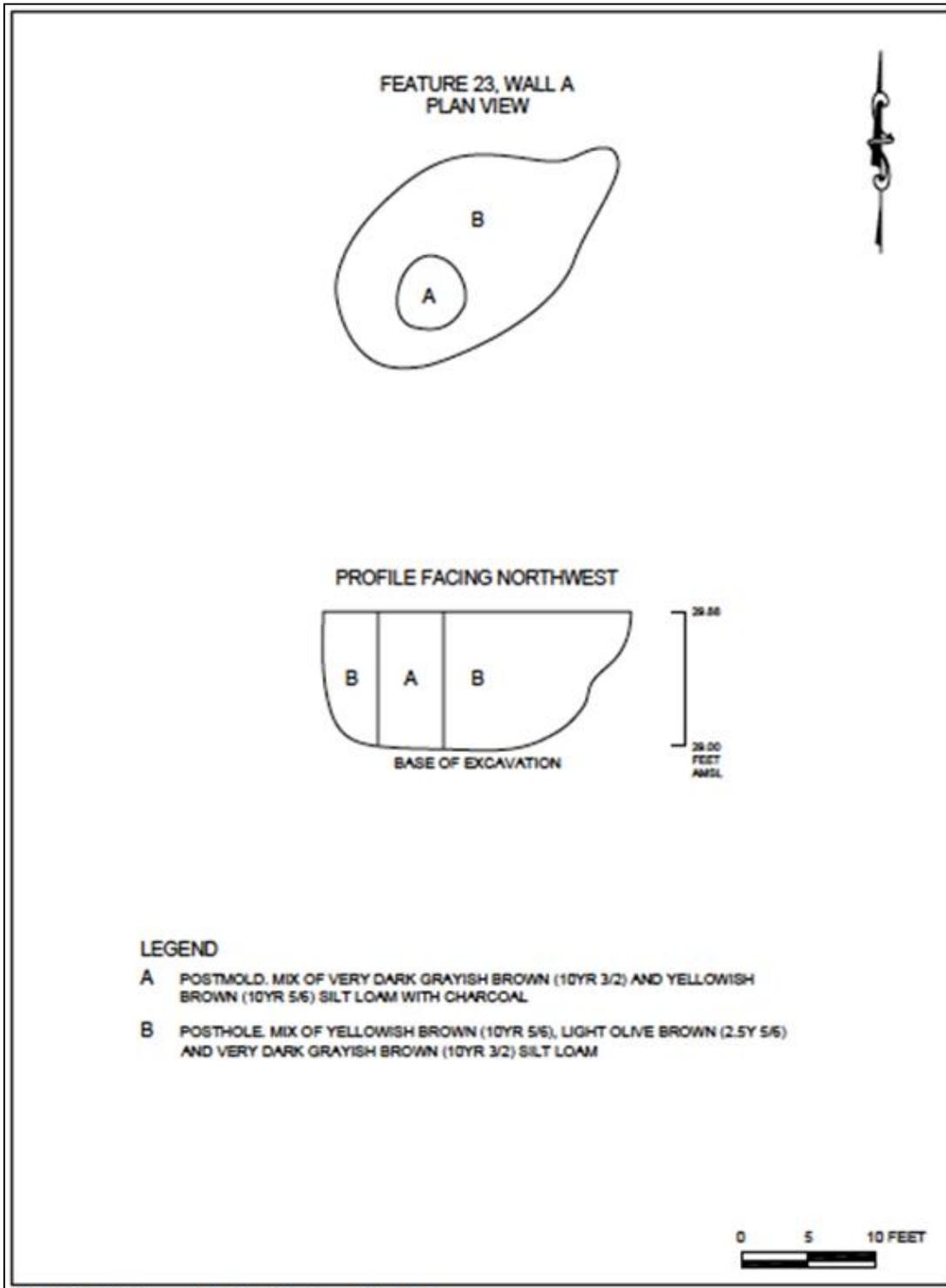


Figure 27: Plan and Profile of Feature 23, Wall A.

house was built in the late 1810s.

**Table 5: Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6, Wall B**

<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>	<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>
<b>Ceramics</b>		<b>Glass</b>	
Coarse red earthenware	2	Bottle glass, aqua	1
Creamware, plain (1762-1820)	7	Bottle glass, olive green	5
Oriental porcelain (1660-1860)	1	<b>Tobacco Pipes</b>	
Pearlware		White clay pipe stem 5/64"	1
Plain (1775-1840)	11	White clay bowl fragment	1
Dipped (1790-1890)	1	<b>Architectural</b>	
Hand-painted, brown (1775-1820)	1	Window glass	8
Shell edge, green (1775-1840)	1	Brick	1
Transfer-printed, flowing colors (1775-1840)	7	Nails, cut/wrought	88
Whiteware, transfer-printed, blue (1820-1915)	1	<b>Other</b>	
		Miscellaneous iron	7
		<b>Total</b>	<b>144</b>

*Feature 50 (AU 6c)*

Feature 50 at first appeared to be a large shell midden within Stratum B, the “brown layer.” This was anomalous, since excavations across the rest of site recovered only tiny fragments of oyster shell, and never in significant quantities.

The large deposit of shells initially identified as Feature 50 was concentrated within a 10x10-foot area and consisted mostly of intact clam and oyster shells, along with a brown silt loam that contained artifacts. In order to identify the boundaries of the feature, first shovels and then trowels were used to find clear boundaries. This proved challenging, as the shape revealed by the scraping was irregular. Rather than trying to bisect the large, amorphous feature, several test units were placed in various locations on Feature 50 to obtain a spatially representative sample (Figure 28).

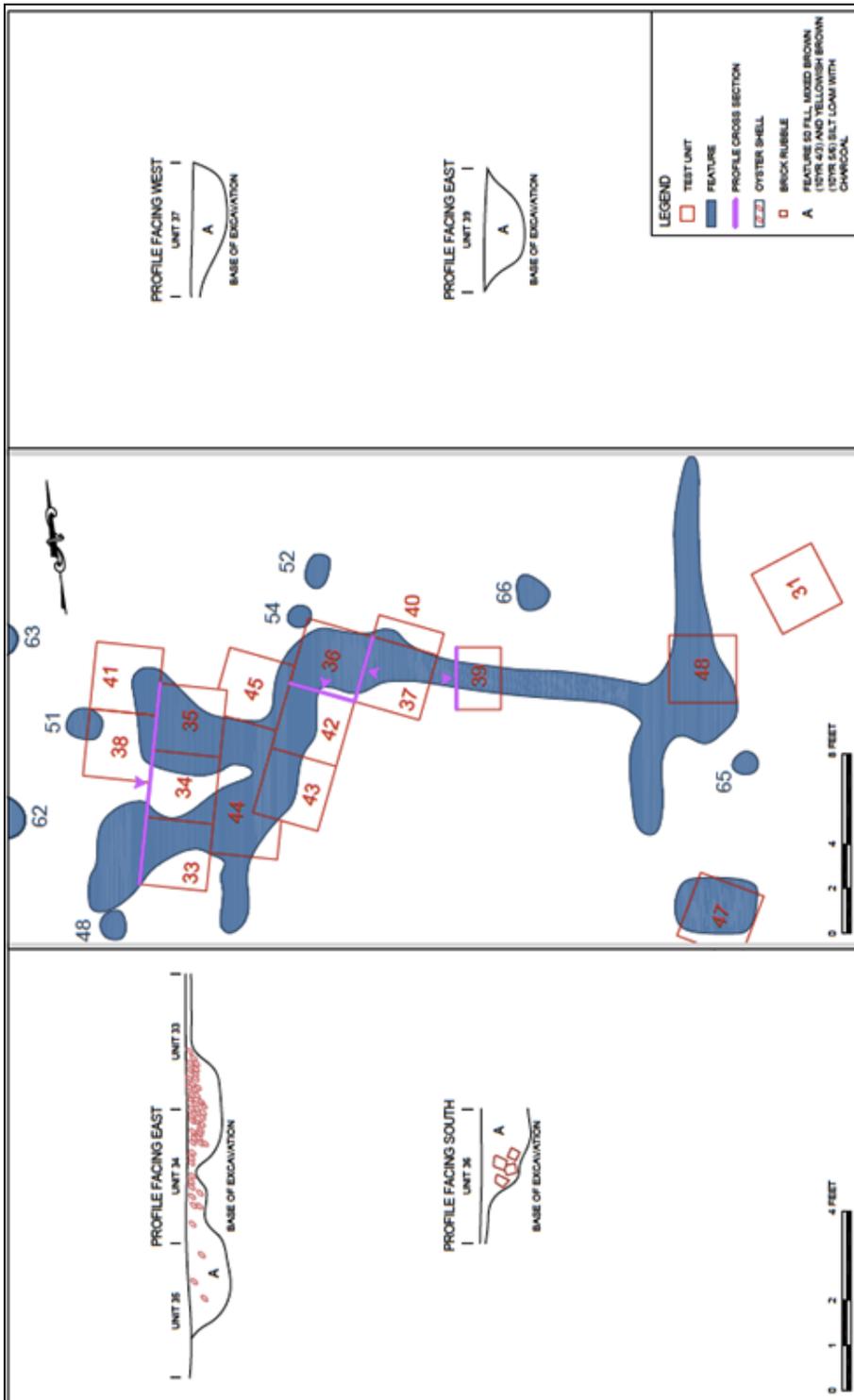


Figure 28: Plan and Profiles of Feature 50



Figure 29: Excavation Unit within Feature 50, Showing Concentrations of Brick and Oyster Shell.

Unit 33, the first unit excavated on Feature 50, revealed that the oyster shell pile was about 0.3 foot thick and was in a shallow, U-shaped trench. Unit 34, excavated immediately north of 33, uncovered what appeared to be a builder's trench containing oyster and clam shells, brick rubble, animal bone, and a very small amount of brown silt loam (Figure 29). As more units were excavated to follow the feature, however, it became clear that it could not be an intact builder's trench for a foundation because of its curving, irregular shape. Further units, particularly 37, 40, and 39, revealed that a relatively well-defined drainage branched off from the main body of Feature 50 and ran eastward, toward the old drainage that ran east off the property near Trench 1.

In every unit, the deposit of oyster and clam shells overlay the deposit of brick and architectural debris. The shells were mostly whole and unbroken, as were the bricks; many of the bricks were still mortared together. The underlying midden deposit of coal, coal ash, animal bone, and artifacts was also spatially discrete. The intactness of the materials in Feature 50, and the fact that they had not been dispersed beyond the confines of the shallow, amorphous pit, indicates that this area was not plowed. Stratigraphically, the animal bones and other trash were deposited first, followed by the structural debris, with the shells deposited last.

Feature 50 contained over 900 pieces of animal bone, thousands of oyster and clam shells, hundreds of machine-cut nails, a substantial quantity of intact bricks with mortar and plaster, and a great deal of coal and charcoal. Otherwise the artifact assemblage is rather small (Figures 30 and 31; Table 6). Most of the artifacts date to the mid-nineteenth century. The exceptions are a small piece of plastic and two wire nails. Since the feature was intruded by several twentieth century postholes, the presence of a few intrusive artifacts within the feature fill is not surprising, and on the whole the feature seems to date to the 1850s. One tightly dated artifact from the feature is a piece of gray stoneware bearing the mark of Alexandria potter B.C. Milburn, made between 1844 and 1871 (Walker et al. 1992:94) (Figure 32).

**Table 6: Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6c, Feature 50**

<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>	<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>
<b>Ceramics</b>		<b>Glass</b>	
Coarse red earthenware	6	Bottle glass	
Miscellaneous refined earthenwares		Clear	6
Red-bodied with white tin glaze	1	Olive green	17
Buff body, yellow glaze	1	Amber	1
Creamware		Aqua	6
Plain (1762-1820)	6	Vessel glass, clear, melted	16
Dipped, Mocha (1770-1860)	2	Stemware, foot	1
Pearlware		Unidentified tableware	2
Plain (1775-1840)	1	<b>Personal</b>	
Dipped (1790-1890)	1	Button, plain small china (1850-	1

**Table 6: Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6c, Feature 50**

<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>	<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>
Hand-painted, blue (1775-1820)	1	present)	
Hand-painted, brown (1795-1820)	1	Comb, hard rubber (1851-present)	1
Whiteware		US Half Penny (1809)	1
Plain (1820-present)	20	Slate pencil	1
Shell-edge, blue (1820-1900)	3	Clay marble	1
Hand-painted (1820-present)	1	Handmade glass marble (1846-1924)	1
Transfer-printed, blue (1820-1910)	2	Tobacco Pipes	
Transfer-printed, black (1825-1910)	1	White clay pipe stem 5/64"	2
Yellowware		White clay pipe stem with round heel	1
Plain (1827-1940)	1	Brass buckle	1
Rockingham/Bennington (1812-1920)	1	<b>Architectural</b>	
Hard-paste porcelain		Window glass	17
Plain	1	Brick	3
Decal-decorated (1830-present)	2	Mortar	3
Gilded band (1820-present)	1	Nails	
Soft-paste porcelain		Machine-cut or wrought Wire (1880-present)	585
Plain	2	Cut spike (1830-present)	2
Gilded band (1850-present)	1	<b>Analyzed Faunal</b>	
Underglaze wash	1	Cow	1094
Oriental porcelain (1660-1860)	1	Goat	533
Ironstone		Sheep	51
Plain (1840-present)	5	Sheep/Goat	86
Paneled (1840-1870)	1	Pig	20
Stoneware		Dog	33
Amber bottle (1835-1910)	4	Rat/Unidentified Rodent	25
Misc. bottle (1800-1930)	1	Cat	3
Gray salt-glazed	4	Large mammal	91
Gray salt-glazed (1841-1877)	1	Medium mammal	618
Albany slip (1800-1940)	5	Small mammal	11
<b>Miscellaneous</b>			
Unidentified metal	73		
Unidentified plastic (1930-present)	1		
Bolt	1	<b>Total</b>	<b>3390</b>

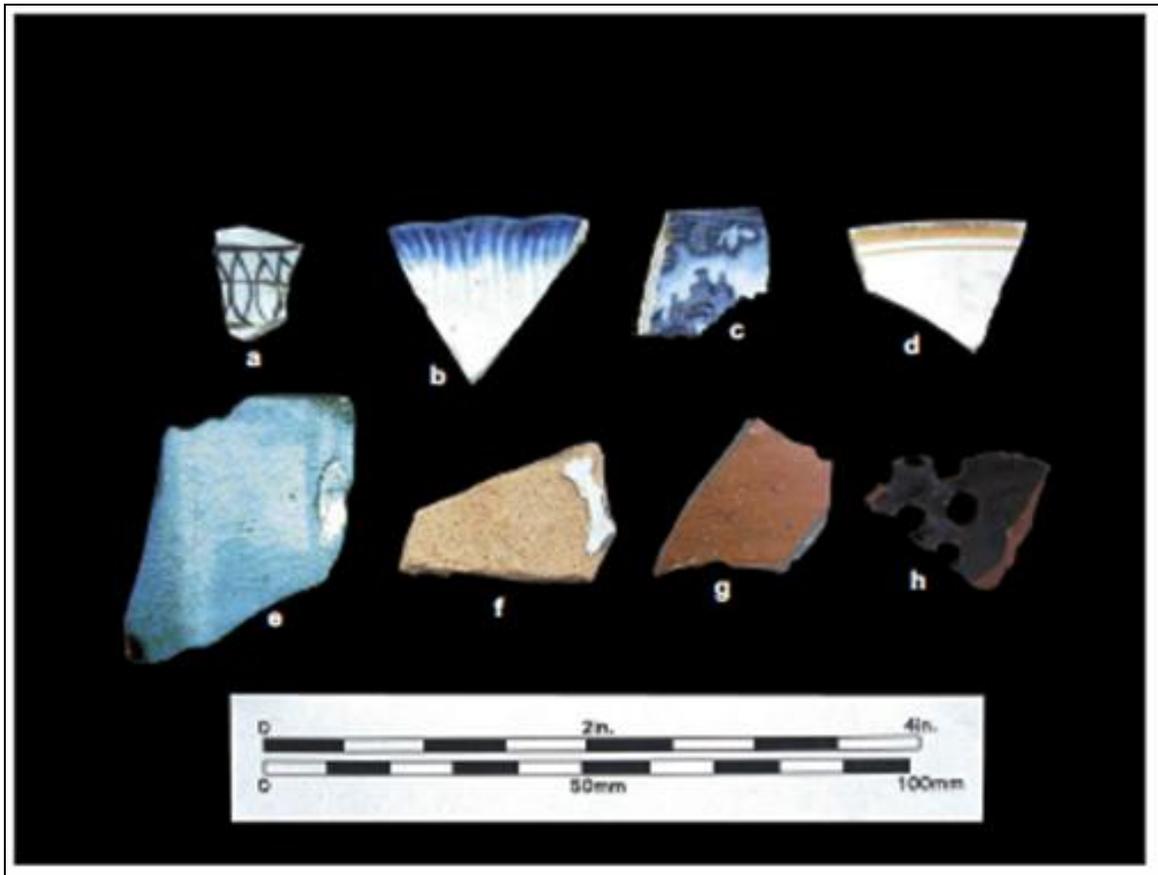


Figure 30: Ceramics from Feature 50

- a. Pearlware, Underglaze Hand-Painted Brown (1795-1820), Unit 39, Stratum A, Cat. No. 115
- b. Whiteware, Shell Edge Blue (1820-1850), Unit 34, Stratum A, Cat. No. 105
- c. Whiteware, Transfer-Printed Black (1820-1915), Unit 48, Stratum A, Cat. No. 123
- d. Soft-Paste Porcelain with Gilded Band (1850-present), Unit 36, Stratum A, Cat. No. 111
- e. Ironstone, Plain Paneled, Unit 48, Stratum A, Cat. No. 123
- f. Red-Bodied Delftware with White Glaze and Purple Decoration, Unit 36, Stratum A, Cat. No. 111
- g. Stoneware, Amber Bottle (1835-1910), Unit 42, Stratum A, Cat. No. 119
- h. Coarse Red Earthenware with Black Glaze, Unit 34, Stratum A, Cat. No. 106



Figure 31: Personal Artifacts from Feature 50

- a. Plain Small China Button (1850-present), Unit 34, Stratum A, Cat. No. 105
- b. Hard Rubber Comb (1851-present), Unit 33, Stratum A, Cat. No. 104
- c. Slate Pencil, Unit 38, Stratum A, Cat. No. 114
- d. Handmade Glass Marble (1846-1925), Unit 45, Stratum A, Cat. No. 122
- e. Clay Marble, Unit 37, Stratum A, Cat. No. 112
- f. 1809 US Half Penny, Unit 38, Stratum A, Cat. No. 114
- g. Tobacco Pipe Stem with Spur, Unit 34, Stratum A, Cat. No. 106

Similar large, irregular pits have been found on other nineteenth century sites, sometimes underneath or immediately outside buildings. For example, one such feature was discovered at Brawner Farm in Manassas, Virginia. The feature also contained animal bone, ceramics, glass, and other domestic refuse and was located near the foundation of a building. It was interpreted as a kitchen midden (Bedell 2006). A midden outside a kitchen at Mount Vernon was located in a similarly sprawling, shapeless ditch or drainage (Breen 2006). The large amount of brick found in the feature suggests that a

structure with brick foundations or a brick chimney stood nearby.

Other than the debris of brick, mortar, and nails found in Feature 50, there is no clear evidence of either foundations or a chimney; however, the extent of the excavation was limited by the exigencies of construction and the operation of the realty business, which is currently situated inside the former slave jail building. The area directly south of Feature 50 was not excavated, and it is possible that a kitchen or other structures related to the jail stood there.



Figure 32: B.C. Milburn Maker's Mark from Feature 50 (Unit 35, Stratum A, Cat. No. 107)

### *Features 57 and 59 (AU 6d)*

Features 57 and 59 were located in the northwestern corner of Area 2, due west of Feature 15. They are shallow (0.5 foot deep from the base of the buried Stratum A), oval pits, each measuring about 1x1.4 feet, containing a mixture of olive brown and light olive brown silty clay loam. Feature 57 is 5 feet west of Feature 59 and contained 209 pieces of chicken bone, three nails, and four small pieces of pottery. One sherd, a fragment of willow-patterned pearlware, was found on the surface of the feature. The other three pieces (one piece of green-glazed red earthenware, one piece of blue and white soft-paste porcelain and one piece of plain whiteware) and the nails were found with the chicken remains at the base of the pit. Feature 59 contained only a single piece of willow-patterned pearlware, very similar to the piece found in Feature 57.

### **INTERPRETATIONS OF SLAVE DIET AND PROVISIONING AT THE SLAVE JAIL**

The Bruin Slave Jail excavations produced a very unusual assemblage of animal bones. Most of the test units and features on the site produced only small fragments of poorly preserved bone, which were not analyzed. Analysis was focused on a small group of features in the slave quarter area that included large numbers of well-preserved bones: Features 50, 57, 60, and 61. The overwhelming majority of the material came from Feature 50. Table 20 summarizes the faunal data from the site.

Raw counts of bone fragments are not very informative because a simple count of the number of pieces found would count three tiny fragments of bone as more than one large, intact specimen. The counts in Table 7 are given by “minimum number of units” (MNU), that is, the smallest number of bones that could have produced the pieces recovered in the field (Lyman 1977, 1994). Except for Feature 57, which contained only chicken bones, most of the bone was from cattle or caprines (sheep or goats; it is very difficult to tell their bones apart).

**Table 7: Species Summary by Feature, by Minimum Number of Bone Units (MNU)**

CLASS/SPECIES/SIZE-RANGE CATEGORY	F. 50	F. 57	F. 60	F. 61	Total
<b>Mammal</b>					
Black Rat	24	.	.	1	25
Cat	3	.	.	.	3
Cattle	473	.	10	5	488
Sheep or Goat	336	.	6	1	343
Dog	18	.	.	.	18
Pig	11	.	1	.	12
Rabbit	.	.	.	1	1
Unidentified Rodent	1	.	.	.	1
Small Mammal	2	.	.	.	2
Medium Mammal	7	.	1	1	9
Large Mammal	2	.	.	.	2
<i>Subtotal MNU, Mammal</i>	<i>877</i>	.	<i>18</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>904</i>
<b>Bird</b>					
Chicken	1	51	15	.	67
Unidentified Bird	3	.	.	.	3
<i>Subtotal MNU, Bird</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>15</i>	.	<i>70</i>
<b>TOTAL MNU</b>	<b>875</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>974</b>

*Oysters and Clams*

Feature 50, the probable kitchen midden, was identified during mechanical excavation due to the sudden appearance of thousands of mollusk shells, mostly oyster and clam shells. The shell deposit covered a layer of architectural debris, mostly brick, which lay on top of a deposit of animal bone, coal ash, and assorted artifacts including predominantly ceramics and glass.

Faunal assemblages from slave-related contexts often contain a diversity of wild foods (Franklin 2001; Atkins 1994; Campbell 1994; Bowen 1993; McKee 1987; Genovese 1972). Although in some places the reliance on wild foods declined, perhaps due to slaves raising their own livestock or to more stringent controls on their activities, in general some form of hunting, trapping, or fishing was common among enslaved populations in the Chesapeake well into the 19th century (Franklin 2001: 99; Campbell 1994: 61; Genovese 1972: 546-547). Oyster shells (and the other mollusks) are one of the most common examples of wild foods at archaeological sites from the prehistoric period

through the nineteenth century (Miller 2009). Although it is not impossible that oysters were part of the slaves' rations at the slave jail, the location of the oyster shells on top of the remains of a building, which rested on top of the midden, indicates that it postdates the midden and even the destruction of the kitchen. Further, since the shells were predominantly whole and unbroken, it is apparent that they also postdate the plowing that impacted the deeper portion of the deposit. In addition, there were no other oyster or clam shells present anywhere else across the entire site. Since other faunal bone was present in the sheet middens, the absence of oysters and clam shells indicates that they were not included in the diet of slaves at the jail. For these reasons, the oyster and clam shells were not included in the analysis of the food remains at the site.

#### *Meat Rations as Evidence for Bruin's Management of Slaves*

One immediately striking thing about the faunal collection from Feature 50 is the predominance of cattle, sheep, and goat remains, particularly heads and feet, and the absence of wild foods. On plantations, enslaved African Americans received meat rations of salted fish, pork, and beef, as well as receiving the less meaty portions of slaughtered domesticated animals such as innards, heads, snouts, backbones, feet or trotters, and also gizzards (Heath 1999:60; Yentsch 1994:212). These meat rations were often supplemented with other animals, including poultry that slaves were permitted to raise themselves, as well as wild animals obtained by hunting and fishing. It has been widely reported that slave diets included many wild fowl, including mourning dove, passenger pigeon, goose, duck, and turkey (Ferguson 1992:96; Heath 1999:60-61; Yentsch 1994:236).

Books from the Frederick Hall Plantation in Piedmont Virginia kept in the 1740s and 1750s by a Louisa County proprietor record small payments or sales of cloth in exchange for the slaves' chickens (Morgan 1988:468). The late colonial accounts of Dr. Edmund Wilcox, an Amherst County, Virginia resident, reveal remittances to slaves for

their ducks and chickens, and in 1779, James Mercer proposed exchanging bacon for “chickens and other fresh meat” obtained from the “Negroes who are general chicken merchants” (Morgan 1988:468). Guinea hens also appear on an inventory of a Virginia plantation by the mid 19th century (Yentsch 1994:214, 236).

Analysis of faunal remains recovered from two sites in Loudoun County, Virginia indicate the consumption of chickens, domestic geese, turkeys, and pheasant (Goode et al. 2008: 330-331, 341). At Site 44LD538, the faunal analysis also indicated the consumption of many wild animals including fish from a nearby creek as well as fox, rabbit, squirrel, groundhog, muskrat, and opossum. The majority of remains from domestic species consisted of pork where trotter bones were the most frequent in the assemblage, followed by jowl and shank portions.

The slave jail faunal assemblage does not seem to compare with any of the assemblages related to slave diet at other sites. The reasons for this are several: although the slave jail was located outside the Alexandria City limits, it was nonetheless located in a relatively urban setting. Although fishing and oystering were common in Alexandria among European and African Americans, slaves held at the jail could not pursue these activities, nor any other form of food procurement. Food and other amenities were entirely provided by Bruin and his associates.

When Bruin operated his jail, Alexandria’s West End was a major route for cattle drovers, and there were five slaughterhouses and several butchers’ shops on Duke Street (Schweigert 1994). Bruin probably procured the easily available food that was driven past his jail: namely, cattle, sheep, and goats. Bruin did not buy expensive cuts of meat for the slaves, but the cheapest cuts, leavings of the local butcher shops, especially feet and heads (Table 8). Although heads and feet have, at various points in history, been considered delicacies, in the 19th century most Anglo-Americans discarded them or fed them to their slaves (Franklin 2001: 101-102; Yentsch 1994:234-235). Since none of the bones show evidence of burning, they were probably not roasted or grilled, but cooked as part of a stew. This is in keeping with the types of bones that were found: calves’ feet,

sheep's feet and goats' feet can all be used in a variety of soups or stews. Since there is no historical information about the kitchen that served the slave jail, or the people or person who prepared the food, it is difficult to infer much about what kinds of dishes might have been served there. In other contexts where a greater variety of foods were available and slaves had a broader range of choices, it has been shown that many black women drew on African traditions of food preparation, which often involved soups and stews that could be prepared in a single pot in a fireplace or over an open fire (Ferguson 1992; Franklin 2001; Mitchell 1993; Yentsch 1994: 218). The types of bone found at this site certainly indicate that such methods of preparation would have been practical.

The animal bones from Feature 50 cannot tell the whole story about the food slaves ate at the jail; certainly there must have been plant-based food available, though no remains of these survived at the site. But the faunal remains are nonetheless suggestive of Bruin's approach to providing for the slaves he purchased for sale south. The remains are comprised primarily of three species and indicate a dish that was easy to prepare and did not require constant tending. It also suggests a monotonous, unvarying, and extremely inexpensive menu consisting of animal parts that were widely considered to be waste. While Bruin may have made an effort to provide a diet that was adequate to meet the basic requirements of the slaves at the jail, it is not at all consistent with the diet enslaved people consumed if there was any element of personal preference involved in food selection. What did remain consistent, however, was the continuity at the jail in preparing soups and stews from meat cuts which were traditional among African Americans.

This evidence from the kitchen midden sheds some light on the animal remains found in other features at the site. The only chicken bones recovered from the site were found in unusual contexts. The remains of an entire chicken were found in a small pit (Feature 57, described below), and 40 chicken bones, evidently from a single individual, were found in a larger pit feature interpreted as either a subfloor storage pit or ritual deposit. This second feature, Feature 60, also contained the foreleg of a rabbit, the only wild animal bone identified on the site. Chickens, which are represented in much larger numbers in faunal assemblages at almost every other slavery-related site, are represented

here by only two individuals, and both appear to have been used in ritual activities rather than as food. In light of the particularly dreary diet evidenced by the kitchen midden deposit in Feature 50, it is interesting that slaves at the jail would have taken the trouble to obtain chickens, and possibly other items included in these deposits, and used them for such purposes. These deposits are suggestive of the conditions of desperation at the prison, but also of the fact that even inside the most carefully policed confines of slavery, there is still evidence of cooperation between the African American communities in Alexandria and the slaves at the jail.

Various sources (Blassingame 1977; Painter 1916; Stowe 1853) relate stories that indicate that visitors were occasionally permitted at Bruin's Jail. The Edmondsons were visited by family members; Emily Russell was visited by the lawyer William Harned; a priest from a nearby seminary was allowed to minister to slaves at the jail. Further, the slave jail was close to several free African American Neighborhoods: The Bottoms, Hayti, and Darktown (Cressey 1982). Ritual deposits have been identified at the Franklin & Armfield Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street and in at least one nearby household occupied by an African American woman. It seems likely that members of these communities may have provided some sort of aid at times to slaves in the jail. A photograph of the exterior of Franklin & Armfield's slave pen (Figure 33) shows a door made of a lattice of iron straps. Slaves stand behind the door, and a woman with a basket stands in the foreground. It is clear in this photo that small items could be passed to slaves in the prison through the holes in the door.



Figure 33: Exterior of Franklin & Armfield Slave Pen.

As Walter Johnson observed in his exploration of life inside the coffles, prisons and showrooms of the domestic trade, slaves may have had no resources, no family, and no community to help them, but they recreated their social identities by recreating shared cultural forms, by building new communities within the confines of the slave pens (Johnson 1999: 2-4, 46, 47). Every sale that was made, every wall that was built, was challenged in some way by the slaves themselves, whether by overt action, conspiracy, recruiting aid from family or abolitionists, or by sharing information (Johnson 1999;

Ricks 2007; Stowe). Although none of the historical accounts of the domestic slave trade even suggests that Hoodoo or other ritual behavior was part of this resistance, the archaeological record offers many examples in a variety of settings (Fennell 2007; Leone et al. 2005; Thornton 2003).

### *Possible Ritual Deposit*

Feature 57 was a small, circular pit just north of the slave barracks/kitchen complex. It contained the bones of an entire chicken, minus the head (Figure 34). The bones show that it was a female bird. There were no nick/cut marks on any of the bones, so it was not butchered. Apparently it was buried shortly after it was killed.



Figure 34: Chicken Bones from Feature 57.

In addition to the chicken bones, Feature 57 contained three nails and four sherds

of pottery. One sherd, a fragment of willow-patterned pearlware, was found on the surface of the feature. The other three pieces (one piece of green-glazed red earthenware, one piece of blue and white soft-paste porcelain and one piece of plain whiteware) and the nails were found with the chicken remains at the base of the pit.

**Table 8: Summary of Cattle and Sheep or Goat Body Parts by Feature (MNU)**

SPECIES	BODY PART	F. 50 MNU	F. 60 MNU	F. 61 MNU	U. 37 MNU
Cattle	Head	2	-	-	-
	Neck	3	-	-	-
	Rib	16	3	-	-
	Chuck	2	-	-	-
	Arm	1	-	1	1
	Loin	1	1	-	-
	Hip	1	-	-	-
	Thigh	1	-	-	1
	Foreshank	2	-	-	-
	Hindshank	1	-	-	-
	Foot	108	2	1	-
	Total MNU	138	6	2	2
Caprine	Head	8	-	-	-
	Mandible	5	-	-	-
	Horn	2	-	-	-
	Neck	-	-	1	-
	Shoulder	2	-	-	-
	Hip	1	-	-	-
	Thigh	1	-	-	-
	Ankle Joint	2	-	-	-
	Foot	71	2	-	1
		Total MNU	92	2	1

The green-glazed red earthenware was manufactured between 1625 and 1725, and is the oldest ceramic type found on the site. It is possible that when the pit for the chicken burial was originally dug, this fragment was removed from its original context and was simply mixed in with the fill when the chicken was buried; however, it may also have been included deliberately.

### *Further Potential Evidence for African-based Spirituality*

Features 60 and 61 were both slightly irregular rectangles, measuring about 2.5x3 feet (Figure 35). The tops of the features manifested as dark patches (the fill was light olive brown silt loam) against the lighter yellowish-brown clay subsoil. Both pits measured slightly over a foot in depth from the base of the buried Stratum A. The top 0.4 foot contained bricks, brick fragments, mortar, and plaster. Feature 60 contained a rather small deposit of artifacts with some animal bone (Table 9). Although it is possible that Feature 60 also represents a cache related to African-based spiritual practices, the evidence for this is much stronger in Feature 61.

These appeared to be storage pits of some nature. The use of in-ground storage pits was common among African Americans in plantation contexts from the late 17<sup>th</sup> through the nineteenth century. The presence of these features has been linked to the ethnic background of the enslaved in the Chesapeake area, as well as to the organization of labor on tobacco plantations. Research conducted by Fraser Neiman, Patricia Samford, and numerous other Chesapeake area archaeologists have provided several different hypotheses for the function of these pit features. Food storage, personal property storage, and ritual practices have been proposed as uses (Neiman 1997, 2004; Samford 2007).

In her book *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia*, Patricia Samford suggests that some of the subfloor pit features in the Chesapeake perhaps served as small shrines and were part of a system of African ritualism. Shells, glass, and iron artifacts, all possibly relating to ritual practices, have been found in these pits (Samford 2007: 157-166).

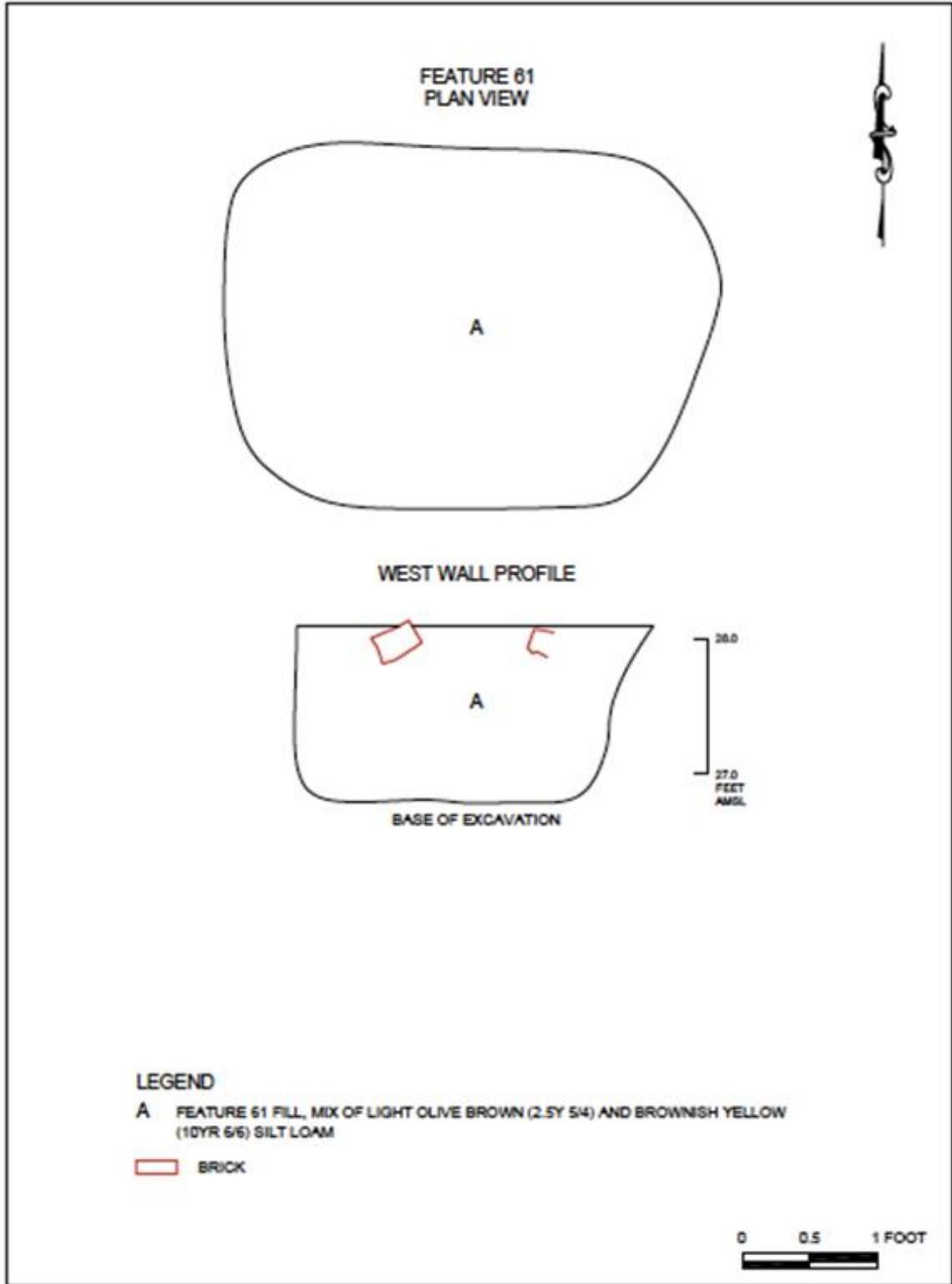


Figure 35: Plan and Profile of Feature 61, Possible Cache.

**Table 9: Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6e, Feature 60**

<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>	<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>
<b>Ceramics</b>		<b>Architectural</b>	
Whiteware		Window glass	1
Plain (1820-present)	2	Unidentified nail	31
Dipped (1820-present)	1	Mortar	1
Transfer-printed, blue (1815-1910)	2	<b>Analyzed Faunal</b>	
Hard-paste porcelain, plain	1	Cow	16
<b>Glass</b>		Goat	6
Soda bottle, aqua	1	Pig	1
Unidentified bottle		Large Mammal	2
Clear	1	Medium Mammal	21
Aqua	2	Chicken	40
Molded vessel glass, clear	1	Unidentified bird	8
<b>Personal</b>		<b>Total</b>	
Button, plain small china (1850-present)	1		<b>139</b>

Beneath the architectural debris, Feature 61 contained an unusually intact collection of large glass fragments, ceramics, bones, and a button (Table 10). This includes three nearly complete ceramic vessels: an ironstone dish, a shallow sponged pearlware saucer, and a glazed redware sugar mold. A patent medicine bottle, a perfume bottle, and a large fragment of etched glass, probably from a bowl, were also found. This collection seems to represent a combination of the material normally present in the soil of the site, and incorporated into the pit by accident when it was filled, with a special deposit of carefully selected items.

Features 60 and 61, as with the chicken remains discussed above, appear to be related to African American spiritual practices, and reveal that slaves at the jail employed these practices as a form of resistance, as a means of forming some sort of community or solidarity at the slave jail, or perhaps simply modified these practices individually. According to descriptions of the Franklin & Armfield slave pen, the yard area behind the house at 1315 Duke Street was paved with bricks. A large open-air shelter served as a place for slaves to eat meals, which were prepared at small outdoor stoves. If the arrangement of structures at Bruin's jail was similar to that at the Franklin & Armfield establishment, these pits could have been located north and south of an entryway into a

shelter used as a dining area. It would have been relatively simple to remove these pavers, construct the storage pit and then hide it underneath the bricks.

At Lumpkin’s Slave Jail in Richmond, Virginia, the yard area was covered with cobblestones (Laird et al. 2006: 21-22). Hundreds of uniformly-sized river cobbles were recovered during mechanical excavation of the site, as were large numbers of bricks. Either or both may have been used to pave the yard behind the slave jail.

Certainly these pits must have been concealed in some fashion; whatever their purpose, there is obviously little point in excavating a large pit, filling it with an assortment of objects, and leaving it in the open. Whether they were used to conceal food or other practical items smuggled into the slave jail, or were intended to serve a ritual purpose, it seems clear that they were deliberately concealed. The comparative data from the Franklin & Armfield and Lumpkin slave pens seems to provide information that illuminates the features identified at Bruin’s jail.

**Table 10: Artifacts from Analytical Unit 6d, Feature 61**

<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>	<b>ARTIFACT TYPE</b>	<b>COUNT</b>
<b>Ceramics</b>		<b>Glass</b>	
Red earthenware sugar mold, clear glaze w/ brown spiral decoration (one vessel)	24	Patent medicine bottle, aqua (1810-1880) (one vessel)	2
Ironstone dish, embossed rim (1845-1870) (one vessel)	22	Perfume bottle, aqua	1
Whiteware saucer, sponged ( 1820 1930) (one vessel)	5	Etched glass, possibly a bowl	1
<b>Analyzed Faunal</b>		Curved vessel glass, clear	2
Cow	11	Lamp chimney	11
Goat	2	<b>Miscellaneous</b>	
Rabbit	1	Window glass	34
Rat	2	Cut/wrought nail	16
Medium Mammal	11	Unidentified metal	13
Unidentified bird	1	<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>

### *Trash Disposal and the Layout of the Property*

Trash disposal patterns are an important and revealing part of the historical landscape. Trash disposal patterns are also uniquely visible in the archaeological record, and have helped reconstruct specific behaviors and attitudes of historic householders. The archaeological evidence of trash disposal patterns at the slave jail reflects casual disposal of refuse in middens throughout the site. Secondary deposits in deep features (such as privies, wells, and cisterns) were also common on nineteenth century sites, but there is less evidence of this type of waste disposal at this site. The one deep shaft feature, the cistern (Feature 16), was not fully excavated, but the upper deposits that were sampled consisted primarily of coal ash. It was filled with sweepings from hearths or a furnace.

A sheet midden is simply a deposit of trash spread more or less evenly across an area of a site. The fact that animal bone, ceramics, glass, and small architectural and metal artifacts were found in every test unit and shovel test across the entire site indicates the presence of numerous sheet middens. This was a common practice from the colonial period well into the nineteenth century: trash was thrown from a building into a little-used yard, usually very close to the back of the building (Deetz 1977; South 1977). A few shovels full of soil might be thrown over particularly offensive organic remains, but it was unusual for people to dig trash pits except in extenuating circumstances (a butcher or tanner might be more likely to bury the animal remains that resulted from their respective occupations, for example). The shallow ditches in Feature 50 may have been dug because of the higher volume of occupancy at the site.

The primary evidence of both casual sheet middens at the Bruin Slave Jail was the small size of the artifacts found in both plow zone and (most) feature contexts. Plowing undoubtedly destroyed shallow trash deposits, mixing their contents with sheet refuse.

The enormous quantity of brick, nails, mortar, plaster, and other architectural materials recovered from Feature 50, along with the presence of several structural postholes surrounding the feature, indicates that Feature 50 and the collection of posthole

features immediately south of Feature 50 are probably the remains of a second kitchen, dedicated to preparing food for the slaves. The shallow ditches filled with rubble, animal bones, and other debris probably represent the kitchen midden, the area behind the kitchen where trash was thrown. The large structural postholes immediately south of Feature 50 formed part of the foundation of the kitchen itself.

Bruin's 1853 insurance policy map shows that Bruin built buildings that adjoined one another to create functional complexes in different areas of his property. The slave jail building was adjoined to the washhouse and probably also the laundry, so the slaves in the jail could easily access these two work areas. The two (or possibly three) buildings probably also shared a water supply: the cistern. The washhouse may have shared one of the jail's four chimneys to heat water for the wash.

Bruin's home was spatially separated from the slave jail, and the building adjoining his house served as a dining area and kitchen, probably for himself and his family. Bruin's wife is recorded as the owner of two female slaves in both 1850 and 1860, and these personal slaves probably resided in the family's home and performed housework and cooking exclusively for the Bruins. It seems unlikely that a person of Bruin's gentlemanly aspirations would have wanted to share a cook or a kitchen, much less a menu, with the slaves living on the west side of his property. Most likely the yard behind the slave jail was separated from the Bruins' home by a substantial fence. Most of the archaeological features were concentrated in the slave quarter area, directly behind the slave jail. A plausible interpretation of the archaeological discoveries is that the area of the slave quarter was intensely used by the slaves being kept in the jail, housed in a wooden barracks and fed from a separate kitchen. The eastern part of the site, where no features were found dating to the Bruin period, served as a buffer between the slaves and the Bruins' home. It may have been an exercise or work yard, in which case there was probably a strong fence somewhere near the modern property boundary, separating this yard from the Bruins' house. However, since there is so little evidence of slave activity in the open area, the slaves may have been kept confined to the slave quarter area and to a small yard directly behind it, where the chicken burial was found. In this case the row of

posts we have interpreted as an earthfast wall (Wall A) might represent a strong fence separating the slaves in the jail from the Bruins' residence. Another explanation may be that there was not really any activity for the slaves to perform; we know from the descriptions in Harriet Beecher Stowe's account that the Edmondsons were engaged in washing laundry, and we can infer that there must have been both a washhouse and a laundry room on the property. Archaeological investigation has demonstrated that there was a cooking area or kitchen, and period accounts have helped to establish the presence of a sheltered dining area. But beyond these spaces and the rooms where slaves were kept while waiting to be sent south, there is little evidence that the slaves had anything to do.

When Ethan Allen Andrews made his visit to the Franklin & Armfield slave pen, he observed two "yards", one for women and the other for men. In both yards, however, slaves had no obvious occupation, they stood or walked around the yard, talking to each other, playing games, and waiting (Andrews 1836: 137-140). The absence of clear signs of specific activities in the yard behind the slave jail may simply be a result of the fact that there was nothing to do, other than wait.

## **SUMMARY**

The buried landscape identified and sampled during fieldwork provided substantial information that pertains to the use of the site as Bruin's slave jail. Comparison with another slave jail operated at the same time and very nearby (approximately four blocks away, at 1315 Duke Street), may provide some insight into the arrangement of structures in the yard area behind the house at 1707 Duke Street. At 1315 Duke Street there was a walled complex of buildings, and it makes sense that Bruin's jail would also have been entirely enclosed. Some of the postholes identified probably represent a portion of one of these enclosing walls. Drawings of the Franklin & Armfield pen from the Anti-Slavery Broadside (1836) show the roof of a brick house, a very high wall enclosing a small portion of the property, and a low fence enclosing the entire complex, which is also stockaded. These various levels of fencing may have also been present at Bruin's Jail, which would explain the very large row of posts at the center of the lot, and the smaller arrays of postholes around the periphery of the property.

Another interesting insight from 1315 Duke Street is that much of the yard area was paved with bricks – this may explain the discovery of two “subfloor” pits in what appeared to be a location with no floor – these were buried north and south of the entryway to a shelter, likely underneath a paving of brick. The discovery of a substantial kitchen midden helps to establish the likelihood that there was a separate slave kitchen, or at least some sort of cooking facility, even if it was not included in the area excavated for this study.

## **REMARKS**

The historical evidence discussed in previous chapters played a significant role in addressing enslaved women’s experiences in the interstate slave trade, especially through detailed accounts of the Edmondson sisters’ tribulations, and in historicizing the archaeological research. The archaeological research complements the historical research by providing concrete evidence for the materiality of the Bruin Slave Jail with regard to its built environment, including the construction and uses of its related structures, and the functional purposes and layout of associated features (e.g., the cistern) and spaces. Bruin’s management of his jail is suggested by how he organized and segregated work-related, yard, dining, and quartering spaces in order to impose order and control over the slave population. The yard area where slaves spent most of their time would have been easy to monitor. Historical sources that revealed the kinds of tasks that slaves performed to garner profit for Bruin were represented by features at the jail which point to Bruin’s efficiency in ensuring that appropriate work areas were designated and well built. The towering fences built around the slave jail not only served the obvious function of thwarting runaways, but suggests an attempt to mediate interactions between Bruin’s slaves and the outside world. A grated door was probably the only channel for passing food and other necessities to inmates, alleviating the need for surveillance at different locations within the jail. Bruin chose to live close to his slave jail, although he certainly possessed the means to live elsewhere, indicating his desire to maintain an active, daily role in its management. Moreover, the faunal analysis offered telling evidence of Bruin’s food provisioning system and the slaves’ diet, suggesting a strategy that minimized cost

while probably ensuring that slaves remained healthy via a diet that included meat protein. Together, the archaeological and historical evidence emphasizes Bruin's business acumen and the methods he used to achieve success in the slave trade.

The faunal analysis also shed light on the likely food preparation methods used for meat rations. The stewing of meat cuts, which were likely served with starch and/or vegetables, indicates some continuity in African-influenced foodways even at the slave jail, and suggests that inmates attempted to ameliorate their dire circumstances through familiar cultural practices. This point is underscored with the potential evidence for African-based spiritual practices discovered at the site.

The deposits interpreted as examples of conjuring, or hoodoo, were tentatively presented even though the case for this interpretation is relatively strong. First, dozens of such examples have been recovered from sites in Maryland and Virginia dating to the colonial, antebellum, and post-emancipation periods (e.g., Leone 2005) indicating a practice among African Americans with historical depth and an extensive reach in this region. Second, the instance of 3 deposits located at one site that were distinctly different (in terms of content) from other common kinds of pit fill raises the possibility that these were associated with ritual practices. The nature of the site as a slave jail is what complicates the ability to determine definitively what the deposits represent. One other example of a ritual cache was identified at another slave jail (see above), and as more of these sites are hopefully excavated, archaeologists may discover that these practices were as common in this institutional context as they were in domestic settings. This determination would indicate that slaves' resistance to their enslavement through African-based cultural traditions took place even under the most constrained conditions and that archaeology, and not archival research, may be best suited to recovering this evidence. Indeed, based upon the excavation results presented here, archaeology has proven to be the optimal means of, at a minimum, accessing evidence related to the everyday experiences and challenges of the slaves imprisoned by Bruin.

## Chapter 9: Discussion

The Bruin Slave Jail site contained intact features and structural remains indicating the presence of several structures in the yard area behind the slave jail building, as well as the cistern that served the known washhouse and slave jail. The slave jail building itself and the washhouse that once stood over the cistern were both occupied by the Edmondsons during the spring, summer, and fall of 1848 following their capture after the failed escape on the *Pearl*. A storage pit near or inside the slave quarter contained an unusual collection of artifacts that suggest a ritual deposit related to African American spiritual practices, and an entire, headless chicken was found buried in another small pit nearby. The kitchen midden deposit (Feature 50) contained animal bone, ceramics, and other artifacts.

The question to be asked (and hopefully) answered here is what this material culture and other archaeological data contributes to the overall understanding of the lives of the slaves at the jail; not only the Edmondsons, but anyone and everyone else who passed through Bruin's hands on the way into the Deep South. The excavations revealed a simple and somewhat dismal landscape, paved, with shelter provided by the brick house at 1707 Duke Street, possibly a barracks-style quarter and an open-air shelter where food was consumed. The slave jail complex also included a kitchen, where the food was intensely routine, undoubtedly sufficient to maintain health for a brief duration, but where little choice was available. Interestingly, there is ample evidence to suggest that women were put to work in the laundry facility and very likely in the kitchens as well, but there is no other evidence of any work or recreation available. While the cook or cooks in the kitchen may have been, or at least included, men, this was not typical. Men were definitely present at the jail, this is evident from the outward slave manifests pertaining to the Bruin Slave Jail; however, it appears from period accounts (Andrews 1834) that men were often seen unoccupied within the confines of slave pens.

In the course of her analysis of Oakley Plantation in Louisiana, Laurie Wilkie argued that the African American past, more than many other ethnic (or racial) group in the Americas, cannot be understood by examining only one line of inquiry. By combining archaeological, ethnographic, and historical evidence in a careful, integrated approach, “these independent data bases can bring new insights into the African American past” (Wilkie 2000: 247).

The insights Wilkie focused on in her study were primarily about the formation of identities, because “an understanding of identity, or the ways individuals define and present themselves, is crucial to an understanding of how African American individuals, families, and communities coped with racist power structures” (Wilkie 2000: 4). Following Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, which might roughly be described as the basic process of human socialization, Wilkie places an emphasis on everyday interactions and cultural patterns, to create a framework for understanding the relationship of material culture and identity formation. Where does a place like the slave jail fit into such an analysis? Clearly, people in the slave jail were experiencing a dramatic transformation in their *habitus*, everyday social practices, and familiar cultural patterns. Whatever means were employed to create and reinforce identities before they arrived at the slave jail, they could likely not be practiced in the same way once someone was sold to a slave trader, kept in the confines of a small yard or prison cell, and kept away from friends, family and community.

And yet there is evidence of attempts to maintain familiar practices at the slave jail. One example can be seen in the artifacts related to ritual activities in the slave jail yard space. The Edmondsons also recounted the minor comfort of being allowed to pray at Bruin’s jail, a luxury denied them at other slave pens. Mary and Emily Edmondson, according to all accounts, were respected members of a deeply religious, well-liked family in Washington until they attempted their escape. Once they were purchased by Joseph Bruin, they, like other young women who were entrapped in the domestic slave trade, became commodities in a sexual market that spanned the southern states, and all of

the qualities which once made them part of that community, part of that family, and uniquely themselves, became the selling points for their value in the fancy markets of New Orleans.

## **THE SLAVE QUARTER**

Feature 50, the large, amorphous pit filled with brick rubble and faunal remains, along with a few ceramic, glass and metal artifacts, and the postholes of Walls A and B seem to be related to structures dating to the mid-nineteenth century. Since the property was used in that period as a slave jail, this structure (or structures) was probably slave-related. The two most likely options are some kind of barracks or open-air shelter building and a kitchen or cooking area.

Part of the problem of interpreting the features is that there have been so few excavations of slave jails, and it is therefore difficult to find an analogue to which the Bruin Slave Jail can be compared. Happily, the combination of period accounts of the appearance of the interior of Franklin & Armfield's slave pen correlated with features identified there during archaeological excavations, and many of these features seem similar to features at Bruin's Jail. The explanation of the postholes in Wall A as the support for a large, tall wall that was also the counterbalance for a lean-to or open-air shelter works very well for this line of features. The Anti-Slavery Broadside (see Figures 7 and 8) shows two drawings of Franklin & Armfield's slave jail that depict numerous small structures inside a stockade, and fencelines of various heights. Figure 36 shows a photograph of the Franklin & Armfield slave pen that also seem to correlate to features found at Bruin's jail.



Figure 36: Exterior View of Franklin & Armfield Slave Pen, 1864 (Library of Congress Photographs Division).

#### **AFRICAN AMERICAN SPIRITUAL PRACTICES AT THE SLAVE JAIL**

We do not know where all the slaves who passed through the slave jail on their way to the south came from, and so we cannot say for certain what traditions any of them observed. If the chicken found in Feature 57 was indeed killed and deliberately buried as part of a ritual, it might be related to any number of cultural practices common in Africa and the Americas.

Animal sacrifice was and is very commonly practiced in numerous cultures

throughout the continent of Africa. Birds, including chickens and guinea fowl, are some of the most common sacrificial animals. This is perhaps especially true of the Ibo and related cultures in present-day Nigeria. Chickens are routinely sacrificed to mark births, deaths, dedication of houses or other structures, purification rites, and as general sacrifice to specific deities, among other acts (Davidson 2006; Njoku 1991; Parrinder 1961). It is not necessary, however, to identify a single African origin for the practice, since Hoodoo and other African American Spiritual practices that were historically aligned with Christianity and practiced in concert with Christian rituals. In *The World They Made Together*, Mechal Sobel discusses the ways in which African and European traditions of what might loosely be termed “superstition” came together and created uniquely American spiritual beliefs and practices (Sobel 1987: 97-99).

These forms of sacrifice also occurred in the Americas, as Africans (and later their descendants) were abducted into the slave trade and transported to the Caribbean or the east coast of the Americas. For example, one early illustrated reference to chicken sacrifice as part of a greater ceremony of an “oathing and divination ritual,” was published in 1836 as a part of Richard Bridgen’s book, *West Indian Scenery with illustrations of Negro Character . . . the island of Trinidad* (cited in Chireau 2003:59). One early 20th -century reference to chicken sacrifice was collected under the auspices of the WPA Federal Writer’s Project. In the late 1930s federal workers interviewed elderly black informants in Georgia, most of them former slaves, and their stories and descriptions of folk beliefs were collected in the 1940 book, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*. In this volume a woman named Sarah Washington described to the interviewer the events that occurred with the death of an individual in the community: “...in the old days, after the mourners had arrived, a chicken was killed. Neither Aunt Sarah nor Uncle Ben, however, knew the reason for this” (Johnson 1940:136); and also “...They kill a white chicken when they have set-ups to keep the spirits away” (Johnson 1940:167).

Similar rituals continue into the present day, primarily through such creolized

religions or collections of beliefs and practices such as Santeria or Regla de Ocha, Haitian Vodou, and Obeah, among others (Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2003). In particular, Santeria is a well documented example of a creolized or syncretic religion, formed in Cuba and other islands of the Caribbean, and combining elements of West African traditional religion and cosmology with Catholicism and belief in the saints (Lefever 1996). This modern practice can be directly traced to the 1700s and early 1800s, when African slaves from different cultures began to be imported into the region and exposed to Catholicism (Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2003).

The people who lived at the slave jail evidently did not stay very long as a rule, and the records available do not provide any information about the life histories of its denizens, so it is impossible to say for certain who might have buried the chicken and why, but there are clearly several traditions that many of the slaves may have practiced that may have involved animals. Conversely, this deposit may not have been created by a slave at the jail; the burial might have been created by a free or enslaved resident of Alexandria as discussed above, or by a family member of one of the slaves held in the jail. Another hypothesis might be that Bruin himself buried the chicken in an attempt to intimidate or otherwise control slaves held in the jail. Although one slave dealer in New Orleans thought that the walls of slave jails were so high, they could “keep out the wind” (Johnson 1999: 4), it is clear that the slaves had some means, however limited, of breaching the boundaries of the slave prison.

According to the account of the Edmondsons’ captivity at Bruin’s jail recorded by Harriett Beecher Stowe, Bruin differentiated himself from other slave traders by permitting his inmates to engage in religious practices, such as group prayers. The Edmondsons availed themselves of this leniency on Bruin’s part frequently, as they prayed for some form of aid to rescue them from their dire circumstances.

The Edmondsons, according to various sources, were a family of deeply held religious faith. Mary Kay Ricks wrote, “(f)aith was essential to the Edmondsons. They were not a family that attended church on Sunday and then gave little thought to religion

for the rest of the week. They lived their faith every day and became leaders in the Black Methodist community” (Ricks 2007:137).

This was not uncommon among African Americans. Enslaved or free, many African American families placed profound value on family, religion, and, where it could be obtained, education. These values were reflected in the actions of black communities everywhere, recorded in slave narratives, plantation records, newspapers, and a variety of other sources (Berlin 1998; Blassingame 1977; Genovese 1974; Raboteau 1978; Ricks 2007).

Hoodoo, and other African-based spiritual practices, represent beliefs about spirits that could be found in sacred places and used to cure diseases, create luck, and foretell the future, among other things (Leone et al. 2005). Seen as a means of taking control of everyday life, Hoodoo practice operates on the principle that everyday objects can be used to manage spirits to the advantage of the practitioner. Common examples of materials employed in traditional African-based spirit management include bottles buried beneath doorways, pierced coins worn on the body to bring luck, and red flannel sacks filled with a variety of materials, used either to bring luck or to cause harm (Wilkie 1995, 1997, 2000).

It is important to note that Hoodoo, like the folk religious or superstitious practices of European Americans, was not widely viewed as contradictory to Christian beliefs. Hoodoo was also not practiced exclusively by African Americans, and it was influenced by European religion and superstition (Fennell 2003; Leone and Fry 1999; Raboteau 1978).

An example of similar items found in European American contexts is the “witch bottle”, examples of which have been found at the White Oak site in Maryland (Morehouse 2009). A portion of the neck of a wine bottle was recovered from a hearth or chimney at the rear of a brick structure at the White Oak site (Schiek and Goodley 1984:

II-4). While wine bottle glass is far from uncommon on domestic sites, this bottleneck had special significance because, when excavated, it “contained a portion of a solid stopper into which had been inserted, on both the inside and the outside, nickel-plated copper straight pins” (Schiek and Thomas 1983: II-3). This collection of objects indicated archaeologists had found the remains of a “witch bottle”. These objects originated in Europe several hundred years ago, and were used as protective “white magic” charms used to ward off “black magic” or as countermeasures to redirect an evil spell back on the conjurer. A witch bottle, usually made using a glass bottle or ceramic jug, was filled with urine and sharp objects, such as pins or nails, and buried inverted at the entrance to a home or under a hearthstone (Becker 1980: 20-21; Merrifield 1987: 163-175). Urine was the most important ingredient in witch bottles, as it is the agent with which the spell is turned back upon the witch. The sharp objects may have been symbolic of the victim’s pain, and inverting the bottle when buried symbolized the reversing of the witch’s black magic (Becker 1980: 20-21).

Objects used in Hoodoo practice usually reflect concerns for safety: protection from the master or overseer, healing or “secret doctoring” (making teas, salves, and amulets to treat injury and disease), and divination were generally the intended purposes of objects used in Hoodoo (Leone and Fry 1999; Wilkie 2000, 2007). Some Hoodoo conjurers were seen as evil, others as good, but most were believed to have good and evil powers in equal measure. Many conjurers incorporated Christian beliefs and rituals into their practice; these two belief systems were generally seen as complementary rather than contradictory (Raboteau 1978). Like other African-derived folk practices such as Santeria in Cuba and Voudoun in Haiti, Hoodoo mixed elements of Christianity with conjuring rituals involving herbs, dolls, pins and other everyday items bundled together as mojos worn on the body or buried in and around homes (Chireau 2003; Leone and Fry 1999; Raboteau 1978). These practices were frowned upon and feared by white slave owners, so the rituals were conducted in secret and became what many scholars now see as a form of cultural resistance (Chireau 2003; Leone and Fry 1999). For the Edmondsons, and probably for most others, the practice of Christian faith was likely far more helpful and

useful than Hoodoo.

It is easy to see how focusing too much on Hoodoo caches could be misleading. First of all, caches tend to have been identified in contexts associated with African Americans, but they are composed of ordinary objects and are highly contextual (Hyatt 1973; Wilkie 2000, 2007). Are these objects found more often at sites where African Americans lived because they are expected? And more importantly, do archaeologists place too much importance on these caches because they loom so large in the archaeological record, while most other faith-based practices leave no trace in the ground?

During the excavation of the Jackson homestead in Montgomery County, Maryland, archaeologists found considerable evidence of ritual activity that was likely based on Hoodoo practice (Schablitsky et al. 2008). Caches were identified beneath and within a fieldstone hearth, and contained a variety of objects, including the bones of a songbird, a collection of straight pins, ceramic and iron artifacts, and crystals. Inside the walls of the house, archaeologists found prehistoric projectile points at the center of each wall, pointing toward each of the cardinal directions (Schablitsky et al. 2008).

The archaeological team made efforts to contact the descendants of the family of the Jacksons, and to share their findings with them. The descendants expressed discomfort with the strong emphasis on Hoodoo in the archaeologists' interpretation of the site (Schablitsky et al. 2008; Mullins 2008). Many insisted that the interpretation must have been wrong, since they knew their ancestors had been Christian and had been very involved in the local church, and that this, more than anything else, had helped to form strong families and communities for the Jacksons and other African American families in the area (Schablitsky et al. 2008). In Alexandria, archaeologists have noted that free black communities were able to withstand the pervasive influences of white supremacy by organizing around churches (Cressey et al. 1980; Cressey 1985; Joseph, in Young et al. 2000: 111). It is vital, in understanding African American spiritual practices, that

archaeologists consider the full spectrum of these spiritual practices, whether or not they find evidence of them in the ground.

Hoodoo caches, collections of carefully selected objects arranged in patterns dictated by ritual practice, have been found at numerous historical sites. Several of the best known of these sites are in Annapolis, Maryland. Five caches of artifacts were found at Slayton House in the historic district of Annapolis (Leone 1995).

The house, built in the 1770s, contained caches of pierced coins, broken glass, white buttons, black beads, straight pins, a brass ring, and pieces of bone. The Slayton House excavators studied the excavation reports of 30 different sites in Maryland and Virginia where other possible caches had been found. At most of those sites, caches of artifacts were found in the northeast corners of workrooms, under hearths, in root cellars, or near doorways, suggesting a pattern of burying ritual objects (Leone 1995). The striking collection of artifacts found in Feature 61, a storage pit that was either under or near the Wall A at the Bruin Slave Jail Site, is probably a cache of this type (Figure 37). Except for these items, almost all of the ceramics at the slave jail were broken into small pieces, and there is no obvious reason why an intact, highly decorated sugar mold and other nearly intact items should be hidden in this pit. Unfortunately, while the shape of the pit and many of the objects in it were intact, the pit has been filled in and the ground over it had been plowed. It is impossible to discern how the objects were arranged in the pit, which makes interpretation of the purpose of the cache difficult.

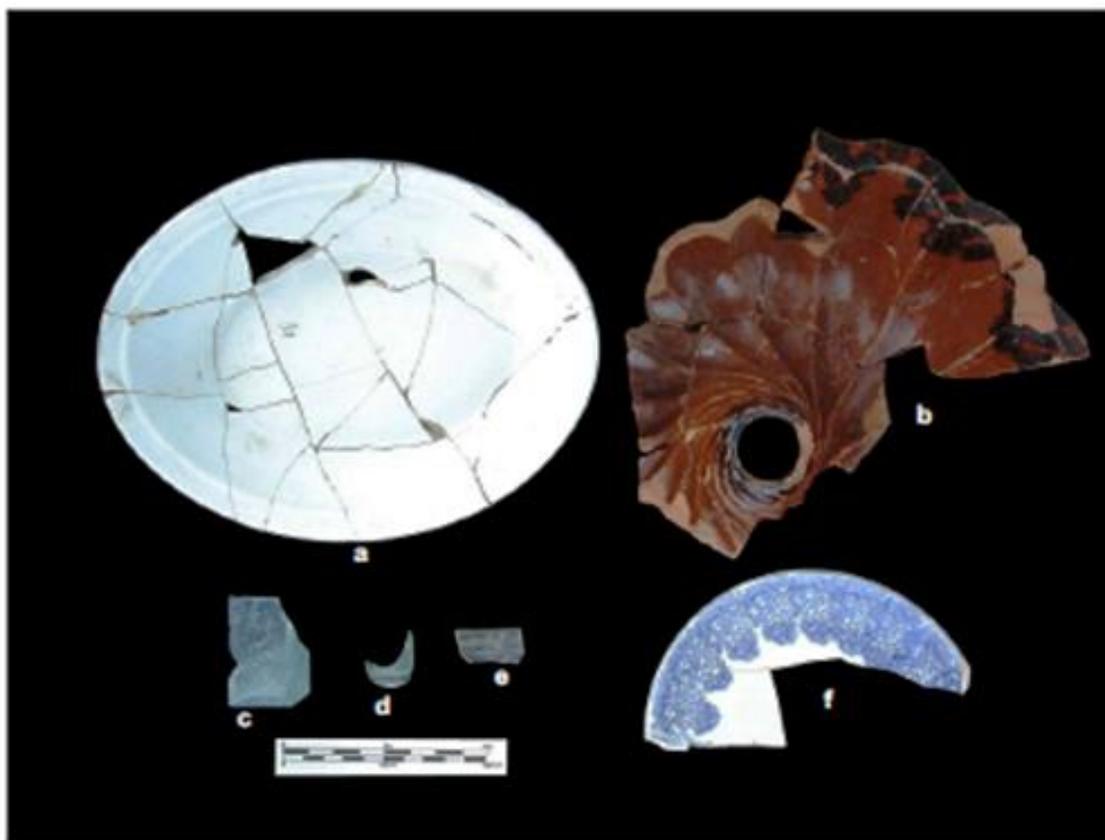


Figure 37: Ceramic and Glass Artifacts from Possible Hoodoo Cache, Feature 61

- a. Ironstone Dish (1845-1870), Cat. No. 135
- b. Redware Sugar Mold with Clear Glaze and Dark Brown Spiral Decoration, Cat. No. 135
- c. Patent Medicine Bottle (1810-1880), Cat. No. 135
- d. Fragment of Perfume Bottle, Cat. No. 135
- e. Fragment of Stemware with Etched Design on Rim, Cat. No. 135
- f. Sponged Whiteware Plate (1820-1930), Cat. No. 135

Hoodoo also served an explanatory function. Many followers of Hoodoo believed that adversity was never happenstance; it was due to the ill will of another Hoodoo practitioner. In that way “conjure was not only a theory for explaining the mystery of evil; it was also a practice for doing something about it” (Raboteau 1978:276).

It is unlikely that there was any place where people felt the need for help, spiritual or otherwise, more than in the slave jail. Here people were on the verge of being sold away from their families and loved ones forever, to endure terrible physical and mental

conditions, disease, dehumanization, and abuse at the hands of strangers in a place hundreds of miles away. In one sense the entire country was a prison for most blacks; family and community were the only sort of refuge from the inhumanity and injustice of slavery. Being sold to Joseph Bruin meant that any source of comfort was gone and was a reminder that for slaves, there was never any security or control. Hoodoo was one means of establishing power over fate, and “(w)hen you have no control over your destiny at all, anything you can do to increase the notion that you can exercise some power over your environment is a benefit to your psychic health” (Perdue, quoted in Riviera 2005). The slave jail was a constricting, overwhelming landscape that was an ultimate exercise of white (and predominantly male) supremacy. It embodies the right of white slaveholders to exercise absolute power over black slaves. These caches show that even this place was contested, that even though they could not alter the landscape, they could change the way it was used.

During the excavation of the Franklin and Armfield Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street, archaeologists excavated several features that contained apparently unusual artifacts, such as a Chinese coin dating to the Ch’ing dynasty (1736-1795), a collection of white buttons, a worked bone ring, quartz crystals, and colored glass beads (Artemel et al. 1987; Leone and Fry 1999). The archaeologists attributed these items to the use of the Slave Pen complex as a prison during the Civil War. This conclusion followed the reasoning that any possessions the slaves had would have been confiscated upon their arrival at the facility (Artemel et al. 1987:120).

In their discussion of archaeological evidence of Hoodoo practice at numerous sites in Maryland and Virginia, African American folklorist Gladys Marie Fry and archaeologist Mark Leone take issue with this interpretation. The pierced disc is an important symbol in Hoodoo, and pierced coins were often worn as personal talismans. An object like the Ch’ing Dynasty coin, which had a square hole in its center, could have been worn by an African American slave at the Slave Pen as a personal talisman. Unless the attribution of artifacts to the Civil War occupation was based on information not

included in the site report, Leone and Fry argue, the evidence at the Franklin and Armfield Slave Pen points to a strong possibility of Hoodoo practice by the enslaved inhabitants of the prison (Leone and Fry 1999).

An interesting corollary to the discussion of the site at 1315 Duke Street is the case of a brick shaft excavated at 112-114 South St. Asaph Street in Alexandria. The filled-in shaft contained artifacts that were discarded by Harriet Williams, an enslaved woman who lived there from 1849 onward. Harriet's owner, Samuel Lindsay, lived three doors away, which left Harriett Williams in the unusual position of having her own, relatively private living space. The brick shaft in her dwelling is the only other place in Alexandria where a Ch'ing dynasty coin has been found. In the case of the Williams household, the coin was found in a sealed context and was indisputably linked to Harriet Williams's occupation of the site. The presence of the coin at the Williams site was also attributed to the common Hoodoo practice of wearing a pierced coin around the neck to ward off ill health (Cressey and Anderson 2006).

Caches do not always require exotic coins or other special materials; in fact, they generally consist of everyday objects arranged in specific ways; it was the spell and the ritual invoked by the conjuror that gave the items power (Raboteau 1978). A relatively late cache uncovered at the Adams-Kilty House in Annapolis was placed over a broken nineteenth century sewer pipe under a brick floor in the basement kitchen of the house. The brick floor was laid in a tight herringbone pattern, so only extremely small items, such as pins, could slip through the brickwork. The brick was removed during the excavation, and immediately beneath the bricks the cache was discovered, placed in the hollow of the broken pipe. The bundle contained 40 nails, a pierced white disk with an asterisk etched on it, a piece of flat glass etched with a checkerboard pattern, a fragment of a slender glass wand, a red-glazed pottery fragment, and an earthenware handle with black-on-white decoration (Chisholm 2005). The placement of this assortment of items may have been intended to prevent spirits from entering the space through the broken pipe (Riviera 2005).

One alternative explanation for the presence of the artifacts would be that, rather than being deliberately buried as a one-time offering, they were being kept for re-use in rituals. In that case the pit would have functioned as an underground shrine, a practice documented in several North American and West African sites (Samford 2007:157). If so, they may have been abandoned when the slaves who knew about them were all sold away. Another possibility is that the items in this pit were not ritually important, but may have been brought by friends or family members to slaves in the jail; however, it is difficult to discern the importance of the particular items in the deposit, and since visitation was apparently permitted, why hide items that had an easily-explained purpose, like food or personal items, which would have been non-threatening to the slave trader?

The combined archaeological, historical, and ethnographic data from the Bruin Slave Jail reveal a story of the religious and spiritual lives of slaves at the jail. While many slave traders forbade group prayers or bible study at their jails, Bruin did not, and we know that the Edmondsons, and likely most other slaves at the jail, took advantage of this to continue the practice of their faith. According to Bourdieu's idea of *habitus*, as it was employed in Wilkie's application to understand the way identities were formed and maintained, this continuation of a familiar community activity would have been meaningful to slaves whose other elements of daily practice had been ripped away. This was the only concession made to the former lives of the slaves, however. Whatever their prior occupations, slaves were either put to work for the Bruin household or left to wait unoccupied for the next coffle to be organized.

The ritual deposits identified at the slave jail tell another part of the story. The slave jail was an environment designed to enforce the race relations inherent in American slavery. Wilkie (2000) identified plantations as the location of economic, political, and social struggles between the races, and thus as the single most important form of organization in defining race relations (Wilkie 2000: 205). Plantations were clearly the sites of origin of race relations in America, but these relationships were constantly being

reshaped and redefined as Americans moved into cities and as the nature of slavery changed. Slave Jails emerged as a place where slave traders began the process of commodifying human beings, sometimes in new ways, and marketing them to prospective buyers in a political and sexual economy that reshaped the way all Americans thought about slavery. By performing rituals that depended on placement and context to ensure efficacy, slaves at the jail refuted the white supremacist message of the slave jail's confines and resisted the assumed inevitability of their sale.

## **Chapter 10: Conclusions**

This dissertation research focused on two interrelated goals: 1) to bring an archaeological perspective to the history of the interstate slave trade based on the analysis of data recovered from the Bruin Slave Jail in Alexandria, Virginia, and 2) to contribute to diversifying the collective body of knowledge on slavery by foregrounding enslaved women's experiences, especially within the context of the interstate slave trade. This chapter summarizes the results of the research, and how each of the two goals was addressed. It also includes a statement on the significance of the project with respect to what it contributes to African diaspora archaeology, and more broadly to the scholarship on slavery. Finally, the Bruin Slave Jail site investigation was conducted as a public archaeology project, and its relevance to the African American community played an integral role in determining how the site will be used to commemorate the African Americans who were enslaved there.

### **THE INTERSECTION OF RACE AND GENDER AND WOMEN IN THE SLAVE TRADE**

Since the 1980s the literature on women in slavery has grown, yet it still represents a marginalized portion of the existing scholarship on slavery in the U.S., as well as in other regions once associated with African slavery. As scholars such as Deborah Gray White and Jacqueline Jones have noted, the oppression of black women was often distinctly different from that of other slaves, as were their perspectives, strategies for survival, family and community roles, etc. The lack of attention to these differential experiences of slavery has resulted in a homogenized view of those enslaved. Thus, this dissertation sought to contribute to the critical work that others have done on the intersection of race and gender and black women's experiences within the institution of slavery.

The central focus of this research was on the Edmondson sisters whose story revealed what slave women went through as victims of the domestic slave trade,

especially those targeted for the fancy girl market, and the various means they employed in attempting to alleviate their oppression and to free themselves. The historical evidence played a significant role in defining the mechanisms of the domestic slave trade, and in constructing a narrative of Joseph Bruin's slave trading operation within the context of Alexandria and across the Upper and Deep South. These site-specific and inter-regional portraits of the trade served as various social, economic, and political contexts for locating and narrating the Edmondson's tale as it unraveled over time and place. Moreover, the original archival research conducted for this dissertation provided telling evidence of Bruin's and other slave traders' brutality and efficiency in conducting what they viewed simply as business.

As is discussed in Chapter 7, enslaved African American women experienced a particular form of oppression due to the combined forms of labor demanded of them: reproductive, productive, and sexual. Yet the case study of the Edmondsons demonstrates that they and their loved ones were not without means to contest their oppression. Slaves still largely, even if forcibly, contributed to the success of slavery. What they did succeed in doing was to help to alleviate oppression and suffering, engender more support for abolitionism, and contribute to a tradition of family and community support that lent itself to greater social stability and independence from whites among African Americans following emancipation. The black church played an instrumental role in this transition from slavery to freedom, a role that was rooted in a long tradition of Christianity among black families such as the Edmondsons. That Emily Edmondson was able to actively engage in abolitionist activities, pursue an education, raise a family with descendants still living, and help to found the Hillsdale Community in Anacostia speaks to her formidable character and resilience. Her story and that of her family is certainly exceptional, but the Edmondsons' acts of self-definition and self-evaluation and their broader implications in challenging slavery were not.

## AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE INTERSTATE SLAVE TRADE

This dissertation research represents the first in-depth archaeological study of a slave jail in the U.S. Two other slave jails have been excavated: the Franklin and Armsfield jail, also in Alexandria, and the Lumpkins Jail in Richmond, Virginia. Yet the archaeologists who excavated the former found no data, other than the structures, that they could reliably associate with the operation and occupation of the jail. Thus, data analysis and interpretation related to the use of the site as a slave jail was not possible. The Lumpkins Jail excavation took place very recently, in 2008 and 2009, and there is no final report as of yet. This dissertation, therefore, represents the only archaeological research into material conditions faced by enslaved African Americans at a slave jail.

The Bruin Slave Jail presents a unique challenge in interpretation: unlike other contexts associated with slavery, such as plantations, urban homes or industrial sites, there was never any expectation that archaeology would reveal much about consumer choice or decisions about how to use the landscape by the slaves. The slave jail is a uniquely rigid landscape, one in which people came and went relatively quickly, and one that they had little or no opportunity to change to suit their needs or desires. The only needs and desires we expected to see were those of Joseph Bruin, and while that was the case, the entire picture, as has been demonstrated, was more interesting and complicated.

Historical information makes clear that slaves who entered the interstate trade were seldom successful in escaping their fate. The Edmondsons were a rare success story. Conspicuously absent from accounts of the *Pearl* affair is an explanation of what happened to the other 75 slaves who were captured on board the schooner. Nonetheless, the accounts of the Edmondsons travels from Bruin's jail to Baltimore and then to New Orleans was probably representative of the experiences of other slaves who were sold South.

The archaeology of the slave jail shows the intensity of the confinement at the slave jail, the monotony and deprivation of life there, particularly in the evidence of the faunal remains and the yards empty of evidence of industry or occupation. The ritual deposits at the site reflect one of the ways slaves turned the landscape to their own purposes, and, along with the accounts of the travails of the Edmondson sisters, that resistance to the trade in slaves was more prevalent and diverse than previously believed. The evidence of the predominance of women's work at the jail is suggestive as well. It seems to indicate that women enmeshed in the domestic trade did not only earn profit for traders through the sale of their bodies; they also worked at the jail, helping to keep margins small and enabling traders to realize still more profit. The same may have been true of men as well, although the evidence from this particular site does not offer much evidence to that effect.

The ritual deposits also testify to the determination of the slaves to maintain their identities and possibly even to establish new communities in the face of total oppression. The historical accounts of religious services and group prayers indicate that some remnants of the *habitus* of these slaves' daily lives continued in the slave jail, and the performance of ritual activities would be another manifestation of that effort. The slave trade was a phenomenon that had ramifications for the economies of the Upper and Lower South, the nation as a whole, the abolitionist movement, rural and urban communities, the slave population generally, and it was the primary conduit of a massive forced migration. The archaeology of the Bruin Slave Jail shows us the smaller scale, the impact of the trade on a small number of individuals, particularly women. Although the Edmondsons experienced a more or less positive outcome, their story was extremely uncommon. Some of the archaeological evidence sheds light on their experience there, but it also tells us about the experiences of the countless, less fortunate men and women who passed through Bruin's Jail.

## **THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY**

Identifying and making contact with interested communities is often the hardest step in the process of creating and writing socially and politically engaged archaeologies that take into account the fact that recounting the past is a social act of the present; it is done by people of the present, and affects the social systems of the present.

Alexandria, Virginia has one of the oldest and most influential city preservation departments in the country. Alexandria Archaeology is devoted to providing access to the city's rich heritage through outreach, education, and direct public involvement, which in turn generates enthusiasm and support for the continuation of the program. They encourage all archaeologists working in Cultural Resource Management to take advantage of the opportunities they provide, but it is not a requirement. I felt strongly about the involvement of the local African American community and any interested descendant groups in the dialogue concerning the Bruin Slave Jail. Working with Alexandria Archaeology made outreach to the citizens of Alexandria, as well as to descendant groups and to African American communities in the city, possible.

I was fortunate to discover multiple interested groups, including the staff of the Alexandria Black History Museum, the descendants of the Edmondson family, and historians working with the planned National Museum of African American History and Culture, all of whom contributed knowledge, questions, and support to the project, and who were influential in the creation and design of Edmondson Plaza. Each of the communities, families, and institutions brought a different perspective, different interests and different voices to the presentations and meetings I attended during the course of my research, but the concerns of the various stakeholders was primarily to tell the story of the Edmondsons and the Slave Jail to a broader public. It is due to the collaboration with multiple stakeholders that the statue of the Edmondson sisters has been commissioned, and that the Bruin Slave Jail can be interpreted in tours and exhibits presented through the city of Alexandria and the National Park Service.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH**

The existing literature on the interstate slave trade focuses mainly on the larger system and its impacts on the nation as a whole, or on the regional impacts in the Upper and Lower South. The archaeology of the Bruin Slave Jail offers a unique local, archaeological perspective on the slave trade, by exploring a the business of a specific trader and the material conditions faced by the people who were enslaved there. Further, the combination of historical and archaeological data provides an understanding of the ways in which African American women confronted the interstate slave trade. This perspective on the intersection of raced and gendered oppressions contributes to the growing body of literature concerning women and slavery. The story of the Edmondsons illuminates a particular experience faced by many enslaved African American women in the slave trade: their experience offers not only a local, but a personal and specific account of the hardships women faced when they entered the domestic traffic in slaves, and the various ways they resisted enslavement. To end, the public memorial of the Edmondson sisters and the other slaves imprisoned at Bruin's jail will help to raise awareness of this significant part of U.S. history. It is reassuring that the most salient images that will represent this narrative are those of Emily and Mary Edmondson, two black women who defied the odds. Hopefully, visitors to Edmondson Plaza will come to understand that black women constituted a major part of the interstate slave trade and that without their stories we are left with only a partial and less meaningful one. It is also hoped that visitors will comprehend the enormity of the devastation that the domestic slave trade had on African Americans, the vast majority of whom could not escape their fates. The opportunity to use this research on the Bruin Slave Jail as a vehicle for public education and engagement with African American stakeholders has been the most rewarding aspect of this project, and, to my mind, the most significant.

## Appendix A

### Persons Listed in the Alexandria Slave Manifests

#### As Shipped by Joseph Bruin

Note: When included in the original document, exact dates and the destinations of the steamships are included; however, these are not present on every manifest. Also, the names of the consignees are sometimes included, and at other times the consignee is simply described as being “on board.”

1) July 11, 1845 Steamer *Powhatan* to Dumfries

Shipper: Joseph Bruin of Alexandria

Consignee: William H. Betts of Richmond

SLAVES				
Name	Sex	Age	Height	“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”
Osborn	Male	18	5’4”	Copper
Domini	Male	16	5’2”	Copper
Jim	Male	16	5’2”	Black
Caroline	Female	18	5’5”	Copper
Melinda	Female	19	5’1”	Copper
& child, Sally	Female	1 1/2		Bright Mulatto
Rachel	Female	14	4’11”	Black
Mary	Female	29	5’-	Black
& child Robert	Male	8	3’10”	Black
Fanny	Female	20	5’5”	Black
& 2 children:	Male	3 1/2	-	Black
Scipio,				
Esther	Female	1	-	Black
Eliza	Female	30	5’1”	Black
& 3 children:				
Charity	Female	8	3’10”	Black
Eliza	Female	3	-	Black
Mary	Female	1	-	Black

2) August 11, 1845 Steamer *Baltimore*

Shipper: Joseph Bruin

Consignee: John Barr, on board

---

SLAVES

---

<b>Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Height</b>	<b>“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”</b>
Lewis Edwards	Male	20	5’6”	Black
James Gattis	Male	14	4’7” 1/2	Yellow
Julia Edwards	Female	14	4’9”	Black
Nelly Parker	Female	13	4’5” 1/2	Black

---

3) August 1845 Steamer *Augusta* of Washington traveling from Alexandria, VA, to Aquia, VA

Shipper: Joseph Bruin of Alexandria

Consignee: L.H. Knight (on board)

---

SLAVES

---

<b>Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Height</b>	<b>“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”</b>
Susan	Female	35	5’1” 1/4	Black
Mary	Female	16	5’1” 1/4	Yellow
Hannah	Female	9	4’1”	Black
Annette	Female	10	4’1” 1/4	Black
William	Male	14	4’9”	Yellow

---

4) October 6, 1845 Steamer *Augusta* of Washington

Shipper: Henry P. Hill of Alexandria

Consignee: Owner on board

---

SLAVES

---

<b>Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Height</b>	<b>“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”</b>
Jupiter Jackson	Male	23	5’4” 1/2	Black
Simon	Male	25	5’3”	Black
Sarah Lewis	Female	18	5’3”	Mulatto
Letty	Female	12	4’8”	Dark Copper
Hannah	Female	14	5’ 1/2 “	Mulatta
Matilda	Female	18	5’3” 1/2	Black
Sarah	Female	14	5’-	Black

---

5) November 27, 1847 Steamer *Joseph Johnson*

Shipper: Joseph Bruin

Consignee: Joseph Bruin on board

SLAVES

Name	Sex	Age	Height	“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”
Jack Coombs	Male	17	5’6” 1/2	Black
Andrew Jackson	Male	17	5’3” 1/2	Black
Geo. Brooks	Male	12	4’7”	Copper
Margaret Turner	Female	16	5’2”	Black
Julia Page	Female	17	5’-	Copper
Hannah Furley	Female	16	4’10”	Copper
Amanda Weaver	Female	14	4’9”	Copper
Emily West	Female	15	4’10”	Black
Lucy Curry	Female	15	5’1”	Black

6) February 8, 1847 Steamer *Phoenix*

Shipper: Joseph Bruin

Consignee: Owner on board

SLAVES

Name	Sex	Age	Height	“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”
John Brown	Male	27	6’0” 1/2	Black
James Clagett	Male	28	5’10” 1/2	Black
Sandy Scott	Male	23	5’8”	Brown
Sam Jackson	Male	19	5’7”	Black
Carter Monroe	Male	21	5’7”	Brown
John Ferguson	Male	32	5’5”	Brown
Isaac Welden	Male	30	5’6”	Black
Pam Burwell	Female	19	5’3”	Copper
Ann Napper	Female	17	5’2”	Black
Sally Brown	Female	15	5’2”	Black
Summerwell	Female	30	4’11”	Copper
Alice Lummond	Female	11	4’7”	Black

7) March 8, 1847 Steamer *Phoenix* to Port of Washington  
 Shippers: Joseph Bruin, Bruin & Hill  
 Consignee: Owner on board

SLAVES

Name	Sex	Age	Height	“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”
Henry Brooks	Male	19	5’6”	Mulatto
Charles Carter	Male	15	4’11”	Black
John Montgomery	Male	32	5’3”	Black
Ellen V. Shankland	Female	17	5’3”	Black
Sophia Berry & infant	Female	22	5’4”	Black
Joseph (last name illegible, possibly Banion?)	Male	19	5’5” 3/4	Black

8) May 2, 1848 Steamer *Columbia*  
 Shipper: Joseph Bruin of Alexandria  
 Consignee: Owner on board

SLAVES

Name	Sex	Age	Height	“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”
Lewis Custis	Male	28	5’2”	Brown
Peter Dix	Male	24	5’5”	Black
Gustavus Chase	Male	25	5’7”	Black
Phillip Crowley	Male	26	5’8”	Black
Maddison Marcial	Male	28	5’8”	Yellow
Matthew Marcial	Male	23	5’6”	Black
Isaac Turner	Male	21	5’7”	Black
Perry Groce	Male	22	5’7”	Black
Winney Daily	Female	22	5’1”	Black
Sam Turner	Male	26	5’9”	Black
Maddison Pitts	Male	24	5’7”	Copper
Ephraim Edmondson	Male	35	5’7”	Copper
Peter Edmondson	Male	27	5’10”	Copper
Sam Edmondson	Male	22	5’8”	Yellow
Richard Edmondson	Male	25	5’-	Black
Mary Jane Edmondson	Female	17	5’6”	Yellow
Emily Edmondson	Female	15	5’-	Yellow

9) August 9, 1849 Steamer *Baltimore*  
 Shipper: Joseph Bruin  
 Consignee: Wm. M. McCarty, on board

---

SLAVES

---

Name	Sex	Age	Height	“Whether Negroes, Mulattoes, or Persons of Color”
James Jackson	Male	50	5’10”	Black
Lavinia Jackson	Female	35	5’-	Black
Malinda Jackson	Female	5	3’6”	Black
Solomon Jackson	Male	45	5’7”	Black
Betsey Jackson	Female	30	5’4”	Black
Arthur Jackson	Male	5	3’3”	Black
Robert Jackson	Male	2	2’6”	Black
Richard Burly	Male	45	5’5”	Black
Dolly an infant	Female			Black
Thadius	Male	13	4’4” 1/2	Yellow
Charlotte	Female	10	3’11”	Black

---

## **Appendix B**

### Faunal Report

#### **THE BRUIN SLAVE JAIL FAUNAL REPORT**

Marie-Lorraine Pipes

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The Bruin Slave Jail faunal remains presented a unique composition of bone refuse not typically associated with the diet of slaves. Consisting primarily of a large midden, the faunal assemblage was composed of a large volume of calves and caprine feet along with very small quantities of other meat cuts. While pig's feet are a common food associated with southern cooking, especially African American diet, the high repetition of these calves feet and caprine knuckles was an unusual association. This unique deposit, if considered in terms of the social context of foods provided for the enslaved occupants of the jail, might in fact have been deliberate on the part of the owner the reasons for which are a subject for speculation. The small amounts of other bone refuse might relate to the jailers diet or represent rare variations in the foods consumed by slaves.

#### **METHODOLOGY**

Each bone specimen was identified by species when possible, otherwise by class and size range category. For the purposes of this report, large mammal is equivalent in size to cattle and medium mammal is equivalent in size to pig and sheep. Table C-1 summarizes the faunal assemblage by deposit, Class, Species and Size-range Category. This table presents two counts, the Total Number of bone Fragments (TNF) and the Minimum Number of bone Units (MNU). In brief, the TNF count serves as a curation tool, indicating the absolute number of bone fragments for a given row of data. The MNU count is an adjusted bone count based on the number of actual skeletal elements

represented for a given species for a given row of data. Not all rows of data received an adjusted bone count (MNU), as its application was used only when one or more skeletal elements were identified. For example, a crushed pig scapula consisting of 12 bone fragments would be tallied as 12 TNF, and receive an adjusted count of 1 MNU.

Each bone specimen was further identified by skeletal element, portion, and age at death, when possible. All apparent bone modifications were recorded. The term “bone modification” means the physical alteration of the original appearance of a skeletal element either by human, animal or natural agent. Bone modifications at this site included butcher marks, gnaw marks, and heat exposure. Identifications were made with the aid of a comparative skeletal type collection and the use of references including but not limited to: Brown and Gustafson (1979), Cornwall (1956), Lyman (1977), Olsen (1964), Pipes (1995), Schmid (1972) and Ubaldi and Grossman (1987). Figures C1-C3 indicate the meat cut designations discussed in the report for beef, pork and mutton.

## **RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS**

Table C-1 summarizes faunal remains by Feature and Unit, and by species. With the exception of Feature 50 all other deposits within the area under consideration yielded small deposits.

Feature 50 was most remarkable for yielding a very large concentration calves and caprine feet. Table C-2 summarizes body part distributions for cattle and caprine by feature and unit. The table indicates there were 108 calves feet and 71 sheep feet. The feet for both species were composed of metacarpi, metatarsi, proximal, middle and distal phalanges. In addition, sesamoids and ankle bones were present. The calves feet appeared light and porous, and were fragile. The caprine feet included fused and unfused elements signifying the presence of immature and older individuals. These elements were dense and well preserved. Very few butcher marks, knicks or slice marks were observed on any the foot elements. Other cattle remains included veal and beef meat cuts. Veal cuts

included a head, mandible and shanks from both the fore and hind limbs. Beef cuts included a head, mandible, stews from the neck and brisket, steaks from the loin, rib, chuck, and sirloin. At least one adult foot was also present. The term caprine was used to represent sheep and goat remains because there were at least four goat skull identified based on horns. However, it is most likely that the majority of the feet recovered are those of sheep. In this deposit the difference is irrelevant. In addition to caprine feet, skulls and mandibles, there was a small range of caprine meat cuts. These included roasts from the chuck, leg-end leg, and loin.

Feature 50 also contained a fair range of other species and types of bones. A small number of elements belonged to a few other species including black rat, dog cat and pig. Unidentified bird was also present in low numbers and was indicated by longbone fragments. Black rat was represented by a minimum of four partial individuals. Dog consisted of a disarticulated individual consisting forelimbs, hindlimbs, mandible, feet and a rib. The femur appeared to exhibit cut marks suggesting it might have butchered. This individual was aged at 1 1/2 years or more at death. Three elements from a cat were recovered. Based on the size two distinct mandibles there was a neonate and an older cat indicated. The third element found was a maxillary fragment. Pig was represented mainly by hams from the forelimb including four picnic hams and two Boston butt hams. In addition, three teeth indicated the presence of one head and a two mandibles, a phalange pointed to a foot, and last an immature humerus revealed the presence of at least one neonate. Meat cuts exhibited a range of butcher marks including saw, cleaver and chop marks. Gnaw marks were virtually absent as was evidence of burning.

Feature 57 differed from the other deposits in this area in that it consisted entirely of chicken remains. This deposit represented the remains of a single individual. The presence of medullary inside the longbones indicated that it was an egg-layer signaling the presence of a female bird. No nicks or cut marks were observed on any of the elements. However, many of the elements appeared to have been exposed to heat or else stained chemically.

Feature 60 consisted of cattle, caprine, pig, rat and chicken. Chicken was the most abundant species. A minimum of one individual was represented by skeletal elements from wing, breast, back, thigh, leg and foot. Cattle was the second most frequent species. Cattle was composed of a limited range of beef cuts including steaks from the loin and rib. In addition, two metapodials were present, one from a calf, the other from an adult. Caprine remains were third most frequent. The consisted of two metapodia and four phalanges. Last, one pork cut was present a ham from the Boston butt. A small number of specimens were gnawed. Butcher marks included saw and cleaver marks.

Feature 61 included caprine, cattle, black rat, and rabbit. Caprine remains included a butchered stew meat from the neck. Cattle remains included a arm roast from a calf showing signs of boiling and at least two calves feet. Rabbit consisted of a lower forearm. One unidentified bird longbone was also present.

Unit 37 yielded a small deposit very different in most ways from Feature 50. It consisted of chicken, dog, caprine and cattle remains. Chicken was represented by a wing element, caprine by a phalange, dog by a rib and lower forearm and cattle by two steaks from the round and arm. Steakbones exhibited saw marks. It is possible that the dog remains area part of the dog skeleton found in Feature 50.

## **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

A comparison of the Bruin assemblage with other faunal assemblages associated with slave diet as well as a scan of African American traditional recipes did not reveal many similarities (Crader 1990, Otto and Burns 1983, Mitchell 1997). African American recipes indicated that pig's feet and ham hocks were commonly consumed by slaves. Calves feet and caprine knuckles were not mentioned once (Mitchell 1997).

The excavation of a slave cabin at Kingsley Plantation on Ft. George Island,

Florida also demonstrated a prevalence of pork remains. Slave diet was supplemented with fish, small game and reptiles as well as birds. Chickens were apparently raised by slaves as well (Otto and Burns 1983). Crader analyzed the faunal remains from Monticello and found discrepancies between house slave and field slave diets. The most common species and meat cuts associated with slave diet were pork cuts including cuts from the head, rib, hind legs and feet. While cattle feet and sheep knuckles were found they were present in extremely low frequencies Crader found though that one deposit which was associated house slaves had a higher percentage of beef and that pig's feet were virtually absent. This was interpreted as evidence of a slave social hierarchy reflected in food patterns (Crader 1990).

A review of late 18th and early 19th century recipes intended for white households however yielded recipes requiring calves feet in order to make neets feet pie and calves feet jelly (Leslie 1828, Simons 1796). A review of late 19th and early 20th century upper class salad recipes were replete with recipes using an aspic base, tinted appropriately for each dish and frequently made with veal shins and feet (Hill 1919). Modern day southern cookbooks still abound gelatin based recipes for vegetable, shellfish and fruit salads though Jell-o has successfully replaced the isinglass for setting (Plains Jr. Woman's Club 1976/77).

At the Bruin site, the five deposits recovered within the area were only superficially similar. Feature 57 aside, the predominance of cattle suggested they were similar. However, the range of skeletal elements differed significantly which may signify differences in terms of who generated the refuse deposits. Table C-2 summarizes cattle and caprines body parts. As there were few pork cuts pig has been omitted from the table. However, it should be noted that one of the most common foods associated with slaves, pig's feet, was absent but one for one toe bone. The occasional other foods identified may not represent slave meals but instead may have been generated by the men who ran the slave jail and who may have eaten meals at the jail as well. These other foods are better cuts of meat but still not expensive cuts.

This information highlights the unique configuration of the faunal from the Bruin slave jail excavation. Traditional slave food did not regularly include large quantities of veal or caprine feet. The foods reflected at this site were highly repetitive, representing a very limited menu or foods. The jail functioned very differently from other places in society where slaves lived as opposed to being held temporarily while they were sold and shipped out. The principle reason was probably due to the highly specialized nature of the slave jail, its transient nature, and the clientele for which the slaves were intended. Gelatin-based foods are extremely high in protein and collagen. The consumption of gelatin-based foods has been a home remedy for glossy hair and beautiful nails. It may be that the jail keepers were aware of this nutritional benefit and fed slaves gelatin-based foods for that reason (Bouchez 2006). Whatever the reason, calves and caprine feet were unusual foods to feed slaves and their presence in high frequencies signals a unique event took place at the jail.

**Table C-1: Species Summary by Unit and Feature, by Total Number of Bone Fragments (TNF) and Minimum Number of Bone Units (MNU)**

Class/Species/Size-range Category	F. 50	F. 57	F. 60	F. 61	U. 37	Total
	MNU	MNU	MNU	MNU	MNU	MNU
<b>Mammal</b>						
Black Rat	24	-	-	1	-	25
Cat	3	-	-	-	-	3
Cattle	471	-	10	5	2	488
Caprines	335	-	6	1	1	343
Dog	16	-	-	-	2	18
Pig	11	-	1	-	-	12
Rabbit	-	-	-	1	-	1
Unidentified Rodent	1	-	-	-	-	1
Small Mammal	2	-	-	-	-	2
Medium Mammal	7	-	1	1	-	9
Large Mammal	2	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Subtotal MNU</i>	872	-	18	9	5	904
<b>Bird</b>						
Chicken	-	51	15	-	1	67
Unidentified Bird	3	-	-	-	-	3
<i>Subtotal MNU</i>	3	51	15	-	1	70
<b>TOTAL MNU</b>	875	51	33	9	6	974

**Table C-2: Summary of Cattle and Caprine Body Parts by Feature and Unit (MNU)**

Species	Body Part	F. 50 MNU	F. 60 MNU	F. 61 MNU	U. 37 MNU
Cattle	Head	2	-	-	-
	Neck	3	-	-	-
	Rib	16	3	-	-
	Chuck	2	-	-	-
	Arm	1	-	1	1
	Loin	1	1	-	-
	Hip	1	-	-	-
	Thigh	1	-	-	1
	Foreshank	2	-	-	-
	Hindshank	1	-	-	-
	Foot	108	2	1	-
		Total MNU	138	6	2
Caprine	Head	8	-	-	-
	Mandible	5	-	-	-
	Horn	2	-	-	-
	Neck	-	-	1	-
	Shoulder	2	-	-	-
	Hip	1	-	-	-
	Thigh	1	-	-	-
	Ankle Joint	2	-	-	-
	Foot	71	2	-	1
		Total MNU	92	2	1

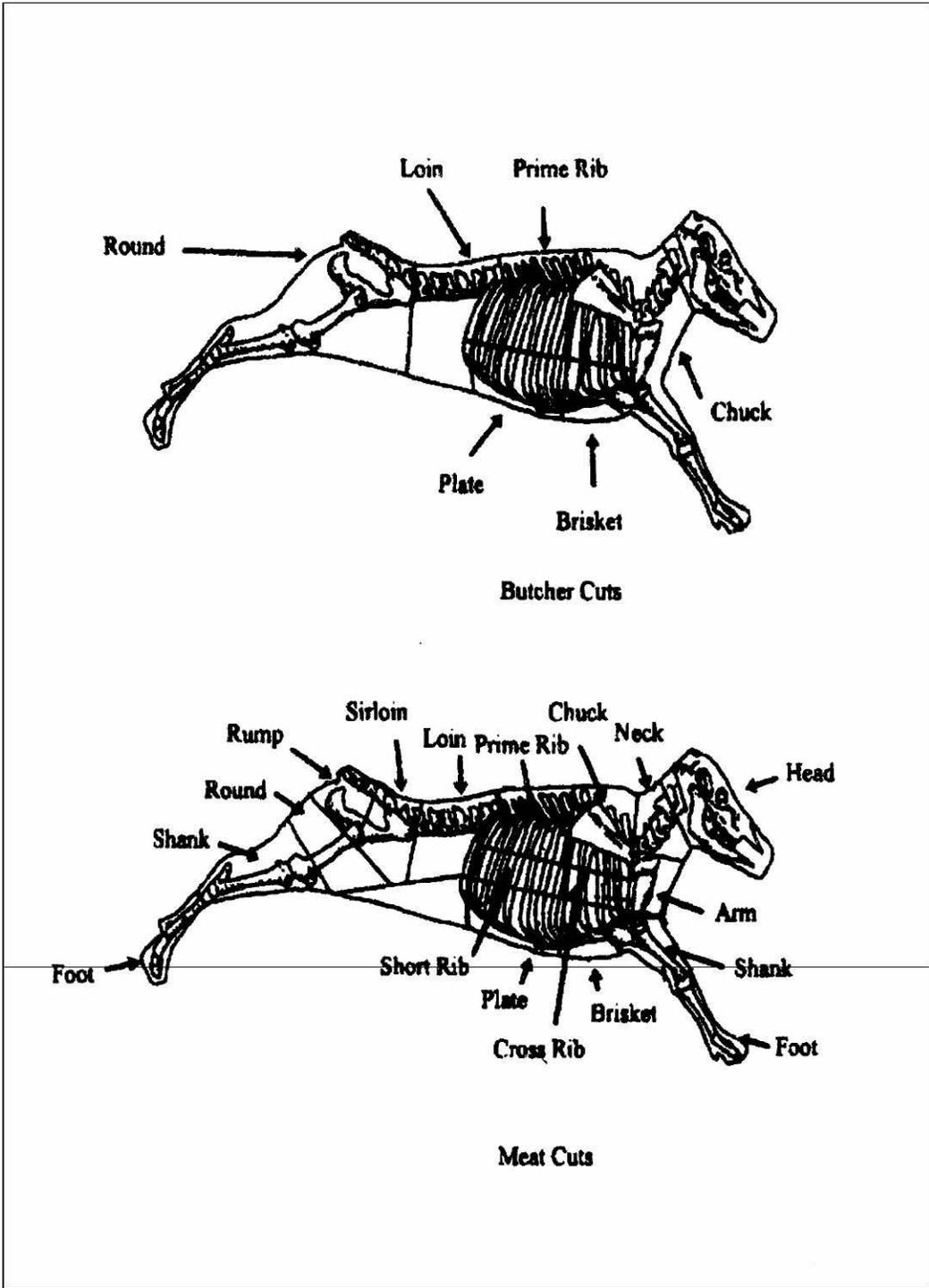


FIGURE C-1: Cattle/Beef Secondary Butcher Cuts and Primary Meat Cuts

## Appendix C

### FEATURE INVENTORY, SITE 44AX0172

Feat. No.	Description (ft)	Date	Location	Remarks	Top/Basal Elevations (ft amsl)	
1	Shallow circular pit; possible post hole	Mid-Late 19th century	Unit 2, Trench 2	Excavated in Phase II	26.5	26.0
2	Shallow, linear feature; possible drain	Unknown	Unit 4, Trench 4	Excavated in Phase II	30.1	29.7
3	Shallow, linear feature; possible drain	Unknown	Unit 4, Trench 4	Excavated in Phase II	30.2	29.9
4	Brick foundation	Late 19th , early 20th century	Unit 6, Trench 6	Excavated, but was in the Prince St. Lot. Likely related to Features 5-10.	28.9	27.2
5	Posthole, 1.9x2.2, oval	Late 19th early 20th century	Area 1, northern edge	Features 4-10 all contain similar artifacts and appear to be spatially related. Excavated.	23.8	21.8
6	Posthole, 1.5x1.7, oval	Late 19th early 20th century	Area 1, northern edge	Features 4-10 all contain similar artifacts and appear to be spatially related. Excavated.	24.1	22.1
7	Posthole, 2.8x1.9, oval	Late 19th early 20th century	Area 1, northern edge	Features 4-10 all contain similar artifacts and appear to be spatially related. Excavated.	24.75	22.6
8	Posthole, 2.5x2.1, oval	Late 19th early 20th century	Area 1, northern edge	Features 4-10 all contain similar artifacts and appear to be spatially related. Excavated.	25.1	24.8
9	Posthole, 1.9x1.8, oval	Late 19th early 20th century	Area 1, northern edge	Features 4-10 all contain similar artifacts and appear to be spatially related. Excavated.	25.1	24.8

**FEATURE INVENTORY, SITE 44AX0172**

Feat. No.	Description (ft)	Date	Location	Remarks	Top/Basal Elevations (ft amsl)	
10	Garden, 8.9x3.25, rectangular	Late 19th early 20th century	Area 1, northern edge	Features 4-10 all contain similar artifacts and appear to be spatially related. Excavated. 8.9x3.2 feet	25.1	24.2
11	Unknown, 10x15, rectangular	20th century	Area 1, SE corner	Modern disturbance related to construction; tested with a Shovel Test (STP "Feature 11"), no artifacts recovered	23.1	21.0
12	Unknown, 4.2x3.5, oval	20th century	Area 1, SE corner	Soil stain related to asphalt pouring; not excavated.		
13	Posthole and Postmold, 2.0x1.5, oval	19th century	Area 1, SW corner	shape, artifacts, & color with Feature 15 in Unit 17. The two postholes are exactly 8 feet apart.	24.8	22.5
14	Posthole, 0.9x0.8, oval	19th century	Area 1, SW corner, Unit 16	Excavated. Smaller and shallower than Features 13 and 15, though it is near both of these.	24.8	22.4
15	Posthole, 1.95x2.3	19th century	Area 1, SW corner, Unit 17	Excavated. Clearly related to Feature 13.	23.6	22.4
16	Cistern, 10 feet in diameter, circular	19th century	SW Corner of Area 2, about 9' east of 1707 Duke Street	Shovel Test excavated into fill.	21.18	
17	Posthole, 1.05x0.85, oval	19th century	Area 2, Unit 24	Excavated	26.0	25.4
18	Posthole and Postmold, 0.7x0.5, oval	20th century	Area 2, Unit 28	Mid-20th century; excavated.	27.2	25.75
19	Posthole and Postmold, 2.3x2.5, oval	19th century	Area 2, Unit 27	Excavated. Likely related to Features 21-25, 56, and 58.	29.9	27.1
20	Midden/Subfloor Pit, 3.9x4.3, roughly Y-shaped	19th century	Area 2, Just north of NW corner of 1703 Duke St.	Excavated.	29.88	29.58

**FEATURE INVENTORY, SITE 44AX0172**

Feat. No.	Description (ft)	Date	Location	Remarks	Top/Basal Elevations (ft amsl)	
21	Posthole, 1.55x1.6, oval	19th century	Just north of NW corner of 1703 Duke St.	Excavated. Features 19, 21-25, 56 and 58 are all large, round postholes that are in line with one another, and are exactly eight feet apart. They were all dug to the same depth.	30.04	28.3
22	Posthole, 1.6x1.7, oval	19th century	Between 1703/1707 Duke St., running north-south	Excavated. Features 19, 21-25, 56 and 58 are all large, round postholes that are in line with one another, and are exactly 8 feet apart. They were all dug to the same depth.	30.24	28.3
23	Posthole, 1.3x2.1, oval	19th century	Between 1703/1707 Duke St., running north-south	and 58 are all large, round postholes that are in line with one another, and are exactly 8 feet apart. They were all dug to the same depth.	29.9	28.3
24	Posthole, 1.7x1.7, oval	19th century	Between 1703/1707 Duke St., running north-south	Excavated. Features 19, 21-25, 56, and 58 are all large, round postholes that are in line with one another, and are exactly 8 feet apart. They were all dug to the same depth.	30.0	26.5
25	Posthole, 0.65x0.65, circular	19th century	St., running north-south	Excavated. Features 19, 21-25, 56, and 58 are all large, round postholes that are in line with one another, and are exactly 8 feet apart. They were all dug to the same depth.	30.0	27.82
26	Posthole and Postmold, 2x2, square	19th century	About 80 feet North of 1707 Duke St.	Excavated	29.0	25.3
27	Posthole and Postmold, 2.5x3.5, rectangular	19th century	About 80 feet North of 1707 Duke St.	Excavated.	30.4	28.8

**FEATURE INVENTORY, SITE 44AX0172**

Feat. No.	Description (ft)	Date	Location	Remarks	Top/Basal Elevations (ft amsl)	
28	Posthole and Postmold, 1.4x1.85, rectangular	19th century	About 80 feet North of 1707 Duke St.	Excavated.	30.4	29.2
29	Postmold, 0.6x0.75, oval	Unknown 19th century	North of 1707 Duke St.	Excavated. No visible posthole.	30.5	30.1
30	Posthole 1.2x1.35, oval	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St.	Excavated.	30.7	29.4
31	Posthole and Postmold, 1.8x1.9, oval	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St.	Excavated.	31.1	29.5
32	Posthole and Postmold, 1.4x2.4, rectangular	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot.	Excavated. 32, 33, 34, 44, and 45 all appear to be part of a fenceline.	30.9	29.1
33	Posthole and Postmold, 1.1x1.7, rectangular/D-shaped	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot.	Excavated. Cuts into Feature 32 – apparently re-installing a post?	28.6	27.9
34	Posthole and Postmold, 0.75x1.05, rectangular	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot.	Excavated. Rectangular. 32, 33, 34, 44, and 45 all appear to be part of a fenceline.	31.1	30.9
35	Modern intrusion, “divot.” 0.5x0.5, rectangle	No artifacts – but soil in posthole is modern.	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Very shallow, only 1” deep.	30.8	30.7
36	Posthole and Postmold, 0.85x1.4, rectangular	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Rectangular posthole	30.5	30.1
37	Posthole and Postmold, 1.0x1.4, “D”- shaped	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Rectangular posthole	30.1	28.2

**FEATURE INVENTORY, SITE 44AX0172**

Feat. No.	Description (ft)	Date	Location	Remarks	Top/Basal Elevations (ft amsl)	
38	Posthole and Postmold, 2.0x2.3, oval	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Rectangular posthole	28.2	27.4
39	Probable posthole	Unknown	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
40	Probable posthole	Unknown	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
41	Probable posthole	Unknown	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
42	Probable posthole	Unknown	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
43	Probable posthole	Unknown	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
44	Posthole and Postmold	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
45	Posthole and Postmold	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
46	Probable posthole	Unknown	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
47	Probable posthole	Unknown	North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
48	Probable posthole	Unknown	North of 1707 Duke St.,	Unexcavated		

**FEATURE INVENTORY, SITE 44AX0172**

Feat. No.	Description (ft)	Date	Location	Remarks	Top/Basal Elevations (ft amsl)	
49	Probable posthole	Unknown	along western edge of lot North of 1707 Duke St., along western edge of lot	Unexcavated		
50	Kitchen/ Drainage Ditch, shape extremely irregular	19th century	North of 1707 Duke St.	Excavated in several units (33-44, 48).		
51	Posthole and postmold, 1.3x1.8, oval	19th -20th century	Unit 38	Postdates Feature 50, but unclear exactly how modern it is.	28.3	27.8
52	Posthole, 0.8x0.9, rectangular	20th century	NW corner of Unit 36	Excavated; contained fragments of asbestos tile.	29.0	26.4
53	Posthole, 0.55x0.55, square	Modern/20th century	Unit 43	Excavated.	28.3	26.7
54	Unassigned					
55	Posthole and Postmold, 1.3x1.8, rectangular	19th century	North of slave jail	Excavated.	27.9	26.5
56	Posthole, 1.8x2.3, rectangular	19th century (?)	North of slave jail	Excavated: no postmold was identified, but there were two postholes, with a second, shallower posthole cutting into the first, deeper posthole. Part of the line of postholes that includes 19, 21-25, and 58.	28.1	27.8
57	Chicken Burial, 1.0x1.4, oval	19th century	NW corner of excavation	Shallow (less than 0.5') pit which contained one piece of willow- pattern pearlware (as well as three other sherds) and the remains of an entire chicken.	26.9	26.5
58	Posthole,	19th	North of 1707	Excavated: no postmold	28.1	27.7

**FEATURE INVENTORY, SITE 44AX0172**

Feat. No.	Description (ft)	Date	Location	Remarks	Top/Basal Elevations (ft amsl)	
	1.3x1.4, oval	century (?)	Duke Street	was identified. Part of the line of postholes that includes 19, 21-25, and 56.		
59	Shallow pit, 1.05x1.1, oval	19th century (?)	NW corner of excavation	Excavated. Was 0.8' deep, circular, and contained only a single piece of willow-pattern pearlware very similar to one found in Feature 57.	26.6	25.8
60	Subfloor pit, 3x3, rectangular	19th century	Unit 46	Excavated	28.12	27.1
61	Subfloor pit, 3x3, rectangular	19th century	Unit 47	Excavated	28.1	26.8
62	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated		
63	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated		
64	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated		
65	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated		
66	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated		
67	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated		
68	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated		
69	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated		

**FEATURE INVENTORY, SITE 44AX0172**

<b>Feat. No.</b>	<b>Description (ft)</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Remarks</b>	<b>Top/Basal Elevations (ft amsl)</b>
70	Posthole	Probably 19th century	NW corner of excavation	Unexcavated	

## References Cited

### Alexandria Archaeology

1996 *City of Alexandria Archaeological Standards*. On file at Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.

### Alexandria, City of

var. Deed Books. Alexandria City Hall, Alexandria, Virginia.

### *Alexandria Gazette* (Alexandria, Virginia)

1820 Advertisement. February 15.

1825 Advertisement. February 15.

1827 Advertisement. June 22.

1828 Advertisement. May 17.

1843 Advertisement. August 14.

1845 Advertisement. December 13.

1864 Slave Jail Sold. January 7.

1865 Courthouse Returning. July 19.

### American Anti-Slavery Society

1836 *Slave Market of America*. Broadside issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society, New York. On file, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historical Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.

### Andrews, Ethan Allen

1969 *Slavery and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States*. Negro Universities Press, Detroit, Michigan.

- Anzaldua, Gloria  
 1987 *Borderlands/La Frontera*. Spinsters/Aunt Lute, San Francisco, California.
- Armstrong, Douglas V.  
 1985 An Afro-American Slave Settlement: Archaeological Investigations at Drax Hall. In *Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, ed. TA Singleton, pp. 261-287. Academic Press, New York.
- Arlington County  
 var. Arlington County Deed Books. Arlington Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia.
- Armistead, Wilson  
 1853 *Five Hundred Thousand Strokes for Freedom: A Series of Anti-Slavery Tracts*. W & F Cash, London.
- Artemel, Janice G., Elizabeth A. Crowell, and Jeff Parker  
 1987 *The Alexandria Slave Pen: The Archaeology of Urban Captivity*. 1987. On file, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.
- Bancroft, Frederic  
 1931 *Slave Trading in the Old South*. Reprinted 1996, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, South Carolina.
- Becker, Marshall Joseph  
 1980 An American Witch Bottle. *Archaeology* 33 (2): 18-23.  
 2005 An Update on Colonial Witch Bottles. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 75 (2): 12-23.
- Bedell, John  
 2006 *Archeological Investigation for 2nd Manassas Tour Development, Brawner Farm Site (44PW452), Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia*. Prepared for the National Park Service, National Capital Region by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington, DC.
- Berger (see The Louis Berger Group, Inc.)

- Blassingame, John W.  
 1977 *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews and Autobiographies*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
- Bouchez, Colette  
 2006 *A Dozen Tips for More Beautiful Nails*. WebMD, Inc.  
<http://www.webmd.com/a-to-z-guides/features/more-beautiful-nails-a-dozen-tips?page=3>.
- Breen, Eleanor, and White, Esther.  
 2006 “a pretty considerable distillery”: Excavating George Washington’s Whiskey Distillery. In *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*. (61) 4.
- Bremer, Frederika.  
 1853 *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*. Mary Howitt, Translator. Harper and Brothers, New York.
- Brown, Christopher L. and Carl E. Gustafson 1979 *A Key to Postcranial Skeletal Remains of Cattle, Bison, Elk and Horse*. Washington State University, Pullman.  
 Cornwall, I. W.  
 1956 *Bones for the Archaeologist*. Phoenix House, London.
- Brown, John  
 1855 *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave now in England*. Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, London.  
 Accessed online at <<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/jbrown/jbrown.html>>.
- Brown, William Wells  
 1847 *The Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave*. Accessed online at <<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USASbrownW.htm>>.
- Catts, Wade P., Jay F. Custer, JoAnn E. Jamison, Michael D. Scholl, and Karen Iplenski  
 1995 *Final Archaeological Investigations at the William Strickland Plantation Site (7K-A-117), A Mid-Eighteenth Century Farmstead, State Route 1 Corridor, Kent County, Delaware*. Archaeological Series No. 119. Delaware Department of Transportation, Dover, Delaware.

- Chireau, Yvonne P.  
 2003 *Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition*. University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
- Chisholm, Amelia  
 2005 Adams-Kilty House Excavation, June 2005. Accessed online <<http://www.bsos.umd.edu/anth/SpecEvents/AdamsKilty.html>>.
- Collins, Patricia Hill  
 2000 *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, expanded and revised from 1991 edition. Routledge, New York, New York.
- 2004 *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. Routledge, New York, New York.
- Conway, Moncure Daniel  
 1864 *Testimonies Concerning Slavery*. Chapman and Hall, London.
- Crader, Diana C.  
 1990 Slave Diet at Monticello. *American Antiquity*. 55(4):690-717.
- Cressey, Pamela J. and Margaret J. Anderson  
 2006 *Alexandria, Virginia: Digging for the Past*. Oxford University Press, USA, New York.
- 1982 An Enduring Afro-American Neighborhood: An Archaeological Perspective from Alexandria, Virginia. *Black Heritage* (20) 1. 1-10.
- Cuddy, Thomas W., Francine W. Bromberg, Heather Crowl, T. Michael Miller, Kevin Mock, and Cynthia Pfanstiehl  
 2006 *The North Lee Street Project: a Phase I, II, and III Archaeological Investigation of 221 North Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia, Site 44AX180*. On file, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historical Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.

Davidson, James M.

2006 *Preliminary Report of Investigations of the 2006 University of Florida Archaeological Field School at Kingsley Plantation Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve National Park, Duval County, Florida*. Report submitted to the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center.

Deetz, James

1977 *In Small Things Forgotten*. Anchor Books, New York.

Delle JA, Mrozowski SA, Paynter R, ed.

2000. *Lines That Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender*. Knoxville: Univ. Tenn. Press, Tennessee.

Douglass, Frederick

1855 *My Bondage and My Freedom*. Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library.

Drayton, Daniel

1855 *Personal Memoir of Daniel Drayton: For Four Years and Four Months a Prisoner (For Charity's Sake) in Washington Jail*. Accessed online at Project Gutenberg, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/10401>>.

Du Bois, W.E.B.

1915 *The Negro*. Holt, New York, NY. Reprinted 2001 by University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

1940 *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward An Autobiography of a Race Concept*. Harcourt Brace, New York, New York. Reprinted 1984 by Transaction, Somerset, NJ.

Edwards-Ingram Ywone

2001. African American medicine and the social relations of slavery. In *Race and the archaeology of identity*, ed. CE Orser, Jr., pp. 34-53. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Epperson, Terrence W.

2001 "A Separate House for the Christian Slaves, One for the Negro Slaves": The Archaeology of Race and Identity in Late Seventeenth-Century Virginia. In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, Charles E. Orser, Jr., editor. 54-70. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah.

1999 The Contested Commons: Archaeologies of Race, Repression, and Resistance in New York City. In *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, Mark P. Leone, Parker B. Potter, Jr., editors. 81-110. Plenum Publishers, New York, New York.

Fairfax County

var. Deed books. Fairfax County Courthouse, Fairfax, Virginia.

Fanon, Frantz

1968 *Black Skin, White Masks*, Charles Lam Markmann, translator. Grove Press, New York, NY. Reprinted 1991 by Grove Press, New York, New York.

Fennell, Christopher C.

2007 *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogenesis in the New World*. University of Florida Press.

Ferguson, Leland

1992 *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Fields, Barbara J.

1985 *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Fogel, Robert William

1994 *Without consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery*. W.W. Norton and Company, New York.

Fogel, Robert William and Stanley L. Engerman.

1974 *Time on the Cross; the Economics of American Negro Slavery*. Little, Brown, Boston.

- Franklin, Maria  
 2001a A Black feminist-inspired archaeology? *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 1(1):108-125.
- 2001b The Archaeological and Symbolic Dimensions of Soul Food: Race, Culture, and Afro-Virginian Identity. In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, Charles E. Orser Jr., editor. 88-107. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- 1997 "Power to the People": Sociopolitics and the Archaeology of Black Americans. *Historical Archaeology*. 31(3):36-50.
- Franklin, Maria and McKee, Larry  
 2004 African Diaspora Archaeologies: Present Insights and Expanding Discourses. *Historical Archaeology*. 38: Introduction.
- Galle, Jillian E  
 2004 *Engendering African American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tennessee.
- Gaspar, David B. and Hine, Darlene C., editors  
 1996 *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.
- Genovese, Eugene  
 1974 *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World The Slaves Made*. Pantheon Books, New York.
- Gilroy, Paul  
 1993 *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Grettler, David J., George L. Miller, Keith Doms, Brian Seidel, Macon Coleman, and Jay F. Custer  
 1995 *Landowner and Tenant Opportunity in Seventeenth-Century Central Delaware: Final Archaeological Investigations at the Richard Whitehart (7K-C-203C) and John Powell (7K-C-203H) Plantations, State Route 1 Corridor, Kent County, Delaware*. Archaeological Series No. 127. Delaware Department of Transportation, Dover, Delaware.

- Gudmestad, Robert H.  
 2003 *A Troublesome Commerce: the Transformation of the Interstate Slave Trade*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
- Hall, Stuart  
 1996 Introduction: Who Needs "Identity"? In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds Stuart Hall, Pierre Du Gay, pp. 1-17. Sage. London.
- Hill, Janet M.  
 1919 *Salads, Sandwiches and Chafing Dish Dainties*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.
- Johnson, Guy (editor)  
 1940 *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*. Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers Project, Works Project Administration. University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia.
- Jones, Jacqueline.  
 1985 *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow; Black Women, Work, and the Family From Slavery to the Present*. Basic Books, New York.
- Kaye, Ruth Lincoln  
 1999 *Bruin's Slave Jail, Alexandria Virginia*. Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. On file, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.
- King, Silvia  
 n.d. Interviewed in Marlin, Texas, in the mid-1930s. Texas Slave Narratives, WPA Papers. Accessed online at [http://www.slaveryinamerica.org/narratives/nar\\_sking.htm](http://www.slaveryinamerica.org/narratives/nar_sking.htm).
- Kraus, Lisa, John Bedell, and Charles LeeDecker  
 2007 *Joseph Bruin and the Slave Trade*. Prepared for Columbia Equity Trust, Inc., by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington, D.C.
- LeeDecker, Charles H.  
 1999 Letter to Charles Hooff, Duke Enterprises, Inc., regarding background research for 1708/10 Prince Street, Alexandria, Virginia. November 10, 1999. On file, The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Lefever, Harry G.

1996 When the Saints Go Riding In: Santeria in Cuba and the United States. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 35(3):318-330.

Leone, Mark

2005 *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis*. University of California Press, Berkeley California.

Leone, Mark, and Gladys-Marie Fry

1999 Conjuring in the Big House Kitchen: An Interpretation of African Belief Systems based on the Uses of Archaeology and Folklore Sources. *Journal of American Folklore* 112(445):372-403.

Leone, Mark, Ruppel, Timothy, Neuwirth, Jessica and Gladys-Marie Fry

2003 Hidden in View: African Spiritual Spaces in North American Landscapes. *Antiquity*, 77 (296): 321-335.

Leslie, Eliza

1850 *Miss Leslie's Lady's House-Book: a Manual of Domestic Economy*. A. Hart, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

1828 *Seventy-Fie Receipts for Pastry, Cakes and Sweetmeats*. Munroe and Francis, Boston.

The Louis Berger Group, Inc. [Berger]

2006 *Documentary Study of the 1707 Duke Street Property, Alexandria, Virginia*. Prepared for Columbia Equity Trust, Inc., by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington, D.C.

2007 *Archaeological Evaluation of 1707 Duke Street and 1708-1710 Prince Street, Alexandria, Virginia*. Prepared for Columbia Equity Trust, Inc., by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Lyman, R. Lee

1977 Analysis of Historic Faunal Remains. *Historical Archaeology* 11:67-73.

1994 Quantitative Units and Terminology in Zooarchaeology. *American Antiquity* 59:36-71.

- Merrifield, Ralph  
1987 *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*. B. T. Batsford Limited, London.
- Moore, Henrietta  
1994 *Bodies on the Move: Gender, Power and Material Culture*. In *A Passion for Difference*, Henrietta Moore, editor, pp. 49-71. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.
- Morehouse, Rebecca  
2009 Curator's Choice Archives, August 2009: Witch Bottle. Accessed online at: <http://www.jefpat.org/Curators%20Choice%20Archive/2009%20Curators%20Choice/Aug09-CuratorsChoice-WitchBottle.htm>
- Masur, Jay  
2002 *Bruin's Slave Jail*. Application to the National Underground Railroad Network of Freedom. On file, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.
- Miller, T. Michael  
n.d. "An Overview of the Dwelling at 1707 Duke Street, Joseph Bruin and His Slave Pen." Memorandum. On file, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.
- Mitchell, Patricia B.  
1997 *Soul on Rice: African Influences on American Cooking*. Self-published by Sim-Mitchell House Bed and Breakfast, Chatham, Virginia.
- Morgan, Jennifer Lyle.  
2004 *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania..
- Njoku, Onwuka N.  
1991 Magic, Religion and Iron Technology in Precolonial North-Western Igboland. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 21(3):194-215.
- Noël Hume, Ivor  
1969 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

- Northrup, Solomon  
 1847 *Twelve Years a Slave*. Darby and Miller, New York. Accessed online at  
 <<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USASnorthup.htm>>.
- Olsen, Stanley J.  
 1964 *Mammal Remains from Archaeological Sites*. Papers of the Peabody Museum  
 of Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 56, No. 1. Harvard University,  
 Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Olmos, Margarite Fernandez, and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert  
 2003 *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodou and Santeria  
 to Obeah and Espiritismo*. New York University Press, New York.
- Orser Charles E. Jr., editor  
 2001 *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake  
 City, Utah.
- Otto, John Solomon and Augustus Marion Burns III  
 1983 Black Folks and Poor Buckras: Archaeological Evidence of Slave and  
 Overseer Living Conditions on an Antebellum Plantation. *Journal of Black  
 Studies* 14(2):185-200.
- Pacheco, Josephine  
 2005 *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac*. University of North  
 Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Painter, John H.  
 1916 The Fugitives of the Pearl. *The Journal of Negro History* 1(3-June):243-264.
- Parrinder, Geoffrey  
 1961 *West African Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Akan, Ewe,  
 Yoruba, Ibo, and Kindred Peoples*. Second edition; originally published 1949.  
 The Epworth Press, London.
- Perdue, Charles, Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips (editors)  
 1976 *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves*. University Press of  
 Virginia, Charlottesville.

Pipes, Marie-Lorraine

1995 *A Faunal Coding System for Use in the Analysis of Bone Assemblages From Historic Archaeological Sites*. Master's Thesis on file at Hunter College, City University of New York.

Plains J. Woman's Club

1976/77 *Plains Pot Pourri*. Published by the Plains Jr. Woman's Club, Plains, Georgia.

Pogue, Dennis

2002 *The Domestic Architecture of Slavery at George Washington's Mount Vernon*. *Winterthur Portfolio*, 37: 3-22.

Raboteau, Albert J.

1978 *Slave Religion: an "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*. Oxford University Press, USA, New York.

Ricks, Mary Kay

2007 *Escape on the Pearl: The Heroic Bid for Freedom on the Underground Railroad*. Morrow, New York.

Ridgeway, Michael A.

1976 *A Peculiar Business: Slave Trading in Alexandria, Virginia, 1825-1861*. M.A. thesis, History Department, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. On file, Alexandria Library, Alexandria, Virginia.

Samford, Patricia M.

2007 *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Riviera, Ray

2005 *Annapolis House Yields Clues to Hoodoo Mysteries*. *Washington Post* July 6: B1. Available online at <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/07/05/AR2005070501564.html>>.

Ruppel, Timothy; Neuwirth, Jessica; Mark P. Leone and Gladys Marie Fry

2003 *Hidden in View: African Spiritual Places in North American Landscapes*. *Antiquity*. 77(296): 321-335.

- Schiek, Martha J. and Ronald A. Thomas  
 1983 *Archaeological Study for the Step II Engineering Services at the University of Maryland Center for Environmental and Estuarine Studies at Horn Point, Dorchester County, Maryland.* Mid-Atlantic Archaeological Research, Inc., Newark, Delaware.
- Schiek, Martha J. and Edward C. Goodley  
 1984 *Archaeological Site Examination: 18DO129, Dorchester County, Maryland.* Mid-Atlantic Archaeological Research, Inc., Newark, Delaware.
- Schmid, Elizabeth F.  
 1972 *Atlas of Animal Bones.* Elsevier Publishing Company, New York.
- Schweigert, Kurt P.  
 1994 *West End.* Prepared for Northfolk Southern Corporation by Kurt P. Schweigert. On file, Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia.
- Simmons, Amelia  
 1796 *The First American Cookbook.* Dover Publications, Inc., New York.
- Singleton, Teresa A., editor  
 1999 *I, Too, Am America: Archaeological Studies of African-American Life.* University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville:.
- Smith, Barbara  
 2000 *The Truth That Never Hurts: Writings on Race, Gender, and Freedom.* Rutgers University Press, Piscataway, NJ.
- Sobel, Mechal.  
 1987 *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- South, Stanley  
 1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology.* Academic Press, New York.
- Stephenson, Wendell Holmes  
 1968 *Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South.* Peter Smith Publishing, Gloucester, Massachusetts.

- Stowe, Harriet Beecher  
1853 *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Jewett, Proctor and Worthington, New York.
- Stroyer, Jacob  
1889 *My Life in the South*. Salem Press, Salem, Massachusetts. Originally published 1879, reprinted 1889.
- Sweig, Donald  
1992 *Northern Virginia Slavery: A Statistical and Demographic Investigation*. Ph.D. dissertation, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Tadman, Michael  
1989 *Speculators and Slaves*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- Thomas, Julian  
2001 Archaeologies of Place and Landscape. In *Archaeological Theory Today*, Ian Hodder, editor, pp. 165-186.
- Thompson, Mortimer  
1859 What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation. Published in the *New York Tribune*. Accessed online at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h2919t.html>.
- Thornton, John  
2003 Cannibals, Witches and Slave Traders in the Atlantic World. *The William and Mary Quarterly* (60) 2.
- Ubaldi, Jack and Elizabeth Grossman  
1987 *Meat Book, A Butcher's Guide to Buying, Cutting and Cooking Meat*. Macmillan Publishing Company, New York.
- United States Bureau of the Census [U.S. Census]  
var. Population Schedules. United States Bureau of the Census. Accessed at National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- United States Geological Survey [USGS]  
1965 *Alexandria, Virginia*. 7.5-Minute Topographic Quadrangle. Photorevised 1983, bathymetry added 1982. United States Geological Survey, Reston, Virginia.

Vlach, John Michael

1993 *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Walker, Mark K., Madeleine Pappas, Jesse Daugherty, Christopher Martin, and Elizabeth Crowell

1992 *Archaeological Evaluation of the Alfred Street Baptist Church (44AX161), Alexandria, Virginia*. Prepared for Robert J. Nah, F.A.I.A. & Associates, P.C., Oxon Hill, Maryland by Engineering Science, Chartered, Washington, D.C.

Webster, Thomas, and William Parkes

1855 *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy*. Harper and Brothers, New York.

Weld, Ezra Greenleaf

1850 *Frederick Douglass at an Outdoor Abolitionist Meeting, Cazenovia, New York, 1850*. Daguerreotype. Madison County Historical Society, Oneida, New York. Retrieved online at Syracuse University Special Collections, <<http://libwww.syr.edu/digital/exhibits/u/undergroundrr/index.html>>.

Weld, Theodore

1837 *The Bible Against Slavery*. American Anti-Slavery Society, New York. Accessed online at <<http://medicolegal.tripod.com/weldbas.htm>>.

Wesley, Charles H.

1942 Manifests of Slave Shipments Along the Waterways, 1808-1864. *The Journal of Negro History* 27(2-April): 155-174.

White, Deborah Grey

1999 *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Antebellum South*. W.W. Norton, New York.

Wilkie, Laurie A.

1995 Magic and Empowerment on the Plantation: An Archaeological Consideration of African-American World View. *Southeastern Archaeology* 14(2): 136-157.

1997 Secret and Sacred: Contextualizing the Artifacts of African-American Magic and Religion. *Historical Archaeology* 31(4): 81-106.

2000 *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana, 1840-1950*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

## **Vita**

Lisa Kraus completed her Bachelor's degree in Anthropology at the College of William and Mary in 1998 and worked as an archaeologist for the Louis Berger Group for several years before entering the Graduate School of the University of Texas at Austin in 2002. She completed her Master's Degree at the University of Texas at Austin in 2004.

In 2003, she worked as an intern at George Washington's Mount Vernon, and she worked as an instructor for the University of Maryland's Field School in Historical Archaeology from 2004-2007. After completing her Master's Degree, she worked as a Project Archaeologist at TRC Environmental and in November of 2006, returned to the Louis Berger Group in Washington D.C. In 2008, she joined the Cultural Resources Division of the Maryland State Highways Administration.

Permanent address (or email): 603 Admiral Drive Unit 3, Annapolis, MD 21401

This dissertation was typed by Lisa A. Kraus.