Land, Labor, and State Building: Constructing the Virginia Capitol in Richmond

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Introduction

"The white-columned Neoclassical buildings appeared to visitors as idyllic beacons of democratic values overlooking sublime nature unsullied by the presence of those spaces in which unsightly slaves toiled to make the land fertile and the lives of white citizens comfortable." -Mabel Wilson

A considerable amount of research has been conducted on the history of the Virginia Capitol. Most generally, Capitol Square is referenced as a community space in many books and articles about Richmond.[1] A majority of scholarship about the Capitol and its construction was written in the 20th century. Fiske Kimball is the most widely associated name with scholarship on Jefferson's Capitol project. Completing his dissertation and writing several books and articles about the architectural design and process of the Capitol, Kimball primarily discusses Jefferson's process in designing the Capitol.[2] Similarly, Marc Wenger's article "Thomas Jefferson and the Virginia State Capitol," focuses exclusively on the design and implications of the new Republican building.[3] While this research on the origins of Neoclassical American architecture in the newly independent states is important, its focus on the monumental architecture we claim as the masterwork of a founding father, misses key individuals who are also part of the story. Heavily focusing on design and drawing up plans, ignores the labor of enslaved, apprenticed, and free workers and craftsmen on site or in trade shops, lumber mills, and in transporting materials to allow for the building to be constructed in the first place.

Recently, the scholarship on the Capitol has begun to amplify the contributing craftsmen and enslaved workers who were integral to the building's creation. One specific article that

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[1] Books include, *Richmond: The Story of a City* by Virginius Dabney; *American City, Southern Place* by Gregg Kimball; *At The Falls: Richmond, Virginia, and Its People* by Marie Tyler McGraw; *Richmond Reader* edited by Maurice Duke and Daniel Johnson; and *Nonsuch Place: a history of the Richmond Landscape* by T. Tyler Porterfield.

[2] Kimball, Fiske and F. Carey Howlett. *The Capitol of Virginia: A Landmark of American Architecture*. 2002.

[3] Wenger. "Thomas Jefferson and the Virginia State Capitol" 1993.

inspired this project's goal of uncovering the stories of the workers in Capitol Square is Mabel Wilson's, "Notes on Thomas Jefferson's Virginia Capitol." This article not only highlights Capitol Square as a landscape of slavery but proves that these stories are not lost to time. The presence of the archive in the Library of Virginia, which Wilson references, allows the stories of unfree labor on Capitol Square, which have been intentionally excluded in past scholarship, to be told. In her conclusion, Wilson begins to connect the relationships between contracted craftsmen and enslaved workers, including the potential for free black workers. By connecting the accounts from the Directors of Public Buildings and incorporating additional primary sources such as local records, the names and numbers of enslaved workers begin to emerge and add to the story of initial construction. The Capitol wasn't built by Jefferson, and it wasn't built solely by the contracted white craftsmen either. Through thoughtful consideration of primary sources, the study of initial construction highlights the diverse and temporary craftsmen and laborers.

Additionally, I found myself in familiar company when reading the student scholarship about craftsmen and construction on Capitol Square. In 1981, Karen Lang Kummer completed a University of Virginia Architectural History master's thesis titled, *The Evolution of the Virginia State Capitol, 1779-1965,* in which she outlines the various reconstruction efforts over the building's 200-year history and includes discussion identifying some of the main craftsmen on site.[4] Unfortunately, her thesis does not deeply research a majority of craftsmen working on site and primarily investigates the physical evolution and changes made to the structure. Even though Kummer does not discuss slavery at any length, the resource remains helpful in producing a timeline of construction on the site. In 2016, Elizabeth Cook completed a dissertation focused on

[4] Kummer. 1981.

early building culture in Richmond.[5] While only one chapter focuses directly on construction at the Capitol, Cook devotes several chapters to researching craftsmen involved in construction in 18th and 19th century Richmond. Consulting research from both scholars has not only directed my primary research towards individuals but also provided supplementary information about building culture and practices in Richmond in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Critiquing scholarship on the Capitol which focuses on Jefferson at the expense of Craftspeople and vice versa, does not suggest higher or lower quality work put forth by either set of scholars. Prioritization of research on craftsmen and construction only occurred in the second half of the 20th century. Discussion of vernacular architecture and increased research of social histories as they relate to the built environment paved the path to discussing the work force behind the important structures we seek to preserve. Scholarship and research about Jefferson's designs are not inherently negative or unproductive. On several occasions, people have encouraged me to shift this project toward Jefferson's designs. The intention behind focusing on craftspeople and workers is meant to counterbalance the architect-focused research that silences the artful transformation of drawings and models into the final constructed building.

Contextualizing Capitol Square helps join the fractured field of Jeffersonian research by connecting the Capitol site to the surrounding landscape while exploring relationships between Jefferson, stakeholders, and craftsmen. Through significant primary source research, this project seeks to identify those relationships and understand the landscape of slavery present on Capitol Square. Understanding labor and working relationships and practice paints the picture of how the site operated, allowing for the placement of the Capitol project within the larger timeline of Early American Construction.

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[5] Cook. 2016.

Defining Characteristics of an 18th Century Construction Projects and Labor Relationships

Several scholars have contributed to the conversation of 18th-century construction sites, the building trades, and the free and enslaved workers who built early American towns. In her book *Crafting Lives*, Catherine Bishir highlights black artisans from New Bern, North Carolina, during the late 19th century through reconstruction. Even while set in North Carolina, New Bern maintains many similarities to Richmond. New Bern became the Capital of North Carolina in the 1770s. Situated on the Neuse River, New Bern's economic and labor history is comparable to Richmond's. In her discussion of the 19th-century southern city, Bishir claims that the free and enslaved black craftspeople and artisans prospered in the relatively nonrestrictive urban atmosphere of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.[6] The "Golden Age " from 1770 to 1830 allowed free black craftsmen in the city to grow their businesses and wealth, as well as take apprentices. This freedom and wealth building is also seen in Richmond during this time, with records of free black craftsmen and apprentices in Richmond working at the Capitol. Bishir cites economic pressure from larger cities and the looming fear of slave insurrections to have resulted in restrictive laws that majorly contributed to the time of "dislocation" in the 1830s. Many Southern urban centers rolled back the opportunities and freedoms enjoyed by free black residents and leased enslaved workers in the mid 19th century. Slave codes and police forces were either implemented or increased during this time to control the movements and business dealings of both enslaved and free blacks in the south. Bishir tracks the same early period of opportunity and autonomy for free and enslaved black craftsmen in new urban settings, as I have found in my research of the workers in Capitol Square and Richmond in the late 1800s.

[6] Bishir, 2013. pg. 7.

However, *Educated in Tyranny*, explores the construction of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville Virginia. Through evidence found in account books and records, Maurie McInnis and Louis Nelson depict the construction processes and labor relationships on the rural construction site in the 1820s. Nelson identifies that the enslaved labor was integral in the construction of the University, as well as the artisans, craftspeople, and laborers of varying races, classes, and freedom status working alongside them.[7] While the makeup of laborers is comparable to Richmond, there is an aspect of the site which differs from the Capitol in Richmond. The names of enslaved laborers constructing the University are recorded in a much more detailed manner than at the Capitol. While some individuals working at the University are still vaguely referred to as "hands" or "men," an entire team of enslaved laborers firing bricks is recorded in a daybook.[8] This detailed recording of names rarely occurred at construction sites in this region before the 1820s and 1830s.

Introduction to Main Primary Sources

The inspirational archive for this research project is the Capitol Square Data, Records 1776-1971 Collection at the Library of Virginia.[9] The collection includes records and accounts kept by the Directors of Public Buildings and the Commonwealth of Virginia regarding construction and improvements made within Capitol Square. Most significantly, the collection consists of surviving records from the Directors of Public Buildings during initial construction. Many scholars researching the Capitol have referenced this source, but only some have examined it for the story of laborers and craftsmen on Capitol Square.

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[7] McInnis and Nelson, 2019. pg. 29-32.
[8] Ibid. pg. 34.
[9] Virginia. Auditor of Public Accounts. Capitol Square Data, Records, 1776-1971. APA 655, State government records collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Surviving records include accounts and receipts for materials, completed work, communications, and proposals for interior, exterior, and structural work. The documents which directly reference payments for work completed for the Capitol are dated from 1784 through the completion of the building in 1798. The payments and accounts of work completed identify the workers and craftspeople involved in the initial construction. Many of the accounts and receipts are written as payment to craftsmen for specific projects completed and material suppliers from a representative from the Directors of Public Buildings. This method of accounting rarely keeps the names or references of the individual's completing the work. Apprentices and enslaved workers are often referred to as men or hands within these records. Samuel Dobie was an original member of the Virginia Directors of Public Buildings and was the primary overseer for the Capitol project. Dobie's detailed accounts include receipts and measurements of work completed which can provide insight into the relationships between the Directors, craftsmen, and their hired hands or apprentices who labored on Capitol Square during this initial construction phase.

The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) maintains a Craftsman Database, which through primary source information tracks names associated with artisans and craftsmen working in trades in the Early American South.[10] This database has allowed for the tracking of enslaved, apprenticed, and free craftsmen working in Capitol Square during initial construction. Cross-referencing names found on the receipts from the Capitol Square Data and Records collection has allowed the identification of enslaved and apprenticed craftsmen and artisans associated with the contracted free white craftsmen. This resource consolidates legal sources, including court records, tax records, and wills and estates.

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[10] Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Craftsman Database
Mesda.org/research/craftsman-database

In addition to the two major sources, supplementary sources were used in my research to fully understand the labor environment and relationships in Capitol Square and early Richmond. Newspapers in early Richmond include the Virginia Argus and the Richmond Gazette. Subscribers would take out advertisements for numerous things, like apprenticeships, available services or materials, and rewards for runaway enslaved workers. Connecting the contracted craftsmen to their enslaved workers can further identify the scene of potential workers on Capitol Square during initial construction.

Documents from the Virginia General Assembly can also help identify individuals close to the construction process. Journals from the House of Delegates can also help confirm the completed work timelines, especially when the General Assembly met for the first time in 1788. Court and tax records for various labor related topics have also been referenced. Court and tax records can list names or numbers of enslaved workers enslaved by some white craftsmen working at the Capitol during initial construction. This aligning of information does not ensure that the enslaved workers identified were working on the Capitol Square site; however, it is very likely they used some amount of their labor or craft for such a significant project.

The Capitol Square Workers Resource

As the major research component for this thesis, I have compiled records and accounts from Directors of Public Buildings archive, and condensed names, work completed, and dates into a document to index all workers and potential workers on Capitol Square during the 18th century. Additional research of primary and secondary sources has allowed for some of the names of apprentices and enslaved workers to be identified and added to this valuable document. For several reasons, employees or labor sourced by individual craftsmen is challenging to

identify. Primarily, the records at the Library of Virginia, while substantial, are just the surviving records, meaning the records do not reflect the entirety of payments made by the Directors or the workers and individuals referenced in missing accounts. The accounts and receipts which remain from the Directors of Public Buildings are not complete in number or content. The language used in the receipts and accounts sparsely mentions laborers or apprentices. These workers are often referred to as 'men' or 'hands.' Historians can be quick to determine that these titles mean enslaved Africans. However, I do not believe that they are synonymous. In my research I have found a significant number of apprentices bonded to these craftsmen, but the word apprentice does not appear in the receipts from the Directors of Public Buildings. This lack of title likely means these "men" or "hands" likely refer to either apprentices or a mixed group of apprentices, free blacks, and enslaved individuals.

Additionally, the record of leased enslaved workers can be extremely difficult to locate during this period in Richmond. Finding names of leased enslaved workers for this project would rely on surviving and meticulous records kept by a slave owner. Unfortunately, locating and reviewing these potential records exceeds the scope of a one-year research project. Due to the lack of these records, we are left to use the Capitol Square Data and Records collection, which for the period in Richmond allows a glimpse into the number and potential names of those who were enslaved on Capitol Square.

With these setbacks in mind, I have sought to create a document from a range of primary sources, which outlines involvement and identifies the employees of the craftsmen working in the initial construction phase. This document does not guarantee that the enslaved or apprenticed individual worked on site during this initial construction phase. The goal is to establish a web of workers both free and unfree in Richmond who were working for or were enslaved by these

craftsmen. Since the Capitol was one of the major projects in Richmond at the time, craftsmen likely had all their workers contributing to the project in some way during the duration of their contract.

The most certain individuals who would have been on the site were the contracted craftsmen named in the receipts and accounts of the Directors of Public Buildings. In the document, the names highlighted in red represent the contracted craftsmen. Many of the contracted craftsmen were hired to several projects simultaneously as Richmond began to grow in the late 18th century. These contracted craftsmen had workers or craftsmen who likely worked on various sites and moved from site to site as their particular skill was needed. The names of these workers who do not appear in the accounts of the Directors of Public Buildings emerge from records such as the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) Craftsman Database, and legal records from various Virginia localities, primarily Richmond. Names listed in bold depict the individuals who are found within the accounts and receipts of the Directors of Public Buildings. All other names have been identified as direct associates to a craftsperson by researching primary and secondary sources. In addition to the list of researched names, several tabs include additional transcriptions of original 18th century documents regarding work completed by craftspeople, apprentices, and enslaved workers.

Numerous research avenues have been cut from this project for the sake of maintaining a manageable scope in a limited written format. The timeline of research covered in this thesis has been abbreviated to the 18th century period of initial construction, 1785-1800. This timeline covers the laying of the brick foundation until major interior and exterior work ceases in the late 1790s. Topics including archaeology are overwhelmingly ignored in research of the initial construction period. Potential for archaeology should be at the forefront of scholars' minds

when considering the landscape of slavery at a site. Unfortunately, several projects have been completed which makes archaeology not a viable option for researching the capitol building and Capitol Square prior to construction. Most significantly, one of the only houses in the area was demolished and the Capitol foundation was laid over top of it in 1785. A major landscaping project in 1816 significantly disrupted the layers of top layers soil in the Square. Finally, three contemporary underground extensions or tunnel projects have only continued to disturb large sections of Capitol Square, with no records of archaeology being conducted before or after the start of construction. (Figure 1) Overall, Shockoe Hill has been so significantly disrupted, that conducting archaeology in Capitol Square is often ignored as a potential primary source for early history of the site.

Chapter Outlines

Each chapter begins with a prologue to contextualize research and provide additional information to the reader. Chapter one places the Capitol Square project into context with the origins of Richmond. By investigating original site formation and relationships between early stakeholders who impacted the development of the Capitol, the hidden history of Capitol Square is revealed. These stakeholders include Thomas Jefferson, the Directors of Public Buildings, and the original lot owners of the land that became Capitol Square.

The prologue to chapter two includes a fictional account based on primary evidence about Richmond and the work done on site in the later months of 1788. Set in the Fall of 1788, the General Assembly was set to move into the building for the fall session in October of 1788. Much work had been completed, but interior finishings continued to be envisioned, crafted, and repaired for a decade following the move.

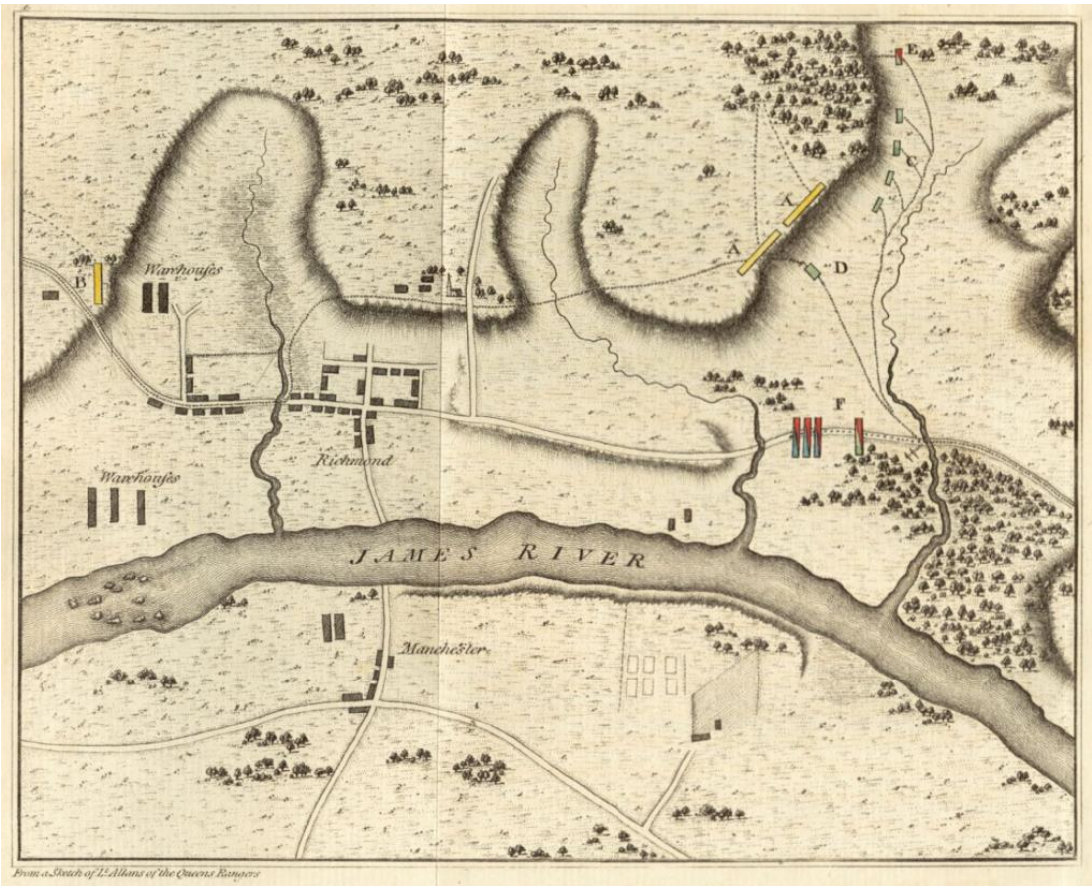
Chapter 2 identifies the various connections and relationships which existed between government stakeholders, craftsmen, apprentices, and enslaved workers. This chapter also

contains information on the primary sources used throughout this project. As a result of my research, primary sources have been condensed into a document that tracks the contracted individuals providing their own or others' labor to Capital Square and their histories with apprentices and ownership of enslaved individuals.

The final chapter places the Virginia Capitol into a broader timeline of construction sites in the American South during the turn of the 20th century. Through observing record keeping, labor sources, and materials at the Capitol while comparing against sites in the same region during the 18th and 19th century, I argue that the Virginia Capitol was one of the last distinct 18th century construction sites. While the site was not similar to early 18th century sites, it differs greatly from 19th century sites in the region. This argument separates the Virginia Capitol from 19th century sites which Jefferson also had a hand in, such as Washington, D.C. or the University of Virginia. Through the broad timeline of construction, it is made clear that the Capitol was constructed during a transitional time which leaned heavily on 18th century practices.

A PROLOGUE to RICHMOND

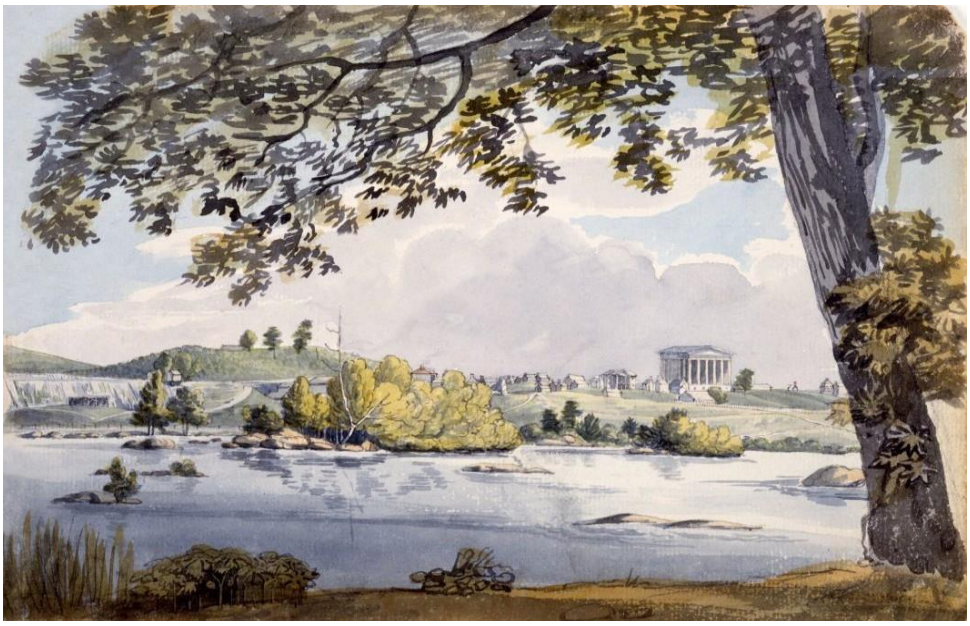
The town at the Falls of the James River was well accustomed to growth. Home to tobacco warehouses and a small community of Virginians, the town served merely as a blip along the trade route, connecting backcountry and tidewater regions of Virginia. Richmond began a journey of city building during the dividing of the Byrd family fortune in 1769, distributing lots for development to the west of the city.



From a Sketch of Lt. Allans of the Queens Rangers

Skirmish at **RICHMOND** Jan: 5th 1781.

A. *Rebel Infantry*. B. *Rebel Cavalry*. C. *Queen's Rangers*. D. *Queens Rangers Cavalry*. E. *Yagers*. F. *British Army*.



During the Revolutionary War, Richmond's distance from the colonial capital of Williamsburg provided safety for revolutionaries while retaining proximity to many of their county plantations. In 1776, Thomas Jefferson proposed moving Virginia's capital to Richmond. The undeveloped land and central defensible location made the site amenable to Jefferson's state-building vision. Finally, in 1780 the small riverside town of Richmond was officially the new capital of Virginia.

By the 1790s, Richmond had evolved past its humble beginnings. Richmond's population, number of structures, and industry all grew out of the movement of the capital. Much of the population had moved westward following the city center when it moved from St. John's Church to Capitol Square.

Chapter 1: People and Place: Contextualizing Capitol Square in Richmond, Virginia

The late 18th century was a time of transition for the City of Richmond. The city saw exponential growth, transforming from a small town to the heart of Virginia in a matter of decades. When examining a developing city, it is important to place it into context within the larger landscape. Identifying the individuals living, working, and making crucial decisions in the new community, which customs are new or traditional, and understanding the relationships within the community are all crucial to a complete study of Richmond, and assist in the contextualizing the landscapes and community which become Capitol Square.

People of Richmond

Several travel accounts from European visitors have been preserved. Though personal accounts are often laden with bias, records from individuals outside of the society of study can help call attention to or even make sense of the activities occurring within it. Specifically, within the context of the Capitol Project and the individuals working in, for and around the legislature and early state government in Richmond. The first of these accounts were written by Andrew Burnaby, a clergyman from England who traveled to the Middle Colonies and coastal Virginia in the late 1750s. Secondly is a record from Dr. Johann David Schöpf, a Hessian doctor who visited Richmond in 1780. The final account is from a French nobleman, François La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who recorded his visit to Richmond in 1796. This sequence of accounts provides a glimpse into life in Richmond before, during, and after the move of the state capital and early construction. These records highlight the attitudes and practices of the individuals taking part in the construction process, either of the new Capitol building or the new government.

Andrew Burnaby, Pre-Richmond (1750)

In 1750, while the Virginia colonial capital remained in Williamsburg, an English Clergyman, Andrew Burnaby, wrote about his experience in the Middle Colonies, including Virginia. He states Virginians, "seldom show any spirit of enterprise or expose themselves willingly to fatigue."[11] This judgment on fellow Englishmen is an interesting perspective to hear during the colonial period. The colonies had such a positive economic impact on England, it would seem reasonable to hear mostly favorable reviews of the Tidewater and greater coastal region in the North American colonies. Burnaby claims this conclusion of Virginian work ethic stems from their comfort with slavery, stating, "their authority over their slaves renders them vain and imperious."[12] This reasoning frames the mid-18th century outcomes of the slave economy and labor source at this period in Virginia's history. The lazy and self-centered attitudes claimed by Burnaby are a theme which continues through other travel accounts in Virginia in the second half of the 18th century.

Dr. Johann David Schöpf, Pre-Capitol Richmond (1783)

In the 1780s, accounts began to be written specifically about visitor's experiences in the new city on the falls, Richmond. Dr. Johann David Schöpf traveled through Richmond documenting the nature of the Falls, the newly forming democracy in the General Assembly, as well as the associated tavern life. Arriving in time for the winter legislative session, Schöpf provides a rare glimpse into the daily proceedings of the legislature as it moved to Richmond after the removal of government in Williamsburg. According to the accounts, the visitor describes his meeting with a disorderly, newly independent legislature, meeting in a wood frame

[11] Burnaby, Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America. pg. 39

[12] Ibid

warehouse building, while anxiety steadily grows regarding the construction of the new Capitol building.

During his visit, the German traveler reflects heavily on his time spent in the Virginia legislature. Schöpf concludes that the lack of decorum, namely the conversation, attire, and largely passive participation of the House members as unfit for a legislative body.[13] When he visits Richmond, he finds the legislature meeting in a wooden warehouse down the hill from the future Capitol Square. Despite writing in detail about his experience visiting the legislature, Schöpf chooses not to comment on the humble meeting place, opting to study the characters in the scene. His focus on the individuals implies that his focus is unlikely to be superficial and likely accurately depicts the cast of legislators who were charged with approval of major steps in the construction process nearly a year later.

Richmond is the confusion Schöpf expresses over societal practices, considered normal to early Richmonders. He explains that the annual Assembly meetings were "great gathering[s] of strangers and guests." This observation of seasonal demographic shifts allows him to further comprehend tavern and lodging customs. Schöpf explains that Richmond taverns maintained the "indelicate custom of having so many beds together in one room," allowing all free individuals to eat, drink, debate, and sleep with little regard for any particular social hierarchy. Recollecting his experiences with communities in other North American cities, as guided by unspoken rules of decorum, which excluded the raucous tavern living arrangements in Richmond.[4] This note on temporary lodging in the city is important when investigating the existence (or lack) of hierarchical relationships in Richmond. Were the temporary craftsmen involved in the

[13] Duke, Maurice, and Jordan. *A Richmond Reader, 1733-1983*. 14.
[4] Ibid. 16.

construction of the Capitol sleeping in the same room as legislators? What impact, if any, did this community space have on the process, surveillance, and approval of the Capitol project?

La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Post-Capitol Construction (1796)

While touring the new states, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt depicts a Richmond with considerable contrast to Schöpf's account just thirteen years earlier. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt cites the growth of trade, infrastructure, and civility between opposing politicians as promising aspects of the town. Amongst the positive aspects he finds in the town, there remain red flags with the societal practices of Richmond. Doctors receiving a fraction of what they are owed each year and lawyers refusing to proceed in suits if they are not paid beforehand, are just a few of the major problems that are found in Richmond during this time.[14] The unstable economic scene in Richmond appears to stem from the gambling habit that La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt blames the legislature for perpetuating through relaxed laws which almost encourage the acquiring of debt.

Relaxed and unenforced laws on gambling and property loss contributed to the complex state of labor and economic transactions in Richmond in the 1780s. Though Schöpf does not mention gambling, it was almost certainly occurring at some level in the improper tavern life which he documents in his travel writing. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt claims, "Gaming tables are publicly kept in almost every town, and particularly at Richmond … [a law of the state] prohibits all games of hazard … forbids the loss of more than twenty dollars at cards within four and twenty hours."[15] This contradiction in law and enforcement is made worse by La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt describing some Virginians were in extreme debt but continue to

[14] Richmond Reader. pg. 27-28.
[15] Ibid. 28.

maintain ownership of their enslaved individuals. In some cases, the enslaved were classified as ‘hired’ instead of owned to place them beyond the risk of seizure. In this late 18th century account, compared to earlier travelers, Richmond has seemed to have developed its sense of decorum, but has found a new problem in finances and relaxed lawmaking and enforcement.

The conclusions many foreigners draw after their visits to Richmond and Virginia is that there is room for political corruption or inequality, they do not act with the same decorum as Europeans, and the enslaved labor force is one of contention. Burnaby claims Virginians' connection to slavery makes them “vain and imperious,” seemingly forecasting and affirming the conclusions of the latter two travelers. These consistent conclusions drawn by travelers from Europe with knowledge of well-established political cultures provide solid evidence that Richmond was a rough, unusual place and unlike the other colonies, particularly concerning its societal practices. It was not as connected to tradition, religion, or the decorum of perhaps the deeper south.

Virginia House of Delegates Journals

The lack of decorum reported by these visitors to the General Assembly is supported by evidence in the House Journals kept by the Clerk of the House of Delegates. These journals track the proceedings, hearings/passage of bills, attendance, and state accounts and payments. An example of the relaxed attitudes is found on May 28, 1781. After the opening day of the 1781 Session was delayed on account of lack of quorum, the newly elected speaker, Benjamin Harrison makes a speech to the Delegates.

> "I am sorry to have it in my power to say, that I have late observed the known and established rules of the House broken through, on many occasions, and that such deviations have ever been attended with great delay in business and other bad consequences; it will be my duty to inform you, if you should be at a loss in future, what those rules are, and I have my hopes that they will not be violated but in cases of absolute necessity, arising from the difference betwixt our present and former government."[16]

This uncommon transcription of a speech made by the speaker highlights the problems that the House leadership was experiencing with its members. The "great delay in business" Harrison mentions is traceable within subsequent journals kept by the House for annual sessions. According to the House Journals, it was common in the 1780s for there to be a discrepancy in the scheduled starting day of session, and the day on which business was able to start. Convening required a quorum, or a presence of a majority of elected members present, to conduct the business of the House. Nearly every opening week of session during this period saw several days without a quorum. The issue of a lack of members to form a quorum was often resolved by the Sergeant at Arms. The main role of the Sergeant at Arms is to establish order in the House Chamber and maintain a quorum in the House to ensure business could be conducted efficiently. Historically, members were often described in the House Journal as "in custody" of the Sergeant at Arms when brought to the Capitol for session after an unexcused absence and were occasionally fined for missing session. These accounts by European travelers, when read in conjunction with the House Journals, create a scene of disorder and technical delays in the House "Chamber" during this time.

A contrasting point was made by local Richmonder, Samuel Mordecai. In a recollection of the turn of the 19th century Richmond in his book *Richmond In By-gone Days,* Mordecai primarily documents the people and places of early Richmond. When referencing legislators of

[16] House Journal 1781. page 9/744

the early 1780s in comparison to the mid-19th century, Mordecai claims, "It may be questioned whether, in that mere wooden barn, more high talent, more political wisdom, and more polished gentility, were not assembled, than have been since in the marred copy of a beautiful Grecian temple."[17] Since this was written from his memories of childhood, his claims were likely inherited from the opinions of the legislators. However, his claim still provides insight into local opinions of not only the legislators but the newly built Capitol building. While some celebrated the new building, there remained those who dragged their feet about the move to Richmond.

Selection from: An act for the removal of the seat of government (June 18, 1779)

> "five persons to be called the directors of the public buildings, who, or any three of them shall have power to make choice of such squares of ground, situate as before directed, as shall be most proper and convenient for the said public purposes, to agree on plans for the said buildings, to employ proper workmen to erect the same, to superintend them, to procure necessary materials by themselves or by the board of trade, and to draw on the treasurer of this commonwealth, from time to time, for such sums of money as shall be wanting; the plans and estimates of which shall be submitted to the two houses of assembly whensoever called for by their joint vote, and shall be subjected to their control."

The Directors of Public Buildings

The act for the removal of the seat of government established a board of directors to superintend the building and the site during its construction. The directors of public buildings oversaw nearly every aspect of the new construction in Capitol Square; specifically entering contracts with craftsmen and individuals on the behalf of the state to complete work and perform repairs on the Capitol. The Directors were a group of wealthy and connected Virginians, as highlighted in Figure 2 which tracks membership of the Directors of Public Buildings during the early phase of planning and construction.

In a 1785 letter from James Buchanan and William Hay, representatives of the Directors of Public Buildings, to James Madison, there is clear worry about expediting the project. Unnamed dissenters within the General Assembly or upper classes of Virginia either began or

[17] Mordecai, "Modern Antiquities," 40-41.

continued to express discontent with moving the capital from Williamsburg to Richmond. In March of 1785, Buchanan and Hay alerted Madison that they had selected the lots which to build on and had contracted with Edward Voss for laying the brick foundation of the Capitol, which would begin in August of the same year.[18] The most interesting aspect of the letter is the anxious tone in which the two directors explain the expedition of the construction on Capitol Square.

Buchanan and Hay write, "This circumstance renders us anxious for the expedition in fixing the plans, especially too as the foundation of the Capitol will silence the enemies of Richmond in the next October Session."[19] Anxiety at the core of a construction project is not an ideal environment. It is unclear who the "enemies of Richmond," are or why they desired an alternate capital city. Likely, Delegates either wanted the capital closer to their district or established citizens sought to move the capital back to Williamsburg after the war was over. Since the leadership was attempting to quicken the pace of the project to maintain and consolidate and maintain political power, it is worth questioning what else in the initial construction phases were determined with strong consideration to political power, connections, or personal relationships.

[18] Virginia. Capitol Square Data, Records. Box 1: folder 1.

[19] Duke, Maurice and Jordan. *A Richmond Reader, 1733-1983*. 18-19.

Place

Selection from: An act for the removal of the seat of government (June 18, 1779)

"That six whole squares of ground surrounded each of them by four streets, and containing all the ground within such streets, situate in the said town of Richmond, and on an open and airy part thereof, shall be appropriated to the use and purpose of publick buildings: On one of the said squares shall be erected, one house for the use of the general assembly, to be called the capitol, which said capitol shall contain two apartments for the use of the senate and their clerk, two others for the use of the house of delegates and their clerk, and others for the purposes of conferences, committees and a lobby… On one other of the said squares shall be erected, another building to be called the halls of justice… and on the same square last mentioned shall be built a publick jail: One other of the said squares shall be reserved for the purpose of building thereon hereafter, a house for the several executive boards and offices to be held in: Two others with the intervening street, shall be reserved for the use of the governour of this commonwealth for the time being, and the remaining square shall be appropriated to the use of the publick market."

The earliest documented European developments along the falls of the James River are recorded in the first decade of the 18th century. Along the James River, William Byrd II established a tobacco plantation as early as 1709, opened a warehouse in 1730, and laid out city plans in 1737.[20] The land remained in the Byrd family until 1768; in an attempt to recoup debts, William Byrd III initiated a lottery for several hundred lots in Richmond.[21] This sudden division of ownership did not develop the town immediately, as many lots lay unclaimed until the decision to move the Capital from Williamsburg to Richmond in 1779.[22] This decision led to many civil cases over land ownership in early Richmond. These western lots, away from the existing developments on Church Hill, would form Capitol Square nearly a decade later.

Capitol Square in Richmond was initiated by the passage of the act for the removal of the seat of government in June 1779. Only a week after the passage, the committee, laid out in the

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[20] Worsham. "William Byrd's Early Settlement at Shockoes"

[21] *Lottery Ticket No. 5099*, circa 1768, Issued by William Byrd III, Printed possibly in Williamsburg, Virginia, X.47.53, Valentine Museum Richmond Virginia https://thevalentine.org/rva50-object-2-lottery-ticket-no-5099-circa-1768/)

[22] Worsham. "William Byrd's Early Settlement at Shockoes"

act, to superintend the project of constructing state public buildings in Richmond, was established with its founding members. Thus begins the complex, illusive process of selecting a site from the town of Richmond and the surrounding environs. By late spring 1780, Jefferson provided a map (Figure 3) locating Capitol Square on Shockoe Hill. Shockoe Hill is located west of the former core of Richmond, Church Hill. This selection of the desired land in the west was not immediately acted upon by the Directors of Public Buildings. The following year, the first writ of Ad Quod Damnum[23] was issued to John Ligon and Zachariah Rowland for lot 357, compensating them for their property. Land acquisition then halts for three years until 1784.

The reason for the pause in land acquisition is unknown. 1781 through 1784 remains a period of site planning that could have resulted in the pause of land acquisition. The designer and Directors of Public Buildings were still deciding whether to design Capitol Square in the colonial style or in a new inventive layout. Colonial style government buildings are single buildings, in which all branches and major offices conduct business under the same roof, like the Capitol in Williamsburg, Virginia. This method is conservative in land and material usage. Alternatively, the evolved form of government buildings recommended separate buildings for the different branches. These plans include a legislative building, a court building, and other structures for large offices within the government. This type of plan, initially proposed by Jefferson, is much more land and materials intensive. The square footage necessary to complete a government complex versus a single building was likely not fully known in 1781, which also explains the pause in purchasing lots. In April 1784, the writs of Ad Quod Damnum were issued to the lot owners of the central lots, and the brick foundations and cornerstone were laid a year later.

[23] 'according to the harm', issuing of compensation for property seized by the government.

Figure 4 identifies the lots, owners, amount paid by the state, the date of issue for the Ad Quod Damnum, and if applicable, their connections to Jefferson. Arranging the names in ascending order of the amount paid by the state raises questions regarding the lot selections. Could the lot owners' personal connections with Jefferson or the Directors of Public Buildings impact the selection of these lots to create Capitol Square?

Current scholars do not question the placement of Capitol Square within Richmond. There is rarely deep investigation into why the site is located at the present location. According to letters, Jefferson had this general area of *mostly* undeveloped land on his mind since the early stages of this project.[24] A 20th century news article claims that a local Richmonder living in Church Hill, Richard Adams was infuriated by the fact that "his friend Thomas Jefferson had "strongly intimated that the State Capitol would be established in the vicinity of his home."[19] This claim implies that the selection process for Capitol Square was either much more fluid until closer to the start of construction or more influenced by relationships than current scholars are willing to admit. The change from a complex of government buildings to single building later in the project also likely influenced the amount of land purchased.

While much of the ownership of Shockoe Hill was determined through the 1768 lottery, most of the land acquired to become Capitol Square remained unimproved, except for several lots owned by the same individual. James Gunn was a local farmer who had acquired several lots during or shortly after the 1768 lottery process. He built two dwellings on lots 391 and 404,[20] and remained the head of household, in the dwelling on lot 404, until his death in 1775.[25]

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[24] Kimball. "Jefferson and the Public Buildings of Virginia" 305.
[19] Palmer. "Imagine Richmond Without Historic "Capitol Square."'
[20] Virginia. Capitol Square Data, Records. box 7: folder 11.
[25] Gunn. The Gunns. 77-78.
[22] ibid

His young son, John Gunn, inherited the property and homes upon his death. Due to Gunn's young age and inheritance of a valuable estate, his father had named James Buchanan to be Gunn's guardian upon his death in 1775.[22] Not only was Buchanan a prominent Virginia merchant, he was also a founding member of the Directors of Public Buildings. Buchanan's role within the government, places him in the meetings and conversations that locate and finalize the selection of the Capitol Square lots, knowing there is significant money to be made if he liquidates his young ward's assets. In 1784, the lots and buildings owned by John Gunn were condemned by the state for over 1200 pounds.[26] It is unknown if Buchanan influenced Jefferson's opinion on the site location. However, it is worth questioning if the other lot owners maintained relationships with those in power or responsible for finalizing the lots for the site of the new Capitol.

These personal or professional connections the lot owners maintained with Jefferson or the original Directors of Public Buildings call into question the widely held belief that the selection of lots was made purely by location within the city or made without consideration of the monetary and social impact of the lot owners. I believe the primary reason for the selection of Capitol Square lots on Shockoe Hill was the ownership of a consolidated block of four lots by John Gunn, whose guardian, Buchanan, had extremely close ties to the project. The ownership and influence of the guardian made the block of central lots easier to acquire while simultaneously removing unwanted domestic structures from an otherwise undeveloped section of land. This availability of the land made this specific area on Shockoe Hill in Richmond the ideal site to develop Capitol Square.

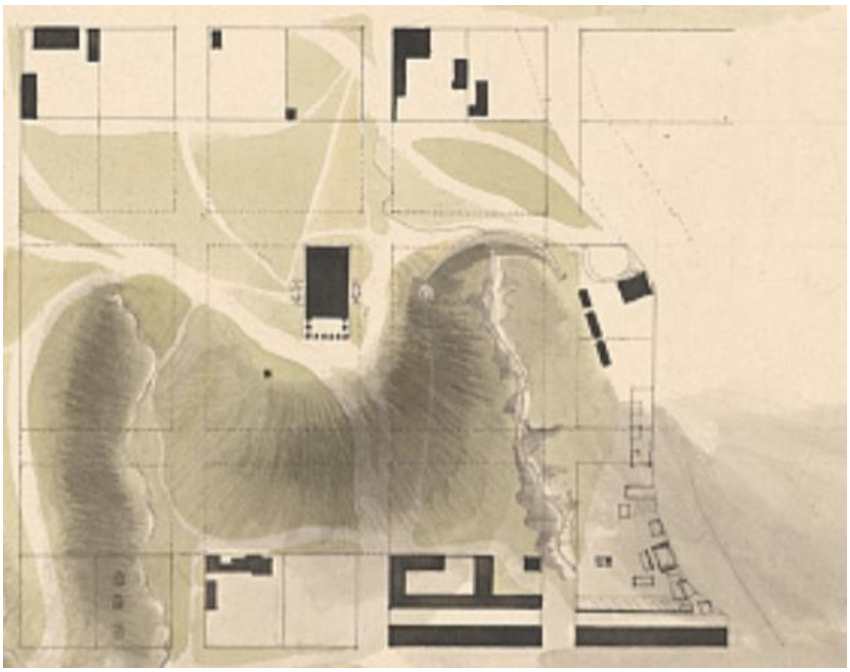
[26] Capitol Square Data and Records. box 7: folder 11.

Contextualizing the places and people involved in this bold move of the Virginia government is crucial to extensive study. The impacts of the early activity within Capitol Square reach much further than the 19th-century iron gate enclosing the grounds. Past scholars have not considered that the location of the Capitol shifted the heart of the city significantly westward. What was previously considered the east end became the far east end. The move west and north is noteworthy for the long-term trajectory of the city and should not be underestimated as a topic of future research. There is also compelling evidence that relationships with those in decision-making positions impacted the process, leading to the selection and ultimate purchase of the Capitol Square lots in 1784. Personal and professional ties influenced the site, which directs me to think about who is selected by the Directors of Public Buildings to create Jefferson's envisioned designs.

A PROLOGUE to WORKERS

Attending the Capitol project since the laying of the construction, Samuel Dobie was the primary contractor and manager for the project. Communicating with Thomas Jefferson and the directors of public buildings, Dobie measured work and wrote payments done in Capitol Square. The summer and fall of 1788 were particularly busy times for the project. Structural exterior work had been completed and interior work was in full swing ahead of the meeting of the General Assembly Session in late October.

Mr. Dobie walked to the site from his home on 6th and F (modern-day Franklin) streets. Walking eastward towards the Capitol into the morning sun, Dobie approached the emerging building with a sense of protection and purpose which occasionally bordered obsession. Known to openly critique the work done by contracted teams of local workmen, Dobie greeted young apprentices more often with questions about the work to be done for the day than with pleasantries.



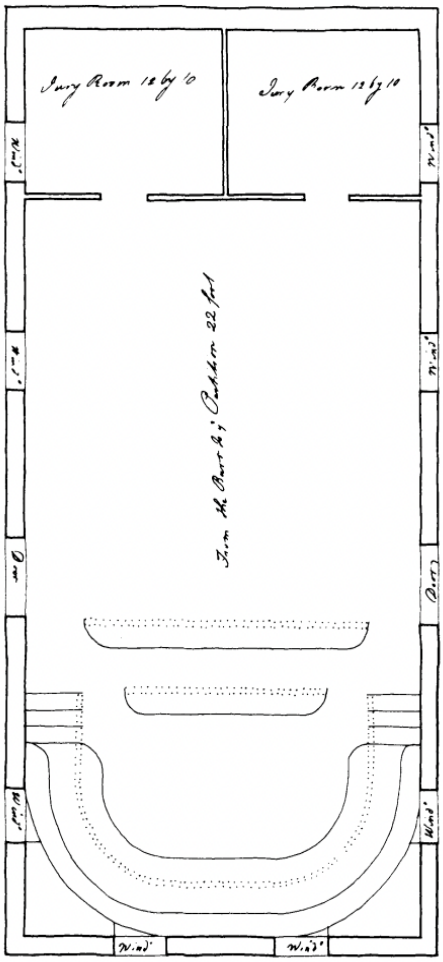


Fig. 9. Plan for Amelia County Courthouse, 1767. (Amelia County Clerk's Office, redrawn by Doug Taylor, Colonial Williamsburg)

Many contractors, apprentices, and groups of enslaved workmen were on site throughout the day, carrying out their assigned tasks in preparation for the General Assembly meeting in their new chambers in October. In the morning, various teams were working in the interior of the Capitol. Clotworthy Stephenson's group of workmen were painting the Hall of Delegates its 3rd and final coat of lead white paint, leaving just enough time for the material to dry before the furniture and staff moved items into the chamber. Meanwhile, Stephenson's associate John Hart had a workman fixing a broken newel post in the general courtroom.

The story around the site was that the post had broken during the installation of the long semicircular judge bench after a particularly clumsy carpenter rammed the two wooden implements together. I only heard the story, but Hart's workmen always installed balustrades and posts last in a room after this instance.

Through an unglazed window, York, an enslaved man owned by Joseph Kay, called to a friend working on the ground floor of the Capitol, asking if anyone had seen Mr. Dobie. A wagon had arrived hauling scantling, prepared at Mr. Southgate's shop. Word made its way up to

the small desk that Dobie had set up in the central dome room. This “office” was requested when most of the work had moved indoors, maximizing the ability to surveil projects. Dobie sent down his apprentice, not yet 16 years old, to assess the material delivered and record it so it could be paid for later.

In the afternoon, Apprentices might return to their workshop or attend other assignments for their master's. Masters and contractors might spend the afternoon at the nearby Swan Tavern and engage in drink and debate with the small crowd of legislators in town for a meeting, disclosing more information than Dobie would have appreciated regarding the unfinished project. Leased enslaved workers and apprentices often found a few minutes to rest under a tree or in a temporary work shed while their employer was distracted in the afternoon.

By mid-afternoon, scaffolding was raised to complete the exterior stuccoing. At the base of the building, workmen were mixing up plaster for exterior stucco work. Atop the scaffolding, a man was coating the brick with the mixture which was brought up by pulley. The east side of capitol square housed temporary work sheds and the associated many piles of wood and supplies. Fortune, a free black resident of Richmond, was known for completing odd jobs in the city. Dobie requested that a path be cleared to tidy the yard and clear a path to the entrances before the site was populated with Assemblymen and state officials. Stacking and organizing the recently delivered sweet gum and poplar planks, making sure to clear the crunchy pale brown oak leaves that had just begun to fall. Dobie paid him in cash and told him he would see him soon, hinting at future employment on the site.

After paying Fortune, Dobie continued to observe and measure the completed work. Having his apprentice write down the information that he would later approve by copying the records in his hand into the account books to serve as a report to the directors. A small group of directors arrived on the site late in the afternoon. Observing workmen and the progress made since their last visit to the site, they informally met with Dobie to discuss and approve last-

minute work to be completed before the end of the month. Dobie could have continued to discuss the project until the remainder of the dwindling crew of workers had gone home, but the directors insisted he had them for dinner and pried him away from the site.

After the departure of the work crews, young apprentices, and the bustle of mid-day deliveries, the worksite quieted. The silence was disrupted only by a newly hung door creaking on its handwrought HL hinge, the timber staircase settling, and a windowpane rattling in the autumn wind after not being properly sealed. Even without the presence of the workers, the building remained alive with the sounds of the work completed and left to do.

Chapter 2: Identifying the Workforce of the Capitol Project, 1785-1800

The project on Capitol Square, beginning in the mid-1780s was a distinctly 18th-century construction project which employed a diverse array of craftsmen and well-connected individuals. Most of the craftsmen contracted by the state entered into bonds with apprentices ranging from 10 to 21 years old. All aspects of the construction, from the brick foundation to the lead roof, were supported by enslaved labor. The work of enslaved workers and apprentices was not often recorded with the same intent as the white craftsmen through the receipts and accounts in the Library of Virginia collection. Through researching primary and secondary sources, this chapter seeks to identify the names and connections of the enslaved, free, and apprenticed individuals working on Capitol Square.

The laws surrounding labor allowed for the apprenticeship of children as young as 10, enslavement, and leasing of enslaved workers, but also the employment of free black workers with little oversight from the government. These types of labor and employment appeared on Capitol Square and can be seen through the primary source documents. The turn of the 19th century changed laws surrounding apprenticeships and the expansion of convict labor and convict leasing. Stories of young apprentices, enslaved workers, and free black craftsmen become apparent through the primary sources used in this research. The research aims to compile these names into a document to highlight the stories, skills, and work these unrecorded workers provided to Capitol Square.

Workers Supporting the Capitol During Initial Construction

When researching relationships and connections, it is essential to identify the hierarchy within the landscape of study. The highest decision-making body for the construction of the Capitol was the Governor and General Assembly. Following closely behind was an appointed

group called the Directors of Public Buildings. Appointed by the General Assembly but unaffected by a government leadership change. The designation of nonpolitical individuals shielded the directors from abject partisanship and excessive turnover due to reelections. The directors served as a supervisory group, maintaining the accounts, and hired the primary superintendent for the site, Samuel Dobie. Dobie served as a primary superintendent for the site from the beginning to the end of construction. Most of the accounts and records are written by Dobie, a housewright by trade, who would accurately dictate the work completed and pay accordingly.

The group below Dobie were the master craftsmen, who were paid directly by the Directors of Public Buildings. Although many of the craftsmen seemed to know their place within the hierarchy, some craftsmen would keep their own accounts and submit them to Dobie for payment. In the tumultuous case of the roof, craftsmen would write complaints or disagreements with the Directors, ultimately resolving the problems with both the craftsmanship and the craftsmen, likely with a few tense meetings.

Searches in the MESDA Craftsman Database have resulted in the discovery of many apprentices associated with the contracted craftsmen during construction. Often young teenage boys, laws allowed the county to apprentice out the poor or orphaned children in Virginia. After the American Revolution, there was quite possibly an influx of eligible children for apprenticeships in Virginia.

Enslaved black craftsmen and workers were either enslaved by master craftsmen or took part in the early examples of the slave leasing system. When factories, warehouses, and major labor-intensive construction projects began to emerge in the early American city, slaveholders from the surrounding counties would hire out enslaved men to contractors in the city as a form

of income. This complex power dynamic was new and in the very early stages in Richmond during the initial construction of the Capitol.

Involvement of Women

The Journals of the Virginia House of Delegates are used to record legislative actions during the meetings of the House. These actions included the voting on certain allowances to staff at the end of each General Assembly session. Staff included chaplains, clerks, doorkeepers, and individuals responsible for cleaning or "keeping" the Capitol. The House journals record cleaners and caretakers mostly during the 1780s. Only Elizabeth Jones, Zenas Tate, Mr. Waddill, and Ann Williams are recorded to have been paid by the legislature from 1782 through 1789 to care for the legislative buildings in Richmond during the 1780s. (Figure 6) During the 1790s, individuals were appointed by the executive branch to care for the governor's house and to oversee the maintenance of Capitol grounds. A free black Richmonder, Robert Cowley, was appointed as the keeper of the Capitol from 1795 through the early 19th century.[27] Records show his influence and presence during construction and management of renovations to the Governor's house, which point to the similar influence of the few women involved in the 1780s.

The contribution of women in the construction, maintenance, and materials used in Capitol Square have been ignored or overlooked by past scholars. Elizabeth Jones is the first recorded individual to have been paid for the care of a legislative building in Richmond.[28] She worked at the "Assembly House" or the warehouse on 14th street, where the legislature met for roughly a decade, during the construction of the Capitol. (Figure 7) Jones was never recorded as a caretaker of the new Capitol. With no identifying information other than her name, it is

[27] Edwards, "Robert Cowley: Living Free During Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Richmond, Virginia." p. 41
[28] House of Delegates Journals, 1781-86

difficult to identify her race, age, or personal background. How often she was present at the Assembly House, if she had assistance, and the level of cleaning she was responsible for is also unclear. After the move to Capitol Square, Ann Williams was paid for the cleaning of the new Capitol building during session in 1789.[29] (Figure 6) The same questions of work responsibilities as well as personal background for Elizabeth Jones also apply to Ann Williams and will likely remain unknown.

Unwritten information about these women can be deciphered from the House Journal records. The payments for cleaning remain stable across time, gender, and location. This means the amount of compensation does not change between the women and men employed in a similar position, regardless of if they worked at the 14th street Assembly House or the new Capitol. This implies that the same class of people are working these positions, or the work positions maintain similar or equal levels of responsibilities. Additionally, the agreement from the House of Delegates to cleaners like Elizabeth Jones and Ann Williams are printed on the same page as the highest-ranking legislative officers like the Clerks of the House and Senate. (Figure 8) However, the salaries of legislative staff are not listed in descending monetary order, but rather account for the social hierarchy. Generally, the list is in order of who is paid the highest, typically per week. The exception to this monetary hierarchy is the chaplain hired by the General Assembly. Listed first, even though he is not the highest paid employee. Ann Williams, Elizabeth Jones, and individuals listed as Keeper of the Capitol; all occur at the bottom of this list. Even though they are doing essential work, they fall to the bottom of the monetary and social hierarchy.

As is often the case, there is more surviving information about the men working in these roles than women. Zenas Tate died in 1805, a man of many jobs in Richmond, a slave owner, a

[29] House Journals 1786-90

constable, and tasked with "the keeping of the public buildings" in Richmond. Mr. Waddill is a slightly less traceable individual. Only recorded as cleaning the Capitol in 1788, the only Waddill I have found to be living in Richmond at the time was William, the first master of the Richmond Masonic Lodge #19.[30] The same year we worked at the Capitol was also for the inaugural session in the new building that could have played a part in his hiring.

These women were crucial to the legislature during the 1780s and were likely known or visible to members, officials, and those in charge of construction of the new building. Ann Williams was likely very aware of the construction, constantly having to work around it or clean up after it during the legislative session of 1789. I include these women to prove the underreported fact that women were present in the maintenance and development of the Virginia Capitol in Richmond. Secondly, it is completely believable that these individuals would have coordinated with Samuel Dobie and other craftsmen and been aware of the construction timeline. They likely served as a buffer between the legislature during session and ongoing construction, making them just as valuable to the story as other workers on Capitol Square. These small pieces of information not only bring women into the scene of early Virginia government, but also show that women worked within building projects likely coordinating with craftsmen and superintendents.

Labor and Materials Coordinators

During early construction, several individuals were integral to sourcing labor, materials, and coordinating tasks on the site. Samuel Dobie was selected by the Directors of Public Buildings during the most involved phases of construction to oversee the site, measure completed work, and coordinate payments. Dabney Minor was significant in sourcing labor and

[30] Rady, Charles. Historical Sketch of The Masons' Hall 1888. iii

materials for the site. Similarly, to Minor, William Hay mainly sourced materials in addition to workers.

As early as 1787, the Directors of Public Buildings employed Dabney Minor to source workers and occasionally materials for the Capitol project. Minor maintained an extensive account with the directors and handled hundreds of transactions during his involvement with construction and labor. Dabney is likely utilizing his own enslaved workforce, coordinating labor arrangements with other slave owners, and purchasing materials from individuals around central Virginia.

Conflicting with his stance as a slave owner, Minor pays multiple free black workers in central Virginia. In August of 1790, Minor coordinated the payment of Zach Valentine, a free black carpenter, for 10,800 shingles for the roof of the capitol.[31] Zachariah Valentine is native to Lunenburg County but appears in Henrico County records for a short time in the late 1780s, paying off a free African American man's debt[32] Valentine moves to his native county and appears in tax and census records by the turn of the 19th century in Lunenburg County, Virginia.[33]

In 1788, Richard Spinner was paid for carting several loads of poles to Capitol Square. Poles were sent for after major exterior walls had been erected, meaning they would have been used for scaffolding or interior supports. The directors purchased the poles of varying sizes from Barrett Price, who, living in Goochland County, required an individual to transport the materials into the city. Spinner was born a slave in Amelia County, was emancipated in Mecklenburg,

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[31] Capitol Square Data and Records. Folder 1. Box 1 Folder 2

[32] https://www.freeafricanamericans.com/Scott_Skipper.htm Section 7:18:vi

[33] 1795 Lunenburg personal property tax https://www.freeafricanamericans.com/lunenburg.htm
1801-1803 Library of Virginia, Lunenburg County, Free Negro & Slave Records
https://www.freeafricanamericans.com/Lunenburgfree.htm
1810 Lunenburg Census https://www.freeafricanamericans.com/1810VAa.htm

County, and enlisted in the Continental Army where he engaged in tasks such as cutting wood, and more notably driving wagons.[34] Likely moving to Richmond after the war, Spinner later moves to Albemarle County by the 1830s and applies for a military pension in his old age.[35]

William Hay mainly sourced materials for the site, in addition to labor. Material sourcing tended to be more transparent than labor sourcing. Hay's invoices for materials listed the type and quantity of materials as well as who received the payment. This tracking process makes it easier for current researchers to identify the craftsmen he was purchasing from and continue research on that individual and their operations. Sourcing labor, especially leased enslaved workers is much less traceable. Payments went from Hay on behalf of the Directors of Public Buildings to wealthy Richmonder's like Richmond's first mayor, William Foushee and descendent of Richmond's founder, John Mayo. The payments would be for, "work done at the capitol", not listing specific dates, work completed, or who was employed on site. This lack of specificity and the prominence of the individual's being paid suggests the leasing of enslaved workers.

Laborers of African Descent

Fortune was a free African American man who was present on Capitol Square in the earliest and busier time of Capitol construction. In several instances, the absence of a surname and the non-capitalization of his first name indicates that he is of African descent. White workers in the accounts of the Directors of Public Buildings, are commonly addressed by first name or initial and last name, occasionally with a title preceding the name. Among the accounts and

[34] Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements & Rosters, Richard Spinner. http://revwarapps.org/s6140.pdf
[35] ibid

receipts to white craftsmen, Samuel Dobie requests that Fortune receives direct payment. (Figure 9) This is an essential detail of his story but does not guarantee his status as a free man. In my research, I have found no records of a Fortune working for or with any of the named craftsmen. However, there are several records of free black men in Richmond who share the same name.[36] In some instances, slave owners allowed their enslaved workers to find employment based on their skills, and in exchange for this leniency, the enslaved individual had to give most or all their earnings back to their owner.[37] From this limited information, it is unclear if Fortune is enslaved or free.

Contextualization of the payments is paramount in Fortune's case. On October 19, 1788, the General Assembly moved from the 14th street warehouse to the Capitol on Shockoe Hill. This year must have been a momentous occasion, with the construction site bustling with workers trying to prepare the building and Square for occupants. In October of the same year, Fortune received payment for "clearing rubbish out of the house and making paths in the yard."[38] This paid task confirms that the Capitol was still very much under construction when the legislators began to meet there. Materials and workmen's tools littered the yard so that clear paths had to be established for the legislators and statesmen who were likely unfamiliar with the site.

Black Enslaved Workers

Payments for the work completed by black laborers at the Capitol were organized and paid to overseers and slave owners. One example of these payments was to W. Elliot for a black man making mortar to plaster the outside of the Capitol in September 1788. (Figure 10) Elliot is

[36] Record of Fortune in Richmond
[37] Richardson. *Built by Blacks*. p. 29
[38] Capitol Square Data and Records. Box 1: Folder 1.

not recorded as being paid again in the Capitol Square data and records collection. This one-off payment by the Directors of Public Buildings could indicate that Elliot had leased these workers to the Directors of Public Buildings for the weeklong project of plastering outside the Capitol. The names and stories of these men are unknown. Without knowing the first name of W. Elliot, it becomes even more unlikely to trace the connections back to names. It is unclear who these men were or who selected them to work on this site. It was likely that the workers were under the supervision of the main plasterer Joseph Kay. Newspaper records from 1789 report Kay advertising a "runaway" enslaved worker named York.[39] Andrew Kay, Joseph Kay's brother, is also named in receipts of the Directors of Public Buildings to have sourced workmen for the project, making it even more likely that York could have been included in this group of men working on September 12, 1788.

The clearest indication of craftsmen maintaining an enslaved workforce who labored on their worksites is through tax records. Unfortunately, tax records survive unequally by year and location, resulting in an incomplete source to use across the white craftsmen. For example, Edward Voss and Samuel Dobie are two craftsmen who owned "tithable slaves" during construction at the Capitol.[40] In 1782 tax records, Samuel Dobie is recorded to own one tithable slave and two untithable slaves. In 1788 tax records, Edward Voss owned two tithable slaves.

Edward Voss was the contracted bricklayer with a brickyard in Fredericksburg, Virginia. 1794 Fredericksburg County Court records list him owning enslaved individuals named Frank, Orange, and Tom.[41] These three enslaved men likely worked in the Voss

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[39] Patrick. As Good as any Joiner in Virginia. p. 130

[40] In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginia, the term "tithable" referred to a person who paid (or for whom someone else paid) one of the taxes imposed by the General Assembly for the support of civil government in the colony (Definition by Library of Virginia)

[41] Fredericksburg County Historic Court Record. Ryburn vs Voss, 1794, CR-DC-L, 388-102.

brickyard in Fredericksburg.[42] Jobs might have included making bricks, stacking them for transport to the capitol or traveling to the capitol to transport the materials or to lay bricks. The most significant connections which can be drawn between enslavers and the enslaved craftsmen potentially on the site are through runaway advertisements in newspapers. (Figure 11) These advertisements provide physical descriptions of the craftsman and often the skill level or hints into their work. The most dehumanizing accounts amongst rewards for lost animals provide small bits of their humanity and skills as craftsmen. Figure 11 depicts the workers who escaped slavery from Dabney Minor and Edward Voss during the same time they were being paid by the directors of public building to complete and coordinate work in Capitol Square.

Apprentices

Most of the craftsmen working on Capitol Square employed apprentices. Requests for apprentices were often in newspapers. The craftsmen working at the Capitol advertised for men "recommended for their sobriety" or "young men from decent families."[43] Most apprentices in Richmond during the late 18th century were orphaned or poor. These apprentices were bound to their master craftsman for several years or until they reached a certain age. However, there is one individual who appears in research that indicates this is not always the case. In December of 1791, Shadrack New and his brother Joseph were bound in apprenticeship to Joseph Kay for six years.[44] Their eldest brother, Benjamin New had already been bound to Kay since March 1789. The orphaned brothers all appear to work with Kay until something odd happens in 1793. In March 1793, Shadrack appeared in the record as being bound to John Collins as a house joiner

[42] Marshall. The Vaulx Family of England, Virginia, and Maryland. p. 135.
[43] MESDA Craftsman Database. Craftsman ID: 6898.
[44] MESDA Craftsman Database. Craftsmen ID: 52022 (Joseph), 52021 (Shadrack), 50069 (Benjamin)

apprentice. This shows that apprentices did not always stay with the same master craftsmen for the duration of their apprenticeship.

New's shift in interest also gives insight into the daily workings of Capitol Square. John Collins, who took Shadrack on as an apprentice, worked on Capitol Square until at least mid1793. Collins likely met New on Capitol Square. Maybe Collins let New saw or plane a few boards or help out on a small project so New could gauge his interest in carpentry over his current plaster work tasks. George Winston was a contracted craftsman who had many apprentices. From the available records, nearly all were free black carpenters.[45] Several of Winston's apprentices are only recorded due to the court case lodged by the group of apprentices against Winston for misusage, which was ultimately dismissed.

Relationships between Craftsmen and Their Workers

> "And his own attendance and work for 31 days is of an additional charge … £13.99"
> The account of Mr. John Hart for 31 days works of 3 men making… going for Clark..
> (and an addition list of woodworking tasks for the payment of £32.11

Above are two lines on John Hart's account written by Samuel Dobie. An additional charge specifically for John Hart's time implies it was accepted practice for craftsmen to send workers or apprentices out to complete jobs. It could also insinuate a higher-level master craftsman whose attendance at the worksite resulted in an additional fee. In this case, the payment for the carpenter's attendance on the job site for 31 days and the payment for the work completed shows the separation between paying a craftsman for his work versus paying a craftsman for the outcome of the project as to the quality expected as it has been associated with his name even though apprenticed workers complete it.

[45] MESDA Craftsman Database. Craftsman ID: 44695.

The previously discussed newspaper advertisements taken out for run-away enslaved craftsmen do not just give a valuable biographical sketch of the craftsman but also show the relationships and connections the enslaved craftsman had outside of the direct community there was in as well as the relationship they had with their enslaver. Repeatedly taking out advertisements for the same individual several years in a row could indicate a less enforced set of rules by the enslaver.

Due to the lack of personal accounts concerning the relationships between the workers, craftsmen, and government officials, researchers must read between the lines of the more technical accounts that remain. However, the few words written, as well as the words unwritten, about the enslaved and apprenticed workers can paint the picture of the relationships that existed on the site.

Contracted craftsmen

These documents also paint the picture of negotiations, wages, and relationships between the General Assembly, Directors of Public Buildings, and the workers they are paying to complete the work. Which craftsmen and workers on site can negotiate, and which can not? Who has cultivated trust or has the right connections to the Directors or Jefferson himself to negotiate wages or extending projects? Early in the project, in 1788, Samuel Dobie, makes a proposal to the Directors to fix the Capitol roof.

July 19, 1788 Samuel Dobie proposal to the directors of the public buildings in Richmond.
"… The above terms are at least one third lefs less then the workmen in town have charged for thare ill don work of the same kind. there is no possibility of gitting this kind of work done as it should be or as I order without my constant attendance tharfore it is only for the good of the building and – because I have ordered it that I would chuse to under take it at so low a price"
With all due respect your obedient servant
Samuel Dobie

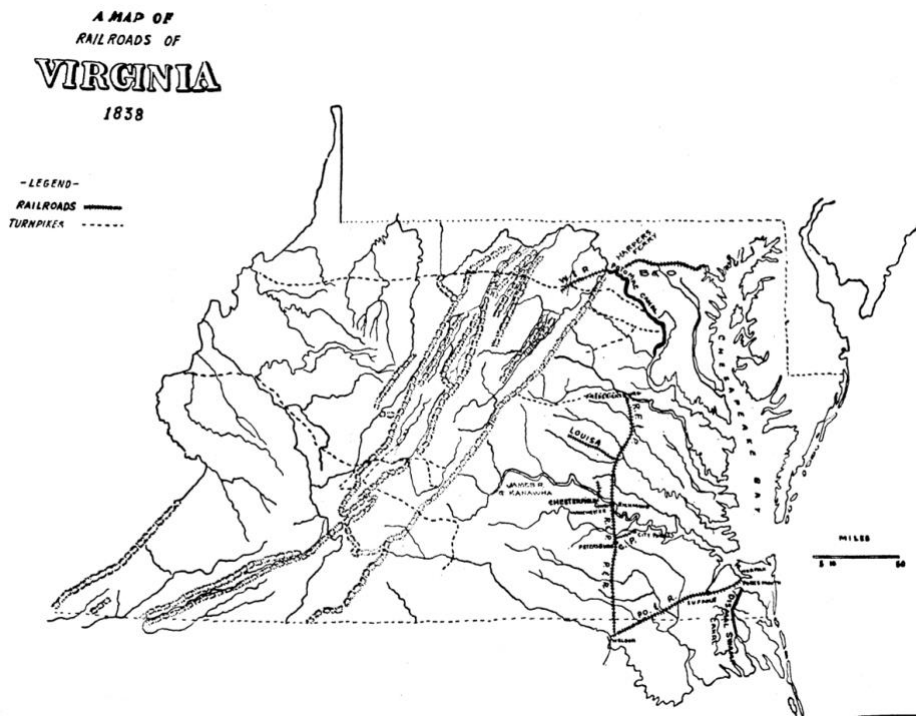
From this proposal, it is clear that Samuel Dobie is not happy with some of the work and associated prices occurring in Capitol Square. Dobie is in an elevated place within the Capitol

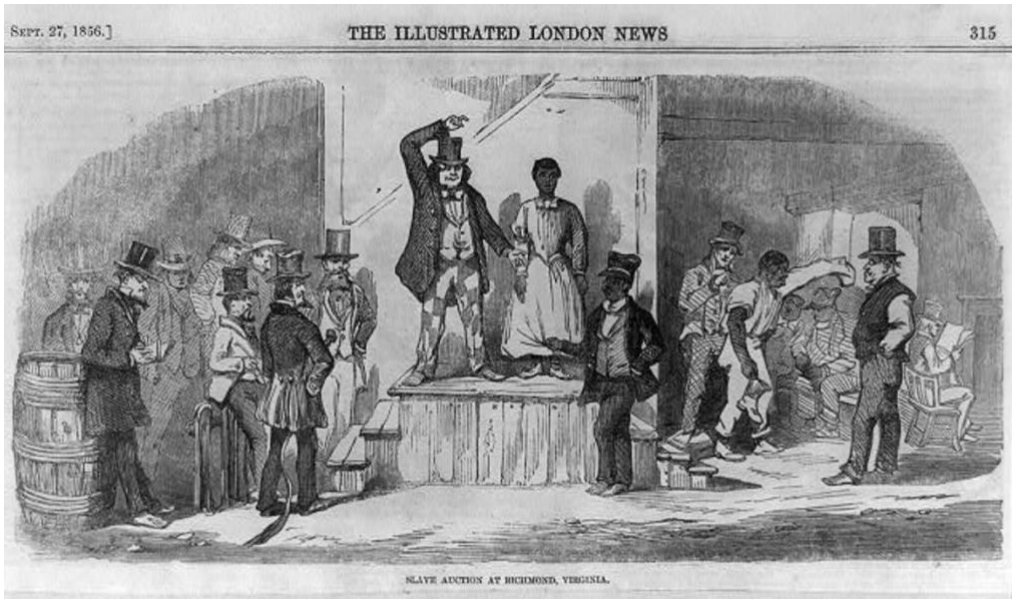
Square hierarchy to even formulate this type of claim or argument. Critiquing the completed work and offering a lower price to the Directors must have appealed to enough of them to have permitted Dobie to begin his work of constructing the new roof out of bricks. He has been working with the Directors of Public Buildings, writing payments, and measuring work completed on the square for at least three years, when he makes this written request. Several years after Dobie completes his work, the directors approve a different builder to repair the roof and cover it with lead, as Dobies work was already failing. This level of written judgment towards fellow craftsmen is not present in other surviving documents, and after several years proved to be unwarranted.

The workers on Capitol Square during early construction represent most if not all demographics from the state of Virginia. Employed free African American men, apprenticed orphans, enslaved workers from the Virginia countryside, abolitionist quakers, women, and immigrants from western Europe are all working in different capacities but are all interacting to complete the first state capitol built after the revolutionary war.

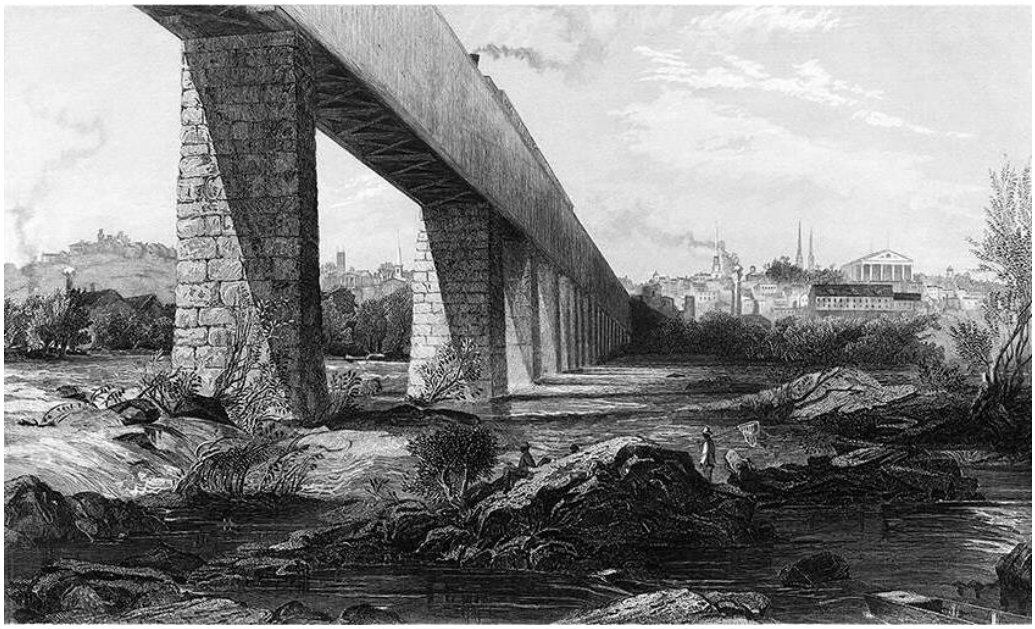
A PROLOGUE to DEVELOPMENT

Over 30 years, Richmond evolved from a sleepy inland port town with a few tobacco warehouses into a fully industrialized city. City development in Virginia at this expedited rate had not occurred since the capital moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg. The technological advancements of the 19th century began to overtake the city. The canal system in Richmond, opened in 1790, which was extended westward, however eventually was replaced with railroads, which could transport more goods than the small Bateaux boats on the Richmond canals.





As railroads expanded the capacity for goods to move in and out of Richmond, the ironworks and heavy industry along the river began leasing the enslaved population from surrounding counties at a much higher level than in the 18th century. In 1844, Lumpkin's Slave jail, or, “The Devil's Half Acre” opened, detaining individuals who had escaped slavery or were awaiting the next auction in Richmond. Laws and local codes began to pass in the mid-19th century, constricting the movements of enslaved and free black Richmonders.



Jefferson’s mission of state building in Richmond generally succeeded, while being paired with simultaneous developments in infrastructure, industry, and increasing control of enslaved and black residents of Richmond. These 19th century developments created an entirely different landscape than the transitional non developed years of the last 18th century.

Chapter 3: Urban and Labor Developments in Richmond from the 18th to 19th Centuries

The last quarter of the 18th century in Richmond was a transformative time. An influx of residents and building projects, as well as the transfer of the newly forming Virginia government, made the small town unrecognizable by the turn of the 19th century. The social hierarchy was established enough to allow for substantial deals to occur in the formation of the Richmond Capitol, yet still loose enough to allow for workers of different beliefs, social classes, and experiences to work on-site in a nearly unregulated manner. While their work was measured to the inch, their names were less important, often excluded from the record entirely.

This period of early state building in Richmond was strongly guided by Jefferson. Jefferson introduced the resolution of moving the Capital of Virginia from Williamsburg to Richmond. Jefferson intentionally planned for the new Capitol to be located outside of the colonial settlement of Richmond into a fairly undeveloped location, free of existing architecture which could have threatened to decentralize the architectural and political vision he was attempting to establish in his new capital. As more Virginians began to move westward, significant community structures were built, including the Mason's Hall. Built in 1787, the building followed a more traditional colonial style, mimicking the civic architecture in Williamsburg. (Figure 12) After the Capitol was built, Jefferson had successfully broken the mold of British colonial architecture when civic buildings began to be built in a Palladian style. In 1802, the Henrico County Courthouse was constructed in a temple style, matching Jefferson's Capitol Design. (Figure 13)

However, the conclusion of the Capitol project did not end the beneficial connections and mutually advantageous deals between friends, family, or colleagues for Jefferson. Jefferson continued his track record of hiring or involving his close circle in his projects. Benjamin

Latrobe met Thomas Jefferson in Richmond in the late 1790s and produced several watercolor paintings of the Capitol and Richmond. (Figure 14) After developing a friendship, Jefferson commissioned Latrobe to design the Virginia State Penitentiary and later the United States Capitol Building in Washington. Several craftsmen who worked on the Capitol in Richmond can be found in records for working on the new Governor's House, Virginia State Penitentiary, and the United States Capitol.

Materials

Technological advancements and early industrialization of construction materials moved the labor, which was previously completed on site, into a lumberyard or factory. This shift in material preparation almost certainly cut down on the need for as many workers on sites in the 19th century. This investigation is important to the Capitol project, as the site was one of the last major 18th century construction sites in the new American states. Though many of the advancements in materials did not occur until after the turn of the century, construction in Capitol Square was already experiencing the shift in construction methods and materials.

Impressively, the accounts and receipts from the Directors of Public Building do an outstanding job at recording the types of materials used to construct the Capitol. The accounts provide insight into the creation of materials, providing small hints as to the work done in workshops compared to the work done on site. I argue that the Virginia Capitol was one of the last major building sites which used 18th century methods of construction and material sourcing. Therefore, the discussion of craftsmen and labor must fundamentally include research about the materials and methods they purchased and used to construct the site.

The Capitol is a masonry building. The creation of bricks and masonry elements were not largely mechanized until the mid 19th century.[46] During the time of the Capitol project, bricks were very likely made entirely by the hands and feet of enslaved and apprenticed labor at a Brickyard in Fredericksburg, Virginia owned by the contracted brickmaker Edward Voss. Voss and his company were contracted to provide 400,000 bricks for the project.[47] More orders of bricks were made later in the project. The number of bricks could not have been made by hand in a single year in one brick kiln. In the 18th century, a productive crew could make 125,000 bricks by hand in a year.[48] Brickmaking became a more mechanized process in the 19th century, long after the Capitol foundation and walls were completed. This timeline means all of the bricks on site during initial construction were made by hand.

According to research conducted by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, bricks in the 18th century were often made on site, especially for a major construction process.[49] Most of the materials sourced for the Capitol project were delivered by horse drawn cart or boat. Since Fredericksburg is not connected to Richmond by water, the delivery of bricks by cart was unlikely and, if it did occur, was undocumented. The early domestic and warehouse buildings were timber frame structures. The presence of a brick kiln in the area would have been a limited venture. Understanding the requirements and skill sets of brickmakers and bricklayers is an important distinction. Brickmaking was considered an unskilled job, while bricklaying was a much more precision based role on a site. Bricklaying would have seen a significant number of apprenticed or trained workers working in that role.

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[46] Gurcke, Karl. *Bricks and Brickmaking: A Handbook for Historical Archaeology*.

[47] Virginia. Capitol Square Data and Records Box 1, Folder 1

[48] Crews, Ed. "Making, Baking, and Laying Bricks,"

[49] ibid

Although the Capitol is a masonry building, the interior was finished with wood. Documentation in accounts show measurements for wood balusters, carvings and decorative moldings, flooring, doors, and near the end of the project, wooden furniture. Many orders were placed over the decade of construction. Receipts for flooring, planks, and occasionally timbers were documented to have come from several different sources of unknown origin. The timber and planks likely came from individuals living in the surrounding counties of Richmond, as lumber yards were nearly nonexistent in the late 18th century. There was a sawmill located in the Richmond area as early as 1770, making it likely that wood purchased by the state was processed at the local sawmill. While sawmills were present around the Richmond area, lumber yards did not open in significant numbers until the early 19th century. Lumber delivered to the construction site included sweet gum, oak, pine, and poplar.[50]

This wood had to be fastened with nails and metalwork. Throughout construction, the directors purchased metal hinges, straps, and nails from several different blacksmiths of unknown locations. Primarily, the purchases included nails. While they did not always specify the types of nails, a modern architectural historian might be able to identify them without even seeing them today, due to the time of construction and location of purchasing. In the late 18th century, it was common for nails to be made with a mix of handmade and simple machinery.[51] It was only until the second decade of the 19th century when nail cutting machines became the primary source for nail making. While still requiring individuals to work these machines, they required significantly less human power than cutting and forming a nail from uncut stock. Labor

[50] Virginia. Capitol Square Data and Records Box 1: Folder 1

[51] American Association for State and Local History Technical Leaflet 48

in blacksmithing shops in Richmond during this time was likely a division of apprenticed and enslaved labor.

Impacts of Transportation on Labor Economies in Richmond

Mass production of items like nails and some wood implements resulted in the shipment of products from further away and were not necessarily made locally. Railroads and increased transportation pathways like canals and road systems only contribute to the availability of nonlocal materials. The shift from entirely handmade buildings to using purchased building elements for assembly on site had direct impacts on the labor needs of 19th century construction sites compared to the previous century.

Changes in labor sourcing in Richmond after 1800

The Capitol was sourcing labor from a variety of sources, leasing from slave owners, hiring local free people, and sourcing materials from a variety of vendors. Accessing labor and materials became more streamlined as the 19th century progressed. Advertisements in the Virginia Gazette for brickyards, sawmills, and lumber yards appear by the mid 1810s. Once the Virginia State Penitentiary had been constructed in 1800, the practice of convict labor exploded in Richmond. Penitentiary stores in the city sold goods which were crafted by inmates. (Figure 15) By 1808, the penitentiary maintained a nailery, carpenters' shop, and leatherworking shop, selling items at the local Penitentiary store in Richmond.[52] This available source of labor caused stricter laws which increased arrests, targeting poorer citizens.

The increase of streamlined labor sources, meaning larger numbers of workers are sourced from the same individual or group, resulted in a more significant number of documents

[52] *The Enquirer*. (Richmond, Va.), 15 March 1808.

recording enslaved and labor populations on construction sites. One example of this development in construction record keeping is the list of laborers and craftspeople who assisted in the construction of the North Carolina Capitol in 1834.[53] A list was created by the commissioners appointed to superintend the rebuilding of the State Capitol after the fire of 1831 documenting all the workers who labored on site, divided by type of work. (Figure 16) These concise documents not only lists first and last names for every individual working on site during this period, but also records wages to be paid per day and if the worker was enslaved. While the records of enslaved workers do not directly spell out ownership, surnames give insight into which family the enslaved person was being leased from. When comparing the Richmond site to the site at Raleigh, one could conclude that the record keeper in North Carolina was simply more detailed. However, when reading Dobie's accounts and records, that theory is quickly disproven. Dobie measured work meticulously on site, from the exact number of balusters to the coat of paint covering a wall. This "under communicating" of the names of the enslaved in Richmond during the 1780s and 1790s is not done out of negligence, but due to the lack of concern for monitoring enslaved individuals' movements as strictly as after the turn of the 19th century.

A key component to the shift of overseers and superintendents increasing control, through recording and surveillance, was in response to rebellions and revolts of enslaved people throughout the Atlantic world. Unusually, Richmond was home to one of the earliest rebellion plots in post-colonial American history. Gabriel's Conspiracy was a plot by enslaved black men whose goal was to end slavery in Virginia by attacking the Capitol in Richmond.[54] Nearly 70

[53] Report of the commissioners appointed to superintend the re-building of the State Capitol https://digital.ncdcr.gov/digital/collection/p249901coll26/id/3502
[54] Nicholls, Michael. Gabriel's Conspiracy (1800). (2023, February 07). In *Encyclopedia Virginia.* https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/gabriels-conspiracy-1800.

enslaved men were arrested, dozens received the death penalty and others were sold outside of Virginia. Among those questioned was Robert Cowley, the keeper of the Capitol. He was accused of intending on unlocking the store of weapons when the rebellion reached Capitol Square.[55] He was questioned and eventually found not guilty and released. This rebellion conspiracy and the sequential plots and rebellions resulted in legislation to mitigate risk. Richmond established a city guard and moved the state supply of weapons into the city limits in 1801.[56] Slave codes, or a set of laws that sought to limit an enslaved person's movement around the urban landscape, were also established throughout the south. This increase of control of the lives and movement of enslaved people likely contributed to the level of detail seen in 19th century records as compared to 18th century records. The "golden age" as Catherine Bishir describes the period of economic success and ability to cross racial boundaries in New Bern, North Carolina, which similarly to many African Americans' experiences in Richmond, was cut short in the early 19th century due to fear of uprising.

This transitional period at the turn of the 19th century is highlighted in the Capitol Project through its materials, sources of labor, and recordkeeping. Technological advancements and increasing control of enslaved workers also highlight the uniqueness of the 18th century construction site on Capitol Square. The freedoms many free and enslaved workers were afforded were through the relative ability to thrive economically and in a trade regardless of race in the early urban landscapes.

[55] Edwards, "Robert Cowley: Living Free During Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Richmond, Virginia." pg.21
[56] "An ACT to establish a guard in the city of Richmond" (1801) https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/an-act-to-establish-a-guard-in-the-city-of-richmond-1801/

Conclusion

The influence of well-connected craftsmen, lot owners, and Thomas Jefferson shaped the scenes of construction at Virginia's Capitol Square. Scholars and historians have shrugged off the location of Capitol Square as merely coincidental. Shockoe Hill was not an open plot of land within the new city of Richmond; there were residents and structures. When looking at the site through the personal connections in Richmond, the relationships between the landowners and the Directors of Public Buildings and Jefferson become hard to ignore. The formation of Capitol Square was only the precursor to the connections of craftsmen, which would solidify employment at not only the Virginia Capitol but more major government projects in Richmond and Washington, D.C.

The document of craftsmen's names illuminates the stories and work completed by individuals who were either not free or had limited freedom within Richmond society. Like many institutions that attempt to research the unrecognized population of enslaved workers and free black craftsmen, a complete list is never possible. Hundreds more individuals were instrumental in the construction of the Capitol than are reflected in this study and document.

The turn of the 19th century brought significant change to the economy of materials and labor in Virginia. This shift in operations occurring after the construction of the Capitol requires scholars to view the site as one of 18th-century construction. Historians have ignored the history of construction at the Capitol because of the murky timeline of materials and labor practices. This ignorance of this topic due to a lack of interest or complicated research is understandable. However, uncovering the entire context of a site and its labor practices should be a goal for a well-researched site such as Capitol Square.

The 18th century documents in the Capitol Square Data and Records collection at the Library of Virginia employ a simple and repetitive structure making the collection easily understandable once given time to transcribe the script writing of old documents. These original 18th century documents deserve to be digitized and transcribed. With the way the collection is currently organized, it is so difficult to establish a timeline and keep information chronological. Due to the collections' wide range of sizes, it is rare to be looking at single items at a time. This disorganization makes establishing an order in which future researchers can use to find the identical document referenced within the folder difficult without time consuming research.

The fragility of the old documents is concerning. The nearly 230-year-old documents have begun to degrade and flake along the edges. Some letters have already torn along the crease lines. Many of the authors cited, who discuss the Capitol directly, have also conducted primary research with the same documents. The collection is also not available on microfilm. While it would be a significant undertaking, the interest in this specific collection is not subsiding, and within the 18th century documents exist some unique items which could be attractive to scholars researching historic account books, trades, or Virginia government. Moving forward, digitization and transcription should be encouraged if research is to be continued and accelerated with the use of these primary documents.

Working with the primary sources is conflicting. On one hand, it is amazing how the digitalization movement has advanced, and I question how much more time and resource intensive this project would have been 20 years ago. Alternatively, there is endless information that could be added to this research project with further thoughtful and adequate time which this topic deserves. A thesis project does not provide enough time to thoroughly research the free and enslaved workers at the Capitol in Richmond. I hope this project has sparked interest in

more intentional research of the Capitol and historic sites with contested or ignored history regarding workers and laborers.

The Capitol project preceded the solidification of the new Richmond and Virginia social orders. Previous desired land in Williamsburg and eastern Richmond was traded by elite classes to move closer to the Capitol in Richmond. It is important to connect individuals most crucial to the project's success and understand how Jefferson used relationships and connections to landowners and to his advantage. By placing the Capitol atop on a hill of mostly undeveloped land, the Jeffersonian Capitol removed any remnant of the past colonial era city, while continuing to benefit from the infrastructure and revolutionary memories that Richmond maintained.

Many craftsmen involved in the initial Capitol Project, with control of their location, remained in Richmond or the Virginia area after the completion of the project. These builders use the skills and techniques they either learned or honed at the Capitol to design homes, churches, and public buildings throughout the city and state. By establishing a community of craftsmen with first-hand experience in the new form of Jeffersonian architecture, more of the same style can emerge naturally throughout the newly formed state.

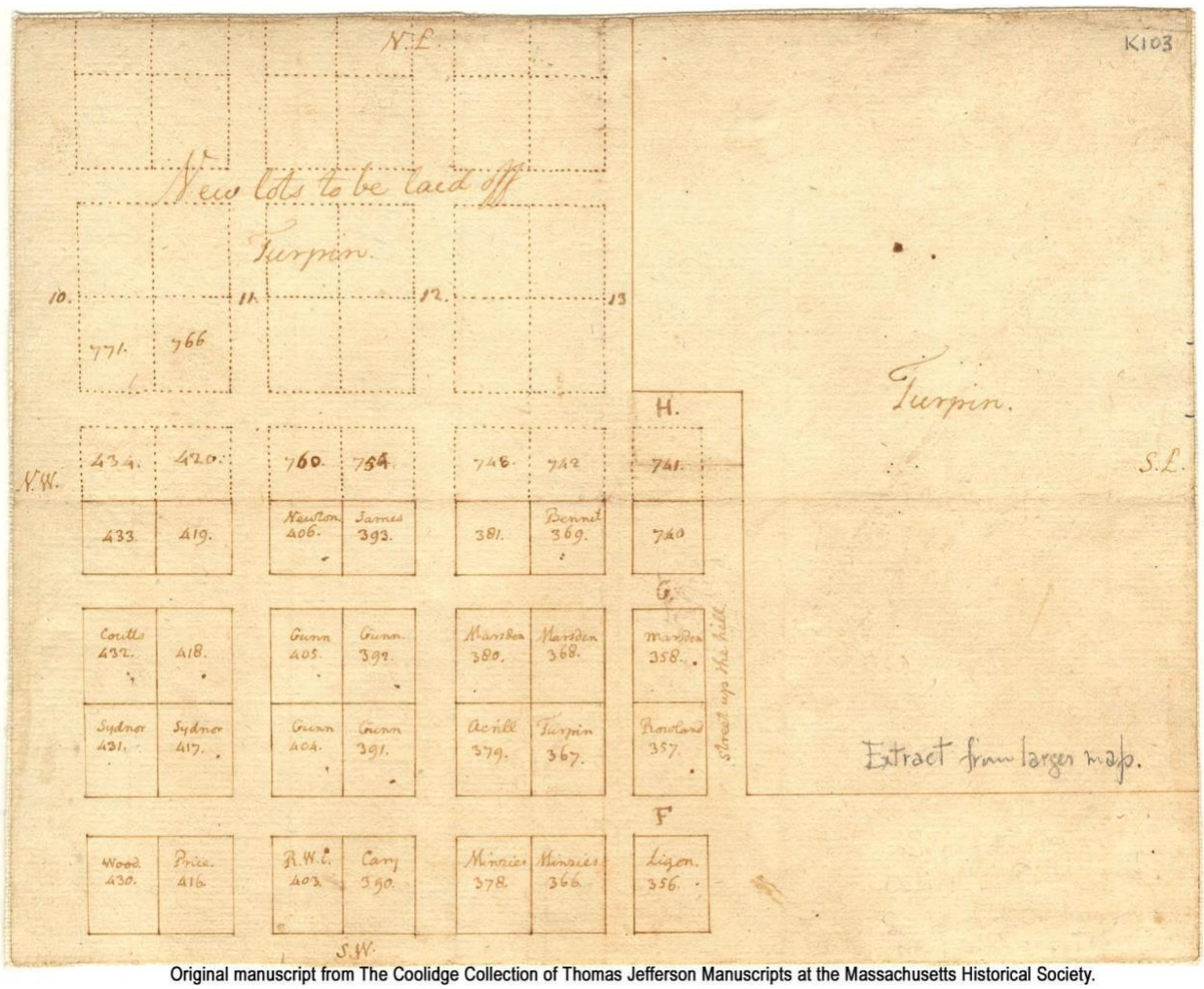
The capitol project is a key part of the transitional period between the 18th and 19th century. Jeffersons intention of state building within the existing town of Richmond, results in architecture style to shift from colonial to distinctly American, and the methods in which that architecture is built develops through the shift in labor practices and relationships within Richmond and the region.

Appendix

Figure 1: Historic American Building Survey of the Capitol Renovation and Extension of 2005-2007

18th C. Members of the Directors of Public Buildings		
June 24, 1779 Initial Members	May 1780 Additional Members Added	1784? New Members to Fill Vacancies
James Buchanan	James Buchanan	James Buchanan
Archibald Cary	Archibald Cary	Archibald Cary
Robert Goode	Robert Goode	Robert Goode
Robert Carter Nicholas	Robert Carter Nicholas	(deceased)
Turner Southall	Turner Southall	Turner Southall
	Richard Adams	Richard Adams
	Thomas Jefferson	Thomas Jefferson
	Edmund Randolph	Edmund Randolph
	Samuel DuVal	(deceased)
		Jacquelin Ambler
		William Hay

Figure 2: 18th Century Members of the Directors of Public Buildings of Virginia (created by Author, information sourced from the Capitol Square Data and Records Collection at the Library of Virginia)



Original manuscript from The Coolidge Collection of Thomas Jefferson Manuscripts at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Figure 3 – Map drawn by Thomas Jefferson depicting the original lots of Capitol Square labeling ownership before purchase from the Commonwealth

Accounts of Ad Quod Damnum for Capitol Square Lots				
Date Issued	Lot #	Name	Amount	Owner Connection to TJ or DPB
April 11, 1781	#357 and Houses	John Ligon and Zachariah Rowland	1000 pounds	
	Lot 379	Acrill Cocke	54 pounds	
	Lot 367	Thomas Turpin	65 pounds	Jefferson's Uncle
	Lot 416	William Price	76 pounds	
	Lot 430	William Price	80 pounds	
	Lot 381	William Radford	80 pounds	Connection to Jefferson
	Lot 403	Robert Wormley Carter Esq[57]	87 pounds	HoD member
	Lot 417	Fortunatus Sydnor's Estate	93 pounds	
	Lot 390	Archibald Cary Esq	99 pounds	Connection to Jefferson
	Lot 393	Richard James	100 pounds	
	Lot 431	Fortunatus Sydnor's Estate	106 pounds	
	Lot 406	Thomas Newton	154 pounds	HoB member / State Senate
	Lot 419	George Ellis	154 pounds	
	Lot 432	James Currie	154 pounds	Connection to Jefferson
	Lot 405	John Gunn	191 pounds 10 shillings	Connection to James Buchanan (DPB)
	Lot 392	John Gunn	191 pounds 10 shillings	Connection to James Buchanan (DPB)
	Lot 391	John Gunn	300 pounds	Connection to James Buchanan (DPB)
	Lot 404	John Gunn	600 pounds	Connection to James Buchanan (DPB)
May 31, 1788	Lot 762	Phillip Turpin (oversized series II apa 655)		Jefferson's cousin

Figure 4 – created by author, information sourced from the Capitol Square Data and Records Collection at the Library of Virginia

[57] https://history.house.virginia.gov/members/3300

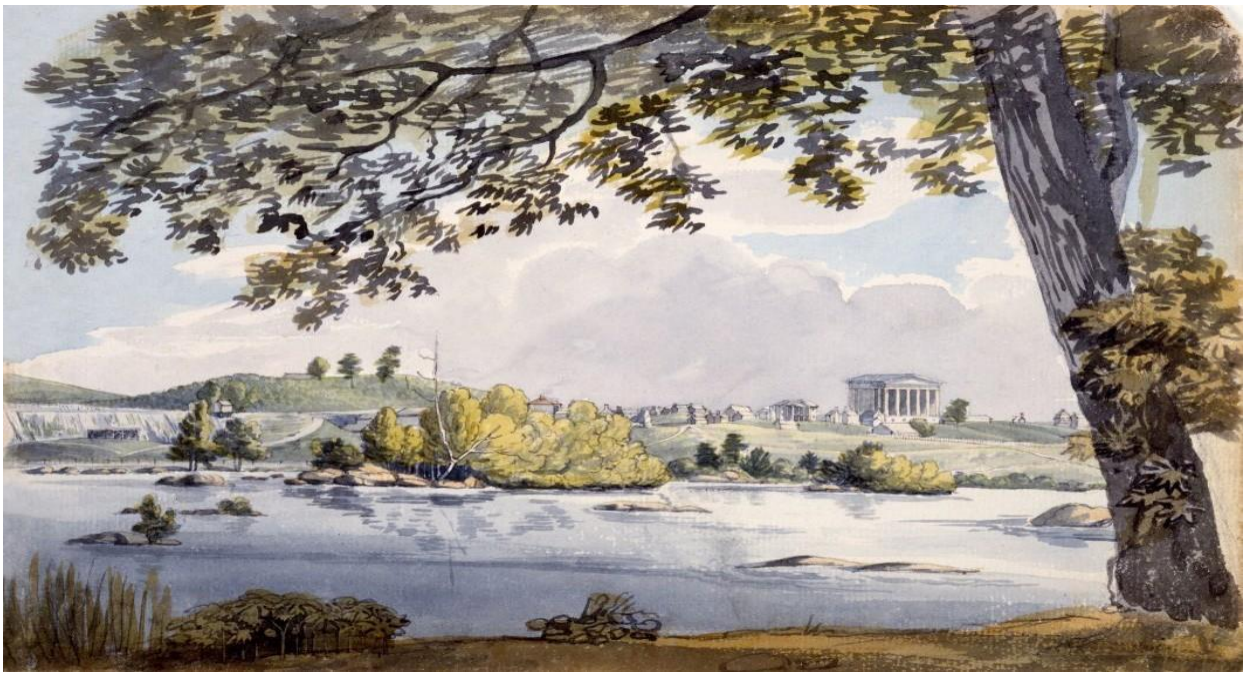


Figure 5: Benjamin Henry Latrobe. *"*View of Richmond from South Side of James River showing Capitol" 1796.

House Journal Records of Individual's Paid to Care for Legislative Buildings 1782-1789			
Date of Payment	Name	Reason	Pay
January 4, 1782	Elizabeth Jones	For taking care of and keeping clean the public buildings	£10
December 28, 1782	Elizabeth Jones	For taking care of and keeping clean the Assembly House	£10
June 28, 1783	Elizabeth Jones	For taking care of and keeping clean the Assembly House	£10
December 20, 1783	Elizabeth Jones	For taking care of and keeping clean the Assembly House	£10
December 20, 1783	Zenas Tate	Keeper of the Public Buildings	£10 per annum
June 30, 1784	Elizabeth Jones	For taking care of and cleaning the capitol	£10
June 30, 1784	Zenas Tate	Keeper of the public buildings	£9
January 5, 1785	Elizabeth Jones	for taking care and cleaning the Assembly House	£10
January 20, 1786	Elizabeth Jones	For clearing the Assembly House, for the session	£10
January 11, 1787	Not identified	Keeper of the Capitol, for taking care of the same of the same, for the session	£10
January 8, 1788	Not identified	The Keeper of the Capitol for taking care of and keeping clean the same during the session, the sum of	£10
December 29, 1788	Mr. Waddill	For cleaning the Capitol, the sum of	£10
December 19, 1789	Ann Williams	For cleaning the Capitol during the present session	£10

Figure 6: House of Delegate Journal Records of individual's paid to care for legislative buildings in the 1780s (created by author, information sourced from House of Delegates Journals)

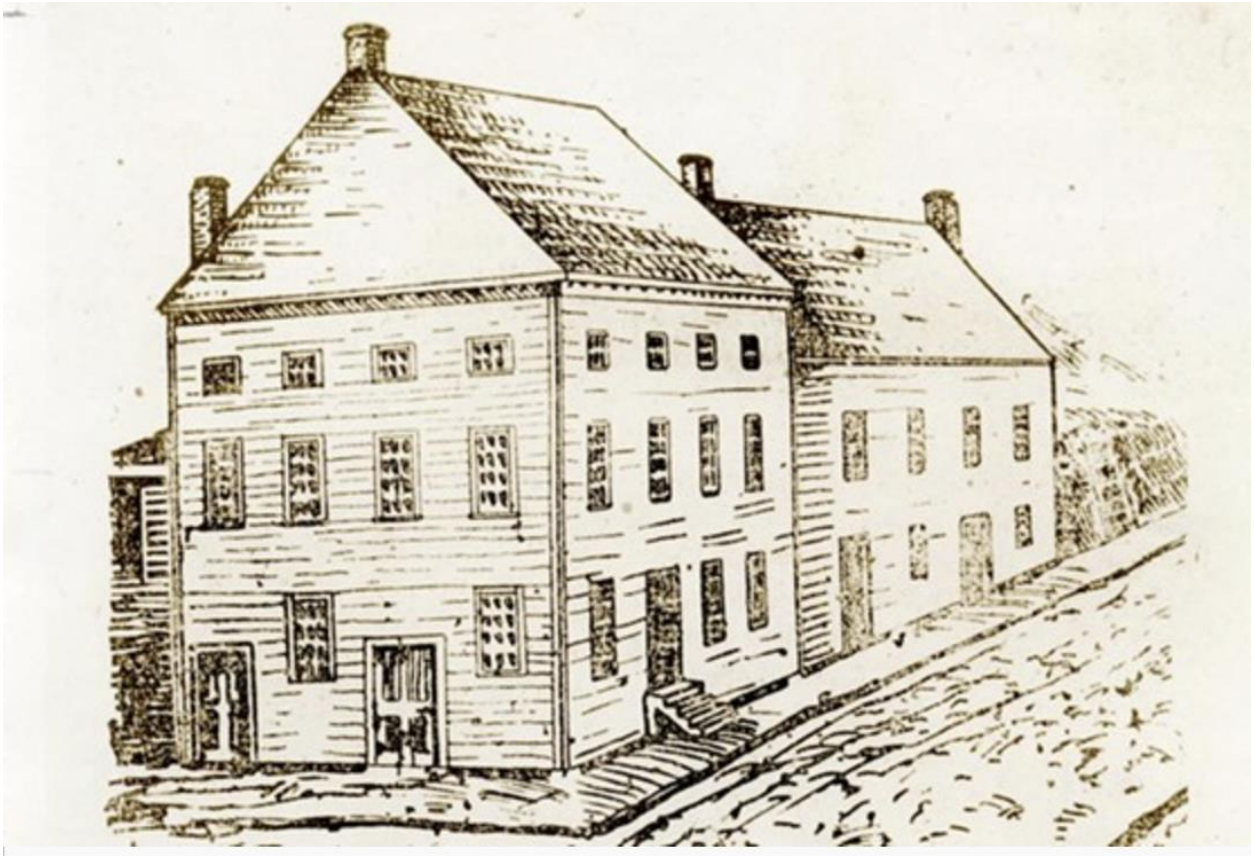


Figure 7: Drawing of warehouse that was used as the temporary legislative building occupied by the General Assembly during the construction of the Capitol. Located on 14th and Cary Streets, demolished shortly after it was vacated by the General Assembly.
Valentine History Center

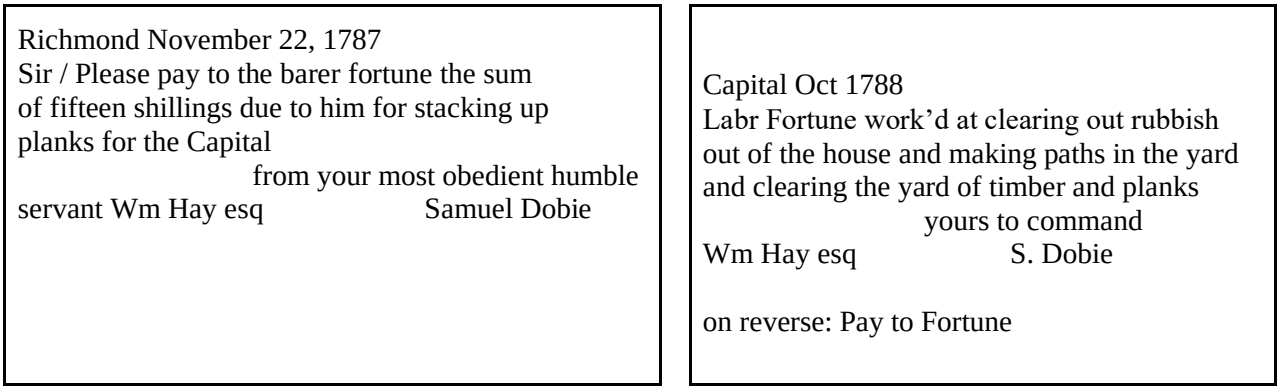
Resolved, That the following allowances be made to the officers of the General Assembly, for their services during the present session:

To the chaplain, per week,	£ 8	0	0
To the clerk of the House of Delegates, per week,	35	0	0
To the clerk of the Senate, per week,	17	10	0
To the clerk of the committees of Privileges and Elections, and Propositions and Grievances, per week,	12	10	0
To the clerk of the committees of Religion, and Claims, per week,	10	0	0
To the clerk of the committee for Courts of Justice, per week,	10	0	0
To the sergeant at arms of the Senate, per week,	8	10	0
To the sergeant at arms of the House of Delegates, per week,	8	10	0
To the door-keepers of the Senate and House of Delegates, each, per week,	5	0	0
To Ann Williams, for cleaning the Capitol during the present session,	10	0	0

And the said resolution being twice read was, on the question put thereupon, agreed to by the House.

Ordered, That Mr. Richard Lee do carry the resolution to the Senate, and desire their concurrence.

Figure 8: 1789 House of Delegates Journal Page 139, highlighting the resolution of allowances made to the officers of the General Assembly

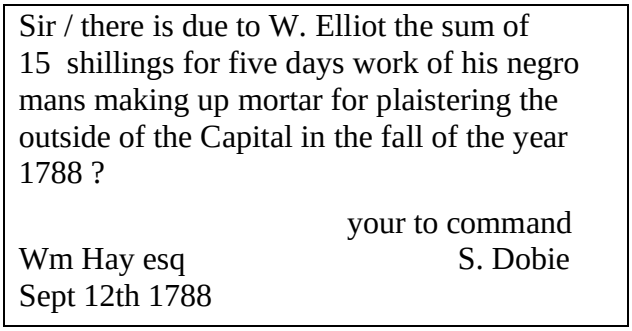


Richmond November 22, 1787
Sir / Please pay to the barer fortune the sum
of fifteen shillings due to him for stacking up
planks for the Capital
from your most obedient humble
servant Wm Hay esq Samuel Dobie

Capital Oct 1788
Labr Fortune work'd at clearing out rubbish
out of the house and making paths in the yard
and clearing the yard of timber and planks
yours to command
Wm Hay esq S. Dobie

on reverse: Pay to Fortune

Figure 9: Two separate payments from Samuel Dobie, superintendent for the Directors of Public Buildings, to Fortune for various tasks. 1787 and 1788. Transcribed by author from Capitol Square Data and Records Collection at The Library of Virginia.



Sir / there is due to W. Elliot the sum of
15 shillings for five days work of his negro
mans making up mortar for plaistering the
outside of the Capital in the fall of the year
1788 ?

your to command
Wm Hay esq S. Dobie
Sept 12th 1788

Figure 10: Receipt of W. Elliot being paid for the work of enslaved men at the Capitol. 1788. Transcribed by author from Capitol Square Data and Records at The Library of Virginia Figure 8

Escaped Enslaved Craftsmen Working for Contracted Craftsmen at the Capitol				
Name	Skillset and additional information	Employed to	Date(s) of Advertisement	Reward
Dick Thomas	Carpenter 1) Carried off with him band saw, jack and long planes branded with D.M. 2) Has a forged pass, by trade a carpenter with a brisk hand at business. Ran away after breaking into a lumber house in Richmond 3) Purchased from DM, described as a lively brisk workman	Dabney Minor	May 6 1794 April 15, 1796 June 11, 1797	5 pounds 100 dollars 30 dollars
Lewy or Lewis	Whip-saw and rough planning	Dabney Minor	August 25, 1794	10 dollars
Rueben	Carpenter/sawyer Hired to Nicholas Voss in the City of Richmond for a limited time and did not return. Lurking near the boarders of Spotsylvania and Fredericksburg counties	Nicholas Voss	March 18, 1794	5 pounds

Figure 11: Runaway advertisements of craftsmen connected to contracted craftsmen at the Capitol during construction. Information sourced from Patrick, *"As Good a Joiner as Any in Virginia" : African-Americans in the Eighteenth-Century Building Trades : a Sourcebook"*

Figure 12: Scott, Mary Wingfield. *Old Richmond Neighborhoods*. Richmond: Richmond, 1950, 1950. p. 100

A drawing from the 1802 Mutual Assurance map of Richmond, identifies Masons' Hall, located on 1805 East Franklin Street and built in 1787. This early Richmond building highlights the potential resistance to Classical or Jeffersonian architecture in Richmond in the 1780s. The builders and designers had likely seen the vision of Jefferson's Capitol design which began construction in 1785. This was likely one of the last civic or social spaces in Richmond to follow a more traditional colonial style.

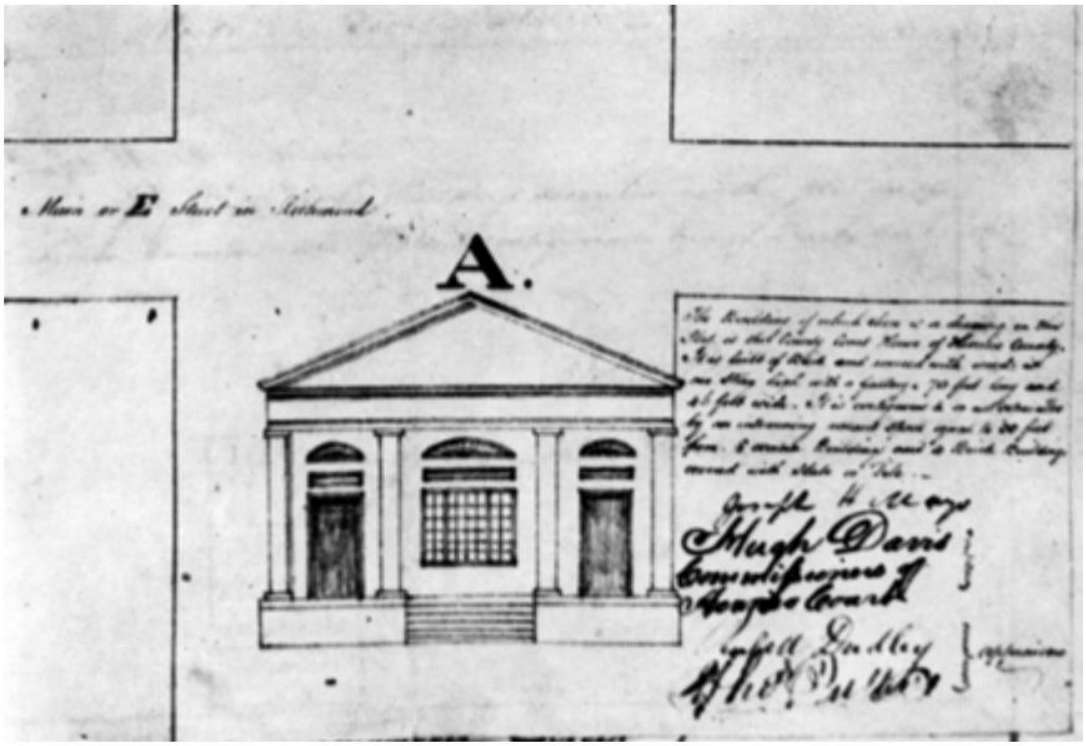
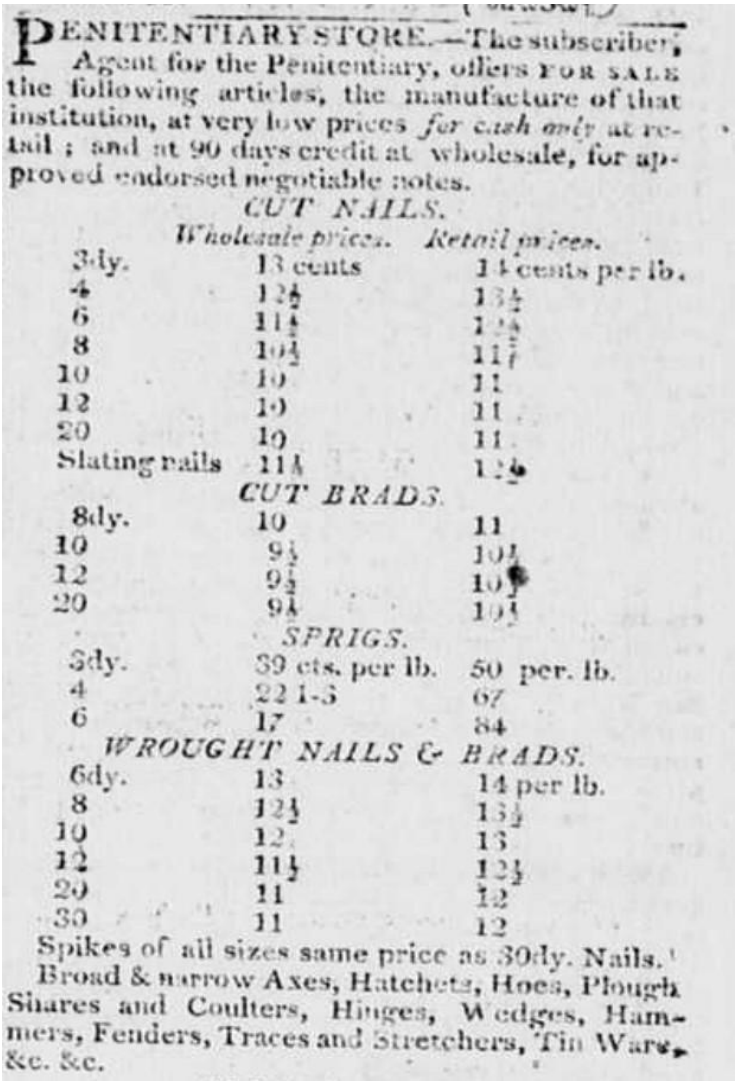


Figure 13: Scott, Mary Wingfield. *Old Richmond Neighborhoods*. Richmond: Richmond, 1950, 1950. p. 99.

A drawing from the 1802 Mutual Assurance map of Richmond depicts the Henrico Court House built at Twenty-second and Main Streets in 1825. The later construction date in the early 19th century shows the cultural significance of the Capitol. The introduction of the temple form had successfully infiltrated Richmond and Virginia design, especially seen in the Henrico County Courthouse, located 12 blocks East of Capitol Square.

Figure 14: Benjamin Henry Latrobe. "View of the Capitol, Richmond, from Dr. James MacClurg's Dining Room." 1797. Watercolor. Collection of Maryland Historical Society.

This Latrobe watercolor is not only one of the earliest depictions of the Capitol but highlights the surrounding landscapes and built environment. To the left (west) of the Capitol is either an early guardhouse, storage structure, or necessary which was constructed on site during the early construction period. Significantly, to the right (east) of the Capitol one, if not the only, surviving depictions of the Governors House before it was torn down and replaced with the 1813 Federal style executive mansion.



PENITENTIARY STORE.—The subscriber, Agent for the Penitentiary, offers FOR SALE the following articles, the manufacture of that institution, at very low prices *for cash only* at retail; and at 90 days credit at wholesale, for approved endorsed negotiable notes.

CUT NAILS.

	Wholesale prices.	*Retail prices.*
3dy.	13 cents	14 cents per lb.
4	12½	13½
6	11½	12½
8	10½	11½
10	10	11
12	10	11
20	10	11
Slating nails	11½	12½

CUT BRADS.

8dy.	10	11
10	9½	10½
12	9½	10½
20	9½	10½

SPRIGS.

3dy.	39 cts. per lb.	50 per. lb.
4	22 1-3	67
6	17	84

WROUGHT NAILS & BRADS.

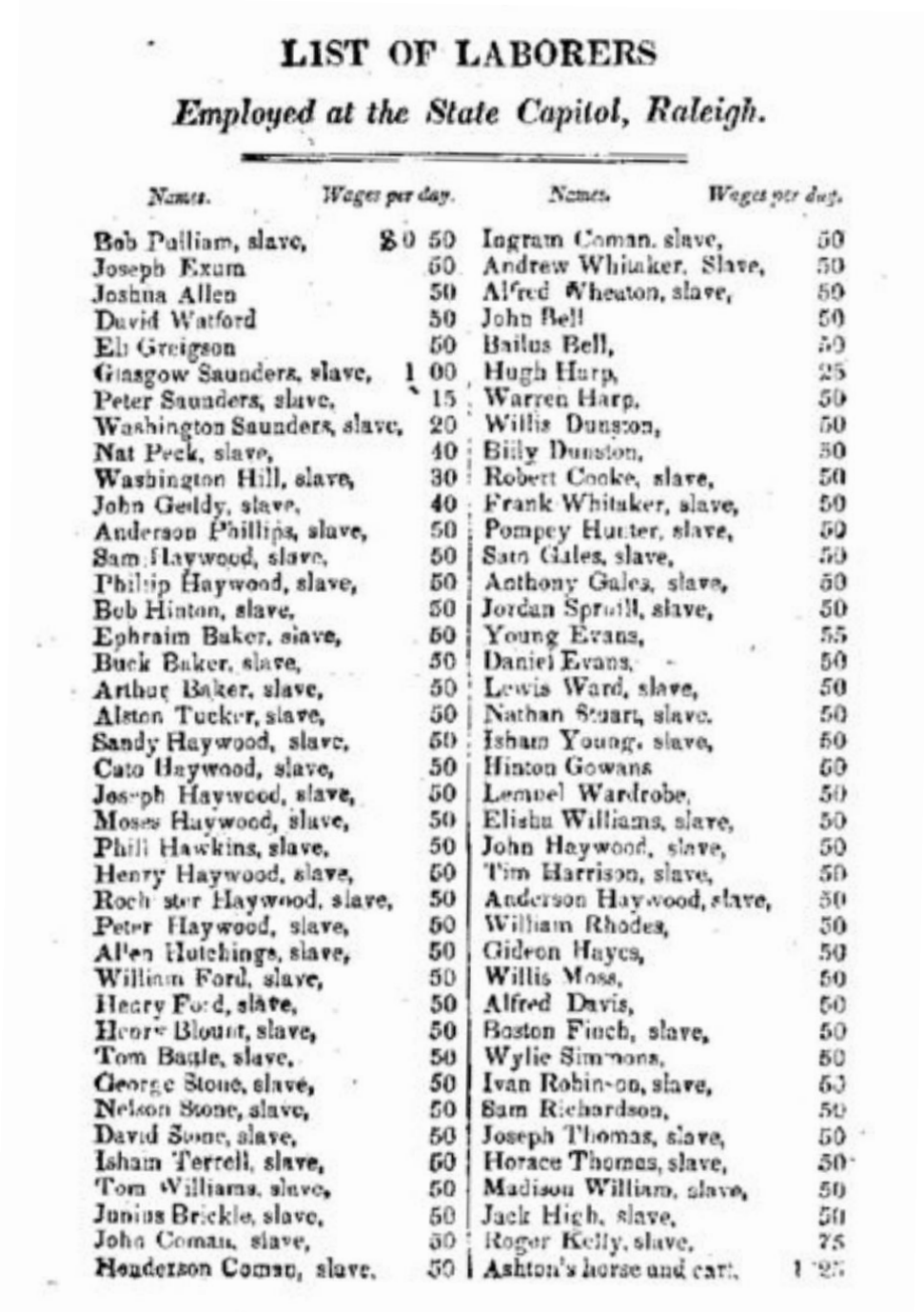
6dy.	13	14 per lb.
8	12½	13½
10	12	13
12	11½	12½
20	11	12
30	11	12

Spikes of all sizes same price as 30dy. Nails.

Broad & narrow Axes, Hatchets, Hoes, Plough Shares and Coulters, Hinges, Wedges, Hammers, Fenders, Traces and Stretchers, Tin Ware, &c. &c.

Figure 15: Virginia Enquirer March 15, 1808, Image 3. Accessible by Chronicling America

This newspaper ad depicts the materials produced by incarcerated individuals at the State Penitentiary in Richmond in the early 19th century. Items produced at the penitentiary included nails, shoes, and tools which could be purchased for discounted rates.



LIST OF LABORERS

Employed at the State Capitol, Raleigh.

Names.	*Wages per day.*	*Names.*	*Wages per day.*
Bob Pulliam, slave,	$0 50	Ingram Coman, slave,	50
Joseph Exum	50	Andrew Whitaker, Slave,	50
Joshua Allen	50	Alfred Wheaton, slave,	50
David Watford	50	John Bell	50
Eli Greigson	50	Bailus Bell,	50
Glasgow Saunders, slave,	1 00	Hugh Harp,	25
Peter Saunders, slave,	15	Warren Harp,	50
Washington Saunders, slave,	20	Willis Dunston,	50
Nat Peck, slave,	40	Billy Dunston,	50
Washington Hill, slave,	30	Robert Cooke, slave,	50
John Geddy, slave,	40	Frank Whitaker, slave,	50
Anderson Phillips, slave,	50	Pompey Hunter, slave,	50
Sam Haywood, slave,	50	Sam Giles, slave,	50
Philip Haywood, slave,	50	Anthony Giles, slave,	50
Bob Hinton, slave,	50	Jordan Spruill, slave,	50
Ephraim Baker, slave,	50	Young Evans,	55
Buck Baker, slave,	50	Daniel Evans,	50
Arthur Baker, slave,	50	Lewis Ward, slave,	50
Alston Tucker, slave,	50	Nathan Stuart, slave,	50
Sandy Haywood, slave,	50	Isham Young, slave,	50
Cato Haywood, slave,	50	Hinton Gowans	50
Joseph Haywood, slave,	50	Lemuel Wardrobe,	50
Moses Haywood, slave,	50	Elisha Williams, slave,	50
Phill Hawkins, slave,	50	John Haywood, slave,	50
Henry Haywood, slave,	50	Tim Harrison, slave,	50
Rochester Haywood, slave,	50	Anderson Haywood, slave,	50
Peter Haywood, slave,	50	William Rhodes,	50
Allen Hutchings, slave,	50	Gideon Hayes,	50
William Ford, slave,	50	Willis Moss,	50
Henry Ford, slave,	50	Alfred Davis,	50
Henry Blount, slave,	50	Boston Finch, slave,	50
Tom Bagle, slave,	50	Wylie Simmons,	50
George Stone, slave,	50	Ivan Robinson, slave,	50
Nelson Stone, slave,	50	Sam Richardson,	50
David Stone, slave,	50	Joseph Thomas, slave,	50
Isham Terrell, slave,	50	Horace Thomas, slave,	50
Tom Williams, slave,	50	Madison William, slave,	50
Junius Brickle, slave,	50	Jack High, slave,	50
John Coman, slave,	50	Roger Kelly, slave,	75
Henderson Coman, slave,	50	Ashton's horse and cart,	1 25

Figure 16: Report of the commissioners appointed to superintend the re-building of the State Capitol (https://digital.ncdcr.gov/digital/collection/p249901coll26/id/3502)
Similar to the records kept by the directors of public buildings in Richmond, this record kept by the North Carolina commissioners appointed to superintend the rebuilding of the State Capitol in 1831, depicts the workers names, status, and wage during the project.

Image Citations

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