

Jenny's World, or the Architecture of a "Person of Evil"

We the undersigned Judges of the Court of General Sessions of
 the Peace and Good delivery of the State of Delaware, having read the
 preceding Petition and the depositions hereunto annexed, and having exam-
 -ined and duly considered the same, and it appearing to us that the said
 Negro slave Jenny is a person of evil and dangerous disposition. —
 We therefore do hereby give and grant to the said John Hull of the
 Town of Newcastle aforesaid, the owner of the said Negro slave Jenny,
 this licence, permit, and authority to export, sell, or carry out for sale
 the said Negro Slave Jenny, from and out of the State of Delaware. —
 In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands this twenty seventh
 day of August, One thousand eight hundred and twenty five. —
 A. D. 1800 to B. 2
 John Way: J. —
 Recorded Sep: 14th 1825

New Castle County Deeds, Book B, Volume 4, Page 590.

Rebecca Ayres
 Town Houses in England and America
 December 10, 2004
 Professor Bernard Herman

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John Aull, a house carpenter, built a two-story plus attic frame house at 47 East Second Street (originally Market Street) in New Castle Delaware between 1800 and 1802, creating the first house in what would be called Aull's Row (figure 1.)¹ Then on September 14, 1825, John Aull sold an inhabitant of that house, an enslaved woman named Jenny, to a New Orleans slave trader.² This paper examines how that sale was legally possible when the exportation of enslaved Africans was outlawed in the state of Delaware. Furthermore, this paper studies the house at 47 East Second Street in order to understand the relationships between blacks and whites as well as issues of service or servitude in domestic architecture.

William Aull, an Irish immigrant, bought the lot at 47 East Second Street in 1799.³ His brother John Aull, a house carpenter, then started to build the frame house on the lot the following year and proceeded to live there with his family. While there is no deed recording William Aull's sale of the land to John, a subsequent deed does refer to the house and lot as that "purchased by John Aull from William Aull."⁴ In 1802, John Aull purchase the two adjacent lots to the northeast of his frame house, built by John Alison, numbers 49 and 51 East Second Street today.⁵ The three houses together became known as Aull's row although John Aull did not build them himself (Figure 2). Together, the 1803 – 1804 tax assessments describe his land holdings as one lot with three houses valued at \$1500.00.⁶ However, his land acquisitions did not stop here.

¹ In 2004, the house was owned by Dr. and Mrs. MacEwen. My thanks to them for allowing me into their home.

² New Castle County Deeds, Book B, Volume 4, page 591.

³ New Castle County Deeds, Book U, Volume 2, Page 167.

⁴ New Castle County Deeds, Book D, Volume 3, Page 333.

⁵ New Castle County Deeds, Book D, Volume 3, Page 329 and Book D, Volume 3, Pages 331-333.

⁶ *Tax Assessments of New Castle County, DE, 1803-1804.*

In 1810, John Aull bought a brick house at a Sheriff's sale on the southeast side Market Street across from the Market Square for \$850.00.⁷ In 1821, he acquired the house and lot of land at the Southeast corner of Orange and Harmony streets from the late Robert McIlhorn at a public auction for \$194.00.⁸ Unfortunately, this house was either completely replaced or altered beyond the state of recognition for all we see here now is a Victorian frame house.⁹ Then in 1822, he bought a frame house between Orange and Vine Streets from the estate of Morgan Jones (figure 3).¹⁰ While he was living, John Aull rented out some of these houses to tenants. The northeast frame house on Market Street, number 51, was rented to Lewis Curtett. John Pugh rented the house on Orange and Harmony Streets.¹¹

John Aull owned other taxable assets as well as real estate property. In the 1816 – 1817 tax assessment, he is listed as owning one female slave, 41 years of age, named Sabina.¹² But by 1820, he is listed as owning one male slave, under the age of 14 and one female slave between the ages 14 and 25.¹³ The best conclusion we can draw from this is that Sabina had died by 1820, and Aull acquired two new slaves. We discover the name of the boy in Aull's will: "I give and bequeath unto my said dear Wife Margaret the Black Boy named Andrew Deavis to dispose of as she may think proper."¹⁴ There are no records of John Aull freeing any enslaved servants in the manumission reports. Instead, in 1825, John Aull sold the enslaved woman named Jenny to a New Orleans slave trader.

⁷ New Castle County Deeds, Book K, Volume 3, Page 125.

⁸ New Castle County Record of Deeds, Book I, Volume 4, Pages 527-529.

⁹ While I was unable to locate a deed referring to John Aull's purchase of this lot, he had acquired it sometime before he wrote his will on April 8, 1826 when he left to his wife Margaret, "that frame house and lot, now in the occupation of John Pugh, lying and being on Harmony and Orange Streets."

¹⁰ New Castle County Deeds, Book Z, Volume 3, Page 130.

¹¹ John Aull's Will, April 8, 1826.

¹² *Tax Assessments of New Castle County, DE, 1816-17*. Abstracted by Karen M. Ackerman (Silver Spring, Maryland: Family Line Publications, 1986) 1.

¹³ *1820 Census of New Castle County, DE* page 142.

¹⁴ John Aull's Will, April 8, 1826.

In 1793, Delaware state law forbade the exporting of slaves to protect the interests of both the enslaved and free blacks. However, this law allowed for exceptions determined by the Chief Justice. The entry immediately preceding the deed of Jenny's sale, explains:

We the undersigned Judges of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Good delivery of the State of Delaware, having read the preceding Petition and the depositions hereunto annexed, and having examined and duly considered the same, and is appearing to us that the said Negro slave Jenny is a person of evil and dangerous disposition. We therefore do hereby give and grant to the said John Aull of the town of New Castle aforesaid, the owner of the said Negro slave Jenny, this licence, permit, and authority to export, sell, or carry out for sale the said Negro Slave Jenny, from and out of the State of Delaware. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands this twenty seventh day of August, One thousand eight hundred and twenty five.

Signed James Booth, Chief Justice, and John
Way.¹⁵

The deed of sale then describes the actual transaction:

Know all Men by these presents that I John Aull of the Town of New Castle in New Castle County and State of Delaware being the lawful owner of a female Negro Slave named Jenny, being now between nineteen and twenty years of Age of black colour and about the height of five feet nine inches did on this twenty seventh day of August of this present year eighteen hundred and twenty five obtain from the Honorable James Booth Esquire, Chief Justice and John Way Esquire one of the Associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the State of Delaware aforesaid a permit in writing, to sell and convey the said Negro Woman Jenny to any person residing either within or out of this State of Delaware. Now Know ye that I the said John Aull for and in consideration of the sum of Two hundred Ninety Dollars lawful money of the United States to me in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, have granted, bargained, sold, assigned, transferred and set over and by these presents Do grant, bargain, sell, assign, transfer and

¹⁵ New Castle County Deeds, Book B, Volume 4, Page 590.

set over unto Leon Chabert of the City of New Orleans in the State of Louisiana, all my right, title, interest, claim and demand whatsoever of, in or unto the said Negro Woman Jenny and of all persons whomsoever now lawfully claiming under me, her services unto the said Leon Chabert, his heirs or assigns I will forever warrant and defend by these presents. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal dated at New Castle the fourteenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty five.¹⁶

There is an interesting discrepancy between the actual deed of sale and the Chief Justices statement. Chief Justice James Booth refers to the Court of General Quarter Sessions, while the deed of sale refers to the Court of Common Pleas. There are no references to Jenny's case in court dockets, petitions, or depositions for either the Court of General Quarter Sessions, or the Court of Common Pleas. Other cases similar to this did exist, but Jenny's is missing. One example from 1824 refers to the New Castle resident Henry Bowman, and his enslaved servant Charles Blackston who was convicted of stealing between one and two hundred dollars from his owner. Bowman submitted a petition to the Court of Common Pleas requesting to sell Blackston out of state:

Your Petitioner being desirous, as well for his better security in future from the depredations of the said Charles Blackston, as also to relieve his respectable neighbors from the chance of injury from his unlawful conduct, by theft or otherwise, to sell or dispose of him, in such manner as would be most likely to procure himself and his neighbors such relief, most humbly submits to your considerations the facts above stated, and prays that the Court may grant him an order for sale of his slave the said Charles Blackston either to any person residing within the State of Delaware, or elsewhere...¹⁷

The court granted Bowman permission to sell Blackston out of state, but the Judges placed restrictions on which states Bowman could send him to. He could be sold to anyone in Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, or any state east of Pennsylvania, but nowhere else. This means that Blackston's crime of

¹⁶ New Castle County Deeds, Book B, Volume 4, Pages 590-591.

¹⁷ Henry Bowman, Petition to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, December 1824.

theft was not bad enough for him to be sold to south. Only one example in the Archives' petitions from this period describe a crime bad enough for the enslaved criminal to be sold anywhere, including the south. In April of 1826, an enslaved woman named Julia Ann was discovered by her owner's family to have mixed Laudanum with the family infant's food. The discovery was made in time, and the child was saved, but then Julia Ann set fire to the house, destroying most of the attic. The rest of the house and its occupants were saved, Julia Ann is said to have confessed to both crimes, and the Judges determined that her crimes were of such a heinous nature as to sell her south.¹⁸

By 1826, Aull was not the only one trying to unload "problem slaves" into the brutal southern market. That year, the Louisiana state legislature was so afraid of slaves of "bad character" coming to Louisiana and possibly starting an insurrection, that they passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves from other states. Because of this law's timing, Julia Ann most likely did not end up in Louisiana, at least not legally. It turned out however, that the demand for more slave labor was so high that the Louisiana legislature was forced to repeal that law in 1829. At that point, instead of prohibiting the importation of slaves altogether, a new law was enacted that required all imported slaves to be of certified good character. All slaves over the age of 12 had to have a certificate specifying their name, age, sex, approximate size, distinguishable marks, and color. The certificates listed the place of purchase and the seller's name. And most importantly, the certificates had to be signed by two or more freeholders other than the seller from the county of sale, swearing that they knew the slave for "several years," that the slave was not guilty of any crimes, that the slave was of good character, and that the slave wasn't in the habit of running away.¹⁹ The question becomes, which of these flaws was Jenny supposed to be guilty of? The other cases tell us that it had to be worse than a case of theft. We can at

¹⁸ Petition to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, April 1826.

¹⁹ Herman Freudenberger and Jonathan B. Pritchett, "The Domestic United States Slave Trade" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21.3 (Winter 1997): 448.

least draw conclusions from the lack of documents. There are two scenarios explaining the lack of petitions, depositions, or explanations in the court dockets from this time referring to Jenny and the crime that labeled her a “person of evil.” Either the evidence for her case was lost over time, or her crime was fabricated so that Aull could sell her at the best profit. Jenny was sold for \$290 in 1825. In 1821, John Aull purchased the house on the southeast corner of Orange and Harmony streets for only \$194.00. In 1823, Aull sold the house and property between Orange and Vine Streets for only \$245. To John Aull, Jenny was worth a house.

The plan of the house (figures 4 and 5) and the inhabitants’ uses of the architectural space leave many more questions unanswered. One enters the house today into an entry measuring 10 feet wide by 12 ½ feet deep (figures 6 and 7). The Monigle family, the owners before the MacEwens, made several alterations to the house, including the removal of a flight of stairs leading from this entry to the second floor. These stairs had been used, according to the Monigles, when the house was used as separate apartments on the two floors. Patches in the floorboards of the entry as well as the second floor bedroom support this change. However, this formal stairway was not necessarily original to the house. There is a winder stair in the front corner next to the fireplace of the first floor’s front room. This stair was most likely the original means of moving upstairs. It continues from the first floor all the way to the attic space, while the evidence of the entry’s staircase does not continue to the attic.

The only two fireplaces in the house are in the first and second floors’ front rooms. There is a brick-relieving arch in the basement under the fireplace stack. For a house that is 26 square feet, it is unlikely that only one heated room per floor would have been enough. The back rooms would have been especially difficult to use as living and working spaces without heat. While no evidence remains of another chimneystack, it is possible one was located where the front entry hall’s stairs once were. Their addition and then removal could account for the fireplace’s missing evidence.

While movement between the first, second and attic floors would have utilized the corner winder stair, there was no original access to the cellar from the interior of the house. Today, a winder stair does go down into the cellar, added by the Monigle family (figure 8). This addition explains why the stairway to the cellar does not fit perfectly next to the front room's mantelpiece (figure 9). A narrow gap of exposed bricks is visible between the two. Originally, the cellar would have been accessed via one of two bulkhead entrances. One was in the front of the house. The bulkhead itself has been removed, and bricked over, but the evidence of the brickwork's alterations is still visible in the cellar. This bulkhead was directly beneath the left-most window of the front façade. A rear bulkhead, while no longer operable either, retains its stairs into the cellar. This entrance is beneath the present southeast dining room window.

Further consideration of the front room's mantelpiece also leads to the question of an additional chimney. Its elaborate neoclassical finish was most likely too ornate for a kitchen fireplace. Furthermore, the size of this room, 16 ½ feet deep by 15 ½ feet wide makes it the largest room in the plan. Its size together with its mantelpiece implies that it was the best room. The fireplace does still have an original crane built into it, but this is not always indicative of a cooking fireplace (figure 10). Today, a modern kitchen wing forms an ell off the back of the house. We know this is a much later addition because of evidence found when the current owners replaced their kitchen cabinets. When the old cabinets were removed from the wall abutting the backroom of the original plan, they found weathered siding underneath, showing that it had been an exterior wall (figure 11). The door that would have originally led to the back yard now leads to the kitchen wing. This begs the question, where was the kitchen in this house? There are two back rooms to the first floor plan which both could have served as service spaces. The room behind the front best room measures 7 ½ feet by 13 feet wide, which may have been on the smaller side for a kitchen. Evidence of a possible fireplace in this space is even less

apparent as a half bath was added to one side of it. This space also contains a built-in cabinet that appears to be original (figure 12). Its doors and finish match those of the built-in cabinet adjacent to the fireplace in the best room. The room behind the entry, currently used as the MacEwen's dining room, measures 11 ½ by 11 ½ feet, a more likely size for a kitchen space (figures 13 and 14). Today, all the first floor rooms have decorative chair rails and door surrounds, but they all appear to be modern, so the rooms' levels of finish today do not necessarily communicate their original function. Without knowing precisely where additional fireplaces were, if any, we cannot know with any certainty where the kitchen was.

The second floor of the house was divided similarly to the first floor's plan. There would have been two rooms over the entry and rear rooms on the south side of the house. Today, these two rooms are joined into one large master bedroom. The north side still has its fireplace, although it has since been converted into a gas fireplace. The mantle over this fireplace is less ornate than the first floor's best room, but it does have finished molding. The partition wall separating the north and south halves of the second floor is, like those of the first floor, only two inches thick. A smaller backroom on the second floor's northeast corner compliments the one on the first floor. A modern bathroom directly over the one on the first floor further hides any evidence of a possible original chimneystack. Another sleeping chamber over the kitchen addition is accessed through this space. The attic is an unheated open space. The remaining chimney is clearly visible, but any other stacks are further hidden by the presence of another bathroom.

It remains unclear where the original kitchen stood. Like the kitchen, Jenny was connected with service, a concept that was meant to be separated from the best rooms of the house. Most of the urban

enslaved worked as domestic servants.²⁰ Jenny's use of space within the house was dictated by this service. However, her use of and access to space in general would have transcended beyond the architectural confines of John Aull's house on Market Street. Her space would have consisted of the urban fabric of New Castle itself. Just as John Aull's legal ownership of various houses throughout New Castle extended his spatial control outside of the house he resides in, so too Jenny would have had access to and some control of that surrounding environment. When considering the house's location just a few hundred feet from the market stalls, which were also connected to service, we see the greater area in which Jenny would have moved. Furthermore, the house has easy access to the river even though it was one block removed from the riverfront. Callahan Alley runs along the southwest side of the house connecting Market Street to Front Street. River access may have related to Jenny's service. Today, a spring bubbles up underneath the sidewalk directly in front of the house. While the cellar was given a concrete floor in recent years, and no evidence of a well remains, the spring presents the possibility that a natural source of fresh water was available on the site. Even if there were no need to walk to the riverfront for water, the abundance of stores along Front Street would certainly make it an important destination for service. Thus, the location of the house that Jenny lived in gave her access to every major direction. Jenny's world was not just the world of John Aull's house. It was the world of urban New Castle. While in John Aull's house there may have been specific designated service spaces and rooms, in the urban fabric, those boundaries become more blurred and abstracted.

If Jenny's spatial world extended into the urban fabric, how did the white majority perceive this ambiguity of space? While in rural areas, only the wealthiest owned slaves, in cities slaveholding was

²⁰ David R Goldfield, "Black Life in Old South Cities," *Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South*, edited by Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., and Kym S. Rice (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia) 127.

diffused throughout the middle class.²¹ Furthermore, the urban middle class was packed into a much denser area forcing the visual social hierarchy to be that much more abstract. The relationship between the white majority and enslaved blacks becomes even further complicated in the city when we consider that in New Castle, there were more free blacks than enslaved blacks. In P. Langlume's *Vue d'une Rue du Faubourg Ste. Marie, Nouvelle Orleans*, 1828-37 (figure 15), a print after Marquis Felix Achille de Beaupoil Saint-Aulaire, we see the kind of contrasting relationship between free and enslaved blacks. On the right, an enslaved chain gang works on cleaning and repairing New Orleans city streets, while on the left, a well-dressed free black crosses the street.²² In New Castle, Jenny would most likely have encountered some other enslaved servants as well as free blacks during her daily life in the city, whether it was at the market stalls down the street from Aull's house, or on the streetscape, or in Aull's house itself. In the cartoon, "Is Miss Dinah at Home?" from the series *Life in Philadelphia* by Edward Williams Clay (figure 16), a black woman standing in a bulkhead cellar door converses with a well-dressed black man. The man asks, "Is Miss Dinah at home?" and the woman replies, "Yes sir but she bery potickly engaged in washing de dishes." The man then replies, "Ah! I'm sorry I cant have the honour to pay my devours to her. Give her my card."²³ The cartoon makes fun of the socializing of black domestic servants. In "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," Dell Upton argues that the white landscape

was articulated in the sense that it consisted of a network of space – rooms in the house, the house itself, the outbuildings, the church with its interior pews and surrounding walled churchyard, the courthouse and its walled yard – that were linked by roads and

²¹ Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, third Series 30.2 (April, 1973) 248.

²² Goldfield 139.

²³ PBS, *Africans in America, Part III: Brotherly Love, Philadelphia 1790-1831*. Internet: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part3/3h486.html>

that functioned as the settings for public interactions that had their own particular character but that worked together to embody the community as a whole.²⁴

If the white landscape was a systemized network of spaces, within the city we have to imagine the black landscape being superimposed over that landscape. On plantations, Upton explains that slave landscapes “included the woods and fields, where some measure of seclusion and secrecy was available.”²⁵ In the same way the urban slave landscape would include the markets and the streets. Social hierarchies and distinctions still existed in the city, but without always definite boundaries, the separation of spaces becomes that much more theoretical. Considering Jenny’s forced move to Louisiana, there is also the possibility that she was sold into enslaved domestic servitude in New Orleans as well. While the need for enslaved field workers was great in Louisiana, New Orleans had a very large urban enslaved population compared to other southern cities. Marketing was a primary responsibility there as well. A New Orleans resident noted “almost the whole of the purchasing and selling of edible articles for domestic consumption [is] transacted by colored persons.”²⁶

As Jenny’s world extended to include the urban environment, the family of John Aull also extended beyond the physical boundaries of the house. Over the course of his New Castle residency, John Aull owned six houses, which he intended for various family members after his death. Aull died in 1828, leaving 47 East Second Street to his widow Margaret, and then to his son Robert after her death. He left the adjacent house, number 49, to his daughter Elizabeth, and the northeast house, number 51, to his daughter Maria. The brick house on Market Street he left to his son James. The frame house at the corner of Orange and Harmony streets he left to his widow. In 1834, his widow Margaret Aull sold the house at Orange and Harmony. However, she was apparently no longer a resident of New Castle at the

²⁴ Dell Upton, “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, edited by Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988) 363.

²⁵ Upton 367.

²⁶ Quoted in Goldfield 128.

time of sale. She sold the house while a resident of Lexington Missouri.²⁷ It seems she was not the only Aull to have moved to Missouri though. In 1835, James Aull sold the Brick house on Market Street, also from Missouri.²⁸ Then in 1845, Maria Aull Pomeroy and her husband Ebenezer sold the Northeast frame house, from Lexington Missouri.²⁹ In 1852, after his mother, Margaret died and Robert inherited John Aull's first house, Robert sold the house while a resident of Missouri.³⁰ Finally, Elizabeth Aull sold her middle frame house from Lexington in 1856.³¹

Lexington Missouri was an important new town on the Santa Fe Trail. In 1822, John Aull Junior moved to Lexington Missouri and opened a general store.³² The year 1822 was the same year that John Aull Sr. purchased the house and lot of land between Orange and Vine Streets. Then on April 10, 1823, Aull sold the house.³³ It is possible that he purchased the house with the intent that he would leave it to his son John, but then sold it after John's move to Missouri. When John Aull senior wrote his will in 1826, he only left John Junior \$1.00.³⁴ Perhaps he did not approve of the move and so left John Jr. a paltry sum, or perhaps he helped to finance John's start in Missouri. Then in 1825, James and Robert left New Castle to join their brother. The Aull brothers were highly successful in Missouri, owning not only the store, but also starting a bank. John Aull Jr. died in 1842, and then James Aull died on an expedition into Mexican territory. One of his account books states, "James Aull was killed in Chihuahua on the 23rd June 1847 at night by four Spaniards and robbed of about \$5,000."³⁵ James Aull's will went to probate in Lafayette County, Missouri after his death in 1847, in which he left two

²⁷ New Castle County Deeds, Book S, Volume 4, Page 283.

²⁸ New Castle County Deeds, Book O, Volume 3, Page 275.

²⁹ New Castle County Deeds, Book O, Volume 5, Page 472.

³⁰ New Castle County Deeds, Book K, Volume 6, Page 137.

³¹ New Castle County Deeds, Book X, Volume 6, Page 145.

³² Larry and Carolyn Mix, *Lexington Missouri and the Santa Fe Trail* (Santa Fe Trail Research Site) Internet: <http://www.stjohnks.net/santafetrail/research/lexingtonmo.html>

³³ New Castle County Deeds, Book B, Volume 4, Pages 57-58.

³⁴ John Aull's Will, April 8, 1826.

³⁵ Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Columbia, *Aull Family Business Records, 1830-1862*
<http://www.umssystem.edu/whmc/invent/3038.html>

enslaved men, Jack and Frank, to his sister Elizabeth and his brother Robert.³⁶ If Jenny's world of architecture was an urban world, what kind of a world did the enslaved Jack and Frank live in? After the deaths of James and John, Robert Aull continued in trade and banking, and helped to found the Elizabeth Aull Seminary school in 1859, in memory of his sister.³⁷ Everything that John Aull built and acquired was nothing compared to the lure of moving west.

The house at 47 East Second Street may not tell us everything we need to know about the relationships of its inhabitants, but we do know something about how it may have been used. A house carpenter built it and lived in it. Then, as that carpenter rose higher in the middle class, he brought enslaved blacks into the house to work as domestic servants. Interestingly, while John Aull started as a house carpenter, the only house we can be sure that he built was the house he lived in. As he became a more prominent figure in the city, he even became a town commissioner, serving for four terms.³⁸ Middle class landlord and sometime house carpenter, John Aull created an architectural world that set boundaries. It separated his private life from the public city outside. Internally, that architecture divided into work and living spaces. But it was not able to dictate or define the physical world of Jenny.

³⁶ James Aull's Will, written September 30, 1845. From *Lafayette County, Missouri: Abstract of Wills and Administrations: 1821-1850*. Compiled in 1968 by Jacqueline Hogan Williams and Betty Harvey Williams. Internet: <http://geneavillage.com/coffeeuser/dpwills45.htm>

³⁷ *Lexington Missouri and the Santa Fe Trail*

³⁸ Constance Jean Cooper, *A Town Among Cities: New Castle, Delaware, 1780-1840* (PhD dissertation, University of Delaware, June 1983) 102.



Fig. 1. Aull House, 47 East Second Street, New Castle, DE



Fig. 2. Aull's Row, New Castle, DE



Fig. 3. Map of New Castle, with John Aull's property holdings highlighted in red. Note that the property between Orange and Vine Streets is not highlighted because it is unclear which block it was located in. From *Atlas of the State of Delaware* (Philadelphia: Pomeroy & Beers, 1868).

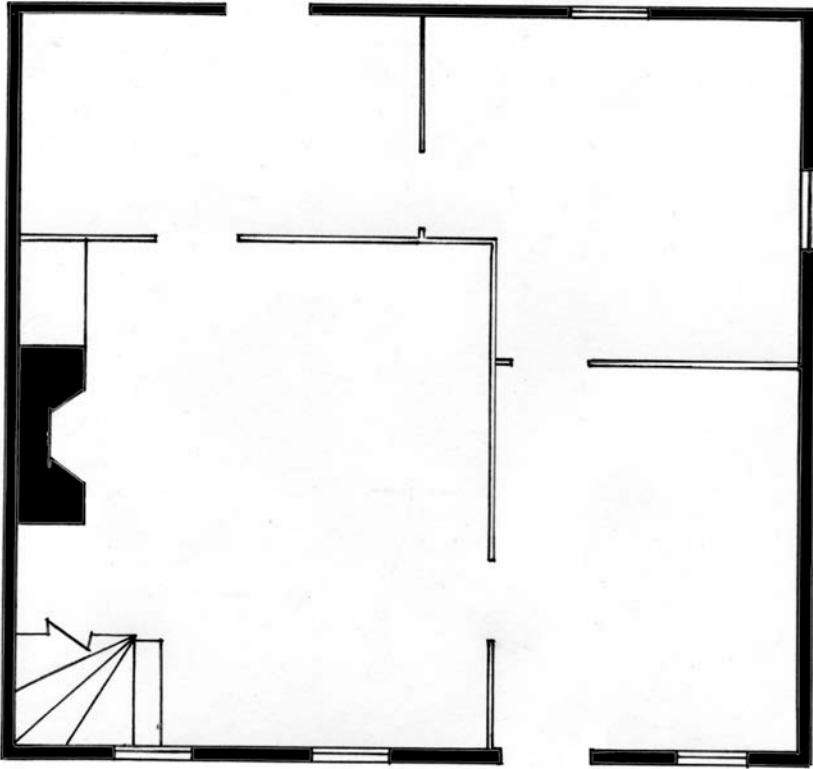


Fig. 4. Approximate original plan

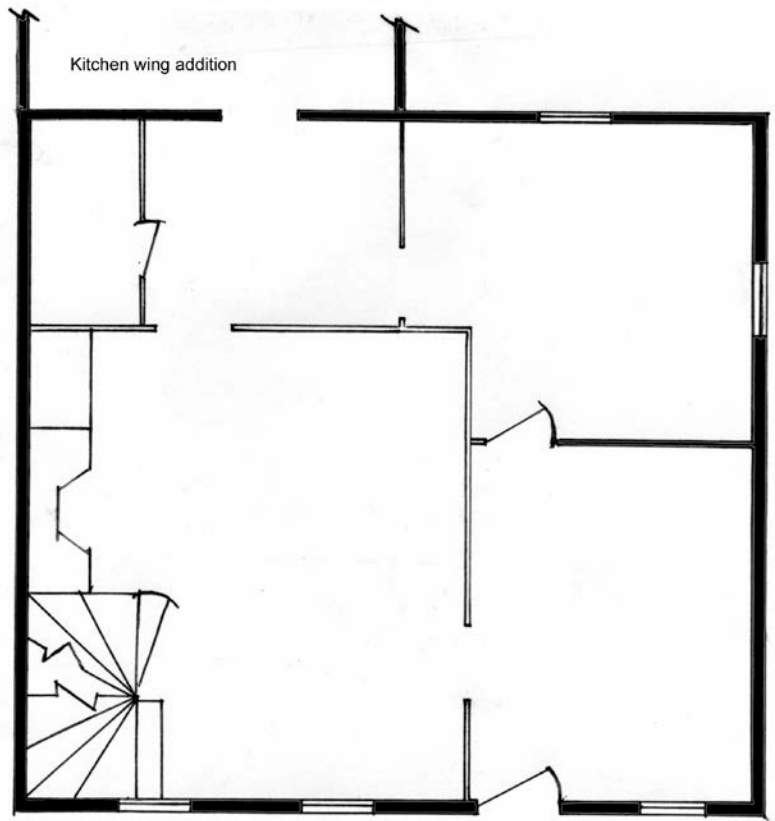


Fig. 5. Plan today



Fig. 6. Entry room facing front door.



Fig. 7. Entry room. Dining room door is on the right.



Fig. 8. First floor front room. Door at left leads to the modern stairs to cellar.



Fig. 9. First floor front room mantelpiece. Note the narrow gap with the exposed bricks to its left.



Fig. 10. Front room fireplace with crane.

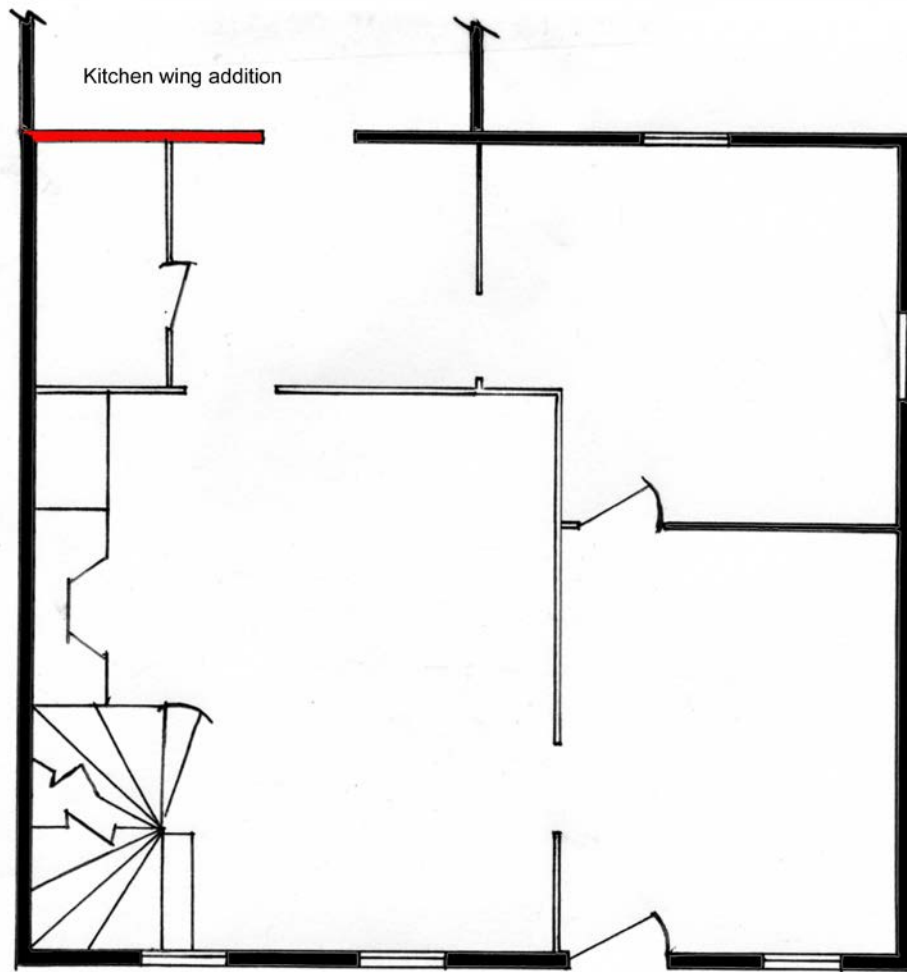


Fig. 11. The wall marked in red refers to where the weathered siding was discovered while the kitchen cabinets were being replaced.



Fig. 12. Built-in cabinet in back room.



Fig. 13. Back room looking towards Southeast wall.



Fig. 14. Back room looking towards southwest wall.

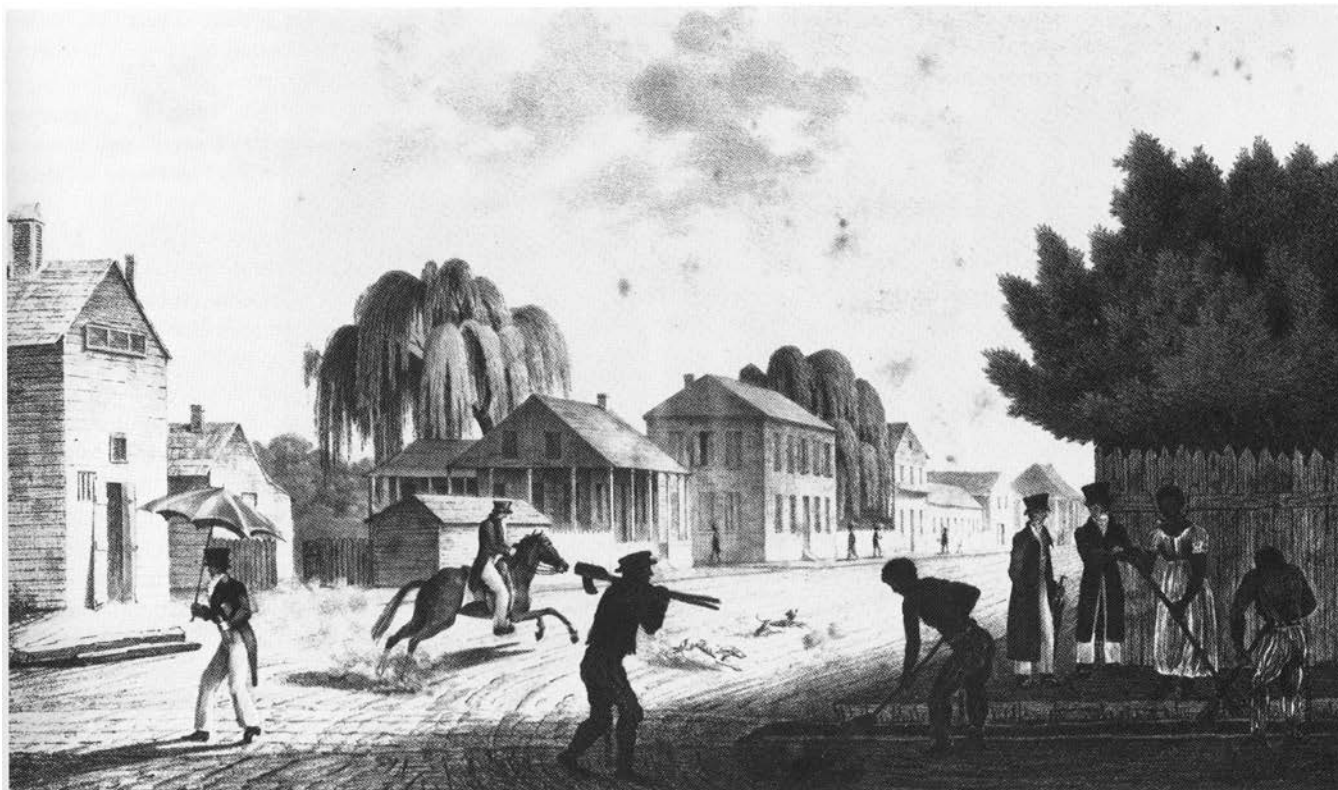


Fig. 15. P. Langlume, *Vue d'une Rue du Faubourg Ste. Marie. Nouvelle Orleans, 1828-37*. Lithograph with watercolor.³⁹



Fig. 16. "Is Miss Dinah at Home?" c. 1828⁴⁰

³⁹ From David R Goldfield, "Black Life in Old South Cities," *Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South*, edited by Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., and Kym S. Rice (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia) page 139, figure 119.

Table 1: Chain of Title for 47 E Second Street, New Castle, DE

DATE	GRANTOR	GRANTEE	BOOK, VOL., PAGE
March 24, 1852	AULL, Robert ⁴¹	ATKINSON, Jacob & Anna	K. 6. 187
April 15, 1869	ATKINSON, Jacob & Anna	HOLSCHUMAKER, William	Y. 8. 104
May 7, 1892	HOLSCHUMAKER, Heury ⁴²	HOLSCHUMAKER, Charles	A. 16. 361
May 12, 1892	HOLSCHUMAKER, Charles	HOLSCHUMAKER, Heury, Elizabeth, & Albert	A. 16. 364
Oct. 12, 1899	TAYLOR, John E., Sheriff	ETCHELLS, William J.	B. 18. 307
Oct. 14, 1899	ETCHELLS, William J. & Ellen J.	McPIKE, Jane ⁴³	C. 18. 155
Oct. 28, 1963	MCPIKE, James D.	PYLE, Walter & Sophie Rodney	A. 72. 477
May 26, 1965	PYLE, Walter	MONIGLE, Joseph	A. 75. A62
Aug. 31, 1984	MONIGLE, Joseph & Sara	MaCEWEN, Marilyn	148. 264

Table 2: Tax Assessments for John Aull

1803-04		1 lot, 3 houses	
1816-1817	1 Brick House and lot occupied by other than self	1 frame House occupied by self	1 female slave, Sabina, 41 years old

⁴⁰ PBS, *Africans in America, Part III: Brotherly Love, Philadelphia 1790-1831*. Internet: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part3/3h486.html>

⁴¹ Robert Aull inherited the house on September 25, 1836 when his mother, Margaret Aull died. Margaret Aull was the widow of John Aull, the original owner, who died on February 28, 1828.

⁴² Heury Holschumaker was administrator for William Holschumaker after his death. The lots were sold to settle William's debts as decreed by the Orphans Court, January 16, 1892.

⁴³ Jane McPike died on February 20, 1894 leaving the house to her son, James D. McPike.

Table 3: Census Records for John Aull

	White male under 10 years	White male, 10-16 years	White male, 16-26 years	White male, 26-45 years	White male, 45 +	White female, under 10 years	White female, 10-16 years	White female, 16-26 years	White female, 26-45 years old	White female, 45 +	All other free	Slaves
Jamison & Aull, 1800 ⁴⁴	2	1	0	3	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	1
John Aull, 1810	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
John Aull, 1820	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	2

Table 4: John Aull's properties in New Castle

LOCATION	GRANTOR	GRANTEE	DATE	Price	DEED Vol./Book/Page
Brick house on Market Street	Sheriff sale	John Aull	1810	\$850.00	K.3.125
	James Aull	Edward Williams	1835		O.4.275
	Edward Williams	Thomas Challenger	1837	\$500 .00	A.5.152
Frame Dwelling on Market Street (47 E. Second)	William Armstrong	William Aull	1799	\$132.00	U.2.167
	William Aull	John Aull			
	Robert Aull	Jacob Atkinson	1852	\$500.00	K.6.137
	Jacob Atkinson	William Holschumaker	1869		Y.8.109
Middle Frame House on Market Street (49 E Second)	Elizabeth Aull	Elizabeth Murphy	1856	\$475.00	X.6.145
	Elizabeth Murphy	William Holschumaker	1867	\$1,400.00	N.8.475
Northeast Frame House on Market Street (51 East Second)	Ebenezer & Maria Aull Pomeroy	Washington Hinson	1845	\$350.00	O.5.472
	Washington Hinson	William Wood	1847	\$400.00	W.5.247
	William Wood	William Holschumaker	1857	\$1,000.00	F.7.158
Frame House on SE corner of Harmony & Orange Streets	Auction for Robert McIlhorn, deceased	John Aull	1821	\$194.00	I.4.527
	Margaret Aull (Missouri)	Patrick O'Donnell	1834	\$300.00	S.4.283
Frame House Between Orange & Vine Streets	James Patton, Executor of Morgan Jones	John Aull	1822		Z.3.130
	John Aull	James Patton	1823	\$245.00	B.4.57

⁴⁴ The 1800 Census lists two surnames: Jamison and Aull together on one line. Furthermore, the line for Jamison & Aull is connected by brackets to the following two lines listing: Cashun & Lafferty, and Campbell & Ross. No connections have been made between these surnames at this time.

Table 5: John Aull's Inventory, March 10, 1828 (totaling \$161.25)

1 Eight Day Clock	14.00
1 Dining Table	3.50
1 Pair of Small Tables	4.00
½ Dozen chairs	3.00
1 Looking Glass	1.50
1 Stove	6.00
Andirons, shovel & tongs	2.00
1 Carpet	3.00
Sundry, Cookery & Tea ware in the Closet	4.00
1 Side Board	12.00
1 Walnut Table	2.50
6 Chairs and a small stand	1.50
1 Desk	3.00
1 Painted Cup Board	2.50
1 Old Rag Carpet	1.00
1 Small Painted stand	.25
6 Chairs & 1 Looking glass	3.00
2 Small Pine Tables	.50
1 Bed & Bedding & Bedstead	10.00
1 Dressing Table & 6 Chairs	2.50
Bed, Bedstead & Bedding	15.00
2 Chests of Carpenters Tools	10.00
2 Old Dishes	.75
Wheel and Reel	1.00
10 Bags	2.00
2 Old Bedsteads & Sacking	1.50
2 Guns	2.00
Sundry, Empty Barrels & Timber	2.00
A lot of wheat & buck wheat	3.00
2 Pine Tables	.75
Andirons, shovel & tongs	1.00
Iron Potts Tea Kettle & Sundry, other kitchen furniture	7.00
4 Cedar Tubs & 2 Churns & 2 Pails	1.75
Old Garden tools & hook	1
Sundry, empty barrels	1.50
1 Meat tub & cupboard	.75
Sundry, old iron wood saw & Augers	2.00
A lot of corn	2.50
Bedstead & sacking	1.50
2 carts	10.00
1 Barrow	1.50
1 Tin Plate Stove	3.00
1 Cow	10.00

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