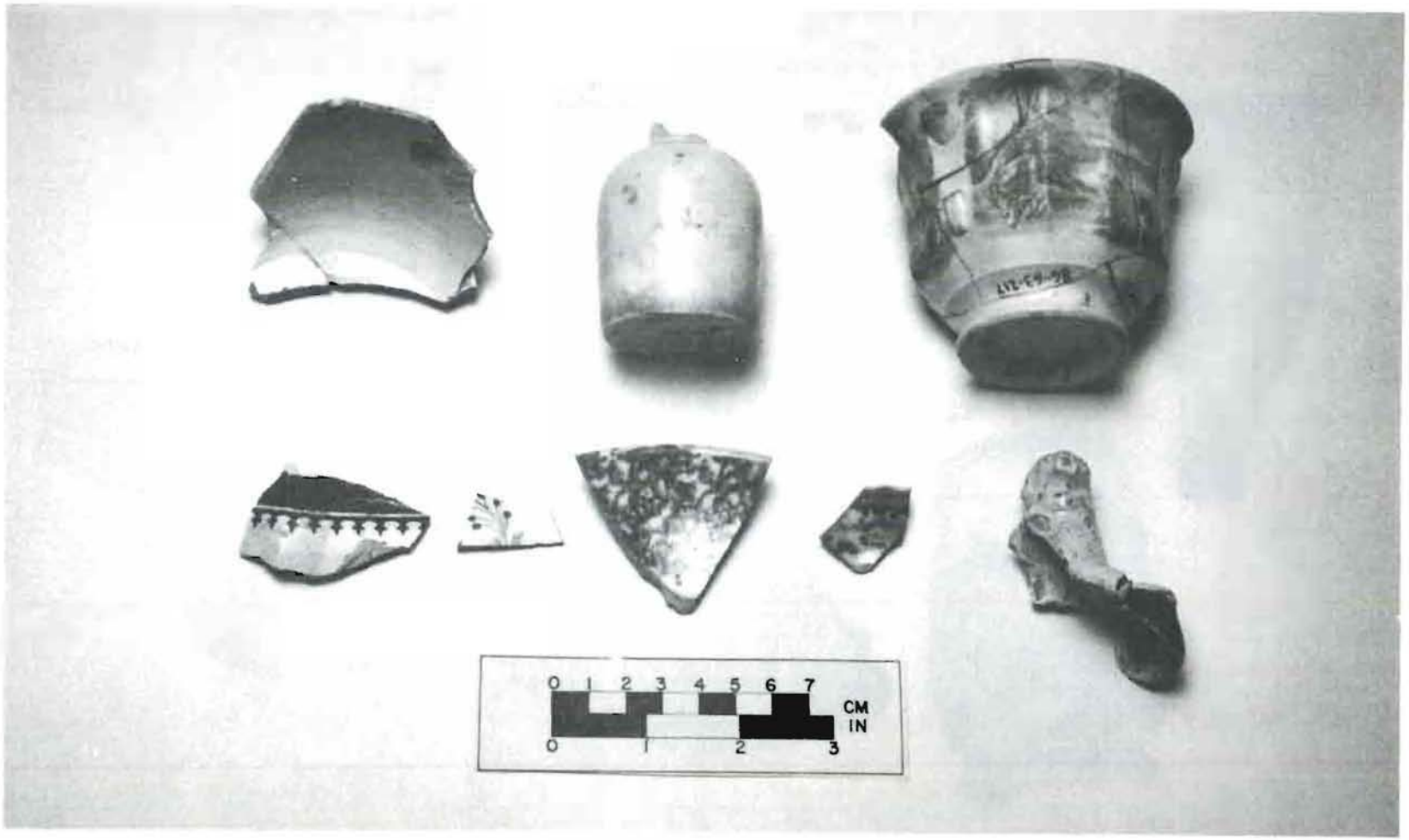
PLATE 25

Whiteware and Pearlware Vessels from the Dickson II Occupation (7NC-E-82)

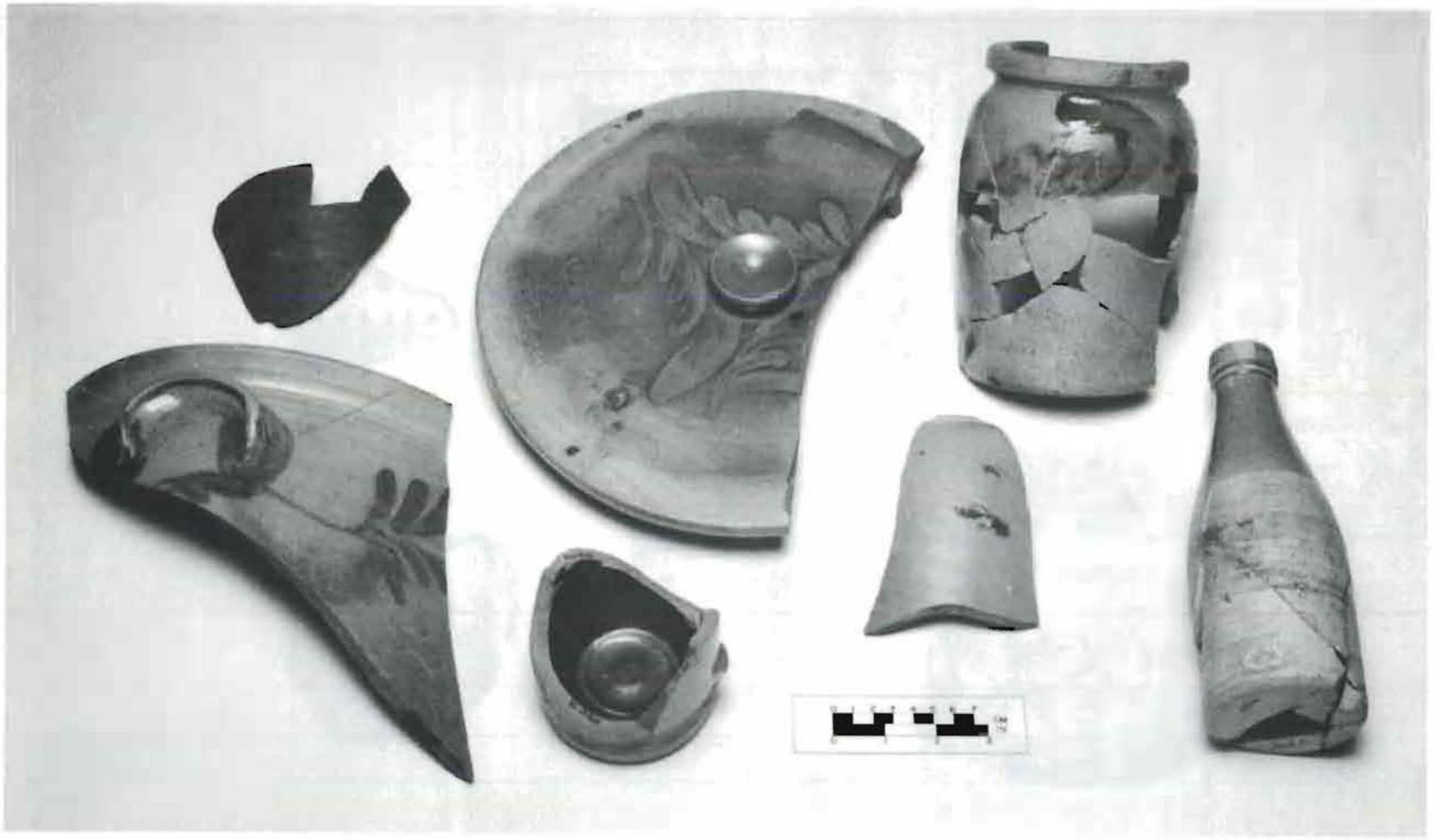


TOP ROW: Plain pearlware bowl; pearlware polychrome, overglazed enamel toiletry bottle; blue transfer print pearlware/whiteware fluted tea cup

BOTTOM ROW: Blue transfer print whiteware tureen lid; polychrome whiteware cup, overglazed enamel; blue sponge decorated whiteware; blue transfer print pearlware saucer; pearlware sheep figurine

PLATE 26

Stoneware Vessels from the Dickson II Occupation (7NC-E-82)



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: Brown exterior stoneware vessel; American blue and gray stoneware crock lid; American blue and gray small crock; stoneware ginger beer bottle with illegible maker's mark; gray stoneware crock fragment; American blue and gray stoneware crock bottom; American blue and gray large stoneware crock with lug handle

bottle, but was illegible. The remaining ceramic types present included several redware milkpans, canisters, and a redware jug, and several porcelain cups and saucers. The majority of the redware vessel forms reconstructed were chamber wares, as were some of the whiteware forms. At least one small porcelain bowl (Vessel #146) was reconstructed (Plate 27).

From the Dickson II assemblage, there were 14 flatware and 34 hollowware forms recovered. Ten cups were reconstructed, and no mugs or jugs were found. Thirteen of the total ceramic vessels were classified as food preparation and storage vessels, and thirty-two were categorized as dining and drinking vessels.

Glass: Bottle glass from the Dickson II occupation consisted of mostly clear fragments (58%), followed by aqua (30%), and much smaller percentages of dark green, olive green, brown, amber, and other colors. The majority of these fragments were not from wine bottles, and most are associated with medicinal or pharmaceutical bottles, or mineral water bottles. Complete bottles from the Dickson II assemblage were far more prevalent than from the Dickson I occupation (Plate 28). At least 32 bottles, several whole or nearly complete, were recovered from the site, and many contained makers' marks or distinguishing features (Table 14). Several Wilmington bottles were identified, including two bottles attributable to Edward McInall, druggist (circa 1871-1879), and a Bringhurst Cough Syrup bottle (circa 1880-1902; Green n.d.). Bottler's marks identified included those from Baltimore, New York City, Philadelphia, Binghamton, New York, and Woodbury, New Jersey. Several porcelain and rubber bottle stoppers were found.

PLATE 27

Redware and Other Vessels from the Dickson II Occupation (7NC-E-82)

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: Redware crock, manganese glaze; redware base, clear lead glaze; redware fragment, iron oxide glaze

PLATE 28

Bottles from the Dickson II Occupation (7NC-E-82)

TOP ROW: Clear panel bottle machine molded, marked "TCW-Co"; aqua triangular machine molded pharmeceutical bottle, marked "McCormick & CO/MANFG CHEMISTS/BALTIMORE"

MIDDLE ROW: Aqua mold blown bottle; light olive bluing bottle, marked "MYERS/SPARKLING/ WASHING/BLUE/PHILADELPHIA; aqua maching molded bottle, marked "RUMFORD" around shoulder; clear three-piece mold bottle; clear machine molded bottle, marked "VOGELER, SON & CO/PERFUMERS/BALTIMORE, MD./U.S.A."

BOTTOM ROW: Clear panel bottle, marked "DAVIS AND MILLER/PERFUMERS/BALTIMORE"; aqua machine molded bottle; clear bottle fragment; aqua large bottle fragment, marked "D. McCULLEY/WILMINGTON/DE"; aqua machine molded bottle, marked "W. BULL's/ ---TABLE/SYRUP/MARK"; aqua base fragment, marked "RUMFORD"

TABLE 14

DICKSON II OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82), SUMMARY OF MARKED BOTTLES

Mark	Color	Dates of Production	Number Recovered	Source
"McCormick, Balt." inside triangular mark	Aqua	?	1	
"...Binghamton, N.Y...."	Clear	?	1	
"...Wilmington..."	Clear,panel	?	2	
"...Baltimore..."	Clear,panel	?	1	
"...By the kings ROYAL PATENT/EDWARD MC INALL JR. DRUGGIST/2nd & Market/Wilmington"	Aqua,round	1871-1879	2	
"Ely's/Cream/Balm/Ely Bros./Owego/N.Y./ Catarrh/Hayfever"	Amber,panel	1878-1888	1	(Fike 1987:19)
"Rumford" [Baking Powder]	Aqua,round	?	3	
"Voceler, Son & Co./ Perfumers/Baltimore, M.D./U.S.A."	Clear	?	1	
"L.M. Green Woodbury N.J."	Aqua	1876-1910+	1	(Fike 1987:164)

TABLE 14 (cont.)

Mark	Color	Dates of Production	Number Recovered	Source
"MYER'S SPRINKLING WASHING BLUE/PHILADELPHIA/ DIRECTIONS/ALWAYS HAVE YOUR WATER SUFFICIENTLY COLORED/BEFORE PUTTING YOUR WASH/INTO THE TUB"	Olive	?	1	
"BRINGHURS.../COUGH SYR.../GEN.../" Bringhursts from Wilmington, Delaware	Clear	1845-1902	1	

Small amounts of table glass, mostly in the form of tumbler and stemmed glass fragments, were recovered. Lamp glass fragments, milk glass containers, and Mason jar fragments were also found. Four aqua-colored telephone pole insulators were found.

Faunal Remains: A total of 2565 bone and shell fragments were recovered from the Dickson II occupation of the site. The balance of these fragments came from within the bounds of Structure A. The Dickson II faunal assemblage consisted of 1,983 total bone fragments, of which 654 bones, or 33% of the total, could be identified by species. Table 15 summarizes the results of the faunal analysis of the Dickson II bone, and shows the number of bone fragments identified by species, the percentage of the total bone count of those fragments, and the minimum number of individuals (MNI) represented by the identified bone. Appendix IX contains more detailed data concerning the Dickson II bone.

Reitz and Scarry (1985:21) have suggested that a faunal collection containing over 200 individuals or 1400 fragments can produce reliable faunal data. The Dickson II faunal assemblage contains 79 identified individuals and enough identifiable bone fragments to be useful for comparative purposes from which to draw some conclusions about the dietary patterns of the sites' inhabitants. Domesticates identified accounted for 15.2% of the total identified individuals, and included two cows (Bos taurus), seven pigs (Sus scrofa), and two sheep (Ovis aries) or goats (Capra hircus). At least one of the pigs and one of the sheep exhibited signs of arthritis, suggesting older animals. Butcher

TABLE 15

HEISLER TENANCY SITE (7NC-E-83),
SUMMARY OF FAUNAL ANALYSIS

Species	# of Bone Fragments	% of Total Bone	MNI
Pig	19	9.4%	4
Cow	17	8.4%	2
Sheep/Goat	3	1.5%	2
Deer	1	.5%	1
Turtle	34	16.7%	1
Unid. Bird	1	.5%	1
Unid. Mammals	128	63.0%	
	---	-----	--
Total	203		11

Key: # - number
MNI - minimum number of individuals

marks, including saw marks and knife cut marks, were visible on a large number of domesticate bones. Identified bones for all of the domestic varieties present were not limited to any specific portion or cut of the carcass; indeed, the presence of two sheep skulls, cow and pig mandibles, and pig medapodials and a sheep phalanx suggest that the entire carcass was being processed and that these animals were being butchered on-site.

Wild varieties of meat were also identified from the Dickson II collection. Muskrats (Ondatra zibethicus) constituted by far the largest number of wild mammal bones identified, accounting for thirteen individuals. One deer (Odocoileus virginianus), two opossums (Didelphis virginiana), two rabbits (Sylvilagus floridanus), a striped skunk (Mephitis mephitis), and a gray

squirrel (Sciurus carolinensis) were also present in the collection. Butcher marks, consisting of knife cuts and striations, were observed on one of the opossum mandibles, and on the tibia of the squirrel, suggesting that these animals were part of the diet of the sites' occupants. Other domestic but probably non-dietary animals present in the assemblage included five rats and a cat (Felis domesticus). Five birds of undetermined species were also present in the collection. These are probably chicken (Gallus domesticus), but may include other Aves species as well. All totalled, non-domestic varieties of animals accounted for 31 of the MNI for the Dickson II site, or for 39.2% of the assemblage.

Eighteen turtles, including painted (Chrysemys picta), eastern box (Terrapene carolina), snapping (Chelydra serpentia), musk (Sternotherus sp.), and mud turtles (Kinosternon sp.) were identified in the Dickson II assemblage. In addition to the identifiable bone fragments, over 250 unidentifiable turtle bone and shell fragments were recovered. Like the other wild species described above, several of the turtle bones exhibited knife cut marks, indicating dietary use. Turtle MNI accounted for 22.8% of the total assemblage.

One aquatic species was identified in the collection, the catfish (Ictaluridus sp.? or Ariidae sp.?). Eighteen catfish were identified, accounting for 22.8% of the total assemblage. These catfish could be either of the salt or fresh water variety, due to the brackish nature of the Christina River in this area; probably they are freshwater catfish.

The faunal analysis of the Dickson II assemblage reveals that over 84% of the recovered identifiable bones from the site were from wild species, including catfish, muskrats, squirrels, and turtles, supplemented by domestic varieties such as cow, pig and sheep. Several of these wild species, notably the muskrat, opossum, rabbit and squirrel may have also served as a source of income; i.e., the animals are valued for their hides. The archaeological evidence suggests that these domesticates may have been home-grown, with the possible exception of the cow, which could have been obtained from more wealthy neighbors, such as the Webber family or the later tenant occupants of the Patterson Lane Site. The ages of several of the pig and sheep in the assemblage indicate that the site inhabitants were eating tough, old meat, again suggestive of their economic standing. Whether the wild species present at the Dickson II site were part of the diet or used strictly for income, which is doubtful, the assemblage is a graphic illustration of the lower economic standing of the site's black tenants. The faunal assemblage from the Dickson II site is most definitely not like that seen at the Whitten Road Site (Shaffer et al. 1988), where domestic species, many of which were young or young adult pigs and sheep, comprised the major portion of the diet, and wild species to a small extent supplemented the diet. The Dickson II site faunal pattern resembles that seen by Larry McKee at the late-eighteenth century Kingsmill Slave Quarters (1987:38), which he has likened to a diet based on consistently low quality items supplemented by foraging; something McKee calls "opportunistic collecting". The fact that a very similar pattern is discernible at the Dickson II Site, a

site which dates from the second half of the nineteenth century, suggests that black dietary patterns may have changed little from slavery to freedom. At the very least, the unchanging dietary patterns observed at Dickson II and Kingsmill Quarters could be indicative of the diets of lower economic status households, either white or black. Archaeological investigations which produce adequate faunal collections need to be conducted on domestic sites in the Middle Atlantic to more fully explore this hypothesis.

Architectural Artifacts: By far the greatest number of artifacts from this category recovered from the Dickson II occupation was window glass. Predominantly clear or aqua, over 4400 fragments of window glass were found. Their densities and distributions around the structure of Dickson II are suggestive of window locations in the dwelling, and will be discussed more fully later in this report.

About 1531 nails were found in the Dickson II occupation. Cut nails and unidentifiable nail fragments constituted the greatest number of artifacts (1341). Thirty wrought iron spikes, ranging in size from 4 inches to two of 11 inches, were found. Like those recovered from the Dickson I occupation, these were probably utilized in connecting flooring or joists with the sills.

In addition to nails and window glass, a large number of machine-made brick fragments were recovered, and fragments of lead sheeting, tin sheeting, and slate fragments, probably from roofing and chimney flashing, were also found. Numerous small

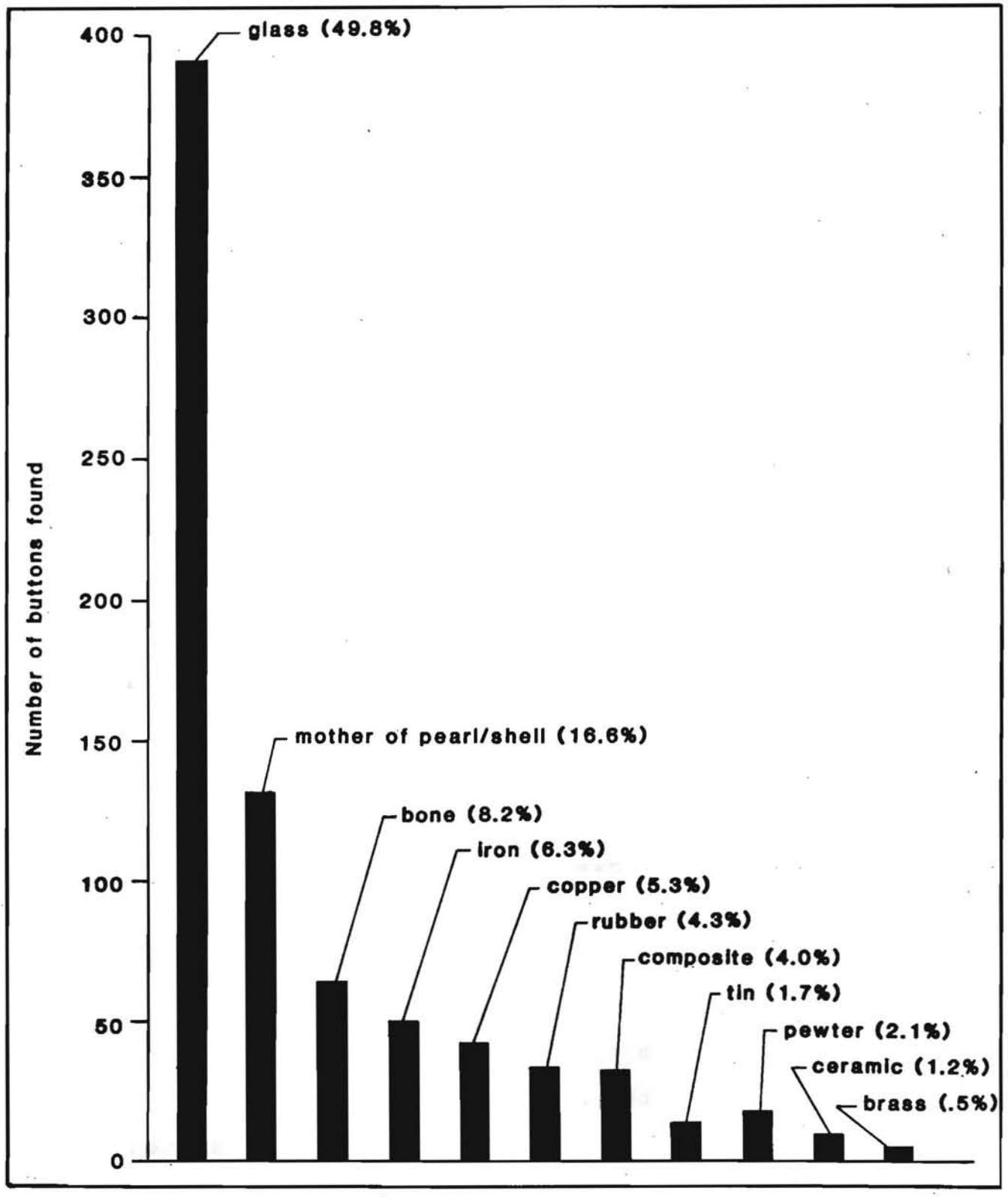
architectural objects were recovered from within the limits of Structure A, including a copper keyhole cover, brass door parts, hinges, plaster fragments, some with paint on them, and copper and rubber items.

Clothing and Personal Items: This artifact group is made up of a wide range of items, the most numerous of which are the buttons. A total of 877 buttons were found associated with the Dickson II occupation. Figure 40 shows the composition of the button collection from Dickson II, indicating the number recovered, the percentage of that group to the overall assemblage, and the material of construction. Of these, the overwhelming majority were manufactured of glass. This button type accounted for nearly 50% of all buttons found; no other category of button type is even close to this percentage. Most of these buttons were circular in shape, and Profile Number 2 was the most dominant, but all other profiles were represented as well. There were no South types in this category of button. These buttons generally had four holes, but at least four examples were shank varieties, with the most dominant type being Number 2.

After glass buttons, the next most common type was mother-of-pearl/shell, followed by bone, iron, copper, rubber, composite, tin, pewter, ceramic, and brass. Eleven of the rubber buttons had the words "Novelty Rubber Company/Goodyear Pat. 1851" on their reverse sides. A brass U.S. military button, with an embossed eagle and the letter "I" (for infantry), was also found. Many of the buttons had decorations of various types, including glass buttons with homestead scenes, geometric

FIGURE 40

Summary of Button Types from Dickson II



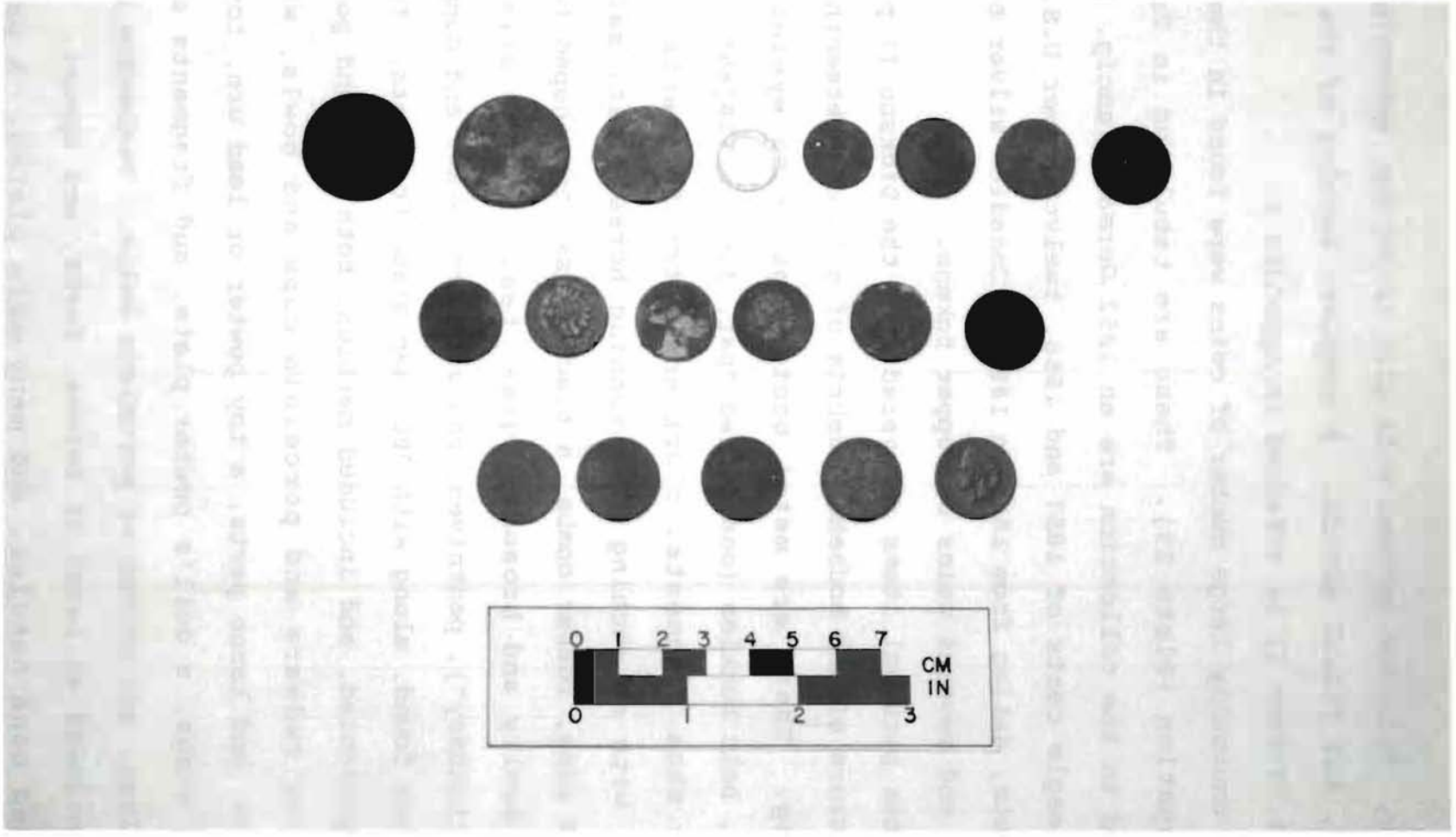
patterns, metallic buttons with gilt lettering, embossing, shell designs, and floral motifs. A complete catalog of the buttons found at Dickson II is attached in Appendix X.

An unusually large number of coins were found in the Dickson II occupation (Plate 29). These are tabulated in Table 16. Included in the collection are an 1852 German pfennig, two U.S. Flying eagle cents of 1857 and 1858, twelve copper U.S. Indian Head cents, dating from 1860 to 1898, a Canadian silver half dime (1888), and several coins or copper tokens.

Other personal items recovered from the Dickson II present a good picture of the household debris of a late nineteenth century dwelling. There are metal boot loops, shoe eyelets, shoe buckles, belt buckles (one marked "pat. June 16 [18]85"), leather boot or shoe fragments, clock and watch fragments, a brass lighter with an etching of a running horse on it, safety and straight pins, rubber combs, a black glass, bow-shaped barrette, metal jewelry and broaches, glass beads, garter straps (one marked "Lindsay"), penknives, and scissors. Brass and copper lamp parts were found, along with 280 lamp glass fragments. Toys were well represented, and included marbles, both clay and porcelain, small toy redware and porcelain cups and bowls, whistle, harmonica, and kazoo parts, a toy pewter or lead urn, toy copper or lead rings, a doll's pewter plate, and fragments of arms, heads, legs, and torsos of porcelain dolls. Tableware utensils found included at least 26 knives, forks, and spoons. Some of these had bone handles, and many were plated. A part of a sharpening stone, a scythe blade fragment, and an ice skate runner were also recovered, and over 50 shot gun shells, mostly

PLATE 29

Coins Recovered from the Dickson II Occupation (7NC-E-82)



TOP ROW: Half cent or large cent, unknown origin, 1795?; half cent or large cent, unknown origin and date; half cent, unknown origin and date; Canadian nickel, 1888; German pfennig, 1852, with drill hole; U.S. flying eagle cent 1857; 1858; Indian Head cent, 1883

MIDDLE ROW: U.S. Indian Head cents, 1863; 1898; unknown; 1864; 1878; 1864

BOTTOM ROW: U.S. Indian Head cents, 1898; 1860; 1863; 1860; 1887

TABLE 16

COINS FROM THE DICKSON II OCCUPTAION (7NC-E-82)

Feature or Level	Coin Type	Condition	Date
Lv 1	German 1 Pfennig	medium wear with hole drilled	clearly 1852
Lv 1	U.S. Flying Eagle cent	medium wear	clearly 1857
Lv 1	U.S. Flying Eagle cent	very light wear	clearly 1858
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	medium wear	clearly 1860
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	light wear	clearly 1860
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	medium wear	clearly 1863
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	medium wear	clearly 1863
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	medium-heavy wear	clearly 1864
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	light wear	clearly 1864
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	medium wear	clearly 1878
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	light wear	clearly 1883
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	light wear	clearly 1887
Lv 1	Canadian silver half dime	medium wear	clearly 1888
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	light wear	clearly 1898
Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent	light wear	clearly 1898

TABLE 16 (cont.)

Lv 1	U.S. Indian head cent bronze so post 1864	heavy corrosion but light wear	illegible
Lv 1	Copper coin or token 26mm	very heavy wear no detail	no date remaining
Lv 1	Copper coin or token 27mm	very heavy wear no detail	no date remaining
Lv 1	Copper coin or token same size as U.S. 1/2 cent	very heavy wear no detail	no date remaining

with plastic cartridges. Several stove parts were found beneath the chimney fall area of Feature 10, including a door fragment, and part of an oven plate (Plate 30).

Intrasite Button Comparison

Due to the large number of buttons found at both occupations of the Dickson Site, and because of the sealed context of the Dickson I assemblage, a comparison of the buttons from Dickson I and Dickson II was conducted. Figure 41 shows the results of this comparison. Excluded from this comparison are the glass, rubber, iron, and plastic buttons, all of which were found only at Dickson II. This exclusion of certain material types is in itself a conclusion of the comparison, because it suggests that glass buttons became the dominant form in the second half of the nineteenth century, and that the material of construction was no longer limited to copper, brass, pewter, and bone, the materials utilized in the first part of the nineteenth century. The most obvious result seen on Figure 41 is the change from copper buttons as the dominant type at Dickson I to shell and mother-of-pearl at Dickson II. In nearly all of the categories of material

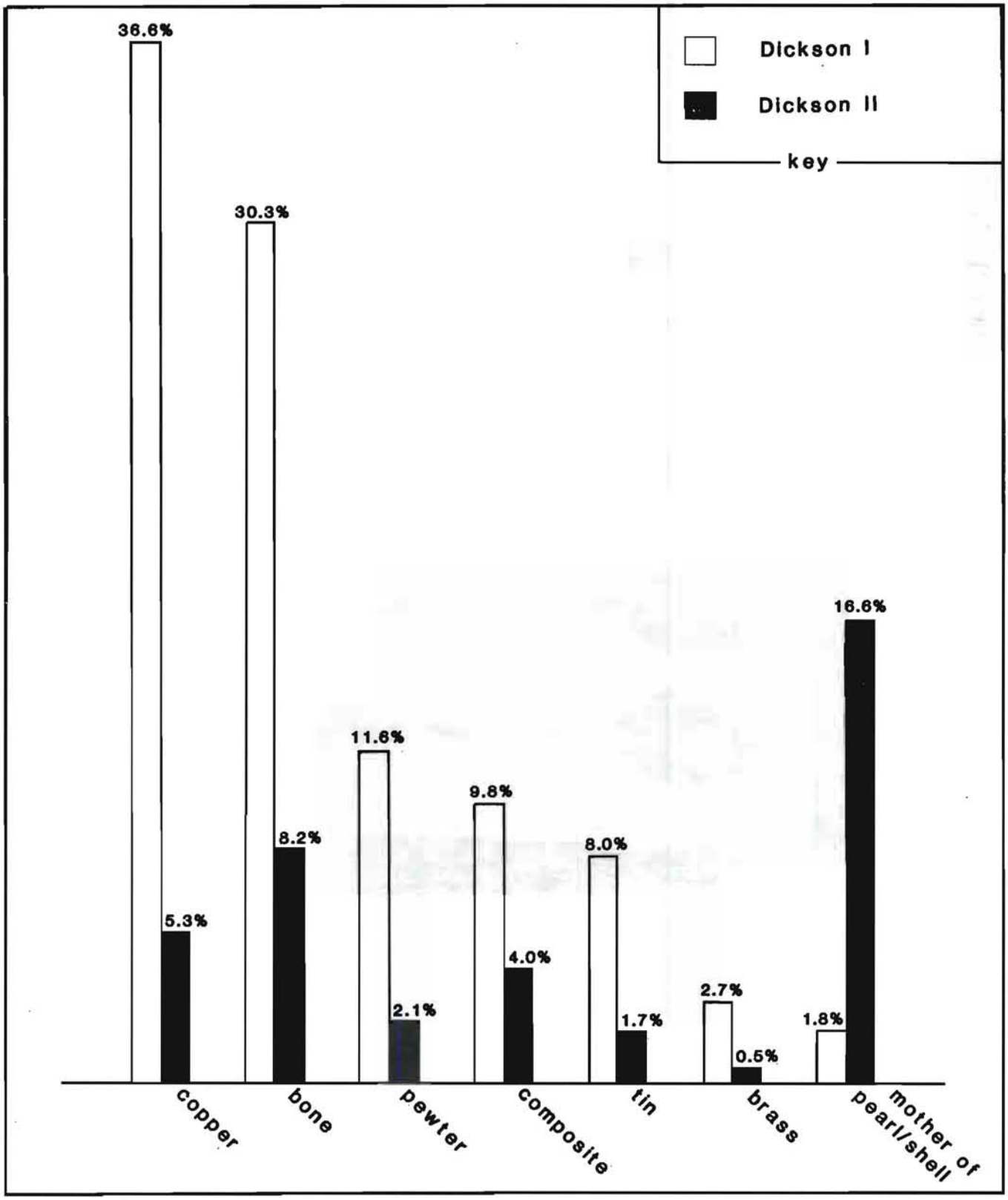
PLATE 30

Small Finds from the Dickson II Occupation (7NC-E-82)

1 - Iron strap 2 - Iron strap hinge 3 - Iron hammer head 4 - Fork with wooden handle 5 - Two brass plated spoons, one marked "Union Silver Company" 6 - Tobacco pipe fragments 7 - Thimble, eraser tip, brass cartridges 8 - Shaker lid, gilted floral stud 9 - Porcelain doll parts 10 - Slate pencils 11 - Watch parts 12 - Shell buttons 13 - Toy jack 14 - Clay marbles

FIGURE 41

Comparison of Dickson I & II, Button Collections



types, the Dickson I buttons are reduced by the second half of the nineteenth century, again reinforcing the dominance of glass and mother-of-pearl/shell at Dickson II.

Storekeeper Inventories and the Artifactual Record

Recent work by Adams and Smith (1985) has utilized storekeeper records and compared these to the archaeological record. A similar comparison can be conducted for the Dickson I occupation, based on the storekeepers' inventories compiled for this study. Table 17 presents a compilation of all of the artifact types contained in those inventories that were likely to be lost or discarded at a store site and become part of the archaeological record. A fair amount of these objects were found at Dickson I, including ceramics, nails, window glass, cutlery, scissors, and large numbers of personal items, such as buttons, pins, and penknives.

Ceramics, however, are noticeably sparse in the inventories, and in fact are not as dominant as other vessel forms, such as cedarwares, tinwares, and pewter. Ceramic vessels, perhaps because of their non-durability, did not make up the bulk of vessel types in the storehouses, nor probably at the domestic sites. A similar conclusion for taverns of the region was reached by Coleman et al. (1988b), and by Ann Morgan Smart (1984) in Virginia. Pewter and woodenwares seem to have been the predominant vessel types, and this is suggestive of the relative amount of ceramics available at the store and, by inference, demanded by customers in the surrounding area. For example, in the period between December 1788 and 1789, Hannah and Dickson shipped 315 pieces of cedar or woodenware to their store, yet

TABLE 17

SELECTED ITEMS FROM NEW CASTLE COUNTY STOREKEEPERS' INVENTORIES, 1791-1811

Select Inventory Items	John Taylor	Benjamin Mendenhall	William Dickson
Personal Items	shew makers tools parcel of tools	3 doz. Temple glasses 17 gross coat buttons 3 doz. ivory combs 25 doz. buckles 8 gross jacket buttons 20 doz. pocket & pen-knives 1 lb. of shot	a lot of pins, shirt buttons, etc. 1 packet of pins 5 bundles crooked combs a lot of shoe buckles a lot of buttons sundry small articles 3 pair plated spurs 3.23 lbs. of shot 1 box of pipes
Vessels/ Utensils	5 tin coffee pots 7 tin cups 4 pitchers 3 mugs 1 jar 4 quart jacks jarrs & fatt pots 6 jugs 3 pots with honey pewter cedarware flatware 1 pewter gallon	50 doz. knifes & forks 20 doz table spoons 8 doz tea spoons 5 tea trays 1 doz. tea trays 2 open work trays 24 small waiters 4 bread dishes 2 pewter bassens 94 lbs. pewter 18 bottles mustard	a lot of china, glass and Queen's ware 8 plates and 1 basin of pewter 4 wire sieves a lot of earthenware a lot of cedarware empty cook and bottles knives and forks a lot of snuffers and table spoons

TABLE 17 (cont.)

Select Inventory Items	John Taylor	Benjamin Mendenhall	William Dickson
Architectural Items	nailrods		tray of nails and sundries 211 lbs. of nails part box of window glass 1 box of window glass a lot of files, hinges, and plane irons
Personal Items	7 doz. shirt buttons 1 lot of needles a lot of coat and vest buttons 5 pair scissors 3 razors, 1 dozen knives 4 necklaces 1 watch single case	1 lot buttons & button molds 10 paper pins 4 watch chains 1 lot combs 3 razors 19 penknives 1 lot buckles 1 lot scissors 12 lbs. of shot	pins needles buttons button molds pen knife large knife silver watch watch key shot
Vessels/ Utensils		1 lot glassware 1 lots Queen's ware in store 1 lot Japaned ware 1 tea board 1 lot tin ware 1 lot wooden ware 1 lot earthenware 5 bottles mustard	milk pans jugs tableware glassware knives & forks
Architectural Items		1 lot locks	nails

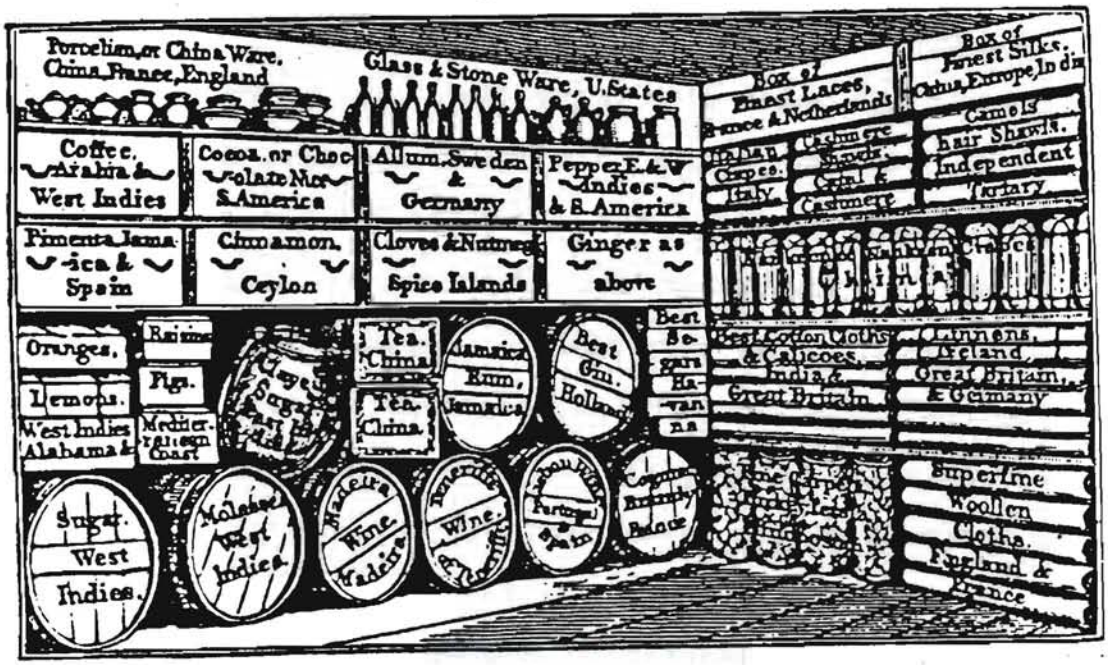
* from Fanelli 1983:225-228

during the same time period had only one delivery of earthenware. The appellation earthenware probably denotes locally produced ceramics, such as redwares. The fact that woodenware was inventoried by the individual piece, and earthenware by the "lot" is in itself indicative of the relative ranking of the two forms.

Far more important than any vessel forms, either in tin, pewter, wood, or ceramic, were the textiles and fabrics that the storekeepers had in stock. The large variety of types and their grades within each type suggests that these fabrics were important items of wealth and display, to a much greater degree than tea cups and saucers. Figure 42, a sketch of the types and locations of the origin of store items for a shop in the early nineteenth century, visually sums up the relative importance of ceramics as compared to textiles and perishables, and also provides an indication of how much of a store's shelf space was devoted to earthenwares. Only a portion of the top shelf contains porcelain, china ware, glass and stoneware, from the United States, England, France, and China. The largest part of the inventory seems to be made up of spices, fruits, and alcoholic beverages, such as cinnamon from Ceylon, cloves and nutmegs from the Spice Islands, oranges and lemons from the West Indies and Alabama, Cognac and Brandy from France, wine from Teneriffe, Maderia, or Lisbon, rum from Jamaica, and gin from Holland. Textiles fill the entire shelf from floor to ceiling, and include cottons, calicoes, linens, laces, silks, carpets, and woolens from Europe and Asia.

FIGURE 42

Woodcut Showing the Place of Origin of Country Store Merchandise



Woodcut Showing the Places of Origin of Country Store Merchandise
From Emma Willard's Geography for Beginners, *Hartford, 1826*

ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The archaeological investigations, coupled with historic documentation regarding Delaware stores and storehouses, can be combined together to create an image of what the Dickson Store looked like in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Additionally, the architecture of the second occupation of the site can also be reconstructed, and compared to other known tenant houses, both black and white, in the region.

The archaeological testing identified two separate structures, A and B, that date to two separate and distinctive

temporal periods. Structure B, the Dickson Store, was present at the site by the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Based on the historic research, in particular the drastic differences in the parcel price in October, 1844 ($80) and January, 1845 ($25), Structure B was apparently removed about 1845. Structure A represents the later site occupation, dating from about 1850 to circa 1919. Interestingly, the two buildings, though occupying the same location, were not oriented in the same direction, suggesting 1) a change in site function or utilization, and/or 2) a change in site occupancy (Figure 43 and Plate 31). Building reorientation has been observed at other archaeological sites in Delaware, namely the William Hawthorn Site in New Castle County (Coleman et al. 1984:144-146, 181) and the Mudstone Branch Site in Kent County (Heite 1984:15-17). In both of these cases, it was changing transportation patterns which obviated the need for structure reorientation; and to some degree, the change in building orientation at the Dickson Site was also dictated by transportation considerations. The alignment of remains of Structure B, located beneath Structure A, appears to have been towards a southwestern exposure, which in this case is in the direction of the Christina River. Recognizing that the River was channelized in the 1820s, removing the "Great Bend", which was located at the base of the bluff below the Dickson Store, it seems likely that the orientation of the site was economically determined, towards the lifeline of river traffic and commerce. Since the site was the location of a commercial store, this conclusion is not unusual. Structure A, on the other hand, is

FIGURE 43

Dickson Site (7NC-E-82), Orientations of Structure A and B

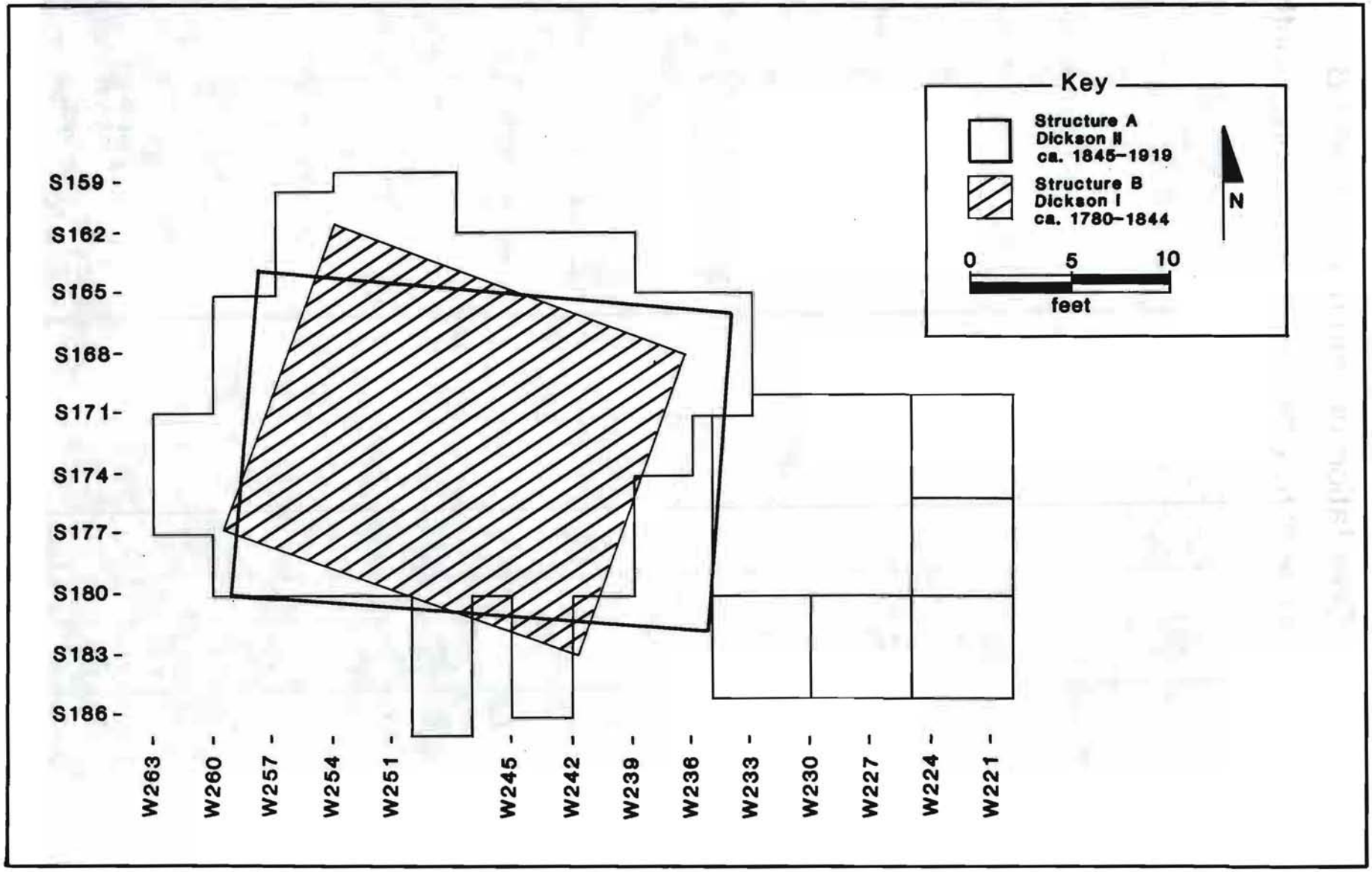
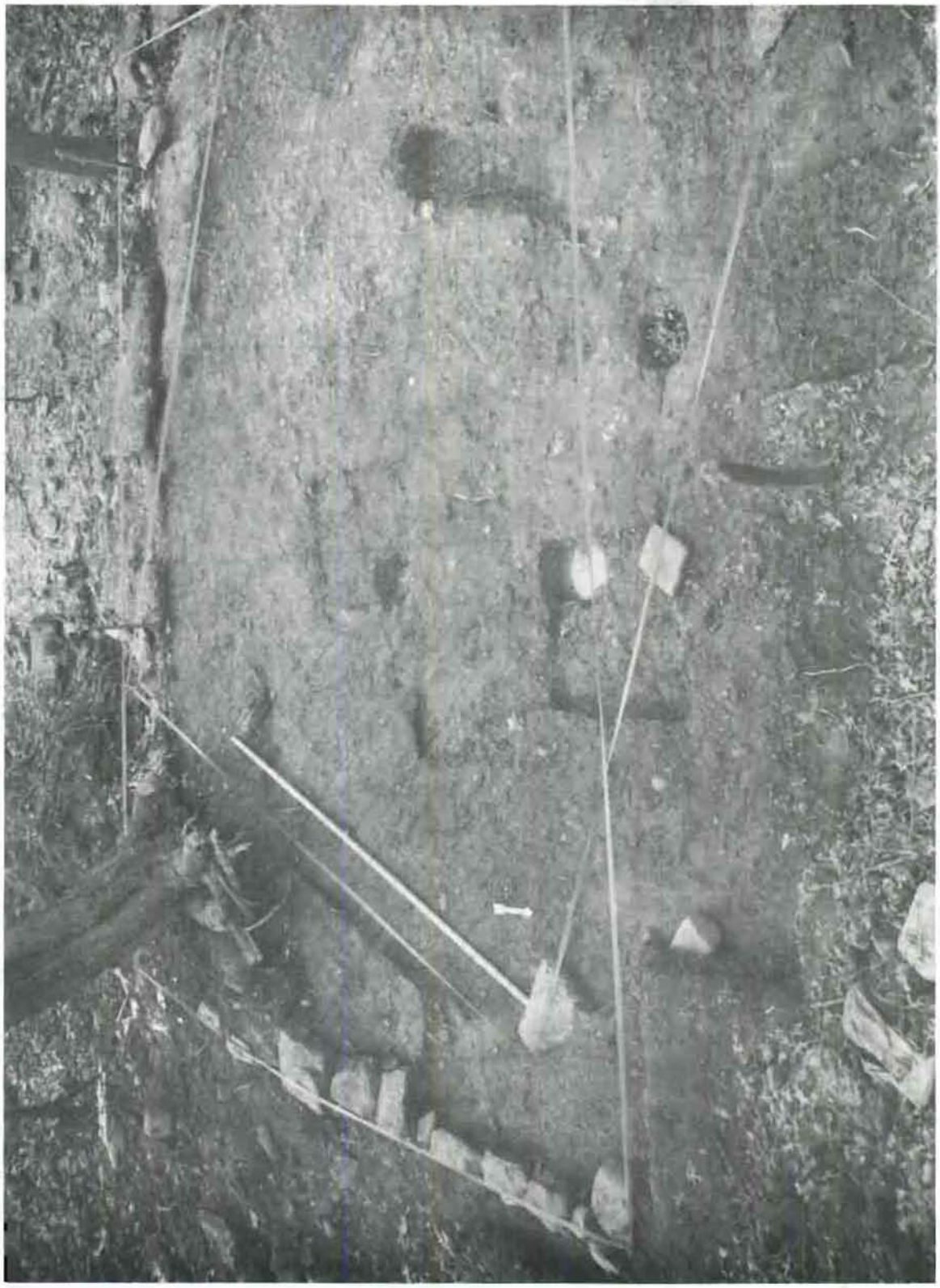


PLATE 31

Orientation of Structures A and B, Dickson Site (7NC-E-82), Looking South



oriented approximately 15 degrees east of Structure B, and is almost parallel to the existing river line. A building realignment such as this one would suggest that the commercial purpose of the Dickson Store was no longer valid, and with the construction of a new dwelling at the site, a new orientation was selected that was not dependent on the river. Structure A probably was oriented towards the lane or road which ran along the base of the bluff, which has been notified by the existing sewer line access road (William Neal, personal communication 1986). Thus the building realignment at the Dickson Site presents a graphic depiction of the stagnation and economic decline of the village of Christiana Bridge in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Structure B

In its prime, William Dickson's Store undoubtedly filled an important niche in the commercial system centered on Christiana Bridge. Dickson's estate administrations show that he was widely connected, both personally and financially, to many of the area's inhabitants. Though there are no drawings or photographs of the store, written descriptions from contemporary newspaper advertisements, overviews of storekeeping in America and of stores throughout the region, interpretation of the archaeological findings, and consultation with architectural historian Bernard Herman of the University of Delaware, Center for Architecture and Engineering, can be used to reconstruct the setting and fabric of Dickson's Store. Gerald Carson (1954:16) in The Old Country Store presents a detailed, generic, and rather

romantic, vision of the early nineteenth century American store, which probably closely resembles Dickson's:

> A general store in settled country was likely to be an unpainted building about 20 by 30 feet, with narrow doors and small-paned front windows, for display was not needed or thought of, and glass was expensive. The floor of the interior was soon darkened with the grime brought in by cowhide boots, with molasses drippings, and endless sprinklings and sweepings. The ceiling overhead was unplastered, black with smoke, festooned with merchandise hanging from hooks driven into the exposed beams. A little box of a counting room or office was set off for the trader to sit in when he was at his books.

Carson's description, though fanciful, is based on oral histories and extensive research, and is quite close to the reality of the situation as seen through the archaeological record at the Dickson Site. Based on the results of the archaeological testing, Structure B appears to have been a frame building with dimensions of about 20x16 feet, with gable ends on the southeast and northwest ends of the building. Three limestone piers, located on 9 foot intervals along the northeast wall of the structure, were the only remains of building supports found for Structure B. It is probable that similar pier supports were located on the southwestern front of the building, but that the subsequent removal of Structure B and construction of Structure A may have reused some of the building materials of the first building. It was noted that there were several large limestone stones, similar to those seen along the northeast wall, scattered about and within the Structure B remains.

A rough outline of the building was identified along the other three walls of the structure, providing the structure's

dimensions, and consisted of a shallow depression containing Features 13, 19, and 20 through 25. All of these features were contemporary with each other, and the Mean Ceramic dates for each are very close (see Table 10). The presence of so many artifacts and debris in the area that would have been beneath the store, Features 19 and 24, indicates that there was no foundation for the building, a conclusion which was supported by the excavations. Instead, the structure sat on the stone piers, and wooden flooring was laid across floor joists connected to sills resting on these piers. This would create a small crawlspace beneath the structure, and provide a convenient and out-of-sight garbage dump for broken or discarded items, such as ceramics, glass and bone. Additionally, a crawlspace would provide a safe haven for scavengers, such as rats, raccoons, cats, squirrels, and dogs, to drag and store food and other debris. The considerable amounts of bone that were recovered from Feature 19 attests to the presence of these scavengers. According to Carson (1954:74), the mongrel dog was ubiquitous to the rural store, and

> country stores seemed to attract dogs about whom lingered the memory of an extinct skunk. It was an unusual day when at least one dog did not find an open bucket of pure leaf lard and get in a few good licks. An encounter between two strange dogs was certain to result in a snarling, whirling mass of hair and teeth, with yowls of rage and anguish pitched to split an eardrum. Trade stopped. Customers sought refuge as best they could, and the stock tumbled in all directions until the store owner could usher the contestants out the door with a hoe or axe handle.

From the foregoing description, it is not difficult to see why items that were doubtlessly unintentionally dropped, such as coins, pins, and buttons, all of which were recovered in

abundance at the site, could slip through the floorboards and be unrecoverable, and thus be added to the archaeological record. Figures 44 and 45 showing the distribution of buttons and coins recovered during the archaeological investigations of Structure B, suggest this hypothesis to be the case, illustrating that the majority of these items were found in test units too far from the fringes of the structure to be easily retrieved. The distribution of these artifacts beneath the floorboards of middle portions of the store also suggests functional areas within the building: this central area inside of the store was a "public interaction area", where customers gathered and examined merchandise. It should be noted, too, that over time, floorboards warp, crack, and split, allowing items to "slip through the cracks". Of the 11 coins that were recovered from Feature 19, five dated from after 1816, when the store, and its flooring, were about 40 years old.

A stove, mentioned in William Dickson's inventory of 1795 ("ten plate stove with pipe"; see Appendix VII), was located in Structure B, as suggested by the location of Feature 22, the charcoal and ash concentration in the southern corner of the building. This feature probably represents the "clean out" for the stove, perhaps a trap door in the floor of the structure where ashes were dumped during periodic stove cleanings. A chimney flue, as evidenced by Feature 20, the concentration of hand-made bricks, some with indications of mortaring, smoke-scarring and charring, was located within the limits of Structure B. From the archaeological evidence, particularly the high

FIGURE 44

Dickson Site (7NC-E-82), Distribution of Buttons, Structure B

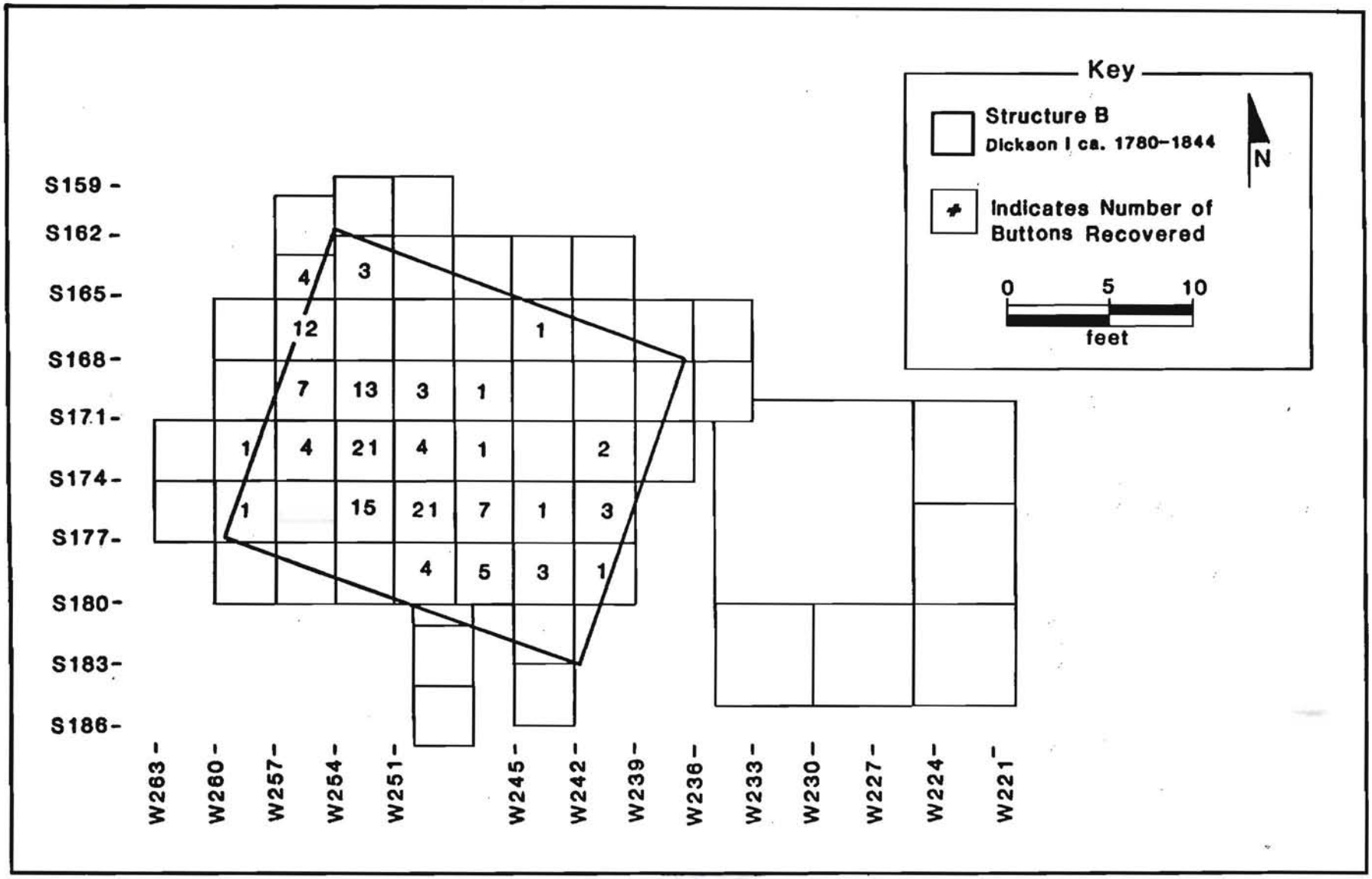
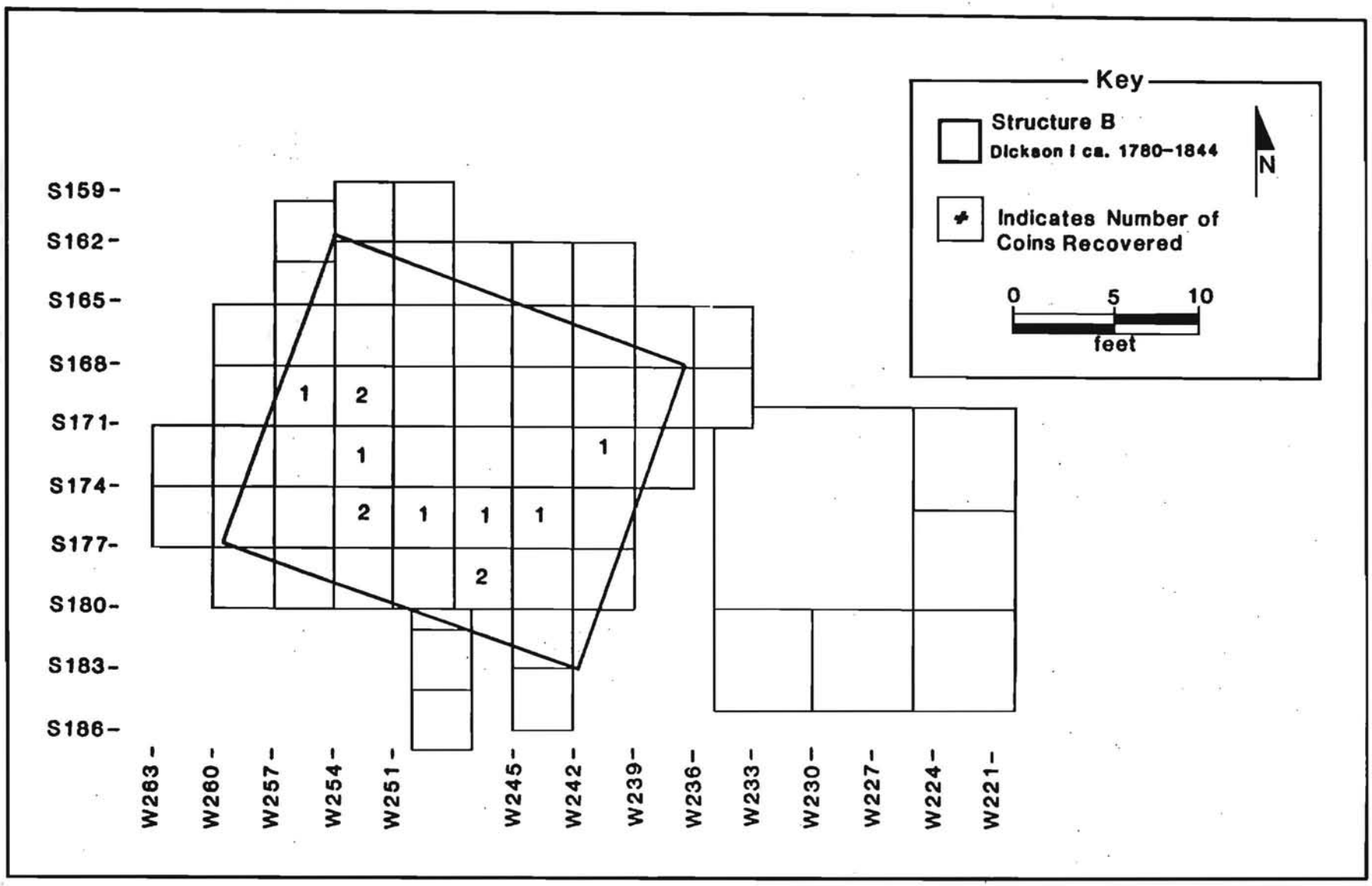


FIGURE 45

Dickson Site (7NC-E-82), Distribution of Coins, Structure B



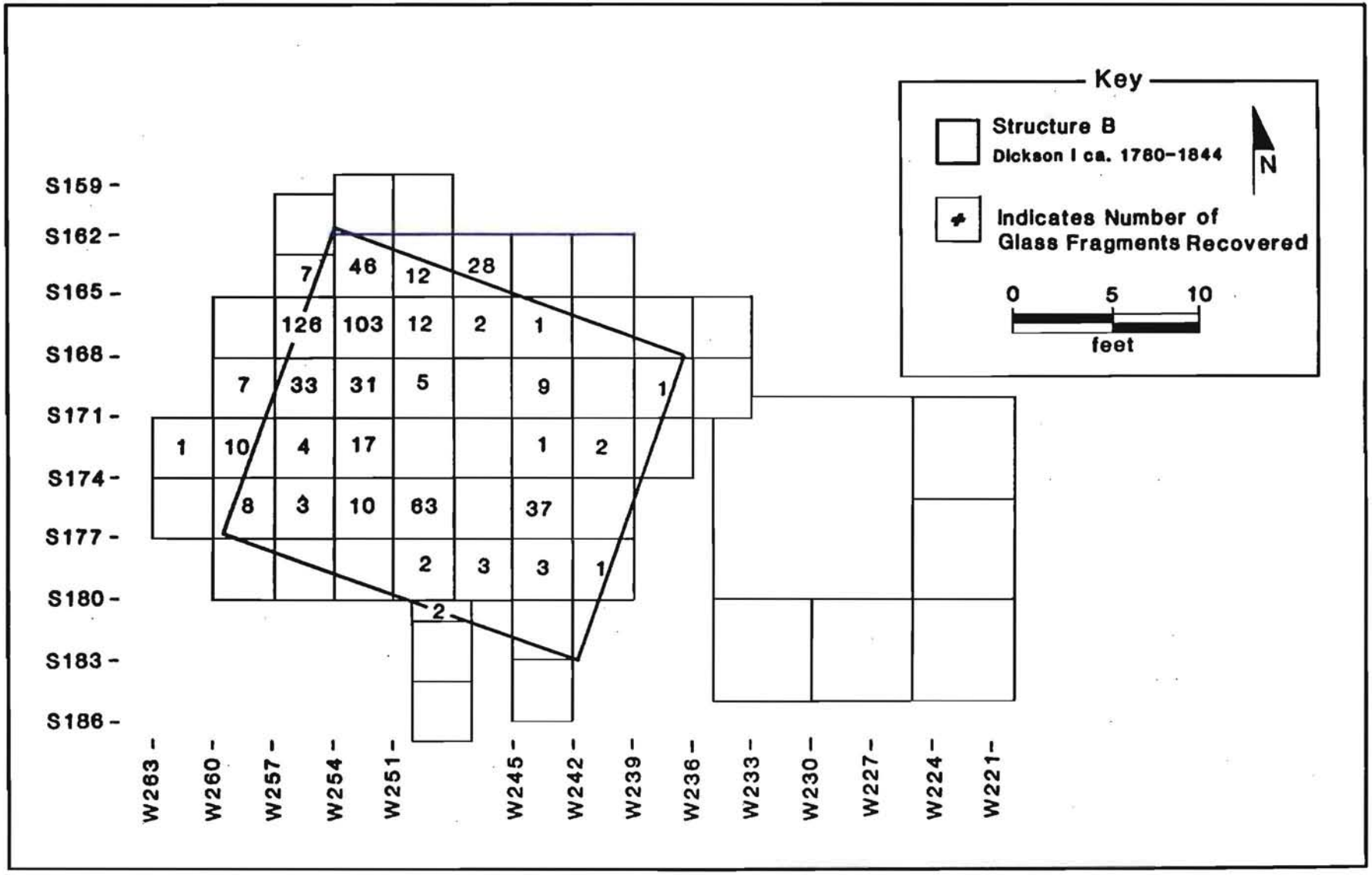
concentration of window glass on the western gable end of the building (Figure 46), this chimney flue appears to have been located on the eastern gable end, opposite the window. Feature 20 overlaid Feature 19, and the Mean Ceramic Date derived for it was 1840.6, indicating that the brick concentration was deposited after Feature 19, and also suggests that at the time of demolition, the store was knocked down intentionally. The small number of bricks within the feature and the density of the concentration, particularly when compared to the brick chimney fall (Feature 10) from the later structure, suggests that the Dickson Store flue was not substantial, and lends further credence to the presence of a stove within the store. No chimney base or hearth was encountered, so it is probable that the flue was constructed on wooden cribbing and supported directly from the floor. A stove and a chimney flue were common occurrences in country stores (Carson 1954). Based on the 12x7 foot dimensions of the brick concentration, and the approximate building dimensions, Dickson's Store was probably a story-and-a-half in height.

The distribution of window glass from Structure B suggests that there was only one window in the store, located on the western gable end of the building. The sole window's location in the western end of the store would provide the maximum amount of illumination available in all seasons in a region where western or southern exposures provide this. A single window was not uncommon in stores; Carson (1954:14) has stated that

> the storehouse was usually dark and dim, with no windows along the side. This was to provide maximum shelf space from front to back.

FIGURE 46

Dickson Site (7NC-E-82), Window Glass Distributions, Structure B



It is probable that the Dickson store had opposing doors in both the southern and northern walls, a common occurrence on stores and dwellings of the period (Dr. Bernard Herman, personal communication 1988).

Feature 13, the shallow, 18 foot long mortar-filled trench, is interpreted as a non-architectural feature, and may represent a rodent burrow, or dog wallow that was filled with debris from beneath Structure B after its removal. The Mean Ceramic Date for the feature is 1811.6, suggesting that the feature was contemporarywith the Feature 19 and the other early Dickson features associated with Structure B, and there were ceramic cross-mends between Features 13 and 19.

Stores and storehouses of the size, construction, and appearance of Dickson's Store were commonplace in the rural Delaware landscape of the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. Based on an examination of newspaper advertisements for Delaware properties in the mid-eighteenth century, the dimensions of Structure B were fairly typical of small commercial buildings in the region (Catts n.d.). An example of the typical store on the Delmarva Peninsula can be seen in the newspaper announcement for rent of a store and granary in Broadkill Hundred, Sussex County, in 1797, which also suggests interior partitioning and room usages:

> To be Rented ... The Storehouse and Granary that John Martin last occupied for a number of years. It is a wooden building, 18x20, two story high, with a common room below and a chamber above, suitable for a small family; situate in Broadkiln Hundred, Sussex Co., in a very public and convenient place for Business, about 1 mile and a half from the landing ....

> For terms Apply to George Truitt, Wilmington,
> or to Isaac Clowes, at Clowes.
> (Delaware Gazette, March 10, 1797).

Buildings such as the Brick Store, located at Brick Store Landing on Duck Creek, were less representative of the rural storehouse of the time period (Herman 1987a:78). Structures of that type, well-built and substantial, were often found in the major coastal towns, such as New Castle and Wilmington, and suggest the high degree of commercial involvement of the store's owner. Many of these stores and storehouses were truly massive, like the one owned by William Lees in 1796 in New Castle:

> ... STORE is 24 feet by 36 feet, handsomely fitted up, and is unite to the tavern house, the two forming the uniform and handsome front of 82 feet, has also a piazza communicating with the wharf, and a specious dry cellar, capable of storing one hundred pipes or hogsheads.
>
> The STORE-HOUSE on the wharf is roomy and convenient, the lower part is appropriated to the storage of heavy goods, and the upper part for grains, and for that purpose is divided into garners, with a slide in each, whereby with spouts grain can be conveyed from any one of the garners into vessels laying at the end or either side of the wharf.
>
> The Wharf is 160 feet long, extending a sufficient distance into the Delaware for sea vessels of common burthen to lay afloat and receive or deliver cargo.
> (Delaware and Eastern Shore Advertiser, December 25, 1796)

Lees' store and storehouse were constructed on a grand scale and the rural stores, such as Martin's in Sussex County or Dickson's Store in Christiana, were quite obviously not the main commercial locations in the area. There was a clear diversity in store types and functions, even at this period of American history, and each store served a specific locale and community. From the small rural trading posts hinterland to the larger mercantile

interests of New Castle and Wilmington, these commercial locations were part of the agricultural economic system centered on Philadelphia.

Based on all available archaeological, documentary, architectural information, and on personal communications with Bernard Herman (1988), an artist's reconstructed view of Dickson's Store, circa 1790, is shown in Figure 47. The store was constructed about 1780, and was removed in 1844, having stood for approximately 64 years. The mean historic date of the Structure B is therefore 1812.

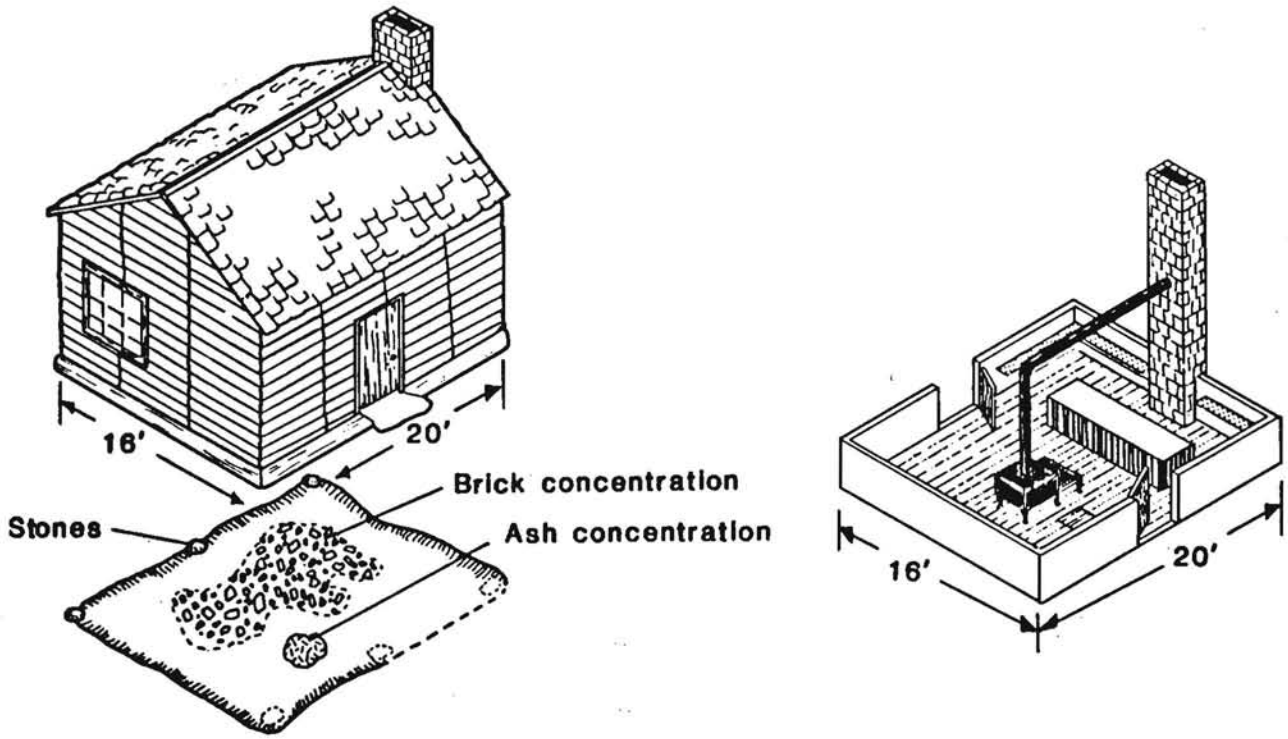
Structure A

Built about 1845, Structure A stood until circa 1919, when deed records make no mention of a building. The mean historic date for this structure is 1882. This building was constructed on the site of Structure B, probably soon after the removal of that building. A dense red clay cap, approximately 3 inches thick, was deposited over most of the remains of the first building, and was used, along with Feature 20, the brick concentration, to level out the site for construction of the second building.

The footprint of Structure A is easily definable by the presence of foundation stones on the ground surface, and the dwelling had dimensions of approximately 20x24 feet. A substantial hearth wall and stone chimney base (Feature 29) are present in the middle of the eastern wall, as is Feature 10, the brick chimney fall from this building. The hearth wall is constructed of dry laid stone, one course in depth, with no

FIGURE 47

Dickson Store , circa 1790 (artist reconstruction)

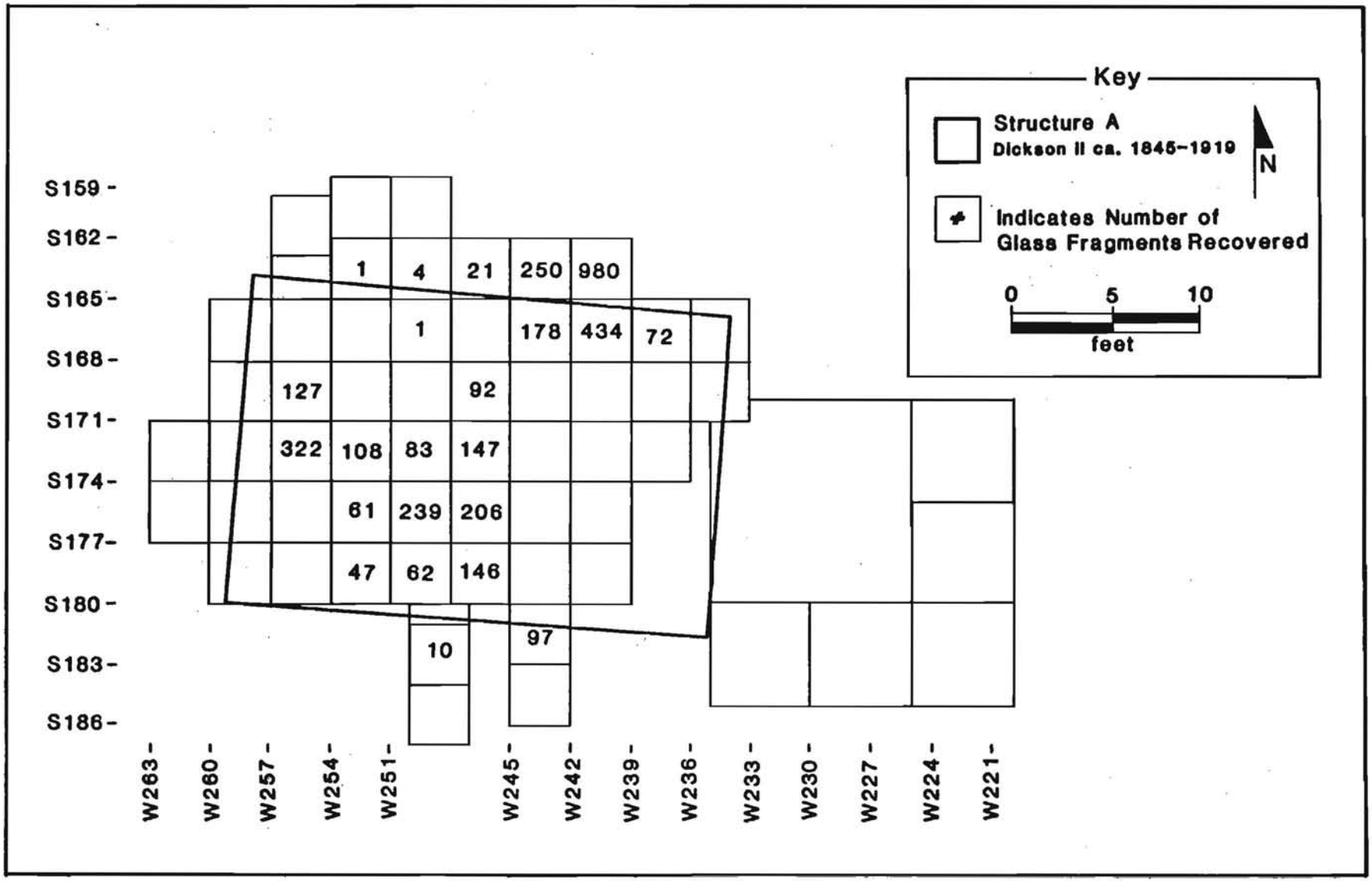


builder's trench indicated. Based on the length of the fall, the height of the structure is estimated to have been approximately 10 to 12 feet at the gable peak. The bricks utilized in the construction of Feature 10 are clearly machine-made, and differed markedly from those encountered in Feature 20. With the exception of the hearth wall, no extensive stone foundation was identified for Structure A. Instead, large foundation stones were placed around the site, indicating that the structure, like Structure B, sat on stone piers with wooden sills extending between supports. The stones along the west wall showed signs of having been disturbed after or during the removal of Structure A. Flooring was laid on joists connected to these sills. Two small stones, located on line with the hearth in the approximate center of the structure and at a slightly lower elevation than the hearth wall and pier stones, may have functioned as supports for a wooden girder extending west to east across the foundation.

The distribution and high concentrations of window glass associated with Structure A (Figure 48) suggests that there were three windows in the dwelling, located on the north, south, and west walls. Like Structure B, it is interpreted that there were opposing doors in both the north and south walls, a common architectural feature on dwellings of this period (Dr. Bernard Herman, personal communication 1988). The dimensions of this building, 20'x24', are near the extreme end of those found in one-room plan dwellings, so it is hypothesized that a small chamber, lit by a single window, was located in the west gable end.

FIGURE 48

Dickson Site (7NC-E-82), Window Glass Distribution, Structure A

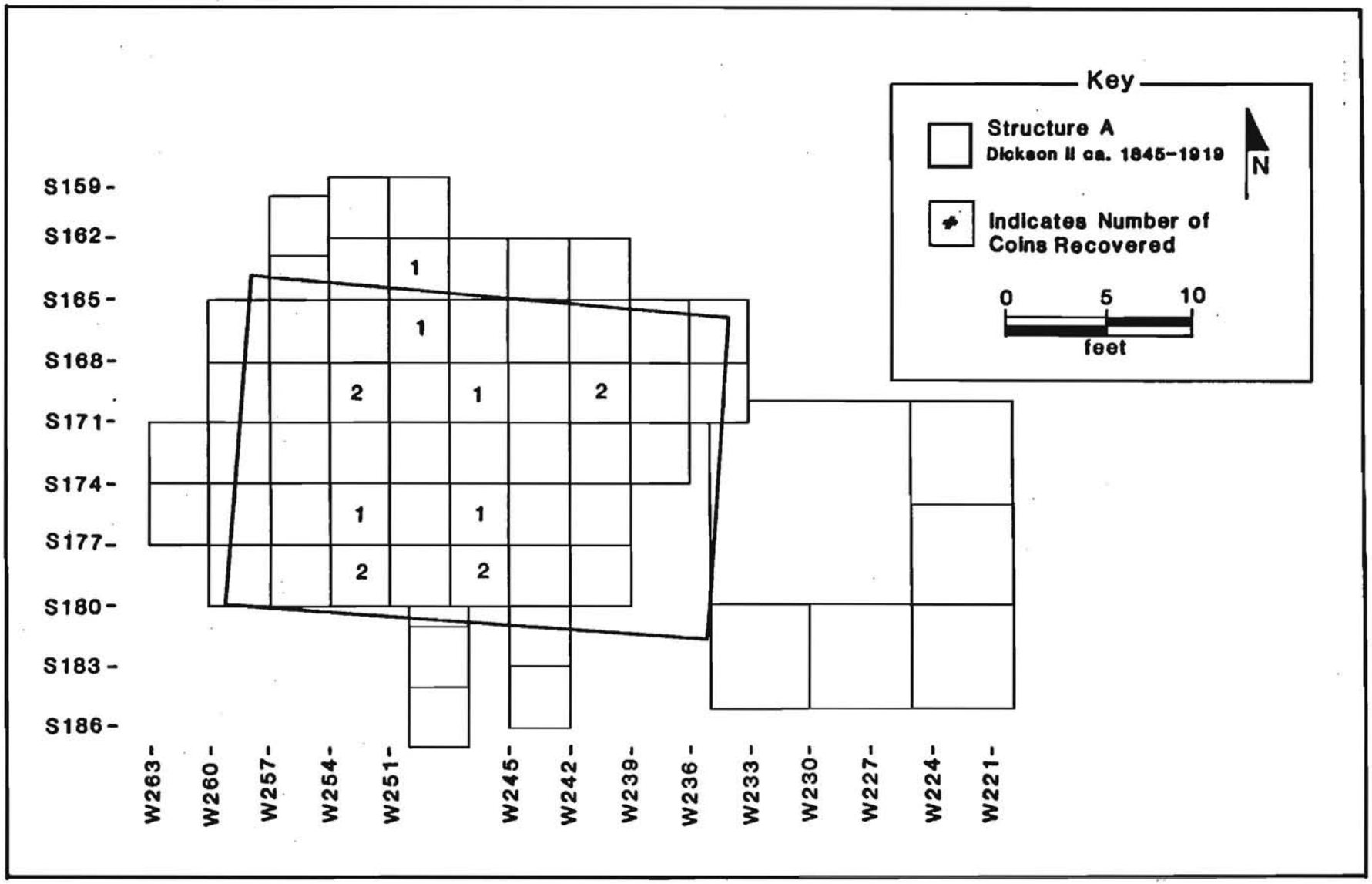


Structure A is interpreted as a tenant dwelling, and it is known from historical evidence that at some point in the second half of the nineteenth century the site was occupied by Afro-Americans. The distribution of coins (Figure 49) associated with Structure A is random, indicating that the building was not a commercial structure, unlike Structure B. The high concentration of buttons at the site may be indicative of the occupation of the inhabitants; in the 1880 census, the black occupant David Walmsley is recorded as a laborer, suggesting a low economic status. Consequently, the presence of so many buttons may suggest that David's wife was a seamstress, or more likely, a rag picker, removing the buttons and other items, and selling the cloth. The recovery of eleven thimbles from the interior of Structure A supports this interpretation. The presence of a single U.S. regimental infantryman's coat button from the Civil War period has several possible explanations: Walmsley himself may have been in the service, though this is doubtful, because of his age and place of birth (the eastern shore of Maryland); a regimental coat was one of those "picked" by the Walmsleys; or, as in Virginia (Kelso 1984:202), poor blacks were "issued" with army surplus clothing, and the button was from one of these.

The low MCD for the interior ceramic vessels found in Structure A is probably due to the poor economic status of the site's inhabitants. Otto (1984) has shown that slave sites and overseers' sites on Georgia plantations have larger amounts of earlier ceramics associated with their occupations, suggesting either curation of the objects, or more likely acquisition of second-hand ceramics. Considering that Structure A's inhabitants

FIGURE 49

Dickson Site (7NC-E-82), Distribution of Coins, Structure A



were black laborers and of poor economic status, this interpretation seems valid. All other archaeological dates, derived from the features and the coins recovered, point to a late nineteenth century occupation, and this is historically documented.

In conclusion, Structure A was a frame, 1 1/2 story tenant house, approximately 20'x24', with a brick chimney and hearth located on the east wall. An artist's reconstructed view is shown in Figure 50, based on consultations, documentary, archaeological, and architectural research. It is noteworthy that Structure A was shown on only one map of the nineteenth century, Lake and Beers' of 1860 (Figure 12). No other map or atlas of the period illustrated the building, suggesting that dwellings of this type are excluded from the historic atlases, either due to size or house occupants. In either case, the exclusion is significant for cultural resources surveys.

HEISLER TENANCY SITE (7NC-E-83) INVESTIGATIONS

SITE HISTORY

The Heisler Tenancy Site was created by William Egbert Heisler between 1851 and 1866. In 1851, Heisler, then of the City and County of Baltimore, purchased a 7 acre parcel from John G. Sankey of Christiana Bridge (NCCD G-6-353). This parcel was located "in the village of Christiana Bridge, bounded by the Wilmington and Christiana Turnpike Road [present-day Route 7], by a lane leading from the Wilmington and Christiana Turnpike Road, at the Meeting House, to a farm belonging to the said William E. Heisler and by lands of the said William E. Heisler". Sankey had