Background Research

Physical Setting

The village of Stanton is located at the base of the Fall Line, southwest of Wilmington, Delaware, between that city and the town of Newark . This location affected a number of aspects of Stanton's growth and development. Stanton is situated near the confluence of Red Clay and White Clay Creeks and the Christina River. The former tributaries served a number of mills which serviced the surrounding agricultural populations from the beginning of European settlement, and the Christina provided a transportation artery delivering their produce to nearby urban markets and abroad. The town was, therefore, in a location to serve as an economic focus for local agricultural production. To the southeast of Stanton lies the drainage of the Christina River which is quite marshy and wet, at least in part a product of progressive inundation by post-Pleistocene sea-level rise as well as siltations from upstream, deforestation, agriculture and other forms of land clearing. To the north and northwest, the Piedmont hills rise, and are strongly dissected by numerous creeks creating a locally rugged topography. Stanton lies on a relatively level strip of land above the marshes which contained only the major tributaries of the local drainages. As a result, Stanton became part of the corridor carrying road traffic from the urban centers of the northeast to and from Baltimore and the southern colonies during colonial times and to the national capital after the American Revolution. Because Stanton was situated favorably for both the local and the continental transportation network, it was in a favorable economic position until modern transportation technologies obviated its advantageous topographic position. In particular, first railroads and then automotive transport bypassed water routes and shortened travel time to large nearby markets, and road and rail construction technology allowed more direct routes for inter-regional travel.

General Historical Background

The village of Stanton is located on a route that connected the major population centers of the northeast -- Boston, New York, and Philadelphia -- with those of the south -- Baltimore, Washington, and Richmond (Annapolis and Williamsburg during the Colonial Period) -- and thus it was a witness to the passage of major figures and events in the creation of the new nation. A major regional route, the Limestone Road (Route7) from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, intersected with the inter-regional route and tied the village firmly into the local economic system as well. Penn's three lower counties on the Delaware were the site of settlement early in the Colonial Period by the Dutch (1630) and the Swedes (1638 -- Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs 1976: 5-6). The area was subject from the beginning to the general processes of development occurring throughout the seaboard colonies. These included expanding populations tied together and to the homeland by an increasingly complex web of commerce. The colonies were created by the mercantile policies of the European nations who sought not only to extract material resources from newly-discovered lands, but also to create captive markets for their own production (Bailyn 1977:126-27; Walton and Shepherd1979:37). From the beginning commercial, capitalist motives guided the colonists at all levels of society (Mitchell 1978). Commercial ties to the mother country were built into the colonial system and

even the pre-industrial farmer was required to convert at least a small portion of his production into cash to pay taxes, quitrent, etc. (Bushman 1981:28).

Lemon emphasizes that prior to the growth of manufacturing industries, such processing activities as milling and ironmaking were dispersed in the countryside, and that, in southeastern Pennsylvania and northern Delaware, commerce was the principal activity in towns and service centers of all sizes (Lemon 1967:503). He further notes the importance of transport in the commercial system and that product storage and transshipment was often a factor in the development of some smaller central places (Lemon 1967:503). These activities and later, manufacturing, all contributed to the function of the village of Stanton, but until 1820 the production, processing, and transshipment of agricultural goods remained the principal economic base for the commercial system (Lemon 1967:502). We see the beginnings of this activity in 1679 when a partnership of farmers was formed to build a mill at the junction of White Clay Creek and Red Clay Creek (Scharf 1888:923). The 1802 **Traveler's Directory** describes Stanton as "a place of little note", but it also indicates the presence of several flour mills nearby (Moore and Jones 1802; quoted in Scharf 1888:422). The earliest mill undoubtedly served farmers in the immediate vicinity, but production of grain for trade, particularly for the West Indies increased rapidly (Bidwell and Falconer 1941:45), and famers in southeastern Pennsylvania converted a large portion of their production into market trade (Lemon 1972:180-81). Part of the conversion process involved milling the harvested wheat or other grain into flour, and gristmills to perform this function were (prior to the introduction of steam-powered mills) located on streams, and further tended to be oriented toward the production market by virture of their centrality in the producing area and by connection with the exterior market (Langhorne 1976).

The location of the village of Stanton enjoyed a peculiar advantage in this regard, in that it was near the junction of two streams with sufficient head to power mills (Red Clay Creek and White Clay Creek) and their common intersection with the Christina River, an important local transportation artery. Flour was transported by small craft (shallop) to Philadelphia for consolidation into overseas cargoes of sufficient size for trans-oceanic voyages. Dauer emphasizes the importance of this segmented transport system in providing the vast quantities of export produce to Philadelphia which was the major colonial port serving this trade (Dauer 1978). As Philadelphia grew into an urban manufacturing center in the first decades of the nineteenth century, it absorbed both population and food to feed them from its surrounding hinterland, and the coastal trade continued to be important (Lindstrom 1978:97). Stanton shared the milling/transshipping function with the adjacent Christina ports of Newport and Christiana Bridge, but enjoyed the advantage of being at the terminus of Limestone Road, an important connector with the Pennsylvania grain-producing areas in Lancaster County. This route to market was shorter than the trip to Philadelphia and, in addition, it was a "level road with easy grades; it had only one ford, and it was a public road on which no toll was collected, so many wagons carrying grain and other bulk goods took this road to Stanton . . ." (Ward 1968:114).

The construction of railroads as alternative transportation links, and the development of steam-powered milling equipment contributed to the decline of Stanton's function in the transhipment network by the end of the first quarter of the

nineteenth century (Weslager 1947:135), but maps and documents suggest the presence of industrial activities such as textile mills and residential structures in the village, so it apparently remained an economically viable community[1], though perhaps at a more local level.

Community and Community Setting

Before proceeding to a discussion of the Hotel Lot, a few remarks on the periodization of the historic context are in order. The dividing of history into periods characterized by some pre-dominant theme is a convenient device for clarifying events and is commonly practiced by both historians and prehistorians. General histories often emphasize either political evolution (e.g. Bailyn et al 1977) or economic and technological processes (e.g. Heilbroner 1977). Our interest in the interpretation of site function and status in economic terms leads us to favor the latter approach. Devine (1982) has provided a periodization for evaluating cultural resources in the city of Wilmington which divides the historic period into five phases:

"Settlement Phase", 1630 to 1730

"Merchant Milling Phase", 1730 to 1830

"Industrialization Phase",1830 to 1880

"Urban Growth Phase",1880 to 1930

"Metropolitan Dispersion Phase",1930 to date (Devine 1982).

Heite (1984) provides a more detailed subdivision in her discussion of the historical background for the "Wilmington Boulevard" project (Klein and Garrow 1984). She provides two major periods with subdivisions:

1.The Mercantile Period, 1735-1790,
   a) the Settlement period, 1735-1740
   b) the Market Center period, 1740-1790

2. The Industrial Period, 1790-1890+
   a) the Manufacturing period,1790-1837
   b) the Early Industrial period, 1837-1870
   c) the Mature Industrial period, 1870-1890+ (Heite 1984).[2]

Either of these breakdowns might be applied to data from Stanton, but the influence of Merchant Milling was probably more important in the economy of the community of Stanton until around 1830, so the former model is probably more appropriate. This also reflects the "lag" in the expansion of industrial activity outward from the centers in Wilmington. Some discussion of the economic and historical context of the village of Stanton has been presented above. The mill near the junction of White Clay Creek and Red Clay Creek was mentioned. A survey dated 1708 in the map collection at the Delaware Historical Society shows the area north of Bread and Cheese Island, including the present location of Stanton, and does not

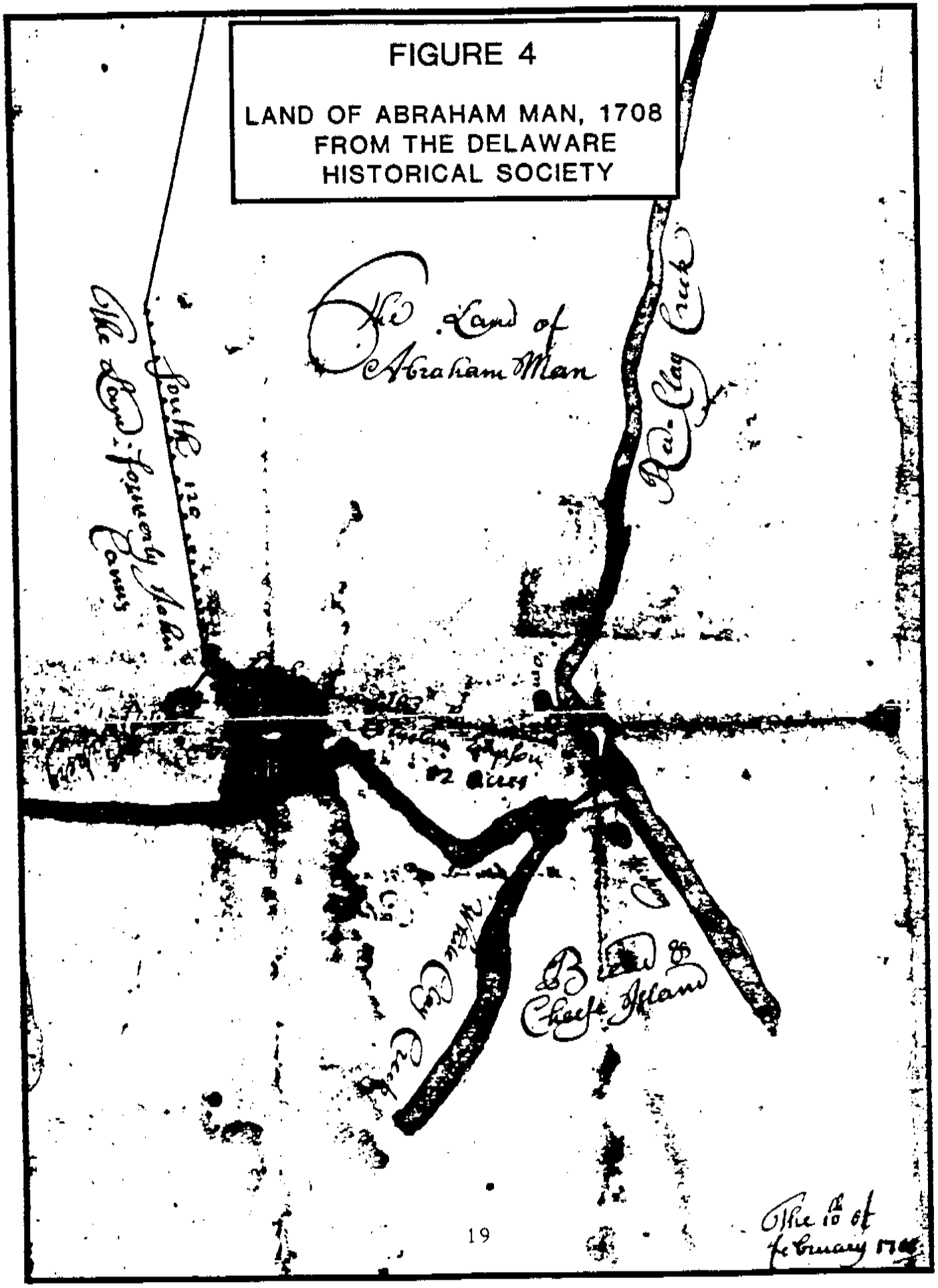


FIGURE 4

LAND OF ABRAHAM MAN, 1708
FROM THE DELAWARE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

indicate any development in that area (Figure 4). By 1772, when Stephen Stapler and Samuel Smith obtain a condemnation against the mill property, there was clearly a small settlement in that location (Scharf 1888:923-24).

Scharf provides the earliest reference to a community there, citing a 1768 Levy Court petition for the construction of a road from Newark to "Cuckoldstown" (Scharf 1888:922). The latter is the precursor of Stanton according to Scharf, and was the oldest community in Mill Creek Hundred (Scharf 1888:927). A map published in a translation of the diary of the aide-de-camp of the British General Howe shows the location of the intersection of the Limestone Road with the Newport Road where the label "Cuckoldstown" is attached along with the words "Rising Son" (Muenchhausen 1974:29)[3]. Colles' **A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America, 1789** shows a few structures at Stanton's location as well as a mill on his map of the road from Philadelphia to Annapolis, though no town name is indicated (Figure 5). The 1804 **Traveler's Directory** describes Stanton, on the route from Philadelphia to Baltimore, as "a place of little note" (Figure 6 -- Moore and Jones 1804; quoted in Scharf 1888:422). The economic ups and downs of the village have been mentioned previously, but its location at the intersection of Limestone Road and the Newport Road and its proximity to the mills seem to have insured that a certain amount of activity would take place there, and that two "hotels" would appear there on the Lake and Beers' 1860 "Map of the Vicinity of Philadelphia and Wilmington" (Figure 7) and the 1868 "Beer's Atlas" map (Figure 8). The former map shows "J. Mitchell, Cotton Mill" southwest of the village and "Tatnall & Lee, Mercht Mill" at the end of Mill Lane, as does the latter, but the cotton mill has become a "Woolen Mill" on the "Beer's Atlas" map. Scharf indicates that the stone house identified as housing the "Wm Anthony" Hotel in 1868 was not functioning as such when he wrote (1888), but that a hotel was operating across the street from that location, and that the community supported three churches, a school house, three general stores and a millinery as well. He gives an estimate of the population at 400 people (Scharf 1888:927). The "Hopkins' Atlas" map of 1881 (Figure 9) does show the name "W. Anthony" attached to the structure at the hotel lot location, but no indication of the function is given.

The alignment of the principal road to the south was shifted approximately a mile to the north (to the "Old Capital Trail") sometime early in the twentieth century, and Stanton is presently being absorbed into the general urban sprawl surrounding the City of Wilmington. Improvements to the local highway net in response to the "suburbanization" of New Castle County have created a certain amount of disturbance in the area, which generated the need for the study reported here.

The Site

The location of the village at a milling and transhipment center as well as at the intersection of a major regional route with a major inter-regional route suggests that it was the ideal location for a tavern. Indeed, a petition by citizens of Mill Creek Hundred to the May Term of the1794 Session of the Court of Common Pleas provides the following account:

FIGURE 5

WILMINGTON TO IRON HILL
A SURVEY OF THE ROADS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1789

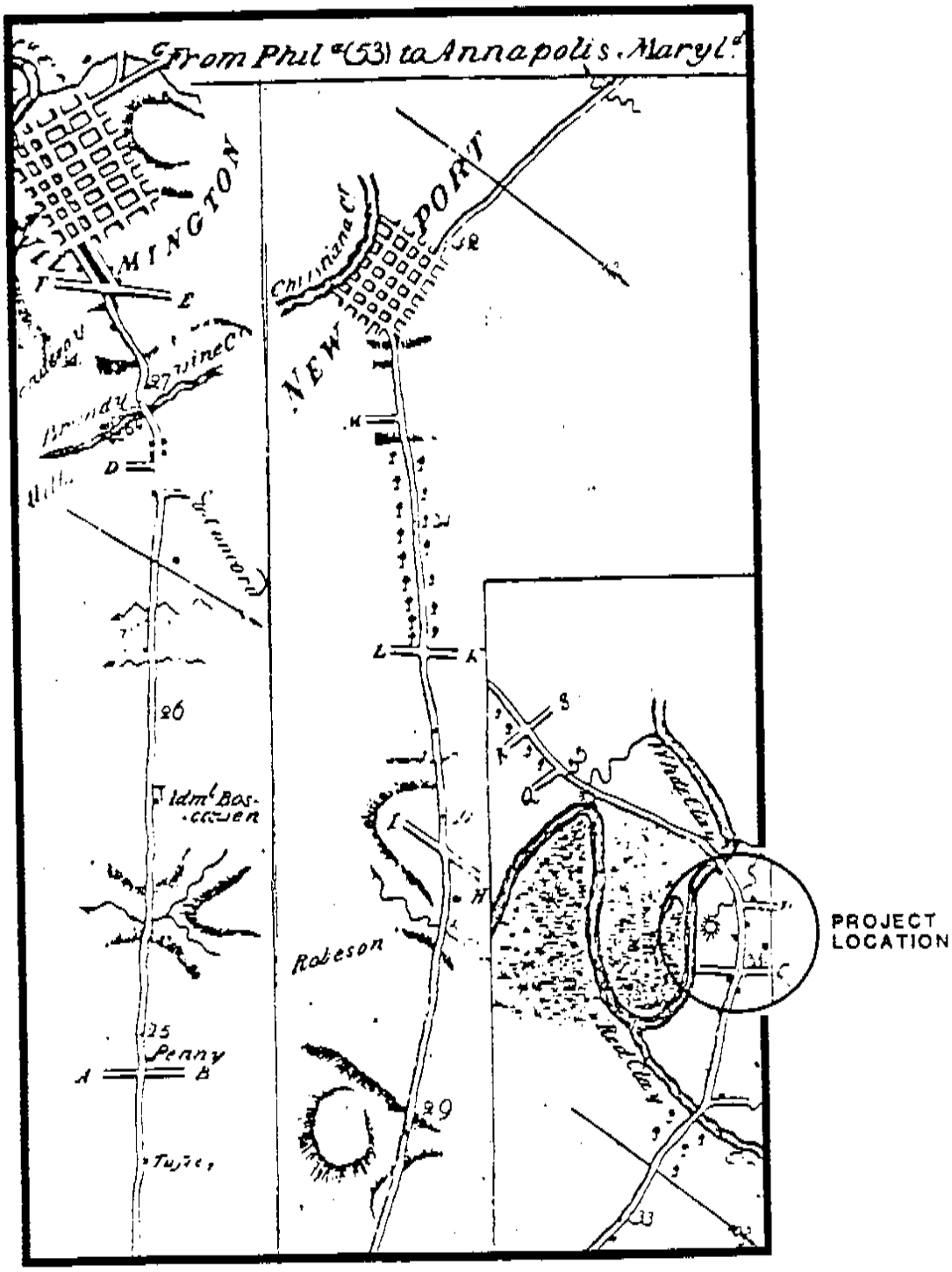


FIGURE 6

NEWPORT TO ELK TOWN
THE TRAVELER'S DIRECTORY, 1804

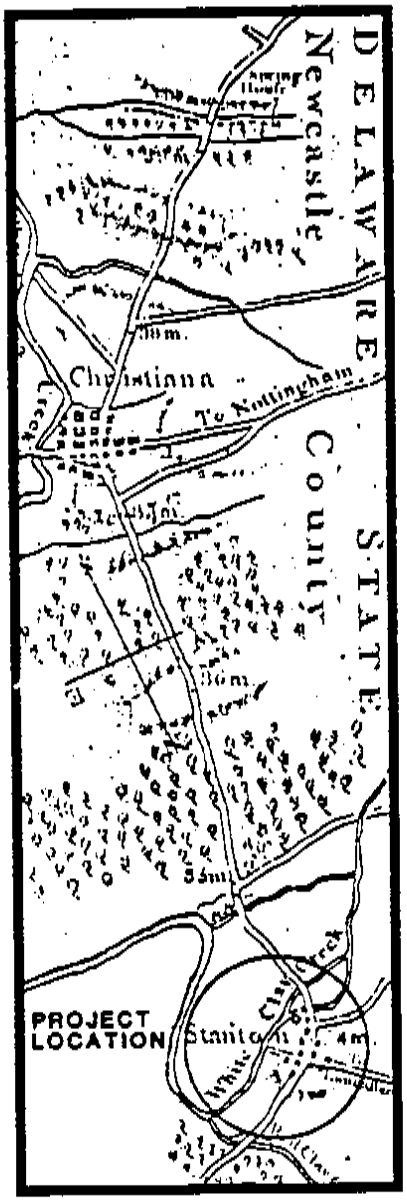
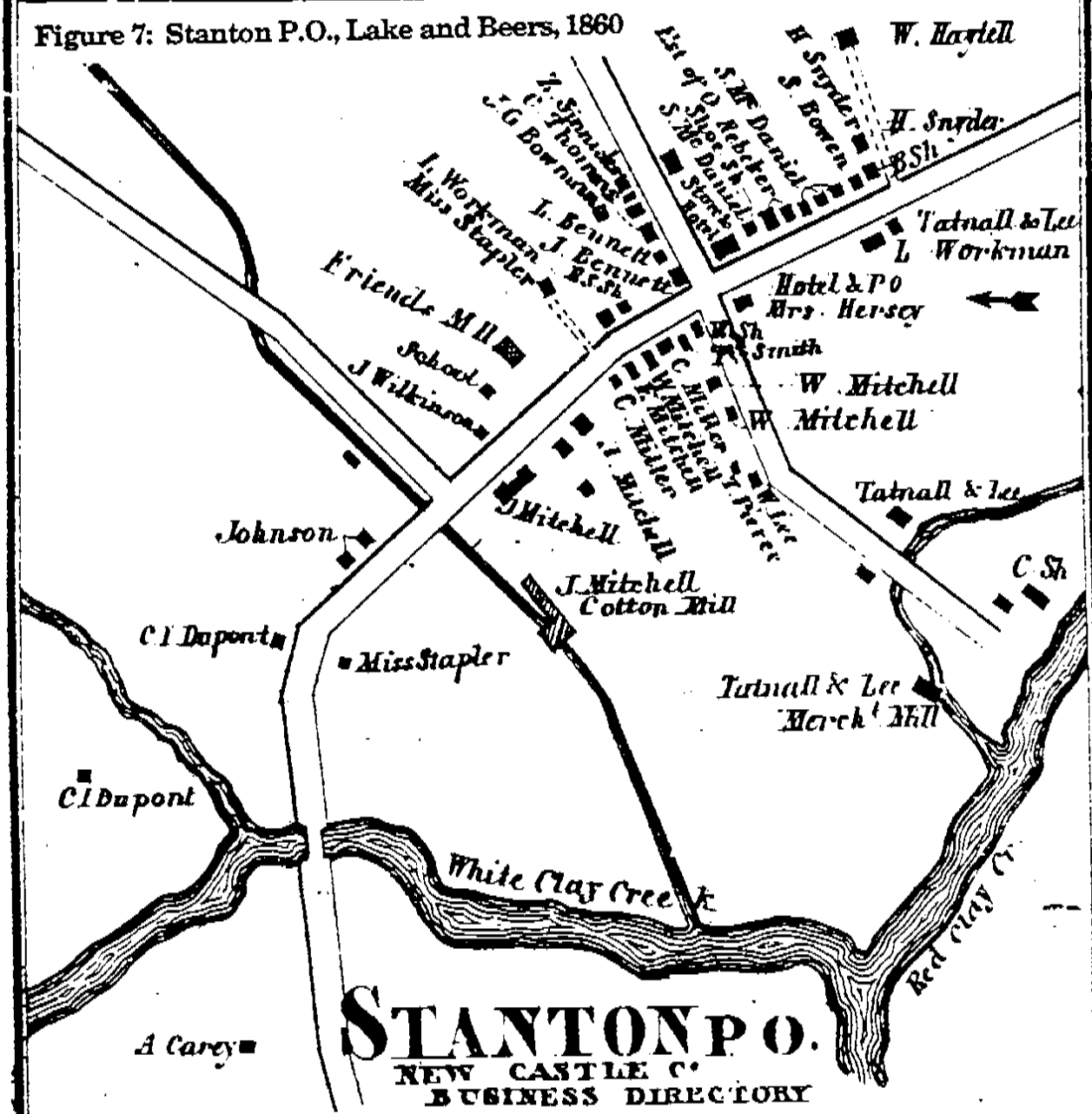


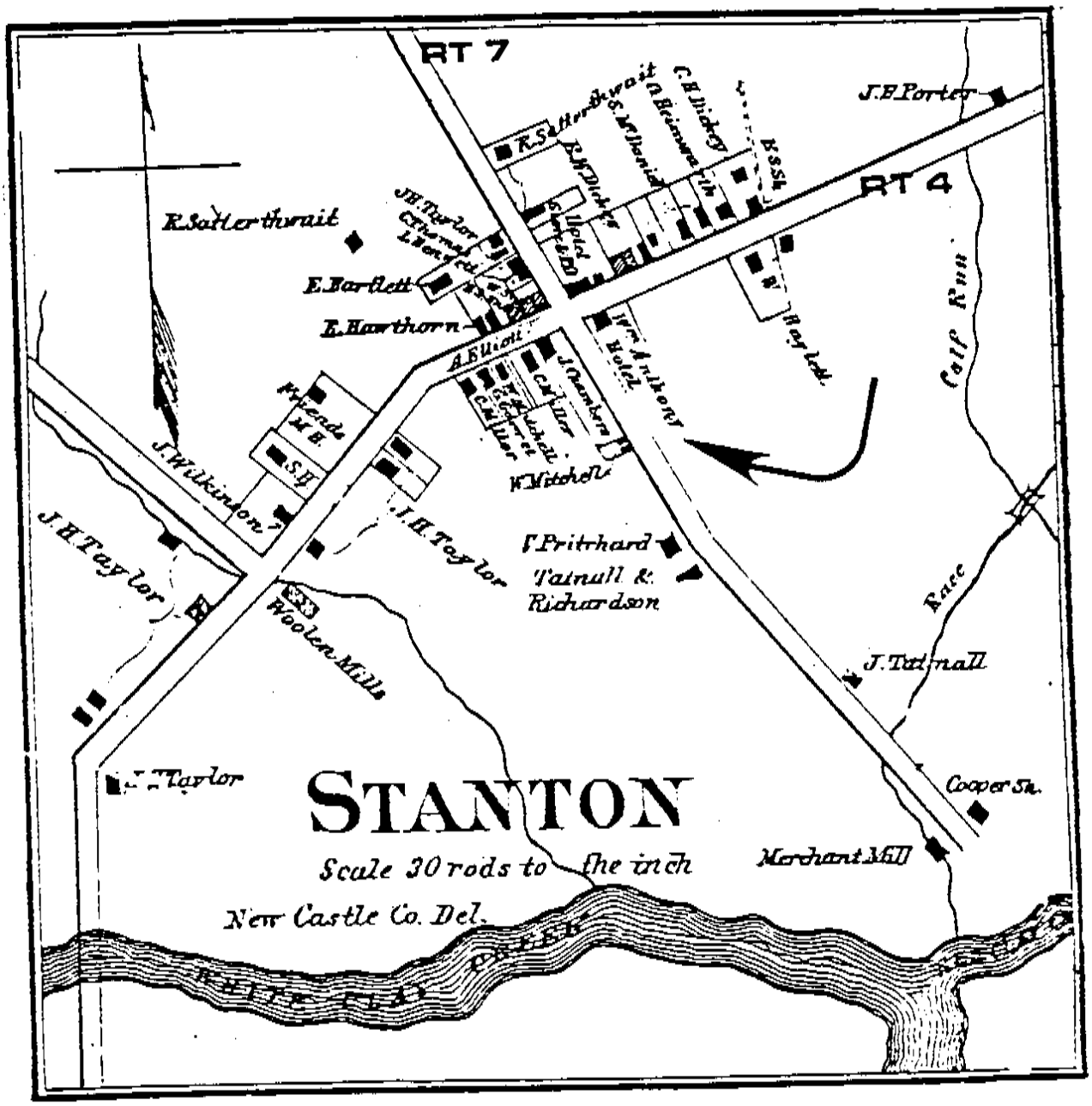
Figure 7: Stanton P.O., Lake and Beers, 1860



BUSINESS DIRECTORY

Springer Mc Daniel	Prop^t of Stanton Hotel
Levi Workman	Post M^r & Prop^t of Fountain Hotel
Wm Marshall	Pastor of St. James Church
Robt J. Howard	Shoe Maker
Henry Snyder	Black Smith
B W Dickey	Cooper
R A Wrugate	Wheel Wright
W Mitchell	Cotton Spinner
Ed. Mitchell	do

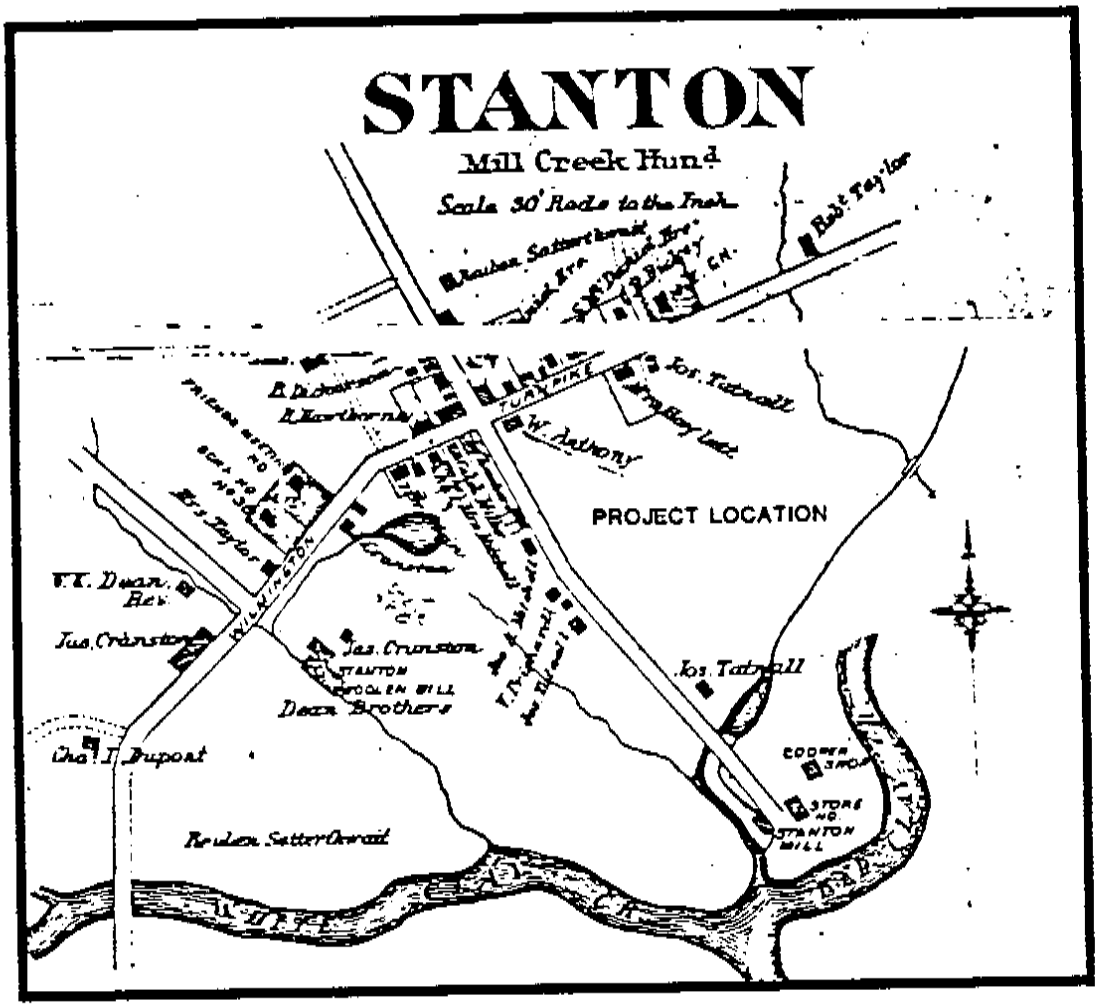
Figure 8: Stanton, Beers Atlas, 1868



Stanton Business Directory.

George E. Wollaston...Proprietor of Stanton Hotel, Postmaster and Dealer in General Merchandise.
Benj. W. Dickey...Dealer in General Merchandise.
Jas. H. Taylor...Manufacturer of Cloths, Fancy Cassimeres, Jeans, Tweeds, Kerseys, Flannels and all kinds of Woollen Goods.
Alex. Elliott...Carriage Manufacturer.
R. Satterthwait...Farmer.
Jas. Barton...Miller.

Figure 9: Stanton, Hopkins Map, 1881



This map is a reproduction of an historic map. The missing strip is missing on the original as well.

> That the Dwelling house in Stanton heretofore Commonly Known and Distinguished by the Name of the Riseing Son Tavern For Many Years Now passed hath been occupyed and used as and for a publick Tavern or Inn, until in the last Spring Season, When Peter Springer [the present possesser thereof] did Enter into the possession of the same, and Whereas the afforesaid house is verry Conveniently Situate for the Entertainment of Travellers in General, and particularly such as May be travelling from Christiana Bridge Etc., towards the Northwaward, as Lancaster Etc., as they have not any place of publick Entertainment on said Rout, within less then seven or Eight Miles distance. Which often happens to be of disagreeable Consequences to Individuals. And Whereas the afforesaid Peter Springer hath been and Now is, Acquainted with us [the said subscribers] and we also hath been acquainted with him; the said Springer; For or during a Number of Years Now last passed And at this time are of the oppinion that he is a proper and fit person for to Keep such a house of Entertainment as above mentioned - - - - - -

This license petition is unusual in the amount of detail and discourse that it offers concerning the petitioner and the circumstances of the tavern. The majority of these petitions are of abbreviated form and provide only the petitioner's name, a form statement concerning his good character, and location information no more specific than the Hundred. For this reason, no previous license action that could be confidently associated with the Stanton site could be identified in the original court documents, but this is clearly the "Rising Son" tavern shown on the map published with Muenchhausen's diary, mentioned previously, and also the Jacob Broom map of New Castle County from 1777[4]. The property research (Table 1) clearly identifies Peter Springer as the owner of the Hotel Lot at the date of the license application. He had obtained it as a tract of 4 acres, 73 perches, in1793 from James Stroud, "Merchant Miller" of Stanton. Springer is described as a "Saddler" of the same place (S2:245)[5], and he paid £250 "currant specie" for the property. The deed provides an account of the previous history of the property beginning with a transfer in 1722 of the property from James Waters, Weaver, to John Jordan. This tract is 13 1/2 acres. In 1725 Jordan sells the same tract to John Burgess. The latter is described as a Lieutenant in Captain Robert Hill's "Independent Company in the Island of Jamaica". In 1742, according to the recitation in S2:245, Burgess assigns a power of attorney to his wife, Love Burgess, who sells the 13 1/2 acre tract to Archibald Anderson. Anderson apparently obtained a mortgage from the trustees of the Loan Office for the County of New Castle to pay for the land. An advertisement in the Pennsylvania Gazette, September 14, 1752, No. 1238 describes the following property to be sold by the New Castle County Sheriff at auction:

> . . . the late dwelling-house of Archibald Anderson, situate in Mill-Creek hundred, on the publick road, between Newport and Christiana-Bridge, and at a place where several roads meet coming from the country, to Whiteclay Creek landing, being a very noted tavern with good buildings, stalbes, etc., thirteen acres and a half of land, with about 170 apple trees growing, and several English cherry trees planted . . . . N.B. There is also a good new kitchen and

overn, and a good draw-well and also a large cooper's shop, with a good boarded floor, and a good brick chimney.[6]

The results of this sale have not been discovered, but after the Revolution, the obligations to the loan office were taken over by the State of Delaware, and the new trustee, John Stockton, discovered that the loan had never been paid off, although the property had changed hands "sundry times to different persons" (S2:245). The last persons to have "right of redemption" on the mortgage were the heirs of Alexander Montgomery, Senior. To reclaim the obligation, the trustee (Stockton) sold the 13 1/2 acre tract to James Stroud in 1791. In 1792 Stroud had purchased a small tract (R2:279) adjacent to the northwest corner of the 13 1/2 acre tract, and included it with that tract in the sale to Springer recorded in S2:245 (Figures 10 and 11). Stroud got this small parcel from Stephen Stapler, "Yeoman" for £10, and the deed for the transfer mentions that the adjacent 13 1/2 acre tract was obtained by Stroud from Alexander Montgomery, so it may be that when Stroud purchased the larger tract from the Loan Office Trustee (Stockton) he was confirming title to property he had previously obtained from Alexander Montgomery's heirs, who lacked clear title. Unfortunately, no transaction between Montgomery's heirs and Stroud could be located in the deed records. Alexander Montgomery's heirs are identified in the deed from Stockton, the Loan Office Trustee, to James Stroud (L2:303), and they include his eldest son, William, as well as children Ann, Margaret, Elizabeth, Alexander, Mary and Hugh. This same deed references a mortgage made by Margaret's husband, Henry Kitchen[7], which reapportions the interests of these children in Alexander Montomery, Sr.'s property, but no transaction between these heirs and Stroud is indicated.

TABLE 1

Riseing Son Tavern Ownership History

Date	Document	Book	Page	From	To
[1722]				[James Waters	John Jordan]
[1725]	[Deed]	[G1:	549]	[John Jordan	John Burgess]
[1742]				[Love Burgess	Archibald Anderson]
[1746]				[Archibald Anderson, mortage, to	Trustees, Loan Office of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex Counties]

[The previous transactions are described in S2:245, and, with the exception of G1:549, could not be documented in the New Castle County property records in the Delaware Hall of Records]

[TABLE 1, CONTINUED]

Date	Document	Book	Page	From	To
8/6/1791	Deed	L2:	303	John Stockton, trustee of the Loan Office of the County of New Castle,	James Stroud

13 1/2 acres for £380, describes the heirs of Alexander Montgomery and the original mortgage by Archibald Anderson in 1746 - this is the tract from which the first (and largest) tract transferred to Peter Springer in S2:245 is taken.

5/1/1792 Deed R2: 279 Stephen Stapler James Stroud
£10, this is the small parcel at the northwest corner of the previous property which is also transferred by Stroud to Springer in S2:245 (Figure 11).

4/15/1793 Deed S2: 245 James Stroud Peter Springer
4 acres, 73 perches, for £250, the two previous properties (Figure 10)

1806 [Probate] [Peter Springer, dec'd]
Hannah B. Springer (Hershey),
[Joseph Springer, her brother]

11/22/1830 Will S1: 393 Joseph Springer: Wife, Mary Ann, Life Estate; after her death or remarriage, life estate to Hannah B. [Springer] Hersey; after her death, sell property divide among her (Hannah's) children. Probated 1/27/1831.

5/3/1884 Power of Attorney
A13: 81 Peter Springer's heirs to Soloman Hersey

4/23/1888 Deed F14: 479 Soloman Hersey, et al.
John H. Narvel

$2000 for approximately 3/4 of the present block. Specific mention of Stone House, barn and other buildings.

[Tenure by Harry Boulden and Dr. Carroll documented by Ward (1968) but not identified in deed records]

Various inheritances from Narvel to Eastburn.

12/26/1971 Deed U85:916 William Eastburn Humble Oil and Refining Co. of Delaware

----------end of Table 1----------

On the same date in 1792 that Stroud purchases the small tract at the northwest corner of the hotel lot from Stephen Stapler, he also sells Stapler a tract in what may be, in effect, a kind of exchange. The land that goes to Stapler may be part of the tract that Stroud obtains from the loan office trustee, and the road to Byrne's

Mill lies on its northeastern boundary, so it is on the opposite side of the road from the Tavern lot. The northern boundary of the tract is indicated as land "formerly Guthrie's, now Stapler's" so it is probably further south, perhaps south of the Miller Lot discussed in the previous report (Thompson 1984a). The fact that Stroud holds the lot for less than two years before selling it to Springer suggests that his interest in the property may have been mainly speculative, and secondary to his activities as a "Merchant Miller".

Little could be found in the documents pertaining to the earlier history of the hotel lot, as recited in S2:245. A deed for 10 acres from Archibald Anderson to Alexander Montgomery in 1748 (Q1:85) was found, but the property is described as being on the east side of Mill Creek, which would put it some distance to the west of the study area. A deed from John Jordain, Blacksmith, to John Burgess, merchant, in 1725 (G1:549) was found and this is more likely to be associated with the hotel lot. The tract is 13 1/2 acres, although the plotted meets and bounds produce a somewhat differently shaped property than that indicated in S2:245, and the southwestern boundary is described as the "King's Road". If such a road corresponds directly to what later becomes the Newport Turnpike, then this tact is north of the study area. It seems possible, however, that reference is made to an earlier road that runs closer to the course of Red Clay Creek, and that is no longer in use at the end of the century. In any event, this deed seems to be the source of the transfer from James Waters to John Jordain mentioned in S2:245, since it is mentioned here. The deed from Waters to Jordain could not be located, however, and so the earliest clearly identified owner of the property is Archibald Anderson who loses it by defaulting on his loan. How the property comes into the possession of Alexander Montgomery is not clear, nor is it clear why the sheriff's sale failed to clear the mortgage and provide clear title to subsequent purchasers. The name Alexander Montgomery appears in at least three other transactions that are not directly related to the hotel lot . In one (Q1:262; 1749) the occupation "Miller" is indicated, in another (S1:174; 1752) the occupation "Mason" is indicated, and in the third a "Scrivener" of the town of New Castle is mentioned. It is not clear which, if any, of these men are associated with the hotel lot, but one of the first two (which may in fact be one person) seems more likely.

The sale advertisement documents the operation of a tavern on the property at least by 1752, so it is clear that one did in fact operate on the property before Peter Springer's tenure. Relatively speaking, a wealth of information about Springer is available. After his first petition (quoted above) in 1794, his name appears for continuation of his license at his "present residence" or "dwelling" in 1796, 1797, and 1798. In that latest year the fees are listed, and his is $8.00 while the other taverns in Mill Creek Hundred are assessed $12.00. The significance of this discrepancy is not clear. In 1799 a petition from one Alexander Forrest indicates that he "hath lately rented the well-known Inn kept by Peter Springer". The arrangement was not long-lived, however, since in 1800 the petitioners list for the county (for continuation of tavern licenses) includes the notation "Peter Springer, Stanton, in place of Alex'd Forrest, 1/2 y." By 1802 the petitions appear on pre-printed forms which include the indication that the petitioner wants to operate "at his dwelling", although the rental, indicated above suggests the possiblity that Springer may not in fact have been in residence.

Figure 10: Tavern Lot Boundaries, 1793

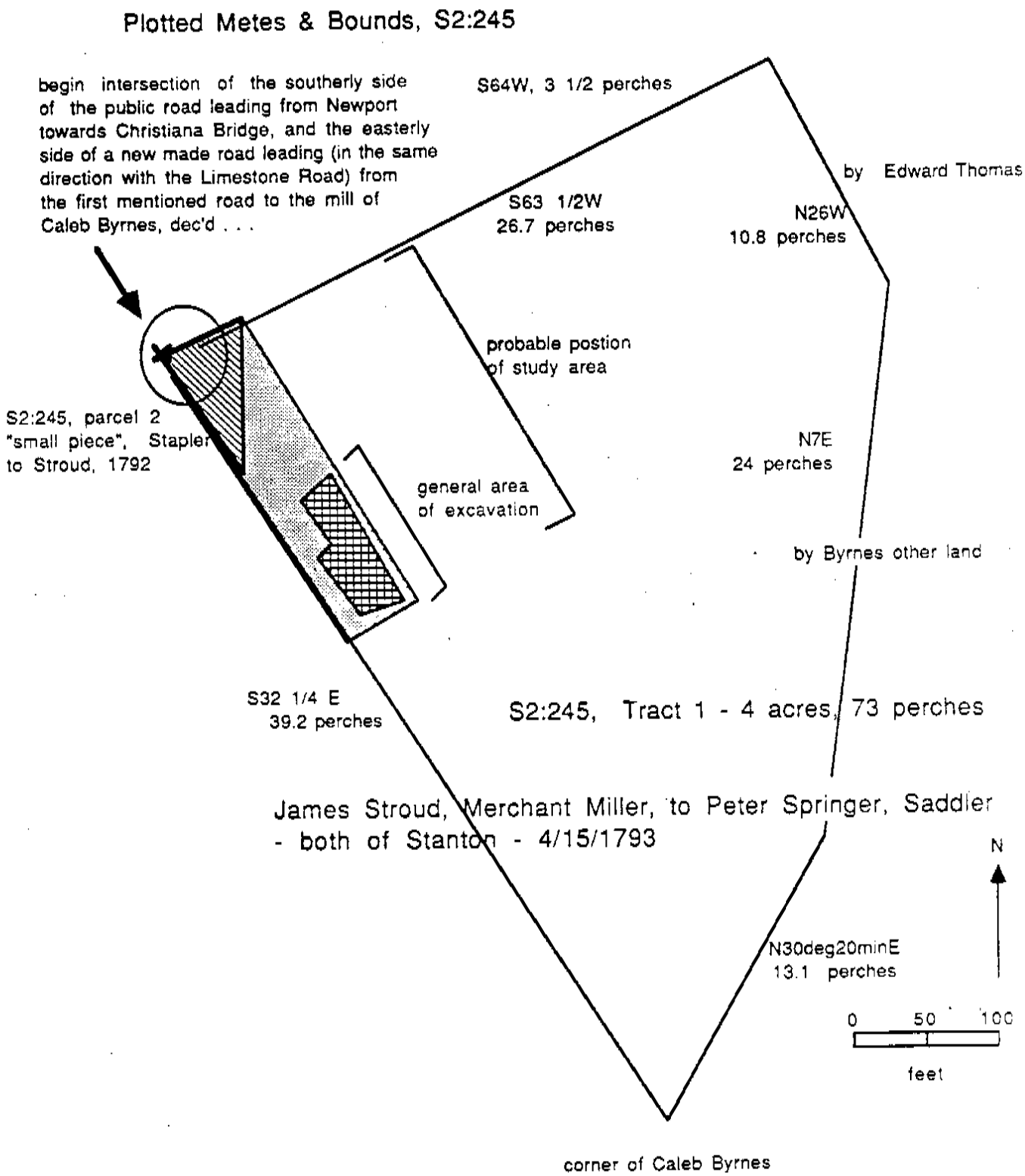
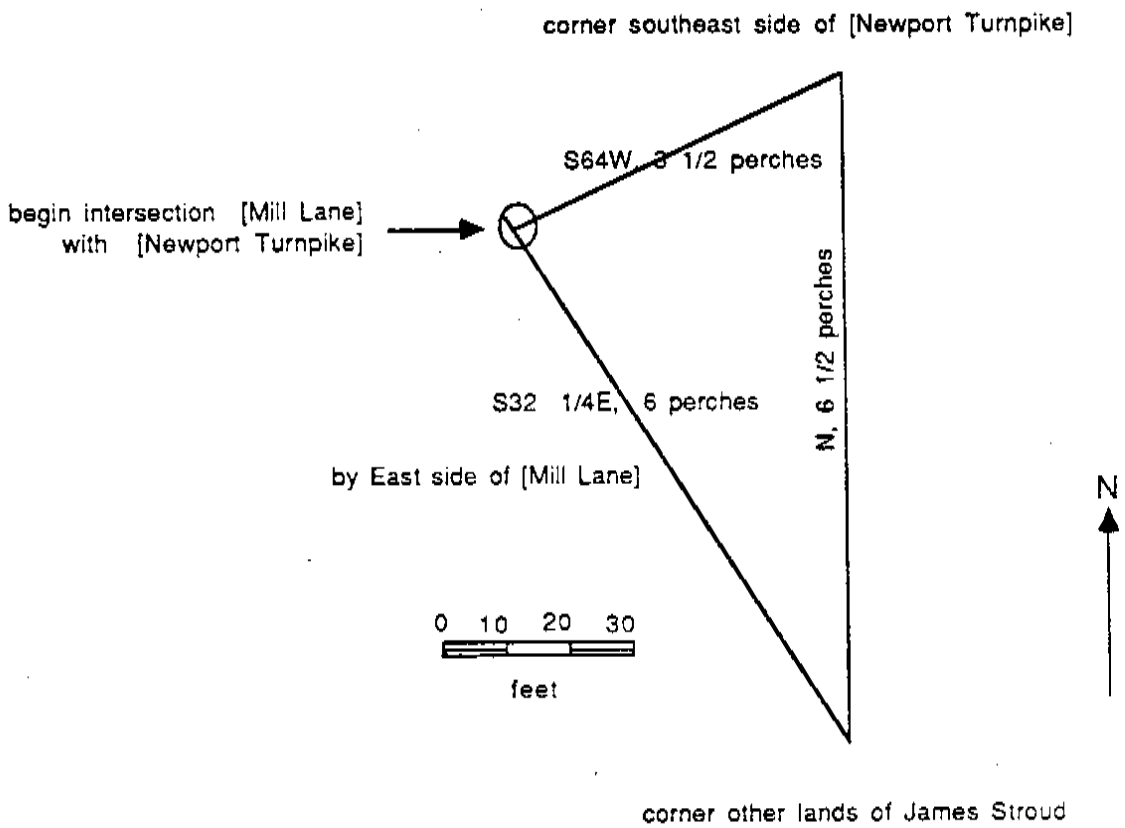


Figure 11: Tavern Lot Boundaries, 1792



S2:245, Tract 2
James Stroud, Merchant Miller, to Peter Springer, Saddler
- both of Stanton - 4/15/1793 - 10.4 perches
R2:279
Stephen Stapler, Yeoman, to James Stroud, Merchant
- both of Stanton - 5/1/1792

In the county tax assessment work book for Mill Creek Hundred, 1803-1804 , Peter Springer's name appears with the indication that he is liable for taxes on 4 acres with a log house and stone barn, valued at $600, and that he owns livestock worth $79. Data on tax evaluations have been prepared for White Clay Creek Hundred for a study of the William Hawthorne Site, although no comparable compilation is available for Mill Creek Hundred. For the 1803-1804 assessment a total valuation of $679 would fall into "Category 3" (Coleman et al 1984:215), only slightly above the median for White Clay Creek Hundred. By early in 1805 he has died, since the probate records include an inventory of the personal property in his estate, prepared by Jacob Robinson and James Stroud, and dated March 21, 1805 (see Appendix VI). Again, no comprehensive study of Mill Creek Hundred inventories is available, but William Hawthorne's probate inventory from 1815 is reproduced in the study for that site (Coleman et al 1984:229) and, even in the absence of statistical data for comparison, a few cautious comparisons can be made. The Hawthorne occupation represents a relatively prosperous farmer who lived less than two miles from Stanton, and it is reasonable to expect certain contrasts between the material assemblage of such an individual and that belonging to an innkeeper. For example the Springer inventory shows 9 table cloths, 20 "towells and napkins", 10 pair of sheets and 50 "suit curtains", while comparable linens from Hawthorne include a couple of coverlets and 1 "pair" blankets. Springer possessed 19 chairs while Hawthorne showed only 5. Hawthorne's list showed half a dozen teaspoons and Springer's 25 "knifes and forks". The items selected for comparison were specifically chosen as items that might be more numerous at a tavern than at a strictly domestic occupation, and, in the absence of a detailed statistical analysis of all or a significant sample of inventories from Mill Creek Hundred, the differences must be regarded as suggestive only.[8]

Hannah Springer was the "Administratrix" of Peter Springer's estate, and although no concrete evidence could be found (in Birth and Death indexes, for example) it appears very likely that she was Peter Springer's daughter, brother to Joseph Springer, and later, the wife of Soloman Hersey. Her account record of the estate provides some information relevant to the history of the site. In addition to several payments to carpenters for work on the "new house" the following statement precedes several payments for bricks, painting, laths, hinges, hair & lime, etc.:

> This accountant represents to the Register that herIntestate at the time of his death had made considrable progress in the creation of a large Stone house at the Village of Stanton, that at his death much of the materials were in hand for the completion of thebuilding, that the workmen were engaged & proceeding with the work, and that for the benefit of the estate she continued the building untill so far finished as to befit to be inhabited, for all which expence she craves to be allowed, as follows Viz - -

The account is "adjusted, allowed and passed the 27th Day of May, A.D. 1806 by Nehimiah Tilton. The stone house referred to is obviously the "Springer House" documented by Eberlein and Hubbard (1962). They describe it as a "two-storey-and-attic dwelling of five-bay width and two room depth . . . built of the native dark grey stone, locally described as 'Brandwine Granite' . . ." (Plate 4). They describe the

Plate 4: "Old Stone Hotel"

style as "Quaker Georgian" because of its plain style and reiterate the advantageous location of the village for the location of Peter Springer's tavern. They assign a building date of "after the middle of the eighteenth century", which is certainly consistent with the documentary evidence that it was completed around 1806. It is apparent that the new building was designed to replace or augment the facilities represented by the "log dwelling" referred to in the earlier tax assessment, which presumably was the previous site of the tavern. The stone barn that appears in the assessment was presumably still in use, and may well have stood on one of the two foundations discovered during the excavations.

As indicated previously, the tavern licenses are generally quite cryptic (with occasional exceptions such as the one quoted above) and little specific documentation for the operation of the tavern following Peter Springer's death could be located. Scharf gives the following listing of subsequent proprietors, without offering any particular source for his information: Joseph Springer, William Simpson, David Johnson, Thomas Beatty, Thomas Pierce, Levi Workman and William Anthony (this information may have been "common knowledge" to local informants in 1888 -- Scharf 1888:930). The last name appears on the Beers Atlas Map, 1868, while the Lake and Beers map of 1860 shows the notation "Hotel & P.O., Mrs. Hersey" attached to the structure on the southeast corner of the intersection of Limestone Road and the Newport Road (this appears on an inset titled "Stanton P.O." -- see Figure 7). Across the Newport road is a structure bearing the notation "Store & Hotel" next to the notation "S. Mc.Daniel". That building is clearly Scharf's "present hotel" (1888) in Stanton, since he lists Springer McDaniel as one of the previous (to 1888) proprietors, and the "Business Directory" appended to the bottom of the Stanton inset on the Lake and Beers map lists "Springer McDaniel - Propt. of Stanton Hotel". Immediately below this appears "Levi Workman" - Post M. & Prpt of Fountain Hotel", suggesting that he operated at Mrs. Hersey's "Hotel and P.O.", formerly Peter Springer's "Riseing Son Tavern". There seems to be no reason to doubt that Mrs. Hersey is Hannah B. Hersey, mentioned as the ultimate heir in Joseph Springer's will (New Castle County Wills, S1:393). The latter document is clearly cited in the chain of title for the hotel lot (in F14:479, Table 1) and the New Castle County Marriage Records (Volume 82, page 152) show that a Hannah B. Springer married Soloman Hersey in 1816. Joseph Springer, her brother (so stated in his will) was the direct heir -- probably the son -- of Peter Springer, though this last relationship is not specifically documented.

On the strength of the will and Scharf's assertion that he was a proprietor, we assume that Joseph Springer operated the tavern after Peter Springer's death. In the tax Assessment Book of 1816-1817 a listing for Peter Springer's estate is given which includes 3 acres of land improved with a stone house, barn and stable, in Stanton, occupied as a Tavern. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it seems likely that Joseph Springer maintained his interest in the business, even if he was not operating it or residing there. The inventory of Joseph Springers estate (2/5/1831, New Castle County probate records, Appendix), by contrast to Peter Springer's, does not contain unusually large quantities of linens or utensils that might be associated with the operation of a tavern, so it is possible that he was leasing the property to someone else. In the tax assessment workbook for Mill Creek Hundred, 1852-53 a listing for Joseph Springer's estate was found which describes five acres[9], a stone

Plate 5: Demolition of the "Old Stone Hotel"

tavern house and barn valued at $1000. If he had had other property in Mill Creek Hundred -- for example, another residence -- it had been disposed of by this time.

Only census records were identified for the other names listed by Scharf as proprietors of the old stone hotel. A William Simpson is listed in the census worksheet for White Clay Creek Hundred in 1810 and one (the same?) for Mill Creek Hundred in 1820. Neither the 1830 nor the 1840 censuses contained references to any of the named proprietors. The 1850 census has a listing for Thomas H. Pierce, 44, at dwelling 231, showing him as an Innkeeper. Since the census for rural and unincorporated areas (including the village of Stanton) was recorded by "order of visitation" rather than by location, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not Thomas Pierce resided in Stanton, but this is a name that Scharf lists as a proprietor of the Stanton Hotel. Several other "Innkeepers" are listed in Mill Creek Hundred in the 1850 census, including Springer McDaniel, 52, (listed as a "Hotel Keeper") who Scharf identifies as a former proprietor of the hotel across the street from the Old Stone Hotel (Scharf 1888:930). Levi Workman is listed as an "Innkeeper tenant" in the 1860 census and this would be consistent with the notations on the Lake and Beers map mentioned above, and with Scharf's inclusion of him as a former proprietor of the hotel. Another entry in the census list that year includes a "farm tenant", William Anthony, residing with a William Sanders in Mill Creek Hundred. By 1870, William Anthony (the correct age and same birthplace, Maryland, as the 1860 listing of the same name) is listed as a "Hotel Keeper" with $4000 worth of real estate, which must not have included the hotel lot, since that was still in the possession of the "heirs of Joseph Springer". John Narvel, who purchases the lot from Soloman Hersey in 1888 (F14:479) is shown in 1870 as a stone mason.

By the time that Scharf writes in 1888 the building is no longer functioning as a hotel, but some information about subsequent activities at the lot is gleaned from "Inns and Taverns in Delaware 1800-1850" (Ward 1968). She interviewed Harry Boulden, who sold the property to Dr. Carroll[10] and remembers that the building had been used as a grocery store and post office, and a cigar factory (Ward 1968:131). Another of Ward's informants, Mrs. Erma Pennington, who owned the Mermaid Tavern further north on Limestone Road, remembers wagon loads of tobacco passing down the road to Stanton from Pennsylvania. She was 97 when interviewed by Ward, and if her memories date from when she was young they would be from about the turn of the century. Boulden also reported that when he remodeled the basement of the "old stone inn and stage coach stop", he found "Revolutionary war buttons and coins, as well as many Indian artifacts" (Ward 1968:131). In recent years, until it was demolished for the construction of the gas station (Plate 5), it apparently served principally as a residence.

In summary, the site was occupied as a tavern and inn, a grocery store, a cigar factory, and probably a residence simultaneously with those functions, beginning at some point prior to the sheriff's sale advertised in 1752. It's location at an important intersection undoubtedly contributed to its function as a "place of public entertainment" and it may have been occupied for residential or other purposes earlier in the eighteenth century, though specific documentation is lacking. It seems to have functioned more or less continuously as a tavern and hotel at least until 1870, when the census shows William Anthony as a hotel keeper. Scharf

indicates that it had ceased to function as a hotel by 1888, but Ward's informants suggest other "public" functions later in the nineteenth and, possibly, into the twentieth century. The degree to which the archeological remains reflect the functional history of the site, as provided by the documents, will be explored in the remainder of this report.

Notes: Background Research

[1]Weslager describes the consequences of the construction of the New Castle and Frenchtown Railroad (1833) and the completion of the canal connecting the Delaware with the Chesapeake Bay: "Already the once thriving upstream villages -- Newport, Stanton, and Christiana -- were developing a pallor from being neglected by the shippers" (Weslager 1947:135). Later he notes that Stanton did serve as a service center for mills on Red Clay and Mill Creeks (Weslager 1947:1814).

[2]As will be noted again below, the context divisions used in the analysis of the Wilmington Boulevard materials seem to be confined to "Pre-Industrial" and "Industrial" period divisions, with a "transition" between them occurring in the period 1840/1850 specified in the discussion of the research design, but not used in the analysis (Klein and Garrow 1984).

[3] I am indebted to Wade Catts of the Research Center for Archaeology at the Universtiy of Delaware, Newark, for bringing this item to my attention. The map illustration on page 29 is the section of an undated and untitled map, described as "Part of the modern counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, Lancaster in Pennsylvania; NewCastle in Delaware; and Cecil in Maryland" in the **Guide to the manuscript Maps in the William L. Clements Library** by Christian Brun, Ann Arbor, 1959. It is listed in that catalogue as map #556, and is believed to be a map of the British Route from Elk Ferry to Philadelphia during the American Revolution.

[4]Catts also supplied this reference. A copy of this map is held at the Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington.

[5]This, and following references of this form, give the book, or docket ("S2"), and the page number ("245") of the deed records of New Castle County. These have been copied on microfilm and are available at the Delaware State Hall of Records in Dover.

[6]Wade Catts generously supplied this item from his compilation of advertisements in the Pennsylvania Gazette which pertain to New Castle County.

[7]Petitions to the Clerk of the Peace, New Castle County (Record Group #2525, Delaware Hall of Records), include petitions for renewal of a tavern license by a Henry Kitchen in 1784, and petitions for renewal by the same name in 1787, 1788, and 1789 - no location specified. Although the possiblity that this license might represent a tavern at the "Riseing Son Tavern" location was considered, a petition by a John Darrah, in 1790, to take over the operation of a tavern at Cantwell's Bridge "NOW occupied as a public House by Henry Kitchen . . ." suggests that Kitchen's business was in that location rather than in Stanton.

[8]A detailed statistical evaluation of inventories for the early Federal period comparable to the one completed by Michel for the early eighteenth century for southeastern Pennsylvania (Michel 1981) would be valuable to both historians and archeologists.

[9]The discrepancies in the acreage described for the property between the various documents -- 4 1/2 acres in the deed S2:245, 4, 3, and 5 acres in the tax documents -- are not regarded as significant in the absence of evidence that the amount of property had actually changed.

[10]Ownership by Boulden and Carroll did not appear in the chain of title for the hotel lot developed in this research, but Carroll's tenure is well-remembered by local informants, and is documented by the records of the Artesian Water Company. It may be that our chain followed the southern half of the lot, which was separate for at least part of the twentieth century. Their tenure dates after the effective occupation range for any of the archeological contexts investigated.