the late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth centuries. Two high points of eighteenth-century ceramics in the plowzone (one at S40.5W54, the other at S36W80) may represent specific trash midden areas for the earlier site occupation. The fact that the S40.5W54 high point occurs with the later ceramics (pearlwares and whitewares) could indicate that the location may have functioned as a trash midden for most of the site's occupation, but the S36W80 area contains little of these later ceramics, not even pearlwares, suggesting that this area was not utilized for deposition for a very long period.

INTERSITE ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The archaeological remains that were found during the data recovery excavations of the Thomas Williams Site can be used in inter-site comparisons to examine the regional research issues posited by the research design governing the site investigations, including questions concerned with housing dimensions, dietary patterns, and consumption patterns (i.e., economic scaling using the ceramic index [Miller 1980, 1988], and vessel function comparisons between sites). The results of these archaeological comparisons can in turn be related to questions in historical archaeology concerned with explicating and describing the patterns and processes of social and cultural change.

The Thomas Williams Site contained two distinct archaeological deposits which can be utilized in these comparisons. The Tenant Occupation, represented by the remains

of the Evans-Black Tenant House (Structure I), can be compared to other early nineteenth-century sites in the region, both owner-occupied and tenant-occupied. Sites used in the inter-site comparisons of the Evans-Black Tenant House included several local sites, the Charles Allen House (Basalik et al. 1987) and the Dickson I Site (Catts et al. 1989a), both located in the village of Christiana, the Mendenhall Privy in Wilmington (Herman 1984), the Ferguson House (Coleman et al. 1983) and the Whitten Road Site (Shaffer et al. 1988), both rural tenant houses in New Castle County, Delaware, the Marsh Grass Site (Thomas 1983), a rural tenant house in Sussex County, Delaware, as well as sites from other parts of the eastern seaboard (Morin et al. 1986; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987).

The Black Farm Laborer Occupation of the site, represented by the archaeological evidence of the Williams-Stump House (Structure II) is the other inter-site comparison that can be undertaken, comparing the assemblage dating from the end of the nineteenth century recovered from within Feature 17 (the cellar hole), with other black-occupied sites in the region. The other sites included in this regional comparison were the Dickson II and Heisler Tenancy sites at Christiana (Catts et al. 1989a), several artifact assemblages from the Skunk Hollow community in Bergen County, New Jersey (Geismar 1982), Black Lucy's Garden, the home of an early nineteenth-century free black (Baker 1978), the Parting Ways Site (Deetz 1977), and two archaeological deposits from the Weeksville, New York black community (Bridges and Salwen 1980).

The third occupation period for the Williams Site, The Stonemason Occupation, will not be included in these regional comparisons, due to the difficulty in isolating discrete archaeological deposits related to this occupation.

INTERSITE ARCHITECTURAL COMPARISONS

Both the Evans-Black Tenant House and the Williams-Stump House can be compared to other archaeologically-investigated house sites to determine relative size and social ranking based on house dimensions. This is a significant comparison because the archaeological record can provide data about living quarters and yard proxemics for portions of past populations, such as blacks and tenants, that are no longer extant or under-represented in the biased record furnished by the standing structures still existing on the landscape (Herman 1987a:112). Recent research by Bernard Herman into the types of tenant houses present in the Lower Delaware Valley during the nineteenth century has found that tenant structures were generally smaller, not as valuable, and less substantially constructed than owner-occupied structures. Survival of these types of dwellings as standing structures into the present has been infrequent, making their identification difficult. The best generalization about tenant versus owner-occupied dwellings and sites is that the houses of the former seem to range in size from 380 to 490 square feet, and that tenant sites lacked the proliferation of outbuildings associated with owner-occupied sites (Herman 1987a:64, 1987b; Stiverson 1977).

Table 14 shows the comparisons of the Evans-Black Tenant House (Structure I) with several other excavated house sites in Delaware. The table compares the first floor dimensions and total floor space available, as defined in the documentary and/or archaeological record. All of the structures compared were contemporaneous, and the house sites utilized include owner-occupied, tenant, and commercial buildings. The nine houses compared with the Evans-Black Tenant House were the owner-occupied Patterson Lane House (Catts et al. 1989a), the Charles Allen House (Basalik et al. 1987), and the William M. Hawthorn House (Coleman et al. 1984). Tenant sites utilized in the comparison were the Ferguson House (Coleman et al. 1983), the Whitten Road House (Shaffer et al. 1988), the Marsh Grass Site (Thomas 1983), and the Grant Tenancy (Taylor et al. 1987). One commercial storehouse, the Dickson I structure, was also compared (Catts et al. 1989a).

The sites shown in Table 14 can be divided into two distinct categories: those with over 490 square feet of first floor space, and those with less than this area. Herman (1987b) contends that for the housing stock of the Lower Delaware Valley, the dimension of 490 square feet of living space is a convenient dividing point between large and small houses, and the archaeological record supports this statement. It is noteworthy that with the exception of the commercial Dickson I structure, all of the dwellings under 490 square feet were occupied as tenant houses. The west end (384 square feet) of the Ferguson House should be included in this tenant category as well. This tenant group can be further divided into those sites

TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF FIRST FLOOR DIMENSIONS OF EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY HOUSE SITES IN NEW CASTLE COUNTY

Site	Dimensions	Area
Patterson Lane House (7NC-E-53) (late eighteenth - late nineteenth centuries) Owner occupied	46' x 29'	1334 sq. ft.
Charles Allen House (7NC-E-78) (circa 1840) Owner occupied	front: 47' x 12' ell: 32' x 23'	564 736 ---- 1300 sq. ft.
W. M. Hawthorn House (7NC-E-46) (circa 1840) Owner occupied	log house: 29' x 21' frame ad.: 12' x 21' frame kn.: 12' x 17'	609 252 204 ---- 1065 sq. ft.
Ferguson House (N-3902) (circa 1835) Tenant occupied	west end: 16' x 24' addition: 18' x 15'	384 270 ---- 654 sq. ft.
The Marsh Grass Site (7S-D-45) (circa 1810) Tenant occupied	28' x 16'	448 sq. ft.
Whitten Road (7NC-D-100) (circa 1795) Tenant occupied	24' x 18'	432 sq. ft.
Evans-Black Tenant House **(7NC-D-130)** **(1795-1845)** **Tenant occupied**	**14' x 22'**	**308 sq. ft.**
The Grant Tenancy (7NC-B-6) (circa 1830) Tenant occupied	16' x 15.5'	248 sq. ft.
Dickson I Store (7NC-D-82) (circa 1810) Commercial Store	13' x 16'	208 sq. ft.

KEY:
ad. - addition
kn. - kitchen
sq. ft. - square feet

with archaeological evidence of the presence of substantial outbuildings, such as barns, stables, and granaries, and those which lacked this evidence. Included in the former group were the Whitten Road Site, which contained a barn or stable, and possibly the Marsh Grass Site, which had two small outbuildings present. Both of these sites contained the larger square footage dimensions than the other tenant sites. Historic documentation, however, suggests that the Evans-Black Tenant House should be added to this group, since a stable was apparently present by the early nineteenth century. The Grant Tenancy house excavations revealed the presence of two sheds, and the Dickson I store apparently had no outbuildings. This result supports Herman's (1987a) statement that tenant sites generally lacked substantial outbuildings, which would be located at the main farm. The other three houses, Patterson Lane, Hawthorn, and Charles Allen, were owner-occupied homes, indicating that even without later additions, these structures were over 600 square feet in size.

Table 15 illustrates the comparison of the Williams-Stump House with five other house sites occupied during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Patterson Lane, Hawthorn, and Ferguson houses are included again in this table, because they had contemporary occupations with the Williams-Stump House. These sites serve to contrast the housing stock of the white, landed class, whether tenant-occupied (such as Patterson Lane and Ferguson) or owner-occupied, such as the Hawthorn House. Two black-occupied houses, the Heisler Tenancy and the Dickson II dwelling, were included to compare black housing stock of the

TABLE 15

COMPARISONS OF FIRST FLOOR DIMENSIONS OF LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY HOUSE SITES IN NEW CASTLE COUNTY

Site	Dimensions	Area
Patterson Lane House (7NC-E-53) (late eighteenth - late nineteenth centuries) Tenant occupied	46' x 29'	1334 sq. ft.
W. M. Hawthorn House (7NC-E-46) (circa 1840) Owner occupied	29' x 21' 12' x 21' 12' x 17'	609 252 204 ---- 1065 sq. ft.
Ferguson House (N-3902) (circa 1810) Tenant occupied	16' x 24' 18' x 15'	384 270 ---- 654 sq. ft.
***Williams-Stump House (7NC-D-130) (1845 - circa 1930) Owner occupied**	**27' x 17'**	**459 sq. ft.**
*Dickson II (7NC-E-82) (circa 1880) Tenant occupied	18' x 22'	392 sq. ft.
Heisler Tenancy (7NC-E-83) (circa 1890) Tenant occupied	12' x 21'	252 sq. ft.

KEY:

sq. ft. - square feet
* - black occupied

postbellum period. One of these, Dickson II, was a tenant house, while the Heisler Tenancy, like the Williams-Stump House, was owner-occupied.

The most obvious difference apparent from this table is the vast gap in first floor dimensions between the white houses and the black houses supporting Herman's (1987a:162) statement that laborers from this period typically resided in smaller and less

stylish dwellings than did the residents of owner-occupied dwellings. By this time in its history, the Patterson Lane House was a tenant house, as was the Ferguson House; both sites had white tenants. The primary reason for the tremendous size differential between these two houses was the fact that the Patterson Lane House had originally been constructed to be an owner-occupied dwelling, whereas the Ferguson House was specifically built in the second quarter of the nineteenth century as a tenant house (Coleman et al. 1983:13). Like the Patterson Lane House, the Hawthorn House was originally built for an owner-resident, and at this time in the nineteenth century, still was owner-occupied. Thus, the Ferguson House would appear to fall at the lower end of the scale for white farm tenant housing stock, while the Hawthorn and Patterson Lane houses are more representative of the farm houses of the landowners. All three of these houses were multi-room structures on the first floor, and were one and one-half to two-story dwellings.

The black-occupied dwellings clearly fall at the lower end of the scale for all housing stock. It should be noted that the ranking of the Heisler Tenancy house would not have been at the bottom of the list, but at the top since it was a two-story dwelling containing over 500 square feet of living space. The structures which followed were the one and one-half story Williams-Stump House (459 square feet on the first floor), and the one and one-half story Dickson II dwelling (392 square feet). All three of these dwellings fall within the range of sizes prescribed by Herman (1987a) for tenant dwellings or small

owner-occupied houses. Significantly, too, the Heisler house had a full stone-lined basement, adding even more space to the structure, and the house was constructed on that foundation, not set on sills resting on stone or wooden piers, as seen at the Williams-Stump House and Dickson II dwelling. Evidence of outbuildings was found archaeologically at both the Williams-Stump and Heisler Tenancy houses, indicating owner-occupancy. There was no evidence of outbuildings at the Dickson II Site, however, thus reinforcing the inferred tenant status of the occupants (Catts et al. 1989a).

The results of this comparison of archaeologically-derived architectural data indicates that the documentary information regarding the small size of tenant and small-landholder dwellings, ranging from 250 to about 450 square feet of space on the first floor, will also be manifested in the archaeological record. Like the results of similar comparative work conducted with the sites investigated on Patterson Lane (Catts et al. 1989a), the comparison of the Evans-Black Tenant House and the Williams-Stump House with other archaeological sites has shown that a relative ranking of dwellings, indicating the socio-economic status of the sites' inhabitants, can be conducted using archaeological information about structures. This data often is the only information available on the social ranking of a site's occupants, and thus can be significant in overall site interpretations.

CERAMIC ECONOMIC SCALING ANALYSIS

It is contended by historical archaeologists that ceramics can be used to measure and define the relative economic value of an archaeologically-derived household ceramic assemblage, and by implication the relative social and economic status of the site's inhabitants (Deetz 1977:46-61; Goring 1980-81; Miller 1980:10-11; Spencer-Wood 1987:60; Majewski and O'Brien 1987). The significance of ceramics for historic archaeological inquiries is in their durability, their abundance on archaeological sites, and their ability to serve as status indicators. However, ceramics are not the only indicators of status. Indeed, preliminary research into the presence and value of ceramic vessels in early nineteenth century storekeepers' probate inventories in Delaware has found that ceramics accounted for only two to three percent of the total value of the shop's inventory, while high visibility status items, such as textiles and clothing, accounted for from one-half to 80 percent of the total value of the inventory (Catts et al. 1989a). Clearly, ceramics played a small role in conspicuous consumption, and other factors can be reflective of economic and social status. Baugher and Venables (1987:37) have pointed out that there is a wide range of variables to take into account when considering the economic status of a site's occupant, such as annual income, size of land holdings, presence of slaves or servants, number of tenant houses on the farm, the occupant's heritage, religion, ethnicity, and even personal preferences and behavior. By and large, though, it has been proven through careful historical and archaeological analysis

that ceramics are reflective of social and economic class. As Suzanne Spencer-Wood (1987:60) has stated, this ceramic research has found that:

> individuals of higher economic and social status would usually have more of their economic resources in expensive ceramics than would individuals of lower status. However, some wealthy families, particularly in occupations such as farming, might choose to invest less than would be expected in ceramics due to competing investments in land and other goods. On the other hand, since both nineteenth-and twentieth-century studies indicate that investment in ceramics formed only a small proportion of total wealth, and the smallest proportion for the wealthy, it can reasonably be expected that wealthy families could afford to make this small investment. In only a few cases is it expected that individual preference or overextended investments in other goods would result in ceramic choices that are not related to occupational status.

Currently, the most widely adopted method used for establishing the economic value for historic ceramics is the ceramic scaling index developed by George L. Miller (1980). Miller's scale is based on the index values assigned to certain decorative types of refined wares during the nineteenth century, derived from the price fixing lists of late eighteenth and nineteenth century English potteries. Each index value is expressed in relation to cc, or cream-colored ware, the consistently least expensive decorative type on the price lists. Miller's index for cc ware is 1.00 through time, and values of the other decorative types are expressed in relation to the cc index. The index values generated in 1980 were based on four price-fixing lists and one potter's catalog, and it was assumed at that time that the price of cc was stable throughout the nineteenth century. Miller has recently revised (Miller 1988) his original index values, basing

them now on fourteen price-fixing lists and catalogs, and has found that there was more fluctuation of ceramic prices in the nineteenth century than was originally hypothesized. Generally, the revisions affect only those index values for the years after 1844 (Miller 1988:2).

Indices derived from the Miller analysis, using the new 1988 revisions, are calculated for minimum vessels in three categories: cups and saucers, plates, and bowls. Additionally, Klein and Garrow (1984), Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987), and others have calculated a mean index value, calculated by summing the separate indices from the three categories (cups and saucers, plates, bowls), and dividing by the total number of ceramic vessels used in the separate index calculations.

There are several caveats to keep in mind when using the Miller Ceramic Index (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:131-135). First, index values are not available for many years in the nineteenth century, creating problems in the assigning of index values to ceramic decorative types from assemblages whose date of occupation falls between years for which price lists are available. Most researchers have remedied this problem by extrapolating values from adjacent years or the nearest year for which values are available. Since archaeological ceramic assemblages date from sites that are generally occupied over long periods of time in relation to ceramic prices and production, this extrapolation is acceptable.

Secondly, Miller (1980) suggests that for purposes of determining which index year to use, the mean ceramic date (MCD) of the assemblage should be utilized. Most historic

archaeologists have done this (see for example, Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987; Morin et al. 1986), although others have instead used the latest date for any artifact present in the assemblage, also known as the Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) dates (Shepard 1987). Considering that MCDs only establish a mean date of occupation for a site based on the ceramics present, and considering that index values are not available for all years and must be adjusted under certain circumstances, mean occupation dates, based on both historic and archaeological information, will be used.

Lastly, Miller has warned that sites separated chronologically by more than ten years should not be compared. "Given that ceramic prices were falling, one should not compare index values from assemblages that are separated by long periods of time, i.e., more than a decade" (Miller 1988:2). This is particularly true in light of the new revised index values which are now available.

Two Miller analysis comparisons were conducted for the Williams Site assemblage. These were for the Evans-Black Tenant House, in particular the ceramic vessels reconstructed from Feature 12 (Structure I), and for the deposits present in Feature 17 (Structure II), representing the Williams-Stump House. The MCD for the Evans-Black Tenant House was computed to be 1821, which coincides well with the documented mean occupation date of 1820. Regional sites utilized in the comparison of the Evans-Black Tenant House thus dated to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and included three

TABLE 16

MILLER INDEX VALUES FOR THE EVANS-BLACK TENANT HOUSE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

Feature 12 - Plates

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
100,116	1	1	x	2		2
66,71,123	2	1.33	x	3		3.99
44,49,61,99	4	2.1	x	4		8.4
47	7	3.71	x	1		3.71
127	8	2.88	x	1		2.88
128	8	2.97	x	1		2.97
132, 133, 136 137, 142	9	7	x	5		35
				17 plates	=	58.95

Average Total Values $\frac{58.95}{17} = 3.47$

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date - 1821
Miller Index dates used - 1822, 1823, 1838, 1846

Feature 12 - Cups

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
24,81,113	10	1	x	3		3
17,34,36,43 46,50,55,109	13	1.5	x	8		12
102,107,108	15	3	x	3		9
135,139	16	4	x	2		8
				16 cups	=	32

Average Total Values $\frac{32}{16} = 2$

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date - 1821
Miller Index date used - 1823

TABLE 16 (cont.)

Feature 12 - Bowls

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
19,21,22,25 26,30,84,112 152	20	1	9		9
78,121,122	21	1.2	3		3.6
76	22	1.6	1		1.6
			13 bowls	=	14.2

Average Total Values $\frac{14.2}{13} = 1.09$

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date - 1821
Miller Index dates used - 1823

rural New Castle County sites -- Whitten Road (Shaffer et al. 1988), Dickson I (Catts et al. 1989a), and the Allen House (Basalik et al. 1987) -- and one rural site from New Jersey, the Thomas Hamlin Site (Morin et al. 1986). Three sites from the urban setting of Wilmington were used -- the Thomas Mendenhall Site (Herman 1984; Bernard L. Herman, personal communication 1987), the Dr. Way/Retail Shop Site (Klein and Garrow 1984), and the John Richardson Site (LeeDecker et al. 1987). The index value used for the Evans-Black assemblage cups and saucers, and bowls was 1823, while for the plates the value used was 1822, and in some cases 1838 and 1846 were used. The values for the other sites included the 1814, 1802, and 1824 indices. Index values for several of these ceramic assemblages were obtained from Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:72), and from Morin et al. (1986:VI-45). Table 16 presents the index values computed for the Evans-Black Tenant House assemblage (i.e., Feature 12

TABLE 17

MILLER INDEX VALUES FOR THE WILLIAMS-STUMP HOUSE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

Feature 17 - Plates

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
38,51,122	1	1	x	3		3
20	2	1.2	x	1		1.2
25	2	1.14	x	1		1.14
3,4,7,11,12,16		2.25	x	7		15.75
17,52,120,123		2.1	x	2		4.2
124	4	2.25	x	1		2.25
		2.17	x	1		2.17
45,49,186	7	3.00	x	3		9
193	8	2.64	x	1		2.64
				20 plates	=	41.35

Average Total $\frac{41.35}{20}$ = 2.07
Values

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date = 1844
Mean Occupation Date = 1887
Miller Index dates used = 1846, 1838, 1845

Feature 17 - Cups

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
187	10	1	x	1		1
5,8,9,10	13	1.5	x	4		10
198,199	16	1.69	x	2		3.38
				7 cups	=	14.38

Average Total $\frac{14.38}{7}$ = 2.05
Values

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date = 1844
Mean Occupation Date = 1887
Miller Indices used = 1845, 1836 London size

TABLE 17 (cont.)

Feature 17 - Bowls

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
183,39	20	1	x	2		2
27,180,181	21	1.2	x	3		3.6
13,15,32	22	1.6	x	3		4.8
197,201	39	2.45	x	2		4.9
				10 bowls	=	15.3

Average Total Values $\frac{15.3}{10} = 1.53$

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date = 1844
Mean Occupation Date = 1887
Miller Index used = 1836, 1870

Feature 2 - Plates

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
23,31	1	1	x	2		2
70	1	1	x	1		1
27,32	40	2.25	x	2		4.5
101,104	4	1.68	x	2		3.36
81	9	7.0	x	1		7
				8 plates	=	17.86

Average Total Values $\frac{17.86}{8} = 2.23$

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date = 1844
Mean Occupation Date = 1887
Miller Index dates used = 1838, 1853

TABLE 17 (cont.)

Feature 2 - Cups

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
11,15,24,72	10	1	x	4		4
79,93	13	1.5	x	2		3
				6 cups	=	7

Average Total Values $\frac{7}{6} = 1.17$

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date = 1844
Mean Occupation Date = 1887
Miller Index = 1814

Feature 2 - Bowls

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	No. of vessels Recovered	=	Value
10,69	20	1	x	2		2
91	21	1.2	x	1		1.2
7,95	22	1.6	x	2		3.2
6	25	3.25	x	1		3.25
				6 bowls	=	9.65

Average Total Values $= \frac{9.65}{6} = 1.61$

NOTE: Mean Ceramic Date = 1844
Mean Occupation Date = 1887
Miller Indices = 1814, 1846

[Structure I]).

The Williams-Stump House ceramic assemblage, with a historic mean occupation date of 1888, was compared to two black-occupied house sites in Christiana Bridge, Delaware, the Dickson II assemblage, and the Heisler Tenancy assemblage (Catts et al. 1989a), the ceramic assemblage from the black tenant Moses Tabb Site in Maryland (Miller 1980), and four site

assemblages from the black community of Skunk Hollow, Bergen County, New Jersey (Geismar 1982:186). Due to the fact that the Miller Index values only extend up to 1880, the index values used for the Williams-Stump ceramic assemblage included the 1838, 1845, 1846, 1870 and 1880 values. Similar values were used for the other assemblages. All of these sites were the homes of African-Americans dating to the mid-to-late nineteenth century, thus providing an inter-regional comparison of black tenant and laborer sites in the Middle Atlantic. Table 17 presents the Miller values for the Williams-Stump House assemblage (i.e., the ceramic vessels reconstructed from Feature 17 [Structure II]).

Table 18 shows the results, in the four categories of cups and saucers, plates, and bowls, and an overall index, of the Miller Ceramic Index comparison of the Evans-Black Tenant House ceramic assemblage. Surprisingly, the values for the Evans-Black assemblage are remarkably high; indeed, the assemblage is the highest (3.47) of any compared in the plate category, due in large measure to the presence of five porcelain enameled plates in the feature fill. Overall, Evans-Black ranks below only the high status Wilmington sites of John Richardson and Dr. Way. The cup index, which has been found to be most representative of the true social ranking of a site's inhabitants (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987:79), places the Evans-Black Tenant House, with an index value of 2.00, above all of the rural Delaware and New Jersey sites, with the exception of the Charles Allen House (2.37). Once again, the Wilmington

TABLE 18

RESULTS OF THE MILLER INDEX ANALYSES FOR THE EVANS-BLACK TENANT HOUSE

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS
Whitten Road, DE	1.54
Dickson I, DE	1.55
T. Mendenhall, DE	1.66
T. Hamlin, NJ	1.67
Evans-Black Tenant House	**2.00**
Cannon's Point, Overseer, GA	2.24
C. Allen, DE	2.37
Cannon's Point, Planter, GA	2.78
Dr. Way/Retail, DE	3.28
J. Richardson, DE	3.40

SITE	PLATES
T. Mendenhall, DE	1.06
Dickson I, DE	1.16
T. Hamlin, NJ	1.19
Whitten Road, DE	1.20
C. Allen, DE	1.35
Dr. Way/Retail, DE	1.45
J. Richardson, DE	1.93
Cannon's Point, Overseer, GA	1.99
Cannon's Point, Planter, GA	2.69
Evans-Black Tenant House, DE	**3.47**

SITE	BOWLS
Whitten Road, DE	1.00
Evans-Black Tenant House, DE	**1.09**
Cannon's Point, Overseer, GA	1.23
Cannon's Point, Planter, GA	1.23
T. Mendenhall, Wilmington, DE	1.25
Dr. Way/Retail, DE	1.38
C. Allen, DE	1.45
Dickson I	1.53
T. Hamlin, NJ	2.14
J. Richardson, DE	2.53

TABLE 18 (cont.)

SITE	OVERALL
Whitten Road, DE	1.22
T. Mendenhall, DE	1.39
Dickson I, DE	1.45
C. Allen, DE	1.58
T. Hamlin, NJ	1.68
Cannon's Point, Overseer, GA	1.94
Evans-Black Tenant House, DE	**1.96**
J. Richardson, DE	2.15
Dr. Way/Retail, DE	2.25
Cannon's Point, Planter, GA	2.63

urban sites rank the highest. The results of the Miller Ceramic Index for the Evans-Black ceramic assemblage suggests that the tenant of the site was certainly well-off economically, and not the stereotypical or "generic" poor tenant. The Evans-Black tenant may represent the smallholder class of tenants noted by Simler (1986) in Chester County, Pennsylvania, socially and economically ranking above farm tenants and laborers, but below property owners.

Table 19 shows the results of the Miller Ceramic Index for the ceramic vessels from the Williams-Stump cellar hole. In the overall category, Williams-Stump ranks high, with a 1.92 value, above Skunk Hollow B, the residence of the high status Reverend Thompson (1.66), and second only to the Skunk Hollow A assemblage (2.14). The cup and saucer index places the Williams-Stump assemblage in the lower third of the sites compared, below the local Heisler and Dickson II sites. This placement is noteworthy, because it is known that the former was a black tenant house, while the later was, like the Williams-Stump Site, an owner-occupied site, and suggests that other factors besides ceramic values need to be considered in

TABLE 19

RESULTS OF THE MILLER INDEX ANALYSES FOR THE WILLIAMS-STUMP TENANT HOUSE

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS
Skunk Hollow C, NJ	1.00
Moses Tabb, MD	1.44
Skunk Hollow B, NJ	1.88
Williams-Stump House, DE	**2.05**
Heisler Tenancy, DE	2.13
Dickson II, DE	2.25
Skunk Hollow A, NJ	2.36
Skunk Hollow D, NJ	2.75

SITE	BOWLS
Skunk Hollow D, NJ	1.00
Mosses Tabb, MD	1.29
Dickson II, DE	1.42
Williams-Stump House, DE	**1.53**
Heisler Tenancy, DE	1.63
Skunk Hollow B, NJ	1.67
Skunk Hollow C, NJ	1.67
Skunk Hollow A, NJ	1.80

SITE	PLATES
Dickson II, DE	1.00
Heisler Tenancy, DE	1.26
Moses Tabb, MD	1.46
Skunk Hollow D, NJ	1.52
Skunk Hollow B, NJ	1.55
Skunk Hollow C, NJ	1.83
Williams-Stump House, DE	**2.07**
Skunk Hollow A, NJ	2.36

SITE	OVERALL
Moses Tabb, MD	1.42
Skunk Hollow D, NJ	1.45
Skunk Hollow C, NJ	1.57
Dickson II, DE	1.65
Heisler Tenancy, DE	1.65
Skunk Hollow B, NJ	1.66
Williams-Stump House, DE	**1.92**
Skunk Hollow A, NJ	2.14

establishing social ranking. For these sites, the bowl category seems to be most reflective of the known historic statuses of the site occupants. The black tenant houses rank low, with the smallholding Delaware sites above these, and finally, the black community sites of Skunk Hollow clustered together, with Skunk Hollow A once again as the highest ranked site. The differences exhibited in this comparison could have several explanations, including vagaries in the assemblage sizes for the Skunk Hollow Sites (Geismar 1982:185), the ethnic or regional backgrounds of the site inhabitants, personal preferences in ceramic consumption, differences in dietary patterns, and the length of site occupation. The apparent reliability of the bowl category for these sites may be indicative of dietary patterns for postbellum black Americans; i.e., more stews and potted meals at the lower status households than from other contemporary sites. Further investigation into this hypothesis is necessary before a definitive statement can be made.

VESSEL FUNCTION ANALYSIS

The ceramic vessels which were reconstructed from the cellar feature of the Evans-Black Tenant House (Structure I - Feature 12), and the cellar hole (Structure II - Feature 17) and well (Feature 2) at the Williams-Stump House, were compared in several categories to determine if there were any significant differences between the proportions of these categories between the sites. Categories which were compared were flatwares to hollowwares, serving vessels to storage/preparation vessels, and cups to ceramic mugs and jugs. The purpose of these comparisons

was to compare and contrast the two Williams Site deposits with general trends and characteristics of vessel use and function as identified by Otto (1984), and further defined by Kelso (1984), and others. These studies analyzed vessel form frequencies in order to identify diachronic and spatial differences in lifestyles between social and economic classes (Kelso 1984). At most residential sites, the flatware/hollowware ratio is indicative of food consumption and dietary patterns, with an abundance of flatwares suggestive of roast prime meat cuts, and more hollowwares indicative of the consumption of stews or potted meals by the site's inhabitants. The comparison of serving vessels with storage and preparation vessels basically allows the examination of the proportion of hollowware vessels in an assemblage that are not related to serving; i.e., redware and stoneware crocks and bowls. Finally, like the cup index from the Miller Ceramic analysis, the comparison of cups with ceramic mugs and jugs is suggestive of the status of the occupants. By combining the results of the Miller Ceramic Indexing and the Vessel Function analyses, important data about the Williams ceramic assemblages can be provided which will aid in the interpretations and conclusions for the site, and in placing the occupations of the Williams Site in a regional context.

When comparing the vessel assemblages among these different archaeological sites, it is important to systematically compare the frequencies of the vessel types among all of the sites in order to correctly assess their similarities and differences. Such systematic comparisons have recently been conducted on two

sets of sites in New Castle County, the John Ruth Inn (Coleman et al. 1989) and the Patterson Lane Site Complex (Catts et al. 1989a). Other systematic comparisons in the local area have not utilized this method, and consequently have tended to underestimate the variability of the vessel assemblage (e.g. Thompson 1987). In order to avoid this shortcoming, a difference-of-proportion test (Parsons 1974:445-449) was applied to paired combinations of the sites for each of the vessel categories. The categories compared included flatwares/ hollowwares, serving/storage and preparation, and cups/mugs and jugs. The difference-of-proportion test is applicable in this case because it does not require normally distributed data. Rather, the difference-of-proportion test requires only that the sampling distribution of estimated sample proportions be normally distributed (Parsons 1974:433-436).

The Evans-Black Tenant House ceramic assemblage, consisting of 174 reconstructed vessels, was compared to three local sites in New Castle County which had similar dates of occupation, and ceramic data comparable with the Williams Site material. These sites were the Dickson I Site, a late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth century store located in Christiana (Catts et al. 1989a), the Charles Allen House, an early nineteenth-century site also located in Christiana (Basalik et al. 1987), and the Whitten Road Site, a rural tenant house occupied from the mid-eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century (Shaffer et al. 1988). Based on the results of a similar vessel analysis using the Patterson Lane Sites (Catts et al. 1989a:136-

148), it was expected that the Evans-Black tenant occupation of the Williams Site would be similar in most ceramic categories with the other tenant site, Whitten Road, and by implication, the Allen House, which was found to be similar to the Whitten Road Site (Catts et al. 1989a:143). These were all domestic sites, whereas the Dickson I Site was a commercial property; thus, this site should be slightly different from the residential sites.

The Williams-Stump House occupation, predominantly comprised of ceramics dating to the black occupation of the site was compared with several black-occupied sites dating from throughout the nineteenth century. It has been suggested by several researchers at African-American archaeological sites (Deetz 1977; Otto 1984; Baker 1978) that a distinctive pattern of ceramic use is discernible at black sites, consisting of the presence of serving bowls in over 40 percent of the ceramic assemblage. Recently, however, this patterning has been questioned and refuted by the work of Geismar (1982:155) at Skunk Hollow, and doubt has been raised that a "universal Afro-American pattern" even exists (Leone and Crosby 1987:408). By examining sites with the temporal range of the whole nineteenth century, this African-American pattern hypothesis can be addressed. Thus, the Williams-Stump ceramic assemblage, consisting of 244 reconstructed vessels from both the cellar hole and the well, were compared to Black Lucy's Garden, a free black site dating to the first quarter of the nineteenth-century (Baker 1978), Parting Ways, a free black community in Massachusetts dating from the early to mid-nineteenth century

(Deetz 1977), African-American sites from the Weeksville, New York excavations, Weeksville A dating from 1835-1875, and Weeksville B from 1875-1900 (Bridges and Salwen 1980), as well as the black sites excavated at Christiana, Dickson II and the Heisler Tenancy (Catts et al. 1989a).

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGE VALUES AND VESSEL FREQUENCIES OF THE EVANS-BLACK ASSEMBLAGE

SITE NAME	FLATWARE	HOLLOWWARE	SERVING	STORAGE/ PREPARATION	CUPS	MUGS/ JUGS
Williams I (Thomas Evans tenant house)	**70(41%)**	**99(59%)**	**118(72%)**	**45(28%)**	**13(65%)**	**7(35%)**
Dickson I	79(42%)	110(58%)	163(87%)	24(13%)	61(92%)	5(8%)
Allen House	188(46%)	223(54%)	323(58%)	235(42%)	45(62%)	28(38%)
Whitten Road	118(41%)	168(59%)	95(48%)	104(52%)	37(71%)	15(29%)

TABLE 21

TEST STATISTICS FOR THE EVANS-BLACK ASSEMBLAGE

	WI / DI	AH	WR	DI / AH	WR	AH / WR
Flatware	.007	.95	.003	.90	.12	1.17
Hollowware	.007	.95	.003	.90	.12	1.17
Serving	*3.46	*3.34	*4.74	*7.28	*8.22	*2.47
Storage/Prep	*3.46	*3.34	*4.74	*7.28	*8.22	*2.47
Cups	*3.10	.27	.51	*4.26	*3.06	1.10
Mugs/Jugs	*3.10	.27	.51	*4.26	*3.06	1.10

* - significant difference

KEY:

Prep - preparation
WI - Williams I
DI - Dickson I
AH - Allen House
WR - Whitten Road

For the comparison of the Evans-Black assemblage, Table 20 gives the percentage values and vessel frequencies for each category from the sites, and Table 21 shows all of the test statistics for each of the paired site comparisons for each paired vessel category. Test statistic values greater than 1.96 indicate that a significant difference of proportion exists for those categories; out of thirty-six possible paired comparisons, there are a total of eighteen significant differences shown in Table 21.

Table 22 lists the Evans-Black, Whitten Road, Allen House and Dickson I sites by vessel categories of similar values and notes which of the sites can be grouped together or separated due to significant differences. Remarkably, all of the sites used in this comparison are similar in their proportions of flatwares to hollowwares, indicating that whether domestic or commercial, there is a strong relationship between the ratios of these vessel types. Equally remarkable is the total lack of any similarities in the serving/storage and preparation categories, suggesting that even though the ratios of flat and hollow wares are similar, there is a great deal of variation between the sites in this second category. This variation could be explained by any number of factors, such as the length of site occupation, personal preference, or age of the site occupants. The final comparison of cups to ceramic mugs and jugs shows that the three domestic sites are similar, while the Dickson I storehouse contains only cups. This is probably related to the site's function as a store, and may be indicative of the ceramic

TABLE 22

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES FOR THE EVANS-BLACK TENANT HOUSE ASSEMBLAGE

WI	--			
DI	4	--		
AH	2	4	--	
WR	2	4	4	--
	WI	DI	AH	WR

KEY:

WI - Williams I
DI - Dickson I
AH - Allen House
WR - Whitten Road

stock that was on hand. Once again, as with the Miller Ceramic Index, the ratio of cups to other drinking vessels seems to be an indicator of site function.

TABLE 23

RANKED PAIRED FREQUENCIES FOR THE EVANS-BLACK TENANT HOUSE

WI	--			
DI	2	--		
AH	4	2	--	
WR	4	2	4	--
	WI	DI	AH	WR

KEY:

WI - Williams I
DI - Dickson I
AH - Allen House
WR - Whitten Road

Table 23 presents the ranked paired frequencies among the four sites compared. The Evans-Black Tenant House was paired with both the Whitten Road and Allen House Sites four of six times, and the Whitten Road Site was paired with the Allen House four times. These pairings indicate the functioning of these sites as domestic properties, and was the expected result of the comparison.

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE VALUES AND VESSEL FREQUENCIES OF THE WILLIAMS-STUMP ASSEMBLAGE

Site	Flatware	Hollowware	Serving	Storage/ Preparation	Cups	Mugs/ Jugs
Williams II	**91(37%)**	**153(63%)**	**156(64%)**	**88(36%)**	**13(87%)**	**2(13%)**
Dickson II	14(29%)	34(71%)	32(71%)	13(29%)	10(100%)	0(0%)
Heisler	108(38%)	173(62%)	132(83%)	28(18%)	60(97%)	2(3%)
Black Lucy's Garden	29(59%)	20(41%)	-----	------	------	----
Parting Ways	47(54%)	37(46%)	-----	------	------	----
Weeksville A	------	------	404(57%)	306(43%)	------	----
Weeksville B	------	------	1000(81%)	235(19%)	------	----

The percentage values and vessel frequencies for the Williams-Stump assemblage comparisons are shown in Table 24. It should be noted here that several of the sites used in this comparison had ceramic data that was comparable in only two of the six categories: Weeksville A and B, Black Lucy's Garden, and Parting Ways. This makes comparisons on a regional scale difficult, but not impossible. There was a total of forty-six possible comparisons shown in Table 24. Table 25 shows the test

TABLE 25

TEST STATISTICS FOR THE BLACK-OCCUPIED SITES

	WII / DII	H	BLG	PW	WA	WB
Flatware	1.07	.27	2.84*	2.99*	----	-----
Hollowware	1.07	.27	2.84*	2.99*	----	-----
Serving	.93	4.03*	----	----	1.92	5.89*
Stor./Prep.	.93	4.03*	----	----	1.92	5.89*
Cups	1.20	1.58	----	----	----	----
Mugs/jugs	1.20	1.58	----	----	----	----

	DII / H	BLG	PW	WA	WB
Flatware	1.23	2.98*	2.97*	----	----
Hollowware	1.23	2.98*	2.97*	----	----
Serving	1.69	----	----	1.87	1.64
Stor./Prep.	1.69	----	----	1.87	1.64
Cups	.58	----	----	----	----
Mugs/jugs	.58	----	----	----	----

	H / BLG	PW	WA	WB
Flatware	2.72*	2.85*	----	----
Hollowware	2.72*	2.85*	----	----
Serving	----	----	6.01*	.47
Stor./Prep.	----	----	6.01*	.47
Cups	----	----	----	----
Mugs/jugs	----	----	----	----

	BLG / PW	WA	WB
Flatware	.36	----	----
Hollowware	.36	----	----
Serving	----	----	----
Stor./Prep.	----	----	----
Cups	----	----	----
Mugs/jugs	----	----	----

	PW / WA	WB	WA / WB
Flatware	----	----	----
Hollowware	----	----	----
Serving	----	----	11.41*
Stor./Prep.	----	----	11.41*
Cups	----	----	-----
Mugs/jugs	----	----	-----

KEY:
WII = Williams II DII = Dickson II H = Heisler
BLG = Black Lucy's Garden PW = Parting Ways WA = Weeksville A
WB = Weeksville B

statistics for each of the sites compared and twenty significant differences.

TABLE 26

SUMMARY OF THE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES FOR THE WILLIAMS-STUMP ASSEMBLAGE

W-S	---						
DII	0	---					
H	2	0	--				
BLG	2	2	2	---			
PW	2	2	2	0	--		
WA	0	0	2	---	--	--	
WB	2	0	0	---	--	2	--
	W-S	DII	H	BLG	PW	WA	WB

KEY:

W-S = Williams-Stump
DII = Dickson II
H = Heisler
BLG = Black Lucy's Garden
PW = Parting Ways
WA = Weeksville A
WB = Weeksville B

The results of the paired comparisons show that all three of the Delaware black sites are remarkably similar in all of the categories (Table 26). The exception to this statement is in the serving vessels vs. storage/preparation vessels comparison; here the Williams-Stump assemblage has a significantly lower proportion of serving vessels in comparison to the other two sites, while the Heisler Tenancy has a lower frequency of serving and preparation vessels than the Williams-Stump and Dickson II assemblages. The similarity in serving vessels could

be related to the fact that the same black family occupied both the Dickson II and Heisler sites, perhaps indicating consistent consumption and disposal practices (Catts 1988). The pairing of the owner-occupied Williams-Stump assemblage with the tenant-occupied Dickson II Site in the storage/preparation category could be indicative of the true social position, seen in the historic documentation and the architectural comparisons, of the site's inhabitants as of lower social rank (Catts 1988). This same indication may be why the Weeksville A assemblage was most similar to the Williams-Stump occupation in the same category, and the Weeksville B shared similar traits with the Heisler Tenancy. This expected difference in social status is not reflected in the other vessel categories, particularly in the cups vs. mugs and jugs grouping, where the use of cups as drinking vessels has been clearly discerned through the Miller analysis and the first series of difference-of-proportion tests. The reason that the cups vs. mugs and jugs category shows that all three sites are similar could be due to the large number of glass bottles present at the sites, and not factored in to the analysis. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the use of bottles as storage containers had begun to replace ceramic bottles and jugs. Recent work in Wilmington, Delaware has shown that after 1870, bottle glass is more frequent than ceramics on urban sites (LeeDecker et al. 1987:250-252). Thus, a true reflection of the situation may be to add in the glass bottles recovered from the site excavations to the mugs and jugs category.

TABLE 27

RANKED PAIRED FREQUENCIES FOR THE WILLIAMS-STUMP ASSEMBLAGE

W-S	---						
DII	6	---					
H	4	5	--				
BLG	0	0	0	---			
PW	0	0	0	2	--		
WA	2	1	O	---	--	--	
WB	0	0	2	---	--	0	--
	W-S	DII	H	BLG	PW	WA	WB

KEY:

W-S = Williams-Stump
DII = Dickson II
H = Heisler
BLG = Black Lucy's Garden
PW = Parting Ways
WA = Weeksville A
WB = Weeksville B

Table 27 shows the ranked paired frequencies of similarities among the sites. Interestingly, the Delaware sites share few similarities with the other black sites, suggesting that the idea of a universal African-American pattern is unfounded. The pairing of the Parting Ways Site only with Black Lucy's Garden, and vice versa, suggests that rather than a universal African-American pattern, there may actually be several regional patterns. The results of these tests suggests that the black sites in the Middle Atlantic are similar, and the New England sites are similar.