The data set derived from the vessel analysis of the Williams Site was basic to intra-site and inter-site ceramic assemblage comparisons, which will be explained more fully later in this report.

SITE HISTORY

The Williams Site did not exist as a separate tract of land before the last decade of the eighteenth century. Prior to that date, the property, located in the Welsh Tract, was part of a larger plantation which could trace its history back to the early 1720s, when Roger Williams consolidated two tracts into a 137 acre farm (NCCD G-1-244). In 1741, Williams willed the land to his son, Thomas Williams, who in turn willed the property in 1766 to his sons William Williams and Morris Williams, stipulating that it be sold for the use of his three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Jane. On February 16, 1768, the Williams brothers conveyed the land to John Bowen. Bowen in turn sold the plantation to William Thompson of Pencader Hundred in December 1782 for £525 (NCCD E-2-218).

Two years later in 1784, Thompson's will indicated that his property was to be sold and divided among his children, James, Ann, and Elizabeth Thompson, except for two parcels, consisting of a "store house, new house and lot adjoining in Aikentown and one lot of woodland". These parcels were to be appraised, allowing for the repairs recently made by James, and the first right of refusal was to go to his son James Thompson. If any of his heirs kept the house and lot, then Jane Thompson, William's wife, was to have access to "that one Room + fireplace up

Stares", while she remained a widow (New Castle County Wills M-86; hereafter cited NCCW).

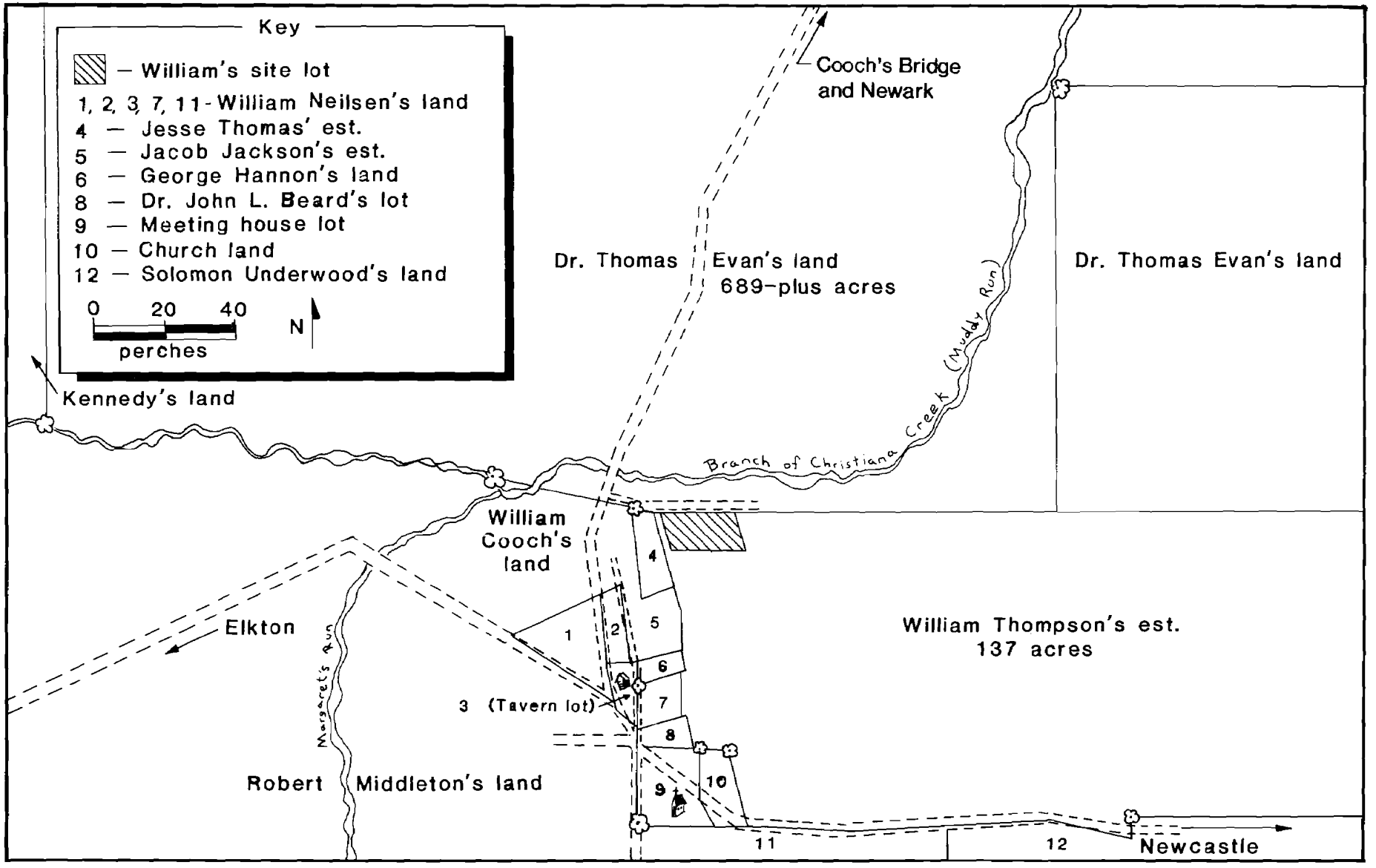
In March of 1792, the estate of William Thompson was sold in several parts. James Thompson retained the "store house and new house and lot" willed to him by his father, but the 137 acre plantation was sold to Joseph Thomas, a Pencader Hundred farmer (NCCD I-2-400) (Figure 10). Additionally the woodland lot referred to in William Thompson's will was sold for £15 by Jane and James Thompson, the estate executors, to Jane Thompson's brother, Dr. Thomas Evans (NCCD I-2-398). A year later, Joseph Thomas sold the 137-acre plantation back to James Thompson for £330, and bought James Thompson's "store house and new house lot" for £230 (NCCD M-2-433, M-2-449). A day later, on March 7, 1793, Joseph Thomas sold this lot to Dr. John L. Beard of Aikentown (M-2-431).

The lot of woodland sold to Dr. Thomas Evans contained a little over one acre of land, and was the location of the Williams Site. Evans was a prominent landholder in northern Pencader Hundred, and owned the large 800+ acre plantation north of the site. This property was divided into three farms, consisting of the dwelling plantation, a northeast farm, and a north farm. In addition to his own log "dwelling house", Evans had stables, barns, and three log tenant dwellings on his home farm, and each of the other tracts were tenant properties with log houses (Skinner 1899; Herman 1987a:64; Evans Papers).

Although no deed of conveyance exists in the records, apparently Evans leased or returned ownership in some way of the

FIGURE 10

Property Tracts in the Aiken Town Vicinity, circa 1800



Williams lot to his sister Jane Thompson soon after he purchased it in March of 1792, for it was referred to as "Jane Thompson's Lot" in the sale of the 137-acre plantation by Joseph Thomas to James Thompson in 1793. It may have been that Evans provided his sister with a long-term lease to the site, for on her death in 1803 she willed to her daughter, Ann Jones, the wife of John Jones, "the house and lot of Land adjoining the village of Glasgow where I now live with all the improvements thereon Erected...."(New Castle County Probate Records, P-1-284). This was not the same parcel that Jane's husband willed to her, since that two-acre parcel was by this time owned by Dr. John L. Beard, and Jane Thompson never purchased any other lots after the sale of her husband's estate.

The Williams Site continued to be utilized by Dr. Thomas Evans as a tenant property into the nineteenth century. In addition to Jane Thompson's occupation (circa 1792-1803), documentary sources indicate that Jane's grandson, Christopher Jones, resided on the lot from 1795 to at least 1806, and maybe as early as 1791. In Dr. Thomas Evans' account ledger (Evans 1792-1796), Christopher Jones is recorded in the following rental agreement:

> August 20, 1795 - my Agreement with Christopher Jones with respect to building the house he lives in, he was to have it at £5, pr. yr., but he has paid the cost of building it, it commenced March 25th, 1791.

This contract suggests that Jones was the occupant, and that the house at the Williams Site may have been under construction prior to the sale of the property by Jane Thompson to Evans in 1792. Further supporting evidence of the presence of

Christopher Jones at the site was recorded by the New Castle County Orphans Court proceeding of March 1806, regarding Eliza Evans, a daughter of Thomas Evans. Because Dr. Evans had died in 1796 with minor children, his property was divided by the Court between his offspring, including his son Thomas Evans (II), and his daughter Elizabeth (or Eliza) Evans. Within a year of his father's death, however, Thomas (II) was dead as well, and the land which was to have passed to him was tied up until 1806, when his estate was settled and given to his sister, Eliza.

In the Orphans Court return of Eliza Evans' estate, four tenant properties are recorded, in addition to the "dwelling place of the deceased." Three of these tenant houses were located on the home farm, and were described as follows:

> ... there are on the premises Three small log tenements Viz., One occupied by David Biggs in very bad Condition, no out buildings or fruit trees, and about two acres of cleared land, One occupied by John Bratten in tenantable order no out Houses or fruit trees about two Acres Land cleared; One occupied by Stephen Augustus in bad order no out buildings about three Acres cleared land part of which is in Meadow....(New Castle County Orphans Court Record I-1-446).

A fourth tenant house was mentioned in the court records, immediately following the above three dwellings; the wording of its description suggests that it was a separate property from the home farm:

> There is also on the Premises one other log Dwelling House and Stable in good repair with about One Acre of land Cleared, now under an unexpired lease to Christopher Jones, and not known to us when it expires....(New Castle County Orphans Court Record I-1-446).

This one acre lot with a log house and stable was the Williams Site. Significantly, the way that the lot description was added on to the other three tenant properties, almost as an afterthought, suggests that Christopher Jones' parcel was not formally part of the Evans' home farm, but was adjoining it, indicating the method of purchase by Dr. Evans in 1792 and lending support to Jones' occupancy of the Williams Site. The lease arrangement mentioned could be the same one that Evans had with his sister, Jane Thompson, but never recorded.

How long Christopher Jones remained the tenant at the Williams Site is not known, but a little of Jones himself can be gleaned from the documents. He is mentioned in the tax assessments of 1797 and 1803-04; in both he owns no real estate and is taxed only for his personal property. Some idea of Jones' wealth and social position in the Glasgow area can be drawn from the 1803-04 tax list, particularly in relation to the other tenants on the Evans farm. Information concerning total taxable wealth is available on only two of the three tenants mentioned above, but indicates that Christopher Jones was the wealthiest of the tenants. He was worth $220, while Stephen Augustus was valued at $216, and David Biggs at only $142. No data was available on John Bratten.

By vocation, Christopher Jones seems to have been a shoemaker, as several accounts in Dr. Thomas Evans' ledger book indicate. Lucy Simler (1986:545) has found that in colonial Chester County, Pennsylvania, many farmers and tenants supplemented their incomes by engaging in non-agricultural occupations, such as shoemaking. According to Simler

(1986:545), a contemporary English traveler, Thomas Cooper, noted:

> the union of manufacturer and farmer [was] very convenient on the grain farms where parts of almost everyday, and a great part of every year can be spared from the business of the farm and employed in some mechanical, handycraft, or manufacturing business (from, Some Information Respecting America Collected by Thomas Cooper, late of Manchester, 2nd Ed., London 1795, p. 223).

Christopher Jones, classified as a smallholder, or a member of the householding class by leasing a small tract, probably supplemented his income by cordwaining, or shoemaking and repair. In March, 1793 Jones received £1.6 from Black David for "making and mending shoes as per his account"; in May of the same year he was paid in cash for making shoes for George Reynolds and Jane Thompson. In 1794, Black David and George Reynolds purchased shoes from Jones in January, and in September James Connor paid eleven shillings for a pair of Jones' shoes. In all of these cases, Dr. Evans supplied the debtors with the cash, and was probably repaid by them through work or some type of service.

Jones himself was a recipient of Dr. Evans' credit, and this debtor-creditor structure is indicative of the relationship of an agricultural tenant with his landlord. For the period from 1792 to 1796, Jones is recorded as borrowing cash from Evans to pay for such items as flaxseed, corn, veal, seed corn, rye straw, a parcel of candles, beef, and shoe thread. In return for these items, Jones supplied Evans with farm work, including "1 day reeping", "2 days cradling", and "2 days mowing". In September of 1796, Jones' account with Dr. Evans of

£9.11 was paid off in full (Evans 1792-1796).

From the early nineteenth century until the mid-1830s, the ownership of the Williams Site parcel becomes murky. The lot apparently remained in the Evans family, as part of Eliza Evans' estate. Eliza married Dr. Richard E. Cochran soon after she came of age, but the couple may have come upon difficult economic times. Between 1816 and 1825, Dr. Cochran sold or mortgaged off all of the Evans' farm which Eliza had inherited from her father (NCCD S-3-23; A-4-348; C-4-91). Although it is not recorded in the deeds, it is probable that the one and one-half acres of the Williams Site were sold off during this period as well, for by 1835 the lot was definitely in the possession of Dr. Samuel H. Black.

Dr. Samuel Henry Black was a large landholder in Pencader Hundred, and an important and prominent citizen in New Castle County (Bush 1888:485). Black was a member of the Delaware General Assembly, a trustee of Delaware College, and member of the Delaware Medical Society and the Agricultural Society of New Castle County. He was concerned with the deteriorating conditions of agriculture in Delaware, and was an author on the subject. Black also conducted his own experiments into "scientific" agricultural methods (Allmond 1958; Herman 1987a:116-118). He was born December 20, 1782 of David William and Margaret Ferris Black, both members of early landed families in the area. Black was well-educated, studying with Dr. John Groome of Elkton, Maryland, and completing his medical education at the University of Pennsylvania. In the mid-1790s, Black

settled in Glasgow and practiced medicine there for over 20 years. He covered a large portion of New Castle County and adjacent Cecil County, Maryland with his medical practice, including the villages of Newark, Elkton, Middletown, and Port Penn. In 1817, he married Dorcas Armitage Middleton, the daughter of Robert Middleton, a prominent Glasgow merchant. Two years earlier, Black had built his home, "La Grange," (the Farm) located to the west of Glasgow, on land he acquired from the Middleton family (NCC Orphans Court, K-1-105). In 1822, Black's tax assessment revealed that he owned four separate tracts of land worth over $3120, consisting of over 500 acres, a brick house, and two log dwellings, twenty-six head of livestock, and one log dwelling under rent for $15.00 per year; this last structure was probably the Williams Site. In the administrations of Black's estate for the year 1828, a "J. Kinnard" is recorded as paying $15.00 to the estate, suggesting that Kinnard could be the tenant at that time.

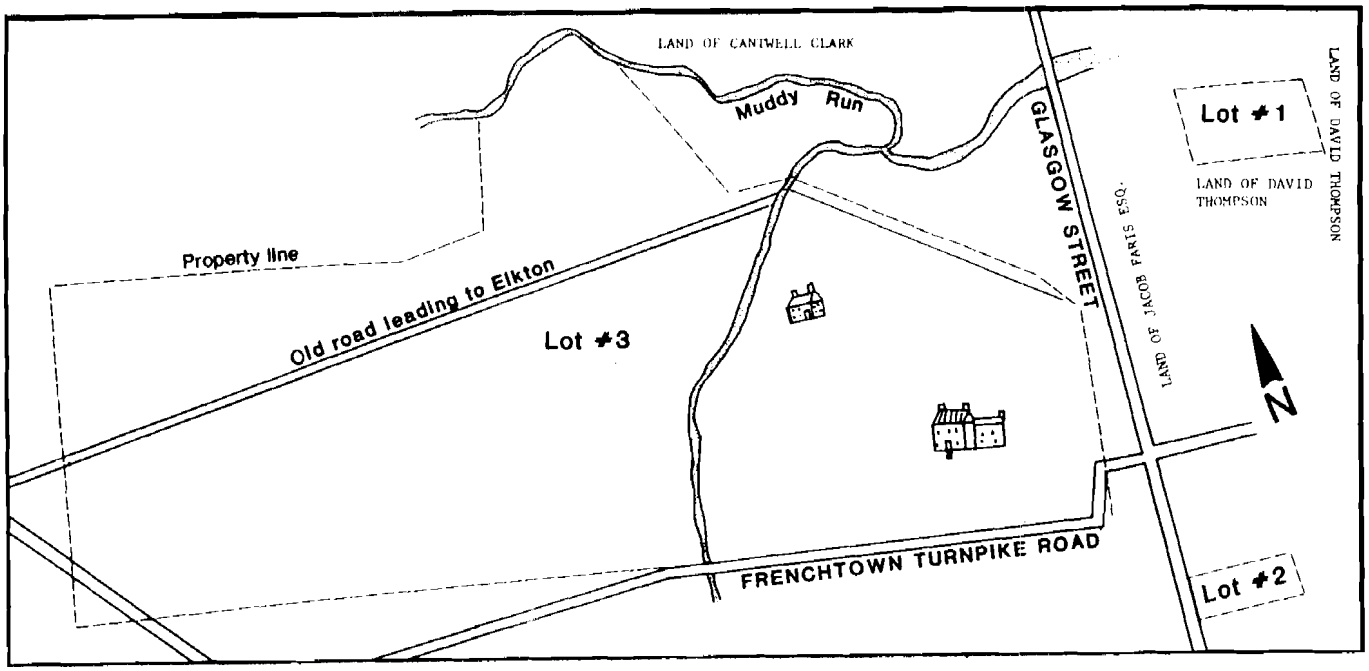
Black's promising medical, political, and agricultural career was cut short April 19, 1827. As reported in the American Watchman:

> At Newark, Del., on Thursday evening last, [died] suddenly of apoplexy, Doctor Samuel H. Black, of Penc. Hundred. Member of the Legislature of the State and Brigadier General in the Del. Militia. (Tuesday, April 24, 1827).

His unexpected death left a widow, Dorcas Middleton Black, and nine children (Allmond 1958; Herman 1987a:165-170). Orphans Court proceedings dragged on for eight years. Finally, in the February term of 1835, the Court awarded Dr. Charles H. Black, the son of Samuel, the one and one-half acre lot and house

FIGURE 11

New Castle County Orphans Court Records, Samuel Black Estate Settlement Plat (P-1-362), 1835



containing the Williams Site (NCCO P-1-362). The property at this time was appraised by the Orphans Court at $50.00 (Figure 11).

Charles Black probably continued to utilize the Williams Site property as a rental lot, especially since Black was an absentee owner who resided in New Castle Hundred. In March of 1843, he sold the house and lot, consisting of one acre and two roods, to a Wilmington carpenter, David Ball, for $100.00 (NCCD M-5-456). Ball retained possession of the property for only about a year and one-half, but in that period he appears to have torn down or removed the original log dwelling, and erected a frame dwelling. The documentary evidence supporting this major improvement of the lot is apparent in the selling price of the lot in 1845, and in subsequent tax assessments of the property. In December of that year, Ball sold the lot to a local large

landholder, Cantwell Clark (who coincidentally was the owner of the old Evans' farm), for $200, a 100 percent return over a period of only one and one-half years (Delaware State Archives Deed B-6-99). Clark retained the lot for only eight months, and in August of 1846 sold the property to Thomas Williams for $250 (NCCD U-5-449). Included in the sale was a one-half acre allowance for a farm lane that extended from the Glasgow-Cooch's Bridge Road eastward. This is the ground on which the present-day farm lane is located, and accounts for the rise in price of $50 for additional land. Before he sold the lot, Clark was assessed the taxes for the property, consisting of a "frame Dwelling", assessed at $250.

Thomas Williams (the occupant for whom the site is named), and his family owned the property for nearly the next 30 years, until 1875 (Figure 5). Considering that the Williamses retained the lot for so long, it is remarkable that so little is available concerning them in the historic record to mark their passage. The deed of conveyance in 1846 indicated that Thomas Williams was a stonemason and plasterer, but told no more. The census of 1850 was more helpful, recording that Williams was a 53 year old English stonemason with a wife, Mary E., four children, aged 9 to 20, and apparently one 9 year old male apprentice from Pennsylvania (Table 1). The birthplaces of Williams' children were particularly revealing of the life of an itinerant craftsman; his first child, Eliza (age 20), was born in England, but his next child, Andrew J. (age 17), was born in New York, indicating that the Williams family had emigrated to

TABLE 1

THOMAS WILLIAMS FAMILY, FROM THE 1850 CENSUS

Name	Occupation	Age(sex)	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Value of Real Estate	Attends School
Thomas Williams	stonemason	53(M)	1797	England	$200	
Mary E. Williams	--------	52(F)	1798	England	-----	
Ella H. Williams	--------	12(F)	1838	Delaware	-----	X
Richard H. Williams	--------	9(M)	1841	Delaware	-----	X
William R. Bowman	--------	9(M)	1841	Pennsylvania	-----	X
Andrew J. Williams	plasterer	17(M)	1833	New York	-----	
Eliza Williams	--------	20(F)	1830	England	-----	

KEY:

M - male
F - female

the United States by 1833. By 1838 the family was in Delaware, for the two remaining children, Ella H. (age 12), and Richard H. (age 9) were both born in Delaware.

Thomas Williams may have arrived in New Castle County on July 14, 1837, on board the ship Tuscany (NCC Trustees of the Poor:92). He was definitely in the area five months later, for on November 20, 1837, Williams applied for naturalization as an American citizen in the Town of New Castle (Official Manuscript Books 2:48). Prior to his purchase of the house and lot near Glasgow, the Williams family may have resided in Appoquinimink or White Clay Creek Hundred; there are Thomas Williamses recorded in both locations in the 1840 census.

No records describing Williams' work as a stonemason exist today, but there are other contemporary and secondary sources, such as local newspapers and city and state directories, which can help to characterize the type of work and the attendant lifestyle of a stonemason. There were several levels of expertise distinguishing American stone workers; these included quarriers, whose job it was to extract the stone, rough masons and freemasons, also known as stonecutters, who dressed and carved the stone, and master masons, who oversaw the entire project and directed the stonework. Masons learned their craft from the master masons, and were apprenticed for a term of from three to seven years (Hazen 1837:208; McKee 1980:20). In Philadelphia, by the mid-nineteenth century, the term stonemason was applied to both stonecutters and to masons who laid stone in mortar and cement, and stonecutters in that city were often referred to as marble-masons (Hazen 1837:208).

The types of stonework masons were hired to perform varied considerably. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, in addition to the construction of stone walls, foundations, and other parts of buildings, stonemasons received a considerable amount of their income from the manufacture of mantelpieces and gravestones, or "monuments to the dead" (Hazen 1837:208). The advertisement of James Robinson in the 1845 Wilmington City Directory indicates that Robinson, and other masons like him, manufactured:

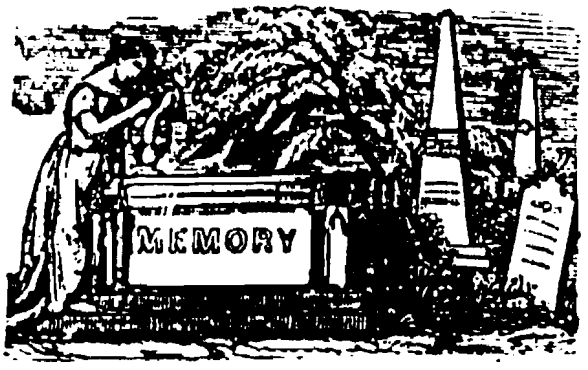
> ...Marble Monuments, Tombs, Head and Foot Stones, American and Foreign Marble Mantels, and House Work of every description, such as Water Table, Door Sills and Lintels, Window Sills and Lintels, Cellar Door Jams and Lintels, Steps and Platforms, Ashler, &c.
>
> Also, **Granite Steps and Platforms**, Door Sills and Lintels, Window Sills and Lintels, Coping, Curb and Flag Stones, &c., neatly executed on the most approved patterns and workmanship, on reasonable terms, at his yard....
>
> (Wilmington City Directory for 1845:143)

Other masonry announcements and advertisements in the Wilmington directories followed similar outlines, often with line illustrations showing the types or work that could be accomplished (Figure 12). The situation of masons in Wilmington and other cities was probably different from rural masons such as Thomas Williams. Most significantly, city masons, as Robinson's advertisement above indicates, did much of the masonry work at their own yards. By 1860, there were three stone or marble yards in New Castle County, all located in the vicinity of Wilmington. Together, these three yards produced close to $26,000 annually (Scharf 1888:762). But many stoneworkers, particularly in southern New Castle County, did

FIGURE 12

Advertisement for Masonry and Marblework, 1845

Marble Yard.



THOMAS SMITH,

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.

The subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public that he still occupies the old stand in

Market St., between Eighth and Ninth,

Where he is prepared to manufacture

MARBLE MONUMENTS, TOMBS,

HEAD AND FOOT STONES,

American and Foreign Mantles, and House Work of every description, such as Water Tables, Door Sills, Window Sills and Lintels, Coping, Curb, Flag Stones, &c., neatly executed on the most approved patterns and workmanship. All orders promptly attended to.

THOMAS SMITH.

not work in the big marble yards. Instead, these masons contracted to do piece-work, and combined a knowledge of brick masonry and plastering with their stoneworking abilities. Average annual incomes for masons were therefore necessarily low, and it is not surprising to see that Thomas Williams' son, Andrew J., was recorded in the 1850 census as a plasterer. Andrew's job as a plasterer was both an apprentice position and an additional source of income for the family.

It is probable that the reason Thomas Williams was drawn to the Lower Delaware Valley in the summer of 1837 was the promise of a tremendous amount of masonry work that would be required on the major U.S. fortification then being erected in the area, Fort Delaware, on Pea Patch Island. Fort Delaware was actually the second fortification on the island, the first having burned in 1831 (Catts et al. 1983). A project of the scope intended at Fort Delaware had the potential to employ a stonemason for at least several years. Unfortunately for Williams, the construction of Fort Delaware came to an abrupt end in December 1838, when a law- suit was brought against the Federal government concerning the rightful ownership and title to Pea Patch Island. The suit dragged on for over 10 years, and was finally decided in favor of the plaintiff (Catts et al. 1983:26-27). Thus, Thomas Williams became an American citizen in time to be put out of work at the fort; however, the tremendous rebuilding of southern New Castle County documented by Herman (1987a) probably kept him employed.

In 1848, the third Fort Delaware was begun, and it is probable that Williams, by this time living at the site in

Pencader Hundred, worked at the fort. Construction of the fort had progressed sufficiently by the beginning of 1850 that the Corps of Engineer officer in command of the construction, Brevet Major John Sanders, hired a gang of thirty stonemasons to start the task of cutting and fitting the stone for the masonry walls. Sanders' annual and monthly reports concerning the masonry work illustrate the types, character, duration, and lifestyles of stonemasons and cutters in the mid-nineteenth century. In October of 1850, Sanders mentioned the first group of stonemasons at the Fort, stating that:

> ...I organized in June a small gang of stone cutters to commence preparing the stone now on hand and lying around the island...But as the appropriation did not pass at the usual time, I had to discharge the stone cutters.... (Annual Report, October 12, 1850).

The duration of jobs for masons is obvious from this statement, and suggests one reason why, as individuals, most stonemasons were highly mobile in rural areas. For the next year, Sanders hired a "gang of stone cutters" who worked throughout the winter preparing the stone for the first course of masonry. Reinforcing the insecure nature of their profession, Sanders discharged all but two masons in February. These two were kept to repair existing revetments and slip walls, work which could only be accomplished at low tide (Annual Report, October 6, 1851).

In the spring of 1853, the work on stonecutting at the Fort began in earnest, and Sanders hired as many masons as he could, paying the best wages in the region, ranging from 20 to 35 cents/hour. Despite these high wages, Sanders experienced

problems in procuring masons. Wrote Sanders:

> The great and incessant demand from every direction over the country for mechanical labor of all kinds made it difficult to draw together an efficient gang of stone cutters. I commenced employing them in May and now have little short of thirty as good men for that kind of work as there are in the United States. ... I pay them 15¢ a superficial foot for cutting, which is only 2 1/2¢ more a foot than Mr. Leiper [pays] at his quarries for cutting the stone....
> (Annual Report, October 21, 1853).

The employment of thirty stonemasons on one project was probably a tremendous job opportunity for these "mechanics," though the hours were long and the work at times difficult. For example, some of the stone utilized in the construction of the Fort was Port Deposit gneiss, a hard stone of durable quality, but full of seams which caused it to be quarried contrary to its natural beds. This stone was the "dread of all the workmen, for it seems but little softer than cast iron". According to Sanders:

> some of the best of these men [the stone masons], although experienced stone cutters and familiar with hard stone, could actually, when then started on the Port Deposit stone, cut only ten superficial feet a day, but now some of the men will often finish their twenty feet a day.
> (Annual Report, October 21, 1853).

By the spring and summer of 1854, the heyday of stonemason employment at Fort Delaware was at an end. In April of that year, Sanders released ten of his stonemasons, and in June he cut the remaining number in half. He retained eight or ten "of the best workmen" at the fort, "as their is a pretty constant requisition on the services of that number, in filling out deficiencies in the regular courses, cutting closures and salients and in trimming other stone". He kept this small

TABLE 2

MASONS AND STONECUTTERS IN SOUTHERN NEW CASTLE COUNTY, FROM THE 1860 CENSUS

Red Lion Hundred

Name	Occupation	Age	Place of Birth	Value of Personal Estate	Town
John Whitehead	master mason	38	England	$300	FD
James Row	stonecutter	40	Ireland	0	DC
Thomas N. King	stonemason	39	Pennsylvania	$50	STGS
Joseph Lorring	stonecutter	34	France	$20	DC
John Maloney	stonecutter	35	Ireland	$50	DC
Joseph Hague	stonecutter	32	England	$100	DC
John Handly	stonecutter	21	Ireland	$25	DC
Peter Gillen, jr.	stonecutter	19	Delaware	0	FD
Robert Caldwell	stonecutter	45	Ireland	$50	DC
James R. Caldwell	apprentice stonecutter	18	Pennsylvania	0	DC
Timothy Collins	stonecutter	52	Ireland	$25	DC

St. Georges Hundred

John W. Wright	stonecutter	40	Connecticut	$8000	
Samuel Gilbert	stonecutter	24	Pennsylvania	0	(resides with John W. Wright)

Pencader Hundred

***Thomas Williams**	**stonemason**	**[decd.]**	**England**	**$200**	

Avg. age 35.5 years

Avg. value $58.5 (excluding John W. Wright)

KEY: FD = Fort Delaware; DC = Delaware City; STGS = St. Georges [town]

number employed over the winter of 1854-55, and paid them for piece work, or the wage of 15¢ per superficial foot of stone (Annual Report, October 9, 1854).

A further glimpse of who these masons and stonecutters were is provided by the 1860 census for the hundreds in southern New Castle County (Table 2). In the census, there were fourteen stonemasons, stonecutters, or apprentice stonecutters residing in the hundreds of Red Lion, Pencader, and St. Georges. Of this number, ten were residing either at Delaware City or on Pea Patch Island, perhaps the "eight or ten best workmen" that Sanders retained in 1854. Only five of the total number were native born Americans: three Pennsylvanians, one Delawarean, and one from Connecticut. The remainder were foreign born, from England, Ireland, and France. With the exception of John Wright of St. Georges Hundred, with his personal estate of $8000, the wealthiest of the group were those masons born in England, ranging in values of personal estate from $100 to $300. It should be noted here that Thomas Williams is included in this group for comparative purposes, even though he died about three months prior to the taking of the census. If Tom W. Wright is excluded from the comparison, the average stonemason/cutter's personal estate was about $58.50.

In the April 5, 1860 issue of the Delaware Republican, Thomas Williams' obituary was printed. According to the announcement:

> Died on the 8th of March, near Glasgow, Mr., Thomas Williams, in the 64th year of his age. The deceased had suffered from a protracted illness which he bore with Christian fortitude, and expired on his birthday.

The stark reality of Williams death, coincidentally recorded in the Death Schedules of the 1860 U.S. Census, was more informative and clinical than the printed obituary. Williams, the Schedule indicated, was married, age 64, born in England, and a stonemason by occupation. He had been ill for three months, and had died in March of "consumption of bowels" (U.S. Census 1860).

Thomas Williams left to survive him his wife and children, but he recorded no will. There were no probate documents, and no administrations of his estate were conducted. The exact legal means that the Williams' family utilized to retain ownership of the site is therefore not known, but they continued to reside at the site for the next fifteen years. It seems that Mary Williams, Thomas' widow, lived at the site, for it is known that Andrew J. Williams, the plasterer, moved frequently. He may have been living in Middletown in 1850, and he was recorded in 1860 as residing in the village of Christiana, and later in Wilmington and Faulkland Mills in northern New Castle County. In the fall of 1875, the heirs of Thomas Williams sold the one and one-half acres for $250.00, the same amount they paid for the property twenty-nine years earlier, to a black farm laborer, Sidney Stump (NCCD G-11-197).

The beginning of a black occupation of the Williams Site brings to mind a number of questions dealing with the role of blacks in Delaware's rural economy and its communities, their social and cultural lives, and the general lack of historic research into this group. More specifically, why did Sidney

Stump choose to settle in the vicinity of the village of Glasgow? Was there an already established tradition of free blacks residing in the area? There is comparatively little historical data available, even on county or state levels, concerning postbellum rural black Delawareans; what information there is must be gleaned from censuses, tax assessments, other official records, and several secondary histories (Livesay 1968; Munroe 1957; Hancock 1968).

After the Civil War, and for the remainder of most of the nineteenth century, the general outlook for Delaware's African-Americans, urban and rural, was better than if they had remained slaves. Blacks in the First State could not be bought or sold, they could own property, they had the right to go to court to redress damages to themselves and their property, they could move about with comparative freedom, they could marry anyone (non-white) of their choosing, and they could belong to their own churches. Theoretically, they had the right to vote if they owned property, although unscrupulous white tax collectors and other Democrats often circumvented this law (Livesay 1968:93-96). The majority of Delaware's blacks were illiterate in 1865, since school facilities for most rural black communities were not provided until a decade later. Employment opportunities were severely limited; over 33 percent of the black population in 1890 were employed as agricultural laborers, over 34 percent in non-agricultural work, and 30 percent as servants and domestics. Only eight percent of the blacks recorded were listed as farmers (Livesay 1968:87-123; Munroe 1957:436-440; Hancock 1968:63-64).

TABLE 3

BLACK POPULATION STATISTICS, FROM THE 1870 CENSUS

Hundred	Total Population	Black Population	% of Black Population
St. Georges	5075	2000	39.4%
Pencader	2542	890	35%
Appoquinimink	4299	1289	30%
New Castle	3682	2906	21%
Red Lion	2604	529	20.3%
White Clay Creek	2620	515	19.6%
Mill Creek	3302	358	10.8%
City of Wilmington	30,841	3211	10.4%
Christiana	5370	538	10%
Brandywine	3180	86	2.7%

Town	Total Population	Black Population	% of Black Population
Christiana	443	134	30.2%(WCCH)
Odessa	695	176	25.3%(St.G)
Port Penn	320	76	23.7%(St.G)
New Castle	1916	312	16.3%(NCH)
Newark	915	145	15.8%(WCCH)
Middletown	915	127	13.9%(St.G)
St. Georges	376	34	9.0%(RDL/St.G)

KEY:
WCCH - White Clay Creek Hundred
St.G - St. Georges Hundred
NCH - New Castle Hundred
RDL - Red Lion Hundred

TABLE 4

BLACK POPULATION STATISTICS, FROM THE 1860 CENSUS

Hundred	Total Population	Black Population	% of Black Population
St. Georges	4546	1654	36.4%
Pencader	2505	892	35.6%
Appoquinimink	4072	1120	27.5%
Red Lion	2643	502	19%
New Castle	3468	629	18.1%
White Clay Creek	2763	461	16.7%
Wilmington(City)	21,258	2214	10.4%
Christiana	5613	435	7.7%
Mill Creek	3654	272	7.4%
Brandywine	4185	173	4.1%

In several of the rural hundreds of New Castle County, African-Americans accounted for a sizable proportion of the total population. In 1870, St. Georges Hundred had the largest black population at over 39 percent, and Pencader Hundred was 35 percent black, followed by Appoquinimink Hundred with 30 percent. The populations of New Castle, Red Lion, and White Clay Creek Hundreds each were around 20 percent black in 1870, with considerably smaller percentages in the remaining hundreds of Mill Creek, Christiana, and Brandywine, and the City of Wilmington (Table 3). The village of Christiana was about 30 percent black, Odessa had a black population of 25 percent, and Port Penn's black population was 24 percent. These population figures were consistent with the pre-war levels of 1860 (Table 4), and suggest the degree to which Delaware's agricultural

economy depended on black labor (U.S. Bureau of Census 1968; Bausman 1933).

An important cohesive factor for the black community of Delaware and the surrounding region was the social and religious annual event called the Big Quarterly. This festival was held on the last Sunday in August in Wilmington on the grounds of the Mother A.U.M.P. Church located at 819 French Street. The church was the center of social life for most African-Americans in Delaware, figuring prominently in their lives, and the Mother Church came to symbolize a degree of freedom, for both slave and free, from white dominance of the black community. The Big Quarterly drew huge crowds of blacks from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Delmarva Peninsula, and was the scene of religious meetings and revivals, street arcades, socializing and fellowship for several days (Baldwin 1981:197-211).

The St. Thomas A.U.M.P. Church, located in Pencader Hundred west of Glasgow, also held an annual event called the Big Quarterly. This "homecoming" event was held on the third Sunday in August, so as not to conflict with the Wilmington Big Quarterly. On a smaller scale than its larger sister, the Glasgow festival drew blacks from the surrounding region of Delaware and Maryland, including Newark, Summit, Elkton and Cedar Hill. This was a social get-together, but much of the time was also devoted to church meetings and preaching. Beginning at five o'clock in the morning, the Glasgow Big Quarterly was held in the wooded grove next to the Church, and foods of all kinds, including fried chicken, sandwiches, soups,

cakes, and pies, were laid out under the trees, along with some booths for selling produce (Ada Anderson and Alice Grinnage, personal communication 1988).

The importance of both of these Big Quarterlies lies in the sense of community and society that they conveyed to Delaware's African-Americans. In particular, the Glasgow Big Quarterly suggests that the village of Glasgow was the center of a well-developed black community in the nineteenth-century, and that the area around the village may have been conducive to black residence. Supporting this inference is the U.S. Census return for 1860, indicating that Pencader Hundred's population was over 40 percent black (U.S. Bureau of Census 1968). Thus, the arrival of the Stump family in Pencader Hundred was probably the result of familial connections, the possibilities of employment, and the presence of an already existing and thriving black community.

Sidney Stump was recorded as a resident of Glasgow in several of the state directories in the later half of the nineteenth century, always with the occupation of laborer (The Delaware State and Peninsular Directory 1890; 1897; The Delaware State Directory 1888; 1894). His name did not appear in the Pencader Hundred tax lists in the late 1870s to 1881, although he was recorded in one list as owning $25 worth of livestock. Perhaps his name was not recorded because of tax fraud, a practice which in the years after Emancipation was a common occurrence perpetrated against blacks in Delaware by Democrats to prevent them from voting (Livesay 1968: 94-96).

Stump and his family of four were recorded in the manuscript census returns for Pencader Hundred for 1880, five years after he had purchased the Williams Site (Figure 6). Sidney was 41 years old, his wife Rachel was 38, and he had three children: George F., age 15; Lydia P., age 10; and Jacob A., age 13; these last two were adopted children. All members of the family were illiterate. Sidney listed his occupation as that of a farm laborer, and both of his sons were also recorded as farm laborers. All three of the males of the family had been unemployed for one-third to one-quarter of the preceding year; Sidney and Jacob for four months, and George for three months. This suggests that they were day laborers and that although a home owner, Sidney Stump needed all of the income that could be raised by his family. Rachel was occupied with "keeping house," and her daughter Lydia was listed as "at home."

With the exception of Sidney's son, George, all of the family were born in Maryland, indicating that the Stumps had arrived in Delaware about 1865, perhaps as a direct result of the Civil War. The exact location from which the Stumps emigrated from Maryland is difficult to ascertain. An examination of the Maryland 1850 Census Index (Jackson and Teeples 1976) revealed that in that year there were thirty-seven individuals, both white and black, recorded with the surname "Stump" in the State of Maryland: twenty-two in Baltimore County, nine in Harford County, three in Carroll County, and one each in Cecil, Allegany, and Calvert counties.

The Stump family continued to occupy the Williams Site through the end of the nineteenth century (Figure 6). In 1908,

at 69 years of age, Stump re-married, this time to Laura Brown of Newark, aged 58, at the Pencader Presbyterian Church in Glasgow (Pencader Presbyterian Church Records, 13 February 1908). Whether his first wife died or they had divorced is not known. The 1910 census recorded both of them as residing at the site near Glasgow. Sidney, although in his seventies, was listed as a farm laborer who "worked out"; he had been unemployed for 25 weeks in the preceding year. He was recorded as owning his own home, an important characteristic which Stump shared with one-third of the blacks outside of Wilmington (Livesay 1968:118). Laura (Brown) Stump was also in her second marriage. She had been born in Delaware, had given birth to seven children, six of whom were still living, and had no occupation. Both Sidney and Laura were illiterate.

Sidney Stump died in February of 1922, at the age of nearly 85, and was buried at the St. Thomas A.U.M.P. Church. The house site was willed to his wife, Laura (NCCW R-4-178). Soon after his death, Laura sold the house and lot in which Sidney had resided for nearly fifty years to her wealthy white landholding neighbor, John Wirt Willis, for $350 (NCCD W-30-522). Willis was the owner of the Allied Kidd leather manufactory in Wilmington, and was also that city's Chief of Police. He resided for part of the year on his 260-acre showplace dairy farm, "Hermitage," which was adjacent to the Stump house and lot, and the other part of the year at his townhome on Rodney Square (Alice Grinnage, personal communication, 1988). Beginning about 1915, Willis began to consolidate several of the farms

around the area, including the old Evans farm, and by the end of the 1920s, held over 1600 acres of land (Bowers 1987:82-83). By 1937, according to aerial photographs of the vicinity, the Stump house had been razed, probably by Willis to create more farmland.

The existence of the Williams Site thus ended after having been occupied for about 140 years, from the early 1790s to about 1930. Ironically, the site had come full circle. William Thompson's farm had originally carved out the small house lot from agricultural land in the late eighteenth century. By 1930, the same farm belonged to John Wirt Willis, and Willis demolished the house and reabsorbed the site in order to create more agricultural land. For the initial portion of its history, from the 1790s to the mid-1840s, the Williams Site was occupied as a tenant house, and served in the capacity of a terrestrial pawn, a piece of land that was bartered back and forth between the large farmers on the east, north, and west of the site, like the Thompson family, the Evans and Clark families, and Dr. Samuel H. Black. The second thirty years of site occupation, from 1846 to 1875, saw the site utilized as the landholding of a local mechanic, the stonemason Thomas Williams and his family. The final fifty years of residency at the site witnessed the occupation of a black farm laborer, Sidney Stump, and upon his death the site was abandoned.

WILLIAMS SITE PREHISTORIC OCCUPATION

Numerous prehistoric artifacts were recovered during the data recovery excavations at the Williams Site. Table 5 shows