

occupation dates, similar functions, or occupants of similar ethnic groups. Several of the comparisons are incomplete due to the fact that many of the sites used in the study did not have comparable artifact information in both levels of analysis. Sites chosen for use in these analyses included several from the Kingsmill excavations (Kelso 1984), the Cannon's Point Sites (Otto 1984), the Allen House (Basalik et al. 1987), Whitten Road (Shaffer et al. 1988), four areas from Skunk Hollow (Geismar 1982), Afro-American sites from the Weeksville investigations, Weeksville A dating from 1835 to 1875, and Weeksville B, dating from 1875 to 1900 (Bridges and Salwen 1980), the free black settlement at Parting Ways (Deetz 1977), and Black Lucy's Garden (Baker 1980). The results of both of these levels of investigation, coupled with the Miller Ceramic Index rankings, can provide data important in arriving at useful interpretations and conclusion for the Patterson Lane Site Complex. A number of questions can be addressed by these comparisons, dealing both with the Dickson I store assemblage and its relation to domestic sites, and the Heisler and Dickson II Tenant Sites, their similarities and differences both between each other and among other related sites, particularly from a black historical perspective.

Research into consumer behavior and archaeology is receiving considerable attention (Spencer-Wood 1987), and the Dickson I assemblage can be used to examine the interactions between the availability and usage of historic ceramics. The Miller analysis has demonstrated the relative ranking of Dickson I is the social

fabric of the region; but that is based only on refined earthenwares, not the full ceramic assemblage. In some respects, it is assumed that the Dickson I assemblage will not be similar at all to the domestic sites which will be compared. As a storehouse occupation, percentages of chamberwares and other medicinal wares should be low, but it is expected that other categories of ceramics, such as dining, drinking, hollowwares and flatwares, should be on par with "middling" domestic sites, such as Whitten Road, the Allen House, and the Cannon's Point overseer's house. These are all fairly contemporary sites with Dickson I, but sites such as the Heisler Tenancy may also be similar, because stores such as Dickson's continued to supply ceramics to historic sites throughout the nineteenth century.

Several reseachers from Afro-American sites (Deetz 1977; Otto 1984; Baker 1980) have suggested that a distinctive pattern discernible at black sites, slave or free, is the presence of serving bowls exceeding 40% of the artifact assemblage, as concluded from the investigations at Parting Ways, Cannon's Point, and Black Lucy's Garden. However, this pattern has been questioned and refuted by Geismar's (1982:155) work at Skunk Hollow along with the implication that such an artifact pattern represents a "universal Afro-American pattern" (Leone and Crosby 1987:408). By comparing the percentages of certain artifact categories from several known slave and free black sites, ranging from the eighteenth through the late nineteenth centuries, this question of Afro-American patterning can be addressed. The Dickson II Site can also be compared to other black occupations, as well as white-occupied sites.

When comparing the vessel assemblages among these different archaeological sites, it is important to systematically compare the frequencies of the vessel types among all sites to correctly assess their similarities and differences. Such systematic comparisons have not been part of past studies of the area (e.g. Thompson 1987), and, consequently these studies have tended to underestimate assemblage variability. 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. Two separate comparisons were conducted using the difference-of-proportion test. One dealt with the vessels in the following categories: hollowwares vs. flatwares, cups vs. mugs and jugs, and serving vs. preparation and storage vessels. The other test utilized information comparing dining, drinking, preparation and storage, medicinal, and "other" vessel categories. The difference-of-proportion test is applicable in this case because it does not require normally distributed data. Rather, the difference-of-proportion test is based on the fact that the sampling distribution of estimated sample proportions is normally distributed (Parsons 1974:433-436).

For the first series of comparisons, the comparison of percentages of flatware, hollowware, storage/preparation vessels, serving vessels, cups, mugs and jugs, Table 30 gives the percentage values and vessel frequencies for each category from the sites, and Table 31 shows all of the test statistics for each paired site comparison for each paired vessel category. Test statistic values greater than 1.96 indicate significant

TABLE 30

PERCENTAGE VALUES AND VESSEL FREQUENCIES

Site	Flatware	Hollowware	Prep/Storage	Serving	Cups	Mugs & Jugs
Dickson I	79 (42%)	110 (58%)	24 (13%)	163 (87%)	61 (92%)	5 (8%)
Dickson II	14 (29%)	34 (71%)	13 (29%)	32 (71%)	10 (100%)	0 (0%)
Heisler	108 (38%)	173 (62%)	28 (18%)	132 (83%)	60 (97%)	2 (3%)
Allen House	188 (46%)	223 (54%)	235 (42%)	323 (58%)	45 (62%)	28 (38%)
Black Lucy's Garden	29 (59%)	20 (41%)	-----	-----	-----	-----
Parting Ways	44 (54%)	37 (46%)	-----	-----	-----	-----
Weeksville A	-----	-----	306 (43%)	404 (57%)	-----	-----
Weeksville B	-----	-----	1000 (81%)	235 (19%)	-----	-----
North Quarter	23 (26%)	66 (74%)	34 (27%)	91 (73%)	26 (62%)	16 (38%)
Littletown	23 (30%)	53 (70%)	15 (20%)	59 (80%)	5 (19%)	21 (81%)
Kings mILL	63 (34%)	123 (66%)	23 (15%)	134 (85%)	20 (31%)	44 (69%)
Whitten Road	118 (41%)	168 (59%)	104 (52%)	95 (48%)	37 (71%)	15 (29%)

differences-of-proportion and it can be seen from Table 31 that there are a total of 148 significant differences among the vessel assemblages from among the sites. It should be noted here also that four of the assemblages, those from Black Lucy's Garden, Parting Ways, and the two periods from Weeksville (A and B), have only two categories for comparison: for Parting Ways and Black Lucy's Garden, only data for hollowwares and flatwares was available, and for the Weeksville assemblages, only serving vs. preparation and storage data.

Table 32 shows the frequencies of significant differences among each pair of sites. Lower values indicate which sites are most similar. As noted above, the sites of Black Lucy's Garden, Parting Ways, and Weeksville A and B only have two possible paired frequencies, so where two differences are noted in the site pairs, it is significant. Based on a simple count of the significant differences among vessel categories, it can be seen that three of the four Afro-American sites from the northeast (Black Lucy, Parting Ways, Weeksville A) are fairly similar, but Weeksville A and Weeksville B are significantly different from each other. Notably, Dickson II is significantly different from all of those sites too. The pairs of sites most similar are Dickson I and Heisler, Dickson II and Heisler, Dickson II and Weeksville A, and Kingsmill Quarter and Littletown Quarter. The Allen House assemblage is very similar to Black Lucy, Parting Ways, and Weeksville A. Table 33 provides a summary of the vessel categories which showed similarities among pairs of historic sites.

TABLE 31

TEST STATISTICS FOR PAIRED SITE COMPARISON

	DKI										
	DKII	H	AH	BL	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR
Flatware	1.6	.73	.9	2.2 *	1.9	--	--	2.6 *	1.7	1.6	.12
Hollow- ware	1.6	.73	.9	2.2 *	1.9	--	--	2.6 *	1.7	1.6	.12
Prep/ Storage	2.6 *	1.2	7.3 *	--	--	7.6 *	19.3 *	3.2 *	1.5	.49	8.2 *
Serving	2.6 *	1.2	7.3 *	--	--	7.6 *	19.3 *	3.2 *	1.5	.49	8.2 *
Cups	.9	1.1	4.3 *	--	--	--	--	3.9 *	7.0 *	7.2 *	3.1 *
Mugs & Jugs	.9	1.1	4.3 *	--	--	--	--	3.9 *	7.0 *	7.2 *	3.1 *

	DKII										
	H	AH	BL	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR	
Flatware	1.2	2.2 *	3.0 *	2.8 *	--	--	.41	.13	.62	1.6	
Hollowware	1.2	2.2 *	3.0 *	2.8 *	--	--	.41	.13	.62	1.6	
Prep/ Storage	1.7	1.7	--	--	1.9	8.4 *	.22	1.1	2.2 *	2.8 *	
Serving	1.7	1.7	--	--	1.9	8.4 *	.22	1.1	2.2 *	2.8 *	
Cups	.58	2.4 *	--	--	--	--	2.3 *	4.4 *	4.1 *	2.0 *	
Mugs & Jugs	.58	2.4 *	--	--	--	--	2.3 *	4.4 *	4.1 *	2.0 *	

TABLE 31 (cont.)

	H									
	AH	BL	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR	
Flatware	1.9	2.7 *	2.6 *	--	--	2.2 *	1.3	1.0	.69	
Hollowware	1.9	2.7 *	2.6 *	--	--	2.2 *	1.3	1.0	.69	
Prep/ Storage	5.7 *	--	--	6.0 *	17.2 *	2.0 *	.51	.70	6.8 *	
Serving	5.7 *	--	--	6.0 *	17.2 *	2.0 *	.51	.70	6.8 *	
Cups	4.9 *	--	--	--	--	4.6 *	7.6 *	7.6 *	3.8 *	
Mugs & Jugs	4.9 *	--	--	--	--	4.6 *	7.6 *	7.6 *	3.8 *	

	AH								
	BL	PW	WA	WR	NQ	L	KM	WR	
Flatware	1.8	1.4	--	--	3.4 *	2.5 *	2.7 *	1.2	
Hollowware	1.8	1.4	--	--	3.4 *	2.5 *	2.7 *	1.2	
Prep/ Storage	--	--	.35	16.5 *	3.1 *	3.6 *	6.3 *	2.5 *	
Serving	--	--	.35	16.5 *	3.1 *	3.6 *	6.3 *	2.5 *	
Cups	--	--	--	--	2.8 *	3.7 *	3.6 *	7.1 *	
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	--	--	2.8 *	3.7 *	3.6 *	7.1 *	

TABLE 31 (cont.)

	BL						
	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR
Flatware	.54	--	--	3.9 *	3.2 *	3.2 *	2.3 *
Hollowware	.54	--	--	3.9 *	3.2 *	3.2 *	2.3 *
Prep/ Storage	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Serving	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cups	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

	PW						
	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR	
Flatware		--	--	3.8	3.0	3.1	2.1
			*	*	*	*	
Hollowware		--	--	3.8	3.0	3.1	2.1
			*	*	*	*	
Prep/ Storage		--	--	--	--	--	--
Serving		--	--	--	--	--	--
Cups		--	--	--	--	--	--
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

TABLE 31 (cont.)

WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR		
Flatware		--	--	--	--	--	--
Hollowware		--	--	--	--	--	--
Prep/ Storage		7.1 *	3.3 *	3.8 *	6.6 *	2.3 *	
Serving	*	7.1 *	3.3 *	3.8 *	6.6 *	2.3	
Cups		--	--	--	--	--	--
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	--	--	--		
	WB						
	NQ	L	KM	WR			
Flatware	*	*	13.4 *	12.2 *	17.7	8.9	
Hollowware	*		13.4 *	12.2 *	17.7 *	8.9	
Prep/ Storage			--	--	--	--	
Serving			--	--	--	--	
Cups			--	--	--	--	
Mugs & Jugs	--	--	--	--			

TABLE 32

FREQUENCIES OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG SITE PAIRS

DKI	--												
DKII	2	--											
H	0	0	--										
AH	4	4	4	--									
BL	2	2	2	0	--								
PW	0	2	2	0	0	--							
WA	2	0	2	0	0	0	--						
WB	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	--					
NQ	6	2	6	6	2	2	2	2	--				
L	2	2	2	6	2	2	2	2	2	--			
KM	2	4	2	6	2	2	2	2	4	0	--		
WR	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	--	
	DKI	DKII	H	AH	BL	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR	

At this point in the analysis it would appear that the Afro-American sites do share some significant ceramic vessel similarities, both through space and time. This observation must be qualified, however, because the slave quarters sites from Virginia apparently have no characteristics in common with the free black sites, suggesting that the presence of an "Afro-American Pattern" is lacking, particularly since even among themselves, the slave quarters sites, with the exception of Kingsmill to Littleton Quarter, share few traits. Locally, the similarities between Dickson I and Heisler were not unexpected: the Heisler Site occupants would seem to be from the "middling" class of regional inhabitants, the social group supplied by

TABLE 33

**SUMMARY OF VESSEL CATEGORIES
WHICH SHOWED SIMILARITIES
AMONG PAIRED SITES**

Flatware	Holloware	Prep/ Storage	Serving	Cups	Mugs & Jugs
DKI/DKII	DKI/DKII	DKI/H	DKI/H	DKI/DKII	DKI/DKII
H	H	L	L	H	H
AH	AH	KM	KM		
PW	PW				
L	L				
KM	KM				
WR	WR				
DKII/H	DKII/H	DKII/H	DKII/H	DKII/H	DKII/H
NQ	NQ	AH	AH		
L	L	WA	WA		
KM	KM	NQ	NQ		
WR	WR	L	L		
H/AH	H/AH	H/L	H/L	H/-	H/-
L	L	KM	KM		
KM	KM				
WR	WR				
AH/BL	AH/BL	AH/WA	AH/WA	AH/-	AH/-
PW	PW				
WR	WR				
BL/PW	BL/PW	BL/-	BL/-	BL/-	BL/-
NQ/L	NQ/L	NQ/L	NQ/L	NQ/WR	NQ/WR
KM	KM				
L/KM	L/KM	L/KM	L/KM	L/KM	L/KM
WR	WR				
KM/WR	KM/WR				

KEY

DKI - Dickson I	PW - Parting Ways
DKII - Dickson II	WR - Whitten Road
H - Heisler	NQ - North Quarter
L - Littleton	WA - Weeksville A
AH - Allen House	BL - BLack Lucy's Garden
KM - Kings Mill	

stores of Dickson's caliber. Dickson II's similarities with the Weeksville B assemblage is interesting, suggesting that the lifeways of late nineteenth century free blacks from the Middle Atlantic did share some common characteristics. Conversely, the close similarity between Dickson II and the Allen House, a middle class owner-occupied site in Christiana, is puzzling, and indicates that the similarities among the black sites are not exclusively Afro-American.

Similarities and differences between these archaeological assemblages can be shown by ranking the sites with respect to the frequencies of hollowwares, flatwares, storage/preparation, serving, cups, and mugs/jugs. Table 34 lists the rankings of these sites by categories of similar values and notes which sites can be grouped together or separated due to significant differences. In the flatware to hollowware comparison, the free black sites of Black Lucy's Garden and Parting Ways can be grouped with the Allen House as having the highest flatware ranking, while the slave site at North Quarter is the lowest. The hollowwares from the black sites of North Quarter, Dickson II, Littletown Quarter, and Kingsmill Quarter are grouped together as the highest proportions of hollowwares, which supports the views of Deetz (1977), Otto (1984) and others concerning the high percentage of bowls at black sites. However, the bottom of the ranking for hollowwares is where the free black sites of Parting Ways and Black Lucy's Garden are grouped, which tends to discount the hypothesis of a universal "Afro-American" pattern. The middle grouping of sites in these categories seems to suggest that a broad range of flatware to hollowware

TABLE 34

RANKING OF THE SITES BY CATEGORIES

Flatware	Hollowware	Prep/ Storage	Serving	Cups	Mugs & Jugs
BL	NQ	WB	DKI	DKII	LQ
PW	DKII		KM	H	KM
AH	LQ	WR	H	DKI	
	KM		LQ		AH
DKI		WA		WR	NQ
WR	H	AH	NQ	AH	
H	WR	DKII	DKII		WR
KM	DKI			NQ	
LQ	AH	NQ	AH		DKI
DKII		LQ	WA	KM	H
	PW			LQ	DKII
NQ	BL	H	WR		
		KM			
		DKI	WB		

proportions on domestic sites are likely to be encountered in the archaeological record, and show a mixing of slave, free black, domestic, and commercial sites. Overall the comparison of flatwares to hollowwares does not seem to be indicative of social standing, but may indeed be indicative of dietary patterns.

In the storage/preparation to serving vessels comparison, a similar jumbling of sites is shown. That the Dickson I assemblage should be clustered with two slave quarters and the Heisler Tenancy is unusual and difficult to explain. Slave sites and free black sites are intermixed with white tenant sites and owner-occupied sites, suggesting that a comparison of these vessel types is of little use in determining overall site function, or status.

The most useful and perhaps valid comparison that can be made between these vessel categories is in the final comparison of cups to mugs and jugs. As with Spencer-Wood and Heberling's

(1987:79) observation of the Miller analysis the cup and saucer index is the most useful in determining relative site status, the comparison of these vessel forms also appears to accurately reflect the true social conditions of the sites' inhabitants. The slave quarters sites group is near the bottom of the cups category, while the Allen House and Whitten Road Sites occupy a middle location, and the three Patterson Lane Complex Sites rank at the upper end in a cluster. The mugs and jugs category is similar, with only slight alterations in the groups, most notably the shift in the pairing of the Allen House and the Whitten Road assemblages.

Table 35 presents the frequency with which each pair of sites were grouped together in Table 34. The most similar sites shown are Dickson I and Heisler which were paired together all six times. These pairings are consistent with earlier results (Table 32). Kingsmill Quarter and Littleton Quarter shared five of six similarities, and Parting Ways and Black Lucy's Garden were paired. For the most part, the results shown in Table 35 are consistent with those seen in Table 32, and are mutually supportive.

A second series of difference-of-proportion tests were accomplished for the Patterson Lane Complex Sites, this time investigating the ratios of dining, drinking, preparation/storage, medicinal, and other ceramic vessel categories. Where the previous comparisons shown above examined specific sets of data, such as proportions of flatwares to hollowwares, this comparison can provide a different perspective of a site's

TABLE 35

RANKED PAIRED FREQUENCIES OF PAIRED SITES

DKI	--												
DKII	3	--											
H	6	3	--										
AH	1	1	1	--									
BL	0	0	0	1	--								
PW	0	0	0	1	2	--							
WA	0	1	0	2	NDA	NDA	--						
WB	0	0	0	0	NDA	NDA	0	--					
NQ	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	--				
L	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	--			
KM	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	--		
WR	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	--	
	DKI	DKII	H	AH	BL	PW	WA	WB	NQ	L	KM	WR	

ceramic assemblage, and thus may be useful, in conjunction with the other levels of analysis, in site interpretations.

The sites chosen for this comparison varied somewhat from those used in the previous study. The Patterson Lane Site Complex, as well as the Whitten Road Site and the Charles Allen House were once again used, but this time data for the Cannon's Point slave, overseer, and planter (Otto 1984), and four of the site areas, A through D, from the rural black community of Skunk Hollow (Geismar 1982) were obtained. These later sites, along with the Dickson II and the Cannon's Point slave assemblages,

can be of use in again examining the issue of an Afro-American pattern. The Delaware sites represent local rural and semi-rural domestic and commercial sites of the lower through middle class, while the Cannon's Point Sites provide temporally similar occupations from middle and upper class sites.

Table 36 shows the percentage values and vessel frequencies for each of the functional categories from the sites, and Table 37 shows all of the test statistics for each paired site comparison and each paired functional category. As with the first series of difference-of-proportion tests discussed above, a test statistic value greater than 1.96 indicates significant differences of proportion. Table 37 shows that there are 126 significant differences between functional categories between the sites, out of a possible 306 pairings.

Table 38 presents the frequencies of significant differences among each pair of sites; lower values indicate which site pairs are most similar. Several significant similar pairs are shown. The Dickson II Site in Christiana shows no differences with the four Skunk Hollow Site areas, and the Heisler Site is also similar to Skunk Hollow B. Among themselves, Skunk Hollow Area A and Area B are significantly alike, while Area B shares similarities with Area C. The pair of sites that are most dissimilar are the Cannon's Point Overseer's assemblage, and the Dickson I assemblage. These values suggest that there are shared traits in common between the black sites in the northeast, which although also seen at the Heisler, have more in common with each other than with white tenant sites or the Cannon's Point Slave

TABLE 36

PERCENTAGE VALUES AND VESSEL FREQUENCIES

Sites	Dining	Drinking	Food Prep/Storage	Medicinal	Other
Dickson I	107 (57%)	56 (30%)	24 (13%)	0 (0%)	1 (.5%)
Dickson II	22 (45%)	10 (20%)	13 (27%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)
Heisler	108 (65%)	24 (14%)	28 (17%)	7 (4%)	0 (0%)
Allen House	188 (33%)	135 (23%)	235 (41%)	20 (4%)	0 (0%)
Whitten Road	85 (27%)	71 (23%)	145 (47%)	9 (3%)	0 (0%)
Cannon's Pt. Slave	80 (62%)	26 (20%)	9 (7%)	4 (3%)	11 (9%)
Skunk Hollow A	53 (50%)	28 (26%)	18 (17%)	5 (5%)	2 (2%)
Skunk Hollow B	103 (54%)	37 (20%)	40 (21%)	7 (4%)	----
Skunk Hollow C	21 (41%)	11 (22%)	16 (31%)	5 (10%)	1 (2%)
Skunk Hollow D	21 (37%)	12 (21%)	18 (32%)	6 (11%)	----
Connor's Pt. Overseer	78 (57%)	42 (31%)	6 (4%)	3 (2%)	8 (6%)
Connor's Pt. Planter	161 (52%)	83 (27%)	39 (13%)	9 (3%)	19 (6%)

Site. The most interesting of the similar sites are the Whitten Road Site, and the Allen House, both in the vicinity of Christiana, but supposedly of different social rankings. Table 39 summarizes the vessel categories and illustrates the similarities among pairs of historic sites.

Table 40 shows the similarities and differences between these archaeological ceramic assemblages by ranking the sites

TABLE 37

SUMMARY OF DIFFERENCE-OF-PROPORTION TESTS

Variable	Site Combination										
	DKI DKII	H	AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	1.5	1.49	5.97 *	6.56 *	.82	1.14	.53	2.0 *	2.66 *	3.49 *	1.12
Drinking	1.30	3.47 *	1.77	1.71	1.96 *	.62	2.33 *	1.16	1.29	.17	.75
Food Prep/ Storage	2.36 *	1.06	7.02 *	7.77 *	1.68	.99	2.15 *	3.16 *	3.30 *	2.58 *	.08
Medicinal	2.78 *	2.84 *	2.59 *	2.36 *	2.42 *	3.00 *	2.66 *	4.34 *	4.50 *	2.04 *	2.35 *
Other	1.98 *	.94	1.75	1.28	3.65 *	1.11	----	.99	----	2.88 *	3.08 *

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Variable	Site Combination									
	DKII H	AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	2.46 *	1.76	2.49 *	2.01 *	.59	1.16	.38	.84	1.45	.89
Drinking	1.02	.47	.39	.06	.81	.15	.14	.08	1.37	.93
Food Prep/ Storage	1.53	1.94	2.65 *	3.56 *	1.38	.82	.53	.57	4.39 *	2.59 *
Medicinal	3.39 *	4.87 *	3.57 *	.33	.18	.13	1.12	1.25	.70	.45
Other	2.62 *	4.87 *	3.57 *	1.01	1.27	----	.62	----	.47	.56
Variable	Site Combination									
	H AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP	
Dining	7.48 *	7.9 *	.56	2.4 *	2.01 *	2.99 *	3.67 *	1.38	2.71 *	
Drinking	2.50 *	2.23 *	1.29	2.47 *	1.28	1.23	1.19	3.43 *	3.08 *	
Food Prep/ Storage	5.70 *	6.50 *	2.55 *	.05	1.03	2.28 *	2.39 *	3.41 *	1.27	
Medicinal	.45	.75	.51	.21	.25	1.54	1.77	.97	.75	
Other	1.70	1.70	3.83 *	1.78	----	1.81	----	3.17 *	3.26 *	

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Variable	Site Combination							
	AH WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	1.57	6.16 *	3.46 *	5.35 *	1.26	.66	5.31 *	5.60 *
Drinking	.15	.83	.68	1.11	.29	.39	1.78	1.10
Food Prep/ Storage	1.76	7.31 *	4.64 *	4.89 *	1.30	6.34 *	8.08 *	8.66 *
Medicinal	.45	.22	.63	.15	2.22 *	2.57 *	.76	.45
Other	1.70	7.05 *	3.31 *	----	3.37 *	----	5.84 *	6.01 *

Variable	Site Combination						
	WR CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	6.75 *	4.26 *	6.00 *	2.00 *	1.44	5.98 *	6.20 *
Drinking	.67	.73	.91	.21	.31	1.74	1.09
Food Prep/ Storage	8.0 *	5.42 *	5.78 *	2.05 *	2.12 *	8.74 *	9.34 *
Medicinal	.098	.71	1.31	.65	.84	1.87	1.95
Other	5.19 *	2.42 *	----	2.47 *	----	4.29 *	4.42 *

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Variable	Site Combination					
	CPS SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	1.77	1.30	2.48 *	3.12 *	.77	1.88
Drinking	1.17	.12	.24	.16	2.00 *	6.16 *
Food Prep/ Storage	2.42 *	3.45 *	4.29 *	4.42 *	.90	1.73
Medicinal	.65	.29	1.87	2.08 *	.45	.10
Other	2.20 *	----	1.58	----	.84	.90
Variable	Site Combination					
	SHA SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP	
Dining	.70	1.04	1.61	1.08	.32	
Drinking	1.38	.66	.76	.72	5.49 *	
Food Prep/ Storage	.85	2.05 *	2.14 *	3.27 *	1.15	
Medicinal	.43	1.22	1.41	1.10	.90	
Other	----	.03	----	1.54	.89	

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Variable	Site Combination				Variable	Site Combination		
	SHB SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP		SHC SHD	CPO	CPP
Dining	1.65	2.30 *	.489	.53	Dining	.46	1.92	1.40
Drinking	.33	.26	2.33 *	1.84	Drinking	6.54 *	1.23	.77
Food Prep/ Storage	1.55	1.64	4.28 *	2.54 *	Food Prep/ Storage	2.31 *	5.12 *	3.47 *
Medicinal	1.78	2.03 *	.77	.49	Medicinal	.12	2.30 *	2.37 *
Other	----	----	----	----	Other	----	1.11	1.20
Variable	Site Combination		Variable	Site Combination				
	SHD CPO	CPP		CPO CPP	CPP			
Dining	2.55 *	2.07 *	Dining	1.01				
Drinking	1.36	.89	Drinking	.86				
Food Prep/ Storage	5.24 *	3.65 *	Food Prep/ Storage	2.65 *				
Medicinal	2.52 *	2.68 *	Medicinal	.43				
Other	--	--	Other	.11				

TABLE 38

FREQUENCY OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG SITE PAIRS

DKI	--												
DKII	3	--											
H	2	3	--										
AH	3	1	3	--									
WR	3	3	3	0	--								
CPS	3	2	2	3	3	--							
SHA	1	0	2	3	3	1	--						
SHB	3	0	0	2	2	1	0	--					
SHC	3	0	2	1	3	2	1	0	--				
SHD	3	0	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	--			
CPO	4	1	3	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	--		
CPP	2	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	3	1	--	
	DKI	DKII	H	AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP	

KEY

Larger number = More similar

with respect to the frequencies of dining, drinking, preparation/storage, medicinal, and other functional categories, and notes which sites can be grouped together because of significant differences. Table 41 shows the frequency with which each pair of sites was grouped together in Table 40. The most interesting grouping and the sites that paired most often were Whitten Road and the Allen House (five out of five pairs). This outcome supports the results shown in Table 38, and indicates that despite appearances, these sites, and by inference the site's occupants, were quite similar, even though one was a low status tenant farmer, and the other a well-off small landholder.

TABLE 39

SUMMARY OF VESSEL CATEGORIES
WHICH SHOWED SIMILARITIES AMONG PAIRED SITES

Dining	Drinking	Food Prep/Storage	Medicinal	Other
DKI/DKII	DKI/DKII	DKI/H	DKII/AH	DKI/H
H	AH	CPS	WR	AH
CPS	WR	SHA	CPS	WR
SHA	SHA	CPP	SHA	SHA
SHB	SHC		SHB	SHC
CPP	SHD	DKII/H	SHC	
	CPO	AH	SHD	H/AH
DKII/AH	CPP	SHA	CPO	WR
SHA		SHB	CPP	SHA
SHB	DKII/H	SHC		SHC
SHC	AH	SHD	H/CPS	
SHD	WR		SHA	AH/WR
CPO	CPS	AH/WR	SHB	
CPP	SHA	SHC	SHC	DKII/CPS
	SHB	SHD	SHC	SHA
WR/SHD	SHC		CPO	SHC
	SHD	H/SHA	CPP	CPO
AH/WR	CPO	SHB	AH	CPP
SHC	CPP	CPP	WR	
SHD				CPS/SHA
	AH/WR	CPS/CPO	AH/WR	SHC
CPS/SHA	CPS	CPP	CPS	CPO
SHB	SHA		SHA	CPP
CPO	SHB	SHA/SHB	SHB	
CPP	SHC	CPP	SHC	SHA/SHC
	SHD		CPO	CPO
SHA/SHB	CPO	SHB/SHC	CPP	CPP
SHC	CPP	SHD		
SHD			WR/CPS	SHC/CPO
CPO	H/CPS		SHA	CPP
CPP	SHB		SHB	
	SHC		SHC	CPO/CPP
SHB/SHC	SHD		SHD	
CPO			CPO	
CPP	WR/CPS		CPP	
	SHA			
SHC/SHD	SHB		SHB/SHC	
CPO	SHC		SHD	
CPP	SHD			
	CPO		CPS/SHA	
CPO/CPP	CPP		SHB	
			SHC	
H/CPS	CPS/SHA		CPO	
SHB	SHB		CPP	
CPO	SHC			
	SHD			

TABLE 39 (cont.)

Dining	Drinking	Food Prep/Storage	Medicinal	Other
	SHA/SHB		SHA/SHB	
	SHC		SHC	
	SHD		SHD	
	CPO		CPO	
			CPP	
	SHB/SHC			
	SHD			
	CPP			
	SHC/CPO			
	CPP			
	SHD/CPO			
	CPP			
	CPO/CPP			

Examining the functional categories for the ranking of Dickson I, it can be seen that the site pairs with the Cannon's Point Slave and the Heisler assemblage in the dining category, and with the other Cannon's Point Sites in the drinking category. The site is ranked near the bottom of the preparation/storage functional category with the Cannon's Point Slave Site, and stands alone in the medicinal category. Excluding the slave site from the dining category for the moment, due to the acquisition method used by the slaves to obtain ceramics as demonstrated by Otto (1984), the placement of the Dickson I Site, and the sites with which it ranks, seem to be accurate reflections of the historic record. Dickson I had no medicinal ware found at the site, suggesting a non-domestic feature, and the site's occupation as a storehouse could easily account for the ranking of dining and drinking vessels with middle to upper status sites. Conversely, Dickson I is ranked low in the more

TABLE 40

RANKING THE SITES BY CATEGORIES

Dining	Drinking	Food Prep/Storage	Medicinal	Other
H	CPO	WR	SHD	CPS
CPS	DKI	AH	SHC	CPP
DKI	CPP		SHA	CPO
		SHD	DKII	DKII
CPO	SHA	SHC		SHC
			H	
SHB	AH	DKII		SHA
CPP	WR	SHB	AH	
SHA	SHC	SHA	SHB	DKI
DKII		H	CPP	AH
SHC	SHD		WR	WR
		CPP	CPS	H
SHD	DKII		CPO	
	CPS	DKI		
AH	SHB	CPS	DKI	
WR	H			
		CPO		

utilitarian ware category of preparation/storage, again a function of the site's storehouse status. The pairing with the Cannon's Point Slave Site in this category occurred because of the lack of utilitarian wares at that site, which could have been made up of non-ceramic vessels.

The Dickson II Site consistently pairs with several of the Skunk Hollow Site areas throughout the table, again indicating that these sites shared considerable ceramic assemblage traits. Most notable are the pairings with Skunk Hollow A and C in the dining and medicinal categories, and with Skunk Hollow A in the preparation/storage category, and Skunk Hollow C in the drinking category. These pairings suggest both similarities in the artifact assemblages on an intersite level (i.e., Dickson II to Skunk Hollow A), and on a more local, or intrasite level, between

TABLE 41

RANKED PAIR FREQUENCIES OF PAIRED SITES

DKI	--												
DKII	0	--											
H	2	2	--										
AH	1	0	1	--									
WR	1	0	1	5	--								
CPS	2	2	2	1	1	--							
SHA	0	3	1	0	0	0	--						
SHB	0	2	2	1	1	2	2	--					
SHC	0	3	0	1	1	1	2	1	--				
SHD	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	--			
CPO	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	--		
CPP	1	2	0	1	1	2	1	2	2	0	3	--	
	DKI	DKII	H	AH	WR	CPS	SHA	SHB	SHC	SHD	CPO	CPP	

sites within Skunk Hollow. These relative rankings were noted in the Hollow by Geismar (1982).

The Heisler Site does not consistently pair with any of the other sites more often than two times, and one of these is in the dining category of the Cannon's Point Slave Site, a dubious comparison for the same reason here as for Dickson I. The other pairing occurs in with the Skunk Hollow Area B Site in the dining and drinking categories. This conclusion may indicate that what is being examined here between artifact assemblages are not questions of ethnicity, but of status; it would seem that black and white tenant sites shared similar traits regardless of who the inhabitants were.

Overall, the conclusions and interpretations that can be made about the Patterson Lane Site Complex regarding status and social ranking are mutually supported by the architectural analysis, the Miller economic scaling, and the examination of proportional differences between ceramic vessel assemblages on intra- and inter-regional levels. Taken together, each of these different forms of site analyses provide a more detailed image of the "Place at Christeen".

The Dickson I occupation is fairly distinctive architecturally and through analysis of its ceramic assemblage. The site seems to have catered to middle class farmers and tradesmen of the Christiana Bridge vicinity, as evidenced by its relatively low Miller Index ranking. The ceramic vessel assemblage was weighted in favor of dining and drinking vessels, obviously for supply to the local market, and fewer utilitarian vessel types, such as storage bowls and chamber pots, were present. Not shown in the vessel assemblage for the Dickson I Site, nor for any of the sites examined, was the proportion of non-ceramic vessels within households, particularly in the preparation/storage categories. The storehouse inventory of William Dickson and other New Castle County merchants would suggest that this ratio of other vessel types may have been quite high.

Building dimensions, site land use evidence, and examination of the artifact assemblage for both vessels and status indicate that the Heisler Tenancy Site was in the middle class range. The ceramic assemblage and the Miller index identify the Heisler Site

as a domestic occupation, with similarities between other local domestic sites. This site's ceramic assemblage closely resembles the kinds of goods available at the local stores, such as Dickson I, supporting the view of the site's inhabitants as of the "middling sort".

While sharing characteristics similar to other black-occupied sites in the region, the Dickson II occupation was also similar to local tenant sites. Architecturally, the footprint of Structure A, and the lack of outbuildings support the tenant view of the occupation, and the ceramic assemblage identified the site as a domestic occupation, with perhaps some evidence of low level labor (i.e., sewing or rag-picking).

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

The Phase I and II archaeological investigations of the Patterson Lane Site Complex identified three historic sites within the limits of the proposed ROW. Phase II investigations were conducted on all three sites to determine the cultural integrity of the archaeological deposits and to determine whether the sites were eligible for inclusion in the National Register.

PATTERSON LANE SITE (7NC-E-53)

The Patterson Lane Site (7NC-E-53) was the dwelling of John Read, a prominent merchant and the father of George Read, one of Delaware's signers of the Declaration of Independence. The site was originally occupied in the early-to-mid-eighteenth century by the Reads, and functioned as a domestic site, and as the location of an active and important wharf, store, and landing. The site was continuously occupied throughout the nineteenth century,