

CHAPTER 6

THE MATERIAL CULTURE

Archaeology is often thought of as almost synonymous with the discovery of artifacts. Archaeological excavations seek to recover artifacts and other physical traces of past human activity in a very controlled way, paying particular attention to exactly where evidence is found, both in three dimensional space and in relations to the soils it which it lies. Archaeologists term this locational information the data's "context" (not to be confused with the "historic context" discussed in Chapter 2). It is a crucial element in the process of understanding what was going on at a particular site.

Historical archaeologists have been interested in artifacts excavated from tavern sites since at least the 1960s. At first, these artifacts were seen as of interest in themselves as showing the kind of things that were being used in taverns. As such, they were very helpful for historic restorations like those at Williamsburg, Virginia. During the 1970s, however, archaeologists began to look at the material culture in different ways. They wanted to know how the archaeological evidence matched up with the documentary evidence from taverns. Did taverns in towns have different artifact patterns from those in rural areas? Is it possible to distinguish a tavern from a domestic site purely from the archaeological evidence?

Much of this early pioneering work was done on early colonial sites of the 17th and early 18th centuries. By the 1980s work was also being undertaken on later 18th- and early 19th-century sites of roughly the same date as Tweed's Tavern. Several of these studies took place in northern Delaware, southeast Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey. These projects each undertook detailed analyses of the artifacts, trying different approaches and techniques. They all sought to establish if there was anything distinctively tavern-like about the artifacts: the types of material, the ratios between different types, specific decorations and other characteristics. If there was, then it might be possible to identify a tavern purely from the archaeological evidence. At the same time, faunal analysts looked at the animal bones found on these sites, looking for evidence of butchering, food preparation, cooking methods, and the economic value of the meat: was filet mignon or scrapple more commonly on the menu?

We reviewed this previous work in detail, and came to the conclusion that it is actually very difficult to say whether or not a particular assemblage of late 18th- or early 19th-century artifacts is actually from a tavern or not. There are so many variables involved - where the tavern is located, when it was in use, what other functions the site had, what happened to the site later on, how it was excavated, and so on - that generalizations are difficult to make at our current state of knowledge.

Nevertheless it was decided to analyze the artifacts from Tweed's Tavern with these ideas in mind. As we saw in the previous chapter, most of the artifacts from the site came from two areas: the sink hole on the north side of the house, and from excavation units around the south end of the building. Of the two, we thought that the ones from the sink hole would be of most interest, because they were nicely sealed over by a layer of clay and had not been disturbed since that time. We hoped that they would be directly related to the tavern, perhaps particularly to the kitchen area.

Overall, the assemblage dates from the late 18th through the late 19th century. Artifacts ceased to be dropped around the southern end of the house in about the mid-1800s, but we found that a number of the ceramic and glass fragments in the sink hole dated to the late 1800s: much later than the time when the site ceased to be a tavern, which was apparently in about 1831. This makes conclusions about the tavern assemblage less secure, but by concentrating on items of earlier 19th-century date we could draw some conclusions.

Surprisingly, cups, saucers and teapots were quite prominent in the collection from the sink hole, together with food preparation and storage vessels. There were no large amounts of glass tumblers, wineglasses, mugs, or wine bottles, as might be expected at a tavern. Clay tobacco pipes, so common at 18th-century taverns, were quite rare here. This does not show that Tweed's was not a tavern; rather it reflects the changeover from pipes to chewing tobacco and "seegars" (cigars) in the early 1800s. A marble, slate pencil, and uniform button from an artillery regiment of the late 1810s personalize this collection somewhat.

Comparison between this assemblage, several regional taverns and one farmsite revealed considerable variations in the types and ratios of artifact types. By some measures, the assemblage from the Ward/Little Farmsite, a few miles south of Tweed's, looks more like a tavern than some of the actual taverns themselves.

Overall, our analysis tends to confirm the conclusions drawn from other studies of taverns of this period. Archaeology is not able at this point to firmly identify a tavern of the late 18th and early 19th centuries by its artifacts alone.

A THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF TAVERNS AND APPROACHES TO "TAVERN ASSEMBLAGES"

1. The Development of Tavern Archaeology

The study of taverns using archaeological techniques seems to have begun in earnest in the 1960s. While there has normally been an interest in elucidating the plan and layout of the tavern, its outbuildings and property, much more emphasis has been placed on detailed analysis of the artifacts found at these sites. There has been a sustained effort, starting in the 1970s, to identify distinctive characteristics in the artifact assemblages recovered from taverns. This effort is one aspect of an important ongoing debate in his-

torical archaeology: to what extent do artifacts truly reflect the function of the sites from which they come, and the status, occupations and cultural affiliations of the people who lived there? This section of the report reviews the archaeological work that has been undertaken on taverns, with an emphasis on this material culture research.

One of the earliest adequately reported tavern investigations identified in the research for this project is from Delaware. The Buck Tavern at Summit Bridge in New Castle County was investigated by the Archaeological Society of Delaware in 1963 (Wilkins and Quick 1976). The careful excavation of the summer kitchen at this site securely dated it to the early

19th century, dispelling myths about its 18th-century date and demonstrating that archaeology can provide reliable historical information about these sites.

Wetherburn's Tavern in Williamsburg, Virginia, was investigated by the colonial Williamsburg Foundation from 1965 and 1966. This has never been fully published, details of the site being available only in a well-illustrated summary account (Noel Hume 1969). Although one of the earliest, this remains one of the best, examples of the application of archaeological techniques to a standing building, its surroundings, and the material culture of its occupants. The project recovered more than 200,000 artifacts, including organic materials from a well and an extraordinary series of caches of 18th century bottles, many containing cherries.

Perhaps more typical of tavern archaeology at that time is the salvage excavation performed at the Hudibras Tavern in Princeton, New Jersey in 1969 (Hudibras Tavern Dig 1970). Undertaken by volunteers working with limited resources in advance of redevelopment, this project produced a wealth of 18th- and 19th-century artifacts. The lack of adequate mapping or stratigraphic controls means, however, that these artifacts are of limited value for comparative purposes.

Systematic investigations undertaken in this period include the late 17th- and early 18th-century Wellfleet Tavern in Massachusetts, used by local whalers (Eckholm and Deetz 1971), and a study of artifacts recovered during the 1950s from the Vereberg Tavern near Albany, New York (Feister 1975). The Vereberg study appears to be one of the first to apply the analytical methods developed by Stanley South and others to an archaeological assemblage from a tavern. Lois Feister used South's formula to calculate a mean ceramic date for the assemblage, establishing that the site was the later of two known taverns in this general location. The ceramics from Vereberg were compared with those from six other tavern site reports, but only two had been investigated and reported in such a way that meaningful comparisons could be made. Nevertheless, Feister's work was apparently the first

attempt to draw both intersite and intrasite conclusions about tavern ceramics and their contribution to historical archaeology. Several of her suggestions were taken up by later researchers, all of whom, interestingly, are women.

First of these was Kathleen Bragdon, who in her 1981 paper compared the information from probate inventories and artifact assemblages at two late 17th- to early 18th-century Massachusetts sites: the Joseph Howland Farmstead and the previously-mentioned Wellfleet Tavern (Bragdon 1981). This study was an attempt to test the assumption that occupational differences between the occupants of different sites will be directly reflected in the amount and quality of artifacts found. Analysis of the more than 120 probate inventories identified for the research showed that bottles, wineglasses, serving dishes and specialized vessels, as well as chairs and tables, were more common in the inventories of known tavern keepers than in domestic settings.

The excavated artifacts reflected this to some degree. The ceramic assemblage from Wellfleet showed a greater emphasis on drinking and on ceramic types typically used for drinking vessels. Wineglasses and tobacco pipes were also more numerous at Wellfleet. Comparisons were made with the small number of other reported tavern excavations, and these were concluded to generally support the conclusions drawn. Bragdon was able to define a "tavern assemblage" for late 17th- and early 18th-century taverns as possessing the following characteristics:

1. A large number of vessels
2. A high percentage of drinking vessels
3. A large percentage of those ceramic types commonly used for drinking vessels
4. Large numbers of wineglasses
5. Specialised glassware
6. Large numbers of pipestems

It is important to note two features of Bragdon's study: its dependence on comparative regional data from non-tavern sites, and its temporal range in the late 17th and early 18th century - a period when material culture was greatly different from that of the early 19th-century period of Tweed's Tavern and of many other excavated taverns.

In 1984, Diana Rockman and Nan Rothschild published a second important tavern paper that has also influenced the way archaeologists have studied artifacts from tavern sites since that time (Rockman and Rothschild 1984). Building on the ideas first set out by Lois Feister and Kathleen Bragdon, Rockman and Rothschild sought to use artifacts from four excavated late 17th-century colonial taverns to characterize variations in their function. As with Bragdon's study, they derived a hypothesis about taverns from historical sources, and then sought to analyze the artifactual record in order to independently test the hypothesis. The documentary sources suggested that taverns in rural settings were more generalized in function than urban taverns, the latter having a more specific socializing role in the urban culture. It was postulated that these differences would be reflected by contrasts in the artifact assemblages. While acknowledging the limitations of the data, the authors noted that there was a good correlation between the percentage of tobacco pipes recovered and the location of the tavern: the more urban the tavern setting, the more pipes were present in the assemblage.

This paper, together with Bragdon's, has had wide influence on tavern archaeology. Since 1984 there has been a sustained interest in analyzing tavern archaeological assemblages to establish if they are in some way different both from those of other taverns and from those of other contemporary sites, typically domestic ones. Most individual tavern studies have addressed these issues to some extent.

Julia King's 1988 paper, for example, explored the variation between domestic and tavern assemblages at the 17th-century St. John's Site in St Mary's City, Maryland (King 1988). This study introduced a new component, the analysis of the horizontal spatial dis-

tribution of artifacts, in an attempt to distinguish between different site functions: in this case between a later 17th-century "ordinary" or tavern and an earlier 17th-century domestic occupation on the same property. Analysis of artifacts enabled the locations of the midden deposits relating to these two occupations to be distinguished. Interestingly, the locations of the middens from the domestic and from the earlier portion of the tavern period occupations were closely similar. It was not until the later 17th century, when new cultural assumptions about space around buildings were coming into vogue, that the pattern changed. This in change patterning may therefore have been less to do with the specific function of the property as a tavern than with ideas about how properties of all kinds should look.

A more detailed examination of the artifact types did however reveal some differences between the tavern and domestic assemblages. Drinking and storage vessels, in particular, formed a substantially higher proportion of the tavern ceramics. Analysis of differences between individual middens was also informative, providing insights into the distribution of different activities during each phase of use of the site. Overall, however, it was striking how much the patterns of site use remained the same in the two periods, even though there was intensification in the use of the yard areas during the inn period. The study was an important demonstration of the types of analysis that can be undertaken when the data is available, and was also valuable in showing how subtle the archaeological differences between domestic and inn occupations may be, at least in the 17th-century Chesapeake.

These tavern-related studies form part of the much wider ongoing debate about the relationship between written and archaeological sources in the study of 17th- through 19th-century North American society. Can archaeological data provide firm insights into past cultural behavior that are wholly independent of documentary sources? Or should archaeological hypotheses be structured around and derived from the historical picture obtained from the documents? Is it

possible to extrapolate from documented to undocumented sites and draw conclusions about their function entirely from archaeological information?

In the case of taverns, the implicit or explicit objective of much of this analysis is to establish whether a particular artifact assemblage can be determined to be from a tavern solely from the archaeological evidence. Are there particular characteristics of a tavern assemblage that set it conclusively apart from artifact assemblages from other site types? Do taverns in different locations, such as Rockman and Rothschild's urban/rural contrasts, show distinctive and consistent artifact differences? Do occupational, as opposed to purely economic, differences have a direct reflection in the archaeological record?

With the growth of public archaeology, the number of tavern investigations increased markedly in the 1980s. Many of these involved late 18th- and 19th-century taverns and are therefore particularly pertinent to the study of Tweed's Tavern. One influential project was that at McCrady's Longroom, a late 18th- and 19th-century urban tavern in Charleston, South Carolina (Zierden et al. 1982). For the purposes of the present study the chief interest lies in the careful analysis of artifacts from two contexts: one from the tavern and one from the supposedly higher status and slightly later "longroom" at the rear. The artifact assemblage did not support the historically-derived hypothesis on the differing status of the two parts of the tavern. The excavators suggested that this was a factor of the lack of integrity of the archaeological record, the assumption being that such evidence would be present if the deposits were uncontaminated and unmixed.

The monograph on two taverns at the Old Landmark on the St. Louis-Vincennes Trace in southern Illinois (Wagner and McCorvie 1992) is a more recent and particularly good example of interdisciplinary tavern studies which has provided many insights to the present research.

Work on artifact assemblages from 18th- and early 19th-century taverns has also been occurring in England. A series of large, well-dated assemblages

from sites in the London area and the Midlands were discussed by Jacqueline Pierce, making use of the methodological and theoretical approaches developed by the American historical archaeologists whose work is referred to above (Pierce 2000). She noted that few taverns and inns had been excavated in England up to that time, and also commented on the specific difficulty of distinguishing between domestic and tavern assemblages in the developing consumer societies of late 18th- and early 19th-century Britain and the United States, which were very different from that of the American colonies of a century before, and on which much of the earlier work on the material culture of taverns had concentrated.

Pearce reviewed Bragdon's work in the light of the available date from the English sites and concluded that while it is possible to identify a number of features characteristic of tavern assemblages, not all of them will apply in a particular case, and each could also be found at domestic sites. Of the many variables that might affect these assemblages she particularly identified differences in status between sites, citing the English descending hierarchical terminology of inn/tavern/ale house as a factor that could influence the artifacts found.

Although much of the artifact analysis has been concentrated on the data from ceramics and glass, the food refuse from taverns, particularly animal bone, has also been studied in several site reports. The potential of this class of material as an information source for tavern life has been reviewed by April Beisaw (2000). She pointed out that food waste from taverns should, in principle, reflect the food preferences of the local community in which a particular tavern was located. Her paper is, however, important in pointing out the many different factors that affect the composition of archaeological deposits and biases that may result. It is important to determine, for example, if excavated bone reflects butchering, food preparation, or consumption waste, each of which will have its own characteristic and biases.

2. Local and Regional Tavern Archaeology

Many investigations of late 18th- and 19th-century tavern sites have taken place in the last 20 years in the Mid-Atlantic region. The pioneering earlier work at the Buck tavern has already been noted. Notable among these more recent projects, in the context of the present study, are four sites in New Castle County, Delaware: the Riseing Son Tavern on Route 7 (Thunderbird Archaeological Associates 1987), the John Ruth Inn/Ogletown Tavern in White Clay Creek Hundred (Coleman, Catts and Hoseth 1990 and 1993), and the Blue Ball Tavern near Wilmington (Wholey and Walker 2002). Archaeological work at the Mermaid Tavern, only three miles down the road from Tweed's, studied the associated blacksmith and wheelwright shops and therefore did not provide very comparable evidence (Catts et al. 1994). The conclusions drawn from the artifact studies at these four sites will be briefly summarized here and will be referred to again below.

At the **Riseing Son Tavern**, a wide range of analysis was performed on artifacts from a series of deposits excavated to the rear of the tavern. The analysis was specifically designed to test the model set out by Rockman and Rothschild, and particularly to see if the Riseing Son had the characteristics of a "rural" tavern, as was predicted by its location. It was acknowledged that the Rockman and Rothschild study applied to sites about a century older than Riseing Son, but it was assumed that the distinctions between urban and rural taverns "would continue to be true in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century" (Thunderbird Archaeological Associates 1987:10). The site was expected to exhibit a wide range of consumer goods because of its location on a main transportation route, and to have an artifact assemblage distinctively different from urban sites and domestic sites.

Although it was possible to match the 18th century data with that predicted for rural taverns by Rockman and Rothschild, overall the analysis tended to question the applicability of some of the earlier methodologies to taverns and other sites of the later 18th, and particularly the 19th centuries. This was particularly inter-

esting because of the impressive range and detail of the analytical techniques used. Comparison of data between functionally different site types, for example "showed no clear patterning that could be correlated with site function, time, economic status or setting" (Thunderbird Archaeological Associates 1987:113), and it was explicitly concluded that no significant differences could be observed between the tavern assemblage and those of the domestic and urban sites used for the comparison. It was suggested that the assumptions and terminology being used for the analysis might be inappropriate for sites of this type and date. Those assumptions and terminology were very largely derived from the influential work of Stanley South (1977), which was specifically developed for 18th-century colonial sites. It was further suggested that new and more sophisticated statistical analytical techniques might need to be developed in order to address these problems (Thunderbird Archaeological Associates 1987:122-124).

Many of these issues were revisited in the report on the **John Ruth Inn Site**. Work here focused on the 18th century Ogletown tavern occupation from *circa* 1730 to *circa* 1780. Detailed artifact comparisons were made with the still-limited number of other excavated tavern assemblages. It was again noted that the differences between the group of late 17th- and early 18th-century taverns (those used in the earlier studies), and the sites of the later 18th and 19th centuries were likely to be the result of the different material culture of the two time periods rather than functional distinctions between the taverns. The data from the Riseing Son was found to be similar to the data from Ogletown (Coleman et al. 1990:173).

Among the insights gained from the analysis was the suggestion that ratios of mugs (lower class) to cups (upper class) in a particular assemblage might be a way to characterize the social status of the clientele of a particular tavern (Coleman et al. 1990:183). It was also pointed out that the number of transactions undertaken at a tavern should result in a significantly larger number of coins being found at these sites in comparison to domestic and other non-commercial sites (Coleman et al. 1990:185). The authors' final conclu-

sion, however, was that "it is difficult to isolate a 'tavern pattern' except at a somewhat trivial analytical level". It was further concluded that "historic ceramic assemblages show a great deal of variability which earlier studies have missed due to the techniques of analysis used. *There are no simple correlations between patterned variability in historic ceramic assemblages and socioeconomic status, site function, regional location, or cultural geographic context*" (Coleman et al. 1990: 189. italics added).

The **Blue Ball Tavern**, just north of Wilmington, has not yet been fully reported on, although a summary is available (Wholey and Walker 2002). Like many taverns, this one seems to have begun in the later 18th century and continued until about 1850. Two tavern assemblages, one with a mean ceramic date (MCD) of 1802, the second with an MCD of 1839, were identified and compared with each other and with the probate inventories for three tavern keepers to whom the assemblages could be related. These inventories showed a trend from a site that functioned specifically as a tavern with some pretensions at the end of the 18th century, to an increasingly diversified agricultural property with tavern functions by 1850. These trends appeared to be reflected in the comparative analysis of tobacco pipes, glass tableware, coarseware, refined ware and bottle glass (Wholey and Walker 2002:6).

Two other studies in nearby states were also found to be particularly relevant to the work at Tweed's Tavern. During the 1990s work was undertaken at the King of Prussia Tavern on Pennsylvania Route 202 near Valley Forge in Montgomery County, about 25 miles north of Tweed's (Affleck 2000). The report on this work reflects both current approaches to the archaeological study of taverns, and efforts to make the documents produced by these studies more accessible to the public.

Analysis of the artifacts from the **King of Prussia Tavern** was intended to address a series of research questions relating to consumer behavior (Affleck 2000:18-21). For the purposes of this study, however, the key conclusion drawn from the tavern-related arti-

fact assemblages from this site was that there was "really nothing to distinguish them from other household assemblages of this period" (Affleck 2000: 65).

The **Cherry Valley Tavern** in Burlington County, New Jersey, was the subject of a data recovery program in 1992 that entailed the completed excavation of a pre-Civil War subfloor deposit in what was determined to be the earliest bar-room area (Hunter Research, Inc. 1993). This assemblage was characterized by the small sizes of the artifacts (probably the result of their falling through cracks in the floorboards from the room above), and the number and variety of glass tumblers recovered. The small size of the ceramics, in particular, was a problem because it made it very difficult to reconstruct vessel forms, one of the key analysis tools used in comparisons between sites.

The ceramic assemblage was compared with those from the John Ruth Inn and the Rising Son Tavern, and from the nearby 19th-century Logan Farmstead. Although the farmstead showed a higher percentage of redwares (typically reflecting the use of this material for dairying equipment), the two assemblages were otherwise closely similar and there was again not felt to be anything distinctively tavern-like about the Cherry Valley ceramic assemblage. The presence of the numerous glass tumblers, however, would probably enable this site to be readily identified as a tavern.

Overall, these more recent studies have tended to cast doubt on the ability of current analytical approaches to effectively characterize "tavern assemblages" of the later 18th and 19th centuries. Repeatedly it has been concluded that meaningful contrasts between taverns and other sites, and between taverns of different dates and geographical locations, cannot yet be made. Certain classes of artifacts, such as drinking vessels and particular glass tumblers (and tobacco pipes in earlier periods but not in the 19th century), do seem to be strong indicators of tavern activities, but in themselves these are not enough to conclusively demonstrate that any particular assemblage is definitely from a tavern.

B. THE TWEED'S TAVERN ASSEMBLAGE

Despite this somewhat disheartening picture, the research design for the artifacts from the Tweed's Tavern site still included investigation of these issues, primarily because of the reasonable geographic proximity of the sites reviewed above. The research design consisted of a number of questions:

1. What is the date range of the material?
2. Does it represent a "tavern assemblage" or a domestic one, based on the criteria developed in the studies outlined above?
3. If the assemblage is tavern-related, can it be further characterized to test the assumption that the clientele of the tavern were chiefly drovers and teamsters bringing goods from southeastern Pennsylvania to ports on the Delaware?
4. Can the assemblage be interrogated to reveal information on gender, ethnicity and age within the community that either lived at the tavern or formed its clientele?
5. How do these conclusions compare with the evidence from the other excavated sites in the defined study area?

The data from the Tweed's Tavern Site is presented here as a series of tables (6.1 - 6.5) based on the full artifact inventory in Appendix C. As was discussed in Chapter 5, artifacts were recovered from two main areas on the site: Excavation Units 5 through 9 around the southern side of the house, and Context 56 in the sinkhole on the north side to the rear of the probable kitchen area. Data from these two areas was compared in order to establish if there were significant differences between them, and if these differences could be explained in term of function, date, or other variables.

1. Date of the Assemblage

The artifacts from these contexts were manufactured over almost 150 years, from the mid-18th century through to the later 19th century. During excavation and preliminary analysis it was provisionally concluded that the material from Context 56, in particular, was all of early 19th-century date and closely related to the period of the tavern operation. After more detailed examination, however, it became apparent that some of the ironstone pieces that had been assumed to be of the 1840-1860 period were in fact later, with dates extending into the 1890s for some pieces. Other than the prehistoric items (discussed below), the earliest datable item is a George II halfpenny dating to 1740-54 (Figure 6.1), followed by the escutcheon from a late 18th-century dresser or other piece of furniture (Figure 6.2). The bulk of the ceramics date to the first half of the 19th century, with a very small number of earlier items, comprising a minimum of two Delftware vessels and a buff-bodied earthenware piece. The majority of the ironstone (30 out of 34 vessels), dating from the 1840s onwards, comes from Context 56 at the rear of the tavern, and this strongly suggests that this context remained in use for trash disposal much later than the excavated areas at the south end of the house. Because of the wide imprecision in dating some of the ceramic types, particularly the ironstone, a mean ceramic date analysis was not considered worthwhile and was not attempted.

During the course of research on this project a number of early 19th-century scenes of taverns and domestic life were assembled -- some well known and others less so - and some of these are reproduced here to show some of the artifacts recovered from Tweed's Tavern in contemporary settings. The use of contemporary illustrations to throw light on the date, form and function of artifacts is a commonplace of historical archaeology. Depictions of everyday life were produced for particular reasons, reflect the biases and worldviews of both the artists and their intended audiences, and like all historical source material they do need to be used with care. Nevertheless, they can frequently be shown to illustrate commonplace items and settings with considerable accuracy, either because



Figure 6.1. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: King George II copper alloy halfpenny, old bust type 1740-1754 (Seaby 1967:195). Due to a large influx of British halfpence, or "coppers" as they were known, problems arose over their value. In Philadelphia, British halfpence were traded at double their value by some merchants while other merchants traded them at 60% over face value. To further complicate matters it has been estimated that almost half of the coppers in circulation were counterfeit (Jordan 2002:3) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:21].



Figure 6.2. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: A brass escutcheon typical of the type found on domestically produced furniture of the Georgian period *c.*1750 to *c.*1780. Most brass hardware for American furniture was imported from England. Note the escutcheon on the right is nearly identical to those pictured on the chest of drawers on the left (Sack 1993: 107) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:17].

this was the specific intent or because the use of easily recognizable artifacts in scenes helped to convey the "message" of the image. If, as is hoped, the Tavern becomes a public historic site, these images may prove useful in interpreting the site and its occupants.

2. The Ceramics

As is commonly the case, ceramic sherds were the most numerous item in the assemblage, making up more than 60% of the total artifacts found. Ceramics have typically featured prominently in the various analyses undertaken on tavern assemblages (see above), and are therefore discussed first here.

Table 6.1 provides a general picture of the ceramic assemblage from key contexts around the structure and the drainage basin in the yard, presenting the data as a minimum vessel count. Of the 208 ceramic vessels identified 145 were excavated from Context 56 while 63 were recovered from the units around southwest side of the structure. Context 56 seems to have served as the main area for the deposition of ceramic vessels and other discarded materials. This location was the only one to yield stoneware and yellowware ceramics, and also produced the overwhelming majority of the ironstone.

Not surprisingly, coarse redware and slip decorated redware vessels were the most prevalent ceramic type recovered from both areas. Redware was an inexpensive form of pottery that was readily available in a wide range of vessel forms from tablewares and cooking vessels to sanitary wares. Although none of the redware vessel fragments included a maker's mark it was probably all manufactured locally. In nearby Chester County, Pennsylvania the census records list six redware potteries established in the county as early as 1820 (James 1978:11).

The redware ranges from undecorated clear lead and brown manganese glazed vessels to slip-trailed decorated dishes (Plate 6.1; Figures 6.3 - 6.6). Several of the clear lead glazed redware vessel sherds recovered from Context 56 are decorated with dark brown man-

ganese streaks others exhibit a similar decoration that seems to have been intentionally dabbed or sponged onto the vessels. In his book "American Redware," William Ketchum provides illustrations of a wide range of vessel forms with similar manganese streaking or sponge decoration. According to Ketchum this type of decoration was common on redwares manufactured in New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia between 1820 and 1870 (Ketchum 1991:15-70).

Also of interest are four redware sherds from at least three different vessels that exhibit drilled holes, suggesting that these vessels developed cracks that were mended to prolong the usefulness of the vessel (Plate 6.2).

A variety of other ceramics are shown on Plates 6.3 and 6.4. The 35 whiteware vessels represent the next largest group of ceramics recovered. Cups, saucers, bowls and plates with a variety of printed, painted or dipped decorations make up the majority of the whiteware vessels.

A total of 34 ironstone vessels were identified, 30 of these were from Context 56. The only other context to yield this material was Excavation Unit 8. Although the production of ironstone originated in England in *circa* 1840, five pieces exhibit maker's marks of American manufacturers with dates of production in the 1880s and 1890s. The vessel forms consisted of chamber pots, shell-edged serving dishes and plates, as well as plain and molded teacups and saucers.

The 31 pearlware vessels were more evenly distributed, with 17 identified from the excavations around the structure and 14 from Context 56. Pearlware was manufactured in England from *circa* 1775 to *circa* 1840. Plates, cups and saucers decorated with a variety of printed or hand painted motifs were the most common pearlware forms recovered.

All of the 13 stoneware vessels were excavated from Context 56. Although a wide range of vessel forms were produced from stoneware the forms recovered from the drainage basin were confined to large storage

Table 6.1. Tweed's Tavern Minimum Number of Vessels.

Ceramic Type	MNV Units SW of House	MNV Context 56	Totals
Buff bodied	0	1	1
Creamware	2	8	10
Delft	0	2	2
Ironstone	4	30	34
Pearlware	17	14	31
Hardpaste Porcelain	2	6	8
Softpaste Porcelain	1	3	4
Red-bodied Slip	2	8	10
Redware	20	29	49
Refined Redware	1	2	3
Semi-porcelain	2	1	3
Stoneware	0	13	13
Whiteware	12	23	35
Yellowware	0	5	5
Unidentified	0	0	0
Totals	63	145	208

Units SW of House = EU 5 thru 9; Context 56 = Sinkhole

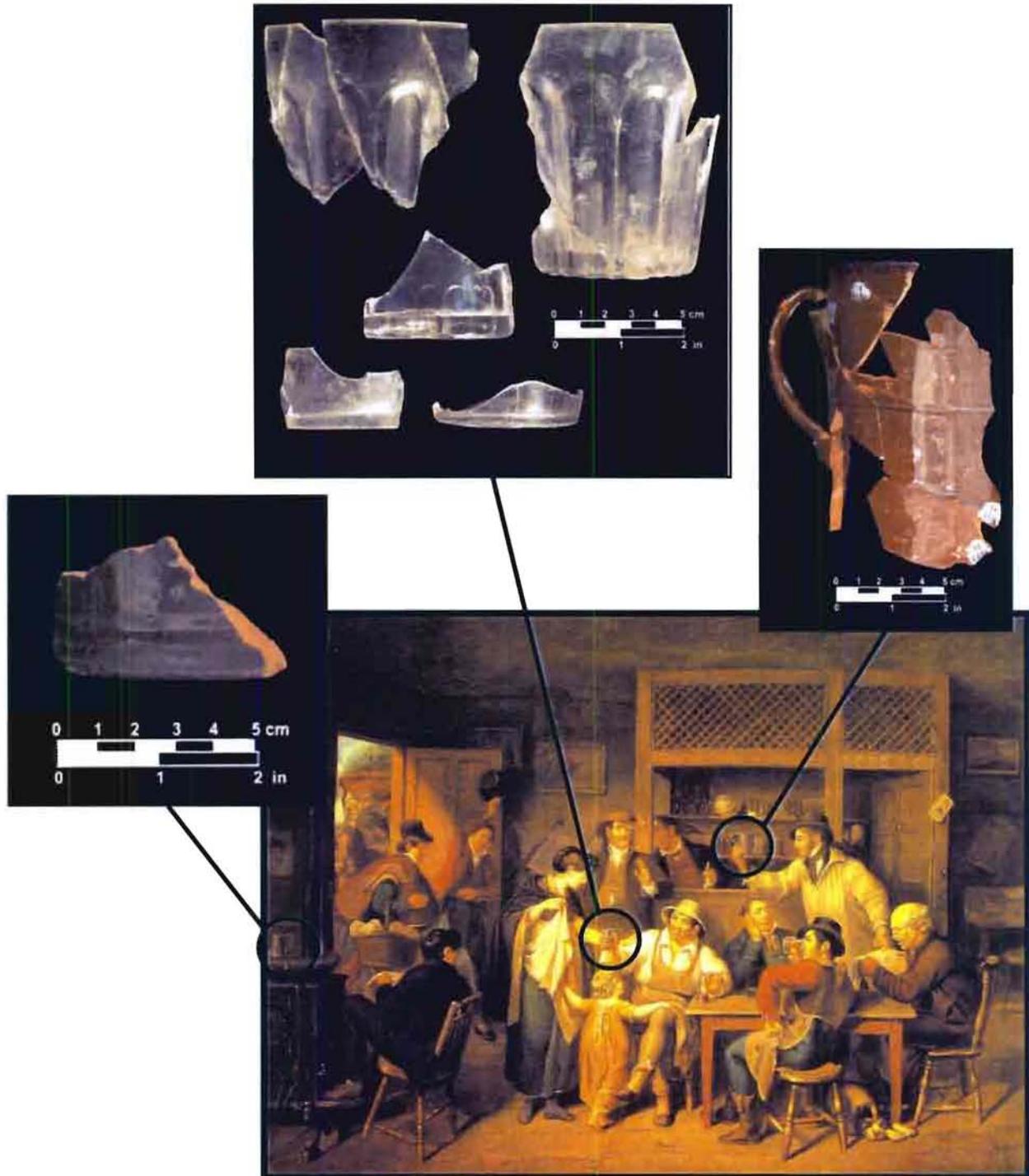


Figure 6.3. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Artifacts In Their Historic Settings. Black manganese and lead glazed red earthenware tankards and clear glass tumblers are shown in this 1814 oil painting by John Lewis Krimmel of Philadelphia, portraying an American Inn (Anneliese Harding 1994:64) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:7-9].



Figure 6.4. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Artifacts In Their Historic Settings. A black manganese and lead glazed red earthenware milkpan is in this 1814 engraving *The Village Politicians* by Abraham Raimbach of London (Anneliese Harding 1994:63) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:10].

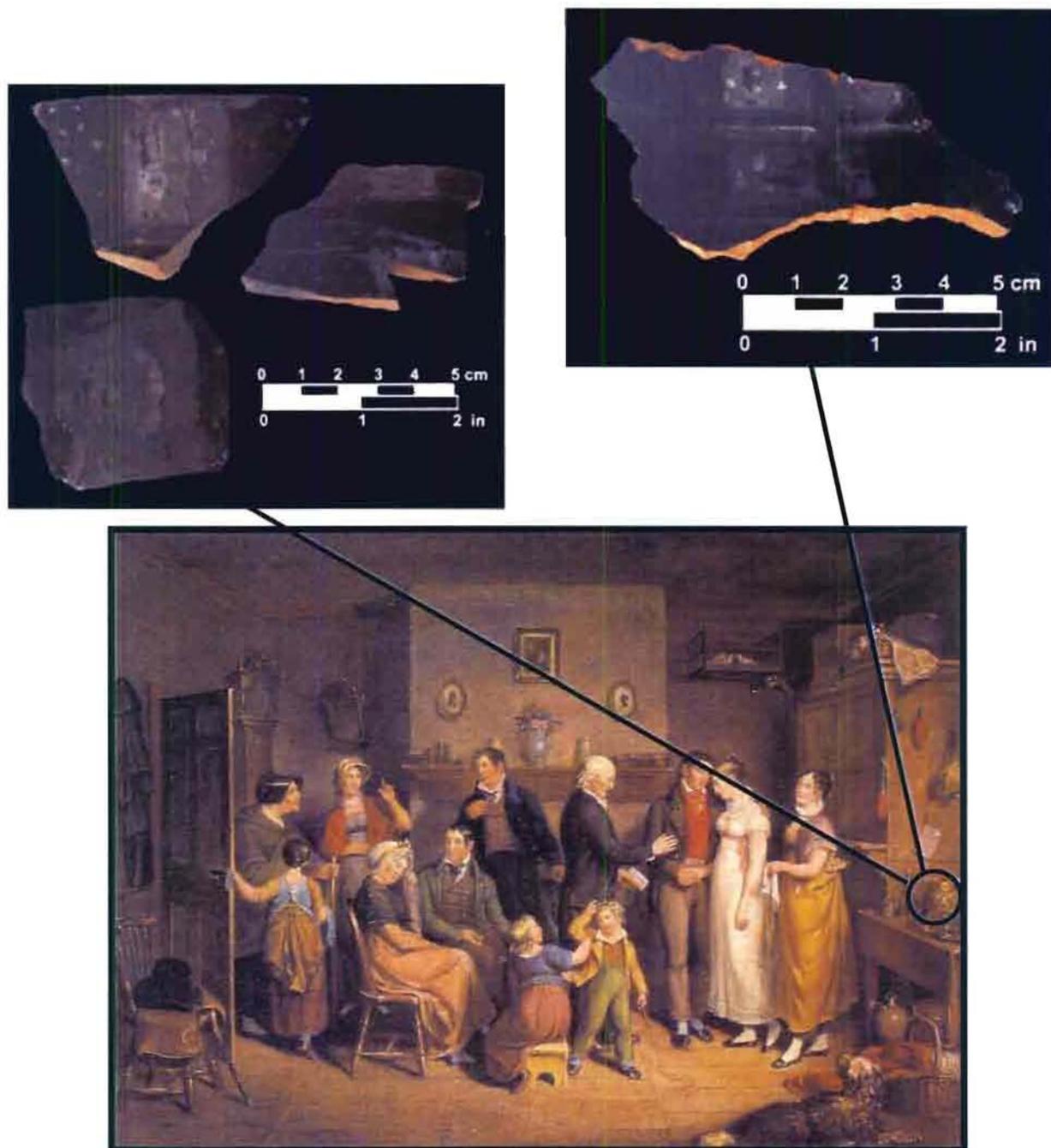


Figure 6.5. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Artifacts In Their Historic Settings. Black manganese and lead glazed red earthenware pitchers can be seen in this 1814 oil painting *Country Wedding* by John Lewis Krimmel of Philadelphia (Anneliese Harding 1994:73) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:11-12].

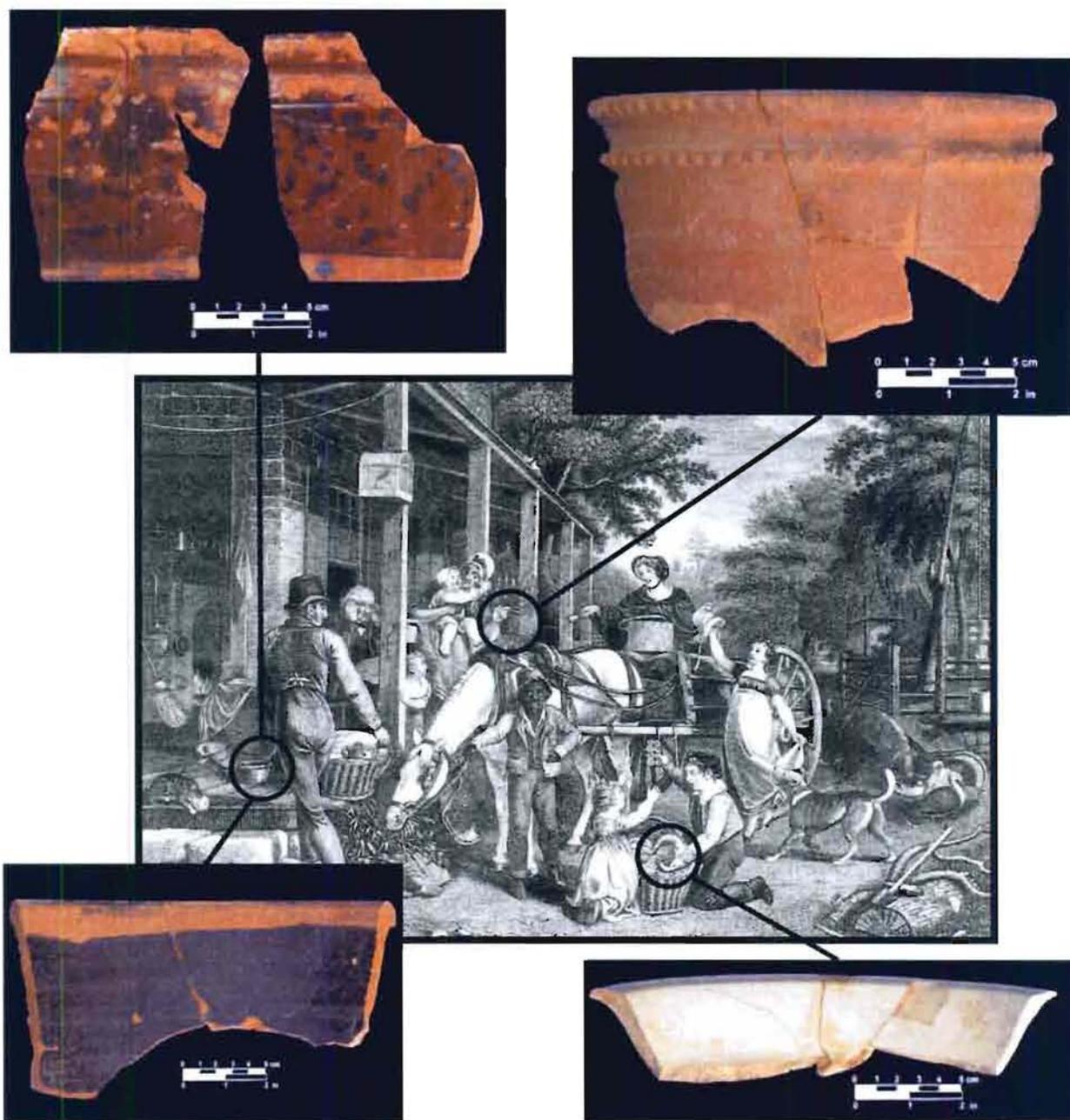


Figure 6.6. Gutherie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Artifacts In Their Historic Settings. Top row left to right, rim sherds from a manganese speckled lead glazed red earthenware pan and the mended portion of a red earthenware flowerpot with a rouletted collar and rim. Bottom row, left to right rim sherds from an interior black manganese and lead glazed red earthenware pan and a portion of an undecorated whiteware serving bowl. All of these items can be seen in this 1832-34 engraving *The Happy Family* by Alexander Lawson, published in Philadelphia (Anneliese Harding 1994:154) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:13-16].



Plate 6.1. Gutherie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Selected utilitarian coarse red earthenware. The top row from left to right shows an interior lead glazed pie plate with a coggled or rouletted rim, an interior lead glazed pie plate with white slip-trailed linear and wavy decoration and a rouletted rim. Center, a clear lead glazed bowl with splashed or sponged manganese decoration around the rim. The bottom row from left to right, an interior lead glazed pie plate with white slip-trailed looping decoration and a rouletted rim, an interior lead glazed mixing bowl with white slip-trailed linear and wavy decoration and a rounded rim (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:2].



Plate 6.2. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Mended ceramic vessels. Ceramic vessels were important enough that both refined and coarse cracked earthenwares were mended by drilling small holes on both sides of a crack into which wire would then be laced along the length of the crack (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:3].

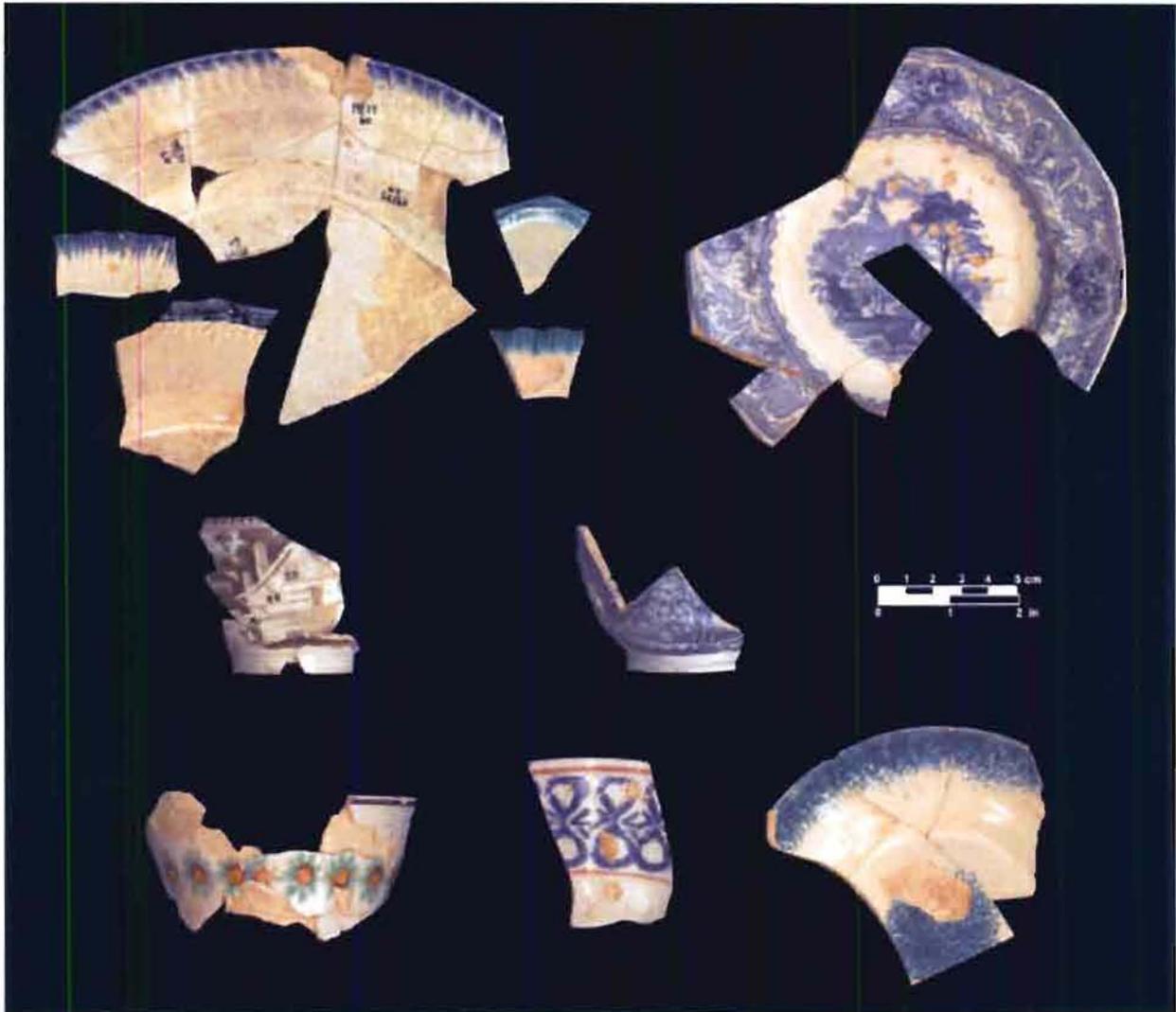


Plate 6.3. Gutherie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Selected refined earthenware ceramics. The first (top) row from left to right shows a variety of blue shell edge whiteware plate rim sherds (ceramic vessels decorated with any variety of blue shell edge were typically mixed to form a place setting), green shell edge whiteware plate rim sherds and the mended portion of a ironstone china plate with a blue transfer printed scenic decoration. The second row from left to right shows a whiteware teacup with a brown transfer printed scenic decoration and a whiteware teacup with a blue transfer printed scenic decoration. The second row from left to right shows two whiteware teacups with polychrome cut sponge decoration and the mended portion of a whiteware saucer with green sponge decoration (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:1A].

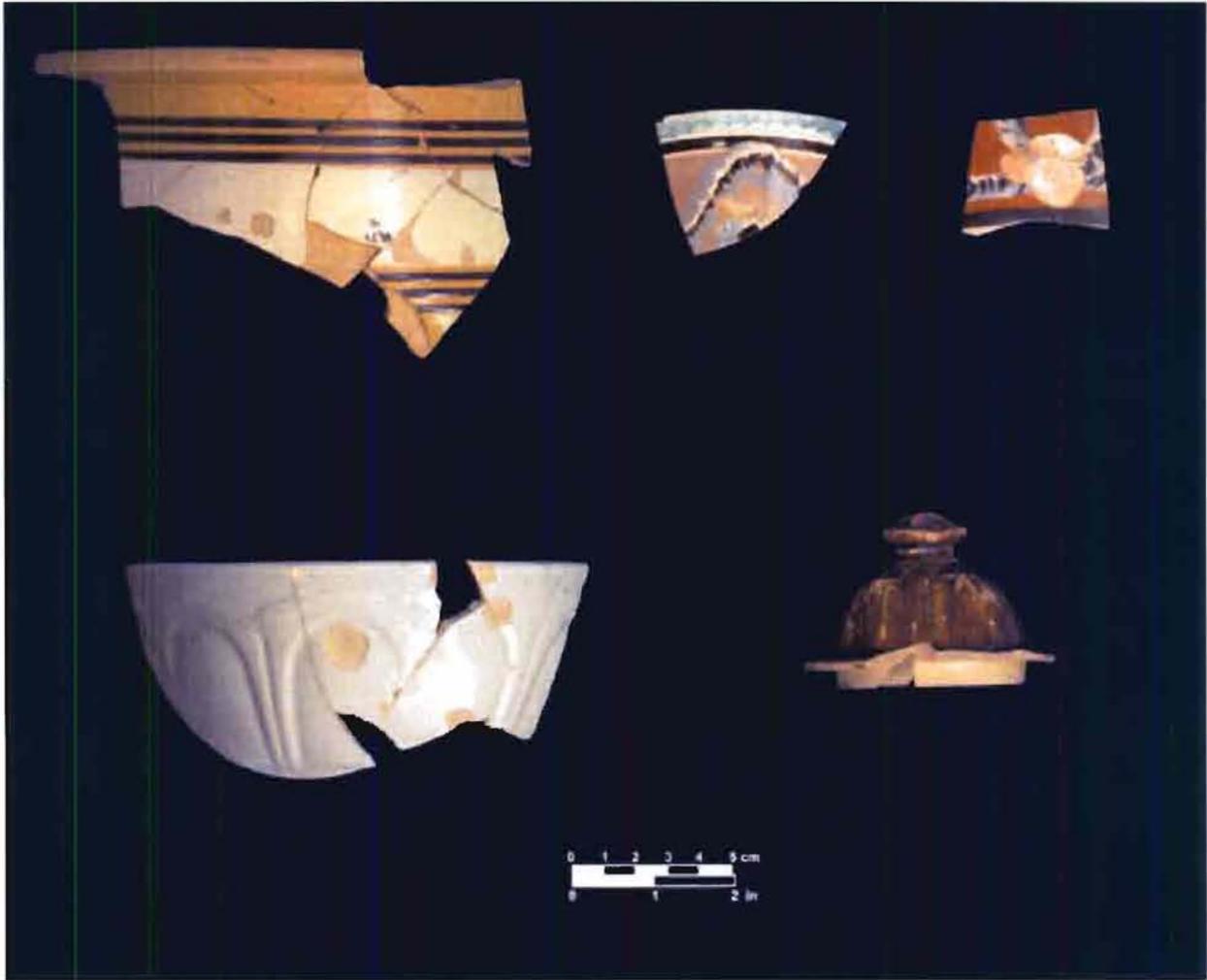


Plate 6.4. Gutherie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Selected refined earthenware ceramics. The first (top) row from left to right shows a banded yellowware chamber pot, two whiteware bowl sherds decorated with variegated wave and loop decoration broadly known as "mocha". The second row shows the mended portion of an ironstone bowl with a molded panel decoration and a yellowware teapot lid with molded stars and a Rockingham glaze (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:1B].

vessels, such as jars and jugs. The relatively small number of stoneware vessels recovered may reflect the limited production south of Philadelphia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. From 1857 to 1887 William Hare was manufacturing stoneware in Wilmington, DE and some of the Chester County potters had expanded their operations to include stoneware production by the 1860s (Ketchum 1991:98, James 1978:76-77).

A total of ten creamware vessels were recovered, eight from Context 56 and two from around the structure. Creamware was manufactured in England from *circa* 1762 to 1820s. The small amount of creamware excavated may reflect limited availability, as well as shifting tastes with the introduction of pearlware in 1775.

Of the eight vessels identified as hard paste porcelain, six were excavated from the drainage basin and the remaining two from around the structure. The vessel forms consist of cups, saucers and plates some with printed and hand painted decorations.

Five yellowware vessels were excavated from Context 56. Two teapot lids of either English or American manufacture, exhibit a "Rockingham" glaze used from 1812 through 1920s. A chamber pot and pitcher with a dipped band decoration are later examples dating from 1827 to the early 1940s. The remaining vessel is a small hollowware form exhibits a clear lead glaze with an orange tint suggesting that it might be locally produced. Abner Marshall was producing unmarked yellowware and "Rockingham" in Hockessin from 1860 to 1866 (Ramsay 1939:169).

Vessels of delft, soft paste porcelain, refined redware and semi-porcelain were found in much smaller frequency possibly the result of limited availability or the expense. In particular, the smaller amounts of delft with dates of manufacture from 1680s to the first decade of the 19th century, and semi-porcelain first produced in the 1870s suggests that the bulk of the ceramics recovered from both areas relate to the tavern and subsequent domestic use of the property throughout the 19th century.

Overall, the ceramic assemblage points to the use of Context 56 over most of the 19th century, with trash deposition ceasing earlier, perhaps about mid-century, around the southern end of the house. The presence of large stoneware storage vessels only in Context 56 may also be a sign of a functional difference between the two areas.

In order to further pursue this hypothesis, the ceramic assemblage was analyzed by vessel form, again separating Context 56 from the other areas around the house (Table 6.2). The sherds from Context 56 in the drainage basin were consistently larger than those from the other areas, allowing more vessel forms to be positively identified. The sherds recovered from the units around the house were smaller, possibly due to prolonged exposure to pedestrian traffic.

Plates comprise the largest number of identifiable vessels from both areas, followed by bowls, cups and saucers. As a proportion of the total from each location, it is noteworthy that cups and saucers and teapots are both relatively and absolutely more numerous from Context 56 than from the units around the south of the building. Items apparently not represented around the house are serving and baking dishes, pie plates, and jugs. This might support the view that Context 56 does reflect discards from a kitchen area, with the proviso that many of the small sherds from the south of the house that could only be ascribed to the hollowware category might belong to one or all of these forms.

3. The Assemblage as a Whole

Table 6.3 presents the artifact data from the site, with the exception of the faunal material, broken down by Artifact Class, the terminology used here being a modified version of categories developed by South (1977). Material recovered from the units around the structure is again separated from those excavated from Context 56. As previously noted, ceramic vessel sherds make up the largest amount of artifacts recovered from the drainage basin. Building materials such as nails, brick and window glass comprise the highest

Vessel Form	MNV Units SW of House (EUs 5 thru 9)	%	MNV Context 56	%
bottle	0	0.00%	1	0.69%
bowl	6	9.68%	5	3.45%
chamber pot	1	1.61%	3	2.07%
creamer	1	1.61%	0	0.00%
cup	3	4.84%	20	13.79%
cylindrical jar	0	0.00%	2	1.38%
dish	1	1.61%	2	1.38%
dish/pie plate	0	0.00%	6	4.14%
flower pot	3	4.84%	2	1.38%
hollowware	27	43.55%	28	19.31%
milk pan	0	0.00%	4	2.76%
mug	0	0.00%	1	0.69%
jar	2	3.23%	10	6.90%
jug	0	0.00%	2	1.38%
patty pan	0	0.00%	1	0.69%
pitcher	0	0.00%	3	2.07%
plate	13	20.97%	25	17.24%
saucer	4	6.45%	19	13.10%
serving dish	0	0.00%	4	2.76%
square baker	0	20.00%	1	0.69%
teapot	1	1.61%	6	4.14%
Totals	62	100%	145	100.00%

Units SW of House = EU 5 thru 9; Context 56 = Sinkhole

Table 6.3. Tweed's Tavern Artifact Totals by Class.

Artifact Class	Units SW of House	%	Context 56	%	Combined Total	%
Agriculture/Equestrian	0	0.00%	15	0.22%	15	0.20%
Arms and Armor	0	0.00%	5	0.07%	5	0.07%
Building Material	212	33.70%	1376	19.85%	1588	21.00%
Ceramic Vessels	196	31.16%	4393	63.37%	4589	60.69%
Clothing related	9	1.43%	45	0.65%	54	0.71%
Commerce	2	0.32%	1	0.01%	3	0.04%
Cutlery	2	0.32%	4	0.06%	6	0.08%
Energy	0	0.00%	2	0.03%	2	0.03%
Furnishings	0	0.00%	88	1.27%	88	1.16%
Glass Vessels	172	27.34%	705	10.17%	877	11.60%
Personal	1	0.16%	6	0.09%	7	0.09%
Recreation/Activity	10	1.59%	43	0.62%	53	0.70%
Tools/Hardware	3	0.48%	93	1.34%	96	1.27%
Unidentified	22	3.50%	156	2.25%	178	2.35%
Totals	629	100%	6932	100%	7561	100%

Units SW of House = EU 5 thru 9; Context 56 = Sinkhole

percentage of artifacts from the units around the structure, probably the result of various phases of construction.

Glass vessels make up the third largest class of artifacts recovered from both areas. The majority of the glass consists of fragments of beverage bottles (Figures 6.7) and medicine bottles (Plate 4.8) with smaller numbers of tumblers, storage jars and other types of serving or tableware. Several of the bottle fragments contain remnants of embossed marks from Wilmington, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Although the tumbler fragments exhibit a variety of molded designs the small size of the fragments hampered attempts at a minimum vessel count.

Four classes of material: Agriculture/Equestrian, Arms and Armor, Energy and Furnishings are completely absent from the units around the southwest of the house. The remaining categories are represented by very small percentages of the total assemblage. Notable items include the artillery button (Figure 6.8), slate pencil (Figure 6.9) and the marble (Figure 6.10). The last two items are a reminder of the presence of children at the site in the 19th century.

One item notable in its scarcity is the clay tobacco pipe (Figure 6.7). On 17th- and 18th-century sites these items are common, and they have been considered as one of the "signature" artifacts for identifying taverns (see above). Their relative absence from Tweed's should not however be taken as indicating that the site was not a tavern. In the early 1800s there was a move away from tobacco-pipe smoking towards chewing and the smoking of cigars (Heimann 1960:117-118), and the low frequency of pipes here is therefore not surprising. Only 37 fragments were found, all but four of them in Context 56.

The faunal material from the site is fully analyzed in Marie Lorraine-Pipes' study, which forms Appendix D to this report. Material from five contexts was analyzed. As with the other artifact types at the site, the bulk of the material came from Context 56 in the sink-hole, but a second substantial collection was analyzed from Context 5 in Excavation Units 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7, at

the southwest corner of the log building and the two areas compared. Beef, pork chicken and mutton were the most common species identified at both locations, but there are interesting differences between them. Context 5 consisted primarily of dietary waste (bones left over from meals), while the Context 56 material consisted of some butcher waste (bone material discarded immediately after slaughter), processing waste (bones discarded during food preparation), and dietary waste. This picture matches what was observed in the analysis of the other artifact classes.

Cattle bones, some of them butchered, were more prevalent in Context 56, while pork was more common in Context 5, which also had a wider range of species. Both cattle and pigs may have been butchered on site. Mutton was the least common species in both contexts and showed no evidence of butchering, indicating that mutton was brought in as meat cuts. Pipes suggests that Context 5 may have been a temporary kitchen refuse dump before waste was removed to Context 56. Alternatively, it may reflect a different source of trash from the kitchen area at the north end of the house.

4. Intersite Comparisons

In order to further address the main research questions posed at the beginning of this section, comparisons were made with four other regional taverns already discussed -- the John Ruth Inn, the Riseing Son Tavern, the Cherry Valley Tavern, and the King of Prussia Inn - and with an early 19th-century domestic site, the Ward/Little Farmstead, which lies about four miles due south of Tweed's Tavern. The main artifact assemblage from Ward/Little came from the fill placed in a depression that was probably the basement of an early 19th-century log house lived in by Isaac Springer, who died in 1849. The basement was probably filled soon after 1849 when the farm was reorganized (Hunter Research, Inc. 2002). The purpose of the two analyses presented in Tables 6.4 and 6.5 is to determine if any patterning can be discerned in the

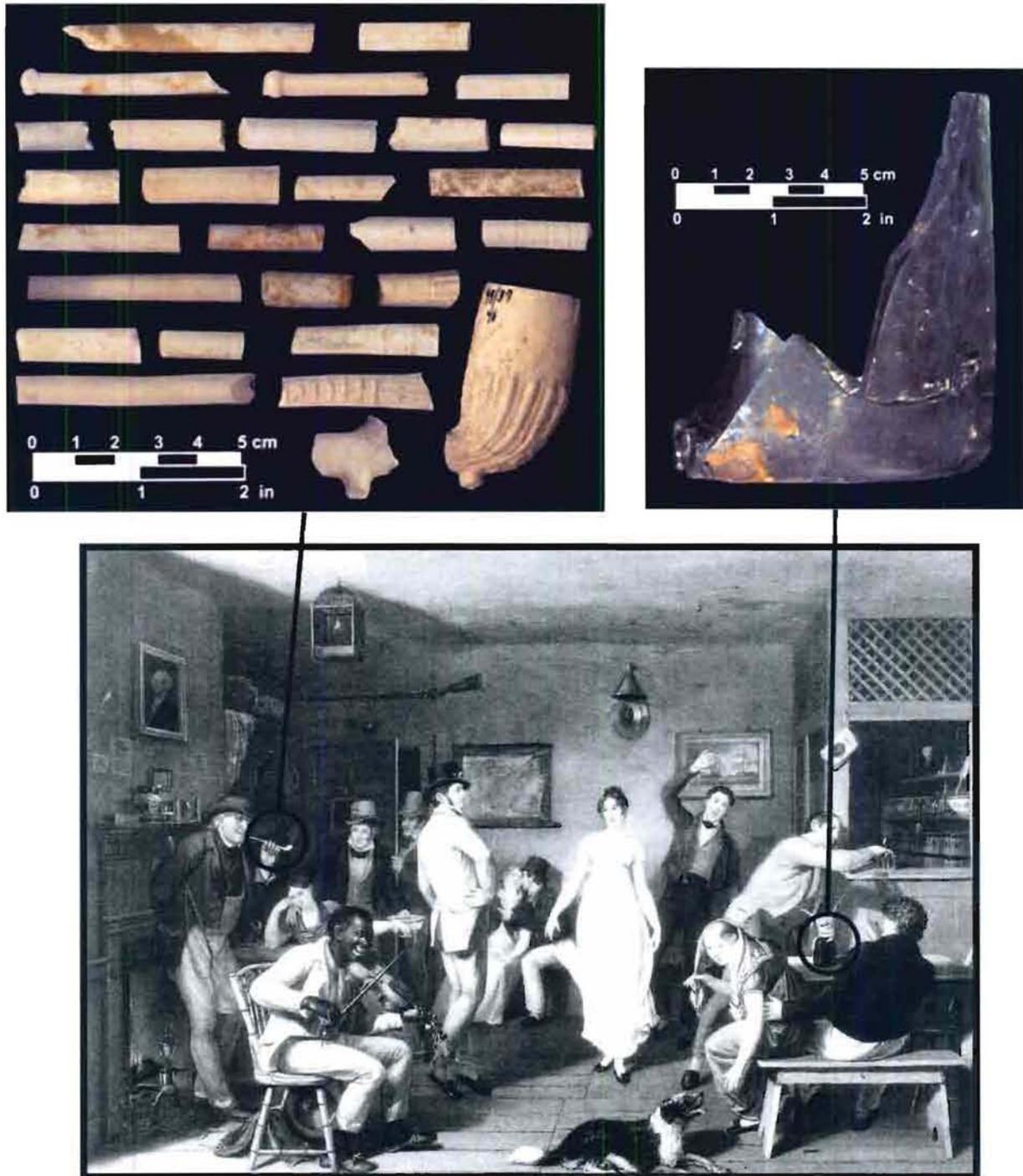


Figure 6.7. Gutherie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Artifacts In Their Historic Settings. White ball clay tobacco pipes and an olive green spirits bottle are depicted in this 1820 watercolor over pencil and ink painting *Country Frolic and Dance* by John Lewis Krimmel of Philadelphia (Anneliese Harding 1994:161) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:5-6].

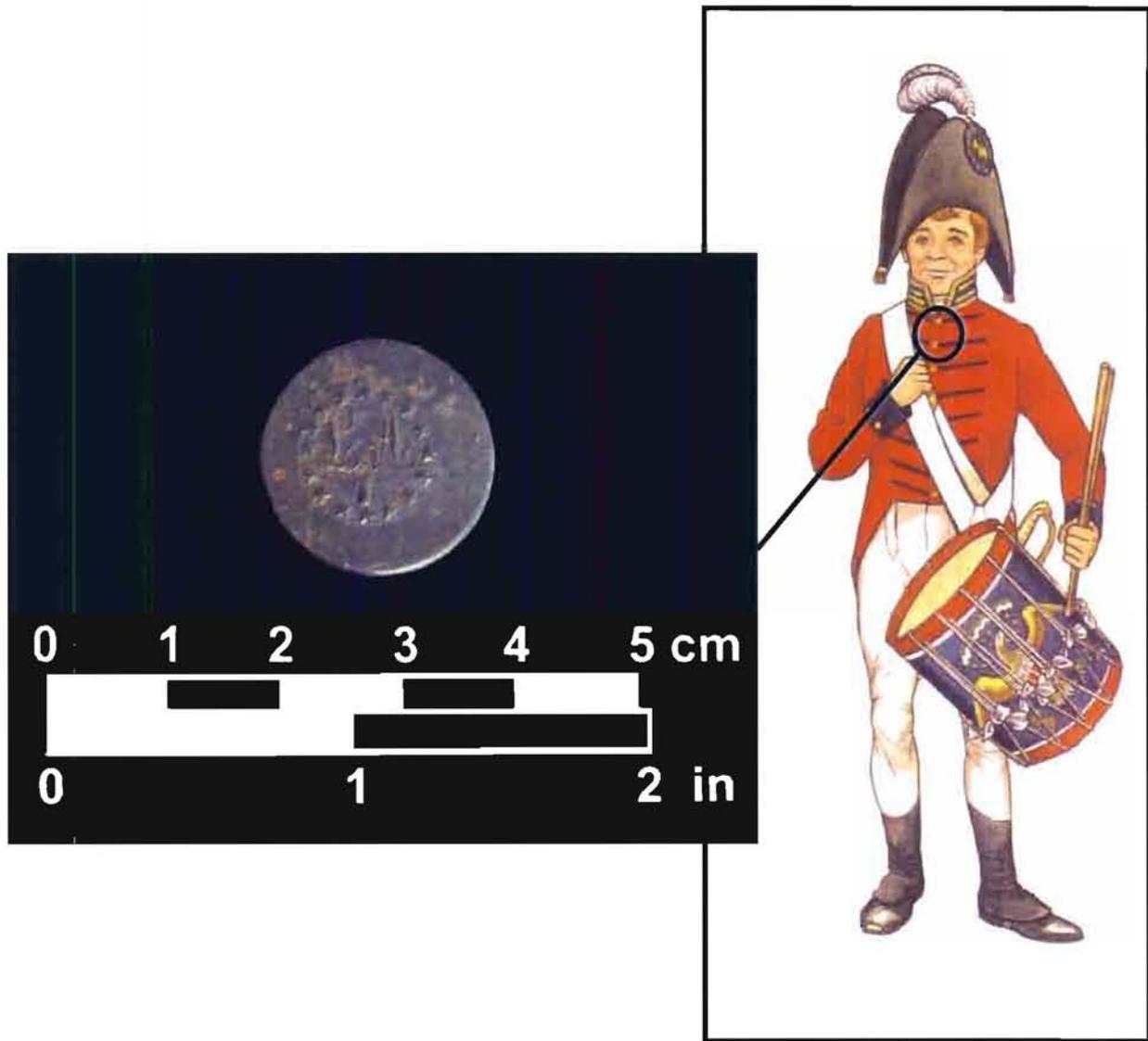


Figure 6.8. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: First Regiment Light Artillery coat button, after 1816 and before 1820. Note the "LA" is encircled with 16 stars representing the number of states comprising the United States at that time. Similar buttons have been recovered from West Point, New York (Calver and Bolton 1950:149-152). The back is stamped "W CT" which most likely stands for Waterbury, Connecticut. The U.S. Army Artillery drummer on the right is from the War of 1812 (Copeland 1976:9)(Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:18].

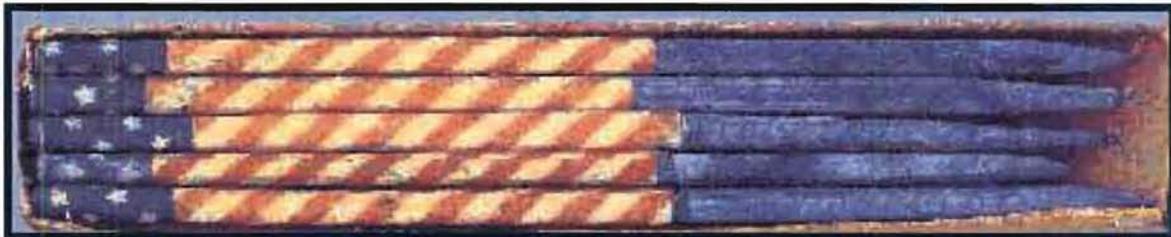
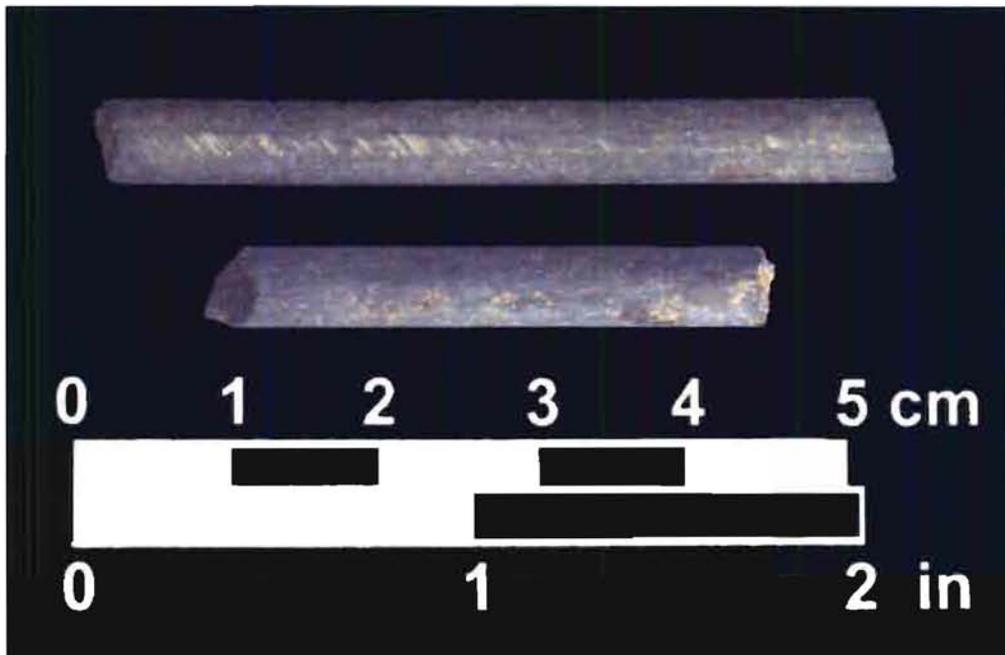


Figure 6.9. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Small slate pencil fragments are common on 19th-century sites. They were used like modern-day pencils on small blackboards called slates. Pencils were available unwrapped, wrapped (as seen in the lower image) or encased in wood like a modern pencil (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:19].

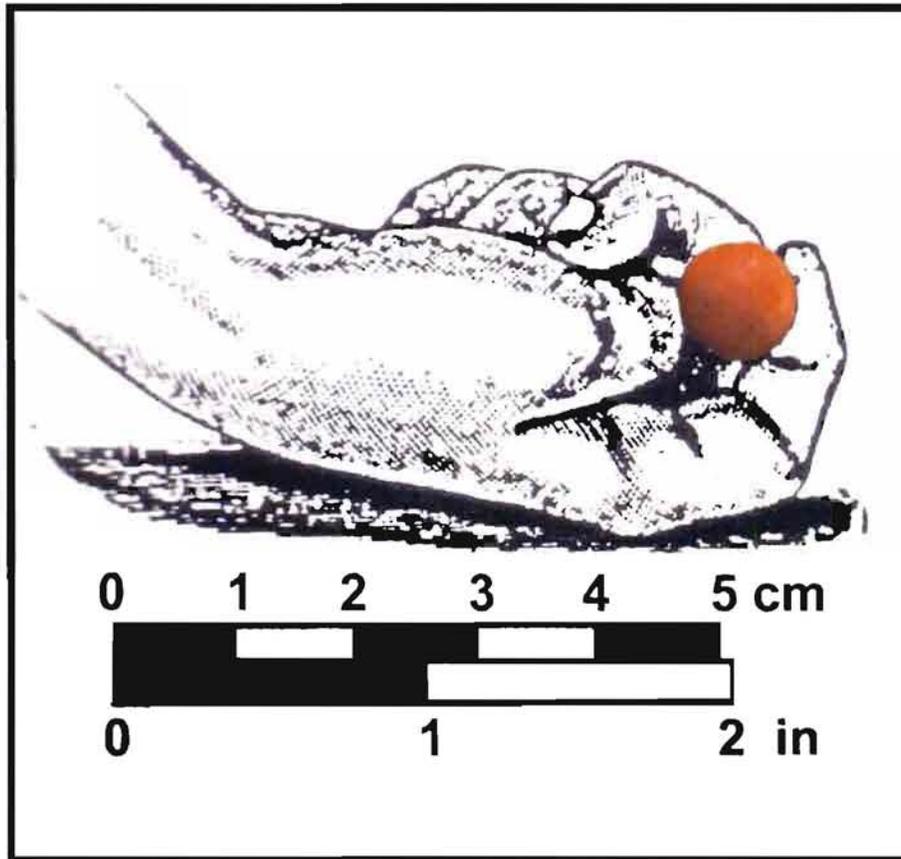


Figure 6.10. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Unglazed red earthenware clay marble known as "commies" were locally manufactured by kilns firing utilitarian redwares. Earthenware marbles were the cheapest marble to manufacture during the 19th century and were made up until *c.*1920 (Carskadden and Gartley 1990:5). The most common game played with marbles was Ring-Taw now known as Ringer. The first player to shoot seven marbles out of the ring wins (Baumann 1970:9-12) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:20].

Table 6.4. Intersite Ceramic Type Comparison.

Ceramic Type	Tweeds		Cherry Valley		Ward/Little Farmstead		John Ruth Inn		Rising Son Tavern		King of Prussia	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Buff bodied	5	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	31	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Creamware	160	3.49%	110	6.02%	23	4.93%	158	1.73%	190	3.74%	278	13.86%
Ironstone	554	12.07%	19	1.04%	65	13.92%	95	1.04%	52	1.02%	12	0.60%
Pearlware	487	10.61%	464	25.40%	87	18.63%	1112	12.17%	1312	25.83%	467	23.28%
Hardpaste Porcelain	68	1.48%	12	0.66%	8	1.71%	334	3.66%	165	3.25%	76	3.79%
Softpaste Porcelain	15	0.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Red bodied slip	308	6.71%	0	0.00%	11	2.36%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	221	11.02%
Redware	1927	41.99%	884	37.44%	95	20.34%	4981	54.51%	1903	37.46%	549	27.37%
Refined Redware	9	0.20%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	109	2.25%	127	6.33%
Semi-porcelain	13	0.28%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Stoneware	73	1.58%	2	0.11%	0	0.00%	659	7.21%	119	2.34%	56	2.79%
White salt glazed stoneware	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	163	1.78%	106	2.09%	0	0.00%
Tin-enameled	9	0.20%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	213	2.33%	125	2.46%	8	0.40%
Whiteware	813	17.72%	530	29.01%	175	37.47%	1355	14.83%	731	14.39%	180	8.97%
Yellowware	130	2.83%	6	0.33%	2	0.43%	36	0.39%	85	1.67%	10	0.50%
Unidentified	18	0.39%	0	0.00%	1	0.21%	0	0.00%	183	3.60%	22	1.10%
Totals	4589	100%	1827	100%	467	100%	9137	100%	5080	100%	2006	100%

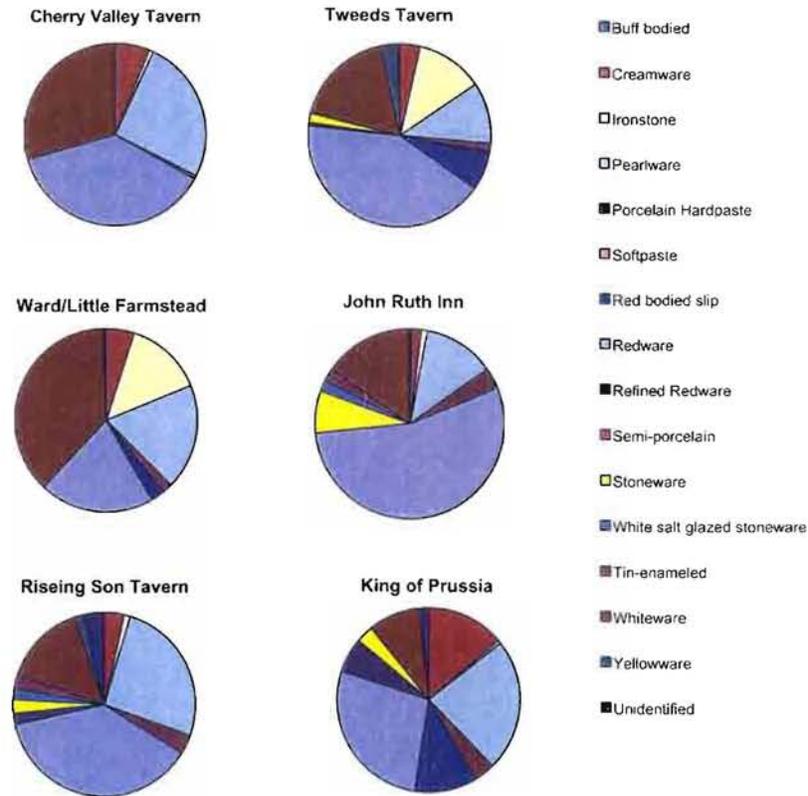


Table 6.5. Intersite Artifact Comparison By Artifact Class.

Artifact Class	Tweeds		Ward/Little Farmstead		John Ruth Inn		Riseing Son Tavern		King of Prussia Inn	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Agriculture/Equestrian	15	0.20%	2	0.27%	2	0.01%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Arms and Armor	5	0.07%	0	0.00%	9	0.03%	13	0.07%	9	0.20%
Building Material	1588	21.00%	150	20.35%	8285	31.67%	5669	31.67%	1697	36.92%
Ceramic Vessels	4589	60.69%	467	63.36%	9137	34.93%	5080	28.38%	2006	43.64%
Clothing related	54	0.71%	20	2.71%	46	0.18%	20	0.11%	35	0.76%
Commerce	3	0.04%	3	0.41%	3	0.01%	0	0.00%	4	0.09%
Cutlery	6	0.08%	3	0.41%	9	0.03%	0	0.00%	4	0.09%
Energy	2	0.03%	0	0.00%	110	0.42%	0	0.00%	15	0.33%
Furnishings	88	1.16%	5	0.68%	424	1.62%	18	0.10%	286	6.22%
Glass Vessels	877	11.60%	48	6.51%	4803	18.36%	2887	16.13%	379	8.24%
Kitchen	0	0.00%	2	0.27%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	38	0.83%
Personal	7	0.09%	0	0.00%	25	0.10%	0	0.00%	1	0.02%
Recreation/Activity	53	0.70%	15	2.04%	2076	7.94%	133	0.74%	37	0.80%
Tools/Hardware	96	1.27%	8	1.09%	29	0.11%	789	4.41%	62	1.35%
Unidentified	178	2.35%	14	1.90%	1202	4.59%	3294	18.40%	24	0.52%
Totals	7561	100%	737	100%	26160	100%	17903	100%	4597	100%

artifact data, and in particular if the nearby domestic site stands out as significantly different from the tavern assemblages.

The data from John Ruth Inn and Riseing Son Tavern is drawn from the entire assemblage from each site. The Cherry Valley Tavern data was limited to five key contexts (31, 34, 47, 67 and 68). Information for the King of Prussia Inn reflects data from Feature 4 and the rear yard. The information for the domestic assemblage from the Ward/Little Farmstead focused on key contexts (EUs 81-84, 104-108 and 119 Contexts 5, 7, 8 and 9), comprising the infilled basement and associated contexts.

These comparisons must be used with caution for two main reasons. In the first place the dates of occupations of the sites are not identical. The John Ruth assemblage, in particular, is late 18th century. The Tweed's tavern occupation extends in to the later 19th century. The second limitation is the lack of standardization in archaeological terminology. Artifact classifications vary between different organizations, ceramics being particularly subject to this. Without actually seeing the artifact collections it is often difficult to be certain that like is being compared with like.

With these caveats in mind the ceramics at these sites can first be compared. The proportion of a given assemblage composed of utilitarian redware may provide some indication of its function. High percentages of redware in late 18th- and 19th-century assemblages may reflect culinary and dairying activities rather than the serving and consumption of food, which was increasingly done from refined earthenware vessels. Rural domestic sites at the lower end of the economic scale might be predicted to show a higher percentage of this ware than others.

At the six sites studied, redware averaged 38.2% of the ceramic assemblage. Three sites, Tweed's, the Cherry Valley Tavern, and the Riseing Son had totals close to the average. The John Ruth Inn had a much higher percentage, perhaps reflecting its earlier date. The King of Prussia was significantly lower at 27.7%,

and the Ward/Little assemblage, from a small and somewhat impoverished Piedmont Farm, was lowest at 20.3%.

Whiteware, the typical refined ware of the second through fifth decades of the 19th century, comprised the second largest category of ceramics recovered from Tweed's Tavern, Cherry Valley Tavern and the John Ruth Inn, and was easily the most common ceramic at the Ward/Little Farmstead. Overall, whiteware makes up 20.4% of the analysed assemblages, but there is a wide range, from less than 9% at King of Prussia through almost 38% at Ward/Little. Pearlware was the refined ware occurring with the greatest frequency at both Riseing Son (25.8%) and King of Prussia (23%). The King of Prussia assemblage also shows a considerably higher percentage of creamware (13.8%) than any of the other sites.

Presentation of this data in pie-chart form (Table 6.4) helps to bring out some of these contrasts. At the level of ceramic type, it does not appear that there is any clear patterning to the data from these sites. The variations in the percentages of refined wares between the ceramic assemblages may reflect local availability of various wares, the preferences of the tavern keeper, or be a factor of tavern economy. The higher potential for breakage would dictate a need for inexpensive replacements. The differences in the amounts of creamware, pearlware and whiteware probably also reflect variations in the periods of occupation between the sites in this comparison.

Comparison of artifact classes between five of the sites (Cherry Valley Tavern data could not be analyzed to this level of detail) presents a somewhat similar picture (Table 6.5). A majority of each assemblage is represented by only three categories, building materials, ceramics and glass vessels. When building materials are excluded for analytical purposes (since the fluctuations in the amounts of building materials recovered from the various sites may reflect differences in sampling techniques and culling policies) more meaningful comparisons between ceramic and glass can be made. The average percentages of these two materials at the five sites are 64% for ceramics and 15% for

glass. At the John Ruth Inn and Riseing Son the totals for glass vessels are considerably higher, at 26.8% and 23.6% respectively, with a corresponding drop in the ceramic percentage. Since a high ratio of glass vessels may be one of the archaeological signatures of a tavern, the much lower percentages at Tweed's Tavern and the King of Prussia Inn, closely comparable as they are to the Ward/Little numbers, are noteworthy.

Faunal material provides another area where intersite comparisons between taverns may be made. The faunal report compares the material from Tweed's Tavern with that from the Riseing Son and King of Prussia Inns. At all these sites cattle was the most common species, although the relative importance of sheep and pig varied between the sites. At each tavern it appears that cattle and pigs were slaughtered on site, but sheep were not.

Analysis of the meat cuts and their values suggest that Tweed's Tavern served a wider variety of meat cuts than the other two sites. At the Riseing Son and King of Prussia "cattle, pig and sheep meat cuts were generally less varied and of lower overall economic value" than at Tweed's (Appendix D). This is an interesting conclusion, since the other two taverns were better located than Tweed's and it might therefore be assumed that they would have been able to offer better fare to travelers. The modest prosperity of Tweed's, as revealed by the documentary analysis in Chapter 2, is consistent with what is seen in the faunal record.

C. CONCLUSIONS

The substantial body of archaeological research that has now been undertaken on tavern assemblages appears to show that while various analytical approaches work reasonably well on earlier colonial sites, the situation at late colonial and early Federal Period taverns is much more complex. The studies on earlier sites were able, with some success, to identify contrasts between different tavern sites, and between domestic sites and taverns. In the much more materially prolific world of the late 18th and 19th centuries

these distinctions have been consistently hard to draw. Tweed's Tavern seems to be another instance where identification of a distinctive "tavern assemblage" is not possible from the data available and current analytical approaches. The comparison with the Ward/Little Farmstead is particularly interesting in this regard, since the two site collections are really quite similar even though there is no evidence to suggest that Ward/Little was ever a tavern.

At the intrasite level, however, useful information has been obtained about the disposal patterns at two locations on the site. The sink hole does seem to reflect in a general way a disposal area from a kitchen, and this is consistent with the rather limited stratigraphic evidence for a kitchen against the north wall of the log building.

The faunal analysis produced results consistent with the other analyses, both archaeological and historical. The wide range of meat cuts being eaten at this site seems to be in contrast to that at other taverns and seems to fit in with the modestly prosperous picture derived from the historical documentation. Some cattle and pigs were slaughtered and butchered on site, but sheep were not, a pattern seen at the other taverns analyzed.

D. POSTSCRIPT: PREHISTORIC OCCUPATION AT THE SINKHOLE

Of the 30 prehistoric artifacts recovered from the site, a total of 25 lithic artifacts were excavated from the units in and around the sink hole (Plate 6.5). A stemmed quartz projectile point, a rhyolite broadspear (Figure 6.11) and a Woodland II jasper triangle were excavated from this area along with a small amount of quartz debitage. Also recovered were ten fragments of mica twchich were once part of a single sheet trimmed at the edges, possibly for ornamental use. Mica appears to have had some symbolic or spiritual significance for Native American cultures. The lithic artifacts recovered from the units around the house were

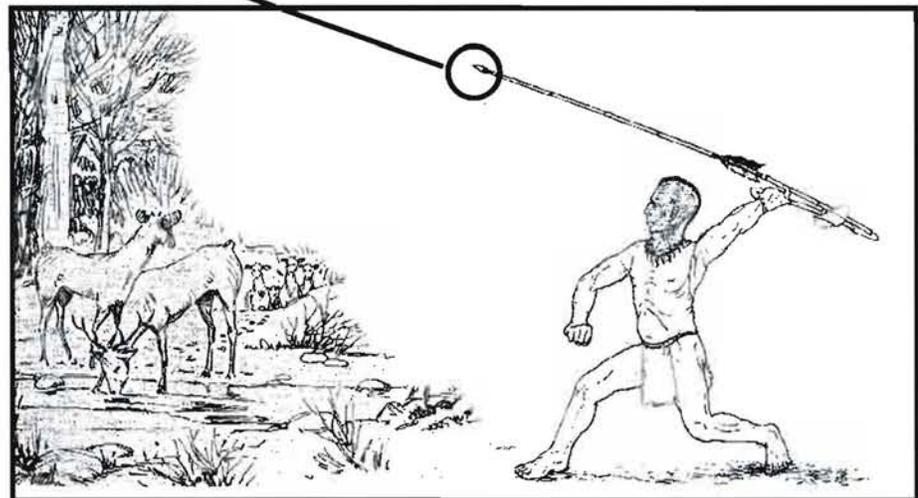
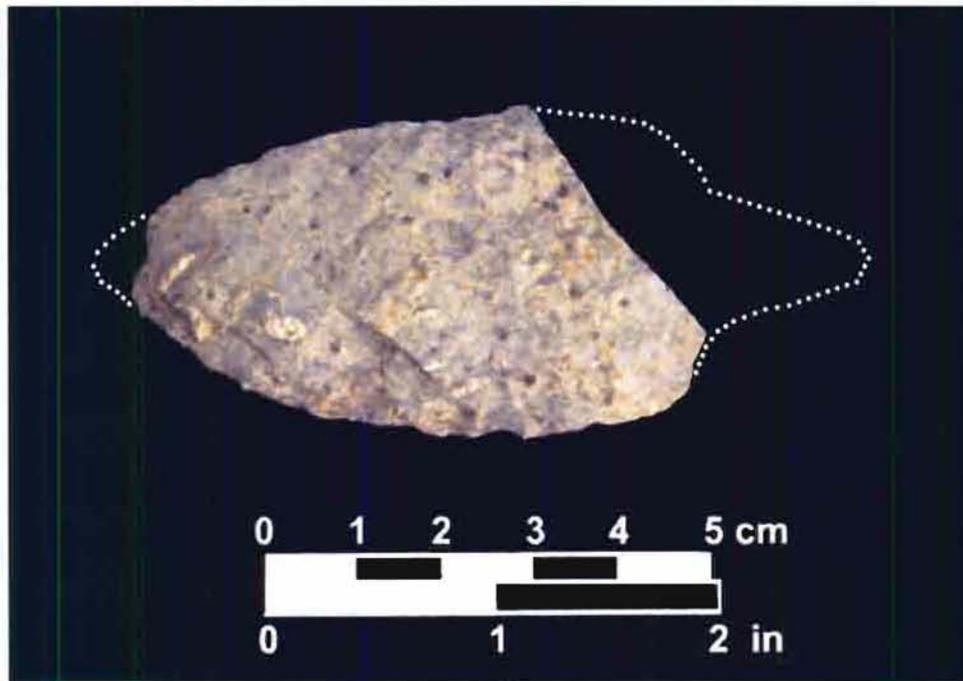


Figure 6.11. Guthrie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: A rhyolite broadspear dating to the Woodland I period. Broadspears were launched using a throwing stick called an atlatl as shown below. The spear was counterbalanced by a weight known to collectors as a banner stone. The counterbalance weight allowed the hunter to wait to ambush prey for long periods of time while remaining motionless (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:22].



Plate 6.5. Gutherie-Giacomelli House (Tweed's Tavern) CRS-#N-1101, and Tweed's Tavern Archaeological Site [7NC-A-18]: Selected prehistoric lithic artifacts from the Woodland I and Woodland II periods. The top row from left to right shows a trimmed piece of sheet mica, the distal end of a late stage quartz knife and a the distal end and mid-section of a well-made late stage quartzite biface. The bottom row from left to right shows a small stemmed quartz projectile point, a mid-section from a quartz projectile point and a small triangular jasper projectile point (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2003)[HRI Neg.# 02095/D1:4].

all of quartz and consisted of two bifaces, a core, the medial fragment of a projectile and a single piece of debitage.

This small collection is surprisingly diverse in terms of artifact type, and suggests frequent visitation over a considerable period and perhaps a wide range of activities taking place here. The presence of mica is interesting and suggestive of a site of some complexity. No features were identified and all the material was recovered from later contexts.