

## VII. SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

### A. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH RESULTS

#### 1. Consumer Behavior

##### a. Standard of Living

As educated gentlemen and members of the clergy, the eighteenth-century pastors certainly would have been held in high esteem within the community. Their elevated social position was manifested in numerous ways, including ownership of slaves, deference to the minister's wife on social occasions, the privilege of occupying a fine brick house (i.e., the third parsonage), etc. Although the pastors were accorded high status within the community, this high status was historically not accompanied by a high level of compensation. To be sure, the priesthood is often cited as an example of a profession of high social standing but modest economic position. Information concerning the wealth of the particular parsons' households did not emerge during the historical research, but it is quite likely that, as educated gentlemen, some of the pastors may have come from elite families.

Social position and wealth are often expressed through patterns of consumption. Archaeological analysis has identified a number of aspects of consumer behavior, thereby providing specific historical information regarding the expression of the parsons' social position and wealth. Among the various aspects of consumer behavior, foodways is perhaps the area most amenable to archaeological interpretation. Deetz (1977) has observed that ceramics played an important role in the foodways. Despite numerous severe post-depositional disturbances to the Parsonage Lot, the excavated deposits contained a well preserved ceramic assemblage comprising a wide variety of vessels related to food preparation and service.

The ceramic assemblage contained a variety of locally made red earthenwares in forms ranging from basic utilitarian milk pans to elaborately decorated plates and serving bowls. These vessels account for approximately half of the vessels associated with the Parsonage Lot occupation. Many of the utilitarian forms were undecorated, but the decorative motifs exhibited by the tableware forms range from slip decorated, striped and clouded, Philadelphia-style petalled, and intricate Pennsylvania Dutch trailed designs. As a group, the red earthenwares were the most readily available and least costly ceramics available in the early to mid-eighteenth century, and these wares should be expected within any contemporaneous domestic assemblage, regardless of the household's social or economic position.

Tin-glazed earthenware (delft), white salt-glazed stoneware, and Whieldonware represent a finer grade of food service vessels. These wares would have been imported from Britain, as they were not produced in the American colonies. Forms represented by these imported British wares exclusively fall into the food service category, and they include teawares, plates and bowls. During the early to mid-eighteenth century, these wares would have been inexpensive enough to have been used in households of moderate economic means.

Oriental porcelains account for one-fifth of the vessels in the Parsonage Lot deposits. These wares were the most costly ceramics available in the American colonies, and they would have been too expensive for households of modest or limited economic means (Deetz 1977). The Oriental export porcelain vessels are represented primarily in the teaware category, but there are also a few plates.

Teaware vessel forms (cups, saucers and pots) account for one-fourth of the ceramic vessels that can be identified according to a specific form, which suggests that participation in the tea ceremony was an important element in the pastor's social life. And the use of costly, highly decorated ceramics is indicative of the social significance associated with this activity. The tea ceremony was an English custom that was adopted by colonial households of high social position but which became common among households of more modest means by the mid-nineteenth century (Deetz; Lewis 1984; LBA 1986b).

Using an extensive sample of probate inventories from Oxfordshire, England 1550-91, central and southern Worcestershire, England 1669-1670 and Massachusetts 1774, Shamma (1983b) has examined the historical diffusion of the tea ceremony. This study concluded that the entry of eating and drinking utensils (knives, forks, glassware, tea equipment, etc.) into ordinary households occurred during the eighteenth century. The diffusion of the tea ceremony did not occur uniformly with regard to social status, and it was more readily accepted in urban areas than among rural farm households. Shamma describes the increasingly widespread use of teawares as a social phenomenon that was originally practiced only by the elite classes but which became increasingly common among households of modest status:

Perhaps the eighteenth century artifacts that reveal most about changes in the domestic environment are those associated with tea drinking. Early in the century, the use of the beverage was the preserve of the upper classes. When the *Spectator*, the gossipy London journal, first began publication in 1711, one of the editors recommended the paper "to all well regulated families, that set apart an Hour in every Morning for Tea and Bread and Butter." Make it "a Part of the Tea Equipage," he joked. . . . however, the practice of drinking tea spread beyond the *Spectator* readership and those with mahogany tea tables and silver spoons. Tea became the drink of the people probably because, in adulterated form, it could be drunk at home without the expense of preparation entailed with beer or even cider, and eighteenth century households did seem to show a preference for goods that could be consumed *en famille*. The breakfast at home with tea replaced the morning draft gulped down at the alehouse or at the abode of an employer (Shamma 1983b:125-126).

By the mid-eighteenth century, the purchase and use of teawares was no longer associated exclusively with the elite classes, the use of teawares was infused with an important social function, specifically the display of wealth (Deetz 1977). Within the Parsonage Lot assemblage, the Oriental export porcelain teawares represent the most costly ceramics, so that their use in a social setting would have conveyed information regarding the pastors' social status. In a discussion of Swedish customs, Lorenzen (1964:131), has stated that deference was shown to the pastor's wife above everyone else on the occasion of coffee or tea taking, indicating that the tea ceremony was an occasion that served to define and reinforce social status.

Comparison of the material culture associated with the parsonage households may provide some indication of the pastors' overall standard of living and consumption patterns within historical context. Unfortunately, there are very few comparable archaeological assemblages that have been reported in sufficient detail to permit inter-site comparison. For purposes of this

discussion, two other eighteenth-century sites in the Delaware Valley have been selected for comparative analysis.

The Gloucester City Site (28CA50), located in Gloucester City, New Jersey, apparently contained one of the most well-preserved eighteenth-century occupations in the Delaware River Valley. The property was first purchased in 1695 by John Reading, a wealthy English merchant, and it was later owned by Joseph Ellis, a militia leader during the Revolution. However, because of missing deeds and court records, a complete chain of title was not completed for the site. Documentary research did not clearly establish the historical use of the property; the seventeenth-century occupation was described as the residence of either a tenant farmer, a craftsman or a ferryman. The eighteenth-century occupation, which is of greatest interest to the present study, was described a farmstead.

The site's eighteenth-century occupation was represented archaeologically by fills recovered from a large cellar (Feature 31) and a well (Feature 98), which were bracketed between 1740 and 1790. Although these features were described as elements of the eighteenth-century farm, the associated deposits actually contained some earlier and later material. Analysis of the Gloucester City material was not conducted at a level that would facilitate a high level of inter-site comparison with the parsonage site. Cataloging of the glass and ceramics was conducted at the level of sherds, rather than vessels. No formal stratigraphic analysis was undertaken, so that the artifact assemblages cannot be discussed other than by reference to field provenience. In some instances, the entire site collection was treated as a unit, even though there were features and deposits dating from the prehistoric period through the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Carney Rose/Thomas Tindall Site provides an additional point of reference for the Colonial Period in the Delaware River Valley. Located in Mercer County, New Jersey, between Trenton and Bordentown, the site was initially settled by quakers in the late seventeenth century. The farm was well established by 1699 when it was acquired by Thomas Tindall, a farmer who also held several public offices. The property changed ownership ca. 1721 and again in 1751, but throughout the early to mid-eighteenth century, it apparently was a profitable, well-diversified farm, with a number of barns, orchards, meadows, gardens, etc. Excavations at the Thomas Tindall Site focused on a masonry cellar that contained a series of fills, including some redeposited yard refuse. The dating of the cellar fills was somewhat ambiguous, in that the ceramic dating suggested an early eighteenth-century (MCD = 1717.0) deposition, while the pipestem date (1743.3) suggested a mid-eighteenth century deposition. The apparent ambiguity in the archaeological dating could not be resolved by analysis, but TPQ of circa 1740 is not contradicted by the data (Louis Berger & Associates 1986c).

A general comparison of the ceramic assemblages of the Parsonage, Gloucester City and Thomas Tindall sites is presented in Table 29. Inter-site comparison of the assemblages is possible only at the level of sherds, rather than vessels, as no vessel counts have been reported from the Gloucester City Site. To facilitate inter-site comparison, general ceramic ware groups have been used in Table 29.

There is a marked degree of similarity between the Gloucester City Site and the Wilmington Parsonage Lot Site assemblages. Coarse red earthenwares, Philadelphia redwares, slipwares, delftwares, Whieldonwares, refined stonewares (white salt-glazed and scratch blue), and Oriental export porcelains were found at both sites. The Gloucester City assemblage contained both Oriental export porcelains, English porcelains and possibly some Japanese porcelains. It is

likely that these were represented by teawares or tableware forms, although this is not explicitly indicated. English and Japanese porcelains were not present in the Parsonage Site assemblage, although the English porcelains from Gloucester City Site were recovered from a context that post-dates the Parsonage Lot assemblage. The Thomas Tindall Site ceramic assemblage is overwhelmingly dominated by locally produced coarse earthenware, but also includes a variety of imported ceramics such as delftware, white salt-glazed stoneware, Oriental porcelain, Midland's clouded ware, Buckley ware, etc.

Among the three sites, the Wilmington Parsonage Lot assemblage has the highest proportion of porcelain, which represents the most costly ceramic ware and which was used primarily for teawares. The Parsonage Lot assemblage also exhibits the highest proportion of white salt-glazed stoneware, which was used primarily in tablewares (plates and cups). If one assumes that sherd counts accurately reflect the relative proportion of vessels, the Parsonage Lot assemblage is clearly the most costly ceramic assemblage among the three sites, because it has the highest proportion of porcelain and the lowest proportion of coarse earthenware. The Tindall assemblage, dominated by locally produced earthenwares, clearly represents the least costly assemblage, but it does contain minor amounts of the more costly porcelain, delftware and white salt-glazed stonewares. The proportion of coarse earthenwares in the Wilmington Parsonage and the Gloucester City assemblages is roughly comparable, but the two sites differ significantly in the representation of refined wares. The Gloucester City ceramic assemblage has the greatest proportion of delftwares among the three sites, but has far less porcelains and white salt-glazed stoneware than the Parsonage assemblage.

TABLE 29. INTER-SITE COMPARISON OF CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES, THREE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DELAWARE VALLEY SITES.

CERAMIC TYPE	BLOCK 1184 PARSONAGE	GLOUCESTER CITY	TINDALL CELLAR
Porcelain	138 9.1%	12 0.7%	13 0.4%
Delftware	235 15.4%	371 22.9%	169 5.2%
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	115 7.5%	47 2.9%	67 2.1%
Coarse Earthenware	937 61.5%	1061 65.4%	2721 83.4%
Other Wares	99 6.5%	116 7.2%	291 8.9%
<b>SHERD TOTALS</b>	<b>1524</b>	<b>1622</b>	<b>3261</b>

source: Block 1184 Parsonage--DUs 58B and 58C  
 Gloucester City--Feature 31, Strata C-G; Feature 98  
 Tindall Cellar--all Feature 13 fills

The curved glass assemblages from the Parsonage and Gloucester City sites also exhibit a broad similarity. The Gloucester assemblage contained wine bottles, case bottles, stemwares, tumblers, goblets and mugs, which suggests a similar range of vessel forms to that identified in the Parsonage assemblage. The Tindall assemblage has an extremely limited curved glass assemblage, and the majority of glass from that site was flat window glass. Vessels identified in the Tindall cellar deposits include a single wine/liquor bottle and one stemmed drinking vessel.

Using a sample of 10 sites, most of which were occupied in the eighteenth century, Garrow (1987) has suggested that the ratio of bottle glass to ceramics provides an index of socioeconomic status, arguing that assemblages with a large amount of bottle glass are associated with high status households. In Schiffer's (1972) terminology, ceramics may be classified as durable goods, as they are generally used repeatedly and therefore have a longer use-life. Bottles, on the other hand, may be classified as consumable items; because they function as containers, they may be discarded after their contents are consumed, however their use-life may be prolonged by re-cycling. Consumption and discard of bottles may therefore reflect discretionary spending habits, depending on the specific bottle type.

Bottle glass and ceramic sherd counts for a sample of eight eighteenth-century sites are listed in Table 30. Sites comprised in this analysis include the three eighteenth-century Delaware Valley sites discussed above (Old Swede's Parsonage, Gloucester City and Tindall Farmstead) and five of the sites used by Garrow (1987) that date to the eighteenth century. The nineteenth-century sites that Garrow used in his sample have been eliminated from the present analysis, as it is known that glass bottles became increasingly plentiful during the nineteenth century (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1986b). Inclusion of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sites in the same analysis unnecessarily conflates the temporal and socioeconomic variables.

As originally intended, Garrow's index readily discriminates between the wealthy planter household that occupied the Oxon Hill Manor from two southern slave sites, Yaughan and Curriboo. However, the socioeconomic ranking produced by Garrow's bottle glass/ceramic method does not seem to have produced satisfactory results for the remaining five sites. The Oxon Hill well had an extremely high proportion of bottle glass (84%), so high that it should be viewed as an extreme case or outlier. The remaining sites fall in a much more narrow range between 10% to 30% bottle glass, with a median of roughly 20%. The two merchant-occupied sites excavated at Brunswicktown, North Carolina (S10 and S25) fall at or above the median, which is consistent with the expectation for urban, merchant household consumption patterns. The ranking of the three Delaware Valley sites is anomalous, as one would expect that the ranking based on Garrow's index would parallel the ranking based on the ceramics, discussed above. The Tindall assemblage, representing a rural, agricultural occupation, ranks above both urban sites, and the Gloucester City assemblage ranks with the southern slave quarters.

Clearly, the bottle glass/ceramic sherd index is of questionable value, and it is argued here that the use of specific vessel forms and MNVs would provide much more useful information regarding consumption patterns. Of course, analysis based on vessel forms cannot include the Gloucester City site, since vessel forms or MNVs were not reported for that assemblage. The Tindall Site glass assemblage, although it was larger in terms of overall sherd frequency, contained only a few recognizable vessels, and MNVs were not formally reported. Vessels identified in the assemblage include a wine/liquor bottle and a clear, stemmed drinking glass with a folded foot ring. Case bottle and pharmaceutical bottle fragments were also noted, but these appear to have represented only single vessel of each type. The paucity of wine/liquor bottles at

the Tindall site assemblage was seen as evidence that "consumption of imported spirits was never a major activity on the site" (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc., 1986c:VI-205). The larger number of wine/liquor bottle fragments in the Parsonage Lot assemblage does suggest a greater use of distilled spirits than occurred at the Tindall Site. Consumption of distilled spirits at Oxon Hill Manor evidently occurred at a scale far in excess of any other contemporaneous households that have been subject to archaeological analysis, and that level of alcoholic spirit consumption doubtless reflects the fact that the site was occupied by one of the wealthiest households in the entire Chesapeake region.

A variety of personal, clothing, arms-related, and miscellaneous items was also present in the Old Swede's Parsonage, Gloucester City and Tindall site assemblages. In terms of these small finds, the three Delaware Valley sites are generally comparable, and all seem to be reflective of common eighteenth-century domestic assemblages. There are no particular artifacts or artifact patterns that appear to be reflective of distinctive consumption patterns.

TABLE 30. INTER-SITE COMPARISON OF BOTTLE GLASS VS. CERAMICS, EIGHT EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SITES.

SITE	BOTTLE GLASS	CERAMICS	RANK
Oxon Hill Well, B-D (1720s - 1750s)	9491 84.3%	1758 15.6%	1
Brunswick S10 (c. 1728-1776)	1782 27.8%	4618 72.2%	2
Tindall Cellar	974 23.0%	3261 77.0%	3
Block 1184 Parsonage	429 22.0%	1524 78.0%	4
Brunswick S25 (c. 1731-1776)	4340 21.0%	16,288 79.0%	5
Curriboo Slave Quarter (c. 1740-1800)	689 15.4%	3778 84.6%	6
Gloucester City	198 10.9%	1622 89.1%	7
Yaughan Slave Quarter (c. 1740-1790)	1962 10.4%	16,811 89.6%	8

source: Block 1184 Parsonage--DUs 58B and 58C  
 Gloucester City--Feature 31, Strata C-G; Feature 98  
 Tindall Cellar--all Feature 13 fills  
 other sites--data from Garrow (1987)

b. Foodways

The archaeological assemblage has provided a substantial amount of information regarding the foodways that characterized the Parsonage Lot households. The diet apparently included a wide variety of domestic and wild mammal, poultry, fish, shellfish, vegetables and fruits. Within the faunal assemblage, some patterns may reflect the ethnicity of the site occupants. The mammalian species that can be associated with the parsonage households include cow, pig, lamb or sheep, deer and possibly rabbit and squirrel. Pork appears to have been the favored meat, followed by lamb or sheep.

Some historical studies (e.g., Lemon 1967; McMahon 1981) suggest that pig and cow were the dominant meat species during the eighteenth century, with a somewhat greater utilization of pig over cow. The Parsonage Lot assemblage exhibited a much greater preference for pig over cow, and there are other archaeological inventories for the Colonial Period that suggest a greater reliance on pig than would be expected (e.g., Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1986c), given the results of probate inventory studies. Among southeastern Pennsylvania farmers, Lemon (1967) has reported that the use of mutton was virtually non-existent during the period 1740-1790. In terms of geographic and chronological proximity, Lemon's study provides the best comparative context for the Parsonage Site, and the difference between what would be expected on the basis of probate inventories versus what was identified in the archaeological inventory is quite striking. The infrequent mention of pork in the probate inventories may be a result of widespread cultural bias on the part of the probate enumerators, wherein the presence of pig was simply not considered of sufficient value or importance to list in a decedent's inventory.

The species representation of pig, sheep and cow in the Parsonage Lot assemblage parallels the pattern described in a Scandinavian recipe book, so that there is some evidence that the ethnicity of the pastors' households was expressed in the diet. It must be pointed out, however, that modern Scandinavian culinary practices may not reflect eighteenth-century foodways with complete accuracy. The occurrence of venison within the excavated assemblage may represent another expression of Scandinavian foodways, as it was reported that deer was used as a substitute for reindeer, which was an ethnic Scandinavian specialty.

Comparison of the faunal assemblages associated with the three eighteenth-century Delaware Valley sites is provided in Table 31. Because there is such wide variation in the manner in which faunal studies are conducted and reported, comparison of the three assemblages is possible only at the presence/absence level for individual species. (It should be pointed out that the faunal inventory for the Gloucester City site is questionable, since the faunal inventories were done according to entire features, rather than particular deposits.) As may be seen in Table 31, the greatest similarity among the three sites is in the medium to large domesticated mammals (cow, pig and sheep), and the greatest variation appears in the use of non-domesticated species, particularly aquatic species. Deer were used at all three sites, therefore its consumption by the Parsonage Site occupants should not be viewed purely as an expression of ethnic foodways.

Fish and shellfish were well represented in the Parsonage Lot deposits, and it is known that fish constituted an important element of the Scandinavian diet. Fish are also well-represented at the Gloucester City and Tindall sites, although there is wide variety in the species selection between sites. Fish identified in the Parsonage Lot assemblage include perch, herring, shad and swordfish. Sturgeon and catfish were important dietary components of the Native American Delaware Valley populations, and they were used at both the Gloucester City and Tindall sites,

TABLE 31. INTER-SITE COMPARISON OF FAUNAL ASSEMBLAGES, THREE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DELAWARE VALLEY SITES.

SPECIES NAME	BLOCK 1184 PARSONAGE	GLOUCESTER CITY	TINDALL CELLAR
<b>MAMMAL</b>			
COW	X	X	X
PIG	X	X	X
SHEEP	X	X	X
DEER	X	X	X
RABBIT	X	X	X
SQUIRREL	X	X	X
OPOSSUM			X
WOODCHUCK		X	
<b>BIRD</b>			
CHICKEN		X	X
DUCK	X	X	X
PIGEON	X	X	
GROUSE	X		X
GOOSE	X		
GUINEA HEN			
BOBWHITE			X
<b>FISH</b>			
BASS	X		
WHITE PERCH	X		X
YELLOW PERCH			X
HERRING	X		X
SHAD	X		
SWORDFISH	X		
STURGEON		X	X
CATFISH		X	X
DRUM		X	
LONG-NOSED GARPIKE		X	
SUCKER		X	
<b>MOLLUSC</b>			
OYSTER	X		
MUSSEL	X		
CLAM	X		
RAZOR CLAM	X		
WATER SNAIL	X		
<b>AMPHIBIAN</b>			
TURTLE		X	X
FROG/BULLFROG		X	

Source: Block 1184 Parsonage--DUs 58B and 58C  
 Gloucester City--Feature 31 (all fills) and Feature 98  
 Tindall Cellar--all Feature 13 fills

Note: non-dietary species excluded

but not at the Parsonage site. Drum, long-nosed garpike and sucker were also used at the Gloucester City site but apparently not at the Parsonage Lot.

Comparison of the faunal inventories suggests that pastors' households were somewhat selective with regard to use of fish and other locally available wild species. Historical information supports the idea that ethnic foodways were perpetuated by the pastors' households. It is known, for example, that Pastor Unander purchased a barrel of mackerel and a quart of anise seed, both of which figured prominently in the Scandinavian diet. The relatively short tenures of the eighteenth-century pastors may resulted in a situation which prevented familiarity with local foods, thereby encouraging the perpetuation of ethnic foodways and culinary practices.

Archaeological and historical evidence has provided a limited amount of information pertinent to the types of beverages consumed on-site. The presence of teawares and wine bottles points to the consumption of tea and wine, and there is a historical reference to the purchase of rum by Pastor Unander. It is impossible to gauge the importance of these drinks in the diet relative to beverages such as cider, which has been historically identified as an important, locally produced beverage during the eighteenth century (Lemon 1967).

### c. Subsistence Strategy

Subsistence strategy may be viewed as the formal economic mechanism by which the Holy Trinity Church pastors were compensated, as well as the more general practices by which the pastors' households met their daily consumption requirements.

Historical research indicates that the eighteenth-century pastors participated in a cash or market economy, although they may have received goods rather than cash for some services. During the early to mid-eighteenth century, the Old Swedes Church pastors received an annual salary and shelter, i.e., use of the parsonage. Unlike their counterparts in Sweden, there is no historical evidence that the pastors were compensated in part with supplies of grain or other foodstuffs. The early pastors of Holy Trinity did supplement their income by charging for special services and by ministering to other (German and English) congregations. During the eighteenth century, it appears to have been expected that the incumbent pastor would actually occupy the parsonage, but there are references in the early nineteenth century to pastors' renting out the parsonage and living elsewhere. Use of the parsonage was an important element of the pastor's income, but it came to be perceived as a permissible source of cash income rather than simply as housing.

The annual salary and use of the parsonage appear to have constituted the pastors' sole compensation from the church. There are also, however, historical references to the congregation reimbursing the pastor for what would seem to be routine living expenses. In particular, account books indicate that Pastor Unander was reimbursed for the purchase of wine glasses and certain food items. The extent to which the congregation reimbursed the pastors for such expenses is not unknown, but this instance appears to represent an unusual practice. It may represent a purchase intended for use at a ceremonial occasion rather than for personal use.

Stewart-Abermathy's (1986) urban farmstead model, although it was derived from a nineteenth-century settlement pattern, appears to have relevance to a broad range of sites in frontier situations, including the Old Swede's Parsonage that is the subject of the present study. Overall, the urban farmstead model describes a pattern in the use of space that is quite similar to that typically found at pre-industrial rural agricultural sites. The urban farmstead represents a high degree of self-sufficiency with regard to a variety of functions and activities, including the

growing of vegetable foods, the raising of animals, the storage of food and fuel, and the disposal of waste. It is arguable that the term "urban farmstead" is an oxymoron, i.e, a contradictory notion, in that large amounts of open space and a high degree of self-sufficiency are uncharacteristic of true urban areas. However, Stewart-Abernathy's urban farmstead model was derived from the study of small settlements in a region characterized by an overwhelmingly rural character, and those characteristics provide an acceptable analogy to eighteenth-century Wilmington.

With regard to basic subsistence needs, i.e, foodways, the parsons' households appear to have been quite self-sufficient. Archaeological evidence indicates that a variety of animals were probably raised and slaughtered on-site, and the presence of weaponry (gunflints, musket balls and shot) within the assemblage suggests that some wild game species may have been procured directly by the site inhabitants. The full extent of the Parsonage Lot households self-sufficiency with regard to food production is uncertain, however, and it is not known whether markets were available in Wilmington that would have provided some of the foods that were identified in the diet.

## 2. Local Information Needs

### a. Prehistoric Period

Evidence of prehistoric occupation within Wilmington is considered to be of high significance (Goodwin et al. 1986), and the survival of a prehistoric occupational component on Block 1184 was quite unexpected. The aboriginal occupation appears to have been quite extensive, as prehistoric material was recovered from both the Second Street and Spring Alley/Walnut Street areas of the block. The majority of the prehistoric assemblage was recovered from disturbed contexts, but it did contain culturally diagnostic items (ceramics and a projectile point) and other implements that provide a level of information beyond the basic knowledge that the City was occupied during prehistory. The prehistoric occupation appears to have occurred during the Middle Woodland Period (ca. 500 B.C. to A.D. 800), and the variety and type of implements in the assemblage suggests an occupation of at least seasonal duration. It is possible that the presence of a spring made the site area attractive for prehistoric occupation.

The Lower Christina/Churchman's Marsh edaphic zone is the management unit that encompasses the site, as defined in the State plan for management of prehistoric resources in northern Delaware (Custer and DeSantis 1986). In general, this management unit is characterized by high probability for significant sites and high data quality. However, the intense urban development that has occurred within the City has resulted in widespread and significant losses to the prehistoric archaeological record. By the recovery of prehistoric artifacts from the site, this study supports the evaluation of the Lower Christina/Churchman's Marsh management unit as a high probability zone. However, the surviving prehistoric deposits had been so severely disturbed by historic development that they provided little scientific value.

### b. Merchant Milling Phase (1630-1830)

Although consumer behavior was the principal research issue guiding the analysis and interpretation of the assemblage, this study has also provided information pertinent to a number of other historical information needs related to the Merchant Milling Phase (1730-1830). These Study Units, or historical contexts, defined in the City's archaeological resource management plan (Goodwin et al. 1986) include Adaptation (Study Unit 8), Origins and Growth (Study Unit

9), Use of Space (Study Unit 10), The People of Wilmington (Study Unit 11) and Wilmington's Regional Context (Study Unit 12).

The site's historical significance is defined primarily with respect to the Origins and Growth and People of Wilmington contexts. The association of Lot 58 with Old Swede's Church lends the site a high degree of significance, because of that institution's historical importance with regard to Wilmington's religious and cultural life. Occupation of the site by the Old Swedes Church pastors provides a direct association with the People of Wilmington study unit, as the eighteenth-century pastors were considered to be among the City's most prominent citizens.

Aside from its historical association, the site has provided important information regarding a number of aspects of Wilmington's early history. It was pointed out in the City's archaeological resource management plan that there is virtually no information or material available for the pre-Colonial period (1630-1770) in Wilmington. Through the recovery, description and analysis of the archaeological assemblage from the old parsonage cellar, the present project has begun to fulfill an important information need. Information gained from this project pertains primarily to the Adaptation and Use of Space study units. The Adaptation theme encompasses foodways, which was considered as an element of consumer behavior. Information pertaining to the Regional Context study unit was developed as a result of the inter-site comparisons of consumer behavior, but the lack of comparable sites that have been reported at an equivalent level of detail prevented an extensive regional synthesis.

Other issues encompassed by the Adaptation theme concern the character of the natural environment and the built or man-made environment. Issues related to the character of the man-made environment are closely related to those subsumed under the Use of Space theme, and these are discussed below.

Given the narrowly focused character of the archaeological and historical research undertaken for this project, there is relatively little that can be said regarding the character of natural environment. Certainly, it can be said that settlement in the City was very sparse in the early eighteenth century, as the regional economy was overwhelmingly agricultural. The City provided a few important commercial functions (milling, trans-shipment, etc.) and social services, and the church was among the specialized services provided by the City.

Located approximately one-half mile from the church, the Parsonage Lot may have been among the most desirable houselots, because it contained a spring that would have provided a readily available water source. When it was formally surveyed in 1736, the Parsonage Lot occupied two-thirds of the block bounded by Spring Alley, French, Walnut and Second Streets. The Parsonage Lot then would have measured approximately 125 x 230 feet, occupying approximately two-thirds of an acre. After the lot was subdivided in 1748, the remaining portion was approximately one-fourth of its original size, approximately 65 x 115 feet.

There is no direct archaeological information pertaining to the actual appearance of the parson's houselot. Archaeological evidence of on-site butchering of cows, pigs, poultry, etc. suggests that some parts of the lot would have exhibited a somewhat rural appearance, bringing to mind Stewart-Abernathy's (1986) "urban farmstead" model. The raising and butchering of animals suggests the presence of areas within the houselot that would have been functionally equivalent to those found on contemporaneous farmsteads located in the surrounding agricultural hinterlands.

The structure represented archaeologically by Features 2 and 12 is believed to represent the foundation of the old parsonage, which stood from ca. 1701 to 1768. Only part of the foundation had survived, but it appears to have faced Spring Alley and was sited roughly one-third of the way between Walnut and French Streets. The front of the structure was set back approximately 16 feet from the street (Spring Alley).

The first parsonage was historically described simply as a frame structure, but the archaeological excavations have provided additional detail concerning the structure's appearance. The mortared, masonry foundation would have supported a frame structure of quite modest size, only twelve feet deep. Again, however, it must be pointed out that only a small portion of the structure was excavated, and it is quite possible that the cellar represented by Features 2 and 12 extended beneath only a part of the house. Although the old parsonage was a frame structure, it probably had a brick chimney, but there is no information regarding the placement of the chimney within the house. There is evidence that the structure had casement windows rather than the more common and less expensive sash windows. The casement windows contained panes of blue-green and grayish-green glass cut into square, diamond and trapezoidal shapes.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the old parsonage was considered uninhabitable by Pastor Tranberg, and he built a new residence for himself at another location. In 1751, the congregation built a new parsonage at the corner of Spring Alley and Walnut Street. After construction of the new parsonage at the corner of the lot, the old parsonage continued in use until 1768, having been used as kitchen, storeroom, stable and servant's quarter. During the 1780s, the third parsonage underwent a series of repairs. Earlier, Pastor Acrelius mentioned the need to lay stones around the foundation in order to keep water out of the cellar. The repairs that were carried out in the 1780s involved repairs to the roofs of the parsonage and outbuildings, repairs to the interior of the parsonage, and repair of the floor of the stable.

In addition to the parsonages themselves, there are historical references to other buildings and spaces within the Parsonage Lot. A vegetable garden was mentioned during the tenure of Pastor Acrelius (1748-1756). A variety of seeds representing various vegetable, fruit, medicinal and flowering plants were recovered from the undisturbed eighteenth-century deposits. These include mustard, pennyroyal, elder, blackberry, blueberry, forget-me-not, bedstraw and jimsonweed. Although it is likely that these plants were used by the site occupants, it is unknown whether they were actually grown on site. A new kitchen was also built ca. 1783, apparently in conjunction with the repairs to the parsonage and other outbuildings. Other features mentioned in the late eighteenth century include a stable, a cellar, an outcellar, a cow shed, shaded outdoor ovens, a fence surrounding the kitchen garden and a fence separating the house from the street.

### c. Industrial and Urban Growth Phases (1830-1930)

No well-preserved deposits associated with the nineteenth- or early twentieth-century occupations of Block 1184 were identified. The Industrial and Urban Growth period was manifested archaeologically by an increased intensification of land use within Block 1184, and a change in the land use from purely residential to mixed residential and industrial. Domestic deposits dating to this period were present on the block, but they lacked sufficient integrity to merit intensive excavation and analysis. Industrial use of the block was manifested archaeologically by the recovery of material related to the William Hare Pottery and the G. W. Baker Machine Company.

The recovery and description of ceramics related to the William Hare Pottery (ca. 1838-1889) was the principal contribution of this study toward providing information relevant to that period. These materials include a variety of kiln furniture as well as various coarse earthenware and stoneware vessels. Vessel forms identified in the assemblage associated with Hare include redware milk pans and preserve jars and stoneware jars and pitchers.

## B. EVALUATION OF RESEARCH DESIGN

The overall research focus for this study attempted to combine issues of long-term interest on the part of the LBA staff with the information needs and priorities outlined in the City's archaeological resource management plan. The research issue of primary interest, consumer behavior, is an area of broad interest in the social sciences, and it overlaps to some extent a number of the information needs articulated in the City plan. Consumer behavior is becoming a more widely used research context in historical archaeology. In recent years, there have been a number of successful archaeological studies focused on household consumer behavior, but there is yet a lack of consensus regarding an appropriate theoretical basis and analytical techniques that will permit inter-site comparisons.

Social scientists among various disciplines have developed analytical techniques that are appropriate to the character of their data. As a middle range research issue, consumer behavior is amenable to analysis from a variety of perspectives. It is apparent that many archaeologists are not yet fully cognizant of either the interpretive potential or limitations of their data, material culture. In this study, consumer behavior was approached primarily from the perspective of foodways. Historically, diet has been identified as a sensitive indicator of social position, not only of wealth but also of ethnic affiliation. Archaeological data are frequently directly pertinent to the analysis of foodways and therefore represents perhaps the most appropriate avenue for material culture studies to provide information pertinent to consumer behavior.

This project was conducted in a number of discrete phases, which provided opportunities to refine the direction and focus of the research. It is believed that this carefully staged approach ultimately permitted a close fit between the expectations of the research design and the actual results.

While emphasizing issues of general historical interest, this study also achieved some results anticipated in the City's archaeological resource management plan. The importance of the City's resource management plan must be recognized, even though the information needs it articulated were given secondary priority in the interpretation of the deposits. In that regard, it should be pointed out that the information needs in the City plan were by necessity defined at a level of generality appropriate to the entire City of Wilmington, not just a single site.

It was observed that the study of consumer behavior is perhaps best suited to analysis from an inter-site or comparative perspective. However, this study did not make extensive use of the comparative approach, which is perhaps its major shortcoming. In the absence of comparable archaeological sites that have been reported in sufficient detail to permit a high level of comparative analysis, an approach advocated by Salwen (personal communication 1987) was utilized. Citing the lack of a "handbook" of standard analytical techniques, Salwen asserted that the search for signatures of ethnicity or social status has for the most part been a fruitless exercise. Moreover, studies that have focused on the derivation of social status from artifacts have often confused the proper scale of their analyses, attempting to describe the behavior of social groups rather than households or individuals. By narrowing the scope of interpretation to

specific households or individuals that can be linked directly to specific archaeological deposits and by conducting detailed historical research for these households or individuals, it will eventually be possible to define not only normative patterns but also the range of variation that characterizes particular social or ethnic groups.

It is anticipated that the results of this project will be used in future comparative studies, as data from other sites becomes available.

### C. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Consumer behavior is a complex research issue, one that is quite amenable to analysis from an archaeological perspective as well as from other disciplines. This project has concluded that the study of foodways represents a highly effective analytical approach to the study of consumption patterns. However, the interpretation of foodways would have been more satisfactory if information had been available concerning the existence, location and character of local markets. In a number of instances, the archaeological data was suggestive of particular patterns relative to (i) the keeping of livestock on-site, (ii) the presence of certain plants within the Parsonage Lot, (iii) the applicability of the urban farmstead model, particularly with regard to the fulfillment of basic subsistence needs, etc. The location of nineteenth-century markets in downtown Wilmington is known, but no information was available concerning markets during the early to mid-eighteenth century. If there were no markets available at that time, knowledge of that fact would have supported an interpretation of greater self-sufficiency with regard to foodways as well as the applicability of the urban farmstead model to the Parsonage Lot, particularly the presence of livestock enclosures for cow, pigs, sheep, poultry, etc. Studies of historic markets in Boston, Massachusetts (Marten 1987) and in Charleston, South Carolina (Calhoun et al. 1984) have provided important information for the interpretation of archaeological deposits recovered from domestic sites. If possible, research of local markets should be conducted in conjunction with future studies that focus on consumer behavior.