excavated adjacent to backhoe Trench C, confirmed that the soils deposited both over and beneath the charcoal horizon consisted of an artifact assemblage dating to ca. 1730-1780. Associated with these artifacts were significant amounts of faunal remains and other diagnostic artifacts; for example, a 1723 George I cent. A recommendation was made that additional testing was necessary in order to evaluate the eligibility of the site for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (Coleman et al. 1987). An archaeological research program was then implemented in order to establish the applicability of all National Register criteria to the site, and to provide the necessary information to develop a data recovery plan, if necessary.

RESEARCH DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

The main goal of the additional Phase II testing at the John Ruth Inn Site was to gather additional information which would clarify the eligibility of the site for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, and to provide the necessary information to develop a data recovery plan, if necessary. Specifically, additional Phase II excavations sought to determine if a majority of the artifacts were to be found in good stratigraphic context at the site. Also, the excavations sought to identify the extent of the previously identified feature located during the Phase I testing. Archival research associated with the Phase II research sought to determine the occupation dates and former occupants of the earlier, ca. 1730-1780, history of the site.

In the following discussion of archival and archaeological research at the John Ruth Inn Site, the research focus was the initial ca. 1730-1780 occupation of the site. For convenience of distinction, the site and artifact assemblage associated with the Thomas Ogle occupation, named for the site's owner ca. 1739-1771 will be called the Ogletown Tavern. The later occupation associated with the John Ruth Inn, for which the site was named occurred from 1790-1955 and will be referred to as the John Ruth Inn occupation. Archaeological deposits related to the John Ruth Inn were examined during Phase I/II research at the site (Coleman et al. 1987). The only intact features located by the excavation were the cobblestone foundation remains of a 50' x 35' 2 1/2 storey house, the John Ruth Inn, which contained a full cellar approximately 20' X 20' forming an eastern core. Outside of this core area, the exterior walls were supported by a shallow cobblestone foundation. A continuous brick foundation supported a porch across the rear of the structure. Yard areas to the west, east, and south had been extensively disturbed by demolition activities associated with the removal of the structure in 1955. The extent of the demolition to the north of the John Ruth Inn foundation was not completely known, and testing of the area was included in the additional Phase II excavation. Severe disturbance was known to exist for a distance of at least 25 feet south of the ca. 1965 Mister Donut foundation to the northern limit of the site (Figure 17). This disturbance was related to building and utility construction associated with the Mister Donut occupation of the site. Based on the excavation of Trench C, a majority of the central site area between these two disturbances was suspected to be undisturbed. Thus, at the beginning of the final Phase II excavation, this area approximately 25' North-South X 50' East-West was the focus of investigation (Figure 17).

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

The earlier Ogletown Tavern component of the John Ruth Inn Site represents a time period in Delaware history in which historical documentation is incomplete and poorly represented. Sources available to the researcher are limited to road petitions and land plats, certain court documents such as probate records, and miscellaneous family papers, newspapers, documents and diaries. Research employing these sources was oriented to two primary goals. The first was to determine historical ownership and site specific information. The second was to provide a comparative data base of other eighteenth century taverns both in Delaware and along the East Coast. The information obtained to address the latter goal will be presented first. The discussion is divided into a number of separate topics for organizational purposes. Following an introductory statement, these topics are: eighteenth Century Tavern Life and Activities, Material Culture, Records Research, Locational Patterns, and Architecture.

Introduction

As part of the background Phase II research, a survey of the historical and archaeological literature of seventeenth and eighteenth century taverns was performed. The historical literature of taverns in the Colonial Period is represented by a number of early twentieth century publications (Lathrop 1926, Earle 1905) and several recently published sources (Rice 1983, Ward 1968) containing excellent primary sources. The following discussion of tavern life and activities, locational patterns, records, architecture, and material culture is developed by emphasizing the primary sources of account books, probate records, travellers' accounts, and newspaper advertisements presented in conjunction with the extant secondary sources. Previous archaeological excavations of tavern sites within the United States provided a comparable date range of artifacts, from the mid-seventeenth century (Lovelace, Jamestown, Earthy's Taverns), the eighteenth century (Wellfleet, McCrady's, Man-Loaded-With-Mischief, Riseing Son Taverns), to the mid-nineteenth century (Vereberg, Searight Tavern). While much of the artifact data is not fully published, (Wellfleet Tavern, Man-Loaded-With-Mischief) several sources were located where at least certain artifact frequencies are available (Bragdon 1981, Rockman and Rothschild 1984). Unfortunately, none of the available tavern reports contained occupation dates exactly comparable to the ca.

1730-1780 time period of the Ogletown Tavern. However, several residential sites from the Mid-Atlantic are available for comparison within this time period. The results of this analysis will be provided following the interpretation based on the historical literature. The chapter will conclude with a synthesis of the information in light of research at the Ogletown Tavern.

Eighteenth Century Tavern Life and Activities

It has been stated that the eighteenth century inn was the center of community life and activity (Rice 1983), that all life in the community revolved around the inn (Rivinus 1965), and that taverns were among the most important social, political and economic institutions in American colonial life (Bridenbaugh 1960). The tavern variously functioned as a place to procure food, drink, and lodging for travellers, as well as a community social hall, post office, court, visiting place, and auction place. In the seventeenth century, the establishment of a hostelry (ordinary) was second in importance only to providing a gathering place for worship (Earle 1905).

Above all, eighteenth century taverns/inns functioned as convenient locations for the consumption of alcohol by the local community. Lodging was, until the nineteenth century, a secondary consideration. Drinking was the most popular of all eighteenth century tavern recreations. On average, in the eighteenth century, per capita consumption of distilled spirits was 3.7 gallons rising to five gallons at the turn of the nineteenth century, approximately three times today's levels (Rice 1983). In areas of especially high consumption, reputed to be those regions occupied by Dutch and English ethnic groups, rates reached as high as 1 quart per day. Beginning in the late seventeenth century many segments of society, including religious and moralist leaders, professed some benefit to the consumption of alcohol. These ranged from stimulation to hard labor to the freedom from infectious disease. From extant eighteenth century tavern scenes, sobriety in face of prodigious consumption, was probably a virtue in many parts of the society (Rice 1983).

Eighteenth Century Material Culture

To obtain a more realistic view of the day-to-day life and the material culture represented within eighteenth century taverns, a sample was obtained of extant tavernkeepers' accounts and/or day books and of innkeepers' probate inventories. An attempt was made to include books and inventories from both rural and urban tavernkeepers. The time period for the sample was restricted to the ca. 1730 - ca. 1780 occupation of the Ogletown Tavern.

Because of recent primary research on tavern material culture, the contents of seventeenth and eighteenth century taverns are better known than their architecture (Rice 1983, Boston inventory, Mass. inventory). Generally the material culture of eighteenth century taverns was utilitarian and/or functional. Eight Delaware tavernkeepers' inventories were obtained in order to provide primary data on the material culture of mid-eighteenth century taverns (Table 2). The inventories from Delaware tavernkeepers are included in entirety in Appendix I. Data obtained from these inventories was also tabulated into a form comparable to a previous analysis present in Bragdon (1981). The following discussion first notes the implications of the Delaware inventories and then offers comparisons to the Massachusetts data.

TABLE 2

EIGHT COMPARATIVE TAVERNKEEPER INVENTORIES

Name	**Date**	**Location of Tavern**	**County**
Thomas Downing	July 1741	Wilmington	New Castle
Andrew Leckey	March 1744	----------	Kent
Charles Mathews	December 1752	Dover	Kent
Robert Hannum	March 1759	Wilmington	New Castle
William Wells	December 1762	----------	Kent
Jacob Hamm	April 1766	St. Georges Hundred	NewCastle
Samuel Griffen	August 1769	----------	Kent
Robert Hunt	Octover 1777	Apoquinimink Hundred	New Castle

* compiled from Delaware State Archives, Inventories for New Castle and Kent Counties.

To provide a comparative data base for the study of intra- and interregional tavern life and material culture, eight inventories of known Delaware tavernkeepers in New Castle and Kent counties were compiled and examined (Table 2). These inventories ranged in date from 1741 to 1777, and included four known taverns from the urban locations of Wilmington and Dover, and two that are known to have been located in rural areas. The remaining two are both from Kent County. As such, the study is prosopographical in that the common background characteristics of a small group are analyzed by a collective study (Stone 1971). The goal is the analysis of small group dynamics. Only inventories of known innholders were utilized, and these were found by examining the probate records for both New Castle and Kent counties found at the Delaware State Archives, and by examining the published probate abstracts for both counties prior to 1800 (Delaware Society of the Colonial Dames of America [DSCDA] 1911; DeValinger 1944). Complete copies of these inventories are included in Appendix I. Prior to the analysis, sources on probate analysis such as Main (1974) were consulted to guide the analysis. Although archaeological and historical research was carried out on the eighteenth century component of the Riseing Son Tavern in nearby Stanton, Delaware (Thompson 1987), the inventory of the proprietor dated to the early nineteenth century, and thus could not be used in this study.

Based on the McCrady's Longroom investigations in Charleston, South Carolina, Zierden et al. (1982) have suggested that, because of fees and licensing, an eighteenth century tavernkeeper had to possess considerable capital in order to operate a tavern. A similar situation can be seen in the Delaware inventories. The average value of a tavernholder's inventory was over 341 pounds, a considerable sum of money. Figure 18 illustrates the relative values of the tavern inventories. It should be noted that the inventory of Jacob Hamm, of St. Georges Hundred, is not typical of the tavern inventories of the period, and serves to significantly skew the average value upwards. Hamm was more than a tavernkeeper; nearly 50% of his estate value was made up of slaves in 1766, and livestock and land accounted for an additional 10%. Only one other innholder's inventory, William Wells of Kent County, recorded slaves, and no other tavern inventory besides Hamm's showed large land holdings.

From an intraregional perspective, the Delaware tavern inventories reveal a remarkable consistency in the types and varieties of items present in these mid-eighteenth century taverns, and in the amount of capital invested in those items (Table 3, Figure 19). Within the inventories, beds and bedding generally accounted for an investment on the part of the operator of about 31 pounds, or 9% of the total inventory. Other furnishings, including desks, chairs, tables, benches, settles and couches, represented an average investment of about 17 pounds, or 5% of the total. Ceramics and pewter, archaeologically the best-represented material category, on average represented only 1% each of the total inventory, or an investment of about four pounds. Clothing, a visible status item, generally accounted for about 13 pounds of investment on the part of the innholder, or about 4% of the total estate. Livestock of all types, such as cows, horses, pigs and sheep, accounted for the largest percentage of the total inventory, 12%, or an average investment of over 40 pounds. All totalled, these six categories represent only 32% of the total estate; the balance of the tavernkeeper's wealth was made up of primarily agriculturally-related items, such as tools (saws, axes, dung forks, Dutch fans, plows, wagons, carts) and grains (bushels of oats, corns, wheat, rye), with considerably smaller amounts invested in sundry items, such as candlesticks, rugs, tubs, casks, and liquor.

FIGURE 18

Relative Ranking by Value of Inventory Sample

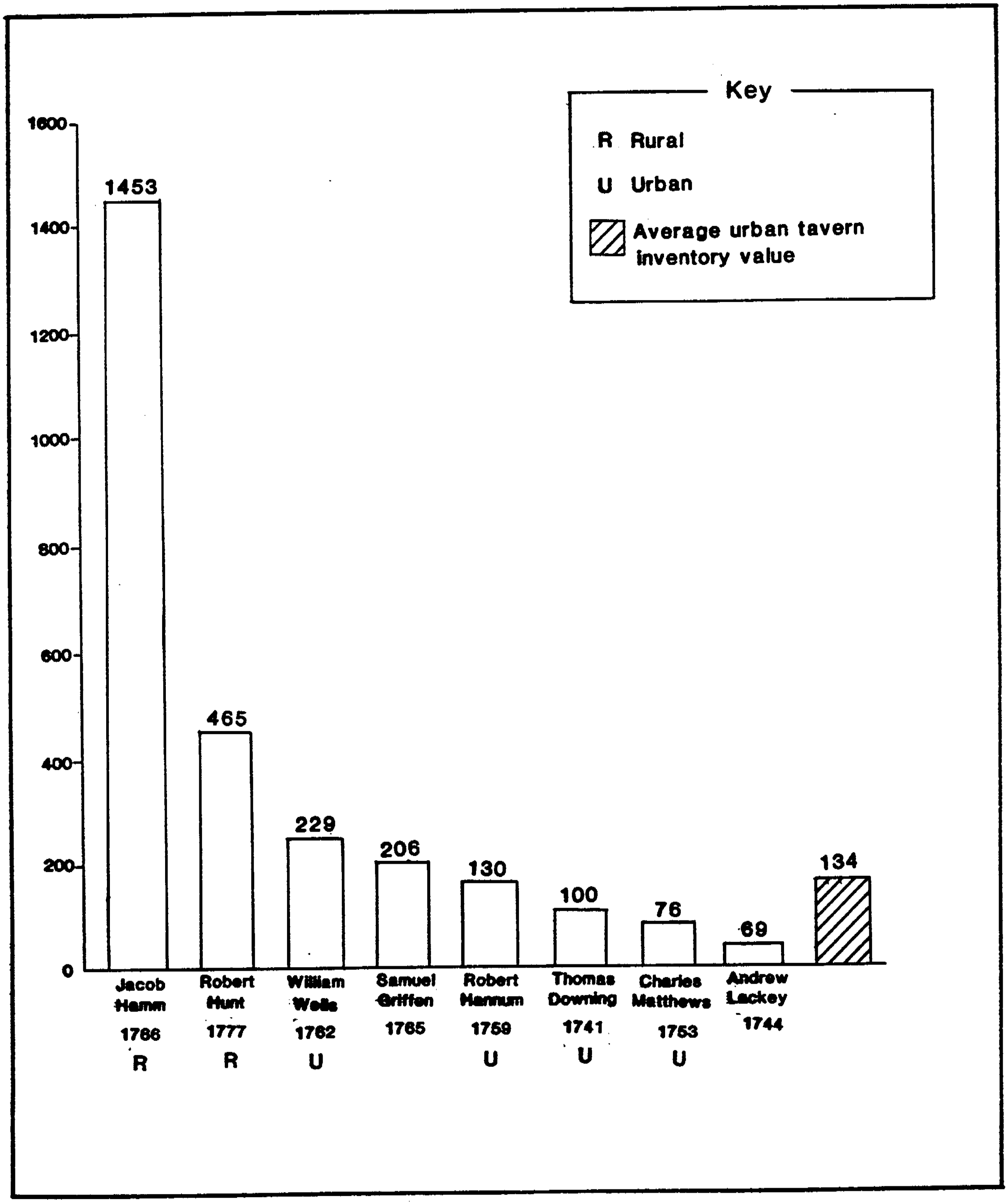


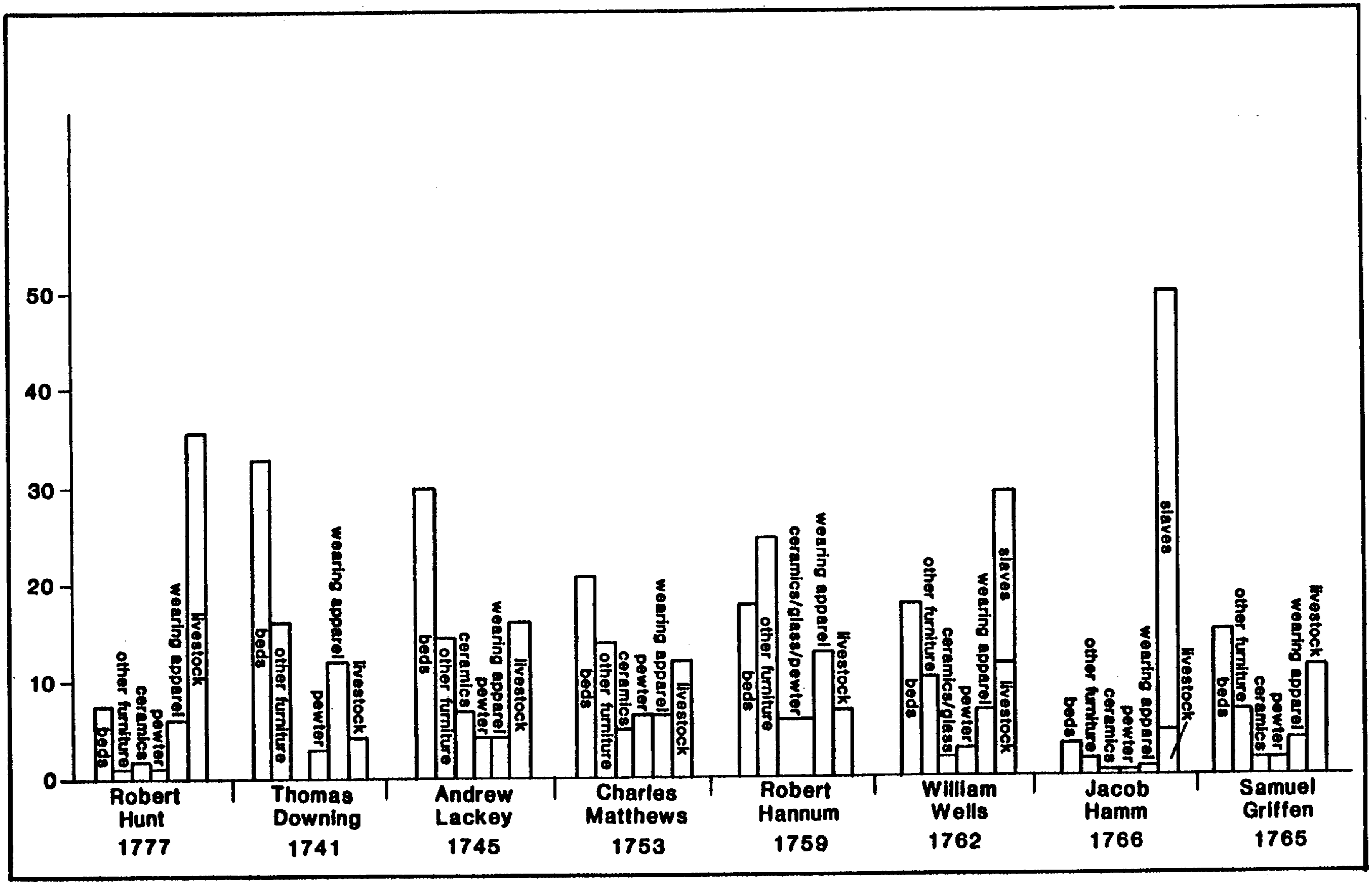
TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF SELECTED ITEMS WITHIN TAVERNKEEPERS' INVENTORY SAMPLES

Name-Date	Total Inventory Value	Value of Beds (%)	Value of Other Furniture	Value of Glassware and Ceramics	Value of Pewter	Value of Wearing Apparel	Value of Livestock
T. Downing, 1741	t 100	t 33 (33%)	t 16 (16%)	---------	t 3.1 (3%)	t 12.7 (12%)	t 4.1 (4%)
A. Lackey, 1744	t 69	t 21 (30.3%)	t 10 (14.5%)	t 4.8 (7.2%)	t 2.9 (4.3%)	t 3.1 (4.3%)	t 11.6 (16%)
C. Mathews, 1753	t 76	t 16.5 (21%)	t 11.5 (14%)	t 3.6 (5.2%)	t 5 (6.5%)	t 5.1 (6.5%)	t 9.7 (11.8%)
R. Hannum, 1759	t 130	t 23.3 (17.7%)	t 33.3 (25.3%)	------ t 8 (6.1%)	------	t 17.1 (13%)	t 9 (6.9%)
W. Wells, 1762	t 229	t 39 (17%)	t 23.7 (10.5%)	t 4.5 (1.7%)	t 7 (3.0%)	t 16 (7.0%)	t 2.8 (12.2%)
J. Hamm, 1766	t 1453	t 51 (3.5%)	t 25 (1.7%)	t 4.5 (.3%)	t 4 (.3%)	t 10 (.6%)	t 67 (4.6%)
S. Griffen, 1769	t 206	t 32 (15.5%)	t 15 (7.3%)	t 4 (1.9%)	t 4 (1.9%)	t 9 (4.3%)	t 24 (11.6%)
R. Hunt, 1777	t 465	t 35 (7.5%)	t 5 (1.1%)	t 7 (1.5%)	t 4 (.8%)	t 28 (6.0%)	t 172 (37%)
Average	t 341	t 31 (9.0%)	t 17 (5%)	t 4 (1%)	t 4 (1%)	t 13 (4%)	t 41 (12%)

FIGURE 19

Percentages of Selected Items from Delaware Tavern Inventories 1741–1777



The types of ceramics, glass, pewter, wooden objects, and cutlery present in the Delaware tavern inventories is of interest for the present study. These are the types of artifacts that may be recovered from archaeological excavations. Table 4 shows these types over time at the eight taverns. The ceramic types most prevalent at all of the taverns were china, probably export porcelain, delftwares (or "Dulph"), stonewares, and earthenwares. Considering the time period under examination, the delftware is undoubtedly tin glazed earthenware. The fact that the assessors made a distinction between stonewares and earthenwares suggests that the former probably represents white salt-glazed stonewares, and the latter is locally produced redwares. Other distinctive ceramic types mentioned included "6 Leverpool China plates and Dishes", recorded in the 1769 inventory of Samuel Griffin, and the one dozen "blue and white China Tea Cups and 11 Saucers", "Enameled Sugar Dish and Saucer", and "1/2 paint [pint] Enameled Bowl", all listed in the estate of William Wells in 1762. In a number of cases earthenware plates and dishes were recorded along with delftware and stoneware, indicating that local redwares were being used for food serving and consumption, and not just as preparation and storage vessels. Among the ceramics, teawares and large serving or punch bowls were prevalent. The tea cups and saucers were consistently made of china (or porcelain), and the punch bowls ranged from half-pint to two gallon delft bowls. As part of the tea ceremony, silver teaspoons, generally in sets of six, and a pair of tongs, were present in all of the inventories along with one or two pair of sugar tongs used for cubed or lump sugar. Coffee pots and tea pots, along with sugar and cream pots, were consistently recorded in the tavern inventories, although often their material type (ceramic or pewter) was not specified.

Glasswares and bottles were not as prevalent in the inventories, with glasses and tumblers the least common, ranging from three drinking glasses in the 1745 inventory of Andrew Lackey to nine tumblers and 10 wine glasses in the estate of Robert Hunt. Interestingly, "8 wooden noggins" were recorded in Andrew Lackey's inventory, illustrating that noggins, which are wooden drinking cups (Milward 1977), were apparently more common at his establishment than glasses. The bottles that were recorded were generally case bottles, and a case seems to have included seven half-gallon bottles. Decanters were recorded in three of the eight inventories.

Pewter in varying amounts was present in all of the inventories. Vessel types included plates and dishes, basins, and a range of drinking vessels such as 1/2 pint and one pint pots or tankards, 1/2 gallon pots, and quart pots. Where the number was specified, pewter plates and dishes were present in larger quantities than ceramic plates and dishes. The least common types of material found in the inventories were items made of wood. With the exception of the noggins mentioned above, cedarware and "wooden bowls and trenchers" were mentioned only

TABLE 4

INVENTORY ITEMS OF POSSIBLE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Date	Ceramics	Glass	Pewter	Wood	Other/Not Specified	Cutlery
1741	sundry delft 3 earthen plates earthen dish 3 earthen potts	-------	7 plates old pewter	8 noggins 4 ladles 5 transfers (trenchers)	1 old tea pot 1 copper tea pot 2 salts mustard & pepper potts	1/2 dozen silver spoons knives & forks 1 pair silver tongs
1745	2 tea pots 5 tea cups & sassors 1 suggar pot & earthen plate 3 earthen jugs 2 earthen pots	1 glass salt 3 drinking glasses 3 glass bottles	20 old pewter plates 16 plates 3 old dishes 2 porangers & 1 plate 3 large dishes 5 quarts 3 funnils 1 poranger 1 basin	-------	2 salts 1 mustard pot 1 tin funnel 1 tin colender 1 punch ladel 1 tin sugar box 1 pepper box	6 old knives & forks 6 silver tea spoons & a pair of tongs 6 knives & forks buck hafts 10 spoons a pair of spoon molds
1753	a parcel of china & other ware 10 dulf bowls earthenware 6 earthen plates	glassware	5 dishes 31 plates	-------	tinware	6 tea spoons & tongs 2 large silver spoons 1 silver spoon some old knives & forks
1759	china delph stoneware earthenware	glass bottles	pewter	-------	tea & coffee pot	knives & forks five tea spoons

TABLE 4 (cont.)

Date	Ceramics	Glass	Pewter	Wood	Other/Not Specified	Cutlery
1762	12 blue & white china tea cups & 11 saucers 1 enameled sugar dish & saucer 1 china 1/2 gallon bowl 1 1/2 pint enameled bowl 6 quart delft bowls 2 gallon delft bowl 2 stone jugs some earthen-ware	2 gelly glasses & cream pott 1 dozen wine glasses glass tumbler 4 old decanters 2 cases of 14 half gallon bottles	39 old pewter plates 1 dozen plates 9 dishes parcel of old pewter 1 pewter quart 2 tea pots 1 1/2 gallon pot 1 pint pot	------	2 pickel pots & jug sugar pot cream pot coffey pot some other tin & pewter	6 silver tea spoons & tongs 1 dozen old pewter spoons 10 table knives & 13 forks
1766	parcel of delftware a china bowl 1 dozen stone plates parcel of tea-ware	parcel of empty bottles case of bottles parcel of glassware	parcel of plates dishes 4 basins 3 tankards	parcel of cedar ware bowls & trenchers	2 coffee pots parcel of tin-ware	14 pewter spoons knives & forks silver tea bil & tea spoons

TABLE 4 (cont.)

Date	Ceramics	Glass	Pewter	Wood	Other/Not Specified	Cutlery
1769	5 china cups & saucers some other china some stone & delph ware 6 Liverpool china plates & dishes 1 china 2 quart bowl 4 delft bowls & a nib a parcel of earthenware a parcel of earthenware in the kitchen	4 old decanters some glass-ware a case with 7 bottles	27 1/2 lbs. of pewter but little worn 3 lbs. of pewter half worn 7 lbs. old pewter 1 quart pint a pint & a half pint	a parcel of woodenware	a parcel of old copper ware some tin ware	11 old table knives & 15 forks 6 silver tea spoons 6 silver table spoons
1777	6 delft plates and 1 dish 5 china cups & saucers parcel of old delft ware some earthen-ware 1 stone jug	9 tumblers 7 decanters 10 wine glasses 11 bottles 7 bottles 1 case with 13 bottles	1 1/2 doz plates 5 dishes 1 half gallon	------	1 jack & two pints some tin ware	6 silver tea spoons

three times in the inventories. Tin and copper wares were frequent in the inventories, but often vessel forms and functions were not specified. Historically, it is known that tinwares came in the same varieties as pewter - plates, dishes, and cups.

Cutlery, invariably including both knives and forks, was recorded in all but one of the inventories. In one instance, the utensils were described as "6 knives and forks buck hafts", suggesting that they had bone handles. Often, in addition to the silver teaspoons already mentioned, tablespoons or "large spoons" were included in the tavern inventories. These spoons were usually made of a less valuable metal such as pewter.

Other items that were common to all of the inventories and perhaps unique to taverns or places of business included sets of steelyards, and money scales, both used for measuring or balancing. Hogsheads, or wooden casks, both empty and containing spirits, were also common among the taverns.

In her research into Massachusetts taverns, Bragdon (1981) has suggested that there are ten categories of material culture that are important in the operation of an eighteenth century tavern. These items are the number of beds, tables, chairs, desks, candlesticks, bottles (all types), glasses and tumblers, all types of ceramics, the number of pots, pans and kettles, and the amount of liquor on hand. Table 5 presents a compilation of these items for the eight Delaware tavern inventories studied. Also included on the table are four additional categories: the number of pewter vessels, and the number of sheets, pillowcases, and tablecloths. Investigation into the historic literature concerning eighteenth century taverns (Rice 1983) and the Delaware taverns inventories suggests that by their presence or absence and quantity, these four items may reflect the relative status, or quality, between taverns. Among the Delaware taverns examined, tablecloths were the most common item (7 inventories), followed by sheets (6 inventories), then pillowcases (4 inventories). Those estates that had all three items were valued at 100 pounds or above. Pewter was present in all of the inventories examined in varying amounts, supporting the research of Ann Smart (1984) that pewter was more common at domestic sites than ceramics. This suggestion is also supported by a comparison of the mean number of ceramics per tavern (15.5 items) with the mean number of pewter vessels per tavern (21.4).

These results indicate that the tableware segment of the ceramic assemblage would be underrepresented, with extensive replacement of pewter vessels. This would probably be more prevalent in plates and cup/mug vessel forms which were the main forms manufactured in pewter. Analyses of ceramic assemblages frequently concentrate on major vessel forms such as cups, plates, and saucers which, based on the above results of Smart (1984), would be underrepresented in the archaeological assemblage. Any inferences based on the socio-economic or cultural archaeological assemblage, especially for tavern assemblages, would be inaccurate and incomplete.

TABLE 5

COMPARISONS AMONG DELAWARE TAVERNKEEPERS, 1741-1777

Variables	Thomas Downing 1741	Andrew Leckey 1744	Charles Matthews 1753	Robert Hannum 1759	William Wells 1762	Jacob Hamm 1766	Samuel Griffith 1769	Robert Hunt 1777	Mean
Beds	9	8	5	6	9	8	8	6	59(7.4)
Tables	8	4	6	8	6	6	9	1	48(6.0)
Chairs	14	32	14	30	16	25	30	17	178(22.2)
Desks	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	6(.8)
Candlesticks	10	5	4	NA	8	NA	0	5	32(4.0)
Bottles	0	4b	0	NA	18b	40+	11b	38b	111(15.85)
Glasses/ Tumblers	0	3	NA	NA	13	NA	NA	20a	36(5.14)
Ceramics	9	30	16+	NA	40+	NA	21+	14+	104(15.5)
Pots/Pans	13	4	5	5+	13	15	12	12	79(9.9)
Gallons Liquor	0	14	15	4+	142	472+	25-1/2	0	672.5(84)
Pewter	7	36	36	NA	67	NA	NA	25	171(21.4)
Sheets	7	1	0	3	8	0	2	8	29(4.14)
Pillow/ Pillowcase	8	0	0	3	6	0	0	7	24(3.42)
Tablecloths	3	2	NA	0	4	NA	2	4	15(2.14)

NA= actual number of items not available, but present in inventory
a = includes "1 Jack + 2 pints"
b = includes "Decanters"

Beds and bedding were similar for all eight of the taverns, ranging from nine beds in Thomas Downing's tavern in Wilmington and William Well's establishment, to five beds at Charles Mathews' Dover tavern; a mean number of beds per tavern was 7.4. Delaware taverns averaged six tables per tavern, and an astonishing 22 chairs. Desks were a low frequency item, but like the textiles mentioned above, may be reflective of the tavern operator's status.

Candlesticks, bottles, glasses and tumblers, and pots, pans and kettles, all types of items which could be deposited in some form in the archaeological record, accounted for a relatively low number of items at each of the taverns. Bottles were the most common (mean of 15.9), followed by kitchen related items (9.9), glasswares (5.1), and candlesticks (4.0). The liquor category was remarkable in that not all of the taverns had spirits "on tap", or on the premises. Those that had liquor showed a wide range in the quantity, from a high of over 472 gallons at Jacob Hamm's tavern, to a low 14 gallons at Andrew Lackey's in Kent County. Variety in quality was also shown: Hamm's establishment included cider "of the more ornery kind". Two of the taverns had no spirits at all, Downing's in Wilmington, and Robert Hunt's in Appoquinimink. The mean number of gallons of liquor on hand at the Delaware taverns studied was 84 gallons.

TABLE 6

COMPARISON AMONG INVENTORIES OF DELAWARE TAVERNKEEPERS WITH THOSE FROM PLYMOUTH, MARTHA'S VINYARD, AND KINGSTON*

Variables	Delaware		Kingston	Domestic	Plymouth Area		Martha's Vineyard	
	#	Mean	#	Mean	#	Mean	#	Mean
Beds	59	7.4	132	3.3	11	2.8	25	1.5
Tables	48	6.0	51	1.1	6	1.5	49	2.7
Chairs	178	22.2	226	5.5	42	10.5	213	16.5
Desks	6	.8	2	.04	0	0	8	.4
Candlesticks	32	4.0	21	.5	12	3	7	.35
Bottles	111	15.8	104	2.6	22	5.5	3000	150.0
Glasses	36	5.1	20	.5	13	3.2	21	1.0
Earthenware	124	15.5	35	.83	52	13	20	1.4
Pots	79	9.9	174	4.3	26	6.5	20	1.4
Gallons of liquor	672-1/2	84.0	8	.02	0	0	969	43.0

*New England data derived from Bragdon (1981). Delaware data derived from examination of tavern keepers' probate records for New Castle and Kent Counties from 1741-1777.

An interregional comparison of the Delaware taverns with similar data compiled by Bragdon (1981) for Massachusetts' taverns is shown in Table 6. The same variables discussed above for Delaware taverns are compared to taverns from Plymouth, MA, Martha's Vineyard, MA, and Kingston, MA. In nearly all categories, the Delaware means are higher, and suggest at first glance that Delaware taverns were rather sumptuously appointed when compared to their Massachusetts counterparts. In part, regional variations may explain these differences. For example, New England taverns contained fewer chairs, but are known historically to have had more benches (Rice 1983), a fact not shown in Table 6. Additionally, the comparison of the two data sets may be misleading. Bragdon examined a larger number of tavern inventories than were investigated for Delaware, and the date range of the Massachusetts inventories is from 1690 to 1750, a considerably longer time span than that considered for the Delaware material.

Eighteenth Century Tavern Records Research

Five manuscript tavernkeepers' accounts and/or day books were examined to obtain background data concerning the management and function of eighteenth century taverns in Delaware. These were the daybooks of Daniel Robison of Kent County (1742-1747), and of William Davis (1742-1746) and Leonard Vandergrift (1780-1787), both of New Castle County, and the account books of Henry Hoover (1769-1771) and Thomas Macomb (1778-1782), also of New Castle County. The manuscript of the Vandergrift Daybook is part of the collection of the Hagley Museum and Library (see Riggs 1978), and the other four tavern accounts are part of the Private Accounts Collection at the Delaware State Archives (see Hancock and Mattern 1981).

Vandergrift's tavern, although not named, is known to have been in the village of St. Georges, in St. Georges Hundred, but the locations and identities of the other taverns is uncertain. Based on the names of the tavern's clientele and the types of services being conducted at the tavern, it is likely that Thomas Macomb's book deals with a tavern in Christiana Bridge, and Henry Hoover's tavern also appears to have been located in the Newark-Ogletown-Christiana vicinity; it is possible that it may even be the tavern in Ogletown. Both the Davis and Robison books are for taverns in unknown locations somewhere in New Castle or Kent counties; however, based on the customers of Davis' tavern, it does not seem to have been in Christiana or Wilmington.

All of the tavern accounts investigated suggest that no matter where they were located, they operated in a consistent fashion. Liquors of various types were served at all five of the taverns, and rum, cider, and beer were consistently the most common. Sweet drams, cherry drams, mint water, and egg drams were less frequent. By far the least common drink in any of the taverns was wine; only Hoover's and Macomb's taverns appear from their account books to have stocked any wine at all. This fact is supported by the tavern inventories examined for a similar time period, where wine was listed only occasionally as part of the tavernholder's stock.

Besides beer, cider, rum, and wine, punches and mixed drinks of a wide variety of types were served. Punch is defined as a drink composed of water sweetened with sugar, with a mixture of lemon juice and spirit (Webster's Original 1828 Edition, s.v. "punch"). At the taverns investigated, punches came in all sizes and mixtures, including rum punch (a standard), egg punch, milk punch, lime punch, and muld punch (a sweetened and spiced hot drink made with ale, wine, or other alcoholic beverages). The account books suggest that toddies, which are a mixture of spirit and water sweetened, and grog, which is different from toddy in that it contains less liquor and no sweetener (Webster's Original 1828 Edition, s.v. "grog"), were not common drinks served in Delaware taverns until the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Toddies and grog are popular in the Macomb and Vandergrift books, but are not present at all in the earlier tavern records. Other mixed drinks included sylibubs, or as William Davis recorded in his account book, "2 bowls of Silly Boob", mims, and metheglin, a liquor made of honey and water boiled and fermented, and often enriched with spices (Webster's Original 1828 Edition, s.v. "sylibubs"). All drink types, regardless of their content or mixture, came in a wide selection of sizes ranging from drams, gills, and nips (or "Nibs"), to pints, quarts, and gallons.

Meals, ranging from breakfast to supper, were also served at all five taverns examined. Few entries in the account or day books indicated what the meal consisted of, but the tavernkeeper inventories suggest that beef, lamb, and pork were common menu items. Shellfish in smaller quantities were also served, as the entry in Henry Hoover's book charging Joseph Ogle's account in 1769 for "2 Mugs Sider" and "1/2 Bushel Oysters" indicates. Besides patrons, the tavernkeeper also served meals to slaves and servants, as suggested by the entry in William Davis' book for "Negro Dinner".

Clubs of different types were also popular in the taverns: Robison's account book in Kent County contains numerous and frequent entries charging patrons "for clubs", and Henry Hoover charged James Kincade, a watch maker, on April 8, 1769 for "club in the back room", and later in July of 1770 for "Diner and Club". These were apparently social gatherings or small dinner parties. Judging by the frequency in which they are recorded in all of the tavern records, it is apparent that the tavern functioned as a major social spot for the dissemination and gathering of information.

Lodging for both man and beast was offered at all of the taverns studied. This ranged from overnight accommodations, like "supper & lodging" and "lodging and breakfast", recorded in Leonard Vandergrift's daybook, to longer periods of board, such as William Davis' billing of Aran Ellan for " villing + lodging for 4 months and two weeks". Horses were often stabled overnight, or for longer periods, and the tavern records show numerous entries referring to feeding livestock, such as "3

Quarts of Oats", "to 4 qts for Morgans horse", "horse pasturage for 3 nights", and "to dinner and Oats".

It is apparent from the record books that tavernkeepers ran more than simply inns or restaurants. Tavernkeepers were often important members of their communities and had special talents or "sideline" occupations; in many ways, they functioned as 'jacks-of-all-trades'. For example, Daniel Robison may have been schooled in medicine, since he charged William Shirley in 1745 for "Dressing of your shinns". That Robison could write and that this ability was recognized within the community is shown clearly by his account book, but more importantly, by the entry also charged to William Shirley in 1745 "to the Wrighting of a deed". The 1769 inventory of Samuel Griffen of Kent County indicates that he, too, had medical abilities, attested to by the presence of "some Old lancets with a Case", and "10 Different implements to Draw teeth". In New Castle County, Henry Hoover operated a blacksmith shop in addition to his tavern, as seen in the account of Thomas Ogle:

1768 To an acct Brought from Smith book
July 26 To 2 New Shoes Sept 7 to 2 Rings + 2 Removes
Dec 27 To Ring 2 Removes + frzt Nails
1769 to 2 New Shoes to 2 removes
Jan 1 to welding a strock for a chair + new nails

Tavernkeeper Thomas Macomb filled civil court positions in his neighborhood beyond those of an innkeeper. His day book includes an index to New Castle County wills for the decade of the 1790s, and in 1784 he charged James Ogles' account for "a summons of serving", suggesting probably a Justice of the Peace position for Macomb. Both Robison and Macomb also appear to have operated dry goods stores from their taverns, a fairly common eighteenth century practice. Robison records the purchases of various customers at his tavern, including bushels of salt, bushels of corn, molasses, "sundries brought for your wife", loaf sugar, and "to one pair of shews [for] your son". In New Castle County, Macomb charged James Read's account in 1783 "to making coat & Breaches for Self", and "71 lb Beef" and calf skins, lamb, and various other hides were added to John Lewden's account in the early 1780s. Other innkeepers may have operated small freighting businesses, such as St. Georges' Leonard Vandergrift, who charged Thomas Wirt for "howling 14 lbs of flour", and for "howling 2 Hghds [Hogsheads] to Xteen". From the records, it appears that no matter how successful the tavern business was, innholders were local businessmen and entrepreneurs, diversified into a variety of other professions besides tavernkeeping.

For all of the services that they provided, tavernkeepers were rarely paid in cash; more often "in kind" payment was received from patrons. The tavern records in all of the account books reveal a multitude of payment methods, which ranged from actual work performed at the tavern location, to payment in livestock or grain, or payment in goods, such as shoes or tallow for candles. Daniel Robison in Kent County accepted a wide variety of "in kind" payment, including "by Maryland Money", "4 days moing [mowing]", "By one mutton", by "26 days work of the Negro woman", "by one sow + six shoates", and "by six bushels of flax seed". In 1745, Elias Everson, apparently a local carpenter, paid Robison by "getting + barking logs for a stable", "giting the Ruf & covering the same of a house", and "By studing + lathing the same house". Henry Hoover was paid by James McCullough almost exclusively in limes, and payments ranged from shipments of 100 to 400 limes to a delivery of 1500 limes. The fruit was important in tavern life in many of the drinks served, as it often sweetened the beverage, or masked the sour or spoiled quality of the liquor. Beer and cider were frequent "in kind" payments for many of the patrons, such as Thomas Ogle who paid his account to Hoover by "one Hgds of Syder", and later "By 6 Mugs of Syder". Often accounts were years in arrears and only occasionally were paid in full. John Lewden finally paid off his debt to Thomas Macomb, which began to accumulate in 1782, nearly ten years later, but when he paid, it was in cash and above the amount he owed to the tavernkeeper.

From the tavern accounts and daybooks, how eighteenth century taverns functioned in both urban and rural locations in Delaware can be discerned. Taverns were utilized in a full and varied range of activities, ranging from social meeting places to medical aid stations, from transshipment depots to blacksmith shops and lodgings. In these capacities, they served as nodal points within the region, operating to bring the community together for important events and occasions. Though its name and operator are not known with certainty, the Ogletown Tavern most assuredly functioned along similar lines and in a similar capacity to those whose records have survived and were investigated.

Additional aids to the interpretation of the archaeological assemblage of the mid-eighteenth century Ogletown Tavern are travelers' accounts and court documents which provide information not only on the types of food and drink that might have been consumed in the Ogletown Tavern, but on a wide variety of other activities. As could be expected, the type or kind of drink or food offered by an individual tavern was a factor of its location, the availability of supplies, and the economic status and aspirations of its tavernkeeper (Rice 1983). A price list, established by court order, gives an indication of the range of alcoholic beverages available in mid-eighteenth century Delaware. As can be noted, several of these drinks, for example mims, were not served in the taverns sampled though they are included on the price list; their absence could be attributed to the high cost of the beverage (Table 7). Other alcohol, such as wine, Claret, and Port, were by far the most expensive alcohol due to limited availability, giving good reason for their absence in the account books. While Claret and Port were not widely available outside of cities, it is probable that the Ogletown Tavern, with the busy port of Christiana Bridge nearby, could have provided wine to its

TABLE 7

PUBLIC HOUSE PRICES, 1769

It is ordered by the Court that the Public House keepers within this County shall receive for the following Liquors etc. the prices hereafter mentioned and no more. viz.

For Madeira Wine at t60 per pipe. per Quart	5/.
and so in proportion	
Lisbon wine at t8 - per Quarter Cash. per Quart	3/.
And so in proportion for all other inferior priced wines Mulled wine with loaf sugar to be added to yea above rates per...	2,8
Sangree made with a pint of Madeira wine and loaf sugar. per Quart additional	4
Punch made of good Jamaica Spirit Lemons Limes or Orranges per Quart.....................	1,4
For Punch made of Common Rum and fresh fruit per Quart....	1,2
Mim made with Loaf Sugar. per Quart	,10
Mim made with lump Sugar. per Quart	,9
Mim made with Muscovads Sugar. per Quart	,8
Grogg. per Quart	,7
West India Rum. per Gill	,3
New England Rum. per gill	,2
Philadelphia Rum. per gill	,2
Beer at 30/.per Barrell. per Quart	,6
Beer at 18/. per Barrell. per Quart	,4
Cyder. per Quart	,4
Cordials. per gill	,4
Sling made with one gill of Rum and loaf Sugar	,4
Sling made with Geneva and loaf sugar	,6
Egg Punch. per Quart	1,0
Milk punch. per Quart	,10
Mull'd Cyder. per Quart	,8
Breakfast of Green Tea with loaf Sugar	1,3
Breakfast of Bohea Tea, Coffee or Chocolate	,10
Breakfast, Dinner or Supper of Cold Victuals	,10
-------------------------- with Two hot Dishes	1,0
-------------------------- and for more	1,4
A pint of Small Beer to be allowed Gratis at each meal	---
A nights' accomodation with a feather Bed	,4
Oats. per Quart	,1 1/2
Indian Corn. per Quart	,1 1/2
Hay of Clover, Timothy or Blue Grass. per Night	1,0
Hay of any other kind. per Night	,6

more affluent customers. Rum's position as the most popular distilled liquor of the mid-eighteenth century is also evident from tavern records and Table 7. In addition to a variety of qualities of straight rum, numerous mixed drinks were available. Punches, served warm, toddy (rum mixed with sugar and water), and slings were popular upper and middle class beverages in the eighteenth century. The Delaware data also reflects this situation. The working class consumed the majority of the locally produced beer and cyder although exceptional products were consumed by all classes. It seems that the Ogletown Tavern possessed at least tolerable cyder according to William Black's 1744 account. While apparently not popular in Delaware, flip (strong beer with rum and sugar or molasses) was consumed in standardized 'flip glasses'.

The Delaware Price List also indicated that food and animal boarding rates were fixed at a licensed tavern. It is very probable that the Ogletown Tavern minimally supplied that described by Samuel Vaughan in 1787:

> Ham, bacon, and fowl pigeon of one sort or another always to be had upon the road and often fresh meat or fish, dried Venison, Indian or Wheaten bread, butter, eggs, milk, often chees, drinks Rum, Brandy, or Whiskey resembling Gin (Rice 1983:85)..LM1

William Black's account mentions that bread and cheese were available. Because of a proximity to then plentiful fish supplies, the Ogletown Tavern, like those of Philadelphia, most likely featured seafood dishes, usually dried fish, but occasionally baked fresh (Rivinus 1965). As noted, at least one Delaware tavern served shellfish. Because of cooking facilities limited to an open hearth, boiling and broiling were probably the only preparation methods. Specifically, breakfast might consist of some combination of ham or salt fish, fried bacon and eggs, broiled mutton and coffee or tea, and toasted or untoasted bread with butter. Dinner ordinarily contained boiled or broiled chicken, fish, or meat, various boiled vegetables, and assorted pastries and desserts.

Eighteenth Century Tavern Location Patterns

The preceding discussion and several recent reports have emphasized the important role of taverns in eighteenth century life in Delaware (Catts et al. 1986; Thompson 1987). Research at the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research has identified the importance of the tavern in community formation and development (Coleman et al. 1987). Historians and geographers in nearby areas, specifically James Lemon (1972), have identified taverns along with mills, ferries, and crossroads as an integral part of the formation of hamlets, or unplanned communities. Ogletown, one of those unplanned hamlets, was founded by Thomas Ogle, and it appears that he acted also as a landlord, leasing and renting small properties in order to establish a commercial base for his community. The operation of a tavern would have been important to the success of this community and it is probable that Ogle started one shortly after his purchase of the property in 1739.

The eighteenth century tavern served two groups, a local population and travelers. In the late seventeenth century, taverns were considered of such importance that state legislation was often enacted to provide for the establishment of taverns in towns or other commercially significant locations. Legislation was also enacted by colonial legislators to circumscribe economic, social, and moral aspects of tavern life, and to direct the business practices of tavern keepers, their behavior, and that of their clientele (Rice 1983). This type of legislation was usually confined to the New England states. In New Netherland, the Mid-Atlantic, and Maryland, on the other hand, laws were passed which encouraged tavern keeping for the entertainment "of all persons as well strangers as others" (Rice 1983:27) and for economic and not social concerns.

In Delaware, the Laws of the State of Delaware partially circumscribes the location of taverns (Appendix II). The licensing procedure was structured so that petitioners for licensing were made to appear before the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and verify that he or she was well-qualified for inn-keeping and had suitable necessaries. The most important requirement noted was that the "place or habitation of such petitioner is situate in a proper and convenient place and stage for the entertainment of travelers." While the laws seem to indicate an early preference for taverns based on economic need, as in Maryland, later eighteenth century tavern petitions frequently noted the suitability of a location as a meeting place for the local community. It seems that Delaware, unlike neighboring Maryland, encouraged tavern keeping for social reasons. The close pattern of proximity of taverns (approximately three miles apart) noted by Catts et al. (1986) along Limestone Road supports this notion of taverns as community/social centers. In contrast, Michael (1973-74), in his study of tavern proximity along the National Road in Pennsylvania, found 10 miles to be an average separation distance. A length of 10 miles was considered to be the approximate distance of trail for a team of horses pulling a stage or freight before need of rest. The longer distance separations were thus indicative of a reliance on economic instead of social activity.

Eighteenth Century Tavern Architecture

Interpretations of eighteenth century tavern architecture are supported by extant examples of tavern structures in addition to the historical documents. The following discussion employs Orphan's Court records, newspaper advertisements, and secondary sources to construct what was a 'typical' tavern. This data is synthesized in the conclusions to interpret how the Ogletown Tavern architecture and floorplan might have been executed.

In Early Taverns of Bucks County (Rivinus 1965), the standard inn architecturally consisted of a two storey building with an overhanging front porch. Two doors were present on the front facade, one allowing access into the tavern (tavern room, dining room), the other allowing access into the living quarters and parlor. Associated with the kitchen was the taproom, usually located in a corner with limited access to the room provided by a boarded or grillwork partition. The long bar, associated with contemporary bars, was not popular until the nineteenth century with the switch to bottled whiskey and gin.

While the occupation dates of the Peter Colley Tavern, produced an artifact assemblage inappropriate for detailed artifact comparison, architecturally relevant data from its construction ca. 1786 was obtained (Michael and Carlisle 1973, 1976). Archaeological excavation and architectural analysis determined that the cellar was divided into two rooms, one a kitchen with a walk-in fireplace, and the other a dining and food storage room. Access to these rooms was obtained through a bulkhead entrance. There was no interior stairway between the basement and first floor during the early occupation, a fact the author attributes to the innkeeper's desire to keep the family and tavern separate. The Peter Colley Tavern, as well as the Searight Tavern also studied by Michael (1971), were architecturally indistinguishable from other stone houses in the surrounding region. The presence of a bar in the tavern interior, a large watering trough, and the presence of several tavern related outbuildings were identified as the only features that would have distinguished a tavern from a farm dwelling.

The lack of architectural identity for the tavern structure is also apparent in Delaware. In most instances wherever a property is advertised or noted, it is listed as either fit for a tavern <u>or</u> store. The descriptions provided below on taverns found in Orphan's Court records do provide rare specific descriptions of tavern properties.

John Murphy, Orphans Court (Oct. 1, 1792)   G-379

> one dwelling House occupied for a Tavern with a kitchen under the same ruff, one room of sid house wants plastering the rest of the house in reasonable repair their is one new porch at the Front of the said House there is on said Premises one new Log Meet house also one new said Log Corn Crib one brick one wants some repair one log barn with stables at one end in reasonable repair one new stable one shed for Horses to stand under with Clabboard ruff some what wore one garden pailed is, in midling repair, and a few scatterind apple trees we allow the cleared land to be worked one third yearly or as near as the situation of the place will admit of in summer and winter grain the annual value whereof we estimate at forty pounds current money of the State of Delaware...

Alexander McMurphy, Orphan's Court (Nov. 29, 1794)

> .... Also a Plantation and Tavern on the State Road leading from New Castle to Dover on the North side of Black Bird Creek situate & being in Appoquinimink Hundred & Canty assed belonging to the Heirs of the Estate of the said Alexander McMurphy dec'd the sd Tavern being a Frame House with two Rooms below & two Rooms & a passage above Stairs with a Cellar under the whole and a shed adjoining with one Room & a Kitchen the small Room in front must be lathed and plaistered & the dormant windows above must like wise be repaired also a new Stavel & sawed log corn House an old Log Barn with a stavle adjoining a log Meat House & Brick Oven a new Horse shed must be built[.] The sd Tavern Plantation supposed to contain about two hundred acres sixty acres of which is arable land to be tilled in three fields one of which to be tilled in spring or summer grain the same to be tilled in Winter grain each year[.] The land which is woods within the Fences may be cleared taking great care of the Wood & Timber on the land without the fences... The annual value of which including the right of Dower of the Widow of Robert McMurphy the elder dec'd we do estimate at Forty Pounds current money....

These two records indicate the presence at taverns of meat houses, horse sheds, stables and corn cribs, all of which, except for horse sheds, are found in all eighteenth century descriptions. The McMurphy frame house description also parallels most eighteenth century residential structure descriptions except for the presence of a cellar under the whole house. The McMurphy two room floorplan with shed addition and cellar is similar to that interpreted from the archaeological excavations at the Ogletown Tavern. The architectural similarity of taverns and residential structures becomes less so when taverns of higher economic rank are examined. When the description of the New Red Lion is compared to the two previous descriptions, tavern specific traits are apparent.

Pa Gazette Feb. 17, 1757 Vol. 11, p.467

> To be lett or sold, On Thursday, the 17th of March next, A valuable plantation, or tract of land, ... It is also well suited for either tavern or store, known by the name of The New Red Lion. There is on it a very good dwelling house, with four rooms in the front, five fireplaces, two cellars underneath, a kitchen, smokehouse, smith's shop, and a very good barn; also a stable 30 feet long, hay house, and other out-houses; a very good draw well near the house, and two large orchards..
>
> O badiah Elliot

The number of fireplaces, cellars, room configuration (i.e. four rooms on the front) and the presence of a smith's shop would have architecturally distinguished these structures from other non-tavern structures. An exception to this probably would have been high status residential structures that probably would have included the characteristics noted above. As will be discussed later, tavernkeeper inventories, while usually dissimilar from lower and middle class, could be mistaken for those of upper class inventories.

The investigation of extant tavern structures also provides an invaluable interpretative tool. Lunn's Tavern in Chester County, Pennsylvania, constructed circa 1750, is a typical representative of a small, stone country tavern which also functioned as the commercial and political center of London Britain Township (Plate 8). This 30' X 18 1/2', two and one-half storey structure is composed of an undivided basement floor with a single doorway (3 1/2' wide). Adjacent to a 9' (long) X 4' (wide) hearth base is a spiral staircase leading to the attic level. Entrance to the two first floor rooms was gained through separate entrance doors, one for the kitchen room, and the other for the dining/socializing room. The dining/socializing room entrance door contained a paneled door while the kitchen door contained an undecorated, solid door. The kitchen room also possessed a rear door providing access to a former activity area. The dining/socializing room contained a small hearth and fireplace apparently used only for heating. Originally, access to the 2nd floor could have been obtained from either the corner spiral staircase or by a centrally located straight staircase leading from the kitchen to a small heated room located over the kitchen. The second storey room over the dining room was both small and unheated. The floor plan was such: .LM6

> "Because these early inns functioned as both home and hostel to the innkeeper and traveler respectively, the buildings usually featured two distinct front entrances and two separate first floor rooms divided by vertical board partitions"
>
> (Wilkins and Quick 1976:28).

The Shannon Hotel, constructed ca. 1760 in Christiana Bridge, is also representative of a floor plan developed to provide differential room access within the tavern house (Herman 1987). The Wetherburn's Tavern, a mid-eighteenth century tavern located in Williamsburg, on the other hand, was constructed so that equal access was provided to four identical rooms with corner fireplaces (Noel-Hume 1969). Functionally exclusive rooms such as the 'Great Room' were added at a later date.

Tavern inventories in some cases also provide information on room function and/or division. Based on research at the Buck Tavern, Wilkins amd Quick (1976) hypothesized that the ca. 1766 floorplan, including five bedrooms and eight beds, consisted of a main floor with unknown subdivisions, a second floor with two back bedrooms, a smaller room, and a front room, and an attic

PLATE 8

Early Nineteenth Century Painting of an Inn Interior

level with a single chamber. Based on an 1812 inventory, the floor plan has probably not changed with a main floor consisting of a parlor, bar room, kitchen (attached), large back room below stairs, little back room below stairs, and a second floor of the same number of functional rooms. This two room deep plan is representative of the prosperity of this tavern during the eighteenth century.

Only one inventory out of a sample of eight Delaware innkeeper's inventories recorded information on room division (Appendix I). The inventory of Andrew Lackey notes on the first floor a first room, second room (tavern room), the shed, and presumably one additional room. A cellar is also mentioned. The floorplan suggested by the research at the Ogletown Tavern was very similar to this description. Other tavern room functions noted by the inventories include back rooms, bar rooms, kitchen, parlors, and cellars.

Floor plans of eighteenth century taverns ranged from small two-room taverns consisting of a hall and dining/barroom with a combination kitchen and cellar to elegant establishments such as the City Tavern of Philadelphia. Tavern interiors ranged from the elegance of great or long rooms and billiard rooms in several urban taverns to the cluttered simplicity of rural taverns as depicted in the early nineteenth century painting shown in Plate 8.

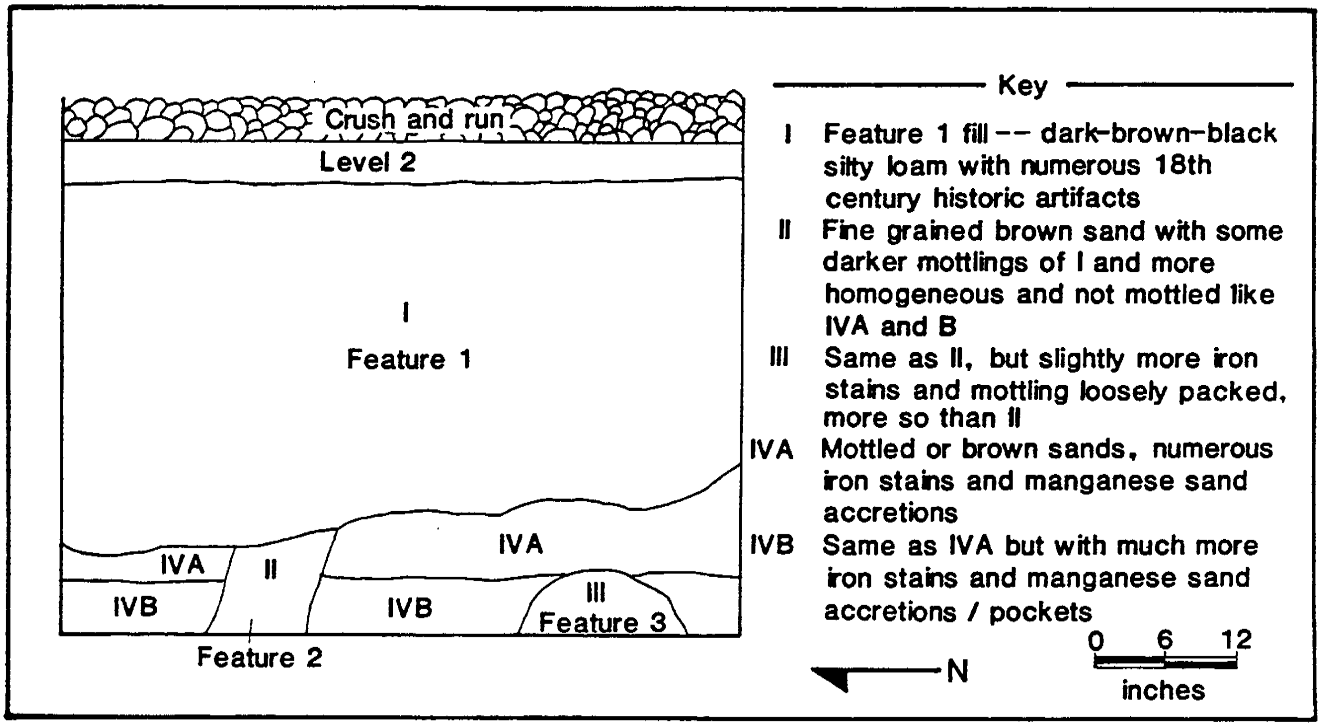
Excavation and Field Methods

In order to define the horizontal limits and integrity of the feature located previously by Unit 14, the mixed topsoil horizon (Figure 20) was removed from an area 25' x 50' in extent surrounding Unit 14. A series of 5' x 5' units were located surrounding this feature, which had produced the greatest density of eighteenth century artifacts from subsurface contexts (Figure 17). Additional removal of disturbed topsoil also occurred to the south of this area in order to further determine the integrity of deposits associated with the mid-nineteenth century occupation of the site. Additionally the northern limits of an extensive ca. 1955 trash pit previously located behind the western foundation section of the John Ruth Inn were tested.

Excavation of the Ogletown Tavern component of the John Ruth Inn Site began by using a backhoe to strip off an approximately 6" thick overburden of asphalt underlain by gravel. Further removal of a .8' deposit of disturbed topsoil plus demolition debris revealed an eighteenth century land surface. A 5' X 5' excavation unit was the standard excavation unit, although these were fully excavated only within the boundaries of the previously identified mid-eighteenth century feature. A site grid was established based on the coordinates of Test Unit 14 (Figure 17). All units within the Phase II site area were numerically labeled. A contiguous area of 1250 square feet, consisting of 37 (5' X 5' or 3' X 5') test units, was excavated in the main area of the site containing the feature identified during the Phase I/II

FIGURE 20

Test Unit 14, East Wall Profile



testing. Features visible at the top of the eighteenth century surface were given alphabetical designations (Figure 21). Many of these intruded into the feature. Other features were assigned numbers sequentially as they were located during excavation.

Both features and excavation units were excavated in arbitrary .4' levels except for diagnostic horizons which were excavated in natural levels. The excavation methodology of selecting arbitrary vs. natural levels was based on the results of Test Unit 14 which had shown little temporal variation and the presence of ceramic vessel cross-mends between levels. The main eighteenth century feature deposit was designated as Feature 1 and was thus essentially considered as a single event deposit. Four flotation/soil sample columns were also excavated in a north-south transect across the site within Feature 1 to detect further stratification within the Feature 1 deposit (Figure 22). All excavated soil was dry screened through 1/4" hardware mesh except for peripheral units where 1/2" mesh was employed.

The initial removal of the disturbed overburden revealed a 25' x 15' feature (Figure 21, Plate 9). The boundary of the feature was easily recognizable in the sterile yellow-brown subsoil. In addition to this main feature (Feature 1), a large number of other features, including stone walkways, postholes, and trash pits, were visible both within and outside of Feature 1 (Figure 21, Plate 10).

PLATE 9

Plan View of Core Area Prior to Excavation

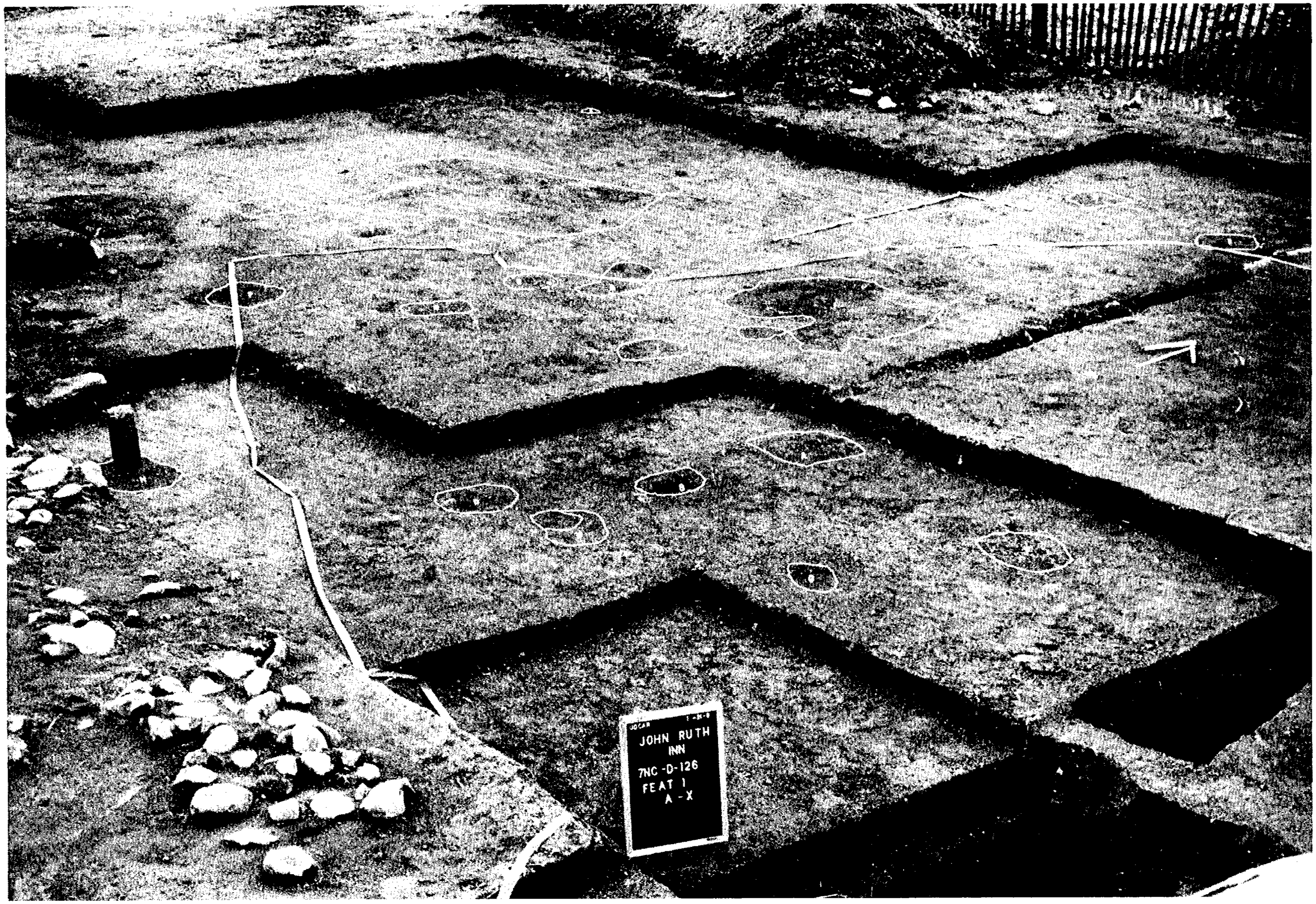
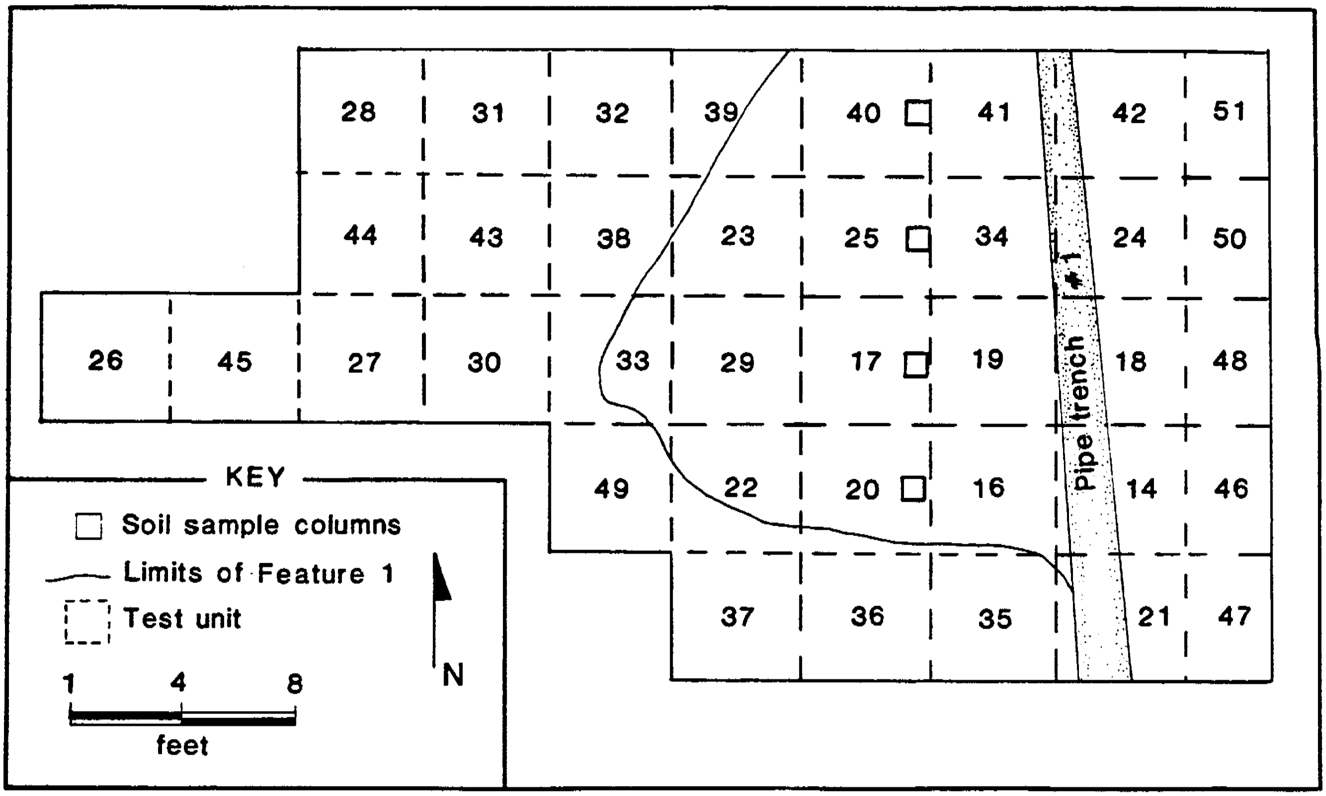


PLATE 10

Test Units 35-37, Plan View

FIGURE 22

Soil Flotation Sample Locations



Prior to the excavation of Feature 1, all features intrusive into Feature 1 were removed. Table 8 provides a summary list of these features. As their intrusive nature dictates, all of these features were post 1780 in date, and based on the presence of diagnostic artifacts, a majority were classified as mid-nineteenth century in origin. Many presumably functioned as fence lines, still visible in the ca. 1952 photograph of the rear yard of the ca. 1790 John Ruth Inn structure (Plates 2 and 3). The area of excavation as seen in this photograph extends from the fenceline at the rear of the structure to the line of bushes at the left margin of the photograph. Within this area in the nineteenth century were located two privies, a well, and several small outbuildings (Figure 12). The excavation of one additional test unit (T.U. 15) south of the Feature 1 area confirmed the findings of the Phase I/II research that the entire nineteenth century structure and most of the yard area had been extensively disturbed by the previous demolition (Coleman et al. 1987).

Artifact Processing and Analysis

Prior to a detailed artifact analysis, the standard artifact processing procedures of the Delaware Bureau of Museums were applied to all artifacts recovered from the Phase II excavations.

TABLE 8

FEATURE DESCRIPTION (FEATURES ENCOUNTERED PRIOR TO EXCAVATION)

NO.	LOCATION	DIMENSIONS	DESCRIPTION	TERMINUS POST QUEM	MEAN CERAMIC DATE	INTERPRETATION
A	Unit 17	1.4' diameter posthole, 6" deep ,3' diameter postmold, 2" depth	circular, black sandy loam posthole, ash deposits within postmold. Intruded into Feature 1.	1830	1823.9 (81)	Part of 19th century fenceline system-associated with Fea. Q and E
B	Unit 17	diameter - 1.0' depth - 14"	circular, dark brown/black loam posthole with no postmold. Intruded into Fea.1	1825	1825.1 (18)	Part of 19th century fenceline system
C	Unit 20	diameter - 15" depth - 4"	oval - posthole filled with dark brown sandy loam. Intruded into Feature 1	1840	1802.2 (12)	Part of 19th century fenceline system
D	Unit 20	diameter - 1 1/2' - posthole; 3" - postmold depth - 6"	posthole and mold. intruded into Fea. 1	1820	1797.3 (14)	Part of 19th century fenceline system
E	Unit 48	diameter - .5' depth - 1.0'	coal ash and cinder filled posthole. intruded into Feature 1. NCM.	----	----	Part of 19th century fenceline system-associated with Fea. A and Q
F	Unit 19	diameter - 14.5" post-hole depth - 8"	triangular-shaped postmold within darker brown silty loam. intruded into Fea. 1	1820	1818.3 (10)	Part of 19th century fenceline system-associated with Fea. G
G	Unit 19	length - 14"(23") width - 9"(16") depth - 1.2'	triangular-shaped postmold within very dark brown sandy loam posthole. intruded into Feature 1.	1820	1807.3 (34)	Part of 19th century fenceline system-associated with Fea. F
H	Unit 22	length - 1.4' width - 1.1' depth - 1.3'	4" square intact square post within dark brown sandy loam posthole. outside of Feature 1.	1780	1787.6 (7)	gate post for cobble walkway (Feature 17)

TABLE 8 (cont.)

NO.	LOCATION	DIMENSIONS	DESCRIPTION	TERMINUS POST QUEM	MEAN CERAMIC DATE	INTERPRETATION
I	Unit 23	length - 4' width - 4' depth - 1"-4"	amorphous shaped stain containing brick and charcoal fragments and med. brown sandy loam. intruded into Feature 1.	1825	1816.5 (41)	tree/root stain or rodent disturbance
J	Unit 26, 45	diameter - 1.0' depth - < 4"	dark brown silty loam stain of shallow depth, indistinct boundaries, outside of Feature 1. NCM	----	----	tree/root stain or rodent disturbance
K	Unit 28	diameter - 6" depth - 1.9'	circular, black sandy loam posthole w/ no postmold. outside of Feature 1	1700(RDW)	1800 (1)	part of 19th century fenceline system
L	Unit 29	diameter - 1.5' depth - 2"	circular, dark brown sandy loam post-hole. intruded into Feature 1.	1825	1826.3 (4)	part of 19th century fenceline system
M	Unit 23, 38	length - .9' width - .4' depth - .2'	rectangular stain of dark brown sandy loam with charcoal and brick fragments. intruded into Feature 1. NCM	----	----	root/tree or rodent disturbance
N	Unit 29, 33	diameter - 1.2' depth - 1.5'	circular, black sandy loam posthole with no postmold. intruded into Fea. 1	1840	1812 (28)	part of 19th century fenceline system
O	Unit 30	diameter - 1.3' depth - 1.4'	square-shaped posthole filled with yellow-brown sand and dark brown sandy loam. outside of Feature 1.	1830	1814 (8)	part of 19th century fenceline system-associated with Fea. S
P	Unit 33	diameter - 1.25' depth - 1.0'	circular, dark brown/black sandy loam pit with charcoal, brick, mortar frags. flatbottomed. partially intruded into Feature 1. NCM	----	----	part of bulkhead roof structural system
Q	Unit 33, 38	diameter - 1.0' depth - .25'	oval-shaped stain with med. brown sandy clear glass loam mixed with coal and ash in grey clay matrix. intrudes into Feature 1.	1820	1816.2 (16)	part of 19th century fenceline system-associated with Fea. A and E

TABLE 8 (cont.)

NO.	LOCATION	DIMENSIONS	DESCRIPTION	TERMINUS POST QUEM	MEAN CERAMIC DATE	INTERPRETATION
R	Unit 33, 38	diameter - 1.0' depth - .75'	circular, dark brown sandy loam posthole flatglass without postmold. outside of Feature 1.	1820	1810 (3)	part of 19th century fenceline system
S	Unit 39	diameter - 1.5' depth - 1.0'	square-shaped, med. brown sandy loam posthole. NCM	----	----	part of 19th century fenceline system-associated with Fea. O
T	Unit 41	diameter - 1.5' depth - 1.5'	4" square intact post within dark brown sandy loam posthole. outside of Feature 1. flat bottomed.	1820	1810.2 (9)	part of 19th century fenceline system
U	Unit 42	diameter - 1.5' depth - 1.1'	circular, med. brown sandy loam posthole with 5' square rock (wedge) in north wall. outside of Feature 1.	1830	1808.4 (8)	part of 19th century fenceline system
V	Unit 30, 33	diameter - 1.0' depth - .5'	shallow, circular, posthole filled with ash and coal. NCM	----	----	part of 19th century fenceline system
W	North of Unit 39	diameter - 1.0'	circular, mixture of black sandy loam and coal ash. outside of Feature 1. not excavated.	----	----	small ash pit - 20th century
X	North of Unit 39	diameter - 1.0'	circular, mixture of black sandy loam and coal ash. outside of Feature 1. not excavated.	----	----	part of 20th century fenceline system
Y	Unit 29, 17	diameter 1.5' square depth - 15"	square-shaped, dark brown sandy loam posthole without postmold. partially intrudes into Feature 1.	1762	1794 (6)	part of 19th century fenceline system
Z	Units 33, 27, 30, 49, 37, 22	15' NW-SE 25' NE-SW depth - 8"	dark brown/black sandy loam intermixed with ca. 1955 demolition debris. outside of Feature 1. not excavated.	----	----	extensive excavation to rear of ca. 1790 structure filled with debris from

All artifacts, bone and shell were cleaned in the lab with plain water, or, in the case of deteriorating bone, damp-brushed. Bone and shell were then placed in labeled bags, whereas other artifacts were themselves labeled with the site number (85-403) and three digit provenience number. Artifacts were sorted into categories for cataloging based on their material composition. The total artifact count for each unit and feature is provided in Appendix III.

Ceramic artifacts were cataloged on one or two different catalog sheets, depending on their provenience. Ceramics from contexts outside the eighteenth century feature were included within a form tabulating the relative frequencies of different artifact classes. A preliminary analysis on the sherd level was made. Ceramics recovered from the eighteenth century feature fill were sorted as to ware type and vessel reconstruction and cross-mending were carried out to arrive at minimum vessel estimates using standard techniques. Vessels were then coded to a set of standard descriptive terms for analytical purposes. An example of the vessel analysis form is included in Appendix IV.

In the designation of the South number for sherds and vessels an effort was made to maintain South's original numbering scheme (Appendix V). Mean ceramic dates were obtained from South (1977) or the adjusted dates found in Lange and Carlson (1985). The time-sensitive attributes and use-related descriptor vessel attributes were entered into a computer data base program. No cost-related attributes were recorded. The artifact data was organized into functional group and classification system of South (1977), but no comparative analysis was employed.

Attributes recorded for each ceramic sherd, if identified, were:

WARE - a combination of paste and glaze characteristics that serve to separate types on a basic level.

PLASTIC DECORATION - records decorations involving the paste of the ceramic item. Examples include bat-molded plate rim treatments such as shell- and feature-edging and overall ribbed decoration such as that found on some teapots.

COLOR OF DECORATION - refers to the color of painted, or otherwise applied, decoration, including slips and glazes.

APPLIED DECORATION - includes all non-plastic decorations, having to do with applied color.

VARIETY - records certain types of decoration, for instance a specific, named transfer print such as the "Willow" pattern.

SOUTH TYPE NUMBER - Stanley South codified the ceramics described by Noel-Hume (1985) in _A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America_. These types are useful as time markers and are used in South's

Mean Ceramic Date Formula. The numbered types found in the John Ruth Inn assemblages are contained in Appendix V.

USE/SHAPE/FUNCTION - these codes classify sherds according to the shape of the vessels they belong to and the use to which the vessels are put. Examples are chamber pot and milk pan.

COUNT - sherd counts according to their positions on the vessel--rim, base, body, other (including handles and spouts, for instance), and total.

VESSEL NUMBER - in addition to provenience labeling, reconstructed vessels were assigned unique numbers to identify groups of mended sherds.

DATE RANGE - range of time during which a particular type or variety was manufactured.

MEDIAN DATE - median date of manufacture, from South (1977), used to calculate Mean Ceramic Dates for the early nineteenth century contexts.

Attributes recorded for each ceramic vessel were:

- A) Minimum number of vessels estimated
- B) Mean Ceramic Date on (A)
- C) Vessel form i.e., flatware vs. hollowware
    - (1) Drinking form - cups vs. mugs and jugs
- D) Vessel Function
    - (1) dining (tablewares)
    - (2) drinking (tea and coffeewares)
    - (3) food preparation (dairy/kitchen)
    - (4) food storage (includes ceramic bottles)
    - (5) medicinal (chamber pots, hygiene)
    - (6) other

The data set derived from the vessel analysis was basic to inter-site assemblage comparisons or as outlined later in the discussion.

HISTORIC COMPONENT RESULTS

In this discussion, a summary of the historic documentation related to the site will be presented followed by a description and interpretation of the historic features recorded at the site. These features include an infilled cellar hole with associated structural features and additional artifact-bearing features located adjacent to the cellar hole. Following the description and interpretation, and chronological analysis of features, the accompanying artifact assemblage will be discussed. Finally, the artifact assemblage will be compared to other similarly dated or functionally similar assemblages within the Mid-Atlantic region.