FIGURE 61

Profile of S93 W514.5 (Terrace)

Key

I – Leaf litter

II – Dark brown humus

III – Medium brown sandy clay loam

IV – Yellow/brown/orange sand
with gravel

V – Orange sand
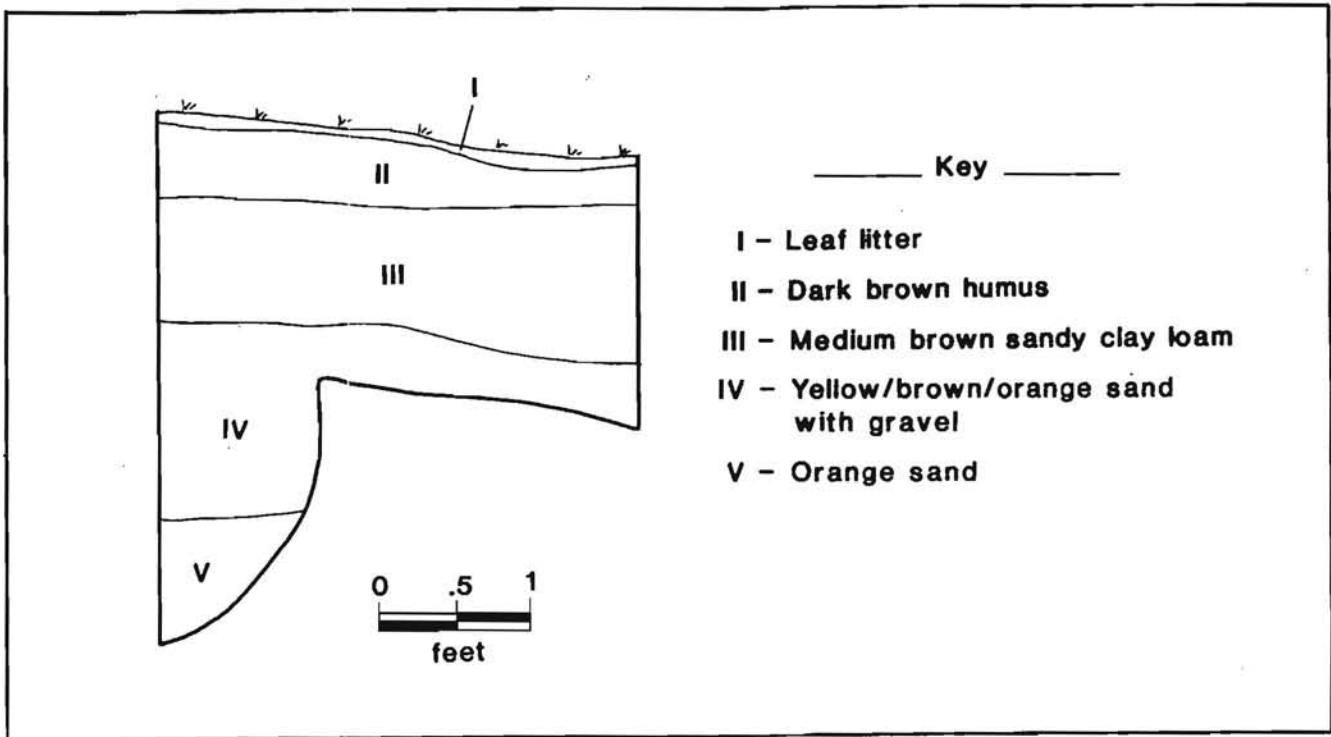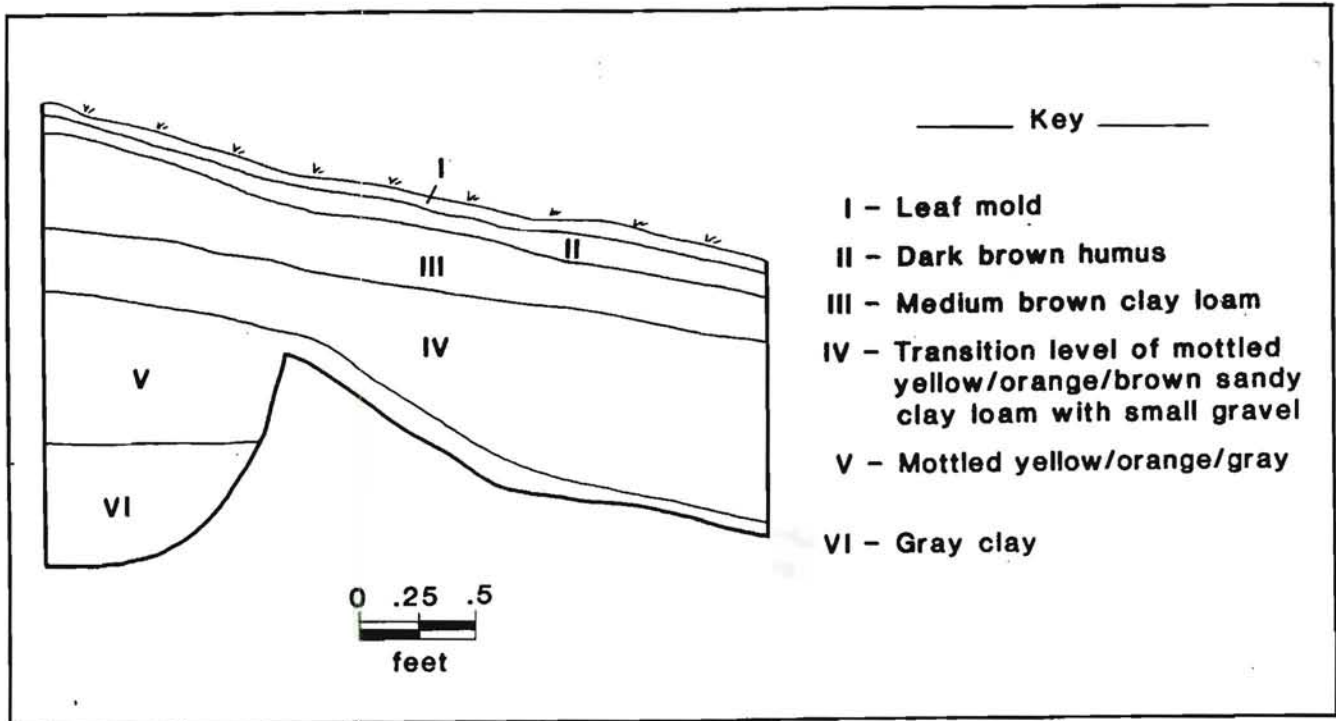
original DelDOT test units, exhibited similar profiles to those found by DelDOT and shown in Figure 63.

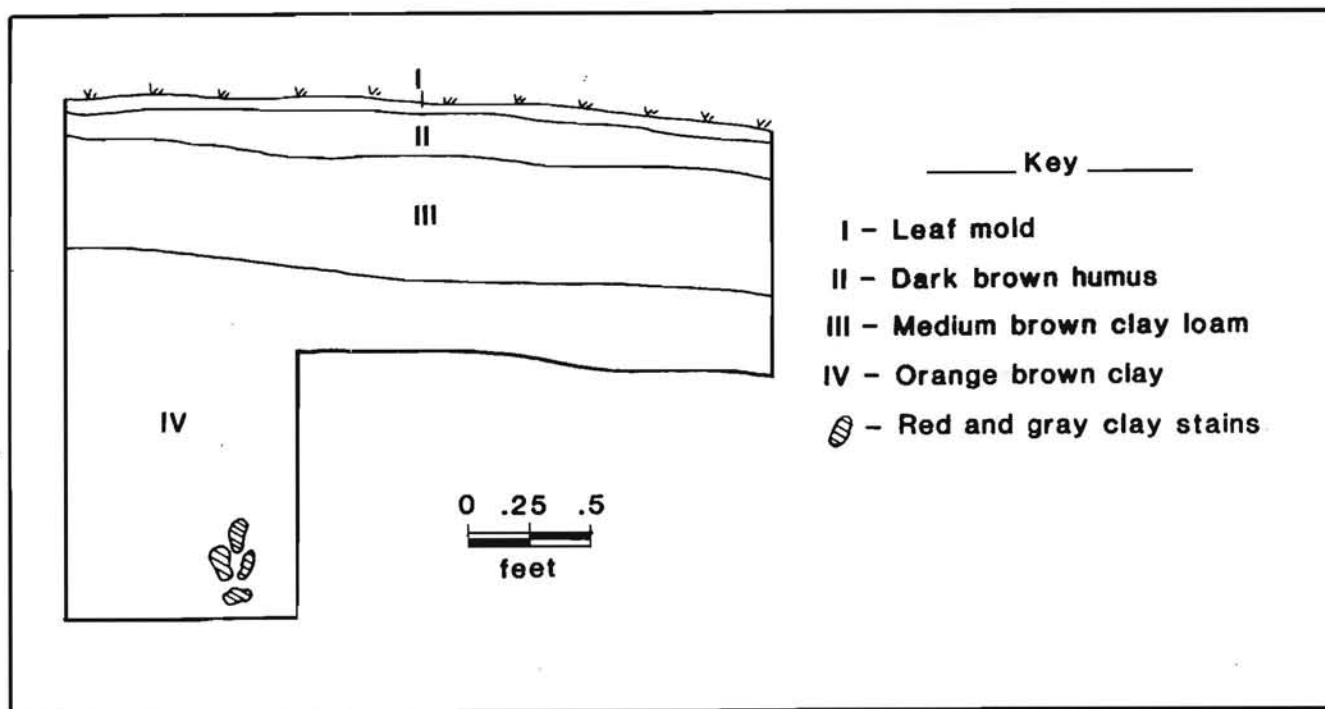## INTERSITE ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS

The archaeological remains identified in the Patterson Lane Site Complex represent a wide and diverse range of temporal and functional site types. Intersite comparisons can best be made with the Dickson (I and II) occupations, and with the Heisler Tenancy Site, since these two were subjected to more intensive levels of artifact analysis. Several levels of intersite analysis were applied to these sites, including a comparison of architectural site dimensions for nine local sites, vessel function comparisons between sites, and economic scaling using

FIGURE 62
Profile of S146.5 W399 (Terrace)

Key

I - Leaf mold

II - Dark brown humus

III - Medium brown clay loam

IV - Transition level of mottled yellow/orange/brown sandy clay loam with small gravel

V - Mottled yellow/orange/gray

VI - Gray clay

0 .25 .5

feet

the ceramic index (Miller 1980). Sites from the immediate vicinity, including the Charles Allen House, across the Christina River from Patterson Lane (Basalik et al. 1987), the Mendenhall Privy from Wilmington (Herman 1984), and the Whitten Road Site (Shaffer et al. 1988), as well as site locations from other regions (Morin, et al. 1986; Kelso 1984; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987) were examined in these comparisons. Temporal ranges were also included, particularly for the later tenant occupations at Dickson II and Heisler. Special attention was given to known black-occupied sites from the northeast for comparison to Dickson II, the documented black tenant occupation of the site. These other sites included Black Lucy's Garden (Baker 1980), Parting Ways (Deetz 1977), Weeksville (Bridges and

FIGURE 63
Profile of S20 W307 (Old Field)

Key

I - Leaf mold
II - Dark brown humus
III - Medium brown clay loam
IV - Orange brown clay
⌀ - Red and gray clay stains

Salwen 1980), and several areas from the rural black community of Skunk Hollow (Geismar 1982). Slave sites were also chosen, including North Quarter (Kelso 1984), and Cannon's Point (Otto 1984).

ARCHITECTURAL SITE DIMENSIONS

It has been demonstrated that tenant houses of the late eighteenth through nineteenth centuries were generally smaller in size, not as valuable, and less substantially constructed than the owner-occupied dwelling of the Lower Delaware Valley (Herman 1987a; 1987b; Stiverson 1977). Survival of these types of dwellings into the present day, however, has been infrequent, making their identification difficult. In many cases, these building types are difficult to distinguish from owner-occupied

dwellings. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example, Herman (1987b) has found that in southern Delaware, three quarters of the population resided in wooden, one-room dwellings averaging 18x20 feet (or 360 square feet of space). These tenant buildings, Herman continues, are virtually indistinguishable from poor to moderately well-off land owners. Similar situations exist in southwest New Jersey, where there seems to be no definable "tenant" house type, and in Queen Ann County, Maryland. The best generalization that can be arrived at is that tenant structures in the Lower Delaware Valley seem to range in size from about 380 square feet to 490 square feet (Herman 1987b). In regards to site layout, a further distinction between tenant sites and owner-occupied sites was the lack of outbuildings at the former sites.

The series of archaeological sites recently investigated in New Castle County can be of use to examine this issue of tenancy and housing. This is particularly important because the archaeological record can provide data about the living quarters and yard area landscapes of portions of the population that are no longer represented in the biased record of standing structures still existing on the landscape (Herman 1987a:112), particularly because these tenant dwellings were less substantially constructed or of a more impermanent nature. Table 23 presents a comparison of nine of these sites, showing the floor space available, including additions, as defined by the documentary record and the archaeological remains found at the site, and the approximate mean occupation date for the site. Several of the

```
┌─────────────────────── TABLE 23 ───────────────────────┐

            COMPARISON OF 1ST FLOOR DIMENSIONS FROM
          NINE NEW CASTLE COUNTY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
```

Site	Dimension	Area
Patterson Lane House (7NC-E-53) (Late Eighteenth - Late Nineteenth Centuries)	46 x 29	1334 sq. ft.
Charles Allen House (7NC-E-78) (circa 1840)	Front: 47 x 12 Ell: 32 x 23	564 736 1300 sq. ft.
W. M. Hawthorn (7NC-E-46) (circa 1840)	Log House: 29 x 21 Frame Ad.: 12 x 21 Frame Kn.: 12 x 17	609 252 204 1065 sq. ft.
Ferguson House (N-3902) (circa 1810)	West End: 16 x 24 Addition: 18 x 15	384 270 654 sq. ft.
Whitten Road (7NC-D-100) (circa 1795)	24 x 18	432 sq. ft.
Dickson II House (7NC-E-82) (circa 1880)	18 x 22	392 sq. ft.
Heisler Tenant House (7NC-E-83) (circa 1890)	12 x 21	252 sq. ft.
Grant Tenancy (7NC-B-6)	16 x 15.5	248 sq. ft.
Dickson I Structure (7NC-E-82) (circa 1810)	13 x 16	208 sq. ft.

KEY
      Ad. - addition
      Kn. - kitchen
 sq. ft. - square feet

sites examined -- the Ferguson House (Coleman et al. 1983), the
Whitten Road Site (Shaffer et al. 1988), the Grant Tenancy Site
(Thompson 1987), and the Heisler Tenancy Site -- were primarily
occupied as tenant structures. The remainder of the sample, --
the Charles Allen House (Basalik et al. 1987), the William

Hawthorn Site (Coleman et al. 1984), and the three sites from the Patterson Lane Site Complex (Dickson I, Dickson II, and the Patterson Lane House) -- functioned either as owner-occupied, specialized use, and/or tenant dwellings at some time in their histories. All of the dwellings used in this sample were in existence for at least 60 years, and most were occupied for over 100 years. With the exception of Dickson I, which dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century and was removed by circa 1845, all of these buildings were standing at the mid-point of the 19th century, and are thus contemporary with one another.

The sites shown on Table 23 break down into two significant groups -- those below about 450 feet in size, and those above that square footage. Herman (1987b) found that the dimension of 450 square feet is a convenient division between large and small housing stock, and that seems to be the case with the present sample. What is remarkable about this division is that, excluding the smallest structure, Dickson I (208 square feet), which had functioned specifically as a storehouse, the remainder of the dwellings under 450 square feet are all tenant houses. The 384 square foot portion of the Ferguson House should be included in this group as well. Also lacking from the tested yard areas of these sites were the presence of a great number of substantial outbuildings, with the exception of sheds. No barns, stables, or granaries were located during the testing at any of these sites, supporting Herman's (1987a) historically derived contention that tenant sites were devoid of outbuildings. The other structures were originally intended as owner-occupied dwellings, suggesting

that even without later additions these buildings were over 600 square feet in size.

By the time that the additions were added on to these larger owner-occupied dwellings in the second half of the nineteenth century, (even if by that time they were tenant structures themselves), the small size of contemporary tenant houses, such as Dickson II and Heisler, were clearly indicators of class and status within the community. This conclusion supports Herman's (1987a:162) statement that laborers from this period typically resided in smaller and less stylish dwellings than did farm managers and property owners. The case presented by the Dickson II and Heisler Tenant houses is interesting and also suggests a bias in this sample. It is documented that the occupants of the Dickson II house, the Walmsley family, moved from that dwelling to the Heisler Tenancy in 1887. From the dimensions shown on Table 23, it would appear that this was a shift from a 392 square foot home to a 252 square foot home, or a loss of 140 square feet of living space. But the dimensions given in Table 23 are only first floor dimensions: the shift to the Heisler Tenancy actually gained over 600 additional square feet in the second floor and cellar of the building, whereas the Dickson II house was only a 1 1/2 story frame house, with no cellar. This also suggests that the gross differences between owner-occupied and tenant dwellings apparent in Table 23 were probably even more obvious and immense, because owner-occupied structures were doubtless more often provided with second floors and cellars.

Thus, a rough ranking of these archaeologically-derived building dimensions would indicate that at the bottom of the

rural building stock were commercial structures, such as stores, which may have been under 250 square feet in size, closely followed by tenant and lower economic class dwellings ranging between 250 and approximately 450 square feet, and finally owner-occupied houses above 600 square feet. No comparison with more substantial urban buildings has been made, and this sample is not applicable to those structure types.

This sample also suggests that tenant dwellings can be archaeologically identified by their relatively small dimensions, generally under 450 square feet in size, and by the lack of additional structural evidence of substantial outbuildings at the site. This result is important on sites where the exact occupants, their social and/or economic status, cannot be derived from the historic record.

CERAMIC ECONOMIC SCALING ANALYSIS

Historical archaeologists generally agree that ceramics can be used to measure the relative economic value of a household assemblage, and therefore the economic status of the site's inhabitants (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). The most widely adopted method for measuring this value is currently the ceramic scaling index developed by George Miller (1980). Miller's scale is based on the index value assigned to certain types of refined wares at specific points in time, derived from the price fixing lists of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century English potteries. Each index value is expressed in relation to cc, or cream colored ware, the consistently least expensive ceramic type on the price lists. Miller's index for cc ware is 1.00 through time, and

values of the other ceramic decorative types are expressed in relation to the 1.00 index value of cc ware (see Miller 1980 for further discussion). Indices derived from the Miller analysis are calculated for minimum vessels in three categories: cups and saucers, plates, and bowls. Additionally, Klein and Garrow (1984), Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987), and others have calculated a mean index value, derived from the summation of the separate indices from the three categories (cups and saucers, plates, and bowls), divided by the total number of ceramic vessels used in the separate index calculations.

There are some difficulties in using the Miller Ceramic Index (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:131-135). First, index values are not available for many years in the nineteenth century, creating problems in the assigning of index values to ceramic types from sites that fall "in between" the years with indices. Most researchers have remedied this situation by extrapolating values from adjacent years, or by using the next closest available index value. Since archaeological sites are occupied over generally long time spans in relation to ceramic prices and production, this extrapolation is acceptable.

Secondly, Miller (1980) suggests the use of the site's MCD for establishing the index year values. Most historic archaeologists have done this (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987; Morin et al. 1986), but some have utilized Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) dates instead (Shepard 1987). Once again considering that MCDs only establish a mean date, and considering that index values must be adjusted under certain conditions, MCDs will be

used in this study. Finally, Miller has suggested (Morin et al. 1986: VI-46) that sites temporally separated by more than ten years should not be compared together because of what has been referred to as "index inflation" (LeeDecker et al. 1987).

The sites chosen for the Miller analysis of the Patterson Lane Site Complex are grouped around the mean occupation dates of each of the three sites in that Complex for which there are comparable data available, thus providing three separate comparisons over time. The Dickson I occupation has a mean occupation date and an MCD of approximately 1812, and sites ranging from 1792 to 1822 were chosen for comparison. These included three from the immediate vicinity: the Thomas Mendenhall site, which had an MCD of circa 1800 (Herman 1984; Dr. Bernard Herman, personal communication 1987), the Charles Allen House in Christiana Bridge, Delaware, which was contemporary with the Dickson I occupation (Basalik et al. 1987), and the Whitten Road site, a rural tenant site in White Clay Creek Hundred, about two miles from Christiana, had an MCD of about 1795 (Shaffer et al. 1988). Also compared to the Dickson I assemblage were two other contemporary sites from Wilmington, the Dr. Way/Retail Shop (Klein and Garrow 1984), and the John Richardson assemblage from Block 1101 (Lee Decker et al. 1987). Added to these were two assemblages from Cannon's Point, Georgia, consisting of the overseer's house, and planter's kitchen (Otto 1984), and a rural owner-occupied site in northern New Jersey, the Thomas Hamlin Site (Morin et al. 1986). Index values used for the assemblages, and for the Dickson I assemblage, were the 1814, and in some instances, the 1802 and 1824 indices. Index values for several

271

of these comparative sites were obtained from Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:72). The Miller index values computed for the Dickson I occupation are shown in Table 24.

The Heisler Tenacy Site, with an MCD of 1849.3, was compared to seven other sites with similar dates. These were the Jonathan Hale Cabin, from the Western reserve in Ohio (Miller and Hurry 1983), the John Hamlin assemblage (Morin et al. 1986), Moses Tabb's tenant site in St. Mary's County, Maryland (Miller 1980), Black Lucy's Garden, a free black site in Massachusetts (Baker 1980), the Green Mansion site in Windsor, Vermont (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987), the workers house at the Franklin Glass Works, in Ohio (Miller 1980), and the commercial site of the Dowdall Bottling Company, in Wilmington (Klein and Garrow 1984). Table 25 shows the results of the Miller scaling for the Heisler Tenancy artifacts.

The final comparison was made with the Dickson II ceramic assemblage, and four black-occupied sites from the Skunk Hollow area in New Jersey were chosen (Geismar 1982). All four of the site areas chosen were contemporary with the Dickson II assemblage, which had a mean occupation date of approximately 1882. This comparison thus can provide an inter-regional comparison of free black sites in the Middle Atlantic. Data for the Skunk Hollow assemblages was obtained from Geismar (1982:186). Table 26 shows the Miller values for the Dickson II assemblage.

Table 27 presents the results, in the four categories of cups and saucers, plates, and bowls, and an overall index, of the

272

TABLE 24

DICKSON I OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82),
MILLER INDEX VALUES

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value x	# of v. recovered	= value
52,53,55,57, 58,59,61,64, 68,69,70,189	2	1.33 x	12	= 15.96
51,158	2	1.40 x	2	= 2.8
60,66	2	1.29 x	2	= 2.58
84,85,126, 127,184,202, 204,205,206, 207,208,214, 218,233,236, 242,244,245	1	1.00 x	18	= 18.0
			34 plates	= 39.34

Average Total Values $\frac{39.34}{34} = 1.16$

NOTE:

    Occupation dates ca. 1780-1830
    Mean ceramic date - 1814
    Index date used - 1814
    Vessel form - plates

TABLE 24 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x # of v. recovered	= Value
19	13	2.17 x	1	= 2.17
22,222,223 226,227,228	13	1.50 x	6	= 9.0
25,50,72,81, 87,93,95,96, 109,156,165, 167,168,171, 175,174,192, 195,221, 224 a and b	13	1.44 x	21	= 30.24
29,33,34,38, 44,45,46,47	15	3.00 x	8	= 24.0
41,302	11	1.44 x	2	= 2.88
182,188,193, 194,203,229, 289,257,307, 216,219,299	10	1.00 x	12	= 12.0
210	10	1.67 x	1	= 1.67
262,263,265, 268,392	31	1.44 x	5	= 7.2
		56 plates		89.16

Average Total Value $\frac{89.16}{56} = 1.60$

NOTE:
    Occupation dates ca. 1780-1830
    Mean ceramic date - 1814
    Index dates used - 1814, 1824, 1802
    Vessel form - cups

TABLE 24 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x # of v. recovered	= Value
23,24,262, 749,51,73, 79,88,91, 153,197,154, 162,164,161, 232,272	22	1.60 x	18	= 28.8
30,42	25	2.80 x	2	= 5.6
155	24	1.60 x	1	= 1.60
213,215,255, 246,259,266, 267	20	1.00 x	7	= 7.0
		28 Bowls		43.0

Average Total Value $\frac{43.0}{28}$ = 1.53

NOTE:

Occupation dates ca. 1780-1830
Mean ceramic date - 1814
Index date used - 1814
Vessel form - bowls

TABLE 24 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x # of v. recovered	= Value
28,43	33	3.00 x	2	= 6.0
65,76,78,79, 80,94,98, 157,166,170, 172,176,199, 261,276,304	31	1.50 x	16	= 24.0
100,104,115, 169,185,200, 209,217	29	1.00 x	8	= 8.0
		26 saucers		38.0

Average Total Value $\frac{38.0}{26} = 1.46$

NOTE:
    Occupation dates ca. 1780-1830
    Mean ceramic date - 1814
    Index date used - 1814
    Vessel form - saucers

Miller Ceramic Index comparison for the Dickson I assemblage. All of the values for Dickson I are fairly low, though the bowl index, with a range of 1.00 to 2.53, places Dickson I quite high at 1.53. Overall, Dickson I falls below the middle of the ranking, with a 1.45, and most of the rural Delaware sites are ranked closely around this value. This ranking suggests that William Dickson, the store keeper at the site, supplied ceramics to a clientele of the "lower to middling sort". The urban sites of Richardson and Dr. Way are consistently high, as are the values for the Cannon's Point Planter. The bowl category is an exception to this observation, which probably reflects the dietary patterns of these households; i.e., fewer stews and potted meals than the other less affluent households shown in

---- TABLE 25 ----

HEISLER TENANCY SITE (7NC-E-83),
MILLER INDEX VALUES

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x # of v. recovered	=	Value
1,47	6	1.60 x	2	=	3.20
12,14,158, 203,205,206, 207,209,210, 212,213,215, 216,217,219, 221,227-228, 229,232,239, 252,254,255, 257,262	1	1.00 x	29	=	29.0
15,20,43,57, 75,76,109, 110,114,122, 152	7	1.50 x	11	=	16.50
16,256,260	5	1.78 x	3	=	5.34
33,37,174, 175,177,178, 179,180-201	2	1.25 x	36	=	45.0
35	3	1.20 x	1	=	1.20
80	8	2.25 x	1	=	2.25
118,149	4	2.36 x	2	=	4.72
			85 plates		107.21

Totals
Average Values $\frac{107.21}{85}$ = 1.26

NOTE:
    Occupation dates ca. 1830-1870
    Mean ceramic data - 1855
    Index dats used - 1855, 1838, 1858

TABLE 25 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value x	# of v. recovered	= Value
18,27,28,30, 34,36,85,40, 42,65,58,66, 134,136,87,144, 153,159,160, 172,162,169, 170,171	13	1.60 x	24	= 38.4
103,104,105, 106,107,218, 225,226,231, 236,237,238, 243,249,250, 251	10	1.00 x	16	= 16.0
137,161,248	14	3.60 x	3	= 10.8
44,46,50,84, 63,145,73,49, 163,168,167, 202	15	4.20 x	12	= 50.4
		55 cups		115.6

Average Value
$$\frac{115.6}{55} = 2.10$$

NOTE:

    Occupation dates ca. - 1830-1870
    Mean ceramic date - 1855
    Index dates used - 1856, 1858
    Vessesl form - cups

TABLE 25 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value x	# of v. recovered =	Value
4,5,8,13,21, 23,31,38,61, 83,174,222	22	1.30 x	12	= 15.6
9,55,223,204, 214,230,258	27	2.00 x	7	= 14.0
17,56,72,95, 208,211,166, 224,233-235, 240,245,246, 247,253	20	1.00 x	16	= 32.0
22,26,54,69, 70,81.82,111, 132	24	1.10 x	9	= 9.9
29,32,49,60,68, 74,108,220	25	2.00 x	8	= 16.0
78	26	2.40 x	1	= 2.40
25,41,112,115, 117,151,173	21	1.10 x	7	= 7.7
		60 bowls		97.6

Average Value $\frac{97.6}{60} = 1.63$

NOTE:
    Occupation dates ca. - 1830-1870
    Mean ceramic date - 1855
    Index dates used - 1855, 1858
    Vessel form - bowls

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
7	29	1.00	x	1	=	1.00
39,164	31	1.23	x	2	=	2.46
93,94	32	3.60	x	2	=	7.20
45,52,53,48, 59,64,67,86, 71,77,165	33	2.45	x	11	=	26.95
78,79,142	34	1.60	x	3	=	4.8
				19 saucers		42.41

Average Value $\dfrac{42.41}{19} = 2.23$

NOTE:

    Occupation dates ca. - 1830-1870
    Mean ceramic date - 1855
    Index dates used - 1846, 1856
    Vessel form - saucers

this ranking. The rural Delaware sites are consistently low ranking in nearly every category and this is particularly apparent with the Whitten Road Site. Not surprisingly, the Thomas Mendenhall Site is also low in the ranking. Herman (1984) postulates that Mendenhall met with economic adversity about this time period. The high index values for the Wilmington sites may indicate that those households enjoyed greater availability and a wider selection of ceramic types, and may not necessarily imply higher social ranking. A number of researchers have noted that access to markets is an important factor in considering ceramic availability (Miller and Hurry 1983; Morin et al. 1986; Riordan and Adams 1985; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:179). However, there are several notable breaks in the ranking, which seem to group

─── **TABLE 26** ───

DICKSON II OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82), MILLER INDEX VALUES

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
112,116,119 248	1	1.00 x	4	=	4.00
56,62,67 71	2	1.00 x	4	=	4.00
		8 plates			8.00

Average Total $\frac{8.00}{8} = 1$

NOTE:

    Occupation dates ca. 1850-1900
    Mean ceramic date - 1872
    Index dates used - 1874, 1862
    Vessel form - plates

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value x	# of v. recovered	=	Value
36,269,270	1.17	1.17 x	3	=	3.51
		3 saucers			3.00

Average Total $\frac{3.51}{3} = 1.17$

NOTE:

    Occupation dates ca. 1850-1890
    Mean ceramic date - 1872
    Index dates used - 1875
    Vessel form - sacuers

TABLE 26 (cont.)

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x # of v. recovered	=	Value
87,92,86,74 260,291,271	22	1.30 x	7	=	9.1
298	24	1.10 x	1	=	1.10
37	25	2.00 x	1	=	2.00
235	20	1.00 x	1	=	1.00
160	26	2.40 x	1	=	2.40
		11 bowls			15.6

Average Total $\frac{15.6}{11}$=1.42

NOTE:
    Occupation dates ca. 1850-1890
    Mean ceramic date - 1872
    Index dates used - 1855, 1858
    Vessel form - sacuers

Vessel Number	Decoration/ Ware	Index Value	x # of v. recovered	=	Value
32	11	1.17 x	1	=	1.17
75,77,159 258	13	1.17 x	4	=	4.68
35,40,180 305,306	15	4.00 x	5	=	20.0
		10 cups			25.85

Average Total $\frac{25.85}{10}$=2.6

NOTE:
    Occupation dates ca. 1850-1890
    Mean ceramic date - 1872
    Index dates used - 1875, 1857, 1860, 1856
    Vessel form - sacuers

TABLE 27

DICKSON I OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82),
MILLER INDICES COMPARISON

PATTERSON LANE COMPLEX
MILLER INDEX

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
WHITTEN ROAD, NCC	1.54	1.20	1.00	1.22
DICKSON I, CHRISTIANA	1.55	1.16	1.53	1.45
T. MENDENHALL, WILMINGTON	1.66	1.06	1.25	1.39
T. HAMLIN, NJ	1.67	1.19	2.14	1.68
CANNON'S POINT, OVERSEER, GA	2.24	1.99	1.23	1.94
C. ALLEN, CHRISTIANA	2.37	1.35	1.45	1.58
CANNON'S POINT, PLANTER, GA	2.78	2.69	1.23	2.63
DR. WAY/RETAIL, WILMINGTON	3.29	1.45	1.38	2.25
JOHN RICHARDSON, WILMINGTON	3.40	1.93	2.53	2.15

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
T. MENDENHALL, WILMINGTON	1.66	1.06	1.25	1.39
DICKSON I, CHRISTIANA	1.55	1.16	1.53	1.45
T. HAMLIN, NJ	1.67	1.19	2.14	1.68
WHITTEN ROAD, NCC	1.54	1.20	1.00	1.22
C. ALLEN, CHRISTIANA	2.37	1.35	1.45	1.58
DR. WAY/RETAIL, WILMINGTON	3.29	1.45	1.38	2.25
JOHN RICHARDSON, WILMINGTON	3.40	1.93	2.53	2.15
CANNON'S POINT, OVERSEER, GA	2.24	1.99	1.23	1.94
CANNON'S POINT, PLANTER, GA	2.78	2.69	1.23	2.63

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
WHITTEN ROAD, NCC	1.54	1.20	1.00	1.22
DICKSON I, CHRISTIANA	1.55	1.16	1.53	1.45
CANNON'S POINT, PLANTER, GA	2.78	2.69	1.23	2.63
CANNON'S POINT, OVERSEER, GA	2.24	1.99	1.23	1.94
T. MENDENHALL, WILMINGTON	1.66	1.06	1.25	1.39
DR. WAY/RETAIL, WILMINGTON	3.29	1.45	1.38	2.25
C. ALLEN, CHRISTIANA	2.37	1.35	1.45	1.58
T. HAMLIN, NJ	1.67	1.19	2.14	1.68
JOHN RICHARDSON, WILMINGTON	3.40	1.93	2.53	2.15

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
WHITTEN ROAD, NCC	1.54	1.20	1.00	1.22
T. MENDENHALL, WILMINGTON	1.66	1.06	1.25	1.39
DICKSON I, CHRISTIANA	1.55	1.16	1.53	1.45
C. ALLEN, CHRISTIANA	2.37	1.35	1.45	1.58
T. HAMLIN, NJ	1.67	1.19	2.14	1.68
CANNON'S POINT, OVERSEER, GA	2.24	1.99	1.23	1.94
JOHN RICHARDSON, WILMINGTON	3.40	1.93	2.53	2.15
DR. WAY/RETAIL, WILMINGTON	3.29	1.45	1.38	2.25
CANNON'S POINT, PLANTER, GA	2.78	2.69	1.23	2.63

TABLE 28

HEISLER TENANCY SITE (7NC-E-83), MILLER INDICES COMPARISON

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
MOSES TABB, MD	1.44	1.46	1.29	1.42
J. HALE, OH	1.45	1.23	1.36	1.34
J. HAMLIN, NJ	1.50	1.31	1.86	1.45
BLACK LUCY'S GARDEN, MASS.	1.68	1.61	1.24	1.53
DOWDALL BOTTLING CO., WILMINGTON	2.11	2.11	1.80	2.00
HEISLER TENANCY, CHRISTIANA	2.13	1.26	1.63	1.65
FRANKLIN GLASS WORKS, HOUSE, OH	2.15	1.86	1.54	1.90
GREEN, VERMONT	3.04	1.83	1.59	2.29

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
J. HALE, OH	1.45	1.23	1.36	1.34
HEISLER TENANCY, CHRISTIANA	2.13	1.26	1.63	1.65
J. HAMLIN, NJ	1.50	1.31	1.86	1.45
MOSES TABB, MD	1.44	1.46	1.29	1.42
BLACK LUCY'S GARDEN, MASS.	1.68	1.61	1.24	1.53
GREEN, VERMONT	3.04	1.83	1.59	2.29
FRANKLIN GLASS WORKS, HOUSE, OH	2.15	1.86	1.54	1.90
DOWDALL BOTTLING CO., WILMINGTON	2.11	2.11	1.80	2.00

assemblages according to their economic status. This is most obvious in the cup and saucer category, where three groupings can be seen: from 1.54 to 1.67 (including Whitten, Dickson, Mendenhall, and Thomas Hamlin) from 2.24 to 2.78 (including the Cannon's Point Overseer, Charles Allen, and the Cannon's Point Planter) and from 3.29 to 3.40 (containing Dr. Way and John Richardson). Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:79) have demonstrated that the cup and saucer index is an accurate reflection of the economic ranking of the site's inhabitants, and these groupings, though admittedly subjective, would seem to reflect that conclusion.

Table 28 presents the comparison of the Miller Ceramic Index for the Heisler Tenancy. The results of the comparison are not surprising. In the important cup and saucer index, Heisler (2.13) ranks closely with the Franklin Glass Workers house (2.15), and with the Dowdall Bottling Site (2.11), definitely representative of lower to middle economic status. The wealthiest of the sites, the Green family from Vermont, is consistently highly ranked, except in the bowl category, which again reflects dietary patterns. As with the Dickson I comparison, this ranking indicates that the use of the cup and saucer indices is reflective of the overall scaling of the site. Groupings of similar status are also apparent, but perhaps less defined. For example, in the overall index category the bottom of the scale blends somewhat ranging from 1.34 to 1.65, but the middle and upper ends of the ranking are obvious, with the Glass Works and Dowdall Bottling in the middle (1.90 to 2.00), and the Green Mansion at the top (2.29).

TABLE 28 (cont.)

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
BLACK LUCY'S GARDEN, MASS.	1.68	1.61	1.24	1.53
MOSES TABB, MD	1.44	1.46	1.29	1.42
J. HALE, OH	1.45	1.23	1.36	1.34
FRANKLIN GLASS WORKS, HOUSE, OH	2.15	1.86	1.54	1.90
GREEN, VERMONT	3.04	1.83	1.59	2.29
HEISLER TENANCY, CHRISTIANA	2.13	1.26	1.63	1.65
DOWDALL BOTTLING CO., WILMINGTON	2.11	2.11	1.80	2.00
J. HAMLIN, NJ	1.50	1.31	1.86	1.45

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
J. HALE, OH	1.45	1.23	1.36	1.34
MOSES TABB, MD	1.44	1.46	1.29	1.42
J. HAMLIN, NJ	1.50	1.31	1.86	1.45
BLACK LUCY'S GARDEN, MASS.	1.68	1.61	1.24	1.53
HEISLER TENANCY, CHRISTIANA	2.13	1.26	1.63	1.65
FRANKLIN GLASS WORKS, HOUSE, OH	2.15	1.86	1.54	1.90
DOWDALL BOTTLING CO., WILMINGTON	2.11	2.11	1.80	2.00
GREEN, VERMONT	3.04	1.83	1.59	2.29

This grouping of sites also raises a concern about the usefulness of the index when used as the sole indicator of status. There is a grouping of similar sites at the bottom of the ranking, including the Hamlin, Tabb, Hale, and Black Lucy assemblages, but there has been some discussion as to whether Hale, an isolated frontier landholder, is really economically similar to John Hamlin, a northern New Jersey, non-isolated farmer (Miller and Hurry 1983; Morin et al. 1986). The controversy suggests that personal preference in ceramic choices and consumer behavior, cannot be factored out of the Miller ceramic analyses, and historic information about a site is necessary to correctly interpret a site's economic standing.

The results of the comparison of the Dickson II assemblage with the Skunk Hollow sites is shown in Table 29. These results are most interesting, showing that Dickson II ranked consistently in the middle of these other black-occupied sites. On the cup and saucer scale, Skunk Hollow Area D is ranked the highest, and this reverses slightly in the overall category with Skunk Hollow Area A ranked highest. A possible upper economic grouping of Dickson II (2.25), Skunk Hollow A (2.36) and Skunk Hollow D (2.75), and a lower economic grouping of Skunk Hollow Areas C (1.00) and B (1.88), are suggested by the results of the cup and saucer ranking. This ranking changes, however, in the overall scaling category, with Areas C and D at the bottom (1.45 to 1.57), Dickson II and Area B in the middle (1.65, 1.66), and Skunk Hollow Area A clearly at the top (2.14). These differences could have several explanations, including vagaries in sample sizes for the Skunk Hollow ceramic assemblages, the ethnic

TABLE 29

DICKSON II OCCUPATION (7NC-E-82), MILLER INDICES COMPARISON

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
SKUNK HOLLOW C, NJ	1.00	1.83	1.67	1.45
SKUNK HOLLOW B, NJ	1.88	1.55	1.67	1.66
DICKSON II, CHRISTIANA	2.25	1.00	1.42	1.65
SKUNK HOLLOW A, NJ	2.36	2.36	1.80	2.14
SKUNK HOLLOW D, NJ	2.75	1.52	1.00	1.57

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
DICKSON II, CHRISTIANA	2.25	1.00	1.42	1.65
SKUNK HOLLOW D, NJ	2.75	1.52	1.00	1.57
SKUNK HOLLOW B, NJ	1.88	1.55	1.67	1.66
SKUNK HOLLOW C, NJ	1.00	1.83	1.67	1.45
SKUNK HOLLOW A, NJ	2.36	2.36	1.80	2.14

TABLE 29 (cont.)

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
SKUNK HOLLOW D, NJ	2.75	1.52	1.00	1.57
DICKSON II, CHRISTIANA	2.25	1.00	1.42	1.65
SKUNK HOLLOW B, NJ	1.88	1.55	1.67	1.66
SKUNK HOLLOW C, NJ	1.00	1.83	1.67	1.45
SKUNK HOLLOW A, NJ	2.36	2.36	1.80	2.14

SITE	CUPS AND SAUCERS	PLATES	BOWLS	CERAMIC INDEX AVERAGE VALUE
SKUNK HOLLOW C, NJ	1.00	1.83	1.67	1.45
SKUNK HOLLOW D, NJ	2.75	1.52	1.00	1.57
DICKSON II, CHRISTIANA	2.25	1.00	1.42	1.65
SKUNK HOLLOW B, NJ	1.88	1.55	1.67	1.66
SKUNK HOLLOW A, NJ	2.36	2.36	1.80	2.14

backgrounds of the site's inhabitants, and personal preferences in ceramic consumption at the sites. Since these sites are contemporary with one another, it does suggest that perhaps the use of the cup and saucer index as a reflection of overall

economic site status, shown by Spencer-Wood (1987) to be reliable, may be less so for later periods of the nineteenth century.

VESSEL FUNCTION ANALYSIS

Two different levels of vessel comparisons were conducted on the Patterson Lane Site Complex assemblages. Comparisons of proportions of flatwares vs. hollowwares, preparation and storage vessels vs. serving vessels, and cups vs. mugs and jugs were performed on the Dickson I, Dickson II, and Heisler Sites. The goal of the comparisons was to compare and contrast the Patterson Lane Site Complex assemblages with general trends and characteristics of vessel use and function as identified by Otto (1984), and further defined by Kelso (1984) and others. These studies analyzed vessel form frequencies in order to identify differences in lifestyles between social and economic classes through space and time (Kelso 1984). At most residential sites, the flatware/hollowware ratio is indicative of food consumption and dietary patterns, with an abundance of flatwares suggestive of roast prime meat cuts, and more hollowware forms indicative of consumption of stews or porridges by the site's inhabitants. In this comparison, then, a higher percentage of flatwares is assumed to represent a higher social or economic status for the site's inhabitants. Additionally, analyses of tablewares, drinking wares, food preparation and storage wares, medicinal wares, and other wares were also accomplished. The three Patterson Lane Complex Sites were then compared to local and regional historic archaeological sites which had similar