

II. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A. HISTORY OF THE PROPERTY

Arthur John Henry was born in Delaware on August 19, in 1848 or 1849. In 1870, he was employed as a farm laborer in Appoquinimink Hundred, in the household of a white farmer named Nehemiah Davis. The Davis household included four other African-American farm laborers. According to the census, A.J. Henry was the only one of these four men who could read, and none of them could write (U.S., Bureau of the Census 1870:348). In 1877, shortly after his marriage to Rachel Brisco, A.J. Henry purchased 8.34 acres of land on the southeast corner of the State Road (now U.S. Route 13) and Blackbird Landing Road for \$250. The deed does not indicate whether this tract of land included a house, and the price would suggest that it did not (New Castle County [NCC] Deed Book C11:99). Nevertheless, A.J. Henry was a resident of Pine Tree Corners by 1880, when the census taker listed "John Henry" as the head of a household which included his wife, Rachel, and two children (U.S., Bureau of the Census, E.D. 31, 1880:387).

In 1882, A.J. Henry bought his second piece of land at Pine Tree Corners, a one-acre lot at the southwest corner of the State Road and Pine Tree crossroad, which included a two-story frame house, almost certainly the house now known as the John Henry House. He bought the house and lot for \$135 from Abram Ingram, who held the property in trust for John A. Ingram. The house was probably built between 1849 and 1860, since the Rea & Price map of New Castle County, published in 1849, does not indicate any structures on the southwest corner of the crossroads. Abram Ingram had bought 40 acres of woodland at the southwest corner in 1848 for \$300. Eleven years later, in 1857, Ingram sold 33 acres of the tract to Miles T. Jones for \$2,300. At that time, the deed specified that the property included "buildings and improvements." The presence of the house was verified in 1860, when Jones sold a one-acre lot with a two-story house back to Abram Ingram for \$450. The 1860 deed also notes that a storehouse was attached to the dwelling (NCC Deed Books A6:514, B7:189, B9:409).

A.J. Henry described himself as a laborer rather than a farmer on the 1880 federal census. He was not included on the 1880 agricultural schedule. In 1899, Henry bought 31 acres of land on the west side of the State Road, about 3,600 feet south of the Pine Tree crossroads. The following year, he was listed in the federal census as "farmer." Henry had risen in 20 years from a landless laborer to the owner of more than 40 acres of land, an impressive accomplishment. According to the 1900 census, his wife, Rachel, had died, and both his daughters, Jennie and Elizabeth Ann (also known as Anna Elizabeth), lived away from home. Jennie Henry, in fact, was a servant in the household of a white tenant farmer in Appoquinimink Hundred. The only person living with A.J. Henry was his son, Harrison, who was then 20 years old. The sequence of families visited by the census taker in 1900 suggests that A.J. and Harrison Henry may not have been living in the house at the southwest corner of Pine Tree crossroads, but it is not known where else they might have lived (U.S., Bureau of the Census, E.D. 47, 1900:8A, 21B).

A.J. Henry insured his property with the Kent County Mutual Insurance Company on December 28, 1894. The insurance policy covered a 16-by-16-foot, one-and-one-half-story dwelling valued

at \$200; a two-story stable, 12 by 22 feet in size, valued at \$135; one horse; one cow; and household furniture (Kent County Mutual Insurance Company, Policy No. 17260).

Jennie, Harrison, and Elizabeth Ann Henry all married in the decade between 1900 and 1910. Jennie married Robert H. Hicks, a Marylander. By 1910 they were renting a house in the Pine Tree Corners neighborhood. Elizabeth Ann married Levi Watson, Jr., the son of a Pine Tree Corners farmer. They also rented a house at Pine Tree Corners, as did Harrison and his wife, Cora. Robert H. Hicks, Levi Watson, Jr., and Harrison Henry were all employed as farmhands. A.J. Henry was absent from Pine Tree Corners when the census taker visited the neighborhood in April 1910. One of his children, most likely Harrison Henry, may have lived in the John Henry House at the time (U.S., Bureau of the Census, E.D. 97, 1910:7A, A-B). Unfortunately, neither A.J. Henry nor his children were included in the *Farm Journal and Business Directory of New Castle County* published in 1914, which would have provided information on the road on which they lived. Perhaps small-scale African-American farmers, who were unlikely to subscribe to the journal, were omitted from its pages.

Harrison Henry may still have occupied his father's house in 1920. He and his wife, Cora, and their seven children were enumerated in a house on the State Road. However, A.J. Henry, referred to as "Jack" Henry, lived next door to his son in what was probably the house he owned at Pine Tree Corners. Elizabeth "Lizzie" Ann and her husband, Levi Watson, also lived along the State Road. Jennie and her family appear to have moved away from the neighborhood (U.S., Bureau of the Census, E.D. 173, 1920:10B, 12B). Harrison Henry died of tuberculosis in 1922, at the age of 43. He was buried in Townsend (Division of Health and Social Services 1922, Death Certificate No. 1893).

In 1920, the Delaware State Highway Department drew up plans to construct the Dupont Highway, then referred to as Route No. N-1, utilizing sections of the State Road (DelDOT Road No. 1, NCC, Project No. 27). Alterations of the intersection of the State Road with Pine Tree Road and Blackbird Landing Road put A.J. Henry's house directly within the new right-of-way (ROW). Henry's other property, which also fronted the State Road, was also affected by changes in the ROW. He conveyed enough land along his properties, except for his house lot, to give the State Highway Department 40 feet on either side of Dupont Highway's center line (NCC Deed Book M32:223). Henry entered into an agreement with the State Highway Department whereby he exchanged his property in the ROW, at the intersection of the Dupont Highway and Pine Tree Road, in return for the removal of his house to his property on the east side of the Dupont Highway. The removal of A.J. Henry's house to the east side of Dupont Highway was completed by December 1923. Construction of the highway decreased the dimensions of his property to seven acres at the southeast corner and one-half acre at the southwest corner of the crossroads (NCC Will File 12349).

In 1924, A.J. Henry sold part of his former house lot to Bertha Goodrich, who paid \$200 for a triangular lot lying adjacent to Dupont Highway and Pine Tree Road. In the following year, she bought additional land on Henry's former house lot. By 1931, Bertha Goodrich's lot was the site of Pine Tree Service Station (DelDOT Road No. 1, NCC, Project No. 220; NCC Deed Book

L33:90, W33:147) (Figure 2). A.J. Henry also sold one small parcel of his property on the east side of the highway. John and Harriet Terry of Wilmington bought the half-acre parcel on the southern edge of A.J. Henry's "home place" in 1927 for \$125. Two other building lots were carved out of A.J. Henry's 31-acre property on the west side of Dupont Highway during the 1920s. One of these was a two-acre parcel on which the Owl Inn was built (NCC Deed Books C34:588, B35:577, F35:253).

A.J. Henry died of cardiac asthma in May 1929, and was buried at Lee's Chapel (Division of Health and Social Services 1929, Death Certificate No. 1384). He left his daughter, Elizabeth Ann Watson, all of his remaining property on the east side of U.S. Route 13, including the house. His daughter, Jennie Hicks, inherited the remaining land on the southwest corner of the crossroads and a small lot which had been the site of "Lee's Chapel Colored School." His daughter-in-law, Cora Henry, inherited a seven-acre tract of land that A.J. Henry had bought on the north side of Pine Tree Road, a little west of the crossroads. All three heirs inherited the 31-acre tract on the west side of U.S. Route 13, which they divided equally as their father had wished. The total market value of A.J. Henry's real estate was \$1,200 (NCC Will File 12349).

When he died, A.J. Henry's most valuable assets were two cows, two calves, two mares, a plow, a cultivator, a farm wagon, and \$80 worth of tomatoes. He had \$230.17 in savings and a life insurance policy with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company worth another \$100 (NCC Will File 12349). The home insurance policy held with the Kent County Mutual Insurance Company was not transferred to the name of Elizabeth Ann Watson (also known as Anna Elizabeth Watson) until October 5, 1932. Elizabeth Watson kept the same buildings insured, and also covered two horses. The policy was not canceled until 1955 (Kent County Mutual Insurance Company Policy No. 17260).

In 1931, U.S. Route 13 was widened to four lanes, and the John Henry House was moved again. A plan made in that year shows the house under the proposed northbound lanes. This plan (see Figure 2) also shows a large barn and two sheds on the Watson property.

Elizabeth Ann Watson retained the property on the east side of U.S. Route 13 containing the John Henry House until her death in 1971. She may have lived in the house until she was admitted to the Delaware Home and Hospital for the Chronically Ill at Smyrna. Her daughter, Clara Watson, was probably living in the John Henry House with her mother. At the time of her mother's death, Clara Watson was living on Pine Tree Road, which was the address given for the John Henry House (NCC Will File 59629). The John Henry House remained in the hands of Clara's heirs until 1996, when it was purchased by the state of Delaware (NCC Deed Book 2147:295).

B. BACKGROUND: AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN DELAWARE, 1865 TO 1930

African-Americans made up between 14 and 17 percent of the population of nineteenth-century Delaware. The 1860 census recorded 21,617 blacks in the state, and the 1890 census recorded 28,386. Even before the Civil War, most Delaware blacks had been free. Because of economic

circumstances, and the agitation of the vocal and vehemently antislavery Quaker minority in Delaware, the number of slaves in the state fell from 6,153 in 1800 to 1,798 in 1860, comprising 8 percent of Delaware's black population. The African-American population was also geographically stable, with little migration into or out of the state. In the 1865 to 1930 period, therefore, most of Delaware's African-Americans had never been slaves, nor had their parents been slaves.

Although most African-Americans in nineteenth-century Delaware were free, they were nevertheless not equal. Until the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1870, African-Americans could not vote, and their brief entry into the electorate was curtailed by the passage, in 1873, of a poll tax bill. The tax was only a dollar, but the authorities, especially in Kent and Sussex counties, made it almost impossible for blacks to pay it. Black voting in the 1870s and 1880s was therefore negligible. The poll tax was repealed in 1897 because of the activities of "Gas" Addicks, a wealthy Philadelphian, who tried to make himself a U.S. Senator from Delaware by paying the poll tax of thousands of new black voters. However, the barriers of a literacy test, hostile local officials, and the lack of effective political leadership still kept African-Americans from effectively using the political process until the 1930s.

The state's political system, without African-American representation, enacted systematic discrimination against blacks. African-Americans did not serve on juries (which were drawn from the voting lists) and, unlike whites, could be imprisoned for debt. Particularly offensive to spokesmen for African-Americans was a determined attempt by whites to prevent blacks from obtaining any education (Lewis 1981). Schools for blacks had been set up by Quakers in Wilmington as early as 1797, but these schools could handle only a few dozen students. In 1865, the great majority of Delaware's blacks were illiterate, and white leaders, especially in Kent and Sussex counties, were determined to keep them that way. Attempts by Quakers to establish schools in the southern part of the state were met with violence. In 1865, an unnamed Wilmington insurance actuary set a 25 percent annual premium for fire insurance for black school buildings in Kent and Sussex. Events showed that the actuary was good at his job: white mobs burned nearly a dozen schools in those counties between 1867 and 1875 (Livesay 1968:105). In 1875 the city of Wilmington took over the "colored" schools in its jurisdiction, and for the next 50 years that city provided by far the best education for African-Americans in the state. Also in 1875, the state enacted a law taxing its black citizens to provide education for black children. The "separate but equal" schools that resulted did manage to reduce illiteracy, but outside Wilmington they lacked the resources for anything more ambitious. It was only in the 1920s that any significant improvement came to Delaware's educational system for blacks, and then it was not the state that provided the funds but a private philanthropist, Pierre Du Pont, who spent \$5,000,000 building and improving schools.

Discrimination against African-Americans, and the difficulties of obtaining an education, excluded blacks from most employment categories. The 1890 census, the first to track employment in a detailed way, counted among black professionals two bankers, one lawyer, five physicians, and two managers (Livesay 1968). African-Americans comprised more than 2 percent of the workers in only three skilled trades, iron and steel work, railroad work, and engineer work. Among some

trades, such as cabinet making, there had even been a decline in black participation since before the Civil War. By contrast, African-Americans made up 40.2 percent of agricultural laborers, 39.0 percent of nonagricultural laborers, 53.5 percent of servants, and 30.5 percent of teamsters; 92 percent of black workers fell into one of those categories.

Not surprisingly, most African-Americans were poor. A small black middle class did develop in Wilmington, but outside that city blacks in Delaware made virtually no economic progress before World War I. De Cunzo and Garcia (1992) studied tax records from six rural hundreds in 1850 and 1870, and they found no blacks in the top half of the population by wealth. Blacks working in agriculture were overwhelmingly classified as laborers. Analysis of the 1870 census from Little Creek Hundred showed that 22 percent of a total of 54 households engaged in agriculture were black, but only 5 were farmers; the rest were "farm hands." In these families, sons over 12 were usually also listed as farmhands (De Cunzo and Garcia 1992:78). The 1890 census recorded 818 African-American farmers in the state, but their farms were overwhelmingly small ones, and most were located on poor agricultural land.

One rather puzzling statistic for the later nineteenth century is that while the number of African-American farm owners increased, the number of tenant farmers decreased. De Cunzo and Garcia (1992:79) write that this trend reflected the consolidation of smaller farms into the hands of fewer, wealthier farmers in this period. A recent study of blacks in southern Virginia, however, suggests a different explanation. Edna Medford (1992) found that economic conditions for freed blacks were much better in the mixed farming area of Virginia than in the cotton south, and that some blacks were able, through wage labor, to save enough to buy their own farms. This research also suggests that they generally avoided renting farms because they feared being cheated. Given the choice, the black farmers of southern Virginia preferred to work as wage hands until they could afford their own farms, rather than become tenants. Perhaps the decline in black tenancy in late nineteenth-century Delaware shows a desire for independence, not an economic decline.

C. DEFINITION OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN HOUSE AND GARDEN SITE TYPE

The definition of an African-American House and Garden site type must be both descriptive and associative. The term is descriptive, since properties of the House and Garden site type share a common architectural style, a common situation in the landscape, and a common history. It is associative, in that only historical research can confirm that the occupants of a given site were African-Americans.

The House and Garden site type was originally proposed as an architectural category. The houses of this type often follow a common plan, consisting of a story-and-a-half main block, typically with two rooms on the ground floor, with a single-story kitchen shed on the back. The houses are almost always frame (a few of the earlier ones were log), originally covered with clapboards or wooden shingles and now sometimes clad in asphalt or asbestos shingles. Houses of this type were built by Delaware landowners for their tenants beginning in the late eighteenth century, but most standing examples were built between 1850 and 1920. Besides a common dwelling type,

these sites also share a common situation in the landscape. In Delaware, farm complexes are commonly situated in the middle of the fields. House and Garden sites are almost always situated at the edges of the fields, either against the tree line behind the main house or along a road. Usually the house and garden are some distance away from the main house but still within sight. A yard area around the house was usually set aside for the tenant's use, and most tenants had their own gardens on these plots.

After 1850, many Delaware landowners began selling or giving small properties, including houses of the House and Garden type, to their laborers. Although the details of the transactions are usually now impossible to recover, it seems that those properties that were "given" were actually partial payment for farm labor. The desire of laborers to own their own houses can be seen as a manifestation of the desire for independence described by Medford (1992). These properties typically measured from one half to two acres. The people who lived in them still often worked as laborers on the surrounding farms, but they could supplement their incomes by gardening and raising a few animals on their small properties. In the form of the house and the layout of the tenement, however, these owner-occupied properties were generally indistinguishable from tenant dwellings.

One of the characteristics of the House and Garden house type is that the structures were easily movable, and many of them had been moved more than once. The John Henry House, which conforms to the architectural type, has certainly been moved. The mobility of the houses creates difficulties for archaeological study of these sites. The current location of a house of this type is not necessarily the place where it stood when it was built. The date of the house is therefore not a reliable guide to the date of the archaeological site surrounding it, which must be established by other criteria.

The African-American House and Garden site type can therefore be defined as a domestic site of the 1865 to 1930 period which:

- 1) is in a rural setting;
- 2) was occupied by African-Americans;
- 3) is located on a small (less than 5-acre) parcel of land that either belonged to the occupants or was set aside for their use;
- 4) is situated at the edge of agricultural fields, not surrounded by them; and
- 5) included a small frame house similar to the House and Garden architectural type.

D. RESEARCH ISSUES

1. *Income Strategy*

Of key importance in the archaeological study of African-American sites is the income strategy of the residents. Black Americans responded to their economic marginalization with a variety of creative strategies for earning extra income, stretching their budgets, and making food and other useful products out of the wild resources around them (Borchert 1980; Stine 1990). "Soul

food," for example, was essentially based on a series of techniques for turning the cheapest meats and vegetables into good eating (Darden and Darden 1978). Although these strategies are usually thought of as necessary for survival, they can also be interpreted as manifestations of a desire for independence (Medford 1992) or social advancement. The career of A.J. Henry shows that through careful use of their resources, some black people were able to raise their status considerably.

The archaeology of House and Garden sites should include a careful effort to identify remains of income-stretching activities. Some activities that may be identifiable include hunting, wild-plant gathering, gardening, home manufactures (such as soap or liquor), and on-site butchering. Certain manufactured goods also provide evidence of subsistence activities; for example, canning jars represent home food preservation, and sewing supplies represent the home manufacture or repair of clothing (Stewart-Abernathy 1992).

Evidence of gardening and food processing, in particular, should be detectable on intact sites. Little flotation study has been done on nineteenth-century African-American sites in Delaware, but such studies elsewhere have proven fruitful. During excavations in the Howard Road Historic District in Washington, D.C., seeds recovered from soil flotation showed that the residents had kept backyard gardens which yielded squash, pumpkins, watermelons, and greens, and that they had made wine or brandy from plums, elderberries, and grapes (LBA 1986). Evidence of the cultivation of squash and greens was also found during excavations at the National Photographic Interpretation Center, also in Washington, D.C. (Soil Systems, Inc. 1983), and documentary sources also suggest that gardening was common (Borchert 1980). Alternatively, analysis of seeds recovered from flotation, or study of surviving landscape features, may show that much of a property was devoted to ornamental gardens. The post-World War II landscape at the John Henry Site has a large number of ornamental shrubs and small trees occupying the entire front area, and much of the side yards. It is not known whether the emphasis on ornamentals is a recent development, produced by a declining emphasis on income from gardening and stock raising, or if some African-Americans may have had ornamental gardens in the pre-1930 period.

The theme of Income Strategy is closely related to the Domestic Economy theme identified by De Cunzo and Garcia (1992), and, because of the focus on the use of the lot at the John Henry Site, to their Landscape theme as well. The Income Strategy theme also connects to a broad area of research on nineteenth-century farms—the question of self-sufficiency (Bedell et al. 1994; Stewart-Abernathy 1992). Spokesmen for American farmers often extolled their self-sufficiency, and many of the manufacturing activities practiced on small farms have been interpreted as reflecting a desire for self-reliance rather than purely economic considerations. People who worked for wages and owned only a few acres of land were obviously limited in the degree of self-sufficiency to which they could aspire, but the range of activities carried out on House and Garden sites needs to be evaluated in this light.

2. *Ethnic Distinctiveness/Assimilation*

Another important question about African-American people in the 1865 to 1930 period is the extent to which they maintained a distinctively black way of life, and, on the other hand, the

extent to which they participated in changes taking place in the broader American economy and in society. Ethnic markers may be present in housing, in diet, in the layout of farms, and in the choice of consumer goods purchased (Baker 1980; Deetz 1977; Stine 1990). Examination of the glass, ceramics, and other durable objects recovered should provide information about the residents' behavior as consumers and the extent to which they practiced foodways identifiable as African-American.

A substantial amount of archaeology has been done in Delaware on tenant farms from the nineteenth century (Catts and Custer 1990; Grettler et al. 1996; Hoseth et al. 1994; Taylor et al. 1987). The availability of material from such studies makes it possible to pursue two lines of comparative research. First, it is possible to compare sites occupied by African-Americans with sites occupied by whites and assimilated Native Americans (often referred to in Delaware as "Moors") (Heite et al. 1997). Second, if a House and Garden site is excavated, it should be possible to compare it to other kinds of tenant residences to see if the distinctive style of the House and Garden type is reflected in other aspects of the occupants' material culture. Extending the comparisons beyond Delaware, archaeologists should consider whether blacks in Delaware participated in a national African-American culture, or whether the cultural distinctions of the white society in different regions are reflected in the black experience. In other words, we need to ask whether the material life of a black family in the Middle Atlantic region had more in common with that of black families in the south or with that of their white neighbors (Hoseth et al. 1994:92-97).

This theme is closely related to the Social Group Identity, Behavior, and Interaction theme identified by De Cunzo and Garcia (1992:270).

3. *Community Formation*

House and Garden sites are sometimes relatively isolated on the landscape, but some were also part of a rural community (Heite and Blume 1995; for documentation of similar communities in southern Virginia see LBA 1997). Because of the rather small size of most of these properties, those located along roads could be situated quite close to their neighbors. The John Henry Site was located in Pine Tree Corners, where an African-American community developed early in the twentieth century around a crossroads and a Methodist Episcopal church that had been established before the Civil War. Joan Geismar (1982) believes that the establishment of the small, all-black Skunk Hollow community in Bergen County, New Jersey, was a response by African-Americans to discrimination. The process of the establishment of these black communities in rural Delaware and the impact of their development on the individual households that composed them are worthy of investigation. The development of these communities might be reflected in the archaeological record not only in the siting of the houses, but in different patterns of consumer behavior or different ways of using yard space, such as in the planting of more ornamentals.

This theme is related to the Social Group Identity, Behavior, and Interaction theme identified by De Cunzo and Garcia (1992:270).

4. *Modernization*

One important question to ask about property types from the recent past is whether, and to what extent, the way of life they represented still exists. A drive through central Delaware suggests that some people, black and white, still live in houses that either actually conform to the House and Garden type or are quite similar to that type. Some of these houses are located on one- to two-acre lots, containing the large gardens, sheds, and other features of small farms. Some of the residents may even work in agriculture. Yet nineteenth-century lifeways are certainly in decline in Delaware, as they are everywhere else. It seems that no examples of the House and Garden house type have been built in recent decades; this type of house has been displaced among the rural working class by mobile homes and houses of single-story design. The relationship between life in the 1865 to 1930 period and contemporary life could be pursued through oral history and material culture studies, with the goal of establishing the timing of important changes, the factors that caused them (e.g., electrification, the automobile, and mechanization of farming), and the impact of these changes on people's lives (Carlson 1990).

E. SUGGESTED ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

House and Garden sites are not rare in central Delaware. With a rather cursory survey, the Center for Historic Architecture and Design of the University of Delaware identified 99 standing structures in New Castle and Kent counties that appeared to fit the architectural criteria for inclusion in the type. Also, these sites date to a period for which other kinds of records, including detailed maps, written documents, recorded interviews and music, and even living witnesses, are plentiful. Therefore, the requirements for listing these sites in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D should be demanding.

It is suggested that in order to be considered for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, a House and Garden site from the 1865 to 1930 period should possess substantial historic documentation, in the form of written records or living residents available to be interviewed. Indeed, without such documentation it will probably be impossible to determine if a site was actually occupied by African-Americans. In addition, the site should possess substantial integrity in the following three areas:

- 1) *Architectural integrity.* Architectural remains are always one of the most important categories of data sought by archaeologists, but they are especially important in this context. Whether the House and Garden dwelling type, as defined architecturally, has any clear social or cultural meaning has yet to be definitely established, and data on the relationship between the architecture and other aspects of the history and material culture of these sites are necessary to answer this question. A site where a substantially intact house and outbuildings dating to before 1930 are still standing would clearly possess architectural integrity. If a house has been moved from the site, the house can be identified still standing on another site, and the location of its foundations can be identified, the site would also possess architectural integrity. If archaeological remains of the house and other buildings are present, including foundations and numerous other

remains sufficient to reconstruct the likely size and appearance of the house and at least some of the outbuildings, architectural integrity would also be present. Surviving photographic evidence, or detailed information from informants, but not simple descriptions from tax or insurance records, should also be considered in assessing architectural integrity.

- 2) *Landscape integrity.* The use of the "garden" lot is one of the main foci of the research questions suggested here, so the integrity of the landscape should be a prime consideration in the determination of eligibility. The integrity of the landscape could be indicated by the presence of old fences, old trees, or old outbuildings in their original locations. A site that has been completely or largely plowed since abandonment would definitely lack landscape integrity. At the John Henry Site, flotation of soil samples was carried out to determine if seeds or similar garden remains were present. The presence of activity areas clearly defined by chemical signatures, artifact patterns, or structures should also be considered.
- 3) *Intact artifact deposits.* Sealed deposits of intact household refuse are always of great archaeological interest, and the identification of distinctive ethnic patterns in diet or consumer behavior will likely not be possible without such deposits. Priority should be given to sites that possess substantial intact refuse deposits that date to before 1930. If all the artifacts on a site come from a generalized yard scatter, the site would lack integrity in this area, especially if the site was occupied for an extended period.

Even a site that meets all of these criteria should not be automatically considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. The discovery of such a site should, however, lead to an evaluation of the possible contributions that documentation could make to our knowledge of regional history, and to the extent that such knowledge cannot be obtained from other sources.