Historic Context:
The Archaeology of African American Life in St. Georges Hundred, Delaware, 1770-1940

U.S. Route 301 Corridor
New Castle County, Delaware

Agreement No. 1538 / Work Order No. 6

THIS REPORT CONTAINS CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION
NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION

Prepared for:

Delaware Department of Transportation
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Final Draft Report
May 6, 2016

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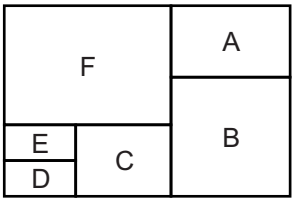

A) Delaware Board of Education n.d.
B) Delaware Board of Education 1952
C) Delaware Board of Education 1921
D) Bedell 2006
E) Zebley 1947
F) Liebknecht and Burrow 2012

HISTORIC CONTEXT:
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FOREWORD

The definition of appropriate historic contexts lies at the core of a well-founded cultural resource management program. From planning surveys to designing mitigation programs, historic preservation must operate within the context of what is already known about the past and its remains. Archaeological sites are usually found to be significant because of their information potential, that is, what they can tell us about the past. Decisions about what information would be important should be made in light of what is already known, and a well-conceived historic context provides that information as well as suggesting appropriate questions for future research. Archaeological surveys should be planned with some understanding of what types of sites can be expected in the project area, and a historic context also includes these data.

This document focuses on the archaeology of African American sites in St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware, in the 1770 to 1940 time period. Existing historic context documents in Delaware overlap with this one. The general contexts on rural archaeology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Bedell 2002; De Cunzo and Garcia 1992) obviously cover African American farm and rural dwelling sites as part of the broad pattern of rural life. There are also contexts on various aspects of African American life, including the formation of communities (Sheppard and Toney 2010; Skelcher 1995b), schools (Skelcher 1995a), and the House and Garden property type (Siders and Andrezejewski 1997). This context differs from those in taking in all of the main archaeological property types associated with African American life — rural residences, town houses, churches, and more — and in focusing narrowly on a particular place. The narrow spatial focus allows the accumulation of historical data on particular communities and sometimes even particular people. With enough knowledge about a particular place, it is often possible to identify tenants, to connect the building and abandonment of houses with particular events, and generally provide a richness of background detail not possible for a large area.

This historic context study was completed as one element of an alternative mitigation program that was developed for the Dale Historic Site. The Dale Site (7-NC-134) was once the home of the African American family of Samuel Dale. The site is just north of Middletown, Delaware, near the intersection known as Armstrong Corners. Until recently this was farm country, nearly flat, the broad fields interrupted by occasional wood lots. By the time archaeologists found the Dale Site, the buildings had long been demolished. The only sign that this had once been a farm was a scatter of artifacts on the surface of a plowed field. The site was directly in the path of new U.S. Route 301, a major highway project. The Delaware Department of Transportation (DelDOT) sponsored archaeological investigations to learn what was left at the site before the new highway was constructed.

The site was discovered in 2010 by Hunter Research, Inc. (Liebknecht and Burrow 2011). Phase II testing of the site was carried out by Louis Berger in 2011. The Dale Site contains three separate house sites dating to the 1800 to 1910 period. From 1854 to 1915, the site belonged to the Rev. Samuel Dale, minister of Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church in Middletown, and his children. From 1820 to 1846, it belonged to James Mansfield of Achmester, and his account book identifies the tenants from 1830 to 1837, African American laborers named Lewis Jones and James Golden. A filled-in well and other features were found at the site. Because of the site's potential to provide

important information about free African Americans in nineteenth-century Delaware, it was considered eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. However, the historical record associated with the Dale Site has provided more information about African American life than the archaeological record. Historical documents discovered during the investigation have provided insight into many aspects of African American life in St. Georges Hundred, including the formation of the Free Black communities at Armstrong Corner and in nearby Middletown. In addition, research associated with the Dale Site revealed numerous accounts of Underground Railroad activity in St. Georges Hundred in the decades leading up to Emancipation.

In lieu of traditional archaeological data recovery, the alternative program has three elements:

- the survey report that includes the detailed documentation of the archaeological and historical data obtained during the Phase I and Phase II investigations;
- a historic context that focuses on the historical African American presence in the St. Georges Hundred in the 1770 to 1940 period; and
- a public interpretation component that includes a web site that summarizes the work at the Dale Historic Site and presents the broad historic context of African American history in St. Georges Hundred.

The time period for this context, 1770 to 1940, encompasses three periods that have been defined for cultural resource management in Delaware: Transformation from Colony to State (circa 1770 to 1830); Industrialization and Capitalization (circa 1830 to 1880); and Urbanization and Suburbanization (circa 1880 to 1940). Throughout these periods St. Georges Hundred remained predominantly rural with a few small towns. In 1800 the overall population of the Hundred was 3,365 people, of whom 954 were African American. The white population was stagnant over the 1800 to 1850 period, rose from 1850 to 1880, and then began to decline again as people moved to the cities. The African American population rose steadily from 1800 to 1880, when it, too, began to fall. The main towns in the Hundred were Odessa (until 1850 known as Cantwell's Bridge), Port Penn, and Middletown. Middletown was a tiny place until the railroad arrived in the 1850s, when it grew dramatically, surpassing Odessa as the most populous place in the Hundred.

The physical remains of this past are categorized into various "property types." The most important property types for this context are farms, house and garden dwellings, slave quarters, town houses, churches, cemeteries, and schools. There has been some archaeological investigation of farms and house and garden dwellings, but none of the other types.

As a planning document, this study identifies information needs that should receive priority during future archaeological work in St. Georges Hundred. Some of the recommended strategies for future work include the following.

- Focus on poorly documented property types: slave quarters, house and garden tenements, and town lots
- Expand documentary research at the Phase II and III levels to incorporate the neighborhood as well as the site
- Incorporate findings of recent scholarship in African American archaeology and history

This volume is organized into nine chapters. The first three are a short introduction, a discussion of the research methods, and a description of the natural landscape. Next comes the largest chapter, the historical narrative. Chapter V describes the archaeology done to date, including all the excavations of African American sites in Delaware and some from surrounding states. Chapter VI describes the property types defined for this study, Chapter VII discusses important research questions, and Chapter VIII criteria for evaluation of archaeological resources. Chapter IX is the conclusion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

DelDOT and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) were major program sponsors for this study and deserve much credit for their creative approach to cultural resource management. In particular, DelDOT archaeologists Kevin Cunningham, Gwen Davis, and David Clarke were instrumental in conceiving the idea of an alternative mitigation program for the U.S. Route 301 project. This study, along with others that grew out of the U.S. Route 301 project, provides a valuable opportunity to look beyond the individual site reports and strict Section 106 compliance requirements that are too often the end point of work in the cultural resource management industry. Heidi Krofft of DelDOT has been a great help in bringing the project to its conclusion.

Under assignment from DelDOT, Louis Berger had primary responsibility for this project. Led by project manager Charles LeeDecker, John Bedell had the major technical responsibility in his role as Principal Investigator. Archaeologist Jason Shellenhamer carried out much of the primary historical research for this context. Gregory Katz assembled the GIS database and generated the spatial data for analysis. Anne Moiseev was responsible for the text editing and layout, and Jacqueline Horsford prepared the final presentation graphics. After comments were received on the draft document, Andrew Wilkins took over the revisions and also made substantial additions to the text.

Louis Berger was joined by a team from Delaware State University (DSU) led by Dr. Robin Krawitz, Director of the Historic Preservation Graduate Program in the History, Political Science and Philosophy Department. Student researchers from DSU included Jessie Cathey, LaSara Johnson, and Krystal McGinnis. Archaeologists and historians with other firms working on the U.S. Route 301 project provided much assistance, especially Ian Burrow, Bill Liebknecht, Kerri Barile, and Michael Gall.

The project team is grateful to the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, who offered much assistance during this project, specifically Craig Lukezic, Alice Guerrant, Charles Fithian, and Faye Stocum.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. PROJECT BACKGROUND

The Dale Historic Site (7-NC-1340) was documented during the Delaware Department of Transportation (DelDOT) U.S. Route 301 project, during which it was determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under Criterion D, because it contains information important to regional history. The Dale Site contains at least two separate house sites dating to the 1840 to 1910 period. During this period the site belonged to the Rev. Samuel Dale, minister of Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church in Middletown, and his children.

The Dale Site will be subject to an adverse effect from the construction of U.S. Route 301 through the property containing the site. During investigation of the Dale Site, researchers found that the historical record associated with the site provided more information about African American life than the archaeological record. Historical documents discovered during the investigation have provided insight into many aspects of African American life in St. Georges Hundred, including the formation of the Free Black communities at Armstrong Corner and in nearby Middletown. In addition, research associated with the Dale Site revealed numerous accounts of Underground Railroad activity in St. Georges Hundred in the decades leading up to Emancipation. For these and other reasons, it was decided that rather than pursuing a large-scale archaeological data recovery program at the site, the mitigation would take the form of a new historic context for the archaeology of African American life in St. Georges Hundred.

B. PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE DOCUMENT

The purpose of this historic context is to describe what is known about the archaeology and history of African Americans in St. Georges Hundred from 1770 to 1940, and provide guidance for any future archaeological investigations on African American sites in this area. The context builds on two contexts authored by Dr. Bradley Skelcher, on African American settlement patterns in the upper peninsular zone (Kent and southern New Castle counties) and African American education across the state (Skelcher 1995a, 1995b). Figure 1 shows the location of St. Georges Hundred.

This historic context follows the guidance provided in the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines (48 *Federal Register* 44716), first published in 1983 and referred to herein as the SOI Standards. The SOI Standards define standards for preservation planning that focus on the development of historic contexts as the primary tool for decision making regarding the identification, evaluation, and treatment of various property types. The process of context development outlined in the SOI Standards includes the following steps.

1. Identify the concept, time period, and geographic limits of the context
2. Assemble existing information about the context
3. Synthesize information
4. Define property types
5. Identify information needs

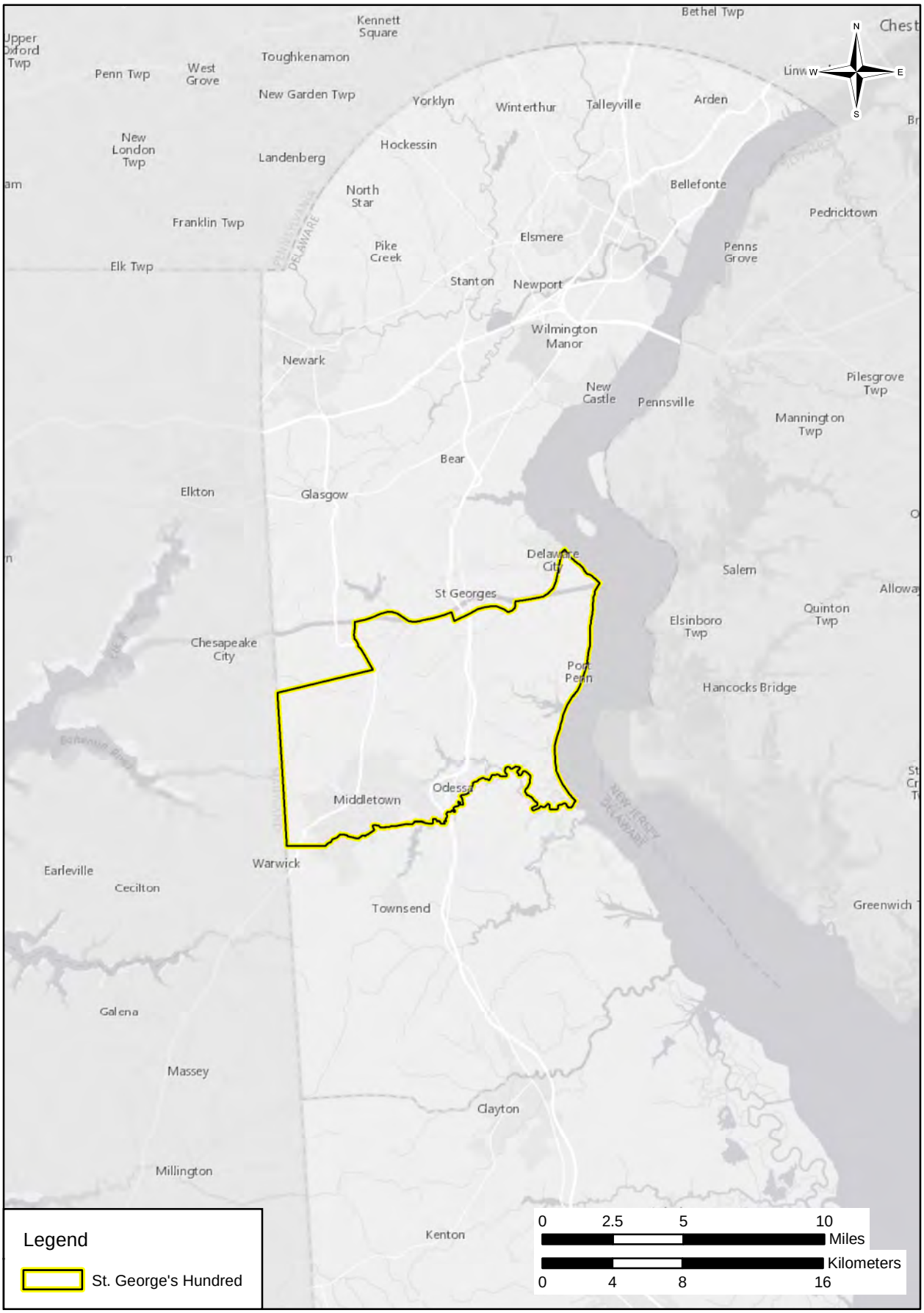


FIGURE 1: Location of St. Georges Hundred (ESRI World Light Gray Basemap 2014)

Once developed, a historic context is used to guide:

a. identification efforts (e.g., archaeological surveys);
b. evaluation of individual properties or groups of properties (i.e., evaluations of NRHP eligibility); and
c. develop recommended treatment strategies for each property type associated with the context.

Under the SOI standards, consideration of information needs is a critical issue in developing appropriate treatment strategies, particularly for archaeological properties; when significant archaeological sites are threatened with loss, research designs oriented to specific information needs should be central to a data recovery plan, and the proposed field and analytical methods should be focused on recovery of specific information needed to further develop the body of information about the specific historic context or property type. NRHP Bulletin 16B contains a condensed discussion of the process of historic context development (NRHP 1999).

C. DELAWARE STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLAN

Formal historical planning in Delaware following the SOI Standards began with a series of comprehensive studies by the University of Delaware Center for Historic Architecture and Engineers (UDCHA) in the 1980s. The initial volume, *The Delaware Statewide Comprehensive Historic Preservation Plan*, outlined a general process that closely follows the SOI Standards in which historic contexts and associated property types are the central organizing elements (Ames et al. 1987). This document provides the conceptual framework at the statewide level, with five time periods (e.g., Exploration and Frontier Settlement: 1630 to 1730), 18 themes (e.g., Agriculture) and five geographic zones (e.g., Pennsylvania Piedmont). Data for existing historic properties are summarized, but the document primarily emphasizes operational guidance for future preservation planning.

The companion volumes, *Historic Context Master Reference and Summary* (Herman et al. 1989) and *Delaware Comprehensive Historic Preservation Plan* (Ames et al. 1989), provide additional detail on the planning process and the use of historic contexts. The *Historic Context Master Reference and Summary* carries the three-dimensional (time, space, theme) historic context model forward by summarizing the economic and cultural trends according to Delaware's five physiographic zones, five time periods, and 18 themes. Property types and basic contextual information provided for a few of the 450 individual contexts are generated by this model, but most require additional research to develop applicable property types. Appendices to this document provide a chronology of Delaware history and much more detailed listings of property types under each of the 18 themes.

The *Delaware Comprehensive Historic Preservation Plan* provides a staged process for context development. The process is illustrated by a sample historic context for the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal that begins with the basic tasks: development of a historical narrative; definition of the time, space, and theme parameters; a discussion of information needs; and compilation of a reference bibliography. Later stages of the context development include summary of the existing resource base, analysis of the distribution of property types, development of criteria for resource

evaluation, and establishment of preservation goals. Finally, statewide preservation priorities are presented, following an analysis of development pressures and expected growth. The plan concludes with a long-range research agenda and strategies for public engagement, funding, information management, and recommended legislation.

The University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research (UDCAR) completed a series of plans focused specifically on archaeological resources in the 1990s, including two major studies focused on historic archaeological resources. The first management plan for historic archaeological resources, *Management Plan for Delaware's Historic Archaeological Resources*, begins with a wide-ranging overview of current research directions in historical archaeology, along with a consideration of work by historians, architectural historians, and geographers. The document (De Cunzo and Catts 1990) also provides a more detailed overview of Delaware history and data summaries drawn from the 257 formally recorded archaeological sites. As a planning document, the major emphasis is placed on the development of research questions that would be used to guide the study of historic archaeological properties. Expanding on the basic space-time-theme model of the statewide plan, four research domains are defined as an organizing principle to encompass multiple themes. The four broad research domains in this model are Domestic Economy, Manufacturing and Trade, Landscape, and Social Group Identity, Behavior and Interaction. Then, using the four research domains as the top-level organizing principle, specific property types are defined for the state's physiographic zones and time periods. Originally intended as a five-year plan, the research agenda laid out in this document is far more ambitious, and many of the information needs and research questions developed in this document are still unfulfilled. Appendices to the document include a bibliography of historical archaeological studies completed in Delaware and a catalog of all sites known at that time, coded by location, date range, and property type. Site types tailored to archaeological resources are classified as field scatter, trash dump, etc.

UDCAR followed the statewide plan with a fully developed context specifically focused on archaeological resources associated with agriculture and rural life in New Castle and Kent counties for the Industrialization and Capitalization (circa 1830 to 1880) and Urbanization and Suburbanization (circa 1880 to 1940) periods (De Cunzo and Garcia 1992). Spatially, this context is broadly defined to include two of Delaware's three counties, but the thematic focus is narrowly defined to include agricultural production and the social and cultural aspects of farm life. The historical narrative is informed by the vast amount of information available from primary source material, including account books, family papers, court records, state directories, estate and probate records, tax assessment records, maps and atlases, newspapers, photographs, and census records. Intensive data analysis was completed for seven of the hundreds in the two counties: Mill Creek, Appoquinimink, Blackbird, Kenton, Little Creek, North Murderkill, and South Murderkill. An exhaustive review of secondary literature provides a basis for the definition of property types and information needs or research questions. The four research domains identified in the 1990 *Management Plan for Delaware's Historic Archaeological Resources* are further elaborated and expanded to include additional topics of current interest in historical archaeology—settlement pattern and location studies, economic and transportation studies, material culture studies, and manufacturing and trade.

Data analysis focuses on the 234 sites identified in the two counties, along with 45 Phase I survey projects, 22 Phase II investigations, and a handful of Phase III projects. The investigators initially summarize the data according to five property types (Agricultural Complexes, Tenancies, Dwellings, Residential Tenancies, and Unknown), but the property types are subsequently refined to include seven types that are defined in detail: Agricultural Complex, Agricultural Dwelling, Agricultural Outbuilding, Agricultural Quarter, Agricultural Transport Facility, Agricultural Structure, and Agricultural/Commercial/Industrial Outbuilding. The authors propose a very explicit research agenda, drawn from the broadly defined research themes and grounded in data recovery plans for specific sites. In some cases explicit hypotheses are advanced for testing with the data from excavated assemblages. Recommended protocols for evaluation of NRHP eligibility for each of the seven property types requires consideration of associated historical data, temporal and physical integrity, "representativeness" (whether a property is common or rare), ability of a site to address specific research questions, and association with historically significant persons or events. The authors review Phase I and Phase II projects to assess industry practice for resource evaluation and propose new criteria for evaluation of the seven property types.

The context concludes with specific recommendations for additional research and continued development of the context, using a five-year cycle of revision and updates. Further research for the sociocultural context is recommended to include consideration of demography; class; labor practices, roles, and relations; the evolution of ethnic cultures; neighborhood and community organization; political culture; religion and belief systems; and the role of material culture in mediating these components of the culture of agriculture. For future development of the sociocultural context, the authors emphasize the importance of attention to African Americans and women and the role of spirituality and religious institutions. Other recommended goals include maintaining and updating the database of sites associated with the context; formation of a committee of archaeologists who would review and perhaps refine the proposed property types and develop standards for documentary research and field documentation, especially for the more ephemeral or low-visibility physical remains; and development of a program of public education and participation that would share information with a broad audience (De Cunzo and Garcia 1992).

II. PROJECT METHODOLOGY

A. RESEARCH ORIENTATION

This document has a clear focus in theme, space, and time: African American life in St. Georges Hundred during the period from circa 1770 to 1940. Within these limits, the research falls into four broad areas: demography, socio-legal background, community formation, and material culture. The discussion of these four research areas is interwoven throughout the narrative, but since the primary purpose of the historic context is to provide guidance for resource management decisions, there is a major emphasis on material culture.

1. Demography

Demographic questions include the basic information on the number of African-Americans living in St. Georges Hundred, their percentage of the population, how many were free or enslaved, family structure, family size, and mobility. Landownership and wealth (as measured by tax records) are important elements of this question, along with information on the sorts of jobs held by African Americans. Information pertaining to these questions was generally available from the U.S. Census[1], tax records, newspapers, church records, court judgment records, orphans court records, equity records, marriage licenses, assessment records, wills, inventories, certificates of freedom, and freedom affidavits. The question of whether some people classified by the census as "black" or "mulatto" considered themselves to be Native Americans was also an important consideration in the development of demographic data.

2. Social and Legal Background

Over the course of the period studied, African Americans moved from being mostly enslaved to legal freedom, and then slowly integrated into the mainstream of American economic and social life. These changes impacted every part of life. It is therefore important to understand the evolving legal situation of African Americans. Also, when evaluating some historic properties, it is essential to consider their relationship to these crucial historical changes.

3. Space and Community Formation

Where did African Americans live? This research area includes questions of community structure, that is, the degree to which African Americans lived in discrete neighborhoods, and questions of landscape. Were African American farmers largely confined to marginal land? Were their communities disproportionately located in poorly drained areas? Were their homes, as has sometimes been said, strung out along roads at the edge of towns? Information useful for examining these questions includes historical maps, tax records, deeds, and church records.

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all U.S. Census information (population schedules, agricultural, etc.) was accessed at ancestry.com,<http://search.ancestry.com/search/group/usfedcen>.

Bradley Skelcher's historic context on African American settlement patterns (Skelcher 1995b) shows that the locations of African American communities tended to be very stable over the 1830 to 1940 period, and that they can often be found from the locations of schools and churches in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Using this approach, Skelcher identified African American communities in St. Georges Hundred at Summit Bridge, Port Penn, Mt. Pleasant, Middletown, and Odessa. The architectural history reports for U.S. Route 301 also identified an African American community at Armstrong Corners, where the Ringgold African Methodist Episcopal (or A.M.E.) Chapel was built in the early twentieth century (Frederick et al. 2006:84). However, not all African Americans lived in these communities, the boundaries of which are vague in any case.

St. Georges Hundred offers an opportunity to explore a variety of resource location and community formulation theories. For example, there is the opportunity to study Quaker property ownership patterns and the formulation of African American settlements. St. Georges Hundred was home to the Georges Creek Meeting in the eighteenth century, which moved into Odessa and became the Appoquinimink Friends Meeting beginning in 1795. This population historically was anti-slavery and their connection to the abolition and anti-slavery movements is well known. Indeed, research uncovered that in Kent County, Delaware, Quakers when freeing their slaves had a tradition to pay wages for the years held in bondage, and some provided land to meet that obligation. The meetings for worship around the state, across the Delmarva peninsula, and up to Philadelphia connected members of the Quaker faith through a system of hierarchical gatherings at the monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, each gathering including larger numbers of participants and providing formalized interactions and connections. Treatment of African Americans and the general temper toward the plight of African Americans was a topic of discussion, as seen in minutes of the Duck Creek Monthly Meeting from the eighteenth century.

African American communities were viewed from the broad landscape perspective along an urban-rural axis, but as there are no truly urban areas in St. Georges Hundred, this dimension might be more properly termed "nucleated" vs. "non-nucleated" settlements. Urban communities included African American settlements in Port Penn, Middletown, and Odessa. Rural settlements included the community of Mount Pleasant, which still has some physical remains, and Armstrong Corner, which was located north of Middletown and disappeared in the early twentieth century.

4. Material Culture

This category encompasses housing, clothing, diet, and the kinds of possessions that end up as artifacts on archaeological sites. Information about this topic was contained in standing structures with known African-American associations, archaeological reports, historical photographs, and museum collections.

B. Methodology and Sources

Many resources were available for the project. Research required visits to numerous archives, including the Friends Historical Library in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; the Nabb Center in Salisbury, Maryland; the Morris Library at the University of Delaware; the Middletown Historical Society; the Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington; and the Delaware Public Archives. Careful attention was given to the following sources and collection groups.

Archaeological Reports. Since only a handful of known African American home sites have been excavated in New Castle County, archaeological reports on the Phase II testing or Phase III excavation of known African American sites were collected and reviewed from all of Delaware and Maryland's Eastern Shore. For comparative purposes, all Phase II and Phase III historical archaeological reports for St. Georges Hundred (1770 to 1940) were also collected and reviewed. Although the focus of the research was on St. Georges Hundred, it was expected that a broad familiarity with African American archaeology was necessary to develop elements of the context that deal with information needs and treatment strategies.

Standing Structures. The Delaware State Historic Preservation Office (DESHPO) database was reviewed for information on standing structures dating to the 1770 to 1940 period that have definite African American associations. These records were examined for information on African American material life, and the locations of African American dwellings, churches, and businesses were mapped.

Census Records. Population census records served as the primary source for demographic information, and an important source for economic data such as professions. For censuses in some locales, the original sheets filled out by the census takers are also available, and a search was made for such records in the project area; these sheets were generally filled out as the census-taker made his rounds, so they record the relative locations of households. The agricultural censuses of 1850 to 1870 were also reviewed for information on African American farmers.

Tax Records. Property tax records were used to compile lists of African American property owners in the Hundred at intervals of about 10 years.

Historical Society Collections. The Middletown Historical Society had materials of interest, including historical photographs and genealogical information. The Delaware Historical Society also had files that were of use, such as historical newspapers and Civil War records.

Church Records. One especially important avenue into understanding African American communities in St. Georges Hundred is through the churches and allied organizations. These institutions were of paramount importance to the communities they served and are repositories of valuable information regarding their members. In some cases these records were donated to local historical societies or the Delaware Public Archives; however, most often these records continue to be curated by the communities' religious institutions. Minutes of the Delaware Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been curated at the Nabb Center in Salisbury, Maryland.

Court Records. Especially for the earlier period, records of criminal and civil trials were expected to provide important material on social history. The records of crimes sometimes provide detailed descriptions of their settings and of the relationships of the people involved that can shed light on the broader society. Since this material has not been used to study social history in Delaware before, soundings were made to determine the feasibility of this approach. Such records were useful in the early period (1770 to 1830), but many of the court records available for the later period (1830 to 1880) are incomplete, consisting mostly of summary judgments of cases. Further inquiries on the condition of the case files found that the majority had been lost.

Papers of John Alston. Documented in connection to Underground Railroad activity in the 1840s, the papers of John Alston, a staunch Quaker farmer, survive at Swarthmore College in the Friends Historical Library and include labor contracts as well as account books and diaries. These papers were mined for names and other information to track activities nearby and in the town of Odessa, where Alston attended the meeting for worship.

III. ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT FOR ST. GEORGES HUNDRED

St. Georges Hundred spans two of Delaware's geographic zones, the Upper Peninsula and the Coastal zone. It extends across northern Delaware from the lower Delaware River across the "spine" of the Delmarva peninsula to the Maryland state line (Figure 2). Part of its northern boundary is defined by the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, which subsumed much of St. Georges Creek. Part of its southern boundary is defined by the Appoquinimink River. The Hundred measures about 11 miles east-west and 7 miles north-south.

Most of the Hundred is very gently rolling or nearly flat. The soils are highly variable, with silt loams and sandy loams intermixed, sometimes in very small pockets. A single farm field may contain well-drained sandy ridges that rise a few feet above their surroundings, areas of lower-lying silt loam that hold puddles for months, and moderately drained areas in between. The better drained soils are highly productive for grains, and some of the poorly drained soils have been made productive by ditching. On the whole the soils of the Hundred are highly productive. Other than the tidal marshes in the eastern zone, the Hundred does not have many large areas of unfarmable soil. Very wet soils are limited to a few areas along streams, plus a few swamps measuring no more than an acre or two. It has been asserted that in other parts of Delmarva, African Americans largely lived in poorly drained areas; this assertion could not really be tested in St. Georges Hundred because few such areas exist.

Both St. Georges Creek and the Appoquinimink River were navigable streams in colonial times. Odessa/Cantwell's Bridge on the Appoquinimink was settled by the Dutch in the seventeenth century because of its anchorage, and it remained an active port into the late nineteenth century. There were two early roads of considerable importance in the Hundred. The oldest was the Bohemia Cart Road, actually a series of routes that crossed from the Chesapeake to the Delaware Bay and were used by smugglers and others. Somewhat later came the King's Highway, which ran north-south down the length of the state along the approximate route of U.S. Route 13. A network of smaller roads was already well developed by 1770.

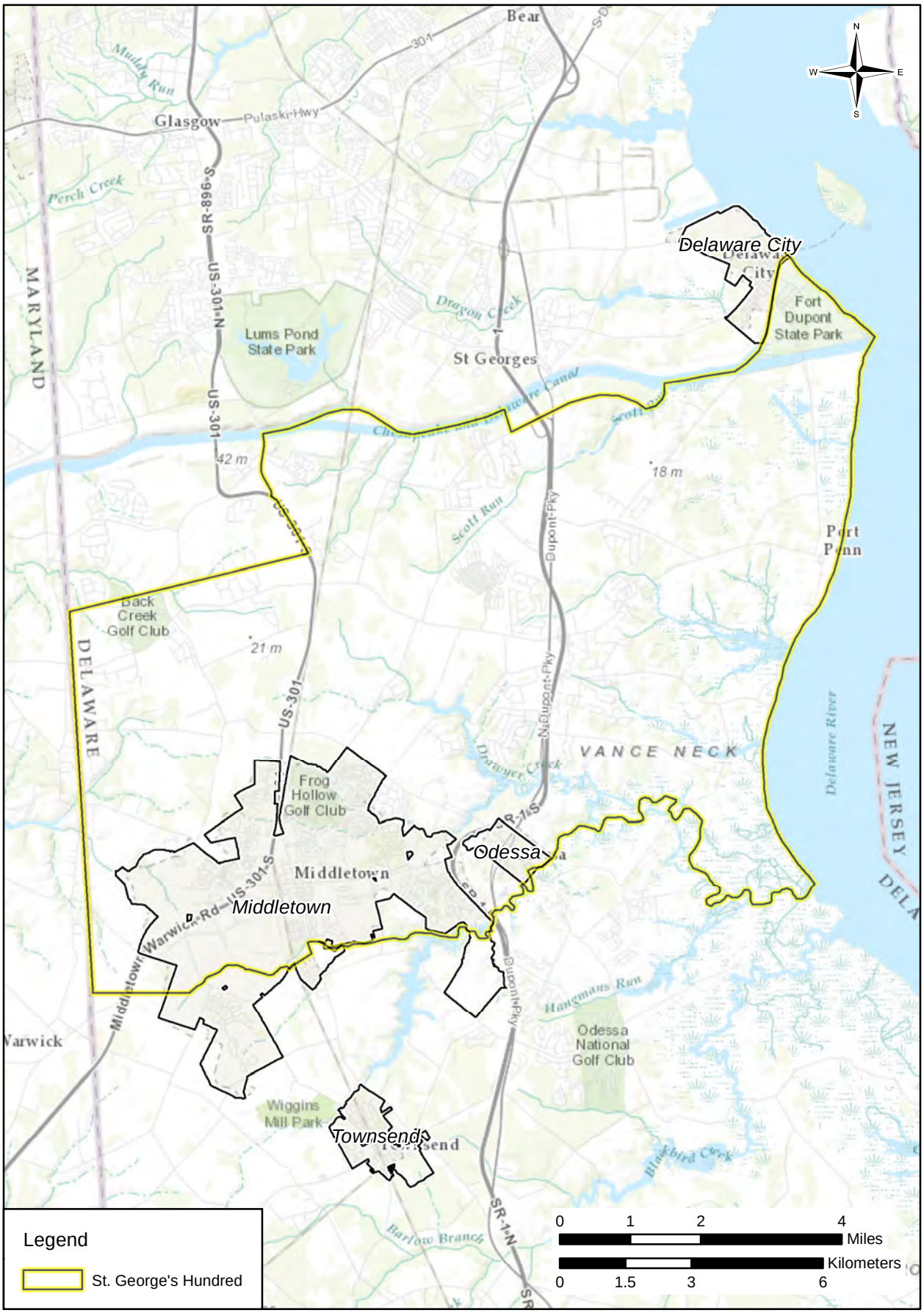


FIGURE 2: St. Georges Hundred (ESRI World Topo Map 2012)

IV. HISTORIC CONTEXT OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN ST. GEORGES HUNDRED

A. INTRODUCTION

What differentiates historical archaeology from other branches of the profession is the existence of a historical narrative derived from written records. Historical archaeologists work within a framework established by historians, architectural historians, folklorists, and others. Sometimes the findings of archaeology corroborate the written record; sometimes they undermine it; sometimes they give us a completely new way of looking at the past, raising different questions than those considered by historians. But whatever comes out of the ground, archaeologists interpret it in the light of the history that they know. It may sometimes be a useful exercise to forget what we think we know and ask what the archaeological record shows in and of itself, but when it comes to interpretation, we always end up back at the historical story. For the study of African Americans, the narrative of slavery, freedom, discrimination, and the civil rights struggle provides the crucial context for understanding the record of the past.

For a local study like this one, it is possible to construct a very detailed historical narrative, rich with data on population, technology, the economy, the legal situation, and more. This narrative can enrich archaeological discoveries by filling in the lives of the people whose homes we explore, and improve cultural resource decision making by identifying key points in the history of African Americans in this time and place (Figure 3).

B. EARLY INDUSTRIALIZATION (1770 TO 1830)

1. Introduction

Almost all the Africans who came to the Americas before 1865 came as slaves, and their story is dominated by issues of slavery and freedom. While enslaved, they struggled to establish meaningful lives despite harsh conditions. They also longed for freedom, and some took terrible risks to achieve it through rebellion or, more commonly, running away. Once they were legally free, their troubles were far from over, since they were subject to many legal and practical limitations on their actions and hampered by dire poverty. Slowly, they built up their world: they started families, founded churches, established communities.

But where did those slaves come from? Slavery was a part of Delaware long before 1770, and importation via the transatlantic slave trade was not outlawed in the United States until 1808. Although this context is particularly concerned with post-1770 histories, those narratives are part of much broader historical trajectories that include forces and players in Europe, Africa, and the New World. The first African slave documented in what is now Delaware was known only as Anthony and described as a moor or Angola man, transported to New Sweden in 1639. The Dutch had claimed the same land as the Swedes and took control of the area then known as the South River by 1655. The influence of the Dutch West India Company, by then a major player in the Atlantic economy of slaves controlling both supply from bases on the Gold Coast and demand in Brazil and the Caribbean, meant that the New Netherlands colonies had an ample supply of slaves through the second half of the seventeenth century, largely brought in through Dutch-held Curacao (Essah 1985:6-17).

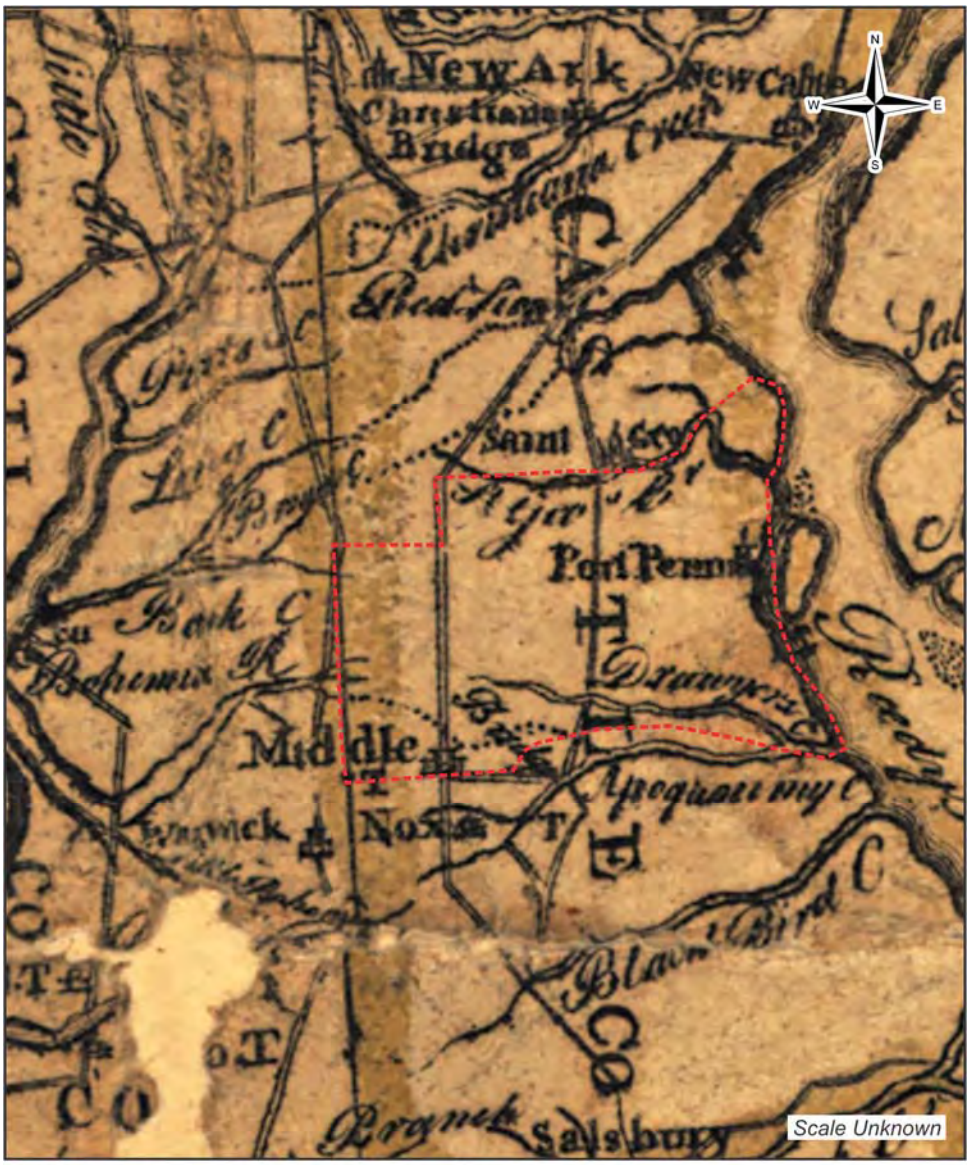


FIGURE 3: St. Georges Hundred Area in 1778 (Churchman 1778)

After the English conquest of New Netherlands in what is now both New York and Delaware in 1664, the supply of new slaves to Delaware was largely limited to inter-colonial migration from Maryland and Virginia. These migrations supported the growth of an English population in the newly acquired colony and so were both allowed and encouraged. As England was not yet a major force in the slave trade, declining tobacco prices and the disagreement between Pennsylvania and Maryland governments over which was to administer the Delaware counties meant a decline in slave importation prior to 1700. Most still came from the Dutch West Indies, although now through Maryland or Philadelphia-based importers (Essah 1985:26-29; Wax 1962:23). In an early effort to compile shipping records, Wax (1962) documented a clear change over time in slave importations to Philadelphia. Before circa 1759, individuals or small groups were imported on consignment from South Carolina and several Caribbean islands, including Anguilla, Antigua, Barbados, Bermuda, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Christopher. As the English and colonial American participation in transatlantic slave trading grew, more slaves were imported directly from Africa

on English ships and sold in the colonies through Philadelphia merchants. In the mid-eighteenth century importing slaves into Philadelphia gradually increased. It grew even more after 1759 and more importations were made directly from the African coast. After a £10 import duty imposed in 1761, several ships are known to have landed slaves in West Jersey or Wilmington to avoid the duty (Wax 1962). A compilation of pre-census estimates indicates that enslaved Africans and African Americans constituted between 18 and 21 percent of Delaware's population through the eighteenth century (Essah 1985:21).

The debate over whether African-based elements of culture survived to contribute to a larger African American culture has been contested in social science since the early twentieth century. At the forefront of the debate was E. Franklin Frazier (1948), who contended that the nature of the Atlantic slave trade and settlement patterns in North America led to the almost total loss of African cultural heritage and tradition among African Americans. Taking an opposing position that has seen wide application in archaeology was Melville J. Herskovits (1941), who contended that numerous "Africanisms" did survive the Middle Passage and were shaping African American beliefs, behaviors, and expressions in such areas as religious practices, language, and the arts. Subsequent studies have largely taken Herskovits's ideas of acculturated Africanisms and developed the concept of creolization processes in African American cultures, stressing the historical development of these forms (Berlin 2003; Gomez 1998; Mintz and Price 1976) and variations of cultural synthesis and change in particular contexts of various locales, labor regimes, and time periods (Morgan 1998; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Sobel 1987; Trouillot 1998).

As is discussed in Chapter VII, key research themes in current African-Diaspora archaeology include questions centered on this same debate: the nature of African cultural retentions, African American ethnogenesis, creolization, and the social construction of race. One key development in this vein of research has been the ever-increasing compilation of data on the transatlantic slave trade, such as the *Voyages* database (Eltis and Richardson 1997; Emory University 2009), particularly on demographic information available on the slaves imported to various regions (Carney 2001; Coombs 2011). To study the decedent African American population in Delaware and St. Georges Hundred, particularly after 1770, a consideration of the specific nature of the slave trade in the vicinity that brought Africans to the area could prove to be critical information in defining how that African American population came to be. Slaves imported into Delaware were likely a mix of those imported to both Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake destinations. Delaware is a unique context for the consideration of the slave trade, and even slavery in general, as its small size and number of slaves have resulted in a relative paucity of studies in comparison to its southern neighbors (Antezana 2009:9). Delaware is usually lumped with either Maryland and the Chesapeake or Pennsylvania and the Middle Atlantic, but recent research and dissemination of shipping data in the *Voyages* database (Emory University 2009) of documented slaving trips to North American ports can be employed at various scales to evaluate the nature of importation around Delaware, even though no particular point of slave disembarkation within Delaware is listed in the database. At the regional scale broad patterns of slave importation show a larger proportion of Africans from the Bight of Biafra to the Chesapeake, and a mix of slaves from Senegambia, Southeast Africa, and West Central Africa to Middle Atlantic locations (Figure 4; Table 1).

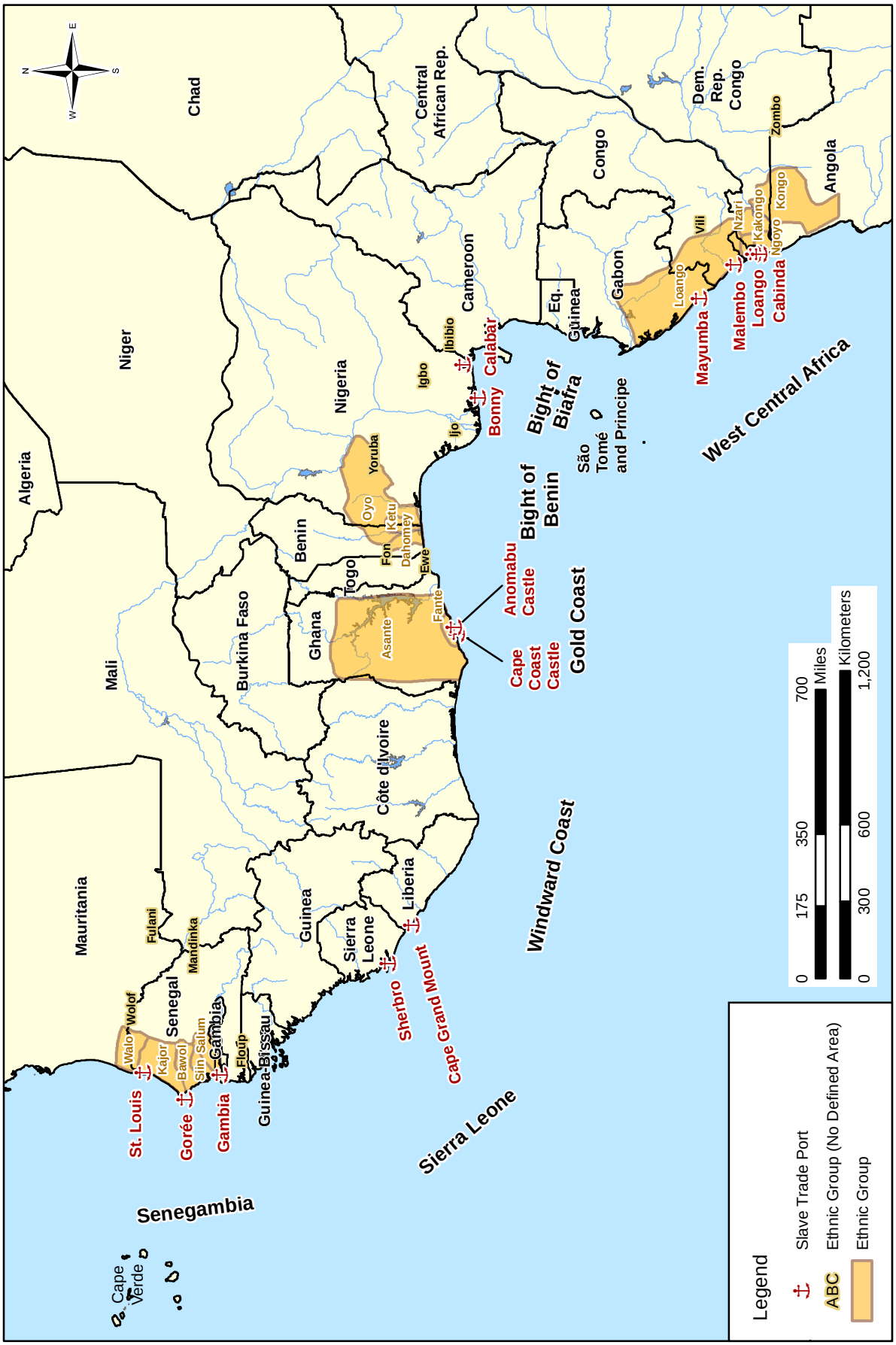


FIGURE 4: African Regions and Ports in the Slave Trade to Delaware (Emory University 2009)

TABLE 1

ORIGINS OF SLAVES IMPORTED TO NORTH AMERICAN REGIONS, 1628 TO 1860

SOURCE REGION	NEW ENGLAND		MIDDLE ATLANTIC		CHESAPEAKE		LOWER SOUTH		GULF OF MEXICO		UNSPECIFIED		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bight of Benin	-	-	-	-	1,839	1.8	3,286	1.9	2,028	18.1	-	-	7,153	2.3
Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Is.	-	-	-	-	25, 298	24.3	13,399	7.6	250	2.2	440	26.0	39,387	12.8
Gold Coast	1,104	20.6	612	6.4	6,510	6.3	18,438	10.5	208	1.9	153	9.0	27,025	8.8
Other Africa	25	0.5	217	2.3	7,786	7.5	4,364	2.5	140	1.2	-	-	12,532	4.1
Senegambia & offshore islands	333	6.2	1,033	10.8	14,020	13.5	28,470	16.2	5,268	47.0	-	-	49,124	16.0
Sierra Leone	303	5.6	239	2.5	2,392	2.3	23,328	13.3	-	-	-	-	26,262	8.5
Southeast Africa & Indian Ocean islands	45	0.8	1,271	13.3	1,441	1.4	866	0.5	336	3.0	-	-	3,959	1.3
West Central Africa & St. Helena	-	-	998	10.4	12,877	12.4	46,649	26.5	1,998	17.8	444	26.3	62,966	20.5
Windward Coast	297	5.5	-	-	2,547	2.5	11,330	6.4	-	-	-	-	14,174	4.6
Unspecified	3,261	60.7	5,214	54.4	29,185	28.1	25,633	14.6	977	8.7	654	38.7	64,924	12.1
TOTAL	***5,368***	***100***	***9,584***	***100***	***103,895***	***100***	***175,763***	***100***	***11,205***	***100***	***1,691***	***100***	***307,506***	***100***

New England = CT, MA, NH, RI; Middle Atlantic = NY, NJ, PA; Chesapeake = MD, VA; Lower South = NC, SC, GA, FL; Gulf Coast = LA, MS, AL
Source: Emory University 2009

Specific ports of disembarkation for slaves bound for Delaware owners likely included a combination of Maryland, Philadelphia, and New Jersey (Figure 5). Data on slave voyages to those locations were compiled from the *Voyages* database (Emory University 2009). For each colony or state, any voyage with a disembarkation was collected, including voyages that made multiple landings for the sale of slaves so long as any of those disembarkation points were in the Delaware vicinity. This exercise found records of 147 individual transatlantic slave voyages that disembarked at least some slaves in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland between 1662 and 1800 (Table 2). Several voyages made more than one stop in the vicinity, such as the *Africa*, which made three separate voyages between 1762 and 1764, leaving once from Philadelphia and once from Rhode Island en route to purchase slaves at Saint-Louis in Senegambia, taking on a combined total of 275 Africans and disembarking 221 individuals at various locations in New Jersey, the Upper James River in Virginia, the Delaware River, Philadelphia, and Annapolis.

This dataset is not assumed to be all-inclusive for even the selected areas, as the records of many voyages have not been preserved, but rather a sample that is representative enough for the nature of trade to be compared across areas that likely supplied Delaware with its African American populations. The *Voyages* database authors estimate that their site records cover somewhere between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total slaving voyages of all nations between 1514 and 1866, although coverage for the eighteenth century and British vessels is among the best in the database (Eltis 2010). Given the history of Delaware's involvement with Dutch enterprises as well as smuggling goods between the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, contributions of Dutch and other non-recorded slavers are likely under-represented in this sample. A sizable portion of

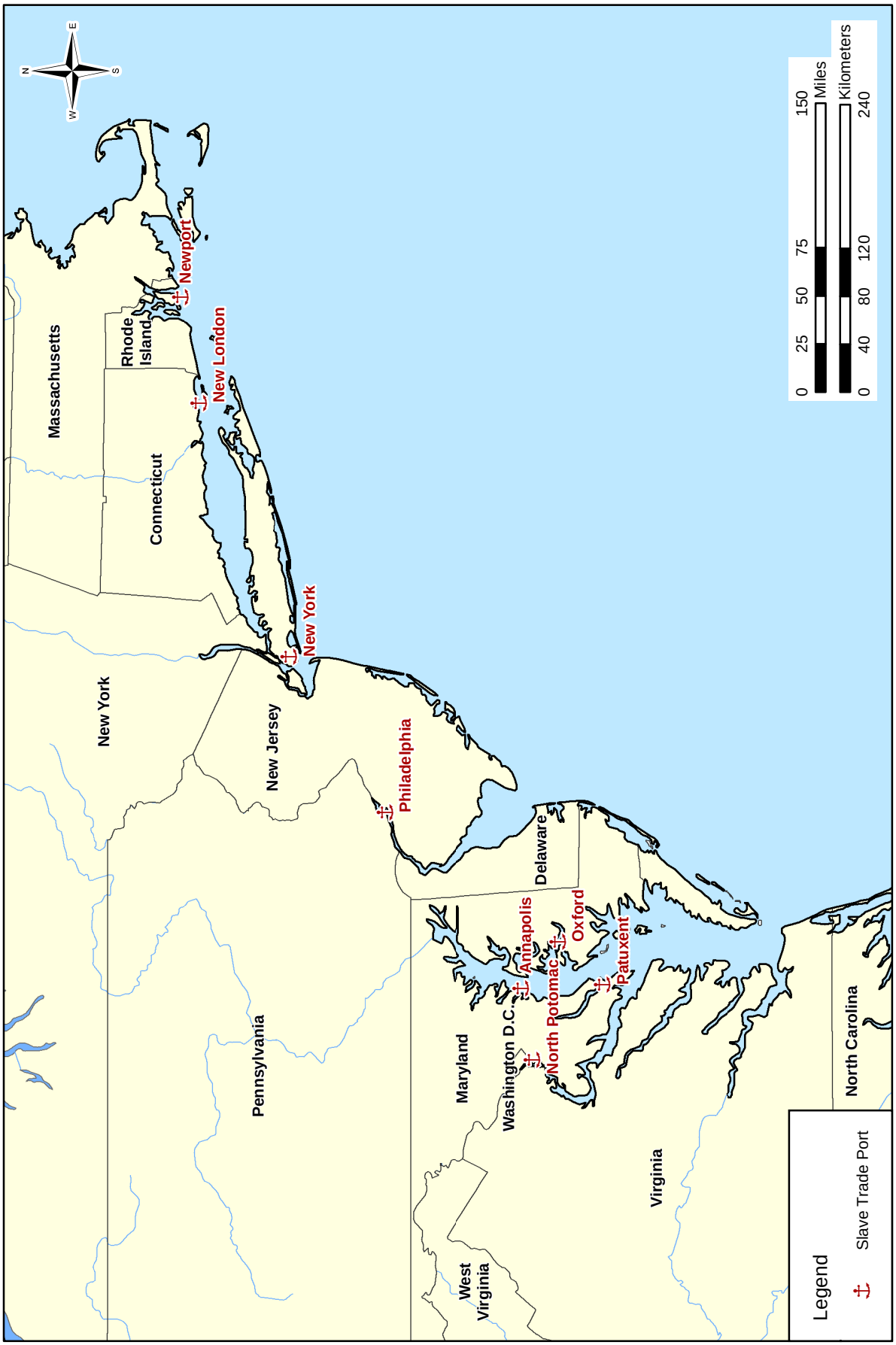


FIGURE 5: American Ports in the Slave Trade to Delaware (Emory University 2009)

slaves without any listed source region may likely include those brought indirectly from Africa through a variety of Caribbean locales.

TABLE 2

TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE DATA FOR DISEMBARKATION PORTS NEAR DELAWARE

VOYAGE DATA	PHILADELPHIA	MARYLAND (all ports)	NEW JERSEY (all ports)	TOTAL
Voyages	14	126	9	147
Dates	1747-1800	1662-1791	1733-1764	1662-1800
Vessel Flag	13 USA, 1 Dutch	87 UK, 6 USA	5 USA	87 UK, 18 USA, 1 Dutch
Region of Purchase				
Senegambia	100	3,907 (4,266)	208	4,183 (4,542)
Sierra Leone	-	800 (931)	-	800 (931)
Windward Coast	-	128	-	128
Gold Coast	108 (278)	1,241 (1,429)	-	1,349 (1,707)
Bight of Benin	-	160	-	160
Bight of Biafra	-	1,683	-	1,683
West Central Africa	(277)	3,498	30	3,528 (3,805)
Africa, unspecified	-	2,044	-	2,044
Unknown	704 (827)	6,693 (7,268)	288	7,685 (8,293)
Total slaves disembarked	1,002 (1,482)	20,154 (21,407)	562	21,560 (23,293)

Note: Numbers in parentheses include maximum possible out of unknown number of slaves disembarked at multiple points, of which at least one includes the target area.

Transatlantic slave vessels with documented landings in Maryland include 126 voyages disembarking 20,154 slaves between 1662 and 1791. Ships that had multiple points of disembarkation, including a Maryland stop, carried an additional 1,253 slaves. Almost all of the documented ships importing slaves to Maryland prior to the American Revolution were from Great Britain, mainly out of London (64.7 percent), with others from Bristol and Liverpool. Seven voyages are documented on vessels registered to British Americans or Americans between 1725 and 1791, based out of Maryland, New London, Philadelphia, and Newport.

Slaves bound for Maryland were purchased in a wide range of African regions. The largest documented purchases occurred in Senegambia and West Central Africa, with the Gold Coast and Bight of Biafra each contributing over 1,000 documented slave purchases. In the Bight of Biafra, slaves were purchased at the ports of Bonny and Calabar in present-day Nigeria, and along the Gold Coast at Cape Coast Castle and Anomabu Castle in Ghana. In Senegambia slaves were purchased at Gambia, as well as Saint-Louis and Gorée in present-day Senegal. In West Central Africa Maryland-bound slaves were purchased at Cabinda and Malembo in what is now Angola, Loango in present-day Congo, and Mayumba in present-day Gabon. Small numbers of slaves were purchased at Sherbro in Sierra Leone, and Cape Grand Mount in what is now Liberia.

Slaving voyages with their principal landing in Philadelphia included ships registered to British North Americans, and later Americans, based in both Rhode Island and Philadelphia. Between 1747 and 1800, these voyages transported at least 1,002 documented slaves from an original 1,183 embarked. Ships carrying an additional 480 slaves disembarked primarily in the Caribbean or Virginia but also made secondary stops in Philadelphia. Those three voyages included a Dutch vessel based in Amsterdam and two American vessels. The slave embarkation points for the

Philadelphia-bound vessels are largely unspecified but include two voyages with principal slave purchases at the Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast in what is now Ghana. Two other voyages list only regions for slave purchases, including Gambia and Congo North in West Central Africa.

Between 1733 and 1764, five vessels made nine documented slaving voyages that disembarked slaves in the colony of New Jersey, recorded as either in Eastern New Jersey or the Delaware River. Slaves imported to the Delaware River were more likely to wind up in Delaware, given the proximity of southern New Jersey and Philadelphia. Those listed as disembarking in Eastern New Jersey may more likely have wound up in New York. All of the vessels were registered in the British North American colonies and hailed from New York, Philadelphia, Rhode Island, and Perth Amboy. Two vessels made multiple trips. Only four of the voyages bound for New Jersey have recorded embarkation regions in Africa, including Saint-Louis and Gambia in Senegambia and an unspecified port in West Central Africa.

Overall, the *Voyages* data for transatlantic slave shipments to ports that likely contributed African slaves to Delaware shows a greater proportion of people taken from Senegambia, West Central Africa, and the Gold Coast. These people likely included members of Walo, Kajor, Bawol, Siin and Salum territories as well as Wolof, Serer, Floup, Mandinka, and Fulani ethnicities in Senegambia. Groups from the Gold Coast likely included Fante and Asante. Those from West Central Africa may have included Loango, Kakongo, and Ngoyo areas as well as Vili, Zombo, Kongo, Nzari, and other interior peoples.

This differs from other North American regions, such as the larger contributions of Ibo, Ibibio, and Ijo slaves from the Bight of Biafra in the Chesapeake region. Fon, Yoruba, and Ewe ethnicities from Dahomey, Detu, and Oyo in the Bight of Benin were largely transported to the American Gulf Coast. Numerous ethnicities and groups from Southeast Africa formed a large proportion of shipped to the Middle colonies, and slaves from the Gold Coast are a large proportion of recorded slaving voyages to the North (see Table 1). Each American region contained a mixture of people from several large areas of Africa, undoubtedly including numerous distinct cultures, but the patterns of maritime trade can be seen to import larger proportions from certain regions and ports in Africa to destinations in the New World. Interpretations of potentially African-derived practices observed in the archaeological record of one region may not be applicable to other regions.

In the seventeenth century African slaves provided the labor force for tobacco production, which was the primary cash crop grown in Delaware, with wheat cultivation was a close second. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Delaware's primary use for slaves was still agricultural, although tobacco production gradually declined and wheat and mixed grain production increased. Most slaves lived in small groups on small farms, as opposed to the larger plantation systems of nearby Maryland and Virginia. Slave codes were established by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1700, then governing Delaware as the "lower counties," legally codifying the distinct status of blacks as slaves and prohibiting them from carrying weapons, congregating in large groups, and forming interracial relationships (Essah 1985:33-38).

In Delaware some African Americans achieved freedom before the Revolution, and many more gained their freedom from 1776 to 1800. Delaware remained legally a slave state until 1864; however, Quakers and other opponents of slavery had much influence in the state, and they

persuaded many owners to free their enslaved workers. By 1800, when the first surviving census was taken, about half the African Americans in the state were free. Some of these people had remarkable careers. Several owned land, and a few grew wealthy. Most, however, struggled with poverty and had great difficulty establishing their own households. They faced legal discrimination and the constant threat that they or their children might be kidnapped and sold into slavery in the South (Wilson 1994). Despite these problems, many African Americans in Delaware, free and enslaved, helped the Underground Railroad transport people who had escaped bondage toward freedom in the North. Toward the end of this period, African Americans made real progress in establishing independent families and households.

2. The Social and Political Landscape: Slavery, Manumission, Escape from Servitude, and Kidnapping

a. A Slave . . . No Witness against Freemen[2]

Enslavement, manumission, escape, and kidnapping were different aspects of the legal situation for Delaware's African Americans. Research into these topics in St. Georges Hundred for the period 1770 to 1830 showed that African Americans lived in a landscape of uncertainty that affected their lives in many ways—limiting their actions, impeding their search for independence, and driving them to forge or maintain connections with white families in the area. A clear hierarchy in legal status was codified in law and custom, and African Americans used different strategies to survive and thrive despite these limitations. Survival strategies included connecting with powerful white families who provided jobs as agricultural or manual laborers and protection or assistance when things went wrong. An analysis of the records for this period from the Court of General Sessions showed how connections to powerful families helped ensure a positive outcome for lower status people. The primary responsibility of this Court was to try non-capital criminal cases. Some of the best collections of local court papers that survive are from the period of 1777 to 1838 and come from this court.

Poor whites also benefited from patronage, but the low status of African Americans was codified in the laws of Delaware, making their situations more tenuous and their status more precarious than lower status whites. According to the 1797 law titled *An Act to Prevent the Exportation of Slaves and for other purposes*, the rights of manumitted slaves were severely limited:

> Section 8. And be it so enacted, that no slave manumitted agreeable to the laws of this state or made free in consequence of this act or the issue of any such slave shall be entitled to the privilege of voting at elections, or of being elected or appointed to any office of trust or profit, or to give evidence against any white person, or to enjoy any other rights of a freeman other than to hold property, and to obtain redress in law and equity for any injury to his or her person or property.
>
> Laws of the State of Delaware, Volume II, 1797

[2] In 1801 William Scott posted a bond for the appearance of his enslaved man, Cuff, to testify in court "to give evidence of what he doth know . . . concerning a felony committed by a certain Stephen Frizbee and Jacob Irons. . . ." On the reverse was a note stating "Discharged, the Said Cuff being a Slave and therefore no witness against Freemen." Court of General Sessions, RG 2405, Recognizance Bond, December Term 1801.

This vulnerability was an impediment to the formation of independent households for African Americans in St. Georges Hundred, as is discussed below.

The legal landscape was clearly dominated by white enslavers, and the laws were written to answer their need for a steady agricultural workforce. Religion and economics both pressed for manumission, and the population of enslaved people in St. Georges Hundred declined steadily through the period. But even as owners made provisions for the eventual freedom of their enslaved workers, they arranged the terms of manumission to protect economic interests.

b. Manumission: Freedom and Term Slavery

The act of manumission by definition sets an enslaved person free, removing the bonds of servitude. A simple manumission document read like this:

> Know All men by these presents that I John Bayard of Middle Town New Castle County and State of Delaware Blackman for divers good causes and considerations me hereunto moving Have Manumitted Enfranchised renounced and set at freedom from slavery and by these presents Doth Manumit enfranchise renounce and set free from Slavery my Negro Woman Lucy which I purchased from Benjamin Flintham of the County and State afsd from the date of these presents to be absolutely free and discharged from me my heirs Executors administrators or assigns or any other person whatsoever To Have and to Hold to the said Lucy her full free entire Manumission Enfranchisement Emancipation and freedom from the Date of these presents; fully freely and absolutely for her and her own proper use benefit and behoof [sic] forever. Subject to no labor or service in or for the benefit of me the said John Bayard my heirs Executors or Administrators or any or either of them at any time hereafter: In Testimony whereof I the said John Bayard have hereunto set my hand and seal this Twenty sixth day of May Eighteen Hundred and Twenty one. Signed and sealed in the presence of Jno Wiley, Evan H. Thomas.
>
> NCC Deed Book Y3, folio 20

Manumission documents were also used to define a period in the future when freedom would come. Delaware's slaveowners often required the people they freed to "work off the cost of raising them" by years of service, so some people were technically free but had to work for their former owners for a decade or more. In 1784, for instance, Caesar Rodney's will freed all of his enslaved workers when they turned 25 (Williams 1996:79). In the 1800 Census, Thomas Booth, a white man, has 16 free people of color in his household in addition to his family—two daughters, his wife Margaret, and a white male between the ages of 25 and 44. Booth had manumitted all his enslaved workers but the classification of *free* is misleading, since his workers were all still serving time and bound to his estate well into the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Research is needed into individual cases to make final determinations; however, these living arrangements were clearly based on labor relationships and not freedom of choice. Because of these rules, people in the same family might become free in different years, leading to many blended families in which some people were free and others enslaved.

Manumission documents governed not just the status of the named individual but his or her children and children's children. Until the date of freedom specified in the manumission document, the individual was still enslaved, and therefore children born to manumitted but still enslaved women were subject to enslavement for the first period of their lives. Some documents required

servitude for the generations ahead based on the status of the parent. As this period was typically the first 21 to 28 years of their lives, procreation during the period of enslavement was likely.

Barnes and Pfeiffer (2002) cataloged manumission documents registered in the Deed Books of New Castle County. The document lists 1,324 individuals, of which 150 manumissions were identified as involving people from St. Georges Hundred between 1770 and 1830. Of these 150 individual manumissions, 59 (39 percent) set the individual free immediately. The remaining 61 percent defined a time to serve as a slave until a date for freedom set in the future. Fifty-five people in the St. Georges Hundred sample had 11 or more years to serve after the date of the manumission document.

One reason for putting off the actual freedom of an individual to be manumitted was the cost by law. During the eighteenth and very early nineteenth centuries, Delaware required that anyone freeing an enslaved person post a substantial bond to protect the state and county from having to care for freed slaves. On May 20, 1796, Phillip Reading, the executor for the estate of Dr. Henry Peterson, brought two witnesses and the will of Dr. Peterson to the Court of General Sessions. His goal was to have the posting of a £60 bond from the estate placed in the docket book. The bond would protect the state from having to care for Moses and Thomas, the two enslaved men set free by Dr. Peterson in his will. Although the law in Delaware was never changed, by 1810 these bonds no longer show up routinely in the court records.

The promises of freedom made by most manumission documents left the subjects still enslaved for long periods of time. Until the date stipulated in the document, that person was subject to all the vagaries of the life of the enslaved, including sale within or outside Delaware. Several of the manumission documents in the Barnes and Pfeiffer sample from St. Georges Hundred indicate a sale at the time of the execution of the manumission document. For example, an unnamed man with a relatively short term to serve was advertised for sale:

> To Be Sold
>
> On Saturday the 29th Instant, at the house of Mr. John Darragh, New Castle, a Manumitted NEGRO MAN, who has Five Years to Serve- he is a good farmer and ditcher. The terms of payment will be made known at the time of sale.
>
> *Mirror of the Times*, Saturday, March 15, 1800

It was up to the individual setting forth the terms of manumission to protect these people while they were still the individual's property. Sometimes clarification and details about the expectations for the enslaved/manumitted individuals were included in other legal documents, like wills and estate inventories. The following two illustrations describe how two white farmers, well known to each other, took on the challenge of dealing with their manumitted property through their wills.

On January 2, 1801, Thomas Booth and his daughter Elizabeth met with Joseph Aspril to be official witnesses to the document to manumit five of Aspril's enslaved people. What is unusual about this document is that it indicates the relationship of the enslaved people to each other. This manumission document describes the terms that five individuals with the last name Alexander were to serve before they were to be granted their eventual freedom. Jane, a 20-year-old woman,

was noted as the mother of three children. She was to serve the Aspril family until she was 28 years old. The children, Andrew, age 5, Violet, age 3, and Sauney, age 18 months, were to serve until they were either 26 or 28 years of age. The document also stipulated that should Jane have any more children during those eight years, or the children themselves have children during their time of continuing enslavement, those offspring were to serve until they were 28 years old and then be free. Sam Suis, an 18-year-old man, was also manumitted at the same time with his term defined to serve 11 more years, until he was 29 years old.

A year later, with the end of his life approaching, Joseph Aspril signed a will in the presence of James Carpenter and Richard Carpenter. This document contains more information about Jane and her children. Although some details are different, there is enough information to show that these are the same people named in the manumission. In the will Sam is identified as the father of the enslaved family. Although his last name in the manumission document was Suis, Sam is listed in the codicil of the will as Sam Lewis. Jane, the mother of three children, is now called Jane Lewis. Her three children, Andrew, Violet, and Sauney, are still referred to with the last name Alexander. After Aspril's death, and despite being manumitted, Jane, her children, and Sam were all listed in the inventory of property in the estate with dollar values assigned to each. Although they had been manumitted, all were term slaves and they would have been subject to sale as an asset of the estate.

Joseph's widow, Mary Aspril, shows up in the tax assessments for St. Georges Hundred in 1807 and in the 1810 U.S. Census. In neither document does her household contain African Americans. It is not known what happened to the Lewis family. Although no indication of direct connection is known, an independent African American household headed by Isaac Lewis appears in the 1816 to 1820 period in St. Georges Hundred. Although Jane and Sam would have been free during that time, the children would have still have been enslaved.

Anticipating his own eventual demise, Thomas Booth, Esq. began manumitting his 11 enslaved people at the end of the eighteenth century. Booth, a farmer, was one of the largest slaveholders in St. Georges Hundred at the turn of the nineteenth century. But beginning in 1796 and continuing through 1800, all 11 people he owned were able to look into the future to see a time they would no longer be enslaved. None of these people was freed immediately. Five had no identified surname. One family of four, Phillis Moore and her children Polly, Rachel, and Sam, were all manumitted together with staggered terms of service stipulated. The other manumission documents identify no other family connections among these people.

Booth's 1804 will was written with enthusiasm and the anticipation of the afterlife that one might associate with religious conversion, although none is discussed. But the most interesting paragraph of his will illustrates the benefit to the enslaver of long terms of servitude prior to the actual date of manumission:

> It is my will that none of my Mulattoes or Negroes (all of whom have been manumitted) shall, upon any pretense whatsoever, be sold; but that they shall be hired out to service, in order that the profits arising from their service may be brought into my other personal estate: And it is further my Will that, when hired out, they shall not be obliged to stay any longer in the service of their Employer or Employers, that one year at any one time, unless with their own consent; excepting, however my Mulatto Girl Hannah, whom I hereby order and direct to serve her mistress, Margaret Booth during the lifetime of the said Margaret, that is during the said Hannah's term of servitude, provided the said Margaret should live so long.

Hannah was 11 at the time of manumission in 1800 and had the last name of Watson. Between the time of the execution of her document of manumission and the date of the will, in 1804, Hannah had a child, Tom, whose anticipated service and manumission were determined in her document. The manumission document provides for her children born during the period prior to her release from enslavement to serve to age 25. An additional caveat states that should she run away or absent herself from service of the Booth family, her term of service would be extended to include the time away and to pay the costs of getting her back. The income from the hiring out of these individuals would provide a good income to his widow and estate for many years to come.

Booth's list of enslaved/manumitted people in the will reflects changes taking place in his household. The terms of service had expired for some previously manumitted people, so they are not mentioned. But there is the addition of one woman, Dinah, who was manumitted by reference in the will and inventory of Hugh Morrison and therefore did not require Booth to manumit her again. However, in a codicil to his will, Booth enumerates each individual slave and his/her corresponding manumission document, ensuring another formal way to document their status in a legal record as being free in the future.

c. Manumitted or Enslaved, the Impact on Permission for Sale Out of State: The Court of General Sessions

The right to freedom in the future did not protect a manumitted term slave from being sold. Sale within the state of Delaware was not regulated or tracked by the government. But sale out of state was regulated by the Courts as part of the previously cited *An Act to Prevent the Exportation of Slaves and for other purposes* of 1797. The Courts demonstrated interest in protecting the future freedom of these individuals when reviewing the petitions from owners for sale. It is evident from a review of the petitions submitted to the Court of General Sessions that these petitions were scrutinized for the status of the individual being exported, and many petitions described the opinion of the individual to be sold about his or her fate. The Court was aware of the implications of such sales and carefully considered where the individual was to be sent. The judges did not support selling manumitted individuals into Maryland but did allow these people to be sold into Pennsylvania. Petitions for sale out of state for enslaved individuals almost always describe them as "trouble makers" or "bad elements." If the court agreed, these people could be sold to Maryland with no restrictions. For example, in 1811 the following petition was submitted to the Court of General Sessions.

> To the Honorable Justices of the Court of General Session of the Peace Now Sitting in and for New Castle County. The Petition of Thomas Newlin of the City of Philadelphia in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Respectfully sheweth that he is desirous of taking out of this state into the State of Pennsylvania a certain negro Woman called Ann, formerly the slave of a certain John Chatten and by him manumitted in the month of August AD 1810 and to be free at the expiration of thirteen years from said period that the said Negro Woman was afterwards sold as the property of said Chatten and her and her term of service sold by Public Sale to Thomas Reynolds Esq. of Middletown from whom your Petitioner purchased her. Your petitioner further states that it is with her perfect consent that he makes this application to your Honors as she is better satisfied with a Northern than a Southern climate. Your Petitioner therefore Prays &c. Thomas Newlin.
>
> Petition to Court of General Sessions, May Term 1811.

And there is also the following:

> To the Worshipful Justices of the Peace for the county of New Castle. The Petition of William Walker of Port Penn, St. Georges Hundred in the County of New Castle, respectfully sheweth, That your petitioner is owner of a Negro Man named Maunch, of the age of twenty five years, or thereabouts, who is of so disobedient a Temper that your Petitioner hath not for a considerable Time past, derived any considerable advantage from his Labour; and that he frequently injures the Property of your Petitioner by riding his Horses at night, as well as by absenting himself without Leave from your Petitioners Service; and that the said Negro has threatened your Petitioner, who is under apprehensions from him for his personal safety. Your petitioner therefore prays your Worships Permit or License to export the said Negro Slave out of this state for Sale.
>
> Petition to Court of General Sessions, November 25^{4h} 1789

d. Escape

Removing themselves from an intolerable situation was an option that enslaved individuals took throughout the period. Escapes took place from the beginning. Runaway ads are common in eighteenth-century newspapers, and some manumission documents included clauses extending the term of servitude should the manumitted person decide to escape and then be captured and returned. Apprentices also faced the same pressures as illustrated by the number of cases involving them in the dockets of the Court of General Sessions. Errors Lists for the annual assessment of taxes for St. Georges Hundred frequently include possible locations for missing individuals, and several across the period were cited as "runaway." Petitions were brought to the legislature for owners of term slaves asking the Courts for extensions of the terms of servitude for those who had escaped from their service, requesting that they be tracked down and brought back; or such behavior could be grounds to request the Court to allow sale out of state, as William Walker describes above in his petition to allow the sale of Maunch.

An interesting account appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on September 13, 1789. Benjamin Aul of Port Penn Neck in St. Georges Hundred allowed an enslaved boy to be borrowed by a passing stranger. More information about the gentlemen surfaced, and when the boy was not returned as promised, Mr. Aul felt a need to put out an ad to recover the lad:

> On the 3d of this instant a certain man, who called himself Major Jacob Deer, called at the house of the subscriber, at Port Penn Neck, St. George's hundred, in the county of New Castle, state of Delaware, and borrowed of him a Mulattoe Boy, named DICK, to go with him to Philadelphia, to ride up a young horse, and promised to send the boy home the Wednesday following but the subscriber has not since seen the boy nor man, and by what he learned the said man's real name is Levergood, was lately a Captain of a company of riflemen in the state of Pennsylvania. The boy is about 11 years old; had on, when he was taken away, a tow shirt and trowsers, a felt hat, but his clothes have been changed since. Whoever takes up said boy and secures him, so that his master may have him again, shall receive TWENTY DOLLARS reward, paid by BENJAMIN AUL
>
> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 13, 1784

Benjamin Aul was deprived of his "possession," an 11-year-old boy, by a stranger looking for assistance, and although the fate of this lad is unknown, his life certainly changed.

Most escape documentation from the 1770 to 1830 period came from ads like these in newspapers posting rewards for the return of enslaved property. Most of these ads describe the physical attributes of the individual who left. These physical descriptions are generally very detailed and almost always include the garments they were wearing. These ads also contain details about how the runaway typically wore his or her hair, or any visible marks or scars, or features like a limp or personality traits. Some runaway ads also describe the situation that caused the person to leave, either intentionally or by providing inadvertent clues readily understandable to the modern reader of these documents.

Francis Haughey of St. Georges Hundred was a member of a prominent St. Georges Hundred slaveholding family. He served in the State Legislature in the first decade of the nineteenth century and also served in the post of sheriff. He was a slaveholder and appears in records describing a variety of relationships within his family and their slaves. In 1794, as executor for a relative's estate, he allowed the Lewis family, Joseph, Terry, and their daughter Dinah, to purchase their freedom from the estate for £75. In the runaway ad transcribed below, the author is unsure why his property might have left and seeks to provide reassurance to a skilled man that it was safe to return:

> Ran Away from the Subscriber, on Sunday the 8th of the present month, December, a BLACK MAN called JOSEPH CARTY, upward of forty years of age,
>
> about six feet high, slender person, but very neat, and very black, round face, large full eyes, strong clear voice, wears his hair in common platted, but at some times combed out, which makes it appear very bushy; appears bold when spoken to, but is in common very mannerly. Had on when he went away, a low round-crown fur hat, with a large rim and bound; mixed cloth coat, long tail with remarkable narrow backs, and large metal buttons, the rest of his dress is not known. The said Joseph is an extraordinary hand on a farm and can handle carpenter's tools tolerably well. He has acted as care-taker in absence of his master, for above five years, during the whole of which time he has never had on single stroke, or an ill word, to the best of my knowledge. The cause of his running away is not known, unless it was his master's coming to the knowledge of his having stolen a quantity of Bacon, about eighteen months ago, with a number of other little tricks which he had played lately, none of which he ever was called to an account for.
>
> Any person taking up the said Negro JOSEPH, and securing him in any gaol in the United States, so that his master gets him, shall receive the above reward; and all reasonable charges, for expenses &c. paid if brought home to the subscriber, living near Middletown, Newcastle County and State of Delaware.
>
> Francis Haughey, *Mirror of the Times*, December 13, 1799

Depriving people of access to their families was a hazard of sale and a cause of escape. Another ad from the *Mirror of the Times*, this one from a slaveholder in Chestertown, Maryland, a town close to St. Georges Hundred, provides a window into the mindset of the slaveholder:

> Ran away from the subscriber, living in Chestertown, Cecil County, State of Maryland, on the night of the second instant, a Negro Man Slave, name Cyrus, Commonly called SI, of a middling complexion, neither a bright mulatto or black; of about 22 years of age, stout made, fat and from five feet six to five feet seven inches in height. Had on and took with him the following clothes, viz. a blue cloth coat, superfine, pretty well worn- a spotted cassimere vest- a striped Marseilles do.- blue and white cotton trowsers, a clouded nankeen sailor's jacket- a pair of new shoes- one fine and two coarse shirts, and one round hat about half worn. Supposed to have been enticed away by the following described free negro:
>
> ISAAC, commonly called Isaac Grant, a blacksmith by trade, somewhat taller and more slender made than SI, middling black and marked a little with the small pox − a noted villain. As his wife is my property, he often had access to my kitchen; and frequently, as it can now be proved, stole meat and liquors from my cellar, by contriving slip the bolt. There is now likewise a warrant out against him for stealing a quantity of spikes from a shop where he was employed. After which he absconded and had been gone for some time, supposed to have been with his sister, the aforesaid SI's wife, somewhere in Pennsylvania, most likely in Chester County. He returned lately for one night, and I have no doubt persuaded SI to go off, as he could have no objection to his treatment with me.
>
> I will give the above Reward for apprehending and securing the above described persons as I am determined to prosecute said ISAAC to the rigor of the law. I will give 50 dollars for securing either of them, so that I may either have my Slave or have an opportunity of prosecuting the other.
>
> Said Isaac's Sister, is a slender black and has two children, the eldest a boy about three years of age, named HARRY, and the youngest a girl, seven or eight months old, and named BETSEY.
>
> John Hanson, *Mirror of the Times*, Charlestown, Maryland, August 5, 1800

It is clear that separation from his wife and young children was a good part of the motivation for Cyrus to leave. As in this case, Free Blacks and white abolitionists were often suspected of involvement, and this was sometimes mentioned in these runaway ads. Runaway ads show why Free Blacks were perceived as threats to the stability of the slave system, and why slave states increasingly limited their freedom. White abolitionists were also suspected by slaveholders, who accused them of enticing slaves away from their masters. Another danger, according to the slaveholders, was white men posing as abolitionists as part of a scheme to steal and sell their property. This is clearly illustrated in a runaway ad from Kent County. On January 4, 1796, slaveholder James Douglass placed an ad in the *Delaware Gazette* describing his enslaved miller, Ben, who had just taken his leave. Douglass, whose real estate holding, Mordington Mills, was located in central Kent County, describes the situation:

> . . . Ben "took his flight upwards from hence at the commencement of harvest, it is presumed he was persuaded to take that advantageous time for traveling, either by free negroes or white emancipators of slave negroes, who are too numerous in this quarter for the good of the community; recent instances of which have been notoriously by some of our pretenders to conscientiousness, who have not only persuaded negroes to run from their masters, with whom they were well satisfied, but have kept negroes in actual confinement against their will, in cellars and garrets until almost famished."
>
> Larson and Bodo (2007)

From James Douglass's point of view, kidnappers and abolitionists were equally in the wrong, because both cost slaveholders money.

Women constituted only about 20 percent of documented runaway slaves, according to Antezana's (2009) study of enslaved women in Delaware between 1760 and 1820. Contrary to other regions and broader studies of slavery positing that slave women rarely ran away during their reproductive years, enslaved women in Delaware appeared to have run away largely in their teens and twenties, and many took their children and men with them. Female runaways in Delaware were also described as taking large amounts of clothing with them, far more than has been noted in studies in the Deep South. This is perhaps because relatively safe areas were nearby, such as large free black communities and the urban center of Philadelphia (Antezana 2009).

e. "Because Kidnapping Is No Felony"[3]

When Savory Toy the younger, a yeoman from St. Georges Hundred, was brought to the bar to answer the accusation that he and two other men had kidnapped George Tilghman, a free man, and sold him into slavery in Maryland, he was facing severe physical punishment. These men hired an unusually skilled legal team, led by Caesar A. Rodney. The three men were to be tried separately, and Lewis Jamison went first. When the jury reached a verdict of guilty, the team of the three defense lawyers hastily drew up a motion for a new trial citing deficiencies in the indictment and the prosecution's handling of the case. The first issue cited in the document was that kidnapping was not a felony. Perhaps this was technically so, but the jury clearly felt outrage over the seizure and enslavement of George Tilghman. Kidnapping of Free Blacks to be sold into slavery in Maryland and farther south was on the rise in New Castle County and across the Eastern Shore in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Among the perpetrators was an infamous crew of kidnappers, the Johnson Gang, located on the border of Maryland and Delaware in the western Sussex County hamlet of Reliance. The infamous activities of the Johnson Gang, and their "leader," Patty Cannon, survived into the twentieth century in local folklore, scaring Delaware children.

Although the majority of the individuals involved in prosecuted kidnapping cases were not from St. Georges Hundred, this issue was clearly important and affected the daily lives of Free Blacks across the county, the state, and the region. Indeed, this issue was also of great concern to the white population. From 1816 to 1819, the Delaware State Legislature was presented with 27 petitions expressing the outrage that kidnapping was to the Free Black population in the state. In a clearly coordinated campaign these petitions were identically worded and were signed by over 1,300 Delawareans. The petitions complained that the crime was not sufficiently deterred by the punishment on the books for it. The petitions stated that this "iniquitous traffic" is "both known and deplored by many of the members of the Legislature themselves; but bounds can never be set to its progress, till some Law be granted whose penalty shall exceed the hope of advantage from this commerce" (Legislative Petitions 1816-1819). Prominent abolitionists from Kent County, Jonathan Hunn and Warner Mifflin, signed and presented their own individual copies of the petition to the Legislature.

[3] Motions to the court for a new trial were submitted by Mr. Rodney, Mr. Read, and Mr. McLane, attorneys for Lewis Jamison, John Jamison (both of Red Lion Hundred) and Savory Toy the Younger, of St. Georges Hundred in regard to the kidnapping. This was the only case where papers of the attorneys for the defendants survived in the records of the court.

Specific cases were also gaining attention in New Castle, the seat of the Court of General Sessions. In 1814 a free man of color, Preston Moore, was the victim of a kidnapping scheme in town, at the inn run by Abraham See. Moore and a woman only referred to in documents as "Negro Eliza" were reported to be bound for sale in Georgia. When Mr. See's application to keep a public house was up for renewal that year, a petition signed by 10 prominent members of the local citizenry was sent to the Court of General Sessions to deny the permit, based on the case of Preston Moore. The court case did not proceed because See died before the case could come to trial. But Moore's troubles were not over. In 1818 he and a friend, John Hilton, were offered work in the southern part of the county chopping wood. After being plied with liquor, Moore and Hilton were restrained, placed in a carriage, and driven into Maryland for sale into slavery. The two men managed to escape, and three men were brought to trial for the crime and convicted. Punishment for this crime included fines and having to stand at the pillory for half an hour with the soft part of their ears nailed to it. Governor Daniel Rodney (1814-1817) commuted the nailing and James Lackey petitioned the State Legislature to remove the fines, although there is no record of the outcome of Lackey's petition (Digital Library on American Slavery [DLAS], Petition 10381902).

Records of the Court of General Sessions provide information on 16 prosecutions of individual cases of kidnapping during the 1800 to 1830 period, with 12 of the cases dating to between 1811 and 1820. Victims of these kidnappings included 10 men, four women, and eight children. Four enslaved people were involved, two children of Appoquinimink Hundred enslavers and two runaway slaves who were traveling together through Delaware on their way to freedom but trusted the wrong people.

The earliest prosecution for kidnapping free African Americans in New Castle County dates to 1801, when Abraham Truax, John Truax, John Dekeys, and Joseph Bostick were brought before the Court of General Sessions to answer to the charge of kidnapping two "Mulotto freemen," Eli Brown and John. Although the results of this trial do not survive in the court records, this first case illustrates a pattern that continues through the period under study. People who did this kidnapping did so in gangs. These kidnapping gangs consisted of between four and eight people, and the average number of victims per incident was two. From the information in the court records, southern New Castle County was the center of this activity. When locations for the residences of gang members are given in the records, Appoquinimink Hundred and Red Lion Hundred are the two most prevalent, although two individuals from St. Georges were also involved. Most of these gang members were white males. One white female, Mary Castelow, was indicted as a member of a gang. Two Free Black men worked with white kidnapping gangs. Two Free Black women from Philadelphia traveling in southern New Castle County were involved in a kidnapping scheme that involved two runaway slaves from outside Delaware. Two families, the Palmers and the Tomlinsons, both of Appoquinimink Hundred, were involved in multiple prosecutions for kidnapping.

In 1823 a young boy who managed to escape a kidnapping plot involving three children at an inn in Port Penn found his way to Thomas Garrett and William Chandler of the Delaware Abolition Society's Acting Committee in Wilmington. The result was a list of questions prepared by Garrett and Chandler to help the grand jury ascertain more pertinent information from the defendants. Although no other record of this case survives in the documents of the Court of General Sessions, this list of questions remains. It appears from the questions that two men were accused of hiring

the kidnap victims for a short-term job, then plying them with liquor, seizing them, and trying to carry them south (Court of General Sessions, Petitions 1823).

In 1818 Rosanna Brown was pregnant when she was kidnapped and taken to Washington, D.C., to be sold at the slave markets there. She managed to find a doctor and a notary public to document her story and helped her sue for her freedom. Eleven individuals were ultimately prosecuted for participating in this case.

Also in 1818, two Free Black women, Mary Bryan and Ann Brown of Philadelphia, were traveling in the southern New Castle County area and were staying at the Inn at Summit Bridge. Encountering two runaway slaves, Charles White from North Carolina and Hannah Stofle from Snow Hill, Maryland, the women conspired to sell them to slave traders while convincing them that they were going to be taken to Philadelphia and on to freedom.

The kidnapping of a young girl, Bathsheba Bungy of Appoquinimink Hundred, in 1817 by a gang including members from St. Georges Hundred attracted the attention and support of the Abolition Society of Delaware's Kent County members. Quakers from the Duck Creek Monthly Meeting of Friends, Michael Offley and Jonathan Hunn, were witnesses for the prosecution in this case. Jonathan Hunn was the uncle of John Hunn, who moved to St. Georges Hundred in 1837 to take up farming on property he inherited from his mother. His cousin, John Alston, the prominent yeoman farmer who lived nearby, agreed to teach him how to farm. Although they lived about halfway between Middletown and Cantwell's Bridge along what is now State Route 299, as members of the Society of Friends, their focus was toward the Quaker Meeting House in Cantwell's Bridge. John Hunn was prosecuted along with Thomas Garrett in 1848 for assisting escaping slaves on the Underground Railroad in a landmark case involving Chief Justice of the United States Roger B. Taney. John Alston is also documented as assisting to harbor fugitives during this time period, although he was not caught or prosecuted.

3. Demography and Household Structure

On February 1, 1841, a petition was received in the General Assembly of the State of Delaware complaining about the difficulty of "obtaining efficient and responsible hirelings and laborers, in the occupations of the field and household affairs." The cause identified was "the great number of lazy, irresponsible, lawless, and miserable free negroes and mulattoes, upon whom our citizens have mainly to depend for assistance in the cultivation of their fields, and their domestic concerns." With the clear purpose of lobbying for the passage of new laws restricting the movement of the population of Free People of Color, the petition describes them as "a migratory tribe, without fixed abode; alternately roving from city to country, as whim or necessity may drive them in their erratic and wayward course." The bottom line for the petitioners was, "our farmers are deserted by the laborers they have employed in the cultivation of their crops, at the busiest season of the year." Eleven identically worded petitions were submitted every day of the 1841 Legislative Session from January 30 through February 10, representing 386 individuals in all three counties (DLAS, Petitions 10384101-10384111).

Aside from the political motives of the individuals behind this petition drive, their plea raises a question: were Delaware's Free People of Color part of a "migratory tribe, without fixed abode"?

Answering this question has been one of the goals of this project. Based on the data from St. Georges Hundred, it seems that this was the situation in the early part of the period, but over the course of the nineteenth century, Delaware African Americans established families and found ways to make a stable life for themselves through the development of contracts for their labor that included housing arrangements that could support a family. Given the nature of the historical record for this period, a review of the data sources is included in the discussion below, followed by a synthesis of the findings.

a. The Demographic Data

Study of the African Americans of St. Georges Hundred in the 1770 to 1830 period is complicated by major difficulties with the documents. Especially before 1810, many African Americans were referred to by race with a first name only, for example, "Black Philus" or "Negro Abraham" or "Absalom." In an attempt to identify people in this period and track them over time, a spreadsheet was compiled showing all the African Americans listed in records of the 1770 to 1830 period. The earliest documents, and one of the largest sources of information, are the manumission records for property owners in St. Georges Hundred; these list 147 named individuals. These manumission records were recorded in the property records of the county. Although listed with government records, they were the creation of individuals recording private actions. Very few of these records survive from before 1797, when a new state law regularized the process. For the 1770 to 1800 period, therefore, data are very thin. Other key documents are the U.S. Census, which survives for the years 1800, 1810, 1820, and 1830, and the county's annual tax assessments.

The spreadsheet lists 678 individuals. Ninety-two of the names are either single first names, single last names, or contain the identifier "Negro" or "Black." After 1810 African Americans were usually identified in these official records by first and last name. This is more useful, but it raises the question of which full names correspond to the earlier partial names. Often this simply cannot be known, but in a few cases unusual names make the identification highly probable. For example, Black Lancaster, Lancaster, and Richard Lancaster all seem to be the same person, and the entries were all merged into one data line. Another problem is that people in the Hundred with the same name may have been lumped together, whether they were fathers and sons or not related at all. The 1820 and 1830 U.S. Census data list several pairs of individuals with the same name in different locations. All of these sources of confusion combine to make it very difficult to trace people through time and therefore to answer questions about the stability or mobility of the population.

Other sources include the coroners and the criminal courts. A short study of newspapers from the time period was undertaken, but little was found in them about African Americans other than runaway ads. These ads did provide interesting details about the slaveowners and the lives of enslaved people; however, the review was not complete because the data uncovered reflected only the enslaved population, not the free. Online data sources consulted include the petitions to Southern Legislatures project undertaken by Dr. Loren Schweniger, now emeritus professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Greensborough. This information is available through the Digital Library of American Slavery (DLAS) website. This website is particularly useful for Delaware because the petitions are not collected in a readily usable way at the Delaware Public Archives; the individual petitions are filed in the general papers of the courts, the State Legislature, or the body to which the petition was presented. A bias in this data source is that the

information collected on individual petitioners is more detailed on African Americans than on the white petitioners. Although every African American name is transcribed in detail, the list of white petitioners is truncated to 10 individuals, despite the actual number. Other online data sources, including newspaper databases, were also searched for additional information, and some limited information was obtained and used.

In addition to the data collection cited above, the records of the Court of General Sessions were carefully reviewed for a wider perspective on the connection of African Americans to the court system beyond the role of crime perpetrator. This review successfully identified victims and witnesses as well accused perpetrators, and this approach provided the basis for identifying the connections between white and black families highlighted by the legal system. These connections were built over time and many were based on labor contracts, mostly informal during this period. For example, when Cuff Frisby, an African American man from Middletown, was called as a witness for the State against Daniel Johns during the May Term of the Court of General Sessions, he was required to provide a $100 bond for his appearance. Phillip Reading, son of the Episcopal pastor of St. Anne's Church south of Middletown, agreed to appear with Cuff Frisby as surety of that appearance as required in court. Frisby maintained a connection to St. Anne's Church by providing labor as a gravedigger, as evidenced by payment to him from the estate of Benjamin Flintham in 1831 for that purpose (New Castle County [NCC], Deed Book Y3, folio 21).

1) The Ten-Year U.S. Census

The U.S. Census is the best place to begin to get an overview of living conditions for African Americans in St. Georges Hundred between 1790 and 1830. Each U.S. Census collected data in different ways and at different levels of detail. For example, the 1800 Census records only a single fact about each African American household, the number of people in it. Future censuses grew more detailed, providing at first ages and sexes and later names for all the household members. Besides the information on names and household sizes, the census can be used to identify clusters of African Americans living together on the landscape. Sometimes this is most clear when considering the free and enslaved populations together, indicating the formation of larger clusters of individuals. These data points are people with families that cross boundaries of political as well as legal status.

The 1790 Census

Individual returns of the first U.S. census taken in 1790 do not survive, but summary counts by state and county were published (United States Census Bureau 1793). Several columns in the published tables delineate age and gender among free whites; however, the other columns that include both enslaved and free African Americans are limited to only "All other free persons" and "Slaves." Furthermore, specific counts by sub-county level towns or municipalities are only available for the states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and portions of New Jersey. Delaware is enumerated only at the county level.

Despite these limitations, the 1790 Census data can be used to illustrate the general nature of the African American population in New Castle County, and how it compares with the rest of Delaware and areas in several surrounding states (Table 3). In 1790 New Castle County was home to 2,562 enslaved African Americans (13 percent of the total population), plus an additional 639

"All other free persons" (3.2 percent of the total population), a number that likely contains a large proportion of free blacks. Kent County, immediately south of New Castle County, had a similar number and proportion of enslaved African Americans, although four times the number of "other free persons" (2,570, 13.6 percent of total population). The southernmost Sussex County contained a similar number of "other free persons" (690, 3.4 percent) to New Castle County, but a significantly higher number of slaves (4,025, 19.6 percent), reflecting closer social ties to Maryland.

TABLE 3

1790 U.S. CENSUS FOR DELAWARE, MARYLAND, PENNSYLVANIA, AND NEW JERSEY

	FREE WHITES		OTHER FREE		SLAVES		
LOCATION	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT	TOTAL
Delaware							
New Castle County	16,487	83.7	639	3.2	2,562	13.0	19,688
Kent County	14,050	74.3	2,570	13.6	2,300	12.2	18,920
Sussex County	15,773	76.9	690	3.4	4,025	19.6	20,488
Delaware Total	*46,310*	*78.4*	*3,899*	*6.6*	*8,887*	*15.0*	*59,096*
Maryland							
Eastern Shore Counties[1]	65,141	60.5	3,907	3.6	38,591	35.9	107,639
Northern Counties[2]	53,341	74.2	1,996	2.8	16,579	23.1	71,916
Southern Counties[3]	44,219	49.8	1,851	2.1	42,681	48.1	88,751
Western Counties[4]	45,948	89.4	289	0.6	5,185	10.1	51,422
Maryland Total	*20,8649*	*65.3*	*8,043*	*2.5*	*103,036*	*32.2*	*319,728*
Pennsylvania							
Philadelphia Area[5]	135,229	96.5	3,955	2.8	957	0.7	140,141
Appalachian Counties[6]	119,704	99.1	595	0.5	464	0.4	120,763
Dutch and Western Counties[7]	169,166	97.5	1,987	1.1	2,316	1.3	173,469
Pennsylvania Total	*424,099*	*97.6*	*6,537*	*1.5*	*3737*	*0.9*	*434,373*
New Jersey							
East Jersey Counties[8]	81,900	89.2	1,040	1.1	8,832	9.6	91,772
West Jersey Counties[9]	88,054	95.3	1,722	1.9	2,591	2.8	92,367
New Jersey Total	*16,9954*	*92.3*	*2,762*	*1.5*	*11,423*	*6.2*	*184,139*

Source: United States Census Bureau 1793:42-47

Notes: [1]Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's Caroline, Talbot, Somerset, Dorchester, Worcester; [2]Harford, Baltimore, Montgomery; [3]Ann-Arundel, Calvert, Charles, St. Mary's, Prince George's; [4]Allegheny, Washington, Frederick; [5]Philadelphia, Montgomery, Bucks, Delaware, Chester; [6]Berks, Northampton, Luzerne, Northumberland, Mifflin, Huntingdon, Bedford, Westmoreland; [7]Cumberland, Dauphin, Franklin, York, Lancaster, Allegheny, Washington, Fayette; [8]Bergen, Essex, Morris, Middlesex, Monmouth, Somerset; [9]Sussex, Hunterdon, Burlington, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, Cape May.

By comparing the 1790 Census data to the counties of surrounding states, it is clear that Delaware occupied a unique middle ground of slaveholding between the more firmly established slave societies immediately south and the northern states where slavery was soon to be either abolished or subject to gradual manumission policies. The Eastern Shore counties of Maryland, including Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's, Caroline, Talbot, Somerset, Dorchester, and Worcester, had slave populations that ranged between 21.6 and 45.3 percent in 1790, appreciably greater than Delaware's average of 15 percent, although Delaware's Sussex County had the most similar numbers and proportions of slaves to its closest Maryland neighbors. The more sparsely settled western Maryland piedmont areas, including Allegheny, Washington, and Frederick counties, had roughly similar to slightly lower numbers and proportions of slaves relative to northern Delaware, and the longest-settled areas of central and southern Maryland contained approximately 45 to 52 percent slave population proportions, clearly indicating a more slave-dependent agricultural focus.

Free persons on the Eastern Shore and around Baltimore also numbered in similar proportions to Delaware (see Table 3).

By contrast, states north of Delaware had significantly lower slave populations. Pennsylvania as a whole included only 0.6 percent enslaved in 1790, with slightly higher slave populations in central and western counties, although total numbers of slaves for those areas did not exceed 500 per county in 1790. Numbers of Free Blacks in rural Pennsylvania rarely exceed 1 percent of the total population. Philadelphia and its surroundings included low to average proportions of slaves relative to the rest of the state, totaling only 577 enslaved persons in the city and surrounding counties in 1790. The greater Philadelphia area also had a markedly high number of Free Blacks, comprising 2.8 percent of the population, similar to portions of Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

New Jersey had a higher proportion of slaves than Pennsylvania, 6.2 percent, but still less than half that of Delaware. An interesting division had occurred in New Jersey slave ownership in the eighteenth century, between areas known and East and West Jersey. The east-west division of the state dated to the seventeenth-century formation of two distinct Jersey Provinces, only joined as a single colony in 1702 (Gigantino 2010:24). East Jersey included those counties in the north and east-central portion of the state, closest to New York City, and included higher proportions of slaves, especially in Bergen and Somerset counties. West Jersey included more rural counties in the northwest and rural south portions of the state with lower slave populations. The distribution of the slave population in New Jersey was not influenced as much by latitude or proximity to southern states such as Delaware or Maryland, but more by the social and economic influences of the major metropolitan areas of New York and Philadelphia. A similar set of socio-economic forces appear to have influenced the lower proportions of slaveholding in the northern Delaware counties, including New Castle County.

The 1800 Census

Information gathered in this census was available for St. Georges Hundred in specifically collected detail about the households of white families, and the information about African American households is aggregated into a single number identified as “All Other Free Persons.” The identified towns of Port Penn, Cantwell’s Bridge (now Odessa), and Middletown are enumerated separately and identified as collections in the census. The population of St. Georges Hundred in 1800 totaled 3,365 persons, of which 965 (28.7 percent) were African American (Table 4). The African American population of St. Georges Hundred was composed of nearly equal proportions free (484, 50.2 percent) and enslaved (481, 49.8 percent).

TABLE 4

POPULATION OF ST. GEORGES HUNDRED BY RACE, 1800 TO 1830

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	WHITE		AFRICAN AMERICAN					
				TOTAL		FREE		ENSLAVED	
		No.	%	No.	%*	No.	%**	No.	%**
1800	3,365	2,400	71.3	965	28.7	484	50.2	481	49.8
1810	2,879	1,945	67.6	934	32.4	620	66.4	314	33.6
1820	2,934	1,963	66.9	971	33.1	587	60.5	384	39.5
1830	2,468	1,456	58.9	1,012	41.1	771	76.2	241	25.4

*Percent of total population. **Percent of total African American population

In comparison to census data compiled at the county level by Essah (1985:122), St. Georges Hundred had a slightly higher proportion of enslaved persons than New Castle County as a whole (40 percent enslaved), although southern Delaware's Sussex County still retained a much higher proportion of its African American population in bondage (69 percent enslaved). Delaware as a whole in 1800 included 46.7 percent of its African American population as slaves, which was still far lower than neighboring Maryland (84.4 percent enslaved), and even New Jersey (73.9 percent enslaved) and New York (66.8 percent enslaved) (Essah 1985:94). Other northern states including Pennsylvania had already passed outright or gradual abolition laws, and the number and proportion of slaves in Pennsylvania dropped precipitously around the turn of the nineteenth century.

The 1810 Census

In the 1810 Census most individuals are listed with first and last names. The census segregates independent Free Black households. Of a total population of 2,879, St. Georges Hundred included 934 African Americans (32.4 percent) in 1810, of which 66.4 percent were free and 33.6 percent enslaved (see Table 4). As was the case a decade earlier, St. Georges Hundred still exceeded both the New Castle County (21 percent) and Delaware (24.2 percent) proportions of enslaved persons in the larger African American populations. The proportion of enslaved among the African Americans in neighboring Maryland had reduced slightly to 76.7 percent, 58.1 percent in New Jersey, and 37.3 percent in New York by 1810 (Essah 1985:94,122).

The 1820 Census

The 1820 Census returns are challenging to use. The census taker does not appear to have been focused on the collecting the population data by hundred, at least in this section of New Castle County. Data for St. Georges Hundred are interleafed with the tabulation from Red Lion Hundred and Appoquinimink Hundred. Pages are frayed at the edges, obscuring page totals. The format provided by the federal government was apparently not followed precisely. Despite those challenges, some information could be gleaned and used, although it is not at all certain that the data collected are complete or interpreted properly. Nonetheless, the 1820 Census provides a grouped list of African Americans. For the first time a more detailed age framework is set out for the Free Non-White category so that the number of children, defined in this census as under age 14, can be established.

By 1820 the population of St. Georges Hundred was 2,934 individuals, of which 971 (33.1 percent) were African American (see Table 4). The number of free African Americans had declined slightly to 587 (60.5 percent), and 384 African Americans were enslaved (39.5 percent). The proportion of slave to free African Americans in St. Georges Hundred remained higher than in New Castle County, which remained roughly equal to a decade earlier. The proportions in Delaware as a whole also remained steady at 25.9 percent of the African American population enslaved, as did Maryland with 73.0 percent enslaved in 1820. However, slave populations in the remaining northern states dropped as gradual emancipation policies led to fewer slaves. New Jersey fell to 37.8 percent enslaved, and New York (25.7 percent enslaved) fell below the rate of Delaware (Essah 1985:94,122).

The 1830 Census

The 1830 Census indicates expansive growth in the Free Black population. Out of a total population of 2,468, there were fewer free whites (1,456, 58.9 percent) and more African Americans (1,012, 41.1 percent) in St. Georges Hundred than ever previously recorded (see Table 4). Although 241 (25.4 percent of African Americans) enslaved people still remained in the Hundred, the free population was 771 (76.2 percent), evenly divided between men and women. A total of 478 people lived in 108 independent households, and 39 percent of that population was children under 10. Ten women were identified as heads of household. Two Free Black households, those of Charles Millas and Jessee Porter, were enumerated as containing enslaved individuals, although it is unlikely these households "owned slaves." The tax assessments for the time period indicate no slave ownership among the Free Black population of the Hundred, and it is more likely a reflection of the manumitted/term-slave status of the individuals noted.

St. Georges Hundred still retained a higher proportion of enslaved individuals within its African American population than New Castle County (12 percent) and Delaware (17.2 percent) in 1830, and in fact was closer to the proportion of slaves in southern Sussex County (30 percent). The high proportion of enslaved to free African Americans in neighboring Maryland continued to reduce slowly to 66.1 percent, while New York had less than 1 percent of its African Americans held in slavery and New Jersey (11 percent) finally fell below the proportion of enslaved to free in nearby Delaware (Essah 1984:94,122). So by 1830, St. Georges Hundred, and in fact Delaware as a whole, had taken on its uniquely liminal place in antebellum society, far less entrenched in slaveholding and with larger free African American populations than its southern neighbors, and smaller slave populations in contrast to other nearby states, such as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, that had enacted gradual emancipation or abolition measures.

2) Annual County Tax Assessments

Although New Castle County provided a list every year of valuations of individuals for taxing purposes, the use of this record collection has its challenges. Comprehensive tax lists that include African Americans did not start until 1797. African Americans were not recorded on a separate, segregated list; in fact, they were not recorded at all. Beginning in 1797, the list of African American taxpayers was placed at the back of the book for each annual assessment. Each person was assessed a base amount, a head or poll tax. Women were not generally listed except as widows. Estates were assessed taxes well after the death of the head of the household. Men who were not heads of household also showed up in the assessment lists, making these lists valuable for collecting names and further research into family relationships. However, it is common for individuals not to appear in several assessments in a row, and to appear and disappear from the records. Some of this is accountable to the transience of the population, especially those men who were not heads of households, but it is clear that the system sometimes missed even the most stable of households during the annual assessment cycle. Sometimes these records provide clues about additional property, whether real estate, personal property, or livestock, but this too is inconsistent. This record group was most useful for adding to the list of names of individuals. The Errors Lists that are included with many annual assessments include interesting information about the individuals cited. Sometimes information found about the whereabouts of a missing individual is included in these lists. For some years the Errors List is the only list available.

Another important source of data for this study was the annual tax assessment by the County for the Hundred. These records were a great source of data for compiling general lists, but the information collected reflects a picture of the Hundred that requires more detailed study. The records are not as complete as one might expect across time and in any given year. Individuals appear and disappear in these records. The Annual Errors Lists can also be a valuable source of information about why an individual did not pay taxes in that year.

b. Free Population and Households

The essential story about Delaware's free African American population over the 1770 to 1830 period is one of continual growth (see Table 4). The total number of African Americans in St. Georges Hundred held fairly steady in the period, but the population of enslaved people fell by half, from 481 at the start of the period to 241 at the end. A few of these people may have been sold south, despite Delaware's legal ban on the export of enslaved people (Larson and Bodo 2007). Most, however, were freed. Already in 1800, the 484 free people made up half of the African Americans in St. Georges Hundred, and by 1830 this had risen to 76 percent. As previously noted, however, Delaware's slaveowners often required the people they freed to "work off the cost of raising them" by years of service, so some people were technically free but had to work for their former owners for as much as a decade. Living arrangements were clearly based on labor relationships and not freedom of choice. Because of these rules, people in the same family might become free in different years, leading to many blended families in which some people were free and others enslaved. Careful review of the 1810 Census reveals multiple sorts of mixed-race households. Some households included white heads of household as well as both free and enslaved individuals. The white households with the largest populations of free people of color did not have enslaved people, but households with the largest numbers of enslaved people also included free people of color under their roof. The process of becoming free was long and drawn-out.

Of the free African Americans, a large percentage lived in white households (Table 5). Using the 1800 Census, it is possible to estimate that about 46 percent of free African Americans lived in white households. These numbers jumped around a great deal from census to census — up to 57 percent in 1810, down to 51 percent in 1820, then back up to 59 percent in 1830 — which may reflect problems with the way the data were collected. Perhaps some census takers considered an African American servant living in the out kitchen part of the main white household, and others considered that person independent. At any rate throughout this period roughly half of African Americans lived in white-headed households. This was one factor that made it difficult for African Americans to start families and establish stable households of their own.

TABLE 5

AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS IN ST. GEORGES HUNDRED, 1800 TO 1830

CENSUS YEAR	FREE AFRICAN AMERICANS	NUMBER IN WHITE HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS	NUMBER OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS	AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE	NUMBER OF WOMEN-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS
1800	484	222	262	36	7	6
1810	621	357	264	42	6	0
1820	587	298	289	55	5	4
1830	771	452	319	104	3	10

4. Work and Economic Life

Limited information is available on how African Americans earned their livings in the 1770 to 1830 period. The first census to ask about work was in 1850, and African Americans are generally not identified by profession in the records. However, it seems clear that the great majority of African American adults in St. Georges Hundred worked as servants or agricultural laborers for white families. Around half lived in white households. Some of the others lived in what were called "house and garden" tenements, consisting of a small house and an acre or less of land for a garden. These were leased to African American farm laborers as part of arrangements whereby they would work on the landowner's farm.

The agricultural focus of the area certainly dictated the work of most slaves and Free Blacks in the Hundred, both male and females. Runaway advertisements from the region do sometimes refer to less common occupations or skills of the slaves who escaped, or the freedmen that assisted them. Already mentioned have been Joseph Cartey, a slave described as being able to handle carpenter's tools, and Isaac Grant, a blacksmith and freedman who supposedly enticed a slave of John Hanson to run away from Chestertown, Maryland. Other runaway ads taken in Philadelphia newspapers by Delaware slave owners between 1734 and 1785 include several slaves who were literate and listed as carpenters, a cooper, and a printing press-operator. A slave named Joss was described as skilled at repairing furniture (*American Weekly Mercury* 1734; *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet* 1774; *The Pennsylvania Mercury* 1785; *The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser* 1784, 1785[4]). Spinning, weaving, and sewing were identified as skilled work for several enslaved women in the advertisements compiled by Antezana (2009).

5. Community Formation and the Church

One of the questions considered in this study was whether the African American communities that were important centers of life in St. Georges Hundred — Congo Town, Daletown, Odessa, Summit Bridge, Armstrong Corners — could be traced back to the pre-1830 period. The short answer is that they could not. Although historians have speculated that the later communities had earlier roots, perhaps originating on plantations with large enslaved populations, it has not been possible to document this for any of the St. Georges Hundred communities. Detailed discussion of available evidence for the origins of these communities is provided in Section C.2.

There are, however, several interesting indications in the runaway advertisements that such communities did exist in the pre-1830 period, both in Delaware generally and St. Georges Hundred specifically. These include numerous mentions of masters suspecting their runaway slaves of attempting to pass as free Negros, sometimes by obtaining passes from others (*The Freeman's Journal* 1783; *The Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser* 1768; *The Pennsylvania Packet* 1783), or making their way to freed family members in the region (*The Pennsylvania Gazette* 1748; *The Pennsylvania Packet* 1780). These instances suggest networks of enslaved and free families aiding one another both in escape and evading capture.

[4] One publication changed names several times over the years: *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, Pennsylvania Packet, General Advertiser,* and *Daily Advertiser* were the various names used. In the References section they are all listed under *Pennsylvania Packet*.

The most prominent of these examples describes a slave in Maryland running to a free community in the area of St. Georges Hundred. In this instance the location of the community is described as a cedar swamp and could possibly refer to a maroon community (a settlement established by escaped slaves). However, the residents of that "neighbourhood" are described as freemen, groups of African Americans who were likely displaced or taking advantage of the social unrest associated with American Revolution and formed ad hoc and impromptu associations among themselves. Whether or not this particular group or location served as the genesis of later, better-documented African American communities acknowledged in nineteenth-century sources is unknown.

In northern Delaware more generally, the creation of African American Christian churches and denominations are some of the first recorded indications of later free African American communities. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, the majority of free African Americans in St. Georges Hundred, and throughout Delaware, attended racially mixed services at predominantly white churches. By far the most inclusive of the Christian denominations was the Methodists. Because of that general tolerance, African Americans in Delaware joined the Methodist Church en masse. By the turn of the nineteenth century, African Americans composed nearly 38 percent of the total membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Delaware (Skelcher 1995a). However, despite the early enthusiasm of the church to attract African American converts, by the 1830s and 1840s, Euro-American congregations began to discourage their African American members from participating. Although it was unclear why the church members changed course, Euro-American efforts to dissuade African American participation eventually led to the decline in their membership during the early nineteenth century. This eventually led to the formation of separate African American denominations of the Methodist Church.

Following the American Revolution, a combination of religious revival and legal changes allowed growing numbers of free African Americans to seize autonomy in their religious practices. In 1787, out of fears that religious toleration could be threatened by the conflict between conservative, elite Anglicans and more radical Presbyterians in Delaware, the legislature passed an act granting broad authority for any Christian group to incorporate a congregation and appoint trustees. Within this new legal space, dissatisfied free black members of the biracial First Methodist Episcopal church in Wilmington began to worship separately and take over their own financial matters. In September 1813 they formed a new denomination, the Union Church of Africans, with 40 parishioners. They elected trustees and were recognized as an incorporated congregation by the State of Delaware (Riordan 1997:207-209).

The Union Church [A.U.M.P.] eventually formed 31 congregations throughout Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York, all the while maintaining autonomy from white Methodism and the African Methodist Episcopal [A.M.E.] denomination that was formed in Philadelphia in 1816 (Riordan 1997:211). Other African American churches formed in the antebellum period in northern Delaware include Union A.M.E. church of New Castle in 1818, Hopkins' Landing A.M.E. church in 1824, St. Daniels A.M.E. Church in 1838 near Newark, Port Penn Presbyterian in 1834, Port Penn M.E. Church in 1843, Union A.M.E. Church in Christiana in 1854, St. John's A.U.M.P Church in Newark in 1855, Pleasant Grove Church in Hockessin in 1856, Mt. Salem Methodist Episcopal in New Castle in 1857, and Bethasady M.E. Church in Pencader Hundred in 1859 (Zebley 1947:144-182).

6. Biographies of Selected Delaware African Americans

a. Cesar Evans: An African American Gentleman

In 1796 Cesar Evans purchased a 5-acre parcel of land along Port Penn Road from Benjamin Bevins, his wife Sarah Bevins, and David Lord. The deed for the property indicated that he paid 57 pounds and 10 shillings for the parcel, which had been part of the lands of the Ashton family. The Ashton family were members of the Society of Friends and relatives of William Penn. Robert Ashton came to American in 1685 and was granted a patent, along with others, for the lands in the area that would become Port Penn. By 1690 Robert Ashton had consolidated the land holding in his ownership alone, and his family began establishing their presence on the land by building houses along what today is called Thornton Road, located on the edge of the marshes between Georges Creek and Little Georges Creek. It was this family that gave the land for building the Georges Creek Meeting House on Port Penn Road in 1706 (Wise 1978).

In the 1798 Property Tax Assessment for St. Georges Hundred, Evans's 5 acres of land was valued at $24 and his personal property at $174. He also paid a poll tax of $134 for a total valuation of $328. He was one of two Free Black landholders in St. Georges and the wealthier of the two. The other, Moses Archey, was assessed for a house on his 3 acres of property; no house was noted on Evans's land. In 1800 Cesar Evans's household was composed of 10 people. He and his wife Hannah were the parents of at least five children, one daughter named Jemima and four sons, Timothy, Eli, Lorenzo, and Israel. The 1810 Census shows that the family was composed of nine members; daughter Jemima had married Timothy Scott and their household was listed separately with four members.

It is not known when Cesar Evans was born, but he died intestate in 1812. His inventory and estate records provide a glimpse into the life of a prosperous African American household (see Appendix A). His son-in-law Timothy Scott was his executor and his signature appears on some of the estate's official documents. The inventory of the estate was taken by David Lord, one of the three people from whom he purchased his 5 acres 16 years before. The account records show that three African Americans from the area owed Evans less than $10 in total. The estate owed small sums to several individuals but was very much in debt to one man, Kensey Johns. Kensey Johns was the Chief Justice of the Delaware Supreme Court from 1799 to 1830. He had his primary residence in the town of New Castle but owned over 1,000 acres in St. Georges Hundred (Herman et al. 1992). Evans had borrowed $204 from Johns and also owed him $200 in rent. It appears that Cesar Evans did not live on the land he owned but on a larger farm rented from Johns. The land he owned was rented to his daughter Jemima and her husband, who paid $30 per year.

Cesar Evans's inventory is a remarkable document. It is four pages in length and describes a wide array of bedding, furniture, kitchen equipment, and personal possessions. The furniture included two large, well-appointed beds, another somewhat less valuable bed, and two cheap straw beds that were grouped with the kitchen supplies. Evans also owned three tables, multiple cupboards and chests, six rush-bottomed chairs, and two rocking chairs.

The household was fully equipped for cloth manufacture, with spinning wheels, a loom, and a large store of wool (Table 6). His livestock included four horses, four cows, a pair of oxen, and 10

other cattle, 12 hogs, and 21 sheep. With his five plows, two harrows, and other gear, he raised mainly wheat and corn, along with potatoes and a little rye and oats.

Especially interesting are the items on the list that historians are used to finding in the inventories of the white elite (Table 7). These items were expensive, but more than that, they convey a sense of refined aesthetic taste and education. After all, all the items in Table 7 taken together cost less than a good cow, but, so the thinking went, any ordinary man would have no use for the sort of desk where a gentleman composed his eloquent letters, and an ordinary family would not have the refinement to appreciate silver teaspoons. Cesar Evans aimed to find a place among those refined gentlemen.

TABLE 6

EVIDENCE OF CLOTH MANUFACTURE IN THE INVENTORY OF CESAR EVANS, 1812

ITEM	VALUE
Two little wheels	$3.00
Weavers loom and spool wheel	$1.00
Reel and mortar	.50
A lot of woolen & linen & cotton yard	$2.00
Corn cradle and flaxbreak	$1.25
A lot of wool by the lb .35, 43 lbs.	$15.05
Big spinning wheel and hogshead	.25
Twelve sheep and nine lambs	$30.00

TABLE 7

LUXURY GOODS IN THE INVENTORY OF CESAR EVANS, 1812

ITEM	VALUE
Walnut desk	$4.00
Six table spoons silver	$10.00
Six tea ditto	$1.00
Tea box	.75
A lot of books	$1.00

Another interesting detail is that Cesar Evans owned at least two guns. Other free African Americans in Delaware also owned guns. Despite white fear about African American lawlessness, no measures were taken to keep men like Cesar Evans from owning firearms.

On June 10, 1812, Cesar Evans's estate had a sale to raise money to pay off his debts. People gathered from around the area, including family members, African American farmers and laborers, and local white gentry. His wife Hannah purchased a Dutch oven, and his son-in-law purchased the flax break, the large wagon, and the lease on the farm from Kensey Johns. In all, the proceeds from the sale amounted to $595.05. The final accounting for the estate was completed in 1820. By that time Jemima Scott had taken over for her deceased husband as administrator of her father's estate and signed the final paperwork. The list of heirs included his widow Hannah and her five surviving children, Jemima Scott, Timothy Evans, Eli Evans, Lorenzo Evans, and Israel Evans; and two grandchildren, Levi Evans and Alexander Evans. The male members of the Evans family did appear in County Tax Assessment Roles in the 1810s but all had left St. Georges Hundred by the time of the 1820 Census.

b. Alexander Lea: Following Two Generations

Alexander Lea was a farmer in St. Georges Hundred and a contemporary of Cesar Evans. Lea purchased farm equipment and a gun from the sale of Cesar Evans's estate in 1812 and most likely lived nearby. In 1807 Lea was assessed for $211 in personal property. In the 1810 Census Lea's household is listed with eight free African American residents, but he and his wife Alice had only

one known child: a son named for his father. By 1816 Lea owned 98 acres with a house and barn, and with his livestock his property was valued at $599. Like Evans, Lea was renting a large farm as his primary residence from Kensey Johns, the Chief Justice of the Delaware Supreme Court.

Alexander Lea died in 1822. According to his inventory taken in January (see Appendix A), the estate was valuable but more focused on practical goods than that of Cesar Evans. The household goods included no silver, tea boxes, or books, but Lea did own a walnut table, a corner cupboard, and 10 Windsor chairs. Lea's list of farm equipment was extensive and indicates a conservative, diversified farming strategy similar to that of Evans. His fall harvest had not yet sold and there were large quantities of grain crops (oats, barley, corn) on hand in the inventory, as well as a 30-acre field planted in wheat and rye. The livestock included 12 cows, 10 calves, seven heifers, one bull, two oxen, five horses, 10 sheep, and only a single pig, a "breeding sow." No doubt the other pigs, and also any steers, had been slaughtered in the fall. Lea's inventory included a larger variety of processed goods, such as cake tallow and sheepskins and meat packed in barrels.

The estate sale on March 19, 1822, brought people from all over the region to buy. Jonathan Segars purchased a bucket, a scythe, and a coverlet for $4.50, and "Dickinson's Wench" purchased a pair of straps for two and one half cents. Lea's horses must have been particularly fine as they all brought premium prices of between $50 and $70. Alexander Lea, Jr. and his mother identified the items they wished reserved for themselves from the sale and also purchased items at the sale (NCC, Estate Records 1822).

Court records show that the sale almost did not come off. Just a few days before the sale, four men broke into the house with the intent of causing harm to the belongings and burning down the building. John Vandyke, John Jamison, John McCormick, and Benjamin Brattan were noticed in the building by a laborer, William Castelow, who was working for a neighbor. He eavesdropped on the men and heard them discuss taking the house and property of the deceased Alexander Lea; when he had heard enough he went into Port Penn to summon Dr. David Stewart, a justice of the peace. Hearing about this dispute on his own property, Kensey Johns decided to take the affront personally and went on record supporting the widow, Alice Lea, and the Administrator of the Lea estate, Alexander Lea, Jr. He made formal statements for the record about his ownership of the property and that this was a personal attack on him. The four were charged with forcible entry and detained and over the next year the court case worked its way through the system. The case ended on June 22, 1823, with John Vandyke, the ringleader of the group, appearing and submitting "to the mercy of the court, whereupon the Court Consider and Adjudge that he pay a fine of fifty cents together with the costs of prosecution, listed as $68.23, and that he was to be committed until the fine and costs were paid" (Court of General Sessions 1822). The connection to such a prominent jurist as Kensey Johns ensured for the Lea family a quick and positive resolution of the issue, an outcome not guaranteed for an African American bringing suit against four white men.

Alexander Lea, Jr. moved to Appoquinimink Hundred and set up a farm there. His mother, Alice Lea, joined him there to live out her days. Unlike his father, he made a will that was witnessed by Daniel Corbit and registered at the New Castle Courthouse on January 11, 1866. He provided legacies for his surviving child, Mrs. Emeline Hall, and his three grandchildren, William Lea, Mary Lea, and William Alexander Lea. The will and his estate inventory show that his farm was a smaller operation than his father's, only 50 acres and with fewer animals. His farmhouse had

three rooms downstairs and two upstairs. There were three outbuildings and few livestock. However, he did own "a lot of books," which his father had not.

c. Jacob Watson: Challenges and Choices

The story of Jacob Watson illustrates the hardships faced by laborers in St. Georges Hundred and the downward path that some people strayed onto. Watson was one of four African Americans accused of helping white accomplices kidnap Free Blacks in New Castle County during the 1770 to 1830 time period. Jacob Watson first appeared in the 1807 Tax Assessment for St. Georges Hundred, assessed only for a head tax of $134. In the 1810 Census he is enumerated as the head of an independent household of seven free people of color. In 1812 the estate of Cesar Evans paid him $1.50 for digging a grave. In the 1816 Tax Assessment he is assessed for livestock at $32 as well as the poll tax of $134. In 1818 and 1819, he was assessed for possessions as well as the poll tax, but his fortunes soon turned for the worse. In 1820 he was assessed only for the poll tax and appeared on the Errors List of Black Taxables with a note stating "not able to pay."

By 1817 Jacob Watson became connected with James, Jonathan, and William Palmer of Appoquinimink Hundred, three men who had already been prosecuted twice for kidnapping free people of color in southern New Castle County and selling them across the state line into slavery in Maryland. According to the Indictment filed with the papers of the June Term in 1823 by Attorney General James Rogers, the Grand Jury had met and found there was sufficient evidence for an indictment:

> That Jacob Watson, late of Red Lion Hundred in the county aforesaid, laborer, In the said Jacob being a free Mulatto—James Palmer late of Appoquinimink Hundred in the county aforesaid, yeoman, William Palmer late of the same hundred and county, yeoman, on the thirtieth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen with force and arms, at Red Lyon Hundred in the county aforesaid, in and upon one Ann Green, she the said Ann then and there being a free negro, and in the Peace of God and of the State of Delaware then and there beat wound bruise and mistreat (with intent here the said Ann then and there . . . to kidnap take and carry away from this state into the State of Maryland against the form of an Act of the General Assembly in such case made and provided); and other wrongs to the said Ann then and there for the great damage of the said Ann, and against the Peace and Dignity of the State.
>
> Court Papers of the Court of General Quarter Sessions and Jail Delivery, June 1823

It is not known why it took six years from the date of the assault to bring charges. The evidence provided to the Grand Jury was given by the victim in open court. Ann Green provided a $100.00 bond that she "be and appear Personally at the next Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Gaol Delivery to be held at New Castle in and for the County of New Castle and there to testify on behalf of the State all such matters and things She may know or be examined in and particularly against a certain Jacob Watson and that she shall not depart the said County without leave thereof take and acknowledged in open Court June 2nd 1823."

Unfortunately, no additional information was uncovered about the outcome of this case or about the fate of Jacob Watson.

7. Conclusion: Unstable Lives

The data analyzed here show that the African Americans of St. Georges Hundred were a transient population. Of the 680 names in the historical research, 551 or 81 percent appeared only once or twice in the 27 columns of data tracked. A total of 108 individuals appeared between three and six times. Only 19 individuals were identified in the 27 columns seven times or more, with the largest number of citations at 11. Very few of the names found in the manumission records could later be found among the residents of the Hundred. In fact, the names suggest that free people often moved away from where they had been enslaved. For example, the names Tilghman, Frisby, and Chew were attested among African Americans in St. Georges Hundred. Tilghman and Frisby were slaveholding families in Maryland, and the Chews were a prominent Pennsylvania and Maryland family with holdings in Kent County, Delaware.

The reasons for the instability of residence were also clear in the documentary record. Because of legal disabilities, entrenched discrimination, and poverty, it was very difficult for African Americans to establish the sorts of households that lead to stable lives. About half lived as servants in white households. Very few owned property (see Appendix A). Those who did stay in one place may have done so because they had relatives who were still enslaved or who were bound to their former owners for a period of years.

C. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND EARLY URBANIZATION (1830 TO 1880)

1. Demography and Household Structure

From 1830 to 1880, the population of St. Georges Hundred varied from 2,468 to around 5,000. African Americans made up between 33 and 41 percent of the total population (Table 8).

TABLE 8

POPULATION OF ST. GEORGES HUNDRED BY RACE, 1830 TO 1880

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	WHITE		AFRICAN AMERICAN					
				TOTAL		FREE		ENSLAVED	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1830	2,468	1,456	58.9	1,012	41.1	771	76.2	241	23.8
1840	3,130	1,969	62.9	1,161	37.1	1,023	88.1	138	11.9
1850	3,652	2,436	66.7	1,216	33.3	1,050	86.3	166	13.7
1860	4,532	2,856	63.0	1,676	37.0	1,574	93.9	102	6.1
1870	5,074	3,067	60.4	2,007	39.9	2,007	100.0	0	0.0
1880	5,036	3,098	61.5	1,938	38.5	1,938	100.0	0	0.0

The overall population of St. Georges Hundred declined from 1800 to 1830 (see Table 4) but then began growing again. The decline was driven mainly by the departure of Euro-American residents, since the African American population was essentially stable. From 1830 to 1860, the population of both blacks and whites grew rapidly (see Table 8). This population growth was probably associated with both local and national developments. Populations grew in much of the rural East because of the agricultural revival; the effect was intensified in St. Georges Hundred by transportation improvements, especially the opening of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in 1828 and the construction of the Delaware Railroad to Middletown in 1852. The total population growth reached its peak around 1870.

Free African Americans residing in St. Georges Hundred between 1830 and 1880 are listed by the census either within Euro-American households or within households headed by African Americans (Table 9). In 1800 the African American population was evenly split, with 240 individuals living in African American households and 244 people listed as residents of white-headed homes (see Table 5). The percentage of African Americans living in Euro-American households fluctuated slightly over the early and mid-nineteenth century. In 1810 the majority of the African American population (59 percent) lived in white households, but over time, the number of African Americans living in white-headed households slowly declined. By 1880 only 23 percent of African Americans appearing in the U.S. Census are enumerated as being part of Euro-American households (see Table 9).

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION LIVING IN EURO-AMERICAN AND AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1830 TO 1880

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL AFRICAN AMERICANS	IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS		IN EURO-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS	
		No.	%	No.	%
1830	771	509	66.0	262	34.0
1840	1,023	587	57.4	436	42.6
1850	1,050	673	64.1	377	35.9
1860	1,574	968	61.5	606	38.5
1870	2,007	1,378	68.7	629	31.3
1880	1,938	1,490	76.9	448	23.1

Most African Americans living in Euro-American households between 1800 and 1880 were employed by the families where they resided. Census records from 1800 to 1840 do not provide much information beyond the names of heads of households and a general age range for other residents, and the relationships between the African American inhabitants and their Euro-American heads of household are therefore conjecture. The 1850 Census was amended to include more detailed information regarding the names, occupations, and relationships of household inhabitants. In a few cases small African American families and single mothers with children do appear in white households, but single men and women made up the majority of African Americans living in Euro-American households. Most were unrelated to the other African American residents in the households. Age does not appear to be a relevant factor. Some children as young as eight years old appear in white-headed households without a parent living with them. At the same time men and women age 70 or older also appear in Euro-American households. Most African American women living in Euro-American households were employed as domestic servants or cooks. Men living in white households worked as farm or general laborers. A few African American men were employed as hostlers, gardeners, and household servants.

As the population of free African Americans increased during the nineteenth century, so too did the number of African American households enumerated in the U.S. Census. Beginning in 1800, only 50 percent of the African American population in St. Georges Hundred was free (see Table 4), and therefore that year's census recorded the fewest number of independent African American households compared with any subsequent census year (Table 10). In the following two decades the Free Black population increased slowly as did the number of African American households. In 1830 the number of free African American households had doubled to 113 from the 56 enumerated in the 1820 Census. Except for a small dip in 1850, the total number of free African American households increased rapidly between 1840 and 1860, mirroring the sharp increase in the Free Black population

during the same period. With the ratification of the 13th Amendment of the United States Constitution in December 1865, slavery was abolished in St. Georges Hundred as well as across the country. As a result the number of African American households increased from 197 in 1860 to over 300 two decades later.

TABLE 10

TOTAL NUMBER OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HEADED HOUSEHOLDS, 1830 TO 1880

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS	MALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS		FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS	
		NO.	%	NO.	%
1830	113	104	92.0	9	8.0
1840	144	136	94.4	8	5.6
1850	139	124	89.2	15	10.8
1860	197	181	91.8	16	8.2
1870	270	241	89.3	29	10.7
1880	304	278	91.4	26	8.6

Further examination of the household data from the census provides some additional information regarding the typical household structure for African Americans. During this period the majority of African American households in St. Georges Hundred were headed by men. In 1800 only one household was headed by a woman, enumerated in the census as Negro Rebecca. In 1810 all the African American households in the Hundred were headed by men (see Table 5). Over the next four decades the number of female headed households increased slightly year by year until 1850, when 11 percent of African American households in St. Georges Hundred were female-headed. Over the next three decades the percentage of female-headed households remained relatively stable, fluctuating two or three percentage points between 1860 and 1880 (see Table 10).

Between 1800 and 1880, the majority of women who headed their own households were either single and between the ages of 10 and 36 or likely widowed and between the ages of 36 and 100. Some women during that period were enumerated as between the ages of 24 and 36 while serving as head of house for relatively large families, with some having several children under the age of 10. In such cases it is unclear under which circumstances these women were alone to care for such large and young families without the support of a husband. Undoubtedly, some of these situations were the result of the untimely death of a husband; however, it is also likely some of the women listed as the head of families found themselves in the position as a result of abandonment by a spouse.

The majority of African American households during the period ranged in size from three to six members (Table 11). The average size of African American households decreased between 1800 to 1840, from an average of seven members to four. A decade later that number increased slightly to approximately five individuals per family, where it remained relatively stable through the rest of the nineteenth century.

TABLE 11

AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE IN ST. GEORGES HUNDRED, 1800 TO 1880

CENSUS YEAR	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLDS																TOTAL	MEAN FAMILY SIZE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
1800	.	.	1	8	2	6	.	10	1	3	.	2	.	.	.	1	34	7.0
1810	.	.	4	6	6	6	10	6	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	42	6.0
1820	.	.	5	11	10	8	10	6	.	3	.	1	2	.	.	.	56	6.1
1830	3	18	11	31	21	10	7	8	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	113	4.5
1840	7	28	33	23	17	16	11	6	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	144	4.0
1850	5	13	25	18	34	17	9	7	8	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	139	4.8
1860	1	22	31	35	36	30	25	6	8	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	197	4.9
1870	4	30	40	48	42	37	28	18	12	3	5	2	1	.	.	.	270	5.1
1880	6	30	68	53	42	37	33	13	10	4	3	3	1	1	.	.	304	4.8

2. Community Formation and Religious Life

a. Congo Town

Located about a mile west of Port Penn, Congo Town was one of the earliest African American communities to develop in St. Georges Hundred. Before 1830, the area's Free Black tenant farmers were generally dispersed along the western and northern roads (present-day Port Penn Road and Thorntown Road) leading from the village of Port Penn on the Delaware Bay. According to 1830 census records, at least 23 African American households lived on agricultural land surrounding the village (Table 12).

TABLE 12

AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS SURROUNDING PORT PENN IN 1830

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
Perry Green	William Miller	Empson Hall
Samuel Harris	Amos Bell	William Jones
George Caulk	George Greenland	Albert Reed
Abrah Hinslow	James Congo	Abraham Monroe
James Farr	John Bunker	Abraham Guy
Simon Taylor	Thomas Simmons	Thomas Hopkins
Tempy Jones	Patty Lowdins	Edward Congo
Johnson Dingle	Nathaniel Grose	

None of the residents recorded in the 1830 Census owned their own homes. Many of these households were likely involved in house and garden lease agreements with one of the larger estates surrounding Port Penn, such as those of James Carpenter, Isaac Vandegrift, James McMullin, and John Cleaver. In exchange for exclusive labor on their farms, these planters provided their African American tenants with a small salary as well as free housing and a small plot to serve as a family garden. Others households rented tenements from the white planters. In these situations the planter served as a landlord and the tenants were free to work on any of the farms where they could find employment.

In addition to the households surrounding Port Penn, a handful of African American families also resided in the village itself. Of the 32 households residing in Port Penn, five were African American: the families of Jerry Carty, Ester Liston, John Siggers, Thomas Alright, and Ann Purnell. Like their rural neighbors, the members of these families leased their homes and likely worked as farmhands, housekeepers, or watermen.

Starting in 1833, the Congo Town community began to take a more definite form. Several African American tenant farmers began to purchase their own small parcels of agricultural land near the present-day intersection of Thorntown Road and Port Penn Road. The first to purchase land was Edward Congo. On May 22, 1833, farmer James McMullin received $70 from Edward Congo in exchange for a 1-acre parcel located on the north side of Port Penn Road adjacent to the farm lane leading to the mansion house of Christopher Vandegrift. Edward did not immediately build on the lot; assessments from 1830s and much of the 1840s show that he did not pay any taxes for improvements on the parcel. Eventually a portion of the 1-acre parcel became the home of Congo Town's house of worship, the Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1834. Services were held in private homes until approximately 1849 (WPA 1940). In the 1849 tax assessment Edward Congo was assessed $250 for a log house he had built on a portion of his 1-acre lot the year before. The Rea & Price (1849) *Map of New Castle County* indicates that the log structure served a dual role as the Congo home and the home of the Congo Town congregation of the Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church (Figure 6). Edward Congo's log house did not remain the community's church for long, however, for in 1856 the congregation purchased the former Presbyterian Church in Port Penn

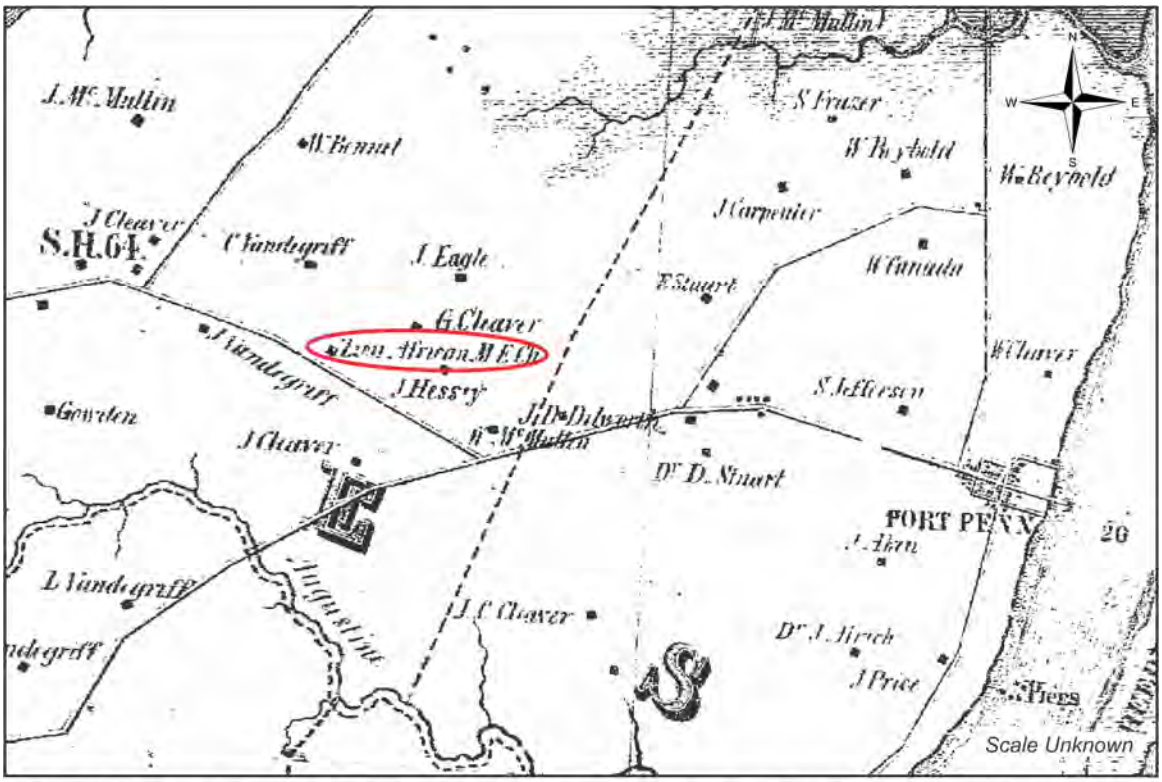
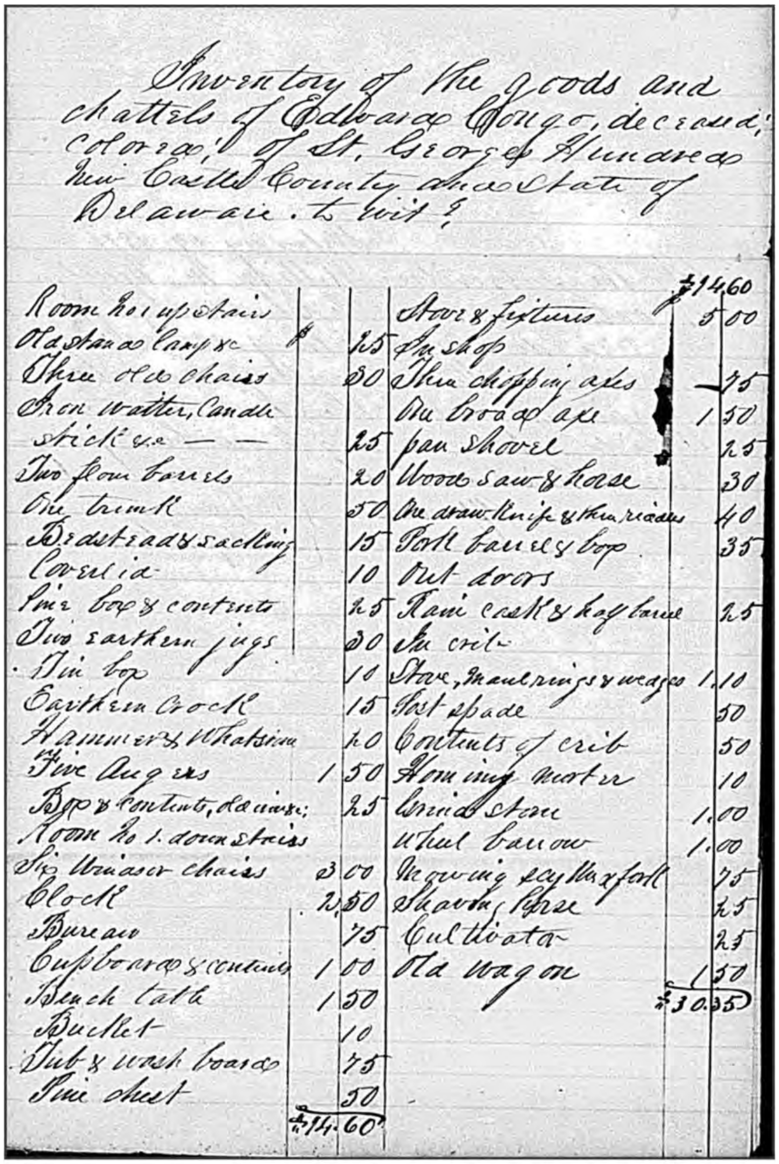


FIGURE 6: Rea & Price Map of New Castle County Showing the Zion A.M.E. Church (Rea & Price 1849)

(WPA 1940). The agreement between Congo Town's Zion A.M.E. Church and the Port Penn Presbyterian Church was for the structure, not the land. Later that year the Congo Town community relocated the church structure 2 miles west of Port Penn to stand adjacent to Edward Congo's house. According to the tax assessments for 1857, Edward Congo's holdings increased to include two frame structures on the same 1-acre lot. While one of the structures was certainly his house, the other assessed building was likely the recently moved and rededicated Zion A.M.E. Church.



Inventory of the goods and chattels of Edward Congo, deceased; colored, of St. Georges Hundred New Castle County and State of Delaware. to wit:

Room No 1 upstairs			$14.60
Old stand lamp &c	25	Stove & fixtures	5.00
Three old chairs	30	In shop	
Iron waiter, Candle stick &c	25	Three chopping axes	75
Two flour barrels	20	One broad axe	1.50
One trunk	50	Pan shovel	25
Bedstead & sacking	15	Wood saw & horse	30
Coverlid	10	One draw knife & three reamers	40
Pine box & contents	25	Pork barrel & box	35
Two earthen jugs	30	Out doors	
Tin box	10	Rain cask & half barrel	25
Earthen Crock	15	In crib	
Hammer & [illegible]	20	Stove, maul rings & wedges	1.10
Five Augers	1.50	Post spade	50
Box & contents, [illegible]	25	Contents of crib	50
Room No 1 downstairs		Hominy mortar	10
Six Windsor chairs	3.00	Grind stone	1.00
Clock	2.50	Wheel barrow	1.00
Bureau	75	Mowing scythe & fork	75
Cupboard & contents	1.00	Shaving horse	25
Bench table	1.50	Cultivator	25
Bucket	10	Old wagon	1.50
Tub & wash board	75		$30.35
Pine chest	50		
	$14.60		

FIGURE 7: Edward Congo's Inventory (NCC, Probate of Edward Congo 1871)

In March 1863 Edward Congo sold 4,560 square feet of his 1-acre lot to his brother, William Congo, for $50. Three years later, in May 1866, he sold another 4,256 square feet of land to David Harmon, again for $50. By 1868 Edward Congo had sold another portion of the original 1-acre tract. By the time of the 1868 tax assessment, Edward had transferred 31,000 square feet of his parcel, including the church, to the congregation of the Zion A.M.E. Church. By the time of his death in September 1870, Edward Congo's estate consisted of only his small two-story home and 2,860 square feet of his former 1-acre property. According to the February 1871 inventory of his estate, Edward Congo's house was a small two-story wood-frame structure consisting of a single room on both the first and second floor (Figure 7; Appendix A). In addition to the house, Edward Congo's property contained a small outdoor domestic space and a barn containing farming equipment and an old wagon.

In his will Edward Congo devised $100 to his nephew, Timothy Congo, and the rest of his personal and real estate to Charles Demby. It is unclear whether Charles Demby was Edward Congo's grandchild or a nephew, although there appears to be some familial relationship. Charles Demby appeared as a one-year-old living in Edward Congo's household in 1850 and is the only member of the household to possess a different surname. He does not appear in either the 1860 or 1870 Census but reemerges in 1880 as 30-year-old laborer living on the farm of Samuel Vail located north of Congo Town.

Seven years following the settlement of the Congo estate in 1871, Charles Demby sold Edward Congo's former house and the remaining 2,860 square feet of the original parcel to the trustees of the Zion A.M.E. Church for the sum of $1 (NCC, Deed Book E11, folio 298). According to the 1878 deed of sale, the trustees of the church included nine members of the Congo Town community: Thomas Carty, Timothy Congo (Edward Congo's nephew), Perry Harris, William Backus, Joseph Lecompt, Alexander Pryor, Charles H. Long, Lewis Mayfield, and Joshua Green. Shortly after acquiring Edward Congo's former home lot, the church trustees, with the assistance of the Delaware Association for the Moral Improvement and Education of Colored People (Delaware Association), constructed the Congo Town Colored School on the site.[5] Both the Zion A.M.E. Church and school are depicted on the G.M. Hopkins (1881) *Map of New Castle County* (Figure 8).

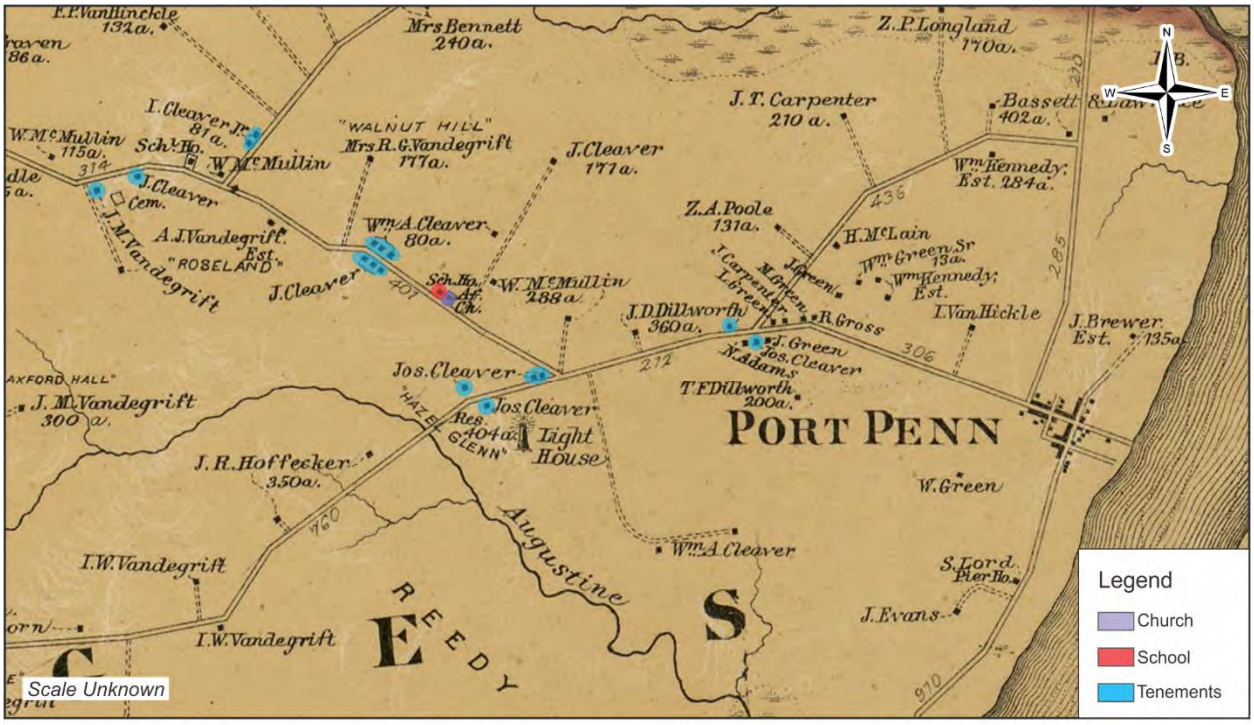


FIGURE 8: Congo Town: Zion A.M.E. Church and School in 1881 (G.M. Hopkins 1881)

Another early and prominent family of Congo Town was the Greens. Perry Green's first recorded deed is dated February 21, 1838. According to the deed, Perry Green paid $500 to the heirs of John Cleaver for a house and 3 acres of land located on the east side of the present-day crossroads of Port Penn and Thorntown roads. The newly acquired 3-acre tract was bound on the west by the other lands Perry Green previously acquired from the estate of David Lord. No deed for this second tract is extant in the land records of New Castle County. The tract is first accounted for in the 1837 tax assessment of St. Georges Hundred, suggesting that Green purchased the land sometime in 1836. According to the tax assessment of 1837, Perry Green's existing estate was valued at $840 and consisted of two parcels, one containing 16 acres of agricultural land and the other 4 acres and a wood-frame house. After his 1838 acquisition of the 3-acre parcel from the heirs of John Cleaver,

[5] The Delaware Association helped local African American communities build schoolhouses following the Civil War. The Association built five schoolhouses in St. Georges Hundred during the late 1860s and early 1870s.

Perry Green's estate consisted of 23 acres and two frame dwelling houses. A review of the 1840 Census indicates that Perry Green resided in one of the homes with his wife and eight other household members, and the other home was leased to Charles Hance and his family.

Perry Green died in 1848, and his estate was divided among his widow and children. The majority of the estate initially remained with his widow, Elizabeth, although 10 acres was sold to one of the children, Wilson Green, in February 1849. Despite the sale to Wilson Green, the 1849 tax assessment showed that Elizabeth was still in possession of two frame houses situated on 13 acres of land. Following the death of Elizabeth Green sometime after 1857, the rest of Perry Green's former estate was eventually divided among the remainder of the children (Table 13). All the siblings remained in Congo Town for the remainder of their lives. Those brothers who did not inherit a house on their share of their father's estate built their own by 1868 (Figure 9). According to the 1870 Census, all of the Green brothers were involved in agriculture. Wilson and John Green are listed as farmers working their own land, and the remaining brothers, Perry, Joshua, and Michael, are all enumerated as farm laborers who likely worked on either their brothers' farms or on one of the several white-owned farms located around Port Penn and Congo Town.

TABLE 13

DIVISION OF PERRY GREEN'S ESTATE IN CONGO TOWN

NAME	ACREAGE
Wilson Green	10 acres
John Green	2 acres
Perry Green, Jr.	4155 sq. ft.
Michael Green	1 acre
Lewis Green	4 acres
Joshua Green	5 acres

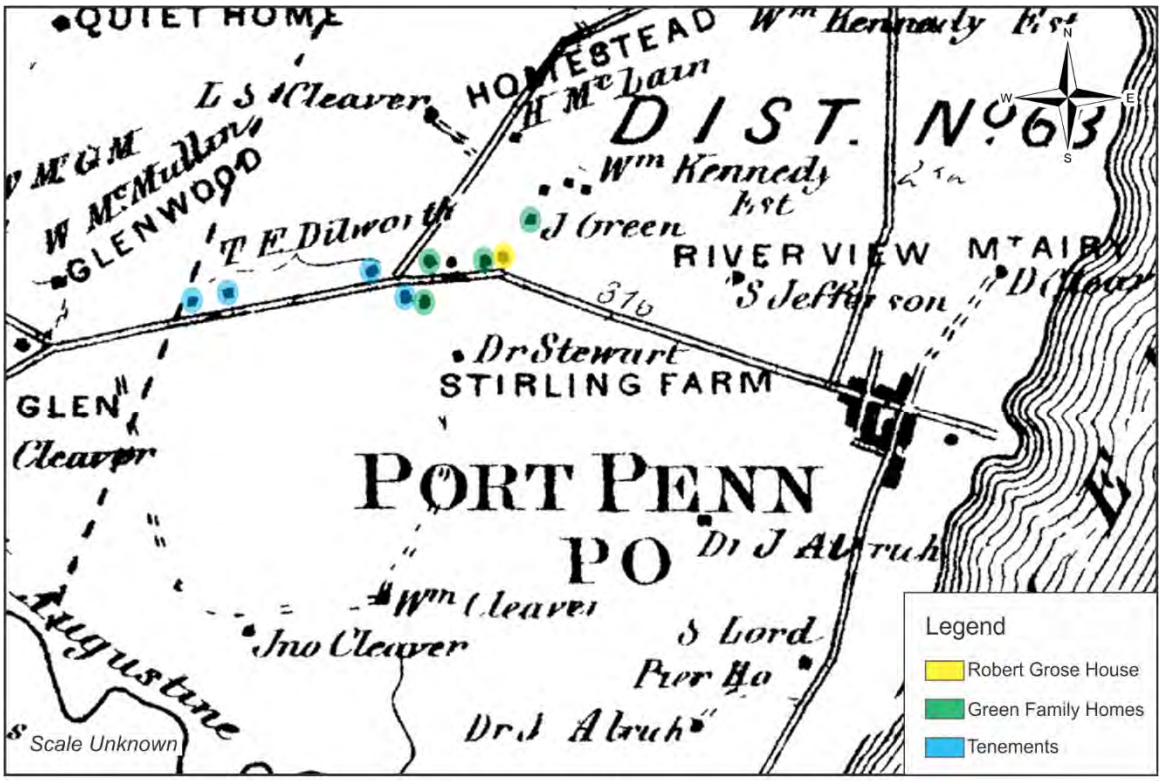


FIGURE 9: Location of Green Family Houses in 1868 (Pomeroy & Beers 1868)

TABLE 14

AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS
RESIDING IN PORT PENN IN 1870

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	HOUSEHOLD SIZE
Perry Harris	3
Levi Hison	4
Thomas Brown	4
Benjamin Lockerman	5
Matilda Harman	4
Sara Adams	3
Harry Long	5
Wilson Groce (Grose)	3
John Patton	1
Peter Johnson	5
Alexander Haye	6
Henry Tingle	5

Some members of the Green family eventually purchased lots and houses in Port Penn while maintaining their primary residence in Congo Town. One such family member was Wilson T. Green, the son of Wilson Green of Congo Town. Wilson T. lived next to his uncle, Joshua Green, in Congo Town and at the same time was assessed for a lot and frame dwelling in Port Penn in 1868. His house is depicted on the north side of W. Merchant Street in the 1868 Pomeroy & Beers *Atlas of New Castle County* (Figure 10). Although Wilson T. Green did not reside in Port Penn, 12 African American families lived there in 1870 (Table 14). Despite the distance from Congo Town, many of the African American residents of Port Penn were employed on the same farms as those in Congo Town and were also active members of the Zion A.M.E. Church.

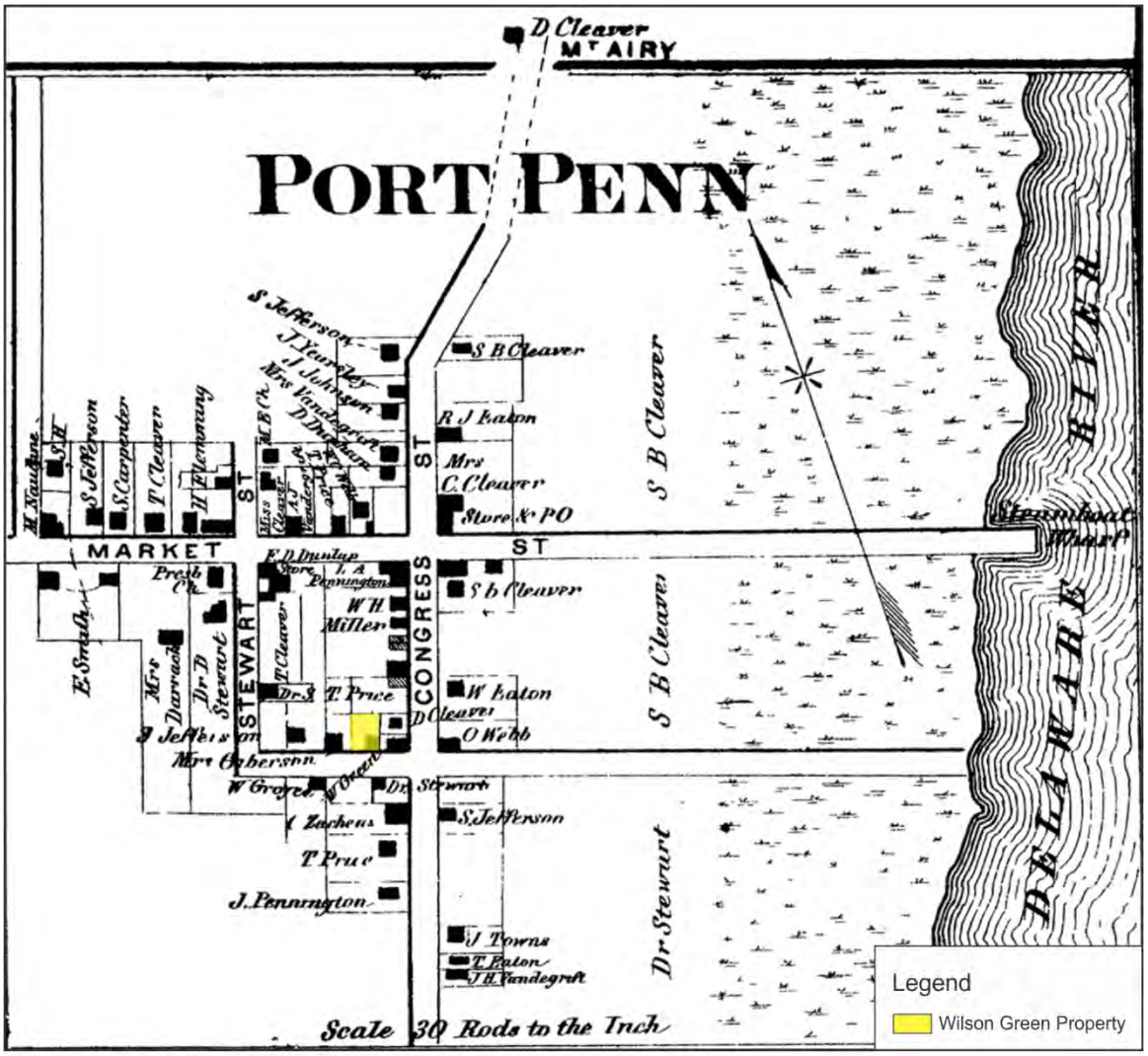


FIGURE 10: Wilson Green House in Port Penn (Pomeroy & Beers 1868)

African American home ownership in and around Congo Town was limited during the first decades of the community's existence. The majority of African American residents continued to live in tenements constructed by the majority white property owners along Port Penn Road (see Figure 8). By 1857 only two other families had joined Edward Congo and the Green brothers as property owners in the community.

In 1849 Wilson Grose, a 45-year-old farm laborer, purchased a 1-acre lot and frame house on the south side of W. Market Street in Port Penn. Wilson had been a resident of the Congo Town since before 1820, when his father, Nathaniel Grose, relocated the family to the area from Maryland. Nathaniel never purchased any land in Congo Town but instead rented a tenement with his family near the home of Edward Congo. By the late 1830s Wilson Grose and his younger brother Robert had both married and left their father's household. According to the 1840 Census, both Wilson and Robert Grose remained in Congo Town, leasing houses near the Zion A.M.E. Church. By 1849 Wilson had relocated his family to Port Penn after purchasing a frame house and lot in the village. Wilson and his wife Susan remained in their house through the 1880s (see Figure 10). During that time they raised their two daughters, Adaline and Susan, and rented rooms to various boarders over the years.

Robert remained in Congo Town, living with his family in a tenement he rented from the Cleaver family at the present-day intersection of Port Penn and Thorntown roads. By 1857 Robert Grose was able to purchase his own 1-acre lot and frame house on the north side of Port Penn Road, adjacent to the home of Michael Green (see Figure 9). Gross lived in the house with his family until 1895. During his 35 years there, Robert made some improvements to the property, including the purchase of an adjacent lot and the construction of a stable. During his lifetime Robert Grose was employed as a painter as well as a general farm laborer. After his death in 1895, the house and property passed to his wife Mary, who continued to live on the property until her own death in 1923.

As the population of the Congo Town grew during the 1870s and 1880s, property ownership remained relatively stagnant. Those African Americans who purchased properties during the early to mid-nineteenth century eventually sold portions of their land to siblings or left their estates to their children, who further divided the parcels amongst themselves. After William and Robert Grose acquired their properties in the 1840s and 1850s, land records and tax assessments indicate that only three other African American households purchased land in the Congo Town community prior to 1880. The first was David Harmon, who received 4,256 square feet of land from Edward Congo in 1866. By 1868 Harmon had not built a home, as tax assessments for that time indicate he was assessed $50 for a vacant lot. By the time of the 1880 tax assessment, however, Harmon's property was valued at $300 and included a wood-frame house. The other two new property owners were Nathaniel Adams and Thomas Carty. Nathaniel Adams was assessed in 1868 for 1 acre and a frame dwelling located on the south side of Port Penn Road, and Thomas Carty was located on the north side of present-day Pole Bridge Road. Land records associated with either the Carty or Adams properties could not be found; however, both houses were depicted in the Pomeroy & Beers (1868) atlas and on the G.M. Hopkins (1881) map.

One reason for the slow growth in property ownership among African Americans in Congo Town may have been the absence or the high cost of available properties. Another possibility may have involved the increased availability of tenements in the community. The Pomeroy & Beers (1868)

atlas depicts a number of tenements along Port Penn Road (see Figure 9). Those properties depicted in the atlas likely do not represent all of the tenements present in the community in 1868, as atlas makers like Pomeroy & Beers often only included those properties where the owners were willing to pay to have them included. Despite the likely discrepancy between the actual numbers of tenements as opposed to those depicted, the 1868 map illustrates a concerted effort by the Euro-American farmers such as the Cleaver, Dilworth, and Vandegrift families to capitalize on the growing African American community during the mid- to late nineteenth century.

By 1880 Congo Town had grown to become a robust and active African American community that included 30 households surrounding the Zion A.M.E. Church and another 11 families who lived in the Village of Port Penn (Table 15). The majority of the community members were

TABLE 15

CONGO TOWN COMMUNITY IN 1880

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE*	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE
Perry Harris	2	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Thomas Carty	2	$500	Laborer	Congo Town
Joseph Anderson	4	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Steven Wilmer	6	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Sewel Green	2	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Henry Lingle	7	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Edward Coursey	7	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Edward Harman	2	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Samuel Harman	4	-	Laborer	Congo Town
William Backus	8	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Joseph Lecompt	6	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Hester Congo	3	$200	Keeping House	Congo Town
David Harman	5	$300	Laborer	Congo Town
Timothy Congo	3	$300	Laborer	Congo Town
Anna Adkins	1	-	Keeping House	Congo Town
John Marlow	5	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Jacob Stafford	4	-	Laborer	Congo Town
John Manlove	5	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Jacob Stafford	5	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Daniel Lillit	2	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Henry West	2		Laborer	Congo Town
Joshua Green	7	$500	Laborer	Congo Town
William Harris	5	-	Laborer	Congo Town
Nathaniel Adams	3	$350	Laborer	Congo Town
Wilson T. Green	9	$400	Laborer	Congo Town
Catherine Stevens	5	-	Keeping House	Congo Town
Robert Grose	2	$700	Laborer	Congo Town
Michael Green	8	$1,200	Laborer	Congo Town
Wilson Green	7	$800	Farmer	Congo Town
Lewis Green	2	$400	Laborer	Congo Town
John H. Burton	9	-	Laborer	Port Penn
Charles H. Long	3	-	Laborer	Port Penn
Edward Harmon	6	-	Laborer	Port Penn
Henry Young	5	-	Laborer	Port Penn
Rebecca Giborson	1	-	Keeping House	Port Penn
Charles Hance	3	-	Laborer	Port Penn
Penny Lea	8	-	Laborer	Port Penn
Wilson Grose	2	$350	Laborer	Port Penn
Alex Lockman	6	-	Laborer	Port Penn

*Based on the 1880 Tax Assessments for East St. Georges Hundred

employed in agriculture. Aside from some members of the Green family who worked their own land, the remainder of the men in the community found work as day laborers on the larger Euro-American owned farms surrounding Congo Town and Port Penn. Many of the women were employed in domestic work, either at their own homes or in the homes of their white neighbors. Few of the community's men and women had specialized training, although in previous censuses a few men are enumerated as watermen.

The Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in 1834, was the heart of the Congo Town community. Churches had come to symbolize the strength of African American communities (Skelcher 1995b). The church served to create and strengthen ties among the congregation members regardless of their geographical distance from each other. Most of the church members resided west and north of Congo Town and Port Penn, although several others likely lived several miles from the geographic core of the community, stretching south toward Odessa as well as north of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in Red Lion Hundred.

The Congo Town community was further strengthened in the late 1870s with the construction of the church-affiliated African American school adjacent to the Zion A.M.E. Church. With the passage of "An Act of Free Schools" in 1829, the State of Delaware began providing public support only to Euro-American schools, although both Euro-Americans and African Americans paid taxes to support them (Skelcher 1995a). By 1849 Congo Town was flanked by two such public schools, one located in Port Penn and the other situated farther west of the community near present-day Route 13 and Dutch Neck Road. Despite the existence of these schools, children in the growing African American community of Congo Town were not permitted to attend. This changed in 1880, when Congo Town constructed their own primary school with the aid of the Delaware Association and the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Up to that point, residents of Congo Town came to the community for two main reasons: availability of work and a robust religious community. The presence of the African American school gave people another incentive to come and stay in Congo Town.

The first teachers of the Congo Town African American School are unknown. Like many of the other Freedmen's Aid Society affiliated schools, the first instructors were likely out-of-state religious lay people or perhaps the minister of the Zion A.M.E. Church. As with the rest of the African American schools from that period, the Congo Town School was likely a small one-room wood-frame schoolhouse capable of holding approximately two dozen or so students. School attendance was relatively robust during the first years of its existence. Of the 31 school-age (ages 7 to 14) children living in Congo Town, 22 are enumerated as attending school in the 1880 Census.

Above all else, the goal of education was to strengthen African American communities (Skelcher 1995a). The close affiliation between the Congo Town School and Methodist Episcopal church meant that religion played an important part in the curriculum. The specific details of the school's curriculum are unknown, but at the time church-affiliated schools usually taught a "classical" curriculum. Classical instruction stressed core courses such as reading, writing, and arithmetic rather than vocational training. Schooling typically ended once students completed the sixth grade. The presence of the school in Congo Town served to empower the members of the community to a certain degree; however, it often did not provide the upward mobility hoped for by the community members. Often, once students completed their sixth grade year, many found

themselves working the same jobs as their parents and grandparents decades before. Yet exposure to education, limited as it was, served to further empower the community and laid a foundation for the African American education system so that future generations in Congo Town could benefit into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

b. Odessa

The community in Odessa originated around 1845 with the establishment of Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church, although African American settlement in the area began at least two decades earlier. The earliest record of land ownership in Odessa by African Americans appears in an 1821 plat map of Odessa (formerly Cantwell's Bridge) (Figure 11). According to the map, five African Americans owned lots in the small village. Most of the lots were fairly large, comprising a block of the village and measuring 3 to 4 acres each. On the east side of 6th Street, the properties of Rachel Pearce, Robert Sheer, and Charles Robertson were located on either side of Osborne Street. Robert Wilson and James Brown's properties were located on the west side of 6th Street, on either side of an unnamed street. An exhaustive search of land records from the period could not produce the original deeds, so it is unclear from whom these early African American landowners acquired their properties.

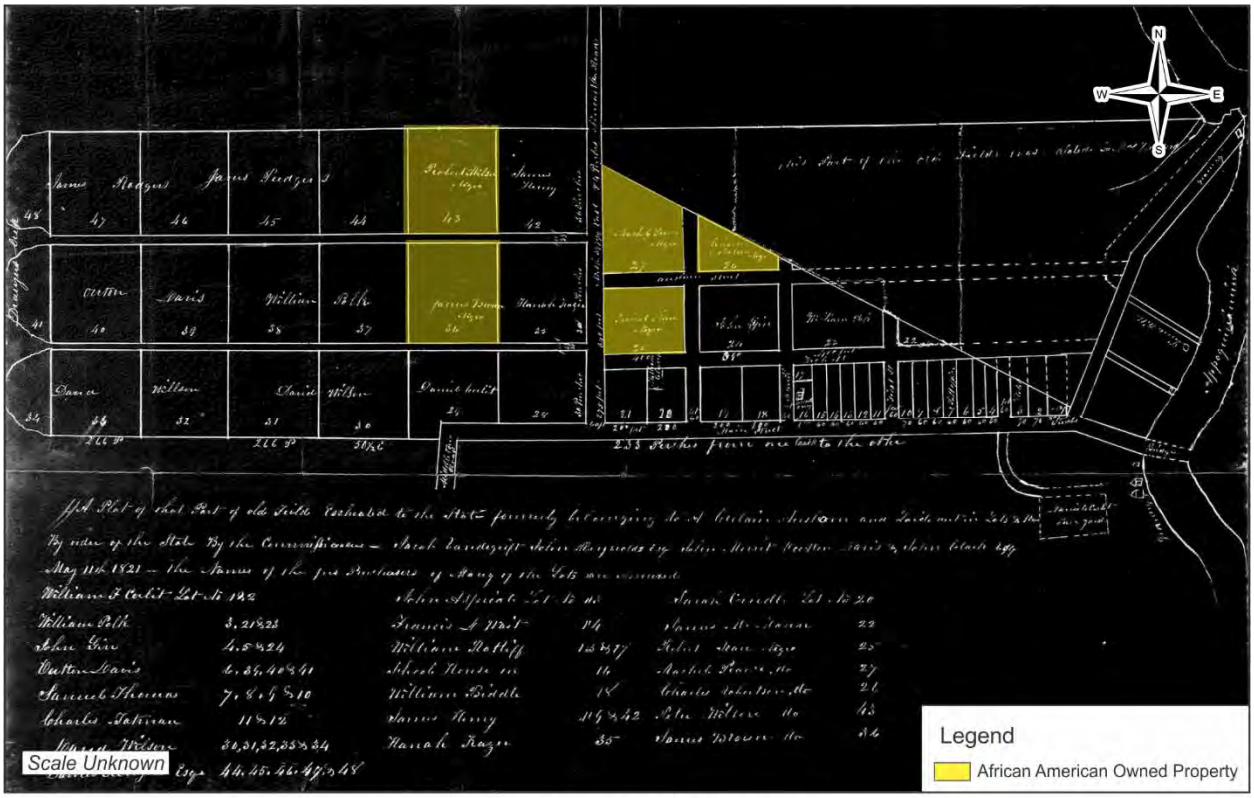


FIGURE 11: Odessa Town Lots in 1821 (Delaware Towns and Cities 1821)

Tax assessments and census records provide some information regarding these early African American residents of Odessa. Four of the five individuals referenced in the 1821 map also appear in the 1822 tax assessment of St. Georges Hundred. Rachel Pearce, Robert Sheer, and Charles Robertson were assessed for lots they owned in Odessa; however, the assessments suggest that

houses were not yet built on the parcels. James Brown was also assessed for an unimproved lot that year; however, unlike the others, he is listed as collecting rent on his parcel. Robert Wilson does not appear with his neighbors in the 1822 tax assessment, nor is he present in any of the following assessments or census records. It is entirely possible he simply sold his property and moved to another hundred; Robert Wilson may have also passed away in that year and left his property to a child or other relative.

According to the 1822 Tax Assessments of St. Georges Hundred, another African American resident of Odessa also owned property in the village at that time. David Wilson is listed as owning one lot valued at $35. Because the assessment was conducted on January 22, 1822, this may be the same lot attributed to Robert Wilson in the 1821 plat map of Odessa. Later that year, he purchased another lot adjacent to the village. On August 31, 1822, David Wilson bought a lot measuring 1 acre and 73 perches from Mary Bradford, a resident of Odessa. The lot, which cost $43, was located on the north side of the village and adjoined the lands of Rachel Pearce and the other lot of David Wilson (formerly Robert Wilson's lot).

By 1830, 111 free African Americans were recorded as residents of Odessa. Forty-three individuals were living in the households of white residents, and the remaining 68 were located in 17 households headed by an African American (Table 16). Of the five original landowners recorded in the 1821 plat map, only Charles Robertson remained. Rachel Pearce, James Brown, and Robert Sheer appeared to have passed away by 1830, although in the case of Pearce and Brown, it appears that at least some of their children and relatives remained in the community after 1830. Although David Wilson is missing in the 1830 Census, his absence was simply an omission by the census taker because tax assessments from that same period continue to record him as a resident of Odessa into the early 1830s.

TABLE 16

AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS IN ODESSA IN 1830

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
Thomas Blake	Jerry Hazzard	Robert Raymond
Benjamin Brown	Charles Robertson	Edward Corsey
Andrew Reading	Isaac Pierce	Lottia Pierce
William Robinson	Minty Brown	Vilet Robinson
Jeremiah Jones	Samuel Holland	Adam Richardson
Abraham Corsey	Peter Hatfield	

The occupations of the African American residents of Odessa during the 1830s are unknown. Many were likely employed as farm laborers on surrounding white-owned farms around the village. Others were likely employed as watermen or in households around the community. Still others were most likely employees of Daniel Corbett, a local Quaker farmer who also operated a tannery in Odessa (Skelcher 1995a). Corbett was a member of the Appoquinimink Friends Meetinghouse as well as an ardent abolitionist who often hid and aided fugitive slaves traveling north to freedom in New England and Canada. Given Daniel Corbett's political position on slavery, it is likely that the workforce on his farm and tannery included at least some of the African American residents of Odessa.

Over the next decade a small nucleated African American community began to develop on the north side of Odessa, in the vicinity of Osborne Street where Rachel Pearce, David Wilson, and the other African American property owners had settled in the early 1820s. As the general population in Odessa continued to grow during the mid-nineteenth century, available lots in the village were at a premium and the majority of those were purchased by the white residents of St. Georges Hundred. Incoming African American residents began to settle on small parcels located along the county road leading from Odessa to the villages of McDonough and St. Georges (present-day U.S. Route 13). In most cases these small parcels were leased to African Americans by the surrounding white farmers, such as James Rogers and John McCracken, whose lands bordered the county road. Some of the rural lots near Odessa were also sold to prospective African American buyers.

In August 1831 Jesse Porter purchased one such lot just outside the village. Prior to the purchase of his property, Jesse Porter resided in the vicinity of Boyd's Corner, in central St. Georges Hundred, where he was likely employed as a farm laborer on one of the surrounding white-owned farms. According to the 1830 Census, Jesse Porter was in his early twenties and the head of an eight-person household, of which five individuals were listed as enslaved. The only other free individuals in the home were two males, one of which was between 10 and 23 and the other between 24 and 35. The enslaved members included two males, between 10 and 23; one male, between 24 and 35; a female, between 10 and 23; and a young girl under the age of 10. It is unlikely that the five enslaved men and women in the Porter household were owned by Jesse Porter. It is more likely they represented his wife, children, and at least some members of Jesse's extended family still in bondage to one or more slaveholders in St. Georges Hundred. The fact that several of his family members remained in bondage likely dictated, to a great degree, Jesse's place of residence prior to 1831. Since much of his family remained tied to a particular landowner, Jesse's residence in Boyd's Corner was likely a means to keep the family together despite the legal status of the majority of his household.

It is unclear when the remainder of his family obtained their freedom; however, by 1831 Jesse Porter decided to relocate at least some of his family to the area. On August 4 Jesse Porter paid $500 for a 1-acre tract just north of the village. The small parcel was once the property of John McCracken and was bordered to the north by the farm of James Rogers.

While new families acquired land in the community, those who had previously purchased property in the village continued to improve their holdings. Prior to the death of Rachel Pearce, Robert Sheer, and James Brown in the late 1820s, all three property owners eventually built houses on their lots. According to the 1834 tax assessment, James Brown's estate included a lot and dwelling valued at $100, and the estates of Rachel Pearce and Robert Sheer included lots and dwellings valued at $150 each (Table 17). Jesse Porter also appeared in the tax assessments of 1834, indicating he had also constructed a dwelling on his 1-acre parcel north of Odessa. By far, the most valuable African American-owned property in the village during that time was the lot and house of David Wilson. According to the 1834 assessment, David Wilson's property was valued at $400, thus making it the highest valued estate owned by an African American anywhere in St. Georges Hundred.

The African American community of Odessa was not isolated to the small, nucleated settlement that developed near 6th and Osborne streets during the 1830s. It also included the numerous Free Black tenant families and other unlanded farm laborers who resided on the many agricultural properties surrounding the village. By the mid-nineteenth century the African American community of Odessa

extended west toward Middletown, north across Drawyers Creek, east to the Delaware River, and south across the Appoquinimink Creek. Although geographically removed from the village, these tenant farmers and day laborers likely traveled to Odessa to buy and sell goods as well as attend religious services at the Methodist Episcopal Church. As African American families outside Odessa interacted with those living in the village, wider community bonds likely began to develop that, in turn, promoted shared goals and interests.

TABLE 17

AFRICAN AMERICAN PROPERTY OWNERS IN ODESSA IN 1834

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	LOTS	BUILDINGS	VALUE
James Brown, estate	1	1 building	$100
Jesse Porter	1	1 building	$100
Rachel Pearce, estate	1	1 building	$150
Robert Sheer, estate	1	1 building	$150
David Wilson	1	1 building	$400

Source: NCC, 1834 Tax Assessments

One goal shared by community members residing in and around Odessa was the formation of their own church. In 1845 the African American community founded the Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church (WPA 1940). The original church was a frame structure located on Osborne Street, on property owned by Charles Robertson in the 1820s. Although there are no extant records regarding the original founding of the church or the members, a 1940 study of Delaware churches by the WPA indicates that the congregation remained at the Osborne Street address until 1881, when they relocated to a new brick church on Front Street. As no early church records are extant, it is unclear who ministered to the African American congregation during the first two decades. Most likely, the congregation shared a minister with other neighboring Methodist churches in New Castle and northern Kent County.

With the establishment of their own church, the African American population in Odessa began to flourish. In 1860 the African American population in the village had grown to 173 individuals from the 111 people recorded 30 years earlier in 1830. Some of the residents in Odessa resided in Euro-American headed households, but the majority (n=133) of the population are enumerated in one of 26 African American households in the village (Table 18).

Despite the growth in population in Odessa, property ownership among African Americans in the village remained relatively low, with only four households listed as owning their own properties in 1860. The majority of the African Americans residing in Odessa likely rented dwellings from Euro-American landlords. Many of the 3- to 4-acre village parcels originally owned by the five African American property owners in 1821 had since been sold to Euro-American residents of St. Georges Hundred (Figure 12). Over the decades these new owners subdivided the parcels into town lots that became the homes and businesses of Euro-American farmers and merchants. Others were developed as rental properties and leased to tenants, several of which were likely those African American households who appear in the 1860 Census. The rental properties were likely scattered throughout the village, but those lots owned by African Americans were located on the outskirts of Odessa. The homes of the Gooseberry (Goldsboro) families and Sewell Shockley were located on the north side of Osborne Street on the northeast edge of Odessa, and the house of William Whitacre was on the west edge of the village on present-day Mechanic Street.

TABLE 18

AFRICAN AMERICAN RESIDENTS OF ODESSA IN 1860

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE	OCCUPATION
James Bardo	4	-	Laborer
Thomas Coursey	4	-	Farm laborer
Westley Ponzo	2	-	Day laborer
Jacob Segars	9	-	Farm laborer
Frank Fisher	3	-	Farm laborer
Moses Viney	3	-	Day laborer
James Hinson	3	-	Post & railer
George Reddin	2	-	Farm laborer
William Wiggans	6	-	Farm laborer
William Watson	3	-	Laborer
Daniel Brown	9	-	Farm laborer
Harry Hogans	3	-	Post & railer
Perry Miller	9	-	-
John Robinson	5	-	Laborer
William Whitacre	3	$200	Farm laborer
Joshua Brinkley	6	-	Post & railer
William Barritt	2	-	Day laborer
Sewell Shockley	5	$600	Day laborer
James Gooseberry	4	$800	Teamster
Robert Gooseberry	5	$200	Farm laborer
William Benson	15	-	Sailor
John Ponzo	6	-	Day laborer
John Fanell	3	-	Laborer
Hay Jones	10	-	Farm laborer
George Jackson	6	-	Ditcher
May Cooper	3	-	Washerwoman

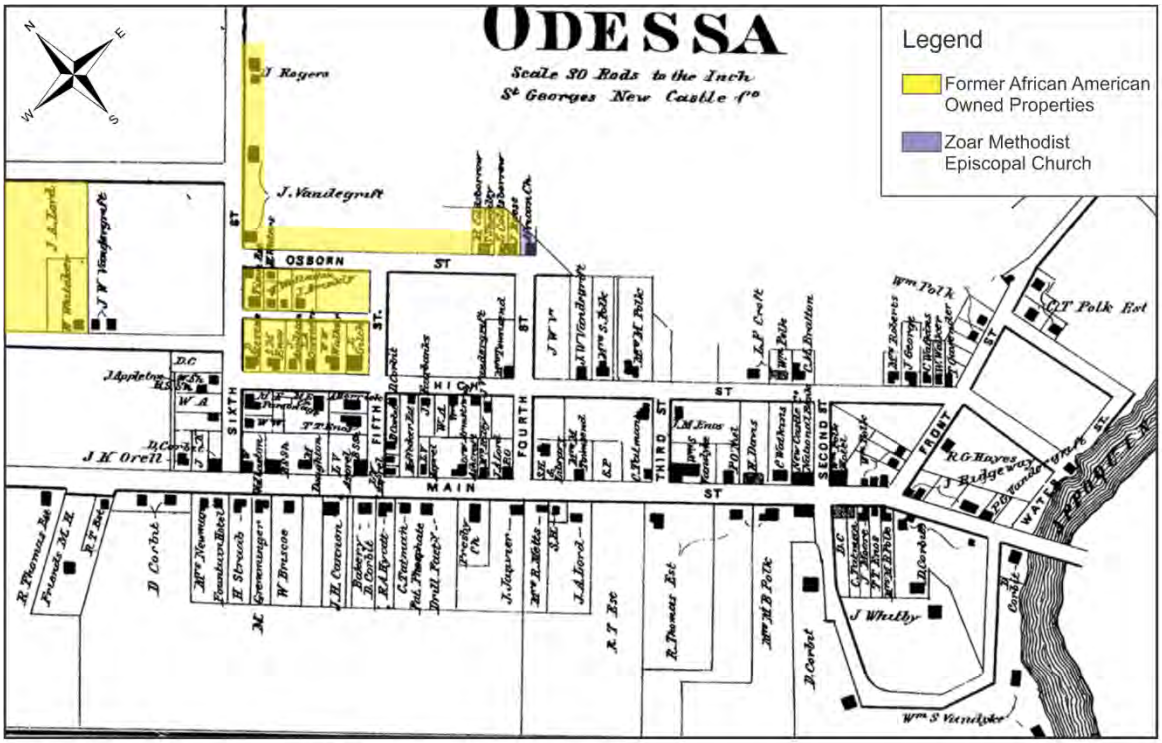


FIGURE 12: Odessa in 1868 (Pomeroy & Beers 1868)

At the same time the population in Odessa was growing, that portion of the African American community just outside the village was also on the rise. By 1860 at least eight African American households had settled along the state road north of Odessa leading to McDonough. The majority were tenants, although at least three families owned their properties, having purchased them in the late 1840s. Thomas Blake was one such resident, who in 1849 purchased 5,000 square feet of land adjoining the northern boundary of Odessa. Farther north on the state road were two other African American property owners, Nathan Farrell (Fanell) and Perry Hall.

The land record for Perry Hall's purchase could not be found, but according to tax records he had purchased his property prior to 1849. According to the assessment for that year, his holdings included a 2-acre lot with a frame house. By the time of the 1857 assessment, Hall had subdivided the land into two 1-acre lots and had constructed a second house on the vacant parcel. The value of his holdings at that time of the tax assessment was $600. By 1860 the 45-year-old Perry Hall was residing on one of his lots with his wife Maleta and the couple's four children, Samuel, May, Perry, and Sarah. The census does not indicate who was residing on the other lot owned by the Hall family. Most likely, the family periodically leased the other house to a tenant. Although no such tenant is recorded next to the Hall family in the census, that may mean that the family was merely in between renters.

Perry Hall's neighbor, Nathan Farrell, resided on the north bank of Drawyers Creek. In February 1848 he purchased his 2-acre property for $39 from Lewis Williams and his wife Mary Hayes. The parcel also included a frame house that was formerly the residence of Peter and Hester Hayes. After the death of Hester Hayes in the mid-1840s, her daughter Mary and her husband sold the house and 2-acre lot to Nathan Farrell. In 1857 Nathan was assessed $250 for his lot and frame dwelling. In 1860 Nathan Farrell was enumerated as a 42-year-old farm laborer. His household at the time also included his wife Rebecca and their four children: May, Constance, William, and Alice. The Farrell family remained on their parcel along Drawyers Creek for several more decades; their home appears in the Pomeroy & Beers (1868) atlas (Figure 13). According to the map, Farrell is recorded as owning two dwellings on his property. It is unclear when the second house was built, as tax assessments from the 1850s and 1860s only record one house on the Farrell property. Tax assessments from the nineteenth century were not always accurate, and it is entirely possible the second dwelling was simply unaccounted. Given the existence of a second dwelling, the Farrell family likely leased the second house to tenants to provide additional income. One such tenant may have been Jacob Morris and his family. In 1860 Jacob was enumerated as an African American farm laborer living next to the Farrell family. Unlike their neighbor, Jacob did not own the property where he resided. Jacob Morris may have leased his home from one of the other Euro-American landowners in the area, but given the proximity to the Farrell family, it seems more likely that Morris would have leased their second dwelling house instead.

Over the next two decades the African American community in Odessa remained relatively stable. By 1880, 163 people were living in Odessa, of whom 37 resided in Euro-American households while working as domestic servants and laborers. The remainder of the African American population in the village resided in 29 households (Table 19). Most of the African households were located on the northern edge of Odessa, in vicinity of Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church (see Figure 12). Another segment of the community was located west of 6th Street, along Mechanic Street and Corbett Alley. As in decades past, the vast majority of Odessa's African American community

FIGURE 13: William and Alice Farrell Home in 1868 (Pomeroy & Beers 1868)

rented lots from Euro-American property owners. A review of the G.M. Hopkins (1881) map shows that the majority of houses depicted in Odessa were owned by only a handful of Euro-American owners, most notably William Polk and John Appleton (Figure 14).

Although Polk and Appleton did reside in Odessa (their homes were on 3rd and 6th streets), they had over 20 other houses to lease to tenants, some of whom were certainly members of the Odessa African American community.

TABLE 19

AFRICAN AMERICAN RESIDENTS OF ODESSA IN 1880

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	HOUSEHOLD SIZE	REAL ESTATE VALUE*	OCCUPATION
Richard Ponzo	12	-	Laborer
Jacob Shockley	9	-	Laborer
Robert Coleman	5	-	Servant
Arthur Hamilton	6	-	M.E. Minister
Margaret View	2	-	Keeping house
Abram Wiggins	4	-	Laborer
Peter Ham	4	-	White washer
Samuel Lewis	4	-	Laborer
Hugh Parker	2	-	Laborer
Richard Jefferson	5	-	Laborer
Gordon Harrison	3	-	Laborer
Sewell Shockley	5	$400	Laborer
John E. Bayard	3	-	Laborer
Alexander Gooseberry	3	$400	Laborer
Isaac West	4	$400	Laborer
William Hazzard	2	$400	Laborer
Edward Demby	4	-	Horse man
William Demby	3	-	Laborer
Allison Collins	3	$700	Horse man
John Ponzo	4	-	Laborer
Abriam Guy	5	-	Laborer
Henry Deshield	4	-	Laborer
John Minus	7	-	Laborer
Theodore Jefferson	4	-	Laborer
Carter Buck	4	-	Laborer
Andrew Fulman	3	-	Laborer
Martha Goldbury	2	-	Keeping house
Joseph Boulden	4	-	Laborer
Frances Davis	6	-	Keeping house

*Based on the 1880 Tax Assessments for East St. Georges Hundred

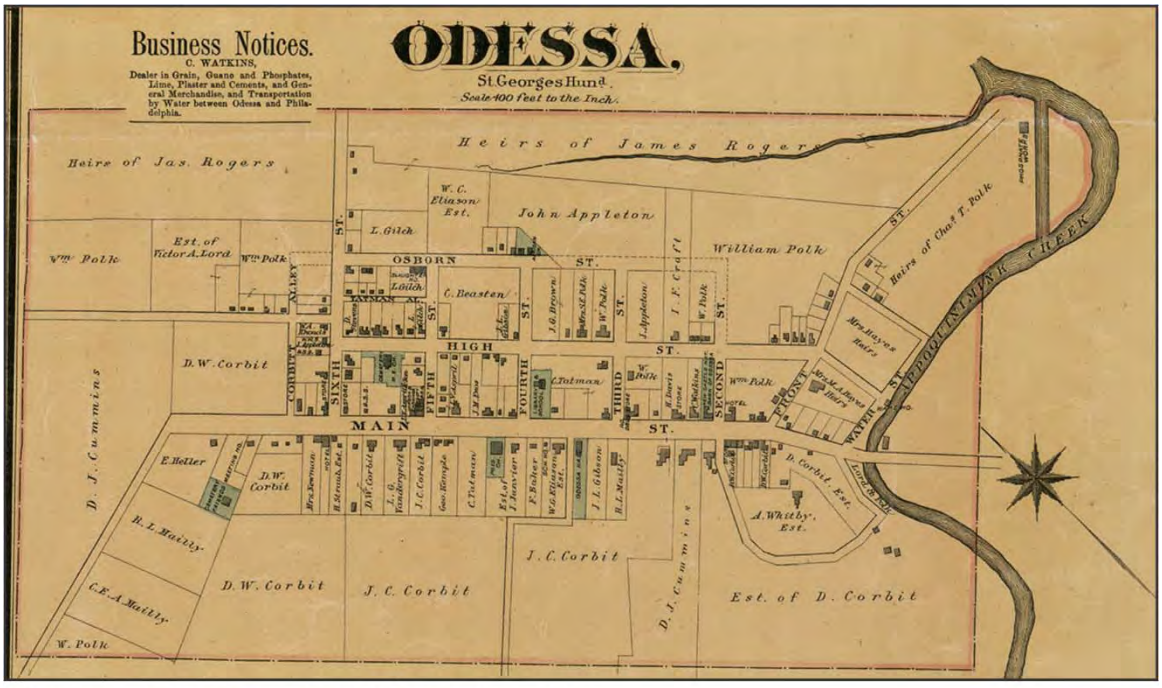


FIGURE 14: Odessa in 1881 (G.M. Hopkins 1881)

By 1880 only five African American families owned property in Odessa. By that time residents like Sewell Shockley and Alexander Goldboro (Gooseberry) had owned their homes on Osborne Street for over 30 years. The other three property owners all moved to Odessa from Appoquinimink Hundred. Allison Collins arrived in Odessa prior to 1870, having purchased his own home for his family along Osborne Street. Prior to relocating to Odessa, Isaac West and William Hazzard had worked as farm laborers in eastern Appoquinimink Hundred. Although it is unclear whether the two families moved at the same time, both were part of a small wave of African American families from Appoquinimink who came to Odessa between 1870 and 1880. Others who migrated north around the same period included the families of Margaret View, Edward Demby, William Demby, and Jacob Shockley. Those families rented houses in Odessa; other African American residents William Hazzard and Isaac West were able to purchase town lots along either Tatman Alley or Osborne Street (see Figure 14).

The survival of such a robust African American community in Odessa owed much to the Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church. During the mid- to late nineteenth century, churches were essential to the development and sustained growth of Free Black communities. Institutions such as Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church were common in more developed black communities, and their presence fostered the personal and economic networks among individuals, families, and communities throughout the Middle Atlantic region. When the Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1845, it was one of only 17 African American churches in the entire of State of Delaware. Records are absent from the earliest period of the church's existence, and there is no information regarding the size of the congregation and who served as the minister for the church. However, in 1864 the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was established, and minutes from the Delaware Conference annual meetings provide invaluable information regarding the ministry to the Odessa African American community, including congregation size, presiding ministers, and early efforts in education.

Organized on July 29, 1864, the Delaware Conference was the largest organization of African American churches in Delaware. At that time Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church was one of seven member churches of the Odessa District, which at that time was overseen by Bishop James Davis of Smyrna, and the ministry to the Odessa African American community was the responsibility of Rev. John Manluff. Over the next 16 years seven additional ministers served the Odessa African American community (Table 20). Such a rotation was typical among the M.E. church, with most ministers remaining with a community for a period of only two to three years. As their appointments were temporary, few ministers purchased homes in the communities they served. Some lived in a residence attached to the church; others rented homes in the community.

TABLE 20

MINISTERS OF THE ZOAR M.E. CHURCH, 1864 TO 1881

MINISTER	TENURE
John G. Manluff	1864
Harrison Smith	1865-1866
Benjamin Gibbs	1867-1868
C. Pollett	1869-1871
J. Emory Webb	1872-1874
William M. Webb	1875-1876
James A. Scott	1877-1878
Arthur W. Hamilton	1879-1881

According to church records, the Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church congregation had 180 members in 1864 (Table 21). Over the next 16 years membership slowly increased as each year more non-practicing members of the community chose to be baptized into the Methodist Episcopal

Church. By 1880, 227 members of the Odessa African American community were regularly attending services at the church.

TABLE 21

ZOAR METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND
SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 1864 TO 1880

YEAR	CHURCH MEMBERS	ADULT BAPTISMS	CHILD BAPTISMS	SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE
1864	180	3	15	70
1865	167	2	23	75
1866	180	-	8	60
1867	147	14	28	70
1868	174	11	22	64
1869	177	1	7	50
1870	176	12	5	35
1871	200	8	30	95
1872	210	-	25	90
1873			No Data	
1874	169	5	24	95
1875	188	2	29	97
1876	211	-	15	100
1877	251	8	18	122
1878	226	1	6	116
1879			No Data	
1880	227	9	18	117

By 1865 the Delaware Conference had mandated that Sunday Schools be established in all of their churches:

> "We, the Committee on Sunday Schools being as much as ever convinced of the importance of the Sunday School as a great reforming and Christianizing agency and an indispensable auxiliary to the Church. Therefore Resolved 1st that we, as ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, will use our intentional efforts to promote the interests if this important institution of the Church."
>
> Second Session of the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church
> July 26th – 31st, 1865

The primary objective of the schools was to provide religious instruction to the children in the African American communities they served. At the same time the schools also provided the children basic skills such as reading, writing, and math. Records from the Conference indicate that the children from Odessa's African American community had already been attending Sunday School for at least several years before the mandate. Unlike the African American communities in Congo Town and Daletown, where classes were held in a dedicated schoolhouse adjacent to the church, the Odessa Sunday School was likely held within the church itself. According to the minutes of the Delaware Conference in 1864, 70 children from Odessa's African American community attended Sunday School. School attendance, like church membership, fluctuated slightly year to year, likely because members left the community to resettle elsewhere with their families. However, as the membership in the church increased, generally so too did the number of pupils attending school.

The numbers reported in the minutes of the Delaware Conference generally reflect the entire African American community, both in Odessa as well as in the rural areas surrounding the village. Census

records from the same period do not always agree with the numbers recorded by the Methodist Church. According to the 1870 Census, none of the African American children listed as residents in and around Odessa is enumerated as attending school. Likewise, in 1880, only 15 are recorded as "going to school." Referring back to the minutes of the Delaware Conference, 35 children are recorded as attending school in 1870, and that number increased dramatically by 1880 with 117 pupils attending the Methodist school. Likely the error lies with the federal records, since census takers took different approaches and some probably did not see weekly classes as proper school attendance. On the other hand, parents of the children may have incorrectly indicated that their children were simply "at home" when, in fact, they were attending the church Sunday school. Regardless of the cause or causes for the discrepancy, it appears that one must defer to the church records to obtain a more accurate indication of the involvement of African Americans in their community institutions from the mid- to late nineteenth century.

c. Daletown (Middletown)

Established in the late 1860s, the African American community outside Middletown was one of the last to develop in St. Georges Hundred. At the heart of the community was Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church, originally located at the intersection of Lake and New streets, on the northeastern outskirts of Middletown. Unofficially, residents adopted the name Daletown for their community, in apparent homage to their church and its founder and first minister, Samuel Dale.

Other residents of nearby Middletown offered a different name for the local African American community. The 1930 U.S. Census refers to the town as Hamtown, and several records, including the Middletown town council minutes and some land records from the late nineteenth century, often refer to the main road leading to Daletown as Hamtown Road. The origins of the name Hamtown are not clear, but one possibility is that white Middletown residents derived the name from the colonialist notion that Noah's son, Ham, was the progenitor of all African people (Skelcher 1995b).

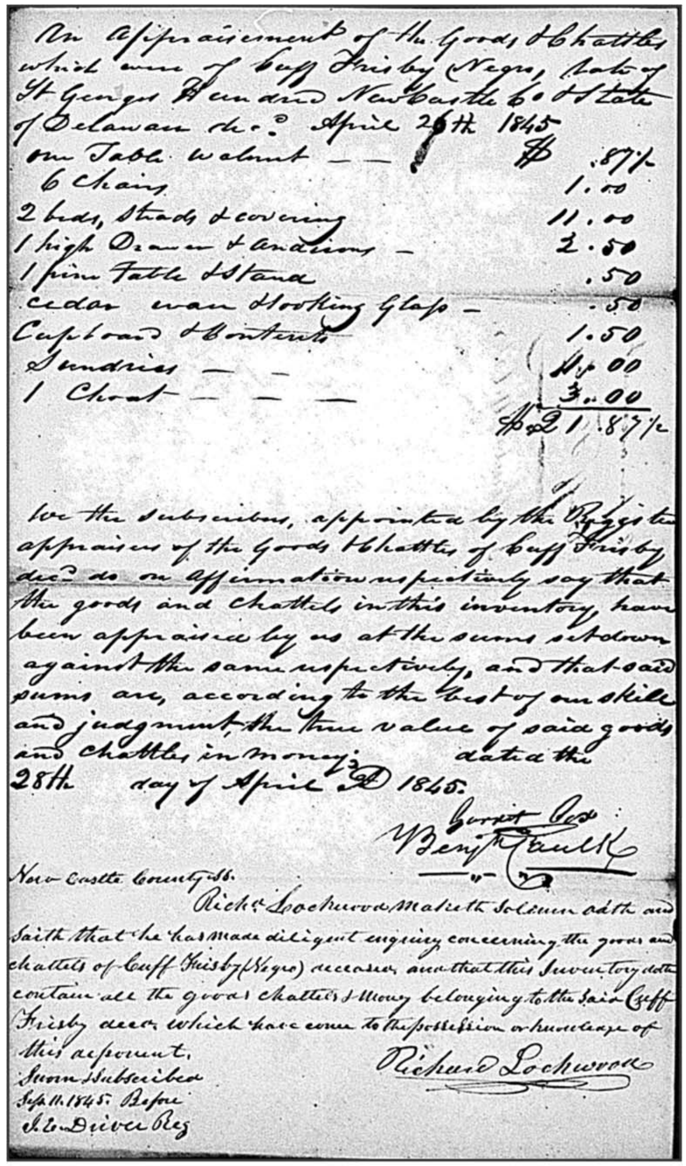
African Americans were residents of Middletown long before the establishment of Daletown in the late nineteenth century. Since the time Middletown was a small crossroads village, Free Black households were always counted among the village's population, although in relatively low numbers. In 1800 five of the 32 recorded households in Middletown were headed by African Americans. As the white population grew over the following decades, the number of black households decreased. The 1850 U.S. Census records only two households headed by African Americans. In 1850 the economy of Middletown received a huge boost with the completion of the railroad to New Castle, and the African American population then grew along with the town.

One of the early African American residents of Middletown was Cuff Frisby. On February 12, 1818, Mary Scott sold an 8,880-square-foot lot in Middletown to Cuff Frisby for $85. According to the deed, the parcel was "Lot 5 of Seldon Higgins subdivision on part of Middletown" (NCC, Deed Book T3, folio 530). It appears that he built a house shortly after acquiring the property, since in the 1820 Census he is enumerated as residing in Middletown with his wife and four children. Both he and his wife are listed as over 45 years of age with one son between the ages of 14 and 25 and two other sons and a daughter under the age of 14. In 1822 Frisby was assessed for his Middletown home. That year's tax assessment indicates that Cuff Frisby's small lot and modest home were valued at $150. In 1830 he and his wife continued to share the house with their extended family, including

children, spouses, and several grandchildren. In all, a total of 11 people were living in Cuff Frisby's Middletown home. By the time of the 1840 Census, only three people were living in the Frisby household. Cuff Frisby died in 1845. In April of that year, an inventory and appraisal was made of his modest estate (Figure 15; Appendix A). Following his death, the rest of the Frisby family left Middletown and relocated to the southwestern corner of St. Georges Hundred.

During the early nineteenth century many other African Americans living in the village of Middletown were members of white households. The number of free African Americans living in white households gradually decreased from 1800 through 1850, even as more white families relocated to Middletown from the rural countryside. Of the 53 free African Americans living in Middletown in 1800, 21 resided in white households. By 1850 only 15 African Americans were recorded as living in Middletown's white households. At the same time the enslaved population in Middletown also decreased. In 1800, 35 enslaved men and women were in bondage in Middletown, but in 1850 only eight are recorded in the census.

In addition to being a minority of the Middletown population during the antebellum period, African American residents did not have access to many of the community services afforded their white counterparts. Although they were able to participate, to a certain degree, in the market economy of the town, the few black residents living in Middletown were unable to send their children to local schools, such as the Middletown Academy. As for religious life, the African American residents had to make the choice to either attended services with predominantly white congregations in Middletown or travel with their families to participate in the African American churches in Odessa.


An Appraisement of the Goods & Chattles which were of Cuff Frisby (Negro), late of St Georges Hundred New Castle Co. & State of Delaware dec.d April 26th 1845

one Table walnut	$ .87½
6 Chairs	1.00
2 beds, steads & covering	11.00
1 high Drawer & andirons	2.50
1 pine Table & Stand	.50
cedar ware & looking Glass	.50
Cupboard & Contents	1.50
Sundries	1.00
1 Chest	3.00
	$21.87½

We the subscribers, appointed by the Register appraisers of the Goods & Chattles of Cuff Frisby dec.d do on affirmation respectively say that the goods and chattels in this inventory have been appraised by us at the sums set down against the same respectively, and that said sums are, according to the best of our skill and judgment, the true value of said goods and chattles in money; dated the 28th day of April AD 1845.

Garret Cox
Benj.n Faulk

New Castle County ss.

Rich.d Lockwood maketh solemn oath and saith that he has made diligent enquiry concerning the goods and chattels of Cuff Frisby (Negro) deceased, and that this Inventory doth contain all the goods chattels & money belonging to the said Cuff Frisby dec.d which have come to the possession or knowledge of this deponent.

Richard Lockwood

Sworn & Subscribed Sep. 11. 1845. Before
J. C. Driver Reg

FIGURE 15: Inventory of Cuff Frisby, 1845 (NCC, Probate of Cuff Frisby, 1845)

Middletown was officially incorporated as a town by the Delaware General Assembly in Dover on February 12, 1861. As a condition of their incorporation, the first town council of Middletown was required to establish the town's official boundaries. The council decided that Middletown would be

1 mile square, commencing at the corner of the crossroads of Broad and Main streets and extending one-half mile in each direction. The boundaries of the town were eventually extended to a full mile east and west of the Broad and Main streets intersection. Even under this boundary expansion, the area that became Daletown was located just outside Middletown's jurisdiction.

In addition to setting the town limits, the first town council was required to create a town charter. The charter was composed of 21 sections that detailed numerous responsibilities of the town council, its citizens (freeholders), and law enforcement. The sections included such items as a schedule for regular town council elections, the construction and maintenance of streets and sidewalks, a creation of a fire department, and the issuing of dog licenses. Section 10 details the major responsibly of the Justice of the Peace and constables of New Castle County living in Middletown:

> "That it shall be the duty of the Commissioners of the town of Middletown, and of any Justice of the Peace and Constables of New Castle County residing in said town, to suppress all riotous, turbulent, disorderly, or noisy assemblages of negroes, mulattoes, or other persons, in the streets, lanes, or alleys of the said town after night, or on the Sabbath day, or at any other time or season whatever, and for this purpose it shall be the duty of the said Constable upon the requisition of any one of said Commissioners, and without further warrant, forth with to seize and arrest any such negroes, mulattoes, or other person so offending, and to carry them before any Justice of the Peace residing in said town, and whom conviction before said Justice whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case. The said Justice shall sentence any such negro, mulatto, or other person so convicted to pay a fine not exceeding five dollars, and commit the party to prison for any period not more than five days, or until the said fine and costs be paid.
>
> It shall be the duty of the said Justice of the Peace upon complaint made before him of any such riotous, turbulent, or noisy assemblage as aforesaid, to issue his warrant to the said Constable, commanding him to bring any such negro, mulatto, or other person so offending as aforesaid before him for trial. Upon every conviction of a riotous, turbulent, or disorderly person, the Justice and Constable shall each be entitled to a fee of sixty cents to be paid by the person convicted."
>
> Act to Incorporate the Town of Middletown, Section 10, February 12, 1861
> (Delaware Towns and Cities 1861)

This section of the Middletown charter is the only time African Americans are referenced in the minutes of the town council. Despite a review of the court documents from this period, it is unclear how often officials in Middletown enforced this section of the town charter. However, the presence of this section in the charter indicates there was clear motivation by the town council to restrict the movements of African Americans in Middletown and to discourage such individuals from congregating in groups. Likely, statutes emphasizing similar discouragement of African Americans were in place in the community prior to the state's incorporation of Middletown. Its presence in the town charter next to other routine statutes suggests that the prosecution of congregating Africans Americans was as standard a civic responsibility to town leaders as the maintenance of gutters and suppression of fire within city limits.

The financial incentive to prosecute this statute and the vague and generally ill-defined parameters that warranted an infraction would have left opportunity for abuse and improper enforcement of the law. Likely the existence of this law and the general attitudes toward African Americans by white Middletown residents that fostered such laws had a great deal to do with the decrease in the Free Black population in Middletown during the early and mid-nineteenth century.

While the population of Free Blacks residing in town was declining in the mid-nineteenth century, by 1868 the African American population just outside the eastern limits of Middletown was on the rise. Several factors might have contributed to this increase of the Free Black population just east of Middletown. The majority of the land located west and south of Middletown was held by slaveowning farmers, but the land immediately to the east was in the possession of two abolitionists, John Alston and Joshua Fenimore. Both Alston and Fenimore employed a number of Free Black laborers on their farms. These individuals likely resided on small house and garden parcels with their families during the tenure of their employment. The house and garden parcels were likely located just outside Middletown and eventually grew into the small community that became Daletown. The close proximity of this new community to the town limits of Middletown was likely not by accident. A Free Black community located just over the town border meant they could take advantage of the local economy while still having relative freedom and minimizing their exposure to the town's racially biased laws by only working in or traveling through Middletown.

The land that eventually became the community of Daletown was originally a parcel of agricultural land owned by William H. Crawford. Crawford's home was located on the east side of Broad Street, and his farm holdings extended along the north side of Middletown with the east portion of his lands bordering the farm of John Alston (Figure 16). Unlike his abolitionist neighbor to the east, William H. Crawford was a slaveowner. According to the 1850 Slave Schedule for St. Georges Hundred, two men, two women, and four children were enslaved on Crawford's farm north of Middletown.

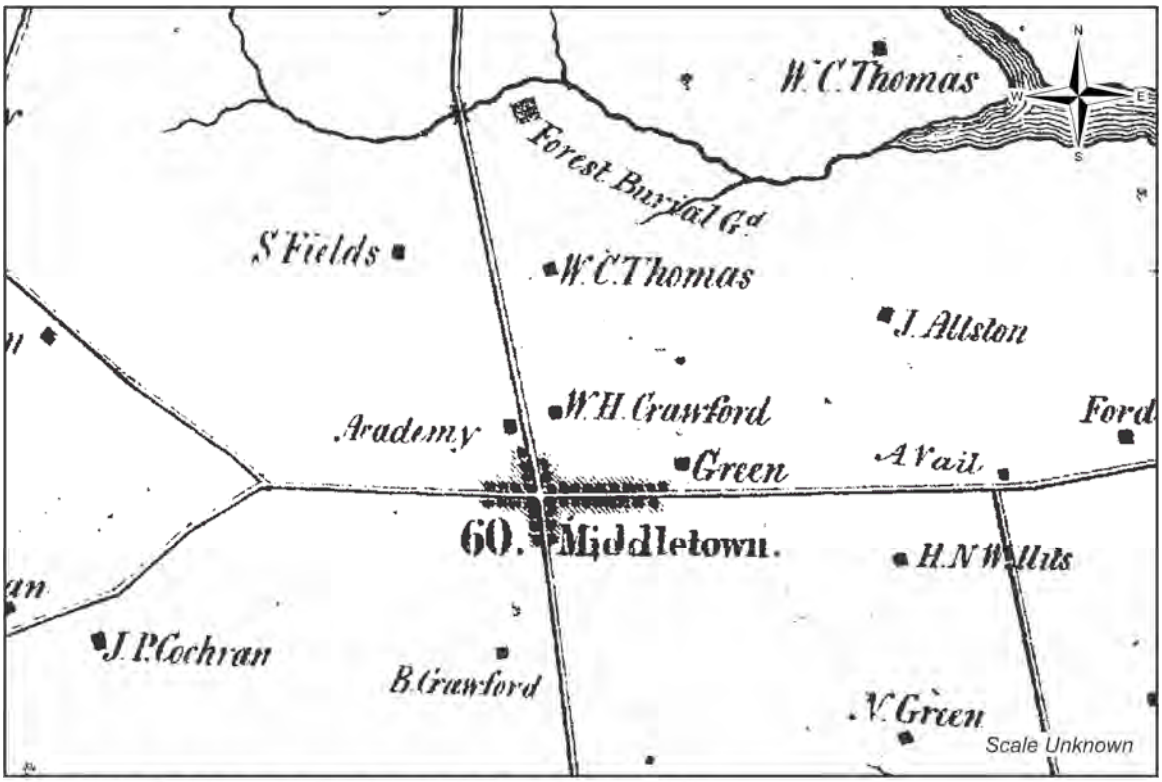


FIGURE 16: Middletown Vicinity in 1849 (Rea & Price 1849)

Although eight individuals appears to be a small number compared with the number of slaves on large plantations farther south, it was sizable for a farmer in St. Georges Hundred, where only 62 farmers owned a slave and the number of people in bondage on a farm averaged only one or two individuals. On August 2, 1854, Crawford died at the age of 61 and his widow, Catherine, inherited the house and the portion of the estate located adjacent to Middletown and John Alston's farm.

In 1866 Catherine Crawford sold her husband's 87-acre parcel on the northeast side of Middletown to Edward Fenimore of Appoquinimink Hundred for $20,000. The parcel was bound on the east by John Alston's farm, on the north by the lands of William Brady, on the west by Middletown's Broad Street, and on the south by William Green's farm, Ingleside. In April of the following year, Edward Fenimore sold the northern 32 acres of the property for $8,181 to his father, Joshua B. Fenimore, also of Appoquinimink Hundred. This 32-acre tract was bound on the east by Alston's farm, on the north by Brady's farm, and on the west by Broad Street (Figure 17). The newly constructed Lake Street formed the southern boundary of Joshua Fenimore's tract and served to divide his lands from the remaining 55 acres his son purchased from William Crawford's widow.

FIGURE 17: Femimore Tracts in Middletown in 1868 (Pomeroy & Beers 1868)

Both Joshua and Edward Fenimore were prosperous farmers when they purchased their lands in Middletown. Originally from Newton Township in present-day Camden County, New Jersey, the Fenimore family moved to Appoquinimink Hundred in the 1840s. By 1849 Joshua B. Fenimore and his family had relocated to a farm they purchased outside Odessa. According to the Rea & Price (1849) map of New Castle County, the Fenimore property was located next to the farm of Quaker and ardent abolitionist Daniel Corbit. Joshua B. Fenimore and his family were not members of the Society of Friends, but rather members of the Episcopal Church.

The Fenimores' purchase of lands near Middletown seems to have been a business decision. With the incorporation of Middletown in 1861 and the expansion of the Delaware Railroad in the 1850s, the population was expected to boom, and with it property values. The 55 acres Edward retained from his initial 87-acre purchase from Catherine Crawford were located in the northeast corner of the town limits, and by 1868 he had already subdivided his parcel into town lots (see Figure 17). Edward's interest in Middletown was speculative, and Joshua saw the arrival of the railroad at Middletown as a means to diversify his business. By 1868 management of the Appoquinimink farm was given to Edward, and Joshua became fully invested in Middletown as a lumber merchant.

Joshua and his wife Sarah relocated to a new home they built on Broad Street while at the same time he opened offices for his lumber company, Fenimore & Company, in the west end of town, adjacent to the railroad's freight house depot.

Joshua did not immediately subdivide and sell town lots from his 32-acre parcel. Unlike his son's property on the south side of Lake Street, Joshua's land was located just outside the town limits. Lots on his land therefore held less value since potential buyers would not receive any of the town services guaranteed to residents on the south side of Lake Street. He likely held off from selling the majority of his land until after Middletown expanded its boundaries to include his parcel, therefore ensuring a better return on his investment. Instead, Joshua decided to focus his immediate efforts on building his lumber business while he held on to the majority of the 32-acre parcel as a future asset.

With his lumber business firmly established by 1869, Joshua Fenimore slowly began selling small town lots from his 32-acre tract as available lots within Middletown became scarcer. In March 1869 Fenimore sold several lots near the intersection of Broad and Lake streets, on the southwest corner of his land. Each of the 50x232-foot lots were sold for $200 to Euro-American buyers. Two months later, Fenimore began to also sell lots on the southeast corner of his land, in the area that later became the African American community of Daletown (Figure 18).

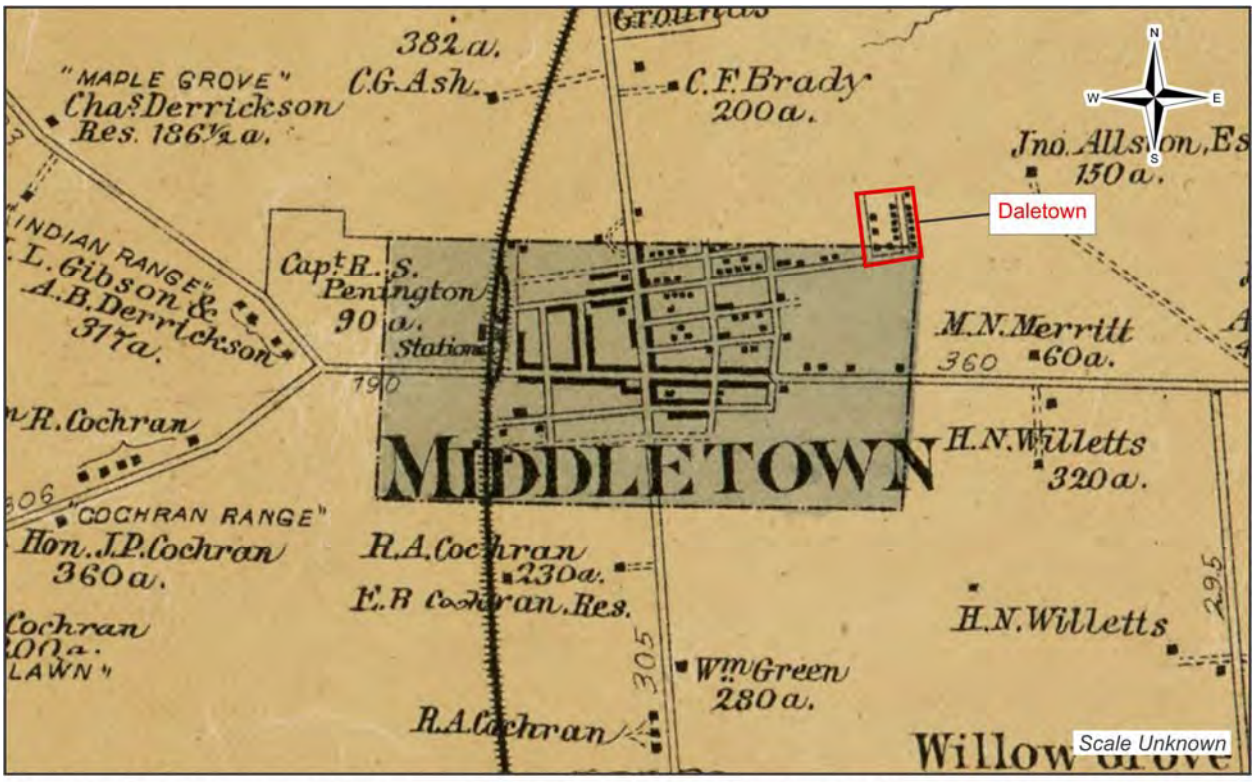


FIGURE 18: Daletown and Middletown Vicinity in 1881 (G.M. Hopkins 1881)

On June 7, 1869, Joshua B. Fenimore sold two adjacent lots that became the foundation of Middletown's African American community. The first lot, measuring 40x99 feet, was sold for $70 to Samuel Dale, minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church near Middletown. Six months after

purchasing the land from Fenimore, Dale sold the same property on December 15, 1869, to the trustees of the church, who included himself as well as Lewis Green, Levi Anderson, Joseph Monts, Thomas H. Gold, William Dale, John Henry Douglas, and Henry Jones.

The second lot to be sold by Fenimore on June 7, 1869, was a 96x80-foot parcel located adjacent to Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church at the corner of Lake and New streets. Fenimore sold the lot to the Trustees of the Colored School of Middletown for one dollar. The trustees of the school were unnamed in the deed of transfer; however, given the location of the lot and the timing of the transfer, the school's trustees probably included Samuel Dale and the other members of Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church. As a member of the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Samuel Dale was mandated to establish a school for the new church in Daletown.

Even though Samuel Dale and the trustees of the Methodist church and school completed their purchase of the both lots in June 1869, construction of Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church and the associated school were actually built on the properties two years earlier in 1867. The account of their completion was recorded in the minutes of the Delaware Association on March 27, 1867 (Delaware Association 1867). According to the minutes, the Daletown schoolhouse was a modest one-story wood-frame structure measuring 22x36 feet.

No evidence of a lease agreement for either property could be found in the Delaware state land records or among the records of Delaware Association. However, given the recorded completion date of both the church and school in the Delaware Association Minutes, it appears that Edward Fenimore leased both lots to Samuel Dale and the other trustees just before he sold the parcel to his father in April 1867. Joshua Fenimore honored his son's lease agreement with the Methodist Episcopal Church for two years before selling the lots outright to church trustees in June 1869.

A review of Delaware land records from 1869 through 1885 revealed that Joshua B. Fenimore eventually sold at least four lots of his 32-acre parcel to African Americans. Two such lots were sold to John B. Green and his family in the early 1870s. John B. Green was a son of Michael Green of Congo Town. Prior to his purchase of one of Fenimore's Daletown lots in 1870, John B. Green resided in his father's Congo Town home. For much of his teens and twenties, John worked with his father as a farm laborer on either his uncle Wilson's property or on one of the Euro-American owned estates surrounding Congo Town. By the time he turned 28, the 1870 Census indicates that John had switched occupations, working instead as a cart or carriage driver. At that time he still resided in his father's home; however, he was joined by his wife Amanda and their two young children, William and Isabella.

On Halloween Day 1872, John B. and Amanda Green paid Joshua and Sarah Fenimore $550 for a 4,640-square-foot lot on the southeast corner of Cox and Lockwood streets. Seven years later, John and Amanda Green purchased another 4,680-square-foot lot from Joshua Fenimore for $110. The second lot was located adjacent to the Green's first lot on the south side of Lockwood Street. By 1880 John and Amanda Green were well established in the Daletown Community. The tax records from that year indicate that the couple's Daletown property was valued at $300 and included a frame house. According to the census from that year, John B. Green was now employed as a horse trainer and Amanda was listed as a housekeeper. By 1880 the family included five children. Twelve-year-

old William and 10-year-old Isabella were listed as attending the school along with their nine-year-old sibling, Hanah. The other two children, two-year-old James and 10-month-old Lillie, remained at home.

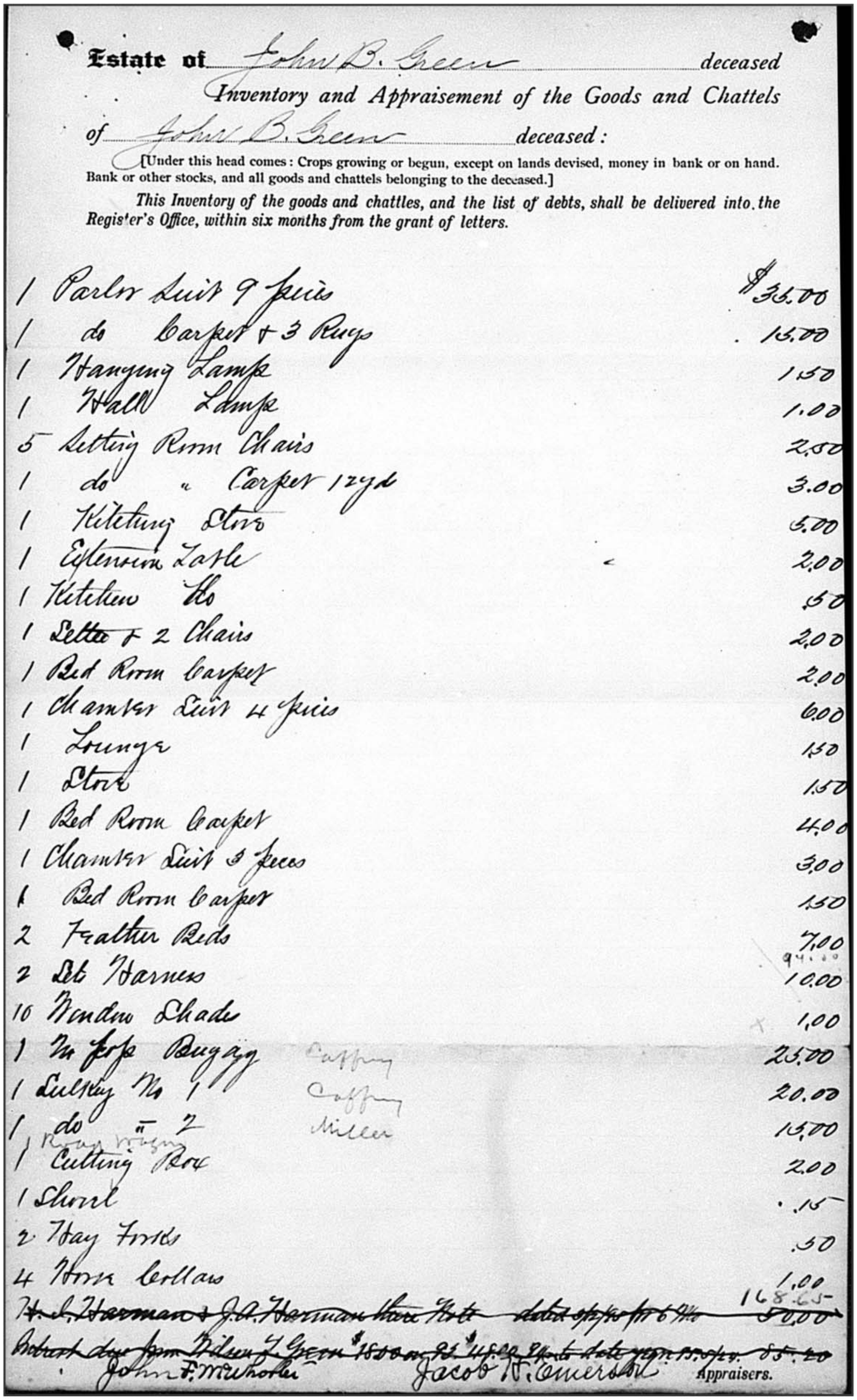
John B. Green died on March 18, 1895. According to New Castle County Orphans Court documents, the home was a two-story frame dwelling located on the southeast corner of Cox and Lockwood streets. The document also indicates other improvements on the 9,360-square-foot property, although it does not indicate what those improvements were. An inventory of his property suggests that the Greens lived a comfortable but modest life (Figure 19; Appendix A). An appraisal of the house valued the furnishings and other Green family belongings at $168.65. Some notable items included two feather beds, parlor and bedroom suites, and numerous rugs and window shades. Also included were several items that were likely associated with John B. Green's occupation as a horse trainer, such as several sets of harnesses and horse collars (see Appendix A).

Prior to the Greens' arrival in Daletown, Joshua B. Fenimore sold two other lots to African American residents. On October 1, 1869, Fenimore sold a 5,200-square-foot lot on the northwest corner of Lake and New streets to Henry Gray for $100. The well-situated parcel was located on New Street, across from the recently completed Dale Methodist Episcopal Church. Henry and his wife Elizabeth did not immediately relocate after the purchase of their Daletown property. In 1870 they are both recorded in the census as residing in the Odessa household of Mary A. Polk. Henry worked as a hostler for the Polk family while Elizabeth was employed as one of the household's domestic servants. By 1880 the couple had made the move to Daletown. According to the census for that year, Henry Gray was employed as a horse trainer while Elizabeth worked as a housekeeper. The couple did not have any children but their household included one boarder, a young African American schoolteacher named Emma Doster.

Prior to 1871, Joshua and Sarah Fenimore sold another Daletown lot to Charles Johnson. The deed for the transaction could not be located in the New Castle County land records; however, a reference to the deed was found in the sale of another Fenimore parcel to Johnson's neighbor on August 26, 1871 (NCC, Deed Book O9, folio 128). That lot, sold to Edwin Cochran, was located on the west side of New Street, just north of the Daletown community. According to the deed, Charles Johnson's parcel bordered the 80-foot-long south boundary of Cochran's new land. As such, Charles Johnson's parcel was located in the north end of Daletown and separated Cochran's 15,760-square-foot lot from the rest of the African American community.

Charles Johnson does not appear in the 1870 Census, so it is unclear whether he and his family were in Daletown at that time. By 1880 Charles does appear in the census as a resident of Daletown. He is listed as a 47-year-old pump maker while his wife Mary Ann was recorded as keeping the Johnson house. The couple was joined by their six children, three of whom attended school. The tax assessment for that year indicates that the family of eight resided in a wood-frame dwelling valued at $450 along with a small amount of livestock.

Additional African American residents were also slowly building homes and businesses near Dale's Church and the African American school prior to 1885. According to the 1870 Census, 35 African Americans among seven households are enumerated as residents of Daletown (Table 22). These seven families relocated to Daletown almost immediately after the church and school were built. The



Estate of John B. Green deceased

Inventory and Appraisement of the Goods and Chattels

of John B. Green *deceased:*

[Under this head comes: Crops growing or begun, except on lands devised, money in bank or on hand. Bank or other stocks, and all goods and chattels belonging to the deceased.]

This Inventory of the goods and chattels, and the list of debts, shall be delivered into the Register's Office, within six months from the grant of letters.

1 Parlor Suit 9 pieces	$35.00
1 do Carpet & 3 Rugs	15.00
1 Hanging Lamp	1.50
1 Hall Lamp	1.00
5 Setting Room Chairs	2.50
1 do " Carpet 12 yds	3.00
1 Kitchen Stove	5.00
1 Extension Table	2.00
1 Kitchen do	.50
1 Settee & 2 Chairs	2.00
1 Bed Room Carpet	2.00
1 Chamber Suit 4 pieces	6.00
1 Lounge	1.50
1 Stove	1.50
1 Bed Room Carpet	4.00
1 Chamber Suit 3 pieces	3.00
1 Bed Room Carpet	1.50
2 Feather Beds	7.00
2 Set Harness	10.00
10 Window Shade	1.00
1 No top Buggy (Caffrey)	25.00
1 Sulkey No 1 (Caffrey)	20.00
1 do " 2 (Miller)	15.00
1 Road Wagon	
1 Cutting Box	2.00
1 Shovel	.15
2 Hay Forks	.50
4 Horse Collars	1.00
	168.65

John F. McWhorter Jacob R. Emerson Appraisers.

FIGURE 19: Section of the Inventory of John B. Green (NCC, Probate of John B. Green 1895)

Purnell, Kale, and Hamilton families likely leased dwellings and lots from Joshua B. Fenimore. The other four households are listed in the Census as owning the property where they resided.

TABLE 22

DALETOWN RESIDENTS IN 1870

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE	OCCUPATION
Jonathan Hazzard	8	$500	Farm laborer
John Henry	7	$300	Farm laborer
William Johnson	2	$100	Farm laborer
John N. Purnell	3	-	Farm laborer
Washington Kale	2	-	Farm laborer
Harriott Hamilton	4	-	Keeping house
David Jefferson	9	$800	Hostler

In 1870 Daletown was also home to Hudson Wood, May Wood, Warren Hicks, and Genie Hicks. All four are listed in the census as white schoolteachers from Michigan. With Delaware's African American education system in its infancy, the Delaware Association and the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church encouraged white, northern schoolteachers to serve as educational missionaries in southern African American communities, including Delaware. The Hicks and Wood families relocated to Delaware from Michigan to serve as instructors at the African American school in Daletown. It is not clear whether the four educators served the Daletown/Middletown area exclusively or whether they also traveled around the area to serve as instructors at the other newly built African American schools in Odessa, Port Penn, and Mount Pleasant. The tenure for such missionary teachers was short. Both couples only remained in the area for a couple of years and were eventually replaced by qualified African American teachers from out of state.

By the 1880s the population of Daletown had grown dramatically. According to the 1880 Census, 215 African Americans in 42 households were residing in the vicinity of Dale's Church and the African American school (Table 23). Although the 1880 Census does not indicate home ownership, a review of the tax assessments from that same year indicates that at least 18 houses and lots were owned by African Americans. Thirteen of the houses listed in the tax assessment were owner-occupied and the other five were leased to tenants. The average value of houses and lots in Daletown in 1880 was $300, although several were taxed much lower. Only three Daletown properties were valued higher than the average. William Cammoile's wood-frame house and lot were taxed for $350, and his neighbor, Charles Johnson, was taxed for $450 on his frame house and lot. The most valuable property in Daletown was owned by Henry Gray and his wife Elizabeth. Henry Gray was employed as a horse trainer and together he and his wife owned a wood-frame house and lot valued at $800.

Charles H. Hutchins was one among several new African American residents of Daletown in 1880. Charles and his wife Francis were originally from Maryland, and earlier that year the couple and their five children relocated to Daletown. The 1880 Census lists the youngest of their children, James (6) and Sarah (1) as being at home. The older three children, Martha (12), Charles (10), and Harriet (8), are all listed as attending school. Charles H. Hutchins is listed as a Methodist minister, although it is unclear which congregation he served. During that time William M. Webb was serving his second term as minister of Dale's M.E. Church in Daletown while in Odessa A.W. Hamilton was also in his second year of service as head of that congregation. Hutchins may have served in an associate capacity for either of the churches. At the same time the former Maryland minister may have been also been employed as a teacher at Daletown's African American school.

TABLE 23

DALETOWN RESIDENTS IN 1880

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE*	OCCUPATION
Thomas Henry	6	-	Farm hand
Alexander Harmon	8	-	Waiter
John Empson	6	-	Farm hand
William Empson	10	-	Waiter
Abraham Miles	3	$75	Farm hand
William Anderson	3	-	Farm hand
Francis Pearce	3	-	Keeping house
Julius Black	2	$100	Farm hand
John B. Williams	4	$100	Restaurant keeper
Henry Gray	3	$800	Horse trainer
Rosa Sipple	1	-	Waiter
Napolian Reed	6	-	Farm hand
Rosa Sipple	8	-	Keeping home
Isaac Empson	3	-	Farm laborer
Thomas Wright	7	-	Ostler
David Jefferson	11	$300	Farm hand
Henry Williams	4	-	Farm hand
Henry Jones	10	-	Farm hand
George Jones	2	-	Farm hand
Charles Johnson	8	$450	Pump maker
William Downs	7	$250	Hod carrier
Lavina Commeges	1	-	Keeps house
Sarah Jones	8	$300	House keeper
Edward Rees	5	$300	Teamster
Angeline Emery	1	$300	Keeps house
Charles Alexandria	8	-	Fishery
William Cammoile	4	$350	Oslter
John B Green	7	$300	Trainer
James Byard	2	-	Farm hand
Thomas Turner	10	-	Farm hand
Francis Miller	2	-	Farm hand
Frisby Cammoile	3	$50	Farm service
Robert Hall	3	-	Farm hand
Charles H. Hutchins	7	-	M.E. minister
Joseph Williams	3	-	Farm hand
William B. Johnson	8	-	Waiter
Robert Danding	7	-	Waterman
Benjamin Empson	9	-	Farm hand
William Hall	5	-	Commercial laborer
Amanda Henry	4	-	House keeper
William Collins	2	-	Farm hand
Frank Miller	1	-	Farm hand

*Based on the 1880 Tax Assessments for West St. Georges Hundred

The Hutchins children were not alone at the Daletown African American school. Of the 50 school-age children (ages 7 to 14) living in Daletown in 1880, 30 are listed as attending school in the last year along with other children living in and around Middletown. One of the instructors at the school was Emma Doster, the 23-year-old schoolteacher from Massachusetts recorded in the 1880 Census as a boarder residing in the home of Henry and Elizabeth Gray. Although not the only instructor at the school, Emma was the only woman of color to reside in Daletown with her students.

The majority of the Daletown residents were either employed as laborers on nearby farms or as housekeepers to white households in Middletown. Other residents had more specialized jobs. John Williams is listed as a restaurant keeper, likely for a local Middletown establishment. John's wife Hister Ann was enumerated as a housekeeper. In addition to the couple, their household included two sons, John and James. The 17-year-old James was still residing at home, and the 1880 Census indicates that the 20-year-old John was away at college. In addition to Henry Gray, three other residents in Daletown are listed as horse trainers during that period. Other specialized professions of Daletown African American residents include waiters, fishermen, millers, and teamsters.

Although few in number, the presence of community members with specialized skills and jobs seems to occur only in Daletown. Members of other African American communities in St. Georges Hundred, such as Congo Town and Odessa, are almost entirely enumerated as either farm laborers or domestic servants. Some individuals in other communities are specifically recorded as "post & railers," whitewashers, or cart drivers, but none are enumerated as being employed in skilled professions such as some of those found in Daletown during the same time period.

Of all of the African American communities that developed in St. Georges Hundred during the nineteenth century, Daletown appears to be the most affluent and upwardly mobile. The reason for the community's exceptional situation appears to be its location and its association with the larger community of Middletown. In fact, Samuel Dale and the other church trustees may have intended such an outcome when they established the community in the late 1860s. With the arrival of the railroad, Middletown became a hub of economic growth for Euro-Americans during the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time members of the Middletown council passed ordinances that clearly discriminated against any African Americans wishing to settle there. By establishing their own community just outside Middletown, African Americans who moved to Daletown were positioned to enjoy a greater degree of economic progress while at the same time being able to remove themselves from the daily discrimination of their Middletown neighbors. Such an arrangement allowed residents of the Daletown community to establish their own businesses, learn specialized trades, and generally earn a better income than African Americans in more rural communities. For these reasons more members of the community were able to earn enough income to purchase their own property and provide their children with the opportunity to attend school rather than needing them to work to support the household.

d. Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge

Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge were unlike the other African American communities that developed in St. George's Hundred in the nineteenth century. While the others, such as Daletown and Congo Town, developed as clusters in or close to established towns and villages, these three areas developed in a linear fashion along Summit Bridge Road (present-day U.S. Route 301) (Figure 20). Although geographically separate from each other, the residents of the areas interacted regularly and eventually came to rely on the same institutions, such as schools and churches. The three areas were therefore generally defined as a single, linked African American neighborhood extending from Frogtown Crossing in the south to Summit Bridge in the north (Frederick et al. 2006; Skelcher 1995b).

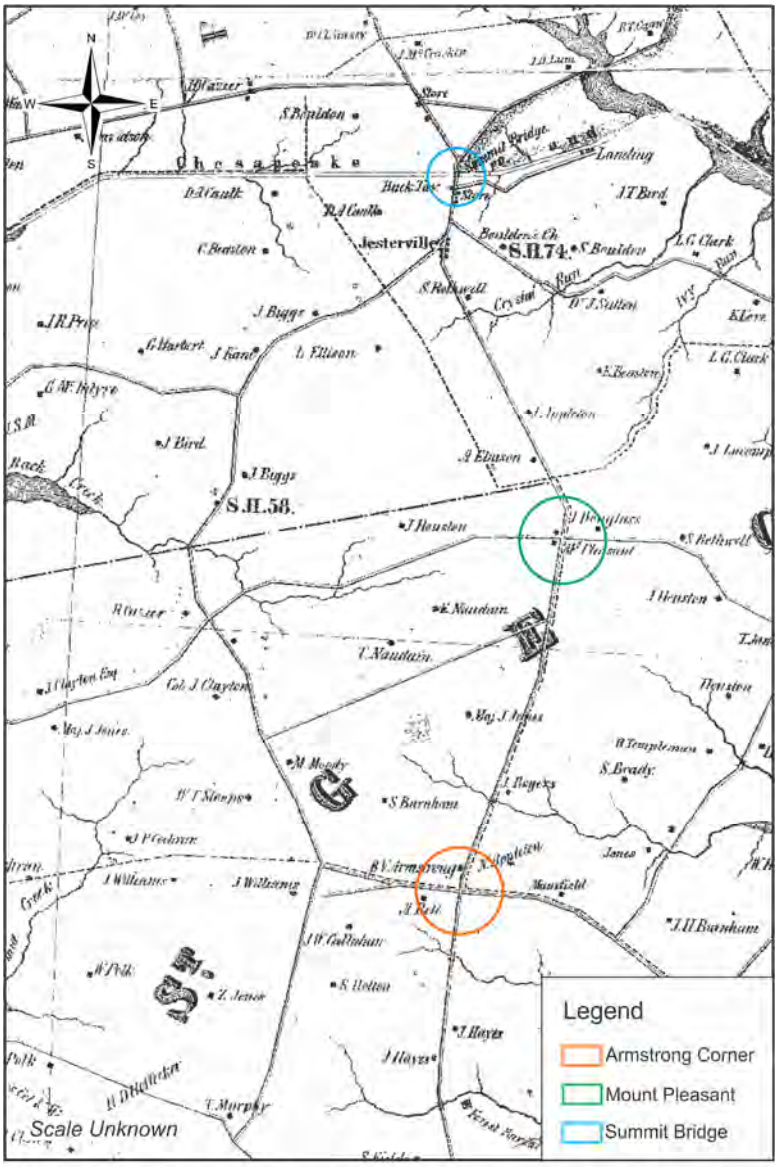


FIGURE 20: Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge in 1849 (Rea & Price 1849)

African American families settled in the area of Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As in other parts of St. Georges Hundred, Euro-American landowners who operated farms along Summit Bridge Road regularly employed local African Americans laborers to work on their estates.

Richard Mansfield, one such local landowner, kept a detailed log of his workforce from 1824 to 1850. According to his journals, Mansfield regularly employed at least four or five individuals to work on his estate, the majority of whom were African American (Figure 21). At times of planting and harvest, his workforce usually grew to 10 to 12 people to meet the increased labor demands.

Like many of his neighbors, Mansfield often employed both men and women ranging in age from their late teens to early thirties. In some years entire families were employed. To maintain such a

labor force, local planters often rented houses to their own workers as well as those on other farms. In this way employers were able to sustain a local workforce while at the same time recovering some of the money they paid the workers through the collection of rents.

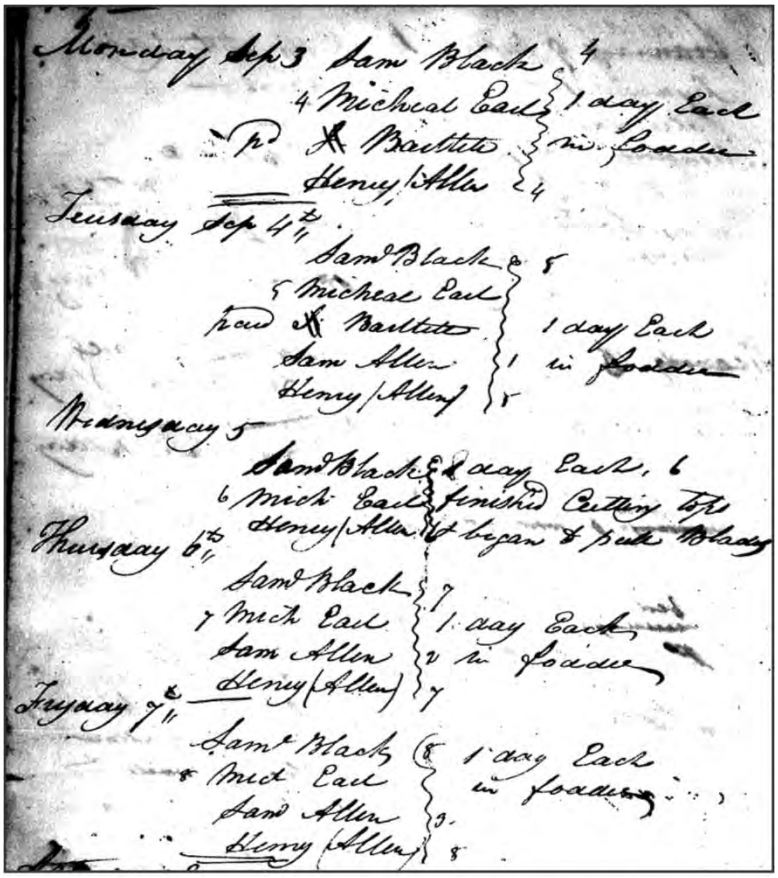


FIGURE 21: Section of Richard Mansfield's Account Book
(Richard Mansfield 1824-1850)

Another way Richard Mansfield, and planters like him, retained a stable workforce was through the creation of house and garden contracts. The contracts were usually verbal agreements between the landowner and the prospective employee. Richard Mansfield recorded some of his contracts in his journal. The contract gave the planter exclusive rights to the labor of the worker for a period of one to two years. In return, laborers received a small monthly stipend as well as a house, rent-free, and an adjoining parcel to farm for themselves. The parcel was usually small, no more than an acre, enough to plant a small garden to help feed the laborer and his family. One such tenant living in the area of Armstrong Corner in 1830 was Lewis Jones. In March 1830 Richard Mansfield made a notation in his account book:

> "Monday March 1… Lewis Jones Commenced with me at $7 per month from this time until the New year – he finds his own washing & mending. A am also to furnish him with a house & garden and allow him two days in Harvest but no[t] for wood."
>
> Mansfield (1824-1850)

Lewis Jones, an African American laborer, had worked for Richard Mansfield raking and cutting clover during the 1829 planting season. In 1830 Jones entered into an agreement to work for Mansfield again during the 1830 season. Rather than be paid the daily wage he received in 1829, this new agreement secured him a monthly wage as well as housing in Mansfield's tenant house.

Jones is enumerated in the 1830 Census as residing near Richard Mansfield. In that year he was mistakenly recorded as Lewis Johns by the census taker. Lewis Jones's household in 1830 included himself, a man between the age of 36 and 55; his wife (age 24 to 36); a teenage son; and two sons under the age of 10. Richard Mansfield's account book from that period records a Sarah Jones working alongside Lewis on several occasions, suggesting that Sarah may have been his wife. Unlike the monthly wage Lewis earned, Sarah Jones was paid only for the days she worked.

Lewis and Sarah Jones remained tenants of Richard Mansfield until the end of 1831. During their last field season Lewis Jones was promoted to be one of Mansfield's field supervisors, overseeing upward of five other laborers. Sarah Jones did not appear in the account books more than once that year, suggesting she was mostly occupied caring for the family's two young sons and tending to the cultivation of their own plot. In 1832 the Jones family left Richard Mansfield's employ.

Tenant housing and the house and garden style properties were often located on the periphery of the estate in areas that were deemed least productive. Other times, they were located along the major roads bordering the farms. It is not clear where the residences were located for African American laborers living in Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The residences of some African American laborers in the area during this time period were almost certainly located along the state road.

According to the Census, approximately 230 free African Americans resided in the vicinity of Summit Bridge, Mount Pleasant, and Armstrong Corner in 1830. One hundred twenty-nine of those enumerated were residing in one of 29 households headed by African Americans (Table 24). The remainder lived in the Euro-American households that stretched along Summit Bridge Road. Many of those individuals resided alongside other African Americans who lived in bondage on the same property. According to the 1830 Census, Euro-American landowners living along Summit Bridge Road held approximately 80 men, women, and children in bondage. Many of the free African Americans recorded in Euro-American households were likely family members of those enslaved. For many living in the community at that time, their continued presence was likely a result of having family members still in bondage. To remain free, African Americans here and elsewhere in the upper South often worked on the same farms, or those nearby, until their family members' period of enslavement had ended or their freedom could be purchased. A review of tax assessments and land records indicates that none of the families who were living in the area owned their own property, suggesting that all the residents listed in the 1830 Census were tenants of local planters such as Richard Mansfield, Benjamin Armstrong, and Jacob Caulk.

Identifying African American residents in Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge was relatively easy in 1830. The census takers at that time recorded households beginning at Summit Bridge and continued south along Summit Bridge Road until they reached Middletown. In that way all African Americans living along the road were listed in order, and neighbors can be easily

TABLE 24

AFRICAN AMERICAN HEADED HOUSEHOLD IN ARMSTRONG CORNER, MOUNT PLEASANT, AND SUMMIT BRIDGE IN 1830

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	NUMBER IN HOUSEHOLD	PLACE OF RESIDENCE
Benjamin Telman	7	Summit Bridge
Mark Carpenter	2	Summit Bridge
George Washington	2	Summit Bridge
Joshua Lusby	6	Summit Bridge
James Noar	4	Summit Bridge
Alexander Clark	4	Summit Bridge
David Denderson	8	Mount Pleasant
Samuel Blake	6	Mount Pleasant
Benjamin Armstrong	4	Mount Pleasant
Samuel Boulden	4	Mount Pleasant
Aaron Seward	2	Mount Pleasant
William Kemp	2	Mount Pleasant
Caleb Thomas	2	Mount Pleasant
Jacob Buck	5	Mount Pleasant
Thomas Hacket	5	Mount Pleasant
Edward Bayard	7	Mount Pleasant
Benjamin Moody	8	Mount Pleasant
Charles Rider	7	Mount Pleasant
Sarah Massey	2	Mount Pleasant
Charles Green	4	Mount Pleasant
William Jones	4	Armstrong Corner
Lewis Jones	5	Armstrong Corner
Juber Johnson	3	Armstrong Corner
Moses Whirey	8	Armstrong Corner
Hannah Dale	2	Armstrong Corner
Frisby Lloyd	5	Armstrong Corner
Jerry Willis	4	Armstrong Corner
Jacob Bailey	3	Armstrong Corner
Thomas Haskit	4	Armstrong Corner

identified. In 1840, however, the census takers did not follow the same pattern; in fact, a recognizable pattern could not be discerned at all, so it is difficult to identify the complete population of African Americans residing in the area during that time. One method employed to overcome this difficulty was to identify Euro-American households in the 1840 Census whose places of residence were known to be in the vicinity of either Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge. Some Euro-American households used for this method include those of Frisby Boulden, Eldad Lore, Benjamin Armstrong, and Richard Mansfield. African American households enumerated next to or adjacent to the known Euro-American names were thought to occupy the same locale. Through this method, 194 free African Americans were identified as residing in the areas of Summit Bridge, Mount Pleasant, and Armstrong Corner in 1840 (Table 25).

TABLE 25

AFRICAN AMERICAN-HEADED HOUSEHOLD IN ARMSTRONG CORNER, MOUNT PLEASANT, AND SUMMIT BRIDGE IN 1840

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	NUMBER IN HOUSEHOLD	PLACE OF RESIDENCE
Enoch Guy	8	Summit Bridge
Edward Miller	7	Summit Bridge
Robert Gibb	3	Summit Bridge
William H. Smith	2	Summit Bridge
William Batton	8	Summit Bridge
John Madden	8	Summit Bridge
Joseph Lawky	3	Summit Bridge
Alexander Clark	4	Mount Pleasant
Hannah Boulden	3	Mount Pleasant
Alexander Andrews	5	Mount Pleasant
Benjamin Rouley	5	Mount Pleasant
John Hennard	2	Mount Pleasant
Daniel Parker	7	Mount Pleasant
Samuel Dale	4	Mount Pleasant
Moses Whirey	8	Mount Pleasant
Frances Neal	2	Mount Pleasant
William Hutcheson	4	Mount Pleasant
Thomas Hurt	6	Armstrong Corner
Richard Dale	5	Armstrong Corner
Benjamin Davis	9	Armstrong Corner
John Buck	4	Armstrong Corner
Perry Bratcher	3	Armstrong Corner
George Heath	4	Armstrong Corner
John Benton	2	Armstrong Corner
William Price	2	Armstrong Corner
Amos Bell	5	Armstrong Corner
John Lockoman	4	Armstrong Corner
James Golden	5	Armstrong Corner
Juber Johnson	1	Armstrong Corner

Of the 194 enumerated in the area, 61 free African Americans were identified in Euro-American-headed households. The remaining 133 are recorded in households headed by African Americans. In addition to those listed as free, approximately 17 people are recorded as being enslaved on one of eight nearby farms. The number of enslaved people living in the area as of the 1840 Census is dramatically down from the 80 recorded in bondage 10 years earlier. The decrease in the enslaved population near Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge was somewhat exceptional for the period. A review of the census shows that the entire enslaved population throughout St. Georges Hundred had decreased by nearly half from 241 in 1830 to 138 in 1840. Since roughly 63 fewer people were in bondage in this area than 10 years before, it appears that the majority of the recorded decrease in the enslaved population came from the Summit Bridge Road corridor.

Twenty-nine households headed by African Americans were identified in the vicinity of Summit Bridge, Mount Pleasant, and Armstrong Corner in the 1840 Census (see Table 25). Some families recorded in 1830 remained in the area through 1840, including the households of Alexander Clark,

Samuel (Hannah) Boulden, Juber Johnson, Moses Whirey, and Hannah (Richard) Dale. However, the majority of those recorded in 1830 had relocated by 1840, either to another part of the Hundred or elsewhere in the county. Although the exact cause for the relocation of so many households over the 10-year period cannot be known, the decline in slavery in the area may have contributed, as people moved away when their families escaped from bondage. Also, the majority of African Americans residing in rural households during this period were employed as farm or day laborers. The transient nature of their employment meant that the majority of those enumerated in the area during the 1830 Census may have relocated to other parts of the county or state to find work or obtain better pay. In fact, the majority of those listed in Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge in 1830 were still present in St. Georges Hundred in 1840, residing near other Euro-American farms. At the same time the arrival of so many other new residents to the Summit Bridge Road corridor was likely the result of similar economic factors.

The majority of residents of Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge in 1840 resided in homes they rented from Euro-American landlords or received as part of a house and garden contract. One example of such a tenant was James Golden. Golden had lived in the area since 1832, and had been a house and garden tenant on the farm of Richard Mansfield for four years:

> "Tuesday March 13th. James Golden /Col. Man/ commenced working for me for the season for which I am to give him six dollars a month and a house and garden he to furnish his own washing and mending. I am to board him"
>
> Mansfield (1824-1850)

During that time James, along with his wife Hannah and their daughter Ann, worked the fields at Mansfield's Achmester. The Golden family and numerous other field hands spent those years liming the clover and grain fields in the spring and harvesting the various crops in the fall. The Golden family left the tenancy and the employ of Richard Mansfield by the spring of 1837, although they remained residents of Armstrong Corner until the 1840 Census. The site of the house and garden tenement where Golden lived has been discovered, and the archaeological findings are discussed in the following chapter.

According to the tax assessment of 1837, two area residents, Enoch Guy and Hannah Boulden, owned their own property. Land records of the purchases could not be located, but according to the tax assessment, Guy owned a lot with a frame house in the vicinity of Summit Bridge by 1837. His property was assessed for $100 that year and his livestock was valued at $54. Hannah Boulden's property was located in the vicinity of Mount Pleasant. The property was likely purchased by her husband Samuel Boulden and transferred to her after his death sometime after 1830. The 1837 tax assessment lists her property as including one lot and a frame house valued at only $40. Most houses and lots recorded in 1837 were generally valued at $100. The low value attributed to Hannah's property likely reflects the poor condition of her house. In 1840 Hannah Boulden was listed as a woman over the age of 55. Her household also included a young man and woman between the ages of 10 and 24. Despite the presence of these two young adults, it appears Hannah was unable to maintain her property following the death of her husband Samuel.

A third area resident, Amos Bell, also purchased property in the years prior to the 1840 Census. In 1838 Amos Bell purchased two tracts of land located in Armstrong Corner. The parcels, totaling

130 acres, were located southwest of the intersection of Summit Bridge Road (present-day U.S. Route 301) and Armstrong Corner Road (Figure 22). The property was originally part of the holdings of local farmer William Cann. When Cann died in 1835, the responsibility for the sale of his estate was given by the courts to Andrew Eliason, a local farmer from the Mount Pleasant area. Eliason sold Bell two adjacent tracts measuring 64 acres and 66 acres, respectively, for a total of $1,000.

FIGURE 22: Residence of Amos Bell in 1849 (Rea & Price 1849)

Prior to purchasing his Armstrong Corner property, Amos Bell was listed as a resident outside Port Penn, in the burgeoning African American community of Congo Town. Bell left Congo Town after 1830, settling in Armstrong Corner for several years. According to land records and the 1838 tax assessment, Amos Bell left Armstrong Corner for Pencader Hundred in early 1838, only to return to Armstrong Corner after purchasing his land in December of that year. It is unclear how Bell was able to pay $1,000 for the two parcels. Tax assessments from the 1834 to 1838 show Amos Bell owned a good deal of livestock despite not owning property. In 1834 his stock was valued at $221, while four years later it was assessed at $205. Given the quantity of livestock present, Bell likely lived as a tenant farmer during much of the 1830s, leasing a moderately large parcel from an absentee Euro-American landowner. The majority of Euro-American landowners who owned parcels in Armstrong Corner during the 1830s were resident farmers. The only absentee landowner in the immediate area during that time period was William Cann, the former owner of Amos Bell's 130-acre farm. Given Cann's absenteeism, it is entirely possible that Amos Bell leased a portion of William Cann's farm during much of the 1830s. Bell likely purchased the same land he had occupied and worked for the last several years.

Amos Bell remained on his farm at Armstrong Corner until his death in 1865. Initially, Bell remained in the log house he likely occupied as a tenant before purchasing the property in 1838. According to the tax assessments of 1849, Bell was assessed for 134 acres and a log house valued at $1,206.00. At the same time, his livestock that year was assessed for $120.00. In the 1850 Census the 63-year-old Bell is listed as a farmer with real estate valued at $3,500.00. He resided in his log home with his wife Tempy and an eight-year-old African American girl named Mary J. Williams. It is unclear, based on census records, how Amos and Tempy Bell were related to the girl. In prior years the couple was listed as having children, so it is entirely possible that Mary was one of the couple's granddaughters. The 1850 Census also reveals that Amos was able to read and write.

Sometime before 1853, Bell may have built the new house farther west on Armstrong Corner Road that is shown on a New Castle County road return from that year (Liebknecht and Burrow 2011). The tax assessment from 1857 also appears to reflect Bell's construction of a new house as well as several other improvements to his farm. That year his estate was valued at $3,625.00, which included 134 acres, a frame house, a tenant house, and outbuildings. In addition to the new frame house and outbuildings, the assessment indicates that Bell maintained the tenant house he formerly occupied. Bell may have rented his former home to a resident farm laborer employed on his farm, or to some other itinerate laborer who resided in the area. According to the 1860 Census, many of Bell's immediate neighbors owned their own properties; however, one family was recorded as renting property next to Amos and Tempy Bell. Timothy Hartny and his wife Margret were Irish immigrants who had recently arrived in Delaware. The couple, along with their two young children, was enumerated as living adjacent to the Bell family in 1860. Given the presence of tenant house on the Bell farm, it is possible Amos leased the dwelling to the Hartny family.

At the time of Amos Bell's death in 1865, his estate was valued at $5,000. Historian Patience Essah's study of African Americans in Delaware found that the richest Free Black farmer in New Castle County in 1860 owned $8,000 worth of real estate (Essah 1985). Amos Bell would have certainly been considered one of the elite among the African American community during the mid-nineteenth century.

African American property ownership along the Summit Bridge Road corridor continued to increase over the next 20 years. A neighbor to Amos Bell, Adam Carsons, purchased about 28 acres along Choptank Road from Amelia Reynolds on September 23, 1840. Little information about Carsons could be found. He does not appear in the 1840 Census, nor does he appear in any of the later census documents. The only other record of his presence in the area comes from period tax assessments. According to the tax assessment of 1849, a year before he sold a portion of his property to Spencer Holton, Adam Carsons's property was valued at $250.00 and included a log house situated on 28 acres of land. Although the value of the property was far less than his neighbor, Amos Bell, it was fairly typical for similar sized farms during the same period.

In 1854 African American farmer and Methodist Episcopal preacher Samuel Dale purchased a 20-acre tract in Armstrong Corner from James Mansfield. Dale's farm was located just north of Amos Bell's estate, northeast of Summit Bridge Road and Armstrong Corner Road. Dale built a frame dwelling on the parcel in which he resided with his wife Tempy and his three children. According to the New Castle County tax assessments from the period, Samuel Dale's estate was valued at

$800.00. No improvements were listed at the time, but given the value of the property, it is more likely that the assessors failed to record the house and outbuildings.

To the east of Armstrong Corner, three brothers also purchased land during the 1840s and 1850s. The properties, located along present-day Cedar Lane Road and Marl Pit Road, were purchased by William, Abraham, and Samuel Jones. The Jones family had been in St Georges Hundred since the early nineteenth century. Their father, William Jones, is listed in the 1830 Census near Armstrong Corner, likely working as a farm laborer on one of the nearby Euro-American owned estates. In 1850 Samuel and Abraham Jones are enumerated as residing in Armstrong Corner. In 1846 the brothers purchased 49 acres from Henry Templeman for $1,060.50. The land was located along present-day Cedar Lane Road, just south of Drawyers Creek. Initially, the brothers occupied the same house as depicted in the Rea & Price (1849) map (Figure 23). Eventually, they divided the parcel into two parcels with a home on each. Abraham Jones remained in the original house, located closest to Drawyers Creek. According to the 1857 tax assessment, his property contained 25 acres and was assessed for $955.00. Samuel relocated to a new home on 22 acres along Cedar Lane Road. His property was valued for slightly less than his brother's at $915.00. Both homes, along with a third Jones household, are depicted in the *Atlas of Delaware* (Pomeroy & Beers 1868) (Figure 24).

FIGURE 23: Residence of Abraham and Samuel Jones in 1849 (Rea & Price 1849)

The third brother, William Jones, arrived in Armstrong Corner after 1854. The 1850 Census enumerates him as living on the east side of St. Georges Hundred, in the African American community of Congo Town. At the time William resided in a frame house with his wife Bridget

and their nine-month-old daughter Sarah. The family's property was located along present-day Port Penn Road, near the estate of Charity Bowman.

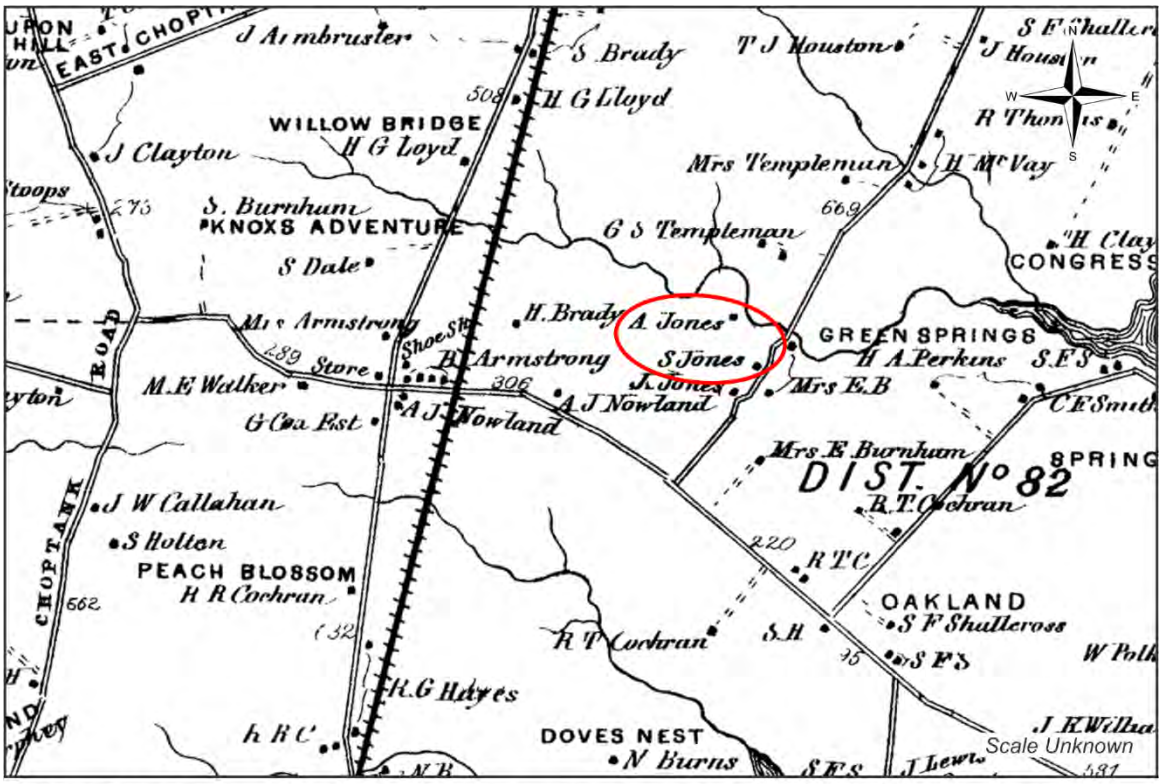


FIGURE 24: Residence of Abraham and Samuel Jones in 1868 (Pomeroy & Beers 1868)

Sometime after 1854, William and Bridget Jones sold their frame house and lot in Congo Town and relocated to a parcel located along Marl Pit Road. A deed of the sale could not be located among the New Castle County land records, but later deeds associated with the William Jones property indicate that he purchased his parcel from John Brady. In 1854 Brady had purchased the tract he sold to William Jones along with the remainder of Richard Mansfield's former estate along Marl Pit Road. Existing land records and tax assessments from the period do not indicate how much land William Jones received from John Brady; however, it was likely more than 7 acres. In March 1857 William and Bridget Jones sold a 7.5-acre portion of their Armstrong Corner parcel to another African American, George Adams, for $500.00. According to the deed, George Adams received only part of a larger tract the couple received from John Brady (NCC, Land Records L7, folio 59). In December of the same year, George Adams sold the same parcel to another African American resident, Thomas Gould, for $700.00. Gould and William Jones remained neighbors for much of the mid-nineteenth century.

While numerous African Americans were able to purchase substantial amounts of property in Armstrong Corner between 1830 and 1860, similar opportunities were not present in other parts of the Summit Bridge Road corridor. In fact, the only African American property owners recorded in Summit Bridge and Mount Pleasant during that time period were the two originally identified in the 1837 tax assessment, Enoch Guy and Hannah Boulden. Given the location of Summit Bridge along the border of St. Georges Hundred, it is possible that those African Americans who

purchased land in the vicinity of Summit Bridge did so on the Pencader Hundred side of the community. As far as it can be ascertained from existing land records and tax assessments, African American families who resided near Summit Bridge and Mount Pleasant continued to lease dwellings and properties from the larger Euro-American landowners during the mid-nineteenth century.

Even though few African Americans were able to purchase property in the area, the population continued to grow along the Summit Bridge road corridor. To capitalize on the growing tenant population, Euro-American property owners began to construct a series of rental properties along the road. The extent of African American occupied tenancies along the Summit Bridge Road corridor was illustrated in the Pomeroy & Beer (1868) atlas (Figure 25). Although tenant dwellings appear all along the road, the majority were clustered at major intersections at Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge. It appears that J. Nicholson was responsible for the majority of the tenant dwelling near on the St. Georges Hundred side of Summit Bridge. In Mount Pleasant landowners such as Andrew Eliason, Joshua Clayton, and Samuel Brady owned the majority of tenant dwellings depicted in the 1868 atlas. Samuel Brady also owned a number of tenancies in the vicinity of Armstrong Corner along with other prominent landowners such as Benjamin Armstrong and A.J. Nowland.

One reason for the increase in population was construction of the Delaware Railroad, which connected New Castle to Dover. By the time of its completion in 1850, the railroad extended north through the west side of St. Georges Hundred, connecting Middletown to the south with the New Castle and Wilmington to the north. The rail line extended east of Summit Bridge Road, running through Armstrong Corner and Mount Pleasant. To capitalize on the location of the railroad and the influx of African American residents to the area, some Euro-American property owners began to construct new businesses in the area. In Armstrong Corner Benjamin Armstrong built a shoe shop and store at the present-day intersection of Marl Pit and Summit Bridge roads. By 1878 Armstrong had also built a brickyard on the south side of Marl Pit Road. In 1888 historian J. Thomas Scharf wrote:

> Armstrong's Corner is a small village situated between Middletown and Mount Pleasant. It contains a store kept by W.H. Science, a brick-yard, a Presbyterian Chapel, a wheelwright, and a blacksmith-shop and about twenty dwellings.
>
> Scharf (1888)

A store was mapped in Mount Pleasant in the Pomeroy & Beers (1868) atlas. Scharf indicated that several other improvements were also made in the community after the arrival of the Delaware Railroad:

> The land on which the village is located is a water-shed, the waters west flowing into the Chesapeake, and the streams east into the Delaware. In 1845, there were four houses, all of which are now torn down. At present, there is a railroad station, a post-office, two stores (kept respectively by J. F. Eliason and Mrs. Eliza Devereaux), a blacksmith and wheelwright-shop and thirteen residences.
>
> Scharf (1888)

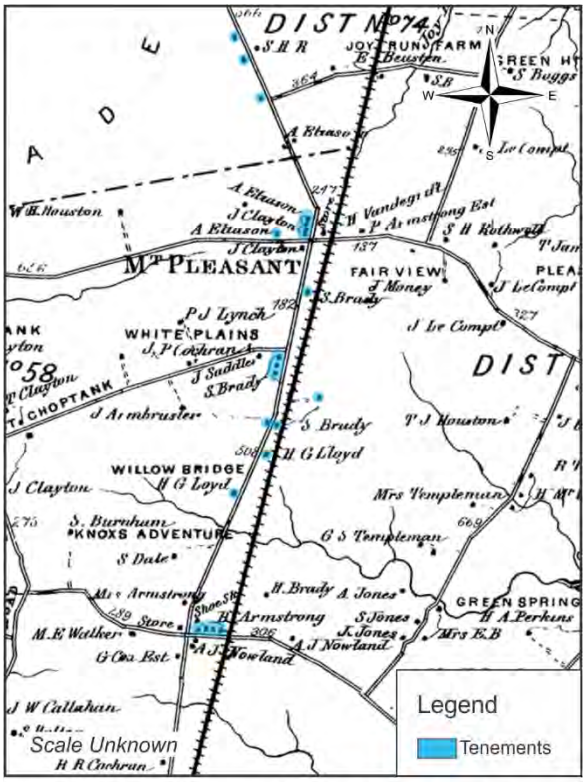


FIGURE 25: Section of 1868 Atlas Showing Rental Properties in Mount Pleasant and Armstrong Corner (Pomeroy & Beers 1868)

Although none of the new businesses was established by resident African Americans, their presence certainly improved the lives of those located nearby. Prior to that time, those living in Mount Pleasant and Armstrong Corner had to travel to Middletown and Summit Bridge for any supplies and food they could not provide for themselves from their own properties. Given that the majority of those African Americans living along the Summit Bridge Road corridor were tenants with little, if any, land for their own use, those families would often have to travel 3 or more miles each way to reach the closest store.

The majority of residents living near Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge continued to be employed as farm laborers during the during the mid- to late nineteenth century. Given the rural character of the area along the Summit Bridge Road corridor, farming was the primary source of income for anyone living in the area, African American and Euro-American alike. However, for some African American residents the introduction of new industries in the area after 1870 meant different employment opportunities. One such person was Edward Burk, a resident of Armstrong Corner. Burk is listed in the 1880 Census as working in Benjamin Armstrong's brickyard, which had opened just two years earlier. In the same Census Isaac Porter is listed as a canal laborer. Porter lived in a house he owned along the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, just northwest of Summit Bridge (Figure 26). The 46-year-old is the only African American canal worker recorded in St. Georges Hundred, a job in which he had been employed since at least 1870.

The families of Isaac Porter and Edward Burk were just two of over 50 households living along the Summit Bridge Road corridor in 1880 (Table 26). The African American population in the area during that time numbered over 320 people, of whom 236 resided in households headed by African Americans. Those residing in rural households were employed in a variety of capacities, including farm hands, domestic servants, and ostlers. Those living in Euro-American households located in the villages often worked as washerwomen, cooks, and waiters.

In 1880 fewer African Americans living along the Summit Bridge Road corridor owned their own homes than in the other African American communities in St. Georges Hundred. To the south in Daletown, 18 households owned their own homes. In east St. Georges Hundred nearly a dozen residents in both Congo Town and the African American community in and around Odessa owned homes. A review of tax assessment data from St. Georges Hundred for the same period showed that only four households along the Summit Bridge Road corridor were homeowners, representing only 7 percent of the households in the area. Euro-American-owned tenant dwellings remained the main

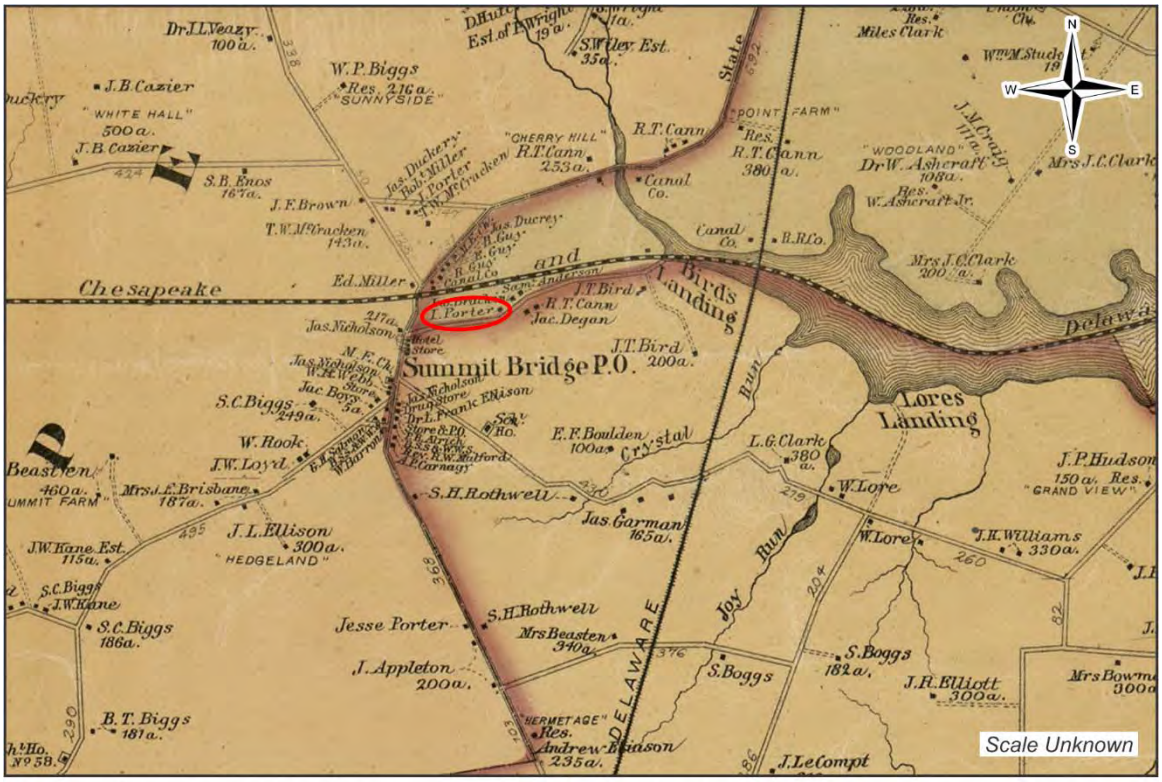


FIGURE 26: Residence of Isaac Porter in 1881 (G.M. Hopkins 1881)

source for housing for the vast majority of African Americans living in Summit Bridge, Mount Pleasant, and Armstrong Corner in the late nineteenth century.

Unlike other African American communities in St. Georges Hundred during this period, Summit Bridge had no church to provide a religious anchor. In Odessa, Congo Town, and Daletown, the Methodist Episcopal Church played a prominent role in the creation and development of the community. African Americans living along the Summit Bridge Road corridor did participate in religious services but they were not all members of a single congregation. As early as 1820, the African American community in southern Pencader Hundred established a church on the north side of Summit Bridge. Originally known as Union Church of the Welsh Tract, in 1868 it was incorporated and the name was changed to the Union African Church of the Welsh Tract (Zebley 1947). In the early twentieth century the congregation changed the name again to Mount Piggah Union American Methodist Episcopal Church. From 1820 until 1887, services were held in a small log church (WPA 1940). The congregation was likely drawn from the African American population in southern Pencader Hundred as well as the northwest section of St. Georges Hundred, particularly in the area of Summit Bridge and Mount Pleasant.

For African Americans in the area of Armstrong Corner, there were few local options for religious services. Until local resident Samuel Dale founded his own Methodist church in Daletown in the late 1860s, residents who wished to participate had to travel to Middletown to attend racially mixed services in one of that community's Methodist or Presbyterian churches. For those who felt more

TABLE 26

RESIDENTS IN ARMSTRONG CORNER, MOUNT PLEASANT, AND SUMMIT BRIDGE IN 1880

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE*	OCCUPATION	LOCATION
George Cassons	2	-	Farm laborer	Armstrong Corner
Samuel Simmons	5	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Samuel F. Jones	12	$1,250	Farmer	Armstrong Corner
Alfred Seagris	9	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
George Johnson	7	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Abraham Hinson	6	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
William Dale	4	$500	Farmer	Armstrong Corner
Samuel Jones	3	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
John Gould	5	-	Farmer	Armstrong Corner
John Jones	8	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Thomas Empson	5	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
William Bartly	2	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
John Bartly	3	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Edward Burk	5	-	Brickyard	Armstrong Corner
Thomas Empson	5	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Lewis Brown	2	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Jacob Jefferson	4	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Percy Cosey	5	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
James Williams	3	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
John Davis	5	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
John H. King	6	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Alexander Wright	3	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
John H. Jackson	4	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
John Pryon	5	-	Farm hand	Armstrong Corner
Daniel Neal	3	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
Philip Johnson	4	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
John Wilson	4	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
John Thomas	3	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
Henry Hackett	4	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
Levis Dennis	1	-	Farm laborer	Mount Pleasant
Spencer Higgins	5	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
Charles Brown	8	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
James Anderson	3	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
Ezekiel Chambers	6	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
Spencer Guy	3	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
James Blackston	7	-	Farm hand	Mount Pleasant
Joseph Jackson	7	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
Isaac Rothwell	4	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
John Hutson	3	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
John Jenkins	4	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
Noah Minnlon	2	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
John Bratcher	2	$350	Post railer	Summit Bridge
Isaac Porter	3	$350	Laborer canal	Summit Bridge
John Briscoe	3	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
Thomas Evins	7	-	Ostler	Summit Bridge
Thomas Robinson	5	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
Levi Anderson	6	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
Lonezo Biddle	2	-	Church sexton	Summit Bridge
Samuel Byard	7	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
Thomas Jackson	3	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
John Moor	4	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge
John Gibbs	5	-	Farm hand	Summit Bridge

*Based on the 1880 Tax Assessments for West St. Georges Hundred

comfortable or preferred to attend church services with only other African Americans, residents in Armstrong Corner would have to travel several miles north to the Summit Bridge congregation or east to Congo Town's Zion A.M.E. Church. In fact, such hardship was likely one of the main factors that led Samuel Dale to start his own African American congregation in Daletown.

By the mid- to late nineteenth century, education had become a priority for many African Americans in St. Georges Hundred. Efforts of the Delaware Association for the Moral Improvement and Education of Colored People and the Methodist Episcopal Church led to the building of schools across Delaware, including western St. Georges Hundred. According to the records of the Delaware Association, African American schools were established in both Summit Bridge and Mount Pleasant by 1875 (Delaware Association 1874-1890). In 1875 the instructor in Mount Pleasant was Lizzie Hamilton; Evelinia T. Clark was employed as the schoolteacher in Summit Bridge. As previously noted, the first teachers at these schools were often Euro-American women and men who were recruited from northern states. These teachers only remained at an individual school for a year or so, after which they would either return home or find employment at another Delaware Association school. Hamilton and Clark were women of this type. By 1879 both teachers were gone, replaced by Emma Fould at Mount Pleasant and Samuel E. Walton in Summit Bridge.

After the establishment of the Delaware Association Schools in the 1870s, children living along the Summit Bridge Road corridor likely attended the schools closest to them. The Summit Bridge School likely drew the majority of its attendance from the African American families living in south Pencader Hundred and in northwest St. Georges Hundred. Those children in families located in Mount Pleasant and Armstrong Corner attended the Mount Pleasant school during the same period. A review of the population of African Americans residing in the Summit Bridge Road corridor in 1880 only lists eight children as attending school. This number seems low, as such a small quantity of students would have hardly warranted the construction of one area school, let alone two. Such an underrepresentation suggests that the 1880 Census does not accurately reflect actual attendance by the community's children. As was the case in Odessa during the same time period, the discrepancy of student attendance was likely the result of a recordation error by the census taker.

3. Work and Economic Life

The first statistical information on the occupations of Delaware's African Americans comes from the 1850 Census (Table 27). About half of African Americans lived in white households, presumably as servants or farm laborers. The census shows that those who lived in African American households overwhelmingly worked as agricultural laborers. Often the census taker did not even bother to ask for a profession, presumably because he thought he knew the answer. Five men listed their occupation as "farmer," which in this context means that they owned or rented their own farms, and two were watermen.

TABLE 27

OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVING IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1850

OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Laborer	78
Waterman	2
Farmer	5
Blank	42
Total	127

The 1860 Census is more detailed but shows the same essential picture (Table 28). Only a handful of men established skilled professions for themselves, and all the employed women were servants or laundresses. This same pattern endured throughout the nineteenth century. In rural Delaware African Americans remained mainly in the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. Those who managed to move up did so by becoming farmers, owning or renting their own land.

The picture in earlier times may not have been quite as consistent. Studies of African Americans in Wilmington suggest that early in the 1800s more of them held skilled jobs such as carpenters and masons than was the case later on. The intensifying racism of nineteenth-century America, along with competition from immigrants, seems to have driven some African Americans out of skilled work (Newton 1996).

TABLE 28

OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVING
IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1860

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Men		Women	
Laborer		*Servants*	
Farm laborer	162	Domestic servant	3
Day laborer	9	Servant	8
Laborer	14	Hired girl	2
Farm hand	2	Washerwoman	5
Ditcher	1		
Other			
Post & Railer	8		
Teamster	1		
Carpenter	1		
Hedger	1		
Sailor	1		
Farmer (Owning Property)	8		
Total Men	210	Total Women	18

It also seems likely that much more was going on in the African American economy than the census recorded. For example, no midwives were identified by the census takers. We know from other sources that African American midwives served not only most African American mothers but also many white mothers (Wilkie 2003). Midwifery was a full-time job for only a few women, but for many others it was a part-time profession practiced along with housekeeping or domestic service. Nor are there any musicians, seamstresses, barbers, preachers, or numerous other occupations that African Americans are known to have practiced. Part-time work of this kind is very difficult to document in the available records, but there is ample reason to suspect that African Americans in Delaware engaged in such work.

Until after the Civil War, most free African American men in St. Georges Hundred continued to work as farm laborers or carters. By 1870 the list of professions had begun to expand (Table 29). The reason for the variety of jobs was likely the result of more African American residents relocating to more urban communities such as Daletown, Odessa, and Summit Bridge. All three African American communities were located in or close to major transportation and shipping routes. Daletown was located on the east side of Middletown, which gained access to the Delaware Railroad in the 1850s. Odessa was a major shipping port during much of the nineteenth century,

and Summit Bridge was located along the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. By the late nineteenth century other businesses and industries had also taken root in the area to benefit from the transportation improvements. These new businesses and industries required labor, and in some cases several African American residents of St. Georges Hundred filled these positions.

TABLE 29

OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVING
IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1870

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Men		Women	
Laborer		*Laborer*	
Farm laborer	681	Farm laborer	3
Laborer	1	Field worker	1
Farm boy	9	Works out	1
Fencer	2	*Other*	
House laborer	1	Housekeeper	14
Man of all work	4	House cleaner	1
Brickyard	1	Indentured	2
Canal	1	Keeping house	249
Other		Nurse	2
Domestic servant	2	Seamstress	1
Team driver	2	Domestic servant	277
Waiter	11	Servant	1
Hatter	1	Cook	1
Errand boy	4	Laundress	1
Stable boy	2		
Cook	1		
Coachman	1		
Hostler	7		
House boy	1		
Nurseryman	1		
Servant	2		
Farmer (Owning Property)	11		
Farmer apprentice	4		
Fisherman	1		
Gardener	2		
Painter	1		
Preacher	2		
Keeping house	1		
Total Men	757	Total Women	554

African American men in St. Georges Hundred benefited the most from the new employment opportunities. In 1870 several men worked as cooks and waiters in local hotels and restaurants. Others were employed as hostlers, coachmen, and gardeners. Despite the further diversification of employment opportunities, the majority of African American men enumerated in 1870 continued to find themselves working as unskilled laborers. Eighty-nine percent of working men in the census are recorded as farm laborers and another 2.5 percent worked as laborers in other industries, such as fencers, painters, the canal, brickyards, or as general laborers. Relatively few men are listed as being self-employed. Of the 757 men recorded as working, 11 were managing their own farms. The only other self-employed individual was David Jefferson, a hatter living in Daletown.

Women, on the other hand, continued to find much of their employment in domestic settings working as servants, housekeepers, or laundresses. Of the 554 women enumerated in the census as employed, 277 (50 percent) are listed as domestic servants and another 249 (45 percent) as keeping house. The latter profession is somewhat misleading. The 1870 Census does not differentiate between those women working as housekeepers for pay in other households from those keeping house in their own homes, and therefore the number of women working for pay as housekeepers outside the home was likely much smaller. The remaining 5 percent of working women listed in the 1870 Census worked in only a few professions, including a seamstress, nurses, a cook, and farm laborers. Interestingly, two girls, Rachael Miller and Mary Harris, are enumerated as indentured. Both were relatively young, ages five and 14, respectively, and both were living in white households away from their parents. The exact nature or circumstances of their indenture are not apparent in the 1870 Census, but it seems likely that the two young girls were under contract to learn a specific skill in return for work in the household.

Six hundred seventy African American men and women from St. Georges Hundred are enumerated as employed in the 1880 Census (Table 30). As in decades before, the majority (83 percent) of

TABLE 30

OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVING
IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1880

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Men		Women	
Laborer		*Servants*	
Farm laborer	220	At service	9
Day laborer	2	Servant	84
Laborer	185	Housekeeper	28
Commercial laborer	3	*Other*	
Brickyard	1	Washerwoman	5
Rolling mill	1	Apprentice	1
Canal	1	Schoolteacher	1
Teamster	2	Laundress	1
Other		Waiter	8
Sailor	1	Cook	26
Waterman	1	Farm laborer	4
Restaurant keeper	1	Helper	2
Dairyman	1	Helping house	1
Post & railer	1		
Pump maker	1		
Church sexton	1		
At service	6		
Domestic	7		
Servant	11		
Waiter	19		
Hostler	15		
White washer	1		
Fisherman	6		
Minister	3		
Farmer (Owning Property)	9		
Farm tenant	1		
Total Men	500	Total Women	170

men worked as unskilled laborers. Two hundred twenty are listed as farm laborers and 185 others as general laborer, although they were also likely employed on farms in St. Georges Hundred. As in 1870, some found employment in other industries, such as brickyards, rolling mills, and the Chesapeake & Delaware canal. The remaining 17 percent of the working male population found employment in other capacities. The local hotels and restaurants continued to be a major employer as several men found work as either waiters or hostlers. Others found work in Euro-American households as servants and domestic workers. By the 1880 Census several more men were self-employed as compared with years past. Farm ownership appeared to be the best avenue to achieve self-employment; nine individuals are enumerated as managing their own agricultural properties. Other self-employed residents included a waterman, a restaurant owner, a pump maker, six fishermen, and several ministers who presided over the local African American churches in St. Georges Hundred.

One hundred seventy African American women were also listed as working in 1880. Most were employed outside the home as servants. Eighty-four women worked in Euro-American households as domestic servants and another nine were listed as "at service," suggesting that they too were employed in a similar capacity. The second most common occupation for women during this period was housekeeper, followed by cook. Most women employed as cooks worked in Euro-American households, but a few found work in hotels or restaurants. Other women worked as restaurant waiters or as washerwomen and laundresses in hotels. The only other profession held by women during this period was schoolteacher. The presence of only one in the 1880 Census is somewhat surprising. At that time St. Georges Hundred had five African American schools. In some cases the instructor was the local religious minister, but Delaware Association records indicate that the schools were also staffed by lay persons. The presence of only one teacher, Emma Doster of Daletown, appears to be an error, suggesting that the census taker failed to record the other local schoolteachers.

4. The Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad was by its very nature secret. Because the route was protected by stealth and deception, most of what happened along the hard road from bondage to freedom was never written down. Enough evidence does survive to show that St. Georges Hundred was a well-traveled part of the Underground Railroad, and that people living in the Hundred helped hundreds and probably thousands of escapees make their way north toward freedom.

The political position of slavery in Delaware was ambiguous. Delaware had a strong Quaker tradition, and Quakers worked hard to persuade owners to liberate their slaves; in 1776 the body that represented most Quakers in the northeastern states threatened to shun any church member who did not emancipate all of his or her slaves. Methodists and some other religious groups joined this push for abolition and freedom. They had much success in Delaware, and by the time of the 1800 Census, Delaware had more Free Blacks than enslaved people. The number of slaves continued to decline throughout the antebellum years; however, attempts to make Delaware a formally free state were not successful. Slavery's opponents in Delaware, unable to abolish it in the legislature, continued to work against it in other ways. Some of them quite openly supported the activity of the Underground Railroad, defying the law in the name of God and freedom. These prominent white men provided the public face of the movement, but most of the work was done

by an anonymous mass of mainly African Americans who worked quietly to shelter, feed, and transport freedom seekers.

The Underground Railroad crossed the landscape, including the landscape of St. Georges Hundred, but since it was not actually a physical thing it can be difficult to tie it down to specific locations:

> The Underground Railroad was an evolving system and network of real people, places, and methods throughout the Early Republic and antebellum periods, which facilitated and often encouraged attempts by enslaved African Americans to escape their bondage. The Underground Railroad was not a building, place or a person, although buildings, places and people were part of it. The Underground Railroad was a movement rooted in the evolving political, religious, moral, and personal ideologies of freedom and equality nourished by Enlightenment thought, the American Revolution and the desire of all people to be free and in control of their own lives.
>
> Larson (2007:3)

The Underground Railroad in Delaware mainly worked to help escaping slaves from Maryland and points south cross the state toward New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Delaware slaves did liberate themselves in the same fashion, but since there were comparatively few slaves in the state, they were greatly outnumbered by others, especially those from Maryland's Eastern Shore. Some Delaware slaves also had opportunities to escape with comparative ease, for example by hopping on a boat to New Jersey or walking to Philadelphia. Some enslaved Delawareans therefore needed less help from the Underground Railroad network, and so they are not mentioned in our sources.

The collection of paths, roads, safe houses, and hiding places that helped runaways cross the state had two main nodes (Larson 2007). The first was in Camden, just south of Dover. The African American community around Camden was heavily involved in the Underground Railroad, and there was also a substantial Quaker presence. One of the "station masters" was an African American man named William Brinkley. Brinkley's activities are documented in letters he wrote to Wilmington station master Thomas Garrett and in numerous oral accounts written down after the Civil War, including Harriet Tubman's accounts of her own journeys.

The second node was in Wilmington, where the city's large populations of Quakers and free African Americans regularly hid freedom-seekers and helped them find transportation across the state line. The public face of this network was station master Thomas Garrett. Garrett was one of the few people living in a slave state who made no secret of his involvement in the Underground Railroad; he was so notorious that in 1859 the Maryland legislature passed a resolution calling for his arrest. Garrett claimed that over 40 years he personally helped 2,700 people on their way to freedom, and his recent biographer concludes that this number was not far from the truth (McGowan 2004).

St. Georges Hundred sits squarely across all the possible land routes from Camden to Wilmington, so the Underground Railroad ran through the Hundred. Odessa had an active Quaker meeting, and several of its members regularly helped people reach freedom. The most prominent were John Alston, Daniel Corbit, and John Hunn (Figure 27). Hunn was the most vocal, and he was twice prosecuted and convicted for aiding runaways. After the second time his house and farm were seized and sold to pay his $10,000 fine. African Americans in the Hundred were also involved, but

their names were usually not recorded. One interesting possible connection concerns a man named Joshua Brinkley, who married one of the daughters of Odessa farmer Thomas Bayard; was he a relation of William Brinkley, and, if so, was he one of the main connections between the two communities?

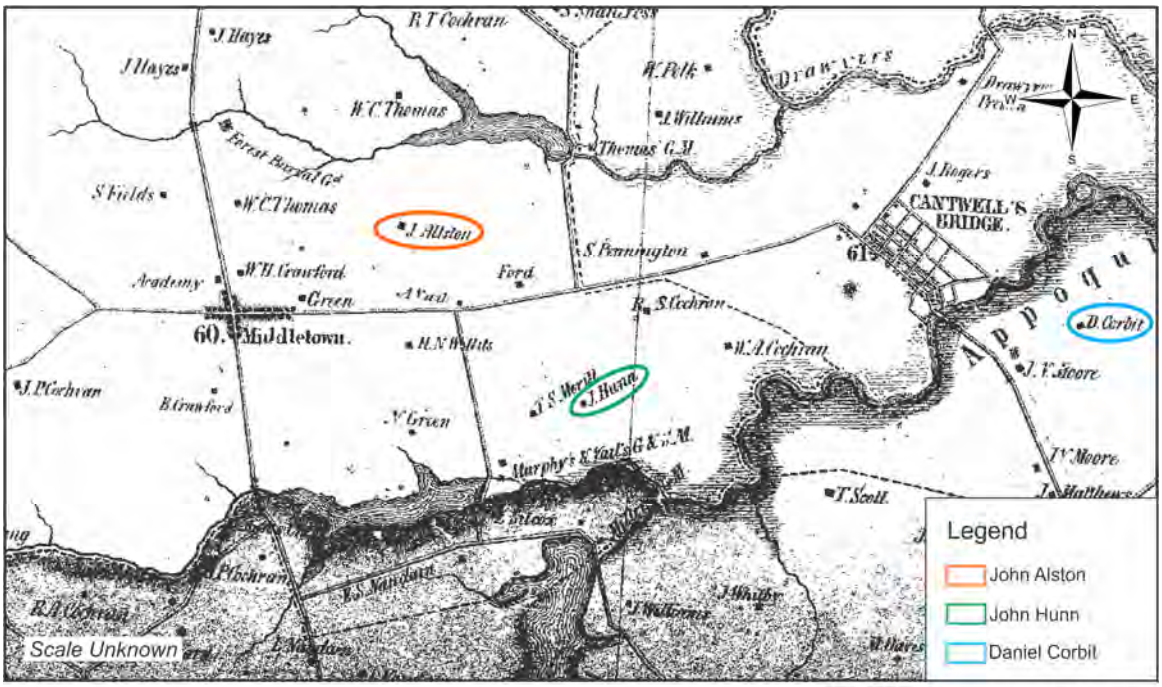


FIGURE 27: Location of the Homes of Underground Railroad Operators John Alston, John Hunn, and Daniel Corbit in 1849 (Rea & Price 1849)

After the Civil War a former operator named William Still began collecting stories about the activity of the Underground Railroad, which he eventually published as a book. Among the people Still contacted for information was John Hunn (Figure 28). Hunn was then living with freedmen in the Sea Islands of South Carolina, where he went "to witness the uprising of a nation of slaves into the dignity and privileges of mankind." Hunn wrote back and supplied Still with two interesting stories about the Underground Railroad in St. Georges Hundred.

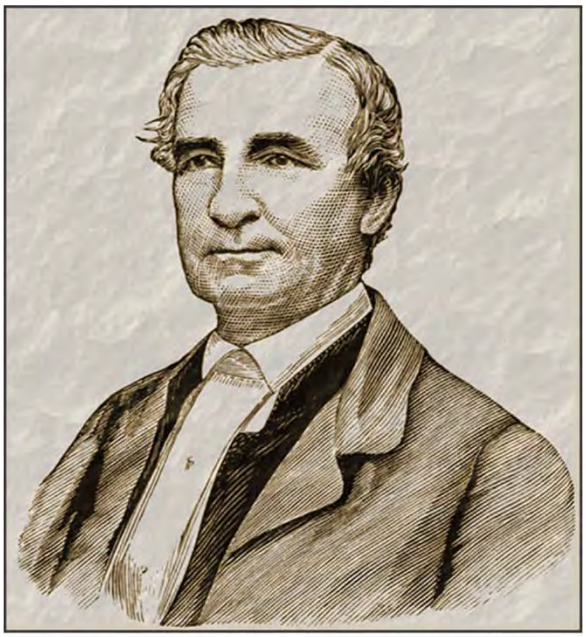


FIGURE 28: Portrait of John Hunn (Still 1886)

In late November 1845 a Free Black man named Samuel Hawkins left Queen Anne's County, Maryland, with his enslaved wife Emeline and their six children, ages 16 years to 18 months. Somewhere along their route, the Hawkins

family secured the assistance of Samuel D. Burris, a noted conductor. Burris led them to John Hunn's house, about halfway between Odessa and Middletown, where they arrived on December 5 at about 7:00 o'clock in the morning:

> As I was washing my hands at the yard pump of my residence . . . I looked down the lane, and saw a covered wagon slowly approaching my house. The sun had just risen, and was shining brightly (after a stormy night) on the snow which covered the ground six inches. . . . On closer inspection I noticed several men walking beside the wagon. This seemed rather an early hour for visitors, and I could not account for the circumstance. When they reached the yard fence I met them, and a colored man handed me a letter addressed to Daniel Corbit, John Alston or John Hunn. . . . The letter was from my cousin, Ezekiel Jenkins, of Camden, Delaware, and stated that the travelers were fugitive slaves, under the direction of Samuel D. Burris (who handed me the note). The party consisted of a man and his wife, with their six children, and four fine-looking colored men, without counting the pilot, S.D. Burris, who was a free man, from Kent County, Delaware. This was the . . . first time I had ever been called upon to assist fugitives from the hell of American Slavery. The wanderers were gladly welcomed, and made as comfortable as possible until breakfast was ready for them. . . .
>
> They were all very weary, as they had traveled from Camden (twenty-seven miles), through a snowstorm. . . . In Camden they were sheltered in the houses of their colored friends. Although this was my first acquaintance with S.D. Burris, it was not my last, as he afterwards piloted them himself, or was instrumental in directing hundreds of fugitives to me for shelter.
> Still (1886:713-714).

The letter that Burris carried shows the Quaker network in action. Before John Hunn had ever helped a fugitive, his relatives in Camden had singled him out as a man likely to be of assistance and sent the Hawkins family in his direction. The work of African Americans also appears, especially the conductor Burris but also the "colored friends" who sheltered the Hawkins family in Camden.

The second story concerns a woman named Molly who fled bondage in Cecil County, Maryland, and was jailed at New Castle. According to Hunn, her owner came to retrieve her and was driving home in his cart:

> He stopped at a tavern about four miles from New Castle and took another drink of brandy. He then proceeded to Odessa, then called Cantwell's Bridge, and got his dinner and more brandy, for the day was a cold one. He had his horse fed, but gave no food to his human chattel, who remained in the wagon cold and hungry. After sufficient rest for himself and horse he started again. He was now twelve miles from home, on a good road, his horse was gentle, and he himself in a genial mood at the recovery of his bond-woman. He yielded to the influence of the liquor he had imbibed and fell into a sound sleep. Molly now determined to make another effort for her freedom. She accordingly worked herself gradually over the tail board of the wagon, and fell heavily upon the frozen ground. The horse and wagon passed on, and she rolled into the bushes, and waited for deliverance from her bonds. This came from a colored man who was passing that way. . . . He took the rope from her feet and guided her to a cabin near at hand, where she was kindly received. Her deliverer could not take the hand-cuffs off, but promised to bring a person, during the evening, who could perform that operation. He fulfilled his promise, and brought her that night to my house, which was in sight of the one whence she had been taken to New Castle Jail.
>
> I had no fear for her safety, as I believed that her master would not think of looking for her so near to the place where she had been arrested. . . .
> Still (1886:714)

Molly stayed with Hunn for nearly a month before resuming her journey northward, eventually reaching Canada.

Still's stories focus mainly on white abolitionists, but there are reasons for believing that most of the aid received by runaways in Delaware actually came from African Americans. Consider the example above. Hunn's name is given, but not that of the African American who found Molly by the roadside and sheltered her in his cabin, nor the name of the blacksmith who struck off her handcuffs. The weak legal position of free African Americans even after 1865 made it dangerous for them to be too public about their activities for the Underground Railroad, and therefore little about their work was written down in the nineteenth century. One clue to African American activity in St. Georges Hundred concerns the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, which all travelers headed north had to cross. All the bridges on the canal charged tolls, so they were all watched day and night. Yet fugitives crossed the deep canal so readily that it is rarely mentioned in their accounts. Surely this owed much to the activity of the African American communities nearby, Congo Town by Port Penn and the unnamed community around Summit Bridge to the west.

Other prominent members of St. Georges Hundred's abolitionist community and stationmasters along the Underground Railroad were Odessa merchant Daniel Corbit and his wife Mary. Daniel and Mary Corbit's involvement in the Underground Railroad was not as well documented as Hunn's in William Still's book. However, their daughter, Mary Corbit Warner, recounted one of her mother's experiences with a fugitive slave during the annual meeting of the Delaware Society of the Colonial Dames of America in 1914:

> The "Underground Railroad" for the transmission of slaves from the Southern States to the Northern in order to gain their freedom, was one of the interesting facts of the days before the war which set the slaves free. My father, Daniel Corbit, being a Quaker, was known to be of those to whom the terrified black man came to be helped into Pennsylvania and father north, where he would be free.
>
> One bright spring morning while my father was absent, my mother quite alone in the old home was surprised to be asked to see a colored man who had come to our kitchen. With terror depicted in every feature, she found this splendid specimen of a hale and hearty man, before her. "Oh, Mistus," he exclaimed, "please save me, I am a slave and because I was to be sold and sent fer away from my wife and children, I run away hopin' to get to Pennsylvania. The Sheriff and blood hounds are on my track, please ma'am won't you hide me?" Quick as woman's wit always is, she told him to follow and led him to the attic of our hip roofed house. Through the small door of the cuddy hole, she ordered him to pass. To do this he had to go in side ways, the opening was so small. The rafters of the floor extended to the outer frame of the roof and on these had him lie down and not move or speak until she ordered him. Hardly had she gotten down stairs when she was confronted by three men, who proved to be the Sheriff and his posse. They politely asked to see Mr. Corbit, and finding he was not at home, explained they wished to capture a valuable slave worth $3,000. This man had been seen entering this house. My mother very quietly gave them permission to examine the house, following them and opening all closet doors, and any place they wished to see. When they reached the attic her knees trembled and her heart beat so violently, she feared the men must be conscious of her perturbation. One of them pointed to the odd little door under the eaves and laughingly said, "Well Sam could not crawl into that cuddy hole." Being satisfied after their search, that is was not possible the slave could be in the house, they left, after most courteously thanking my mother and apologizing for giving her so much trouble. Taking food and a quilt to the attic, she made the poor, trembling, frightened slave as comfortable as possible in his narrow quarters. At dusk she told him to put on other clothes, and walked with him to the main or state road, leading to Pennsylvania. Giving him some money, she said "Good bye." He fell on his knees, thanking her, and crying asked God to bless this kind lady who was helping him to freedom. After he was safely in Pennsylvania, he had a letter sent to my mother full of gratitude for her aid in his distress in time of his great need, saying he hoped some day to get his wife and family to join him.
>
> (Signed) Mary Corbit Warner,
> March 9, 1914
>
> Read before the Delaware Society of the Colonial Dames of America

The work of Burris, Brinkley, Hunn, Alston, Corbit, and the many African Americans whose names were not recorded made St. Georges Hundred a vital stage of the road to freedom for thousands of people.

5. The Civil War

By the end of the Civil War, at least 954 black soldiers and 348 black sailors from Delaware had enlisted in the Union forces (Larson 2007:16). As historian Steve Conrad (2012) wrote, "Northern blacks yearned to get into the fight. Their motives were complex, but revolved around a desire to 'prove' themselves worthy of equal citizenship. They knew that the war meant the death of slavery, but not necessarily the birth of freedom or equality. They hoped to prove, to the racist white population in the North, their worth in the crucible of battle."

Most of Delaware's African American soldiers passed through Camp William Penn near Philadelphia (Figure 29). Camp William Penn was set up in 1863 in the township of Cheltenham, on land leased to the government by Edward M. Davis, the son-in-law of abolitionist Lucretia Mott. (Mott's nearby house had been a major stop on the Underground Railroad.) It was the first facility in the nation set up specifically to train African American soldiers. More than 10,000 soldiers passed through the camp, including several famous regiments. Men from St. Georges Hundred who did their training at Camp William Penn included William Backus of Congo Town;

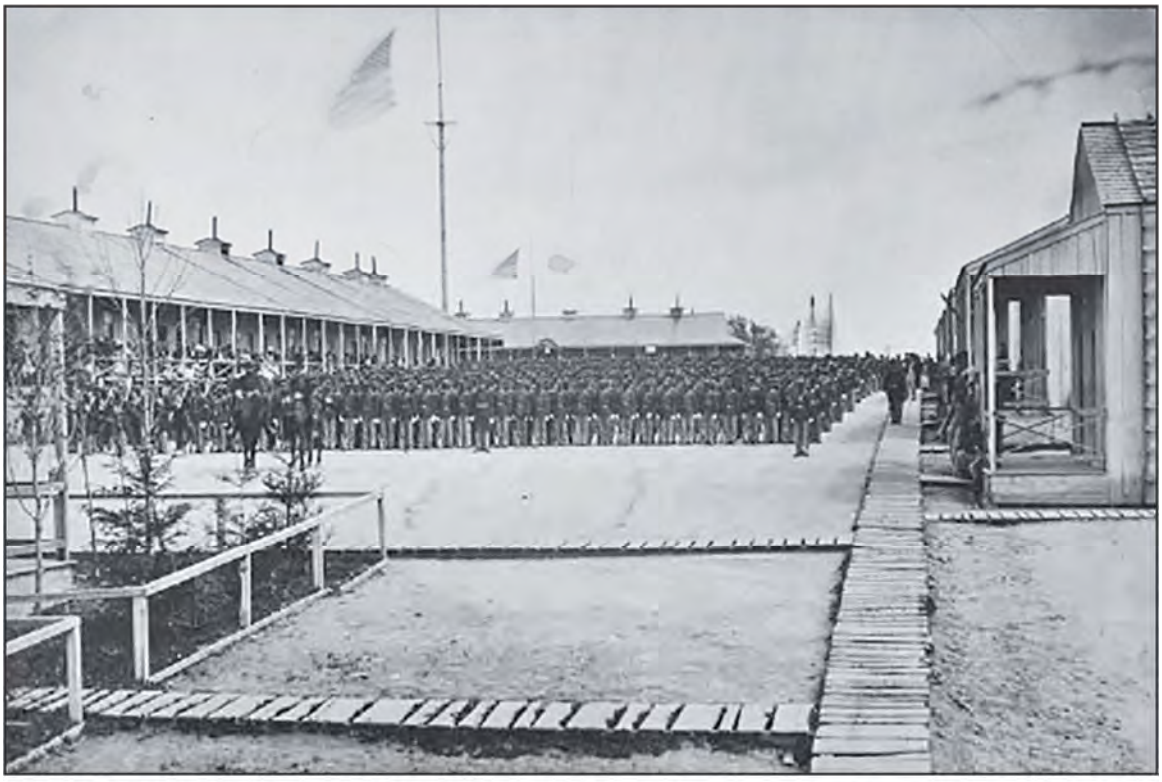


FIGURE 29: 26th US Colored Infantry at Camp William Penn (Library of Congress)

Jeremiah Bayard of Odessa; John Cuff, William Redding, Thomas Pennington, and Charles Brown of Middletown; and William Congo of Port Penn. Camp William Penn was a project dear to the hearts of Pennsylvania abolitionists and also of politically active African Americans. The Ladies Sanitary Commission of the St. Thomas African Episcopal Church and other women's groups provided food, medical supplies, clothing, and toiletries for the soldiers. The groups also raised funds by holding fairs and bazaars and they nursed sick and injured soldiers. They coordinated transportation for weekend visits to Camp William Penn where the soldiers could be seen parading, often in full military dress, to the drums and horns of bands (Scott 2013). The first regiment to muster out of Camp William Penn was the 3rd U.S. Colored Troops (USCT), an occasion marked by a speech from abolitionist orator Frederick Douglass:

> The fortunes of the whole race for generations to come are bound up in the success or failure of the 3rd Regiment of colored troops from the North. You are a spectacle for men and angels. You are in a manner to answer the question: can the black man be a soldier? That we can now make soldiers of these men, there can be no doubt! quoted in Scott (2013)

FIGURE 30: Regimental Banner of the 22nd U.S. Colored Infantry (Library of Congress)

The Union army first began making significant use of African American troops in 1864, especially after fighting had bogged down in the trenches around Richmond and Petersburg. Two of the Camp William Penn regiments that enrolled Delaware men, the 22nd and 41st USCT, were part of the Third Division of the XVIII Corps, made up entirely of black soldiers (Figure 30). The XVIII Corps was part of Benjamin Butler's Army of the James. Butler was and remains a controversial figure, particularly hated across the South but also with many detractors in the North. One thing that divided people during the war but is generally praised today was his attitude toward African American soldiers. Some Union officers saw them as garrison troops or laborers, fit to dig trenches and perhaps to defend them, but not up to the challenge of offensive operations. Butler disagreed. So when he devised a scheme to attack Richmond defenses in September 1864, he chose the Third Division of the XVIII Corps to lead the assault. This action would go down in history as the Battle of New Market Heights. The bulk of both the Union and Confederate armies held positions south of the James River, around Petersburg, and Butler hoped to find a weak spot in the defenses by shifting men rapidly to the north side of the river. In the early morning of September 29, Butler's men crossed the James on a pontoon bridge and moved to attack strong Confederate positions at New Market Heights and Fort Harrison. The initial charge by a whole brigade of African American troops was halted by the deadly rifle fire of the Texas Brigade. Rather than fall back, however, many men of the 4th and 6th USCT hung on around the edges of the entrenchments. More troops were sent in, including the 22nd USCT, and

eventually enough men reached the Confederate trenches so that when they then climbed or rolled over the top, the Texans, outnumbered five to one, could do nothing but retreat. Meanwhile, a separate Union force stormed the largest Confederate earthwork in the vicinity, Fort Harrison. After that the Union assault petered out, and half-hearted attacks on other Confederate forts were repulsed. Still, the XVIII Corps had seized a substantial section of Richmond's outer defenses, and Lee was so worried that he ordered a counterattack on September 30. This was easily beaten back by Union troops armed with repeating rifles.

Butler wrote of this action, "My colored troops under General Paine…carried intrenchments at the point of a bayonet….It was most gallantly done, with most severe loss. Their praises are in the mouth of every officer in this army. Treated fairly and disciplined, they have fought most heroically" (Moran 2001).

Butler wanted to do more than just praise his men. In defiance of the law that authorized the use of black troops, he tried to promote two of his African American sergeants to lieutenant, but the War Department refused to approve his recommendations. Butler then asked his officers to nominate suitable candidates for the Medal of Honor, which was then the only medal available for battlefield bravery and did not have the exalted status it has today. There was no shortage of heroes among the men of the Third Division, and the War Department eventually approved 14 Medals of Honor for the action at New Market Heights (Anonymous 2006; Moran 2001).

Another notable action of the 22nd USCT came after the assassination of President Lincoln, when they were sent to the Eastern Shore of Maryland to help track down anyone who had abetted John Wilkes Booth. The 22nd was one of the first Union regiments to enter Richmond when it fell. The 41st USCT, besides its service around Richmond and Petersburg, was one of the regiments present for Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Other Delaware men served in the 25th USCT, which was posted to various forts around the southern coast, including Beaufort, South Carolina, and Pensacola, Florida.

6. Profiles of African American Households

a. Samuel Dale (1791-1873)

Born in 1791, Samuel Dale was an African American resident of New Castle County for many years before purchasing his 20 acres at Armstrong Corner. Prior to 1854, Samuel Dale's legal status in New Castle County appeared to have been in question. Samuel Dale first appears as a free inhabitant of St. Georges Hundred during the 1810 Census. The 1810 Census does not indicate where the Free Blacks lived in the Hundred; however, in 1820 Dale and his family are listed as residing in a community of other free African-Americans near present-day Armstrong Corner. At that time Dale was certainly a tenant and was likely employed as a day laborer or farm hand for one of the nearby large farms in the area.

The next time Samuel Dale and his family appear in the public record is in the 1840 Census, which lists him still a free resident of Armstrong Corner, adjacent to Benjamin Armstrong on the northwest side of the crossroads community. By 1850 Samuel Dale had relocated with his family to Pencader Hundred. In that year he is enumerated as a free man and farmer living with his wife

Rachel and their five children: William (18), Temperance (15), Sally Ann (4), Samuel (2), and Martha (2).

The question concerning Dale's legal status arose after the discovery of a manumission dated January 16, 1854:

> Know all men by these presents that I, Nicholas Patterson of the City of Wilmington, New Castle County and the State of Delaware (minister of the gospel) from motives of benevolence and humanity, have manumitted and hereby do manumit and set free from Slavery my negro man Samuel Dale of St. Georges Hundred in the county and State aforesaid. The said Samuel Dale having been the slave of James Haughey, late of St. Georges Hundred aforesaid, dec. who by his will gave the said "Samuel Dale" (among other things) to his children and the survivor of them, the only survivor of whom is Mrs. Eliza Patterson, formerly Eliza Haughey, and now wife of the said Nicholas Patterson. And I do hereby give, grant, and claim of in and to the estate and property which he may hereafter acquire or obtain, and of in and to his person, labour, and derive. So that he is and shall hereafter be adjudged to be absolutely free from Slavery.
>
> NCC, Deed Book P-6/13

The manumission states that Samuel Dale was originally a slave of James Haughey, the brother of Robert Haughey and uncle of Francis Haughey, the former owners of the property containing the Dale Site. James Haughey died in 1815. According to his will, the real estate and property, including his slaves, were to be divided evenly among his four children: Charles, Henrietta, Sarah, and Elizabeth (Eliza). According to the manumission, Eliza Haughey was the last surviving heir of her father's estate and as such inherited the remainder of his property, which included Samuel Dale. Samuel Dale was claiming to be free for over 40 years while legally considered the property of the Haughey family, based on this manumission document.

How could Samuel Dale be free in the Census but enslaved according to the New Castle County property records? It is entirely likely that Samuel Dale had been freed from his bondage by the Haughey family before 1810. From that time until 1854, Samuel Dale lived like any other free man, collecting wages, renting property, and settling where he pleased in New Castle County. In 1854 Samuel Dale wanted to purchase property. He must have encountered questions about his legal status and been asked to prove that he was, in fact, a free man. Either his former master had never enrolled a manumission at the court house, or the record had been lost. As a result Samuel had to locate the family of his former owner, Eliza and Nicholas Patterson, to receive in writing the declaration that he informally received all those years ago. Nicholas Patterson, a Presbyterian minister in Wilmington, fulfilled the request.

A review of other manumission records in New Castle County shows that Samuel was the last of Dale family to receive his freedom from the heirs of James Haughey. In 1843 Nicholas and Eliza Patterson, as well as Sarah Haughey, filed manumissions with the New Castle County Court for four other Dale family members: Margaret, Lydia, James, and Deborah (NCC, Deed Book L5/99-101). Such a mass manumission would have certainly included Samuel, and his absence in the documents suggests the Haughey family also thought that he had been emancipated years earlier.

After proving to the court's satisfaction that he was free, Samuel Dale purchased the 20-acre parcel from James Mansfield in 1854 (Figure 31) and the Dales returned to Armstrong Corner. The family

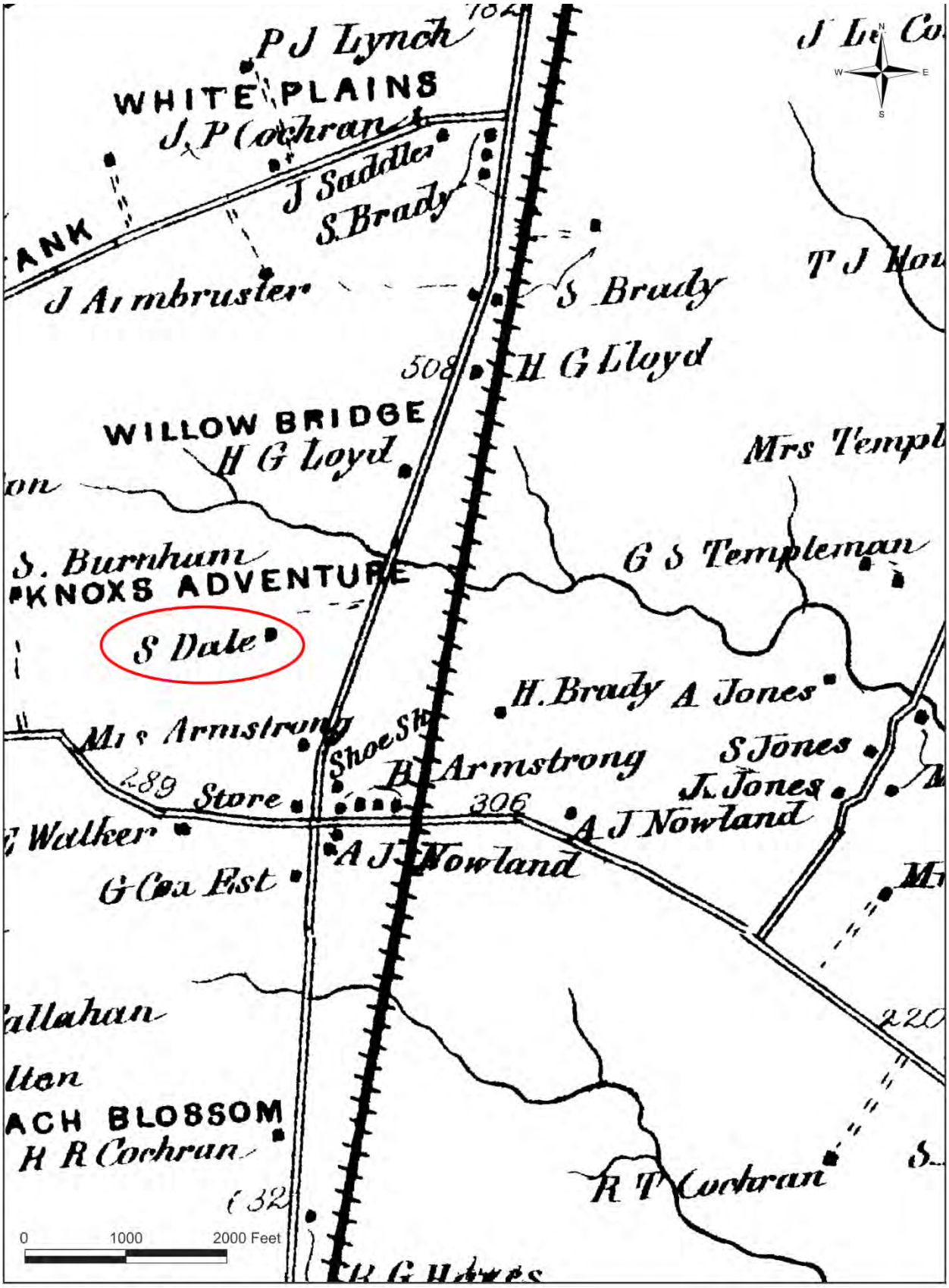


FIGURE 31: Dale Property in 1868 (Pomeroy & Beers 1868)

then established a working farm on their property. According to the 1860 Agricultural Census of St. Georges Hundred, the Dale family had improved all 20 acres. Their livestock included four horses, three milk cows, and three pigs. The Dales had harvested 50 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of both Indian corn and oats, and 60 bushels of potatoes. In addition to the harvest, the family produced 50 pounds of butter from the three milk cows. In all, the agricultural census valued the Dale farm at $600 in 1860. New Castle County tax assessments assessed the value of Dale family holdings for considerably more during the same period. According to the 1857-1861 tax assessments, Samuel Dale's land was valued at $800 with an additional $260 of livestock. Including his $200 poll tax, the total value of the Dale estate was $1,260.

By 1870 the 79-year-old Samuel Dale had given control of the farm to his eldest son, William. William and his wife Mary lived at the farm with the aging patriarch along with their four children: Alice (11), William (8), Samuel (3), and Benjamin (2). In addition to William and his family, the farm was also home to the elder Dale's youngest surviving child, Samuel, Jr., who was employed on the estate as a laborer.

According to the 1870 agricultural census, the Dale family farm was valued at $1,500. They continued to grow corn, wheat, oats, and potatoes, and also maintained four horses, two pigs, and one non-milking cow. They were also assessed for 100 pounds of butter, although the census indicates that the Dale family no longer had any milk cows on the farm.

In addition to farming, Samuel Dale served as a minister and prominent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New Castle County. The first record of his association with the church is an 1849 land record. While living in Pencader Hundred, Samuel Dale was listed as one of seven trustees who purchased a quarter-acre lot from Ashur Clayton of Red Lion Hundred with the intention of "erecting a house or place of worship for the use of colored members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America" (NCC, Deed Book O6/296). The property was located in Red Lion Hundred, along Porter Lane and adjacent to the border with Pencader Hundred. No other records regarding this fledgling congregation could be found, but it appears that Samuel Dale left his position as a trustee after his move back to St. Georges Hundred.

His next appearance in records associated with the Methodist Episcopal Church was in 1864. In the summer of that year, the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held their first annual meeting at the John Wesley Chapel in Philadelphia. During the meeting Samuel Dale was appointed the minister for New Castle, which included 65 congregants in three churches. Dale's responsibilities also included the administration of 15 officers and teachers at three Sunday schools that served 90 scholars (Delaware Conference 1864).

The following year, Dale attended the second annual meeting of the Delaware Conference, which was held at the E. Zion Church in Wilmington. On the fourth day of the meeting, the conference voted to elect Samuel Dale as a church elder along with four other Delaware ministers: John H. Pearce, Joshua Brinkley, John G. Manluff, and Nathan Young. At the end of the meeting, the 1865-1866 church appointments were handed out. Dale was transferred from New Castle to Smyrna. Dale was now responsible for four churches, which included 108 members. Although Smyrna had more congregants and churches, the education system was far less developed than those of his

previous New Castle appointment. By July 1865 Smyrna had only two schools with a total student population of only 25, and Dale's staff was much smaller with only two officers/teachers.

By the third annual meeting of the Delaware Conference in July 1866, Dale had worked to boost attendance at the Smyrna Sunday schools. Within a year Dale had consolidated the two schools into one and at the same time increased school attendance from 25 students in 1865 to 45 in 1866. With the increase in attendance, Samuel Dale also hired more staff, bringing on three more officers/teachers. Dale retired from active ministry at the conclusion of this one-year appointment in Smyrna. At the age of 75, Dale likely wanted to spend more time on his Armstrong Corner farm and with his family, which at this point included several grandchildren.

Although retired from active ministry, Samuel Dale remained involved in the church. On June 7, 1869, he purchased two adjacent lots that quickly became the foundation of Middletown's burgeoning African American community, which in time became known as Daletown. On June 10, 1869, as described earlier, Samuel Dale purchased a 3,700-square-foot lot on the east side of New Street in northeast Middletown. The lot, purchased from Joshua B. Fenimore, was adjacent to the lands of John Alston. In December of the same year, Samuel Dale sold the lot to the board of trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Middletown. The trustees included himself and his son William Dale, Lewis Green, Levi Anderson, Joseph Monts, Thomas H. Gold, John Henry Douglas, and Henry Jones (NCC, Deed Book D9/67). The church he helped to establish became known as Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church. Services were held in the one-story frame structure on New Street until 1894, when the congregation relocated to a new church on the corner of North Catherine and East Lake streets (WPA 1940) (Figure 32).

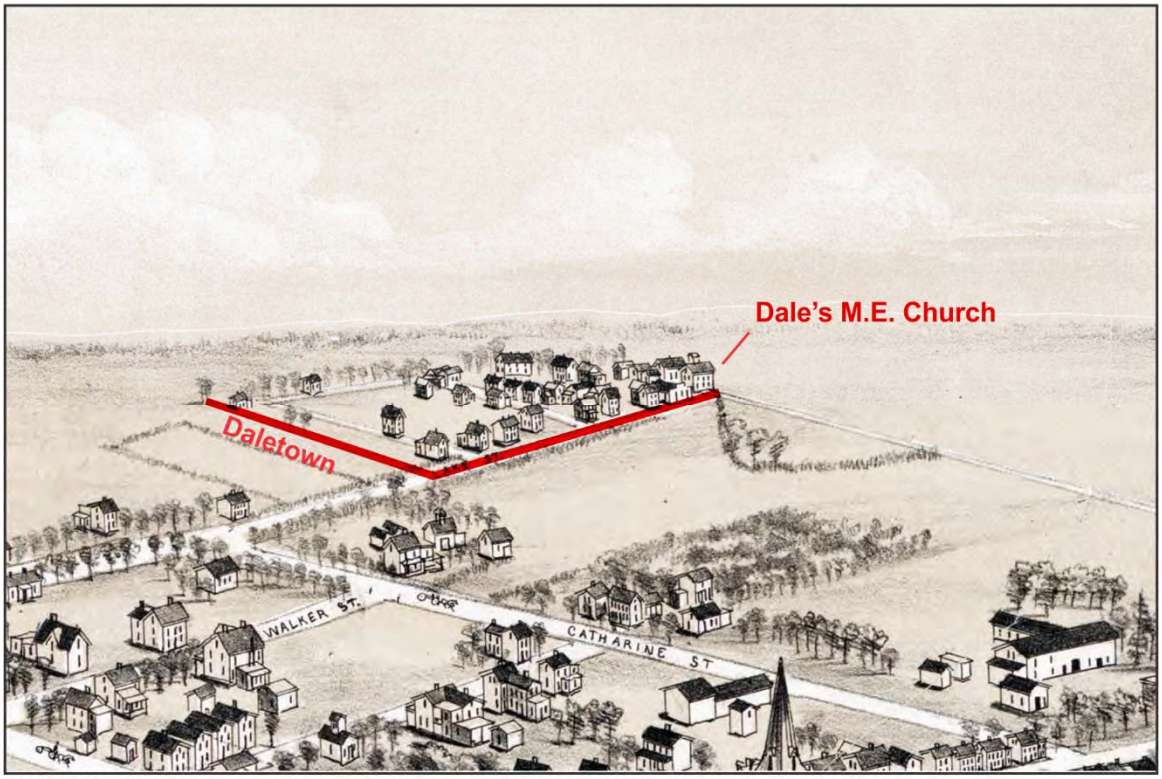


FIGURE 32: Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church in Middletown in 1885 (Bailey 1885)

The second lot sold to Dale on June 7, 1869, was a 96x80-foot parcel located adjacent to Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church at the corner of Lake and New streets. Joshua B. Fenimore sold the lot to the Trustees of the Colored School of Middletown for one dollar, who probably included Samuel Dale and the other members of Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church.

Other than recording construction of the new church and associated school, the Delaware Conference records do not indicate who served as the minister or head of the Sunday school from 1867 until 1870. It is possible Samuel Dale served as the minister during that time, although it is more likely Dale's role in the church and school was limited to the establishment and construction of the church buildings.

Samuel Dale died on his farm on November 16, 1872. Reference to his passing was recorded in the minutes of the 1873 meeting of the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Figure 33). After his death the 20-acre farm was divided evenly among his three surviving children: Samuel Dale, Jr., William Dale, and Temperance Shockley (later Green). Samuel Dale's

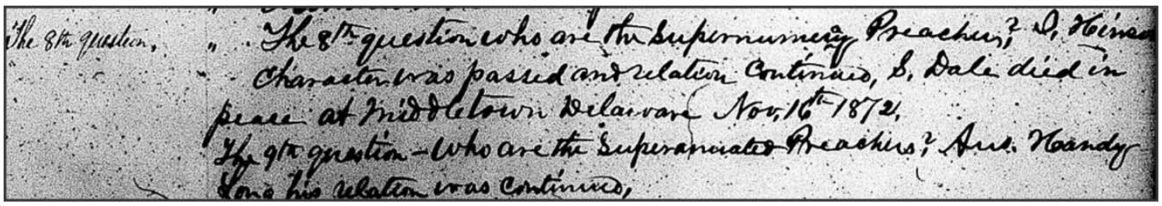

The 8th question, The 8th question who are the Supernumerary Preachers? D. Heiss
Character was passed and relation Continued, S. Dale died in
peace at Middletown Delaware Nov. 16th 1872,
The 9th question – Who are the Superannuated Preachers? Ann. Handy
Sons his relation was Continued,

FIGURE 33: Notice of Samuel Dale's Death in the 1873 Delaware Conference Minutes (Delaware Conference 1873)

will specified how the farm would be divided. The northern third of the farm, adjacent to the farm of H.G. Lloyd, was given to Samuel Dale, Jr. and included "the house, fences, and improvements thereon." William Dale received the middle third of the farm, also with the "house, fences and improvements thereon." This third probably included the old main house, where William had been living with his family since Samuel Dale, Sr. retired from farming in 1870. The bottom third of the Dale farm was allotted to Temperance, with no mention of any improvements. Dale thus left 6.75 acres of land to each of his children, and houses to two of them.

Based on later tax assessments, it appears Dale's children carried out their father's wishes. In 1880 all three children were each assessed for a 6.75-acre lot with a frame house on each. The frame houses assessed on William and Samuel, Jr.'s lots were left for them by their father, and the house listed on Temperance's lot was likely constructed by her after the death of her father. According to the 1880 tax assessment, each of the three properties was valued at $250. Despite the presence of a house on each of the children's lots, it appears that William Dale was the only one to remain on the Armstrong Corner farm. According to the 1880 Census, William Dale resided on the property with his wife and children. The agricultural census for that year indicates that William's farm contained approximately 7 tillable acres. His livestock included one horse, two pigs, and 10 chickens valued at $100. Of the 7 acres William possessed, 5 acres were used for Indian corn and the remaining for potatoes.

In 1882 Samuel Dale, Jr. died without children. Without a will, the surviving siblings, William Dale and Temperance Green, revisited the division of their deceased father's property. Based on

the metes and bounds of later deeds for the property, it appears that Temperance received a portion of William's inheritance and William retained a portion of his land as well as the remainder of his brother's tract. The parcels remained in the Dale family until 1915. That year they were sold to the neighboring Armstrong family.

b. Thomas Bayard (1779-1864)

Thomas Bayard's origins are obscure. The 1850 Census is the first to indicate the birth state of residents. In that document Thomas Bayard indicated he was born in Maryland around 1779. It is unclear where he was from in Maryland or whether he was born free or to an enslaved mother. The earliest record of his residency in St. Georges Hundred is the 1816 tax assessment. In addition to his poll tax, Bayard was also assessed $8 for one head of livestock, possibly a goat or a pig. In 1820 the 41-year-old Bayard was residing in the east portion of St. Georges Hundred with his wife Henrietta and their four children. Thomas was likely employed as a farm laborer during that period, possibly working for one of the larger white-owned farms east of Odessa.

From the time of his first appearance in St. Georges Hundred in 1816 until 1835, Thomas Bayard and his family likely rented a dwelling from a local white landowner. According to the Census from that period, the Bayard family resided near several large Euro-American-owned farms such as the Vandegrifts and the Rothwells. It is entirely likely that the family rented a house from one of these landowners or occupied a leased dwelling in return for labor on their farms.

By 1835 Thomas Bayard had established himself as the largest African American property owner in St. Georges Hundred during the nineteenth century. On the first day of May of that year, Bayard was recorded in the land records of New Castle County as the grantee of 145 acres of land on Vance's Neck, east of Odessa. The property was originally the farm of Richard Humphries and Samuel Townsend. According to the 1822 tax assessment, the 145-acre parcel included a house and granary. Following Humphries's death, the Humphries and Townsend heirs disputed the division of his estate. Eventually the case was presented to the Court of the Chancery for the State of Delaware. The court ordered the farm sold and the profits of the sale used to satisfy Richard Humphries's debts. In 1832 the former sheriff of New Castle County, Marcus E. Capelle, sold the 145-acre farm to Philadelphia resident David S. Craven. Three years later, David and Rebecca Craven sold the 145-acre farm to Thomas Bayard for $1,200.

After the purchase of the property, Thomas Bayard and his family moved into the existing farmhouse on the estate. According to the 1837 tax assessment, Bayard also constructed a stable on the property. No mention of Richard Humphries's former granary appears in the assessment, suggesting that the building fell into disrepair or was demolished by Bayard after his arrival in 1835. According the 1837 assessment, the farm was valued at $1,160.00 in addition to $274.00 for livestock.

Bayard's next appearance in the historical record comes in the 1840 U.S. Census. That year the household of the 61-year-old included himself as well as his wife Henrietta and three children. Both Thomas and one of his children are additionally enumerated as being employed in agriculture.

By 1850 Thomas and Henrietta Bayard were sharing their home with their son Joseph, granddaughter Henrietta, and two 16-year-old laborers, Alexander Hays and Samuel Smith (Figure 34). On May 29, 1848, Samuel Smith, then 15, entered into an apprentice indenture with Thomas Bayard (Figure 35). According to the contract, Smith would remain as a servant of Thomas Bayard until the age of 21. In return, Bayard agreed to support and clothe Samuel Smith as well teach the "art, trade, or business of farming to the best of his knowledge, skill, and ability" (NCC, Apprentice Indenture 1848). At the end of the contract, Bayard also agreed to supply Smith with two suits of clothes, one of which was to be new and have a value of approximately $20. It is unclear whether the other laborer, Alexander Hays, had a similar contract with Bayard; no evidence of the Apprentice Indenture was located in the New Castle County records, but those records are not complete.

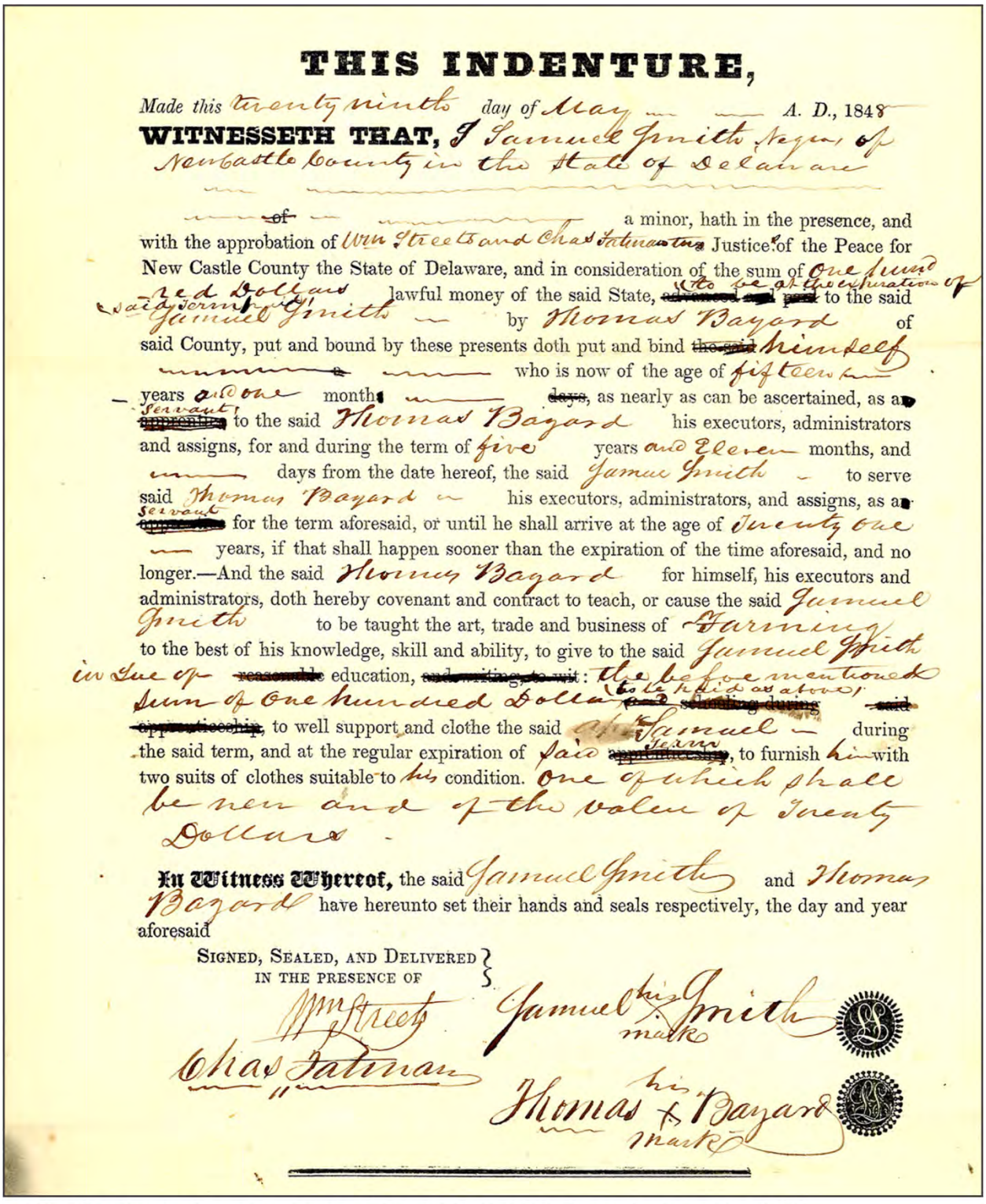
In 1850 the United States Census Bureau began to collect additional data on agricultural properties in addition to population schedules. The agricultural census for that year valued Thomas Bayard's farm at $4,000.00. The farm included 100 improved acres and 45 unimproved. According to the Census, Bayard's farm primarily produced corn and oats with lesser amounts of wheat, potatoes, and hay. Thomas also had five horses and 14 head of livestock: four milk cows, two working oxen, two cattle, and six pigs (Table 31). In all, the livestock was valued at $400.00. The census further indicates that Bayard possessed 250 pounds of butter and $75 worth of butchered meat at the time of the farm's enumeration on July 10, 1850.

TABLE 31

1850 AGRICULTURAL CENSUS
DATA FROM THE BAYARD FARM

LIVESTOCK	PRODUCE
5 horses	74 bushels wheat
4 milk cows	500 bushels Indian corn
2 working oxen	220 bushels oats
2 cattle	50 bushels Irish potatoes
6 swine	6 tons hay

FIGURE 34: Thomas Bayard Residence in 1849 (Rea & Price 1849)



THIS INDENTURE,

Made this twenty ninth *day of* May *A. D.*, 1848

WITNESSETH THAT, I Samuel Smith Negro of Newcastle County in the State of Delaware ~~of~~ a minor, hath in the presence, and with the approbation of Wm Street and Chas Tatnall Justice of the Peace for New Castle County the State of Delaware, and in consideration of the sum of One hund red Dollars lawful money of the said State, ~~advanced and paid~~ to be at the expiration of said term to the said Samuel Smith by Thomas Bayard of said County, put and bound by these presents doth put and bind ~~the said~~ himself who is now of the age of fifteen years and one month ~~days~~, as nearly as can be ascertained, as a ~~apprentice~~ Servant to the said Thomas Bayard his executors, administrators and assigns, for and during the term of five years and Eleven months, and days from the date hereof, the said Samuel Smith to serve said Thomas Bayard his executors, administrators, and assigns, as a ~~apprentice~~ Servant for the term aforesaid, or until he shall arrive at the age of Twenty one years, if that shall happen sooner than the expiration of the time aforesaid, and no longer.—And the said Thomas Bayard for himself, his executors and administrators, doth hereby covenant and contract to teach, or cause the said Samuel Smith to be taught the art, trade and business of Farming to the best of his knowledge, skill and ability, to give to the said Samuel Smith in lieu of ~~reasonable~~ education, ~~and writing, to wit~~: the before mentioned Sum of One hundred Dollars ~~paid~~ to be paid as above ~~during said apprenticeship~~, to well support and clothe the said Samuel during the said term, and at the regular expiration of said Years ~~apprenticeship~~, to furnish him with two suits of clothes suitable to his condition. One of which shall be new and of the value of Twenty Dollars.

In Witness Whereof, the said Samuel Smith and Thomas Bayard have hereunto set their hands and seals respectively, the day and year aforesaid

SIGNED, SEALED, AND DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF

Wm Street

Chas Tatnall

Samuel his Smith mark

Thomas his Bayard mark

FIGURE 35: Thomas Bayard's Indenture of Samuel Smith (NCC, Apprentice Indentures 1848)

Census data provided the most consistent information regarding Thomas Bayard's household and agricultural production; however, New Castle County tax assessments were utilized as a means to determine the evolution of improvements Bayard made on the farm during the mid-nineteenth century. According to the 1849-1850 tax assessment, Thomas Bayard's farm was valued at $2,030.00 and included a frame house, a corn crib, and stable. The tax assessment of 1857 reassessed the estate $6,070.00, suggesting that substantial improvements were made over the previous seven years. Bayard constructed a tenant house on the property along with several other improvements listed in the assessment as "outbuildings." Given the dramatic increase in value, Bayard likely conducted some renovations on the existing frame house during the same period.

By 1860 Thomas Bayard was a widower. The 81-year-old farmer resided with his granddaughter, Henrietta Miller, in the same house where he and his wife had raised their family over the previous 25 years. Despite his advanced age, Bayard continued to actively manage his farm. According to the 1860 Census, the farm was valued at approximately $8,000. Corn and oats continued to be the primary crops grown on the farm with 400 and 500 bushels, respectively. Over the 10 years since the previous agricultural census, Thomas Bayard had stopped raising potatoes and hay and put more of his land into wheat; 300 bushels are recorded in the 1860 Census. The variety and quantity of livestock on the farm remained relatively stable; in 1860 he was recorded as owning six horses and two working oxen. Other livestock on the farm included three milk cows, six cattle, and three pigs. Unlike the produce, the small quantity of livestock on the farm suggests that they were kept for personal use. By the time of his enumeration in 1860, Thomas Bayard was recorded as having 200 pounds of butter from his milk cows. The four cattle and three pigs were also likely for family consumption as indicated by the $50 of butchered meat also present on the farm.

Thomas Bayard died on June 18, 1864. His will stipulated that his farm and personal belongings be sold and the profits distributed to his heirs according to his wishes (Table 32).

TABLE 32

DISTRIBUTION OF THOMAS BAYARD'S ESTATE

HEIR	RELATIONSHIP	INHERITANCE
Samuel Bayard	Son	$5,000
Sara Bayard	Daughter-in-law	$500
Henrietta Bayard	Granddaughter	$150
Frances Bayard	Granddaughter	$150
Mary Salsbury	Step-daughter	$500
Eliza Brinkley	Daughter	$1,500*

*all the residue of Thomas Bayard's estate after debts and inheritance to Eliza Brinkley

The bulk of his estate was to be given to his only surviving son, Samuel. Late in Thomas's life, Samuel was responsible for the day-to-day operation of his father's farm. Although he is not listed as residing in or adjacent to his father's household in the 1860 population schedule, Samuel Bayard is the name recorded in the agricultural census as operator of the estate. It appears that Thomas valued his son's help and wanted to provide him with enough money to start his own farm or enterprise after his death.

Thomas's other son, Joseph, resided in his father's household in 1850. At that time he was enumerated as a 27-year-old laborer working on his father's farm. The Census from that year does not indicate marital status; however, it appears he eventually married. By the time Thomas Bayard wrote the will in 1860, Joseph must have passed away. In addition to a widow, it appears Joseph also left behind two daughters, Henrietta and Frances. In addition to the $500 Thomas allotted to Sara Bayard, Thomas also requested that a total of $300 be set aside for his grandchildren to be distributed equally, with interest, at the age of eighteen.

Thomas also wished to provide $500 to the daughter of his deceased wife, Henrietta. In the will Thomas indicates that Mary Salsbury is the daughter of his late wife, suggesting that Henrietta Bayard had been previously married or at least had children prior to her marriage to him.

Finally, Thomas left $1,500 to his daughter Eliza Brinkley, wife of Joshua Brinkley. Joshua and Eliza Brinkley had lived in Odessa since at least 1850. In the 1850 Census Joshua Brinkley is recorded as a laborer. Ten years later, in 1860, Joshua's occupation is listed as a post & railer. By 1865 Joshua Brinkley appears to have changed careers. According to the minutes of the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Joshua Brinkley was elected elder among the other members (Delaware Conference 1865). His election as elder suggests that Joshua had been an active participant in the church and a preacher long before his election. In the 1870 Census Joshua Brinkley is enumerated as an Odessa preacher. In addition to the $1,500 willed to Eliza and Joshua Brinkley, Thomas Bayard indicated that the remainder of the estate sale profits (after payment of debts) would go to the couple.

Thomas Bayard's final wish was that his remains be interred with those of his deceased wife, Henrietta. In addition, Thomas instructed his executor to use a portion of the profits associated with the estate sale to purchase and erect a tombstone over the place of his and his wife's burial.

Thomas Bayard's desire to have his property and belongs sold following his death is interesting. Many of his contemporary African American landowners left their property to their children, often dividing the holdings equally among the descendants. Such was the case with Samuel Dale in Armstrong Corner, who divided his 20-acre farm into equal thirds among his three surviving children. Likewise, the descendants of Perry Green all received portions of the Congo Town estate after his death in 1848. It is also worth mentioning that this tradition of dividing the deceased estate among surviving relatives was not limited to African Americans. Wills and probate records for Euro-American and African American property owners across Delaware and throughout the country often stipulate that the deceased's property be divided among the surviving children.

Thomas Bayard's wishes were not unique, however. Other nineteenth-century African Americans in St. George's Hundred also directed that their land and possessions be sold rather than handed down to family members. In Armstrong Corner the 130-acre farm owned by Amos Bell was sold following his death in 1865. Another example occurred decades earlier: in Middletown the property and belongings of Cuff Fisby were sold after he died in 1845. By the time of his death, all of Frisby's surviving children were adults and had started their own lives and families elsewhere in the Hundred. It may have been Cuff Frisby's intention to provide financial support to his children through the sale of his estate rather than saddle them with property they had no intention of using.

Perhaps Thomas Bayard had a similar motivation when crafting his will. By the time Bayard wrote his will in 1860, his wife had passed away and only two of his children were still alive. Eliza had been married for at least a decade by then and her husband was a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, a relatively transient occupation that could have required Eliza to relocate with her family as her husband was appointed to different regional congregations within the Delaware Association of churches.

By 1860 Thomas Bayard's other surviving child, Samuel Bayard, had started his own farm north of his father's estate. That year Samuel is recorded in the Agricultural Census as managing his father's farm while at the same time making his own way as a tenant farmer south of Port Penn. On the surface it appears Samuel would have been capable of taking over his father's farm; however, Thomas thought it more prudent to sell the estate to provide financial support to Samuel and his family. Perhaps Thomas wished his children to make their own way much as he had. On the other hand it may have been his way of freeing them to pursue their own interests. The true motivations of Thomas Bayard can never be known.

Twelve days after Thomas Bayard's death, a thorough inventory of his estate was completed by his neighbors, Henry P. Baker and John Whitty (see Appendix A). Moving room to room of the house, Whitty and Baker listed all the items in Bayard's home and assigned a monetary value to the items. Some notable items included two sets of bedroom furniture and linen, several quilts, a stove, books, a looking glass and maps, and a single barrel gun. The house's collection of tableware and other kitchen items were also included, as well as the contents of his smokehouse and stable. In all, the entire inventory was assessed for $234.25.

Shortly after the completion of the inventory, the entire contents of the house were sold at public auction by the estate executor, Charles Tatman (see Appendix A). Thirty-five people attended the auction to bid on over 200 items. The majority of those who attended the auction were Thomas Bayard's former African American and Euro-American neighbors. Others traveled from the northern towns of Congo Town and Port Penn and communities to the west, such as Odessa and Armstrong Corner. The auction of Thomas Bayard's estate appeared to be quite an event for St. Georges Hundred. Everything in the house was sold, from the carriage and sleigh in the stable to the milk pans and earthen pots in the kitchen. Notable items included several beehives, several carpets, clocks, hundreds of pounds of ham and beef, furniture, and coffee and tea pots. Over $300 was raised. Proceeds from the auction were added to the remainder of the estate, which included income from debts owed to Thomas Bayard and the sale of his property. In the final statement of Thomas Bayard's estate, dated October 26, 1865, a total of $9,528.28 was raised and distributed to his heirs. The majority of the income came from the sale of the farm, which raised $7,500. The new owners of the property were two Quaker brothers-in-law, Sereck Shallcross and Jonathan K. Williams (NCC, Deed Book A8:505). Both Shallcross and Williams were local peach farmers who acquired substantial holdings both north of Odessa and east along Vance Neck Road. After the purchase of the farm, they leased Bayard's house and tenant house to other African American farm laborers who continued to work the 145-acre parcel into the late nineteenth century.

D. URBANIZATION AND EARLY SUBURBANIZATION (1880 TO 1940)

1. Demography and Household Structure

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the African American population began to decline dramatically in St. Georges Hundred (Table 33). The overall population also declined over the same period from more than 5,000 in 1880 to 3,685 in 1940. The cause of the shrinking population in St. Georges Hundred was likely the general trend of out-migration from most rural communities throughout the South during the period. As cities and industry grew, the promise of jobs and better opportunities attracted many people from the rural areas such as St. Georges Hundred. From the Census data it appears that the rural out-migration affected more African Americans in the Hundred than the Euro-American population over the same period.

TABLE 33

POPULATION OF ST. GEORGES HUNDRED BY RACE, 1880 to 1940

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	EURO-AMERICAN		AFRICAN AMERICAN	
		NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
1880	5,036	3,098	62	1,938	38
1900	4,455	3,014	68	1,441	32
1920	3,595	2,497	69	1,098	31
1940	3,685	2,903	79	782	21

The Euro-American population also declined over much of the same period; however, by 1940 it had almost recovered to its pre-1880 level. At the same time the African American population in St. Georges Hundred maintained a steady decline in population from 1880 to 1940. In 1880 African Americans represented nearly 40 percent of the total population of St. Georges Hundred, but in the 1940 Census only 21 percent of the population is enumerated as African American, representing a nearly 50 percent decline over a 60-year period.

As the population declined, the percentage of African Americans living in Euro-American households also fell (Table 34). In 1880, 77 percent of the total African American population resided in households headed by a black family member while 23 percent lived in Euro-American households. Over the next 20 years the percentage of black people living in African American households sharply increased to 93 percent of the total black population in St. Georges Hundred, and it thereafter remained around 90 percent.

TABLE 34

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION LIVING IN EURO-AMERCIAN
AND AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1880 TO 1940

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION	IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS		IN EURO-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS	
		NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
1880	1,938	1,490	77	448	23
1900	1,441	1,345	93	96	7
1920	1,098	951	87	147	13
1940	782	731	93	51	7

Although several African Americans were living in Euro-American households during the early twentieth century, the circumstances of their residence had changed. During the nineteenth century African Americans living in white households were enumerated in the census as servants or farm laborers working in the households where they resided. This remained the case for some during the early twentieth century, but by 1920 the majority of African Americans living in white households were listed as boarders. These individuals worked outside the Euro-American homes where they resided and their relationship with the Euro-Americans in their homes was usually characterized as tenant and landlord rather than servant and employer.

The majority of African American households continued to be headed by men, although the percentage of women-headed households rose over the course of the early twentieth century (Table 35). Over the late nineteenth century the percentage of women-headed households generally hovered around 10 percent. In 1940 that number increased to just under 20 percent of the total African American households in St. Georges Hundred.

TABLE 35

TOTAL NUMBER OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HEADED HOUSEHOLDS, 1880 TO 1940

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS	MALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS		FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS	
		NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
1880	304	278	91	26	9
1900	280	232	82	48	18
1920	261	227	87	34	13
1940	197	161	82	36	18

In 1920 there were 34 woman-headed households in St. Georges Hundred. Twenty-one of the women reported being widowed and another six were reportedly single. The seven remaining women were listed as married. The husband of one of the married women still lived in the same household but his wife was enumerated as head. The remaining six women listed as married no longer lived under the same roof as their husbands, suggesting that the couples were separated. Some of these husbands lived nearby as boarders in other homes. Others recorded themselves as divorced, suggesting that the some of the women were actually separated or in the process of being divorced from their spouses. Of the 36 households reported as being headed by a woman in 1940, 25 of those were headed by women who were identified as widows. Five others were listed as single and only six were enumerated as being separated from their spouses. Based on these records, it appears that the higher percentage of African American women-headed households during the early twentieth century was mainly a result of the untimely death of a spouse rather than separation or divorce.

African American families in St. Georges Hundred between 1880 and 1940 ranged in size from one individual to more than 17 people, although families that large were certainly rare. The majority of families during the early twentieth century were composed of two to seven individuals (Table 36).

TABLE 36

AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE IN ST. GEORGES HUNDRED, 1880 - 1940

CENSUS YEAR	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLDS																	TOTAL	MEAN FAMILY SIZE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		
1880	6	30	68	53	42	37	33	13	10	4	3	3	1	1	.	.	.	304	4.8
1900	15	42	60	38	30	25	31	13	8	1	8	3	2	2	.	1	1	280	4.8
1920	27	77	54	34	18	16	14	12	4	3	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	261	3.6
1940	27	62	28	24	18	11	7	6	6	4	2	.	.	.	1	1	.	197	3.7

By the late nineteenth century the average household size was around five individuals. By 1940 the size of African American households in St. Georges Hundred shrank slightly to just under four individuals. This decrease in household size was likely a result of a number of factors, including the increasing number of individuals and families leaving St. Georges Hundred during this period as well as a decrease in the trend of extended families living under one roof.

2. Community and Religious Life

a. Congo Town

The African American community of Congo Town had always been a rural place, its residents relying almost entirely on agricultural work. In 1880, 30 African American households lived in the vicinity of Congo Town. Of those, the heads of 25 of the households were employed as farm laborers and one, Wilson Green, owned his own farm. The heads of household for the four remaining families in the community were women and listed their occupation in the 1880 Census as keeping house with other members of their family employed as farm laborers.

As industries began to develop in urban centers to the north, many of the residents of Congo Town left their rural community. By 1900 only 64 individuals in 28 households remained in the community.

One reason for the decline of Congo Town in the early twentieth century was likely the absence of job opportunities. According to the 1900 Census, all the working people in Congo Town were either farm laborers or servants in Euro-American households. Twenty years later, 35 working-age individuals remained in the area, of whom 19 were employed as farm workers. Some had found jobs in other fields, including skilled professions such as mechanics, a cobbler, and a fireman at a munitions plant. The remainder found jobs as housekeepers, servants, and caretakers. By the time of the 1940 Census, only 51 African American individuals remained in the vicinity of Congo Town, all of whom were enumerated in Port Penn. Of the 11 households in the area, the majority of the working-age members of the family were laborers. Interestingly, only one individual was employed on a farm; the remaining nine laborers all worked in construction. Only two indicated that they were employed in a different field. One individual worked as a maid for a Euro-American family and the other drove the local school bus.

In 1893 the African American schools in St. Georges Hundred finally came under the jurisdiction of the Delaware State Board of Education. Around that time a new African American school was built

east of Congo Town, within the limits of Port Penn (Figure 36). The state school was not much of an improvement over the earlier school in Congo Town. Located on the outskirts of Port Penn, the school was situated on Delaware City Road (Figure 37). The small one-room wood-frame schoolhouse could accommodate only a dozen or so students at one time. Around that same time, many African Americans living in the area also relocated farther east along present-day St. Augustine Road or to the north on Dutch Neck Road. By the early twentieth century a few residents remained in the vicinity of Zion A.M.E. Church, including members of the Green and Gross families. Despite

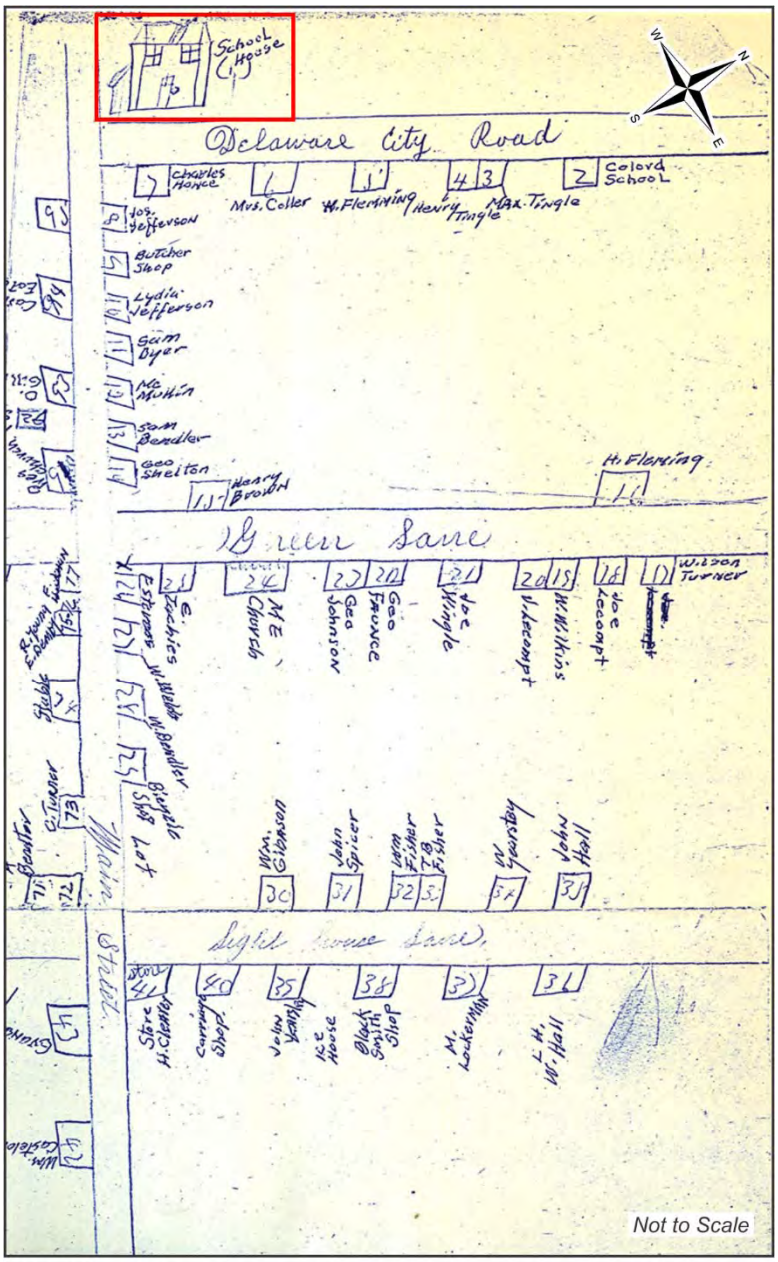


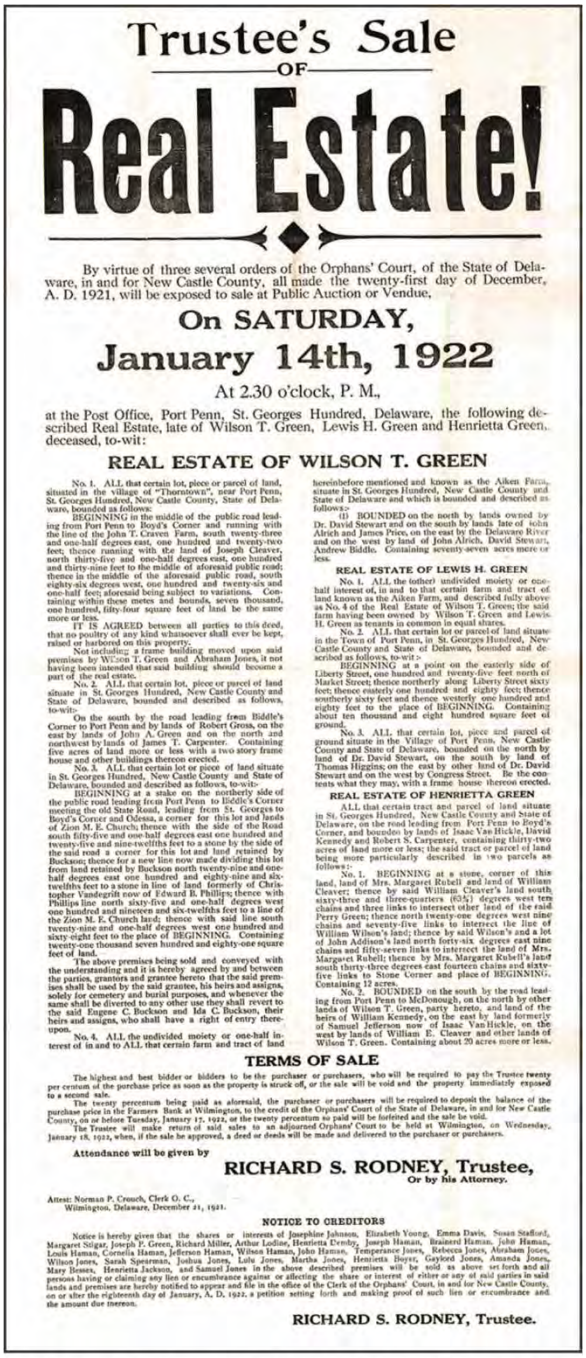
FIGURE 36: Hand-drawn Map of Port Penn Showing the African American School in 1897 (Delaware Towns and Cities 1897)

FIGURE 37: Original Port Penn African American School (Delaware Board of Education n.d.)

the relocation of the school and many of the inhabitants of Congo Town, Zion A.M.E. Church continued to serve the needs of community.

By the 1920s more of the inhabitants were leaving Congo Town, either in search of opportunities north or in more populated communities such as Port Penn or Middletown. At the same time many of the families of the founders of Congo Town had also relocated or died. By 1909 all the properties owned by the Green family of Congo Town had passed to Wilson T. Green, the son of the former family patriarch Wilson Green. In 1920 Wilson T. Green died and his estate, including the lands of his brother Lewis H. and sister Henrietta, were sold at auction (Figure 38). The only household to remain in the traditional community of Congo Town after the death of Wilson T. Green was members of Robert Gross's family. To this day the family continues to occupy the home on Port Penn Road.

Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the community was centralized along present-day Port Penn Road and Thorntown Road. During that time the heart of the community had always been Zion A.M.E. Church and the associated African American school. By the time the 1940 Census was compiled, the former community of Congo Town had ceased to exist. In the late 1930s the Zion A.M.E. Church was abandoned. Eventually the structure was demolished and the land plowed under. The former Congo Town school was also demolished. The Port Penn school served the African American population around the town until 1920, when it was replaced by the new du Pont one-room schoolhouse (Figure 39) (du Pont's involvement in African American education in Delaware is discussed further below). The new school remained open through the 1940s. Aside from the state-run school, all other vestiges of the former African American community near Port Penn had



Trustee's Sale
OF
Real Estate!

By virtue of three several orders of the Orphans' Court, of the State of Delaware, in and for New Castle County, all made the twenty-first day of December, A. D. 1921, will be exposed to sale at Public Auction or Vendue,

On SATURDAY,
January 14th, 1922
At 2.30 o'clock, P. M.,

at the Post Office, Port Penn, St. Georges Hundred, Delaware, the following described Real Estate, late of Wilson T. Green, Lewis H. Green and Henrietta Green, deceased, to-wit:

REAL ESTATE OF WILSON T. GREEN

No. 1. ALL that certain lot, piece or parcel of land, situated in the village of "Thorntown", near Port Penn, St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County, State of Delaware, bounded as follows:

BEGINNING in the middle of the public road leading from Port Penn to Boyd's Corner and running with the line of the John T. Craven Farm, south twenty-three and one-half degrees east, one hundred and twenty-two feet, thence running with the land of Joseph Cleaver, north thirty-five and one-half degrees east, one hundred and thirty-nine feet to the middle of aforesaid public road; thence in the middle of the aforesaid public road, south eighty-six degrees west, one hundred and twenty-six and one-half feet; aforesaid being subject to variations. Containing within these metes and bounds, seven thousand, one hundred, fifty-four square feet of land be the same more or less.

IT IS AGREED between all parties to this deed, that no poultry of any kind whatsoever shall ever be kept, raised or harbored on this property.

Not including a frame building moved upon said premises by Wilson T. Green and Abraham Jones, it not having been intended that said building should become a part of the real estate.

No. 2. ALL that certain lot, piece or parcel of land situate in St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County and State of Delaware, bounded and described as follows, to-wit:-

On the south by the road leading from Biddle's Corner to Port Penn and by lands of Robert Gross, on the east by lands of John A. Green and on the north and northwest by lands of James T. Carpenter. Containing five acres of land more or less with a two story frame house and other buildings thereon erected.

No. 3. ALL that certain lot or piece of land situate in St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County and State of Delaware, bounded and described as follows, to-wit:-

BEGINNING at a stake on the northerly side of the public road leading from Port Penn to Biddle's Corner meeting the old State Road, leading from St. Georges to Boyd's Corner and Odessa, a corner for this lot and lands of Zion M. E. Church; thence with the side of the Road south fifty-five and one-half degrees east one hundred and twenty-five and nine-twelfths feet to a stone by the side of the said road a corner for this lot and land retained by Buckson; thence for a new line now made dividing this lot from land retained by Buckson north twenty-nine and one-half degrees east one hundred and eighty-nine and six-twelfths feet to a stone in line of land formerly of Christopher Vandegrift now of Edward B. Phillips; thence with Phillips line north sixty-five and one-half degrees west one hundred and nineteen and six-twelfths feet to a line of the Zion M. E. Church land; thence with said line south twenty-nine and one-half degrees west one hundred and sixty-eight feet to the place of BEGINNING. Containing twenty-one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one square feet of land.

The above premises being sold and conveyed with the understanding and it is hereby agreed by and between the parties, grantors and grantee hereto that the said premises shall be used by the said grantee, his heirs and assigns, solely for cemetery and burial purposes, and whenever the same shall be diverted to any other use they shall revert to the said Eugene C. Buckson and Ida C. Buckson, their heirs and assigns, who shall have a right of entry thereupon.

No. 4. ALL the undivided moiety or one-half interest of in and to ALL that certain farm and tract of land hereinbefore mentioned and known as the Aiken Farm, situate in St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County and State of Delaware and which is bounded and described as follows:-

(1) BOUNDED on the north by lands owned by Dr. David Stewart and on the south by lands late of John Alrich and James Price, on the east by the Delaware River and on the west by land of John Alrich, David Stewart, Andrew Biddle. Containing seventy-seven acres more or less.

REAL ESTATE OF LEWIS H. GREEN

No. 1. ALL the (other) undivided moiety or one-half interest of, in and to that certain farm and tract of land known as the Aiken Farm, and described fully above as No. 4 of the Real Estate of Wilson T. Green; the said farm having been owned by Wilson T. Green and Lewis H. Green as tenants in common in equal shares.

No. 2. ALL that certain lot or parcel of land situate in the Town of Port Penn, in St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County and State of Delaware, bounded and described as follows, to-wit:-

BEGINNING at a point on the easterly side of Liberty Street, one hundred and twenty-five feet north of Market Street; thence northerly along Liberty Street sixty feet; thence easterly one hundred and eighty feet; thence southerly sixty feet and thence westerly one hundred and eighty feet to the place of BEGINNING. Containing about ten thousand and eight hundred square feet of ground.

No. 3. ALL that certain lot, piece and parcel of ground situate in the Village of Port Penn, New Castle County and State of Delaware, bounded on the north by land of Dr. David Stewart, on the south by land of Thomas Higgins; on the east by other land of Dr. David Stewart and on the west by Congress Street. Be the contents what they may, with a frame house thereon erected.

REAL ESTATE OF HENRIETTA GREEN

ALL that certain tract and parcel of land situate in St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County and State of Delaware, on the road leading from Port Penn to Boyd's Corner, and bounden by lands of Isaac Van Hickle, David Kennedy and Robert S. Carpenter, containing thirty-two acres of land more or less; the said tract or parcel of land being more particularly described in two parcels as follows:-

No. 1. BEGINNING at a stone, corner of this land, land of Mrs. Margaret Rubell and land of William Cleaver; thence by said William Cleaver's land south sixty-three and three-quarters (63¾) degrees west ten chains and three links to intersect other land of the said Perry Green; thence north twenty-one degrees west nine chains and seventy-five links to intersect the line of William Wilson's land; thence by said Wilson's and a lot of John Addison's land north forty-six degrees east nine chains and fifty-seven links to intersect the land of Mrs. Margaret Rubell; thence by Mrs. Margaret Rubell's land south thirty-three degrees east fourteen chains and sixty-five links to Stone Corner and place of BEGINNING. Containing 12 acres.

No. 2. BOUNDED on the south by the road leading from Port Penn to McDonough, on the west by other lands of Wilson T. Green, party hereto, and land of the heirs of William Kennedy, on the east by land formerly of Samuel Jefferson now of Isaac Van Hickle, on the west by lands of William E. Cleaver and other lands of Wilson T. Green. Containing about 20 acres more or less.

TERMS OF SALE

The highest and best bidder or bidders to be the purchaser or purchasers, who will be required to pay the Trustee twenty per centum of the purchase price as soon as the property is struck off, or the sale will be void and the property immediately exposed to a second sale.

The twenty percentum being paid as aforesaid, the purchaser or purchasers will be required to deposit the balance of the purchase price in the Farmers Bank at Wilmington, to the credit of the Orphans' Court of the State of Delaware, in and for New Castle County, on or before Tuesday, January 17, 1922, or the twenty percentum so paid will be forfeited and the sale be void.

The Trustee will make return of said sales to an adjourned Orphans' Court to be held at Wilmington, on Wednesday, January 18, 1922, when, if the sale be approved, a deed or deeds will be made and delivered to the purchaser or purchasers.

Attendance will be given by

RICHARD S. RODNEY, Trustee,
Or by his Attorney.

Attest: Norman P. Crouch, Clerk O. C.,
Wilmington, Delaware, December 21, 1921.

NOTICE TO CREDITORS

Notice is hereby given that the shares or interests of Josephine Johnson, Elizabeth Young, Emma Davis, Susan Stafford, Margaret Silgar, Joseph P. Green, Richard Miller, Arthur Lodine, Henrietta Dendy, Joseph Haman, Brainerd Haman, John Haman, Louis Haman, Cornelia Haman, Jefferson Haman, Wilson Haman, John Haman, Temperance Jones, Rebecca Jones, Abraham Jones, Wilson Jones, Sarah Spearman, Joshua Jones, Lulu Jones, Martha Jones, Henrietta Boyer, Gaylord Jones, Amanda Jones, Mary Besses, Henrietta Jackson, and Samuel Jones in the above described premises will be sold as above set forth and all persons having or claiming any lien or encumbrance against or affecting the share or interest of either or any of said parties in said lands and premises are hereby notified to appear and file in the office of the Clerk of the Orphans' Court, in and for New Castle County, on or after the eighteenth day of January, A. D. 1922, a petition setting forth and making proof of such lien or encumbrance and the amount due thereon.

RICHARD S. RODNEY, Trustee.

FIGURE 38: Wilson T. Green Estate Sale (NCC, Probate of Wilson T. Green, 1920)

vanished. By the 1950s the school had also disappeared as segregation ended in Delaware. By the mid-twentieth century all that remained of the once vibrant community of Congo Town were the memories of the people who had grown up there.

b. Odessa

As of 1880, 29 African American households resided in Odessa, the majority in the north end of town. Although the African American population in the town numbered 129 individuals, the greater African American community of Odessa included families living on agricultural properties that extended west toward Middletown, north across Drawyers Creek, east to the Delaware River, and south across Appoquinimink Creek.

The greater African American community of Odessa continued to thrive throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Although it is difficult to determine the growth of the community outside the town limits, within Odessa census records compiled in 1900 indicate that the community grew to include 178 individuals among 65 families. Much of the growth over the 20 years between 1880 and 1900 was likely a result of the presence of Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church and the Delaware Association school located in the town (Figures 40 and 41). Churches during that period not only served the religious needs of the community but also functioned as community centers where members came together to share news, discuss grievances, and organize and discuss ways to improve the lives of their members. The Delaware Association provided another community focus. By the late nineteenth century only five schools were present in St. Georges Hundred, many of which were located in the established African American communities such as Odessa. By the 1880s many African American residents of the Hundred began to relocate closer to these centers to take advantage of the opportunities these African American communities offered.

In 1900 agricultural labor was still the primary industry for many African Americans living in Odessa (Table 37). However, the town was also an important grain market for the region, and therefore a variety of other service industries, such as hotels and restaurants, had developed in the community

FIGURE 39: Pierre S. du Pont Port Penn African American School (Delaware Board of Education 1920)

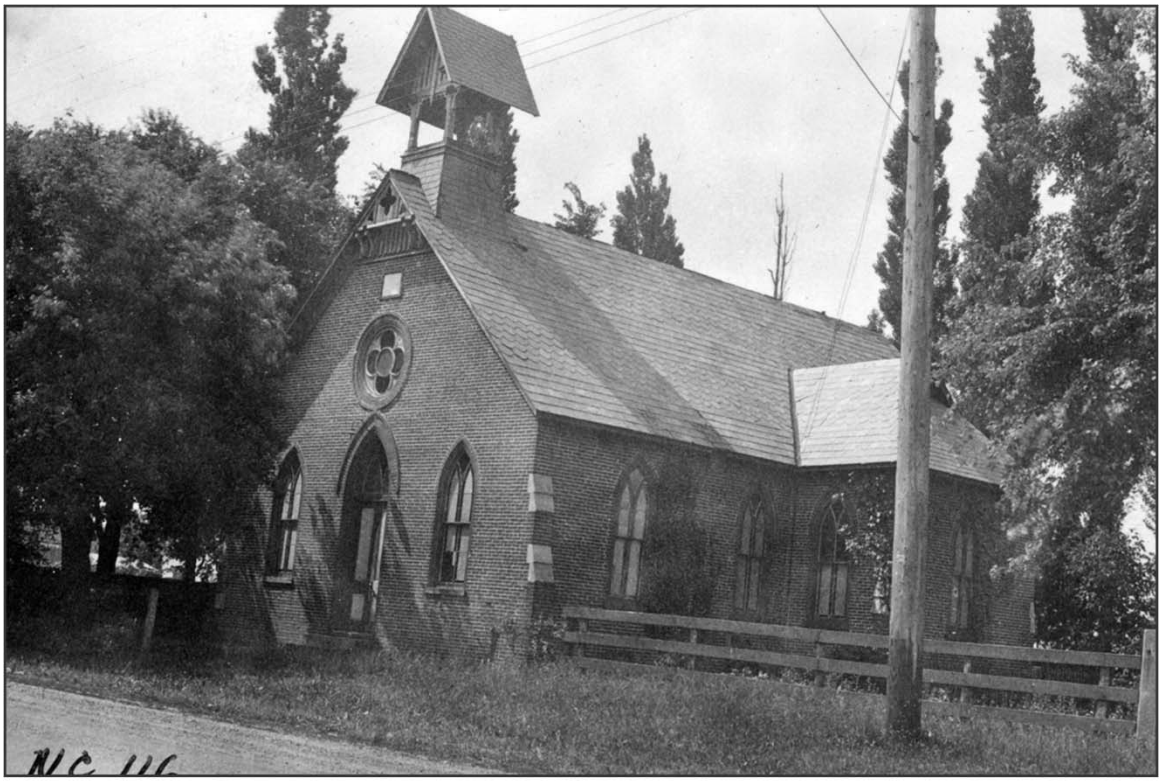


FIGURE 40: Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church in Odessa (Zebley 1947)

FIGURE 41: Original Odessa African American School (Delaware Board of Education 1921)

by the turn of the century. Although many of these businesses employed mainly Euro-Americans, several of the African American community members in Odessa also found employment in these industries. Most worked as hotel or restaurant cooks while others found employment in hotel laundries or as hostlers. A few other residents were employed in skilled trades. John E. Bayard is recorded in the 1900 Census as a blacksmith, and Walter Jennings is enumerated as a shoe maker. Other notable residents during this period included Lewis Hall, who served as Odessa's mail carrier, and Isaac West, who worked as the community's only teamster.

Even as the African American community grew in Odessa during the mid-nineteenth century, tax assessments and census records indicate a low rate of home ownership among the members during that period. This was mainly caused by the low availability of land and housing within the town limits. During the mid-nineteenth century the majority of African Americans rented homes from only a handful of Euro-American landlords. This trend appeared to continue through the turn of the twentieth century. As of the 1900 Census, only 16 African American households in Odessa owned their homes. Of that number only eight owned their houses outright and the remaining eight were recorded as still paying a mortgage on the property. The remainder continued to rent properties from Euro-American landlords.

Aside from job opportunities, another factor in the growth of the Odessa African American community at the turn of the nineteenth century was the presence of the community's African American school. According to the 1900 Census, 50 school-age children resided in Odessa. However, the census indicates that only 58 percent (n=29) of the children attended school in the previous year. As the majority of families living in Odessa earned their income through agricultural

TABLE 37

OCCUPATIONS OF ODESSA COMMUNITY RESDIENTS IN THE 1900 CENSUS

OCCUPATION	COUNT
Blacksmith	1
Cook	22
Day laborer	27
Farm boy	1
Farm laborer	44
Farmer	3
Fisherman	3
Home girl	3
Home maid	1
Hostler	2
Housekeeper	3
Laundress	6
Mail carrier	1
Shoe maker	1
Teamster	1
Not given (unemployed)	5
Total	124

labor, many of the remaining 21 children not attending class were likely absent because the families needed those children to help out in the fields with their parents. Other causes for the high rate of recorded delinquency may have included disinterest of parents to have their children attend as well as simple recordation errors on the part of the census taker.

By the time of the 1920 Census, the African American population in Odessa had begun to decline. This was likely part of the general trend of depopulation in the town, as many people moved to the cities and others relocated 3 miles west to the railroad community of Middletown.

The absence of new or skilled job opportunities for African American residents in Odessa is apparent in the 1920 Census. Among the working-age residents, the majority continued to be employed as unskilled laborers (Table 38). Most worked on nearby farms and a few found employment as stable hands or in the local dairy. Many enumerated in the 1920 Census indicated that they were currently unemployed. Of the 21 listed as unemployed, only eight were between the ages of 62 and 86. The remaining 13 were still of working age and likely could not find local employment at the time of the Census. Others that found employment worked as cooks or housekeepers in hotels or in private households. Some found work as truck drivers, gardeners, or private caretakers.

TABLE 38

OCCUPATIONS OF ODESSA COMMUNITY RESIDENTS IN THE 1920 CENSUS

OCCUPATION	COUNT
Caretaker	1
Chauffer	2
Cook	5
Gardener	1
Housekeeper	2
Laborer	34
Laundress	2
Minister	1
Servant	1
Steward	1
Not given (unemployed)	21
Total	73

By 1920 the African American community in Odessa had decreased to include only 127 individuals among 33 families. At the same time the population was in decline, the community had also become less centralized. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the Odessa African American community was centralized in the north portion of town along Osborne and 6th streets. By 1920 the majority of the remaining African American residents lived side by side with their Euro-American neighbors near the center of town. Many lived on Main and High streets, and several others lived on the nearby cross streets, including Front Street.

Few of those families who remained in Odessa owned their homes. Of the 33 families residing in the town in 1920, 25 families rented their properties. Of the eight families that owned their homes, four were located in the traditional African American neighborhood along 6th and Osborne streets. Other homeowners were scattered throughout town either on Main, Front, or Locust streets.

Despite the decrease in population, in 1919 Pierre S. du Pont chose Odessa to be the site of one of the first new African American schools he was constructing across the state. Construction of the

Odessa school began in 1920 and was completed by 1921 (Figure 42). The new African American school in Odessa was unique. After a disastrous fire destroyed a South Carolina school in 1921, du Pont chose the Odessa school to serve as an experiment intended to create an entirely fireproof school (Skelcher 1995a). The new Tudor-revival school was a wood-frame structure with a brick foundation and asbestos walls and roof. All the window frames and other trim were constructed entirely of copper. The new Odessa school was one of a kind because the costs of the experimental materials was just too high.

FIGURE 42: Pierre S. du Pont Odessa African American School (Delaware Board of Education 1920)

Pierre S. du Pont's choice to locate a new African American school in Odessa was partly influenced by the presence of the school built by the Delaware Association decades before. Another reason for his choice was likely a result of the increased attendance by the remaining school-age children in Odessa. According to the 1920 Census, 33 children lived in Odessa. Of that number, 30 are listed in the census as attending school in the last year. The three children who did not attend school were between the ages of 16 and 17 and their parents were all farm workers, suggesting that the children were required to help with the farm labor.

Over the next 20 years out-migration continued to affect the remaining African American population in Odessa. By the time the 1940 Census was compiled, only 91 individuals among 29 families remained in Odessa. Most of the families were once again centered in the north portion of the town, along Osborne and 6th streets. Fewer African American families were living in homes near their Euro-American neighbors, although some still inhabited dwellings along Main and High streets.

Despite the overall decline in population, home ownership among the remaining African American actually outpaced renting for the first time in the community's history. As of 1940, 17 families

lived in homes they owned, and the remaining 12 rented their properties. Most of the purchased homes were located within the traditional boundaries of the African American community. Nine of the owned houses were located on either Osborne or 6th streets, and four others were located on nearby side streets. Only four of the homes owned by African American property owners were situated in the traditional white areas of town. Two were located on Main Street and the others were on High Street.

Despite the increase in home ownership, the majority of job opportunities for African American residents continued to be in the unskilled labor fields (Table 39). Of the 24 laborers listed in Odessa, 19 worked on farms and the others were employed in construction. Other African American residents were employed as cooks or laundry workers in hotels or for private families. Some worked as junk haulers or truck drivers. A handful of residents were listed with skilled professions, including Methodist minister, chef, and garage mechanic. In addition, 13 individuals were listed as unemployed; however, the majority of these (n=10) were between the ages of 61 and 84, suggesting they had left the workforce. Only three unemployed individuals were of working age without a job. All three were women and were all living in households where at least one other individual was employed.

TABLE 39

OCCUPATIONS OF ODESSA COMMUNITY RESIDENTS IN THE 1940 CENSUS

OCCUPATION	COUNT
Chef	1
Cook	3
Junk hauler	1
Laborer	24
Laundress	3
Mechanic	2
Minister	1
Servant	1
Truck driver	1
Not given (unemployed)	13
Total	73

The shifting and dwindling African American population in Odessa and throughout rural Delaware created problems for school officials during the 1920s and 1930s. Migration created a challenging situation for the state's education authorities. In some cases they closed schools and consolidated their populations with others when they found inadequate numbers of children to keep schools open. In 1932 Odessa was chosen as one of the African American schools to be closed. The depopulation of Odessa by the African American inhabitants left only 15 school-age children in the town by 1940. With such a diminished number of students, school officials felt that resources could be better spent on other, more viable schools throughout the state. For the African American children in Odessa, the closest neighboring school was the three-classroom brick schoolhouse located in the Daletown section of Middletown. Starting in 1932, the remaining Odessa African American students were bused daily 3 miles west to Middletown.

In the years that followed, the African American community in Odessa continued to decline. Eventually the residents remaining in Odessa sought a community in nearby Daletown. The Zoar Methodist Episcopal Church remained in Odessa and congregants in and around the town continued to attend the services; however, while churches had served as community centers in the nineteenth century, the school adopted the same role in the twentieth. With the nearby school in Middletown serving both Daletown and Odessa, eventually the two distinct African American communities combined into one.

c. Daletown (Middletown)

As discussed in the previous section, the African American population of Daletown had increased dramatically in the 11 years between its founding in 1869 and 1880. The 1880 Census lists 215 African Americans in 42 households residing in the vicinity of Dale's Church and its African American school on New Street (Figure 43). Much of the growth in Daletown was a result of the community's proximity to Middletown, which had been the hub of economic growth for St. Georges Hundred since the arrival of the railroad in 1850.

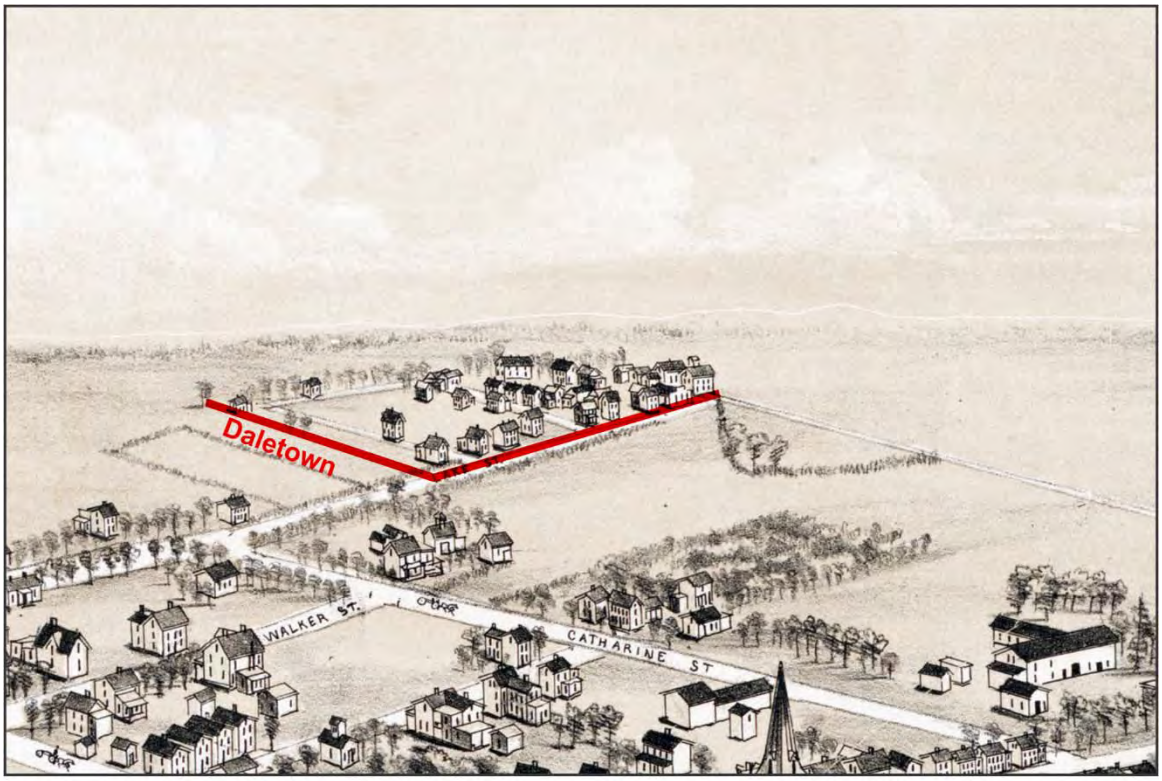


FIGURE 43: Daletown in 1885 (Bailey 1885)

By the 1880s Middletown was the closest freight depot for the majority of farmers in St. Georges Hundred, as well as neighboring jurisdictions in southern New Castle County. In addition to farmers wishing to sell their produce and livestock to markets north in Wilmington and Philadelphia, Middletown benefited from the establishment of new industries wishing to capitalize on the presence of the railroad. Lime and brick manufactures, lumber dealers, carriage and cabinet makers, and a variety of other industries were all established in Middletown by the late nineteenth century. The Euro-American population in Middletown also grew during this period. Hotels, restaurants, and a variety of clothing and dry goods stores began to fill the town's Main Street.

The influx of new businesses in Middletown required a large workforce. Most of the jobs for these industries and commercial businesses went to local Euro-American residents; however, employment was not racially exclusive. Many of the neighboring African American residents of Daletown also benefited. In the first decade of Daletown's existence, all but one of the residents were employed as farm laborers. In 1880 farm labor remained the primary occupation of the community residents, but

over a third of the heads of household living in Daletown were employed in other industries. Many worked as waiters in Middletown establishments. Others were employed as hotel hostlers or horse trainers. One resident, John B. Williams, owned his own restaurant, and another member of the Daletown community, Charles Johnson, manufactured pumps. Still others were employed as commercial laborers and teamsters, likely working at one of the brick manufacturers or lumber yards on the west side of Middletown. For many African Americans, residency in Daletown provided unique opportunities. Many residents in Daletown were able to leave agriculture, learn new trades, earn better incomes for their families, and eventually move to a higher socio-economic status. The African American population in Daletown continued to increase dramatically over the late nineteenth and early twentieth century while other African American communities in St. Georges Hundred began to decline.

The loss of the 1890 U.S. Census leaves a gap in the population history of Daletown, but the founding of two new African American churches in 1884 and 1894 suggests continued rapid growth. In 1884 the Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Church was established in Middletown. Trinity was an outgrowth of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Smyrna (WPA 1940). As former African American residents of Smyrna relocated to Middletown and St. Georges Hundred, many of the former congregants of Bethel A.M.E. Church wished to establish their own congregation rather than join the established Dale's M.E. Church in Daletown.

The original trustees of the Trinity A.M.E. Church included Daletown residents Richard Cale, William B. Johnson, Matthew Jones, Stephen Gibbs, Isaac J. Wright, James Pryor, and George H. Moore. In 1884 the seven trustees purchased a small lot west of Dale's Church at 27 Lockwood Street, where they built a one-story brick structure (Figure 44). The church was completed in 1884 but was not dedicated until October 1885. The first settled minister for Trinity A.M.E. was Reverend B. Cole of the Payne Theological Seminary in Wilberforce, Ohio (WPA 1940).

FIGURE 44: Trinity A.M.E. on Lockwood Street (Zebley 1947)

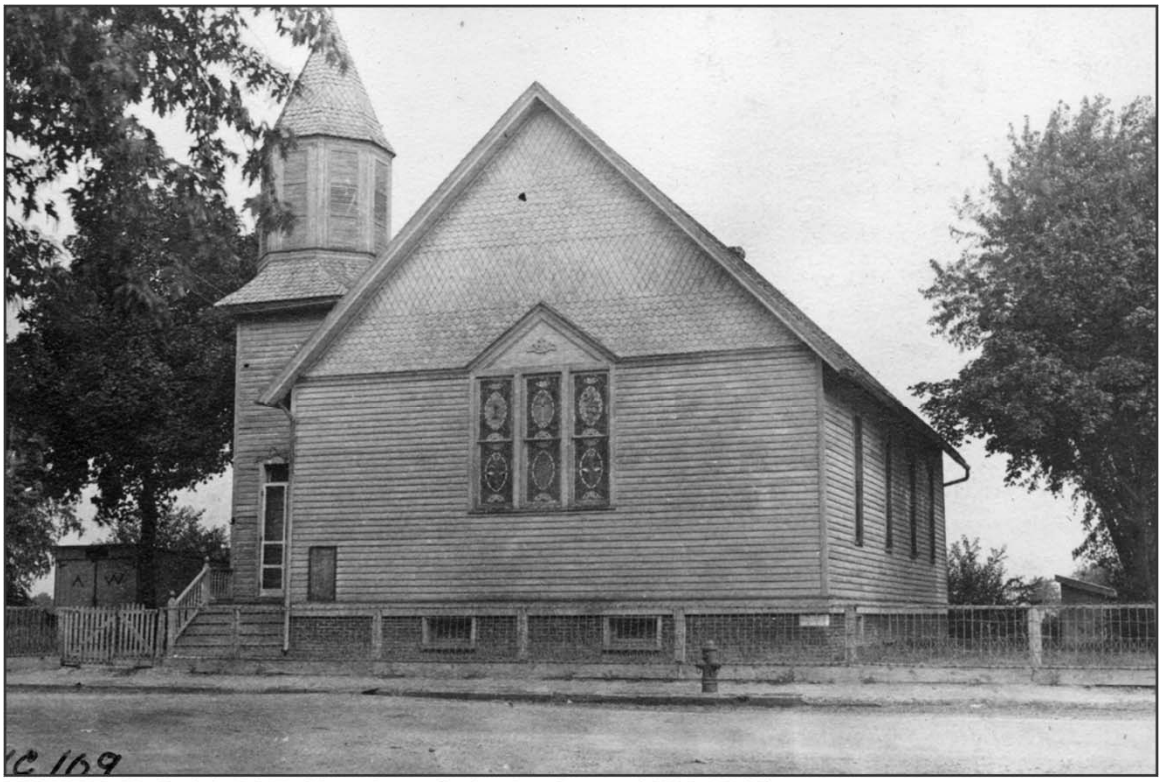


FIGURE 45: Dale's M.E. Church on Catherine Street (WPA 1940)

Despite the establishment of a new Methodist congregation on Lockwood Street, attendance at Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church continued to increase during the 1880s and early 1890s. Having outgrown their small one-story frame church on New Street, Dale's M.E. Church relocated one block west at the northwest corner of E. Lake and Catherine streets (Zebley 1947). The congregation constructed a larger one-story wood-frame church on the site in 1894, adding a bell and belfry on the west elevation (Figure 45). The relocation of Dale's M.E. Church corresponds with the incorporation of the African American schools into the Delaware State system. From the day of its founding in 1869, the operation and maintenance of the Daletown African American school had been the responsibility of Dale's M.E. Church. One manifestation of their relationship was their proximity, occupying adjoining lots on the east side of New Street. Well attended during the first 24 years of operation, Dale's Church was always restricted by the limited space available; however, the church trustees may have wanted to stay at their New Street location to remain close to their school. After 1893 the African American school was brought under the jurisdiction of the Delaware State Education system, and the separation of the church and school in 1893 likely served as the impetus for the congregation to move Dale's Church to a larger location on Lake Street.

Both churches continued to thrive into the early twentieth century while dwindling congregations plagued African American churches elsewhere in St. Georges Hundred. In fact, both Trinity A.M.E. and Dale's M.E. survive to the present day and continue to support a vibrant African American community.

Between 1880 and the turn of the century, the Daletown community more than doubled in size. In 1900, 472 African Americans were living in 92 households across Middletown. Althouth much of

the population remained concentrated within the traditional borders of Daletown (Lake and Lockwood streets), the Census shows numerous African American households scattered across the greater Middletown community among their Euro-American neighbors.

TABLE 40

OCCUPATIONS OF DALETOWN COMMUNITY RESIDENTS IN THE 1900 CENSUS

OCCUPATION	COUNT
At printing office	1
Bartender	1
Nurse	1
Cook	1
Day laborer	33
Dress maker	1
Farm laborer	27
Harness maker	1
Hostler	12
House maid	1
Ice cream waiter	1
Iron dealer	1
Iron worker	1
Laundry woman	9
Hotel porter	1
Preacher	3
Railroad laborer	2
Restaurant owner	2
School teacher	1
Section hand for railroad	3
Servant	2
Team driver	1
Undertaker helper	1
Waiter	2
Not given (unemployed)	29
Total	139

The diversity of employment opportunities continued to increase. Of the 472 African Americans recorded, the 92 heads of household as well as 47 other adults provided information regarding their employment for the 1900 Census (Table 40). Day and farm laborers remained the majority. The heads of household for 29 families did not provide occupations, suggesting that at the time of the census they were unemployed. The remaining 50 residents listed as being employed at the time show a more diverse workforce than was living in Daletown 20 years earlier. Aside from farm and day laborers, the other common occupations in the community included hostlers and laundry women. Five other individuals are listed as employed by the railroad.

Other more diverse occupations represented in the 1900 Census included a printing office worker, a dress maker, an undertaker helper, hotel and restaurant workers, and a nurse. Several African American business owners are also recorded among the Daletown community in 1900. Fifty-seven-year-old Lewis Henry is listed as an iron dealer. Although his two teenage stepsons did not join Lewis in the family business, Mr. Henry did employ at least one local worker, Sewell Cale. Other business owners included William and Anna Brinkley. Both are listed in the 1900 Census as restaurant owners. At the time of the 1900 Census, other notable residents included three preachers: Isaac Elbert, Cornelius Brown, and Samuel Corbitt. All three were likely ministers for one of the community's two African American churches, although their exact association is uncertain.

Another important member of the Daletown community in 1900 was 26-year-old George H. Jones. Jones is listed as a boarder in the household of Andrew Green and served as the community's schoolteacher. Between June 1, 1899, and June 1, 1900, 68 students between the ages of 5 and 23 attended Mr. Jones's classes at the Middletown African American school (Table 41).

The majority of the students enumerated in the 1900 Census indicated that they attended class for the entire nine-month term. Sixteen others were recorded as being enrolled at the school for eight months. Fourteen others were listed as only attending class for a period of four to six months. Six of those attending school for only four months were children of Thomas Williams. Williams was a farm laborer, and his children were likely taken out of school to help with their father's work. The remaining eight children were likely taken out of school for similar reasons or possibly as a result of general disinterest by the students or their parents.

TABLE 41

DALETOWN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE ACCORDING TO THE 1900 CENSUS

MONTHS	AGES																
ATTENDED	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	18	19	20	23	TOTAL
4	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	1	.	1	1	.	1	1	7
6	.	.	.	.	2	1	1	1	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	7
8	.	1	2	4	.	3	.	2	2	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	16
9	3	1	4	4	5	3	3	1	4	6	1	1	1	1	.	.	38
TOTAL																	68

Another important factor concerning the growth and resilience of the Daletown African American community at the turn of the century involves home ownership. Home ownership promotes community stability and civic participation. Of Daletown's 92 households, 48 listed their status as renters and 39 said they owned their own homes; the remaining five gave no answer. Of the heads of household who owned their homes, only eight paid a mortgage in 1900 and the majority owned their properties outright. A home ownership rate of 45 percent in the Daletown community was slightly higher than the 41 percent Euro-American home ownership rate in greater Middletown during the same period.

The African American population of Daletown reached its height between 1900 and 1920. By 1920 the population had decreased slightly, to 438 individuals in 121 households. Part of the reason for the decrease in population was a decline in household size. In 1900 the majority of households had five to seven family members each, with larger families of up to 14 members not uncommon. By 1920 the majority of African American households in Daletown consisted of only two or three members. Often these small families consisted of young or middle-aged couples living alone or with an elderly family member. Other households consisted of only the middle-aged or older married couples whose children had moved away to seek better opportunities in the industrialized cities to the north such as Wilmington and Philadelphia.

Over the same period the ratio of home ownership to renting also skewed more in favor of the latter. Between 1900 and 1920, the number of households who owned their homes remained the same with 38 heads of house reporting that they owned their house. At the same time households who rented their homes nearly doubled from 48 in 1900 to 83 in 1920. This increase may have been in some part a result of the lack of available homes for sale. Or renting may have been a conscious choice by families to remain flexible in case better prospects appeared elsewhere.

The desire for some to leave Middletown between 1900 and 1920 may have been the result of declining job opportunities. Of the 343 working-age individuals living in Daletown in 1920, 31 percent of the population (n=109) were unemployed. Of the remaining 236 working members of the community, the vast majority continued to be employed as specialized or general laborers (Table 42). In 1900, 14 percent of the working population in Daletown either owned their own businesses or were employed in a specialized trade. By 1920 that number had decreased to only 9 percent of the employable population.

By 1920 seven African American schoolteachers resided in Daletown, up from the one teacher in the 1900 Census. The dramatic increase in schoolteachers had partly to do with the increased number

of students attending school in 1920. Of the 98 school-age children enumerated in Daletown, 90 are listed in the Census as attending school within the previous year. Another reason for the teacher increase was the improvement in mobility provided by automobile and bus transportation. The African American schools in Port Penn (Congo Town) and Summit Bridge each had a resident schoolteacher, but the remaining African American community schools in Odessa, Armstrong Corner, and Mount Pleasant did not have a resident teacher. Based on the Census data from 1920, it appears that the teachers chose to reside in Daletown rather than in the communities they served, as at least three teachers chose an extended daily commute rather than to reside in the rural communities of Armstrong Corner and Mount Pleasant or the diminishing African American community in Odessa. Their choice also illustrates the continued prosperity of Daletown despite the 20 years of out-migration by some to locations outside St. George Hundred.

TABLE 42

OCCUPATIONS OF DALETOWN COMMUNITY RESIDENTS IN THE 1920 CENSUS

OCCUPATION	COUNT
Barber	2
Candy store clerk	2
Clergyman	3
Cook	4
Dressmaker	1
Fireman	1
Housekeeper	1
Keeping house	91
Huckster	1
Junk dealer	2
Laborer	113
Maid	1
Schoolteacher	7
Servant	1
Shoemaker	2
Undertaker	1
Well-digger	1
Not given (unemployed)	109
Total	343

After 1920 the population in Daletown continued to decline slowly, largely the result of out-migration to the north and west. Out-migration affected other African American communities in St. Georges Hundred more dramatically than Daletown; however, the effects were still apparent in the 1940 Census. That year, the community consisted of 91 households with a total population of 336 individuals. Although the decline was not as dramatic as in neighboring Odessa, the Daletown population had decreased by nearly a quarter over a 20-year period. Home ownership had also decreased slightly over the same period. Only 24 households lived in homes they owned and the remaining 67 heads of house were reported as renters.

The diversity of employment available for Daletown residents remained similar to the opportunities present 20 years before (Table 43). The majority of working-age men and women in the community were enumerated as general laborers, servants, or other low-skill profession. Unemployment was relatively low at only 39 individuals (16 percent). This number was somewhat surprising as the United States was still slowly recovering from the Great Depression, although the low unemployment number may have been the result of many former out-of-work Daletown residents having left the community during that period to look for work elsewhere. Few of the community residents listed in the 1940 Census were employed in skilled or specialized professions. The few that were included a chef, two restaurant owners, preachers, mechanics, and millers.

Several individuals were also employed by the WPA. Ellis Moody, Herman Moody, and Mary Lynch were employed by the WPA as team leaders in local recreation projects. An additional 15 men from Daletown were employed as laborers, working on various recreation or drainage projects in the region.

Douglas King, Ralph Peters, and Mae Henry are enumerated in the census as local schoolteachers. All three were likely employed at the du Pont Middletown Colored School, which opened its doors in 1925. The new Middletown African American School was located in Daletown, just south of the former school that had served the local community since its construction in 1869 (Figure 46). Eventually the former schoolhouse was sold to a Baptist congregation and in 1932 became the Mount Calvary Baptist Church (WPA 1940). The new African American school in Middletown was the largest one of its type in St. Georges Hundred, with three classrooms (Figure 47).

TABLE 43

OCCUPATIONS OF DALETOWN COMMUNITY RESIDENTS IN THE 1940 CENSUS

OCCUPATION	COUNT
Baggage man	1
Butler	1
Cemetery caretaker	1
Chauffeur	2
Hotel chef	1
Cook	6
Hair dresser	1
Hauler	1
Bakery helper	1
Housekeeper	2
Keeping house	54
Janitor	4
Laborer	54
Laundress	1
WPA leader	3
WPA laborer	15
Mechanic	3
Miller	2
None (unemployed)	39
Nurse	3
Restaurant owner	2
Preacher	3
Servant	43
Teacher	3
Track walker	1
Truck driver	4
Wash lady	1
Total	252

According to the 1940 Census, only 70 of the 108 school-age children living in Daletown attended school. Although the local attendance appears small for the large facility, the Middletown Colored School also served the African American children who resided outside Daletown as well as those in and around Odessa since the closure of their own school in 1938. The new Middletown school therefore likely served upward to 100 to 150 students in any given year after the Odessa and Middletown school district merger.

In addition to collecting data on the children's school attendance, the 1940 Census was the first to track data on whether adults had attended school in the past as well as the highest grade they achieved. Of the 220 Daletown residents between the age of 18 and 80, only 20 were recorded as never having attended school. Of the remaining 200 residents, the majority (58 percent) had only completed some elementary education and another 23 percent had ended their formal education after graduation from elementary school. An additional 6 percent of Daletown residents completed some high school and 4 percent completed four years of secondary school. By 1940 a number of the community residents had also attended college. One resident had completed one year of higher education and three others had completed two years. An additional 10 residents, representing 5 percent of the educated population, reported that they had completed their four-year degrees.

Several of the college graduates enumerated in the census occupied positions of leadership in the community. They included the three educators at the Middletown Colored School, two of the preachers at Dale's M.E. Church and Trinity A.M.E. Church, and the three WPA team leaders. The remaining two college graduates were Edward Ingram, a 55-year-old baggage man at a local hotel and 28-year-old Mozelle Peters, wife of Ralph Peters, one of the Middletown schoolteachers.

d. Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge

During the nineteenth century African American communities developed north of Middletown along Summit Bridge Road near the major crossroads of Armstrong Corner and Mount Pleasant

FIGURE 46: Original Daletown African American School in Middletown (Delaware Board of Education n.d.)

FIGURE 47: Pierre S. du Pont Middletown African American School (Delaware Board of Education 1923)

as well as south of the village of Summit Bridge. The Summit Bridge Road corridor was largely rural. Some industries had developed in the area during the late nineteenth century, but most were related to agricultural production. The majority of the African American households living in the communities of Armstrong Corner and Mount Pleasant earned their livings as farm laborers or in trades related to the agricultural economy such as milling, canning, and hauling. At the turn of the twentieth century, agriculture continued to remain the driving economic force for these communities.

Few African Americans living along the Summit Bridge Road corridor owned their own homes or property. During the mid-nineteenth century a handful of African American had purchased land in the vicinity of Armstrong Corner; however, by the late nineteenth century those properties had largely reverted back to Euro-American ownership. For the most part the African American families living along the Summit Bridge Road corridor resided in tenant or worker housing established by the Euro-American large farm/estate holders. Census records from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century indicate that many members of these African American communities worked on Euro-American farms and lived in houses nearby. Absentee landownership and the consolidation of large land holdings among wealthy Euro-American elites increased the rate of tenancy in these communities. Many of these tenements were set up on the old house and garden plan. The size and quality of these tenant houses were not on par with more permanent dwellings, allowing the farm owner to easily move or demolish the structure as their needs required. As such, few of these tenant houses remained on the landscape for more than a couple of decades. Since the majority of the homes in the African American communities along Summit Bridge Road involved such housing contracts, the size of communities of Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge was constantly in flux during the late nineteenth century.

In the twentieth century several of the Euro-American landowners along the Summit Bridge Road corridor began to sell the tenant houses or the properties on which they sat to the families of farm laborers who worked on their farms. In Mount Pleasant one property owner who sold portions of his land to African American tenants was Thomas Clayton. In 1888 Thomas Clayton inherited a tract in Mount Pleasant from his father, Joshua. The following year he sold a parcel to an African American woman, Caroline Saddler (Frederick et al. 2006). The property was a small house and garden plot (CRS No. N05240) measuring only 0.12 acre located at the southwest intersection of Summit Bridge Road (present-day U.S. Route 301) and Old School House Road. The house and property remained with Caroline Saddler for two years, until she relocated to Pennsylvania. In 1891 she sold the house and 0.12-acre parcel to Charles Salmon, a Euro-American resident of Summit Bridge. At that time the property was likely again rented out to African American tenants throughout the remainder of the early twentieth century.

During the early twentieth century another Euro-American property owner in the region also sold some of his former tenant parcels to local African American members of the Armstrong Corner community. In 1907 the Brady family sold a half-acre lot to John Walter Truitt. The Truitt family had been residents of the Mount Pleasant community since at least the 1880s, when his father was employed on one of the local Euro-American estates as a farm hand. Eventually, Truitt sold the property located at 4652 Summit Bridge Road (CRS No. N14376) to Wilson Haman, another member of the local African American community. In 1921 the Brady family sold another former

tenant house at 4638 Summit Bridge Road (CRS No. N14381) to Alfred Johnson, a trustee of the Ringgold Chapel (Frederick et al. 2006). The property remained within the African American community at Mount Pleasant throughout the twentieth century.

By the 1920s the shortage of available tenants along the Summit Bridge Road corridor and throughout southern New Castle County began to disrupt the long-standing labor relationships between African American tenants and Euro-American landlords, negatively affecting the landlords' standard of living (De Cunzo and Garcia 1992). As a result property owners began to increasing the use of new labor-saving technology, such as engine-powered harvesting machines and tractors. At the same time many Euro-American landlords began to rely more heavily on itinerant or migrant laborers during periods of seasonal demand rather than lease land and houses to local African Americans for year-round employment. This shift in labor relations further marginalized the remaining members of the African American communities along Summit Bridge Road, causing many more to leave for opportunities elsewhere. For those who remained in the African American communities along Summit Bridge Road during the twentieth century, their economic lives continued to be centered around agricultural production if such work could be found.

The social life for the African American communities of Armstrong Corner, Mount Pleasant, and Summit Bridge was largely centered on the church and the school, which in many ways provided members with a sense of place (Frederick et al. 2006). Members of these communities also made regular trips to Middletown and the nearby African American community of Daletown for occasional shopping trips and socializing. However, for the most part, members of the African American communities along Summit Bridge Road often took to socializing in each other's homes. According to oral interviews conducted by A.D. Marble in 2005 with surviving members of these communities, a network of paths and trails once existed off the main roadways that connected community members with each other and their work on farms (Frederick et al. 2006). Some of these social trails extended from Summit Bridge down to Middletown and connected homes in Armstrong Corner and Mount Pleasant along the way.

Schools had existed in the communities of Mount Pleasant and Summit Bridge since the mid- to late nineteenth century. Built by the Delaware Association, the school in Summit Bridge likely drew the majority of its attendance from the African American families living in south Pencader Hundred and in northwest St. Georges Hundred. Those children in families located in Mount Pleasant and Armstrong Corner attended the Mount Pleasant school during the same period.

As part of Pierre S. du Pont's education movement in the early 1920s, numerous new schools were built in African American communities throughout Delaware. In 1919 Pierre S. du Pont directed the Service Citizens to fund a survey to determine the conditions of all school buildings in the state, including those for African Americans. According to that report, the existing schoolhouse at Mount Pleasant was an old one-room wood-frame structure with one toilet for both girls and boys (Figure 48). All the students sat on old wooden benches that were thought to date to the school's construction in the 1870s (Strayer et al. 1919a). The same report indicated that the original Summit Bridge school was in similar condition. In St. Georges Hundred the first African Americans schools in Port Penn and Odessa were completed by 1921. By 1925 the three remaining schools in Summit Bridge, Mount Pleasant, and Middletown were finished. The Mount Pleasant school was located at the site of the former Delaware Association African American school (Figure 49). Today

FIGURE 48: Original African American School in Mount Pleasant (Delaware Board of Education n.d.)

FIGURE 49: Mount Pleasant Pierre S. du Pont School (Delaware Board of Education 1923)

the school remains at 4648 Summit Bridge Road (CRS No. N13536). The new school was a larger one-room schoolhouse with a pitched roof. Natural lighting was an important feature of the schoolhouse; the building included contiguous center hinged windows that could be opened by pushing them outward. Each window contained nine-over-nine panes of glass. The new school also included a coat room, separate rest rooms for boys and girls, and a furnace room.

The neighboring Summit Bridge School was a two-room design. The two-room schoolhouse shared many of the similar designs as the one-room with large windows for natural light, separate bathrooms, and furnace rooms. The only major differences between the two involved the size of the structure and the placement of the entrance. In the Mount Pleasant one-room schoolhouse students entered from the end of the building; the entrance for the Summit Bridge school was located on the side.

By the early 1930s some of the rural African American schools in New Castle County closed because of declining and shifting populations. Only one community was affected by these closures in St. Georges Hundred. In 1932 the Odessa school was closed and its former students were relocated to the nearby African American school in Middletown located 3 miles to the west. Although the African American populations along the Summit Bridge Road corridor were also declining during the same period, du Pont and the State Board of Education decided to keep the Mount Pleasant and Summit Bridge schools open. The populations the schools served remained identical to the communities the previous Delaware Association schools had served. The African American school in Summit Bridge served the population in and around that community as well as African American families living in southern Pencader Hundred. At the same time enrollment for Mount Pleasant school came from students located in that community as well as the neighboring African American community to the south, Armstrong Corner. According to interviews conducted by A.D. Marble in 2005, one informant, Joseph Ashe, said that he attended the Mount Pleasant school from 1945 to 1951, walking there from his parents' home in Armstrong Corner (Frederick et al. 2006).

In addition to the school, the church served as the focal point for many in the African American communities along the Summit Bridge Road corridor. During much of the nineteenth century, the only African American church located in any of the three communities was Mount Piggah Union American Methodist Episcopal Church in Summit Bridge. From 1820 to 1887, services were held in a small log structure in the community. After 1887 the congregation purchased a new lot near the bridge that crossed the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal and erected a wood-frame church. The African American community in Summit Bridge remained at the wood-frame church until 1932. That year, the church was condemned and purchased by the federal government as part of widening the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal (WPA 1940). The church was not the only victim of the canal expansion, as several members of the Summit Bridge African American community also lost their homes at the same time. By 1937 the Summit Bridge congregation had built a new frame church with a basement along Old Summit Bridge Road (Figure 50). Today the church still exists, located near the south bank of the canal.

The Summit Bridge African American community had the convenience of a local house of worship since the 1820s, but the other two communities along Summit Bridge Road were not as fortunate. For much of the nineteenth century, African American families living in Armstrong Corner and

FIGURE 50: Mt. Piggah Union Methodist Episcopal Church in Summit Bridge (Zebley 1947)

Mount Pleasant were required to travel several miles for religious services. Some chose to attend church in Summit Bridge while others traveled south to join congregations at Dale's M.E. Church in Daletown.

By the late nineteenth century a new church seems to have been constructed in Mount Pleasant, although the details of the church's founding and fate have largely been lost. The only evidence of its existence that still remains today comes from ancillary accounts in associated land records or through oral histories of people who lived in the area during that time. The first mention of a church at Mount Pleasant appears in the 1891 deed for the property at 4634 Summit Bridge Road (CRS No. N05240). That deed of conveyance between Caroline Saddler and Charles Salmon mentions an A.M.E. church as the adjacent property to the west. Based on that description, the church would have been situated in the location of the du Pont-era school (CRS No. N13536) (Frederick et al. 2006). Records associated with the creation of the new du Pont school indicate that the new Mount Pleasant schoolhouse was constructed close to, if not on, the same location as the former Delaware Association schoolhouse (Strayer et al. 1919a). Of the five Delaware Association schoolhouses constructed in St. Georges Hundred during the late 1860s and early 1870s, four were built in association with an existing African American church. Since the later deeds for the adjacent property, 4634 Summit Bridge Road (CRS No. N05240), indicate that a church was in the location of the former Delaware Association School at Mount Pleasant, then it is reasonable to assume the former Delaware Association school served a dual role as the local community church from at least the 1870s until its demolition and replacement by the du Pont school in 1923. Oral interviews conducted with longtime community member Cordelia Ross also indicated that a church was located in the approximate area during the early twentieth century (Frederick et al. 2006). This evidence seems strong, even though no deeds, maps, or other records clearly identify an African American church in Mount Pleasant.

Members of the African American community in and around Armstrong Corner also set up their own church in 1912, calling it the Ringgold Chapel A.M.E. Church (CRS No. N14330). It is

possible that this congregation was created from or replaced the former church likely located in Mount Pleasant during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Frederick et al. 2006). Ringgold Chapel was named for Rev. Isaac Ringgold from the Wilmington District, who was the first circuit-elder to serve the congregation. The original church was located on the south side of present-day Marl Pit Road and consisted of a one-story frame structure with shingle siding and a corrugated iron roof (WPA 1940). The church remained at its Marl Pit Road location until 1944, when the structure was relocated farther south, on the east side of Summit Bridge Road. The church remained in that location through much of the twentieth century. A concrete block building was later constructed adjacent to the church to serve as a social hall for the community. Eventually the wood-frame church was torn down and the congregation intended to build a new one in the same location; however, the new church was never constructed, and the congregation decided to utilize the concrete social hall for religious services.

Despite the construction of churches and schools, the African American communities of Summit Bridge, Mount Pleasant, and Armstrong Corner continued to decline through the early twentieth century. African American households living in all three communities were generally located along the major thoroughfare of Summit Bridge Road or along its major crossroads of Armstrong Corner Road, Boyd's Corner Road, and Old School House Road. In Summit Bridge many African American members of the community resided in houses close to the south bank of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. With the expansion of the canal in 1937, many community members became displaced, as noted above. Some relocated elsewhere in the community and others left the area. Similar displacement occurred in the communities of Armstrong Corner and Mount Pleasant when Summit Bridge Road was widened in the 1950s. By the late twentieth century all vestiges of the former African American communities along Summit Bridge Road were gone (Frederick et al. 2006). Today all that remains of these former communities are the few structures previously occupied by African American residents that still line Summit Bridge Road between Armstrong Corner and Summit Bridge.

3. Work and Economic Life

The general employment trends for African Americans in St Georges Hundred during the early twentieth century were similar to those of the nineteenth century. Although more economic opportunities outside agricultural work became available because of increased industrialization, St. Georges Hundred remained largely agricultural during the period. As such, farm and general labor continued to be the main source of employment for African Americans remaining in the Hundred.

According to the 1900 Census, 449 African American men and women were employed in various trades and industries across St. Georges Hundred (Table 44). Of the 321 men listed as employed, 242 were working as unskilled laborers. Of that number, 148 were farm laborers and an additional 85 were enumerated as day laborers. Other men worked as teamsters, drivers, and laborers on the Delaware Railroad in west St. Georges Hundred. Several men found employment in other trades and professions, but they composed the minority of the working male population.

TABLE 44

OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVING
IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1900

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Men		Women	
Laborer		*Laborer*	
Day laborer	85	Day laborer	1
Farm boy	1	Farm laborer	2
Farm laborer	148	*Other*	
Railroad laborer	5	Cook	37
Team driver	1	Dressmaker	1
Teamster	1	Housekeeper	6
Carter	1	House servant	5
Other		House maid	1
At printing office	1	House servant	8
Bartender	1	Landlord	1
Blacksmith	1	Laundress	29
Farmer	8	Washerwoman	1
Fisherman	3	Child nurse	1
Harness maker	1	Home girl	3
Horse breaking	1	Home maid	1
Hostler	16	Restaurant owner	1
Ice cream waiter	1	Unemployed	30
Iron dealer	1		
Iron worker	1		
Hotel porter	1		
Preacher	4		
Restaurant owner	1		
School teacher	1		
Shoemaker	2		
Undertaker helper	1		
Mail carrier	1		
Minister	1		
Waiter	2		
Unemployed	30		
Total Men	321	Total Women	128

Hostler continued to be a popular occupation among African American population as well as various other service industries, such as waiter and hotel porter. Several African American men also found employment as tradesmen near the more urban communities of Daletown and Odessa. They included a blacksmith, iron dealer, restaurant owner, and shoe maker.

Fewer African American women in St. Georges Hundred worked outside the home. Those who did most commonly were employed in service industries: hotel and restaurant cooks, laundresses, housekeepers and maids, and washerwomen. Of the 128 women employed in the 1900 Census, only two are listed in skilled professions. Middletown resident Frances Ann Empson is listed as a child nurse, and neighbor Mary L. Scott is self-employed as a dress maker. Two other women found alternative employment outside domestic or service work. In Congo Town Henrietta Green is enumerated as a landlord of several local properties. In Daletown Anna Brinkley owned a restaurant with her husband William. In the 1900 Census both Anna and William are listed as restaurant owners.

By 1920 the African American population in St. Georges Hundred had declined by approximately 50 percent from what it had been 40 years earlier. That year the total African American population in St. Georges Hundred numbered only 1,098 residents. The decline in population over the 40-year period was largely a result of the general trend in out-migration as families and individuals left the rural areas of the state, including St. Georges Hundred, for new opportunities in urban areas. Although it was difficult for African Americans to secure jobs in the factories, other opportunities emerged because of the industrialization, such as municipal work (Skelcher 1995b).

The availability of factory jobs for African Americans increased once the United States entered World War I. There was an increased demand for workers in northern factories because of the labor shortages produced by the war. African Americans from the South, including Delaware, moved to the North and filled these voids in the labor market (Skelcher 1995b). As a result out-migration increased dramatically in the years leading up to 1920. Despite the decline in the African American population, the 1920 Census shows the greatest diversity in types of employment for those who remained in St Georges Hundred since occupations were first included in the Census in 1850. Forty-five different occupations are listed among the 444 individuals present that year (Table 45). Most of the working population, 316 individuals or 71 percent, was employed in only 4 percent of the 45 represented labor fields, working as either farm or general laborers. Local farms remained the largest local employer of St. Georges African American population. One hundred seventy-nine men and one woman are recorded as farm laborers. Only five African American residents are enumerated as farm owners in 1920, suggesting that the majority of the farm laborers worked on area Euro-American agricultural properties. The second most common profession among African Americans in 1920 is general laborers; 137 men and one woman listed their professions as such. Some might have worked in construction or in some of the various industries around Middletown; however, it is more likely most were also employed in agricultural work.

The remaining 96 percent of the different occupations listed in the 1920 Census is filled by 29 percent of the African American workforce. Those careers range from various jobs in the service and labor fields to skilled professions such as barbers, mechanics, schoolteachers, shoemakers, and undertakers. African American men and women from St. Georges Hundred also found employment in new fields by 1920. Several men worked in munitions plants, as truck drivers and chauffeurs, mechanics, and firemen. Women generally did not see the same diversity in available employment as their male counterparts. Most still worked in service industries in hotels, restaurants, or in the private homes of their Euro-American neighbors.

The 1920 Census also began recording whether individuals were self-employed, wage or salary labor, or employers. Of the 444 employed African Americans in St. Georges Hundred, 93 percent or 415 individuals were wage laborers. Only four were salaried: a farmer, a minister, a schoolteacher, and a caretaker. Twenty-two others were listed as working on their own account, suggesting that they were all self-employed. They included various store owners in Daletown ranging from barber, mechanic, undertaker, to shoe maker. Two of the five farmers are also listed as self-employed. Only two of the 444 individuals listed in the 1920 Census are enumerated as employers: Joshua Jones and Abraham Jones, farmers and cousins. Joshua owned a farm near the African American community of Armstrong Corner, and Abraham ran a 200-acre farm outside Port Penn. The census does not indicate how many people each cousin employed; given the size of Abraham's farm, he likely employed at least several dozen during the planting and harvesting seasons.

TABLE 45

OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVING
IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1920

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Men		Women	
Laborer		Laborer	
Contractor	3	Farm	1
County	1	General	1
Creamery	3	Other	
Farm	179	Candy store	1
Munitions plant	2	Cook	33
Railroad	3	Dressmaker	1
Stables	2	Family servant	3
State roads	1	Hair dresser	1
General	137	Housekeeper	9
Other		Laundress	4
Garage mechanic	1	Maid	1
Munitions plant mechanic	1	Schoolteacher	9
Barber	2	Servant	6
Candy store	1	Washing woman	2
Caretaker	1		
Cemetery caretaker	1		
Chauffeur	1		
Truck driver	3		
Clergyman	3		
Cobbler	1		
Cook	2		
Farm manager	1		
Farmer	5		
Fireman	5		
Fish trader	1		
Gardener	1		
Huckster	1		
Junk dealer	2		
Methodist minister	1		
Garage owner	1		
Shoemaker	2		
Steward	1		
Undertaker	1		
Waiter	1		
Well digger	1		
Total Men	372	Total Women	72

During much of the 1920s, the out-migration of African Americans in rural areas like St. Georges Hundred continued. Only with the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 did the trend in out-migration cease, at least for a short time. As a result of the Depression, many northern factories closed and opportunities in other markets and industries were scarce. Nearly a quarter of the total population of the United States was unemployed, and those who could find work did so at reduced wages. Many African American families who had intended to leave their agricultural jobs in St. Georges Hundred were forced to reconsider their options during the early 1930s.

Beginning in 1933, the federal government, under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, enacted a series of domestic economic reforms known as the New Deal. These programs included a number of laws passed by Congress as well as a series of executive orders enacted by Roosevelt that were intended to provide relief to the unemployed and poor, improve the economy, and reform the financial system that had caused the economic collapse. Although many of the programs associated with the New Deal eased the burdens of the population, one measure produced inadvertent consequences for the thousands of African Americans working as agricultural laborers across the South as well as for the hundreds living in St. Georges Hundred.

Rural America was a high priority for Roosevelt as he believed that full economic recovery depended upon the recovery of agriculture, and raising farm prices was a major tool, even though it meant higher food prices. In May 1933 the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed. This New Deal program created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which in turn sought to increase prices for agricultural products by reducing the supply farms produced. Farmers received government subsidies in return for reducing the output of their farms by one quarter (Skelcher 1995b). Farmers, including those in St. Georges Hundred, complied with the act by taking a portion of their lands out of production. Throughout the South many of the lands taken out of production were those leased by African American sharecroppers or tenants (Skelcher 1995b). In addition, the reduction of agricultural production meant that farmers needed to employ fewer farm laborers, the work in which 70 percent of the male African American population in St. Georges Hundred was employed. Thus, the AAA inadvertently led to the unemployment of hundreds of African American farm workers, tenants, and sharecroppers across Delaware (Skelcher 1995b). Forced out of work, many former residents in St. Georges Hundred had no other choice but to seek work in northern cities.

By 1940 the African American population in St. Georges Hundred had reached its lowest number in over 140 years: only 782 African Americans were living in the Hundred. Of that number, 330 were listed as having worked in the previous year, including 219 men and 111 women (Table 46). Likely a result of the AAA, the number of men and women employed as agricultural or d6y laborers dropped from 316 in 1920 to 118 in 1940. With few farms employing laborers, many African American men found work in other labor fields, including construction, dredging, lumber and livestock yards, and mills. Others worked as truck drivers, janitors, and in service industries such as hotels, restaurants, and in private homes. As in decades past, women generally worked in service fields as maids, laundresses, housekeepers, and cooks. Of the 111 African American women employed during the 1940 Census, 53 individuals or 48 percent listed their employment as a servant in a private home.

The 1940 Census also reveals some evidence of some African American residents finding employment through other New Deal programs. In Daletown 22-year-old Carlton Summers listed his employment as a laborer in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). As a young single man, Carlton Summers was the ideal candidate for the program. The CCC was a work relief program that ran from 1933 to 1942 and was designed for unemployed, unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 25. Although the exact nature of Carlton's work is unknown, men employed by the CCC were given jobs related to the conserving and developing natural resources in rural lands owned by federal, state, and local governments. Summers and other young men like him were often employed in projects ranging from transportation or structural improvements to erosion and flood control.

TABLE 46

OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVING
IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1940

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	OCCUPATION	NUMBER
Men		Men, continued	
Laborer		Butler	1
General	32	Chauffeur	2
Bridge construction	1	Housekeeper	1
Building construction	3	Cook	1
Road construction	9	Flagman	1
General construction	14	Restaurant owner	1
Canal drudging	1	Bus driver	1
CCC	1	Shoe maker	1
Company	1	Teacher	2
Farm	80	Baggage man	1
Farm foreman	1	Track walker	1
Feed mill	2	Bakery helper	1
Flour mill	3	Waiter	1
Hay	1	Total Men	219
Laundry	1		
Laying pipe	1	Women	
Livestock yard	1	*Laborer*	
Lumber yard	1	Farm	1
Rope factory	1	General	5
Janitor		*Cook*	
Church	1	Hotel	1
City Hall	1	Private home	13
School	1	Restaurant	2
General	1	*Housekeeper*	
Truck Driver		Private home	2
Coal	2	Shop	1
Feed	1	*Laundress*	
Garden	1	At home	9
Lumber	3	Private home	6
Junk	1	*Maid*	
General	1	Farm	1
WPA		Private home	7
Leader	2	*WPA*	
Laborer	17	Leader	1
Other		*Other*	
Cemetery caretaker	1	Servant, private home	53
Minister	4	Washing woman	1
Dairy owner	1	Nurse	2
Farmer	1	Restaurant owner	1
Fish peddler	1	Janitoress	1
Mechanic, garage	4	Hair dresser	2
Hotel chef	2	Schoolteacher	2
Servant	4	Total Women	111

In addition to Carlton Summers, several other African American residents in St. Georges Hundred were employed under another New Deal program, the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The WPA was established in 1935 and in 1939 was renamed the Work Projects Administration. The program put millions of unemployed people to work across the country to carry out public

works projects, including the construction of public buildings and roads. In 1940, 17 men in St. Georges Hundred listed their employment as WPA laborers. Some worked as ditch diggers in local drainage projects while others were involved in constructing public recreation buildings and parks. In addition to those enumerated as WPA laborers, three other African American residents, living in Daletown, were employed as WPA leaders. Ellis Moody, Herman Moody, and Mary Lynch were all employed as team leaders working on local recreation projects in St. Georges Hundred.

Although fewer than in years past, some African American residents in St. Georges Hundred owned their own businesses. Daletown residents Charles and Lydia Frazier owned a restaurant in Middletown where they likely employed several local cooks and waiters. Their neighbor, Grace Todd, owned her own hairdressing business, which she ran out of her house on Cox Street. On nearby Lockwood Street, Rose Johnson, the daughter of Rev. O.M. Johnson, also operated a hair dressing business out of her father's house. Outside Middletown, Lee Minus was a business owner, operating his own local dairy. Clarence Brown also lived outside Middletown, on present-day Middletown-Warwick Road, where he managed his own farm. He is listed as renting his home but managing his own account, suggesting that he was a tenant farmer leasing his home and farm from a local Euro-American property owner. No other African American farmers appear in the census for St. Georges Hundred for that year.

The gains African American residents in St. Georges Hundred had made in the economic sphere during the late nineteenth century appeared to largely dissipate over the course of the early twentieth century. Out-migration played a large role in this decline as many African Americans born in St. Georges Hundred found few opportunities at home and eventually relocated to industrializing northern cities where factories demanded an ever growing workforce. The Great Depression further affected those who remained. In previous years African American residents could reliably find work on local farms, but New Deal programs such as the Agricultural Adjustment Act inadvertently reduced the number of available jobs by incentivizing farm owners to produce less to drive up the prices of their products. What had been the foundation of African American employment in St Georges Hundred for centuries was irrevocably changed, leaving those who would have remained little choice but to seek new opportunities elsewhere. Some remained and found work in a variety of service industries or were fortunate enough to find employment in the few agricultural jobs that were still available. A few others started their own businesses. Mostly, those who remained found work in other unskilled professions in local Euro-American owned industries located in the vicinity of Middletown.

4. Social and Political Conditions

During the late nineteenth century Delaware began the legal process of institutionalizing segregation. The trend toward rigid, legalized segregation had already begun years before, but it culminated in the 1897 rewriting of the Delaware Constitution, which introduced "Jim Crow" laws into the State. Some have argued that Delaware set the pattern for Black Codes and Jim Crow laws that were so common in the late nineteenth century, and that their legal passage in the 1890s only confirmed already established practices (Skelcher 1995b).

Following emancipation in 1865, the Delaware legislature began to place limitations on African American citizenship. Politicians lost no time in forging an anti-black agenda, especially

Democrats who did not favor emancipation (Newton 1996). The governor in Delaware at the time of emancipation was Kent County Democrat Gove Saulsbury. In his inaugural address in March 1865 Saulsbury said the true position of the Negro was as a subordinate race excluded from all political and social privileges (Newton 1996). The following year Delaware's democratic legislature resolved that all African Americans were not the political or social equals of resident Euro-Americans. Over time, the legislature found ways to prevent African Americans from exercising full citizenship, including exclusion from jury duty and the practice of law. For much of the nineteenth century, African Americans were also prevented from holding political office and civic positions such as firefighters and police officers. Segregation in Delaware also differed slightly from county to county. Segregation in rural Kent and Sussex counties resembled that in other states in the Upper South, like Maryland, but African Americans in more cosmopolitan New Castle County enjoyed more freedom (Finkelman 2009). In New Castle County African Americans could use public libraries and parks as well as sit where they pleased on public transportation. However, at the same time they were prohibited from sharing more intimate spaces with their Euro-American neighbors, including theaters, restaurants, and hotels.

Furthermore, segregation was inadvertently exacerbated by the very institutions created by African Americans to compensate for the social and political inequalities they faced, although the establishment of African American communities and self-help institutions such as schools and churches during the nineteenth century in some ways eased the process of segregation.

The only sign of clear social and political progress for African Americans during the late nineteenth century was in the realm of education. Educational opportunities for African Americans widened in Delaware during Reconstruction in part aided by various organizations such as the Freedmen's Bureau and the Delaware Association. These efforts along with those in local African American communities throughout the state were mainly focused on primary education. Nothing was done about the higher education of African American residents until 1891, when provisions of the second Morrill Act resulted in the founding of Delaware State College (now Delaware State University). The first Morrill Act was signed into law by Abraham Lincoln in 1862 and created land grant colleges in the Union states during the Civil War. The second Morrill Act was passed in 1890 and provided the same land grant funding for the establishment of black colleges throughout the country. For many years Delaware State College provided opportunities for both secondary and college education, although the law stipulated that the institution focus on the education of African Americans in the agricultural and mechanical fields. Despite the success in establishing their own institution of higher education, the college perpetuated state segregation policies by isolating African American students from their Euro-American counterparts.

At the turn of the twentieth century, African Americans achieved several political breakthroughs in Delaware, although not specifically in St. Georges Hundred. In 1901 a Wilmington laborer and small business owner named Thomas E. Postles was elected to the city council (Figure 51). Postles became a hero to Wilmington's African American population. His popularity eventually led to the founding of an African American political club named in his honor, the Postles Club (Newton 1996). That same year Odessa businessman John Hunn was elected governor of Delaware. Hunn was a Quaker and son of John Hunn (1818-1894), the St. Georges Hundred abolitionist and a chief engineer on the Underground Railroad. Prior to winning the governor's office, John Hunn had worked with his father with the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina. In 1876 Hunn returned to

Delaware, where he settled in Camden and operated a fruit, lumber, and lime business. After taking office in January 1901, Governor Hunn appointed John Barclay as janitor to the Delaware State House (Newton 1996). Although the position was a menial job, it represented the first time an African American served in any capacity in the Delaware state government.

FIGURE 51: Portrait of Thomas E. Postles (Newton 1996)

Despite the small early successes, African American residents continued to face opposition to their efforts for racial equality. The City of Wilmington entered the national spotlight in 1903 with the lynching of George White (Figure 52). White was a local African American laborer who was accused of the rape and murder of 17-year-old white woman, Helen S. Bishop. A local Presbyterian minister, Robert Elwood, incited members of the Olivett Presbyterian Church with an open-air sermon after the court refused to hold a special session to try White. A mob, estimated at 5,000 strong, later broke into the workhouse where George White was held. The group carried White outside the city limits where they burned him at the stake (Finkelman 2009). The lynching took place only 500 feet from the home of George White's alleged victim. The events of June 22, 1903, made national headlines, including a two-page article in the *New York Times* (1903). The *Times* article, published the following day, provided a detailed account of the lynching from accounts of the initial planning of the lynching to the aftermath and arrests. According to the *Times*, the site of the lynching became an impromptu tourist attraction:

> During the day thousands of persons went to the scene of the lynching, many of them intent upon securing ghastly relics. In this, however, they met with little success, as the burning had been so effectual as to destroy almost every vestige of the victim's body. The only remains were pieces of his bones. In order to reach the scene many of these people walked the three miles from Wilmington in a drizzling rain, and those who rode on the trolley cars had to walk a mile before they reached the spot. But nothing could abate their ardor and all day there was a constant stream of people traveling along the road.
>
> *New York Times*, June 23, 1903

The lynching produced a mix of reactions. The press was unanimous in denouncing the affair, and law enforcement quickly sought to arrest the perpetrators. Within a few hours of George White's death, authorities arrested Arthur Corwell, one of the alleged ring leaders of the mob. A local retired businessman, Col. James McComb, reportedly offered to bail out those arrested in connection with the lynching. Upon hearing of Corwell's arrest, McComb called on the Wilmington police to make good on his promise of bail. However, local authorities would not

allow the bail to be posted. The arrest also incited a second mob in the days that followed. This mob turned its wrath on the local African American population. Participants rioted in local black neighborhoods and looted and burned homes and businesses of African American residents. Despite the support the lynch mob participants received from some in the Euro-American population, the press continued to condemn them and eventually the African American community and their supporters in the Euro-American population forced the minister who incited the lynching to leave Wilmington.

FIGURE 52: Portrait of George White (Newton 1996)

The episode also galvanized Delaware's African American population. In 1906 William T. Trusty, president of the Postles Club, pledged "to battle for the benefit of the Negro until the last Negro in Delaware dies, if need be" (Newton 1996). Fortunately, Trusty and the Postles Club were not left to fight alone for African American equality for long. In 1915 a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was chartered in Wilmington. The new NAACP chapter had some immediate success. That same year the group organized a campaign to ban the showing of the film *The Birth of a Nation* in local theaters. The film portrayed two families during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Its controversy involved the film's portrayal of African-American men (played by white actors in blackface) as unintelligent and sexually aggressive toward white women, and the portrayal of the Ku Klux Klan as heroic. Cognizant of the events that led to the lynching of George White 12 years earlier, the NAACP felt that the film would likely stir up bad feelings between the races (Newton 1996). The campaign was a success and the movie along with other similar films was banned from Wilmington theaters. In the decades that followed, the Wilmington chapter of the NAACP continued to work for African American equality, particularly in the realms of better housing, fair employment, and school integration.

With the entrance of the United States into World War I, Delaware's African American population answered the call to duty. Across the county African Americans served in higher proportions than their Euro-American counterparts (Skelcher 1995b). From 1917 to 1919, African Americans represented approximately 13 percent of the military while making up only 10 percent of the total population. The higher proportion of African American servicemen was likely caused in part by the draft policies in place at the time. Out of the total number of African Americans who registered for selective service, 32 percent were drafted while only 27 percent of the total Euro-Americans who registered were enlisted (Skelcher 1995b). From Delaware 1,400 African Americans served in U.S. forces during World War I.

Several Delaware African Americans served in the Ninety-third Division, the most highly decorated American division of the war (Skelcher 1995b). The division included four all-African American regiments, the 369th, 370th, 371st, and 372nd. Several of Delaware's African American soldiers also died during the war. While serving in Company C of the 325th Field Service, Sgt. Henry E. Moody, a resident of Mount Pleasant, was killed in action in September 1918 during the final assault on the Germans in the Argonne Forest (Skelcher 1995b). Another St. Georges Hundred resident, Stacey S. Shockley, died while serving in France with Company K of the 807th Infantry. Private Shockley was the son of Odessa day laborer David Shockley.

Unfortunately for returning African American veterans, victory in Europe did not equal progress for those returning to Delaware after the war. Although they fought to make the world safe for democracy, the returning veterans did not find a different world from the one they had left (Newton 1996). Over the next 20 years returning veterans as well as the general African American population in Delaware continued to face economic, social, and political discrimination. When the WPA studied African Americans in the 1930s, the writers found that a "color line" did in fact exist, especially in the southern Delaware counties of Kent and Sussex (Newton 1996). In those areas there was little interaction between African American and Euro-American residents, except at the bottom economic levels of society or by wealthy whites who employed African American servants.

In northern Delaware, African Americans in the 1920s to 1940s were granted theoretical equality, but there still was little intimate or general association with their Euro-American neighbors. In 1924 several African Americans held relatively prominent roles in society in northern Delaware, particularly in Wilmington and the surrounding areas. Some African Americans were employed as physicians, dentists, and pharmacists. Others held positions as members of the Wilmington Board of Education, Board of Health, and City Council (Newton 1996).

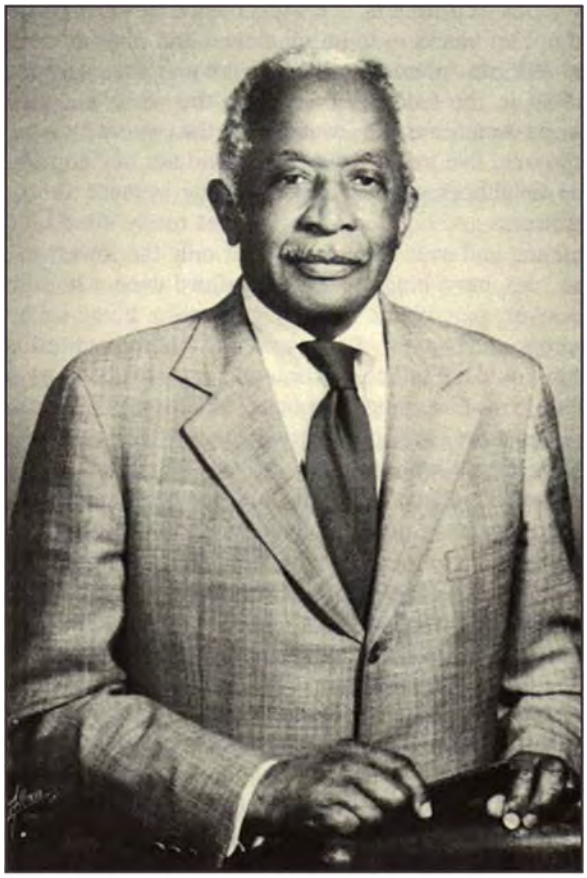


FIGURE 53: Portrait of Louis L. Redding (Redding 1991)

In 1929 the Delaware Bar admitted the first African American lawyer in the state, Louis L. Redding (Figure 53). Born in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1901, Redding moved to Wilmington during his childhood (Redding 1991). His father, Lewis, was a graduate of Howard University and was one of only four black postal carriers in the city of Wilmington (Newton 1996). In addition, Lewis's father was a leader in the Wilmington African American community, serving as Secretary of the NAACP and trustee in the Bethel Church. Redding, like other African American children during the time, attended the city's segregated schools and graduated from Howard High School

in 1919. Four years later he graduated from Brown University and in 1925 he entered the Harvard Law School. Redding was the only African American member of Harvard Law School's graduating class of 1928. The following year he passed the Delaware Bar examination. Louis L. Redding began practicing law in Delaware in 1929 and remained the state's sole non-white lawyer for more than 25 years. Redding started a general practice in Wilmington, taking on criminal and family cases, but he also practiced in all three counties in Delaware. He was legal counsel for the Wilmington NAACP and as such handled cases that successfully challenged discrimination in housing, public accommodations, employment, and the criminal justice system.

In St. Georges Hundred five African American men are enumerated as firemen in the 1920 Census. Such civic positions had been off limits to African Americans just 20 years earlier. Despite these modest advances, African Americans in St. Georges Hundred and greater Delaware remained frustrated with the slow pace of economic and political change in the state during the 1920s.

During the Great Depression Delaware's African Americans were in a desperate plight. More than half of the state's African American population was employed as agricultural or domestic laborers during the 1930s. In rural St. Georges Hundred the percentage of agricultural and domestic workers was much higher, representing over 73 percent of the African American population. As farmers reduced production and households cut back on domestic labor, many African Americans found themselves without meaningful employment. At the same time few labor unions admitted African Americans as members, meaning that those who did find work during the depression often had little support or means to prevent their wages from being reduced (Finkelman 2009). During the Depression WPA investigators estimated that nearly 60 percent of the employable African Americans in Delaware lacked any visible means of support and another 20 percent were employed in one of the government work relief programs such as the WPA or the CCC (Newton 1996). As a result only around 20 percent of the employable African American population in Delaware found work in traditional jobs such as farm or domestic laborers.

African American allegiance to the Republican Party was reassessed during the Great Depression. Despite Franklin D. Roosevelt's victory in the 1932 presidential election, his Republican opponent, incumbent Herbert Hoover, won over two-thirds of the African American vote. By the end of Roosevelt's first administration, however, one of the most dramatic voter shifts in American history had occurred. In 1936 three-quarters of African American voters supported the Democrats. They turned to Roosevelt, in part, because his spending programs gave them a measure of relief from the Depression. Many African Americans left out of work as a result of the Great Depression found other employment as a result of Roosevelt's New Deal work programs while others found relief through a variety of social welfare policies enacted by his administration.

Still, Roosevelt's New Deal did not bring about the civil rights reform many of Delaware's African Americans had hoped. Instead of using New Deal programs to promote civil rights, his administration consistently bowed to the Southern Democrats needed to pass major legislation. In fact, most New Deal programs maintained the social status quo by continuing to discriminate against African Americans. The National Recovery Association (NRA) not only offered Euro-Americans the first opportunity for jobs, it also authorized separate and lower pay scales for African Americans within the program. Another New Deal program, the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), refused to guarantee mortgages for African Americans who tried to buy in

traditionally white neighborhoods. While many African Americans found employment with the CCC, the administrators maintained segregated camps for Euro-American and African Americans enrollees. For African Americans in Delaware, and throughout the country, true progress in civil rights was still decades from becoming reality.

5. Education

Several schools dedicated to the primary education of African Americans were established in St. Georges Hundred prior to 1880. Following the Civil War, African Americans struggled to build the institutional foundation of this system. For the most part, communities in the Hundred were able to succeed in this task through the spirit of self-help (Skelcher 1995a). With the aid of various institutions such as the Delaware Association for the Moral Improvement and Education of Colored People and the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, African American communities were able to construct, staff, and support several primary schools across St. Georges Hundred.

The majority of schools founded in St. Georges Hundred were associated with the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and therefore religion played an important role in the curriculum. The influence of the Methodist Church in these communities led to the establishment of a classical education with little to no industrial training as was common in other areas in the South after the Civil War (Skelcher 1995a). Industry was already well established in northern Delaware during that time, but the rest of the state south of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, including St. Georges Hundred, remained a rural and agrarian society with most the African American residents employed in agriculture (Skelcher 1995a). As such, this portion of Delaware remained relatively immune to the pressure of industrialization and the need for a trained industrial workforce.

The philosophy of African American education in St. Georges Hundred and throughout Delaware stressed a liberal curriculum. Because of local control of the schools and the religious missionary influence, African American education in Delaware developed along a "New England" style of education (Skelcher 1995a). The majority of teachers employed in the African American schools in St. Georges Hundred initially came from the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, and many of these teachers originally came from New England and received their early education there (Skelcher 1995a). Their background in the New England model greatly influenced their teaching philosophy in Delaware. The New England model stressed a classical education that included reading, writing, and arithmetic as the core courses. Since most of the African American schools in St. Georges Hundred terminated at the sixth grade, this curriculum fit well with their needs (Skelcher 1995a). Over time, the Delaware curriculum expanded to include additional subjects such as spelling, history, and geography. Since the majority of schools in St. Georges Hundred were associated with the Delaware Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, their curriculum also included Christian instruction for the primary schools.

At first, most teachers employed in African American schools in St. Georges Hundred and greater Delaware came from three institutions. As noted above, the majority came from the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia (now Chaney State University). The Delaware Association originally contracted with the institution to supply teachers in Delaware. This relationship began

after the Civil War and continued for only a few years after. Eventually, the rule restricting teacher hires from the Colored Institute was waved and the Delaware Institute began recruiting educators from other institutions, such as the Biblical Institute in Baltimore (now Morgan State University) and Lincoln University in Chester County, Pennsylvania (Skelcher 1995a).

Eventually, there was a growing demand from African American communities in St. Georges Hundred and throughout Delaware for trained teachers from within the state to staff the newly established schools. The establishment of teaching institutions in Wilmington was a response for such demand. By 1869, 70 teachers had graduated from the Wilmington institutions (Skelcher 1995a). In 1891 the Delaware State College (now Delaware State University) was founded in Dover, Delaware. This institution also trained qualified teachers, many of whom began to teach in local schools by the turn of the twentieth century.

In addition to procuring and funding teachers for the schools, the Delaware Association, in conjunction with the Freedmen's Bureau, made recommendations for the term and length of the school year. Officials recommended that the school year begin October 1 of each year. This date was not arbitrary as it would coincide with the end of harvest season, and allow children to begin school without their attendance interfering with farm work (Skelcher 1995a). For urban locations in northern Delaware, the length of the school year was set at nine months. For rural locations, including St. Georges Hundred, the school year was set for six months, thus allowing students to complete their courses in time for the April planting season.

One important facet of the New England model of education was largely missing in the early African American schools in Delaware, including St. Georges Hundred. The New England model stressed state support for universal education, but such state benevolence for African American education did not exist in Delaware until the 1890s. State legislation dating to 1829 established a system of free schools for Euro-American children in the state. School districts were formed and public education largely supported through property and poll taxes. Although the majority of African American residents in St. Georges Hundred did not own land, heads of household did pay poll tax. As a result African Americans living in St. Georges Hundred paid taxes for an institution their children were not freely permitted to attend. African American children were not prohibited from attending the state supported schools, but families had to pay ten cents per week for each child (Skelcher 1995). As a result those who could afford the fee were essentially taxed twice for a privilege freely given to Euro-American families. None of the African American families in St. Georges Hundred took advantage of this "opportunity."

The issue of public funding of African American education eventually led to two statewide political conventions in 1872 and 1873 (Skelcher 1995). As a result of the first convention, Methodist Episcopal minister T.G. Steward issued a call to African Americans in the state. His article appeared in the *Delaware State Journal* of December 21, 1872. In his article Steward outlined the various grievances among the state's African American population:

> 1st. In that we are excluded from the school provisions made by the State. Our Children do not go to the public schools.
>
> 2nd. In that we are uniformly excluded from the juries of the State and Federal Courts within the State.
>
> 3rd. An unholy prejudice fostered by this unfair conduct of the legal authorities excludes us from profession and the mechanic arts, and dooms us inevitably to the hardest work and the lowest wages.
>
> Steward 1872

As a result of the second convention, delegates produced a report that outlined their goals for a publicly supported educational system for African Americans in the state (Skelcher 1995a). They demanded that equal school rights be inclusive of African Americans in Delaware. Also during the 1873 convention, delegates endorsed the pending United States Congressional Civil Rights Bill that eventually passed into law on March 1, 1875. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 banned segregation in all public facilities, which also included schools. However, the victory was short-lived. In 1883 the United States Supreme Court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875, forbidding discrimination in hotels, trains, and other public spaces, was unconstitutional and not authorized by the 13th or 14th Amendments to the Constitution.

The convention was successful in pressuring the Delaware State legislature to pass "An Act to Tax Colored Persons for the Support of their Own Schools" in 1875. The most significant aspect of this legislation was that it recognized and institutionalized education for African Americans in Delaware (Skelcher 1995a). Furthermore, the Delaware Act of 1875 assigned the Delaware Association the responsibility of administering the funds collected from the tax to appoint teachers and support the existing system of separate schools, including those in St. Georges Hundred. However, the Delaware Association projected that the new revenue would only pay about a third of the operating costs for the numerous African American schools in their jurisdiction (Delaware Association 1876). Other problems also hampered adequate funding for African American education in the state. In many cases tax assessors refused to assess African American-owned properties while others refused to collect the taxes or disburse those taxes to African American school districts (Skelcher 1995a).

As a result of these overt tactics by tax assessors, the African American communities in St. Georges Hundred and throughout Delaware continued to place pressure on the Delaware legislature. In response the legislature passed several new acts to provide additional financial assistance for African American schools. In 1881 Delaware passed an act to provide state support for the African American schools, and two years later they followed with an act implementing a general tax to support education (Skelcher 1995a). Further legislation followed in 1887 that allowed African Americans to form school boards and create districts to levy special taxes on all African Americans within their jurisdictional borders. Eventually the Delaware legislature gave county school superintendents the power to distribute the taxes collected from African Americans, thus taking the responsibility from the Delaware Association (Skelcher 1995a). With their loss of jurisdiction over the African American schools, the Delaware Association soon disbanded.

FIGURE 54: Delaware Euro-American Classroom During Segregation (Delaware Board of Education 1952)

FIGURE 55: Delaware African American Classroom During Segregation (Delaware Board of Education 1952)

In 1893 the State of Delaware began to take steps to take control of the African American school system (Skelcher 1995a). From 1893 to 1897, the state merged the African American schools into the state school system. Official creation of the African American state school system occurred in 1897 with the ratification of a new state constitution. At the same time the new constitution completed the process of segregation in the state by legalizing the separation of Euro-American and African American schools (Figures 54 and 55).

The bittersweet victory of winning public support for education in Delaware left African Americans with a separate educational system that was far from equal (Skelcher 1995a). Despite being brought into the state system, African American schools continued to face financial challenges. It was clear to the majority of leaders in the Delaware African American community that they could never truly achieve equality as long as their school funds depended solely on local taxes since African American properties were often undervalued (Delaware Conference 1892). By 1910 the ratio of expenditure per African American pupil was 75 percent that of white students. Despite the inequality in funding, African Americans in Delaware had built schools in the majority of communities in the state by 1917 (Skelcher 1995a).

Financial challenges were not isolated to the state's African American school system. Delaware schools in general suffered from a lack of funds. This led to the deterioration of both Euro-American and African American schools by the beginning of the twentieth century (Skelcher 1995a). Although Euro-American schools received approximately $10 more per student than African American schools, the expenditures for public education by the state were still less than adequate. This resulted in both Euro-American and African American school closures and the deterioration of the ones that remained open (Skelcher 1995a). Regardless of their condition, the run down schools remained a testament to the commitment by Delaware African Americans to achieve a better future for their families. To many, these deteriorating schools remained the great levelers of many inequalities (Anderson 1988).

Lawmakers and community leaders understood the financial problems facing Euro-American and African American schools in the early twentieth century. By 1917 efforts were underway to increase taxes to improve the educational system in Delaware. The hope was that increased revenue for education would be used to construct new schools and raise the salaries for teachers. As a result more qualified teachers could be drawn to the system and thus improve school attendance.

Although there was concern for the state's educational system throughout the early twentieth century, the main impetus for reform occurred after the United States Bureau of Education published a bulletin titled, "History of Public Education in Delaware." The report ranked Delaware as 39th in the country in its support for education among 48 states (Weeks 1917). Factors used in the ranking included wealth, expense per pupil, teachers' salaries, new buildings, equipment, school attendance, and school population.

The most powerful voice in favor of improving schools in Delaware was Pierre S. du Pont, who became president of General Motors Corporation in 1920. Embarrassed by the situation in Delaware, du Pont and a group of concern citizens organized the Service Citizens of Delaware, which was part of a national movement to reform education (Skelcher 1995a). In addition to founding the group, du Pont provided them with a substantial trust fund. The group played an important role in the adoption of the New School Code of 1919 by the General Assembly of Delaware. The code established a uniform tax rate for both Euro-American and African American households and also established mandatory school attendance for children under the age of 14. It also established a uniform 180-day school year for all students. For those children who lived more than 2 miles from school, the code mandated that the state provide for their transportation. This did not require the state to do the transporting, but instead to offer compensation for student's travel expenses. The one thing the law did not require was the increase in property taxes for school funding. Euro-American residents opposed any tax increase that would go toward African American education (Skelcher 1995a).

Recognizing the opposition by many Euro-American residents in Delaware, Pierre S. du Pont decided to personally pay for the construction of new schools for African Americans. In 1919 du Pont joined the State Educational Board as its vice president. In compliance with the new code, the state board began to conduct investigations relating to the educational needs of the state and the means of improving educational conditions (Skelcher 1995a). At the same time du Pont directed the Service Citizens to fund a survey to determine the conditions of all school buildings

in the state, including those for African Americans. African American schools fared the worst during the study. Factors that contributed to the determination included health and safety conditions, sanitation, lighting, desks, environmental settings, and recreational opportunities. The Service Citizens report essentially recommended a complete overhaul or rebuilding of the existing African American schools in the system (Strayer et al. 1919a).

Following the initial report, the survey team from the Service Citizens produced a second document entitled "Possible Consolidations of the Rural Schools in Delaware." The report recommended a reduction of schools from 24 to nine for African Americans in New Castle County (Strayer et al. 1919b). The Service Citizens of Delaware believed the consolidation of schools would serve to combine resources into a few school districts leading to improved educational opportunities. At the same time the survey team from Service Citizens recognized that a proportion of the African American population, both in St. Georges Hundred and throughout the state, was dispersed and that school consolidation would not be possible in every situation.

As a result of these reports, Pierre S. du Pont established the Delaware Auxiliary Association to fulfill the recommendations of the two Service Citizen reports and to further study the educational situation in Delaware. He also disseminated the reports to the public as well as various African American social organizations, such as the Negro Civic League.

The top priority of the Auxiliary Association was to supervise the construction of both Euro-American and African American schools, beginning with the latter (Skelcher 1995a). Funding remained a problem for du Pont and his organization. The reports had moved du Pont to action, but they did not have a similar effect on the general Delaware populous. With no additional support coming from local or state entities, du Pont established a trust fund with his own money for the endeavor. Initially, the fund began with $2 million, with $900,000 set aside for the construction of new African American schools (Skelcher 1995a). The remaining $1.1 million was stipulated for the construction of Euro-American institutions.

The Auxiliary Association went into immediate action, building the new school buildings based on the Service Citizen's recommendations. They intended the new schools to be built as near as possible to the centers of the African American communities throughout the state. They further intended the new schools be built near the sites of the present buildings constructed decades earlier by local communities and the former Delaware Association. Exceptions were made in several cases where the existing African American communities had migrated over time or where unhealthy environmental conditions precluded construction.

In most cases the new du Pont schools were constructed in the Colonial revival style. Buildings were oriented north-south to allow an abundance of natural light from the east and west (Figure 56). Unlike the schools constructed in the mid-nineteenth century, modern technologies allowed the new schools to be outfitted with a water supply, internal toilet systems, and heating. Plans for the new schools were extremely detailed and included guidelines for the arrangement, construction, finishes, illumination, desks, and auxiliary rooms such as cloakrooms and wardrobes. The desks were designed to be moveable so residents could convert the buildings into community centers when school was not in session (Skelcher 1995a).

FIGURE 56: Children Playing Outside the Odessa du Pont African American School (Delaware Board of Education n.d.)

School construction began in 1920, and by the end of 1921 seven new African American schools had been constructed in New Castle County. In St. Georges Hundred only two new schools were constructed during that time, the one-room schoolhouses in Odessa and Port Penn. By 1925 all the du Pont African American schools in St. Georges Hundred were completed (Figure 57). Because of the dispersed nature of the African American communities in St. Georges Hundred, none of the previous schools were initially consolidated, and new du Pont schools were located in all the major African American communities in Middletown (Daletown), Odessa, and Port Penn. Unlike Odessa and Port Penn, where wooden one-room schoolhouses were built, the large African American population in Daletown/Middletown required more substantial accommodations. By 1925 the brick three-room schoolhouse was completed in the northwest section of town, just south of the former Daletown school founded by Samuel Dale and the trustees of Dale's Methodist Episcopal Church back in 1869.

At the same time expanding African American populations in western St. Georges Hundred called for new school construction in Summit Bridge and Mount Pleasant. A two-room wooden schoolhouse was constructed in Summit Bridge, and to the south the community of Mount Pleasant received a new one-room building. Although the African American population in Summit Bridge remained relatively small, the majority of the community resided in south Pencader Hundred. This portion of the community continued to expand throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, thus requiring a larger schoolhouse to accommodate the population.

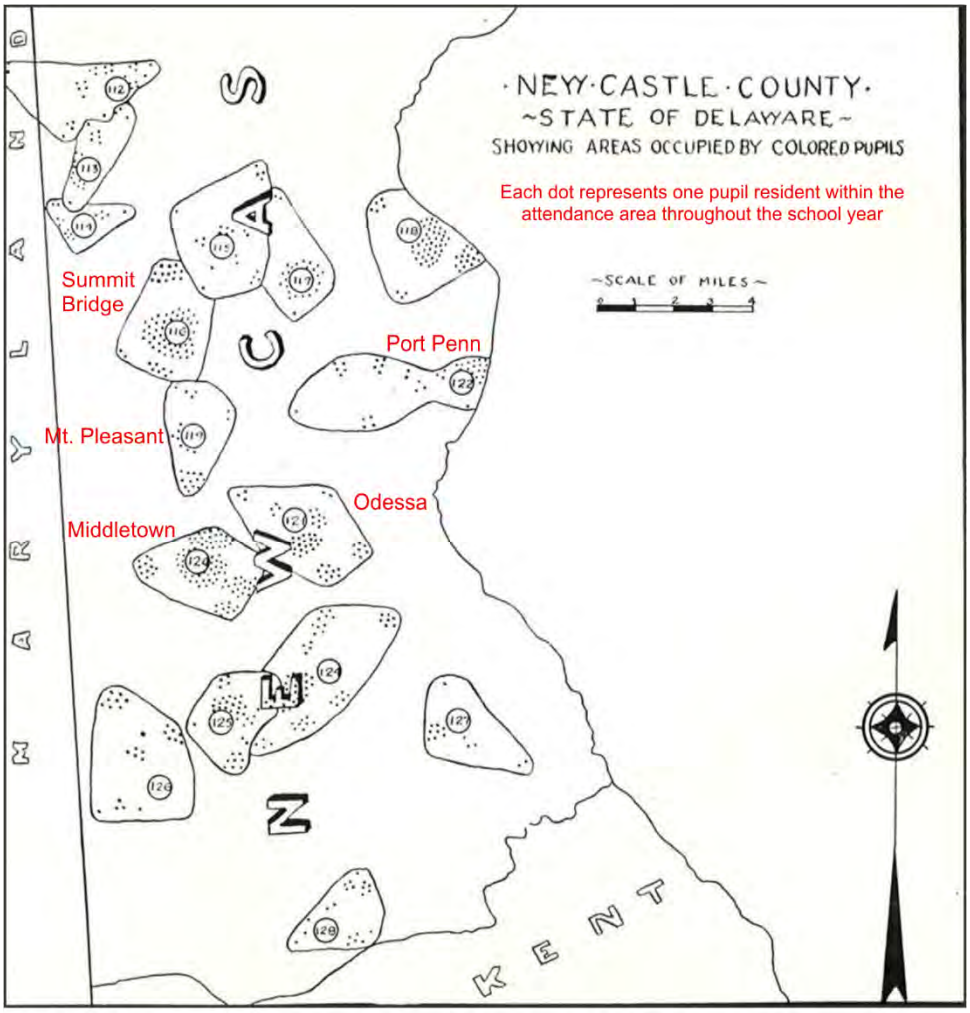


FIGURE 57: African American School Attendance in St. Georges Hundred in 1923 (Cooper and Cooper 1923)

The new schoolhouses not only served as educational institutions but also as community centers (Figure 58). In particular, Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) based their activities in the new schoolhouses (Skelcher 1995a). The PTAs used the schoolhouses to discuss educational problems facing their communities and to raise funds for equipment such as furniture, books, and other supplies. With the support of the PTA, schools also served as health care providers. The health of children was a problem in the state, particularly in the African American community. Through the schools the PTAs hoped to administer health care that was not available to many African Americans, along with offering health and nutrition instruction.

Despite the construction of new schools, problems continued to face many African American communities in St. Georges Hundred, particularly absenteeism (Table 47). This prompted the Service Citizens to hire Richard Watson Cooper and Herman Cooper to study the school attendance of African American children. The resulting study, *Negro School Attendance in Delaware*, illustrated that the attendance record of African American children was lower than that of Euro-American children (Cooper and Cooper 1923). The study indicated several factors as

FIGURE 58: Daletown Community Circus at the Middletown African American School (Delaware Board of Education 1952)

reasons of poor attendance, including parental indifference, weather, quarantines, poverty, truancy, and illness (Table 48).

St. Georges Hundred and several other rural jurisdictions reported higher incidents of absenteeism than elsewhere in the state. Cooper and Cooper (1923) noted that these rural schools had a higher percentage of students who had enrolled in schools, but they had stopped attending class without formally withdrawing. One reason given for this was the nature of agricultural work in which many

TABLE 47

ATTENDANCE AND ABSENCE AVERAGES OF
AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOOLS IN ST. GEORGES HUNDRED, 1923

SCHOOL	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	AVERAGE DAYS ATTENDED*	AVERAGE DAYS ABSENT
Port Penn	46	138.7	25.4
Mt. Pleasant	23	134.0	24.9
Odessa	43	131.6	20.9
Middletown	86	127.2	30.2
Summit Bridge	43	115.3	50.2

* Out of a 180-day school year.

TABLE 48

CAUSES OF ABSENTEEISM IN NEW CASTLE COUNTY AFRICAN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

AFRICAN AMERICAN BOYS		AFRICAN AMERICAN GIRLS	
Cause of Absence	Number of Schools	Cause of Absence	Number of Schools
Parental Indifference	6	Illness	9
Agricultural Work	5.5	Parental Indifference	5
Illness	5	Other Work	2
Other Work	1.5	Weather	1
		Poverty	1

of St. Georges Hundred's African American students were employed. The migratory nature of much of the farm work forced families to move on a regular basis and it was difficult for them to send their children to school (Skelcher 1995a). Most families likely moved before formally withdrawing their children from schoo1.

In the early twentieth century rural African American populations began relocating to more urbanized areas such as Wilmington and farther north in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. This migration eventually left some rural schools without students. The shifting and dwindling African American population created problems for school officials in Delaware during the 1920s and 1930s (Skelcher 1995a). Absenteeism and migration created a challenging situation for du Pont and other education authorities. In some cases they closed and consolidated schools with others when they found inadequate numbers of children to keep schools open. In St. Georges Hundred African American depopulation around Odessa eventually led to the closing of that community's school in 1938. Geographically, the Odessa African American population was relatively close to the Daletown community near Middletown. With transportation improvements during the early twentieth century, the distance between the two communities was greatly diminished, and the Middletown school could absorb the children from the diminished Odessa community.

African Americans in St. Georges Hundred and greater Delaware achieved some degree of equity in education during the period 1880 to 1940. Much of this success can be attributed to the efforts of Pierre S. du Pont; however, du Pont did not accomplish this on his own. In the late nineteenth century African American communities throughout Delaware joined their voices to demand better educational institutions and equal treatment. Despite numerous setbacks, including the repeal of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 and the legalization of Jim Crow laws in the 1897 Delaware State Constitution, African American communities remained united in their unrelenting desire to provide opportunities to improve the lives of their children. By the beginning of the 1940s, many of the du Pont schools had survived closure and consolidation, maintaining population and remaining economically viable (Skelcher 1995a). A movement grew around the country for integration of schools, led by the NAACP. Despite achieving equity in the funding of schools, many African Americans in Delaware still believed that there were inherent inequities in the segregated school systems that warranted legal action (Skelcher 1995a). The unrelenting commitment of African American communities in St. Georges Hundred, across Delaware, and throughout the United States eventually led to the victory they all desired. In 1954 the Supreme Court, in a unanimous opinion in Brown v. Board of Education, overturned Plessy v. Ferguson and declared that separate schools were "inherently unequal."

6. Profiles of African American Households

a. Wilson T. Green (1841-1920)

Wilson T. Green was a member of the third generation of Green family members to reside in the African American community of Congo Town, in northeast St. Georges Hundred. Wilson's grandfather, Perry Green, was one of 23 men who founded the community in the 1830s. The majority of early Congo Town households rented homes from nearby Euro-American farm owners. Perry Green was one of only two members of the community during that period who acquired his own land, and he established his own working farm. By 1838 Perry owned 23 acres on either side of Port Penn Road near present-day Thorntown Road. The property consisted of 16 acres of agricultural land and two frame dwellings. In 1848 Perry Green died and his property was divided among his six children. At the time of his grandfather's death, Wilson T. Green was a seven-year-old boy living with his father, Wilson Green, Sr., and his three brothers and one sister in one of Perry Green's frame houses in Congo Town. Wilson Green, Sr., received the largest proportion of Perry Green's estate, which included 10 acres in Congo Town.

Wilson T. Green remained in his father's household until the mid-1860s. During that time he likely worked with his brothers and sister on the family farm. Wilson T. Green also lived close to his extended family, who all resided in homes on the former patriarch's 23-acre farm. Wilson T. Green's uncle, John Green, also owned his own farm in the area, and his other uncles worked as farm laborers on Wilson and John's properties.

By 1862 Wilson T. Green had married. Together he and his wife Elizabeth remained in Congo Town but likely left his father's home. According to the 1870 Census, Wilson T. and Elizabeth Green were residing in their own home on property they rented on Joshua Green's 5- acre farm. At that time Wilson T. Green was employed as a grain thresher and Elizabeth remained at home taking care of the house and raising the couple's four daughters: Temperance (8), Elizabeth (5), Henrietta (4), and Susan (2). The family's rental of a property in Congo Town is somewhat surprising since Wilson T. Green owned a house and lot in Port Penn during that time, on the north side of West Merchant Street near the center of Port Penn (see Figure 10). The 1870 Census also indicates that Wilson T. Green owned real estate valued at $400, which likely referred to the Port Penn property.

Why did Wilson T. Green decided to rent a house in Congo Town when he owned a house a few miles east in neighboring Port Penn? The reason was likely twofold. Wilson T. Green was employed as a grain thresher, likely on his father's or an uncle's property. He likely thought it more prudent to remain in Congo Town to remain close to his place of employment. The other reason for staying in Congo Town may have been a result of his strong ties to both family and community. In 1870 several African American families were residing in Port Penn; however, more were living in Congo Town at that time including Wilson T. Green's father, siblings, and entire extended family. Also, as we have seen, the social life of many African Americans during this period was centered around two institutions, the church and school. Members of the Green family, including Wilson T. Green, had been active members of the Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church since its founding in Congo Town in 1834. Children in Congo Town also began to receive some school instruction during that time as a Sunday school was operated out of the church.

Educational opportunities for the community's African American children expanded throughout the 1870 as a school was constructed by the community with the help of the Delaware Association. Such incentives may have influenced Wilson T. Green's decision to remain in Congo Town.

Wilson and Elizabeth Green had to decide what to do with the lot and house in Port Penn. The 1868 tax assessment lists them as owning a "tenement" in Port Penn, suggesting that they rented it out. A close review of the 1870 Census shows that Wilson T. Green was likely renting the property to an African American family. The Pomeroy & Beer (1868) atlas shows "Mrs. Giberson" owning a property adjacent to Wilson T. Green's lot. In 1870 Rebecca Giberson's next-door neighbor was a 55-year-old African American fisherman named Peter Johnson. Johnson is enumerated as not owning any real estate of his own, suggesting that he and his family were renting their home in Port Penn.

The Port Penn house and lot served as an income property for Wilson T. Green for much of his life. In 1880 he and his wife were again enumerated as living in Congo Town on property close to his uncles, Joshua and Michael Green. Wilson T. was listed as a laborer, suggesting that he continued work on the local family farms owned by his father and uncles.

By 1880 Wilson and Elizabeth Green had six children at home. The five daughters were Temperance (19), Susan (13), Emma (10), Olivia (4), and Margaret (1). The couple's only son was Wilson, Jr., who in 1880 was eight years old. Two of the couple's daughters had married and left the house to start their own families. Daughter Elizabeth married Charles Young and together they relocated north to Delaware City. The other daughter, Henrietta, relocated to Port Penn with her husband, George H. Jackson.

In 1887 Wilson T. Green's father died without leaving a will, so over the following year the estate was divided by the executors, Joseph Cleaver and Thomas F. Dillwork. By the end of 1888, the estate had been distributed among Wilson T. Green and his two siblings, Lewis Green and Henrietta Green. Wilson received the majority of the estate which included a 0.16-acre lot on the south side of Port Penn Road, a 5-acre lot and two-story frame house on the south side of Port Penn Road, a 0.5-acre lot adjacent to the Zion A.M.E. church, which served as the congregation's cemetery, and half interest in a 77-acre farm he shared with his brother, Lewis H. Green. The farm, known as Aiken Farm, was located near Port Penn on the Delaware River.

By the compiling of the 1900 Census, Wilson's wife Elizabeth had died. The now 59-year-old farmer is recorded as still living in Congo Town; however, he is no longer listed as the head of the household. That year, he is listed as the father-in-law residing in the household of his youngest daughter, Margaret, and her husband Archie D. Stiger. Despite not being the head of the household, Wilson was still managing his own farm. That year he is enumerated as a farm owner and his son-in-law Archie is recorded as a day laborer; he likely worked on the farm.

By 1909 Wilson T. Green's siblings, Henrietta and Lewis, had died. The lands they inherited from their father in 1888 eventually became part of Wilson's holdings. The land he received from Lewis Green included the remaining half interest in the 77-acre Aiken Farm and two lots in Port Penn. One of the lots was a 0.25-acre parcel on the east side of Liberty Street and the other was a house and lot on the east side of Congress Street. The land he inherited from Henrietta included two parcels containing 32 acres located along Port Penn Road in Congo Town.

In 1910 the 69-year-old farmer was still living on Port Penn Road and managing his estate. His sister Susan was also living in the household along with her five children. Susan is listed as married in the census, but the name and location of her husband could not be identified. Wilson managed his various farm estates while three of his nephews were employed as farm laborers on the property.

Wilson T. Green died on October 10, 1920. At the time of his death, Wilson was recorded as having eight surviving children. Four of his daughters and his only son were still living in Port Penn at the time, while another daughter resided in nearby Delaware City. The two remaining children were living out of state. In 1920 Temperance was living with her husband and family in Burlington, New Jersey, and another was living in Philadelphia. Like his father and grandfather before him, Wilson probably would have liked to have left his estate to his children; however, at the time of his death, his estate was in poor financial condition. According to probate documents, Wilson T. Green owed debts to numerous creditors. An inventory and appraisal of the estate was completed in 1920 (see Appendix A), and on January 14, 1922, Wilson's properties were sold at auction.

The inventory compiled by his executors provides some insight into the life and work of Wilson T. Green during the early twentieth century (see Appendix A). The most detailed assessment of the estate involved the contents of his stable and farm equipment. Like many farmers in the early twentieth century, Wilson T. Green appeared to be embracing advancements in farming. He was apparently not wealthy enough to afford the most recent engine-powered technology, and the contents of his barn and shed included a variety of horse power equipment, including a mowing machine, three cultivators, and a spring harrow. More antiquated equipment included a potato plow, a dirt scoop, and a wheel cultivator. Wilson T. Green also possessed a number of livestock, including several horses and mules he likely used in teams to pull his farming equipment and three carriages.

A variety of crops, both harvested and in the field, were also included in the inventory. From the probate documents, it appears that Wilson mainly raised grains such as wheat and oats. The presence of a potato plow suggests he also grew those; however, none appear in the inventory, suggesting that they had been sold or were not grown in that year. Wilson T. Green appeared to operate a relatively self-sufficient farm. In addition to wheat and oats, he had 50 chickens as well as hogs and several cows. Wilson also owned a lard press and a sausage grinder, suggesting that he butchered his own livestock either for personal use or sale at local markets in Port Penn.

The contents of Wilson's home are not as detailed in the inventory as his farm equipment. It appears his house contained a kitchen, a sitting room, and four bedrooms. The contents of the bedrooms and kitchen are combined, and it is not possible to determine the condition or quality of the consumer goods Wilson possessed. The sitting room received a more itemized assessment by the appraisers. The room included a couple of bureaus and chairs as well as a desk and side table. Interestingly, no books are included in the appraisal. According to a variety of census records from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, Wilson was an educated man who could both read and write. Other period inventories from other equally educated individuals often included several books; however, none are present in this inventory. Wilson may not have owned any, or the assessors of the estate merely lumped the value of any books in with the associated furniture.

In general, it appears Wilson T. Green led a relatively modest life. High-value items that would have certainly been appraised separately are not present. Other African Americans who owned equal amounts of land during the same period sometimes had at least a handful of valuable items such as

fine rugs, silverware, books, and the like. All such items are conspicuously missing in the inventory of Wilson T. Green. Their absence may mean that Wilson did not place much value in owning such items. On the other hand, Wilson may have sold those items prior to his death. Given the debts he owed to creditors, such a possibility would not be out of the question.

By the time Wilson T. Green died in 1920, many of his neighbors and family had left the small rural African American community of Congo Town. Like his children, some relocated to Port Penn while others left to find work and new opportunities in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. After Wilson died, much of his property was purchased by local Euro-American landowners whose grandparents had likely sold the Green family the land nearly a century before.

The death of Wilson T. Green in many ways signaled the death of Congo Town. A few decades before his passing, the local African American school on Port Penn Road was closed and a new one built in Port Penn. A decade after his death, the final vestige of the community also closed as the Zion A.M.E. Church was abandoned and the land reverted back to farmland. Several members of the former African American community remained, but the vibrant community that was Congo Town when Wilson T. Green was a child and young man was gone forever.

b. Abraham Jones (1870-1932)

Abraham Jones was born to Samuel F. Jones and Margaret T. Green in 1870. Abraham initially grew up on a farm north of Middletown, Delaware, along Choptank Road near the African American community of Mount Pleasant. His family originally came from the African American community of Congo Town, but in 1845 his grandfather Abraham and uncle Samuel left the community after purchasing a 49-acre property south of Drawyer's Creek along Cedar Lane Road in Armstrong Corner (see Figure 23). The brothers divided the parcel in two shortly after acquiring the land; Abraham's grandfather took possession of 25 acres closest to the creek, and Samuel received 24 acres along Cedar Lane Road.

By 1870 Abraham's father, Samuel F. Jones, had left his father's estate on Drawyer's Creek to move to his own farm, which he rented west of Mount Pleasant near the estates of William Stoop and the Clayton family, two prominent Euro-American landowners located along Choptank Road. Samuel F. Jones likely leased land from one of these families where he operated a relatively successful tenant farm.

By the time Abraham Jones was 10 years old, his family once again relocated, returning to the Jones family estate on the south bank of Drawyer's Creek. According to the 1880 Census, young Abraham was one of 10 children in the family. The other children in the family were Abraham's older sister, Rebecca (12), and eight younger siblings: Mary (9), Maggie (8), Mimie (7), Wilson (6), Sarah (5), Levinia (4), Henrietta (3), and Pinky (2). By 1880 Abraham's grandfather had retired, thus leaving Samuel F. Jones to manage the family farm. According to the agricultural census from that year, the farm Samuel F. Jones managed for his father included 225 acres, 25 acres at Drawyer's Creek in Armstrong Corner and 200 acres along Port Penn Road outside the village of Port Penn.

Samuel F. Jones was recorded as paying $192 in fertilizer costs over the previous year (1879). Additional costs for operating the farm included the hired labor needed to assist in the planting, harvesting, and processing of the farm products over the previous year. Although the 1880 agricultural census does not indicate how many laborers Samuel F. Jones employed, it does indicate that they worked a combined 90 weeks over the previous year, for which Samuel paid them a total of $375.

The farm Samuel F. Jones managed for his father principally grew wheat, of which 880 bushels were harvested in 1879. Other produce grown on the farm included 1,000 bushels of corn, 26 tons of hay, and 20 bushels of potatoes. In the last few years the Jones family also apparently diversified their farm to include fruit. In 1880 Samuel F. Jones was enumerated as having 10 apple-bearing trees and 30 acres of recently planted peach trees (peaches were a major crop in Delaware in the nineteenth century). However, by the time of the Census, none of those trees had produced any fruit, suggesting that the endeavor was still in its early stages. The farm livestock included eight horses and two mules as well as a variety of cows, five pigs, and 19 chickens. In the previous year the Jones family farm had one working oxen, 10 milk cows that produced 330 pounds of butter, and five "other" cows. Ten calves were born on the farm in the previous year. Samuel F. Jones also bought two additional cows and sold eight to local markets.

While Samuel F. Jones operated the farm with his hired workforce, 10-year-old Abraham Jones was attending school with two of his siblings, Rebecca and Mary. Given the location of the family farm in eastern Armstrong Corner, Abraham and his two sisters likely attended one of two local African American schools. Their farm was equally distant from both Dale's African American school to the south in Daletown and the Mount Pleasant school to the north along Summit Bridge Road and Old School House Road. Given that attendance records for these schools do not exist, it is impossible to determine which of the two schools Abraham attended. However, both schools were built with support of the Delaware Association and therefore taught a similar curriculum emphasizing reading, writing, and arithmetic. Both schools' affiliation with the Methodist Church would have also guaranteed Abraham a healthy amount of religious instruction.

In 1883 Abraham Jones, Sr. died and Samuel F. Jones inherited the family farm on Drawyer's Creek. At that time the 13-year-old Abraham Jones was likely still attending school with sisters Rebecca and Mary. By that time two of his other siblings, Maggie and Mimie, were also attending school in either Daletown or Mount Pleasant. The absence of available census records from 1890 makes it difficult to track Abraham Jones during that period. If Abraham was similar many other young African American men during the period, it is likely he finished schooling around the age of 16 to work as a farm laborer on his father's estate in Armstrong Corner. The 30-year-old Abraham did not appear in the 1900 Census in St. Georges Hundred. His absence was likely an omission by the census taker as he did not appear in any other jurisdiction both in and outside Delaware during that same period.

The now 40-year-old Abraham Jones is enumerated in the 1910 Census of St. Georges Hundred. According to those records, Abraham rented a farm outside Port Penn. The farm was likely owned by his father, Samuel F. Jones, and leased to Abraham. In 1906 Abraham married a 22-year-old woman named Carrie. Although her family name is not certain, a review of records from the 1900 Census suggests that Carrie may have been the daughter of George Evans, a farm laborer from

outside Port Penn. By 1910 Abraham and Carrie Jones had three children: Marian (3), Beatrice (2), and eight-month-old Blanche. Their household also included a 14-year-old farm laborer named Spencer Jones. Spencer's relationship to Abraham was listed as "hired man," but given the similar last name, he was likely a distant relative, either a nephew or cousin.

On August 5, 1912, Abraham's father, Samuel F. Jones, died. According to the will, probated August 14, 1912, Abraham was named executor of his father's estate, which included 200 acres of land along Port Penn Road that was leased by Abraham Jones, 48 acres at Drawyer's Creek that were originally purchased by his father and uncle in 1845, a house and lot in Port Penn, and 28 acres of wood lot in Blackbird Hundred in southern New Castle County. Samuel F. Jones's will stipulated that an interest in all four properties be evenly divided among his children, of whom there were 11, including Abraham Jones. The entire estate, including several shares of bank stock, were valued at a little over $8,000. Shortly after the death of their father, four of Abraham's siblings sold their interest in their father's estate to their remaining brothers and sisters, providing each of them an undivided one-seventh interest in the family estate.

After the death of his father, Abraham remained on the 200-acre farm outside Port Penn. Having only one-seventh interest in the property, Abraham paid rent on the property to his six other siblings. The 1920 Census lists him as a 50-year-old farmer living with his 36-year-old wife Carrie and their five children: Marian (12), Beatrice (11), Dorothy (7), Eleanor (5), and one-month-old Sarah. One of their children, Blanche, is missing from the census. She was eight months old in 1910 and would have been around 10 by 1920; however, she is not listed anywhere in the 1920 Census. It appears that she died sometime after 1910. Of their five surviving children, four are listed as attending school. Given the farm's proximity to Port Penn, Marian, Beatrice, Dorothy, and Eleanor were likely students at the African American school located at the north end of Port Penn along Delaware City Road. In addition to his family, Abraham's farm was home to two others. One of the tenants was Jennie E. Guy, the sister-in-law of Abraham Jones. The 27-year-old Jennie did not work on the 200-acre farm but rather worked as a hairdresser in Port Penn. The other tenant was Abraham's brother, Wilson Jones. Although owning a one-seventh interest in the same farm, Wilson is enumerated as a wage laborer working on the property.

Abraham Jones died on March 8, 1928, of complications stemming from a carcinoma of the large intestine (Delaware Death Certificates 1928). On March 11, 1928, he was laid to rest at Asbury Cemetery, located on present-day U.S. Route 13 north of Odessa. His widow Carrie and their five children remained on the 200-acre farm outside Port Penn for another four years. In 1930 Carrie Jones is listed as head of household and managing the family estate. Marian and Beatrice were in their early 20s by that time and are listed as employed in housework on the farm. Seventeen-year-old Dorothy was no longer attending school and is listed as unemployed. The two remaining children are listed as attending school at the new du Pont schoolhouse in Port Penn.

In 1932 a notice for the sale of the Abraham Jones's properties appeared in the *Wilmington Evening Star* (Figure 59). The advertisement indicates that all right and title of Abraham Jones's properties in St. Georges Hundred would be sold on October 15, 1932, including a portion of the farm outside Port Penn, a portion of the farm along Drawyer's Creek, the house and lot in Port Penn, and several small parcels near Middletown. It is unclear who purchased the land, but it appears that Carrie Jones and her family retained some part of the property near Port Penn. The 1940 Census lists

GUARDIAN'S SALE OF REAL ESTATE.

By virtue of an order of the Orphans' Court of the State of Delaware, in and for New Castle County, made the twenty-first day of September, A. D. 1932, will be exposed to sale at Public Auction or Vendue, on Saturday, October 15th, 1932, at 10 o'clock A. M., at the County Court House, Wilmington, Delaware, all the right, title and interest of Dorothy C. Jones, Eleanor R. Jones, Katherine E. Jones, Naomi Jones, Rebecca Jones, Henrietta J. Boyer, Sarah Spearman, Lulu Jones, Wilcon Jones, Mary L. Jones, Martha Jones Bailey, Alonzo Bailey, Joshua Jones, Temperance H. Jones, Samuel Jones, Carrie Guy Jones, Marion J. Taylor, Carl Taylor and Beatrice M. Jones, in and to the following described real estate, late of Samuel F. Jones, deceased, and Amanda Jones, deceased, to-wit:—

ALL those certain lots, parcels or tracts of land with the buildings thereon erected, situate in New Castle County and State of Delaware, bounded and described as follows:

No. 1—Beginning at a stone under a bridge on the Public Road leading from the Black Bird Landing Road to Thoroughfare Neck (known as the Gum Bush Road), it being a corner for these premises and lands of the heirs of Robert B. Simpler, deceased, and in a line of Colen Ferguson's land; thence with Simpler's line north thirty-eight and a half degrees West fifty-four and two-tenths perches to a stone in cleared land believed to be a corner for these premises for lands formerly of the Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware, but now of Colen Ferguson; thence with Fer-

FIGURE 59: Auction of Abraham Jones Estate (Wilmington Evening Star 1932)

Carrie and four of her children as still living on the Port Penn farm, which was reduced in size by 32 acres. The families of the daughters were also living on the property. Carrie continued managing the estate, although some responsibility was likely given to Marian's husband, Carl Taylor.

It is unclear how long the children of Abraham Jones remained on their father's Port Penn farm. Much of the remaining African American population near Port Penn had left the area by the early twentieth century. Many moved north to Wilmington, and cities in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some of Abraham's own children also relocated north. Carrie Jones likely remained on the property until her death, after which the remaining estate was given to her surviving children and their families.