

The History and Archaeology of Immanuel Episcopal Church, New Castle, Delaware

Daniel G. Roberts

ABSTRACT

A devastating fire at Immanuel Episcopal Church provided an opportunity to archaeologically investigate a major 18th century institution in New Castle, Delaware, that otherwise would not have been possible. This paper documents the archaeological investigation undertaken during reconstruction activities at the church, and interfaces the archaeological data with historical events associated not only with the church, but also with the site prior to the construction of the church in the first decade of the 18th century. In addition, certain behavioral interpretations are drawn from the archaeological data which provide additional insight into the possible use of the church sanctuary during the 18th and 19th centuries for functions other than those strictly liturgical activities normally associated with such space.

INTRODUCTION

On 1 February 1980, a massive fire destroyed the historic Immanuel Episcopal Church, built ca. 1706 in New Castle, Delaware. Caused by sparks from a nearby marsh fire which ignited the cedar shake roof of the building, the interior of the church was completely gutted, leaving only the masonry walls and bell tower intact (Fig. 1). Soon after the fire, plans were initiated by the church Vestry for the restoration and reconstruction of the church, which was undertaken by architects at John Milner Associates, West Chester, Pennsylvania. A Historic Structures Report (John Milner Associates 1984) was also prepared as part of that work. In addition, it was recognized that potentially significant archaeological resources, related to both the colonial church

and the pre-church development of the site, were likely to be found, and that these resources would be threatened by possible subsurface disturbances accompanying the reconstruction of the building. Accordingly, a unique opportunity was afforded for the study of the archaeological record associated with one of New Castle's most historically important properties. Toward this end, a limited program of investigations consisting of historical research and archaeological excavation was undertaken to further ascertain the nature and extent of archaeological resources associated with subsurface contexts within the walls of the burned-out sanctuary.

GOALS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The archaeological excavations were designed to address several goals involving



Fig. 1. Aftermath of the fire of 1 February 1980.

both church-related and pre-church development of the site. The Vestry was most interested in recovering archaeological data which would provide evidence and allow interpretations pertaining to the behavioral and funereal uses of the sanctuary during the nearly three centuries of church occupation. In addition, architectural evidence was sought to aid in reconstruction efforts. Finally, evidence of earlier occupation, particularly with regard to a 17th century fortification suspected to have once stood on the site, was also sought. Data recovered during the excavations at least in part successfully addressed each of these goals.

IMMANUEL CHURCH AND ITS TOWN SETTING

New Castle is situated on the west side of the Delaware River in the Coastal Plain region of New Castle County, several miles southeast of the fall line which divides the Coastal Plain from the Piedmont. The area around New Castle consists of tidal flats and marshes cut by small creeks characteristic of riverine environments along the lower reaches of the Delaware River. The area is relatively flat, with elevations ranging from sea level in the flats and marshes to about 15 feet above sea level at the summit of the river terrace.

Immanuel Church is located near the cen-

ter of New Castle, at the intersection of Second and Harmony streets, on the eastern corner of New Castle's public square, called the Green. Other early buildings associated with the Green include the colonial courthouse and jail located at the southern corner of the Green, The Academy, a late 18th century school building located at the northern corner of the Green, and an early 19th century arsenal building now occupied as a restaurant. The town hall, erected in 1823, and the public marketplace behind it, are situated adjacent to the southeastern side of the Green, while the Presbyterian Church is situated on the southeastern side of Second Street facing Market Square and the Green (Fig. 2). The rest of the Green is open park space which has been landscaped and superficially developed with paved walks and benches. Immanuel Church and the other buildings noted above, as well as the public square and market space, are included within the bounds of the New Castle Historic District, listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

The town of New Castle was originally situated on the down slope of the river terrace, almost completely surrounded by marshes and tidal flats (de Valinger 1932). When New Castle was settled in the mid-17th century, the area was called Sand Hook (Cooper 1903:10) after a sandy point of land which extended into the Delaware River at the north end of the present town. Sand Hook was the area of initial settlement. Infilling along the river and reclamation of the marshes adjacent to the town began in the mid-17th century and continues at the present time. The major natural resource of the community was its riverine location at a historically strategic position on the Lower Delaware River where it widens and turns toward the southeast. Although supplanted as a seaport by Philadelphia in the early 18th century, New Castle continued to serve as a port of call for river traffic until the mid-19th century (Tyler 1955:63-66).

The original limits of New Castle's street

grid were topographically restricted by the marshes above and below the town site, by the river on the southeast, and the summit of the river terrace on the northwest. As late as 1870, the street plan had been extended well beyond that of the colonial town, but actual town development had not extended much beyond the bounds of New Castle as defined in a mid-18th century survey of the town (Anonymous 1750).

The Green is situated at the summit of the river terrace well above the floodplain. This area is relatively flat, although Immanuel Church lies at a somewhat higher elevation than the rest of the Green, being situated on a slight knoll. The undeveloped portions of the Green are at natural grade, as are the terrace in front of the courthouse and the churchyard around Immanuel Church. Between 1802 and 1810, all of the streets in New Castle were regraded and leveled, with the surface of the streets on the southwestern side of the Green lowered about four feet (Latrobe 1805). The level of the streets on the northwestern side of the Green near Immanuel Church, however, were not altered as extensively.

The church property is a trapezoid-shaped parcel of ground oriented to the rectilinear pattern of the Green and the bounding streets. The church building, located in the north quadrant of the churchyard, is oriented in the traditional manner of Anglican churches, with its facades to the cardinal points of the compass (Fig. 3). The church apparently was erected on original grade, and draining, infilling, or extensive regrading do not appear to have been major factors in the development of the site.

The various buildings and public areas of colonial New Castle noted earlier provide not only the contemporary visual setting for Immanuel Church but also represent the historical setting and cultural context in which the church site was initially developed. Indeed, the association of the Immanuel Church site with the public life and institutions of the community pre-dates con-

struction of the church, which was erected by 1706 on the site of a 17th century fortification. Historical evidence suggests that the fortification on the Green was used for a variety of public and institutional activities, as well as for defense of the town. These activities included court sessions, church services, incarceration of prisoners, markets, and public meetings (New Castle County 1904). During the 18th century most of the public, institutional, and military activities associated with the 17th century fortification were eventually housed in specialized structures on and around the Green. The existing pattern of institutional and public land use centered on the Green was fully elaborated by 1805, with Immanuel Church as a central feature in this aspect of community development.

When archaeological investigations began at Immanuel Church all that remained of the church were the walls of the sanctuary and the bell tower. These remains were surrounded by a walled churchyard that had been intensively utilized as a burial ground since the mid-18th century. Archaeological investigations were limited to the sanctuary and were concentrated in the area east of the transepts, corresponding to the interior of the original church building (Fig. 3). Since there was no cellar under the 18th century part of the sanctuary, it was anticipated that *in situ* evidence of church-related behavior might be revealed by excavation. It was also anticipated that evidence of original grade and pre-church land use might be recovered from sub-floor levels. The addition of cellars under the transepts in the mid-19th century (Holcomb 1890:165) precluded excavations in the west end of the building, while the presence of numerous burials in close proximity to the church walls precluded any exterior excavations.

HISTORICAL SETTING

The site of Immanuel Church, if not the church itself, spans the entire period of re-

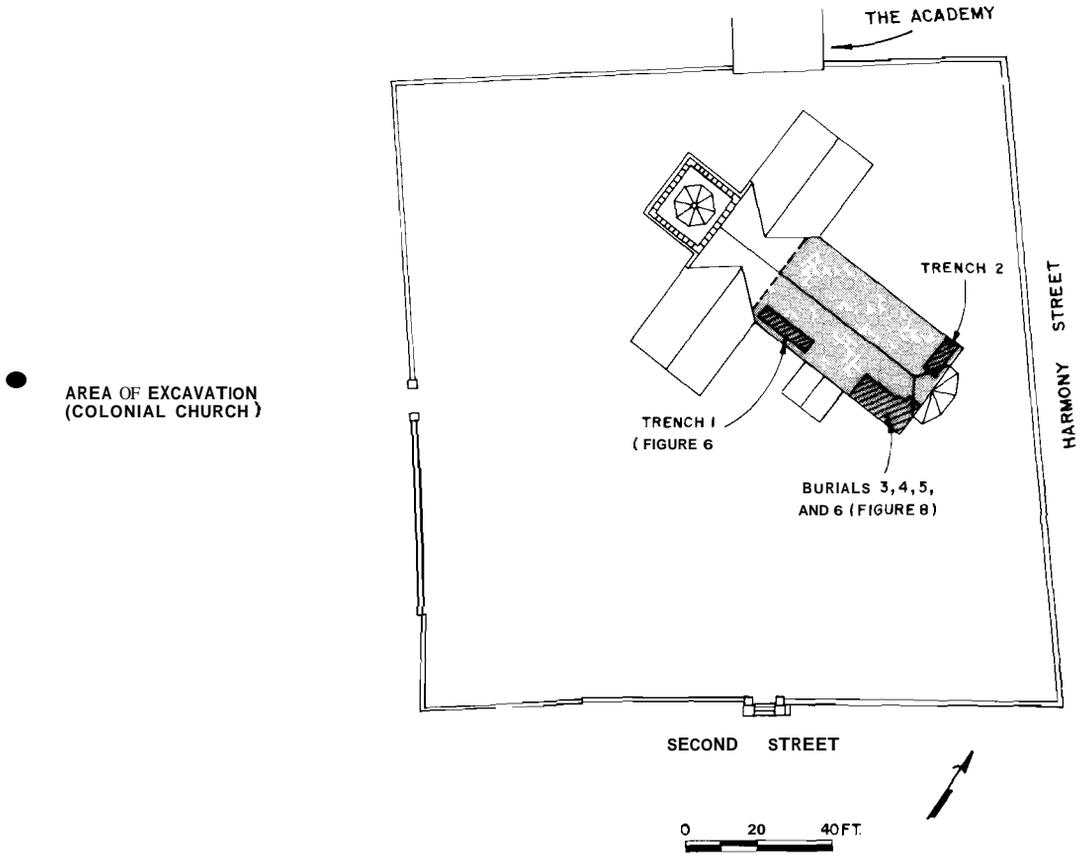


Fig. 3. Plan of the Immanuel Church property showing the area of excavation in the sanctuary, and the location of Trenches 1 and 2 and Burials 3, 4, 5, and 6.

corded history for the town of New Castle. The following historical discussion focuses on the manner in which community development during each of several historical periods affected the Immanuel Church site or the church itself.

Initial Dutch Settlement (1651–1664)

During the first half of the 17th century, the Dutch West India Company concentrated its colonizing efforts in the Hudson River Valley. The Delaware River, called the South River, was considered to be the south boundary of the colonial territory claimed by the Dutch. During the first decade of Dutch settlement, two unsuccessful attempts were made to occupy the Dela-

ware Valley. These were Fort Nassau, in Gloucester County, New Jersey, and Fort Oplandt, near Lewes, Delaware. However, the Dutch apparently made no further attempts to settle in the Delaware Valley until the 1640s, when Swedish settlements in the area were perceived as a threat to Dutch colonial interests.

By 1651, the Dutch West India Company attempted to improve its position on the Delaware River by obtaining a more advantageous site for a fortification. At this time, Peter Stuyvesant undertook the construction of a new fortification at Sand Hook, the present site of New Castle, which he named Fort Casimir. In May 1654, Fort Casimir was captured by the Swedes, who renamed it Fort Trinity. The Swedes occupied the fortifications at New Castle until Septem-

ber **1655** when Stuyvesant led an expedition to the Delaware River and not only recaptured Fort Casimir but also assumed control over the entire area of Swedish settlement on the Delaware River (O'Callaghan 1858:588–91). In **1656**, the West India Company granted the settlement at Fort Casimir to the burgermasters of Amsterdam, who renamed the settlement New Amstel. Dutch control over the settlement at New Castle terminated in **1664** when England assumed control over New Netherlands.

Between **1651** and **1654**, the Dutch settlement at New Castle centered on Fort Casimir, which housed not only the military garrison but also the stores and stock of the Dutch West India Company (Cooper **1903**; Weslager 1961:191). The fort was the only public building in the Dutch settlement at Sand Hook and, beside providing for the defense of the community, public functions such as meetings, courts, and church services were held at the fort. Development outside Fort Casimir consisted of a cluster of dwellings along the Strand, which extended along the bank of the river on the southwestern side of the fort (Weslager 1961:191). The initial settlers at New Castle comprised primarily officers, soldiers, and other personnel of the West India Company (Eckman 1951:258). In **1654**, Johan Rising, the governor of New Sweden, reported that about **22** dwellings had been erected at New Castle by the Dutch (Myers 1967:143).

During the period between May **1654** and September **1655**, when Fort Casimir was under Swedish control, most of the Dutch settlers had returned to New York (Myers 1967:164), and the Swedes apparently did not undertake any town development at Fort Casimir except, perhaps, to occupy the existing Dutch houses. The Swedes did, however, rebuild Fort Casimir as Fort Trinity (Myers 1967:142; Weslager 1961:191).

The Dutch resettlement at New Castle in **1655** was not successful (Eckman 1951:275). A combination of factors discouraged the

Dutch from remaining in New Castle, including the restrictive practices of the West India Company, the promise of better conditions in Maryland, and rumors that the burgermasters of Amsterdam were about to assume control of the settlement at New Castle. Accordingly, in **1657** the community consisted of only **20** families, of which five or six were Dutch and the rest Swedes (Eckman 1951:276).

In **1656**, the burgermasters of Amsterdam assumed control over the settlement at Fort Casimir, renamed it New Amstel, and appointed Jacob Alricks as director (Eckman 1951:277). Alricks served until his death in **1659**, at which time he was succeeded by Alexander de Hinojossa, who governed New Amstel until **1664** when the English assumed control over New Netherlands (Eckman 1951:288, **295**). When Alricks arrived at New Castle he reported that the existing fortifications were in a state of disrepair (O'Callaghan 1858:10, 69). Alricks not only undertook extensive repairs and improvements at the fort but also implemented many additional community improvements. According to a report which Alricks made to Burgermaster de Graff on **16 August, 1659** (O'Callaghan 1858:69):

... outside the fort I had repaired the clergyman's house and that of the smith. Had a burgher watch house built of logs about 20' square. Other public lots were likewise sett off in the square so that the settlement is now pretty well looking.

Later references to a blockhouse in Governor's council records (Fernow 1877:540) suggest that the watch house was probably erected on the Green at or near the site of new fortifications built there later, in the **1670s**. This probably is also the present site of Immanuel Church.

Following Alricks's death in **1659**, no further town development was apparently undertaken at New Amstel. His successor, Alexander de Hinojossa, was absent for long periods of time (Eckman 1951:288–96), but remained in command until **1664**, when Sir Robert Carr occupied the town for the

English and assumed control of the Dutch settlements on the Delaware River (Eckman 1951:297–98).

English Colonial Development (1664–1776)

When the English under the Duke of York arrived at New Castle in 1664, the community was already established, and it remained relatively unchanged under English control. Indeed, Dutch language and customs were to persist as important cultural influences in the life of the community for several decades, as were Dutch government and public institutions. In 1672, New Castle was incorporated as a bailiwick (Heite 1978:14–15). In 1676, a court was established at New Castle (New Castle County 1904:6) and the town assumed the position of an English shire town as the seat of justice and government for the surrounding countryside. During this period, New Castle also benefitted from a favorable mercantile position. Since sloops and vessels were prohibited from trading above New Castle, the town became established as the port of entry for all maritime commerce on the Delaware River (New Castle County 1904:37–38).

One of the first public works undertaken by the English was the replacement of Fort Casimir. On 9 March 1670, William Tom and Peter Alricks wrote Governor Lovelace in New York of their intention:

... to build a blocke house 40 foote square with 4 att every end for Flanckers in the middle of the Towne the fort not being fitt to be repaired and if repaired of noe defence lying att the extreame end of the towne and noe garrison therefore wee begg that wee may have liberty to pull itt downe and make use of the tiles bricks and other materi() for the use of our new intended fortification which if wee have no occasion for as wee feare wee shall will be convenient for a Court house notwithstanding (Gehring 1977:11).

Five months later, Governor Lovelace replied favorably to the requests from New Castle, stipulating:

1. That the market where the bell hangs is deemed the most suitable location in New Castle to make a fortification of block houses, which are to be situated in such a way that will be judged most proper, provided that the Honorable Capt. Carr shall cede forever the required land without retaining any claim on it.

2. Concerning the fortification above, this is left to the discretion of the officials above, to arrange their defences in the most suitable place or places.

3. All of this, however, with the provision, that, if war does not break out with the natives, God forbid, the aforementioned block houses shall be used as public buildings, such as Town hall, jails and other public needs, on the condition that the expense shall then be charged to the general and public account throughout the entire river.

4. This resolution is not to be put into effect without having orders from the Honorable General, but necessary preparations are to be made secretly without arousing suspicions among the natives. Thus done and confirmed this 5th of October 1670 (Gehring 1977:15).

The new fortification was largely completed by the fall of 1677. Although no historical accounts precisely locate and describe the new fortification, in March 1677/8 a lengthy complaint was lodged against Christopher Billop concerning his misuse of the premises. The descriptive information included in the text of the complaint provides a glimpse of the nature and appearance of the building. According to the complaint:

... ye sd. Commander... makes use of ye Towne forte, where ye watch on occasion was kept, for a stable to put in his horses... That he keeps ye Ct. Roome above in the forte and keeps the same filled with hay and fother [fodder]. That he kept hoghs within ye forte walls and by that means keepes ye Gates continually Lockt up. That hee makes use of ye Souldier (whoe is in the pay and is kept for to Looke to ye Forte and to keepe it clean) about his owne Pryvat affayers... That hee had denyed & forbidden the Sherife to put any prizoners in ye usuall prizon in the forte... (New Castle County 1904:194–95).

According to this account, the fortification at New Castle consisted of a two-story central structure (blockhouse) surrounded by a wall or palisade entered through a gate. Judging from the record of an earlier altercation between Billop and one of the workmen at the fort, the prison facilities consisted of a prison hole or dungeon be-

low the floor of the central structure (New Castle County 1904:129). The complaint also established that, unlike Fort Casimir, which had been owned by the West India Company and garrisoned by a company of professional soldiers, the new fortification belonged to the town and was manned by the local militia.

Besides functioning as a courthouse and prison, public meetings were held in the fort (New Castle County 1904:101–02), the Governor's orders were posted at the gates (New Castle County 1904:191), and public whippings were held there as well (New Castle County 1935:25–26). It also appears that weekly markets were held at the fort during the late 17th century (New Castle County 1935:25–26).

In October 1683, William Penn landed at New Castle, produced his patents from the Duke of York, and took possession of the Lower Counties by the ceremonial delivery of turf, twig, soil, and water (Watson 1905:16; Holcomb 1890:39). By this time, New Castle was a well-established community with clearly defined public institutions, including a court, which served as both administrative and judicial functions, a church, a market, and an organized town militia. The Green already served as a locus for these public institutions, with the court, militia and market centered in or around a fortified position erected on the Green between 1675 and 1677 at the site of an earlier Dutch watch house. A new church (not Immanuel Church) had also been erected peripheral to the Green. Although the institutional organization of the community was English, the spatial patterns of the town had been established by the Dutch between 1657 and 1659.

The founding of Immanuel Church is traditionally dated to 1689 (Holcomb 1890:37–40). However, little is known about the early history of the church at New Castle during the years between the organization of the parish in 1689 and construction of the church in the early 18th century. There apparently was no clergyman at

New Castle between 1690 and 1705. There is also no record of those who may have served as lay readers, vestrymen, or wardens of the parish during this period, or where church services were held. However, the organization of a parish or congregation before the services of a minister had been obtained or a church building had been erected was not unusual in the colonial setting, where both funding and clergymen were often in short supply. Most secondary sources state that the Dutch church was allowed to fall into ruin (e.g., Holcomb 1890:43–44), but no date is given for its demise. A structure used for religious services apparently was still standing in the late 1670s, and may have been standing as late as 1689. Services may also have been held in private homes, other public buildings or, perhaps, even in the fort on the Green. Although only speculative, early use of space at the blockhouse for Anglican services might account in part for the eventual selection of the fort site for the construction of Immanuel Church.

Although there is uncertainty concerning the date when construction of Immanuel Church began, it was largely completed by 1706 (Holcomb 1890:50–52). According to tradition, the site at the east corner of the Green was chosen on the assumption that the ground already belonged to the sovereign, who would not object to the construction of the church (Holcomb 1890:44). It was not until 1772 (State of Delaware 1797:517), however, that the church at New Castle finally obtained title to the land on which the building stood.

The church was originally constructed as a rectangular brick structure, measuring approximately 50 by 28 feet, with walls approximately 18 inches thick and a wood-shingled roof. It is possible that a small dependency was appended to the center of the north wall of the church, since the architectural remains of a door opening are in evidence in what is now the central of three window openings. However, neither the historical records nor the archaeological in-

vestigations could shed further light on this matter.

The first resident pastor assigned to Immanuel Church was the Reverend George Ross, who arrived in the summer of 1705. His term of 49 years in the service of the church was longer than of any of his successors. In 1706, Ross opened the church, and apparently named it without benefit of advice from other members of the congregation (Pennington 1936a:294–95). By 1727, the church was substantially furnished, and Ross had a gallery installed in the church (Immanuel Church 1716–1824b:8), evidence of which was found during the archaeological and architectural investigations. An entrance porch was also added to the south facade of the church in 1727 (John Milner Associates 1984:73). In 1754, George Ross died and, after two successors proved unsatisfactory, Ross's son Aeneas succeeded as pastor. The younger Ross served for 22 years as Immanuel's resident pastor before he died in 1782.

Architectural evidence suggests that the pulpit was originally located against the north wall of the church opposite the entrance, with the altar at the east end of the church and the box pews arranged on either side of the north/south center aisle (John Milner Associates 1984:96). This is consistent with McAllister's (1976:298) description of the arrangement of interior space in pre-Revolutionary Virginia churches featuring a rectangular floor plan. Traditionally it has been assumed that the pews originally faced the east end of the church, but it is equally possible that the pews may have faced the pulpit against the north wall.

Pew space was purchased, with the purchaser responsible for paying the cost of pew construction. Pews could be sold or inherited and all or part of a pew could be rented by its owner (Immanuel Church 1716–1824a:9). Those who did not have pew space either stood or were seated on the common bench located along the west wall

of the sanctuary (Immanuel Church 1716–1824a:13–37). The process of granting space in the church and building pews was not completed until 1735, when the last pew was erected in the southwestern corner of the sanctuary (Immanuel Church 1716–1824a:37). Twelve pews were arranged on either side of the short north/south center aisle, with the most likely configuration being two ranges of six pews each trending north/south on either side of the center aisle (Fig. 4). Presumably, aisles permitted access to the altar, the common bench, and the pews which did not front on the center aisle. However, the only aisle placement that could be documented in the Vestry Minutes was one located along the south wall of the sanctuary, west of the center aisle, which led to the gallery stairs in the southwest corner (Immanuel Church 1716–1824a:37).

The land initially appropriated for church use in the early 18th century corresponded closely to the property subsequently conferred upon the trustees of Immanuel Church in 1772. On 22 July 1713, the Minister and Vestry of the church at New Castle petitioned the Commissioners of Property in Philadelphia, stating that:

... they having been at Great Charge in Erecting a Church in the Sd Town find themselves at a Loss for want of a convenient place for a burying Ground or churchyard and therefore request this Board to Grant them 170' Square of Ground circumadjacent to the sd. Church . . . (Egle 1890:561).

The petition was denied (Egle 1890:564), but the church apparently appropriated the desired parcel of land anyway. In 1772 (State of Delaware 1797:516), the church property was described as an irregularly shaped rectilinear parcel ranging from 10.0 to 10.8 perches (165–178 feet) per side.

New Castle During the American Revolution (1776–1784)

New Castle was largely unaffected by the Revolutionary War. The town was never

occupied and no battles or skirmishes were fought in the area. Although New Castle remained the county seat of New Castle County until the late 19th century, the state capital was moved to the more centrally located town of Dover in 1777 (Reed 1951:231).

The Church of England in America, however, suffered severely from the American Revolution. As Wilson (1938:25–27) has pointed out, British officials were inevitably identified with the Church, and many clergymen were active Loyalists. Severing ties with England not only deprived the colonial Church of its leadership but also shut off an important source of financial support. Immanuel Church was one of the few Anglican churches in the colonies where services were held regularly throughout the Revolution (Pennington 1936b). This was undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that Aeneas Ross, who supplied the church at New Castle from 1758 to 1782, was an outspoken patriot from a family of patriots which included a signer of the Declaration of Independence (Holcomb 1890:128).

The Federal Period (1784–1829)

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries New Castle continued to serve as the county seat of New Castle County, although Wilmington was rapidly becoming the commercial and industrial center of northern Delaware. With the establishment of the federal capital in Philadelphia and later in New York and Washington, D.C., travel from the south increased, and New Castle became an important stagecoach stop for north/south overland travel.

Immanuel Church underwent a major expansion and renovation between 1820 and 1822 when noted architect William Strickland undertook an alteration of the building from a rectangular to a cruciform plan, at the same time re-orienting the altar location from east to west. The addition of

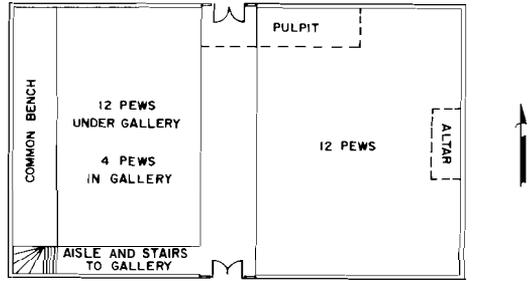


Fig. 4. Hypothesized arrangement of interior space in the colonial church.

transepts and a bell tower to the west end of the original church building merged to form the final cruciform shape, with the high spire perched atop the bell tower visible for miles. At the same time, architectural evidence indicates that Strickland had the entire exterior of the brick church stuccoed (John Milner Associates 1984:78–79).

The extensive renovation and enlargement of Immanuel Church, completed in 1822, was part of a major period of community renewal and development at New Castle. During this period, the bounds of the town were defined by law (Delaware Federal Writers' Project 1936:40), the town plotted, and the streets graded and regulated. In addition, other building projects were undertaken to enlarge the courthouse and to complete the present pattern of institutional land use on the Green (Kruse 1951:186–89).

Canal and Railroad Development (1829–1852)

During the mid-19th century, successive innovations in regional transportation resulted in the rapid redefinition of New Castle's role as both a river port and a way stop for north/south overland traffic. In 1829, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was completed, linking Delaware with an extensive canal complex extending westward to the Chesapeake Bay and Susquehanna River, eastward across New Jersey to

Raritan Bay, and northward into the coal and iron regions of northern New Jersey and Pennsylvania (Tyler 1955:63). The entrance of the canal was located several miles below New Castle at Delaware City, bypassing New Castle completely. Two years later, however, the New Castle and Frenchtown Railroad was completed between New Castle and Frenchtown, located on Elk River. Until the completion of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad in 1852, one of the most reliable and popular routes between Philadelphia and Baltimore was by way of steamboat to New Castle, railroad to Frenchtown, and steamboat to Baltimore (Delaware Federal Writers' Project 1936:50). Although the New Castle and Frenchtown Railroad continued to operate until 1858, it could not compete successfully with the faster and more direct rail service offered by the new railroad.

The major exterior alteration to Immanuel Church undertaken during this period was the erection of a Sunday school building in the south corner of the churchyard in 1839 (Holcomb 1890:153). This building was also used to house the parish library and to hold weekly evening lectures. The interior of the church was also remodeled during this period, which included the addition of stained glass windows ca. 1850 (John Milner Associates 1984:56).

Late 19th–20th Century Development (1852–present)

In 1875, New Castle was incorporated as a city but, in 1881, the county seat was moved to Wilmington (Reed 1951:231). During this period, the courthouse and other institutional buildings located on the Green were converted to other uses and the market abandoned. Of the original buildings on the Green itself, only Immanuel Church continues to be used as originally intended.

In 1860, a second major renovation and enlargement of the church was undertaken.

Under the direction of Stephen D. Button, a Philadelphia architect, this work involved lengthening the transepts and the addition of a semi-octagonal apse at the east end of the church (John Milner Associates 1984:59). This was the last major alteration to the configuration of the building until the restoration and reconstruction of the church after the 1980 fire. After 1860, changes involved procuring property elsewhere in the community for use as a rectory and a parish house and removing the Sunday school house at the south corner of the churchyard.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeological field work at Immanuel Church was designed to include both the controlled excavation of church-related deposits and limited exposure of pre-church proveniences. As noted earlier, archaeological excavations were conducted only within the standing walls of the colonial sanctuary.

The excavations were largely conducted in the context of 26 excavation units demarcated by brick riser footings which served as support for box pew risers (Fig. 5). The riser footings on the north side of the central aisle formed seven contiguous units of approximately the same size, measuring $7\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ feet. Units 1 through 6 were contained within the colonial church, while Unit 7 was located entirely within the 1822 Strickland addition. The riser footings on the south side of the central aisle were separated into two sections by a short north/south aisle extending from the entrance on the south side of the church to the central aisle. The section on the west side of this aisle was divided into four units, varying in size from $5 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $8 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The section on the east side of the short aisle was divided into six small units by the addition of a brick riser footing parallel with the central aisle $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the south wall of the church. These small units ranged

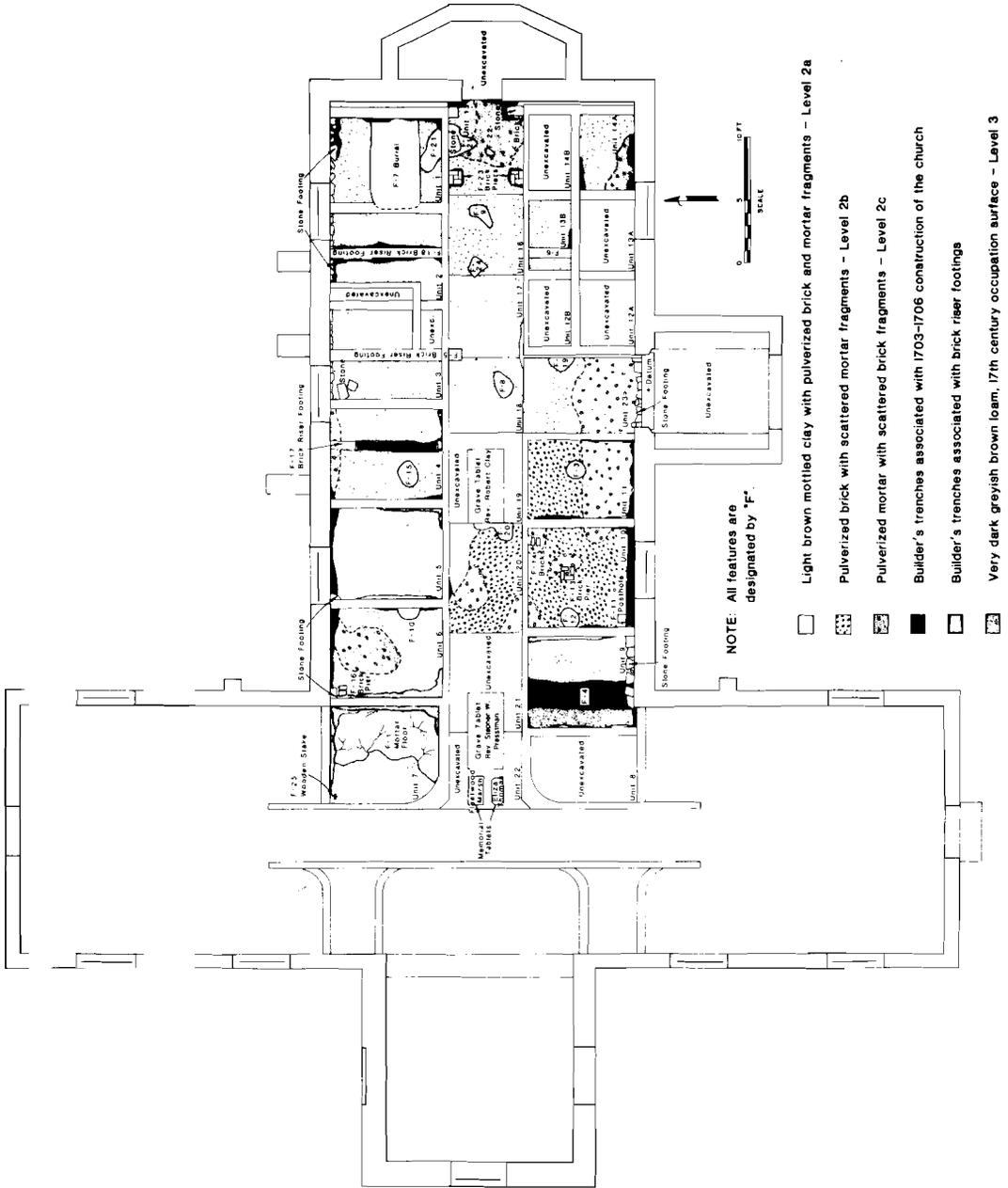


Fig. 5. Plan of excavations (Level 2 f)

in size from $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $6 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The six small units on the east side of the short aisle, as well as Units 10 and 11 on the west side of the short aisle, were contained within the colonial church, while Unit 9 straddled the west wall of the original church. Unit 8 was located entirely within the 1822 Strickland addition. Eight units were defined in the central aisle by extending lines across the aisle from the riser footings on the south side of the church, while the short aisle between the entrance and the central aisle was defined as an excavation unit by extending the line of the riser footing on the south side of the aisle between Units 11 and 12b (Fig. 5). These aisle units ranged in size from $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ feet to $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ feet. All of the aisle units, except Units 21 and 22, were contained within the colonial church. The original west wall of the church cut through Unit 21, and Unit 22 was located wholly within the 1822 Strickland addition.

Pre-church deposits were tested through the excavation of two linear trenches placed to maximize exposure of the 17th century pre-church horizons (Fig. 3). Trench 1 was three feet wide and extended in an east/west direction for a distance of 16 feet across Units 9, 10, and 11. Trench 2 was two feet wide and extended in a north/south direction across Unit 1. Both trenches were located within the colonial church in positions where it was expected that pre-church evidence was least likely to have been disturbed or destroyed by 19th century renovations.

Vertical provenience was maintained by excavating in naturally or culturally defined stratigraphic levels. The uppermost layer of yellow beach sand (Level 1) was removed by shovel and the interface was then cleaned by trowel and whisk broom. Strata and features underlying the yellow sand were excavated separately. All excavated soil matrices were screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ inch mesh hardware cloth to maximize artifact recovery. Elevations were recorded by reference to a site datum established at the

center of the stone sill at the entrance to the church.

Eighteen excavation units were investigated, five soil strata were identified, and 24 features were exposed, including 22 church-related features and two features related to the 17th century pre-church occupation of the site. In addition, two previously unrecorded burials were exposed during excavations and four more grave pits were later recorded during construction at the southeastern corner of the church. Nearly 2,500 artifacts were recovered from the Immanuel Church excavations, ranging in date from the 17th century to the present.

Stratigraphy

Five principal stratigraphic levels were exposed during excavations at the church. Three of these were identified as discrete cultural horizons, while the remaining two were undisturbed subsoil levels (Fig. 6).

Level 1

Level 1, a fine-grained yellow beach sand, was encountered as the uppermost stratum in all of the excavation units (Fig. 6). This layer of sand varied in depth from 3 inches in the southwestern part of the sanctuary to 15 inches near the southeastern corner. Nearly 2,000 artifacts were recovered from Level 1, ranging in date from the early 18th century to the present.

Although the artifact content of Level 1 spanned the entire period of church occupation, the deposition of Level 1 relative to other features and strata clearly points to its deposition as a "make-up" layer during the last major renovation of the church in 1860. This identification is supported by the fact that Level 1 occurred in all of the excavation units in both the sanctuary and transepts and overlay all of the church-related features subsequently exposed. Indeed, among several features, Level 1 overlay Feature 20, the western edge of the burial

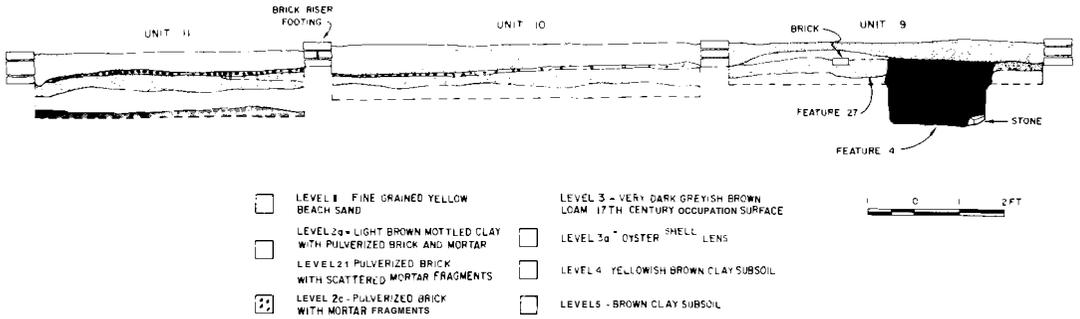


Fig. 6. Trench 1, Units 9-11, profile south face.

pit associated with the grave of Robert Clay who died in 1831 (Holcomb 1890:150). This would suggest a mid-19th century *terminus post quem* for the deposition of Level 1, almost a decade after the initial enlargement of the church was completed in 1822. According to church records, the 1860 renovation was the only likely occasion after 1822 when the sanctuary floor may have been taken up, permitting the deposit of a homogeneous "make-up" layer of sand across the entire church interior.

Level 2

Level 2, directly underlying Level 1, consisted of three distinct lenses or thin layers, the principal constituents of which were pulverized building rubble (Fig. 6). Level 2a, a light brown mottled clay containing pulverized brick and mortar, appeared in most of the excavation units. Level 2b, a layer of pulverized brick containing scattered mortar fragments, appeared in the southwestern part of the sanctuary, while Level 2c, which was composed of a greater proportion of mortar, appeared eastward of Level 2b along the south wall of the church. The variations in the composition of Level 2 were apparently unassociated with known activity areas (i.e., pews, aisles, pulpit, and altar) in either the 19th century or the colonial church.

The position of Level 2 relative to other excavated features and soil strata points to

the identification of this level as the floor of the colonial church. This identification is supported by the fact that Level 2 was discontinuous across Feature 4, the builder's trench for the original west wall of the church. The stratum appeared only on the eastern side of this feature, corresponding to the interior of the 18th century building. This layer was deposited directly over Level 3, the 17th century ground surface.

Artifact content of Level 2, excavated only in Trenches 1 and 2, consisted of 89 items. These artifacts were represented primarily by brick fragments, small pieces of window glass, and a few small pottery sherds, none of which could be dated more definitively than the 17th to mid-18th centuries.

The identification of Level 2 as the floor of the 18th century church is consistent with architectural evidence that indicates the floor of the colonial church was considerably lower than floor levels associated with either the Strickland period (1822-1860) or the Button period (1860-1880). It should be noted that "floor" in this context does not necessarily imply an occupation surface. Although architectural evidence suggests that the 18th century church had a dirt or hardpan floor, this was actually a sub-floor level in most parts of the building. The individual pews were floored with wood, as was the pulpit and, perhaps, the altar. It is likely that the dirt or hardpan surface was exposed only in the aisles or in unused pew space. Level 2a was probably the original

floor surface. The continuity of this surface suggests that the clay and pulverized rubble were spread over the loam surface on which the church was built and were tamped down to provide a level, hard surface on which the pews and other church furnishings could be installed. The variations in the composition of the floor surfaces designated Levels 2b and 2c probably evidence repairs to the original floor surface necessitated by disturbance, wear, or the settling of the ground over interior burials.

Level 3

Level 3, a very dark greyish-brown loam, directly underlay Level 2 in Trenches 1 and 2 (Fig. 3) and directly below Level 1 in Unit 9 west of Feature 4 (Fig. 6). This stratum is identified as the natural ground surface on which the church had been erected. This identification is supported by observation of the stratigraphy in a construction trench located on the Green some distance from the church, where Level 3 occurred directly below the modern humus. Level 3 ranged in thickness from 8 inches in Unit 11 at the eastern end of Trench 1 to less than 2 inches at the western end of Trench 1. The irregularities in the upper surface of Level 3 doubtless evidence natural variations in the topography of the building site. Forty-three artifacts and two linear features associated with pre-church occupation of the site were associated with Level 3.

Level **3a**, a lens of oyster shell, occurred in Trench 1 at the interface of Levels 2 and 3 (Fig. 6). This shell lens extended across Unit 10 into Unit 11 on the north side of Trench 1, but appeared only in the eastern part of Unit 11 on the south side of Trench 1. The shell was apparently used to fill a slight depression in the surface of Level 3. Unfortunately, it could not be determined whether the shell had been deposited during construction of the church or at a later date.

Levels 4 and 5

Level 4, a yellowish brown clay subsoil, was present below Level 3 in both Trenches 1 and 2 (Fig. 3), while Level 5, a strong brown clay, was exposed below Level 4 only in Unit 11, Trench 1 (Fig. 6). Except for a few small fragments of brick and shell at the interface of Levels 3 and 4 in Trench 1, both subsoil layers were undisturbed and culturally sterile.

Church-Related Features

Twenty-two church-related features other than burials were exposed by the removal of Level 1. These features included eleven small pits, eight brick riser footings or piers, the builders' trench for the original west wall of the church, a section of mortared floor, and a wooden stake. All of these features are shown in Fig. 5.

Small Pit Features

The eleven small pits included six round or oval features ranging in size from 9–24 inches in diameter (Features 3, 8, 10, 12, 15, 19), one 6 × 8 inch rectangular post-hole (Feature 11), and four irregularly-shaped pits (Features 9, 21, 22, 24). All of the pit features were exposed on the surface of Level 2, but only one (Feature 22) was filled with the beach sand that overlay them. The other pits contained a variety of fills, the primary constituents of which were brick and mortar rubble. Thirteen artifacts were recovered from four of the pit features (Features 3, 8, 9, 15), while no artifacts were recovered from the other seven features. The presence of hand wrought nails in Features 9 and 15 suggests that these features may have been related to structural elements or features of the colonial church.

Although the six circular or oval pits were similar in form, with slightly tapering sides

and rounded bottoms, only four could specifically be related to a missing architectural element. As Fig. 5 indicates, Features 3, 10, 12 and 15 form a roughly square configuration, probably associated with a gallery built at the west end of the church in 1727. Architectural examination identified joist pockets for a horizontal beam supporting the gallery in both the north and south walls of the church. The joist pockets were located approximately 12 feet from the west wall of the 18th century church and, on the basis of this evidence, it had been assumed that the supporting beam defined the eastern edge of the gallery. The archaeological evidence, however, indicates otherwise. It is unlikely that the gallery spanned the width of the sanctuary without posts to support the structure, yet there is no evidence of footings or post holes on the line of the joist pockets. It seems more likely that the eastern end of the gallery was positioned over Features 3 and 15, postholes which would have provided the requisite support. The gallery so placed would have been 16 feet deep, supported by two posts (Features 10 and 12) about 4 feet from the west wall of the church. The horizontal beam would have been 12 feet from the walk of the church, and two more posts (Features 3 and 15) would have been at the eastern edge of the gallery. Placement of two posts forward of the supporting beam suggests that the front of the gallery may have been curved. Accordingly, all of the pews on the west side of the church would have been beneath the gallery.

Although Features 8 and 19 (Fig. 5) were similar to the above-described postholes, both features were located in areas of the church interior which had habitually been used as aisles and could not be associated with a particular function or with a specific feature of the church interior. It is likely that these features are construction-related postholes dug to stabilize scaffolding erected during original construction of the church or during one of the documented

episodes of major repair and reconstruction. Similar postholes identified as evidence of scaffolding are frequently encountered at English church excavations. At St. Botolph's Church, Hadstock, England, for example, Rodwell (1976:59, Plate XI) reported 135 postholes representing numerous periods of scaffolding.

Feature 11 is a 6 × 8 inch rectangular pit located against the south wall of the church in Unit 10, about 4-½ feet from the original west wall of the colonial church. This feature is identified as a posthole associated with a footing or support for the stairway to the gallery, which historical evidence has confirmed was located in the southwestern corner of the church (Immanuel Church 1716-1824a:37).

Feature 21, an irregularly-shaped pit containing a large stone, extended under the east/west trending brick riser footing which separated Units 1 and 15. The stone was located about 2 feet from the east wall of the building in the area traditionally identified as the location of the altar in the colonial church. The feature may have been associated with the colonial altar, but its actual function remains enigmatic.

Feature 22 was also located in the area associated with the altar of the colonial church, about one foot south of Feature 21. As noted earlier, Feature 22 was the only pit feature filled with the beach sand designated Level 1, and it may date to the Button renovations ca.1860. The position of this feature roughly centered under the organ loft suggests that it was a posthole associated with a temporary prop used to support the organ loft during the renovation of the church.

Features 9 and 24 were both located in Unit 16, a section of the present aisle probably occupied by pews during the 18th century. It could not be determined whether these features were postholes associated with construction-related scaffolding or the remains of early pew footings, and their function, accordingly, remains enigmatic.

Builders' Trenches

Builders' trenches associated with at least two periods of church construction were exposed by the removal of Level 1. Builders' trenches associated with the construction of the colonial church were exposed at several points adjacent to the standing walls (Fig. 5), while Feature 4 was identified as the robbed builders' trench for the west wall of the colonial church. The absence of any wall construction associated with Feature 4 suggests that the building material from the demolished wall was probably re-used during construction of the transepts during the Strickland period.

Another set of builders' trenches was that associated with the brick riser footings (Fig. 5). These small builders' trenches cut through Level 2 and doubtless represent additions made subsequent to the initial construction of the church.

Brick Riser Footings and Piers

Eight brick features were exposed by the removal of Level 1, including four riser footings and five piers, two of which were identified as a single feature (Fig. 5). Features 5, 6, 17, and 18 were north/south trending brick riser footings dating from the period before 1820, since the Strickland period riser footings cut through these features. Feature 17 (a robbed riser footing) and Feature 5 delineate the north end of the main aisle of the colonial church. Feature 17 was probably associated with the first range of pews on the west side of the aisle, while Features 5 and 18 were associated with the pulpit. Feature 6 was a short, north/south trending brick riser footing located on a line with Feature 18 on the south side of the present main aisle in Unit 13B. Although these riser footings clearly date to the pre-Strickland period, they provide little information about the interior arrangement of the colonial church, or the above-grade appearance of church furnishings such as pews, pulpit, and altar.

Feature 23, a pair of brick piers located in Unit 15 at the east end of the church, was probably associated with columns for the organ loft. The original organ had been installed in a gallery at the east end of the church in 1827 (Holcomb 1890:153). Thirty years later, a new and larger organ was purchased and a bay was built in the east wall to accommodate the new organ (Holcomb 1890:164). The Feature 23 piers are most likely associated with the later organ and loft.

Feature 13 in Unit 10 (Fig. 5) was similar to the two piers designated as Feature 23. Feature 14 in Unit 10 and Feature 16 in Unit 6 also were identified as brick piers, although their arrangement is more haphazard. In the absence of further archaeological or historical evidence, Features 13 and 14 are identified as box pew piers, while Feature 16 may be a pier for a common bench built along the west wall of the church in the 1720s.

Other Church-Related Features

Feature 1, a segment of mortar floor, was exposed in Test Unit 7 (Fig. 5). Since this unit is located exterior to the original west wall of the colonial church, the mortar floor is either associated with the Strickland period (1822–1860) or represents a feature outside of the colonial structure. Feature 1 contained no brick and appeared unrelated to the pulverized brick and mortar which constituted Level 2. It also appeared too friable to be used as an exterior paving material. Significantly, the builders' trench for the riser footing between Units 7 and 6 cut through Feature 1, suggesting that the mortar was laid before the riser was built. Assuming that this represents a construction sequence, Feature 1 is identified as a surfacing material associated with the Strickland period (1822–1860) and subsequently covered by the "make-up" layer of beach sand (Layer 1) deposited ca. 1860.

Feature 25, a wooden stake in the north-western corner of Unit 7, was also exposed

by the removal of Level 1. This feature is probably construction-related and may have been utilized in laying out the risers on the north side of the aisle ca.1822.

Burials

Eight burials were identified in the sanctuary of Immanuel Church, including verification of two marked burials in the aisle and the discovery of six unmarked burials at the east end of the church. Two of the unmarked burials at the east end of the church (Burials 1 and 2) were carefully excavated (Fig. 7), while four more grave pits (Burials 3, 4, 5, and 6) in the southeastern corner of the church (Fig. 3) were subsequently exposed and recorded during construction, but not excavated (Fig. 8). All of the unmarked burials extended under the Strickland riser footings and, accordingly, date prior to 1822. Unfortunately, none of the unmarked burials could conclusively be identified from existing church records (Immanuel Church 1716–1824b).

Feature 20 was identified as the western edge of the burial pit associated with the grave of Reverend Robert Clay, the ninth rector of Immanuel Church, who was buried in the church upon his death in 1831 (Holcomb 1890:150). The presence of a coffin in the burial pit was verified by the use of a soil auger. The nearby grave of Stephen W. Presstman, Clay's successor, was also augered and the presence of his coffin verified as well. The date of his death and interment was 1843 (Holcomb 1890:154). In addition to these two marble gravestones, there were two small marble stones lying in adjacent positions in the main aisle west of Presstman's grave. A small stone marked "E. T." (probably a footstone) was found under Eliza Thomas's marker (Fig. 5). Probing to a depth of 78 inches below datum around the Thomas stone yielded negative results, suggesting that the small stones at the west end of the main aisle did not actually mark graves. No verification was un-

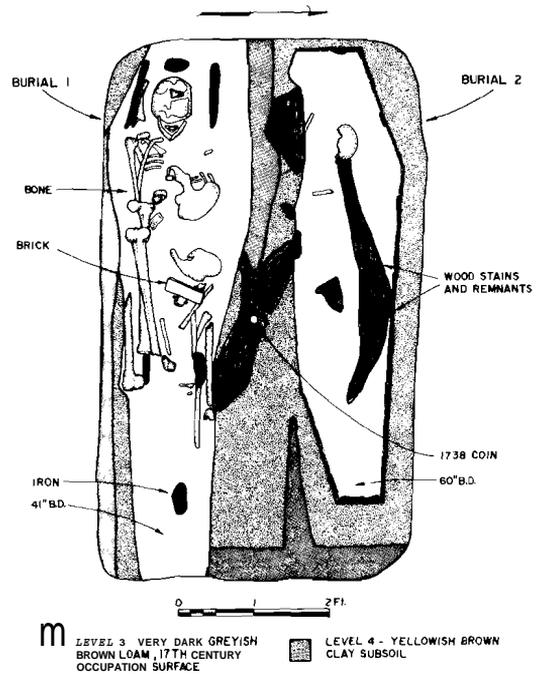


Fig. 7. Plan of burials, northeast corner of church.

dertaken in conjunction with another stone, the Fleetwood March stone, but it is also unlikely that it marks a burial. Instead, it appears that both stones are commemorative, probably memorializing burials disturbed by enlargement of the church in 1822.

The two burials in the northeastern corner of the church were exposed on the surface of Level 2 as a roughly rectangular area of disturbance designated Feature 7. Excavation of Trench 2 across Unit 1 (Fig. 3) identified Feature 7 as a burial pit which was subsequently determined to contain two separate coffin burials (Fig. 7). Both burials were oriented east/west with heads to the west and feet to the east. Burial 1 was exposed at approximately 33 inches below datum, while Burial 2 was exposed about 7 inches deeper. Burial 1 was in relatively good condition and could be analyzed osteologically, while Burial 2 had almost completely deteriorated, leaving only a few fragments of bone in recognizable condi-

tion. Burial 2 was apparently sufficiently deep to be adversely affected by the seepage of ground water, while Burial 1 was shallow enough to have been unaffected by the moisture. Burial 1 was identified (Faye Stocum 1981, pers. comm.) as a male of slight to average build, about 5'11" tall and probably aged 50+ years. The skull showed evidence of parietal thinning, which does not usually occur until 60 years of age, but other osteological evidence pointed to a somewhat younger individual of 45–55 years old. Burial 2 could not be further identified.

Both graves were located approximately 12 inches from the east wall of the church beneath or adjacent to the colonial altar, a highly prestigious position within the sanctuary of an Anglican church. No grave markers were found. However, an Irish coin dated 1738 was recovered from the surface of a remnant of wood situated between the two burials where it apparently had been purposely placed. Burials 1 and 2 were interred in separate graves, with Burial 1 being older. Apparently, the excavation of the grave for Burial 2 intruded on the lower left side of Burial 1, partially exposing it. Upon uncovering the previous interment, the coin may have been left as a talisman by the grave digger, who then terminated the original excavation and moved about two feet northward to complete the excavation of the grave for Burial 2, clear of the first burial. This would explain the juncture of the two graves at the east end of the burial pit but not at the west end (Fig. 7). It would also explain the grave-shaped disturbance at the east end of Burial 1, which lies on a line with Burial 2, but terminates at the level of Burial 1.

The coin provides a *terminus post quem* of 1738 for Burial 2. Its likely purposeful placement as a talisman upon the disturbance of an earlier burial is reminiscent of a circumstance at colonial Jamestown (Cotter 1958:223), where a similar double burial was reported with a coin "about the knees" of the upper burial. The coin was identified as

a "mireaux" or lucky pocket piece worn by grave diggers. Although it was concluded that the Jamestown coin had been dropped, its positioning seems remarkably similar to that of the coin found between Burials 1 and 2 at Immanuel Church. Accordingly, it is not believed that the Immanuel coin was dropped accidentally.

Both the Burial 1 and 2 remains were interred in traditionally-shaped coffins fitted with iron hardware. Neither of the coffin remains included any identification. The absence of buttons, buckles, hooks, grommets, or other durable aspects of period clothing suggests that the remains were interred in shrouds, and the presence of numerous straight pins in association with Burial 1 suggests the shrouds may have been pinned rather than sewn. It is tempting to suggest that these two prestigiously placed, proximate burials are the graves of George and Aeneas Ross, both of whom were reportedly buried in the church (Holcomb 1890:245). However, this is not fully supported by the osteological evidence. Burial 1, the earlier of the two interments, is thought to have been closer to 50 years of age at death, but George Ross was 75 years old when he died in 1754 (Holcomb 1890:117–18). Burial 2, as noted earlier, could not be identified. Regrettably, both burials must remain anonymous.

The grave outlines in the southeastern part of the church (Fig. 3) were exposed during construction in an area which, for the most part, had not been archaeologically excavated (Fig. 5). Four east/west oriented grave outlines were clearly recognizable in the undisturbed subsoil in the southeastern part of the church (Fig. 8), but no remains were excavated, thereby precluding osteological analysis and identification. Unlike the burials in the northeastern corner of the church, which shared prestigiously comparable space, the burials in the southeastern corner were placed in a line trending westward from the east wall of the church into an area assumed to have been occupied by pews during the 18th cen-

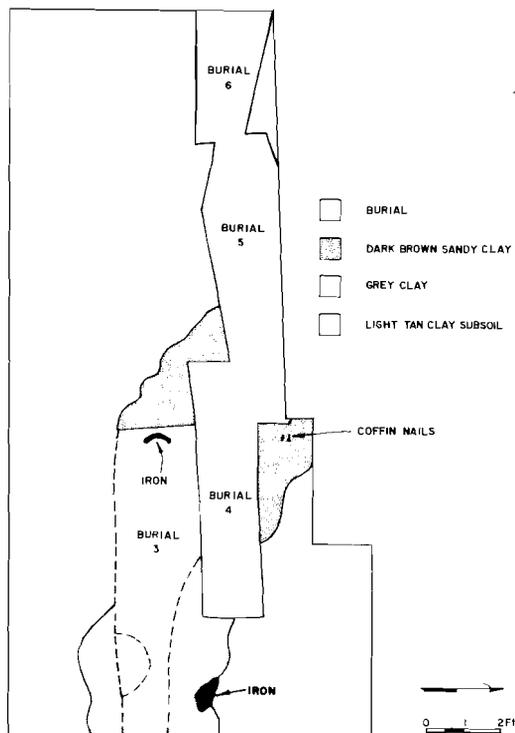


Fig. 8. Plan of grave outlines, southeast corner of church.

ture. The implications of this positioning cannot be fully interpreted. However, it appears that not only aisle and altar space was used for burials in the 18th century Immanuel Church, but pew space as well. As was the case with the burials in the northeastern corner of the church, none of the occupants of these graves could be identified, since none of the four burials was excavated. Upon exposure and recordation, it was determined that no further disturbance would result from construction activities, and the grave outlines were left unexcavated and were backfilled. They are now sealed under a concrete slab.

Pre-Church Features

Two linear features attributed to pre-church occupation of the Immanuel Church site were exposed in Trenches 1 and 2 (Fig.

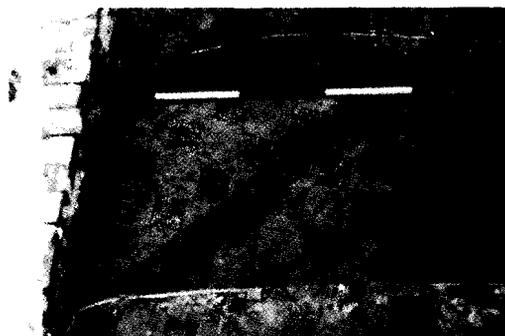


Fig. 9. Unit 9, Trench 1, Feature 27, facing south. Feature 4 is on the right.

3). Feature 27 (Fig. 9) appeared as a dark, linear stain trending northeast-southwest across Unit 9 on the east side of Feature 4, the robbed builders trench for the west wall of the colonial church. The stain was 6 to 9 inches wide, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, and originated in Level 3, the pre-church loam stratum. The feature intruded as a shallow depression into the sterile subsoil comprising Level 4. The stained area consisted of dark loam with flecks of charcoal and iron oxide but no artifacts. The southeastern edge of Feature 27 was sharply delineated, while the northwestern edge was feathered and irregularly defined in the characteristic pattern of a drip line. No structural remains were exposed in association with this feature.

Feature 28 appeared as a linear disturbance on the surface of Level 3, trending northwest-southeast across Unit 1 on the north side of Feature 7, the two burials in the northeastern corner of the church. The feature was more than one foot wide and extended to a depth of 3 to 4 inches into Level 3, the pre-church loam stratum. This linear intrusion contained brown clay similar to the soil matrix of Level 2, without the pulverized rubble inclusions. Unlike Feature 27, identified as the remains of a roof drip line, Feature 28 was likely the remains of a robbed footing or wall trench.

The presence of these linear features in the context of pre-church horizons suggests

the presence of an earlier structure at the site of Immanuel Church. Projections on the lines of the two linear features produce an intersecting angle of approximately 85 degrees at a point in the churchyard several feet from the north wall of the church. Since one of the features (Feature 28) is thought to represent a wall trench and the other (Feature 27) a drip line, this minor variation of 5 degrees from a right angle suggests that both features may be related to the same square or rectangular building. Indeed, both pre-church features are oriented diagonally to the axis of the church and conform to the 17th century New Castle street plan. It is tempting to suggest that the features represent evidence of the earlier block-house documented for the site. However, since sufficient artifact associations were not present to infer contemporaneity of the features, the precise identification of them and their interrelationships remain problematic.

Artifacts

As Table 1 indicates, more than 80% of the 2,451 artifacts recovered during excavations at Immanuel Church were associated with Level 1, the "make-up" layer immediately underlying the risers and aisles. The rest of the artifacts were recovered from Levels 2 and 3 as exposed in Trenches 1 and 2 (5.3%), from various artifact-bearing feature contexts (4.1%), and from the two unmarked graves in the northeastern corner

TABLE 1
Artifact Distribution by Provenience

| | Counts | % |
|------------|--------|------|
| Level 1 | 1,997 | 81.4 |
| Level 2 | 89 | 3.6 |
| Level 3 | 43 | 1.7 |
| Feature 4 | 15 | 0.6 |
| Feature 28 | 73 | 3.0 |
| Small Pits | 13 | 0.5 |
| Burials | 221 | 9.0 |
| Totals | 2,451 | 99.8 |

of the church (9.0%). This inordinate weighting toward the Level 1 "make-up" layer is not surprising, since nearly all of it was excavated, while only a small sampling of strata below Level 1 was excavated. The artifacts are discussed by association below.

Level 1 Artifacts

Level 1, the "make-up" layer of beach sand deposited ca. 1860 when the floor of the church was replaced and the pews reset (Holcomb 1890:150), yielded 1,997 artifacts. This sand layer occurred in all of the excavation units. Spatially, the artifacts were distributed relatively homogeneously throughout the level in each excavation unit (Table 2), although many artifacts were found lying on the surface of Level 2, at the base of the sand matrix comprising Level 1. This relative homogeneity does not reflect a deposition pattern characteristic of well-defined activity areas.

As Tables 2 and 3 indicate, architectural materials were the largest functional category of artifacts recovered from Level 1, accounting for 60.4% of the artifacts. Nails and broken fragments of window glass were the most common architectural materials present in this level. Many of the nails had been used, and those which could be identified by type consisted primarily of cut and wire nails dating from the mid-19th century to the present. The window glass consisted of very small fragments which could not be identified by manufacturing technology. Many of the fragments were rectilinear in shape, suggesting glazier's scrap (Fig. 10). This identification is consistent with the occurrence of small strips of glazier's lead in association with many window glass fragments. Other artifacts in the architectural category included several modern, small pieces of turned or worked wood (Fig. 10), tar paper, a stamped iron bracket, several pieces of electrical fixtures, and electrical wire. A concentration of architectural materials along the north side of the sanctu-

TABLE 2
Level 1: Artifact Distribution by Excavation Units

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 13B | 14B | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 20 | 23 | Totals |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|--------|
| Architectural & Furnishings | 103 | 169 | 61 | 12 | 69 | 101 | 47 | — | 21 | 16 | 80 | 24 | 74 | 176 | 86 | 69 | 50 | 18 | 40 | 1,216 |
| Floral/Faunal | 11 | 24 | 32 | 3 | 41 | 31 | 10 | — | 8 | 2 | 35 | 12 | 14 | 22 | 37 | 29 | 7 | 5 | 13 | 336 |
| Household | 10 | 16 | 27 | 25 | 13 | 12 | 6 | — | 3 | 11 | 16 | 9 | 17 | 6 | 18 | 16 | 15 | 10 | 14 | 244 |
| Personal | 5 | 9 | 8 | 1 3 | 7 | 1 2 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 125 |
| Unidentified | 6 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | — | | 2 | 6 7 | 2 | — | 1 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 76 |
| Totals | 135 | 225 | 133 | 58 | 134 | 159 | 70 | 1* | 44 | 36 | 145 | 49 | 114 | 207 | 153 | 123 | 89 | 42 | 80 | 1,997 |

*Surface find in an unexcavated unit.

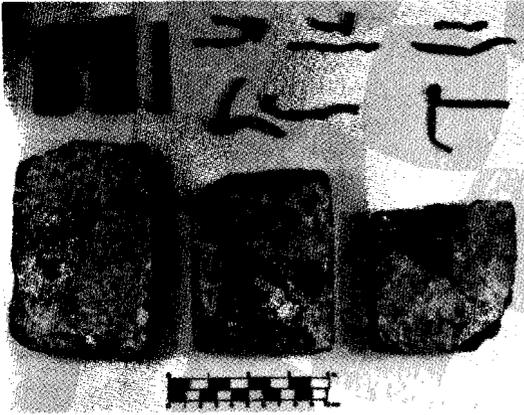


Fig. 10. Architectural materials, including wood dowels, glaziers' lead strips, and yellow brick from Level 1; Level 2A; Trench 1, Feature 4; and Trench 2, Feature 7.

ary, especially in the northeastern corner, suggests that construction debris may have been piled or accumulated in this area during construction and become intermixed with the sand fill.

Floral and faunal remains accounted for 16.8% of the artifacts recovered from Level 1 (Table 3). Oyster shell (*Crassostrea virginica*) was the most frequently encountered faunal material, with some crab shell (*Callinectes* spp.) fragments also present. Several animal bones and bone fragments were recovered, including some which were butcher-cut. The faunal remains also included several pieces of brain coral (*Meandrina cerebrum*). A few burned or calcined bone fragments were also recovered from Level 1. Identifiable faunal remains included rabbit (*Sylvilagus* spp.), turkey (*Meleagris* spp.), a cow's (*Bos taurus*) tooth, and a dog's (*Canis familiaris*) tooth. Floral remains included peach pits (*Prunus persica*), black walnut shells (*Juglans nigra*), and hickory shells (*Carya* spp.). All of the recovered faunal and floral remains except for the coral are indigenous to the area.

Household evidence consisting of small fragments of ceramics and glass accounted for 12.2% of the artifacts recovered from Level 1 (Table 3, Fig. 11). Many of the ce-

TABLE 3
Level 1: Artifact Distribution by Functional Categories

| | Counts | % |
|-----------------------------|--------|------|
| Architectural & Furnishings | 1,207 | 60.4 |
| Floral/Faunal | 336 | 16.8 |
| Household | 244 | 12.2 |
| Personal | 134 | 6.7 |
| Unidentified | 76 | 3.8 |
| Totals | 1,997 | 99.9 |

ramic fragments were identifiable and represented a tightly dated mid-18th century assemblage (ca. 1720–1750), more than 100 years earlier than when the sand layer was deposited across the church interior. Although a few of these artifacts may not be site-related, the presence of most of them at the interface of Level 2 suggests that they may have been deposited prior to the presumed deposition of the sand "make-up" level in the mid-19th century, on the original floor surface.

Objects of a personal nature such as coins, pins, buttons, buckles (Fig. 12), and fan sticks accounted for 6.7% of the artifacts recovered from Level 1 (Table 3). Of particular importance were several coins recovered at the interface of Levels 1 and 2, including a 1718 English coin and a 1769 Irish coin (Carson 1962:265; Reinfeld 1971:174). The presence of these coins at the surface of Level 2 confirms the identification of this stratum as the original floor surface of the colonial church. The other personal items could not be specifically associated with an 18th century date. Also included among the category of personal objects were numerous white clay pipe stem and bowl fragments, most of which appeared to have been used.

Level 2 Artifacts

The excavated portions of Level 2 in Trenches 1 and 2 (Fig. 3) yielded 89 arti-

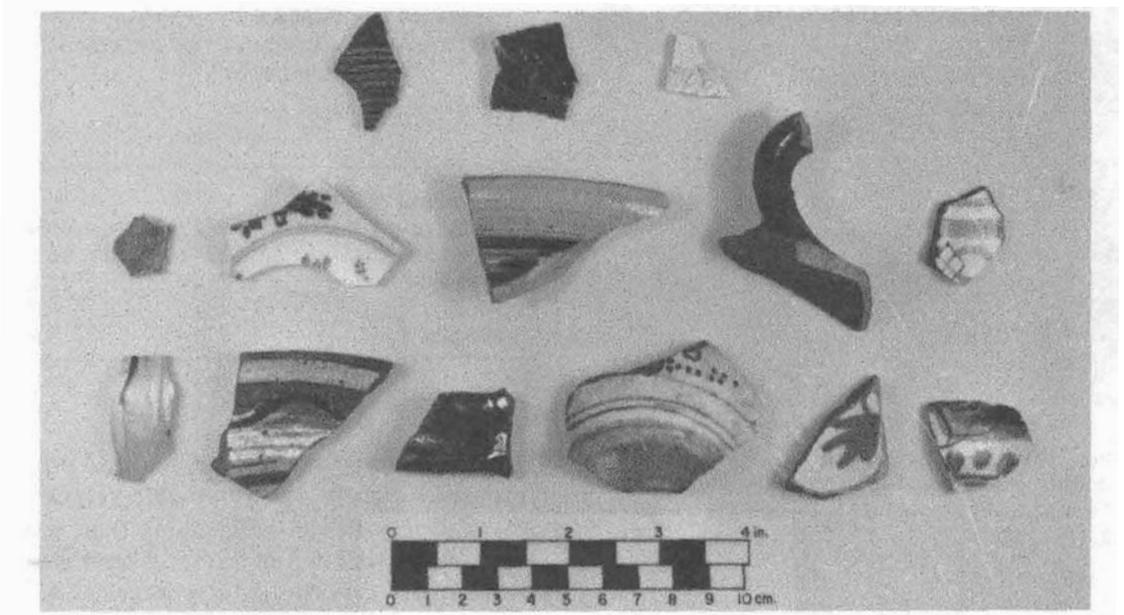


Fig. 11. Mid-18th century ceramics recovered from the interface of Levels 1 and 2, including plain-glazed and slip decorated earthenware, Oriental porcelain, Rhenish-type stoneware, and white salt-glazed stoneware.

facts, accounting for **3.6%** of the artifacts recovered from Immanuel Church (Table 1). As Table 4 indicates, architectural materials were also the largest category of artifacts recovered from Level 2. The architectural-related artifacts included both red and yellow brick fragments, pieces of red clay roof tiles, window glass, strips of glaziers' lead, and several nail fragments in poor condition. Most of the architectural materials recovered from Level 2 were probably associated with construction of the church or with the construction of pews or other furnishings such as the pulpit, altar, and gallery. Since only red brick was used in the church, the yellow brick does not appear to relate to church construction. Yellow bricks are a characteristic feature of 17th century Swedish and Dutch construction (Becker 1977:112) and rarely appear on English sites except, perhaps, as reused materials.

Artifacts associated with household activities (Table 4) included small fragments of bottle glass and ceramic sherds similar in type and date to the 18th century artifacts

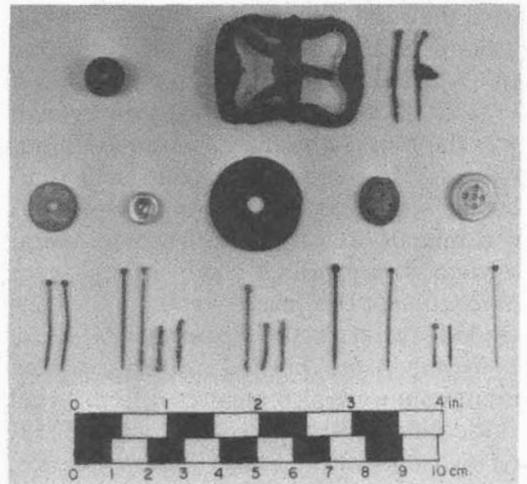


Fig. 12. Pins, buckle, and buttons recovered from Level 1.

recovered from Level 1. Faunal remains consisted primarily of unidentifiable pieces of shell and animal bone, while the only object of a personal nature recovered from Level 2 was a white clay pipe stem fragment. Since Level 2 represents the floor of the 18th century church, these objects are

TABLE 4
Level 2: Artifact Distribution by Functional Categories

| | Counts | % |
|-----------------------------|--------|-------|
| Architectural & Furnishings | 34 | 38.2 |
| Floral/Faunal | 22 | 24.7 |
| Household | 24 | 27.0 |
| Personal | 1 | 1.1 |
| Unidentified | 8 | 9.0 |
| Totals | 89 | 100.0 |

primarily associated with the earliest periods of church-related use of the site.

Level 3 Artifacts

Level 3 yielded a total of 43 artifacts, all of which were associated with Trench 1 in Unit 10 (Figs. 3 and 6; Table 5). Although these artifacts accounted for only 1.7% of the artifacts recovered from Immanuel Church (Table 1), this assemblage is particularly significant because the artifact deposit can be attributed to pre-church occupation of the site. Unfortunately, it could not be determined if any relationship existed between the artifact deposit in Unit 10 and the linear features exposed in Unit 9 (Feature 27) and Unit 1 (Feature 28). The artifact deposit recovered from Level 3 in Unit 10 may have been associated with Feature 27, identified as a drip line. However, since no related wall evidence was found, it was not possible to determine whether the artifact deposit was associated with an interior or exterior provenience. The artifact deposit, in fact, could have been situated inside the drip line (i.e., under the eaves or beneath an overhanging second story), but outside the building.

The artifacts recovered from Level 3 represented architectural, floral/faunal, household, personal, and military categories. Architectural-related artifacts included two hand-wrought nails, a small tack, two red brick fragments, and several unidentified

TABLE 5
Level 3: Artifact Distribution by Functional Categories

| | Counts | % |
|-----------------------------|--------|-------|
| Architectural & Furnishings | 8 | 18.6 |
| Floral/Faunal | 15 | 34.9 |
| Household | 3 | 7.0 |
| Personal | 3 | 7.0 |
| Military | 1 | 2.3 |
| Unidentified | 13 | 30.2 |
| Totals | 43 | 100.0 |

pieces of iron. Faunal remains included several large mammal bones and fragments of oyster shell. One humerus fragment was butcher-cut. Ceramic artifacts included a white clay pipe stem fragment and four small fragments of burned earthenware. The two most important artifacts recovered from Level 3, however, were an iron key and a cannonball (Fig. 13).

The iron key has a solid shank with two narrow collars and one broad raised collar near the bow or handle. The blade has two notches in its distal edge near the shank and a single notch in its proximal edge further from the shank. The presence of the key might suggest the existence of a nearby structure, but it does not contribute significantly to the interpretation of the two pre-church linear features (Features 27 and 28) exposed in Level 3. Cotter (1958:170) reported the recovery of several iron keys from various mid-17th century contexts, including a key similar to that recovered from Level 3, but slightly smaller in size. According to Cotter (1958:57), collared keys were associated with both street-door locks (or stock locks), which were imbedded in a wooden door and required a key with a collar smaller than the key-hole, and chamber-door locks (orspring locks), which were cased locks requiring a key with a collar to keep it from penetrating too far beyond the metal plate. Apparently both of these lock types were used in New Castle

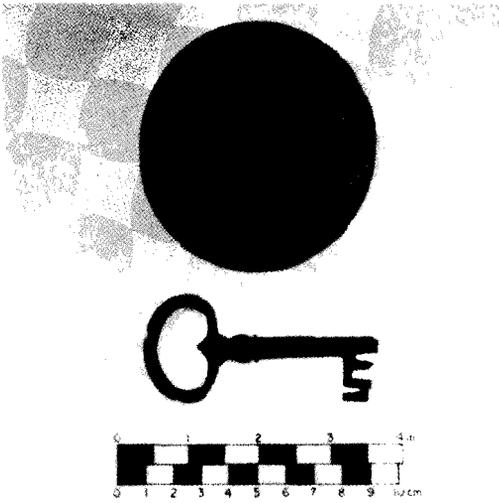


Fig. 13. Cannonball and key recovered from Trench 1, Level 3.

during the 17th century, as indicated by a list of ironwork ordered by Jacob Alricks (O'Callaghan 1858:66–67) in 1659, which included 25 door and chamber locks.

The cannonball recovered from Level 3 provided possible evidence of military activity in the pre-church horizon and permitted a relatively precise functional interpretation of its ordnance. The cannonball is made of solid cast-iron. It weighs about four pounds and measures 3-½ inches in diameter. The surface of the ball is dimpled and covered with small, corroded pits. The ball itself is intact, and there are no surficial chips, grooves, or scars to indicate it had been fired. The cannonball is probably English and may be associated with the new fortification erected on the Green by 1677. Both the Dutch and the Swedes had cannons at New Castle but, until the new fortification was erected on the Green in the 1670s, heavy gun emplacements were most likely situated at or near Fort Casimir.

The term cannon actually includes a wide range of military weapons. During the 16th century, most European nations standardized their field ordnance, with the English division into 16 classes the most useful for the analysis of shot (Stone 1934:160–62). The English cannon classes ranged in size

from the Cannon Royal, weighing four tons, to the Rabinet, weighing only 300 pounds. The ordnance classifications varied by muzzle bore, shot weight, and weight of the powder charge required. According to the English system, the cannonball recovered from Level 3 most likely would have been intended for a medium-sized gun such as the Minion, which was a 1,000 pound gun requiring a four pound ball (Stone 1934:160–62).

It remains unknown whether the ordnance was brought in specifically to arm the new fortification on the Green or represents material salvaged from Fort Casimir. However, the medium-range size of the shot recovered from Level 3, if truly associated with military activity, suggests that the fortification on the Green may have been relatively substantial, with some kind of exterior structural accommodation for the mounting and firing of relatively large pieces of ordnance.

Artifacts Associated With Structural Features

The various excavated structural features (postholes and builder's trenches) yielded 101 artifacts. These artifacts accounted for 4.1% of the artifacts recovered during the excavations (Table 1). Most of the artifacts recovered from these structural proveniences were architectural materials, including both red and yellow brick (Fig. 10), window glass and nails. Other artifacts included a few fragments of ubiquitous earthenwares, a pipe stem fragment, and a few pieces of bone and shell. Although all artifacts recovered from these structural features are likely site-related, it could not be determined whether they were deposited in association with the construction of the features in question or with their demolition.

Artifacts Associated With Burials

The two burials in the northeastern corner of the church yielded 221 artifacts (Ta-

ble 1), including an Irish coin (discussed earlier), highly corroded iron coffin fittings, shroud pins, and bone. A few pipe stem fragments and brick fragments were also recovered from these burial pits. Similar artifacts were recovered from 17th century graves at Jamestown and are attributed (Cotter 1958:224) to specific burial practices. According to Cotter (1958:224), gravediggers believed that tobaccosmoke prevented contagious diseases and smoked while performing their jobs to prevent infection. It is also documented that pieces of broken pottery, large oyster shells, or other objects were placed in the bottom of the grave to raise the coffin slightly so that the lowering ropes could easily be withdrawn after the coffin was in place. Since the artifacts found in the Immanuel Church graves are similar to those reported at Jamestown, it is likely that burial practices similar to those at Jamestown were also practiced at Immanuel.

INTERPRETATIONS

As noted earlier, the archaeological excavations at Immanuel Church were designed to address several research topics. This section briefly summarizes the results and interpretations of the investigation in light of four basic areas of research focus.

Architectural Evidence and Interpretations

Considerable evidence related to the architectural evolution of the church was revealed by the excavations. Two discrete stratigraphic levels associated with the church were uncovered, including the original hardpacked floor of the colonial church (Level 2) and a layer of beach sand comprising a "make-up" layer deposited on the colonial floor, probably during the last major renovation of the church ca.1860 (Level

1). It should be noted that identification of Level 2 as the floor surface of the colonial church suggests that the original floor level was lower than anticipated and, accordingly, may have required a step down into the sanctuary.

Similarly, evidence in the form of builder's trenches was also found for at least two periods of reconstruction subsequent to the completion of the original four-walled church ca.1706. Feature 4, a robbed builder's trench, evidenced Strickland's enlargement of the church between 1820 and 1822 by the removal of the west facade and the addition of transepts, while several smaller builder's trenches, as well as the brick features themselves, evidenced the placement of riser footings to support box pews at a later date, probably at the same time in the 1860s when the "make-up" layer of beach sand was deposited throughout. It should be noted, however, that some of the features, specifically Features 5, 17, and 18, most likely represent remnants of riser footings dating prior to the Strickland addition but, aside from their possible association with the colonial pulpit and the north end of the main colonial aisle, insufficient architectural evidence was present to allow a more definitive delineation of the spatial arrangement of the colonial church. Two brick piers at the east end of the church provide evidence for the later addition of an organ loft, while a mortared surface in Unit 7 represents a surfacing material subsequently covered up with the ubiquitous layer of beach sand associated with the period of rebuilding under Strickland.

It should finally be noted that the numerous pit features uncovered during excavations at Immanuel Church represent, in the main, two kinds of construction. The first construction, evidenced by Features 3, 10, 12, and 15, is a former gallery which overlooked the sanctuary from the west end of the colonial church. The features represent postholes for the accommodation of support posts for the ca.1727 gallery, and

suggest that the gallery may have been somewhat larger than expected on the basis of above-grade architectural evidence alone. The second construction, more temporary in nature, is evidence of workman's scaffolding erected during times of major reconstruction or renovation (presumably ca.1820 and ca.1860). While the scaffolding is, of course, no longer extant, its former presence is evidenced by several small pits, in random pattern, located near the peripheries of the sanctuary. These pits were presumably dug in order to stabilize the scaffolding necessary for the workmen to accomplish their tasks.

Funereal Evidence and Interpretations

In addition to the previously known graves of the Reverends Clay and Presstman, excavations at and beneath the floor of the church sanctuary exposed six unrecorded burials, none of which specifically could be identified. While it is tempting to suggest that the two fully excavated burials in the northeast corner of the church may be the remains of Reverend George Ross and his son and successor, the Reverend Aeneas Ross, definitive evidence pertaining to their identification was not forthcoming.

Similarly, it was anticipated that the pattern of 18th century grave placement might have conformed to the spatial arrangement of the original church and, in turn, serve as a source of information about utilization of space during the 18th century. However, it appears that pew, aisle, and altar space were all used for burial, suggesting that no correlation existed between the presence of graves and the subsequent utilization of space above them. Since none of the burials could be identified and no status differences were apparent among the exposed graves, the extent to which proximity to the altar and/or east end of the church was concomitant with one's status in life could not be determined.

Church-Related Behavioral Evidence and Interpretations

Most artifacts recovered from Level 1, lying on the surface of Level 2, or in Level 2 are interpreted as evidence of material culture reflecting activities which took place in the church at some time during its nearly 300 year life. As noted earlier, nearly all artifacts recovered from these proveniences fall into four functional classes, including architectural/furnishings, floral/faunal, household, and personal. The following paragraphs briefly discuss the interpreted modes of deposition for the various types of artifacts falling into these four functional classes. Four possible modes of deposition are discussed, including detritus deposited during periods of reconstruction or rebuilding, incidental loss during religious functions, breakage and/or loss during non-religious functions, and incidental inclusion in the beach sand matrix.

It seems certain that all of the architectural-related artifacts were deposited as detritus during periods of rebuilding. These items include nails, lead glaze, window glass, brick and mortar fragments, and pieces of worked wood. Although detailed spatial analysis was not conducted, most of these materials were found at the peripheries of the sanctuary, and doubtless were dropped by workmen as they completed their rebuilding or refurbishing tasks. Most of the architectural-related artifacts dated to the mid-19th century, and some were clearly 20th century in origin.

The origin of the numerous clay pipe fragments is somewhat less straight-forward. According to the Reverend Myles Edwards (1981, pers. comm.), the practice of smoking tobacco was not, and still is not, customary in Anglican sanctuaries. Assuming that the 18th and 19th century parishioners of Immanuel Church abided by this custom, it must be assumed that the pipe bowls and stems were used by workmen during periods of rebuilding, broken during use, and discarded on the spot within the walls

of the sanctuary. Many of these pipes doubtless were broken and dropped during the two major periods of repair and reconstruction (ca.1820 and ca.1860), but some may also have been left behind at other times.

Items of personal use such as coins, buttons, buckles, pins, and fan sticks probably became deposited on the colonial floor by way of incidental loss during church services. While many of these artifacts (particularly the coins) pre-date the deposition of the sand "make-up" layer in the 1860s, nearly all artifacts of personal use were found either lying on the surface of Level 2 or imbedded in it, and not in the sand layer itself. Accordingly, with the possible exception of the bone fan sticks, the personal items for the most part can be associated with religious functions during the 18th century.

The bulk of the ceramic fragments and some of the faunal/floral material present an interpretative dilemma. According to the Reverend Myles Edwards (1981, pers. comm.), the use of the sanctuary for food consumption was not customary in the Anglican church. On the surface, this might rule out the deposition of materials associated with food consumption as a result of normal use of the church sanctuary. Indeed, some of the faunal and floral material (for example, peach pits, butcher-cut cow or turkey bone, crab shells, and perhaps even oyster shells) may have been dropped by workmen, along with their broken pipes, during periods of reconstruction. However, it is unlikely that the relatively large quantity of 18th century ceramic and glass fragments was deposited in the same manner. Many of the ceramic fragments represent broken remnants of relatively fine tablewares and it seems unlikely that workmen during periods of reconstruction would be utilizing such vessels.

An alternative explanation for the presence of numerous ceramic and bottle glass fragments in the church sanctuary runs somewhat counter to established Anglican custom. At the time most of the ceramics

and glass fragments were deposited, Immanuel Church, as noted earlier, was a simple four-walled structure, consisting only of the sanctuary. The transepts and bell tower were not appended to the east end until 1820–1822, and the basements beneath the transepts not until later. During the first half of the 18th century, the period to which most of the ceramics date, New Castle was a rural community, with parishioners of Immanuel Church presumably coming from some distances for worship. It seems reasonable to assume that, especially in winter, there were frequent times when storms or other occurrences would have prohibited the return of some parishioners to their homes for a day or two. Accordingly, the consumption of food in the sanctuary of the church may have been a necessity at times such as these, perhaps utilizing borrowed tablewares from nearby townsfolk. Accidental breakage, of course, would then account for the ceramic, and perhaps much of the bottle glass, assemblage found at the interface of Levels 1 and 2, and embedded in Level 2 as well. Indeed, the presence of 19th century ceramic artifacts in the sand "make-up" layer (Level 1) suggests that similar use of the sanctuary after the transepts and bell tower were added may still have been taking place.

A final mode of deposition for a small percentage of the artifacts recovered from the Immanuel Church excavations is incidental inclusion in the beach sand matrix deposited in the mid-19th century. Two types of artifacts are interpreted as representing secondary depositions in this manner. The first is the several pieces of coral, previously noted, which most likely represent discarded ship's ballast deposited in the New Castle vicinity, presumably the origin of the beach sand "make-up" layer. The second type consists of several water-worn artifacts, particularly pipestem and/or bowl fragments, represented by seven pieces, and wood fragments, represented by two fragments. It seems virtually certain that these clay pipe fragments, together

with the coral and wood fragments, were deposited in a secondary manner as constituents of the beach sand when the "make-up" layer was laid down in the mid-19th century.

It should be noted that the modes of deposition discussed above, and the types of artifacts deposited by each mode, are speculative in nature. In point of fact, it is not possible to ascertain whether workman or parishioners actually deposited certain classes of artifacts, nor if certain non-water worn artifacts were deposited, along with demonstrably water-worn artifacts, as inclusions in the beach sand fill. The interpretations offered here merely represent the *likely* modes of deposition, given the nature and extent of the data.

Pre-Church Evidence and Interpretations

As expected, stratigraphic evidence of original grade was ascertained by means of exploratory trenches excavated into sterile subsoil. The exposure of two linear features (one interpreted as a wall trench and the other as a drip line) in a pre-church horizon suggests that the church may have, indeed, been erected over the remains of a 17th century fortification. However, neither of the features provided substantial information about the size and appearance of the 17th century building at the Immanuel Church site. A key recovered from the pre-church horizon may have been related to this structure, and was designed to fit either a street door lock or a chamber-door lock. The discovery of a four pound cannonball in the pre-church horizon suggests the presence of military activity nearby, and further suggests the use of medium-sized cannon.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

In summary, the excavations at Immanuel Church provided an opportunity to recover archaeological data pertaining to an

early 18th century church property. It also provided a brief glimpse of the pre-church occupation of the site, and provided additional evidence suggested by historical documents of the early use of the site as a fortification. The archaeological evidence of both church and pre-church occupation and use was contained in an ideal and relatively rare context, a context which had been sealed and largely undisturbed for nearly three centuries. This important factor allowed for distinctions to be drawn between modes of artifact deposition which, in turn, led to certain behavioral insights, particularly with regard to the possible non-liturgical use of the sanctuary at various times during the 18th, and perhaps 19th, centuries.

Fortunately, reconstruction activities after the fire of 1980 did not totally destroy the remaining unexcavated portions of the sealed deposits, and the church is now fully restored (Fig. 14). A considerable portion of

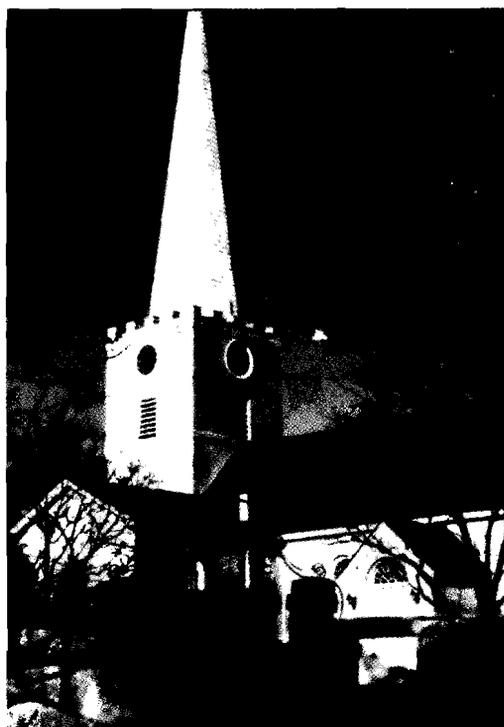


Fig. 14. Immanuel Episcopal Church restored.

the sanctuary is still in an undisturbed state, particularly toward the central axis, and this area doubtless contains additional evidence of church and pre-church activity. Similarly, the four burials exposed in the southeastern corner are still intact and undisturbed, and even the two excavated burials in the northeastern corner of the sanctuary remain in place. While the further excavation of the remaining sealed deposits and features in the near future is unlikely, their *in situ* protection is assured by the new church which now overlies them.

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DANIEL G. ROBERTS

JOHN MILNER ASSOCIATES, INC.

309 NORTH MATLACK STREET

WEST CHESTER, PA 19380