

case, or whether the Williams assemblage indicates an alternative foodways system, economic strategy, and associated ceramic consumption pattern cannot be determined from the available data. Finally, the differences in the teaware assemblages from the commercial centers of Christiana Bridge and Duck Creek Crossroads/Smyrna and those from the rural and village crossroads communities suggest differences in the social relationships and activities of rural and "urban" dwellers in Delaware in this period. Despite the limits and the problems of the existing data base, at least tentative interpretations regarding foodways, economic strategies, social status and relationships have been offered through application of the difference-of-proportion test. Only more excavated sites and comparable data can overcome these limits and problems.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Four research themes guided the historical and archaeological investigations of the John Darrach Store site: The social and economic context of family, mercantile activity in the Smyrna/Duck Creek Hundred, tenancy, agricultural crisis and reform:1790-1840, and evolution of architecture and landscape. The first, informed principally by historic documents and the archaeological and comparative information on the store's architecture, focussed on the Whites, Darrachs, and other elite mercantile families of Duck Creek in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These studies revealed the extensive network of kinship linking these families; their expression of social and economic position through their dress, silver, furniture, and books prominently displayed in large, expensive, permanent brick houses; and the commercial businesses they operated from their often equally large, expensive, and permanent brick stores. Offering textiles, sewing equipment, clothing, liquor, imported foods, spices, and beverages, books, ceramics and other kitchenwares for cash and in exchange for agricultural produce and other goods and services, these merchants served local community members who patronized them based on a combination of social and economic factors.

The Darrach Store site's archaeological record preserved a case study of the evolution of architecture and landscape in Duck Creek between the second half of the eighteenth century and the Civil War. When William White, John Darrach's father-in-law, constructed his brick store along the road to Duck Creek Landing in the 1770s (or earlier), brick structures were truly a rarity in central Delaware. White's store thus represented a visible sign of success and permanence. No outbuildings from this period left archaeological remains, although an impermanent utilitarian building set on wooden blocks seems likely.

John Darrach operated the two storey brick store between 1778 and his death in 1805. He rented a portion of the store as a residence, probably for a time in the later eighteenth century to John Griffin, the local miller. Between 1803 and 1806, Darrach or his heirs converted the store to a tenant residence. From then until its demolition in the late 1860s, the store housed mostly unidentified tenants probably working in farming or laboring in maritime trades.

At the John Darrach Store site as at most historical archaeological sites, the historical record documented some aspects of the site more fully than others, while virtually no historical records reported the early nineteenth century conversion of the store and its occupation by tenant families, John Darrach's family and mercantile networks and operations could be reconstituted in greater detail. However, extensive documentation does not always coincide with extensive archaeological evidence. The archaeological record offered little on the operation of White's and Darrach's store - what was sold, to whom, and the like.

The lives of the Darrach Store tenants, in comparison, were better documented in the archaeological than historical record. Griffin and/or other eighteenth century tenants lived in the western half of the store, heated by the building's only fireplaces. Plow zone artifact distributions and soil chemical analysis indicated that they did not carry their household refuse - ceramics, bottle glass, food bone and shell - very far from the back door before dumping it broadcast across the rear and side yards. A well in the rear yard served the tenants' kitchen, and their domestic landscape was confined to the west and southwest yards between the store, the Maryland Road, a gully to the west, the well and a possible outbuilding to the south. At the end of the eighteenth century, when John Darrach

moved his home and store into downtown Duck Creek Crossroads and abandoned the brick store, it was remodeled for tenants. He or his heirs constructed an addition on its eastern end, erected new outbuildings, and enlarged, reorganized and enclosed the domestic yard with fences separating outdoor work areas, storage and work spaces in the outbuildings, gardens, livestock pens, and waste disposal areas in the form of a large midden and privies. This intermediate landscape of the early nineteenth century seemingly expressed changing perceptions of the division of property and property rights soon codified through the agricultural reformers' efforts. Later tenants changed the property little, until new owners in the 1860s reworked the landscape once again, plowing under and planting over all vestiges of the buildings, work yards, gardens, and dumps.

Finally, this study of the Darrach Store also contributed information on the agricultural crisis and subsequent reform efforts in Delaware between circa 1790 and 1840. John Darrach clearly took advantage of the opportunities in the international economy offered during the early federal period, and profited handsomely. Later, when prices hit bottom, wealthy merchants like Robert Patterson, who leased the store in the early nineteenth century, amassed control over incredible landholdings. These wealthy merchants then set about rebuilding - the economy, the land, and the social relations linking the two. As for their tenants, they seem to have placed a premium on resourcefulness, and thus survived, fortunate to be living in an area rich in natural resources, despite human efforts to wear out the land.

Excavation of a 25% plow zone sample and 240 features within the one-acre site area, data analysis, and intra- and inter-site comparisons constituted the final investigations of the John Darrach Store site. The 25% sample of the plow zone proved invaluable as it has at other Delaware historical archaeological sites subjected to data recovery excavations (Shaffer et al. 1988; Catts and Custer 1990; Hoseth and Catts n.d.). Analysis of plow zone artifacts and soil chemical levels revealed important information on changing cultural behavior played out on the landscape. The 25% sample was more than adequate to identify these patterns. For example, phosphate levels suggest the early tenants may have tethered their animals near the store, and/or planted a small garden in the side yard. At the same time, potassium levels indicated they dumped their fireplace sweepings in the general household refuse area southwest of the store initially identified by plow zone artifact distributions.

From both plow zone and feature contexts, ceramics form the principal archaeological remains of the store's tenant family residents. Domestic, perhaps even locally produced, versatile, multipurpose redwares dominate the ceramic assemblage, the expected possessions of a family making due with a few equally versatile, multipurpose cooking pots and pans, as Griffin's probate inventory indicates. The domestic economic strategy of the store's later occupants, in residence between its conversion to a tenancy and circa 1825, is reconstructable in even more detail. Multifunctional redwares continued to predominate in the kitchen and on the table. Supplementing these wares at meals, at tea, and on display in the cupboard were a few creamware and pearlware plates, and creamware, pearlware and porcelain teawares.

Despite the comparatively small sample size, the faunal remains and shell assemblages also provided significant data on foodways and subsistence. The faunal remains indicate these families served beef, pork, mutton, and chicken, as well as geese and other water fowl, muskrat, opossum, squirrel, rabbit, and locally harvested oysters. All could have been raised, hunted, or harvested by the tenants themselves, or purchased at a store in town, or acquired from a neighboring farmer or waterman. Moreover, all the faunal taxa represented archaeologically served multiple roles in the local economy, as food sources for local consumption and for exchange, and as sources of fur, hides, wool, and feathers. Although many questions remain concerning the lives of the Darrach Store's tenants, archaeological evidence suggests they sought the most out of their investment, whether of time, energy, or money.

Archaeologists must continually evaluate the methods utilized to wrest cultural and historical information from the ground. The results of the Phase III investigations at the John Darrach Store site suggest modifications to the field and analytical methods should be considered in planning future data recovery projects at historical archaeological sites in Delaware. Implementation of these recommended techniques and strategies would enhance the archaeologists' ability to reconstruct historic domestic economies, manufacturing operations and trade

networks, landscape configurations, and social identities and relations, the principal goals of historical archaeological inquiry in the state (De Cunzo and Catts 1990). First, at the Darrach Store site, the Phase I and II artifact densities determined the area of the plow zone sample. While these densities delineated the yard areas adjacent to the store/dwelling, several important features lay beyond the bounds of the area sampled, including both privies, most of the midden, and most of one outbuilding. Consideration of soil chemical distributions as well as artifact densities when defining core areas and feature locations in future Phase I and II projects would allow identification and inclusion of these outlying activity areas/features in data recovery plow zone sampling areas. Second, water-screening of feature soils, now being undertaken when feasible on Delaware historical archaeological sites, improves the chances of recovering fish bones and other small, fragile remains. This, combined with flotation of larger soil samples from select features and detailed identification and analytical studies of preserved organic remains has the potential to offer additional information on the raising, acquisition, and consumption of fruits, vegetables, grains, fish and fauna. Finally, other tools warrant exploration as well, within the context of financial and time constraints; phytolith analysis is one, multivariate analysis of variables such as the chemical levels, size, shape, soil type, and artifact content of features is another. Both have the potential to contribute much to the archaeologists' understanding of Delaware's cultural landscape and its evolution.

The historical archaeological research at the John Darrach Store site has generated innumerable questions relating to the four central research themes of social and economic context, mercantilism, tenancy, agricultural crisis and reform, and the evolution of architecture and landscape. Some relate to the familial, social, economic and even political relationships among the mercantile and landed gentry of the Duck Creek community. How did they interact and what factors unified or divided them? How did they distinguish themselves from the other members of their communities? How did they maintain their positions during times of social and economic prosperity, and times of social and economic stress? What roles did both the men and women of these families play in each of these areas? To understand this group fully, however, requires also looking at the rest of the community. How did the lives of the gentry intersect with those of the tenant farmers, small landowners, craftsmen, maritime workers, and day laborers and their families?

The second set of questions focuses on these latter, the majority of the Hundred's population. How did these men, women, and their children negotiate their way through life? How did they meet their needs for food, shelter, clothing, and social intercourse? What strategies did these families devise, what was the nature and extent of variability among them, and how did they adjust their strategies to economic stresses? The insights offered by study of the Darrach Store tenants' ceramics and food remains are suggestive in this regard, but many more sites are required for comparison before more than preliminary answers to these questions can be offered.

Third, there remain the questions that have formed a focus of historical archaeological research in recent years. The by-words have been consumer choice and socioeconomic status. The questions relate to understanding the economic value and social meaning of the material culture that archaeologists study the architecture, landscapes, and artifacts. What did large brick houses and stores really mean to Duck Creek community members? What did the landscape signify - the size of one's lot, the way one landscapes it, the way one maintains it, the uses to which one puts it? How did people interpret porcelain tea services versus painted pearlware versus silver ones? What did they think about eating beef, pork, mutton, muskrat, squirrel, goose, and oysters? Bones and ceramic vessels need to be counted, vanished structures and landscapes reconstructed on paper, but then they must be placed into context.

The data recovery excavations at the John Darrach Store site (7K-A-101) provided an opportunity to examine archaeologically the changing landscape and material culture of an eighteenth and nineteenth century property occupied first as a store and tenancy and later solely as a tenant dwelling. Changes in the use and occupants of the store over time were manifested in changing architectural patterns, outbuilding placements, yard usage patterns, foodways, and household furnishings. The tenants occupying the Darrach Store in the last years of the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth centuries were most visible in the archaeological record. Comparison of these tenants' material culture assemblage with those of other local nineteenth century households has produced some tentative conclusions regarding their use of the cultural landscape, their domestic goals and

strategies, their social and economic position in the community, and their daily lives and activities. Although many questions remain to be answered about the past in Duck Creek Hundred, the historical archaeological work at the John Darrach Store site has considerably enhanced our understanding of eighteenth and nineteenth century life in the Hundred, and will provide a solid basis for future research at historic period sites in Delaware.

In the end, the success of an archaeological project can perhaps best be measured by the questions which remain. Good research always raises at least as many new questions as it answers. New questions require new data and new sites, ultimately allowing researchers to return to the data provided by the original site and move the interpretations forward one more step. In this way, historical and cultural contexts are built upon the growing body of evidence provided by each new site.

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