occupants of the 304/306 King Street had access to goods "at cost" that allowed them to acquire goods associated with people of a higher class.

Although the glass of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead was most similar to that of the middle class 304/306 King Street, the ceramic assemblage was most similar to that of the upper class Allen site (Table 36). This places the occupants of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead into the low-upper class as reflected by archaeologically acquired material culture remains.

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeological research at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead, along with census records, birth and death records, deeds, fire insurance records and dozens of other archival records have combined to present a vivid picture of upper class, white farmers of southern New Castle County. The originator of the farm was George W. Buchanan, who had purchased a large tract of land, that included the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead from his father-in-law Joseph Fleming. After George W. Buchanan's death in 1866, the farm and a small plot of land passed to Anne E., George W. Buchanan's second wife as a widow's dower. James and later George W.(III), Anne E.'s stepsons (the only surviving sons of George W. Buchanan) farmed the widow's dower for forty-three years until the parcel passed to Francis C. Armstrong, who acquired the Buchanan farm through his mother Anna A. (Buchanan) Armstrong, George W, Buchanan's second eldest daughter. Anna A. Armstrong's husband Samuel A., had several years previously acquired the remainder of Buchanan land, originally purchased from Joseph Fleming (Francis C. Armstrong's Great-Grandfather). This last transaction marked a land exchange through four generations, and in each case the transfer was instigated by relationships with the females of the Fleming-Buchanan-Armstrong families.

Excavation of plow zone survey units and archaeological features provided the information inherent in the pattern of features and allowed reconstruction of the agricultural buildings and fences. The "back building," "stable and carriage house," and "meal, corn, and tool house" mentioned in a 1857 Kent Mutual fire insurance record were archaeologically located, as well as several other unrecorded auxiliary outbuildings. These structures represented the full life span of a nineteenth-century farm, from its inception circa 1850, through years of prosperity in the 1860's, and the farm's decline soon after the turn of the century. The Buchanan-Savin Farmstead passed through many hands, but stayed within the extended Buchanan family until the sale of the property to T. R. Moffett in 1921.

The archaeological evidence supports the documentary history. The mean ceramic dates without redware for each of the archaeologically derived structures fell within a ten year span, from 1860-1870, reflecting the most prosperous period of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead. An end date for several of the structures was derived from dated bottles, indicating that the agricultural buildings may have been dismantled soon after the turn of the century. The agricultural activity area of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead was enclosed within a sixty-five foot square fence and included a corn and tool house, carriage barn and stables, possibly one or more privies, a covered well, and animal pens. The fencing established the demarcation between the farm and the domestic house. The two foci, agricultural and domestic, were reflected in the distribution of the artifacts within the plow zone. The farm portion of the site was highest in architectural artifacts such as nails and window glass. The small portion of the domestic activity area that was excavated was found to contain high amounts of ceramics and bottle and jar glass.

The excavated portion of the domestic activity area of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead contained chiefly an archaeologically derived structure recorded as the "back building" in a fire insurance policy. The portion of the domestic activity area surrounding the Buchanan-Savin farmhouse (still extant at the time of excavation) was not excavated, but archival investigation demonstrated that the house had nearly tripled in size since the mid-nineteenth century. Also

still extant at the farm was a virtually unchanged nineteenth-century building that may have been the "meat house" mentioned in George W. Buchanan's probate.

Soil chemical investigation of the plow zone and subsoil strata of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead demonstrated the value of research of this kind. The excavated nineteenth-century farm contained high levels of phosphorus associated with penned animals, and high levels of calcium from discarded oyster shells associated with sheet middens. The soil chemical distributions of the nineteenth-century farm were generally differentiated and allowed the determination of specific activity areas according to soil chemical concentrations.

Additional soil chemical investigations were carried out over the Moffett dairy farm constructed south of the historical farm during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The soil chemical pattern was very different from those of the nineteenth- century farm. The twentieth-century soil distributions did not allow the association of individual high chemical concentration with specific activities. The three areas of high soil chemical concentration were high in all four soil chemicals investigated. It was concluded that modern chemical-rich fertilizers produced dense, undifferentiated deposits in comparison to the differentiated nineteenth-century deposits.

Several research domains posed by De Cunzo and Catts (1990) in the Management Plan for Delaware's Historical Archaeological Resources concerning domestic economy, manufacturing and trade, and landscape were applied to the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead. As part of the domestic economy investigation, the "family/household must be placed in the local and regional economic, social, occupational, ethnic, religious and political system" (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:17). Inter-site architectural analysis, Miller's economic ceramic index, and proportional comparisons of ceramic and glass vessels suggested that the occupants of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead were upper class land owners with frugal middle class values towards ostentatious material culture. The size of the Buchanan-Savin farmhouse, in comparison with other mid-nineteenth-century houses of New Castle County, befitted a white upper class society, but the occupants demonstrated frugality. Particularly George W. Buchanan (Sr.) who rented the largest of his three houses, and occupied the second largest house. The Buchanan's clearly represented a farming family who chose to invest in land and machinery, rather than material possessions.

Miller's ceramic index, when applied to the Buchanan-Savin ceramic assemblage, indicated a lower middle class family, but the pattern of plate and bowl index ratios was very similar to that of the Hamlin site (Morin, Klein, and Friedlander 1986). Hamlin was a large land owning farmer who demonstrated his wealth through farm and livestock as opposed to fancy dinnerware. A similar scenario at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead was indicated by economic indexing. Proportional comparisons of ceramic and glass minimum vessel functions, compared to other New Castle archaeological site assemblages related to people of rural and urban, and various economic and social classes, revealed that the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead assemblage was most similar to 304/306 King Street (Klein and Garrow 1984). The foundations of the sites similarity stems from their common middle class orientation.

As to the second part of the domestic economy research domain involving the "occupational, ethnic, religious and political system" (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:17), archival research indicated that the Buchanans were white Anglo-Saxon American Methodists of unrecorded political views. The Buchanan's Methodist beliefs provide a likely explanation of the site occupants voluntary curtailment of luxury goods and is important to the understanding of the site's material culture.

American Methodism was born on the Delmarva Peninsula as an offshoot of the Anglican Church in the mid-eighteenth century. Itinerant preachers circuited the Peninsula spreading the doctrine of John Wesley. Early preachers such as George Whitefield, Joseph Nichols, Francis Asbury, and Freeman Garretson spoke to crowds of thousands. The main

targets of early conversion were rural farmers. Preachings included agricultural references such as the Peninsula "will become as the garden of the Lord filled with the plants of His own plantings" (Williams 1984:134). During the Revolution, Methodist preachers met with opposition because of their suspected Anglican-Tory sympathies. Despite this, Methodism grew so that by 1820 there were 20,000 followers on the Delmarva Peninsula. The Smyrna area was strongly Methodist and for many years hosted annual Camp Meetings attended by thousands (Williams 1984:82).

Methodist beliefs centered on a simple and humble life. Dress should be simple and Methodists discouraged wearing apparel "which tends to feed his own pride" (Williams 1984:150). At the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead, Methodist doctrines concerning dress seem to be reflected by the small number of personal adornment artifacts recovered. All the twenty-eight buttons found at the site were typically plain and functional. None exhibited complex ornamentation such as crests, designs or inset rhinestones available to nineteenth-century consumers. No rings, bangles, broaches, buckles or any other object of personal adornment were found within the nineteenth-century deposits.

Methodists were directed to abstain from luxury foods such as "tea, chocolate, and meat" (Williams 1984:151). No teawares of any sort were recovered from the features at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead. The Buchanans seem to have abstained from tea and the associated "tea ceremony" material culture. No chocolate related objects were recovered from the sites features. However, it must be pointed out that the use of chocolate would be difficult to detect archaeologically. The lack of consumption of chocolate at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead must be viewed as weak, but negative evidence.

The bone remains at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead were few, and represented simple cuts of meat. The highest proportion of animal remains was that of pigs (83%). A large portion of these were teeth (87), attributed to disposal of the head after animal butchering. The animal remains recovered at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead suggest that the occupants enjoyed little of the best parts of the animals they raised. It cannot be said that the Buchanan's and Armstrongs completely lacked meat cuts. Vessel function analysis of the minimum vessel assemblage showed that the occupants of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead had more flatwares, reflective of the consumption of large cuts of meat.

A third tenet of Methodist teaching was a prohibition of gambling, tobacco and swearing. No dice, tokens any other form of gaming pieces were found. Even children's toys of the nineteenth-century period were restricted to marbles and doll parts. The use of tobacco was detected at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead through the twelve pieces of clay pipe found in the plow zone and features. These fragments represented a minimum of two pipes and can easily be attributed to non-family such as the Buchanan's frequent farm laborers.

Speech an ephemeral thing, is unlikely to be discovered archaeologically; however, in the newspaper account of George W. Buchanan's trial not one incidence of swearing is recorded, despite Buchanan's killing rage. Offensive language was not edited from the records, since Casperson was said to have sworn twice. It is absurd to attest to George W. Buchanan's piety when in the act of attacking a neighbor with a large, very sharp piece of farm equipment. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that swearing was not a regular part of Buchanan's speech pattern.

Rules against the consumption of alcohol were an early tenet of Methodist doctrine which grew through time until 1864, when grape juice was recommended as a replacement for wine at communion (Williams 1984:154-155). No liquor bottles were found from nineteenth-century contexts. However, four amber flasks and one wine bottle were unearthed from features dated to circa. 1910 during the occupation of Francis C. Armstrong. Francis C. Armstrong was not buried in a Methodist cemetery, but at the non-sectarian Odd Fellows Cemetery in Smyrna, so it is likely that he did not recognize this Methodist prohibition.

Methodists upheld a strong work ethic (Williams 1984:157). George W. Buchanan's farm was if anything successful. Between 1850 and 1860 production of livestock for slaughter, crops, and acreage cleared for farming increased (100% in 1860), nearly doubling the value of the entire farm. Recent research in farm journals of the period typifies two sorts of agriculturalists: "Farmer Slack" and "Farmer Snug" (Grettler 1992). Farmer Slack was slovenly, his agricultural buildings were in bad repair, and he lacked adequate fencing to keep his livestock in pens where they could receive adequate care. In contrast, Farmer Snug expended great effort in the care of his outbuildings, and livestock in order to achieve the best output possible from his farm. Farmer Snug invested in fencing to keep his own livestock in their proper place, and to fence out his neighbors' livestock. George W. Buchanan was clearly of the Farmer Snug class. Buchanan ringed his outbuildings with fences. Numerous archaeologically recorded replacement post features attest to constant fence repair and maintenance. It is not by chance that Buchanan and Casperson's dispute arose over fencing. Fencing was very important to George W. Buchanan; it was a symbol of his successful farm, which separated him from the lazy, inefficient non-Methodist agriculturalists.

Methodists were perhaps only second to the Quakers in anti-slavery beliefs. Black Methodist shared services with whites (although often restricted to the gallery which had no seating) and were considered fellow brethren (Williams 1984). This separate-but-equal belief was racist by todays standards, but in the nineteenth century was a relatively new perspective. George W. Buchanan had no slaves, but did have black house servants. The Buchanan's beliefs on race are difficult to perceive, but George W. Buchanan's probate records showed that he freely lent money to blacks and whites alike. This represents a trust not dependent on race, a Methodist ideal.

It has been shown at length that the tenets of Methodist faith were reflected in the material culture of the nineteenth century Buchanan-Savin Farmstead. The evidence presented shows that the Buchanan's Methodist beliefs were manifested in their dress, eating and drinking, recreation, work ethic and views on race. Archaeology can discern past peoples possessions, houses, tools, pots and pans. It can see how they spatially organized themselves (cows over here and kitchen over there), and perhaps most importantly, demonstrate how their beliefs and values are reflected in this material culture.

The second research domain of the Management Plan involves manufacturing and trade. At the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead, manufacturing and trade encompassed agricultural produce and livestock. Agriculture was the main thrust of economic activity for the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead and throughout the history of Appoquinimink (later Blackbird) Hundred. The Buchanan-Savin Farmstead followed the regional trend from grain production in the 1850's to the introduction of orchard products and other perishable produce (such as eggs) made profitable by increased and speedier transportation routes to urban centers such as Wilmington and Philadelphia. The Moffett dairy farm, constructed in the 1920's, was demonstrative of a burgeoning urban market for fresh dairy products.

The cultural landscape research domain outlined in the Management Plan concerns "the human settlement system and its relationship to the natural landscape". It also involves the research questions outlined in the Data Recovery Plan and the Route 13 Archaeological Research Plan (Custer, Bachman, and Grettler 1987): 1.) transportation developments 2.) economic and agricultural change with the development of large scale fruit, truck produce, legume, and dairy industries that took advantage of changes in transportation and the expanding regional urban markets, and 3.) changing agricultural labor and tenancy patterns (Appendix III).

The Buchanans settled at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead because of a familial relationship to the previous owner Joseph Fleming. However, the lower portion of Appoquinimink Hundred (now Blackbird Hundred) had the advantage of the "cross roads" of

four major transportation routes: the Kings Highway, the Duck Creek waterways, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal and the Delaware Railroad to Seaford. The farmers at the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead had their choice of transportation modes allowing them to take part in the growing urban market for perishable farm produce.

The proximity to transportation routes eventually caused the farm's destruction. In 1858 Thoroughfare Neck Road was constructed through the north portion of the Buchanan farm to connect with the State road (previously the Kings Highway, and today Duck Creek Road) (Figure 8). This road, while removing farm land, may have been beneficial in that it opened a shorter route to the landing at Thoroughfare Neck on the Delaware Bay. Road construction by the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead was not always beneficial. The Dupont Highway, financed and constructed by the philanthropist T. Coleman Dupont in the first quarter of the twentieth century, passed within a hundred yards of the Buchanan-Savin farmhouse and effectively cut it off from the rest of the farm. The Dupont Highway (present day Route 13) did more than create a barrier, it created a dam. The Dupont Highway bisected the headwaters of a historic creek northeast of the Buchanan-Savin farmhouse. Water, which would have naturally drained away, turned a large portion of the farmyard in to a quagmire, thus tile lines were installed with minimal success. The traditional farmyard had become swampy from increased flooding, thus the new farm was constructed further south to avoid the dammed drainage pattern. While an inconvenience to the farmer, it offered a unique opportunity for the archaeologist to study two side-by-side farms with little cross contamination. The final interaction of the Buchanan-Savin Farmstead and transportation was its destruction as part of the State Route 1 highway project. It was true irony that the roads that made the Buchanan-Armstrong-Moffett farm successful, proved to be the force that spelled its end.