Clay tobacco pipes clustered almost exclusively in the yards west of the store. To a certain extent, the distribution merely corresponds to that of the other eighteenth century materials. However, it extends further south toward the rear of the yard, and tobacco pipes are notably absent from the middens. The distribution instead appears to reflect functional land use patterns, with the west yard the locus of early domestic activities including gardening and livestock raising, and later a delivery, loading and unloading place for the store merchandise and agricultural produce Patterson shipped in and out of the landing at Duck Creek, and perhaps stored in the southern outbuilding.

The food bone distribution does not correspond completely with those of the other materials associated with the store's tenants' foodways, notably the ceramics. The concentration along the store's south wall appears to mark the location of a rear door into the original residential side of the store. Those north of Outbuilding I support the interpretation of this structure's use as a kitchen in the nineteenth century. The two between the other outbuilding and the middens remain anomalous, unless they mark an area occasionally used for butchering and meat processing.

Conclusions and Interpretations

Four research themes derived from the Phase I and II research, the general research plan for the Delaware Route 1 Project (Custer and Bachman 1986; Custer, Bachman, and Grettler 1986; 1987), and the Management Plan for Delaware's Historical Archaeological Resources (De Cunzo and Catts 1990) guided the data recovery investigations at the Darrach Store site - the historical research, the field excavations, and the analyses presented here. Have the specific research questions posed been addressed? What has been learned from these investigations? In this section, the diverse strands of evidence are drawn together in concluding syntheses focussed on each of the four research themes. From here, the Darrach Store site can be placed into a broader comparative context.

The Social and Economic Context of Family and Mercantile Activity in the Smyrna/Duck Creek Hundred Community

As a young man in the 1760s, John Darrach arrived in Duck Creek Hundred with his brothers, emigrants from County Antrim, Ireland. Before the century's end, he numbered among the wealthiest one percent of the Hundred's residents, a member of the landed and mercantile gentry. Not insignificant to his impressive though not meteoric rise, on the eve of the Revolution he had married the daughter of successful Duck Creek merchant William White. Through this single act, and the events which transpired three years later when White died, the parameters organizing social and economic life in Duck Creek begin to emerge - religion (both the Whites and Darrach were Presbyterians), national origin (Darrach was Scotch-Irish, and the Whites were Scottish), and family. Darrach administered White's estate in 1778, and he and his wife Jane White Darrach were the principal if not sole beneficiaries.

Through his mercantile activities, White had prospered, and he chose to express his economic and social position in the community through visible, material means. Gold and silver buckles and buttons accented his dress, the family served tea with silver utensils, and the Whites prominently displayed books and maps in their home. Most visible and perhaps symbolic of all, however, stood White's imposing brick house and store, dual monuments to the institutions on which he built his life - family and commerce. Probably White's "new" house as mentioned in his 1778 estate inventory, it was built along the axis between the growing town of Duck Creek Crossroads and the landing on which its economy was based. Even more significantly, he built his house and store of brick at a time when far fewer than 10 percent of the hundred's structures were constructed of this more expensive, more permanent material.

After setbacks during the uneasy times of the Revolutionary era, John and Jane Darrach further consolidated their family's position in the local gentry, one founded on a complex of land, agriculture and trade. By the century's end, they owned a 450 acre estate, several other local properties tenanted by farmers and

craftsmen, and their own residential and commercial complex near the landing. Darrach's estate was valued at almost £5500 at a time when almost half of the hundred's taxables were assessed for property worth less than £100. Before John's death five years later, the Darrachs had extended their domain even further. They acquired two large parcels of marshland totaling 300 acres, on the eve of the movement to drain the marshes and produce additional tillable land. They now owned Duck Creek's principal landing, just across the Maryland Road from their, formerly Jane's father's, house and store. They had set up their eldest daughter and her husband on their 450 acre farm, their son thrived as a merchant in Port Penn, and another daughter Eleanor later married the son of another prominent Scotch-Irish Presbyterian merchant of the community, David Kennedy. The "first generation" brick house and store paled in comparison with those built with the rewards of the post-war economy. Now almost one-third of the hundred's residences were brick, and the Darrachs reaffirmed their position by building anew. This time they chose a prime commercial location at the intersection of Duck Creek Crossroads' principal thoroughfares, Main and Commerce Streets. Robert Patterson, another local merchant desiring additional facilities near the landing, may have leased the old house and store.

Near the end of 1804, John Darrach died, and his creditors anxiously awaited the liquidation of his estate. More than 200 people attended the two sales, in which everything from the beds his children slept in, to his two sloops, were sold (Appendix VIII). These sales drew folks from across the county and beyond, African-American families and European-American, the wealthiest and the poor. Representatives of a dozen of the most prominent landed and mercantile families in the hundred, the peers of John Darrach, attended, although in many cases they purchased no more than the poorest unlanded tenants. Their presence seems instead socially motivated, perhaps a sign of respect for one of their own, perhaps a sense of satisfaction gained by divvying the spoils of a competitor. One can interpret the move as either one of unity or a reflection of an undercurrent of conflict.

Either way, the record of the buyers at Darrach's sales and of his store inventory disposed of at that time (Appendix VIII), compared to the records of customers and sales kept by two Duck Creek Crossroads (by then Smyrna) storekeepers who outlived Darrach (Appendices XI-XV), offer at least a glimpse of the social and economic context which forms the focus of this first research theme. These questions were asked of each store:

> Who were the store's customers?
> What was sold at the store?
> How did the store operate?
> How does the store's method of organization and operation relate to the social-familial network of elite Duck Creek/Smyrna families to which the Whites, Darrachs, and Kennedys belonged?
>
> How did Smyrna/Duck Creek Hundred residents decide where to shop and with whom to do business?

The records do not allow identification of Darrach's regular customers, only those patronizing him in death, so to speak. The sale documents do, however, allow reconstruction of his store inventory, at least at one moment in time. Cloth for home production of clothing, linens, and other domestic goods formed a central component of his inventory, as Darrach had 2700 yards of 54 different types of fabric as well as numerous sundry sewing items in stock at the beginning of 1805. A considerable quantity but a limited selection of ready-made clothing items supplemented the textile inventory - hats, hose, ladies' shawls, shoes, gloves and handkerchiefs. Other household goods form another important portion of his inventory - ceramics, glassware, and silverware for the table, and utilitarian redwares, tinware and cooking utensils for the kitchen. The liquor and foodstuffs Darrach stocked represented exclusively imported specialty foods not produced by local farmers - sugar, tea, coffee, spices, chocolate, molasses, brandy and rum. The balance of his inventory comprised mostly agricultural tools, some books, and tobacco.

The other research questions required expanding the focus from Darrach to the Duck Creek community, specifically the mercantile community. The records of two other early nineteenth century Smyrna storekeepers broaden our view of the interrelatedness of contemporary social and economic life. For instance, not all the community's storekeepers controlled the mercantile and landed wealth the Darrachs did. Neither Benjamin Coombe nor Jonathon Allee owned any real property in 1810, although at least Coombe went on to acquire town and country properties in succeeding decades. Their store accounts provide some evidence that patronage followed socioeconomic lines, as the purchasers at Darrach's sales constituted a generally wealthier group than Allee's and Coombe's regular customers (Appendices XI-XV). Furthermore, Allee, who died in 1812 leaving an estate valued at just over $400, maintained accounts with more African-Americans and twice as many folks with estates assessed at less than $200 than did Coombe. At the same time, however, about one-third of the customers of each merchant also patronized at least one of the other two.

Specialization in the merchandise carried by community merchants does not appear to be the principle upon which the commercial system was established. Just as in the case of patronage, some differences appear among the inventories, but these are subtle. In general, the consistency of the three stores' inventories is notable. Allee's customers purchased a greater quantity and diversity of ceramic and glass tablewares, more manufactured clothing, a greater variety and quantity of liquors, and more "luxury" food items such as coffee, tea and sugar than did Coombe's, despite their generally lower economic positions. They also purchased quantities of cloth and sewing equipment, perhaps more reliant on home production of certain clothing articles and other textile goods, and more agricultural tools and equipment, suggesting differences in the two groups' occupational characteristics. Coombe's customers purchased more books as well as food staples - beef, pork, fish and flour - also implying a greater number engaged in pursuits other than agriculture.

The nature of the records renders most difficult comparisons of the organization and operation of the three merchants' businesses. The Darrach estate sale inventories record the purchase price for the items sold, but not the nature of payment. The corn, lumber and barrel staves stockpiled at Naudain's Landing, Duck Creek Crossroads and "F. Landing" (Fast Landing later Leipsic Landing), and the fur, raccoon, fox, and muskrat skins at the store identify some of the local resources and agricultural products Darrach upfreighted to Philadelphia in return for the manufactured goods he sold in his store. To assemble a complete picture of Darrach's operations, however, requires data from at least a single calendar year.

Allee's and Coombe's store accounts provide such a temporal cross section (Appendices XI-XV). Coombe's accounts in particular record a remarkable range of services his customers provided in return for manufactured goods, as well as discounts offered on pork, butter, corn, flaxseed, and hay, and quantities of apples, bacon and pork, flour, potatoes, corn, flax, flaxseed, rye and wheat. Coombe's family probably consumed these and smaller quantities of other local produce, with the balance redistributed to other store customers. In the cases of the pork, corn, and wheat, however, the quantities point to Coombe's also serving as a middleman between the local farmer and the Philadelphia market. Furthermore, both Philadelphia merchants and local craftsmen provided merchandise for the two stores. A local potter and shoemakers, for example, appear among the stores' creditors, along with Philadelphia hatters, grocers, tobacconists, and general merchants. Neither did the storekeepers' customers participate exclusively in a non-cash, barter system, as many settled their accounts in cash, at least once a year.

A picture emerges then of a complex system based on a web of social and economic relationships among community members. Duck Creek's own farmers and craftsmen met many of the community's needs. But just as communities beyond the local one relied on Duck Creek's products, so did the local farmers and craftsmen require goods produced elsewhere. At the center, in many ways, stood the merchant. He controlled the movement even within the community of at least some locally produced goods and agricultural products. The potter and shoemakers for example sold not (or not only) directly to the public, but to the local storekeepers. Farmers with surpluses of perishable produce they could not ship to Philadelphia and beyond, such as fresh meat and dairy products, traded them to the storekeepers who in turn passed them on to community members not engaged in

farming. The merchant also mediated relationships with the world beyond the bounds of the local community. He took care of shipping and marketing local cash crops in the city; he met the needs and desires of folks not met by local producers; he extended credit when necessary. For their part, community members based their own decisions on patronizing merchants not on any single factor. Socioeconomic position and family connections formed one consideration, but other relationships such as those of tenant and landowner, as well as the cash or goods available for exchange, comparative price shopping, and a need to extend one's credit among many merchants, also influenced the choice.

Tenancy

Other sites more extensively documented in the historical record in many ways offer better opportunities to explore this issue. The Management Plan for Delaware's Historical Archaeological Resources (De Cunzo and Catts 1990) emphasizes the importance of understanding the phenomenon of tenancy in all its geographic, environmental, occupational, socioeconomic, ethnic, and temporal variability. However, it is not clear exactly when tenants resided in the Darrach Store, who they were, or whether they were agriculturalists, craftsmen, or maritime or day laborers. Nevertheless, having identified two at least possible tenant households, and employing the site's artifact assemblages, something of these households' domestic strategies becomes reconstructable.

The brick store's size and the archaeological assemblages indicate a live-in tenant in part of the structure from the time of its construction, the balance taken up by White's and later Darrach's shop. In the latter 1790s, the Darrachs rented one of their properties, a likely candidate for the store property, to John Griffin. Griffin owned a grist mill and log house on Duck Creek which he in turn rented to Sewell Green. In 1798, one year after appearing in the tax records as John Darrach's tenant, John Griffin died. His assessment in 1797 ranked him among the upper one-third of the hundred's taxables, and he did own real property. In addition to the mill complex, Griffin was taxed for an 11 year old shallop, thus his desire to locate near the landing. From there he could ship to market the flour ground at his mill. Judging from the extensive accounts maintained in settling his estate upon his death, the mill proved an expensive operation to maintain. Griffin reinvested most of his assets in the business, both in life and in death.

In 1798, the appraisers valued Griffin's personal effects at $574.44. Nothing in the inventory (Appendix IV) precludes his residence at the Darrach Store. At his death, Griffin's household also included his wife, two sons, and a "Negro Woman to Serve 9 yrs. & 10 Ms." The store's tenants during this period presumably occupied one ground floor room with a fireplace, likely a kitchen, the second floor or at least a part of it, and possibly also the garret (see Comparative Analysis below). Griffin's inventory suggests a family of the "middling" sort. The Griffins could not, or chose not, to invest a substantial amount in material goods, and many of the symbols of position which White and Darrach possessed are missing, such as the precious metal clothing accessories and tea services. They did nevertheless furnish their quarters with a bureau and table of expensive mahogany, beds of equal or greater value, and a "large looking glass."

In addition, Griffin kept two horses and a cow. The stud horse, the single most valuable item in the inventory, was worth almost three times the amount assessed the Negro servant's remaining time. Small reserves of wheat and rye, a larger quantity of corn, 250 pounds of bacon, and a little beef comprise the inventoried foodstuffs. The kitchenware suggests stews, soups, and fried foods - a Dutch oven, two pots, a grid iron, frying pan, and a boiler. Finally, Griffin owned a gun and two pistols, perhaps utilized to supplement the family's food supplies.

Comparatively minimal archaeological evidence exists of Griffin's (or his contemporary's) tenancy. Evidence of the eighteenth century tenants is not distributed across the landscape, but rather focussed around of the store's west end. Interpreted as the residential side of the structure, at least on the first floor, this end was served by a fireplace. Similarly, the earliest well lay off the store's southwest corner. No deep, sealed features yielded undisturbed archaeological assemblages associated with these earliest of the store's tenants. Rather, they deposited

their household refuse mostly in shallow features or in sheet middens later disturbed by plowing.

They did not carry this refuse -- ceramics, bottle glass, food bone and shell -- very far from the building for dumping, and toward the west near the road rather than toward the rear of the property. Some food bone never made it much beyond the back door. Furthermore, soil chemical levels suggest that the Griffins may have tethered their animals to posts near the southwest building's corner, and/or that they planted a small vegetable garden in that area.

The food bone from these plow zone deposits was highly fragmented and unidentifiable. Bottle glass occurred in very small numbers; bottles either were not used much as containers by the Griffins or their contemporaries or they were at least carefully curated. Ceramics form the principal component of the early collection from this portion of the site. Domestic, perhaps even locally produced, versatile, multipurpose redwares dominate the assemblage, the expected possessions of a family making due with a few equally versatile, multipurpose cooking pots and pans. They also correlate well with Griffin's inventory references to "sundry small articles" in the kitchen and a "parcel cubboard furniture." The "cubboard furniture" may in fact denote the "best wares," represented in the archaeological record by an assortment of tin-enameled wares, white salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, and pearlware.

Considering the documentary and archaeological evidence, then, has produced interesting results. Griffin, as owner of the local flour mill, stood in a position of central economic importance to this community whose economy was based on export of grain surpluses. Nevertheless, despite his economic importance, Griffin's economic and social position did not begin to approach that of the community's most successful merchants and farm owners, folks like John Darrach, from whom he rented an apartment.

Just after Griffin's death and the Darrachs' move to their new house and store in town, or just after John Darrach's death in 1805, he or his heirs (probably his daughter Eleanor and her new husband William Kennedy) undertook considerable renovations to the old store property. Apparently they converted it to a tenancy, with storage facilities for merchants' stores. The tenants occupying the newly-renovated property, and those in residence up until the 1820s, left much more evidence of their presence and their daily life in the archaeological record. The documents suggest that merchant Robert Patterson leased the property during this period, although he resided elsewhere, more a peer of Darrach's than of Griffin's in social and economic stature. Patterson owned and rented several other properties along the Landing road near the Darrach Store, and perhaps sublet it to a maritime laborer on one of his sloops or on the wharves. He may also have used space in the former store or its outbuildings for storage of grains or other merchandise.

The domestic economic strategy of these nineteenth century tenants paralleled that of the Griffins or their contemporaries. Multifunctional redwares continued to predominate in the kitchen and on the table. Their prevalence is no surprise, as they represented a wise economic investment. Locally produced, they cost less than imported wares or even domestic stoneware. Furthermore, their purchase or acquisition through barter bolstered the local economy. Many forms produced in redware could be used to prepare, cook, serve, eat, and store food. Many were also attractively decorated. They expressed not a whit of social or economic stature, however, although perhaps community solidarity. For the former, the tenants turned as did their contemporaries across the new United States to imported English refined white earthenwares, and even to a few items of porcelain. They may have reserved plain and edged creamware and pearlware plates for special meals, but they certainly used them extensively before they broke and were thrown away. When possible, they acquired a few pieces of teaware, perhaps some as gifts. The mix of creamware, painted pearlware, and porcelain teawares may represent the possessions of one or more tenant families. None, however, purchased the complete, matching dinner and tea sets in refined white earthenware and porcelain offered for sale by Smyrna merchants at the time.

The archaeological assemblage from these early nineteenth century tenant families does not allow us to reconstruct fully their domestic strategies. The research questions posed concerning the families' level of self-sufficiency and their participation in a local barter versus cash-based market economy require comparably rich

documentary and archaeological records; the Darrach site lacks the former. Nevertheless, the faunal and shell assemblages, despite the limited sample sizes, suggest a level of self-sufficiency and an exclusive reliance on locally available meats and shellfish. The store's tenants ate beef, pork, and probably mutton, but whether they raised the domestic animals from which this meat came, purchased it at one of the stores in town, or acquired it from a neighboring farmer in return for other goods or services is unknown. If they raised any or all of these domestic species on the property, their purpose may have been not only to provide a source of meat. Cows provide milk, butter and cheese (and numerous redware butter pots and milk pans were recovered), sheep provide wool, and all three species could also have produced a surplus of salable meat.

They supplemented their diet with geese and other birds, possibly both domestic chicken and water fowl frequenting the local marshes, with muskrat, opossum, squirrel, and rabbit, and may have also hunted and/or trapped them for their feathers and fur, marketable resources themselves. These foods too the tenants may have acquired through purchase or barter and not directly harvested themselves. Oysters, mostly harvested in nearby Duck Creek possibly just off the wharves of the Landing or acquired from a neighboring waterman, were another important source of protein for the store's occupants throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Fish are surprisingly underrepresented, but this may be a function of the archaeological recovery techniques.

The data thus point to a diversified, extensive subsistence strategy in which the occupants exploited several taxa, both domestic and wild. Families virtually self-sufficient in providing for their basic food needs are suggested, as they could have raised, trapped or hunted all the foods represented in the archaeological record. Data on fruit, vegetables, grains, and "luxury" foods such as sugar, spices, tea and coffee, however, are unavailable. Almost all of the faunal taxa represented archaeologically served multiple roles in the local economy. As with the ceramics they purchased, these families sought the most out of their investment, whether of time, energy, or money. One wonders whether John Darrach's midden would show a similar careful husbanding of resources.

Agricultural Crisis and Reform 1790-1840

John Darrach clearly took advantage of the opportunities the international economy of the early federal period offered, and profited handsomely. He did not live to see the crisis of the latter 1810s and 1820s, when the collapse of the European grain market coalesced with depleted soils and drought in Delaware. Neither did a few of his children, but those heirs who did survive chose to pursue their fortunes elsewhere, for the most part leaving the state by the early 1820s (and well they might have). The 450 acre farm Darrach passed on to his eldest daughter, which had formed over 60% of his assets in 1797, dropped in value from $22 per acre in 1804-1810 to $8 per acre in 1822.

Some stayed behind, however. If able, as Robert Patterson, they amassed control over incredible landholdings, through purchase or lease of properties when prices hit bottom. They then set about rebuilding - the economy, the land, and the social relations linking the two.

The archaeological record at the Darrach Store is most extensive for this time period, from about 1805 to the early 1820s. Unfortunately, these tenants' occupations, whether farmers, watermen, day laborers, or some other occupation, remains unknown. Their household economic strategy, at least as evidenced by their ceramics and food remains, placed a premium on resourcefulness. Whether this resourcefulness was a response to the general economic stress of the time is not known. In any case, they seem to have survived, perhaps fortunate to be living in an area which offered such a bounty of natural resources, despite human efforts to wear out the land. As for "the landscape of reform," that brings us to the final research theme.

Evolution of Architecture and Landscape

White's construction of the brick store, probably in the 1770s, itself resulted from a coalescence of environmental, social and economic factors. Duck Creek at that time was navigable from Delaware Bay up to the

landing at the Crossroads. As early as the 1710s, even eastern shore Maryland farmers found transport across the peninsula by road to Duck Creek and then by water to Philadelphia less expensive than the alternative routes - down the Maryland rivers and out the Chesapeake Bay. As a result, a commercial node and transshipment center grew up along Duck Creek and the Maryland road. Farmers and millers prospered from this access to the markets of Philadelphia and beyond, but few more so than the local merchants. They guided the produce on its route to market, dealt with the Philadelphia agents, merchants, and shippers, extended credit when needed, acquired the manufactured goods and specialty foods desired by local residents, freighted them down to the Crossroads, and profited well for their troubles. William White was one of these, and in the 1770s (or perhaps earlier) he built an imposing brick house and equally impressive brick store, facing the Road to Maryland and the landing at Duck Creek beyond (Figure 91).

At the time, brick structures were truly a rarity in the hundred, and a visible sign of success and permanence. The average house in the adjoining hundreds to the north in New Castle County were one room, or sometimes two story, frame or log structures measuring 16' x 20' (Herman 1987:15). As late as 1816 in St. George's Hundred, southern New Castle County, only 5% of the population lived in brick houses (Herman 1987:112). White's brick store stood two and one-half stories, and 32' square. Much of the interpretation of its original appearance and plan is based upon comparative data presented in the following section. The archaeological evidence also supports the interpretation, outlined above, that the larger eastern room served as the store room, with storage in the cellar below. The western room was the tenant's kitchen, with perhaps a second smaller room partitioned off at the rear. Chambers occupied the second floor and possibly the garret, with additional storage for store inventory or grain also likely. The store's tenant, then, may have had significantly more living space in only a portion of the building than many of their neighbors who did not share their frame and log houses with their landlords.

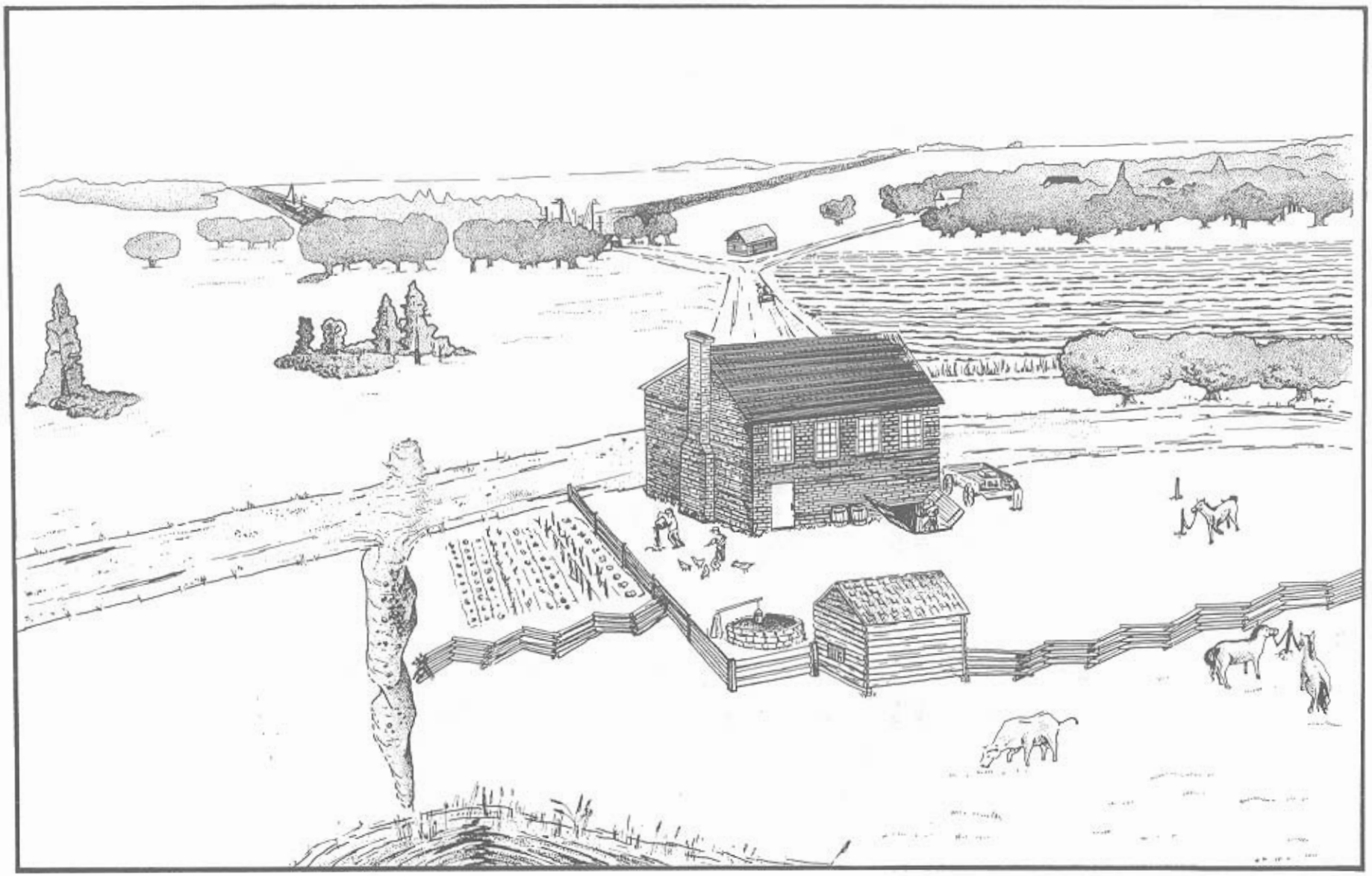
No outbuildings left archaeological remains, although an impermanent utilitarian building set on wooden blocks (as illustrated in Figure 91) seems likely. A well in the rear yard served the tenant's kitchen. The tenant's domestic landscape appears confined between the western, residential end of the structure, the well and outbuilding to the south, the gully to the west, and the Maryland Road to the north. These landscape features defined a yard roughly 40' x 60', and within this enclosed area the tenants disposed of most of their wastes, possibly gardened, and performed other domestic tasks. A few head of livestock, such as the Griffin's two horses and cow may have grazed beyond a worm fence in the outer yard. With the possible exception of the bottle dump in the east yard, no archaeological evidence aside from the store's foundation represents the commercial activities conducted there.

Between 1797 and 1804, the Darrachs, John by now at the peak of his career and among the seven wealthiest men in Duck Creek Hundred, abandoned the brick house and store Jane's father had built approximately 25 years before. At the time William White built the imposing house and store, in size, material, style and location they made definite statements regarding his position in the Duck Creek commercial world, centered as it was on the transport arteries of road, creek and landing. By the century's end, this area had become peripheral. The principal merchants selected prime spots in downtown Duck Creek Crossroads, soon to even abandon its vernacular identity for the classical Smyrna. Here they built stylish federal brick townhouses, counting houses and stores, in the Philadelphia mode. Darrach himself chose a select spot on the corner of Main and Commerce Streets.

Either just after Darrach moved to his new complex, and therefore just before he died, or just after his death in 1805, the old store property underwent major changes. The quantity of cut nails recovered across the site suggest the main brick store itself was extensively renovated, but the nature of these changes is unknown. A 14' x 15' addition, probably a frame structure, was constructed along the store's east wall. The reworking of the landscape which accompanied these architectural renovations appears even more striking. Instead of a cramped 40' x 60' yard tucked between the road, brick store and gully, a 110' x 170' space was appropriated for outdoor work areas, storage and other spaces in new outbuildings, gardens and livestock pens, and waste disposal areas (Figure 92). The changes evidence not only a more extensive use of the land, but more separation and segregation of different activities in discrete spaces.

FIGURE 91

Artist's Reconstruction of Darrach Store Site, circa 1775-1805



The new outbuildings, wells and work areas occupy the western and now southwestern yard also (Figures 26 and 92). Both post-in-ground or earthfast outbuildings appear to date to this construction episode, the smaller one closer to the store measuring roughly 10' x 17', and the larger one at the rear of the yard measuring roughly 15' x 20'. One or both of the two wells sited between the outbuildings may have been dug at this time, or one or both may be later additions to the landscape. The dearth of artifacts around the larger, southernmost structure supports the interpretation Patterson used it as a granary or storehouse. Phosphate levels do not suggest its use as a stable. A small concentration of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century ceramics in the yard west of the smaller outbuilding may indicate its use as a kitchen or other domestic support structure. Later nineteenth century ceramics suggest this use later in the century; the later tenants may have also owned a few earlier ceramic vessels, thus accounting for their deposition in this location. The excavations produced no evidence of a fireplace at this outbuilding, although its location so near the wells was convenient for food processing and preparation activities.The yard immediately west of the store and along the gully continued to receive domestic refuse from the tenants of the newly-renovated property as well, mostly broken ceramic vessels. The cluster of features between the early well and the main structure in this west yard, many dating to this first quarter of the nineteenth century tenancy, suggests the locus of a garden. This location near the residence, kitchen and well typified southern New Castle County during this same time period (Herman 1987:65).

To physically separate this garden, kitchen and workyard as well as the courtyard behind the brick store (now house) and the east yard from the probable granary, animal yard and waste disposal areas, a post-and-rail fence was installed, running northeast from the rear of the domestic/kitchen outbuilding. Near its eastern terminus, two privy pits were dug; archaeological evidence of a privy house survived at only one. The two contemporary privies may indicate a duplex housing two tenant families, although sherds from several ceramic vessels were found in both privy pits.

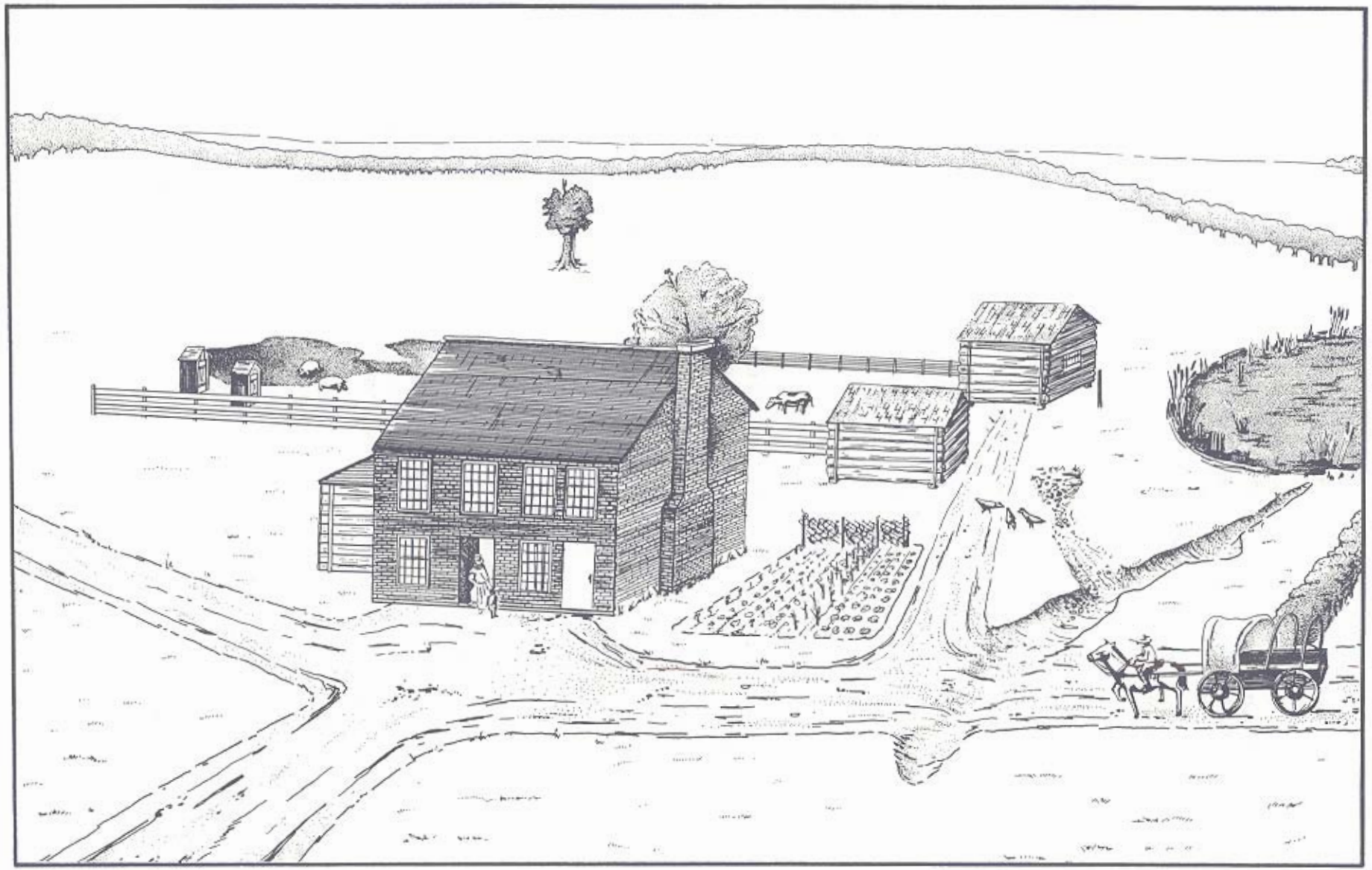
Just south of the fence and privies, the new tenants further developed a large midden. Both privies and the midden received a substantial portion of the food waste discarded on the site during this period. Ceramics and other domestic trash also ended up in the privies and midden, as well as at other locations around the site. The "dirty and smelly" wastes, however, became relegated to this spatially discrete area on the property away from the residence, garden, work yards and storage facilities.

Inconclusive but suggestive archaeological evidence points to this area having served as a combination animal yard and midden. One perplexing feature of this hypothesized barnyard-midden's archaeological record is the lack of clear evidence of an enclosure. A fence passes to its north, separating it from the inner domestic yard. Another possibly ran along its western side, to a southernmost point in line with the rear of the granary. A third fence connected with this, running from the midden's western edge behind the granary. Thus the barnyard-midden was not enclosed, but fences separated it from other activity areas.

In discussing the "landscape of reform" generated by the agricultural reform and recovery of the latter 1810s through 1830s, Grettler (1991) emphasizes the concept of the "reformed landscape" fencing in, while the old landscape fenced out. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, animals roamed at will, and farmers concerned with protecting gardens and other property took responsibility for providing adequate fencing. One controversial issue of the reformist program involved a new concept of property relations and livestock management. Farmers had to assume responsibility for fencing in their livestock, both those requiring protection from predators such as sheep, and those known to wreak havoc on gardens and other agricultural plots such as pigs (Grettler 1991:35-76). The cultural landscape created during the former Darrach Store's conversion to a tenancy in the early nineteenth century seems to represent an intermediate landscape, perhaps expressing changing perceptions of the organization and division of property and property rights later codified through the reformers' efforts. The tenants' pigs foraged freely in the agricultural fields and woods surrounding the site, but at least the new fences represented a nominal attempt to keep them out of the main living and work areas. The landscape data suggests the tenants in fact more likely kept pigs than cows, as a barn does not appear on the lot. Pigs required little maintenance, no shelter, and poorer tenants kept them especially as an inexpensive source of food (Grettler 1991:35-46).

FIGURE 92

Artist's Reconstruction of Darrach Store Site, Post 1805



Evidence for another generation of changes in the landscape associated with the post-1825 reform era is mostly negative. The privies and midden were abandoned. The main fence separating the inner and outer yard was maintained, its posts replaced as required. No new fences define animal enclosures. No new privies were dug, nor deep trash pits for food waste or other domestic refuse. A new concentration of ceramic, bone and shell appears as sheet refuse later disturbed by plowing just west of the northern outbuilding. Thus its use by the later nineteenth century as a kitchen seems certain. Whether the other early nineteenth century outbuilding survived through this period, and if so, its use, remain uncertain. In general, these latest residents of the old Darrach Store had a minimal impact on the landscape.

Historical records indicate the Mason family rented the property, perhaps between circa 1840 and 1860, although the documentation is incomplete. The 1840 census lists Mason as employed in commerce, and his teenage wife has recently had their first child. In one way, however, this fragmentary documentation is congruent with the archaeological record. Evidence is lacking of farm buildings, farm implements, livestock raising and butchering dating to this time period, supporting the conclusion that the tenants engaged in pursuits other than agriculture.

In the early 1860s, John and Jane Darrach's descendants, now scattered across the United States, finally disposed of their remaining holdings in Duck Creek Hundred. Among the properties sold were the old house and store so proudly constructed by William White almost a century before. The new owners decided the store was not worth maintaining, and they reworked the landscape once again, plowing under and planting over all vestiges of the buildings, work yards, gardens, and dumps.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The documentary and archaeological records have each contributed to our understanding of the brick store and tenancy constructed by William White, probably in the 1770s, yet the picture remains incomplete. Surviving examples from the time period and region offer the best opportunity to fill in the details, but these are few, and have survived the century through their ability to be adapted to changing circumstances. Neither is it only that few have survived. In 1800 fewer than 10% of the structures standing on the Duck Creek Hundred landscape were constructed of brick, and the great majority of those were residences.

One eighteenth century brick storehouse from central Delaware, however, does survive. Located along Duck Creek also, east of the landing and store Darrach owned (later Smyrna Landing), Brick Store stands on the creek's north bank in Blackbird Hundred, New Castle County (Figure 93). Built into the creek bank, Brick Store has a full cellar (which is an exposed ground floor on the downhill side), a main floor, and second story loft (Figure 94). Constructed of brick laid in Flemish bond on a stone and brick foundation, the builder set the date 1767 in glazed brick near the gable walls' peak. Its three bay facades feature central doors flanked on either side by a symmetrically placed window. Three small windows also light the second floor through each facade. In addition, three large openings into the cellar storage areas break the brick foundation wall on the downhill elevation.

Unlike the White-Darrach Store, Brick Store was built one bay deep and three bays in length, its exterior dimensions 23' x 46'. The first floor was originally divided into three whitewashed rooms, and the second floor loft partitioned with rough board walls into grain bins (Herman 1987:79). Its original purpose as well as design differed somewhat from the White-Darrach Store. Architectural analysis has demonstrated that it originally had no chimneys or fireplaces, and thus did not serve also as a residence. Neither did it function as a retail store, but as a warehouse for waterside storage of grain, corn, hides, and lumber awaiting upfreighting to Philadelphia (Caley 1978:142; Herman 1987:79), and for downfreighted goods awaiting distribution to retailers or directly to their buyers. By 1810, within a few years of the renovation of the White-Darrach Store, Brick Store too was converted for residential use (Herman 1987:79).