

the south side of present Delaware 6. The profile exhibited a plow zone underlain by tan silty sands. Artifacts recovered included coal, redware, whiteware, and oxidized nail fragments, and all of the artifacts were found in the plow zone. No indications of a cellar hole or other intact historic features were apparent from the shovel test pitting, and because all of the artifacts were found in a disturbed plow zone context, no further work is recommended for this site.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL HISTORY

From a regional perspective, the Darrach Store site could be used to study the growth and development of Kent County's mercantile and commercial landscape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The site was part of a much larger, interrelated network of sites involved in trade and exchange including landings, wharves and warehouses, the town of Smyrna, and the agricultural hinterland of the surrounding region. The Darrach Store site represents a rural commercial store and domestic site occupation, and can be utilized to provide archaeological data not often recovered pertaining to marketing and retail in the Middle Atlantic region. Thus, additional investigations at the site could be used to compare the artifact assemblages from contemporary domestic sites with those derived from the Dickson Store (Catts, Hodny, and Custer 1989) and the Darrach Store, a comparison that could allow the archaeological examination of consumer choice and economic status in eighteenth and nineteenth century Delaware.

The study of consumer behavior by historical archaeologists has recently received much attention, and several studies have been published using a consumer-choice framework as a theoretical basis (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987; Morin, Klein and Freidlander 1986; Miller 1980). The majority of these studies draw on the demand-side of economic systems, looking at the market effects on domestic archaeological site assemblages. A few researchers have been concerned with the supply-side of the economic equation, but few supply-side archaeological sites have been investigated or studied, making comparisons difficult (Adams 1976; Riordan and Adams 1985; Miller and Hurry 1983). Recently, archaeological investigations were conducted at the site of William Dickson's Store in Christiana Bridge, New Castle County, Delaware (Catts, Hodny, and Custer 1989), and the results of this testing could be compared and contrasted with the Darrach Store materials. The value of both of these sites, then, is that they could provide much needed supply-side archaeological data to complement the demand-side studies of consumer choice in historical archaeology.

The Darrach Store site was probably occupied as a domestic residence in addition to its use as a store, and this domestic function could provide data relating to the material remains of the home of upper class occupants. The Whites, Darrachs, Kennedys, and Cumminses were all interrelated, prominent families in Kent County's social, political and economic scene. In Delaware, few upper class households have been examined archaeologically, and data derived from additional Darrach Store investigations could be used to broaden the archaeological data base concerning this important segment of the region's population.

Based on the results of the Phase I and II research, Phase III investigations at the Darrach Store focused on the use of the site as a regional nodal point (Hickman 1977:96), or a location that, relative to the surrounding region, is the scene of frequent social interactions of various kinds. A store certainly fits this description, and the size, placement, and location of the Darrach Store on the Smyrna Landing Road clearly indicates that the site was a significant nodal point during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Equally important for the chronology of the site would be the investigation of why the Darrach Store declined in prominence and was eventually demolished. From a broader perspective, this growth and decline could be attributed to the changing economic and social patterns in the region during the nineteenth century, and the Darrach Store site could be used to investigate changes in land use, and variations in social and economic factors through time.

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Preservation of the Darrach Store site was the preferred mitigation alternative. However, this alternative was not possible, and data recovery investigations were recommended. The excavations for Area I (Figure 23) included complete excavation and screening of all soils above and directly adjacent to the structure, a 25% stratified, systematic, unaligned sampling (e.g., the excavation of a randomly chosen 5' x 5' square for every 10' x 10' unit) of the plow zone area not directly associated with the structure. Following this sampling of the plow zone, the remainder of the plow zone was mechanically removed to expose intact, subsurface features, and all of these cultural features were excavated. These recommended excavation procedures were similar to the data recovery excavations recently conducted at the Temple site (Hoseth et al. 1990), and the Williams site (Catts and Custer 1990).

The recommended data recovery excavations of Area II of the Darrach Store site included the mechanical removal of the plow zone to expose any intact, subsurface features, and the complete excavation of all cultural features thus identified. The level of investigation of all, or any portion, of Area II, was considerably less than for Area I.

PHASE III ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF JOHN DARRACH STORE RESEARCH THEMES AND QUESTIONS

Building on the historical and archaeological research of the Phase I and II investigations, a series of interrelated research themes have been defined for the John Darrach Store site. The potential of the site to yield significant data related to these themes is the basis of its eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. Outlined above under the Implications for Regional History, these themes were intended to guide the Phase III research, and are reviewed below.

One of the most important potential contributions of the site is the archaeological perspective it can provide on wholesaling and retailing in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Kent County, a subject which has received virtually no attention from Delaware historical archaeologists to date (the notable exception being the study of the Dickson Store in Christiana Bridge, New Castle County, recently completed; see Catts, Hodny, and Custer 1989). A second research theme may be denoted "family and community." At Darrach Store, this translates into an investigation of the relationships among the elite mercantile families associated with the store - the Whites, Darrachs and Kennedys - and their role in the growth and development of the Duck Creek/Smyrna communities. The third potential contribution of the site lies in the opportunity it presents to document the architecture and site layout of an elite commercial complex of the second half of the eighteenth century, another area little explored through archaeology in Delaware.

The Phase III Data Recovery Plan for the Darrach Store site also outlined two principal areas of comparative archaeological analysis (Appendix III:9-10). By comparing patterns and techniques of refuse disposal at Darrach and other sites, it is proposed that the relationship between these archaeologically observable phenomena, changing space utilization patterns, and social and economic changes can be explored. At the same time, the differences in the artifact types and frequencies recovered from Darrach and other sites can be studied in relation to the socioeconomic position of the sites' occupants and in terms of the features of the local and regional economies.

Since the determination of eligibility and data recovery plan for the Darrach Store site were prepared, the Management Plan for Delaware's Historical Archaeological Resources (hereafter referred to as the Plan; De Cunzo and Catts 1990) has been completed. The Phase III investigations at the Darrach Store site provided the first

opportunity to attempt to fit the research at individual sites into the broader statewide research program proposed in the Plan. This statewide research program is organized along three parameters: time, space and research domain. The time periods spanning the Darrach Store site occupation are 1730-1770, 1770-1830, and 1830-1880. The research domains consist of Domestic Economy; Manufacturing and Trade; Landscape; and Social Group Identity, Behavior and Interaction. The Darrach Store site is located within the Coastal/Upper Peninsula geographic region.

The initial research themes for the Darrach Store site, developed in the context of the general research themes identified for the Delaware Route 1 Project (Custer and Bachman 1986:207-209; Custer, Bachman, and Grettler 1986:193-199; 1987:50-79) and outlined above, (see also the Implications for Regional History) intersect those proposed within the Plan's research domains; at the same time, the Plan suggests additional themes. Integrating the two allows for a restatement of the principal research themes and questions to be addressed by the Phase III investigations.

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

Within this theme, the focus is on the Whites, Darrachs, and Kennedys and their store. In seeking to understand the complex historical relationships among family, social organization, economy, and community through a case study of Darrach Store, one avenue of research involves reconstructing the social and economic interaction sphere of the store and its owners. Specific questions to be addressed include (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:138):

Who were the store's customers?

What was sold at the store?

How did the store operate? Did customers pay in cash, in goods, or in some combination of the two? Did the owners take in locally produced grain and other agricultural products, ship them to Philadelphia, and receive various manufactured goods in return, these latter then being redistributed to the local farmers; or does another model of the mercantile organization of the store better describe its operation?

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? Were their customers their tenants? Were their customers extended kin?

How did Smyrna/Duck Creek Hundred residents decide where to shop and with whom to do business? Were their decisions based on:

*personal and familial networks?

*socioeconomic position (i.e., did some merchants cater to the community's elite, others to the middling farmers, and still others to the poorer folks)?

*functional specialization (i.e., did some merchants specialize in textiles, others in foodstuffs, etc.)?

*other considerations - geographical/locational, political, religious?

These questions ultimately lead to the larger questions of community and community evolution in Delaware cited as among those guiding the historical archaeology of the entire Delaware Route 1 corridor (Custer, Bachman, and Grettler 1986:198-199; 1987:73-4).

Tenancy

The historical documentation assembled during the Phase I and II investigations suggests that at least during the period from c. 1805 (when John Darrach died) to c. 1863 (when the Darrach Store was sold out of the Darrach family and soon thereafter demolished) the store housed tenants. Whether the building retained a commercial function as well during any portion of this latter period is at this time uncertain. Equally unclear is whether the store also housed tenants during its tenure as a store in the eighteenth century; the documents do clearly indicate that the Darrachs themselves lived elsewhere. Thus the dates the store served as a tenancy and the tenants' identities remain basic research questions. The Plan cites the reconstruction of the household domestic economy as a principal research goal for the historical archaeological investigation of domestic sites, whether tenant or owner-occupied. Moreover, the Delaware Route 1 Project research design includes among its research domains, investigation of the expression of social and economic circumstances in material culture (Custer, Bachman, and Grettler 1986:199; 1987:77). Specific research questions include (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:133-134):

What were the household's goals and what were the strategies employed to achieve them?

The proposed research domain of Domestic Economy encompasses the whole range of means (which include production, reproduction, and consumption) employed by the family/household to achieve its goals. These goals may include merely survival; geographic, occupational, economic and/or social mobility; and/or may be inspired by religious beliefs and values or other ideologies. Thus the family/household's production, reproduction, and consumption may be viewed as a strategy designed to achieve domestic goals, a strategy subject to historical archaeological investigation. Several elements comprise the domestic strategy. Those which archaeologists have and should explore include the composition and occupational structure of the household..., home production (of food, shelter, clothing and other basic necessities as well as of marketable surplus products), and consumer behavior... This latter topic should be broadly defined to encompass investigating the family/ household's participation in a local barter economic system and/or in a cash-based market economy. More specific topics of relevance include the family/ household's investment in, use of and improvements to land, architecture, tools and equipment, livestock, and domestic furnishings (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:133-134).

To what extent was the household self-sufficient and to what extent did it participate in a local, regional, national and international market? What was produced on-site for household consumption? What was produced on-site for barter or sale? What was produced elsewhere (and where) and acquired for consumption on-site? (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:133-134).

These questions also build on the Delaware Route 1 Project research goals of elucidating agricultural life, agricultural tenancy, the agricultural economy, and their evolution in Delaware from the seventeenth through the mid-twentieth century (Custer and Bachman 1986:207-208;; Custer, Bachman, and Grettler 1986:195-198; 1987:71).

Agricultural Crisis and Reform: 1790-1840

The Darrach Store site research also potentially provides a case study of the impact on a merchant and on agricultural tenants of the 1790-1840 agricultural crisis and subsequent reform efforts. Grettler's (1991) research offers an historical context within which to view this issue, especially appropriate to the Darrach Store in its focus on central Delaware. Beginning in 1815 with the collapse of inflated grain prices at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and exacerbated by soil depletion, drought and disease, Delaware farmers were forced to adapt to new market and environmental conditions. Their response resulted in what Grettler calls "the landscape of reform" (Grettler 1991:3-4), a landscape and a reform movement also defined initially as of interest to historical archaeologists in their investigation of the Delaware Route 1 Corridor (Custer and Bachman 1986:207-208), and set in the context of

a broader interest in the history of agriculture in Delaware (Custer, Bachman and Grettler 1986:195-197; 1987:70-71). Specific research questions include (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:142, 149):

What was the impact of the agricultural and subsequent broader economic crisis on central Delaware merchants like Darrach?

What was the impact on agricultural tenants? What strategies did these households devise to survive agricultural failure and depression? How did farming techniques, equipment, practices, products, land use and architecture change as a result of the crisis and then in response to the reform efforts?

Evolution of Architecture and Landscape

Grettler's (1991) focus on landscape in his study of Delaware's nineteenth century agricultural reform movements is not unique. Rather, landscape as a complex composition of natural and cultural elements is a concept central to much historical, archaeological, geographical, and architectural research today. Relating this concept to the Darrach Store site, to the Delaware Route 1 Project research themes (Custer and Bachman 1986:207-209; Custer, Bachman, and Grettler 1986:195-198; 1987:69) and to the Plan's archaeological research program for the historic landscape (De Cunzo and Catts 1990:21, 138) has resulted in the definition of the following research strategy for the Darrach project. The goal is to reconstruct the architecture and landscape of the Darrach Store site and examine their evolution over time, and then to interpret these features in the context of several factors:

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| Environmental: | The physical features and constraints of the Duck Creek Hundred environment and their relationship to the agricultural potential of the area, the early nineteenth century agricultural crisis, and the water transportation system which developed with initial European settlement in the seventeenth century |
| Functional: | The site's dual function as a merchant's store and as an agricultural tenancy |
| Economic: | The eighteenth and turn of the century period of economic success and growth associated with the site's occupation by a successful merchant's store; the crisis, reform, and renewed growth of the nineteenth century associated with the site's occupation by an agricultural tenant |
| Social: | The elite White, Darrach, and Kennedy families who owned and operated the store, and the agricultural tenants to whom they rented the property |

Comparison

Ultimately the responses to all the research questions posed above should be informed by comparative data. Comparative analysis, however, will be guided by contextual relevance. This project is seeking to better understand the agricultural-mercantile social and economic world of the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries in Delaware, more specifically central Delaware. It is thus appropriate that data on comparative farms, merchants, tenants, and landscapes be derived from this same historical and cultural context.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH: METHODOLOGY

Numerous primary historical records held promise for this research while secondary sources were seen to offer a broader and comparative context. In addition to the sources discussed here, the Phase III research returned to those sources consulted and reported on in the Phase I/II investigation. Probate records were sought for the Whites, Darrachs and Kennedys, and for any identified tenants of the store. Wills not only inform on a person's property, but also offer insight into kinship and social relations, and into the more intangible aspects of value.

Estate inventories record the decedent's possessions and their monetary value, but similarly provide more - evidence of the domestic material world, of the family/household's economic strategy, and of their social position and aspirations. Administration accounts document financial transactions at once reflecting and completing those of the decedent's economic activities in life. When they occur, Orphan's Court records amplify the information derived from other probate records on kinship networks, family strategies, and the domestic landscape. Among the most important of the Darrach Store probate records not previously reported on were a series of estate and public sale inventories dating to John Darrach's death in 1805. Darrach's personal possessions and the inventory of his store were liquidated at two sheriff's sales held in February and March of that year. Records of the sales list the items sold, the sale price, and the name of the purchaser. Another inventory records what remained following the first sale and was subsequently sold during the second. Purchasers have been linked with all they bought at the sales, and their names checked against Kent County tax assessment lists from 1810 and against genealogical data and the names of White, Darrach, and Kennedy family tenants. While not directly comparable to accounts of the store during its operation, nonetheless these sources assist in reconstructing the social and economic community of Darrach and his business. Further evidence of the nature of the store's operation and merchandise were provided by a categorization and analysis of the items auctioned at the sales.

Tax assessment records from 1769 through 1828 offer an alternative view into the economic status and strategies of the Whites, Darrachs, and Kennedys. While the lists dating prior to 1797 list only a total assessed value of the assessee, later lists describe properties owned, their tenure, condition, and use. Although often lacking in detail, especially regarding outbuildings, they do supplement and complement the probate records. Providing supplementary information of another kind are the U. S. Census records, which record demographic data on the households of the Darrachs, Kennedys and their known tenants. Genealogical data was also sought to broaden the understanding of generational and extended lateral kinship and demography, but little was found.

Despite the richness of the above sources, virtually nothing was learned of the establishment and operation of the store by William White and/or John White in the eighteenth century. Probate records did identify the sloops owned and operated out of the landing at Duck Creek (then called Holliday's and later Green's Landing) by both William White and John Darrach. Unfortunately, neither the State Archives nor the Hagley Library hold business or shipping records of White, Darrach or their sloops. The Pennsylvania Gazette was then turned to, principally in the hope of locating advertisements placed by the Whites or announcements of the activities of White's sloops. Delaware advertisements in the Gazette previously compiled by University of Delaware Archaeologist Wade Catts for the period up to 1758 were checked; in addition, every issue of the Gazette from 1759 - 1761 and every other issue from 1762 - July 1779 were reviewed. Other later newspapers announced the 1805 Darrach sale and the 1863 sale of the remaining Darrach properties, and a Smyrna resident's reminiscences of the town in the 1830s, published in the Smyrna Times in 1880-1881, offered a personal view of life in the community in that period. A comparable personal perspective from the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries was sought in the accounts of Benjamin Mifflin's and Joseph Hemphill's travels through the Duck Creek vicinity in 1762 and 1802 respectively, but neither tarried long nor described the locale at any length.

Filling in the story of the White, Darrach and Kennedy families and their business, social, and community relationships necessitated looking beyond the families into the Duck Creek mercantile community. The two earliest Duck Creek merchants' accounts preserved in the State Archives are those of Benjamin Coombe and Jonathon Allee. A day book of Allee's begins in November 1809 and ends at the end of 1810; an accompanying account book extends to 1815. Benjamin Coombe's account book begins in January 1809; the last entry was recorded in April 1817. Allee's day book contains daily recordings of transactions at the store, including lists of goods purchased, the name of the person to whose account the purchases were to be debited, and notations of payment as well as invoices received and to be credited to other customers' or suppliers' accounts. Coombe's and Allee's account books are organized by their customers' and suppliers' names, and include summaries of the transactions for each date transferred from the day books to the proper account. Allee's day book was utilized in this analysis rather than the account book as it included more detailed lists of goods purchased by customers. Lists were compiled of each merchant's customers and suppliers in the years 1809-1810, and these names were checked against the 1810 Duck Creek Hundred tax assessment list. Comparisons of the customer and supplier lists against

each other and against the list of purchasers from the 1805 Darrach sales were aimed at better understanding the stores' customers and how they and other Duck Creek and surrounding hundreds' residents decided where to shop. In addition, in order to compare each merchant's goods, the item and quantity reported in each transaction in 1809 and 1810 were recorded and categorized using the same system employed in analyzing the Darrach sale inventories. Finally, the money and goods received in payment and on account during the same two years were recorded, categorized, and compared between the two merchants. This too yielded interesting results regarding the nature and variability of the local and regional exchange systems.

While the historical account which follows certainly leaves room for the archaeological record to contribute much of significance, it too will enrich the archaeological interpretations of the John Darrach Store site.

THE JOHN DARRACH STORE IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 1716 Benjamin Shumer purchased a tract of land at the fork of Duck Creek and Green's Branch. Here he laid out the town he named Salisbury, known locally throughout the eighteenth century as Duck Creek Village (Caley n.d.:13). Three years later the town had so developed as a regional shipping center that a road was built from the Chesapeake Bay at the head of the Chester River to Duck Creek, at the request of Maryland and Delaware farmers seeking access to Philadelphia for their produce (Grettlar 1991:4). Over the next several years Scottish Presbyterian and French Huguenot immigrants arrived in numbers in the Duck Creek area, among them the Allees, Cahoons, Spruances, McLanes (Caley 1978:125), and at least by the early 1730s, William White. In 1748 when White purchased the property on which the store was constructed, he also was among a small group of fellow Presbyterians purchasing a site on the south side of Pairman's Branch (Gravelly Run) for a meeting house and cemetery (Caley 1978:125). By this time regional farmers, shippers and merchants had already benefited for almost a decade from the canal cut through Bombay Hook. Thirteen tortuous miles of navigation along Duck Creek and much precious time was saved in reaching Delaware Bay en route to Philadelphia. Within a few years, Thomas Green had established a ship's landing east of Duck Creek Village, above the confluence of Duck Creek and Pairman's Branch (Caley n.d.:15). Later owned by John Darrach and just the other side of the Maryland Road which passed in front of his store, this landing site developed in the nineteenth century into the shipping community of Smyrna Landing.

By 1760 Philadelphia dominated a trading area extending over 20,000 square miles and including about 375,000 inhabitants. Grain, tobacco, flour, barrel hoops and staves, and lumber reached the city from the Delaware and Maryland hinterland (Grettlar 1991:5-6; Walzer 1972:163, 169) via merchants like William White aboard sloops and shallops such as his Red Cedar and Mulberry. Philadelphia's dominion was further strengthened after the French and Indian Wars. "Prior to 1763, ships bound for the West Indies sometimes left directly from Duck Creek Landing and other Delaware shipping points. After the end of the ...[w]ar, Philadelphia merchants assumed [even] more direct responsibility for shipments and most... were routed through Philadelphia" (Grettlar 1991:5, Footnote 3). Duck Creek Village by now was a thriving community boasting a saw, grist and bolting mill, a tanyard, tavern, blacksmith shop and other small businesses, and two churches (Caley n.d.:15). In 1768 Samuel Ball purchased a 15 acre tract of land from James Green at the intersection of the Maryland Road and the north-south King's Highway. Within two years Duck Creek Crossroads (later Smyrna) too was a thriving commercial village (Caley n.d.:15, 1978:76).

Research has unfortunately still not provided definitive evidence that William and/or John White were engaged in shipping and mercantile activities nor that the store was constructed prior to 1775. The Pennsylvania Gazette carried advertisements of John White, apothecary, first in Philadelphia in 1759 and then in Wilmington in 1761, but no Duck Creek Whites appear (Pennsylvania Gazette: May 3, 1759; July 9, 1761). At the same time, at least one Duck Creek area merchant moved in the opposite direction in the 1760s. Benjamin Gibbs and Son, at the Crossroads, Kent County, advertised in 1763 in the Gazette. Their ad suggests the nature of the merchandise offered by the Whites' potential competition: