

Northeast Historical Archaeology

Volume 31 *Special Issue: Historic Preservation and the Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Farmsteads in the Northeast*

Article 8

2001

The Archaeology of Agriculture and Rural Life in Northern Delaware, 1800-1940

Lu Ann De Cunzo

Follow this and additional works at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha>



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

De Cunzo, Lu Ann (2001) "The Archaeology of Agriculture and Rural Life in Northern Delaware, 1800-1940," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*: Vol. 30-31 31, Article 8.
<https://doi.org/10.22191/neha/vol31/iss1/8> Available at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol31/iss1/8>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by The Open Repository @ Binghamton (The ORB). It has been accepted for inclusion in Northeast Historical Archaeology by an authorized editor of The Open Repository @ Binghamton (The ORB). For more information, please contact ORB@binghamton.edu.

The Archaeology of Agriculture and Rural Life in Northern Delaware, 1800-1940

Cover Page Footnote

I extend thanks first to Terry Klein, George Miller, and Sherene Baugher for inviting me to participate in the 1997 Council for Northeast historical Archaeology workshop and 1998 session on the archaeology of agricultural places. All who attended and contributed their voices to the dialogue have helped me refine and revise my own ideas about the purpose and practice of historical archaeology that extends well beyond the context of the 19th and early 20th-century farm. Reviewers David Grettler and Leslie Stewart-Abernathy and editor Ann-Eliza Lewis encouraged me to clarify the murky points in my thinking and writing. My colleagues in Delaware historical archaeology have produced model studies of 19th and early 20th-century agricultural places that have challenged us all to ask new questions, collect new kinds of data, present our findings in new ways, and explore new practice, comparative analysis. For the fine work on the Buchanan/Moffett, Cazier, and Stump sites upon which I rely so heavily in this paper, I especially thank those projects' archaeologists, Wade Catts, Jay Custer, David Grettler, Angela Hoeseth, Michael Scholl, and Rebecca Tinsman. Alice Guerrant, historical archaeologist for the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, contributed an essential dosage of "management reality" during preparation of the state plan for historical archaeological resources and the historic contexts for an archaeology of 19th and 20th-century agriculture that I believe enriched both documents. I thank the Delaware Department of Transportation, and archaeologist Kevin Cunningham, and the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research, and its Director, Jay Custer, for sponsoring the archaeological investigations of the Buchanan/Moffett, Cazier, and Stump sites, and for their assistance with and permission to reproduce images from the site reports. The University of Tennessee Press will publish expanded versions of discussions in this article; I thank the Press for granting permission to publish this material here. I conclude by reminding the reader that I alone am responsible for any errors of omission or commission in the interpretations presented here.

The Archaeology of Agriculture and Rural Life in Northern Delaware, 1800-1940

Lu Ann De Cunzo

Like our colleagues across the Northeast, Delaware archaeologists have been challenged by the state's thousands of 19th- through 20th-century agricultural sites. They range from large farms to small tenancies and laborers' dwellings; many remain at least partially extant, many others survive only below ground. This article introduces the character and diversity, continuity and transformations of 19th- through mid 20th-century Delaware agriculture and rural life, and archaeologists' contributions to our understanding of these phenomena. Narratives of selected agricultural properties and people from New Castle County's Upper Coastal Plain illustrate the approach and the knowledge it has produced, with special emphases on the interrelationships linking agricultural households, material life on rural properties, agricultural landscapes, and technology. The presentation concludes with proposed directions for the archaeology of agriculture and agrarian life in Delaware and throughout the Northeast.

Tout comme nos collègues à travers le nord-est, les archéologues du Delaware ont été mis à rude épreuve par les milliers de sites agricoles datant des XIXe et XXe siècles de l'état. Ils varient entre de larges fermes et des locations de petites dimensions ainsi que des demeures d'ouvriers; plusieurs existent encore partiellement aujourd'hui alors que pour plusieurs autres, seuls les vestiges souterrains subsistent. Cet article présente le caractère, la diversité, la continuité et les transformations de la vie rurale et agricole des XIXe et XXe siècles ainsi que les contributions des archéologues à notre compréhension de ces phénomènes. Des récits concernant des propriétés et des gens sélectionnés dans la plaine côtière supérieure de comté de New Castle illustrent les approches et les connaissances que cela a produit, soulignant particulièrement les rapports mutuels liant les maisonnées agricoles, la vie matérielle sur des propriétés rurales, les paysages agricoles et la technologie. La présentation se termine avec des directives envisagées pour l'archéologie de l'agriculture et la vie agraire dans le Delaware et à travers le nord-est.

Introduction: Historical Archaeology of the "Cultures of Agriculture"

As the east coast megalopolis is paved to facilitate travel from New England to the South and ease access to that beloved destination of the vacationer, the beach, archaeologists struggle to keep ahead of the road-builders and accompanying cadre of developers. In Delaware, archaeologists from the State Historic Preservation Office, the Department of Transportation, the State Museums, private consulting firms, and the University of Delaware have cooperated to comply with the letter and the spirit of Federal environmental and cultural resource legislation and regulations. This work has revealed that sites associated with 19th- and 20th-century "cultures of agriculture" comprise Delaware's most numerous, indeed ubiquitous, historic-period resources. They also pose the greatest challenge, from both research and management perspectives.

Through planning studies for large-scale highway improvement projects, archaeologists have examined broad swaths cutting through Delaware's diverse environmental and, thus, agricultural regions. More than 30 intensive surveys, along with numerous data recovery archaeological investigations have explored 19th- and 20th-century agricultural places in the Upper Coastal Plain of New Castle County. For this reason, the region provides the case studies presented in this article.

These surveys and investigations along with historical and architectural studies, guided by an historical archaeological management plan and historic contexts, have revealed the rich regional diversity of agricultural cultures in Delaware in the 19th and early 20th centuries (see especially De Cunzo and Catts 1990a, 1990b; De Cunzo and Garcia 1992; Herman 1987; Mayer 1975; Michel 1985; Siders et al. 1991). Ecological variations and historical cultural differences in production

strategies, market orientation, and social orders contributed to this diversity. Five primary regional cultures developed. From north to south, these occupy the hilly, rocky, though generally fertile Piedmont; the low, rolling topography of the Upper Coastal Plain, bisected by broad waterways, and fringed with extensive wetlands, which feature the state's finest agricultural soils; the less fertile southern end of the Upper Coastal Plain, in southern New Castle County; the sandy, flat landscape of the Lower Coastal Plain of Kent County; and the Lower Coastal Plain and forested Cypress Swamp of Sussex County, which is geographically and culturally distant from the urban- and industry-influenced north.

The "center" for this article stems from points raised in the 1997 Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology workshop, "The Archaeology of 19th-Century Farmsteads" (see Klein et al., this volume) and the critique offered by discussant Hal S. Barron when Wade Catts and I first discussed an archaeology of the "cultures of Delaware agriculture" at the Society for Historical Archaeology meetings in 1996 (De Cunzo and Catts 1996). The most crucial of the archaeologists' points was recognizing that we are not sure how to move from individual sites to the larger picture of regional agricultural and cultural development. Rural historians such as Barron, conversely, acknowledge that they miss many of the social meanings associated with capitalist agriculture and a market economy by adopting a regional rather than local scale of analysis. In his most recent work, Barron studies the "second great transformation of American society" (Barron 1997: 8) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which was powered by the emergence of large-scale businesses, the growing influence cities exerted on expanding hinterlands, and the rise of a consumer culture. Barron discovered that rural peoples' negotiation of these changes were often accomplished through the prosaic, "which have been overshadowed by the more dramatic episodes of rural history" (Barron 1997: 9). Scholars must attend to the prosaic and the dramatic, as both shaped the historical

cultures of local communities and larger regions.

The Action Plan devised at the 1997 workshop proposed one important point of departure for historical archaeologists—the development of more comprehensive farm studies from the broad array of resources available to researchers of 19th- and 20th-century America (Klein et al., this volume). Workshop participants and others had advocated this same approach in the past, in the context of "farmstead archaeology" and of historical archaeology in general. In Delaware, the statewide research plan outlines a contextual historical archaeology of the "cultures of agriculture" in which recovery of the past proceeds from the contexts of people, cultures, histories, and places (De Cunzo and Catts 1990a, 1990b). This contextual approach recognizes that the archaeological site has always been the essential building block of historical archaeology. We begin with the places where people have left material traces of their lives. Through and in this material world, we begin to perceive the cycles and systemic contexts of people's choices; we chart their consequences and the ways they guide and constrain subsequent action and interaction. Ultimately, we seek the cultures that inform people's choices (De Cunzo 1996: 15–17). Mary Beaudry (1996) and John Worrell, Myron Stachiw, and David Simmons (1996: 39–40) have argued eloquently that history and culture intersect at the individual; hence construction of site biographies or ethnographies of everyday people and everyday life will lead to a "broader understanding of the human experience" (Beaudry 1996: 496). Moreover, these scholars offer us their own exemplary studies as models (see Beaudry 1995, for an introduction to the long term study of the Spencer-Peirce-Little Farmstead; Worrell, Stachiw, and Simmons 1996; for an application of this approach to the study of industrialization in the rural United States, see Mullins 1996).

Historical archaeologists and social historians also agree, however, that our studies of individuals, households, and their rural homes and work places are meaningless if divorced from larger contexts. Worrell, Stachiw, and Simmons (1996: 41) describe these contexts as

concentric circles expanding out from the individual to the "neighborhood, cultural region, and on to national or international social and economic trends." The "beauty" of the "enormous" historical questions of social, economic, political, and cultural transformation that engage social historian Darrett Rutman is that they "can be addressed on any size stage," as he has amply demonstrated, yet they always necessitate examination of "complexes of interwoven layers" (Rutman 1994: 13-14; Rutman with Rutman 1994).

Site ethnographies, then, are not enough to reconstitute the "cultures of agriculture." Historical archaeologists must complement them with studies of material systems and of particular aspects of context (De Cunzo 1996: 16-17). Working within this idiom, Delaware historical archaeologists have begun to construct richly textured biographies of particular agricultural places, viewed through the prisms of the material system of the rural landscape and the contexts of agricultural production, rural social order, ethnicity, the culture of gentility, and religious belief. They are the best we now have to offer to an historical archaeology of the cultures of 19th-century agriculture. This article introduces the reader briefly to a few of these biographies, drawn from New Castle County's Upper Coastal Plain.

Agrarian Life in Northern Delaware, 1845-1925

By 1800, northern Delaware farmers had been raising field crops, orchard fruits, vegetables, and livestock for their own use and for local, regional, and international exchange for more than a century. Rapid population growth in the late 18th and early 19th centuries forced many new farmers to clear and farm lands of poor or marginal quality. Then, beginning in the late 1810s, erosion, exhausted land, and a decline in staple crop prices led many to migrate to better lands in the west. By 1830, abandonment and redistribution of land remade the agricultural landscape. Over the next 100 years, industry, urbanization, and transportation developments helped transform the farmers' world. The transformation took

various forms across the regional landscape in struggles over land, credit, labor, and religion; renegotiation of the constellations of farm products; reforms in farming practice, exchange, and markets; and in the manipulation of the material world.

In the Coastal Plain of northern Delaware, intensively worked wheat and dairy farms often encompassed 200 acres or more of land, and farmers employed the latest agricultural machinery, contracted with tenants, and hired laborers. To the south, corn was the most important field crop, and farmers marketed comparatively small quantities of wheat, butter, and meat. Family members, tenants, and seasonal hired laborers worked these farms, with the assistance of little of the machinery used profitably by their northern neighbors. By the mid-19th century, many farmers planted peach orchards and vegetable gardens on a commercial scale, taking advantage of the access to urban markets that turnpikes, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, and the railroads created. Between 1850 and 1860, the value of northern Delaware farms increased by a factor of 17 times their original value. During the next decade, the value of the state's orchard products increased more than one million dollars (De Cunzo and Catts 1990b: 64-77; De Cunzo and Garcia 1992: 31-49, 66-77; Hancock 1932, 1947; Mayer 1975; Michel 1985; Siders et al. 1991).

After 1880, several changes reconfigured the region's agricultural production. Farm size declined noticeably as farmers abandoned marginal land and suburbanization consumed increasing acreage. Tenant farming became even more prevalent. Farmers made greater commitments to mechanization and soil management, and they intensified their use of better lands. Responding to the ever-increasing demands of markets in Wilmington, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and other cities, farmers raised larger quantities and greater varieties of fruits and vegetables. Many also increased production of milk, soybeans, and other legumes, and decreased their emphasis on grains. Cycles of depression and ever-growing markets accessible by automobiles, trucks, and refrigerated transport con-

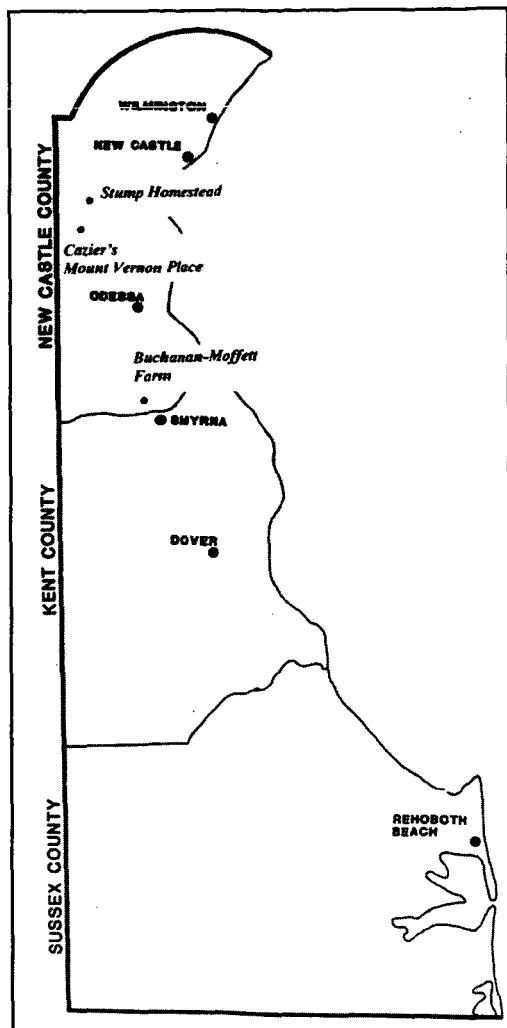


Figure 1. This map shows Delaware's three counties; the Cazier, Stump, and Buchanan-Moffett sites; and associated towns and cities.

tainers traveling new road systems such as the du Pont Highway, created a pendulum of opportunity and hard times for farmers (De Cunzo and Catts 1990b: 77–86; De Cunzo and Garcia 1992: 96–180; Hancock 1947; Mayer 1975; Siders et al. 1991).

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, the lineal family constituted the culturally prescribed unit around which Delaware farmers organized economic and social life. The interpenetration of family life cycles and production tied the generations together, stratifying rural society by age and wealth. A small

elite of wealthy farm owners controlled more than one-half of the region's wealth and land. A larger middle group of farmers owned smaller, less expensive farms, and many of the region's farms were rented, often to farmers' sons aspiring to ownership. Still more numerous were farm hands and laborers, more than one-half of them African Americans. A small group of slaves toiled for the wealthiest farmers before 1862. Though grounded in generations of practice, the system engendered resentment and conflict. Smaller farms, divided with each generation, constrained opportunities for capital accumulation, until division was no longer viable. The situation also ensured that many people, particularly immigrants and African Americans, never could acquire a place of their own (De Cunzo and Catts 1990b: 64–86; De Cunzo and Garcia 1992: 66–77, 188–210; Hancock 1947; Mayer 1975; Michel 1985; Siders et al. 1991).

This overview of the situation in Delaware reinforces Barron's (1997: 15) assertion that scholars of the rural North must attend to the diversity of often-competing visions and voices of people of different classes, ethnic identities, ages, and genders. The following three case studies (FIG. 1) illuminate aspects of that diversity and the attendant contradictions, posturing, and debates that diversity enlivened.

A Landed Elite and a Dialogue of "Improvement": The Caziers of Mount Vernon Place, 1844–1890

Working good agricultural soils, several farmers in central New Castle County accumulated considerable estates in the early 19th century by raising wheat and some vegetables, dairying, and harvesting peaches from their extensive orchards. Beginning in the 1820s, these capitalist proponents of progressive agriculture also brokered cultural change in Delaware through example, force, exhortation and by leveraging their considerable resources and connections. They practiced the new agriculture on their own estates, required tenants on their extensive landholdings to do the



Figure 2. The Caziers owned one of New Castle County's largest estates in the middle decades of the 19th century (Cooch 1936: 105). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

same, and sponsored educational programs through the county agricultural societies in which they held offices and participated actively (Herman 1987; McMurry 1988). No one better exemplifies these brokers of agricultural capitalism in Delaware than the Caziers, and nothing embodies their goals and values as well as the cultural landscapes they created.

The land that Henry Cazier inherited in the early 19th century had passed through at least five generations of the family. The landholdings included Mount Vernon Place, an early 19th-century farm complex two miles (3.25 km) south of Glasgow, to which Henry decided to move with his family in 1844 (Hoseth, Catts, and Tinsman 1994: 2–3, 17–19). Before moving in, Henry joined his peers across north central Delaware in directing the rebuilding of the agricultural landscape. Cazier and his laborers renovated Mount Vernon Place to comfortably house Henry and his family, accommodate his program of progressive agriculture, and manifest the family's economic success and gentility (FIG. 2).

Cazier's plan called for enlarging and remodeling the house and completely replacing the farm buildings with a new bank barn, granary, wagon shed, ice house, and milk house. It also reordered the landscape to communicate Cazier's views on the new agricultural order and the role of refinement in maintaining it, using the landscape vocabulary and grammar of the English gentry's country estates. The elements and features (the vocabulary) and their organization and interrelation-

ship in space (the grammar) created a "processional" landscape that directed one's experience of the place and understanding of its owners (Bushman 1992: 242–249; Upton 1985).

Visitors to the estate approached along the road from Glasgow, passing acres of well-tended and carefully fenced fields. Turning onto the farm lane, the visitor soon came upon a gate guarded by a keeper who lived in a small, brick cottage nearby. Purposefully situated at the juncture of farm field, public road, and private lane, the gate, the gatekeeper's house, and its residents announced the special character of Mount Vernon Place. The Caziers' estate was a private place, set apart, enclosed, and at least in theory guarded around the clock. This was not the commons of the old agricultural elite, where the unlanded could hunt and fish and their pigs could forage. Those granted entree crossed a greatly enhanced boundary between public and private as they passed through the gate. The effect was heightened as the visitor rode one-third of a mile (0.5 km) along a tree-shaded avenue that finally opened upon the house prominently situated on a rise in the landscape.

In 1859, Henry's son, Jacob Cazier inherited an estate of \$15,000 and more than 1,000 acres (405 ha) of land, including Mount Vernon Place (Hoseth, Catts, and Tinsman 1994: 7). He first enlarged and refashioned the house (Scharf 1888: 949–950) and more than one quarter of a century later, turned his attention to boundaries. During his tenure, Jacob further elaborated his father's program of order, control, and distinction (FIG. 3). Visitors encountered a newly rebuilt gate set between large and elaborate posts. Beyond the gate, before reaching the house, visitors had to cross another, new boundary. An iron fence enclosed the mansion yard, its wooden gates inscribed "J. B. Cazier" "1886" (Richard Biddle, personal communication, 1990; Hoseth, Catts, and Tinsman 1994: 19).

While Henry and Jacob Cazier inscribed themselves in the landscape and their faces and stories in late 19th-century history books (Herman 1987; Scharf 1888), the names of those who kept the gate remain unknown. They lived in a house authored by Henry Cazier and set in a landscape that the Caziers



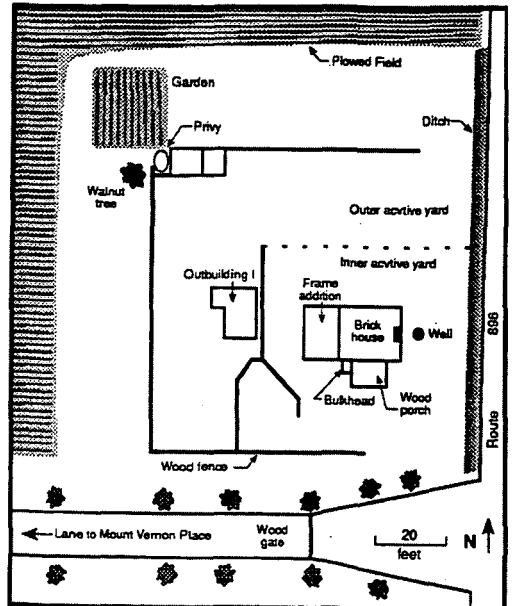
Figure 3. This view of Jacob Cazier's Mount Vernon Place appeared in Scharf's *History of Delaware* in 1888.

closely monitored. From their house along the road at the entrance to Mount Vernon Place, the gatekeepers had responsibility for controlling physical access to the estate.

Order, containment, segregation, and control do not seem inappropriate labels for the "processual" landscape of the gatekeeper and the "processional" landscape of the larger farm (Herman 1992; Upton 1985). The Caziers structured the gatekeeping families' lives through the organization of their house and yardscape (FIG. 4). The processes of rural domestic life in the second half of the 19th century raising and preparing food, keeping house, sewing and laundering, and disposing of wastes were spatially segmented, compartmentalized, and interconnected in the gatekeeper's landscape. Thus the dirty, smelly privy, pigpen, and midden lay near the garden at the end of the property. Across the yard, the well, a service building (Outbuilding 1, FIG. 4), and the kitchen work yard adjoined the house. Fences surrounded, separated, and screened spaces and channeled movement through the processual routine of daily life (Hoseth, Catts, and Tinsman 1994: 22–53, 86–88). Simultaneously, in the Caziers' larger social landscape, roads, lanes, fences, gates, trees, mounts and dips, porches, and buildings controlled the procession of people to and from Mount Vernon Place (FIG. 3). The Caziers exercised considerable power as they produced

and reproduced the material world of Mount Vernon Place, giving material form to a cosmology that realized a particular practice of power (Herman 1987: 182; Paytner and McGuire 1991: 6; Rowntree and Conkey 1980:

Figure 4. Based on archaeological evidence, archaeologists prepared this rendering of the Cazier gatekeeper's house and yard layout, ca. 1865 (Hoseth, Catts, and Tinsman 1994: 87, figure 34). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.



459). Archaeology at Mount Vernon Place exposed the material form through excavation of the gatekeepers' house and yard, and extensive documentary research on the Caziers and the larger farm. Contextualizing the data revealed the specific historical, cultural cosmology of power practiced by the northern Delaware elite in the 19th century.

The story does not end there. At Mount Vernon Place, the Caziers' conception of a "processional" landscape of distinction clashed with the gatekeepers' conceptions of a "processual" landscape that balanced domestic work with service responsibilities to their landlord and employer. The archaeological and written records both hint at the oral, material, and enacted dialogue between the Caziers and their gatekeepers. Although archaeological evidence demonstrated that the gatekeepers' families kept their yard fronting the road and the lane in front of the house swept clean, they did not carry their trash all that far from the house nor bury it very deeply in trash pits, if at all (FIG. 4). In fact, they tossed much in a shallow, muddy, low-lying area in front of the privy. They and later tenants also insisted on doing the wash and other household chores, many involving food and smelly waste products, in front of the house in plain view (and smell) of those travelling up the lane. At least from there, they could see folks approaching the gate. Jacob Cazier accepted these work practices, but contained and screened them behind a fence that he had built sometime in the 1860s. Cazier and the gatekeepers also agreed that the 85ft (25.9m) by 85ft (25.9m) yard just did not include enough space for an adequate kitchen garden, and a small place for it was carved out of the farm field surrounding the yard. Finally, Jacob approved construction of an addition to the house and another outbuilding to shelter garden tools and some foodstuffs. The construction contract also included a front porch from which the gatekeeper could watch the gate in comfort in both good and inclement weather (see archaeological evidence in Hoseth, Catts, and Tinsman 1994; FIG. 4 illustrates the gatekeepers' house and yard with these changes completed).

An oral story set down in writing 90 years after the supposed event hints at another facet

of the Caziers and their gatekeepers' dialogue and celebrates the latter's clever wit. Instead of paying rent for his house and yard, the gatekeeper had responsibility for scrutinizing each person who approached the main estate gate, deciding to whom to grant access, and opening and closing the gate for those granted entrée. He was also charged with operating the gate each time someone left the estate. The story tells of Henry Cazier's first trip down his lane after signing the lease with his first gatekeeper. The reader (or, the hearer) can imagine the scene as the anonymous keeper walked down the steps from his front door, across the yard, out the gate, and up the lane to the main gate, while Cazier waited. He then opened the gate and propped a stick against it. He told Cazier that he had just paid his year's rent and walked back home (Cooch 1936: 104). The account suggests that for the gatekeeper, the gate represented undue obligations and unwarranted pretensions easily sidestepped. The story may be apocryphal, but the ingenuity and resiliency it expresses speaks to a dialogue between the landed few and the many tenants that had a deep history in Delaware. History may not have preserved the names of folks like the Caziers' gatekeepers, and the Caziers may have created a landscape that veiled, or made transparent, these folk's labor. But they were neither silent nor inactive.

Dialogues Within and Without: Transforming Agriculture at the Buchanan-Moffett Farm, 1846–1925

Spiritual values shaped the capitalist culture of agriculture and the agricultural landscape of many Delawareans. By the 1840s, when George Buchanan bought a 269-acre (108.9 ha) farm from his father-in-law (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 1, 15), some southern New Castle County farmers had been embracing capitalist and industrial values for at least five decades (Herman 1987). For them, efficient, orderly, innovative practices and places coupled with hard work appropriately assigned by gender, age, ethnicity, and economic status promised success, social approbation, and a path to heaven. Some, most prominently Methodists like the



Figure 5. This 1991 view shows the original Buchanan house, with later additions to the right and left (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 67, plate 9). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

Buchanans (Scholl 1998a, 1998b), initially shunned material display as offensive to their otherworldly ends, investing instead in those things that directly promoted productivity—land, buildings, livestock, and farm equipment (Benjamin 1964: 316–321; Bushman 1992: 313–326; Chiles 1965: 185–187; Williams 1984: 97–108, 149–157). Industrial capitalist property relations engendered competition and conflict, however, leading George Buchanan to commit a mortal sin against God that shattered his family and shocked the community.

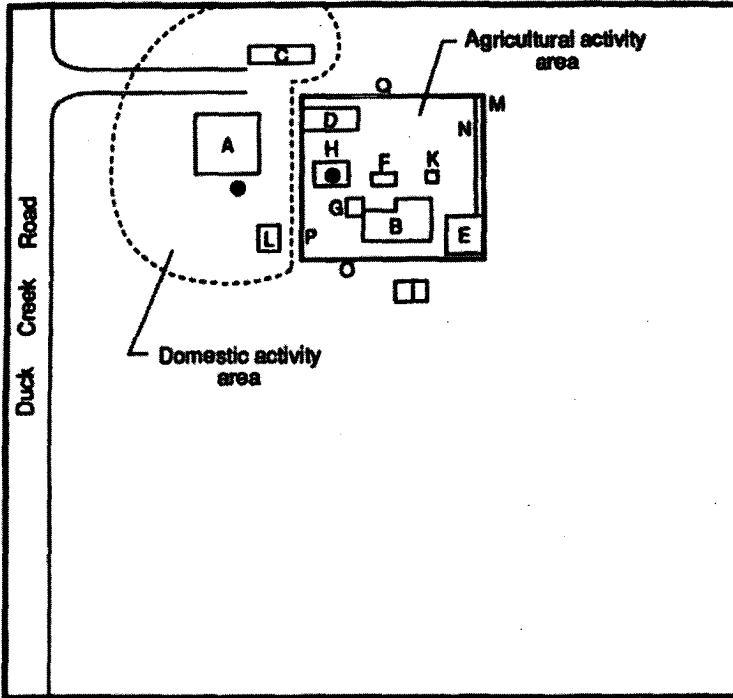
Between 1849 and 1857, the Buchanans converted a tenant house on their new farm into a progressive, if modest, farmstead (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 1, 15). The 16ft (4.9m) by 20ft (6.1m), one and one-half story frame house that they remodeled for themselves stood with its gable end facing the road (FIG. 5). Behind the house, the Buchanans built a larger earthfast kitchen and quarters (back building) for their two African-American house servants and two young male farm laborers (FIGS. 6, 7). Opposite, they added a small meat house, and behind the meat house, a post-and-rail fence enclosed a 65×65ft (19.8×19.8m) farmyard, in which Buchanan carefully positioned his farm buildings (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 17, 47–48, 66). Within this bounded space, he created a “separate place for each thing” in an effort to streamline and industrialize farm production (Garrison 1991; Herman 1987; McMurry 1988). As the new farmstead’s design channeled activity to facilitate efficient agricultural production and processing, it also engineered

complex, multivalent social proxemics. Overall, the design separated and subordinated the live-in servants and laborers from the family. Yet in these close quarters, house, servants’ quarter, domestic work, and farm also overlapped, signifying and facilitating husband, wife, children, servants, and laborers’ “active partnership in the farm enterprise” (McMurry 1988: 63; Adams 1990: 93; Bushman 1992: 262–263; King 1994: 289–292; Orser 1988: 82–83; Osterud 1993: 19–24; Rubertone 1986).

The farmyard fence also served multiple functions and embodied multiple meanings. Practically, as the soil chemistry confirmed (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 70, 89), the fence confined livestock in the traditional way, especially Delaware’s infamous marauding pigs, keeping them from devastating the gardens, fields, the preserved meat in the meat house, and other foods being prepared in the kitchen. It also distinguished and segregated housework and farmwork, people and animals, framing the boundaries of the farm as manufactory (Grettler 1990; Herman 1988; McMurry 1988). Moreover, for the Buchanans fencing soon came to elicit especially painful memories (Scholl 1998 a, 1998b).

In a dispute over fencing the boundaries of a nearby tenant farm Buchanan inherited, he killed the owner of the adjoining farm in 1859. As he began his five-year jail sentence later that year, he left behind his family, their tenants, and laborers to work the farm (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 16–21; Scholl 1998a: 20–23, 1998b: 36–38). The recently completed improvements had increased its cash value to \$15,000, and the family’s farm strategy had shifted significantly over the 1850s, to emphasize wheat, beef, and butter for urban markets and field crops to feed the livestock (U. S. Census of Agriculture 1850, 1860).

The Buchanans responded to life’s tragedies and opportunities with considerable initiative. With George in jail, his wife Mary and their daughters restructured production to maximize the women’s participation in the agricultural economy. Divesting themselves of most of their beef cattle, the family emphasized livestock that produced wool, dairy products, and meat that the Buchanan women processed. Wheat, supplemented by 1866 with



- | | |
|---|---|
| A - Buchanan-Savin Farmhouse | H - Outbuilding IV (Well shed) |
| B - Structure I (Carriage house) | I - Outbuilding V (Agricultural building) |
| C - Structure II (Back building / kitchen) | K - Privy II |
| D - Structure III (Meal corn & tool house) | L - Meat house |
| E - Outbuilding I (Stable wing) | M - Fenceline I |
| F - Outbuilding II (Agricultural building) | N - Fenceline II |
| G - Outbuilding III (Addition to Structure I) | O - Fenceline III |
| | P - Fenceline IV |
| | Q - Fenceline V |
| | ● - Well |

Figure 6. Archaeologists reconstructed this plan of the 1857 Buchanan farmstead based on archaeological and architectural evidence (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 121, figure 66). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

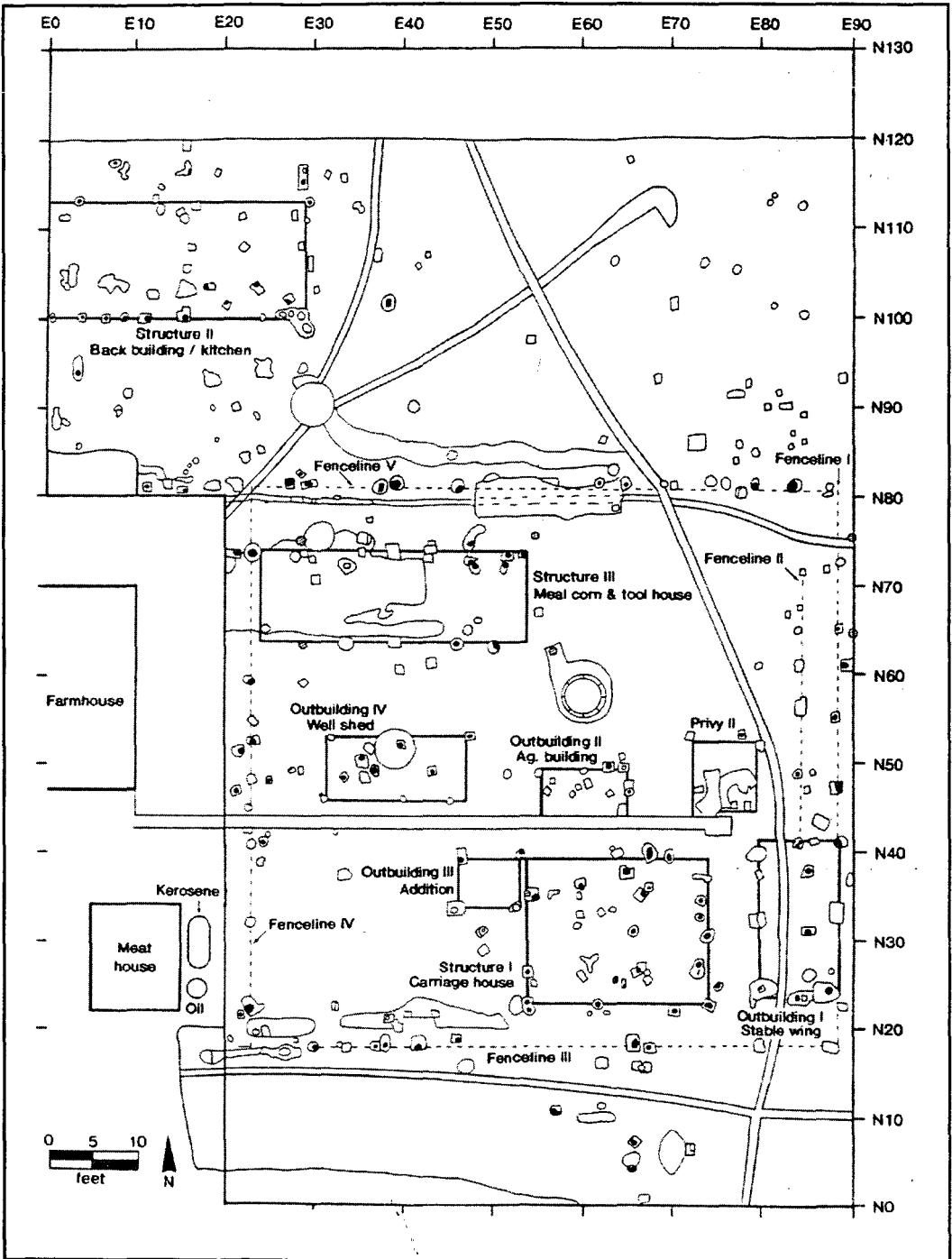


Figure 7. The archaeological site plan shows the dense concentration of features demarking the outbuildings, fences, water and waste management systems of the Buchanans' farmstead in the second half of the 19th century (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 29, figure 14). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

peaches, remained important cash crops, along with the ever-present Delaware staple, corn (U. S. Census of Agriculture 1860, 1870). Before George returned home, his second wife Mary died in 1861, leaving six children under 16 home alone. While still in jail, George remarried in 1862, lost his two eldest daughters the following years, and divorced his third wife in 1864. Shortly after returning home to care for his farm and his three youngest children in 1864, he married again, for the fourth and final time (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 21; Scholl 1998a: 25–27; 1998b: 36–38; U. S. Census of Population 1850, 1860).

We can only imagine how George Buchanan struggled to regain his personal integrity, revive essential business relationships, and generally re-establish community respect for himself and his family in the wake of the scandals and tragedies of these years. A wife helped stabilize and anchor his family life; he also turned to the power of the material world to signify, realize, and constitute as he negotiated renewed relations with his neighbors and his family. Like many central Delaware farmers in the mid-19th century (Bushman 1992; Herman 1987), including the Caziers, Buchanan rebuilt his house before he died in 1866. Specifically, he built a fashionable new front to his house (FIG. 8). More than doubling the building's size, the new addition also created a space of sociability and refinement just behind the facade, and reordered interaction within the family and between the family and visitors. It divided the house into two parts, "one oriented toward the farm, the other to the public" (McMurry 1988: 69–70). The new front door welcomed visitors approaching along the road who entered a spacious stair hall that led up to two chambers above and also accessed the front "parlour," a term connoting formality and limited use for special visitors and ritual occasions (Bushman 1992: 251–52, 273–275; Halttunen 1989: 158–163; McMurry 1988: 144–145). Like the Caziers, the Buchanans highlighted social distinction, sociability, and respectability, directing the eye away from the labor on which the new farmhouse had been built. Unlike the Caziers, however, the Buchanans did not accomplish this by removing the house from public view and shielding it from public



Figure 8. This 1993 view shows the sumptuous new front the Buchanans built onto their house after George Buchanan's release from jail (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 68, plate 10). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

access. Instead, the Buchanan farmhouse directly confronted the public with a façade of respectable economic and social position.

Two years after completing his jail sentence, George Buchanan died. His estate inventory reveals that the cost of the new house had left the Buchanans without the resources to properly furnish it. They purchased a new carpet and a stylish sofa, but these items shared the room with an assortment of uncomfortable "old" and "broke" furniture (New Castle County Probate, George Buchanan, 1867). Parlor furnishings and the entertainments and rituals they supported represented polish and beauty, "an adornment, irrelevant to the world of business in [the] farmyard" (Bushman 1992: 264–265). The juxtaposition of new and old, stylish and worn, reinforced the notion that the Buchanans' middle-class aspirations produced "a house divided against itself" (Bushman 1992: 265). The new addition had also allowed the Buchanans to designate a separate room as a dining room, like other progressive farmers did beginning in the middle decades of the 19th century. Here family, servants, and laborers took meals together, the latter seated around a separate, old dining table (New

Castle County Probate, George Buchanan, 1867). The archaeological record reinforces this image of a modestly furnished farmstead and, by 1866, a somewhat worn material world of utility and elusive gentility behind a new and stylish façade.

No deposits point to major housecleaning and disposal episodes at points of significant transformation in the Buchanan household. Archaeologists recovered mid-19th-century ceramics from a 25% sample of the farmstead's plowzone and from structural and fence post-holes dug by the Buchanans and their laborers between 1846 and 1866. Redware pots, jars, jugs, and bowls, and stoneware crocks predominate. Tablewares were mostly plain and edged whitewares. Fragments of a green transfer-printed plate and bowl represent the Buchanans' dinner service, identified in the inventory as a "Lot Dishes" listed just before the "Dining Table" (New Castle County Probate, George Buchanan, 1867). A few plain glass tumblers and lamp chimneys provide the only other archaeological evidence of the Buchanans' household furnishings (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994).

The year after Buchanan died, the New Castle County Orphan's Court (George Buchanan, 1867) divided the estate for the benefit of the heirs (FIG. 9). The Court set aside as the widow's dower the farmstead on which the family lived along with a rectangular tract of 34 acres (13.8 ha) extending to the east. Two generations of the family remained on the small farm until 1921. By then, the duPont Highway had replaced the old King's Highway, opening up new opportunities for area farmers. But a substantial investment was needed to update the old farm. As a result, the remaining Buchanan descendant chose to sell, but not before he tore down most of the 19th-century farm complex. Thomas Moffett purchased the now reconfigured 149-acre (60.3 ha) farm in 1921, with the goal of transforming it into a prosperous dairying operation (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 25–46, 85–87).

In doing so, the Moffetts created a new farmyard that differed in several respects from the earlier one. In essence, it exploded the old

farmyard, spreading the components over a much larger area (FIG. 10). Reaching from the old King's Highway to the right-of-way for the new highway, it covered almost 5 acres (2 ha), compared to the compact 0.1 acre (392 sq m) 19th-century farmyard. Unlike the Buchanans' farmyard, it was not tucked behind and visually subordinated to the house. Unlike the Caziers' farmscape, the Moffett farmyard did not shield from view the agricultural buildings and workyards and those laboring in them. Rather, the Moffetts' dairy complex dominated the property. Farther from the house and more spread out, the new farmyard required more travel between buildings and work areas. Neither was it a fenced enclosure, but rather it contained fenced animal pens within it. Finally, a lane bisecting the farmstead physically and perceptually separated houseyard and farmyard.

Despite these differences and others in building form, function, and construction, the Moffett and Buchanan farmyards nevertheless exhibited certain continuities in spatial relationships. Like in the Buchanan farmyard, the buildings and spaces for the Moffetts' livestock stood furthest from the house, and storage buildings, for both produce and equipment, stood closest. The Moffetts' massive dairy barn and silos formed the economic and symbolic heart of the new farmyard. Built just south of the farm access lane, they faced du Pont Highway, along which the milk would travel in refrigerated trucks to Wilmington dairies and ultimately to market. The dairy barn alone covered an area equivalent to three-fourths of the 19th-century farmyard (FIG. 11). Behind the barn, the Moffetts laid out the animal yards. Closest to the house, they erected a large garage for farm equipment, machinery, and vehicles. Corn was kept in a crib behind the garage.

The Moffetts operated the dairy farm until Thomas's death in 1945. Archaeological research centered on the Buchanan-era farm; as a result, we know nothing of the Moffetts' domestic material life (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994). Neither do we know how well their dairy operation prospered during the agricultural depression of the 1920s and suc-

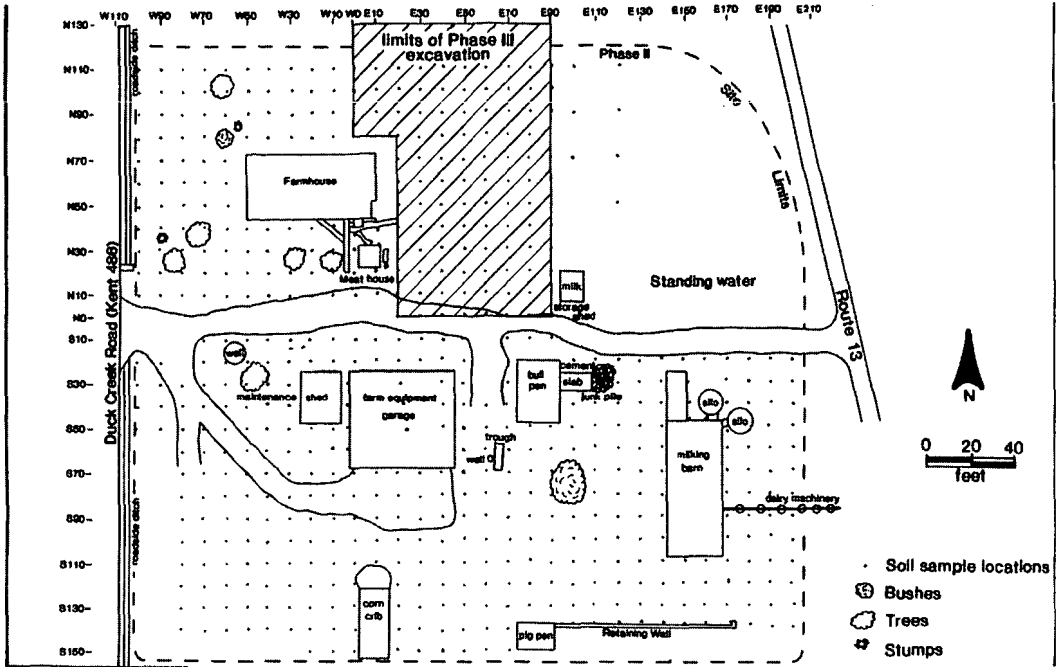


Figure 10. Archaeologists prepared this plan of the Moffett farmstead as it appeared in 1992 based on archaeological and architectural evidence, and showing areas of archaeological sampling and excavation (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 12, figure 6). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.



Figure 11. The Moffett's magnificent dairy barn and silos, built ca. 1922, still stood in 1992 (Scholl, Hoseth, and Grettler 1994: 72, plate 14). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

ceeding Great Depression of the 1930s. We do know that they transformed the Buchanan farm into a place that exuded optimism and progress and celebrated technological innovation, the modern farm, and the connections linking farm producer and city consumer.

A Dialogue of Race and Gender: The Stumps of Glasgow, 1875–1922

At Caziars' Mount Vernon Place and other large farms owned by Delaware's rural elite, the farm producers were hired hands, who traveled up their employers' farm lanes each morning to work and left the farm each night to return home. Sidney Stump of Glasgow and his sons numbered among these African-American laborers; they may even have worked for the Caziars on occasion. Their story illuminates another dimension of this culture of agriculture.

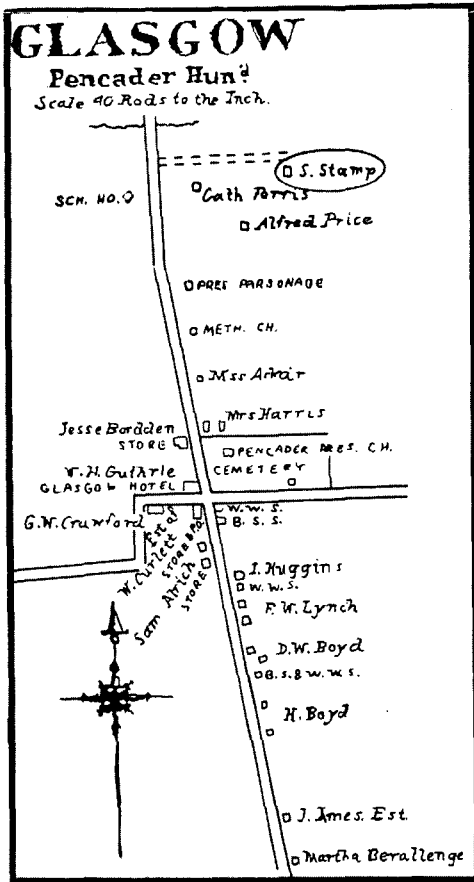
Sidney and Rachel Stump left their Maryland home for northern Delaware at the end of the Civil War, to start a new life. They moved into an established African-American community in Pencader Hundred that comprised more than one-third of the hundred's population (U. S. Census of Population, 1860). For the next ten years, Sidney hired out as a laborer on area farms. In the fall of 1875, he purchased a house on a 1.5 acre (0.6 ha) lot in Glasgow (FIG. 12). Sidney and his sons continued to labor on others' farms when they could get the work; Rachel and her daughter took in laundry and did sewing for families in town. The family lived in their Glasgow home until Sidney died in 1922 (Catts and Custer 1990: 64, 70, 216).

The Stumps' house stood on the northern edge of the small village serving the surrounding farm community. While neighboring houses and businesses fronted the main road, the Stumps' house sat 350ft (107m) back from the road, further peripheralized by its location out of sight of those passing through the village. By the time Stump purchased the lot, it had been long cleared, but the land was still well suited for gardening, and permanent access to the main road was guaranteed by deed. The one and one-half story frame house (FIG. 13) along the lane sat near the center of a small fenced yard (FIG. 14). East of the house, a

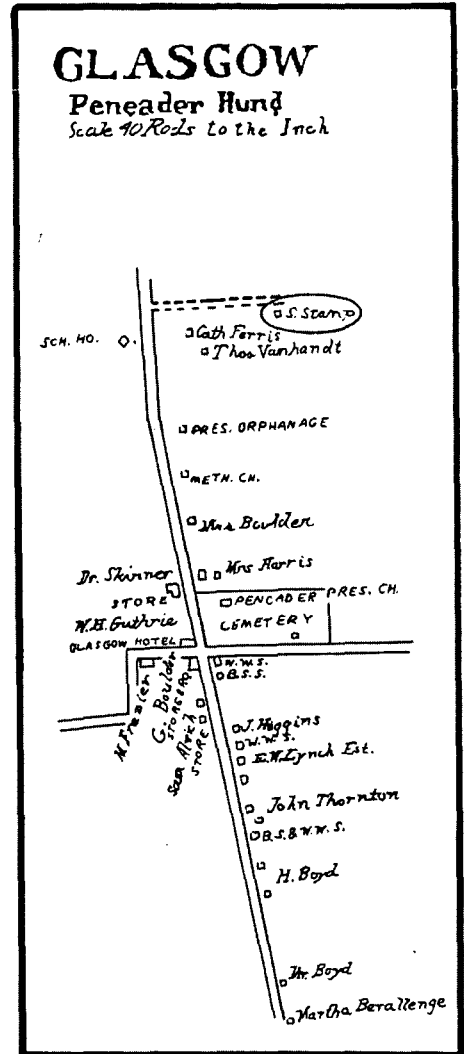
well provided water to a nearby dairy shed and cold storage cellar, the garden, the kitchen-dining room in the east end of the house, and the few animals the Stumps may have housed in an earthfast outbuilding beyond the fence. West of the house, beyond the enclosed yard, the ground sloped away sharply. Here, on the opposite side of the house from the well, archaeologists encountered the remains of 7 barrel privies, clustered in three groupings 25–30ft (7.6–9.1m) from the house (Catts and Custer 1990).

During their 47 years at their Glasgow house, the Stumps did little to alter its basic material form and order. But surely they assigned different meanings to the components of this material world than did the white Americans who had built it. For African Americans like the Stumps, ethnicity and racism constituted prime shapers of cultural identity and style. African-American culture has responded to racism and exploitation through an ongoing process of selecting, interweaving, and transforming African, European, and American ways of thinking, doing, making, and acting (e.g., Ferguson 1992; Gutman 1976; Levine 1977; Mullins 1999). In Delaware, even as the Stumps were buying their first home the political discourse resonated with white supremacy, and economic inequality persisted. Indeed, well into the 20th century Delaware's African Americans were denied a political voice, economic opportunity, equal and integrated educational opportunities, and many social freedoms (Catts and Custer 1990: 65, 260–262; Hancock 1968: 63–64; Livesay 1968: 87–123; Munroe 1957: 436–440, 1979: 147). Within this context, the Stumps and their neighbors molded a rich, distinctive cultural style. Personal, familial, communal, and institutional in form and expression, it was embedded and constituted in a material world.

The peripheral setting of the house manifested the Stumps' marginality and intended invisibility, or perhaps more aptly, transparency to Glasgow's European-American community. But for the Stumps it also embodied the ownership of property, privacy, the security of separation, and a stake in the community that in some ways paralleled that of their white employers. Indeed, the Stumps



Redrawn from Baist's 1893 Atlas of the State of Delaware



Redrawn from Hopkins's 1881 Map of New Castle County, Delaware

Figure 12. Hopkins' Map of Glasgow, 1881 (right), and Baist's Atlas of Glasgow, 1893 (left), show the peripheral location of the Stump house and property on the northern edge of town (Catts and Custer 1990: 26, figure 6). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

likely selected their Glasgow home in part because they could so easily adapt it to their cultural conceptions of land use and meaning. Gundaker's (1993, 1998) study of late 20th-century, African-American yards in the eastern United States suggests other levels of values and meaning embedded in the Stumps' yard-scape. From surviving archaeological evidence we cannot ascertain whether the Stumps engaged in the sort of "yard work" that

Gundaker documents. Yet her work is instructive, inviting us to reconsider the landscape evidence that did survive in the context of creolization theory (see Ferguson 1992; Szwed 1998).

In African-American as in Anglo-American traditions, boundaries assume special significance and are marked in diverse ways. Like the Buchanans' and Caziers' fences, and yet unlike them, the Stumps' fences "addresse[d]

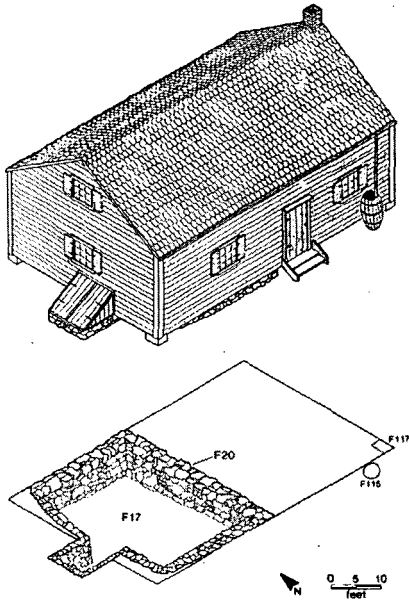


Figure 13. Based on archaeological and comparative architectural evidence, archaeologists reconstructed this image of the Stump family's house (Catts and Custer 1990: 214, figure 58). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

the world outside the fence as well as the world within" (Gundaker 1993: 71). In African-American landscapes, fences and plantings may have mediated not only human social interaction and access, but spiritual powers' access to home, yard, and self. Specific trees, fields, rocks, and other landscape elements were endowed with significance linked to points in individuals' spiritual life courses. Moreover, "wild" and "tamed" or cultivated spaces are often distinguished. Fenced and swept dirt yards and gardens like the Stumps' commonly established the contrast, and were thus richly steeped in religious meanings (Gundaker 1993: 66-67).

The cardinal directions embodied spatial symbolism and power as well—dawn-birth-east and sunset-death-rebirth-west (Gundaker 1993: 61; Izard 1991; McCoo 1998). While the Stumps' yardscape, with its well, garden, and food storage facilities east of the house on high ground and the privies downslope to the west made practical, hygienic sense, it may also have made spiritual sense.

In African-American yard dressing, iron tools represent the protective, curative powers

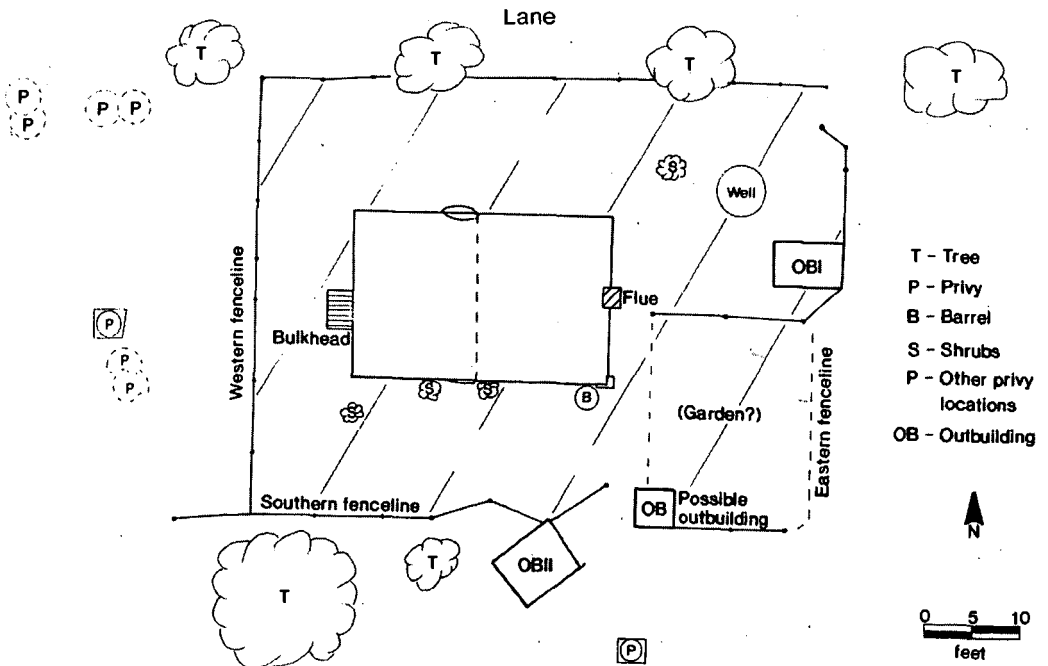


Figure 14. Archaeological evidence forms the basis for this plan of the Stump family's house and yard (Catts and Custer 1990: 219, figure 59). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

of metal (Gundaker 1993: 63). In their report on the cold storage cellar, the archaeologists described a pit within a pit. They recovered few artifacts from the features' fill, some cut nails, fragments of bottle glass, a redware sherd, and "eleven prehistoric artifacts" (Catts and Custer 1990: 125). The "most interesting artifact recovered," an iron axe head, lay on the floor of the inner pit. The field team carefully photographed and recorded the axe head in situ before removing it (FIG. 15; Catts and Custer 1990: 125). We can imagine the Stumps placing the iron axe head in the cellar to protect limited supplies of perishable foods from tainting or "pollution" by malevolent spirits because we can trace the historical associations of iron, specifically iron axes, spiritual power, and purity in African and African-American culture (Childs and Dewey 1996; McNaughton 1987, 1988; Schmidt 1996, 1997: 30–44, 210–230).

The agricultural cycle, income, gender, ethnicity, and industrial technology strongly influenced the Stumps' foodways, the most basic component of material life. Family members hunted, trapped, and fished to put a diverse array of foods on the table beside the pork and beef from livestock they raised and fruits and vegetables they grew. The Stumps' faunal collection documents the importance in their diet of nondomestic mammals such as deer, rabbit, squirrel, opossum, raccoon, fox, and muskrat; turkeys, geese, chickens, and birds; and turtles, catfish, and other fish (Catts and Custer 1990: 177–179). All these species lived close at hand, frequenting the Stumps' field, the wooded fringes of Muddy Run and its tributary, and the watercourses themselves. Moreover, their skins, feathers, and shells had uses at home and exchange values that Sidney and Rachel probably learned about as children in rural Maryland (see McDaniel 1982). This domestic economy makes sense for a family seemingly struggling to support themselves on low-paying jobs. It has a long history rooted in African-American slavery (see e.g., Armstrong 1990; Ferguson 1992; McDaniel 1982: 118; McKee 1987; Singleton 1991: 171–172). No rural European-American families living in Delaware in the later 19th and

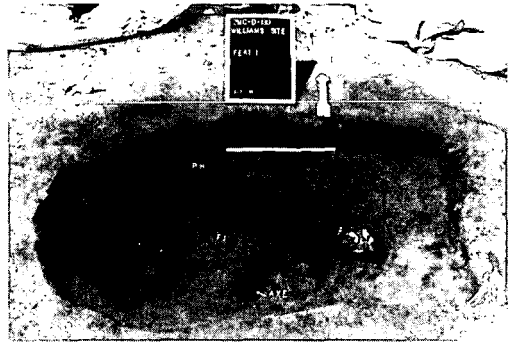


Figure 15. This photo shows the axe found in situ on the floor of the cold cellar in the Stump's yard (Catts and Custer 1990: 128, plate 12). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

early 20th centuries studied by archaeologists—tenant or owner, wealthy, middling, or poor—exploited their local environment for food in quite the same way the Stumps did (see e.g., Bachman et al. 1984; Beidleman, Catts, and Custer 1986; Coleman et al. 1983, 1984; Coleman, Catts, and Custer 1985; Grettler et al. 1991, 1995; Hoseth et al. 1990; LeeDecker et al. 1990; Scholl, Hoseth, and Gretter 1994; Taylor et al. 1987).

Rachel, her daughter Lydia, and later, Sidney's second wife, Laura, adopted industrial processes like canning to preserve home-grown foods and industrially processed and packaged baking aids and canned food. They left behind four zinc jar lid liners, five glass jar lids, eighteen Lightning and other wire enclosures, and an undetermined number of glass jars (no minimum vessel count was computed for the glass). A Seagull and two Rumford baking powder bottles, a flour sifter, and innumerable poorly preserved food tins and cans further document their food preparation practices (Catts and Custer 1990). Economy, convenience, saved time and labor, and notions of food quality and wholesomeness may all have motivated the Stump women to reconfigure learned practices of preparing food for the family.

Archaeologists also recovered more than 400 buttons and 70 other clothing fasteners and sewing items from the site. Most date from the Stumps' years on the property, and their diversity is striking (Catts and Custer 1990). The assemblage provides an important

window into the Stump women's hand sewing kits and suggests they took in sewing and probably laundry work from local households. African-American women commonly worked in others' homes as domestics or in their own homes as laundresses and seamstresses while their husbands and sons labored in others' fields (Katzman 1978: 198-199, 220-221, 271). Through such outwork, the Stump women and many others earned the cash they needed to sustain their families in the cultural style they desired.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, religion played numerous essential, intertwined roles in defining African-American life and cultural style. The acts of praising, singing, and eating together endowed African-American religious culture with great power to promote common identity, interests, and values (Baldwin 1980, 1981; DuBois 1897, 1899; McClain 1990). Dress, with its power to visually identify, differentiate, and order people, also played a central role in religious performances and, indeed, in public life in general (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991: 155; Cook 1989: 210-211; McCracken 1988; Praetzellis, Praetzellis, and Brown 1987). Since the early days of slavery, special dress reserved for Saturday night socializing, for church, and for other community events had special significance and meaning for its wearers and observers (Foster 1997; Genovese 1972: 550-561; Starke 1993: 66-74).

The button collection affirms Rachel's and Laura's intimate familiarity with the current fashions sported by the Glasgow area men and women for whom they worked as laundress-seamstresses (FIG. 16). Although we cannot distinguish buttons from the Stumps' own clothing from those used by the women in their work, other items of dress and personal adornment did not likely come to the site with neighbors' laundry and sewing. The Stump women left behind clasps from two purses, dress ornaments, and items that adorned their heads and hair (FIG. 16, nos. 3, 12, 13). Although they chose jewelry and hair accessories made of inexpensive substitutes for precious materials, we must not measure the value and significance of these objects by their cost alone. For African and African-American women, hair and head adornments have

embodied aesthetic, personal, ethnic, social, and political symbolism and style for centuries (Cordwell and Schwart 1979; Foster 1997: 248-255; Jacobson-Widding 1991; McCoo 1998; Simkins 1990). In the African-American church, hats symbolized reverence, and women beginning in their teens traditionally entered church with their heads covered (Foster 1997: 262-263; Jones and Holloman 1990: 158).

African-Americans' elaboration of distinctive styles of dress and personal adornment has a long history. Interpreting the multivalence of these styles requires the perspectives of the African-American community members and of outsiders. Special codes of appearance and dress celebrated sociability and personal and group identity, and helped mark and set special times and events apart from the daily routines of exhausting physical labor (Kerr 1990: 96-97). For some, elaborate styles of dress helped compensate for low status and a lack of prestige. For others, both within and outside the African-American community, these styles of dress were problematic sources of social tension and criticism (DuBois 1899; Vice Commission of Philadelphia 1913).

Daniel Miller (1987: 153-154) would label these items of personal adornment "consumption trivia." In the late 19th century, the accumulation and display of such consumption trivia grounded far-reaching, profound changes in American life and culture (Bronner 1989; McCracken 1988; Mullins 1999). Consumption itself became a cultural ideal, a "hegemonic" way of seeing" (Fox and Lears 1983: x). For African-American farm workers like the Stumps, brokering these changes posed special challenges because they lived between two worlds. DuBois conceived of it as a "double consciousness" (DuBois 1961: 3). We cannot know the extent to which the Stumps consciously felt this "twoness," and struggled to "live both within and outside the group" (Levine 1977: 153). We do not know how much tension was bound up in choices to harvest other people's bounty and tend to their laundry in return for minimal wages, serve raccoon meat with vegetables canned in Mason jars, wear a Sears hat pin to church, and be refused admittance to the public school. But we do know that the Stumps care-

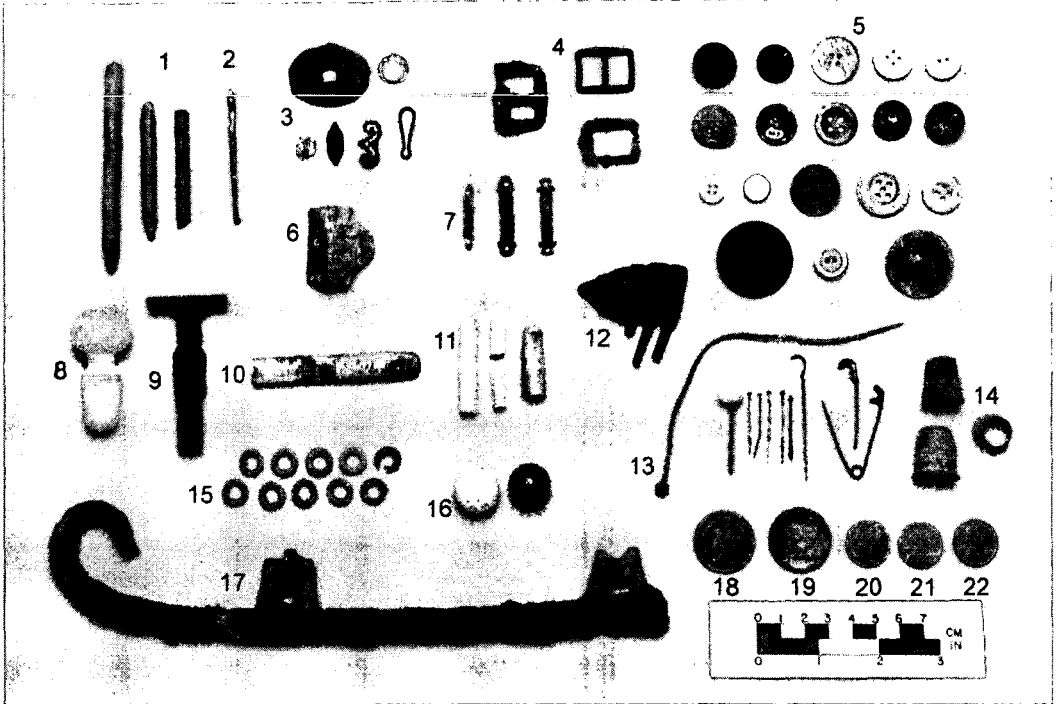


Figure 16. These artifacts numbered among those recovered from the cellar of the Stump family's house: 1) slate pencil fragments; 2) bodkin; 3) glass jewels, brooch setting, and watch fob mounting and chain clip; 4) buckles; 5) assorted bone, shell, copper, and glass buttons; 6) brass furniture lock plate; 7) brass belt loops; 8) glass cruet stopper; 9) brass gas stop cock; 10) bone toothbrush handle; 11) tobacco pipe stems; 12) celluloid hair back comb; 13) two hat pins, five straight pins, one stick pin, and two safety pins; 14) three thimbles; 15) shoelace eyelets; 16) one porcelain and one glass marble; 17) ice skate blade; 18) 1888 Canadian penny; 19) 1853 Liberty head large cent; 20) 1897 Indian head penny; 21) 1910 Lincoln head penny; 22) 1912 Lincoln head penny (Catts and Custer 1990: 170, plate 23). Collections of the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

fully incorporated the products of consumer industries into their lives "in the service" of family, religion, and identity and in the context of wage labor in a capitalist agricultural community.

Conclusions

This paper has centered on farming people, the places they made, and the meanings with which they endowed those places. Their places are statements through which they created themselves. Beginning two centuries before the Caziers moved to Mount Vernon Place, Delawareans engaged in a material dialogue that has reproduced and transformed agrarian society. Much of the dialogue centered on farming practices and the built environment of agriculture. By the mid-19th

century, these processes had intensified to remake farmers and their farms. The dialogue involved not just wealthy, successful farmers like the Caziers, who sought to reform the practice of agriculture. They addressed the "improvement" discourse to middling farmers like the Buchanans, thereby drawing them into the dialogue. And laborers like the Stumps performed much of the work that recreated Delaware farming, informed by their own agricultural knowledge and practices. Archaeological ethnographies of Delaware farms and farm laborers' residences offer multiple perspectives on the dialogue detailing owners, tenants, and workers' differential espousal, acceptance, rejection, and reworking of new ideologies and practices over time and across space. These ethnographies, placed in carefully detailed historical contexts, reveal the

workings of Delaware's "cultures of agriculture." In turn, they enrich our understanding of the forces, ideals, and events that shaped those cultures.

In the future, historical archaeologists must tell many more interconnected stories of agricultural places and people. More exhaustive attention to structural contexts and individual histories will further elucidate why folks like the Caziers invested so much in their monuments to agrarian improvement, landed gentility, and personal accomplishment; how folks like the Stumps brokered two agrarian worlds through their own material lives; and how folks like the Moffetts transformed the regional agriculture that folks like the Buchanans had themselves reinvented decades earlier.

More documentation, written, graphic, and oral is always better. We must mine all the sources available to illuminate the sites and people we study. Our challenge is to assemble the diverse fragments of information to tell the stories of the gentry, middling farmers, tenants, and laborers alike. All were essential to Delaware's agricultural society. The sites of some—whether landed elite or landless day laborer—are not inherently more significant than others. All 19th and early 20th-century agrarian sites with archaeological integrity and clear temporal contexts offer the potential to help delineate the "cultures of agriculture."

In order to realize these sites' potential, historical archaeologists must practice an archaeology of entire agricultural properties as sites. The landscapes of agricultural properties encode significant stories of farming technology, production strategies, social identity, and environmental ideologies in material, spatial form. Buildings, lanes, fence lines, drains, watercourses, tree lines, topographic features, and land use leave more or less ephemeral traces in and on the land. A landscape archaeology of agricultural properties integrates the above ground and below ground evidence. Identifying and interpreting the archaeological remains of past landscapes will often require excavation of large areas, as the archaeologists

did in these Delaware examples. Their excavation research design assigned equal significance to fence lines, trash pits, brick-lined cellars, and tree falls. The data they collected about feature form, soil type, and soil chemistry enabled us to compare and contrast these places and their people in ways that reach beyond decontextualized artifact and vessel counts.

In the future, historical archaeologists must explore new avenues of constructing archaeological data into ethnographies that elaborate and extend the insights gained from community, regional, national, and international studies. Working with our local audiences as well as our archaeological colleagues, we will better understand and appreciate the significance of 19th-century agricultural places.

Acknowledgments

I extend thanks first to Terry Klein, George Miller, and Sherene Baugher for inviting me to participate in the 1997 Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology workshop and 1998 session on the archaeology of agricultural places. All who attended and contributed their voices to the dialogue have helped me refine and revise my own ideas about the purpose and practice of historical archaeology that extends well beyond the context of the 19th and early 20th-century farm. Reviewers David Grettler and Leslie Stewart-Abemathy and editor Ann-Eliza Lewis encouraged me to clarify the murky points in my thinking and writing.

My colleagues in Delaware historical archaeology have produced model studies of 19th and early 20th-century agricultural places that have challenged us all to ask new questions, collect new kinds of data, present our findings in new ways, and explore new approaches to that bulwark of archaeological practice, comparative analysis. For the fine work on the Buchanan/Moffett, Cazier, and Stump sites upon which I rely so heavily in this paper, I especially thank those projects' archaeologists, Wade Catts, Jay Custer, David

Grettler, Angela Hoseth, Michael Scholl, and Rebecca Tinsman. Alice Guerrant, historical archaeologist for the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, contributed an essential dosage of "management reality" during preparation of the state plan for historical archaeological resources and the historic contexts for an archaeology of 19th and 20th-century agriculture that I believe enriched both documents. I thank the Delaware Department of Transportation, and archaeologist Kevin Cunningham, and the University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research, and its Director, Jay Custer, for sponsoring the archaeological investigations of the Buchanan/Moffett, Cazier, and Stump sites, and for their assistance with and permission to reproduce images from the site reports. The University of Tennessee Press will publish expanded versions of discussions in this article; I thank the Press for granting permission to publish this material here. I conclude by reminding the reader that I alone am responsible for any errors of omission or commission in the interpretations presented here.

References

- Adams, William H.
1990 *Landscape Archaeology, Landscape History, and the American Farmstead. Historical Archaeology* 24(4): 92-101.
- Armstrong, Douglas V.
1990 *The Old Village and the Great House. An Archaeological and Historical Examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Bachman, David C., Kevin W. Cunningham, Susan L. Henry, and Jay F. Custer
1984 *Preliminary Phase I and II Investigations at the Wilson-Slack Agricultural Works Complex, Newark, New Castle County, Delaware.* Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 65. Dover.
- Baldwin, Lewis V.
1980 *"Invisible" Strands in African Methodism: A History of the African Union Methodist Protestant and Union American Methodist Episcopal Churches, 1805-1980.* Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- 1981 *Festivity and Celebration: A Profile of Wilmington's Big Quarterly. Delaware History* 10(4): 197-211.
- Barron, Hal S.
1997 *Mixed Harvest: The Second Great Transformation in the Rural North, 1870-1930.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Beaudry, Mary C.
1995 *Scratching the Surface: Seven Seasons at the Spencer-Peirce-Little Farm, Newbury, Massachusetts. Northeast Historical Archaeology* 24: 19-50.
1996 *Reinventing Historical Archaeology.* In *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, ed. by Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard L. Herman, 473-497. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur.
- Beaudry, Mary C., Lauren J. Cook, and Stephen A. Mrozowski
1991 *Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse.* In *The Archaeology of Inequality*, ed. by Robert Paynter and Randall H. McGuire, 150-191. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Beidleman, D. Katharine, Wade P. Catts, and Jay F. Custer
1986 *Final Archaeological Excavations at Block 1191, Wilmington, New Castle County, Delaware.* Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 39. Dover.
- Benjamin, Walter W.
1964 *The Methodist Episcopal Church in the Postwar Era.* In *The History of American Methodism*, Vol. 2, ed. by Emory Stevens Bucke, 315-390. Abingdon Press, NY.
- Bronner, Simon J.
1989 *Object Lessons: The Work of Ethnological Museums and Collections.* In *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, 217-254. Winterthur Museum, Winterthur.
- Bushman, Richard L.
1992 *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* Vintage, NY.

- Catts, Wade P., and Jay F. Custer
 1990 *Tenant Farmers, Stone Masons, and Black Laborers: Final Archaeological Investigations of the Thomas Williams Site, Glasgow, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series, No. 86. Dover. Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, Boston.
- Childs, S. Terry, and William J. Dewey
 1996 Forging Symbolic Meaning in Zaire and Zimbabwe. In *The Culture and Technology of African Iron Production*, ed. by Peter R. Schmidt, 145-171. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Chiles, Robert E.
 1965 *Theological Transition in American Methodism: 1790-1935*. Abingdon Press, Nashville.
- Coleman, Ellis C., Wade P. Catts, and Jay F. Custer
 1985 *Intensive Archaeological Investigations of the Wilson/Slack Agricultural Works Complex, Newark, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 34. Dover.
- Coleman, Ellis C., Kevin W. Cunningham, David C. Bachman, Wade P. Catts, and Jay F. Custer
 1983 *Final Archaeological Investigations at the Robert Ferguson/Weber Homestead, Ogetown, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 16. Dover.
- Coleman, Ellis C., Kevin W. Cunningham, James O'Connor, Wade P. Catts, and Jay F. Custer
 1984 *Phase III Data Recovery Excavations at the William M. Hawthorn Site, 7NC-E-46, Christiana, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 28. Dover.
- Cooch, Francis A.
 1936 *Little Known History of Newark, Delaware, and Its Environs*. Press of Kells, Newark.
- Cook, Lauren J.
 1989 Tobacco-Related Material and the Construction of Working-Class Culture. In *The Boarding House System as a Way of Life*, ed. by Mary C. Beaudry and Stephen A. Mrozowski, 209-230. Vol. 3 of *Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills, Lowell, Massachusetts*. Cultural Resources Management Study 21. North Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, Boston.
- Cordwell, Justine M., and Ronald A. Schwart, eds.
 1979 *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*. Mouton, NY.
- De Cunzo, Lu Ann
 1996 Introduction: People, Material Culture, Context, and Culture in Historical Archaeology. In *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, ed. by Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard L. Herman, 1-18. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur.
- De Cunzo, Lu Ann, and Wade P. Catts
 1990a Building a Framework for Research: Delaware's Management Plan for Historical Archaeological Resources. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 19: 1-49.
 1990b Management Plan for Delaware's Historical Archaeological Resources. Report for the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, from University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research. Report on file at the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office.
 1996 Continuities and Transformations in Rural Delaware Society and Culture, 1800-1940: The Archaeology of Agrarian Technology, Material Life, and Landscapes. Paper for the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Cincinnati.
- De Cunzo, Lu Ann, and Ann Marie Garcia
 1992 Historic Context: The Archaeology of Agriculture and Rural Life, New Castle and Kent Counties, Delaware, 1830-1940. Report for the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, from University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research. Report on file at the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office.
- DuBois, W. E. B.
 1897 The Problem of Amusement. *The Southern Workman* 27 (September): 181-184.
 1899 *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania Series in Political Economy and Public Law, No. 14. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
 1961 *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois*. Dodd, Mead, NY.

- Ferguson, Leland
1992 *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650–1800*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Foster, Helen Bradley
1997 *"New Raiments of Self:" African American Clothing in the Antebellum South*. Berg, Oxford.
- Fox, Richard W., and T. J. Jackson Lears
1983 Introduction. In *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980*, ed. by Richard W. Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, ix–xvii. Pantheon, NY.
- Garrison, J. Ritchie
1991 *Landscape and Material Life in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1770–1860*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Genovese, Eugene D.
1972 *Roll, Jordan, Roll. The World the Slaves Made*. Vintage, NY.
- Grettlar, David J.
1990 *The Landscape of Reform: Society, Environment, and Agricultural Reform in Central Delaware, 1790–1840*. Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, Newark.
- Grettlar, David J., David C. Bachman, Jay F. Custer, and Joann Jamison
1991 *Phase I and II Archaeological Survey of Kent Road 88 (Dover to Leipsic Road) and Kent Road 337 (Persimmon Tree Lane) Realignments, and Final Archaeological Excavation at the W. Eager Site for the Delaware Route 1—Relief Corridor, Kent County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 90. Dover.
- Grettlar, David J., George L. Miller, Wade P. Catts, Angela Hoseth, and Jay W. Hodny
1995 *Marginal Farms on the Edge of Town: Data Recovery Investigations at the Moore-Taylor, Benjamin Wynn (Lewis-E), and H. Wilson-Lewis Farmsteads, Kent County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 124. Dover.
- Gundaker, Grey
1993 Tradition and Innovation in African-American Yards. *African Arts* 26(2): 58–71.
- Gundaker, Grey, ed. with assistance of Tynes Cowan
1998 *Keep Your Head to the Sky: Interpreting African American Home Ground*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Gutman, Herbert G.
1976 *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925*. Pantheon, NY.
- Halttunen, Karen
1989 *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Hancock, Harold B.
1932 *A History of the Delaware Peach Industry*. Special Collections, Morris Library, University of Delaware, Newark. Photocopy.
1947 *Agriculture in Delaware, 1789–1900*. In *Delaware: A History of the First State*, Vol. 1, ed. by H. Clay Reed, 373–389. Lewis Historical Publishing Co., NY.
1968 *The Status of the Negro in Delaware after the Civil War, 1865–1875*. *Delaware History* 15(1): 19–40.
- Herman, Bernard L.
1987 *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700–1900*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
1988 *Fences*. In *After Ratification: Material Life in Delaware, 1789–1820*, ed. by J. Ritchie Garrison, Bernard L. Herman, and Barbara McLean Ward, 7–20. Museum Studies Program, University of Delaware, Newark.
1992 *The Stolen House*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.
- Hoseth, Angela, Wade P. Catts, and Rebecca Tinsman
1994 *Status, Landscape, and Tenancy at Mount Vernon Place: Final Archaeological Investigations of the Jacob B. Cazier Tenancy Site No. 2, State Route 896, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 104. Dover.
- Hoseth, Angela, Colleen De Santis, Wade P. Catts, Ellis C. Coleman, and Jay F. Custer
1990 *Final Phase III Investigations of the A. Temple Site (7NC-D-68), Chestnut Hill Road (Route 4) Ogletown, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 81. Dover.

- Izard, Michael
 1991 *Space, Power and Human Destiny*. In *Body and Space: Symbolic Models of Unity and Division in African Cosmology Experience*, ed. by Anita Jacobson-Widding, 99-108. Almquist and Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Jacobson-Widding, Anita, ed.
 1991 *Body and Space: Symbolic Models of Unity and Division in African Cosmology Experience*. Almquist and Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Jones, Isabel, and Lillian O. Holloman
 1990 *The Role of Clothing in the African American Church*. In *African American Dress and Adornment: A Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Barbara Starke, Lillian Holloman, and Barbara Nordquist, 156-165. Kendall/Hunt, Dubuque.
- Katzman, David M.
 1978 *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Kerr, Jane Buchwald
 1990 *Dress as a Status Symbol*. In *African American Dress and Adornment: A Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Barbara Starke, Lillian Holloman, and Barbara Nordquist, 93-105. Kendall/Hunt, Dubuque.
- King, Julia A.
 1994 *Rural Landscape in the Mid-19th-Century Chesapeake*. In *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, ed. by Paul A. Shackel and Barbara J. Little, 283-299. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Klein, Terry H., George L. Miller, Mark D. Shaffer, Wade P. Catts, Mary C. Beaudry, Lu Ann De Cunzo, and Dena Doroszenko
 2001- *The Archaeology of 19th-Century*
 2002 *Farmsteads: The Results of a Workshop Held at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology*. *Northeast Historical Archaeology*.
- LeeDecker, Charles, Cheryl A. Holt, Amy Friedlander, Meta Janowitz, Marie-Lorraine Pipes, Mallory A. Gordon, Sharla C. Azizi, and Marian E. Craig
 1990 *Archaeological and Historical Investigations of Block 1184, Wilmington, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 78. Dover.
- Levine, Lawrence W.
 1977 *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. Oxford University Press, NY.
- Livesay, Harold C.
 1968 *Delaware Negroes, 1865-1915*. *Delaware History* 13(2): 87-123.
- Mayer, Anne E.
 1975 *Agriculture in New Castle County, Delaware, 1850-1880: A Geographic Comparison*. M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, Newark.
- McClain, William B.
 1990 *Come Sunday: The Liturgy of Zion*. Abingdon Press, Nashville.
- McCoo, Kelly
 1998 *An Interpretation of Late 19th and Early 20th Century African-American Material Culture in the Context of African Cultural Traditions*. Submitted to Department of Anthropology, University of Delaware.
- McCracken, Grant
 1988 *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- McDaniel, George W.
 1982 *Hearth and Home. Preserving a People's Culture*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- McKee, Larry
 1987 *Delineating Ethnicity from the Garbage of Early Virginians: The Faunal Remains from the Kingsmill Slave Quarters*. *American Archaeology* 6(1): 31-39.
- McMurry, Sally
 1988 *Families and Farmhouses in 19th-Century America: Vernacular Design and Social Change*. Oxford University Press, NY.
- McNaughton, Patrick R.
 1987 *Nyamakalaw: The Mande Bards and Blacksmiths*. *Word and Image* 3(1): 271-288.
 1988 *The Mande Blacksmiths: Knowledge, Power*

- and Art in West Africa*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Michel, Jack
1985 *The Regional Organization of Delaware Agriculture, 1849*. In collections of University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research, Newark.
- Miller, Daniel
1987 *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Mullins, Paul R.
1996 *Negotiating Industrial Capitalism: Mechanisms of Change among Agrarian Potters*. In *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, ed. by Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard L. Herman, 151–192. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur.
1999 *Race and Affluence: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer Culture*. Kluwer Academic/ Plenum, NY.
- Munroe, John A.
1957 *The Negro in Delaware*. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 56: 428–444.
1979 *History of Delaware*. University of Delaware Press, Newark.
- New Castle County, Delaware
1867 *Orphan's Court Records*, George Buchanan. Delaware State Archives, Dover.
1867 *Probate Records*, George Buchanan. Delaware State Archives, Dover.
- Orser, Charles E., Jr.
1988 *The Material Basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation: Historical Archaeology in the South Carolina Piedmont*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Osterud, Nancy G.
1993 *Gender and the Transition to Capitalism in Rural America*. *Agricultural History* 67(2): 14–29.
- Paynter, Robert, and Randall H. McGuire
1991 *The Archaeology of Inequality: Material Culture, Domination and Resistance*. In *The Archaeology of Inequality*, ed. by Robert Paynter and Randall H. McGuire, 1–27. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Praetzellis, Adrian, Mary Praetzellis, and Marley R. Brown
1987 *Artifacts as Symbols of Identity: An Example from Sacramento's Gold Rush Era Chinese Community*. In *Living in Cities: Current Research in Urban Archaeology*, ed. by Edward Staski, 38–47. Society for Historical Archaeology Special Publication Series No. 5. Ann Arbor.
- Rowntree, Lester B., and Margaret W. Conkey
1980 *Symbolism and the Cultural Landscape*. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70(4): 459–474.
- Rubertone, Patricia E.
1986 *Historical Landscapes: Archaeology of Place and Space*. *Man in the Northeast* 31: 123–138.
- Rutman, Darrett B.
1994 *By Way of Prologue: Historians' Imperatives, or An Empiricist in a Marxist Den*. In *Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History, 1600–1850*, ed. by Darrett B. Rutman with Anita H. Rutman, 3–15. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Rutman, Darrett B., with Anita H. Rutman
1994 *Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History, 1600–1850*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Scharf, J. Thomas
1888 *History of Delaware, 1609–1888*. L. J. Richards, Philadelphia.
- Schmidt, Peter R.
1996 *Reconfiguring the Barongo: Reproductive Symbolism and Reproduction among a Work Association of Iron Smelters*. In *The Culture and Technology of African Iron Production*, ed. by Peter R. Schmidt, 74–127. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
1997 *Iron Technology in East Africa*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Scholl, Michael D.
1998a *"In Delaware the Millenium Has Begun": 19th-Century Farmstead Archaeology and the Methodist Discipline*. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 27: 12–32.
1998b *Material Culture, Murder and the Methodist Discipline: An Archaeological*

- Investigation of a 19th-Century Delaware Farmstead. M.A. thesis, Temple University, Philadelphia.
- Scholl, Michael D., Angela Hoseth, and David J. Grettler
 1994 *Transportation and Agricultural Change in Central Delaware: Final Archaeological Investigations at the Buchanan-Savin Farm Site, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 106. Dover.
- Siders, Rebecca J., Bernard L. Herman, David Ames, A. Marth, Gabrielle Lanier, Margaret Watson, E. Bellingrath, Nancy Van Dolsen, L. Bashman, and Susan Chase
 1991 *Agricultural Tenancy in Central Delaware, 1770-1900+/-: A Historic Context*. Report for the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, from University of Delaware Center for Historic Architecture and Engineering.
- Simkins, Anna Atkins
 1990 *Function and Symbol in Hair and Headgear among African American Women*. In *African American Dress and Adornment: A Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Barbara Starke, Lillian Holloman, and Barbara Nordquist, 166-172. Kendall/Hunt, Dubuque.
- Singleton, Theresa A.
 1991 *The Archaeology of Slave Life*. In *Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South*, ed. by Edward Campbell and Kym Rice, 155-175. The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, and the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Starke, Barbara M.
 1993 *Nineteenth-Century African-American Dress*. In *Dress in American Culture*, ed. by Patricia Cunningham and Susan V. Lab, 66-79. Bowling Green State University Popular Press, Bowling Green.
- Szwed, John F.
 1998 *Vibrational Affinities*. In *Keep Your Head to the Sky: Interpreting African American Home Ground*, ed. by Grey Gundaker with the assistance of Tynes Cowan, 25-36. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Taylor, Randolph K., Timothy A. Thompson, Kimberly A. Snyder, and William M. Gardner
 1987 *Final Archaeological Excavations at the H. Grant Tenancy Site, New Castle County, Delaware*. Delaware Department of Transportation Archaeology Series No. 56. Dover.
- United States Bureau of Census
 1850 *Agriculture Schedules, New Castle County, Delaware*.
 1850 *Population Schedules, New Castle County, Delaware*.
 1860 *Agriculture Schedules, New Castle County, Delaware*.
 1860 *Population Schedules, New Castle County, Delaware*.
 1870 *Agriculture Schedules, New Castle County, Delaware*.
 1870 *Population Schedules, New Castle County, Delaware*.
- Upton, Dell
 1985 *White and Black Landscapes of 18th-Century Virginia*. *Places: A Quarterly Journal of Environmental Design* 2(2): 59-72.
- Vice Commission of Philadelphia
 1913 *A Report on Existing Conditions with Recommendations to the Honorable Rudolph Blankenburg, Mayor of Philadelphia*. Reprinted in *The Prostitute and the Social Reformer: Commercial Vice in the Progressive Era*, ed. by Charles Rosenberg and Carroll Smith Rosenberg, 1974, 1-97. Arno Press, NY.
- Williams, William Henry
 1984 *The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula, 1769-1820*. Scholarly Resources, Wilmington.
- Worrell, John, Myron O. Stachiw, and David M. Simmons
 1996 *Archaeology from the Ground Up*. In *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, ed. by Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard L. Herman, 35-70. Henry

Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum,
Winterthur.

LuAnn De Cunzo is an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Delaware. Her book, *People, Places, and Histories of Delaware: An Historical Archaeology of the Cultures of Agriculture*, to be published in 2003, expands on the issues raised in this article. Dr. De Cunzo's research interests include histor-

ical archaeological, material culture, landscape, and historical ethnographic studies that interpret the Middle Atlantic past.

Lu Ann De Cunzo
Department of Anthropology
University of Delaware
Newark, Delaware 19716
decunzo@udel.edu