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University of Delaware (Winterthur Program) M.A. 1983

GETTING THE COMFORTABLE FIT:

HOUSE FORMS AND FURNISHINGS IN RURAL DELAWARE, 1780-1820

By

Beth Ann Twiss-Garrity

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

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HOUSE FORMS AND FURNISHINGS IN RURAL DELAWARE, 1780-1820

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INTRODUCTION

Many students of domestic architecture have focused on houses as structures rather than as homes. Books and articles on the subject often are clinical reports of details covering every aspect from foundations to roof trusses.[1] While this type of research is necessary and important, it suffers from its narrow approach. The inhabitants who endowed the houses with meaning are not considered; the houses are not lived in. In an attempt to discover the meanings and learn about people of the past, it is necessary to look at the use as well as the design of houses. An in-depth study of both the house forms and furnishings of rural Delaware in one period of its history, 1780 to 1820, therefore, provides a method to learn about the nature of change and tradition in architecture and in society.

Architecture, by definition, is an expression of order. A building separates and bridges outside and inside; walls segregate interior spaces. The particular ways that these divisions are made describe the variety of house forms built in different places and at different times. Within this variety, a community of people in one period of history only utilizes a select set of house forms. Their choices are influenced, of course, by geography, climate, and technology, but they also are influenced by communal tradition and value systems.[2] The houses in which people live express their history and beliefs by

defining spaces in ways that create relationships. These relationships govern the domestic activities and personal interactions that may or may not occur there. They reflect deeply held notions of the occupants about the workings of the world and, in particular, the sphere of the home.

Individuals within a community come to live in one particular house form through conscious decision or by default. They may build, move, inherit, or be born into a house. As inhabitants, however, they shape the given space to fit their own needs and desires through the ways they furnish their dwellings, and, within certain economic limits, they may change houses or furnishings whenever their needs and desires alter. The personal act of furnishing, like the selection of house forms, is based upon selfconscious and unselfconscious decisions regarding aesthetics, function, and values.[3] People furnish their houses through a combination of thoughtful and articulate processes and intuitive and traditional actions. They are influenced by their background, their current place and role in the community, and their aspirations for the future. The creation of domestic spatial order, consequently, may be seen as personal expression circumscribed by the mores of the surrounding community.

Because of the communal aspect in the creation and selection of house forms and furnishings, pattern may be found in the way a group of people orders domestic space. By discovering and analyzing choices people made, it becomes possible to glimpse underlying ideas of the community about space, domesticity, and social interaction. To accomplish the task, one needs to study a group of people who do indeed form

a community and to examine a uniform corpus of data about the houses and furnishings of that group. The people who lived in rural north-central Delaware between 1780 and 1820 and the room-by-room inventories of their estates meet the criteria for such study.

North-central Delaware can be defined as the southern half of New Castle County and the northern half of Kent County.[4] A relatively flat land fractured by numerous creeks and marshes, the primary economy of the area was, and still is, agriculture. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the area was relatively homogeneous economically and socially. Not every one was the same, but everyone in the region did participate within the same system. The main cash crop was grain, and most people were involved in growing it, shipping it, or supporting those who did. The few towns in the area developed along the waterways that led to the Delaware River and served as shipping points for crops and as service centers for the rural populace. The largest town during the period, 1780 to 1820, was Duck Creek Cross Roads in Kent County, which was renamed Smyrna after 1805.[5]

The population of rural Delaware was about eighty percent white, mostly of British descent, and Protestant. Those who were politically active tended to support the Federalist party who controlled the State government during most of the forty year period covered in this study. The remaining twenty percent of the population consisted of free blacks and slaves who also were involved in the agricultural economy.[6] Someone from nearly every group of the population is represented in the seventy-six room-by-room inventories that exist for the region.[7] Documents

remain for tenant farmers and tavern-keepers, for young men and old women, for whites and blacks. Due to biases inherent in inventories, however, the sample is skewed somewhat towards the older, wealthier, and white male segments of the population. A review of how inventories were taken helps explain the situation.

When a person died intestate, that is without a will, or when there was to be a public sale of the decedent's property, the registrar of wills in the county probate court required a complete list of the moveable property and credits to the estate. The list was to serve as a true accounting of the wealth of the decedent. To obtain an inventory, the court appointed two local men as appraisers.[8] They would describe and rate all significant items in the estate. While most appraisers made one large list of all property, in nine percent of all inventories taken in southern New Castle County and northern Kent County, appraisers grouped entries by their room or building location.[9] Room-by-room inventories, consequently, provide a way to visualize the contents and furnishings of houses.

Room-by-room inventories may not be complete listings of the household goods, though, as appraisers listed only those items that belonged to the decedent or that they thought to be significant enough to be noted. Not all of the furnishings within any one house necessarily belonged to the person for whom the room-by-room inventory was being made. Some items may have been owned by a spouse, relative, or friend. The appraisers, therefore, did not credit the estate of the decedent with them. The inventories of women and tenants, in particular, usually were

not long or descriptive because these people often did not own much property. In the case of Walter Fullam, a tenant farmer in New Castle County, his household goods were listed in his landlord's inventory because the landlord owned them.[10] An inventory of a woman might only list property in a few of the rooms of the house because the male head of household--father, husband, brother, or son--legally possessed most of the furniture. Only when a woman was widowed and she had inherited all of her husband's property did she own a houseful of goods. Fortunately, at least four of the six women whose estates were inventoried room by room were in this position.[11]

Most of the room-by-room inventories in rural Delaware were made for male heads of households, and thus the documents are fairly full descriptions of the moveables in their houses. A few items may be missing or may be included in entries like "lumber" and "sundries,"[12] but these items probably were very small or insignificant. Since an inventory was for the financial resolution of an estate, what was not listed in it can assumed to have had little value culturally or monetarily. The room-by-room inventories of rural Delaware between 1780 and 1820 are special documents in that the appraisers of the region at this time were very conscientious.[13] They seem to have listed everything that a decedent owned and they described in much detail many objects of low value.

The legal definition of an inventory, however, creates biases from which even the best room-by-room inventories cannot escape. The documents were only made when a person died and when that person was

intestate. Most of the inventories, consequently, illustrate the homes of older people who happened not to have had wills. The results of advanced age on home furnishing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is not definitely known, but age could skew conclusions. Older people may follow decorating styles of twenty years earlier; they have had a lifetime to accumulate furniture. They, however, may have already dispersed many of their possessions to descendants, or furniture may be rearranged to develop a "sick room" for the ill. While these points need to be remembered in reviewing the evidence, constancy of the factor over time would allow conclusions to be made about the houses of people in a certain age bracket. In the group of seventy-six room-by-room inventories, the ages of thirty-two of the decedents could be determined. The ages fell equally within two brackets: 33-45 and 55-65. The conclusions of this paper, therefore, can be applied to the middle-age and older segments of the population in the region.

Room-by-room inventories also are biased in another way; they were made more often for wealthy decedents than poor ones. Because of changes in currency and war inflation, the period, 1780 to 1820, is a difficult one for which to make economic comparisons.[14] Using assessed wealth levels in the tax records of Duck Creek Hundred, Kent County, however, Elizabeth Moyne Homsey has developed a scale for the years 1797 and 1828 which is applicable.[15] The population can be broken into three levels of wealth: the poorest people were assessed below £99 or $264, the middle group from £100 to £499 or $265 to $1322, and wealthiest individuals were above £500 or $1323. The population was not divided

equally among the classes though. In every group of ten rural Delawareans between 1780 and 1820, six were in the lowest economic group, three were in the middle, and one was in the highest.[16]

When these statistics are compared to those about the wealth of people who were inventoried, the wealth bias of room-by-room inventories becomes apparent.[17] In all of the inventories taken between 1780 and 1820, both the general listings and the room-by-rooms, forty-three percent of them were for individuals of middling wealth. Poor people were inventoried the next most often; thirty-one percent of the inventories were for the estates of that group. Estates of wealthy individuals were inventoried the least, representing twenty percent of the sample. The disparity among the economic groups is not great, though, and the statistics seem logical as people with more property probably were more likely to write wills to insure its proper disposal.

When only the room-by-room inventories are examined, however, the statistics change drastically. Sixty-three percent of this group of inventories represented the wealthiest group of decedents. Thirty percent of the room-by-room inventories were for the middle economic group, and only seven percent were done for the poorest segment. In other words, the number of people at each economic level whose estates were inventoried room by room was in inverse proportion to the number of people in the population who were in each economic group. Also, while wealthier people were less likely to need to have their estates inventoried at all because they were predisposed to writing wills, when they did die intestate, the appraisers were more likely to take the inventory

room by room than for other decedents. Theories garnered from research on these documents obviously apply more to the people in the middle and top economic brackets of the population of rural Delaware than to those in the bottom. The existence of a few inventories for the lowest brackets, though, does allow some theses to be postulated about the ideas of domestic spatial order held by all members of the community.

To learn about these ideas, order must be made of the data contained in the seventy-six room-by-room inventories. The documents, therefore, first will be grouped by the house plans they illustrate without reference to the date of the inventory or the individuals who lived in the building. After this typology of house forms is generated, a typology of room and furnishing plans can be created. The sets of house forms and furnishing plans in the period, 1780 to 1820, should indicate the variety of spatial and social values which the residents of rural Delaware held. Once these values have been identified, then it is necessary to consider how ideas on domestic spatial order change over time. Changes in either typology, for instance, may point to alterations in the fabric of the society. By coupling the typologies with biographical data on the individuals within the community, reasons why particular people ordered domestic space in certain ways at certain times may be revealed. If, in fact, different groups of people adhered to different value systems, architectural innovation, modification, and continuity in rural Delware may begin to be explained.

TYPOLOGIES OF HOUSE FORMS AND FURNISHING PLANS

When one first reads through the room-by-room inventories, it seems as if there is no rhyme or reason to the floor plans and furnishing schemes of the houses of rural Delaware between 1780 and 1820. Houses had up to ten rooms designated by a variety of names and furnished with equal variety. To identify and interpret spatial order today, a method must be used which classifies the data in an impartial manner and allows comparisons and contrasts to be made among categories. The creation of two typologies, one of house forms and one of furnishing plans, based on the types found in inventories provides such a method.[18]

By classifying houses by their plan, the number of domestic architectural alternatives available to Delawareans in one time period becomes evident. When studied in reference to chronology, it is possible to discover what elements changed or remained the same over time.[19] The whole process is repeated to discover the set of furnishing plans from which Delawareans could choose. A typology of furnishing plans documents the possible ways in which rooms could be furnished and in which different rooms could be combined with other rooms. People in choosing particular furnishing plans for their houses were influenced by the amount of space the plan of their houses provided, their personal tastes and needs, and the dictates of their society about what houses should be. By coupling the architectural alternatives evident in the

typology of house forms to the set of furnishing plans, a fuller picture is drawn of the domestic environment where people lived. People communicated to the outside world something about the thoughts, dreams and realities of their lives through their choices of architecture and furnishings. The parallel typologies of house forms and furnishing plans, consequently, allow conclusions to be rendered not only about the physical arrangement of domestic space but also about its function and meaning.

The typology of house forms for southern New Castle County and northern Kent County from 1780 to 1820 is composed of a wide range of architectural types, from vernacular forms like the hall-parlor plan to more academic ones like the center-passage, double-pile plan.[20] While extant buildings have been used to create similar typologies in the past, the significance of a typology drawn from room-by-room inventories is exemplified by its large scope. Smaller houses, such as one- and two-room plan houses, have not survived as well or in as representative numbers as larger structures. Extrapolating from the modern landscape, it would seem that most people of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries must have lived in houses of four or more rooms.[21] Obviously, this was not true. While inventories are biased in the ways discussed earlier, they do present a wide spectrum of domestic architecture from which to draw conclusions about the lives of a whole community. The typology formed from the room-by-room inventories of rural Delaware included houses with one to five rooms on their first floor. Second stories, garrets, cellars, kitchens, and other

outbuildings were options with any of these floor plans, though certain elements were more often combined with particular plans. While the presence of auxiliary spaces could affect the furnishing plan of the house, within the typology of house forms below, they will be considered as variations of the first floor plan.[22]

Nine decedents for whom room-by-room inventories were made between 1780 and 1820 had lived in one-room plan houses. Eight of the buildings had some sort of upper story, but in six of the cases this space was simply a loft or garret. Only two houses had full second floors with the space divided into two rooms, and one had a garret above that. None of the houses had cellars, but three did have kitchens in separate buildings, a common practice in pre-1820 Delaware. Of the three houses with kitchens, two were the ones with full upper stories. These two-storied one-room houses actually had as much interior space as one-floor two-room houses.

The house type most common in the room-by-room inventories was the hall-parlor plan. These two-room dwellings accounted for nearly one-third of the documented houses. The two first floor rooms could be arranged side-by-side or front to back. While the two spatial arrangements had no effect on the furnishing plan occupants of the houses used, the presence of other spaces did. Most buildings had second floors which consisted of one large undifferentiated space or two rooms. A few buildings had three, four, or five rooms on the second floor. When hall-parlor houses had a space labeled a "garret," it appeared in the last group. Over three-quarters of the houses had separate kitchen

buildings; one-third had cellars.

One other form of two-room plan house existed: the one-room deep, side-passage plan house. The evidence for the form is physical rather than documentary. No houses could be linked to the plan based on room appellations in the room-by-room inventories, yet a few houses of the plan are extant. In fact, the house of John Cook which still stands near Smyrna was a side-passage, single-pile dwelling, but in his inventory, the appraisers labeled the rooms "parlor" and "common room" thus masking its form.[23] Despite the documentary evidence suggesting a hall-parlor plan, Cook's house must be put in a separate category. Besides space on the first floor, the house also had a full second floor and a garret. No kitchen building was inventoried.

There were as many houses with three first floor rooms as there were with two, but the three-room plan houses are divided into two groups. The primary distinction again was between those houses with one room functioning as an entry and stairhall and those houses which did not have such a room. Included in the group without a passage were hall-parlor plan buildings with an added room and houses with an original floor plan of three rooms. When there was a second floor, as there was in half of the buildings, it usually had three or four rooms. The majority of these houses had separate kitchens, and nearly one-half also had garrets and cellars.

Three-room plan houses with entries were divided into two groups: side-passage and center-passage. Three-room side-passage plan houses

were two rooms deep with the passage along the longitudinal end. The three houses which can be documented through room-by-room inventories to be of this form varied widely in features such as second floors and auxiliary spaces. Of the two houses with upper stories, one had four rooms and the other, two. These two houses also were the ones with garrets, kitchens, and cellars. The three center-passage plan houses in the inventories, however, were nearly identical. They each had a single room on either side of the passage and a second floor with three to five rooms. They all had garrets, kitchens, and cellars.

Architecturally, center-passage, double-pile plan houses may be described as larger versions of the center-passage buildings sketched above. The first floor plan consisted of two rooms on either side of the passage. The second floor mirrored the arrangement. Patterns of auxiliary domestic spaces also were consistent. The houses sat upon full cellars and nearly always were capped by garrets. Separate kitchen buildings provided additional space for domestic activities.

One other type of house with a separate entry space was the corner-passage plan house. Only four buildings could be definitely attributed to the group. The house form consisted of four rooms on the first floor; it was two rooms deep and two wide. The "entry" was actually one of the corner rooms. The second floor of the buildings had either two or three rooms. Again, most houses had separate kitchens, but only one had a garret and none had a cellar. There were two more houses which might belong in the corner-passage plan group as suggested by the naming of the rooms.[24] One had a second floor, and both had

cellars and kitchens.

Finally, there was a group of houses with four and five first floor rooms which defied description in terms of house form. Three of the six seemed to be related to the center-passage, double-pile plan as they had five first floor rooms, four on the second, and the auxiliary spaces of that plan. Because of these similarities, the houses are grouped with the center-passage, double-pile houses in the rest of the paper. The other five, however, were not of as grandiose scale having either one large upstairs space or even none at all. Auxiliary spaces often were absent too.

Typologies can be created for rooms as well as for house forms. An architectural typology of rooms might classify them by their architectural appointments, position within the house, and size. Without a doubt, patterns based on these factors could be discovered which would relate houses within and across formal typologies. In determining the values people attached to and demonstrated through domestic spatial arrangement, however, the furnishing plan of a room is at least as important as a room's architectural properties. At the simpliest level, the furnishings equal the architecture in completing a scenario because occupants could put any number of things in a room depending upon how they wished to use the space. If patterns are found in the way that a group of people furnish the rooms of their houses, though, a typology of rooms based on furnishing plans can be generated. This typology provides access to the organization of domestic activities and, more importantly, to the domestic spatial values of the group of people who

furnished their rooms according to the patterns. Once the typology is developed, it may be related to the typology of house forms to discover if all of the people who lived in one form of a house actually lived in that building the same way.

Room-by-room inventories contain the data to create a typology of rooms by furnishing plan. The lack of a set nomenclature for rooms in the houses of rural Delaware, however, hampers the process. One cannot simply develop a furnishing plan for the "parlor" in each house. While some standard room names are found in the inventories, such as parlor, common room, dining room, and chamber, all the rooms of the houses were not given socio-functionally defined names like those above. Rooms commonly were labeled for their color (e.g. blue), compass direction (e.g. east), or plan orientation (e.g. front). In order to develop a room typology, consequently, a system must be devised which concentrates on the similarities of room furnishing and use rather than on the inconsistencies of room name.

If two rooms in two different houses were furnished and used the same way, they may be perceived as equivalent, no matter what names the appraisers assigned to them. The furnishing plan of equivalent rooms can be viewed as a constellation. The constellation consists of all of the objects most often found in a room when it is used for one purpose or set of purposes. Because the constellation contains all of the furnishing choices available to householders for one type of room, not every room of the type has all of the individual furnishings, but it has enough for the adequate performance of the domestic activities

linked to the constellation. For instance, all of the parlors of houses with rooms so labeled were compared, and a common nucleus of furnishings appeared. Rooms in other houses which did not have a designated parlor then were examined. Almost universally, one room emerged as having the parlor constellation of furnishings and thus was assumed to be used as a parlor, whatever its name. While not all parlors had identical furnishings, the furnishings of all parlors were included within the defined parlor constellation.

Use of the constellation system not only presents a method for getting around a variable taxonomy but also allows comparison of rooms in different types of houses and from different time periods. Decisions people made in choosing sets of furnishing constellations for their houses were based upon their functional, aesthetic, and spatial needs. What did they want to do in the house? How did they want a room to look and feel? Depending upon how occupants answered these questions, they selected appropriate furnishing constellations. Obviously, their choices were colored by the culture and time period in which they lived and by the form of their houses. The building's size and floor plan provided a context for furnishings and family activities. Also, options viable in rural Delaware in 1780 may or may not have been suitable in 1820. Furnishing constellations once defined must be analyzed in conjunction with the typology of house forms over the forty-year period.[25]

The limited size of one-room plan houses, for instance, restricted the furnishing options available to its occupants. They had

to arrange interior space in a different manner than someone with a four-room dwelling if they wished to accommodate the same activities. One alternative would simply have been to do less in the house; some domestic activities could have been done elsewhere. If the house had a kitchen or second floor, these areas provided the additional space. Householders with a larger form of the one-room plan, consequently, could, and did, furnish their first floors in different ways from people who only had the first floor room. Distinctions must be made, therefore, between one-room plan houses with or without these spaces when describing the ways in which they were furnished. The first floor of a house without a kitchen contained a table, bed, service and cooking dishes, and case furniture (chests or cases of drawers, bureaus, bookcases, cupboards). The loft or garret had more bedding and provided storage space for textiles, agricultural tools, assorted containers such as barrels and hogsheads, and fiber processing equipment (cards, wheels, hackles, etc.[26]). The occupants of the three houses with kitchens were able to change the character of their homes by removing the cooking implements and some of the stored items, especially food and agricultural tools, to the outbuilding. Textiles and equipment for their processing, however, remained in the lofts of the houses. The downstairs rooms, consequently, were primarily sleeping, sitting, and eating areas.[27] Two of the houses with kitchens also had second stories. The upstairs were used for sleeping and storage. More items were stored in the garret above.

Despite the relatively small size of one-room plan houses, their

occupants were not necessarily the indigent of the region. Walter Fullam, a tenant of farmer and landowner Thomas Adams, was indeed poor. He did not own his "Red House" or its "sundry articles." The dwelling was supplied with "an old featherbed," "two old rush bottom chairs," "an old chest," "an old tub," "an old flaxwheel," and a pot and pail.[28] By contrast, Benjamin Wilson, another inhabitant of an one-room plan house, was one of the wealthiest individuals assessed. In his downstairs, he had similar forms of furniture to Fullam--beds, tables, and chests--but Wilson owned dining, card, and breakfast tables. He could spread a tablecloth across one of them. The room also contained two looking glasses, a desk, clothespress, corner cupboard, and trundle bedstead. More beds stood in the two rooms on the second floor along with more chairs and tables. The garret stored fiber and food stuffs, and a separate kitchen confined the fumes and heat of food preparation.

The alternatives from which householders could choose in furnishing their houses changed with the amount of space in them. As the number of rooms increased, people did not simply repeat the furnishing constellations of the one-room plan house in each room. Instead if a house had more than one first floor room, the rooms often were perceived as distinct and were used and furnished differently. In traditional eighteenth century hall-parlor houses, the hall or common room as it was called in Delaware (and as it will be referred to hereafter) was associated with workaday world activities while the parlor was reserved for entertaining and sleeping.[30] A closer examination of exactly how the common rooms and parlors of the

multiroom houses of rural Delaware were furnished, however, indicates that the situation was more complex than previous scholars have assumed. Between 1780 and 1820, more than one furnishing constellation existed for both the parlor and the common room. The decisions people made in the selection and combination of constellations presents a way to evaluate their views on household space. Interestingly, certain furnishing arrangements were chosen by the occupants of houses of particular forms,[31] but first the options from which people could choose in furnishing their parlors and common rooms must be delineated.

Throughout the period under study, the parlor was the room with the best furnishings of the house in quality, quantity, and type. Another room might have a table and dishes, but the parlor had a mahogany tea table and china. The basic furnishing constellation was at least one looking glass and table, a set of at least six chairs, a desk, service dishes, pictures, and architectural furniture (beaufat, closet, built-in cupboard). In the eighteenth century, the constellation also contained beds, clocks, tea tables, and armchairs. By the nineteenth century, case furniture, card tables, sofas, and settees had replaced them in many parlors; the constellation had altered. Window curtains, carpets, and other textiles, such as tablecloths and napkins, appeared in the room at the same time. Parlors of either form usually did not contain storage or implements for cooking, fiber processing, or agriculture.

Despite this broad group of furniture from which people could choose, the decision to place a bed in the parlor was one of the most

crucial that could be made in the furnishing of the room at this time. The best bed was a traditional parlor object from the days when the parlor was associated with sleeping and entertaining. The bed, one of the most expensive pieces of furniture in most homes, often was placed in a room where it could be seen and admired by visitors to the house.[32] Some houses in rural Delaware, especially in the nineteenth century, had parlors without beds.[33] The removal of the best bed from the parlor did not decrease the monetary value of the best bed but rather increased the room's formality. Even without the presence of one of the most expensive objects in the house, the parlor remained one of the two rooms of the house into which the most money was invested in its furnishings. Parlors without beds were often the ones with more case furniture and sofas, and they had a greater decoration of room surfaces through the addition of architectural furniture, curtains, and carpets. For the purpose of this paper, therefore, a parlor without a bed and with more of the elements of a parlor of the nineteenth century will be defined as being more "formal" than a parlor without a bed and other pieces of furniture found in the room in the eighteenth century. Though the best bed was not in a formal parlor, it was not necessarily banished to the second floor but often took up residence in the common room.

Three constellations existed for the common room in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The earliest form was the common room as work space. The room was furnished with plain tables and chairs, the second best bed, a cradle, looking glass, cupboard or chest, service dishes, and fiber processing equipment. The space often was

used for storage of textiles, food, guns, and raw products (anything which could be made into something for consumption--e.g. tallow, lard, wood, shingles, etc.). If no kitchen existed, cooking implements and agricultural tools also were kept in the common room.

As people upgraded the furniture in the parlor, the older furniture moved to the common room, thus endowing that room with a different furnishing constellation too. The upgrading of the parlor could be the result of a new fashion or a new purpose for the room. For instance, the tea table, an object which diminished in popularity in the nineteenth century, was moved from the parlor to the common room. The appearance of the best bed and the clock in the common room, on the other hand, was due to a redefinition of the use of the two rooms. A common room with the second constellation, consequently, looked like a parlor of the less formal type. It was furnished with the best bed, clock, looking glass, table with a set of six chairs, service dishes, case furniture, and architectural furniture.

The third furnishing constellation for the common room turned it into a dining room. Only two houses in the room-by-room inventories had rooms called "dining rooms." Using a system of room equivalencies, however, rooms in other houses were discovered which were furnished and used in a similar manner. A dining room had a table and a set of at least six chairs, clock, looking glass, service dishes, case furniture, architectural furniture, and carpeting. Options included silver, textiles like napkins and tablecloths, pictures, desks, and sideboards. Dining rooms rarely had window curtains, card tables, or sofas, and they

never had beds or any work implements. Though the dining room also was a formal room, it was not the same as the formal type of parlor.

Hall-parlor houses by definition had only two first floor rooms. In furnishing the spaces, occupants usually selected from the lexicon of furnishing constellations outlined above. While there was an example of nearly every possible combination, patterns or preferences did exist for the combining of parlor and common room constellations. More than half of the occupants of hall-parlor houses chose to have a parlor adapted to entertaining and sleeping. The best furniture of the house, including the best bed, was placed in this room. Though the decision did not lock the occupants into using the common room in any one fashion, most people with a parlor of this sort furnished the common room as an informal gathering, eating, and sleeping area, or in the manner of the second constellation defined for the room. All heavy work implements that were used in cooking and agriculture were relegated to the kitchen and removed from the house proper. Tools for lighter work were stored upstairs with the beds. Where there was more than one room upstairs, an attempt usually was made to reserve at least one of the rooms as sleeping/sitting room without the encumbrances of stored items. If there was a garret, storage occupied that space.

The house of William Carpenter, Senior, the wealthiest person inventoried in Saint George's Hundred in 1800, was furnished in this fashion. In his parlor, besides a bed, there were six mahogany painted chairs (i.e. grained), a desk, table, and walnut stand. Some service dishes and textiles were kept in the room, a closet providing space for

some of the storage. The common room was called a "sitting room," thus emphasizing that its constellation was not that of the workaday version of the room. The customary bed, table, chairs, and looking glass were joined by a tea table, desk, and eight-day clock. China and queensware were kept in the built-in beaufat. The room did not contain any work items. Upstairs, the larger room was furnished with a bed and table while the smaller room was chock full of things. Its bed was surrounded by, among other things, three old chairs, a number of spinning wheels, seven sickles, and a half a barrel of tar. The kitchen was reserved for cooking.[34]

Less than half of the people whose parlors possessed the best bed furnished their common room as work areas or dining rooms. The houses which had common rooms as work areas tended to be the houses without an upstairs or a kitchen, thus there was no other place to cook or store tools than in the common room. Joseph Wagner's house was typical of the group. He kept all of his cooking utensils in the "back room" along with a bed, table, set of chairs, and cupboard.[35] Only one occupant of a hall-parlor house attempted to incorporate a dining room into her house, a two-room building lofted over and with a kitchen. Mary Alston furnished her "outer room" with a desk, two tables, five chairs, and service dishes. To achieve the dining room constellation, however, she was forced to put all five of her beds in the "inner room" or parlor because she did not have sufficient space elsewhere in the house. Consequently, while Alston had a dining room in her common room, she had a parlor even less formal than some of her neighbors.[36]

About a third of the occupants of hall-parlor houses had formal parlors without beds. While all of the same furnishing options remained possible for the common room, almost all of these householders used their common rooms as living, not working, spaces, just like the householders who had their best bed in the parlor. Blacksmith Thomas James furnished his hall-parlor house in this manner. The fiber processing equipment and bulk wool and yarn were upstairs; cooking and agricultural tools were in the kitchen. His common room, consequently, was for sleeping, dressing, and perhaps eating. Dining, as part of entertaining, went on in the parlor where there were thirteen chairs and two tables, one of "wild cherrytree" and one of "black walnut." An eight-day clock and a pair of corner cupboards also stood in the room. Two maps and a large looking glass adorned the walls.[37] Two people who had formal parlors did furnish their common rooms in alternate ways by continuing to process fiber in them.

Of course, people and their behavior often defy categorization. Two occupants of hall-parlor houses do not fit in the above groups, yet their furnishing plans represent viable options for using space. Ezekiel Smith, for instance, did not differentiate between his two first floor rooms. Both contained beds, chests, and agricultural tools. While one room did have an old pine clock "that has been running for Eighty years," it also contained two old pairs of sheep shears and a half barrel measure. The loft of the house was for storage, and the kitchen, for cooking.[38] Another man, David McWhorter, used one first floor room of his hall-parlor house as a store. His "common

room," consequently, was similar to the first floor of an one-room plan house with a second floor and kitchen. It contained a bed with a trundle bed, four tables, bureau, cupboard, and eight-day clock. The chamber above was carpeted and furnished with two beds, a desk, and two pieces of case furniture. Storage was split between another second floor room and the cellar. Cooking was done exclusively in the kitchen.[39]

The additional room in three-room plan houses influenced the choices that occupants made in furnishing them. While the options remained the same as in hall-parlor dwellings, the householders' preferences differed. The majority of people with three-room plan houses had parlors outfitted for formal entertaining as opposed to the majority of the occupants of hall-parlor houses whose parlors contained beds. Both groups of people, however, tended to furnish the common room as an informal and secondary "parlor." The extra third room was usually a bedroom or storage space. Almost all three-room plan houses had kitchens.

The three-room plan houses which had beds in their parlors usually lacked a full second story. Since all sleeping had to be done on the first floor, therefore, the best bed was put in the parlor and other beds were in the common room and third first floor room. The furnishing plan of Thomas Couch's house exemplifies this sort of arrangement. Besides the best bed, his parlor was furnished with walnut and pine tables, a desk, clock, looking glass, four Windsor chairs, and five rush bottom chairs. The "west back room" was the

common room. It had the second best bed, a tea table, small looking glass, and four Windsor chairs. The "east back room" contained additional bedding and a chest full of textiles.[40] In houses with garrets, that space provided more area for storage. Cooking, spinning, and storage of bulk food and agricultural tools were relegated to the kitchen. Only one occupant of a three-room plan house, Richard Thomas, kept some work-related objects for agriculture and fiber processing in his house proper. His common room contained a check reel, saddle bags, and a set of scale and weights even though he had a kitchen.[41]

When a three-room plan house had a second floor, the best bed was moved out of the parlor. In most of the houses, the best bed took the place of the second best bed in the common room. The second best bed then moved to the third first floor room, displacing lesser beds to the upstairs. In about half of the houses, the common rooms resembled ones in the houses without second stories; they were furnished for sleeping, dressing, eating, and sitting. In the other half of the houses with formal parlors, common rooms also contained equipment for fiber processing. Tools for agriculture and cooking, however, were kept in the kitchen. The third first floor room was for sleeping and sitting, and the second floor rooms were for sleeping and the storage of textiles and odds and ends.

Two people with three-room plan houses, Manlove Emerson and John Williams, were able to accomplish what Mary Alston had not; they had enough space to make two formal entertaining rooms on their first floors. The parlors of the two houses resembled the formal parlors of

the three-room plan houses described above, but the surfaces of the parlors in these two houses were highly decorated. The walls in John William's parlor, for instance, were articulated by a built-in cupboard and accented with "Sundry pictures" and two looking glasses, one in a mahogany frame. A carpet was spread on the floor. The "common room" was actually a dining room based on its furnishings. It had a walnut table and bureau, six rush bottom chairs, two children's chairs, and a looking glass with a walnut frame. The room had a "Domestic" carpet too. The "back room" and two rooms upstairs were furnished as bedrooms. The garret contained beds, old furniture, and storage of hackled flax, a lye stand, and wheel barrow. A kitchen, cellar, food room (part of the cellar), and smokehouse provided plenty of space for food storage and preparation outside of the house proper.[42] Emerson's house was similar in over-all arrangement of furniture constellations to William's. His "common room" also was furnished as a dining room. The biggest difference between the two houses was the "nursery" in Emerson's house. Despite its name, this first floor room was filled with dishes and cooking implements, even though Emerson also had an outdoor kitchen.[43]

Oliver R. Howell had a two-story, brick, side-passage, double-pile house. The way he furnished his house was typical of the choices which four of the seven occupants of side- and center-passage houses made. An eight-day clock sat in the entry. The parlor was furnished with a settee, eight black Windsor chairs, six fancy chairs, two walnut dining tables, and an old writing desk. The walls were

adorned with pictures and a looking glass, and the floor was covered with a carpet. Howell's "back room" would have resembled a dining room if it were not for the two beds hung with curtains that were there. On the second floor were three bedrooms and a hall. Stored in the garret were a saddle and briddle, a bedstead, and some tow thread. The kitchen was for cooking, but its loft provided more space for storage, especially of fiber processing equipment. The cellar also was used for storage of food and raw products like hackled flax.[44]

Three of the seven side- and center-passage houses had other furnishing plans. Two houses did have parlors without beds, but the occupants used their common rooms in different ways. John Cook in his side-passage, single-pile house used his passage space as a formal "parlor." It had a clock, looking glass, dining and tea tables, and seventeen chairs. The "common room" was outfitted for workaday activities including cooking as there was no separate kitchen building.[45] Joshua Clayton's parlor was furnished similarly to Cook's with items for entertaining, but his common room across the "entry" of his center-passage house was a dining room. The room contained six common chairs, two armchairs, mahogany dining, card, and breakfast tables, looking glass, carpet, and a plethora of service dishes.[46] Clayton's house stood in contrast to that of John Stewart's. His parlor still contained a best bed, and his common room had three spinning wheels, a pair of cotton cards, and a pair of broken andirons as well as the dining accouterments.[47] The upstairs of all three houses were used for sleeping and storage.

The furnishing plans of center-passage, double-pile houses were even more consistent than those of the stair passage houses above. The first floor of these larger buildings had five spaces: an entry and four rooms. Each of the spaces had a distinct character; they were furnished and used in specific ways. Entries usually were furnished with clocks, case pieces, and/or chairs. One room was a formal parlor, and another, a dining room. A third room served as a bed/sitting room, sometimes with equipment for fiber processing. The fourth room might be another bedroom, a storage space, second kitchen, or have an occupationally-related purpose. In Susan Mitchell's house, the fourth room was a store; in William Nielson's, it was a barroom.[48] The second floor of the houses had four bedrooms. Garrets provided storage space, and kitchens and cellars were work areas.

The interiors of the three five-room houses whose plans were similar to those of center-passage, double-pile houses were furnished in an identical manner. The first floor of Daniel Cowgill's house, for instance, had a "parlor room," "common sitting room," "lodging room on the basement floor," "pantry," and "stair." The parlor and sitting room had formal constellations, the latter actually being a dining room. The lodging room was a bedroom, and the pantry provided space for the storage of food, service dishes, candles, and cleaning equipment like a sweeping brush. Three rooms upstairs were used as bedrooms, and the upstairs "entry" had a carpet, window curtains, chest, clothes basket, two boxes, and a sweeping brush and dust pan. Storage, food preparation, and sleeping areas for servants were in the garret,

multi-floor kitchen building, and various other outbuildings.[49] As this example illustrates, the furnishing plan reinforced the attribution made on house form.

Unfortunately, the method could not be used in all cases. No pattern in furnishing plan was evident in five other houses with four and five first floor rooms. The lack of consistency in the furnishing of the houses of this group was shared by corner-passage houses. In the number of first floor rooms, all of the houses superficially would seem similar to center-passage, double-pile houses, but in use of interior space, the two groups were not at all the same. In a center-passage, double-pile house, there was a parlor without a bed, a dining room, a downstairs bedroom, and a room acting as a work or storage space. The majority of corner-passage, four-, and five-room plan houses, however, did not follow this pattern. The combination of parlors with or without beds usually with an informal sitting/sleeping type of common room more closely resembled smaller two- and three-room plan houses. The use of the other two first floor rooms, including the corner-passage, in the four-room buildings paralleled that of the third room in three-room plan houses; each of the additional rooms provided extra space for sleeping, sitting, and some storage. Work areas for cooking and fiber processing and the storage of bulk textiles and agricultural tools and products were in the garret and kitchen. Though there were individuals, like William McMechan, who had formal parlors and dining rooms in their four-room plan houses, this furnishing plan was not the rule.[50] An increase in the number of interior spaces,

therefore, did not necessarily lead to an increase in the formality of first floor rooms or the development of a specific character for each room in the house.

The development and comparison of parallel typologies for house forms and furnishing plans indicate that the ways people decided to furnish and use their houses were the result of a number of factors. Not everyone lived in the same type of house. Whether people inherited, built, or bought their houses, architectural options existed in rural Delaware of which the residents of the area were cognizant. The majority of people between 1780 and 1820 chose the hall-parlor or three-room plan dwelling if only because they had no other choice. Yet because some of their neighbors lived in various other forms of housing, they were at least aware of distinctions.

Distinctions also existed within houses. Even all of the occupants of hall-parlor houses did not furnish their homes identically. A variety of furnishing plans were used within the dwellings of one house type. While the form of the house did not ordain the way in which occupants would furnish it, occupants of one form did hold predilections for certain furnishing plans. Obviously, the size of the house, the number of rooms, and date of occupation influenced furnishing decisions, but other factors also were involved. As seen with the four- and five-room plan houses, the plan of the rooms made a difference; center-passage, double-pile houses were furnished differently from corner-passage houses. A distinction in domestic spatial order existed. The decisions people made about house form,

furnishing, and use were an expression of their basic understanding of a house--what it was and what it did.

"THE IDEA OF HOUSE" AND DOMESTIC SPATIAL ORDER

Houses are dwellings; they provide shelter. As evidenced by the way rural Delawareans furnished their homes, houses also may provide places for eating, sleeping, social interaction, or private contemplation. To be houses, however, buildings do not have to accommodate any of these activities. The additional requirements are culturally-linked; members of the community prescribe which activities are proper for the domestic setting. Their decisions obviously influence house forms and furnishing plans. Houses both inside and outside are, in fact, the physical manifestations of ideas about the nature of housing and domestic spatial order.

The parallel typologies of house forms and furnishing plans developed from probate inventories present the data needed to uncover these communal ideas about domestic spatial order.[51] Each typology alone records the viable options from which rural Delawareans could choose in constructing, furnishing, and using their houses. The decisions they made within each category and the ways they combined house forms and furnishing plans followed certain patterns indicating their views on domestic space. These basic, usually unarticulated, assumptions about what a house was and how its spaces should be ordered constituted the occupants' "idea of house."[52]

The houses of most people in rural Delaware reflected one of three ideas of house; the ways that people differentiated the space within a dwelling was implicit, explicit, or explicit and articulate.[53] Each of these ideas of house can be linked to particular house forms where it is easiest to express certain spatial concepts because the arrangement of rooms prescribes a certain spatial order. Likewise, certain combinations of room constellations create furnishing plans that are strong expressions of one of the ideas of house. Individuals, however, could furnish any form of dwelling so that any one of the ideas was being expressed. In general, though, the way people furnished their dwellings matched the inherent ideas of order in the house form.[54]

One idea of house cogent for some people in the region was that of implicitly differentiated space. The house was thought of as a unit containing domestic activities; any differences perceived among functions were not apparent in the plan of the house but existed only in the minds of the occupants. This type of spatial order is best illustrated in one-room plan houses. In a house of this form, all domestic activities must occur in a small number of spaces--the house and perhaps an upstairs room or kitchen. In one room, the inhabitants cooked, ate, slept, entertained, and spun flax. Even in some of the larger one-room plan houses which had upstairs rooms and kitchens, the downstairs room still was used for eating, sleeping, entertaining, and storage despite the duplication of some of the activities in other spaces. The only activity which was banned from the first floor room of the larger one-room plan houses was cooking.

The multitude of activities occurring in one room might indicate a total disregard for spatial distinctions. For the inhabitants of one-room plan houses and guests, however, there may have been invisible boundaries within the one room.[55] Beds may have been on the opposite side of the room from a cooking fireplace; sleeping and eating probably took place at different times of day. The fact that those people whose houses had kitchens cooked there instead of in the house proper indicates that the inhabitants did discriminate at least among some activities. Everything that happened in the house was not just lumped into one category as "domestic" or "household," but rather the various activities were seen as distinct from one and another. Space in the house was being implicitly differentiated. The divisions and distinctions were in the minds of the occupants of the houses and the community, but the boundaries among activities were not actualized with walls or by furnishing plan.[56]

The preference of people in one-room plan houses to cook only in the kitchen where one was present points to the importance of removing that activity from the house. A kitchen, though a separate building from the house in rural Delaware, was a room of the dwelling in that it was a space for domestic activities. It was used for cooking, eating, sleeping, fiber processing, and storage, particularly of agricultural tools, food, crops, and unprocessed fibers. Any of these activities could have occurred in the house, but cooking and the storage of tools and bulk products rarely did. In fact, the larger the house was, the more likely it was to have a kitchen where these activities could be

done.[57] Cooking and the storage of certain items seem to have been considered inappropriate for the domain of the house and, therefore, were physically segregated.

Rural Delawareans' feelings on the subject stemmed from their attitudes towards cooking, agriculture, and the production of textiles. While it is impossible to explain categorically the reasons behind these opinions from a study of furnishing plans, one may postulate that such activities were seen to share an element of hard work that was inconsistent with the rest of home life. All three could be physically dirty. All three also did not have to be done by members of the wealthy class who had servants. In families without servants, food and textile production sometimes were female pursuits. Segregation of cooking and work-related objects, therefore, may have separated classes of people or classes of activities.[58] The readiness with which people utilized their kitchens as illustrated by the complete removal of certain functions to that space testifies to the social function of a separate kitchen building.[59] The kitchen was important not only because it removed cooking from the house but also because it demonstrated that the inhabitants shared certain values with other members of their community about the organization of home life.

Most of the people whose houses were inventoried room by room organized their domestic lives in more visually complex ways than the occupants of one-room plan houses discussed above. They explicitly differentiated between domestic activities by dividing functions into groups and then assigning groups to architectural spaces. The house

was viewed as a compound of disparate parts. Benjamin Wilson in his two-storied one-room plan house, for instance, cleared his first floor room of all cooking and storage, relegating the activities to the kitchen, second floor, and garret. The house form which best accommodated this idea of house, however, was the hall-parlor dwelling with a second story and kitchen. The kitchen was used for cooking and the storage of work-related items and bulk goods. Sleeping, fiber processing, and the storage of odds and ends were on the second floor of the house. The common room was for sleeping, eating, desk work, informal gathering, and perhaps fiber processing, and the parlor was furnished for dining, entertaining, and perhaps sleeping. Each space was associated with a distinct set of activities. Even though it may appear that one could sleep anywhere, a hierarchy of bedding based on its quality and economic worth caused that activity to be perceived differently in different rooms.

The explicit separation of activities into various rooms of the hall-parlor house expressed the different social functions of the room. The parlor with its furnishing constellation composed of the best quality of furniture was the room for receiving, entertaining, and dining with guests. The furnishings and architectural appointments reflected the occupants' knowledge of style and fashion, and thus people in the room could assess the occupants' education, taste, and economic and social place in the community. The parlor functioned as a public space, a space for social interaction.

The common room, on the other hand, contained furniture of lesser quality and for a greater variety of activities, especially in houses without kitchens. Even in houses where a separate kitchen existed, the common room still had furniture for sitting, eating, desk work, sleeping, and sometimes fiber processing. These activities were family affairs, and thus in comparison to the parlor, the common room was a private space. Its function was to provide a place for the family to interact with each other rather than with outsiders.[60]

The occupants of three-room plan houses without passages also explicitly differentiated space in the same ways as those with hall-parlor houses. Parlors were outfitted for social interaction and common rooms, for familial activities. The third room on the first floor was another private space for sleeping, sitting, and storage. Its presence coupled with a full second story often allowed the best bed to be removed from the parlor to the common room.

The tendency to move the best bed from public to private space in hall-parlor and three-room plan houses indicates a shift in how people viewed the bed. The bed itself did not change in form, quality, or use. It still was one of the most expensive pieces of furniture in the house, and it still was for sleeping and procreation. When the best bed was in the parlor, however, the emphasis was on its form and the activities that occurred in it as symbols of economic and familial status within the community. Families could be ranked socially on the monetary value and the fashionableness of their best bed. For the symbol to communicate this status to people beyond the immediate family,

the bed had to be in a public space where it was seen.

The removal of the best bed to the more private common room was evidence of its waning strength to perform as a symbol for the outside world. Its social function was redefined. The sustained quality of the best bed meant that it still could be used within the family to give status to the people who slept in it. Because visitors to the house did not see the bed, however, the quality of beds no longer could be used to rank families within the community. The withdrawal of the bed into the realm of the family also expressed notions about privacy for sleeping and procreation.[61] These activities now were seen as more pertinent to the continued existence of family life than to the positioning of the family in society. By placing the best bed in the common room, people physically expressed their views on community and family life and the need to separate public and private activities.

Like the first floor of two- and three-room plan houses, space on the second floors of dwellings was structured in particular ways. In general, the area was reserved for sleeping, fiber processing, and storage. An attempt was made, however, in houses with a number of second floor rooms to differentiate between them to a certain degree, keeping one room for sitting and sleeping. Where a garret also existed, the vertical division of space answered the need; stored items and fiber processing equipment were moved up to it. Any tools related to heavier work, like woodworking or farming, were removed to the kitchen.

The increase in auxiliary domestic spaces, such as garrets,

cellars, and kitchens in two- and three-room plan houses allowed the segregation of work implements and storage. Raw products did not have to enter the main floor of the house. Food stuffs were processed in the cellar and kitchen; flax and wool could be processed in the kitchen or upper areas of the house. The presence of auxiliary spaces helped individuals to explicitly differentiate domestic space by providing more of it.

The furnishing plans of center-passage, double-pile houses typify the third idea of house present in rural Delaware between 1780 and 1820, that of articulating the explicit differentiation of domestic space. With the adoption of a new form of house whose rooms had specific names and uses, the house could be perceived as a unit containing interlocking segments of daily life. The number of rooms in the plan allowed inhabitants to make distinctions among categories of domestic activities like the occupants of two- and three-room plan houses did, but in center-passage, double-pile houses, domestic activities which were isolated in the kitchens and garrets of smaller houses were brought into the house proper where all activities had assigned places. In order to accomplish this spatial arrangement, a uniform, somewhat rigid, set of rules were adopted by the occupants of the houses. Not only were activities explicitly differentiated but the differences were articulated through consistent assignment of certain activities to the same room with the same name in all houses of the form. As evidenced by the consistency of furnishing plans for center-passage, double-pile houses, the security and assurance of homogeneity was more important than

individual variation for the householder. Uniformity also was important in the house form. The relentless symmetry of the center-passage, double-pile plan was a method for holding disparate domestic functions in check.

The first floors of the houses were divided into public and private spaces. Unlike smaller houses, however, the public region was further divided into functionally specialized rooms: the entry, parlor, and dining room. The entry was a totally different space from any that existed in the two- and three-room plan houses already discussed. Like any room with an outside door, the entry served to announce the house to people on the threshold. They could get a good idea of the house form, furnishing plan, and underlying spatial organization of the house just from observing where and how they went into a dwelling.[62] To enter into an entry, however, was a different experience from entering into another room. The entry was a hall; its purpose was to facilitate the passage of persons through domestic space. It helped to encourage or prevent people from entering other rooms and acted as a buffer zone between the rooms giving a sense of privacy to even the public rooms which opened off of it.[63] An entry, therefore, made explicit the distinctions among rooms by causing occupants and visitors to transverse space to get from one room to another.

The separation of aspects of entertaining into the parlor and dining room was another example of increased specialization in room use. The parlor, which did not contain a bed, was primarily for conversing; the dining room, for dining. The spatial distinction of the two

activities paralleled an increase in the elaboration of each in manners and style.[64] Both became dramas in their own right with stages and numerous props. This development was mirrored by the economic investment people made in the rooms. As opposed to hall-parlor houses where the material wealth in the parlor was significantly more than in the common room, in center-passage, double-pile houses, the parlor and dining room were often on par and occasionally more money was invested in the dining room than in the parlor. The two rooms were fitted with mantled fireplaces, built-in cupboards, and closets. Room surfaces were further decorated with pictures, curtains, and carpets. Furniture in the two rooms was of high quality, plentiful, and specialized. Variations on the same basic form were given different names based upon their use. For instance, a table in a parlor or dining room was not just a table but a "breakfast," "card," or "dining" table.[65] The differentiation of furniture forms thus paralleled the differentiation in room use.

The private spaces of the house also were more specialized than in two- and three-room plan houses. In those houses where space was explicitly differentiated, the tendency was to put different private functions not only in different rooms but also in different architectural spaces. While familial interaction could occur anywhere, sleeping was increasingly being done on the second floor. Only the best bed remained on the first floor in many houses. Fiber processing was done in the kitchen or garret, and cooking and food preparation was in the kitchen or cellar. In center-passage, double-pile houses, work-related aspects of domestic life were brought to a more central location. On the first

floor, besides the parlor and dining room, there was a bedroom and a "work" room. In some houses, the "work" room was a bar or store which was related to the family's occupation, but in others, it became a second kitchen or place for fiber processing and storage. Consequently, by following a set of rules, occupants could unify all aspects of domestic life--social interaction, domestic upkeep, private reflection--in one structure.[66] These householders held access to both worlds: the centrality of the one-room plan and the differentiation of functions of the hall-parlor plan.

As divisions based on function were made in center-passage, double-pile houses, a lexicon of room names of equal specificity developed. One room of every house of this form, for instance, was called a "parlor," and all parlors in these houses were furnished and used similarly. While, as the development of furnishing constellations showed, every house had some room which was a public, entertaining space, not all of these rooms were called "parlors."[67] In houses where space was differentiated implicitly or explicitly, the appraisers usually focused on rooms as units in space by describing their sizes, geographic orientations, or colors. The rooms of center-passage, double-pile houses, in general, were more apt to be given socio-functionally defined names, like parlor and dining room, than the rooms of houses of any other form. Specialization in taxonomy paralleled the fact that in these dwellings all public and private activities were being broken down in small, distinct categories. Because a system of naming reflects the system of order the namer wishes to convey,

appraisers through room names were verbalizing the underlying conceptions of space evident in each house.[68] The uniformity with which appraisers labeled rooms in the large passage plan houses indicated that the set of rules inherent to the house form encompassed the way people spoke and thought about the house as well as the way they built and furnished it.[69]

The three ideas of house that were expressed by most of the houses inventoried room by room represented the values which the occupants had about space and home. The ways in which they divided activities into public and private, work and non-work related areas signified their views on the relationship of different aspects of domestic life to one another. For a person who differentiated house space implicitly, wholeness was of overriding importance. It was alright to sleep where one ate and spun because all three activities were home-related. Most people in rural Delaware, though, valued heterogeneity over homogeneity. They perceived distinctions among domestic activities and made these differences concrete with walls. People who explicitly differentiated space in their houses were content to segment their lives by spreading activities out--figuratively and literally. A few individuals, however, sought to differentiate among functions and yet retain a sense of wholeness for the domestic sphere. To accomplish this task, they adopted a system of house form and furnishing which was based upon a rigid set of rules which architecturally and linguistically articulated the differences they saw in domestic activities. This system of spatial organization, in turn, was borrowed from an

international architectural vocabulary. Other rural Delawareans were not satisfied with this solution or any of the formulas for domestic spatial order expressed by the three ideas of house. For a variety of reasons, they preferred to couple the house form of one idea of house to the furnishing plan of another.

Some people, for instance, had ideas about domestic spatial order which they could not express adequately within the framework of their houses. The size and form of their dwelling severely limited what they could do. In an one-story one-room plan house, it was impossible to explicitly differentiate among activities. A house had to have two or more rooms before people could begin to divide activities into separate spaces. Likewise, it was impossible to recombine all domestic activities into one building and yet keep them separate as was done in houses of articulated and explicitly differentiated space unless one had a house with several rooms. Manlove Emerson's three-room plan house was the smallest house in which activities were ordered this way. On his first floor, he used the three rooms as a parlor, dining room, and kitchen.

Just because some people had large houses, however, did not mean that they differentiated the spaces in an explicit and articulate manner. Ezekiel Smith, for instance, furnished both downstairs rooms of his hall-parlor house the same way. They both were multi-purpose areas for sleeping, sitting, and storage; differentiation among activities was implicit. There were people like Cornelius Kettle who had four or five first floor rooms and yet who did not take advantage of the extra space

to unify all activities under one roof. Kettle had a "parlor" which was furnished like a dining room and three other first floor rooms which were equipped for sleeping and entertaining. Spinning and storage were upstairs. Cooking and food preparation were in the outhouses and the cellar.[70] In furnishing plan, consequently, his house resembled a hall-parlor plan house more than a center-passage, double-pile plan one.

The houses most difficult to categorize were the corner-passage, side-passage, and center-passage, single-pile houses. The parlors and common rooms of these houses tended to be furnished similarly to those of two- and three-room plan houses. John Hyatt's center-passage house, for example, had a very formal parlor with a marble mantlepiece ornament and a carpet and a common room with the best bed of the house and older furniture.[71] The third room in the corner-passage houses was a sleeping and storage area, and work-related activities in all of these stair passage houses were in the kitchens, garrets, and cellars. The houses, consequently, had all of the attributes of ones in which space was explicitly differentiated. The presence of entries did not change the idea of house. These spaces like their equivalents in center-passage, double-pile houses served as buffer zones between rooms and only made the separation of activities more explicit. The furnishing plans of the rooms adjacent to the entry rather than the entry itself were the significant factors in classifying the houses according to spatial organization.

House forms when linked to furnishing plans, therefore, do present a method for understanding the underlying concepts of domestic

spatial order held by the occupants of the houses. While certain methods of differentiating space were closely associated with particular house forms, people could furnish their homes in whatever way they desired to best reflect their own values. The ways that people accomplished a furnishing plan within a house of a form not usually associated with that plan indicated the strength of their convictions about how space should be ordered. It also forced the theory of "idea of house" to take all facts into account. The anomalies within a community were still part of the society. Though almost all of the houses which were inventoried room by room ultimately were found to be expressions of one of the three basic ideas of house, other explanations may be found for why some people held ideas about domestic spatial order that were not as popular or why others felt the need to combine house forms and furnishing plans in unique ways.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN ARCHITECTURE AND IDEAS ON DOMESTIC SPACE

The typologies of house forms and furnishing plans which have been developed in this study have largely ignored the question of time. The period under study, however, was forty years long. During that period, the architectural landscape and the economic structure of rural Delaware was in transition. To find answers to the question of why people adopted certain ideas about domestic spatial order, it is necessary to put the dual typologies within the framework of chronology.[72]

As illustrated by the room-by-room inventories of rural Delaware, inhabitants of the region had a variety of architectural options from which to choose in the building of their houses. One-, two-, and three-room plan houses had been built in Delaware from the time of English settlement in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Plans which incorporated passages began to appear in the 1740's. By the 1780's, people could choose to build side-, center-, or corner-passage buildings as well as the earlier house forms. The first center-passage, double-pile house still extant was built by William Corbit in Odessa, New Castle County, in 1774.[73] Despite the existence of new house forms in the period, 1780 to 1820, the majority of rural Delawareans continued to live in dwellings of older vernacular forms. Nearly two-thirds of the houses documented in the inventories

were of two- and three-room plans.[74]

The predisposition towards certain traditional forms of architecture implies that the occupants of these houses were comfortable with the forms. Two- and three-room plan houses could be furnished and inhabited in ways that well reflected their beliefs and values. Because the houses met their spatial needs and requirements by providing enough architectural areas for the segregation of activities they thought of as distinct, these people apparently felt little need for larger houses which allowed the central organization of all domestic activities in one building. The results of that arrangement were not important to them. As long as domestic activities were explicitly differentiated, they were content. The insertion of a stair passage into the plan of their houses would not have been of benefit either. They did not value the increased privacy passages gave to adjoining rooms, and the walls of their dwellings provided adequate boundaries between activities without the obvious spatial separation of an entry. In light of strong communal tradition, one wonders what caused a few individuals to hold alternate ideas of house and some to build houses with passages. What different spatial values did these people have that made them members of the minority?

One segment of the minority was people living on one-room plan houses.[75] The form of their houses had been an architectural option for rural Delawareans throughout the eighteenth century along with two- and three-room plans. By 1780, most people who lived in one-room plan houses were poor or at best middle class.[76] Only one of them, Benjamin

Wilson who died in 1802, was in the upper class of wealth levels as based upon tax records. His house, as stated earlier, was one of the larger dwellings of this form and was furnished in a manner somewhat resembling a hall-parlor house. The majority of residents of one-room plan houses were tenant farmers and tradesmen. Of the latter group, three were documented as being carpenters and one was a blacksmith. Two of the nine decedents were free blacks. None of these householders owned any plate nor were any taxed for real property, not even Wilson. Economics then would seem to have influenced their breadth of vision and narrowed their choices concerning domestic space.[77] Their world, economically and architecturally, was a small one. Its limited dimensions cast a halo of wholeness and interconnection to all aspects of domestic life which can be seen in the lack of necessity to explicitly differentiate among the various parts.

At the other extreme of the economic scale were six people of considerable means who inhabited center-passage, double-pile houses where the explicit differentiation of space was articulated with rules concerning house form and use.[78] These individuals were some of the wealthiest whose estates were inventoried room by room. They were mainly of the commercial class: two ran taverns, two, including one of the innkeepers, had stores, and one was a commercial grain shipper. These people had constant contact with the world beyond rural Delaware. All owned plate and four owned slaves. At least four of the six houses were brick structures. As evidenced by supplementary data, these householders were extremely different from those with one-room plan dwellings;

as evidenced by their houses, they also were very different from most of the rural populace. They ordered their lives, at least their domestic lives, in a special way. They were able to have rooms that were use-specific and at the same time recombine nearly all aspects of daily living under one roof. The key to such an arrangement did not seem to be just the addition of more interior space but also the use of a rigidly symmetrical architectural plan. Both furnishing plan and house form set the occupants of center-passage, double-pile houses apart from the surrounding society. In fact, between 1780 and 1820, these people were a distinct economic and social group in Delaware for many reasons.

During this period, the economy of the region experienced severe strains which caused both an immediate depression and an eventual transformation.[79] In the eighteenth century, the economy was centered around grain production and exportation. Rural Delawareans not only provided foodstuffs for the Philadelphia region but they also shipped their produce to other American and European ports. Because of the development of the Delaware Bay, other farmers on the Delmarva Peninsula also exported their agricultural goods through the ports of central Delaware. By late in the century, however, intensive farming had led to soil exhaustion resulting in crop failure in the 1810's. The American Revolution and the War of 1812 exacerbated these economic problems by disrupting trading patterns. Demand for Delaware's products shrank as many of the outlets which Delawareans had sought were closed to them. The growth of Baltimore meanwhile siphoned off some of the agricultural supply upon which Delaware merchants relied. Until

Delawareans developed new crops and improved their methods of agriculture in the mid-nineteenth century, the result was increasing poverty for much of the rural population.

Throughout the decline, the established landed upper-class did manage to remain afloat. These people were the ones with the money to experiment with new agricultural methods and eventually to turn things around. During the depressed period, they consolidated their wealth by buying out smaller farmers. When tenant farming proved to be more efficient than slave-worked farming, the slide of the middle income level into the lower class accelerated as free blacks and new white tenant farmers competed for the same work.[80] Consequently, a dichotomous society of extreme wealth and extreme poverty developed.

In the changing economic scene, the commercial class had to fight to establish a position for itself. Their world markets virtually disappeared with the collapse of grain exportation. The rise of industrial and populous cities, like Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore, did provide expanded markets on the regional level, but with a decrease in capital, regional and local markets were strained. Nonetheless, the result of economic turmoil for the commercial class was to attempt to build local and regional markets to remain solvent. For merchants and tavern-owners accustomed to wider horizons, the move was one of internalization. They had to center and intensify their activities around a smaller nucleus. As they would now be in more direct competition with the landed upper-class for status, they needed to aggressively create a place for themselves in the local society.

This metaphor of internalization not only characterized the economic circumstances of the commercial class but it also described its new center-passage, double-pile houses. Articulate and explicit differentiation of space was a method for attempting to internalize all domestic functions within one building. In order to accomplish this spatial arrangement, occupants were forced to furnish their houses in a different way from their neighbors who lived in two- and three-room plan houses. While these people grouped domestic activities by function and then assigned each group to a space, the occupants of center-passage, double-pile houses broke domestic activities down into their smallest common denominator. Each room with its specific kinds of furniture had a specialized purpose and a distinct name. To further separate spaces and provide a passageway from activity zone to activity zone, an entry formed the spine of the first and second floors. Someone entering the house could not help but be aware that life was different here. The inhabitants communicated that message through the way they furnished and used their dwelling.

Striking differences in the house form as well as the furnishing plan of center-passage, double-pile houses also served as a device for the social separation and distinction of the occupants from their neighbors. The rigid symmetry of the facade and plan reflected the reliance on rules, logic, and externally expressed order that made the arrangement of interior space possible. To build such a house, however, the occupants had to borrow an architectural model from an international vocabulary. In choosing this house form, people assumed a distinct

identity within the traditional, agricultural community. The imported form of the houses of the commercial class reminded the community of the commercial class's old connection with the outside world even within the local context. Inside and outside, center-passage, double-pile houses provided their occupants with a symbol of their emergence into the local economic scene and with new social status to replace what they had lost as their interactions with the broader world diminished.[81]

Though the commercial class was introducing new ideas about domestic spatial order, many of the wealthy landowners who shared their economic status continued to live in traditional vernacular houses.[82] Any need to show class distinctions through architecture was fulfilled through better materials and furnishings.[83] They had brick hall-parlor houses and porcelain dishes, for instance, but they organized their two-room plan houses the same way a blacksmith or tenant farmer would. The landowner and tradesman shared the same idea of house. Economic means rather than differences in value systems separated them. Qualitative distinction as a symbol of their status had been enough in the relative stability of society in the mid-eighteenth century.

In the late eighteenth century, however, when the economic situation began to change, the social structure also altered. Individuals of middle income either sank to the lower class or struggled to work their way into the upper class. Competition increased, consequently, among wealthy individuals for social and economic rank. The commercial class was pitted against the landed upper-class for local

status, power, and wealth. Through the building and furnishing of their center-passage, double-pile houses which were visually and functionally distinct from those of the landowners, the commercial class expressed their peculiar beliefs and aspirations. By so doing, however, they also introduced new ideas into a community which as it underwent social and economic changes was open to new solutions to old problems.

The occupants of side-, center-, and corner-passage houses also formed a minority within the general population based upon their form of housing. Their houses may have had only two or three rooms and these rooms may have been furnished and used like the rooms of two- and three-room plan dwellings, but their houses were not of the traditional form. The insertion of the stair passage marked the houses as distinct. Of the thirteen houses of these forms inventoried room by room between 1780 and 1820, eleven were inhabited by very wealthy families.[84] One was a doctor, and another, a storekeeper. Seven were taxed for real property, and three were known to have had tenants. On the whole, the occupants of these stair passage houses were part of the landed upper-class.

The houses they inhabited were an interesting blend of old and new ideas about domestic spatial order. In house form, the dwellings were associated with center-passage, double-pile houses. Their plan contained a passage and, in side-passage and center passage, single-pile houses, a sense of symmetry. Inside, however, the occupants made no attempt to differentiate space in a way consistent

with their new forms of housing. Rooms were not any more specialized in use or name than those of two- and three-room plan houses. The existence of the passage, though, did indicate that the occupants of these stair passage houses knew of new spatial ideas and architectural forms. Visitors approaching the house and entering its public rooms--the entry and the parlor--could be impressed by the display of familiarity with latest fashion. They, however, could not discern if the private areas of the house were organized around principles of functional groupings or functional specialization.[85] Occupants of stair passage house had found a way to accept change and yet keep that part of tradition with which they were most comfortable.

The economic turmoil in rural Delaware between 1780 and 1820 helped to bring about architectural change in that region by altering the social order. While all of the house forms lived in during the period existed in the region prior to 1780, people's preferences began to change in the early nineteenth century. Almost all of the inventories of stair passage houses date from that time.[86] Part of the reason for the acceptance of new house forms was the social and economic competition between the commercial class and landowners. As the commercial class was forced to rely more upon its native community, its housing became more expressive of its special position in society. Its distinct ideas about domestic spatial order were reflected in the form and the furnishings of its dwellings. Other rural Delawareans were influenced by these ideas and sought to demonstrate it through refurnishing their houses or building new ones. They rarely, however,

accepted the whole idea of house that a center-passage, double-pile house represented. Instead their houses were a synthesis of old values and new ideas.

CONCLUSION

The houses of rural Delaware were homes to their inhabitants. People furnished them in ways that allowed them to do whatever they felt was necessary to do in a house. They were comfortable there--at least psychologically--because their houses were the part of the world they ordered. What houses looked like inside, if not outside, was a reflection of the occupants' tastes, needs, and desires. Their houses expressed their ideas on domestic spatial order and their values about the home and the activities that occurred within.

The only way today to discover the ideas and values of past peoples about their homes is through careful analysis of documents and artifacts. In trying to study the house as a whole with furnishings in place, room-by-room inventories provide the most complete information. This corpus of data for north-central Delaware in the years 1780 to 1820 described the houses of seventy-six individuals. Their differing ages, levels of wealth, and roles in the community make the group representative of the society, although skewed towards white middle- and upper-class males. Through understanding the manner in which people furnished and used their houses, it becomes possible to learn how the architectural landscape of rural Delaware changed around the turn of the nineteenth century.

The parallel typologies of house forms and furnishing plans developed from the inventories are a way to classify the data in order to find similarities in the ways the houses and rooms were used and perceived by their inhabitants. People chose constellations of furnishings for each room in their houses based upon the activities that were to occur there. The resulting furnishing plan constituted a method for occupants to tailor a house of set form to their own needs. Though furnishing plans were an expression of an individual's decisions, they were influenced by community expectations and definitions of what composed a house. For instance, despite all the variety of furnishing plans and house forms, certain plans were most often linked to particular forms. The coupling of furnishing plans and house forms points to underlying structures about domestic spatial order, or ideas of houses. In rural Delaware from 1780 to 1820, the way that most people furnished their houses reflected one of three basic ideas.

The majority of householders lived in two- and three-room plan houses and were interested in separating domestic activities which they viewed as unlike. Their judgements about the relationships among functions led them to choose furnishing constellations which segregated public activities from private ones, work-related tasks from entertaining. As the various placements of the best bed of the house illustrated, different people defined these categories in alternate ways, but they all desired to explicitly differentiate among kinds of functions. Throughout the late eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth, this idea of house was cogent for people from all parts of the

community. Wealthy as well as poor people continued to dwell in two- and three-room plan houses in much the same manner. Only degrees of quality distinguished one from another.

Some of the very poor and very rich did furnish their homes alternately. In fact, the forms of their houses varied too. Some of the members of the lower economic class lived in one-room plan houses. Their idea of house reinforced by the physical size limitations of the dwelling made it unnecessary for these people to separate activities visually. Most activities within the house shared the characteristic of domesticity and, therefore, could share space. Any further ordering did not need to be spelled out but could exist in the placement of furniture around the room or in the minds of the occupants. The only activity which seemed as inappropriate to the realm of the house to the occupants of one-room plan dwellings as to those of two or more rooms was cooking. Separate kitchen buildings were erected whenever possible. For most rural Delawareans, the preservation of domestic spatial order was premised upon the segregation of food preparation from other domestic activities.

A person's desire to organize all domestic functions, even cooking, under one roof also indicated a change in how they perceived the house. Rather than viewing it as a compound of disparate parts, the house was visualized as an unit with interlocking parts. All activities could exist in one building if each room had a special purpose, name, place, and physical relationship to the others. Most people who ordered their houses in this way, therefore, adopted a new form of house which

accommodated these requirements. The center-passage, double-pile house with its passage and self-conscious rules for the ordering of space provided its inhabitants with a house form that not only allowed explicit differentiation among domestic activities but also helped them articulate the distinctions.

The introduction and spread of the center-passage, double-pile plan can be attributed largely to the commercial class who inhabited them. In the economic turmoil of the forty years from 1780 to 1820, this group sought to establish itself as a local social and economic force. The houses of its members and the way they were furnished were a visible sign of the distinctiveness of the commercial class, their world view, and their attempt to create a position for themselves in a conservative, but changing society.

Social and economic changes within the community as a whole were reflected by the houses and the ideas about domestic spatial order of other Delawareans too. People responded with their own individual solutions to problems of fashion, status, order, and domesticity. Individuals who mixed the furnishing plans and house forms of different ideas of house, for instance, were synthesizing those parts of different value systems that they could accept. Perhaps a family could not afford to build a new house, but they could refurnish their rooms. Though the arrangement might cause internal stress in the house due to its form, the expression of certain values from a different idea of house was more important for them. Another way to partially adopt a new idea of house was to build a house of one form but to furnish it in a way that usually

was not associated with that form. In this case, the facade would present passers-by with one image of domestic spatial order, but inside the occupants could live in whatever manner was most comfortable for them. Many wealthy landowners who had the money and the motive to build new fashionable houses opted for this choice when they constructed side-, corner-, and center-passage houses and then furnished them as if the house had only a parlor and common room.

Houses which did not fit neatly into formulas linking the typologies of house forms and furnishing plans with theories of the idea of house illustrated how rural Delawareans were trying to cope with change. Because the domestic spatial order evident in the furnishing and form of a house was a reflection of deeply held notions about what a house should be, it was not easy to adopt a whole new form of house and its accompanying organization of furniture. To begin to separate activities by walls when one was accustomed to having everything in one room or to decide to store food in the back room when one had always kept it out in the kitchen, people had to think about as well as use space differently. In order to effect change, their values about domestic space and life in general had to alter. Instead of prizing wholeness, they had to desire privacy; instead of segregating disparate parts of home life, they had to find new spatial methods for placing all activities in one building.

Because the rate at which people accepted new values was based on each individual's desires, needs, and capacity for change, the introduction of a new style or ideology for housing did not mean the

architectural landscape changed immediately or even within a relatively short period of time. For most people in rural Delaware in the late eighteenth century, nothing had happened within their community during the century to alter their ideas about domestic space. But as the nineteenth century dawned, some rural Delawareans found themselves having to adapt to new social and economic pressures. Their ideas about what a house should be and how it should look slowly changed as their ideas about life changed. Consequently, when they furnished their homes, they sought to do so in ways that would mediate between the old comfortable order and the new architecture.

NOTES

[1]This statement is not intended to diminish such works for the authors had a different purpose, but I do want to note the alternate perspective taken here. Examples of scholarship which concentrate on design are: Pierce Lewis, "Common Houses, Cultural Spoor," Landscape, XIX (1975), 1-22. and Eric Mercer, English Vernacular Architecture (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975).

[2]Amos Rapoport, House Form and Culture (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1969), p. 25.

[3]The terms, selfconscious and unselfconscious, are borrowed from Christopher Alexander, Notes on the Synthesis of Form (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 46-59.

[4]The region specifically includes the Hundreds of Appoquinimink, Pencader, Red Lion, and Saint George's in New Castle County and Little Creek and Duck Creek in Kent County. General history from: John Munroe, Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954).

[5]The town is called Smyrna in the United States Census of 1810, Delaware State Archives (Referred to as "D.S.A." hereafter.), Dover, Delaware.

[6]Munroe, Federalist Delaware. Population percentages based on the 1790 United States Census in: Leon DeValinger, Reconstructed 1790 Census of Delaware (Washington, D.C.: Geneological Publication of the National Geneological Society, 1954), p. 2.

[7]Between 1780 and 1820, there were a total of eighty-one inventories which distinguished house contents by room location. Five of them, however, do so by numbering the rooms without reference to floor and therefore were unsuitable for this study. For biographical information on the people for whom the eighty-one inventories were made, see "Appendix A: Biographical Data on Individuals Whose Estates Were Inventoried Room By Room in Rural Delaware, 1780-1820."

[8]No pattern was found in the selection of appraisers who made room-by-room inventories. In the eighty-one inventories, very few were made by the same appraisers.

[9]In New Castle County, eight percent of all inventories were room-by-rooms (52 of 674), and in Kent County, eleven percent were

(28 of 244).

[10]New Castle County Probate Records, Thomas Adams, 1790, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[11]Women are denoted on chart in Appendix A. Though Mary Caulk and Margaret Kennady were probably widows, the seeming incompleteness of their inventories indicates that they probably did not inherit all of their husbands' goods or that they were living in a house owned by someone else. When Margaret Kennady's inventory which seems to portray a three-room plan house is compared to her husband David's of a corner-passage plan house, one sees that if she was living in the same house, she did not own property in every room.

[12]"Lumber" is roughly equivalent to today's word "junk." It is old stuff put away in storage. "Sundries" are generally small things, any one of which does not have great monetary value.

[13]After about 1830, the room-by-room inventories of rural Delaware decline in specificity of listings. Instead of entering each furnishing in a room separately, the room will be described as "the contents of parlor," etc. Inventories from the early and mid-eighteenth century tend to be general listings. From a reading of all the inventories of New Castle and Kent Counties, 1680-1920, I surmise that different areas have "peak times" for room-by-room inventories. I further hypothesize that the predilection of a region for room-by-room inventories parallels its concern for explicitly differentiating space (as defined later in this paper). During this period, people are most interested in differences. Earlier, similarities were emphasized more, thus general inventories. All rooms of a house are in a house. Later, the specialization of room use means that by just mentioning the name of a room, it is assumed one would know what furnishings were in it. Between 1780 and 1820, however, room names were idiosyncratic and did not indicate the uses of rooms. Yet because it was important to stress the differences among rooms, all furnishings had to be listed.

[14]Based on the evidence in inventories, the people of rural Delaware did not change currencies from the pound to the dollar at any one date. In general, dollars were used mostly after 1800. The extreme inflation of the Revolutionary War can be seen in two inventories (New Castle County Probate Records, Thomas James, 1780 and David John, 1781, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.) where the appraisers note that the values are forty times their pre-War rate.

[15]Elizabeth Moyne Homsey, "Free Blacks in Kent County, Delaware, 1790-1830" in "Community Studies in the Mid-Atlantic," The Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center, III (Spring, 1979), p. 53, note 44 and p. 54, note 54. The conversion rate she uses, $2.67 equals £1.0.0, matches those in inventories which were done using both currency systems.

[16]Ibid., p. 40 and New Castle County Tax Assessment Records, Appoquinimink Hundred, 1804 and 1816, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[17]See "Appendix B: Breakdown by Economic Level of Persons Taxed and Inventoried in Rural Delaware, 1780-1820."

[18]The use of typologies comes from the structuralist method of interpretation of data. For summary of method, see: Michael Lane, ed., Introduction to Structuralism (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Pub., 1970), pp. 11-35.

[19]In this paper, the passage of time is marked by the chronology of the inventories. Houses as seen through inventories are static, that is, the documents record finished buildings. No distinction, therefore, will be made here between houses built in one campaign and houses built in stages. Structures are categorized by their form at the time of death of the decedents.

[20]Center-passage, double-pile plan houses have often been referred to as "Georgian houses." For the sake of clarity, however, in this paper, house forms will be labeled by structural or room-specific names rather than by art historical terms.

[21]A good example of the point is the fact that most of the houses in this study no longer are standing. One outstanding exception is the William Corbit House in Odessa, New Castle County, a center-passage, double-pile plan house.

[22]See "Appendix C: Typology of House Forms in Rural Delaware, 1780-1820" and "Appendix D: Schematic Drawings of House Forms."

[23]Kent County Probate Records, John Cook, 1790, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware. Cook was governor of Delaware in 1783. (Munroe, Federalist Delaware, p. 265.)

[24]An example is the inventory of Robert Porter. The rooms on the first floor were called "middle," "east," "small east, south end," and "end, south end." New Castle County Probate Records, Robert Porter, 1797, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[25]See "Appendix E: Room Constellations."

[26]"Fiber processing equipment" refers to anything used to transform raw fibers into thread. It does not include looms as weaving was a professional job and therefore not done in most homes.

[27]This type of downstairs room resembles an informal parlor in a hall-parlor plan house.

[28]New Castle County Probate Records, Thomas Adams, 1790, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[29]New Castle County Probate Records, Benjamin Wilson, 1802, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[30]Jack Michel, "'In a Manner and Fashion Suitable to Their Degree:' A Preliminary Investigation of the Material Culture of Early Rural Pennsylvania," The Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center, V (1981), 34.

[31]See "Appendix F: Furnishing Plans of Parlors and Common Rooms Delineated by House Form."

[32]Michel, "'In a Manner and Fashion Suitable to Their Degree,'" Working Papers, V (1981), 35.

[33]The date at which the best beds disappeared from parlors varies with geographic region. In Wilmington between 1780 and 1820, for instance, beds were not in the parlors of any houses inventoried room by room. (New Castle County Probate Records, 1780-1820, D.S.A.) In New England, the change mostly was completed by the American Revolution. (Abbott Lowell Cummings, Rural Household Inventories Establishing the Names, Uses, and Furnishings of Rooms in the Colonial New England Homes, 1675-1775 (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1969), pp. xxi-xxii.)

[34]New Castle County Probate Records, William Carpenter, 1800, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[35]New Castle County Probate Records, Joseph Wagner, 1815, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[36]Kent County Probate Records, Mary Alston, 1804, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[37]New Castle County Probate Records, Thomas James, 1780, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[38]Kent County Probate Records, Ezekiel Smith, 1802, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[39]New Castle County Probate Records, David McWhorter, 1810, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[40]New Castle County Probate Records, Thomas Couch, 1785, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[41]New Castle County Probate Records, Richard Thomas, 1780, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[42]Kent County Probate Records, John Williams, 1815, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[43]Kent County Probate Records, Manlove Emerson, 1803, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware. In the seventy-six inventories, two houses had "nurseries," this one and one in the house of Susan F. Mitchell (Kent County Probate Records, 1803, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware). The two rooms, however, were used differently; Emerson's was a kitchen and Mitchell's was a bedroom.

[44]New Castle County Probate Records, Oliver R. Howell, 1816, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware and New Castle County Orphan's Court Records, David Howell, 1793, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware. David was Oliver's father.

[45]Kent County Probate Records, John Cook, 1790, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[46]New Castle County Probate Records, Joshua Clayton, 1793, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[47]Kent County Probate Records, John Stewarts, 1803, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[48]Kent County Probate Records, Susan F. Mitchell, 1803 and New Castle County Probate Records, William Nielson, 1803, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[49]Kent County Probate Records, Daniel Cowgill, 1818, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[50]New Castle County Probate Records, William McMechan, 1808, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[51]Two studies which attempt to discover communal values through artifact interpretation are: Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historical Artifacts (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975) and Robert Blair St. George, The Wrought Covenant: Source Material for the Study of Craftsmen and Community in Southeastern New England, 1620-1720 (Brockton, Mass.: Brockton Art Center-Fuller Memorial, 1979).

[52]The phrase, "idea of house," was coined by Amos Rapoport in House Form and Culture, p. 25.

[53]See "Appendix G: The Ideas of House and Room Use in Rural Delaware, 1780-1820."

[54]Seventy-five percent of the houses inventoried room by room fit the patterns of idea of house outlined here exactly.

[55]This phenomenon in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century is reported in: George W. McDaniel, Hearth and Home: Preserving a People's Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), p. 155.

[56]The idea of communal awareness from: Glassie, Folk Housing, p. 122.

[57]See "Appendix C: Typology of House Forms in Rural Delaware, 1780-1820."

[58]An interpretation of the placement of work-related items and raw products at the architectural extremities of the house in seventeenth century New England can be found in: Robert Blair St. George, "'Set Thine House in Order': The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth Century New England" in New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, Vol. II: Mentality and Environment, ed. by Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), pp. 161 and 170.

[59]The social function of a room as distinct from its practical function is defined by Lewis Binford to be the socio-technic function of the room as opposed to its technomic function. The technomic function of something deals with those aspects of it which help in "coping with the environment," and the socio-technic function of it involves the "social sub-systems" which place value on the thing that goes beyond its obvious activity. The definitions are in: Lewis R. Binford, "Archeology as Anthropology," American Antiquity, XXVIII (October, 1962), 219.

[60]The public/private dichotomy for the parlor and common room has been stated many times. An example is in: Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725 (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 23-28.

[61]Li-Fu Tuan, Segmented Worlds and Self: Group Life and Individual Consciousness (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), pp. 72-75.

[62]On community awareness: Glassie, Folk Housing, p. 122. The entry point into the house has parallels with verbal greetings between people; it sets the tone for experience to come. Ideas on greetings from: Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959), p. 229.

[63]On privacy: Tuan, Segmented Worlds and Self, p. 61 and Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," Winterthur Portfolio, XVII (Summer/Autumn, 1982), 104. Entries as buffer zones from: Bernard Herman, "Struck with Thunder: Building and Rebuilding Rural Architecture in Delaware," (unpublished manuscript, College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy, University of Delaware, 1983), p. 17.

[64]Manners will not be discussed in this paper, but the increasing elaboration of them in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is detailed in the work of Barbara Carson, James Deetz (In Small Things

Forgotten: The Archeology of Early American Life (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), pp. 52-61), and Kenneth L. Ames ("Meaning in Artifacts: Hall Furnishings in Victorian American," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, IX (Summer, 1978), 19-46).

[65]Michel, "'In a Manner and Fashion Suitable to Their Degree,'" Working Papers, V (1981), 24-25.

[66]By the mid-nineteenth century, ells were added to the backs of houses as a matter of course which contained all service activities including cooking. Bernard L. Herman, "Delaware Vernacular: Folk Housing in Three Counties" in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, ed. by Camille Wells, (Annapolis: Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1982), p. 185.

[67]The appellation "parlor" was used more often when the constellation of the room did not include a bed.

[68]Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture," Winterthur Portfolio, XVII (Summer/Autumn, 1982), 98.

[69]The use of specific room names in center-passage, double-pile plan houses can be compared to an elaborated code. As defined by Basil Bernstein, elaborated codes contain a variety of narrowly defined words and phrases which are chosen by individuals to give exact meaning. To use and understand the code, one must be initiated into the social system which developed it. (Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes, and Control (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 77-79, 177-181.) An example of the elaborated code being applied to architecture is in: Dell Upton, "Toward a Performance Theory of Vernacular Architecture: Early Tidewater Virginia as a Case Study," Folklore Forum, XII (1979), 173-191.

[70]New Castle County Probate Records, Cornelius Kettle, 1783, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[71]New Castle County Probate Records, John Hyatt, 1805, D.S.A., Dover, Delaware.

[72]The development of the typologies without reference to time and the later fitting of the typologies into a chronology was prompted by the following quote from Introduction to Structuralism by Michael Lane (p. 17). "History is seen as the specific mode of development of a particular system, whose present, or synchronic nature must be fully known before any account can be given of its evolution, or diachronic nature."

[73]The Corbit House was inventoried room by room in 1818 (New Castle County Probate Records, D.S.A.). History of house forms from: Bernard L. Herman, "Struck with Thunder," pp. 5-40.

[74]Forty-four of seventy-six inventories, or fifty-nine percent, were of two- and three-room plan houses.

[75]Nine of the seventy-six houses inventoried were one-room plans.

[76]See "Appendix H: House Forms and Furnishing Plans Delineated By Wealth of Occupants."

[77]The effect of economics on domestic spatial order in seventeenth century New England was summarized by Robert Blair St. George in "'Set Thine House in Order,'" (New England Begins, Vol. II, p. 173). "The less space and space-structuring artifacts a person could afford . . . the more his use of space as a means of expression and as a tool in social interaction was limited."

[78]See "Appendix H: House Forms and Furnishing Plans Delineated By Wealth of Occupants."

[79]Because little research has been done on the economy of Delaware during the period, 1780-1820, the information in this section was culled from four sources. No one contains all of the conclusions but each points towards them by describing trends in the Mid-Atlantic region between 1750 and 1850. Homsey, "Free Blacks in Kent County," Working Papers, III (Spring, 1979), 29-56; Munroe, Federalist Delaware; James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1972); and Diane Lindstrom, Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810-1850 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

[80]Homsey, "Free Blacks in Kent County," Working Papers, III (Spring, 1979), 29-56.

[81]Cary Carson in his work in Maryland and Virginia has come to similar conclusions on the introduction of center-passage, double-pile plan houses to a region by the commercial class. Cary Carson, "What Lumpkin's Eyes Told Lumpkin's Brain: Visual Thinking in Early America," (paper presented at The Summer Institute, The H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum, July 21, 1981).

[82]See "Appendix H: House Forms and Furnishing Plans Delineated By Wealth of Occupants."

[83]Michel, "'In a Manner and Fashion Suitable to Their Degree,'" Working Papers, V (1981), 75.

[84]See "Appendix H: House Forms and Furnishing Plans Delineated By Wealth of Occupants."

[85]This combination of house form and furnishing plan is similar to the putting on of a front with which to meet the public. See: Goffman, Presentation of Self, p. 22.

[86]Thirteen of the eighteen passage plan houses were inventoried after 1800, four in the 1790's, and one in 1788. Obviously, with inventories one must remember that they may document trends of perhaps twenty years earlier since the inventories were made at the end of people's lives.

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APPENDIX A:

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON INDIVIDUALS WHOSE ESTATES WERE INVENTORIED ROOM BY ROOM IN RURAL DELAWARE, 1780-1820

NAME[1]	100[2]	DATE	AGE	WEALTH	CLASS[3]	OTHER[4]
New Castle County						
Boldin, James	P	1784		£1037	high	
Burchard, David	SG	1817	33-52	$1353	high	
Carpenter, William	SG	1800		£ 689	high	
Carson, William	RL	1787		£ 791	high	
Caulk, John	SG	1812	48-56	$2520	high	
Caulk, Mary	SG	1814		$2181	high	woman
Clayton, Joshua	SG	1793		£1455	high	owns store
Cleaver, John	SG	1820	46-65	$ 925	mid	#
Congo, Edward	SG	1811		$ 30	low	black; carpenter
Cooch, Thomas	P	1788		£ 533	high	cooper
Corbit, William	SG	1818	53+	$1106	mid	tanner
Couch, Thomas	P	1785		£ 725	high	
Daniel, Aaron	SG	1799		£ 408	mid	blacksmith
Donnally, Michael	A	1791		£ 238	mid	carpenter
Downes, John	SG	1791		£ 215	mid	
Dushane, Cornelius	SG	1791		£ 225	mid	
Dushane, Issac	RL	1790		£ 242	mid	
Faries, Jacob	P	1818	34-44	$1572	high	carpenter
Farmer, Thomas	SG	1804	49+	$1552	high	#
Fullam, Walter	RL	1790		(£ 2)	low	tenant of Thomas Adams
Golden, John	SG	1790		£ 561	high	
Hall, John	A	1810	55+	$1017	mid	owns store
Higgins, David	RL	1811	37-45	$2870	high	

NAME	100	DATE	AGE	WEALTH	CLASS	OTHER
Hirons, Peter	A	1785		£ 404	mid	
Howell, Oliver R.	P	1816	42-51	$2736	high	has tenants
Hyatt, John	P	1805		$3017	high	has tenants; doctor
Hyatt, John Vance	SG	1806	32-51	$3462	high	
James, Thomas	P	1780		£7217[5]	mid	blacksmith
James, William	SG	1799		£ 295	mid	owns store
John, David	P	1780		£20520[5]	high	carpenter
Kettle, Cornelius	RL	1783		£1155	high	
Kimble, Henry	P	1812	47-57	$1024	mid	
LeFever, Ingeber	SG	1807		$ 270	mid	
McMechan, William	RL	1808		$1520	high	doctor
McWhorter, David	SG	1810	36-55	$1103	mid	owns store
Mercer, Robert	RL	1793		£ 533	high	tenant farmer
Miles, Able	RL	1794		£ 803	high	has tenants
Monro, George	RL	1788		£1079	high	
Murdach, Hugh	P	1797		£ 284	mid	
Nielson, William	P	1803		£ 554	high	owns store and tavern
Porter, David J.	RL	1782		£ 937	high	#
Porter, Robert	RL	1797		£ 184	mid	
Rankin, William	RL	1783		£ 502	high	blacksmith
Reynolds, Jeremiah	SG	1811	27-46	$4014	high	
Sebo, David	SG	1815	50+	$3945	high	
Stewart, Aaron	SG	1811	27-46	$ 114	low	carpenter
Thomas, Richard	P	1780		£ 543	high	tanner

NAME	100	DATE	AGE	WEALTH	CLASS	OTHER
Wagner, Joseph	P	1815	60+	$ 226	low	
Walker, William, Sr.	SG	1803	48+	$1184	high	shoemaker
Wattson, Lewis	P	1805	29-48	$1542	high	
Williams, Roger	P	1810	49+	$ 931	mid	cooper
Wilson, Benjamin	SG	1802	28-47	£ 704	high	
Kent County						
Alston, Mary	LC	1804	30-49	£ 212	mid	woman
Bellach, James	LC	1794		£1671	high	
Burk, Charles	LC	1800		£ 38	low	
Cook, John	DC	1790		£ 591	high	governor--1783
Corse, William	LC	1785		£ 753	high	
Cowgill, Daniel	LC	1818	63+	$5292	high	grain merchant
Cowgill, Ezekiel	LC	1793		£1348	high	
Cowgill, Jonathan	LC	1815		$1999	high	
Emerson, Manlove	LC	1803		£2394	high	
George, Daniel	LC	1819		$2043	high	
Gore, John	LC	1808		$ 121	low	carpenter; cooper
Harper, Charles	LC	1815	31-50	$6580	high	
Hill, John	LC	1805	50+	£ 654	high	has tenants
Hopkins, Robert	LC	1818	44-63	$2950	high	has tenants
Kennady, David	DC	1803		£1280	high	owns store
Kennady, Margaret	DC	1810		£1607	high	woman; wife of David
Lackey, Andrew	LC	1788		£ 451	mid	

NAME	100	DATE	AGE	WEALTH	CLASS	OTHER
Marim, John	LC	1815	60+	$6508	high	
Mitchell, Susan F.	DC	1803	29-48	$5174	high	woman; owns store
Price, Joseph	LC	1797		£ 174	mid	cooper
Rees, Jemina	DC	1820		$1243	mid	woman
Ridgeway, Samuel	DC	1815		$ 298	mid	blacksmith
Sisco, Charles	LC	1798		£ 706	high	#; black
Smith, Ezekiel	DC	1802	47+	£ 534	high	
Stewarts, John	DC	1803	48+	£ 595	high	
Thomas, Benjamin	LC	1811	37-56	$1123	mid	
Voshell, John	LC	1817	43-62	$1607	high	blacksmith
Williams, John	LC	1815		$4909	high	owns store
Wilson, Susanna	DC	1815	50+	$1880	high	#; woman

Notes:

[1]Information culled from the inventories, orphan's court records, tax assessment lists, and census data of New Castle and Kent Counties.

[2]"100" stands for the Hundreds: A--Appoquinimink, P--Pencader, RL--Red Lion, SG--Saint George's, DC--Duck Creek, and LC--Little Creek.

[3]For explanation of economic class, see Appendix B.

[4]"Other" category points out special characteristics of individuals, such as occupation, sex, and race, and special characteristics of inventories, such as ones in which rooms were numbered without reference to their floor (#).

[5]Noted on inventory that assessed wealth is rated 40:1, current value compared to pre-Revolutionary War currency.

APPENDIX B:

BREAKDOWN BY ECONOMIC LEVEL OF PERSONS TAXES AND INVENTORIED IN RURAL DELAWARE, 1780-1820

INCOME LEVEL[1]	TAXED[2] #	TAXED[2] %	ALL INVENTORIES #	ALL INVENTORIES %	ROOM-BY-ROOM INVENTORIES #	% OF ALL	% OF ROOM-BY-ROOM
Low: £ 0- 99 $ 0-264	524	60%	283	31%	6	0.5%	7%
Middle: £100- 499 $265-1322	241	29%	393	43%	24	3 %	30%
High: £ 500+ $1323+	108	11%	242	26%	51	5.5%	63%
Total:	881	100%	918	100%	81	9 %[3]	100%

[1]Income levels are from Elizabeth Moyne Homsey, "Free Blacks in Kent County, Delaware, 1790-1830" in "Community Studies in the Mid-Atlantic," The Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center, III (Spring, 1979), p. 53, note 44 and p. 54, note 54.

[2]Data from the 1804 and 1816 Tax Assessments of Appoquinimink Hundred, New Castle County. The figures are averages of the numbers from each year. During the intervening twelve years, the population increased thirty-four percent from 753 to 1008. The major shift in economic levels was from the middle bracket to the bottom and top. Distribution of wealth from lowest to highest class as follows: 1804--59%, 33%, 8%; 1816--60%, 25%, 15%.

[3]Ninety-one percent of all inventories were general listings.

APPENDIX C:

TYPOLOGY OF HOUSE FORMS IN RURAL DELAWARE, 1780-1820

FIRST FLOOR PLANS		ROOM-BY-ROOM INVENTORIES		NUMBER WITH SPECIAL FEATURES				
Name	# Rooms	#	%[1]	Second floors	# Rooms on Second Floor	Garrets[2]	Kitchens	Cellars[2]
One-room	1	9	11%	2	2	5[3]	3	0
Hall-parlor	2	24	30%	19	1-5	4	21	8
Three-room	3	19	23%	12	2-4	8	16	8
Four-room[4]	4	4	5%	4	1-3	2	3	4
Five-room[4]	5	1	1%	0		1	1	0
Side-passage	2	1	1%	1	4	1	0	0
Side-passage	3	3	4%	2	2-4	2	2	2
Center-passage	3	3	4%	3	3-5	3	3	3
Corner-passage[5]	4	6	7.5%	5	2-3	2	5	2
Center-passage[5]	5	6	7.5%	6	4	6	6	5

[1]Adds up to ninety-four percent; in other six percent of room-by-room inventories, rooms were numbered and form could not be determined.

[2]The low number of spaces listed could be because the spaces had nothing in them or things of such low monetary value that the appraisers did not note the space in the inventories.

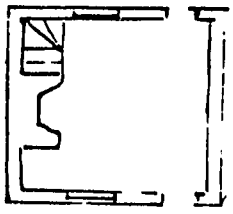
[3]Four of the houses had only garrets or lofts; one house has a second story and garret.

[4]Based on room names, the houses could not be categorically assigned to any form.

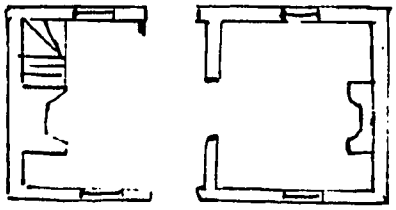
[5]Includes houses attributed to form in text.

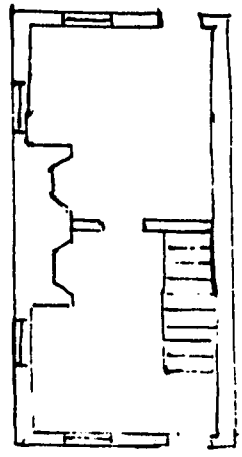
APPENDIX D:

SCHEMATIC DRAWINGS OF HOUSE FORMS



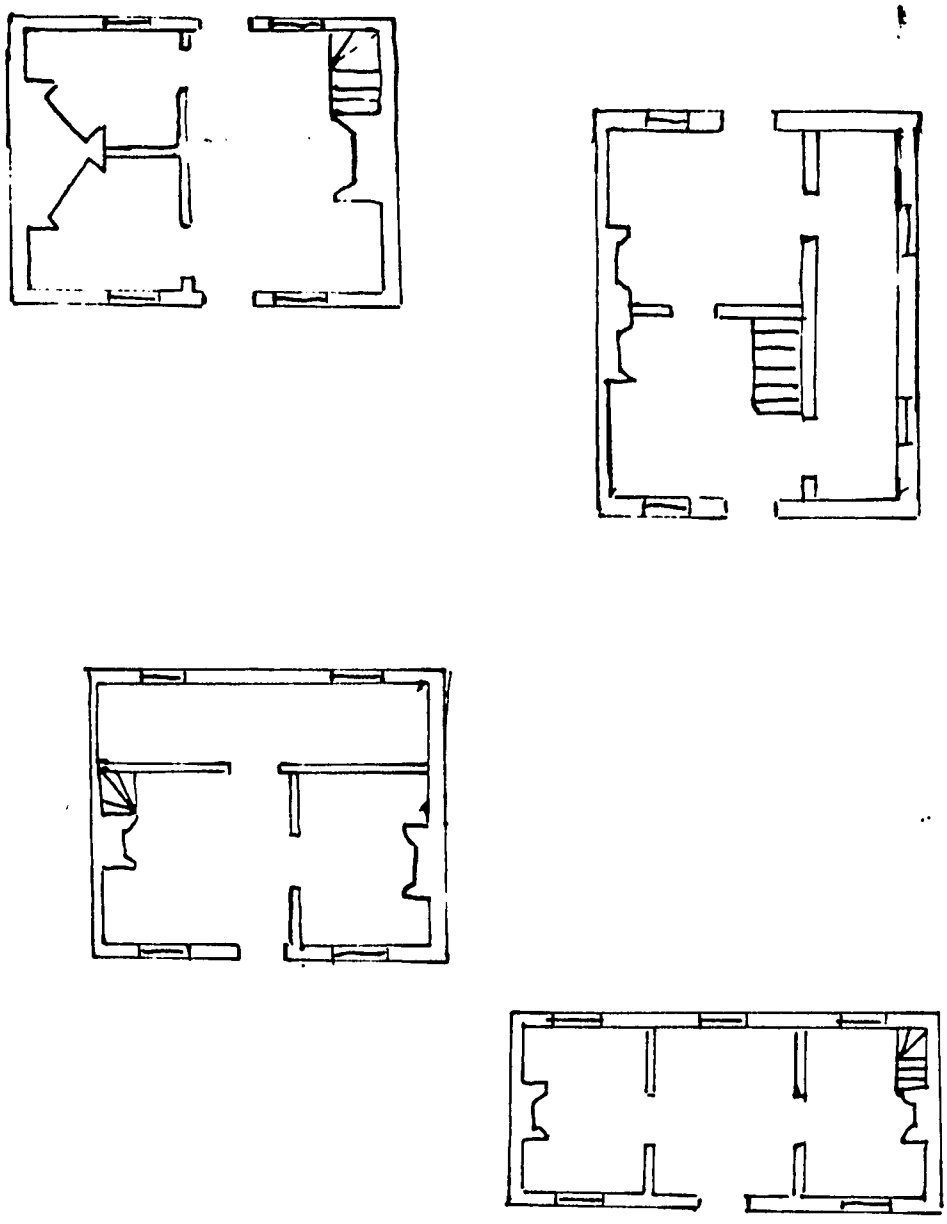
ONE-ROOM PLAN



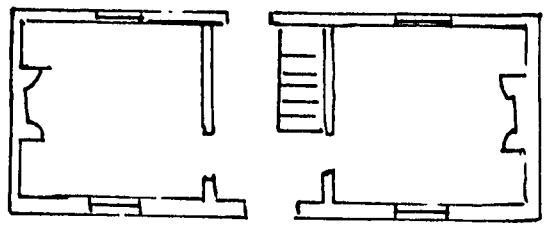


HALL-PARLOR PLAN

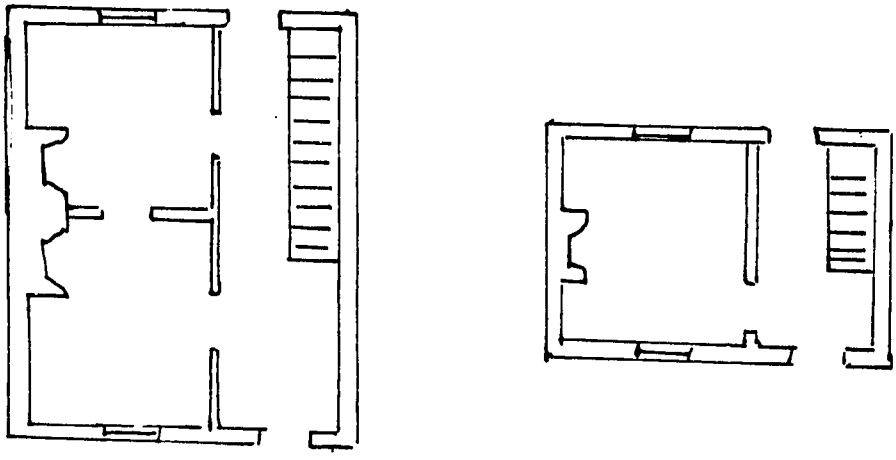
Plans adapted from "Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building" by Henry Glassie in Winterthur Portfolio. VII (1972), 36, 45.



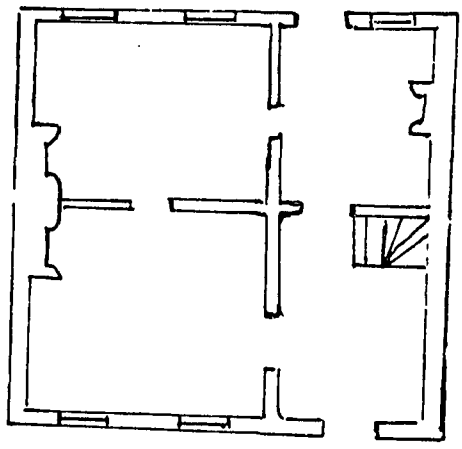
THREE-ROOM PLAN



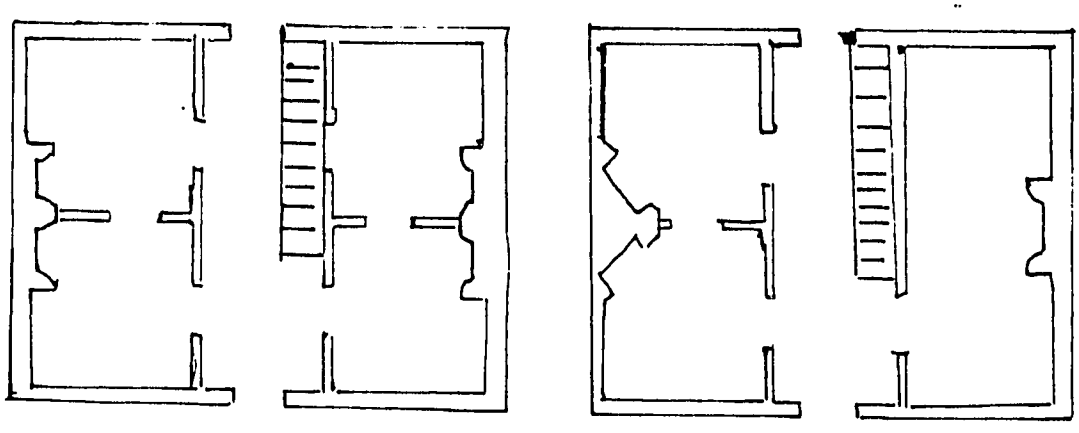
CENTER-PASSAGE PLAN



SIDE-PASSAGE PLAN



CORNER-PASSAGE PLAN



CENTER-PASSAGE, DOUBLE-PILE PLAN

APPENDIX E:

ROOM CONSTELLATIONS

TYPES OF ROOMS	FURNISHINGS: Table	Seating Furniture	Looking Glass	Desk	Clock	Bed and Bedstead	Case Furniture	Architectural Furniture	Service Dishes	Pictures	Window Curtains	Textiles	Carpet	Cooking Dishes	Fiber Processing Equipment	Storage
One-room House: Downstairs	x	x				x	x		x					x	x	x
Upstairs						x									x	x
Parlor with Bed	1-2 set	arm	1-2	x	x	x		x		x						
Parlor	1-2 set	sofa	1-2	x			x	x	x	x	x		x			
Common Room (work)	x	x	x			x cradle	x		x					x	x	guns
Common Room (parlor)	x	set	x	x	x	x	x	x	x							
Dining Room	x	set	x	x	x		x	x	x							
Entry	x	x											x			
Bedroom with Storage	x					x	x					x			x	x
Bedroom without Storage	x	x	x			x	x				x	x	x			
Garret						x	x					x			x	x
Kitchen	x	x					x		x					x	x	x
Cellar															x	x

APPENDIX F:

FURNISHING PLANS OF PARLORS AND COMMON ROOMS DELINEATED BY HOUSE FORM

FURNISHING PLANS	HOUSE FORMS								
	Hall-parlor plan	Three-room plan	Four-room plan	Five-room plan	Side-passage, single-pile plan	Side-passage, double-pile plan	Center-passage, single-pile plan	Corner-passage plan	Center-passage, double-pile plan
Parlor with Bed; Common Room (work)	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0
Parlor with Bed; Common Room (parlor)	9	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Parlor with Bed; Dining Room	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Parlor; Common Room (work)	2	6	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
Parlor; Common Room (parlor)	6	6	1	0	0	2	2	2	0
Parlor; Dining Room	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
Total	22*	19	4	1	1	3	3	6	6

*While there were twenty-four houses of the hall-parlor plan inventoried room by room, the occupants of two of them did not use their two first floor rooms as a parlor and a common room. One person furnished his two in identical manner (Ezekiel Smith, 1802), and another had a store in one of the rooms (David McWhorter, 1811).

APPENDIX G:

THE IDEAS OF HOUSE AND ROOM USE IN RURAL DELAWARE, 1780-1820

KEY

P--parlor

CR--common room

DR--dining room

#2--second floor

G--garret

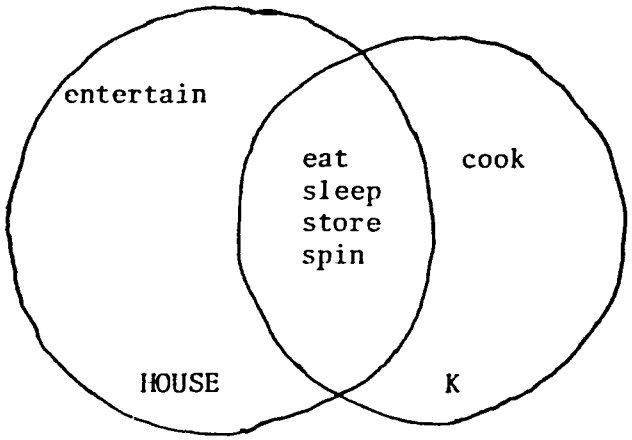
C--cellar

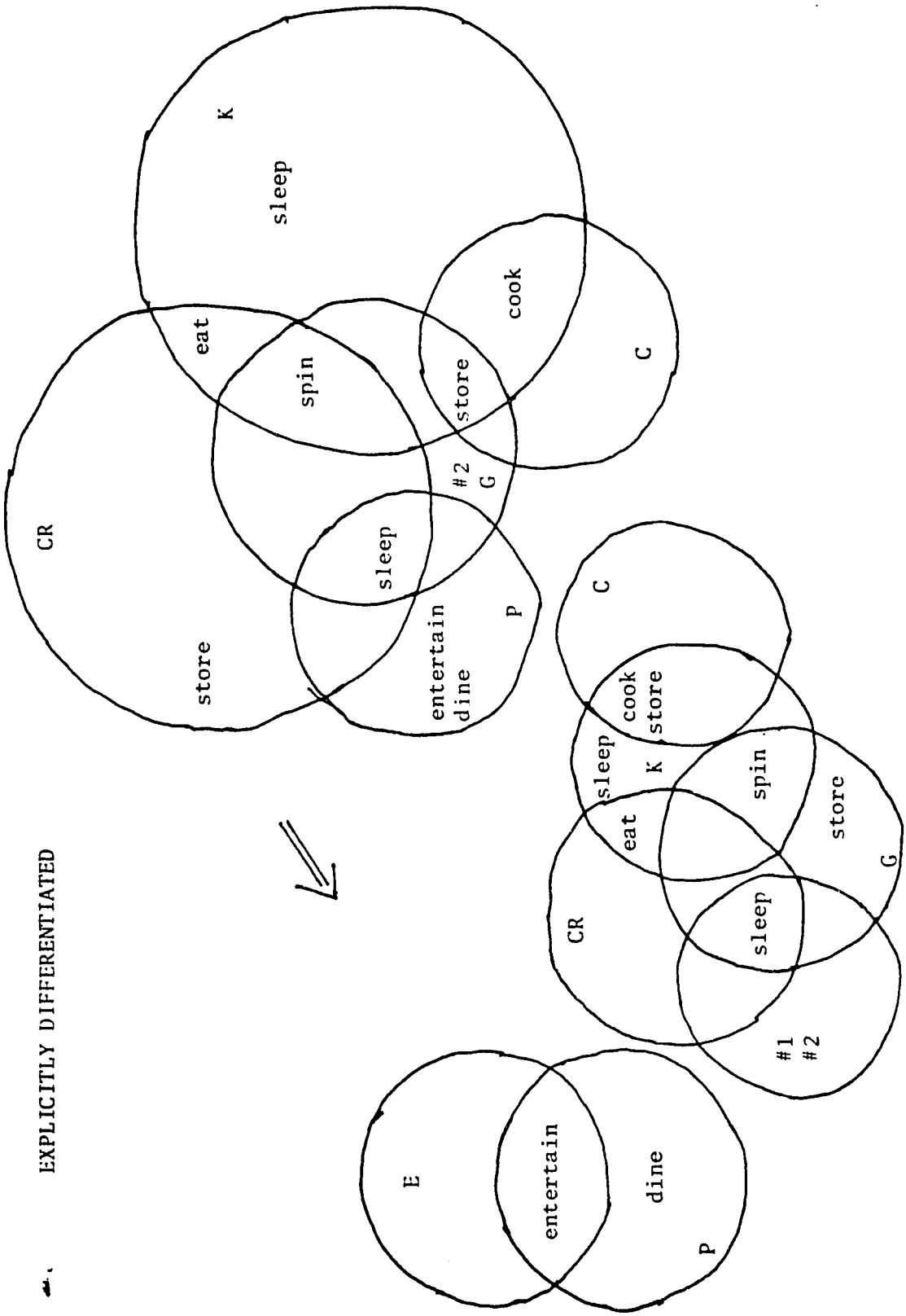
K--kitchen building

E--entry

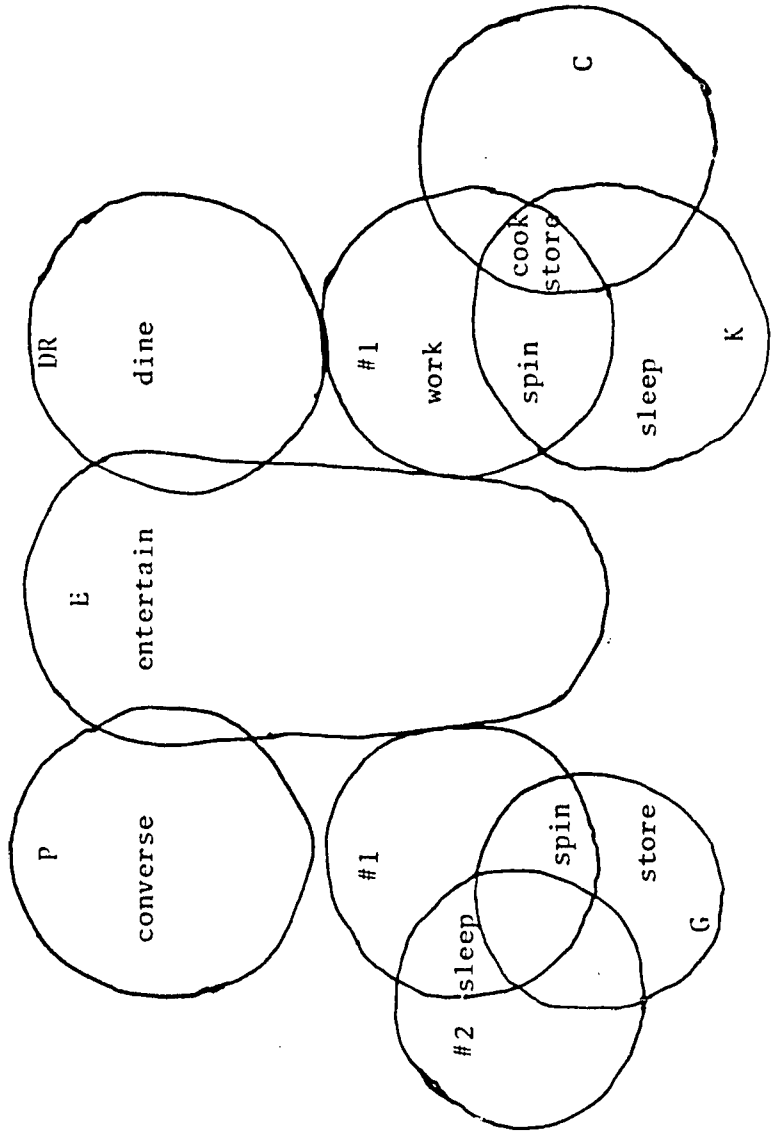
#1--other first floor rooms

IMPLICITLY DIFFERENTIATED





ARTICULATE AND EXPLICITLY DIFFERENTIATED



APPENDIX H:

HOUSE FORMS AND FURNISHING PLANS

DELINEATED BY WEALTH OF OCCUPANTS

HOUSE FORM	One-room plan						
FURNISHING PLAN	w/o loft	w/loft					
Name	Fullam	Downes	Burk	Gore	Congo	Stewart	Ridgeway
County[1]	NC	NC	KC	KC	KC	NC	KC
Date	1790	1791	1800	1808	1811	1811	1815
Material of House	painted red						
Number of Floors	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Occupation	tenant			carpenter; cooper	carpenter	carpenter	blacksmith
Number of Slaves							
Taxed for Land							
Assessed for Plate[2]							
Wealth Level[3]	low	mid	low	low	low	low	mid

[1]County abbreviations are: NC-New Castle County; KC-Kent County.

[2]Plate assessed in tax assessment or inventory.

[3]For explanation of wealth level, see Appendix B.

HOUSE FORM	One-room				Hall-parlor plan			
FURNISHING PLAN	w/second floor				Parlor with Bed; Common Room (work)			
Name	Wilson	B.Thomas	Smith	McWhorter	Boldin	Price	Daniel	Wagner
County	NC	KC	KC	NC	NC	KC	NC	NC
Date	1802	1811	1802	1810	1784	1797	1799	1815
Material of House								
Number of Floors	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Occupation				store		cooper	blacksmith	
Number of Slaves	5			2	12			
Taxed for Land							yes	
Assessed for Plate				yes				
Wealth Level	high	mid	high	mid	high	mid	mid	low

HOUSE FORMS	Hall-parlor plan							
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor with Bed; Common Room (parlor)							
Name	Hirons	I.Dushane	Donnally	W.James	Carpenter	Wattson	R.Williams	M.Caulk
County	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC
Date	1785	1790	1791	1799	1800	1805	1810	1814
Material of House						brick	frame	
Number of Floors	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Occupation			carpenter	store			cooper	
Number of Slaves	1	3		1	3		1	8
Taxed for Land						yes		
Assessed for Plate	yes	yes	yes					
Wealth Level	mid	mid	mid	mid	high	high	mid	high

HOUSE FORMS	Hall-parlor plan				
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor w/Bed; Common Room (parlor)	Parlor w/Bed; Dining Room	Parlor; Common Room (work)		Parlor; Common Room (parlor)
Name	Voshell	Alston	Corse	Harper	T.James
County	KC	KC	KC	KC	NC
Date	1815	1804	1785	1815	1780
Material of House					
Number of Floors	1	1	2	2	2
Occupation	blacksmith				blacksmith
Number of Slaves	6		12	6	
Taxed for Land		yes			
Assessed for Plate		yes	yes	yes	
Wealth Level	high	mid	high	high	high

HOUSE FORMS	Hall-parlor plan					Three-room plan
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor; Common Room (parlor)					Parlor w/Bed; Common Room (work)
Name	Rankin	C.Dushane	Hall	Higgins	J.Cowgill	R.Thomas
County	NC	NC	NC	NC	KC	NC
Date	1782	1791	1810	1811	1815	1780
Material of House						
Number of Floors	1	2	2	2	2	1
Occupation	blacksmith		store			tanner
Number of Slaves	2	1	1	8		3
Taxed for Land			yes	yes		
Assessed for Plate			yes	yes		yes
Wealth Level	high	mid	mid	high	high	high

HOUSE FORMS	Three-room plan						
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor w/Bed; Common Room (parlor)				Parlor; Common Room (work)		
Name	T.Couch	Mercer	Murdach	Burchard	Monro	E.Cowgill	Hill
County	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC	KC	KC
Date	1785	1793	1797	1817	1788	1793	1805
Material of House							brick
Number of Floors	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
Occupation		tenant					has tenant
Number of Slaves	11	3	2		9	3	4
Taxed for Land				yes			
Assessed for Plate	yes	yes		yes	yes		
Wealth Level	high	high	mid	high	high	high	high

HOUSE FORMS	Three-room plan							
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor; Common Room (work)			Parlor; Common Room (parlor)				
Name	M.Kennady[4]	Faries	George	Carson	T.Cooch	Walker	Reynolds	Kimble
County	KC	NC	KC	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC
Date	1810	1818	1819	1787	1788	1803	1811	1812
Material of House		brick				log		
Number of Floors	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2
Occupation		carpenter			cooper	shoe-maker		
Number of Slaves		5		9		3	8	
Taxed for Land		yes	yes			yes	yes	
Assessed for Plate	yes		yes		yes	yes	yes	
Wealth Level	high	high	high	high	high	mid	high	mid

[4]Margaret Kennady was the wife of David Kennady. His inventory reveals a corner-passage plan house. Most probably Margaret lived in the same house but she did not own property in every room, thus the house in her inventory appears to be of a different form.

HOUSE FORMS	Three-room plan			Four-room plan	
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor; Common Room (work)	Parlor; Dining Room		Parlor; Common Room (work)	Parlor; Common Room (parlor)
Name	Rees	Emerson	J.Williams	Kettle	John
County	KC	KC	KC	NC	NC
Date	1820	1803	1815	1783	1780
Material of House	log				
Number of Floors	2	2	2	2	2
Occupation			store		carpenter
Number of Slaves	2		1	7	
Taxed for Land	yes				
Assessed for Plate	yes			yes	
Wealth Level	mid	high	high	high	high

HOUSE FORMS	Four-room plan		Five-room plan	Side-passage, single-pile plan
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor; Dining Room		Parlor w/Bed; Dining Room	Parlor; Common Room (work)
Name	McMechan	Sebo	Golden	Cook
County	NC	NC	NC	KC
Date	1808	1815	1790	1790
Material of House				
Number of Floors	2	2	1	2
Occupation	doctor			governor
Number of Slaves	6	6	9	9
Taxed for Land		yes		
Assessed for Plate	yes	yes	yes	
Wealth Level	high	high	high	high

HOUSE FORMS	Side-passage, double-pile plan			Center-passage, single-pile	
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor w/Bed; Common Room (work)	Parlor; Common Room (parlor)		Parlor; Common Room (parlor)	
Name	Howell	Stewart	LeFever	J.Hyatt	Marim
County	NC	KC	NC	NC	KC
Date	1816	1803	1807	1805	1815
Material of House	brick			brick	
Number of Floors	2	1	2	2	2
Occupation	has tenants			doctor; has tenants	
Number of Slaves	7	3		5	3
Taxed for Land	yes			yes	yes
Assessed for Plate	yes	yes		yes	yes
Wealth Level	high	high	mid	high	high

HOUSE FORMS	Center-passage, single-pile plan	Corner-passage plan		
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor; Dining Room	Parlor w/Bed; Common Room (work)		Parlor; Common Room (parlor)
Name	Clayton	Miles	R.Porter	Hopkins
County	NC	NC	NC	KC
Date	1793	1794	1797	1818
Material of House				frame
Number of Floors	2	2	1	2
Occupation	store; tavern	has tenants		has tenants
Number of Slaves	10	7	4	3
Taxed for Land		yes		yes
Assessed for Plate		yes	yes	yes
Wealth Level	high	high	high	high

HOUSE FORMS	Corner-passage plan		
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor; Common Room (work)	Parlor; Common Room (parlor)	
Name	Lackey	D.Kennady	J.V.Hyatt
County	KC	KC	NC
Date	1788	1803	1806
Material of House		brick	
Number of Floors	2	2	2
Occupation		store	
Number of Slaves	8	8	8
Taxed for Land		yes	yes
Assessed for Plate	yes	yes	yes
Wealth Level	mid	high	high

HOUSE FORMS	Center-passage, double-pile plan					
FURNISHING PLANS	Parlor; Dining Room					
Name	Bellach	Nielson	Mitchell	J.Caulk	D.Cowgill	Corbit
County	KC	NC	KC	NC	KC	NC
Date	1794	1803	1803	1812	1818	1818
Material of House		brick	brick		brick	brick
Number of Floors	2	2	2	2	2	2
Occupation		tavern; store	store	tavern	grain merchant	tanner
Number of Slaves	8	3		7		1
Taxed for Land		yes	yes		yes	
Assessed for Plate	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Wealth Level	high	high	high	high	high	high