391/D260

CELLARS, GARRETS, AND RELATED SPACES

IN

PHILADELPHIA HOUSES

1750–1850

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United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Independence National Historical Park
143 S. 3rd Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

IN REPLY REFER TO:

D62(INDE)

March 24, 2003

Roberta Beer
Denver Service Center
Information and Production Services Division
12795 W. Alameda Parkway
Lakewood, CO 80228

Dear Ms. Beer:

As per our previous correspondence regarding the National Park Service Cultural Resource Management Guideline 28, I am enclosing copies of the following reports:

Bacon, John M. "Cellars, Garrets, and Related Spaces in Philadelphia Houses, 1750-1850." Philadelphia, PA: National Park Service, Independence National Historical Park, [1991].

Newell, Aimee E. "Household Textiles in Philadelphia, 1720-1840." Philadelphia, PA: National Park Service, Independence National Historical Park, [1995].

Verplanck, Anne A. "Furnishings Plan for the Third Floor of the Bishop William White House, Philadelphia, PA." Philadelphia, PA: National Park Service, Independence National Historical Park, [1989].

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Isabel Jenkins
Assistant Curator

CELLARS, GARRETS, AND RELATED SPACES IN PHILADELPHIA HOUSES

1750-1850

John M. Bacon, Museum Intern
Independence National Historical Park

September 1991

John C. Milley, Chief of Museum Operations
Doris Devine Fanelli, Supervisory Curator and
Supervisor, Friends of Independence National Historical Park Internship

A research project undertaken as part of the
Friends of Independence National Historical Park Internship program

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project and my other work as Museum Intern have been helped along, inspired, and otherwise shaped by the Museum and History Division staff working in the First Bank. Doris Fanelli nurtured this and other internship projects and was a sympathetic guide to National Park Service procedures and goals. Two other staff members deserve special mention. Associate Curator Karie Diethorn generously shared her notes and thoughts on this and related topics, provided me with key citations and research leads, and critically read a draft of the entire paper. Historical Architect Penelope Batcheler provided needed encouragement and insightful suggestions throughout the year and critically read the architectural sections of the paper. Both made me realize how much more there is to learn and not to be discouraged by that fact; I hope to follow their example in my subsequent career. Finally, I thank the Friends of Independence National Historical Park for their support and their larger commitment both to the Park and to museum training.

INTRODUCTION

Independence National Historical Park (INHP) has restored and/or reconstructed numerous historic houses. The majority of these buildings have associations with significant public figures: Benjamin Franklin, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Dolley Todd (Madison), Bishop William White, George Washington, and Edgar Allan Poe among them. In fact, save for their illustrious occupants and the creation of the Park, many of the buildings may not have been restored or reconstructed. The Park houses are shrines to the creation and early growth of the United States and Philadelphia's role in this process.

But the Park houses also offer an excellent opportunity to interpret the realities of domestic life in period Philadelphia. Historic structure reports and furnishings plans have provided a thorough, well-documented blueprint for the current house installations. The interpretation of these spaces aims to present visitors with a domestic history of late-eighteenth-century Philadelphia, at least that of its middle and upper classes. This history extends up to 1836 at the Bishop White House and continues into the 1840s at the Poe House. However, only the primary rooms of the houses have ever been furnished for public tours. Kitchens, the Bishop White House necessary, and the cellars of 318 Market Street and the Poe House are the only service and ancillary spaces Park visitors currently experience. Architectural reports and furnishings plans exist for comparable spaces in many of the Park houses but have not been implemented. Thus the role of cellars, garrets, and back buildings in period domestic life has been

obscured for visitors. This interpretive omission is unnecessary, given the sound planning work already completed and the available historic resources; it may even be said to mislead visitors.

Two previous Friends interns have addressed this issue. Jane Busch's 1983 study, "Philadelphia Kitchens: A Special Report with Recommendations for the Bishop White and Todd Houses," outlines kitchen-related processes and artifacts and suggests improvements upon the current Park installations. Karie Diethorn's 1986 study, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia, 1780-1830," documents the central role servants played in the functioning of houses such as the Todds' and Whites'. Diethorn does not focus on the physical manifestations of this role (with the exception of servants' rooms), but her research provides information on domestic processes such as laundering, housecleaning, and dining.

This report will focus on the form and function of other service and ancillary spaces in Philadelphia houses during the 1750-1850 period, specifically cellars, yards, garrets, and storage spaces. These four types of spaces were chosen both to "round out" the survey of service spaces and functions and to explore the seemingly disparate character of cellars-yards and garrets-storage spaces. Three basic questions were asked: what did these spaces look like and how and by whom were they used? In addition, the report explores non-material characteristics of these spaces. How did people view these spaces in the period? What might their form and usage tell us about the society as a whole?

The definition and analysis of discrete architectural spaces has often been neglected in favor of analyses of entire floor plans, elevations, and specific design features, especially those that can be attributed to a known architect or other designer. Cellars, garrets, and other ancillary spaces form a significant

but relatively featureless, dependent part of domestic structures and thus are not well suited for traditional analyses. However, one can make several observations about their physical location and architectural function that suggest general form and usage. These characteristics in turn suggest several bodies of evidence that may be of analytical use. The remainder of the introduction will define the major spaces under consideration and the source material to be analyzed.

The cellar and the garret respectively form the bottom and top of a structure (figure 1). The cellar is the enclosed, useable space within the foundation walls below the level of the ground floor; the garret is the uppermost useable room or floor, often partly under the roof. The area immediately above the garret under the ridge of the roof is an upper garret or loft. (For a complete definition and discussion of these and related terms, see Glossary, Appendix G). In the temperate climate of southeastern Pennsylvania, cellars in buildings without climate control maintain a relatively low and stable temperature throughout the year. They are also damp; proper ventilation controls this dampness but does not eliminate it. Garrets in the same buildings are dry by comparison (if the roof system is functioning properly), but their temperature varies considerably according to external conditions. Cellars and garrets are more exposed to the elements, notably water, than other interior spaces. For this reason alone, they are somewhat marginal spaces for intensive human dwelling.

These basic conditions and locational considerations suggest more suitable functions. Cellars provide a stable but damp environment and are lit (if at all) by small windows at or near ceiling level; they are not well suited for dwelling and especially not for sleeping. Given their location near ground level, cellars

are suited for the receipt and processing of bulk provisions, notably fuel and foodstuffs not overly sensitive to cold or dampness. Garrets are suited for inhabitation, especially when they are lit with dormer or other windows and are heated. But their placement at the top of the house and under the roof makes them less convenient and often less commodious than the chambers below. Garrets are best suited as auxiliary sleeping and dry storage areas. Other domestic storage spaces-- storerooms, closets, pantries-- are generally unlit and smaller in scale. Most are designed for dry, controlled storage, unless found in or near the cellar or yard.

These observations merely outline possible usages for cellars, garrets, and other storage spaces. To understand how they were used and configured in c. 1750-1850 Philadelphia, several bodies of evidence were investigated. This evidence included: extant period buildings; archeological and other physical evidence relating to extant and demolished period buildings; insurance survey records; probate inventories and other public records; other documentary sources such as diaries, household manuals, and views; and modern written and visual documentation of period buildings. A thorough investigation of the Park houses and supporting documentation suggested both methodologies and goals for the project as a whole.

Visits to extant buildings were limited. Brief reconnaissance of urban areas with significant concentrations of historic houses revealed that most cellars have been altered for modern usages and that little evidence was to be found in garret spaces. Moreover, most of the houses were not readily accessible. (A related survey of Philadelphia Historical Commission files for blocks with significant concentrations of historic houses, e.g., 200 block Spruce Street, was similarly frustrating. Apart from transcriptions of insurance

surveys, the files had very little useful information). Visits instead focused on accessible and well-preserved period structures both inside and outside of the immediate study area. These structures include: the Powel and Hill-Physick-Keith Houses in Society Hill; Mount Pleasant, Lemon Hill, Woodford, and others in modern-day Fairmount Park; Stenton, Loudoun, Grumblethorpe, Wyck, and others in Germantown; and Hope Lodge, Graeme Park, and others outside of Philadelphia. While the majority of these houses are large-scale and non-urban, they contain significant period evidence that may be compared to that found in or recorded for urban houses. Together with the Park houses, they exhibit a complete range of both the common and exceptional features recorded in period documentation. Appendix F lists the sites visited, the major features observed at each, and record photograph number(s) for those included in the INHP architectural photograph collection.

Insurance survey records were analyzed to document patterns in the form and usage of cellars, garrets, and related spaces and features. Six samplings were made at regular intervals over the c. 1750-1850 period, three each from the Philadelphia Contributionship and the Mutual Assurance companies, for a total of 898 surveys.[1] Appendix E tabulates the complete results of this analysis; Table 1 summarizes the major findings. Each sampling was internally

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[1] The following groups of insurance surveys were sampled; only surveys for domestic buildings were considered for this study. Survey information from INHP microfilm collection unless otherwise cited. Philadelphia Contributionship policies 1-184 (surveys for), 1752-53, 149 total; Philadelphia Contributionship survey books 1 and 2, 1770-72, 253 total; Mutual Assurance Company surveys, 1784-94, 217 total, in Anthony N. B. Garvan, ed., The Architectural Surveys, 1784-94 (Philadelphia: The Mutual Assurance Company, 1976); Philadelphia Contributionship survey books 1 and 2, January 1800-May 1803, 92 total; Mutual Assurance Company surveys 2584-2862, February 1819-June 1822, 96 total; and Mutual Assurance Company surveys 4122-4337, March 1838-February 1844, 91 total. Subsequent references to specific surveys will be made directly in the text, using the abbreviations PC (for Philadelphia Contibutionship) and MA (for Mutual Assurance), the survey number, and the date survey was taken.

Table 1 -- Insurance Survey Evidence: General Conclusions

feature	number	number as a percentage of 898 total	average of percentages for 6 periods
cellar mentioned	187	21%	27%
cellar not mentioned	711	79%	73%
kitchen in cellar	132	15%	19%
basement mentioned	12	1%	2%
storage mentioned	345	38%	50%
storage not mentioned	553	62%	50%
garret plastered	528	59%	60%
garret not plastered	172	19%	19%
loft only mentioned	13	1%	2%
garret/loft not mentioned	185	21%	18%

Source: compiled from data in Appendix E.

consistent (usually being the work of a single surveyor), but several idiosyncrasies emerge when they are compared. First, the pre-1800 surveys are much less informative than later ones. For this reason, more surveys were included in the first three samplings in order to firmly establish patterns. (This numerical bias is redressed by the use of percentages for each sample period). Second, particular samplings contain significant occurrences of features that are rarely noted elsewhere. The c. 1819-22 Mutual Assurance survey records for cellar ash holes and the c. 1770-72 Philadelphia Contributionship survey records for iron rails on the roof exemplify this trend (see Appendix E). By contrast, the lack of storage and garret features mentioned before 1800 appears in part due to the terse, formulaic nature of pre-1800 surveys. Finally,

the differences in survey criteria and language (not to mention the changes in building practices over the time span studied) do not encourage direct comparisons of survey material between periods. The overall patterns are both more reliable and informative.

Of course, the surveys are concerned primarily with potential fire losses and thus largely ignore cellars and questions of non-fire-related usage. But the samplings include a wide variety of house types and sizes of varying age and location, forming a reasonable overview of period domestic arrangements from which to generalize (and one less skewed than extant buildings). Given the differences over time and between surveyors and companies, the results are useful indicators of general patterns in form and usage.[2]

Probate inventories help to refine these general patterns and to specify the artifactual nature of the spaces. With the latter purpose in mind, a sample of 175 room-by-room inventories was selected from a body of transcribed Philadelphia probate records.[3] Appendix A lists the decedents, their profession and/or status, and the value of their household goods. Appendix B lists house type, address or location, and major features found for each inventory: the latter are summarized in Table 2. Appendices C and D list the contents of

Table 2 -- Inventory Evidence: Feature Summary

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[2] For more information on fire insurance surveys and their use, see Garvan, ed., The Architectural Surveys, 1784-94.

[3] The probate inventories were transcribed c. 1985-87 by University of Pennsylvania graduate students enrolled in "American Domestic Interiors" and are on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. The original probate dockets are located in the Registry of Deeds, Philadelphia City Hall. Three random comparisons of transcriptions and original documents revealed no major discrepancies. 18 additional transcribed study inventories were found in David A. Kimball and Charles G. Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House" (INHP, 1961), appendices. Subsequent references to the inventories will be made directly in the text, using the study number and the inventory date.

feature	1754-97 (43 total)	1800-16 (46 total)	1816-27 (43 total)	1828-48 (43 total)	1754-1848 (175 total)
cellar/yard and garret/storage	13 (30%)	15 (33%)	21 (43%)	23 (53%)	72 (41%)
garret/storage only	10 (23%)	17 (37%)	9 (21%)	10 (23%)	46 (26%)
cellar/yard only	7 (16%)	4 (9%)	1 (2%)	3 (7%)	15 (9%)
neither/other	13 (30%)	10 (22%)	12 (28%)	7 (16%)	42 (24%)

Source: compiled from data in Appendix B.

garrets and cellars found in the inventories. Inventory form and language are reasonably consistent over time. Room names and other architectural data are specific and much less formulaic than those found in the insurance surveys, thus lending themselves to close analysis. Moreover, the properties inventoried are evenly spread throughout the older portion of the city; a sizable group of country houses and other non-urban properties has comparative value, as does a group of commercial properties. Room contents are similarly informative, with a noticeable increase in the number of goods and the relative value of household goods over the period studied.

The inventory sample is evenly distributed throughout the period and purposefully concentrates on complete examples, with an attendant bias towards wealthy and otherwise exceptional decedents. This bias reflects that observed in the Park house installations towards the middle and upper classes; the Todds, Whites, Deshlers, and others were socio-economic peers of many of the decedents in the sample. Any analysis of the sample must consider its relatively limited scope and the idiosyncrasies of the inventory process. For instance, one quarter of the inventories that mention cellars and garrets simply list their contents

as "sundries" or "lumber" (Appendices C and D). However, inventories provide the most complete period delineation of rooms and their contents available.

The insurance survey and probate inventory samples together contain the data from which basic conclusions are drawn. While these sources do not cite all of the features noted on site visits, they present a more extensive and coherent body of data. They also allow for both broad analysis of trends and minute investigation of particular occurrences. Period writings provide similar information, from wide-ranging characterizations of architectural forms to precise descriptions of room-specific activities. Diaries and memoirs are invaluable in recording customary forms and usage; ordinances, builder's guides, price books, and household manuals codify the same. Writings and visual resources are then used primarily to annotate and to illustrate the data presented; in short, to people the spaces as well as to establish an overall context. Finally, period writings (and especially fictional ones) expose underlying societal attitudes towards cellars, garrets, and related spaces.[4]

In the chapters that follow, the form and usage of cellars and yards will

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[4] INHP History Division interns Sarah Brayman and Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd and Friends interns Jane Busch and Karie Diethorn have indexed, excerpted, and filed the most useful diaries, journals, manuscripts, and household manuals in public collections; this report relies heavily upon their work. The sources include: Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 1759-1807, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Deborah Norris Logan Journal, volumes 2 and 11, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Ann Warder Journal, 1787-88, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Catherine Haines receipt book, 1776-, Wyck Papers, (now) American Philosophical Society; Hannah Marshall Haines receipt books, 1811-24, Wyck Papers, (now) American Philosophical Society. A complete typescript of the Drinker Diary is also in the INHP library; Drinker references were checked against this source. Selected citations in the Logan and Warder journals were checked against the originals. For more information, see Lloyd, "Interpretive Notes, Being a Compendium of Comments on Files of Research Materials concerning Baths, Cellars, Cityscape, Cleaning, Food, Gardens and Yards, Kitchens, Laundry, Outbuildings and Servants in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia" (INHP, 1985).

be considered separately from those of garrets and storage spaces. Their differing physical environments and locations argues for this arrangement. And, as the data and related sources indicate, these environmental factors largely determine respective forms, usages, and even non-material characteristics. The relationship between these spaces and between them and the primary living areas of the house will be discussed. Specific references to Park houses are made where appropriate; recommendations for architectural changes and furnishings are also included. These recommendations will consider specific interpretive possibilities, but it is hoped that the report as a whole will contribute to a larger understanding of domestic life in c. 1750-1850 Philadelphia.

Chapter 1

CELLARS and YARDS

Cellars have been an integral part of Philadelphia domestic architecture since the founding of the city in the 1680s. James Claypoole, Jr., one of the earliest settlers, described one of the first examples, "I went ashore in Pennsilvania, about the 10th we came to this place staying on board 7 or 8 days to get our goods out of the ship we had before we came here the caracase of a house finished 40 feet long & 20 broad with a cellar, and we have added 20 foot to it, and have been from that day to this fitting it to dwell in ...." By 1684, Philadelphia had "Three hundred and fifty-seven Houses; divers of them large, well built, with good Cellars, three stories, and some with Balconies" as well as "Divers Brickerys going on, many Cellars already Ston'd or Brick'd and some Brick Houses going up." The next year, Robert Turner wrote to William Penn, "now many *brave Brick houses are going up*, with good Cellars. ... I am building *another Brick* house by mine, which is three large stories high, besides a large Brick Cellar under it, of two Bricks and a half thickness in the wall, and the next story half under Ground, the Cellar hath an Arched Door for a *Vault* to go (under the Street) to the River, and so to bring in goods, or deliver out."[5]

These early accounts exaggerate the quality of building in the settlement, but point out that early builders aspired to current London standards. Turner's second house follows the regulations established after the Great Fire of 1666 for

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[5] James Claypoole, letter book, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (hereinafter PMHB) X (1886), 406-07; "An Account of Pennsylvania and Its Improvements by William Penn," 1684, reprinted in PMHB IX (1885), 66-67; Robert Turner to William Penn, 3 August 1685, cited in PMHB IX (1885), 74.

London houses of the "second sort." These were to be of brick, three stories tall, cellared, and to have walls two and one-half bricks thick. But significant numbers of seventeenth-century Philadelphians lived in caves and other makeshift dwellings. "Respectable" families soon abandoned the caves in favor of permanent dwellings, and letters to William Penn complained of "the number of dark houses and looseness that is committed in ye caves." Eventually, the caves came to be considered notable relics, proof of one's family's early habitation in the city. Informants told nineteenth-century historian John Fanning Watson that "the original cave of the Coates Family, in the Northern Liberties, was preserved in some form in the cellar of the family mansion, which remained till 1830 at the southwest corner of Green and Front Streets."[6]

Even with its caves and other lesser dwellings, Philadelphia had established a brick building tradition by 1700 that would continue into the modern age. As one early observer characterized the city in 1696, "Since [1681], the industrious inhabitants have built a noble and beautiful city ... which contains a number of houses all inhabited; and most of them stately, and of brick, generally three stories high, after the mode in London, and as many as several families in each." The observer vouches for the truthfulness of his account, stating, "I saw the first cellar, when it was digging, for the use of our governour William Penn."[7] The cellar and brick building tradition are part

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[6] Susan Mackiewicz, "Good Order Established in Philadelphia: Domestic Housing and Social Identity, 1682-1690," (paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, 1986), 25; anonymous correspondence, cited in J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1884; 3 volumes), I:120; Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart & Co., 1909, 3 volumes; original 2-volume edition published 1842), I:172.

[7] "Gabriel Thomas' Account of Philadelphia and the Province to the year 1696," cited in Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:67, 73.

of the London-based civilization that Penn and his followers hoped to transplant in Pennsylvania.

Not all buildings had cellars, however. These include early structures such as the Rittenhouse House near Germantown (see Appendix F for major features noted at this and other sites visited), as well as major eighteenth-century public buildings such as the College of Pennsylvania and the provincial powder magazine. Later row housing "finished in the plainest manner" often lacked cellars, as did portions (notably backbuildings) of other houses. Besides limiting enclosed space within the house, the lack of a cellar led to the rotting of ground-level floors. An amusing 1824 letter from Reuben Haines to his wife Jane relates discoveries made during alterations to Wyck, their Germantown house: "the dining room floor was so bad that Mr. Lehman [carpenter] wonders we did not get into the cellar[;] the Hall was so bad that not one single foot of sound joice [i.e., joist] remained ... fortunately there was no cellar under that or we should have been in it long ago." Haines had the joists replaced and a cellar put under the hall as part of the alterations.[8]

What form did early cellars take? What materials were they made out of? Robert Turner's cellar with its vaulted passage to the river was probably exceptional; most cellars were contained within the foundation walls. Unfortunately, few Philadelphia-area houses with original cellars constructed before the mid-eighteenth century survive. One major exception is Stenton, near Germantown, constructed during the 1720s by James Logan, William Penn's secretary and personal representative (see Appendix F). Stenton not only retains its

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[8] Philadelphia Contributionship survey taken 3 December 1765 for College of Pennsylvania and "Description of Powder Magazine," 1789, cited in INHP notecard file; Reuben Haines III to Jane B. Haines, 23 May 1824, Wyck Papers, American Philosophical Society.

cellar, but the building of the cellar is well documented. On 5 May 1723, George Fitzwater was paid £4.19.5 "for digging the Cellar." Two years later, on 4 June 1725, James Logan purchased approximately 5,000 bricks from James Stoops. These bricks appear to have been used for the chimney foundations and the vaulted room in the cellar; with the exception of these elements and the areas immediately around the cellar windows, the foundation walls are of stone. On 17 September 1725, Mathew Steward was paid £1.14.0 "for work in cellar and diggin stones." (The bricks of the house itself may have been made on the site and were laid in 1727 by Thomas Hart; Logan was unsuccessful in quarrying stone for this purpose).[9]

The use of locally-gathered stone roughly laid and brick for vaults, chimney foundations, and other features is typical for domestic cellars in the Philadelphia area. Swedish botanist Peter Kalm noted this fact in the 1740s; "Upon investigating I found the lowest room was entirely underground, and its walls made of the above-mentioned stone [local schist], although the house above it was built of brick." Some cellars were even constructed around or on top of rock formations: the cellar stairs at Loudoun, in Germantown, are partially carved out of a rock left in situ (see also Glen Fern, Appendix F). Not all foundation-wall stone was local. The back building and cellar walls of the house formerly standing at 331 Lombard Street (demolished 1964) were of coral stone, which may have arrived in Philadelphia as ship ballast.[10]

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[9] James Logan Ledger and Letter Book, Logan Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited in Reed Laurence Engle, "Historic Structure Report: Stenton" (1982), 9-14.

[10] Adolph Benson, ed., Peter Kalm's Travels in North America (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937, 2 volumes), I:99-100; Richard J. Webster, Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), 18.

City houses also appear to have used stone rather than brick for cellar walls. The earliest accounts speak of cellars being "ston'd" or "brick'd," but few surviving buildings have brick cellar walls; without exception, the buildings visited had schist or other local stone cellar walls. Local stone roughly laid was both cheaper and better suited for the purpose. A 1774 building agreement between builder Robert Smith and the trustees of the College of Pennsylvania for the erection of a provost's house documents the standard use of stone foundations for brick houses in Philadelphia. The three story house at the corner of Arch and 4th Streets was to have "Cellar Walls ... of Stone Eight feet high, & of sufficient Thickness to support the Brick Walls above. The East, North and West Walls to be of Brick of the Thickness of Fourteen Inches. The South [party] Wall to be Nine Inches thick." This practice continued into the nineteenth century as evidenced by a building agreement dated 1846 for a three-story brick house and office at 114 Arch Street (between 3rd and 4th Streets): "Cellar eight feet in depth [with] stone walls 20 inches thick from a foundation six inches below the bottom of the cellar ...."[11]

These and other building agreements contain other useful information, particularly concerning yards. A 1763 agreement between Robert Smith and Mary Maddox for a pair of three-story brick houses with back buildings on 3rd Street again specifies a "good Cellar under the whole Buildings of eight feet deep from the [first-floor] joists." The yard specification is even more informative:

> The Yards go back Twenty feet beyond the East End of the Kitchen and to be walled up with Stone and Lime and the Ground to be filled and

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[11] Building agreement between Robert Smith and trustees of the College of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Minutes, March 1774, cited in INHP notecard file; building agreement between George Dilks, builder, and Josiah White, 31 January 1846, cited in Norris Hansell, "Internal Improvements: Death Papers of Josiah White and Selection of Letters of Josiah White" (1991), 121-22 (reference courtesy of Benjamin L. Walbert, architect, Allentown, PA).

> raised to a proper Heighth to give sufficient Fall for the Water and make Gutters out of both Yards into the nine feet Alley [behind] and to have a nine Inch Brick Wall all round the Yards on the Top of the Stone Wall four feet six Inches high and neatly coped with Wood ... There is also to be two double Brick Little Houses [i.e., privies] one in each Yard. The Yards to be neatly paved with Bricks and the Street within the Posts [i.e., sidewalk before house] to be paved with Bricks ....

The 1774 provost's house agreement contains similar specifications: "There is to be a Necessary House of Bricks ... and a Fence cross the Yard as a Screen to the Necessary; the Yard to be well paved with Bricks." The same practice continued into the 1840s: "the front pavement and yard as far as the privy to be laid with paving brick." Brick was not the only material used for paving; "Flags [i.e., flagstones] of all Sizes for paving Yards, Kitchens and Door[ways]" were advertised for sale at Ralph Asheton's ferry near Philadelphia in the 1 March 1743/44 Pennsylvania Gazette.[12]

The constricted yards described are typical for the narrow lot width of Philadelphia row housing. A 1754 house and lot plan of the Shippen and other houses at the northwest corner of Front and Pine Streets illustrates an even more constricted yard, probably paved, with a shared privy along the intersecting lot lines. Later drawings of the houses and lots at the northwest corners of Third and Pine Streets (now the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial) and Chestnut and Fourth Streets also show tight lots with shared privies. Paving with bricks allowed for good drainage (an obvious concern for Mrs. Maddox) and a uniform, durable surface for privy access and other yard activities. Yards with planted gardens were not unknown in Philadelphia, but they were certainly not as practical and generally required more space. Elizabeth Drinker implied that her

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[12] Building agreement between Robert Smith and Mary Maddox, 1 January 1763, Wallace Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited in INHP notecard file; building agreement between Robert Smith and the trustees of the College of Pennsylvania, March 1774; building agreement between George Dilks and Josiah White, 31 January 1846; Pennsylvania Gazette cited in INHP notecard file.

N. Front Street property was exceptional; "Our Yard and Garden looks most beautifully ... what a favour it is, to have room enough in the City, ... many worthy persons are pent up in small houses with little or no lotts, which is very trying in hott weather." Finally, yards were universally enclosed, generally with brick walls. Direct access was from the house, usually the back building, and/or from a side or rear alley (or the street itself for corner lots, e.g., Todd House). The equation of yard and sidewalk paving treatments is of note in this context.[13]

Other exterior cellar features may be observed in the building agreements, other period documents, and extant houses. The provost's house was to have "Stone Steps to the [front, first floor] Door, and Red Cedar Cheeks & Sill to the Cellar Door," the latter a clear reference to the sloping bulkhead door so common a feature in early Philadelphia building (figure 2). Carpenter David Evans' c. 1774 renovation work on the John Dickinson house on Chestnut Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets included the addition of "one outside cellar door[,] steps posts and cheekes included" for which he charged £1.7.6 and "one ledged door to the new house cellar" worth considerably less at 7s6p. The Rules of Work of the Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia published in 1786 list several kinds of "cellar doors ledg'd" at various prices. Such doors with red cedar cheeks and sills varied in price from 22s to £1.4.0 and cost more if "hewed out of red cedar posts" like the one Evans charged £1.7.6 for in 1774. The Rules

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[13] Edward Shippen to William Shippen, 28 February 1754, Shippen Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, copy in INHP Historical Architects' office files; "Survey of the houses belonging to the estate of the late William Allison" (at Third and Pine Streets), 8 October 1796, reproduced as plate I-A in James D. Mote and David G. Henderson, "Historic Structure Report: The Kosciuszko House" (Denver Service Center, 1974); survey of houses at Fourth and Chestnut Streets, 1799, copy in INHP Historical Architects' office files; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 10 April 1796; "The Todd House Grounds and Neighboring Properties" (INHP, 1963).

continue, "Lintels over cellar doors, or posts to support the doors when open'd, value them according to the manner of their being done." Period wooden cellar doors, cheeks, and sills have not survived; no doubt they were periodically replaced. Peter Kalm had earlier noted that cellar door cheeks were "usually built of brick [and] covered with a coping of [soapstone]" which protected the brick from the elements. Architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe remarked in 1798 that "white marble" was so commonly used in Philadelphia that "the steps to the nearest house and cheeks to the cellar doors are frequently made of it." Ten years before, Traquair and Miller, "Stone-cutters and Builders" at the northwest corner of Market and Tenth Streets, advertised stock including "slabs, cellar-door jambs, platforms, cheeks, steps, [and] window-heads." The Bishop White House has modern marble cellar-door trim and front steps very much like those described by Latrobe and certainly appropriate for its c. 1787 construction date.[14]

Cellar windows are another common exterior feature. "Cellar window-bars" were advertised for sale by ironsmith Andrew Reed in the 27 February 1753 Pennsylvania Gazette. For the c. 1774 renovations to the Dickinson House, David Evans provided "8 red cedar window frames with iron barrs for celler" and "64 lights" or panes for these windows for a total of £5.2.8; his charge for the "fitting up and hanging" of these was 12s. The front cellar window of the Bishop White House was originally fitted with iron bars set in stone (see Appendix F). Another reference to cellar windows packs a bit more drama. The 6 September 1792

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[14] Building agreement between Robert Smith and trustees of the College of Pennsylvania, March 1774; David Evans account, Logan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited in Nicholas Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), 147-48; The Rules of Work (1971 reprint), 34-35; Kalm's Travels I:157-58; "The Journal of Benjamin Henry Latrobe" and 6 August 1788 Pennsylvania Gazette, cited in INHP notecard file.

Maryland Gazette reported that early in the morning of 27 August "a lovely female child was found in a cellar window of Mr. Sparhawk's house, corner of Second-street and Elfreth's Alley [in Philadelphia]. ... There was nothing found with the child but an old red flannel shift; and the vacancy between the inside bars of the window and the outside stone work is not more than ten inches; so that it was difficult to take [the child] out." This account describes the common use of small light wells or "areas" at cellar windows. A similar barred window also off N. Second Street is illustrated in a c. 1811-13 drawing; these windows were a common feature of Philadelphia streetscapes (figure 3). In 1846, 114 Arch Street was to have "marble bases to the outer door frames" and "blue marble" heads and sills to its piazza and cellar windows.[15]

The cellar at 114 Arch Street was to have a "provision vault, five feet below, fully bricked" and "a brickwork wall with arches ... to support the main partitions" in the house above.[16] Vaults are found in many period houses, but not universally; they will be discussed in more detail below. Arched cellar walls are a common feature in houses where partitions above need support and/or the width of the rooms above is too great to span safely with one set of joists. The Bishop White House cellar has such an arched wall below the partition between the entry and primary living rooms on the first floor. The Deshler-Morris House has an arched wall running parallel to the front elevation to receive the joists of the first story rooms. In general, the small width of Philadelphia row housing allows joists and larger beams to span between cellar walls and support

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[15] Reed advertisement cited in INHP notecard file; Evans account, cited in Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 147; Maryland Gazette cited in INHP notecard file; building agreement between George Dilks and Josiah White, 31 January 1846.

[16] Building agreement between George Dilks and Josiah White, 31 January 1846.

flooring and partitions; only larger houses and those with four rooms on a floor require such arched support walls.

Other basic cellar features are so integral and universal that they escape mention in period documents. Chimney foundations of various forms and materials are found in every house that has a cellar and chimneys. Many are of brick (like those cited at Stenton above), but others are of the same stone as the foundation walls and in fact are integral with them. Chimney foundations are usually found along side walls and in the form of two rectangular piers, often joined near ceiling level with an arch or lintel to support the fireplace above; a solid foundation was not necessary and would have cost more. A trimmer arch, usually brick, springs from the inner face of the chimney foundation to support the protrusion of the hearth above. This pattern is found in all of the Park houses, with the Bishop White House having massive stone foundations and the Poe House less massive brick ones. The Poe House chimney foundations also have wooden shelving between the piers or abutting them (figure 4); this type of shelving is found in many other cellars (see Cliveden, Deshler-Morris, others in Appendix F). Houses with internal chimneys have freestanding chimney foundations that are prominent cellar features. The Powel House chimney foundation is an excellent example of this type, distinguished by the fact that one may walk through its arched middle (see also Wyck, others in Appendix F). Small niches, shelved and unshelved, are also found in cellar walls. Most of these appear to be original to the construction of the wall and are located at roughly chest height. With the exception of one regularly spaced row at Stenton, these niches are not placed in any discernable pattern or location. The niches in the old cellar at the Deshler-Morris House are typical (see also Grumblethorpe, Wyck, others in Appendix F).

Other cellar features as well as space differentiation and terminology may be investigated through the insurance survey and inventory samples. Table 3 lists cellar features found in the insurance survey sample. As mentioned previously, cellars are only mentioned by surveyors if there is a significant fire source or potential for loss by fire. Thus, though only 27% of the surveys on average mention cellars, the data collected on this percentage is useful in analyzing larger trends and for comparison with other documentation and extant cellars. Kitchens are an obvious concern for the surveyors and are noted in 19% of the total surveys on average and in 74% of the surveys that mention cellars.

Table 3 -- Insurance Survey Evidence: Cellar Features

feature	number	number as a percentage of 898 total	average of percentages for 6 periods
cellar mentioned	187	21%	27%
cellar not mentioned	711	79%	73%
kitchen	132	15%	19%
"ash hole"[1]	83	9%	14%
"furnace"[1]	28	3%	5%
bake oven/bakehouse	7	1%	1%
finish evidence	13	1%	2%
vault	3	<1%	<1%
basement plan	12	1%	2%

[1] The physical nature of these features is discussed below, pages 24-26.

Source: compiled from data in Appendix E.

Most of these cellar kitchens are noted simply with "kitchen in cellar." Others are noted as "kitchen in cellar finished as customary." "Customary" finish implies that the kitchen had cased or framed windows, doors, and closets,

washboards, and a wooden floor, usually pine, with the remainder of the walls and ceiling plastered. The cellar of Leonard Melchor's backbuilding at the southeast corner of Second Street and Elfreth's Alley was "occupied as [a] kitchen [with] plank floor throughout the whole" (PC survey 1417 taken 7 August 1770). Built-in dressers seem also to have been customary features in the eighteenth century, but survey evidence is not consistent on this point. Advertisements suggest that some kitchens may have been paved with bricks or flagstones, but again survey evidence is lacking. The important fact here is that a significant percentage of all houses surveyed and thus probably of Philadelphia houses in general had cellars that contained a kitchen, a finished space associated with intensive human activity.[17]

This pattern is not surprising given the density of building in many of period Philadelphia's neighborhoods. Two of the major house plan types characteristic of these neighborhoods generally have cellar kitchens (and do not have backbuildings). The "bandbox" plan consists simply of a single room, generally with a cellar kitchen below and one or two stories and a garret above. The "London house" plan consists of two rooms with a stairway between them; a kitchen forms half of the cellar, often accessible to the rear yard by stairs in an areaway or light well. The Park does not contain a bandbox plan house, but the reconstruction of 318 Market Street exhibits the London house plan (figure 5).[18] The survey for Martin Thomas's London-plan house on the west side of

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[17] Busch, "Philadelphia Kitchens," 4-5, 42 (note 13), discusses the meaning of "finished as customary" and the evidence for built-in dressers.

[18] The terms "bandbox" and "London house" are from William J. Murtagh, "The Philadelphia Row House," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians XVI,4 (December 1957), 8-13. Bandboxes, also known as "trinities," are usually found ranged along both sides of a court; Franklin Court had such an arrangement when Orianna Street was run through it in the early-nineteenth century. The Kosciuszko and Bond Houses were originally of the "London house" plan type, see

Fifth Street between High and Arch notes, "Kitchen in the Cellar & Floored there are closets in both rooms," suggesting that the other half of the cellar may have had closets but was unfloored (MA survey 373 taken May 1793).

Another group of houses with cellar kitchens were the "Bank" houses, so called because they were built into the bank of the Delaware along the east side of Front Street. These houses generally spanned the 40 foot width of the block between Front and Water Streets, so that they had no backbuildings. However, they were distinguished in having two ground levels, one on Front Street and one a story below on Water Street (figure 6). One 1752 survey noted a retail store and kitchen in the cellar of one "Bank of Delaware" house separated by "partitions of board" (PC survey 9). These houses approximate a basement plan; this point will be discussed later. Still other houses had two kitchens, generally one in the cellar (no longer used) and one in a newer backbuilding (e.g., MA survey 453 taken 21 June 1794; Jacoby and Keyser Houses, Germantown).

Cellar kitchens in genteel housing became more common in the nineteenth century, according to John Fanning Watson:

> Cellar kitchens-- now so general-- are but of modern use. 'Cook's houses,' on the southeast corner of High and Third streets, and 'Hunter's houses,' on the north side of High street above Eighth street, built in my time, were the first houses erected among us with the novelty of cellar kitchens. Those houses were deemed elegant and curious in their day. After that time, cellar kitchens have been increasing in use, to the great annoyance of the aged dames who remembered the easy access of a yard kitchen on the first floor.

Fashionable or not, cellar kitchens allowed builders to fit larger houses into older neighborhoods and to maximize land usage in new row housing.[19]

Mote and Henderson, "Historic Structure Report: The Kosciuszko House," 14-20.

[19] Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:222; George Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian: The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of Its Eighteenth-Century Neighbors (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), 60.

Other fire-related features account for a significant percentage of the cellar features mentioned in the survey. These include ash holes, furnaces, and bake ovens and bakehouses (Table 3). Ash holes were important in controlling the spread of fire and allowed households to gather a primary ingredient for soap. They are mentioned only rarely, except in the c. 1819-22 Mutual Assurance sampling where their presence or absence is uniformly noted (for this period, the ash hole evidence is considered separately; thus although there are 78 "ash hole in cellar" notations, 31 of these have no other cellar feature mentioned). Given this fact, one may conclude only that ash holes were common by the 1820s. Extant ash holes appear to date largely to the nineteenth century and are often found in enclosed chimney foundations with small, hinged iron access doors (e.g., examples at Hill-Physick-Keith, Wyck, and Johnson Houses; the cellar of the Stenton kitchen has an extremely large version with a vaulted ceiling to support the kitchen hearth above). Grumblethorpe has an interesting early ash hole and container of conical form in one corner of its front cellar directly below a first-floor hearth. The Woodlands has an ash pit built into a low counter opposite its basement kitchen cooking hearth and bake oven; one transported ashes from the cooking areas and deposited them in the pit, which still retains its stone cover. (Evidence for an ash hole in the Bishop White House cellar is problematic and will be discussed along with recommendations for that house).

Furnaces begin to appear only in the c. 1819-22 sample, but all five of the notations from that sample are from re-surveys dating to the 1830s and 1840s. Thus furnaces only became common features, and then common only in newly built and rather substantial houses, in the 1830s.[20] The 23 June 1838 survey taken

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[20] Benjamin Franklin mentions a "furnace" in his correspondence with his wife about the building of their house in 1765, but the exact nature of this furnace is unclear; see Edward M. Riley, "Franklin's Home," in Historic

for Joseph Parrish's "new three story brick house" at 109 Arch Street is typical: "In the Cellar, Is a furnace (coal fuel) in a brick chamber arched over, the gas pipe leads in a Chimney, the heated air Conveyed in brick flues, to the first & second stories & let out through apertures, secured by Brass & Iron valves, set in Stone. The whole appears secure" (MA survey 4127). Joseph Lapsley's "new four story house" at 714 Spruce Street was distinguished by having a similar furnace in both the front and back cellars (MA survey 4152 taken 24 November 1838).

Generally, furnaces are listed in the "front cellar," presumably to be close to the point where coal was delivered from the street into the cellar. References to coal "partitions" (e.g., MA survey 4259 taken 18 January 1842) and extant coal bins are usually in front cellars (e.g., Deshler-Morris House, in which a cellar window served as a coal chute). Furnaces logically backed into or were otherwise near existing chimney foundations, with the flues above serving as vents and separate conduits. But not all had masonry ducts; the front cellar of Peter Emerick's house on Vine Street between Second and Third Streets had a "Close Stove (coal fuel) enclosed in a Tin Cylinder ... The heated Air conveyed in Tin pipes & brick flues to the first & second stories" (MA survey 4184 taken 8 November 1839). Mid-nineteenth century furnaces, some within "brick chambers arched over," are found at Cliveden, The Highlands, Hill-Physick-Keith, and other houses. The Deshler-Morris House had a furnace by 1851; an 1868 resurvey noted that there were "Malsinger" furnaces in both the front and back-building cellars (PC policy 6334, re-surveys taken 1 October 1851 and 13 May 1868).

Philadelphia (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953), 154. Reuben Haines describes a "Calorifier," a wood-burning soapstone "reservoir of condensed heat," in 1812, but it is unclear if he ever installed such a device at Wyck or elsehwere; see Reuben Haines III to James Parke, 23 October 1812, Wyck Papers, American Philosophical Society.

Bake ovens and bakehouses are found consistently but in small numbers in the insurance survey sample (Table 3). The term "bake oven" referred to such a feature for domestic use; "bakehouse" described a larger commercial oven. Thus, the 2 June 1772 resurvey of William Shed's house notes "the Bake oven that was under it when it was insured is now removed" (PC survey book 1, page 39). This contrasts with the notation for "A Lawfull Bake house in the Cellar" at the house of baker John Jones on Vine Street between Front and Second Streets (PC survey book 2, page 47). All other bakehouses mentioned are also designated "lawfull." This refers to the official definition of a lawful bakehouse first enacted in 1730/31:

> ... no person after the time aforesaid [early 1732/33], within [Philadelphia], shall occupy the trade of a biscuit or soft-bread baker, but in a bake-house built of brick or stone, and arched over with brick, if the place will admit thereof, or otherwise to be well ceiled with plastering; the floor of the said bake-house paved with brick or stone; the crown [i.e., top] of the oven to be secured by carrying up the foundation walls square, and filling the same with gravel or sand, at least six inches higher than the top of the oven; and the chimney to be arched in the said bake-house, without any timber in or near adjoining to the same.

This regulation was backed up by stiff fines, starting at 20s for the first infraction. Later in the eighteenth century, "lawful bake-houses" may well have contained "statute-bricks, or small common bricks, which ought, when burnt, to be nine inches long, four and a quarter broad, and two and a half thick; they are commonly used in paving cellars, sinks, hearths, &c." An excellent example of a lawful cellar bakehouse formerly stood at 110 Sansom Street; an altered example (no longer used) may be found in the cellar of 218 Spruce Street.[21]

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[21] Acts of [Pennsylvania] Assembly Relative to The City of Philadelphia IV:16-17, INHP microfilm collection; Dobson's Encyclopedia (1798), III:551, cited in INHP notecard file; record drawings and photographs of 108-10 Sansom Street (demolished 1984), in INHP Historical Architects' office files; 218 Spruce Street file, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

Lawful bakehouses were generally commercial operations working out of the cellar of domestic buildings, perhaps with a retail store on the first floor. This mix of commercial and domestic activity is not uncommon in period Philadelphia, but usually not as architecturally pronounced or process-intensive. While operating, bakehouses required frequent re-fueling, thus yards become an important adjunct to store the large amounts of wood needed. An advertisement in the 17 July 1746 Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser makes this point: "To Be Lett for four years, in Sassafras or Race-street, a very good Brick House, three Stories high, very well accommodated for a Baker, having a large front Sellar, with a good Oven, another Oven backward, with a Pump, well supply'd with Water before the Door, [and] a Yard with Conveniences."[22] The bakehouse at 216 Spruce Street had "steps out side to the yard, the oven extending under the open shed in the yard (a safe deposite [i.e., ash hole or pit] for ashes under the oven)." The shed itself measured 13 by 20 feet and was "open in front for the purpose of putting wood under it" (Fire Association survey 1983 taken 5 February 1828). Not all ovens were commercial, however. The Kosciuszko House cellar kitchen had a bake oven by 1835 that did not increase the risk of fire "other than by a private bake oven;" even if this indicates a public bakehouse situation, the adjoining house had a "safely constructed" bake oven by 1846 (PC surveys taken 8 August 1835 and 27 August 1846). A fine cellar-kitchen oven stands in the Grumblethorpe Tenant House in Germantown.

Significant finish evidence is found in the insurance surveys, but no particular finish treatment is systematically recorded (Table 3). Instead, the majority of finish evidence relates to cellars with commercial usages, and specifically to the floors in these spaces. A tinsmith ("Tinman") worked in one

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[22] Cited in INHP notecard file.

cellar "floored with rough boards"; "plank floors laid in mortar" are noted in two domestic cellars near the waterfront containing a grain store and currying shop respectively (PC survey 95, re-survey taken 1822; MA surveys 357/58 and 360 taken January 1793). Four other finish notations refer to cellar flooring, including a reference to a "paved" cellar under the backbuilding of the Market Street house of jeweler and silversmith Joseph Anthony, Jr. (MA survey 388/89 taken c. December 1793; this house was located adjacent to Franklin's Market Street houses).

Other period documents suggest that flooring was common in any cellar designated for intensive commercial and/or domestic usage. In 1770 Daniel Roberdeau wrote to Philadelphia merchant Henry Drinker, "I would to have the Cellars under the front house floored, and as I intend them for Stores ... they would thereby be rendered dryer, the leakage of Rum cannot be well discovered on an earthen floor." An advertisement in the 27 November 1776 Pennsylvania Gazette describes a property on N. Second Street with a "cellar floor laid with two inch plank" and a stable and coach house "with a good dry cellar under the whole, paved with brick," both suitable for "Stores." The Rules of Work of the Carpenters' Company established price guidelines for cellar flooring in 1786: "Sleepers for cellars or stores, and framed floors of joist not exceeding 8 inches deep ... from 5/ to 7[s]." Of course, wooden flooring treatments were subject to wet and dry rot. Laying planks in mortar solved this problem in dry cellars; in wet cellars, the mortar attracted moisture that could then rot the wood. One nineteenth-century household manual suggests the use of a dry underlayment and planks pre-soaked with rot-resistant materials instead of laying unprepared planks in "moist" earth as was common. "Thus prepared, [the floors] will resist every species of damp so effectually, that the person who lays down

a floor according to these directions, in a cellar or a kitchen, will have the satisfaction to think that ... he will not be ever called upon to do it again in the same house." In practice however, wooden floors were no doubt replaced as needed; more expensive paving was the longer-lasting alternative.[23]

Other finish evidence relates to partitions as well as the use of cellars for retail or goods stores and living spaces (the last point will be discussed with basement evidence at the end of the chapter). The cellar of one house was "in 2 parts divided by a Board partition, front plaistered and floored" (MA survey 4122, taken c. June 1838). Cellar partitions, usually board, were common features. David Evans charged 6s6p for "mending partition in celler" as part of his c. 1774 work on the Dickinson House and probably constructed a few in the cellar of the Cadwalader House a few years earlier. Early if not original partitions survive in the cellars at Stenton, Loudoun, and other houses (see Appendix F). Stephen Collins had his "front cellar plaistered & shelved for a store" in his house on Second Street between Market and Arch Streets (PC survey book 2, page 69, taken 3 March 1772). The Drinker House on N. Front Street, a block east of Collins', also had a plastered front cellar, probably for commercial storage. Elizabeth Drinker related that a noise that had woken the household was occasioned by the failure of "the plastering which had newly been put up on top of the front Celler."[24]

The basic treatment of cellar walls is not referred to in the insurance surveys or other period documentation. This treatment, like the composition of

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[23] Daniel Roberdeau to Henry Drinker, 18 December 1770, location unknown, and advertisement cited in INHP notecard file; The Rules of Work (1971 reprint), 2; Practical Economy; or, The Application of Modern Discoveries to the Purposes of Domestic Life (London, 1821), 34-35.

[24] Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 50, 148; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 29 April 1794.

the walls themselves, was so standard that description was unnecessary unless the walls had a special treatment such as plastering (cf. examples above). In virtually every house, the cellar walls simply received a regular coating of whitewash. Elizabeth Drinker had her house whitewashed in early summer, noting on one rainy occasion "'tis a great work to clean this house thoroughly from ye cock loft to the Cellars especially when damp or rainy weather intervene." Francis Hopkinson wrote a satirical account of this "peculiar custom" in 1785, noting that "from the rag hole in the garret, to the rat hole in the cellar, no place escapes unrummaged." One nineteenth-century household manual even suggests that whitewash mixed with "as much copperas ... as may give it a clear yellow hue" prevents and contains the effects of dry rot in cellar floors. Evidence of whitewashing is found in most period cellars, including all of those surveyed for this project.[25]

In summary, the insurance survey evidence in conjunction with other period documentation suggest that most cellars were very plainly finished with unplastered, whitewashed walls and ceilings and most likely with earthen or "natural" floors. Partitioning may divide these cellars, but they are best characterized by their lack of differentiation and specific features. Plastering, flooring, and architectural woodwork are associated only with cellars finished for regular, intensive commercial or household usage.

But many other features are found in extant cellars. These include vaults of varying dimension and material, grilled wooden enclosures, and separate,

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[25] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 10 June 1796; Francis Hopkinson to "a friend in Europe," June 1785, cited in INHP notecard file; Practical Economy, 33. For more information on whitewashing, see Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 52-53, 74-75 (notes 37-43).

lockable rooms. A few vaults are mentioned in the insurance surveys (Table 3), but the probate inventories and other documents are much more useful in providing period names for these and other architectural features. Table 5 lists cellar terminology and implied space divisions derived from the 87 inventories that itemize cellar/yard contents (twenty of these inventories do not specifically mention cellars or yards, but they repeat patterns found in those that do; four other inventories mention a yard only). The majority of inventories simply mention a cellar (with four spelling variations); this term implies one or more spaces. Other inventories have two or more spaces implied, listing cellars, front and back cellars, etc. Table 4 lists the plan types for the houses inventoried. Over three quarters of the total (79%) have two room-plans (most

Table 4 -- Inventory Evidence: House Plan Types

plan type	1754-97 (43 total)	1800-15 (46 total)	1816-27 (43 total)	1828-48 (43 total)	1754-1848 (175 total)
one room, two stories	1 (2%)	1 (2%)			2 (1%)
two rooms, two stories	14 (33%)	3 (7%)	12 (28%)	6 (14%)	35 (20%)
two rooms, three stories	23 (53%)	30 (65%)	24 (56%)	27 (63%)	104 (59%)
three or more rooms, three stories	1 (2%)	4 (9%)	1 (2%)	5 (11%)	11 (6%)
unclear/other	4 (9%)	8 (17%)	6 (14%)	5 (12%)	23 (13%)

Source: compiled from data in Appendix B.

Table 5 -- Inventory Evidence: Cellar Terminology and Spaces

Terms are direct transcriptions; all capital letters have been removed. In addition, 13 inventories cite a "yard"; 4 of these do not have a citation or evidence for a cellar. Abbreviations: n = number of citations.

number of spaces implied

name(s)	n	≥1	2	≥2	≥3
cellar[1]	50	X			
kitchen cellar [and open cellar]	2		X		
open&wine cellar	1		X		
1st&2nd cellar	1		X		
pantry cellar [and open cellar]	1		X		
front&back cellar	1		X		
front cellar [and back kitchen]	1		X		
cellars	1			X	
vault [and cellar]	1			X	
front cellar, vault [and kitchen]	1				X
cellar under front parlour/ entry & [ ] room/entry & back room/piazza and east/ west cellar under kitchen	1				X
basement	1	X			
front basement, cellar [and kitchen]	1				X
TOTALS	63 (100%)	51 (81%)	7 (11%)	2 (3%)	3 (5%)

[1] Includes inventories listing "celler," "sellar," and "seller" (5 total).

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

with backbuildings as well). References to front and back cellars (as in the surveys of houses with furnaces) suggest a division of the cellar related to partitioning above; they may also refer to the cellars under the house or front building and the backbuilding. In either case, some basic space differentiation if not hierarchy is suggested.

References to a kitchen cellar, an open cellar, wine cellars, a pantry cellar, vaults, and basements manifest this differentiation. The kitchen cellar most likely was finished like those described above. The open cellar suggests the unfinished type with unplastered, whitewashed walls and ceilings, but the

term open probably refers specifically to the fact that this space, unlike the wine cellar, was readily accessible. What did vaults, wine cellars, and the other features listed look like? Vaults took several forms in period cellars. These may be divided four basic types: series of open vaults supporting alley-or carriage-ways; other plain, dry vaults; secured, vented rooms with vaulted ceilings; and vaulted spaces with a water supply.

Series of brick cellar vaults or arches supporting alleyways between houses are very common features in older neighborhoods of Philadelphia. Most are only 3 to 4 feet deep (roughly the width of the alley above) and have an opening measuring between 4 to 6 feet wide. The height of the top of the vault is usually not more than 5 feet and often closer to 4 feet above the cellar floor (since alleyways are at street level and the first floor and thus cellar ceiling level are normally several feet above ground level). Examples of this feature, open only to one of the cellars they abut, are found at 300 Delancey Street, 330 S. Third Street, and elsewhere.[26]

The Rules of Work of the Carpenters Company for 1786 suggested that 1½d be charged "per superficial foot" for centers or support frames used to lay up masonry "under common alleys" like those described above. These centers were simply made and removed once the arches had set properly. The Rules suggest a charge of 15s to £1 per square for "centers under vaults, the frames, and Covering those centers." This notation implies a larger vault (a square being a 100 square foot unit of measure) and one that needed a solid form on which to

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[26] Illustrated in Elizabeth McCall, Old Philadelphia Houses on Society Hill, 1750-1840 (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1966), 30, 184; similar vaults under the alleyway at 217 Spruce Street, Philadelphia Historical Commission files, and 704 S. Front Street, Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 155, 177-78.

be laid.[27] The construction of the large, arched vaults supporting the carriage-way leading into Franklin Court from Market Street may have required these more expensive centers. Six vaults form this series; two complete vaults and one shortened vault open into the cellars of both 316 and 318 Market Street. The southernmost vault is divided into shortened vaults which open into the respective areaways (figure 5). A circular pit with brick sides and bottom descends approximately 5¼ feet below the level of the brick-paved floor of the northernmost vault, which opens into the cellar of 318 Market Street. No determination of the pit's function could be made on the basis of the archeological evidence; most likely, it functioned as a primitive refrigeration unit (see discussion of Bishop White sub-cellar vault below, pages 38-39).[28] Evidence of hardware may be observed near the mouths of several of these vaults, probably related to doors or partitions that controlled access or hoists for shelving. Comparable single vaults are found in cellars without alley- or carriage-ways. Many of these vaults are built to support a particular ground floor feature, most often a paved kitchen. James Traquair's 3-story backbuilding at Market and Tenth Streets had a "Brick arch under the floor" of its first-story kitchen and "Marble" cellar stairs (MA survey 1420 taken 1809; as mentioned previously, Traquair was a stone cutter). A similar vault was created when the kitchen was extended into the rear yard of 631 Walnut Street in 1850 (MA survey

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[27] The Rules of Work (1971 reprint), 38-39. According to an advertisement in the 27 September 1770 Pennsylvania Gazette, carpenter Thomas Nevell operated a night school at his Fourth Street house, where he taught "the most useful problems in geometry ... also the different centers or brackets for regular or irregular groins in cellars and ceilings, etc.," cited in Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 36.

[28] Betty Cosans, "1974 Franklin Court Report" (INHP, 1974), III:198-99. Cosans hypothesizes that the pit may have been either an "ash hole" or a "cistern."

4273, re-survey taken 7 October 1850). Other vaults extend under the sidewalk in front of the house or under the yard in back. Outside of the city, vaults could be placed on any side of the cellar; Stenton and Belfield have nineteenth-century vaults extending under their side yards to the north. Benjamin Franklin apparently wanted to "dig" vaults at his new city home in 1765, but builder Samuel Rhoads dissuaded him, noting that such vaults might damage the walls of the house. This advice suggests that the vaults were to extend horizontally out from the cellar kitchen.[29] The Kosciuszko House had an unusual half vault under its small paved yard along Pine Street (see Appendix F).

Evidence for vaults under the sidewalks of 314-22 Market Street was found during early restoration work on these sites. It is likely that these vaults were constructed in the nineteenth century when the houses had been altered for commercial usage. But by the middle of the eighteenth century, non-domestic vaults had been concentrated under the pavements of Market, Front, and other commercial streets. Elizabeth Drinker related that one summer storm in 1765 "has done considerable damage in Town: tore up the pavement in some places and spoiled goods, that were in cellers in Market-Street," no doubt both domestic and non-domestic. In the middle of the nineteenth century, extensive commerical-storage vaults were created under sidewalks in this area that did not communicate with the buildings they abutted. Several of these even had multiple levels.[30]

Another group of vaulted cellar spaces is characterized by the use of

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[29] Riley, "Franklin's Home," 153-54.

[30] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 11 August 1765; Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 75, 100. An earlier non-domestic vault system was found under the Walnut Street Prison (completed in 1791), partially "to prevent prisoners from digging their way out;" the cellar vaults must also have helped support the rows of paved, vaulted cells above; see Thorsten Sellin, "Philadelphia Prisons of the Eighteenth Century," in Historic Philadelphia, 329.

masonry walls to create separate, securable rooms. These rooms have barred interior and/or exterior ventilation openings. The example at Stenton lies below the paved entrance hall and has two exterior vents leading out under the front steps. At Grumblethorpe, a similar room has exterior vents to the yard and an interior cellar window secured with wooden bars. Both the Stenton and Grumblethorpe rooms have large, regularly placed metal hooks in their vaulted ceilings and earthen floors. A slightly smaller vaulted room with barred interior windows and a paved floor is found in the cellar of the Powel House. The form of these spaces matches the 1821 description of a "larder," especially of the need for ventilation; "... it is proper to remark that a thorough current of air ought always to be kept up; and if the situation of the larder will not admit of opposite windows, then a current of air must be admitted by means of a flue from the outside." The same year, Philadelphia architect John Haviland published plans for "Vaults for Victuals" that correspond to those observed. Given the presence of hooks, the larder-victual storage function seems reasonable.[31]

The term larder is found occasionally in period documents, often in conjunction with a wine cellar. Poulson's Daily Advertiser for 8 March 1820 listed for rent the house at the southwest corner of Delancey and Front Streets, noting that it had a "Wine Cellar, Larder, &c. and the Kitchen on the ground floor." Another house offered in the same issue had "paved cellars, wine cellars, and [a] larder." Wine cellars are mentioned relatively frequently in period documents, largely because of the value and nature of their contents. These contents also require a ventilated, secured cellar room. An 1821

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[31] Practical Economy, 159; Haviland, The Builder's Assistant (Philadelphia, 1821), appendix.

prescription for wine cellars is close to that given for larders (quoted above) in the same source:

> In choosing, or in forming a wine cellar, remember that the deepest are the best; yet they cannot have too much air, provided it comes through air holes with a northern aspect. They ought also to be as far as possible from *all drains*, as much good wine has often been spoiled by inattention to this circumstance. Both casks and bottles ought to be so arranged as to admit to a free circulation of air. This prevents the rotting of hoops, and very often saves a cask of old wine.

Moreover, in his "Plan of the Cellar Story of New House of Commodore Decatur in the City of Washington" dated January 1818, Benjamin Henry Latrobe delineates a vaulted cellar room (almost identical to that at Stenton in size, location, and form) that he identifies as a "Vaulted Wine Cellar."[32]

Other ventilated, secured cellar rooms without vaulted ceilings undoubtedly had a similar function or served as storerooms for dry provisions. Stone walls with barred openings in the cellar of the Hill-Physick-Keith House may once have been part of such a room, perhaps the "brick cellar store room" constructed in 1789 or the "wine room" that was provided with a soapstone "stove" in 1797. The Bishop White House has a room with both interior and exterior barred windows, a massive wooden door with evidence of a stock lock, and a wood and mortar floor. Mount Pleasant has a pair of secured cellar spaces each with a barred interior window and early brick-paved floor; these rooms are divided by a board partition. The original Pemberton House on the south side of Chestnut between Third and Fourth Streets had cellars "fitted up for wine, with planked floors, windows, &c.," a treatment similar to that observed at the Bishop White House.[33]

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[32] Poulson's Daily Advertiser, cited in INHP notecard file; Practical Economy, 237; copy of Latrobe plan in INHP Historical Architects' office files.

[33] February 1797 receipt, Hill-Physick-Keith House file, Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks; Pemberton House sale announcement, 16 June 1815 American Daily Advertiser, cited in INHP notecard file.

Another non-vaulted cellar enclosure found is the grilled wooden closet. In effect, these spaces are fenced off from open cellar space by the use of regularly spaced slats or boards, again allowing for ventilation and security. Plain enclosures of this type with shelving are found at Stenton, the Johnson House, and The Highlands. The basement of The Woodlands has a more finished example. All are suitable for wine and other secure storage: the term "wine closet" probably refers to enclosures of this kind, rather than to vaulted or other masonry cellar spaces. Other period terms such as cellar pantry and cellar closet may also refer to enclosures of this kind (see also INHP accession 3635, slotted boards from the cellar of 326 Spruce Street).

Several domestic cellars also have cold and "wet" storage areas. Sub-cellars are particularly suited for cold storage, as they maintain an even lower temperature than the primary cellar above. Franklin's aborted plan to "dig" vaults suggests such a downward expansion, and one contemporary recollected an "icehouse ... as being under [Franklin's cellar] kitchen." However, no evidence of such a feature was uncovered during archeological work at Franklin Court.[34] Just such a sub-cellar vault with what appears to be a cooling pit may be found under the backbuilding of the Bishop White House. Below a wooden hatch in the cellar floor, a step ladder oriented perpendicular to the ridge of the vault provides access into its southeastern corner; a vent in the east wall leads to the yard above. Evidence of metal pintles in the south wall suggest that a crane formerly swung over the pit, allowing heavy items to be hoisted in or out. This vault and its pit relate closely to those found in the cellar at 318 Market Street (see page 34).

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[34] Riley, "Franklin's Home," 154; Barbara Liggett, "Final Report, Archaeological Investigations at Franklin Court," (INHP, 1971), 73. Franklin's icepit was located immediately to the west of his house rather than under it.

The rectangular, vented sub-cellar room under the backbuilding at 114 S. Front Street (built 1792, now demolished) was very similar to that at the Bishop White House. However, it received run-off water via a lead pipe from an adjacent ice pit and had a marble floor with domed brick drain below. A side vault extending out of the northern wall added to the useable space. Found without a ceiling, this sub-cellar was undoubtedly vaulted like that at the Bishop White House.[35] John Fanning Watson recorded another sub-cellar:

> There is a curious and unaccountable vault far under ground, in the back premises of Messrs. John and C.J. Wistar [on the north side of Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets]. At fourteen feet depth is a regular arched work of stone, sixteen feet long, and without any visible outlet. In breaking into its top to know its contents, they found nothing therein, save a log lying along the whole length. ... There is no conjecture formed concerning what it may have been constructed for, nor at what time it may have been made. Dr. Franklin once lived in the adjoining house, ... whether the vault could have had any connexion with his philosophy may be a question. In rebuilding those houses fine wells were found under the foundations.[36]

The mention of wells suggests that this sub-cellar might have functioned like that at 114 S. Front Street, with the log serving as a cool-water trough in which to set perishable goods.

Several vaulted cellar spaces have such troughs and a constant water source. At Loudoun, a stone-vaulted space under the south portico contains a large stone trough along one long side with old water pipe above one end; a crude open board door controls access to the vault. The Hill-Physick-Keith House has a vault extending out of its north cellar wall that contains a similar trough, water source, and hardware evidence for a door of some kind. At Hope Lodge and the Johnson House, well water was conducted into floor-level troughs around three

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[35] Penelope H. Batcheler, "Historic Structures Report: Area F" (Denver Service Center, 1978), 220-21, 236-42. Also note the large, open cellar vaults against the rear (west) lot line in drawing on page 240.

[36] Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, II:426.

sides of a plainly finished, unvaulted cellar room. In either guise, these spaces had the characteristics of a springhouse: cool, even temperatures and ready access to water. The marble-shelved vault found below the paved yard at Grumblethorpe no doubt had a similar function; it is built around a well. Cornelius Weygandt describes a related feature in Germantown house cellars:

> A closet in the solid stone of a northwest wall is a cool place even in August, and the typical "cellar-hole," as it is locally called in Pennsylvania, is even cooler. This "cellar-hole" often opened off the cellar well that was so constant and unhygienic a feature of our old Germantown houses, but more usually it was simply a shelved six-foot depression in the cellar floor, with steep steps down into it. Out of use as these "cellar-holes" were in my youth, they were not always floored over and I have had more than one bad tumble into such traps ...[37]

Unfortunately, no "cellar-hole" was found during the course of this project, but its form and function relate closely to the cellar spaces described.

Similarly, all of these "wet" spaces conform in varying degrees to the following specifications for a "dairy" published in 1821:

> Where expense in the erection is not absolutely an object, then the apartment ought to be vaulted; at all events, however, it may be ceiled [i.e., plastered]; the walls ought to be well white-washed, the floor well flagged or paved with proper tiles ... If its size will permit, it is better to have shelves, of table height, arranged all round it, but if not sufficiently large, then another and higher shelf may be added. Where the floor can be laid on a bias, with a gradual descent, either to the middle, where a small grating may lead to a drain, or else to one of the sides, it will be found a most convenient arrangement. ... If the inequality of the ground permits the dairy to be so placed that a pipe may be laid from a natural spring, with a small reservoir and stop-cock, great advantages from freshness and cleanliness must ensue: otherwise there ought to be a good sized reservoir, with ready means of refreshment, so that the idea of trouble shall not tempt the dairy maids to avoid the necessary expenditure of water.[38]

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[37] The Wissahickon Hills: Memories of Leisure Hours Out of Doors in an Old Countryside (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), 190.

[38] Practical Economy, 167. "Straining and Skimming," an engraving published in Baltimore in 1819, portrays a room of this description in use; reproduced in Barbara Clark Smith, After the Revolution: The Smithsonian History of Everyday Life in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 61.

This source does not specify what floor such a "dairy" should occupy, but the cellar or yard is the logical choice in an urban context. In fact, the only use of the term in period documentation refers to the cellar of the Norris House on the south side of Chestnut Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets (built c.1750, demolished c. 1820 for the construction of the Second Bank of the United States). Deborah Norris Logan wrote that the "cellars and vaults under the house were excellent ... and by a contrivance in hydraulics, water was introduced into the cellar designed for a dairy ..."[39]

Other "wet" features in or near cellars include wells and privies. Fresh-water wells are found in cellars, but not as frequently as certain written accounts assert. The Powel House cellar had a well (now filled) dug by Patrick Waugh; John Palmer was paid £14.19.5 for "arching and paving" the area around this well in July 1770. Three years later, Joseph Pemberton paid Jonathan Drinker £1.10.0 for "Turning an Arch over the well and paveing the top and building the place in celler." The Peters House (built before 1793) at 307 Walnut Street, next door to the Bishop White House, had a sub-cellar pit with just such a vaulted brick "cap." The circular, brick-lined pit had a 10 foot inner diameter and was approximately 11 feet 5 inches deep below cellar floor level. "Entrance was through a doorway in the curved portion of the roof. An interesting feature of this structure was the presence of a stone shelf 1 foot wide and 0.15 foot thick which ran around the pit three feet below the apex of the roof. It made an ideal storage shelf for items which needed to be kept cool," not unlike the "wet" rooms described above. Several houses in Germantown,

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[39] Reminiscences of Deborah Norris Logan, 1827, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Hope Lodge, and The Highlands have wells located in their cellars.[40]

But private urban wells and cisterns, often equipped with pumps, were usually located in yards. The c. 1784-94 Mutual Assurance surveys note "pump in yard" at six houses, "cistern in yard" at seven houses, and "cistern and pump in yard" at another four houses. Moreover, numerous public pumps lined the streets of Philadelphia. One foreign observer marvelled that "at regular distances there are, in front of the Homes, wooden Pumps in the form of posts along the Street Pavement, where all inhabitants may be supplied with the water they need with the greatest convenience and cleanliness." In January 1801, the Latrobe-designed pump house on Penn Square began distributing water into wooden pipes along selected streets. Two years later, the pipes had reached N. Front Street, where Elizabeth Drinker remarked, "They are digging from Arch to Vine Streets, to lay Pipes to convey ye Schuykill water; I dont think so much of the advantage as many others do." By 1805, Mrs. Drinker acknowledged one benefit of the system; the absence of mosquitoes "I have computed to ye introduction of the Schuykill water, which prevents the necessity of keeping rain water in the yards as formerly." Frederick Graff, appointed superintendent and engineer in charge of the waterworks in 1805, redesigned and expanded the system, replacing the old wooden pipes with cast-iron. By the end of 1848, 78 miles of pipe had been laid in the

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[40] Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian, 54; Pemberton Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited in INHP notecard file; B. Bruce Powell, "The Archeology of Franklin Court" (INHP, 1962), 20, illustrations 21-22 (for Peters House). INHP Historical Architect Penelope Batcheler suggests that this shelf may have been a support for a structure to support ice, allowing it to be insulated on all sides. Batcheler also notes that uninsulated ice simply melts in pits such as those in 318 Market Street and the Bishop White sub-cellar; they are cooled by the surrounding ground. Discussions with Batcheler, August 1991.

city, with water supplied to 4107 private houses.[41]

Privies were also concentrated in yards, as noted previously. But several houses had privies located in or immediately adjacent to cellars. Elizabeth Drinker mentions two examples. On 22 April 1784 she noted, "this afternoon a Laboring Man lost his Life, who was diging a Seller up Town-- by ye bursting out of an nesesary against which he stood." A summer storm in 1797 had less serious but still unpleasant results; "The water has found its way partly opposite us, under the pavement into a Necessary, the contents of which, was carried into a house in Water Street, to the great discomfiture of the inhabitants."[42] The Kosciuszko House may have had a similar under-pavement necessary in the nineteenth century. The Bishop White House has an elaborate vaulted privy drain (not a pit) at cellar level, but this feature merely abuts the backbuilding cellar rather than forming a part of it. In fact, the privy drain vault, sub-cellar vault, and yard well and cistern at the Bishop White House are all located within ten feet of each other, suggesting the potential for situations like those described by Mrs. Drinker. Archeological evidence for the eighteenth-century privy at Benjamin Franklin's house suggests that it had two levels above a pit, one of which was directly accessible from the cellar areaway to the south of the cellar kitchen. "Thus it is entirely possible that the function of the areaway was essentially that of a land fill retaining wall and screen for the privy-- not a passageway." The Bishop White and Franklin Houses are exceptional cases; most

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[41] Francisco de Miranda Diary, November 1783, cited in INHP notecard file; Weigley, Russell F., ed., Philadelphia: A 300-Year History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982), 226-30, 317; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 10 December 1802 and 16 September 1805. On 31 May 1807, Drinker added, "... last week a trench was dug in our alley and pipes put down to convey ye water as far up as the livery Stables etc."

[42] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 22 April 1784 and 4 August 1797.

eighteenth-century privies were simply "convenient" to the house, not joined to it. With the introduction of piped water after 1801, bath rooms became more common, but water closets were still rare in the 1840s.[43]

Finally, the various features noted in extant cellars and period documentation should not be taken to imply that all or even a majority of cellars in the period were similarly arranged. These features, especially those with large and/or complicated vaults, are found primarily in the city and country houses of the upper class (which included the Logans, Norrises, Pembertons, Powels, and Whites). These were the people who could afford to stock and maintain wine cellars and larders as well as to construct them. John Fanning Watson notes of Robert Morris's ill-fated c. 1790s house-building campaign on Chestnut Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets:

> Immense funds were expended ere it reached the surface of the ground, it being generally two, and sometimes three stories under ground, and the arches, vaults and labyrinths were numerous. ... Some of the underground labyrinths were so deep and massive as to have been left as they were, and at some future age may be discovered to the great perplexity of the *quid nuncs*.

No doubt Morris planned to lay in the best provisions for consumption in the palatial entertaining rooms above ground. By contrast, the insurance survey and probate inventory samples suggest that cellar finish and space differentiation were kept to a minimum in most instances (Tables 3 and 4). German traveller J.D. Schoepf's period observations on Philadelphia housing underscore this point and

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[43] "Archaeological Investigation [Kosciuszko House]" (Denver Service Center, 1975), 34; Paul Schumacher, "Archaeological Field Notes, Archaeological Project, Bishop White House Basement" (INHP, 1956); Liggett, "Final Report, Archaeological Investigations at Franklin Court," 87; Mutual Assurance surveys, c. 1838-44. An excellent general discussion of the location and form of privies, wells, and other pits in Franklin Court and Philadelphia in general is found in Cosans, "1974 Franklin Court Report," I:1-81. The Powel House may have had a three-story, polygonal privy tower, but no cellar-level evidence remains of this; see Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian, 86.

summarize the most commonly seen cellar and yard features. He admires the city's regular streets and sidewalks, but notes that the latter are "often narrowed by the 'stoops' built up before the houses, or by the down-sloping cellar and kitchen doors." He continues, "Behind each house is a little court or garden, where usually are the necessaries ... The kitchen, stable, &c. are all placed in buildings at the side or behind, kitchens often underground. Vaults I do not remember seeing in any house."[44]

Cellar form and location largely determined usage in period Philadelphia. With the exception of kitchens and later (and then only rarely) full basements, cellars were not living spaces. A brief analysis of cellar access affirms these points and suggests patterns of usage. As stated previously, the vast majority of eighteenth-century cellars had bulkhead doors to the street. Others had bulkheads to the yard (e.g., Deshler-Morris House); several houses had bulkheads to both the street and yard (e.g., Powel House). The "London house plan" as constructed in Philadelphia employed an areaway linking the cellar kitchen and yard; the front cellar was provided with a bulkhead to the street. Thus, virtually all cellars except some of those in "bandbox" houses had exterior access to the street, yard, or both. Goods and people entering and exiting a particular cellar, notably those from outside the household, never needed to enter the primary living spaces. Cellars and yards were thus permeable but controllable spaces subsidiary to primary living spaces.

Interior access to and from cellars underlines their subsidiary nature, aligning them with the kitchen, the major service center of the household. In

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[44] Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:410; Schoepf, "Travels in the Confederation, 1783-84," cited in INHP notecard file.

the Todd, Bishop White, and other Philadelphia houses with backbuildings, interior access to the cellar is from the backbuilding or the piazza separating it from the main house. The stairs are generally in short, straight runs or winding; they are invariably utilitarian in design (lacking the turnings and trim that often distinguish stairs between the primary living spaces) and placed behind a closed door. In houses with cellar kitchens and no backbuilding, interior access generally follows that between the primary living spaces above, again often without as much detail. Several houses have cellar stairs below primary and secondary staircases (e.g., Stenton, Powel House), but without any corresponding hierarchy at cellar level; these cellars are simply more accessible. In other instances, the stair to the cellar is also the only one that accesses the garret, thus defining a service core that does not overlap with the primary living spaces (e.g., Hill-Physick-Keith House, The Woodlands).

This strict separation of service and served spaces is exceptional, but a strong backbuilding-cellar-yard relationship with many of the same functional and social implications may be charted. Backbuildings or piazzas also have direct access to the yard in most cases. Thus, a triangular relationship between the cellar, backbuilding or kitchen, and yard develops. The physical form and interrelation of the three spaces varies from house to house (notably when there is a cellar kitchen), but they function together to contain various goods and processes. What are these goods and processes? Peter Kalm noted that in the mid-eighteenth century, Philadelphia-area cellars were "used for a cellar, pantry, wood-shed, or sometimes a kitchen, and merchants occasionally kept their goods in [them]."[45] If "used for a cellar" refers to wine and liquor storage, Kalm's list corresponds closely to the evidence found in period documents.

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[45] Kalm's Travels, I:100.

Probate inventories suggest four major categories of usage: fuel storage, food and liquor storage; food processing; and laundering. Table 6 lists the inventory evidence for these usages. Table 7 lists cellar architectural features and usages noted in the insurance surveys that further define the inventory evidence and suggest related processes.

Table 6 -- Inventory Evidence: Cellar/Yard Contents and Usage

item/feature	1754-97 (20 total)	1800-15 (19 total)	1816-27 (22 total)	1828-48 (26 total)	1754-1848 (87 total)
wood	10 (50%)	11 (58%)	14 (64%)	14 (54%)	49 (57%)
coal	2 (10%)		1 (5%)	15 (58%)	18 (21%)
liquor/beer	10 (50%)	5 (26%)	2 (9%)	7 (27%)	24 (28%)
barrels/casks	10 (50%)	2 (11%)	5 (23%)	2 (8%)	19 (22%)
foodstuffs	7 (35%)	2 (11%)	3 (14%)	7 (27%)	19 (22%)
bottles	5 (25%)	6 (32%)	1 (5%)	1 (4%)	13 (15%)
kitchen noted		5 (26%)	4 (18%)	5 (19%)	14 (16%)
"safe"[1]	1 (5%)	3 (16%)	2 (9%)	3 (12%)	9 (10%)
table	1 (5%)	3 (16%)	2 (9%)	1 (4%)	7 (8%)
jelly stand		1 (5%)			1 (1%)
dough trough			1 (5%)		1 (1%)
"refrigerator"[1]				3 (12%)	3 (3%)
washing tubs	7 (35%)	7 (37%)	8 (36%)	2 (8%)	24 (28%)
candle/soap	5 (25%)	2 (11%)	2 (9%)		9 (10%)
other laundry		2 (11%)		1 (4%)	3 (3%)

[1] The physical nature of these items is discussed below, pages 62-63.

Source: compiled from data in Appendix D.

Table 7 -- Insurance Survey Evidence: Cellar Usage

feature	number	number as a percentage of 187 total	average of percentages for 6 periods
kitchen	132	71%	74%
ash hole	83	44%	19%
furnace	28	15%	7%
bake oven/bakehouse	7	4%	6%
commercial usage	10	5%	8%
basement plan	12	6%	5%

Source: compiled from data in Appendix E.

Domestic fuel storage was centered in the cellar, with the yard as a fair-weather adjunct. Until well into the nineteenth century, wood was the only significant fuel used; coal becomes common only after the 1820s, along with the use of heating furnaces. Fuel storage then consisted basically of a woodpile and/or a coal heap. The cellar ideally kept this fuel and the people fetching it dry. Mundane as it sounds, fuel storage required careful management, lest the fuel be damaged or the supply interrupted or depleted.

Both wood and coal were delivered directly from the sidewalk into the cellar. Delivery was noisy and labor-intensive: "The unwary stranger might be startled by the sudden shooting down of a cord of wood from the cart upon the cobble-stones, and the cry of 'Way, piler!' with which the wood-sawyer would interrupt the rasping sound of his hand-saw, to warn his comrade in the cellar that another armful of sawed sticks was ready." Elizabeth Drinker records a similar scene as a gauge of her husband's illness, "we are taking in Wood, the hauling [of] the wood and the noise of the sawers etc. does not awake my [sick] husband." Cart loads of coal were dumped onto the sidewalk, where they had to

be broken down into useable pieces. A servant's directory advised, "In breaking, see that each piece is broken by itself on the pavement, and not as is usual, on the mass, unless you wish to burn half the coal as powder." The broken coals could then be fed into the cellar either through the bulkhead or through a coal chute rigged up in a cellar window opening.[46]

These citations suggest that fuel procurement and delivery was contracted out; the householder had to determine what kind of fuel and how much would be necessary. The form of the cellar and its arrangement would have to be considered, given the large amounts of fuel needed, especially for winter heating. Anywhere from fifteen to fifty cords of wood might be used over a year, depending on the size of the household, supply, etc. Samuel Bryan's cellar had only 2 cords when inventoried in September 1775; the November 1805 survey of Thomas Bell's "celler" lists "about 18 cords wood" worth $90 (numbers 20, 55). Thomas Leaming left "3½ cords hickory wood" and "1 do Oak" in November 1797 (number 43); in 1840, Eliza Leslie recommended the same woods for "winter fuel," noting that they were best "laid in" in summer. House advertisements stressed not only the dryness of cellars, but their capacity. The 22 foot by 17 foot frame stable behind 74 Third Street had a cellar advertised to hold "fifteen cords of wood." As a cord equals 128 cubic feet and the floor area of the cellar described equals 374 square feet, the resulting pile would have been over five feet high if it covered the entire floor.[47]

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[46] Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, II:930; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 14 March 1805; Robert Roberts, The House Servant's Directory (Boston, 1828), 160-61.

[47] Elisabeth D. Garrett, At Home: The American Family 1750-1870 (New York: Abrams, 1990), 187; Leslie, The House Book: or, a Manual of Domestic Economy (Philadelphia, 1840), 121; Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, 15 April 1809, cited in INHP notecard file.

Inventories list an average of five to ten cords (640 to 1280 cubic feet) on hand in winter; at five feet high, such a pile would vary from eleven to sixteen feet square. Such piles were not always stable, as Elizabeth Drinker notes; "We heard a sudden and great noise this even'g. I thought it was a Carriage in the Alley-- William concluded it was a pile of wood in the celler that had given away" (both were wrong, "it proved to be [the collapsing of] the battlement of Neigh'r Whartons house, the side next us"). Alley-way and other shallow vaults were handy storage areas when available. Otherwise, the pile might range along one or two walls of the cellar, both for support and to free up floor space. Benjamin Franklin's desire for vaults to be used for wood storage was thwarted, but he wrote that as part of the c. 1786 addition to his house, he "gain'd a large Cellar for Wood." Axes, hatchets, and splitting blocks are often listed along with wood in inventories, suggesting that further processing of the wood commonly took place in the cellar or yard.[48]

A wood cellar stocked in the summer was an excellent hedge against occasional wintertime shortages. Elizabeth Drinker describes one of these in November 1777; "We had a Stove put up in the back Parlour this Morn'g. Wood is so very scarce, that unless things mend there is no likelyhood of a Supply and we have no more than 4 or 5 Cord. in ye Celler." John Fanning Watson reported in 1842 that such shortages had lead to prices as high as "15 to 16 dollars a cord" in the past, but that "since the practice of laying up wood in [lumber] yards has prevailed, the winter prices are much moderated." Wet cellars and spring- and summer-time flooding were also dangers to the proper management of fuel storage. Yard storage may have helped to avoid the latter as well as making

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[48] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 4 May 1796; Benjamin Franklin to [his sister] Jane Mecom, 30 May 1787, cited in Riley, "Franklin's Home," 158-59.

the supply handy to ground-floor kitchens. "Wood in the Yard" worth $45 was listed in John Morton's September 1812 inventory (number 77).[49]

Coal first becomes common in inventories only after the 1820s, notably paralleling the incidence of furnaces (Table 7 and Appendix E). However, coal had been burnt earlier, notably by Benjamin Franklin. In the northwest room on the first floor of Franklin's house "there was a coal grate, in which he burned Virginia or English coal. Below this grate, on the hearth, there was a small iron plate or trap-door ... When this door or valve was raised, a current of air from the cellar rushed up thru the grate to rekindle the fire." Coal grates and coal-burning stoves and furnaces became more common in the nineteenth-century as the Pennsylvania coal-mining industry developed. In 1818, Ann Eliza George Fisher bought over ten cords of wood, but also noted a charge for "40 bushels of coal, hauling it & putting it in cellar." In December 1834, the cellar of Robert Steels's house at 247 Spruce Street had 5 cords of wood and 3 tons of coal; in October 1835, Elizabeth Twamley left 6 cords of wood and "4½ tons Lehigh coal" in the cellar at 14 Palmyra Row (numbers 151, 154). In 1840, Eliza Leslie suggested that "three tons of the best anthracite will generally (if well managed) be found sufficient for one fire during the season." Jacob Ridgway must have had several fires going in his Chestnut Street home; in 1843, his cellar contained 22 cords of wood and 30 tons of coal (number 169).[50]

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[49] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 8 November 1777; Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, II:485; Drinker lists numerous summer storms in her diary, see 26 July 1794.

[50] Riley, "Franklin's Home," 152; Ann Eliza George Fisher Account Book, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited in INHP notecard file; Leslie, The House Book, 129. Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 54-55, notes Ann Warder's use of coal c. 1789. INHP Associate Curator Diethorn now suggests that Warder's coal use may relate to her English nationality; general work on the earliest use of coal and the introduction and form of coal-burning grates and stoves in Philadelphia needs to be done. Discussions with Diethorn, September

The use of coal engendered a new range of household implements and duties. Leslie describes these and documents the continued use of wood:

> In a fuel cellar, there should be receptacles for the ashes and for the dust collected in sweeping the house. In most cellars, there are cavities made for the purpose, and called the ash-hole, and the dust-hole. Besides the coal and wood, here are kept the charcoal barrels; the cinder-sieve; the coal scuttle, when not in immediate use; the fire-pan for carrying live coals that are wanted for kindling; the saw, and the wood axe.

Leslie's description was intended to help the householder to set up such a cellar; the actual work was performed by servants in households that employed them. Thus Robert Roberts advises cooks to "give notice to your employers when the contents of your [fuel] cellar are diminished." The reference to "your cellar" is apt; householders were responsible only for supplying fuel and monitoring its use, not stoking and emptying the grates, ovens, and furnace. One caricature even has the mistress of a household ordering her servant to "scour the ash-hole" (figure 7). Of course, in households without servants, householders would attend to these duties. Mrs. Child advises "frugal housewives" to economize by using their wood ashes to "make your own lye," a principal ingredient of household soap. But she continues, "In the city I believe it is better to exchange ashes and grease for soap" and notes that "the ashes of coal is [sic] not worth much." Whether attended to by servants, householders, or both, cellar fuel storage and processing involved hard, time-consuming labor.[51]

The storage of liquor, wine, and beer was another important cellar usage (Table 6), and, like fuel storage, involved heavy labor and careful management.

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[51] Leslie, The House Book, 247; Roberts, The House Servant's Directory, 146; Mrs. L.M. Child, The Frugal Housewife (Boston, 1830), 23. The only inventory to mention ashes is that of Anna Maria Weaver, whose cellar had "4 bbls. Ashes" worth $1 (number 83 taken early 1814).

The latter was even more essential given the high valuation of wine and other stored beverages and their potential to intoxicate. Moreover, the well-stocked and -managed wine cellar was part of a genteel tradition, one that upper-class Philadelphians aspired to and occasionally attained. Major John Cadwalader, among the most genteel of Philadelphians just before the Revolution, regularly bought pipes (110-gallon casks) of Madeira wine for his Second Street cellar. One fellow military officer commented, "The ample fortune of Mr. Cadwalader had enabled him to fill his cellars with the choicest liquors, and it must be admitted that he dealt them out with the gentlemanly liberality." When the British evacuated Philadelphia in 1778, the Hessian General Knyphausen, who had occupied the Cadwalader house, "gentlemanly" left all of its contents intact "even to some wine in the cellar, every bottle of which was left." Cadwalader also purchased large amounts of claret, porter, and local beer for his cellar. Other Philadelphians maintained comparable cellars; of the Norris family mansion, Deborah Norris Logan wrote in 1827 that "the contents of the wine cellar would now be a rare prize."[52]

A great variety of wines and spirits were available in period Philadelphia, several of whose merchants made their living in the wine trade (notably Henry Hill, builder of the Hill-Physick-Keith House, and Thomas White, son of Bishop William White). Thomas Batt advertised in the 27 April 1774 Pennsylvania Gazette that he had "opened his Wine and Spirit Store, in Water-street, a few doors South of Walnut-street, [and] laid in a large and valuable Collection, viz. Old genuine Madeira, Lisbon, Mountain, and Teneriffe Wines; remarkable old Spirits, West-Indian Rum, and Brandy; with a Quantity of excellent Claret." Batt was

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[52] Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 62-63, 65; Reminiscences of Deborah Norris Logan, 1827, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"determined to sell any Quantity, from a Pipe to a Gallon ...." Beer was supplied by several local breweries, including that of Anthony Morris, located after 1789 in a large vaulted space below the southeast corner of Chancellor and American Streets. The "Rates of Porterage" enacted by the Pennsylvania Assembly and published in the 1785 Philadelphia directory list the wide variety of pipes, casks, hogsheads, and other containers available. To have a pipe of wine hauled under a mile and put "into a cellar lengthways" cost 2s6p, while to have a hogshead of rum hauled and "taken out or put into a cellar" cost 2s3p. The purchase from commercial cellars and delivery to domestic cellars of wine, spirits, and beer were a regular part of urban life.[53]

The need for a well-ventilated and secure wine cellar has already been discussed. The former was a constant topic of concern, lest "noxious vapours" spoil the stock. Even the atmospheric changes accompanying thunder storms were thought dangerous. One author suggested that the lighting of "coal fires in vaults and cellars [would] preserve the liquors from corruption" in these instances, in lieu of another author's suggestion "that double locking the cellar door ought to be a specific preventative." Locking would certainly have prevented theft or pilfering of the contents, one basic goal of wine cellar management. Mrs. Parkes summed up the situation in 1828, "Wine, from its expensiveness, and the great value set upon it, offers a perpetual temptation to dishonesty among our servants." Access to the wine cellar was strictly

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[53] Batt advertisement cited in INHP notecard file; Morris vaults described in Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 85; Francis White, The Philadelphia Directory (Philadelphia, 1785), 95. Abraham Ritter recalled that around 1800 a "wine-bottling cellar, kept by a long, tall, gaunt Frenchman" was located on the west side of Front Street between Arch and Race Streets, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, As Constituted Fifty [to] Seventy Years Ago (Philadelphia, 1860), 119.

controlled by the householder and/or servants designated by him/her.[54]

Activity in wine cellars centered around bottling and decanting; in some instances, wine and other fermented beverages were actually made in cellars. Particular casks were fitted with a tap or spigot, so that the liquid could be drawn off for regular use. Jugs, pitchers, ewers, and other containers were used for this purpose. Liquor to be preserved for a longer period or to be aged might be left in a sealed cask or bottled. Bottles, both empty and full, were found in most period cellars that contained liquor. Joshua Crosby's cellar contained 60 gallons of "Jamaica spirit" or rum, 4 dozen bottles of "old hock" or Rhine wine, 3 dozen bottles of cider, and 1 gross "empty bottles" (inventory number 7 taken 10 July 1755). John Beale Bordley's "pantry cellar" at 7 Delancey Street had crockery, five "old demijohns," and "A quarter Cask Sherry wine about one half full," the latter valued at $20. Bordley's "cellar" contained "140 Bottles of sour port wine (and some empty Bottles) [worth $] 8.75, 108 bottles of Claret 54., [and] 1 pipe of Madeira Wine supposed to be ¼ full 80" (number 53 taken 2 March 1804; the liquor was "bequeathed to Mrs. Bordley"). The casks had obviously been tapped, and the port apparently was of poor quality or not well bottled. Casks were moved out of the cellar if needed for use elsewhere or if there was a moisture problem. Elizabeth Drinker relates one such movement without stating the reason for it, "HD [Henry Drinker, her husband] and Peter [their coachman] have been busy this Afternoon moving a Cask of wine from the Celler up 2 pr. Stairs, obliged to nearly empty the cask before they could get it up, and then fill it again." Interestingly, Henry Drinker's 15 August 1809 inventory mentions "4 demijohns containing wine" and bottles of cordial in the

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[54] Practical Economy, 239-40; Mrs. William Parkes, Domestic Duties: or Instructions to Young Married Ladies (New York: 1828), 211.

northwest chamber "up 2 pair stairs" and "a cask of Sicily wine" in the "cellar under the Front Parlour" (number 64).[55]

Several decedents appear to have had room-size wine cellars. The inventory of John F. Mifflin's house at 5 Delancey Street lists a "Wine Cellar" with:

> 1 pipe Madeira Wine [worth $] 260., 1 quarter cask Marsela ditto 60., 1 do do supposed ¼ full 15., 8 Demijohns Old Madeira wine supposed ¼ full 48., 1 do do Spirits, 1 do Brandy do ¼ full 12., 56 Btls. Claret 20., 5 do Old Madeira, 12 bottles constantia and other wines 12., 11 do Porter 1.37½, [and] 9 doz. empty Bottles.

Two "painted wine coolers," demijohns, and "Stone Gil jugs" were among the contents of Mifflin's "Open Cellar" (number 78 taken early 1813). Apparently, the vessels to decant and chill wine for use were kept out of the wine cellar, along with the people (presumably servants) who used them. Jacob Ridgway's "Wine Garret" functioned as a private reserve with over 1300 bottles and 32 demijohns of wine. By contrast, his cellar had 180 bottles and 15 demijohns of varied wines, casks of wine and cider, and "about 2000 empty bottles," all suggesting that it served the everyday needs of the household (number 169 taken 28 December 1843).

Home fermenting was partly a matter of economics, but also a common practice at the country houses of wealthy Philadelphia families, with fermentation and bottling accomplished in the cellar. Catherine Haines notes one recipe for currant wine, "Take 3 lbs Sugar & 3 lbs Currants for each Gallon your Cask holds; the Sugar to be Stirred in the wine. Strain it and let it stand in a tub one day in the Cellar; after which put it in the Cask, add 1 Quart Brandy to a barrel, and bung it up." (Hannah Marshall Haines lists comparable recipes

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[55] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 9 October 1804. Jonathan Swift, Directions to Servants (1745) satirically outlines the duties of the "butler" in the wine cellar; the duties of the "yeoman of the cellar" and (later) "wine steward" are discussed in Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), 34-36, 187-90.

for barrels of Madeira, cherry, quince, raspberry, gooseberry, and grape wines). Such barrels were then usually placed in the cellar for up to a year, then "racked up" or "bottled off." Other recipes called for the casks to remain undisturbed up to five and even ten years; judicious additions of strong spirits would keep the contents drinkable. The inventory of Joseph Donath's cellar at 111 Spruce Street lists "1 barrel current [sic] wine"; Cadwallader Evans had "2 barrels grape wine" possibly of home manufacture in his cellar (number 141 taken 10 December 1829; number 15 taken 23 July 1773).[56]

Food storage and processing was concentrated in the kitchen/backbuilding or in cellar kitchens, but bulk and cold storage and associated processes such as the salting of meat and fish also took place in the cellar. The barrels/casks and foodstuffs listed in period inventories evidence this, along with the "safes," "refrigerators," and other food-storage furniture listed (Table 6). Jane Busch has thoroughly described the functioning of period kitchens and noted that Philadelphians had access much of the year to fresh food from the various public markets. Peter Kalm noted this fact, "Provisions are always to be got fresh here, and for that reason most of the inhabitants never buy more at a time than what will be sufficient till the next market day. In summer there is a market almost every day, for the victuals do not keep well in the great heat." This access had important physical consequences: Philadelphians did not need to maintain kitchen gardens or to preserve and store foodstuffs all year round. Like wine and spirits, preserved foodstuffs and other bulk provisions were

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[56] Catherine Haines receipt book, c. 1776-, and Hannah Marshall Haines receipt book, 1811-24, Wyck Papers; William Woys Weaver, Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania-German Food and Foodways (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 183-88; cider recipe in Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, 26 February 1771, Shippen Papers, New Jersey Historical Society, cited in INHP notecard file.

standard consumer products. The "Rates of Porterage" list barrels of molasses, sugar, beef, pork, gammons (i.e., ham or bacon), fish, flour, and coffee as commonly available in 1785. Moreover, numerous shops sold smaller quantities of the same provisions and other groceries. Shopkeeper Sarah Kean's stock is listed in the 6 August 1823 inventory of her house at 66 S. Second Street, between Chestnut and Walnut Streets (number 112). Besides rum, brandy, apple whiskey, cordials, and "common gin," her first-floor "Store" contained:

> 1 lot coffee [worth $] 24.00, 1 barrel with sugar 5.00, 1 lot soap 3.75, 3 kegs containing rice, starch and barley 3.00, 1 keg black pepper 2.00, 1 empty cask .50, 1 barrel with salt 1.00, 1 barrel of mackerel 1.50, [and] 1 lot sundries 2.00.

These were the sort of items listed as "provisions" or "sundry groceries" in period inventories (e.g., number 141 taken 10 December 1829, number 153 Taken 16 May 1835). Barrels or casks of flour are also found in several inventories (e.g., number 21 taken 13 February 1776, number 83 taken early 1814).[57]

Urban cellars contained these bulk goods, but the processing and storage of fresh foods entailed considerably more activity. Unprocessed foodstuffs rarely appear in period inventories, as they were not considered "goods;" they had no value as merchandise but were rather meant for consumption. This was especially true of non-root vegetables. In season, such produce was purchased at market or acquired from the country; if certain items were not immediately used, they could be stored in the cellar to retain some of their freshness. Often, these vegetables were placed on a paved floor and covered. Maria Rundell wrote that "vegetables will keep best on a stone floor if the air is excluded;" Samuel Adams suggested a "damp cloth thrown over them" for this purpose. Root

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[57] Busch, "Philadelphia Kitchens;" Kalm's Travels, I:30; White, The Philadelphia Directory, 95-96 (for rates of porterage). Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 41-83, discusses marketing, food storage, and food preparation as part of servants' duties.

vegetables could be kept buried in the cellar for use over the winter. Maria Rundell asserted that "Carrots, parsnips, and beet roots should be kept in sand for winter use, and neither they nor potatoes [should] be cleared from the earth." Later writers specified dry sand; celery on the other hand, "could be dug up in the fall and 'planted' in barrels of earth or damp sand in the cellar, where it could be kept for many weeks." Potatoes were a winter staple. Mrs. Child noted that "the cellar is the best place for [potatoes], because they are injured by wilting; but sprout them carefully, if you want to keep them." Anna Maria Weaver's inventory lists "Potatoes" worth $1 in early 1814; Josiah Siddens' cellar included "Potatoes and Turnips in Vault 2.25" in the fall of 1822 (numbers 83, 108). The cellar of John J. Smith's house still had "Vegetables," probably roots, at the end of the winter in 1837 (number 157 taken 6 March 1837).[58]

"Wet" vaults and "larder" vaults like those found in several extant structures would have held fresh dairy and meat products. The absence of churns and other dairy-related implements with the exception of several "butter tubs" suggests that these items were rarely if ever made or processed in Philadelphia cellars. Ann Warder stored meat, milk, butter, and cheese in a "milkhouse" with cool water supplied by the runoff from a yard pump, an arrangement not unlike the Norris House "dairy" previously described. Fresh meat and fish were available in the markets during the warmer months and were usually purchased for immediate usage. If fresh meat and fish were to be stored, all manuals specified placing it in the cellar. Mrs. Child warned, "It is necessary to be very careful of fresh meat in the summer season. The moment it is brought into the house it should be carefully covered from the flies, and put into the coldest place in the

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[58] Rundell, A New System of Domestic Cookery (Philadelphia, 1807), v-vi; Adams, The Complete Servant... (London, 1825), 63; Weaver, Sauerkraut Yankees, 77; Child, The American Frugal Housewife (Boston, 1832), 33.

cellar." She later suggested that fish should not be placed in cold water, but sprinkled with salt, put in a covered dish, and kept on "the *cellar* floor" until needed. Eliza Leslie was even more dire, "In summer do not attempt to keep [fresh beef] more than twenty-four hours; and not then unless you can conveniently lay it in ice, or in a spring-house." She gave the same advice for fish, but noted that live shellfish could be kept up to two weeks in a covered tub placed in a "cool cellar." Covered dishes and tubs of this sort must have been a common sight in Philadelphia cellars.[59]

Inventory references to "meat tubs," "powdering tubs," and "pickling tubs" evidence the extensive use of salted and other preserved meat and fish. As mentioned above, most urban households purchased their preserved meat and fish by the barrel. The inventory of William Fitzsimmons' cellar mentions "pickled Beef" worth £1; that of Thomas Leaming "1 Barrell of Fish" worth 6s (number 8 taken 25 November 1757; number 43 taken 16 November 1797). But others no doubt acquired or had access to fresh meat (usually an entire animal) that they then preserved by salting in "powdering" or "pickling tubs." This was often a wintertime activity. Elizabeth Drinker noted on 26 November 1778 that her sister "has been very busy all day in ye Kitchen with Isaac Catheral and Molly [her daughter], cutting up and salting a Beef-- rendering ye Tallow, &c." Deborah Norris Logan recorded making sausage after having "killed some Hogs" in December 1816. But she also purchased meat to preserve; "I was pretty busy in the morning with Housewifely concerns as we had bought a lott of Beef of the Butcher and I had to attend to the salting of it &c." Samuel Neave's yard on S. Second Street between Spruce and Walnut Streets contained "2 powdering tubs" (number 21 taken

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[59] Ann Warder Journal, 5 August 1786; Child, The Frugal Housewife, 49, and The American Frugal Housewife, 58; Leslie, Directions for Cookery in its Various Branches (Philadelphia, 1837), 42, 69.

13 February 1776); other inventories dating from the 1750s through the 1830s mention similar tubs. Period recipes for salting indicate that it was a laborious and long process. Catherine Haines' recipe "To do a Round of Beef Red" is typical: "Rub a large round of good beef with 1 oz Salt petre & as much common salt as you can rub in it. Then put it into a pot or pan & keep it down cellar, minding to turn it every day for 10 days to 2 weeks." Other recipes for "pickle" specified 50 or more pounds of meat and often included brown sugar and molasses along with the salt.[60]

Meat could also be cured through drying and/or smoking. These dry joints were then hung from strings or directly on hooks; if the cellar had a ventilated larder, this space would be used (it would also serve to hold meat in pickle and covered dishes). Samuel Adams described the "General Business of the Larder:"

> Joints of meat, game, &c. should be hung where there is a current of dry air, till they are tender. If they be not kept long enough, they will be hard and tough; if too long, they lose their flavour. Much loss is sustained by the spoiling of meat in warm weather; to prevent which, as far as possible, it must be turned daily, end for end, and wiped every morning and night, with a clean, dry cloth, to free it and keep it from damp and moisture.

As mentioned in regard to extant cellar larders and wine cellars, controlled access was desirable both because of the value of the contents and the particular conditions they needed. Deborah Norris Logan related one problem with unsecured meat storage; "a nice leg of veal which was to have been cooked for dinner disappear[ed] from one of the hooks in the cellar. The dogs suspected of the theft."[61]

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[60] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 26 November 1778; Deborah Norris Logan Journal, 31 December 1816 and 20 October 1827; Catherine Haines receipt book, 1776-, Wyck Papers; Leslie, Directions for Cookery, 90.

[61] Adams, The Complete Servant, 216-17; Deborah Norris Logan Journal, 5 April 1827. Elizabeth Drinker mentions the loss of "a piece of nice corn'd Beef" from the springhouse at her country residence, Diary, 1 August 1794.

Fish were usually preserved simply by layering them with salt in a barrel. Hannah Marshall Haines noted in her recipe "For Five Hundred Herrings" that so layered, the fish "will make their own Pickle." She also stated that the barrels were not to be opened "to use for two years, as the Older they are the better." Pickling was not always successful, whether commercially- or home-done. Elizabeth Drinker recorded one such unpleasant experience in August 1803:

> Some time ago HD. [Henry Drinker, her husband] bought 8 Barrels of salt fish, we discovered soon after that the pickle was tainted, empty'd ye two worst into our dung heap and tonight Peter and Wm Hyatt [servant and hired workman] are taken them barrels and all to throw in ye river-- they will probably be taken up by some one, with fresh pickle they might be good, but we know not who to give them to, such hot weather it wd. not do to keep such things in ye Cellar.

"Rusty" or "tainted" meat could also be improved by thorough cleaning and re-salting or judicious smoking. George Nelson tried the latter on 6 March 1780; "Clear'd up my Cellar and made a Smoak under the Ration meat to take away the Ill smell of the Pickle ...."[62]

Cellar furniture was also dedicated to food storage and preservation (Table 6). The "safe," a movable closet with sides of wire net or perforated tin, was used for secure storage of meats, baked goods, and other prepared foods. In 1827, Robert Roberts observed that "very few modern built town-houses having a proper place to preserve provisions in, the best substitute is a hanging-safe, which you may contrive to suspend in an airy situation." The inventory of Philip Boehm's cellar on N. Second Street lists a "Meat Safe" worth 5s; the "Meat Safe and some things in it" listed in Josiah Siddens' S. Second Street cellar were worth 50 cents (number 33 taken 29 November 1790, number 108 taken fall 1822). John F. Mifflin's open cellar had a safe and a jelly stand (number 78 taken early

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[62] Hannah Marshall Haines receipt book, 1811-24, Wyck Papers; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 3 August 1803; George Nelson Diary, 6 March 1780, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited in INHP notecard file.

1813). The latter was a fully closed cupboard with doors used to hold jarred preserves and other processed foods. A "dough trough" is listed in the cellar next to the cellar kitchen of James Engle's house on S. Fifth Street (number 100 taken 25 January 1821).[63]

The term "refrigerator" appears in inventories after 1837. The 1847 inventory of Robert Barrett's cellar at 493 Vine Street lists various tools, meat tubs, stove coal, and "refrigerators" (number 173 taken 17 June 1847). A year later, Richard Peters left "One Ice Chest" in his cellar at 18 Gerard Street (number 175 taken 17 July 1848). Of the new form, Eliza Leslie simply wrote, "In a refrigerator, articles of provision may be kept from spoiling with much more certainty than when placed in a cellar or vault." Indeed, these refrigerators appear to have been nothing more than wooden chests with metal linings. An earlier account of the "invention" of the refrigerator could also apply to the sub-cellar vault in the Bishop White House: "every family may be furnished with a vessel in their cellars, in which, by the daily use of a few pounds of ice, fresh meat, milk, butter, liquors, or any kind of provisions, may be cooled and preserved as effectually as in common winter weather."[64]

Like food processing and storage, clothes and other washing was concentrated in the kitchen/backbuilding-yard-cellar area. A significant minority of houses-- from a quarter to a third in each insurance survey sampling, but only seven total specified in the inventory sample-- had a "wash house" appended to or near the backbuilding with ready access to water and a paved

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[63] Leslie, The House Book, 244; Roberts, The House Servant's Directory, 147.

[64] Leslie, The House Book, 243; Thomas Moore's description of a refrigerator, c. 1802, cited in Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, II:938. Jane Busch quotes Leslie and makes the same point with regard to the sub-cellar vault in "Philadelphia Kitchens," 59.

floor. Such wash houses basically functioned as sheltered extensions of the yard (e.g., number 59 taken 17 June 1808, number 99 taken 27 July 1820). In other houses, washing implements are noted in the kitchen and/or cellar. Elizabeth Griffiths' 29 May 1812 cellar inventory has a typical assemblage containing "Tubs, Buckets, Cloths Horse, [and] Wash Kettle" (number 76). Thomas Leaming's 16 November 1797 inventory also lists a clothes horse as well as "1 Lye Tub, 1 soap do, 2 Wooden Stools, [and] Washing Tubs" worth a total of £1.5.0. Tubs of tallow, lye, and finished soap are found in other inventories as are boxes of candles. The cellar was an ideal storage area for these heat-sensitive and often heavy items; moreover, the tallow was often the product of home rendering related to meat salting and the lye was usually derived from the contents of the cellar ash hole.[65]

Thus, several inter-related processes overlapped in working cellars, much as the form and function of these cellars overlapped with those of the kitchen/backbuilding and yard. These areas were the service center of the household and staffed by servants in households that could afford them. The cook (or housekeeper) would have been responsible for food storage areas. The wine cellar would have been under direct control of the householder, but a butler or housekeeper might also have access. The fuel cellar may have been attended by a male servant, with chamber and kitchen maids responsible for providing fuel needed upstairs and subsequent ash collection. Laundry was also the responsibility of chamber maids, but was also often let out or done by day help; kitchen maids or cooks handled dishwashing and pot scrubbing. Ideally, with a

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[65] For clothes and other washing in general, see Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 50-51, 56-60; Hannah Marshall Haines gives directions for making "Hard Soap" with domestically-produced fat and lye in her receipt book, 1811-24, Wyck Papers.

full and competent staff, the householder would not have to work in the cellar or even enter it on a regular basis. In reality, few Philadelphia cellars or household staffs were so organized, and most householders assisted with or performed some or all of the duties described.[66]

Specifically non-domestic usage of cellars in dwellings adds another dimension to the larger question of usage. The majority of this non-domestic usage was commercial storage related to the householder's business. Merchant Henry Drinker certainly used his cellar in this manner, even though he had access to warehouses on the Delaware River wharves. On 31 May 1796, Elizabeth Drinker noted, "HD. busy'd with others in our front Celler and office putting up a variety of goods to be sent to the Indians Country." The following spring, Mrs. Drinker noted, "Wm. Bartram brought several trees of the silver leaf'd pine and other sorts, they are put in our cellar for an opportunity to North Bank for Henry ...." The cellar arches in the Wister house at 330 S. Third Street are thought to have held "Barbados rum-- or at least empty rum barrels, kept there for future sale to traders, the cellar space serving in lieu of a warehouse." Insurance survey evidence for commercial usage of cellars has already been discussed; probate inventories also list commercial stock. The 21 May 1836 inventory of hatter Nathaniel Holland's cellar at 68 S. Second Street lists over 2300 skins and other supplies worth $328.25; Holland's retail store was on the first floor (number 155). Retail stores could also be found in domestic cellars, like those of wine merchants. Leben Ballard's tailor shop was in the cellar of his house at 170 Locust Street; the 26 August 1823 inventory of its contents includes over 500 articles of clothing, other supplies, and furnishings including

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[66] Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 41-83, 128-29.

"2 counters" (number 113).[67]

Other cellars in domestic buildings were let out for usage unrelated to the interests of the householder. After John Cadwalader's death in 1786, his widow continued to live in their Second Street house, "renting [out] its cellar, stables, and coach houses, until September, 1787." This practice concentrated along the waterfront area. Elizabeth Drinker described one such situation: "This morning between 2 and 3 o'Clock Fire was cry'd and we discover'd it was nigh us ... it was opposite us in water street, in the Cellar under our old Neighbor Hodge's Kitchen near the river-- where a Cooper kept his barrels etc."[68] Abraham Ritter recalled one cellar manufactory in the same neighborhood; "In 1802, this southwest corner of Front and Arch streets, was the hatter-shop and manufactory of Joel Gibbs. The workshop was in the cellar, open on Arch Street, where I have often seen the men around the boiling cauldron ... these kettles, or cauldrons, were encased in brick-work over a furnace below, surrounded at the top by a sloping ledge of two-inch plank ... of quadrangular or sexangular form, so that each man might have his place." These cellar workshops were totally independent of the houses above, relating instead directly to the street and/or a first-floor retail store. That these cellars were both fire hazards and non-domestic spaces is revealed in another passage from Mrs. Drinker's diary:

> It is well observed, that while great efforts are made to extinguish fires, none are used to prevent their being kindled. In nineteen cases out of twenty they are occasioned by the most reprehensible negligence, such as dropping the snuff of a candle on straw or other combustible materials

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[67] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 31 May 1796 and 23 March 1797; McCall, Old Philadelphia Houses, 179 (for Wister house).

[68] Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 73; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 6 August 1805. Public institutions also created such storage cellars and vaults in their buildings in order to generate income; Carpenters' Hall, the Free Quaker Meeting House, Philosophical Hall, and Library Hall all let out their cellars. See Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 55, and Historic Philadelphia, 47, 57, 142.

> etc.-- There is a law in Germany, the adoption of which is devoutly to be wished in this country.-- Any person seen in a warehouse, cellar, stable, workshop, or manufactory, with a candle not in a lantern, is liable to a fine or imprisonment.[69]

Other cellars in domestic buildings became oyster cellars or the living and working premises of small shopkeepers. Oysters had long been available on the streets of Philadelphia. "Besides the perambulating oyster-man, there were stands and tables at the corners of the markets and other well-thronged places for the sale of stewed oysters. The oyster-cellar is of more modern discovery."[70] Indeed, these venues only started to appear in the 1820s. The May 1821 insurance survey for Robert Busch's Bank house at 179 S. Front/178 Water Streets notes, "A part of Celler is occupied as an Oyster Cellar, floor'd & plaister'd" (MA survey 2776). Thomas Winnemore's house on the west side of New Market had a less finished example, "The Cellar under the house is Occupied as an Oyster Cellar, not plaistered floor'd Rough white pine bds, walls lined with Rough boards. A Chimney in do" (MA survey 2811 taken October 1821). A c. 1830 lithograph by James Akin illustrates the layout and clientele of such a cellar, one apparently kept by blacks and entered via a bulkhead door (figure 8).

Elizabeth Drinker mentioned that her daughter and son-in-law had a "tenant who lives under their kitchen and keeps a grociers shop [there]." Abraham Ritter mentions two similar situations along the west side of Front Street between Elfreth's Alley and Arch Street:

> In this compass, a little above the corner, an old tenement with almost erect cellar-door, exhibiting at its opening onions, sausages, potatoes,

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[69] Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 151; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 9 April 1803. The cellars of the Market Street houses at Franklin Court became workshops in the nineteenth century; many work-related vats, other pits, and mortar floor underlayments were discovered during archeological work. See Cosans, "1974 Franklin Court Report," I:1-81.

[70] Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, II:931.

> fish, and a variety of edibles with their various odors, was the general whereabouts of a certain darkey, called 'Joe' ... The grading of the street here [several houses beyond the 'old tenement'] left the original ground-floor or parlor one story above its earlier location, and made the late cellar a tenantable basement [occupied] by a certain Catherine Hanningroot, commonly known as 'Old Katy,' who sold apples, cakes, candies, and small beer in the front part, and had her *boudoir* in a floorless department in the rear.

The social implications of this usage will be discussed in Chapter 3; in physical terms, these cellars were exceptional only in being roughly full-floor height above and thus readily accessible to the street.[71]

These same physical properties with regard to the street or ground level distinguish full basements in Philadelphia houses, a plan type that emerged around the turn of the nineteenth century. Such basements were placed at or just below street level and had one or more vertically-hung doors to the exterior, sometimes including the primary entrance (figure 9). The basement story was often faced in a different material than the facade above, e.g., with light stone to contrast with the brick above or rusticated stone to contrast with the smooth stone above. The majority of spaces in full basements were finished rooms, one of which was invariably the kitchen. These characteristics distinguish the basement from London-plan and other houses with finished cellar kitchens and deep areaways (318 Market Street is an example of the latter). Though Michael Clark's Arch Street house had "a Room finished with marble mantle plain washbds window cased & Inside Shutters & plaistered" below its first-floor entry and front parlour, the surveyor simply identified the area as "the front part of the Celler" (MA survey 2840 taken February 1822). This and other finished, non-kitchen rooms are found occasionally in period cellars, but are more typical of

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[71] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 24 May 1798; Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 122-23.

full basement plans.

The earliest appearance of the term in the insurance survey sample refers to "The Basement Story" at Wakefield, the Fisher family house near Germantown built c. 1800. This basement had "two Rooms and Pantry and stairway partly below Ground [kitchen] finished plain Dresser and washboards only and divide[d?] shutters to windows the Window jambs cased plain and subbase in the Dining Room[.] Stair with balusters and subbase & skirting up the wall" (PC survey book 1, page 3, taken February 1800). Englishman Robert Sutcliff visited Wakefield in August 1806, and reported dining "in a room on a level with the cellar," noting that a "dining-room so situated, is a great privilege at this season of the year, in a climate like this." The basement story of Lemon Hill has the same features, with the dining room placed in the bowed central portion (see Appendix F). The combination of a basement kitchen, pantry or storage room, and dining room is also typical of urban basements.[72]

Basement plans are included in period architectural books, where they may be contrasted with more traditional "cellar" plans. In 1805, Owen Biddle published designs for a large, freestanding house with a "Cellar or basement story" in The Young Carpenter's Assistant. This story is set directly on grade and includes a lit kitchen, servants' hall, housekeeper's room, men servants' room, and maid servants' room; all except the servants' hall have fireplaces as well. In the center of this floor and extended out under the front portico are three unlit and unheated spaces identified as "Beer and Wine cellars, &c." Access to these is from the housekeeper's room and servants' hall only. This basement then functions very much like the "rustic" in English country houses,

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[72] Sutcliff, Travels in Some Parts of North America in the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806 (Philadelphia, 1812), 263.

containing domestic offices and servants' living quarters along with cellars. The Woodlands, a large country house in what is now West Philadelphia, has a full basement plan with the same mix of service and living spaces, as well as unlit cellar spaces (see also The Highlands, Appendix F).[73]

Asher Benjamin first published a similar full basement plan in the 1806 edition of The American Builder's Companion. Benjamin's plan is for a wide townhouse with a "Basement story floor" measuring 54 by 35 feet. The basement contains the primary entrance and a large hall leading to the main stairs, along with an office, library, kitchen, and storeroom; the latter two rooms and service stairs range across the rear. This plan derives from English townhouses of the period and includes the curved walls and stairs popular in English neoclassical interiors. The Bingham House, built c. 1790 on S. Third Street, appears to have had a full basement on the English model. But it and extant basements comparable to the Biddle and Benjamin designs are exceptional both in scale and differentiation; moreover, they are all in freestanding buildings.[74]

How were basement plans adapted for row housing with narrow lot frontage? In The American Builder's Companion, Benjamin provided the most basic plan. His "Basement story floor" for a "Townhouse" measures 25 by 37 feet, and is divided roughly in half. The front has the primary entrance and stairs along with a "breakfast or counting room"; closets separate these spaces from the rear kitchen and back stair hall. Both rooms have a fireplace and two windows; there are doors to the exterior in both the entrance and back halls. This plan contrasts

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[73] Biddle, The Young Carpenter's Assistant (Philadelphia, 1805), plate 38; Girouard, Life in the English Country House, 160-62, 206.

[74] Benjamin, The American Builder's Companion (Boston, 1806), plate 35 (plate 53 in 1811 and subsequent editions); Bingham House illustrated and discussed in Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian, 85-8.

with one for the "Kitchen and cellar floor" of a "small Townhouse" also in The American Builder's Companion. In the latter, there is no exterior entrance to the front; instead, this floor is half sunk into the ground and the cellar portion of the plan extends under the steps and landing of the first-floor entrance. The cellar has a window to the rear, but is unheated. John Haviland illustrated a variation on this plan in his 1818 The Builder's Assistant. In Haviland's designs for houses with "thirty feet front" and "twenty feet front," there are half-flights of stairs leading to a basement entrance below the steps and landing to the first floor. In both designs, the kitchen and a second finished, heated room occupy the basement. Thus, the period distinction between kitchen-cellar and basement seems to have relied more on the nature of exterior entrance and the predominance of heated, finished rooms.[75]

Period documentary references to basements generally post-date and conform to these published plans. Peter Hahn's house on the 800 block of Arch Street had a basement similar to those described by Haviland: "Basement Story in 2 parts, One a Kitchen, finished as Customary, other part a large dresser, washbds & window cased, A passage or Entry leads out under the front steps" (MA survey 2824 taken January 1822). Others were more complex and included spaces described as cellars. John Hare Powell's Walnut Street house was "new" in 1821 and had a "Basement Story in 4 parts, one a Kitchen finished as Customary, one as a Servants Room, washbds, closet, window cased & Inside Shutters, one as an Entry & Pantry, other part a wood Celler." The "wood Celler" may have been altered by 1833; a re-survey of that year notes "I find in the front Room of the Basement Story erected a furnace for burning Coal enclosed in A Brick Chamber-- the heated

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[75] Benjamin, The American Builder's Companion, plates 33-34 (51-52 in 1811 and subsequent editions); Haviland, The Builder's Assistant (Philadelphia, 1818), plates 10, 40, 50.

Air Conveyed in brick flues + Tin pipes to 2 Rooms + the Entry" (MA survey 2754 taken March 1821, re-survey taken 19 October 1833).

Both probate inventories with explicit mention of basements have a kitchen paired with a dining room. The 27 June 1839 inventory of the Clinton Street house of Aristedes Monges lists a "Basement stair carpet, oil cloth & lamp" worth $5.00 in the "Dining Room," followed by "Kitchen Furniture" (number 165). In lieu of any mention of backbuilding chambers, this suggests that the dining room and kitchen formed a basement story. Elizabeth Roberts's house on Chestnut Street between Ninth and Tenth Streets had a "Front Basement" according to her 16 May 1844 inventory. This room contained "One Mahogany Table 2.00, One clock 10.00, One pair andiron 1,00, Six chairs 3.00, Old carpit & mat 10.00, One tray & stand 2.00, [and] One looking glass 1.00." These contents suggest that the room was used for informal family dining or as a servants' hall. The kitchen mentioned in the inventory probably formed the back basement; the house also had a cellar containing three cords of wood and a half ton of coal (number 170). The varied usage of non-kitchen basement rooms is notable; dining or breakfast rooms, servants' rooms, counting rooms, and offices have already been noted. One author mentioned that dry rot affected "in particular the flooring of kitchens, or sitting rooms on the basement story" (because these floors or their supports lay directly on mortar or dirt). In an 1840 builder's guide, John Hall noted that the "front room" in the rusticated basement story of one of his designs "may be used as an office or visiting room."[76]

Documentary and physical evidence suggest that basement stories are a late and relatively uncommon phenomenon, one most likely to be found in exceptional

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[76] Practical Economy, 34; Hall, A series of select and original modern designs for dwelling houses... (Baltimore, 1840), plates x-xi.

freestanding structures after 1790 or in new, substantial row housing after 1820. Confusion of the terms cellar and basement in the period suggests that in many instances the differentiation was not clear. The lower stories of Bank houses, under street level at Front Street but fully exposed on Water Street, have a mix of cellar and basement characteristics (figure 6). Abraham Ritter's recollection of the Bank houses near Vine Street alludes to this: "The houses, already in 1800, were old, weather-beaten and frost-bitten; the basement being a very available entrance, covered by an almost perpendicular cellar-door, admitting a full-sized person, without bend or nod, to the apartment under the first floor." The 1842 survey of Anna Read's house at 816 Market Street notes, "Basement story, or Cellar, floor'd with rough white pine boards groov'd, a part is used as a Kitchen, rough board partition across, no part of the Cellar plaister'd" (MA survey 4279 taken 14 November 1842). Other houses were "basementized." The Kosciuszko House probably had a cellar kitchen before 1796; by 1835, the cellar had a kitchen with bake oven and a dining room, but no full exterior entrance was created for these. By contrast, Robert O'Neill updated his c. 1821 house on Lombard Street between Front and Second Streets by adding a marble mantle to the front parlor and removing the bulkhead door to the cellar. In place of the later, there was "A neat door frame with A pannel door, & Marble Steps, leading to the Celler" (MA survey 2750 taken March 1821, re-survey taken 15 February 1836). Thus, in practice, the difference between cellars and basements was not always clear."

" Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 160; Mote and Henderson, "Historic Structure Report: The Kosciuszko House," 16-20.

Chapter 2

GARRETS and STORAGE SPACES

Garrets, like cellars, were part of the earliest domestic structures in Philadelphia. However, garrets do not figure as prominently in early accounts of the settlement; this relative lack of information continues throughout the period under study. Several factors may account for this. First, the roof itself interested builders, insurance surveyors, and other period observers. By effectively draining rain and other water, the roof was key to the preservation of the building; its condition was more important than the space it enclosed. Thus while one "dug a cellar" under the house, a roof, not a garret, covered it. Second, garrets generally took the form, finish, and other features of the primary floors below; in this regard, they were not as differentiated as cellars. Third, garrets were effectively removed from the centers of both utilitarian and formal domestic activity as well as the street. Garrets then became auxiliary spaces, much as their form was auxiliary to that of the roof above.

Extant garrets dating to the first half of the eighteenth century possess the basic form and most of the features found in later garrets (see Appendix F for more complete information on individual houses). The garret at Stenton has six rooms partitioned off along a central hallway under its hipped roof. Four of these have dormer windows, plastering, and wooden trim; two of these four also have fireplaces opening off the same chimney stack. The other two rooms originally formed one unfinished space, with a single dormer for light.

Extensions of both the main stair and smaller service stair access the garret. Closets around the two masonry chimney stacks and in the knee-walls open into the various rooms and the hallway between them. A small, winding stair behind a closed door in the hallway leads to the loft and roof above (originally, this stair accessed a cupola; it now ends at a trap door). Hope Lodge may have originally had a similar arrangement; the altered garret is still accessible by two stairs and a fireplace opens off of one of the two chimney stacks. Graeme Park has various finished garret rooms under its gambrel roof: one heated by an end-wall chimney and lit by dormer windows, one lit by a window in the end wall but unheated, and a third unlit and unheated. A steep, enclosed stair leads to the loft and trap door from the garret hallway; the garret itself is accessed from below by a single stair.

The form and features observed in these garrets are typical in later urban housing. First, the division of the garrets in these early houses generally conforms to the internal divisions of the floors below. Thus, the five-room plan originally found in the garret at Stenton corresponds to the four- to five-room plan of the main floors. Second, rooms in the garret are smaller due to the slope of the roof; knee-wall doors often access the otherwise useless space under the lower slope of the roof. Third, rooms are lit with either dormer or end-wall windows, if at all. Fourth, fireplaces are occasionally opened into masonry chimney stacks or end-wall chimneys to heat garret rooms. Fifth, at least one stair connects the garret to the house below, and access to the loft and roof is found in the garret. Sixth, some garret spaces are unfinished and/or unlit and unheated.

Peter Kalm described similar garrets in Philadelphia-area houses c. 1748: "There was no real, useless garret as with us in Sweden, for the building was so

constructed that rooms for dwelling purposes extended up to the roof, generally with a fireplace in them, and sometimes with dormer windows ... If a fireplace was built in the middle of a gable-wall there were cupboards set up on each side." This observation assumes that garrets were used for sleeping and storage. It also suggests that some garrets are placed between two masonry end walls and the roof, the former with chimney flues that could heat the garret, the latter sometimes pierced with dormer windows to light it.[78]

This basic pattern characterized urban Philadelphia housing of the period, except that dormers were more common than fireplaces in urban garrets. Insurance surveys document this fact; more general conclusions are listed in Table 8. Roughly four-fifths (78-79%) of all surveys mention garrets. Of these, three-quarters are plastered; thus, three-fifths (59-60%) of the total mention plastered garrets. Plastering was carefully noted as it was a proven fire-safety feature, hindering the spread of roof fires into the house and vice versa. Another fifth (19%) mention unplastered garrets. A small number (1-2%) mention

Table 8 -- Insurance Survey Evidence: Garret Conclusions

feature	number	number as a percentage of 898 total	average of percentages for 6 periods
garret plastered	528	59%	60%
garret not plastered	172	19%	19%
loft only mentioned	13	1%	2%
garret/loft not mentioned	185	21%	18%

Source: compiled from data in Appendix E.

only a loft; these are concentrated in the 1838-44 sample. The final fifth (18-

[78] Kalm's Travels, I:100.

21%) do not mention garrets or lofts; these are concentrated in the 1752-53 period (Appendix E). Overall then, the majority of houses surveyed had plastered garrets and a significant minority had unplastered garrets. These findings support the assertion that garrets are similar to the finished living spaces below.

However, garret notation is usually limited to "garret plastered" or "garret not plastered." This contrasts with the notations for second and third floor chambers that often include "mantles, closets and doors framed, washboards, and window cased." Fortunately, several garret surveys mention other finish-related features that help to define both standard finishes and significant variations. Interestingly, all of these surveys are from 1803 or earlier; later surveys are generally more informative but do not record variations in finish (Appendix E). Finish notations mention garrets that are only partly plastered, floor treatments, partitions, painting, and additional wooden trim. Philadelphia Contributionship survey 166 taken in late 1753 noted "East Garot not plastered," indicating that the garret was divided into more than one room and not uniformly finished; a 1775 re-survey of the same house noted "3/4 of Garot plastered," suggesting a four-room plan. Other surveys mention "Garret part plaistered" and "One room in Garret plastered, other not," again indicating division into more than one room and varying finishes. The garret of G. Reed's Water Street house was plastered, and had a floor of "yellow pine" (PC survey 45 taken 1752); yellow and white pine are mentioned in several other surveys.

"Wooden" or "board" partitions are also commonly listed. These generally divide the garret into discrete spaces, but in several instances separate the garrets of adjoining houses. John Robertson's house on South Street east of Front Street had this feature; "partition of Rough boards from Garret floor up

between that and the adjoining House" (MA survey 77 taken c. April 1785). This notation no doubt refers to a house built together with the adjoining one or as part of a larger row. In such circumstances, brick party walls were not considered necessary above the level of the garret floor. This was also true of brick partition walls inside a particular house. For instance, exterior bearing walls of brick were to be fourteen inches thick, while the partition walls were to be nine inches thick and "to go three Stories high" in the provost's house Robert Smith agreed to build in 1774. The garrets in the same house were "to be divided," no doubt with board partitions. The Philadelphia Contributionship rate table of 1752 suggests a 9-inch standard for brick party walls. A 4-inch brick party wall above the level of the garret floor lead to a significant insurance rate increase; wooden partitions caused the rate to double. Freestanding chimney stacks are the only masonry elements found in garrets, and then only rarely. In the standard Philadelphia row house, the roofing system was self-supporting and rested on the front and rear (exterior) walls. Roof collar beams separated the garret from the upper garret or loft; the useless space under the lowest slope of the roof was enclosed with knee-wall partitions.[79]

Several surveys mention "garret painted" or "garret primed," with no specific mention of plastering. This notation suggests simply whitewashing or painting in addition to plastering, the same treatment unplastered cellar walls and ceilings received. Additional wooden trim is mentioned in only two surveys, those of significantly lavish houses. The c. August 1794 survey of John Dunlap's house at the southeast corner of Market and Twelfth Streets includes, "Garrets

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[79] Building agreement between Robert Smith and trustees of the College of Pennsylvania, March 1774; Nicholas Wainwright, A Philadelphia Story: The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Contributionship, 1952), 244.

with washboards [and] plaistered" (MA survey 459/462). Anthony Garvan notes that Dunlap's house, built in 1789, "was regarded at its construction as the finest house in the city." Washboards are found in the garret of the Powel House, one of the finest urban houses of the previous generation (The Woodlands also has garret washboards, see Appendix F). Interestingly, the 1774 building agreement for the provost's house specified that the garrets were to have "Wash-boards &c." At first glance, this evidence suggests that washboards were found only in elaborate houses; but such trim is found in several extant houses and was the common treatment for the intersection of a plastered wall and wooden floor. Finally, standard finish treatment appears to have been limited to plastering, common wide-board wooden floors (probably pine), and basic wooden trim in those houses surveyed with "garret(s) plastered."[80]

Insurance survey evidence for garret room division is unclear; pre-1800 survey notation is generally limited to "garret plaistered" or "garret not plaistered." However, several eighteenth-century surveys (some of these cited above) and about half of the nineteenth-century surveys mention two or more garret rooms; many fewer specify that the garret is "in one room" or "undivided." Further, various surveys mention an upper garret or loft in addition to the garret itself. Together, these surveys number over a fifth (22%) of the total that mention garrets; in percentage terms, they average closer to a third (30%) (Table 9). Other documents suggest that garret division was common if not standard. The 1763 and 1774 building agreements entered into by Robert Smith

Table 9 -- Insurance Survey Evidence: Garret Room Division

feature	number	number as a percentage of 700 total	average of percentages for 6 periods

[80] Garvan, The Architectural Surveys, 288-90; building agreement between Robert Smith and the trustees of the College of Pennsylvania, March 1774.

upper garret/loft	13	2%	2%
two or more rooms	142	20%	28%

Source: compiled from data in Appendix E.

respectively specify "Garretts" and "Garret to be divided." The majority of houses included in the probate inventory sample had two or more garret rooms. Table 10 documents this fact, and lists the names of these spaces. If one considers the predominance of two-room house plans in the inventory sample (cf. Table 4), the significant number of houses with front and back garrets makes sense. As with the insurance surveys, later inventories are more informative; many of the early mentions of a garret may well have been for divided garrets. Finally, one may conclude that plastered garrets were generally divided according to the division of the house below. This created finished garret rooms useful for various purposes, but scaled as chambers. Unplastered garrets may have been left undivided if they were not to be inhabited.

Ready access and light made garret rooms suitable for inhabitation. Stenton, Hope Lodge, and Graeme Park all have at least one stair to the garret and rooms with dormer or end-wall windows. They also have fireplaces in one or more of the garret rooms with simple rendered surrounds and no wooden trim or mantle. Insurance survey evidence suggests that garret fireplaces with wooden trim were rare in urban housing, but simple rendered fireplaces existed. Physical evidence of such a garret fireplace is found in the front or north garret room at 318 Market Street. However, no extant period fireplace was

Table 10 -- Inventory Evidence: Garret Terminology and Spaces

Terms are direct transcriptions; all capital letters have been removed. Abbreviations: n = number of citations.

number of spaces implied

space name(s)	n	≥1	2	≥2	3	≥4
garret[1]	47	X				
front&back garret[2]	42		X			
garrets no. 1 of 2	1		X			
garret&loft	1		X			
garrets[3]	6			X		
a room in the garrett	1			X		
garret, s. room	1			X		
front room, 3d story	1			X		
centre garret	1			X		
north east&south east garret	1			X		
garrets no. 1&no. 2&upper garret	1				X	
front&back or west&entry between garrets	1				X	
east back&front east&west garret	1				X	
north front&south front& back garret	1				X	
front&back&wine garret	1				X	
front&back garrets	1					X
north front&south front&north back&south back&garret entry&upper garret	1					X
s.e.&s.w.&w. middle&n.w.&n.e. 3d story	1					X
loft [only]	1	X				
TOTALS	111 (100%)	48 (43%)	44 (40%)	11 (10%)	5 (5%)	3 (3%)

[1] Includes inventories listing "garrett" and "garet" (13 total).
[2] Includes inventories listing front and back "garrett," "garet," "room up 2 pr stairs," "garret room," "garrett room," and "garrit" (24 total).
[3] Includes inventories listing "garrets," "garret rooms," and "servants rooms" (3 total).

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

observed in an urban garret. Instead, several garrets have later nineteenth-century iron grates set into chimney stacks, which probably functioned like the iron "valves" associated with early furnaces. Before the middle of the nineteenth century then, urban garrets appear to have been largely unheated.

This fact suggests that they were auxiliary rather than primary inhabited areas.

Garret access in many houses furthers this point. In larger urban houses with piazza stairs, garret access is usually from a separate, less finished stair. The Bishop White House has an excellent example of the hierarchy this suggests. The primary living spaces on the first, second, and third floors are linked by an open newel stair with a bracketed open string, finely turned balusters, ramped rail, and wooden half rail along the side walls. The straight, single flight of stairs leading from the third floor to the garret has a closed string and simple rectangular balusters; the half rail stops on the third floor. The hierarchy continues above; a steep, winding stair behind a closed door links the garret and loft. Houses without stairway piazzas had similar hierarchies. In the third floor hall of the Powel House, a door opens to reveal a constricted, board newel stair to the garret; this contrasts dramatically with the large, open stair trimmed in mahogany below. In London-house plans, garret stairs are generally directly above those serving the floors below, having the same form and often the same level of finish. In some London-house plans, the stairs to the garret are less finished, suggesting a hierarchy of quality if not physical form (the same is true of cellar stairs in these houses). Garret access in other houses is part of an independent service stair from the cellar to the garret, one that sometimes does not even communicate with the primary living floors. Stenton and Hope Lodge have early versions of such a service stair; the Hill-Physick-Keith House and The Woodlands have fully-developed examples.

These hierarchies were not characteristic of all Philadelphia housing. Winding stairs from the cellar to the garret are found in the vast majority of bandbox houses and also in buildings as substantial as the Todd House. In many of these smaller dwellings, garrets were in fact primary living areas; only

location under the roof and lack of a fireplace differentiate these rooms from those below. In other houses, such as the Deshler-Morris House and The Highlands, open newel stairs continue up to the garret, complete with turned balusters and other decorative details. The garrets in these houses do not differ substantially from those in houses with simpler access. In general, hierarchical or not, sufficient garret access was provided so that garret rooms could be regularly inhabited.

Windows were the other factor in making the garret inhabitable. In houses where the end or side wall could not be opened, dormer windows in the roof provided light. Dormer windows of varying design and materials punctuated the skyline of Philadelphia row housing, much as bulkhead doors interrupted the sidewalk (figures 2, 10). And like bulkheads, dormers figure regularly in building accounts and price guides of the period. In 1774, carpenter David Evans charged 15s to add "One dormer window with shingled cheekes and gutters" to the Dickinson House. The Rules of Work of the Carpenters' Company lists dormers with "flat tops," "ridge" dormers, and "arched or niche" dormers, which in 1786 varied in price from £1.10.0 to £7.10.0 depending on the treatment of the cheeks or sides and amount of decorative embellishment. Plate VIII in The Rules illustrates the salient features of these three types. In the 1784-94 Mutual Assurance Company surveys, eleven surveys mention a single "arched" dormer and another nine mention two or more. Flat-topped and ridged dormers without arched sash are not mentioned, but may have been on the rear facades of the houses that have arched dormers "in front." The c. 1800-03 Philadelphia Contributionship surveys are more informative, listing over 100 individual dormers with examples of all three types, often in combination. Thus the Vine Street house of John Cook had a plastered "Garret [with] arched dormer front [and] square dormer back"

(PC survey book 1, page 2, taken 27 January 1800). The Bishop White House has two arched dormers with decorative scrolls and "gothic sash" in the front, and two plain ridged dormers in back. 316-18 Market Street each have a single arched dormer with "gothic sash" front and back, with an additional dormer of the same design over each entrance of the arched carriageway.[81]

Other garret light sources are mentioned in the insurance surveys and found in extant houses. The most important of these are end-wall windows. Jonathan William's "court" off Front Street in the Northern Liberties was flanked on both sides by eight two-story tenements. These were "finished very plain" and had "Garret plaistered ... one flatt 12 light dormer window to Each House except the 4 Corner Houses as windows in gable end" (PC survey book 2, page 16, taken 3 April 1802). Such windows saved the expense of building and maintaining dormers and are commonly found in corner houses throughout the period (figure 6). The Todd and Kosciuszko Houses are excellent examples; the Bond House is another, but it also has a single ridged dormer in back. Grumblethorpe and other houses in Germantown have small, round "oculi" in their gable ends; at Grumblethorpe, these light garret knee-wall closets and the loft. "Skylights" are listed in several surveys. Most often, such skylights are found above the central stair in London-house-plan houses; a skylight in 318 Market Street lit the open newel central stair running from cellar to garret. Other skylights lit hallways and rooms without dormer or gable-end windows; examples of the latter are found in the garret of The Woodlands. "Borrowed light" is not mentioned in insurance surveys but was commonly used. This borrowing could be effected through interior windows, as formerly in the Bond House garret and still at Wyck, or through

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[81] Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 148 (for Evans account); The Rules of Work (1971 reprint), 7, plate VIII.

transoms over garret doors. The garret hallway at 6507 Germantown Avenue is lit by such transoms.[82]

Two other garret features deserve mention. First, metal-lined cisterns are documented to have been in several garrets or lofts. The mid-eighteenth-century Norris House (demolished c. 1820) had "a contrivance in hydraulics" that not only supplied water to the cellar "dairy," but "carried water in leaden pipes to the flat roof of the eastern piazza, and to that on top of the house, where were cisterns lined with lead to receive the water in case of fire." With improvements in fire fighting and the public water system, city residents did not have to install or maintain such cisterns in the nineteenth century. Similarly, the rise of indoor plumbing paralleled the expansion and improvement of the water system. Later cisterns were installed to gravity feed water for baths and other plumbing outside the city. The cistern in the loft of the c. 1850 addition to the Deshler-Morris House served this purpose. Two large cisterns in the garret of The Highlands were installed as part of a c. 1856 plumbing installation at that house.[83]

Bell systems are the other feature found in a significant number of period garrets. George Tatum sums up the purpose of such systems; "With servants at work or quartered in the garret and back buildings, there was need for some device to summon them to the door or to the main rooms of the house." Thomas Hale, "Carpenter, from London," first advertised "the Business of hanging Bells

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[82] The Park reconstructions of the Graff and Pemberton Houses also have gable-wall garret windows, as they are on corner lots. Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 247, discusses the "oculi" at Grumblethorpe and elsewhere. The Bond House loft uses "reflected light" off its painted walls; the Bishop White House loft has roof-level sash that allow light to enter and reflect off the plastered inside of the east party wall.

[83] Reminiscences of Deborah Norris Logan, 1827, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

... in the most neat and lasting manner" in the 27 October 1768 Pennsylvania Gazette. The Powels hired Hale the next year, paying him a total of £9.1.6 for hanging bells at their S. Third Street house. Alexander Smith was another bell supplier. The Powels bought bell-related items from Smith, and he received close to £5 in January 1771 for work on the John Cadwalader House. Bell-hanging was apparently a viable business; Hale advertised in December 1772 and January 1773 that he "Continues to hang Bells through all the apartments of houses, in the most neat and lasting manner." Portions of later bell systems are found in the garrets at Wyck, the Powel and Hill-Physick-Keith Houses, and The Woodlands. Of the Park houses, only the Bond House had evidence of a bell system.[84]

Bell systems evidence the use of garrets for servants' chambers. Peter Kalm noted this fact and suggested that dormer windows were constructed in garrets "so that servants at least could in the summer live in them comfortably." But Kalm also noted, "Besides, clothes and other household goods could be stored there." Virtually all period garrets were used for chambers and/or storage; moreover, these usages often overlapped in the same garret rooms or spaces. Appendix C lists the contents of garret and storage spaces in the inventory sample; Table 11 summarizes this data. The inventories of over a quarter (28-29%) of the garrets and storage spaces list "sundries" or "lumber;" many of these

Table 11 -- Inventory Evidence: Garret and Storage Space Contents and Usage

The first two "items" are actually composite categories; further information on bedding and furniture may be found in Appendix C and Table 12.

item	1754-97 (23 total)	1800-15 (32 total)	1816-27 (30 total)	1828-48 (33 total)	1754-1848 (118 total)

[84] Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian, 54-55, 159; Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 29-30; 16 December 1772 Pennsylvania Gazette and 11 January 1773 Pennsylvania Packet, cited in INHP notecard file.

bedding	20 (87%)	23 (72%)	18 (60%)	25 (76%)	86 (73%)
furniture	13 (57%)	21 (66%)	16 (53%)	21 (64%)	71 (60%)
chest/trunk	8 (35%)	13 (41%)	10 (33%)	14 (42%)	45 (38%)
other linens	14 (61%)	17 (53%)	14 (47%)	11 (33%)	56 (47%)
wearing apparel	1 (4%)	4 (13%)		1 (3%)	6 (5%)
textile tools	5 (22%)	5 (16%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	13 (11%)
food/liquor	5 (22%)	4 (13%)	4 (13%)	2 (6%)	15 (13%)
bottles	5 (22%)	6 (19%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	14 (12%)
sundries/lumber	11 (48%)	7 (22%)	7 (23%)	8 (24%)	33 (28%)
crib/cradle	5 (22%)	4 (13%)	2 (7%)	3 (9%)	14 (12%)
prints/pictures	3 (13%)		6 (20%)	2 (6%)	11 (9%)

Source: compiled from data in Appendix C.

have no other contents listed. Thus, with almost three-quarters of the inventories listing bedding (i.e., a bed with associated linens), chamber usage is nearly universal in fully-itemized garrets. Other major usages that may be identified are household textile storage, food and liquor storage, and bulk dry storage of furniture and other household goods.[85]

Urban garrets have traditionally been identified as sleeping quarters for servants and other lesser members of the household, namely children. Tatum writes of Georgian houses, "Lit adequately by dormer windows, two or more rooms in the garret provided additional space for children or for household servants." He notes of the Powel House garret, "Here probably slept the servants, including perhaps some of the household slaves the Powels are known to have owned." Thomas Penn, son of William, corresponded with his agent about such arrangements in

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[85] Kalm's Travels I:100.

1753: "I desire you will enquire whether a room cannot be made in the upper Garret fit for under Servants or Negroes to lye in, if it can at a small expense let it be done." Penn also noted that the back- and outbuildings under construction "will accommodate pretty well for Men Servants." The agent responded that the chamber over the "servants Hall" (part of the new backbuilding) would be sufficient, so that "I hope you need not make use of the Garret," which probably housed female servants. Proposed garret usage in the Market Street house formerly occupied by Richard Penn, grandson of William, was described by George Washington to his secretary Tobias Lear in 1790; "The Garret has four good Rooms which must serve Mr. and Mrs. Hyde [his steward and cook] (unless they should prefer the Room over the Wash house), William --- and such servants as it may not be better to place in the addition (as proposed) to the back building." Thus, in the wealthiest households with large number of servants, the garret often housed a significant portion of the staff.[86]

Karie Diethorn has analyzed garret contents as they might relate to servants' quarters using 45 Philadelphia probate inventories from the 1780-1835 period. She notes that 33 or 73% of these have bedsteads or beds listed; 21 or 47% have a bedstead and other chamber furniture such as chairs, tables, and stands. Moreover, 8 or 18% of the total have "room settings," defined as a combination of bedstead, chair(s), table(s) or stand(s), bureau(s) or chest(s) of drawers, and looking glass(es). Table 12 presents the results of a similar analysis of the garret inventories considered in this study. The figures are comparable to those cited by Diethorn, who also stresses the mixture of sleeping

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[86] Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian, 61, 108; Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 20 February 1753 and Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, 17 April 1753, Penn Mss., Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited in INHP notecard file; George Washington to Tobias Lear, 5 September 1790, cited in Harold D. Eberlein, "190, High Street," in Historic Philadelphia, 164.

and storage usage. Her conclusion holds for the larger sample: "This undifferentiated quality of garrets represented servants' intended anonymity in the house as a whole, as did their specific containment in the back of the kitchen, stable, etc. The interchangeability of work and rest activities in these areas reiterated servants' subordinate status."[87]

Garrets with provision for sleeping in smaller houses and in houses without large staffs might be occupied by children, boarders, or even the householder (only nine inventories specify "servants'" bedding in the garret). Bishop White

Table 12 -- Inventory Evidence: Garret Room Assemblages

assemblage type	1754-97 (23 total)	1800-15 (32 total)	1816-27 (30 total)	1828-48 (33 total)	1754-1848 (118 total)
bedstead, bedding	14 (61%)	21 (66%)	15 (50%)	21 (64%)	71 (60%)
bedstead, bedding plus table or chair	4 (17%)	6 (19%)	4 (13%)	11 (33%)	25 (21%)
bedstead, bedding plus table and chair	2 (9%)	7 (22%)	4 (13%)	3 (9%)	16 (14%)
bedstead, bedding, table, chair plus bureau and looking glass		3 (9%)	5 (17%)	4 (12%)	12 (10%)

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

employed a moderately-sized staff, all of whom could be comfortably accommodated in the back- and outbuildings. The garret chambers of the Bishop White House housed family members, probably the Bishop's male grandchildren. Graffiti on the wooden trim inside the cheek of the east front dormer confirms this. The

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[87] Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," table 4, 89-91. Diethorn's table notes that kitchen chambers had higher percentages for bedsteads, bedsteads and other furniture, and room settings, suggesting that they were more commonly chambers and perhaps more personalized.

inscription reads "W W Bronson, 1834" for William White Bronson, one of the Bishop's grandsons who was probably resident in the room at that time. In smaller houses, the garret might be one of the only sleeping areas. In these cases, the entire family or a large portion of it might sleep in the garret. Boarding houses tended to use all available space, including garrets. John Fanning Watson described one boarding house as "filled ... to the garret windows" with French colonials celebrating the Revolution in 1793. Julian Niemsewicz described the rooms at Mrs. Relf's boarding house (now the Kosciuszko House) on 28 November 1797:

> The Gl. [Kosciuszko] had a small room where he could receive only 4 people at a time; I had one even smaller; since no fire was made there, I could use it only for sleeping; this was extremely inconvenient to me. There is nothing more dreary then not having a place of your own, to be obliged to roam the streets or to watch for a moment when there would be a little table vacant in the parlor where you can read and write.

Niemsewicz must have slept in the garret; his description of its limitations and boarding-house life are soberingly accurate. Garrets provided little more than shelter for their occupants.[88]

This human storage was most often combined with household-goods storage. The many chests, trunks, and other storage containers in inventories undoubtedly held the many linens listed (Table 11). The "Garet" of Richard Farmer's modest house contained a bed, bedstead, and bedding; table; lumber; and a "chest, blankets" (number 34 taken 7 February 1791). Richard Tunis's "Garret" was full of household textiles; listed along with three bedsteads are "7 trunks and chests [worth $] 5., 5 coverlids 25., 15 blankets 12., 3 old coverlids .50, 4 upper beds

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[88] Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 136-37 (for Bishop White House staff); Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:181; Niemsewicz, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, trans. and ed. by Metchie J.E. Budka (Newark: The New Jersey Historical Society, 1965), 23. Watson notes that the "garrets" of the "Stone Prison" at the southwest corner of Third and Market Streets (in use c. 1723-84) "furnished rooms for prisoners;" Annals of Philadelphia, I:360-61.

12., 2 feather beds, bolsters and cases with pillows 40., 2 calico bed covers 9., 5 sets window and 1 set bed curtains all dimity 23., 2 sets calico bed curtains 10., 2 white cotton counterpanes [and] 2 pach'd work'd Bedquilts 7." (number 59 taken 17 June 1808). Robert Steel had a more modest assortment in his "Back Garret," which contained "1 Pine Chest 3.00, 2 pr. Homespun Blankets 2.00, 1 Homespun coverlet 2.00, 1 pr. Rose Blankets 2.00 [and] 1 coverlet 2.00," but no bedstead or bedding. Steel's "Front Garret" was also bed-less, containing only "lot of flower pots & plants 8.00 [and] 1 hair trunk, quilting frame & benches 1.50" (number 151 taken 8 December 1834).[89]

The homespun textiles and quilting frame indicate that at least some textile processing occurred in urban homes (Table 11). Diethorn notes, "Few urban women grew their own flax or raised sheep for wool; however, some spun their own cloth;" these women included Elizabeth Drinker, Ann Warder, and Deborah Norris Logan. The "Front Garret" in the Drinker House on N. Front Street contained "a spinning wheel & 2 reels" among its other contents (number 64 taken 15 August 1809). The spinning wheels, reels, and other processing equipment listed in garret inventories may have been stored for use elsewhere, but neither the nature of the work nor the materials involved rule out the garret as a textile-processing space. Wearing apparel is not often listed in period inventories; it and other personal effects such as jewelry were generally considered personal rather than household property and often passed directly to heirs (Table 11). Martha Hall's "Front Garrett" inventory offers one exception, as it lists "3 pair of velvet Shoes 5. [and] Two trunks of wearing apparel 25."

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[89] An exceptional array of household linens were contained "in a large leather trunk with brass nails" and "in a hair trunk" in the front garret of the Cadwalader House at the time of General John Cadwalader's death in 1786; see Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 73.

(number 73 taken 16 August 1811). This stored apparel may have been old, out of season, or especially delicate. Abigail Adams, while resident in Philadelphia, wrote and asked her sister "to look in my large Hair cloaths Trunk which stands in the Garret for my white Lutestring Gown & Coat which is trimd with silver, and for a Napkin in which is a plain Muslin Gown Embroidered with silk."[90]

Food and liquor storage was another significant garret usage (Table 11). The inventory sample suggests that dry bulk storage was most common; typical are barrels of flour or salt and bags of coffee. Thomas Leaming's inventory is the only one listing preserved meat in a garret; along with empty barrels and jugs, several beds, and other goods are listed "4 Gammons and box" worth £2 (number 43 taken 16 November 1797). Two inventories list safes, but without any reference to their contents. Nicholas Arnous had three demijohns of liquor and "1 Lot of Empty Bottles" in his "Front Garret" along with "3 demijohns of vinegar" (number 95 taken early 1819). At least one period recipe to make vinegar specifies placing an open keg with cider or wine "directly under the roof where it is hot," but most vinegar was made elsewhere or purchased and pickling does not appear to have been a garret activity. In fact, the only food processing that regularly occurred in garrets was the drying of fruit and (less frequently) meat. The former was a fall activity practiced by the Drinker family at their country house near Germantown. In October 1794, Elizabeth Drinker noted that her son William "has been busy this forenoon gathering pears and spreading 'em in the garret;" eight years later she noted that her daughter Sally was "very busy this evening sorting her apples in the garret." However, there is little evidence to suggest that these passive processes were common in urban garrets. Dried foods,

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[90] Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 43; Abigail Adams letter, 1799, quoted in Garrett, At Home, 178.

especially meats, were more commonly stored either in a cellar larder or the kitchen chamber.[91]

General dry storage of household goods was concentrated in garrets. Benjamin Franklin, writing as "Anthony Afterwit," satirically described the process by which old and out-of-date furnishings ended up in garrets. Afterwit as a bachelor was unconcerned with furnishings, and his new bride began a re-decorating campaign by insisting on replacing an old-fashioned looking-glass.

> Accordingly [a new] Glass was bought, and hung against the Wall: But in a Week's time, I was made sensible by little and little, *that the Table was by no Means suitable to such a Glass*. And a more proper Table being procur'd, my Spouse, who was an excellent Contriver, inform'd me where we might have very handsome Chairs *in the Way*; And thus, by Degrees, I found all my old Furniture stow'd up into the Garret, and every thing below alter'd for the better.

Broken furniture is regularly mentioned in period inventories. Samuel Neave left "3 broken chairs" and bedding in the "North East Front Garret" of his S. Second Street house (number 21 taken 13 February 1776); his neighbor John Cadwalader left "10 old mahogany chairs many broke, 1 [fire]screen [with] top ornament off [and] 1 washing stand broke" among the contents of his front garret. Other furniture forms were used on an irregular basis; cradles and cribs are obvious examples (Table 11). If fine furniture needed to be stored, a secure garret was the logical place to do so. As the British advanced towards Philadelphia in 1777, Jasper Yeates of Lancaster wrote to his wife; "Col. John Cadwalader has requested Leave of me to store a part of his most valuable Furniture in our House. If it should come to you in my Absence, you will please to have it put

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[91] Weaver, Sauerkraut Yankees, 173-74; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 13 October 1794 and 27 October 1802. Weaver also discusses the Rauchkammer or smoke chamber found in the loft of some Pennsylvania German farmhouses, Sauerkraut Yankees, 46; no comparable feature was noted in Philadelphia garrets or lofts and only one survey mentions a "smoke room" in the second floor of a backbuilding (MA survey 2712 taken October 1820).

up in the Garret & have the Room locked up." Secure storage was not uncommon at other times; Ann Eliza George Fisher noted various expenses on 15 May 1815 including "putting a lock on the garret."[92]

Garrets were also the preferred storage area for old and/or broken prints and pictures and other furnishings (Table 11, Appendix C). Samuel Neave's "Back Garret" contained "12 glazed sea pieces, 3 of them cracked, 5 ditto whole, 3 ditto broken [and] 8 old prints" worth a total of £4.9.6; Cadwalader's front garret had "4 old prints." Appendix C lists the other goods found in the inventory sample. Deborah Franklin mentions another type in a letter to her husband, "I have taken all *the dead letters* and the papers that were in the garret, with the books not taken by Billy, and had them boxed and barreled up, and put in the south garret to await your return." The varied nature and scale of stored goods could lead to chaos and uncleanliness, making access to needed goods difficult. Sarah Logan Fisher, pregnant at the time, noted the importance of maintaining an orderly garret, "busy with Kitty [servant] in settling my Garrets & putting everything in order, which I have to have done against my confinement if I can, for that generally brings work enough."[93]

Much of this activity and related storage was seasonal. In other words, a garret inventory taken in June might differ significantly from an inventory of the same garret taken in January. Table 13 lists some of the inventoried goods stored on a seasonal basis; as discussed above, the storage of household textiles, wearing apparel, and food was also seasonal. Spring cleaning and the

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[92] Benjamin Franklin, letter in Pennsylvania Gazette, 10 July 1732, cited in Garrett, At Home, 249; Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 45, 73; Ann Eliza George Fisher account book, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[93] Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 73; Deborah Franklin to Benjamin Franklin, 1765, cited in Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, II:859; Sarah Logan Fisher Diary, 8 September 1778, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

accompanying changeover might involve cleaning and rolling up of carpets and rugs, and the cleaning and removal of stoves and/or fireplace equipment. These items would then be placed in the garret; mats and fireboards would be "brought down" to take their places. Corresponding changes took place with household textiles; heavy bed and window curtains would be replaced with lighter materials or simple mosquito netting. Venetian blinds might also be placed in the windows during summer to allow for ventilated shade. In the fall, the procedure reversed, with carpets, stoves, and fireplace equipment "brought down" for winter usage.

An "Iron fender, kettle, andirons and another fender [worth $] 3.50" and "Carpet and Rug for Back Parlor 13." are listed in the 17 June 1808 inventory of Richard Tunis's garret, along with a large number of textiles (described

Table 13 -- Inventory Evidence: Seasonal Storage in Garrets

item	1754-97 (23 total)	1800-15 (32 total)	1816-27 (30 total)	1828-48 (33 total)	1754-1848 (118 total)
mats/carpets		7 (22%)	10 (33%)	11 (33%)	28 (24%)
stoves	2 (9%)	2 (6%)	4 (13%)	5 (15%)	13 (11%)
stored fireplace equipment	2 (9%)	4 (13%)	1 (3%)	3 (9%)	10 (8%)
venetian blinds		3 (9%)		2 (6%)	5 (4%)
fire boards			1 (3%)	1 (3%)	2 (2%)

Source: compiled from data in Appendix C.

above); the 6 August 1824 inventory of Levi Hollingsworth's garret at 16 Dock Street includes "one Sheet Iron Stove 1.50, one Wire Fender .50 [and] Three Carpets 12." (numbers 59, 118). By contrast, the late 1822 inventory of Thomas McEuen's garret lists "Matting for the Parlours and Entry 5." along with bedding and chairs, and the 27 March 1832 inventory of Allen Armstrong's "Garretts" lists

among other things "Lot old Matting &c. 3." and "Muskitto Netts .50" (numbers 109, 144). Interestingly, one of the few inventories to mention mats in use is that for Matthais Harrison's "country house" near Ridge Road; "straw matts" worth $20.00 are found in both the "Front Parlour" and "Dining Room" (number 94 taken July 1817). Other seasonal storage items were brought in from the outside, such as the plants in Robert Steel's garret (noted above); the 5 May 1848 inventory of John Heyl's garret lists a "Lot of flowers" worth $2.50 (number 174).

Such seasonal changes generally occurred in large, prosperous households. Servants in these households would perform the necessary work and often sleep with the stored goods in the garret. In more modest households, particularly those of artisans, the garret might be given over to work-related storage or even used as a workshop. Stuart Blumin argues that 1798 Federal direct tax records and other documents "support the traditional view that most artisans maintained workshops within the walls of their dwellings, often in the front room of the ground floor, sometimes on the entire ground floor, sometimes in a garret." Workshop or not, the garret was an intensively used space in artisans' dwellings. The 20 August 1821 inventory of boot manufacturer James Ashman's "Garrets" lists 121 pairs of varied boots and shoes, "1 box of unfinished boots & shoes, 1 dto of boot webbing, 1 Trunk of pumps, 2 dtt of gig harness [and] 1 blank book" worth a total of $259.00 (number 103). Morocco dresser John Lake left "Twenty-three morocco hats" along with bedding, feathers, "part of a Barrel of Flour," clothes, and sundries in his "Back Garret;" an apprentice may well have slept in this room (number 114 taken 2 October 1823).[94]

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[94] Blumin, The emergence of the middle class: social experience in the American city, 1760-1900 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 45.

Intensive usage continued above the garret in houses with flats or drying platforms. Table 14 lists roof-level features observed in the insurance survey sample. Also notable here is the fact that on average two-thirds (64%) of the houses surveyed had a trap door or way out onto the roof; this feature was nearly standard after the Revolution (Appendix E). This access was usually in the form of a steep stair from garret level to a point close to the ridge of the roof; "iron rails up" on the roof prevented falling. Period insurance companies either required such access or encouraged it by reducing rates for houses so equipped; regular roof maintenance and painting was also facilitated. David Evans charged 15s for installing a "Trap door lined and cheekes" in the new addition to the Dickinson House in 1774. Benjamin Franklin described the fire-safety features of his own home c. 1785; "There are also trap doors to go out upon the roof, so that one may go out and wet the shingles in case of a neighboring fire." On 26

Table 14 -- Insurance Survey Evidence: Roof Access and Usage

feature	number	number as a percentage of 898 total	average of percentages for 6 periods
trap door/way out	515	57%	64%
no trap door/way out	383	43%	36%
flat/platform on roof	78	9%	10%
iron rails on roof	39	4%	3%

Source: compiled from data in Appendix E.

December 1794, Elizabeth Drinker wrote of such a fire and noted that her "neighbors over the street were watering the tops of their houses."[95]

[95] Wainwright, A Philadelphia Story, 244; Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 143 (for Evans account); Benjamin Franklin, c. 1785 letter, cited in Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, II:882; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 26 December 1794.

Flats were the focus of urban roof activity. The March 1801 survey of a house in Southwark just off S. Front Street thoroughly describes a flat; "One Ridged Dormer Door to go out on a Flatt which is walled round 3 feet high and covered with plank and posts and Rails to dry Cloaths. The flatt is covered with boards groved and lead over them to prevent leaking and a floor of plained boards groved over the lead about 3 Inches above the lead" (PC survey book 1, page 25). The Rules of Work of the Carpenters' Company lists prices for the wooden elements, noting that the posts were to be "prepared for cloath-lines" and were "supposed to have three rails." Flats were often placed on top of backbuildings, allowing for vertical-door access from an upper floor of the main house; the Todd House has a reconstructed flat of this type. In the most densely built-up neighborhoods of Philadelphia, flats could be found on top of the house itself. The 1809 re-survey of a house without backbuilding on the east side of Water Street above Walnut Street notes, "way out on to the roof which is broken pitch, & posts and rails put round for drying clothes" (PC survey 45). John Lewis Krimmel depicted a similar flat at the northwest corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets in 1821, complete with clothesline between the posts (figure 10). The two references to clotheslines in garrets suggest that drying may have taken place there during wet weather (Appendix C). Thus flats served in lieu of yards for the drying of clothes in some urban houses.[96]

But roof-level activity was not limited to clothes-drying. Peter Kalm noted that the roofs of "many" Philadelphia-area houses were "made in such a manner that they could be walked upon, having a balustrade round them." Stenton had such a roof, with a decorative cupola access and "balustrade round;"

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[96] The Rules of Work (1971 reprint), 32-33. Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 58, discusses clothes-drying options.

Woodford, Mount Pleasant, and other country houses still have fully accessible, balustraded roofs. In 1778, a German traveler analyzed Philadelphia's housing stock:

> The number of houses seems to be about 4740 and that of inhabitants to be about 50,000. All buildings are constructed of brick to the top. Walks and landings go around the roofs of the houses so that one can stroll there, look around, and amuse oneself well.

Hannah Callender and a group of friends "walked over to Robt. Morris' improvements [i.e., his unfinished house on Chestnut Street] and walked round the parapet wall on the top of the house which affords a most extensive prospect." Other Philadelphia houses with broken-pitch roofs and balustrades between brick battlements may have functioned in this manner, but they are an exceptional type. Perhaps more typically roofs were used as observation points for specific events; Elizabeth Drinker noted watching fireworks and fires from "ye top of our House" (but note that no one is observing the procession from the flat in figure 10). The roof also served as a cool escape on summer evenings for servants and others quartered in the garret. Thus, roof-level features and related activities extended the physical and social boundaries of the household.[97]

Other dry storage spaces-- closets, store rooms, pantries, etc.-- extended the service areas of the house into the primary living areas, but differed from garrets in more than just location. First, these spaces were generally smaller in scale than garret rooms and were rarely if ever used for sleeping. Second, these spaces were secured and usually controlled directly by the householder or

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[97] Kalm's Travels, I:49; Engle, "Historic Structure Report: Stenton," 88; [?] Doehla Diary, 1 January 1778, location unknown, cited in INHP notecard file; "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender," 5 June 1785; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 15 July 1782 and 14 August 1794. Merlin Waterson, The Servants' Hall: A 'Downstairs' History of a British Country House (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 116, documents the use of the "leads" or lead-covered roofs behind the parapet walls at Erddig, a Welsh country house, as recreational space for servants.

housekeeper. Good closets and store-rooms were sought after and commented on by period observers. Abigail Adams complained that Bush Hill, the house near Philadelphia she and Vice-President Adams were renting, did not compare with Richmond Hill, her New York home. "The house [Bush Hill] is better furnished within; but, when you come to compare the conveniences for store-room, kitchen, closets, &c., there is nothing like it [Richmond Hill] in the whole house." Table 15 summarizes inventory evidence for these storage spaces; four basic types are noted. First, there is general storage comparable to garret storage but only rarely mixed with sleeping and then only in backbuildings. Second, there is "luxury" storage, characterized by a mix of fine groceries, liquor, and fine tablewares. Third, three inventories mention closets with groceries only. Fourth, kitchen storage in the kitchen-cellar area complements the cellar food and provision storage areas already discussed.[98]

The numerous space names in Table 15 are confusing; spaces with the same name are found on all floors and with varied usages. The unheated garret room at Graeme Park with shelving and regularly-spaced ceiling hooks may be comparable to the garret "store rooms" listed. Similarly, the unlit and unheated spaces with wall pegs found in the garrets at Cliveden and Mount Pleasant may be comparable to the garret "closet" listed. But chimney-breast and other smaller

Table 15 -- Inventory Evidence: Non-Garret Storage Terminology and Usage

Space names taken directly from inventory transcriptions; capital letters have been removed. Locations deduced from order of inventory; numbers refer to floor, "near kitchen" refers to spaces adjoining kitchen in backbuilding or cellar. A total of 50 non-garret storage spaces were surveyed. Abbreviations: n = number of examples; back = backbuilding (in location column only).

a. general storage, 26 total (52%)

b. "luxury" storage, 12 total (24%)

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[98] Abigail Adams to Abigail Smith, 21 November 1790, Massachusetts Historical Society, cited in INHP notecard file.

space name	location	n
store room	garret	2
closet	garret	1
back chamber	3	1
small front chamber	3	5
closet	3	1
front/back chamber	2	1
store room	2	3
room(s) over kitchen	2/3, back	9
closet	cellar	1
closet	yard	1
store house	unclear	1

space name	location	n
store room	3	2
back chamber	3	2
front chamber	3	1
pantry	3	1
store room	2	1
small room	2	1
entry closet	2	1
store room	1 (or 2?)	1
store room	2, back	1
little room	2, back	1

c. grocery storage, 3 total (6%)

space name	location	n
entry closet	3	2
closet	unclear	1

d. kitchen storage, 9 total (18%)

space name	location	n
pantry	near kitchen	2
pantry	cellar	1
store room	near kitchen	6

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

closets are not generally mentioned; their contents are usually listed along with those of the room they open into. Chambers are the only spaces mentioned that are necessarily of room-size and probably lit if not heated.

The other spaces are distinct enough to be inventoried separately, but their exact size and configuration is often difficult to determine from the inventory evidence. For example, the term "closet" can have very different meanings. Ann Warder referred to "many handy Closets" in her Philadelphia house, including "one sweet one for John & Mary [her children] to play in." This suggests a room-sized space. Deborah Norris Logan remembered "chambers and light closets most convenient and pleasant" in the upper floors of the Norris House. These lit closets were probably comparable to the "small" rooms or chambers listed in inventories. Elaborate examples of this type were found off the first-floor entries of the Cadwalader House on S. Second Street and the Shippen-Wistar House at the southwest corner of Fourth and Locust Streets. In the former, this

room was heated and lit, and described variously as the "Closet in the Entry" or "Entry Closet;" it contained large amounts of fine silver, ceramics, and glass. A late-eighteenth century plan of "Docr Shippen's House" illustrates a similar heated and lit room labelled "Pantry." Its contents were probably similar to those of the Cadwalader "entry closet." In both cases, the small rooms above these in plan might have been called "closets" and used for additional household storage.[99]

Analysis of these spaces by usage rather than name alleviates some of this confusion (Table 15). The inventory of Edward Tilghman's "Small Room Third Story" is typical for general-storage spaces, containing "1 Wooden chest & 1 small Paper case [worth $] 2., 1 Wooden Closet 2. [and] A Lot of Bed & Window Curtains 50 Years Old 1." (number 89 taken late 1815). Tilghman's S. Sixth Street house also had a front and back garret above with similar contents. The "Room over Kitchen" in Thomas Bell's backbuilding was used exclusively for furniture storage, with "Mahogany chest of drawers 6.00, Maple Do 4.00, Mahogany dining table 8.00, Do tea table 6.00 [and] Stove 5.00" (number 55 taken 5 November 1805). In most cases then, general storage was in larger spaces on upper, non-garret floors. These spaces would be more convenient to access than the garret, but were probably used simply because they were not needed as chambers.

The inventory of the second-story "Entry Closet" at George Aston's Sansom Street house has an assemblage typical of "luxury" storage, containing "set white Queens ware 5, 3 Demijohns @75 2.25, 4 Gallons Madeira wine @4 16 [and] 2 Tea

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[99] Ann Warder Journal, 4 October 1788; Reminiscences of Deborah Norris Logan, 1827, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 52-57; Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian, 55-61, figures 22, 24; "Back view of Docr Shippen's House," manuscript drawing, c. 1781, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, copy in INHP Historical Architects' office files.

Boxes .25" (number 84 taken early 1815). The inventory of Sarah Zane's "Pantry in 3rd Storey" lists all the essentials for well-appointed dining and tea tables, as well as other household ornaments and supplies (number 102 taken 31 May 1821):

> 1 sett Liverpool ware for the dining Table, 1 lot of Pewter dishes and plates, 1 copper preserving pan, 6 dish covers hard metal, 1 Cheese toaster, 1 tinted kettle stand & kettle, 1 small copper tea kettle, 1 alabaster vase, 3 demi Johns, 1 tea cannister, a few old matts, 2 flour barrells, a small bag of peaches, a basket of china spoons, 2 empty candle boxes, 1 stone Jar with buckwheat meal, 1 box wampum beads, 1 empty quart cask, 2 coarse bags, 1 old map, 1 demijohn without basket, 3 doz empty bottles, 1 half gallon demijohn, a few empty Jars, 1 Jar pickled walnuts, 4 baskets, 5 bottle stands, 1 small medicine chest, 5 china bowls, one glass vase, one jar sugar, a basket of soap, a few candles, snuffers and Tray-- For all these articles in the Pantry 30.

Such "luxury" storage areas allowed for controlled access to fine tablewares, wine, and expensive supplies such as candles and sugar and kept them close to the primary living areas where they were used. Catherine Chew kept her "common china and glassware in the pantry closet in 1831, [but] stored several sets of blue India china, a tea, dessert, and dinner set in the then-popular white and gold, and cut glass in two closets on the third story" of her S. Third Street house. Eliza Farrar discussed the practical implications of this kind of storage, "The best dinner-set is often kept in the closet of a spare chamber; so piles of plates and arms full of dishes are seen walking down stairs on company days, and walking up again the day after." Jane Busch, citing various household manuals, the c. 1781 drawing of the Shippen-Wistar House, and other sources, suggests that "luxury" storage areas should be called pantries. But with the exception of the Zane inventory, the inventory sample under study suggests that period pantries functioned as kitchen adjuncts, rather than as "luxury" storage areas (Table 15, discussion of kitchen storage below).[100]

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[100] 1 July 1831 inventory, Chew Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Farrar, The Young Lady's Friend (Boston, 1837), 53, both cited in Garrett, At Home, 174-75; Busch, "Philadelphia Kitchens," 53-55.

Grocery storage occurred in all but the general storage areas. In the "luxury" storage areas described above, these groceries were stored with tablewares and other goods. But three closet inventories list nothing but groceries; the "lot of groceries in Entry closet" on the third floor of Robert Steel's Spruce Street house was worth $10.00 (number 151 taken 8 December 1834). Ann Warder may have maintained a similar example among the "many handy Closets" in her house; she noted, "some provision from the Grocers to put away took me next up till time to prepare for visiting." Secure closets outside of the kitchen work area were ideal storage areas for jarred pickles, preserves, and sweetmeats. These could be purchased or made at home. A 1778 newspaper advertisement announced that "Margaret Trotter has removed from 2nd street into Norris' alley opposite to Mary Newports, where I have pickled walnuts, cucumbers, mangoes, peppers, wine bitters, ..." Elizabeth Drinker preserved currants and quinces; the Haines women at Wyck recorded directions for preserving or "putting up" these and other fruits as well as for various pickles.[101]

Eliza Leslie described two types of store rooms in The House Book:

> In one you can keep tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, flour, rice, soap, candles, &c.; all which articles, there is great economy, as well as convenience, in buying by the quantity, particularly if the family is large. In this store-room should be kept scales, weights, and measures; the scales permanently fixed to a beam. Smoked tongues, hams, and dried beef may be kept here, sewed up in white-washed cloths, and suspended in hooks to the ceiling. Hanging shelves are very useful in a store-room ... The other store-room may be smaller and appropriated to the pickles, sweetmeats, cakes, &c. ... also sweet wines, cordials, syrups, and other articles of like description. Here may be kept the utensils for making blanc-mange, ice-cream, and confectionary. ... Here should be kept a large spoon for lifting out the pickles and another spoon and fork for the

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[101] Ann Warder Journal, 9 December 1788; 5 February 1778 Evening Post, cited in INHP notecard file; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 12-13 July 1763 and 3 July 1794; Catherine Haines receipt book, 1776-, and Hannah Marshall Haines receipt book, 1811-24, Wyck Papers.

preserves ... This store-room must be well-furnished with shelves.[102]

The contents of the second are close to those of the "luxury" and grocery storage areas described above, but with more food processing implied. The first compares closely to some of the cellar spaces discussed in Chapter 1; inventory evidence for comparable spaces suggests that they are found near the kitchen or in the cellar. But inventory evidence also suggests that these store rooms contained significant amounts of liquor, thus combining the role of provision store and wine store or cellar. Thomas Bell's "Storeroom" (listed after his "Celler") had "Wines, Brandy, Sugar, Tea [and] Coffee Valued at 50.00" (number 55 taken 5 November 1805). The 2 April 1825 inventory of James Way's "Store Room" (listed with his kitchen) has similar contents more specifically described (number 120):

> 100 lbs Coffee 16., 1 Stove 6., 28 Bottles of wine 7., Demijohn and Wine 8., Ditto Brandy 2.50, Ditto Spirits 1., Ditto and Gin 1.50, 4 Demijohns 2., 2 Cases 2., 1 Open Stove 3.50, Sundries .50, 15 Empty Bottles 1. [and] 1 Clothes Horse .75.

Other related rooms are called pantries and often contain kitchen equipment and tableware as well as provisions. James Engle's "Pantry" (listed with his kitchen) contained (number 100 taken 25 January 1821):

> One chest 8., one cloths Horse 1.50, One Patent Kitchen Stove 20., Sundries in Closet 5., Pots & cooking utensils 6., Two Tin Kitchens 4., Sundry Tinware 4., One copper sauce pan 1., Liverpool & China ware 3., One Basket & Box with Bottles 2., One pine Table 1., One carpet 5. [and] One cask with cordial 3.

The reference to a closet and the amount of furniture suggest that this pantry was room-size. Many insurance surveys from the 1820s on describe such pantries and their relationship to the kitchen. Nathan Trotter's "new" three-story house on N. Front Street had a two-story "kitchen" measuring 16 feet by 28 feet, surveyed as follows; "First story in two, one a pantry, shelvd, washbds & window

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[102] Leslie, The House Book, 248.

cased. Other part a Kitchen finished as Customary." Interestingly, this pantry corresponded to a store room above; "Second story, 2 parts, one a Store Room, shelvd, washbds & window cased" (MA survey 2615 taken April 1820). Thus, kitchen and general store rooms were built into many nineteenth-century houses.

Finally, the overlapping names and functions of storage spaces in all parts of the house underline the interrelationship between these spaces and their role in the functioning of the household. Samuel Adams noted this in his 1825 discussion of the store room:

> The Store Room is appropriated as a depository for such imperishable [including those preserved] items of household consumption as are in continual request, and may be laid up, when purchased in quantities, --at times when cheapest, most in season, or best-- to be ready at hand when wanted. ... *N.B. To save the trouble of referring to different places, for the several methods of storeing and preserving many articles which are proper to be kept, we shall insert under this head[ing] every thing of this description that may occur to us.*

If one broadens the ideas of consumption and supply, cribs/cradles, mats, stoves, wood, coal, and other stored items associated with the garret and cellar might be added to this larger heading. Even the servant occupants of garrets might be more usefully considered as "items of household consumption ... laid up ... to be ready at hand when wanted." Cellars, garrets, and related storage spaces may be defined and analyzed individually, but they function together with the kitchen and yard to service the needs of the household.[103]

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[103] Adams, The Complete Servant, 60.

Chapter 3

NON-MATERIAL CHARACTERISTICS and SOCIETAL MEANINGS

The service function alluded to at the end of the last chapter contrasts with the "served" function of the primary living areas. This dichotomy has both physical and social ramifications, as Karie Diethorn notes:

> Each sphere also had specific areas of the house assigned to it. Defined symbolically as 'parlor' and 'kitchen,' a family and their servants (respectively) spent most of their time in a specific area. The parlor(s) and bedchambers belonged to the family; the kitchen, washhouse, cellar, and garret were assigned to the servants. Although the two groups entered each other's appointed areas frequently during the day, their activities there were limited and their presence temporary.

This distinction emerged most strongly after the Revolution and was firmly embedded by the early-nineteenth century. Prosperous households had lived with such an arrangement before this time, but with the rise of work outside of the house, industrialization, and consumerism, a larger segment of middle-class society in Philadelphia and other urban centers could follow the pattern. Houses were larger and the rooms within them increasingly specialized; insurance surveys document this trend. Similarly, period inventories list new forms such as the dining table and both more numerous and diverse furnishings overall. Nineteenth-century household manuals were addressed to this group of householders and encoded the notion of separate spheres.[104]

The social distances created corresponded with physical ones. Thus, in the c. 1769-70 remodelling of the Cadwalader house, David Evans "did some [carpentry]

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[104] Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 85.

work on the third floor of the mansion, and all the work in the pantry, garret and cellar. This was but plain construction. To Thomas Nevell were entrusted the house's show rooms, its three parlors." In 1805, Owen Biddle argued that mezzanines could be used to house personal servants, "were it not for this, in very large buildings, the servants would frequently be unavoidably lodged at a considerable distance from the heads of the family." Thirty years later, Eliza Farrar reminded her readers that, "Your attendant may be very much tired, and your bell may call her up many flights of stairs ... having done what you wish, she hurries back to her more important labor below stairs." A more thoughtful role model was provided, a "lady" whose "room was so far from the kitchen, that she conscientiously forbore to call the servant girl up there by the bell; she always contrived to tell her, when in the parlour, all that she wanted her to do, and so saved her many weary steps." Bell systems connected the two spheres, but underscored their separation.[105]

The cellar, garret, and other service spaces were thus differentiated from the primary living spaces in prosperous Philadelphia households. This differentiation often led to marginalization of these spaces. Garrets were the best example of this, serving to hold both marginal people-- servants, children, boarders-- and marginal goods-- those out of season or fashion, broken, seldom used, etc. These people and goods were often essential to the functioning of the household, but did not necessarily interact with the everyday world of the householder.

But several other factors differentiated these spaces and suggest non-material characteristics that evoke other period meanings and usages, especially

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[105] Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, 27; Biddle, The Young Carpenter's Assistant, plate 39 explication; Farrar, Young Lady's Friend, 236-37, 241.

for cellars. First, cellars and, to a lesser extent, garrets were more closely identified with the outside, uncontrollable environment than other parts of the house. This, together with their usage, made cellars and garrets less controlled and often unclean. Second, the cellar also formed part of a literal and figurative "underworld." This "underworld" was more closely related to the street than to the house and introduced a social uncleanliness. Third, cellars were sensationalized in period literature because of these differences, suggesting more than simply functional usage. In a similar manner, garrets were romanticized in and through early antiquarianism. These factors will be explored in the remainder of this chapter.

Elizabeth Drinker recorded the vulnerability of cellars and garrets to flooding and leaks. The summer of 1794 was an especially wet one; on 26 July, Mrs. Drinker noted from her country house, "It began to rain last evening, continu'd all night, as I think, and all this day, our Celler is deluged, and the roof of our house leaks, so that we have water enough, above and below." The results of another overnight storm were noted on 11 August; Mrs. Drinker "wak'd Sally [daughter] and went up stairs to wipe up the water which had leak'd from the top of the house, then descended into the cellar [and] found that overflow'd-- shut too the windows which the wind had blown open-- then went to bed." John Fanning Watson recorded similar storms on 25 June 1835 and 1 July 1842 that caused the Dock Street sewer to overflow into neighboring cellars. Such periodic flooding was normal, but Watson also carefully noted the existence of springs, flowing water, and other cellar-level dampness in his topographical

discussions.[106]

Such features obviously had an important effect on buildings and their usage, but Watson's copious notes on "Subterrane and Alluvial Remains" suggest a larger fascination with this intrusion of the elements within and under buildings. Cellars were unsuitable for inhabitation because of their damp environment and were considered the source of manifold evils threatening the health of the entire household. A.F.M. Willich noted, "On account of the great utility of cellars in preserving wines, ale, &c. various attempts have been made to prevent the generation of damp and noxious air, in subterraneous places." Willich asserted that "the sudden, or frequent inhalation of such air as is often generated in close, and damp cellars" could have fatal consequences. The author of Practical Economy was even more shrill:

> Domestic accidents often arise from descending into wells, nay even into cellars, unless some artificial mode of ventilation has been adopted ... When entering a cellar badly ventilated, it will be proper to advance a candle upon the end of a long rod previously. If the candle continues to burn brightly, there is no danger: but, if the flame sickens, or expires, no person ought to enter until artificial ventilation has taken place; which may be readily done by means of a pair of common bellows fitted with a long tin or leather tube, which speedily supply atmospheric air; for even when the bad or foul air is the heaviest, yet the action of blowing will give the wholesome fluid a degree of energy that will act as a lever, and force the foul air from its resting place.

Dry rot was also associated with the cellar environment. "This destructive visitant, in dwelling-houses, generally grows, or originates in the cellar."[107]

Thus the idea of the cellar as a dank space posing a danger to the entire house relates to its subterranean location; cellars were considered unclean for

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[106] Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 26 July and 11 August 1794; Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I: 235, 344-47, 368-69 (for specific storms), 490-92.

[107] Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:443; Willich, Domestic Encyclopedia, II:63; Practical Economy, 33 (dry rot), 334-35 (foul air). In later manuals, the cellar furnace and its role in the household were also suspect; many writers considered the production and distribution of heated air distinctly unhealthy.

the same reason and because of their usage. Claudia and Richard Bushman identify the notion of cleanliness as a central theme in household manuals and discuss the growing interest in the cleanliness of primary living rooms, especially public entertaining spaces. For example, "floors which had once been sanded were soon to be carefully swept with a new kind of broom and then carpeted, requiring attention to dirt on the soles of the shoes." This interest not only engendered new household goods and duties, but further differentiated primary living spaces from service spaces. They conclude, "By mid-century, as these books make clear, it was widely believed that cleanliness and gentility were for virtually everyone." But cellars were distinctly ungenteel. In 1879, Mrs. Oakey summed up period views of household cleanliness and the cellar's potentially negative role. She started, "In choosing a home, the first object should be a wholesome situation, good drainage, ventilation, and a dry cellar. The health of the family depends on these." She continued, "The cellar is the most important part of the house to be kept clean; next the kitchen. From these the air of the house may be made unwholesome, if not free from all vegetable manner."[108]

In practice however, cellars and garrets were kept clear rather than clean. The fictional Mrs. Charles Worthy may have followed the maxim that "to know the true character of the mistress of the house, you must go into her garret and cellar," but most period householders were content to thoroughly clean these spaces only when they were to be whitewashed or re-arranged for seasonal storage. Normally, only periodic "settling" of the garret or cellar sufficed; their relative lack of finish treatment (notably carpeting) aided this. Certainly

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[108] Bushman, "The Early History of Cleanliness in America" (paper presented at The Delaware Seminar, University of Delaware, 1983), 1-28; Oakey, From Attic to Cellar: A Book for Young Housekeepers (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1879), 5, 85 (note the use of "attic" instead of "garret" in this later title).

these spaces did not receive the attention devoted to reception and other public rooms. An amusing caricature of over-zealous cleaning has a maid scrubbing partly-burnt logs and the ash hole leading to the cellar, as if to keep the later in abeyance (figure 7). Mrs. Child offered more practical advice, "Keep a coarse broom for the cellar stairs, wood-shed, yard &c. No good housekeeper allows her carpet broom to be used for such things." The cellar and garret were then to be neat and tidy, "settled" if not clean.[109]

This adversarial relationship with cellars seems to contrast with the marked cleanliness of public sidewalks and streets, at least in prosperous Philadelphia neighborhoods. In 1814, Russian observer Paul Svinin noted, "There is no city in the world where the inner and outer cleanliness of houses and streets is kept up to such an extent; this cleanliness makes up completely for the monotony of the architecture, particularly on Saturday afternoons, when not only the windows, the outer walls of the houses, the porches, but the very sidewalks are scrubbed with soap." Svinin almost lampoons this practice, but his observation documents the extension of the "zone of cleanliness" from interior public rooms to the public exterior steps, sidewalk, and street.[110]

Interestingly, the cellar door is not mentioned; the sidewalk and street are part of the public, social sphere, but the cellar recedes from prominence and its traditional relationship with the street. As discussed previously, cellars

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[109] Enos Hitchcock, The Farmer's Friend; or, The History of Mr. Charles Worthy (1793), cited in Garrett, At Home, 180-81; Child, The American Frugal Housewife, 17.

[110] Svinin, "A Glance at the Republic of the United American States," 1814, cited in Avrahm Yarmolinsky, Picturesque United States of America 1811, 1812, 1813: Being A Memoir on Paul Svinin ... (New York: William Edwin Rudge, 1930), 17; Bushman, "The Early History of Cleanliness in America," 8 (for idea of "zones of cleanliness"). "Philadelphia," an engraving by Thomas Nast published in 1877, shows such building and sidewalk cleaning being conducted by black servants, illustrated in Garrett, At Home, 26.

were regularly used for commercial storage, retail shops, and workshops; the open cellar door linked these usages with the street and potential clientele. Cellar-door structures would often support goods for sale and/or signs advertising the wares within; several city ordinances were enacted to control this and other common sidewalk encumbrances. In 1823, one Philadelphian noted, "The flights of steps and the cellar doors protruding into the pavement, and diminishing its breadth, are striking errors." Such cellar bulkhead doors had already become increasingly rare in new construction after 1800, and all but disappeared after the 1820s. The connection of the cellar and the street was broken; the coal chute and later gas line supplanted the need for a large cellar entrance to the street and rear access presumably sufficed for other bulk provisions. Thus the permeable nature of the cellar and yard was altered. In houses with finished basements, street access was enhanced, but the cellar was effectively eliminated and service functions and often servants themselves were moved to its location, thus solving two problems at the same time.[111]

The social implications of these architectural changes go beyond a simple desire for physical cleanliness and efficiency. Middle-and upper-class Philadelphia households were consciously excluding the larger public life of the street and city from their homes, for homes they had become with the removal of work-related spaces and usages. Sidewalk- and street-cleaning was nothing less than an attempt to control and tame these public, potentially dangerous areas. Abraham Ritter's observation regarding Peter Stephen Duponceau is telling; "In 1802 he [Duponceau] was lord of the manor of the northeast corner of Sixth and

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[111] 30 May 1763 city ordinance printed in 2 June 1763 Pennsylvania Gazette, cited in INHP notecard file; Section XLV, Act VII (1769), Acts of Assembly..., 31-32 and Chapters VI, IX (1790), Ordinances of the Corporation of The City of Philadelphia, 119-22, 126-27, both in INHP microfilm collection; Thomas Wilson, Picture of Philadelphia for 1824 (1823), cited in INHP notecard file.

Chestnut streets, where, from his mansion at the corner, he retired to his literary sanctum on the rear, defended by a brick wall from the vulgar *bruit* of a public highway."[112]

The suspected immorality of the "street" and its denizens threatened the cellar, itself a latent environmental danger. Seventeenth-century complaints about the "looseness" in the early caves are an early sign of this "underworld" aspect, but it is brought into sharpest relief after the Revolution. The cellar door became the focus for this interaction. The eponymous narrator of Charles Brockden Brown's novel Arthur Mervyn, himself ill, wandered the streets of yellow-fever-ridden Philadelphia in 1793; "He leaned his head against the wall, his eyes were shut, his hands clasped in each other, and his body seemed to be sustained in an upright position merely by the cellar door against which he rested his left shoulder." Elizabeth Drinker recorded a similar scene in 1796, "... while Sister was out yesterday, she saw a crowd in Arch Street surrounding a Woman who was laying on a cellar-door, enquired what was the matter with her, one s'd she was dead, another said otherwise ... Sallys Catty sent us word to day-- that it was poor Molly Hansel [a former Drinker servant], who three hours before was setting in our Kitchen eating bread and Cheese, and drunk a tumbler of table-beer." The records of the city almshouse document similar cases and the existence of an underclass of vagrants and other trying to survive on Philadelphia's "mean streets."[113]

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[112] Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 169.

[113] Brown, Arthur Mervyn or Memoirs of the Year 1793 (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1980; originally published 1799, 1800), 5; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 30 January 1796; Daily Occurrences Docket, Guardians of the Poor, Philadelphia City Archives, cited in Billy Smith, "Down These Mean Streets: The Lives of Laboring People in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia" (paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, 1984), 41.

Others lived in cellars, like the "darkey named 'Joe'" and the eccentric "old Katy" described by Abraham Ritter. Elizabeth Drinker recounted the sad story of another cellar occupant on the same block as "old Katy;" "We have heard this day of the death of a poor, intemperate woman of the name of Clarey, who sold oysters last winter in a Cellar in Front St, a little below Elfrith's Alley. She was taken out of her senses, and went out of town; was found dead on the road." Eccentric, marginal people-- blacks, poor spinsters and widows-- worked out of and lived in cellars. Along with alleyways, courts, and other "hidden" areas, cellars were an important part of what scholar Dell Upton has termed the "shadow landscape" of early nineteenth-century Philadelphia. This landscape was physically scattered and socially diverse, working against the clear social divisions supported by the strong grid plan of the city. The shadow landscape was concentrated in older waterfront neighborhoods, the ones prosperous Philadelphians left as the separation of workplace and home became a societal norm. John Fanning Watson wrote of this transformation in 1830:

> It may afford some surprise to the younger part of the present generation, to learn the localities in which the proper gentry formerly lived, or the central places in which certain branches of business were once conducted, the whole marked from circumstances essentially different from the present. ... *Merchants lived in Water street*-- When merchants and others within the last thirty to thirty-five years [i.e., c.1795-1800] began to build dwellings as far west as Seventh street and thereabouts, it was considered a wonder how they could encounter such fatiguing walks from their countinghouses and business. Previous to this change, and especially before the year 1793, when they were dispersed from the river side by the fears of the yellow fever, all of the best and richest merchants dwelt under the same roofs with their stores, situated then in Water or Front street. ... After the merchants (always the most efficient improvers of the city) began to change their domiciles from the water side to the western outskirts of the city, the progress of improvement there became rapid and great.

One of Watson's informants told him "that in her youth the ladies attended balls

held in Water street, now deemed so unfit a place!"[114]

Water and Front Streets had become part of the shadow landscape by 1800. In 1795, English traveler Isaac Weld had declared that Water Street "the first street which you usually enter after landing, ... does not serve to give a stranger a very favourable opinion either of the neatness or commodiousness of the public ways of Philadelphia." Ritter noted that the houses in Water Street, "already in 1800, were old, weather-beaten and frost-bitten" (figure 6). Watson noted that this and other older neighborhoods in the city had been crudely exploited by landowners and builders in order to maximize their returns. He continued, "The same bad taste and avidity for converting every piece of ground to the greatest possible revenue caused the building up of the whole extent of Front street on the eastern or bank side quite contrary to the original design of the founder. Nothing could be imagined more beautiful than a high open view to the river and the Jersey shore along the whole front of the city!" Demolition of the houses on the eastern side of Front Street and the construction of uniform wharves beyond was seriously discussed in 1822, but to no avail. By advocating these physical improvements, Watson and others hoped to eradicate at least one portion of the shadow landscape and to reclaim it for the "public good."[115]

Black residence concentrated in these older city neighborhoods; blacks had lived in a shadow landscape already in eighteenth-century Philadelphia. In 1751 one Philadelphian complained in the Pennsylvania Gazette that some free blacks

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[114] Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 122-23; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 2 September 1793; Upton, "The Urban Spatial Imagination in the Early Republic" (paper presented at Creating the Federal Image: Art for a New Nation, symposium, University of Delaware, 1991); Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:224-25 (volume 1 originally published 1830).

[115] Weld, Travels Through ... North America (1795), cited in INHP notecard file; Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 160; Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:233-37.

had "taken Houses, Rooms, or Cellars, for their Habitations," where they consorted with "Servants, Slaves, and other idle or vagrant Persons." In the 1790s, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society documented the sub-standard living conditions of blacks, including cellar habitations; an 1838 report suggested that these conditions had not substantially improved in the interim. Blacks entered the larger landscape, but most often in the guise of servant or worker (figure 3). Thus the shadow landscape entered prosperous Philadelphia households through domestic employees, slave and free. Elizabeth Drinker had such an encounter:

> Alice, a yellow woman [i.e., mulatto], who has [been] taking our cloaths in to wash for some time past, came here before dinner, in great distress, her child in her Arms, her husband John Wright, a negro man, and a White Girl, attended by a Constable, who was taking them all to Jail, for keeping, as he s'd, a disorderly or riotous House-- As we knew nothing of the business and but little of Alice, could say no more in her favour but that we hop'd she was honest,-- he took them off, I expected we should lose our Linnen &c. that was in her custody ... [but] in about an hour after she return'd in good Spirits, informing [us] that her Husband and self had procur'd bail, but the white Girl was put in Jail-- soon after she brought our Linnen home, nothing missing...

Drinker's professed ignorance of and apparent lack of interest in Alice's personal life and circumstances is revealing; prosperous Philadelphians could consciously avoid the shadow landscape, much as they shunned "unfit" waterfront neighborhoods.[116]

The oyster cellar was the focus of the shadow landscape, where the widest range of its male citizens congregated, both white and black (figure 8). Watson

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[116] Pennsylvania Gazette, cited in Smith, After the Revolution, 153; Minutes, 1793-1800, and "The Present State and Condition of the Free People of Color, of the City of Philadelphia and Adjoining Districts," 1838, Committee for the Improvement of Colored People, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Elizabeth Drinker Diary, 20 February 1795. Russian observer Paul Svinin painted several other Philadelphia scenes with blacks besides figure 3; see plates 16-18 in Yarmolinsky, Picturesque United States of America 1811, 1812, 1813.

described this phenomenon; "These, as we now see them, are the introduction of but a few years. When first introduced, they were of much inferior appearance to the present; were entirely managed by blacks, and did not at first include gentlemen among their visiters." Free blacks did have a significant presence in the restaurant and catering trade in early-nineteenth-century Philadelphia. Willis Hazard noted in his addition to Watson's work that free black Robert Boyle owned and operated the Bell Tavern on S. Eighth Street, a favorite haunt of politicians c. 1830. "In later years [Bell Tavern] became a 'three-cent shop,' and was resorted to by blacks and whites, who, though they might have been well enough in their sphere, were not considered the most respectable members of society."[117]

The black-run oyster cellar and tavern sheltered the diverse and often illicit encounters and activities typical of the shadow landscape; this fact may also have contributed to the adversarial feeling genteel householders had towards their own cellars. The cellar was not only a latent health hazard, but a potential den of iniquity as well. Only the strictest containment of the cellar would control these forces. This exaggerates the actual situation, but may define underlying societal attitudes. Period fiction supports this assertion; cellars are depicted as uncivilized, sinister places fit only for the most vile acts, notably murder and/or burial. Charles Brockden Brown's description of a Philadelphia domestic cellar in Arthur Mervyn is typical in its elaboration and characterization of the space. Mervyn, thought to be dead from yellow fever, is about to be buried alive:

> Having reached the first floor, he [the burier] unbolted a door which led into the cellar. The stairs and passage were illuminated by lamps, ... now,

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[117] Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:240; Hazard, Annals of Philadelphia, III:365-66.

> however, we were entering darksome and murky recesses. The vaults beneath were lofty and spacious. He passed from one to the other till we reached a small and remote cell. Here he cast his burthen on the ground. ... The narrow cell in which we stood, its rudely fashioned walls and arches, destitute of communication with the external air, and its palpable dark scarcely penetrated by the light of a solitary candle, added to the silence which was deep and universal.

Mervyn is miraculously spared and manages to grope his way out of the cellar, but the unhealthiness and potential evil of the space are fully portrayed.[118]

Sensationalist author George Lippard followed in Brown's footsteps. Lippard's major novel The Quaker City, first published in 1845, sought to depict the "Secret Life of Philadelphia" and was inscribed to the memory of Brown. The first chapter of the novel is entitled "The Wager in the Oyster-Cellar" and contains a colorful description of the cellar run by "Smokey" Chiffin "close to Independence Hall" and its clientele, which compare closely to those depicted in Akin's earlier lithograph (figure 8). Lippard's opinion of the phenomenon is clear:

> These Oyster Cellers are queer things. Like the caverns of old story, in which the Giants, whose ante-diluvian rowdies, used to sit all day long, and use the most disreputable arts to inveigle lonely travellers into their clutches, so these modern dens, are occupied by a jolly old Giant of a decanter, who too often lures the unsuspecting into his embrace. A strange tale might be told, could the stairway leading down into the Oyster Cellar be gifted with the power of speech.

Thus the lax moral environment of the cellar leads to the wager that "trifling and insipid as it may appear to the casual observer, was but the initial letter to a long and dreary alphabet of crime, mystery and bloodshed."[119]

The majority of the subsequent action in The Quaker City takes place in the extensive cellars of Monk Hall. This "awesome" house, built by an "unknown

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[118] Brown, Arthur Mervyn or Memoirs of the Year 1793, 108-11.

[119] Lippard, The Quaker City; or, The Monks of Monk Hall. A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery, and Crime (Philadelphia: by the author, 1845; 27th edition, 1849), 9-10.

foreigner" on the then southern outskirts of the city, had three stories above ground but was rumored to have "three stories of spacious chambers below the level of the earth" where "midnight orgies [were] held by the godless proprietor [at which] wine was drunken without stint, and beauty ruined without remorse." This description evokes a possible period view of Robert Morris's unfinished Chestnut Street house, which c. 1790 was on the western outskirts of the city; "Some of [its] underground labyrinths were so deep and massive as to have been left as they were, and at some future age may be discovered to the great perplexity of the *quid nuncs*." Monk Hall's cellar is used as the meeting place for a conspiracy of powerful citizens. Those who cross or challenge this group wind up in the "Dead-Vault," which is described as follows:

> The beams of the lanthern flashed over a wide cellar, whose arched roof was supported by massive pillars of unplastered brick. Here and there, as the flickering light glanced fitfully along the dark recesses of the place, fragments of wood might be discovered, scattered carelessly around the pillars, or thrown over the floor in crumbling heaps. Every moment ... some new wonder was discovered. Now the solid plastering of the ceiling, now the massive oak of the floor, now the uncouth forms of the pillars with loose bricks and crumbling pieces of wood scattered around, and now, as a gleam of light shot suddenly into the distant recesses of the cellar, a long row of coffins ... with the lids broken off and the bones of the dead thrown rudely from their last resting place.

A wine cellar (disused), trap doors, exposed sewer, subterraneous passages, and "the Pit of Monk-Hall" are also described, the latter with "innumerable heaps of broken bottles," "fragments of broken furniture," and other refuse on its hard, clay floor. Oyster cellar, "Dead-Vault," or "Pit," the underground world sensationally described by Lippard is both unhealthy and evil, symbolic of the ills "above ground" in "normal" life.[120]

Edgar Allan Poe also set several of his tales in cellars. In the "Cask of

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[120] The Quaker City, 40-41 (general description), 52 (trap doors), 186-87 ("Dead-Vault"), 257-60 (wine cellar, "Pit"); Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:410 (for Morris House).

Amontillado," first published in 1846, Poe carefully described the wine cellars and vaults of an Italian palazzo, noting varied containers and other wine-related paraphernalia. The cellar environment is described as damp and unhealthful and becomes morally suspect as the story proceeds; in fact, the cellar is also a catacomb. The action culminates with a live entombment within the masonry walls. If Poe is slightly less sensationalist than Brown or Lippard, his realistically-described cellar is perhaps even more sinister.

Poe's "The Black Cat," first published in 1843, unleashes the latent evil lurking in the average domestic cellar. The narrator describes a mundane domestic situation with a deadly twist; "One day she [his wife] accompanied me, upon some household errand, into the cellar of the old building which our poverty compelled us to inhabit. The cat followed me down the steep stairs, and, nearly throwing me headlong, exasperated me to madness." Hatred and dread of the cat overwhelm the narrator, who in turn kills his wife. He continues, "This hideous murder accomplished, I set myself forthwith, and with entire deliberation, to the task of concealing the body." He mulls over various options, including "dig[ging] a grave for it in the floor of the cellar," but finally decides on another; "I determined to wall it up in the cellar as the monks of the middle ages are recorded to have walled up their victims. For a purpose such as this the cellar was well adapted." He quickly determines that the cavity formed by a chimney foundation will be an ideal tomb. Thus a simple "household errand" is transformed into a "hideous murder" and entombment. The black cat provokes the action, but the somber, underground cellar acts a menacingly appropriate scene for the crime.[121]

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[121] James A. Harrison, ed., The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe (New York: AMS Press, 1979, 17 volumes; originally published 1902), V:143-55 ("The Black Cat"), VI:167-75 ("The Cask of Amontillado").

This particular setting closely resembles the cellar in the modest N. Seventh Street house which Poe inhabited when "The Black Cat" was written and published. This cellar is accessed by a steep flight of wooden steps from the interior; there is also a bulkhead to the yard. The brick-paved floor may not have been suitable for burial of any kind, but the eastern chimney foundation corresponds to that described in "The Black Cat." It has been partially bricked up as if an entombment had been interrupted; however, this enclosure more likely served as an ash deposit (figure 4). All of these and the other cellar features and finishes are typical for a domestic cellar of the time, one that was no doubt used for fuel and food storage and regularly visited on "household errands." Even the Seventh Street house's so-called "crypt," an opening through the southeast corner of the cellar wall discovered during architectural investigations, has a benign function. Originally covered by a door, this feature apparently communicated with an underground-stream-cooled chamber. Tales like "The Black Cat" are steeped in Poe's own daily experience; the familiar imagery intensifies their unsettling effect.[122]

Cellars and garrets were also portrayed as places to escape to. Brown follows his description of the notorious yellow-fever hospital at Bush Hill near Philadelphia, from which patients almost never returned, with a revealing statement: "No wonder that to die in garrets and cellars and stables, unvisited and unknown, had, by so many, been preferred to being brought hither." While such refuges literally protected "many" from the uncaring and lethal treatment

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[122] Alvin Holm, "The Edgar Allan Poe House: A Historical Structure Report" (INHP, 1982), 49-50, figures SK-18-19, plate 3, color plates 18-20 (for "crypt"); Penelope H. Batcheler, "The Edgar Allan Poe House Historic Structures Report Supplement" (INHP, 1991), 11 (photo 3), 57 (for ash deposit).

at Bush Hill, the statement also suggests that these spaces and the larger shadow landscape offered a measure of self-determination, whatever its consequences. Garrets are especially common places of escape or refuge in period fiction. Arthur Mervyn, ill and hoping to avoid being carted away to Bush Hill, recalls a "trap door in the ceiling of the third story" of the house he is hiding in:

> I considered that this, probably, was an opening into a narrow and darksome nook, formed by the angle of the roof. By ascending, drawing after me the ladder, and closing the door, I should escape the most vigilant search. ... In a few minutes, however, my new retreat proved to be worse than any for which it was possible to change it. The air was musty, stagnant, and scorchingly hot. My breathing became difficult, and I saw that to remain here ten minutes, could unavoidably produce suffocation.[123]

Garret conditions-- exposure to the elements, an aerie-like quality-- were romanticized by later authors, thus retroactively idealizing and sanitizing these spaces. John Fanning Watson's description of the living conditions of pre-Revolutionary apprentices is typical: "Imagine, that in the morning of a cold day in January, when the snow which had blown into the bed chamber through the broken pane, or through the crevices of an old garret, had filled the [hide] breeches with snow, and stiffened them up almost into horn." A similar romanticism is seen in period depictions of the artist or scholar "toiling in his garret." Abraham Ritter recounted that c. 1800 at the northeast corner of Arch and Water Streets, "a peep on the hill [would find] the early bell-ringer of Christ Church, who practiced upon the octave in his garret, in order to perfect his peals on Sunday." Such poetic images assuaged early-nineteenth century romantic sensibilities, smoothing over the often adverse results of garret dwelling and the poverty it implied.[124]

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[123] Brown, Arthur Mervyn or Memoirs of the Year 1793, 174, 211-12.

[124] Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:255; Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 81.

Early antiquarianism both resulted from and added to this romanticism. John Fanning Watson was the Philadelphia antiquarian *extraordinaire*, collecting historical objects, facts, and anecdotes to inform "a local mythology." Watson's ultimate goal was to inspire the writing of a series of historical romances like those Washington Irving had set in a mythical old New York and Hudson River Valley. The "Annals of Olden Time" are certainly not without historical value as they contain a wealth of factual information, but they are very much a product of their time. Watson, through his own observations and those of his informants, hoped to record both the material and ethical quality of a culture fast vanishing in the wake of industrialization and consumerism. This quest was nostalgic and risked idealizing the past (both distant and recent), thus romanticizing and mythologizing it. Watson and his older and more scholarly colleagues and readers were certainly aware of the distinction between reality and myth, but these concepts were often confused in the popular imagination.[125]

Early antique collecting and faking both resulted from and added to this romanticization of the past. Watson bemoaned this phenomenon in his 1856 "Appendix" to the Annals of Philadelphia:

> A modern freak of fashion-- began at Boston and brought here, has been the revival of old furniture, found in garrets and lofts:-- by the art of *varnishing*, they have been brought out with display-- the gathering of such, came in time, to such a demand, as to call for new-making much of chairs, &c., in imitation-- It is queer that those who thus profess to venerate such old family articles, are the same class who before scanted them from sight-- Even now, the class, are not those who read "Annals of Olden Time"-- They go for them, because the fashion is so! very well.

Watson's ambivalent and even snobbish attitude towards this "modern freak of fashion" resulted from his early efforts to record and collect authentic relics of the "olden time." For example, "Mr. Chew gave him 'three of the last'

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[125] Deborah Dependahl Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell: John Fanning Watson," PMHB XCVIII:1 (January 1974), 47-50 (for "local mythology").

remaining [cannon] balls and bullets gathered in the Cliveden garret, relics of the Battle of Germantown." Watson also "prized 'an old cane chair' begged from Deborah Logan in 1824. At his request, Deborah had found the chair in 'a sad and mutilated state,' missing an arm and a seat, in the Stenton garret." The garret then was an important source for early antiquarians. But after mid-century and especially after the Centennial in 1876, the romantic notion of an attic filled with family treasures became entrenched in the popular (Watson might have said vulgar) imagination. One early-twentieth century writer confirmed this, but suggested that this notion was indeed more myth than reality; "The romantic attic in which there were trunks of dead and departed ancestors, filled with the brocades and satins of these richer-than-we forebears, exists only in novels. How I used to long to see one!"[126]

Antiquarian interest was not limited to garrets and lofts. Watson's fascination with "Subterrane and Alluvial Remains" has already been noted. Along with architectural remains and buried flora, Watson noted various artifacts documenting both common and unusual cellar goods and usages. Below Spruce Street, along with old trees and Indian remains, Watson was told that the street commissioner had found "a pile of cord wood standing on its end." The brick mason working c. 1805 on Stephen Girard's N. Water Street warehouse "dug out of the cellar ground, wine and beer, about one dozen bottles each, which still

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[126] Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, II:607; Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell," 43; Virginia T. Van de Water, From Kitchen to Garret (New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1912), 172-73 (note the use of "garret" in title and "attic" in text). Watson's son gave the "old cane chair"-- reputably thought to have belonged to William Penn-- to the City of Philadelphia in 1874; it is now in the INHP collection (SN 6.035, INDE 11839, on long-term loan to Pennsbury Manor). An excellent illustration of a "romantic attic" is the 1875 woodcut "Sighting the Enemy" by F.S. Church, illustrated in Garrett, At Home, 178. In their current state of preservation and relative clutter, the garrets and lofts at Grumblethorpe, Loudoun, and especially Wyck evoke the late-nineteenth century "romantic attic."

retained strength, [even though] supposed to have been buried there one hundred years." Watson himself had seen a "grave head-stone" inscribed "Anthony Wilkinson--London--died 1748" and human bones uncovered "in digging out the cellars" for 87 and 89 N. Front Street. He recorded the discovery of similar gravestones in digging for a cellar in S. Second Street below Chestnut in 1832 and a cellar in Arch between Seventh and Eighth Streets in 1842. Though Watson explained that these gravestones simply marked the location of early burying grounds, his cellar discoveries may have helped inspire sensationalist novels and stories (as may have his evocative description of Robert Morris' house, cited above). A related bit of "local mythology" regarding the Hill-Physick-Keith House persisted into the 1960s; "It is said that during his occupancy the cellar contained a dungeon where [Henry] Hill punished refractory seamen."[127]

One of Watson's informants and in fact a protégée, Deborah Norris Logan of Stenton, extends this romantic antiquarianism to the humble pantry closet. Logan was a well-read, introspective woman, keenly aware of the importance of the Norris and Logan families in the early history of Pennsylvania and of her own experience in a rapidly changing world. She balanced her scholarly activity with household duties, as indicated in her journal entry for 18 August 1827; "I triffled away the remaining part of the morning in the library [i.e., reading history] after I had done my proper work of putting away the Breakfast things &c setting the closets to rights." A month later, Logan recorded the usual "bustle to get the Wash forward" and her cooking of a grouse for dinner "for my son and self:"

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[127] Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, I:368 (Wilkinson grave), II:421-24; McCall, Old Philadelphia Houses, 57 (for Hill's "dungeon"). Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell," 48-49, mentions that several of Lippard's historical novels form part of the Watson-inspired "local mythology," but does not mention The Quaker City.

> ... but at the given time for his return he came not, and I eat part of it myself, and thought it so good that I would save the remaining half for him, I accordingly covered it with a large china bowl and went to set it up in the pantry closet, but alas! the bowl slipt off in the deposit and falling on the top of a departed tureen, which had been its cover and was left on the shelf below, broke it in two, whilst its unfortunate self was shivered into innumerable fragments: but-- I saved the Grouse!-- I was vex'd at my own carelessness, and could not help reflecting on how angry I should have been at either of the little Damsels [servants] had they done it,-- the bowl was an old acquaintance tho' it had been formerly broken and mended.-- I could give its history which would only provoke your laughter, suffice it to say that it had long survived all its first patrons and friend's, and almost, the use of the beverage it had been destined to contain [punch, as Logan identifies it in a marginal note], and the house and closet in which it used to be kept, in its second stage of existence, and had led a life of retirement with a cracked and mended constitution, with me, for many years, often reminding me of days and scenes long gone by,-- but as a part would answer this useful purpose as well as the entire bowl, I kept a fragment with an enammeld Camelia upon it, which will tell of Sepvirae [?, possibly for "Sequare," defined as "period or point of time, moment"], of the old house, and their accompanying idea's, whenever I come across the relic.

Logan was not the average householder and Stenton was not the average house, but the meaning and character imparted to this modest stored household item-- a mended Chinese export porcelain bowl-- suggests both the historical value and evocative potential of stored goods and of storage spaces.[128]

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[128] Deborah Norris Logan Journal, 18 August and 17 September 1827; Terri L. Premo, "'Like A Being Who Does Not Belong:' The Old Age of Deborah Norris Logan," PMHB CVII:1 (January 1983), 85-112, discusses Logan's writings and views.

Chapter 4

RECOMMENDATIONS for the PARK HOUSES

Independence National Historical Park has both the goods and the spaces necessary to realize the evocative power Deborah Norris Logan alludes to as well as to interpret the more mundane, everyday functioning of cellars, garrets, and other storage spaces. The following recommendations for Park houses are offered with both of these goals in mind. They are conceived of as guidelines for the development of new furnishings plans and supplements to existing plans; such plans require a broader analysis of furnishing and interpretive goals than is possible here. In their current state of restoration and interpretation, the Park houses fall into three groups for the purposes of this study: "containers" without intact cellars, garrets, and storage spaces; houses with one or more of these spaces intact but inaccessible or already interpreted; and houses with one or more of these spaces intact and unfurnished but suitable for furnishing and interpretation.

"Containers" include the reconstructed Graff and Pemberton Houses, as well as the remodelled Bond House. For the purposes of this study, the exteriors of these houses with their gable-end garret windows are of note. As mentioned above, this was a common pattern in corner-lot houses. Documentation of the Bond House before restoration revealed many interesting features, from bell-system remains to an interior window in the garret designed to "borrow" light from the gable-end windows. These features have been removed or altered and the house is

not on public tour, but documentation of them is available for architectural and other studies of garret features (see Appendix F). This resource should be stressed; no changes to the architecture or furnishings of the "container" houses are necessary.

The Kosciuszko House has been significantly altered below the level of the garret. Unfortunately, the latter is inaccessible (and was not in fact visited for this study). The current installation of the house as a shrine to Thaddeus Kosciuszko with one historic interior-- his second-floor room-- limits both the need and possibilities for further historic interiors. However, if the boarding-house setting is to be interpreted, the roles of the garret, cellar, and yard should be mentioned. Kosciuszko's compatriot Julian Niemcewicz and others no doubt occupied the garret, along with the larger travelling cases, trunks, and other excess belongings of the boarders below. The cellar may well have housed the kitchen where food for the boarders was prepared. By the 1830s, there was definitely a cellar kitchen with bake oven. Moreover, boarders ate in a cellar dining room; the small paved yard with its privy would have answered other needs! The interesting vault under this yard opened into the cellar kitchen and undoubtedly held foodstuffs and wood used there (this vault, if extant, is inaccessible). Thus, the *entire* house and lot were utilized for boarding-house purposes. No architectural or furnishing changes are needed or feasible to pursue this interpretive possibility. Instead, a written summary of the evidence keyed to a large-scale section drawing (with peopled interior elevations) placed near the furnished room would suffice. Visitors should also be encouraged to investigate the exterior of the house, both for the gable-wall garret windows (to be compared with the garret dormer of the "twin house" to the north) and for the

small-scale, walled yard to the west along Pine Street.

The combination of graphic and written information in the interpretive panels at 318 Market Street is an excellent model for a similar panel or panels at the Kosciuszko House. The current installation at 318 Market Street deftly compares the physical remains of this London-plan house with a period insurance survey; no better introduction to the meaning and significance of these surveys exists in the Park or elsewhere. Roof- and garret-level features are well covered although visitors may not directly access these areas. The unheated moiety rooms over the shared carriageway functioned like the garret and storage spaces discussed in this study, being additional sleeping and dry storage areas. The cellar is distinguished by the series of vaults along its eastern side, the northernmost of which contains the brick-lined cooling pit discussed previously. The cellar serves largely as an archeological display area, but selected features are intact or reconstructed and visuals suggest possible historic usages and furnishings. The installation succeeds brilliantly; no architectural or furnishing changes are needed. Instead, visitors interested in Philadelphia material culture should be directed to 318 Market Street, notably those who intend to visit or have visited the Todd and Bishop White Houses.

Four Park houses have intact, unfurnished garrets and/or cellars and related storage spaces suitable for furnishing and interpretation: the Poe, Deshler-Morris, Todd, and Bishop White Houses.

The Poe House cellar has already been discussed. In its partially-restored, unfurnished state, the cellar and its elements may be easily related to Poe's work. Visitors are encouraged to imagine the action in the stories and to compare this with the actual space. Interpretation should mention the types

of "household errands" one might have made in an 1840s cellar and the associated goods (e.g., wood and/or coal, barrels or boxes of food); imagining these activities can only help visitors better understand the period context. Mention of the discovery of the "crypt" and subsequent identification of this feature might reinforce the point that the actual, physical cellar is quite mundane. No architectural or furnishing changes are needed in the cellar. The Poe House has a very low, uninhabitable loft space above the third floor that would have been used for storage if at all; no architectural or furnishing changes are needed in this space.[129]

The Deshler-Morris House is currently interpreted to the 1793-94 period when it served as George Washington's temporary residence. The location of the house outside of central Philadelphia and its usage as interpreted relate it to a group of eleven houses in the inventory sample. The contents and usages of the cellars, garrets, and storage spaces in these houses are listed in Table 16. The Deshler-Morris House has an intact cellar, garret, and loft; currently, none of these spaces are furnished. Unfortunately, the cellar under the main house has been taken over for mechanical systems. The smaller cellar under the original house (now the backbuilding) has been altered for use as bathrooms, but various small, shelved niches in the walls have been retained. No architectural or furnishing changes are needed in these spaces. Instead, items for food storage and processing activities associated with the cellar and kitchen store rooms might be placed.

Table 16. Inventoried Residential Houses Outside the Central Philadelphia

The following data derives from 11 inventories of houses outside of central Philadelphia dating from 1767 to 1837 (study numbers 10, 40, 49, 54, 56, 61, 62,

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[129] These recommendations are consistent with those in previous reports: "Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site Interim Interpretive Plan" (INHP, 1980) and Batcheler, "The Edgar Allan Poe House Historic Structures Report Supplement" (INHP, 1991).

84, 94, 134, and 160). Most are second residences of Philadelphia merchants and gentleman; several others are primary dwellings, but those of men comparable in wealth and status. Compare with Tables 4 (for a), 2 (b), 10-12 (c,d), 5-6 (e,f), and 15 (g). Abbreviation: n = number of examples or citations.

a. house type

plan type	n
two rooms, two stories	4
three rooms, two stories	3
four rooms, two stories	4

b. feature summary

feature	n
cellar/yard and garret/storage	6
garret/storage only	5

c. garret terminology and spaces

space name(s)	n	≥1	≥2
garret	4	X	
garrets	3		X
front&back garret	1		X
servant's garret and adjoining rm.	1		X
kitchen&small parlor&new garrets	1		X
south east&south west&north west& store room in garret	1		X

d. garret assemblages and usage

assemblage/other items	n
bedstead, bedding plus table and chair	3
bedstead, bedding, table, chair plus bureau and looking glass	3
textile tools	2
foodstuff/liquor	2
[primarily storage]	[5]

e. cellar terminology and spaces

space name(s)	n	≥1	≥2
cellar	4	X	
cellar under new house	1	X	
celler and new& kitchen celler	1		X

f. cellar usage

item	n
foodstuff/liquor	1
barrels/casks	2
bottles	2
[kitchen in]	1
[sundries, unspecific]	[3]

g. non-garret storage terminology and usage, 6 total

space name	location	n	usage
store room	garret	2	general and grocery storage
room over kitchen	2, backbuilding	1	general storage
hall closet	1	1	"luxury" storage
pantry	near kitchen	1	general storage
store room	near kitchen	1	"luxury" storage

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

kitchen with fireplace. The 1977 furnishings plan for and current installation of the "First Kitchen" admirably balance these food storage and processing

activities with other functions.[130]

The garrets of both the main house and backbuilding are intact. The latter was probably used for storage; the inventory of the kitchen garret at Stephen Decatur's farmhouse lists only "Sundries" (number 62 taken 1 December 1808). No architectural or furnishing changes are needed in this space. The main-house garret contains three rooms, each with a single end-wall window, opening off a central passage; two unlit storage spaces are also accessed from this passage. The 1977 furnishings plan suggests interpreting one of the rooms as a chamber for Washington Custis and male secretaries; the other two rooms are designated as store rooms. This mix of usages is consistent with period inventories of similar houses with more than one garret room. The "Garrets" of John Godfried Wachsmuth's Germantown house had "Two bedsteads 6.00, Lot of old demijohns in store room 2.00, Two large framed prints 4.00, Three small do do .75, One writing desk 2.00, Lot of books .25, Oil Painting 1.00, [and] Lot of tins, boxes, crockery, etc. 2.00" (number 134 taken 5 February 1828). The "South East" and "South West" garrets at George Aston's Blockley Township farmhouse were furnished as chambers, while the "North West" garret had sundries, saddlery, and a "quilting frame." The "Store Room" in the same garret had "3 chests@ 100/ and 1 Trunk with contents 4.50, 3 gallons Madeira wine 12., about 50 lbs. coffee 25/ 12.50, 1 Liquor case .50, Single sacking, Bottom and Cord 1.50, [and] 2 Quarter Casks with iron Hoops 4." (number 84 taken January 1815). The 1977 furnishings plan suggests comparable items for the storage rooms, further specifying seasonal storage and container storage related to the Washingtons' temporary residence. The addition of several demijohns to the proposed furnishings of the southwest

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[130] Doris Devine Fanelli, "Furnishings Plan: Deshler-Morris House, 5442 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19144" (INHP, 1977), 85-96.

room would make the installation correspond even more closely to the inventories of comparable garret store rooms.[131]

The unlit storage spaces in the Deshler-Morris garret do not need to be furnished; however, their potential usage for textile, seasonal, and other secure storage should be mentioned. No architectural or furnishing changes are needed in the loft above. The closets flanking the last flight of the stairs were added in 1884. Similarly, the fireplace in the southwest room was added in 1890.[132] The former should not be interpreted; the latter could be concealed by some of the proposed storage goods. Alternately, these later additions suggest that the garret might be an excellent area to interpret romantic antiquarianism and the Colonial Revival, topics that relate to the later Morris family occupancy and the survival of the house itself. If this alternative is pursued, a supplement to the existing furnishings plan should be prepared.

The Todd House has an intact garret lit by gable-end windows, but its cellar has little or no historical integrity. The furnishings plan for the house deals only with the first and second floors; no other spaces have been furnished. Busch and Diethorn have both suggested revisions to plans for the backbuilding rooms-- the kitchen and kitchen chamber-- but no plans have been made for the cellar or garret spaces. Busch successfully incorporates cellar-related goods and activities in her revised kitchen plan; given the compromised nature of the actual cellar space, her plan suffices to interpret the role of the cellar in the household. Interpretation should stress that the only interior access to the cellar was from the backbuilding stair, reinforcing the relationship between

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[131] Fanelli, "Furnishings Plan: Deshler-Morris House," 140-53.

[132] Michael Adlerstein and Peter Snell, "Historic Structure Report, Architectural Data Section: Deshler-Morris House, Independence National Historical Park, Germantown, Pennsylvania" (Denver Service Center, 1982), 38-39.

these spaces. Given the lack of planning for the third floor and garret, any furnishing would be premature. Instead, a supplement to the existing furnishings plan should be prepared for the third floor and garret, coordinated with revisions to the plan for the first and second floors. The Todd House garret probably served both as a sleeping area for law clerks and as a general storage area; the information in this report on garret chamber and storage assemblages should be referenced in any furnishings plan. The flat on top of the backbuilding should continue to be interpreted; the gable-end windows lighting the garret might be pointed out at the same time.[133]

The Bishop White House has the most architecturally interesting cellar, garret, and storage spaces of all of the Park houses. While particular cellar-level features are problematic, especially in the backbuilding, the Bishop White House may be credibly interpreted from cellar to garret. The basic physical evidence in the cellar and garret have already been discussed. Access to both spaces should be stressed in any interpretive program. The cellar is accessed from the street, yard, and backbuilding, but not the primary living spaces. The garret is accessed in part by the open-newel piazza stair serving the primary living areas, but the final stair from the third floor to the garret is a simpler straight flight. This descending hierarchy of form and finish continues with the winding stair to the loft above. Thus the issue of access alone can be an important interpretive tool. In any case, the inter-relations between specific spaces and/or groups of spaces should be considered in any furnishings and interpretive plans.

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[133] Agnes Downey Mullins, Ruth Matzkin Knapp, and Charles Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Todd House" (INHP, c. 1960); Busch, "Philadelphia Kitchens," 1-41 (especially 35-41); Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 113-16, 125-26 (notes 67-73), 141 (Appendix G).

The 1961 furnishings plan for the Bishop White House considers the entire house with the exception of the garret and loft above the main house and the backbuilding garret. Diethorn has considered the disposition of the latter. Documenting the size and composition of Bishop White's staff, she has persuasively argued that all of the female house servants' quarters could have been contained in the upper floors of the backbuilding, while male servants were housed in a freestanding stable building. Diethorn's furnishing recommendations for these backbuilding spaces are similarly convincing and have a significant impact on proposals for furnishing and interpretation of the garret and loft above the main house. In short, the latter spaces may be convincingly furnished and interpreted as additional chamber space for use by the extended White family and as the primary dry general storage area in the household. William White Bronson's dated initials inside the right dormer of the front or south garret help confirm this general interpretation.[134]

A supplement to the existing furnishings plan should be prepared for the Bishop White House garret and loft. This plan will also have to address the original configuration of the garret; "3 rooms & passage" and "one closet in the passage" are mentioned in the 1858 survey of the house, while the 1876 survey notes simply, "Attic, divided into 2 rooms and a short passage" (presumably the same as the current configuration). Further, the plans for the Todd and Bishop White House garrets should be complementary, so that they satisfy the requirements of each installation, but together interpret the widest possible range of garret contents and usages. For example, Todd garret furnishings could

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[134] Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House" (INHP, 1961), Parts D-F; Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 105-13, Appendices E-F, 136-40. Diethorn identifies the door between the piazza and kitchen as a key access and control point, 109; this should be stressed in any discussion of access and circulation in the Bishop White House.

interpret quarters for John Todd's law clerks (not family members) and winter-time storage, while the Bishop White garret and loft could interpret a boys' (family members) dormitory, general storage, and summer-time storage (including that of the floor coverings replaced by the matting on the second floor).[135]

The Bishop White House cellar offers many interpretive possibilities (figure 11). As this and other intern reports have demonstrated, cellars, yards, and backbuildings functioned together. In this report, furnishing recommendations for the cellar will be coordinated with those for the backbuilding. The interpretive span in the Bishop White House is another important factor. By 1836, piped water, coal-fueled furnaces and other heating devices, and even primitive refrigerators were available. The presence and effect of these technological developments have been addressed elsewhere in this report; physical evidence in the Bishop White House neither proves nor disproves their role there. Cellar contents, especially the amount and variety of foodstuffs and fuel, also varied with the seasons. A late summer-time interpretive date would allow the presence of both market-fresh foodstuffs, as well as the laying in of winter fuel and provisions; moreover, this would coordinate well with the installations of the primary living areas.

A review of extant furnishings plans and recommendations for all of the Bishop White Houses's service spaces helps establish basic parameters. The 1961 furnishings plan proposes an integrated interpretation of all these spaces. The kitchen cellar is a "Scullery and Laundry," with the small vestibule to the yard

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[135] "Part II Historic Structures Report on Bishop White House in Independence National Historical Park" (INHP, 1959), Chapter II, Section 1, 3-6 (for PC surveys). Anne Verplanck, "Furnishings Plan for the Third Floor of the Bishop White House, Philadelphia, PA" (INHP, 1989), offers a contextual basis for the proposed garret-loft furnishings plan and is itself a supplement to the 1961 furnishings plan.

door holding yard-related goods. The "closet-like area" opposite contains dried foodstuffs, a dough trough, and a "large wooden bathing tub for the servants and children of the house." The smaller "closet under the stair" holds candles, soap, and polishing wax. The "cold cellar" accessed by the wooden hatch in the kitchen cellar floor contains an ice pit and foodstuffs. The "open cellar" under the main house contains bulk food and fuel (wood) storage, as well as gardening tools, a jelly stand, and other items. The enclosed "wine cellar" is exclusively dedicated to wine and wine-related goods. The "large closet" in the kitchen itself serves as a "china storage area and pantry," the latter usage involving the storage of both food-preparation utensils and foodstuffs (cleaning equipment is contained in a proposed fireplace-wall closet; this feature was never constructed). The corresponding "large closet" in the kitchen chamber above contains clothing and other personal belongings of the cook as well as household goods. Finally, the "store room over necessary" accessed from the kitchen chamber contains general household storage.[136]

Busch's 1983 kitchen report offers several important revisions to the 1961 furnishings plan. First, the "kitchen closet" contains food-preparation utensils and lesser ceramic tablewares: transfer-printed earthenware, creamware, pearlware, and redware. Some foodstuffs remain, but Busch convincingly asserts that finer ceramics would have been kept elsewhere. Second, Busch suggests that the enclosed "wine cellar" might better be interpreted as a "storeroom ... with wines and liquors added." Third, dish-washing items are located in the kitchen itself (along with a sink in the northwest corner of the room). The kitchen

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[136] Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," Part D, Sections 10 (open cellar), 11 (wine cellar), 12 (kitchen), 13 (scullery and laundry), 14 (servant's room over kitchen), 15 (cold cellar), and 16 (store room).

cellar is still interpreted as a "laundry and ironing room," but "preserving" and "pastry-making utensils" are also located there along with "a safe for leftover foods." Similarly, "cellar" storage of "household-cleaning utensils" is suggested. Thus Busch matches early-nineteenth century household manual recommendations for food storage and preparation as well as cleaning with the extant service spaces in the Bishop White House. Without explanation, she also suggests that "the open cellar under the house should be devoted to coal storage."[137]

Diethorn's 1986 servants report revises the furnishings plan recommendations for the "closet" and "store room" accessed from the kitchen chamber, which she interprets as the "cook's room." The "closet provides ample space for storing the White family's collection of Chinese Export porcelain," while the "small room ... above the first floor privy offers an ideal place to perform the ironing and mangling of clothes." The latter space may be compared to "small room" and "little room" found in the inventory sample, which both served as "'luxury' storage" areas (Table 15). However, as Diethorn suggests that the "closet" function in this manner, her laundry-processing recommendation for the "small room" augments interpretive possibilities. Diethorn's revisions complement and refine Busch's; together, they significantly improve upon the 1961 furnishings plans for the same spaces and affirm a nineteenth-century date for the interpretation of the service areas. Further, none of the combined recommendations contradicts the insurance survey or inventory evidence used in

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[137] Busch, "Philadelphia Kitchens," 53-55 (kitchen closet), 59-61 (cellar storeroom), 75-77 (sink, cleaning equipment), 80 (other cellar recommendations); 80-89 (itemized kitchen plan including closet).

this study.[138]

Instead, the inventory evidence suggests more uniform terminology for some of the storage spaces (cf. Table 15). The three "large closets" found in the southeast corner of each of the full-height backbuilding levels may be termed "store rooms." Alternately, the one at kitchen level could be termed a "pantry;" recall that insurance surveys for later houses note similar pantry-store room vertical combinations. In this case, the cellar store room and first-floor kitchen pantry serve for "kitchen storage," while the second-floor store room serves for "'luxury' storage." The space under the stairs in the kitchen cellar is correctly termed a "closet;" "vault" is a good descriptive term for the sub-cellar feature under the kitchen cellar. The enclosed space designated as a "wine cellar" in the 1961 furnishings plan would more accurately and compellingly be termed and furnished as a "store room," as Busch suggests. Finally, Diethorn's use of "small room" for the space above the privy is consistent with period documents. With these changes in terminology, the revised plans for spaces above cellar level should be implemented; they will serve as one basis for the cellar furnishings recommendations that follow.

The kitchen cellar. The architectural features of the kitchen cellar as restored relate to evidence found on the west wall (only it and the sub-cellar vault remained intact when the Park acquired the house). The wall evidence suggested the location and size of the fireplace and stairs; the detailing of these was derived from other period buildings. Originally, Park architects thought that the area immediately to the north of the fireplace was a bake oven and placed a metal oven door in this area based on the example at Cedar Grove.

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[138] Diethorn, "Domestic Servants in Philadelphia," 110-11, 125 (notes 60-63), 139-40 (Appendix F).

Since then, the bake-oven supposition has been questioned on both architectural and historical grounds; significantly, no mention is made of a cellar or other bake oven in the extant insurance surveys of the house. Instead, INHP Historical Architect Penelope Batcheler suggests that this feature may be an ash deposit; a distinct soot line on the west wall from the level of the first-floor kitchen hearth to this area may be noted in record photographs, suggesting such a feature. This suggestion will be followed for furnishing purposes. A brick floor was placed in this space during restoration; evidence for a lime mortar floor was all that was found during initial investigations. The proximity of the paved yard with its cistern and well as well as the privy vault should be mentioned if these areas are not in fact visited. The roughly grade access here between the cellar and yard facilitated activities that took place between the two. Mention of the brick stable building documented to have stood across Harmony Street from the rear yard should be made. Evidence for a planted garden in this rear yard is unclear; tools (and the workmen who used them) relating to the yard and any garden would have been kept in the stable and thus are not included in the following recommendations. Similarly, the effects of a piped water supply have not been considered; presumably such a supply would lessen reliance on the yard well and pump if it did not make these redundant.[139]

The kitchen cellar should be furnished as a laundry area. Wash kettles and related hardware should be placed in the fireplace. Washing buckets/tubs and brushes should be placed on the floor and/or benches in the center of the room if interpreted as in use; otherwise, these may be placed along the east wall and

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[139] "Part II Historic Structures Report on Bishop White House," Chapter II, Section 2 (for stable and yard), Chapter III, Section 1 and Existing Physical Evidence Drawings (for features); "Historic Structures Report Part II, Supplement I on Restoration of the Bishop White House" (INHP, 1961), iv, and discussions with Batcheler, 1990-91 (for cellar ash hole and mortar floor).

next to the stairs. Baskets with dirty and/or clean clothes should be placed in relation to the washing equipment. The vestibule to the yard should have buckets used to fetch water from the yard well just beyond the exterior door. A container and small shovel placed near the ash hole along the north wall may be used to interpret the periodic gathering of ashes and their use in lye-making; buckets of lye would have been used to wash down the necessary drain. Soap- and candle-making may have occurred in cellars with fireplaces like this one, but the soap and candles in the closet under the stairs were probably purchased. Brooms, brushes, and other household-cleaning implements should be placed along one wall of the store room in the south east corner (the closet under the piazza stair on the first floor may have held related materials). The opposite wall should be shelved and stocked according to Eliza Leslie's description for a "smaller" store room, the source of Busch's recommendations for "preserving" (specifically jar-, pot-, and crock-scale pickling and preserving in syrup) and "pastry-making" equipment and product storage.

The vault under the kitchen cellar should be opened for tours. A reasonable approximation of the original crane might be installed along with stored foodstuffs; alternately, the vault could be left in its current semi-restored state. The latter option is preferable for several reasons. First, the precise functioning of the pit in this and other vaults is unclear and needs to be researched; this "work in progress" aspect may aid rather than hinder interpretation. Second, while the placement of fresh market vegetables in season, dairy products, and covered dishes or pots ("containing" fresh meat or fish) on the vault floor would suffice to indicate the primary function of the space for cool, ventilated food storage, this would preclude all but the smallest tours from entering the cellar (as would winter-time root storage). Left

unfurnished, the vault can be an integral part of the tour if sensitively interpreted.

The piazza cellar. This space is distinct from both the kitchen and the open cellars and basically serves as a passage between the two. However, it should be furnished as an adjunct to the kitchen cellar with a freestanding safe and barrels of grains (e.g., rye, buckwheat) and flour regularly used in food preparation. The architectural features and finishes in the piazza are consistent with those of the open cellar.

The open cellar. The open cellar remains largely as it was when the Park acquired the house, with unfinished stone walls, barred window openings to the exterior, and a dirt or "natural" floor. The 1876 insurance survey reads in part, "Cellar under main, piazza and back buildings, Natural floor." Presumably the floor surface would be compacted by regular use and dust problems thus somewhat controlled. The natural floor provides an interesting contrast with the plank-in-mortar floor found in the enclosed cellar and the brick floor of the kitchen cellar. No evidence of any other floor treatment was found in the open or piazza cellar. The lack of other finishes in this space is consistent with the findings in this report for Philadelphia cellars as a whole. A wooden grilled closet based on an example in the Stenton cellar has been constructed in one corner of the open cellar to enclose part of the building security system.[140]

The open cellar should function as a fuel cellar, with additional food

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[140] "Part II Historic Structures Report on Bishop White House," Chapter II, Section 1, 6 (for 1876 PC survey), and Chapter III, Existing Physical Evidence Drawings. INHP Historical Architect Penelope Batcheler suggests that the cellar flooring may have been uniform planking laid in mortar based on the kitchen and enclosed cellar evidence; such a floor was also found in the northern half of the cellar at 318 Market Street, a contemporary structure. Discussion with Batcheler, 1991.

storage in and near the grilled closet. In a later summer-time interpretation, the laying in of wood in the northeast corner of the open cellar could be suggested with three to five cords only partially stacked; the implied presence of the sawyer and piler and use of the bulkhead door could thus be interpreted. This corner is the largest, unobstructed space between the bulkhead door and the interior stairs in the kitchen cellar and thus a logical location for the wood pile; a hatchet and chopping block also be placed in this area. There is no evidence for a pre-1836 cellar furnace in the cellar; however, coal may have been used in grates, stoves, or other room-specific heating devices (note that this decision affects the furnishing of the primary living spaces and/or the garret above). The significant number of inventories listing both wood and coal after 1828 suggests that this mixture of fuels be interpreted, but as if it had just been introduced. A moderately-sized coal bin should be placed against the northern wall of the enclosed cellar, across the open cellar from the wood pile; in late summer, the bin might be nearly empty. A coal shovel, scuttle, and other equipment should be placed out of traffic near the bin, along with a covered container for coal ashes. The area beyond the arched partition wall should be dedicated to barrels with pickled meat and fish; the grilled closet itself offers secure storage for barrels of salt and sugar, as well as supplies of tea, coffee, and other expensive bulk groceries. Finally, a wood saw and other tools, empty barrels and other containers, and a set of wooden cellar steps should be placed along the eastern wall of the constricted area leading to the bulkhead door.

The cellar store room. This enclosed portion of the cellar is original to the house. The plank floor laid in mortar is based on physical evidence found during restoration. The massive wooden door with its evidence of a stock lock was found in situ. Also notable is the interior "window" with its horizontal

iron bars; this store room was thus both ventilated and secure. Fragments of wine bottles incorporated in the masonry walls suggest at least one function of the space.[141]

The enclosed cellar should be furnished as a multi-purpose store room, as Busch suggests. Shelves along the east and/or north walls of the space before the arched partition wall hold bulk provisions not stored elsewhere as well as bottled wines and liquors. Wrapped dried meats should be hung from the ceiling along the south wall and between the arched openings (i.e., where they will not be in the way); this secured, ventilated space approximates the "larder" described in household manuals. The area beyond the arched partition wall should be given over to variably sized wine and liquor casks on stands, along with demijohns, empty bottles, and wine-related paraphernalia.[142]

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[141] "Part II Historic Structures Report on Bishop White House," Chapter III, Section 2; Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," Part D, Section 11, 2-5 (for bottles in wall, other wine-related documentation).

[142] Pleasures of Colonial Cooking (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1982), 135, contains a 1772 print of a storeroom combining wine and provision storage (Busch cites this print); extant wine cellars with shelving and other notable features are at Monticello and The Octagon.

APPENDIX A -- Inventory Sample: Decedent Information, Value of Household Goods

N.B. Blank spaces mark fields for which information is unavailable.

#	date taken	name of decedent[1]	profession/status[1]	household value[2]
1	4/ 7/1754	George Spofford	merchant	£ 106. 9. 0
2	5/22/1754	James Terry	joiner-turner	82. 0. 0
3	10/10/1754	Andrew Bartholamew	cordwainer	90.12. 0
4	10/21/1754	Samuel Pennock	house carpenter	118.12. 0
5	12/13/1754	Michael Lightfoot		≈ 79. 0. 0
6	6/16/1755	John Pole	merchant	393. 4. 0
7	7/10/1755	Joshua Crosby	gentleman	≈ 825. 0. 0
8	11/25/1757	William Fitzsimons		63.14. 8
9	9/15/1758	Joseph Huddle	cooper	122.16. 0
10	8/ 5/1767	Benjamin Shoemaker	merchant	757. 0. 2+
11	10/12/1770	Robert Montgomery	merchant	≈ 432. 0. 0
12	1/ 8/1772	Jeremiah Elfreth	blacksmith	181. 9. 6
13	2/25/1772	John Kearsly	physician	187.15.13
14	early 1773	George Plim		54.10. 1
15	7/23/1773	Cadwallader Evans	physician	≈ 320. 0. 0
16	10/18/1774	Lynford Lardner	esquire	729. 9.10+
17	4/23/1775	John Nicholas Kleyn	yeoman	≈ 37. 0. 0
18	4/28/1775	Henry Robinson	shopkeeper	195. 7. 1
19	5/16/1775	Samuel Morton	merchant	902.19. 0
20	9/13/1775	Samuel Bryan	shipwright	≈ 250. 0. 0
21	2/13/1776	Samuel Neave	merchant	941. 9. 1
22	2/16/1776	John Baynton	merchant	229.12. 3
23	5/14/1776	Allen McKleane	leather worker	265. 5. 2
24	9/18/1776	Peter Turner	gentleman	≈ 1000. 0. 0
25	early 1777	Joseph Pemberton	merchant	≈ 500. 0. 0
26	3/26/1777	John Lucken	innholder	≈ 481. 0. 0*
27	8/ 5/1778	Joseph Galloway		≈ 750. 0. 0
28	9/ 3/1778	Henry Woodrow	lumber merchant	≈ 560. 0. 0
29	5/19/1785	Andrew Hamilton	gentleman	513. 6. 0
30	12/15/1785	Benjamin Paschall	shopkeeper, esquire	≈ 570. 0. 0
31	5/ 5/1787	William Fischer	merchant	≈ 300. 0. 0
32	12/12/1788	Hannah Morton	gentlewoman, widow	385.13. 6
33	11/29/1790	Philip Boehm	wine merchant	≈ 250. 0. 0
34	2/ 7/1791	Richard Farmer	physician	≈ 440. 0. 0
35	8/ 1791	unidentified		
36	1792	Jona. D. Sergeant		1180. 1. 9
37	12/ 2/1793	Alexander Murray	Reverend Doctor	237. 0. 6
38	1794	Samuel Massey		
39	9/24/1794	Katherine Kepple	widow	≈ 575. 0. 0

#	date taken	name of decedent	profession/status	household value

#	date taken	name of decedent	profession/status	household value
40	4/ 8/1795	John Bringhurst	coachmaker	≈ 300. 0. 0
41	11/29/1795	Cornelius Barnes	merchant	≈ 300. 0. 0
42	4/18/1797	Josiah Twamley	iron merchant	≈ 538. 0. 0
43	11/15/1797	Thomas Leaming	gentleman, esquire	≈ 500. 0. 0
44	4/28/1800	John McCulloh	merchant	$ 936.40
45	8/22/1800	John Ross	merchant	2390.11
46	early 1802	Enoch Edward	doctor	≈ 500.00
47	4/ 8/1802	Gunning Bedford	surveyor-lawyer	281.74
48	11/30/1802	Elizabeth Harris	widow	461.80
49	12/20/1802	John Swift	esquire	≈ 750.00
50	3/ 4/1803	John Hart	innholder	3949.15*
51	mid 1803	John Barry	esquire	≈ 1800.00+
52	9/20/1803	Richard Wevill	cabinetmaker	
53	3/ 2/1804	John Beale Bordley	esquire	≈ 2050.00
54	5/ 5/1804	Edward Stiles	esquire	≈ 3800.00+
55	11/ 5/1805	Thomas Bell	mariner, captain	809.75
56	11/13/1805	John Smith, Jr.	gentleman	2761.22
57	9/18/1806	Nicholas Hicks		396.54
58	5/21/1808	Samuel M. Fox	banker-merchant	3110.50
59	6/17/1808	Richard Tunis	flour merchant	1886.78
60	8/12/1808	David Jackson	druggist	980.00
61	2/11/1809	Isaac Wharton	merchant	≈ 2500.00+
62	12/ 1/1808	Stephen Decatur	captain	661.00
63	1809	Thomas Smith	esquire	2521.75
64	8/15/1809	Henry Drinker	merchant	789.06
65	9/15/1809	Curtis Clay		1262.74
66	10/20/1809	James Stuart	doctor	493.12
67	12/ 4/1809	Robert Montgomery	gentleman	3200.20
68	2/28/1810	Stephen Dutilh	merchant	1242.95
69	6/19/1810	James Bringhurst	gentleman	1616.74
70	9/24/1810	John Rosseter	mariner, captain	2069.39
71	5/ 7/1811	Sarah Rhoads	relict of Samuel	1934.27
72	5/17/1811	John MacDougal	mariner, captain	583.23
73	8/16/1811	Martha Hall	widow	532.50
74	9/25/1811	Ann M Gallager	shopowner, spinster	≈ 520.00
75	2/23/1812	William T. Smith	merchant	≈ 600.00
76	5/29/1812	Elizabeth Griffiths	hay maker	442.15
77	9/23/1812	John Morton, Jr.	turner-furniture maker	≈ 850.00
78	early 1813	John F. Mifflin	lawyer	5235.55
79	5/13/1813	John T. Cox	house carpenter	749.35
80	6/ 1/1813	Daniel Hughes		≈ 1200.00
81	6/17/1813	Richard Truman	tax collector	741.19
82	6/18/1813	Benjamin Rush	physician	≈ 1000.00
83	1814	Anna Maria Weaver	widow	1331.00
84	1/ 1815	George Aston	merchant	≈ 2760.00+
85	3/29/1815	John Hay	innkeeper	941.40*
86	5/25/1815	Sarah Falconer	widow	665.25
87	6/ 3/1815	John Stiles	lumber merchant	591.75
88	11/12/1815	Peter M. DuPlessis	conveyancer	946.38
89	late 1815	Edward Tilghman	counsellor at law	271.56

#	date taken	name of decedent	profession/status	household value
90	8/ 9/1816	Alexander Carlyle	tanner, gentleman	587.50
91	late 1816	William Hamon	merchant	≈ 1000.00
92	5/23/1817	William Stevenson	house carpenter	259.12½
93	7/ 1817	Thomas McKean	esquire	≈ 700.00
94	7/ 1817	Matthais Harrison	gentleman	
95	early 1819	Nicholas Arnous	broker	≈ 1150.00
96	5/ 1819	Joshua Sullivan	innkeeper	1088.58*
97	1/ 6/1820	Rebecca Shoemaker	widow	1019.23
98	3/23/1820	Jacob Rush	judge	535.00
99	7/27/1820	George Woelpper	victualer	317.35
100	1/25/1821	James Engle	customs inspector	704.00
101	3/19/1821	Charles Muller	mariner	887.00
102	5/31/1821	Sarah Zane	spinster	1357.22
103	8/20/1821	James H. Ashman	boot manufacturer	157.00
104	10/ 1821	Benjamin Warner	bookseller	1666.83
105	11/26/1821	Joseph Garlick	cotton manufacturer	911.65
106	early 1822	Thomas Truxton		≈ 800.00
107	9/18/1822	Mary McFee	widow	1017.50
108	late 1822	Josiah Siddens		496.28
109	late 1822	Thomas McEuen		1709.00
110	6/10/1823	Henry Rigley	cabinetmaker	395.00
111	6/19/1823	Jane Willing	widow	≈ 2500.00
112	8/ 6/1823	Sarah Kean	shopkeeper, widow	539.00*
113	8/26/1823	Leben Ballard	tailor	341.88*
114	10/ 2/1823	John Lake	morocco dresser	148.50
115	4/13/1824	Margaret McCall	gentlewoman	954.71
116	6/30/1824	Mathias S. Steele		154.12½
117	7/ 8/1824	Joseph W. Lyndall	joiner-cabinetmaker	524.72
118	8/ 6/1824	Levi Hollingsworth	merchant	745.64
119	3/ 1825	John Lardner		1433.00
120	4/ 2/1825	James Way	merchant	666.50
121	7/ 7/1825	John Brown	doctor	368.13
122	10/22/1825	Francis Le Campion	baker	215.00
123	10/29/1825	Lewis D. Carpenter	merchant	≈ 1620.00
124	11/ 9/1825	John Grandom		809.50
125	2/24/1826	William Stothart	merchant	952.70
126	3/22/1826	Charles Rogers	merchant	891.37
127	9/20/1826	James Hamilton		1906.36
128	3/ 3/1827	John Connelly	auctioneer	1829.30
129	4/ 5/1827	George Ludlum	plumber	144.97
130	8/27/1827	Jane G. Keen	widow	1326.36
131	11/ 1/1827	Benjamin Cresson	merchant	702.37
132	11/30/1827	John Crowley	watchmaker	1480.45
133	1/ 8/1828	Lawrence Sink	cabinetmaker	1355.04
134	2/ 5/1828	John G. Wachsmuth	merchant	2073.55
135	4/ 3/1828	Lewis Deamer	grocer	180.19
136	8/28/1828	John Kitchen	merchant	2825.07
137	4/20/1829	Patrick Lyon	blacksmith	≈ 450.00
138	6/ 1829	John Singer		752.19
139	6/23/1829	William Thakara	plasterer	1422.00

140	8/ 1829	John Maybin	merchant	1504.74
141	12/10/1829	Joseph Donath	merchant	1277.04
142	2/ 1830	Elizabeth Powel	widow	1597.00
143	early 1832	Ann Ware		475.97
144	3/27/1832	Allen Armstrong		943.32
145	7/11/1832	James Day	shopkeeper	≈ 500.00
146	8/28/1832	John Jennings		4676.00
147	10/13/1832	Isaac D. Taylor		1021.39½
148	4/27/1833	John Christine	innkeeper	947.20*
149	12/ 3/1833	Thomas C. Price	merchant	≈ 2150.00
150	11/11/1834	Thomas Badaraque	accountant	1621.50
151	12/ 8/1834	Robert Steel	gentleman	923.50
152	3/ 7/1835	William Pritchett	tanner	825.38
153	5/16/1835	Hugh Roberts	gentleman	2545.25
154	10/21/1835	Elizabeth Twamley	widow	670.76
155	5/21/1836	Nathaniel Holland	hatter	579.20*
156	12/21/1836	Thomas Brown	grocer	1221.50
157	3/ 6/1837	John J. Smith	gentleman	≈ 3200.00
158	5/13/1837	Bohl Bohlen	merchant	1045.00
159	5/16/1837	James Rihl	pumpmaker	871.50
160	5/18/1837	Lewis Clapier	merchant	2279.44
161	10/19/1837	George Ralston	merchant	4699.00
162	1/24/1838	William Sheepshanks	gentleman	1365.51
163	2/ 8/1838	William McGlensey	merchant	1359.52
164	3/ 1/1838	Joseph McIlvaine	attorney	≈ 1750.00
165	6/27/1839	Aristides Monges	importer	1506.00
166	6/ 6/1840	Josefa Espinosa...	gentlewoman	2268.00
167	6/19/1841	George Riter	port surveyor	1989.30
168	4/21/1842	William M. Camac	gentleman	3442.04
169	12/28/1843	Jacob Ridgway	merchant	2927.00
170	5/16/1844	Elizabeth Roberts	gentlewoman	1402.99
171	3/ 4/1845	William Schively	grocer	1421.27
172	1/23/1847	Daniel Groves	bricklayer	908.45
173	6/17/1847	Robert Barrett	bricklayer	865.08
174	5/ 5/1848	John Heyl, Jr.	brushmaker	916.40
175	7/17/1848	Richard Peters	lawyer	2203.01

KEY: [1] All names and professions are transcribed directly from inventories.
[2] Household value is defined as the total worth of personal estate minus cash, stocks, debts due, commercial stock, precious metals, and livestock.
+ notates values for primary and secondary dwellings.
* notates values for commercial properties or dwellings with significant commercial contents.

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

APPENDIX B -- Inventory Sample: Architectural Information

N.B. Blank spaces in address column mark fields for which information is unavailable.

		house type[1]							major features[2]					
#	year	1	2	3	4	5	6	address	+	o	✓	X	*	&
1	1754		X							X				
2	1754	X								X				
3	1754			X								X		
4	1754			X					X					
5	1754		X							X				
6	1755		X							X				
7	1755			X					X					
8	1757			X							X			
9	1758			X				Southwark	X					
10	1767			X				(city);			X			
							X	Germantown						X
11	1770			X						X				
12	1772		X					ne corner 2nd, Elfreth's Alley			X			
13	1772			X							X			
14	1773		X								X			
15	1773			X							X			
16	1774		X					sw corner 2nd, Moravian Alley:				X		
							X	Oxford Twp.						X
17	1775					X		Passyunk Twp.						X
18	1775		X						X					
19	1775				X			w side Front				X		
20	1775		X						X					
21	1776			X				w side 2nd, Walnut/Spruce	X					
22	1776			X								X		
23	1776			X					X					
24	1776		X					N. Liberties	X					
25	1777			X						X				
26	1777					X							X	
27	1778			X					X					
28	1778		X					N. Liberties				X		
29	1785			X				sw corner 3rd, Walnut			X			
30	1785		X					965 S. 2nd	X					
31	1787			X				371 Arch		X				
32	1788			X								X		

		house type							major features					
#	year	1	2	3	4	5	6	address	+	o	✓	X	*	&
33	1790			X				96 N. 2nd	X					

34	1791		X							X					
35	1791		X							X					
36	1792					X							X		
37	1793		X										X		
38	1794			X									X		
39	1794			X						X					
40	1795					X		Germantown							X
41	1795			X				8 Bread St.	X						
42	1797			X				129 Market					X		
43	1797			X				910 Front	X						
44	1800			X				Southwark		X					
45	1800			X				7 Pine		X					
46	1802			X						X					
47	1802			X				88 Lombard		X					
48	1802			X				43 N. Front	X						
49	1802					X		Bensalem Twp.							X
50	1803					X		N. Liberties						X	
51	1803					X		N. Liberties;					X		
							X	"Strawberry"							X
52	1803					X								X	
53	1804			X				7 Delancey	X						
54	1804				X			70 Delancey				X			
							X	"Port Royal"							X
55	1805			X				182 S. 2nd	X						
56	1805					X		"Kenderton"							X
57	1806		X					Keys Alley		X					
58	1808			X				204 Arch		X					
59	1808			X				32 N. 4th	X						
60	1808	X						47 N. 3rd					X		
61	1809			X				107 S. 3rd;		X					
							X	"Woodford"							X
62	1808					X		295 S. Front							X
63	1809			X						X					
64	1809			X				nw corner 2nd, Drinker's Alley	X						
65	1809			X						X					
66	1809			X					X						
67	1809			X				202 Arch		X					
68	1810				X					X					
69	1810				X			e side Front, Walnut/Dock		X					
70	1810			X				101 S. 5th	X						
71	1811				X			132 Spruce				X			
72	1811		X					57 Kenilworth					X		
73	1811			X				72 Arch	X						
74	1811			X						X					
75	1812				X			77 N. Water		X					
76	1812			X				Dickson's Court	X						
77	1812			X					X						
		house type							major features						
#	year	1	2	3	4	5	6	address	+	o	√	X	*	&	
78	1813			X				5 & 9 Delancey	X						

79	1813		X					212 Pine		X					
80	1813			X							X				
81	1813			X				75 N. 5th	X						
82	1813			X				nw corner 3rd, Walnut				X			
83	1814			X							X				
84	1815			X				700 block Sansom;	X						
							X	Blockley Twp.							X
85	1815					X		124 N. 4th					X		
86	1815			X				29 Race		X					
87	1815			X				411 N. Front	X						
88	1815			X				25 S. 3rd	X						
89	1815			X				54 S. 6th		X					
90	1816			X				81 S. 5th	X						
91	1816			X				143 Pine				X			
92	1817			X				152 S. 4th				X			
93	1817		X					S. 3rd, Delancey/Pine			X				
94	1817					X		near Ridge Road							X
95	1819			X				57 ½ Delancey	X						
96	1819					X		nw corner 9th, Market					X		
97	1820			X				Callowhill St.	X						
98	1820			X				77 N. 7th;	X						
							X	"country seat"							X
99	1820			X				138 Race	X						
100	1821			X				96 S. 5th	X						
101	1821			X				94 Lombard		X					
102	1821			X				292 Chestnut	X						
103	1821		X					S. 13th, Market/Walnut		X X					
104	1821			X				171 Market		X					
105	1821						X	Sch. 2nd at Vine							X
106	1822			X								X			
107	1822		X									X			
108	1822			X				193 S. 2nd	X						
109	1822			X						X					
110	1823					X						X			
111	1823				X			corner S. 3rd, Willing's Alley	X						
112	1823		X					66 S. 2nd	X						
113	1823		X					170 Locust	X						
114	1823		X					53 S. 5th;	X						
							X	Delaware County							X
115	1824		X					91 Pine	X						
116	1824		X							X					
117	1824			X								X			
118	1824		X					16 Dock		X					
119	1825						X	Oxford Twp.							X

		house type							major features					
#	year	1	2	3	4	5	6	address	+	o	√	X	*	&
120	1825			X				16 Delancey	X					

121	1825		X					N. Liberties	X					
122	1825		X					Arch "near 5th"				X		
123	1825			X				208 Spruce	X					
124	1825			X				nw corner 7th, Sansom	X					
125	1826			X				349 Market		X				
126	1826		X					52 Market		X				
127	1826			X					X					
128	1827			X				280 Chestnut		X				
129	1827					X		Bristol						X
130	1827			X				31 Chestnut	X					
131	1827			X				197 Race	X					
132	1827			X				132 S. Front	X					
133	1828			X				11 Lombard	X					
134	1828			X				275 Chestnut;	X					
							X	Germantown						X
135	1828		X					395 S. 2nd		X				
136	1828				X			39 Spruce		X				
137	1829		X					Library St.		X				
138	1829			X				413 Market	X					
139	1829			X				108 Chestnut				X		
140	1829			X				124 Arch		X				
141	1829					X		111 Spruce			X			
142	1830				X			207 Chestnut		X				
143	1832			X					X					
144	1832			X						X				
145	1832			X								X		
146	1832			X					X					
147	1832			X					X					
148	1833					X		375 N. 3rd					X	
149	1833			X				16 N. 11th	X					
150	1834			X				209 Pine				X		
151	1834			X				247 Spruce	X					
152	1835			X				nw corner 8th, Spruce	X					
153	1835					X			X					
154	1835			X				14 Palmyra Row	X					
155	1836			X				68 S. 2nd	X					
156	1836		X					9th at Locust	X					
157	1837				X			Chestnut, Sch. 7/Sch. 8	X					
158	1837			X				Chestnut at 12th;				X		
							X	Downingtown						X
159	1837		X					Kensington				X		
160	1837				X			216 S. Front;	X					
							X	Germantown						X
161	1837					X		316 Walnut		X				
162	1838			X				15 Palmyra Row	X					
163	1838			X				83 Pine	X					
		house type							major features					
#	year	1	2	3	4	5	6	address	+	o	✓	X	*	&
164	1838			X				489 Chestnut	X					

165	1839			X			Clinton St.	X						
166	1840			X			87 S. 4th		X					
167	1841			X			79 N. 9th		X					
168	1842					X	Penn Twp.							X
169	1843			X			183 Chestnut	X						
170	1844		X				248 Chestnut				X			
171	1845				X		39 N. 11th	X						
172	1847		X				156 N. 9th		X					
173	1847			X			493 Vine	X						
174	1848			X			273 N. 6th	X						
175	1848			X			18 Gerard St.				X			

KEY: [1] House type implied by room terminology and number; codes are:
1 = one room, two stories; 2 = two rooms, two stories;
3 = two rooms, three stories; 4 = three or more rooms, three stories;
5 = other or unclear; 6 = additional country house.
[2] Major feature codes are: + = cellar/yard and garret/storage;
o = garret/storage only; ✓ = cellar/yard only; X = neither;
* = commercial usage; and & = non-urban property.

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

APPENDIX C -- Inventory Sample: Garret Contents

item	1754-97 23 total		1800-15 32 total		1816-27 30 total		1828-48 33 total		1754-1848 118 total		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	%1
bedding	20	87	23	72	18	60	25	76	86	73	74
furniture	13	57	21	66	16	53	21	64	71	60	60
sundries/lumber	11	48	7	22	7	23	8	24	33	28	29
bedstead, bed	14	61	21	66	15	50	21	64	71	60	60
bedstead only			2	6	3	10	4	12	9	8	7
other linens	14	61	17	53	14	47	11	33	56	47	49
chairs	9	39	17	53	13	43	16	48	55	47	46
chest/trunk	8	35	13	41	10	33	14	42	45	38	38
metalware	8	35	11	34	7	23	8	24	34	29	29
tables	4	17	12	38	8	27	8	24	32	27	27
mats/carpets			7	22	10	33	11	33	28	24	22
food/liquor	5	22	4	13	4	13	2	6	15	13	14
bottles	5	22	6	19	2	7	1	3	14	12	13
crib/cradle	5	22	4	13	2	7	3	9	14	12	13
looking glass	1	4	4	13	4	13	5	15	14	12	11
textile tools	5	22	5	16	2	7	1	3	13	11	12
stoves	2	9	2	6	4	13	5	15	13	11	11
bureau			2	6	4	13	7	21	13	11	10
prints/pictures	3	13			6	20	2	6	11	9	10
washstand	1	4	3	9	1	3	6	18	11	9	9
books			3	9	2	7	2	6	7	6	6
saddlery			2	6	3	10	2	6	7	6	6
wearing apparel	1	4	4	13			1	3	6	5	5
desk/bookcase	1	4	3	9	1	3	1	3	6	5	5
firearms/sword	1	4			2	7	1	3	4	3	4
couch/sofa	1	4	1	3	1	3	1	3	4	3	3
bird cages			1	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	2
other tools	4	17									
window glass	2	9	4	13							
safe	1	4	1	3							
clothesline	1	4			1	3					
glass/ceramics			5	16							
bath			5	16	1	3					
fire buckets			1	3							
doors			1	3							
scientific app.			3	9	1	3					
venetian blinds			3	9			2	6			

(continued on next page)

item	1754-97 23 total	1800-15 32 total	1816-27 30 total	1828-48 33 total	1754-1848 118 total

	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	%1
fire boards					1	3	1	3			
wallpaper					1	3					
soap					1	3					
commrcl. stock					3	10					
flowers/plants							2	6			
lamp/lanthorns							2	6			
refrigerator							1	3			
wardrobe							1	3			

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

APPENDIX D -- Inventory Sample: Cellar/Yard Contents

item	1754-97 20 total		1800-15 19 total		1816-27 22 total		1828-48 26 total		1754-1848 87 total		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	%1
sundries/lumber	5	25	2	11	5	23	8	31	20	23	23
wood	10	50	11	58	14	64	14	54	49	56	57
tools	13	65	3	16	9	41	5	19	30	34	35
washings tubs	7	35	7	37	8	36	2	8	24	28	29
liquor/beer	10	50	5	26	2	9	7	27	24	28	28
barrels/casks	10	50	2	11	5	23	2	8	19	22	23
metalware	6	30	7	37	1	5	5	19	19	22	23
foodstuff	7	35	2	11	3	14	7	27	19	22	22
coal	2	10			1	5	15	58	18	21	18
bottles	5	25	6	32	1	5	1	4	13	15	17
candle/soap	5	25	2	11	2	9			9	10	11
safe	1	5	3	16	2	9	3	12	9	10	11
table	1	5	3	16	2	9	1	4	7	8	9
benches			1	5	1	5	2	8	4	5	5
hen coop	1	5	1	5							
fire buckets	1	5									
printed matter	1	5									
chest			2	11			1	4			
other laundry			2	11			1	4			
flowers/pot			1	5			1	4			
jelly stand			1	5							
frontispiece			1	5							
dog house			1	5							
stove					2	9	1	4			
commrcl. stock					1	5	1	4			
chairs					1	5					
dough trough					1	5					
refrigerator							3	12			

Source: transcriptions of Philadelphia County probate inventories on deposit at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia and in Kimball and Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," appendices.

APPENDIX E

-- Insurance Survey Tabulation

a. cellar/basement evidence

field	PC 1752-53[1] 149 total			PC 1770-72 253 total			MA 1784-94 217 total			PC 1800-03 92 total		
	n	%	%*	n	%	%*	n	%	%*	n	%	%*
mentioned	13	9		11	4		44	20		11	12	
not mentioned	136	91		242	96		173	80		81	88	
kitchen	9	6	69	8	3	73	35	16	80	10	11	91
ash hole	1	1	8				3	1	7			
furnace												
oven/bakehouse	1	1	8	2	1	18	2	1	5			
commercial use	1	1	8	2	1	18	3	1	7	1	1	9
finish	2	1	15	1	<1	9	4	2	9			
vault							2	1	5			
basement plan										1	1	9

b. closet evidence

field	n	%	%*	n	%	%*	n	%	%*	n	%	%*
mentioned	4	3		1	<1		107	49		49	53	
not mentioned	145	97		252	100		110	51		43	47	

c. garret/roof evidence

field	n	%	%*	n	%	%*	n	%	%*	n	%	%*
plastered	30	20	64	148	58	76	151	70	76	53	58	62
unplastered	17	11	36	48	19	24	49	23	25	32	35	38
no/unclear	101	68		56	22		15	7		5	5	
loft only	1	1		1	<1		2	1		2	2	
upper garret				1	<1	1	5	2	3			
≥ 2 rooms	5	3	11	3	1	2	3	1	2	34	37	40
finish/other	10	7	21	4	2	2	10	5	5	14	15	16
trap door	31	21		65	26		181	83		62	67	
no trap door	118	79		188	74		36	17		30	33	
flat	20	15		10	4		15	7		20	22	
iron rails				38	15					1	1	

(continued on next page)

a. cellar/basement evidence

MA 1819-22	MA 1838-44	TOTAL 1752-1844[2]

field	96 total n	%	%*	91 total n	%	%*	898 total n	%	%1	%*	%2
mentioned	49	51		59	65		187	21	27		
not mentioned	47	49		32	35		711	79	73		
kitchen	39	41	80	31	34	53	132	15	19	71	74
ash hole	78	81	96	1	1	2	83	9	14	44	19
furnace	5	5	10	23	25	34	28	3	5	15	7
oven/bakehouse	2	2	4				7	1	1	4	6
commercial	3	3	6				10	1	1	5	8
finish	3	3	6	3	3	5	13	1	2	7	7
vault				1	1	2	3	<1	<1	2	1
basement	5	5	10	6	7	10	12	1	2	6	5

b. closet evidence

field	n	%	%*	n	%	%*	n	%	%1	%*	%2
mentioned	96	100		88	97		345	38	50		
not mentioned	0	0		3	3		553	62	50		

c. garret/roof evidence

field	n	%	%*	n	%	%*	n	%	%1	%*	%2
plastered	87	91	95	59	65	74	528	59	60	75	75
unplastered	5	5	5	21	23	26	172	19	19	25	26
no/unclear	3	3		5	5		185	21	18		
loft only	1	1		6	7		13	1	2		
upper garret	1	1	1	6	7	8	13	1	2	2	2
≥ 2 rooms	56	58	61	41	45	51	142	16	24	20	28
finish/other							38	4	5	5	7
trap door	89	93		87	96		515	57	64		
no trap door	7	7		4	4		383	43	36		
flat	6	6		7	8		78	9	10		
iron rails							39	4	3		

KEY: [1] In this and five subsequent columns, PC = Philadelphia Contributionship; MA = Mutual Assurance Company; n = number of surveys with particular feature; % = n as a percent of total; and %* = n as a percent of number with cellar or garret.

[2] In TOTAL column, %1 = average of % for individual periods; %2 = average of %* for individual periods.

Source: Philadelphia Contributionship and Mutual Assurance Company insurance surveys in INHP microfilm collection and in Garvan, The Architectural Surveys, 1784-1794.

APPENDIX F -- Features of Sites Visited

a. sites in central Philadelphia

-- Bishop White House (309 Walnut Street)
cellar: barred exterior windows, marble-cheeked bulkhead to street; enclosed cellar, open cellar, piazza cellar, kitchen cellar (latter has separate store room and closet); plank-in-mortar floor (enclosed cellar), dirt floor (open and piazza cellars), brick floor (kitchen cellar); vertical door to yard, backbuilding interior access; sub-cellar vault under kitchen cellar with ventilation to yard; fireplace, ash hole in kitchen cellar; modern wooden closet in open cellar; vaulted privy drain abuts kitchen cellar to north. (INHP architectural negatives 157.14, .21, .40, .64, .75-78, .104, .115-16, .154-56, .160)
garret: two arched dormers with decorative scrolls front, two plain ridged dormers back; two rooms and passage; windings stairs to loft; latter plastered and lit with unusual roof-line lights; initials and date (1834) scratched inside east front dormer. (INHP architectural negatives 157.111, .182A-B, .5438-44)
other: varied closets and store rooms in backbuilding of note; good stair hierarchy in main house.

-- Bond House (S. Second Street; pre-renovation features)
cellar: originally had cellar kitchen, later altered. (INHP architectural negatives 157. 4434-64, .5030-37)
garret: two gable-end windows, single plain ridged dormer to rear; four rooms and passage; winding stairs to loft above; interior window to "borrow" light; bell-system evidence. (INHP architectural negatives 157.4417-23, .4446-50)

-- Hill-Physick-Keith House (321 S. Fourth Street)
cellar: later grilled windows and exterior access; evidence of enclosed cellar; mid-nineteenth century furnace and associated brickwork; vault off north wall; modern cement floor; interior access to kitchen/service area.
garret: access from service stair only; originally one room, now divided into four with later dormers; bell-system evidence.

-- Kosciuszko House (northwest corner S. Third and Pine Streets)
cellar: originally may have had cellar kitchen; later had cellar kitchen with bake oven, cellar dining room; vault under yard opened into cellar kitchen; cellar now used for restrooms and mechanical space. (INHP architectural negatives 157.4010-11, .4036-42, .4285.9-12, .4286.1-10)
garret: currently inaccessible. (INHP architectural negatives 157.3096, .4012-15)
other: small paved yard to west originally had privy in northwest corner.

-- 318 Market Street
cellar: bulkhead to Market Street, areaway with vertical door to court at rear; open or front cellar, kitchen in rear; plank floor (front), brick floor (kitchen); three large brick vaults under ground-level carriageway open along east wall, northernmost has brick pit in floor. (INHP architectural negatives 157.391-93, .398-99, .420, .2487-93, .2920-45)
garret: arched dormers front and rear; front garret heated with fireplace.
other: moiety rooms over carriageway lit but unheated.

-- Edgar Allan Poe House (N. Seventh Street)

cellar: normal features including bulkhead to rear yard, early paved floor, brick chimney foundations with wooden shelving and brick ash deposit, wooden stairs from interior; "crypt" or covered opening possibly to cooling chamber in southeast corner. (INHP architectural negatives 157.5340, .5382 -90)
other: low, uninhabitable loft above third floor.

-- Powel House (S. Third Street)
cellar: bulkhead doors to street and yard; open cellars under main house and backbuilding; vaulted, ventilated room under part of backbuilding; interior access from both main house and backbuilding; old but undocumented brick floor in part of cellar; "walk through" chimney foundation under main house; bake oven or furnace evidence under backbuilding.
garret: arched dormers front and back; main-house garret in two rooms with passage and closets, unfinished loft above; bell-system evidence; constricted, board-newel stair from third floor.

-- Todd House (northeast corner S. Fourth and Walnut Streets)
cellar: altered, but bulkhead access to street and interior access to backbuilding notable. (INHP architectural negatives 157.276-91, .299)
garret: two gable-end windows; two rooms, unfinished loft above; winding stairs from third floor (INHP architectural negatives 157.223-24, .2050, .5089, .6724A-B, .6783, .6828-31)
other: flat reconstructed on top of backbuilding.

b. sites outside central Philadelphia

-- Bartram House (southwest Philadelphia)
cellar: normal features except for "walk-through" chimney foundation; no cellar under kitchen extension to north.
garret: appears to have been altered over time, no exceptional features.
other: enormous ice well under out building attached to barn.

-- Belfield (Germantown)
cellar: vertical openings to yard cf. sloping ground; cellar interior remodelled for modern usages; small backbuilding connects cellar with smokehouse; brick floor in backbuilding and underground vault off north wall; stone floor, ash hole in smokehouse.
garret: four dormers and end-wall windows; three rooms under high gambrel; normal features.

-- Cedar Grove (Frankford; moved to Fairmount Park)
cellar: modern cf. house moved to current site in 1920s.
garret: gambrel roof with gable-end and dormer windows; hallways lined with pegboards; transoms over some garret doorways.
other: interesting service areas above kitchen in northeast corner of house with linen and other storage spaces.

-- Cliveden (Germantown)
cellar: bulkhead access to rear yard, interior access both from central hall and (formerly) service stairs; four-room plan with central hall; brick floors in several spaces, wooden shelves abut chimney foundations; later wooden closets in southeast room; nineteenth-century furnace in separate chamber off central hall.
garret: four gable-end windows and three dormers; four rooms and passage, unfinished loft space above; access only from service stair; original roof access stair truncated; several closets with pegs; knee-wall doors to

unfinished crawl space.
other: dependencies' cellars have bulkheads, formerly accessible from interiors as well.

-- Deshler-Morris House (Germantown)
cellar: bulkhead to side yard, interior access from both main house and backbuilding; open cellar under main house divided by arched partition wall, evidence of partitions in backbuilding cellar; furnace and coal-bin evidence under main house; niches in walls of backbuilding cellar; modern cement floor and mechanical systems. (INHP architectural negatives 157.3077-92)
garret: later dormers removed; three rooms and passage with closets, unfinished loft above; four end-wall windows; main stair continues up into garret; later closets and fireplace; kitchen loft unfinished but lit; cistern below roof of nineteenth-century backbuilding.

-- 6507 Germantown Avenue (Germantown)
cellar: normal features.
garret: single arched dormer to front and plain dormer to rear; two rooms and passage; transoms over doors light passage. (INHP architectural negatives 157.5461-63)

-- Glenfern (Germantown)
cellar: only under western portion; normal features.
garret: end-wall and dormer windows; garret of eastern portion has outside stair access.

-- Graeme Park (Horsham, Montgomery County)
cellar: only under northern portion; almost vertical exterior entrance, no interior access; mortar floor and drain evidence, suggesting usage as a dairy (?).
garret: complex mix of end-wall and dormer windows, heated and unheated spaces under tall gambrel roof; one room with series of iron hooks in ceiling; enclosed stair to low loft above and roof. (INHP architectural negatives 157.5418-21)

-- Grumblethorpe (Germantown)
cellar: bulkheads to street and yard; three separate cellar spaces; interior access below main stair; one of spaces vaulted room with vents to yard, interior grilled window, iron ceiling hooks, and dirt floor; modern cement floor elsewhere; masonry ash hole below corner fireplace along west wall; various small niches in walls. (INHP architectural negatives 157.4538.7-11, .5391-5413)
garret: four end-wall windows and two plain dormers to back; four rooms and passage; main stair continues into garret, winding stairs to unfinished loft above; fireplace in one garret room; knee-wall access to unfinished but lit crawl spaces; similar small "oculi" light loft above. (INHP architectural negatives 157.5414-17, .5450-61)
other: paved yard with sub-surface cold storage area around well and pump, brick vaulted with stone shelf around and paved floor (INHP architectural negatives 157.5462-68)

-- The Highlands (Fort Washington, Montgomery County)
cellar: approximates a basement plan with both bulkhead and vertical entrances, interior access from two service stairs; six separate rooms, including kitchen, "Housekeeper's room," wine closet, and three store rooms; brick floors (store rooms) and cement floors elsewhere); mid-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century furnaces, associated coal

bins; area under verandah to north has well and brick-lined culvert or drain, later grease pit. (INHP architectural negatives 157.5422-26)
garret: three gable-end windows, later dormer to back; three rooms and passage with varied closets, four later rooms to back; main stair continues into garret, service stair removed; two c. 1856 lead-lined cisterns in front center garret; unfinished loft above.

-- Hope Lodge (Fort Washington, Montgomery County)
cellar: bulkhead to rear, interior access below main stair; six separate spaces: kitchen, root cellar, cold cellar, meat cellar, closet, and passage; all but root cellar brick floors; cold cellar has trough around three sides and access to well in kitchen; meat cellar has metal hooks in ceiling; compare to Stenton cellar. (INHP architectural negatives 157.5427-34)
garret: seven dormers; main stairs continue into garret, service stair at south end; three rooms, but altered for use as lodge; southeast room has fireplace, closet; knee-wall access to crawl space; unfinished loft above. (INHP architectural negatives 157.5435-37)

-- Johnson House (Germantown)
cellar: bulkhead to rear, interior access under main stair; four separate spaces; two brick floors, two dirt floors; wooden grilled closet abuts interior access stair; later ash hole under one chimney foundation; separate cellar under kitchen with bulkhead and interior access, well-fed trough along two sides of unpaved floor.
garret: four end-wall windows, two later dormers; four rooms; main stairs continue into garret; unfinished loft above; separate, two-room garret over backbuilding.

-- Loudoun (Germantown)
cellar: approximates a basement plan cf. placement on sloping ground and vertical access; interior access below main stair; two rooms and passage with store room; large cellar kitchen with brick and wood floor, bake oven; cold cellar under front porch with stone-vaulted ceiling and stone trough.
garret: varied dormers; four rooms and passage with several closets; access from stair over main stair; unfinished loft above; stair to roof; large, unfinished garret over 1888 addition to west.

-- Mount Pleasant (Fairmount Park)
cellar: bulkhead to side, interior access from service stair; kitchen, open cellar, and two store rooms; cement floor in kitchen, brick floors in store rooms, cement and brick floor in open cellar; one store room has grilled interior windows; kitchen has bake oven with ash hole below.
garret: two dormers front and rear; four rooms: two lit, heated, and with pegged closets, two others unlit and unheated; knee-wall access to unfinished crawl space; access from service stair below; winding stair to unfinished loft above and roof.

-- Rittenhouse House (Germantown)
cellar: there is no cellar under any portion of house,
garret: end-wall windows; winding stair from below; north end originally divided into garret and loft spaces, south end regular garret features.

-- Stenton (Germantown)
cellar: bulkhead to south (originally several others); interior access from below main stair and service stair to south; five separate spaces; wooden closets in one; brick floors in another, dirt floors elsewhere; vaulted room with grilled vents under main entrance hall; small niches and chimney

-foundation wooden shelving; later underground vault off north wall; various pieces of cellar furniture of note, including barrel rack, hanging shelves. (INHP architectural negatives 157.4538.12-18, .4696, .5386-91)
garret: ten dormer windows; six rooms (originally five) and passage, varied closets; two rooms with fireplaces; knee-wall access to unfinished crawl space; main stair continues into garret, service stair to south also; winding stair to unfinished loft above (and originally to roof).
other: kitchen cellar has large, vaulted ash hole under chimney foundations.

-- Peter Wentz Farmstead (Center Point, Montgomery County)
cellar: bulkhead to south, interior access below main stairs; single, open cellar (only 6' high); small niches in walls; corbels from chimney foundation to support stoves above; corbels at sides support sills; brick floor.
garret: not investigated.

-- Woodford (Fairmount Park)
cellar: altered bulkhead to north; originally had kitchen and open cellar, now altered; interior access from backbuilding.
garret: single dormer to back; access from backbuilding stair and then through unlit store room; stair to roof from store room; initials scratched inside garret dormer.

-- The Woodlands (West Philadelphia)
basement: excellent basement plan with vertical exterior access under front porch to north; five lit rooms, three unlit store rooms, and various closets; kitchen with brick floor, bake oven, ash hole, and sink; two other heated rooms; wooden grilled closet; cement floors with brick hearth areas; interior access from small service stair only.
garret: two gable-end windows, skylights; six rooms and passage with monitor light; chimney stacks opened into two rooms; bell-system evidence; pegged boards in one room; access only from small service stair; access to large unfinished crawl spaces flanking finished garret to east and west.

-- Wyck (Germantown)
cellar: bulkhead access to yard (formerly two), interior stair to kitchen (formerly also one under main stair); five separate spaces; brick floor and furnace (now modernized) under front parlor; dirt floors elsewhere; shelved niches under conservatory; ash hole under dining room chimney foundation;
garret: varied dormers and end-wall window to south, interior window "borrows" light from latter; six plus rooms with varied closets; two stairs access from below; bell system still in place; two open stairs access unfinished loft above, running entire length of house.

(Other houses visited had comparable features and/or altered cellars and garrets: Coyningham-Hacker House (Germantown), 5275-77 Germantown Avenue (Germantown), Green Tree Tavern (Germantown), The Monastery (Germantown), Strawberry Mansion (Fairmount Park), and Waynesborough (Paoli, Chester County).

APPENDIX G -- Glossary

Historical and modern definitions of cellar, garret, and related terms differ, as do the architectural and popular definitions. This glossary discusses these differences and lists selected definitions from period sources. Basic definitions come from the Oxford English Dictionary (1933 edition); other sources are fully cited at the end of the list.

The term "cellar" ultimately derives from the Latin *cellarium*, a set of cells or receptacles for food. In English usage, the term has been identified specifically with an underground storage room or vault since the 17th century. Thus "cellar" refers to a space, the "cellar story" to a series of spaces. The term "basement" has been equated with "cellar," but "basement" more properly defines the story on which an order is placed, literally a base for the building above. In practice, the basement is the lowest regularly inhabited story or floor of a house, not a space per se, and specifically not a cellar; in fact, a basement may have a dependent cellar. In modern popular usage, however, the terms are roughly synonymous.

A similar historical differentiation may be made between the terms "garret" and "attic." "Garret" derives from the Middle French *garite*, a watch tower or refuge. Historically, the term came to refer to a room or apartment on the uppermost floor of a house, usually partially or wholly under the roof; an upper garret or cockloft might be found above the garret directly under the roof. "Attic" on the other hand properly defined the small order (the Attic order) capping a larger order on a building facade. By the eighteenth century, "attic story" was used to define the space behind this order, the top story of a building. Thus "attic" properly refers to an entire story or floor. Since the

mid-nineteenth century, the terms "attic" and "garret" have been synonymous in both architectural and popular usage.

attic
1. a decorative structure, consisting of a small order (column and entablature) placed above another order of much greater height constituting the main facade. This was usually an Attic order, with pilasters instead of pillars; whence the name. (17th c.)
2. originally the space enclosed by the structure described in preceding sense; hence, the top story of a building, under the beams of the roof, when there are more than two storys above ground. (1724--)
3. the highest story of a house, or a room in it; a garret. (19th c.--)
-- Attic story, the upper floor, or story of a house. [Britton, 1838]
-- Attic story, the upper story of a house when the ceiling is square with the sides, by which it is distinguished from a common garret. [Weale, 1860]
-- In classical architecture, the space above the entablature or wall cornice; in modern usage, the room or space in the roof of a building; a garret. [Phillips, 1989]

basement
1. the lowest or fundamental portion of a structure. (1790s--)
2. specifically the lowest story (not a cellar) of a building, esp. when sunk below the general ground level (19th c.--)
-- the lower story, or floor, of a building. In modern architecture, that story of a house which is below the level of the ground is called a basement story. [Britton 1838]
-- the lower portion or story of a building, on which an order is placed, with a base, or plinth, die, and cornice. The height of the basement varies in modern buildings, according as it is the cellar or ground story; and when the ground story, according to the nature or destination of the rooms on that floor. [Meiklehman 1854]
-- ... 'basement story.' Originally, this story would have had its floor almost exactly level with the street without, ... but in some buildings it is raised several steps above the street, and in others its floor is some distance below the street, as, notably, in city dwelling houses. [Sturgis 1901]
-- the story below the main floor; may be partially or wholly below ground level. [Phillips 1989]

bulkhead
1. one of the upright partitions serving to form the cabins in a ship or to divide the hold into distinct water-tight compartments, for safety in case of collision or other damage. (17th c.--)
-- the inclined door which covered the stairway leading into the cellar from the street. [Garvan 1976]

-- bulkhead door, a door that provides exterior access to a cellar. [Phillips 1989]

cellar
1. a store-house or store-room, whether above or below ground, for provisions; a granary, buttery, or pantry; cf. also coal-cellar, wine-cellar (13th c.--)
2. an underground room or vault (17th c.--)
3. often for wine-cellar; hence the contents of the wine cellar, a person's stock of wines. (16th c.--)

-- cellars, in modern building, are the lowest room in a house; their ceilings are usually level with the surface of the ground, on which the house is built. They are also situated under the pavement before it, particularly in streets and squares. [Willich, 1803]

-- a room beneath a building, occasionally analogous to a crypt; the former being generally beneath a dwelling-room, and the latter under part of a church: the first is usually occupied by liquors, provisions, and other stores; the latter devoted to religious and sacred purposes. [Britton 1838]

-- a place under ground, where stores and liquors are deposited. Cellars, in modern buildings, the lowest rooms of a house, the ceilings of which are usually level with the surface of the ground; or they are under the pavement before the house. These apartments requiring to be kept cool, have usually double walls, with a passage between them, and sometimes a vaulted roof. [Meiklehman 1854]

-- a. the space below the ground story or the basement story of a building, enclosed by the foundation walls, and therefore wholly, or almost entirely, below the surface of the surrounding ground. The distinction between the cellar and basement story is not absolute, and, in some cases, may depend on the use to which such a space is put, as much as on its relative situation. Thus, in an English basement house, the front portion of the lowest, nearly subterranean, story will frequently be without windows, and used merely for storage of fuel and the like, and will therefore be referred to as a cellar; but the same story might be equally well provided with large windows opening into an area, and would then be used as a living room or for domestic offices, and would be called a basement story. Hence, as such a space is commonly used for storage and the like.

b. any underground or partly underground place of deposit for wine, provisions, fuel, or the like. [Sturgis 1901]

-- a room beneath the main floor of a building used for storage or provisions, wine, coal, etc.; sometimes used for cooking. [Phillips 1989]

closet
1. a room for privacy or retirement; a private room; an inner chamber; in later use always a small room: especially for private devotion, study, or speculation (12th c.--19th c.)
2. the private apartment of a monarch or potentate. (pre-18th c.)
3. a. a private repository of valuables or curiosities; a cabinet.
   b. a small side-room or recess for storing utensils,

provisions, etc.; a cupboard. (both 17th-18th c.)
4. with special reference to size: any small room, especially one belonging to or communicating with a larger. (18th c.--)
-- a cupboard, an inclosed place, or a small apartment attached to a larger. [Britton 1838]
-- a small apartment communicating with a larger one. [Meiklehman 1854]
-- a small chamber or private room. [Weale 1860]
-- in modern usage, a place for storage, distinguished from a cupboard only as being larger, perhaps large enough for a person to enter. [Sturgis 1901]

cockloft
1. a small upper loft; a small apartment under the roof to which the access is usually by a ladder; 'the room over the garret' (Samuel Johnson). (16th c.--)
-- the loft or garret under a roof, above the highest ceiling; usually waste space, or used for storage. A story in the roof, finished for occupancy, with ceilings, windows, etc. is not a cockloft. [Sturgis 1901]
-- a small garret, but waste space and used for storage rather than as a room. [Garvan 1976]

dormer
1. a sleeping chamber, dormitory. (obsolete)
2. a projecting vertical window in the sloping roof of a house. Also dormer window. (Originally the window of a dormitory or chamber). (16th c.--)

garret
1. a watch-tower. (obsolete)
2. a room on the uppermost floor of a house; an apartment formed either partially or wholly with the roof, an attic. (15th c.-)
-- the uppermost apartment of a house, immediately under its roof. Garrets were formerly left open to the rafters without a ceiling. The Scottish word garret, retaining its allusion to a lofty situation, has been applied to a watch-tower, or the top of a hill. [Britton 1838]
-- the upper story of a house. [Meiklehman 1854]
-- an upper apartment of a house, immediately under the roof. [Weale 1860]
-- the upper floor of a house, the attic. Often used as additional chambers and usually plastered for fire safety. [Garvan 1976]
-- the space, usually with sloping walls, just below the roof; an attic. [Phillips 1989]

larder
1. a room or closet in which meat (?orig. bacon) and other provisions are stored. (14th c.--)

loft
1. an upper chamber, an attic; an apartment or chamber in general. (14th c.--)
-- a room in the roof of a building. [Weale 1860]

pantry
1. a room or apartment in a house, etc., in which bread and other provisions are kept; also (cf. butler's or housemaid's pantry),

one in which the silver, linen, etc. for the table are kept. (first part 12th c.--; second part late 18th c.--)

store
1. a place where stores are kept, a warehouse (17th c.--)
2. a place where merchandise is kept for sale; cf. retail shop (18th c.--)

storeroom
1. a room set apart for the storing of goods or supplies, esp. those of a ship or a household. (18th c.--)

vault
1. a structure of stones or bricks so combined as to support each other over a space and serve as a roof or covering to this; an arched surface covering some space or area in the interior of a building, and usually supported by walls or pillars; an arched roof or ceiling. (13th c.--)
2. an enclosed space covered with an arched roof; esp. a lower or underground apartment or portion of a building constructed in this form. Also a place of this kind used as a cellar or storeroom for provisions or liquors. (15th c.--)
3. a crypt. (15th c.--)
4. a covered conduit for carrying away water or filth; a drain or sewer. Also a cistern or privy. (obsolete)

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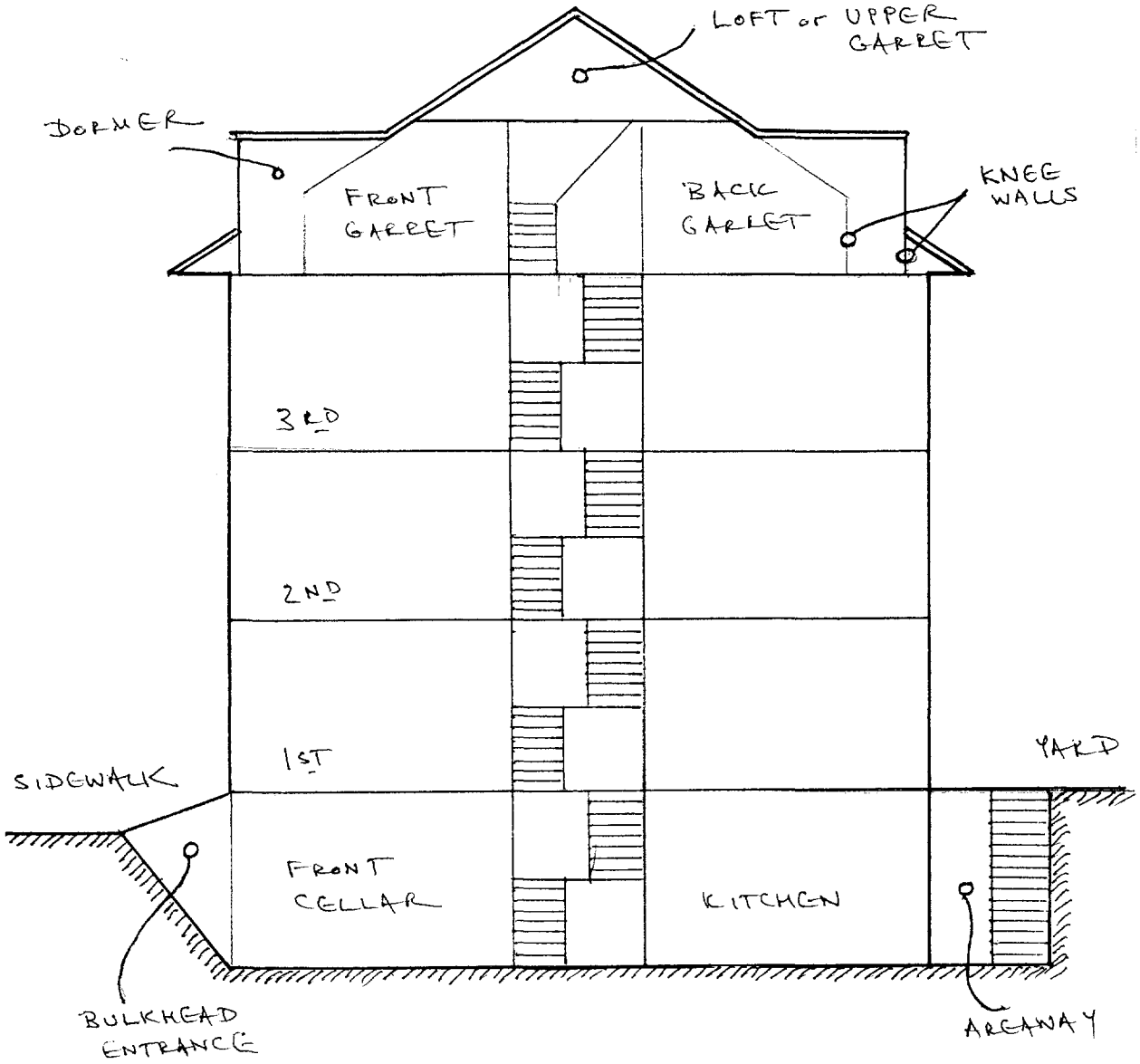

Figure 1 Diagram of major cellar and garret features.

The major features of Philadelphia cellars and garrets are remarkably consistent for the period studied (see page 3). This diagram illustrates a London-house plan in section (compare with plan in figure 5); other houses had attached backbuildings (compare to section in figure 9, bottom).

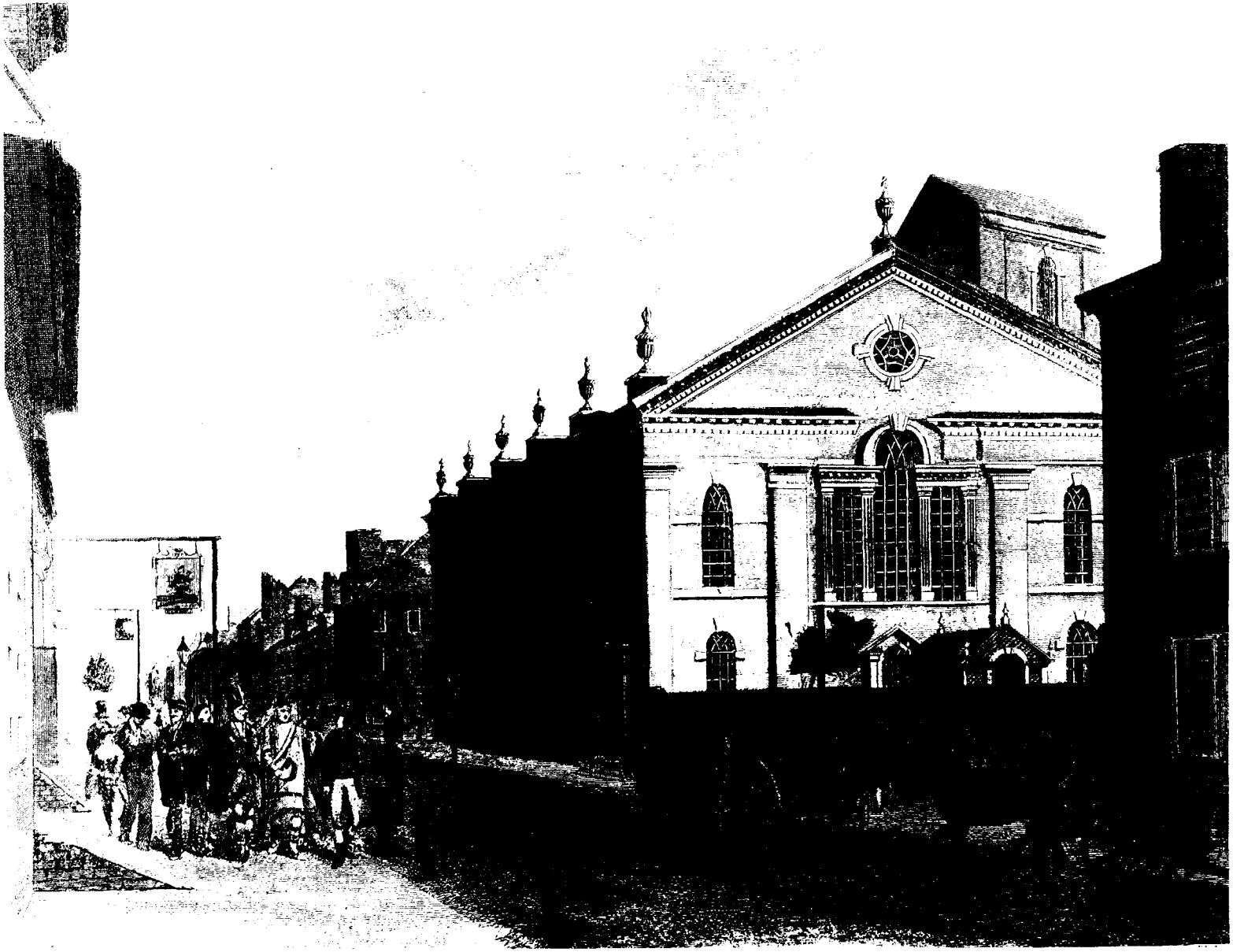

Figure 2 "New Lutheran Church, in Fourth Street Philadelphia," engraving by William R. Birch, The City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania North America; as it appeared in the Year 1800 . . . . Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park, INDE 1177.

This Birch view illustrates the prominence of both cellar bulkhead doors and garret dormer windows in the Philadelphia streetscape. Also note the preponderance of two- and three-story houses (see pages 17, 83).

Figure 3 "'Worldly folk' questioning chimney sweeps and their master before Christ Church [Philadelphia]," watercolor by Pavel Petrovich Svinin, c. 1814. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund.

Svinin carefully depicted this N. Second Street corner; note the brick-paved sidewalk, stone curb, cobble street, and lamp-post. The cellar window with stone trim and iron bars was also a typical part of the Philadelphia streetscape. The marked contrast between the "worldly folk" and the chimney sweeps suggests the complex, multi-layered social landscape (see pages 19, 117).

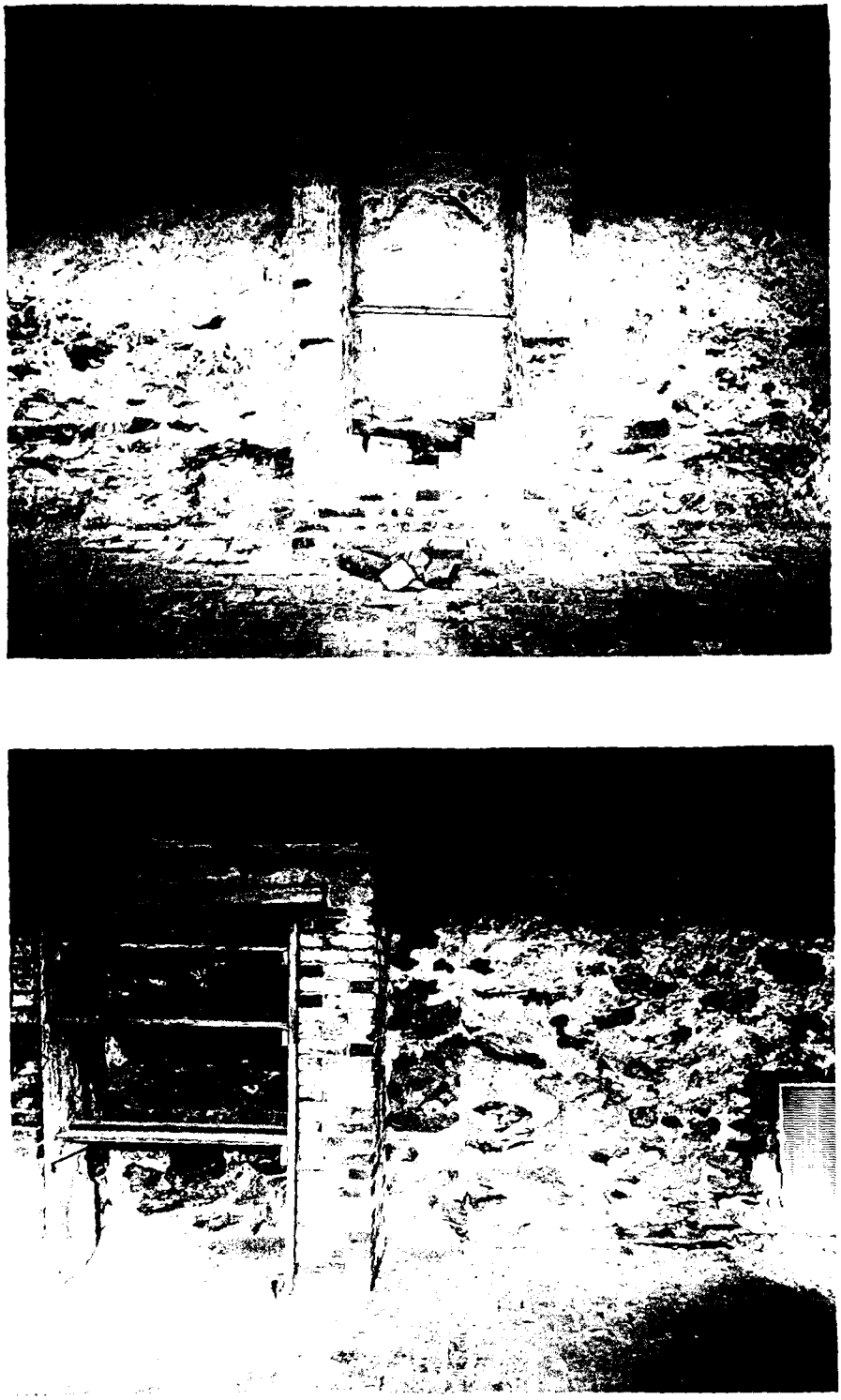

Figure 4 Poe House east (top) and west (bottom) chimney foundations. Independence National Historical Park, architectural negatives 157.5382 and 157.5390.

Philadelphians often placed wooden shelves between or abutting masonry chimney foundations, thus maximizing cellar storage opportunities. In the Poe House, the base of the eastern chimney foundation is also partly walled up. One might imagine that this feature is related to an entombment like that Poe described in "The Black Cat." However, this feature was probably an ash deposit (see pages 20, 122).

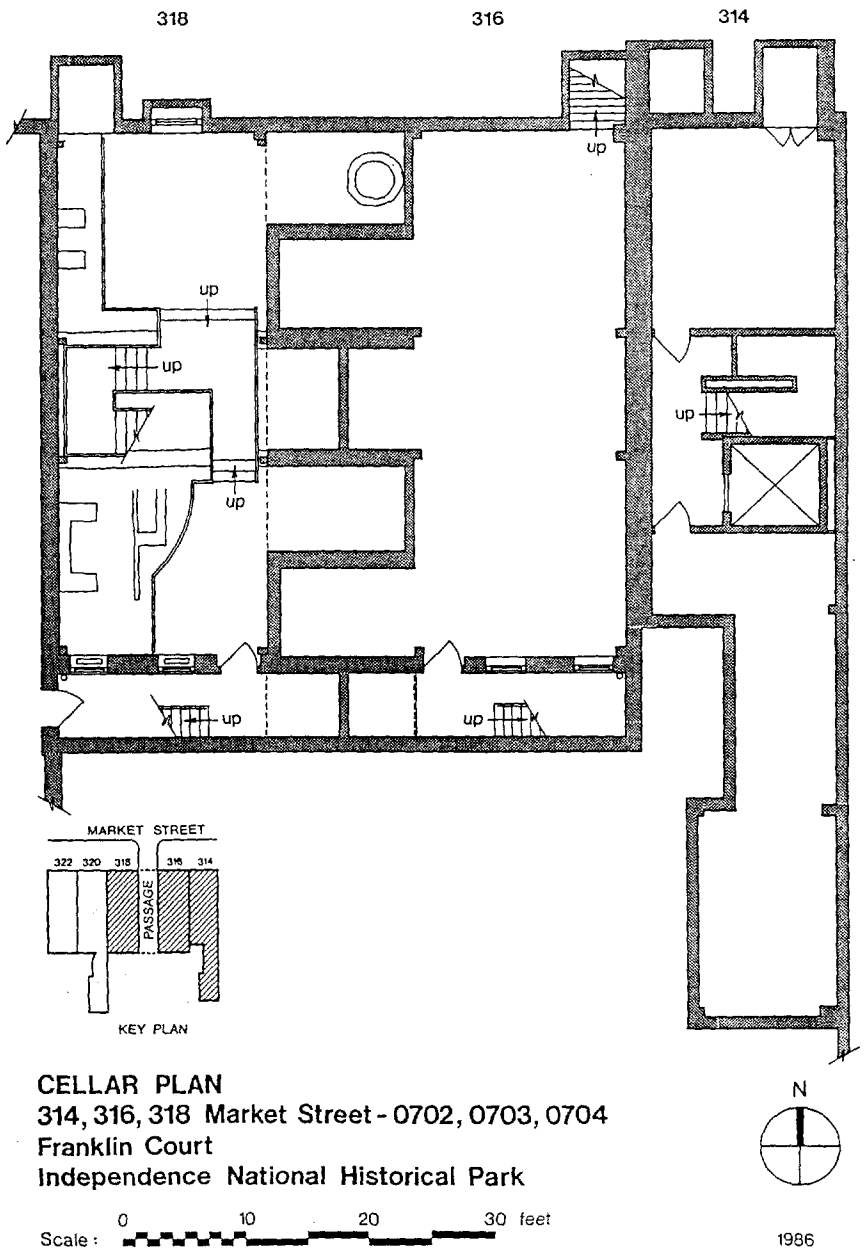

Figure 5 Cellar plan, 314-18 Market Street. Drawing by Denise Rabzak.

318 Market Street (at left) had a London-house plan with central stairs dividing the front and back rooms on all levels (compare with section in figure 1). The cellar kitchen was accessible from the yard via an areaway, which also served as a light well for the kitchen windows. Vaults were found in many Philadelphia cellars; the set under the carriageway at 316-18 Market Street is especially large. The pit in the floor of the northernmost vault served as a cooling chamber (see pages 23, 34).

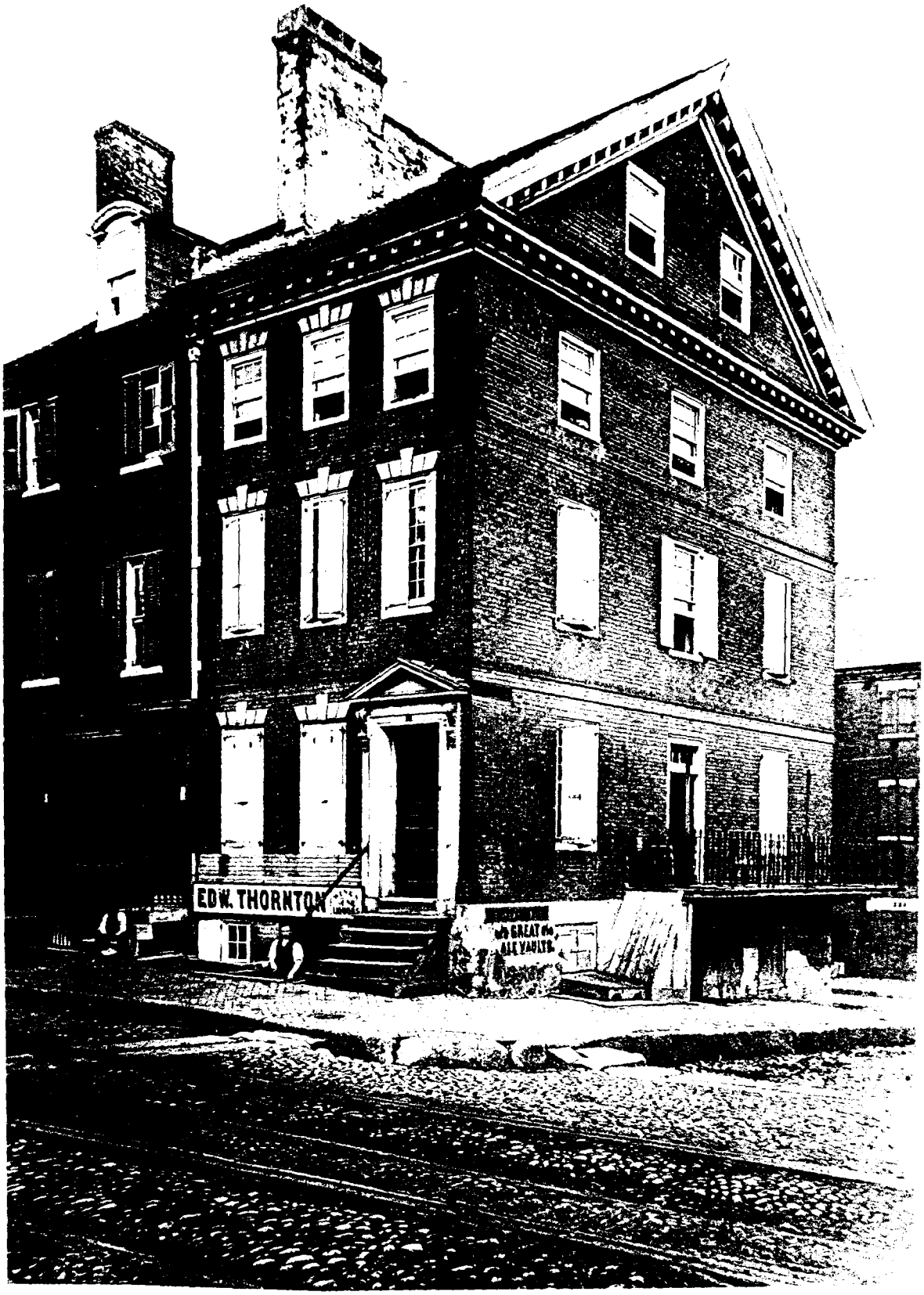

Figure 6 "Bank House," 349 S. Front/348 S. Water Street, c. 1860. Courtesy of Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia. Independence National Historical Park, architectural negative 157.2818D.

Figure 7 "Height of Cleanliness," illustration by David Claypoole Johnston in Scraps #6 (1835). Courtesy of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

Ash holes were recorded in a significant percentage of Philadelphia cellars. These features, of varying form, allowed for safe storage of live ashes and their eventual gathering for lye and soap production. Such heavy, unclean cellar processes and the cellar itself were banes to genteel and would-be genteel nineteenth-century householders, one of whom is caricatured in this illustration (see pages 52, 112).

Figure 8 "Philadelphia Taste Displayed, Or, Bon-Ton Below Stairs," lithograph by James Akin, c. 1830. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Oyster cellars became popular Philadelphia watering holes after 1820. Often owned and/or managed by blacks, early oyster cellars attracted a decidedly mixed clientele. These cellars became the center of a Philadelphia underworld, most sensationally portrayed in George Lippard's novel The Quaker City (see pages 67, 117, 119).

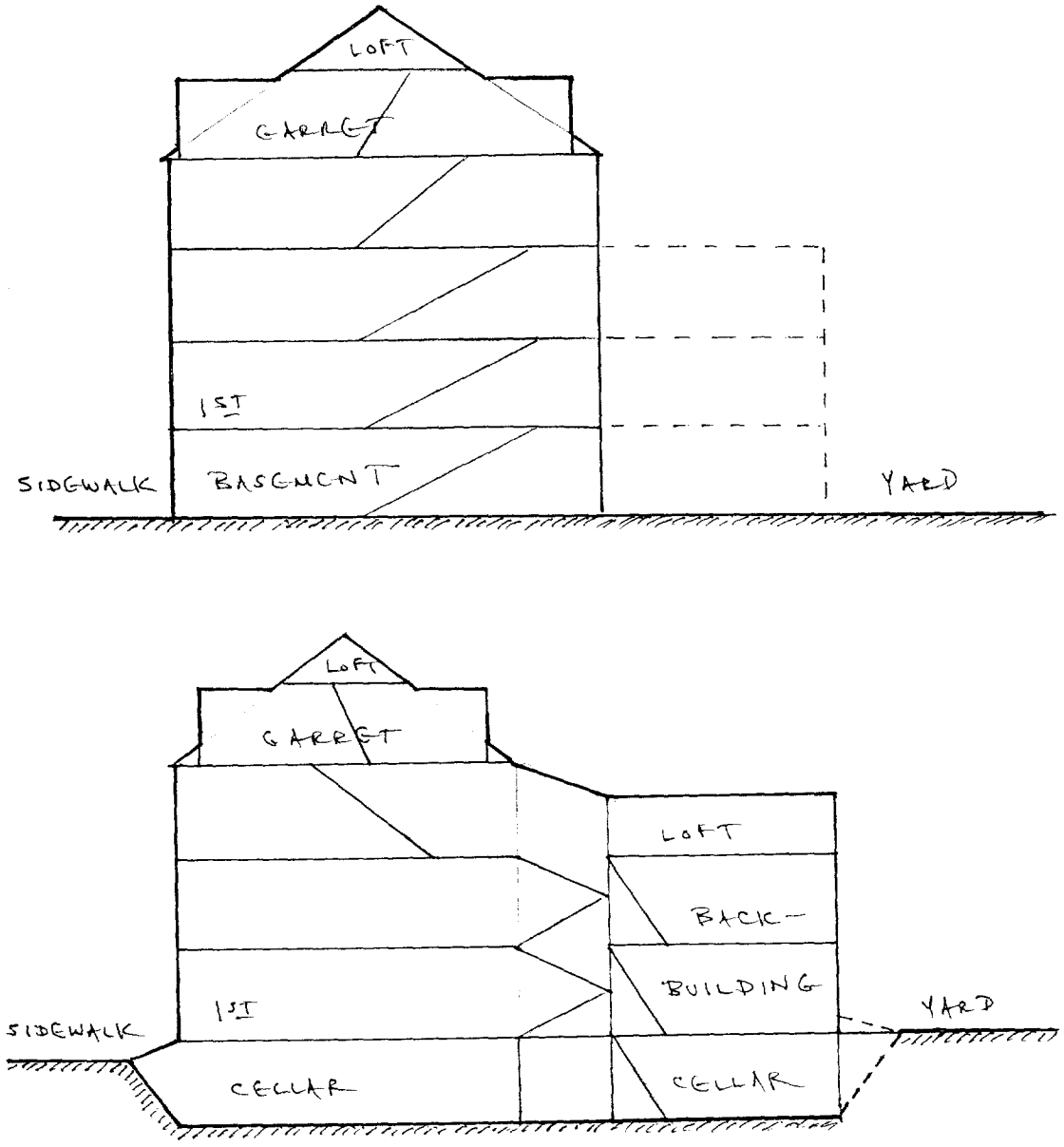

Figure 9 Comparison of typical basement section (top) and typical cellar section (bottom).

Basements were rarely noted in Philadelphia houses during the period studied. They are distinguished by having a vertical, near-grade exterior access and fully finished interior spaces. Kitchens are almost always located in basements, paired with dining rooms, offices, or reception rooms; backbuildings are not common on basement-plan houses (see page 68). By contrast, the cellar-plan below has a piazza and backbuilding; the cellar of the latter sometimes has a bulkhead to the yard (compare to section in figure 1 and plan in figure 11).

Figure 10 "Procession of Victuallers of Philadelphia, on the 15th of March, 1821. . . ," aquatint after painting by John Lewis Krimmel, 1821-22. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

This well-documented and detailed print illustrates the streetscape at the northwest corner of S. Fourth and Chestnut Streets. The variety of dormer windows, shop fronts, and other features is notable, especially the flat on top of the corner house. The latter feature supplanted the yard as a clothes-drying area in densely-built neighborhoods; note the carefully delineated clothesline strung between the posts (see pages 83, 98-99).

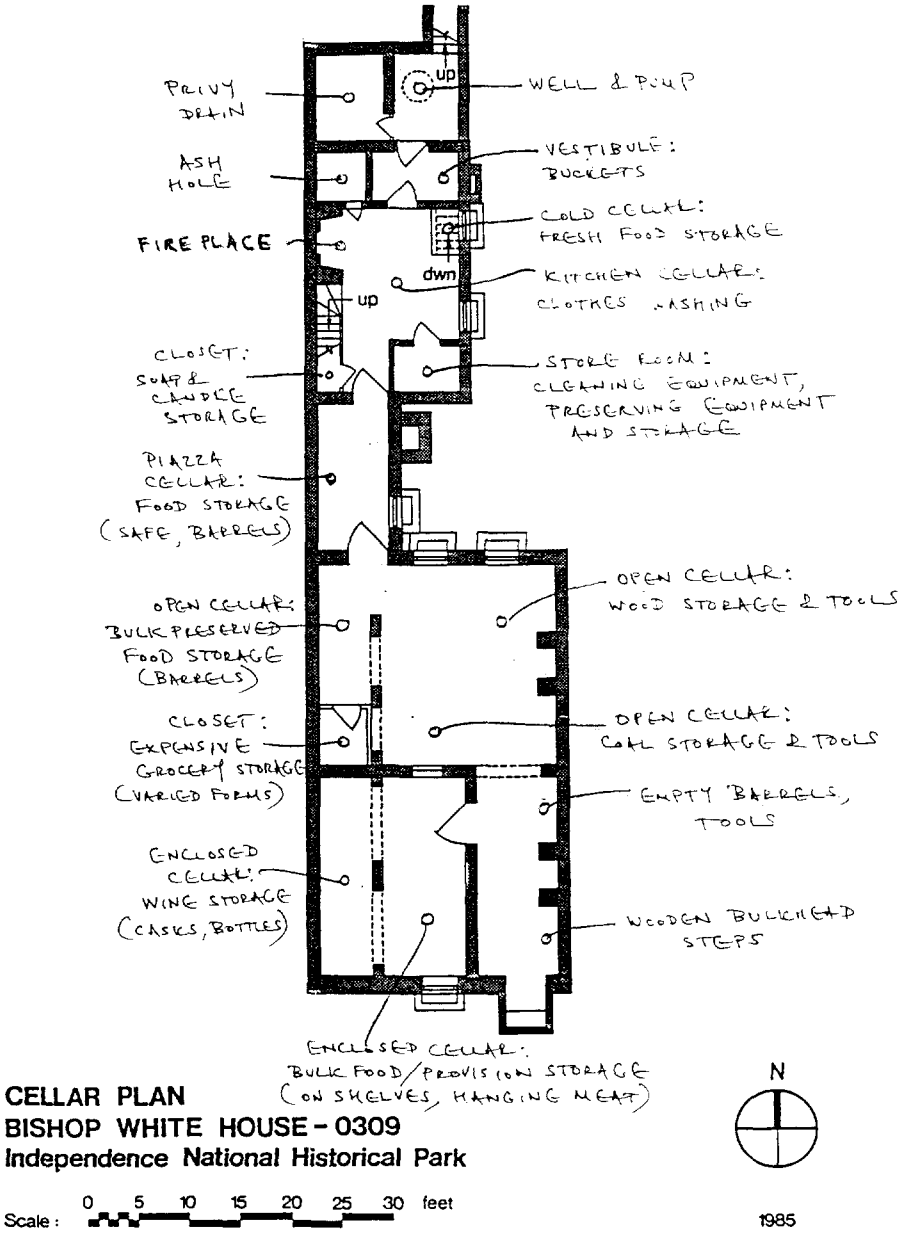

Figure 11 Furnishing recommendations for the Bishop White House cellar. Drawing by Denise Rabzak.

This cellar has a full complement of architectural spaces and finishes; furnishing these spaces can suggest a similarly broad range of usages. These include food storage and processing, fuel storage and processing, and clothes washing. These and other service activities were concentrated in the cellar, backbuilding, and yard; these spaces should be interpreted together (see page 137). (Compare plan with section in figure 9, bottom).

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