

IV. SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN SUBURBANIZATION

This chapter will discuss the associative property types related to suburbanization through the historic theme of Settlement Patterns and Demographic Change. Associative property types are related to events, activities, individuals or groups, or the kind of information a resource may yield. The link between suburbanization and demography is expressed most directly through the restrictive covenants that appeared in the deeds which conveyed building lots in the new subdivisions. In addition, the chapter will explore the associative link that connects suburbanization with the popular idea of home that was prevalent during the early years of the century.

The suburbanization process was clearly more than the acquisition of large tracts of land, the planning and grading of roads, the sale of building lots, and the construction of bungalows and colonial revival houses. It was also an expression of the cultural trends at work in the society at large and in Wilmington. It is clear from an examination of the phenomena that relate to the social institutions for the period from 1880 to 1950 that powerful forces for change were at work. Of greatest importance to a consideration of suburban growth and development are changes in the size and distribution of population in the country, in Delaware, and in Wilmington. These changes created a situation in which many of the city's residents saw the potential for serious problems. Essential aspects of the suburbanization process were direct reactions to these apparent threats. As a theme of the Delaware Plan, Settlement Patterns and Demographic Change addresses "the processes of the modification and transformation of historic resources." A consideration of these paired phenomena allows one to trace changes in the physical environment that occur because of "cultural, social, and economic change."⁹⁸

This chapter explores the demographic transformations that took place over the seven decades of the historic context. In addition, it will examine reactions provoked by population changes. Among these responses, restrictive deed covenants spoke most directly against the changing complexion of the city's population and at the same time had a profound impact on the physical landscape that was created in the subdivisions surrounding Wilmington.

The period from 1880 to 1950 was a time when "home" and home ownership were elevated to the status of ideals. Developers made extensive use of these popular ideas to encourage people to move out of the city. Development companies promised an ideal country home with all its benefits of health and beauty while also preying on the apprehensions of city dwellers about the changes they saw around them in the city. As a result, Wilmington families joined the movement out of the city and into the suburbs.

⁹⁸ Delaware Plan, 28.

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During the period between 1880 and 1950, the nation witnessed population movement first from rural to urban residences and then to suburban locations, with the over-all result that Americans became increasingly urban as opposed to rural creatures. While an increasing percentage of the population lived in urban places, that is, those with a population of 2,500 or more according to the Census Bureau definition, the opening decades of the twentieth century witnessed the first examples of middle-class and working-class city dwellers seeking residences on the periphery of cities. While wealthy urbanites had long been able to live outside the city and commute to work, improvements in transportation, providing a means of traveling to work, and in income, allowing for the purchase of desirable housing, encouraged the outward movement of less affluent members of the population.

In 1880, 30 percent of the American population was considered urban, that is, living in places with a population of 2500 or more; by 1950, that figure had increased to 64 percent. Over the seventy-year period, the total population grew at an average rate of 17 percent in each decade; the urban rate of growth was 31 percent, far exceeding the average rural rate (7 percent). Although the rates declined over time, as Figure 21 illustrates, the period saw an unwavering increase in the percentage of the American population that was classified as urban.

As early as the 1890 enumeration, the Census Bureau acknowledged that counting as urban only individuals who lived within a city's limits misrepresented actual circumstances, ignoring the "populous suburbs, which are to all intents and purposes parts of the city, whose inhabitants transact business within the city, who may be served by the same post office, but who, living without the charter limits, are not included in the city's population."⁹⁹ The 1910 census report included a chapter entitled "Cities and Suburbs" which identified transportation, employment, and business as links connecting the elements of an urban region. The same census inaugurated two new urban categories based primarily on city size. "Cities and adjacent territory" designated cities with populations of 100,000 or more and included the "population in civic divisions within 10 miles of the city boundary." "Metropolitan district" was to be applied to cities of 200,000 or more and any adjacent territory with a density of 150 people or more per square mile.¹⁰⁰

The census of 1920 reiterated the importance of the suburbs of great cities by noting comparative growth rates of central cities and their adjacent territories. Focusing on cities of 200,000 or more, Census analysts pointed out that since 1910, "the rate of increase in population of the suburban areas (32.7 percent) was considerably greater than the corresponding rate for the central cities (25.1 percent)."¹⁰¹

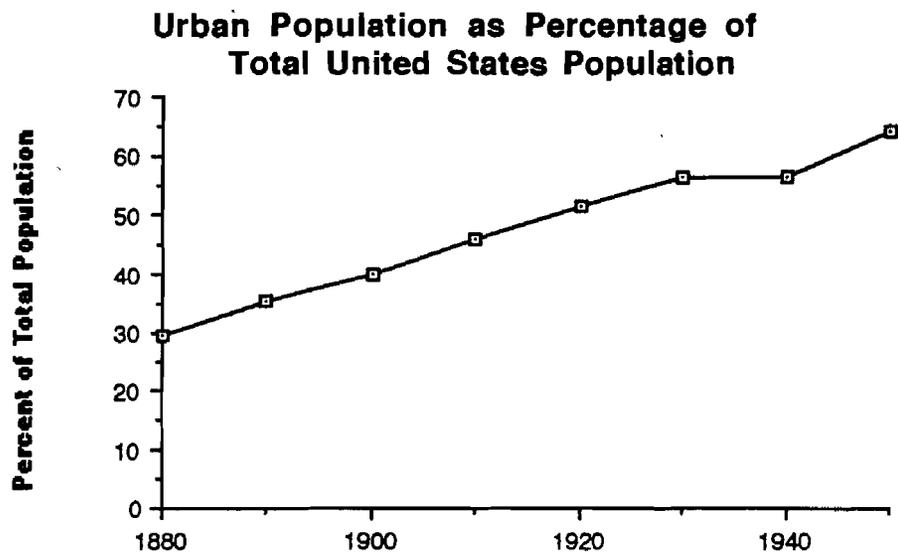
Delaware followed the national pattern. In 1880, 33 percent of the state's population was urban; by 1950 the urban population represented 63 percent of the total population. While the total population

⁹⁹ "Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890," lxxvi.

¹⁰⁰ "Cities and Suburbs," *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, 73.

¹⁰¹ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, 63.

FIGURE 21



of the state grew at an average rate of 12 percent per decade over the period, the urban population expanded by an average of 23 percent each decade. Growth in Wilmington's population accounted for much of the early increase. In 1880, the city's 42,478 residents made up 29 percent of the state population; by 1920, they numbered 110,168, 49 percent of all Delawareans. After that, Wilmington's portion of the total state population declined steadily to 35 percent in 1950. At the same time, the city's share of the state's urban population remained around 86 percent until 1950, when it dropped to 55 percent (Figure 22).

Wilmington's share of New Castle County's population increased during the first half of the period and then declined. In 1880, the city population was 42,478, which accounted for 55 percent of the county's 77,716 residents. The city's portion of total county population continued to grow until it peaked at 74 percent in 1920. Over the same 40 years, the suburban hundreds adjacent to the city were home to only a small portion of the total county population (Table 2).

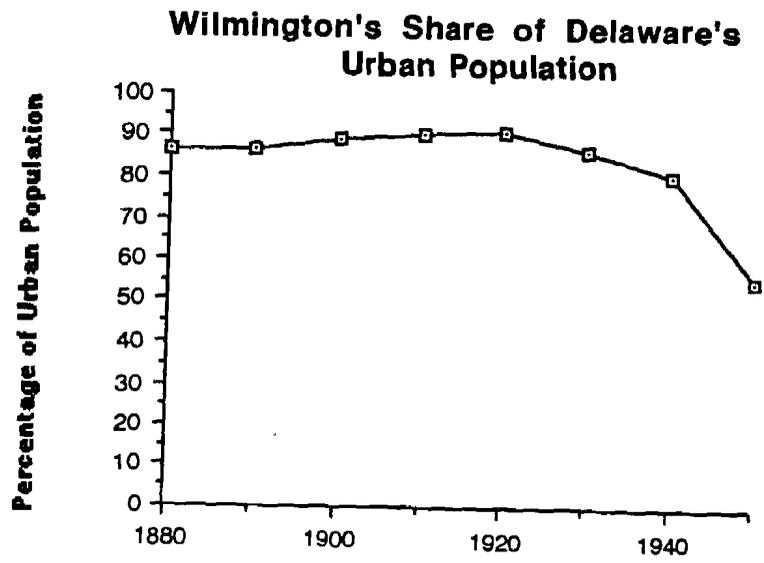
TABLE 2
Percentage of New Castle County Population
in Wilmington and Suburban Hundreds
1880-1950

<u>Year</u>	<u>Wilmington</u>	<u>Brandywine Hundred</u>	<u>Christiana Hundred</u>	<u>Mill Creek Hundred</u>	<u>New Castle Hundred</u>
1880	55	5	8	4	7
1890	63	4	6	4	6
1900	70	4	4	3	5
1910	71	4	5	3	4
1920	74	4	4	3	4
1930	66	7	9	3	5
1940	63	8	10	3	6
1950	50	11	15	4	10

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Schedule, 1880-1950.

In 1930, the city's share of the county population began to decline; simultaneously suburban hundreds began to increase their shares. In the decade from 1920 to 1930, Wilmington's population "grew" at a rate of -3 percent; in the same period, Brandywine Hundred's population grew at a rate of 69 percent and Christiana Hundred's at a rate of 127 percent. The percentage of the county population living in hundreds adjacent to Wilmington, but outside the city's boundaries, grew steadily over the period.

FIGURE 22



Brandywine and Christiana hundreds, which had the largest number of new suburbs, saw substantial growth in their shares of the county population. Brandywine Hundred doubled its percentage of the county's residents and Christiana Hundred tripled its share of the population. New Castle Hundred maintained a consistent percentage of population share over the period, while Mill Creek Hundred, which had the fewest suburban subdivisions, experienced a slight diminution of its portion of county residents (Table 3).

TABLE 3
Percentage of New Castle County Population
Living Outside Wilmington, 1880-1950

<u>Year</u>	<u>Brandywine Hundred</u>	<u>Christiana Hundred</u>	<u>Mill Creek Hundred</u>	<u>New Castle Hundred</u>
1880	10	17	10	15
1890	11	17	11	17
1900	12	14	11	16
1910	12	17	11	15
1920	17	17	11	17
1930	20	26	8	15
1940	22	28	8	15
1950	22	30	7	20

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Schedule, 1880-1950.

The same pattern of population distribution emerges from an examination of Wilmington's Metropolitan District, which, by the Census Bureau's definition, included not only the hundreds surrounding the city but segments of Pennsylvania and New Jersey as well (Figure 23). From 1910 when it was initially designated, to 1950, the total population of the district increased by 39 percent. While the Central City (Wilmington) portion of the district was growing at a rate of 26 percent, it was outstripped by population growth in the Adjacent Territories which averaged 62 percent. Although Wilmington contained more than half the total population in the district for each of the decades, the city's share declined from 65 percent in 1910 to 59 percent by 1950.

Part of the explanation may lie in changes in Wilmington's ethnic mix. For the entire 70 years of the context, the percentage of the city's population that was foreign-born varied between 9 percent and 16 percent. However, those decades saw important changes in the character of the immigrant community. In 1880, western Europe provided 97 percent of Wilmington's foreign-born residents; eastern and southern Europe accounted for less than one percent. By the end of the period, western

European immigrants numbered less than one-third of the foreign population while eastern and southern Europeans were more than two-thirds of the group (Figure 24).

It is important to note that between 1880 and 1910, only around 13 percent of Wilmington's residents were African-Americans. Their share of the city's total population dropped to 10 percent in 1910 and 1920 and then gradually rose to 16 percent in 1950. For each of the census enumerations between 1880 and 1950, the number of foreign-born residents exceeded the number of African-Americans.

At least some of the individuals who moved to the newly-planned subdivisions may have left the city to get away from neighbors whose languages and habits were unfamiliar and, to the ethnocentric mind, obnoxious. Although the number of European immigrants and African-Americans never exceeded 27 percent of the city's population, developers saw as significant this apparent apprehension about neighbors who were "different." The advertising used by several development companies stressed that subdivision property would not be sold to objectionable parties.

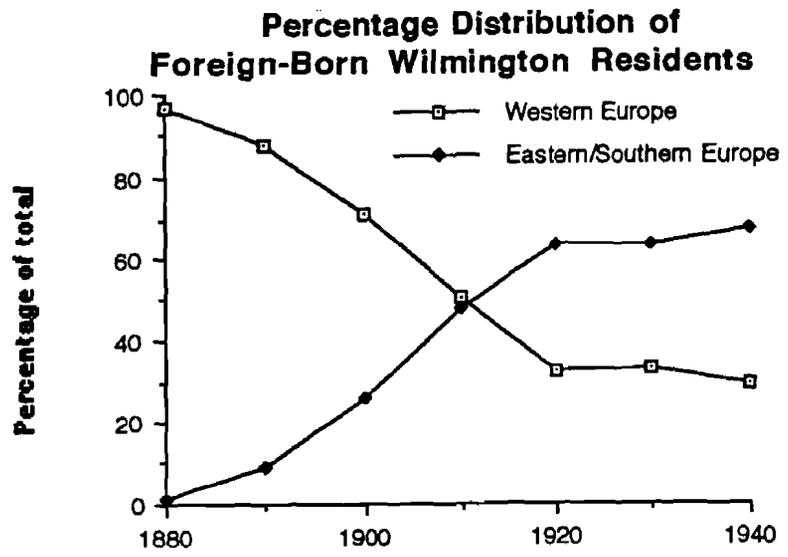
Many subdivisions survive as artifacts of changes in local and state settlement patterns and demography. Wilmington's population increased each decade from 1880 through 1920 when it peaked at 110,168 which amounted to 49 percent of the total state population. In the 70 years between 1880 and 1950, a total of 182 subdivisions were planned for the area surrounding the city and 177 were platted. The ten years leading up to the peak city population in 1920 and the ten years following (1910-1930) account for the establishment of fully 41 percent of all the subdivisions planned during the entire 1880-1950 period. These 20 years were the same period which saw the already-declining number of northern European immigrants fall below the steadily-increasing number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. While neither the crush of population nor the proximity of foreign-born and African-American residents can be held solely responsible for the development of subdivisions, the impact of both population factors cannot be ignored.

Restrictive Covenants

Developers utilized restrictive deed covenants to address both population "problems." There were, on the one hand, restrictions that sought to create a landscape that was a marked contrast to the urban landscape from which the new suburban residents were escaping. The steps of city rowhouses opened directly onto the pavement so developers insisted that new suburban dwellings be set back 20 to 25 feet from the curb, allowing space for a front lawn. City rowhouses were connected with one another putting neighbors in close proximity, so developers insisted that new suburban dwellings be single-family dwellings built 10 feet from the side property lines, insuring space between the houses. City rowhouses were narrow, deep buildings measuring approximately 15 by 40 feet, so developers insisted that the minimum dimensions of any building lot in the new subdivision be 40 by 100 feet. City rowhouses had a distinctive red brick facade, tall, straight and severe; so developers insisted on the right to approve all plans for new subdivision dwellings before construction could begin. In effect, developers insisted through their deed covenants that the suburban landscape be different from the city landscape and that

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FIGURE 24



Wilmingtonians moving from the crowded city of crowded narrow streets lined by narrow rowhouses would see immediately that suburban subdivisions offered relief from the crush of people that the city had come to mean.

The deed restrictions often set minimum values for dwellings that could be constructed on subdivision building lots. Early in the century, the minimum value was most frequently \$1,000 and the amount increased by 1940 to approximately \$4,500. This designated value, particularly when coupled with an insistence that the seller have final approval on house designs, effectively excluded families with incomes insufficient to meet the minimums. Other deed covenants specifically restricted the sale of property within developments to Caucasians. This explicit prohibition combined with the cost restrictions imposed by minimum values were apparently perceived as sufficient to keep out "undesirable" individuals.

The said Grantee by the acceptance of this deed for his heirs and assings, hereby covenants with the said Grantors, their heirs, grantees and assings, that he will not erect, build or maintain, or cause or permit to be erected, built or maintained upon the said premises or any part thereof, any blacksmith, currier or machine shop, piggery, slaughterhouse, public stable or livery, soap, glue or starch manufactory, or any trade or business or factory of any kind or nature whatever, and that all of said property and every part thereof shall be strictly used for residential purposes only; [except along Philadelphia Pike] provided said business houses are used for the carrying on of a trade or business not dangerous, noxious or offensive to neighboring inhabitants or property, that said trade or business is not likely to depreciate property values in the immediate vicinity and that they are in keeping with the general character of the neighborhood. This covenant is to be construed as running with the land. . . . [The Grantee] shall not keep on said premises any live stock or poultry, except household pets, that she shall not or will not cause to be erected any private garage on said premises, except such one-story garages as are constructed of brick or stucco finish, and that the same be placed on or near the rear property line; that no fences shall be built in front or in the rear of the houses on said lot, except iron fences or hedge fences, which shall not exceed four feet in height; that said premises or any part thereof shall not be sold, leased or conveyed to any person or persons not of the Caucasian Race.

Source: Deed Record I-33-35, 15 September 1924.

There seemed to be little disagreement between subdivision developers and buyers about the desirability of placing restrictions on the land being developed and sold. The development firms, seeking to attract buyers, recognized that land use restrictions were essential to guarantee that the communities eventually built were pleasant and hospitable and, therefore, marketable. Margaret Marsh's examination of real estate brochures from 1900 to 1930 indicates that "exclusionary covenants were the rule rather than the exception."¹⁰²

In the Wilmington subdivisions, deed provisions took the place of publicly-enacted zoning controls and allowed developers to pursue two ends. First, they could control the landscape, insuring that it would be unlike the city with which the subdivision was being contrasted. Second, they could engage in social engineering, creating what they perceived to be desirable communities in which buyers could be sure of good (i.e. compatible) neighbors. In 1905, Hillcrest (Brandywine Hundred) was

¹⁰² Marsh, 201.

advertised as "A Nice Neighborhood"¹⁰³ and three years later the developers of Montrose Terrace Addition (along Philadelphia Pike) promised "We give the residents of our property a beautiful park-like home section as a pleasure ground for all time to come."¹⁰⁴ Throughout the opening decades of the century, local subdivisions were identified in advertisements as having "desirable restrictions."

The restrictive covenants created a landscape that was a marked contrast to the neighborhoods of rowhouses from which Wilmingtonians were moving. The residential character of the new subdivisions was protected by bans on specified activities. The developers of Eden Park Gardens in New Castle Hundred, for example, in 1917, announced that "Stores, Amusements Houses, etc., are confined to two business streets; (and) the residential districts (are) being carefully protected from undesirable invasions."¹⁰⁵ As a result, the new residential neighborhoods provided a sharp contrast to the crowded, mixed-use city streets from which the new suburbanites were being lured.

At the same time, the developers attempted to control what sorts of people built homes in the subdivisions. As early as 1902, an advertisement for Montrose declared "We do not sell to objectionable parties."¹⁰⁶ In subsequent years, the same promise was reiterated with varying degrees of specificity. In Gordon Heights in 1909, one could depend on "Good Neighbors"¹⁰⁷ and Eden Park Gardens (1917) was "sensibly restricted (which) means that your children will be brought up in an environment that will be highly beneficial, having playmates of the right kind."¹⁰⁸ The restrictive inclinations of the developers were given effect overtly in deed covenants that limited purchases to Caucasians or, in some cases, to Caucasians from northern European countries. Ironically, Spanish-style Villa Monterey (Brandywine Hundred) was described as having "rigid restrictions assuring desirable citizens as neighbors,"¹⁰⁹ which probably meant that Spanish people would not be welcome to buy there. In addition, the lot sizes and the building standards of style and value effectively foreclosed other potential buyers because of the cost of meeting deed requirements.

Buyers perceived deed restrictions as a means of insuring that property values would not be eroded and, they hoped, would increase if standards of appearance and use were maintained. A 1909 advertisement declared that "Restrictions Make Value" and detailed what could happen without controls. "You build a nice home and take good care of your own property, while the man next door puts up a shack takes no care of his lot, lets it grow up in weeds, and destroys not only the value of his own property, but

¹⁰³ *Sunday Morning Star*, 28 May 1905, 7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 June 1908, 7.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 September 1917, 24.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 6 April 1902, 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 30 May 1909, 7.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 23 September 1917, 24.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 22 November 1925, 28.

yours also." The writer concludes by confirming that restrictions "protect the future interests of purchasers."¹¹⁰

"Home" and Home Ownership

The emphasis of the developer placed on restrictive covenants as a means of protecting property values was not misplaced. Early twentieth-century home owners placed a high value on their dwellings, both as shelter and security and as the embodiment of an ideal. Suburban developers and the buyers to whom they addressed their messages shared a common understanding of "home" and of its importance.

Just as the seeds for suburban movement were sown in the nineteenth century, so did the early twentieth century meaning of home find its roots in the prior century. By 1900, the home had been transformed in popular thinking from shelter to a bastion intended to protect the American family against the assaults of the world. Within the home, women were expected to provide respite for weary husbands and nurture for growing children. Margaret Marsh describes how "middle-class women. . . created a domestic ideal that exalted the spiritual influence of the home, eventually turning the home into a power base from which women would, it was hoped, transform the moral character of the nation."¹¹¹ When a model of "America's Ideal Home" was constructed in Washington in 1923, a short newspaper account of the project concluded its praise for the undertaking by declaring "After all, the influence of home moulds the future of the nation."¹¹²

Without detailing precisely what was intended by the term "home," the developers of Wilmington's subdivisions placed great store in the word to evoke enthusiasm for their subdivisions. An advertisement for Penn-Rose on Philadelphia Pike in 1903 declared "Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home" and went on to characterize home as "the dearest thing on earth."¹¹³ Two years later, the Suburban Land Company offered Hillcrest as the proper setting for a home. "Have you a home?" the developers asked. "Not a 'house,' mind you--a mere heap of bricks and mortar--but a home (with) plenty of pure air and room to breathe it. Green fields too and a blue sky overhead. With the purest of spring water."¹¹⁴ In Gordon Heights in 1906, "You can start a home for \$2"¹¹⁵ according to the realty company which, three years later, urged buyers to think of the subdivision as "The Best Place for a Real Suburban Home (with) Good Neighbors and the Best Surroundings."¹¹⁶ Development companies repeatedly linked

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 31 October 1909, 15.

¹¹¹ Marsh, 41.

¹¹² *One-Two-One-Four*, August, 1923, 2.

¹¹³ *Sunday Morning Star*, 12 July 1903, 8.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 15 October 1905, 7.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 27 May 1906, 7.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 30 May 1909, 7.

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"home" and "suburb," advertising sites "For Homes Only"¹¹⁷ and declaring "Your rent buys a Home in Brack-Ex."¹¹⁸

Home ownership was also elevated to something of an ideal. In order to create the best possible home in which to shape the fate of the nation, families should, it was suggested, own the dwellings in which they lived. Within the city of Wilmington, at the turn of the century, only a quarter of the residents owned their own houses.¹¹⁹ It was to the nearly 11,000 families that rented that the developers of Bellefonte (Brandywine Hundred) spoke when they offered "A Home, Friend, we now place within your reach--the dearest thing on earth--a Home."¹²⁰ When Montrose Terrace was opened in 1906, potential buyers were told that "Rent is a debt that is never paid. . . A rented house is not a home (because) you can pay rent all your life, and when old age comes, if you cannot pay, your landlord will turn you into the street."¹²¹ Montrose Terrace Addition offered purchasers terms of \$10 down and \$1 per week so that they could become their own bankers. "Real estate," the development company declared, "is a bank that never closes its doors. Real estate is the foundation of all wealth. The best investment on earth is a piece of the earth itself."¹²²

The local newspaper underscored the idea that every family needed a home when it declared "A home must have a measure of permanency. It must be above the contingency that rent money may not be forthcoming on the first of the month." The writer equated home ownership with good citizenship.¹²³ The emotion attached to homeownership was summarized in a bit of doggerel published on the real estate pages of Wilmington's Sunday paper.

The family that rents is only camping out. Own a Home.
The man who rents is a ship without an anchor. Own a Home.
Better a cottage owner than a castle tenant. Own a Home.
The rain makes the sweetest music on a man's own roof. Own a home.
Your children won't understand the Declaration of Independence in a rented house. Own a Home.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 12 September 1915, 19.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 20 September 1914, 10.

¹¹⁹ *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*.

¹²⁰ *Sunday Morning Star*, 6 April 1902, 8.

¹²¹ Ibid., 3 June 1906, 12.,

¹²² Ibid., 7 June 1908, 12.

¹²³ Ibid., 23 July 1911, 15.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 1 September 1912, 11.

Associative Property Types for Suburbanization: Settlement Patterns and Demographic Change

Property types related to the suburbanization historic context have both physical characteristics and associative characteristics. As the discussions of subdivisions in Chapter II and of the dwelling styles in Chapter III made clear, physical characteristics are represented by structural forms, architectural styles, building materials, and site types.

The characteristics of the subdivisions and the dwellings are also associative. Associative characteristics are related to events, activities, specific individuals, groups, or the kind of information a resource may yield.¹²⁵ Every historic resource may be linked to more than one property type. The primary associative characteristic linking suburbanization to cultural trends is the clear connection between the subdivisions and Settlement Patterns and Demographic Change. This tie is also closely related to the use of restrictive covenants; suburban dwellings express association with the idealization of home and home ownership.

Property Types Related to Subdivisions and Demography

The necessary associative link between a subdivision and Settlement Patterns and Demographic Change should be established by an examination of the deeds by which subdivision lots were conveyed to the initial buyers. One must determine initially whether there were restrictive covenants that sought to control the suburban landscape and to exclude certain potential buyers. If such covenants were included in the original deeds, the extent to which there was compliance with the restrictions should be ascertained. Unless the restrictions were in place and were given effect, no associative connection can be established.

The restrictions ran with the land for a specified period, usually 15 to 25 years. That meant that when a parcel of land was sold, the restrictions continued to define what any new owner who bought within the period of restriction could do with the property. It also provided a means for enforcement of the restrictive covenants. Deeds commonly specified, as a 1928 conveyance for land in Gwinhurst (Brandywine Hundred) stated, that "Any breach or threatened breach of (any covenant) may be enjoined by Gwinhurst Development Company, its successors and assigns, or by any person or persons who shall derive title from Gwinhurst Development Company."¹²⁶ Thus each buyer agreed that the developer could enforce the restrictions; further anyone deriving title from the development company also secured the developer's right to require compliance with the restrictions which encumbered the land. Because residents had the right to sue for enforcement when they took title to their land, neighbors could sue one another to enforce restrictions. Further strength is given to the connection between suburban subdivisions and the theme of demography if it can be shown that after the restrictive covenants expired,

¹²⁵ Delaware Plan, 24.

¹²⁶ Deed Record C-35-378, 26 March 28.

residents continued to comply with their provisions even in the absence of legislated zoning which had the same design goals.

By establishing both that there were restrictive covenants in the deeds that conveyed building lots in a subdivision and that the covenants were given effect, one can forge an associative link between the subdivision and the theme of Settlement Patterns and Demographic Change. There are three property types which may occur. Subdivisions related to the property type of **restrictive covenants/ physical landscape** are characterized by restrictive covenants that addressed only the physical aspects of the land use on the subdivision's individual building lots, such as building set-backs, house size, or fence height. The deeds applicable to these lots make no reference to social or ethnic groups which are excluded from purchasing in the subdivision. A second property type associated with demography is that of **restrictive covenants/ social landscape**. The deeds related to this property type mention limitations on the sorts of people who may be excluded from purchasing but make no designations regarding the physical aspects of an owner's use of the land. **Restrictive covenants/ physical and social landscapes** is the most common of the property types tied to demography. The deeds that establish a subdivision as an example of this property type refer both to the limits on the physical use of the property and to the limits on who was eligible to purchase lots in the subdivision.

Property Types Related to Dwellings, Home, and Home Ownership

Subdivisions. In order to establish an associative connection between suburban dwellings and the theme of home and home ownership, one must begin with an examination of the advertisements for the subdivision in which the dwellings were built. Early suburban developers described their subdivisions as offering "Home Sites" and reserved "For Homes Only." An initial, important link can be fixed between suburban dwellings of the appropriate styles and the idea of home by finding that individuals who built the houses were building in areas that promised a good setting and atmosphere for what they understood to be a home. Such proclamations by development companies set the stage for the construction of houses to live out this domestic ideal. The declarations that a subdivision provided good home sites became rarer with time, because the description of a subdivision as "suburban" was sufficient to imply that the setting was a good one for one's home and family. The connection between a dwelling constructed in a subdivision and the theme of home is strengthened if the house conforms to one of the styles identified as articulating the idea of home. This link is particularly strong if the dwelling is one of several similar structures that were built in close proximity during the same period and which collectively convey a sense of welcome and comfort.

The extent to which the houses were built and occupied by their owners must be determined to reinforce the association between the dwellings and the idea of home. That most of the new houses in a subdivision were initially owner-occupied rather than rented adds power to the argument that individuals sought the suburbs in order to enjoy the security and independence that home ownership afforded. The ideal of home ownership is fulfilled.

Dwellings. Most of the dwelling styles identified with the suburban movement provide the proper "look" and "feel" of home. The bungalow, with its deep, sheltering roof, solid porch, and cozy

aspect, expressed welcome and promised warmth and safety. The solid, no-nonsense four-square was a bulwark of a house, a place of safety in which a family could flourish. The colonial revival, Dutch colonial, and Cape Cod were all expressions of traditional values associated with a good home, values such as honesty, simplicity, and loyalty. The same sense of substantial comfort was conveyed by the English/Tudor cottage.

Both the side-gable cottage and the front-gable cottage represent a connection with the ideal of home and home ownership through their accessibility rather than their unique architectural features. Simple in design and small in price, the two styles were an important articulation of "home" because they satisfied the desire for a house that was owned rather than rented. Families of limited means could afford to build these modest houses in the newly-developed subdivisions.