

# STENTON

## ROOM FURNISHINGS STUDY

*Laura C. Keim*

Generously Funded by  
THE RICHARD C. VON HESS FOUNDATION



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## PREFACE

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*The publication of the Stenton Room Furnishings Study is a milestone marking the current thoughts and understanding of Stenton's historical interpretation. In celebrating this milestone, it is useful to remember the incremental experiences of living, thinking and working at Stenton that led to the completion of this work.*

*Observing Ms. Keim's process in the preparation of this document, I saw with great appreciation her careful study and reflection upon the questions encountered. Assembling this document required the simultaneous building up of creative thought, and peeling away assumptive layers; constructing, deconstructing, distilling and reconstructing past observations into a study relevant for today.*

*In constructing Stenton, James Logan sought a retreat from the world, but he found himself incapable of building a scholar's ivory tower. Beginning with the notes he may have made on paper, and the first stones of the foundation, James Logan built Stenton as a living, breathing house, primarily as a home for his family. But the resulting structure was also wholly involved in the events of the colonial world, the American Revolution and the early years of the young nation. Continuing to this day, Stenton is not an island unto itself. Scholarship, debate and creative thought are as much a part of the structure of Stenton as the stones of the physical foundation.*

*The three generations of the Logan family who made Stenton their home left us an "historic object lesson" unique in its authenticity. Here, with great respect to their legacy, is a new addition to its fabric.*

**JANE FOSTER WILLSON**

Chair, Stenton Committee

The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America

in The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

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It has been a great privilege for me to work with Stenton and its collection as its Curator over the last ten years. This research into its furnishing during James Logan's habitation of the house was made possible by the work of many other thoughtful scholars before me and with the assistance of many colleagues: Raymond V. Shepherd, Jr., John Dickey and Reed Engle and Archeologist Barbara Liggett. John Levitties and Emily Cooperman, Margo Burnette, Stephen G. Hague, Anne Burnett, Dennis S. Pickeral, Deborah L. Miller, Philip D. Zimmerman, Molly Stoddart, Sarah A.G. Smith, Margaret Richardson, Nora Wetherill, Lillian S.L. Chance, Sarah B. Congdon, Jane Foster-Willson, Peggy Shaver, Gail Caskey Winkler, Bernard L. Herman, and The NSCDA/PA.

For the production of this report, I am indebted to Anne Levy Pugh and Mary Agnes Leonard.

## STENTON:

*A house designed for “handsome, generous and civil” entertainments,  
a plantation laid out to support a gentrified mode of life<sup>1</sup>*

## INTRODUCTION

*Purpose and Goals*

This study, generously funded by the Richard C. von Hess Foundation, follows on The Interpretive Plan for Stenton completed in 2003 and constitutes one of the key recommendations from that project. The notion of “authenticity” was one of the points of focus in the Interpretive Plan, both in meetings with consultants and in the final document. Roger W. Moss called Stenton one of Philadelphia’s “most believable historic house museums” in his 1997 book, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia*. Stenton’s authenticity resonates with visitors, who enjoy its nearly unchanged physical state and its many Logan and Norris family furnishings.<sup>2</sup>

The process of this study has been one of dissecting Stenton, the house and its immediate environs, in the context of known contents and people. This undertaking has deepened our historical understanding of Stenton’s spaces and their functions, and the ways in which Stenton can become a stage set and its collections the props, in the crafting of multiple and varied historical narratives revolving around the people who lived, worked and visited the property. The ultimate goal of this study is to further infuse Stenton with life, setting the stage for varied storytelling by refining the interpretive focus on the James Logan period of the house, 1730-1751. The recommendations at the end of the report serve to guide the stage-setting process, to alter the physical presentation at Stenton so that the objects and room settings visitors see and the stories and history they read or hear support each other and directly correlate. Our desire is to populate the house with its inhabitants and visitors of all races, statuses and genders, to enliven the past, giving it a stronger reality in the present. One way to achieve this goal will be to focus on the secondary and work spaces, which have historically received less scholarly attention.

This report is intended as a record of current thinking about Stenton, including remaining questions

which deserve our continued investigation. First, the study considers room function examining the architecture itself, which was carefully and thoroughly investigated in the early 1980s for the Stenton Historic Structures Report (HSR), completed in 1982 by John Dickey and Reed Engle. Interwoven with the discussion of the architectural spaces within the house, the study examines the 1752 James Logan inventory of Stenton, room by room, object by object, building on the monumental research of Raymond V. Shepherd, Jr.’s 1968 Winterthur master’s thesis, “James Logan’s Stenton: Grand Simplicity in Quaker Philadelphia.” In conjunction with the examination of James Logan’s inventory, the study also draws upon James’ wife Sarah’s 1754 inventory, for snapshots of what we know and do not know about what was in the rooms at Stenton. By considering the architecture and finish of each room and its relationship to other spaces, both within and outside the house proper, as well as actual furnishings, we are able to humanize the rooms, populating them in order to understand how the spaces operated and in essence how they behaved in daily life as lived at Stenton. The goal of this inventory analysis is not simply to furnish the rooms to the inventories, but to use the inventories as a tool for understanding room function, how to put rooms in motion, and how various people interacted with the spaces and with each other at Stenton. Where possible, this report will illustrate the objects with known survivals of Logan goods from the Stenton collection and elsewhere. Further, this study will attempt to correlate the objects listed on the inventories with items documented in James Logan’s accounts and ledgers.

Using a paint analysis matrix, this study will also consider color and level of finish for the Stenton spaces based on our current paint analysis conducted through 2004. Finally, the study recommends room furnishing changes to align with the interpretive themes and framework set forth in the Interpretive Plan, and so that the

NSCDA/PA can prioritize its future collecting as well as paint and textile recreations and further research.

We hope to present Stenton and all its mysteries and complexities in a way that engages 21st century visitors and helps them to experience Stenton in a mindful and meaningful way. Although imperfect as a docu-

ment, James Logan's inventory is an aid in our quest for accuracy in our understanding of the past. Digging ever deeper into the meaning and structure of the landscape, architecture, and contents revises our ideas about Stenton's past and how to convey Stenton to visitors in the present. Time keeps moving onward, and the present becomes the past all too quickly.

## THE HISTORIC CONTEXT

James Logan (Oct. 20, 1674 – Oct. 31, 1751) arrived in Pennsylvania from Bristol, England at the age of 25 with William Penn, Pennsylvania's owner, founder and Proprietor, who had recruited Logan to serve as his Provincial Secretary. On both sides of his family, Logan descended from elite forebears. His great grandfather was Robert Logan, the seventh Baron of Restalrig, who lost the family's fortune to turbulent politics. His father, Patrick Logan, was born at Stenton in East Lothian, Scotland. Patrick had received an M.A. and was a clergyman in the Church of Scotland before becoming a Quaker and a schoolmaster in 1671. James Logan's mother, Isabella Hume, was the daughter of the Laird of Duddington. So although James Logan was born in Lurgan in Ireland, his roots were decidedly in Scotland. His teen years were spent in Bristol, England.



*A likeness from life, James Logan (1674 – 1751) as painted by Gustavus Hesselius, c. 1730 at the time he moved to Stenton permanently.*

(From the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection at the Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater-Kent. Jack L. Lindsey, *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758*, Figure 53, p. 37.)

Logan was largely self-educated and in many ways a man of the 17th century. A scholarly, book-collecting man, Logan read many languages, including the Classical languages and Arabic, conducted scientific experiments and corresponded with some of the great scientific minds of Europe from "The Wilds of Pennsylvania."<sup>3</sup>

Once situated in Pennsylvania, Logan imported goods, especially textiles and trade goods, from England to Philadelphia, including re-exports from China and India, and exported furs obtained through trade with Native Americans back to the mother country. When Logan began accumulating the acres that would become the 511-acre Stenton plantation in 1714, he was 40 and had just married Sarah Read after having lost at love twice.<sup>4</sup> While Logan maintained that he desired a place to retire to for he was "heartily out of love with the world," and that he had intended to build "a plain cheap farmer's stone house," he instead remained active in both trade and politics, erecting one of the grandest, most up-to-date hipped-roof, brick gentry houses in the province of Pennsylvania.<sup>5</sup> Logan called Stenton, so named for his father's birthplace in Scotland, his "plantation."<sup>6</sup> It is alternatively referred to as his "country seat," comprised of 511 contiguous acres, divided into two tenant farms, woodlands, and a cider mill as well as the main house complex with its ensemble of supporting outbuildings.

Logan died an old man at the age of 77 in 1751. In his final two years of life, he suffered a series of strokes that essentially paralyzed his right side and left him unable to articulate clearly more than two or three words at a time.<sup>7</sup> Therefore the 1752 Stenton inventory taken in the summer after Logan's October 1751 death represents the contents of a house that was designed as a country seat for fashionable entertaining, a scholarly retreat for reading, writing and studying, a grand de facto governor's mansion for the display of material wealth and power, and also a house in which its owner suffered and

lingered in old age, incapacitated and certainly in discomfort. James and Sarah Logan raised four children to adulthood, Sarah (Sally), William (Billy), Hannah, and James, Jr. (Jemmy).

### *The Architecture*

Stenton is a British gentry house. Although it seems rare and almost unique today in the landscape of urban Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, Stenton is of an architectural type that aspiring and successful merchants and entrepreneurs commonly built in Britain and its colonies (including the Caribbean) in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. These symmetrical, four-square, usually brick, hipped-roof houses, with sash widows and dentiled cornices, sprang up in towns and on plantations alike as markers of gentry status and influence.<sup>8</sup> In the colonies, where there was no titled and landed nobility as such, these houses were usually the largest to be found. Some known Delaware Valley examples are Pennsbury (reconstructed), William Penn's house on the Delaware River north of Philadelphia, William Trent's House in present-day Trenton, New Jersey, Samuel Morris' Hope Lodge, and Isaac Norris' Fairhill.<sup>9</sup> This gentry house building type lent itself well to city or town lots as well as extensive country land holdings.

These 18th-century facades and plans were generally laid out for an overall effect of symmetry and balance and controlled access, which asserted James Logan's dominance over the landscape of Stenton and Pennsylvania.<sup>10</sup>

Form and finish help us to understand function and the hierarchy of the spaces within the house. At Stenton, the "highest" rooms are located at the front of the house and farthest from the "lowest" rooms. The hierarchy of rooms is also stacked, so that the best room on the second floor is located over the best room on the first floor, which is carried through to the third floor servants' rooms and storage areas as well. The cellars are arranged for the convenient storage and service to the floors above rather than precisely following this same hierarchy, although the actual use of the front cellar rooms is less clear than for the back rooms.<sup>11</sup>

Stenton originally exhibited a pediment over its door with side lights, which formed a Classically derived pavilion in the central bay of the house. Its hipped roof and pilasters add to the sense of Classical architectural inspiration. The balustrade (still extant in 1823) and a cupola on the roof (gone before 1823) served as a kind of crown for the top of the house, rendering it taller and grander than it appears today. The form of such cupolas or "lanthorns," usually circular or polygonal, was often like that of a garden folly placed on top of the house.<sup>12</sup> The presence of the cupola explains why the main stair is well finished with wainscoting and turned balusters all the way to the third floor. This stair to the third floor was part of the formal procession vertically through the house to a perch where one could obtain a prospect down onto the plantation and world below.



*Stenton Elevations, Historic American Buildings Survey PA 1714, drawn by Rebecca Trumbull Wiesenthal and Mary Ellen Strain.*

### *The Gentrified Lifestyle*

Conducting life in a gentrified way was akin to the notion of gentility and the 18th-century concept of sociability. By definition, the gentry declared their social status and wealth by building substantial houses with rooms created for socializing so that the performance of life conducted with polite manners and refined possessions was displayed to all who entered the social sphere of the family. Parlors are rooms where status was communicated through speech and writing, dress, display of material goods and behavior. By their very design and function these gentry houses were built as social houses with parlors for interacting with those in the room, and perhaps via written letters or poems with members of the social network who were not present, but who participated despite their physical absence. Having desks or writing closets in parlors and dining rooms, as at Stenton, was an indicator of this literate and literary elite culture. One could also argue that through the diary keeping and commonplace book keeping undertaken by many 18th-century American elites, these people were intentionally corresponding with posterity, with those of us who would come after them and read of their lives, thoughts and experiences.

The sociability of gentry houses is evidenced by their floor plans with rooms designated specifically to receive guests, grand stairs to circulate them to somewhat more intimate chambers that included sumptuously hung beds, and most importantly, best parlors furnished for display and communication of status with buffets, secretary desks, looking glasses, silver and furnishings for dining and tea. David S. Shields describes the concept of sociability thus: “The ideal of sociability was to aestheticize social intercourse by marking it off in social and discursive spaces from quotidian affairs. In effect, sociable conversation had to be segregated.”<sup>13</sup> The ideal of sociability is expressed at Stenton in that the parlor, the best space in the house and on the first floor, is geographically as far as possible from the back dining room and the outside rear kitchen where the servants labored to prepare the food and tea consumed by the socially elite in the parlor. The servants slipped in from behind the fireplace wall through side passages at the edges of the room, like the stage crew in a theatrical production, to serve the polite company.

### *Houses as Settings for Entertainment*

The equipage of the parlor, halls and dining room allowed for John Smith to write of one of his many visits to Stenton, “Dined & spent the afternoon at Stenton [with his father and sister], and were treated in a very Courteous & Elegant manner.”<sup>14</sup> Other descriptions for mealtimes are like the occasion when Smith and others “sup’d & spent the Evening at Gov’r Belcher’s [New Jersey], who treated us sociably & handsomely.”<sup>15</sup> John Smith’s diary provides a glimpse into everyday elite Quaker life in and around Philadelphia in the 1740s and 50s, and offers insight into the daily routines at Stenton. There was much coming and going and regular visiting, so much so that one of John’s simplest entries is the 12th (6th day) of the 12th month, 1747 reads, “Visited and Visiting most of the day.”<sup>16</sup> He often rode out to Stenton, about a two-hour ride on horseback to dine (midday). Smith also records having dined in Philadelphia, but then riding out to Stenton for tea. This pattern of daily activity, which is punctuated by dining, tea and supper, and sometimes the hospitality of an overnight stay reinforces that the houses of the elite were designed and equipped first and foremost for comfortable and generous hospitality: plenty of seating (Stenton had 75 chairs) and tables (4 dining and 4 tea tables), china, glassware, teapots, table linens, and well-stocked cellars and pantry as well as guest chambers and places to keep horses. The words with which John Smith variously describes the hospitality of his hosts suggests the values of his class, time and place: generous, sociable, civil, courteous and handsome, and Stenton and the life conducted within its walls could also be described according to these values – structured, attractive, abundant and well-mannered.

### *The Servants and Household*

In these 18th-century houses, where symmetry and balance, or the sense of these ideas, characterize the architecture and plan of the house and its site, neatness and order were important to the management of the house. Servants were central to gentry life and to maintaining this sense of hierarchy and order. In the way that the symmetrical façade of Stenton disguises some of the internal asymmetry, the servants allowed the Logans to put forth a presentation of polite gentility, relegating service to the rear and secondary spaces and passages, including the attic, cellars and outbuildings.

During the building process on the 26th day of the 7th month (September) 1723, James Logan paid Clement Plumstead 4 pounds 7 shillings 6 pence “For

ye hire of his Negroes.”<sup>17</sup> The house and plantations operated through the labor of servants, indentured servants and enslaved black servants as well as occasional borrowed servants, like Barbara of Fairhill who worked for the Norris family and may have been enslaved.<sup>18</sup> The existing evidence indicates that there were about 8-10 household or domestic servants at any given time, a manservant or valet for James, possibly Peter Shankmiere, a woman servant or lady’s maid for Sarah, a housekeeper and housemaids, a servant girl, a driver, nurses, and two additional indentured men or married couples to run the farms. Because James Logan acquired some of the land that became Stenton in the 1710s, he posted tenant farmers and a plantation manager called John Steers before he lived at the site. From the sources, it is easiest to identify the indentured servants who served for a limited number of years by legal agreement. A number of the indentured servants like Daniel Henderson, who served the Logans along with his wife and son from 1723-24, were no longer with the family by the time it resided at Stenton.<sup>19</sup>

Some specific references to servants are found in legal documents, correspondence and diaries. The Logans employed a housekeeper, Phebe Dickinson,<sup>20</sup> and a servant called “Gerrard,” whom John Smith borrowed from “Mother Logan” (Sarah) to drive the chaise.<sup>21</sup> This man would seem to be the Jared Irwin or Irvine mentioned in testimony related to James Logan’s estate and also the same as Jerrard Jewin mentioned in William Logan’s Journal B. James Logan’s 1752 inventory names Elizabeth Kline, servant girl, and two indentured men with 2 and a half years remaining in their service, John Welsh, a servant, and Thomas Cummins, a servant man. These men as well as the listings of indentured servants in Logan’s pre-Stenton accounts suggests that he enlisted indentured labor on a regular rotating basis. The testimony to James Logan’s will also makes a passing reference to the “maids of the house,” an unspecified number of at least two domestic housemaids.<sup>22</sup> In the account book kept by James Logan’s daughter Hannah from 1742-1744, she lists payments to nurses, Molly Rothel, Nurse Walker and Jenny Reed. Another entry is for a shilling paid to a “Negroe Woman,” as well as annual payments of 6 shillings 4 pence to “servants,” suggesting that the Logan’s tipped or rewarded their servants on a yearly basis. In the 1720’s, Logan kept an account in his ledger for a negro called “Coffee.” This money paid to servants would have allowed them to purchase some goods of their own. Other lines paid out in Hannah’s book in

1743 refer to “Kinton,” and “Karper,” who may have been indentured servants called by their surnames, and a “Ducth[sic] Woman for hooking buttons.” James Logan mentions “Peter Shienkmieri” in his 1720-1727 ledger book, whom he refers to as “my servant.” Logan’s Ledger also lists “Jane, ye spinr,” suggesting either a woman who spins or an old housemaid.<sup>23</sup>

Sarah Logan’s slave woman, Menah, for whom James Logan paid 30 pounds in 1724, could have been her personal servant. The Historic Structures Report records Logan’s 1720 purchase of “Annibal, Mingo, Diana and Ben.” Also in 1720, Logan purchased “a Negroe Boy Jack and a Negroe Girl Aramina.”<sup>24</sup> Hannah twice paid “B Sam,” who may have been a slave known as “Black Sam.” James Logan owned a slave called Sampson, who was found guilty of arson for burning one of James Logan’s buildings “near the President’s Country Seat” and was sentenced to death in 1737.<sup>25</sup> The other servants mentioned in James Logan’s accounts and ledgers are: Jenkin David and his wife as well as John Steers, the plantation manager and Jane the spinner. Mentioned in the testimony to the codicils for James Logan’s will are two tenant farmers on the plantation, who served as witnesses, Thomas Armstrong and Jared Irwin or Irvine.

Most likely, a household like Stenton would have employed a cook as well, although no one is specifically named as such. It is possible that Phebe Dickinson, the housekeeper, was also a cook and possibly African-American.<sup>26</sup> Sarah Logan herself took an active part in overseeing food preparation for her household and guests as her husband’s letters mention her and daughter Sarah’s activity in the dairy.<sup>27</sup> Household servants lived on the third floor and in the Adjoining Room over the Back Dining Room on the second floor. Servants likely also lived in or over the outbuildings, as the horseman, Gerrard, may have slept near the horses in keeping with his job, so too a cook may have slept in or above the kitchen.

### *The Furniture & Furnishings*

The furniture and furnishings at Stenton reinforce that Logan was a British gentleman on the Atlantic world stage with access to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Native American, British, European, Caribbean, and Asian goods through his mercantile trade networks. Some of the Stenton furniture was of the most fashionable sort and some objects were items Logan may have owned for twenty or thirty years prior to his move to Stenton in 1730. Many of the documented Logan furnishings

were made in Philadelphia. But we know from material survivals and from Logan's account books that looking glasses, window glass, and hardware for Stenton were imported from England. Some of his bottles may have been made at Wistarburg, Caspar Wistar's New Jersey glassworks, an argument put forth by archeologists excavating at the glassworks. Logan's pewter was largely made in England, his porcelains from China and Europe, his tiles from Holland. Other less refined pottery was both English and Pennsylvanian.

Stenton was almost constantly in motion with a crew of household servants who provisioned, cooked, cleaned, waited and cared for the house, its furnishings and the Logan family through its daily cycles. In the morning beds would be aired and made, and full chamber pots and used candles and candlesticks removed to back work spaces to be emptied and cleaned for another evening. Chairs, especially those in sets, were kept at the walls as if at attention waiting until needed, at which time a grouping might be set up by a window during the day and by a fire on a cool or cold night. This constant moving of furniture to the most suitable microclimates in the house is why some more cumbersome objects often, though not always, had castors. The interior shutters controlled light, limiting sun where it was not wanted or in rooms not in use, and also insulated the interior from extremes of temperature outside the building. A vent in the roof at the top of the third floor stairs further served to ventilate the house in hot weather, drawing cool cellar air up through the house.

### *Architectural Finishes and the Architectural Procession*

The architectural finish of Stenton in conjunction with the floor plan helps us to understand the functions of the rooms. The Entry with its brick paving, wainscot panels, carved pilasters and arched opening that frames the stair conveys a sense of architectural weight and importance, and literally serves as a liminal threshold to other spaces in the house. The paneled wainscot continues in the two other front rooms on the first floor, with full raised bolection paneling on all four walls of the parlor. The smaller front room has simpler panels. The room behind the parlor, probably originally a smaller back parlor is also well finished with bolection molded panels, the most elaborate cornice in the house and a tripartite arrangement of panels over the fireplace, the only such arrange-

ment in the house. The Back Dining Room as a common room, family dining room and sometimes servants' work space is the least well finished on the first floor. The panels are inset rather than raised on the fireplace wall, which is the only wall completed by cornice. The fireplaces in the front rooms are also more highly finished. Again, the parlor was the most elaborately decorated with a King-of-Prussia marble surround and patterned tiles. The smaller front room has tiles, but originally they were plain white.

This hierarchy of finish and function is continued on the second floor where the Yellow Lodging Room, over the parlor, is the most expensively furnished and the most public of the spaces, with a slightly more complicated cornice than that found in the adjacent Blue Lodging Room. The Yellow Room is the only second floor room which has an actual double door opening. The use of double-width passages in the architecture of Stenton indicates the formal reception spaces (i.e. best rooms) and the path of formal parade through the house. The front door is a pair of double doors, and as stated above, pairs of double doors open in all directions from the entry to the best rooms, the parlor and smaller front room. Arched double doors enframe and define important visual features of the house. The arched door to the grand stair, and the arched pair of doors to the buffet closet in the parlor with tiers shelves ascending, not unlike a stair are statements of social stature, economic wealth and gentility.

The stair itself is an ascending, vertical double-wide passage to the second floor landing. A beautiful and commodious stair was a status symbol in that a man as wealthy as Logan could afford to devote so much space to circulation, but it was also an indicator that there were proper rooms on the second floor where guests could also be received. This parade of politeness indicated by the double width passages at Stenton is well-described by Richard Bushman. "The spaces and entries, in actual fact, doubtless served all kinds of people, but they were designed for the reception and entertainment of refined people. Fundamental conception as much as appearance set gentry houses apart from standard one- and two-cell houses."<sup>28</sup> It was the custom in the best 18th-century houses to entertain guests on two floors.<sup>29</sup>

The landing continues the sense of refined passage. Stenton's builders took care to create an illusion of symmetry. It would seem that there are two pairs of

double doors, but when examined carefully, a hierarchy emerges in the brass door knobs, the true set of double doors having a larger knob, and the single-wide door to the more private inner sanctum of the Blue Lodging Room having a small knob, paired with a false panel rather than a door. The top of the stairs is in line with the true double door passage at this point. The architecture indicates that the front rooms are the important ones, and that the Yellow Room is the more important of these two front chambers. However, the inventory takers stepped into the White Lodging Room first, using the side passages to work their way around the house.

Above the smaller front room, the Blue Lodging Room fireplace has the same plain white Delft tiles as found in the room below. The least well finished second floor spaces are over the back dining room. This corner of the house represents a domain that is the conjunction of both servants and family, with easy access the service stair, the kitchen outside this side of the house (originally), and the privy. Here above the back dining room in relatively unfinished spaces with small plain fireplaces not unlike those in the heated servants' rooms on the third floor, children and servants slept amid old furniture and the "Close Chair."

## STENTON PAINT HISTORY MATRIX

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The paint history matrix reflects the first three generations of Logans to live at Stenton with approximate date ranges: James Logan c. 1730–1750, William Logan c. 1750–1775, and George and Deborah Logan, c. 1780–1839, despite the focus of this report on the James Logan period. The colors specified are largely drawn from the findings of Matthew J. Mosca, Historic Paint Finishes Consultant, in March 2000, and also from the findings of Peggy Ann Olley, who sampled the Back Dining Room and First Floor Lodging Room for her Master's thesis from the Winterthur Program in Art Conservation, June 2004. These colors represent our most up-to-date understanding of the question of color and finish at Stenton.

It is important to note that historic paint analysis is a continually evolving science. Olley criticizes Mosca's

technique of bleaching his samples to compensate for the yellowing over time of oil binders in the paint prior to visually matching them to color systems such as Plochere and Munsell. Olley states that the use of the bleaching "results in a very subjective interpretation of the original colors." (Olley, p. 2 of text) Olley examined her samples in both visible and ultraviolet light, and then stained representative samples with fluorochrome to characterize the binding medium. This initial evaluation then pointed to other analytical processes like Fourier Transform Infrared Microspectroscopy, Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy Dispersive Spectrometry and Gas Chromatography-Mass Spectroscopy. These processes allow for detailed chemical analysis of the components in the finishes. Olley did not undertake color matching as part of her study.

## STENTON PAINT HISTORY MATRIX

FIRST FLOOR SPACES	<i>James Logan</i> <i>c.1730-1750</i>	<i>William Logan</i> <i>c.1750-1775</i>	<i>George &amp; Deborah Logan</i> <i>c.1780-1839</i>
<b>Hall &amp; Entry</b>  <b>Current status:</b> These spaces painted Moderate yellow, the first finish period, according to Matt Mosca's 2000 findings, Winter 2001. Walls painted with a simulated white-wash. This recreated color has a vitality and vibrancy that receives many compliments and inspires inquiries from the public.  John Dickey's c. 1982 finish was a mustard or dark yellow ochre.	<b>Moderate yellow</b> plus thin clear varnish. Special Standard ST YO-5  CIELAB coordinates: L* = 79.285 a* = 2.984 b* = 27.997  Munsell designation: 1.41Y7.79/4.29  Baseboard was dark brown and continued across door bottoms, burnt umber with reddish and brown particles. John Dickey states in the Stenton HSR that the stair risers were initially painted black to match the baseboard. (p. 162)	Entry: <b>Bluish White</b> Munsell 5B8/1.5 Lead white Prussian Blue  Stair Hall: <b>Greyish White</b> Plocher G40 Lead white	Entry: Mosca's sampling did not reveal this layer.  Stair Hall: <b>Moderate bluish grey</b> Plocher G109 Lead white Carbon black
<b>Parlor</b>  <b>Current status:</b> Painted c. 1982 a light warm grey. This may represent what John Dickey believed was the first finish layer, which he described as "beige" or "café-au-lait." Dickey believed the grey a primer. HSR p.168	<b>Moderate grey</b> Plus thin clear varnish coating Plocher G109 Lead white Carbon black  CIELAB coordinates: L*: 62.856 a*: -1.598 b*: -2.397  Munsell designation: 8.19B6.10/0.77  <b>Parlor Cupboard:</b> Greyish white over a moderate grey. Plocher G40	<b>Moderate green</b> Special Standard: ST 24G-1, plus thin coat of clear varnish. Mosca would want to sample further to better establish this color.  <b>Parlor Cupboard:</b> Moderate green with a polychromatic color scheme at this time. Further investigation recommended.	<b>Pale blue</b> Munsell 10B8.0/3.0 Lead white Prussian blue  <b>Parlor Cupboard:</b> Same blue as above. A note in the Stenton Committee Memo dated 10/16/80 mentions that Deborah Logan noted gold sunbursts in the china cupboards in her diary.
<b>Office</b>  <b>Current status:</b> Painted c. 1982 a light warm grey based on John Dickey's analysis. Appears to be a similar or the same color as Parlor, although Dickey gives different Munsell numbers for the beige layer of the parlor and office, HSR pp. 169 & 186.	<b>White</b> Plocher G 40  CIELAB coordinates: L* 84.724 a* -1.555 b* 8.957  Munsell designation: 5.63Y8.36/1.12	<b>Light grey</b> Plocher G 95  CIELAB coordinates: L* = 75.687 a* = 0.437 b* = 0.559  Munsell designation: N 7.42/(2.54YR,0.15)	<b>Moderate blue</b> Plocher 684 Lead white Prussian blue  CIELAB coordinates: L* = 68.616 a* = -3.348 b* = -15.570  Munsell designation: 2.84PB6.69/4.35

FIRST FLOOR SPACES	<i>James Logan c.1730-1750</i>	<i>William Logan c.1750-1775</i>	<i>George &amp; Deborah Logan c.1780-1839</i>
<p><b>Back Dining Room</b></p> <p><b>Current status:</b> Painted c. 1982 to second generation medium olive green. Unfortunately, chair rails and sills stripped at this time. John Dickey also called the first generation finish for this room, "café-au-lait," HSR p. 176.</p>	<p><b>Moderate brown ochre or Café au Lait, aka "Timber Color"</b></p> <p>(Mosca p.24) Munsell 10YR6.0/4.0 Natural Ochres and Lead white. Mosca did not specify CIELAB coordinates for this color.</p> <p>Note: Olley called this "light brown."</p> <p><b>Dark brown</b> chair rails Plochere 321 Burnt Umber Brown Ochres</p> <p>CIELAB coordinates: L*= 27.957 a*= 11.072 b*= 12.321</p> <p>Munsell designation: 3.20YR2.69/2.93</p> <p>Lead white initial layer interpreted as a primer.</p>	<p><b>Moderate green</b> Yellow ochre Prussian blue Lead white (deteriorated and faded) Special Standard: ST 24G-1</p> <p><b>Reddish brown</b> chair rails</p> <p>Composite of reddish ochres and black pigments</p>	<p><b>Light grey</b> Plochere G110 Lead white Carbon black</p>
<p><b>First Floor Lodging Room</b></p> <p><b>Current status:</b> Painted c. 1982 a moderate blue grey based on John Dickey's analysis, HSR p.175.</p>	<p><b>Moderate grey</b> Plochere G109 Lead white Carbon black Plus thin clear varnish coating</p> <p>CIELAB coordinates: L*: 62.856 a*: -1.598 b*: -2.397</p> <p>Munsell designation: 8.19B6.10/0.77</p> <p>Note: Olley called this "Light grey."</p>	<p><b>Moderate grey</b> Plochere G109 Lead white Carbon black Plus thin clear varnish coating,</p> <p>Likely continuation of same finish. Heavier accumulation of particulate matter suggests that moderate grey remained, possibly to the late 18th century.</p> <p><b>Light grey</b></p>	<p>Plochere G110 Lead white Carbon black</p>

## STENTON PAINT HISTORY MATRIX

SECOND FLOOR SPACES	<i>James Logan</i> c.1730-1750	<i>William Logan</i> c.1750-1775	<i>George &amp; Deborah Logan</i> c.1780-1839
<b>Stair Hall</b>  <b>Current status:</b> These spaces painted moderate yellow, the first finish period, according to Matt Mosca's 2000 findings. The walls are finished in a simulated whitewash, Winter 2001.	<b>Moderate yellow</b> plus thin clear varnish. Special Standard ST YO-5  CIELAB coordinates: L* = 79.285 a* = 2.984 b* = 27.997  Munsell designation: 1.41Y7.79/4.29	<b>Greyish White</b> Plochere G40 Lead white	<b>Moderate Bluish Grey</b> Plochere G109 Lead white Carbon black
<b>Yellow Lodging Room</b>  <b>Current status:</b> Painted c. 1982 to dark ochre or mustard based on John Dickey's analysis, HSR p.189.	<b>Moderate yellow</b> Plochere 165 Lead white Yellow ochres Thin clear varnish coating.  CIELAB coordinates: L* = 75.821 a* = 8.516 b* = 37.643  Munsell designation: 9.51YR7.43/6.18  <b>Baseboard:</b> unpainted (this odd finding warrants further investigation). *Must confirm this orangey yellow before restoration of Yellow Lodging Room.	<b>Pale blue "ice color"</b> Munsell 5B8/1.5 Prussian blue Lead white (yellowed and faded)  <b>Baseboard:</b> <b>Pale blue</b>	<b>Bluish white</b> (discolored)  Layers missing on samples taken?

SECOND FLOOR SPACES	<i>James Logan</i> <i>c.1730-1750</i>	<i>William Logan</i> <i>c.1750-1775</i>	<i>George &amp; Deborah Logan</i> <i>c.1780-1839</i>
<b>Blue Lodging Room</b>  <b>Current status:</b> Painted c. 1982 to dark ochre or mustard based on John Dickey's analysis, HSR p.189.	<b>Light yellow</b> Special Standard ST Bm 193-m Lead white Yellow ochres over pale yellow primer  CIELAB coordinates: L* = 80.724 a* = 1.349 b* = 32.414  Munsell designation: 2.51Y7.94/4.80  Baseboard: <b>Black</b> Munsell N 1.5 Carbon black Enamel over pale yellow Plochere 136 Lead white Yellow ochres, which Mosca believes is a primer (Mosca, p. 56)	Perhaps initial finish remained exposed? Mosca's sampling for this layer remains inconclusive. He suggests that the room may not have received a new coat of paint in this generation. (Mosca, p.54)	<b>Greyish white</b> Munsell 5Y9/0.5 Lead white
<b>Nursery</b>  <b>Current status:</b> Painted a medium taupe c. 1982, just a bit browner than the color in the Parlor and Office.	<b>Light grey</b> Plochere G 135 Lead white Carbon black  CIELAB coordinates: L* = 75.387 a* = -3.172 b* = 1.239 Munsell designation: 4.88G7.39/0.52  Clear coating, yellow varnish (copal?) as primer/sealer.  Chair rail/sill: <b>Light grey</b> (same)  Baseboard: <b>Black</b> Munsell N 1.5 Lamp black Enamel over lead white primer	<b>Moderate grey</b> Plochere G 109 Lead white Lamp black  Chair rail/sill: <b>Dark brown</b> Plochere 321 Burnt umber Red and brown ochres  Baseboard: <b>Black</b> Plochere 321 Burnt umber Red and brown ochres	Chair rail/sill: <b>Dark reddish brown</b>

## STENTON PAINT HISTORY MATRIX

SECOND FLOOR SPACES	<i>James Logan</i> c.1730-1750	<i>William Logan</i> c.1750-1775	<i>George &amp; Deborah Logan</i> c.1780-1839
<p><b>Small Adjoining Room</b></p> <p><b>Current status:</b> Painted a medium taupe c. 1982, just a bit browner than the color in the Parlor and Office.</p>	<p><b>Greyish white</b> Plochere G 40 Lead white Clear natural resin coating (yellowed) CIELAB Coordinates: L* 84.724 a* -1.555 b* 8.957 Munsell designation: 5.63Y8.36/1.12 <b>Window sill:</b> Clear coating, yellow varnish (copal?) as primer/sealer. Primer same as dark brown finish <b>Dark brown</b> Plochere 321 Burnt umber Red and brown ochres CIELAB coordinates: L* = 27.957 a* = 11.072 b* = 12.321 Munsell designation: 3.20YR2.69/2.93 <b>Baseboard:</b> <b>Black</b> Munsell N 1.5 Lamp black Enamel</p>	<p><b>Moderate grey</b> Plochere G 109 Lead white Lamp black Clear natural resin coating; protective gloss surface <b>Window sill:</b> Primer same as dark brown finish <b>Dark brown</b> Plochere 321 Burnt umber Red and brown ochres <b>Baseboard:</b> <b>Dark Brown</b> Plochere 321 Burnt umber Red &amp; brown ochres</p>	<p><b>Window sill:</b> <b>Dark reddish brown</b></p>

SECOND FLOOR SPACES	<i>James Logan</i> <i>c.1730-1750</i>	<i>William Logan</i> <i>c.1750-1775</i>	<i>George &amp; Deborah Logan</i> <i>c.1780-1839</i>
<b>White Lodging Room</b>  <b>Current status:</b> Painted Moderate pink c. 1982. The interpretation of this “left-over” room has been historically non-specific. This period may have been chosen for this space because of its color interest.	<b>Greyish white</b> Plochere G 40 Lead white Clear natural resin coating (yellowed)  CIELAB Coordinates: L* 84.724 a* -1.555 b* 8.957  Munsell designation: 5.63Y8.36/1.12  Baseboard: <b>Greyish white</b>	<b>Moderate pink</b> Special Standard: ST Bm 1256m Lead white Vermilion  Baseboard: <b>Black</b> N 1.5 carbon black in an oil varnish medium  *vermillion ordered in 1752-53 (Mosca, p. 40) Bolection molding around the fireplace may not have been painted pink. (Mosca, p.42)	<b>Moderate bluish grey</b> Plochere G 117 Lead white Lamp black Clear layer of natural resin varnish.  Baseboard: <b>Dark Brown</b> Plochere 321 Umbers Ochres
THIRD FLOOR SPACES	<i>James Logan</i> <i>c.1730-1750</i>	<i>William Logan</i> <i>c.1750-1775</i>	<i>George &amp; Deborah Logan</i> <i>c.1780-1839</i>
<b>Stair Hall</b>  <b>Current status:</b> These spaces painted according to Matt Mosca's 2000 findings, Winter 2001.	<b>Moderate yellow</b> plus thin clear varnish. Special Standard ST YO-5  Color ends of half baluster at top. Newel unpainted until mid 19th century. (Mosca, p. 57)	Not repainted	<b>Moderate bluish grey</b> Plochere G 109 Lead white Carbon black
<b>Servant's Room</b>  <b>Current status:</b> White walls and woodwork in heated rooms.	untested	_____	_____
<b>Side Passages</b>			
<b>Service Stair</b>			

### *Paint Analysis at Stenton*

Historical paint analysis began at Stenton in the 1950s. Frances Brumbaugh, a decorator and member of the NSCDA/PA and also wife of historic architect G. Edwin Brumbaugh, who rebuilt Stenton's chimneys and installed its first mechanical heating system in the flues, visually matched historical paint colors in 1954. Beginning in the 1970s, the authenticity of such practices was questioned. Specialists realized these color matches were inaccurate based on simple visual comparison that involved almost no scientific analysis of pigment composition, and which did not account for variables such as fading or the accumulation of surface dirt over time. In 1982, as a component of the Stenton Historic Structures Report, John Dickey and Reed Engle undertook paint sampling and scientific analysis "using standard microscopic section analysis in the laboratory and visual examination in situ," and "basic chemical tests were used to determine the presence of lead white, zinc white and calcium carbonate." (Stenton HSR, p. 158.) Based on the results of Dickey's study, all the rooms on the first and second floors were repainted to colors specified by this analysis. In some cases, the NSCDA/PA chose to restore rooms to periods other than the first (i.e. James Logan's) period.

Nearly twenty more years on in the development of paint finish research and corresponding technologies, The NSCDA/PA followed up on the 1982 analysis, hiring Historic Paint Finishes Consultant, Matthew J. Mosca, to spot check the main rooms at Stenton. In general, the results of this study verified or brightened the colors described in the HSR, or found primers where Dickey had not. These newer findings are considered to be our most up-to-date understanding of color at Stenton and its role in the historic appearance of the rooms. Finally, in 2003-2004, Peggy Olley, then a student in the Winterthur Program in Art Conservation, prepared a detailed analysis of Stenton's First Floor Lodging Room and Back Dining Room for her thesis, a very thorough and exhaustive look at specifically these two rooms.

The majority of the information in the matrix above comes from Mosca's 2000 report, with Olley's as a supplement and references to John Dickey's findings under "current status." We hope that finish analysis will be a tool we continue to turn to in furthering our understanding of Stenton.

### *Interpretation of Room Colors*

For the first period, roughly the period of James Logan's habitation of Stenton, "moderate" colors, those pigments with some density of color, are found in the Entry and Stair Halls, the Parlor, the Yellow Lodging Room, the First Floor Lodging Room (possibly originally a back parlor), and the Back Dining Room, essentially public passages and rooms where formal reception of guests either took place or was intended. The service/business or more private rooms were finished in "light" colors, the Office, the Nursery, the Adjoining Room, the White Lodging Room and the Blue Lodging Room, whose finish Mosca found to be lighter than that in the Yellow Lodging Room. Color relationships in the house are vertical and horizontal. The moderate yellow of the entry, stair and Yellow Lodging Room unites these spaces as one sweeping combination of horizontal and vertical movement through public reception. The moderate grey of the parlor and the room immediately behind it also suggest a horizontal relationship and paired intended usage.

The preponderance of moderate and light grey used on Stenton's first floor is composed of different proportions of lead white and carbon black. Should the NSCDA/PA choose to restore the grey, more sampling is required to verify these tones and cross reference Mosca's findings. The moderate grey parlor certainly offered a very different impression than the beige or light warm grey one we witness today. Imagine a shiny reflective varnish over the grey, the polished grey veined King of Prussia marble around the fireplace, black leather upholstery on baluster-backed Queen Anne-style chairs, reflective shiny mirrors and silver and bare floor boards. These surfaces would have allowed evening candlelight to reflect off a multitude of surfaces around the room. The only pigmented color in the room was provided by the shiny glazed blue and white ceramic tiles in the fireplace cheeks and from the china and teawares stored in the parlor cupboard. This austere architectural color scheme lends itself to a sense of Classicism and a certain solidity of appearance. Ladies in reflective silk dresses may have also provided color relief.

The Parlor cupboard interior was brightly finished in greyish white. Mosca found a polychrome treatment on the cupboard interior, which he believes related to the William Logan era. Mosca strongly recommends further and analysis of the parlor cupboard. (Mosca p.20)

That the parlor and the First Floor Lodging Room

were originally the same color perhaps supports the theory that the Lodging Room was conceived of and intended as a back parlor, the two rooms relating in social reception function. Mosca's sampling suggests that by the late 18th or early 19th century the use of the house was conceived less with a pairing of the front and back parlor, and more with the back first floor rooms, the family rooms, painted the same light grey, and the front rooms painted in a related scheme, both in tints of Prussian blue.

The paint history for the Dining Room includes inconclusive evidence related to the chair rails and window sills, which John Dickey's study suggested be stripped in 1982. Mosca states that originally, the Office and Back Dining Room chair rails had been painted the same color as the paneling. (Mosca, p. 34) Peggy Olley's analysis of the finishes in the Back Dining Room differs. She interpreted the white layer, which Mosca considered a first finish, as a primer. If Olley's conclusion is true, the question remains open about the brown chair rail caps in both the back dining room and the room we call the Office, where the primer question also looms and begs for further analysis. It may be possible that the first finish for the Office is light grey over a white primer rather than simply white as Mosca suggests.

If the Yellow Lodging Room baseboard was in fact unpainted originally, the pine baseboard and floor would have both been completely bare. Mosca points out that this is an unusual treatment in Pennsylvania (Mosca, p.36), and it would be interesting to see if this treatment also occurs in comparable English gentry houses. This possible unity of floor and baseboard would have lent to the room a sense of being larger than in reality but may be a false finding due to the limited sampling Mosca was able to undertake in 2000. It would be important to confirm this finding, because it is such an anomaly and also not found anywhere else at Stenton.

Currently, the Nursery and Adjoining Room are painted the same taupe color. If Mosca's finding that the Adjoining Room was originally lead white (possibly a primer), it is interesting that the Nursery is light grey, and that these two rooms, one for children and one for servants are clearly not treated as equal spaces. The children have a "light" grey color and a bit more pigment.

Matt Mosca was unable to check side passages and servant rooms. Along with the spaces he suggests require further study, these spaces require sampling and analysis. (Mosca, pp. 59-60)

## ROOM FURNISHING AND INVENTORY ANALYSIS

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To begin to examine both the functions of the rooms and how they were furnished, Stenton is fortunate to have four inventories for the first two generations of Logans to live at Stenton. Stenton is even more blessed that the James Logan inventory of the house names the rooms, with one room missing. Unfortunately, this unnamed room will likely continue to pose interpretive questions and uncertainties, which may never be fully resolved. It is important to remember that even with named uses for Stenton's rooms, room use did change over time and that the rooms were conceived as flexible, multi-purpose spaces. In planning the house, it would seem that a much larger-scale English country house was compressed, so that all the functions of the specialized rooms in a larger house were included within the eleven primary rooms at Stenton.

In recent years, the interpretation of Stenton has focused on the period of James Logan's occupation of the house, 1730-1751, which has been identified as the period best and most easily interpreted at Stenton.<sup>30</sup> The Colonial period is thus Stenton's "niche," the period it can interpret better than other historic sites in the Delaware Valley region. Because the current interpretation (although not to the exclusion of later periods, especially the George and Deborah Logan period, c.1781-1839) focuses on James Logan's occupation of the house, the study will begin with a close comparison of the items listed on James and his wife, Sarah Logan's, inventories taken in close succession, James in 1752, Sarah in 1754.

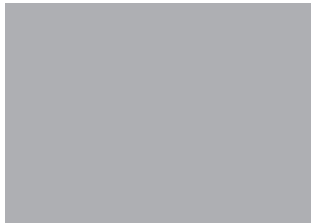
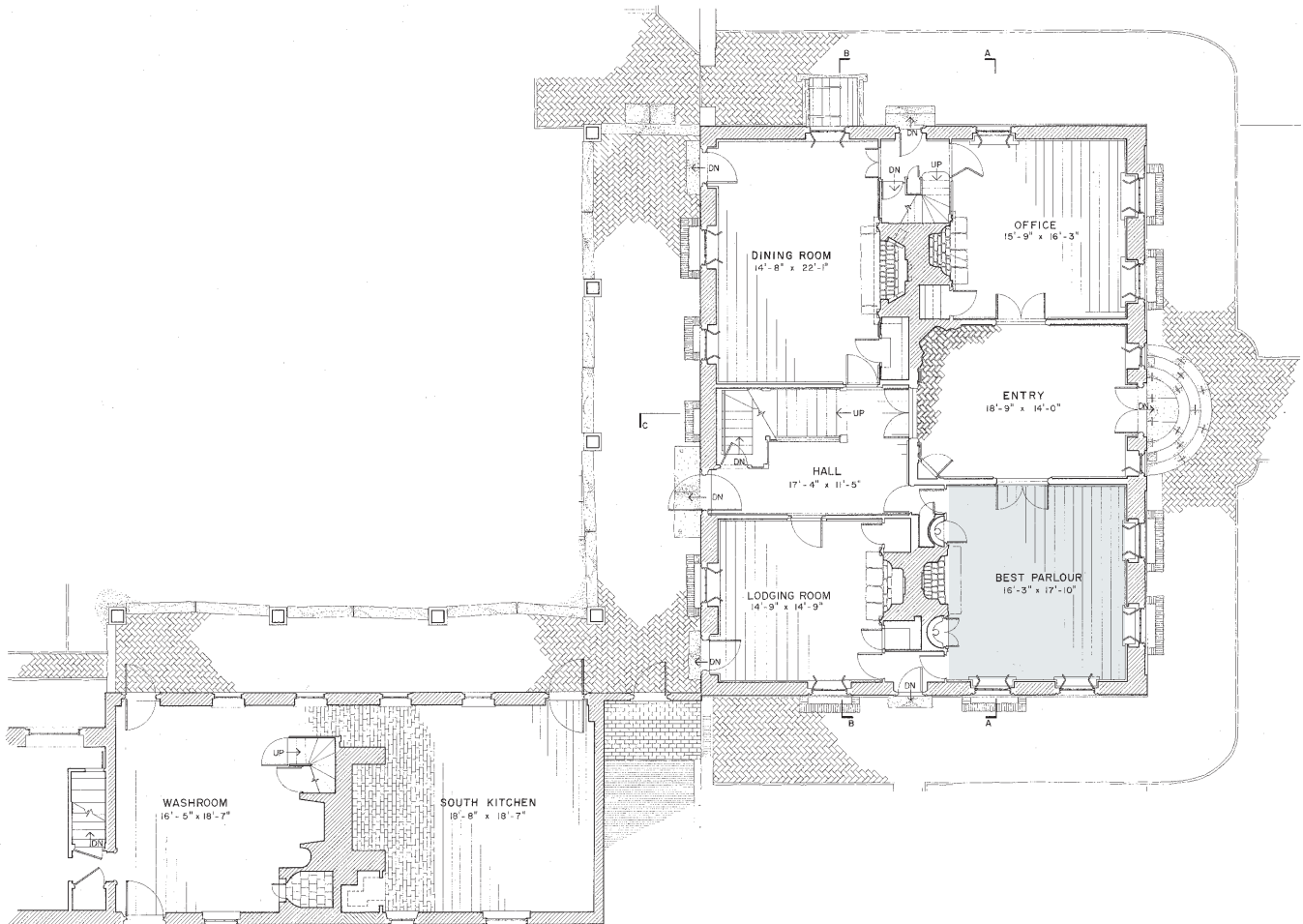
These two documents, which imperfectly record the items with which James and Sarah lived, are complementary.<sup>31</sup> James Logan's inventory leaves out one of the rooms, while Sarah's makes no mention of "ye Hall and Entry," listing a "Leather bottom'd Chair in the Entry"

near the end of the document. Where James' inventory designates specific locations for objects like the silver listed as a lump sum in the parlor buffet, Sarah's provides a running list of each silver object and its individual value. Curiously, her inventory includes some of the things missing from his: maps, quilts, and a silver watch.<sup>32</sup> The silk quilts and running list of household textiles on her inventory may also indicate that some household objects, like the textiles, were her property to begin with, part of her dowry, and therefore did not belong to James' household estate.

Sarah Read Logan's inventory almost certainly represents a double-width townhouse in Philadelphia to which she chose to relocate after James Logan's death, an option for which James Logan specifically provided in his will.<sup>33</sup> Despite the evidence that her house was not Stenton, her inventory closely follows that of Stenton, but makes no mention of some of Stenton's built-in architectural features mentioned on James' like the "Buffet and Closets" in the Parlour, furthering the case that her house was not Stenton.<sup>34</sup> With Sarah's death having occurred only three years after that of James and with her having inherited all of his furnishings, certainly her inventory reflects many of the furnishings that were also used at Stenton in the 1730-51 period. In his will, James Logan bequeathed to his wife all the household goods and silver plate, "with all my plantation and messuage called Stenton where I now dwell..."<sup>35</sup>

James Logan also left his wife a messuage and tenement in Front Street in Germantown 300 ft by 100 feet, formerly of George Weimer. So Sarah did own separate property in Germantown proper, which was not Stenton.<sup>124</sup>

## Parlor or Best First Floor Room



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
Moderate Gray



*William Logan (c. 1750-1775)*  
Moderate Green

Please note that colors are representative and not exact color matches.

## INVENTORY NOTES: PARLOR OR BEST FIRST FLOOR ROOM

**SRL In the Front Parlour**

A Clock and Case	8	--	--
A large Walnut Oval Table	2	--	--
A Large Black framed Looking Glass	8	--	--
A Painted Tea Table	--	5	--
An Escrioire with Glass Doors	7	10	--
10 Black Leather bottom'd Chairs	at 15/	7	10 --
A Japan[ne]d Tea Table	--	10	--
A pr of Andirons with Brass Tops, A Brass Fender With Fire Shovel and Tongs	--	15	--
	<b>34</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>--</b>

**Plate [Silver]**

A Large Coffee Pot. A Large Silver Tankard			
A Tea Pot, Lamp and Stand with Cream Pot			
A Pair of [Tea] Canasters and Sugar Dish	320 ½ ounces @ 9/		
A Silver Boat with 11 Spoon Strainer and Tongs	144	4	6
Large Salver a small ditto [salver] 4 Porringers			
11 Large Spoons. 1 doz[en] Custard Spoons			
A p[ai]r of Castors and a Pepper Box			
2 Large Cups 2 ditto [cups] smaller 2 pair [4] salts			
1 small Candlestick			
A large Shagareen [Shark's Skin, dyed green] Knife Case with a dozen Ivory Handle Knives and Forks	1	15	--
1 Smaller Do [Knife Case] with 11 Do [Ivory Handled] Knives and 12 Forks [The servants must have lost a knife.]	1	5	--
	<b>3</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>--</b>

**China Ware [porcelain]**

1 large enamelled Soup Dish	1	5	--
1 large burnt Dish with a Set of Plates to suit it	2	15	--
2 small burnt Dishes	--	15	--
2 large Blue & White China Dishes	--	15	--
3 smaller ditto [Blue & White China Dishes]	--	12	--
8 plates another Sort & 2 Do A Sallad Dish	--	16	--
2 Burnt China Butter Plates & 1 ditto [butter plate] blue and White	--	4	--
1 large burnt China Bowl, 3 Blue & White Do	1	7	--
8 small ½ pint blue and White Do [bowls] 4 ditto, 1 Spoon Boat	--	12	6
1 doz: ditto Custard Cups, ½ doz[en] [6]: Do [Custard Cups]			
1 ditto [blue and white] Tea Pot	1	4	--
6 Blue & White Chocolate Cups. 3 Do [chocolate cups] Brown	--	6	6
1 Doz[en] blue & white soup plates 24/ 9 blue & white shallow ditto [soup plates] 12/	1	16	--
6 large Burnt Coffee Cups. 4 Do.	--	17	6
11 Cups & 8 Burnt Saucers	--	15	--
9 Blue & White Cups & Saucers 3 Brown Cups & 5 Saucers	--	8	--
A Parcel of Broken Ware	--	7	6
A Blue China Plate	--	3	--
6 Brown Chocolate Cups	--	5	--
	15	4	--

**SL, Parlor + Cutlery + China + Plate****total = 196 18 6***(chart continues on next page)*

## INVENTORY NOTES: PARLOR OR BEST FIRST FLOOR ROOM — CONT'D

## JL In the Parlour viz.

10 Black Leather Bottomed Chairs [12/6]	6	05	00
an Easy Chair	3	00	00
a Scrutore	7	00	00
1 Large Looking Glass	8	00	00
1 pr. Brass [Fire] Dogs with Fire Shovel, Tongs, Fender & ca	1	05	00
In the Buffet and Closets a Quantity of China	10	10	00
2 broken Cases of Knives and Forks	1	10	00
329 Oz. of Plate	148	01	00

185 11 00

A 1735 definition of a Parlor is a “low room to receive Company in.”<sup>36</sup> The derivation for the word parlor comes from French *parler*, to speak. The parlor is a room for conversation and human interaction, correspondence (speaking through writing), and entertainment (show, display and performance), where the room functions as a stage set for the theatrical display of genteel furnishings and objects and polite behaviors. James Logan’s parlor and those in other houses of his time was the room that spoke literally and metaphorically of his gentry status, wealth and social influence.

At Stenton, the parlor is architecturally the best finished room in the house. It is the only room in which all four walls are paneled. It is also the only room with a King-of-Prussia marble fireplace surround, and the only room in which the larger fire back displays James Logan’s initials, “IL.” Less obvious is the doweled or floating floor, the only room in the house to have this highest level of finish. The evenly wide pine boards span the room and are pegged or doweled board to board (side to side), which keeps the floor tight, avoids warping and makes it a quieter floor as well. This room is also insulated from the cellar below with plaster between the joists of the floor, adding to the comfort and privacy afforded to the parlor space.

The first item on Sarah’s inventory for the parlor, a clock and case, is probably the “Eight Day Clock” in James Logan’s Lodging Room. There is a clock in James Logan’s accounts. Logan paid Peter Stretch 6 pounds for a clock (for plantation), 11 Mo, 27, 1721.<sup>37</sup> Removing the clock and the tea tables from Sarah’s parlor list, and in turn adding her china, knives, forks and silver results in the amounts for each inventory being within two pounds of each other. This confirms that the china listed on Sarah’s inventory was most likely the same or nearly

the same china accounted for on James Logan’s inventory.

The inventory comparisons raise other questions, such as are the escritoirs the same? Sarah’s has looking glass doors, and costs 10 shillings more. Did she add the mirrors where James had wood panels, or is James’ inventory taker simply less descriptive and specific? The



*Desk-and-bookcase, Philadelphia, c. 1730. Mahogany, cedar, oak, poplar and exotic wood inlays including lignum vitae, mirror.*

(Stenton Collection. Jack L. Lindsey, *Worldly Goods*, Figure 71, p. 147.)

presence of the scrutore is an important mark of James Logan's literacy and underscores the importance of literacy to elite and gentrified culture. From the scrutore, Logan composed some of the correspondence that kept him in touch with the merchants and intelligentsia of the colonies, the Caribbean, Britain and Europe. Logan actually tells us that he used the parlor desk. In a letter to Thomas Story he says, "... in my parlour where I am now writing."<sup>38</sup> This act of writing was a display of education and a way of literally speaking from one's parlor across the Atlantic World to other gentrified parlors.

Sarah's parlor included a Japanned Tea table and a Painted tea table. A tea table with the same value as the japanned one (10 shillings) was in the hall for James Logan's inventory, suggesting that the hall was a storage space and that household servants would have moved the tea table into the Stenton parlor or other adjacent spaces as necessary. When William Black of Virginia visited Stenton on the warm afternoon of June 4, 1744, he specifically noted the "removal" of the Tea Table after tea.<sup>39</sup> This removal could have been to the wall of the same room or to an adjacent space. Based on this evidence and despite the lack of tea table listed in James Logan's parlor, it is safe to use one or even two tea tables in our present-day interpretation of the Stenton parlor. Ideally both would be painted examples, the black one lacquered.<sup>40</sup> James Logan's "Accot of Household Goods" includes a japanned oval table, which cost him 18 shillings in 1718, a year in which he purchased quite a lot of household furnishings.<sup>41</sup> This was shortly after he purchased the Stenton plantation, on which stood an existing house.

This japanned tea table and possibly even the black-framed [japanned] mirror may have been made in India. Charles Saumarez Smith points out that "Throughout the seventeenth century, items of Asian



*Looking glass, England, c. 1700-1720, 26" x 67". The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection at the Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater-Kent.*

(Laura Keim Stutman, "Furnishing Stenton: Quaker Grandeur in Philadelphia," Philadelphia Antiques Show Catalog, 2002, 66.)

manufacture, including porcelain and japanned furniture, had been imported by the East India Company; but it was not until the first two decades of the eighteenth century that such goods, instead of being treated as rarities, began to be considered relatively com-

monplace." Smith cites a 1700 petition from the Joiners' Company to Parliament to prevent this trade for the list of imported items which include: Cabinets, Tea Tables, Chests, Trunks, Screens, Looking-Glass Frames, Tops for Stands, Lacquer'd Boards, Sconces, Dressing, Comb and Powder Boxes.<sup>42</sup>

Very likely, the £8 black-framed looking glass is the same one described in both James and Sarah's parlors, that the escritoirs, or desk-and-bookcases, are the same, and that the 10 black leather bottomed chairs are also the same chairs described on each inventory. The large walnut oval table in Sarah's parlor is most likely one of the two black walnut tables in James Logan's hall and entry.

The large table in Sarah's parlor and the availability of two large black walnut tables as well as a stand for candles or hot water in spaces adjacent to the Stenton parlor is evidence that Stenton's parlor was not just a room in which to impress guests who rode out to Stenton from Philadelphia for an afternoon visit with a proper tea and display of silver, but was also an impres-

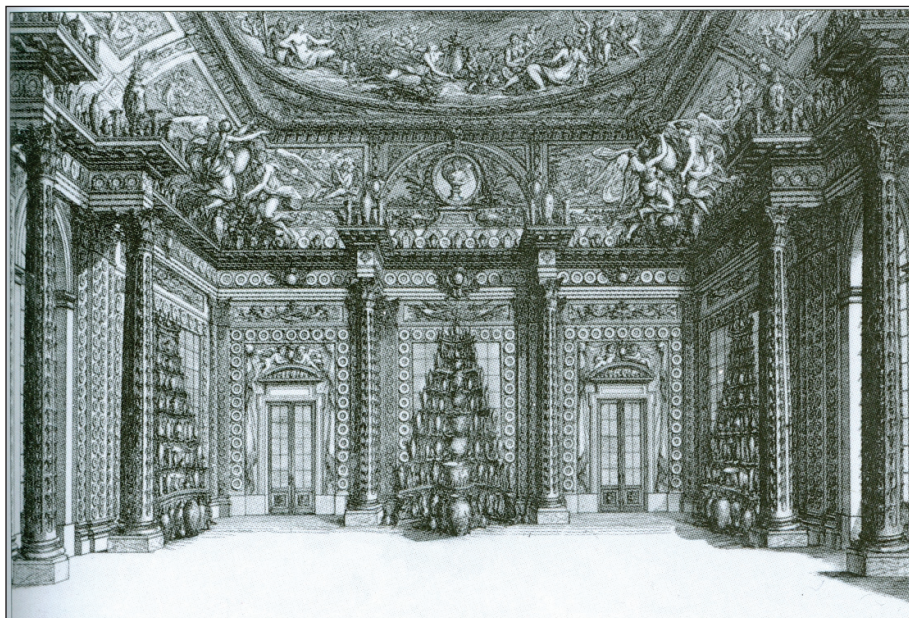


*Side Chairs, Philadelphia, c. 1730, walnut, walnut veneer, pine.*

(Stenton Collection and the Dietrich American Foundation.)

*Gateleg Table, Philadelphia, c. 1710-20, walnut.*

(Stenton Collection. Laura Keim Stutman, "Furnishing Stenton: Quaker Grandeur in Philadelphia," Philadelphia Antiques Show Catalog, 2002, 61.)



*The buffet cupboard in Stenton's parlor stored and displayed both Chinese porcelain and silver on stepped shelves with tapering roundels in the center. When the cupboard was open, the china and silver wares in combination created an arrangement not altogether unlike one of the tapering towers of china in this room by Daniel Marot. The silver is similar to the displays of court plate adorning the sideboards during elaborate feasts.*

sive dining room. John Smith recorded that on the 4th of the 8th month (October), 1747, he, R. Pleasants, I. Greenleafe and Jemmy Pemberton “rode to Stenton, from thence to Germantown Meeting, which was silent. We dined & drank Tea at James Logan’s where we were very Genteelly treated.”<sup>43</sup> This sequence of events undoubtedly included time in Logan’s gentrified and elegant parlor. Smith also records on the 18th (4th day), of the fifth month 1750, “About 18 friends dined at father Logan’s. I rode home in the Evening.”<sup>44</sup> Eighteen is the precise number of leather bottom chairs in the Stenton parlor and entry combined, probably used around the oval tables moved into the parlor, nine chairs to a table. James’ inventory tells us that there is a “Back Dining Room,” which implies or suggests that there is also a front dining room, i.e. the parlor. The presence of the “Buffet and Closets,” which stored a Quantity of China (arguably some certainly used for tea), 2 Cases of Knives and Forks, and all of the Logan’s “Plate” or silver, which is spelled out in detail in Sarah’s inventory, reinforces this idea that the parlor is the best dining room.<sup>45</sup> Knives and forks were stored where they were used, and they were not used for tea.

The buffet is an object about display and dining. In form it is derived from seventeenth-century European and English court dining practices wherein large stepped sideboards displayed the court plate or silver. Stenton’s buffet is a built-in, lockable storage cupboard with paneled double doors and an arched opening (not

unlike the opening that frames the grand stair), which secured the Logan’s most expensive household goods, the silver, when closed. When open the cupboard offered the same type of lavish display as a freestanding court buffet with a shell carved niche at the top and shaped



*Tea Service with kettle stand, kettle, milk pot, sugar box and tea caddies, England, 1720-1724. Assembled by Logan’s London merchant (perhaps John Askew) and engraved for Logan as a set (perhaps in Philadelphia), the tea service was most certainly included in the silver stored in the buffet in Stenton’s parlor. Philadelphia Museum of Art.*

(Jack L. Lindsey, *Worldly Goods*, Catalog #221, page 190.)



*Tankard, Johannis Nys, Silver, Philadelphia, 1714. Commissioned by James Logan to commemorate his marriage to Sarah Read in 1714, the tanksard bears their entwined cipher. The six inch diameter base is the same as that of the lowest and largest roundel in the Stenton parlor buffet. Collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.*

(Jack Lindsey, *Worldly Goods*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999, catalog #188, p.185.)

shelves, having graduated projecting central roundels, on which sat featured objects. The totality of the open buffet created a sumptuous tiered display of colorful blue and white and colored and enameled porcelain and bright reflective silver.<sup>46</sup> The roundels would have held tankards and canns, the lowest roundel having a 6 inch diameter, the perfect eye-level position from which to display the 7 1/4" high tankard that James Logan commissioned from silversmith Johannis Nys to commemorate his marriage to Sarah Read in 1714.<sup>47</sup> Eight and a half ounces of silver was lost from the time of James' inventory to the time of Sarah's inventory, perhaps a gift to one of the children. An item not mentioned specifically on the inventories, but which could have been used in the cupboard below the buffet is a cellaret or cooler for the serving of chilled drinks in the parlor.

James Logan's easy chair was inventoried in the Stenton parlor, an uncommon occurrence in Colonial America, where easy chairs are usually found in bedchambers. Designed for ease (as the name of

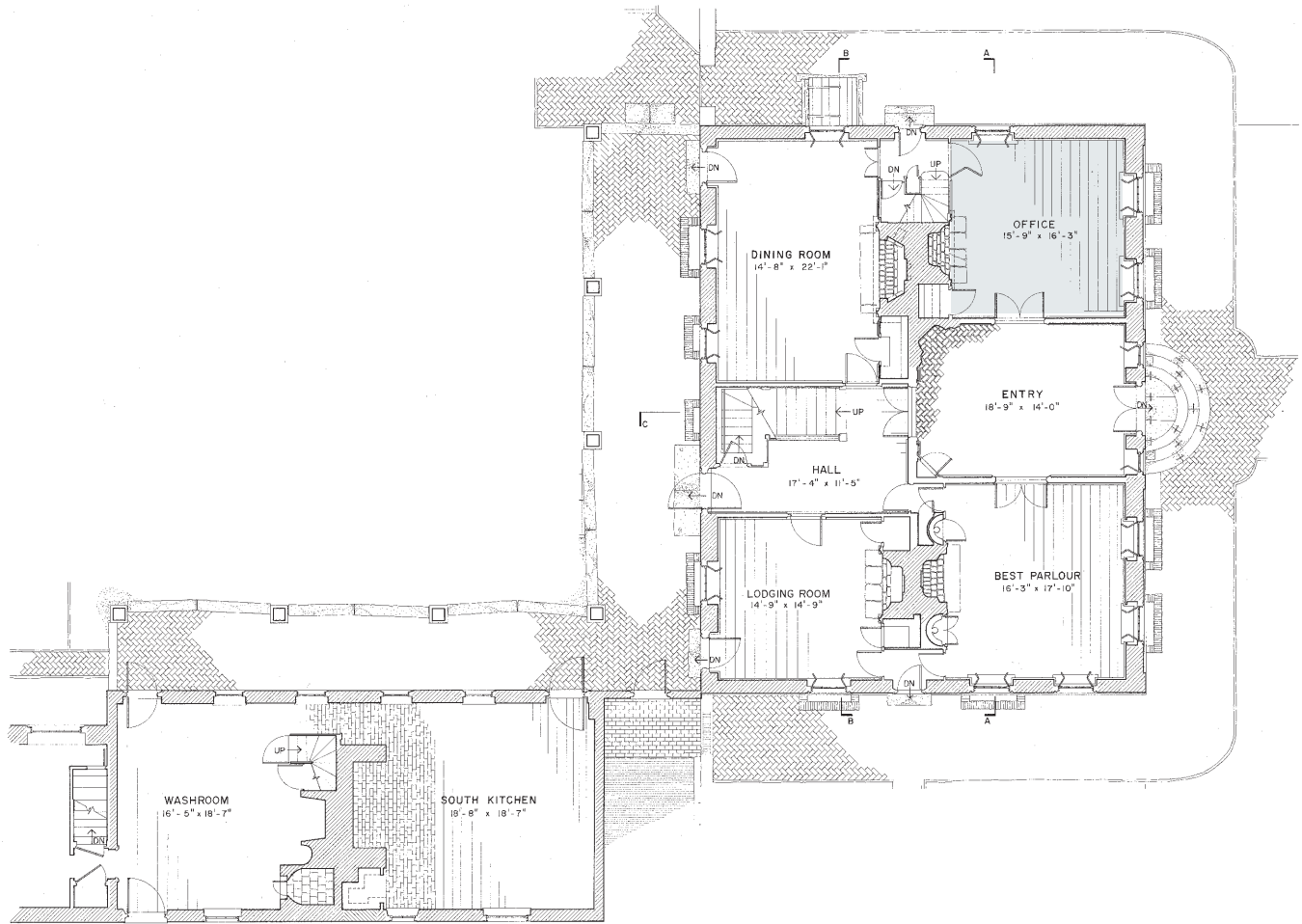
the form suggests), comfort and relaxation, as well as for the infirm, easy chairs, though expensive because of their requirement for multiple yards of upholstery and stuffing, were too informal for the best public spaces.<sup>48</sup> Logan's easy chair had castors in its feet when it sold at Christie's Auction House in 1996. If these were in fact original, they facilitated the movement of the easy chair by servants to various rooms on the first floor.<sup>49</sup> Having the chair on the first floor in a public room would have helped to make the nearly crippled Logan more comfortable when receiving guests or dining in the parlor toward the end of his life.<sup>50</sup>



*Easy Chair, Philadelphia, 1730-45, Walnut, oak, white pine, poplar, maple. Threads found on the chair indicate that it was originally upholstered in blue wool. Had casters until the 1990s. Now in a private collection, this chair furnished nearby Belfield, lived in by Logan descendants, until well into the 20th century.*

(Jack Lindsey, *Worldly Goods*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999, catalog #167, figure 105, p.74.)

## Sarah Logan's "Little Front Room" and James Logan's "Missing Room"



### INVENTORY NOTES: THE LITTLE FRONT ROOM

8 Russet Leather Bottom Chairs	10/	4	--	--
A Walnut Pier Glass		4	--	--
A pr of Andirons with Brass Tops with Shovel and Tongs		--	17	6
		<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6</b>

The missing room on James' inventory is an enigma. Why did the inventory takers simply skip one of the spaces? Some have suggested that for the sake of inventory taking, James' library, all 2,681, volumes were stacked in this room, and in fact the Colonial Dames referred to this room as "The Library" in the 1960s.<sup>51</sup> Others have suggested that maybe the room was Sarah Logan's personal space like "Madame Trent's Room," listed on James Logan's friend, William Trent's, 1726 Inventory of his house in Trenton, New Jersey.<sup>52</sup> Another question is that of the front dining room, mentioned above, one of the uses for the parlor. If the larger rear room on the first floor is called the Back Dining Room,

as currently arranged, then might not the "front dining room" be directly in front of it? This brings us back to Reed Engle's hypothesis laid out in the 1982 Historic Structures Report for Stenton that the Back Dining Room is actually what is currently shown as the First Floor Lodging Room or the space behind the parlor/front dining room. While Engle's suggested floor plan with the back dining room furnishings plotted out manages to squeeze all the furniture into the space, it does not allow enough space that all ten chairs and the table could be removed to the walls of the room when not in use as was the custom of the time.<sup>53</sup>

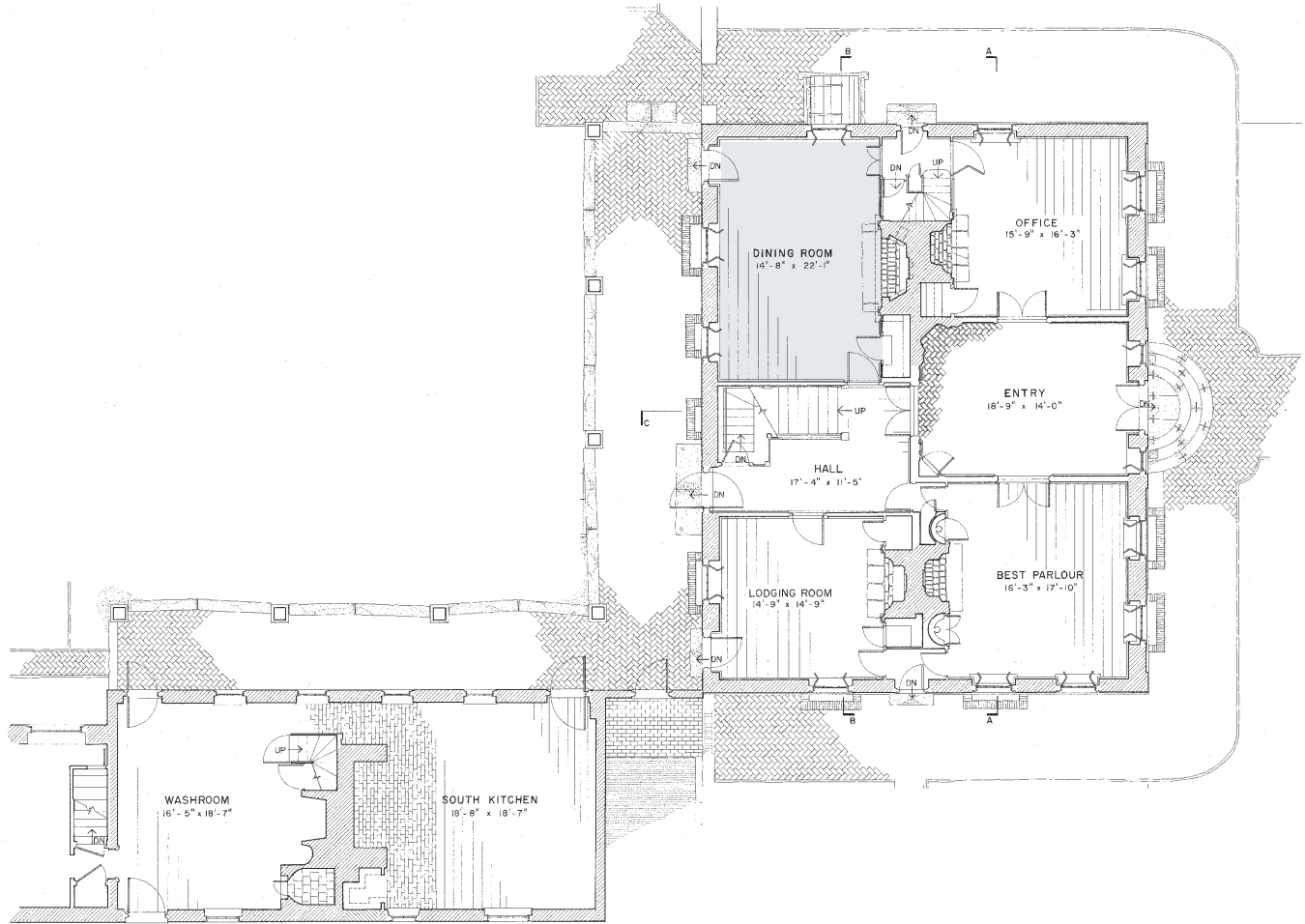
The current interpretation of the smaller front

room at Stenton as James Logan's Office was built upon the research of Raymond V. Shepherd and others and has been shown to the public in much this same way since the late 1960s.<sup>54</sup> This idea is predicated upon the concept that merchants' houses in the City often included a Counting Room, or small room just off the street set aside for business purposes, which was not considered part of the household. Certainly a merchant and politician of James Logan's status demanded a room set aside for business meetings; add to that the physical evidence that the room has easy access to the outside through a small and less formal entry in the passage by the back stair. These factors have led the NSCDA/PA to interpret the missing room as James Logan's Office. Yet, we are left not knowing what exactly was in this space, what it was called or how it was used.

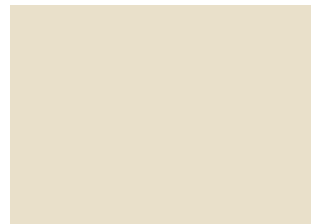
The architecture tells us that the room is a public space, but is finished much less grandly than the parlor or even the entry. As in the entry, there is wainscot paneling up to the chair rail and a cornice running all the way around the room; however, the simple floating panels lack the strong bolelection frames found in the entry and parlor. There are window seats in the two front rooms on the first floor as well as in all the chambers on the second floor. Several unique things about this space are first, the door to the side passage, which is the only such door in the house to fold in half, creating a screen into the space, or at times making it so that the door can be open for sound or for air, but not all the way, retaining more privacy in the process. Another feature is easy access to the back stair to the library above and also ready access to the more private, small side entry on the east side of the house, which could have allowed for some visits to be conducted with a greater level of privacy, discretion

or lack of formal interruption. The inner left shutter on the east wall is also cut in half at the middle so that the amount of light coming into this room from this bright exposure could be more precisely adjusted than in other spaces of the house. Alternatively, privacy could be maintained by keeping the shutters closed at the lower level, while allowing some direct light into the room through this upper opening. Another feature of this window and the left front one in this room are holes at just the proper height for looking out for a person seated on the window seat. This room was designed perhaps so that those inside could not be seen by visitors approaching the front or east side doors of the house, but those inside had a limited view out in both directions, perhaps again indicating an interest in secrecy or privacy. The interior of the closet in this room is comprised of two levels of shelves set into the plaster, a deep shelf with a shallow shelf above. Perhaps this arrangement also suggests that this closet was a bar and could have been used for serving beverages, but in a less grand manner than was provided for in the parlor buffet and closet.

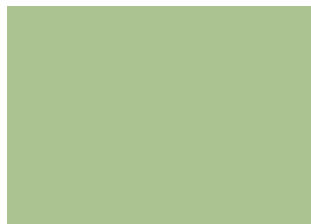
# Back Dining Room



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
Dark Brown Chair Rails



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
Café au lait or Timber color



*William Logan (c. 1750-1775)*  
Moderate Green

Please note that colors are representative and not exact color matches.

INVENTORY NOTES: **BACK DINING ROOM****SRL The Common Back Room**

An Arm Chair with 10 Red Leather Bottom Chairs at	7/6	4	2	6
1 Walnut Table		--	15	--
1 ditto [walnut] Tea Chest		--	7	6
A Sconce Looking Glass and old Tea Table		3	10	--
A pr Brass Top Andirons with Shovel & Tongs		--	17	6
		<b>9</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>

**SRL In the back Parlor**

A Cane Arm Chair & 10 Cane Chairs	at 12/6	6	17	6
A large Oval Walnut Table	30/	1	10	--
A ditto [oval walnut table] smaller	13/6	--	13	6
A Looking Glass		1	15	--
A Maple Desk and Walnut Spice Box		2	15	--
A Couch and Squab		1	10	--
A pr Andirons with Shovel and Tongs		--	12	6
A pr Bellows A Close Stool and Pan		--	15	--
		<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>

**JL The Back Dining Room**

1 Maple Desk		2	15	--
1 Couch & Bed & Cushion		1	15	--
2 Walnut Tables		1	17	6
10 Leather Chairs	[8 shillings per chair]	4	--	--
1 Armed Chair with Cushion		--	17	6
1 pair of Iron Dogs w[ith] Fire Shovel & Tongs		1	5	--
1 pr. of Bellows		--	4	--
1 Looking Glass		2	5	--
Corner Cupboard		--	10	--
Tea Table		--	5	--
a Pewter Press / Contain[in]g / vizt		1	--	--
2 doz. & 3 [27] dishes		10	2	6
5 doz. [60] plates	[1 shillings 6 pence per plate]	4	10	--
4 p[air] Brass Candle sticks	[2 shillings 6 pence per stick]	1	--	--
3 old water plates & 1 Basin		--	15	--
		<b>33</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>

Many of the furnishings in Sarah Logan's back parlor and common back room appear to have been in the Back Dining Room at Stenton, telling us that Stenton's back dining room functioned both like a back parlor and common room. The use of "common" suggests that the back dining room is a room of lower status as the position of the space and its architectural finish reinforce. "Common" also means "shared." In the common room, everyday affairs for family and servants alike took place and were executed within the four walls of the Dining Room. Here the Logan family and servants shared the space, with the Back Dining Room at Stenton retaining the idea of a "hall," in a medieval sense, as a large common dining room shared by all in the household.

The Maple desk (with a Walnut Spice Box on Sarah's inventory) and the couch, the 18th-century term for a daybed, were in the back dining room at Stenton, as were two walnut tables, these valued at about 18 shillings 9 pence each, making them certainly smaller than the Large tables in the Hall and Entry.<sup>56</sup> The couch may have been the "Black Couch" worth 2 pounds 10 shillings that Logan imported in 1717.<sup>57</sup> These tables probably correspond with the 15 shilling walnut table in Sarah's common back room and the smaller oval walnut table in her back parlor.

Just what were the 10 "Leather Chairs" in James Logan's dining room? The takers of James' inventory seem to distinguish the dining room "leather chairs" from the other sets of "leather bottom" chairs. Perhaps



*Upholstered Back Stool, c. 1730-40, Philadelphia, Walnut.*  
(Jack Lindsey, *Worldly Goods*, catalog #165, p.173.)

the entirely leather chairs are the fully upholstered back stools or stuffed back chairs that have come down through the generations with a Logan family provenance. Back stools or “stuffed back” chairs, as they were recorded in English documents of the time, were uncommon in Colonial America. The matching Logan examples, one at The Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum and one from the Loudoun Collection, now at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, are the only Philadelphia-made examples in the Queen Anne style to survive. This rarity leads us to place high value on these forms in the present day. However, if in fact these chairs are the “10 leather chairs” on James Logan’s inventory, they were valued at 4 pounds, significantly less than the 10 “Black Leather Bottomed” chairs in the parlor, valued at 6 pounds, 5 shillings in 1752. This comparative evaluation makes sense when taking into consideration that only the legs and stretchers of the back stools were of a finished walnut with the remainder of the frame constructed from secondary wood and no splat which required careful cutting, planeing, joining or veneering. A greater degree of primary wood and finish work went into creating a Queen Anne side chair than went in to building an upholstered back stool. The reinforcing stretchers on these chairs also suited them to rigorous everyday use.

Alternatively, why do Sarah’s seemingly more careful and specific inventory takers not name “leather chairs?” On her inventory all the leather upholstered sets are referred to by color and material and are called “leather bottom.” Both inventories place the set of 10 black leather bottom chairs in the best parlors. In James’ inventory, the 8 leather bottomed chairs in the entry are almost certainly the 8 russet leather bottom chairs

in Sarah’s little front room for the same price. It would seem that the “Arm chair with 10 Red Leather Bottom Chairs” in Sarah’s Common Back Room could be same ten leather chairs and Armed Chair with Cushion” in James Logan’s back dining room. The prices suggest they are the same; however the descriptions are curiously different.<sup>58</sup>

Since about 1976, the Logan family bookcase or display cabinet that William MacPherson Hornor published as James Logan’s Pewter Press in 1935 in the *Blue Book of Philadelphia Furniture* has represented the pewter press in the back dining room.<sup>59</sup> However, the Pewter Press listed on James Logan’s inventory is only worth one pound, whereas the book case with its high-style ogee bracket feet, figured walnut and multi-paned glass doors would have been valued closer to 7 pounds and simply is not this piece. This piece has non-adjustable shelves that line up with muntins suggesting this may be a display cabinet. The fact that the pewter press has a value is an indication that it is not a built-in cupboard but is instead a movable piece of case furniture. A dresser-like cupboard with open shelves above and doors below was given to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission



*Pewter Press, c. 1730-50, Philadelphia, wood uncertain.*  
*This piece, likely the low-valued pewter press on James Logan’s inventory was bequeathed to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission from Robert Restalrig Logan. The Commission has exhibited the press at the Thompson-Neely House at Washington’s Crossing for many decades.*

(Margaret Bye Ritchie, John D. Milner and Gregory D. Huber, *Stone Houses: Traditional Homes of Pennsylvania’s Bucks County and Brandywine Valley*, pictured p. 31.)

by Logan descendant Robert Restalrig Logan and may indeed be James Logan's Pewter Press. Notably the pewter press and the corner cupboard from the dining room are not on Sarah's inventory or son William's. After 1750, pewter was less widely used for eating as creamwares grew in affordability and popularity.<sup>60</sup>

The 1982 Stenton HSR by John Dickey and Reed Engle concludes that the larger room on the first floor was, at least in James' generation, a kitchen and that the smaller first floor room was the dining room. While Engle was able to find space in the smaller room for all the furniture listed in "the back dining room," he did not allow adequate space for the table and 8 chairs he drew in the center of the room to be removed to the walls when not in use as was the custom of the time.<sup>61</sup> Just as people withdrew, furniture was also withdrawn, which allowed for full cleaning of the area where the meal was consumed. Drop-leaf and tilt-top tea tables were designed to be stowed easily against the walls. The chair rail literally protected the plaster walls from chair dings when chairs were customarily removed from the center of the room to the walls.

More reasons for there having been a kitchen outside of and behind the main block of the house are the three wide doors as means of entry and exit into the main house from the rear, as well as what was an original bulkhead entrance into the cellar from the back just outside the dining room rear service door. These doors indicate a need for going in and out regularly and easily at this northeast corner, the lowest and most hard-working zone of the house. The upholstered leather chairs were semi-monumental in appearance, comfortable and acceptable for family dining. The presence of these chairs in the dining room is another argument for the room not being a kitchen. Any permanent upholstery, even leather which was chosen for this room and for all the first floor seating upholstery for its ability to wear well and repel food and odors, would not have been found in a kitchen, a space in which family and guests did not dine.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, current interpretation supports John Dickey's theory of the Back Dining Room as a Kitchen in part. As Dickey and Engle have pointed out, the back dining room is the only room on the first two floors without a full ceiling cornice. It has the largest fireplace in the house, and is the only one with a mantelshelf with a plate groove, all of which their investigations proved is original. The room also includes a vented deep pantry

closet with original shelves set into the plaster, deeper storage below the shallow counter and workspace for one with the door open.<sup>63</sup> The pantry cupboard door is designed to act as a screen for a servant who may be serving the family in the back dining room, but also swings to allow easy access out of the dining room door into the small passage to the parlor or the other first floor spaces. The paneled wall is the simplest in the house having recessed rather than raised panels within molded frames.



*Oval pewter platter, England, c. 1750, unmarked. Stenton Collection. Engraved with the cipher "SL" for Sarah Logan, likely James Logan's wife or daughter.*

The back dining room did perform some of the light functions of a kitchen, like keeping food warm and final dressing, but it was also a less formal dining room than the best parlor. It contained pewter plates whereas the parlor contained china plates.<sup>64</sup> As the largest space on the first floor, it served as a kind of common room and everyday dining space for the Logan family as well as a staging area for the service of food within the room and to the other rooms as well. As a result of combined functions, this lower rank room was a place where servants and family mixed. James Logan may have napped on the couch (daybed) or sat in the arm chair with its cushion to work at the desk when feeling energetic, while Phebe Dickinson, the housekeeper accounted for the pewter in the pewter press or polished the four pairs of brass candlesticks also stored in the press. This back dining room was a place where the Logans easily spent many hours, accomplishing their own tasks and overseeing the work of their servants.<sup>65</sup> The dining elements of the space were the versatile smaller walnut tables and the ten leather chairs that could be used as necessary, as well as the hanging corner cupboard, that is like a miniature buffet on the inside with shaped shelves and a bright interior color for display.<sup>66</sup>

The kitchen-like elements of the room are the large fireplace itself, which is not as large and deep as a typical 18th-century cooking hearth, like that in the extant separate c. 1790 kitchen at Stenton, and the lockable pantry



*The Pantry Closet or Built-in Dresser in Stenton's Back Dining Room is not a display space and served as storage for food service. The space vents at ceiling level to get some light into the closet and to perhaps allow a small amount of heat from the chimney mass to flow into the vertical column of the stair. A servant could step inside*

*the closet to plate up or dress food that was warmed on the fireplace before whisking it across the stair hall and through the hall service door to the Front Parlor. There was a natural diagonal flow of food through the house from the detached kitchen where heavy cooking took place, to warming and serving in the Back Dining Room, to presentation and consumption in the Parlor.*

closet (really a three-sided kitchen dresser), which easily could have stored eating and drinking vessels, utensils, bottles, jugs, spices, etc. Also listed in the furnishings for the space is a pewter press, mentioned above. This object was essentially a movable kitchen dresser with a two door closable cupboard in the lower section, surmounted by a counter-height shelf with shallower open shelves above for a display in a “cup-board” like way. The inventory includes contents for this press stating, “a Pewter Press / Containg / vizt:

2 doz. & 3 dishes	10	2	6
5 doz. plates	4	10	0
4 p[airs] brass Candle sticks	1	0	0
3 Old Water Plates and 1 Basin	0	15	0
	<b>£ 16</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>

The contents of the press are keys to understanding the social function of Stenton. James Logan's Press was the storage shelter for 60 pewter plates, enough to hold large and grand-scale entertainments, or host dinners for visiting Native Americans whom we know camped at Stenton.<sup>67</sup> The press was also storage for brass candlesticks when not in use (i.e. during the day).

Although the mantelshelf in the dining room is quite high, the plate grove may have been used for storage and display of useful wares. Placing candlesticks on the ledge would have added an overall glow to the room at night, with the light bouncing off of the glossy painted paneling. A curious feature of the fireplace is the grate

chamber built inside the left jamb. This feature once had a door, indicating that the temperature inside it could be kept continuously hot for a time, like an oven. The heavy black soot inside above the grate suggests something was cooked in the grate, but exactly what remains a question. Certainly it could have been used to warm things, but the soot suggests perhaps something more.

In architectural terms, the back dining room has the lowest level of finish on the first floor. In terms of plan and spatial alignment, the room is oriented at a service point in the house at the rear, adjacent to the service stair, and below the nursery and adjoining room above, fundamentally also lesser service spaces on the second floor. This placement and the level of finish clearly indicate that the back dining room was a space about and for servants and many of the tasks performed by them, as the room would have been the staging area for meals served in the parlor, in which case there is a direct path of service from the open pantry closet diagonally across the bottom of the stair hall into the back door to the parlor. The 1982 paint analysis determined that the Back Dining Room and Back Stair were painted in the same dark green color, which further suggests that these spaces carried the same rank in overall finish and household function.

The furnishings of the Back Dining Room tell us that as a large space, it was diverse and flexible in its uses. Not exclusively for service, the space was at times used by someone who commanded information at a desk and a person of stature who used an arm chair – Logan himself or a clerk, or even the plantation manager. The room could easily seat a gathering for an informal meal served on pewter (rather than the china stored in the parlor) and included a looking glass, at 2 pounds 5 shillings, not nearly as impressive as the 8 pound one in the parlor, but still an item of status not generally found in kitchens. In effect, this room was a large, versatile common room where a variety of people performed a range of necessary functions, eating and drinking among them.

Sarah's list of linens includes a “Damask Side Board Cloth,” suggesting the presence of a semi-permanent or built-in slab-top sideboard, certainly in her

townhouse if not also at Stenton. Her table linens also included:

7 Damask Table Cloths	3	10	--
3 Bird Eyed ditto [tablecloths]	1	10	--
8 Diaper ditto [tablecloths]	3	--	--
5 Huggaback ditto [tablecloths]	--	12	6
	<b>£ 8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>

as well as corresponding napkins:

3 doz[en] Damask Napkins	1	16	--
11 Bird Eyed ditto [napkins]	--	11	--
8 Huggaback do [napkins] and 4 Diaper do [napkins]	--	7	6
	<b>2</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>

The table linens recorded on James Logan's inventory are stored on the second floor, not near any of the first floor dining spaces. They are listed as part of the contents of "2d Story in ye White Lodging Room" and may be in the closet passage between the rear White and front Yellow Lodging Rooms, the parlor or best upstairs chamber above the parlor.<sup>68</sup> These linens were stored in the "Black Walnutt Chest" that precedes their listing on the inventory:<sup>69</sup> This location kept them clean and about as far away from food service as possible, laundered and carried by the servants when needed.

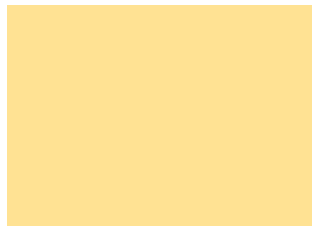
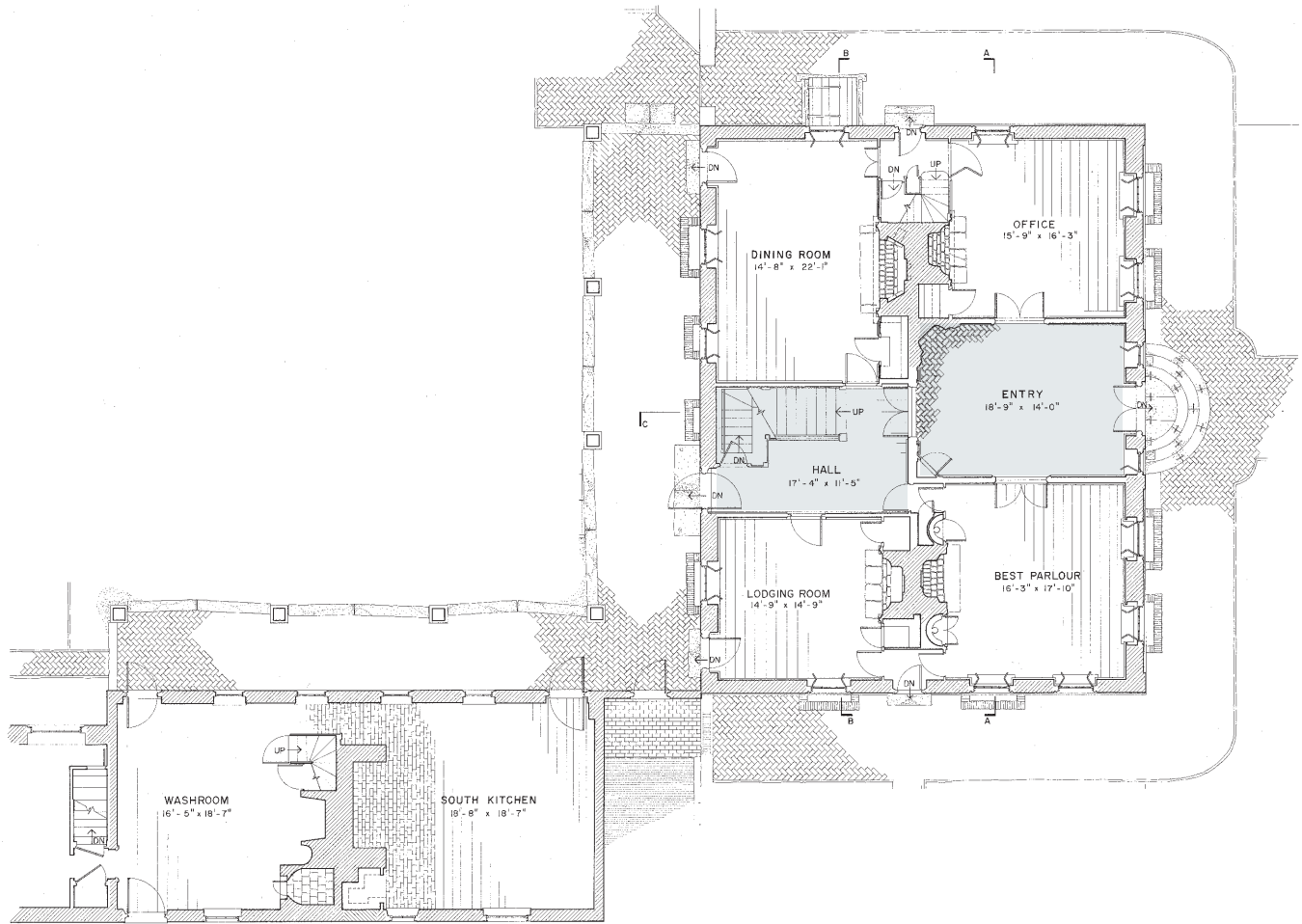
6 Damask Table Clothes	3	--	--
2 ½ doz. Napkins	3	--	--
14 Diaper & Huckaback Ditto [napkins]	5	5	--
1 doz. 7 Diaper Ditto [napkins]	1	11	6

The total value devoted to table linens on the two inventories is close, with Sarah's totaling 11 pounds, 7 shillings and James' at 12 pounds, 16 shillings, 6 pence. However, the quantity of table linens listed on Sarah's inventory is higher, with a total of 23 table cloths (7 of them damask) and James' having 6 damask table cloths. Perhaps Sarah's widowhood in town required a different level and proportion of best, second-best and third best table cloths as she required 3 grades: damask & bird-eyed at 10 shillings per cloth, diaper at 7s 6p per cloth and huckaback at 2s 6p per cloth, the last two being more common and utilitarian. The only cloths on James' are the six damask ones

at 10 shillings per each one. Perhaps linens are usually the part of a wife's dowry and her property, and perhaps some belong to her husband. Comparison of James and Sarah's inventories does not go very far in answering this question.

How much active food preparation did Sarah Read Logan undertake?<sup>70</sup> An indicator that Sarah Read Logan may have played an active role in food preparation comes from a 1724 letter in which James Logan complains to Thomas Story about the inadequacy of the kitchen at the house in Philadelphia which the Logans rented from Story, "My wife can no longer be reconciled to the kitchen."<sup>71</sup> Another Logan scholar has noted that prior to a gathering of Native Americans at Stenton, James Logan asked Conrad Weiser, his go-between and Interpreter, to send an approximate number of guests in the party so that Sarah could undertake to provide for them.<sup>72</sup> Presumably Sarah supervised the service staff, the head housekeeper and cook. The finishing of food in the back dining room and within the four walls of the house may have facilitated Sarah's supervision of her staff when necessary. James Logan's ledger also notes that Sarah Logan might receive cash payments and act as a business agent in Logan's absence.

# Hall and Entry



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
*Moderate Yellow*

Please note that colors are representative and not exact color matches.

**JL In ye Hall and Entry viz.**

1 Large Black Walnut Table	1	10	0
8 Leather Bottomed Chairs [10/]	4	0	0
A Tea Table	0	10	0
1 Large Black Walnut Table & Stand	1	10	0
	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>

**SL**

Leather bottom'd Chair in the Entry	--	7	6
-------------------------------------	----	---	---

Stenton's entrance hall is not a true through hall directly out the back of the house as is typical in many four-square Georgian houses. As described by Richard Neve, Stenton's entry is a room, here set apart from the rest of the house in finish, as it is the only brick-paved space, and in that one can circulate throughout the rest of the house without ever entering the entry, as may very well have been the case for the Logans for weeks at a time.<sup>73</sup> The entry, with pairs of double doors in all four directions, was impressive. These doors were certainly kept closed in colder months. That formality may have been set aside in warmer months if there was a need for greater air circulation throughout the house. The entry was essentially the domain of the servants who tended the fire in colder months, and attended visitors at the front doors, perhaps at all hours of the day and night.<sup>74</sup>

Directly behind, separate, and off-set from the entry is another room, that does open out to the back of the house and which is almost entirely devoted to vertical as well as horizontal circulation, the stair hall. The Stenton Stair Hall is another discrete space from the entry, separated by arched-top closable doors, which allow the entry to be heated by the fireplace without all the heat rising up the stair column, and which also reinforce the very public nature of the entry. This rear room is certainly the space indicated by the description of "Hall." James Logan's inventory lists together, "ye Hall & Entry," in the same way that "Kitchen Wash-house & Cellars" (clearly separate spaces) are listed and also in the same way that "ye Nursery & Small Adjoining Room" (clearly separate spaces) are listed. The Entry certainly refers to the brick-paved room just inside the front doors, and "Hall" is the stair hall.<sup>75</sup> The way in which the contents of the two spaces are listed also reinforces that the hall and entry are two separate spaces. Instead of listing "2 Large Black Walnut Tables" together, as the inventory takers did in the Back Dining Room, one table is the first item listed, and the second table is the last item listed

for these two spaces, indicating that the two tables are in the separate spaces. A workable arrangement is that the first "Large black walnut table," the "8 Leather Bottomed Chairs," and the "tea table" were in the entry, while the second "Large Black Walnut Table & Stand" were stored in the stair hall.

The floor plan of Stenton and the contents of these entry hall and stair hall spaces indicate changes in houses and cultural shifts. The Stenton entry is not just a passage, but a room, where servants worked, but also a room that served as a public waiting room and which could serve as an ancillary parlor in warmer months. This room may even have housed a servant who stayed by the door at night. The entry was also a room to pass through and a storeroom for furnishings that could be moved easily to augment and equip the other first floor rooms for entertaining as different configurations in various spaces might accommodate any number of guests of varied status and circumstances. The parlor could easily accommodate 18 diners using the two large black walnut oval tables, the ten chairs from the parlor and the eight chairs from the entry.

As previously mentioned, Sarah Logan's 1754 inventory does not name an entry as a space. A "leather bottom'd Chair in the Entry" is almost an afterthought at the back of the document, perhaps suggesting that as a townhouse, the entry of her house was small when compared with Stenton. Her parlor includes some of the furnishings that were located in Stenton's entry, namely an oval table and a tea table. The brick-paved entry at Stenton lends to the room a sense that it is a transitional space. While inside the four walls of the rectangular house, the brick-paved entry is an extension of the brick forecourt outside. In concept, the entry is like an enclosure of the open area between the two gable-end extensions of earlier H-plan type houses, like Fairhill built in 1717, the nearby country house of Logan's friend and business partner, Isaac Norris.

The Stenton entry truly is just that, in everyday use, a discrete waiting room, with a fireplace and tall, three-part, built-in corner cupboard, most likely staffed by a clerk or other servants almost all the time, as indicated by the lack of doorknob on Stenton's double front doors.<sup>76</sup> The brick floor is supported by a vaulted arch cold storage room in the cellar below, which lends to the entry a cooler aspect in warmer months.<sup>77</sup> Visitors would wait in the entry to be received into other parts of the house, depending upon their social status and their

reasons for arriving at Stenton. The scene of a visit to Fairhill by Hannah Logan's fiancé, John Smith, which included about an hour of "waiting" to be seen by Isaac Norris before being refused illustrates the primary function of an entry on a day-to-day basis. John's business partner, Abel James, wrote of the affair to James Pemberton in London 10th month [December] 25th day, 1748:

*...He [John Smith] went to fair hill, and on asking for I: N.; the Servant told him that her M[aste]r was in the Green House, on which J.S. told her to tell him that there was a Person that wanted to Speak with him, on w[hi]ch She went, & (She not knowing who the person was) bro[ugh]t word that her M[aste]r was coming presently, but immediately his Eldest Daughter came into the Room, & finding Johnny's Errand Ran Cheerfully and Innocently to her father and presently return'd & told him that her Dady Said it was well enough, which however odd as it was did not prevent his waiting near half an hour longer...*

before he learned from a second messenger, an elderly housemaid, "that He [Isaac Norris] did not choose to be Spoke with."<sup>78</sup> In this way, the entry served as a filter for the family. Visitors could wait in the public entry but never be accepted into the most private spaces of the house.

Filtering the public was not the only function of the entry. It also served as a room to impress waiting visitors. The architecture of the Stenton entry evokes Classical architecture in its use of the tapering stylized stop-fluted pilasters that flank the arched doorway to the rear of the house, which in turn frames the grand stair when the arched doors are open. These pilasters echo the four brick pilasters on the front façade of the building, again visually linking the inside and outside of the house. Other impressive features are the bold bolection-molded paneled wainscot and panels over the fireplace, and the three sets of interior double doors. Once inside the entry double doors lead in all four directions to spaces of varied status, making the entry a liminal space – not outside, but not fully inside the house.

At the center above each of the three sets of interior doors is a pendant drop with a distinctive heart cut from it which hangs as if under a keystone but breaks the plane of the arch. This eye-catching feature punctuates the arches, and draws the viewer's eyes upward so as not to notice the asymmetry of the seemingly symmetrical



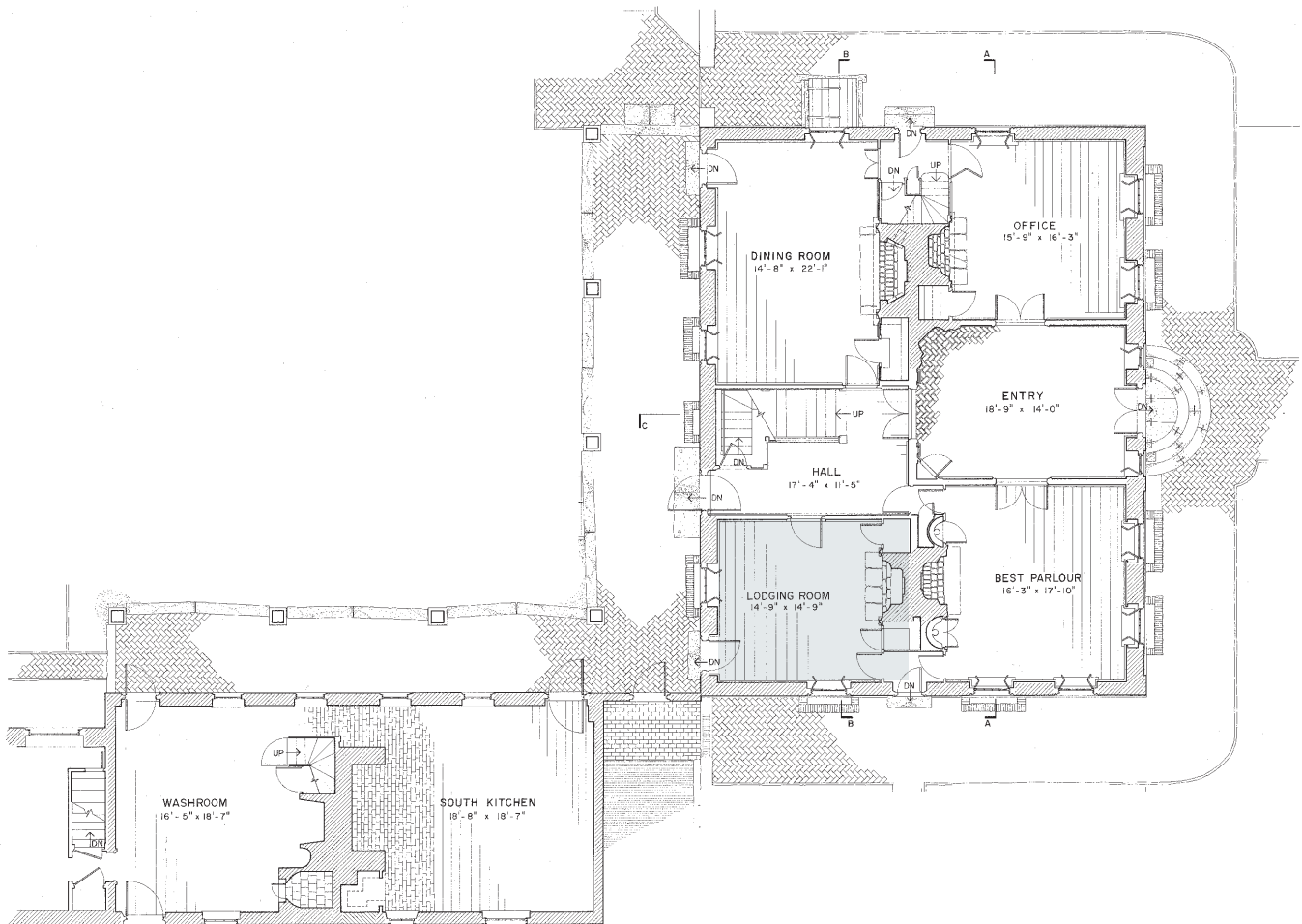
*The distinctive hearts over the pairs of interior doors in the Stenton Entry may be a quiet allusion to the Logan Coat of Arms, used by James Logan's ancestors, two generations removed.*

space with a fireplace on one side opposed by stacked built-in corner cupboards on the other. This carved heart ornament may in fact be a modified allusion to the Scottish Logan coat of arms. If Logan could build a grand brick gentry house, adopt a stag's head for his emblem and use ciphers on his silver, he was probably not above asserting the visual allusion to his landed and aristocratic Scottish ancestry for those in the know.<sup>79</sup> The pendant drop, with distinctive carved heart, surmounted by a fluted keystone-like form is a stylized architectural design, not out of sync with other decorative motifs of its time and locale. However, comparing the Logan arms to the entry hall ornament, one can easily visualize the form of the pendant drop as that of a shield, a heart within,

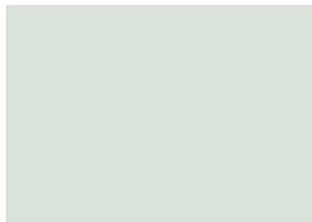
and the fluting above like the “nails” or “piles” that pierce the heart on the coats of arms. That James Logan employed a stag’s head crest on his silver and pewter suggests that he enjoyed heraldic symbolism and that he was not too Quakerly to apply it to his wares. If in fact the entry hall hearts and shields are a stylized coat of arms and an allusion to James Logan’s landed ancestors in Scotland, it is a clever and subtle design. For those who do not know the symbolism will not see it, another instance of the Quaker gentleman politician who must tow the line of Quaker plainness and his own desire for a grand and refined house worthy of his ancestors. British aristocracy customarily displayed coats of arms in entries and over gates, and James Logan’s use of the pendant heart may follow that tradition to which by blood he belonged.

The third function of the Stenton entry is as a storage space for furniture, which could have been used in the hall itself, or which was stored in this central location for use in adjacent spaces. The “8 Leather Bottomed Chairs” are very likely the “8 russett Leather bottom Chairs” at the same price described in Sarah Logan’s “little Front Room.”<sup>80</sup> As mentioned above, this furniture was the tables, chairs and stand, probably a small topped, three-legged “table” that was used to hold a candle or a kettle of hot water wherever needed. If necessary or desired, servants could easily move this furniture into any of the first floor rooms, and herein is the inherent flexibility of the Stenton floor plan and its furnishings.<sup>81</sup>

# First Floor Lodging Room



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
*William Logan (c. 1750-1775)*  
 Moderate Gray



*George & Deborah Logan*  
 (c. 1780-1839)  
 Light Grey

Please note that colors are representative and not exact color matches.

**JL In the Lodging Room**

6 Cane Bottomed Chairs [7 shillings, 6 pence per]	2	5	0
1 Case of Drawers	2	10	0
A Bed & Furniture Belonging to it	12	0	0
An Eight Day Clock	8	0	0
A Looking Glass	3	10	0
A Dressing Box and old Walnut Dressing Table	0	5	0
1 p[ai]r of Iron Dogs with Fire Shovel & Tongs	0	10	0
	<b>29</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>--</b>

James Logan's inventory describes a First Floor Lodging Room or room for sleeping on the first floor. This room could be either the smaller room in the front, in front of the back dining room, or the smaller room in the back, behind the parlor. In a letter to Sarah Shurmer in 1737, James Logan explains, "our room [his and Sarah's], which because of my Lameness, is on the ground floor" suggests that the cultural convention in a house such as Stenton would be for the Logans to sleep upstairs, and that their being on the ground floor was somewhat unusual. It would seem that they did not initially sleep on the first floor or at least that a first floor bedchamber was not part of James Logan's original plan.<sup>82</sup> According to John Dickey and Reed Engle, the small door on the west side of the house was originally a window, a change made early on in the history of the house.<sup>83</sup> This change supports the assertion that the first floor lodging room was the back room, as it would have been sensible to create a service access for the front parlor that did not require servants moving through Logan's bedchamber.<sup>84</sup>

The letter quoted above suggests that James and Sarah Logan shared this chamber, furnished with older cane chairs, an old dressing table, and perhaps an older chest of drawers as well. Because the chest and table are not described together, they are not likely a pair. Scientific-minded Logan kept his eight-day clock in his chamber and not his parlor. Perhaps he enjoyed or insisted upon keeping track of the time while nearly bedridden in his eldest years. The twelve pound bed is close in value to the beds in the White and Blue Lodging Rooms on the second floor, each valued at twelve pounds ten shillings. Since all the second floor chambers are described as having beds, and these were likely fitted to accommodate the tester hooks in the ceilings of each room, Logan probably acquired a four-post bedstead for his move to the First Floor Lodging Room, as that room had not

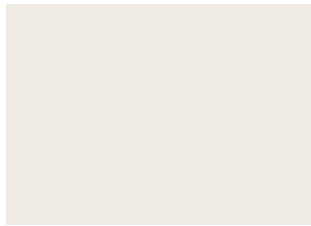
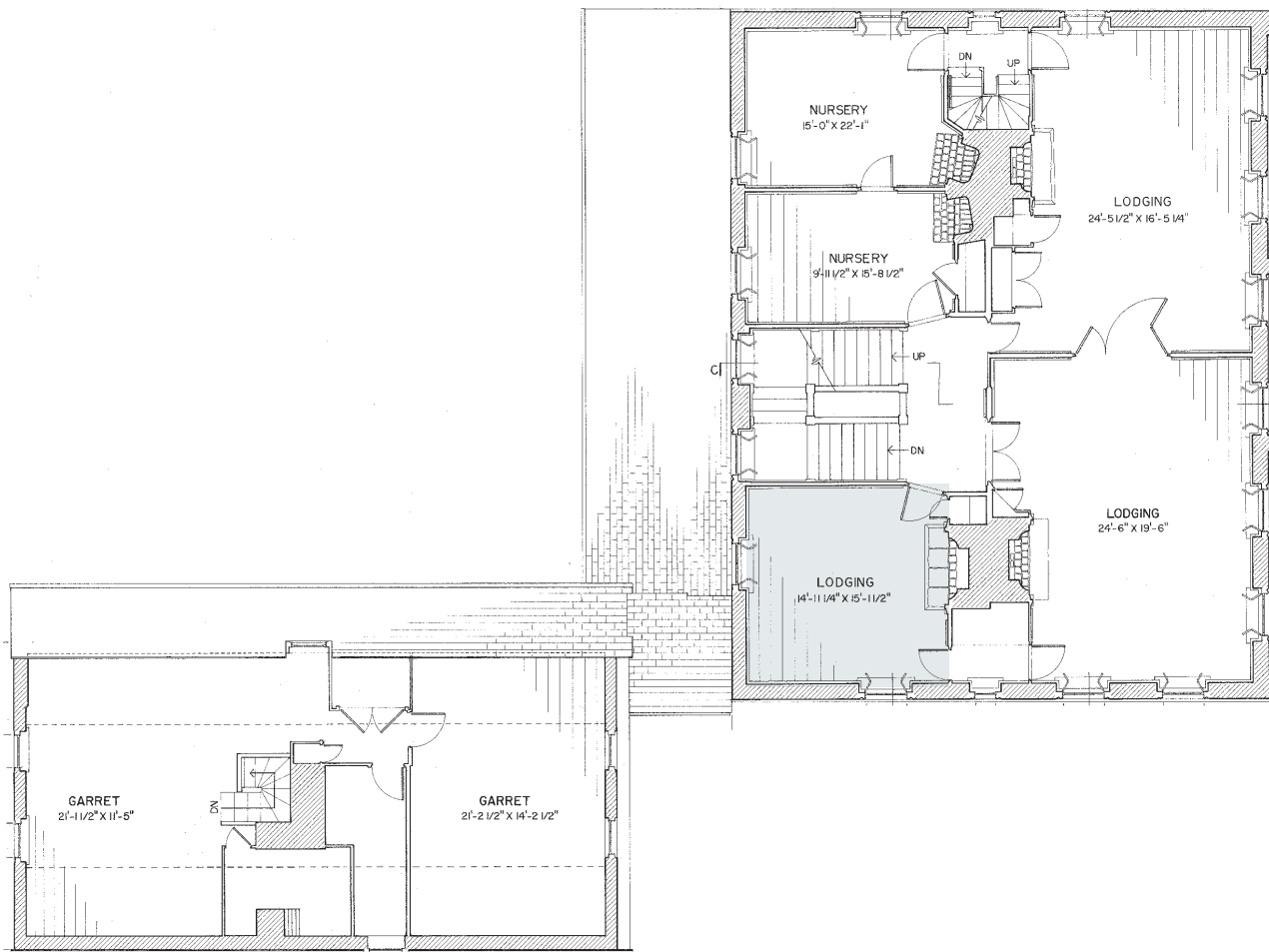
been planned for a bed initially and does not appear to have ever had bed hooks in the ceiling.

For the second floor bedchambers listed on James Logan's inventory, the rooms are named by color: white, yellow and blue. Hooks in the ceilings of these rooms dictate the original placement of the beds (in the outermost corners of the rooms and house), and also indicate that at least the yellow and blue rooms had flying tester beds. The inventory does not specify the color for the First Floor Lodging room. For reasons which will be explored further, the Blue Lodging Room/Library was likely James Logan's original chamber.

The division of walls by windows and doors lends itself to the present location of the bed in the First Floor Lodging Room, in the interior corner of the room just inside the main door to the room. In the mid-twentieth century, the Colonial Dames, under the guidance of decorator Frances Brumbaugh, placed the bed in the outside corner of the room as is the case in the chambers upstairs. While this placement follows the upstairs chambers, it entirely blocks the opening of the rear service door to this room. However, with the added west wall service door inserted, either bed placement was possible.

The bed and its "furniture" or hangings (curtains, tester and head cloth) on the first floor was worth 12 pounds, just under the 12 pound ten shilling bed listed in the Blue Lodging Room. Sarah's inventory lists several beds, a 15 pound bed that includes a blue quilt, 12 pound 10 shilling bed with blue curtains, probably the same in James' Blue Lodging Room, and an 8 pound bed of green wool curtains. While it is possible that some of the textiles may have lost some value from the time James' inventory was taken in 1752 to the time Sarah's inventory was taken in 1754, that loss is fundamentally very little. It is possible that the First Floor Lodging Room hangings were the set of "green worsted," curtains and hangings listed in Sarah Logan's Green Chamber, but the prices do not strongly support this theory.

# White Lodging Room



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
*Greyish White*

Please note that colors are representative and not exact color matches.

INVENTORY NOTES: IN YE WHITE LODGING ROOM — JL  
[AND CLOSET PASSAGE]

1 White Bed with Curtains	Bed Cloaths & ca				12	10	0
10 Old Cane Chair	@10/				5	0	0
1 Chest of Drawers					2	0	0
1 pr. of Iron Dogs with Five Shovels & Tongs					0	10	0
1 Dressing Table					0	10	0
1 Looking Glass					2	10	0
7 Small China Sugar Dishes & 2 large Bowls					1	5	0
1 Black Walnutt Chest					1	10	0
6 Damask Table Cloths		3	0	0			
2 ½ doz[en] Napkins	@2/	3	0	0			
14 Diaper & Huckaback Ditto [Napkins]	7/6	5	5	0			
1 doz[en] & 9 Diaper	Ditto [Napkins]	1/6	1	11	6		
					12	16	6

The White Lodging Room was the first room that Edward Cathrall and Hugh Roberts inventoried on the second floor. They climbed the main stairs and turned right into the first space following that through, chamber to chamber until they returned to the landing after being in the Adjoining Room.

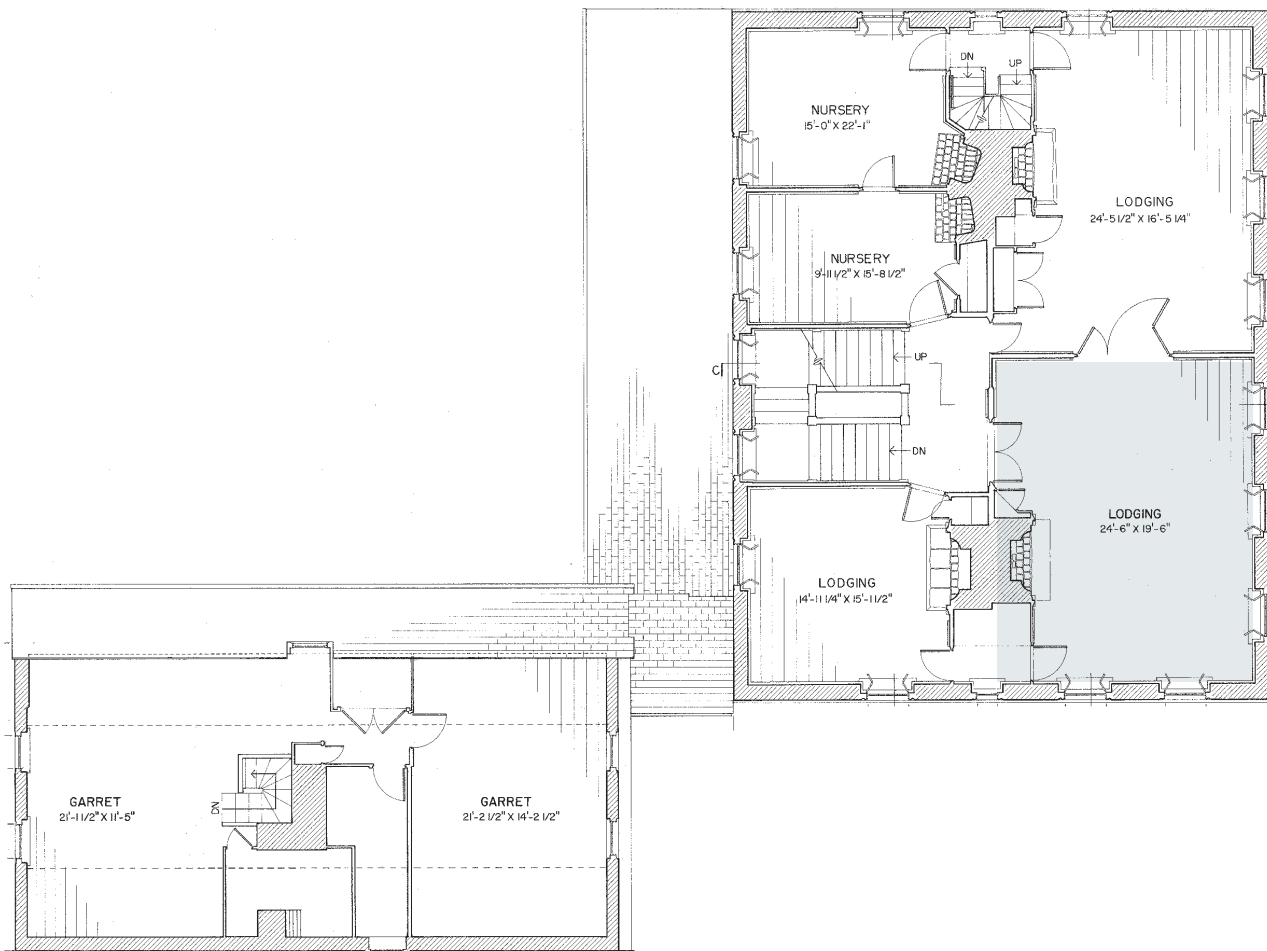
The White Lodging Room is furnished with objects similar in value and age to those of the First Floor Lodging Room directly below it. The room was used as a guest chamber. James Logan called this room “a first Chamber above our room,” which may have been a way of describing its location as the first room at the top of the stair. The basic chamber furniture is a bed with curtains for it, a set of chairs, a chest of drawers, a dressing table and dressing box, a looking glass of some sort and fireplace furniture. All the chambers at Stenton are variations on this theme, with the more public chambers also having tea tables for entertaining.

The dressing table in the White Lodging Room is not listed with a dressing box. The looking glass, which may have sat atop the table, is followed by an entry for “7 Small China Sugar Dishes & 2 large Bowls.” This may be a kind of “collection” of Chinese porcelain dishes on display for guests, and which in place of a dressing box, served as practical storage for everyday small items such as straight and hairpins, cufflinks, or perhaps rings, necklaces or other jewelry that guests might wear. Another possibility is that these sugar dishes served as cosmetic or potpourri pots and were used in the toilet process. The

two large bowls may have served as basins for washing and rinsing of body-parts or clothes.

The furnishings listed for this space appear to include items stored in the passage between the White and Yellow Lodging Rooms. This small closet room/passage, against the chimney mass, includes a window and window seat. If Stenton had ever been plumbed, the Logans would have likely placed a bathroom in this space, and they may have used the space as a dressing and bathing space (for what little bathing actually occurred in the 18th century.) The “Black Walnutt Chest,” at one pound ten shillings, is most likely a blanket chest based on its value and the fact that “drawers” are not part of the description, and may have sat in the passage, as it and its contents would be next on the inventory-takers path of travel through the second floor. With the chest followed by a list of linens, the values of which are lined up vertically in their own column indicates that these table cloths and napkins are stored in the chest. This out-of-the-way place to store the table linens, which would have been used primarily on the first floor, was not a bother for Sarah Logan who had servants to launder and carry them, and furthermore this location assured that the linens remained clean as they were far from food and removed from smoky fires.

# Yellow Lodging Room



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
Moderate Yellow

Please note that colors are representative and not exact color matches.

## INVENTORY NOTES: YELLOW LODGING ROOM

**JL In the Yellow Lodging Room**

1 Yellow Worsted Damask Bed w[i]th Curtains, Window Curtains & Bed Cloaths & ca	30	00	00
12 Maple Chairs w[i]th Worsted Damask Bottoms [1 7 6/per chair]	16	10	00
Old Brass Chimney Furniture w[i]th Shovel Tongs and Fender	1	5	00
1 Maple Chest of Drawers & Table	7	00	00
2 Sconce Glasses w[i]th Brass Arms	10	00	00
1 old Tea Table w[i]th a Broken Set of China	1	7	6
	<b>66</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>

**SL In the Yellow Chamber**

A Bed Sted, Feather Bed, Bolster & 2 Pillows, A Yellow Silk Quilt			
Yellow Damask Curtains (Worsted) with 3 pr Do Window do & Bedding	20	--	--
12 Maple Chairs with yellow Worsted Damask Bottoms [1 pound each]	12	--	--
A Walnut Pier Glass	3	10	--
A Maple Chest of Draws, & A Maple Dressing Table	7	--	--
A Walnut Stand	--	7	--
A Brass Fender and Shovel with a p[ai]r of Brass Tops for Andirons	--	15	--
	<b>43</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>--</b>

The Yellow Lodging Room, the name of which reveals that it is a room for sleeping, is the most elaborately and expensively furnished space and architecturally is the best finished space on the second floor, with the fireplace retaining almost all of its original Dutch tin-glazed earthenware blue-and-white Biblical tiles. The Yellow room is the “State bedchamber” of Stenton; it was not uncommon to receive guests in bedchambers in England and France in the 17th and 18th centuries.<sup>86</sup> This room is about the display of textiles. The room may have been reserved for noteworthy overnight guests but been primarily used as a room for entertaining high-ranking guests and display, and possibly also as a (with)drawing room. One bit of evidence perhaps supporting its not being often slept in is the lack of cupboard space directly in the room. A small angled cupboard is fit into the available space next to the fireplace and the main entrance to the room and is the only built-in storage in the room. The top three shelves of this cupboard have attractively beaded edges and are set into the plaster, while the lowest two shelves have been added. Taking the shape of this essentially corner cupboard and the beaded edges into account, its function may have been to serve as a kind of mini buffet, not unlike the movable hanging cupboard in the Back Dining Room. The broken set of china, the last item on James Logan’s inventory for the room, could have been stored in this space.

Notably, the Yellow Lodging Room is the only room described as having window curtains on James

Logan’s inventory. The bed, window curtains and seating upholstery were *ensuite*, or all of the same, yellow wool damask as was the fashion in the 18th century.

Nicholas Cooper in his *Houses of the Gentry* notes that by the late 17th century, it was customary to name the lodging rooms not for their occupants but for the color of their furnishings as more and more people could afford the comfort of upholstered furnishings.<sup>87</sup> It is not surprising that the cloth upholstery and window curtains were reserved for the upstairs drawing/lodging rooms and that durable leather was used almost exclusively on the first floor in the rooms where dining took place, with older cane seating in the First Floor Lodging Room.

Much of the furniture in the Yellow Room was maple, the high chest and dressing table as well as twelve chairs.<sup>88</sup> The room also functioned as an intimate parlor, possibly even as a ladies’ withdrawing room. Men might have withdrawn to the Blue Lodging Room/the Library, while ladies took their conversation to the Yellow Lodging Room, with tea table, china, a set of chairs, settee, brightly lit reflective candle sconces, and close proximity to the second floor closet passage.

The display in this room was not of precious metal like the silver in the parlor directly below, but of sumptuous expensive textiles, thirty pounds worth, with yellow wool suspended from the ceiling at the windows and filling the southwest corner of the room where stood the bed, from ceiling to floor. The spaciousness of the room combined with the display of bold color and texture,

the texture of the damask and the texture of the striped maple high chest and mated dressing table, created an impression of grandeur and largesse, and of bright yellow and warm maple furniture, juxtaposed with cobalt blue and white ceramics.

The bed, the focal point of the room, was located in the opposite corner from the entry to the space. A pair of iron hooks in the ceiling reveals that the bed stood in the south western corner of the room and in front of one of the windows. The blocking of the windows seems an odd arrangement. The hooks also offer clues as to the type of bed that filled the corner originally. It was known as a *lit d'ange* or flying tester.<sup>89</sup> In this type of bedstead, the tester or curtain frame is supported all or in part (as at Stenton), by suspension from the ceiling, usually by chains that are nearly hidden from view by the cornice of the tester itself.<sup>90</sup> By suspending the tester from the ceiling and removing the need for foot posts, the bed becomes an open platform



*Recreated Flying Tester Bed at Handel House Museum in London, turned yellow through the wonders of 21st-century photo technology to offer a visual sense of the yellow worsted damask bed that hung in the Yellow Lodging Room.*

(For details on the creation of the Handel House bed see Jacqueline Riding, *Handel House Museum Companion*, 32-34.)

in the corner of the room. The curtains pull around from either side of the head to the center front when drawn. These types of bedsteads did not often survive once out of fashion or decayed, as there was no elegant or costly walnut or mahogany to save. The frames and tester cornice were made from soft secondary woods and took their elegant character from the form of the molding, the fabric that upholstered them and the degree to which they may have been further ornamented with decorative tapes, braids, tassels and other trimmings. At 30 pounds for the bed and the window curtains, the Stenton yellow bed was probably not highly elaborate when compared with English beds of the nobility, but in a colonial context was a grand bed indeed.

One object that is not on the inventory but that was likely made for the Yellow Lodging Room is a yellow wool damask-covered Philadelphia, Queen Anne-style walnut settee. It is a singular object, and has been in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, since 1925. The settee descended in the line of James Logan's daughter, Hannah Logan Smith, and subsequent generations of her descendants. The last two family owners, Horace J. Smith followed by Maybury Smith, loaned the settee to Stenton in the first decades of its museum life with the understanding that the settee had belonged to James Logan.<sup>91</sup>

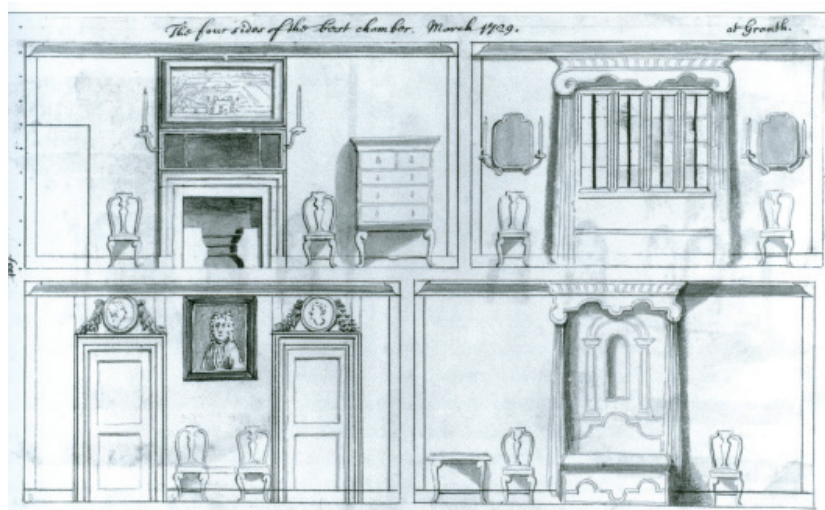
While we cannot prove without any doubt that the yellow settee was at Stenton, it is the very architecture of the house as well as original bits of yellow wool damask found under tacks on the settee that tell us it may well have been made for Stenton. Some English State Bedchambers such as that of Powis Castle, as decorated for Charles II in 1665 contain chairs and or stools furnished *ensuite* with a bed and settee.<sup>92</sup> Thus there is British precedent for the use of the settee in a room such as the Yellow Lodging Room. Also, if the Yellow Lodging Room is a Ladies Drawing Room, it would make sense that James Logan's only living daughter, at the time of her 1748 marriage to John Smith might have received the settee as a wedding present.<sup>93</sup> The very architecture of Stenton that highlights the double-width procession through the first floor and up the stair culminates in a room that has in effect a double-wide upholstered piece of furniture, displaying shell-carved knees, trifid feet and the fashionable sinuous curves of the then most current style.

Comparing James Logan's and Sarah Logan's Yellow Chambers, if hers is in a town house does raise



*This singular, c.1730 Philadelphia-made settee, a form more common to English than American furniture, descended in the family line of James Logan's daughter Hannah, who married John Smith in 1748. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the settee's yellow wool damask reproduction upholstery is based on fragments of yellow wool damask found on the object.*

(Morrison H. Heckscher, *American Furniture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1985, catalog #80, 136-137.)



*Watercolor by antiquarian William Stukeley of the four elevations of the Best Bed Chamber in his home at Grantham, 1729. The contents of this gentleman's best chamber closely resemble the 1752 contents of Stenton's Yellow Lodging Room with a flying tester bed and ensuite window curtains, a set of early Georgian side chairs, a pair of looking glasses with sconce arms, and a flat-topped high chest and [dressing] table.*

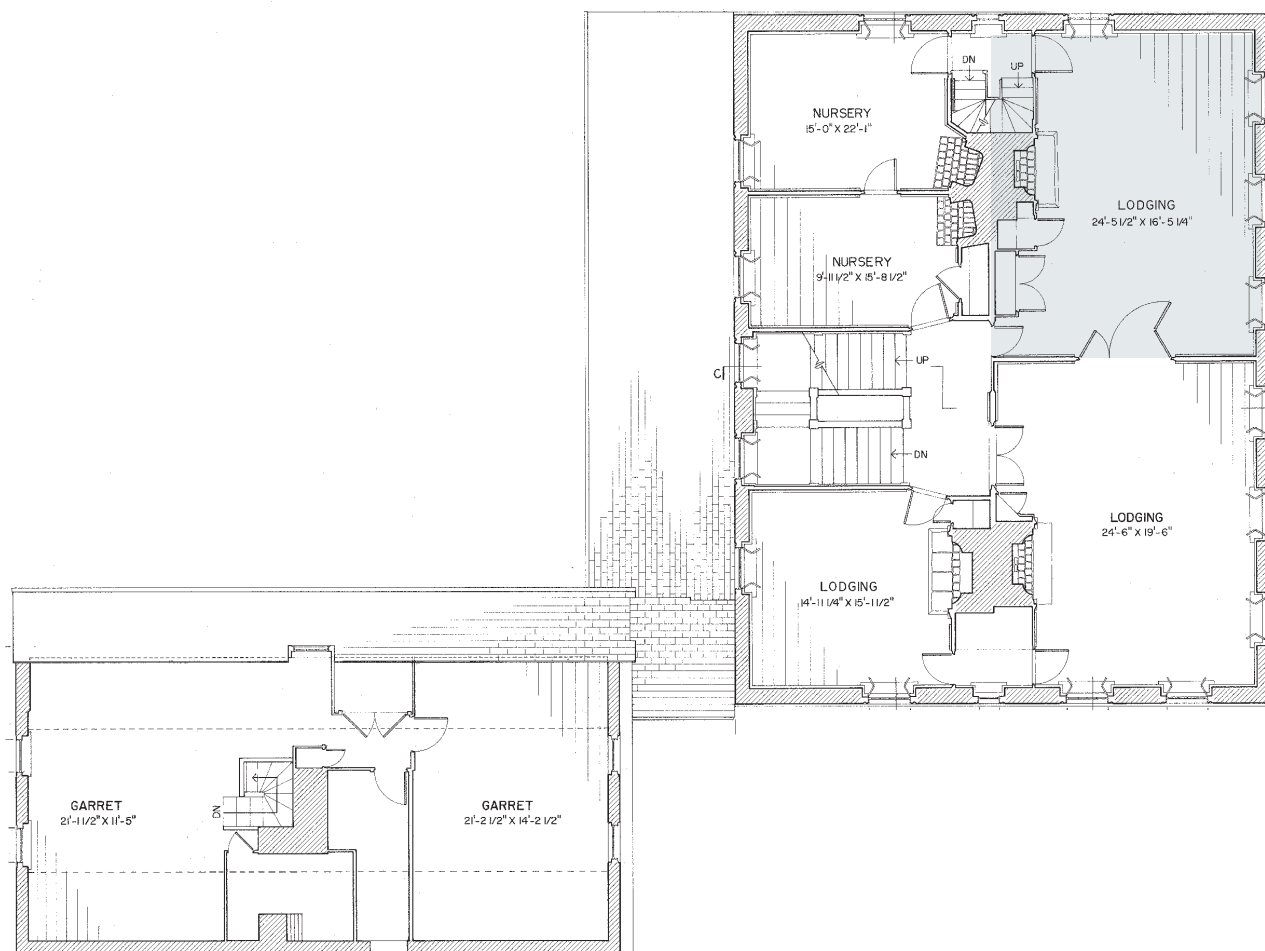
(Adam Bowett, *Early Georgian Furniture, 1715-1740*, 2009, Plate 3:40, page 115.)

the question, are the yellow hangings the same? The value has decreased from 30 pounds for the bed and window curtains on James' inventory to 20 pounds on hers. Sarah's inventory specifically lists 3 pair of window curtains, indicating that they are not the pull up type, but the type that are drawn together in paired panels. Brass curtain rings were excavated in the 1982 archeological dig at Stenton, which further suggests that the Logans used paired panels drawn on a wrought iron rod.

Like the bed curtains, the window curtains may also have had window cornices. In 1712, Logan paid William Branson, Joyner, 15 shillings for "Cornishes for the Bed and 3 Windows." Branson had also provided a bedstead and sacking bottom for 2 pounds 8 shillings. Both transactions were entered for the 6th month, 5th day, 1712.<sup>94</sup> Perhaps because the bed in the Yellow Lodging Room at Stenton entirely blocked the southwest window and nearly blocked off the south window, only the 3 fully exposed windows were curtained.

Although cumbersome, moving a flying tester bed is possible, and the 1712 account book entry suggests that Logan owned one prior to his residence at Stenton. Interestingly, William Logan retained the yellow damask bed and 3 pairs of window curtains in the Yellow Lodging Room at Stenton when he died in 1776, suggesting a return move of furnishings from Philadelphia to Stenton. However his father's maple high chest and dressing table were in the "Back Chamber Northward" in his town house which ran along Lodge Alley.

# Blew(sic) Lodging Room JL / Blue Chamber SL



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
*Light Yellow*

Please note that colors are representative and not exact color matches.

## INVENTORY NOTES: BLEW(SIC) LODGING ROOM &amp; BLUE CHAMBER

**Blew(sic) Lodging Room JL**

1 Bed with Callico Curtains, Bed Cloaths & ca	12	10	0
7 Cane Chairs & 1 Armed Ditto [chair]	4	0	0
1 Black Walnutt Stool	0	7	6
1 Dressing Table	0	17	6
1 Looking Glass	4	10	0
1 Tea Table with 6 China Cups & Saucers and 1 Small Bowl	1	0	0
1 pair Iron Dogs with Brass Heads, 1 p fire shovel and tongs	1	5	0
	<b>24</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>

**Blue Chamber SL**

A Bed Sted Feather Bed, Bolster 2 Pillows	12	10	0
A Sett of Blue worsted Curtains and Bedding	2	15	0
A Walnut Chest of Draws & Walnut Table	3	10	0
A Mahogany Sconce looking glass	2	12	0
7 Cane Chairs	--	7	0
3 Maps	--	7	0
A pr Andirons and a Walnut Stand	--	7	0
	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

**James Logan's Library****£900 0 0**

*We have perused the Catalogues of the late Mr. James Logan's Library, wrote with his own hand, together with the Invoices of Books purchased since those Catalogs were made, and having also viewed the Books, do appraise and value the same at Nine Hundred Pounds Current Money of Pennsylvania. Witness our Hands at Stenton this Thirty first Day of July, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-Two.*

*Richard Peters**B[enjamin] Franklin*

In the period during which James Logan furnished Stenton, it had become the norm to name the bed chambers for the colors of their expensive and comfortable textile furnishings rather than for their occupants.<sup>95</sup> This makes matching up the rooms with designated use by Logan family members somewhat of an uncertainty. James Logan's easy chair, mentioned earlier, was inventoried in the Stenton parlor. Such a chair would have been originally associated with a bed-chamber, probably James Logan's own bedchamber as he had already damaged his hip which in turn impaired his mobility by 1728. The original upholstery found on the surviving easy chair, now in a private collection, was blue wool. This suggests that the chair was in fact made for James Logan's Blue Lodging Room, and that he originally intended to use this room as his chamber and inner sanctum.

Architecturally, the house lends itself to this conclusion. The Blue Lodging Room is the final room in the

public procession at Stenton, the last in a series of double (or in this case triple) doors, through which a visitor could enter. Another architectural indicator of this is the use of bold bolelection molded paneling in the house, which is found in the Entry, the Parlor, the First Floor Lodging Room, the Stair Hall, the second floor landing, the Yellow Lodging Room and the Blue Lodging Room. The fireplace surround panels in the lesser White Lodging Room, the nursery and adjoining room are also bolelection moldings, but the panels under the windows and below the window seats do not use bolelection moldings in these spaces, indicating their lower rank. From the second floor landing, the bolelection molded panels continue to the turn in the stairs to the third floor, so that all the paneling visible from the second floor landing includes bolelection molding.

One could enter the Blue Lodging Room directly from the landing, through a narrow private door with a small knob. The truly paired doors (with a larger knob)

lead the visitor to the more public, more fashionable, and more expensively furnished Yellow Chamber, from which one can also gain access to the Blue Chamber. Furnished in different colors, these two rooms functioned as one large space, almost like a gallery, when the triple door in the partition wall was fully open, or could exist as entirely separate spaces. When acting as one space the rooms have a partial symmetry created by the fireplaces in the same position in each room and the beds in the symmetrical corners, positions indicated by the wrought iron hooks in the ceilings.<sup>96</sup>

James Logan's library was housed primarily in the Blue Lodging Room. One of the original pine bookcases, found in the Stenton attic in the 1950s, was tried in multiple positions throughout the house. With its curved corner to allow for the swing of the landing door into the Blue Room and its cut-outs for the baseboards and chair rail, it fit best and most specifically in its current location on the partition wall. A small molding nailed onto the side of the top of the bookcase and ghosts of shelves on the wall on the opposite side of the triple door suggests that books were housed entirely on the partition wall, including over the door. The built-in double door press cupboard in the Blue Room may also have been built as book storage, or perhaps was converted to that function at an early date. The shelving in this cupboard sits on nailed-in supports, perhaps necessary because the left side of the cupboard is wood, with only the right being plaster. Or, this may be an indicator that the shelves were added after original construction since most of the shelving at Stenton is set in to the plaster wherever possible at the time of plastering.<sup>97</sup>

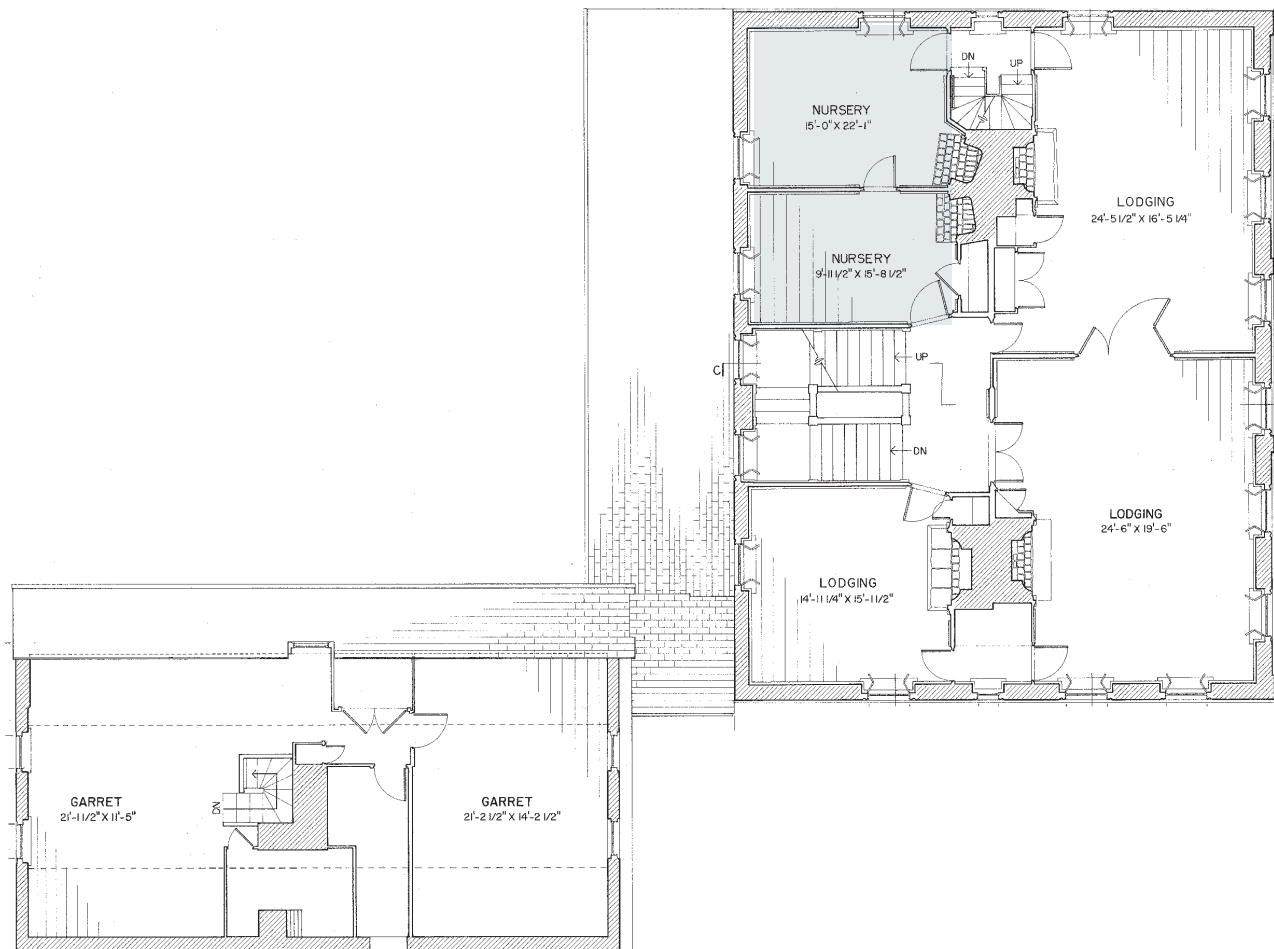
The use of the Blue Lodging Room for Logan's Library and as the last room on the public procession, renders the space also about consumption and display, the consumption of knowledge, the display of intellectual accomplishment, and also the display of wealth and taste, as books were expensive and beautiful objects. The size of the Library, 2,681 volumes, one of the largest in the American colonies, speaks to Logan's obsessive nature as a book collector. The library also provided a reason for some visitors to come to Stenton, like Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Godfrey in 1732, or John Bartram. An anecdote recorded in the diary of one visitor to Stenton suggests that a visit to Stenton was not complete without

journeying up to the Library. William Black of Virginia noted:

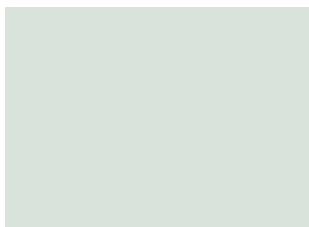
*After the Tea Table was remov'd we were going to take leave, but it appear'd we must first view his Library, which was Customary with him, to any persons of Account. He had really a very fine Collection of Books, both Ancient and Modern. . . . After the Old Gentleman had been Complimented on his Fine Taste we Departed.*<sup>98</sup>

Black tells us that having a fine Library was a mark of "fine taste." This use of the two front chambers as a large space for entertaining and showing the fine collection of books suggests that with the doors fully open the unified space functioned as a gallery, a long narrow room, with a wall of six windows to the south and windows at either end, well-furnished beds in the corners, and the most scholarly library in the American colonies on display.

# Nursery & Small Adjoining Room JL



## Nursery

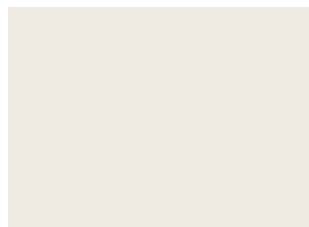


*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
Light Grey



*William Logan (c. 1750-1775)*  
Moderate Grey

## Small Adjoining Room



*James Logan (c. 1730-1750)*  
Greyish White



*William Logan (c. 1750-1775)*  
Moderate Grey

Please note that colors are representative and not exact color matches.

## INVENTORY NOTES: NURSERY AND SMALL ADJOINING ROOM

2 Beds wth Bedsteads & Bed Cloths & Curtains	14	0	0
5 old Chairs with Worsted Bottoms	1	10	0
1 Small Box of Pine Drawers	0	4	6
1 small Bed wth Bed stead & Bed Cloaths	3	10	0
3 old Cane Chairs	0	9	0
1 p[air] of old Walnutt Drawers	0	12	6
1 small Swinging Looking Glass	0	10	0
1 p[air] small fire Dogs wth Shovel & Tongs	0	7	6
1 Close Chair	0	10	0
	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0</b>

(note: broken out, the total value of the Nursery contents are 15 14 6, while the Adjoining Room contents are 5 19 0.)

Sarah Logan's widowhood house did not have a room called a nursery, as she no longer needed a space for housing children. That Stenton had adjoining low ranking rooms just off the servants' stair and main landing, one described as a nursery, indicates that a room for children was part of Logan's original plan, and was something the Logans viewed as an essential ingredient in the way they planned to live at Stenton as parents. At the time the family moved to Stenton in 1730, the youngest, James Logan, Jr. was only two, and thus was not yet born when construction on the house began. Daughter Hannah was eight, son William was 13, and the eldest, Sarah was 15. Three other children, James, Rachel and Charles had all died in infancy.

The Nursery is listed first, with the Adjoining Room following. Because Logan's inventory is taken on a logical path through the house, the Nursery naturally follows from the Blue Lodging Room and suggests that the larger of the two spaces, the corner room, the one having two windows, is the children's room. Furnished with beds, this was a room where children actually slept, perhaps all four of them at once in the "2 Beds with Bedsteads & Bed Cloths and Curtains." This room has only one pair of bed hooks in the ceiling, which presents questions about how the two beds fit in the space. With the traffic pattern of the room, the space between the two doors and in front of the fireplace would have needed to remain open for movement through the space. If there had been a trundle bed, the inventory takers might have recorded it as a trundle or, "truckle" bed, as they were sometimes called. In fact a "Truckle Bed Sted,

Feather Bed, Bolster & Pillow" valued at three pounds ten shillings is the last item listed with "Chamber Furniture & Linnen" on Sarah Logan's inventory, which could have been tucked under the main bedstead in the nursery.<sup>99</sup> This suggests that the 14 pounds for the two beds makes the primary bedstead and curtains worth just over ten pounds, so that the children's sleeping accommodations were not quite as posh as their parents' or the guests' in the White Lodging Room, but not far below.

A portion of chair rail 12 x 63" in the northeast corner of this room is missing, as if for an alteration for a shallow cupboard or bookshelf that may have been added to the room when it was no longer used as a nursery.<sup>100</sup> It is curious that it would not have been constructed like the other shelves and sat on the chair rail if this had been the case. Also curious, is a nearly square in section strip of molding at the bottom of the base board, which runs along the east wall and around the window seat base. A third curiosity is the chair rail applied to the backs of the doors on the inside of the room. This chair rail may have come from what was removed in the corner, with the strips measuring 24" on the door between the two rooms and 28" on the door to the service stair. The cornices in these rooms are simple in form, but bold in depth. Above the fireplace in the Nursery are three narrow vertically oriented bolection molded panels, and to the left of the fireplace in the Nursery, the service stair juts out into the room near the ceiling. The two panels above the Fireplace in the Adjoining Room are horizontally oriented with a shorter one close to the fireplace and a larger one above, as is more typical of the other rooms.

Because the first item listed for each bed chamber is the bed, the positions of the listing of the beds for these rooms helps to assign the objects to the two rooms. The five old chairs with wool seats and the small box of pine drawers were most likely in the Nursery. In the Adjoining Room, where the bed hooks are quite close together, indicating use of a narrow bed, the inventory lists a “Small Bed with Bed stead & Bed Cloaths.” One pair of old walnut drawers refers to a chest-on-chest, and the “Swinging Looking Glass” valued at only 10 shillings suggests its use by a servant. Being a household servant would have required good grooming, and access to a looking glass was important for proper daily appearance. A final curiosity about these spaces is that there was only one set of fireplace furniture for two fireplaces. The simplest explanation is that the Nursery was no longer in use at the time the inventory was taken, and that the servant’s space, the Adjoining Room, still was in regular use. The adjoining room contained the only “Close Chair,” or furniture fitted with a chamber pot, listed on the inventory. While the furniture in the Nursery and the Adjoining Room was not fashionable or prized, the contents of the Nursery were worth more than twice the contents

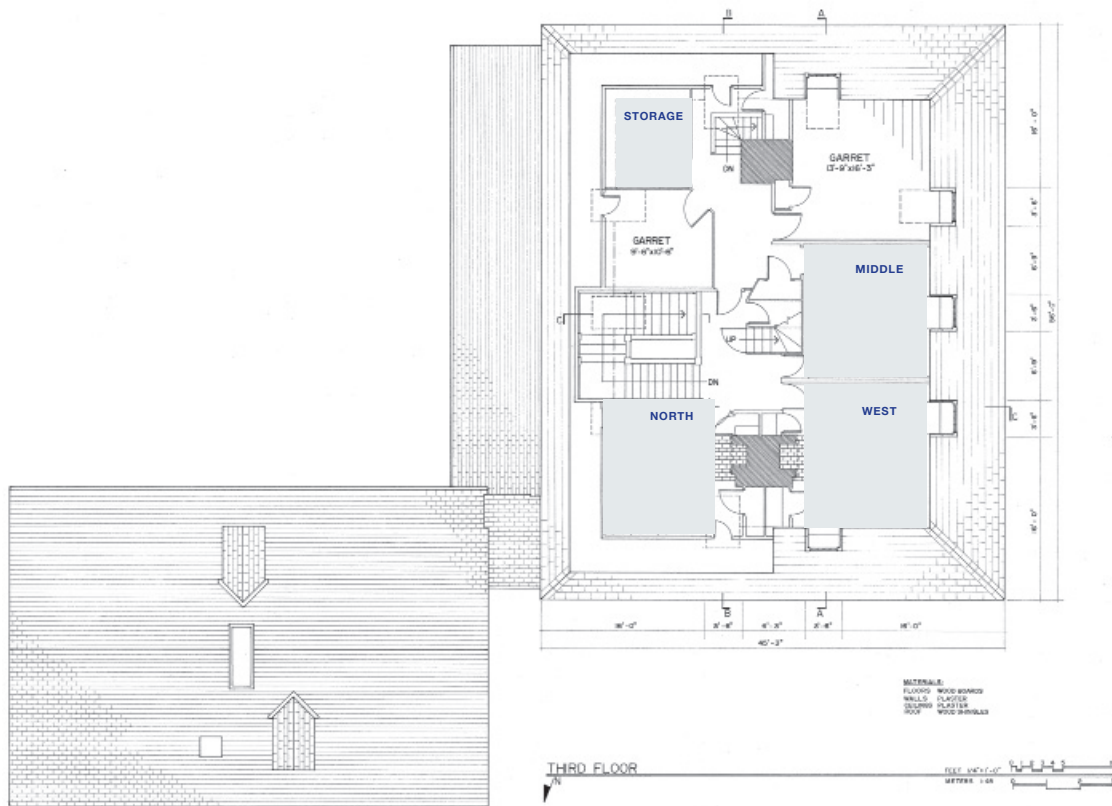
of the Adjoining Room. This comparison furthers the argument that the Adjoining Room is servant’s space. A servant in this space had easy access to the children, to the service stair and to the other servant’s chambers in the Garrett. This person could also easily wait on the other rooms on the second floor via easy access from the main stair landing.

The room is essentially centrally located from an access perspective in the house. The large closet in the Adjoining Room contains shelving resting on wood sides that was built into the space well after construction and appears to make use of some of James Logan’s original book shelves. Like the Blue Lodging Room closets, it has no knob or latch except its key. The closets in the White Lodging Room and the Yellow Lodging Room have the lock placed lower in the door and have a small brass knob with a latch for simple opening and closing without locking. There is a remnant of a clothes peg inside the closet on the right and a scar from where the strip of wood would have also hung on the left. Perhaps clothing for all the children would have been stored in this closet, as the servants were responsible for the care of the children’s clothes.

#### Chamber Furniture & Linnen — SL

A Suit of White Damask Bed Curtains with Window Curtains, Head Cloth & Tester	}	1	15	0
A Suit of Muslin Bed Curtains		1	5	0
7 Damask Table Cloths		3	10	0
3 Bird-Eyed ditto [Table Cloths]		1	10	0
8 Diaper ditto [Table Cloths]		3	0	0
5 Huggaback ditto		0	12	6
3 doz[en] Damask Napkins		1	16	0
11 Bird Ey'd ditto [Napkins]		0	11	0
8 Huggaback ditto [Napkins]	}	0	7	6
4 Diaper ditto [Napkins]	}			
1 Damask Side Board Cloth		0	5	0
2 Diaper Towels		0	1	6
6 Pair Holland Pillow Cases valued with the Beds				
6 pair Holland Sheets 6 pair Home Spun ditto	}			
7 Pair Old ditto [Holland Sheets]	}			with the Beds
6 pr Pillow Cases 5 pr Common ditto	}			
3 Bolster Cases, 7 pr Tow Sheets	}			
2 White Cotton Counterpanes	}			
3 Kitchen Towels, 3 Market Cloths 4 Knife Cloths		0	4	0
7 pr Coarse Blankets An old Dimity Coverlid & 1 Old White Quilt	}			with the Beds
A New Home spun Carpet 9 Tin Canisters		1	10	0
1 Tin Bucket with Starch		0	2	6
A Truckle Bed Sted, Feather Bed, Bolster & Pillow		3	10	0

# The Four Garrett Rooms — JL



## INVENTORY NOTES: THE FOUR GARRETT ROOMS

### North Garret – JL

Servants Bed & one Chair	2	0	0
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### West Ditto [Garret] – JL

A Bed Stead, Bed Furniture	3	10	0
An old Canvas screen	1	5	0
	<b>4</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>0</b>

### Middle Ditto [Garret] – JL

Servants Bed	1	10	0
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### In the North Front Garret – SRL

A Bed Sted, Bolster, Feather Bed, 2 Pillows and Bedding	6	10	0
An old oaken Table with 2 Cane Chairs	0	7	0
	<b>6</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>0</b>

### In the North Back Garret – SRL

A Servant's Bed and Sted	1	10	0
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### In the South Back Garret – SRL

A Servants Feather Bed & Bed Sted & 4 Latin Maps	2	10	0
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It was customary in houses of Stenton's type and time for the garret rooms to be used as servants' lodging rooms as well as storage for "sundries" and "lumber."<sup>101</sup> In Stenton's case the rooms on the west side are the better garret rooms as they are the only two with small fireplaces for direct heating. These corner rooms are well-fitted with cupboard space, one on each side around the fireplaces, and two dormer windows. The West Room closets are fitted entirely with shelves; whereas, the North Room has pegs for hanging in one of its cupboards. These two western rooms are whitewashed overall, while with the exception of the main stair landing, much the rest of the attic woodwork has remained unpainted.<sup>102</sup>

Each of the four main garret rooms has chair rail on the partition walls. The arrangement of the garret has these "better rooms" on the west divided from the lesser rooms and store rooms to the east. In the middle, in front of the stairs to the roof, is a single-window, unheated room which can be entered either from the main landing or on the service landing side. This space therefore served as a bridge between the higher and lower parts of the attic. A fourth unheated but large room on the front at the southeast corner, having two windows, is not described on the James Logan inventory, but its existence is noted as there are "four Garret Rooms" in total. This room has a ventilated closet with shelving that includes a shallow one-third shelf along with deeper shelves but no fireplace. The vent could somehow be related to the flues in the back of the Back Dining Room fireplace, so that there may be some form of low-level indirect heat in this space.

It is important to remember that the inventory describes only those objects belonging to James Logan, and thus reveals something about the obligation that a master had to his servants as far as furniture and living accommodations were concerned, essentially a place to sleep. The inventory is imperfect as a document of everything that was in each room. It does not include

personal effects that servants and slaves certainly would have owned and kept in their rooms, like textiles or other small items.<sup>103</sup> The servants would have had a candlestick and chamber pot allocated to their use, though cleaned by them and stored with the others until needed. Tools servants and slaves used may also be represented on the inventory in other spaces or outbuildings. The Logan family account books document that the Logans purchased clothing and shoes for their servants. As documented in Hannah Logan's Account Book, they paid their servants a kind of annual bonus or tip for their service.<sup>104</sup> This money would have allowed the servants to purchase additional effects of their own.<sup>105</sup>

James Logan's inventory tells us that there was a type of bed known simply as a "Servants Bed." In conjunction with this description, there is no mention of a bedstead, indicating that a servant's bed is just that, the mattress or pallet bed directly on the floor, the essential bed. Sarah Logan's servants slept in great comfort for the time. All three of the servant beds in her townhouse had frames or bedsteads, and the best two boasted feather beds, luxurious for a servant's bed in this time period.

The Stenton West Garrett, continuing the hierarchy of the house floor plan overall, is over the Parlour and Yellow Lodging Room. This room contained the best of the garret beds as its description included a "Bed Stead" and "Bed Furniture." Its value at £3. 10. 0, was the same as the value of the bedstead in the Adjoining Room, adding to the argument that the Adjoining Room is a servants' chamber. The spacing of the hooks in the ceiling of the Adjoining Room could perhaps be used to determine the width of "Servants Beds," which are narrower than the other beds in the house. As in the rooms below, the servants' bed would have been the visual focal point in this room as in the second floor rooms below and may have fit nicely tucked into the corner where the knee walls and hipped roofs come together. This would be the best use for these corners as there is not adequate headroom for an adult to stand in these spaces.<sup>106</sup> This

west room also contained an “old canvas screen,” probably a fire screen but maybe also a room divider. The North garret contained a bed on the floor and a chair worth about 10 shillings. The Middle Room, this unheated bridge room, is unpainted and has a single dormer window. It contained one servant’s bed at the time of the inventory but could have easily housed multiple beds and people. The fourth room, the southeast one, is not listed and was presumably empty at the time of the

inventory taking. The remaining spaces in the garret, but not described on the inventory are a closet on the servants landing side of the passage, an unheated, windowless storeroom in the northeast corner, which appears to have had a vent in the roof at one time, and divided from that by a board partition wall is a small unheated space with one window on the back of the house.

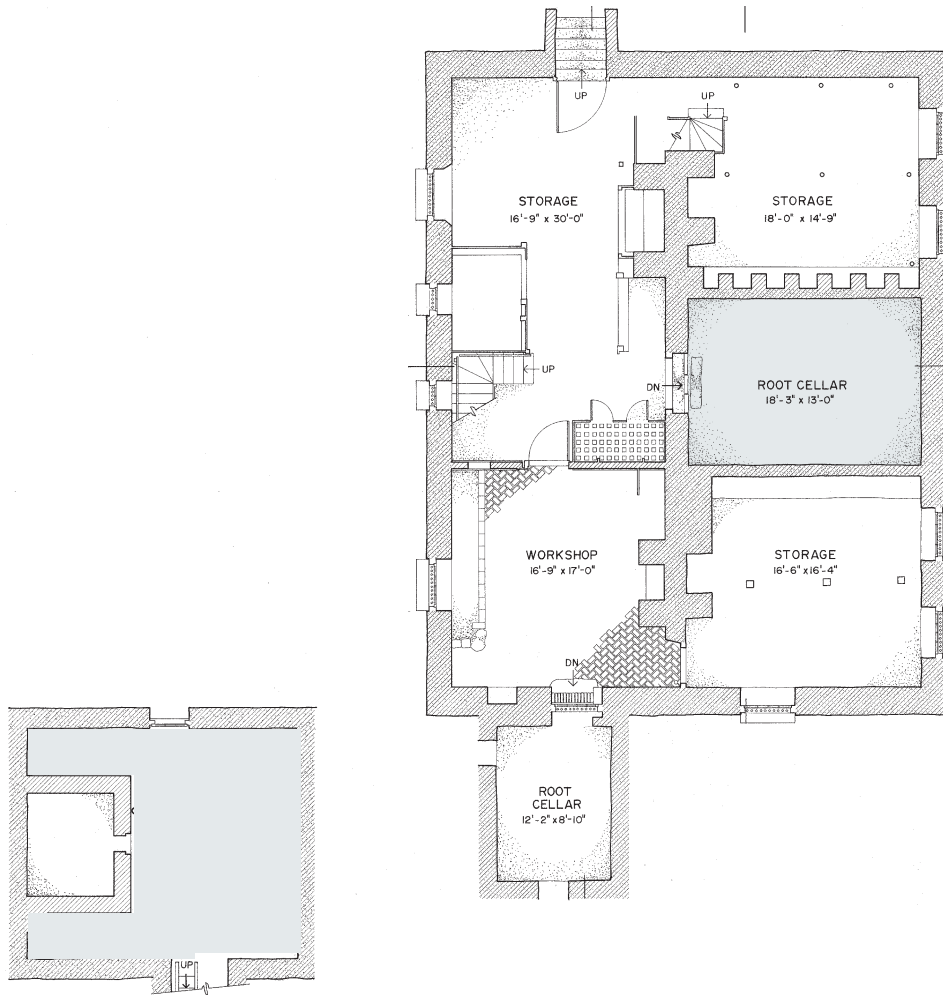


William Hogarth, *The Distressed Poet*, 1736.

*This painting offers a sense of what life was like in 18th-century attic spaces, notwithstanding Stenton's garrett chambers, where beds were placed in a corner such as this with curtains strung at the hip in the ceiling, and simple old chairs and tables furnished the spaces. Note that even the lower sorts had access to teapots, as on the mantel shelf.*

(Charles Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England*, 1993, plate 101, p. 115.)

# Kitchen, Wash House and Cellars



## INVENTORY NOTES: KITCHEN, WASH-HOUSE AND CELLARS — JL

an old Clock	2	10	0
a Jack & ca	3	10	0
Andirons, Shovels and Tongs	1	12	6
4 Iron Potts, Kettles, Pothooks, & Racks	2	0	0
1 Brass Kettle & 2 Bell Metal Skellets	3	0	0
2 Tea Kettles, Coffee Pot & Chafing Dish	1	0	0
Copper Stew Pan & Warming Pan	1	2	6
9 old Iron Candle Sticks	0	3	6
1 p[air] Steel Yards	0	12	0
2 Box Irons & 5 Sad Irons	1	2	6
2 Frying Pans	0	8	0
a Dutch Oven	1	10	0
a Wooden Mortar & 2 Pine Tables	0	10	0
Glass, Tin & Earthen Ware w[i]th Casks, Tubs and Lumber	7	10	0
	<b>£</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>11 0</b>

## INVENTORY NOTES: KITCHEN, WASH-HOUSE AND CELLARS — SL

2 Oval Dishes wt: 15 oz at 2/ per. oz	1	10	0
8 large Pewter Dishes, 15 smaller D[it]o [Dishes] 120? At 15 pr	7	10	0
{7 Sloop [sic – soup] Dishes 20 oz at 2/oz			
{2 doz[en] best plates at 24/doz	6	6	0
{2 dozen and 7 Common plates at 15/doz			
6 best Soup Plates 12 / 8 Common Soup Plates	1	2	0
3 large Basons & 2 Smaller A Cheese Plate 3 Rims 15 oz at 14/oz	17	6	0
1 doz Pewter Spoons, 1 Pewter Tea Pot A Pasty Dish	0	10	6
6 small pewter spoons and a Sauce Boat	0	2	6
3 Pewter Candlesticks 5 old chamber pots & 1 New one	1	4	0
4 Water Plates 20/ A Parcell of old Pewter wt. 25 oz at 12/oz	2	5	0
8 Brass candlesticks 11 Iron Ditto [candlesticks]	1	2	6
2 Brass Chaffing Dishes 3 Iron ditto [chafing dishes]	0	10	0
1 Copper Coffee Pott, 2 Frying Pans, 2 Grid Irons	0	17	6
4 iron Pots, 1 Iron Kettle, 1 Iron Skillet	1	5	0
3 Bellmettle Skillets 1 Copper Stew Pan	2	5	0
1 pr Kitchen andirons Shovel & Tongs	0	12	0
2 Spits -- & a Spit Jack	2	15	0
1 Iron Peel and Rake 1 Lazy Back	0	5	0
A Tin Fish Kettle 1 Brass Kettle	1	15	0
1 Large Copper Kettle 60/ 2 tea Kettles 15/	3	15	0
3 Box irons with Heaters 4 Flat Irons	1	7	0
2 Crates 1 Cullander 1 Dish Kettle 1 Iron Skimmer	0	6	0
2 Tin graters 2 Tin Funnels & 10 Scewers	0	2	0
1 Copper Dutch Oven	1	10	0
1 Tin Dish Cover 1 Tin Pan	0	2	0
2 p[ai]r Brass Scales & Weights	0	7	0
A Coffee Mill, Warming Pan and Pepper Mill	0	17	0
A Quantity of Apothecary Ware with Phials By guess	3	0	0
	£	57	9 0

## INVENTORY NOTES: GLASS — SL

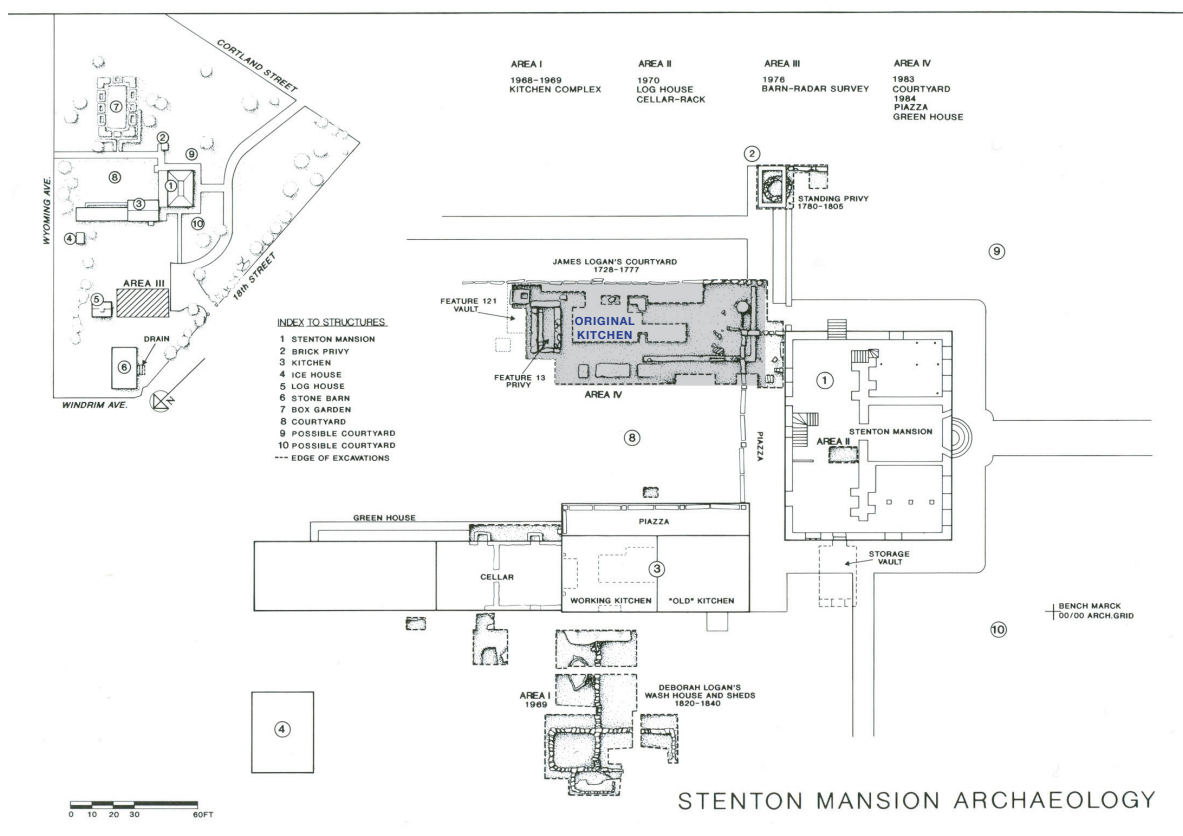
2 large Decanters 1 Midling do. [decanter] & 1 Small do. [decanter]	0	12	6
1 Beer Glass and 6 Wine Glasses 3 Tumblers	0	5	0
A pair of Cruits [cruets]	0	1	0
24 Syllabub Glasses, 2 Glass Pyramid [stacking] Salvers	1	10	0
23 Jelly Glasses 1 Large & 3 small Tumblers	0	14	0
	£	3	2 6

Kitchens and wash houses were messy places of work almost always built outside the main block of a grand house to increase the comfort of the house by keeping the commotion of work and the heat and smells from cooking at bay and to reduce the risk of total loss by fire.<sup>107</sup> Virginia planter, Robert Beverley observed in 1705, “All Drudgeries of Cookery, washing, Dairies, &c. are perform’d in Offices detach’d from their Dwelling-Houses, which by this means are kept more cool and Sweet.”<sup>108</sup> The listing of the “Kitchen, Wash-house and Cellars” at the end of James Logan’s inventory implies that these spaces are away from and outside of the realm of the other rooms, and by use are the domain of the servants.

These kitchens would however be located adjacent to the house for convenience of access. At Stenton, the original kitchen was most likely behind and just off to the east from the main house just beyond the back door of the Back Dining Room, continuing a diagonal path of access from this kitchen, through the Back Dining Room across the stair hall and into the back parlor service door.

Benches where servants would wait to be called into the house originally flanked the exterior doorway outside the Back Dining Room, and these are the only such “ghosts” on the house. The foundation for the kitchen and wash house was partially located during the 1982 archeological investigation by Barbara Liggett, for which the final report was never completed. Archeologist Deborah Miller has suggested that Liggett’s not having found a hearth does not necessarily rule out that this outbuilding foundation includes the kitchen. Miller believes that the Logans would have recycled the brick from that feature.<sup>109</sup>

The wash house would have functioned much like a scullery, for the washing of both dishes and clothes, becoming a laundry and ironing room as well. Looking at the plan of the foundations, it would seem that the present-day well (marked by a pump), would have been enclosed by the building, aiding in obtaining adequate water to perform these scullery functions, if in fact that well dates to the 1730-50 period. Some sort of smaller covered porch or piazza probably originally adjoined the



*This drawing of the Stenton 1982 dig lays out as much of the foundations for the original kitchen and wash house on the east side of the rear yard as was excavated by Barbara Liggett.*

(John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts and Michael Parrington, *The Buried Past: An Archeological History of Philadelphia*, p.333.)

back dining room, covering the benches on which the servants sat, and sheltering the path to the kitchen. This shed area is reinforced by the much simpler molding profile of this doorframe compared with the other two rear service doors, which would have been exposed to view.

<sup>110</sup> The shed and enclosed area may have also included the original bulkhead to the cellars under the house next to the Back Dining Room exterior door, where a window is presently. Having such an enclosure facilitated serving the house in cold and inclement weather but retained the separation between house and kitchen. <sup>111</sup>

The partial foundations discovered in 1982 are difficult to understand, and without a final interpretive report from the 1982 excavations, the precise arrangement of these spaces is inconclusive. Our current thinking is that the kitchen and wash house were adjacent spaces just behind the back dining room, perhaps not unlike the surviving 1790s kitchen and washhouse off the opposite side of the back of the house. Having a kitchen and wash house contained in a two-room kitchen outbuilding, was typical on many surviving southern plantations. There would have been a large cooking hearth and bake oven in the complex where the cooking equipment listed on the inventory would have been used and stored. The clock jack would have been rigged to mechanically turn a spit for evenly roasted meat. The andirons, shovel and tongs explicitly tell us that the Logans used open hearth cooking. Interestingly, the laundry equipment, the 2 box irons and 5 sadirons, were intermingled with the cooking equipment. This may suggest that the kitchen had a central chimney arrangement with a primary cooking fireplace in the main kitchen and a smaller secondary cooking fireplace in the wash house, not unlike the 1790s kitchen and wash house still standing at Stenton. The irons, frying pan and Dutch oven may have been at the wash house hearth. The secondary hearth could have been used for higher heat actions like baking and frying,

while the majority of the boiling, simmering and stewing and roasting was conducted at the larger main hearth. The first 7 items are all hearth cooking equipment, followed by “9 old iron candlesticks,” that were probably used and stored in the kitchen. The next item is the Steel Yard for weighing, followed by the irons and more cooking implements, the two frying pans and the Dutch Oven. The last listing that seems to be in the kitchen is a wooden mortar and two pine tables suggestive of a food preparation area, likely in the wash house. The kitchen may have had a built-in dresser of some kind for storage, although much of the cooking equipment may have been stored on hooks around or even in the fireplace. There also may have been a smoke house or smoking chamber as part of the kitchen complex. Parts of the area were never excavated and perhaps it would be worthwhile to reopen the site in the future.

The final line on this section of the James Logan inventory may represent items stored in the cellars of the house. Glassware is the first item on this line followed by, tinware, earthenware, casks, tubs and lumber, all on one line, implying a certain togetherness in space. Also, with the exception of the pine table and mortar, which would seem necessary in the kitchen, most of the other items are cooking-related. With the cellars being the last spaces listed and spaces in which there are no hearths, it would seem these items were kept in the cellars.

The glassware listed on Sarah Logan’s inventory specifically identifies the forms. Perhaps the detailed description of the glass is another indication that Sarah owned much of the glassware, thus reinforcing her role as mistress and hostess of Stenton. Much of the glassware is related to the dispensing and serving of beverages, the decanter set, beer and wine glasses and tumblers. The 24 footed syllabub glasses are for the bountiful display of syllabub probably served on stacked glass salvers.<sup>112</sup> Because casks and bottles of ciders, ales and wines were

#### Wines — SL

4 doz[en] & 7 Bottles Methegline	2	15	0
2 doz[en] Cherry	1	4	0
1 doz[en] & 3 Bottles English Beer	0	15	0
2 Bottle[s] Frontenack	0	5	0
1 doz[en] & 5 Bottles Elder Berry Wine	0	17	0
11 doz[en] empty Bottles & 6 Pint Ones	1	7	6

stored in the cellar, it would make sense to store these dispensing and drinking vessels in the cellar as well. In the cellar in the space under the back dining room but next to the current stair is a stall-like room with air vents and which once had a door and dresser-like shelving inside. This area is not unlike a pantry cupboard (like the one in the back dining room) and not unlike the built-in bar in a tavern or coffee house. With the brick-floored room likely a diary and in close proximity, this cupboard would have been an ideal place to prepare syllabub, dispense it to the syllabub glasses and then carry it up either staircase to the Back Dining Room or Parlor directly. Jellies were likely also served from the salvers.

Again, Sarah Logan's inventory serves as a complement to James'. The total amount of "kitchen furniture" alone on her inventory is more than double the value for his kitchen, wash-house and cellars combined. Sarah's includes necessary food preparation and cooking equipment that may not have been included on James' inventory like the Peel and Rake, Lazy Back, Fish Kettle, Collander, Iron Skimmer, Graters, Funnels and Skewers, Scales and Weights, A Coffee Mill and Pepper Mill. Like some of the table and bed linen, this may have been her property as mistress of the household prior to her marriage. It would seem that some of the difference in value between the two inventories is that in her townhouse household, brass candlesticks and pewter were stored in the kitchen in the absence of a "Back Dining Room," again reinforcing the nature of the Stenton Back Dining Room as a room of service.

Also listed on Sarah's inventory, but absent from James' is a specific listing for "Apothecary Ware with Phials." The 1982 Archeological dig includes many shards from Pharmaceutical bottles including a Robert Turlington "Balsam of Life" Bottle from 1751. Women's receipt books often included recipes for food preparation and "Quackery" or Medicine, and Sarah Logan was responsible for responding to the medicinal needs of her household, which may explain in part why apothecary ware appears on her inventory but not James'.<sup>113</sup> After the Logans took in the sick husband of Sarah Shurmer, James explained to Sarah Shurmer that Sarah Logan nursed Mr. Shurmer, "... but afterwith by ye medicines that were used, in which way nothing was wanting nor any care that could be taken of a child of my own, for my wife (as he often express'd himself) was truly a nursing mother to him, he recovered so much that this week

he walked of himself to Germantown."<sup>114</sup> In addition to at-home medicines and treatments, Logan mentions sending for a Germantown "phy'n [physician] of good skill, whom our family frequently uses (we had one from town before)."<sup>115</sup> Logan's ledger includes payments from Household Accounts to a "German Doctor."

Sarah Logan's inventory offers a description of some of the beverages dispensed into the Logan glassware. Metheglin is spiced mead. Mead is an alcoholic beverage made from fermented honey, yeast and water. Frontenac grapes grow well in colder climates and produce fruity flavored red wines. Cherry could also be "sherry," although cherries could also be used to make wine. Certainly with a cider mill on the Stenton plantation, the Logans consumed plenty of cider as well. These wines suggest a Stenton aviary and orchard were important features of the plantation landscape.

# On the Plantation

## INVENTORY NOTES: ON THE PLANTATION

A Servant Girl named Eliza[beth] Kline		7	0	0
a Negro Woman named Mena ab[ou]t 45 years old		25	0	0
a Servant / John Welsh / 2 ½ years to serve		10	0	0
an old 4 Wheeled Chaise, renewed		35	0	0
a 2 Wheeled Ditto [Chaise]		12	0	0
Parts of an Old Broken Chariot		5	0	0
an Old Sorrel Horse	Aged 14 years	5	0	0
1 Older d[itt]o [Horse]	20 d[itt]o [years]	1	0	0
a Gray d[itt]o [Horse]	10 d[itt]o [years]	12	0	0
a black Mare	6 d[itt]o [years]	6	10	0
a little Bay Horse	16 d[itt]o [years]	2	0	0
a p[ai]r of black Chaise Horses	14 d[itt]o [years]	20	0	0
10 Cows	@ 65/ ea	32	10	0
4 D[itt]o [Cows]	sold @ 65/ ea	13	0	0
A Bull		3	15	0
2 Steers	Aged 3 years @ 50/	5	0	0
3 Heifers [young cows]	40/	6	0	0
21? Sheep	10/	14	0	0
a Small Cart		2	10	0
a New D[itt]o [Cart]		10	0	0
1 old D[itt]o [Cart]		2	10	0
Gears for 4 horses		2	0	0
A cutting Box		0	10	0
2 Corn Fans		1	10	0
2 Plows & Gears		1	0	0
2 Harrows		1	12	0
Pitch Forks, Rakes, Axes, Spades, Shovels, Hoes & ca		2	0	0
100 bushels of Wheat in Sheaf	@ 3/6	17	10	0
100 d[itt]o [bushels] of Rye	2/6	12	10	0
about 20 Load of Hay		30	0	0
a Stone Garden Rowler		2	5	0
a Copper Kettle		1	15	0
a Servant Man named Thomas Cummins	2 ½ years to serve	10	0	0

SL Odds-n-ends

The contents of “On the Plantation” are the remaining items inventoried from James Logan’s Stenton, those things not in the house, kitchen, wash house or cellars. This includes at least some of James Logan’s human property or slaves and some of the indentured servants. The negro woman Menah, purchased for 30 pounds in 1724 (Ledger p. 32), who was about 45 years of age in 1752 is surpassed in value only by the renewed four-wheeled chaise and the 20 loads of hay.<sup>116</sup> Does Menah’s listing “on the plantation” literally mean that she worked outside of the house, or is she listed here with the livestock because that was the custom for slaves to be inventoried with the “chattels?”<sup>117</sup>

With all the movement of people in and out of Philadelphia and to and from Quaker Meeting and visits

to other friends described in the accounts and diaries, that much of this property would be devoted to transportation is not surprising: a renewed four-wheeled chaise, a two-wheeled chaise, and parts of an old broken chariot.<sup>118</sup> To power these vehicles were a handsome pair of black chaise horses at £20, a gray horse and other sorrel or chestnut-colored horses, some of which were older. The horses are followed by remaining livestock, dairy cows, steers (castrated male bovines or oxen) for working the land, a bull (uncastrated male bovine) for breeding, young cows or heifers, and a flock of sheep. All of this tells us something about how the Logans used the land at Stenton, something about the plantation diet. Apparently, the plantation farms produced wheat and rye as well as corn and hay for animals. The remaining



*Fairhill (built 1712-1717), the Seat of Isaac Norris I. This c. 1764-1777 drawing attributed to Isaac Norris II, conveys the 18th-century country gentry house sensibility in the arrangement of buildings, suggesting that Stenton originally had a similar formal landscape arrangement close to the house. The drawing shows elements now lost at Stenton, the forecourt with a gate, balustrade, cupola and weathervane.*

(Winterthur Library. Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean, "Isaac Norris' Fairhill," Winterthur Portfolio, Winter 1997, p. 248.)

equipment, carts, gears, plow and harrows, pitch forks, rakes, axes, a cutting box, spades, shovels, and hoes tell us about the formal large scale cultivation of fields and also suggest gardening and the harvesting of wood. The "garden stone rowler" was used to smooth the ground for lawns, especially ground that has been much tunneled by rodents and moles. The presence of this tool reveals that although much of Stenton's land was originally used in a farming context, the area around the house was likely well groomed with rows of trees and formal lawns and access ways.<sup>119</sup>

The remaining almost odd listings at the end of the inventory, a copper kettle and the servant man Thomas Cummins, suggest that perhaps Thomas was situated to work perhaps at the mill or at least on one of the tenant farms. Perhaps the kettle was for soap making or some other large-scale processing that was done outside and out of the kitchen/wash house complex.

## On the Walls

Although portraits, maps and prints are not included on James Logan's inventory, we know from his accounts that he owned a number of printed pictures, at least some of which were framed. In 1712, he purchased "5 maps (with frames made by William Branson)" and "5 Prints (with frames made by William Branson)." In 1718 in his "Account of Maps and Pictures," Logan recorded "1 Sett of 5 Maps in frames for £3 5 0." Then in 1733, after he was living at Stenton, Logan ordered "15 squares of 17 ½ by 13 ¼ inches

of flat even white window glass 'to cover a doz[en] flower prints in their natural colours.'"<sup>120</sup> It is possible that the 1712 print purchase could have included a set of the Four Indian Kings, as the image of one of the Kings was found on a redware bowl excavated at Stenton in 1982. It is also possible that Logan received a set of the Four Kings prints in his capacity as a leading political figure in Pennsylvania and the Proprietor's Representative, never logging a purchase into his accounts. Sarah Logan's inventory lists 3 maps in the Blue Chamber and 3 maps in the Green Chamber, her lesser bedchambers. Perhaps she continued a family tradition of hanging maps in bed chambers. One could expect to find maps as part of a library, and Logan also owned a "book Mapp," likely an atlas, which he purchased in June 1741 for £1. 10. 0.

We know that James Logan's portrait was painted by Gustavus Hesselius about the time he was preparing to move to Stenton. Portraits of his two daughters, Hannah and Sarah were also commissioned. Where did these hang at Stenton? Was there ever a portrait of Sarah Read Logan? In English great houses, portraits often hung in the dining room and in the withdrawing room. At this time the paintings were hung higher than we might hang them today and often tilted away from the wall with a supporting chain visible. Perhaps the Logan daughters were on display for possible suitors on the large partition wall panels in the parlor. If hung in the Entry, the daughters may have flanked the parlor entrance and James may have hung outside the office marking gendered territory in the house. A careful survey of the woodwork of the panels and cornices in the

rooms and old nails in the plaster, with an eye toward what might have been hung and where, could help to identify placement of framed portraits, maps, prints and looking glasses. A close and thorough reexamination of James Logan's accounts might also help to eliminate the use of textile, leather or paper wall coverings in any of the rooms. To this point, no physical or documentary evidence has been found to support the use of wall coverings.<sup>121</sup>

## Lighting

In James and Sarah Logan's period, the many windows lit Stenton by day, and at night, the firelight and candlelight illuminated the rooms, while shiny and reflective surfaces augmented that light. From a windows perspective, the best lit rooms in the house are the best rooms, the Parlor and Yellow Lodging Room.<sup>122</sup> Some of these augmenting devices were the glossy painted surfaces of the paneled walls, or even the bright white of whitewashed plaster. Or, at great expense, furnishings like the eight looking glasses spread throughout the house directly reflected light as did the polished brass andirons in the parlor fireplace. James Logan's Parlor and Yellow Lodging Room also have the best lighting augmenters. The scrutore has looking glass doors and the parlor looking glass is the largest in the house, valued at £8. The Yellow Lodging Room contains a pair of "Sconce glasses with brass arms," which place candlelight high on the wall and directly in front of the mirror, effectively doubling the light from the candle in front of it.

James Logan mentions that he and Sarah went to bed after midnight sometimes, "... 'tho my wife and I did not go to sleep till past 12 we heard nothing of him."<sup>123</sup> Staying up into the night required that economic resources be spent on candles, and the Logans owned many. On their combined inventories, there is one small silver candlestick, four pairs of brass candlesticks, 11 iron candlesticks and 3 pewter candlesticks, plus the brass sconce arms on the glasses in the Yellow Lodging Room. On the inventories, the candlesticks are stored in the pewter press and kitchen rather than in use, and perhaps Stenton should think of interpreting the way candlesticks were cleaned and kept away to be made ready by the servants when needed.

Both James and Sarah's inventories included eight looking glasses of one sort or another, essentially one in every room. While glass was costly, and of course fragile, it was an important component of lighting and light augmentation in the pre-electric age. Mirrored

glass was employed to reflect available light, daylight or candle light, and augment the sense of space and light in an interior. Sarah's inventory takers, Edward Cathrall and Judah Foulke, were more specific in some of their descriptions, including those of the looking glasses. In price, the Walnut Pier glass in Sarah Logan's Little Front Room matches the looking glass in the Blue Lodging Room at Stenton.<sup>55</sup>

## Conclusion

Stenton is the grand c. 1730 big house and its complex of plantation outbuildings and land that survives. It is now a historic place administered by a group of visionary, preservation-minded women, The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, since 1899. It is a place by and for people, past present and future. The house and plantation was created by and for a great white Anglo-Saxon protestant (Quaker) man and his family, but was also a place where servants, some who were enslaved, toiled in his household and on his farms and mills, laboring as a community in order to care for the Logans, Stenton and their land. It is a place where James Logan thought about how he could improve the quality of government in Pennsylvania. It is a place where George Logan experimented with how to renew agricultural lands and where his wife Deborah Logan restored this old house and preserved memories of her time for the future. Stenton is about people and community, then and now. Our job is to understand the community of the past and to share its story through the artifacts and documents that reveal the past with the community of today. To study and understand people and communities of the past helps us to understand the communities of the present while also affecting our ability to lay the groundwork for a positive and engaged community for tomorrow. Life is a continuum of past, present and future, and it is our duty to all humanity to do the best we can to make the world an inspiring place to exist.

## MOVING FORWARD

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At Stenton, changes to room exhibits and settings can push the interpretation in a direction that is closer to James Logan's inventory. However, as stated above, the inventory reveals much about life lived at Stenton but is an imperfect representation of what remains after death. Much is not here, maps, prints, portraits, Logan's watch, clothes, servants' personal possessions, food stuffs, wines and ales, fires in the fireplaces, warm food in the dining room, glossy finish paint on the paneling, a cupola on the house, drippy candles and smelly chamber pots. What do we choose to recreate and what do we dismiss? What things can we be most certain about? What do we ultimately guess (hopefully in an educated way) about? It is up to us as stewards of historic houses and our constituents in this present day to decide which spaces are most meaningful for us and what we can do to make the house, outbuildings and landscape appealing and resonant to visitors. While a historic house museum experience is not enjoyed by all, how can we continue to fascinate the audience we already have while also attracting new audiences, recognizing that there is a limit to our appeal? In the museum, we come in search of a visceral human connection to the

past, through artifacts, through spaces, through beauty, through knowledge, through documents, and through stories.

Ideally, we will offer a range of interpretive experiences for our visitors, both guided and self-guided with staff available to ensure security and answer questions. Stenton can be experienced from multiple perspectives. The current *Interpretive Plan* (2003) outlines a "Front Door" approach to Stenton, highlighting the grandness of the house in relationship to the life led by its elite owners. A "Back Door" approach has been tested in conjunction with special events that highlights the cellars, attic and secondary circulation spaces of the house. This tour de-emphasizes the great public spaces at the front of the building, but includes them from the perspective of those doing the work of running the household rather than from those enjoying the benefits of life in a served household. Understanding more about food storage and preparation is an issue of everyday life that many visitors find accessible. Sources must be mined for more information on servants and slaves, their stories and their possessions to help us appeal to a wider audience both interpretively and programmatically.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Applying the physical, archival, artifactual and comparative evidence we can bring to bear on Stenton as laid out in the sections above, this report concludes with the following suggested changes to room presentation as a way of enhancing the overall interpretation to the public with the goal of enriching and enlivening the historic house museum experience to the greatest extent possible. In keeping with the Stenton Interpretive Plan, these recommendations further focus and refine Stenton's interpretation and room presentation on the James Logan period, 1730-1751.

### Short-term goals (2 years)

1. Label and reconstruct archeological artifacts from 1982 dig.
2. Undertake paint analysis for Parlor (focus on cupboard) and Yellow Lodging Room (investigate baseboard question).
3. Undertake Paint analysis for Servant Rooms on Third Floor.
4. Conduct further research on the use of maple furniture in spaces like the Yellow Lodging Room.
5. Recreate or borrow a stand-in for James Logan's Queen Anne-style easy chair.
6. Continue research on the lives of servants and slaves at Stenton.
7. Stop using four arm chairs in the "office." Use a single arm chair with a set of caned side chairs in the office and First Floor Lodging Room.
8. Continue to pursue loans to Stenton of objects with known Logan provenances, such as the HSP collection, the Loudoun collection and the PHMC collection.
9. Research the maps that James Logan would have owned.

### Medium-term goals (3-5 years)

1. Borrow/acquire additional Logan Queen Anne-style side chairs or closely related examples.
2. Borrow/acquire a tall Queen Anne-style looking glass for parlor pier.
3. Borrow/acquire additional gateleg oval table.
4. Acquire reproduction table cloths and napkins based on Logan family originals.
5. Repaint Parlor and Yellow Lodging Room interiors to the James Logan period.
6. Recreate the bright yellow wool damask flying tester bed in Yellow Lodging Room using the hooks in the ceiling based on surviving components of such beds in England and America.
7. Recreate the matching window curtains.
8. Borrow/acquire matching sconces with candle arms.
9. Commission eight reproduction leather-bottomed Queen Anne side chairs based on the Logan model for the entry.
10. Undertake paint analysis to further confirm first finish layers for all the interior spaces.

### Long-term goals (5-10 years)

1. Repaint all the interiors to the James Logan period following on the paint study adding color and gloss to the interior where specified.
2. Reproduce or acquire a reproduction of the yellow settee.
3. Reproduce or borrow stand-ins for the 12 maple Queen Anne chairs with yellow wool damask bottoms.
4. Excavate in cellars: dairy trench, beverage closet, stew stove under greenhouse.
5. Follow first period inventories and begin to rethink the nursery, adjoining room white lodging room and closet passage and third floor servant rooms.
6. Interpret at least one servants' room on the third floor, the room over the Yellow Lodging Room, the best servants' room.
7. Restore service stairs from first floor to cellar so visitors can fully experience the internal path of servants bringing food, beverages and wood to the living spaces from below.
8. Catalog and deaccession the textile processing equipment that we do not want to exhibit in the barn. Move the Stenton archives to the middle room.

## Endnotes

1. A. C. Meyers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship* (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 265.
2. Roger W. Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia*, p. 144.
3. The languages were: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, French, Italian, German, presumably Spanish, Algonquin and perhaps bits of Iroquois or other Native American languages.
4. Logan first courted Anne, the daughter of merchant Edward Shippen. Then while back in England in 1710, through connections with Isaac Norris' Lloyd relatives, he set his sites on Judith Crowley of Stourbridge near Birmingham; however her family disapproved of Logan's colonial status. See Frederick B. Tolles, *James Logan and The Culture of Provincial America*, 1957, pp. 76 and 85.
5. Logan wrote to his friend Thomas Story in 1714, "I am about purchasing a Plantation to retire for I am heartily out of love with the World . . ." James Logan Letter book 1712-1715, p.199, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as quoted in John M. Dickey and Reed Engle, *Stenton Historic Structures Report*, p. 1. Logan protested, "I designed it [Stenton] a plain cheap farmer's Stone house, but my Quarries intirely failed me." James Logan Letter Book (1717-1730), pp. 245-246, Logan Papers Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as quoted in Dickey and Engle, *Stenton Historic Structures Report*, p.10.
6. Originally, the word plantation referred to an act of planting. In the 16th-century, after England conquered Ireland, "plantation" came to signify a large holding of land, "a settlement in a new or conquered country." According to the OED, after 1706, "plantation" came to mean "an estate or farm producing a crop with servile labor." See John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, p. 2.
7. Logan fell on ice in 1728 in Philadelphia damaging his left hip. Despite this injury, he managed to sleep on the second floor of Stenton from 1730-1737. His first stroke took place in the middle of February 1739/1740, partially paralyzing his right side and disabling his good leg. This episode also affected his memory for a time and impaired his ability to hold a pen. Gradually he recovered his faculties and despite rheumatism remained in reasonable health until he was 75. A. C. Meyers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, passim.
8. James Logan purchased the 1726 edition of Richard Neve's *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary or The Compleat Builder's Guide* in 1728 or 1729 as he was overseeing the finishing of Stenton. Neve comments in his preface that this second edition of his book is for gentlemen's use, whereas the first had been for workmen. The very title of this book tells us that these gentlemen's houses were built in towns and the country alike and reinforces that James Logan looked to Britain, from whence he came, as his inspiration for Stenton and his culture.
9. See Stephen Hague, forthcoming essay in George Boudreau and Margaretta Lovell (eds.), "Faces and Places," McNeil Center for Early American Studies. Fairhill was about a mile south of Stenton along the York Road, closer to Philadelphia. Norris, also a wealthy Quaker merchant and statesman, erected his H-plan house in the 1710s. British soldiers destroyed Fairhill in the aftermath of the Battle of Germantown in October of 1777. Norris' father, Thomas, had been a Jamaica sugar plantation owner, and young Isaac was raised on Jamaica from the age of seven and lived the sugar plantation lifestyle. The 18th-century sketch of Fairhill that survives in the Winterthur Library Collections shows the formal layout of the plantation site plan. This site plan is not unlike that of many southern American plantations. Because of this connection, I have looked to John Michael Vlach's *Back of the Big House* (1993), which focuses on plantation architecture of the South, as a guide to understanding some of Stenton's now missing outbuildings and landscape. These gentlemen's houses can be understood as part of a larger Atlantic world phenomenon and form. They are less well-understood as regional American Colonial houses.
10. As a horse or carriage approached Stenton from Philadelphia, the the cupola and chimneys on top would have come into view followed by the house itself. Ultimate entry required passage through a series of "threshold devices – gates, drives, forecourts, steps, terraces, porches, passageways, doors – all of which were intended to make the house and its owner more impressive." Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, p.5. At Stenton, there is no knob on the front door. Visitors were let in, but did not enter on their own.
11. The cellars are perhaps some of the earliest modified spaces in the house, which also affects their present appearance.
12. See Richard Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary or The Compleat Builder's Guide*, 1726, entry for "Cupola." This book does not have page numbers. Logan commented that the view from the top of his house went some way to make up for its lack of prospect.
13. David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America*, p. 36.
14. Meyers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, p. 252. 30th, 8th month, 1748.
15. *ibid.*, p.150.

16. *ibid.*, p.150.
17. Raymond V. Shepherd Jr., "James Logan's Stenton: Grand Simplicity in Quaker Philadelphia" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, 1968), p.167.
18. Fairhill was an H-plan house built by Isaac Norris in 1712 about 1 mile south of Stenton. Hannah Logan recorded the borrowing of Barbara in her 1740s account book. When only a first name is given, that servant is likely a slave. The indentured servants are listed by first and surnames in the documentary sources.
19. Logan paid John & James Alford 5 pounds on the 4th day of the 8th month, 1723, "For Daniel Henderson paid £12. 0. 0" See Shepherd, "Stenton," p. 167.
20. Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, p. 524, also James Logan's Will.
21. Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, p. 318.
22. When James Logan's son-in-law, John Smith, traveled to Fairhill, Isaac Norris' house, to invite the Norris side of the family to his and Hannah Logan's wedding in 1748, Isaac Norris refused to speak with him. Two female servants greeted Smith, an unnamed female "Servant" followed by an "Elderly maid" a half hour later, indicating the employment of at least two house maids at Fairhill. Letter, Abel James to James Pemberton, 10th mo [December] 25, 1748, published in Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, pp. 51-52, footnote 2. See also page 39 of this report for the full account.
23. Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, p. 319.
24. *ibid.*, p. 319. Diana's reference comes from James Logan's Account Book. James Logan Ledger Book, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 32.
25. Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840*, pp.12-13. Perhaps the full account in the Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 25 – Sept. 1, 1737 indicates whether the said building was part of Stenton plantation or whether Sampson worked at one of Logan's other properties.
26. Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, p.44. Vlach writes about Minnie Davis, a former slave from Green County, Virginia, whose mother had served as a plantation cook and housekeeper. Dickinson could have been a second generation slave purchased from the estate of Jonathan Dickinson in 1722 of which Logan served as an executor.
27. Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, p.7. See also p. 36 of this report for more on Sarah's involvement in hospitality and household management.
28. Richard L. Bushman, *Refinement of America*, p. 121.
29. *ibid.*, pp. 119-120.
30. Hague and Stutman, *Interpretive Plan for Stenton*, 2003.
31. Many objects we know were used at Stenton are missing from James Logan's inventory: scientific instruments, globes (which may have gone to the Loganian Library with Logan's books), portraits, prints, maps, clothing, slaves, livestock, carriages and his silver watch.
32. Logan's watch, although not inventoried, is mentioned in the papers associated with probating his will. Richard Peters testified on March 21, 1752 that on January 1, 1750 Logan, largely incapacitated and almost unable to speak, "took a seal which was hanging to his watch" to wax seal his codicil, a purpose for which he had specifically called on Peters to serve as a witness. James Logan's Will, Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p.526.
33. Sarah Logan's will describes her as "of Philadelphia." James Logan's will describes him as a "of Stenton." James Logan's will specifically reads, "But if my Said Wife shall be of her Self inclined to avoid Such a solitary life as after my decease she may be obliged to, and Shall resolve to quit the said Plantation of Stenton, I in that case order my eldest Son Willm to furnish her with so much hickory wood or growing Oak split for firing as She Shall have occasion for, to furnish one house with, where she shall choose to live..." Following his father's orders, their son, William Logan, noted "hauling firewood to town for my mother" in his ledgers, indicating that she did indeed live in Philadelphia. His correspondence also indicates that he moved to Stenton in the 4th month of 1753, following his inheritance of the property and prior to his mother's death. Also, in a letter to John Churchman dated 20 May 1753, William Logan wrote, "It may be a surprise to thee to hear tht I propose to move my family to live at Stenton next week, having let my house to my brother-in-law Jno Smith...my mother having moved to town last fall to avoid the solitary life." Dennis Stephen Pickeral, "The Proper Equipage: Tea and Tea Ware at James Logan's Stenton" (MA Thesis, Penn State University, 2008), fn 116.

34. The house described in Sarah's inventory is a four-square plan, like that of Stenton. A typical Philadelphia Townhouse has front and back parlors on the first floor, with front and back chambers above. Sarah's inventory describes four rooms on the first floor, two in front and two in back, and four chambers above, an exceptional townhouse. Sarah's garrets are described as "North Front," "North Back," and "South Back." Directionally, Stenton does not have a true south back garret, which strengthens the case that her inventory does not represent Stenton.
35. This included animals and slaves. A "messuage" is an older legalese term common to 18th-century deeds and legal documents for a premise, any tract of land including a building such as Stenton. The accessory outbuildings and grounds with rights-of-way would be the "appurtenances" to the property.
36. Bailey, as quoted by Margaret Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories, 1684-1850*, p. 210. Richard Neve defined it as "A fair lower room designed principally for the Reception and Entertainment of Company." (1726).
37. Before Stenton was completed, James Logan purchased part of the land, the largest tract, from --- Shoemaker. This land already included a house which Logan renovated for his mother's use. His early plantation account reflects work done and objects acquired for this Shoemaker house. The clock on Sarah's inventory may or may not be this same clock.
38. JL to Thomas Story 11th month, 8th day, 1740. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Logan Correspondence.
39. Myers, *The Courtship of Hannah Logan*, p.7
40. See Charles Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration*, plate 89, p.106 and plate 69, p. 90 for period interior views that include black painted or japanned tea tables.
41. Shepherd, "Stenton," p. 175.
42. Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration*, p. 48.
43. Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, p. 114.
44. *ibid.*, p. 293.
45. The buffet is a lockable cupboard of visual import in the room, conveyed by the arched opening which enframed the silver and china within in the way that the arched-top doors in the entry enframe the Stenton stair. The shaped ledges with graduated roundels at the centers were for the display of silver salvers and hollowware as well as china. When locked this served as safe storage. When open, the buffet cupboard displayed the precious goods in an artful and appealing way. The custom derives from the use of open, stepped displays of silver in 17th-century court dining rooms. (See Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, plates 80, 87, 89.) The list of Plate on Sarah's inventory is: A Large Coffee Pot, A Large Silver Tankard, A Tea Pot, Lamp and Stand with Cream Pot, A Pair of Canasters and Sugar Dish, A Silver Boat with Spoon, Strainer & Tongs, A Large Salver, A Small Salver, 4 Porringers, 11 Large Spoons, 1 doz. Custard Spoons, A pair of Castors and a Pepper Box, 2 large Cups, 2 smaller cups, 2 pair of Salts, 1 small Candlestick. The total weight is 320 ½ ounces. This weight suggests that one 8 ½ ounce object from James Logan's 329 ounces is missing.
46. This display would have been all the more dazzling against a backdrop of bright color and/or gilding, which only more detailed and careful paint analysis of the parlor could reveal.
47. The diameter of the base of the tankard is 5 3/8".
48. See Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, p.52. Relaxing was mandated to bedchambers and more private quarters, despite the semi-public nature of bedchambers in this time period. The parlor was a room in which bodily comportment and posture were another component of elite culture on display.
49. David deMuzio, Furniture Conservator at The Philadelphia Museum of Art, believes that they were original. They have been removed by the chair's current owner.
50. James Logan suffered a series of strokes at the end of his life. According to the testimony accompanying his will, on or about Nov. 25, 1749, Logan was stricken with a "New Fit of the Palsey which was the beginning of his Last Illness," (testimony of Phebe Dickinson, housekeeper, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Society Collection, James Logan's Will copy, p. 525) which means he lived nearly two full years in an incapacitated state. Generally sound of mind, but not in body, Logan experienced great difficulty communicating with others. He was able to point and speak two or three word phrases, and Richard Peters details this condition in his testimony to Logan's will as well. On the 10th month, 3rd day, 1750 (December) John Smith recorded, "Understanding that Father Logan wanted me, I rode up there this morning, but though I found that he wanted a letter wrote to his bookseller, I could not at all apprehend about what." Myers, p. 302. The castors facilitated movement of the easy chair, but would not have been used to literally wheel Logan around the house. The use of the easy chair in the parlor may also represent Logan's tenacious personality. Even as an elderly man and physically incapacitated, Logan desired to participate in the public reception of visitors to Stenton.

51. Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, p. 263.
52. Conversation with Clarissa Dillon, Historic Food ways Specialist, Spring 2006.
53. Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, p. 291.
54. Shepherd, "Stenton," 1968. Sarah A.G. Smith notes, Stenton Archives.
55. That Sarah Logan's inventory calls this space "The Little Front Room" is another indicator that her inventory is not Stenton. While the room we interpret as James Logan's office is about 19" smaller than the front parlor in width, it is not a "little" room.
56. The inventory of Jonathan Dickinson, 1722, lists the tables as "4 foot, 5 foot and 6 foot." His were all mahogany.
57. Shepherd, "Stenton," p. 174.
58. The total number of chairs on each inventory is very similar with James having 75 and Sarah having 71. There are five "old Chairs w[i]th Worsted Bottoms in James Logan's nursery, to which there is no equivalent on Sarah's inventory.
59. See Laura Keim Stutman, "This Glorious House Stenton," Philadelphia Antiques Show Catalog, 2002. In this essay I continued to follow Hornor's assertion about the pewter press; however, I refute my earlier statements and now believe that the Pewter Press is an entirely different object that descended through the family to Robert Restalrig Logan, now owned by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.
60. People had become aware of the risk of lead poisoning from some acidic foods reacting with pewter. Also, the press itself was old in style with stiles or rails for feet. Sarah likely considered this cumbersome old-fashioned press unnecessary for her return to town after James Logan's death.
61. Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, pp. 290-292 and illustration #51.
62. "... One should avoid having textile hangings in the dining-room." Paneling and gilt leather (on walls) were preferable because they did not retain the odour of food, *Authentic Décor*, p.57. The leather upholstery used throughout the first floor sets of chairs was conducive to dining. The wool upholstery was reserved for the best upstairs chamber, which included a tea table, but no oval or dining table among its furnishings.
63. *ibid.*, p. 274. The final point that Dickey and Engle made about the room's architecture arguing for its having served as a kitchen is that the window sills and chair rails were originally unpainted, a point which has been refuted by a recent study. See Peggy Ann Olley, Stenton Paint Analysis, 2004.
64. The pewter is listed in the kitchen on Sarah Logan's inventory, which does not designate any of her rooms for dining. The only room on her first floor that does not include a table is her "Little Front Room."
65. Prior to the piazza addition added by William Logan across the rear façade of the house in 1754-55, this space was bright, but did not receive the strong afternoon light that could have heated the room in summer. William Logan paid William Dillworth £7 8 0 "For Making my Back Porch" 9th mo 7 and 10th mo 26 of 1754. He closed the account on 12th mo 31 1755. William also repainted and whitewashed Stenton's rooms, laid a brick kitchen floor, built cold frames, installed cedar fencing, installed bells, repaired windows, and painted "the gate." Another perhaps much smaller porch was installed in 1748 by Moses Foster. See Shepherd, "Stenton," p. 169-170.
66. The shelves inside this cupboard would have easily accommodated a set of graduated bowls. The current hanging corner cupboard was a gift to Stenton from Logan descendants and fits perfectly in the northwest corner of the dining room.
67. The number of plates (60), closely corresponds to the number of side chairs that are inventoried in all of the first floor rooms.
68. Probably not coincidentally, listed on Caspar Wistar's inventory taken the same year as James Logan's (1752), in the front chamber after the listing of the andirons and fireplace tools, which are often although not always the last items listed for a given space are, "3 bowls and 3 half doz[en] 18], China Cups &c." at 2 pounds. Just under that listing is "12 Table Cloths, 2 Napkins and 3 doz[en] Towels" at 6 pounds 16 shillings. Among the furnishings of Wistar's back chamber are "4 Bowls" worth one pound. Perhaps Table linens were often stored on the second floor as they were perhaps safer from rodents and so forth if they were kept higher off the grade level and away from cupboards and spaces where food was stored and served.
69. This chest is probably of the type with a hinged lid, described as a blanket chest. All the other chests or cases on the inventory specifically mention "of drawers" as part of the description.

70. A 1715/16 handwritten recipe book in the Stenton Collection (68.2.48) may have belonged to Sarah Logan and may be a useful source for interpreting Stenton food ways, particularly when combined with the results of faunal analysis from the archeological collection completed by Teagan Abigail Schweitzer in 2008. Written mostly all at once, with contents in back and hand-numbered pages, the recipes are mostly numbered. Inside the front cover in faint script it reads "A Book of Recipes." The front cover is a printed portrait of Queen Anne from 1715/16. In different, less fine script, added at the back is "SL receipt for mince pys[pies]."
71. Logan complained that the kitchen was small, inconvenient and decayed and should be replaced with a larger one. Armistead, *Memoirs of James Logan*, p. 95.
72. Laura Keenan, "James Logan: Friend or Foe to the Indians," a talk delivered to the NSCDA/PA in February, 2007.
73. Neve defined the Entry as a "Room designed only (or chiefly) for Passage to & fro betwixt other Rooms or from the Outer Door into the House." Richard Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary, or The Compleat Builder's Guide*, 1726.
74. For this place which includes a fireplace, there is no fireplace furniture listed on the inventory.
75. The term "hall" in medieval buildings was a multipurpose space, a room with its own fireplace, often a space for dining (like a campus dining hall). Many early 18th-century farm houses, one room deep, two-rooms wide are know as hall and parlor plan houses, where again the hall is a multi-purpose room. In larger houses, the term hall comes to be known as a passage, like a center-hall plan house. The hall allows access to multiple rooms. Stenton's entry is somewhere in-between, allowing passage, but functioning as a room unto itself. The Stair "hall" allows for vertical passage through the house.
76. Nothing is inventoried in this three-part cupboard. Perhaps it was a place to store hats and bonnets for visitors or perhaps it was a place to leave things for those going in and out of the first floor rooms. Another use may have been for placing things that servants might carry upstairs at a later time. It may have been a kind of holding cupboard within the "holding room" of the house, rather than a cupboard for the permanent storage of specific items.
77. This cooler aspect suggests that perhaps the Logans used the entry themselves for tea or dining in the summer.
78. Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, pp. 51-52.
79. Even that Logan named the house "Stenton," for his father's birthplace in Scotland, where he himself had never lived, is asserting his relationship to his landed and noble ancestors, the Lairds of Restalrig. See Major G. J. N. Logan Home, *History of the Logan Family*, Edinburgh: George Waterston & Sons, Ltd., 1934. See photograph facing page 133, "Hall and Arms at Edrom House," with the heart and piles as the central motif over the fireplace.
80. Her little front room did not include a table, which may suggest that for her townhouse, this room functioned as a waiting room, like the Stenton entry.
81. George B. Tatum notes that by the early eighteenth century, one finds some mention of dining rooms in colonial inventories; although the common nature of the furnishings listed suggests that these spaces were used by family members. Guests were served in the best parlor or entrance hall, "when that area of the house retained a part of its earlier character and importance, as at Stenton." George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian*, pp. 77-78.
82. Letter from James Logan to Sarah Shurmer, Stenton 18th 9th 1737, Logan Papers, Alverthorpe Collection, Letterbook A, p. 41B. Copied in script by Edward W. Richardson, September 15, 1984 for a Stenton prop.
83. Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, pp. 34-37.
84. There is also service access to the parlor from the stair hall. For the most formal of dinners and teas, it may have been important for the efficiency of service for the servants to be able to come and go from both sides of the parlor so as to be as quick and unobtrusive as possible.
85. Letter from James Logan to Sarah Shurmer, Stenton 18th 9th 1737, Logan Papers, Alverthorpe Collection, Letterbook A, p. 41B. Copied in script by Edward W. Richardson, September 15, 1984 for a Stenton prop.
86. Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, p. 51. This is a court tradition from medieval times, which carried on through time and trickled down to the gentry classes, lasting well into the 19th century in England, Lecture by Lisa White, "Nocturnal Splendour: Historic Bed and Bedchambers in Britain," Philadelphia, February 20, 2007.
87. Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480-1680* (New Haven & London, 1999), p. 297.

88. A future topic I wish to investigate is that of the desirability of maple furniture in the first half of the 18th century. With the Yellow Room being the parlor chamber, or chamber above the parlor, it would seem that viewers of this “maple bedroom,” were meant to be impressed by the assemblage of maple furnishings. A copy James Logan’s original inventory has been located in the Society Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the high price of the 12 maple chairs is correct at 16 pounds, 10 shillings.
89. This translates from the French as “bed of angels.” Annabel Westman, an expert on British historic textiles and bed hangings has said that a ‘lit d’ange’ in French is a half tester bed and that a full tester bed is generally called a ‘lit á la duchesse’.
90. Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, pp. 25 and 82.
91. Family legends are always fun. The Stenton Loans book entry for the “sofa” as it was called in June, 1901, maintains that “James Logan and William Penn sat on it,” despite William Penn’s having been long gone from Pennsylvania (since 1701) by the time the settee would have been commissioned for Stenton in the 1730s. Ledger of Stenton Furnishings, 1900-1910, Stenton Archives. The Smith family revered this object and in the 19th century, three generations of the family posed for a photo sitting on it from the settee object file at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
92. Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, Plate XI, opposite p. 130.
93. As yet no documentary evidence of this theory has been found.
94. These purchases pre-date Logan’s construction of Stenton, but support Logan’s use of bed and window cornices. Shepherd, “Stenton,” p.185. “Making my curtains, bolster &c, Silk Ticken, quilt and 2 blankets,” Shepherd, “Stenton”, p.172. This purchase of a “silk bed tick” is especially luxurious.
95. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 297.
96. It is curious that the hooks, although in similar places in the rooms, face different directions. Whether or not this tells us something about the nature of the testers is still a question.
97. Additional remnants of some of Logan’s pine bookcases may be found in the shelves added into the Adjoining room closet and in the First Floor Lodging Room closet.
98. Myers, *Hannah Logan’s Courtship*, p. 7. This passage from June of 1744 suggests that Logan did not accompany visitors to the Library as he would have been too crippled by this time. Rather, the visitors viewed the books and then complemented Logan on his fine collection.
99. Hannah Logan Smith and John Smith inherited the “truckle” bedstead. See Myers, *Hannah Logan’s Courtship*, p. 349.
100. If perceived as being built-in to the house, this shelving may not have been inventoried. It is also interesting that none of Logan’s other bookcases are inventoried. Perhaps they went with the books, or perhaps the simple pine bookcases, which were made of unfinished pine boards and customized to fit against the walls in the Blue Lodging Room, were considered to be part of the architecture of the house or as having no value as household furnishings outside of Stenton. See Dickey and Engle, *Stenton Historic Structures Report*, pp. 263-267.
101. “Lumber” here means larger things that are stored or seldom used.
102. Paint analysis in these spaces could perhaps relate the layers to other parts of the house.
103. This hole in the documentation makes interpreting servants’ spaces somewhat more conjectural than other spaces in the house.
104. Martha B. Katz-Hyman also noted the custom of tipping the servants in her 2006 “Slave Furnishing Plan for the William Trent House, Trenton, NJ.” “Those enslaved people who did not have access to a piece of ground on which to raise food to sell had access to cash in other ways, such as receiving tips from both their masters and their masters’ guests for doing a job well.” Katz-Hyman, p. 9.
105. Katz-Hyman, p. 7. Even objects owned by masters can be interpreted from a servant’s point of view. Logan’s silver tea service was purchased by Logan for his and his family’s use and for show as described above. This same tea service is also in essence a tool used by household servants, which allows them to do their job of preparing for tea.
106. It follows that in general, the beds at Stenton were positioned in corners in the bedchambers, and in the corners of the house. The servant beds would have likely followed this same pattern. Having a bed in a corner is a convenient use of space in a room and lends to the bed the sense that it is a cozy and nestled space derived from earlier Dutch beds that were built into architectural boxes in rooms, or looking toward the much later 18th-century practice of building an alcove for a bed so as to separate it from the other functions of a chamber.
107. Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, p.43.

108. *ibid.*, *Back of the Big House*, p. 43.
109. Conversations with Deborah Len Miller who studied Stenton feature 14 for her Master's Thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 2006. Still today, kitchens are the spaces people most frequently modernize in their homes. Even James Logan complained to Thomas Story about the kitchen in the rented house in Philadelphia (see footnote p. 34 and footnote 71). When William Logan inherited Stenton and moved his family there in the early 1750s, he added the piazza or porch to the rear of the house. This addition makes the first floor rooms at the rear of the house very dark and less appealing overall, but from a functional point of view, facilitates serving the back dining room from a new kitchen on the east side easier under cover in the case of inclement weather.
110. John Dickey and Reed Engle describe this door as having a "simple plank frame with bead and applied molding," which is "smaller and less ornate" than the other two doors with bolection molded profiles. This plainness reinforces the argument that this is a low-ranking doorway to the kitchen and also suggests that the door was intended to be visually removed from the back of the house by an enclosure that protected the servants waiting on the benches outside the door in cold and inclement weather. See Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, pp.151-152 and illustration 340, p.153.
111. Barbara Liggett reported in a personal communication that she found a "series of post holes adjacent to and east of this door," which she identified as for a trellis, but perhaps some were related to the postulated shed-like enclosure. Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, footnote 21, p. 152.
112. Syllabub is a festive drink containing warm cream, sugar, wine, lemon, and egg whites.
113. Elizabeth S. Logan, RECEIPTS FOR PICKLING PRESERVING COOKING and QUACKING, Stenton Archives. At the rear are "medical" recipes: cures for coughs, hives, fevers, etc, beginning with a cough syrup recipe from E. Phillips written at Stenton dated 6th month 11th / [17]44. Includes, chicken salad on cover page, pies, jams, raspberries, catsup, sponge cake, croquettes, fricasse, waffles and doughnuts. Includes recipes for preserving and picking exotic fruits like pine apples and mangoes. Many copied from or written by others including Debby Logan, M[aria] D[ickinson] Logan, and H[annah?] Logan, S[arah] L[ogan] Fisher (Elixer Propetatis), Mary Norris (Orange pudding) P[olly] Emlen (Cheesecakes), H Wharton, Rebecca Jones, S Waln, S or J Hazelhurst, Molly Houlton, Ann Sherers, Betsy Phillips, M. Bringham, J. Bringham, Cousin G. M. Smith, Cousin G. Dilwyn.
114. Letter from James Logan to Sarah Shurmer, Stenton 18th 9th 1737, Logan Papers, Alverthorpe Collection, Letterbook A, p. 41B. Copied in script by Edward W. Richardson, September 15, 1984 for a Stenton prop.
115. Letter from James Logan to Sarah Shurmer, Stenton 18th 9th 1737, Logan Papers, Alverthorpe Collection, Letterbook A, p. 41B. Copied in script by Edward W. Richardson, September 15, 1984 for a Stenton prop.
116. Menah's name also appears in other documents as Minah. Aminah is an East African Swahili name from Kenya and Tanzania, which means "she is trustworthy." Aramina is another slave name from James Logan's 1720s ledger book.
117. Questions remain... Who worked where and in what roles? Were some slaves actually the most valued servants, since they were with their mistress and master for life? Were the enslaved laborers the most skilled and highly trained, while the indentured servants who would move on performed the less skilled labor?
118. A chaise is any of various light horse-drawn vehicles: as a 2-wheeled carriage for one or two persons with a folding top. A chariot is a light four-wheeled pleasure or state carriage as would have been needed for an Acting Governor of Pennsylvania.
119. Landscape and garden researcher, Elizabeth P. McLean, at one time found a reference in the Logan papers to "Hedge shears," which she is attempting to locate again, another indicator of a level of formal landscape that was likely maintained in close proximity to the house. A "rowler" for maintaining formal landscapes also appears on James Logan's inventory.
120. See Shepherd, "Stenton," p.194. These may be the set of 12 calendar prints issued by Robert Furber, Gardiner at Kensington, in 1730. These colored prints depict arrangements of flowers for each month and were used as plant catalogs, allowing gardeners to order seeds by the number on the print. Logan's ownership of these prints shows an interest in gardens and flowers. The Stenton collection currently includes five of these images. In Logan's order for glass, he was planning for breakage.

121. For this report I have relied on Raymond V. Shepherd transcriptions of James Logan's existing household accounts and his combing of the correspondence. The primary documentation to survive for Stenton from 1727-1750 is Logan's correspondence. The surviving receipt book, account book, ledger and daybook all predate Logan's move to Stenton. The 1720-27 Ledger includes much of the known information about the building of Stenton. Peggy Olley's 2004 investigation of the surface finishes in the First Floor Lodging Room and the Back Dining Room found no evidence of wallpaper.
122. The numbers of windows per room is another indicator of room hierarchy. The parlor has four windows (the maximum dictated by the available space), the Blue Lodging Room has 4 windows, with space available for 5), and the Yellow Lodging Room has five (the greatest number allowed by the space and the best lit room in the house). The "Office" has room for 4 but has 3, the back Dining room is also a large space for having only 3 windows, reinforcing its low rank.
123. Letter from James Logan to Sarah Shurmer, Stenton 18th 9th 1737, Logan Papers, Alverthorpe Collection, Letterbook A, p. 41B. Copied in script by Edward W. Richardson, September 15, 1984 for a Stenton prop.
124. The 500 acres of Stenton were primarily in Bristol Township and the Northern Liberties. Only a small portion of Stenton Plantation was in the Germantown Township. See Dickey and Engle, Stenton Historic Structures Report, p.2.

