

STENTON: A SURVEY OF 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY
FOOD PRESERVATION TECHNIQUES IN PHILADELPHIA

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Introduction

Stenton, built between 1723 and 1730, was the country house of the Logan family, prominent Quakers in Philadelphia. The home remained in the family until the early 20th century; it was acquired by the City of Philadelphia in 1910 and has been preserved and interpreted by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Today, the house is open for tours which discuss the history of the Logan family, their servants, and the house itself. The basement portion of the house, however, has yet to be interpreted.

Stenton's basement is comprised of six rooms including a root cellar, a dairy, and numerous storage rooms. Additionally, there are a number of storage corrals. The basement was "designed for specific storage functions to stock the house with a variety of foods in large quantities. The Basement was a food storage center and a workplace supporting the functions of the house."¹ However, exactly how the food storage system worked at Stenton is still unclear. It appears that each space served a specific function, *e.g.*, the wine cupboard obviously held wine. However, other spaces are not so clearly defined. It is the purpose of this thesis to describe how these spaces were used.

The rest of the house has been extensively researched and interpreted. The basement is the last remaining section of the house that is lacking in both research and interpretation. The interpretive plan of Stenton's basement includes the following table²:

¹ Stephen Hague and Laura Keim Stutman. "The Basement-Main Theme," *Stenton: The Interpretive Plan*. <http://www.stenton.org/research/plan3.cfm#basement> (1 October 2005).

² Ibid.

<i>Topics or Stories to Discuss:</i>	<i>Objects illustrating Topics</i>	<i>People Related to Topic</i>
Food storage – The basement was used for a range of activities, primarily food storage for meats, wine, barrels of beer, cider, flour and sugar, and dairy products.	<i>Wine rack</i> – supports entertaining and eating <i>Ventilated storage chambers</i> <i>Meat hooks</i>	Servants – want to link servants with the spaces
Servants	<i>Flow of space</i>	
How it all worked still not exactly clear		

It is clear that there are many questions that need to be answered and more information collected to flesh out the existing data. It is the goal of this thesis to extend the research of the basement spaces so that the story of Stenton can be more complete. Determining the use of the specific storage spaces will aid the museum staff in the interpretation of the kitchen, the basement, the occupants, and the food storage within the house.

In order to answer the questions surrounding the use of the basement, I consulted various resources and conducted a thorough physical examination. A wealth of information already exists regarding the history of food ways and culinary history. Using secondary resources regarding the storage of food in the 18th century was a good starting point, but it wasn't until I compared that information with my primary resources that the interpretation began to take shape. The Logan family papers, held at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, provided a first-hand account of life on the Stenton farm, and

how food was produced, stored, and consumed. Selections from these invaluable sources are appended to this paper.

Appendix A contains excerpts from James Logan's ledgers between 1721 and 1727. These ledgers account for any items James Logan purchased for Stenton. Particular attention was paid to any mention of food, food storage, or the cellar. As Logan readied the plantation for his family to occupy, he apparently stockpiled food supplies there, as explained in Chapter 3. Appendix B contains a list of books in James Logan's library that pertained to agriculture, farming, and gardening. This list was compiled from Edwin Wolf II's *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia* (1974).

Appendix C contains excerpts pulled from George Logan's farm diary. In his diary, he made note of all the day-to-day business occurring on the Stenton farm. This included what crops were being produced, who was employed on the farm, for how long, and what they were paid.

Appendix D includes excerpts from the diaries of Deborah Norris Logan describing the cellar and food preservation at Stenton. The business of food preservation was considered a woman's task; therefore her insights were incredibly helpful to this research.

Chapter 1: The Logan Family and the cellars at Stenton

Stenton is the most prominent example of early colonial residential architecture surviving in Philadelphia. It was built for James Logan (1674-1751) in the early Georgian period, with the characteristic symmetrical brick façade, hipped roof, dormers, paired chimneys, water table and belt course of that period (Figure 1). Today the property is operated as a museum by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.



Figure 1: Front façade of Stenton. (Higgins, 2005)

James Logan and the Construction of Stenton

Born in Scotland and educated by his Quaker schoolmaster father, James Logan came to Philadelphia in 1699 with William Penn. Serving as Penn's secretary, Logan quickly became an influential citizen in the growing colony. When Penn returned to

England in 1701, Logan was appointed Clerk of the Common Council and Secretary of the Province. Later he served as Mayor of Philadelphia and Presiding Judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions. According to one historian, “he became the most influential political figure in the colony, even more powerful than the appointed Deputy-Governors.”³

Despite his importance, Logan was underpaid and resorted to his previous mercantile experience in order to fund his two great loves: his library and Stenton. Logan once admitted that books were his disease.⁴ In 1744 his library, today known as the Loganian Library, formed the basis of the beginnings of the Library Company of Philadelphia. He created a trust “to the end that all persons residing in this province, who have been educated in reading and writing, and more especially those who have any knowledge of the Latin tongue, or who study any of the mathematical sciences or medicine...may have free admittance...with library...of borrowing any of the books.”⁵ His other legacy to Philadelphia is Stenton, an estate then located five and a half miles north of the colonial city.

Prior to the building’s construction, Logan had rented several different city dwellings. In 1720 business losses were so great that Logan decided to relocate to Germantown and focus on agriculture. He wrote,

Our trade is sunk[.] Our money gone[.] Estates decay many
prove insolvent and Losses come thick upon us inso [sic]
much that I have very seriously proposed to my Self to

³ Raymond V. Shepherd, “James Logan’s Stenton: Grand Simplicity in Quaker Philadelphia” (MA Thesis University of Delaware, 1968), 3.

⁴ Frederick B. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957), 193.

⁵ Frederick B. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957), 193.

retire into the Countrey [sic] while I have something left to help out what a Plantation may produce and accordingly this next spring I design to begin to fitt [sic] up the house for the Reception of my increasing family, in case no prospect should in some little time appear of a favorable turn to our affairs.⁶

Logan began construction of his country house in 1721 but it was not completed until 1729. This delay was due to money problems, as the cheap farm house Logan had first envisioned ended up becoming a substantial structure.

I formerly told thee my Plantation is next to Germantown on this side. I have built a large brick house on it of 51 ft by 40, two good stories in height, very convenient and not unsightly, if it stood better. I expected to have been in it before this time, but being not fully plaister'd, [sic] I now know not whether we shall get thither before winter. I made a great Mistake in building it, I design'd [sic] it a plain cheap farmers stone house, but my Quarries intirely [sic] failed me. It then lay 2 years to find others, but none could be had that would not cost me dearer than brick. I therefore resolved on this.⁷

The letter conveys his frustration in the construction delays, as he wrote elsewhere, "I have also unhappily run into a much greater Expence [sic] in building a house on my plantation than I intended."⁸ Logan did not voice his frustrations only to Thomas Story. To James Martin he wrote, "I was in hopes by this time, to have been settled in a new house I have built on a Plantation...but now ye winter detains me here."⁹

⁶ James Logan to Thomas Story, 5 September 1722, James Logan Letter Book, pg 267-8, "Logan Family Papers," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

⁷ James Logan to Thomas Story, 29 July 1729, James Logan Letter Book, "Logan Family Papers," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ James Logan to J. Martin, 16 November 1729, James Logan Letter Book, "Logan Family Papers," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Finally, when the house was completed, as he wrote to his brother William, “We have been removed to our new house in the country about 3 weeks. I have proposed to call ye place Stenton after the Village in E. Lothian where our father was born.”¹⁰ In a letter from September 1730, Logan describes that he is “just now removing to into the Countrey, [sic] where my Wife and family already are.”¹¹ The home was originally to be a summer residence, but by 1732 the family made it their permanent dwelling.

James Logan referred to Stenton as a “plantation” although its close proximity to the city rendered it a different kind of plantation than the southern examples. The house was close enough to Philadelphia to glean its cultural, economic, and social benefits. Yet Stenton was still removed enough to be considered a country dwelling.

The very architecture of Stenton and its situation in the landscape at the juncture of two major 18th-century roads and five miles from Philadelphia contributes to this sense of the house as a crossroads of people and ideas and as a gateway both to Philadelphia and the interior of Pennsylvania. Stenton can be ‘read’ as a house designed for significant occasions – diplomatic negotiations, grand entertaining, social and intellectual conversation, and the service functions that support such gatherings of people. As such, politeness and civility were important concepts that defined Stenton for the Logans.¹²

Stenton’s Subsequent Owners

Unfortunately, Logan’s health began to fail shortly after his arrival at Stenton. A broken hip restricted him to the first floor of the estate, and then a stroke in the winter of 1740 left his right side partially paralyzed and his one good leg disabled. His health

¹⁰ James Logan to William Logan of Bristol, 15 October 1730, James Logan Letter Book, “Logan Family Papers.” Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

¹¹ James Logan to Thomas Story, 21 September 1730, James Logan Letter Book, “Logan Family Papers,” Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

¹² Hague and Keim Stutman, “Major Historic Themes for Stenton.”

slowly deteriorated until his death on October 31, 1751. Logan's son, William (1718-1776), succeeded him as the master of Stenton. William Logan had been a merchant in both Philadelphia and England, but following his father's death, he returned to Stenton and focused his time on agriculture. He remained at Stenton until his death in 1776.

During the Revolutionary war, Stenton was the headquarters of George Washington in August of 1777, and of British General Howe in November that same year.¹³ Washington remained a close acquaintance of Stenton's next occupants, George and Deborah Logan.

Following William Logan's death, Stenton was inherited by George Logan (1753-1821) and his wife Deborah Norris Logan (1761-1839). Born at Stenton in 1755, George Logan was educated principally in England as a doctor. However, upon returning to Stenton, he found the estate and the family finances in such disarray that he was unable to devote himself to practicing medicine. "The estate of Stenton was in bad condition through the ravages of war, and he determined to restore it. He became a scientific farmer, joined the Philosophical and Agricultural Societies, and wrote papers on agricultural subjects."¹⁴ After studying agriculture, Dr. Logan resolved to make Stenton a model farm where "he would carry on experiments...[and] practice the English mode of agriculture in full view of every traveler along the Germantown Road and the Old York Road."¹⁵ In England, new farming methods were being developed by such men as Arthur Young, Lord Kames, and William Marshall, and Dr. Logan studied their writings intensely. These men were introducing new crops to British soil, eliminating wasteful

¹³ Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Horace Mather Lippincott, *The Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and its Neighborhood*. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1912), 211.

¹⁴ Tolles, 151-52.

¹⁵ Tolles, 57.

methods of cultivation, and doubling the yields of the farms.¹⁶ Using Stenton as his laboratory, George Logan resolved to introduce the English forms of farming to the mid-Atlantic states. He was so devoted to agricultural studies that his wife Deborah Norris Logan wrote of him:

Upon our settlement in the country my husband turned his attention to agriculture with all the enthusiasm natural to his character, and in a little time the improved state of his farm attracted notice....Perhaps at no period of his life did he experience greater happiness than at this, his intervals of leisure being employed by reading authors of the greatest utility in agricultural and political science, and he was one of the foremost and most zealous advocates in whatever he thought would promote the public good.¹⁷

Deborah Norris Logan shared in her husband's affection for Stenton and the farm. Her diaries, which are discussed in Chapter 3, reveal her love for the mansion and its gardens. Following George Logan's death in 1821 and Deborah Logan's in 1839, Stenton remained in the hands of family members, though the building gradually fell into disrepair and the land was sold off. Maria (1855-1939) and Albanus Logan (1859-1938) sold Stenton and its remaining six acres to the city of Philadelphia on September 2, 1907. The mansion and its gardens were entrusted to the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.¹⁸ Stenton has subsequently been operated as a museum, providing historical interpretation of the Logan family assuring the continuing preservation of Stenton.

¹⁶ Ibid, 54.

¹⁷ Deborah Norris Logan, *Memoir of Dr. George Logan of Stenton*. (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1899), 43.

¹⁸ Imogen B. Oakley, *Six Historic Homesteads*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), 155.

Physical Description of the Cellar

Colonial cellars as complex as Stenton's were not particularly commonplace.

Early root cellars or larders were constructed underground, next to the house or in a hillside nearby rather than beneath the house. These storage areas with dirt or stone walls often had protruding stone shelves on which to place storage containers and the below-ground setting kept perishables cool and helped preserve fruits and root vegetables. As homes grew in the 1700s, small cellars were incorporated underneath the kitchen with access through an outside door.¹⁹

The subject of this thesis was much more than a "small cellar." Stenton's cellar is comprised of six rooms including a root cellar, a dairy, storage rooms (Figure 2), and a number of storage corrals. Just as the main house had specific rooms for eating, sleeping, and entertaining, the cellar also had function-specific spaces. According to the Interpretive Plan, the basement was "designed for specific storage functions to stock the house with a variety of foods in large quantities. The Basement was a food storage center and a workplace supporting the functions of the house."²⁰ Today the cellar is reached by stairs under the main staircase in the house.

¹⁹ Plante, 9.

²⁰ Stephen Hague and Laura Keim Stutman. "The Basement-Main Theme," *Stenton: The Interpretive Plan*. <http://www.stenton.org/research/plan3.cfm#basement> (1 October 2005).

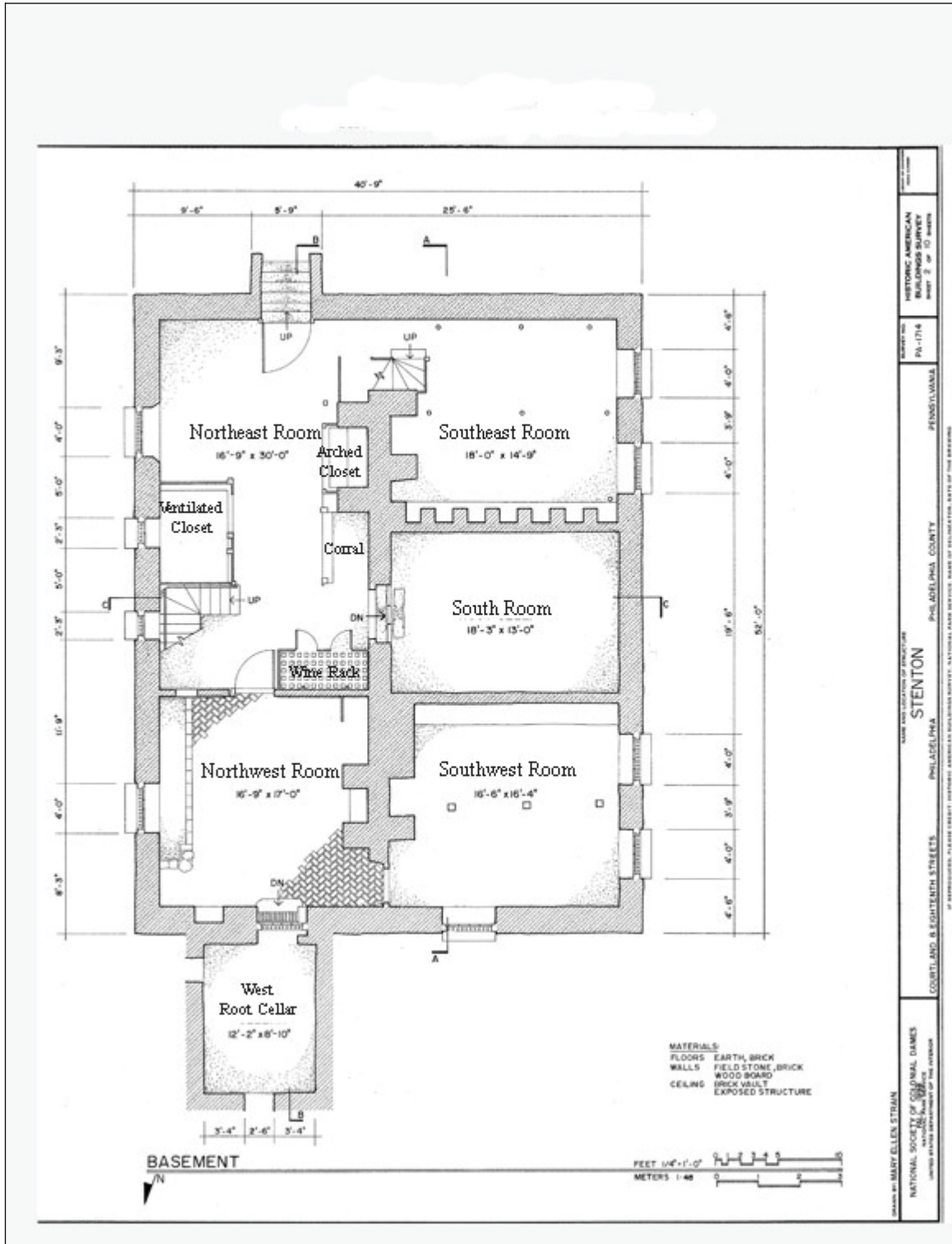


Figure 2: Basement Floor Plan from HABS Survey Fall 1998 by Mary Ellen Strain

However, these cellar stairs were not installed until the nineteenth century.²¹ The original entrances to the cellar were four exterior staircases leading to the Northeast, Southeast, Northwest, and Southwest rooms (see room designations in Figure 2).²² The direct connection to the outside suggests the cellar was primarily used to store foodstuffs produced on the farm as well as a space for some food preparation.²³ A single interior staircase between the Northeast and Southeast rooms led to the first floor; evidence of this staircase still exists.

Northeast Room

The present staircase, leads directly to the main storage room, or the Northeast room which, measuring, 16'9" by 30'0", is the largest of the cellar rooms. This room contains an earthen floor, plastered walls, and two ventilated windows along the north wall. The room also contains a wine cupboard (Figure 3) and three special storage spaces: a ventilated closet, an arched closet that is partially ventilated, and an open-air corral (see plan in Figure 2).

²¹ Reed L Engle. "Historic Structure Report: Stenton." Report for the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. (November 1982), pg. 313.

²² Ibid, Illustration 54.

²³ Ibid, 307.



Figure 3: Wine Cupboard in Northeast Room. (Higgins, 2006).

The ventilated closet is located in the center of the north wall of the room (Figure 4). The wooden walls show many layers of whitewash and incorporate vertical slits that allow the passage of air but exclude rodents. There is also one ventilated window in the closet (Figure 5). Horizontal lines on the interior whitewash indicate that closet originally contained shelves (Figure 6). The existing door jamb is actually 12” to the west of the original door and evidence of the original lock still remains. The Historic Structure Report (1982) noted “fragments of an eighteenth-century wine bottle, wedged between the joist and exterior masonry at ceiling level, suggest that the closet was originally used for the storage of wine.”²⁴ While the archaeological evidence leads to that conclusion, there may have been another use for the room. Wine does not need to be stored in a ventilated closet. The shelves in the room may have also held vegetables or

²⁴ Ibid, 309.

other plant products. Therefore this closet may have originally held a dual purpose as a wine rack and storage area. Previous scholarship indicates that the wine rack was relocated to its present location on the east wall after 1810²⁵ which might suggest that the vents were constructed in the closet at the same time.



Figure 4: Ventilated closet in the Northeast room (Higgins, 2006).

The closet built into the arched chimney support features a built-in shelf unit with a ventilated panel over the door opening and ventilated sides nailed to the corner posts (Figure 7). The plastered walls are whitewashed and there are two wooden shelves in the

²⁵ A sherd of 1810+ shell-edged pearlware was found under the sills of the rack in its existing location. The artifacts found under the present rack adjacent to the wall could not have been placed there after 1810. The rack itself possibly exists to James Logan, though its exact use is uncertain. The cupboard was copied by Williamsburg as a “wine rack”. Ibid, 313, nb.

niche of the arch. There is evidence of hinges indicating this closet once had doors. The floor of the closet is earthen, with significant evidence of charcoal or coal.



Figure 5: Ventilated window in closet in Northeast room (Higgins, 2006).



Figure 6: Ventilated closet in Northeast room depicting evidence of shelves (Higgins, 2006).



Figure 7: Arched closet (left) in Northeast room (Higgins, 2006).

West of the arched closet is an open air corral (seen in the right of Figure 7). The corral features two posts nailed to the floor joists. These posts have hinges identical to the arched closet, indicating that this corral once had doors. It may have once had vented panels like the eastern closet. The wall within the corral has a skim coat of plaster with evidence of whitewash. The dirt floor contains three wooden beams. Lying on the surface of the dirt floor are small animal bones. Whether these are the remains of butchered animals or rodents has not been determined (Figure 8).



Figure 8: Faunal evidence on floor of open air corral (Higgins, 2006)

There was originally a north-south partition between the two closets that ran to the ventilated closet.²⁶ Previous scholarship has suggested this northeast room was used as a meat cellar. Numerous wrought-iron hooks, which were typically used to hang meat products, remain along the ceiling joists. This room contains one ventilated window, a dirt floor and field stone walls. Stairs leading to the exterior were originally located where the ventilated window now is. The arched closet would have been located within the northeast room when the partition still existed; therefore this closet probably held butchered meat products.

Adjacent to the northeast room is the service stair that led to the first floor. This service stair opens into the hall between the dining room and office. This brings the

²⁶ Ibid, 312.

cellar into close proximity with the main eating room of the house. Stenton's interpretive plan describes the service stair as:

Transition from public to private spaces of the house and discussion of the Logan Plantation and its diverse community, comprised of the family, hired and indentured servants, and slaves...Service stairs in houses of the social elite in Europe and America allowed servants vertical access through the house so that their roles in making the household function could be hidden from public view. Servants could appear as if in a stage production, entering and exiting in a nearly "invisible" way.²⁷

This stair provided an easier means for the servants to gather food items from the cellar and quickly bring them upstairs. This would indicate that some food preparation was done in the cellar and then brought upstairs to be presented to the Logans and their guests. If a meal wasn't already underway, this stair may have just provided a shortcut to the cellar, as it was the only entrance to the cellar from the interior of the house. This would have been particularly useful in inclement weather. Otherwise, the Logans and the servants would have to enter the cellar from an exterior entrance.

In the Northeast Room by the service stair, there is physical evidence of doors with locks, indicating that entrance to the meat cellar was controlled. According to the Historic Structure Report "Unrestricted exterior entry was only into the southeast and southwest rooms; entrance into the north food storage space and vaulted south cellar required passage through a locked door, and the locks were in areas accessible only from the parts of the cellar reached from the service stairway."²⁸ It seems logical that the Logans would keep the most expensive items in their cellar – meat and wine – under lock and key.

²⁷ Hague and Keim Stutman, "Site Interpretation-Service Passage."

²⁸ Ibid, 317.

Southeast Room

The southeast room measures 18'3" by 14'9" and features a dirt floor, walls of fieldstone and plaster, and two ventilated windows along the south wall. There are a large number of wrought nails in the ceiling joists, but no evidence of hooks. At the entrance to the room on the east wall is a long J-shaped hook, measuring approximately 4' (Figure 9). If items were hung from the nails, this hook was probably employed to assist in hanging and retrieving them. The J-shaped hook is also in close proximity to the Northeast room, which likely held meat products. Because the hook is located between the two rooms, it probably served a dual purpose; retrieving meats from the hooks in the Northeast room, and other high-hung objects hung in the Southeast room.



Figure 9: Long hook in Southeast room (Higgins, 2006)

There is an arched recess within the chimney foundation. However, the most prominent features of the southeast room are the seven square niches along the west wall (Figures 10 and 11). These niches may have held plants and vegetables. Currently the room holds the archaeological findings from previous digs on the grounds at Stenton.



Figure 10: Niches 6 & 7 in Southeast room (Higgins, 2006).



Figure 11: Niche 4 in Southeast room (Higgins, 2006).

Central South Room

The central south room has a vaulted brick ceiling to support the brick floor in the entry hall above, a dirt floor, and measures 18'3" by 13 feet. This room is also set at a lower grade than the other rooms, with three steps descending to the cellar floor (Figure 12). There are four wrought iron hooks and the walls have evidence of whitewash (Figure 13). There are two small ventilated windows built into the front exterior steps; these vents would have helped prevent fungus growth (Figure 14). Evidence for two

large barrel racks along the east and west walls indicate this room was also used for the storage of casks of liquid.



Figure 12: Central South room (Higgins, 2006).



Figure 13: Wrought iron hooks in ceiling of Central South room (Higgins, 2006).



Figure 14: Ventilated windows to Central South room, exterior view (Higgins, 2005).

Northwest Room – The Dairy

The northwest room is commonly referred to as the dairy. The room measures 16'9" by 17'0" and the floor is eight inches higher than that in the adjoining north room. The floor is composed of brick laid in a herringbone pattern and the walls are field stone and plaster with evidence of some whitewash. The ceiling has exposed beams with whitewashed plaster between the beams. The dairy is the only room in the cellar with a brick floor, plastered ceiling, and whitewashed walls. A dairy room, above all others, was required to be extremely clean, to avoid contamination that might pose a threat to the health of the Logan family. There are two ventilated windows to the exterior and one ventilated window to the central north room. There are shelves within the arched chimney support (Figure 15), and there was originally another storage closet between it

and the existing north-south brick wall in the southeast corner of the room.²⁹ Wooden supports for hanging shelves are still intact and may originally have held cheeses and other dairy products (Figure 16). The remains of a trench are visible along the north wall below the remaining ventilated window; when filled with water this trench may have cooled dairy products (Figure 17). Three wrought iron hooks were found in the ceiling joists of the dairy (Figure 18).

Just outside the entrance to the West Root Cellar is the trap door that opens from the Lodging Room upstairs. Servants may have used this trap door to pass cheeses, milk, butter, or other items from the dairy and cellar into the upper rooms. This would have saved time as the only other entrances into the cellar were from the outside, or the servant stair previously mentioned between the Dining Room and Office.



Figure 15: Arched storage recess in dairy (Higgins, 2006).

²⁹ Ibid, 314. This closet is no longer extant as the heating system for Stenton occupies this space.



Figure 16: Wooden supports for hanging shelves in dairy (Higgins, 2006).



Figure 17: Trench along North wall in dairy (Higgins, 2006).



Figure 18: Wrought iron hooks in dairy (Higgins, 2006).

West Root Cellar

Along the west wall of the dairy is the entrance to the root cellar (Figure 19). This room has a barrel vaulted ceiling and dirt floor, and measures 12'2" by 8'10". The root cellar extends beyond the foundation of the house and has a separate east wall, indicating it was a later addition to the house.³⁰ The room features a circular vent and three remaining wrought iron hooks. The vent prevented fungi growth, and is visible

³⁰ Ibid, 315.

near the north side of the house as it protrudes from the ceiling of the cellar up into the yard.



Figure 19: West root cellar (Higgins, 2006).

Southwest Room

The southwest room has a dirt floor, field stone walls and measures 16'6" by 16'4". The room has two ventilated windows on the south elevation and one ventilated window on the west elevation. The east wall contains a stone ledge built into the foundation wall (Figure 20). The north wall features an arched niche built into the chimney foundation. This arched niche is the only one of the four arches in the basement that does not have a plaster finish and is composed solely of fieldstone and brick headers (Figure 21).



Figure 20: Stone shelf in East wall of Southwest room (Higgins, 2006).



Figure 21: Arched niche in North wall of Southwest room (Higgins, 2006).

After completing this physical analysis of the cellar spaces, secondary and primary research was used to determine how the spaces were used and what activities were being conducted in the cellar.

Chapter 2: Food Preservation Techniques Utilized at Stenton

Stenton operated as a self-sufficient farm, providing food for the Logan family. George Logan's farm diary, reported that the Stenton Farm produced barley, oats, potatoes, corn, and apples. Logan also sold these crops to local residents, using the profits to purchase cattle, pork, and poultry.³¹ As explained below, the livestock was butchered on the site. With so much food production taking place on the farm, the cellar was constantly in use and contributed to the success of the farm. Various food preservation techniques were all used on the Stenton farm.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Philadelphia contained no grocery stores filled with frozen foods, fresh dairy and ripe fruits that the Logan Family could visit throughout the year to stock up their larder. Instead, they relied upon the seasonal produce from their farm and others in the area. In contrast today, with the invention of refrigeration cars coupled with the warm climates such as Florida, California, and Mexico fresh fruits and vegetables can be provided all winter. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the women and servants of Stenton had the responsibility to ensure that the meats, cheeses, and produce would all be well-preserved for the long northeast winters.³²

Clearly, food preservation techniques were vital to the occupants at Stenton. Sue Shephard explains the importance of and changes in food preservation throughout history in, *Pickled, Potted, and Canned* (2000). She spans the age of man and his battle with food preservation from ancient Egypt to the refrigeration age. As she explains

³¹ George Logan, Farm Diary, 1809-1813. Folio B, Logan Family Papers, Historical Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

³² Hague and Klein Stutman, "Interpretive Plan – The Kitchen."

Preserved foods have played a significant role in our social and cultural history and it is arguable that without the ability to preserve food, man might have been forced to continue his wanderings as a hunter gatherer, following migrating herds and foraging for seasonal foods. A preserved harvest to feed people through the winter also allowed the slow evolution of the social and cultural complexities that owning and storing secure stocks of food and having long periods of seasonal leisure brought in their train.³³

Peter Brears et. al., describes the history of food preservation in England in *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain* (1993). Because James Logan came from England and he was after all a British citizen, it was only logical to examine the mother country for food storage techniques that undoubtedly came to North America with the colonists. Apparently many of the cookery manuals that have been cited within this thesis were intended for more prosperous families. This is evidenced in the titles of these manuals such as *The English Housewife*, *The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight*, and *The Genteel House-Keeper's Pastime*. Cookery books such as these were widely popular, and often included, in addition to recipes, economical hints for stretching resources as far as possible, medical advice, directions for storing food, and instructions for brewing and winemaking. "Between the years 1700 and 1800 over 300 titles on food and cookery alone were published, many of these going into several editions. It can be seen that as countless thousands were produced, it was possible for every middle-class household to

³³ Sue Shephard, *Pickled, Potted and Canned: The Story of Food Preserving*. (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2000), 5.

own at least one.”³⁴ The Logan family was well-off during the 18th and early 19th centuries, and probably were familiar with similar books.

Food preservation was essential in domestic life; spoiled food could cause illness or even death, in addition to dangerously diminishing a family’s food supply. The techniques the Logans and their servants used to preserve food are described below.

Drying

Drying may be the earliest and simplest way to preserve food. Trappers, hunters, and explorers in early America encountered Native Americans who ate pemmican, one of the earliest portable foods.

Pemmican is made by thinly slicing lean meat...and drying it over a fire or in the sun and wind...When the meat is completely dried it is pounded to shreds between two stones and mixed with an almost equal quantity of melted fat, lard or bear grease, some marrow from the bones and a few handfuls of wild cherries, service berries or cranberries.³⁵

Concentrating and preserving the meat in this way made it long lasting as well as portable. Fish could also be dried. Shephard implies that without the drying of foods, travel would have been minimal, thus hindering the explorers.

Without preserved food man might not have been able to send out large armies and naval ships to explore new lands and seas and conquer new territories...There might have been no creation of the trade routes along which knowledge and culture was exchanged. The Poles might have

³⁴ Jennifer Stead, *Food and Cooking in 18th Century Britain: History and Recipes*. (Birmingham: CBE Design & Print, 1985), 13.

³⁵ Shephard, 18.

remained unreached, rivers uncharted, mountains unscaled
and the moon unvisited.³⁶

Fruits and vegetables were sliced, threaded on strings, and hung to dry. Mold would form quickly on the drying fruits. Another authority, Nancy Torgerson, authored a synopsis of food preservation techniques based on primary sources from the 19th and early 20th centuries. According to her, “if fruit is just threaded on a string, the slices fall together, there is poor air circulation, and mold forms.”³⁷ Fruits were the most difficult to preserve as they spoiled quickly when exposed to air. Colonists tried various methods including the following described by C. Anne Wilson in *Waste Note, Want Not*:

Burying the raw fruit in sand, sawdust, hay or oatmeal, by drying, by hanging on strings, by laying fruit in cold running streams, by keeping it in wine, beer or vinegar solutions, or by dipping it in wax; but these only delayed the rot and could not prevent it. The keeping of raw fruits in tightly closed pots in cold, dry cellars may have sometimes been successful if the fruit was very clean and sound.³⁸

Salting

While drying made the meat and fish higher in nutritional value, it was soon replaced with other methods such as salting and smoking. Salt has long been an important preserver. It was fairly cheap, easy to acquire, and could preserve a variety of meats, fish, and produce for longer amounts of time than other preservation processes. Modern table salt was not used, as its fine texture would dry the meat too quickly. Rather, combinations of sea salt and coarse rock salt were used. Saltpeter (potassium

³⁶ Shephard, 5.

³⁷ Torgerson, 16.

³⁸ C. Anne Wilson, ed., *Waste Not, Want Not: Food Preservation from Early Times to the Present Day*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 90.

nitrate) gained popularity in the eighteenth century when “it was discovered that [it] appeared to improve the keeping qualities of the meat and it was realized that it had much greater preserving powers than plain salt. In fact saltpeter is capable of killing many bacteria that salt can only inhibit.”³⁹ Many cookbooks referred to saltpeter or niter as a preservative. Harriot Pinckney Horry’s recipe for “collar’d beef” uses salt peter.

Take the Gristles out of a flank of Beef, and skin off the inside, then take two Ounces of Salt Peter, three Ozs. Bay salt, half a pound of Common Salt, and a quarter of a pound of Brown Sugar; Mix these all well to-gether and rub the Beef well, and put it into a pan with a quart of Spring Water, for four days, turning it once a day.⁴⁰

Two methods of salting were employed in the colonial period. Dry salting, also known as curing involved food being rubbed with salt several times. The food was then buried in a container or barrel with more dry salt or hung to dry.⁴¹ While this method was fairly cheap, it only inhibited bacteria growth on or near the surface of the meat and thus was only effective for short-term preserving.

Wet salting, or pickling, was used when preserving meats for a longer period. As the name implies, food would be submersed in a salt bath.

A typical brine would have been made with 3 pints of water, ½ lb of coarse salt, 1 oz of saltpeter, 3 oz of sugar with herbs such as bay leaves, crushed thyme and cloves, peppercorns, crushed juniper berries, allspice or nutmeg all tied up in a muslin bag. The water is slowly boiled in a pan while the scum is skimmed from the top. The brine is poured into the crock and left to cool. The meat is added and kept submerged with a weighted board.⁴²

³⁹ Shephard, 55.

⁴⁰ Richard J. Hooker, ed. *A Colonial Plantation Cookbook: The Receipt Book of Harriott Pinckney Horry, 1770*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 51.

⁴¹ Shephard, 54.

⁴² Ibid, 55.

Based upon the diaries of Deborah Norris Logan, we know that both these salting techniques were employed at Stenton. On December 28th, 1824 she wrote “I had two Hogs from the mill and attending in the meat cellar to the salting.”⁴³ These diary entries are described in greater detail in Chapter 3.

In order to salt the pork, Deborah Norris Logan may have consulted a source similar to Lydia Maria Francis Child’s *The American Frugal Housewife*. Child’s dedicated this manual to “those who are not ashamed of economy.” Child offered the following advice for salting pork.

If you wish to salt fat pork, scald coarse salt in water and skim it, till the salt will no longer melt in the water. Pack your pork down in tight layers; salt every layer; when the brine is cool, cover the pork with it, and keep a heavy stone on top to keep the pork under brine. Look to it once in a while, for the first few weeks, and if the salt has all melted, throw in more. This brine, scaling and skimmed every time it is used, will continue good twenty years. The rind of the pork should be packed towards the edge of the barrel.⁴⁴

Salting meat was a less time consuming task than salting pork. Child explained that “you have nothing to do but rub in salt plentifully, and let it set in the cellar a day or two...In summer, it will not keep more than a day and a half; if you are compelled to keep it longer, be sure and rub more salt, and keep it carefully covered from cellar-flies.”⁴⁵

⁴³ Deborah Norris Logan, Diary VII, December 28, 1824. Historical Society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

⁴⁴ Lydia Child. *The American Frugal Housewife*. (Cambridge: Applewood Books, 1832), 40-41.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 40.

Smoking

Smoking assists in preserving meats and adds to the flavor. Smoke from a fire dries out the flesh thus helping to keep it from rot, but does not actually cook it. This is referred to as cold smoking, and is only useful in preserving meats for a limited period. In hot smoking, the flesh is partially cooked, turning the meat a dark golden brown color. This is a preferred method for beef, venison, and poultry.⁴⁶

Once the meat was smoked, it would have to be hung to keep it out of reach of rodents which may account for the number of hooks found in the cellar at Stenton. Often times fir or some other soft coniferous wood was put onto the fire towards the end of smoking to give a “tar” coating on the meat as a deterrence to flies. Pepper was also rubbed onto meat to deter rodents.⁴⁷ Another method of preserving smoked meat was to wrap it in paper or cloth and store it in barrels. “In many homes hams and bacon sides were sewn into muslin or coarse linen bags and lime-washed. In others they were buried in fine clean wood ash in a chest or large barrel or box and kept in sand, which kept out the air ensuring preservation.”⁴⁸

Previous research from the Historic Structure Report indicates that Stenton’s smokehouse was located on the second floor of the kitchen wing (Figure 22).

Under the existing whitewash the plaster retains a very heavy layer of greasy soot not found elsewhere on the second floor and which cannot be explained by the presence of a fireplace in the room. Wrought hooks in the ceiling indicate that items were hung in the room and a large patch, centered on the north kitchen chimney, suggests an original opening, later filled. The area appears first to have been used as an interior smoking chamber,

⁴⁶ Shephard, 100.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 100.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 101.

funneling smoke from the north fireplace into the room to cure hams and other foodstuffs. The interior plaster assured that smoke would not seep into the adjacent rooms.⁴⁹



Figure 22: West elevation of the kitchen wing. The second floor housed the interior smoking room, between the two chimney stacks. (Higgins, 2006).

Storage

Storing fruits and vegetables during the winter is one of the most basic methods of food preservation. Fruits such as apples or pears would be placed in a container with straw, saw dust, sand, oats, bran, or leaves surrounding each piece and then stored in a cold place, such as a cellar.⁵⁰ Enclosing the food in a box or barrel would keep it from spoiling; the high level of carbon dioxide helps inhibit ripening, and the lower oxygen

⁴⁹ Engle, 391.

⁵⁰ Nancy Torgerson. *Food Preservation: Before the Mason Jar*. (Forsyth, IL: Glimpse of the Past, 1994), 11.

level discourages bacteria and molds.⁵¹ In the root cellar, food was also buried in sand, rather than stored in boxes or barrels. Lydia Child gives specific instructions as to which vegetables should be stored in the cellar.

Parsnips should be kept down cellar, covered up in sand, entirely excluded from the air. They are good only in the spring. Cabbages put into a hold in the ground will keep well during the winter, and be hard, fresh, and sweet, in the spring. Many farmers keep potatoes in the same way. Onions should be kept very dry, and never carried into the cellar except in severe weather, when there is danger of freezing. By no means let them be in the cellar after March; they will sprout and spoil. Potatoes should likewise be carefully looked to in the spring, and the sprouts broken off. The cellar is the best place for them, because they are injured by wilting....Squashes should never be kept down cellar when it is possible to prevent it. Dampness injures them. If intense cold makes it necessary to put them there, bring them up as soon as possible, and keep them in some dry, warm place.⁵²

The American Practical Cyclopaedia (1866) includes specific instructions for storing cabbages.

To Keep Cabbages in Winter: Cut the heads out with two or three courses of outside leaves upon them, fold close to the head, pack them in barrels or boxes, set them in a cellar, if the cellar is dry, keep outside leaves on top of the cabbage, to exclude enough air to prevent wilting. It is better still to pack the cabbage heads as above with nice damp moss...it will preserve the cabbage just sufficiently damp and fresh all winter. Beets, carrots, celery, etc., may also be kept finely this way.⁵³

Specific instructions were also given as to the container that items should be stored in. “Keep yeast in wood or earthen. Keep preserves and jellies in glass, or china

⁵¹ Ibid, 11.

⁵² Child, 33-34.

⁵³ A.J. Campbell, *American Practical Cyclopaedia* (1866), 709, quoted in Torgerson, 13.

or stoneware. Keep salt in a dry place. Keep meal in a cool dry place. Keep ice in the cellar, wrapped in flannel. Keep vinegar in wood or glass.”⁵⁴

Dairy

The primary function of the dairy was to house milk, cream, butter, buttermilk, and cheese, keeping the foodstuffs in an unadulterated and preserved state. The room was not just a clean center. It was also a status symbol; not all colonial houses had dairies in the cellars. The dairy was often associated with a romanticized image of milkmaids and their embodiment of “the very essence of fresh, pure country beauty, health, innocence and virtue.”⁵⁵ Even Shakespeare described a virtuous milkmaid as

...the prettiest low-born lass that ever
Ran on the green-sward; nothing she does or seems
But smacks of something greater than herself,
Too noble for this place...good sooth, she is
The queen of curds and cream.⁵⁶

With these romantic ideals, dairy work was considered a suitable activity for the mistress of any household, whether it be a meager dwelling or a country house such as Stenton. In England, architects embodied this sense of idealism by constructing “fancy” dairies. “The dairy is one of the principal decorations of an English park, and stands by itself quite away from the cow-house. It is generally an elegant pavilion, adorned with fountains, marble walls, and rare and beautiful porcelain; and its vessels, large and small

⁵⁴ Sarah J. Hale, 1839, as quoted in Plante, 33.

⁵⁵ Pamela A. Sambrook and Peter Brears eds., *The Country House Kitchen 1650-1900: Skills and Equipment for Food Provisioning*. (London: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1996), 164.

⁵⁶ W. Shakespeare, *A Winter's Tale* (c. 1611), Act IV, Scene IV, as quoted in Sambrook and Brears, 164.

filled with the most exquisite milk and its products in all their varieties.”⁵⁷ This description comes from Christina Hardyment’s work which studied historic houses in England. The goal of her work was to gain a deeper understanding of how domestic activities supported the household. She called her research “domestic archaeology,” and supplied great insight to the similar research conducted at Stenton.

While the dairy room of Stenton is more humble than the 1832 description of English country house dairies, the Logan dairy was certainly not haphazard. There are a number of elements found in the dairy that attribute to its aesthetic, as well as its functional. As noted before, the floor of the dairy is red brick laid in a herringbone pattern (Figure 23). This not only made the room easier to clean and thus more sanitary, but it is clearly a decorative element. What is even more impressive is that the same herringbone pattern is found outside the front entrance and in the entry hall of the house (Figure 24). Upon construction, this lone room in the cellar was given as much consideration as the important entry hall and the front walkway. These public spaces created first impression for Stenton’s visitors, who, over the years, included such notables as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Joseph Bonaparte, and Comte de Survilliers, the former King of Spain.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Christina Hardyment, *Behind the Scenes: Domestic Arrangements in Historic Houses*. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1997), 92.

⁵⁸ Tolles, 124, 308.



Figure 23: Herringbone patterned brick floor in dairy (Higgins, 2006)



Figure 24: Exterior herringbone brick pattern. This same pattern is found in the foyer of the main house, and in the dairy, or Northwest room (Higgins, 2006).

The floor was not the only aesthetic contribution to the dairy. The room was also coated with plaster, and then whitewashed. An arched shelving unit was also built into the wall (Figure 17). This shelving took advantage of the arched support for the upstairs chimney; it was not constructed for aesthetics alone but it did contribute to the visual characteristics of the room. These decorative elements were also easy to clean, which was the most important aspect of the room. A dairy was always held to the highest standards of sanitation.

Beyond aesthetics and cleanliness, the room was a space for processing and storing dairy products. In *The Illustrated History of the Housewife 1650-1950*, Una Robertson explains how dairy products needed specific storage methods. “Butter and cheeses from the dairy, in themselves a form of preserving for the winter months, needed specialist storage spaces – butter in the cool, cheeses where the air could circulate around them.”⁵⁹ This description would account for the hanging wooden supports in the Northwest room (Figure 18); the cheeses would be placed upon the no-longer extant wooden shelves so that air could circulate around them. The shelving built into the chimney support would provide a cool haven for butters, creams and other dairy foods. The trench along the North wall of the room, when filled with water, would provide another cooling system for pans of milk. The milk would sit in trays to allow cream to form which was then skimmed off, placed in pots and later churned into butter.

⁵⁹ Una A. Robertson, *The Illustrated History of the Housewife 1650-1950*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 117.

Cheese was a more complicated process. Curds were separated from the buttermilk, gathered in cheesecloth, and then pressed for a few days. After removing from the press, the cheese aged for about six months in the cellar.⁶⁰

Again in the diaries of Deborah Norris Logan, we find that the women of Stenton were utilizing the dairy for churning butter. “I was employed in working butter, and making cheese-cake and gooseberry pye [sic] in the morning.”⁶¹ Because they utilized the room for making butter, we can also assume the room was utilized for other dairy methods such as cheese making. These methods are described in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Another secondary source consulted was *A Quaker Woman's Cookbook* by William Woys Weaver. Weaver based his work upon the cookbook of Elizabeth Ellicott Lea, a quaker woman who resided in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware between 1793 and 1858. The dates and locations of Lea's life are very similar to those of Deborah Norris Logan. Thus it is likely that the techniques employed by Lea were also utilized by Deborah Norris Logan. She may have followed specifically Lea's advice for “putting up butter for winter:”

Work it well, and salt it rather more than for table use, and pack it in stone pans or jars, with a thin cloth on the top, and salt on it an inch thick; keep it in a cool place, and if it is sweet when made, it will keep good till spring. It should be tied up with paper to exclude air.⁶²

⁶⁰ Ellen M. Plante, *The American Kitchen 1700 to the Present*. (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995), 19.

⁶¹ Deborah Norris Logan, Diary VII, June 24, 1824.

⁶² William Woys Weaver, *A Quaker Woman's Cookbook: The Domestic Cookery of Elizabeth Ellicott Lea*, (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2004), 178.

Cleaning

The cellar would have been monitored to note any presence of vermin or rodents. As they could quickly spread disease, the pests would have to be removed. The cellars would have been cleaned regularly, and whitewashed to aid in the cleaning process. Deborah Norris Logan referred to whitewashing the cellar in May, 1825.⁶³ The spring would have been an appropriate time to do such thorough cleaning. Elizabeth Lea gave the following advice for cleaning a cellar in her cookery book:

In the spring, cellars should be swept, and all refuse vegetables taken out; if left till warm weather, they will become putrid, and endanger the health of your family. The sprouts should be rubbed from the potatoes; all the barrels should be moved and swept under. Have boards laid on the floor for meat and fish barrels, and after they are emptied, have them washed and drained ready for use. Empty flour barrels should be swept out and the heads and hoops saved. Have lime sprinkled over the cellar floor twice during the summer, or oftener if it should be necessary. If the windows are kept shut in warm weather, the air will be unwholesome. Do not trust the servants, examine and see that it is done thoroughly.

The apartments where cold meat and milk are kept should be cobwebbed and swept once a week, and the safe washed out at least that often. If the cellar is paved with brick, keep a part of it washed clean, to set cold meat and milk on; cover them with tin pans and put a weight on the top if rats are troublesome.

Mice are kept under by a good cat, and traps. If roaches are troublesome, set bowls or deep dishes, with molasses and a plate on the top, with room for them to get in, and set it close to a wall. I have seen hundreds caught in this way in one night, and it is much safer than setting any thing poisonous about the kitchen or pantry. They should be burnt in the morning, and the dishes set again at night. If you find a closet infested with ants, remove every thing that will attract them, scald and clean it well, and they will soon leave it. It is said that strips of cotton or linen dipped

⁶³ Logan, Diary VIII, May 25, 1825.

in spirits of turpentine, and placed about the closets, will drive them away.⁶⁴

The previous chapters have detailed the history of Stenton and the Logan family, provided a physical description and analysis of the cellar, and has given a background into food preservation techniques utilized at Stenton. The next chapter seeks to utilize primary resources to fully understand how the Logan family used these spaces.

⁶⁴ Weaver, 210-211.

Chapter 3: Analysis of the Logan Family Papers as they pertain to Food Preservation

Research for this study included examining the Logan family's personal papers and diaries.⁶⁵ While food preservation was rarely discussed, the papers provide information as to what food was present at Stenton. The secondary sources described in the preceding chapter and evidence of the food preservation techniques remaining at Stenton provide a clearer picture of life at Stenton in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Inventories

When researching an individual, a house, or even a specific room, one of the first primary resources to be consulted should be the inventories. Inventories were usually conducted following the passing of an individual, listing all of the items owned at the time of death. They can be listed by room, by floor, or in no particular order at all. Unfortunately for this research, the cellar was often overlooked on the inventory and more attention was paid to the living quarters of Stenton. However, there is certainly still information to gain from these documents, so they are included in this thesis.

The inventory of James Logan, dated August 1752, listed the following items in the kitchen, washhouse, and cellars:⁶⁶

⁶⁵ These records include the ledger of James Logan and the diaries of George and Deborah Norris Logan. All of these documents were found at the Historical Society of Philadelphia.

⁶⁶ "Inventory taken at Stenton of Goods and Chatels belonging to ye Eestate of a James Logan, Deceased, 1752, 8mo." *Logan Family Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1752.

	£	s.	d.
An old Clock	2	10	0
A Jack & ca	3	10	0
Andirons, Shovels & Tongs	1	12	6
4 Iron Potts, Kettles, Pothooks & Racks	2	-	-
1 Brass Kettle & 2 Bell mettle Skellets	3	-	-
2 Tea Kettles, Coffe Pot & Chafing Dish	1	-	-
Copper Steco Pan & Warming Pan	1	2	6
9 old Iron Candlesticks	-	3	6
1 pr Steel Yards	-	12	-
2 Box Irons & 5 Sad Irons	1	2	6
2 Frying Pans	-	8	-
A Dutch Oven	1	10	-
A Wooden Mortar & 2 Pine Tables	-	10	-
Glass, Tin & Earthen Ware wth Casks, Tubs & Lumber	7	10	-

The difficulty with this inventory is that the items are lumped together under “kitchen, washhouse, and cellar” so assumptions must be made as to which items were found in the cellar. Most of these items belonged in the kitchen, particularly the kettle, coffee pot, warming pan, etc. With the cellar being the last listing, it could be assumed that the final group of items “glass, tin and earthen ware with casks, tubs and lumber” were located in the cellar at the time the inventory was taken. It is likely that the casks and tubs listed were used to store salted meats or produce.

The inventory listings for the cellar may have been so sparse because some items in the basement would have been considered “female” and thus the property of Logan’s wife, Sarah Read (c.1692-1754). However her inventory, does not list much more in the cellar.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Edward Cathrall and Judah Foulke, “An inventory of the personal estate of Sarah Logan, Deceased. Taken June 4, 1754.” *Logan Family Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

	£	s.	d.
Wines			
4 doz. & 7 Bottles Methagline	2	15	-
2 doz. Cherry	1	4	-
1 doz. & 3 Bottles English Beer	-	15	-
2 Bottle Frontenach	-	5	-
1 doz. & 5 Bottles Elderberry Wine	-	17	-
11 doz. Empty Bottles & 6 pint ones	1	7	-
An old Saw and WheelBarrow	-	5	-
A Parcell of Lumber in the Cellar	-	10	-
2 doz. & 10 Patty Pans and 3 Bone handle Knives & Forks	-	9	-

This inventory does include wine, which was not included on James Logan’s inventory. It is a bit surprising to see that there were over 19 dozen bottles stored in the cellar. Not all 300 bottles would have fit in the wine rack in the Northeast room, so some must have been stored elsewhere; most likely in the South Room with the barrels of beer and cider.

Also of note is the listing of lumber in both James and Sarah Logan’s inventories. This indicates that the cellar was a storage space for items besides food. Interestingly, there is still a wood pile in the cellar, as noted in Figure 26, just as there was in the time of James and Sarah Logan.

Finally, we have William Logan’s inventory taken in 1776.⁶⁸

	£	s.	d.
Table Cloths, Sheets, Napkins &c	10	-	-
Sundry Casks & Lumber in ye Cellar	7	10	-
	17	10	-
Kitchen & Washhouse			
All the Pewter, Pots, Kettles, Tables, Chairs, Tubs, &c	17	-	-

⁶⁸ “The Inventory of William Logan”, 1776, as transcribed in Shepherd, Appendix 10.

Like the previous inventories, this one also does not fully describe what is found in which room. Unlike the kitchen and washhouse, the cellar is not given its own heading, and it is difficult to determine what items were actually found in the cellar. Again, the lumber is listed, but it is worthy of note that the table linens were also included directly above this entry. This may indicate that the linens were also found in the cellar, but because they are not described as “in ye Cellar” they may have been in an entirely different room. If these were linens stored in the cellar, they may have been old textiles that did not need to be stored in the more formal rooms and were perhaps these stored in the basement on one of the plaster shelves. Again this inventory includes casks that were likely used in storing food products.

James Logan’s Ledger & Library

James Logan (1674-1751) was bedridden for much of his residency at Stenton, and thus was unable to farm the land as much as his heirs. However, Logan conceived of the storage and workspace in the first place.

As described in Chapter One, Logan originally planned a stone house, but when his quarries could not produce enough stone, he resorted to brick leaving only the basement constructed of stone. These rooms were important enough to warrant plaster finish evidence of which remains. Except for the Southwest room, all the arches of all the chimney supports were also plastered. Plaster gave the cellar a “finished” look and was easier to clean than fieldstone.

As seen in Logan’s Ledger Book (Appendix A), he kept meticulous accounts. He notes the “Plantation Expenses” as work that was done to Stenton, as well as sundries

purchased for the home. However, this ledger only spans the years 1721-1727, yet previous scholarship indicates the house was not complete until 1729. Perhaps the Logan family spent time at Stenton while construction was underway. Or, because the house took longer than Logan anticipated, he may have purchased these items for Stenton and upon realizing the house was far from complete, he moved them to the house in Philadelphia. Either way, the Ledger affords a glimpse at the provisions of the Logan family.

Repeated entries in the Ledger include molasses, rum, salt, sugar, and meat. Of interest is the “white clay crock for Pork” purchased in October of 1724. The term “pork” instead of “hog”, may indicate that Logan purchased the pork already butchered and in a storage crock from John Rees. The entry also suggests the family was still residing in Philadelphia, where they had no facilities for butchering and thus relied on Rees. In May, 1726, Logan purchased 3 barrels of pork. It is likely that the pork in the white clay crock was preserved in a salt brine, and that the pork in the barrels was either salted or smoked. Later 1727, Logan purchased geese, turkeys, and cows which seems a clear indication that they were nearing the completion of Stenton, and thus could prepare their own meats.

Although in poor health, Logan was apparently interested in agriculture he owned a number of agricultural books (See Appendix B). It is highly likely that his grandson, George Logan, consulted these during his many agricultural experiments conducted on the plantation.

George Logan's Farm Diary

As mentioned before, George Logan (1753-1821) was an avid horticulturist. He conducted numerous experiments and was constantly trying to make the Stenton farm an efficient machine. His farm diary (Appendix C) mentions some of the farm crops, such as wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and livestock. His diary details what products were produced on the farm and the amount of business that was conducted. George Logan appears to have been a shrewd business man. He described all accounts received at the Stenton Farm, as well as the payment of employees. One employee, Christian Henche was employed from April 1, 1809 for "1 year at \$12 per month."⁶⁹ However it appears that Henche was not the hardest worker on the Stenton farm. Logan recorded that Henche was sick several days in May of 1810. On June 2 he did not arrive for work, as indicated by the entry, "Christian not here." On June 5th, Logan simply remarked "discharged Christian." Obviously, Logan only employed those individuals with a strong work ethic and truancy was not tolerated.

Towards the back of the diary, Logan kept a list of accounts, both payable and receivable, to Stenton. The farm diary reported that Logan sold products including corn, potatoes, calves, and hogs. For example, in January of 1812, the Stenton farm sold 178 bushels of barley to Edward Hudson.⁷⁰ Equally interesting is what Logan bought for the farm. In January 1810, he purchased \$54.27 worth of groceries and \$50.00 of wine. The next month he purchased cheese for the farm. This would indicate either that cheese was

⁶⁹ George Logan, Farm Diary, 1809-1813. Folio B, Logan Family Papers, Historical Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

not always produced at Stenton, or that the cold weather rendered the cows unable to produce enough milk for cheese.

On May 12, 1810, Logan wrote “putting plaster round the corn.”⁷¹ This was a technique that Logan was nearly obsessed with. Logan was constantly reading, writing, and speaking to other farmers about the latest techniques and innovations regarding agriculture. Manure was one of the most valuable products of any farm, and most farmers either misused the product, or neglected it all together. Logan realized how vital it was to the productivity of Stenton, but also felt that he would have insufficient fertilizer for his long neglected land.⁷² He realized that he had three options. His first was to haul wagonloads from Philadelphia to Stenton. A second option was to grow more livestock, and to grow more clover to feed this livestock. It is apparent from his references to clover in his farm diary that he did use this option to some extent. But his final choice was to develop an artificial fertilizer.

George Logan’s father, William, had spread lime and soap ashes on the Stenton fields with good results.⁷³ However, the fertilizer of choice for the younger Logan was gypsum, or plaster of Paris. Apparently, Logan delighted in his experiments with gypsum. “Ever since 1785, people driving along the Germantown Road in springtime had blinked in disbelief when they passed Stenton and saw his fields covered with a dazzling blanket of white, as though by a sudden, belated snowfall.”⁷⁴ He would also trace letters and words with the plaster in April, and by midsummer, the letters would stand out as a deeper green in the fields. His use of plaster transformed farming methods

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Tolles, 96.

⁷³ Ibid, 96.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 97.

of southeastern Pennsylvania, creating more livestock, more fertilizer, and more abundant harvests.⁷⁵

Another experiment conducted by Logan was crop rotation. He divided his field into fourteen plots, and in each sowed a different succession of crops. “His object was clear and comprehensive: to develop for his region a rotation that would provide the largest number of cash crops...and one that would at the same time preserve the soil in the best condition and distribute the farm work most evenly through the growing season.”⁷⁶ After years of experimenting, Logan prepared a paper for the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, describing his rotation as:

- 1) Indian corn
- 2) Potatoes and flax
- 3) Wheat
- 4) Winter barley, followed by buckwheat with clover and timothy
- 5) Clover (two crops for hay)
- 6) Clover (one crop for hay and pasture)
- 7) Pasture
- 8) Wheat
- 9) Winter barley

He explained the many advantages of this rotation.

It gave the farmer each year a crop of potatoes, part of which he could feed to his stock. It would encourage household manufacturing by producing an annual crop of flax. A hundred and twenty acres of wheat, barley, clover, and timothy would enable a farmer to winter fifty head of stock, besides sheep, and with a proper system of barnyard management, would give him every year five hundred loads of good manure.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Ibid, 97.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 100.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 100-1.

All of these experiments led to the success of the farm. With so much happening in the fields, it is easy to imagine the cellar filled with vegetables, barrels of wine and cider, and hanging meats.

Deborah Norris Logan's Diaries

Deborah Norris Logan was born in Philadelphia on October 19, 1761, and married George Logan in September of 1780.⁷⁸ She was very well educated, and “she was accomplished, of a sweet disposition, and she had literary and antiquarian tastes. After her marriage, besides faithful attention to her duties as a wife and mother, she gave earnest and continued attention to subjects connected with the history of Pennsylvania.”⁷⁹ She found much to occupy her at Stenton. With a profound love of nature, she constructed a greenhouse to house her “exotics” and other plants. She moved her plants into the cellar from the greenhouses during the winter months; this may account for some of those carved niches in the Southeast room.

In the good weather she put her large lemon and orange trees and other ‘exotics’ out on the pavement...many an entry in the Diaries worries over what the cold will do to the plants in the greenhouse or whether the fire in the greenhouse stove is all right. Those plants which were not quite so choice spent the winter in the cellar. It was the work of several men and all day to move all the plants seasonally.⁸⁰

Along with her love for her plants, Deborah Logan also wrote poetry, and in her diaries. In 1815, she penned a Sonnet to Stenton.

⁷⁸ Thompson Westcott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia*. (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), 152.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 152-3.

⁸⁰ Barbara Jones, “Deborah Logan” (MA Thesis, University of Delaware, 1964), 27.

My peaceful home! Amidst whose dark green shades
And sylvan scenes my waning life is spent,
Nor without blessings and desired content!
Again the spring illumines thy verdant glades,
And rose-crowned Flora calls the Æonian maids
To grace with songs her revels, and prevent,
By charmed spells, the nipping blasts which, bent
From Eurus or the stormy North, pervades
Her treasures—still 'tis mine among thy groves
Musing to rove, enamor'd of the fame
Of him who reared these walls, whose classic lore
For science brightly blazed, and left his name
Indelible—by honor, too, approved,
And virtue cherished by the Muses' flame.⁸¹

The best accounts of life at Stenton come from Deborah Logan's diaries (Appendix D). Her entries are sporadic, but they all contain glimpses into Stenton's past. She focused on exciting topics, such as visits from Washington and Jefferson. However, she would often mention her domestic chores, passing such as this entry from March 1, 1822: "A very pleasant warm day. The morning consumed as mine usually are, in domestic cares."⁸² Some entries are similarly sparse in description, such as "We have planned peas and sown the seeds of other vegetables this week, and Dan Smith has been hired for the season as Gardner."⁸³

In other entries, she alludes to the fact that she faces her duties grudgingly, especially during unseasonably warm weather.

I had some domestic avocations-and vexations-that occupied me pretty much of the day, which was of the fine temperate feeling of Spring: the Green house was opened throughout, and the Birds sung, especially the \Blue Bird, as if 'the winter was over and gone'. But tho' this doubtless will change, yet the length'ning days and the approach of

⁸¹ Deborah Norris Logan, "Sonnet to Stenton", March 12, 1815.

⁸² Deborah Norris Logan, Diary V, March 1, 1822. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

⁸³ Ibid, March 29, 1822.

Spring will divers the storm of its gloom, I hope. – we have no ice yet.⁸⁴

This reference to ice confirms that there was indeed an ice house on the Stenton farm, and was most likely the building seen in Figure 25. There must have also been a pond on the property to provide the ice. It is likely that food would have also been stored in the ice house, or that ice may have been brought into the cellar, to aid in refrigeration.

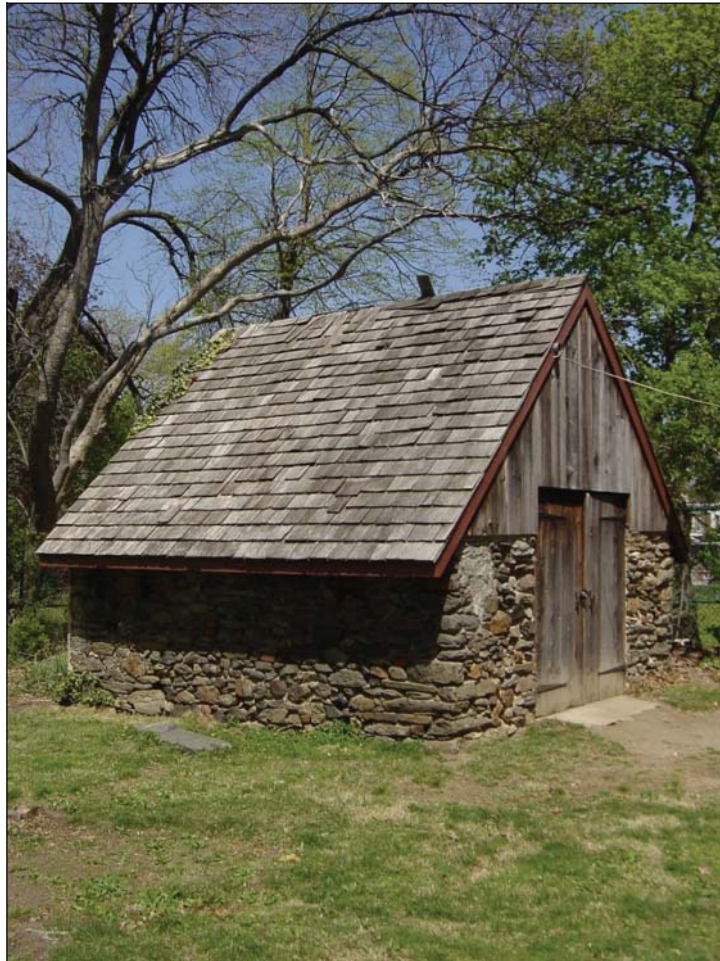


Figure 25: Icehouse at Stenton (Higgins, 2006).

It also appears that Deborah took part in the butter-making process. On June 24th, 1824 she wrote “I was employed in working butter, and making cheese-cake and

⁸⁴ Logan, Diary VI, January 29, 1824

gooseberry pye in the morning.”⁸⁵ Fresh milk could not be stored for very long periods of time, so any excess was converted into butter or cheeses. Churning often took place in the morning hours, when the temperature was cooler than the afternoon. The laborious process would take anywhere from an hour to ninety minutes. The finished butter would be layered in a dish with salt; approximately an ounce of salt to a pound of butter. After salting several layers, the tub would be covered with a linen cloth and set to rest for several hours. It was then rinsed with water several times to remove any remaining buttermilk then packed into firkins and then stored.⁸⁶ Deborah Logan probably had help in this arduous process. Many servants were employed at Stenton and it is more likely that Deborah salted or rinsed the butter rather than churned it. In November of 1824 she recorded, “I had a good lump of butter to work up after dinner,”⁸⁷ suggesting that the butter had already been churned for her, and she took over the next step in the process.

In late fall, slaughtering took place on the farm, and Deborah supervised the salting. She reported on November 13, 1824, “I had two Hogs from the mill and attending in the meat cellar to the Salting.”⁸⁸ A very large slaughtering took place in December, 1826. The following entry is Deborah’s description of the gruesome task.

The family were up early this morning as the poor Hogs were to be slaughtered... We have been very busy in a domestic way this morning... It grew cold and blustering but the sun shone out brightly at intervals. The business of the Hog-killing went on, with frequent sending in for whiskey which I very unwillingly allowed, for besides

⁸⁵ Logan, Diary VII, June 24th, 1824.

⁸⁶ James E. McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 76-77.

⁸⁷ Logan, Diary VII, November 13, 1824.

⁸⁸ Logan, Diary VII, December 28, 1824.

having the sin and noise of intoxication, I feared having my work badly done.⁸⁹

From this entry, we find that Deborah Logan was inside during the slaughtering, as the men were frequently “sending in” for whiskey.

The butchering site was located at the end of the kitchen and stable buildings, which were connected to the main house via a breezeway. A Logan descendent, Sarah Logan Wister Starr recalled “On the north side of this building (low building) is an open shed once used for butchering purposes, which still contains the large, iron kettle. It was frequently called the slaughter-house.”⁹⁰

After the slaughtering, Deborah supervised salting the pork, carefully arranging the meats in the cellar, while other servants and help began making the sausages upstairs in the kitchen. This seems to have also been another time consuming task, as she had a moment to reflect upon the quickly passing seasons and her own mortality.

I have nothing today but a most housewifely record of my superintendence of salting the Hams and Pork. We killed 7 hogs of a good size, and after it was done and the things put to rights in the cellar, during which the other part of the work, rendering the lard, and making the sausages and puddings was going on in the kitchen, It still seemed like our own old times from the presence of so many of those empathetically denominated in the family, “The Old Neighbours,” who had their coffee, and sausage, and Gossey very happily. And for my own part I could but notice the quick lapse of time, which brings about the seasons so rapidly that though so many weary days and nights have gone since this sort of work of the last year, now it is passed, it seems like but a point of time. And so it will be when life is near ended, if reflection in them still in

⁸⁹ Logan, Diary VIII, December 18, 1826.

⁹⁰ Sarah Logan Wister Starr, *History of Stenton*. (Philadelphia: 1938), 11.

her seat; A Bubble bursting on the wave, a light vapor
dissolving in the air! We look and it and it is no more!⁹¹

Deborah Logan appears to have taken great pride in the self-sufficiency of Stenton. George Logan was extremely influential in the surrounding community, and was constantly inviting other Philadelphians to Stenton for afternoon visits and dinner parties. She reflected upon these visits in her husband's memoir.

Domestic manufactures, rightly so called from being indeed the production of the farmers' families, were a favourite object of their encouragement; and this gave scope to the ingenuity and industry of their wives and introduced us in a social and pleasant manner to one another's acquaintance. I have not forgotten the agreeable interchange of visits, the beneficial emulation, and the harmless pride with which we exhibited specimens of our industry and good management to each other. The spinning-wheel was going in every house, and it was a high object of our ambition to see our husbands and their families clothed in our own manufactures...and to produce at our social dinner parties the finest ale of our own brewing, the best home-made wines, cheese, and other articles which we thought ought to be made among ourselves rather than imported from abroad.⁹²

After analyzing the Logan's personal papers, a clearer picture of the cellar and how it was utilized has finally begun to take shape. The Stenton household was fairly self-sufficient in the 18th- and 19th- centuries. The farm grew a variety of produce, much in part to the agricultural experiments George Logan was carrying out on the site. Preserving the farm's yield was imperative to survival, and Stenton certainly had the means to store all the farm produced. Farming and household work, such as churning butter, consumed a large part of the Logan's time. But it is apparent from records and

⁹¹ Ibid, December 19, 1826.

⁹² Logan, *Memoir*, 44.

previous research that the Logan's had slaves, indentured servants, and hired hands to help with the multitude of tasks at Stenton.

From their writings, it appears that above all the Logan's took immense pride in their farm. George Logan would not tolerate any lazy workers on his farm, as apparent by the firing of a worker who did not report to work. Deborah Logan, although she apparently had servants assisting her, made daily notes as to the household chores and baking she attended to. They cared about their homemade work and how it was presented to others. From butchering, to salting, to churning butter, the Logan's would not settle for anything less than the best of their own production.

Chapter 4: Recommendations for Future Research and Interpretation

Future Research

Many individuals were involved in the food preservation techniques at Stenton, but due to time limitations, they were not all included here in this thesis. George Logan's Farm Diary mentioned some of the laborers employed at Stenton, including Christian Henche (1808-1809), George Humel (December 1809-January 1811), Peter Haines (August 1810-February 1811), and George Haines (July 1810). Additionally, Stenton has begun research on some of the domestic servants; it would be an interesting research topic to analyze how their roles pertained to food preservation.

Interpretation

As a museum, Stenton provides visitors an in-depth look into many aspects of the Logan's family lives while residing there. Tours give insight into the daily lives of James, George, Deborah, and all the other Logan's that have lived at Stenton. Additionally, interpretation is given for the servants who worked at Stenton, famous visitors such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, and how Philadelphia changed around Stenton. Tours also include how the house has been preserved through time, what historical research and archaeological digs have revealed about the house, and what the future holds for Stenton. What the tours and interpretation are missing, however, is an analysis of the cellar spaces.

As this thesis has shown, the cellar was vital to the survival of the Stenton family. Storing meat, dairy, and produce in a sufficient way was imperative, especially in the

lean winter months. Without proper storage facilities, food would have been prone to rot, which could have made the Logan family susceptible to disease. Fortunately, Stenton contained a state-of-the art storage cellar for meats, cheeses, dairy, and produce.

The Logans had a particular interest in the success of their farm. George and Deborah Logan in particular supervised much of the work that was being done, from the production of crops, to the churning of butter, to the butchering of pigs; they each oversaw these tasks, and then documented them in their dairies. With such first hand accounts, it is a shame to not shed public light on their work.

Interpretation of the cellar can be done in two ways. It could be restored and reconstructed to appear as it did during the Logan's occupancy. Or it could be left in its present state, with labeling and signage for interpreting the spaces. My recommendation would be a combination of the two, but leaning more towards leaving the spaces as they are seen now. In restoring and reconstructing, docents would have the difficult task of determining for the time period it should be restored. With over 150 years of Logan generations occupying Stenton, it would be difficult to interpret the space to just one generation. Like the rest of Stenton, the basement should be interpreted to include the Logan family as a whole, and not single out one or two individuals.

In terms of reconstructing some areas, it would be beneficial to restore the doors to the ventilated closet, and the arched closets in the northeast rooms. Within a pile of wood to the right of the ventilated closet (Figure 26), a ventilated door, was found that may be the original door to this closet. If feasible, this door should be restored to its original location. At the least, the door provides a model for making others. The door that separated the Northeast and the Southeast Rooms should also be replaced, as the

Northeast Room was the only to have restricted access. Replacing these original pieces would indicate which storage spaces had restricted access and which did not.



Figure 26: Woodpile to the right of the ventilated closet in the Northeast Room. Note the ventilated door that may have originally been the door to the ventilated closet (Higgins, 2006).

The outside entrance the Northeast room and is fairly intact should be restored. The current interior staircase, though not original, should also remain, as it now provides an entrance to the basement from the interior of the house. These entrances would provide the two means of egress required by the fire code. The servant stair leading to the northeast room should also be restored to illustrate how the servants were able to enter the cellar quickly from the dining room.

Other items that would benefit the restoration would be to restore the shelves for the barrels in the South Room and the hanging shelves in the dairy. The shelves in the South Room themselves wouldn't actually need to be restored, but placing barrels within the shelves would give visitors an idea how the room served as a cold storage space for beer and cider. The hanging shelves in the Dairy should be reproduced.

The Dairy itself was such an important space, that it should be restored much as possible to help visitors understand its significance to Stenton. With the herringbone patterned brick floors and plastered and whitewashed walls, it was the most finished space in the basement, just as the dining room and parlor are the more formal, finished spaces on the first floor. The milk trench should be cleared out of debris, so that it is easier to imagine it filled with water for cooling trays of milk, cheese, and butter. A large work-table should be in the center of the room, echoing the two large pine tables mentioned in James Logan's inventory. As stated above, the hanging shelves should also be restored to give the room an appearance familiar to the Logans' use of the space. If the water heater presently located in the dairy cannot be moved to another unused room, then a partition should be constructed to hide it from visitors.

For the most part, the finishes of the walls, ceilings, and the dirt floors should remain intact and unchanged. The Southeast and Southwest rooms can remain off tour, or used to describe the various food preservation methods that were incorporated at Stenton. The Southeast Room is presently a storage center for the various archaeological finds from the site. If this room were part of the tour, an off-site storage facility would have to be found for these artifacts.

In the interpretation of the Southeast and Southwest rooms, the preservation methods that should be discussed include salting, smoking, and storage. The daily activities of the farm and of the cellar should also be explained by the docents or with clear labeling and display boards. I would recommend that guided tours be given in the basement. I feel the space would be more clearly presented to the public with the roles of each space being clearly defined; I feel the sense of specific spaces for specific foods or preservation activities would not be fully comprehended by signage alone.

The cellar tours would also benefit from the addition of items that would have been utilized by the Logans in the space. For example, we know that there was an extensive collection of wine bottles and barrels, so having a few examples of these items would give a more visualization of the cellar during the Logans' use. Elements used in food preservation, such as saltpeter and barrels for the salting of the pork, and presses for cheese making would also aid the tour guides.

The cellar was so vital to the Logans' livelihood, that it should be interpreted for the public. Today, when visitors tour Stenton, they see how the Logans' lived upstairs. But the tour would benefit from the major role the cellar played in supporting the Logan's daily lives.

Conclusion

When beginning this thesis, I did not realize how much we take food preservation for granted today. We shop supermarkets for fresh, frozen and canned foods; we can microwave a complete dinner in seconds; and the dishes are clean at the touch of a button. The tasks of butchering meat, churning butter, and storing vegetables for months was more foreign than I had expected.

But to the Logan family, these tasks were commonplace. If the chores were neglected, disease, hunger, or death could result if they did not observe the proper precautions in preserving their supplies. Yet the Logans went beyond their normal tasks. They were constantly experimenting and seeking new methods of farming and preservation; they educated others through their writings; and they shared their experimental successes.

Stenton is a unique house museum for many reasons, including the fact that it has had minimal alterations, was occupied by one family, and that family left a view into their world through their papers, letters, and diaries. The cellar at Stenton remains relatively well-preserved. A cellar is often the last place to be researched and interpreted in an historical house. Ironically this would have been the first space thought of when James Logan first envisioned his “cheap farmer’s Stone house” as he would have begun Stenton’s construction by laying out the cellar.

My research, involved analyzing the cellar spaces, conducting a literature review, and sifting through the private papers of the Logan family. The greatest obstacle to my research is that food, and food preservation, is part of material culture. However unlike

fine artifacts, this part of material culture is mainly foreign to most modern Americans. For this reason the cellars at Stenton are an important part of the interpretation at Stenton. The Logan family understood that food preservation was essential to sustaining the household. Such an important aspect of their daily lives deserves to be interpreted for to the public.

Appendix A: Excerpts from James Logan Ledger 1721-1727

Pg. 229

Philadelphia in
Plantation

			£	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
1724					
9 mo	3	To Accot. Of Rum for 1 Quart		1	
10 mo	7	To John Rees of white clay crock for Pork	1	5	
11 mo	23	To Sundry Accot for 1 doz knives and forks & 2 galls of Rum		16	
12 mo	27	To Accot. Of Rum for 4 gallons		12	
1725					
3 mo	4	To Accot Rum for 2 Galls		6	
4 mo	12	To Accot. Rum for 5 Gallons		15	4
	2	To Accot of Rum for 5 Gallons & a quart		15	9
5 mo	20	To Accot of do for 5 ½ Gallons		16	6
	31	To Accot of House Expences for 5 Gall Mollasses		8	4
6 mo	2	To John Rees for 1 Barrel of Beef	1	15	
	10	To Accot of Wrapper for 9 ¼ yards at 12 d		9	3
	27	To Accot of Rum for ½ gall		1	6
7 mo	1	To Accot of Rum for 1/2 Gall		1	6
	13	To Ditto for 2 Gallons		6	
	18	To Acot of House Expences for 5 ½ Galls Mollasses		9	2
8 mo	6	To Daniel Evans for Rum, Mollasses, & Bran	1	16	2
	30	To Accot of House Expences for 6 Galls of molasses		10	
9 mo	2	To Cash pd Wm Wilcox for 2 bushells Buckwheat seed		5	
10 mo	4	To House Expenses for 5 galls molasses		8	
	9	To Accot of Rum for ½ Gallos		1	9
11 mo	10	To Charles Read for 5 Galls of Mollasses at 2/		10	
12 mo	2	To Cash pd for Pork	2	10	6
	3	To Jno Reeve for 5 Galls Mollasses at 22 d a Gall		9	2
1726					
1 mo	1	To Benjamin Morgan for 1 barrl 3/6 2 half barrlls at 2/9		9	

Pensilvania
Contra

1724					
10 mo	7	By House for 1500 of Butter at 6d (?) 37:10:- & eggs & fowles 2:10:- wheat 35			
		By Accot. Wheat	5	10	6
10 mo	21	By Plantation House for digging the well	3	12	
		By House Expences for sundries, meat, butter, eggs, fowls & c for 2 years	75		

Plantation

1725/6			£	s	d
1 mo	17	To Sarah Lloyd for 1 ll of Powder	0	2	6
	26	To House Expences for 26 Ells of Ozenbrigs at 18 d	1	19	0
1726					
2 mo	8	To Cash for Earthen ware & hops	0	10	0
	14	To Accot of Wrapper for 8 ¼ yds at 12 d	0	8	3
	15	To Cash for 24 days Digging the well at 3	3	12	0
3 mo	11	To Accot of Pork for a Barrel	2	10	6
	16	To Sundry Accots paid Robert Richy & 5 Galls Mollasses	0	18	4
4 mo	13	To Sundry Accots. For 5 ½ Galls & 5 Galls Mollasses	1	8	5
	28	To Accot of Rum for 5 Galls. Rum at 3/6			
5 mo	4	To House Expences for 5 Galls Mollasses at 20 d	0	8	4
	8	To Accot of Rum for 5 Galls	0	19	3
	14	To House Expences for 1 Bushl Salt	0	1	8
	22	To House Expences for 5 Galls Mollasses	0	9	2
6 mo	27	To Accot of House Expences for 5 Galls Mollasses at 22 d	0	9	2
7 mo	8	To Thomas Potts for a Steer last year	2	15	0
8 mo	11	To Accot for House Expences for ½ Gall Rum	0	1	9
	15	To Accot of Ditto Expences for 1 Bushl of Salt	0	1	8
	22	To Accot of Wrapper for 12 yards @ 1/	0	12	0
	26	To Accot of House Expences for 5 Galls Mollasses	0	7	6
9 mo	12	To House Expences for 1 ½ Bushel of Salt	0	2	6
10 mo	1	To Accot of wrapper for 2 yds	0	2	0
	3	To Martin Jervis for 2 Baskets	0	2	11
	22	To House expences for 5 Galls Molasses ½ Bushel of Salt	0	8	4

Pg. 232

Snow Racht

1726

			£	s	d
5 mo	16	To Accot of Pork for 3 Barrels at 52/6	7	17	6

1727

4 mo	21	To Accot of Expences for 3 Galloons oyl at 3/16	0	7	6
5 mo	10	To Accot of Duck for 3 pies do Jno Masons	17	5	0

Pg. 234

Philadelphia in Accot of Spices

1724

3 mo	31	To Accot of Merch from abroad viz Holland for 16ll Cinnam, 16ll Nutmeg, 8ll Cloves, 3ll Mace	31	13	0
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Accot. Of House Expences

1727			£	s	d
5 mo	5	To accot. Of Rum for 4 gall at 2/8....236	0	10	8
	21	Ditto for 2 ditto.....236	0	5	0
6 mo	5	To cash paid Robert Ellis for a Torce of Mellasses	4	15	0
	7	To Accot. Of sugar for 1 loaf wtt. 3 ½ lbs	0	7	0
	15	To Isaac Cardel for ½ of a small cask of Muscovado sugar	2	16	8
	18	To accot. Of spices for ½ nutmeg	0	10	0
	21	To accot. Of sugar for 1 loaf	0	7	6
	25	To cash paid Zachariah Hutchins in full for meat	0	6	0
7 mo	13	To accot. Of sugar for 2 loaves wtt 6 ½ lbs	0	13	0
	23	To John Scull for 48 Bushels Malt	5	7	4
	27	To accot. Of rum for 4 galls at 2/6	0	10	0
9 mo	3	To accot. Of sugar for 1 loaf wtt 3 ½ lbs	0	7	0
	10	To accot of rum for 3 gall.	0	9	0
	15	To cash paid for the Baker &c	4	2	10
10 mo	6	To cash paid for meat &c	6	4	0
	13	To accot. Of rum for 2 ½ gall at 3/	0	7	6
	20	To accot. Of sugar for 1 loaf wtt. 3 ¾ lbs at 2/	0	7	6
11 mo	8	To accot. Of salt for 1 peck	0	0	4 ½
	18	To accot of Rum for 4 galls	0	10	0
		To accot. Of Wine for 1 pipe	20	0	6
		To Thomas Lawrence for 1 pipe of Wine 22th 1 of Pepper 2/6	22	2	6
12 mo	20	To cash pd John Roberts for 1 gro. Bottles	1	10	0

		Accot. Of my Plantation House			
1726		£	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	
		To foot of folio 282	84	14	10
		To Thomas Penington in full of his accot.	13	7	6
		To John Nichols in full of his accot.	6	10	0
10 mo	22	To Plantation for sundires entred in Richd Sanders accot.	6	6	6
		To George Bewly for Lime	2	20	0
		To Tho Silom	19	12	6
		To Peter Shenkmier	0	18	0
		To Rd Saunders	3	6	1
		To accot of Rum for 50 galls at 2/8 in 1725	6	13	14
		To bro Read for Boards	9	0	0

Philadelphia in Plantation

1726

			£	s	d
11 mo	20	To accot. Of House Expences for ½ gall. Rum	0	1	9
12 mo	13	To House Expences for 6 Galls of Mollasses at 18d	0	9	0

1727

1 mo	15	To Accot. Of Expences for 1 quart of Rum	0	1	0
	21	To House Expences for 5 gall. Of Mollasses	0	7	6
2 mo	5	To Accot of House Expences for ½ Gall. Rum	0	1	9
	18	To House Expences for 5 ½ Galls. Mollasses	0	8	3
3 mo	6	To Cash paid for a barrel of fish	0	18	0
	9	To House Expences for 5 ¼ Galls Rum at 3/6	0	18	4 ½
	17	To John Sotcher for 3 geese & 2 turkeys	0	11	0
	19	To Accot. Of Wrapper for 2 yards	0	1	6
	31	To House Expences for 5 Galls of Mollasses	0	7	6
4 mo	24	To cash paid for 6 pickles	0	19	0
	27	To Sarah Redman for 1 Bushel of coarse & a peck of fine salt	0	2	9
5 mo	6	To sundry accost	2	10	8
	20	To accot of Rum for 5 galls at 2/6	0	12	6
	26	To House Expences for 5 galls molasses	0	7	6
6 mo	10	To House Expences for 5 galls ditto	0	7	6
	19	To Joshua Johnson for 6 tin potts	0	5	10
	24	To House Expences for 5 Galls of molasses	0	7	6
	29	To Accot of Rum for 6 Galls at 2/6	0	15	0
7 mo	15	To House Expences for 5 Galls Mollasses	0	7	6
	21	To Accot of wrapper for 5 yards at 8 d	0	3	4
	23	To John Scull for 42 Bushells Malt at 3/10	8	1	0
9 mo	10	To Accot of Rum for 5 ½ Galls Rum	0	16	6
10 mo	6	To Accot of Salt for 1 Bushell	0	1	8
	9	To House Expences for 2 galls Mollasses	0	3	0

Plantation

1727

			£	s	d
10 mo	29	To Capt. Jno Read for 1 gall Mollasses	0	2	0
11 mo	2	To Accot. Of Rum for 2 ½ Galls	0	7	6
	8	To Accot. Of Salt for 1 Bushel	0	1	6
12 mo	12	To House Expences for 5 Galls Mollasses at 18 d	0	7	6
	29	To John Roads for a Cow	3	10	0

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House Expences

1727

			£	s	d
12 mo	29	To Geor Call for ¼ cask of Wine	5	10	0

Appendix B: Excerpts from *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia 1674-1751*
By Edwin Wolf, II (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1974)

Bradley, Richard. *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening, both Philosophical and Practical. In Three Parts...The Fifth Edition.* London: Printed for W. Mears, 1726.
JL to William Burnet, 10 Jan 1728: "Looking this last fall into Bradley's new Improvements of Planting & Gardening, in his 2nd Chaptr wch is on the Generation of Plants, I mett wth ye notion of a Male seed in Vegetables consisting of a certain Dust lodged in the Apices of flowers, & from thence convey'd upon & thro ye Pistillum into ye Uterus (as he calls it) or seed-bed, by wch the Ova there are impregnated and thereby swell up into ye form ofo the common seed.

Commelin, Caspar. *Plantarum Usualium Horti Medici Amstelodamensis Catalogus.* Amsterdam: in Horto Medico, 1698.

Fleetwood, William. *The Relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants; Consider'd in Sixteen Practical Discourses....The Fourth Edition.* London: Printed for J. and J. Knapton, D. Midwinter and A. Ward, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, J. Pemberton, J. Osborn and T. Longman, C. Rivington, F. Clay, J. Batley, R. Hett, and T. Hatchet, 1732.

Gerard, John. *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plants.* (ed. Thomas Johnson). London: Printed by Adam Islip, Joice Norton and Richard Whitakers, 1636.
JL to Peter Collinson, 14 Nov 1743, expressing his intention to increase the number of botanical books in his library and listing among those he already had: "Johnson upon Gerard."

Grew, Nehemiah. *The Anatomy of Plants. With an Idea of a Philosophical History of Plants.* London: Printed by W. Rawlins, for the Author, 1682.

La Quintinye, Jean de. *The Compleat Gard'ner; Or, Directions for Cultivating and Right Ordering of Fruit-Gardens and Kitchen Gardens.* (tr. John Evelyn.) London: Printed for Matthew Gillyflower, and James Partridge, 1693.

Miller, Philip. *The Gardners Dictionary: Containing the Methods of Cultivating and Improving the Kitchen, Fruit, and Flower Garden, as also, the Physick Garden, Wilderness, Conservatory, and Vineyard; According to the Practice of the Most Experience'd Gardeners of the Present Age...The Second Edition, Corrected.* London: Printed for the Author; And Sold by C. Rivington, 1733.

Plat, Hugh. *The Garden of Eden: Or, An accurate Description of all Flowers and Fruits now growing in England...In Two Parts...The Sixth Edition.* London: Printed for William and John Leake, 1675.

Sharrock, Robert. *The History of the Propagation & Improvement of Vegetables By the concurrence of Art and Nature.* Oxford: Printed by A. Lichfield, for Tho: Robinson, 1660

Vitruvius, Marcus Pollio and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *The Theory and Practice of Architecture; Or Vitruvius and Vignola Abridg'd...publish'd the Fifth Time.* (ed. Claude Perrault and Joseph Moxon.) London: Printed for R. Wellington, 1703 (I); 1702 (II)

Appendix C: Excerpts from the George Logan Stenton Farm Diary
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Logan Family Papers, Folio B, 1809-1813

Diary Excerpts

January 1810

- 1 The men engaged in threshing barley, William was in town to get some things for himself
- Janry 2 Tuesday. Christian took 40 bushels of barley to town and brought home a half barrel of beer. John Bear & George threshing. William and Sam. Repairing sheep fold.
- 8th. John threshing rye.

March 1810

- 5 Sorting potatoes
- 8
- 9 Christian not here, sick. George sorting potatoes

May 1810

- 2 Hauling out manure for the corns, Francis helping
- 3 In the morning all hands at the corn began to plant. Dainea in the afternoon
- 4 In the morning Christian took hay to town. Afternoon at the corn. Turned the cattle out to pasture.
- 5 Finished planting the corn in the morning. At the potatoes in the afternoon
- 7 Christian sick. George hauling out manure
- 8 Christian sick. George engaged as yesterday
- 9 Christian furrowing for the potatoes. George engaged as before
- 10 Cutting potatoes and spreading dung
- 11 Planting potatoes. Jacob helping.
- 12 Finished planting potatoes
- 23 Repairing the corn
- 24 Cutting weed out of the timothy back of the barn
- 25 Putting plaster round the corn
- 26 In the morning hauling sand fro new laying the kitchen & c. Afternoon, Christian making corn harrow, George making posts
- 28 Hoing corn
- 29 do do
- 30 Mowing grass round house, makinging posts & harrow

June 1810

- 1 Hoing early potatoes, pulling docks out of the Clover
- 2 Christian not here, George making posts
- 4 George making posts.
- 5 Do Do Discharged Christian

26 Cut part of the winter barley this morning

July 1810

7 Haines began to plough the ground where the winter barley was, for buckwheat.
George ploughing the potatoes. Hired Hainy by the month at 14 dollars.

September 1810

25 G. Haines digging the trench from the milk cellar, others threshing oats.
26 G. Haines engaged as yesterday. Humel plowing the potatoes ground; others in the morning cleaning up oats, had 30 bushels afterwards blading corn

October 1810

11 Hauling in the corn fodder & picking up apples
12 Morning picking up apples, afternoon brining in corn
13 Husking corn
15 G. Haines & Humel making cider P. Haines cleaning yards
16 Humel not here. Haines hauling in corn fodder &c.
17 G. Haines began to plough the lawn. Others, brining home corn
18 husking corn
19 brining home corn
20 do
22 Husking corn
23 do
24 do
25 G. Haines & Humel plowing. P. Haines picking apples
26 engaged as yesterday
27 G. Haines not here. Others plowing
29 Rained. Threshing oats with Horses
30. G. Haines killed a beef in the morning, afterwards working in the garden. Others plowing
31. G. Haines cutting up the beef; afterwards falling trees in the Nicetown woods. P. Haines and Humel plowing in the morning, afternoon hauling home wood.

November 1810

1 P. Haines & Humel plowing, G. Haines picking apples. It began to snow this afternoon
2 G. Haines not here. Others cleaning up oats, filling cellar windows &c. It snowed all last night and today. Very cold.
23 The two George's making cider. P. Haines cutting wood &c. Snowed all day
24 Finished making cider had about 11 barrels, which with what was made before makes in all about 20 barrels.
29 Killed 2 steers in the morning. Afternoon P Haines ploughing, Humel picking up corn stalks
30 Hauling dung out of the bard yard

December 1810

- 3 In the morning killing hogs. Thomas Nutt and Henry Humel helping. Afternoon 3 of the men were cutting wood
- 4 G. Haines was not here in the morning. P. Haines cutting up hogs. Humel's threshing. Afternoon cutting wood
- 5 Killed 2 steers in the morning. Hauling out dung
- 10 G. Haines went away. P. Haines helping {?} kill hogs. Others hauling out dung.
- 14 Cleaning up barley, had 80 ½ bushels of winter and 16 of spring. Afterwards cutting wood.

January 1811

- 1 Moving straw. Cleaning up barley & shelling corn.
- 3 Finished cleaning up barley had 52 ½ bushels

May 1811

- 13 Rained. Men sprouting & carrying up potatoes into the old green house
- 16 planting potatoes

July 1811

- 4 Began to reap the rye. Hopkins, Bile & J. Brights making hay in meadow
- 5 Reaping, all hands, very warm, 94 degrees
- 6 Reaping, very warm 95 degrees
- 8 finished reaping rye. Hauling in. Made a large stack. Have about 300 dozen of rye
- 9 Lisoop the hands reaping wheat, finished. Campbell cradling barley, two raking and binding after him. Others in the morning finished hauling in rye, afternoon hauling in wheat. Just finished when it began to rain.
- 10 Discharged Jacob and three other hands. Campbell & Jones cradling barley. Others part of the day binding.
- 11 Campbell & Jones engaged as yesterday, Others binding and hauling in, three loads of barley.
- 12 Finished cradling, afterwards binding & hauling in two load. Also hauled 31 dozen of wheat from Davis's
- 13 At the barley raking & binding in the morning. Afternoon began to haul in, secured 2 load by ½ after 2 o'clock, when it began to rain and continued raining the rest of the afternoon.
- 15 Campbell in the morning began to cradle the oats and the east side of the york road, others at the barley raking and binding and opening the Chocked.
- 16 Campbell finished cradling the oats, others raking and binding, secured 3 loads
- 17 Campbell cradling Oats in front of the house. Others raking and binding secured 4 loads.
- 18 Discharged Campbell, Jones, & J Hopkins. Went to Wilmington did not return until Friday the 26th

December 1811

- 4 Killed a hogg. In the afternoon Arthur and John and Jemmy helping at the hogg
- 5 Thomas hauling stuff for mill. John and Lemmy employed about house.

Employee Records

Christian Henche's account

April 1, 1809 engaged for 1 year at 12 \$ per month

Dec. 10 1809 George Humel engaged as a laborurer at 10 dolls. per month

January 7, 1811 Dischared & paid in full

August 1810 Peter Haines engaged as labourer at 14 dollars a month for the 2 first months afterwards at 12. Dischareged paied in full Feb. 17 1811

George Haines engaged as a labourer at 14 dollars a month July 9 1810

List of Accounts

Do To Farm

1812

January

6 Matthias Justin 2 bush potatoes @ 50 cents 1

9 Thoams Nutt 3 bush do a do 1.50

30 Thomas Nutt 2 do do 1.00

22 Edward Hudson 41 bush 6lbs barley

23 Edward Hudson 41 bush 39 do

24 Edward Hudson 46 bush 20 do

25 Edward Hudson 50 bush 45 do

180.30 @ 90 cents paid 162.60

Febuary

7 Thomas Fletcher & co 37 ½ bush, wheat @ 2 doll 75.

21 William Somers 2 oxen 110

24 Martin Mehl ½ hundred rye straw 3.50

25 Market 13 cut 3 gros hay @ 90 cents 12.37 ½

March

7 Market 11, 1 hay @ 80 cents 9

Stenton Farm
Money Paid
1810

January

12 Paid James Wills's son in full for Groceries 54.27

12 paid Charles Wharton for wine 50.00

February

16 Cheese 3.75

Money Received

April 10th Received from Phillip Dotts \$5.61 for buckwheat & seed potatoes

21 of Puler for Potatoes 3.00

23 Snowden & Fisher for barley 99.33

June

Homiller for a cow 28.90

25 Charles Leech 11 bushells of potatoes at 37 ½ cents per bushel 4.12 ½

July

4 of Homiller for calf 3.50

Stenton Farm
Money Paid

June

28 Pearl barley, oranges, brandy, toll de 5.25

Stenton Farm
Money Received
1810

September

30 Absolom Williams six bushel of corn at 62 ½ cents 3.75

November

5 Op Wolf for 3 steers 40.00

15 J. Nutt on account of rent viz \$30 for barley sold on account of P. Dotts and \$40 on account of milk & sold by said Nutt...\$70

December

4 Henry Homiller one cow & 2 steers 35.00

5 Samuel Mechlin 91 lb hide

M Tusten 6 bushel potatoes at 50 cents 3.00

Stenton Farm

Money Received

1811

February

6 M Tustin dr to Farm & bushel of potatoes at 50 cents per bush paid 43.00

April

1 C. Ottinger 1 bushel potatooes paid .50

3 Cottinger 1 ½ bushel potatoes paid .50

4 George Pusler 20 bushel potatoes a 37 ½ cents paid 7.50

May

1 George Presler 20 bushel potatoes @ 37 ½ cents per bushel paid 7.50

6 George Presler 13 bushel potatoes @ 33 cets per bushel paid 4.19

11 C. Ottinger 2 bushel potatoes @ 37 ½ cents per bushel paid 7.50

14 C. Honk & G. Snyder 2 bushel potatoes @ 37 ½ 0.75

16 George Snyder do to 10 bushel potatoes @ 37 ½ cents paid 3.75

June

29 W Somers three calves at 4 dollars 12.00

Nov.

14 A Williams one pig paid .50

19 Jacob Weaver 1 bushel potatoes & 2 pigs 1.50

30 Thomas Nutt 4 piggs a 50 2.00

1812

Jan

6 Mat. Justin 2 bushels potatoes paid 1.00

9 Thomas Nutt 3 bush. Do. 1.50

30 Thomas Nutt 2 bush, do 1.00

Edward Hudson 160 bushels barley 160.00

Appendix D: Excerpts from the Diaries of Deborah Norris Logan
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Volume V

March 1st, 1822

A very pleasant warm day. The morning consumed as mine usually are, in domestic cares.

March 29th 1822

Yesterday was a very rainy day. Warm for the season, and has now cleared up with high wind and colder. We have planned peas and sown the seeds of other vegetables this week, and Dan Smith has been hired for the season as Gardner.

May 8th, 1822

“I had my plants and trees brought out of the Green house today.”

May 9th 1822

Placing our Exotic's in the front of the home, and trimming up the plants was my employment today-The Garden and Grass pots in the full lushiance of beauty.

Volume VI

Jan 1 1823-May 28 1824

January 29, 1824

I had some domestic avocations-and vexations-that occupied me pretty much of the day, which was of the fine temperate feeling of Spring: the Green house was opened throughout, and the Birds sung, especially the \Blue Bird, as if 'the winter was over and gone'. But tho' this doubtless will change, yet the length'ning days and the approach of Spring will divers the storm of its gloom, I hope. – we have no ice yet.

Volume VII

June 2, 1824-Feb 24 1825

June 24th 1824

I was employed in working butter, and making cheese-cake and gooseberry pye in the morning.

Nov 12, 1824

We had an early cheerful, old fashioned meal with Buckwheat cakes, Ham and honey.

Nov 13, 1824

The fine clear cold weather still continued. After domestic concerns were settled, which was not till pretty late, for cleaning house occupied all the morning, and I had a good

lump of butter to work up after dinner, but when all this was over and I was dressed in a clean but Housewifely manner, and had given audience to several persons who came on various errands.

December 28th, 1824

I had two Hogs from the mill and attending in the meat cellar to the Salting.

December 29, 1824

I attended to my domestic affairs in the morning which proved pretty fatiguing to me, for we had killed our Beaver and an oversight of the work was not all that would satisfy me.

Jan 18th, 1825

That pleasant meal (tea) was taken very agreeably, with only Hem's company, with the additional Gusta of being early and old fashioned (as we used to have it). I afterwards walked down to Davis's to see a remarkable fall hog which they had slaughtered and sold today.

Feb 3

We staid at home, the day was very cold and the appearance of the wintry scene around us very beautiful. We now hope to get the Icehouse filled.

Volume VIII

March 19 1825-Oct 20, 1825

May 17, 1825

My son came home to breakfast and kindly assisted in bringing my Exotic's out of the Greenhouse and Cellar and placing them in the Court and Garden. We also began to White wash.

Volume X

July 4th 1826-Feb 9 1827

Dec 18, 1826

The family were up early this morning as the poor Hogs were to be slaughtered

We have been very busy in a domestic way this morning...It grew cold and blustering but the sun shone out brightly at intervals. The business of the Hog-killing went on, with frequent sending in for whiskey which I very unwillingly allowed, for besides having the sin and noise of intoxication, I feared having my work badly done.

December 19, 1826

I have nothing today but a most housewifely record of my superintendence of salting the Hams and Pork. We killed 7 hogs of a good size, and after it was done and the things put to rights in the cellar, during which the other part of the work, rendering the lard, and making the sausages and puddings was going on in the kitchen, It still seemed like our

own old times from the presence of so many of those empathetically denominated in the family, "The Old Neighbours," who had their coffee, and sausage, and Gossey very happily. And for my own part I could but notice the quick lapse of time, which brings about the seasons so rapidly that though so many weary days and nights have gone since this sort of work of the last year, now it is passed, it seems like but a point of time. And so it will be when life is near ended, if reflection in them still in her seat; A Bubble bursting on the wave, a light vapor dissolving in the air! We look and it is no more!

Dec 20

Domestic employment of the same kind continued, in preparation of Christmas and The indispensable mince pies were to be made.

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