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**'GOVERNMENTS, INDIVIDUALS, AND OLD HOUSES':
THE SLATE ROOF HOUSE OF PHILADELPHIA**

by

Catharine Christie Dann

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

Summer 2000

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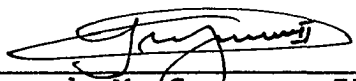
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ABSTRACT

In 1867 the Slate Roof House was demolished, removing one of the last vestiges of Philadelphia's earliest architecture from the urban landscape. Debate over the building's removal brought preservation of historic relics to the forefront of public debate and inspired a host of artists, writers, and interested members of the public to record their impression of the site. The artifacts and documents they created, along with evidence recording its earlier existence provide the most complete archive of a seventeenth-century, first-period structure in Philadelphia.

Built by a wealthy merchant and respected citizen in seventeenth- and early eighteenth century Philadelphia, Samuel Carpenter, the house was one of many real estate investments. A sophisticated relationship between public and private spaces, an imposing exterior facade and interior plan, and substantial architectural finish and furnishings made the Slate Roof a unique and clearly significant structure in Penn's town. Comparison with contemporary architecture suggests that Carpenter employed strategies that linked the Slate Roof House to imposing semi-public, semi-

private structures in a British and European provincial context.

Using evidence from photographs, paintings, sketches, primary and secondary sources, the context of the Slate Roof House in the in Philadelphia and the broader Atlantic world since the seventeenth century is explored.

Locked shutters and fastened doors prevented Frederick Gutekunst from depicting more than the grim facade of the Slate Roof House (late seventeenth century)(Figure 1).¹ Gutekunst photographed the building on the corner of Second Street and Norris Alley shortly before its destruction in 1867. The Slate Roof House was a unique survival dating to the earliest history of Philadelphia. Loss of the nearly two hundred year old building, constructed by Samuel Carpenter, a prominent merchant in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Philadelphia, eradicated one of the last vestiges of the city's first inhabitants. Lamented as it was, the loss encouraged Philadelphians to reach for pens, pencils and cameras to capture an image of the relic. These images and descriptions allow a view of the house as it existed in the nineteenth century, altered but with its earliest features largely intact.

The fate of the historic structure had not always been sealed. In search of a permanent home for their rapidly growing collection, the members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania approached Miss Sally Norris Dickinson in 1846 to request her consent for the "perpetual preservation" of the Slate Roof House, which she owned, as the Society's new

home.² Unsuccessful, the Society once again took up the cause of preservation in 1864. Charles Knecht, the current owner, put the Slate Roof House up for sale and the Society hoped to maintain it as a house museum.³ Elliot Cresson had previously donated \$10,000 "to preserve the same as a memento of love and regard for the memory and services of the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania" but delayed action caused the funds to be otherwise distributed.⁴ The Historical Society then elected a committee of fifty to "obtain funds for the purchase" of the property. Proponents of the plan were "very confident that they do not have to rely in vain upon their fellow citizens, in the effort to preserve from destruction, and restore to its original condition, a building of so much interest to those who desire to preserve intact one of the City's oldest landmarks."⁵ But other members challenged the wisdom of taking on such a large financial burden since the building was not going to house the Society itself. Once again, the organization's plans failed. The City of Philadelphia toyed with the possibility of moving the house to Fairmount Park but the fabric was deemed too decrepit to make the trip. By the time the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce received title to the property on May 28, 1867 and announced their plans for a new Corn Exchange Building on the site, the fate of the Slate Roof House had become a matter of public debate (Figure 2).⁶

The debacle of the Slate Roof House played upon a growing concern for the preservation of the city's historic relics. By 1867 it was widely held that only three examples

of Philadelphia's earliest architecture withstood the test of time; the Letitia Penn House, Old Swedes Church, and the Slate Roof House.⁷ A contemporary reporter noted, "Old landmarks, replete with historic events, seem to have a common destiny with humanity, and eventually pay the inevitable debt to nature or succumb to the march of improvement."⁸ Fueled by the rapid disappearance of early landmarks in the burgeoning metropolis, a well-meaning group of individuals took up preservation of the "ancient relics" as their cause celebre. The flourishing popular press in the form of local newspapers such as the *Daily Evening Telegraph* or national periodicals like *Lippincott's Magazine* were used as vehicles for disseminating the stories of these threatened sites (Figure 3). These narratives expose a community attempting to reconcile the tensions between its idealized past and its imagined future in an ever-expanding urban environment.

One author noted "Few buildings have more interesting historical associations clustering around them than the primitive structure."⁹ It was here that John Penn, the son of William and Hannah, was born. Here James Logan wine and dined the infamous "cross-dressing" Lord Cornsbury. Here John Adams shared quarters with his fellow Massachusetts delegates to the Continental Congress. Here councilmen wrote and approved Philadelphia's Charter of Privileges. Penns, Logans, Trents, and Norrises made their home here. Falling on hard times, the building became a boarding house, and later housed shops, and an oyster bar.¹⁰ These

associations are repeatedly mentioned in published references to the site. No one questioned the importance of these people, events, and ideas in local history. Many held that these memories, however, could be perpetuated without the presence of the intact frame of the house itself. To those who petitioned for the new Corn Exchange Building, the Slate Roof House was a physical obstacle to modern improvements. The same author who lauded the building's historical associations also stated, "It stands in the way of progress of the locality in which it stands, and whether rightfully or wrongfully, reverently or irreverently, its doom is sealed."¹¹

By the mid-nineteenth century the Slate Roof House stood in the midst of "big and little stores, lager beer saloons, crowded wharves, and stir and excitement generally."¹² The exponential growth of the city and its population since the mid-eighteenth century crowded street fronts and filled back lots throughout the lower Delaware waterfront. As the high rent district and upscale shops shifted towards the west, the waterfront became a gritty urban marketplace.¹³ By the time of its destruction the house had itself been altered to meet the commercial needs of the businessmen who inhabited its walls (Figure 4). Alteration and neglect had supposedly reduced the structure to a "lowly appearance."¹⁴ Claiming "its component parts decidedly too dilapidated," the city justified their decision "to make way for the nineteenth century and for the Corn Exchange Association."¹⁵

Although the demolition was carried out, the motives and argument for the act were seriously questioned. Attacking

the decision as a lapse in the city's "preservatism" or "spirit of humanity which instinctively defends governments, individuals, and old houses when threatened with destruction," John Meredith Read, Jr. disdained the claims that the building was beyond repair. Read continued his reproach, "The absence of reverence and affection for interesting historical landmarks, is an evidence of defect in the moral organization of a people, not less than of an individual." Although his message is clear, even Read admitted defeat and topped his argument with a plea to "let it be our grateful duty to rescue from decay, at least the memory of this sacred mansion."¹⁶

The debate over the house's preservation was as much about contemporary politics as it was about the history of the city. For the individuals involved in the controversy the house was a symbol of a quaint and more simple past. The image of William Penn sitting in his parlor among a circle of pious Quakers overshadowed any other perception of the site. But as the newspaper accounts suggest, the reaction to this image was varied. Philadelphians viewed the house as both a shrine and a ruin. The City Council debated the options of preservation or progress. Although the house was ultimately destroyed, the controversy surrounding its preservation accentuates the disparate emotions and multiple associations that continue to perpetuate the memory of the notable building.

All of the published views of the Slate Roof House's demise emphasize the preservation of the building's

historical associations and their assimilation into both collective and individual memory. The language employed by the antiquarian authors stresses their celebration of the romantic stories surrounding the people and events having a connection to the stately pile. In all their glorification of the site, discussion of how these associations developed is lacking. If the structure had not been deemed appropriate for a governor, a proprietor, gentlemen, or even the businessmen who occupied it for the last decades of its existence, it seems doubtful that the Slate Roof House would have even stood long enough to be a point of controversy. What were the circumstances that surrounded the events that inspired these later associations? How did individuals and communities who encountered the house attach meaning to their architectural environment? What were the characteristics, physical and otherwise, that led to the distinction of this house from its contemporaries since the late seventeenth century?

The Slate Roof House is a known entity among scholars. Pictures of the building grace many pages of publications discussing Philadelphia's history and colonial architecture of the British North American colonies. Inclusion in nearly every discussion of the founding years of the colonial capital has reinforced the significance of the building and created an icon of its image. The earliest known analysis of the house as a historical artifact is found in an entry in the manuscript scrapbook of John Fanning Watson (Figure 5).¹⁷ Dating before 1823, the brief description and line drawing

were later assimilated into Watson's famous contribution to local history, the *Annals of Philadelphia* (Figure 6).¹⁸ His synthesis of information about the house and its inhabitants informed the majority of later references. Passages by Fiske Kimball, Hugh Morrison, Eberlein and Hubbard, and other architects and historians contain limited descriptions of the exterior, brief synopses of notable events which took place within its walls, or list of some of the famous occupants.¹⁹ A critical analysis of its place in the history of the locality and the larger colonial world, however, is absent from the body of scholarly discourse.

The scarcity of published information can not be blamed on a lack of source material relating to the site. Public records exist to provide information on the chain of title, occupancy, and tax evaluations. Prints, photographs, and paintings of the house produced since the early nineteenth century provide a wealth of information about the architectural details of the building and document the appearance of the house in actual and idealized states. Descriptions in correspondence and memoirs shed light on how individuals have used, altered, and memorialized the structure. A dedicated enthusiast of the house, Carl Gatter, compiled ten volumes of such sources and deposited a set at the State Historical Commission in Harrisburg and in the archives of Independence Hall National Park in 1981. A high school math teacher, interpreter of William Penn, and amateur historian, Gatter collected an amazing archive of information that offers a treasure to any scholar studying the site.

The storehouse of extant documents and images provides a great deal of information about the physical features of the house and its dependencies. Gatter himself attempted a systematic identification of the house's individual architectural elements. Yet his work stops with descriptions of windows, doors, mantles, roof framing, and other pieces of the building's fabric. Mapping the articulation between these elements can reveal diagnostic information helpful for understanding the building's history. Patterns of room use and shifts in the function of the space can also be studied by examining the building's fabric. Alone, intra-site analysis ignores the fact that the house existed in larger worlds of significance.

Recent scholarship has done much to explore various modes of expressive culture in the colonial Atlantic world. In addition to written documents, some scholars have embraced speech acts, gestures, body adornment, possessions, and architecture as equally informative channels of cultural discourse. Samuel Carpenter and other Philadelphians since the founding of the urban center used the language of architecture to reflect upon, react to, uphold, and promote their understanding of the world. The house embodied and reflected the values and beliefs of the cultures in which it existed. In some cases this meant that that the building was upheld as an idealized example of the home, government building, lodging, or business. In others, people reacted against the structure, deeming it unfit for the purposes listed above. Some expressed conflicting or even ambiguous

reactions to the large brick pile. Others had no reaction to it at all. Each of these opinions contributed to the accumulated history of the site. The meaning of the house was, and is, shaped by changing political, social, cultural, religious, and economic tides. This study of the Slate Roof House attempts to view the house more than a composite of architectural elements or a figure in a dramatic tableaux of historical events. My wish is to examine how architecture, events, and people contributed to its prominence in the provincial capital as well as demonstrate how it became linked to the production of local history over time.

Framing the Slate Roof House in the context of late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Philadelphia life is no easy task. Information of this earliest period of British occupation is obscured by widely scattered and scarce source material. Secondary sources on this period often focus on the political and religious dimensions of the city's history, the prosperity of the early merchants, or development of its innovative grid plan. Examination of architectural features, identification of inhabitants, and examination of the myths that surround the Slate Roof House reveals a house that has always been a dominant figure on the landscape of Philadelphia. We are privileged to few accounts of the house from the seventeenth or early-eighteenth century. Women and men, blacks and whites, old and young, lived in this house. But the details of their existence are lost until additional sources are discovered. My discussion is largely limited to visual and written accounts which are the products of

middling to wealthy white males. This accurately reflects the prevailing power structure of even the "liberal" Quaker community of Philadelphia. While a complete understanding of the house and its inhabitants was beyond the goals of this paper, available sources complement a study of a high-style structure such as the Slate Roof House by providing a glimpse into the power of place in the process of asserting authority in a recently founded community. In his discussion of New England Puritans Robert Blair St. George suggests that these individuals and communities "managed memory and searched for revelation through the material world."²⁰ Place itself in the form of a metropolis, a meetinghouse, or some other observed entity is a human construct. Place always involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space.²¹ Just as Read and his contemporaries found a place for the house in their debate over industrialization and civic progress in the nineteenth century, Carpenter and his fellow Philadelphians entered this structure, directly and indirectly, into their dialogue concerning the proper manifestation of government and society in Penn's new land.

A native of Horsham, Sussex County, England, Samuel Carpenter arrived in the burgeoning town of Philadelphia with a certificate from Bridgetown Meeting in Barbados dated 6mo. 23, 1683.²² Having earned capital from trade in the Caribbean commercial metropolis, Carpenter entered Pennsylvania a

wealthy merchant eager for success. Why he decided to emigrate to Barbadoes, and later to Philadelphia, is unknown.²³ Records suggest he was not altogether at ease in Barbados, having been fined for refusing to furnish men in arms in 1673 and shortly before his departure in 1683.²⁴ Many of Pennsylvania's first purchasers of land were English or Irish Quakers, and a significant number came from Caribbean islands, notably Barbados and Jamaica, where they had pursued commercial prosperity as merchants or planters.²⁵ Any combination of religious, economic, and personal motives may have been involved in Carpenter's decision to move. It is thought that William Penn was directly involved in promoting his lands to the merchant.²⁶ Their homes (Penn at Warminghurst, and Carpenter at Horsham) were in close proximity in Sussex County, and their commercial and religious interests could have easily brought them into contact (Figure 7). Whatever the reason, Carpenter arrived in Philadelphia, purchased property, and established himself as an influential and well-respected member of the community.

Following his arrival, Carpenter quickly became involved in politics, community affairs, and commercial development. He first appears in provincial council records on "ye 21th of ye 12th Mo., 1683", six months after his debarkation, as a selected individual to administer the will of Jno. Vanborson.²⁷ Later he became a member of the provincial assembly, a council of state, a commissioner to Penn, a Deputy Governor, treasurer of the province, and a trustee of

the public school.²⁸ As a first purchaser of 5000 acres in the province he was also the recipient of land in Philadelphia.²⁹ A patent from William Penn in 1684 (24th day, 4th month) granted him a lot between Front and Second Streets near the banks of the Delaware River, part of which was shared with his brother Joshua.³⁰ Carpenter and his brother began an extensive building project on this coveted piece of ground. Investment in land and improvements demonstrated the brothers' shrewd business sense. Situated in close proximity to the Delaware waterfront, the lot on which he constructed the Slate Roof House was only a step away from the mercantile center of the colony (Figure 8). Here, ships arriving from distant ports in Europe and the West Indies brought merchandise and human cargo into the town and carried off valuable provincial stores such as "tobacco, skins, silver, pipe staves, and timber."³¹

Philadelphia experienced tremendous growth during the first decades of its existence, superseding other North American ports in size and volume of trade by the mid-eighteenth century. The population increased from around 2,000 in 1690 to 5,000 in 1720.³² Patterns of settlement established by these residents did not always test the city limits. The city was a mile wide and extended two miles between the Schuylkill and Delaware River but a majority of the town's inhabitants occupied the eastern end of the town.³³

Well into the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the area from the Delaware waterfront to around Second Street remained not only the commercial center of the town, but also

the hub of religious and social activity. A 1698 survey of a lot belonging to the daughter of the proprietor, Letitia Penn, indicates the second meetinghouse at the corner of Second and High Streets as well as the cage, new prison, the public bell, a space designated for a Court House, and the public wharf at the end of High Street.³⁴ Joseph Breintenall's poetical rendering of the bustling waterfront in "A Plain Description of One Single Street in this City" brings the urban landscape to life:

At Delaware's broad Stream, the View begin,
Where jutting Wharfs, Food-freighted Boats take in.
Then, with th' advancing Sun direct your Eye;
Wide opes the Street, with firm Brick Buildings high;
Step, gently rising, o'er the Pebbly Way...³⁵

His description walks the reader from the waters of the Delaware up High Street, a thoroughfare lined with shops, craft establishments, market stalls, the courthouse, pillory, meetinghouse, and homes. Although his account reflects the city in 1729, many of these elements were in place by the advent of the eighteenth century.

Carpenter constructed his own home close to the water on Front street between Walnut and Chestnut and connected a warehouse and tavern to the site, placing himself at an ideal location for mercantile activities (Figure 9). After a successful petition to the Proprietor for access to land between Front Street and the Delaware he added a three hundred foot square wharf to the bank lot, allowing ships of five hundred tons to dock and unload goods.³⁶ In effect, the merchant and his brother created a miniature community within their lots, and the warehouse, taverns, coffeehouse, homes,

bakery, and lime kiln they owned provided essential goods and services to locals and visitors alike.

While Penn granted warrants to lots throughout the planned city grid, those purchasers who actually settled in the new town showed preference for lands nearest the Delaware waterfront. Carpenter's neighbors included The Society of Traders and other prominent members of the community such as Clement Plumstead, Edward Shippen, Griffith Jones. These men built homes and commercial establishments along the streets closest to the waterfront as well, distinguishing the area between Market Street and Dock Creek as a neighborhood concentrated with the homes and businesses of merchants.

A neighbor and one-time friend of Carpenter, James Claypoole, was particularly pleased with the location of his city land, "my lot in this place proves to be especially good for trade." He was not as content with his house, built by a servant who had been sent over to prepare for the Claypoole family's arrival in 1683. The servant followed his master's descriptions literally, building a "house like a barn, without a chimney, 40 foot long and 20 broad with a good dry cellar in it." The lack of heat and great expense accrued by his servant at the local taverns irritated the trader, but he soon improved the humble structure by adding two chimneys and a kitchen wing and later replaced it with a grander home...perhaps along the line of his original plan for a "house with 10 or 12 rooms, and barn and stables."³⁷ Penn envisioned that that city would become the center of political and economic decisions. The congregation in this

area by first generation merchants, who, like Claypoole and Carpenter, were also dominant figures in early civic life, helped reinforce the realization of Penn's desire.³⁸

Carpenter's speculation in building and investment in lands throughout the city and country allowed him to amass a great deal of wealth. Neighbors such as James Claypoole recognized his rapid accumulation of assets, "Samuel Carpenter is but one to me and is likely to get a great estate quickly."³⁹ In 1693 his estate was valued at £1300, the highest in the province.⁴⁰ This success was clearly linked to his acquisition and improvement of property as well as his investment in West Indies trade. For individuals like Carpenter who were willing to risk capital in agricultural and building ventures or overseas trade the payoff could be significant. Losses, however, could be catastrophic. Markets were anything but stable in Carpenter's era and he often complained about the effects of privateers, weather, and international disputes.⁴¹ Agricultural pursuits, on which the grain trade of Carpenter depended, were similarly hampered by droughts and gluts on the market.

While fluctuations in the market affected Carpenter throughout his career, he experienced a severe blow to his success with the advent of Queen Anne's War (1702-1713). The war disrupted already volatile trade networks and resulted in financial losses from which Carpenter never quite recovered. In attempt to pay off debts and once again achieve fiscal security Carpenter attempted to sell his real estate. The Slate Roof house was a significant investment. In 1704 it

sold for £850 to William Trent, another successful businessman, statesman, and future founder of Trenton, New Jersey.⁴² Correspondence concerning Carpenter's real estate transactions provide a view of a man concerned with protecting his reputation and one who clearly realized how material wealth could be both a visible sign of his success and the source of his misery.

In a letter to Jonathan Dickinson dated 1705 Carpenter attempted to sell his lumber and corn mills, shares of a mine, agricultural land, and an island improved with a home, barns, and "a fine mulberry walk." His promotion suggested,

I understand by Isaac Norris that thou art inclined to Purchase something in this Province for thy children and it having been my lott to lay out myself much in this country so that upon the falling off of Trade, and losses, and disappointments many ways I have of late used my endeavors to sell what I can to pay off my debts and if it please God to spare my life to disencumber myself before I die.

He continued to express his unhappiness with the suggestion that "altho I am possessed of a considerable Estate I am very uneasy and look upon myself as very unhappy, and worse than those that are out of debt altho' but mean or have but little of this worlds goods." Carpenter was regarded as a pious man and he was no doubt distressed by the encumbrance of his wealth in the eyes of God. He was equally concerned, however, by the fact that he simply could not sell quickly and "have enough to spare."⁴³ Carpenter follows his religious invocation with three pages of intricate property descriptions in the style of a consummate salesman. He

needed to provide this detail for Dickinson, absent in Jamaica at the time, but his pride in the land and improvements was also explicit, "For good mills, of both sorts, lands and meadow situation and all things considered, there is not the like in these parts..." The letter expresses his understanding of property as an investment, a source of pride, a civic improvement, a burden, and a blessing.⁴⁴

The Slate Roof House and other properties were already sold at the time Carpenter wrote Dickinson:

And I would sell my house and Granary on the Wharf where I lived last (in town) and the Wharfs and long vault adjacent. I have also 3/16 of a mine called Pickenns Mine, which I would sell also. I have also sold Elsingsborough to Rothero Morris (who is since dead) and my house and lots against David Lloyds to William Trent and the Scales to Henry Babcock with some other things and the Coffee House to Captain Finney my half Derby Mills to John Bethal, and a half Chester Mill to Caleb Pusey and his son in Law Henry Worley.

This extensive list of properties reveals Carpenter's move from the town. The letter does not, however, specify whether he ever lived in the "house against David Lloyds" (the Slate Roof House).⁴⁵ Carpenter may have inhabited the house for a short time but the facts that his Front Street house was in place by 1684, he did not live with Penn or Logan during their tenure in the house, and he had removed to his country estate by 1704 suggests he never lived in the house.⁴⁶

Clearly the merchant had no objection to real estate speculation and it is highly likely that the Slate Roof House was constructed with this function in mind. Such a large,

dominant structure was unnecessary if his goal was purely profit. He could have built less expensive frame structures, a smaller brick home, or multiple structures on the site and earned a significant profit.

Instead, the Slate Roof House was a massive edifice situated in the mercantile, religious, and social center of the urban capital (Figure 10). It is not known exactly when Carpenter added the building to his lot. In 1692 he purchased a "piece of ground," north of his own property, from Thomas Hooten for a "free and common passage or Way."⁴⁷ The construction of this alleyway later known as Hootens Alley, Norris Alley, and Sansom Street, may suggest that his own land was already occupied or plans for construction were underway. The house was certainly in place when the proprietor occupied the house with his family and secretary, James Logan, in 1699 after a return to his lands.⁴⁸ They lived here periodically until Penn and his family departed Philadelphia for the last time in 1701 and Logan was left to inhabit the house alone.

Situated in its prominent location above the river, the house was oriented towards the west and faced Second Street. The back lot extended towards Carpenter's own home and the Delaware waterfront. This orientation followed the plan established by Thomas Holme when he located the site for the city and surveyed the land in 1682.⁴⁹ His grid plan for the city was one of the earliest of its kind in the North American provinces and outlined a strict geometric order for the streets and lots. Holme's plan was not executed fully

until far into the nineteenth century.³⁰ But the designation of streets influenced the orientation of early structures such as the Slate Roof House. Second Street may have even been planned as the first street on the Delaware side as it conforms to the specifications set by Penn for its location 200 paces or 600 feet from the water.³¹ Had Holmes's plan been immediately realized, the house would have looked towards the appointed space for official buildings at the geographic center of the city.

The Slate Roof House rested on relatively open terrain in comparison with the surrounding buildings. The distance between the street and the front door, the bustling port and the garden of the house set the building apart both physically and symbolically from other city structures in the immediate area. A 1735 watercolor of the city by a G. Wood demonstrates the position of the location of the Slate Roof House (Figure 11). A building marked "the Governors House" may represent the Slate Roof House, although it most likely refers to Edward Shippen's house on Second Street near Dock Creek which housed a number of colonial governors in the eighteenth century and was known by this name.³² In any case, the location of this house shows the buildings in the neighborhood of the Slate Roof House on the intersection of the compact waterfront and the open fields of center city. The painting represents the artist's perception of the prominence of the buildings in the vicinity of the Slate Roof House.³³

Breintnall's poem which so vividly evoked the bustling

waterfront also provides a glimpse of the gardens and fields that characterized the space between the concentration of buildings and the Schuylkill. Where the "clean hard pavement" ends the city opens into lush scene which evokes the early existence of the "greene country towne" Penn had imagined:

Beyond, the Street is thinly wall'd, but fair,
With gardens pale'd, and orchards here and there
On either side, those beauteous Prospects lie;
And some inclos'd with Hedges please the Eye.⁵⁴

Located in between the busy waterfront and the open fields and orchards within the city limits, the house functioned as both a rural manor and an urban townhouse. This duality was inherent in Penn's plan for the capital, which he envisioned as a center for provincial affairs housed in a pastoral landscape.

Peter Cooper's painting, *Prospect of Philadelphia* (c. 1720), displays another image of the metropolis in the early eighteenth century (Figure 12). The view, based upon the artists's personal observations, depicts a city in transition.⁵⁵ Some symmetrical buildings, characteristic of the increasing popularity of classical architectural elements, punctuate the view. Steeply pitched roofs, prominent molded brick watercourses, and second story balconies, however, recall the architecture of earlier forms and create an eclectic architectural scene. Cooper indicates a widespread use of brick construction. By the end of the seventeenth century Philadelphia elites established this material as an indicator of moral and civic character.⁵⁶

Local craftsmen and materials supported the widespread use of this material. In 1690 at least four brickmakers and seven master bricklayers were working in the city.⁵⁷ A resident of Philadelphia in 1690, John Goodsen, writing to William Penn, suggested "All {to} build with brick and stone now except the very meanest sort of people, which build framed houses."⁵⁸

Simply because it was large, constructed in brick, and situated in a prominent neighborhood does not explain why the house was selected as the home for the proprietor and later distinguished as a ideal location for both public and private affairs. Location, size, or building materials, examined alone, reflect only part of the complete architectural package. A more complete understanding of the house emerges with examination of the plan, exterior and interior construction features, and apportionment of space within the building itself.

An imposing facade greeted visitors to the Slate Roof House in the seventeenth century. Based on a forecourt plan, the Slate Roof House possessed an additional service wing extending along its northeast lot boundary. The building measured approximately 44 feet front by 52 feet deep along its north wing (Figure 13).⁵⁹ When most Delaware Valley residents typically lived in significantly smaller homes, such as 18 foot square, single room or slightly larger two room plans, the Slate Roof House would have made a formidable impression on the majority of its viewers.⁶⁰ Certainly there were other large brick edifices being built by Carpenter's peers, but the building was by no means representative of an

average home for the time.

The building's design and construction elements reinforced the singularity of the building on the landscape. Images of the house, such as the photographs by Gutekunst, F. Debourg Richards, James Mclees, and other images, produced in the nineteenth century, provide evidence of these details (Figures 14-16). A eighteenth-century inhabitant of the house, Alexander Graydon, whose mother ran a respectable boarding house on the premises, described the exterior as, "a singular old fashioned structure, laid out in the style of a fortification, with abundant angles both salient and re-entering. Its two wings projected to the street in the manner of bastions, to which, the main building served for a curtain."⁶¹ With Gothic and other Revival styles of the nineteenth century appearing on the Philadelphia landscape among eighteenth and nineteenth century row houses, shops, and warehouses, the Slate Roof House was an architectural oddity, and earned its "old fashioned" designation from Graydon and others.⁶²

The distinctiveness of the building complicates the definition of its construction history. Scholars agree that the building was complete by the first decades of the eighteenth century. A variety of schemes leading to the completed plan, however, have been proposed. One option views the house as the product of three building periods. The first being a main range oriented towards the north alley, with the later addition of a room to the south and then a reorientation westward and addition of a second wing

on the southwest corner of the building. Another scheme views the front wings as later additions to the main range, which consistently faced westward. It has also been suggested that the building always a forecourt plan, but was originally a framed structure that was only later faced with brick. All, or any combination, of these options seem reasonable. But taken together, the structural evidence demonstrated in the interior sketches, exterior photos and in descriptions suggests that the building was the product of one period of construction.⁶³

Opinions vary as to the stylistic associations suggested by the appearance of the Slate Roof House. Architectural historians have linked it to post-medieval forms, early Georgian architecture, and a host of other building forms appearing in North America, Britain, and Continental Europe. Part of the confusion lies in the fact that the exterior and interior features of the house do not fit neatly into the style categories created by later scholars. A direct link to other structures as inspiration for the Slate Roof House is difficult to prove. But there is clearly a broader cultural link between this structure and others associated with the assertion of authority or public prestige on the physical landscape.

Like almost all colonial architectural examples, little evidence connects the Slate Roof House to specific architectural models. The built landscape tends to look at both local and extralocal, vernacular and academic, building traditions as a model.⁶⁴ Construction was a process informed

by a variety of sources. Philadelphia was rapidly expanding during the last decades of the seventeenth century, but it is uncertain when a local architectural tradition began to mature. Attempts to define a local building tradition are nearly nonexistent. The greater Delaware Valley and Mid-Atlantic region has been granted more attention in recent years but traditions that have been studied, such as the brick patterned architecture of Quakers in southern New Jersey, emerged in the early- to mid-eighteenth century.⁶⁵ The dearth of investigation focusing on first-period (late seventeenth-early eighteenth century) architecture of the colonial capital may be due in part to the scarcity of examples to study as well as a less explicit "style" evident in known structures.

Philadelphia can most appropriately be understood as belonging to an Atlantic colonial world, including North America, the West Indies, and Britain. Cultural and geographical boundaries did not always coincide. Rather than viewing the first period architecture as devoid of a developed style it seems fitting to acknowledge that throughout the Atlantic world, building traditions were often the product of multiple building traditions and often reflect a negotiation of stylistic preferences. Extant material goods in the form of furniture, ceramics, and architecture, as well as abundant human interactions and correspondence flowed between Jamaica, Philadelphia, Williamsburg, Barbados, Boston, London and other locales. Artisans and patrons referred to the accumulated knowledge of building traditions

to which they had previously been exposed. The early architecture of Philadelphia and other North American provinces reflects these varying influences in a composite of styles.

The forecourt plan appears in a number of provincial contexts. Where it is employed the buildings are often private residences suitable for accommodating public gatherings or public buildings of an institutional nature. Greenspring (c. 1649), Sir William Berkeley's home along the James River in Virginia, employed a forecourt plan with a main range and projecting "towers" in brick.⁶⁶ The Governor's Palace (1706-1719) and Capitol (1703) in Williamsburg use cross wings and outbuildings set at right angles to the main structure to create courts or squares.⁶⁷ Governor Theophilis Eaton's House (ca. 1640) in New Haven, Connecticut, with a forecourt arrangement, looks strikingly similar to the Slate Roof House.⁶⁸ With the exception of the Capital in Williamsburg, these structures alternately or simultaneously functioned as homes and private spaces. The examples listed above were rare, but not unique. From Connecticut, to Philadelphia, to Tidewater Virginia, forecourt structures, often preceding the construction of a fixed seat of government in the form of a State House or capitol, and inhabited or used by the provincial elite, embellished both rural and urban landscapes of colonial North America.

In Britain, forecourt structures were also frequently associated with public institutions or prominent community members. A number of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-

century merchant homes in Whitehaven have a main range set back from the street with two projecting wings.⁶⁹ Almshouses such as the Geffre Almshouse (c. 1715) in Shoreditch, and Ryves's Almshouse (1682) in Blanford Forum, were forecourt plan buildings executed in brick.⁷⁰ Many burgage homes in medieval Horsham had a similar plan with hipped roof construction on the projecting wings.⁷¹ These examples are representative of a building type whose basic plan (central range with two extending wings) was widely distributed throughout rural and urban areas of the British mainland. A brief examination of publications documenting seventeenth century architecture in Britain provides numerous examples of this building type ranging from country manor homes to urban townhouses of the late seventeenth century to public structures also dating to this era.

Most often the plan of the Slate Roof house has been likened to the H-plan, a building scheme frequently promoted in the mid- to late-seventeenth century architectural treatises. Prescriptive literature such as Gervase Markham's *The English Husbandman* (1635) or Steven Primatt's *City and Country Purchaser and Builder* contain plans for such H-plan buildings.⁷² Gervase Marham's "model" home has been described as "conservative counsel wrapped in the lessons of classical discipline" which "linked a backward longing for social hierarchy to the value of civic virtue in an advancing capitalist culture."⁷³ The visual impact of the H-plan often reinforced connections to traditions while firmly attaching itself to the modern marketplace. While this forecourt plan

type was widely referenced in the plans of structures throughout the Atlantic world it was rarely executed in full. Like many of these variations, The Slate Roof House was not a true H-plan structure, but its exterior appearance was clearly of kinship with such a form. Its facade functioned like the H-plan and other forecourt plan buildings with its associations to high-style architecture and material expressions of involvement in one's community. The interior arrangement of space, however, bears no relation to such a plan.

The footprint of the H-plan structure, a main range with two wings, each extending to the front and back of the structure, was not created by the Slate Roof House. Plans by Primatt and Markham outline an interior arrangement of a large central hall flanked on either side with wings, divided into two rooms. In contrast, Carpenter's house had two rooms in the main range, two bastion rooms and the rear kitchen (Figure 13). The H-plan models outline two staircases for such a plan. The Slate roof House only contained one. A 1773 survey describes an "open newel stair," although no references suggest its location, and it is glaringly absent from the interior sketches.⁷⁴ J. M. Read's 1868 articles corroborates this absence, "The stairs had entirely disappeared, and access was obtained through a hole in the next house." Read does not suggest that he and his cohorts discovered evidence of the stair as they were, "tearing away all opposing impediments" to discover the "ancient" structure.⁷⁵ Evident in a sketch by William Clark however, is

a horizontal supporting beam in the west kitchen wall in a suitable location a stair landing (Figure 24). There would be no other need for such a beam so it seems likely that the first to second floor stair began in the passage between the kitchen and the parlor.

The stair position between the stacks is not unusual in relation to domestic structures in the British Colonies. Comparisons with seventeenth-century houses in England, known to Samuel Carpenter, perhaps illuminate this point. A number of rowhouses in Islington and post-medieval houses in the Horsham area, Carpenter's home in England, contain stairs rising between two stacks.⁷⁶ Townhouses, such as those found in late seventeenth-century Deptford, also display central-chimneystack plans with stairs rising in a central cluster between two stacks. In fact, the north side of the house is extremely similar to the central-stack plan recorded by Joseph Moxon in 1700.⁷⁷ Structures with a single stair, removed from the front entrance space, are common enough in England, especially when the structure predated the existence of a center passage. Both servants and owners would share the access route to other floors, although patterns of circulation after the ascent or descent reflected differential access to spaces within the house.

The manipulation of both modern and traditional techniques and materials revealed in the facade and plan are also evident in the treatment of construction details, finishing techniques, and arrangement and use of space in the house. By the time of its destruction some of the original

fabric had been lost. Many of these changes and a surprisingly large amount of intact, original fabric is displayed in the images and descriptions produced in the nineteenth century. Flemish bond brickwork rested on a few courses of common bond below the watercourse and a stone foundation. Intermittent glazed headers and a string course which took a slight downward jog or step as it approached the front facade embellished the already imposing exterior. A string course was an unexceptional feature itself, but this stepped element is a detail which appears to be characteristic of Delaware Valley architecture and was used in both the first Courthouse (1709) and the State House (1732).⁷⁸ The flemish bond was a frequently used and quite fashionable feature while the stepped string course had precedents in the strapwork and decorative brickwork of earlier seventeenth century British and Continental architecture.

Straight joints and disturbed brickwork around at least one front window suggest a past repair or addition. A 1733 ledger documents "altering 2 windows" and "putting in lower sashes to slate house" substantiating this claim.⁷⁹ The building may have had mullion and casement windows with diamond or square lights and lead comes earlier in the seventeenth century.⁸⁰ Two 1714 expenditures by the owner, Isaac Norris, Sr., record a purchase of drawn lead and "quarrees" or quarrels.⁸¹ By 1828 a dormer window extended from the central section of roof centered above the main entrance. Construction suggests that dormers on the north or

front slope of the roof and two dormers in the rear may have been early additions.⁸² No dormers disrupt the front facing hipped roofs above the cross wings. The preference for sizable sash windows over the earlier casement-type reflects a concern for the addition of light sources and a desire to update the house to current building fashions of the eighteenth century.

Clustered chimney stacks towered above the building. Characterized by a heavy dripstone these stacks (four in a cluster and one in the wing on the north and two clustered on south) are similar to those found in British and provincial contexts dating to the seventeenth century.⁸³ Every room in the house was heated except the wing projecting towards Second Street on the south end of the building. Some scholars have postulated that the asymmetry of the stacks reflected a later addition of the front wings or the chimney into the north end wing. Consistency in the brickwork of the body of the house and the chimneys themselves suggests otherwise.

Wood shingles replaced slate as a roof covering by the mid-nineteenth century. The date of the shift from slate tiles to wood is not certain. A 1717 letter of Isaac Norris reads "J. Vales tells me he could not take in y^e Slate being such a quantity ordered as would cover two large houses...I do not propose to cover any new houses with it all instead repair that I lived in at town and boat load would have sufficed" confirming that slate was the covering at the time of the elder Norris' occupation of the house from 1709-1717.⁸⁴

Slates recovered archaeologically from eighteenth century contexts also correlate with early use of this roofing material.⁸⁵ Tiles may have arrived from a distant source or quarried in the Delaware Valley region. In 1698 Gabriel Thomas wrote, "There is curious *Building-Stone* and *Paving-Stone*, also *Tile-Stone*, with the latter, Governor Penn covered his *Great and Stately Pile*, which he call'd *Pennsybury-House*."⁸⁶ A bill from 1733 which reads, "Slated House in Second Street, aug. 1733, to John Nichols- his bill for putting in lower sashes to slate house" provides evidence that the house was being defined by this roof covering.⁸⁷ In the history of the house it was alternately referred to as "Penn's Residence," "Penn's Home," as well as the "Slated Roof House" and "Slate Roof House." The name we know today, however, only dominated others when the roof was no longer covered with this material.

The symmetry of the building's facade, use of flemish bond, the slate roof, a possible slate-paved forecourt, and the hipped roof indicate knowledge of fashionable late seventeenth-century buildings. The grouped, many-faceted chimney stacks and the jogging belt course suggest a remembrance of post-medieval English buildings of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Projecting minor wings reflect both older medieval traditions as well as more modern townhouses of the urban elite which employed this plan. Internally, the contrast of traditional and contemporary design continues. Large hearth openings, heavy exposed timber framing, and vestiges of the great hall point

toward a medieval origin whereas the central passage, if original, reflects a shift from direct entrance into the great hall, frequently found in earlier structures.

Sketches by William Clark illustrate nine of the twelve rooms in the building (Figures 17-32). A newspaperman and antiquarian, Clark produced an exceptional series sketches and watercolors of the Slate Roof House before its destruction. His precise images capture architectural details unobscured by inhabitants or their furnishings. While Clark may have entered one of no less than eight entrances offering access to the interior in 1867, a "gothic arched" doorway centrally located on the seventeenth-century facade then remained largely intact at the rear of the frame addition.⁸⁸ It is most likely that the original pediment, or one dating to the eighteenth century, was left intact when the frame addition was built.

This threshold led visitors into a large room divided by a movable plain-panel cedar partition (Figure 22).⁸⁹ By 1751 a central passage was defined by two of these partition walls (Figure 13). The passage would have been quite an early example if original to the structure. But such a feature is contemporary with side passages of London townhouses and central passages of the most fashionable buildings on both sides of the Atlantic. The rooms on both sides of this partition were heated spaces embellished with surbase high wainscotting (Figures 20, 21, 23). Common to substantial homes in the Mid-Atlantic, the plain paneling and plaster walls displayed in Clark's drawings exhibit a fashionable

finish and concern with the decorative display exhibited on the exterior.⁹⁰

Large fireplace openings show signs of infilling, although heavy timbers above the mantle hint at an early construction date (Figures 23, 24, 27).⁹¹ An 1785 insurance survey lists "Large old fashioned mantles (Appendix C)."⁹² The term old fashioned may refer to a finish like that of fireplace surrounds in other late seventeenth- early eighteenth-century homes in the region such as the William Miller House, Avondale, Chester County (1730), the Barnes-Brinton House, Pennsbury Township, Chester County (1704-1715), or the Dilworth House (c.1714) and Ashton-Kennedy houses (c.1714) of New Castle County, Delaware.⁹³ Straight jambs, wood trim extending to the edge of the hearth opening, heavy bolelection molding, and occasionally, floating cornices above the fireplace characterize such mantles and would have been viewed as "old fashioned" by 1785.

Both rooms in the main range have a doorway leading to the rooms of the extending cross wings. A paneled door allowed access to the north wing. Two steps were added when the floor was lowered approximately a foot by a nineteenth-century tenant.⁹⁴ The room was heated by a corner plastered fireplace (Figure 19). No images exist of the southern wing room. Exterior images show no chimney stacks, suggesting an unheated space.

Use of the five first floor rooms can be estimated from the sketches, descriptions, and a 1701 inventory completed by Penn himself. When he departed for England in 1701 the

proprietor left an inventory of his home at Pennsbury (c. 1682), and the family's city home, the Slate Roof House. This room by room list is limited in its contents but is the only inventory located for the house. Only eight rooms are listed. The disparity between this number and the twelve rooms indicated on eighteenth-century surveys is perhaps reflective of the hall, later partitioned, being considered as one room.⁹⁵ Logan also inhabited the house at the time and Penn would have no reason to list the personal contents of the space his secretary occupied, perhaps another explanation for the seemingly small number of rooms.

The "Parlor," "other parlor," "hall," and "kitching" appear to be first floor public spaces. Four maps, sconces, "One great Table & a green Carpet," Turkey-work'd chairs, a clock and other objects filled the parlour. The other parlour contained similar objects including "one great looking glass," maps, tables, chairs, and sconces. Both spaces were properly outfitted for the reception of guests or family use. The Hall was furnished with "One great table," glasses, cruets, knives, and forks. Dining in this space was supported by the activities of the kitchen. Here, pewter dishes, spits, pots, pans, candle sticks, and linens allowed preparation for the meals enjoyed by Penn, Logan and others.⁹⁶ The Hall and Parlour are probably the rooms of the main range of the house, while the other parlour probably refers to the heated northern wing, traditionally the office of Penn. The other wing's function is a mystery. An unheated space, it was probably not used for public use. In English forecourt

plan homes this space often functioned as a buttry or other service space.⁹⁷ Perhaps this tradition was carried out by Carpenter but additional documentation would be needed to confirm its use. The kitchen occupied the rear ell.

The arrangement of rooms on the second floor was similar to that of the first. The main section of the house is divided into two rooms with a wing room extending on the north and south ends of the west facade. A single room extends along the rear ell and contains the stair leading to two rooms in the heated and plastered garret. Penn's inventory lists a "closet," "best chamber," "nursery," and other chamber," private quarters likely to have been on the second floor.⁹⁸ Here beds and bolsters, pillows, "one close stool & pan," silk blankets and curtains, and a rare listing of "2 damask curtains for the windows," a luxury Penn did not use at Pennsbury, adorned the house. Perhaps the privacy they allowed was more a necessity in town. James Logan seems to support the apportionment of private space on this floor when he states "he...admitted freedom of speech in Council (for that day with much ado I got down Stairs and was present)."⁹⁹

Penn does not list rooms other than those he would have normally traversed. Two of Clark's drawings, however, depict the "plaistered" garret (Figures 28, 29). The plain but respectable finish of this heated space was appropriate for servants, children, guests, or nineteenth-century boarders. A striking feature indicated in the garret drawings are a curved principle.¹⁰⁰ This technique was more

common of earlier homes in Britain and was seemingly lost from the vocabulary of North American builders by the advent of the eighteenth century. In addition to space provided by a garret, another storage or service area, common in early Philadelphia homes, was the cellar. They were widely used in the town and country houses of the Philadelphia elite. Even in his "carcass of a house" James Claypoole had a cellar for "wines and other liquors that the heat may otherwise spoil."¹⁰¹ The cellar supposedly extended under the wing rooms and the forecourt they created. A nineteenth-century drawing of the house provides the only cellar view.

Nearly all of the nineteenth-century images represent the north and west exteriors of the Slate Roof House. A rare glimpse of the service wing is found in a watercolor of the house from the rear lot bound with the sketches produced by William Clark in 1867 (Figure 18).¹⁰² The wing Clark portrayed had no match on the house's south side. The disruption of the building's symmetry raises a question about whether the wing was a later addition or contemporary to the main body of the house. No straight joints, disturbed brickwork, or other disruptions to the buildings' fabric appear. Until evidence indicates otherwise, it seems likely that the wing was an original feature of the house. Single, rear wings were a common feature of homes throughout the Atlantic world during the seventeenth century and, like the Slate Roof House, these were often associated with service activities.¹⁰³

Clark's drawing also illustrates a "piazza" attached to the southern wall of the ell. The piazza was an eighteenth-

century addition. The heated service ell allowed access to this adjoining piazza. By the mid-eighteenth-century a service building in the rear lot, featuring a kitchen and wash house, augmented the original kitchen (Figure 13).¹⁰⁴ Salvage archaeology undertaken in 1982 confirmed the location of two features, probably a privy and well, identified by circles on the same survey.¹⁰⁵ White tin-glazed chamber pot fragments, Westerwald stoneware marked "AR" (Anna Regina), and a bottle with a form dating c.1720, and other artifacts dating to the first half of the eighteenth century, found on the lowest strata of excavation may suggest this feature was contemporary to the house. These service oriented features suggest that the rear lot was largely a work area by the mid-eighteenth century.

Cooking, washing, and other support activities were probably relegated to the rear part of the house since it was built. But the space had also been used as an urban garden for its earliest inhabitants. William Trent and Isaac Norris Sr., inhabitants during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, cultivated plantings including vines and a row of pine trees.¹⁰⁶ Alexander Graydon suggested, "An additional convenience, was a spacious yard on the back of it, extending half way to Front street, enclosed by a high wall, and ornamented with a double row of venerable lofty pines, which afforded a very agreeable *rus in urbe*, or rural scene in the heart of the city."¹⁰⁷ A number of the seventeenth-century homes in the vicinity of the Slate Roof house such as that of Edward Shippen maintained similar gardens and vineyards into

the first decades of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁸ These bucolic yards would have pleased the proprietor in his wishes for the establishment of country homes in his provincial capital. Overall, evidence documenting the facade, plan, finish, and furnishing of the Slate Roof House provides a view of a significant home suitable for the discriminating architectural preferences of its late seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century inhabitants.

The mythology of the founding of Philadelphia depicts settlers huddling in caves on the Delaware waterfront (Figure 33).¹⁰⁹ Frame structures, called caves, which incorporated naturally occurring or man-made depressions in the earth are documented with widespread use. Some chose to remain in these homes. Others such as Carpenter invested in more substantial homes on first arrival in the town or made arrangements for their construction before arriving in the province, as in the case of Claypoole.

It would be wrong to view the Slate Roof House as causing a dramatic shift in the building traditions of the region. The building was certainly not an effective model for homes of the majority of Philadelphia's inhabitants, who continued to live in townhouses, tenements, and other, much smaller and less ornate, spaces for generations. Admittedly, internal arrangement of separate public and private spaces become more commonly adopted in the rise of Georgian architecture in the city during the eighteenth century. Halls for reception or semi-public gatherings, private bedchambers, secluded closets and parlors, and substantial

service areas demonstrate the Slate Roof House's connection to both traditional arrangements of courts and manor homes as well as the most current influences of classical architecture.

Carpenter, Penn, Claypoole, and other early members of the Quaker elite arrived in Pennsylvania as established businessmen, accustomed to respectable manor homes, townhouses, and civic structures. The Slate Roof House was seemingly conceived as a building that incorporated strategies for meeting the standards of the housing culture familiar to the Quaker leaders. I would argue that Carpenter directed the construction of a house suitable for accommodating the personal and provincial needs of Penn or other dignitaries. Such a structure would round out his already extensive complex of homes and commercial improvements. Carpenter never specifically outlines this plan. But his documented investment in land and improvements as an extension of his civic and personal interests would support this theory. Planned or not, by the early eighteenth century the Slate Roof House, for some, represented a model structure for use by political leaders.

Anticipating the arrival of William Penn, Jr. in 1703, the proprietor's secretary, James Logan, selected the Slate Roof House as the location for meetings of the Council, Commissioners of Property, and reception of the Governor. The secretary believed that an appearance of government depended upon a fixed site for public affairs. Government and civic officials required the appearance of grandeur they

deserved. Logan classified Carpenter's Slate Roof House as "the only suitable place to be thought of in town."¹¹⁰ Whether or not the younger Penn concurred is unknown; he never personally inhabited the building. Yet Logan's comment emphasizes the importance of the structure in social and political activities of colonial Philadelphia.

Logan's judgment reflected his perception of city architecture. One does not have to read deeply into the literature of architecture, in the Palladian or post-London Fire era, to appreciate that public buildings were conceived as symbols as much as useful vehicles of their intended function. The Puritan or Quaker meeting houses, the courthouse, the jail, or the alms house were intended to personify the activities they housed. Logan viewed the Slate Roof House as eminently suitable for political and diplomatic affairs.

The Provincial Council minutes for the late seventeenth century document council members gathering in homes "Att a council att the House of Phineas Pemberton, 10th June 1697" and in the Quaker meetinghouses supporting the long-held belief that the council convened in Quaker meeting houses and private homes throughout the city.¹¹¹ Homes, taverns, and meeting houses were accepted as proper locations for political discourse and public affairs until the construction of a regular State House in 1732.¹¹² Convenience, available space, and other factors surely dictated where the council convened. One of these locations may have been frequented more than the rest.

Mention of a "council Chamber" indicates a space that may have been designated for the use of the officials. When Penn signed the Charter of Privileges the Slate Roof House was not acting as the regular council chamber. Minutes record that the proprietor, "said he had required them to adjourn to his House that they might proceed without loss of time in their business, and advised them to retire in his parlour, where they might sit undisturbed so long as they come to a Resolution to which he most earnestly pressed them, & withdrawing, accordingly having spent about an hour in the said parlour, they sent the Governor a Paper..."¹¹³ Penn was frustrated with the indecision of his councilmen and sequestered them to his parlour. The quote suggests an invitation was required to conduct provincial affairs in the Slate Roof House, and it functioned as a more intimate alternative to other properties. The location of the supposed council chamber is unspecified and infrequent documentation provides no further clarification as to its whereabouts. By the time Logan was left to reside in the home he expanded access to the home and its use as a council chamber. In addition the Council of Property regularly met in the house.¹¹⁴

Ultimately, Logan's plan was not realized. The house instead passed to the hands of William Trent in April, 1704.¹¹⁵ Logan left the house and resided at Clarke Hall on Chestnut Street with William Penn, Jr., Governor Evans, Roger Mompesson, and Harry Brooke, all young, educated, bachelors. The council continued to meet in the meetinghouses and a

variety of homes throughout the city.¹¹⁶ In 1709 Trent again put the house up for sale. Inspired by the opportunity, Logan made a final plea to Penn for the continued use of the house by the proprietor and his officials:

William Trent, upon his wife's death designing for England, is selling his house that thou lived in, with the improvement of a beautiful garden. I wish it could be made thine, nothing in this town is so fitting a Governor. His price is £900 of our present money, which 'tis hard that thou canst not spare. I would give £20 or £30 out of my own pocket that it were thine; nobody's but thine.¹¹⁷

While the Slate Roof House maintained its grandeur as a home the official function of the structure diminished in Logan's absence.

During Carpenter's ownership the house was the site of intimate political conferences, family gatherings, state banquets, and meetings of the council. The architectural display of the home, with its forecourt plan, substantial size, materials and decorative finish, demanded attention from its viewers and occupants. Set apart from the homes of the majority of Pennsylvanians by its scale, location, and function the house quickly accumulated a singular space on the landscape and in the collective identity of the city. Carpenter surely recognized that a building along the lines of the Slate Roof House would be recognized as an exceptional structure. We can only surmise that he built this home in attempts to connect himself to the proprietor and the ruling Quaker elites. Both symbolically and architecturally the house linked the new colony to an established housing culture in the British Atlantic world. While Penn envisioned a new

province where social, religious, and political improvements would occur, there was no effort to divorce the society from their homelands. Adherence to traditional building forms and the current architectural trends reinforced connections to the authoritative architecture observers would recognize as proper for use in an official capacity. As the city expanded, however, and building traditions, demographics, and the political structure of the city evolved the house became less suited for the residence of the political elite or an occasional seat of government.

By the middle part of the eighteenth century Philadelphia elites were building in a full Georgian style. Urban townhouses such as the Powel House (1765) and the State House expressed the academic planning of classical architecture.¹¹⁸ Interior arrangements carefully delineated public and private space within homes. The Slate Roof House had effectively achieved a separation of interior space, but the building displayed significantly more traditional references to earlier building forms than the mid to late eighteenth century, high-style, urban architecture it proceeded. While the Slate Roof House outmoded by later construction, it seems to have made an impact on the design of some of the structures built by its earliest inhabitants.

James Logan, William Trent, and Isaac Norris, Sr. constructed country homes that echoed the design and function used at the Slate Roof House. Each contained a central hall for public reception in the private home. Isaac Norris' Fairhill (1712-1719) was a forecourt plan.¹¹⁹ James Logan and

his family and heirs used Stenton (1727-1730) as a semi-public domestic structure. Here the forecourt seems to be internalized and joined with the entrance hall, which was a brick-paved, heated space functioning as holding room for Logan's visitors. Trent constructed his palatial home and office (c. 1719) at the center of the town he established at Trenton, New Jersey.¹²⁰ These men, with central roles in the community, demanded homes in the latest fashion. The edifices they built reflect the influence of classical symmetry and apportionment of space. Halls acted as waiting rooms for visitors on public and personal errands. Main parlors were the site of interaction between friends, business partners, governmental officials. Secondary parlors provided retreat for the owners. Access to these spaces was restricted by positioning in the plan and by the social codes adopted by the members of the household.

As one of a handful of semi-public houses constructed in the earliest years of settlement, the Slate Roof House seems to represent a group of provincial buildings context that occupied a central place in the landscape. Meeting houses and churches certainly played similar roles, but they were built with a spiritual function in mind. The Slate Roof House was a secular building, representative of residences built by prominent or ambitious community figures, and used for more than a home. If the Slate Roof House indeed represents a strategy employed to personify the importance of political activities or officials, then its counterparts must be located. Were there similar structures that preceded the

construction of statehouses in other provincial contexts? If so, where were they and what was the nature of the exterior appearance and interior plans? Could structures traditionally interpreted as grand homes serve more than their assumed domestic function? Where did leaders in rural communities meet in the absence of an official seat of public affairs? These are questions that must be explored if a more complete understanding of the context in which the Slate Roof House was created and used.

Although the Slate Roof House has been relegated to the realm of an often mentioned but little understood icon of the first period in Philadelphia there is opportunity to explore this structure and the town in which it was built. The extensive documentation of the site, briefly examined here, inspires provoking questions about the earliest inhabitants of Philadelphia and the material world they created.

The house can be viewed as an informative object, rather than a novelty. As a well-documented and extraordinary example of late seventeenth century architecture and the theater for numerous historical associations the Slate Roof House can provide a provocative window into the largely obscure history of the pre-1750 provincial Atlantic world.

The Slate Roof House was considered a respectable seat for dignitaries and the higher ranks of society while it remained a home or a boarding house. Passing into the hands of businessmen who converted the space into shops and tenements the stature of the building on the landscape

declined. Opened to the public and the marketplace the structure was no longer an imposing home of the ruling class. Memory surpassed reality as the respectable fabric and function of the structure diminished. Recognizing the fading grandeur of the place, photographers, model builders, reporters, and painters rushed to preserve the structure through images and words (Figures 34, 35). The building's destruction and the response it received are responsible for the amazing archive of the house. Had it survived to the present it is doubtful that the original fabric, recorded in Clark's sketches or Gutekunst's photographs, would be preserved intact.

Since its destruction, the house has come to the forefront of history a number of times. The Women's Committee of the 1926 Sesquicentennial Fair reconstructed the house on their High Street, an exhibit of twenty reproduced structures celebrating:

...the worship of God, the love of one's neighbor, education, patriotism, free speech, a free press, political debates, the art of living, the science of the physician, the arts and crafts, the business of exchange, the encouragement of skilled labor, the value of the drama and the necessity of music, the power to enjoy the pleasures of society, the charm of home, the hospitality of the inn, the competition of the market and the beauty of gardens of color and of fabrics and of design."

Thousands of women infused the house with national spirit as they gazed at historic furnishings and placed pink, blue, and white pushpins in a "huge map of the United States", allowing "attendance from each State to be seen at a glance-and

compared." Torn down after the the unprofitable fair was over, the house receded into the recesses of memory once again (Figures 36, 37).¹²¹

In the patriotic fervor of the Bicentennial Philadelphia landmarks were once more in vogue. Not remembered as a key landmark in the Revolutionary period the house received little attention but inspired Carl Gatter to begin his quest for the reconstruction of the house. Gatter, John Milner and Associates, and Venturi and Rauch and began to draw up their visions for the site by 1979 and in 1981, the land was purchased by the Friends of Independence Hall National Park. Full reconstruction, a "phantom house" along the lines of Franklin Court, an interpretive garden, and other plans were discussed. Despite a strong contingent supporting reconstruction, the Friends committee "decided that, in the interpretation of this site to the public we need to emphasize the spiritual legacy of William Penn more than the architecture of the house in which he physically resided."¹²² The existing parking lot was replaced by the Venturi and Rauch planned Welcome Park. Here, boxed trees mark each city square on a concrete floor impressed with the grid plan of the city. An interpretive panel with a timeline of Philadelphia history and lore fences one side of the park and a statue of Penn gazes over the whole scene. On a pedestal, placed on the corner of Second and Sansom Streets, the location of the park itself, sits a small model of the Slate Roof House (Figure 37). Today visitors collect in the park as they wait for movies or tour historic sites but think

little of the extraordinary building that once graced the ground on which they stand.¹²³

NOTES

¹ "Penn's Residence," Photo by Frederick Gutekunst, 1867, Society Photograph Collection, Medium, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Four prints of this image are in the collection.

² Hampton L. Carson, *A History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1940), 1:215.

³ Carson, 1:334-336.

⁴ "The Old 'Slate Roof House'," *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, 24 November 1866.

⁵ Letter from Board to Members, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2 May 1864, Meredith Papers, Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁶ Deed Book, J.T.O. no.55, Philadelphia City Archives, 368.

⁷ "The Old 'Slate Roof House'."

⁸ "New Chamber of Commerce," *Philadelphia Daily Evening Telegraph*, 5 August 1867.

⁹ "The Old 'Slate Roof House'."

¹⁰ Carl Gatter, Documentation Collection on the Slate Roof House, 10 vols., Archives, Independence Hall National Park, Philadelphia, deposited 1981.

¹¹ "The Old 'Slate Roof House'."

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 49-125.

¹⁴ John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, 3 vols., (Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stuart, 1887), 1:163.

¹⁵ "The Old 'Slate Roof House'."

¹⁶ John Meredith Read, Jr., "The Old Slate Roof House," parts 1-3, *Lippincott's Magazine*, January 1868, 29-39; February 1868, 191-201; March 1868, 298-305.

¹⁷ John Fanning Watson, Manuscript Scrapbook, deposited 1823, 234, Library Company of Philadelphia.

¹⁸ John Fanning Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stuart, 1887), 1:163-166.

¹⁹ Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1950); Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952); Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortland Van Dyke Hubbard, *Portrait of A Colonial City 1670-1838* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1939).

²⁰ Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing By Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 8.

²¹ Allan R. Pred, "Space as Historically Contingent Process," in *Place, Practice, and Situation: Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden, 1750-1850* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble, 1986), 6.

²² Albert Cook Myers, *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia 1682-1750* (Baltimore: Southern Book Company, 1957), 9.

²³ Samuel Carpenter is a rather obscure figure. While some correspondence exists relatively few details of his life are known, especially for the years before he arrived in Philadelphia.

²⁴ Edward Carpenter and General Louis Henry Carpenter, *Samuel Carpenter and his Descendants* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1912), 5.

²⁵ Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1972), 336.

²⁶ Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 28.

²⁷ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: Jo. Seveens & Co., 1852), 1:94.

²⁸ John W. Jordan, *Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co, Inc., 1978), 1:469-479.

²⁹ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 1:94. According to the "Plan of Philadelphia," a document created in the 1740's by the surveyor general, William Parsons, Samuel Carpenter owned six city lots. The "Plan" documented the distribution of lots among original purchasers. Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine for History and Biography* 92 (April, 1956): 164-226.

³⁰ Patent from William Penn to Samuel Carpenter, 4th month, 24th day 1684, #27., Penn Papers, Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³¹ Mary Balderston, ed., *James Claypoole's Letter Book* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1967), 233.

³² Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1979), 407-8.

³³ Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia; A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 92 (1968), 3-47, 143-194.

³⁴ Draft of Letitia's front Lott, by Edward Penington, Pen drawing, 12th month 23rd, 1698, Warrants and Survey returns, 2:101-2, Philadelphia City Archives. in *Warrants and Surveys of the Province of Philadelphia including the Three Lower Counties 1759*, compiled by Allen Weinberg, (Philadelphia: City of Philadelphia Department of Records, 1965).

³⁵ Joseph Breintennall, "A Plain Description of one single Street in this City," *American Weekly Mercury*, 493 (June 19, 1729). More on this early poet can be found in David S. Shields, "The Wits and Poets of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109:2 (1985) 99-143.

³⁶ Hannah Benner Roach, *Colonial Philadelphians* (Philadelphia: Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, 1999), 32.

³⁷ Balderston, 180, 223, 69.

³⁸ Emma Lapansky, *Neighborhoods in Transition* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1994), 4.

³⁹ Balderston, 224.

⁴⁰ Roach, *Colonial Philadelphia*, 32.

⁴¹ In the few letters that were found, Carpenter is often complaining about some monetary loss. Louis Henry Carpenter Estate Papers, Box 2, Folder 1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴² Samuel Carpenter, merchant, to William Trent, merchant, £850, April 19, 1704, Deed Book G 2, p. 125, Philadelphia City Archives.

⁴³ Samuel Carpenter to Jonathan Dickinson, 1705, Louis Henry Carpenter Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Box 1, Folder 4.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ John W. Jordan, *Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1978), 469-471.

⁴⁷ Ellen Freedman, "The Slate Roof House: Historic Structure Report," 12 December 1985, unpublished research paper at The Athenaeum, Philadelphia.

⁴⁸ An account between Penn and Carpenter dated 1mo, 1702 reads "To 2 years Rent my house Ending the 22th 10 mo 1701." Thus Penn rented carpenter's house from the fall of 1699 until December 22, 1701. Frederick B. Tolles suggests that Penn temporarily lived in Edward Shippen's house until the Slate Roof House was completed. Unfortunately the ledger holding Carpenter's accounts from 1684-1709 can not be located for clarification of the exact periods of construction and rental. Frederick B. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1957), 17; "Samuel Carpenter's accounts 1684-1709," photocopy, stamped Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 18, in Gatter.

⁴⁹ Lapansky, 4.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 3-5.; John W. Reys, *The Making of Urban America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 157-174.

⁵¹ Roach, *Planting*, 34.

⁵² John Fanning Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, 3 vols (Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stuart, 1887), 1:39.

⁵³ Snyder, 31-32. It seems likely that Synyer was mistaken when he assumed the "Governors House" referred to the Slate Roof House.

⁵⁴ Breintennall.

⁵⁵ Snyder, 29-31.

⁵⁶ Susan Mackiewicz, "Philadelphia Flourishing: The Material World of Philadelphians, 1682-1760." Ph.D diss., University of Delaware, 1988.

⁵⁷ Roach, *Planting*, 40-41.

⁵⁸ John Goodsen to John and S[usannah] Dew, August 24, 1690, published in William Penn, *Some Letters and an Abstract of Letters from Pennsylvania* (London: Printed and Sold by Andrew Sowle, 1691) reprinted in *Pennsylvania Magazine for History and Biography* 4 (1880) 195.

⁵⁹ Exact dimensions of the Slate Roof House are unknown. Five different documents presenting the dimensions are known. The 1799 and 1773 surveys have measurements that are similar. These are used here. Property plan, Logan Papers, 13:6, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; 1773 Philadelphia Contributionship Survey Book I, 51, INHP Microfilm Reel 19; 1783 Mutual Assurance Society Surveys 69-76, INHP Microfilm reel 23; 1793 Direct Federal Window tax, List "A" - Walnut Ward, INHP Microfilm.; 1799 Survey by "city surveyor" James Pearson, INHP Photostat no. 18, 129.

⁶⁰ A number of brick homes, dating to the latter years of the seventeenth century and belonging to well off families can be viewed in Margaret Berwind Schiffer, *Survey of Chester County, Pennsylvania, Architecture:17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries* (Exton, PA:Schiffer Publishing Limited, 1976).

⁶¹ Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of His Own Time*, (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Balkiston, 1846): 62.

⁶² Examples of the newer buildings Graydon would have observed by 1846 can be seen in Theo B. White, ed. *Philadelphia Architecture in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953.)

⁶³ In her notes on the Slate Roof House, Penelope Batcheler outlines these construction schemes. Penelope Batcheler, Notes on Slate Roof House, Architectural Files, Independence Hall National Park.

⁶⁴ Dell Upton, "Vernacular Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in Vernacular Architecture* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 315-335.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of the New Jersey Quaker building tradition see, Michael Joseph Chiarappa, " 'The First and Best Sort': Quakerism, brick artisnry, and the vernacular aesthetics of eighteenth-century West new Jersey pattern brickwork architecture," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992.

⁶⁶ Louis R. Caywood, *Greenspring Plantation*, Archaeological Report prepared for Colonial National Historic Park, Yorktown, Virginia, 25 May 1955.

⁶⁷ Marcus Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg: Colonial Capitol of Virginia* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1958).

⁶⁸ Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 86.

⁶⁹ Sara Pearson, personal correspondence; Sylvia Collier and Sara Pearson, *Whitehaven 1660-1800*, for Royal Commission on Historic Monuments of England (RCHME) (London: HMSO, 1991), 91-92.

⁷⁰ RCHME, Dorset, III, (1972) p.23 and plate 112.; *London City Council Survey of London: Parish of Leonard/Shoreditch* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1922), 7:128.

⁷¹ Annabelle Hughes, personal correspondence.

⁷² Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman. drawne into Two Books, and Each Book into Two Parts* (London: William Sheares, 1635), 24.; Stephen Primatt, *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder* (London: John Wright, 1680).

⁷³ Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, 95.

⁷⁴ Philadelphia Contributionship, Survey Book 1, pg. 31, Independence Hall National Park, Microfilm reel 19.

⁷⁵ Read, 31.

⁷⁶ Carl Lounsbury, personal correspondence.

⁷⁷ Peter Guillery and Bernard Herman, *Deptford Houses 1650-1800* (London: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1997), 56.

⁷⁸ The stepped string course can be seen in images of the first Court House on Market Street and the State House Independence Hall (1732).

⁷⁹ Ledger B 1731-1740, Norris papers, 14:157, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁸⁰ William Chauncey Langdon, *Everyday Things in American Life 1607-1776* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), 54-55.

⁸¹ Volume 15, 1708-1740, Norris papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁸² The north dormers were in place by 1823 when Watson had completed his drawing of the house. John Fanning Watson, manuscript scrapbook, c. 1823, 234, Library Company of Philadelphia.

⁸³ Batcheler, notes.

⁸⁴ Letter Book of Isaac Norris 1716-1730, Norris Papers, 8:124, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁸⁵ Carl Gatter, "Archaeological Report on the Slate Roof House," in Gatter, vol 10.

⁸⁶ Gabriel Thomas, *History of Pennsylvania* (1698; reprint, A. Monroe Aurand, Jr., Harrisburg: The Aurand Press, 1935), 11.

⁸⁷ Ledger B 1731-1740, Isaac Norris Sr. (d.1735) continued by Isaac Norris Jr., Norris Papers, 24:157, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁸⁸ Langdon, 54-55.

⁸⁹ John Crump to Historical Society of Pennsylvania, August 10th, 1867, Society Miscellaneous Collection, Box 7B, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In his note Crump informs the members that he has not been able to locate any "Cedar Folding Doors" in th Slate Roof House. Clark illustrates a plain panel partition in his sketches. These may be the same folding doors, removed from the house between May and August.

⁹⁰ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 123-124.

⁹¹ J.T. Smith, personal correspondence; Sarah Pearson, personal correspondence.

⁹² Survey, Mutual Assurance Society, 1785.

⁹³ Schiffer, *Survey of Chester County*, 24-25, 62-63.; Bernard L. Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware 1700-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 40, 52.

⁹⁴ *Daily Evening Telegraph*, Philadelphia, 24 November 1866.

⁹⁵ Other explanations for this count might be that some rooms were omitted (He clearly omits the garret rooms), or that the service wing was not present in 1701, although architectural evidence seems to suggest it was an original feature.

⁹⁶ Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, gen. eds., *The Papers of William Penn*, 5 vols, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 4:135.

⁹⁷ J.T. Smith, personal correspondence

⁹⁸ Dunn and Dunn, 4:135.

⁹⁹ Dunn and Dunn, 4:190.

¹⁰⁰ Maryland Historic Trust, *Inventory of Historic Sites in Calvert County, Charles County, and St. Mary's County* (Annapolis: Maryland Historic Trust, 1980), 138.

¹⁰¹ Claypoole, 153, 236.

¹⁰² William Clark, Scrapbook, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰³ J.T. Smith, *English Houses 1200-1800: The Hertfordshire Evidence* (London: HMSO, 1992), 91.

¹⁰⁴ Logan Papers, v. 13, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰⁵ Gatter, "Archaeological report."

¹⁰⁶ Day Book, Isaac Norris, Sr., 1709-1716, Norris papers, vol.20, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 187 and 259.; Gatter vol.

¹⁰⁷ Graydon, 62.

¹⁰⁸ Watson, 1:39.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 3:43.

¹¹⁰ Dunn and Dunn, p.192.

¹¹¹ *Council Minutes*, 1:66.

¹¹² *ibid.*, 1: 223. Here it is called a "councill roome."

¹¹³ *ibid.*, 2:55.

¹¹⁴ Frederick B. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1957), 26.

¹¹⁵ Samuel Carpenter, merchant, to William Trent, merchant, £850, April 19, 1704 Deed Book G 2, p. 125, Philadelphia City Archives.

¹¹⁷ *Council Minutes.*

¹¹⁸ Edward Armstrong, ed., *Correspondence Between William Penn and James Logan, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, and others, 1700-1750* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co. for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1870 and 1872), 2:307-10.

¹¹⁹ James F. O'Gorman, Jeffrey A. Cohen, George E. Thomas, and G. Holmes Perkins, *Drawing Toward Building: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics, 1732-1986* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1986), 33-35.; Jack L. Lindsay, "Pondering Balance: The Decorative Arts of the Delaware Valley, 1680-1756," in *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania 1680-1758*, Jack L. Lindsay, ed. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 80.

¹²⁰ Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean, "Isaac Norris's Fairhill: Architecture, Landscape, and Quaker Ideals in a Philadelphia Colonial Country Seat" *Winterthur Portfolio* 32:4 (Winter, 1997), 243-274.

¹²¹ Roger Moss, *Historic Houses of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 144-147, 166-169.

¹²² Sarah D. Lowrie and Mabel Stewart Ludlum, *The Sesqui-Centennial High Street* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott, 1926), 37, 70-71.

¹²³ Elizabeth Stanhope Browne to Carl Gatter, September 14, 1981, in Gatter.

¹²⁴ Gatter.

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William L. Clements Library. Manuscripts.

APPENDIX A: RESIDENTS

The Slate Roof House
South East corner of Second and Sansom Streets

<u>Owners</u>		<u>Tenants</u>
1684 Samuel Carpenter	1700/1	William Penn
	1701/2?	James Logan
1704 William Trent		
1709 Isaac Norris (1717 moves to Fairhill)		
	1717-1735	Isaac Norris, Jr.
1735 Willed to Isaac Norris, Jr.		
(removes to Fairhill same year)	c.1759	Letitia Howell
1766 Willed to Mary Norris		(Boarding House)
	c.1768	Widow Graydon
1770 Marries John Dickinson		(Boarding House)
part of her dower	1768-?	Mrs. Burdeau
		(Boarding School)
C.1800 Willed to Sally Norris	1795	Thomas Billington
Dickinson(daughter of John		(tailor)
and Mary)	1825-1866	Marshall and Tempest
1861 Willed to George		(Jewelers)
Gustavius Logan	1840-1850	Samuel Nickless
(nephew of Sally)		(clothing)
	1842-1845	A. Lenci
		(Plaster Former)
1867 Philadelphia Chamber	1862-1866	John C. Rogers
of Commerce		(Painter)

APPENDIX B:
INSURANCE SURVEY, PHILADELPHIA CONTRIBUTIONSHIP, 1773.

Philadelphia Contributionship, Survey Book 1, Page 51

Surveyd. May 3d 1773- A house for John Dickinson Esq.
Sicuate on the Southeast Corner of 2d Street and
Norrises Alley

44 feet front with a Break in it of 21 by 13 ft
33 feet deep the back part on the alley 20 by 20 ft
all 2 Storys high - 14 & 9 inch walls = 5 rooms on
a floor- open newel Stairs-partitions Some Board
and paperd and some plastered - finishd very plain
painted inside and out garot plasterd- roof about
7 years old A kitchen 24 by 12 ft one Story high
9 inch walls- Roof as above-Another kitchen &
wash house Back-34 by 19 feet one Story high
7 inch walls- Roof as before

Gunning Bedford

House	400	
Each kitchen	50	L 500 a30/p.c. - one policy
	50	

APPENDIX C:
INSURANCE SURVEY, MUTUAL ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 1785.

Mutual Assurance Society, surveys 69-76

Two Story- House the Corner of Norris Alley and Second street Dimensions 43 feet 6 on Second Street and 45 feet on the Alley There is a part that doth not go so far back by 19 feet there is a Piazza about 6 feet by 19 and a frame chamber over it plaistered on both sides and a communicates with the Roof of the house Lower Story hath Closet frames plain boards surbase high window shutters and plain board partitions on both sides the entry two small Rooms entirely Plain there is a Backroom that is finished in the same manner as the large rooms - Second story Large rooms finished with Large old fashioned mantles and Wainscot washboard and surbase small Rooms plain with only washboards Garrets plaistered Window in the Roof open Newel Stairs Kitchen and Wash House 19 feet by 33 one story high and Brick

March 1785 surveyed

L. 2775 Insured on the Buildings Jones

Herein Described in 8 Polocies

April 9th 1785

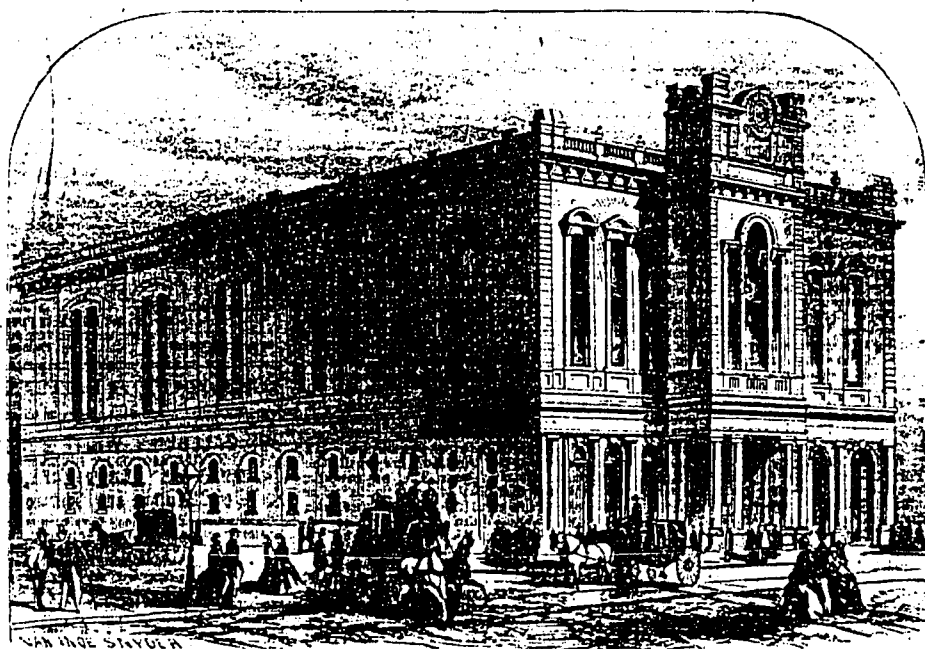
APPENDIX D: FIGURES



Figure 1. *William Penn Residence, The Old Slate Roof House*, Frederick Gutekunst, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



THE OLD SLATE-ROOF HOUSE.



THE NEW CORN EXCHANGE BUILDING.

Figure 2. *The Old Slate Roof House, The New Corn Exchange.*
 Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin, November 24, 1867.
 William L. Clements Library.

THE OLD "SLATE-ROOF HOUSE."

ITS SUCCESSOR.

History of the Ancient Structure

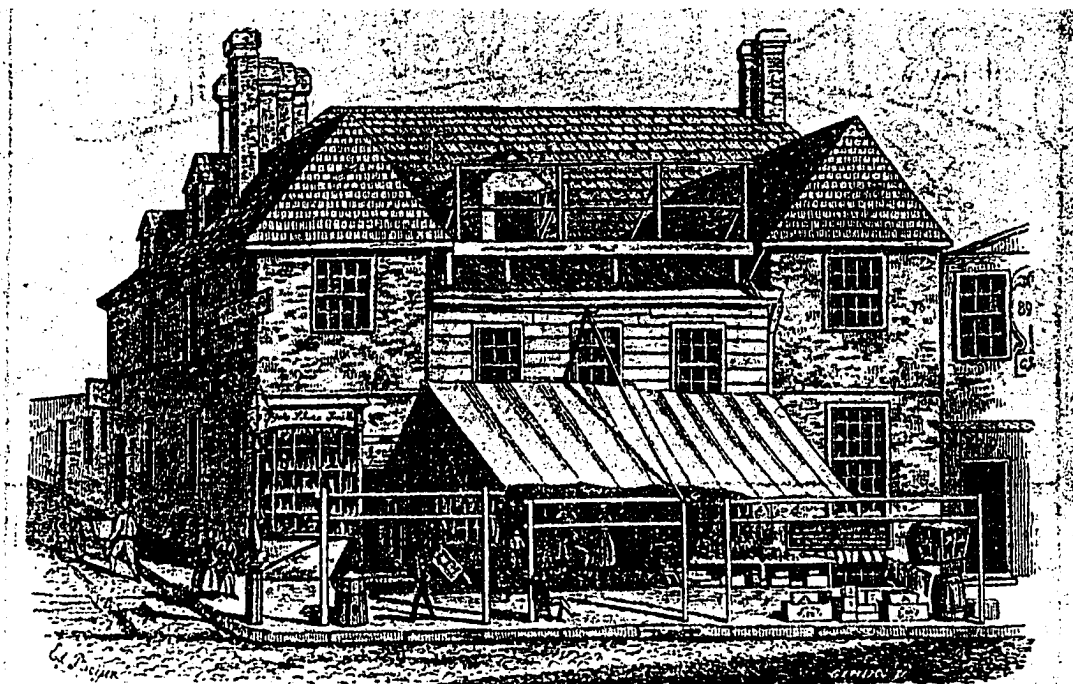
Description of the New Corn Exchange Building.

SKETCH OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The Changes of Two Centuries.

The last few architectural relics of the days of William Penn, in Philadelphia, are gradually disappearing. We know of but three that still remain: The "Swedes' Church, in Southwark," a relic of the days when the Swedes pushed their settlement up the Delaware from Christiana, in Delaware, and being contemporary with the

Figure 3. *The Old "Slate Roof House."* Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin, November 24, 1867. William L. Clements Library.



The Slate-Roof House cor. Second st. and Norris' Alley, Philadelphia, altered for business purposes.

Figure 4. *The Slate-Roof House cor. Second st. and Norris' Alley, Philadelphia, altered for business purposes.*
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

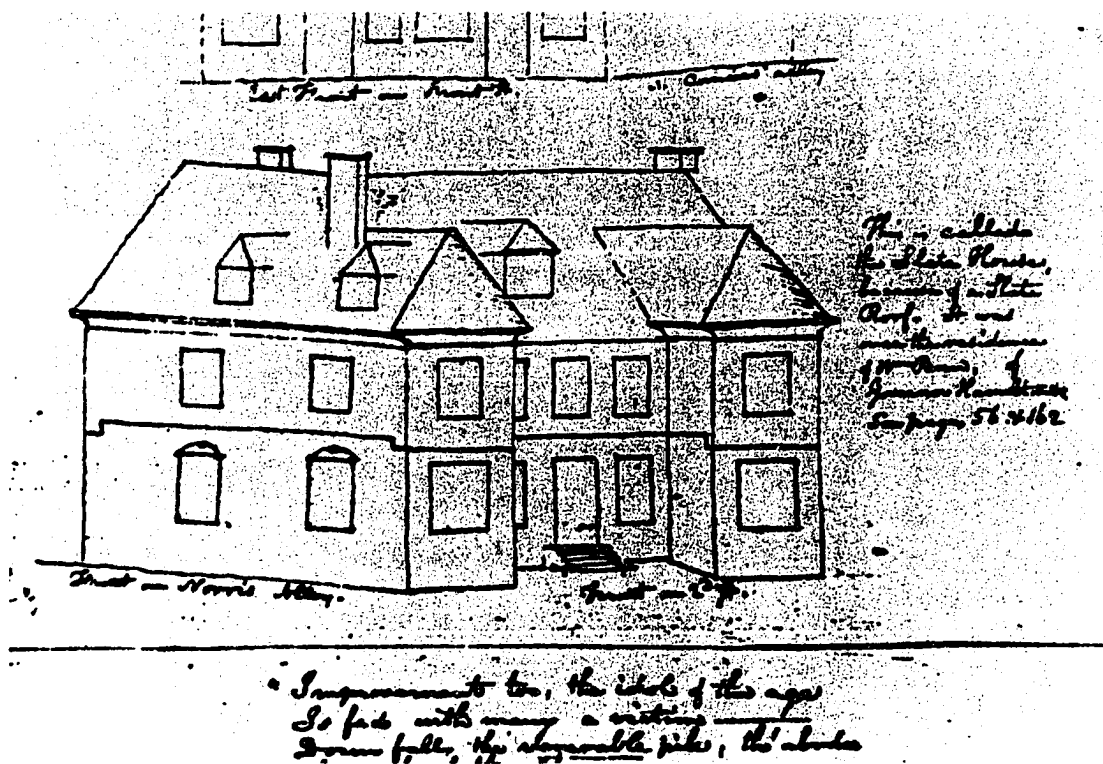


Figure 5. Earliest image of Slate Roof House, John Fanning Watson, c.1823. Manuscript for *Annals of Philadelphia*. Library Company of Philadelphia.



SLATE-ROOF HOUSE, PENN'S RESIDENCE.—Page 163.

Figure 6. *Slate Roof House*. From Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*. Collection of author.

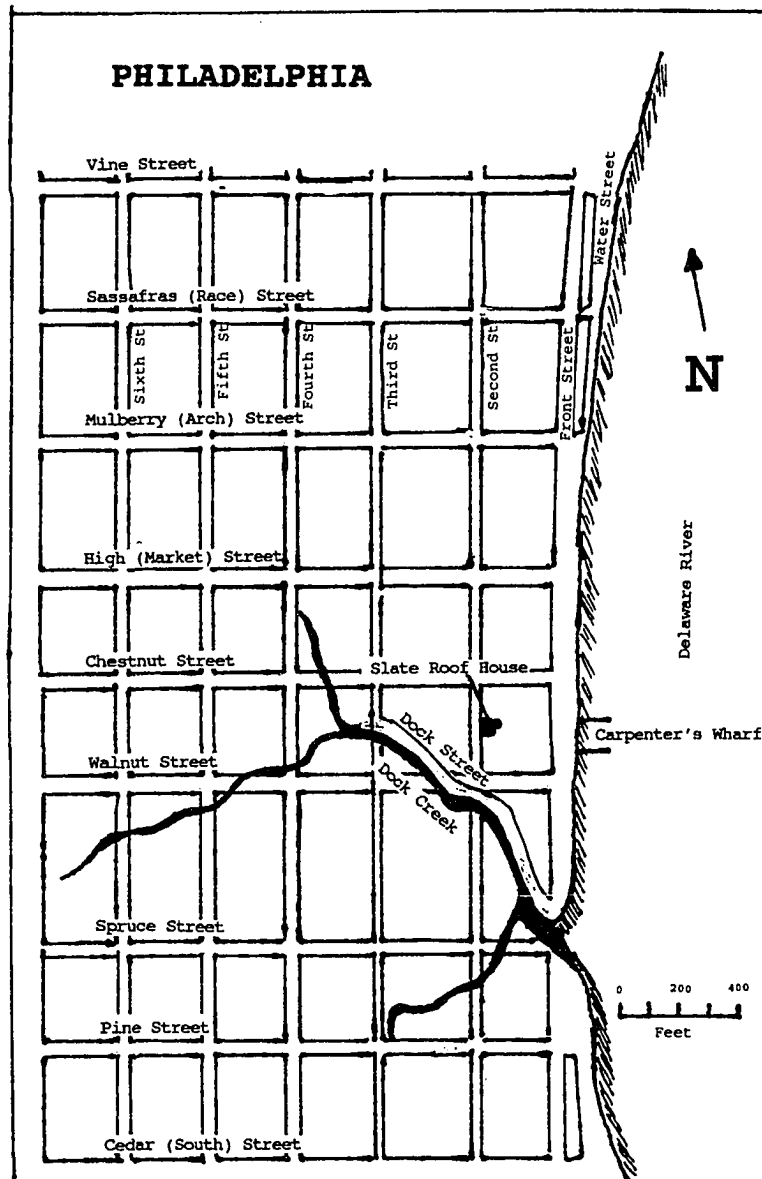


Figure 8. Map of Philadelphia. Showing location of Slate Roof House.



CARPENTER'S MANSION.—Page 376.

Figure 9. *Carpenter's Mansion*. From Watson's Annals of Philadelphia. Collection of author.



WILLIAM PENN'S MANSION,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Figure 10. *William Penn's Mansion, Philadelphia, PA.*
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

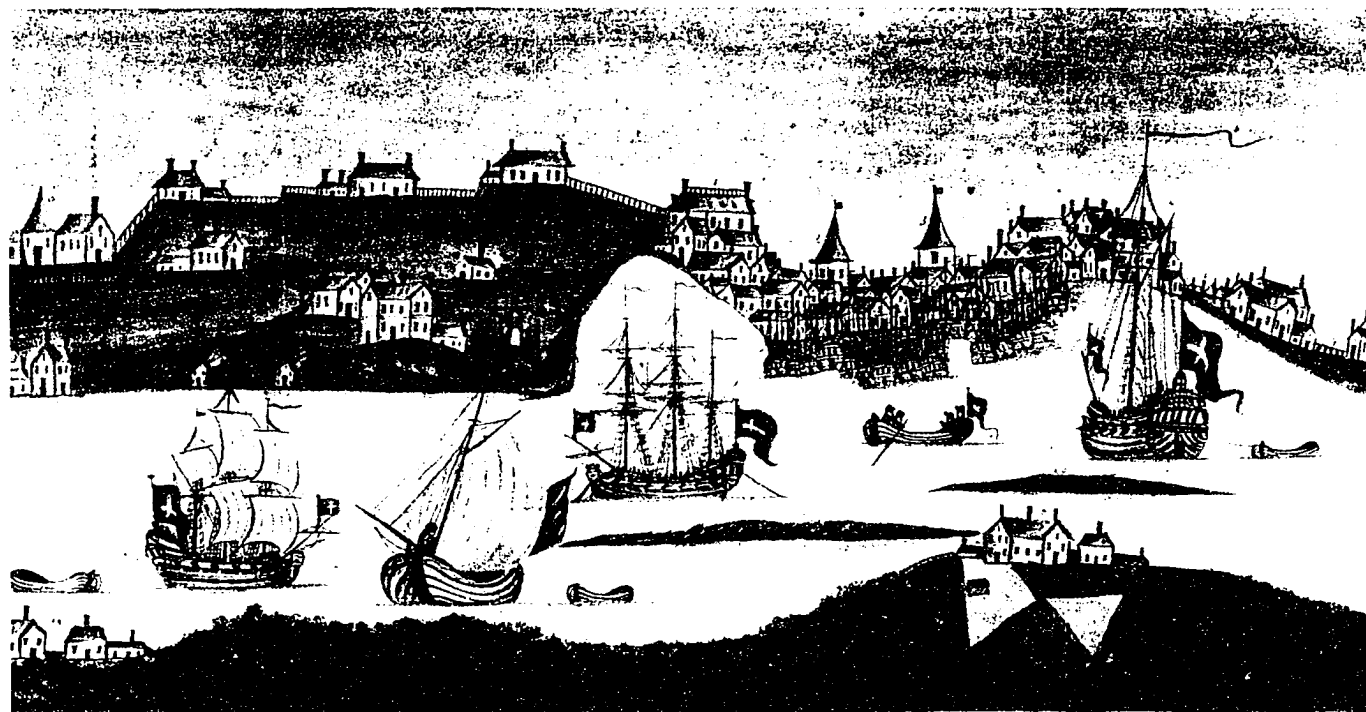


Figure 11. *Philadelphia*, by G. Wood. 1728. Watercolor on paper. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.

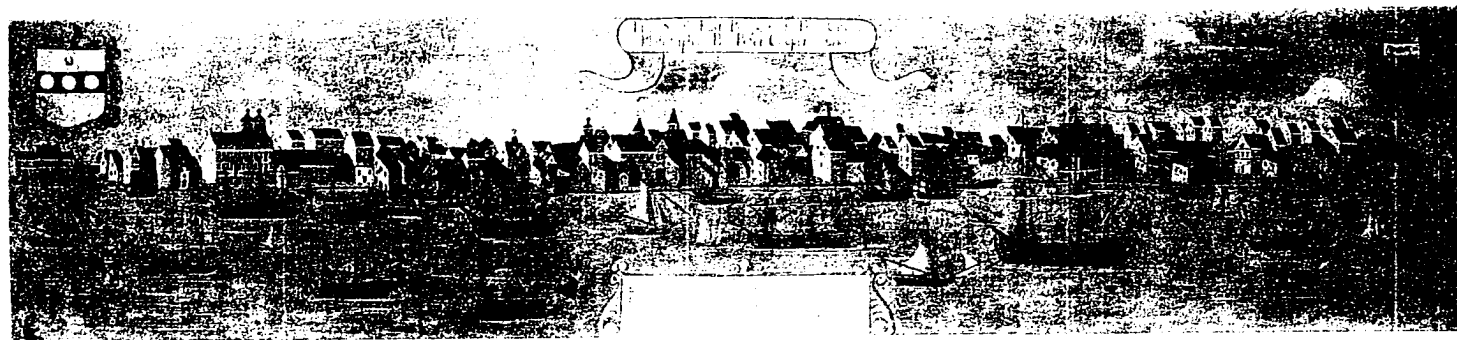


Figure 12. *Prospect of Philadelphia*, by Peter Cooper, c.1720.
Oil on wood. Library Company of Philadelphia.

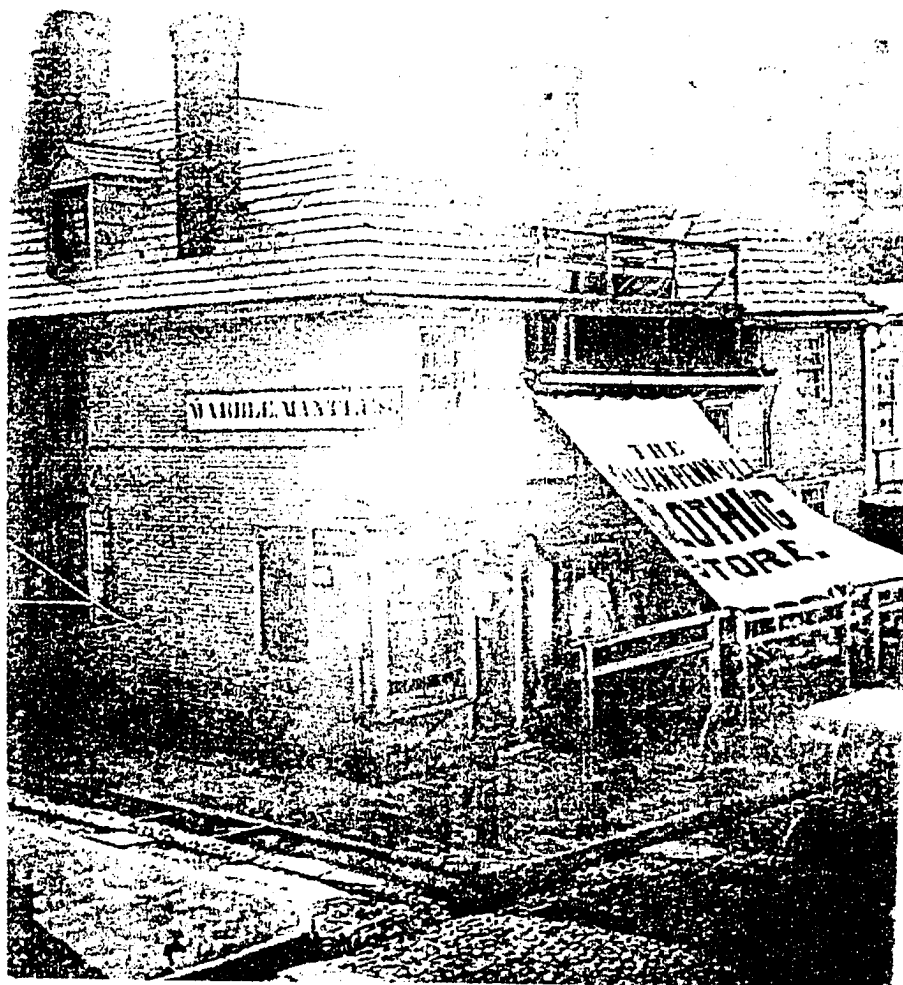
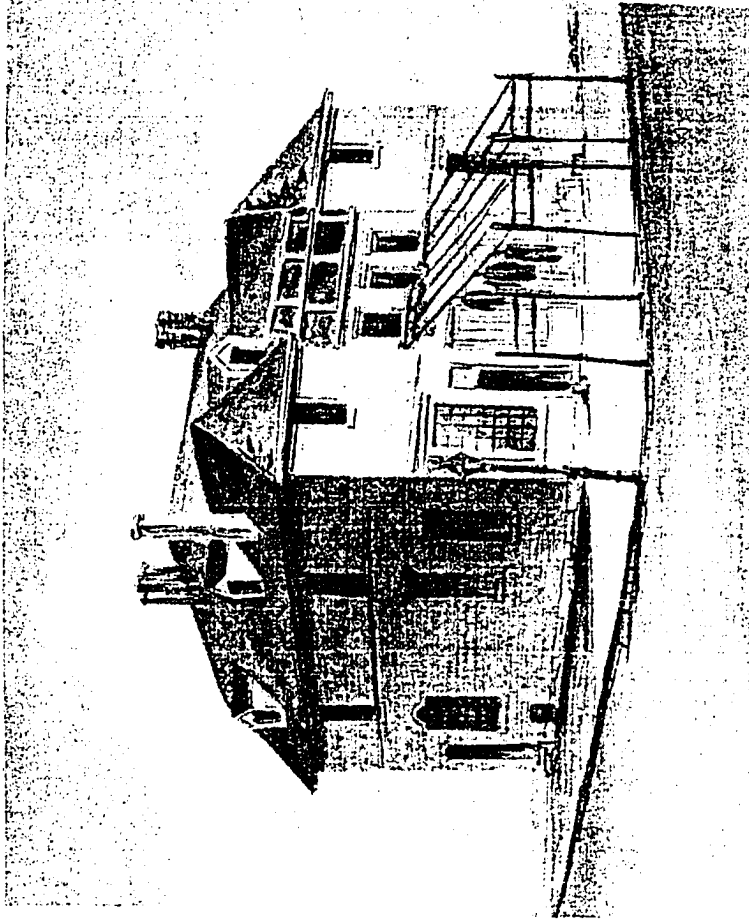


Figure 14. *Penn Mansion*, McClees and Germon-photographers, 1861. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 15. *Penn's Slate Roof House*, F. Debourg Richards, 1854. Salt print.



Wm Penn's House

Figure 16. Wm. Penn's House. Unknown Artist.



Figure 18. View from back lot. William Clark. 1867.
Watercolor on paper. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 19. Northwest room, first floor, looking East. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 20. North room, first floor, looking North. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 21. Window in North room, first floor, looking North.
William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

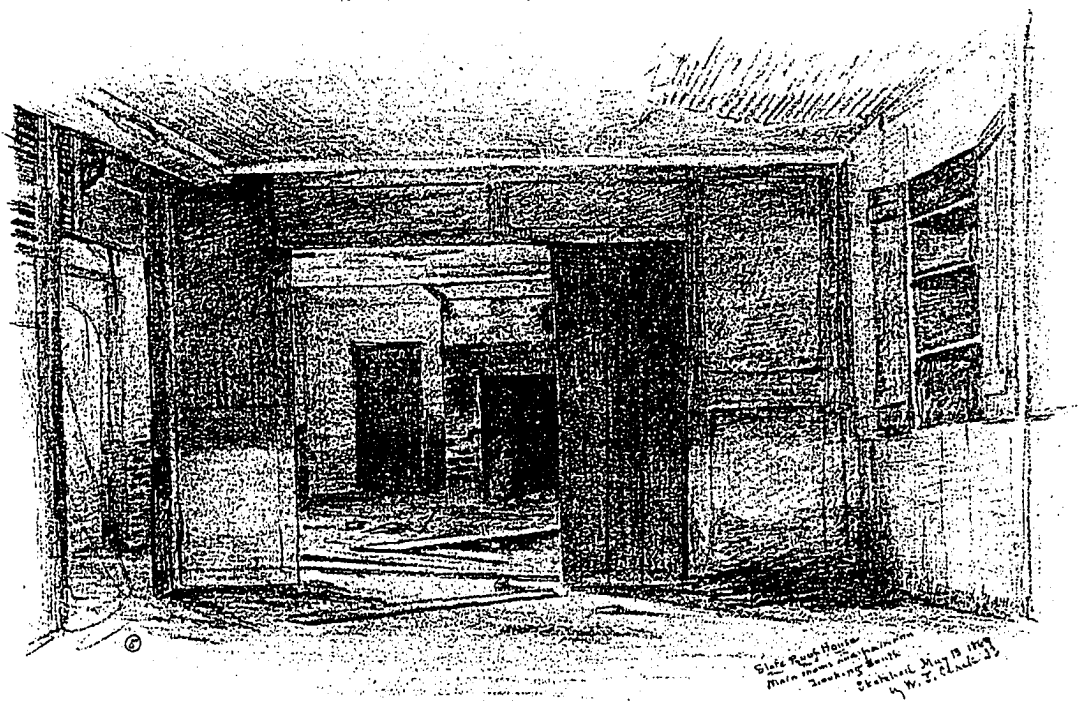


Figure 22. Main room and partition, first floor, looking South. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

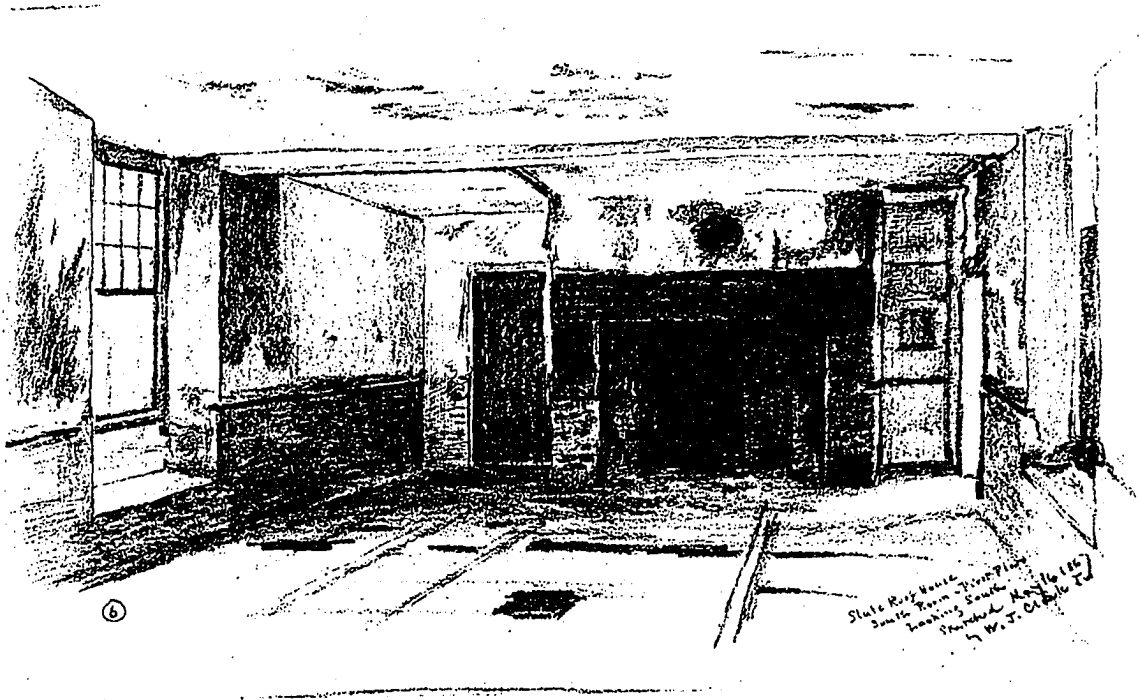


Figure 23. South room, first floor, looking South. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

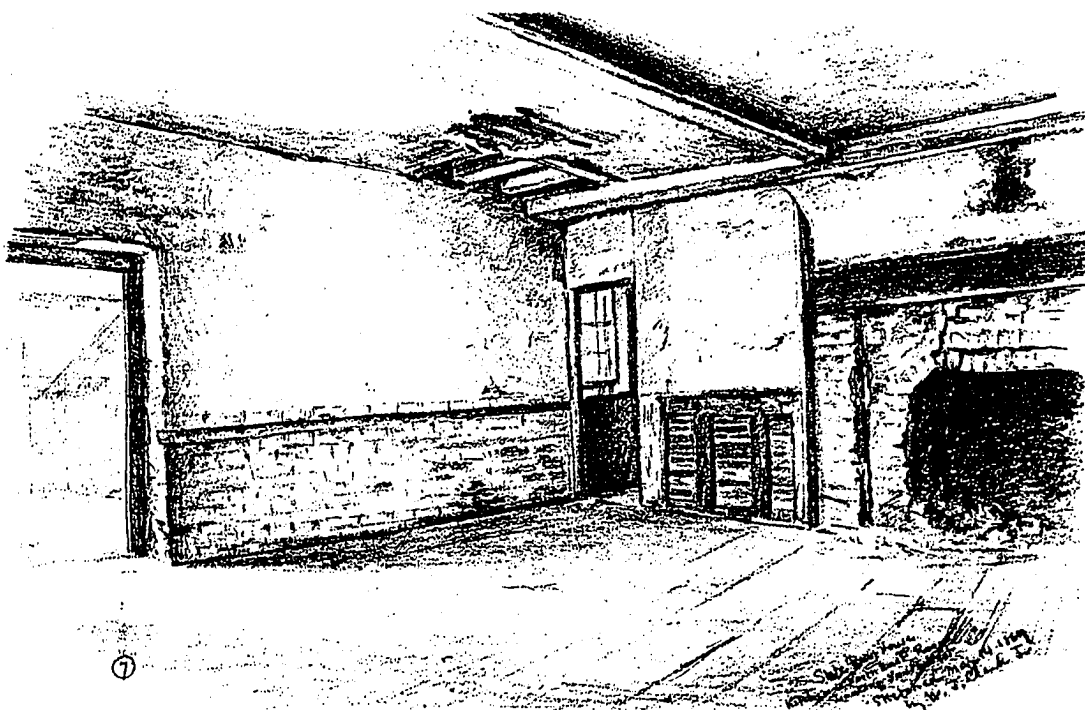


Figure 24. Kitchen or Northeast room, first floor, looking Southwest. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 25. Second floor main room, looking North. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 26. Northwest room, second floor, looking West.
 William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 27. Northeast room, second floor, looking Northwest.
William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

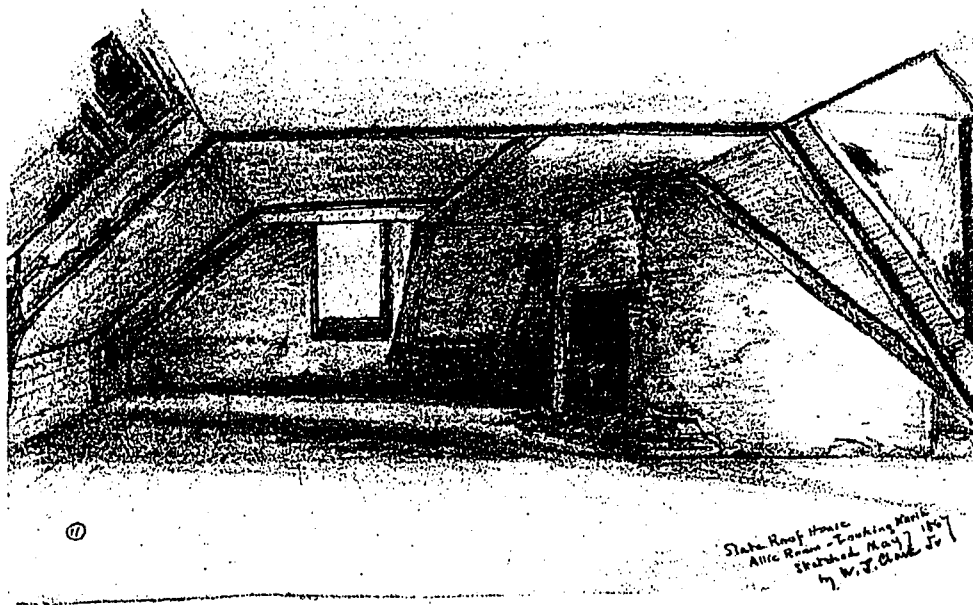


Figure 28. Attic room, looking North. William J. Clark, 1867.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

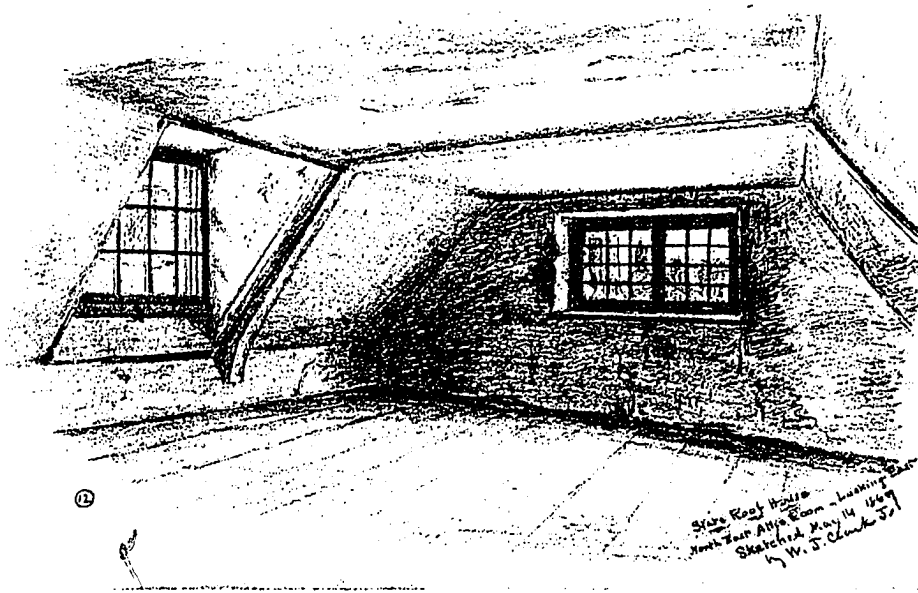


Figure 29. Northeast Attic room, looking East. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

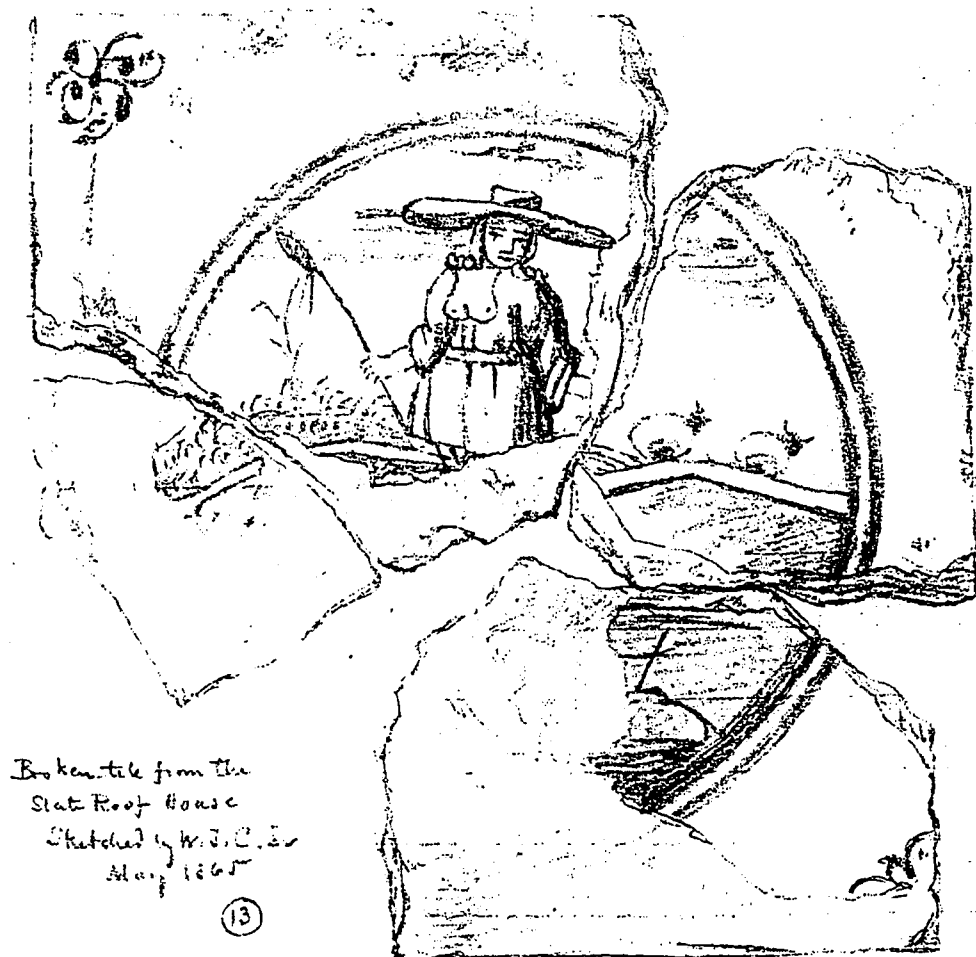


Figure 30. Tile with woman. From Slate Roof House. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

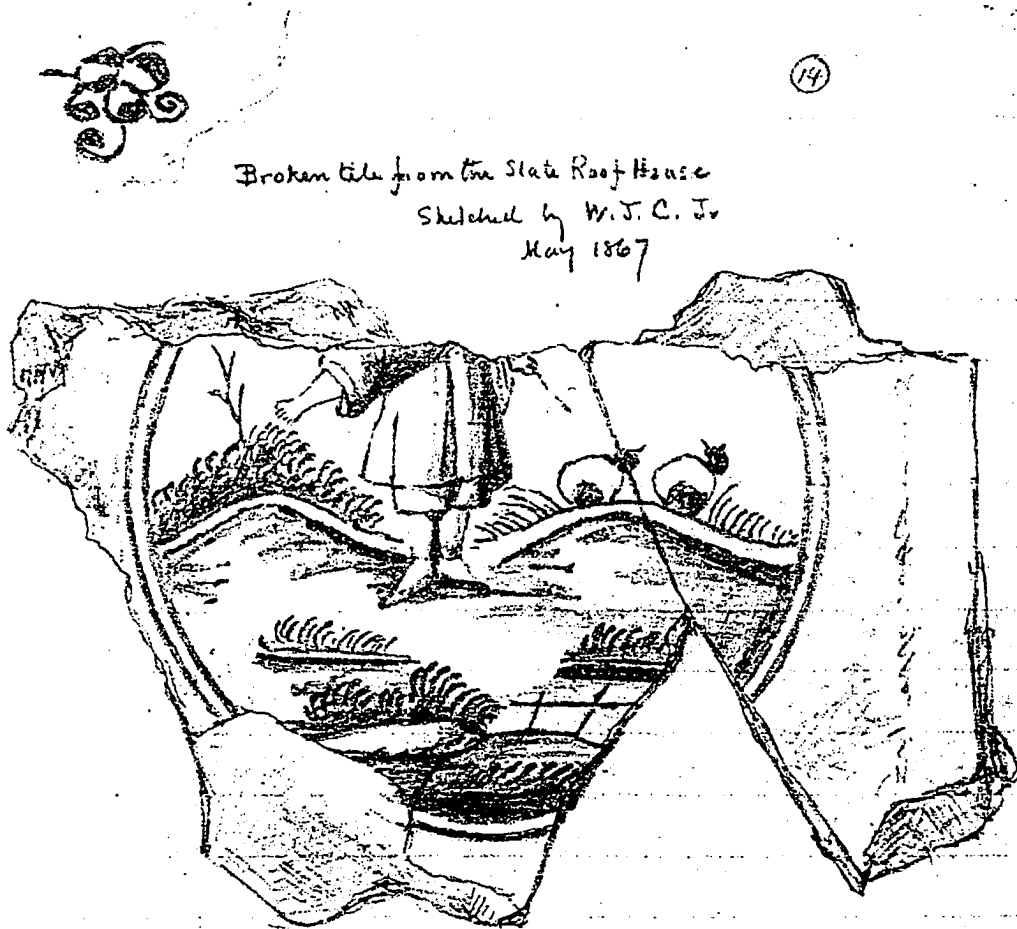


Figure 31. Tile with person and sheep. From Slate Roof House. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

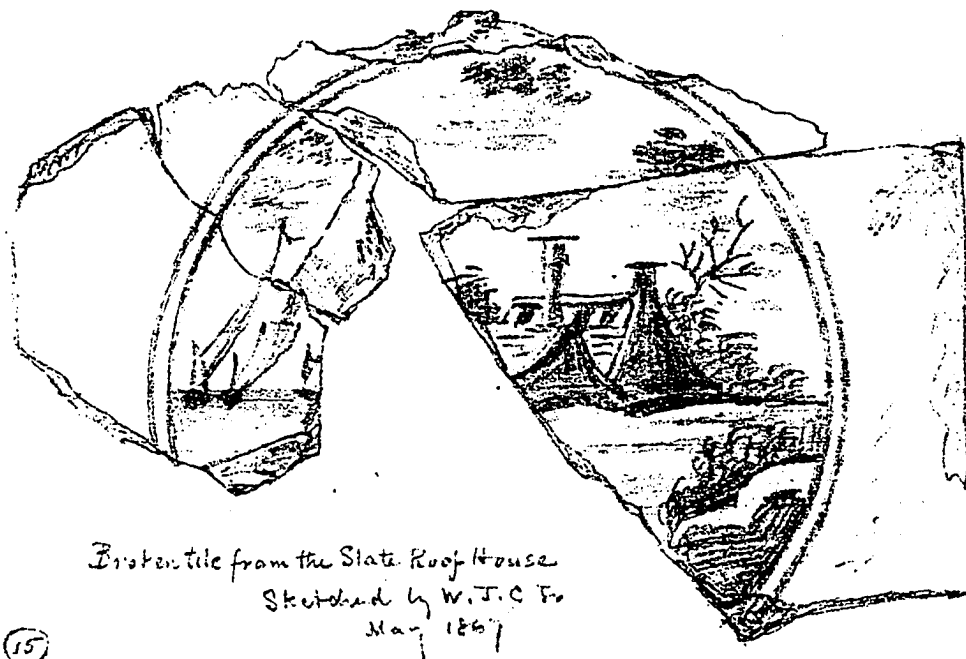
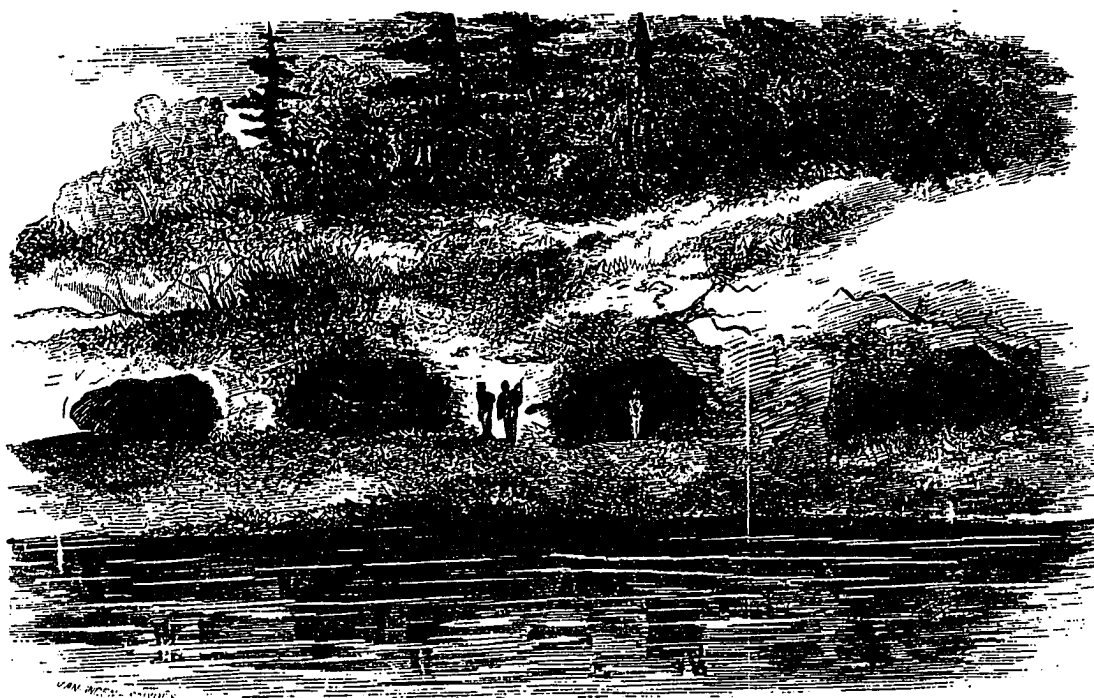


Figure 32. Tile with houses. From Slate Roof House. William J. Clark, 1867. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



THE CAVES AND THEIR INHABITANTS.—Page 171.

Figure 33. Caves. From *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*.
Collection of author.

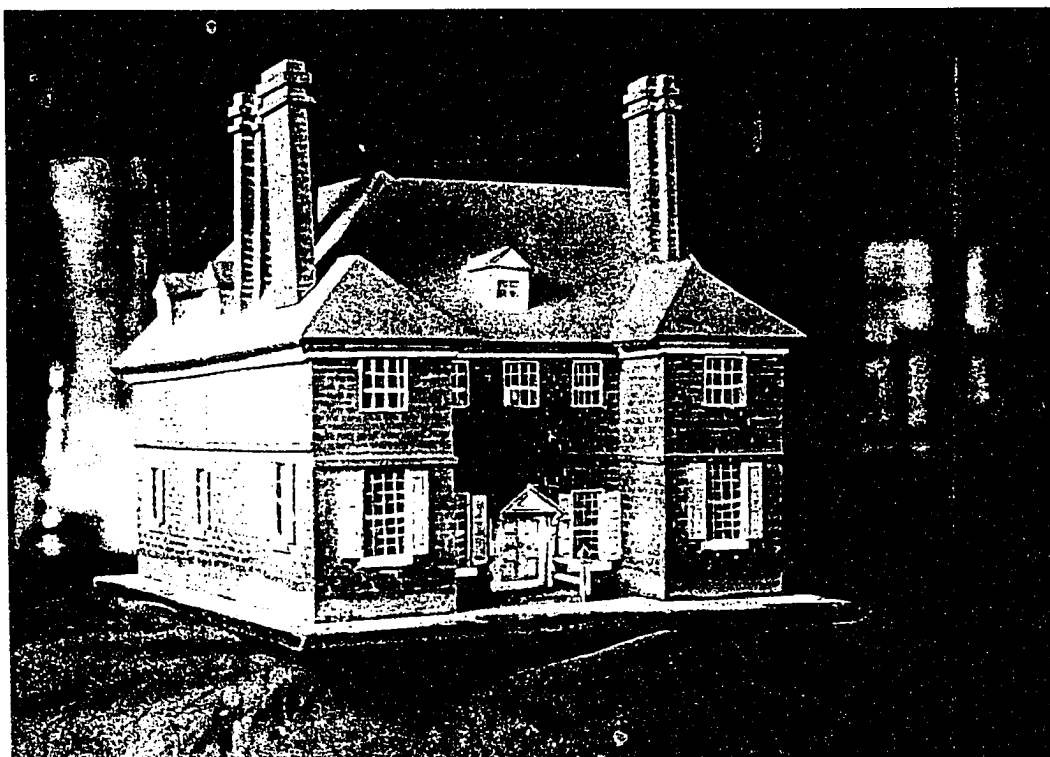


Figure 34. Model of Slate Roof House. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 35. Slate Roof House, John Moran. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

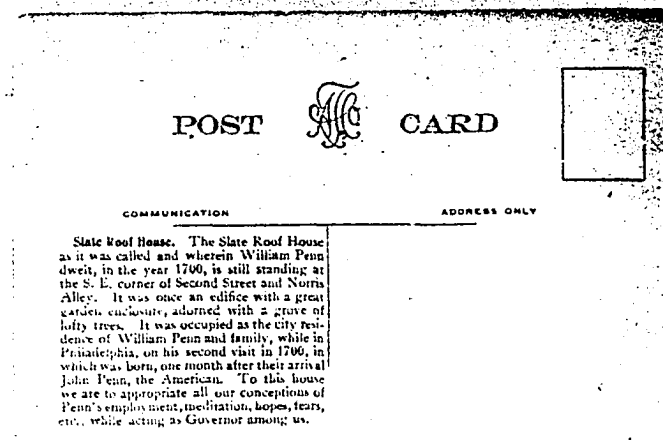


Figure 36. Postcard of Slate Roof House. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

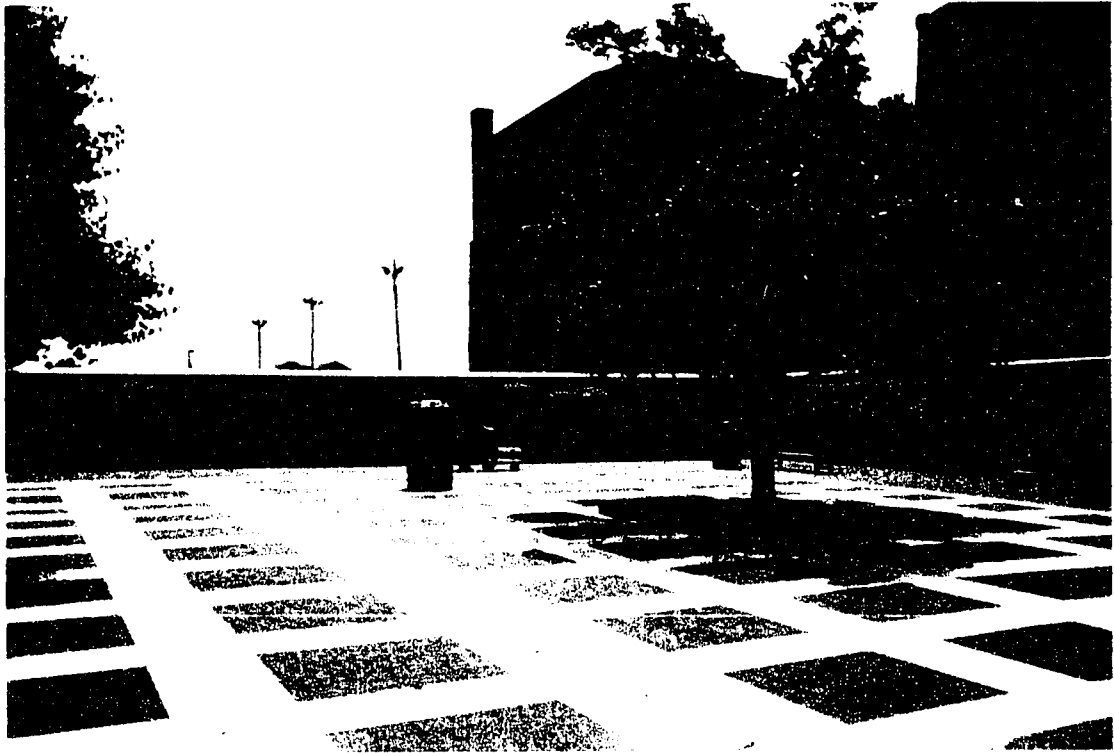


Figure 37. Welcome Park. Photo by author.